The New International

Dictionary of New Testament Theology Vol.1

Editor: Colin Brown



THE NEW INTERNATIONAL DICTIONARY OF NEW TESTAMENT THEOLOGY is a unique source of information, invaluable to ministers, teachers, and anyone interested in the study as well as the teaching of the Bible.

Some of its main features are:

- Concise discussion of the major theological terms of the Bible
- Arranged in English alphabetical order; does not demand prior knowledge of Greek or Hebrew
- Discusses the use of each key word in classical and secular Greek, the Old Testament and Rabbinic writings, the New Testament usage and reference
- English edition based on *Theologisches Begriffslexikon zum Neuen Testament,* extensively revised and enlarged
- Glossary of Technical Terms giving concise definitions of specialist expressions and usage in Vol. 1
- Index of Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, and theological subjects (Vol. 1 and 2 separately indexed, Combined Index to all three Vols. in Vol. 3)
- Full and up-to-date bibliographies
- International team of contributors

6th printing

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Dictionary of New Testament Theology Vol. 1

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THE NEW INTERNATIONAL DICTIONARY OF NEW TESTAMENT THEOLOGY is, first, a basic translation, and then an extensive revision and considerable enlargement, of a German work entitled *Theologisches Begriffslexikon Zum Neuen Testament.* On its first publication in German this was recognized as a major work of reference, and has since become more and more widely acclaimed as an important tool for understanding the theology and message of the Bible. Its translation and publication in this new English edition, together with the extensive revisions and extensive additions, have enlarged it so as to make it a unique source of information, invaluable to ministers, teachers, and anyone interested in the study as well as the teaching of the Bible.

What the reviewers say:

"This Dictionary had already proved its worth in its original German form, and the present revised and enlarged English edition will make it a much appreciated companion to the New Testament for students, preachers, and teachers throughout the English-speaking world." *(F. F. Bruce, University of Manchester)*

"Indispensable for advanced theological students and scholars as well as for ordinary Bible students." *(Christianity Today)*

"The ministry of any pastor would be enriched immeasurably if he would keep this dictionary on his desk for constant reference during the time of sermon preparation. . . . it is perhaps the best buy of the year." *(Eternity)*

"It is an excellent work. . . . I am impressed with the significance of this dictionary. It is characterized by the most thorough scholarship." *(Donald W. Burdick, Conservative Baptist Theological Seminary)*

(continued on back flap)

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The RSV Interlinear Greek-English New Testament (Marshall)
The Zondervan Parallel New Testament in Greek and English (Marshall)

The Editor

In its English form THE NEW INTERNATIONAL DOCTIONARY OF NEW TESTAMENT THEOLOGY was edited by Colin Brown, who holds the B.D. from the University of London, the M.A., from the University of Nottingham, and the Ph.D. from the University of Bristol. His publications include *Karl Barth and the Christian Message* and *Philosophy and the Christian Faith.* Before becoming Professor of Systematic Theology at Fuller Theological Seminary, Dr. Brown was Vice-Principal of Tyndale Hall. He has been Visiting Professor at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, Deerfield, Illinois, and at Regent College, Vancouver.

Editor:
Colin Brown

The New International

Dictionary of New Testament Theology Vol.1

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ZONDERVAN

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The New International Dictionary of

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THE NEW INTERNATIONAL
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Volume I: A-F

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Colin Brown
GENERAL EDITOR

Translated, with additions and revisions, from the German

THEOLOGISCHES BEGRIFFSLEXIKON
ZUM NEUEN TESTAMENT

Edited by Lothar Coenen, Erich Beyreuther *and* Hans Bietenhard



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Preface

BURY YOURSELF IN A DICTIONARY AND COME UP IN THE PRESENCE OF GOD. THIS improbable-sounding piece of advice of the late Sir Edwyn Hoskyns contains a wisdom born of experience. At first sight a dictionary may appear to contain nothing but a mass of antiquarian information. But to those who know where and how to look, the forbidding mass of material is not a barrier between the individual and real life but a bridge to a richer appreciation of it. It is when we ask, "What is the writer getting at?", "Why did he say this?", "Why did he put it like that?", "What lies behind that remark?", that we begin to see things in a new light.

A theological dictionary is not a collection of prepackaged sermons or an anthology of predigested devotion. It is more like an invitation to join in the collective enterprise of quarrying and building. (The picture itself is not without affinities with the apostle Paul's picture in 1 Cor. 3:10 ff. of Christian work as a collective building enterprise.) It is as one quarries among the mass of data and tries to build something out of it that the data become alive. What was perhaps previously flat and featureless takes on new perspective and meaning. One can go even further. The great revivals of the Christian church have come about when some individual here and there has been grasped by something that his predecessors and contemporaries have taken for granted without stopping to ask why it should be so. Perhaps the greatest need for the church in the last quarter of the twentieth century is for men to stop, to ask themselves this question as they study the Bible, and then to translate their answers into action.

Two things characterise this enterprise. On the one hand, one has to do it for oneself. There is no substitute for individual initiative. On the other hand, it is a co-operative endeavour. One cannot do without the work of others in unearthing facts and bringing to light insights which would otherwise be lost. But paradoxically enough, it is only when others have done this kind of work that one can see the truth in it for oneself.

At all its stages *The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology* is a collective enterprise. The original German work on which it is based was the product of ten years of teamwork, shared by university professors, college lecturers and others engaged in various branches of teaching and pastoral work. The extensive new material which will be included in all three volumes is the work of scholars on both sides of the Atlantic. The draft translation was prepared by a team of translators which included Professor G. H. Boobyer, the Rev. Dr. Colin Brown, Mr. H. L. Ellison, the Rev. M. C. Freeman, the late Rev. Dr. George Ogg, Mr. John D. Manton, the Rev. Philip J. Seddon, the Rev. David Sharp and Dr. A. J. M. Wedderburn.

A special debt of gratitude is owed to Professor F. F. Bruce, Rylands Professor of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis in the University of Manchester. Professor Bruce has read the articles in both typescript and proof, and has made many valuable comments and suggestions. Thanks are also due to the Rev. A. C. Thiselton of the Department of Biblical Studies in the University of Sheffield for reading the bibliographies and making numerous suggestions. The bibliographies have also benefited from the comments of his colleagues at Sheffield, Mr. D. J. A. Clines and the Rev. Wesley Carr. Mr. Michael Sadgrove has shouldered the heavy burden of proof-reading in the course of his doctoral studies at Oxford. The indexes have been compiled by the Rev. Norman Hillyer whose vigilant scholarship has also contributed to the correction of the proofs.

Finally, the editor would like to record his appreciation of the happy co-operation at all stages of the work with the editor of the German edition, Dr. Lothar Coenen, and the German publishers, the Theologischer Verlag Rolf Brockhaus of Wuppertal and for their kind agreement to the features incorporated in the English edition.

Scripture quotations in this Dictionary from the Revised Standard Version of the Bible are used by permission of the owners of the copyright, the Department of Christian Education of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America.

In the 1980 reprint of this volume the opportunity has been taken to make a number of minor corrections and to include bibliographical Addenda (see p.822).

Introduction

SINCE ITS FIRST APPEARANCE IN 1965 THE *Theologisches Begriffslexikon zum Neuen Testament* has established itself as a standard work of reference among theologians, ministers, students and all who are concerned with a closer understanding of the teaching of the Bible. It offers its readers a concise discussion of the meaning and use of the key terms of the New Testament against their background in the ancient world and the Old Testament, combining an awareness of the progress of modern scholarship with a sensitivity to the message of Scripture. The work had its origin in a double conviction. On the one hand, theology at its deepest level is concerned with the revelation of God – the God who has revealed himself in Scripture. On the other hand, this revelation came to man over a period of many hundreds of years. It was expressed in ancient languages, employing the thought-forms of bygone civilizations. In order to understand the meaning and significance of Scripture, it is necessary to understand the meaning and use of its language against the background of its history and social structures.

Some fifty years ago Karl Barth compared Calvin as an interpreter with the exegetes of his own day in the following terms:

> How energetically Calvin, having first established what stands in the text, sets himself to re-think the whole material and to wrestle with it, till the walls which separate the sixteenth century from the first become transparent! Paul speaks, and the man of the sixteenth century hears. The conversation between the original record and the reader moves round the subject-matter, until a distinction between yesterday and to-day becomes impossible. If a man persuades himself that Calvin's method can be dismissed with the old-fashioned motto, "The Compulsion of Inspiration," he betrays himself as one who has never worked upon the interpretation of Scripture (*The Epistle to the Romans*, ET 1933, 7).

Whether Calvin, Barth (or, for that matter, anyone else) consistently attained this ideal is less important than the points that Barth makes. The goal of biblical study – like that of expository preaching – is an understanding of the text which enables its message to speak directly to the reader or hearer in his contemporary situation. In this process there are two main stages characterized by the terms exegesis and hermeneutics. The latter – and it is on this that Barth focuses his attention – is concerned with reflecting on words and events from the past and interpreting their significance for us today. But before this may come about there must be the prior stage of exegesis, the elucidation of words, phrases, clauses and sentences, as their authors intended them to be understood and as they would have been understood by their original hearers. It is the exegesis of biblical terminology that is the primary concern of the present dictionary.

In their fulfilment of this task the authors of the individual articles have endeavoured not simply to analyse, classify and catalogue the most important words that occur in the New Testament. They have also sought to trace the meaning and use of words in secular Greek, the Septuagint and other versions of the Old Testament used by the early church in the New Testament period, comparing them with the Hebrew of the Old Testament. They have also taken into account the use of words in the Dead Sea Scrolls and writers like Philo and Josephus. Finally, the New Testament writings themselves are examined individually in order to ascertain the precise shade of meaning which each work attaches to the words used.

In using a work of this kind there is always a danger of what James Barr has called "illegitimate totality transfer" (*The Semantics of Biblical Language*, 1961, 218). This arises when the various meanings of a word in different contexts are run together and then presumed to be present on each and every occasion that the word is used. To quote Barr's own example, the word *ekklēsia* (church) may in various contexts mean "the Body of Christ," "the first instalment of the Kingdom of God," and "the Bride of Christ." It would be illegitimate to presume without further indication that in any given passage the word *ekklēsia* must bear all or even any of these meanings. To answer this question, one has to ask whether the author is acquainted with a particular meaning and whether the context indicates that this was his intention. Similarly, it is illegitimate to apply without more ado the meaning of a word in secular Greek or even the Septuagint to the New Testament, unless there be some indication that the word is used in the same sense.

Heed must also be given to Barr's warnings about etymologies. To know the derivation of a word is no infallible guide to its meaning. Barr observes: "The main point is that the etymology of a word is not a statement about its meaning but about its history; it is only as a historical statement that it can be responsibly asserted, and it is quite wrong to suppose that the etymology of a word is necessarily a guide either to its 'proper' meaning in a later period or to its actual meaning in that period" (op. cit., 109). Words have histories as well as etymologies. The meaning of any given word in any given context depends at least as much upon the place and use of the word in that context as upon any supposed derivation.

General Structure

The entire work is divided into articles under English titles, arranged in alphabetical order. These in turn contain one or more studies of the relevant terms in New Testament Greek which have been grouped under key words. Thus, the article on *Baptism, Wash* is divided into separate studies under the key Greek words *baptizō*, *louō* and *niptō*. For the sake of easy reference the key Greek word is placed in a box at the head of the appropriate study thus: βαπτίζω. In each case there follow the principal forms of the associated Greek words and their cognates which are given in both Greek letters and transliteration together with their basic dictionary equivalents.

Each article is divided into three main sections denoted by the letters CL indicating discussion of the word in classical and secular Greek, OT in Old Testament usage, and NT dealing with New Testament usage. They are arranged as follows:

CL Discussion of the word in secular Greek. Uses of the word are illustrated by references to classical literature, inscriptions and papyri. But in view of the expressly theological interest of the dictionary discussion here is kept to a minimum.

OT Discussion of the word in the Old Testament. The language of the church of the New Testament era was Greek, and the Old Testament Scriptures used by the church were largely the Greek translation of the Hebrew known as the Septuagint (LXX). The discussion is therefore based on the terms as they occur in the LXX and other Greek versions. But throughout these are compared with the corresponding Hebrew words of the Hebrew Masoretic text. (On these terms see the *Glossary of Technical Terms.*) This second section also includes discussion of terms in rabbinic writers, Philo and Josephus, and the discoveries at Qumran. In some instances comparison with the New Testament reveals close affinity of thought; in others there is a wide gulf between it and other religious thought.

NT Discussion of the word in the New Testament, noting statistical occurrences of the word, its uses in relation to its background, and the specific emphases of individual writers and writings.

The same method of study is followed for each separate key Greek word, except occasionally where the word may not occur or be relevant in either secular Greek (as in the case of certain proper names) or the Old Testament. Bibliographies are appended to all major articles.

Scope

The dictionary is expressly theological in intention. Historical, geographical and archaeological information, appropriate in a general dictionary of the Bible, is here included only in so far as it is theologically relevant. The main emphasis falls on the elucidation of terms. For this reason the dictionary does not attempt to summarize the theology of Paul, John, or the Synoptic Gospels, or to trace influences upon individual writers as subjects in themselves. Nevertheless, attention is paid to the distinctive outlook of any given writer in relation to particular terms. A number of proper names have been included in so far as they have a special theological significance in the New Testament.

Transliteration

The dictionary is designed for use both by the student of Greek and by those who have no prior grounding in ancient languages. For this reason all Greek and Hebrew words are given in transliteration. Greek words are given in Greek letters with the appropriate transliteration and translation at the head of each key Greek word. Thereafter only the transliterations are given. Hebrew words are given in transliteration only. A key to the transliterations is given on p. 47.

Features of the English Edition

The translation has been edited to meet the needs of English readers. This has involved a certain amount of re-writing and re-phrasing for the sake of clarity. The

relative merits of different translations of Biblical passages have been discussed in English instead of German versions, and quotations have been taken from the English translations of published works. Where appropriate, references to important works relating to matters under discussion have been inserted.

A major difference that will be immediately apparent to those who compare the present work with the German original is the complete reorganization of the order of the articles. The German original had its articles arranged according to the alphabetical order of the German titles. Each article has been given an English title set in alphabetical order. This means that the present volume contains articles from all three volumes of the German original, and also that articles which appeared in the first volume of the German are distributed throughout all three volumes of the English edition. In assigning titles to the articles, it was decided not to restrict the title to a single key word, but to include in it those words which would indicate the general contents of the article concerned.

This English edition contains some 70 major articles which did not appear in the original German version. Other articles have been extended to include important new sections and other material which likewise have not previously been published. The *Glossary of Technical Terms* has been extensively enlarged. As the work proceeds, it is the publishers' intention to include further new material which is being prepared for inclusion in the new revised German edition.

The bibliographies appended to each article have been extensively revised and enlarged. The majority are divided into two sections. The first contains a list of books and articles in English, including translations of works listed in the original German bibliography. The second section is devoted to works in other languages. This contains titles listed in the original bibliography and also other works, including important works published since the article was written. The purpose is twofold. On the one hand, it offers English readers a conspectus of relevant literature in English. By separating the two sections, they will be able to see at a glance which works are relevant to their particular needs. On the other hand, it was decided to include titles not available in English translation in order to meet the needs of the more specialist student.

Certain articles in the German original contained homiletical sections which were directed to the pastoral situation in Germany and on the continent of Europe. They included references to discussions and literature which were significant in a continental setting but which are less so outside that context. In view of the different situation in the English-speaking world, it was decided with the agreement of the German publishers not to include these sections in the present edition.

Biblical References

Quotations from the Bible in English have normally been taken from the Revised Standard Version which is quoted by kind permission of the Division of Christian Education of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America. However, translations of other versions are also given at certain points where the sources are specifically stated. In certain Old Testament passages where the LXX reference differs from that of the Hebrew Masoretic Text and the English versions the variant reference is given in brackets.

Statistical and Lexical Information

Statistical and lexical information has been drawn from the following sources: R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik des neutestamentlichen Wortschatzes*, 1958; E. Hatch and H. A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament*, I–III, (1897) 1954; K. G. Kuhn, *Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten*, 1960; W. F. Moulton and A. S. Geden, *A Concordance to the Greek Testament*, (1897) 1963[4]; A. Schmöller, *Handkonkordanz zum griechischen Neuen Testament*, 1968[14]; S. Mandelkern, *Veteris Testamenti Concordantiae*, I–II, (1896) 1955; F. Brown, S. R. Driver and C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew-English Lexicon of the Old Testament, with an Appendix containing the Biblical Aramaic*, (1907) 1955; L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros*, 1958[2]; H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* revised by H. S. Jones, 1940[9]; and W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 1957.

Indexes

Separate indexes are provided to Volumes I and II, and indexes to the complete work in Volume III. A great many words are dealt with which are not included under the main headings in the Table of Articles, so the indexes should be consulted for full details.

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Apostle, *apostellō* (part)

Hans-Georg Link, Dr. theol., Cologne
Blessing, Blessed, Happy, *eulogia;* Burden, Heavy, Labour, *kopos* (part); Deny, *arneomai* (part); Empty, Vain, *kenos* (part); Fight, Prize, Triumph, Victory, *thriambeuō* (part)

I. Howard Marshall, M.A., B.D., Ph.D., Professor, Aberdeen
Council, Sanhedrin, *symbouleuō, synedrion;* Creation, Foundation, Creature, Maker, *dēmiourgos;* Divorce, *apostasion*

Reinhold Mayer, Dr. theol, Wis. Rat., Tübingen
Feast, Passover, *heortē*

Wichmann von Meding, Winsen/Aller
Bind, *deō* (part)

Friedemann Merkel, Dr. theol., Professor, Münster
Bread, Daily, Manna, *artos, manna;* Destroy, Perish, Ruin, *phtheirō*

Otto Michel, Dr. theol., Professor, Tübingen
Faith, Persuade, Belief, Unbelief, *pistis*

Robert Morgenthaler, Dr. theol., Professor, Muri bei Bern
Earth, Land, World, *gē*

J. A. Motyer, M.A., B.D., Principal, Trinity College, Bristol
Akeldama, *Akeldamach;* Amen, Hallelujah, Hosanna, *hallēlouia, hōsanna;* Birth, Beget etc., *eugenēs;* Body, section on parts of the body; Courage, Boldness, *tolmaō;* David, *Dauid;* Fish, *ichthys;* Fruit, Fig, Thorn, Thistle, *sykē, tribolos, akantha*

Dietrich Müller, Marburg
Anoint, *chriō;* Apostle, *apostellō* (part); Bind, *deō* (part); Curse, Insult, Fool, *anathema* (part); Disciple, Follow, Imitate, After, *mathētēs*

Hermann Müller, Dr. phil., Hilchenbach
Birth, Beget, Bear, Become, Miscarriage etc., *ektrōma* (part)

Wilhelm Mundle, Lic. theol., Professor, Marburg
Bread, Daily, Manna, *epiousios;* Burden, Heavy, Labour, *baros;* Come, *erchomai, katantaō;* Comfort, Encouragement, *tharseō;* Command, Order, *parangellō;* Curse, Insult, Fool, *kakologeō, kataraomai;* Ecstasy, Astonishment etc., *ekstasis;* Fear, Awe, *phobos*

Karlfried Munzer, Gauting
Determine, Appoint, Present, *paristēmi*

Gerhard Nordholt, Dr. theol., Leer
Elect, Choose, *haireomai*

James I. Packer, M.A., D.Phil., D.D., Professor, Regent College, Vancouver
Abolish, Nullify, Reject, *katargeō, athēteō, exoutheneō;* Accuser, Accuse, *enkaleō;* Carpenter, Builder, Workman, Craftsman, Trade, *tektōn;* Defile, *miainō;* Despise, *kataphroneō, oligōreō;* Destroy, Perish, Ruin, *exaleiphō;* Determine, Appoint, Present, *tassō, tithēmi, prothesmia, cheirotoneō, lagchanō;* Dirt, Filth, Refuse, *rhypos, skybalon, koprion;* Firm, Foundation, Certainty, Confirm, *kyroō*

Horst Reisser, Ilten
Discipline, Prudence, Immorality, Prostitute, *porneuō*

Karl Heinrich Ringwald, Tübingen
Birth, Beget, Bear etc., *gennaō;* Fight, Prize, Triumph, Victory, *agōn, brabeion*

Friedrich Samuel Rothenberg, Korbach
Fast, *nēsteuō;* Foreign, Alien, Dispersion, Stranger, *diaspora*

Bernd Schaller, Dr. theol., Göttingen
Feast, Passover, *pascha*

Johannes Schattenmann, Dr. theol., Ottobrun
Ecstasy, Astonishment, Distraction, Horror, Madness, *mainomai;* Fellowship, Have, Share, Participate, *koinōnia*

Reinier Schippers, Dr. theol., Professor, Amsterdam
Age, Stature, Maturity, *hēlikia;* Fullness, Abound, Multitude, Fulfil etc., *plēroō*

Peter Schmidt, Frankenthal
Determine, Appoint, Present, *procheirizō;* Fullness, Abound, Multitude, Fulfil, Make Room, Give Way, *chōreō*

Walter Schmithals, Dr. theol., Professor, Berlin
Death, Kill, Sleep, *thanatos*

Walter Schneider, Hanover
Come, *mellō*

Hans Schönweiss, Dr. theol., Stuttgart
Anger, Wrath, *thymos;* Desire, Lust, Pleasure, *epithymia;* Firm, Foundation, Certainty, Confirm, *bebaios*

Hans Georg Schütz, Dr. theol., Dortmund
Body, Member, Limb, *melos*

Horst Seebass, Dr. theol., Münster
Abraham, Sarah, Hagar, Isaac, *Abraam;* Adam, Eve, *Adam;* Babylon, *Babylōn;* Enemy, Enmity, Hate, *miseō;* Flesh, *sarx* (part)

Manfred Seitz, Dr. theol., Professor, Erlangen
Burden, Heavy, Labour, *kopos*

Friedel Selter, Rheinkamp-Repelen
Avarice, Greed, Love of Money, *pleonexia;* Exhort, Warn, Console, Rebuke, *noutheteō*

Burghard Siede, Coburg
Cross, Wood, Tree, *xylon*

Siegfried Solle, Darmstadt
Fire, Burn, *kauma*
Theo Sorg, Stuttgart
Curse, Insult, Fool, *rhaka*
Anthony C. Thiselton, B.D., M.Th., Ph.D., Senior Lecturer, Sheffield
Explain, Interpret, Tell, Narrative, *exēgeomai, epilyō, hermēneuō;* Flesh, *sarx* (part)
Erich Tiedtke, Frankfurt
Deny, *arneomai* (part); Empty, Vain, *kenos* (part), *mataios;* Face, *prosōpon*
Herwart Vorländer, Dr. phil., Professor, Ludwigsburg
Forgiveness, *aphiēmi*
Horst Weigelt, Dr. theol., Privatdozent, Erlangen
Clothe, Naked, Dress, Garment, Cloth, *gymnos, dyō, himation*
Siegfried Wibbing, Dr. theol., Professor, Mainz
Belly, Stomach, *koilia;* Body, Member, Limb, *sōma;* Determine, Appoint, Present, *kathistēmi;* Discipline, Prudence, Immorality, Prostitute, *sōphrosynē*

Abbreviations

1. Old Testament

Gen.	Genesis	Ezr.	Ezra	Dan.	Daniel
Exod.	Exodus	Neh.	Nehemiah	Hos.	Hosea
Lev.	Leviticus	Est.	Esther	Joel	
Num.	Numbers	Job		Amos	
Deut.	Deuteronomy	Ps. (Pss.)	Psalms	Obad.	Obadiah
Jos.	Joshua	Prov.	Proverbs	Jon.	Jonah
Jdg.	Judges	Eccl.	Ecclesiastes	Mic.	Micah
Ruth		Cant.	Song of Solomon	Nah.	Nahum
1 Sam.	1 Samuel		(Canticles)	Hab.	Habakkuk
2 Sam.	2 Samuel	Isa.	Isaiah	Zeph.	Zephaniah
1 Ki.	1 Kings	Jer.	Jeremiah	Hag.	Haggai
2 Ki.	2 Kings	Lam.	Lamentations of	Zech.	Zechariah
1 Chr.	1 Chronicles		Jeremiah	Mal.	Malachi
2 Chr.	2 Chronicles	Ezek.	Ezekiel		

2. New Testament

Matt.	Matthew	Phil.	Philippians	Jas.	James
Mk.	Mark	Col.	Colossians	1 Pet.	1 Peter
Lk.	Luke	1 Thess.	1 Thessalonians	2 Pet.	2 Peter
Jn.	John	2 Thess.	2 Thessalonians	1 Jn.	1 John
Acts	Acts of the Apostles	1 Tim.	1 Timothy	2 Jn.	2 John
Rom.	Romans	2 Tim.	2 Timothy	3 Jn.	3 John
1 Cor.	1 Corinthians	Tit.	Titus	Jude	
2 Cor.	2 Corinthians	Phlm.	Philemon	Rev.	The Revelation to
Gal.	Galatians	Heb.	Hebrews		John (Apocalypse)
Eph.	Ephesians				

3. Old Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

Ad.Dan.	Additions to Daniel (Apocrypha, found in LXX, Theod., Vulg.): Prayer of Azariah (LXX Dan. 3:25–45) Song of the Three Children (LXX Dan. 3:52–90) Susanna (appended to Dan. 12) Bel and the Dragon (appended to Dan. 12)
Ad.Est.	Additions to Esther (Apocrypha)
Aristeas	Letter of Aristeas (Pseudepigrapha)
Ass.Mos.	The Assumption of Moses (Pseudepigrapha)
Bar.	1 Baruch (Apocrypha). The Epistle of Jeremy appears at the conclusion of the Book of Baruch (Bar. 6)
1 Esd.	1 Esdras (in LXX and Eng. versions; 3 Esd. in Vulg.) (Apocrypha)
2 Esd.	2 Esdras, or 4 Ezra, or Apocalypse of Ezra (Pseudepigrapha)

Eth.Enoch	Ethiopic Book of Enoch, or 1 Enoch (Pseudepigrapha)
Gr.Bar.	Greek Book of Baruch, or 3 Baruch (Pseudepigrapha)
Gr.Enoch	Greek Book of Enoch (Pseudepigrapha)
Heb.Enoch	Hebrew Book of Enoch, or 3 Enoch (Pseudepigrapha)
Jub.	The Book of Jubilees (Pseudepigrapha)
Jud.	Judith (Apocrypha)
Life Adam	The Life of Adam and Eve (Pseudepigrapha)
1, 2, 3, 4 Macc.	1, 2, 3 Maccabees (Apocrypha), 4 Maccabees (Pseudepigrapha)
Man.	Prayer of Manasses (Apocrypha)
Mart.Isa.	The Martyrdom of Isaiah (Pseudepigrapha)
Pirke	Pirke Aboth (Pseudepigrapha)
Pss.Sol.	The Psalms of Solomon (Pseudepigrapha)
Sib.	The Sibylline Oracles (Pseudepigrapha)
Sir.	The Book of Sirach, or Ecclesiasticus (Apocrypha)
Sl.Enoch	Slavonic Book of Enoch, or Book of the Secrets of Enoch, or 2 Enoch (Pseudepigrapha)
Story	The Story of Ahikar (Pseudepigrapha)
Syr.Bar.	Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch, or 2 Baruch (Pseudepigrapha)
Test.Abr.	Testament of Abraham (Pseudepigrapha)
Test.XII	Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (Pseudepigrapha)
Test.Ash.	Testament of Asher
Test.Ben.	Testament of Benjamin
Test.Dan	Testament of Dan
Test.Gad	Testament of Gad
Test.Iss.	Testament of Issachar
Test.Jos.	Testament of Joseph
Test.Jud.	Testament of Judah
Test.Lev.	Testament of Levi
Test.Naph.	Testament of Naphtali
Test.Reub.	Testament of Reuben
Test.Sim.	Testament of Simeon
Test.Zeb.	Testament of Zebulun
Tob.	Tobit (Apocrypha)
Wis.	Wisdom of Solomon (Apocrypha)

4. Qumran Writings, Dead Sea Scrolls

CD	Damascus Document
1QS	Community Rule, or Manual of Discipline
1QSa	Messianic Rule (originally included in the same scroll as 1QS)
1QSb	The Blessings (originally included in the same scroll as 1QS)
1QH	Hymns, Hodayot
1QM	War Scroll
1QpHab	Commentary on Habbakuk
1QGenAp	Genesis Apocryphon
1Q14	Commentary on Micah
1Q22	Words of Moses
1Q27	Book of Mysteries
1Q34	Collection of Liturgical Prayers
4QEx[a]	Exodus Fragment
4QpHos	Commentary on Hosea
4QpIsa	Commentary on Isaiah
4QpNah	Commentary on Nahum
4QpPs37	Commentary on Ps.37
4Qflor	Florilegium
4Qpatr	Blessings of the Patriarchs

4Qtest	Testimonies
11QMelchizedek	Melchizedek Scroll

See further K. G. Kuhn, ed., *Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten*, 1960. Where possible, translations of passages from Qumran have been collated with the ET of G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 1962.

5. Classical and Hellenistic Writers and Sources

Aesch.	Aeschylus (525/4–456 B.C.)
Ag.	*Agamemnon*
Cho.	*Choephori*
Eum.	*Eumenides*
Pers.	*Persae*
PV	*Prometheus Vinctus*
Sept.	*Septem contra Thebas*
Supp.	*Supplices*
Apoll.Rhod.	Apollonius Rhodius (3rd cent. B.C.)
Argon.	*Argonautica*
Appian	Appian of Alexandria (2nd cent. B.C.)
Bell.Civ.	*Bella Civilia Romana*
Apul.	Apuleius (2nd cent. A.D.)
Apol.	*Apologia*
Asclep.	*Asclepius*
De deo Soc.	*De deo Socratico*
De dog.Plat.	*De dogmate Platonis*
Flor.	*Florida*
Met.	*Metamorphoses*
Aratus	Aratus (*c.* 315–*c.* 240 B.C.)
Phaen.	*Phaenomena*
Progn.	*Prognostica*
Aristid.	Aelius Aristides (*c.* A.D. 117/129–81)
Aristoph.	Aristophanes (*c.* 450–385 B.C.)
Aristot.	Aristotle (384–322 B.C.)
An.	*De Anima*
An.Post.	*Analytica Posteriora*
An.Pr.	*Analytica Priora*
Ath.Pol.	*Athēnaiōn Politeia*
Cael.	*De Caelo*
Cat.	*Categoriae*
Div.Somn.	*De Divinatione per Somnia*
Eth.Eud.	*Ethica Eudemia*
Eth.Nic.	*Ethica Nicomachea*
Fr.	*Fragmenta*
Gen.An.	*De Generatione Animalium*
Gen.Corr.	*De Generatione et Corruptione*
Hist.An.	*Historia Animalium*
Int.	*De Interpretatione*
Mem.	*De Memoria*
Met.	*Metaphysica*
Part.An.	*De Partibus Animalium*
Phys.	*Physica*
Poet.	*Poetica*
Pol.	*Politica*
Rhet.	*Rhetorica*
Sens.	*De Sensu*
Soph.El.	*Sophistici Elenchi*

Top.	*Topica*
Artem.	Artemidorus Daldianus (late 2nd cent. A.D.)
Ascl.	Asclepius (Hermetic writing of 2nd–3rd cents. A.D.)
Bacchyl.	Bacchylides (5th cent. B.C.)
BGU	*Berliner Griechische Urkunden* (*Ägyptische Urkunden aus den Kgl. Museen zu Berlin*), 1895–
Cicero	Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 B.C.)
Arch.	*Pro Archia*
De Or.	*De Oratore*
Div.	*De Divinatione*
Fat.	*De Fato*
Fin.	*De Finibus*
Leg.	*De Legibus*
Nat.D.	*De Natura Deorum*
Rep.	*De Republica*
CIG	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, ed. A. Boeckh, 1828–1877
CII	*Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum*, ed. J.-B. Frey, 1936–
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, 1863–
CIS	*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, 1881–
Corp.Herm.	*Corpus Hermeticum* (anonymous Hell. writings of 2nd–3rd cents. A.D.)
CPR	*Corpus Papyrorum Raineri Archiducis Austriae*, ed. C. Wessely, 1895
Dem.	Demosthenes (384–22 B.C.)
De Cor.	*De Corona*
Lept.	*Against Leptines*
Meid.	*Against Meidias*
Democ.	Democritus (5th–4th cent. B.C.)
Diels-Kranz	*Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, I–III, ed. H. Diels, W. Kranz, 1952[6]
Dio Cass	Cassius Dio Cocceianus (2nd–3rd cents. A.D.)
Dio Chrys.	Dio Cocceianus, later called Chrysostomos (*c.* A.D. 40–after 112)
Diod.Sic.	Diodorus Siculus (end of 1st cent. B.C.)
Diog.Laert.	Diogenes Laertius (3rd cent. A.D.)
Dion.Hal.	Dionysius of Halicarnassus (fl. 30 B.C.)
Emp.	Empedocles (*c.* 493–*c.* 433 B.C.)
Epict.	Epictetus (*c.* A.D. 55–*c.* 135)
Epim.	Epimenides (fl. 500 B.C.)
Eur.	Euripides (*c.* 485–*c.* 406 B.C.)
Bacch.	*Bacchae*
El.	*Electra*
Iph.Aul.	*Iphigenia Aulidensis*
Iph.Taur.	*Iphigenia Taurica*
Or.	*Orestes*
Phoen.	*Phoenissae*
FGH	*Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, ed. F. Jacoby, 1923–
Hdt.	Herodotus (*c.* 484–*c.*425 B.C.)
Heracl.	Heraclitus (*c.* 535–475 B.C.)
Hesiod	Hesiod (fl. 700 B.C.)
Theog.	*Theogony*
Works	*Works and Days*
Homer	Homer (8th–7th cents. B.C.)
Il.	*Iliad*
Od.	*Odyssey*
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*, ed. Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1873–
Isoc.	Isocrates (436–338 B.C.)
Areop.	*Areopagiticus*
Bus.	*Busiris*
Paneg.	*Panegyricus*

Josephus	Flavius Josephus (*c.* A.D. 37–97)
Ant.	*Antiquitates Judaicae* (*Jewish Antiquities*)
Ap.	*Contra Apionem* (*Against Apion*)
Life	*Life of Flavius Josephus* (*Vita*)
War	*The Jewish War* (*Bellum Judaicum*)
M.Ant.	Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (A.D. 121–180)
Menand.	Menander (*c.* 342–293/89 B.C.)
Epit.	*Epitrepontes*
Her.	*Heros*
Pk.	*Perikeiromene*
Sam.	*Samia*
OGI	*Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, ed. W. Dittenberger, 1903–5
Parm.	Parmenides (*c.* 500 B.C.)
Paus.	Pausanias (fl. A.D. 150)
P.Fay.	B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, D. G. Hogarth, *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri*, 1900
Philo	Philo of Alexandria (*c.* 50 B.C.–A.D. 45), also known as Philo Judaeus
Abr.	*De Abrahamo*
Aet.Mund.	*De Aeternitate Mundi*
Agric.	*De Agricultura*
Conf.Ling.	*De Confusione Linguarum*
Congr.	*De Congressu Eruditionis Gratia*
Decal.	*De Decalogo*
Det.Pot.Ins.	*Quod Deterius Potiori Insidiari Soleat*
Deus Imm.	*Quod Deus Sit Immutabilis*
Ebr.	*De Ebrietate*
Exsec.	*De Exsecrationibus*
Flacc.	*In Flaccum*
Fug.	*De Fuga et Inventione*
Gig.	*De Gigantibus*
Jos.	*De Josepho*
Leg.All.	*Legum Allegoriae*
Leg.Gai.	*Legatio ad Gaium*
Migr.Abr.	*De Migratione Abrahami*
Mut.Nom.	*De Mutatione Nominum*
Omn.Prob.Lib.	*Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit*
Op.Mund.	*De Opificio Mundi*
Plant.	*De Plantatione*
Post.C.	*De Posteritate Caini*
Praem.	*De Praemiis et Poenis*
Quaest. in Exod.	*Quaestiones in Exodum*
Quaest. in Gen.	*Quaestiones in Genesin*
Rer.Div.Her.	*Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres Sit*
Sacr.	*De Sacrificiis Abelis et Caini*
Sobr.	*De Sobrietate*
Som.	*De Somniis*
Spec.Leg.	*De Specialibus Legibus*
Virt.	*De Virtutibus*
Vit.Cont.	*De Vita Contemplativa*
Vit.Mos.	*De Vita Mosis*
Philostr.	Flavius Philostratus (*c.* A.D. 170–244/9)
Imag.	*Imagines*
VA	*Vita Apollonii*
VS	*Vita Sophistarum*
Pindar	Pindar (518–438 B.C.)
Isth.	*Isthmian Odes*
Nem.	*Nemean Odes*

Ol.	*Olympian Odes*
Pyth.	*Pythian Odes*
Plato	Plato (*c.* 427–347 B.C.)
Alc.	*Alcibiades*
Ap. or *Apol.*	*Apologia*
Chrm.	*Charmides*
Cra.	*Cratylus*
Cri.	*Crito*
Criti.	*Critias*
Epin.	*Epinomis*
Euthyphr.	*Euthyphro*
Grg.	*Gorgias*
Hipparch.	*Hipparchus*
Hp.Mi.	*Hippias Minor*
Lach.	*Laches*
Leg.	*Leges*
Menex.	*Menexenus*
Phd.	*Phaedo*
Phdr.	*Phaedrus*
Phlb.	*Philebus*
Prm.	*Parmenides*
Prt.	*Protagoras*
Resp. or *Rep.*	*Respublica* (*The Republic*)
Soph.	*Sophista*
Symp.	*Symposium*
Tht. or Theaet.	*Theaetetus*
Tim.	*Timaeus*
Pliny	Pliny the Elder, Gaius Plinius Secundus (A.D. 23/24–79)
Nat.Hist.	*Naturalis Historia* (*Natural History*)
Pliny	Pliny the Younger, Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus (*c.* A.D. 61–*c.* 112)
Epp.	*Epistolae* (*Letters*)
Plut.	Plutarch (*c.* A.D. 46–120)
Mor.	*Moralia*
Vit.	*Vitae Parallelae*
Polyb.	Polybius (*c.* 200–after 118 B.C.)
P.Oxy.	*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, ed. B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt *et al.*, 1898–
Ps.Arist.	Pseudo-Aristotle
Mund.	*De Mundo*
Oec.	*Oeconomica*
Prob.	*Problems*
P.Teb.	*Tebtunis Papyri*, ed. B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, J. G. Smyly, E. J. Goodspeed 1902–
Pythagoras	Pythagoras (6th–5th cent. B.C.) and followers
Epp.	*Epistolae* (*Letters*)
SIG	*Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, ed. W. Dittenberger, 1915–24[3]
Soph.	Sophocles (*c.* 496–406 B.C.)
Aj.	*Ajax*
Ant.	*Antigone*
El.	*Electra*
Fr.	*Fragments*
OC	*Oedipus Coloneus*
OT	*Oedipus Tyrannus*
Phil.	*Philoctetes*
Trach.	*Trachiniae*
Stob.	Iohannis Stobaeus (5th cent. A.D.)
Ecl.	*Eklogai* (*Eclogues*)
Anth.	*Anthologion* (*Anthology*)

Strabo	Strabo (*c.* 63 B.C.–after A.D. 21)
Geog.	*Geography*
Hist.Sk.	*Historical Sketches*
SVF	*Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, ed. J. von Arnim, 1903
Tacitus, *Ann.*	Cornelius Tacitus (*c.* A.D. 55–120), *Annals*
Thuc.	Thucydides (*c.* 460–*c.* 396 B.C.)
History	*History of the Peloponnesian War*
Xen.	Xenophon (*c.* 430–354 B.C.)
Ages.	*Agesilaus*
Anab.	*Anabasis*
Ap.	*Apologia Socratis*
Cyn.	*Cynegeticus*
Cyr.	*Cyropaedia*
Hell.	*Hellenica* (*Greek History*)
Mem.	*Memorabilia*
Oec.	*Oeconomicus*
Symp.	*Symposium*
Vect.	*De Vectigalibus*

6. New Testament Apocrypha and Early Christian Writers

Act.And.	Acts of Andrew
Act.Jn.	Acts of John
Act.Paul	Acts of Paul
Act.Paul and Thecla	Acts of Paul and Thecla
Act.Pet.	Acts of Peter
Act.Thom.	Acts of Thomas
Apc.Abr.	Apocalypse of Abraham
Apc.El.	Apocalypse of Elijah
Apc.Mos.	Apocalypse of Moses
Apc.Pet.	Apocalypse of Peter
Apoc.Jn.	Apocryphon of John
Asc.Isa.	Ascension of Isaiah
Aug.	Augustine (A.D. 354–430)
Conf.	*Confessiones* (*Confessions*)
De civ.	*De civitate Dei* (*The City of God*)
De cons.	*De consensu evangelistarum* (*On the Agreement of the Evangelists*)
De doct.	*De doctrina christiana* (*On Christian Learning*)
De haer.	*De haeresibus* (*Against Heresies*)
De spir.	*De spiritu et littera* (*On the Spirit and the Letter*)
De trin.	*De trinitate* (*On the Trinity*)
Enchir.	*Enchiridion ad Laurentium sive de fide, spe et caritate* (*Handbook for Laurentius concerning Faith, Hope and Love*)
En. in Pss.	*Enarrationes in Psalmos* (*Discourses on the Psalms*)
Quest.ev.	*Quaestiones evangeliorum* (*Questions on the Gospels*)
Retract.	*Retractationes* (*Retractations*)
Tract. in Ioan.	*Tractatus in Ioannis evangelium* (*Tracts on the Gospel of John*)
Tract. in ep.Ioan.	*Tractatus in epistolam Ioannis I* (*Tracts on the First Epistle of John*)
Barn.	Letter of Barnabas
1, 2 Clem.	1 and 2 Clement
Clem.Alex.	Clement of Alexandria (*c.* 150–213)
Exc.Theod.	*Excerpta ex Theodoto*
Strom.	*Stromateis*
Did.	Didache
Ep.Apost.	Epistola Apostolorum

Ep.Diog.	Epistle to Diognetus
Ep.Laodiceans	Epistle to the Laodiceans
Epiph.	Epiphanius (*c.* 315–403)
. Haer.	*Haereses* (*Refutation of all Heresies* or *Panarion* (Medicine Box))
Euseb.	Eusebius of Caesarea (*c.* 260–*c.* 340)
Hist.Eccl. or *HE*	*Historia Ecclesiastica* (*Ecclesiastical History*)
Praep.ev.	*Praeparatio evangelica* (*Gospel Preparation*)
Gos.Eb.	Gospel of the Ebionites
Gos.Egy.	Gospel of the Egyptians
Gos.Heb.	Gospel of the Hebrews
Gos.Mar.	Gospel of Mary
Gos.Naz.	Gospel of the Nazaraeans
Gos.Pet.	Gospel of Peter
Gos.Phil.	Gospel of Philip
Gos.T.	Gospel of Truth
Gos.Thom.	Gospel of Thomas
Hermas	Hermas (2nd cent.)
Com. or *Man.*	*Commandments* or *Mandates*
Sim.	*Similitudes*
Vis.	*Visions*
	These constitute the three parts of the *Shepherd* of Hermas
Hippol.	Hippolytus (*c.* 170–*c.* 236)
Haer.	*Refutatio omnium haeresium* (*Refutation of all Heresies*)
Ign.	Ignatius of Antioch (*c.* 35–*c.* 110)
Eph.	*Letter to the Ephesians*
Mag.	*Letter to the Magnesians*
Phil.	*Letter to the Philadelphians*
Pol.	*Letter to Polycarp*
Rom.	*Letter to the Romans*
Smy.	*Letter to the Smyrnaeans*
Trall.	*Letter to the Trallians*
Iren.	Irenaeus of Lyons (*c.* 140–202)
Epid.	*Epideixis tou apostolikou kērygmatos* (*Demonstration of Apostolic Preaching*)
Haer.	*Adversus haereses* (*Against the Heresies*)
Justin	Justin Martyr (*c.* 100–*c.* 165)
Apol.I, II	*Apology, I, II*
Dial.	*Dialogue with Trypho*
Mart.Poly.	Martyrdom of Polycarp
Od.Sol.	Odes of Solomon
Origen	Origen (*c.* 185–*c.* 254)
Contra Cels.	*Contra Celsum* (*Against Celsus*)
De prin.	*De principiis* or *Peri archōn* (*On the Principal Doctrines*)
Hex.	*Hexapla*
Hom.	*Homilies*
Schol.	*Scholia*
Pistis Soph.	Pistis Sophia
Polycarp	Polycarp, *To the Philippians*
Prot.	Protevangelium (Book of James)
Soph.J.C.	Sophia Jesus Christi
Tert.	Tertullian (*c.* 160–*c.* 220)
Adv.Herm.	*Adversus Hermogenem* (*Against Hermogenes*)
Adv.Marc.	*Adversus Marcionem* (*Against Marcion*)
Adv.Prax.	*Adversus Praxean* (*Against Praxeas*)
Adv.Val.	*Adversus Valentinianos* (*Against the Valentinians*)
Apol.	*Apologeticum* (*Apology*)
De an.	*De anima* (*On the Soul*)

De car.	*De carne Christi* (*On the Flesh of Christ*)
De praesc.	*De praescriptione haereticorum* (*On the Proscription of Heretics*)

7. Rabbinic Writings

The following are the Tractates of *The Mishnah* (ET, H. Danby, 1933) in the order in which they occur:

First Division: Zeraim (*Seeds*)

Berakoth (Benedictions)
Peah (Gleanings)
Demai (Produce not certainly tithed)
Kilaim (Diverse Kinds)
Shebiith (The Seventh Year)
Terumoth (Heave-offerings)
Maaseroth (Tithes)
Maaser Sheni (Second Tithe)
Hallah (Dough-offering)
Orlah (The Fruit of Young Trees)
Bikkurim (First-fruits)

Second Division: Moed (*Set Feasts*)

Shabbath (The Sabbath)
Erubin (The Fusion of Sabbath Limits)
Pesahim (Feast of the Passover)
Shekalim (The Shekel Dues)
Yoma (The Day of Atonement)
Sukkah (The Feast of Tabernacles)
Yom Tob or Betzah (Festival Days)
Rosh ha-Shanah (Feast of the New Year)
Taanith (Days of Fasting)
Megillah (The Scroll of Esther)
Moed Katan (Mid-Festival Days)
Hagigah (The Festal Offering)

Third Division: Nashim (*Women*)

Yebamoth (Sisters-in-law)
Ketuboth (Marriage Deeds)
Nedarim (Vows)
Nazir (The Nazirite-vow)
Sotah (The Suspected Adulteress)
Gittin (Bills of Divorce)
Kiddushin (Betrothals)

Fourth Division: Nezekin (*Damages*)

Baba Kamma (The First Gate)
Baba Metzia (The Middle Gate)
Baba Bathra (The Last Gate)
Sanhedrin (The Sanhedrin)
Makkoth (Stripes)
Shebuoth (Oaths)
Eduyoth (Testimonies)
Abodah Zarah (Idolatry)
Aboth (The Fathers) or Pirke Aboth (Chapters of the Fathers)
Horayoth (Instructions)

Fifth Division: Kodashim (*Hallowed Things*)

Zebahim (Animal-offerings)
Menahoth (Meal-offerings)
Hullin (Animals killed for food)
Bekhoroth (Firstlings)
Arakhin (Vows of Valuation)
Temurah (The Substituted Offering)
Kerithoth (Extirpation)
Meilah (Sacrilege)
Tamid (The Daily Whole-offering)
Middoth (Measurements)
Kinnim (The Bird-offerings)

Sixth Division: Tohoroth (*Cleannesses*)

Kelim (Vessels)
Oholoth (Tents)
Negaim (Leprosy-signs)
Parah (The Red Heifer)
Tohoroth (Cleannesses)
Mikwaoth (Immersion-pools)
Niddah (The Menstruant)
Makshirin (Predisposers)
Zabim (They that suffer a flux)
Tebul Yom (He that immersed himself that day)
Yadaim (Hands)
Uktzin (Stalks)

Mishnah passages are referred to by chapter and section: e.g. Ber. 4:1. The abbreviations used follow the initial letters of the individual tractates.

Tosefta references are prefixed by T. and followed by a reference to the edition of M. S. Zuckermandel (1880–82), giving page and line: e.g. T. Ber. 4:1.

Referenece to the Babylonian Talmud are to folio and side: e.g. Ber. 59a. References to the Jerusalem Talmud are prefixed by T. J. The numbers refer to chapter, section, folio, column and line: e.g. T.J.Ber. 1:4:27d:6.

Other abbreviations:

Ab.R.N.	Aboth de Rabbi Nathan
Mek.	Mekilta (a Midrash on the Book of Exodus compiled by Rabbi Ishmael, *c.* 60–*c.* 140)
P.B.	Prayer Book (*The Authorized Daily Prayer Book*, ed. S. Singer, many editions)
Pes.K.	Pesikta de-rab Kahana (Midrash of 6th cent. named after a Babylonian–Palestinian scholar of the 3rd cent.)
Pes.R.	Pesikta Rabbati (homiletic midrash)
R.	Rabbah (great; 6th cent. midrash on Pentateuch and Megilloth; e.g. Gen.R., Genesis Rabbah)
Tan.d.b.El.	Tanna debe Eliyyahu (medieval ethical midrash probably from Italy)
Tanh.	Tanhuma (homilies collected by Rabbi Tanhuma, *c.* A.D. 400 and those collected in his name)
Tanh.B.	*Midrasch Tanchuma*, I–III (IV), ed. S. Buber, 1885
Tg.	Targum
Tg.O.	Targum of Onkelos (translation of the Pentateuch into Aram. by Onkelos, a proselyte to Judaism, in the 1st cent. A.D.)
Tg.J.I.	Targum Pseudo-Jonathan (Targum of the Pentateuch representing a Babylonian version of the Palestinian tradition in its most developed form)

See the *Glossary of Technical Terms* for further elucidation of rabbinic terms.

8. Reference Works and Journals

AnBib	*Analecta Biblica*
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, ed. J. B. Pritchard, 1955[2]
Arndt	W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich, *A Greek–English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 1957 (translation and adaptation of W. Bauer, *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur*, 1952[4])
ARW	*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*
ASTI	*Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute*
ATD	*Das Alte Testament Deutsch*, ed. V. Herntrich and A. Weiser
AThANT	*Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments*
AzTh	*Arbeiten zur Theologie*
BA	*The Biblical Archaeologist*
Barth, *CD*	K. Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, 1936– (ET of *Kirchliche Dogmatik*)
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BDB	F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew–English Lexicon of the Old Testament, with an Appendix containing the Biblical Aramaic*, (1907) 1955
BEvTh	*Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie*
BFBS	H KAINH DIAΘHKH (British and Foreign Bible Society), ed. G. D. Kilpatrick, 1958[2]
BFChTh	*Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie*
BHHW	*Biblisch-historisches Handwörterbuch*, ed. B. Reicke and L. Rost, I–III, 1962–
BHTh	*Beiträge zur historischen Theologie*
Bib	*Biblica*

BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*
BKAT	*Biblisches Kommentar: Altes Testament*, ed. M. Noth
BNTC	*Black's New Testament Commentaries*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
BSt	*Biblische Studien*
BuK	*Bibel und Kirche*
BuL	*Bibel und Liturgie*
BWANT	*Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament*
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*
BZAW	*Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
BZNW	*Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
Charles	R. H. Charles, ed., *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, I–II (1913) 1963
CNT	*Commentaires du Nouveau Testament*
DAC	*Dictionary of the Apostolic Church*, I–II, ed. J. Hastings, 1915–18
Dalman	G. H. Dalman
Grammatik	*Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, 1905[2]
AHTTM	*Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud und Midrasch*, (1938) 1967
Jesus	*Jesus–Jeshua*, ET 1929
Words	*The Words of Jesus*, ET 1902
DBT	*Dictionary of Biblical Theology*, ed. X. Leon-Dufour, (1967) 1972[2]
DCG	*Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, I–II, ed. J. Hastings, 1906–8
DTh	*Deutsche Theologie*
EBT	*Encyclopedia of Biblical Theology*, I–III, ed. Johannes B. Bauer, 1970
EKL	*Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon*, I–III, ed. H. Brunotte and O. Weber, 1962[2]
EMZ	*Evangelische Missionszeitschrift*
EQ	*Evangelical Quarterly*
ERE	*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, I–XIII, ed. J. Hastings, 1908–26
EvKomm	*Evangelische Kommentare*
EvTh	*Evangelische Theologie*
ExpT	*Expository Times*
FRLANT	*Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments*
Funk	R. Funk, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (A revised edition of F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, 1954 incorporating supplementary notes by A. Debrunner), 1961
HADOT	G. Fohrer, *Hebrew and Aramaic Dictionary of the Old Testament*, 1973
Hatch–Redpath	E. Hatch and H. A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament*, I–III (1897) 1954
HDB	*A Dictionary of the Bible*, I–V, ed. J. Hastings, 1898–1904
Henn.–Schn.	E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, I–II, ET ed. R. McL. Wilson, *New Testament Apocrypha*, 1963–65
HNT	*Handbuch zum Neuen Testament*
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
IB	*The Interpreter's Bible*, I–XII, ed. G. A. Buttrick *et al.*, 1952–57
ICC	*The International Critical Commentary*, ed. S. R. Driver, A. Plummer, C. A. Briggs, 1895–
IDB	*The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, I–IV, ed. G. A. Buttrick *et al.*, 1962
IKZ	*Internationale Kirchliche Zeitschrift*
JE	*Jewish Encyclopedia*, I–XII, ed. I. Singer *et al.*, 1901–6
JES	*Journal of Ecumenical Studies*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*

JR	*Journal of Religion*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
KEK	*Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament*, founded by H. A. W. Meyer, 1832
KidZ	*Kirche in der Zeit*
Koehler-Baumgartner	L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros*, 1958[2]
KuD	*Kerygma und Dogma*
Lampe	G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, 5 fascicles, 1960–68
Liddell-Scott	H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek–English Lexicon*, revised by H. S. Jones, 1940[9]
LTK	*Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, founded by M. Buchberger, ed. J. Höfer and K. Rahner, I–X, 1964[2]
Mandelkern	S. Mandelkern, *Veteris Testamenti Concordantiae* I–II, (1896) 1955
Metzger	B. M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 1971
ML	C. G. Montefiore and H. Loewe, *A Rabbinic Anthology*, (1938) 1963
MNTC	*The Moffatt New Testament Commentaries*
Moore, *Judaism*	G. F. Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era*, I–III, 1927–30
Morgenthaler	R. Morgenthaler, *Statistik des neutestamentlichen Wortschatzes*, 1958
Moule	C. F. D. Moule, *An Idiom-Book of New Testament Greek*, 1963[2]
Moulton, *Grammar*	J. H. Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, I, 1908; II ed. W. F. Howard, 1929; III by N. Turner, 1963, IV by N. Turner, 1976
Moulton–Milligan	J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament Illustrated from the Papyri and Other Non-Literary Sources*, 1930
MPG	J. P. Migne, ed., *Patrologia Graeca*, 162 vols., 1857–66
MPL	J. P. Migne, ed., *Patrologia Latina*, 221 vols., 1844–64
MPTh	*Monatsschrift für Pastoraltheologie*
NBCR	*The New Bible Commentary Revised*, ed. D. Guthrie and J. A. Motyer
NBD	*The New Bible Dictionary*, ed. J. D. Douglas et al., 1962
NIDCC	*New International Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. J. D. Douglas, 1974
NLC	*The New London Commentary on the New Testament* also called *The New International Commentary on The New Testament*
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
NTAbh	*Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen*
NTD	*Das Neue Testament Deutsch*, ed. P. Althaus and J. Behm, 1932–, P. Althaus and G. Friedrich, 1956–
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
Nu	*Numen*
NWDB	*The New Westminster Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. H. S. Gehman, 1970
OCD	*The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. M. Cary *et al.*, 1949, 1970[2] ed. N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard
ODCC	*The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. F. L. Cross (1957), rev. F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, 1974
OTS	*Oudtestamentische Studiën*
Pauly-Wissowa	A. F. Pauly, G. Wissowa *et al.*, eds., *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 1893–
RAC	*Reallexikon für die Antike und Christentum*, ed. T. Klausner et al., 1941–
RB	*Revue Biblique*
RE	*Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, founded by J. J. Herzog, ed. 3 by A. Hauck, I–XXIV, 1896–1913
RGG[3]	*Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft*, ed. K. Galling et al., I–VII, 1957–65[3]
RHR	*Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*
RSR	*Recherches de Science Religieuse*

Sacramentum Mundi	*Sacramentum Mundi: An Encyclopedia of Theology*, I–VI, ed. K. Rahner *et al.*, 1968–1970
Sacramentum Verbi	American title of *EBT*
SAH	*Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften (phil.-hist. Klasse)*, 1910–
SB	H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, I–VI, 1926–61
SBT	*Studies in Biblical Theology*
Schürer	E. Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, I, 1–2, II. 1–3, 1885–90; Vol. I revised by G. Vermes, F. Miller and M. Black, 1973
SJT	*Scottish Journal of Theology*
SNT	*Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, ed. J. Weiss, 1906–, W. Bousset and W. Heitmüller, 1916–
SThZ	*Schweizerische Theologische Zeitschrift*
StTh	*Studia Theologica*
StudEv	*Studia Evangelica*
StUNT	*Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments*
TB	*Tyndale Bulletin*
TC	*Tyndale Commentary*
TDOT	*Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, I–, ed. G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren, Eng. tr. of *TWAT*, 1974–
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, I–IX ed. G. Kittel, ET by G. W. Bromiley of *TWNT*, 1964–74
THAT	*Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament*, ed. E. Jenni and C. Westermann, I–II, 1971–
ThB	*Theologische Bücherei*
ThBl	*Theologische Blätter*
ThEH	*Theologische Existenz Heute*
TheolStud	*Theologische Studien*
ThF	*Theologische Forschung*
ThG	*Theologische Glaube*
ThQ	*Theologische Quartalschrift*
ThR	*Theologische Rundschau*
ThStKr	*Theologische Studien und Kritiken*
ThV	*Theologia Viatorum*
ThZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift der theologischen Fakultät der Universität Basel*
TLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung*
TNTC	*Tyndale New Testament Commentaries*
TS	*Texts and Studies*
TU	*Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*
Turner, *Insights*	N. Turner, *Grammatical Insights into the New Testament*, 1965
TWAT	*Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament*, ed. G. J. Botterweck,
TWBB	*A Theological Word Book of the Bible*, ed. A. Richardson, 1950
	H. Ringgren *et al.*, 1970–
TWNT	*Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, 1933–74
UBS	The Greek New Testament (United Bible Societies edition), ed. K. Aland *et al.*, 1966
Vermes, *Scrolls*	G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 1962
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
WMANT	*Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament*
WTJ	*Westminster Theological Journal*
WuD	*Wort und Dienst, Jahrbuch der theologischen Hochschule Bethel*
WUNT	*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament*
WZ . . .	*Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift* (followed by the name of the relevant university)

ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
ZEE	*Zeitschrift für evangelische Ethik*
ZEK	*Zeitschrift für evangelisches Kirchenrecht*
ZKT	*Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*
ZPEB	*The Zondervan Pictorial Encyclopedia of the Bible*, ed. M. C. Tenney, I-V, 1975
ZPT	*Zeitschrift für praktische Theologie*
ZRGG	*Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte*
ZSTh	*Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie*
ZTK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*
ZWT	*Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*

9. *General Abbreviations*

(a).	In a bibliography denotes works in English
(b).	In a bibliography denotes works in other languages
acc.	accusative(s)
Accad.	Accadian
act.	active
A.D.	Anno Domini
adj.	adjective
ad loc.	ad locum (Lat.), at the place referred to, on the relevant passage
adv.	adverb
Aleph	Codex Sinaiticus
aor.	aorist
Apc.	Apocalypse
Apoc.	Apocrypha
Arab.	Arabic
Aram.	Aramaic
Arm.	Armenian
art./Art.	article/Article
Ass.	Assyrian
ASV	American Standard Version (1901)
Att.	Attic
AV	Authorized Version (1611)
b.	bar/ben (Aram./Heb.), son of
Bab.	Babylonian
B.C.	before Christ
c.	circa (Lat.), about, approximately
cent.	century
ch(s).	chapter(s)
cl.	classical
Comm(s).	commentary/ies
dat.	dative
ed.	edited by, edition
[Ed.]	Editor, denoting an insertion by the editor
Eng.	English
ET	English translation
et al.	et alii (Lat.), and other persons/things
EV(V)	English Version(s)
f(f).	and the verse(s) following, and the chapter(s) following
fem.	feminine
Festschr.	Festschrift (Ger.), volume in honour of someone
fig.	figurative(ly)
fl.	floruit (Lat.), flourished
frag.	fragment(s)
fut.	future
gen.	genitive
Ger.	German
Gk.	Greek
Heb.	Hebrew
Hel.	Hellenistic
hiph.	hiphil
hith.	hithpael
hoph.	hophal
ibid.	ibidem (Lat.) in the same work/place
idem	the same
i.e.	id est (Lat.), that is
imp.	imperfect
ind.	indicative
infin.	infinitive
intrans.	intransitive(ly)
Introd.	Introduction
JB	The Jerusalem Bible (1966)
Jud.	Judaism
K	Kethib (the Heb. consonantal text)
KJV	King James Version (AV)
Knox	R. A. Knox's translation of the Bible (NT 1945, OT 1949)
Lat.	Latin
lit.	literal(ly)
loc.cit.	loco citato (Lat.), in the place already quoted
LXX	Septuagint(al)
masc.	masculine

mg.	margin
mid.	middle voice
Moffatt	J. Moffatt *A New Translation of the Bible*, 1936²
MS(S)	manuscript(s)
MT	Masoretic text
n(n).	note(s)
NEB	The New English Bible (NT 1961, OT 1970)
neut.	neuter
niph.	niphal
NT	New Testament
obj.	object
op.cit.	opere citato (Lat.), in the work quoted
OT	Old Testament
par.	parallel, and parallel(s)
part.	participle
pass.	passive
Pent.	Pentateuch
perf.	perfect
Phillips	J. B. Phillips, *The New Testament in Modern English*, 1958
plur.	plural
plup.	pluperfect
prep.	preposition
pres.	present
pron.	pronoun
pseud.	pseudonym or pseudonymous
Q	Qere (the rabbinic reading of the OT text). In gospel criticism Q also stands for the German *Quelle*, or source, thought to be behind the sayings of Jesus common to Matt. and Lk.
R.	Rabbi
Rab.	Rabbinic
ref(f).	reference(s)
reflex.	reflexive(ly)
RSV	Revised Standard Version (1952)
RV	Revised Version (NT 1881, OT 1885)
sc.	scilicet (Lat.), namely
sect./§	section
Sem.	Semitic
seq.	sequens (Lat.) and the following verse(s) or chapters
Ser.	Series
sing.	singular
sub.	substantive, noun
subj.	subjunctive
Suppl.	Supplementary volume
s.v.	sub verbo (Lat.), under the relevant word
Symm.	Symmachus' Gk. translation of the OT
TEV	Today's English Version, 1966
Theod.	Theodotion's Gk. translation of the OT
[Tr.]	translator's note follows
TR	Textus Receptus
trans.	transitive(ly)
tx.	text
v.	von (in Ger. names)
v(v).	verse(s)
vid.inf.	vide infra (Lat.), see below
vid.sup.	vide supra (Lat.), see above
viz.	videlicet (Lat.), namely
v.l.	varia lectio (Lat.), variant reading
voc.	vocative
vol.	volume
vs.	versus (Lat.), against
Vulg.	Vulgate
Weymouth	R. F. Weymouth, *The New Testament in Modern Speech*, 1903
†	Hapaxlegomenon, the sole instance of a term
→	See article indicated
*	Form of word conjectured and not found in any extant literature

Transliteration

Hebrew, Greek and Arabic words have been transliterated in accordance with the following system.

Hebrew

א = '	ד = d	י = y	ס = s	ר = r
ב = b	ה = h	כ = k	ע = ‘	שׁ = ś
ב = b	ו = w	כ = k	פ = p	שׁ = š
ג = g	ז = z	ל = l	פ = p	ת = t
ג = g	ח = ḥ	מ = m	צ = ṣ	ת = t
ד = d	ט = ṭ	נ = n	ק = q	

Long Vowels		Short Vowels	Very Short Vowels
(ה)◌ = â (h)	◌ = ā	◌ = a	◌ = ᵃ
◌ = ê	◌ = ē	◌ = e	◌ = ᵉ
◌ = î		◌ = i	◌ = ᵉ (*if vocal*)
◌ = ô	◌ = ō	◌ = o	◌ = ᵒ
◌ = û		◌ = u	

Greek

α = a	κ = k	τ = t	γγ = ng
β = b	λ = l	υ = y	γκ = nk
γ = g	μ = m	φ = ph	γξ = nx
δ = d	ν = n	χ = ch	γχ = nch
ε = e	ξ = x	ψ = ps	αυ = au
ζ = z	ο = o	ω = ō	ευ = eu
η = ē	π = p	ῥ = rh	ου = ou
θ = th	ρ = r	' = h	υι = yi
ι = i	σ, ς = s		

Arabic

ا = '	خ = ḫ	ش = š	غ = ġ	ن = n
ب = b	د = d	ص = ṣ	ف = f	ه = h
ت = t	ذ = ḏ	ض = ḍ	ق = ḳ	و = w
ث = t	ر = r	ط = ṭ	ك = k	ى = y
ج = ǧ	ز = z	ظ = ẓ	ل = l	ة = t
ح = h	س = s	ع = ‘	م = m	

Glossary of Technical Terms

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Supplementary material by **Colin Brown**

→ in this Glossary indicates a cross-reference to another entry in the Glossary.

Allegory (Gk. *allēgoria;* Lat. *allegoria*, allegory, lit. speaking otherwise than one seems to speak). The figurative representation or interpretation of one thing under the image of another. In theology it denotes a method of interpreting Scripture which sees in the text a meaning other than the apparently intended or historical one. The technique is found in pre-Christian literature, and was practised by the Alexandrian Jew, Philo (*c.* 20 B.C.–*c.* A.D. 50) to interpret the Law in terms of the Hellenistic philosophy of his day. It was taken over by the Christian Platonic theologians of Alexandria, Clement (*c.* 150–*c.* 215) and Origen (*c.* 185–*c.* 254). The latter sought to follow a threefold method of interpretation, seeing in most passages a literal, a moral and a spiritual meaning. Thus the story of the blind men at Jericho (Matt. 20:29–34) is not only literally true. According to the moral meaning, our eyes must be likewise opened by the Word of God and we must come out of our Jericho. According to the spiritual meaning, the two beggars represent Israel and Judah, whilst Jericho is the world. Traces of allegory have been detected in the NT in Gal. 4:21–26; 1 Cor. 9:8 ff.; and Heb. 7:2, though some regard these passages as examples of → typology. The validity of any instance of allegory or typology turns on whether there are genuine similarities between the passage in its original intention and its spiritual interpretation. Otherwise allegorical interpretation reads into the text meanings which cannot be supported, at the expense of the intended meaning.

Amoraim → Tannaim

Analogy (Gk. *analogia*, right relationship, proportion, agreement; Lat. *analogia*, resemblance, agreement). In general analogy denotes a similitude of relations. But in theology it is found with a variety of meanings. (1) In logic it means reasoning from parallel cases. (2) Thomas Aquinas (*c.* 1225–74) held that words applied to God have an analogical meaning. They cannot be applied strictly literally to God, for this would make God identical with man. Thus, when we call God "our Father", he is not a human being who lives in time and space and who has brought children into the world by natural procreation. But there is an analogy between human fatherhood at its best and God's fatherhood, in that there is a resemblance between the two. Without analogy it would be impossible to speak about God. (3) Philosophers of history use the word analogy in a quite different sense. Following Ernst Troeltsch (1865–1923), they use analogy as a criterion for understanding and interpreting accounts of the past. Troeltsch himself believed that before we can accept an account as historical we must be able to show that it bears analogies to events as we experience them. But others have objected that this is too restrictive, as it predetermines what is possible by the historian's own experience of life. They maintain that at best analogy can only help to show what features are common to the account and

the historian's experience of life and what are not. (4) In Rom. 12:6 the expression *kata tēn analogian tēs pisteōs* means "in agreement with (or 'in proportion to') the faith." The context indicates that Paul is speaking about the use of gifts. (5) In reformed theology "the analogy of faith" is used to indicate the procedure of interpreting difficult passages of scripture in the light of passages where the meaning is clear.

Anthropomorphism (Gk. *anthrōpos*, man; *morphē*, form). The metaphorical use of human characteristics in speaking about God. The entire ancient world including the Bible represented deity in human terms (e.g. "the Lord smelled the pleasing odor", Gn. 8:21; the earth is God's "footstool", Matt. 5:35). The anthropomorphic way of speaking subsequently declined under the influence of abstract philosophical thought. But → Analogy (2).

Apocalyptic (Gk. *apokalypsis*, uncovering, disclosure, revelation) is used of revelations of the end of the world which are mostly bound up with a particular interpretation of the world's destiny and the cosmic history of mankind. An apocalypse is a work which contains "revelations" about the end of the world and its portents. The Book of Daniel and the Isaiah Apocalypse (chs. 24–27) in the OT and the Revelation to John in the NT are classed as apocalypses. There were numerous apocalypses in Judaism about the time of Jesus. The most important were the Books of Enoch, 4 Ezra and Baruch (→ Pseudepigrapha).

The term apocalyptist is given to writers of apocalyptic writings which are usually pseudonymous. Such authors lay claim to hidden knowledge of the end of the world through revelation which enables them to pronounce on contemporary questions. The adj. "apocalyptic" is applied to thought and speculations on the theme of the revelation of the end of the world.

→ Chiliasm, → Eschatology, → Parousia

Apocrypha (Gk. *apokryptō*, hide, conceal; *apokryphos*, pl. *-a*, hidden, secret). Originally obscure, secret writings which were not read aloud in public worship. Later, as the → canon became more fixed, the term apocrypha acquired a deprecatory sense, denoting works which were rejected as uncanonical. The use of the adj. "apocryphal" to denote the books now so designated (mainly, the books in the → LXX but not the → MT) originated with Jerome (AD *c.* 342–420; *Prologus Galeatus* to the Books of Samuel). These are the books which, as he says in his Prologue to the Books of Solomon, the church reads "for the edification of the people, not to confirm the authority of ecclesiastical dogmas." In common with Luther, Article VI of the Church of England set the apocryphal books of the OT on a lower level than Scripture, insisting that no doctrine should be founded on them, but allowed that they were profitable to read.

The OT apocrypha were mainly written in Gk. Although they occur in the → LXX and the → Vulgate, they were never part of the canonical Heb. OT. They include: 1 Esdras, 1–3 Maccabees, Tobit, Judith, Sirach, Wisdom of Solomon, 1 Baruch, Epistle of Jeremy, Prayer of Manasses, Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Children, Bel and the Dragon, and additions to Esther. → Pseudepigrapha. Some of the apocryphal books were originally written in Heb.: 1 Macc., Sirach, Tobit (of which both Heb. and Aram. fragments have been found at Qumran), and most probably the Song of the Three Children.

NT apocrypha are early Christian writings which in their titles at least resemble those of the canonical NT. They include Gospels, Acts, Epistles and Apocalypses which sometimes claim authority for themselves by falsely claiming apostolic authorship. Some of the Gospels, like those according to the Hebrews, the Egyptians and that of Peter may occasionally embody trustworthy traditions. But those of Philip, Thomas, Marcion and the Twelve Apostles were intended to support heretical, especially → Gnostic views.

Another group sought to satisfy curiosity about aspects of Jesus' life, especially his childhood and passion. The most important apocryphal Acts are those of Peter, Paul, Andrew, John and Thomas which are all probably late second century. The Epistles include one to the Laodiceans attributed to Paul and a correspondence between Seneca and Paul. The writings of the → Apostolic Fathers do not properly belong to the Apocrypha.

Apology (Gk. *apologeomai*, speak in defence, answer; *apologia*, speech in defence, answer). The word is used in 1 Pet. 3:15 of the defence or reply which the Christian should be ready to give of his hope to outsiders and opponents. Whereas the word apology denotes a particular defence of the Christian faith, apologetics is the working out and presentation of intellectual, scientific and philosophical arguments which may underlie such an apology. In the early church Apologists like Aristides, Justin Martyr, Tertullian and Origen raised the apology to the status of a distinct genre of theological literature.

Apostasy (Gk. *apostasia*, rebellion, abandonment, apostasy; from *apo*, away, and *histēmi*, stand). The deliberate repudiation of belief once formerly held. An apostate is one who thus abandons Christianity. In the post-NT church apostasy, murder and adultery were regarded for a time as unpardonable sins. Later it become pardonable only after great (in some cases, lifelong) public penance.

Apostolic Fathers. A title given since the 17th century to the writers of the age immediately after the NT period. They include Clement of Rome, Ignatius of Antioch, Hermas, Polycarp, Papias, and the authors of the Epistle of Barnabas, the Epistle to Diognetus, 2 Clement and the Didache.

Aramaic. The Semitic language which was in common use in Palestine in the time of Jesus and which he himself almost certainly spoke. It was a sister-language of Hebrew which in later OT times had increasingly ousted classical Hebrew as the principal spoken language of the people. A few sections of the OT are written in Aramaic (Ezra 4:8–6:18; 7:12–26; Dan. 2:4–7:28; Jer. 10:11). Hebrew became increasingly the language of the learned, and to make the Scriptures accessible to ordinary people Aramaic paraphrases known as → Targums were produced.

Authenticity. The distinction between authentic and inauthentic is used in literary criticism to distinguish original parts of a passage or source from later additions and in discussion of whether a writing is to be attributed to the author whose name is associated with it. It does not necessarily imply a value-judgment on the historicity or general worth of the work concerned.

Baraitha (Aram. lit., outside, external, i.e. outside the → Mishnah). A → tannaitic tradition not incorporated in the Mishnah, or a collection of such.

Canon (Gk. *kanōn*, measuring rod, bar, standard, rule). The term is found in Gal. 6:16 for "rule", and in the 2nd century the expression "rule of faith" (Lat. *regula fidei*) came to denote the standard of revealed truth, the basic articles of faith constituting the essential Christian confession.

The words canon and canonical which had already been used by Origen (*c.* 185–*c.*254) came into general use in the 4th century with the technical meaning of the books which were received by the church as the rule of the Christian faith. The last of the books belonging to the OT canon was written several centuries B.C., but for pious Jews the question of the canon was closed about the end of the 1st century A.D. Many scholars hold that at the Synod of Jamnia (*c.* A.D. 100), a city which had been the seat of the great Sanhedrin

since the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, the content of the OT was discussed and, as the → Mishnah may suggest, the extent of the canon finally settled. However, other scholars question whether there was actually such a synod. The core of the NT canon (the Four Gospels and the 13 Epistles of Paul) had come to be accepted in the church *c.* 130. But doubts persisted in some quarters about some books especially Hebrews, Jude, 2 and 3 John and Revelation, whilst some accounts and collections of books included the Epistle of Barnabas and the Shepherd of Hermas (→ Apostolic Fathers). Athanasius' Festal Letter for 367 is the earliest exact witness to the canon as we have it today. The canon was recognized by synods at Hippo and Carthage in the late 4th century. But there was no general council of the early church which authorized the canon.

Captivity. After the death of Solomon (931 B.C.) the kingdom was divided into two, Israel consisting of the northern tribes with important shrines at Dan and Bethel and the capital subsequently at Samaria, and Judah consisting of the southern tribes of Judah and Benjamin with Jerusalem as the capital. The kingdom of Israel came to an end in the 8th century B.C., when Samaria fell to the Assyrians in 722. The Assyrians took large numbers of the population captive and replaced them by immigrants. → Samaritans. The kingdom of Judah fell to the invading Babylonians in the 6th century B.C. who now dominated the Middle East. Jerusalem fell in 597 and was destroyed in 581. Large deportations of the population followed. Following the fall of Babylon to Cyrus of Persia (539–530), Jews were encouraged to return from exile. But the monarchy was not restored. The final collapse of Israel is recorded in 2 Ki. 15–17 and that of Judah in 2 Ki. 23–25 (cf. 2 Chron. 36). Jeremiah and Ezekiel prophesied during the latter period, and Daniel is set against the exilic background. Isa. 40–66 consists of prophesies from an exilic or post-exilic standpoint. Ezra and Nehemiah describe events of the return. The prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah belong to this period.

Casuistry (Lat. *casus*, fall, occasion, mishap, case). Originally a term of disparagement, coined in the 18th century. In law and ethics it signifies the attempt to resolve, formulate and judge possible courses of action in accordance with a predetermined system. If one believes that one possesses a comprehensive system of ethical values, it is possible to aim at regulative prescriptions for every action. Thus freedom of personal, responsible action is extensively limited. Religious casuistry is worked out with particular thoroughness in Jewish and Catholic moral theology.

Catholic Epistles (Gk. *katholikos*, general, universal). The seven general NT letters which are called not after their addressees but after their authors: 1 and 2 Peter, 1, 2 and 3 John, James and Jude. In contrast with the letters of Paul, the Catholic letters do not quite so presuppose concrete situations in particular churches. Their purpose is to give general instruction, and they are addressed to a wider circle of readers.

Charisma (Gk. *charis*, grace, favour; *charisma*, gift, a favour bestowed). A gift given by grace, an endowment bestowed by the Holy Spirit. A charismatic is a person who has or claims to have special, spiritual gifts. The adj. charismatic is applied to actions or behaviour performed in the power of a special, divine enabling.

Chiliasm (Gk. *chilioi*, a thousand). The theory based upon a literal interpretation of Rev. 20:1–5 that Christ will return to earth and reign for a thousand years before the final consummation of all things. A chiliast is one who holds this view. These terms tend to be applied to movements and people in the early church. In more recent times this belief has been denoted by the Lat. word *millennium*, meaning a period of 1000 years. Three rival schools of interpretation have emerged. *Premillennialists* hold that the second coming

of Christ will precede the millennium. Some go so far as to say that various OT prophecies about the restoration of Israel and the temple will be fulfilled in the millennial age. *Postmillennialists* hold that the return of Christ will follow the millennium which may be expected during or at the close of the gospel age. *Amillennialists* hold that the period of a thousand years mentioned in Rev. 20 is to be taken symbolically and that it applies to the present gospel age. Satan deceives the nations no more in that the gospel is now proclaimed to the nations. He is bound, in the sense that the strong man of Matt. 12:29 and Mk. 3:27 is bound, by Christ, and his goods, those held captive by him, are now being plundered. Whereas others see various dispensations and more than one resurrection, amillennialists hold that the various → eschatological events of the → parousia will come together.

Christology (Gk. *chriō*, anoint; *christos*, anointed one, Christ). (1) As an adj. used as a noun, the anointed one, the Christ, the Messiah. The Gk. word *christos* is a translation of the Heb. word *māšîaḥ*, Messiah or anointed one. (2) Christ is more properly a title rather than a name. Christology originally meant the doctrine of the person and work of Christ. Later a distinction was drawn between christology as the doctrine of the person of Christ and → soteriology as the doctrine of the redemptive work of Christ. Sometimes the distinction is drawn between Christocentric (centred on Christ) and christological (pertaining to Christ or the concept of the Christ or Messiah).

Chronicler. The name given to the anonymous author or group of writers who composed 1 and 2 Chronicles. In the Heb. canon they form a single book. The division into two goes back to the → LXX where they are treated as a sequel to Samuel and Kings. Originally the work formed a continuous whole with the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. The term Chronicles was introduced by Jerome (*c.* 342–420). The first part of the work (1 and 2 Chron.) depicts Israel's history from Adam to the Exile. In the centre stand Kings David and Solomon. The second part (Ezra and Nehemiah) gives an account of the return of the Jews from exile to Jerusalem, the rebuilding of the Temple and city walls, and the public reading of the Law. In contrast to the → Deuteronomic standpoint, the Chronicler (like the → priestly tradition) is particularly interested in cultic institutions and ritual. He sees the commencement of Temple worship as the focal point of Israel's history, and sees the cult with its worship of God, feasts, priests and singers as the underlying support of Israel's existence. The writings are dated between the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C.
→ Captivity, → Deuteronomy, → Priestly Writing

Codex (pl. codices; Lat. *codex* or *caudex*, tree trunk, book). The term was used of the wooden leaves, smeared over with wax for writing. It later came to be used for books of leaves laid over one another, as distinct from *volumina* which were rolls or scrolls. The Codex Sinaiticus and the Codex Vaticanus are important manuscripts of the NT.

Conquest. The term refers to the conquest of Canaan (*c.* 1240 B.C.) which followed Israel's exodus from Egypt under the leadership of Moses and the period of wanderings in the Sinai desert. Gen. 12:1–3 tells of the original promise to Abraham. The account of the entry into Canaan, the subjugation of the opposing tribes and early life under judges is given in the books of Joshua, Judges and Ruth. 1 Samuel tells of the appointment of the first king of Israel, Saul.

Cosmology, Cosmogony, Cosmic (Gk. *kosmos*, world). Cosmology is that branch of → metaphysics which deals with the universe as an ordered whole. A cosmogony is a doctrine or myth about the origin of the universe. Cosmic means pertaining to the universe, esp. as distinguished from the earth.

Dead Sea Scrolls → Qumran.

Decalogue (Gk. *deka*, ten; *logos*, word; lit. the ten words). The Ten Commandments (Exod. 20:1–17; cf. 34; Deut. 5:6–21.

Demythologization (Ger. *Entmythologisierung*). In the 19th century several writers, but above all D. F. Strauss in his *Life of Jesus* (1835–6), claimed the presence of mythical elements in the NT. Liberal writers were inclined to dismiss certain stories as myth but insisted that these could be detached from the main historical outline. In the 20th century, however, R. Bultmann (1884–) has argued that the whole thought-world of the NT is mythological with its alleged three-decker universe of heaven, earth and hell, angels and demons, heavenly redeemer, sacramentalism etc. Bultmann holds that these myths are drawn from Jewish → apocalyptic and → gnosticism. As such, they are obsolete and offensive to modern man. What is therefore needed is to demythologize the Christian → kerygma, not to remove all offence but to remove the obsolete stumbling-blocks so as to allow the real offence of the preaching of the cross and resurrection to make its full impact. For it is the latter which enables man to be liberated from the life of the flesh and give him the possibility of understanding his existence.

The debate provoked by Bultmann has been one of the most violent of modern times. Some of his followers accuse him of not going far enough by refusing to demythologize the concepts of God, the cross and the resurrection. Opponents have argued that he dissolves the gospel in → existentialist philosophy, that his reading into the NT of gnostic themes is anachronistic, and that he is mistaken in his analysis of myth.
→ Existentialism

Determinism (Lat. *determinare*, enclose within boundaries, limit, prescribe, determine). In general, the doctrine that every event is causally produced by impersonal, material factors or by some superhuman power. In → ethics this means that the human will is never free to make its own choices, but is always controlled by external or internal factors. The opposite is indeterminism. The case for free will rests on the fact that it is a presupposition of our everyday thinking and acting. Such freedom is never unlimited, but is always circumscribed by environment, past acts of the agent, and personal traits. Nevertheless, upholders of free will claim that it would be senseless to talk of responsibility and ethics if there is no range of freedom with the possibility to think or act otherwise.

Deutero-Isaiah (Gk. *deuteros*, second). The designation given by scholars who separate Isa. 40–55 from the previous chapters and attribute them to an anonymous author who lived during the exile (→ Captivity). He is distinguished from Isaiah of Jerusalem who lived during the 8th century BC and was called to prophetic office in the year of King Uzziah's death (739; Isa. 6:1). Deutero-Isaiah is thought to have lived in the latter part of the Babylonian exile (597/587–538 B.C.) and was a prophet proclaiming a message of salvation between 550 and 538. At the time the Babylonian empire was in decline and faced collapse before the Persian King Cyrus who was awaited as the deliverer of suppressed, captive peoples. Deutero-Isaiah proclaimed the imminent return of the exiles of Israel as the beginning of the era of salvation which would embrace the whole creation.

Some scholars treat the last eleven chapters of Isaiah as a separate work (Isa. 56–66), holding that they were written by a later prophet. They are designated Trito-Isaiah (Third Isaiah), even when they are not held to be the work of a single author.

Deuteronomy (Gk. *deuteros*, second; *nomos*, law). The title given to the fifth book of the → Pentateuch which arose through the → LXX mistranslation of Deut. 17:18 of the Heb. *mišnê hattôrâh* ("copy of the law") by the Gk. *deuteronomion* ("repetition of the law").

Deuteronomy takes the form of an address by Moses to the Israelites before the crossing of the Jordan and the → conquest of Canaan. It is regarded by some scholars to have received its final form about the time of Josiah's reform of Israelite worship (*c.* 621 B.C.; cf. 2 Ki. 22 f.). Scholars who regard the book as the work of an unknown group of authors refer to the latter as the Deuteronomic School. Scholars have discerned a distinctive style and diction in Deut. Its stress is laid on the fact that → Yahweh is the only true God. His love for his chosen people is unbounded. Hence, Israel must love him in return. The work is presented as an authentic compilation of the beliefs and statutes of Israel to which nothing should be added or taken away. It insists that Yahweh is to be worshipped only in one place, the sanctuary.

The term Deuteronomic is applied not only to the theological outlook of the book Deut., but to the whole historical work from Deut. 1:1 to 2 Ki. 25:30, covering the time of Moses, the → conquest, the age of the judges to the end of the monarchy. The final author of this historical material is sometimes called the Deuteronomist. He is envisaged by critical scholars to have collected and sifted ancient sources, interpreting this material by inserting speeches and observations. He is thought to have composed the work during the exile in the shadow of the catastrophe of 587 B.C. Consequently, he presents the history of Israel as the story of the progressive turning away from Yahweh.

The distinction is sometimes drawn between Deuteronomic (pertaining to the book Deut. and its outlook) and Deuteronomistic (denoting the general outlook on history associated with these writings with their strong Zion theology).
→ Chronicler, → Captivity

Deutero-Pauline Writings (Gk. *deuteros*, second). A collective term applied to those letters which are generally attributed to Paul but which some scholars attribute to unknown authors who desired to make use of the name and authority of the apostle. The letters in question are Ephesians, Colossians and 2 Thessalonians, but not the → Pastoral Epistles.

Diaspora, Dispersion (Gk. *diaspeirō*, scatter; *diaspora*, scattering, dispersion). The dispersion of the Jews which had its beginnings in the deportations by the Assyrians and Babylonians (722 and 597 B.C.; → Captivity). It later spread throughout the Roman Empire to Egypt, Asia Minor, Greece and Italy. The term refers generally to Jews living outside Palestine. Some of the first Christian preaching was addressed to them (cf. Jas. 1:1 and 1 Pet. 1:1 which may refer to → Jewish Christians).
→ Septuagint

Didache (Gk. *didachē*, teaching). (1) The instructional element in early Christian teaching, as contrasted with → kerygma or preaching. (2) The title of an early Christian manual on morals and practice dating from the 2nd century.

Docetism (Gk. *dokeō*, seem, appear). The doctrine that Christ had only an apparent body during his earthly life and consequently only appeared to suffer on the cross. Docetism denies the historical reality of Jesus' life and regards the physical body, like matter, as contrary to the spirit (→ Dualism). In the early church docetism was maintained chiefly by → Gnostics and theologians influenced by them (Valentinus, Marcion in the 2nd century). But it was soon rejected as false teaching.
→ Gnosis, Gnosticism

Dualism (Lat. *dualis*, containing two; *duo*, two). Any doctrine which asserts that there are two ultimate powers or principles. The → Gnostics were dualists in that they held that matter and spirit were two ultimately opposing realms. Dualism may also denote the doctrine that good and evil are the product of two equally ultimate first causes.

Ecclesiology (Gk. *ekklēsia*, assembly, church). (1) The doctrine of the church and its structure; (2) the science which treats matters connected with churches, esp. architecture and decoration.

Ellipsis (Gk. *elleipsis*, falling short, defect, ellipse). In grammar and rhetoric the omission of a word or thought necessary to complete the construction or sense of an expression. The latter must be determined from the context. An elliptical expression is one which omits a thought or word in this way.

Elohist, "E" (Heb. *'ĕlōhîm*, God; it is a plu. form and can also mean gods). Elohist is the name given to the author of one of the conjectured sources of the → Pentateuch, whose style is thought to be characterized by his extensive use of the name Elohim for God together with the occasional use of → Yahweh, but only after Exod. 3:14 f. The so-called Elohistic source (or "E") is thought to begin with Gen. 15 and describes the → patriarchal period and the time of Moses up to the entry into Canaan, but without the prologue depicting pre-history. The passages assigned to "E" are characterized by features common to the 8th century prophets which has led to the conjecture of an 8th century date.

Empiricism (Gk. *empeiria*, experience; *empeirikos*, experienced). A British philosophical movement of the 17th and 18th centuries. In contrast to the rationalists who sought to erect philosophical systems by means of reasoning on the basis of allegedly self-evident truths, the empiricists stressed the role of experience in knowledge. They claimed that we have no ideas at all other than those derived from experience which comes to us through our senses. The leading figures in the movement were John Locke (1632–1704), George Berkeley (1685–1753) and David Hume (1711–76).

The adj. empirical denotes that which is known by the senses. Thus, empirical evidence is evidence which may be perceived by the senses.

Eschatology (Gk. *eschaton*, last, end; *logos*, word). Traditionally the doctrine of the last things: the end of the world, the second coming of Christ, the resurrection of the dead, the last judgment, and the creation of the new heaven and earth. The term itself first came to be used extensively in the 19th century, but the underlying ideas are connected with → apocalyptic. In contemporary theology the term is frequently used with a somewhat different meaning. In contrast to apocalyptic with its theme of unveiling the hidden events of the end of the world and the last things, stress is laid on present hope, expectations and promises about what may happen. In its widest sense eschatology can mean simply being open to the future, being prepared for what may befall us. C. H. Dodd (1884–1973) spoke of a realized eschatology, claiming that certain passages in Paul, Jn. and Heb. transform the literalism of earlier apocalyptic imagery and stress the new and present realities wrought by Christ. Statements about the end of history already accomplished by Christ, the future hope of Christians and the end of the world may all be termed eschatological, according to the broader or narrower concept of eschatology.

Ethics (Gk. *ēthos*, character). The science of morals. It involves: (1) questions of what is right and wrong, good and bad, or how we ought to behave (normative ethics); (2) the study of the answers given to such questions by particular societies (descriptive or comparative ethics); (3) the investigation of the nature or logical character of moral concepts in the light of the meaning and use of moral language (moral philosophy or philosophical ethics).

Etymology (Gk. *etymos*, true; *logos*, word, account). The branch of linguistics which investigates the origin and derivation of words, or the origin or derivation itself of a word.

Until the advent of modern philology the derivation of words was often a matter of guesswork. The Ger. term *Volksetymologie*, or popular etymology, denotes an etymological explanation which has arisen through popular misunderstanding. Recent discussions have stressed that in determining the meaning of a word, usage and context play as great, if not a more important, part than etymology. Moreover, the derivation and meaning of a word at one stage in its history may not be decisive for its meaning at another stage.

Exegesis (Gk. *exēgeomai*, explain, interpret, tell, report, describe; *exēgēsis*, narrative, description, explanation, interpretation). Exegesis means interpretative explanation; an exegete is one who so explains. The task of exegesis is to explain the meaning of a text as the author would have it understood. The theological exegesis of biblical texts follows the general, scholarly method of interpreting ancient texts. It involves the following disciplines: → textual criticism, translation, → literary criticism, the investigation of literary → genre, → form-criticism, the comparative study of literature and religions, word studies, investigation of historical background, → redaction criticism. Exegesis is not confined to the explanation of words. Its goal is to discern the subject-matter lying behind the words. → Hermeneutics, → Historical Criticism

Exile → Captivity

Existentialism (Ger. *Existenzphilosophie*). A philosophy which sprang up in Germany after the First World War and subsequently had considerable influence on European philosophy and Protestant theology especially in the realm of → hermeneutics. Its beginnings may be traced back to the rejection of → metaphysics by Kierkegaard and Nietzsche in the 19th century. Existentialism endeavours to explore the structure and meaning of human existence without metaphysical presuppositions. R. Bultmann's → demythologized restatement of the Christian → kerygma consciously draws upon the existentialism of Martin Heidegger (1889–). He regards the biblical picture of fallen man, redeemed by the atoning sacrifice of the Son of God on the cross as mythological, in so far as it states the Christian message in the imagery of the mythological thought-world. In his restatement he sees sin as the inauthentic existence of man striving to secure his well being by grasping after the tangible. Authentic human existence is to be attained by faith, i.e. by response to the preaching of the cross and resurrection which liberates man from the pursuit of the tangible and enables him to be open to the future.

Exodus (Gk. *exodos*, going out). The second book of the → Pentateuch which derives its name from the → LXX description of the chief event recorded in it, Israel's going out of Egypt. The event has been dated *c.* 1280 B.C., and the route of the exodus has been the subject of considerable investigation. Since the 19th century many OT scholars see behind the book various sources which they identify as → J, → E, and → P.

Form-Criticism (Ger. *Formgeschichte*, lit. form history). The exegetical technique of studying literary forms in the Bible, in order to determine characteristic features and regular patterns in passages which distinguish them from other forms of literature. It concentrates on the smallest literary units in the biblical texts (e.g. parables, miracle stories, sayings of Jesus), genres or forms which received their initial form through oral tradition before they were incorporated into larger literary contexts, and perhaps thereby modified. Form-criticism investigates literary → genres, the historical context (→ Sitz im Leben), the processes of oral transmission and editorial adaptation.
→ Logia, → Redaction, → Tradition

Gemara (*gēmārā'* from an Aram. root meaning repeat or a Heb. root meaning complete). The discussions of the rabbis in Palestine and Babylonia on the → Mishnah which together with the Mishnah constitute the → Talmud.

Gemeinde (Ger. community). The term is used in Ger. for the community or local church as distinct from the church at large (Ger. *Kirche*). *Gemeindetheologie* (lit. community theology) has become a technical term to designate the particular theology or theological emphases of a local church.

Genre (cf. Ger. *Gattung*). A literary species characterized by identifying features common to its constituent passages. In → form-criticism scholars proceed on the assumption that many biblical texts were not the work of a single author, but consist of units which were initially handed on by oral tradition. Certain regular patterns or rules have been discerned. It is important for understanding a genre to examine its historical context (→ Sitz im Leben), i.e. the situation which it presupposes, the speaker, his intentions, hearers, and the entire character of the text.

The following are important genres in the OT: songs or psalms, proverbs, narratives, legends, priestly oracles, cultic rites and formulas, divine utterances, sermons and credal formulas. In the NT there are sayings of Jesus (→ Logia), parables, miracle stories, passion narratives, credal formulas, Christ-hymns and sermons.

Gentile (Lat. *gentilis* from *gens*, nation). A non-Jew. The expression arose from the Jewish practice of speaking of non-Jews as the nations (Heb. *gôyîm*) which were outside the covenant relationship between Yahweh and Israel.

Geschichte → Historie

Gnosticism (Gk. *gnōsis*, knowledge). The term given to various religious movements which make redemption and man's liberation dependent upon knowledge of the nature, origin and goal of the world and human life as well as of the heavenly regions. Gnosticism was a → syncretistic form of religion which drew elements from Judaism, eastern religions and Christianity, it flourished in the 2nd century A.D. and continued until the 4th century. Some scholars, especially in Germany, trace its beginnings to the 1st century B.C. and claim to see its influence on the church and Christian thought in NT times. Others, however, think that it is anachronistic to speak of gnosticism proper in the NT period.

The gnostic belief system included a theological → dualism of creation and redemption, theories of the world's emanation from the divine spirit, insistence upon the need of liberation from the material world, and the spirit's need to return to its original, heavenly home, the physical efficacy of the sacraments as the medicines of immortality (*pharmaka athanasias*). Christian gnosticism tried to detach faith from its historical basis by denying the reality of the incarnation of Christ (→ docetism), and relaxed the necessity of obedience. Adherents to gnosticism are termed gnostics.

Haggadah (Heb. *haggaḏâh*, narrative). Jewish biblical interpretation of a non-legal or narrative character which was directed at furthering inner piety and religious devotion. As such, it supplemented → Halachah.

Hagiographa (Gk. *hagiographa*, holy writings). The Writings, the third division of the Heb. Bible. In contrast with the other two (the Law and the Prophets), it is a miscellaneous collection of eleven books. In the printed Heb. Bible they occur in the following order: (1) three large poetic books (Pss., Prov., Ruth); (2) five scrolls (Megilloth) which were

read in the synagogues at the great feasts (Song of Solomon, Ruth, Lam., Eccl., Est.); (3) a book of late prophecy (Dan.); (4) two books of post-exilic history (Ezr.-Neh. and Chr.). English versions which follow the Gk. set the books in a different order and do not preserve this division as a unity.

Halachah (Heb. *hᵃlāḵâh*, that by which one walks, cf. Exod. 18:20). The body of post-biblical Jewish legal decisions based on the Law. It arose out of the pious wish to apply the Law to every aspect of life. At first it was handed on orally. It gave rise to the → Mishnah and forms the bulk of the → Talmud, the remainder consisting of → Haggadah.

Hasmonaean → Maccabees

Haustafel (Ger., pl. -n, lit. household table). A list of ethical injunctions. The word has now become a technical term in NT criticism. It originated from Luther's Ger. tr. of the Bible which headed two such lists (Eph. 5:21–6:9; Col. 3:18–4:11) by the word. The term *Gemeindetafel* (lit. community table; → Gemeinde) is sometimes used in the more inclusive sense of rules within the church and rules for conduct towards those outside. It is applied to such passages as 1 Tim. 2:1–15; 5:1–21; 6:1 f.; 1 Pet. 2:13–3:7.

Heilsgeschichte (Ger. salvation history). The term focuses on the thought that the unifying theme of Scripture is the history of God's saving acts, first in Israel under the old covenant and then in Christ who brings about a new covenant relationship between God and man. This in turn points to the → Parousia and the culmination of history. Salvation history is seen as the key to the meaning and course of secular history.

The idea, though not the term, goes back to Irenaeus (*c.* 130–*c.* 200) and Augustine (354–430). It has been revived in 20th century theology especially by Protestant theologians who wish to stress that Christianity is based on faith in a God who acts in history, rather than on an attenuated philosophy of religion or on a → demythologized, existential → kerygma which is concerned with man's self-understanding. A leading exponent is Oscar Cullmann (1902–).

Hellenism (Gk. *Hellēn*, Greek). A term given to designate the period of Gk. culture from Alexander the Great (356–323 B.C.) to the beginning of the Roman Empire under Augustus (31 B.C.), i.e. to approximately the beginning of the Christian era. Hellenism decisively influenced both the intellectual and the historical development of late antiquity. Its influence continued through the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. It is characterized by the mutual interpenetration of Gk. and oriental culture (→ mystery religions), the extensive mingling of populations, the idea of the inhabited world (*oikoumenē*), the common use of Gk. as the world language (→ Koine), the ascendency of philosophy over poetry (→ Stoicism, → Scepticism), and → syncretism in religion in which a monotheistic tendency is discernible.

Hermeneutics (Gk. *hermēneuō*, interpret, explain; *hermēneia*, interpretation, explanation). The science of the interpretation of written texts in accordance with scientifically formulated rules and principles. Schleiermacher defined hermeneutics as "the doctrine of the art of understanding." It involves the study of language, tradition, historical setting, intention, the original readers, the universe of discourse and the subject matter of the text. In its broadest sense hermeneutics can be understood as the methodological basis of the human sciences. Biblical hermeneutics has to do with the interpretation of biblical texts in the light of the various techniques and branches of → exegesis. Theological hermeneutics seeks to translate, interpret and make comprehensible the message of the Bible in the contemporary situation. See further the article on *Explain*, art. *hermēneuō*.

Hermetic Literature. A collection of Gk. and Lat. writings ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus (Hermes the Thrice-Greatest), a designation of the Egyptian God, Thoth, the father and protector of knowledge. The writings date from the middle of the 1st to the end of the 3rd centuries A.D. Much of them deal with astronomy and alchemy. The *Corpus Hermeticum*, consists of some 17 theological and philosophical treatises, the first and most important of which bears the title *Poimandres*. Like the other works, it is → syncretistic and → gnostic in outlook. It has affinities with the NT in its description of the divine as light and life and its doctrine of the → Logos as active in creation. It may have been written within a generation after Jn., but the influence of the NT on these writings is thought to be negligible.

Historical Criticism (Gk. *krinō*, separate, distinguish, decide, judge). A branch of → exegesis which examines biblical texts in the light of scientific methods and criteria for the investigation of history. According to Ernst Troeltsch (1865–1923) whose approach has set guidelines for much Ger. thinking on the subject, historical criticism involves: (1) The historian must be independent and autonomous. He must critically scrutinize all traditions, though approaching his material with sympathetic understanding. Moreover, in the realm of history only probable judgments are possible. (2) The sense of probability depends upon the historian's capacity to discern → analogy between events here and now and events of the past. Where there is no analogy the alleged event is questionable. (3) The principle of correlation that all historical happening is knit together in a permanent correlation. Any one event is causally related to the rest. This has given rise to a closed view of the world in which everything is interpreted in terms of finite natural and historical causes and in which no supernatural events or actions of God are admitted. More recently W. Pannenberg and others have argued that this approach requires restatement and modification, for it prejudges the issue by imposing upon data the limitations of the historian's experience and thus does not allow historical data to speak for itself.

Historical criticism is not of itself hostile to the text of the Bible. Rather, it claims its justification on the grounds that, since the Bible bears witness to what happened in history, it is important to see it in historical perspective.

→ Literary criticism

Historicism. A term which is given a variety of meanings, but often it is used in the sense that every person, event, institution, or idea is capable of being explained entirely in terms of their historical antecedents. It is thus a form of relativism which refuses absolute significance to anything, insisting that nothing must be taken at face value, but rather as the produce of the historical forces acting upon it.

Historie and Geschichte. The Ger. language uses two words for history, together with their corresponding adj. *historisch* and *geschichtlich*. The less common *Historie* is used in contemporary theology to denote that which is public and verifiable according to generally accepted standards of history writing. *Geschichte* refers to the significance of a historical fact for the believer which is not open in the same way to historical verification. The term *der historische Jesus* (the historical Jesus) thus refers to the Jesus that can be known in the light of critical research. The terms *der Christus des Glaubens* (the Christ of faith) or *der geschichtliche Christus* (the historic Christ) refer to Christ as seen by the eyes of faith. The distinction is illustrated by the title of Martin Kähler's work *Der sogenannte historische Jesus und der geschichtliche biblische Christus* (1892), E.T. *The So-called Historical Jesus and the Historic Biblical Christ* (1964).

History of Religions. A branch of the study of religions. But whereas comparative theology is concerned with the systematic and comparative study of the beliefs of different religions,

the history of religions is concerned with the development and history of particular religions in their origin, evolution, phases and changes.

The study of the history of religions is an empirical science which employs the appropriate techniques of historical criticism and the philological interpretation of texts. At the turn of the present century the history of religions school sought to set the study of the Bible in the context of the wider history of religions in order to understand better the characteristics of biblical religion.

Holiness Code, "H". The collection of Mosaic legislation in Lev. 17–26 and designated "H". Its subjects include sacrifice, marriage laws, penalties, the priesthood, the sacred calendar. According to certain critical views, it is post-Deuteronomic and was drawn up some time after the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C.
→ Pentateuch, → Deuteronomy, → J, → Elohist, → Priestly Writing

Hypothesis (Gk. *hypothesis*, proposal, suggestion, supposition). A conjectured explanation which has not yet been verified but which has been devised as a means towards scientific understanding. A hypothesis seeks to explain, and thus goes beyond the purely descriptive. It suggests reasons which as such are only apparent. A hypothesis represents a preliminary step towards a theory which offers a rationally more comprehensive and better grounded explanation. Hypothetical assertions operate on the level of conjecture and appearance.

Israel (Heb. *yiśrā'ēl*, God strives). (1) The name given to Jacob after his night of wrestling (Gen. 32:28; cf. 35:10; Hos. 12:3 f.). (2) The Hebrew nation which traced its descent back to Israel through his twelve sons (Gen. 34:7; 32:32; 49:16, 28). (3) The name was appropriated by the ten northern tribes which broke away from the southern kingdom of Judah after the death of Solomon (*c.* 933 B.C.) and which were carried away to Assyria (*c.* 721 B.C.; → Captivity). (4) In the NT the church is described as the new "Israel of God" (Gal. 6:16), as it now inherits the privileges of ancient Israel as the covenant people of God.

J → Yahwist

Jewish Christian. Churches in the NT and → patristic periods whose members were converts from Judaism, in contrast to the → gentile churches whose members were drawn from → Hellenistic, → syncretistic religion. There was a tendency in Jewish Christian churches to retain Jewish ritual laws with regard to circumcision and commandments relating to food. But as Jewish Christians joined the gentile churches this began to decline, especially in view of Paul's opposition to → Judaizers and his teaching that the ritual law is superseded in Christ. With the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in A.D. 70 the main centre of Jewish Christianity disappeared.

Judah (Heb. *y^{e}hûḏâh*). (1) The fourth son of Jacob by Leah (Gen. 29:35, where the name is explained as meaning "praised"; cf. 49:8 which contains a play on this meaning; other → etymologies have also been suggested). (2) Gen. describes how the tribe of Judah is descended from him (Gen. 38) and how it is promised a position of leadership (49:8–12). In the → conquest of Canaan Judah was allotted territory in the south (Jos. 15). After the death of Saul, David was made king over Judah (2 Sam. 2:4), perhaps ruling over a dual kingdom which included the rest of → Israel (2 Sam. 5:1–5). (3) After the death of Solomon, the ten northern tribes formed the kingdom of Israel (1 Ki. 12), leaving Judah together with Benjamin as the southern kingdom with Jerusalem as its capital and focal point of worship. Judah survived the advances of Assyria, but large portions of its population were deported by the Babylonians (2 Ki. 23–25; Jer. 52; *c.* 597–*c.* 538 B.C.; → Captivity). The return from exile brought about a restoration of Judah but without the monarchy

(cf. Ezr.–Neh.). Judah came increasingly under Hellenistic influence, especially under the pressure of the Syrian Seleucid empire. Although this was withstood under the → Maccabees, the land came under the sway of the Romans in the 1st century B.C. who destroyed Jerusalem in AD 70 and with it the last vestiges of independence. With the crushing of Bar Kochba's revolt in A.D. 135 Judah ceased to be a Jewish land. The name remained in the form of Jew as the title for the adherents of the Mosaic law, irrespective of which tribe they came from. (4) After the Babylonian exile Judah became a favourite name among Jews.

Judaizers (→ Judah). The name given to militant → Jewish Christians who insisted upon retention of the Jewish Law in the church not only by converted Jews but by → gentile converts as well. They insisted upon circumcision and the distinction between clean and unclean meat. The issues they raised were debated and rejected by the Jerusalem council (Acts 15) and they figure prominently in Gal.

Kerygma (Gk. *kērygma*, proclamation, announcement, preaching). The proclamation or preaching of the Christian message. In the NT kerygma can refer to the content, event and office of proclamation. In contrast to teaching (→ *didachē*) which expresses the revelation of Christ conceptually and logically in doctrines, the emphasis of the kerygma falls on public proclamation and the promise and claims of the saving event.

In modern times the somewhat unfortunate distinction has been drawn between a theology of the saving events which lays emphasis on facts and a kerygmatic theology which stresses the relation between the word spoken in address and the response of faith. The NT does not draw this sharp distinction.

Koine (Gk. *koinē*, common, ordinary). The common every-day language of the → Hellenistic period. The NT writings were written in Koine Gk. rather than in classical (Attic) Gk.

Law → Torah

Libertinism (Lat. *libertas*, freedom, liberty). Commonly used to describe the attitude of freethinkers, frequently in a deprecatory sense. In ethics it denotes the attitude and practice of unlimited moral freedom which rejects all restraints, standards and conventions.

Literary Criticism (Lat. *littera*, letter). A branch of → exegesis, concerned with the sources of biblical writings, especially those books which are thought to be based upon several sources (such as the → Pentateuch and the Gospels). It seeks to distinguish between the original literary components of a text and later additions. The ability of the exegete to resolve literary questions enables him to set a piece of work in its historical context in the world of the OT or the NT.

Logia (Gk. *logion*, oracle, saying). A saying. The term is used esp. of the sayings of Jesus. Since the later 19th century students of → synoptic criticism have favoured the suggestion that Mk. was the earliest gospel and that both Matt. and Lk. made use of it in writing their own gospels. Mk. contains mainly narrative material. To explain the sayings and teaching material common to Matt. and Lk. scholars have suggested the existence of a sayings source referred to as Q (possibly so-named after the Ger. *Quelle*, source). This source does not exist as such in manuscript form in the way that (e.g.) Mk. does, but is posited from the material common to Matt. and Lk. The exact extent of the alleged source cannot be determined with any certainty. In form it is thought to consist mainly of sayings and discourses with little narrative. The chief purpose of such a source would be to give Jesus' proclamation of the Kingdom of God and the Son of Man. A secondary theme would be

the presentation of Jesus' authority in word and deed. It is not thought to contain references to the → passion. The source is thought to be older than Mk. and was written in Aramaic. The church connected with Q has been identified with the primitive Palestinian community of the first decade after the death of Jesus.

Logos (Gk. *logos*, word, reason). The notion of the Logos figured in Gk. philosophy from Heraclitus (*c.* 500 B.C.) who understood it as the universal reason which permeates and governs the world. It was taken over by the → Stoics in this sense. The → Hellenistic Jewish thinker, Philo (*c.* 20 B.C.–*c.* A.D. 50), regarded it less as an immanent power than as an intermediary agent. Logos is also the → LXX translation for Heb. *dāḇār* (word). In the NT the technical use of the term is confined to Jn. 1:1 ff.; 1 Jn. 1:1; Rev. 19:13 (cf. Heb. 1:2; 4:12). The 2nd century → Apologists developed logos christologies which presented belief in Jesus Christ in terms of the divine logos in creation.

LXX → Septuagint

Maccabees. (Gk. *Makkabaios*, hammerer or extinguisher). The Jewish family which played a prominent part in freeing Judea from the Syrian Seleucid empire in the 2nd century B.C. The Maccabean revolt prevented the advance of → Hellenism which had threatened the destruction of Judaism. It began in 168 B.C. when an aged priest Mattathias killed an apostate Jew who was about to offer sacrifice on an idolatrous altar in the town of Modia. The Maccabees are also known as Hasmonaeans, as Mattathias was reputed to be descended from Hasmon. The four books of Maccabees are named after the hero of the first two, Judas Maccabaeus. The first three are included in the → Apocrypha.

Masoretic Text, frequently abbreviated as *MT* (Heb. *māsōreṯ*, tradition). The Heb. text of the OT, so-called because in its present form it is based on the "masora" or body of traditional information compiled by the Masoretes. The latter were Jewish scholars of the 10th and earlier centuries A.D. The most important feature of their work was to provide a system of pointing (strokes and dots indicating vowels) for the unpointed text. The original unpointed text consisted of consonants only, and the reader was left to supply the vowels for himself. The Masoretes provided points to preserve the pronunciation of ancient Heb. and to provide a definitive version of the text. Although the OT was originally written in Heb., the questions therefore arise, whether the MT represents faithfully the original text, and whether in some cases where there is a difference of reading the Gk. → LXX is not sometimes to be preferred.

Megilloth → Hagiographa

Memra (Aram. *mêmrā'*, word) is used in Jewish lit. for the divine creative → logos, manifesting God's power in the world and the human mind and mediating between God and man. It possibly underlies Jn. 1. It was sometimes used in the → Targums instead of → Yahweh, to avoid → anthropomorphism.
→ Art. *Word*

Messianic Titles (Heb. *māšîaḥ*, anointed one). Titles and ascriptions given in the OT to the expected Messiah and adopted by the Christian church in its proclamation of Jesus as the Messiah who has come. They include: Messiah, Christ (Gk. *christos*, anointed one, a tr. of *māšîaḥ*), Son of David, Son of God, Son of Man, King of the Jews.

Metaphysics (Gk. *meta ta physika*, beyond or behind [the books on] physics). The terms referred originally to the order of works by the Gk. philosopher, Aristotle, in the library

of Andronicus Rhodius who placed works on "first philosophy" dealing with principles and ultimate causes behind those on nature. This original use of the term was gradually changed in meaning, so that metaphysics came to be understood as that branch of philosophy which deals with the principles and conditions of all beings which lie behind physical nature.

This is the commonly accepted meaning today. However, through the changed historical understanding of the principles of being, the understanding of metaphysics has correspondingly changed in the course of history. Following Kant's devastating criticism of metaphysics in his *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781), the possibility of metaphysics has been radically questioned in the 19th and 20th centuries. Nevertheless, philosophy has not been able to dispense entirely with metaphysical presuppositions.
→ Ontology, → Empiricism, → Existentialism

Midrash (Heb. *dāraš*, search out, investigate; *miḏrāš*, investigation). A Jewish method of → exegesis which sought to discover deeper meanings in the text beyond the literal one. Since the text was of divine origin, every detail was significant. Midrash → halachah was concerned with the Law and midrash → haggadah was concerned with the non-legal parts of scripture. Tradition traces midrash back to Ezra as the first of the scribes (*sôp*^{e}*rîm*) who began this type of exposition. The earliest collections of midrashim date from the 2nd century A.D.
→ Rabbinism, → Mishnah, → Talmud

Millennium → Chiliasm

Mishnah (Heb. *šānâh*, repeat; *mišnâh*, repetition, instruction). Originally the oral, repeated teaching of the Law in contrast to the written Law. The word became a technical term for the orally transmitted case law, which developed over and above the → Torah and which ultimately became normative in post-exilic Judaism. The Mishnah provides the foundation for the Babylonian and Palestinian → Talmud. It is divided into 6 sections or Sedarim, comprising 63 tractates.
→ Rabbinism, → Haggadah, → Halachah → Midrash

Mystery Religions (Gk. *mystērion*, mystery). The secret cults of the Hellenistic period which were open only to initiates, who were granted redemption and access to the eternal world of the divine being. Among the most important mystery cults were the Gk. cult of Dionysus (Bacchus), the mysteries of Isis and Serapis which originated in Egypt, the Syrian Adonis cult, the worship of the mother god Cybele and Attis in Asia Minor, and the mysteries of the light god Mithras from Persia. The mystery gods were originally nature divinities whose death and return to life mirrored the change of the seasons. Through the cult the initiate participates in the fate of the deity. Since the mystery cults made no exclusive claim on their adherents, one could be initiated into several cults in order to gain as much divine, life-giving power as possible.

Ontology (Gk. *ōn*, being). A philosophical term coined in the 17th century meaning: (1) the doctrine of being in general (Ger. *Sein*); (2) the doctrine of beings, that which is, the things that are (Ger. *das Seiende;* Gk. *ta onta*). Sometimes a distinction is drawn between ontological and ontic. Whereas the former is concerned with being, the latter is concerned with beings. Anything that exists in any way is ontic. Ontology is concerned with the knowledge of the structure of being both of man and of the world. It is a branch of → metaphysics. It goes back to the earliest Gk. thinkers, the pre-Socratic philosophers whose doctrine of the origin (*archē*) of things was the first answer to the question of being. In the course of the history of philosophy various highly different ontological systems

have been developed, including those of Plato (427–347 B.C.), Aristotle (384–322 B.C.), the scholasticism of Thomas Aquinas (1225–74), and Christian Wolff (1697–1754). In the 20th century Martin Heidegger sought to give a new basis to ontology in his seminal work *Being and Time* (1927), which developed an analysis of human existence in terms of an existential-ontology. Whereas Catholic neo-scholasticism of the 19th century endeavoured to revive Thomistic ontology, Protestant theology since A. B. Ritschl (1822–89) has seriously questioned the usefulness of ontology.
→ Existentialism

Paraenesis (Gk. *paraineō*, advise, recommend, urge, exhort). Exhortation. Passages with a strong exhortatory content in both OT and NT are termed paraenetic. The proclamation of Christ (→ kerygma) and paraenesis are related to each other as gift and task, indicative and imperative, and in the realm of theological reflection as dogmatics and ethics. The promise of the gospel is the foundation and presupposition of the claims of paraenesis (cf. Rom. 1–11 with 12–15).

Parousia (Gk. *parousia*, presence, coming). The coming or presence of a person or God in order to help. In Christian language the parousia means the coming of Christ at the end-time for the general resurrection, last judgment and the creation of the new heaven and earth.
→ Apocalyptic, → Eschatology

Pastoral Epistles (Lat. *pastor*, shepherd). A term given to 1 and 2 Tim. and Titus, as these letters are concerned with pastoral questions, being addressed to leaders of churches and containing directions and exhortations for the leadership of Christian churches. In modern times it has been debated whether the author was the apostle Paul (as the letters themselves indicate) or whether he was an anonymous author of slightly later times making use of the authority of Paul.

Patriarch (Gk. *patēr*, father; *archē*, beginning). The father of the tribe or nation, in particular Abraham, his son Isaac and grandson, Jacob (→ Israel) and the 12 sons of Jacob (Gen. 12–50; cf. Acts 7:8 f., Heb. 7:4), to whom the nation of Israel is traced in scripture. The patriarchal age begins *c.* 2100 B.C. Genealogies of antediluvian patriarchs are given in Gen. 5. King David is called a patriarch in Acts 2:29.

Pentateuch (Gk. *hē pentateuchos biblos*, the five-part book). The technical term for the first 5 books of the Bible (Gen., Exod., Lev., Num., Deut.), traditionally ascribed to Moses and forming the first part of the OT → canon with the name → Torah (Law). The division of the Torah into 5 books is not original. However, the translators of the → LXX found the division already made and gave the books individual names: Genesis (beginning, after the opening words of the creation account in ch. 1), Exodus (after the → exodus, the chief event recorded), Leviticus (Lat., relating to the Levites), Numbers (on account of the two enumerations of the people which it records) and → Deuteronomy.
→ Elohist, → Yahwist, → Holiness Code, → Priestly Writing, → Deuteronomy

Pericope (Gk. *perikopē*, section; *perikoptō*, cut off). A biblical passage, especially one appointed to be read aloud in public worship. The term was already used in the early church in the sense of a proof passage for a dogmatic utterance. In contemporary exegesis it is used to denote a passage or section of the text.

Pesher (Aram. *pᵉšar* [emphatic state, *pišrā'*] solution, interpretation). A type of exegesis found in the → Qumran scrolls, which took earlier prophecy as being directly concerned

with themselves. The word is placed after almost every prophetic statement cited and may be translated as "the interpretation of this is . . .", "this refers to . . .", or "this means . . ."

Platonic. Pertaining to the doctrines or person of Plato (427–*c.* 347 B.C.) who taught that the world that we see with our eyes and touch with our bodies is only a world of transitory shadows. It is a copy of the eternal world of spiritual Forms or Ideas to which men may attain by detached, intellectual contemplation. He held that man was an immortal soul in a material body. When the body dies, the soul is preserved. His view was bound up with the thought of a premundane fall and the transmigration of souls as a means of purification through successive forms of existence.

Neo-Platonism was developed by Plotinus (A.D. *c.* 205–69) and others, teaching that behind all existence there is an ultimate One in which the distinction between thought and reality is overcome. The One is reached by a way of negation culminating in mystical experience.

Pneumatology (Gk. *pneuma*, breath, wind, spirit). The doctrine of the person and work of the Holy Spirit. Pneumatological refers to statements involving the Holy Spirit.

Pre-existence of Christ (Lat. *prae-existentia*). The existence of Christ as a divine being with God the Father prior to his incarnation and earthly life (cf. Jn. 1:1–12). The idea of pre-existence is also found in pre- and non-Christian religions.

Priestly Writing, designated P in → Pentateuchal criticism. Since J. Wellhausen (1844–1918), P has been thought by many scholars to represent the most recent stratum of the Pentateuch. The designation rests upon the supposed source's interest in cultic and ritual institutions and priestly ordinances. These are described partly in narratives and partly in accounts of varying length (e.g. of the erection of the tabernacle, Exod. 25–31).

The source is thought to begin with Gen. 1:1 and end with Deut. 34:9 and contain (parallel with → J) a primeval creation narrative and a history of the times of the patriarchs, and Moses up to the → conquest of Canaan. The characteristics of the source are thought to be a formal style, avoidance of → anthropomorphisms, and interest in genealogies, numbers, the cult and the priesthood. It is thought to have originated in priestly circles, living in the Babylonian → diaspora in the 6th century B.C.

Prophets (Gk. *prophētēs*, lit. one who speaks forth). (1) The Prophets was the designation of a section of the OT canon (→ Torah, → Hagiographa). It consisted of the Former Prophets (Jos., Jdg., 1 and 2 Sam., 1 and 2 Ki.), the Latter Prophets (Isa, Jer., Ezek., and the 12 Minor Prophets – Hos., Joel, Amos, Obad., Jonah., Mic., Nah., Hab., Zeph., Hag., Zech., Mal.).

(2) The term prophet could also be used in a wide sense to Moses and the expected prophet like him (Deut. 18:15 ff.), David (Acts 2:29 f.), and Jesus (Matt. 8:28; Jn. 4:19). Prophets are also mentioned in the early church (1 Cor. 12:29 ff.; Eph. 4:11), though the continued use of the term need not imply identity of function.
→ Art. Prophet

Pseudepigrapha (Gk. either *pseudos*, falsehood, or *pseudēs*, false; *epigraphē*, address, title). Post-canonical Jewish writings which were published with a false title or name (as the lit. translation of the title suggests). In the broadest sense, they include the entire uncanonical writings written between 200 B.C. and A.D. 100. They thus constitute a bridge between the OT and the NT. The distinction between apocrypha and pseudepigrapha is not clear cut, as pseudonymous works occur in the → apocrypha. The most important pseudepigrapha are: the Books of Enoch, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Assumption of Moses, the Pss. of Solomon, 4 Ezra and 4 Macc.

Q → Logia

Qumran. The name of the site of Khirbet-Qumran (ruin of Qumran) on the north-west shore of the Dead Sea, near to which between 1947 and 1956 eleven caves were discovered, containing numerous manuscripts, commonly referred to as the Dead Sea Scrolls. The manuscripts are apparently the remains of the library of the Jewish Essene sect which had its monastic-like community at Khirbet-Qumran between the 2nd century B.C. and the 1st century A.D. The Dead Sea Scrolls contain biblical manuscripts (e.g. Isa.), commentaries on various passages from the OT, the most extensive being one on Hab., parts of the apocrypha and pseudepigrapha, and various unique texts dealing with the community's life and beliefs, including the Community Rule, the Damascus Rule, the Messianic Rule, the War Rule, Hymns and various fragments which are uniquely informative on aspects of Judaism about the time of Jesus.
→ Pesher

Rabbinism (Heb. *rabbî*, my master). Rabbinic theology began to emerge about the beginning of the Christian era, and it subsequently became normative for the life of the Jewish community to the present day. As scribes and teachers of the Jewish schools, the rabbis had the task of expounding the Jewish scriptures, especially the → Torah or Law, of regulating the life of Jewish communities in the light of the → Talmud, and, particularly in the earlier period, of judging legal matters. The schools of Hillel and Shammai about the time of Jesus, Rabbi Akiba and his pupil Rabbi Meir in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D., the Karaites in the 8th century, and the Chassidim in the 18th are particularly well known. The aim of rabbinism was to bring about obedience to God's commandments consistently and → casuistically through a multitude of comprehensive laws and the exposition of the Torah.
→ Mishnah, → Talmud, → Halachah, → Haggadah, → Midrash, → Synagogue → Tanna

Redaction (Lat. *redigo*, bring back, get together). The revision or adaptation of one or more sources to form a single work. Many scholars hold that the → Pentateuch and other writings show evidence of this process. The person who has collected such sources and set them in order with perhaps some theological comment is termed the editor or redactor. Since about 1945 → form-criticism which is largely concerned with pre-literary forms has been supplemented by redaction-criticism (Ger. *Redaktionsgeschichte*, lit. history of redaction). The latter attempts to determine the characteristics and outlook of the redactor in the light of the general structure, train of thoughts and theology of a text, and so assess the character of a text in the light of its treatment of sources.

Samaritan. (1) Samaria was the capital of the northern kingdom of → Israel. It also gave its name to the surrounding territory. It was founded in *c.* 880 B.C. and fell to the Assyrians in *c.* 722 B.C. (2 Ki. 18:9 ff.). (2) Samaria came to be used as the name of the territory west of the Jordan, bounded by Galilee in the north and Judea in the south. After the mass deportation in *c.* 721, the remaining Israelites formed the core of a new community which continued to worship Yahweh, but were also influenced by other cults. There was deep hostility between the Samaritans and the Jews who returned from → captivity in Babylon in the 6th century. This was evident in NT times (Lk. 10:29–37; 17:16–18; Jn. 4:1–42). (3) The Samaritans possessed the Law → (Torah), but not the → Prophets. The Samaritan → Pentateuch which dates from pre-Christian times differs slightly from the Jewish version. One difference is the name of the Samaritan holy mountain, Mt. Gerizim, for Mt. Ebal in Deut. 27:4.

Sayings and Sayings Source → Logia

Semantics (Gk. *sēmantikos*, significant). The branch of philology which deals with the meaning of words and their sense-development. The adj. semantic means relating to significance or meaning.

Semitic (Heb. *šēm*, Shem). A Semite is lit. one descended from the peoples mentioned in Gen. as descended from Shem, the son of Noah. They include the Hebrews, Aramaeans, Arabs, and Assyrians. The Semitic languages include Hebrew, Aramaic, Ethiopic, Akkadian, Ugaritic and Arabic. In most semitic languages the writing is from right to left, though in this they are not unique. Gk. was originally so written, as was Etruscan and the oldest extant Lat. inscription. Cuneiform writing after *c.* 2500 B.C., on the other hand, was regularly from left to right.

Septuagint (Lat. *septuaginta*, seventy). The Gk. translation of the OT and most of the → apocrypha which according to Jewish legend was translated by seventy (or seventy-two) Jewish scholars of the → Diaspora at Alexandria in the 3rd century B.C. (cf. *Letter of Aristeas*). Hence it is commonly designated by the Roman numeral LXX. In fact, the OT was translated into Gk. over a period of time by various translators, beginning with the → Pentateuch in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. The purpose was to help Jews of the dispersion to read the scriptures in familiar language. Numerous alterations and changes of meaning in relation to the Heb. occurred. But in point of time the LXX is earlier than the Heb. → Masoretic Text, and sometimes its readings are to be preferred. In the early church the LXX was the normative form of the OT.

Sitz im Leben (Ger. lit. seat in life). The life-setting or original historical context of an incident or saying. It is a technical term of → form-critical exegesis, coined by the OT scholar Hermann Gunkel (1862–1932), referring to the situation, speaker, hearers, social and personal background, and attitude presupposed by a given biblical passage.
→ Form-criticism, → Genre

Soteriology (Gk. *sōtēria*, deliverance, salvation). The doctrine of the saving work of Christ, Statements relating to soteriology are termed soteriological.

Source Criticism. A branch of OT and NT → exegesis, concerned with the investigation of sources or strata behind the existing texts. This is practised not only in the → Pentateuch → and Synoptic Gospels but in historical books like 1 and 2 Sam, 1 and 2 Ki. It seeks to discover the role of → redactors in the production of the final text, the different sources or strata in order to determine and assess the characteristics and pecularities of a text against its historical background.
→ Authenticity, → Literary criticism

Stoicism (Gk. *stoa*, porch, hall, the painted corridor on the north side of the market place at Athens). A Hellenistic philosophical school, founded at Athens by Zeno of Citium (Cyprus), so called after the place where he taught. It survived into the 3rd century A.D. The history of Stoicism falls into three periods: the Old Stoa (*c.* 300–150 B.C.), the Middle Stoa (*c.* 150 B.C.–A.D. 50), and the Later Stoa (*c.* A.D. 50–250). Its best-known representatives are Zeno (335–264 B.C.), Seneca (*c.* 4 B.C.–A.D. 65), and the Emperor Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 128–80). Stoic philosophy lays stress on → ethics. Its ideal is embodied by the wise man, the citizen of the world, the true cosmopolitan, who lives in harmony with nature and reason, masters his affections, bears suffering with "Stoic" calmness (*ataraxia*), and

finds the greatest happiness in virtue. For many in the ancient world Stoicism provided a bridge to Christianity.

Synagogue (Gk. *synagōgē*, assembly, place of meeting, synagogue). (1) The meeting place of the Jewish community, used chiefly for worship and instruction in the → Torah, apparently originating after the exile in the 6th century B.C. (→ captivity); (2) the Jewish community gathered there for worship.

Syncretism (Gk. *synkerannymi*, mix together). The merging and synthesis into a unity of different religions, together with their beliefs and practices. Today syncretism is used particularly to denote the religious world and the historical amalgamation of cults in the declining ancient world in the period known as → Hellenism.

Synoptic Gospels. (Gk. *synopsis*, general view; *synopsizō*, bring together in a general view). The first three Gospels, Matt., Mk., and Lk. show extensive agreement in general outline and in the contents of numerous individual sections. Their text can be printed in three parallel columns in a synopsis in order to present their agreements and differences.

Talmud (Heb. *lāmaḏ*, learn; *talmîḏ*, pupil, scholar; *talmûḏ*, teaching). Jewish compilation embodying the → Mishnah, which was regarded as the codified exposition of the → Torah and pious practice, and the → Gemara or collection of explanations by later generations of rabbis (the Amoraim). The Jerusalem Talmud which contains the discussions of the Palestinian rabbis and was completed *c.* A.D. 400 survives only in incomplete form. The more recent Babylonian Talmud is considerably more extensive and important in Jewish estimation. It was completed *c.* A.D. 500. The term Talmudic Judaism denotes the strict body of Judaism which upholds the tenets of the Talmud in contrast to liberal Judaism. → Rabbinism, → Halachah, → Haggadah

Tannaim (Heb. *tanna'îm*, teachers). A name given to the doctors of the → Mishnah, dating from the rival schools of Shammai and Hillel (*c.* A.D. 10). The period of their greatest activity was between A.D. 70 and 200. Some 120 known teachers are so called. After the Mishnah had been published *c.* 220, the → rabbis are known as Amoraim (Heb. *'amorā'îm*, speakers, interpreters), because from then on they were commentators on the Mishnah. Later on the word *tanna* was used of one who had successfully learned the tradition.

Targum (Heb. *targēm*, interpret; *targûm*, interpretation). The translation and paraphrases of the OT into Aramaic. In the post-exilic period Heb. was increasingly pushed out by Aramaic as the common and literary language. Consequently, the Heb. scripture readings in worship were accompanied by translations and expositions in Aramaic. The various written Targums originated from this oral practice. A characteristic feature is the combination of explanatory interpretation and translation.

Teleology (Gk. *telos*, goal, end). The theory of the meaning, goal and purpose of the world. It is the counterpart of cosmology which is concerned with the universe and causality. The latter looks back to the ultimate cause of the world, whilst teleology looks forward to its goal or purpose. Teleological means adapted for a purpose, directed towards a goal.

Textual Criticism. A branch of → exegesis which takes account of the fact that the biblical texts have come to us in numerous manuscripts or → codices. Often they differ from each other in detail. The task of textual criticism is to study the extant texts in the light of different versions or variant readings, taking account of parts which have been spoilt or

are in some way defective and which can only partially be translated. Its aim is to reconstruct the original reading of the manuscript in accordance with scientifically formulated principles. The practice of textual criticism requires knowledge of different manuscripts and their families, knowledge of manuscript writing, and of the characteristics of Heb. and Gk.

Textus Receptus. Lat. for "Received Text". It takes its name from a phrase in the preface to the Elzevir edition (1633) and is substantially the Gk. text of Erasmus (1516) and the Complutensian Polyglot (1522). Erasmus's Gk. text of the NT was the basis of the reformed translations of the NT in Ger. and English including the AV or KJV (1611). It continued to be the standard text of the Gk. NT until the later 19th century. But it is now recognized to be largely Byzantine in character and based on a limited number of manuscripts most of which were relatively late. It has been superseded by the text of Westcott and Hort which provided the basis of the RV (1881) and other more recent texts which are based on earlier manuscripts employing the techniques of → textual criticism.

Theism, Deism (Gk. *theos*, God; Lat. *deus*, God). (1) Theism is the belief that the ultimate ground of all things is a single, supreme reality which is the source of everything other than itself but does not depend on them for its existence. This reality is complete, perfect and personal, and consequently is worthy of unqualified worship. Orthodox Christianity is thus theistic. It sees God as both immanent, i.e. present in the world and → transcendent. (2) Deism was originally a philosophical movement in Britain in the 17th and 18th centuries which sought to establish a natural theology independent of the Christian revelation. It regarded the essential truth of Christianity as no more than a republication of the religion of nature and on this basis criticized the historical veracity of the Bible. Sceptical deists contributed considerably to the rise of biblical criticism. In modern parlance, however, deism is often divorced from its historical background and means belief in a transcendent God who no longer has any dealings with the universe he created.

Theologoumenon (Gk. *theologeō*, speak of God or divine things; *theologoumenon* is the pres. pass. participle). Lit. that which is said about God or divine things. As a technical term it denotes a theological thought or saying.

Torah (Heb. *tōrâh*, instruction, doctrine, law). The word is thought to come from the Heb. root meaning to throw, the torah being the decision obtained by the priest through casting the sacred lot. Torah came to be used predominantly for instruction in the will of God (e.g. Jer. 18:18) and written collections of priestly decisions (e.g. Hos. 8:12). It was used of individual laws as well as of the → Pentateuch containing the Mosaic legislation. It thus became the designation for the first part of the OT → canon. The Eng. term Law is used as a synonym for the Torah, but it is only an approximate designation as the Pentateuch contains more than legislation.

Tosefta (Heb., supplement). A collection of early Jewish tradition, contemporary with, but not included in the → Mishnah. Like the Mishnah, it has six main divisions containing tractates. It contains more → Haggadah than the Mishnah.

Tradition (Lat. *traditio*, delivery, surrender, tradition). Tradition is a fundamental process in every culture and all forms of spiritual life. It applies to words, customs, usages, ritual, ordinances, laws and attitudes. Both the process and the content of tradition are expressions of the historical past as it affects the present. As a technical term, tradition often denotes the oral transmission of biblical material prior to its fixation in writing (→ tradition history). Apostolic tradition denotes the tradition of words, views and practices

which may be traced back to the apostles and which came to be regarded as authoritative in the course of history.

Tradition History (Ger. *Überlieferungsgeschichte*). The branch of → exegesis concerned with the formation of biblical texts through oral tradition up to being finally committed to writing. It investigates the origin, growth and background of material in its pre-literary form. On this basis scholars have tried to distinguish original material from later additions. Valuation of this method differs widely. Some scholars regard it as a branch of scientific criticism, while others regard it as highly subjective speculation.

Transcendence (Lat. *transcendere*, climb over, step over, surmount). The distinction between immanence and transcendence belongs to the distinction between this world and the next, the conditioned and the unconditioned, the physical and the spiritual, the objective and the non-objective, the realm of tangible existence and its unobservable ground. The term transcendence denotes the unconditioned ground which lies beyond and behind the realm of the directly observable world of objects. Orthodox Christian theology understands the relation between God and the world in terms of immanence and transcendence. In so far as God is present and operative in the world, he may be said to be immanent, but in so far as he is over and above it he is transcendent.
→ Theism, Deism

Typology (Gk. *typos*, trace, image, form, figure, example, pattern). The scheme of thought which sees historical persons, events and institutions as "types" or patterns of subsequent greater persons, events and institutions. Typology plays an important part in the Christian interpretation of the OT, in identifying statements which originally belonged to a particular historical situation and applying them to Jesus and the church. A presupposition underlying the typological interpretation of the OT is the → analogy between the old and new covenants which are based on the same God and his covenant relation with his people. Already in the NT Paul understands Adam as the antitype of Christ (Rom. 5:14) and Israel as the antitype of the Christian church (1 Cor. 10:6).
→ Allegory

Variant Readings. These occur when different manuscripts of the same text present different forms of wording.
→ Textual criticism

Version. (1) Different forms of a statement; (2) different accounts of an event; (3) different renderings of a translated text; (4) different translations of the Bible.

Vulgate (Lat. *vulgare*, make known, publish). The name of the Latin translation of the Bible prepared by Jerome at the request of Pope Damasus (A.D. 382). The Vulgate gradually replaced the other Latin translations in use in the early church, like the Old Latin (Vetus Latina). At the Council of Trent (1546) it received canonical authority in the Roman Catholic Church.

Yahweh (Heb. YHWH). One of the names of God (Exod. 17:15). Out of reverence for the divine name the practice had grown up by *c.* 300 B.C. of not pronouncing it, and the circumlocution *'aḏōnai* (my lord) was uttered instead. When the vowel points were added to Heb. (→ Masoretic text), the vowels for *'aḏōnai* were added to the consonants of YHWH. This gave rise to the mistaken form Jehovah in the AV. The → LXX translators substituted "Lord" (*kyrios*) for the tetragram YHWH wherever they found it. The original pronunciation is thought to have been Yahweh.

Yahwist (derived from the tetragram YHWH). The designation of a hypothetical author of one of the conjectured sources of the → Pentateuch. The source is designated "J" (cf. Jehovah or Yahweh). In contrast to the → Elohist, the Yahwist used the name Yahweh for God from the beginning. J is thought to begin with Gen. 2:4b with the creation narrative and contains the primeval history of the fall, Cain and Abel, Noah and the flood, the genealogies of the nations and the tower of Babel. It is thought to give an account of the patriarchs and the time of Moses up to the conquest of Canaan. These passages represent a collection of narratives, developing the theme of promise and fulfilment, expressed in Yahweh's promise to Abraham of the promised land. J is thought to be dated in the 10th century B.C. originating in Judah.

Zealot (Gk. *zēlōtēs*). Members of a political, messianic, radical group in Judaism which split off from the Pharisaic movement. The zealots did not wish to wait patiently for the advent of the messiah, but strove to force the fulfilment of the messianic promise by the sword. Zealot groups began by living off plunder in the desert, but steadily grew in influence and significance in Palestine until in A.D. 66 they led a revolt against the Roman rule. It led to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus in A.D. 70. The movement continued in Palestine until the final catastrophe in A.D. 135.

A

Abolish, Nullify, Reject

καταργέω | καταργέω (*katargeō*), abolish, nullify.

CL Derived from *argos*, meaning inactive, idle, unused, useless, *katargeō* is a late word which in secular Gk. means to render inactive, put out of use, cancel, bring to nothing, do away with. It is used in a wide range of contexts.

OT It only appears in the LXX in 2 Esdr. [Heb. Ezra] 4:21, 23; 5:5; 6:8, where it signifies hindering or interrupting the rebuilding of the temple.

NT Of its 27 occurrences in the NT, one is in a parable (the non-fruiting fig tree of Lk. 13:7 "cumbers" the ground in the sense of making it unproductive); the rest are in theological contexts, all but one being in Paul, who uses the word mainly to express the following:

1. God's putting out of action through the cross and the *parousia* destructive powers which threaten man's spiritual well-being. These include (a) world-rulers (1 Cor. 2:6: possibly human, but more likely demonic); (b) the law which set Jew and Gentile at enmity and made both guilty before God (Eph. 2:15, cf. Rom. 7:2, "discharged from the law of the husband"); (c) the body of sin (Rom. 6:6: Paul means "our sinful self", "the sin-dominated nature that was ours in Adam"); (d) the "man of sin" (2 Thess. 2:8); (e) all forces hostile to Christ at present (1 Cor. 15:24), including death, already brought to nothing in principle through Jesus' resurrection (1 Cor. 15:26; cf. 2 Tim. 1:10). The writer to the Hebrews adds (f) the devil (Heb. 2:14).

2. God's removing and displacing what is transient to make way for better and abiding things. Already displaced through the coming of the new order in Christ is the "glory", such as it was, of the Mosaic dispensation (2 Cor. 3:7, 11, 13), and the "veil" which was on Jewish hearts like Paul's (2 Cor. 3:14). Being displaced, as God's plan goes forward, are "things that are (sc., something)" in this world – though grammatically neuter, the phrase denotes people (1 Cor. 1:28). Due for displacement through the changes which the *parousia* will bring are (a) the belly and food (1 Cor. 6:13: our present bodies will be changed), and (b) prophecies and conceptual knowledge (*gnōsis*), which, being at best modes of partial and indirect apprehension, will be left behind, as a grown man abandons childish things, when we apprehend God directly by sight (1 Cor. 13:8, 10, 11).

3. Man's attempts, witting or unwitting, to contradict and cancel those principles and powers of divine working which bring salvation. To preach justification by circumcision, and to seek justification by works of law, is not only to cancel the offence of the cross (Gal. 5:11), but also to be "severed" (cancelled, discharged) from Christ and his grace (Gal. 5:4). But as faith does not cancel the law (Rom. 3:31), nor the law the promise (Gal. 3:17), nor Israel's unbelief God's faithfulness (Rom. 3:3), so the gospel of grace will stand, despite man's efforts to nullify it, and in the end it will triumph.

Though *katargeō* is elusive in translation (AV renders it in 17 different ways, RV in 13), its basic meaning of rendering something inoperative is clear and constant.

ἀθετέω — ἀθετέω (*atheteō*), set at naught, reject.

CL In classical Gk. *atheteō* means to set aside a treaty or promise, to break faith, and in general to deny, disprove and do away with what has been laid down.

OT In the LXX *atheteō* renders a wide range of Hebrew words. It is frequently used for breaking faith with God and man, and for profanely disregarding and abusing something holy (e.g. God's sacrifice, 1 Sam. [1 Ki.] 2:17; God's law, Ezek. 22:26).

NT In the NT, apart from one reference to promise-breaking (Mk. 6:26), one to setting aside a will (Gal. 3:15), and one to God exploding the pretensions of this world's wisdom (1 Cor. 1:19, citing Is. 29:14, though not in the LXX version, which has *apolō* for *athetēsō*), the word is used for acts of irreligion – rejecting God (1 Thess. 4:8), his command (Mk. 7:9), his purpose (Lk. 7:30), Jesus Christ (Mk. 10:16, Jn. 12:48), God's grace (Gal. 2:21), Moses' law (Heb. 10:28), one's first faith (1 Tim. 5:12), and "dominion" (Jude 8) – probably the authority of Christ in his ministers.

ἐξουδενέω — ἐξουδενέω (*-όω*), ἐξουθενέω (*-όω*) (*exoudeneō* (*-oō*), *exoutheneō* (*-oō*)) reject with contempt.

CL & OT A post-classical Gk. word, used in both its forms for several Heb. words in the LXX, but always with the same precise meaning. It is an emphatic word.

NT In its 13 NT occurrences, its meaning is as above. Christ is the object of contempt in Mk. 9:12, and the despised "stone" in Acts 4:11 (citing Ps. 118:22, but not from the LXX, which has *apedokimasan* [cf. Mk. 8:31; Lk. 17:25]).

→ Despise

J. I. Packer

G. Delling, *katargeō*, *TDNT* I 452 ff.; R. Macpherson, "Despise", *DCG* I 453 f.

Abomination of Desolation

τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως — τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως (*to bdelygma tēs erēmōseōs*), the abomination of desolation.

CL & OT The phrase *to bdelygma tēs erēmōseōs* occurs in Mk. 13:14 and its parallel Matt. 24:15. It is taken from the LXX of Dan. 12:11 and appears with slight variations in Dan. 9:27, 11:31 and 1 Macc. 1:54 ff. In Dan. the Heb. expression which it translates (*šiqqûṣ šōmēm*) appears to signify "the abomination which causes (spiritual) desolation", i.e. it creates either a horror in the mind of the beholders or an objective condition of spiritual devastation. In the OT an abomination denotes chiefly something which is abominable to God, especially objects offensive in the light of the ceremonial law, hence it frequently describes idolatrous objects (*šiqqûṣ* is synonymous with *tō'ēḇâh*, and in Ezek. 5:11 both terms refer to detestable and abominable idols; for a vivid narrative illustrating the horror caused by worshipping "abominations" see Ezek. 8). E. Nestle (in an article in *ZATW* 1884) demonstrated that the phrase "abomination of desolation" originated as a typical Jewish term of contempt for a heathen deity. The title "Lord of Heaven" (*ba'al šāmayim*,

frequently pronounced *ba'al šāmēm*) was given to Zeus as chief of the gods. When the Jews were asked to acknowledge Zeus under such terms they described him not as *ba'al šāmēm* but *šiqqûṣ šōmēm*, i.e. not "Lord of heaven" but "an abomination which desolates". The situation is narrated in I Macc. 1:54 ff., which tells how Antiochus Epiphanes (175–164 B.C.) caused a pagan altar to be erected on the great altar in the Jerusalem temple, and this pagan altar is described as "the abomination of desolation". There is evidence to suggest that with the altar was placed an image of Zeus (of whom Antiochus viewed himself as representative), which naturally intensified the horror of the sacrifices commanded (cf. C.C. Torrey, *Documents of the Primitive Church*, 26). By this means the temple of God was turned into a heathen temple. The command to render such worship, in Jerusalem and beyond, led to the Maccabaean revolt and to the writing of the prophecies of Daniel.

NT In Mk. 13:14 the desolating abomination is referred to as well known, without explanation. Many exegetes, observing that "abomination" is neut. in gender, but the participle "standing where it ought not" is masc., have concluded that the abomination is the → Antichrist, who steps into the place reserved for God (cf. 2 Thess. 2:4). If the term "Antichrist" be extended to mean a power which sets itself against God it could be employed in this context, but the later developed doctrine, such as appears in Rev. 13 and 17, should not be read into Mk. 13:14. To Jesus the term "abomination" would probably connote idolatry of some sort. It is to be observed that Luke paraphrases his words by the expression "Jerusalem surrounded by armies" (Lk. 21:20). It is possible that that is closer to the intention of Jesus than is commonly recognized, for the Roman armies were notorious for the idolatrous images affixed to their ensigns, which were set in the ground at night and accorded worship. By agreement with the Jews these ensigns were never brought into the Roman fortress in Jerusalem. If the time should come when the ensigns were set in the holy place, that could only be as a result of brute force and it would entail war to the death. The "abomination" would thus bring about the desecration of the city and sanctuary and would lead to destructive warfare, so bringing to pass the fulfillment of the prophecy of Jesus in Mk. 13:2. Such an interpretation is in harmony with the meaning of the phrase in Dan., and it accords with other teaching of Jesus wherein disaster for his nation and for Jerusalem is anticipated (cf. Matt. 23:35 ff; Lk. 13:1 ff.; 19:41 ff.; 23:28 ff.). The use of the expression "abomination of desolation" for the desecration and ultimate destruction of the temple and city indicates that Jesus viewed such an event in the light of the Day of the Lord, as the OT prophets before him and above all Daniel in his references to the abomination.

G. R. Beasley-Murray

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(b). F. Busch, *Zum Verständnis der synoptischen Eschatologie; Markus 13 neu untersucht*, 1938; E. Nestle, *ZATW* (1884), 4, 248; SB I 945, 951.

Abraham, Sarah, Hagar, Isaac

'Αβραάμ	*'Αβραάμ* (*Abraam*), Abraham.

OT The name derived either from the Babylonian *Abam-rāmā*, he loves the Father, i.e. God, or from the Aram. lengthening of the Canaanite name *Âb-rām*, the Father, i.e. God, is exalted. The popular etymology of the Heb. *'abrāhām* (Gen. 17:4 f.) makes the name signify "father of a multitude".

1. The tradition of Gen. 11:27–25:11(18) depicts Abraham as the first of the so-called patriarchs, the ancestor of the later people of Israel. Admittedly, he continues to have the second place in the OT behind the patriarch Jacob, as is already indicated by the name Israel which Jacob received and which was applied to the nation (→ Israel, arts. *Israēl*, *Iakōb*). But a profound and far-reaching significance was attached to Abraham.

(a) Abraham stands for the extreme prophetic experience of Israel. He is not only called a → prophet (Gen. 20:7; cf. 15:13–16) and as such was wrested from all personal security (20:13). He was also tested as a prophet (22:1), to see whether in his person the people of God would esteem God enough to be willing to offer human sacrifice. Abraham held to the word of his God almost to the point of killing his only son. God then released him and the people of Israel, because he loves faithfulness and not sacrifice.

(b) Abraham was the recipient of a promise of land which steadily grew despite the extremely scanty beginnings. His life constantly appeared threatened by the lack of a son and heir (15:2 ff.), and the latter was only born when Sarah was past the age of child-bearing (18:1–15). But this stands in contrast with the promise of the land which was extended from its simplest form (12:8, Shechem), through 13:14–17 (Hebron) to the kingdom of → David (15:18). In the panoramic perspective of the Pentateuch the theme of the land is not brought to fulfilment, but looks towards fulfilment with the dying → Moses (Deut. 34). In so far as the land was never merely a physical possession, but was constantly seen as a spiritual heritage (representing freedom, peace and well-being in and with God), later Israel remained profoundly conscious of the fact that it still looked for the ultimate fulfilment of the promise to Abraham.

(c) The making of the → covenant in Gen. 17 develops this theme and ensures that the land promised as a *possession* to Abraham and his posterity is not understood in a nationalistic way as personal property, but as the place of worship appropriate to the creator of the world (Gen. 1). In Gen. 17 the message is formulated which enabled Israel to survive even the terrible situation of the national collapse and the far from glorious period of reconstruction under Persian rule. The people of God received the commission amidst the world powers to serve the creator in a way commensurate with his being.

(d) This insight was decisively influenced by the age-old declaration that Abraham was called, so that "the families of the earth wish blessing for themselves in his name" (12:3). It stands in the context of the promise of the land which looks forward to the kingdom of David (15:18), relating these words with their ring of power politics to an anti-nationalistic perspective. Mankind, including Israel and the patriarchs, had fallen prey to the desire to be like God (3:5), to the mysterious couching of sin before the door of the heart (4:7), and to the need to establish a

name for oneself in a single kingdom (11:1–9). But the Lord of the world made a new beginning with Abraham, the man who unconditionally remained true to the promise (of the land) despite the extremely meagre fulfilment, so that the prospect of blessing for the families of the earth does not fail on account of the meagre fulfilment in the time of the OT.

Alongside the instances where Abraham is mentioned in Gen., there is the particularly important and oft-repeated expression especially in Deut. "the land that Yahweh has sworn to your fathers, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob" (cf. Deut. 1:8; 6:10; 9:5, 27; 29:13; 30:20; 34:4). For amid the despair of the exile it denotes the fixed point on which election depended: a solemnly attested promise of God which made it possible for the Israelites after the loss of the land and in the anxiety of being remote from God (Isa. 63:15–64:11; cf. especially the complaint of 63:16!) to accept their sin as sin, because they understood God as the one who is dependable. Furthermore, there is the prophetic word from God, highly apt at the time of the exile, that calls Abraham "my friend" (Isa. 41:8; cf. Ps. 105:6; 2 Chr. 20:7). Thus Abraham is the forefather to whom the promise was the basis of his life (Gen. 15:6); God counted this to him as righteousness.

2. The special position of Abraham, already foreshadowed in this development, reached its highest expression in Judaism. There the belief is found that because of Abraham's → election all who confess themselves as his have a place in the coming kingdom of God, even though their sins have been many (SB I on Matt. 3:9). Rab. Judaism saw Abraham's life as a series of acts of obedience. According to it, Abraham had kept the whole → law. By contrast, Hel. Judaism, especially Philo, stressed his trust in God's promises, especially those about the final judgment and the kingdom of God, and attributed the beginnings of belief in a world to come to his time (SB III 194, 197; cf. Syr. Bar. 57:2). Jewish legends relate that he was the first to recognize monotheism, and as the first → proselyte Abraham also served as a missionary (*TDNT* I 8).

NT 1. Since Abraham was the ancestor of Israel, the descent of Jesus from Abraham became of great importance for the proclamation of Jesus as the Messiah. It underlined the continuity in God's saving activity both for his people and the world (cf. the genealogy in Matt. 1:1–17). Lk.'s genealogy (Lk. 3:23–38) mentions Abraham in v. 34, but stresses the descent from the first man → Adam.

2. (a) For the Jews in general it was a special title of honour to be known as "children of Abraham" (Matt. 3:9; Lk. 3:8), for according to the popular belief, Abraham's merits guaranteed Israel a share in the kingdom of God. John the Baptist attacked this idea, as Luther attacked indulgences. To be descended from Abraham was in itself of no value. Only he who sets his heart and mind on the coming kingdom of God, brings forth the true → fruit of repentance (→ conversion), and by → baptism anticipates the final judgment has any right to hope for a place in the kingdom. God can raise up from stones children for Abraham. That is why Jesus considered it so important to search for the lost sheep of Israel. He healed a daughter of Abraham who had been excluded from the community, the woman with an issue of blood (Lk. 8:43–48), and caused salvation to come to the house of Zacchaeus as a son of Abraham, although he had been living outside the → Law (Lk. 19:9).

When Luke records that the apostles addressed their hearers as descendants of Abraham and mentions the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, he intends his readers to understand how aware the apostles were of their loyalty to the faith of their ancestors and how strenuously they had sought to win Jesus' people despite their unwillingness (Acts 3:12 f., 25; 13:26).

The incident in Matt. 8:11 f. and Lk. 13:28 f. in which Jesus threatens "the sons of the kingdom" with being cast out into darkness, may have as its background the belief that Abraham was the first proselyte and the greatest maker of proselytes (see above OT 2). But it does not follow that he will be surrounded in the kingdom of God only by his physical and national heirs. There will also be those of his own type, i.e. proselytes.

(b) "Abraham's bosom" (Lk. 16:22) means the pouch (*ḥēq*) above the girdle made by pulling up the garment slightly. This picture is relatively seldom found in Rab. writings (SB II 226). It may refer to special care, as that of a mother loving her child which she carries in the folds of her dress over her breast, or to the place of honour at table beside Abraham. When one reclined at table, one's head came approximately to the level of one's neighbour's chest (Jn. 13:23, SB II ad loc.).

Judaism frequently expected intercession by Abraham who lives with God (Lk. 16:22 ff.). The same is true of Isaac and Jacob (→ Advocate). But this was not without conditions, as Jesus' parable indicates. Intercession by those who already have eternal life for those who still await death is basic to the idea of the invocation of saints. The Jewish belief that those who have lived with God, e.g. the patriarchs, must remain alive after death was shared by Jesus, who justified it by saying that where God is there also must be → life (cf. Mk. 12:26 f.; Matt. 22:32; Lk. 20:37 f.). He who lives with God can die but cannot cease to live. It is from this angle that we must understand the → resurrection of Jesus.

3. When Paul explains the importance of Abraham, he is concerned above all with justification (→ righteousness) by faith. His exposition both in Gal. 3:6 ff. and Rom. 4:1–13 is not a deductive proof in the strict sense. Paul's method is the opposite. In the light of the revelation of Christ he recognizes that Scripture had long before spoken of it.

(a) The details of the apostle's arguments about Abraham were partly determined by the ideas of his Judaizing opponents, who maintained that the → Law was the definitive revelation which brought salvation. It followed that Abraham must have lived by it, even before it had been revealed at Sinai. By contrast Paul maintained in Gal. that anyone who wishes to live by the → works of the Law (Gal. 3:10) is under a curse, since it implies that men must earn their salvation by them. By so doing, such a person does not permit God to be the God who alone can give man that which is good without qualification and save him (Rom. 7; cf. Gen. 3). As Paul sees it, Scripture shows clearly that Abraham was justified not by works of the Law but by faith (Rom. 4:3; Gal. 3:6; cf. Gen. 15:6). Scripture even foresaw the placing on an equal footing of the lawless pagan and the pious Jew through faith (Gal. 3:6–9), because faith excludes every basis for human honour, even the precedence of the Jew. The Law did not have the function of making Abraham's blessing inoperative. It was given to reveal that sin, in the last analysis, is directed against God and not against men. Thus it prepared men for the recognition that their only hope is in God (Gal. 3:24), and that Jesus is the promised

offspring of Abraham (3:16 f.). By abrogating the Law, God opened to all the possibility of living by faith and so sharing the heritage of Abraham in all its fullness.

(b) In Rom. 4 these thoughts are expressed with even greater clarity. What has Abraham found? Was it something to → boast about? Not in God's presence, for it was faith that was reckoned to him for righteousness (vv. 1–3). A man cannot earn wages from God. Blessed is only he against whom the Lord does not reckon sin (vv. 4–8; cf. Ps. 32:1 f.). Following the methods of Rab. argument, Paul now maintains that this blessing does not result from → circumcision, which Judaism regarded as a sign of the fulfilment of the Law and of turning away from transgression (vv. 9–12). Abraham was after all justified before he was circumcised. Circumcision was simply a → seal of the righteousness by faith reckoned to the Gentile Abraham. Hence Abraham is the father of the believers who come from the Gentiles (v. 16). It will not be to the glory of Israel, as in Jewish expectation, that Abraham will be the father of nations and the inheritor of the world (v. 13).

In conclusion, Paul adds another example of Abraham's faith (vv. 18–22). Just as we are dead before God and have nothing to hope for, so Abraham's and Sarah's procreative power was dead. But trust in God created and creates new life. The point of comparison is the deadness, the lack of any prerequisite conditions, not the willingness to yield oneself. That is probably the reason why the story of the sacrifice of Isaac which was popular in Judaism as an example of obedience is not mentioned here. Rom. 9:7; 11:1, 16 ff. and 2 Cor. 11:22 fit easily into this fundamental Pauline scheme of interpretation.

Paul's view of obedience in faith was not always readily accepted in the primitive church. Jas. 2:14–26 pointedly shows that Pauline concepts were misused even by Christians. For some only the relationship of the soul to God was important. The deeds of our transient bodies which belong to a fallen world were considered to be relatively unimportant. Against such a view it was necessary to stress that faith expresses itself in works, and that faith will be judged, as with Abraham, by its works, i.e. by the way it works itself out in life.

4. This false security with which Jews and Judaizers alike deluded themselves by appealing to Abraham (see above OT 2) contributed in great measure to this attitude. The way in which it hindered faith in Jesus is the background to the discussion about Abraham in Jn. 8:30–40, 48–59. The first section (vv. 30–40) makes it clear that the newly found faith of the Jews was not genuine but only superficial, for they were not doing the works of Abraham (vv. 39 f.). Abraham relied solely on God's liberating → word, but they wished to silence that word when it stood before them incarnate in Jesus. They thought that descent from Abraham guaranteed their freedom, whereas in fact only Jesus and holding fast to his word can give them true freedom.

The second section of the discussion (vv. 48–59) begins with the Jews' suggestion that Jesus was demon-possessed, when he proclaimed his word, or rather, proclaimed himself as God's word. For when Jesus promised eternal life to those who kept his word (v. 51), he was, according to Jewish ideas, blaspheming God. Only God's word can guarantee eternal life, but Jesus was a mortal man like Abraham and the prophets who have died (v. 52). However, Jesus is greater than Abraham in the sense of being more than human, for according to Jewish ideas the Messiah and Moses were greater than Abraham. God has given him authority to

grant eternal life. Jesus said that Abraham had called himself happy in that he should see the day of God's word (Jesus). He saw it and rejoiced (v. 56). There is ample evidence for Jewish speculations that at the time of the making of the covenant (Gen. 15:12–21) Abraham saw the main lines of Israel's future (SB II, ad loc.). Then comes the vital sentence, "Before Abraham was, → *I am*" (v. 58). The Word of God was, is, and ever will be. Hence Jesus is truly eternal, but Abraham lived and died.

5. The descendants of Abraham in Heb. 2:16 are presumably all who live by faith as did Abraham, i.e. not only Jews but all who believe in Christ (so Westcott and Montefiore, ad loc.). In Heb. 6:13, as in Jewish tradition, Abraham is presented as a model of the believing patience and perseverance which obtain the promise. This trait is also stressed in 11:8–12, 17–19. Salvation, however, does not come from Abraham and his descendants (7:2, 4 ff.). They are, and remain its recipients. Abraham recognized one greater than himself, → Melchizedek. In the same way, the Levitical priesthood is only temporary, for they too, as descendants of Abraham, gave tithes to Melchizedek. Hence the one who has been proclaimed a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek must be greater. *H. Seebass*

Σάρρα *Σάρρα* (*Sarra*), Sarah.

OT This is the personal name of the wife of Abraham and mother of Isaac (Heb. *śārâh*). In Gen. 17:15 her name is changed from Sarai to Sarah, and all subsequent references conform to this. No explanation or reason for the change is offered, and it may be that Sarah is merely a modernization of the old Semitic feminine form. The name is generally understood to mean princess, but there may be a connection with the root *śārâh* (to strive), the root underlying the name Israel.

In the Genesis traditions Sarah emerges as the beautiful wife who is all but lost to a foreign ruler (Gen. 12:10–20; 20:1–17, the resolute adversary of Hagar and her offspring (Gen. 16:1–14; 21:8–21), and the mother of Isaac (Gen. 18:1–15 [J]; 21:1–7 [E]). All three stories are part of a narrative complex which traces the somewhat tortuous course by which the promise of Gen. 12:1–3 moved towards its fulfilment. To later Jews Sarah could therefore be appreciated, along with Abraham, as the rock from which Israel was hewn (Isa. 51:2).

NT Sarah has a place in two important Pauline arguments. In his theology of justification her barrenness is the context in which Abraham's justifying faith is demonstrated (Rom. 4:19). Secondly the conception of Isaac as the heir of promise over against Ishmael is cited as evidence of the free sovereignty of God's electing purpose (Rom. 9:9; cf. also the argument of Gal. 4:21–31).

The authors of Hebrews and 1 Peter treat Sarah as a model of faith (Heb. 11:11) and submission (1 Pet. 3:6), though the originality of the allusion to Sarah in Heb. 11:11 is debated (for discussion cf. F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 1964). The present text clearly affirms hers as the faith that accepts the unseen as real, and takes nothing to be impossible. In 1 Pet. 3:6 her obedient attitude to her husband is set out as the pattern which Christian wives should follow. This tendency to see her as the ideal wife is not uncommon in later Judaism (cf. e.g. Philo, *Abr.* 42–44). *P. J. Budd*

'Αγάρ — 'Αγάρ (*Hagar*), Hagar (Heb. *hāgār*).

OT Hagar was Abraham's concubine, and the mother of Ishmael. The name probably means emigrant or fugitive. The only substantial Hagar stories are those preserved in Gen. 16:1–16; 21:8–21. Both recount the hostility of Sarah, the expulsion of Hagar, and Ishmael's ultimate home in the wilderness. These stories reflect the conviction that Israel was related to the warlike Bedouin peoples of Palestine, and seek both to explain the connection and give the reason for the Ishmaelites' wild way of life. Their status as children of the slave-concubine is clearly inferior.

NT In the NT Paul, in rabbinic fashion, makes allegorical use of this inferiority to urge the superiority of the new Covenant (Gal. 4:21–31). Hagar and her son represent the bondage of the old Jewish dispensation, which is in stark contrast to the new freedom experienced by those for whom Isaac, as son of the free woman, is the allegorical prototype. The textual difficulty in Gal. 4:25 makes little difference to the sense. The Hagar of the allegory represents Sinai, because Sinai is in Arabia where Hagar lived. *P. J. Budd*

'Ισαάκ — 'Ισαάκ (*Isaak*), Isaac (Heb. *yiṣḥāq*).

OT The son of Abraham's old age, whose name means "he laughs". The traditions supply several popular etymologies (Gen. 18:12–15 [J]; 21:6 [E]; 21:9 [E]; 17:17–19 [P]).

In the Genesis narratives Isaac is a less colourful individual than the other Patriarchs, but in the theological development of the tradition has an important place as the child of promise. His birth (Gen. 21:1–7) is the first step towards the fulfilment of the promise of Gen. 12:1–3, and a refutation of the human impatience which produced Ishmael. The questions of faith in the promise and obedience to the God of the promise underlie the challenge of Isaac's sacrifice (Gen. 22:1–19). The remaining Isaac narratives trace the next steps in the development of the promise, the marriage to Rebekah (Gen. 24:62–67) and the births of Esau and Jacob (Gen. 25:19–28). The success that attends him is viewed as a mark of God's special blessing (Gen. 26:12–13, 29). The deception practised by Jacob (Gen. 27) explains how and why the promise moves through the younger son's descendants. In Amos 7:9, 16 Isaac is a synonym for the nation Israel.

NT In the NT Isaac occurs in genealogies (Matt. 1:2; Lk. 3:34) and in formal conjunction with other Patriarchs (Matt. 8:11; 22:32; Mk. 12:26; Lk. 13:28; 20:37; Acts 3:13; 7:8, 32). Like Sarah he figures in the Pauline argument for the freedom of God's electing purpose (Rom. 9:7, 10), and like Hagar in the allegorical proof that Christians are the children of promise (Gal. 4:28). The Letter to the Hebrews follows the theological pattern of the Genesis traditions seeing Isaac as heir to the promise (11:9), the testing ground for Abraham's faith (11:17–18), and the hander on of the blessings of the promise to the next generation (11:20). The Letter of James uses the sacrifice of Isaac to prove the necessity of → works (obedience) as well as → faith (belief) (2:21). The submission and obedience of Isaac may be implicit in these texts; it is explicit in some later Jewish texts (cf. e.g. Test. Lev. 18:1–14). The tendency to see in the sacrifice of Isaac a type of Christ's

death is essentially a feature of later Christian interpretation (e.g. Barn. 7:3; Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* 2, 5; Irenaeus, *Heresies* 4, 4). *P. J. Budd*

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Accuser, Accuse

κατήγορος

κατήγορος (*katēgoros*), accuser; κατήγωρ (*katēgōr*), accuser; κατηγορέω (*katēgoreō*), accuse; κατηγορία (*katēgoria*), accusation.

CL & OT *katēgoros* means speaking against someone, accusing. As a noun, it means "accuser". A loanword (Arndt, 424), it entered Mishnaic Heb. as *qaṭēgôr* (SB I 141) or *qāṭēgôr* (Dalman), and by analogy the verb *katēgoreō* appears as *qiṭrēg*. "He that commits one transgression gets for himself one accuser" (Aboth 4:11). More especially → Satan is the accuser. In the Talmud (Bab. B. 16a) R. Simon b. Lakish said, "Satan and the evil impulse and the angel of death are one." An earlier anonymous tanna taught that Satan comes down to earth and leads astray; he ascends to heaven and accuses, awakens wrath, and takes away the soul. This cannot be regarded as typical Rab. teaching. The biblical foundation for this teaching is above all Job 1 f. Satan as *katēgōr* is concerned especially with Israel, but he also accuses individual persons. He acts particularly when a man accuses himself, runs into danger, or lives carelessly. In the heavenly court he can appear when he wants to, and he is turned away only on the merits of the case. Michael is his opponent, for he acts as defending counsel (*sᵉnêgôr*; Gk. *synēgoros*).

NT Rev. 12:10 is clearly based on Jewish concepts, and only here in the NT is Satan called *katēgōr*, as in the Rab. writings. He is said to accuse the children of God continually, "day and night". After the exaltation of Jesus Christ, he is cast out of heaven (Rev. 12:7 ff.). The same picture of the fall of Satan, but without the use of *katēgoros*, is found in Lk. 10:18, Jn. 12:31, and Rom. 8:33 f. Jesus Christ, the intercessor, replaces the accuser. In other NT passages accuser refers to human accusers before earthly tribunals, as in the case of Paul's enemies before the Roman procurators (Acts 23:30, 35; 25:16, 18).

katēgoreō is derived from *katēgoros* and means to be an accuser, to accuse, betray, make known, affirm, assert. The enemies of Jesus spied on him, to see whether he would heal on the → Sabbath, so that they might accuse him of a breach of the Sabbath before the local → sanhedrin (Mk. 3:2; Lk. 6:7). The chief priests accused Jesus before Pilate (Mk. 15:3 f.; Lk. 23:10, 14). The word appears more frequently in Acts because of the repeated accounts of attacks on Paul (22:30; 24:2; 25:5; 28:19). He defended himself by pointing out that his accusers could not prove their accusations (24:13, 19; cf. 25:5, 11, 16). He appealed to → Caesar, but not because he wanted to accuse the Jews (Acts 28:19). Satan as *katēgōr* is the one who accuses (*katēgorōn*) in Rev. 12:10.

The vb. is used also in a non-legal sense: "their conflicting thoughts accuse or perhaps excuse them" (Rom. 2:15).

Jn. 5:45 refers to the last → judgment. It is not Jesus who will accuse the Jews who do not believe, but Moses, because he who does not believe in Jesus refuses also to believe in the Torah of Moses. The Torah bears witness to Jesus (5.46). Rab. tradition could say of Moses that he accused the sinful people before God (Exod. R. 47:14).

katēgoria is derived from *katēgoros* and means an accusation in the legal sense. Pilate asked the chief priests what accusation they brought against Jesus (Jn. 18:29). Timothy was instructed not to accept an accusation against an elder unless there were two or three witnesses (1 Tim. 5:19; cf. Deut. 19:15). One of the conditions that a candidate for eldership must fulfil is that his children are not open to the accusation of being profligate or insubordinate (Tit. 1:6). *H. Bietenhard*

→ Satan, → Judgment

ἐγκαλέω

ἐγκαλέω (*enkaleō*), accuse; ἔγκλημα (*enklēma*), accusation, charge.

CL & OT Deriving from *kaleō*, "call", *enkaleō* in secular Gk. means first to demand as one's due (to "call for" or "call in"), and then to make a claim or bring an accusation against someone, usually in a context of actual or threatened legal proceedings. *enklēma* corresponds to this developed meaning, and signifies a claim, charge or indictment. The canonical LXX uses *enkaleō* 3 times, each time for a different Heb. word, but does not use *enklēma* at all.

NT In the NT, Lk. uses *enkaleō* in its regular classical sense, actively with the dative of the person accused and passively with the genitive, with or without *peri*, for the matter of the accusation, these being the standard classical constructions (Acts 19:38, 40; 23:28, 29; 26:2, 7). The only theological use of the word is in Rom. 8:33, where Paul dispels apprehensions lest Satan or some other should succeed in impeaching God's elect at judgment day. *enklēma* is used of the charge against Paul in Acts 23:29; 25:16. *J. I. Packer*

F. Büchsel, *katēgoros*, *TDNT* III 636 f.; A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 1927, 93 f.; Commentaries on *Revelation* by H. B. Swete (1906), I. T. Beckwith (1919), R. H. Charles (ICC, 1920), G. B. Caird (Black, 1966), and G. E. Ladd (1972) on Rev. 12:1–10.

Adam, Eve

Ἀδάμ

Ἀδάμ (*Adam*), Adam.

OT Adam (probably but not certainly from the common Sem. root *'dm*, [to be red], thus the red blooded one (?) cf. Akkad. *adamatu*, blood; Heb. *'ᵃḏāmâh*, the red arable soil in contrast to the lighter coloured desert) is a collective term for mankind, people. A single person is called *ben-'āḏām* (lit. son of man). *'āḏām* is the ordinary Heb. word for man.

Adam, as a proper name, is found in the OT only in Gen. 4:25; 5:2–5; 1 Chron. 1:1; Sir. 49:16; possibly also in Gen. 2:20; 3:17, 21. Only Gen. 2 f. is of importance for the use of Adam in the NT. For its other uses → Man. The purpose of Gen. 2 f. is to tell how, in spite of the goodness of God's creation, man experienced → evil (misfortune, illness, death, etc.).

When God created heaven and earth, he formed man out of the earth and breathed the breath of life into him. Ps. 104:30, 29 takes up these statements: "When thou sendest forth thy breath, they are created, and thou renewest the face of the ground. When thou takest away their breath, they die and return to their dust." Hence man is entirely dependent on God. Without God's sustenance he is only a pile of earth. To give man an understanding of his true nature, God brought him the animals to be named, which had been made for man. In naming them, man realized that they could not be a real partner for him. This prepared him for the creation of → woman as his partner. Man is really man only when he is with other human beings. This occurs above all in the mutual relationship of husband and wife. Man was allotted a place to live in, a garden containing the tree of life, where

uninterrupted life with God was to be found. There was also the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. The fact that man was not allowed to approach it and take of its fruit suggests that though evil existed, God desired at first to spare him the knowledge of all that it involved, for only God himself could overcome it. Then the cleverest of the animals attacked man at his most vulnerable spot. It suggested to him that God was leaving him foolish and ignorant, so that God might not lose his unique authority. The result of man's transgression (→ Sin, *parabasis*) was not that God was no longer God, but that man experienced evil. He did so first subjectively in his experience of shame (3:7), and then objectively through → death and God's → curse. Evil affected the relationship of man and beast (3:15 → enmity), woman and childbirth, man's labour and his personal relationships (3:16). God did not wish evil for man. Man reached out for it, so that he might know like God. But he is not God, and he cannot endure evil. He remains man, but he has crossed the boundary to an existence which is ultimately impossible, striving to deny his creatureliness.

Rab. Judaism faced the question of how Adam's → guilt and that of humanity were linked. On the one hand, it saw death as our doom for Adam's sin. On the other hand, it tried to explain why death should be the punishment for each individual's sin, but it could find no satisfactory answer (SB III 227 ff.).

Although Rab. Judaism did not recognize the first Adam as a type of the second (SB III 477 f.), Philo used the two creation stories to distinguish between the first created heavenly man (Gen. 1:27) and the later created earthly man (Gen. 2:7). The former is considered to be the true and spiritual man; the latter to be transient. In the former he sees the "idea" of man's spirituality, which, from the philosophical angle, alone can have permanence, while the earth-born man with his corporeality belongs to the world of appearance and transience (cf. W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, 1955, ch. 3; C. K. Barrett, 1 *Corinthians*, BNTC, 374 f.; *From First Adam to Last*, 1962, 7 f.)

NT 1. Philo's concept cannot be found in the NT, but in Pauline theology Adam as a type is important (see 3 below). The name Adam is found 9 times. Jude 14, quoting Eth. Enoch 1:9, mentions Enoch as the seventh from Adam the first man. In Lk. 3:38 Adam is mentioned last in the genealogy as son of God. This may be related to Acts 17:28 ("In him we live, move and have our being"), where a Hellenistic poet is quoted ("For we are indeed his offspring", Aratus *Phainomena* 5). By referring to a Hellenistic belief, Luke wishes to affirm that Adam, and with him the whole human race, is of divine origin. When in contrast to Matthew, he goes back beyond Abraham and traces Jesus' genealogy to Adam, his purpose is probably to show that Jesus is the Revealer for all mankind and not only for Jews. Jesus reveals what was intended by Adam, as the representative of mankind. This is also shown by the fact that, of all the people mentioned in the long genealogy, Jesus is the only one after Adam who is said to be of divine origin (Lk. 1:34 f.).

2. 1 Tim. 2:13 ff. deals with a very different question in saying that Adam was formed first, then Eve; and Adam was not deceived, but the woman was deceived and became a transgressor. Rab. belief held that that which was first created, i.e. Adam, was of greater value (SB III 645 f.). The second clause may be related to a Jewish belief that Eve was deceived sexually by Satan. It is in this sense that Adam

is said not to have been deceived. ([Tr.] There are good grounds for regarding the idea of Eve's sexual defilement by the serpent as later; SB I 694 f. gives the earlier beliefs. Moreover, Paul is only following then Gen. story which depicts Eve as the one who succumbed to the blandishments of the serpent.)

3. In Rom. 5:12–21; 1 Cor. 15:20–22, 45–49 Paul sets out the contrast between the old and the new age (→ Time), between man under → sin and under the salvation of God, by a typological parallelism of Adam and Christ, where Adam is the type and Christ the antitype (→ Image, *typos*).

(a) When (according to Gen. 3), the transgression of God's commandment brought about a loss of trust in both God and fellow-man, an inevitable consequence had occurred. Paul refers to it in Rom. 5:12: "Sin came into the world through one man" (→ Sin, Art. *hamartia*). The thought is not that of the transmission of sin by physical inheritance, but the creation of a situation of mutual mistrust which no one can avoid. Hence sin permeates the whole of humanity.

(b) Death is now not the natural result of sin but God's judgment on it (Rom. 6:23; see above OT). Hence death came through sin to all men (Rom. 5:12), or put more briefly, "As in Adam all die" (1 Cor. 15:22).

(c) Before the giving of the → Law man did not sin as Adam did (Rom. 5:14). This was a special era. In contrast to Adam and to men under the Law they had no express commandment. They died because they had sinned, but there was no exact book-keeping. Sin takes on the explicit character of transgression and disobedience directed against God in the light of the Law (Rom. 7:7 ff.). Sin becomes "sinful beyond measure" and fully recognizable in its nature. To that extent Adam typifies fallen man before God.

(d) Adam is also a type of that which is to come, the age to come, the kingdom of God (Rom. 5:14). The sentence, "For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive" (1 Cor. 15:22; cf. Rom. 5:14 ff.) means that mankind which has lost its real life through sin is typified by Adam. The Risen One is the personal agent of new life, for he represents the beginning of the general → resurrection of the dead (1 Cor. 15:20). In Jewish thought this was linked with the beginning of the new → creation, the forgiveness of sins (cf. 1 Cor. 15:17, "If Christ has not been raised . . . you are still in your sins"; Rom. 4:25, "Who was . . . raised for our justification"). This creates for all the possibility of being freed from the compulsion to sin, the root of which is mistrust of God. The Risen One is the beginning of a new humanity, for he accepted the validity of God's sentence of judgment, allowing God to be God. He put his trust in him alone, and expected from him nothing but what was good. In so doing, he undid man's basic sin, that of Adam, which was mistrust of God's goodness (Gen. 3).

(e) When Paul speaks of Jesus as Adam's antitype, he used the idea of "the second man" (1 Cor. 14:45 ff.), a term which may be borrowed from gnosticism. ([Ed.] On the other hand, gnosticism may have derived it from Christian thought.) The term suggests the true, original man who came into the world to impart the saving truth by which he himself lived. Whatever personalities Judaism may have expected in the last days, Jesus as the Risen One exceeded all expectations, for in his individual person he represented the general resurrection, and with it the advent of the kingdom of God, the new creation and the forgiveness of sins (1 Cor. 15:18; Col. 1:18). These conceptions were not as familiar to the Greeks as to the

Palestinian Jews. Consequently Paul may have used this picture to express to the Greeks and the Hellenistic world the message proclaimed to the Palestinian Christian of the resurrection, the advent of the kingdom of God and the forgiveness of sins. The Greek could conceive of salvation only as the truth, the "idea", which lies behind the world and which has been obscured by the transitory, vain world of appearances. Therefore, only the original man can bring about the true being of man, for he incorporates the original purpose of God for mankind. But this true man, Paul says, is not Adam but Christ. As the original man revealed in the resurrection, Jesus can make the new creation a reality for the Greeks.

4. We should note that Paul corrects Gnostic mythology at this point, by insisting on the corporeality of the resurrection body. It shows the world unknown to us as God's good creation. Resurrection does not mean that the spiritual element in man is now with God. It is not the fact that we exist in → "flesh" as transient beings that makes us sinners, but that we live "according to the flesh". That is, we allow ourselves to be determined by that which is transitory in our lives. Hence, resurrection is not without a body. The Risen One was recognized as the one who he was (his → *sōma*, lit. body, means the man himself). Nevertheless this *sōma* cannot be described by any terms at our disposal. The corporeality given to man at the Creation is not that given at the resurrection. The original man is not merely the simple original picture of mankind. The concept is eschatological. The Risen One brings us a new and for us unknown existence with God (1 Cor. 15:44b ff.). Hence the new creation is more than a mere restoration of the original; it brings into being something new and until now unknown. *H. Seebass*

→ Image, → Man

Eὗa | *Eὗa* (*Heua*), Eve.

OT Gen. 3:20 derives the name Eve (Heb. *ḥawwâh*) from the fact that she was the "mother of all living" (*'ēm kol-ḥai*). Midrashic exegesis connected the name with the Aram. *ḥiwyā'*, serpent, a view which has been revived in recent times. Koehler-Baumgartner (280 f.) mention 9 explanations of the etymology of the name given to Adam's wife. The first creation narrative tells of the creation of man and woman together in the → image of God (Gen. 1:27). In the second narrative (Gen. 2:18–25 → woman was formed from man to be his helper. In Gen. 3 it is the woman who heeds the blandishments of the serpent and eats the forbidden → fruit before giving some to her husband. It is only after the → fall that the name Eve is mentioned. She is mentioned as the mother of Cain (Gen. 4:1) and Abel, but not elsewhere in the OT. In inter-testamental literature she is mentioned in Tob 8:6; Sib. 1:29; Philo, *Leg. All.*, 2, 81; Josephus, *Antiquities*, 1, 49.

NT Eve is mentioned by name in 1 Tim. 2:13 and 2 Cor. 11:3. The former passage alludes to Gen. 2 f. in support of Paul's argument why he permits "no woman to teach or to have authority over men" (v. 12). For the Gen. story depicts Adam being formed first and the woman (not Adam) being deceived. For Paul the story is symbolic of the role of the sexes in life in general and that of the church. In 2 Cor. 11:2 the deception of Eve by the serpent (→ Dragon, Serpent) is seen as an

example of how Christians may be led astray. It was only in post-biblical literature that Eve was seen as a type of Mary (e.g. Iren., *Haer.*, 3, 22, 4; 5, 19, 1; cf. H. Graef, *Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion*, I–II, 1963–65). *C. Brown*

→ Woman

(a). C. K. Barrett, *From First Adam to Last*, 1962; K. Barth, *Christ and Adam: Man and Humanity in Romans 5*, 1956; M. Black, "The Pauline Doctrine of the Second Adam," *SJT* 7, 1954, 170–79; F. H. Borsch, *The Son of Man in Myth and History*, 1967; and *The Christian and Gnostic Son of Man*, 1970; R. Bultmann, "Adam and Christ according to Romans 5," in W. Klassen and G. F. Snyder, eds., *Current Issues in N.T. Interpretation*, 1962, 143-165, B. S. Childs, "Adam," *IDB* I 42 ff.; and "Eve" ibid. II 181 f.; and *Myth and Reality in the Old Testament*, 1960; O. Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament*, 1963², 137 ff.; J. Daniélou, *From Shadows to Reality: Studies in the Typology of the Fathers*, 1960, 11–65; W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, 1948, 36 ff.; J. D. G. Dunn, "I Corinthians 15:45—Last Adam, Life-giving Spirit"; and M. E. Thrall, "Christ Crucified or Second Adam," in B. Lindars and S. S. Smalley, eds., *Christ and Spirit in the New Testament*, (Moule Festschrift) 1973, 127–42, 142–56; W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*, II, 1969, 118 ff.; J. de Fraine, *Adam and the Family of Man*, 1965; J. G. Gibbs, *Creation and Redemption: a Study in Pauline Theology*, 1971; J. Hick, *Evil and the God of Love*, 1966; M. D. Hooker, "Adam in Romans I," *NTS* 6, 1959–60, 297–306; J. Jeremias, *'Adam*, *TDNT* I 141 ff.; E. Käsemann, "On Paul's Anthropology," in *Perspectives on Paul*, 1971, 1–31; T. C. Mitchell and J. Murray, "Adam," *NBD* 13 f.; J. Murray, *The Imputation of Adam's Sin*, 1959; W. Mork, *The Biblical Meaning of Man*, 1967; R. Prins, "The Image of God in Adam and the Restoration of Man in Jesus Christ," *SJT* 25, 1972, 32 ff.; E. K. V. Pearce, *Who Was Adam?*, 1969; B. Ramm, *A Christian View of Science and Scripture*, 1955, 221 ff.; O. Schilling, "Adam," *EBT* I, 6–9; R. Scroggs, *The Last Adam: A study of Pauline Anthropology*, 1966; D. Somerville, *St. Paul's Concept of Christ, or the Doctrine of the Second Adam*, 1897; W. D. Stacey, *The Pauline View of Man*, 1956; G. Widengren, "Early Hebrew Myths and their Interpretation," in S. H. Hooke, ed., *Myth, Ritual and Kingship*, 1958; N. P. Williams, *The Ideas of the Fall and of Original Sin*, 1917. Commentaries on Genesis by U. Cassuto, I, 1961; D. Kidner, 1967; G. von Rad, 1961; and E. A. Speiser, 1964. Commentaries on *Romans* by C. K. Barrett, 1957; F. F. Bruce, 1969; J. Murray. 1959.

(b). X. Le Bachelet, "Adam", *DTC* I, 1, 509–19; E. Brandenburger, *Adam und Christus: Exegetisch-religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu Römer 5, 12–21*, 1962; J. Cambier, "Péchés des hommes et péché d'Adam en Rom. V. 12," *NTS* 11, 1965, 217–55; H. Gressmann, "Mythische Reste in der Paradieserzählung," *ARW* 10, 1907, 358 ff.; and "Die Paradiessage," in *Festgabe von Fachgenossen und Freunden A. von Harnack*, 1921; J. Jervell, *Imago Dei: Gen. 1, 26 f. im Spätjudentum, in der Gnosis und in den Paulinischen Briefen*, 1960; E. Jüngel, "Das Gesetz zwischen Adam und Christus," *ZTK* 60, 1963, 42–74; L. Ligier, *Péché d'Adam et Péché du Monde*, 1960; O. Michel, *Der Brief an die Römer*, KEK IV, 1966¹³; B. Reinach, "La Naissance d'Eve," *RHR* 78, 1918, 185 ff.; H. Renckens, *Urgeschichte und Heilsgeschichte*, 1959; H. Tuerck, *Pandora und Eva*, 1931; T. C. Vriezen, *Onderzoek naar de Paradijsvoorstelling bij de oude semietische Volken*, 1937, 130 ff.; C. Westermann, *'ādām*, *THAT* I 42–58.

Advocate, Paraclete, Helper

παράκλητος

παράκλητος (*paraklētos*), helper, intercessor, advocate, paraclete.

CL *paraklētos* is a cognate of the vb. *parakaleō*, the meanings of which in cl. Gk. range from call in, send for, summon, to exhort, encourage, comfort, console. The noun *paraklētos* is derived from the verbal adj. and means called [to one's aid]. It is first found in a legal context in the court of justice, meaning legal assistant, advocate (Demosthenes, 19, 1; cf. Lycurgus, *Frag.* 102). "There is no instance of *paraklētos*, like its Lat. equivalent *advocatus*, being used as a tt. for the professional

legal advisor or defender of an accused person in the same sense as *syndikos* or *synēgoros*. But the use of *paraklētos* for representative is to be understood in the light of legal assistance in court, the pleading of another's case, Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom., XI, 37, 1" (J. Behm, *TDNT* V 801). The existence of the Lat. legal term *advocatus* may have led early Christian writers to use it to translate *paraklētos* (cf. Tert., *Adv. Prax.*, 9; Cyprian, *Ep.* 55, 18; Novatian, *De trinitate*, 28, 29; Augustine, *Tract. in Ioan.*, 94; cf. Arndt, 623). In the history of religions numerous helpers are known. In the Mandaean writings dating from the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. there are several helpers, including Yawar (means helper) which has some features in common with the Johannine *paraklētos* (*TDNT* V 808).

OT Job's "comforters" are called *paraklētores* (plur. in Job 16:2 LXX; Aquila and Theodotion have *paraklētoi*). The Heb. is *m^{e}naḥ^{a}mîm*. It is significantly the only instance of the word in the LXX. The question may be asked whether there is a correspondence between the "comforters" and Satan (cf. Job 1:6 ff.; 2:11 f. → Accuse). They are ostensibly friends who come to admonish Job but are unable to do so. Philo used the word in the sense of intercessor (*Jos.*, 239; *Vit. Mos.*, 2,134; *Spec. Leg.*, 1) and adviser, helper (*Op. Mund.*, 23; 165). Josephus used only the compounds *aparaklētos* and *dysparaklētos* (*War*, 6,190; *Ant.*, 16,151) in a similar sense to Philo. The word was transliterated in Rab. Jud. as *p^{e}raqlēṭ* and other similar forms. It was used as a loanword in the sense of advocate, counsel, defender, especially of man before God (SB II 560 ff.; *TDNT* V 802). There is no known corresponding word in Qumran literature. Only later did the meaning of "comforter" penetrate early Christian literature through its connection with *parakaleō* (→ Exhort, art. *parakaleō*).

NT The etymology of *paraklētos* suggests that it was used originally in the passive sense of one called in to help. But the passages in which it occurs in the NT show that this is alien to its meaning there. The *paraklētos* is not called in but sent (Jn. 14:26; 15:26; 16:7), given and received (Jn. 14:16 f.). He does not merely put in a good word, but brings active help. The sense of helper and intercessor is suitable in all occurrences of the word (Arndt, 624; cf. E. J. Goodspeed, *Problems of New Testament Translation*, 1945, 110 f.). 1 Jn. 2:1 f. gives the term a soteriological character in calling "Jesus Christ the righteous" our "advocate" (*paraklētos*) and "propitiation" (*hilasmos*) "for the sins of the whole world" (→ Reconciliation, art. *hilaskomai*).

The descriptions of the *paraklētos* in Jn. go beyond the task of an intercessor. He will "convince the world of sin and of righteousness and of judgment" (16:8 RSV, cf. vv. 9 ff. → Guilt, art. *elenchō*). He will "teach you all things, and bring to your remembrance all that I have said to you" (14:26). Although the world will not know the *paraklētos*, the disciples "know him, for he dwells with you, and will be in you" (14:17). He will "bear witness" to Jesus (15:26). All this indicates that his role is to continue the revealing work of Jesus. The Spirit of truth "will guide you into all the truth; for he will not speak on his own authority, but whatever he hears he will speak, and he will declare to you the things that are to come. He will glorify me, for he will take what is mine and declare it to you" (16:13 f.). The purpose is not to satisfy curiosity about the future, but to continue the work of the historical Jesus in the Christ proclaimed by the church.

The paraclete-sayings lead to a stage in early christian history which Luke treats in his description of the bestowal of the → Spirit (Acts 1, 2 and 10). The Spirit honours Jesus and gives prominence to the time of Jesus. On the other hand, the church has the gift of the Spirit, and to that extent stands in continuity with Jesus and his time that is now past. But this is far removed from the Roman Catholic idea that the Paraclete is bound to an institutional teaching office whose work is to expound the apostolic tradition preserved in the church.

A further question arises out of the fact that the word *paraklētos* in the NT denotes both a person and a power. In Jn. the *paraklētos* is the successor of Jesus who is himself called *paraklētos* (Jn. 14:16; 1 Jn. 2:1). But he is also termed "the → Spirit of → truth" (*to pneuma tēs alētheias*, Jn. 14:17; 15:26; 16:13) and "the Holy Spirit" (Jn. 14:26). This leads O. Betz to the conjecture of a being behind which stands a heavenly power (see bibliography). Hence, the question arises whether the *paraklētos* refers to a particular person, perhaps "a prophetic teacher who preserves, develops and completes the revelation of Jesus" (Betz), or is even the evangelist himself (H. Sasse, see bibliography). However, the identification of the *paraklētos* with the Spirit is for Bultmann the decisive factor in assessing the traditional understanding of the teaching of the evangelists. This militates against identifying him with a particular person.

The sole exception is Jesus himself who together with the Spirit is called *paraklētos* (Jn. 14:16; 1 Jn. 2:1). This restriction of the title to Jesus and the Spirit requires a theological interpretation of the term which is at the same time polemical. They alone – and not the multitude of non-Christian revealers and helpers – are the sole and real paracletes. This accounts for the repeated and stressed connection with the Father. The term is a variable concept which cannot be reduced to a single interpretation. On the one hand, it is Jesus who sends the *paraklētos* from the Father (Jn. 15:26). On the other hand, the Father sends the *paraklētos* at the request of Jesus (14:16, 26). According to Jn. 14:26, Jesus himself is a *paraklētos* who is distinct from the other *paraklētos* whom the Father will send in his name.

It is striking that the term *paraklētos* is only found in the Johannine writings, and apart from 1 Jn. 2:1 it occurs only in the discourses (Jn. 14:16, 26; 15:26; 16:7; cf. 16:12 ff.). To that extent the paraclete-sayings belong to the questions raised by the Fourth Gospel and in particular by its discourses. The term is not found in Paul or the Synoptics. Rom. 8:26, 34 (cf. Heb. 7:25) does not form an exact parallel in style or teaching. Such considerations have led critics to question whether there are any traditions apart from Jn. which trace the idea or the teaching back to the historical Jesus. The suggestion has also been made that Jn. was influenced by extraneous thought-forms in the composition of these sayings. Their interpretation will depend on whatever weight may be given to critical considerations and other factors in the history of religions. ([Ed.] The question may, however, be asked whether the other evangelists do not express aspects of Jn's paraclete teaching in other ways. Matt., in particular, speaks of the continued presence and help of Christ in a way which does not involve his physical presence (Matt. 18:20). It is linked with the Father and the Holy Spirit (Matt. 28:19 f.; Lk. 24:48 f.; cf. Matt. 11:27; Lk. 10:22). As such, it is not known to the world generally but only to those to whom the revelation is given. Moreover, Jesus promised the assistance of the Holy Spirit in enabling them speak under trial (Matt. 10:20; Mk. 13:11; cf.

Lk. 21:15). Although they themselves are being judged, the implication is that their witness will convict their adversaries. Matt. and Lk. speak of a commitment of Jesus to his followers in such a way that those who receive them receive him and him who sent him (Matt. 10:40; Lk. 10:16; cf. Jn. 13:20). Moreover, this presence of Jesus in those who are his forms the basis of the conviction of the nations in judgment (Matt. 25:31–46). This gives rise to the suggestion that what in Matt. and Lk. is depicted as the continuing presence and work of Jesus in the post-resurrection church is depicted by Jn. as the activity of the *paraklētos* of Jesus.)

([Ed.] The translation of the word *paraklētos* into English presents obvious difficulties. The word "advocate" reflects the early Christian Lat. equivalent with all its legal connotations, as does the RSV "Counsellor", though the latter may also have overtones of giving advice. Whilst this may well fit Jn. 16:7 ff. and 1 Jn. 2:1 (where RSV also has "advocate"), the legal connotation seems to be absent from the other passages. The same applies to N. H. Snaith's suggestion of "convincer" (see bibliography). The translation "comforter" which goes back to Wycliffe is weak and misleading, unless one reads into it an etymological sense (Lat. *con* with; *fortis* strong). J. G. Davies (see bibliography) has, however, argued that comforter is the original meaning on the basis of the connection between *paraklētos* and *parakaleō* in the LXX where it means comfort or console. He sees this idea foremost in such passages as Isa. 33:7–10; 35:2–7; 61:1 f.; 66:10–19 [cf. 66:14 with Jn. 16:22]; Ezek. 31:15 ff. However, these passages are not particularly associated with the *paraklētos* in the NT, and the idea of "comforter" does not seem to be particularly appropriate in the *paraklētos*-passages. This leaves either the loanword "paraclete" or "helper". Paraclete has the advantage and disadvantage of being neutral and meaningless, unless the Gk. background is known. Helper is an active word and thus does not convey the passive sense of the Gk. etymology, i.e. someone called in. Nevertheless, it is the one English word which is both meaningful and fits all the passages in which *paraklētos* occurs in the NT.) *G. Braumann*

→ Spirit, Holy Spirit

(a). Arndt, 623 f.; C. K. Barrett, "The Holy Spirit in the Fourth Gospel," *JTS* New Series 1, 1950, 1–15; idem, *The Holy Spirit and the Gospel Tradition*, 1947; idem, *The Gospel According to St. John*, 1955; J. Behm, *paraklētos*, *TDNT* V, 800–14; R. E. Brown, "The Paraclete in the Fourth Gospel," *NTS* 13, 1966–67, 113–32; F. D. Bruner, *A Theology of the Holy Spirit*, 1971; R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 1971; J. G. Davies, "The Primary Meaning of *paraklētos*," *JTS* New Series 4, 1953, 35–8; A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 1911², 339 f.; J. D. G. Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit*, 1970; W. F. Howard, *Christianity According to St. John*, 1943, 71–80; G. Johnston, *The Spirit-Paraclete in the Gospel of John*, 1970; A. R. C. Leaney, "The Johannine Paraclete and the Qumran Scrolls", in J. H. Charlesworth, ed., *John and Qumran*, 1972, 38–61; L. Morris, *The Gospel According to John*, 1971, 662–66; O. Schmitz and G. Stählin, *parakaleō*, *paraklēsis*, *TDNT* V 773–79; H. N. Snaith, *ExpT*, 57, 1945–46, 47–50; H. B. Swete, *The Holy Spirit in the New Testament*, 1903. (See also Addenda, p.822.)

(b). E. Bammel, "Jesus und der Paraklet in Johannes 16," in B. Lindars and S. S. Smalley, eds., *Christ and Spirit in the New Testament* (Moule Festschrift), 1973, 199–218; O. Betz, *Der Paraklet: Fürsprecher im häretischen Spätjudentum, im Johannes-Evangelium und in neu gefundenen gnostischen Schriften*, 1963; G. Bornkamm, "Der Paraklet im Johannesevangelium" in *Festschrift für Rudolf Bultmann*, 1949, 12–35; J. Jeremias, *Heiligengräber in Jesu Umwelt*, 1958, 133 ff.; N. Johansson, *Parakletoi: Vorstellungen von Fürsprechern für die Menschen vor Gott in der alttestamentlischen Religion, im Spätjudentum und im Urchristentum*, 1940; G. W. Locher, "Der Geist als Paraklet," *EvTh* 26, 1966, 565 ff.; W. Michaelis, "Zur Herkunft des Johanneischen Paraklet-Titels," *Coniectanea Neotestamentica*, 11, 1947, 147–62; S. Mowinckel, "Die Vorstellungen des Spätjudentums

vom heiligen Geist als Fürsprecher und der Johanneische Paraklet," *ZNW* 32, 1933, 97–130; F. Mussner, "Die johanneischen Parakletsprüche und die apostolische Tradition," *Biblische Zeitschrift* 5, 1961, 56–70; S. Schulz, *Untersuchungen zur Menschensohn-Christologie im Johannesevangelium*, 1957; H. Windisch, "Die fünf Parakletsprüche" in *Festgabe für Adolf Jülicher*, 1927, 110–37.

Age, Stature, Maturity

ἡλικία

ἡλικία (*hēlikia*), age, life-span, stature.

CL Originally *hēlikia* meant (1) the relative age in life of the person mentioned (Homer, *Il.* 22, 419) hence it could be applied to any age; (2) the years of discretion as an expression of manliness (*en hēlikia*, come of age); (3) a generation (Hdt. onwards) as a measure of time. Finally from the second meaning we get (4) height, size of body (Dem. onwards). Only (1) and (2) can be clearly found in the papyri, and no example of (4) has yet been discovered in them.

OT In the LXX *hēlikia* is probably found only with the first two meanings (*c.* 20 times) and that mostly in 2, 3, 4 Macc., in other words, in late writings of the Hellenistic period. It is found once as a translation of the Heb. *qômâh*, stature (Ezek. 13:18). Philo used the word mostly of age.

In Judaism, as in antiquity generally, there was great respect for the older men (Lev. 19:32), because they had wisdom and understanding (Job. 15:10, Sir. 6:34 f.; 25:4 ff.). There is nothing surprising in the fact that the elders accordingly exercised a leading role among the people from the first.

NT In the NT *hēlikia* doubtless means stature in Lk. 19:3. But normally it has the first two meanings (e.g. Heb. 11:11, age; Jn. 9:21, 23, maturity). The three following points are of importance:

1. Man cannot influence the physical age he attains; it is a gift of the creator. Hence in Matt. 6:27 and Lk. 12:25 *hēlikia* should not be translated height or stature (AV, RV tx, RSV mg) but age or span of life (RV mg, RSV tx). With all his worrying man is not even able to lengthen his life by a trifling measure of time. This saying is found also in P. Oxy. 655 fragment 1b., but is missing in Gos. Thom., logion 6.

2. Lk. 2:52 says that Jesus "increased in wisdom and in stature" (RSV mg "in years"). The references to Jesus' growth in 1:80 and 2:40 have caused many to think here of "stature". Nevertheless the verb "increase" (*prokoptō*, i.e. make progress) makes it probable that *hēlikia* is used here in the fig. sense of growing up to maturity, to full manhood (G. Stählin, *TDNT* VI 712 ff.).

3. The word is also found in a metaphorical sense in Eph. 4:13, "to the measure of maturity (*hēlikia*) of the fulness of Christ." Maturity is that through which the grown man – *anēr teleios* (v. 13), RSV "mature manhood" – is to be distinguished from the child, the minor (*nēpios*, v. 14), who is tossed about and easily influenced. The measure of the maturity implies a goal that has been set (as under 2). But here it is not for the individual believer but the church, which is built up as the body of Christ (v. 12). Each member contributes his measure of effectiveness (v. 16)

according to the measure of the grace given to each (v. 7). The goal, however, is that they should all arrive at the unity of faith and knowledge of the Son of God (v. 13a) (→ Fullness, Art. *plēroō*). For only then will the whole body be like a grown man (v. 13). We may, therefore, see the meaning of stature or size here in *hēlikia*, but that of mature manhood is to be preferred (→ Goal). *R. Schippers*
→ Old, → Time

J. Schneider, *ἡλικία*, *TDNT* II 941 ff.; Moulton-Milligan, 279; E. K. Simpson, *Words Worth Weighing in the Greek New Testament*, 1946, 24 f.

Akeldama

Ἀκελδαμάχ

Ἀκελδαμάχ (*Akeldamach*), Akeldama. There are also the *v.l. Akeldaimach*, *Akeldama*, *Akeldamak*, and *Achelda-mach*.

This place name is found only in Acts 1:19 where it refers to a field which Judas purchased with the thirty pieces of silver and where (so it is implied, though not precisely stated) he subsequently committed suicide. It can well be identified with the field purchased by the priestly authorities (Matt. 27:3–10), the two being linked by the popular designation of the place as *chōrion* (Matt. 27:8; in Acts 1:19, *agros*) *haimatos* (of → blood). Tradition associates the site with a cemetery used up to the 17th century for the burial of pilgrims at the east end and on the south slope of Hinnom.

Problems surround every aspect of this matter.

1. The acquisition of the field. Matthew's account (27:7) says that the priests used the returned silver to make the purchase; Acts 1:18 makes Judas the purchaser. Since Matt. 27:3 associates Judas' contribution with the condemnation of Jesus, and records that he took immediate steps to relieve himself of the accursed money, we ought to understand Acts as merely intending to make a direct link between that which was paid to Judas, and was therefore his money, and the purchase of the field. In this regard, the priests were but his agents.

2. The OT background. Behind Matt. 27:9 there is a complex of OT passages, certainly including Jer. 32:7–9 and Zech. 11:12, 13 and possibly the potter-allusions in Jer. 18, 19 also. In returning the money, Judas did what Zechariah did; in buying the field, the priests did what Jeremiah did.

3. The name. The wealth of variants reveals a real element of uncertainty concerning the Aramaic background to the name. The most likely is *ḥ^{a}qēl d^{e}ma'*, consonant with the interpretative comment in Matt. and Acts, "the field of blood", but "field of sleep" has been seriously canvassed and would accord aptly with the use of the plot for burials, along the line of the well-established → death/sleep metaphor.

4. The relation of Akeldama to the death of Judas. Matt. explains that the name "field of blood" arose from the use of blood money in its purchase. Acts does not absolutely require more than this; it does not specify that Judas' suicide took place there; at most it offers the circumstance of his death as additional justification for such a repellent nomenclature. Recognizing the possibility of foreshortening in

narrative forms, we need not assume that Judas' suicide followed at once on the return of the money (Matt. 27:5), though it may well have done. In any event it became notorious through the grim details as recorded in Acts. The expression *prēnēs genomenos* is usually taken as "falling headlong"; i.e. subsequent to hanging (Matt. 27:5), the body fell – before or after death, maybe in the actual death throes of the unfortunate man. There is a possibility, however, that *prēnēs* could be traced to *pimprēmi*, "to burn with fever, to swell up." This would provide an even more suitable introduction to *elakēsen mesos* (Acts 1:18): *lakaō* is hapax legomenon in NT. It is related classically to *lēkeō* and thence to *laskō*, to shout, (of animals) to scream, (later) to crack, burst. *J. A. Motyer*

→ Blood

(a). Arndt, 29; K. W. Clark, "Akeldama," *IDB* I 73 f.; Funk § 39, 3; B. Gärtner, *StTh* 8, 1954, 16–20; R. H. Gundry, *The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel*, 1967, 122 ff.; J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, 1969, 138 ff.; B. Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic*, 1961, 102, 109, 116–122, 263 f.; K. Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew*, 1968², 120–27; commentaries on Acts by F. F. Bruce, 1952², and E. Haenchen, 1971; A. B. Gordon, "The Fate of Judas according to Acts 1:18", *EQ* 44, 1971, 97–100.
(b). SB I 1029 ff.; J. Sickenberger, "Judas als Stifter des Blutackers," *BZ* 18, 1929, 69 ff.

All, Many

Statements which apply to the totality of a group may be made from two different standpoints. On the one hand, stress may be laid on the group as a whole. In this case Gk. uses *pas*, or its plur. *pantes*. The sing., like *holos*, can also mean "whole", a meaning also borne occasionally by *polloi*. On the other hand, stress may be laid on each of the many individuals or parts which make up the totality. In this case, we find either *hekastos* (used 81 times in the NT, but only once in plur.) and often the strengthened form *heis hekastos* (→ One) or *pas*, one of the commonest words in the NT. *pas* and *hekastos* are used with unusual frequency in 1 Cor.

πᾶς

πᾶς (*pas*), each, all, the whole; ἅπας (*hapas*), all, the whole.

pas as an adj. in the sing. (a) without art., means each; (b) before a noun with art., all (e.g. *pasa hē Ioudaia*, all Judea (Matt. 3:5); (c) between the art. and noun, the whole, all (e.g. *ho pas nomos* (Gal. 5:14), the whole law). Here the sum total as opposed to the parts, the complete as opposed to the separated portions is stressed. *pas* in the plur. means all. *pas* as a noun means each, everyone; linked with *tis* it means any. *to pan* means all, the whole, also the main point. *en panti* means in each matter, in every respect, in all. The neut. plur. *panta* means all, *ta panta*, all this (2 Cor. 4:15), all things (Rom. 11:36; Col. 1:16 f., and frequently); in secular Gk. *ta panta* also means the all, the universe. *hapas* is a strengthened form of *pas*, often used with the same but sometimes with an intensive meaning, the whole, all, everybody.

1. In the NT, as in the OT, *pas* together with *hapas* is one of the commonest words. The concept expresses a collective totality. → *polloi* (see below) often bears a similar meaning. Often it may be translated by "each thing". The Israelite was not permitted to sum up the world by a unifying concept like cosmos, for God alone is

one. The → world remained a plurality showing many differences and is unified only by the creative sovereignty of God over it. The NT never approaches pantheism, though references to → powers, → demons and → magic might occasionally give the contrary impression. Its understanding is based on the OT, as 1 Cor. 8:6 shows: "For us there is one God, the Father, from whom are all things (*ta panta*) and for whom we exist, and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things and through whom we exist." All comes from God and returns to him. God is the beginning and the end, origin and goal, and as such he has made himself known in his son. That is why the Christian is in no uncertainty about the outcome of his faith.

2. Paul expresses the same point in Rom. 11:36: "For from him and through him and to him are all things (*ta panta*)." This corresponds to the OT declaration of Isa. 44:24: "I am the Lord, who made all things." This witness to the uniqueness and universality of God is fully aware of the first commandment and rejects every power that claims to have shared in God's work of → creation. This is not contradicted by the claim that through Jesus Christ all things were made (1 Cor. 8:6), in heaven and on earth, visible and invisible (Col. 1:15 f.). For as "God's image" (→ Image, art. *eikōn*) Christ is God himself in his relationship with the world. He is the executor of God's will (Col. 1:19 f.). All beings exist because he exists, live because he lives, and are under God's rule because he rules them (Col. 1:16 ff.; Jn. 1:3). He who separates himself from the Son cuts himself off from the root of his life. He who is in complete fellowship with Christ shares in his complete creation ("All are yours", 1 Cor. 3:22; cf. Col. 2:9).

3. The exaltation of the Son confirms that all authority (→ Might) has been given to him (Matt. 28:18). His office as ruler embraces the fullness and majesty of God. Hence, he has authority in heaven, and on earth there is nothing that has power apart from him (Jn. 1:3; Col. 1:15 ff.; cf. Matt. 11:27).

Our Lord's power over all was not there merely to comfort the disciples. They were to proclaim it in all the world to every creature (Matt. 28:18 ff.; Mk. 16:15; Col. 1:23). It gives motive and success to the apostolic preaching, to mission and evangelism. The church is to reach its fulfilment in Christ (Eph. 1:22; Col. 3:11). The whole creation is to recognize and acknowledge Christ as Lord (Phil. 2:9 ff.). If all authority had not been given him, the proclamation of the gospel would be a fruitless venture, condemned in advance to futility. But what his emissaries bring is fellowship with him who is lord of all and who accomplishes his work through the Son and his Spirit (Matt. 28:18 ff.) He lifts men from striving after security for their own existence and raises them to participate in the work of the creation.

F. Graber

πολλοί

πολλοί (*polloi*), many, the many.

CL *hoi polloi* (plur. of *polys*) has in secular Gk. the meaning of the most, the majority, great multitude.

OT In the LXX it often represents the Heb. *rabbîm*, which tends to mean "all". Hence the Gk. use of the word draws a distinction between the many (but not all) and the rest, a majority as contrasted with a minority. But Heb. use, and hence

that of the Gk. of the LXX is capable of an inclusive meaning denoting the many individuals in a totality. A possible residue may not be considered (cf. Deut. 7:1; 15:6; 28:12; Isa. 52:14f.; Ezek. 39:27).

If we omit its collective use (much water, long time, etc.), *rabbîm* in the OT is used almost always with *'ammîm* or *gôyîm* of non-Israelite peoples. Many peoples stream to Zion to come under God's protection and enter his service (Isa. 2:2 ff.); the Servant of God bears the sins of the many (Isa. 53, → Son, art. *pais theou*).

This summarizing use of *rabbîm* is also found in the Qumran texts, though in another context. The message of the Teacher of Righteousness, the founder of the Qumran community, is for the congregation, the many (1QH 4:27). In the Manual of Discipline "the many" are the whole body of full members.

NT In the NT the interpretation depends on grammatical position. Three usages may be distinguished.

1. As a noun with the art. *hoi polloi* is twice used differentiatingly with the meaning of "the most"; Matt. 24:12, "And because wickedness is multiplied, most men's love will grow cold"; and 2 Cor. 2:17, "For we are not as the many, corrupting the word of God" (RV).

Elsewhere in the NT *hoi polloi* may have the summarizing meaning of the OT, e.g. Mk. 6:2 (Lk. 4:22, the parallel passage has "all"), "the large congregation who heard him" (NEB); Mk. 9:26, "most of them said" (RSV – but in fact "all of them said"); Rom. 5:15, "For if the wrong doing of that one man brought death upon so many" (NEB), i.e. "all".

In the section Rom. 5:15–21 "the many" in the sense of all are contrasted with the one who puts an end to the dominating power of sin and death. Through Adam we see what Christ achieves. As through one man sin and death came to all, so also through one individual man, Jesus, righteousness and life was brought to all. That *hoi polloi* has here a summarizing meaning can be seen from the context. To translate "most men had to die" would be meaningless. The meaning is indicated in v. 15 by the parallels in v. 12 and 1 Cor. 15:22 which have *pantes* meaning all, and in v. 19 by v. 18 with its *pantes* (cf. also 11:32). Besides all this, the section has clear references to Isa. 53:11 f., which makes an interpretation in the Heb. sense the more likely. Paul contrasts here the totality of the descendants of Adam with the totality of believers. He leaves it an open question whether the totality of believers will ever include the whole of mankind.

Rom. 12:5 and 1 Cor. 10:17a speak of the many (*hoi polloi*) as being one → body in Christ, referring to all the members of the church (cf. *pantes* in 1 Cor. 12:13; 10:17b). In Heb. 12:15 reference to "the many" suggests that the whole congregation might be defiled through the bitterness of some.

2. As a noun without the art. The question arises whether *polloi* without the art. or used as an adj., is used with a summarizing meaning in the sense of all, or whether it should be translated as "many". The question is important in cases like Matt. 22:14, "Many are called, but few are chosen"; Mk. 10:45 (Matt. 20:28), "The Son of man also came . . . to give his life as a ransom for many"; Mk. 14:24 (Matt. 26:28), "This is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many"; Heb. 9:28, "Christ having been offered once to bear the sins of many". J. Jeremias (*TDNT* VI 543 ff.) assumes the summarizing meaning of *polloi* in these passages.

It may be doubted whether this is so in Matt. 22:14. When the called (*klētoi*) and the chosen (*eklektoi*) are contrasted, we are not concerned with the suspension of the normal exclusive understanding of "called" (→ Call). We have here a dialectical usage. The many who have come together to hear the word of God are in fact called, but their mere belonging to the congregation is no guarantee that they are the chosen for the world to come. Thus in Matt. 22:14 the "many" means a majority in contrast with the "few", a minority who have fellowship with God. The saying is parallel with 7:21 ff. In it "we see the strictness with which Matthew consistently judges the Christian community" (J. Schniewind, *NTD* II 1954⁷, 221, 3; cf. A. Schlatter, *Matthäus*, 1959⁵, 641). The present writer agrees with Jeremias when he finds a summarizing meaning in Mk. 10:45 (Matt. 20:28); 14:24 (Matt. 26:28); Heb. 9:28, for all these passages look to Isa. 53, and a stronger Semitic sense may be assumed. In this case "the many" of Isa. 53 means all the nations of the world. Jesus, the Servant of God, gives his life as a ransom for all men and sheds his blood as a reconciliation for the whole world (cf. *hoi polloi* in Heb. 12:15).

3. As an adj. In Rom. 5:16 and Lk. 7:47 *polloi* is linked with sins and transgressions. In Rom. 5 a summarizing meaning may be deduced from the context. God's free gift of grace covers not only the majority of transgressions but all of them in bringing justification. The Gk. of Lk. 7:47 says lit.: "her sins, the many, are forgiven". This implies the totality: "all her sins – and they are many – are forgiven her." *F. Graber*

(a). Arndt, 636–39, 694 ff.; J. Jeremias, *polloi*, *TDNT* VI 536 ff.; and *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, 1955, 148 ff.; B. Reicke and G. Bertram, *pas*, *TDNT* V 886 ff.; P. Kaufmann, "The One and the Many: Corporate Personality in the Old Testament and Paul," *Worship* 42, 1968, 546–58; commentary on *Mark* by V. Taylor, 1952, on 10:45 and 14:24; commentaries on *Romans* by K. Barth, 1933, A. Nygren, 1952, and C. K. Barrett, 1957, on 5:12–19; commentary on *1 Corinthians* by C. K. Barrett, 1968, on 15:22–28; commentary on *2 Corinthians* by P. E. Hughes, 1962, on 5:14 f.; commentaries on *The Pastoral Epistles* by E. K. Simpson, 1954, and J. N. D. Kelly, 1963, on 1 Tim. 2:4 ff.; H. L. Ellison, "Paul and the Law – 'All Things to all Men'" in W. W. Gasque and R. P. Martin, eds., *Apostolic History and the Gospel*, 1970, 195–202.
(b). J. Jeremias, "Das Lösegeld für Viele," *Judaica* 3, 4, 1948, 249 ff.; W. Michaelis, *Versöhnung des Alles*, 1950; F. Mussner, *Christus, das All und die Kirche*, 1968; G. Sauer, *kōl*, *THAT* I 828 f.; A. Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Matthäus*, 1959⁵, 641.

Amen, Hallelujah, Hosanna

ἀμήν

ἀμήν (*amēn*), amen.

OT 1. Amen is a transliteration of the Heb. *'āmēn*, derived from *'āman*, (niph.) show oneself firm, dependable, be durable, last; (hiph.) know oneself to be secure, have faith, and so it means certain, true.

The word was used some 25 times in the OT on solemn occasions to confirm a curse or adjuration by identifying oneself with it, to accept a blessing, or to associate oneself with a doxology. To say "Amen" confirms a statement by someone else. In Num. 5:22 the woman suspected of adultery confirmed the priest's adjuration with a double amen. In Deut. 27:15–26 a twelvefold confirmation is given to

the curses pronounced against certain transgressors of the Law. In Jer. 11:5 the prophet agreed with God's threat of a curse on those who did not keep the covenant terms by saying "Amen". In Neh. 5:3 the people likewise confirmed their promise under the threat of a curse by Nehemiah. Since God himself is a witness of such confirmation, he is called in Isa. 65:16 "the God of the Amen" (LXX *theos alēthinos*; RSV "the God of truth"). The doxologies at the end of the first four books of the Pss. (41:13 (14); 72:19; 89:52 (53); 106:48) are closed by Amen. Neh. 8:6 and 1 Chr. 16:36 show it to be the people's expression of response. Through "amen" that which has been said is affirmed as certain, positive, valid and binding. A human commission which needs God's help to be carried out is confirmed by "amen" (1 Ki. 1:36). As a confirmation by the speaker (or writer) of his own words, amen has been found only once in the OT period, in a letter (an *ostrakon*) from the end of the 7th cent. B.C., written by Metzad Chashavyahu, where he says, "Amen, there is no mistake on my part."

LXX transliterates the Heb. *'āmēn* 8 times; in Jer. 28:6 (LXX 35:6) it is translated by *alēthōs*; it is rendered 17 times by *genoito* (so may it be). This latter makes it an expression of hope and desire, and no longer a confirmation of what is; the obligation conveyed by "amen" is also obscured (H. Schlier, *TDNT* I 336).

2. In Rab. sources "amen" is found only as a confirmatory and emphatic answer to what has been said by another. R. Jose b. Chanina (*c.* A.D. 270) said, "Amen contains an oath, the acceptance of words, and the confirmation of words." Anyone saying amen to a prayer or doxology made it his own. Anyone saying amen to an adjuration, blessing or curse made it binding on himself. Hence it was inferred that the adjuration of the woman suspected of adultery to which she had to answer Amen (Num. 5:11–31), had to be in a language she understood (Sifre Num. 12 on Num. 5:19). The Jew had to say amen to any doxology he heard. He who says amen properly will be richly rewarded by God. Amen is seldom found at the end of a prayer. In the worship of the Synagogue, but not of the Temple, the congregation answered "amen" to the doxologies pronounced by the leader of the worship and also to the three sections of the Aaronic blessing (Num. 6:24 ff.), which had to be modified to a prayer if spoken by a layman.

When someone joined the Qumran community, the priests repeated doxologies to God's glory and blessed all the men who belonged to God's portion, while the Levites cursed all the men who belonged to Belial's portion. All those entering the covenant answered these doxologies, blessings and curses with a double amen (1QS 1:20; 2:20, 18; cf. Deut. 27:15–26).

NT Amen is found some 126 times in the NT (including 31 times in Matt., 13 in Mk., 6 in Lk., 50 in Jn., 14 in Paul, 8 in Rev.). In the Gospels amen is found only in the mouth of Jesus, generally in the phrase, "Amen, I say to you . . . ." Sometimes Luke translates amen by *alēthōs* ("truly", 9:27; 12:24; 21:3); *ep' alētheias* ("in truth" 4:25); *plēn* ("howbeit" 22:21). John has a double amen 25 times either for liturgical reasons or because amen was regarded as an exclamation capable of being doubled and hence strengthened. Strikingly, and obviously characteristic of his way of speaking, Jesus used the Heb. amen to confirm the words he spoke in Aram., although there were Aram. phrases that he could have used instead. (The nearest to Jesus' manner of speech was the Bab.-Aram. *hēmānûṯā'*, in good faith.)

Jesus' unusual way of expressing himself remained preserved in the older gospels, because of the wish to preserve and transmit his words faithfully.

There is no evidence from the time of Jesus that others confirmed their words with an amen, though it was possible earlier. The sayings of Jesus introduced by amen often show primitive traits, eschatological pronouncements (Matt. 10:23; 19:28; 24:34; 25:40), and a sharp contrast with Pharisaism (Matt. 6:2, 5, 16; 8:10). ([Tr.] The contrast here is rather with standard Judaism or its exaggeration.) By introducing his words with amen Jesus labelled them as certain and reliable. He stood by them and made them binding on himself and his hearers. They are an expression of his majesty and authority.

Amen appears in the other NT writings at the close of prayers and doxologies, strengthening and confirming them (Rom. 1:25; 9:5; 11:36, 16:27; Gal. 1:5; Eph. 3:21; Phil. 4:20; Heb. 13:21). Prayer and praise have their place in worship. Anyone hearing a thanksgiving in a service answers it with amen. Hence it must be expressed in a language he understands (1 Cor. 14:16; cf. the reference to Sifre Num. 12 under OT 2 above). In the Epistles it is assumed that the congregation will answer with amen (Rev. 1:7; Rom. 15:33; Gal. 6:18). In Rev. 7:12 amen stands before and after a doxology, linked with Hallelujah in Rev. 19:4, and with "even so" in Rev. 1:7. In Rev. 22:20 the church answers a divine "surely" with its amen and so endorses the promise. When Rev. 3:14 calls Christ himself the Amen and affirms that he is "the faithful and true witness" (cf. Ps. 89:37, 38), which is virtually a translation of amen, it is taking up Isa. 65:16 (LXX). In 2 Cor. 1:20 Paul sees all the promises of God fulfilled and guaranteed in him. *H. Bietenhard*

ἀλληλουϊά ἀλληλουϊά (*hallēlouia*), hallelujah.

OT Though Jewish tradition attempts to cast doubt, there is no good reason for refusing the eminently reasonable explanation that "Hallelujah" is composed of two elements: the 2nd pers. pl. masc, imperative piel of the root *hālal*, which in the piel means "to praise", and the abbreviated form of the divine Name *yâh* (on *yâh* cf. e.g. Ps. 68:18). The verb is used widely of secular (e.g. Gen. 12:15) and religious (e.g. Jdg. 16:24) praise, and in its usage combines the notions of admiration, adulation and rejoicing. The fact that *hal^{e}lû-yâh* is followed (e.g. Ps. 148:1) immediately by *hal^{e}lû-'eth-yahweh* suggests that from early days it had become a cultic cry, a recognized shout of praise in its own right (cf. its use in 1 Chr. 16:36, etc.). It is only thus used in LXX (the opening verses of Pss. 104–106; 110–118; 134; 135; 145–150), i.e. not as a translation but as a transliteration, *hallēlouia* with *-ē-*. On the lengthened *-ē-* see E. Kautzsch, *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, revised by A. E. Cowley, (1910) 1949, 97. The LXX spelling may reflect liturgical lengthening for emphasis while the Temple choir still functioned. Praise is offered to Yahweh for his words in creation (e.g. 104), the deliverance of the Exodus and his patience in the wilderness days (105, 106), his universal rule through the → Melchizedek priest-king (110), his eschatological purpose to make the whole world at the end what his chosen people are now (145 ff.).

NT Use is confined to Rev. 19:1, 3, 4, 6, and reflects the "cultic cry" usage of LXX.

The heavenly host praise the Lord for his victory over the "great harlot", ascribing to him salvation, glory and power. *J. A. Motyer*

ὡσαννά

ὡσαννά (*hōsanna*), hosanna, transliteration from Aram. *hôša' nā'* (Heb., *hôšî'âh nā'*), meaning "O, save".

OT The precise OT equivalent to the NT cultic shout "Hosanna" is to be found in the *hôšî'âh nā'* of Ps. 118:25. Here LXX does not view it as a cultic cry of the "hallelujah" type, and produces the translation *sōson*. There is general agreement that we should find in Ps. 118 a liturgy for the Feast of Tabernacles, but beyond that interpretations vary as to who the "coming one" of v. 26 is. The view that it is the Jerusalem pilgrim who is so "blessed" by the welcoming priests (see, e.g. *IDB* II, s.v. Hosanna) is singularly unimpressive. The whole movement of the Psalm, and certainly its exalted tone of spiritual elation, is better suited if we imagine the Davidic king, in his role as the → Melchizedek priest, leading his people in procession to Yahweh's house (cf. *NBCR*). In this context the cry "O, Save" would indicate an imploring cry to Yahweh to bring to reality that which the liturgy has depicted. Judaism later followed out this thought by making the great cry focus on the expectation of the messianic king.

NT By NT times Hosanna had become a full "cultic cry", exactly as is reflected in in LXX use of → *hallēlouia*. The Greek of Matt. 21:9; Mk. 11:9; Jn. 12:13 transliterates but does not translate. The sight of Jesus fulfilling the kingly prophecy of Zech. 9:9, coupled with the strewing and waving of branches reminiscent of the ceremonial fronds which had come to characterize the → Feast of Tabernacles, prompted the shout appropriate to that occasion and, all unwittingly, they greeted the true → David with the Davidic welcome. All the NT "hosanna" verses above centre their thought on the "son of David", the "kingdom of David" and the "King of Israel". *J. A. Motyer*

On Amen: (a). Arndt, 45; F. F. Bruce, *Commentary on Corinthians*, 1969, on 2 Cor. 1:20; G. Dalman, *The Words of Jesus*, 1902, 226 ff.; and *Jesus–Jeshua*, 1929, 30; D. Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, 1956, 288–93; J. Hempel, *IDB* I 105; H. W. Hogg, "Amen", *JQR* 9, 1897, 1–23; J. Jeremias, "Characteristics of the Ipsissima Vox Jesu" in *The Prayers of Jesus*, 1967, 108–15; M. G. Kline, "Abram's Amen," *WTJ* 31, 1968, 1–11; C. F. D. Moule, *The Phenomenon of the New Testament*, 1967, 67 f.; H. Schlier, *amēn*, *TDNT* I 335 ff.; S. Talmon, "Amen as an Introductory Formula," (on Jer. 15:11 LXX), *Textus* 15, 1970, 124–9.
(b). K. Berger, *Die Amen-Worte Jesu. Eine Untersuchung zum Problem der Legitimation in apokalyptischen Rede*, *BZNW* 39, 1970; J. C. C. van Dorssen, *De Derivata van de Stam* amn *in het hebreeusch van het Oude Testament*, 1951; A. R. Hulst, "Het Woord 'Amen' in het Oude Testament," *Kerk en Eredienst*, 8, 1953, 50–68; A. Jepsen, *'āman*, *TWAT* I, 1971 313–48; A. Stuiber, *RAC* I 153–59; E. Pfeiffer, "Der alttestamentliche Hintergrund der liturgischen Formel 'Amen'," *KuD* 4, 1958, 129–41; W. C. van Unnik, "Reisepläne und Amen-Sagen," in *Studia Paulina in Honorem J. de Zwaan*, 1953, 215 ff.; C. Westermann, *Der Segen in der Bibel und im Handeln der Kirche*, 1968; H. Wildberger, *'mn*, *THAT* I 177–210.
On Hallelujah: (a). Arndt, 38; J. Hempel, "Hallelujah," *IDB* II 514 f.
(b). E. Lohse, "Halleluja," *RGG*³ III 38; T. Nöldeke, "Halleluja," *BZAW* 33, 1918, 376–80.
On Hosanna: Arndt, 907; F. C. Burkitt, *JTS* 17, 1916, 139–49; F. D. Coggan, *ExpT* 52, 1940–41, 76f.; J. Hempel, "Hosanna," *IDB* II 648; J. S. Kennard, " 'Hosanna' and the Purpose of Jesus," *JBL* 67, 1948, 171–76; E. Lohse, *hōsanna*, *TDNT* IX 682 ff.

Angel, Messenger, Gabriel, Michael

ἄγγελος

ἄγγελος (*angelos*), angel, messenger; ἀρχάγγελος (*archangelos*), archangel; ἰσάγγελος (*isangelos*), like an angel.

CL Gk. uses *angelos* for the messenger, the ambassador in human affairs, who speaks and acts in the place of the one who has sent him. He is under the protection of the gods and is inviolate. In Homer it is used especially of the messenger of the gods, i.e. Hermes, who is also an *angelos* as the one who escorts souls to Hades (→ Hell). Later, gods of the underworld are also mentioned in this capacity.

OT 1. There are two contrasting views of angels in the OT. (a) There are angels who are heavenly beings, members of Yahweh's court, who serve and praise him (Job 1:6; cf. Isa. 6:2f.). But in the older books they play no such special part. Historically this concept is associated with the Canaanite background. But Yahweh remained the sole creating power in nature and history, and angels never became autonomous or had cults dedicated to them in Israel. God's court also included other heavenly beings, especially in post-exilic writings. They are not always explicitly called angels, but "holy ones", "strong ones", "heroes", "sons of God" (perhaps better translated "heavenly beings"). Sometimes they appear in warlike contexts (e.g. Gen. 32:1f. (2f.); Jos. 5:13 ff.). They witnessed the creation of the world (Job. 38:7), but as created beings they are not without fault (Job 4:18; 15:15). Yet they can be mediators of revelation (Zech. 1:9, 11 ff.; 2:2–5 (2:6–9); Ezek. 40:3). Also mentioned are "destroying angels" (Ps. 78:49), "the destroyer" (Exod. 12:23), and "ministers of death" (Job. 33:22 NEB). Special kinds of angels are the cherubim, who show traits of both men and animals (Gen. 3:24; Ezek. 1:5–12; 10:19–22; 11:22; Ps. 18:10(11)), and the seraphim who have 6 wings (Isa. 6:2).

After the exile belief in angels greatly increased. This may well be explained by Israel's greater contact with other religions and increasing stress on Yahweh's transcendence, without any diminution in his activity in the world. This may have been a factor in the growth of belief in intermediate beings (cf. Job. 5:1; 15:15; Ps. 89:5, 7(6, 8); Zech. 14:5). In Dan. they appear as powerful intermediate beings with personal names, archangels, watchers, and angels of the nations. Many millions surround God's throne (Dan. 4:13, 17 (10, 14); 7:10; 8:16; 9:21; 10:5 f.; 12:1).

(b) We should distinguish these from the angel of Yahweh. He is a heavenly being given a particular task by Yahweh, behind whom the angel's personality entirely disappears. Hence it is wrong for the one to whom the angel has appeared to try and fathom his nature (→ Name) (cf. Jdg. 13:17 f.). The angel of Yahweh appears almost always to help either Israel or an individual. He is virtually a hypostatic appearance of Yahweh, the personified help of God for Israel (Exod. 14:19; Num. 22:22; Jdg. 6:11–24; 2 Ki. 1:3 f.). Only in 2 Sam. 24:16 f. do we find him in opposition to Israel. Sometimes we cannot distinguish between Yahweh and his angel. When the reference is to Yahweh without regard to man, "Yahweh" is used. Where man observes him, the expression "the angel of Yahweh" is used. This preserves Yahweh's transcendence (e.g. Gen. 18; Exod. 23:20–23). Because Yahweh's holiness could have destroyed Israel, only his angel was to go with the people.

2. In later Judaism popular belief in angels greatly increased. It was not hindered by the rabbis, but was rejected by the Sadducees (cf. Acts 23:8). Provided that

they were not regarded as independent and no angel cult formed, belief in angels was considered to be an extension of OT piety. Angels represented Yahweh's omniscience and omnipresence, formed his court and attendants, and were his messengers. They were linked with the stars, elements, natural phenomena and powers, which they ruled as God's representatives. The individual had his guardian angel. National guardians were set over the peoples, including Michael over Israel (Dan. 10:13, 21). There were 4, 6 or 7 archangels. Other groups of angels included powers, dominions, thrones, lords, authorities, serving angels. Angelology was highly developed in Eth. Enoch with speculations on an angelic fall (6–16; 19–21; cf. Gen. 6:1–6). Angels also mediate God's secrets to men in time and space in Heb. Enoch.

In the scrolls of the Qumran community angels are a feature of a cosmic dualism. God has created two kingdoms, light and darkness, and each has a prince (*śar*) or angel set over it (→ Demon, art. *daimōn*). Under these princes are all men and also other angelic beings, which are also called princes (1QS 2:20; CD 5:18; 1QM 13:10) or spirits (*rûḥôṯ*, 1QS 3:18 ff., 25). The angels of light are often called "sons of heaven" (1QS 4:22; 1QH Frag. 2:10), and "sons of God" (1QH Frag. 2:3). They are special servants of God (1QH 5:21) and members of his council (1QH 6:13). Israel's God and "the angel of his truth" (in 1QM 17:7 f., he is equated with Michael) help all the "sons of light" (1QS 3:24 f.). The converted man enters "the everlasting host" in God's presence (1QH 11:13), and "the angel of opposition" yields before him (CD 16:5). But "the disobedient Heavenly Watchers" have fallen (CD 2:18; cf. 1Q GenAp. 2:1, 16). God has judged the angels (1QH 10:34 f.; 1QM 14:15). In the last days "the war of the heavenly warriors shall scourge the earth" (1QH 3:36), when God, with his angels who are in the camp of the sons of light (1QM 7:6; cf. 10:11 f.; 12:7 f., 9; 15:14), will fight against the sons of darkness (1QM 1:10 f.). We meet Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Sariel as angelic names. But the consciousness is never lost that the godly man is always shielded by God's care and concern in the various angelic forms.

Philo often sees the Logos (→ Word) behind the angels mentioned in the OT. Otherwise angels and → demons are manifestations and powers of the universe. In Josephus *angelos* is used both for angel and messenger. When he makes angels take a part in the giving of the Law (*Ant.*, 15, 5, 3), he is following Jewish tradition. He mentions that the Essenes speculated about angels (cf. *War* 2, 8, 7).

NT *angelos* is found 175 times in the NT (51 times in the Synoptics, 21 in Acts, 67 in Rev.). It is used of men only 6 times (Lk. 7:24; 9:52; Jas. 2:25; and Matt. 11:10, Mk. 1:2, Lk. 7:27, quoting Mal. 3:1). In 2 Cor. 12:7 *angelos Satana* may personify a disease. In general the Jewish concepts of the OT are taken over. Angels are representatives of the heavenly world and God's messengers. When they appear, the supernatural world breaks into this one. Because God is present in Jesus, his way on earth is accompanied by angels (Matt. 1:20; 2:13, 19; 28:2, 5; Mk. 1:13; Lk. 1:19; 2:9, 13; 22:43; Jn. 1:51; cf. Acts 1:10). At his coming again they will be at his side (Matt. 13:49; 16:27; 25:31, 2 Thess. 1:7). As Son of God, Jesus stands indisputably above the angels (Mk. 13:27; Heb. 1:4–14; Phil. 2:9 ff.).

The concept of the guardian angel occurs in Matt. 18:10 as an expression of the love of God for the "little ones" (cf. Acts 12:15). According to 1 Cor. 11:10 angels

watch over decorum. Angels are mediators of God's judgment (Acts 12:23). They act on behalf of the apostles (Acts 5:19; 12:7–10), and make God's will known to them (Acts 8:26; 10:3–8; 27:27 f.).

For Paul the fact of Christ dominates the thought of angels (Eph. 1:20 f.; Phil. 2:9 ff.). The apostle with his commission given him by the Lord is superior to the word of an angel (Gal. 1:8). Love is better than the tongues of angels (1 Cor. 13:1). No creature or elemental angel can separate us from the love of God (Rom. 8:38; cf. Gal. 4:3 and above OT 2). Paul attacked Gnostic veneration of angels because it obscured the recognition of Christ's unique position as mediator (Col. 1:15 ff.; 2:18; cf. Rev. 19:10; 22:8 f.). But he recognized various categories of angels (Rom. 8:38 f.; 1 Cor. 15:24; Eph. 1:21; Col. 1:16). Angels took part in the giving of the Law at Sinai (Gal. 3:19; cf. Acts 7:53; Heb. 2:2). They take an interest in the fate of men (Lk. 15:10) and the apostles (1 Cor. 4:9). They carry the soul to Paradise (Lk. 16:22). Angels surround God's throne and fill the heavenly world with songs of praise (Rev. 5:11; 7:11). They mediate revelation and give visions (Rev. 1:1; 10:1 ff.; 8 f.; 14:6 ff.; 17:1). They carry out God's judgments (Rev. 7:1; 8:2 f.; 9:1, 13; 11:15; 12:7 ff.; 14:15, 17 ff.; 15:1, 6 f.; 18:1 f.; 19:17; 20:1 ff.). On the other hand, Satan also has angels (Matt. 25:41; 2 Cor. 12:7). 1 Pet. 3:19 f., 2 Pet. 2:4 and Jude 6 speak of the fall of the angels.

Probably "the angels of the churches" (Rev. 1:20; 2:1 etc.) are really angels and not pastors.

archangelos (archangel) is found in the NT only in 1 Thess. 4:16 and Jude 9. The concept, however, may also be found in Rev. 8:2, 7 f., 10, 12; 9:1, 13; 11:15. The only names given are Gabriel (Lk. 1:19) and Michael (Jude 9; Rev. 12:7).

isangelos, like an angel, is found only in Lk. 20:36 (cf. Matt. 22:30; Mk. 12:25). The word describes the condition of those who have been raised from the dead, who are no longer subject to the natural conditions of earthly life, including marriage.

H. Bietenhard

Γαβριήλ

Γαβριήλ (*Gabriēl*), Heb. *gaḇrî'ēl*, Gabriel.

OT The name comes from the root *geḇer* (man or strong) together with *'ēl* (God). This suggests two meanings: man of God, or God is strong. In the OT Gabriel appears only in Daniel, and there as a heavenly messenger who makes his appearance as a man (Dan. 8:16, 9:21). His functions are to reveal the future by interpreting a vision (8:17), and to give understanding and wisdom to Daniel himself (9:22).

Other late Jewish texts display much greater interest in Gabriel. His position of eminence in the presence of God is stressed (Eth. Enoch 9:1; 20:7; 40:3; Sl. Enoch 21:3). Particularly noteworthy is his position at God's left hand (Sl. Enoch 24:1), and his authority over all powers (Eth. Enoch 40:9). His functions extend beyond those in Daniel to intercession (Eth. Enoch 9:1; 40:6; Sl. Enoch 21:3) and destruction of the wicked (Eth. Enoch 9:9–10; 54:6). The Qumran Covenanters showed similar interest in angels, and Gabriel is one of the four angelic names written on the shields of the Sons of Light as they go out into battle (1 QM 9:14–16). The

Targums introduce Gabriel into the Biblical narratives as the one who leads Joseph to his brothers (Gen. 37:15), who buries Moses (Deut. 34:6), and who destroys Sennacherib's army (2 Chr. 32:21).

NT In the NT Gabriel appears only in the Lukan birth narrative. There he is the angelic messenger announcing the births of John (1:11–20) and Jesus (1:26–38). As the one who comes from the immediate presence of God he brings reassurance to Mary of her standing in God's sight (1:30). *P. J. Budd*

Μιχαήλ *Μιχαήλ* (*Michaēl*), Heb. *mîḵā'ēl*, Michael.

OT The name probably means "who is like God?". The Michael who is to be found in the NT appears in the OT only in Daniel. Like Gabriel, he is a celestial being, but he has special responsibilities as the champion of Israel against the rival angel of the Persians (Dan. 10:13, 20), and he leads the heavenly armies against all supernatural forces of evil in the last great battle (12:1).

This military patronage is frequently attested in other late Jewish writings (cf. Jub. 1:29; 2:1; Eth. Enoch 20:5; Test. Levi 5:6), and his name as protector of Israel is also on the shields of one division of the Sons of Light (1QM 9:14–16). Michael also has an intercessory role (Test. Dan. 6:2). It was further believed of Michael that he was the recording angel (Asc. Isa. 9:22–23). He was therefore the intermediary between God and Moses at Sinai (Jub. 1:27; 22:1; Asc. Isa. 11:21; Targ. Exod. 24:1).

NT In the NT Michael appears on two occasions. In Jude 9 there is reference to a dispute between Michael and the devil concerning the body of Moses. Origen believed this to be recorded in the Assumption of Moses, but the story does not appear in the extant but incomplete texts of this work. Later rabbinic literature seems to be aware of the story (cf. e.g. Deut. Rabbah 10:11). In Rev. 12:7 the theme of Dan. 12:1 is taken up, presenting Michael as the vanquisher of the primordial dragon, identified as Satan and representing the supernatural forces of evil. *P. J. Budd*

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Anger, Wrath

θυμός

θυμός (*thymos*), passion, anger, wrath, rage; *θυμόομαι* (*thymoomai*), pass. become angry; *ἐνθυμέομαι* (*enthymeomai*), reflect, consider; *ἐνθύμησις* (*enthymēsis*), thought, reflection, idea.

CL *thymos* (the root *thym* is cognate with Lat. *fumus*, smoke, steam), occurs from Hom. onwards, meaning (a) breath, life (Homer, *Il*, 6, 17; 5, 852), (b) spirit,

strength (*Od.*, 10, 78; *Il.* 17, 744), (c) soul as shown by feelings and passions, including desire and appetite (*Il.*, 4, 263), anger (*Il*, 9, 496, 598), the heart as the seat of emotions (*Il*, 14, 156; 7, 189) and the mind as the seat of thought (*Il.*, 1, 193; 4, 163). Cognates include *enthymeomai* (Thuc. onwards), lay to heart, ponder and *enthymēsis* (Eur., Thuc.), consideration, esteem. For *epithymeō* and *epithymia* → Desire, Lust.

OT There is virtually no distinction in the LXX between *thymos* and → *orgē*. Both terms appear for the same numerous Heb. equivalents (especially *ḥēmâh*, *'ap̄*) and are used synonymously. For *thymos* in the LXX (used *c.* 200 times) → *orgē*, anger, indignation, wrath.

NT *thymos* occurs only 18 times in the NT: twice in the Lucan writings, 5 times in Paul, once in Heb. and 10 times in Rev. The NT usage is connected with that of later secular Gk.; *thymos* in the NT means anger, wrath, rage.

1. In Heb., and the Lucan and Pauline writings (apart from Rom. 2:8) *thymos* refers to human anger. It has the same meaning, whether used in sing. or plur. The plur. may denote outbursts of anger or even passions. As in the LXX it often stands alongside *orgē*, without any perceptible distinction of meaning (e.g. Col. 3:8; Eph. 4:31). It stands in between words like *eris* (wrangling, quarrelling), *zēlos* (jealousy), *eritheia* (selfish ambition, contentiousness), in 2 Cor. 12:20 and Gal. 5:20. It is mentioned together with *pikria* (bitterness) in Eph. 4:31. These are dangers into which even the church might fall. On the other hand, men could be filled with rage at the teaching of Jesus (Lk. 4:28) and Paul (Acts 19:28).

All this has its origin in the → "flesh", and the "old nature" (Gal. 5:19 f.; Eph. 4:31; Col. 3:8 f.). It can only be overcome in the power of the Spirit who renews the heart (Eph. 4:23; Gal. 5:16, 18, 22, 25), and creates a new nature (Eph. 4:24).

2. In Rom. 2:8 *thymos* is used along with *orgē* without differentiation to express divine anger. It is used absolutely without mention of the name of God. The divine anger will be revealed at the final judgment (v. 5) in those whose heart is hardened and impenitent, and who do not obey the truth (v. 8), but do evil (v. 9). It will bring distress and despair.

In Rev. *thymos* denotes almost exclusively divine anger (e.g. 15:1, 7; 16:1). The picture of the wine of God's anger (*oinos tou thymou*) is a striking expression of the divine judgment (14:10; 16:19; 19:15) which man must, as it were, drink. It brings eternal ruin. The expression is from the OT (cf. Jer. 25:15–28). The expressions "the winepress of God's anger" (14:19) and "the bowls of God's anger" (15:7; 16:1) are also similar. Even when the wine of anger of Babylon's passion of fornication (*thymos tēs porneias*) is spoken of (14:8; 18:3), the thought of God's anger and judgment still stands in the background.

3. Of the vbs. derived from *thymos*, *thymoomai* occurs in the NT only in Matt. 2:16 meaning to become angry, and *enthymeomai* only in Matt. 1:20 and 9:4 for weighing up, reflecting, considering, thinking. The noun *enthymēsis* accordingly means in the NT consideration, reflection, thought. But it is always in the negative sense of bad or foolish thoughts (Matt. 9:4; 12:25; Acts 17:29; Heb. 4:12). Except in Acts 17:29 the contexts suggest hidden, secret thoughts which a man prefers to keep to himself and not to reveal, but which God in his omniscience perceives and brings to light. *H. Schönweiss*

ὀργή

ὀργή (*orgē*), anger, indignation, wrath; ὀργίζω (*orgizō*), be, become, or make angry; ὀργίλος (*orgilos*), inclined to anger; παροργίζω (*parorgizō*) enrage, make angry; παροργισμός (*parorgismos*), anger; παροξύνω (*paroxynō*), provoke to anger, παροξυσμός (*paroxysmos*), sharp disagreement, ardent incitement.

CL *orgē* is a cognate of *orgaō* (be puffed up, swell, be excited) and means (a) a natural impulse, temperament, disposition, mood, (b) anger, wrath (Hdt., 3, 25; Thuc., 4, 122). Where *orgē* has a gen., it indicates the subject of the anger or the object or occasion of the anger. The object of the anger is usually designated by the prepositions *eis*, *pros* or *epi* with the acc., meaning towards or against.

orgizō in the act. means to anger, in the pass. to be or to become angry. *orgilos*, a related adj., means inclined to anger, passionate, irritable. The vb. *parorgizō*, a derivation of *orgizō*, is only found in later secular Gk. and means to provoke to anger. The related noun *parorgismos* equally only attested in late Gk. means provocation, anger.

1. The post-Homeric word *orgē* orig. means natural impulse, temper, temperament, nature, heart (cf. Hdt. VI, 128). *orgē* is thus initially still a neutral word. In the tragedians (e.g. Aesch., *Ag.*, 414 ff.; Soph., *Ant.*, 875; *El.*, 221 f.) the use of the word is increasingly limited to denote "the most striking manifestation of powerful inner passion, *thymos*" (H. Kleinknecht, *TDNT* V 384). *thymos* thus denotes "the wrath which boils up, *orgē* the wrath which breaks forth" (H. Cremer, cf. *TDNT* V 409, 383). The aim of the anger can be either to take vengeance or to exact → punishment. Thus in Dem., *Orationes*, 24, 118, *orgē* appears as the attitude which is particularly appropriate for a judge. It is positively evaluated as being in the service of → righteousness. For the rest, however, anger is mainly seen as a character defect, which man should strive to lay aside. For anger as the expression of unrestrained passion stands in contradiction to → reason, *gnōmē* (decision on the basis of knowledge), and *logos* (→ Word) and conflicts with the image of the wise man. It is an *amēchanon kakon*, an evil which runs out of control. One cannot make amends for its consequences (Eur., *Medea* 446 f.). It "necessarily leads to other *kaka*", evils (cf. H. Kleinknecht, *TDNT* V 384).

2. *orgē*, however, is also one of the most prominent characteristics of the Gk. divinities. The idea of wrathful gods is one of the basic factors of the majority of religions. (Mazdaism is an exception.) In earlier times the words *cholos* (anger, gall), *kotos* (grudge) and *mēnis* (anger) were used instead of *orgē*. Their anger was directed either against their own kind (e.g. Hom. *Il.*, 8, 407) or against human beings (e.g. Hom., *Il.*, 5, 177 f.; 24, 606). It was provoked as a rule by violation of one of the fundamental demands of life, morals or law. "By it order is restored, assertion made good and destiny achieved. Hence the wrath of the gods is not just blind rage. It is seeing anger, and even in regard to man, *via negationis*, it confers dignity on him by marking him out or putting him in the limits set for him, thus making him what he is" (H. Kleinknecht, *TDNT* V 385). For man, on the other hand, there is the possibility, particularly within the framework of the cult, of counteracting the anger of the gods by means of → prayer, vows, → sacrifice and expiatory rites (→ Reconciliation).

3. In the Roman world the idea of wrathful gods and their punitive judgments,

affecting individuals in sickness, suffering and natural catastrophes, is even more strongly historicized. Again and again the great historical writers, Tacitus (e.g. *Historia*, 4, 26, 84; *Ann.* 16, 16) and Livy (e.g. *Hist.* 5, 14, 3 and 22, 9, 1) allude to divine anger as the effective cause of historical incidents. Vergil in his *Aeneid* depicts how the origin of Rome was affected by the wrath of the gods, especially Juno, and how this was eventually appeased by cultic actions (*rite preces*).

4. If in Gk. philosophy *orgē* was at first a neutral or even positive quantity, people came increasingly to reject this idea. Among the Stoics *orgē* was a reprehensible passion (*pathos*), which befitted neither rational human beings nor gods. In particular, the thought of the impassibility of the gods also determines Philo's conception of God.

OT 1. (a) The OT speaks of God's anger and also human anger very frequently. The following Heb. words are mostly used: *'ap̄* (*c.* 210 times), which first designates the nose (Isa. 2:22), then its trembling and snorting and thence the reason for this, anger (Job. 4:9); *ḥēmâh* (*c.* 115 times), heat, poison, venom, rage (used of the spirit, Ezek. 3:14), and rage, anger (Gen. 27:44; Prov. 21:4); *ḥārôn*, burning in combination with *'ap̄* (33 times; only for the anger of God); *'eḇrâh* (24 times), excess, arrogance, anger, fury; *qeṣep̄* (28 times), wrath; *za'am* (22 times), curse and *rōgez*, thunder, agitation, wrath (Hab. 3:2). In addition, vbs. are used to denote anger which are mostly cognate with the above nouns. For all these words the LXX has as a rule either → *thymos* or *orgē*, used synonymously.

(b) In the earlier strata of the OT the *orgē* word-group or *thymos* appear to be used to designate a human reaction in a neutral or even a positive sense. Zebul's anger (Jdg. 9:30) is to be recognized as thoroughly justified. Still more legitimate appears David's anger with the rich man in Nathan's fable (2 Sam. 12:5) and Nehemiah's anger at grievances in Jerusalem (Neh. 5:6). Moses' indignation at the sin of the people dancing round the golden calf is even presented as a holy anger in which Moses places himself on the side of God (Exod. 32:19; cf. Exod. 16:20; 1 Sam. 11:6; Jer. 6:11; Job 32:2 f.). But especially in the later writings of the OT, outbursts of anger are depicted as a vice (cf. Ps. 37:8 f.; Job 36:13) and rejected (cf. Gen. 49:7 where anger is cursed). It is not only cruel (Prov. 27:4), but leads to quarrelling and wrangling (Prov. 30:33). It disunites men (1 Sam. 20:30) and can lead to bloody acts (Gen. 49:6). By his anger a man shows himself to be unwise (Prov. 29:8); for anger is a mark of fools (Prov. 12:16; 27:3). A man should avoid it at all costs (Job 36:18).

(c) The role of the divine anger in the OT is of much greater significance. Yahweh is repeatedly said to be a jealous and angry God. His anger can be presented in quite drastic terms (Isa. 30:27 f.; 13:13; Jer. 30:23 f.; Ps. 2:5). Man's encounter with the holy could be dangerous (Gen. 32:25 ff.; Exod. 4:24 ff.; 19:9 ff.; Isa. 6:5); for the anger of Yahweh is to be appraised as an expression of his holiness and righteousness. It points to the living personal nature of God whose ways are beyond man (Gen. 32:23 ff.; Exod. 4:24; 1 Sam. 26:19; 2 Sam. 16:10 ff.; 24:1). But it is also surrounded by the experience of the divine covenant will in righteousness and love (W. Eichrodt, *RGG*^{3}, IV 1930). This anger is provoked by the behaviour of individuals (Exod. 4:14; Num. 12:9; Deut. 29:18 ff.; 2 Sam. 6:7; 2 Chr. 19:2; 25:15; cf. Sir. 47:20 ff.; Man. 9 f.). But more often it is provoked by apostasy,

unfaithfulness and violation of God's law on the part of the covenant people Israel (Num. 25:3; 32:10; Deut. 29:25 ff.; Jdg. 2:14, 20; Ps. 78:21). The prophets, especially Amos, Hosea, Isaiah and Micah "spoke of the divine wrath as a fact, and designated as its proper object their contemporaries' whole way of life, their social and economic attitudes, their political behaviour and, in particular, their cultic practice" (G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 1965, II, 179). God's people often offend him. "His anger is always a lawful reaction to the violation of a law or to opposition against his historically-determined activity, in which he not only requites the violation or opposition, but also wills to effect the restoration and maintenance of the order set between himself and man." (S. Plath, *Die Furcht Gottes*, 105)

Within the framework of covenant theology the wrath of God can be seen as an expression of rejected and wounded love. This is the deepest root of the concept of wrath, and in this light one can understand the overwhelming force of the message. It is Yahweh's wounded love which awakens his wrath (J. Fichtner, *TDNT* V, 403). But Yahweh's anger can equally be directed against the nations (Isa. 10:25; 13:3; Jer. 50:13; Ezek. 30:15; Mic. 5:14). It comes over all who desert him (Ezr. 8:22) or who are literally godless (Wis. 11:90; Sir. 5:7). It does not overtake men without prior warning (Exod. 22:23 f.; 32:10; Deut. 6:13 ff.). Those "who did not wish to hear" (Mic. 5:15; cf. Jer. 42:18; Lam. 3:42 f.), who did not walk in accord with the divine ordinances (Ezek. 9:8–10; 22:31) are punished. Upon the disobedient God pours out his wrath (Jer. 7:20). He passes judgment on the wicked and on whole nations, sending sword, hunger and pestilence (Ezek. 6:11 ff.), trampling under foot (Isa. 63:6; Hab. 3:12), annihilation (Deut. 29:22), devastation (Jer. 25:37 f.), depopulation (Jer. 50:13), scattering (Lam. 4:16) and burning of the land (Isa. 9:18 f.; 30:27). He treads the nations in his winepress (Isa. 63:1 ff.) and gives them the cup of his fury to drink (Isa. 51:17; cf. Jer. 25:15 ff.). Hosea 13:11 appears to reckon even the monarchy to be a gift of the divine wrath (cf. 1 Sam. 8).

But God's anger does not have to last for ever. The "moment" of anger is spoken of repeatedly (cf. Ps. 30:6; Isa. 26:20; 54:7 f.; Wis. 18:20). Behind the divine anger there often already shines grounds for → hope (cf. 2 Sam. 24:16; Isa. 40:2; 51:22; 54:8–10; Hos. 14:4). Such hope is nourished on observation of history in which God's saving will prevails again and again (Ps. 78:38; 103:6–13). Man is able to hold to this hope if he humbles himself (cf. 2 Chr. 12:12; 32:26), turns to God in penitent prayer (Exod. 32:12, 14; 2 Sam. 12:13; Ps. 6:2; 27:9; Dan. 9:15 f.; Hab. 3:2) and reaffirms the covenant in obedience (Num. 25:6–11; Jos 7; cf. Jon. 3:7–10). If that happens, then God's anger has fulfilled its task and has brought about restoration (Jer. 4:4; 36:7; Isa. 42:25).

2. In later Judaism and Qumran some passages are concerned with justified anger, anger directed against sinners (e.g. 1QS 10: 19). But the negative judgment on anger as a vice which is incompatible with wisdom is forcefully exemplified (Wis. 10:3; Sir. 27:30; 1QS 4:10). Women (Sir. 25:21), the rich (Sir. 28:10), and rulers (Sir. 47:20 ff.; 2 Macc. 14:27; CD 8: 3; 19: 15 f.; cf. Matt. 2:16) appear as particularly susceptible to anger. In every case anger and rage are "an abomination" which the godless pursue (Sir. 27:30). But God's wrath is directed against the godless and pagans (Wis. 11:9; 19:1; Sir. 5:7; 16:7; Man. 5; cf. the calling down of God's anger on an apostate member of Qumran, 1QS 2:15). This must be seen

and taken as seriously as his compassion (Sir. 16:12). It is an admonition to genuine repentance (Sir. 5:7 ff.; cf. Zeph. 2:3). In later Judaism, in particular, besides the idea of the wrath of God at work within history (Sir.; CD 1:5f.; 21; 3:8), there is the thought of an ultimate day of wrath when God will sit in judgment (Jub. 24:28; 30; Eth. Enoch 62:12; cf. 1QM 4:1; Ezek. 7:19; Dan. 8:19; Zeph. 2:2 f.; Prov. 11:4; 1QS 5:12). This day is presented in strong apocalyptic colours, as "a day of ruin and devastation, a day of → darkness and gloom" (Zeph. 1:15), as a day of "the burning anger of the Lord" (Zeph. 2:2; cf. 1QH 3:28). On this day the righteous and unrighteous will be divided according to the way they have → walked (Ezek. 7:3). God will accept those who turn to him in penitence. But his → righteous anger will destroy the others (1QS 4:12; 1QH 3:25 ff.; 15:17, 1QM 3:9).

NT In the NT the noun *orgē* occurs 36 times (21 times in the Pauline writings, 6 times in Rev., and only occasionally in the Gospels) and relates both to human and divine anger. *orgizomai*, to be angry, is found 8 times, but like *orgilos*, angry (only in Tit. 1:7) and *paroxynomai*, to become angry (Acts 17:16; 1 Cor. 13:5) only of human anger. The same is true of *parorgizō*, make angry (Rom. 10:19; Eph. 6:4) and the nouns *parorgismos*, anger (Eph. 4:26) and *paroxysmos* stirring up, provoking, disagreement (Acts 15:39), ardent or affectionate incitement (Heb. 10:24).

1. In the NT *orgē* denotes, on the one hand, a human passion. It is largely used synonymously with → *thymos*. A slight shift of emphasis may be seen in the fact that *thymos* is preferred for depictions of sudden outbursts of anger (Lk. 4:28; Acts 19:28), whereas in *orgē* there is an occasional element of deliberate thought. But this does not prevent both *thymos* and *orgē* from being condemned as vices, in some cases in the same breath (Eph. 4:31; Col. 3:8).

If the anger of the king in the parable of the wedding feast (Matt. 22:7; cf. Lk. 14:21) is justified, the anger of the elder brother in the parable of the Prodigal Son (Lk. 15:28) is certainly not. A prohibition of anger directed against one's brother is clearly expressed in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5:22). Most of the rest of the NT statements concerning human anger move within the lines thus laid down. Thus, in Eph. 6:4 fathers are enjoined not to provoke their children to anger (*parorgizein*). Jas. 1:19 f. lays down the general rule: "Let every man be quick to hear, slow to speak, slow to anger, for the anger of man does not work the righteousness of God." But where a man has become angry (whether for good or bad reasons), he is not to let the sun set on his anger (*parorgismos*), and so give opportunity to the devil (Eph. 4:26). Prayer is incompatible with anger (1 Tim. 2:8).

From this standpoint it is understandable why anger is repeatedly named in lists of sins (Eph. 4:31; Col. 3:8; Tit. 1:7). In Eph. and Col. anger (*orgē*) is expressly reckoned among the things on account of which God's wrath "will come upon the sons of disobedience" (Eph. 5:6; cf. Col. 3:6). The context of both passages contrasts anger and other wrong attitudes with the life of faith. In Eph. 4:32 there is the injunction: "Be kind to one another, tenderhearted, forgiving one another, as God in Christ forgave you." Love in contrast to anger, wrath, malice, slander and foul talk, is the life-style which the Christian should adopt (Col. 3:14; cf. 3:8). Being *orgilos* ("quick-tempered", Tit. 1:7 RSV) is a characteristic which unfits a man for being a → bishop (*episkopos*).

2. However, in a few places human anger is not evaluated negatively. Eph. 4:26, quoting Ps. 4:5, may be paraphrased: "You may be angry, only do not sin." The anger of the king with those who refused his invitation (Matt. 22:7; cf. Lk. 14:21), and even more clearly that of the king with the unforgiving servant (Matt. 18:34) may thus appear thoroughly justified. "For if anger is ruled out *a limine*, what is said about God's wrath has to be explained away. Conversely, when this is taken seriously, a limited anger has to be accepted in the human sphere too" (G. Stählin, *TDNT* V 419). Yet it has to be asked whether in these cases anger is not to be understood as participation by men in the anger of God. The mention of Jesus' anger (Mk. 3:5) and angry behaviour suggest this possibility, even if the words themselves do not always occur (e.g. against Peter, Matt. 16:23; Mk. 8:33; the Pharisees, Matt. 23; or where God's honour is insulted, Matt. 21:12; Mk. 11:15 ff.; Lk. 19:45 f.; Jn. 2:14 ff.). Paul can even regard the ruler of the secular state as "the servant of God to execute his wrath on the wrongdoer" (Rom. 13:4). But otherwise believers are never to avenge themselves, "but leave it to the wrath of God; for it is written, 'Vengeance is mine, I will repay, says the Lord' " (Rom. 12:19; cf. Lev. 19:18; Deut. 32:35; Heb. 10:30). It is naturally not a case of sharing in God's nature, but of the discharge of a service in which God can use pagans like Assyria and Cyrus (Isa. 10:5; 44:28; 45:1) and even satanic powers, as in Job 1, 2 and Rev. 13:7 ff.; 20:7 ff.

3. (a) As in the OT so also in the NT the *orgē* word-group serves to illustrate the character of God. The future wrathful judgment of God plays an important role in the preaching of John the Baptist (Matt. 3:7; cf. Mk. 1:3–8; Lk. 3:2–17; Jn. 1:6 ff.; 19–28). Only he who repents (→ Conversion, art. *metanoia*) will be able to escape the wrath; merely appealing to being children of Abraham does not suffice. But the proclamation of Jesus also contains this urgent reference to the days of wrath which will come over Israel and bring great distress (Lk. 21:23; cf. Matt. 22:7 et pass.; Jn. 3:36).

(b) This thought of the future wrath of God is unfolded on a massive scale in Rev., which speaks of the anger of the nations (Rev. 11:18), and of the anger of the → Dragon, a power opposed to God (Rev. 12:17). "This is the great eschatological wrath which opposes the wrath of God. It is described with colours taken from the Psalter. The drama of revelation can thus be understood in large measure as a battle between two *orgai*" (G. Stählin, *TDNT* V 439). The wrath of God (for which the term → *thymos* is also used, e.g. Rev. 15:1) will finally introduce the judgment, in which God will reward those who fear his name. But those who → destroy the earth will be brought to destruction (Rev. 11:18; cf. 6:16 which speaks of the judicial "anger of the Lamb"). The descriptions of the judgment include the pictures of the rod of iron and "the wine press of the fury of the wrath of God the Almighty" (Rev. 19:15; cf. 14:19; Ps. 2:9; Joel 3:13; Isa. 63:1 f.), and the "cup of his anger" (Rev. 14:10; cf. Jer. 25:15; 51:7), from which those who worship the beast and also Babylon must drink (Rev. 16:19; cf. 17:4; 18:3).

4. While attention is thus forcibly drawn to the awful wrath of God in the future, it is viewed in Pauline theology on the horizon of an eschatology which is already being realized in the course of history from the time of the coming of Jesus Christ. The decisive significance of Jesus Christ for men in the face of the *orgē theou* is described clearly and impressively. By nature, as a child of this world-age, man

stands under the wrath of God (Eph. 2:3; cf. Rom. 1:18–3:20). It does not merely await him on the day of judgment (cf. Jn. 3:36), although Paul can also speak of it as a future event (Rom. 2:5; cf. Eph. 5:6; Col. 3:6).

The wrath of God is first directed against unrighteousness, transgression of the law, irreverence (→ Godliness, art. *sebomai*), and disdain of the Creator (Rom. 1:18, 21 ff.). Secondly, however, the anger of God is also aroused by the attitude of the so-called pious man, who through his observance of the Law allows himself to be driven into a feeling of his own self-esteem which finds expression in an unfitting → boasting. But no man is able to satisfy the Law. Therefore the Law brings wrath (Rom. 4:15). For it is man's transgression of the Law – which becomes clear when the Law is radically understood – that is the ground of the righteous anger of God. The lost situation of man, both Jew and pagan, who is a prisoner in sin and therefore stands under the anger of God, has now been revealed by God through the sending of Jesus Christ. That is the central statement of Rom. 1:18. In him God shows the world his righteousness (*dikaiosynē*), which embraces both his wrath (*orgē*) and also his grace (*charis*) and compassion (*eleos* → Mercy). In the words of G. Bornkamm: "Because he lets his 'righteousness' be made known, all the 'wickedness' of men also comes to light. In that he lets it be said to the world that in its sin it is subject to the 'wrath' of God, that there is no righteousness in it and that he alone in the dispute in which it entered with him (3.4), at the same time he lets the world be told that he has disclosed this 'righteousness' of his to believers" ("The Revelation of God's Wrath (Romans 1–3)," in *Early Christian Experience*, 1969, 64).

Through the two aspects of this revelation man is placed in a situation which inescapably demands a decision. On the one hand, he may persist as a "vessel of wrath" (Rom. 9:22) in the realm of the *orgē theou*, the wrath of God, as – to Paul's sorrow – does the greater part of the Jews of his time (1 Thess. 2:16; cf. Rom. 9:22). (In the light of the context and the quotations of Deut. 32:21 (cf. Isa. 65:1) in Rom. 10:19, O. Michel observes: "In his wrath God hides himself from Israel, coming out on the side of a foreign people", *Der Brief an die Römer*, KEK 1957[11], 263.) On the other hand, he may turn to Jesus Christ and allow him to save him from the wrath of God in the realm of the love of God (Rom. 5:8 f.; 1 Thess. 1:10). Ignatius put this realisation in the shape of a formula: "We must either fear his future wrath or love his present grace – one of the two!" (Ign., Eph. 11:1; cf. *TDNT*, V 446). It is thus clear that the coming of Jesus Christ does not simply mean "cheap grace" for all. "God continues to be the Judge, and Christian faith in the grace of God does not consist in the conviction that God's wrath does not exist or that there is no threateningly impending judgment (II Cor. 5:10), but in the conviction of being rescued from God's wrath" (R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, I 1952, 288). If God has destined us to be "vessels of mercy" (Rom. 9:23) "to obtain salvation" (1 Thess. 5:9), the offer of salvation requires acceptance. "If there is deliverance from eternal wrath in Christ alone, then everything depends on whether a man rejects Christ or appropriates, or more correctly, lets himself be appropriated to, what Christ is and brings" (G. Stählin, *TDNT*, V 446). This comes about through → faith. Only he who believes in the Son need no longer fear the → judgment of God, for it is only to him that the promise of eternal → life is given. In both Jn. and Paul, eternal life describes the contrast

between → destruction, the fruit of the divine anger, and compassion, the fruit of the divine → mercy (Jn. 3:36; Rom. 2:7). *H-C. Hahn*

(a). K. Barth, *CD* IV, 1, 211–83 et passim; G. C. Berkouwer, *The Providence of God*, 1952; *The Work of Christ*, 1970; *Sin*, 1971; G. Bornkamm, "The Revelation of God's Wrath (Romans 1–3)," *Early Christian Experience*, 1969, 47–70; F. Büchsel, *thymos*, *TDNT* III 167–72; R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, I, 1950, 288–92; C. H. Dodd, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 1932, 18 ff.; W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*, I, 1960, 258–69; S. Erlandsson, "The Wrath of YHWH", *TB* 23, 1972, 111–16; A. T. Hanson, *The Wrath of the Lamb*, 1957; J. Hick, *Evil and the God of Love*, 1966; D. Hill, *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings*, 1967, 23–162; H. Kleinknecht, O. Grether, J. Fichtner, G. Stählin, E. Sjöberg, *orgē*, *TDNT* V 382–447; G. H. C. Macgregor, "The Concept of the Wrath of God in the New Testament," *NTS* 7, 1960–61, 101 ff.; L. Morris, *The Apostolic Preaching of the Cross*, 1965³; A. W. Pink, *The Sovereignty of God*, 1961; A. Ritschl, *The Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation*, III, 1900; A. Stöger, "Wrath," *EBT* III 1006–11; R. V. G. Tasker, *The Biblical Doctrine of the Wrath of God*, 1957.
(b). C. V. Gablenz and L. Pinomaa, "Zorn Gottes," *EKL* III 1919 ff.; N. J. Hein, W. Eichrodt, H. Conzelmann and H. Baudt, "Zorn Gottes," *RGG*³ VI 1929 ff.; A. von Jüchen, *Der Zorn Gottes*, 1948; A. Ritschl, *De Ira Dei*, 1859; G. Schrenk, *Unser Glaube an den Zorn Gottes nach dem Römerbrief*, 1944.
→ Literature under Cross, Curse, Death, Judgment, Law, Punishment, Reconciliation, Sacrifice, Sin.

Animal

θηρίον

θηρίον (*thērion*), wild animal, beast.

CL *thērion* (a diminutive form of *thēr*, cf. Lat. *ferus*) means a wild animal, occasionally an animal kept at pasture, and generally an animal. Early on (Plato onwards) it came to be used metaphorically as a derogatory term for people of a "bestial" type: beast, monster. Nero was called a beast of prey which eats up everything (Philostr. *VA* IV 38).

OT In the OT *thērion* is used to render the Heb. *ḥayyâh* in the sense of "the not domesticated, in the open country living, in most cases big and dangerous animal" (Koehler–Baumgartner, 293; cf. the division of the animal kingdom into different kinds, Gen. 1:24 f.; Ps. 148:10; Hos. 4:3). The *thērion* is man's enemy (Gen. 3:14 f.; 9:2, 5; 37:20). In warnings of God's judgment the ravages of wild beasts are listed along with other troubles (Lev. 26:22; Deut. 32:24; Jer. 12:9; 15:3; Ezek. 5:17; 14:21). The devouring of human corpses by beasts is regarded as the height of shame, and as evidence of being forsaken by God (Gen. 40:19; 2 Sam. 21:10). Not until the era of salvation to come will the harmony between man and beast, which existed in Paradise, be restored (Lev. 26:6; Isa. 35:9; Ezek. 34:25; Hos. 2:20).

In Dan. 7 *thērion* refers to world powers, which are seen as supernatural, beast-like figures. They arise from the chaos which is hostile to God (→ Water), and represent the sort of political powers, hostile to man, with which the Jewish people has had to deal throughout the centuries. The coming of the Son of Man puts an end to them. Dan. 4:13–33; 5:21 depicts the fall of Nebuchadnezzar as a descent from the height of human pride to the depths of an animal existence.

NT 1. The NT follows the OT, in that *thērion* is found in lists of living creatures (Acts 11:6; Jas. 3:7), in a catalogue of plagues (Rev. 6:8), and as a description of the national characteristics of the Cretans (Tit. 1:12). In Mk. 1:13 the wild beasts emphasize the horror and human desolation of the wilderness; possibly they are also intended as an allusion to the Messianic return of the Paradise era, with its state of peace between man and beast.

2. 38 of the 45 instances of the word in the NT are found in Rev., particularly in chs. 6–19. The beast and the false prophet representing powers opposed to God, join with the → dragon to form the Satanic trinity (16:13). From their mouths issue three foul demonic spirits like frogs who assemble the world rulers for Armageddon (→ War). The beast in 11:7 combines the characteristics of all four beasts in Dan. 7, dreadfully intensified. It originates in the realm of chaos (11:7; 13:1), is given authority by the "dragon" (13:2, 4), has the attributes of beasts of prey (11:7), and executes its claims to total power with ruthless force (13:7 f., 15). As the → Antichrist the beastly monster caricatures the → Lamb (with its wound, 13:3, 14, cf. 5:6; its horns, 13:1, cf. 5:6; world dominion, 13:2, cf. 5:5; and worship, 13:4, cf. 5:8 ff.). It also apes the title of God (17:8, 11; cf. 1:4). The "other" beast (13:11), otherwise called the false prophet (16:13; 19:20; 20:10), furthers the plans of the first beast by its propaganda, working miracles (13:13), erecting an → image (*eikōn*, 13:14), and branding people with a mark (*charagma*, 13:16 f.). Though to outward appearances a lamb, it speaks like a dragon (13:11; cf. Matt. 7:15).

The final victory over these beastly powers will belong to Christ and his church (15:2; 19:19 f.). The imagery is not intended to refer to the first-century historical situation alone, but to indicate that every generation is simultaneously threatened by these powers *W. Bauder*

Animals in the NT

The word *ktēnos* is also used in the NT for an animal, particularly a domesticated animal, a pet, a pack animal, or an animal used for riding. It is used in the latter sense of the Good Samaritan's beast (Lk. 10:34) and Paul's mount, when he was taken under escort to Felix (Acts 23:34). It probably means cattle in Rev. 18:13. It seems to refer to animals generally in 1 Cor. 15:39, where Paul is speaking of different kinds of flesh in the course of his argument that the resurrection body has its own peculiar nature and that we ought not to think of it as being identical with our present bodies.

It has been estimated that animals are mentioned some 3,000 times in the Bible. In the NT they feature as part and parcel of everyday life and also serve to illustrate by their characteristic features moral and religious truths. In the ancient world the goat (*tragos*) seems to have been kept chiefly as a milk-producer. Its tough, strong-smelling meat was not so edible as that of the kid (*eriphos* or *eriphion*) which was eaten on festive occasions (Jdg. 6:19; Lk. 15:29). Skins of both sheep and goats were used for bottles (Mk. 2:22), and goat skins were used for clothing for those in reduced circumstances (Heb. 11:37). The he-goat is mentioned as a sacrificial animal, especially in connection with the annual Day of Atonement rites (Heb. 9:12 f.; 19; 10:4; cf. Lev. 16). Here the high priest took two goats, slaying one together with a bull as a sin offering and sprinkling their → blood on the mercy seat on entering the holy place in the tabernacle and on the altar of incense to

cleanse the people of Israel from their sin. After this he confessed the iniquities of Israel over the live goat, laying his hands upon its head, before letting it go in the wilderness. One of the main arguments of Heb. is that such sacrifices cannot ultimately take away sins (10:4). Rather, they foreshadow Christ who has entered the sanctuary, offering his own blood once and for all (9:23–28; cf. 10:1).

In Matt. 25:32 sheep (→ Lamb, Sheep) and goats are mentioned together in a mixed flock, representing the nations standing before the king in judgment. The practice of keeping mixed flocks is still current among Arabs. To the stranger the sheep and the goats may be scarcely distinguishable in colour and shape, but their owner knows which are which (G. S. Cansdale, *Animals of Bible Lands*, 1970, 48). They are separated in the evening, the goats needing to be kept warm at night, while the sheep which are more valuable prefer the open air. J. Jeremias has suggested that the white colour of the sheep is a symbol of righteousness which contrasts with the black of the goats (*The Parables of Jesus*, 1963², 206). But there is no mention of colour in the parable. If Cansdale is right, the parable teaches that just as there is no obvious, outward identifying mark of Christ as he encounters men *incognito* through his needy brethren, so there is also no obvious, outward mark to identify those who are righteous before God. The parable puts the question: "By what criterion will the heathen (v. 32) be judged?" (J. Jeremias, op. cit., 209). It gives the answer that the righteous will show their righteousness (albeit unawares) by their service to Christ in the person of his brethren in need. The unrighteous will be oblivious to the day of opportunity, just as the Jews were when confronted by Jesus. The parable suggests that Jews and Gentiles are alike outwardly. The decisive difference between men depends on their inner righteousness which finds expression in their outward acts.

In addition to the detailed legislation for the → sacrifice of sheep and cattle (see esp. Lev. 1–9, 16; cf. Exod. 12:21 ff.; 24:6 ff.), there was also considerable humanitarian concern for animals in the OT. The sabbath rest extended to the ox and the ass (Exod. 20:10; 23; 12; Deut. 5:14). The straying ox had to be returned to safety (Exod. 23:4 f.; Deut. 22:1), and the fallen ox was to be helped to its feet again (Deut. 22:4). There was a ban on oxen and asses ploughing together (Deut. 22:10). On the other hand, dangerous animals were to be restrained and even slaughtered and their owners made liable to penalties (Exod. 21 and 22). Jesus endorsed this humanitarian attitude towards animals but extended it to apply to man as well. For whereas many could accept the need to water and tend sheep and cattle (Gk. *bous*) on the → sabbath, they failed to see that caring applied all the more in the case of man (Matt. 12:11; Lk. 13:15; 14:5). There were, of course, in these instances the overtones of material advantage in caring for animals on the sabbath, whereas there was no such material advantage in caring for one's fellow man. The injunction not to muzzle the ox as it treads out the corn was seen by Paul as the expression of a principle that those who labour are entitled to support from the benefits of their work (1 Cor. 9:9; 2 Tim. 5:18; cf. Deut. 25:4). Thus Christian workers are entitled to support from those who benefit from their toil. This again is an instance of extending to men a principle that could be seen to be self-evident in the case of animals.

Other words for cattle in the NT include *damalis*, heifer, the ashes of which were used in the rite of cleansing (Heb. 9:13; cf. Num. 9:9, 17 f.). This is contrasted with

"the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without blemish to God" and who thus purifies the → "conscience from dead works to serve the living God" (Heb. 9:14). *thremma* denotes a domesticated animal, including sheep and goats (Moulton-Milligan, 292) and is used of Jacob's cattle drinking from the well of Samaria (Jn. 4:12; cf. Gen. 33:19; 48:22). *moschos* is the calf or young bull sacrificed on the Day of Atonement (Heb. 9:12, 19; see above discussion of the goats in the Day of Atonement rites). The fatted calf (*ho moschos ho siteutos*) was preserved for special feasts and brought out on the return of the prodigal son (Lk. 15:23; 27, 30; cf. Jud. 6:25a, 28a). It appears as an apocalyptic animal, as one of the four living creatures around the throne together with the lion, the man and the eagle (Rev. 4:7; cf. Ezek. 1:10). Later Christian writers identified these creatures with the four evangelists. Irenaeus identified the man with Matthew, the eagle with Mark, the ox with Luke and the lion with John (*Haer.* 1, 11, 8). Augustine attributed the lion to Matthew, the man to Mark, the ox to Luke and the eagle to John (*De cons.* 1, 6). But this is an allegorical reading into the text of a meaning not originally intended. The vision symbolizes the whole created order in its service and praise to God. The different figures suggest the most powerful wild beast (the lion), the mightiest domestic animal (the ox), the most indomitable of the birds (the eagle), and the most intelligent creature (the man). The word *tauros* means a bull, used as a sacrificial animal (Acts 14:13; Heb. 9:13; 10:4) and in banquets where it is mentioned together with *sitista*, fatted cattle or calves (Matt. 22:4).

The camel (*kamēlos*) is mentioned in various connections in the NT. John the Baptist wore clothes of camel's hair (Matt. 3:4; Mk. 1:6). It was the cheapest, coarsest and simplest material available. But the chief reason for John's garb was that it was the traditional dress of the prophet (C. H. H. Scobie, *John the Baptist*, 1964, 128; cf. Zech. 13:4; 1 Ki. 19:19; 2 Ki. 2:13 f.). The saying that it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God illustrates the impossible by comparing the largest animal with the smallest opening (Matt. 19:24; Mk. 10:25; Lk. 18:25). Since the early centuries attempts have been made to mitigate the contrast or provide an explanation by suggesting that there was a narrow gate in the walls of Jerusalem through which a man or a camel might pass in emergency. But they could only do so by removing all encumbrances. There is, however, no known evidence for such a gate and it seems preferable to take the saying as an example of deliberate hyperbole like the sayings about the beam and the splinter (Matt. 7:3; Lk. 6:41), and straining out a gnat and swallowing a camel (Matt. 23:24). A later rabbinic parallel spoke of the impossibility of an elephant passing through the eye of a needle (Ber. 55b; cf. SB I 828; V. Taylor, *The Gospel According to St. Mark*, 1952, 431; M.-J. Lagrange, *Évangile selon Saint Marc*, 1942[6], 269 ff.). To strain out a gnat (*kōnōps*) and swallow a camel draws attention to the fatal danger of being over-zealous in small matters and oblivious to important ones. In Matt. 23:23 f. it is applied to the scribes and Pharisees who are scrupulous about tithing even herbs at the expense of neglecting "the weightier matters of the law, justice and mercy and faith" (cf. Lev. 27:30; Mic. 6:8). The AV "strain at" is either a misprint or an archaism for "strain out" (Arndt, 199). The hapaxlegomenon *kōnōps* which is usually translated as "gnat" has been suggested as a word for a certain worm found in wine (Arndt, 463).

All four evangelists say that Jesus rode into Jerusalem on a *pōlos* (Matt. 21:2,

7; Mk .11:2, 4 f., 7; Lk. 19:30, 33, 35; Jn. 12:15). The word generally means the colt of a horse that is old enough to use. But in our literature it refers to an ass's foal, a young donkey. The evangelists see the action as the fulfilment of the prophecy of Zech. 9:9. In early Israel even the nobility rode on donkeys (Jdg. 5:10; 10:4; 12:14; 2 Sam. 17:23; 19:26), but the situation was changed after David with the widespread introduction of the horse (1 Ki. 10:25–29; 2 Ki. 9:18 ff.). A merchant or humble traveller might still ride a donkey in Jesus' day, but a conquering king might be expected to ride a charger or enter the city marching at the head of his troops. Jesus' action not only appears as the fulfilment of prophecy but as an indication of the sort of king he was, ruling in humility (cf. L. Morris, *The Gospel According to John*, 1971, 586 f.; J. G. Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 1972, 164 ff.). John describes the animal as an *onarion*, lit, a little donkey, but often used as a diminutive in form only for *onos*, donkey (cf. Lk. 13:15; 14:5 TR; Matt. 21:2; Jn. 12:14). (See also W. Bauer, "The 'Colt' of Palm Sunday", *JBL* 72, 1953, 220-9.) See further *Addenda*.

Numerous critics have seen in Matt's reference to two animals (an ass [*onos*] and a colt [*pōlos*]; 21:2, 7) a mistaken understanding of a Heb. parallelism in Zech. 9:9. On the other hand, it would be natural for the young animal to be tethered by its parent. Both Mk. 11:2 and Lk. 19:30 (but not Matt.) observe that no one had yet sat on the animal. This suggests the conjecture that the old animal was brought to calm the young animal amid the crowds.

The pig (*choiros*) was an unclean animal (Lev. 11:7; Isa. 65:4; 66:3; Ps. 79(80):14; cf. SB I 448 ff., 492 f.). In general, the rule was a safe one in view of the fact that it is now known that pork is only safe when fully cooked (cf. Cansdale, op. cit., 99). But references to pigs in the NT suggest that their use for food was more widespread than the law allowed. The reaction of the Gadarenes at the loss of their pigs (Matt. 8:30–34) is an ironic comment on their values. In begging Jesus to go, they showed that they preferred their unclean animals to the presence of the Son of God and the healing of the demoniacs. The utter degradation of the prodigal son is shown by his employment in looking after unclean animals and in his desire to eat the pods that the pigs ate (Lk. 15:15 f.).

Pigs and dogs feature in two NT sayings. "Do not give dogs what is holy; and do not throw your pearls before swine, lest they trample them underfoot and turn to attack you" (Matt. 7:6). The words were quoted by Did. 9 in forbidding the admission of the unbaptized to the Lord's Supper and by Tertullian who blamed heretics for admitting them (*De praesc.* 41). The word dog (*kyōn*) was used by Jews in the 1st cent. A.D. to designate the heathen (cf. Matt. 15:26; Mk. 7:27 f.). The usage seems to have been adapted by the church to designate the Jews themselves who were outside the church and attacked it (Phil. 3:2 f.; Rev. 22:16). In Deut. 23:18 "the wages of a dog" refers to the wages of a male prostitute. 2 Pet. 2:22 applies to those who have turned back "the true proverb, The dog turns back to his own vomit, and the sow (*hys*) is washed only to wallow in the mire" (cf. Prov. 26:11). The reference to the dogs licking the sores of Lazarus (Lk. 16:21) recalls the fact that dogs in Egypt and Palestine were mainly scavengers which were not welcomed as household pets. The Syro-Phoenician woman's reply to Jesus that the little dogs (*kynaria*) eat the children's crumbs under the table (Matt. 15:27; Mk. 7:28) emphasizes the gulf between herself and the true Jew.

The horse (*hippos*) is mentioned in Jas. 3:3. Just as the bit guides the horse and the rudder the ship, the tongue which is likewise relatively small plays a determinative part in human life for both good and ill. The remaining references to horses all occur in Rev., representing forces before which men are powerless. In the vision of the seals (6:2–8) the four horses recall those of Zech. 1:8; 6:1–8, but the OT imagery is transformed (cf. R. H. Charles, *The Revelation of St. John*, I, 1920, 160–71). The rider of the white horse has a bow and is given a crown and goes out conquering and to conquer (6:2). In view of 19:11, this rider represents Christ in the present age. But the other horses and riders represent destructive powers. The rider of the red horse is permitted to take peace from the earth so that men slay one another. He is given a great sword (6:4). The rider of the black horse carries a balance. A voice cries: "A quart of wheat for a denarius, and three quarts of barley for a denarius; but do not harm oil and wine!" (6:6). The thought here is that the necessities of life are being sold at famine prices, while luxury commodities are available for those who can afford them (cf. R. H. Charles, op. cit., I, 166 ff.). The rider of the pale horse is → Death and Hades (6:8). They are given power over a fourth part of the earth to kill with the sword, famine, pestilence and wild beasts. The fact that the power of none of the latter three is absolute and final is indicative that they will continue throughout the present age, but they will not be able to extinguish life altogether.

The horses in Rev. 9:7, 9, 17, 19 have an apocalyptic aspect, representing the ultimate in destructive power. They are like locusts (9:3, 7). By contrast, he who is called "Faithful and True" and judges in righteousness and makes war (19:11) sits upon a white horse, followed by the armies of heaven also on white horses (19:14). Together they will bring about the final overthrow of evil (19:17–21).

Like the horse, the lion (*leōn*) also symbolizes the powers of evil and the powers of Christ. Heb. 11:33 possibly alludes to Dan. 7. 2 Tim. 4:17 ("So I was rescued from the lion's mouth") may be taken both lit. and fig. The lion appears in apocalyptic imagery in Rev. 4:7 (cf. Ezek. 1:10); 9:8, 17; 10:3; 13:2 in both good and bad senses. The devil is compared with a roaring lion seeking whom he may devour in 1 Pet. 5:8. On the other hand, John is urged: "Weep not; lo, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David, has conquered, so that he can open the scroll and its seven seals" (Rev. 5:5; cf. Gen. 49:9). When, however, John looks, the lion is in fact a lamb, "standing as though it has been slain, with seven horns and seven eyes, which are the seven spirits of God sent out into all the earth" (5:6).

Like the dog, the fox (*alōpēx*), the wolf (*lykos*), and the bear (*arkos*) have negative connotations. Jesus called Herod a fox (Lk. 13:32). In the context of rabbinic thought the fox could suggest both slyness and inconsequentiality (SB II 200 f.; D. Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, 1956, 191). Jesus' reminder to the disciples that foxes have holes but the Son of man has nowhere to lay his head (Matt. 8:20; Lk. 9:58) graphically expresses the utter demands made on him as Son of man and consequently upon those who would follow him. Whereas the foxes have somewhere to call their own in this world, Jesus has nowhere. False prophets are called "ravenous wolves" who come in sheep's clothing (Matt. 7:15; cf. 10:16; Lk. 10:3; Jn. 10:12; Acts 20:29; Ezek. 22:27; Zeph. 3:3; cf. G. W. H. Lampe, "'Grievous Wolves' (Acts 20:29)", in B. Lindars and S. S. Smalley, eds., *Christ and Spirit in the New Testament*, 1973, 253–69). They call for even more

caution than dogs and pigs, for whereas the latter may be left alone wolves are hostile and marauding. The reference to sheep's clothing may be an allusion to the prophet's mantle as a sign of authority (cf. Matt. 3:4; Zech. 13:4). But outward signs and claims to authority are no guarantee of good intention or divine authority. The description of the apocalyptic beast (*thērion*), which is in league with the dragon and is like a leopard (*pardalis*) with feet like a bear's and a mouth like a lion's, is drawn from the OT (Rev. 13:2; cf. Dan. 7:1–8; Hos. 13:7). It has been identified with various Roman emperors such as Nero and Caligula, especially in view of the latter's recovery from a dangerous illness (cf. Rev. 13:2; R. H. Charles, op. cit., I, 349). It is followed by another beast which exercises all the authority of the first, making the earth and its inhabitants worship the first beast (13:12), performing signs and wonders and claiming absolute authority. The → number of this beast, 666 or 616 (13:18) suggests a Heb. cryptogram for Nero *redivivus* (cf. Charles, op. cit., I. 364–8). The beasts, therefore, present an image of secular power exalting itself against God and tyrannizing mankind.

The destructive power of the locust (*akris*) has already been alluded to (cf. Rev. 9:7 ff.; Exod. 10; 2 Chron. 7:13; Joel 2:25; Amos. 4:9). They were also used for food (Lev. 11:20 ff.; Matt. 3:4). The ravages of the moth (*sēs*) graphically depict the transitoriness of earthly wealth (Matt. 6:19 f.; Lk. 12:33; Jas. 5:3).

→ Bird, → Dragon, → Fish, → Lamb, Sheep *C. Brown*

(a). G. S. Cansdale, *Animals of Bible Lands*, 1970; W. Foerster, Art. *thērion*, *TDNT* III 133 ff.; D. L. Harrison, *The Mammals of Arabia*, I, 1964; II, 1968.
(b). E. Fascher, "Jesus und die Tiere", *TLZ*, 90, 1965, 561 ff.; H. Wohlstein, "Zur Tier-Dämonologie der Bibel", *ZDMG*, 84, 1963–64, 483 ff.

Anoint

In ancient thought, various kinds of anointing oil (*elaion*) can penetrate deep into the body and impart strength, health, beauty and even joy. The idea of anointing thus gained at an early period a symbolic and religious meaning, over and above its normal use in cosmetics and medicine. Anointing in the literal, non-figurative sense is expressed in the NT by *aleiphō*, while *chriō* and *chrisma* are used exclusively in a religious and symbolic sense.

ἀλείφω	ἀλείφω, *aleiphō*, anoint.

CL 1. *aleiphō* occurs as early as Mycenaean Gk., and denotes the process by which soft fat (*myron*, ointment), or oil (*elaion*), is smeared upon or poured over a person or object.

2. In the ancient East, anointing gained a special significance in very early times. Anointing bowls and vessels are among the prehistoric finds in Egypt. Early on, the cleansing and strength-giving properties of ointments and oils were applied not only for purposes of purification, bodily hygiene and beautification, but also to the treatment of wounds and curing of diseases. The actual healing properties cannot be disentangled from the magical conceptions associated with anointing. Every ailment was associated with the power of gods or demons.

Anointing acquired a further significance, which may be traced to these magical ideas, when practised at the institution of an official or a vassal king in Egypt, or a priest in Babylon. Here the action indicates obligation and honour, and also protection for the one who is anointed (→ art. *chriō*). Holy trees, idols and even weapons were anointed. By this means they could be invested with special powers (→ art. *chriō* OT). Further uses of anointing are: to set a purchaser and a seller free of obligations; to free a female slave; and to release a bride from her parental home at her wedding.

OT 1. Anointing in the OT is very close in its uses and in its significance to practices outside Israel. In the LXX *aleiphō* is normally used of anointing in the lit. sense (Heb. equivalents *sûḵ* and *ṭûaḥ*): anointing for the care of the body, or for beauty's sake (Ruth 3:3; 2 Chr. 28:15; Dan. 10:3; Jdg. 16:8). It is omitted during a period of mourning (2 Sam. 14:2; cf. 12:20). Anointing by a host is a mark of care and honour for his guest (Ps. 23:5). In Ezek. 13:10–16 *aleiphō* is used in the sense of "to daub" (with whitewash). Only very occasionally is it synonymous with *chriō*, for Heb. *māšaḥ*, which signifies anointing in the symbolic sense (cf. Gen. 31:13 of the anointing of a pillar; Exod. 40:15 and Num. 3:3 of anointing to the priesthood (→ *chriō* OT)). There are a number of OT references to anointing practices where neither *aleiphō* nor *chriō* are used: for medicinal purposes (Isa. 1:6; Jer. 51:8), to express joy, (Isa. 61:3); and to honour the dead (Gen. 50:2; 2 Chr. 16:14).

2. Judaism retains the varied uses of anointing.

NT In the NT *aleiphō* occurs only 8 times (in all four gospels and in Jas.). In contrast with the more important word *chriō*, it refers consistently to the physical action of anointing, performed exclusively on people: for care of the body (Matt. 6:17); as a mark of honour to a guest (Lk. 7:38, 46; Jn. 11:2; 12:3); to honour the dead (Mk. 16:1); and to heal the sick (Mk. 6:13; Jas. 5:14). Ointments used are olive oil, or the more expensive myrrh, and balsam.

The physical action of anointing the body presents no particular problems. Its theological significance in the NT cannot, however, be reduced to a single pattern. Three ideas may be distinguished.

1. In the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 6:17), Jesus commands all who fast in order to pray, not to stop anointing themselves. This is seen as a normal expense for personal hygiene and a general expression of joy, which should be continued during the fast. Only what is done secretly before God and not before men, and can be offered joyfully, has true worth.

2. The background of Lk. 7:38 ff. is the Jewish custom of anointing the head of a guest. Jesus here exposes the Pharisee who failed to show him this honour and who now has to watch Jesus receive it at the hands of a humble woman whom the Pharisee would regard as one of the lost. Here anointing becomes an expression of faith, and its omission an expression of unbelief. The case is similar in Jn. 12:3, where the anointing of Jesus by Mary is interpreted as an anticipation of the anointing (or honouring) of his body at death.

3. Where anointing with oil is performed on sick persons (Mk. 6:13; Jas. 5:14), we are reminded of the anointing of the sick elsewhere in the ancient world. It may be that in the NT medicinal properties were attributed to the anointing,

though these are not emphasized. Probably passages like Mk. 6:13 and Jas. 5:14 have their background rather in the practice of exorcism. Anointing is a symbolic act by which demons are cast out. The healings performed by the disciples or elders of the church were accompanied by anointing, and took place in the context of preaching and prayer. Healing, and therefore anointing also, came to be seen as a visible sign of the beginning of God's reign. The quasi-magical misunderstanding of anointing is, however, held firmly in check, especially in Jas. 5:13 ff., by the importance attached to accompanying prayer. *W. Brunotte*

χρίω	χρίω, *chriō*, anoint; χρίσμα (*chrisma*), anointing, unction.

CL *chriō* (Homer onwards), touch the surface lightly, anoint, to paint. *chrisma* (Xenophon; earlier *chrima*) meant originally paint, whitewash, oil or salve used in anointing; and later (beginning with LXX) also the action of painting, smearing anointing (the latter exclusively, in NT). For non-biblical practices of anointing → *aleiphō*.

OT *chriō* occurs some 60 times in the LXX. Apart from two instances (Deut. 28:40; Ezek. 16:9, Heb, *sûḵ*), it always stands for the Heb. *māšaḥ*, to smear, anoint with oil or ointment. Unlike *aleiphō*, *chriō* is used basically in the symbolic ritual sense (except at Deut. 28:40 and Amos 6:6). Likewise *chrisma* (and *chrisis* which does not occur in the NT) is used consistently of ritual anointing (Exod. 30:25; 40:9 etc.).

1. (a) From the petty states of the Canaanites in the region of Syria and Palestine, Israel adopted the institution of the monarchy, and with it probably also the anointing of kings (Jdg. 9:8, 15; 1 Sam. 9:16; 10:1; 15:1, 17; 16:3, 12 f.). The OT tradition concerning the anointing of the king is not, however, uniform. In one place the anointing could be performed by the "elders of Israel" on the basis of a contract between the king and these representatives of the twelve tribes (2 Sam. 5:1–12). Elsewhere it is said to have taken place at the direct command of Yahweh, by the hand of a prophet (1 Sam. 9:16 etc.). In M. Noth's view monarchy in Israel had numerous historical roots and practices (*The Laws of the Pentateuch and other Studies*, 240 ff.). It does not follow, however, that we can distinguish a secular anointing (by the representatives of the people) and a sacred anointing which took place "before Yahweh" (at the hands of a prophet). We should rather conclude that, regardless of whether it was Yahweh or the people who "made" the king, the anointing of the king very soon became a sacred act forming part of the ceremony of enthronement, which took place in a holy place "before Yahweh". It is significant that, "the elevation of a person by the elders to be king originally had as its prerequisite a declaration of the divine will concerning the person who was to be the future king" (M. Noth, op. cit., 16).

The anointing gave the new king the legal right to rule over Israel. It was done from a special vessel, a horn which was kept in the temple (1 Ki. 1:39; cf. 1 Sam. 10:1; 16:1, 13), using olive oil mixed with spices (myrrh, cinnamon, calamus, etc.), which was poured over the king's head with an appointed form of words (2 Ki. 9:3, 6). The anointing formed the first part of the coronation ceremony in the temple

(2 Ki. 11:12; cf. the anointing of Solomon, 1 Ki. 1:33 ff., which took place at the spring of Gihon, probably a holy place). It was followed by the acclamation by the people, "Long live the king!" (2 Ki. 11:12), and finally the ascent of the throne in the royal palace (2 Ki. 11:19).

(b) The anointing signified communication of *kāḇôḏ*, the gift of authority, strength and honour (cf. Ps. 45:7), as in → blessing. Through the anointing the king became the bearer of special authority. In Ps. 45:7 f. the Psalmist sings of the robes of the anointed one, fragrant with myrrh and aloes. Through the anointing, the royal office radiates joy and fragrance (cf. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen*, I 336). The kind of anointing mentioned in Ps. 45, cannot be determined with certainty. "It is quite within the realms of possibility, that the royal wedding was preceded by a ceremonial repetition of the enthronement of the heir of David, at the royal feast of Zion" (H. J. Kraus, ibid.).

The sons of David were certainly regarded as David's successors to the throne (2 Sam. 7), as Yahweh's anointed, without having in every instance been symbolically anointed by a prophet. The anointing of Yahweh is sometimes coupled with the gift of the Spirit and Yahweh's special protection (1 Sam. 16:13; 24:6–11; 26:9–23; 2 Sam. 1:14 ff.; 19:21 f.; 23:1 f.; Isa. 11:2; cf. E. Kutsch, *RGG*³ V 1331). The anointed one stood in direct contact with God, and was regarded as inviolate.

2. M. Noth, G. von Rad and others think that anointing of priests came in later than that of the kings, and was practised after the exile, when, with the disappearance of the monarchy, certain cultic functions which before the exile had been performed by the king were given to the High Priest (→ Priest).

The High Priest was anointed (Exod. 29:7) and later the other priests (Exod. 40:15). This anointing took place during the 7-day-long consecration of the priests, after the preparation of the sacrifice (Exod. 29:1–3), the ritual cleansing (Exod. 29:4) and the enrobing (Exod. 29:5 f.) at the entrance of the sanctuary (Exod. 29:7; cf. 28:41; 29:29; 40:13; Lev. 4:3). The anointing made the priests sacrosanct. It separated them from the sphere of the unclean (Exod. 30:29). This same process of desecularization and sanctification could also apply to objects. The tabernacle (Exod. 40:9; Lev. 8:10; Num. 7:1), the altar (Exod. 29:26; 40:10), the vessels used in the sanctuary, and the ark (Exod. 30:26; Num. 7:1) could also be anointed.

3. In passages like Isa. 61:1 and Ezek. 16:9, the anointing is to be understood metaphorically, since in Israel ritual anointing was only available to kings and priests. Isa. 61:1 should be seen as the testimony of the prophet, who is here speaking of his charismatic endowment with authority. In the NT (Lk. 4:18) this text is applied to Jesus: he has been anointed by God to be the promised prophet.

NT In the NT *chriō* (apart from the form *christos* → Jesus Christ) is found only 5 times, and *chrisma* only 3 (all in 1 Jn.). Both words are used exclusively in a figurative sense, corresponding to their use in the LXX. Anointing is a metaphor for the bestowal of the Holy Spirit, special power, or a divine commission.

1. On 4 occasions we read of the anointing of Jesus by God (Lk. 4:18 quoting Isa. 61:1; Acts 4:27; 10:38; Heb. 1:9 quoting Ps. 45:7). All these texts indicate that a special endowment by the → Holy Spirit with supernatural power (cf. especially Acts 10:38). This anointing by the Holy Spirit (Lk. 4:18; Acts 4:27: 10:38) probably recalls what happened at Jesus' → baptism. At baptism Jesus received

the royal and priestly anointing which made him the *Christos*, the Messiah. Jesus of Nazareth was thereby declared the instrument of the gospel of the peace of God. According to Luke 4:18, Jesus read out the Isaiah passage in order to proclaim that the period which begins with him is the period of salvation. In Acts 4:27, Luke sees Psalm 2 (which has just been cited) as fulfilled in Jesus "whom thou didst anoint" *hon echrisas*, as the Christ.

Heb. 1:9 does not refer to baptism when it speaks of anointing, but to the ceremonial act of enthronement in heaven (cf. 1:3, 4). On account of (*dia*) his obedience and his endurance of suffering (Heb. 2:9), Jesus has been anointed and elevated (→ Height, art. *hypsos*) at his ascension to the rank of eschatological ruler (1:8) and high priest (5:9 f.). The anointing mentioned in the OT quotation underlines once again the theme of Heb. 1:5 ff. (cf. Pss. 2:7; 45:6 f.; 2 Sam. 7:14). The official bestowal of the rank of son, king and high priest signifies "as in Phil. 2:9, an increase in authority as compared with the earthly history of Jesus" (E. Käsemann, *Das Wandernde Gottesvolk*, 59).

2. The remaining instances refer to the anointing of Christians (the word *Christianos* is found in the NT only at Acts 11:26; 26:28, 1 Pet. 4:16; → Jesus Christ, art. *christianos*). Some exegetes suggest the existence of an act of anointing before → baptism, as part of the baptismal ceremony. It is quite possible that *chrisas hēmas theos* (lit. "God having anointed us", RSV "commissioned") in 2 Cor. 1:21 and *chrisma* ("anointing") in 1 Jn. 2:20, 27 are references to baptism (see 1 above). But there is no evidence of anointing as an independent sacramental rite within the baptismal ceremony. R. Bultmann believes that: "In using this designation 'unction' John apparently has adopted a term of some Gnostic mystery-cult, against which he turns the barbs of his remarks in their own language" (*Theology of the NT*, II 88).

For Jn. the *chrisma* is the → Spirit of Truth who gives Christians the power of understanding, so that they do not need any other teacher (1 Jn. 2:27). Through their anointing they have received the Spirit, who brings to mind what Jesus has said (cf. Jn. 14:26; 15:26; 16:13 f.). The anointing of the Spirit is the power which works in the believer through the divine authoritative word. In following and abiding in Jesus (1 Jn. 2:28) and through the power of the preached word as it works in the church, the believer is given a share in the Messianic anointing of Jesus. He receives the Holy Spirit, who is able to discern the spirits (1 Jn. 4:1 ff.; 2:18).

It is difficult to determine the meaning of *chriō* in 2 Cor. 1:21. Is it baptism? Or is it a kind of adoption in faith, on the pattern of the Israelite anointing of kings? Or is it a reference to election? Verse 22 mentions the gift of the Spirit. Those exegetes are probably right who regard the three verbs (establish, anoint, seal) as three different aspects of what happens in baptism. By their spiritual anointing, Christians are made rightful members of the covenant of promise. It is possible that Paul's language here, like that of Heb. 1:9, implies a reference to a term in the Gnostic mysteries, from which he thus dissociates himself. It is not man's own choice and decision that leads him through a mystic anointing to higher knowledge of the other world and to the way of redemption. It is the decision made by God for man in Christ Jesus, which operates through faith. This is how he becomes the anointed one. *D. Müller*

(a) M. de Jonge, "The Word 'Anointed' in the Time of Jesus," *NovT* 8, 1966, 132–42; T. Fawcett, *Hebrew Myth and Christian Gospel*, 1973, 283–87; G. W. H. Lampe, *The Seal of the Spirit*, (1951) 1967²; W. Michaelis, *myron*, *TDNT* IV 800 f.; C. R. North, "The Religious Aspects of Hebrew Kingship," *ZAW* 50, 1932, 8–38; M. Noth, *The Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies*, 1966, 1–107, 145–78, 229–49; H. Schlier, *aleiphō*, *TDNT* I 229–32; S. Szikszai, "Anoint," *IDB* I 138 f.
(b) H. Bardtke, "Salbung," *EKL* III 776 f.; G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina* IV, 1935, 201 ff.; E. Käsemann, *Das wandernde Gottesvolk*, *FRLANT* Neue Folge, 37, (1939) 1961⁴, 59 f.; H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen*, I, (1960) 1966³, 336; E. Kutsch, G. Delling, C. A. Bouman, "Salbung," *RGG*³ V 1330 ff.; E. Kutsch, *Salbung als Rechtsakt im alten Testament und im alten Orient*, *BZAW* 87, 1963; D. Lys, "L'Onction dans la Bible," *Études Théologiques et Religieuses* 29, 1954, 3 ff.; F. J. Schierse, "Verheissung und Heilsvollendung," *Theol Stud.* 1, 9, 1955, 112 ff.; R. Schnackenburg, *Die Johannesbriefe*, 1965², 152 f.; H. Weinel, "*mšḥ* und seine Derivate," *ZAW* 18, 1898, 1–82; J. Wellhausen, "Zwei Rechtsriten bei den Hebräern," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 7, 1904, 33–41.

Antichrist

ἀντίχριστος — ἀντίχριστος (*Antichristos*), Antichrist; ψευδόχριστος (*pseudochristos*), false Christ.

The words *antichristos* and *pseudochristos* are first found in the second half of the 1st cent. A.D., and are creations of Christian literature.

The prep. *anti* originally meant "in the place" of and then "against". It indicates a fundamental, dualistic opposition of a kind familiar in Hellenism. Both contemporary with the NT and later we find the expression *antitheos*, anti-God (originally "like the gods" in Homer's *Iliad*). On the other hand, the compound with *pseudo*, found about 70 times in Gk., gives the word the ethical connotation of being false or deceptive.

OT The real background of the word is to be found in Jewish apocalyptic. This is the literature of a movement specially interested in calculating and describing the end of this age, the coming of the Messiah (→ Jesus Christ, art. *Christos*) and the setting up of the → Kingdom of God. Dan. 7–12 is the earliest expression of this literature which was very influential and widespread. Although it does not form a true unity, apocalyptic brings together eschatological expectations of Jewish prophecy (e.g. Isa. 26; 35; Jer. 5:1 ff.; Ezek. 37–48), elements from Babylonian and Persian dualistic mythology (→ Evil, *kakos* OT 2), classical theories about the ages (→ Time, art. *aiōn*) and explanations and veiled judgments on contemporary political events. Dating is difficult, and the visions and pictures of the course of history often remain obscure for us. Examples of pre-Christian apocalyptic writings are the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and most of the Ethiopian Book of Enoch; 2 Esdras and the Syriac Apc. of Baruch are approximately contemporary with the NT.

Regular features of this literature are the birth-pangs of the Messiah, the dissolution of the old age and the transition to the new age with all its terrors including plagues, diseases, wars, tyranny, miscarriages, earthquakes, and signs in the sun, moon and stars (e.g. 2 Esd. 5:50 ff.; 5:8; 6:21; Eth. Enoch 80:4 ff.; 99). Man's apostasy will increase, and all the powers of evil will arm themselves under the leadership of → Satan against God and his people. Satan is often called Beliar

(Sib. 3:63 ff.; Mart. Isa. 3:11; cf. 2 Cor. 6:15), Sammael (Mart. Isa. 2:1), or Mastema. Their personification and climax is the enemy of the people of God (e.g. Pss. Sol. 2:29(25) ff. ("the Dragon", perhaps Pompey); 8:16(5) ff. (God uses him as an instrument of punishment); 17:13(11) ("the godless one"); Sib. 3:63 ff. (Beliar does mighty signs including raising the dead, and leads many astray), 388 ff. (the man in the purple garment who causes much bloodshed). He is the rival of the Messiah (→ Jesus Christ, *Christos*) who is either the forerunner or central figure of the Kingdom of God. The greater the → tribulation the more fervently the Messiah was awaited by the godly.

The typical example of such personification is King Antiochus IV Epiphanes (the manifested god) of Syria (175–164 B.C.). Some scholars see him in Dan. 8:23 ff., depicted in more than human stature. His desecration of the Jerusalem temple by an altar to Zeus and the sacrifice there of a pig was considered to be an → "abomination of desolation", and his reign to be the breaking in of the anti-God. In Ass. Mos. 6 ff. traits of his personality have clearly been united with those of Herod the Great to form an anti-God figure. Such traits were also seen in Caligula, the Roman emperor (A.D. 37–41), who wished to erect a statue of himself in the temple at Jerusalem.

All these factors formed the expectation and concept of the Antichrist, who appears sometimes as tyrant, sometimes as false prophet. He is always in league with Satan, and may be no more than his mask. In the last analysis our constructions of the picture of Antichrist are based on inferences from Rev. 13 and similar passages, which in general are neither clear nor unambiguous.

NT If we based our thoughts only on the NT, one thing is certain. All that is said of the Antichrist is essentially negative in relation to the picture of the Christ (→ Jesus Christ, → Redemption). It gives the dark background against which his victory and his kingdom shine out the more brightly. The actual word is found only 5 times in 1 and 2 Jn. The outlines of the Antichrist are also to be found unmistakably in Mk. 13 par. (Matt. 24; Lk. 21), 2 Thess. 2:3 ff. and in Rev. They may also play a part in the story of Jesus' temptation (Matt. 4:1–11 par.).

(a) Mk. 13 par. speaks of "the abomination of desolation" (cf. Dan. 9:27; 12:11). It is personified, for the construction is masc. (RSV renders "the desolating sacrilege"). Also mentioned are false prophets (*pseudoprophētai*, → Prophet) and those who falsely claim to be the Christ (*pseudochristoi* – they say "I am He"). These may all apply to Antichrist, the deceiver, and opponent of God in all his disguises and masks. No distinction need really be made between sing. and plur.

(b) 2 Thess. 2:3 f. speaks of the man of sin (RSV tx "lawlessness", *anomia*; mg "sin", *hamartia*), the son of perdition, the opposer, who exalts himself above (RSV "against") every so-called god or object of worship, who claims to be God and takes his seat in the temple of God. This is the Antichrist, but Jesus will annihilate him with the breath of his mouth. It remains undecided whether the term "Antichrist" was unknown to Paul or whether he is deliberately writing with reserve.

(c) Rev. gives the fullest picture of the Antichrist and his war against the church of God. Here too the name is missing, but everything said in ch. 13 about the two beasts clearly contains the traits of a personified power opposed to God, which is in

fact a blasphemous parody of the Christ. We must interpret the number of the beast (v. 18) in terms of contemporary history with the help of the numerical symbolism then prevalent (→ Number). It cannot be decided with certainty today to whom the number 666, or possibly 616, refers. It may be Nero, or Domitian, regarded as Nero returned to life, or just the Empire. The details of the figure include traits from Dan. 7:7 ff., and comparative history suggests parallels with Babylonian and Persian mythology. But on an eschatological interpretation every one is no doubt intended who deceives and persecutes the church and blasphemes the Christ. In both cases the conqueror is Christ.

(d) In the Johannine Epistles (1 Jn. 2:18, 22 f.; 4:3; 2 Jn. 7) teachers of false doctrines are called antichrists. Both the sing. and plur. are used in 1 Jn. 2:18, otherwise only the sing. (see above (a)). No clear details are given of the doctrine. It is clear that they were claiming special fellowship with and love for God (cf. 1 Jn. 1:5 f.; 2:4 f.; 5:1 f.). But they denied that Jesus is the Christ and that he had become man (4:2 f.). The impression is also given that, convinced that they enjoyed special fellowship with God, they did not take sin very seriously (cf. 3:6 ff.). Here the deception does not come from outside but from inside the church. Members of the church had become servants of the Antichrist. Even though they had separated from the church, the danger had not disappeared. *E. Kauder*

(a). G. C. Berkouwer, *The Return of Christ*, 1972, 260–90; W. Bousset and A. H. Keane, *The Antichrist Legend*, 1896; F. C. Grant, *Ancient Judaism and the New Testament*, 1960; G. V. Jones, *Christology and Myth in the New Testament*, 1956, 202–33; J. Michl, "Antichrist," *EBT* I 28–32; A. L. Moore, *The Parousia in the New Testament*, 1966; D. S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic*, 1964, 276–80; E. Stauffer, *New Testament Theology*, 1955, 213 ff.; G. Vos, *The Pauline Eschatology*, 1961², 94–135. Commentaries on the Johannine Epistles by B. F. Westcott, 1902⁴; C. H. Dodd, 1946; F. F. Bruce, 1970; R. Bultmann, 1973; and on *Thessalonians* by L. Morris, 1956.
(b). P. Althaus, *Die letzten Dinge*, 1955, 282–97; O. Betz, "Der Katechon," *NTS* 9, 1962–63, 276–91; W. Bousset and H. Gressmann, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter*, 1926³; J. Jeremias, *Der Antichrist in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 1930; E. Lohmeyer, *RAC* I 450–57; V. Maag, "Der Antichrist als Symbol des Bösen" in *Das Böse*, 1961; F. Mussner, "Das Buch Judith und die neutestamentliche Antichristidee," *Trierer theologische Zeitschrift* 72, 1963, 242 ff.; B. Rigaux, *L'Antéchrist et l'opposition au royaume messianique dans l'Ancien et le Nouveau Testament*, 1932; H. Schlier, "Vom Antichristen: Zum 13. Kapital der Offenbarung Johannes" in *Theologische Aufsätze Karl Barth zum 50. Geburtstag*, 1936, 110 ff., reprinted in *Die Zeit der Kirche*, 1958², 16–29; J. Schmid, "Der Antichrist und die hemmende Macht," *Theologische Quartalschrift* 129, 1949, 323–43; L. Sirard, "La Parousie de l'Antéchrist: 2 Thess. 2:3–9," *Studiorum Paulinorum Congressus II*, 1963, 89–100.

Apostle

ἀποστέλλω

ἀποστέλλω (*apostellō*), send; ἐξαποστέλλω (*exapostellō*), send out; πέμπω (*pempō*), send; ἀπόστολος (*apostolos*), envoy, ambassador, apostle.

CL 1. *apostellō* (Soph. onwards), a compound of *stellō*, put up, make ready, and the prep. *apo*, from, away, back, means send (both persons and things), send away, chase away, send off. Where delegation for a particular purpose is involved, the cause for sending is often particularly stressed.

Since the envoy has full powers and is the personal representative of the one sending him, a close connection is established between the sender and the recipient (cf. the formula from the 3rd cent. B.C., "the envoys (*apestalmenoi*) of the king"). This is particularly stressed by the use of *apostellō*, while *pempō*, send, which is much commoner in secular Gk., stresses the mere fact of sending. In popular Stoic philosophy the idea of the envoy's authority to represent his master acquires a religious significance. A Cynic peripatetic teacher considered himself to be an envoy and an example sent by Zeus (Epict.). Hence *apostellō* also occurs as a technical term denoting divine authorization.

2. *apostolos* is derived from *apostellō* first as a verbal adj. and then as a noun. It is first found in maritime language, where it means a cargo ship, or the fleet sent out (Dem.). Later it denoted a commander of a naval expedition, or a band of colonists sent overseas. In the papyri it can mean an invoice, or even a passport (cf. K. H. Rengstorf, *TDNT* I 408). Only in two passages in Hdt. does *apostolos* mean envoy or emissary as a *single* person. The normal terms are *angelos* (→ Angel) or *kēryx* (→ Proclamation). Josephus uses the word for a group sent on a mission (the Jews sent to Rome, *Ant.*, 17, 11, 1 (300)). All its usages have two ideas in common: (a) an express commission, and (b) being sent overseas. Thus the root meaning in the case of the noun is narrowed down.

It was probably only later in gnostic circles that *apostolos* came to convey the oriental concept of emissaries as mediators of divine revelation. There, according to the system in question it could be used in the sing. for a heavenly saviour, or in the plur. for a number of saving persons or "spiritual men".

OT The LXX uses *apostellō* and *exapostellō* some 700 times. They are used almost exclusively to render *šālaḥ*, stretch out, send (the root meaning is to let loose, cf. Lat. *mittere*), which is translated only 5 times by *pempō*. (The latter occurs 26 times in the LXX altogether.) The translators rightly realized that the Heb. verb does not describe the sending (which could be the meaning of *pempō*) so much as its essential purpose, the authorization of the messenger (cf. Jos. 1:16; 1 Ki. 5:9(23); 20:9 (RV); 21:11; 2 Ki. 19:4; Jer. 34:3 (LXX 27:3)). Furthermore the noun *apostolos* is found only in 1 Ki. 14:6, where it translates *šālûaḥ*, the pass. part. of *šālaḥ*. Here there is no question of sending, but of the commissioning and empowering of the prophet Ahijah with a hard message for Jeroboam's wife, who was coming to consult him. Hence two conclusions may be drawn:

(a) The LXX, following the Heb. text, uses *apostellō* and its cognates to denote not the institutional appointment of someone to an office, but the authorization of him to fulfil a particular function or a task which is normally clearly defined. This explains why the vb. rather than the noun is used almost exclusively.

(b) If the sending is linked with a task in the use of *apostellō*, it follows that attention is always focused on one who sends. In other words, the stress falls on the one who gives his authority to the one whom he sends and whom he takes into his service. In the story of Isaiah's call the messenger is not even named (Isa. 6:8).

2. The common Jewish legal institution of the *šālîaḥ* (the Aram. pass. part. of *šālaḥ*) has become important for NT exegesis. Rab. Judaism in the time of Jesus clearly recognized the function of the representative or proxy derived from the old Sem. law concerning messengers. It is expressed briefly in the principle found in the

Mishnah, "A man's agent (*šālûaḥ*) is like himself" (Ber. 5:5 *et al.*). Hence the messenger becomes the proxy of the one who has given him the commission (cf. 1 Sam. 25:40 f.; 2 Sam. 10:4, 6). Irrespective of the personality of the messenger or of the one who commissioned him, irrespective even of the commission, the expression *šālîaḥ* means a person acting with full authority for another (cf. W. Schmithals *The Office of Apostle in the Early Church*, 103). According to Rab. writings a *šālîaḥ* could act as a representative in a betrothal. The leader in synagogue prayer was the *šālîaḥ* of the community. Rabbis were sent as representatives of the Sanhedrin for inspections and collections, at home and in the diaspora.

These representatives were not missionaries. Jud. does not know of mission in the sense of officially sending missionaries. So *šālîaḥ* could not be used of those trying to win others for Judaism. Strangely enough, the name *šālîaḥ* is not applied to the prophets in spite of Isa. 6:8, though to have done so would have been an easy deduction from their position as messengers. Certain great men of the past, (e.g. Moses, Elijah, Ezekiel) are called God's *šᵉlûḥîm* (plur.) because of the mighty acts performed through them.

What has been said of the use of *apostellō* in the LXX applies equally to the *šālîaḥ*. The term does not denote a continuing office, important in itself, but the exercise of a function limited in scope and duration by a definite commission, and terminating on its completion.

NT A. *apostellō* is used 131 times in NT; 119 of the cases are found fairly evenly divided among the Gospels and Acts. Luke uses the compound *exapostellō* 11 times out of the 13 occurrences. In Lk. 1:53; 20:10 f. it has the force of send away, allow to go. In the 7 examples in Acts it means the same as *apostellō*. By contrast, *pempō* occurs as a virtual synonym especially in Jn. (32 times) but also in Lk. and Acts (10 or 11) times. These are writings more independent than Matt. and Mk. of the Sem. originals, including LXX (where *pempō* is used only 26 times). John's use of the two words side by side without any obvious difference is not to be put down merely to contemporary Hel. usage. It may be that he wished to stress the purely functional aspects of the term in contrast to the institutional concepts already being attached to *apostolos* (see below), and also to underline more strongly the authority of the → Lord who sends (cf. Jn. 4:34; 7:16; 14:24 with 5:36; 7:29; 17:21, 25). *E. von Eicken, H. Lindner*

B. 1. In contrast to the LXX, the frequent occurrence of the noun *apostolos* is something new. It is found 6 times in Lk., 28 in Acts, 34 in Paul, once in Heb., 3 times in Peter, once in Jude, 3 times in Rev. Matt., Mk., Jn. use it once each. In striking contrast with classical Gk., *apostolos* is used in the NT only in the general sense of messenger, and particularly as the fixed designation of a definite office, the primitive apostolate.

(a) With the exceptions of Lk. 11:49, Acts 14:14, Luke applies *apostolos* expressly to the Twelve. They had been called by the historical Jesus to their office (Lk. 6:13; cf. 1:17). They had been with him throughout his ministry from the time of John's baptism. The risen Lord had met them in various appearances (Lk. 24:36 ff.; Acts 1:3). And so they had the best possible knowledge of what Jesus had said. Before the ascension they had received the promise of the → Spirit (Acts 1:4) and

the command to evangelize (Acts 1:8). By the event of Pentecost (Acts 2) they were made bearers of the Spirit, the great authorities of early Christianity who, based on Jerusalem, guarded the true tradition which went back to the historical Jesus.

According to Luke, there could be no other independent authorities beside the Apostles. They had to make or confirm every important decision (cf. Acts 15). They commissioned the Seven (6:6), though the idea of apostolic succession can hardly be based on this passage (→ Serve). They arranged the tasks in the local church (15:2 ff.), and began the mission to the Gentiles (10:1–16). So for Luke *apostolos* becomes the equivalent of membership of the Twelve. Except in 14:14, which he may have taken from another source, Luke never calls Paul an apostle. He clearly did not fulfil the preconditions for the office of an apostle which were fulfilled by the Twelve. According to Luke's account, the gap left in the circle of the Twelve by Judas' betrayal was closed by the election of Matthias (1:16–28).

(b) It is therefore remarkable that such a fundamental concept as *apostolos* should appear only once in each of the other three gospels. Jn. 13:16 cannot be understood of an office, for here it obviously means no more than messenger (cf. K. H. Rengstorf, *TDNT* I 421; R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 1971, 477 n. 4). In Matt. 10:2 the term is found at the head of the list of the Twelve before they are sent out, and in Mk. 6:30 they are called by this name when they return, their task accomplished. Both remind us of the *šālîaḥ* concept (see also OT 2). Otherwise these three gospels do not use the expression "apostle" for the Twelve.

(c) The Pauline epistles are regarded by many to have been written before Luke–Acts, and so are regarded as the oldest source of information about the technical use of *apostolos* in the NT. The following features and assumptions emerge from Paul's understanding of the office of apostle in his debates with his opponents:

(i) The → call and commissioning to lifelong service of an apostle is not through men but "through Jesus Christ and God the Father" (Gal. 1:1; cf. Rom. 1:5; 1 Cor. 1:1; 2 Cor. 1:1). It comes about through meeting with the risen Lord (1 Cor. 15:7; Gal. 1:16), who himself gives his apostle the message of the gospel (1 Cor. 11:23; 2 Cor. 4:6; Gal. 1:12). The apostle delivers the → gospel to men as Christ's "ambassador" (2 Cor. 5:20). "The service of the apostle makes it clear that the local church is not a law unto itself but under law to Christ" (E. Schweizer, *Das Leben des Herrn in der Gemeinde und ihren Diensten*, 1946, 70).

(ii) In contrast with the Jewish *šālîaḥ*, the call to the Christian apostleship is bound with the duty of mission among the Gentiles (→ People; Rom. 11:13; Gal. 2:8; cf. Rom. 10:15; 1 Cor. 1:17). Presumably the apostles were originally sent out two by two (Gal. 2:1, 9; cf. Mk. 6:7; Lk. 10:1; Acts 15:36–40). Special signs and wonders attended their work (Rom. 15:19; 2 Cor. 12:12). Their task was primarily to preach and not to baptize (1 Cor. 1:17).

(iii) Suffering is an inescapable part of the apostle's service (1 Cor. 4:9–13; 15:30 ff.; 2 Cor. 4:7–12; 11:23–29).

(iv) Like the prophets, the apostle has a special insight into the mystery (→ Secret) of Christ (1 Cor. 4:1; Eph. 3:1–6).

(v) Paul gives no suggestion that the apostle's special position (e.g. as an example, 1 Cor. 4:16; Phil. 3:17, etc.), exalts him above the church and distinguishes him from the others with spiritual gifts (1 Cor. 12:25–28; cf. Eph. 4:11; Rom. 1:11 f.). His spiritual gifts are there to fulfil definite functions in the church (→ Grace).

"The apostle knows that he also is a member of the local church" (Schweizer, ibid.). His authority is not derived from some special quality in him (2 Cor. 3:5), but from the gospel itself in its truth and power to convict (Rom. 15:18; 2 Cor. 4:2). That is why Paul takes pains to make it clear when he is giving his own opinion (1 Cor. 7:10, 12).

(vi) Paul met the risen Lord as last of the apostles (1 Cor. 15:8); if we are to take "last of all" absolutely, then there was no possibility of continuing the apostolate by calling others to it.

It is no longer clear whom Paul reckoned as apostles. He certainly belonged to their number. This is affirmed 14 times in the Pauline letters. So too did Peter (Gal. 1:18 f.), Junias, Andronicus (Rom. 16:7), and Barnabas (cf. Acts 14:14 with Gal. 2:1, 9, 13). Some doubt whether he considered James, the Lord's brother, to be an apostle, as the *ei mē* (except) of Gal. 1:19 is ambiguous. It is uncertain if he included Silvanus (2 Cor. 1:19; 1 Thess. 1:1; 2 Thess. 1:1). At any rate Paul never applies the title of apostle to the Twelve as a definite group. To interpret 1 Cor. 15:7 and Gal. 1:17, 19 as referring unambiguously to the Twelve is possible only by presupposing Lukan language. When Paul calls Titus, Epaphroditus and others "apostles of the churches" in 2 Cor. 8:23 (cf. Phil. 2:25), he is clearly not using *apostolos* as a technical term for a member of the Christian apostolate but rather as "messenger" (so AV, RV, RSV; NEB renders "delegates" in the former case). In other words, we cannot be certain whether the characteristics Paul attributed to the apostles are necessarily applicable to the NT apostle as such, or whether Paul considered the Twelve to be apostles and how numerous the apostles were in Paul's day.

(d) Light is thrown on the question whether we can equate the Twelve with the apostles by the fact that only in Rev. 21:14 are they expressly so called in the other NT writings. In 1 Tim. 1:1; 2:7; 2 Tim. 1:1; 2:11; Tit. 1:1; Eph. 1:1; Col. 1:1; 1 Pet. 1:1 and 2 Pet. 1:1 *apostolos* refers to the writer. In Heb. 3:1 the title is given to Jesus.

(e) It is clear then that, apart from the general meaning of messenger or envoy, two differing concepts lie behind the NT use of "apostle". We must ask the questions: Where did the idea and institution of Christian apostleship come from? When did the Twelve begin to bear the name "apostle"? What is the relation between their apostleship and that of Paul? What was the origin of the differing concepts of Paul and Luke? If the circle of apostles in the time of Paul was obviously wider than that of the Twelve, and possibly did not include it, how was the title attributed and even confined to them? These questions may not be answered by questioning the textual accuracy of our sources or by a false harmonization, which may involve the elimination of certain passages.

2. NT scholars have attempted to trace the sources of the Christian concept of apostleship and the reasons for its varied forms by using the results of investigations in the history of religion, and in the historic background and development of the period. Some typical attempts at a solution may be mentioned.

(a) For a long time scholarship has been dominated by the view best expounded by K. H. Rengstorf. This maintains that both linguistically and functionally Christian apostleship was derived from the Jewish institution of the *šālîaḥ*. It is firmly linked with the history of the earthly Jesus by passages like Mk. 6:7–13 par.; 9:28–32; Matt. 10:40 ff.; and Lk. 10:16.

After a period for hearing and learning Jesus appointed his disciples as apostles (who included more than the Twelve) by sending them out and setting them to active work (Matt. 10:1–5; Mk. 6:7–11; Lk. 9:10; cf. *TDNT* I 424 ff.). In other words the apostolate was originally not an office but a commission "in the sense of the authorization which is limited in time and space, and which is conditioned materially rather than personally, as in the Jewish concept of *šālîaḥ*" (loc. cit., 427) This commission was renewed, but modified, by the risen Lord, for the apostles were now called to an authoritative position (i) as Spirit-empowered witnesses of the resurrection, (ii) for their whole life, (iii) with a missionary responsibility. Through this the apostolate received the character of an office, but we can no longer determine the size of the apostolic circle, though the Twelve were its chief members.

A special position was occupied by Paul, who had been neither one of the disciples nor one of the earliest Christians. Since he saw his equality with the Twelve doubted, Paul felt compelled "to establish his apostolate in a way which saved him from a verdict of inferiority and at the same time proved to be of basic importance for the whole conception and claim of the early Christian apostolate" (loc. cit. 437). In spite of this, he consciously desired to remain with the primitive tradition about Jesus (1 Cor. 11:23–26; 15:1–7; etc.), which "constitutes the unity" between him and the original apostles, however many the differences between them (Acts 15:12; cf. Gal. 2:9 and especially 1 Cor. 15:11; cf. Rengstorf, loc. cit., 437). Paul was probably the first to link the apostolate with a meeting with the glorified Christ and to link it with the consciousness of being sent possessed by the OT prophets. It is he who shows us the classical picture of the apostle (loc. cit., 439).

(b) A weighty argument against this view nevertheless continued to be heard. It is impossible to prove exegetically from our texts, except Luke, that Jesus transmitted the office of apostle to the Twelve, either during his earthly activity, or immediately after his resurrection. A. v. Harnack had argued that the title of apostle was reserved for the Twelve first by Paul's opponents, and Paul had then included himself in that circle, thus fixing his own status (*Die Lehre der Zwölf Apostel*, 1884, 116). This was expanded by a group of scholars, including A. Fridrichsen, E. Lohse and J. Munck, who asked whether the concept of "apostle" had not first been attributed to the originally non-apostolic Twelve during the Pauline controversies (cf. G. Klein, *Die Zwölf Apostel*, 53). The original title of "apostle" had been given to the missionaries and travelling preachers sent out by the churches, especially the primitive church in Jerusalem, and not to the Twelve, who remained in Jerusalem as eschatological "pillars" (cf. Gal. 2:9), and with the exception of Peter (1 Cor. 9:5) never thought of missionary activity, but confined their preaching to Israel (E. Lohse, "Ursprung und Prägung des christlichen Apostolats", *ThZ* 9, 1953, 264 f.). Paul did not have this authorization as *šālîaḥ* from the primitive church; in the face of remonstrances he had to base his apostolate Jesus Christ himself. He recognized, however, that the Twelve, especially Peter had it in the same way. "The result was that 'apostle' acquired a well-defined meaning and was confined to the Twelve and Paul. Only they were in a true sense apostles of Jesus Christ. Thanks to Paul the old concept of the Twelve (*dōdeka*) receded, and in the Gentile church 'apostle' took its place" (E. Lohse, loc. cit., 269). Luke finally carried back the result of this development into his description of the life of Jesus and of the first apostolic age. Quite logically he omits Paul from the list of

apostles. The gap in the circle was filled by Matthias before Paul began his career as the great world missionary.

The question has rightly been asked whether Gal. 2:7 and 1:18 f. will permit this hypothesis (cf. G. Klein, *Die Zwölf Apostel*, 1961, 54 ff.). It would follow, e.g., that the "other apostles" of 1 Cor. 9:5 would simply be "delegates of the churches" amongst whom Paul – against the run of his argument – would have numbered himself as an "authorized itinerant preacher" (Lohse). It is far more likely that Paul was using an already common meaning of "apostle" and not coining a new one for his argument. The same inference may be drawn from his formula "an apostle of Jesus Christ" in the superscription of many of his letters (1–2 Cor., Gal., Eph., Col.).

(c) It is not surprising that scholars have looked for other solutions of the problem. H. v. Campenhausen considers that the origins of the apostolate in the primitive church elude research, but the Twelve were probably instituted by the historical Jesus ("Der urchristliche Apostolatsbegriff", *StTh* 1, 1948, 96–130; *Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power in the Church in the First Three Centuries*, 1969, 12–29). Paul, for whom we have first-hand information, did not consider himself to be essentially an exception. He was an apostle like the rest. For him "the apostles – and he is deliberately using an existing term – are the foundation-laying preachers of the Gospel, missionaries and church founders possessing the full authority of Christ and belong to a bigger circle in no way confined to the Twelve" (*StTh* 1, 127). Paul did not create a new concept of apostleship, and the limitation to the Twelve occurred after his death.

Luke took over a picture of the apostles conditioned by the disappearance of "living members of 'the apostolic generation' " (ibid., 117) and an idealized concept of the Twelve (in some cases because of the influence of old rivalries). He considered the Twelve to have been "above all the authoritative witnesses of the life and resurrection of Jesus, and moreover the initiators, first teachers and leaders of the whole Church" (ibid., 127).

This view too was inadequate to answer all the problems. If the Twelve "as a whole" could hardly have been considered "apostles from the first", how are we to understand their commissioning by the historical Jesus? And if their commissioning as apostles goes back to the historical Jesus, then surely an "idealization" of them cannot have caused the apostolate to have been restricted to them in the eyes of the first post-apostolic generation. In addition von Campenhausen acknowledges that some survivors of "the apostolic generation" must have long continued, so "such a restriction cannot have been due to a reaction to a lack of living apostles" (cf. Klein, op. cit., 62). We must also ask whether we should generally speak of a limitation of the apostolic circle or rather of a transference of the title of apostle to the Twelve (cf. W. Schmithals, *The Office of Apostle in the Early Church*, 266). In addition we must ask whether Paul coined the formula "apostle of Jesus Christ", or whether he took it over and was responsible for its becoming a technical term.

(d) The work of G. Klein and W. Schmithals to some extent questions the whole basis of earlier studies. They claim that a relationship between the Christian office of apostle and the institution of the *šālîaḥ* is unprovable. The earliest use of *šālîaḥ* in Heb. texts in such a sense is in A.D. 140 or later. Furthermore, the term is purely juridical, limited in time, and never applied to missionaries or OT prophets. But

apostleship has a religious connotation, is eschatological in character and lifelong, and the missionary charge cannot be separated from it. The *šālîaḥ* expects his message to be received because of his authorization, but the legitimacy of the apostle is proved by his message. Apart from the fact that both are sent, *šālîaḥ* and apostle have nothing in common (Schmithals, op. cit., 96–110; Klein, op. cit., 26 ff.).

According to Schmithals, there is only one notion of apostleship to be found in Paul, but it was not invented by him (op. cit., 22 ff.). It derived from Jewish or Jewish-Gnostic circles as a title for redeemer figures or heavenly emissaries (op. cit., 114–192). These featured in Mesopotamian speculative thought which gnosticism took over. Jewish-Christian gnosticism and the church's apostolate both originate in the region of Syria. Schmithals claims that the characteristic features of apostleship in the church correspond to those of gnosticism. The idea spread from the missionary centre at Antioch to the Gentile church at large. In both gnosticism and the church the emissary does not come from the community (op. cit., 198). In both cases mission is entrusted to the apostle (op. cit., 200). The apostle in the church is "called" by the exalted Christ; "the relationship of the genuine Gnostic to Christ is one of identity of being" (op. cit., 204). Since for the gnostic apostle Christ himself is the gospel, Paul's claim to have received his apostleship "not from man, nor through men, but through Jesus Christ and God the Father" (Gal. 1:1; cf. 2 Cor. 12:1) is readily comprehensible (op. cit., 206 ff.).

Schmithals also claims that the terminology indicates gnostic origin: "for *apostolos* and *apostellein* belong to the most characteristic and most original technical expressions of Gnosticism in general, and can only have been given by Gnosticism to Christianity, but never by Christianity to Gnosticism" (op. cit., 230). At all events, the first Christian missionaries who came from the region of Syria were called apostles. Peter soon came to be so called because of his missionary work. The title was then quite naturally extended to others among the Twelve, as tradition increasingly identified them with the leadership of the Gentile mission (op. cit., 231–271). However, Paul who came into direct contact with gnosticism only relatively late did not realize his dependence on gnosticism.

Schmithals's argument fails, however, to explain why, when the title of apostle came to be applied to the Twelve, all the others who had previously been called apostles lost their status (cf. G. Klein, op. cit., 64). Nor does his exegesis explain passages like Gal. 1:17 and 1 Cor. 15:7 with their evidence of apostles in the primitive church at Jerusalem (op. cit., 64 ff.). Moreover, in gnosticism the apostle is the pneumatic or spiritual man (op. cit., 175 ff.). How then could this description of the gnostic in general give rise to the idea of apostleship in the church which was much more than a mere term for a function? (cf. G. Klein, op. cit., 63, n. 277).

Schmithals holds that the use of "apostle" to designate the Twelve did not result from the controversies between Paul and the Jerusalem church, but arose in the late post-apostolic age (op. cit., 277–288). The institution of apostleship in general goes back not to the historical Jesus, but to the exalted Lord. G. Klein goes further. He considers the idea of the Twelve as apostles to be the tendentious invention of Luke to help in the struggle against gnosticism, by making the Twelve the only legitimate bearers of the divine message, commissioned and sent out by Jesus. He wrote at the beginning of the 2nd cent., and knew of the Pauline epistles but did not

use them. By witholding from Paul the title of apostle, he put him on a lower level. To deprive the gnostics of the Pauline epistles and to maintain the church's tradition, Luke transferred apostleship to the Twelve, subordinated Paul to them and erased all traces of a wider circle of apostles. Thus he identified the circle of disciples with that of the Twelve, and read this back into the life of Jesus (op. cit., 190 ff.; cf. Schmithals, op. cit., 265–278).

E. Haenchen's criticism is justified, that Klein's theory stands or falls with the proof that no one before or contemporaneously with Luke amalgamated the Twelve and the "apostles" into the combination of the "Twelve Apostles" (*The Acts of the Apostles*, 1971, 123 ff.). Klein has to reinterpret or dub as later interpolations all these passages which are older than the date he attributes to Luke and which connect apostleship with the Twelve (e.g. Rev. 21:14; 1 and 2 Pet., cf. 1 Clem.; Barn.). In many cases this is impossible. It is easier to believe that Luke was already familiar with a tradition that gave such a standing to the Twelve, and which existed independently of the Pauline tradition (cf. also Schmithals, op. cit., 263).

3. We are forced by the perplexing multitude of attempts at a solution to the conclusion that the darkness that lies over the beginnings of the primitive Christian apostolate can no longer be illuminated with certainty. In any case, if we take the growth of the canon seriously, we shall have to recognize that the concepts of the apostolate vary in the various NT writings. However we try to understand these various conceptions in their historical setting, we cannot avoid hypotheses. That does not free us from the duty of choosing the most probable of these, and of constantly checking and questioning it anew.

We may take it as incontrovertible that the missionary commission was an essential part of the primitive Christian apostolate. If we bear in mind, however, that the twelve disciples were tied to Jerusalem by their eschatological role as representatives of the twelve tribes of Israel, it is unlikely that Jesus himself, either before or immediately after his resurrection, appointed them as apostles in the sense in which that office was later understood. It is also hardly credible that a circle of disciples with such authority derived from their Lord himself should have lost its precedence already by the time of the Apostolic Council, so that one was soon no longer certain who the Twelve were. Finally how could Mark, Matthew and, circumstances permitting, John also have concealed without apparent reason the fact that Jesus had appointed a circle of twelve apostles?

The present writer considers that the investigations of Schmithals and Klein make it impossible to take in the institution of the *šālîaḥ* as the basis of apostleship in the church. This does not mean that every influence from that quarter is to be excluded. Strangely enough, overtones of the *šālîaḥ* occur particularly in passages, where *apostolos* is not used in a technical sense (e.g. Jn. 13:16). In Matt. 10:2 and Mk. 6:30 the later technical term is applied to the disciples as representatives of Jesus.

We consider that NT scholarship has not sufficiently considered the meaning of the vb. *apostellō* as a starting point for a solution. Already in secular Gk. "to send" was used as a technical term for a divine authorization, and its sub. was used, admittedly very rarely, with the meaning "messenger". Since the Hellenistic churches could not be assumed to have an understanding for the concept of the *šālîaḥ*, the Gentile Christians would understand apostle in exactly this sense. If we consider too

that the LXX uses this term for the mission of the prophets, we shall ask ourselves whether OT prophecy cannot serve as a positive basis for the special concept of apostleship in the primitive church. If that is so, the primitive church chose, as it so often did, an unfamiliar word, seldom used in the secular language, with little ready-made content, in order to fill it with one expressing its own conceptions. Missionaries specially called by the Lord bore this title. It was soon applied to Peter, the only disciple, at least known to us, active in missionary work. Paul was included in this circle because of his special meeting with the risen Lord. We can no longer establish, even hypothetically, how numerous the circle was in Paul's day. It is through Paul's controversy with his gnostic opponents that we know the general features of this apostleship.

After the time of Paul, when the Twelve became more and more regarded as the only legitimate bearers of the message of Jesus as the Christ, and the conviction became general that they had been the initiators of the mission to the Gentiles, the title of apostle was gradually transferred to the whole circle of the Twelve. It may possibly have been through Luke that the title of apostle was finally confined to the Twelve, in the more restricted technical sense, indicating their role as guarantors of the legitimate tradition.

Whether things happened like this or in some other way, one thing is certain. The NT never betrays any understanding of the apostolate as an institutionalized church office, capable of being passed on. The varied statements make it clear that the adoption and transformation of the concept of apostleship by the primitive church had an important and possibly decisive influence in preventing the disintegration of the witness to Christ and maintaining the continuity of its tradition down to the time when the canon of the NT was fixed (→ Rule). It was due to the office of the apostolate that the link between the Crucified and the Exalted, between the earthly Jesus and the Christ of the proclamation, was preserved.

D. Müller

Note on Apostleship in Luke–Acts

The above article reflects the tendency in German scholarship to see a sharp distinction between the picture in Luke–Acts and that in the Pauline writings and other gospels. English-speaking scholars, whilst recognizing Luke's special interests, are on the whole less inclined to see a conflict of attitudes over apostleship and the Twelve (cf. A. M. Farrer in K. E. Kirk, ed., *The Apostolic Ministry*, (1946) 1957², 119–41; E. M. B. Green, *Called to Serve*, 1964, 11–32; L. Morris, *Ministers of God*, 1964, 39–61; A. Ehrhardt, *The Apostolic Succession*, 1953, 11–34; M. H. Shepherd, *IDB*, I 171 f.).

The omission to make explicit reference to the "Twelve" as such at the Jerusalem Council in Acts 15 may be due to the author's taking their identity for granted in the light of his previous identification of the twelve disciples with apostles (Lk. 6:12–16; Acts 1:13–26). The fact that in the council's decision-making they are accorded no special pre-eminence does not compel the conclusion that they did not exist. It is consonant with the non-authoritarian, collegiate character of church leadership which Acts consistently depicts (1:13–26; 6:2 ff.; 8:14 ff.; 11:1 ff.; 13:1–4). It is, moreover, consonant with the teaching of the gospels and epistles on → humility and → service.

It can hardly be said that Acts plays down the call and commissioning of Paul which it records no less than three times (9:1–19; 22:1–21; 26:2–18). We would hardly expect Paul to be given the title of apostle at his conversion. Nevertheless, the Lord reveals to Ananias that Paul is "a chosen instrument of mine to carry my name before the Gentiles and kings and the sons of Israel" (9:15), and Luke's account of Paul's words contain the vbs. *exapostellō* ("Depart; for I will send you far away to the Gentiles," 22:21) and *apostellō* ("I have appeared to you for this purpose to appoint you to serve and bear witness to the things in which you have seen me and to those in which I will appear to you, delivering you from the people and from the Gentiles – to whom I send you," 26:16 f.). In encountering the risen Christ on the Damascus road, Paul fulfilled a basic qualification for apostleship, that of being "a witness to his resurrection" (Acts 1:22). He did not fulfil the other condition, that of being a follower of Jesus in his earthly ministry. In short, the picture that Acts paints is not that Paul was not an apostle, but that he was an apostle extraordinary which is consonant with Paul's own account (1 Cor. 9:1 ff.; 15:5–9; Gal. 1:12–17). Whilst Acts presents the Jerusalem apostles as a closely-knit body working separately from Paul (e.g. 8:14; 9:27; 15:2; 16:4), it does speak of Paul and Barnabas as apostles (14:4, 14).

The difference of emphasis between Luke and the other evangelists is also less sharp than may appear at first sight. *apostolos* occurs in Matt. 10:2 (=Lk. 6:13) and Mk. 6:30 (=Lk. 9:10). Luke uses the term on only 5 more occasions of which 11:49 may simply mean one sent by God and the other occasions are patently synonyms for the disciples (17:5 (cf. 17:1); 9:10; 22:14; 24:10). The use of the term in all four gospels appears to be by the application of a term familiar at the time of writing but which was not necessarily current at the time when the incidents described happened. All four gospels give accounts of the call of the disciples (Matt. 10:2–4; Mk. 3:16–19; Lk. 6:14 ff. (cf. Acts 1:13); and Jn. 1:35–43). In all four (but especially Matt.) the disciples are called the → Twelve. During the earthly ministry of Jesus they figure as learners (→ Disciple). And in all four they are sent as → witnesses to the risen Christ (Matt. 28:16–20; Mk. 16:7 (cf. 3:14); Lk. 24:46 ff. (cf. Acts 1:8); Jn. 20:21 ff., 30 f.; 21:15 ff., 24). *C. Brown*

→ Bishop, Presbyter, Elder, → Disciple, → Number, → Serve

(a). K. Barth, *CD* II, 2, 431–49; IV, 1, 714–25; C. K. Barrett, *The Signs of an Apostle*, 1970 and *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1973; R. E. Brown, K. P. Donfried and J. Reumann, eds., *Peter in the New Testament*, 1973; F. F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1952²; H. von Campenhausen, *Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power in the First Three Centuries*, 1969; O. Cullmann *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr*, 1962²; A. Ehrhardt, *The Apostolic Succession in the First Two Centuries of the Church*, 1953; *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1969; and *The Apostolic Ministry*, 1958; A. Fridrichsen, *The Apostle and his Message*, 1947; S. Freyne, *The Twelve: Disciples and Apostles. A Study in the Theology of the First Three Gospels*, 1968; L. Goppelt, *Apostolic and Post-Apostolic Times*, 1970; E. M. B. Green, *Called to Serve*, 1964; E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1971; A. T. Hanson, *The Pioneer Ministry*, 1961; O. Karrer, *Peter and the Church: An Examination of Cullmann's Thesis*, 1963; J. A. Kirk, "Apostleship since Rengstorf: Towards a Synthesis", *NTS* 21, 1974-75, 249-64; K. E. Kirk, ed., *The Apostolic Ministry* (1946) 1957²; K. Lake, "The Twelve and the Apostles", in F. J. Foakes-Jackson and K. Lake, eds., *The Beginnings of Christianity* Pt. 1, vol. 5, 1933, 37–59; T. M. Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries*, 1902; T. W. Manson, *The Church's Ministry*, 1948; and *Ministry and Priesthood: Christ's and Ours*, 1958; H. Mosbech, "*Apostolos* in the New Testament," *StTh* 2, 1949–50, 166–200; J. Munck, *Paul and the Salvation of Mankind*, 1959, 11–68; and "Paul, the Apostles, and the Twelve," *StTh* 3, 1950–51,

96–110; D. W. O'Connor, *Peter in Rome: The Literary, Liturgical, and Archaeological Evidence*, 1969; L. Morris, *Ministers of God*, 1964; P. M. Peterson, *Andrew, Brother of Simon Peter*, 1963; K. H. Rengstorf, *apostolos*, *TDNT* I 407–45; and *Apostolate and Ministry: The New Testament Doctrine of the Office of Ministry*, 1969; B. Rigaux, *Letters of St. Paul*, 1968, 40–67; M. H. Shepherd, "Apostle," *IDB* I, 170 ff.; R. Schnackenburg, "Apostles Before and During Paul's Time," in W. W. Gasque and R. P. Martin, eds., *Apostolic History and the Gospel*, 1970, 287–303; W. Schmithals, *The Office of Apostle in the Early Church*, 1971; E. Schweizer, *Church Order in the New Testament*, 1961; and *Lordship and Discipleship*, 1960; J. Weiss, *Earliest Christianity*, II, (1937) 1959, 673–87.

(b). O. Betz, *Nachfolge und Nachahmung Jesu Christi im Neuen Testament*,1967; P. Bläser, "Zum Problem des urchristlichen Apostolats," *Unio Christianorum*, 1962, 92–107; H. von Campenhausen, "Der urchristliche Apostelbegriff; *StTh* I, 1948–49, 96–130; J. Dupont, "Le nom d'apôtres a-t-il été donné aux Douze par Jésus?", *L'Orient Syrien* 1, 1956, 266–90 and 425–44; P. Gaechter, *Petrus und seine Zeit*, 1958; B. Gerhardsson, *Die Boten Gottes und die Apostel Christi*, 1962; M. Hengel, *Nachfolge und Charisma: Eine exegetisch-religionsgeschichtliche Studie zu Mt. 8:21 ff. und Jesu Ruf in die Nachfolge*, 1968; K. Heussi, *Die römische Petrustradition in kritischer Sicht*, 1955; H. Kahlefeld, *Der Jünger: Eine Auslegung der Rede Lk. 6, 20–49*, 1966³; E. Käsemann, *Die Legitimität des Apostels*, 1942; G. Klein, *Die zwölf Apostel: Ursprung und Gehalt einer Idee*, *FRLANT* 59, 1961; E. M. Kredel, "Der Apostelbegriff in der neueren Exegese," *ZKT* 78, 1956, 169–93 and 257–305; and "Apostel," in H. Fries, ed., *Handbuch theologischer Grundbegriffe*, I, 1962, 61–7; E. Lohse, "Ursprung und Prägung des christlichen Apostolats," *ThZ* 9, 1953, 259–75; W. Maurer, "Paulus als der Apostel der Völker," *EvTh* 19, 1959, 28 ff.; W. Nagel, "Paulus als der Apostel der Völker," *EvTh* 19, 1959, 28 ff.; K. H. Rengstorf, ed., *Das Paulusbild in der neueren Deutschen Forschung*, 1969²; H. Riesenfeld, "Apostel," *RGG*³ 1497 ff.; A. Schulz, *Nachfolge und Nachahmen: Studien über das Verhältnis der neuttestamentlichen Jüngerschaft zur urchristlichen Vorbildethik*, 1962.

Avarice, Greed, Love of Money

πλεονεξία

πλεονεξία (*pleonexia*), greediness, insatiableness, avarice, covetousness; πλεονεκτέω (*pleonekteō*), take advantage of, outwit, defraud, cheat; πλεονέκτης (*pleonektēs*), one who is greedy, a covetous person.

CL Etymologically the words connected with *pleonexia* are related to *pleon* (more) and *echō* (have). Gk. writers did not confine their use of these words merely to the desire for more material possessions. In the earliest instance of it, *pleonexia* denotes immoral lust for power (Herodotus, 7, 149). In Thucydides (3, 82) it is, together with *philotimia* (ambition), the decisive force in human action and the progress of history. In Plato *pleonekteō* means both to surpass someone in a just action and also to defraud. The noun is used by Plato and Aristotle always negatively in the sense of desire and covetousness, including sexual desire. There is no room for *pleonexia* in a just society. The Cynics and Stoics repudiated all desire, for possessions of any kind meant attachment to what is empty.

OT In the LXX the word group occurs only occasionally. It appears chiefly in the denunciations and warnings of the prophets about dishonest gain and the enrichment by violence of the politically powerful (Jer. 22:17; Ezek. 22:27; Hab. 2:9). In 2 Macc. 4:50 *pleonexia* refers to coveting gain by bribery. The emphasis thus falls on the ungodly and thoroughly bad character of covetousness. For that reason the person praying in Ps. 119 asks to be preserved from *pleonexia* (v. 36 LXX).

NT 1. In the NT the words of this group are found only in Paul, apart from the use of *pleonexia* in Mk. 7:22; Lk. 12:15; and 2 Pet. 2:3, 14. The action denoted by them is always judged negatively, and except in 2 Cor. 2:11 it always appears to be directed towards material gain. Thus *pleonekteō* (2 Cor. 7:2; 12:17 f.; 1 Thess. 4:6; 2 Cor. 2:11) means to take advantage of, wrong, defraud, or cheat. *pleonektēs* (1 Cor. 5:10 f.; 6:10; Eph. 5:5) means a greedy person, someone who is covetous. *pleonexia* (in the passages cited above and Rom. 1:29; 2 Cor. 9:5; Eph. 4:19; 5:3; Col. 3:5; 1 Thess. 2:5) means greed, avarice, covetousness, insatiableness.

2. In the catalogues of vices *pleonexia* is a mark of a life which lacks knowledge of God (Rom. 1:29; 1 Cor. 6:10 f.), faith and obedience (1 Cor. 5:10 f.; Eph. 5:3). Where the bond between creature and creator is severed, human society falls into disorder. The man who no longer has his goal and fulfilment in God seeks fulfilment in himself, his possessions and acquisitiveness. Ultimately he makes himself into an idol that strives to subject everything to itself. For that reason Col. 3:5 identifies covetousness with idolatry (*eidōlolatria;* → Image, art. *eidōlon*). In Matt. 6:24 and Lk. 16:13 Mammon (→ Possessions, art. *mamōnas,*) wealth itself, is an idol which holds in its sway the man who seems to control it. 1 Thess. 4:6 lays down the rule that no one should "transgress, and wrong his brother in the matter" (RSV; "defraud his brother in business" RSV mg.; *to mē hyperbainein kai pleonektein en tō pragmati ton adelphon autou*). It is not clear whether this general rule refers to sexual relations outside marriage (as the previous vv. suggest) or whether it refers to business conduct (cf. RSV mg.).

3. For Christians there can be no association with men of this sort in the church (1 Cor. 5:11). By their *pleonexia* they exclude themselves from it and ultimately from the → Kingdom of God (1 Cor. 6:10; Eph. 5:5; → Possessions, arts. *ploutos* and *chrēma*). Like immorality and impurity, covetousness must be strictly kept out of the life of the church (Eph. 5:5). (The latter verse is not to be understood in a narrow literal sense, cf. H. Schlier, *Der Brief an die Epheser*, 1957, 233.) Col. 3:5 urges its readers to "Put to death what is earthly in you: immorality, impurity, passion, evil desire, and covetousness which is idolatry." This recalls Matt. 5:29 f. and urges that the physical nature enslaved in sin be subjected to the rule of the new spiritual life, with its transforming liberating power revealed in Christ (Col. 3:3 f.; → Flesh, → Spirit).

4. According to 2 Pet., false teachers are characterized by their greed for material gain (2:3, 14). Similarly, Paul's opponents are "peddlers of God's word" (2 Cor. 2:17 RSV, *kapēleuontes ton logon tou theou*). Against this Paul can point out that as a rule he earned his keep with his own hands (Phil. 4:15; 1 Thess. 2:9). Even in Corinth it could not be argued that he and his co-workers had desired to enrich themselves by their service (2 Cor. 7:2; 12:17). But with regard to the collection for Jerusalem, Paul could ask in urgent terms for a liberal gift (2 Cor. 8f.).

F. Selter

φιλαργυρία — *φιλαργυρία* (*philargyria*), love of money, avarice, miserliness.

In 1 Tim. 6:10 *philargyria* (lit. love of money) is described as "the root of all evils" (*rhiza pantōn tōn kakōn*).→ Evil, art. *kakos*. The saying sounds exaggerated. It

may, however, be seen against the background of an ancient proverb which expresses a pagan philosophical judgment on all material things. Democritus and others described the love of money as the "metropolis" of all evil (Diog. Laert., 6, 50). But what is said in this text comes of experience. The dream of wealth and happiness can gain a demonic hold over a man or a nation.

The proverb gets its point in its biblical context through its application to man's relationship with God. Selfish amassing of material possessions has its prototype in man's grasping after the forbidden fruit in the garden of Eden. It is an indication that life, limited as it is by time, circumstance and the vital interests of others, is no longer accepted thankfully from the hand of God. Love of money erects a selfish dividing wall against God and our neighbours. It drives the man who is possessed by it into utter isolation. Thus striving after wealth is the germ of total alienation from God. *G. Finkenrath*

→ Possessions

(a). G. Delling, *pleonektēs, pleonekteō, pleonexia*, TDNT VI 266–74.
(b). E. Klaar, *pleonexia, pleonektēs, pleonektein*, *ThZ* 10, 1954, 395 ff.; S. Lyonnet, " 'Tu ne convoiteras pas' (Rom. vii 7)," in *Neotestamentica et Patristica* (O. Cullmann Festschrift), 1962, 157–65; H. Schlier, *Der Brief an die Epheser*, 1957; W. Schrage, *Die konkreten Einzelgebote der paulinischen Paränese: Ein Beitrag zur neutestamentlichen Ethik*, 1961.

B

Babylon

Βαβυλών	*Βαβυλών* (*Babylōn*), Babylon; Heb. *Bāḇel*, Babel, Babylon.

CL 1. We do not know when Babylon was founded. The earliest known reference is from the time of Sarkali-sharri of Accad (*c.* 2500–2290 B.C.). It is to Kadingir or Bâb-ilim, Gate of God, which may possibly be the popular etymology of a pre-Semitic name Babila. The name of Bab. *ziggurat* E-temen-an-ki, the House of the Foundation of Heaven and Earth, may be compared with the name Beth-el, the House of God, given to the holy stone of Bethel (Gen. 28:17). [*Tr.* But the suggestion that what Jacob saw was a *ziggurat* and not a ladder (v. 12) has little support.] The Gk. form expresses the later variation Bab-ilani, Gate of the Gods.

2. Until the time of Hammurapi (or Hammurabi), probably 1728–1686 B.C. ([Tr.] or 1792–1750 B.C.) the town had little historical importance. Hammurapi was responsible for making it the cultural leader of the Near East. This lasted until the Hel. period. This was partially due to making Marduk the city god of Babylon, and so the head of the Sumerian-Accad. pantheon of some 1300 deities. It brought all the religious traditions into one system. He made of Babylon a world power and the successor of the world power of the Accad. kings Sargon and Naramsin (probably 24th cent. B.C.), even though this did not last long. Babylon developed, independently of Greece, scientific knowledge, the major developments of which were in mythology, philology, medicine, mathematics and (1st cent.) astronomy (cf. Dan. 1:4, 17). Babylon did not regain political power until the time of the Chaldean kings (625–539 B.C.), the most important of whom was Nebuchadnezzar or Nebuchadrezzar II (605–562 B.C.). Its immense riches came from its far-reaching commercial traffic. Among the Greeks and Romans it was proverbial for its trade and magnificence.

OT Babylon is mentioned in the OT only in 1. the Yahwistic prehistory (Gen. 10:8–12; 11:1–9); and 2. in the history of the decline and fall of the kingdom of Judah and of the exile.

1. (a) Gen. 10:8–12 traces back the concept of world dominion to Babylon: Babylon, Erech, Accad, Kalneh (instead of the latter unidentified town RSV has "all of them"). After that, dominion passed to Assyria: Ashur, Nineveh, Rehoboth-Ir, Kalach (or Calah, today Nimrūd). Gen. 10:9 describes Nimrod as "a mighty hunter before the Lord". In the Assyrian pantheon he may well be regarded as Ninurtu, god of Kalach, and of the chase and war.

(b) In Gen. 11:1–9 the architecture of the giant temple of Babylon is stigmatized as the expression of human pride that wishes to storm heaven. God himself

prevented its completion. This conception is doubtless linked with the fact that E-temen-an-ki, 295 feet long, broad and high – in the ancient world only the three main pyramids were higher – was in all probability begun at a very early, and certainly pre-Israelite date, but was completed only under Nebuchadnezzar II. Both references in Gen. show an anti-Babylonian note.

2. As a result of the exile we find four types of statement:

(a) The king of Babylon is Yahweh's instrument for the destruction of Judah and its allies (Jer. 25:9; 27:6 f.). He bears Yahweh's sword in his world conquest (Ezek. 30:24 f.). Judah will be destroyed because of its harlotry with Assyria and Babylon, in view of the introduction of their cults when on friendly terms with them (Ezek. 23:11–32). Ezek. objects above all to political alliances, which in themselves he regards as apostasy.

(b) Towards the end of the exile the downfall of Babylon and the deliverance of the exiles was proclaimed (Isa. 47; 48:12–16a, 20–22; 21:1–10; Jer. 50; 51). In this connection the total desolation of Babylon in war was expected.

(c) It is highly significant that Isa. 13 expects the eradication of sinners and the destruction of tyranny to coincide with the destruction of Babylon, and 14:1–23 mocks Babylon as a fallen power, the end of which will bring a period of peace and salvation to all peoples. Here Babylon appears as a type of the power, which opens to evil men every possibility in the world. When it falls, they perish. An apparently earlier poem (14:4–21) is here applied to Babylon. It dealt with a fallen world-ruler who tried to force his way even into the assembly of the gods. The intention was to unveil the real nature of the lofty Babylonian religion by looking at it from the viewpoint of its political and human activity. As the later chapters of Isa. show, the polemic against Babylon exceeded in seriousness anything that had gone before.

(d) Contrary to expectation, Babylon was not destroyed, and the freeing of the exiles did not mark the opening of a new era of salvation. The apocalyptic writer of Dan. 2 and 7 used a tradition of four world powers which eliminated one another. In its original form it probably had Assyria including Babylon, Media, Persia, Greece. The destruction of the last of them would be followed by a final kingdom of salvation.

NT 1. The mention of Babylon in Acts 7:43 picks up OT threads. The Babylonian exile appears as in Jer. and Ezek. as punishment for Israel's idolatry since the conquest of Canaan. According to Matt. 1:11, 17 (in the genealogy of Jesus), the second phase of Israel's history ended with the exile. After the passing of the foreseen time – fourteen generations as in the period from Abraham to David – its removal and the fulfilment of all promises was to be expected. In the framework of the genealogy this serves to prove that Jesus is the Messiah.

1 Pet. 5:13 is rather to be understood against the background of contemporary Jewish parallels. In all probability we should see Rome behind the phrase "She who is at Babylon", for in the whole of ancient tradition only the apostle Thomas is linked with Babylon. The significance of this name, which is probably more than a mere disguise, will then be: as the Jews once lived in exile in Babylon, so the Christians now live in the world, as exiles; they are strangers in the Dispersion (1 Pet. 1:1), attacked with hate by a totalitarian world that seeks to have its own way (cf. 4:12 ff.; 5:8 f.).

2. The most important ocurrence of the name is in Rev. 14:8; 16:19; 17:1–19:10, in the apocalyptic delineation of Babylon the great (cf. Dan. 4:30 (MT 27)), which links up with Isa. 13 and 14. Here Babylon is the type of worldly power in rebellion against God and the antitype of the heavenly Jerusalem (21:1–22:5). John wants to show that the great shifts of nations and power which are recorded as history have a deeper historical significance. In the last analysis history consists in the great struggle of worldly power against the rule of Christ. As Christ is killed and passes on his way through death to resurrection and redemption, the powers of this world continually manifest their might, riches and abominations. But in the end they will be conquered by the impotent, slaughtered Lamb on the throne. Hence Babylon the great has some of the features of historic Babylon. She sits "upon many waters" (17:1) and has seven hills like Rome (cf. 17:4, 9). She wears a fillet with a name, as worn by Roman harlots (17:5). The description of the woman riding on the beast (17:3 f.) recalls pictures of oriental gods and goddesses. Perhaps one should think of Cybele, the Magna Mater, worshipped in Rome since 204 B.C., with her orgiastic cult. This would explain "mother of harlots", the epitome of harlotry (K. G. Kuhn, *TDNT* I 515)) as well as other homes of abomination (e.g. Tyre; cf. Ezek. 27, 28). Similarly one may also find traits of contemporary powers.

H. Seebass

(a). J. A. Brinkman, *A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia, 1158–722* B.C., 1968; A. Champder, *Babylon*, 1958; G. Contenau, *Everyday Life in Babylonia and Assyria*, 1954; O. Cullmann, *The State in the New Testament*, 1956, 71–85; S. Erlandsson, *The Burden of Babylon*, 1970; S. H. Hooke, *Babylonian and Assyrian Religion*, 1962; T. Jacobsen and P. S. Minear, "Babylon," *IDB* I 334–38; K. G. Kuhn, *Babylōn*, *TDNT* I 514–17; A. L. Oppenheim, *Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization*, 1964; A. Parrot, *Babylon and the Old Testament*, 1958; H. W. Saggs, *The Greatness that was Babylon: A Survey of the Civilization of the Tigris-Euphrates Valley*, 1962; D. J. Wiseman, "Babylon," "Babylonia," *NBD* 116–28; and *Chronicles of the Chaldaean Kings*, 1956, commentaries on *1 Peter* by J. N. D. Kelly, 1969; E. G. Selwyn, 1947²; commentaries on *Revelation* by H. B. Swete, 1906; I. T.Beckwith 1919; R. H. Charles, 1920; G. B. Caird, 1966; G. E. Ladd, 1972.
(b) H. Schlier, *Die Zeit der Kirche*, 1956, 265 ff.; C. Spicq, *Les épîtres de S. Pierre*, 1966; E. Unger, *Die heilige Stadt*, 1931; and "Babylon," *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, 1932, 330–69.

Bag, Box

βαλλάντιον — *βαλλάντιον* (*ballantion* or *balantion*, cf. Funk § 11.2), purse.

CL & OT *ballantion* is found in secular Gk. (Pseudo-Simonides to Plutarch), the LXX (Job 14:17; Prov. 1:14; Tob. 1:14; 8:2; Sir. 18:33), and Philo, meaning a bag for holding coins.

NT In the NT it is found only in Lk. 10:4; 12:33; 22:35 f. Jesus charged the Seventy not to take a *ballantion*, as he warned the Twelve against taking money in their belts (*zōnē*, Matt. 10:9; Mk. 6:8). Luke is commending poverty here (10:4) as elsewhere (e.g. 12:13 ff.), perhaps as a demonstration of trust in God on an urgent mission (cf. Lk. 22:35 with Matt. 6:32). *G. T. D. Angel*

γλωσσόκομον — *γλωσσόκομον* (*glōssokomon*), box, chest, money-box.

CL & OT *glōssokomon* is a vernacular form of *glōssokomeion* (from *glōssa*, tongue, and *komeō*, take care of). It is found in secular Gk. from the 2nd cent. B.C. to the 2nd cent. A.D., and meant originally a case for keeping reeds or tongues of musical instruments, but then generally a case for books, a corpse, etc., a money-box (Plutarch and papyri). It is used of the ark (2 Sam. [LXX Ki.] 6:11) and of a chest (2 Chron. 24:8, 10 f.).

NT In the NT it is found only in Jn. 12:6 and 13:29 for the money-box from which Jesus and the Twelve paid their expenses. Both passages mention the fact that it was Judas who kept this box, and the former that he was in the habit of misappropriating funds. *G. T. D. Angel*

πήρα

πήρα (*pēra*), knapsack, traveller's bag.

CL & OT *pēra* is found in secular Gk. from Homer to the Gk. inscriptions from Syria *c.* 2nd cent. A.D. It is used of a shoulder bag for carrying provisions and small animals, a beggar's bag, the Cynic itinerant preacher's bag, and the shepherd's bag (Josephus, *Ant.*, 6, 185). It occurs in the LXX only in Jud. 10:5; 13:10, 15.

NT *pēra* is found only in the synoptic gospels (Matt. 10:10; Mk. 6:8; Lk. 9:3; 10:4; 22:25, 36). A. Deissmann identifies the article with the beggar's collecting bag, and sees Matt. 10:10 as a prohibition to the disciples to beg. But W. Michaelis denies the association with begging on the grounds that *pēra* did not normally mean a beggar's bag. He identifies it with the traveller's bag, and sees the passage as a call to the disciples to rely on God's generous provision without the encumbrance of heavy stores. J. Schniewind suggests that the disciples are to appear before men in the same attire as before God, for those who fasted and prayed did so barefoot and without a staff (*Das Evangelium nach Matthäus*, 1956, ad loc.).

The references to *pēra*, like those to *ballantion* and *glōssokomon*, all suggest that the followers of Jesus should not seek → money or → possessions for their own sake, but should put God's service first in their lives and trust in him to supply their material needs. → also Bread, art. *epiousios*. *G. T. D. Angel*

Arndt, 130, 161, 662; A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 1911², 108 ff.; J. N. Geldenhuys, *Luke*, 1950, 300; D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 1972, 186; W. Michaelis, *pēra*, *TDNT* VI 119 ff.; Moulton–Milligan, 52, 128; K. H. Rengstorf, *ballantion*, *TDNT* I 526.

Baptism, Wash

Baptism belongs to the general group of practices connected with washing (→ Water). Hence, besides the key words *baptō*/*baptizō* which indicate (mostly total) immersion, attention must be paid to the actions described by the words *louō* and *niptō*, namely complete and partial washings. Apart from the literal meaning of purifying (→ Pure), there was already before the NT period a figurative use of the term. At first it meant the provision of cultic purity, and then in the NT it was extended to express the complete renewal of human existence.

βαπτίζω

βάπτω (*baptō*), dip; βαπτίζω (*baptizō*), dip, immerse, submerge, baptize; βαπτισμός (*baptismos*), dipping, washing; βάπτισμα (*baptisma*) baptism.

CL In secular Greek *baptō* means (a) dip, (b) dip into a dye, and so dye, and (c) draw (water). *baptizō* is an intensive form of *baptō* and means (a) dip, and (b) cause to perish (as by drowning a man or sinking a ship).

While there is some evidence that *baptō* was occasionally used in secular Greek of a ritual bath, there is none to show that *baptizō* was so employed (perhaps because of its association with the idea of perishing). Far commoner words for religious ablutions were *louō*, wash (the whole body) and *niptō*, wash or rinse (members of the body) and *rhainō*, sprinkle (→ Blood, Art. *rhantizō*).

OT 1. In the LXX *baptō* usually translates the OT Heb. *ṭāḇal*, dip (13 times; on 3 occasions *baptō* represents other vbs.). *baptizō* occurs only 4 times: in Isa. 21:4 it is used metaphorically of destruction, but in 2 Ki. 5:14 it is used in the mid. of Naaman's sevenfold immersion in the Jordan (the only passages as equivalent for Heb. *ṭāḇal*). This is significant, because in this case there is no suggestion of Naaman's destruction. The use of *baptizō* in the story of Naaman may have been decisive for its later use in the mid. to signify taking a ritual bath for cleansing (so J. Ysebaert, *Greek Baptismal Terminology*, 1962, 27 f.). The vb. has this meaning in Sir. 34(31): 25; Jud. 12:7. Despite assertions to the contrary, it seems that *baptizō*, both in Jewish and Christian contexts, normally meant "immerse", and that even when it became a technical term for baptism, the thought of immersion remains. The use of the term for cleansing vessels (as in Lev. 6:28 Aquila [cf. 6:21]; cf. *baptismos* in Mk. 7:4) does not prove the contrary, since vessels were normally cleansed by immersing them in water. The metaphorical uses of the term in the NT appear to take this for granted, e.g. the prophecy that the Messiah will baptise in Spirit and fire as a liquid (Matt. 3:11), the "baptism" of the Israelites in the cloud and the sea (1 Cor. 10:2), and in the idea of Jesus' death as a baptism (Mk. 10:38 f. *baptisma*; Lk. 12:50; cf. Ysebaert, op. cit., 41 ff.). The Pauline representation of baptism as burial and resurrection with Christ is consonant with this view, even if it does not demand it.

2. The Jewish "baptizing sects" do not appear to have used *ṭāḇal* and *baptizō* for their lustrations. This holds good even of the Qumran Sect. In the Dead Sea Scrolls the common term is *rāḥaṣ* (Gk. *louō*), bathe; *nāzâh* (Gk. *rhantizō*), sprinkle, also occurs twice, although the adherents of the Sect actually immersed themselves for purification. It is unlikely that the latter term was retained with the former in view of the stress laid by the Sect on inward as well as outward cleansing and the conjunction of these where repentance (→ Conversion) and ablution were united. (Note the common association of sprinkling and cleansing from sin in the OT, e.g. Num. 19:18 f.; Ps. 51:7 (50:9); Ezek. 36:25.) It is disputed whether the lustrations of the Sectaries should in any sense be classed with baptism, seeing that the lustrations were perpetually repeated and baptism is received but once; nevertheless there is much in favour of regarding the first lustration of a novice as having the character of initiation into full membership of the Community (see especially 1QS 2:25–3:12). In any case, it is of importance to observe that the lustrations of

Qumran had a more than purely ceremonial significance. Where they were accompanied by penitence and submission to the will of God, they were viewed as effective for the cleansing of moral impurity. Josephus attests that in his day the Essenes (of whom the Qumran Sectaries were at least forerunners) were assisted in their divinations by "using several sorts of purifications", and those among them who were married subjected their brides to special lustrations with a view to early conception and child-birth (*War*, 2, 8, 12 f. (159 f.)). If these practices were developments of earlier views, there must nevertheless have been sacramental elements in the earlier stages from which they developed.

3. A Gentile convert to Judaism at the beginning of the Christian era was required to receive → circumcision, to undergo a ritual bath and to offer sacrifice. For this so-called "proselyte baptism" the Heb. and Aram. texts employ the term *ṭāḇal*. The few references to it in Gk. literature employ *baptō* but not *baptizō*. This may be accidental, but it is consonant with the avoidance by Gk. writers of *baptizō* when describing the rites of purification.

The extent to which the practice and understanding of proselyte baptism influenced the baptism of John and early Christian baptism is a much debated question. The earliest references to proselyte baptism belong to the latter half of the 1st cent. A.D. While they indicate the probability of its being a pre-Christian institution, the uncertainty they manifest as to the significance of the rite and especially its relation to circumcision, suggest that its adoption was gradual and that its interpretation was still evolving during the 1st cent. A.D.

In assessing the significance of proselyte baptism, it is essential to note the importance attached by the Jews to circumcision. The oft-quoted saying in Yeb. 2:29, "One who has become a proselyte is like a child newly born" (Soncino Talmud ed., 22a), should be compared with that in Pes. 91b, "One who separates himself from his uncircumcision is like one who separates himself from the grave." The decisive turn from heathenism is taken in circumcision; the bath fits the newly made Jew to enter upon his first act of worship, i.e. sacrifice. If it be legitimate to infer from these sayings, that conversion from heathenism to Judaism was viewed as an entry upon life from the dead and that this was the source for the Christian doctrine of the new life of a convert to Christ, it should be observed that in Judaism the concept is only secondarily associated with proselyte baptism, and that the Christian understanding of baptism in terms of dying and rising is determined by its character as a baptism to the Messiah who died and rose, and thereby inaugurated the "age to come". In Christian baptism the emphasis falls on the redemptive action of the Messiah and the convert's relation to him.

NT 1. *Philology and statistics give the following picture for the NT. baptō* occurs only 4 times (twice in Jn. 13:26, and also in Lk. 16:24 and Rev. 19:13), and only with the meaning "dip". *baptizō* is a technical term for baptism, and in all the Gospels it occurs chiefly in the account of John's baptism, in particular that of Jesus. But while in Matt. it occurs outside ch. 3 only at 28:19 (the command to baptize), its use in the other Gospels is more widespread. Nevertheless, it refers almost entirely to John's baptism. It is only in the Synoptics that John is described as the *baptistēs* (used as a noun, Matt. 7 times, Mk. twice, Lk. 3 times). On the other hand, in Acts *baptizō* is almost always used of Christian baptism (18 out of 21 passages;

3 refer to John's baptism). Apart from this, the vb. occurs only twice more in Rom. 6:3, 9 times in 1 Cor. (especially 1:13–17) and in Gal. 3:27. Of the substantival forms *baptismos* occurs only once in Mk. and twice in Heb., and *baptisma* occurs 4 times each in Mk. and Lk., 6 times in Acts and twice in Matt., referring to John's baptism. Only in Rom. 6:4; Eph. 4:5; Col. 2:12 and 1 Pet. 3:21 is it used of Christian baptism. Furthermore, it is striking how these words are never found in 1 and 2 Thess., the Pastoral and Catholic Epistles and Rev., with the exception of Heb. 6:2; 9:10; 1 Pet. 3:21. John's baptism is universally described by the vb. *baptizō*; this is also true of Christian baptism throughout the NT.

2. *The baptism of John.* John administered a "repentance-baptism for the forgiveness of sins" (Mk. 1:4) in anticipation of the baptism of Spirit and fire that the Messiah would exercise (Matt. 3:11). Isa. 4:2–5 and Mal. 3:1–6 suggest that this Messianic baptism was symbolic of a universal judgment that would refine the people of God and fit them for the → Kingdom, but consume the wicked that they should not participate in it. The baptism of John had, therefore, two focal points: it marked the "turn" (repentance means → conversion) of a Jew to God, associating him with the penitent people and assuring him of forgiveness and cleansing, and it anticipated the Messianic baptism with Spirit and fire, assuring him a place in the Kingdom (cf. G. R. Beasley-Murray, *Baptism in the NT*, 1962, 31 ff.). It is a plausible conjecture that the lustrations of Jewish groups like the Essenes suggested to John a means whereby the OT predictions of cleansing in the last times, prior to the great Messianic purgation, should be fulfilled, and that the rite was viewed by him in a manner comparable to the acts of prophetic symbolism performed by the prophets who were before him.

3. *Jesus' baptism and the command to baptize.* Christian baptism is rooted in the redemptive action of Jesus. His submission to the baptism of John (Mk. 1:9) demonstrated and effected his solidarity with sinful men. The divine response of an opened heaven and voice of approval showed it to be the initiation of the movement of salvation, and gave promise of the revelation of the Kingdom in the completed action of the Messiah. The authorization of baptism during the ministry of Jesus (Jn. 4:1 ff.) was provisional. The command to baptize falls of necessity in the resurrection era, when redemption has been achieved, universal authority accorded to the risen Lord, and the mission of the church to the world begun (Matt. 28:18 ff.).

4. *The early church.* (a) Baptism seems to have accompanied the → proclamation of the gospel from the beginning of the church's mission (Acts 2). Luke's understanding of Christian baptism appears in Acts 2:38. Baptism is conversion-baptism; it is administered "in the name of Jesus Christ", i.e. in relation to Jesus Christ and with the use of his name, so that the baptized calls on the name of Christ (Acts 22:16) even as the name is called over him, signifying to whom he belongs (cf. Jas. 2:7); it is "for the forgiveness of sins" and with a view to the gift of the Holy Spirit. Variations from this norm (notably Acts 8:14 ff.; 10:44 f.; 19:1 ff.) reflect the variety of circumstances and of experiences of the Spirit in a period of transition.

(b) For Paul's interpretation of baptism Gal. 3:27 is significant. Baptism is "to Christ" (a shorthand expression for "in the name of Christ"); it relates the believer to Christ in such a way that he is "in Christ" (cf. v. 26). From this basic view flow the other features of baptism that appear in Paul. Baptism "to Christ" is baptism

"to his death" (Rom. 6:3 ff.); it relates the believer to Christ's redemptive action, so that Christ's death on Golgotha was his death, and it entails an end ("death") to the life of estrangement from God and the beginning of life in Christ. Baptism to Christ is baptism to the → church, for to be in Christ is to be a member of the body of Christ (Gal. 3:27 ff.; 1 Cor. 12:13). Baptism to Christ is baptism in the Spirit of Christ ("We were all immersed in one Spirit . . . and were all saturated in (the outpouring of) one Spirit", 1 Cor. 12:13), for the Spirit and Christ are inseparable (Rom. 8:9 f.; 2 Cor. 3:17). Baptism to Christ is for life after the pattern of Christ's dying to sin and rising for righteousness ("We were buried with him through baptism . . . that we might walk in a new life", Rom. 6:4; see further the baptismal ethics of Col. 3:3–13). Baptism to Christ is for life in the kingdom to be revealed in the day of Christ (2 Cor. 1:22; Eph. 1:13; 4:30). The latter passages strictly refer not to baptism but to the baptism of the Spirit with which baptism in water is associated in the apostolic writings (cf. the alleged utterance of Thecla when about to die, "In the name of Jesus Christ I baptize myself for the last day!" Act. Paul 3:34 [Henn.–Schn., II, 262]).

This eschatological relation of baptism made possible the adoption by the church of the custom, apparently reflected in 1 Cor. 15:29, of baptizing the living for the dead, that the latter might share in the kingdom of God. The practice could hardly be reconciled with the Pauline proclamation, and was cited by Paul as part of his polemic: people who deny the resurrection of the dead ought not to get baptized for the dead! Baptism to Christ is subordinate to the gospel of Christ (1 Cor. 1:17). Paul as an apostle usually left it to others to administer (1 Cor. 1:14 ff.). This is not to minimize baptism, but to clarify its function. It is an embodiment of the gospel of grace and the supreme occasion for confessing it, hence the climactic point of the restoration of relations between God and the repentant sinner. Many of the confessional declarations in the epistles are thought to have originated as baptismal confessions (e.g. Rom. 10:9; Phil. 2:6–11; Eph. 4:4–6; Col. 1:13–20), and from such beginnings the later creeds of Christendom developed.

(c) The relation between "washing" and the → "Word" is reflected in Eph. 5:26; cf. 4:5. In harmony with this 1 Pet. 3:21 defines baptism as "an appeal to God for a clear conscience" or "an answer to God from a clear conscience" (the interpretation is uncertain). On either view it is the occasion of the baptized addressing himself to God in response to the gospel. And in this context the power of the resurrection is known ("Baptism saves . . . through the resurrection of Jesus Christ").

In Tit. 3:5 and Jn. 3:5 baptism is associated with regeneration (→ Birth). In both passages the operation of the Spirit is to the fore. In the former (a baptismal hymn?) the pertinent clause should be rendered, "He saved us through the washing characterised by the regeneration and renewal wrought by the Holy Spirit" (cf. M. Dibelius-H. Conzelmann, *HNT*, XIII, 111 f.). The latter passage affirms the necessity of a "new beginning" from God ("from above") through submission to baptism and through the recreative work of the Holy Spirit. The Christian reader knows that while these two things were for Nicodemus separated as present demand and future hope, through the lifting up of Jesus on the cross (vv. 14 f.) and the sending of the Holy Spirit (v. 8, cf. 7:39) the two "baptisms" have been brought together.

(d) In the light of this apostolic teaching, modern confessional watchwords about baptism like "declarative", "symbolic", "self-operative" etc. are inadequate. In Acts and the epistles baptism appears as a divine-human event, even as the "turning" to God, with which it is invariably associated, is a divine-human event. Both elements are given due weight – the divine and the human. Since baptism signifies union with Christ (Gal. 3:27), all that Christ wrought for man in his redeeming acts and bestows by virtue of them is conjoined with baptism in the apostolic writings. This includes union with Christ (→ Fellowship) in his death and resurrection (Rom. 6:1 ff.; Col. 2:11 f.), → forgiveness of sins and cleansing from sins (Acts 2:38; 22:16), bestowal of the Spirit (Acts 2:38; 1 Cor. 12:13), membership in the body of Christ (1 Cor. 12:13; Gal. 3:27), renewal by the Spirit (Tit. 3:5), the promise of the kingdom of God (Jn. 3:5). Rightly to estimate this teaching requires the recognition that in the apostolic writings these benefits of Christ and his saving grace are given to → faith. In particular this is true of union with Christ (Eph. 3:17), participation in his death and resurrection (Gal. 2:20; 5:24; Col. 2:12), forgiveness and cleansing (1 Jn. 1:9), the gift of the Spirit (Gal. 3:2, 14), renewal by the Spirit (Jn. 1:13), life in the kingdom of God (Jn. 20:31). This coincidence of divine action for faith and in baptism presumes that God's gracious giving to faith belongs to the context of baptism, and that his gift in baptism is to faith. This coincidence of divine action for faith and in baptism comes to expression in the definition of baptism in 1 Pet. 3:21, where baptism appears as a trysting place for the Redeemer and the penitent, who addresses him on the basis of the gospel.

A word of caution is, however, required. The Acts of the Apostles show that all statements about the action of God in baptism must make allowance for the divine freedom in bestowing salvation and the Spirit. This is illustrated even in the initial sending of the Spirit to the church, for at Pentecost the Spirit was outpoured on a company of men and women who had not received *Christian* baptism (i.e. baptism in the name of Jesus), and we do not know how many of them had received any other baptism. The complicated phenomena regarding baptism and the Spirit in the stories of the Samaritan believers (Acts 8:14 ff.), Cornelius and his company (10:44 ff.) and the Ephesian "disciples" (19:1 ff.) doubtless were not solitary in the primitive church. They illustrate that life is more complex than formulations of doctrine, and that God is able to meet every variation from the norm. That holds good of the church of all ages, from the apostolic to our own.

5. *Infant baptism.* The belief that the apostles commanded the baptism of infants as well as of responsible persons is attested as early as Origen (3rd cent. A.D.), and apart from some notable exceptions it became the unquestioned conviction of Christendom until the present century. The rise of the critical study of the Bible caused a widespread change of opinion, so that by 1940 the majority of NT scholars (as distinct from systematic theologians) were agreed that in the apostolic age baptism was administered to believers only. In recent years this view has been contested, above all by J. Jeremias, O. Cullmann and in the Reports of the Church of Scotland on Baptism. It is maintained that the traditional arguments for the apostolic institution of infant baptism are vindicated alike by sound theology and by modern biblical and archaeological research. For example, the conviction that household baptisms (Acts 11:14; 16:33; 18:8) included infants is strengthened by

the contention that the term *oikos* (→ house) had gained an almost technical significance among Jews and had especial reference to little children. The terminology of Jewish proselyte baptism is believed to be employed in 1 Cor. 7:14, with the presumption that Jewish customs related to the baptism of young children of proselytes were accepted by the primitive church. The saying of Jesus concerning little children and the kingdom of God (Mk. 10:14) has been given form-critical evaluation: the story is said to reflect the *Sitz-im-Leben* of a church seeking to answer the question, "Should we baptize our children?" and the answer is implied, "Yes, bring them to baptism as they were once brought to Jesus." This conclusion is supported by the belief that the command, "Do not forbid them", reflects an early liturgical use of the term in baptism. (→ Hinder, art. *kōlyō*.)

The reformed view of the one → covenant with its continuing sacraments, stressing the close relation between → circumcision and baptism, is supported by typological exegesis, hinted at in 1 Cor. 10:1 ff. (where baptism is seen as symbolized by the passing through the Red Sea), and evidence from early Christian burial inscriptions is adduced as proof of the baptism of infants in the earliest church.

These views have met with differing reactions. Some, like Kurt Aland, consider the rise of infant baptism to be not earlier than the close of the 2nd cent. A.D. (cf. K. Aland, *Did the Early Church Baptize Infants?*, 1963). The present writer believes that infant baptism is excluded from the horizon of the apostolic writers, not alone by its apparent lack of mention in their writings, but by their equation of the gift of baptism with the gift of faith. In the NT it is not merely a "blessing" that is given to the baptized, but Christ and his full salvation, so that A. Schlatter could rightly affirm: "There is no gift or power which the apostolic documents do not ascribe to baptism" (*Theologie des NT*, II, 495). This is comprehensible only in a milieu where baptism and conversion are inseparable, as in the primitive church (cf. Acts 2:41; 16:33), so that the effect of the one may be predicated of the other. Where it is believed that the instinct of the church has been right in administering baptism to infants as well as to those of riper years, the present writer would contend that there must be recognized a modification of baptismal doctrine and provision must be made at a later stage in life for an occasion for confession of faith. This has been a subject of discussion in various churches of the reformation, including the Church of England (see its reports *Confirmation Today*, 1944; *The Theology of Christian Initiation*, 1948; *Baptism Today*, 1949; *Baptism and Confirmation Today*, 1955; *Baptism and Confirmation*, 1959).

6. The nouns *baptismos*, *baptisma* and *baptistēs*. (a) *baptismos*, dipping, immersion, has in classical literature the connotation of perishing, like the vb. *baptizō*. In Mk. 7:4 it represents Jewish ritual cleansing (by immersion) of vessels, and in Heb. 9:10 it refers to the purification of persons. Presumably this reflects the Jewish usage of the term. Among Greek-speaking Jews it was probably used for proselyte baptism, since Josephus employs it for John's baptism. In Heb. 6:2 "instruction about washings" (*baptismoi*) appears to concern the contrast between Christian baptism and all other religious washings, including the OT ablutions and every kind of initiatory bath, Jewish and pagan, known to the readers.

(b) *baptisma* appears for the first time in the NT. No instance of its occurrence in pagan and Jewish literature has yet been found. In view of the fact that its earliest employment is for the baptism of John, it could conceivably have been

coined by John's disciples. More plausibly, it is a Christian innovation, and was applied by Christian writers to John's baptism in the conviction that the latter should be bracketed with Christianity rather than with Judaism. It is often affirmed that *baptismos* denotes the act of immersion and *baptisma* includes the result (e.g. A. Oepke, *TDNT* I 545). Of this there is no evidence. It is more likely that *baptisma* was formed on the analogy of its Heb. equivalent *ṭ^eḇîlâh*. Apart from the general preference of Jewish Christians for Gk. terms phonetically similar to Heb. equivalents, it may well have been adopted by them to express their consciousness that Christian baptism was a new thing in the world, differing from all Jewish and pagan purificatory rites (so Ysebaert, op. cit., 52).

(c) *ho baptistēs* is the surname given in the Synoptic Gospels to John the Baptizer (e.g. Matt. 3:1). It draws attention to the characteristic element in his ministry, namely the demand for repentance-baptism, and still more to the novelty of administering baptism to others, instead of leaving them to baptize themselves, as happened with all OT ablutions and in Jewish proselyte baptism.

7. The importance attached to baptism in the NT, above all in the Pauline exposition of its relation to union with Christ and participation in his death and resurrection, has led some scholars to the conviction that this interpretation stems directly from the Hellenistic Mystery Religions. R. Reitzenstein indeed was prepared to ascribe such influence even to the baptism of John (*Die Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe*, 1929, 279). A dependence of the forerunner and of the early church on the Mystery Religions, however, is very difficult to substantiate and is highly unlikely. Christian baptism is firmly set within the tradition of Jewish cultic acts of cleansing, above all in the activity of John, and its interpretation is rooted in the apostolic gospel (cf. I Corinthians 15:3 f, "Christ *died* for our sins . . . was *buried* . . . has been *raised* . . . ", with Romans 6:3 f, "We were baptized to his *death* . . . *buried* with him . . . that as Christ was *raised* we should walk . . . "). The language used of baptism in Paul's writings flows from his basic understanding of redemption in and through Christ. Some of the most significant elements of his doctrine of salvation are absent from the Mystery Religions (e.g. the nature of Christ's death as for sin; the ethical implications of the believer's baptism to sin; the dying and rising *with* Christ; the once-for-all event of Christ's death and resurrection; the insistence on faith in relation to baptism). It is, moreover, of great importance to note that the links that have been observed between Paul's teaching and the practices of the Mystery Religions belong to later developments within those religions which did not take place till the Christian faith had been proclaimed throughout the ancient world. For a detailed discussion of the issues see G. Wagner, *Pauline Baptism and the Pagan Mysteries*, 1967. *G. R. Beasley-Murray*

λούω

λούω (*louō*), wash; ἀπολούω (*apolouō*), wash, wash away; λουτρόν (*loutron*), bath, washing.

CL In Gk. literature *louō* means wash, (mid.) wash oneself, take a bath; generally it indicates washing the whole body, in contrast to *niptō* which is used for washing parts of the body, and *plynō* which is used of inanimate objects, especially clothes. *apolouō* is a strengthened form of *louō*, having the same meaning but

stressing the removal of dirt. The sub. *loutron* means the place where one has a bath, the bath-house, or the water for a bath, or simply the bath.

Washing for ritual purification was common among ancient peoples of the Orient. The common term for cleansing was *louō*; *apolouō* rarely appears in this connection; *rhainō* and its cognates are employed for aspersion. The origin of religious lustrations lies in animistic religion, when men believed that certain waters were impregnated with the power of deity, and that this power was communicated to persons and objects plunged in them. Recourse was had to such washing to safeguard a person, when approaching a deity in view of the power of holiness to destroy a man, and to seek protection on those occasions, when men are peculiarly exposed to demonic assault, above all in circumstances connected with birth and death. When the nature of religious belief changed, the lustrations were, in measure, spiritualized and extended in their application. Thus, washing was required before prayer, in preparation for initiation into religious cults, after bloodshed in war, manslaughter and crimes of any kind (see J. Ysebaert, *Greek Baptismal Terminology*, 1962, 15 ff.).

OT 1. Similar phenomena, relating both to ideas and terminology of cleansing, may be traced in the OT, though all has been sublimated. When Aaron enters the Most Holy Sanctuary on the Day of Atonement, he has to bathe his body in water and put on "holy garments" (Lev. 16:4), offer a sacrifice (v. 6), and burn incense in the sanctuary "that the cloud of incense may cover the mercy seat which is upon the testimony, lest he die" (v. 13). This washing prior to the High Priest's appearing "before the Lord" is thus part of the conditions under which he may approach the divine holiness and live.

The processes of birth, sickness and death all entail ritual uncleanness. Purification by washing in water is required after sexual intercourse (Lev. 15), menstruation and birth (Lev. 15), after contact with leprosy (Lev. 13, 14) and with death (Num. 5:1 ff.; 19:11 ff.). The conviction of Israel's exclusive relationship with Yahweh possibly lent to these rites a polemic aspect. If Israel's neighbours resorted to magical rites to secure the aid of the gods in the critical moments of life, the answer of Israel's priests to these, as to all worship of foreign gods and contact with animals sacred to idolatrous cults, was to urge cleansing from them all and to be exclusively devoted to the Lord (cf. W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the OT*, I, 1961, 166). The more painstakingly scrupulous they were in their observance of these ritual washings on the one hand, the more obvious it becomes, on the other, that in addition to these they cherished the hope of a radical purging by God in the last days. He himself would sprinkle water on his people, and give them a new heart and a new spirit (Ezek. 36:25); he would open up a fountain to purify them from sin and uncleanness (Zech. 13:1), and he would purge them with fire and fuller's bleach (Mal. 3:1 ff.).

In the LXX these words occur most often in the Pentateuch: *louō* occurs only *c.* 45 times, particularly in Lev., and almost always represents the Heb. *rāḥaṣ*; it is used generally of ritual purification. *rhantizō* and its derivatives are used of sprinkling (Num. 19:13; Ps. 51:7 (50:9) → Blood). On *niptō* see below. It is worth noting that Josephus prefers the compound *apolouō* for ritual washing (e.g. *Ant.* 11, 5, 6 (163)). He always uses it, when he is talking about the Essenes' lustrations. *louō*, on

the other hand, only appears in this context, when he describes the ritual bath of Banus the Eremite (*Life*, 2(7)). *loutron* only occurs twice in the LXX, referring to animals' bathing (Cant. 4:2; 6:6) and in Sir. 34:25, referring to a ritual washing. Josephus uses it in *War*, II, 8, 13 (161) of a bath that married Essenes take with their wives to aid conception.

2. The Qumran Sect regularly employs *rāḥaṣ* (Gk. *louō*) for its ritual washing, rather than *ṭāḇal* (→ *baptō*/*baptizō*). It also uses *nāzâh* (Gk. *rhantizō* → Blood) "sprinkle", although the "washing" apparently involves immersion (cf. e.g. 1QS 3:8 f.: "It is by humiliating himself under all God's ordinances that his flesh can be cleansed, by sprinkling (*nāzâh*) with water for impurity and by sanctifying himself with water of purity"). This preference for terms indicative of washing and sprinkling is probably due to their long association in Israel's religious history with cleansing from sin and defilement. The Sectaries laid great stress on the necessity for repentance, if the ritual bath was to be efficacious for religious cleansing (cf. 1QS 3:4 f.: a man who persists in the stubbornness of his heart "cannot be cleared by mere ceremonies of atonement, nor cleansed by any waters of ablution, nor sanctified by immersion in lakes or rivers, nor purified by any bath. . . . Unclean, unclean he remains so long as he rejects the government of God and refuses the discipline of communion with him").

NT 1. (a) *louō* occurs only 5 times in the NT. In Acts 16:33 it has a purely non-religious meaning, but in Jn. 13:10 it relates to washing for purification and entails a contrast between washing the entire body (*louō*) and rinsing individual limbs (*niptō*). Despite claims often made, it is improbable that any reference to Christian baptism is intended in this passage.

(b) It is otherwise with Heb. 10:22. Christians have their "hearts sprinkled (*rhantizō*) from an evil conscience" and "bodies washed (*louō*) with pure water." We are not to interpret this as a contrast between internal cleansing by the blood of Christ's sacrifice and external cleansing by baptism. If the sprinkling and the washing do not both refer to cleansing waters, as in Ezek. 36:25 and the Qumran writings, the cleansing blood of Christ is thought of as effective in baptism, even as the cleansing power of baptism is the shed → blood of Christ. It is the doctrine of Rom. 6:1 ff. expressed in terms of sacrifice (→ Priest NT).

(c) In Acts 22:16 *apolousai* indubitably relates to baptism. The similarity of language in 1 Cor. 6:11 indicates that it, too, has in view the cleansing of sins in baptism. Observe also the aor. tense of the verbs, pointing to a single occasion of washing, sanctification and justification. "In the name of the Lord Jesus" reflects the use of the → Name in baptismal formulae. "In the Spirit of our God" links the action of the → Spirit with baptism as in 1 Cor. 12:13; Acts 2:38 etc.

Some MSS of Rev. 1:5 read *lousanti* ("to him who has washed us from our sins") instead of *lysanti* ("to him who has redeemed us from our sins"). It may be a scribal error arising out of the similarity of the two words in Gk., but it has perhaps also been influenced by Rev. 7:14 (although there the Greek has *plynō*).

The admittedly infrequent use of *louō* and its cognates in the NT instead of the common term *baptizō* has its analogy and sufficient explanation in the Qumran writings. The traditional association of these terms with cleansing through ablution emphasizes the symbolism of washing away sins in baptism.

2. *loutron* in literary Gk. signifies the place where a bath is taken, whether the house for bathing, water for bathing, or simply the bath. The occurrence in the LXX is rare (see above, OT 1.). In appears twice in the NT in contexts which apparently relate to baptism: Eph. 5:26; Tit. 3:5. In both passages it denotes the act rather than the place of washing. Eph. 5:26 may allude to the ceremonial bath taken by a bride in preparation for marriage (→ *baptizō* OT 2; cf. A. Oepke, *TDNT*, IV, 296 f.). For the bride of Christ (→ Marriage, art. *nymphē*), the counterpart to this bath is baptism, in which the members of the → body are cleansed "by the washing of water by the Word". In the enactment of this rite the word of the gospel is enshrined and it is expressed in the confession "Jesus is Lord" (Rom. 10:9) given on that occasion.

In Tit. 3:5 baptism is defined as the "washing (*loutron*) for the regeneration and and renewal that the Spirit effects." Observe that it is not the washing that effects renewal. The washing is the occasion when the Spirit creatively works in the individual, just as he made the community of disciples the Body of Christ at Pentecost (Acts 2:33) and at the end will produce a new creation (Matt. 19:28).

G. R. Beasley-Murray

| νίπτω |

νίπτω (*niptō*), wash.

CL In Gk. literature *niptō* means "wash", when the object is part of the body, in contrast with *louō*, when the whole body is the object; *plynō*, wash things, especially clothes; and *rhainō*, sprinkle. In religious contexts *niptō* is commonly used of the ceremonial washing of hands, e.g. before prayer or sacrifice.

OT A similar use of *niptō* appears in the LXX, both in a secular sense (e.g. Gen. 18:4) and for religious washings (note especially the laver provided for priests for use in the performance of their duties, Ex. 30:17 ff.). Philo often mentions religious cleansing of the body, though he prefers the compound term *ekniptō*. His manifest preference for expressions denoting partial ablution indicates a greater interest in these forms of ritual washing than in the kind of ritual bathing that was customary among the Essenes. This accords with the extension of ritual washings among the Jews in late Judaism. The prescriptions relating to priests washing their hands amidst religious duties was extended to a demand that Jews generally rinse their hands before meals, a custom that some attributed to Solomon but others to Hillel and Shammai (SB I 695).

NT Reference to this custom is made in the NT by the evangelist (Mk. 7:3). The disciples of Jesus were criticized by Pharisees for eating with unwashed (*aniptos*), i.e. ceremonially unclean, hands (Mk. 7:2). In their defence Jesus not only rejects the tradition that included the custom (vv. 5ff.), but denies some fundamental presuppositions concerning uncleanness which it involves (vv. 14 ff.).

The narrative of the foot-washing (Jn. 13) may contain a reference to current Jewish teaching on purification: "He who has bathed does not need to wash but is completely clean" (v. 10), i.e. he who has taken a complete bath (*louō*) does not need lesser ritual washings before a meal (*niptō*). The insertion of "except for his

feet" after "wash" is almost certainly due to a later scribe, who did not understand that the action of Jesus in washing the feet of the disciples represented a complete bath (*louō*). If v. 7 hints that more is involved in the act than a lesson in humility (vv. 13 ff.) and that it cannot be understood until after the crucifixion, it is likely that we are to interpret it as an acted parable of the Lord's humiliation unto death, rather than an exposition of the unrepeatability of baptism, or of the complete cleansing given in baptism (*louō*) as compared with the repeated cleansing in the eucharist (*niptō*). It is enough to draw a secondary lesson from the incident without multiplying refinements. *G. R. Beasley-Murray*

Infant Baptism: Its Background and Theology

The question whether infant baptism was practised in apostolic times, and certain related issues (the connection between baptism and circumcision, and the antiquity of Jewish proselyte baptism), have received some degree of attention in the earlier parts of this article, but deserve to be developed further because of their important theological and practical implications.

The first explicit reference to infant baptism in Christian history is that made by Irenaeus, about A.D. 180, who speaks of "all who through Christ are born again to God, infants and children and boys and youths and old men" (*Adv. Haer.*, 2, 22, 4 [2, 33, 2]), "born again to God" being a technical phrase meaning baptism, well attested in other parts of Irenaeus's writings. How much weight one gives to earlier implicit references which paedo-baptists believe they find in Fathers such as Justin Martyr and Polycarp, and in the New Testament itself, depends chiefly upon the conformity of infant baptism, first, with the historical background of the apostolic church in Judaism, and, secondly, with biblical theology as the New Testament writers understand it.

1. *The Jewish Background.* There are three important Jewish ceremonies which are linked with Christian baptism at its source and which could create a presumption for or against its being administered originally to infants as well as adults.

(a) The first of these is *circumcision*, which was administered only to males, but to infant males as well as adults. Circumcision is linked with baptism by the fact that both are divinely instituted initiation rites; by the fact that a ritual washing or baptism for proselytes had apparently been added to circumcision before the time of our Lord; by Paul's words in Col. 2:11 f.; and by the significance of the two practices – for circumcision is given three meanings by the Old Testament which the New Testament gives to baptism, repentance (Deut. 10:16; Jer. 4:4), regeneration (Deut. 30:6) and cleansing (Isa. 52:1; Ezek. 44:7), and Paul adds a fourth such meaning, justification by faith (Rom. 4:11). A final link is that both are covenanting rites. This is explicit in the case of circumcision (Gen. 17:10–14; Acts 7:8), but appears also to be the case with baptism, since spiritual regeneration and remission of sins, which are fundamental to the idea of baptism (Jn. 3:5; Acts 2:38; 22:16; Eph. 5:26; Col. 2:12 f.; Tit. 3:5–7; Heb. 10:22), are the characteristic graces of the new covenant (Matt. 26:28; 2 Cor. 3:6; Heb. 8:6–13; 10:15–18).

(b) The second Jewish ceremony linked with Christian baptism is *proselyte baptism.* The link is partly through circumcision, to which proselyte baptism had

been added, and partly through the similarity of the two rites. The earliest Jewish references to proselyte baptism are Greek Testament of Levi 14:6 "The daughters of the gentiles shall ye take to wife, purifying them with unlawful purifications"; Sibylline Oracles 4:165–67 "Bathe the whole body in ever-flowing streams, and reach your hands to heaven, praying forgiveness for these things that ye have done"; and Mishnah, Pesahim 8:8 "The school of Shammai say, If a man became a proselyte on the day before passover he may immerse himself and consume his passover offering in the evening; and the school of Hillel say, He that separates himself from his uncircumcision is as one that separates himself from a grave" (i.e. he remains unclean for a week). The most important facts to notice here are, first, that proselyte baptism is basically a lustration for the unclean; secondly, that since uncleanness may befall anybody, it is not just a religious duty of adult males, like so many of the religious duties of Judaism, but also of females; and thirdly, that it is spiritualized to refer to cleansing from moral impurity as well. There are various uncertainties about the dates of these passages, but they probably range from the first or second century B.C. (Testament of Levi) to the late second century A.D. (Mishnah), with the fourth book of the Sibylline Oracles in between, in the late first century A.D. Attempts have recently been made to revive the view that the Greek Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (to which the Testament of Levi belongs) is a Christian work, and not a Jewish work with later interpolations, but these attempts have met with heavy criticism. The work is a Greek paraphrase of Aramaic writings discovered at Qumran, having links with the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Book of Jubilees, the last of which emphatically shares its concern about mixed marriages. As regards the Mishnah, its date in the second century A.D. does not alter the fact that it is recording a first-century controversy. Now, though the first explicit mention of a child receiving proselyte baptism is fairly late (see J. Jeremias, *Infant Baptism in the First Four Centuries*, 1960, 37–40), the first explicit mention of a woman receiving it is remarkably early, in the Testament of Levi. And since Gentile women were required to be cleansed from impurity in this way, not simply Gentile men, the implication is that Gentile children were too. If the parents had not hitherto observed the laws of ceremonial cleanness, certainly the children had not done so, and the liability of children to contract uncleanness is plainly stated in the Mishnah (Tohoroth 3:6; Zabim 2:1). Consequently, as soon as a lustration of this kind was judged necessary for proselytes, it was judged necessary for them all, without distinction. Like circumcision, it would be given to infants as well as adults, but unlike circumcision it would be given to females as well as males. In the latter respect, proselyte baptism approaches more closely to Christian baptism than circumcision does; but, on the other hand, there is one respect in which circumcision comes closer than proselyte baptism does. For, whereas proselyte baptism was only given to a converted family in the first generation (see Jeremias, op. cit., 46 f.), since after that they would observe the laws of ceremonial purity like other Jews, with Christian baptism it has been different: this, like circumcision, has traditionally been administered to each generation afresh.

(c) The third Jewish ceremony linked with Christian baptism is *the baptism of John*. The link here is uniquely close, since John's mission was to prepare Israel to receive Christ, who was himself baptized by John and found many of his disciples

among John's followers. Moreover, John's baptism, like Christian baptism, was a baptism of repentance for the remission of sins, anticipating the coming baptism with the Holy Spirit. Now, in the view of some, John's baptism marked a decisive break with Judaism, in that it laid emphasis on the necessity for personal repentance and forgiveness in the same way that Christian baptism does, and so was not a ceremony suitable for administration to infants. But how far was this emphasis on personal repentance and forgiveness something really new? We have seen above how in the Sibylline Oracles (late first century) *proselyte* baptism is reinterpreted ethically to express repentance and forgiveness, and the clearest evidence for the administration of proselyte baptism to infants comes after this reinterpretation, not before. John was probably already acquainted with the reinterpretation. Certainly, it is proselyte baptism which appears to be the immediate antecedent of John's baptism, since in both cases the baptism has initiatory significance and is received once for all, not whenever occasion arose (as with the Old Testament lustrations) or every day (as with the lustrations of the Essenes). There was some difference in the mode of administration between John's baptism and proselyte baptism, since the latter, in the case of adult males, was self-administered, whereas the prophet John seems always to have administered his baptism himself; but the real difference was that John's baptism was for Jews not Gentiles, thus emphasizing that there was need for repentance on the part of Jews as well. Even so, John's innovation must not be exaggerated. The Old Testament prophets, in whose succession John stood, had regularly preached repentance to the Jews; and though proselyte baptism was not given to Jews, circumcision was; and circumcision, like proselyte baptism, signified repentance and cleansing (see section (a)), and was the basic rite of initiation to which proselyte baptism had been added. Thus, it was only in terms of contemporary Judaism, not in terms of the Old Testament, that John's preaching of repentance to Jews was new; and it was only in terms of proselyte baptism, not in terms of initiation ceremonies as a whole, that his administration of a baptism of repentance to Jews was new. Nor is there any evidence that John addressed his message of repentance simply to individuals, not to the nation, or thought of his ministry as a prolonged one, in which the baptism of infants could be deferred until they grew up. On the contrary, it was to the nation, including for example Herod the Tetrarch, that he directed his challenge (Mk. 6:17–20), and his message was an urgent one, which warned of imminent judgment on those who did not respond (Matt. 3:1, 10, 12; Lk. 3:9, 17). Consequently, the likelihood that his baptism would have diverged from Jewish practice by dealing with people as individuals not as households, and by deferring for years the baptism of infants, does not seem to be great. It is true that the gospels and Josephus are silent about the baptism of infants by John (or, indeed, of women), but this more probably means that he conformed to existing custom than that he altered it. If proselyte baptism, though symbolizing repentance, was given to infant Gentiles, and if circumcision, though symbolizing repentance, was given to infant Jews, the expectation would be that John's baptism of repentance would follow these precedents, and one would not expect to see the matter alluded to unless it did otherwise.

2. *New Testament Theology.* Having said all this, the fact remains that the force of Jewish example was only one of the influences at work in the New Testament

church. An even more potent influence was the Christian gospel. Any Jewish custom which conflicted with the gospel would have been strongly opposed. So it is now necessary to consider whether the baptism of infants is in accordance with New Testament theology. The relevant themes of this theology appear to lie in the following broad areas:

(a) *Grace and Faith.* Those who maintain that John the Baptist's emphasis on personal repentance and forgiveness sharply differentiated his baptism from earlier Jewish practice hold that the same is true of Christian baptism, which is likewise associated with repentance and forgiveness, and also with faith (Acts 2:38; 19:4 f.; 22:16; Gal. 3:26 f.; Eph. 5:26; Col. 2:12 f.; Heb. 10:22). We have already seen reason, from what we know of proselyte baptism, to question such an inference. The new feature of the Baptist's ministry was not, probably, that he stressed repentance and forgiveness, but that he did so in the case of Jews. With regard to Christian baptism, however, even this difference does not exist, since from an early stage (and in idea, probably, from the beginning) it was given not only to Jews but to Gentiles. Its relation to proselyte baptism, therefore, was even closer than in the case of John's baptism, and if proselyte baptism was given to infants, one would expect the same to be true of Christian baptism, provided that theological considerations permitted it.

One of these theological considerations is the faith with which Christian baptism is associated. It is argued that only in believers' baptism can faith regularly accompany the rite with which it is associated. It is some answer to this to say that circumcision and proselyte baptism were likewise associated with *repentance*, which nevertheless could not accompany the rite when it was administered to infants, but could only follow it. Another answer is that faith is a human counterpart of divine grace. The human activity of faith is bound up, in New Testament teaching, with → grace, → salvation and → justification. Each of these are divine activities, freely initiated by God. Faith relates to them as a response or a means (Acts 15:7–11; Rom. 3:21–30; 4:3, 5, 11, 16, 19–25; Gal. 2:16; 3:6, 8; Eph. 2:5–8). If, therefore, it is a good argument that the baptism of our children should be deferred until faith can accompany it, in order to stress the importance of the human response (and that the New Testament church must have acted accordingly), there is at least an equally strong case for holding that the baptism of children should precede the advent of faith, in order to stress the still greater importance of the divine initiative. In the New Testament period the latter emphasis would have been particularly appropriate in view of the conflict with the doctrine of justification by works, put forward by the Judaizers.

(b) *The Efficacy of the Sacraments.* To argue in this way is not to assume that the New Testament sacraments are the exact equivalents of the Jewish ceremonies preceding them, and were neatly substituted for their antecedents on the Day of Pentecost. Such an assumption would be both historically and doctrinally untrue. In Jewish Christianity there was apparently a long period of overlap, in which those zealous for the right to continue practising the Mosaic Law observed not only baptism and the Lord's Supper but also circumcision and the passover. In discussion with Jewish Christians, therefore, it would have been both offensive and unconvincing if Paul had argued that baptism had replaced circumcision, and he does not do this either at the Jerusalem council in Acts 15 or in his controversy with

the Judaizers in the Epistle to the Galatians. He does indeed point to the parallel between baptism and circumcision in Col. 2:11 f., but in doing so he makes a marked difference between the two, speaking of baptism as "a circumcision not made with hands", i.e. as a rite which fulfils what circumcision foreshadowed. Even John's baptism is seen to fall short of Christian baptism in one significant particular, that it is a baptism of water and not the coming baptism of the Spirit (Mk. 1:8; Jn. 1:33; Acts 1:5; 11:16), whereas, when the baptism of the Spirit actually comes at Pentecost, Peter immediately relates it to Christian baptism (Acts 1:5; 2:38). There are other effects of baptism too which manifestly belong to the new era, namely, the putting on of Christ and the sharing in his death and resurrection (Rom. 6:3–11; Gal. 3:27; Col. 2:12), and though effects like forgiveness and salvation are more timeless, the fact that they have now been brought into clear relation with Christ and his redeeming work makes it meaningful for the first time to speak of a ceremony as actually conferring them.

Despite these differences between baptism and its antecedents, the many points of correspondence between them which were pointed out in section 1 remain important, and the superiority of baptism must not be exaggerated. Though the New Testament normally speaks of baptism as conferring benefits which the Jewish ceremonies only symbolized or foreshadowed, these benefits are not tied to baptism in any mechanical way, as is shown particularly by the fact that the same benefits which are attributed to baptism are attributed also to the preaching of the gospel, and to faith in Christ, which is the outcome of such preaching (Jn. 17:20; Acts 15:7; Rom. 10:17; Eph. 1:13). Thus, on the one hand, regeneration is said to come through baptism (Jn. 3:5; Tit. 3:5), while on the other hand it is said to come through the preaching of the word and through faith (Jn. 1:12 f.; Jas. 1:18; 1 Pet. 1:23–25). Similarly the gift of the Spirit comes through baptism (Acts 2:38) but also through faith (Gal. 3:2, 14; Eph. 1:13), and the same is true of salvation (Tit. 3:5; 1 Pet. 3:21; contrast Eph. 2:8) and of forgiveness, the cleansing of the heart and justification (Acts 2:38; 22:16; Tit. 3:5–7; Heb. 10:22; contrast Acts 13:38 f.; 15:9; Rom. 3:22 ff.; Gal. 2:16 ff.). It will be noticed that passages of both kinds are found in the same New Testament book, and in four places both means of receiving the same benefit are mentioned together (Acts 19:4 f.; Gal. 3:26 f.; Eph. 5:26; Col. 2:12 f.). Now, if two means are needed for the reception of the same benefit, its reception cannot be synchronized with them both, however, closely together they may come. In the New Testament, baptism and faith do normally come very close together: the Acts of the Apostles shows adults being baptized as soon as they profess conversion, with no catechumenate in between. Even so, the preaching which issued in faith must have preceded the confession of that faith in baptism; and there are two instances in Acts where the gift of the Spirit, though one of the benefits of baptism (Acts 2:38), is explicitly stated to have been delayed after baptism or conferred before baptism (Acts 8:15–17; 10:44–48). But if baptism is only one of the means by which the benefits it symbolizes are received, and if, though it may be said to confer those benefits, it does not necessarily confer them at once, the gap is *ipso facto* narrowed between this rite and other rites, like circumcision and proselyte baptism, which symbolize similar benefits but are *not* said to confer them. There is no more reason why baptism, conferring regeneration, forgiveness and justification but not necessarily at once, should be withheld from

infants, than there is why circumcision and proselyte baptism, merely symbolizing the same benefits, should be withheld, which we know they are not. Even circumcision and proselyte baptism had a proleptic aspect, in that they symbolized the infant's future repentance. So, all things considered, the fact that, if baptism is administered to infants, its efficacy must be partly proleptic, does not seem to be any reason for believing that the New Testament church would have judged infants to be unsuitable candidates for the rite.

(c) *The Covenant and its Heirs.* It was noted in section 1(a) that baptism, like circumcision, appears to be a covenanting rite. The Bible speaks of three great covenants between God and his people, the covenant with Abraham, the covenant of Sinai and the new covenant. The church, with which the new covenant is made, is not a completely fresh, Gentile community, but has a Jewish nucleus; and Paul emphasizes in Rom. 9–11 that there is only one people of God, the elect and believing, who primarily belong to Abraham's natural seed, but are found also among those many Gentiles who have been "ingrafted" into that seed since the coming of Christ. To each of his covenants God attached obligatory external rites, notably the initiatory rite of circumcision, to which baptism has since succeeded. Thus, membership of the covenant people consists in three things: (i) election and faith, (ii) birth or ingrafting, and (iii) circumcision or baptism.

Because the first two covenants were made not merely with one generation but with many, circumcision was commanded to be given not just to the head of the household but to its whole male membership, including the infant children, and to each new generation of infant children thereafter (Gen. 17:9–14). Similarly, when a Gentile convert joined the community, not just he but "all his males" had to be circumcised (Exod. 12:48). Later, when the rite of proselyte baptism was added to circumcision, this too was given to the children along with the parent; but as it was a rite for both sexes, not just one, the problem for the first time arose, what was to be done if a husband was converted without his wife or a wife without her husband. Many wives did in fact become proselytes without their husbands around the beginning of the Christian era, and one such is mentioned in the New Testament (Acts 16:1–3; 2 Tim. 1:5; 3:15; *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, art. "Proselyte"). The answer given to the problem, as is clear from the Mishnah, was that either partner might receive the initiation rites without the other, and that even if it was the wife, the children might receive the rites with her (Yebamoth 11:2; Ketuboth 4:3; 9:9). The only case in which the children would not be included would be where a pagan husband allowed his wife to be initiated but not his children.

The New Testament extends these conceptions to the Christian church. The church is the continuation of Abraham's natural seed, with Gentile converts adopted in (Rom. 11:1–32). The divine promise accompanying initiation (now by baptism) is "to you and to your children" (Acts 2:38 f.). The children are sanctified by the converted parent, whether father or mother (1 Cor. 7:14). Converts are initiated (now by baptism) not simply as individuals but as households (Acts 16:15, 31–34; 18:8; 1 Cor. 1:16). In all this, infant baptism seems clearly to be implied. The usual objections are readily answered. Jn. 1:13 simply expresses the principle of election, which is given its due place in these contexts as well (Acts 2:39; Rom. 9:6–29; 11:5, 7). Matt. 10:34–37 speaks of division in families, but so does 1 Cor. 7:14. 1 Cor. 7:14 does not imply that the unbelieving parent may be baptized, if

the children may; it is the children that Paul argues from, and the unbelieving parent is sanctified only in so far as their sanctity involves it, not in himself. A comparison between Acts 18:8 and 1 Cor. 1:14 does not show that Crispus and his household were baptized apart from each other – rather that Crispus was one of the few among Paul's many converts whom he baptized with his own hands, whereas his household were baptized (doubtless on the same occasion) by Paul's assistants Silas and Timothy. Paul was evidently in the habit of delegating the task of baptizing, as our Lord and Peter had also done (Jn. 4:1 f.; Acts 10:48).

(d) *The Kingdom and the Church.* Jesus' act of receiving and blessing little children (or, as Luke says, *brephē*, infants) is chiefly relevant because of the words with which he accompanied it: "Of such is the kingdom of God. Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall in no wise enter therein" (Mk. 10:13–16; Lk. 18:15–17). Jn. 3:5 attributes to Jesus the declaration: "Truly, truly, I say to you, unless one is born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of God" (RSV). Although some commentators see in this a contrast between natural and spiritual birth (cf. L. Morris, *John*, 1972, 215 ff.), most see in it a reference to baptism and spiritual regeneration. In Acts 8:12 one responds to the preaching of the kingdom of God by being baptized.

In his saying on little children, Jesus was speaking not only of them themselves, but also of adults with a childlike attitude; yet it can hardly be denied that little children themselves are included. To enter the kingdom of God implies joining the church, and it is noteworthy that in Ephesians and Colossians children are among the groups in the church which are addressed (Eph. 6:1–3; Col. 3:20). Presumably, as in Judaism, they belong to the community both by birth and by initiation. The objection that if children had been baptized as infants they would also have been admitted to communion as infants lacks substance. Infant communion is a less ancient practice, without a background in Judaism, and open to various objections from the New Testament. *R. T. Beckwith*

→ Circumcision, → Conversion, → Covenant, → Faith, → Holy Spirit

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(b). SB I 695 ff.; F. J. Leenhardt, *Le Baptême Chrétien, son origine, sa signification*, 1946; H.

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Beat, Chastise, Scourge

μαστιγόω

κολαφίζω (*kolaphizō*), beat; δέρω (*derō*), beat; μάστιξ (*mastix*), whip, lash, scourging, torment; μαστιγόω (*mastigoō*), whip, flog, scourge, chastise; μαστίζω (*mastizō*), strike with a whip, scourge; πατάσσω (*patassō*), strike, hit; πληγή (*plēgē*), blow, stroke, wound; ῥάβδος (*rhabdos*), rod, staff, stick; ῥαβδίζω (*rhabdizō*), beat with a rod; ῥαπίζω

(*rhapizō*), strike; ῥάπισμα (*rhapisma*), a blow (with a club, rod, or whip); ὑπωπιάζω (*hypōpiazō*), strike under the eye, treat roughly, maltreat; φραγέλλιον (*phragellion*), whip, lash; φραγελλόω (*phragelloō*), flog, scourge.

CL In secular Gk. a variety of words denote physical violence, often distinguished, as in English, by the manner in which the violence is inflicted. Of those which later occur in the NT, *derō* originally had the meaning "flay" or "skin", but from Aristoph. onwards it was a general word for "beat". *rhapizō* denotes beating with a stick or rod, generally as a punishment for minor offences by slaves or children, though *rhabdos* does not only mean a stick to beat with. *mastizō* and *mastigoō* refer to a much more severe form of punishment and are later applied to the Roman punishment of scourging which accompanied capital offences, together with the Lat. loan words *phragellion* and *phragelloō* (cf. Lat. *flagellum, flagellare*, the noun and the vb. respectively meaning "whip", "scourge"). *rhapizō* indicates striking with the hand. *hypōpiazō* seems to derive from the world of boxing, lit. strike under the eye, give a black eye (Arist., Plut.), hence, treat roughly, maltreat.

Besides their lit. sense, several of these terms have a fig. meaning. In classical tragedy *plēgē* is a misfortune sent by a god. The fig. sense of *mastix* is found as early as Homer, but it loses its religious significance after Aeschylus.

OT The most frequent of the above words in the LXX are *plēgē*, *patassō* and *mastigoō*. Besides their lit. usage, they are all regularly applied figuratively to the plagues and sorrows inflicted by God both on the nations and on his own people. *plēgē* is used of the plagues on Egypt (Exod. 11:1; 12:13) and of the servant who is *anthrōpos en plēgē* ("a man struck down with misfortune", Arndt, 674; Isa. 53:3 cf. also v. 4). Gen. 8:21 uses the fut. of *patassō*: "I will never again smite every living creature." Ps. 39(38):11 pleads, "Remove thy stroke (*mastix* in plur.) from me." *rhabdos* is used with a variety of meanings: the shepherd's staff (Mic. 7:14), Aaron's rod (Num. 17), the ruler's sceptre (Ps. 45:6), the stick as a means of punishment (Exod. 21:20). *derō* is rare and is found only in the sense of flay (Lev. 1:6).

NT 1. These various words are used in a lit. sense in the NT.

(a) *derō* (Lk. 22:63), *phragelloō* (Matt. 27:26; Mk. 15:15) and *mastigoō* (Jn. 19:1) are used to describe the treatment received by Jesus in the passion events. They are all used in connection with the Roman punishment of scourging. In addition Jesus was also struck by the soldiers (*rhapizō*, Matt. 26:67; *rhapisma*, Mk. 14:65; Jn. 19:3; Matt. and Mk. also have *kolaphizō*). C. Schneider points out that Lk. 23:16 has the weaker *paideusas* (chastise), whereas Matt. 27:26 and Mk. 15:15 have *phragelloō* (scourge). He sees it as an instance of Luke's softening of the passion story (*TDNT* IV 517), suggesting also that Pilate's aim was to impose scourging without crucifixion. However, it may be noted that Luke's euphemistic word occurs in the context of Pilate's own suggestion, whereas *phragelloō* of Mᵉᵗᵗ. and Mk. and the *mastigoō* of Jn. 19:1 are part of the evangelists' description of what happened.

mastigoō occurs in the passion predictions (Matt. 20:19; Mk. 10:34; Lk. 18:33; but *not* Matt. 17:23; Mk. 9:31). In addition to the passion predictions, Jesus' parabolic teaching shows that he anticipated such treatment of himself (Matt.

21:35; Mk. 12:3, 5; Lk. 20:10 f. all contain references to beating, *derō*). J. Jeremias holds that Jesus, together with many contemporaries, regarded martyrdom as part of the prophet's office. Would Jesus have expected a better fate for himself? (*New Testament Theology*, I 280; cf. Matt. 23:35 par.; Lk. 13:33). This attitude to the prophet's calling makes such sayings perfectly credible.

(b) Several passages refer to Jewish punishment inflicted in the synagogue. The disciples are warned to expect scourging (*mastigoō*, Matt. 10:17; 23:34) and beating (*derō*, Mk. 13:9). Acts 5:40 and 22:19 describe instances of beating by Jewish authorities, the latter at the hands of Paul before his conversion. In 2 Cor. 11:24 Paul recalls how he himself received five times "forty save one" (where the omission of the plur. *plēgas* is idiomatic). Such punishment is referred to in Deut. 25:1–3 and Jos., *Ant.* 4, 8, 21. The example of those who were scourged for their faith is held up by Heb. 11:36.

(c) Punishment by civil magistrates is also mentioned, perhaps sometimes as a mode of examination under torture (Acts 16:23, 33, *plēgē*; 16:37, *derō*; 22:24, *mastix*; 2 Cor. 11:23, *plēgē*; Acts 16:22; 2 Cor. 11:25, *rhabdizō*).

2. Some of these words are used in a fig. sense to describe acts of God.

(a) God corrects and chastises (*mastigoō*) his own people for their good (Heb. 12:6; cf. Prov. 3:12). The believer is encouraged by Paul to forestall this by imposing self-discipline. He treats his own body roughly (*hypōpiazō*) and subdues it, lest having preached to others he should himself be disqualified or be found unfit (*adokimos*) (1 Cor. 9:27; cf. 11:30 f.).

(b) In Mk. 3:10; 5:29 and Lk. 7:21 *mastix* is used of a bodily illness in the sense of torment, suffering or affliction. It reflects a contemporary belief that illness was a chastisement from God, though Jesus denied that there was a necessary connection between sickness and sin (Jn. 9:3).

(c) At the crucifixion the shepherd himself is smitten (*patassō*) by God (Matt. 26:31; cf. Zech. 13:7 and Isa. 53:3 f.), and thus shoulders God's judgment on all men. The hapax legomenon *mōlōps* is used to express the paradox: by his wound(s) you have been healed (1 Pet. 2:24).

(d) God inflicts judgment on all men who have rebelled against him with the intention of leading them back to repentance. The word *plēgē*, used to translate plague in Exod., is repeatedly used in Rev. The plagues are manifestations of God's → wrath. Where they fail to evoke a response of repentance, they finally destroy (Rev. 9:20 f.; 11:6; 15:1).

(e) *kolaphizō*, lit. strike with the fist, beat, cuff, is used lit. in Matt. 26:67; Mk. 14:65; and generally in 1 Cor. 4:11 and 1 Pet. 2:20. In 2 Cor. 12:7 it is used fig. of the "thorn in the flesh, a messenger of Satan", sent "to beat me, to keep me from being too elated." In view of the reference to flesh, this is widely taken to be a physical affliction. Numerous theories have been put forward, including epilepsy, hysteria, periodic depressions, headaches, severe eye trouble, malaria, leprosy, and a speech impediment (cf. Arndt, 442). Gal. 4:15 and 6:11 (cf. 6:17) might support the theory of serious eye trouble. However, in response to Paul's prayer three times for the removal of affliction the reply is given, "My grace is sufficient for you, for my power is made perfect in weakness" (2 Cor. 12:9).

(f) *rhabdos* is used several times to denote divine majesty, rule and power, particularly in connection with the final overthrow of evil (→ Crown, Sceptre).

This absolute authority has been entrusted to the Son (Heb. 1:8; cf. Ps. 45:6; Rev. 2:27; 12:5; 19:15; cf. Ps. 2:9). The one who will smite (*patassō*) the nations and rule them with a rod of iron (Rev. 19:15) is the → lamb who was himself slain (Rev. 5:8; 12:11; 19:7, 9, 13). *E. M. Embry*

→ Teach, art. *paideuō*, → Torment, art. *kolaphizō*, → Fight

C. Schneider, *mastigoō*, *TDNT* IV 515–19; *mōlōps*, *TDNT* IV 829; *rhabdos*, *TDNT* VI 966–71; A. N. Sherwin-White, *Roman Society and Roman Law in the New Testament*, 1963, 25–8, 71–76.

Beginning, Origin, Rule, Ruler, Originator

ἀρχή

ἀρχή (*archē*), beginning, cause; ἄρχω (*archō*), to begin, to rule; ἄρχων (*archōn*), ruler, prince; ἀρχηγός (*archēgos*), ruler, leader; ἀρχαῖος (*archaios*), old, ancient.

CL 1. *archē* (Homer onwards) is an important term in Gk. philosophy. It means (a) beginning, start, (b) starting point, original beginning, (c) the first cause, (d) power, authority, rule. The vb. *archō* commonly means (a) to be the first, to begin in the sense that one is the first, the one who does something before others, (b) to begin by doing something in contrast to what one does later, (c) as leader to be first, to rule. Its part. *archōn* means ruler, commander, prince. *archēgos* has a similar meaning, only that in the former there is more stress on the power needed for commanding. The adj. *archaios* denotes that which has been from the beginning or from early times; hence old, ancient.

2. *archē* developed a special meaning in Gk. philosophy: (a) It denotes the point at which something new begins in time, the end of which can be seen from the first. When one spoke of the beginning (*archē*), the end (*telos*) was also in view. Since the beginning comes out of the infinite, so the end will also lose itself in it.

(b) It is the starting point, the cause, the first cause of all that is, the basic principle of all, e.g. for Thales, water; for Anaximander, infinity; for Anaximenes, air. Gradually *archē* developed its meaning from the underlying cause to the underlying laws, which determine the development and progress of the cosmos.

(c) For the Stoics God (*theos*) and matter (*hylē*) were *archai*. *D. Müller*

OT The LXX uses this word group to translate over 30 Heb. words, though many occur only once or twice. The following meanings may be noted:

1. The vb. *archō* is most commonly used as a rendering of *ḥālal* in the hiph. (e.g. Gen. 6:1; Jdg. 10:18), or of *yā'al* in the hiph. (e.g. Gen. 18:27; Deut. 1:5). Both indicate the beginning of an action which is concerned with the overcoming of difficulties or customs. The usage is purely linguistic and no theological colouring should be seen in it. Also the noun *archē* is used for the beginning of a process (Heb. *t^{e}ḥillâh*; e.g. Gen. 41:21; Dan. 9:21).

2. The concept of a beginning in time which is dominant in the vb. can be seen in an even more specialized sense in the noun *archē*, when it is used to translate *'ôlām*, a distant time (only Jos. 24:2; Isa. 63:16, 19) or *qeḏem*, antiquity, of old (e.g. Hab. 1:12; Ps. 74[73]:1[2]; Mic. 5:2[1]). So used, it does not mean only the distant past in time (*qeḏem* meant originally the beginning, and so East), but the state that once was, the beginning of a nation or of the world (→ Time, *aiōn*; →

Creation). Used in this sense, the meaning of *archē* stretches from the previous condition that can be remembered back over the original condition into the past before time (Isa. 37:26). The adj. *archaios*, old, has more or less the same range of meaning (→ Age, Old, art. *palai*). In Ps. 139(138):5 the *archaia*, the earlier, are contrasted with the *eschata*, the last, so as to paraphrase *ta panta*, the whole. (In MT and in Eng. it is "behind and before".)

3. The meaning of foremost or highest rank is found alongside the temporal meaning. This comes from its rendering of Heb. *rô'š*, head, with its wide range of nuances, and its derivatives *ri'šōn*, first or earlier, and *rē'šît*, beginning, first part, product. The use of *archē* for these is often quite mechanical, thus forcing it to take on a wide range of meanings (e.g. Jer. 22:6 "the summit" (of Lebanon); Num. 1:2 "the number" (of names); Gen. 2:10 (four) "rivers"). It is used as a paraphrase (in Amos 6:1; Num. 14:20, "the first" (of the nations); Exod. 12:2, "the beginning" (of months); 1 Ki. 21(20):9, 11, set Naboth "on high" i.e. give him the most important place in the gathering; Gen. 40:20, "lifted up the head", i.e. restored to a position of power; → First, art. *prōtos*). The connotations of beginning and of the highest rank come together in certain passages, e.g. Ps. 111(110):10, where the fear of the Lord is the *archē tēs sophias* ("beginning of wisdom"). Here *archē* is the principle which governs the components of beginning, progress and result of the whole.

4. From the Heb. *rô'š* it takes on the meaning of "command" or the "military unit" command (Jdg. 9:34; 1 Sam. 11:11). The element of "ruling" is particularly clear, when it used to render *memšālâh*, rule, dominion (Gen. 1:16; Jer. 34:1 (LXX 41:1); Mic. 4:8). This is even more frequent with *archō*, when it is used 15 times for the Heb. *māšal*, rule (e.g. Gen. 1:18; Jdg. 9:2; Deut. 15:6; → Lord).

5. This lies behind the relatively unambiguous use of *archōn* (450 times) and *archēgos* (23 times). Both are used relatively often, particularly by the Chronicler, and in Deut., Jos., Num., and Jdg., for the Heb. *rô'š* meaning a political or military leader, and also a head of a family (e.g. Num. 25:4; 30:1(2); 1 Chr. 8:6, 28; Neh. 11:3, 16 f.). *archōn* is used to render *śar*, holder of authority and power, leader, nobleman, ruler (e.g. Gen. 12:15; Jdg. 8:3; Amos 1:15), and in Num. and Ezek. *nāśî*, head (of a tribe), patriarch (e.g. Num. 2:3, 5, 7; Ezek. 9:27), while *archēgos* is used for the elected charismatic leader in time of need (Heb. *qāṣîn*, Jdg. 11:6). *archēgos* refers more to the actual exercise of power and *archōn* more to the authority behind it. Hence its meaning extends from the one able to exercise influence to the leader of the people, to officials and even to the celestial beings (Dan. 10:13) who represent the nations in the world of spirits and who in great measure are hostile to God's people. This too is called an *archē* (Dan. 7:27).

L. Coenen

NT When the NT uses the word-group, it implies, as does secular Gk., a certain priority, both of time and of standing and prestige. In other words, the NT uses the concepts in much the same way as secular Gk. We find them used especially to denote a first point in time and to indicate an area of authority.

1. *archē* which is used 55 times in NT (18 times in the Johannine writings) means:

(a) *Beginning, commencement* (Mk. 1:1; the beginning of the Gospel; 13:8, the beginning of the sufferings of closing age; Heb. 3:14, the beginning of confidence or

faith; Acts 10:11, the beginning, i.e. corner, of a cloth). In Jn. 8:25 *tēn archēn* means "at all" (cf. RSV mg.). In Heb. 5:12; 6:1 *archē* carries the meaning of "groundwork", "elementary teaching". Christ is exalted above → time, and so has neither beginning nor end (Heb. 7:3). The phrases *ap' archēs* and *ex archēs* denote the first point in time, its occasion being determined from the context: "the beginning" of Jesus' activity (Lk. 1:2; Jn. 15:27; 16:4); Jesus knew "from the beginning" whether someone believed (Jn. 6:64); Paul's life "from the beginning" was among his own nation (Acts 26:4). John points to what the church had "from the beginning" i.e. the same gospel, the same Word of God, and no new commandment (1 Jn. 2:7). It was to abide in them (2:24); it is the message of love (3:11; 2 Jn. 5) which is effective through activity based on the will of God (2 Jn. 6).

The interpretation of 2 Thess. 2:13 is not quite certain. Does it mean that the → election of the readers was from the moment of their birth or from eternity? The devil was a murderer and liar "from the beginning" and has nothing to do with the truth. Hence his children can perform only their father's desires (Jn. 8:44; cf. 1 Jn. 3:8, the devil sins from the beginning). Monogamy goes back to the beginning of creation (Gen. 1:27; Matt. 19:4, 8; Mk. 10:6). Mk. 13:19 and 2 Pet. 3:4 look back to the beginning of the world. Acts 11:15 thinks of the first days of the church in Jerusalem, and Phil. 4:15 of the beginning of Paul's missionary activity.

(b) *Absolute beginning.* Jn. 1:1 implies something before time, i.e. not a beginning within time, but an absolute beginning, which can be affirmed only of God, of whom no temporal categories can be predicated. The Logos (→ Word) is in the strictest sense pre-existent before the → world and so before → time which begins with the world. Such is also the sense in 1 Jn. 1:1; 2:3 f. The former reference with the subject in the neut. makes the intention even clearer.

(c) *First Cause.* It is a controversial point of exegesis whether this meaning of *archē* may be assumed in Col. 1:18. Is it to be included with the cosmological statements about Christ which precede it, or should a full stop be placed after *synestēken* (hold together, v. 17) as in RSV and so begin a new chain of thought? If the former course is adopted the meaning "first cause" would seem to be indicated. In the latter case the word would take on a meaning like *aparchē*, first-fruits (→ Sacrifice). Christ is the first-fruits and the first-born from the dead. In this respect Rev. 3:14; 21:6; 22:13 are also uncertain. It is possible that Christ is here being called the First Cause of → creation, but it may be equally possible that his existence before time is meant. In this case we shall include these verses under (b) with Jn. 1:1 and 1 Jn. 1:1.

(d) *archē* has the meaning of *power, authorities, rulers* in Lk. 12:11; 20:20; Tit. 3:1, where it is linked with *exousia*, authority, and refers to the civil or religious (Jewish) authorities. The first reference states that persecution may come to the disciples from the heads of the synagogue communities. In Lk. 20:20 it is the Roman procurator in Palestine (Judea and Samaria) that is meant. Tit. 3:1 calls for obedience to the civil powers and the authorities in general.

(e) In some NT passages *archē* means an *angelic power.* As in early Rab. Judaism, the world or nature, and all its manifestations and powers are regarded as being under the control of → angels and are guided by them. Various categories or classes of angels are recognized, but the NT sees no importance in working out their grades, whether as individuals or as hierarchies. Nor does the NT introduce

us to any special functions which the *archai* exercise in contrast with the *dynameis* and the *exousiai*. This is in strong contrast to certain inter-testamental Jewish writings and primitive Christian extra-canonical ones dependent on them. Col. 1:16 is fundamental in this connection. The supernatural, heavenly beings and powers, of whom the *archai* form part, have been created through Christ and for him. Accordingly, Christ's reconciling act embraces the whole cosmos (Col. 1:20). At the present time too Christ is the head of every *archē* and *exousia* (Col. 2:10; cf. Phil. 2:10 f.). He is the ruler of the world, both in nature and history and → Lord and → head of the whole cosmos. These rulers and authorities brought him to the → cross without recognizing him (1 Cor. 2:8). But on the cross Christ disarmed these powers, robbing them of their → might (Col. 2:14 f.). By the → resurrection Christ was exalted to God's right hand above all lords, authorities, powers (*archai*), rulers and every name which can be named.

It is a striking thought that the mystery (→ Secret) of the call of the Gentiles to Christian faith should be made known to the principalities and powers in the heavenly places through the church (Eph. 3:10). The mystery of the call of the Gentiles has a cosmic meaning which reaches out into the spiritual world. This is true also of the church's → proclamation. In Eph. 6:12 the *archai* are part of the evil world of spirits ruled by the devil against which Christians have to fight. In Rom. 8:38 the *archai*, alongside angels and powers, denote a special category of heavenly or supernatural beings which are at work at the present time but cannot separate the believer from the love of God. In the events of the end-period, which bring about the establishment of God's → kingdom, Christ will destroy every *archē*, *dynamis*, and *exousia* (1 Cor. 15:24).

2. *archō* is found 85 times in the NT. In the act. it means to be the first, rule (Mk. 10:42; Rom. 15:12); in the mid. begin, commence. Very often *archō* probably translates the Aram. *šᵉrā'* (haph.) which serves as a formal introduction to a speech or action (e.g. he began to say . . .). It is often almost superfluous, and can be omitted in the Eng. translation without affecting the meaning (e.g. Matt. 4:17; 11:7, 20; 26:22; Mk. 6:7; Lk. 3:8; 15:14; Jn. 13:5; Acts 1:1; 11:4, 15). It is retained in the RSV, but see the usage in other modern translations. Sometimes it serves to separate a new action from the previous one (e.g. Matt. 26:37; Lk. 4:21; 7:15, 38, 49).

It has its full meaning in Lk. 3:23, Jesus was about thirty years old, when he began his work. Similarly it marks a temporal beginning in Matt. 16:21; and a literal beginning in Lk. 24:27, where the Risen One began his explanation of the Scriptures with Moses and the Prophets. In Jn. 8:9 the eldest went first. In 1 Pet. 4:17 judgment comes first to the household of God and then to the others. *arxamenos* may denote the place where an action begins; the word of repentance and good news had its beginnings in Galilee (Lk. 23:5; Acts 10:37).

3. *archaios* (that which has been since days of old, old) occurs 9 times in the NT. The people of an older generation, the generation in Israel which received the Word, is called *hoi archaioi*, the men of old, ancestors (Matt. 5:21; cf. v. 27 in some MSS). Some thought that Jesus was one of the old prophets, one of those who had lived in OT times and who had come back to life (Lk. 9:8, 19). Mnason of Cyprus was an *archaios mathētēs*, a disciple who had known Jesus for a long time and so also one from the first days of the church (Acts 21:16). There is an element of

hyperbole in Acts 15:7 "from days of old" (RSV "in the early days" gives a weakened rendering). God had decided the matter under debate, the preaching of the gospel to the Gentiles, and had called Peter to do it long before. The "ancient world" (2 Pet. 2:5) is the world before the flood. Satan is "the ancient serpent" – alluding to the Eden story (Gen. 3:1, 14 f.) – who was active at the beginning of the world and of human history (Rev. 12:9; 20:2). He who is in Christ, he who believes in Christ in virtue of the gift of the Holy Spirit (Rom. 8:4, 9 f.), is a → new → creation in whom the "old", the earthly nature, and with it the sinful existence lived before Christ, have passed away (2 Cor. 5:17).

4. *archēgos* is found only 4 times in the NT and is applied only to Jesus. It means:

(a) *Leader, ruler, prince.* Peter's phrase is paradoxical, when he accuses the Jews of having chosen a murderer and of having killed "the Prince of life" (RSV "Author", Acts 3:15). The expression here can mean that Jesus brings men to life, and also that Jesus Christ is the author of life (cf. Jn. 1:4). God raised up Jesus, who had been murdered on the cross, and exalted him to his right hand as *archēgos* (Acts 5:31), i.e. "as leader" (and Saviour). The expression should be taken as a parallel to Acts 2:36: God has made him *Kyrios* (→ Lord) and Christ.

(b) *Author, founder.* Heb. 2:10 speaks solemnly of Christ as *archēgos tēs sōtērias*: Jesus is pioneer and author of salvation (cf. Heb. 5:10; 6:20). "The way, the work and the image of the Christ determine the 'salvation' of man" (O. Michel, *Der Hebräerbrief, KEK* XIII, 75). Because Christ has himself reached the goal, he is not only author but also perfecter of salvation (Heb. 12:2).

5. *archōn* also means:

(a) *Ruler, lord, prince*, and is found 37 times with this meaning in the NT. Only in Rev. 1:5 is it used of Christ, where referring to Ps. 89:27(88:28), he is called the *archōn* of the kings of the earth (cf. Rev. 19:16; Phil. 2:11, *kyrios*, → Lord). Otherwise, the *archontes* are those that rule over the nations and oppress them (Matt. 20:25; Mk. 10:42). In Acts 4:25 f., Ps. 2:1 f. is quoted and applied to the co-operation of Herod and Pilate, both *archontes*, at the crucifixion of Jesus.

(b) *Authorities, chief men, those in charge.* It is used in this sense especially of the synagogue authorities (e.g. Matt. 9:18, 23; Lk. 8:41; 12:58; 18:18), the lay members of the Sanhedrin (e.g. Lk. 23:13, 35; 24:20; Jn. 3:1), members of the highest Jewish authorities in general (Jn. 7:26, 48; 12:42; Acts 3:17; 4:5, 8; 13:27) and the high priest (Acts 23:5). Exod. 2:14 is quoted in Acts 7:27: the Israelite refused to recognize Moses as his ruler, or as one set in authority over him. The *archōn* of the Pharisees (Lk. 14:1) would have been a leading Pharisee (but cf. RSV "a ruler who belonged to the Pharisees"). In Acts 14:5 Jewish and Gentile authorities are noted as being hostile to the apostle. Paul and Silas were dragged before the magistrates of Philippi (Acts 16:19). In his teaching about the state Paul says that the authorities (*archontes*) are not a cause of fear to those who do good (Rom. 13:3).

(c) In addition evil spirits are called *archōn* (→ Demon, art. *daimōn*). The Pharisees accused Jesus of driving out demons by the power of the *archōn* of the demons, meaning Beelzebul as the *diabolos* (Matt. 9:34; 10:25; 12:24; Mk. 3:22; Lk. 11:15). Satan is prince (*archōn*) of this world, who has been judged (Jn. 16:11), and cast out of heaven through the death and exaltation of Jesus (Jn. 12:31). He tries in vain to get hold of Jesus and to destroy him (Jn. 14:30). The whole of the present world is under *archontes* who are on their way to destruction (1 Cor. 2:6). They have a

wisdom which contrasts with the wisdom of God, which Paul proclaims in a mystery. It is these *archontes* who crucified Christ (1 Cor. 2:8). The *archōn* of the kingdom of the air (Eph. 2:2) is → Satan. *H. Bietenhard*
→ Caesar, Consul, Governor, → Creation

(a). G. B. Caird, *Principalities and Powers*, 1956; G. Delling, *archō, archē* etc. *TDNT* I 478–89; A. Ehrhardt, *The Beginning: A Study in the Greek Philosophical Approach to the Concept of Creation from Anaximander to St. John*, 1968; Moulton–Milligan, 81. Commentaries on *John* by B. F. Westcott, 1880; C. K. Barrett, 1955; R. Schnackenburg, 1968; R. E. Brown, 1966; L. Morris, 1971, on 1:1 f. Commentaries on *Colossians* by J. B. Lightfoot, 1879; C. F. D. Moule, 1957; F. F. Bruce, 1957; E. Lohse, 1971, on 1:15–18.
(b). J. C. M. van Winden, *In den beginne. Vroechristelijke exegese van de term beginne in Gen. 1.1*, 1967.

Belly

κοιλία — κοιλία (*koilia*), belly.

CL & OT The basic meaning of *koilia* is a hollow or cavity. In Gk. it is found with the meanings (1) belly, abdomen, bowels, stomach; (2) the abdomen as the site of the sexual organs, the womb; (3) the LXX and Rab. literature use it also metaphorically for the inner man, as a synonym for *kardia* → Heart.

NT Hence in the NT it means (1) belly, stomach (Lk. 15:16 some MSS) and, in OT quotation (Matt. 12:40 = Jon. 1:17 (2:1), Rev. 10:9f. = Ezek. 3:3); (2) the womb (Lk. 2:15, 41, 42; 2:21; 11:27, Acts 3:2); (3) the inner man (only in Jn. 7:38).

In Mk. 7:14–23 and Matt. 15:10–20 evil is said to come out of the heart (*kardia*) of man (v. 21). That which enters a man from outside, enters his stomach (v. 19). Thus in contrast with Rab. Judaism, food cannot make a man unclean. The stomach is mortal like the → body. Paul too argued with his opponents against a false evaluation of stomach and food (1 Cor. 6:13). The linking of stomach and food shows that every effort to give man's food a religious value and make it subject to all kinds of ideologies is theologically improper and therefore to be rejected. Paul uses the word metaphorically in Rom. 16:18 and Phil. 3:19 ("their god is the belly"). He rejects not merely gluttonous and sexual excess, but also undue estimation of physical life (→ Flesh).

Only Jn. 7:38 uses *koilia* of the inner man, as a synonym of *kardia*, as in the LXX. Powers are promised to those who believe, which flow from the inner man and can be given only by the Holy Spirit. *S. Wibbing*
→ Avarice, → Desire

(a). J. Behm, *koilia*, *TDNT* III 786–89; R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 1971, 303 f.
(b). G. Friedrich, *Der Brief an die Philipper*, *NTD* VIII, 1962, 121; E. Lohmeyer, *Der Brief an die Philipper*, *KEK* IX, 1953[10], 143 ff.; O. Michel, *Der Brief an die Römer*, *KEK* IV, 1955[10], 346 f.

Bethlehem

Βηθλέεμ — βηθλέεμ (*Bēthleem*), Bethlehem.

OT This is the modern Beit Lahm, a town in the Judaean hill country, some five miles south-west of Jerusalem. The Heb. *bêṯ leḥem* means "house of bread", but the name more probably derives from "house of Laḥama" (a goddess). Ephrath was probably the surrounding district, hence the distinctive form "Bethlehem Ephrathah" (Mic. 5:2). Another Bethlehem was part of Zebulun (Jos. 19:15), and was situated some seven miles north-west of Nazareth in NT Galilee. It was probably the home of Ibzan the Judge (Jdg. 12:8–10). The NT allusions are always to the Judaean town.

Prior to the monarchy Israel's hold on this part of the Judaean hills was insecure as the Philistine incursion of 2 Sam. 23:14 shows. Nevertheless there were probably early Israelite settlements there. In one of the Amarna letters the prince of Jerusalem remarks that Bit-lahmi (probably Judaean Bethlehem) had been taken over by Apiru. Israelite tribal tradition remembered the town as the birth place of the Levite who ultimately founded the sanctuary at Dan (Jdg. 17:7), and also of the concubine whose death foments an inter-tribal war (Jdg. 19:1). Asahel was buried at Bethlehem (2 Sam. 2:32), and Elhanan, one of David's mighty men, was born there (2 Sam. 23:24). Two texts link the town with Rachel's burial place (Gen. 35:19; 48:7; cf. 1 Sam. 10:2). It seems likely that Bethlehem remained one of the smaller Judaean towns, though according to the Chronicler, it was rebuilt or fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chr. 11:6). The post-exilic lists of exiles indicate a relatively small community (Ezr. 2:21; Neh. 7:26).

Bethlehem's permanent theological significance rests exclusively in its claim to be David's birth place (1 Sam. 16:4; 17:12; 17:15; 20:6; 20:28). This claim is integral to the stories of Ruth, which link both her and her family with Bethlehem (1:22), and also with David himself (4:12). With the development of an eschatological theology, in which a Davidic → Messiah was central, it was naturally believed that Bethlehem would be his place of origin. In extant intertestamental literature the Judaean origins of a Messiah are regularly affirmed, though Bethlehem itself does not figure with any prominence. This sparsity of evidence is probably accidental, and it seems reasonable to suppose that the town was important in later Jewish expectation (cf. Jn. 7:42).

The crucial text for NT theology is clearly Mic. 5:2, one of the foundation stones for Christian messianic interpretation. The main stress in this text is on the contrast between the numerical insignificance of Bethlehem's population and its theological importance as the place from which, like David of old, Israel's ideal ruler will come.

NT In Matthew's Gospel Bethlehem is identified as the birth place of Jesus (2:1), and as the place to which the magi are therefore directed (2:5; 2:8). His main purpose here is to show the fulfilment of Micah's prophecy, and his quotation of Mic. 5:2 follows the MT closely, though he does omit the last two lines of the verse. In thus neglecting material which might have given him opportunity to affirm the pre-existence of Jesus he clearly wishes to concentrate solely on Jesus' messianic role. This quotation is just one element in a substantial network of OT texts which are interpreted and elaborated in the special Matthaean material of chapters 1–2. Herod's massacre of the infants at Bethlehem (2:17–18) is likewise associated with Jer. 31:15. In the context of Matthaean theology as a whole the birth at Bethlehem conveys the fact of Jesus as Messiah.

In Luke this specialized Jewish interest is absent. Though he draws no explicit theological conclusion from Jesus' birth at Bethlehem, Luke adheres firmly to this particular tradition (2:15). The description of the census (2:1–3) is the Evangelist's means of showing how Jesus, a Galilean, came to be born at Bethlehem.

P. J. Budd

→ Messiah, → Fullness, art. *plēroō*

C. Kopp, *The Holy Places of the Gospels*, 1963, 1–47; R. H. Gundry, *The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel*, 1967, 91 ff., 205–34; R. Laurentin, *Structure et Théologie de Luc I–II*, 1964; W. M. Ramsay, *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* 1892².

Bind

δέω — δέω (*deō*) bind, tie.

CL & OT *deō* (pre-Homeric), bind, fasten to, fetter. In the LXX it is used mainly for Heb. *'āsar*, but only in the lit. meaning of binding with a thread or rope and not the figurative sense of binding with an oath. A tied thread can be a sign of recognition (Gen. 38:28), but *deō* is used chiefly for tying up animals (2 Ki. 7:10), or the binding and fettering of men (so frequently in Jdg. 15 f.). Love can be said metaphorically to bind (Cant. 7:5, (6), RSV "is held captive").

NT In the NT as in the LXX, *deō* is frequently used literally, of tying up or securing an animal (Mk. 11:2 par.) or binding a man (Matt. 14:3 par; Acts 9:2). In Col. 4:3 Paul's being bound (RSV, NEB "in prison") is an expression of the mystery of Christ, a sign that even in the greatest affliction God's power is at work (cf. 2 Tim. 2:9). *deō* is used symbolically in Acts 20:22, where Paul sees his plans and travels bound by the Spirit of God. This binding controls his actions like a command which he cannot avoid. It is also symbolic in Rom. 7:2 and 1 Cor. 7:27, 39, where it is used for the binding of husband and wife to each other. The binding in Matt. 16:19 and 18:18 recalls the Heb. *'āsar* which denotes both teaching authority (to determine what is forbidden) and disciplinary power (to place under a ban). "Binding and loosing" was a technical term in Rab. Jud. for the authority of the rabbis in teaching and discipline. The passages in Matt. are concerned with the judicial function to be exercised by Peter, or the disciples. This did not lie in a personal authority given to him or to them, divorced from the Gospel. It lies rather in the nature of the Word of God itself as it is proclaimed. Wherever the message entrusted to the disciples is rejected, it inevitably binds people to their unforgiven guilt to await the coming judgment (cf. Jn. 12:47 f.). This is where the authority given to the disciples by virtue of their message is fundamentally different from the authority claimed by Rab. casuistry. Consequently the messengers themselves do not know in the last analysis who has been loosed and who has been bound by their message, for this rests alone with the divine Judge. In Matt. 13:30, the harvest is a picture of the judgment and the binding of the weeds symbolizes condemnation (cf. also Matt. 22:13 f.). Binding should not be confused with mistaken efforts to create a pure Messianic community here and now by separating out sinners. The best illustration of Matt. 16:19 and 18:18 is probably Matt. 10:12–15 (J. Jeremias,

The Parables of Jesus, 1963², 216 f.). This is not the act of pronouncing a human judgment on actions that are regarded with disfavour (as in Rab. thought), but of handing the matter over to God and letting him pass judgment.

W. von Meding, D. Müller

(a). J. B. Bauer, "Binding and Loosing," *EBT* I 67; F. Büchsel, *deō*, *TDNT* II 60 f., H. von Campenhausen, *Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power in the First Three Centuries of the Church*, 1969; C. H. Dodd, *NTS* 2, 1955–56, 85 f.; A. M. Honeyman, *JBL* 71, 1952, 11–18; J. Jeremias, *kleis*, *TDNT* III 744–53; and *The Parables of Jesus*, 1963², 216 f.; E. Käsemann, "Ministry and Community in the New Testament," in *Essays on New Testament Themes*, 1964, 63–94; E. Schweizer, *Church Order in the New Testament*, 1961, 21 ff., 56 ff., 82 f.; H. J. Schoeps, "The Expository Character of the Aqedath Isaac," *Paul*, 1961, 141–49.
(b). P. Boccaccio, *Biblica* 33, 1952, 173–90; G. Lambert, "Lier – Délier," *Vivre et Penser* 3, 1943–44, 91–103; O. Michel, *RAC* II 374–80; "Echtheitsfragen und Deutungen der Primatsstelle Mt. 16, 18 f. in der deutschen protestantischen Theologie der Letzten 30 Jahre," *NTAbh* 21, 1961, 3 f.; SB I 738–47; H. Thyen, "Schlüsselgewalt," *RGG*³ V 1449 f.
→ Apostle for works on Peter's role in the early church.

Bird

πετεινόν — πετεινόν (*peteinon*), bird.

CL The adj. *peteinos* means able to fly, winged. In its neut. form *peteinon* it means a bird. It is connected with the vbs. *petomai* (Homer onwards), fly, and *petannymi* and its cognates, spread out. In the Graeco-Roman world some birds were held as sacred. They could also represent the deity and be used for omens (*OCD*, 154, 169, 356 f.). But this did not obtain in Israel or the church.

OT In the creation narrative birds are described by the expression *kol-'ôp̄ kānāp̄*, every winged bird (Gen. 1:21; cf. Ps. 78:27). The term *ṣippôr kānāp̄*, winged birds, occurs in Deut. 4:17 and Ps. 148:10. *'ôp̄* is also used of insects (Lev. 11:20 f.; Deut. 14:19).

The OT distinguishes between clean and unclean birds (Lev. 11:13–19; Deut. 14:11–20). Generally speaking, the latter are birds of prey. In post-biblical times the Mishnah proffered the following clarification: "Any bird that seizes food in its claws is unclean; and any that has an extra talon and a craw and the skin of whose stomach can be stripped off, is clean" (Hullin 3:6). Numerous references to hunters, fowlers and traps suggest that birds were eaten for food (Lev. 17:13; Job 18:8 ff.; Ps. 124:7; Prov. 6:5; Jer. 5:27; Hos. 7:12; Amos 3:5). Doves and pigeons were offered in sacrifice (Lev. 1:14 ff.; 14; cf. Gen. 8:20). On the birth of a child the mother was to offer a lamb for a burnt offering and a young pigeon or a turtledove for a sin offering to make atonement, but in cases of poverty two turtledoves or two young pigeons, one for a burnt offering and the other for a sin offering (Lev. 12:6 ff.). The fact that the parents of Jesus offered the latter is an indication of their poverty (Lk. 2:24).

Numerous species of birds are mentioned in the OT (for details see the works listed in the bibliography). In many cases precise identification is difficult in view of the fact that strict classification is a relatively modern science. The *rāḥām* of Lev. 11:18 and Deut. 14:17 is now thought to be the Egyptian vulture. *nešer* is probably a general term which includes all large birds of prey, but particularly the eagle and the vulture. Here, as with → animals in both the OT and the NT,

characteristics and behaviour are used to illustrate religious and moral truth. Referring to the exodus from Egypt, Moses is charged to remind the people how Yahweh bore them "on eagles' wings" and brought them to himself (Exod. 19:4; cf. Ps. 103:5; Deut. 32:11; Jer. 49:22; Obad. 4). "They who wait for the Lord shall renew their strength, they shall mount up with wings like eagles, they shall run and not be weary, they shall walk and not faint" (Isa. 40:31). The order here of soaring, running and walking might at first sight suggest an anticlimax. But in the context of the promised release from captivity and exile, the prophecy indicates the exhilaration of release (as in Exod. 19:4) followed by the promised sustenance throughout the long pilgrim, homeward journey.

The eagle also appears as one of the four living creatures in Ezek. 1:10 (cf. Rev. 4:7, → Animal) and in contexts of judgment (Deut. 28:49; Hab. 1:8; Jer. 49:16; cf. Hos. 8:1; Lam. 4:19). The behaviour of the eagle or griffon-vulture (Job 39:27–30) whose ways are far beyond man's comprehension or control are not beyond God's. It presents a picture of the unfathomable wisdom of God. Birds and animals present a contrast with Israel. For whereas they know their ways, Israel has turned away from his (Jer. 8:7; cf. Isa. 1:3).

Birds can depict desolation (Ps. 102:6 f.; Isa. 34:11; Zeph. 2:14). But they can also be the object of God's care (Job 38:41; Pss. 84:3; 147:9). The flitting of the sparrow and swallow illustrates the ineffectuality of a causeless curse under the providence of God (Prov. 26:2). Birds may also serve man (Gen. 8:6–12). Elijah subsisted for a time on the food of the ravens (1 Ki. 17:4 ff.). Flocks of quails providentially provided Israel with food in the exodus wanderings (Exod. 16:13; Num. 11:31 f.; Ps. 105:40).

NT As in the OT, birds illustrate the workings of divine providence. Apart from the reference to Peter's denial of Jesus three times before cock crow (Matt. 26:34, 75; Mk. 14:30, 72; Lk. 22:34, 61; Jn. 18:27), virtually all the other allusions to birds have a theological significance. Jesus urged the disciples not to be anxious even about the necessities of life. God provides for the birds who know nothing of anxious toil. Are not his children of more value than they? (Matt. 6:26; Lk. 12:24). The thought is taken a step further with the reminder to would-be followers that foxes (→ Animal) have holes and birds have nests, but the Son of Man has nowhere to lay his head (Matt. 8:20; Lk. 9:58). It is a summons to utter trust and abandonment to the providence of the Father. The question: "Are not two sparrows (*strouthion*) sold for a penny? And not one of them will fall to the ground without your Father's will" (Matt. 10:29; cf. Lk. 12:6) underlines the stark realities of the situation. The birds were not sold as pets but as food for the poor (cf. A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 1927, 272 ff.). The saying follows a warning not to fear those who kill the body and can do no more, but to fear him who has power to kill and to cast into → hell. The saying, therefore, does not promise being spared from suffering and → death. But it gives assurance of God's love and providential ordering in life and death. It expresses tersely and poignantly what Paul expressed in his exultant celebration of God's providence in Rom. 8:28–39.

Birds feature in the parables of the sower and the mustard seed. In the former they depict the activity of the devil in removing the seed of the word which is not

understood (Matt. 13:4, 19; Mk. 4:4, 15; Lk. 8:5, 12). In the latter, the fact that birds can make nests in the branches of what once was a tiny seed that they might so easily have consumed emphasizes the sureness of the growth of the kingdom from apparently insignificant beginnings (Matt. 13:32; Mk. 4:32; Lk. 13:19).

One of the most striking sayings in the gospels is Matt. 23:37 ff.: "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, killing the prophets and stoning those who are sent to you! How often would I have gathered your children together as a hen (*ornis*) gathers her brood (*nossia*) under her wings (*pterygas*) and you would not! Behold, your house is forsaken and desolate. For I tell you, you will not see me again, until you say, 'Blessed be he who comes in the name of the Lord' " (cf. Lk. 13:34 f.; the saying is widely attributed to Q). The EVV usually have "hen", but *ornis* is a general word for bird. The imagery may be suggested by Ps. 84(83):3, where the Psalmist sees birds and their young finding sanctuary in God's house and sees this as a picture of man's true well-being, and by the reference to wings in Ps. 57:1 (56:2) (cf. SB I 943) and Ps. 91:4.

In view of the fact that the synoptics do not record a repeated ministry of Jesus in Jerusalem, and the fact that the saying appears detached from any particular context in Lk. it has been suggested that the saying may be regarded as an utterance of the risen Christ (cf. E. E. Ellis, *The Gospel of Luke*, 1966, 190; W. Grundmann, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas*, 1959, ad loc.). The words are reminiscent of Stephen (Acts 6:3, 13 f.; 7:47–58). The "I" would then include the disciples like the "me" in Acts 9:4. But the conjecture is unnecessary. For the saying fits the context of Jesus' earthly ministry. Matt. locates it at the climax of Jesus' public confrontation with the scribes and the Pharisees in the temple (cf. 21:23; 22:23; 24:1). In particular, Jesus is addressing the crowds commenting on the scribes and Pharisees after a series of arguments with them (cf. 23:1). Far from being a source of light and refuge, the religious leaders have been foremost in misleading the people and persecuting the men of God – both in the past and in Jesus' own day. The reference to → Jerusalem need not imply repeated visits, but rather Jesus' concern for Jerusalem as the focal point of Judaism, centred on the temple which should have been the true sanctuary of God for the people. The saying actually implies that Jesus himself is the true sanctuary and thus he assumes the role of both the temple and Yahweh as the refuge of the people.

The saying may be applied to Jesus' earthly ministry. But the context in Matt. may also suggest a wider application. For it follows the denunciation of these who build the tombs of the prophets and upon whom will come the blood of the righteous from Abel to Zechariah (Matt. 23:29–36; cf. Lk. 11:45–52). The first person sing. of v. 37 might be identified with that of v. 34. In Lk. 11:49, the parallel to v. 34, the one who sends prophets and apostles whom men kill is called the → Wisdom of God who may be identified with Jesus (cf. 1 Cor. 1:24; Col. 2:3). In other words, Jesus' desire to protect the children of Jerusalem in his earthly ministry is but the climax of the same divine desire throughout history. The sayings in both Matt. and Lk. make it clear that the day of opportunity is irrevocably lost. Judgment involving the desolation of the house of Israel is now inevitable. At the same time it will vindicate Jesus whose messianic return will then be welcomed (Matt. 23:39; Lk. 13:35; cf. Ps. 118:26; SB I, 849 f., 876).

It would be more natural to identify the *aetoi* gathered over the body in Matt. 24:28 and Lk. 17:37 with vultures rather than eagles (cf. G. S. Cansdale, *Animals of Bible Lands*, 1970, 142). But the eagle is a symbol of might and judgment (Hab. 1:8; cf. Job 39:30; Prov. 30:17 → above OT). There may also be a hint in this cryptic saying of the standards of the Roman legions through which the judgment on Jerusalem and the vindication of Christ was effected in A.D. 70. (On the interpretation of the apocalyptic language in this passage see J. M. Kik, *Matthew Twenty-Four*, 1948.) Whatever the particular nuances in this verse, it clearly indicates that the coming of Christ will not be secret but will be obvious to all (cf. Matt. 24:23–7; Lk. 17:23 ff.), and it will be in judgment.

On the offering of Jesus' parents (Lk. 2:24; cf. Matt. 21:12; Mk. 11:15; Jn. 2:14, 16) see above OT. From the viewpoint of ancient science the dove (*peristera*) has no bile, and it became a symbol of virtues for the early Christians (Arndt, 657; W. Bauer, *Das Leben Jesu*, 1909, 117). This finds expression in the saying: "Be wise as serpents and innocent as doves" (Matt. 10:16). At the baptism of Jesus the → Holy Spirit appeared "as a dove" (Matt. 3:16; Mk. 1:10; Lk. 3:22; Jn. 1:32). The symbolism here may have various facets. It may recall the Spirit of God brooding on the waters (cf. Gen. 1:2; Hagigah 15a), suggesting the guiding presence of the Creator Spirit in the new creative work about to begin through Christ (cf. 2 Cor. 4:6 and Jn. 1:1 ff. for passages which link the work of Christ with that of creation). In late Jewish literature the dove symbolized the Spirit of God (Targ. Cant. 2:12) and also the community of Israel (Hos. 7:11; cf. SB I 123 ff.). This may suggest the idea of the recreation of Israel through the one who has been baptized and on whom the Spirit of God rests. In Philo it is a symbol of wisdom. "The coming of the Spirit of God – whose activity in the present time was denied by the rabbis, though they expected a great outpouring in the eschatological Messianic age – upon Jesus indicates his endowment with power, wisdom and holiness for the fulfilment of the Messianic ministry (cf. Ps. Sol. 17:37; 1 Enoch 49:3; Test. Levi 18:6 ff.)" (D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 1972, 97; see further W. Telfer, "The Form of a Dove," *JTS* 29, 1928, 238–42; H. Gressmann, "Die Sage von der Taufe Jesu und der vorderorientalischen Taubengöttin," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 20, 1920–21, 1–40, 323–59; F. Sühling, *Die Taube als religiöses Symbol im christlichen Altertum*, 1930; H. Greeven, *peristera*, *TDNT* VI, 63–72; L. E. Keck, "The Spirit and the Dove," *NTS* 17, 1970, 41–67).

Peter's vision of a great sheet containing all kinds of animals, reptiles and birds (Acts 10:12; 11:6) which he was commanded to kill and eat, symbolized that God now accepted what was hitherto unclean (see above OT). The way was open to receive Gentiles into the fellowship of the church, as they had already received the Holy Spirit.

Rom. 1:23 (cf. Acts 17:29) recalls the Second Commandment (Exod. 20:4; Deut. 5:8). The visual representation of God in animal and bird images shows the misguided nature of heathen religion. Jas. 3:7 compares the tongue with birds and animals that can be domesticated. The tongue cannot be tamed. On Rev. 4:7 → OT above and → Animal. The eagle also appears in Rev. 8:17 announcing woes to those on earth. *C. Brown*

→ Animal, → Dragon, → Fish

G. S. Cansdale, *Animals of Bible Lands*, 1970, 140–93; G. R. Driver, "Birds in the Old Testament",

PEQ 86, 1954, 5 ff.; 87, 1955, 129 ff.; "Once Again: Birds in the Bible", *PEQ*, 90, 1958, 50 ff.; W. S. McCullough, *IDB* I, 459 f.; A. Parmelee, *All the Birds of the Bible*, 1960. (See also Addenda, p.822).

Birth, Beget, Bear, Become, Miscarriage, Regeneration, Well-born

These words all have to do with birth, both literally and metaphorically. *tiktō* means to bring forth or bear. The more frequently used *gennaō* means both to bear and to beget. It is used of the birth of Jesus and, with the prefix *ana-* in Jn., of the renewal of man in rebirth by the Holy Spirit. *palingenesia* means regeneration both of an individual and of the world order. *ginomai* originally meant to be born, but in the NT this meaning has faded and the vb. is used with the general meaning of become, take place, be. The nouns *genea* (race, generation) and *genesis* (birth, origin, genealogy) are derived from it (for *genea* → Generation). *ektrōma* means miscarriage.

γεννάω

γεννάω (*gennaō*), beget, become the father of, bear; ἀναγεννάω (*anagennaō*), cause to be born again, bear again.

CL *gennaō* is a causal form of *ginomai* (Liddell-Scott, 344). Cf. the back-formation *genna*, origin, race, birth. It belongs to the same root *gen-* which appears in various Lat. words like *genus* (race), Old High German *Kind* (child) and various derivatives via Lat. such as pregnant, malignant (cf. Lat. *(g)nascor*, to be born; *natus*, born, birth; *natura*, birth, nature; *naevus*, birth mark, mole).

Like → *tiktō* and *teknoō*, *gennaō* is used of begetting by the father and bearing by the mother as in the Heb. equivalents, the LXX and the NT. This is certainly the case in later Gk. literature (Apollodorus, Lucian, Plutarch). In the secular world of NT times *gennaō* has the meaning of *come into being* as well as *produce* in a metaphorical or vague general sense (cf. 2 Tim. 2:23 of quarrels; Gal. 4:24 of the covenants).

The compound *anagennaō* has the meaning of cause to be born again. The frequently assumed derivation of the expression from the mystery religions is improbable, for the vb. has so far only been traced to a single late passage in which Sallustius (4th cent. A.D.) speaks of initiates as *hōsper anagennōmenōn* (as born again, *De deis et mundo* 4; cf. G. Wagner, *Pauline Baptism and the Pagan Mysteries*, 1967, 235). In the Hel. period the idea of the *renatus* (Lat. one born again) occurs in the cults of Mithras and Isis (cf. F. Büchsel, *TDNT* I 673; cf. Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, II, 21). G. Wagner observes: "The assertion that Paul is dependent on the mystery religions because he shares the idea of rebirth with them is misleading, not only because this idea is not at all frequent in the mystery religions and never occurs in the first century A.D., but also because Paul never uses the term" (op. cit., 270).

OT In the LXX OT *gennaō* is used chiefly for Heb. *yālaḏ* (bear, bring forth, mostly in hiph.). Occasionally it translates *hārâh* (conceive, become pregnant). In

addition to the lit. usages, there is the fig. in Job 38:28; "Has the rain a father, or who has begotten (Heb. *hôlîḏ*; Gk. *ho tetokōs*) the drops of dew?"

1. The words → father and son (→ Child) are sometimes used in an address as a sign of trust or affection (1 Sam. 3:16; 24:12; 2 Ki. 2:12). Unlike the NT (→ NT, 2), *gennaō* is never used in such contexts. Neither is it used in those passages which speak of Israel as God's firstborn (Exod. 4:22; 23:4; → First), or God as the father and the Israelites as his sons. The absence of this vb. in this connection indicates a marked contrast between Israel and the surrounding culture. The OT sharply dissociates itself from the procreation myths. Israel is Yahweh's people not by natural procreation but by → election.

2. Two passages in the Pss. speak of the begetting of the king-messiah by God (Heb. *yālaḏ*, Gk. *gennaō*). "I will tell of the decree of the Lord: He said to me, 'You are my son, today I have begotten you' " (Ps. 2:7). "Before [the creation of] the morning star I begat thee" (Ps. 110:3 LXX; but cf. the Heb. MT "From the womb of the dawn the dew of thy youth comes to thee").

The idea that the king as the earthly representative of the deity was the "son of God" was current in the ancient East. Scholars have seen remarkable parallels in Egypt and Mesopotamia which lead them to think that Israel has clearly drawn on them. G. von Rad sees the rite in 2 Sam. 7 and the Pss. as almost copies of the rites of the Egyptian court which had long been conventionalized (*Old Testament Theology*, I, 1962, 40). But Israel had refashioned the idea in the light of its belief in Yahweh. The Egyptians had the mythological idea that Pharaoh was the physical son of the God Amun. The OT idea comes nearer to the Mesopotamian ritual in which the king who has been installed by the gods is a chosen servant (op. cit., 320). But the sonship of the Israelite king rests neither upon physical begetting nor upon the thought that through the act of enthronement the king somehow physically entered the sphere of the divine. M. Noth comments: "Possibly as a deliberate reaction to this ancient oriental conception, the formula of adoption is used to describe the relationship; the God-King relationship has no foundation in Being and the King is not divine, but he is declared to be a son when he ascends the throne – by a manifestation of the divine will. Probably when the heirs of David acceded to power the formula of adoption was solemnly pronounced (Ps. ii, 7, and perhaps also Ps. cx, 3). This means that the relationship was confirmed, on a historical basis, at each new accession" (*The History of Israel*, 1958, 223). The word "today" (Ps. 2:7) also points to sonship by adoption. (See further A. A. Anderson, *The Book of Psalms*, I, 1972, 67 ff.; K. A. Kitchen, *Ancient Orient and the Old Testament*, 1966, 106–11; G. von Rad, "The Royal Ritual in Judah" in *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays*, 1966, 225 ff.) The connection of the Psalm passages with the prophecy of Nathan (2 Sam. 7) is extensive. They have their basis in the declaration "which the prophet Nathan made to David and his dynasty for all time" (H.-J. Kraus, *Die Psalmen*, 1960, I, 20 f.).

The line of christological interpretation in the NT starts here (cf. Matt. 22:43 f.; Mk. 12:36 f.; Lk. 20:42 f.; Acts 4:25; 13:33; 1 Cor. 15:25; Heb. 1:5, 13; Rev. 2:27). The absence of physical procreation is shown by the reference to the "seed of David" (Heb. *zera'*) which is used in the sing. collectively of David's posterity. The tension between human parentage and the role of God which appears in accounts of Jesus' birth and descent (Matt. 1:16; cf. vv. 1, 6, 20; Lk. 1:33b, 35b; cf.

3:23–38) is already present in the OT view of kingship. The son-passages of Isa. 7 and 9 do not use *gennaō*. Apart from an apocryphal passage (Sir. prologue 28 *v.l.*), *anagennaō* does not occur in the LXX.

3. In Palestinian Judaism the thought of God begetting occurs only in connection with messianic expectation. It is remarkable that in all the voluminous rab. literature there is only one reference which applies Ps. 2:7 to the Messiah (Suk. 52a). This silence is apparently due to the rabbis' opposition to the Christian church which had applied Ps. 2 to Jesus' sonship. However, the Dead Sea Scrolls relate Nathan's prophecy (especially 2 Sam. 7:14a) to the "seed of David" (4Qflor. 1:10 ff. and perhaps 1QSa. 2:11). But there is no thought of the Messiah as God's son in a physical sense in the ancient synagogue, nor is there of pre-existence (SB IV, 1 452–65). The thought of Ps. 2:7 is taken up in Pss.Sol. 17:23 . But significantly the begetting of the Messiah is not.

4. In Hel.Jud. Philo used *gennaō* of God in describing his work as creator (*Leg.All.* 3, 219). The logos (→ Word), animals and plants are begotten by God (*Conf.Ling.* 63; *Mut.Nom.* 63; cf. *Migr.Abr.* 35). But Philo did not apply the idea to the relation of God to the devout. Philo's use of the word contrasts with the Nicene Creed in the 4th cent. which used *gennaō* of the Father's begetting the Son but *ktizō* (create) of the world.

"In the Mysteries ideas and processes from sex life play an important part . . . . On the other hand, there seems to be no reference to the birth of an initiate through a goddess or to his begetting by a god. In pre-Christian times, at least, the real thought is that of adoption" (F. Büchsel, *TDNT* I 669).

anagennaō does not occur in Philo. But in Josephus it is quite common and is, e.g., applied to fruit. The noun *anagennēsis* (new birth) is used by Philo to express the Stoic doctrine of world renewal after the universal conflagration (*ekpyrōsis*, cf. *Aet.Mund.* 8). He usually calls this → *palingenesia* (rebirth, regeneration cf. *Aet.Mund.* 9). *anagennēsis* was not necessarily a Stoic term (F. Büchsel, *TDNT* I 673). *anagennaō* was a quite common vb. in NT times and was not confined to the mystery cults.

NT *gennaō* occurs 97 times in the NT, including 45 times in Matt. and 28 times in the Johannine literature. However, there is no particular emphasis in its use in the NT. Other terms that are used are → *tiktō* (bring forth, bear), *apokyeō* (give birth, bear, in the NT only fig. Jas. 1:15, 18), *ōdinō* (suffer birth pangs, Gal. 4:19; Rev. 12:2; → Lament, art. *lypeō*); cf. also *palingenesia*, regeneration; *anakainōsis*, renewal. The actual meaning of *gennaō* must be determined by the context in both its active and passive forms, as it is used both of the father and the mother as in cl. Gk. (cf. Matt. 1:3, 5 f.; 2:1, 4; 19:12; Lk. 1:13; Jn. 9:34; 16:21; Gal. 4:23). It is, however, used in a fig. or extended sense as follows:

1. Various passages apply the term to God himself who is said to have begotten someone.

(a) Ps. 2:7 is quoted by Acts 13:33 and Heb. 1:5; 5:5. Significantly the passages in Heb. relate it to Ps. 110 and 2 Sam. 7:14. Jesus Christ is seen as the true → Son and God's → King. He has fulfilled what the Israelite kings left unfulfilled. For as the crucified and risen One, he has assumed the office of the Lord's anointed as the truly anointed One. Strikingly, the NT does not apply Ps. 2:7 to the birth narratives

of Jesus. Wherever Ps. 2 is quoted in the NT, a physical, sexual begetting is utterly precluded. Acts 13:33 applies the words "this day have I begotten thee" to the → resurrection of Jesus. On the other hand, the variant reading in the Western Text of Lk. 3:22 (Codex Bezae, the Old Lat. versions, Justin and Origen) quotes the words of Ps. 2:7 and applies them to Jesus at his baptism. It is not easy to determine the precise significance of "today" in Heb. 1:5 and 5:5. H. Strathmann thinks that it refers to the baptism of Jesus and that the second half of Ps. 2:7 was quoted in Heb. simply because it formed part of the text (J. Jeremias and H. Strathmann, *Die Briefe an Timotheus und Titus; Der Brief an die Hebräer*, NTD 9, 1963[8], 78 f.). E. Käsemann identifies it with the confirmation of sonship through a heavenly proclamation after the exaltation (*Das Wandernde Gottesvolk*, 58 ff.). However the word "today" may be understood, it is clear that the begetting by God goes beyond the OT understanding of adoption. The passages are concerned with the declaration and proclamation of what the Son already is. Jesus' sonship denotes the mystery of the incarnation of God. Jesus is the last Adam (*ho eschatos Adam*, 1 Cor. 15:45). "The idea that this generation must be thought of either in the sense of adoption or in that of the Virgin Birth rests on a misconception of the early Christian belief in Christ and understanding of Scripture, and especially of the basic significance of the resurrection of Jesus and the resultant beginning of the new *aiōn*, in short of the eschatological impulse in early Christian thinking" (F. Büchsel, *TDNT* I 670).

(b) The Johannine writings use the expression *gennēthēnai ek* (to be begotten of) to describe the origin of the believer. The phrase may be compared with *(ex)-erchesthai ek* (come [forth] from, cf. Jn. 8:42 where Jesus is speaking of himself) and *einai ek* (be from, cf. Acts 5:39 of events, and 1 Jn. 3:10 of men). The believer knows that his true existence does not belong to this world; his beginning and end are in God through Jesus Christ. In the dialogue with Nicodemus the references to being born (*gennēthēnai*) mean that man must receive a new origin. He must exchange his old nature for a new and be born again (Jn. 3:3, 5, 6, 7, 8; cf. R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 1971, ad loc.). The idea of being "born again" expresses the same essential idea as being born "of God" (*ek tou theou*, 1 Jn. 3:9; cf. 2:29; 4:7) and being born "from above" (*anōthen*, Jn. 3:7; cf. 8:23). Jn. describes this as an act of God: "But to all who received him, who believed in his name, he gave power to become children of God; who were born, not of blood nor of the will of the flesh nor of the will of man, but of God" (Jn. 1:12 f.). To the human mind such rebirth is necessarily absurd (Jn. 3:4), for it is beyond man's capacity. But Jn. attributes this to the work of the → Spirit (3:5–8). Only the believer who has been born of the Spirit comprehends his origin and is thus able to see the → Kingdom of God (3:5; cf. Matt. 19:28).

A number of scholars are of the opinion that the expression *anōthen gennēthēnai* (to be born from above) is derived from gnosticism. *anōthen* (from above) is not only applied to rebirth (Jn. 3:3, 7) but to the power given to Pilate from above (Jn. 19:11). Jesus compared himself who is from above (*anō*) with his adversaries who are from below (*katō*) (Jn. 8:23). But *anōthen* can also mean "again". This birth is also described as being of water (*ex hydatos*) and the Spirit (Jn. 3:5). But in Jn. 1 and 1 Jn. there is no reference to water or baptism. Both Jn. and Paul appear to regard baptism as something secondary and less important (Jn. 4:2; 1 Cor. 1:14–

17). The questions have not received sufficient attention whether water in Jn. 3:5 does not refer to creation (Gen. 1:2), and whether washing does not follow birth (as in human birth). It is only with Justin and Irenaeus in the 2nd cent. that rebirth became a synonym for → baptism (→ Water, art. *hydōr*). ([Ed.] On the question of the possibility of a gnostic background to the NT see E. Yamauchi, *Pre-Christian Gnosticism*, 1973.)

2. Paul uses *gennaō* in 1 Cor. 4:15 and Phlm. 10 of his relationship with his converts. He could even speak of being in labour (*ōdinō*) or suffering birth pangs until Christ is formed in them (Gal. 4:19). The same thoughts lie behind those passages which speak of his "son" in the faith (1 Cor. 4:17; 1 Tim. 1:2; 2 Tim. 2:1; cf. 1 Pet. 5:13).

Rabbinic Judaism spoke in a similar way of winning proselytes (→ Conversion, art. *prosēlytos*). The command to be fruitful (Gen. 1:28; 9:7) was sometimes taken to mean that the Israelite had to win others to his faith. The idea of new birth through conversion to Judaism was common among the rabbis (SB III 339 f. on 1 Cor. 4:14 f.). "When a man teaches the son of another the Torah, the Scriptures treat him as if he had begotten him" (San. 19b; cf. 99b). "A proselyte who has been converted is like a child who has just been born" (Yeb. 22a). K. H. Rengstorf sees in the rab. attitude a sense of standing beside God as a creator *ex nihilo* (*TDNT* I 666). Paul's language in the passages discussed seems to have taken over and adopted Jewish ideas.

3. The vb. *anagennaō* occurs only in 1 Pet. 1:3 and 23 in the form of a participle where it means "born anew". Its meaning is similar to *gennēthēnai* in Jn. 3:3 f. (see above, and *palingenesia* below). "The NT did not 'take over' the concepts of rebirth and begetting from the mystery religions, as the old history of religions school assumed; it developed it out of its own fundamental concerns and under the stimulus of the hellenistic and Jewish world around it. The oldest NT passage (1 Pet. 1:3, 23) stands in close connection with the tradition of the OT and Judaism which saw the holy people of God as strangers (1 Pet. 1:1–2:10)" (L. Goppelt, *RGG*[3] VI 1697). Through the gospel that has been preached, the word of the living God (1:23), believers have been born anew, i.e. they have been called by God into new life. This new life is summed up as *elpis zōsa* (living → hope, 1:3) and *agapē* (→ love, 1:22). New birth is not in the NT something that a man can take up and dispose of as he pleases. It is only possible by God's "great mercy" (1:5) and power (1:5). "In the resurrection of Jesus God has had mercy on us in an omnipotent, regal and free way, so that he removed once and for all in Jesus Christ the whole reality of death. He has crossed out and overthrown our claim that our life is real life. He has brought another new, abiding and unspotted life so near to our life that we can grasp the new and let go of the old" (H.-J. Iwand, *Predigt-Meditationen*, 344). The believer possesses his life in hope. On the one hand, his existence stands under the indicative: "we have been born anew to a living hope through the resurrection of Jesus from the dead" (1:3). On the other hand, he stands under the imperative: "set your hope fully upon the grace that is coming to you at the revelation of Jesus Christ" (1:13). He does this as one born anew realizing moment by moment the separation from the old aeon that has been overcome. The decisive factor which makes rebirth possible is God's act in the resurrection of Jesus Christ.

A. Ringwald

γίνομαι

γίνομαι (*ginomai*), be begotten, be born, become, come about, happen; ἀπογίνομαι (*apoginomai*), die; γένεσις (*genesis*), birth, origin.

CL & OT 1. *ginomai* is an Ionic and secondary form of *gignomai* which became common from the 4th cent. B.C. It has several shades of meaning: come into being, be produced (of things), take place (of events), become.

2. In the LXX, in addition to its ordinary use, it also occurs as a substitute for forms of *einai* (to be). The construction *kai egeneto . . . kai* (and it happened . . . and Gen. 4:8 and often) renders a Heb. construction that is strange in Gk. (*way^{e}hî . . . wa*, and it came to pass that . . .). See Funk § 442(5); Moulton, *Grammar*, III 334 f.

3. *apoginomai* is a compound using the prefix *apo* (from), and means to go away, cease, depart, i.e. die. It does not occur in the LXX.

4. *genesis* (origin, birth) is a cognate of *ginomai*. It occurs in the LXX as the title of Genesis and mostly as the equivalent of *tôlēḏôṯ* (generations, Gen. 2:4; 5:1 etc.) and to a lesser extent of *môleḏeṯ* (kindred, Gen. 31:13; 32:9).

NT 1. *ginomai* is used in the NT in a variety of connections.

(a) It means to be born (Gal. 4:4); grow (of fruit, Matt. 21:19); arise, happen, be (of various occurrences, Matt. 8:26; Acts 6:1; 12:18); to be made, be done (Jn. 1:3; Matt. 11:21); to become something (Mk. 1:17); to come (Gal. 3:14). *ginomai* is sometimes used with a verbal adj. to denote a passive: "they did not confess it lest" *aposynagōgoi genōntai* (lit. become ones put out of the synagogue, cf. RSV "be put out of the synagogue", Jn. 12:42; cf. Acts 12:23). It is frequently used in Lk. and Acts in the construction *kai egeneto de . . .* followed by *kai* and a finite vb. (and it happened that . . .; and it came to pass that . . .). The pleonastic *egeneto* used without *kai* (and) is preferred by Lk. (e.g. Lk. 5:1; 9:28; cf. Funk § 442(5)). Paul also uses the defensive negation *mē genoito* (lit. let it not become, by no means! e.g. Rom. 3:4; 6:3; cf. Funk §§ 384, 440(2); Moulton, *Grammar*, III, 118–22).

(b) *ginomai* may also stand for *einai* (to be, e.g. Matt. 10:16; Mk. 4:22). With the gen. it denotes origin or membership (Lk. 20:14; 2 Pet. 1:20; cf. Funk § 162(7)). With the dat. of the person it denotes belonging to (Rom. 11:5; cf. Funk § 189). 1 Cor. 16:10 is an example of its use with an adv. and prep. *hina aphobōs genētai pros hymas* (that he may be at ease with you).

(c) *ginomai* has no special religious or theological meaning.

2. *apoginomai* occurs only in 1 Pet. 2:24: "who his own self bare our sins in his body on the tree, that having died (*apogenomenoi*) to sin we might live (*zēsōmen*) to righteousness." It thus stands in contrast to living. It denotes the change that has come about in the life of the believer through the saving act of Christ through his death and resurrection which makes a rebirth possible (→ *gennaō*, NT 3 on *anagennaō*; cf. Rom. 6:8, 11).

3. *genesis* means birth in Matt. 1:18 and Lk. 1:14. It also means created life or being. It is used in this sense in Jas. 1:23: "he is like a man who observes his natural face in a mirror" (RSV). The Gk. has *prosōpon tēs geneseōs autou* which more lit. means "the face of his created life [or natural being]." Two other passages require closer examination.

(a) Matt. begins his gospel with the words *biblos geneseōs Iēsou Christou hyiou Daueid hyiou Abraam* which RSV translates as "The book of the genealogy of

Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham." The formula goes back to an OT model, where it introduces, or is appended to, a genealogy or family register (Gen. 2:4 of the heavens and earth; 5:1 of Adam; 11:10 of Shem) or a family story (6:9 of Noah; 37:2 of the family of Jacob). The genealogies and family stories often overlap. Some expositors (e.g. Zahn) hold that Matt. 1:1 is to be understood as "The Book of the history of Jesus Christ" and so is the title of the whole gospel. Others (like Lohmeyer and Michaelis) take it to be the title of the family register which follows in Matt. 1:2–27. In favour of the latter view is the fact that the genealogy follows immediately. If it is not the title of the genealogy, one would expect some kind of introduction to it in v. 2. Moreover, the birth narrative is itself introduced separately with its own introduction in v. 18: "Now the birth of Jesus Christ took place in this way." (See further Arndt, 154.)

(b) Jas. 3:6 contains the expression *trochos tēs geneseōs* which has been variously translated as "wheel of life", "wheel of birth" (RSV mg.), "cycle of nature" (RSV). The passage describes the tongue as "an unrighteous world", capable of "staining the whole body" and "setting on fire the cycle of nature." Comparative study in the history of religions has seen in this expression a parallel to Orphic teaching. The term denotes the idea of the perpetual recurrence of nature, and Jewish circles probably adopted the expression. "Doubtless they did not take over the original technical meaning. The term had probably lost its Orphic character and had become a current phrase for the ups and downs of life, perhaps as today the term 'struggle for existence' which belongs to the evolutionary theory of Darwin is generally applied to social conditions rather than to particular aspects of biology" (M. Dibelius, *Der Brief des Jakobus*, revised by H. Greeven, KEK 15, 1964[11], 183).

J. Guhrt

| ἔκτρωμα |

ἔκτρωμα (*ektrōma*), miscarriage.

CL & OT *ektrōma* is connected with the vb. *ektitrōskō*, to have a miscarriage, and is derived from *trōō*, wound, injure, damage. It is found in secular Gk. from Aristotle onwards, especially in medical language denoting a premature still birth. It occurs in the LXX in contexts which suggest that an untimely still birth would have been preferable to life (Job 3:16; Eccl. 6:3), and of the appearance of an aborted foetus (Num. 12:12).

NT In the NT the word occurs only in 1 Cor. 15:8 where Paul describes his encounter with the risen Christ: "Last of all, as to one untimely born (*tō ektrōmati*), he appeared also to me." Attention must be paid to the definite art. (*tō*) in this disputed passage. It is not to be taken as the equivalent of inverted commas or the indefinite *tini*. Its function is to draw attention to this birth as something singular and even shocking. It is softened only by the addition of the word "as" (*hōsperei*). The words "also to me" stand at the end in a place of emphasis and contrast Paul with the other disciples in his reprobate hatred of Christ.

The interpretation of Calvin and J. Weiss is to be rejected which sees the point of the comparison in *ektrōma* with the suddenness or violence of Paul's conversion. So too the view of Lange which saw in it a reference to the comparative lateness of

Paul's call or his inadequate preparation compared with the other apostles, and that of Wettstein which saw in it a reference to Paul's diminutive stature. Harnack's conjecture is unnecessary that Paul here is using a word which was applied to him in a derogatory manner. Rather, v. 9 is decisive for the interpretation. Here Paul alludes to his unworthiness to be called an "apostle" (a title of honour), because he formerly persecuted the church. If *ektrōma* is thus understood, not as premature birth, but as still birth, the significance of Paul's choice of the word lies in his joyful gratitude that God has chosen him to be an apostle despite his utterly reprobate life as a former persecutor. *H. Müller*

It may also be noted that the rabbis could speak of grown men in this way (SB III 471, 496), and that Ign., *Rom.* 9:2 probably alludes to this passage but without defining *ektrōma*. Several scholars agree with Harnack that it was probably a term of abuse (A. Harnack, *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1922, 72; A Fridrichsen, "Paulus abortivus", in *Symbolae philologicae O. A. Danielsson dicatae*, 1932, 79 ff.; J. Schneider, *TDNT* II 465 ff.; J. Munck, "Paulus tamquam abortivus" in A. J. B. Higgins ed., *New Testament Essays: Studies in Memory of T. W. Manson*, 1959, 180–93; G. Björck, "Nochmals Paulus abortivus", *Coniectanea Neotestamentica* 3, 1938, 3 ff.; T. Boman, "Paulus abortivus. (1 Kor. 15, 8)", *Studia Theologica* 18, 1, 1964, 46–50; C. K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1968, 344; F. F. Bruce, 1 *and* 2 *Corinthians*, 1971, 142; cf. H. Conzelmann, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther*, KEK 5, 1969, 306). It might refer to his physique or infirmities to which there are numerous allusions in his writings (1 Cor. 2:3; 4:10; 2 Cor. 11:30; 12:7 ff.). It might contain a hint that Paul was still too much influenced by the law and was not as spiritual as his opponents in Corinth (cf. 1 Cor. 2). There may be in it the suggestion that Paul is still an embryo believer; he has not had the same period of gestation as the other apostles. These suggestions are not necessarily mutually exclusive. But they have also to be understood in the context of the argument. The preceding verses are concerned with the proof of the resurrection of Jesus based upon his appearances to the apostles and others. Referring to his encounter with Christ on the Damascus road, Paul writes; "Last of all, as to the *ektrōma*, he appeared also to me" (1 Cor. 15:8; cf. 9:1; Gal. 1:16; Acts 9:3–6; 22:4–16; 26:9–18). The thought of the appearance of Christ to him leads immediately to the thought of his apostleship (v. 9). Paul's apostleship was questioned by some (1 Cor. 9:1). It could have been queried for a variety of reasons. Paul was a former persecutor of the church. Moreover, he lacked the two qualifications which were laid down when the other apostles considered a replacement for Judas. He had not been a disciple of Jesus in his earthly ministry and he was not a witness like them of Jesus' resurrection (Acts 1:21 f.). Against this, Paul claimed to have his apostleship directly from the risen Lord whom he had seen (cf. the above references). Admittedly, he had not known the earthly Jesus and his encounter had happened after the ascension. Nevertheless, Paul insisted that he had encountered the risen Christ and received his apostleship directly from him. As such, the description of him as the aborted one is triply apt. As a person he was not as acceptable as others. He was premature in the sense that he had not served the period of discipleship like the Twelve and had become an apostle at his conversion, having been a persecutor of the church

right up to that point. But above all, he had encountered Christ as "one untimely born" (RSV) some time after the resurrection appearances to the others had ceased. *C. Brown*

παλιγγενεσία | παλιγγενεσία (*palingenesia*), rebirth, regeneration.

CL *palingenesia* is a compound noun from *palin* (again) and *genesis* (birth, origin).

In every day speech it denotes various kinds of renewal: the return or restoration of something, return to former circumstances, termination of captivity, restoration to health following a birth or illness. "The original notion was not that of human birth... on the basis of sexual conception" (F. Büchsel, *TDNT* I 686, n. 2).

1. Among the Stoics it was a concept used in a cosmic context. The cosmos would periodically perish through a world-conflagration (*ekpyrōsis*) and then arise anew in a rebirth (*palingenesia*) (M. Ant. 11, 1; Philo, *Aet. Mund.* 89 ff.). But the cosmos did not attain to a new mode of being or quality through the rebirth; the world that has passed away was there once again. Plutarch used the word in describing the myths of Dionysus and Osiris and also in an individual sense in describing the rebirth of souls (used as a synonym for *anabiōsis*, reanimation) (*De Ei apud Delphos* 9; *De Iside et Osiride* 35; cf. F. Büchsel, *TDNT* I 687). *palingenesia* was also used to express the rebirth of individuals in a new cosmic age. It thus denotes a human occurrence as well as a cosmic event.

2. In the mystery religions of the Hel. period the idea of rebirth occupied a large place. However, it cannot be established what role the word played there. All the mystery religions know of a deity who died and awoke to new life. In the cultic rites this was not taught as a doctrine, but represented in a dramatic way in which the initiate (*mystēs*) took part thus sharing in the life-giving and renewing power of their deity. Rebirth is a renewal to a higher, divine existence. The old history of religions school tried to relate rebirth in Tit. 3:5 to the influence of the mystery religions. But in view of the very different doctrine and the late attestation of rebirth in the mystery religions the connection is very much disputed. However, it cannot be denied that NT language at this point presents certain parallels to the mystery religions. (→ Baptism; cf. also G. Wagner, *Pauline Baptism and the Pagan Mysteries*, 1967).

OT 1. *palingenesia* (like → *anagennaō*) does not occur in the LXX. The nearest is the verbal form *heōs palin genōmai* which is a free rendering of Job 14:14 ("If a man die, shall he live again?" RSV). There is no thought here of the rebirth of an individual in a new age, as in the NT. There is, however, the thought of eschatological renewal in Ezek. 11:19: "And I will give them one heart, and put a new spirit within them; I will take the stony heart out of their flesh and give them a heart of flesh" (RSV). God will put his law within them and write it on their hearts (Jer. 31:33; cf. Isa. 60:31; Jer. 24:7; 31:18; Ezek. 36:26 f.). This change and renewal is proclaimed as a future blessing of salvation which the Lord himself will bring about. The people are not themselves capable of such a change (Gen. 6:5; 8:21; Jer. 13:23). Therefore the man of faith prays to his God: "Create in me a clean heart, O God, and put a new and right spirit within me" (Ps. 51:10). Cf. also the

promise of a restoration of Israel (Ezek. 36:24 f.; Isa. 11:1 ff.; Ezek. 37:25 f.; Mic. 4:6 f.), of a new covenant (Jer. 31:31 f.; Ezek. 34:25), of a new Jerusalem (Zech. 14:10 f., 16), the creation of a new heaven and a new earth (Isa. 65:17; 66:2). This gives rise to the suggestion that the NT idea of rebirth or regeneration has its roots in the OT prophecy of restoration and renewal in the messianic age.

2. In Hel. Jud. *palingenesia* occurs frequently. Philo used it to denote the renewal of the world after the flood and also of individuals (*Vit. Mos.* 2, 65; *Post. C.* 124; *Cher.* 114). Josephus describes the revival of Israelite national life after the exile as the *palingenesia* of the land (*Ant.* 11, 66; but cf. *Ap.* 2, 218 on the resurrection). Jewish thought, influenced by the OT, gave the word a different meaning from that of the Stoics. The world's new existence is not simply a return of the old. Regeneration is unique, and does not occur in cycles.

NT In the NT *palingenesia* occurs only in 2 places.

1. "Jesus said to them, 'Truly, I say to you, in the new world (*palingenesia*) ["regeneration" AV; "when all is made new" JB], when the Son of man shall sit on his glorious throne, you who have followed me will also sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel'" (Matt. 19:28 RSV). The parallel in Lk. 22:28 omits the reference to the *palingenesia*. In Matt. it is an eschatological term denoting the renewal of the world. It will take place when the Son of man appears in shining splendour as judge. Both the title of majesty → "Son of man" and the reference to judgment connect the regeneration with the end-time (cf. Rev. 21:1–5). Similarity with Stoic language is only superficial. The new earth belongs to another order and is qualitatively different. J. Schniewind, however, offers a different interpretation: "Since the whole tenor of our saying points to the early church, one may conjecture that regeneration here denotes the new life style of the new man which participates in God's reign" (*Das Evangelium nach Matthäus*, NTD 2, 1969, 207).

(b) Tit. 3:5 declares: "He saved us, not because of deeds done by us in righteousness, but in virtue of his own mercy, by the washing of regeneration (*palingenesias*) and renewal (*anakainōseōs*) in the Holy Spirit." It denotes a saving act of God, performed on man and in man, but not by man. The "goodness and loving kindness of God our Saviour appeared" in Jesus (v. 4). Corresponding to this, the saving of man comes about through "the washing of regeneration and renewal in the Holy Spirit". The picture suggests baptism (cf. Eph. 5:26). In baptism the believer receives the Holy Spirit (cf. Acts 2:38). (On the relation of baptism to regeneration and faith see the discussion in the articles on Baptism.) The washing and the reception of the Spirit are here seen as a unity. Regeneration comes about through water and the Spirit (cf. Jn. 3:5). The born again person lives in the hope that in the righteousness of God that has been promised to him he will be an heir and participator of future life. In this renewal a new life style opposed to his former one (v. 3) is made possible. For regeneration includes a basic reorientation of moral life. On the connection between the rite of baptism and the reality of this new life → baptism and → faith.

2. *anakainousthai* (renew, Col. 3:10; 2 Cor. 4:16) and *anakainōsis* (renewal, Rom. 12:2; Tit. 3:5) also occur alongside of *palingenesia* and the corresponding vb. → *anagennaō*. Although these words are comparatively rare, the ideas which they signify are common to the whole NT. Thus Paul declares: "If any one is in Christ,

he is a new creation" (2 Cor. 5:17). He also speaks of baptism symbolizing being in Christ (Rom. 6:3; cf. Gal. 3:27). See also the NT use of → *gennaō*.

In the NT regeneration is not understood in a materialistic or magical fashion as in the mystery cults, as if it could be effected by lustrations and blood ceremonies. Baptism does not effect regeneration by its mere performance. Tit. 3:5 testifies to the fact that "washing" is effected only by the Holy Spirit. Regeneration does not bring sinless perfection but leads to daily renunciation of irreligion and worldly passions and to sober, upright, godly living in this world (Tit. 2:12).

Matt. 19:28 draws attention to the eschatological and cosmic dimensions of regeneration. As the salvation which comes to man it must be understood in a wider framework. Even though Matt. 19:28 and Tit. 3:5 present two different perspectives, a connection between them may be seen. The individual man who is by nature dead and enters new life only by the working of the Holy Spirit is not the only final goal of salvation history. The NT is bounded by the horizon of the new → creation (2 Cor. 5:17; 2 Pet. 3:13; Rev. 21:5) and the restoration of all things (Acts 3:21). With regeneration the reality of this salvation enters this world and human existence. The reborn man is directed towards the universal work of salvation.

It must, however, be stressed that the picture of regeneration in the NT is never presented as more than an illustration of the saving event. It is not seen as more important than other concepts such as being "in Christ" and "putting on Christ."

J. Guhrt

τίκτω

τίκτω (*tiktō*), bring forth, bear, give birth to, produce.

CL *tiktō* is formed from the reduplicated root *tek-*, and is attested from Hom. *Od.* 4, 86 onwards. It has the following meanings: (1) beget (of the father), bear, give birth to (of the mother); (2) bear young, breed (of animals); (3) bear, produce (of the earth); (3) generate, engender, produce (metaphorically).

OT In the LXX *tiktō* occurs some 215 times and stands almost exclusively for Heb. *yālaḏ* (bear). It occurs only once for *hārâh* (conceive, become pregnant, Hos. 2:5(7)) and *mālaṭ* (normally "save" but "give birth" in Isa. 66:7). Secular Gk. usage was generally preserved in the LXX, except that the word was used predominantly of the woman. Male begetting is expressed almost exclusively by → *gennaō*. In the first instance the word denotes the physical act of labour or travail which comes as something over which one has no control (Isa. 13:8; 26:17 f.). It is the result of prior conception (*gennaō*). On Isa. 7:14; cf. Matt. 1:23 → God, art. *Emmanouēl*; → Woman, art. *parthenos*. *tiktō* can be applied to animals as well as humans (Gen. 30:39). It may even be applied to seed that sprouts from the earth (Isa. 55:10). This sense is found in Philo but no longer in the strict biblical sense, since his language inclines towards a deification of nature when it speaks of the earth as the *gēs tēs panta tiktousēs* (the earth which bears all things, *Op. Mund.* 132).

tiktō is also used in a metaphorical, though somewhat negative, sense in the LXX in speaking of the nation (Num. 11:12; Isa. 66:8), and of bearing mischief (Ps. 7:15; Isa. 59:4). The picture here is of a hidden, irresistible power breaking out of a person. *tiktō* is never used of the Lord himself, the Lord of all events. But *gennaō* is used of the Lord, again as the equivalent of Heb. *yālaḏ* (Ps. 2:7; Deut. 32:18).

NT 1. In the NT *tiktō* occurs chiefly in the Matthaean and Lukan birth narratives of Jesus and John the Baptist. It occurs in Rev. 12:2, 5 in the heavenly vision of the birth by a woman of a child who is appointed to be Lord and Redeemer of the world who is immediately caught up to God from the power of the dragon. *gennaō* is also used occasionally in the same sense. But it is striking that *gennaō* is used more in a general sense, e.g. in the announcement to Elizabeth and Mary of the impending birth of their sons (Lk. 1:13, 35) and the report of Jesus' birth (Matt. 1:16), whereas *tiktō* expresses more the physical reality of giving birth (Lk. 2:6 f., 11). It is the more drastic word, and is used in passages which bring home the reality of labour (Jn. 16:21; Rev. 12:3), or the shame of the woman who cannot give birth because she is barren (Gal. 4:27). *tiktō* expresses the element of travail, danger and the stark realities of childbirth. It is not used in the general sense of being born (Gal. 4:4) or in the sense of spiritual rebirth.

This is also connected with the fact that *tiktō* in the NT is used exclusively of the woman. 1 Tim. 2:15 reinterprets the judgment pronounced on Eve about pain in child-bearing (Gen. 3:16). This does not mean that woman is eternally condemned. "Woman will be saved through bearing children (*dia tēs teknogonias*), if she continues in faith and love and holiness, with modesty." Widows should marry and bear children (*teknogoneō*) thus giving the enemy no opportunity to revile the church (1 Tim. 5:14). Widows should not be enrolled under the age of sixty, and among other things they should be known for having brought up children (*teknotropheō*, 1 Tim. 5:10).

2. *tiktō* occurs only rarely in a metaphorical sense: of the earth bearing useful plants (Heb. 6:5), and of the desire that gives birth to sin (Jas. 1:15). In these two cases *tiktō* expresses the necessary connection between conception and birth. Where there is rain, there is fruit. Where there is desire, there is sin. Where there is sin, there is death. Jas. 1:15, 18 also contain the word *apokyeō* (bring forth) which is likewise used in a metaphorical sense. It expresses the end-result, in the one case of desire and in the other case of God's will. "Then desire when it has conceived (*syllabousa*) gives birth to (*tiktei*) sin; and sin when it is full-grown brings forth (*apokyei*) death" (Jas. 1:15). "Of his own will he brought us forth (*apekyēsen*) by the word of truth that we should be a kind of first fruits of his creatures" (Jas. 1:18). → Generation, art. *genea*. *G. Bauer*

εὐγενής

εὐγενής (*eugenēs*) well-born, noble in descent or character; νόθος (*nothos*) born out of wedlock, unable to register a valid claim to ancestry.

CL From Homer onwards, *eugenēs* possessed the meaning of "well-born", "of noble descent", but it extended its meaning, esp. in Gk. tragedy (e.g. Soph., Ant., 38) to mean "noble-minded". It is also used of things: animals of good pedigree (Soph., *El.*, 25), and (later) plants of good stock. It even extends to nobility of bearing and appearance (Eur., *Helena* 10).

nothos strictly means "born out of wedlock", but in Athenian writers it was used where one parent was not a citizen (e.g. Plut., *Themistocles*, 1, *nothos pros mētros*, illegitimate on the mother's side). It had the general derivative meaning of "spurious, counterfeit" both of people and things.

OT The LXX uses *eugenēs* only once, of Job (1:3) where it means "well-favoured" especially in this world's goods, corresponding to MT *gāḏôl*, in the sense of "wealthiest". *nothos* is unexemplified in LXX.

NT The NT reflects classical usage in its sparing examples of *eugenēs*. It is most easily understood as "high-born" in Lk. 19:12, and certainly so in 1 Cor. 1:26 where it forms a third category with "wise" and "influential" *kata sarka* ("as this world reckons such things"). Acts 17:11 uses it of the Jews at Beroea who were more "well-disposed" to the truth, more "right minded" in that they "received the word" with complete alacrity of mind (*prothymia*) and tested what they heard by Scripture.

nothos only occurs at Heb. 12:8 where it means not "born out of wedlock" but "unable to make an accredited claim" to sonship of God. *J. A. Motyer*

(a). T. Boslooper, *The Virgin Birth*, 1962; F. Büchsel, *ginomai . . . palingenesia*, *TDNT* I 681–89; F. Büchsel and K. H. Rengstorf, *gennaō . . . anagennaō*, *TDNT* I 665–75; H. von Campenhausen, *The Virgin Birth in the Theology of the Early Church*, 1964; J. Daniélou, *The Infancy Narratives*, 1967; E. M. B. Green, *The Meaning of Salvation*, 1965; A. T. Hanson, "Birth with Promise," *Studies in Paul's Technique and Theology*, 1974, 52–66; M. D. Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, 1969; J. G. Machen, *The Virgin Birth of Christ*, 1930; L. Morris, *The Gospel according to John*, 1972, 208–50; J. Orr, *The Virgin Birth of Christ*, 1914³; J. Schneider, *ektrōma*, *TDNT* II 465 ff. (See also Addenda, p.822).
(b). G. Bolsinger, "Die Ahnenreihe Christi nach Mt. und Lk.," *BuK* 12, 1957, 112 ff.; W. Bousset, *Die Briefe: Die Johanneischen Schriften*, *SNT* II, 1908², 147 ff.; W. Dantine, "Der Mensch zwischen Wiedergeburt und Geburt," *KuD* 11, 1965, 220 ff.; J. Dey, "*Palingenesia*. Ein Beitrag zur Klärung der religionsgeschichtlichen Bedeutung von Tit. 3, 5," *Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen* 17/5, 1937; M. Dibelius, *Der Brief des Jakobus*, *KEK* 15, 1964¹¹, 183; A. von Harnack, "Die Terminologie der Wiedergeburt und verwandter Erlebnisse in der älteren Kirche," *TU* 42, 3, 1918, 97 ff.; C. F, Kling, *Die Korintherbriefe*, *Theologisch-homiletisches Bibelwerk*, *Neues Testament*, Teil 7, 1861, 226 f.; A. Lindenmeyer, *Regeneratio. Das neumachende Handeln Gottes am Menschen und an der Welt*, 1943; A. Schlatter, *Paulus, der Bote Jesu*, 1934, 400 ff.; J. Schniewind, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus*, *NTD* II, 1964¹¹; W. Schweitzer, *Gotteskindschaft, Wiedergeburt und Erneuerung im Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt*, 1944 (dissertation); E. Sjöberg, "Wiedergeburt und Neuschöpfung," *StTh* 4, 1951–52, 44 ff.

Bishop, Presbyter, Elder

The following article brings together the entries on *episkopos* and *presbyteros* which were both offices in the early church. There is evidence to suggest that they overlapped in function, and that the two titles may have been different terms for what was essentially the same office.

ἐπίσκοπος

ἐπίσκοπος (*episkopos*), overseer, guardian, bishop; ἐπισκέπτομαι (*episkeptomai*), view, inspect, visit, afflict; ἐπισκοπέω (*episkopeō*), take care, oversee, care for; ἐπισκοπή (*episkopē*), visitation, affliction, position or office as an overseer or bishop.

CL 1. This group of words is formed from the root *skep-* with the prefix *epi* and denotes the activity of looking at or paying attention to a person or thing. *skopeō* (→ Goal, *skopos*) suggests the continuing recurring character of such action, while

episkeptomai suggests an act that is complete in itself. The verbs can mean to observe, review (Xen., *Anab.*, 2, 3, 2), superintend (Plato, *Rep.*, 6, 506 B), watch over, scrutinize (Xen., *Mem.* I 6, 4) and also inspect, examine (Xen., *Mem.*, 3, 2, 10). The group is distinguished from the group formed from the root *ep-opt-*, which is very similar in meaning but relatively less used. The latter means first merely looking at, and then also guarding. *episkopeō* and cognates stress active and responsible care for that which has been seen.

2. *epopteuō* (Homer, onwards) look at; *epoptēs* (from Pindar, 5th cent. B.C.) is used as an epithet for the gods (Zeus, Poseidon, Apollo), for men knew that they were under their watchful eyes. In the language of the mystery religions the highest grades of the initiates, who had seen the holiest, bore this title. So *epopteuō* came to be associated with the highest human good fortune.

3. *episkopos* (from Homer on), overseer, is used first of all to describe a deity (e.g. Artemis in Elis) as the one who keeps watch over a country or people, and in particular over the keeping of treaties and the markets (Homer, *Il.*, 22, 255, together with *martys* → Witness; Soph., *Antigone* 1148). Already in *Il.*, 10, 38 and 24, 729 (Hector), however, the title was also given to men who had a responsible position in the state. This was later extended to religious communities. The title was given to officials (with minor judicial functions) sent from Athens to dependent states to ensure order or to fix their constitutions. In Rhodes they are mentioned together with councillors, treasurers, secretaries and military strategists, but the context does not allow us to determine their exact functions. Syrian records use the title for members of a committee of control for building or a board of trustees. In cultic groups organized according to Gk. laws concerning organizations, the *episkopoi* were those members responsible for external relationships, rather like churchwardens or trustees.

OT 1. (a) In the LXX this word group is mostly used for variants of the root *pāqaḏ*. This originally meant to take care of. In the Qal it means to look for, investigate (1 Sam. 14:17, RSV "see"), visit (Jdg. 15:1), inspect (Num. 1:44). Occasionally it represents *bāqar*, investigate closely. *episkopeō* is used only five times for various Heb. words. *episkeptomai* is found some 150 times, of which 48 are in Num., especially in chs. 1–4, where it is used of the reviewing of tribes and families (e.g. 2:4; 3:39, in the part. form; RSV: numbered). Since this was for the purpose of service, the verb gained the meaning "appoint for supervision, commission" (cf. the prayer in Num. 27:16).

(b) A second meaning emerges in the LXX. *episkeptomai* is used for God's loving watching over and solicitious care for the land (Deut. 11:12), his elect people (Ruth 1:6; Zeph. 2:7; Ps. 80:14 (15)), and individuals, e.g. Sarah (Gen.21:1). This is an expression of God's loyalty to the covenant and his → mercy. It includes the meaning of visit, afflict and punish (Exod. 32:34; 10:12), for since God has seen, he must judge men to bring them to repentance. The relevant passages are mostly in the prophets, especially in Jeremiah's message of judgment.

(c) Occasionally *episkeptomai* is found in its Hel. meaning of blissful beholding (Pss. 27:4(5); 106:5).

(d) The LXX coined the sub. *episkepsis* and *episkopē* to represent *p*^{e}*quddâh* or *p*^{e}*qûḏâh*, the number of those who had been mustered as a result of the action

(Num. 1:21, 23, 25); appointment to a duty, and so the order of service (1 Chr. 24:3); and the visitation of God in judgment, either in the course of history or in the Day of Yahweh, as it ends all human activity (cf. Jer. 11:23; 23:12; Job 7:18).

2. *episkopos* might be expected to represent Heb. *pāqîḏ*, overseer, officer, governor, but this is so only in 2 Chr. 24:11; Neh. 11:9, 14, 22; 12:42. The other eleven instances have no uniform meaning. *episkopos* is used only once of God (Job 20:29 where it represents *'ēl*, "the heritage decreed for him by God" RSV). In certain cases (e.g. Jdg. 9:28; Num. 31:14) particular persons in a position of authority are *episkopoi*, but sometimes it denotes the exercise of power as well as those who exercise it (e.g. Isa. 60:17). In any case, the examples do not permit any direct connection to be drawn between the OT and the later office of *episkopos*, or bishop. For the various offices in Israel and their relationship to one another → *presbyteros*.

3. We are more likely to find the later office of bishop foreshadowed in the *mᵉḇaqqēr*, overseer (of the community), found in the Damascus Rule and the Community Rule of Qumran (e.g. 1 QS 6:12, 20), who is probably the same as the *pāqîḏ* (1QS 6:14). This *mᵉḇaqqēr* was one who knew the law, but was not a priest. He had entrusted to him all important decisions about "the camp" and full members. He shows clear monarchical traits, for he had to decide who was to be received into the community. He could inflict punishments. Together with the judges, he controlled the community's welfare funds and had to give his approval to all legal and commercial dealings of members with outsiders (CD 13:6 f.; 14:9–12). At the same time his office, following OT analogies, is compared with that of a shepherd: "He shall love them as a father loves his children, and shall carry them in all their distress like a shepherd his sheep. He shall loosen all the fetters which bind them" (CD 13:9). It is instructive for our understanding of the figure of the overseer that all these functions were later clearly transferred to the leader of the priests, who is the determinative figure in 1QS, while the non-priestly overseer has been reduced to the role of an administrator (1QS 6:14, 20). The independent dignity of the president of the *'ēḏâh*, the congregation as a meeting of full members, which showed its independence by its integration and subordination of the priests, was presumably transferred gradually to the priestly president. This foreshadows the emergence of the priestly bishop. ([Tr.] This interpretation assumes that the Damascus Document is earlier than the Manual of Discipline; there is no agreement on this point but weighty opinion reverses the order suggested, cf. Millar Burrows, *More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, pp. 254 ff.)

NT 1. The word-group is markedly less common in the NT than in the LXX, and appears only in a few books. *episkopeō* is found only in Heb. 12:15 and possibly 1 Pet. 5:2 (omitted in some MSS. and the RSV, but not NEB). In the former passage it is used to describe the effort Christians are urged to make to see that all remain in divine grace. "See to it that no one fails to obtain the grace of God" (RSV). "Episcopal" supervision is the duty of the fellowship and not of a special priestly order. *episkeptomai*, which is so common in the LXX, is found only 11 times (7 in Lk.–Acts; and Matt. 25:36, 43; Heb. 2:6; Jas. 1:27). *episkopē* is found 4 times: Lk. 19:24 and 1 Pet. 2:12 (for the day or moment of visitation, or confrontation with the Lord in judgment or salvation); Acts 1:20 (a quotation from the LXX); 1 Tim. 3:1 (as a title of the apostolic or episcopal office). Though

episkopos was to become so important, it is found only 5 times, four being for the leader of the community (Acts 20:28; Phil. 1:1; 1 Tim. 3:2; Tit. 1:7), whereas 1 Pet. 2:25 refers to Christ as the guardian of souls.

2. (a) Apart from Acts 6:3, where it describes selection by the church of men to serve (RSV "pick out") *episkeptomai* is used in the Lukan writings and in Heb. 2:6 (Ps. 8:4 (5)) for the loving and seeking care of God. He has chosen out of all the nations the one people (Acts 15:14), which he has visited in blessing (Lk. 7:16) and redeemed (Lk. 1:68) (→ Redemption, art. *lytrōsis*). His mercy moves him to visit this people as "the day-spring from on high"; thus the gracious birth of the Baptist is praised as an opportunity for forgiveness and salvation. In Heb. 2:6 the writer expresses his wonder that God should create and care for man.

(b) *episkeptomai* is used in Acts 7:23 of Moses, and in Acts 15:36 of Paul and Barnabas as they return to care for their converts. It is similarly used in Jas. 1:27; service to God is shown above all in caring for widows and orphans. This meaning is vividly expressed in Matt. 25:36, 43. In the person of every sufferer and prisoner the Lord himself stands before men. As we meet him, we make a decision that leads to salvation or condemnation, depending on whether we see him and make his needs our concern or whether we look past him (→ Brother, → Love).

(c) Both groups of examples stress the same loving care and seeing with a heart that is moved to action. The OT meaning of visitation for punishment is completely lacking, or rather, it is replaced by other terms (→ Judgment → Punishment). God's visitation took place once for all on the → cross.

3. (a) Earlier uses of *episkopos* reach their climax in 1 Pet. 2:25, where Jesus Christ is described as "the Shepherd (*poimēn*) and Guardian (*episkopos*) of your souls" (RSV). As a title of the exalted Christ, it sums up everything expressed by the term in the OT, Jud., and Gk. religious thought. It is no accident but the expression of a conscious insight, that *episkopos* is here linked with *poimēn*. The two thoughts are already connected in the OT (Num. 27:17) and again in the NT (Acts 20:28). Oversight means loving care and concern, a responsibility willingly shouldered; it must never be used for personal aggrandisement. Its meaning is to be seen in Christ's selfless service which was moved by concern for the salvation of men.

(b) It is highly significant that, as the growing band of disciples became a church, they apparently hesitated to apply the title of *episkopos* to designate an office. OT and secular Gk. usage did not stand in the way of this, but Gk. usage may have had materialistic overtones and OT associations may have been too reminiscent of authoritarian oversight. Its application to oversight in the church is to be seen in the context of the application of all Christ's work to the church. In other words, titles of offices in the NT are essentially titles that apply to Christ in the first instance.

The need for pastoral oversight to keep the church in the → way of faith was originally a duty binding on all members, as it apparently still was in Heb. 12:15. But early on oversight became the task of a special office. The change may be seen in Acts 20:28. The passage focuses on the duties of the hearers to the church. But already these hearers are a clearly defined group, though the title of *episkopos* is not yet an explicitly defined designation. No doubt, it is to be distinguished from that of → apostle and → prophet, and perhaps too from that of teacher (→ Teach, Art. *didaskō*), for bishops were linked with a particular place and church. But at first

it was probably synonymous at least with that of → shepherd (*poimēn*) and → elder (*presbyteros*) and the ideas associated with them. The use of *diakonos* (→ Serve) was also not yet fixed.

(e) *episkopē* (RSV "office of a bishop") is first used in 1 Tim. 3:1 to designate a defined office to which one could aspire. It is striking how, now that the office has come into being, attention shifts from its duties to the personal qualities that are needed for it: personal discipline, a well-ordered family (there is no question of celibacy here!), gifts of teaching and personal relationships, and a good name in the non-Christian world around. There is nothing in this picture to contradict Acts 20:28 and Phil. 1:1, which show several bishops at work in a single, local church. Reference to the qualities required in a bishop (sing.) in Tit. 1:7 offers little support for the theory of monarchical episcopacy with a single bishop supervising all other office holders. This system triumphed in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, partly because of individuals with outstanding gifts and partly because of the need for tighter organization.

(d) The development of the episcopal office marks the transition from the missionary era of the church with its charismatic gifts to an institution with a permanent character. Once the apostles had died out and the teachers and prophets become more rare, it was felt that the expanding church needed a form which would ensure continuity. Monepiscopacy triumphed over shared, collegiate ministry. But the fact that it presented merely *one* possible solution is abundantly shown by counter-movements in the church's history. On the relation of the various offices and duties to each other → *presbyteros*. *L. Coenen*

πρεσβύτερος

πρεσβεύω (*presbeuō*), be older, be an ambassador, rule; πρεσβύτερος (*presbyteros*), older, elder, presbyter; πρεσβυτέριον (*presbyterion*), council of elders, rank of elder or presbyter; πρεσβύτης (*presbytēs*), old man; πρεσβεία (*presbeia*), embassy, ambassador; προίστημι (*prohistēmi*), be at the head of, rule, be concerned about; κυβέρνησις (*kybernēsis*), administration.

CL 1. (a) The comparative *presbyteros*, elder, and the superlative *presbytatos*, eldest, are found as early as Homer, but the positive *presbys*, old, appears first in Pindar as a poetical variant of *presbytēs*, old man (common stem *presb-*, old, cf. Latin *prisc-*). The group of words probably first signified older in comparison with others; then, of greater importance (cf. *ta tou theou*, things divine, in contrast with *ta tōn anthrōpōn*, things human, Hdt. 5, 63), or "I consider nothing more important (*presbyteron*) than prudence" (Eur., *Fragment* 959). Finally, it meant more honoured. In the order of society the elders receive respect and authority on the ground of their experience and wisdom (cf. Arist., *Ethica Eudemia* 1215a 23, *hoi sophoi kai presbyteroi*, the wise and elder men). There is no disparaging note, in the sense of feeble, weak, or old-fashioned (cf. *palaios* → old).

(b) This meaning of greater respect, usually combined with greater age, determines the use of the other words from this root. Thus the noun *presbytēs* (Aesch. onwards) denotes age, rank, or the old or older man, who is no longer a *neaniskos* (young man) and is probably over 50 years old. The feminine *presbytis* (Aesch. also onwards) means old woman.

(c) From Hdt., 7, 2 and Soph., *Oedipus Coloneus*, 1422, the vb. *presbeuō* means to be older or eldest; then to take the first place (Soph., *Antigone*, 720). Corresponding to this, *presbeia* means first the rights of dignity of an elder (Aesch., *Persae* 4); then generally, rank or dignity (Plato, *Republic* 509b).

(d) Hence the words from this root come to be used also for institutional functions in society, for which the wisdom of age is regarded as a prerequisite. *presbeuō* is used for the activity of an ambassador, who represents the people who send him and negotiates for them (Hdt., 5, 93 mid., to negotiate through envoys). *presbeia* means embassy, ambassador, ambassadors (*presbeutēs*, Thuc. 5, 4, has also the same meaning). In the Dorian world the pre-eminence that went with age led not only to a representative function abroad, but also to an advisory one within the political community. Hence, the vb. can mean command; and *presbyteros* can be the title of an office of state. In Sparta this title is given to the presidents of the colleges of ephors (*IG* 2^2 6,552.11), the *nomophylakōn* (ib. 555b, 19), and the *synarchias*, assembly of magistrates. Outside Sparta, however, the term did not have an institutional significance in Greece. It retained its meaning of seniority as contrasted with youth.

In Egypt, however, the plur. *presbyteroi* appears as the title for members of a committee, e.g. of associations (*P. Teb.* 13, 5) or guilds, and also of religious bodies, and for the annually elected agents of village councils, who had judicial and administrative duties.

2. *prohistēmi* (used once in Homer (*Il.* 4, 156), but no further examples before the 5th century) to set before or over someone or something; pass. 2 aor., perf. and plup. act., to come forward, be set over, rule (e.g. Hdt., 1, 69). It is used to refer, especially in the participial form *prohistamenos*, to the functions of leadership in an army, a state, or a party (Hdt., 1, 59; 3, 82; Plato, *Laches* 197d). A position of this sort involves the task of guarding and responsibility for (Hdt., 9, 107) and protection of those over whom one is placed (*P. Fay.* 13, 5). Thus the vb. can express the meanings of support, care for, and even concern oneself with.

3. The vb. *kybernaō*, is probably derived from language used by sailors in the Mediterranean region and is related to the Lat. *gubernare*, govern, guide (Homer, *Od.* 3, 283). It was originally used of the action of a helmsman (*kybernētēs*, Homer, *Il.* 19, 43; Hdt. 2, 164). Later Plato (*Phaedrus* 247c) used the noun metaphorically in the sense of a leading statesman, and *kybernēsis*, government, of his activity (*Republic* 488b). It is comparable with the modern expression "ship of state". From Pindar onwards divine guidance and rule are described by cognate words of this group.

OT 1. In the LXX words derived from the root *presb-* have 3 main areas of meaning:

(a) As the equivalent of Heb. *zāqēn* (originally, bearded; one who has attained legal majority; then, old man), they have the sense of *older in years*, as contrasted with younger. *presbytēs* occurs some 30 times in this sense (e.g. Eli, the old man, I Sam. 2:22); the old and young contrasted in a list of those to be exiled (Isa. 20:4). *presbeion* denotes advanced age, and the right of the eldest as firstborn (Ps. 71:18; Gen. 43:33). While *presbytēs* occurs almost exclusively with this meaning (occasionally for other Heb. words, or without a Heb. equivalent), *zāqēn* is even more frequently rendered by the comparative *presbyteros* (in 50 cases out of a total of

some 150). It occurs in Gen. (in 18:11 and elsewhere for the age of Abraham and Sarah; 19:4 ff. for the old man Lot), Pss., Wisdom literature, and in 1 and 2 Ki.

(b) For an *elder, the elders* (mostly plur.; only rarely in sing.), as a group of men within a tribe, family, people, or community of settlers, whose rôle is variously to be understood, according to the historical circumstances (for details, see 4 below). The only pre-Christian example of *presbyterion* (*Sus.* 50 (Theodotion)) denotes the honour of the elder's status (cf. J. Jeremias, *ZNW* 48, 1957, 132).

(c) *presbeutēs* and *presbys* are used in some instances in the classical sense of ambassador, negotiator, spokesman. There are no examples of the vb. *presbeuō*. In 2 Chr. 32:31 *presbeutēs* renders *lîṣ* in hiph., act as spokesman (5 further examples are found in 1 Macc.). In Num. 21:21; 22:5; and Deut. 2:26 *presbys* renders *mal'āḵ*, and in Isa. 57:9 *ṣîr*, both meaning envoy. Further examples without Heb. equivalents occur in Isa. and I Macc. On the whole, therefore, this meaning is noticeably rare, a fact which may well be at least partially accounted for by the difference between Gk. ideas and the *šālîaḥ* concept of the Jews (→ Apostle OT).

2. *prohistēmi* occurs only 8 times, always without Heb. equivalent and meaning to be head of a household (2 Sam. 13:17; Am. 6:10), to govern the people (1 Macc. 5:19), and even to take trouble (Isa. 43:24).

3. *kybernaō* and *kybernēsis* are found only in a few places in the Wisdom literature, and in Prov. have the meaning of the Heb. *taḥbûlôṯ*, wise counsel. *kybernēsis* is a function of rulers (Prov. 1:5; 11:14). But *kybernaō* is also used of the wily plans of the wicked (Prov. 12:5). *kybernētēs* (Heb. *hōḇēl*) is used in Ezek. 27:8, 27 f. for pilot.

4. There is no theological significance in age except in the case of the rights of the → firstborn. Nor is age important in an ambassador. Although their rôle was in origin neither religious nor cultic but socio-political, the existence of elders *as an institution* was of considerable significance in the life of Israel and the Jewish synagogue community, as it was among other peoples of the ancient world (cf. the elders of Egypt in Gen. 50:7). The institution was already established when Israel became a people. It is assumed in every strand of OT tradition (cf. G. Bornkamm, *TDNT* VI 655).

Elders are an established part of the patriarchal clan and tribal system, where an authority which was scarcely challenged, though variously qualified, belonged to the heads of families. M. Noth regards the elders of Israel as the real leaders of the people in the departure from Egypt, their actual role having been obscured in the tradition by the towering figure of Moses (*A History of the Pentateuchal Traditions*, 1972, 175–88).

The stages of development in the interpretation of elders may be traced in the different strands of the OT:

(a) Evidence of the earliest concept may be present in the Yahwistic section, Exod. 12:21–27. When all the elders of Israel (LXX translates this by *gerousia*, council of elders) are called together and given instructions about the Passover celebrations in their *mišpāḥôṯ* (families, clans), the passage is referring to those who have authority over these communities which are joined by consanguinity (LXX *syngeneia*, kinsfolk).

(b) In Exod. 12 the expression used is "elders of Israel", suggesting that the families are already seen as constituent parts of the people as a whole. In the rest of the writings of the Pentateuch the elders are seen as *representatives of all Israel*,

who stand as the first and so representative eye- and ear-witnesses of the event. Moses is told to inform them of Yahweh's resolve to deliver his people, and they are to be witnesses of his plea at Pharaoh's court (Exod. 3:16, 18; 4:29; LXX again has *gerousia*). They see the miracle of the spring at Horeb (Exod. 17:5). They take part in the feast with Jethro (Exod. 18:13). To them God's offer of the covenant at Sinai is made ("the whole people" Exod. 19:7 f.; LXX *v.l.* introduce *presbyteroi* at Exod. 34:30, 32 as well). They are witnesses of the punishment of Dathan and Abiram (Num. 16:25). The title "elder" is given to a considerable number of men, as is clear from the fact that Moses twice chooses out 70 "*of* the elders of Israel" to form what is in a sense a body representative of the representatives. This occurs when the Sinai covenant is ratified (Exod. 24:1), and when the murmuring of the people is about to be answered by the gift of quails and manna (Num. 11:16 ff.). This tradition was understood in Judaism (and also in Christian thought) to imply that the originally ethnic office of elder now took on a new function by divine commission. This is its proper one within the framework of the Mosaic covenant (cf. Exod. 18:13 ff. and Deut. 1:9 ff., though the men there assigned juridical duties are not described as elders). This understanding of the office, with its responsibility for judicial decisions and the honour that went with it, doubtless lay behind Isa. 24:23. It was later seen as a type of the rab. ordination, as is clear from the number 70 in the constitution of the Sanhedrin (see below (f)).

(c) In contrast to this understanding of the office, which was designed for the wandering people of God as a whole, the settlement brought to the fore another aspect. This represents an obvious modification of the first, and reflects the sociological change which had taken place. Since the individual's life was now more strongly influenced by the community living in settlement around him, the elders now appear as the *men who control the local communities*, a kind of patrician class like that found among the Canaanites (cf. Jos. 20:4; 1 Sam. 16:4; Jdg. 11:5 ff.; Ruth 4:2 ff.; 1 Sam. 30:26 ff.). The responsibility of the elders for judicial, political and military decisions within the towns applied, according to the tradition, not only in Israelite towns but also in foreign ones like Gibeon (Jos. 9:11), Succoth (Jdg. 8:14, 16), and Shechem (Jdg. 9:2 – the 70 sons of Jerubbaal). In all these places the same aristocratic, patriarchal, social structure is found.

Meanwhile the title of "elder" continued to be applied to the ruling class of the individual tribes (cf. 2 Sam. 19:11) and of Israel as a whole. The elders make the decision to send the ark against the Philistines (1 Sam. 4:3). It is they who demand the introduction of the monarchy (1 Sam. 8:4 ff.). How much the kings were dependent on their goodwill is demonstrated by Saul's pleas to Samuel (1 Sam. 15:30), David's ascent of the throne (2 Sam. 3:17; 5:3), Absalom's threat to it (2 Sam. 17:4, 15; 19:12), the role of the elders as kingmakers in Rehoboam's time (1 Ki. 12:6 ff.; 2 Chr. 10:6 ff.), Ahab's consultation of them in a time of danger, and his attempt to manipulate them (I Ki. 20:7 f.; 21:8, 11). Finally, they appear as representatives of the whole people at Solomon's dedication of the temple (1 Ki. 8; 2 Chr. 5), along with the heads of the tribes and families. Their critical, occasionally conspiratorial, attitude towards the monarchy is doubtless due not least to the threat to their influence posed by the formation of a royal civil service and the growth of dynastic power.

(d) The result of this development can be seen in Deut. Now that they were squeezed out of the position of leadership in the state as a whole, there remained the elders' authority in the local community, which consisted mainly in the judicial functions assigned to them. Their task – together with the judges, who were probably permanent officials (cf. Deut. 21:2; 25:8) – was to make sure that the requirements of the Mosaic law were kept. According to Deut. 13:9, this task was shared with the priests. Their relation to these judges is just as obscure. So too is the question whether the officials (*šōṭ^erîm*), mentioned in Deut. 1:15, along with the commanders of thousands and of hundreds (curiously given military titles), are to be regarded as elders, in the sense of members of the *gerousia*. The old representative system has been superseded by a new constitutional system. The term has been retained but the function altered. The practical effect is to give the institution its character as the guardian of the traditions handed down in the law and local customs.

(e) How deeply rooted was the position of the elders is demonstrated by what happened after the end of the monarchy and the exile of large portions of the population. It was the elders who once again appeared as guardians and representatives of the Jewish community both in exile (Jer. 29:1) and in the homeland (Ezek. 8:1ff.; cf. also the elders of the land who in Jer. 26:17 speak on behalf of the prophet). But there was also a change which took place during this period. The clans were superseded by influential families, and individual families thus gained a position of eminence among the people as a whole. The heads of these appear now as an aristocratic ruling class (cf. Ezr. 8:1 ff.). The Heb. expression *śîḇ* for these heads of families (cf. Ezr. 6:14) is likewise translated *presbyteros* in the LXX. Although we can recognize in Ezr. 10:14 the continuation of the Deuteronomic rank of elder of state, the emphasis has shifted to the aristocratic upper class. At the table of the governor Nehemiah there is a daily gathering of 150 notables, who are without any recognizable legal function, but certainly not without influence.

(f) At the end of the 3rd or beginning of the 2nd cent. B.C. under the Seleucid king Antiochus III, we have evidence of the existence of a *council of elders* consisting of 70 (or 71) members, the Sanhedrin (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 12, 2, 5 ff.). At first, on the analogy of the Gk. *gerousia* and the Rom. *senatus*, the members generally are spoken of as *presbyteroi*. But the word is used more and more to distinguish the lay members, who probably came from the patrician families of Jerusalem, from those drawn from the priestly families on the one hand and (after *c.* 70 B.C.) from the ranks of the scribes on the other. The NT probably records accurately the historical situation, when it portrays these elders as standing for the most part on the side of the Sadducean priestly aristocracy, yet having less influence than any of the other members (the evangelists name them mostly at the end of lists). The scribes, who were increasingly taking over the actual leadership, were mainly orthodox Pharisees.

(g) After the destruction of Jerusalem (A.D. 70), the term *zāqēn* is given a new significance. The newly constituted *Sanhedrin of Jamnia*, whose function is restricted to the exposition and application of the Law, consists solely of scribes. Consequently the term "elder" comes to be used as a title of honour for outstanding theologians. It implies, if not membership of the council, as least ordination (cf. San. 11:1–4). At the same time the presidents of the Jewish synagogues, in which the old structure of the local communities persists, are also called *presbyteroi* (cf.

the elders of Bethulia, Jud. 6:16, 21). They have leadership and the duty of preserving the traditional order with disciplinary powers. In addition to Lk. 7:3, there is inscriptional evidence of this. From about the 2nd cent. A.D. the word loses its functional significance in the Jewish communities and is replaced by other expressions, chiefly Gk. ones, in the Diaspora. But it is still found frequently as a title of honour for patrician families.

5. In the Qumran community the title "elder" is still retained, but without designating a particular office. In 1QM 13:1 they are named along with priests and Levites in the description of the battle order; here the heads of families are probably intended. In CD 9:4 and 1QS 6:8, however, elders take their place in the seating and order of rank behind the priests. They are second to them in responsibility for instruction and judicial decisions, in providing knowledge of the correct behaviour required by the law.

NT 1. (a) In the NT *presbyteros* (65 examples, see below 2) is also so dominant among the derivatives of this root, that the others need only be mentioned in passing. *presbeia* occurs only in parables (Lk. 14:32; 19:14) in the sense of a political delegation, embassy. The vb. *presbeuō* is used twice by Paul. In 2 Cor. 5:20 it expresses the official character of the message of reconciliation which he brings: *hyper Christou oun presbeuomen hōs tou theou parakalountos di' hēmōn* ("we are ambassadors for Christ, God making his appeal through us," to accept the reconciliation which has been effected). Eph. 6:20 carries the same meaning. *presbytēs* and *presbytis* (Lk. 1:18; Tit. 2:2 f.; Phlm. 9) refer simply to length, or greater length, of life and mean old man and woman respectively. *presbyterion* is used in Lk. 22:26 and Acts 22:5 for the Jewish Sanhedrin (see above OT, 2 (f)). Otherwise it is only found in 1 Tim. 4:14, where it means office of elder, which is conferred by laying on of hands (→ Hand). It is not stated who conducts the ordination. J. Jeremias, loc. cit., 132, takes *tou presbyteriou* as a genitive of purpose i.e. "for the presbyterate"; as against Dibelius, *HNT* 13 ad loc. and E. Lohse, *Die Ordination*, 82, who see here a Christian body of elders conferring ordination.

(b) *prohistēmi* is found only in the writings of Paul and the Pastorals. 1 Thess. 5:12 has the participle in the plur. for those who labour in the church and who are *prohistamenous hymōn en Kyriō* (are over you in the Lord). They help others to live rightly and therefore deserve special esteem and love. The reference here seems to be to a group exercising leadership in the church. The present writer believes that there were as yet no institutionalized or precisely differentiated offices in the church known to Paul. He was influenced by the pattern of the charismatic community: "Whoever is filled with zeal, whoever does not shirk hard work, proves himself thereby to be one who can lead the way for others" (H. Greeven, *ZNW*, 44, 34, cf. 32). This is confirmed by the list of gifts in Rom. 12:8, where the *prohistamenos* is characterized by *spoudē* (zeal). The *prohistamenos* is here listed alongside the *didaskōn* (he who teaches), the *parakalōn* (he who exhorts), the *eleōn* (he who does acts of mercy). All of these words are participles which suggest an activity rather than an office. Tit. 3:8, 14 have the infinitive of the vb. *prohistasthai* with *kalōn ergōn* (good works) in the Gk. sense of taking trouble over good works (see above CL, 2). Behind 1 Tim. 3:4, 5, 12, where the participle is used with *tou idiou oikou* (his own house), there is the picture of the patriarchal head of the

household or father of the family. If he is capable of fulfilling this rôle well, he fulfils a vital qualification for being leader in the church. This is the qualification for the offices of bishop (*episkopos*) and deacon (*diakonos* → Serve), though their rôles are not as yet unambiguously defined. The context makes it probable that in one church there would be several *episkopoi*, just as there were a number of *diakonoi*. But the definition of the episcopal office is not clear, and its relation to the *presbyteroi* cannot be determined with certainty. In 1 Tim. 5:17 the participle *prohestōtes* is closely linked with *presbyteroi*. The passage refers to presiding elders (cf. the excursus by M. Dibelius on 1 Tim. 3:7 in *HNT* 13). In any case, by the time of the Pastoral Epistles the charismatic structure of the earlier Pauline church, whose functions are described grammatically by the use of participles, has given way to an organized system of offices for which substantives are used. Dibelius sees in this combination of the participle with *presbyteroi* a combination of offices, and understands the "honour" due to them in the sense of an honorarium for this honorary work (cf. Did. 13).

(c) *kybernēsis* (administrator, lit. administration) is used only at 1 Cor. 12:28 in a list beginning with apostles, prophets and teachers, and then progressing to various charismatic gifts. (The vb. *kybernaō* is totally lacking.) The first three differ from the rest by being numbered, but it is unlikely that any basic contrast is intended. The position of *kybernēseis* after the gifts of healing and giving help, and before those of tongues, suggests that the word is a term for a mediating function of keeping order within the whole life of the church. Dibelius thinks it unlikely that either the conduct of worship or administrative duties are involved. *kybernētēs* occurs only at Acts 27:11 and Rev. 18:17 in the sense of helmsman.

2. *presbyteros* is found in the NT in three senses. In the synoptic gospels, and at the beginning and end of Acts, the sub. is used of the lay members of the Sanhedrin (see below (a)). In the central portion of Acts, the Pastoral Epistles, Jas. 5:14, and the salutations in 2 and 3 Jn., the Christian elder is meant (see below (b)). Finally in Rev., it denotes heavenly beings (see below (c)), although it remains an open question whether they surround the divine throne as representatives of the heavenly or of the earthly church (cf. E. Lohmeyer, *HNT* 16 on Rev. 4:4). In Acts 2:17 (the quotation from Joel 2:28) the old as opposed to the young are meant. So too in 1 Tim. 5:2; Heb. 11:2; 1 Pet. 5:1, 5; Lk. 15:25; and Jn. 8:9. Apart from Jn. 8:9, which did not form part of the original text, the word is completely lacking in the Fourth Gospel. It does not appear in the Pauline epistles apart from the Pastorals.

(a) The *Jewish elders* have their place within the synoptic tradition only in the prediction of the passion and the passion narratives. The reference is to the lay members of the Sanhedrin, drawn from the patrician families particularly of Jerusalem. It lists their almost regular position after the "high priests" (*archiereis*), members of the priestly aristocracy (→ Priest), and shows their close association with and dependence on the latter. The only place – and this may be significant – where they head the list of the groups belonging to the High Council is the first passion prediction (Mk. 8:31 par.). This may be significant because their title marks them out as representatives of the Law, under which Jesus must be put to death. In the account of the events of the passion, however, it is the priestly members of the Sanhedrin that appear as the real agents and instigators (→ Cross, art. *stauros*, NT, 1(a)).

In Mk. 7:3, 5 (par. Matt. 15:2) the reference is not to elders as holders of office, but to the *paradosis tōn presbyterōn* (the tradition of the elders, i.e. of earlier scribes). *presbyteros* is thus understood as a title of honour for the ordained *grammateus* (scribe). Note that the questioners are scribes and Pharisees!

It will be noticed that Matthew in particular emphasizes the close association of chief priests and elders (*archiereis kai presbyteroi*), omitting in most cases mention of the *grammateis* (scribes). In Mark if anything the contrary tendency may be observed (cf. Matt. 26:3 with Mk. 14:1; Matt. 27:12, 20, 41 with Mk. 15:3, 11, 31). Luke has retained a list of all three only at Lk. 20:1 (par. Matt. 21:23; Mk. 11:27). Once (Lk. 22:66, par. Matt. 27:1, Mk. 15:1) he introduces the collective description *to presbyterion tou laou* ("the assembly of the elders of the people" RSV); cf. also Acts 22:5. This is hardly a matter of differing terminology. The choice of terms enables us rather to draw conclusions as to the viewpoint of each evangelist. Mark wishes to underline the part played by the scribes in the passion of Jesus, while Matthew places the emphasis more heavily on to the representatives of all Israel. He is the only one to use the expression *presbyteroi tou laou*, elders of the people (21:23; 26:3, 47; 27:1). Where, however, the gospel is intended more for non-Jewish readers (as with Luke), such distinctions are less evident, or disappear completely. John speaks merely of "the Jews" as the opponents of Jesus (→ Israel).

Only at Lk. 7:3 does the other type of *presbyteros* occur in the gospels. Here elders, in the sense of members of the presiding body of the local synagogue, approach Jesus on behalf of a Roman officer.

(b) Luke is the first not only to use the term *Christianoi* for the members of a Christian church (Acts 11:26), but also to introduce the expression *presbyteroi* in the same context to describe the men who exercised leadership in the Christian church at Jerusalem on the Jewish synagogue pattern (Acts 11:30; cf. 21:18). On the analogy of the Sanhedrin this presupposes a *gerousia*, council of elders, in which the leading rôle is played by the *apostoloi* (→ Apostles). Both are mentioned together in Acts 15:2, 4, 6, 22 f. and 16:4. By adopting this term, Luke enabled the continuity between the Old Covenant and the New to find expression in the structure of the church. He uses the term in describing the Pauline churches (cf. the travel narrative, Acts 14:23, and the mention of elders from Ephesus, Acts 20:17). By the time of the composition of Acts it is clear that the Pauline churches of Asia Minor had adopted the "presbyterian" system of government.

In the description of the offices in 1 Tim. 5:17, 19 and Tit. 1:5 *presbyteros* has become the title of honour for members of a body which cares for the members and the life of the church. Mention of them in 1 Tim. 4:14 in conferring the gift of prophecy suggests the collegiate character of their working. From this body those who "preside" in the strict sense (see above NT 1 (b)), and the preachers and teachers, are drawn (1 Tim. 5:17). Here we find the root of the present-day Presbyterian system.

Tit. 1:5, 7 makes it probable that the terms *presbyteros* and *episkopos* (bishop) are interchangeable (cf. Acts 20:17, 28). Besides meeting general personal and moral requirements, they have the special tasks of exhorting, and refuting objectors. In other words, they continue the juridical role of elders in the synagogue in the form of a presiding group. The same collegiate pattern forms the background of Jas. 5:14. Here too the reference is to the prominent members of local churches.

It remains to be added that in the Pastoral Epistles this local order still retains the collegiate form. But already there are tendencies towards the establishment of a body of clergy and the first hints of the emergence of monarchical heads over several churches. These appear in the shape of the apostle's disciples, Timothy and Titus. The latter appoints the elders in the individual churches in the apostle's name (Tit. 1:5; cf. Acts 14:23). H. Schlier sees in this the beginnings of the principle of succession, resulting, as in Judaism, in the rank of presbyter being given even in the ancient church only to the → priests who now fulfil the rôle of the scribes (*Die Zeit der Kirche*, 146). R. Sohm regards 1 Clem. as the beginning of church law, for it upholds with great vigour the rank and rights of the "office" over against the recalcitrant church. Not until the Reformation in Western Europe does the old *gerousia* principle of a body of worthy men reappear, and then the process, which is so familiar in the history of the Jewish and Christian office of elders, repeats itself for a third time.

The writer of 2 and 3 Jn. calls himself *presbyteros* (v. 1 in both cases). R. Bultmann takes this to signify not so much membership of a local body of elders, as a title of honour for a bearer and deliverer of the apostolic tradition (*KEK* 14, 7, 95). This would mean not an office-holder in the institutional sense, but rather a man valued and respected widely in the churches of the day, in a similar way to the early prophets and teachers. His authority would lie solely in the importance of what he said, in the power of truth and of the Spirit (cf. H. von Campenhausen, *Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power in the First Three Centuries*, 1969, 76–123).

(c) Finally *presbyteroi* are mentioned 12 times in the visions of Rev., always as a group of 24 men (2 x 12; first mentioned Rev. 4:4 ff.; cf. 7:11). They wear white clothes, and are crowned. They sit around the throne of the Almighty, separated from it only by the four heavenly creatures. They are thereby marked out as the bearers of high heavenly office. They are the ones who utter the praises of God for his saving acts in history (Rev. 4:10 f.; 5:6 ff.; 11:16 ff.), or are present when his praises are sung (Rev. 14:3). Occasionally one of them comes forward to say something (Rev. 5:5; 7:13; cf. the testimony of Peter and the other disciples in Matt. 16:15 ff.).

Although these visions suggest the idea of a heavenly counterpart of the office of elders in the earthly churches, so elevating it to a higher plane, it is not possible to verify this suggestion. The number 24 and the grouping around the throne may carry echoes of astronomical notions. But this does not mean any more than that these elders are to be seen as belonging to heaven and so to God. It is more probable that the image and the number are derived from the leaders of the 24 divisions of Jewish priests (1 Chr. 24:7 ff.), or of the temple singers (1 Chr. 25:9 ff.), who were called "elders" in later Judaism (cf. E. Lohmeyer *HNT* 16 on Rev. 4:4; A. Satake, "Gemeindeordnung", *WMANT* XXI, 147 ff.). They may represent the twelve patriarchs and the twelve apostles whose names are written on the gates and foundations of the holy city (Rev. 21:12 ff.) or a combination of these and other ideas (G. B. Caird, *A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John the Divine*, 63 f.).

→ Apostle, → Church, → Serve *L. Coenen*

(a). H. W. Beyer, *episkeptomai* etc., *TDNT* III 599–622; G. Bornkamm, *presbys* etc., *TDNT* VI 651–83; C. Brown, "Ministry in the New Testament," in J. C. Porthouse, ed., *Ministry in the*

Seventies, 1970, 10–22; R. E. Brown, *Priest and Bishop: Biblical Reflections*, 1971; P. Burke, "The Monarchical Episcopate at the End of the First Century", *JES* 7, 1970, 499–518; H. von Campenhausen, *Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power in the First Three Centuries of the Church*, 1969; K. M. Carey, ed., *The Historic Episcopate*, 1954; W. D. Davies, "Light on the Ministry from the New Testament," *Christian Origins and Judaism*, 1962, 231–45; A. Ehrhardt, *The Apostolic Succession in the First Two Centuries of The Church*, 1953; and *The Apostolic Ministry*, 1958; E. M. B. Green, *Called to Serve*, 1964; A. T. Hanson, *The Pioneer Ministry*, 1961; A. E. Harvey, "Elders", *JTS* New Series 25, 1974, 318–32; A. G. Hebert, *Apostle and Bishop*, 1963; K. E. Kirk, ed., *The Apostolic Ministry*, 1957²; H. Küng, *Structures of the Church*, 1964; *The Church*, 1967; and *Why Priests?* 1972; T. M. Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries*, 1902; T. W. Manson, *The Church's Ministry*, 1948; and *Ministry and Priesthood; Christ's and Ours*, 1958; D. P. Meyer, *The Episcopal Ministry and the Apostolic Succession in Recent Anglican Theology*, 1968; L. Morris, *Ministers of God*, 1964; B. Reicke, *prohistēmi*, *TDNT* VI 700–3; K. H. Rengstorf, *Apostolate and Ministry: The New Testament Doctrine of the Office of the Ministry*, 1969; E. Schillebeeckx, "The Catholic Understanding of Office in the Church," *Theological Studies* 30, 1969, 567–87; E. Schweizer, *Lordship and Discipleship*, 1960; and *Church Order in the New Testament*, 1961; W. Telfer, *The Office of a Bishop*, 1962.

(b). J. Benzinger, "Älteste in Israel," *RE* I 224 ff.; U. Brockhaus, *Charisma und Amt: Die paulinische Charismenlehre auf dem Hintergrund der frühchristlichen Gemeindefunktionen*, 1972; J. Brosch, *Charisma und Ämter in der Urkirche*, 1951; H. Brunotte, "Neue Literatur zur Bischofsfrage," *ZEK* 13, 1967–68, 282–98; G. Friedrich, "Bischof," *BHHW* I 254 f.; H. Greeven, "Propheten, Lehrer und Vorsteher bei Paulus," *ZNW* 44, 1952–53, 1 ff.; M. Horn, *Amt und Bischofsamt. Ein Überblick über das Verständnis des Amtes in der ev.-luth. Theologie der Gegenwart*, 1964; J. Jeremias, " 'Presbyterion,' ausserchristlich bezeugt," *ZNW* 48, 1957, 127 ff.; E. Lohse, *Die Ordination im Spätjudentum und im Neuen Testament*, 1951; W. Michaelis, *Das Ältesteamt*, 1953; W. Nauck, "Probleme des frühchristlichen Amtsverständnisses (1 Petr. 5, 2 f.)," *ZNW* 48, 1957, 201 ff.; F. Nötscher, "Vorchristliche Typen urchristlicher Ämter?" in *Die Kirche und ihre Ämter*, 1960, 315 ff.; K. Rahner and J. Ratzinger, *Episkopat und Primat*, 1961; B. Reicke, "Die Verfassung der Urgemeinde im Lichte jüdischer Dokumente," *ThZ* 10, 1954, 95 ff.; L. Rost, *Die Vorstufen von Kirche und Synagoge im Alten Testament*, *BWANT*, 4. Folge 24, 1938; H. Schlier, "Die Ordnung der Kirche nach den Pastoralbriefen," in *Die Zeit der Kirche*, 1956, 129 ff.; K. L. Schmidt, "Amt und Ämter," *ThZ* 1, 1945, 309 ff.; R. Schnackenburg, "Episkopos und Hirtenamt in Apg. 20, 28," in *Episcopus: Studien über das Bischofsamt*, (Festschrift Faulhaber) 1949, 66 ff.; R. Stockmeyer, "Gemeinde und Bischofsamt in der alten Kirche," *ThQ* 149, 1969, 133–46; K. Weiss, "Paulus, Priester der Kultgemeinde," *TLZ* 79, 1954, 355–64; H. D. Wendland, "Geist, Recht und Amt in der Urkirche," *Archiv für evangelisches Kirchenrecht* 2, 1938, 289–300.

Bitter

πικρός	πικρός (*pikros*), bitter; πικρῶς (*pikrōs*), bitterly.

CL & OT Found in secular Gk. from Homer onwards, *pikros* means lit. pointed, sharp, pungent, bitter tasting, and in a transferred sense painful, angry, relentless, embittered. It occurs some 40 times in the LXX, occasionally lit. (e.g. Exod. 15:23; Jer. 23:15), but mostly in a transferred sense (e.g. Ruth 1:20; Hab. 1:6). The adv. *pikrōs* occurs 9 times (e.g. Isa. 22:4; 33:7). The adj. and the adv. occur in both Philo and Josephus.

NT The adj. *pikros* is found only at Jas. 3:11 (bitter water as a symbol of the evil that issues from the tongue; the same spring cannot pour forth fresh water and bitter or brackish) and Jas. 3:14 (of bitter jealousy). In both passages Jas. shows that such conduct is utterly incompatible with the Christian profession and must be done away with. The adv. *pikrōs* is found only at Matt. 26:75 and the par. Lk.

22:61, where Peter acknowledged his denial and "wept bitterly." "The weeping was violent and uncontrolled, expressing utter despair at the denial" (W. Michaelis, *TDNT* VI 124). *G. T. D. Angel*

πικρία πικρία (*pikria*), bitterness.

CL & OT *pikria* is rare in secular Gk., though it is found from Demosthenes and Aristotle onwards, meaning bitterness of taste or temper, and the hardness of times. It occurs about 30 times in the LXX: of the place-name Marah (Num. 33:8 f.; cf. Exod. 15:23); metaphorically in Deut. 32:32; Lam. 3:15, 19; Prov. 5:4; and of God in Isa. 28:21, 28. It regularly denotes the bitterness associated with grief, disappointment, hate and anger. Philo and Josephus use the noun in the same sense as the LXX, though Josephus rarely.

NT In Heb. 12:15 ("root of bitterness" = Deut. 29:18 LXX) bitterness is associated with anger as in the OT (cf. Deut. 32:32). Rom. 3:14 (quoting Ps. 10:7, 9:28) associates it with cursing in the course of an argument which shows that both Jews and Gentiles are "under the power of sin" (Rom. 3:9). In Acts 8:23 Peter accused Simon Magus of being "in the gall of bitterness and in the bond of iniquity" after he tried to purchase the Holy Spirit. The latter phrase reflects Isa. 58:6, and the former the connection made in the OT between bitterness, gall, wormwood and poison (Deut. 29:18; Lam. 3:15, 19; Prov. 5:4; cf. Amos 6:12). Unrighteous actions and desires produce bitterness. *pikria* (bitterness, perhaps including animosity, anger, resentment, harshness) comes first in a list of vices which the Christian is called upon to put away (Eph. 4:31). *G. T. D. Angel*

πικραίνω πικραίνω (*pikrainō*), make bitter, embitter.

CL & OT In secular Gk. from Hippocrates onwards, meaning lit. to make to taste bitter and in a transferred sense to affect harshly; in the pass. to be angry, to be embittered. It is found in the LXX some 12 times (e.g. Job 27:2; Ruth 1:13; Exod. 16:20, be angry, enraged). It is never used of God.

NT Husbands are not to be bitter, ill-disposed or harsh towards their wives (Col. 3:19). In Rev. 8:11 it means to make water bitter through wormwood (cf. Deut. 29:18; Jer. 9:15; 23:15; Lam. 3:15, 19; Amos 5:7; 6:12; Prov. 5:4). It describes one of the afflictions of mankind in the vision of the angels and trumpets. It also occurs in Rev. 10:9 f. of the scroll which the angel commanded John to eat which was sweet in his mouth but made his stomach bitter. The image suggests the anguish caused him by his prophetic message. The unpalatable message contrasts with the bitterness which afflicts men through the wormwood described earlier which contains the implication that it is brought about by their own evil. *G. T. D. Angel*

παραπικραίνω παραπικραίνω (*parapikrainō*), embitter, make angry, provoke; also used like an intransitive, to be disobedient, be rebellious, rebel.

CL & OT *parapikrainō* is not found before the LXX, where it is used over 40 times with the above meanings (e.g. Jer. 32[39]:29; 44[51]:3, 8 of provoking God's anger; and of being disobedient and rebellious in Deut. 31:27; Pss. 68[67]:6; 106 [105]:7; Ezek. 3:9; 12:9).

NT In the NT it is found only at Heb. 3:16 which is dependent on the LXX of Ps. 95[94]:7–11. The noun *parapikrasmos*, rebellion, occurs in Heb. 3:8, 15 (both from Ps. 95[94]:8). It is used in the OT to refer to the Exodus rebellion (cf. Exod. 15:23; 17:7; Num. 14; 20:2–5). The author of Heb. cites the Ps. as a warning against disobedience, urging believers: "Today, when you hear his voice, do not harden your hearts as in the rebellion." *G. T. D. Angel*

Arndt, 626, 663; Moulton-Milligan, 512; W. Michaelis, *pikros* etc. *TDNT*, VI 122–27.

Black, White, Red

μέλας — μέλας (*melas*), black.

CL & OT *melas* is found in secular Gk. from Homer to the 3rd cent. A.D., meaning dark, black, and in a transferred sense sinister, malignant, enigmatic. It occurs in the LXX (Cant. 1:5; Zech. 6:2 etc. for *šāḥōr*), Philo and Josephus who uses *melas* metaphorically as the sign of a stranger, of mourning (as also the Talmud) and of personal misfortune.

NT The neut. *to melan* is used for ink at 2 Cor. 3:3; 2 Jn. 12; 3 Jn. 13.

melas is contrasted with → *leukos*, white, in Matt. 5:36: "And do not swear by your head, for you cannot make one hair white or black." There is perhaps here a complex of ideas. Swearing was sometimes made by the → head (cf. also Mishnah Sanh. 3:2) and in some instances the vow was symbolized by not cutting the hair (Exod. 20:25; Num. 19:2; Deut. 15:19; Jdg. 13:5; 16:17 ff.; Acts 18:18; 21;24). Several times disciples are assured that the hairs of their heads are all numbered, and thus will not perish (Matt. 10:30; Lk. 12:7; 21:18; Acts 27:34). Man has no control over the course of time; his vows cannot turn the clock back by turning his white hair again to the black of his youth. Nevertheless, the disciple can trust in the → father's providential care that nothing will befall him without the father's will.

At Rev. 6:5 the rider of a black horse holds a balance, while a voice quotes high prices for food, probably a sign of famine sent as judgment. The apocalyptic image is derived from the four horses in Zech. 6:2 which represent the universal lordship of God. (On this passage see W. D. McHardy, "The Horses in Zechariah" in *In Memoriam Paul Kahle* [*Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*] 1968, 174–79; and J. G. Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 1972, 138 ff.) In Rev. 6:12 the sun becomes "black as sackloth", the colour indicating mourning, as often in Jewish literature in the setting of → judgment (cf. Joel 2:31). The darkening of the sun is a recurrent eschatological symbol of the day of the Lord's coming in judgment which the NT takes over from the OT (Isa. 13:10; 50:3; Ezek. 32:7; Joel 2:10, 31; Amos 8:9; Ass. Mos. 10:5; Matt. 24:29; Mk. 13:24; Lk. 23:45; Acts

2:20; Rev. 6:12; 9:2; cf. R. H. Charles, *The Revelation of St. John* [ICC], I, 1920, 180; → Darkness, → Present, art. *hēmera*).

Later Christian literature called the devil "the black one" (e.g. Barn. 4:9; 20:1).

G. T. D. Angel

λευκός

λευκός (*leukos*), white.

CL & OT In secular Gk. from Homer onwards *leukos* means light, fair, bright, clear, white. In the LXX it means the colour white (Gen. 49:12; Isa. 1:18; Zech. 1:8; chiefly for *lāḇān*), though white here may include half-yellow. It is used of clear speech in Isa. 32:4. White was the colour of the priest's linen clothing symbolizing purity (Schürer, II, 1, 276 ff.; W. Michaelis, *TDNT* IV 242 f.; cf. Exod. 28:40–43; 39:27 ff.; Ezek. 44:17 ff.; Josephus, *Ant.*, 3, 7, 1 ff.). White symbolizes the state of being purified from the defilement of sin (Ps. 51:7; Isa. 1:18; Dan. 11:35; 12:10). It is the colour of God himself (Dan. 7:9). But it is also used in the diagnosis of leprosy (Lev. 13 where about half the references occur). Both Philo and Josephus saw symbolic implications in the colour (cf. *TDNT* IV 243 f.). The latter mentions that the Essenes went clothed in white (*War*, 2, 123). From the 1st cent. A.D. onwards the dead were buried in white linen (*TDNT* IV 244 f.). This may be connected with the imagery of the garments of glory worn by the saints in their transfigured state (Eth. En. 62:14 ff.; Sl. Enoch 22:8).

NT *leukos* occurs only in the Gospels, Acts and Rev. It is used of the yellowish white, ripe corn ready for harvest (Jn. 4:35), in a context which suggests that the eschatological harvest is at hand and that the disciples are now being sent out as reapers (cf. Matt. 9:37). (See further R. E. Brown, *The Gospel according to John* (*i–xii*), 1966, 173 f. L. Morris, however, finds puzzling the application of white to crops and suggests that it may be a metaphorical reference to the white garments of the crowds, *The Gospel according to John*, 1971, 297.)

White is an eschatological colour in various other contexts, especially in the description of garments. In the transfiguration of Jesus, his garments appeared brilliantly white (Matt. 17:2; Mk. 9:3; Lk. 9:29; → Form, art. *morphē*). So too was the appearance of the angels at the tomb (Matt. 28:3; Mk. 16:5; cf. Jn. 20:12; Lk. 24:4), and of the two men who addressed the disciples after Jesus had ascended (Acts 1:10). White is also the colour of the garments of the saints in the after-life (Rev. 3:4 f., 18; 4:4; 6:11; 7:9, 13; 19:14). In the first instance, white is associated with eschatological and transcendent existence, and not with Godhead as such. However, the throne of God is white (Rev. 20:11), and in an earlier vision John has seen "one like a son of man" seated upon a white cloud wearing a golden → crown and bearing a sharp sickle (Rev. 14:14). In his first vision the glorified Christ appeared with white hair like wool and snow (Rev. 1:14), associating the Risen Christ with the "ancient of days" (Dan. 7:9) whose raiment was white as snow and hair white as wool, showing that for John "Christ is equal to God in essence and appearance" (W. Michaelis, *TDNT* IV 247, quoting J. Behm, *Apokalypse* [NTD], ad loc.). Perhaps there is also the implicit thought in Rev. that since white is the colour symbolic of God himself, the white garments of the saints symbolize the holiness and purity that only God bestows. In keeping with this, the glorified

Christ who comes in judgment is seen riding a white horse (Rev. 6:2; 19:11) and the armies of heaven who follow him are clad in "fine linen, white and pure" riding "white horses" (Rev. 19:14). However, the horse which symbolizes death which is followed by Hades is a pale (*chlōros*) horse (Rev. 6:8; cf. R. H. Charles, op. cit., I, 168 f.; → *melas* NT).

In the letter to the church at Pergamum those who overcome are promised "hidden manna" (→ Bread, art. *manna*) and "a white stone, with a new name written on the stone which no one knows except him who receives it" (Rev. 2:17). Various images may lie behind this. The white stone was used by jurors to signify acquittal (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 15, 41). It was regarded as a mark of felicity (Pliny, *Epistulae*, 6, 11, 3). In a certain royal assembly possession of a stone entitled one to free entertainment, and there was a rabbinic tradition that precious stones fell along with the manna (R. H. Charles, op. cit., I, 66). The tribes of Israel were represented by precious stones in the high priest's breastplate (Exod. 28:15–21). Perhaps John is combining some of these ideas with that of → confessing the → name of Christ as → Lord and the implied corollary of being owned by God (cf. Matt. 10:32; Mk. 8:38; Lk. 12:8; Rom. 10:9 ff.; 1 Cor. 12:3; Phil. 2:11).

What has been said above stands in contrast with the vb. *koniaō*, whitewash, which is used of the tombs which were whitewashed annually before the Passover, lest pilgrims inadvertently tread on them and so became → defiled (Matt. 23:27; cf. Lk. 11:44; SB I 936 f.). The whitewashing appears to have served both as a warning and as an embellishment. Jesus denounced the scribes and Pharisees as hypocrites, "for you are like whitewashed tombs, which outwardly appear beautiful, but within they are full of dead men's bones and all uncleanness" (Matt. 23:27). Similarly, Paul denounced Ananias as a "whitewashed wall" (Acts 23:3, perhaps combining the idea of a tomb built into a wall and that of the whitewashed fragile wall in Ezek. 13:10 ff.). *G. T. D. Angel*

πυρρός

πυρρός (*pyrros*), red (as fire).

CL & OT *pyrros* is connected with *pyr*, → fire, and *pyroō*, burn. It is attested in secular Gk. from Aeschylus onwards, and can mean red, yellow, yellow-grey, tawny. The LXX uses *pyrros* for *'ādōm* (Gen. 25:30; Num. 19:2; 2 Ki. 3:22; Cant. 5:10). Red horses figure in the vision of Zech. 1:8 and 6:2 (→ *melas*), the red symbolizing the east.

NT The word occurs only at Rev. 6:4 and 12:3, though *Pyrros*, Pyrrhus, occurs as a proper name in Acts 20:4. The rider of the red horse (6:4) is a war-monger, the colour signifying slaughter. Most commentators interpret the four riders as agents of destruction, sent out or simply permitted by God. The red dragon (12:3) denotes → Satan, but recalls the evil Leviathan (Isa. 27:1), associated with Egyptian power (Ezek. 29:3). The colour might stand for bloodthirstiness (12:4), or for evil, as does scarlet (*kokkinos*, 17:3; cf. Isa. 1:18). Purple (*porphyros*, 17:4) symbolizes wealth and luxury (18:16; cf. Lk. 16:19). The noun *porphyra* meant originally the purple shell-fish (murex), then the dye obtained from it, and finally cloth, clothing (cf. Acts 16:14). It is used of the garment which the Roman soldiers put on Jesus (Mk. 15:17, 20; Jn. 19:2, 5) mocking him as King of the Jews. *G. T. D. Angel*

Arndt, 441, 473, 501, 700, 738; F. Lang, *pyrros*, *TDNT* VI 952; Liddell–Scott, 1042, 1095 f., 1559; W. Michaelis, *leukos* and *melas*, *TDNT* IV 241–50, 549 ff.; O. Michel, *kokkinos*, *TDNT* III 812 ff.; Moulton–Milligan, 395; M. Rissi, *The Future of the World*, 1972, 19, 91; and commentaries on *Revelation* on the passages cited, by R. H. Charles (ICC), I–II, 1920; A. Farrer, 1964; G. B. Caird, 1966; L. Morris, 1969; G. E. Ladd, 1972; G. R. Beasley-Murray, 1974.

Blessing, Blessed, Happy

εὐλογία

εὐλογέω (*eulogeō*), speak good of, praise, bless; εὐλογία (*eulogia*), fine speaking, praise, blessing; εὐλογητός (*eulogētos*), praised, blessed; ἐνευλογέω (*eneulogeō*), bless; ἀσπάζομαι (*aspazomai*), greet; ἀσπασμός (*aspasmos*), greeting.

CL 1. The vb. *eulogeō* is found in Gk. literature from the tragedians onwards. It is compounded from the adv. *eu*, well, and the root *log-*, speak (→ Word), and means to speak well. (Its opposite is *kakologeō*, speak badly.) Correspondingly the noun *eulogia* (attested from Pindar onwards) means speaking well. The verbal adj. *eulogētos* corresponds to the perf. part. pass. *eulogēmenos* and means a person or thing which is favourably spoken of and thus praised. The intensive compound form *eneulogēo* or *eneulogeomai* is not found in secular Gk. literature.

(a) Applied to *form*, speaking well (*eulogia*) refers to its aesthetic appeal, the attractive presentation of what one is saying (cf. *TDNT* II 754). In *Rep.*, 3, 400de Plato names *eulogia* alongside *euharmostia* (harmony), *euschēmosynē* (good deportment), and *eurhythmia* (symmetry) as consequences of *euēthia* (good morals or good character). In Lucian (*Lexiphanes* 1) and Aesop (ed. Halm 274, 274b: *eulogos*) the concept takes on the negative sense of a well-composed, but false, attractiveness of speech (so also Rom. 16:18).

(b) Applied to its *content*, speaking well (*eulogia*) expresses praise and extolling. This praise can be of things (e.g. a city, Aesch. *Agamemnon*, 580; distinguished deeds, Isoc., 6, 105), or persons (e.g. fathers, Aristoph., *Knights*, 565; women, Aristoph., *Ecclesiazusae*, 454). Occasionally it is used of the praise of the gods (objective gen.) (e.g. Pan in *CIG*, III p. 1190, no. 4705b 2; and Isis, ibid. no. 4705c 3). In such a context *eulogèō* comes close to the meaning of *eucharisteō*, thank (→ Thank, Art. *eucharistia*). Only once (Eur., *Suppliants* 927) are the gods the subject of *eulogein*. The gods consider men in their good deeds. This reflects the rôle of the gods as protecting and endowing men, which is not altogether unknown in Gk. religion (cf. Aesch., *Eumenides*, 997 ff.). Yet one cannot ascribe to the Gk. gods a specific activity of blessing. *eulogeō* first comes to mean bless in the LXX.

2. H. Windisch thinks that the basic meaning of *aspazomai* is that of embracing as in the mutual greeting of two good friends (*TDNT* I 497). Its etymology is obscure, and it is found from Homer onwards. It is also possible that its basic meaning is to speak or say. Like *phileō* (→ Love), *aspazomai* originally expressed liking and welcoming, respect and love for persons and things (Xen., *Cyropaedia*, 1, 4, 1; *Anabasis*, 7, 1, 8; Plato, *Apology* 29d, *Symp.* 209B; Eur., *Ion* 587). Later its application was limited to the act of greeting, as opposed to the word of greeting (cf. *chaire*, hail!). It included offering one's hand, embracing, kissing (*philēma*) and

genuflexion (→ Prayer, Art. *proskyneō*) (Plut., *Titus*, 11; *Agesilaus*, 11; *Phocion*, 27; Josephus, *Ant.* 11, 8, 5 (331)). Correspondingly, the sub. *aspasmos* means first embrace, love (Plato, *Laws*, 11, 919e), then greeting, visit (Epict., *Diss.*, 4, 4, 3, 37). Written greetings are uncommon in the pre-Christian era, but they were more frequent in the Oriental world (cf. Amarna and Elephantine Letters).

OT In the LXX these words are very common (in all 640 occurrences, 450 in the case of *eulogeō*). Most often they represent forms of the root *bārak* (bless). Here *eulogeō* comes to mean bless and is no longer contrasted with *kakologeō* (see above CL 1), but with *kataraomai* (curse). This group of words occurs in almost all OT and apocryphal texts, but it is particularly common in Gen., Deut., Pss. and Tob. The descriptions of blessing in the OT have to some extent developed a peculiar "language of blessing" (C. Westermann, *Der Segen in der Bibel und im Handeln der Kirche*, 1968, 33). It is, therefore, necessary for the understanding of the OT concept of blessing to deal not only with cases of the *bārak* and *eulogeō* groups of words but also with texts which describe the blessing in their own way without using this terminology.

1. The concept of blessing has its origins in pre-Israelite times and is connected with magical concepts from which blessing could originally be distinguished only with difficulty (cf. G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in Essence and Manifestation*, 1964², §59). This is implied even in the etymological links of the Heb. *bārak* with the Ugaritic root *brk* and the Akkad. word *karābu*. Basically *bārak* means endow with beneficial power. This meaning involves both the process of endowing and the condition of being endowed. Hence blessing originally involved a self-contained beneficial force which one could transmit to another and which stood in contrast to the destructive power of cursing (→ Curse, Art. *kataraomai*).

2. In the OT one can find elements of such pre-Israelite ideas and customs of blessing which were common particularly in the ancient religions of the Near East. Blessing features strongly in the stories of the patriarchs in Gen. 12–36.

(a) The performance of a blessing involves a → word invested with power and an action ratifying it. The oldest formula of blessing is a promise in the indicative: Blessed are you! (*bārûk 'attâh*; LXX *eulogētos [sy ei]*, e.g. Gen. 26:29). The actions that accompanied this pronouncement have a symbolic significance. Through physical contact they confer beneficial power by the laying on of hands. This is by the right hand (Gen. 48:13 ff.), or at least by the raising of the hands or the arms (Exod. 17:11), kissing or embracing (Gen. 48:10), and the touching of clothes (2 Ki. 2:13 f.), staffs (2 Ki. 4:29), or placing the hand under the thigh (Gen. 24:9; 47:29). The one who was to bestow the blessing fortified for bestowing it by eating a special food (Gen. 27:4).

(b) The imparted blessing works unconditionally and irrevocably. It is permanent and can neither be revoked nor rendered ineffective (Gen. 27:33; 2 Sam. 7:29).

(c) The blessing does not have its original setting in the sacral context of the cult, but in that of the family bonds of kinship.

(d) There are correspondingly different occasions for blessing. The most frequent form of expression is a greeting at meeting and parting (Gen. 47:7 ff.). A blessing was imparted particularly at the climactic points in life: at birth (Ruth 4:13 f.; cf. Lk. 2:34), marriage (Gen. 24:60) and death (Gen. 48:1 ff.; 49:28 ff.). In

this connection it is important to note the blessing of the heir, by which the head of the family conveyed his power before his death chiefly to his first-born son, and thus passed it on to the next generation (Gen. 27:1 ff.; 48:1 ff.).

(e) Basically anyone is entitled to impart a blessing or a curse. But some men were specially endowed with a power to bless and curse, e.g., the seer Balaam (Num. 22), charismatic leaders like Joshua (Jos. 6), Melchizedek Gen. 14:18 ff.), and later also prophets and priests.

(f) In earlier times blessing had a mutual character. Not only did the mighty bestow a blessing on their inferiors (e.g. Melchizedek on Abraham in Gen. 14:18 ff.), but also the inferiors on the mighty (e.g. Jacob on Pharaoh in Gen. 47:7–10). Men reply to the blessings of a deity by blessing him, i.e. by recognizing his power in praise. Hence *bārak* means, on the one hand, bless (subject: God) and, on the other, praise (subject: men).

(g) The nature of the blessing is that of the conferring and transference of beneficial power, which produces fertility in men (Gen. 24:34–36) and in livestock and lands (Gen. 30:25 ff.). Blessing works vertically in the continued growth of succeeding generations (expressed in the genealogies of Gen. 5 and 11:10 ff.). Horizontally it effects peace, security from enemies, good fortune and well-being for a tribe or group (expressed most comprehensively in the concept *šālôm*, well-being.

(h) This original concept of a blessing, which precedes both the emergence of cult and theological reflection appears most clearly in Jacob's plot to steal the blessing in Gen. 27.

3. (a) The story of Balaam (Num. 22–24) combines the pre-Israelite phenomenon of the blessing with the power of Yahweh, the God of Israel. Balak, king of Moab, apprehensive of an invasion of the Israelites into his land, called on the pagan charismatic soothsayer Balaam to help by checking the threatening foe with a → curse (Num. 22:1–6). The point of the story is that Yahweh, the God of Israel, shows himself to be master of the power to pronounce blessing. Balaam is deprived of his own innate powers of control and may only bless, instead of curse, at Yahweh's command (Num. 22:12, 31, 38; 23:3–5). In this transference of all the power of blessing to Yahweh, blessing has lost its magical quality. The visible contacts conveying the power are reduced to actions in which Yahweh is understood as the real agent of blessing.

(b) The pronouncements of the blessing (Num. 23:7–10, 18–24; 24:3–9, 15–24) in the story of Balaam have their true home in the formal pronouncements of blessing and cursing (cf. Gen. 9:26; 49; Num. 22–24; Deut. 33; Gen. 3:14 f.; 4:11; Lev. 26; Deut. 28). Blessing belongs to the language of the seer. It differs from the prophetic promise of salvation in the way it depicts salvation. It portrays the earthly well-being of the people or the land. Thus Num. 24:5 f. declares: "How fair are your tents, Jacob, your encampments, Israel. Like valleys that stretch afar, like gardens beside a river, like oaks that the Lord (MT *YHWH*) has planted, like cedar trees beside the waters."

(c) The decisive switch from the prehistoric, unhistorical concept of the blessing within the tribe to the historical understanding of the blessing in the context of the history of Israel occurs in the Yahwistic prologue to the story of the patriarchs in Gen. 12:1–3. The text is divided into a three-fold command (v. 1) and a six-fold

promise, each part linked by *waw* (and; vv. 2–3). The command contains the demand that Abraham depart from his land, his tribe and his family. He is to break off his settled way of life, in order to travel on towards a vaguely indicated destination. It is a striking feature of the formulation of the promise, that in these programmatic promises the root *bārak* occurs 5 times, each time in a different form, as the key word. As distinct from the immediate transference of power in pre-Israelite times, the Yahwist has made the blessing into an object of Yahweh's → promise. He has given the previous unhistorical procedure of blessing a future perspective: the blessing is promised for future times.

The Yahwist takes up the tradition of the promise of a son or a posterity in the patriarchal stories (cf. Gen. 26:34–36; 26:24). Here the son is not named as the blessing promised to Abraham, as he is in Gen. 15:4; 18:10. The blessing is the great nation and the great name which this nation obtained later as in the time of the empire of David and Solomon (v. 2; cf. 2 Sam. 7:9). The blessing is seen as a promise realized in the history of Israel. " 'Blessing' becomes the key word of the great history of Israel from Abraham's departure up to the Davidic empire" (H. W. Wolff, *Gesammelte Studien*, *ThB* 22, 1964, 356).

The sixth clause, formulated with a constative perf., is the most comprehensive: "all tribes of the earth can obtain blessing in you" (v. 3b; cf. 18:18; 28:14; the niph. of *bārak* is to be translated as mid., not pass.). This sentence is to be understood in the context of the primal history which embraces all mankind (Gen. 1–11), which mentions 5 instances of the curse on mankind (Gen. 3:14, 17; 4:11; 5:29; 9:25). In contrast to this history of the curse, Gen. 12:3b sets before "all tribes of the earth" a history of blessing. It includes liberation from vain toil (Gen. 3:17), care-fraught wandering (Gen. 4:11 f.), base servitude (Gen. 9:25) and the destructive chaos of the nations (Gen. 11:1 ff.). Thus in Gen. 12:1–3 the Yahwist spans the histories of patriarchs, nation and mankind with his promise of blessing.

4. (a) After Israel's settlement in Canaan a lengthy struggle began over whether the Canaanite fertility gods, the Baalim, or Yahweh, the God of promises who brought Israel out of Egypt, was to be honoured as bestower of blessing. The fierceness of this clash is especially apparent in the accounts of the prophet Elijah (1 Ki. 17–19). The story of God's judgment on Carmel (1 Ki. 18) symbolizes the victory of Yahweh who causes fire to fall from heaven over the powerless deity, Baal (cf. G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, II, 1967, 16 ff.). The story of drought and rain (1 Ki. 17:1; 18:1, 2a, 16 f., 41–46) transfers Baal's powers of fertility and blessing to Yahweh, who is now seen as Lord of the land. His continued activity in bestowing blessing in the promised land of Canaan adds a new element to his actions in history.

(b) This understanding of blessing is expressed in Deuteronomy. Here the whole nation receives the gifts of civilized society – fertility of body, of cattle, of field, political unity and harmony with neighbouring peoples – as blessings from Yahweh's hand. "Blessed are you in the city, and blessed in the field. Blessed is the fruit of your body, the fruit of your land and the fruit of your cattle .... The Lord will cause your enemies who rise up against you to be defeated by you" (Deut. 28:3–7; cf. 7:13–16). Yahweh's blessing is understood in Deut. in this-wordly, secular terms. G. von Rad speaks of a "material view of salvation, which ... extends even to the kneading-trough of the individual household (Deut. 28:5)" (op. cit. I, 1962, 229).

In contrast to the concept of blessing in Gen. 12, 15, 26, Deuteronomy does not speak of blessing in the form of an unconditional promise, but in the form of conditional sentences. "*If* (MT *'im*; LXX *ean*) you now listen carefully to the voice of Yahweh, your God . . . then all these blessings will come upon you" (Deut. 28:1 f.; cf. vv. 15 f.). Being thus bound to the obedience of the nation, the blessing is an element in the → covenant between Yahweh and Israel. As Yahweh fulfils his covenant obligations in blessing, so Israel is bound to keep the covenant. The reverse side of this conditional blessing under the covenant is the curse that attends Israel's failure to keep its obligations. That is the significance of the command of Deut. 11:29 to set the blessing on Mount Gerizim and the curse on Mount Ebal. The two possibilities, between which Israel must choose (Deut. 30:19), are developed at length in ch. 28: vv. 1–14, the blessing; and vv. 15–68, the curse. By drawing blessing into the covenant, Deut. unites the polarity of blessing and cursing with that of salvation and judgment (→ Redemption, art. *sōzō* OT; → Judgment, art. *krima* OT; cf. C. Westermann, *Der Segen*, 51 f.).

(c) Besides Yahweh, the real bestower of blessing, there are also in Israel individual people or groups who mediate blessing: → kings, → prophets and → priests. The role of the king in mediating blessing is never so prominent in Israel as, e.g., in Egypt. But the promise given by Nathan (2 Sam. 7:16) shows that at any rate the Davidic kingship conveys blessing. The first temple at Jerusalem is consecrated with a two-fold act of blessing by Solomon before and after the prayer of consecration (1 Ki. 8:14, 54). The extent to which the king was seen as bringing blessing is particularly clear in the messianic texts which speak of a new king who will bring his nation the blessings of well-being and peace (cf. Isa. 9:6 f.; 11:1 ff.). Part of the task of the early prophets was to intercede for Yahweh's blessing on the nation (1 Ki. 18:41 ff., Elijah; 2 Ki. 6:24 ff., Elisha; Amos 7:1 ff.; Jer. 14). The later literary prophets proclaimed well-being in the form of a future activity of Yahweh in salvation and blessing. Like the apocalyptic writers, they portrayed this blessing promised for the future as an earthly salvation in the language of blessing (see above 3 (b)). It is seen as a messianic kingdom of peace (Isa. 11; Zech. 9:9 f.), a quiet and prosperous life (Mic. 4:3 f.; Zech. 9:17), prosperity and a great banquet (Isa. 55:1 ff.; 25:6), the destruction of enemies (Isa. 27:1), lasting peace (Isa. 26:12) and universal well-being (Isa. 65:17–25).

5. (a) Blessing also plays an important part in Israelite worship. That is apparent in the consecration of Solomon's temple (1 Ki. 8:14, 54; see above 4 (c)). The temple as the holy precinct is the true place for the mediation of blessing to the nation and the land. The blessing was bestowed at the close of worship on the members of the cultic community as they returned to their houses, that it might be realized in their daily lives (cf. the Pss. of blessing: 65; 115:12–15; 128; 129:8; 132 etc.). The community responded to the blessing that it had received by blessing Yahweh in their turn, in the cry of adoration, "Praised be Yahweh" (MT *bārûḵ YHWH;* LXX *eulogētos kyrios*). This formula occurs especially frequently in the Pss. of praise (Pss. 18:47; 28:6; 31:21(22); 66:20; 68:19(20); 119:12; 124:6; etc.; cf. also the doxologies of Pss. 41:13(14); 72:18(19); 89:52(53); 106:48). Probably the blessing was also pronounced on certain cultic occasions (e.g. the presentation of the first-fruits, Deut. 26:1 ff.) and over individuals (cf. Pss. 91; 121).

(b) The theology of blessing in the so-called priestly tradition presupposes the

institutions of the cult. The bestowal of blessing is a privilege of the Levitical → priests. Lev. 9:22 f. tells of the first pronouncement of the priestly blessing at the end of the first service of sacrifice in the holy tent. It is confirmed by the appearance of Yahweh's glory. Num. 6:24–26 records the wording of the priestly, Aaronic blessing, to be pronounced at the end of every act of worship: "May Yahweh bless you, and keep you; may Yahweh let his face shine upon you, and may he be gracious to you; may Yahweh lift up his countenance towards you, and may he set well-being upon you." This rhythmic blessing falls into three parts, each of which describes Yahweh's blessing and its content with different words, so rendering it more impressive. The process of his blessing is described as a shining or lifting up of his → face (MT *pānîm*; LXX *prosōpon*). *pānîm* means that side of Yahweh's nature which is turned towards men (cf. the *k^{e}ḇôḏ YHWH*, Yahweh's glory). If Yahweh does not hide that side of himself that is turned towards men, but lifts it up; if he does not darken it in wrath, but lets it shine; then Yahweh's blessing means his welcoming disposition towards men. The content of the blessing is described by the concepts of protection, grace and – most comprehensively – well-being (Heb. *šālôm*, → Peace OT). The blessing is received by the community of the Israelites gathered for worship, who are addressed as a single person (v. 23). The six verbs of the blessing are in the cohortative imperfect, i.e. in the form of a desire for blessing and not a promise in the indicative. Thus Yahweh's freedom over against cultic blessing is safeguarded. The priests can simply pray for his blessing; but they cannot dispense it. Nevertheless, Yahweh's promise attends the priests' act of blessing: "If they thus set my name upon the Israelites, I myself will bless them" (v. 27).

(c) While the concept of blessing in Num. 6 has a sacral, priestly, cultic character, related to the cultic community, the blessing pronounced in Gen. 1:22, 28 embraces all creation, men and other creatures. "Be fruitful, increase, fill the earth and subject it to yourselves" (Gen. 1:28). Gen. 2:3 does not only sanctify the seventh day for the cultic community, but primarily blesses it for all men. C. Westermann deduces from the common and contrasting elements in Gen. 1 and Num. 6 that "the blessing given in worship . . . is in fact meant for all mankind; and the blessing pronounced upon the community gathering for sacred worship is that intended for all mankind and indeed for all living things" (op. cit., 61).

6. (a) Even the occasionally thoroughly secular sayings collected in the OT Wisdom literature are indirectly related with blessing. Here Yahweh's blessing is expressed in the shrewd advice which a wise man can give in secular matters (details in Westermann, op. cit., 40 ff.).

(b) The dramatic dialogues of the Book of Job also discuss the question of Yahweh's action in bestowing and withdrawing his blessing. The argument shows that the mechanical application of the theology of blessing of Deut., that blessing and cursing are entirely dependent on obedience or disobedience (cf. 4 (b)), upheld by Job's "friends", with all their merciless implications, is not the complete answer. For it does not square with the reality of Job's sufferings (cf. also Ps. 73 and the scepticism of the Preacher in Eccl.). Here the OT theology of blessing reaches its limits. Yahweh's blessing is no longer primarily experienced in the present. As in apocalyptic, it is awaited in the promised *eschaton*.

(c) The original forms of the blessings are preserved in the Book of Tobit which echoes the stories of the patriarchs: the blessing of children by their parents, especially at their departure (Tob. 5:16; 7:7; 9:6; 10:12), and in greetings (Tob. 7:6; 10:12).

(d) In Rab. Jud. pronouncements of blessing and praise are widespread. The first tractate of the Mishnah is called *b^{e}rāḵôṯ*. Praises are introduced with the formula "Praised be the Lord", and extol Yahweh for his deeds and gifts. The rabbis knew of appropriate praises for all the most widely varied situations of daily and cultic life (cf. SB IV 616 ff., 627 ff.). We should remember here the blessing that Jews pronounced at table before and after a meal. Ber. 35a says: "It is forbidden to a man to enjoy anything of this world without a benediction, and if anyone enjoys anything of this world without a benediction, he commits sacrilege" (for details cf. H. W. Beyer, *TDNT* II 759 ff.).

(e) The texts of the Qumran community include hymns of praise, some of which begin with the formula "Praised are you, Lord" (the Qumran Thanksgiving Hymns or Hodayot, 1QH). The extant fragments of the Blessings Scroll (1QSb) contain blessings for priests and other persons. The Community Rule quotes a (gnostic?) version of the Aaronic blessing: "May He (Yahweh) bless you with all good and protect you from all evil and illuminate your heart with the understanding of life and be gracious to you with everlasting knowledge, and may He lift up his gracious countenance towards you for your eternal well-being" (1QS 2:2–4).

NT Compared with the fundamental significance of blessing in the OT, the NT gives less prominence to both the concept and the act. The group of words associated with the root *eulog-* occurs altogether 68 times in the NT. The vb. *eulogeō* accounts for 41 occurrences; *eneulogeō* 2 (Acts. 3:25; Gal. 3:8); *kateulogeō* 1 (Mk. 10:16); the noun *eulogia* 16; and the verbal adj. *eulogētos* 8. Comparatively speaking, this group is most frequent in Lk., the major Pauline epistles and Heb. But Jn. uses the vb. only once (12:13) in an OT quotation. In the shorter Pauline epistles, the Pastorals, the Johannine and the Catholic epistles, 2 Pet., Jude, the group does not occur at all.

1. The formal and aesthetic sense of *eulogia* found in classical Gk. is only alluded to in a deprecatory fashion in Rom. 16:18: "They (Paul's opponents) do not serve our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly and they deceive the hearts of the unsuspecting with their skill of speech (*chrēstologia*) and pleasing eloquence (*eulogia*)."

2. Far more often (40 times out of 68) the root has the meaning praise, extol. The adj. *eulogētos* means only blessed, praised. This usage derives, on the one hand, from the basically secular Gk. meaning, to speak well of someone (see above CL 1 (b)), and, on the other hand, from the LXX translation of the OT form of praise of God, "Blessed, i.e. praised, by Yahweh" (see above OT 5 (a)).

(a) The NT also uses this root to express its praise of God. In this context it takes on a doxological character. As in late Judaism (Ber. 7:3; Eth. Enoch 77:1), God is called the "praised (*eulogētos*) One" (Mk. 14:61). Zechariah's hymn (Lk. 1:68, the *Benedictus*) and some letters (2 Cor. 1:3; Eph. 1:3; 1 Pet. 1:3) begin with the formula "Praised be God (the Lord)" (*eulogētos* (*kyrios*) *ho theos*). The relationship of greeting and praise of God is particularly clear here (cf. the formula of greeting still practised in S. Germany, "Grüss (dich) Gott", "God greet you").

Another form of doxology occurs as a short interjection of praise (*eulogia*) in Paul's letters (Rom. 1:25b; 9:5; 2 Cor. 11:31). It is expanded as a hymn in Rev. (5:12, 13b; 7:12 → Song, Art. *hymnos*).

(b) The greeting of a superior was expressed not by the doxological adj. *eulogētos* but by the perf. part. pass. of the more versatile vb. *eulogeō: eulogēmenos*. This expresses not only praise and greeting, but recognition that God has blessed the person concerned. Jesus is greeted with the cry of *eulogēmenos*, praised, blessed, welcome (Mk. 11:9 par.; Matt. 23:39 par.; cf. Ps. 118:26). This form of greeting also welcomes the coming of God's kingdom, initiated by God with the Messiah's coming (Mk. 11:10). It is applied to Mary, the mother of the Messiah (Lk. 1:42).

(c) The Jewish custom of offering praise on various occasions in everyday life and in worship (see above OT 6 (d)) is also attested in the NT writings (Lk. 1:64; 2:28 f., the *Nunc Dimittis*; 2:34; 24:53; 1 Cor. 14:16; Jas. 3:9 f.). According to the synoptic accounts, Jesus followed the practice of the Jewish paterfamilias in pronouncing a blessing as a prayer at table before and after meals (Mk. 6:41 par., the feeding of the 5000; 8:7, the feeding of the 4000; 14:22 f. par., Jesus' last meal with his disciples, → Lord's Supper NT 4 (b)); Lk. 24:30, table fellowship with the risen Christ). As the parallelism of *eulogeō* and *eucharisteō* (→ Thank, Art. *eucharistia*) in Mk. 8:6 f.; 14:22 f. and Matt. 26:26 f. shows, the blessing at meals gives thanks to the Creator for his material gifts. (See above OT 4 (b); cf. also 1 Cor. 10:16, SB IV 627 ff. on the cup of blessing and → Lord's Supper NT 4 (d). On the whole of sect. 2 cf. W. Schenk, *Der Segen im NT*, 1967, 97–130).

3. Where this word group occurs with the special sense of bless or blessing (28 times out of 60), the NT understanding of this concept is oriented more towards the theology of blessing in the OT than towards that of late Judaism. The picture presented by the NT corresponds to the statistical evidence (see above NT introduction). In contrast to the OT (see above OT 3(c), 4(b), 5(b)), the NT presents no special theology of blessing. It refers to it incidentally as something familiar to its readers, though it is by no means unimportant.

(a) In the Synoptic Gospels the idea of blessing is significant in three pericopes: (i) the blessing of the children, (ii) Jesus' commissioning of the Twelve, and (iii) the departure of the risen Jesus from his followers.

(i) In laying his hands on the → children and blessing them (Mk. 10:13–16 par.), Jesus did nothing unusual. On the contrary, he acted just as a Jewish father or rabbi would (cf. SB I 807 f.). The important point to note is that for Mk., Jesus' activity is not limited to adults. It also includes children, and so embraces man at all stages of life. The kingdom of God, with which this pericope is principally concerned (v. 15), is "man's bodily and creaturely existence positively co-ordinated with Jesus' activity" (so C. Westermann, op. cit., 83; as against W. Schenk, op. cit., 72, who understands Jesus' blessing "as clearly intercession").

(ii) The context of the commissioning in Matt. 10:1–16 shows that the instructions to greet houses (v. 12 *aspasasthe*) refers to the greeting of blessing (cf. v. 13 *eirēnē*, Heb. *šālôm*, well-being). As in Jesus' own ministry, the disciples have a twofold task: (1) preaching, and (2) healing (vv. 7–8a). They are sent out as evangelists and bearers of blessing. Matt. holds that the disciples' commission – like Jesus'

own mission – involves not only announcing the kingdom of God, but also compassion for the creaturely suffering of the world and action directed towards man's earthly well-being. Acts also shows particularly clearly the complementary activities of the apostles in proclaiming salvation by word and deed (cf. Peter's healing and preaching in Acts 3). There blessing does not reach its fullness until the spasmodic missionary preaching has given way to the regular building up of churches (see above OT 4 (a)). This new situation, which is so unlike the unsettled conditions of Jesus' life and that of the disciples and apostles (particularly Paul), is not yet present in most of the NT. It is, therefore, not surprising that blessing is not so often spoken of in the NT as in the OT.

(iii) Neither the priestly blessing (so Schenk, op. cit., 58) nor the blessing of the heir in the stories of the patriarchs lies behind the risen Christ's benediction in Lk. 24:50 f. Rather it is the custom of blessing given at departure (see above OT 2 (d), 6 (c)). The departing Lord shares with his church the power of his blessing through which he remains bound to it. Its content is the presence of the exalted Lord with his church, as Matt. expressly says at the corresponding point in his account: "I am with you always" (Matt. 28:20; cf. Gen. 26:3).

(b) Of all the NT writers Paul used the concept of blessing the most deliberately and gave it its new decisive christological form (cf. OT 3 (c) above).

(i) In Gal. 3:8 Paul cites Gen. 12:3b: "All nations shall be blessed in you" (i.e. all nations of the earth; cf. the LXX translation which Paul uses here). Paul gives the quotation a new interpretation corresponding to his christological train of thought. The fulfilment of the blessing promised to Abraham is now seen as God's redeeming act in Christ. The gift of the blessing is no longer that of a great nation or of the fruitfulness of the land, but the promised → Spirit of Christ (v. 14). The common ground between the quotation from the Yahwist and its Pauline interpretation lies in the fact that both the promised blessing and its fulfilment in Christ should reach all nations of the earth (vv. 8, 14). In Gal. 3:8–14 Paul so interprets the relation of blessing and curse that, through Christ's taking to himself once and for all the curse of the Law in his death (v. 13; → Cross, art. *xylon* NT), the believers of all nations now receive the blessing of God's redeeming activity in Christ (v. 14; cf. Eph. 1:3; Acts 3:25 f.).

(ii) The phrase *eulogia Christou* (Rom. 15:29) does not mean an act of blessing but the effect of the preaching of Christ in the church. It means that Paul is certain that his coming to Rome will further the growth of the community.

(iii) The connection between blessing and gifts (cf. Gen. 33:11) is shown especially in 2 Cor. 9:5 f. Paul calls the collection which he has been making for the community at Jerusalem a *eulogia*. The context shows that *eulogia* means a generous gift (as opposed to *pleonexia*, stinginess). The Corinthian church should contribute ungrudgingly (*ep' eulogias* as opposed to *pheidomenōs*, grudgingly), so that through this gift God's blessing may be given tangible expression in the Jerusalem church.

(c) The Letter to the Hebrews makes fullest use of the OT concept of blessing found in the stories of the patriarchs, e.g. in 6:7 f. (see above OT 2). It frequently alludes to or paraphrases OT benedictions: 6:14 (Abraham, cf. Gen. 22:16 f.); 7:1–7 (Melchizedek, cf. Gen. 14:18–20); 11:20 (Isaac, cf. Gen. 27:27 ff.); 11:21 (Jacob, cf. Gen. 48:15 f.); 12:27 (Esau, cf. Gen. 27:30 ff.). The book's purpose in telling of these examples is stated in 6:12: "so that you may imitate the example of those

who through faith and patient endurance inherit the promises." Sometimes these passages contain formulas like "to inherit blessing" (Heb. 12:17; cf. 1 Pet. 3:9) and "to inherit promises" (Heb. 6:12, 15). The parallelism of blessing and promise shows that blessing here means not present, but eschatological well-being (cf. also Matt. 25:34 and Isa. 65:23b; see above OT 4 (c)).

(d) Finally, there are the paraenetic texts on blessing: Lk. 6:27 f.; Rom. 12:14; 1 Cor. 4:12; 1 Pet. 3:9. Here Jesus' disciples are exhorted to meet the curses, persecutions, abuse or reproaches of enemies with the opposite, blessing. Blessing here means simply a friendly disposition towards enemies. The commandment to love one's enemies replaces the *ius talionis* (this is especially clear in 1 Pet. 3:9). What Paul formulated christologically is here developed in paraenesis. The opposition of blessing and cursing is abolished. Since Christ has taken the curse upon himself (Gal. 3:13; see above (b) (i)), Christians can only be exhorted to bless without reserve (Rom. 12:14). "Christ's church and individual Christians need curse no one any more, for Christ's work avails also for his enemies" (Westermann, op. cit., 90).

H.-G. Link

μακάριος

μακάριος (*makarios*), blessed, fortunate, happy; μακαρίζω (*makarizō*), call or consider blessed, happy; μακαρισμός (*makarismos*), blessing.

CL 1. *makarios*, originally a parallel form to *makar*, is first attested in Pindar and means free from daily cares and worries. In poetic language it describes the condition of the gods and those who share their happy existence. In the 4th cent. B.C. it gradually lost this meaning, and became a word in common use, like our "happy", and was therefore avoided by poets (cf. Plato, *Meno*, 71a).

2. It is important to note that it most frequently occurs in the formalized language of *makarismos* (blessing) in the formula *makarios hos(tis)* . . . happy is he who . . . (e.g. Pindar, *Pyth.*, 5, 46; only rarely in the 2nd person). Hence a person can be congratulated on a happy event. "In content beatitudes, which are common in both poetry and prose throughout the centuries, reflect the sorrows and afflictions, the aspirations and ideals, of the Greeks" (F. Hauck, *TDNT* IV 363). Parents are congratulated on their children (Aristoph., *Wasps*, 1512), the well-to-do on their wealth (Bacchyl., 5, 50), the wise on their knowledge (Plato, *Laws*, 2, 660e), the pious on their inward well-being (Eur., *Frag.* 256, ed. Nauck 434), initiates on their experience of God (Homeric Hymn to Demeter 480) and (in funerary inscriptions) the dead on their escape from the vanity of things (Aesch., *Persians* 712).

3. The different Gk. concepts of happiness also recur in the use of the vb. *makarizō* (Homer, *Od.* onwards) and the sub. *makarismos* (Plato, *Rep.* 591e onwards). The latter first occurs as a technical term in the sense of pronouncing blessed in Aristotle (*Rhet.*, A9 1367b 33).

OT 1. In the LXX *makarios* and *makarizō* generally translate the Heb. *'ešer*, happiness, well-being, *'āšar*, pronounce happy, or *'ašrê*, well-being to . . . . The meaning of these words is also determined by the dominant aspirations and ideas of happiness.

Stylized blessings do not occur in the early strata of the OT (as in early eastern literature in general). They are found first in the wisdom literature, "praising the prudent man, in a participial or relative clause" (K. Koch, *The Growth of the Biblical Tradition*, 1969, 17). This is irrespective of whether the reference is to earthly blessings (Sir. 25:8; Gen. 30:13; Ps. 127:5), prosperity (Job. 29:10 f.), a wise life (Prov. 3:13; Sir. 14:20), or fulfilling God's commandment (Pss. 1:1; 41:1(2); 119:1). Those psalms that have been influenced by the wisdom tradition pronounce him blessed who trusts in God. "Blessed are all those who put their trust in him" (Pss. 2:12; 34:8(9); cf. 84:12(13); Isa. 30:18). "Blessed is he whose sin has been forgiven" (Ps. 32:1 f.). The connection between religious happiness consisting in Yahweh's favour and earthly happiness through the Creator's gifts is basic in wisdom literature. Yahweh himself is, however, never called *makarios*. This formula always solemnly ascribes well-being to a man. It is quite different from a benediction (→ *eulogia*) which is an authoritative and efficacious word. It is indicative of this distinction that in an age when blessing was a priestly prerogative (Sir. 50:20) laymen had recourse to *makarismos*.

2. In the later Israelite period (e.g. Sir. 25:7–10) more elaborate pronouncements of this sort and even whole series of them are found, especially in apocalyptic texts (Dan. 12:12; Tob. 13:14 f.). Pronouncements of blessedness are often supplemented by a contrasting series of woes (Sl. Enoch 52:1 ff.; cf. Eth. Enoch 103:5). In substance these pronouncements have the force of an eschatological consolation (as Eth. Enoch 58:2 shows: "Blessed are you righteous elect! For glorious shall your lot be"). "No longer is it a general matter of trust in God, but belief in the coming of the end of the world, in the eschatological hope" (Koch, op. cit., 17).

3. In Hel. Judaism Hellenistic influence showed itself clearly in the use of the word *makarios*, especially in Philo. According to him, only the deity attains to blessedness. He alone is blessed (*monos makarios*, *Sacr.* 101). Men share in this only in so far as the divine → nature penetrates the creation. On the other hand, Rab. Judaism latched on to the OT usage: "Happy are you and those who bore you! Happy are my eyes that they have seen a thing!" cried R. Johanan b. Zakkai to his pupils (Hag. 14b). Eschatological blessedness is alien to him.

NT 1. In the NT the vb. *makarizō* occurs only twice (Lk. 1:48; Jas. 5:11), and the noun *makarismos* only 3 times (Gal. 4:15; Rom. 4:6, 9; both these Pauline passages suggest use of the word in a formula). On the other hand *makarios* is relatively more frequent, generally in the context of pronouncing someone or something blessed. Of 50 instances 13 and 15 are in Matt. and Lk. respectively, 7 in Paul, only 2 each in Jn., 1 Pet. and Jas., and 7 in Rev.

2. Stylistically the NT pronouncements follow the tradition of those in apocalyptic, including the setting of them in series noted above. Corresponding to the Heb. *'ašrê*, the eschatological pronouncements in Jesus' preaching and the gospel records are made in the 3rd person. Almost uniformly they are furnished with a reason or a description of the bliss ascribed (Lk. 1:45 etc.). "Blessed are the spiritually poor; for the kingdom of heaven is theirs" (Matt. 5:3 etc.). Contrasting woes are explicitly set against the ascriptions of blessing in Lk. 6:20 ff. and implicitly in the visions of Rev. 14:13; 16:15; 19:9 (cf. also Lk. 6:5 Codex D). They occur predominantly in the Synoptics and in Rev., but apparently not in those strata of early Christianity

that came under Hel. influence. In pronouncing blessed the man who does not condemn himself in his decisions (Rom. 14:22) and in calling the unmarried more blessed (1 Cor. 7:40), Paul aligns himself stylistically more with the pronouncements of the wisdom tradition. A clearly Gk. or Hel. usage is found in 1 Tim. 1:11 and 6:15, where God himself is pronounced blessed (cf. also Tit. 2:13 and Philo).

3. The pronouncements of the Sermon on the Mount dominate the NT scene (Matt. 5:3–10 par. in the introd. to the so-called Sermon on the Plain in Lk. 6:20 ff.). There the 3rd person in Matt. 5:3–10 over against 5:11 f. and Lk. 6 corresponds to the general usage. The contents of the pronouncements parallel those of apocalyptic as well as their style. "Previously the Beatitudes were seen as a vehicle for setting out the virtues ordained by God for man, but now it is quite clear that phrases such as 'poor in spirit', 'those that mourn', 'are meek', 'hunger and thirst after righteousness' are merely different aspects of an attitude to the world nearing its close, an attitude of lasting patience and hope. It is not the virtues which are important so much as the promise of salvation conveyed by the 'blessed' at the beginning as well as by the motive clause in the second half of each line" (Koch, op. cit., 8). The eschatological pronouncements are distinguishable from the apocalyptic by their paradoxical statements (the kingdom belongs to the poor in spirit, the powerless, the sorrowful), and by the fact that this kingdom of God is bound up with the life and message of Jesus. They are an example of what is meant in Matt. 11:5: the message of joy is brought to the poor. The salvation that is announced here depends on the coming kingdom of God, which in turn is inseparable from him who brings it.

Present and future are thus related to one another in these pronouncements. This is clearest in Lk.'s version of them in 6:20 ff. where the word "now" is inserted in v. 21 underlining this relationship. "Blessed are you who hunger now, for you will be satisfied." All the benefits praised in Hellenism and the OT are now eclipsed. "The predominating estimation of the kingdom of God carries with it a reversal of all customary evaluations" (Hauck, *TDNT* IV 368). Hence the pronouncement also applies to all those who share the experience of the arrival of the kingdom of God (Matt. 13:16 f.), who face this encounter in the right way (Lk. 1:45; Matt. 16:17; Jn. 20:29), and are not offended at it (Matt. 11:6). They act according to what they have heard and seen (Lk. 14:14; Jn. 13:17) and remain steadfast and faithful on the watch (Lk. 12:37 f.; Matt. 24:46; Jas. 1:12; Rev. 16:15). Although the pronouncements in the NT are so varied, their futuristic character is not to be understood in the sense of consolation and subsequent recompense. The promised future always involves a radical alteration of the present. *U. Becker*

(a). J. M. Allegro, "A Possible Mesopotamian Background to the Joseph Blessing of Gen. XLIX," *ZAW* 64, 1952, 249–51; H. W. Beyer, *eulogeō*, *TDNT* II 754–65; D. Daube, *Studies in Biblical Law*, 1947; S. A. Blank, "The Curse, Blasphemy, the Spell and the Oath," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 23, 1950–51, 73–95; W. J. Harrelson, "Blessings and Cursings," *IDB* I 446 ff.; J. Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, 1966²; G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in its Essence and Manifestation*, 1964², 408–12; A. Murtonen, "The Use and Meaning of the Words *l*ᵉ*bārek* and *b*ᵉ*rākâh* in the Old Testament," *VT* 9, 1959, 158–77, 330; S. Mowinckel, "Psalms of Blessing and Cursing," *The Psalms in Israel's Worship*, II, 1962, 44–52; H. Mowvley, "The Concept and Content of 'Blessing' in the OT," *The Bible Translator* 16, 1965, 74–80; J. Pedersen, *Israel: Its Life and Culture*, I–II, 1926, 162 ff., 182–212; G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, I, 1963, II, 1965; J. Scharbert, "Blessing," *EBT* I 69–75; A. C. Thiselton, "The Supposed Power of Words in the Biblical Writings," *JTS* n.s.

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(b). A. Alt, "Das Gottesurteil auf dem Karmel," in *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, II (1953) 1964³, 135 ff.; J.-P. Audet, "Esquisse historique du genre littéraire de la 'bénédiction' juive et de l'eucharistie chrétienne," *RB* 65, 1958, 371–99; E. J. Bickermann, "Bénédiction et prière," *RB* 69, 1962, 524–32; C. Brockelmann, *Hebräische Syntax* 1956; L. Brun, *Segen und Fluch im Urchristentum*, 1932; O. Eissfeldt, "Jahwe und Baal," *Kleine Schriften*, I, 1962, 1 ff.; S. Herrmann, "Die Königsnovelle in Ägypten und Israel," *WZ* Leipzig, 1953–54, 33 ff.; J. Hempel, "Die israelitischen Anschauungen von Segen und Fluch im Lichte altorientalischer Parallele," *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Neue Folge 4, 1925, 20–110; F. Horst, "Segen und Segenshandlungen in der Bibel," *EvTh* 7, 1947–48, 23–37 (*Gottes Recht*, *ThB* 12, 1961, 188 ff.); H. Junker, "Segen als heilsgeschichtliches Motivwort," *Sacra Pagina*, 1959, 548–58; C. A. Keller and G. Wehmeier, "*brk*," *THAT* I 353–76; E. Klessmann, "Was heisst Segen nach der heiligen Schrift?" *MPTh* 48, 1959, 26 ff.; B. Landsberger, "Das 'gute Wort'" *Festschrift B. Meissner*, 1929, 294–321; S. Morenz, F. Horst and H. Köster, "Segen und Fluch," *RGG*³ V 1648 ff.; S. Mowinckel, *Religion und Kultus*, 1953, 64 ff.; J. Scharbert, *Solidarität in Segen und Fluch im Alten Testament und in seiner Umwelt*, I, *Väterfluch und Vätersegen*, Bonner Biblische Beiträge 14, 1958; " 'Fluchen' und 'Segen' im Alten Testament," *Biblica* 39, 1958, 1–26; and *bārak*, *b'rākâh*, *TWAT* 1 808–41; W. Schenk, *Der Segen im Neuen Testament*, 1967; J. Schreiner, "Segen, für die Völker," *BZ* 6, 1962, 1–31; E. Schweizer, "Formgeschichtliches zu den Seligpreisungen Jesu," *NTS* 19, 1973, 121–26; G. Strecker, "Die Makarismen der Bergpredigt", *NTS* 17, 1971, 233–54; C. Westermann, *Der Segen in der Bibel und im Handeln der Kirche*, 1968; C. Westermann, U. Luck and O. Brodde, "Segen und Fluch," *EKL* III 916 ff.; H. W. Wolff, "Das Kerygma des Jahwisten," *EvTh* 24, 1964, 73 ff.; G. Wehmeier, *Der Segen im Alten Testament. Eine Semasiologische Untersuchung der Wurzel brk*, 1970.

Blind

τυφλός — τυφλός (*typhlos*), blind.

CL *typhlos* (Homer onwards) means blind. It is used lit. of men and animals, and fig. of the other senses and the mind. It may even be applied to dark, obscure things, and also to rivers and harbours choked with mud. The barbaric custom of blinding for revenge or punishment is well attested.

OT 1. *typhlos* in the LXX represents Heb. *'iwwēr*. Blindness has always been relatively common in the Near East. The brightness of the sun, dust and dirt all encourage inflammation of the eyes, which may lead to blindness. The helplessness of the blind was proverbial (Deut. 28:29; Isa. 59:10; Lam. 4:14). They were the weakest and most needy among the people (cf. 2 Sam. 5:6 ff.). Consequently they were under the special protection of the law (Lev. 19:14; Deut. 27:18), and are expressly mentioned in the promise of release from bondage (Jer. 31:8). The pious Israelite helped the blind (Job 29:15).

Fish-gall was used as a cure for blindness in the apocryphal story of Tobias (Tob. 6:5, 9; 11:12 ff.). One knew, however, that there was little hope of a cure, for that was one of the miracles of the last days (Isa. 29:18; 35:5; cf. Matt. 11:5).

The proper functioning of the senses is a gift from God. It depends on him entirely whether a man sees or is blind (Exod. 4:11). Only in Deut. 28:28 f., in the

context of the great curse on those who do not obey the law, is blindness mentioned as a punishment in the OT. In contrast to the Babylonian penal law (cf. 2 Ki. 25:7), blinding was not a punishment in Israel.

Blindness was a cultic blemish. The blind could not function as priests (Lev. 21:18), and blind animals might not be offered as sacrifices (Lev. 22:22; Deut. 15:21).

In the LXX blindness is also used metaphorically. Bribes make one blind (Exod. 23:8; Deut. 16: 19), so that one no longer sees the injustice. God can blind the disobedient, so that he no longer sees what is right and true (Isa. 6:10; 29:9f.).

2. For late Jud. blindness was regarded as God's punishment for human sin because it prevented study of the Law (cf. SB II 193, 196). "And any judge that takes a bribe and perverts judgment shall not die in old age before his eyes wax dim" (Peah 8:9). The benediction on seeing a blind man was "Blessed be the truthful Judge," which implies that the blindness was a just judgment by God either on the man's own sins, or on those of his parents working themselves out in their children (cf. Jn. 9:2; Exod. 20:5; Deut. 5:9; R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 1971, 330 ff.). Precedent for this was sought in Deut. 28:15 ff. The Qumran community excluded the blind and others with physical defects from their membership (cf. 1QSa 2:5 ff.; 1QM 7:4 f.). This is probably based on Lev. 21:18 ff., though the official justification of the rule is that "the angels of holiness are with their congregation."

NT The view of blindness changes in the NT.

1. Jesus received the blind into his fellowship and so gave them a share in the kingdom of God. In contrast to the rule of Qumran, he told the man who had invited him to a meal that he should invite the poor and blind (Lk. 14:13, 21). ([Tr.] There was no discrimination against the blind in the synagogue.)

2. The many cases where Jesus healed the blind were messianic signs (Matt. 9:27–31; 12:22; 15:30; 21:14; Mk. 8:22–25; 10:46–52 par.; Lk. 7:21). When John the Baptist grew doubtful and sent disciples to question him, Jesus answered, "The blind receive their sight" (Matt. 11:5), pointing him to Isa. 29:18; 35:5. Jesus' appearance and ministry means that the promised time of redemption has become a present reality. The new age, in which there would be no more blindness, had broken in.

When he healed the man born blind (Jn. 9:1 ff.), Jesus rejected the question that seemed so obvious to late Jud., as to who was responsible for the blindness with which he had been born. He changed it from "Why is this man blind?" to "What is the purpose of his blindness?" No longer is man's sin the ultimate cause of suffering. God's redemptive work is the ultimate factor. "It was not that this man sinned, or his parents, but that the works of God might be manifest in him" (Jn. 9:3). Again this leads to the question of the authority, task and significance of Jesus. God's work is done in this man and at the same time God reveals Jesus as the light of the world through the work. "God made the truth of divine pardon visible, when he turned a destroyed, imprisoned life into a healed and freed life" (A. Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Johannes*, ad. loc.).

3. Acts 13:11 tells of a man temporarily blinded as the result of a curse. The story makes clear the superiority of the Christian servant over the heathen magician. The latter's failure shows the power of God over magic and traffic with demons.

4. Blindness is used metaphorically in Matt. 15:14, where Jesus calls the Pharisees blind guides of the blind. He is referring, as does Paul in Rom. 2:19, to the assumption of the Jews versed in the Law that they were *hodēgoi typhlōn* (guides of the blind), and so were entitled to use the phrase as a title of honour. They considered that they were the only authoritative interpreters of the Law, and as such they were the only legitimate leaders and guides of the "blind" heathen. As bringers of light, they offered them truth and understanding. Jesus felt no sympathy for the Pharisees in their blindness, but rather condemned them, because it showed that they had become hardened (cf. also Matt. 23:16 f., 19, 26; 16:4). The parallel to Matt. 15:14 in Lk. 6:39 is angled rather differently. Since it is linked with teaching on judging, it may be interpreted: How can you exalt yourself as a judge, since you are blind and have no standard to judge by? *F. Graber*

→ Deaf, Dumb, → Heal, → Miracle, Wonder, Sign

(a). F. Dunbar, *Emotions and Bodily Changes*, 1954⁴, 553–68; B. L. Gordon, "Ophthalmology in the Bible and in the Talmud," *Archives of Ophthalmology* 9, 1933, 751 ff.; R. K. Harrison, "Blind," *IDB* I 448 f.; H. van der Loos, *The Miracles of Jesus*, 1965, 415–34; W. Schrage, *typhlos*, *TDNT* VIII 270–94; R. E. D. Clarke, "Men as Trees Walking", *Faith and Thought* 93, 1963, 88–94. (b). A. Esser, "Das Antlitz der Blindheit in der Antike," *Janus. Revue internationale de l'histoire des science, de la medicine, de la pharmacie et la technique*, Supplement 4, 2, 1961; W. Herrmann, "Das Wunder in der evangelischen Botschaft. Zur Interpretation der Begriffe blind und taub im Alten Testament und Neuen Testament," *Aufsätze und Vorträge zur Theologie und Religionswissenschaft* 20, 1961; A. Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Johannes*, 1960³ on Jn. 9; H. Stoebe, "Blind," *BHHW* I 257 f.

Blood, Sprinkle, Strangled

haima, blood, is important for NT christology and soteriology and is one of the main concepts of the Bible. This art. also deals with two other terms which are not immediately connected with *haima*, but which have theological associations: *rhantizō*, sprinkle (→ Pure); and *pnigō*, strangle, and more especially *pnikton*, that which has been strangled without blood letting.

αἷμα

αἷμα (*haima*), blood.

CL Already in Homer *haima* is used physiologically as the bearer of life and the life force. It is prerequisite for the maintenance of life both of man and beast, for it is physically and organically necessary to them. In Homer *haima* metaphorically denotes lineage. Since blood is the seat of life, "shedding blood" was used already at an early date as a synonym for "kill" (Aesch., *Eumenides* 653).

In secular usage *haima* was used for the blood of both men and beasts. It gained special importance in cultic usage, for it was the most important element in human sacrifice, and then in animal sacrifice which took its place. Greeks and Romans had blood sacrifices for the dead; originally the blood was poured over the dead, then later onto the funeral pyre, and finally into the grave and on the grave mound (*Il.*, 23, 34; cf. *Od.* 11, 35 f., 50, 96). Blood guilt had to be atoned for by blood. Since Orestes had shed his mother's blood, the Erinyes wished to drink his blood

(Aesch., *Eumenides*, 261 ff.). But human blood could be replaced by animal blood, and Orestes was purified by the blood of a young pig (Aesch., *Eumenides* 28 ff.).

Sacrificial blood was regarded as having strengthening and cleansing power (Heraclit., Frag. B5; Diels, I, 78). Various blood rituals involving the drinking or sprinkling of blood, often including human blood, were employed especially in magical rites to bring rain, welfare, love or harm. The drinking of blood, especially that of a killed enemy (Hdt., 4, 64, 1), brought strength and gave the gift of prophecy (Pausanias, 2, 24, 1). In a blood covenant human blood was collected in drops in a cup and drunk in wine by all participants.

OT For the OT, as in the classical world, blood was the seat of life. The "soul", i.e. life, life force, is in the blood (Gen. 9:4; Lev. 17:11, 14; Deut. 12:23). God is the sole Lord of all life. He is sovereign over the blood and life of men (Ezek. 18:4). Hence he avenges the shedding of innocent blood (Gen. 9:5; cf. Jer. 51:35 f.). Animal blood also belongs to God. It is holy, and the consumption of blood is forbidden on pain of death (Lev. 3:17; 7:26 f.; 17:10, 14; Deut. 12:23; 1 Sam. 14:32 ff.). Lev. 17:8, 10, 13, 15 stress that these laws apply not merely to Israelites but also to "strangers", the heathen resident aliens. In the OT the blood of the sacrificial animals is given back to God, being poured out at the base of the altar. It was used for sprinkling the altar (Exod. 29:16; Lev. 3:2), the high priest (Exod. 29:21), and also the temple veil (Lev. 4:6; Num. 19:4). The power of the sacrificial blood is atoning (Lev. 16:6, 15 ff.), purifying (Lev. 14), and sanctifying (Exod. 29:30 f.). It belongs to the making of the covenant (Exod. 24:6 ff.). Blood removed sin in sacrifices of purification, sin and guilt, especially on the great Day of Atonement (Lev. 16). It purified the priests, the people and the temple, and renewed the covenant (2 Chr. 29:23 f.). Blood put on the doorposts protected the first-born from death (Exod. 12:22 f.).

Late Jud. (Eth. Enoch, Aristeas, Philo, Josephus, Test. XII) understood the concept of blood as in the OT. The idea of the holiness of blood especially lives on (Jub. 6:7, 12 ff.; Josephus, *Ant.*, 3, 11, 2 (260)). The expression *sarx kai haima*, flesh and blood, is a typical description of man in this period. It designates both the individual and the species "in his creatureliness and his distinction from God" (J. Behm *TDNT* I, 172; cf. Sir. 14:18; 17:31; Gr. Enoch 15:4).

NT *haima* is found 97 times in the NT (apart from the *v.l.* in the TR of Acts 17:26 and Col. 1:14 inserted here from the par. Eph. 1:7). There are 21 instances in Heb. and 19 in Rev. It is used (a) for human blood, both lit. (Mk. 5:25; Lk. 13:1; Jn. 19:34) and fig. i.e. shed blood (Matt. 23:35); (b) in the combination *sarx kai haima*, flesh and blood, 6 times; (c) for the blood of animals in general (Acts 15:20, 29, where the decree of the Jerusalem council is based on Lev. 17), and in particular for the blood of sacrificial animals (12 times in Heb. recalling the OT); (d) theologically most important, for the blood of Christ, where it is linked directly 25 times with the saving significance of the death of Jesus; (e) 9 times as an apocalyptic sign.

1. *haima*, as human blood (Jn. 19:34), like animal blood, is the bearer of life, and is so used in Jn. 1:13 (only here in plur.). This was also the use in Acts 17:26 (but only in the TR, D and some other MSS). When used of human blood, it often refers to a person's violent death in which other people are guiltily involved. It is

thus a fig. expression for the destruction of human life (Rom. 3:15). This idea of the destruction of life is to be understood in Heb. 12:4, "You have not yet resisted to the point of shedding your blood." In the same way the blood of Jesus can refer to his violent death of which Judas (Matt. 27:4), Pilate (Matt. 27:24) and Israel (Matt. 27:25; Acts 5:28) are guilty. Expressions like *timē haimatos*, the price of blood, blood money (Matt. 27:6) and *agros haimatos*, the field bought with blood money (Matt. 27:8) express this fig. use.

God alone is the Lord of all life. He alone controls the blood and life of man. Hence he avenges innocent human blood that has been shed (Gen. 9:5). This is particularly true of the blood of the martyrs, the prophets and righteous men (Matt. 23:30, 35; Lk. 11:50 f.), and the saints and witnesses to Jesus (Rev. 6:10 f.; 16:6 f.; 17:6; 18:24; 19:2) who lost their lives for the sake of the truth of the word of God. Hence blood can denote the whole existence of a man in God's sight, for which each individual will have to give account to God, but in which his fellow men may have a guilty involvement. When Paul said, "Your blood be upon your heads" (Acts 18:6) and "I am innocent of the blood of all of you" (Acts 20:26), he was looking back to Ezek. 3:17 ff. He meant that he had fulfilled his task of proclaiming the gospel to his hearers, and that they were now solely answerable to God for their life both now and in eternity.

2. Blood is a necessary part of the human body and is used in the expression *sarx kai haima*, flesh and blood, to express man's slavery to sin and death. In the NT the expression is used to characterize man's weakness and transitoriness. He is the slave of death. Fear of death (Heb. 2:14 f.) is an important sign of his fallen state as creature, as flesh and blood. In his natural state man cannot share God's glory; for flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God (1 Cor. 15:50). "His old existence must fall away; God must begin a new creation, if the kingdom of God is to come" (K. Heim, *Gemeinde der Auferstandenen*, 1949, 237 f.).

The severe limitations of human knowledge are bound up with man's incapacity due to sin. Only God has infinite powers of knowledge and revelation. Hence true knowledge of God is possible only by God's own self-revelation. "Flesh and blood has not revealed this to you, but my Father who is in heaven" (Matt. 16:17). For the NT this means the final abandonment of all effort to base the divine revelation on human authority (Gal. 1:16). The Christian is engaged in a battle of faith with hostile powers which are not flesh and blood (Eph. 6:12). Hence in his struggle he cannot find weapons in his own psychological or moral powers, but must turn to God for aid.

3. The blood of sacrifice and the blood of Christ. The NT took over from the OT the concept of sacrificial blood as operative in covenant making and reconciliation. Heb. 9:7, 12 f., 18–22, 25; 10:4; 11:28; 13:11 mention the sacrificial blood of animals. They link up with the types of the OT and point to the superiority of the blood of Christ, the NT antitype. For his death has a reconciling significance. The power of the sacrificial blood of Christ brings forgiveness and sanctification. It establishes peace with God and is the foundation of the new fellowship with God. In practice the sacrifice was carried out by the *haimatekchysia*, the shedding of blood. This concept is found in the NT only in Heb. 9:22, and cannot be found in non-Christian usage. In the context of Heb. 9:19 ff., it refers primarily to the making of the covenant at Sinai (Exod. 24:5–8) and specifically to the killing of the sacrificial

animal. ([Tr.] The Talmud (Yoma 5a, Men. 93b, Zeb. 6a) contains the statement, "There is no atonement apart from blood.") Probably the term is intended to include the pouring out of the blood at the base of the altar (Exod. 29:12; Lev. 4:7, 18, 25, 30, 34; 8:15; 9:9), the throwing of the blood against the altar (Exod. 24:6; Lev. 1:5, 11; 9:12), and the throwing of it on the people of Israel (Exod. 24:8; Heb. 9:19). The context shows that in Heb. 11:28 the *proschysis tou haimatos*, the pouring (or sprinkling) of the blood refers solely to the Passover sacrifice (Exod. 12:7, 13, 22 f.).

"When the author of Hebrews says, 'Without the shedding of blood there is no forgiveness of sins', the killing of the animal is for him the decisive factor in the carrying out of the sacrifice. Surrender of life is the essential prerequisite for the granting of forgiveness" (E. Riggenbach, Comm., ad. loc.). The OT gave typological expression to the power of the blood to remove sin and save, making it a fundamental element of every cultic sacrifice for atonement. The NT sees in the death of Christ the ultimate significance and fulfilment of this idea.

The blood of Jesus Christ (1 Pet. 1:2), the blood of Jesus (Heb. 10:19; 1 Jn. 1:7), the blood of Christ (1 Cor. 10:16; Eph. 2:13; Heb. 9:14), the blood of the Lord (1 Cor. 11:27), the blood of the Lamb (Rev. 7:14; 12:11), occupies a central position in NT thought. It derives its meaning particularly from the sacrifices of the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16). It is sacrificial blood that Christ in perfect obedience to God (Rom. 5:19; Phil. 2:8; Heb. 5:8) presented in giving himself on the cross (Heb. 9:12 ff.). In his suffering and death Jesus offered the true sacrifice for the removal of sins. In place of all the sacrifices that had been brought by men, he brought the perfect sacrifice of his life. His sacrifice is the carrying out of the reconciliation of man with God (cf. K. Barth, *CD* IV 1, 283–357).

By his blood Christ ransomed and freed the church, the new people of God, from the power of the devil and all evil powers (Acts 20:28; Eph. 1:7; 1 Pet. 1:18 f.; Rev. 5:9). Christ's sacrificial blood justifies all who appropriate for themselves his sacrificial death (Rom. 3:25; 5:19). The blood cleanses the members of the church from their sins. God blots out the entire guilt of the person who confesses his sins to him in faithful trust (1 Jn. 1:7–10; Rev. 1:5; 7:14). Because the blood of Christ avails for his church, it is again possible to have a clear conscience before God (Heb. 9:14; 10:22; 13:18). In the OT → reconciliation (atonement) and purification (→ Pure) were two different actions, though connected in character. Reconciliation resulted from the bringing of the sacrificial blood into the Holy of Holies once a year on the Day of Atonement. Purification could be achieved at any time in the year outside the Holy of Holies. Both are given in the NT in the salvation through the blood of Christ (cf. G. Menken, *Homilien*, 110 f.).

In the blood lies the power for sanctification (Heb. 13:12) and the conquest of all powers at enmity with God (Rev. 12:11). A transforming and renewing power flows from the atoning death of Jesus into the life of those who have accepted redemption in faith. Christ's blood makes possible life in God's presence; it gives access to God (Heb. 10:19; Eph. 2:13, 18). An expression of the fact that the atoning power of the blood has been appropriated by a man is assurance of faith, glad confidence in prayer and a changed life (1 Pet. 1:13 ff.). As the blood of the covenant (Matt. 26:28; Mk. 14:24; Lk. 22:20 [omitted from some MSS]; 1 Cor. 11:25; Heb. 10:29; 13:20), it is the basis of the new divine order. By its connection with

the covenant ceremony at Sinai (Exod. 24:8, Heb. *dam ha-b^{e}rît*, blood of the covenant; cf. Heb. 9:18 ff.) the blood of Christ serves as guarantee that the promise of the New Covenant (Jer. 31:31–34) is fulfilled in the NT church. Col. 1:20 (cf. 2:13 ff.) speaks of the cosmic significance of Jesus Christ's sacrificial death. The blood makes peace both on earth and in heaven.

Blood is sometimes used fig. for the atoning work of Christ (Rev. 19:13; Jn. 6:53–56), the part being used for the whole saving act and work of Jesus (Eph. 1:7). In most of the passages that have been cited one cannot, however, simply substitute the death of Christ for the blood of Christ. "The blood of Christ means more than this. It stresses the close links between the death of Jesus and both his life and his triumph in his resurrection and exaltation" (H. J. Iwand *RGG*^{3} I 1330). The blood means the application of the death of Jesus to the individual. This is clearly indicated in the phrase "the sprinkled blood" (Heb. 12:24). It is a phrase that also links with the OT sacrificial cultus. The reconciling and purifying power of the sacrificial death was appropriated by the one who had brought the sacrifice by the sprinkling of the blood. In the OT community this was carried out visibly with the blood of an animal. In the NT church it is an invisible spiritual reality through the blood of Jesus (1 Pet. 1:2; Heb. 9:13 f.; 10:22). As the believer appropriates the blood of Jesus, the power of his sacrificial death becomes his in all its effects.

4. Blood as an apocalyptic sign. Blood, and its colour, red, symbolically express the eschatological terrors on earth and in heaven in the last days. Here too there are direct links with the OT. The NT takes over from Joel the prophecy of the change in the moon's colour (Joel 2:31 (MT 3:4); Acts 2:20; Rev. 6:12). Similarly blood and fire are used as a picture of war (Joel 2:30 (MT 3:3); Acts 2:19; Rev. 8:7). The change of water to blood refers to eschatological catastrophes (Exod. 7:17 ff.; Rev. 8:9; 11:6; 16:3 f.). The blood of grapes, in the OT a metaphorical expression for wine (Gen. 49:11; Deut. 32:14), becomes a picture of the great judgment on the nations (Rev. 14:19 f.; cf. Isa. 63:2 f.), when God will destroy all powers opposed to Christ at the end of history. *F. Laubach*

→ Akeldama, → Cross, → Feast, → Forgiveness, → Guilt, → Pure, → Reconciliation, → Redemption, → Sacrifice, → Sin

ῥαντίζω

ῥαντίζω (*rhantizō*), sprinkle; *ῥαντισμός* (*rhantismos*), sprinkling.

CL *rhantizō* is an alternative form of *rhainō*, sprinkle. In secular Gk. it is rare and late; in the LXX it is infrequent; but it is the only form found in the NT. As aspersion, it is distinguished from *niptō*, rinse part of a body; *louō*, wash the whole body; and *baptō*/*baptizō* immerse (→ Baptism, Wash). In Gk. literature the predominant use of the term is profane, but sprinkling for religious cleansing is attested (e.g. Plato, *Cratylus*, 405ab).

OT 1. In the OT the vb. and its cognates appear mainly in the religious sense. Oil, mixed with blood of sacrifice, is sprinkled on Aaron and his sons for consecration (Exod. 29:21), but sprinkling is chiefly for cleansing, whether by the blood of sacrifice or by water. On the Day of Atonement the sanctuary and its sacred objects were annually cleansed by the sprinkling of the blood of a bull and of a goat offered

as sin offerings (Lev. 16:11–19). The sprinkling of the people of Israel with the "blood of the covenant" at the making of the Sinaitic covenant (Ex. 24:8) had a different purpose, namely to bring Israel into a unity of fellowship with Yahweh and seal the covenant then made. Sprinkling was performed especially for cleansing from defilement incurred through contact with leprosy (Lev. 14:6 f., 51) and with the dead (Num. 19). In Ps. 51:7 (50:9) the ceremony of cleansing of the leper and his house provides the inspiration for the symbolic language of inner cleansing by sprinkling. As a leper is cleansed by blood sprinkled from a sprig of hyssop and by water, so the self-confessed sinner seeks in prayer spiritual cleansing from God. In Ezek. 36:25 sprinkling with water symbolizes an eschatological cleansing in the last times which is tantamount to a new creation. Alongside "the restoration of Israel (v. 24), the gift of a new heart of flesh (v. 26) and the gift of the Spirit (v. 27), the cleansing sprinkling carried out by God himself is an act of eschatological recreation of the people of God" (C.-H. Hunzinger, *TDNT* VI 980).

2. In the Qumran literature sprinkling (*nāzâh*) appears with washing (*rāḥaṣ*) as a term for the lustrations of the community, although these lustrations entailed immersion of the body. The employment of this term was doubtless due to its long association with cleansing from defilement, and indicates the effect rather than the mode of the lustrations. The Sectaries also awaited an eschatological cleansing at the end of the times, expressed under the symbolism of sprinkling. "He will cleanse him of all his wicked deeds with the spirit of holiness; like purifying waters He will shed upon him the spirit of truth (to cleanse him) of all abomination and falsehood. And he shall be plunged into the spirit of purification that he may instruct the upright in the knowledge of the Most High and teach the wisdom of the sons of heaven to the perfect of way" (1QS 4:21 f.; Vermes, *Scrolls*, 77 f.).

NT The NT (Mk. 7:3 f.) reflects current Jewish ritual purification. Jews wash their hands (*niptō*) before eating and sprinkle themselves (*rhantizō*) with water when they return from the market place. (A variant reading replaces *rhantizō* with the vb. *baptizō*, but the former is to be preferred.) The sprinkling is not upon objects bought in the market but persons who may have contracted defilement in mixing with others.

Hebrews frequently recalls the OT sprinkling with blood of → sacrifice, in order to show the superior power of the blood of Christ to cleanse (e.g. 9:13 ff., 18 ff.). In Heb. 10:22 cleansing by sprinkling (of Christ's sacrificial blood?) is set in parallelism with washing with pure water: "Let us draw near with a true heart in full assurance of faith, with our hearts sprinkled clean from an evil conscience and our bodies washed with pure water." "For it is impossible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sins" (Heb. 10:4). The cleansing power of Christ's sacrifice is known in baptism, even as the believer becomes one with Christ in his dying and rising (cf. Rom. 6:1 ff.).

The noun *rhantismos*, sprinkling, has not been found outside the Bible. Its occurrence in Heb. 12:24 is instructive, for though it is set in parallelism with Abel's blood, the latter was not sprinkled. The phrase "blood of sprinkling" was therefore a current formula. In contrast to the cry of Abel's blood for vengeance (Gen. 4:10), the sprinkled blood of Christ assures forgiveness.

G. R. Beasley-Murray

πνικτός

πνικτός (*pniktos*), strangled; ἀποπνίγω (*apopnigō*), strangle; πνίγω (*pnigō*), strangle; συμπνίγω (*sympnigō*), strangle.

CL & OT *pnigō* (etymology uncertain) means to strangle, choke, cause choking or vomiting, harass, frighten. In the pass. it means drown. The compounds *apopnigō* and *sympnigō* have the same meaning. The verbal adj. *pniktos*, strangled, is found only with the meaning steamed, stewed, outside the NT. In the LXX this group of words is rare (1 Sam. 16:14 f.; Nah. 2:12). *pniktos* does not occur.

NT 1. In the story of the demoniac at Gerassa the herd of pigs is said to have drowned in the lake (*epnigonto*, Mk. 5:13; *apepnigē*, Lk. 8:33). In the parable of the sower thorns choked the seed (*synepnixan* Mk. 4:7; *apepnixan* Matt. 13:7, Lk. 8:7). We find the same usage in the explanation of the parable. The unforgiving servant choked his fellow-servant to force him to pay his debt (Matt. 18:28). In Lk. 8:42 we are told hyperbolically that the multitude choked Jesus (NEB "He could hardly breathe for the crowds").

2. The adj. *pniktos* is of theological importance in Acts 15:20, 29; 21:25. The context is a command about food, which the Jewish Christians imposed on the Gentile Christians, and which is closely linked to the prohibition against eating blood. The command goes back to Lev. 17:13 f. and Deut. 12:16, 23. An animal should be so slaughtered that its blood, in which is its life, should be allowed to pour out. If the animal is killed in any other way, it has been "strangled". The rabbis extended and intensified the OT regulations. The question raised by the passage here is whether only such meat was being forbidden as in the OT, where the blood was still present, or whether the details of the rabbinic regulations were to be followed. The reason behind the prohibition was possibly that among the heathen animals were often killed by being strangled especially in the sacrificial cultus. It may be that such customs are here being forbidden. It should be noted that there is some doubt about the text. A few authorities omit the word, which could be a secondary addition to the other three. *H. Bietenhard*

(a). J. Behm, *haima*, *TDNT* I 172–77; H. Bietenhard, *pniktos*, *TDNT* VI 455–58; J. Denney, *The Death of Christ*, ed. R. V. G. Tasker, 1951, 34 ff., 96 ff., 149–54; C.-H. Hunzinger, *rhantizō*, *TDNT* VI 976–84; S. Lyonnet and L. Sabourin, *Sin, Redemption and Sacrifice. A Biblical and Patristic Study*, 1970; L. Morris, "The Biblical Use of the Term 'Blood'," *JTS* N. S. 3, 1952, 216–27; *NTS* N.S. 6, 1955, 77–82; *The Apostolic Preaching of the Cross*, 1965³, 112–28; and *The Cross in the New Testament*, n.d., 218 f., 357 ff.; J. Scharbert, "Blood," *EBT* I 75–79; H. Schlier, *Principalities and Powers in the New Testament*, 1961; A. M. Stibbs, *The Meaning of the Word "Blood" in Scripture*, 1947; V. Taylor, *The Atonement in New Testament Teaching*, 1940, 92–95; and *Jesus and His Sacrifice*, 1937, 125–39; B. F. Westcott, *The Epistles of St. John*, 1902⁴, 34–37; J. Ysebaert, *Greek Baptismal Terminology*, 1962; J. Schmid, "Blood of Christ," *EBT* I 79 ff.

(b). E. Bischoff, *Das Blut im jüdischen Schrifttum und Brauch*, 1929; W. Brandt, *Die jüdischen Baptismen*, 1910; S. Eitrem, *Opferritus und Voropfern der Griechen und Römer*, 1915; A. J. Fernandes, *Caetano da Cruz, Sanguis Christi*, 1959; G. Gerleman, *dām*, *THAT* I 448–51; H. Gottlob, *To haima mou tēs diathēkēs*, *StTh* 14, 1960, 115 ff.; E. Mühlhaupt and K. Galling, "Blut," *RGG*³ I 1327 ff.; W. Nauck and H. J. Iwand, "Blut Christi," *RGG*³ I 1329 ff.; E. Riggenbach, *Kommentar zum Hebräerbrief*, 1922³; O. Schmitz, *Die Opferanschauung des späteren Judentums und die Opferaussagen des Neuen Testaments*, 1910; A. Thales, *Sein Blut über uns und unsere Kinder. Eine Untersuchung zu* Mt. 27, 24, 25, 1969; J. Vetter, *Das heilige Blut*, 1958¹⁴; J. Waszink, *RAC* II 1327 ff.

→ literature under Baptism

Boast

καύχημα

καύχημα (*kauchēma*), boast, pride, object of boasting; καύχησις (*kauchēsis*), boasting; καυχάομαι (*kauchaomai*), boast; ἐγκαυχάομαι (*enkauchaomai*), to boast; κατακαυχάομαι (*katakauchaomai*), boast against, exult over, triumph over.

CL 1. In classical Gk. the vb. *kauchaomai* is found from Sappho onwards. Homer uses instead *euchomai*, pray, ask, wish. The tragedians and orators use *aucheō*, boast, plume oneself. Intrans. *kauchaomai* means to boast, vaunt oneself, be proud. With the preps. *en*, *epi*, *peri*, *hyper*, *eis*, or *kata*, it means to boast of a person or thing. The trans. form also occurs. The compound vb. *enkauchaomai* has the same meaning. *katakauchaomai* is used particularly with reference to the situation of an object, and may be translated to vaunt oneself against someone, to treat someone in a derogatory or contemptuous manner.

kauchēma (Pindar) refers to the subject of boasting, to the words used by the boaster, and occasionally also to the act of boasting, although for the latter (especially in the NT) the noun *kauchēsis* is more frequently found. *kauchēsis* (Epicurus) can likewise on occasion be used to denote the subject of boasting.

2. Although the ancient Greeks recognize legitimate pride in oneself (e.g. Homer, *Il.*, 6, 208), there is a clear appreciation of the distinction between this and unwarranted bragging, which was pilloried by the satirists and others. Plutarch also attacked ostentation in an essay on *Self-praise without Envy*.

OT 1. The OT also recognizes legitimate pride, e.g. of children in their fathers (Prov. 17:6, Heb. *tip̄'ereṯ*, beauty, distinction), or of old men in their grey hair (Prov. 16:31). Boasting, on the other hand, is regarded as reprehensible (1 Ki. 20:11, Heb. *hiṯhallēl*, to boast; Prov. 25:14; 27:1), and as the expression of sheer folly and ungodliness (Ps. 52:1; 94:4). The theological basis for the rejection of all self-praise lies in the fact that the man who boasts has his attention focused on himself, and no longer looks up to God, the creator and redeemer. He trusts in himself instead of having confidence in God, praising his grace and faithfulness (Jer. 9:23 f.; cf. 1 Sam. 2:10 LXX).

Boasting in God and his acts is spoken of in a good sense in the OT (Ps. 5:11; 32:11; 89:16 f.; 1 Chr. 16:28 f.; 29:11; Deut. 33:29; Jer. 7:14). Such boasting comprises the elements of "confidence, joy and thanksgiving, and the paradox is that the one who glories thus looks away from himself, so that his glorying is a confession of God" (R. Bultmann, *TDNT* III 647). In the LXX, *kauchēma* and the associated words are also used to translate this sense of the Heb. *hiṯhallēl*.

2. In Judaism this group of words has more or less the same meaning as in the OT, except that the → Law is added to the list of things which are truly worthy of praise, and in which the God-fearing man may rejoice (Sir. 39:8). In Rab. theology this idea is further developed. Praise of Abraham is represented as having its basis in his fulfilment of the Law (SB III 187). At the same time, however, there are warnings against arrogance and spiritual pride, and exhortations to humility. Furthermore, suffering is introduced as a ground for boasting, as it is received by the believer at God's hand (SB II 274 ff.).

3. Philo unequivocally rejects self-praise, but the group of words considered

here is not used to any significant extent. Instead, Philo uses terms like *philautia*, self-love; *alazoneia*, bragging; *kenodoxia*, vainglory, to describe the *mega kakon*, great evil, of self-praise, which is the exact opposite of *eusebeia*, godliness (cf. *Spec. Leg.* 1, 333; 4, 170; *Leg. All.* 1, 52).

NT In the NT the vb. *kauchaomai* occurs 37 times and the equivalent *enkauchaomai* once. *katakauchaomai* is found 4 times (in Jas. 2:13 with the meaning, "mercy triumphs over judgment"). The nouns *kauchēma* and *kauchēsis* each occur 11 times. Apart, however, from 5 instances in Jas. and one in Heb., words of this group are found only in the Pauline writings.

Paul uses the words to clarify and strongly emphasize an idea which is central to his doctrine of justification. This is the teaching that man's original sin consists in glorifying himself and not giving God his due. Like *ergon* (→ Work) and *nomos* (→ Law), *kauchaomai* occurs with particular frequency in polemical passages. Just as Paul attacks the Jewish doctrine of justification by works, so he opposes the closely related habit of human self-praise, based on fulfilment of the Law. The emptiness of such *kauchēsis* is revealed by the rhetorical question in Rom. 3:27: "What then becomes of boasting?" Through the "law of faith" all human glory is made of no account.

This is shown clearly in Eph. 2:8 f.: "For by grace you have been saved, through faith; and this is not your own doing, it is the gift of God – not because of works, lest any man should boast." A. Schlatter comments: "All is given to us in Christ, in order that we may not use God's grace to build up our own self-glorification." The worthlessness of human boasting, when based on the law, is similarly exposed in the context of Rom. 2:23 (cf. also Rom. 4:2, where Abraham's works give him nothing about which to boast before God). Contrary to Jud. ideas, Paul also rejects the glory attached to proselytizing (Gal. 6:13). He attacks just as strongly the self-confidence of the Greeks, who boast of their *sophia* (wisdom, 1 Cor. 1:29 and context; cf. also 1 Cor. 3:21). All these forms of boasting in the flesh (*kauchaomai kata sarka*, 2 Cor. 11:18, is practically synonymous with *pepoithenai en sarki*, Phil. 3:3 f.) include such things as the arrogant attitude of Gentile Christians to the non-Christian Jews (Rom. 11:17 f.), and false bragging (1 Cor. 4:7; cf. Jas. 3:14; 2 Cor. 5:12; 12:6). They come into the category of evil, i.e. unjustified, boasting (*kauchēsis ponēra*, Jas. 4:16, cf. 1 Cor. 5:6). And they conflict with the one appropriate form of boasting, cited from Jer. 9:24 in 1 Cor. 1:31: "Let him who boasts, boast of the Lord" (cf. 2 Cor. 10:17 f.).

For Christians, this is the only fitting form of *kauchēsis*: to boast of God through Jesus Christ (Rom. 5:11; cf. Phil. 3:3); or, as Gal. 6:14 puts it, to glory in the → cross of our Lord (*en tō staurō tou kyriou*). This glorying "has (thus) as its object something before which all self-praise disappears" (K. L. Schmidt, *Theol. Stud.* 11/12, 98). The Christian's *kauchēsis* can include glorying in the acts of God to which the apostles bear witness, and also in those which are brought about in the course of apostolic ministry. In this sense Paul, for instance, can boast of the *exousia* (authority → Might) which has been given to him (2 Cor. 10:8; cf. Rom. 15:17) in contrast to the false apostles (2 Cor. 11:12 ff.). He also boasts of individual churches in which he considers that the fruits of faith can be seen (1 Cor. 15:31; 2 Cor. 1:14; 7:4, 14; 8:24; 2. Thess. 1:4; cf. his "workmanship" → Work,

art. *ergon*, 1 Cor. 9:1). In the context of Christ's return, he can describe the Thessalonians as his "crown of boasting" (1 Thess. 2:19; for the phrase cf. Ezek. 16:12; Prov. 16:31). He writes that the Philippians will be his *kauchēma* "on the day of Christ" (Phil. 2:16; cf. 1:26). He will have no one deprive him of this apostolic ground for boasting (1 Cor. 9:15). Naturally Paul knows exactly where the limit comes (cf. 2 Cor. 11:16 ff.). A Christian can really only boast of his weakness, because it is here that God's strength becomes apparent (2 Cor. 11:30; 12:5, 9; cf. Rom. 5:3). If he boasts of his own behaviour (2 Cor. 1:12; cf. Gal. 6:4; Jas. 3:14), he should do so only in so far as his life is lived in dependence on God and in responsibility to him. For in the last analysis the Christian can never boast about himself (1 Cor. 9:16), but only of his Lord. Where the Lord cannot be seen as the foundation and content of the *kauchēma*, boasting remains "in the flesh" and therefore sinful. However, it is vital in the face of every difficulty "to hold firm to the end our confidence and pride in our hope" (Heb. 3:6; cf. Rom. 5:2).

H-C. Hahn

(a). Arndt, 426 f.; J. Bligh, *Galatians*, 1969, 490–93; R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, I, 1952, 239–46; "Christ the End of the Law," *Essays*, 1955, 36–66; and *TDNT* III 645–54; E. A. Judge, "Paul's Boasting in Relation to Contemporary Professional Practice," *Australian Biblical Review* 16, 1968, 37–50.
(b). M. Carrez, "La confiance en l'homme et la confiance en soi selon l'apôtre Paul," *Revue d'Historie et Philosophie Religieuses* 44, 1964, 191 ff.; K. L. Schmidt, "Ein Gang durch den Galaterbrief," *ThSt* 11/12, 1942, 98 ff.; G. Sanchez Bosch, *Sentido y teologia de kauchaomai en las Ep. de S. Pablo*, 1968.

Body, Member, Limb

Men frequently glorify the body on account of its beauty or strength. Alternatively, they look down on it as the prison house of the → soul. For while the body passes away, the immaterial, immortal soul goes on. By contrast, the NT idea of the *sōma* refers to the whole man, mostly in the sense of man as he stands before God. The → flesh, on the other hand, signifies the sphere of human life on earth and has negative overtones, in so far as man bases his existence on it. *sōma* is also used in the general biological sense of the body, and even in the sense of corpse. The NT can describe man as a *sōma* (body). But it can equally describe him as a *psychē* (→ soul).

The body was also used in antiquity in a figurative and corporate sense in mythology and for groups of people. In this connection *melos* (member, limb) denotes a part of the group or whole. It is used in theological contexts to show the functions of members in relation to the whole. At the same time their action reveals something of the corporate personality.

μέλος	μέλος (*melos*), member, part, limb.

CL 1. *to melos* means: (a) limb; (b) musical member, phrase, hence song (*Hymni Homerici* 19, 16), music to which a song is set (Aristot., *Poet.* 1450[a] 14), melody (Theognis, 761); (c) in the plur., body.

2. In Hom., *Il.*, 7, 131 and other early writers like Hesiod and Pindar the word occurs only in the plur., although it has the singular meaning of body. In the pre-Socratic writers the plur. has the meaning, members. It is used in the sing. by Aristotle as a member of a body. It is also used of the members of a city (cf. Dion. Hal. 6, 86, 1; Epictetus, *Dissertationes*, 2, 5, 26). It stands out clearly in the fable of Menenius Agrippa of the rebellion of the members of the body against the stomach. The city (*polis*) is understood as an organism, the existence of which depends on the willing incorporation of the citizens in the whole. (Here the thought of the *polis* is the primary one; not that of the living organism which is a secondary interpretation.) In the Hellenistic mystery religions and gnosticism the idea of the body and its members has a religious and speculative application in → creation mythology (→ Myth) but more especially in gnostic → redemption myth. The redeemed are thought of as lost members of the redeemer's body which have now been found. (For examples of gnostic teaching see R. M. Grant, *Gnosticism: An Anthology*, 1961; and for discussion of their relation to the NT see E. Yamauchi, *Pre-Christian Gnosticism*, 1973, 27 ff., 163–69.)

OT 1. *melos* occurs some 28 times in the LXX, but only 11 times in the canonical books. It renders the Heb. *nēṯaḥ* (piece of meat, carcass), in particular the dismembered parts of the sacrifice (Exod. 29:17). In Jdg. 19:29 it is used of the dismembered body of the Levite's concubine.

Since the word is not used of the limbs of a living human body, there is no thought of the body and its members either in a theological or a sociological sense. On the other hand, the OT shows an interest in the function of the individual parts of the body. → Heart, → Hear, → See, → Head, → Blood, → Flesh. The heart (Heb. *lēḇ*, *lēḇāḇ*; Gk. *kardia*) is mentioned some 851 times, but rarely if ever does it refer to the physical organ. It is more associated with man's thoughts and feelings, similarly to the way in which we today associate the heart with our emotions (Isa. 6:10; Hos. 7:2). The lower parts of the body, such as the liver and kidneys (Heb. *kāḇēḏ*, the "heavy" organ) are regarded as the emotional centre of man (Lam. 2:11. The RSV translation of "heart" is a modern idiomatic rendering; cf. Gen. 49:6; Pss. 16:9; 30:12, where RSV has "spirit" or "soul"). The brain is not mentioned at all in the OT. The appropriate faculty is sometimes designated by the organ (e.g. the ear, Exod. 15:26; Ps. 5:1; the eye, Eccles. 4:8; cf. Ps. 34:15).

2. Philo combined Jewish functional thinking with Gk. philosophical organic thinking which he applied ontologically to the idea of unity (*Spec.Leg.* 1, 199). The dismembered parts of the sacrificed animal have an ontological significance. The apologetic intention is clear. The physiological fact derived from the OT which saw the part in relation to the whole conceals the philosophical principle that the parts receive their function from the whole and that their function is essential to the existence of the whole.

3. Josephus applied the picture of the mutual dependence of the members to the political situation in the Jewish war (*War* 4, 406). When the chief city is ill, the other parts of the land also fall ill.

4. In rab. literature the number of members of the human body serves to illustrate the totality and universality of the → Law. The body was reckoned to have 248 members, corresponding to the 248 positive commands of the Torah (Ber. 8b,

60 ff.; there were 365 negative commands or prohibitions corresponding to the number of days in the year; cf. *TDNT* IV 559). On the other hand, rab. theologians related their observations on the function of the individual members to assessments of their worth and mutual relations. Thus → "evil inclination" (→ Desire, art. *hēdonē*) can take possession of individual members in order to gain dominance over the whole.

NT Most instances of *melos* in the NT occur in Rom. and 1 Cor. (Rom. 6:13, 19; 7:5, 23; 12:4 f.; 1 Cor. 6:15; 12:12 ff.). It also occurs in the plur. in Eph. 4:25; 5:30; Col. 3:5; Jas. 3:5 [sing.]; 3:6; 4:1. It occurs only twice in the synoptic gospels in two parallel sayings of Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5:29 f.).

1. "If your right eye cause you to sin, pluck it out and throw it away; it is better to lose one of your members (*melōn*) than that your whole body be thrown into hell (Gehenna, Gk. *geennan*). And if your right hand causes you to sin, cut it off and throw it away; it is better that you lose one of your members (*melōn*) than that your whole body go into hell (Gehenna, Gk. *geennan*)" (Matt. 5:29 f.). Jesus clearly did not intend the sayings to be taken literally. They apply to the evil functions of which the eye and the hand are instruments. It is these that are to cease. It is not the eye and the hand, but the lustful look and the malicious act that are to be cut out. This means that man's evil will must be rooted out if his body (i.e. the whole person) is to be saved in the judgment. There is no trace here of the Gk. idea of perfection as the complete number of the members in their entirety. Rather, the whole body (*holon to sōma*) is saved from judgment only by having a part rooted out.

In the same eschatological sharpening and clarity, Jas. 3:5 ff. describes the tongue as a little member that destroys like a devouring fire. Jas. 4:1 shows that the passions can arise from all the members of the body. Moreover, these passions can destroy the common life of the Christian church.

2. In describing the new life of the Christian in Rom. 6, Paul writes: "Do not yield your members to sin as instruments of wickedness, but yield yourselves to God as men who have been brought from death to life, and your members to God as instruments of righteousness" (6:13). "For just as you once yielded your members to impurity and to greater and greater iniquity, so now yield your members to righteousness for sanctification" (6:19). The test of whether a man has this new life is whether he practises righteousness in his relationships in the world. At the same time this reveals the tension between what he desires to do as a Christian and the sinful nature which still remains with him. "For I delight in the law of God, in my inmost self, but I see in my members another law at war with the law of my mind and making me captive to the law of sin which dwells in my members" (Rom. 7:22 f., cf. 5). The tension remains as long as his existence on earth. "So then, I of myself serve the law of God with my mind, but with my flesh I serve the law of sin" (7:25).

The thought of the members of the body as instruments is renewed in Col. 3:5 and 1 Cor. 6:15. The former declares: "Put to death therefore the members that are on the earth: immorality, impurity, passion, evil desire, and covetousness which is idolatry." The latter passage precludes prostitution for the Christian. "Do you not know that your bodies are members of Christ? Shall I therefore take

the members of Christ and make them members of a prostitute?" In so far as a man is a believer, his members are the members of Christ. To have sexual relations with a prostitute is to become one body (*hen sōma*) with her (v. 16). Thus the members of Christ would become the members of a prostitute.

3. Rom. 12 and 1 Cor. 12 teach that the church is the body of Christ in both reality and function. It is made a reality by the presence of the Holy Spirit whose gifts are enjoyed and practised by numerous individuals. But taken by themselves in isolation they are without significance. They have significance only in relation to the whole fellowship. "To each is given the manifestation of the Spirit for the common good" (1 Cor. 12:7). It is significant that in this extended sense of members (i.e. individual believers as members of the body of Christ), Paul's great concern is with the well-being of the body, the church as a whole. The same is true of Eph. 4:25 ("Therefore, putting away falsehood, let everyone speak the truth with his neighbour, for we are members one of another") and Eph. 5:30 (where Paul exhorts husbands to love their wives "because we are members of his body").

H. G. Schütz

σῶμα

σῶμα (*sōma*), body.

CL The original meaning of *sōma* is not clear. It first appears in Hom. meaning a dead body of a man or animal, a corpse or carcass. It retained this meaning into the 5th cent., when it began to be used in the sense of torso, the whole body and by extension the whole person (Hdt. 2, 66, 4; cf. E. Schweizer, *TDNT* VII 1025 ff.). In the pre-Socratic writers it has the meaning of element, figure, corresponding to the basic sense of the bodily. As the idea developed of the → soul alongside of the body, the body came to be regarded as a chain or grave, that which is mortal as distinct from the immortal soul. These ideas were further developed in Plato. The body is only the abode of the pre-existent soul. Death frees the soul from the body (*Phdr.*, 64c, 67a; *Grg.* 524b). The picture of the body was also applied to the cosmos. The latter is ruled and directed by the divine soul. Zeus conceals everything in himself and lets it all proceed from himself (*Orphicorum Fragmenta* 21a). Similarly man can be represented as a microcosm (Dem., *Frag.* 34; Diels-Kranz II, 153, 8, 12 f.). By contrast, Aristotle held that the body is primarily that by which the soul becomes something particular. The bond between body and soul is thus indissoluble (*An.*, 2, 1 f.). Aristotle also used the *sōma* in the sense of an organism to explain the character of the state (*Pol.*, 1, 2; 5, 2; cf. E. Schweizer, *TDNT* VII 1032).

The Stoics continued to maintain the traditional dichotomy of body and soul. Strictly speaking, Epictetus drew a distinction between the soul and the → flesh, rather than the body. The soul is the animating principle, whose seat can be the head just as much as the heart (Cleanthes, cf. *TDNT* VII 1033). The soul permeates the whole body and conveys its sense impressions. But the basic idea of wholeness in *sōma* remained decisive. Even the Stoic philosopher-emperor, Marcus Aurelius, could say of the tripartite conception of man: "There are three parts of which thou art composed: body, *pneuma* [spirit, soul] and *nous* [mind, reason]" (cf. M. Pohlenz, *Die Stoa*, 1948, I, 342). The further development of these thoughts together with

neo-Platonic ideas in general led to a devaluation of the body as opposed to the soul (cf. *TDNT* VII 1042 f.).

OT 1. There is no Heb. equivalent in the OT corresponding to the Gk. idea of *sōma*. In the LXX *sōma* is used to denote the range of ideas conveyed by the Heb. *bāśār*, → flesh, signifying man in his individual corporeality. This is distinct from *sarx*, flesh, denoting man or even humanity in their creatureliness. *sōma* can mean corpse (1 Sam. 31:10, 12), dead body (Deut. 21:23; Isa. 5:25) and even back (1 Ki. 14:9; Isa. 38:17). But the basic meaning is the body in the sense of the whole person (cf. Lev. 15:11, 16, 19; 16:4; 19:28 and often). *sōma* in the OT has virtually the sense of person, though this is not to be confused with personality. "There is no sense of his standing at a distance from himself or regarding his corporeality as something which can finally be parted from him" (E. Schweizer, *TDNT* VII 1048). Even angels have *sōmata* (Ezek. 1:11, 23; Dan. 10:6). *sōma*, then, does not suggest an earthly sphere in contrast to a heavenly. Nor is there an anthropological dualism in the OT canon which would oppose the soul or mind to the body as something of higher value.

2. Depreciation of the body as the seat of passion first occurs in Sir. 23:16 ff.; 47:19. The books of the Maccabees reflect Hel. influence in the distinction drawn between soul and body. A good soul and an undefiled body belong together (Wis. 8:20). But the dominant thought is that of the soul as the particular gift of God. Hence, the body can be given up in persecution. Even though the relationship of body and soul is here seen in relation to God, the Gk. dichotomy of the mortal body and the immortal soul is also present (Wis. 9:15).

3. These ideas were further developed in the Jewish background literature of the NT period. In Test. XII *sōma* is seen particularly in relation to sex. Through → desire (art. *hēdonē*) of the body fornication arises (Test. Jud. 14:3; → Discipline, art. *porneuō*). The significance of death stands out all the more sharply in the light of the connection between body and soul. For death separates body and soul. The body remains on earth and the soul is taken up to heaven (2 Esd. 60). This notion, influenced by Hel., stood over against Jewish thinking which approximated more closely to the OT. There the body representing the whole person comes under → judgment and is raised from the dead (→ Resurrection). It is a question of man as a whole person. This found expression in the Qumran literature and its notions of judgment (cf. H. Ringgren, *The Faith of Qumran*, 1963, 94 ff., 144 ff., 152 ff.). Rab. literature confirms the double aspect of the concept of body which was common in the NT period (cf. R. Meyer, *TDNT* VII 117 f.). On the one hand, there is the sense of body or person, and on the other hand there is the distinction drawn between body and soul, spirit or mind.

4. The notion of the body played a central part in gnosticism (→ knowledge, art. *ginōskō*). Man's inner self must be set free from the material world of the flesh and the human body. This comes about through → redemption. The idea of the redemption of the individual was applied to the cosmos. The idea occurs of the redeeming body of the original man which is applied to the body of Christ in the developed gnostic systems. There could hardly have been a developed pre-Christian system of gnostic mythology, but there are a series of themes which may be present in the NT. ([Ed.] For gnostic writings see R. M. Grant, *Gnosticism: An Anthology*,

1961; W. Foerster, *Gnosis: A Selection of Gnostic Texts*, I, 1972; II, 1974. H. Jonas, *The Gnostic Religion*, 1958, and R. M. Grant, *Gnosticism and Early Christianity*, 1959, are among those who see gnostic themes adapted and taken up in the NT. R. M. Wilson, *The Gnostic Problem*, 1958, and *Gnosis and the New Testament*, 1968, prefers to speak of an incipient gnosticism rather than gnosticism proper. E. Yamauchi, *Pre-Christian Gnosticism*, 1973, has provided substantial arguments to show that many of the features which Bultmann, Reitzenstein and other German scholars believed were derived from gnosticism by Christianity were, in fact, derived from Christianity by gnosticism. The gnostic texts upon which the arguments depend are post-Christian.)

NT 1. (a) *sōma* in the NT reflects the wide range of meaning which it had in Gk. generally as well as in OT thought. It means corpse in Matt. 27:52; Lk. 17:37 and often, and is used of the body of Jesus in Matt. 27:58; Mk. 15:43; Lk. 23:52; 23:55; Jn. 19:31. The thought that a dead body can be raised to life (Matt. 27:52) stands behind the expression "temple of his body (*naos tou sōmatos autou*)" (Jn. 2:21). This is the only instance in the Johannine writings where *sōma* does not mean dead body or slave (cf. Rev. 18:13).

(b) The physical aspect of the body is uppermost in Mk. 5:29 ("she felt in her body that she was healed of her disease") and Jas. 2:16 ("without giving them the things needed for the body"). Matt. 6:22 speaks of the eye as the lamp of the body (cf. 5:29). Matt. 6:25 speaks of the body as being more than clothing. These passages in Matt. point beyond the body as a mere physical organism to the *sōma* as signifying the self (cf. E. Schweizer, *TDNT* VII 1058).

(c) Heb. 10:10 contrasts "the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all" with the temple sacrifices. The passage takes up the thought of Ps. 40:6 ff. Heb. 10:5, "Sacrifices and offerings thou hast not desired, but a body thou hast prepared for me," appears to be an interpretative gloss on Ps. 40:6 ("Sacrifice and offering thou dost not desire; but ears thou hast dug for me"). ([Ed.] On the Ps. see A. A. Anderson, *The Book of Psalms*, I, 1972, 316 ff. F. F. Bruce regards the translation in Heb. 10:5 as an interpretative paraphrase. He suggests that the digging or hollowing out of the ears is taken in this (LXX) translation of the Ps. as using the part of the body to suggest the whole [*The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 1964, 232]. The Ps. stresses the obedience of the speaker in hearing God's law and doing his will. Heb. extends the idea by applying the words to Christ who did this by offering his body [10:5; cf. 10:10].) The precise reference of body in this passage does not seem to be paralleled elsewhere, except possibly for 1 Pet. 2:24 ("He himself bore our sins in his body on the tree, that we might die to sin and live to righteousness"). Body in these passages denotes not only Jesus' physical body but the total giving of himself in death. It thus contrasts with the merely physical bodies of animals in the sacrificial system.

2. (a) In Paul *sōma* has a specialized meaning in the sense of person. Human existence – even in the sphere of the *pneuma* (spirit) – is a bodily, somatic existence. It is un-Pauline to think of the body merely as a figure or form. Passages like Rom. 6:12 ("Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal bodies, to make you obey their passions") and Rom. 12:1 ("present your bodies a living sacrifice") clearly show that the *sōma* is not merely an outer form but the whole person (cf. R. Bultmann,

Theology of the New Testament, I, 1952, 192). There is in Paul a series of passages in which *sōma* is understood in the general physical sense of body (e.g. 1 Cor. 5:3; 7:34). In only one passage (1 Thess. 5:23) does Paul follow current (liturgical?) language and speak of man in a tripartite way: "May your spirit [*pneuma*] and soul [*psychē*] and body [*sōma*] be kept sound and blameless at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ." Rom. 12:4 f. and 1 Cor. 12:12–26 take up the picture of the relation of the body to its members (→ *melos;* 2. (d) below; → Church). The "marks of Jesus" (*ta stigmata tou Iēsou*) which Paul bears in his body are to be understood as scars from wounds received in the service of Jesus (Gal. 6:17; cf. 2 Cor. 12:24 ff. and perhaps Gal. 2:20. (There may also be an implicit contrast between these marks and the marks left by circumcision. The main purpose of Gal. is to refute the claims of the circumcision party which had got a strong hold over the churches in Galatia [Ed.].)

In 1 Cor. 9:27 Paul writes: "I pommel my body and subdue it, lest after preaching to others I myself should be disqualified" (RSV). ([Ed.] Here the thought seems to be similar to what is said elsewhere about the members → *melos* NT 1. and 2.; → Beat NT; cf. F. F. Bruce, 1 *and* 2 *Corinthians*, 1971, 89 f.; C. K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1968, 218.) In the same letter Paul can say, "If I give away all I have, and if I deliver my body to be burned, but have not love, I gain nothing." The reading "to be burned" is a better one than "that I may glory" (cf. Metzger, 563 f.). ([Ed.] Martyrdom by fire was not known before Nero (cf. Tacitus, *Ann.*, 15, 44), though similar language is used of the martyrs under Antiochus (2 Macc. 7:37; 4 Macc. 18:3; cf. Dan. 3:6). In Judaism death by burning was reserved for those who had intercourse with a woman and her daughter and for the adulterous priest (Sanhedrin 9:1). Paul seems to have had in mind the most painful form of self-immolation which would be worthless without love, cf. Barrett, op. cit., 302 f.; Bruce, op. cit., 125 f.)

The body is mentioned in connection with sex in Rom. 4:19 (Abraham's body was "as good as dead") and 1 Cor. 7:4 (the wife and the husband rule over each other's body). But the warnings against unchastity (Rom. 1:24; 1 Cor. 6:13–20) show that there is a wider significance here than the merely physical. Bodily acts affect not only the individual act of sin but the whole person to his innermost being. This is underlined by Paul's questions: "Do you not know that your bodies are members of Christ? . . . . Do you not know that your body is a temple of the Holy Spirit within you which you have from God? . . . . So glorify God in your body" (1 Cor. 6:15, 19 f.).

(b) The body is not something external to man which, as it were, is added to his essential self or soul. "Man does not *have* a *sōma*; he *is sōma*" (R. Bultmann, op. cit., I, 194). *sōma* denotes man as a whole, man as a person. *sōma* can be understood as man as the object of an action and man as the subject of an action. He has a relationship with himself. This is shown, e.g., by 1 Cor. 9:27 where Paul speaks of treating his body roughly and subjecting it. This does not simply mean treating his body roughly, but treating himself roughly. Similarly, 1 Cor. 13:3 shows how one can immolate oneself. One can sacrifice oneself in the service of God by presenting the body "as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God" (Rom. 12:1).

Only in one place is the *sōma* mentioned as the subject of an action in Paul. "If by the Spirit you put to death the deeds of the body you will live" (Rom. 8:13). The

deeds of the body (which in the context are identified with living according to the flesh, Rom. 8:12, cf. 5 ff.) suggest action by the body. Body here is equivalent to the self, the human "I" in its sinfulness. The same thought emerges from the relation of the body and desire. The Christian should not be led by the desires of the body (Rom. 6:12) which can be dominated by the power of sin. The desires of the body and the desires of the flesh are synonymous (Gal. 5:16 ff., 24).

Paul's understanding of *sōma* as "I", as a "person", as distinct from the *sarx* (flesh) is illustrated by Rom. 7:14 ff. "I am carnal (*sarkinos*), sold under sin" (v.14). The body is open to the two possibilities of desire and obedience. In this sense there is no difference between "body of sin" (Rom. 6:6) and "sinful flesh" (Rom. 8:3). When Paul cries: "Who will deliver me from this body of death?" (Rom. 7:24), he is thinking of the shattered character of human existence as it finds expression in the body. He sees in his existence the powers of sin, the flesh and spirit which can mean either destruction or life. Man's bodily existence does not in itself denote something either good or bad. Rather the body is the concrete sphere of existence in which man's relationship with God is realized.

(c) In this light, it is understandable why Paul in 1 Cor. 15 stresses the → resurrection of the body as against his Corinthian opponents. Paul's understanding of resurrection is influenced by Jewish anthropology. Man's life is thinkable only in a body. Thus any division of man into soul and body along the lines of Gk. anthropology is precluded (cf. also 2 Cor. 5:1–10). In this discourse on resurrection Paul sets in opposition an earthly or "physical body" (v. 44 RSV, *sōma psychikon*) and a "spiritual body" (*sōma pneumatikon*). These are the two possibilities before man. The former represents his earthly existence and the latter his post-resurrection life. The images are represented in spatio-temporal terms, though naturally a spiritual body cannot be conceived in terms of matter. Paul's aim is to express what is man's essential being. It is characterized by existence in a body, again using the terminology of space and time. The body in the sense of the "I", the "person", will survive death through the creative act of God. "But God gives it a body as he has chosen, and to each kind of seed its own body. . . . So it is with the resurrection of the dead. What is sown is perishable, what is raised is imperishable. . . . It is sown a physical body, it is raised a spiritual body" (1 Cor. 15:38, 42, 44). The continuity between the earthly body and the heavenly body does not rest upon a transformation. If that were the case, Paul would have stressed the temporal aspect of his concept of the "spiritual body" (v. 44). The thought would then be of a body consisting of a substance *pneuma*. But Paul is not concerned with the description of a spiritual substance of which the heavenly *sōma* is constituted. His concern is with the fact that God determines this *sōma* through the Spirit as a power of God (cf. v. 50). Thus after the resurrection this *sōma* is no longer subject to sin and death. It is no longer a divided self. This also emerges from the understanding of faith, hope and love which Paul develops in 1 Cor. 13:13. Man's earthly existence is characterized by paradoxical contradictions (1 Cor. 13:3). The one thing that is not contradictory or fragmentary in this life is love which is complete now and in the life to come. It is with these concepts that Paul describes the continuity between the earthly body and the heavenly. It shows that man's personhood is not something that is at his disposal. It is not founded upon himself. It remains a gift.

(d) Over and above this, *sōma* has a specific meaning in Paul which no longer

refers to an individual but to a group. He speaks of the *sōma Christou*, the body of Christ (1 Cor. 12:27; Rom. 12:5; Eph. 4:12 and often). Paul takes up the picture of the body to express the essential character of the Christian church. In 1 Cor. 12:12–30 his exposition takes up the Gk. thought of the organism (cf. vv. 14–26), basing the necessity of the different functions of the members upon the unity of the body. But the essential character is not based on the Gk. image. The several members do not constitute the whole. Rather it is the task of the members that highlights their corporate nature in their diverse functions. The body constitutes the unity, and in this sense it can be described as the body of Christ. It is based on Christ himself. "For just as the body is one and has many members, and all the members of the body, though many, are one body, so it is with Christ. For by one Spirit we were all baptized into one body" (1 Cor. 12:12 f.).

The act of incorporation through → baptism does not mean that the body of Christ is the issue of a community that constitutes itself and grows by a rite of initiation. Rather, the description of the church as the body of Christ means that Christ constitutes the existence of the individual as a member of his body. The bestowal of the Spirit is connected with baptism (1 Cor. 12:13). The church has an eschatological character. It exists by the promise of God in Christ for the future.

The → Lord's Supper is rooted in the concept of the body as a community (Mk. 14:22–25; Matt. 26:26–29; Lk. 22:19 f.; cf. 1 Cor. 10:16 f.; 11:23–26). Paul admittedly refers to pagan practices in his account, but it is the death of Christ that gives the Lord's Supper its meaning. His death is the decisive saving act "for you" (1 Cor. 11:24) and is proclaimed as such by the Lord's Supper (1 Cor. 11:26). In the centre stand not the elements or substance of bread and wine but the action of the fellowship as the body of Christ in the knowledge that it is dependent upon his blessing and subject to his Lordship. To be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord (v. 27) signifies an act of one brother against another. The giving of Christ's body in death is the decisive enactment of God's promise to man. It is the authentic sign of his church which understands itself as the body of Christ. The proclamation of Christ's body as given for us in death and the picture of the body of Christ as the church are given in an irreversible sequence.

(e) Col. and Eph. develop a picture of the body of Christ which is distinct from that in the other Pauline epistles. The Col. understanding of the body of Christ is presented in the hymn in Col. 1:15–20. The section shows indications of adaptation. In my opinion "the church" (v. 18a) is an interpretative insertion by the author into an already existing hymn. In the original form of the hymn the body of Christ was the → world. There are affinities with gnostic motifs which occur in the later gnostic systems which present the body of the original man as the expression of the world. The cosmic dimension of Christ's saving act is particularly clear. The world, the cosmos, is to be understood as the body of Christ. ([Ed.] Cf. E. Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon*, 1971, 50–55. Whether or not "the church" is to be regarded as an insertion into the text of an already existing hymn, the passage clearly regards Christ's person and work as having cosmic significance. "For in him all the fullness of God was pleased to dwell, and through him to reconcile to himself all things, whether on earth or in heaven, making peace by the blood of the cross" [Col. 1:19 f.]. But this is not unique. See further Eph. 1:22 f.: "he has put all things under his

feet and has made him the head of all things for the church which is his body, the fulness of him who fills all in all." The cosmic significance of Christ is also expressed in Rom. 11:36 which immediately precedes the exposition of the idea of being "one body in Christ" [12:5], and in 1 Cor. 15:24–28 which speaks of Christ delivering the kingdom to the Father that God may be all in all.)

If men were threatened by cosmic powers, a redemption was here offered them which held good even in the face of these powers. "The whole realm of being is related to him as the mediator of the Lordship of God" (H. Conzelmann in H. W. Beyer *et al.*, *Die Kleineren Briefe*, *NTD* 8, 1962, 137). "In opposition to an emotional enthusiastic understanding of the body of Christ which regards the whole universe as already reconciled physically in Christ the Pauline view is upheld that talk about the body of Christ is a summons to obedience and to service for the new Lord" (E. Schweizer, *TDNT* VII 1077).

The thought of Christ as the head of the world is rightly maintained in this connection by the reference to the church in v. 18. His body is the church in which this obedience is proclaimed for realization in the world. If the symbolic ideas here are rightly interpreted, it is clear that the church and the world are not two great fixed entities set in permanent opposition. The church signifies the recognition and realization of real possibilities in the world under the Lordship of Christ, the freedom of faith to live in the world.

In contrast to Col., the concept of the body as the church of Christ is clear in Eph. from the beginning. Christ is the → head (*kephalē*) of the body of the church (4:15 f.). Neither the Gk. nor the general concept of the body as an organism fit exactly here. The passage speaks of the believers growing up "in every way into him who is the head, into Christ, from whom the whole body, joined and knit together by every joint with which it is supplied, when each part is working properly, makes bodily growth and upbuilds itself in love" (4:15 f. RSV). These ideas of the body are stamped by motifs which are to be found in later gnostic writings. It is clear that Eph. is attacking gnostic-type ideas within and without the church. "Children" (→ *nēpioi*) are the hesitant and misguided who are carried about by every wind of doctrine (v. 14). They were perhaps gnostics who boasted of their knowledge, but are not more precisely described.

The picture of the body as the church is again taken up not only in defence but to provide a definitive understanding of the church for the situation after Paul. Paul's teaching of unity in multiplicity in 1 Cor. 12 is now put forward stressing the head. For headship implies both lordship and promise. The church is held and sustained by Christ. In order to preserve it from false teaching and schisms, it is presented not with an institutional form, but with the reflection that the head and the body are mutually related in love and truth. "Two possibilities stand opposed to each other: existence in the body, that is in unity and love, and isolated existence apart. . . . There is unity in the church in speaking and doing what is commanded – the practice of love in the sphere of truth. And there is the arbitrary assertion of subjective opinions in all their deceptive attraction" (H. Conzelmann, op. cit., 79). Thus the church has its place in the world. It does not stand over against it; it is set in it. "The body of Christ is precisely the Church in which Christ moves out into the world. The preaching of the Gospel by the Church is the answer to cosmic anxiety" (E. Schweizer, *TDNT* VII 1080). *S. Wibbing*

Parts of the Body

Rooted in *ankos*, a "bend", "hollow", *ankalē* is the "bent arm" and classically a metaphor for anything which enfolds, e.g., an "arm" of the sea. In the LXX only 1 Ki. 3:20 of mother's arms nursing a baby and Prov. 5:20 of man embraced by his mistress. In NT only Lk. 2:28 (cf. *enankalizomai*, Mk. 9:36; 10:16) of baby or child held in arms.

Classically, *pous* means the "foot" of man, animals or things (e.g. hill); as idiom of proximity or direction, e.g. *para podos* "at once", *para podi* "at hand"; measure of length in space or poetry. In LXX the foot of man, animals, things (e.g. table, Exod. 25:26), idols, Seraphim; anthropomorphically, of God (Exod. 24:10); but chiefly in at least forty metaphorical usages wherein a person is depicted as enjoying, suffering, doing or refusing that wherein his foot is the most notably used member: e.g. rest (Gen. 18:4), restlessness (Dt. 28:65), victory (Jos. 10:24), calamity (Deut. 32:15); the position of the follower (Jdg. 4:10), the organ expressive of reverence (Ex. 3:5), consecration (Ex. 29:20 – the consecration of life's activity), etc.

The NT matches the balance of LXX usage, mainly offering metaphor: separation (Matt. 10:14), straying (Matt. 18:8), devotion, submission, supplication (Mk. 5:22; Lk. 8:35; 10:39), service offered in love (Jn. 13:5; 1 Tim. 5:10), triumph (Rom. 3:15). To cut off the foot is a severely debilitating act but one which expresses the urgency of Jesus' message (Matt. 18:8; Mk. 9:45; but cf. Matt. 4:6). The pierced feet of Jesus are seen as evidence of the reality of the resurrection (Lk. 24:39 f.). To shake off the dust from one's feet (Matt. 10:14; Mk. 6:11; Lk. 9:5; Acts 13:51) is a gesture of breaking off all connection, performed in those places which have rejected the gospel. But to wash the feet of others is a menial service which is performed as an act of love by both followers of Jesus (Lk. 7:38–46; Jn. 11:2; 12:3; cf. 1 Tim. 5:10) and Jesus himself (Jn. 13:5–14). Perhaps significantly it is women who perform this act. In the case of Jesus' washing the disciples' feet, the action symbolizes both the cleansing that Jesus gives to the sinner and the humility and care that disciples should have for each other in following the example of their master. The prophetic announcement of the saving presence of God of Isa. 52:7 ("How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him who brings good tidings, who publishes peace, who brings good tidings of good, who publishes salvation, who says to Zion, 'Your God reigns' ") is seen as being fulfilled by those who preach the gospel (Acts 10:36; Rom. 10:15; Eph. 6:15). Similarly, the OT idea of having one's enemies under one's feet is interpreted christologically in the NT (Ps. 45:7; Heb. 2:8; Ps. 110:1; Matt. 22:44; cf. 5:35; Mk. 12:36; Lk. 20:23; Acts 2:35; 7:49; Heb. 1:13; 10:13; but cf. Jas. 2:3; 1 Cor. 15:25, 27; Rom. 16:20). See also the descriptions of Rev. 1:15, 17; 2:18; 3:9; 10:1; 11:11; 12:1; 13:2; 19:10; 22:8.

osphys means "loins, lower body", by synecdoche "body", classically, the loins, lower body, of man, sacrificial victims and animals (Xen.). The LXX uses loins in the general sense of "body" (e.g. Gen. 37:34), but more particularly the "body" as the source of offspring (Gen. 35:11) and, within the body, the loins as a seat of strong emotion: pain (Isa. 21:3), fear (Dan. 5:6). Against this background it develops vivid metaphors: the girt loins (Exod. 12:11); the expression for personal strength or capacity (1 Ki. 12:10); mourning (Isa. 32:11), immobilization (Ezek. 29:7). That which is worn on the loins declares personal commitment and character (Isa. 11:5; cf. 1 Ki. 2:5).

In the NT both the physical (e.g. Matt. 3:4) and metaphorical (e.g. Lk. 12:35; Eph. 6:14) aspects are exemplified. The development of the metaphor to using the physical to describe the mental (1 Pet. 1:13) is a new feature, as is also the extension of the thought of the loins as the source of offspring (Acts 2:30; Heb. 7:5) to become a means of describing the solidarity of offspring with their ancestor and their involvement in his actions (Heb. 7:10).

kolpos means "bosom", by synecdoche "person"; especially with connotations of love, close relationship etc. It is related to *kolpoō*, to swell out (e.g. as sail in wind). Hence *kolpos* as the human "bosom", the "bosom" of a garment, of the sea (originally referring to sea-goddess), bay, valley.

The LXX concentrates on metaphorical usages save in Exod. 4:6 (of garment), Ruth 4:16; 1 Ki. 3:20; 17:19 (of nurse or mother with child). It specifies tender relationships (Deut. 13:6; 2 Sam. 12:3; Num. 11:12; Isa. 49:22); the self (Ps. 34 [35]:13; Prov. 6:27), strong personal emotion (Eccl. 7:10), inactivity (Ps. 73[74]:11), the heart (Job 23:12), vengeance personally suffered (Ps. 78[79]:12).

The NT exemplifies the classical use in "bay" (Acts 27:39), and reflects Ps. 78[79]: 12 in Lk. 6:38. The general notion of tender relationship (Jn. 13:23) is given two specific adaptations, first as descriptive of the intimate oneness, yet distinctiveness, of the Father and the Son in their mutual love (Jn. 1:18), and secondly, of the tender love awaiting God's people after death, their rest in "Abraham's bosom" (Lk. 16:22, 23). In our Lord's parable the emphasis rests not on the condition on which this blessing is granted but on the nature of the blessing itself: bliss, recompense, eternal separation from all that is evil, a richness which cannot be forfeited, for the gulf which separates also encloses. This specific idea of eternal distinctions after death is no more than barely incipient in the OT and began to emerge with clarity from Enoch (*c.* 110 B.C., cf. Eth.En. 22) onwards becoming specific in 1st cent. A.D. Jewish literature (cf. SB II 226, 227; IV 1018, 1019; R. Meyer, *kolpos*, *TDNT* III 824 ff.).

mastos and *mazos* mean "breast," by synecdoche the upper body; classically the breast, both of men and women; rarely the udder of animals; and metaphorically a hill or cup-shaped object.

In LXX it is used only of women (general, e.g. Cant. 1:13 etc., specifically mothers, e.g. Job 3:12) and metaphorically of Jerusalem (Isa. 66:11), family blessings (Gen. 49:25), sorrow (Isa. 32:13), adultery (Hos. 2:2). It is used of animals in Lam. 4:3. The NT exemplifies only the physical use: mother's breast (Lk. 11:27; 23:29), upper body (Rev. 1:13, where one reading is *mazos*, the only example of this word in NT).

osteon means "bone", by synecdoche, a living or dead body; in cl. Gk. the "bone/ bones" of the living or the dead; metaphorically the rocks, as constituting the bony structure of the earth; a fruit stone. The LXX uses the word likewise of the dead (e.g. Gen. 50:25) and the living (e.g. Eccl. 11:5); also the bones of the Passover lamb (Exod. 12:46), and metaphorically for determination (Prov. 25:15, cf. Eng. "backbone"). Coupled with → flesh (Job 2:5) and → heart (Isa. 66:14) bones express the totality of physical existence. Bones are the seat of health (lost by sin, Ps. 37:4 [38:3], enjoyed through godliness, Prov. 3:8), vitality (Job 20:11), are broken by divine judgment (Ps. 50:10 [51:8]; Isa. 38:13), especially the seat of pain (Job 30:17 etc.). Once (Job 7:15) "bones" stands for the self. With "flesh", "bone" is

metaphorical for kinship (cf. Gen. 2:23; 2 Sam. 5:1). NT usage (apart from Mt. 23:27; Heb. 11:22, in each case "dead body") focuses on Christ: his identity with the Passover lamb (Jn. 19:36), the reality of his resurrection body and person (Lk. 24:39, and in *v.l.* of A, B and other manuscripts), the kinship between Christians and Christ (Eph. 5:30).

haphē means joint, junction, binding. It is connected with *haptō*, "to fasten, bind, engage in, kindle", hence *haphē*, a kindling, touching, grasp, joint, junction. The LXX only uses the word in the sense of "blow or stroke", of punishment (2 Sam. 7:14), assault (Deut. 17:8), and of the "plague" of "leprosy" (Lev. 13 passim, etc.). In the NT the word only appears in the sense of "joint", the point of "binding" or "junction", or even "that which effects the binding" with reference to the metaphor of Christians as a "body" under Christ as the "head" (Eph. 4:16; Col. 2:19).

harmos, joint. In cl. Gk. *harmozō* means to joint or dovetail together, primarily of joiner's work, then metaphorically of arranging, fitting together, harmonizing. *harmos* is thus primarily a joint in masonry, etc. and only derivatively the "shoulder-joint". Absent from the LXX, the sole occurrence in NT is Heb. 4:12 where the scrutinizing power of "the word of God" is illustrated by the fact that it penetrates to the "most critical parts of the physical framework of man" (B. F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 1892, ad loc.).

trachēlos, neck, in cl. Gk. of the "neck" or "throat" of man, animals and things (e.g. gourd, mid-part of mast). It occurs in the LXX, of human and animal anatomy (Gen. 27:16; Jdg. 8:21), but chiefly in metaphorical and idiomatic usage: of burdens borne (Gen. 27: 40), greeting (Gen. 33:14), stubbornness (Deut. 10: 16: Isa. 48:4); expressive of victory (Jos. 10:24), personal effort (Neh. 3:5); a point at which life can be gravely endangered (Is. 30:28; Hab. 3:13) or mortally wounded (Ezek. 21:29); when ornaments are worn, especially the metaphorical "wearing" of truth, etc. (Prov. 3:3). The NT reflects LXX usage in its metaphorical aspects. The neck is the place of peril to the life (Matt. 18:6; esp. Rom. 16:4); burdens are borne (Acts 15:10); connected with greeting (Lk. 15:20) and sorrow at parting (Acts 20:37).

pterna (cf. *pternismos*), "heel". Classical use covers the heel of a person or shoe, and the lower part of anything. In the LXX, the anatomical use is exemplified in Gen. 25:26; 49:17. In addition, the heel is the place of non-mortal injury (Gen. 3:15), aggravating opposition (Jos. 13:23), and lurking danger whether of a physical (e.g. Ps. 55:7 [56:6]) or moral (Ps. 48:5 [49:5]) foe. The NT quotes LXX Ps. 40:10 (41:9) (*pternismos*) at Jn. 13:18, where the "lifting up of the heel" symbolizes base treachery.

J. A. Motyer

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→ also literature under Church, Man, Resurrection.

Book, Read, Letter

The book (*biblos*) and the letter (*epistolē*) are the normal means by which ideas are recorded, so that they may be accessible to others, when the author is not present,

especially after his death. Both book and letter are intended to be read or read aloud (*anaginōskō*).

βίβλος	βίβλος (*biblos*), book; βιβλίον (*biblion*), book.

CL *biblos* is derived from an older form *byblos*, the Sem. *g^{e}bal*, Gubla. It originally meant the papyrus plant, or its fibrous stem, which was exported to Greece through the port of Byblos in Syria where the plant was prepared.

It is found from Aesch. onwards not merely in its basic meaning of papyrus, but also for any material used in writing, e.g. a clay tablet, leather, parchment, and even for what has been written on it. Finally it came to mean a scroll, book, writing, then deed, letter, order. In Koine Gk. *biblos* is often replaced by its diminutive *biblion*.

In secular Gk. these words increasingly came to denote an ancient, holy book (cf. the magical books in Acts 19:19). Josephus and Philo followed this use and called the Pent., the Torah, or the whole OT, *hierai bibloi*, holy books. The Eng. word Bible comes from the plural *ta biblia*, via the Lat.

OT In the LXX *biblos*, or more commonly *biblion*, is a translation of Heb. *sēp̄er*, and its meaning is fixed by OT usage.

1. It is used for anything that has been written (e.g. a scroll, book, writing, letter). Examples are a war diary (Exod. 17:14; cf. Num. 21:14), a law-book (Deut. 17:18; cf. Exod. 24:7), a private letter (2 Sam. 11:14), a divorce document (Deut. 24:1, 3; cf. Mk. 10:4), a land register (Jos. 18:9), various chronicles of the kings (1 Ki. 15:31). There is a religious connotation only in so far as Yahweh is a witness of that which has been written, and watches over their fulfilment especially in cases of contracts (→ Covenant).

2. In the sing. it is used for individual OT writings (Tob. 1:1; 1 Chr. 27:24), in the plur. for groups of writings in the OT (Dan. 9:2; I Macc. 12:9). Important in this connection is the use of these two words in the sing. for the book of the Law, the Torah. This usage springs undoubtedly from the fact that the Torah was written on a special scroll. Since this scroll of the Torah contains God's holy will, *biblion* became in the LXX a solemn expression for the Book of the Law (Deut. 28:58; Jos. 1:8). We find here the roots of the later church usage, "the Bible."

Originally various later books stood beside the Torah and the other OT writings, but already by the end of the first cent. A.D. the canon was closed (→ Rule). 2 Esd. 14:42–47 mentions 94 books of which 24 were available to all, i.e. they were canonical, but 70 were hidden. This gave rise to the problem of canonical and apocryphal writings.

3. Various "books" are frequently mentioned in Jewish writings, especially apocalyptic. The idea goes back to the OT. The book is here a picture of God's eternal purposes for the future of his people, his world or his creatures. There is the book of the divine world-plan (cf. Ezek. 2:8 ff.), the book of life (cf. Exod. 32:32 f.; Isa. 4:3; Dan. 12:1; Jub. 19:9), the book of human history (a term found already in the surrounding nations and also in Pss. 139:16; 56:8 (9)), and the book of judgment (Dan. 7:10; Isa. 65:6; Eth. Enoch 81:4; 89:61–64). These books are always an expression of the sovereign will and work of God in history. There are no books of fate.

NT 1. (a) The NT follows the practice of the LXX in using *biblion* (34 times) more frequently than *biblos* (10 times). Particularly noticeable are the 23 occurrences of *biblion* in Rev. alone (only 11 times in the rest of the NT). In contrast to secular Gk., no difference of meaning can be found between the two forms.

(b) OT usage reappears in Matt. 1:1, "the book of the genealogy" (cf. Gen. 5:1); and Matt. 19:7; Mk. 10:4, "a certificate of divorce" (cf. Deut. 24:1, 3). *biblos* and *biblion* are used for the Torah (Gal. 3:10; Heb. 9:19), or for other books of the OT canon (cf. Lk. 3:4 (Isa.); 4:17 ("and he was given the book of the prophet Isaiah"); Mk. 12:26 (Pent.); Acts 7:42 (Amos), Lk. 20:42 and Acts 1:20 (Pss.). The writer of the Fourth Gospel also calls his work a *biblion* (Jn. 20:30; 21:25). Book is used in a special way in Rev.: the book in which all is to be written (1:11); the book sealed with 7 seals contains the plan for the world in the last days (5:1 ff.); the book of life, in which are found the names of those that are to enter eternal life, while those who are not in it will not be able to withstand the temptation to worship the beast (13:8; cf. Phil. 4:3); and the book of judgment (20:12). While it is the language of apocalyptic that appears here, it has been given a new force and significance (cf. H. Bietenhard, *WUNT* 2, 231–254).

2. All the books of the Bible contain a message which awakens and demands faith. Only where this message is believed are they rightly read and understood (Jn. 20:30 f.). But when John speaks of his book in this connection, he is not necessarily using the word with any theological significance.

It is otherwise in Rev. Just as in Jewish apocalyptic, the *biblion* is "the book of the sacredly established divine decrees concerning the future of the world and the community" (G. Schrenk, *TDNT* I 619). In Jewish apocalyptic, however, books are attributed to some pious man of God in the past, who received a secret revelation, hidden and sealed for a later time and for a select circle of people. In Rev., on the contrary, the seer John passes on a prophetic message under his own name to the contemporary churches known to him. It is intended to provide comfort and warning (cf. 2 Esd. 14:42–47; Dan. 12:4, 9; Rev. 1:11). The message here is about the events of the last time until the return of Christ, who will triumph at the last over every power opposed to God as the crucified and exalted One.

Rev. 5:1 ff. speaks of a scroll like that in Ezek. 2:9 f. It is a scroll written on both sides and sealed with 7 seals, presumably a deed and probably a will. Here too the book contains God's eschatological plan. It is sealed, i.e. withdrawn from all human knowledge, and yet it is already there. The history of God's dealings with the world is already decided. Only One, the crucified and exalted Christ, is worthy to break the seals and to make God's plans a reality and to fulfil them. Confession of Christ is decisive for the concept of history in Rev.

The end time is the time of judgment. In this context Rev. takes up once more the pictures of the book of life and of the books of judgment (20:12). The names of those who will be preserved in judgment are contained in the book of life (cf. Lk. 10:20; Phil. 4:3). They are the conquerors (Rev. 3:5), or those who have been predestined from the foundation of the world (Rev. 17:8). That does not mean that predestination makes the call to obedience unnecessary, for a name can be blotted out of the book of life. Human victory and divine predestination are here linked, just as are faith as a gift and as a personal decision.

U. Becker

ἀναγινώσκω

ἀναγινώσκω (*anaginōskō*), read; ἀνάγνωσις (*anagnōsis*), reading.

CL *anaginōskō* is a compound derived from *ginōskō*, a late variant of *gignōskō*, recognize, know (→ knowledge, art. *ginōskō*). Originally it had only an intensive or restrictive force, to know exactly, or know again, acknowledge. Then it came to mean generally read, read aloud. There is no essential difference, for in the classical world anyone reading for himself alone always did so aloud. In legal orations *anaginōskō* was frequently used as a call to the court secretary, whose duty it was to read the documents in the case. Similarly *anagnōsis* occasionally meant recognizing, but normally reading, or reading aloud, especially in meetings or before a court.

OT The cultic reading aloud of the divine commandments and legal requirements was an early practice at the great Israelite festivals (Exod. 24:7; cf. Jos. 24:25). It is probable that the main incidents in Israel's history were recounted (Exod. 15:1–18; Jdg. 5) or even reproduced dramatically (cf. Ps. 68:24–27 (25–28)). Jeremiah substituted a reading of his oracles for the prophetic sermon he was not allowed to give (Jer. 36:5 ff.). Ezra's reading of the Law had to be supplemented by a Levitical explanation (Neh. 8:8). There was also private reading of and meditation on the Scriptures. This was, of course, restricted to those who were able to read, but they were urged to do it (Deut. 17:18 ff.; cf. Isa. 30:8; Ps. 1:2).

In late Jud. the reading of the Law was an unquestioned part of every service (cf. the synagogue inscription found in Jerusalem: *synagōgēn eis anagnōsin nomou*, the synagogue is for the reading of the Law). This was the right of every member of the congregation (Lk. 4:16 f.), but was early on linked to a lectionary, at least for the Torah. ([Tr.] In spite of opinions to the contrary there were no regular readings in the Temple. In the synagogue there is a reading from the Pent. on sabbaths, all festivals, the New Moon, fast days, Mondays and Thursdays, with a reading from the Prophets on sabbaths, festivals and fasts. No fixed lectionary existed in the 1st cent. A.D.) In this connection it should be noted that already in the LXX Yahweh's command to the prophets to proclaim the word (Jer. 3:12; 11:6, etc.) was translated by *anaginōskō*, thereby implying reading in a service. It was usual to read also on special occasions, e.g. before battle (2 Macc. 8:23).

NT In the NT *anaginōskō* is found only with the meaning of read, read aloud. It is found 32 times, 14 in the Synoptics, 7 in Acts, 9 in the Pauline epistles and once in Jn. and Rev. *anagnōsis*, reading, is found 3 times. Normally, reading the OT is meant. It is always so in the Synoptics, and also in Acts 8:28 and Gal. 4:21 *v.l.* It refers to the reading in the synagogue service in Lk. 4:16; Acts 13:15, 27; 15:21; and 2 Cor. 3:14 f. It is used also for the reading of a letter (Acts 15:31; 2 Cor. 1:13; 3:2), especially in a service (1 Thess. 5:27; Col. 4:16).

Jesus considered that an intensive reading of Scripture is a pre-requisite for theological discussion, as indeed for all knowledge of God. Hence the frequent reproach, "Have you never read?" (Mk. 2:25; 12:10; etc.). Fundamentally Jesus agreed with Jud. But with the Jews, as Paul argued in 2 Cor. 3:14 ff. expounding the OT, there is a veil over their minds. They do not understand the Scriptures aright, for the reading takes place without conversion to Christ (v. 16), and so without the

Spirit (v. 17). Without the illumination of the Spirit a man does not understand the Scriptures (1 Cor. 2:14). The study of the Scriptures must be linked with prayer for the illumination of the Holy Spirit. Then the Scriptures become a witness of Christ to him (cf. Jn. 5:39 → Scripture, art. *graphē*).

The epistles of the NT were from the first intended to be read in Christian services (1 Thess. 5:27). They were not confined to the local church to which they were addressed (Col. 4:16). As was the case with Jeremiah, this reading had to replace the apostolic preaching, on which all later preaching is based. In this way the reading of the epistles ranked equally with the reading of the OT in the services.

J. Blunck

ἐπιστολή

ἐπιστολή (*epistolē*), letter; ἐπιστέλλω (*epistellō*), inform, or instruct by letter, write.

CL 1. *epistellō*, send, announce, order through the passing on of a message or commission, generally in writing. Hence, that which is transmitted, originally a military or administrative order, is called *epistolē*, i.e. normally a letter.

With the spread of Hel. culture a whole range of letters was developed, from private letters of an intimate nature, open letters (e.g. the didactic letters of the Epicurean philosophers), to artistic epistles, which were aesthetic treatises in letter form. Travelling philosophers and their pupils were accustomed to carry letters of recommendation (Diog. Laert., 7, 1, 3; 7, 8, 87).

2. In contrast to oriental examples, Gk. letters began according to a fixed scheme with a sentence: the sender (nom.) to the recipient (dat.), greetings (*chairein*). The words "says" or "conveys" are understood (Funk, § 480). The letter ends with a short farewell greeting.

OT The Heb. equivalent of *epistellein* in the LXX is *šālaḥ*, send; those of *epistolē*, include *sēpēr*, *miḵtāḇ* and especially later *'iggereṯ*, from Ass. *egirtu*, official document.

1. Pre-exilic letters are only briefly quoted in the OT. They are rulers' letters to other rulers or to their subjects. They involve conspiracy (2 Sam. 11:14 f.; 1 Ki. 21:9 f.; 2 Ki. 10:1–6), mockery (2 Ki. 19:10–13, par.), homage (2 Ki. 20:12, par.). There is also a prophetic oracle in letter-form (2 Chr. 21:12–15). Naaman carried a letter of recommendation (2 Ki. 5:6).

A wider range of epistolary literature appears in the later writings of the OT. Because of the occupation of the land after the Exile there had to be political correspondence with the foreign rulers (cf. Ezr. 4:7–6:12; Ad. Est. 13:1–6; 1 Macc. 10:3, 7, 17–20; 11:29–37; 12:5–23, etc.). The diaspora resulted in religious letters and instructions being sent to those in exile. The earliest known example is Jer. 29:4–23. In the later OT writings and the apocryphal books we can trace the development of the letter as an art-form (e.g. Dan. 4:1–37 (MT 3:31–4:34); 2 Macc. 1:1–9; 1:10–2:18; Ep. Jer.; Od.Sol. 23:5).

2. In letters following the oriental pattern the introduction is normally: sender to recipient, May your salvation increase! The body of the letter begins: "And now . . ." (*wᵉ'attâh*).

NT *epistolē*, letter, occurs 24 times in the NT; and *epistellō*, write, 3 times. Of the 27 books of the NT 21 are clearly letters. In addition, epistolary style as a literary form can be found in Rev. 1:1; Acts 1:1; 15:23–29; 23:26–30; and Lk. 1:3 f.

1. It is no accident that most early Christian writings took the form of occasional literature. Imminent expectation of the parousia may have contributed to this. On the other hand, the problems of the missionary churches, which found themselves in constant tension with their political and religious surroundings, needed answers and explanations (cf. 1 Cor. and Rom. 13). Moreover, after a lengthy absence the missionary found it necessary to remind his converts of his message, to reaffirm and to develop it (cf. the many examples in 2 Cor.). Some thought there was but little time to the parousia (2 Thess. 2:2 f., 15).

Two further factors influenced the development of the NT epistle. There was the conflict about tradition and doctrine in the fight against heresy, especially incipient gnosticism (→ Knowledge); and there was the increasing need felt for church order (→ Church, → Bishop). Besides collections of Paul's letters (cf. 2 Pet. 3:16; such a collection of a number of letters to the same congregation is possibly to be found in 2 Cor.), some have suggested that other authors, following a widespread literary convention in the ancient world and feeling themselves to be responsible for the tradition which they guarded, generally wrote under the name of one of the apostles (e.g. the so-called Deutero-Paulines, 2 Pet.). It is maintained that these letters are kept general in tone, that they teach by appealing to the apostolic tradition or to "the doctrine of Christ" (2 Jn. 9), and warn with authority. Epistles played a decisive role in carrying the young church through a period of outward and inward danger. The extent of this practice of pseudonymity in the NT is much disputed.

2. It was Paul who gave the NT letters their original form and set the pattern for others. He was not motivated by any stylistic reasons but by the Christian message he had to give in them. The standard Gk. preface (cf. Acts 15:23; 23:26; Jas. 1:1) was expanded. *chairein* was replaced by an explicit greeting according to the oriental pattern, e.g. *charis hymin*, grace be with you. The formulation of the expanded preface often prepares for the contents of the letter (cf. 1 Cor. 1:1 ff.; Rom. 1:1–7; Gal. 1:1–5). The preface is followed by thanksgiving, prayer and an assurance of remembrance (1 Thess. 1:2–10; Phil. 1:3–11; Rom. 1:8–12). When necessary, this changes to blame and warning (Gal. 1:6–9). Equally the short farewell greeting becomes a full prayer for blessing. Paul dictated his letters (Rom. 16:22). He often penned the closing sentences himself as a guarantee of authenticity (1 Cor. 16:21; Gal. 6:11; Phlm. 19).

3. All the Pauline letters are letters in the true sense of the word. They arose from actual situations and are written for particular circles of readers (cf. 1 Cor. 16:5–9). They are often answers to questions raised by the church, especially 1 Cor. They are also influenced by the official and authoritative connotation inherent in *epistolē* and *epistellō* (see CL, OT and examples in Acts). They are moulded throughout by the *kerygma* and Paul's apostolic office. Hence, they are all public, official letters; they were designed to be read in church services and to be passed on (1 Thess. 5:27). But Philemon is probably an exception to this rule.

epistolē is only once found in a metaphorical sense (2 Cor. 3:2 f.), but this instance is of great importance. When one thinks of the technique of dictating a letter at that time – slow writing on rough papyrus with thick ink, while the thought

of the one dictating outran the scribe – the passage suggests that in this section two pictures are here being interwoven, one derived from what had already been written, and the other from what had formed itself in the author's mind (cf. 1 Cor. 3:9).

The former picture, "you are our letter," refers back to the practice of his enemies just mentioned (travelling prophets claiming to be Christians but propagating their particular views, referred to scornfully by Paul as "so many" in 2:17 and "some" in 3:1). They obtained letters of recommendation from the churches to establish their *hikanotēs*, sufficiency, ability (3:5), so that they might be paid accordingly (2:17). *hikanotēs*, ability, refers presumably to their ability to make an imposing appearance, and to attract by their oratory and the wonder and thrill of their message (cf. 1 Cor. 1:26–29; 2:1 f.). Paul rejected them brusquely. His ability was from God, and that was only for service (3:6). The local → church itself in its spiritual and historical existence is his letter of recommendation, composed by the exalted Lord and written "with the spirit of the living God," with the freedom experienced and lived out under the lordship of Christ (3:17). Paul was only the secretary (3:3), through whose weak help a church had come into existence and lived, and the miracle of a new creation had come into being (5:17).

This introduces the second picture: the letter is "written on our (NEB; RSV "your") heart . . . not on tablets of stone, but on tablets of human hearts" (3:2 f.). Looking back to Ezek. 11:19 and Jer. 31:31–34, Paul prepares for the theme of the section immediately following: the letter (the Old Covenant apart from the Spirit) and the Spirit (the New Covenant in the Spirit). The church's attestation of the New Covenant lies in its spiritual existence, in which the Gospel of the cross puts an end to all self-glorification and unbridled speculation. In it the Crucified and Exalted One is alone Lord and awaited as the coming Judge (1 Cor. 2:2; 2 Cor. 5:10, 15). 2 Cor. 3:2 f. is concerned with what Calvin called the *testimonium Spiritus Sancti internum* (the inner testimony of the Holy Spirit) (cf. 1 Cor. 2:15 ff.). If one reads the letter, that is, the church, unspiritually, then one merely establishes the external fact of its existence. In fighting the fight of faith, the church is deprived of all tangible security and proof. It is a conflict between life and death, salvation and destruction (2:15 f.). Paul's polemic gained its seriousness and its clarity from his realization of this fact. *G. Finkenrath*

→ Teach, → Scripture, → Proclamation, → Witness, → Word

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Bread, Daily, Manna

The following arts. deal not only with *artos*, bread, but also with *epiousios*, daily, found only in the Lord's Prayer, and *manna*. The latter looks back to the wilderness wanderings, but has a spiritual significance in the NT. The two nouns denote both food for the body and that which sustains spiritual life.

ἄρτος

ἄρτος (*artos*), bread, loaf.

CL The etymology of the word is uncertain. Even before Homer *artos* was used for bread baked from various kinds of flour. Together with meat it was the most important form of food.

OT Bread was the chief food of Israel. Originally it was made from barley flour mixed with broad beans, lentils, etc., for Palestine was a poor country. Later wheat bread became more common, but only the better off could afford it. Barley bread remained the food of the poor. Bread is used of food in general in 1 Sam. 20:34. ([Tr.] the Arabic equivalent of Heb. *lehem*, bread, means meat.) Both forms of bread were made from ground grains to which leaven had normally been added. The bread was baked on a griddle (Lev. 2:5), or in clay ovens, more or less cylindrically shaped (Hos. 7:4, 6 f.). The flat loaves were about half an inch thick and could be as much as twenty inches in diameter. There was generally a hole in the middle to make it easier to pull them apart for eating, for bread was never cut. Bread was not merely the basic food. It was also served in eating other foods, e.g. meat or fish, which were wrapped in it and so eaten.

When there was an unexpected guest (Gen. 19:3), or when people were busy as at harvest time (Ruth 2:14), bread was baked from unleavened dough, or the grain was simply eaten roasted. Because the latter kept almost indefinitely, it was taken on sudden journeys (cf. 1 Sam. 17:17). The use of unleavened bread in this connection is linked especially with the Exodus from Egypt (Exod. 12:8, 11, 34, 39). The festival of Unleavened Bread (*maṣṣôṯ*) in Exod. 12:14–20; 13:3–10 is derived from this. Its observance meant the cultic representation of the divine rescue from Egypt year by year.

In the Israelite sacrificial system flour or bread found a place as gifts in the cereal offering (*minḥâh*, cf. Lev. 2) which was pre-Mosaic in its origin. The twelve loaves of "the Bread of the Presence" (AV, RV "shewbread") were placed on a special table in the sanctuary (Exod. 25:30; 1 Chr. 28:16). They were of unleavened bread and were placed as an offering before "the Presence" of Yahweh.

In the early rabbinic period, when guests were present, the head of the house took the loaf from the table in front of him and pronounced the blessing, "Blessed be the Lord, our God, the King of the universe, who has caused bread to spring out of the earth". The guests answered, "Amen". The host then gave a piece of bread to each of the guests, and then ate first himself. Jesus, who was firmly rooted in Jewish tradition, used this blessing, as is suggested both in the accounts of the feeding of the five and four thousand (Mk. 6:41 par.; 8:6 par.) and of the Last Supper (→ Lord's Supper).

NT Since bread was the main item of food in biblical lands in NT times, it was often used as a synonym for food and the support of life in general quite apart from its lit. meaning. The prodigal son in the far country remembers that his father's paid servants "have bread enough and to spare," i.e. "have more food than they can eat" (NEB, Lk. 15:17). Hence, to eat bread means to have a meal (cf. Isa. 65:25). To break one's bread for the hungry means to feed and care for him (Isa. 58:7, 10). Not to eat another's bread without paying means working with one's own hands, so as not to be a burden to others (2 Thess. 3:8). To eat no bread and drink no wine means living as an ascetic (Lk. 7:33). The fourth petition of the Lord's Prayer (Matt. 6:11) is concerned with "all things that be needful both for our souls and bodies" (Prayer Book Catechism). "He who shall eat bread in the kingdom of God" (Lk. 14:15) will share in the festival meal of rejoicing in heaven. In quoting Deut. 8:3, "Man does not live by bread alone," Jesus was referring to material things in general, to which he opposed the life-sustaining power of the word of God (Matt. 4:4).

The stories of the miraculous feeding of the five thousand (Matt. 14:13–21 par.) and of the four thousand (Matt. 15:32–39 par.), where with a few loaves and a couple of fishes many were fed, are found in six accounts. They show that Jesus as the Messianic Lord gives the true bread of life. In Jn. the story of the feeding and Jesus' walking on the lake is followed by the revelation of Jesus as the bread of life. Behind the concept of the bread of life lies the ancient and wide-spread desire for a food which imparts everlasting life. This explains the request, "Lord, give us this bread always" (Jn. 6:34). Jesus' answer was: I am what you are asking for. He who wants to share in this eternal life must know that Jesus himself is the bread and that he will give it to those who come to him. In saying this, he opposes all those who claim to be or to have the bread of life. There is only one possibility through which life

is given to the world. "The bread of God is the Revealer, who comes from heaven and gives life to the world" (R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 228). In this way the question about the meaning and goal of life finds its answer.

For all passages about bread in the Last Supper (Mk. 14:22 par.; Acts 2:42; 1 Cor. 10:16; 11:23) → Lord's Supper. *F. Merkel*

ἐπιούσιος

ἐπιούσιος (*epiousios*), daily.

epiousios, daily, is linked with *artos* in the fourth petition of the Lord's Prayer. Apart from Matt. 6:11 and Lk. 11:3 it is found only once in a papyrus of the fifth cent. A.D., where its meaning is far from certain. Otherwise it is unknown to secular Gk. and the LXX, though in the latter there is the presumably related *epiousa*. Hence the translation and interpretation of the term has been a matter of controversy from early times, but the rendering "daily" is found already in Tertullian (2nd cent. A.D.). Four possibilities emerge from the long debate.

1. The term is derived from *hē epiousa hēmera*, the next day (cf. Acts 7:26), *epiousa* being the part. of *epeimi*, approach. Jerome (*c.* A.D. 380) claims to have seen in the Gos. Heb. the word *māhār* in its version of the prayer, the next day, tomorrow. In that case *epiousios artos* would mean bread for tomorrow. Matt. 6:34 would seem to contradict this: "do not worry about tomorrow." But the use of *epiousa hēmera* in Prov. 27:1 shows that it does not necessarily mean tomorrow, but can indicate the coming day in general, which could be today. Hence a number render Matt. 6:11 and Lk. 11:3 bread for the coming day (e.g. F. V. Filson (*BNTC*), J. Schniewind, K. H. Rengstorf (*NTD*)). One should remember, however, that there is no certainty that the Gos. Heb. is necessarily original. It may be secondary retranslation. ([Tr.] RV mg., RSV mg., NEB mg., all have "our bread for the coming day", or "the morrow").

2. Origen suggested that we should understand it as *epi tēn ousian*, (the bread) necessary for existence. Since Origen's mother tongue was Gk. we cannot deny the linguistic possibility of his interpretation. It can be supported by reference to Prov. 30:8, and it reminds us of Exod. 16:4. The Israelites were to gather only so much manna as they needed for the day (cf. SB I 420 f.). So also the disciples should pray daily (Lk. 11:3) for the bread needed for life. Among those accepting this meaning are Phillips and SB.

3. Some have taken the first interpretation and have tried to reinterpret it in terms of the final consummation. The morrow which Jesus had in mind is not the next day, but the great morning of the final fulfilment (cf. J. Jeremias, *The Prayers of Jesus*, 1967, 98–104). It is the day when Jesus with his disciples will eat the bread of life, the heavenly manna, in eternity (Lk. 22:30; Matt. 26:29; Rev. 2:17). The disciples were to pray for this bread. The church Fathers similarly linked the fourth petition with the Christ who imparts himself in the Lord's Supper as "the bread of life" (Jn. 6:35) ([Tr.] so Jerome with his rendering "*supersubstantialis*"). Although these gifts for salvation may be included in the fourth petition, in the light of Matt. 6:25–33 we cannot doubt that Jesus was thinking first of all of earthly bread.

4. K. G. Kuhn believes that the translator chose the unknown *epiousios* to bring out a special stress in the Aram. (*Achtzehngebet und Vaterunser und der Reim*, *WUNT* 1, 1950). A reconstruction of the original text suggests that the word was *l^{e}yômā'*. This had a double meaning which could be expressed in Gk. only by combining two terms (*artos*) *epiousios* (our bread) in so far as it is needed for the day, and *sēmeron*, for today. Then the daily prayer for bread sufficing for the day would not merely be a constant reminder to the disciples of God's fatherly faithfulness. It would also remind them that in the new age, which had already begun and whose consummation could be expected at any time, prayer for provision for a longer period could no longer concern the disciples. (A full discussion with bibliography will be found in Arndt, pp. 296 f.) *W. Mundle*

μάννα

μάννα (*manna*), manna.

OT Heb. *mān* is a pre-Israelite name for the sap which is sucked from the manna-tamarisk in the Sinai desert in the rainy season by a kind of scale insect which drops in the form of small, very sweet, little balls to the ground. It is there collected by ants, but melts and disperses in the heat of the midday sun. That it was this phenomenon that the Israelites met in the desert as a helping miracle from God has been considered certain since Josephus (*Ant.*, 3, 1, 6) and Origen. It is also supported by the Gk. *manna*, crumb, and modern scientific investigations (cf. F. S. Bodenheimer, "The Manna of Sinai", *BA* 10, 1947, 1.)

Exod. 16:15 offers a Heb. etymological explanation of the name, expressing the amazement of the people: *mān hû'*, what is it? Our information comes from several sources. In Num. 11:4–9 the people grow tired of it, and quails are sent, but in Exod. 16 both come on the same day. According to this (v. 35) Israel lived on it for 40 years. This does not imply that this was the people's sole source of food, for we are told that they brought their flocks and herds with them out of Egypt (cf. Exod. 12:38). In addition they would find other food in oases (Exod. 15:27) and from defeated enemies (Num. 31:25–41). But this is no diminution of the OT's feeling for the miracle of the food received which had kept Israel from perishing of hunger.

Exod. 16 and Num. 11 are concerned only with the actual food. Deut. 8:3 uses the memory of the miraculous food to stress that "man does not live by bread alone, but . . . by everything that proceeds out of the mouth of the Lord" (cf. Matt. 4:4 par.). The concept was increasingly spiritualized. We can see this in Ps. 78:24 f., where the *mān* is called the grain of heaven and the bread of the angels, and where it is used together with God's other gracious acts to his people as symbolic of divine salvation.

In Jewish apocalyptic and haggadic literature (SB II 481 f.) manna plays a considerable part. On the one hand, it is linked with the tradition that the Messiah will bring back the ark and its contents, which had been hidden by the prophet Jeremiah (2 Macc. 2:4 ff.). Rab. tradition based on deduction from Exod. 16:33 included the pot of manna along with the tables of the law (cf. Heb. 9:4). On the other hand, manna is the heavenly bread which will come down from heaven to feed the believers who experience this age (Apc. Bar. Syr. 29:8). ([Trs.] In a tradition at least

as old as A.D. 300 the Messiah would parallel Moses in various respects including the giving of manna (SB II 481).)

NT Both concepts probably lie behind Rev. 2:17. "To him who conquers – and has not eaten food sacrificed to idols (2:14) – I will give some of the hidden manna." He will be saved and live. Preservation of manna in the tabernacle is mentioned in Heb. 9:4 (cf. Exod. 16:32 ff.).

In Jn. 6:31–34 the Jews refer to the belief that the miracle of the manna will be repeated in the Messianic age. The "second" redeemer, the Messiah, must do the same act as the "first" redeemer, Moses (see above OT). Jesus rejected this parallelism by pointing out that it was not Moses, but God himself, who had given the bread in the wilderness.

In Jn. 6:49–51a the manna of the wilderness wanderings is contrasted with the true bread from heaven. The manna had not kept those who had eaten it from dying. True bread from heaven is that which alone can impart eternal life. This can be found only in the one who says of himself, "I am the living bread which came down from heaven" (Jn. 6:51). That which had been said of the bread from heaven had become a reality in the Revealer, Jesus Christ. *F. Merkel*

→ Hunger, art. *esthiō*, → Life, → Lord's Supper

(a). Arndt, 110, 296 f. (extensive references to literature on *epiousios*), 491 f.; H. F. Beck, "Bread of Presence," *IDB* I 464; J. Behm, *artos*, *TDNT* I 477 f.; F. Bodenheimer, "The Manna of Sinai," *BA* 10, 1947, 1 ff.; P. Borgen, *Bread from Heaven: On the Midrashic Exposition of the Manna pericope in the Homilies of Philo and the Gospel of John*, 1965; R. E. Brown, *The Gospel according to John (i-xii)*, 1966, 260–304; R. Bultmann, *The Gospel according to John*, 1971, 218–37; W. Foerster, *epiousios*, *TDNT* II 590–99; J. Jeremias, *The Prayers of Jesus*, 1967, 98–104; H. J. Held, "Matthew as Interpreter of the Miracle Stories," in G. Bornkamm, G. Barth and H. J. Held, *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew*, 1963, 165–299; J. P. Hyatt, *Exodus*, 1971; E. Lohmeyer, *The Lord's Prayer*, 1965, 134–59; W. Lüthi, *The Lord's Prayer*, 1961, 37–45; B. M. Metzger, "How many times does *epiousios* occur outside the Lord's Prayer?" in *Historical and Literary Studies*, 1968, 64 ff.; R. Meyer, *manna*, *TDNT* IV 462–66; J. L. Mihelic, "Manna," *IDB* III 259 f.; L. Morris, *The Gospel according to John*, 1971, 361–81; M. Noth, *Exodus*, 1962; J. F. Ross, "Bread," *IDB* I 461–64; G. Vermes, " 'He is the Bread': Targum Neofiti Exodus 16:15," in E. E. Ellis and M. Wilcox, *Neotestamentica et Semitica: Studies in Honour of Matthew Black*, 1969, 256–63.
(b). F. Bodenheimer and O. Theodor, *Ergebnisse der Sinaiexpedition 1927*, 1929; J. Feliks, "Manna," *BHHW* II 1141 ff.; G. Friedrich, "Die beiden Erzählungen von der Speisung in Mk. 6, 30–44; 8, 1–9," *ThZ* 20, 1964, 10 ff.; F. Hauck, *artos epiousios*, *ZNW* 33, 1934, 199 ff.; H. Kaiser, *Der heutige Stand der Manna-Frage*, 1924, 99 ff.; J. Knackstedt, "Die beiden Brotvermehrungen im Evangelium," *NTS* 1, 1963–64, 309 ff.; K. G. Kuhn, *Achtzehngebet und Vaterunser und der Reim*, 1950, 35 ff.; J. Rogge, "Brot," *BHHW* I 274; H. Schürmann, *Das Gebet des Herrn*, 1958, 63 ff.

Broad, Wide

πλάτος

πλάτος (*platos*), breadth, width; πλατύνω (*platynō*), make broad, enlarge, open out; πλατύς (*platys*), broad, wide.

CL & OT *platos* is found in secular Gk. from Herodotus to the 2nd cent. A.D., the LXX, Philo and Josephus. The vb. *platynō* occurs in secular Gk. from Xenophon to Plut. and Epictetus, the LXX, and Josephus, and means lit. to widen; pass. to grow wide, be opened; and in a transferred sense to open (the heart) and to

expand (the understanding). *platys*, wide or level, occurs in secular Gk. from Homer onwards, the LXX, Philo and Josephus. In an extended sense it can mean widespread, strong (oaths), brackish or flat (of the sea).

NT *platos* occurs only at Eph. 3:18; Rev. 20:9; and 21:16. In Eph. 3:18 "breadth," together with length, height and depth, represents the universe of experience known in God. This conception is found also in Stoicism, later gnosticism and in magical formulae (cf. K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, 4, 970, 978: "Let there be light, width, depth, length, height, dawn"). "It may refer to the cross of Christ, symbol of that love, seen as stretching out towards all points of the universe" (J. L. Houlden, *Paul's Letters from Prison*, 1970, 304). Rev. 21:16 simply means "breadth." At Rev. 20:9, RSV translates "the broad earth", lit. "the breadth of the earth." This phrase, as used in Dan. 12:2 LXX ("dust of the earth"), denotes the place of the dead awaiting everlasting life or everlasting contempt. Its use in Rev. is contested. It may mean that there is enough room for large armies or for Satan (cf. Arndt, 672). However, M. Rissi sees it as "the middle of the world . . . which is the place of the church of the millennium", though without specific geographical reference (*The Future of the World: An Exegetical Study of Revelation 19:11–22:15*, 1972, 35).

platynō in Matt. 23:5 ("They do all their deeds to be seen by men; for they make their phylacteries broad and their fringes long" RSV) may refer to ostentatious wearing of wider straps (D. Hill, *Matthew*, 1972, 310), or to larger leather cases containing texts (cf. Exod. 13:16). In using the words "open out" at 2 Cor. 6:11, 16, Paul is demonstrating, and appealing for, a show of generous, expansive affection. The words, but not the sense, are taken from Ps. 119(118):32 (cf. C. K. Barrett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1973, 191).

platys is found only at Matt. 7:13 (in the fem. form) where it refers either to a road (some manuscripts omit "gate") and thus means wide or level, or to a gate (most manuscripts) and means wide. For the road to destruction see Ps. 1:6; Prov. 13:15; 14:12; Sir. 21:10; cf. also Sl. Enoch 30:15; → Destroy. The saying graphically states the cruciality of response and the need of the hearer to separate from the masses who follow the easy way which leads to destruction. *G. T. D. Angel*

Brother, Neighbour, Friend

The first two terms in this article denote those who stand in an immediate blood, or human, relationship to us. *adelphos*, brother, was originally a term denoting family relationships, but early on it became a synonym for *plēsios*, neighbour, with its much wider meaning. *hetairos* means comrade, companion, friend.

ἀδελφός

ἀδελφός (*adelphos*), brother; ἀδελφή (*adelphē*), sister; ἀδελφότης (*adelphotēs*), brotherhood; φιλάδελφος, (*philadelphos*), loving one's brother or sister; φιλαδελφία (*philadelphia*), love for brother, or sister, Philadelphia; ψευδάδελφος (*pseudadelphos*), false brother.

CL *adelphos* is compounded from *delphys*, the womb, and the copulative *a*, and hence means one born from the same womb. It was originally used for brother

in the physical sense, while *adelphē* was a lit. sister. The masc. plural could cover all the children of a family.

Nevertheless, it came to signify all near relatives, e.g. nephew, brother-in-law, etc. The adj., identical in form, meant also related, similar, of one mind. Presumably the wider meanings of the adj. led to a widening of the meaning of the noun.

In Gk. literature *adelphos* is used for a physical brother or close relation, and metaphorically for companion, friend, fellow-man. In addressing letters, it was also applied to a fellow-official or a fellow-member of a society.

It would seem that the use of *adelphos* for a "brother" in faith was first introduced under Eastern influence. The term was widely used in the Baal cults. The successors of Alexander the Great granted the title brother as a mark of honour. In the Mithras cult the initiates were called "brothers". At the head of its priests was the *pater fratrum*, the father of the brothers. Stoic philosophy, with its deeper sense of brotherhood, calls for special mention. Brotherhood is here to be understood from the standpoint of a universal humanity. Brothers are those who live together according to the world-reason. From the standpoint of the monism of the spirit (Plotinus), everything in the world can become *adelphoi*.

OT 1. *adelphoi* is used for the Heb. *'āḥ*; *plēsion*, neighbour, represents *rēa'*. *adelphos* is used first of all for a physical brother, and *adelphē* for a physical sister (Gen. 4:8 ff.; 12:13; 44:20). Gen. 29:12 ff. indicates that it could be applied to other relatives as well.

Examples also occur of brother being used for fellow Israelites. We can explain relationship in the people being valued as much as relationship through blood by remembering that Jacob's sons were also ancestors of the tribes. The OT genealogies often refer to tribal relationships, though the terminology of blood relationship is generally used. In Exod. 2:11 Moses' fellow Hebrews are called brothers (RSV "his people"; cf. Gen. 16:12; Deut. 2:4). In Gen. 19:7 Lot calls the Sodomites brothers. Hosea uses the terms son and brother in his picture of God's relationship to his people (1:10–2:1 (2:1–3)). Here we see the transference of brother from physical to spiritual relationship. When used only in a religious sense, the thought of physical relationship disappears. Deut. 15:1 ff. demands love for the poor brother. Here brother and neighbour become synonymous. In Ps. 22:22 brothers are in parallelism with the congregation of Israel. In the command to love (Lev. 19:17 f.) brother and neighbour are used interchangeably. The difference between *plēsion* and *adelphos* in the OT is that the latter also includes blood relationship. In the religious use there is hardly any difference. *plēsion* is a more colourless term and can be translated simply "the other" (cf. 1 Sam. 15:28; 28:17).

2. This usage also occurs in some late Jewish writings. In the Qumran texts love for the brother or the neighbour is constantly demanded. But these terms refer only to members of the Qumran community which considered itself the true Israel. They could hate all others.

The rabbis distinguished between brother and neighbour. National and religious community were no longer considered one as in the OT. Brother was the adherent to Judaism in contrast to the stranger living in the land who did not belong to the people of God. The full proselyte was also a brother. By contrast the neighbour was the inhabitant who was a non-Israelite (cf. SB I 276).

NT In the NT *adelphos* means literally a brother, *adelphē* a sister. But it is frequently impossible to establish whether they do not represent another close relationship, though the interpretation of full blood relationship is the more likely. This is particularly the case with the statements about the brothers and sisters of Jesus (Mk. 6:3 par.; 3:31–35 par.).

The assertion of the virginity of Mary both before and after the birth of Jesus was early on taken to mean that the brothers and sisters of Jesus mentioned in the NT were simply close relatives. Gk., Heb. and Aram. linguistic usage would allow such an interpretation. But in no case in the NT can *adelphos* be interpreted with certainty in this sense.

To this day the Orthodox churches understand the brothers and sisters of Jesus as children of Joseph by an earlier marriage. Roman Catholic interpretation tries to prove that they were male and female cousins of Jesus. This interpretation goes back to the ante-Nicene Church, but Tertullian could still speak of later children of Joseph and Mary. (Cf. H. von Soden, *TDNT* I 145; *LTK*² II 714 ff.; J. B. Bauer, *EBT* I 86 ff.)

The gospels indicate that Jesus had a number of brothers and sisters who, according to Mk. 3:31–35 and Jn. 7:5, did not recognize his mission, or did so only later (cf. Acts 1:14; 1 Cor. 9:5). According to Gal. 1:19 (cf. 1 Cor. 15:7), James, the brother of the Lord, belonged to the circle of the → apostles.

2. The use of brother for fellow Israelites in the OT is taken up in the NT. Christians are the new people of God (2 Cor. 6:16 ff.; 1 Pet. 2:9 f.; Heb. 8:8–12; cf. also Rom. 9–11). Hence the term brother was applied to fellow Christians. The decision of the apostolic council explicitly applied the term to Gentile Christians (Acts 15:23).

The NT uses the terminology of the family of God far more commonly than that of the people of God. God is the Father. Through faith in Jesus Christ Christians become his sons and daughters (cf. Rom. 8:14; 2 Cor. 6:18; Gal. 3:26 → Child, art. *hyios*). They are also called his children (Rom. 8:16 f.; Jn. 1:12 f. → Child, art. *teknon*). All this makes intelligible the use of *adelphos* as a title for a brother in the faith. The children of God are his household (Gal. 6:10; Eph. 2:19).

The coming of Jesus underlines the sharp distinction between relationship to God and relationship by birth. The birth narratives show this by their reserve in their statements about paternity. Joseph as father slips into the background behind the fatherhood of God. The conflict also becomes clear in the story of the twelve-year-old Jesus in the Temple (Lk. 2:41–51). Later Jesus himself pointed up the tension (Mk. 3:31–35 par.; 3:3 ff. par.; 13:12 f. par.). He demanded that one should leave one's natural family for the new community. This applied to the disciples as well as to Jesus himself (Mk. 10:28 ff. par.; Lk. 14:26; cf. Rom. 8:12–17).

Jesus is the only-begotten, first-born, beloved Son of God. But he is also the first-born brother of Christians (Rom. 8:29), "the first-born of all creation" (Col. 1:15; cf. 1:18), and "the first-born of the dead" (Rev. 1:5).

In his humiliation the Son of God became the brother of believers (Heb. 2:11 f.). In this sense Jesus can speak of his disciples as his brothers (Mk. 3:33 ff. par., etc.). Yet this designation of Jesus as brother occurs only in passages where his humiliation is stressed (cf. Heb. 2:17). Even as brother he always remains the Lord. So

Paul calls himself the *doulos*, slave of Christ, and the *adelphoi* he entitles *syndouloi*, fellow slaves (Col. 1:7; 4:7).

3. Rom. 8:29 makes it clear that this new standing as brothers has been made possible by the first-born of the brothers, Jesus Christ, who died for them all. Because he became our brother, we are brothers among ourselves. The ruling principle in this brotherhood is *agapē* (→ love; cf. esp. 1 Jn.). When Paul addresses Christians as *adelphoi* (plur.), he prefers to add *agapētoi*, beloved (1 Cor. 15:58; Phil. 4:1). The use of *adelphoi* for brother in faith is also common in other religions. The specific Christian understanding of brotherhood is expressed by linking it with *agapē*. The spiritual community is based on the love of God, which creates a new reality from God among men.

Love as typified in natural relationships is sometimes expressed by *philia* (→ Love). *philia* is found in the vocabulary of the NT in Jas. 4:4 (love of the world) and in compound terms like *philadelphos*, loving the brethren (1 Pet. 3:8), and *philadelphia*, love of the brethren (Rom. 12:10). It has been attracted to the superior concept of *agapē* and, applied to love among men, has become a synonym of it. The same is true of the concept *adelphotēs*, brotherhood (1 Pet. 2:17; 5:9). Philadelphia is one of the seven churches in Rev. (1:11; 3:7). It is praised for its patient endurance.

The love demanded for one's brother involves willingness to share the fate of Jesus Christ even in a martyr's death (1 Jn. 3:16; cf. Jn. 15:13 with 1 Cor. 8:11).

Linguistic usage in Acts does not necessarily have this theological colouring, as it is clearly related to Jewish practice. Since the apostolic preaching began in the synagogue, the hearers addressed as brothers are fellow Jews (cf. Acts 13:26). It should be noted that Paul does not use the word when speaking to a Gentile audience (Acts 17:22). In the introduction to the epistles this Jewish custom was applied to the Christian community. Paul can casually mention his fellow Israelites as *adelphoi kata sarka*, brothers according to the flesh, just as in 1 Cor. 10:18 he mentions Israel *kata sarka*, according to the flesh in contrast to the Israel *tou theou*, of God (Gal. 6:16). (The RSV and NEB rendering of 1 Cor. 10:18 lay no stress on *kata sarka*.) The professing Christian who does not follow the commandments, especially the commandment to love, in his dealings with his brother is still walking in the dark (1 Jn. 2:9). A "so-called" brother is mentioned by Paul in 1 Cor. 5:11 (NEB). Anyone spreading false teaching or accepting it is a *pseudadelphos*, false brother (Gal. 2:3; 2 Cor. 11:26). By his actions he excludes himself from fellowship with God, and no longer belongs to the family of God.

4. It is to be noted that the NT demands love for the brother and love for the neighbour equally. This means that the two terms are considered synonymous as far as their claim upon us is concerned. John uses only *adelphos*.

But we can make a distinction with regard to the object of love. Those passages which demand love for one's neighbour (→ *plēsion*) almost all look directly or indirectly to Lev. 19:18. This presumes that love is to extend beyond the circle of those to whom one is linked by physical or spiritual relationship, i.e. the *adelphia*. There are also cases where *adelphos* refers to more than those who are strictly included in the term. But the use of *plēsion* opens up a much wider sphere. We see in the parable of the Good Samaritan (Lk. 10:29–37) Jesus' *reductio ad absurdum* of the Rab. discussion about who one's neighbour is. Anyone in need is always our

neighbour. Since in Matt. 5:43–48 the command to love is extended to include one's enemies, any limits one may give to *adelphos* are completely transcended. The scope of human love is as wide as the scope of God's salvation, which comes to men as a new creation for all, and in its cosmic dimension embraces all things (cf. Matt. 28:18; Col. 1:16 ff.; 3:11). *W. Günther*

→ *plēsion*, → Love, art. *agapē*

ὁ πλησίον

ὁ πλησίον (*ho plēsion*), the neighbour.

CL *plēsios* (from Homer onwards) is connected with *pelas* (near) and *pelazō* (approach, bring near) and means near, nearby. Derivatives are (a) the noun *ho plēsion*, the one standing near, neighbour, fellow man, the nearest, and the rather vague term, the other; (b) the prep. *plēsion* with the gen. (Josephus uses it also with the dat.), nearby (Jn. 4:5).

OT In the vast majority of cases *plēsion* in the LXX represents *rēa'* or its derivatives (in five cases it renders *'āḥ*) the root of which *rā'âh* probably means to have to do with another. Hence, it can represent every form of human relationship. In Jdg. 14:20 it means "act as best man." *'āḥ* clearly means one related by blood, and *gēr* the stranger living in my neighbourhood. *rēa'* means one belonging to my surroundings and life, without any reference to blood relationship or nationality. He is the one with whom I have to do. He is my neighbour (Exod. 11:2), friend (2 Sam. 13:3), fellow (Exod. 2:13; Acts 7:27), fellow man (Prov. 6:1, "another man," NEB), and simply "another" (Hos. 3:1, NEB), all of whom are in practice living in God's covenant.

The appearance of *rēa'* in legal texts is also ambiguous. In the law of love (Lev. 19:18) only members of the covenant people are under consideration, as in the law of holiness as a whole. The stranger is not mentioned until vv. 33 f. This suggests that the concept *rēa'* passed through the same development as the Law in the history of Israel. At first it meant in practice only those incorporated in the covenant people. But later it came to mean simply one's fellow men. By choosing *plēsion* the LXX arrayed itself with the wider interpretation and was supported by many streams in Hel. Jud. In stricter circles only the Jew and the full proselyte were included under *plēsion*, and in the Qumran community it was confined to its members.

NT The NT does not follow the Qumran usage, but clearly adopts the wider meaning of the LXX. This is seen esp. in Matt. 5:43 ff. and Lk. 10:29–37, which are basic for the interpretation of the command to love. Jesus did not agree with the restriction of Lev. 19:18 to the brother and friend. He demanded the inclusion of even the enemy. However, he gave no wider commandment, but placed the law of love under the gospel. Moreover, the statement "Anyone in need is always my neighbour" is subordinate to the statement "My neighbour is the one who shows me mercy" (cf. Lk. 10:37). As Karl Barth has said, "My neighbour is my fellow-man acting towards me as a benefactor" (CD, I, 2, 420; cf. the whole section, pp. 416–420). In his important theological exposition Barth stresses that the question as to whom I am to love is foolish, because the Samaritan, the former enemy, becomes my neighbour by his compassionate treatment of me and so

challenges me to act in love (v. 37). In other words, the experience of being loved comes before the challenge, the encouragement before the claim, and the gospel before the commandment. For Jesus himself is the key to the parable. The phrase "he had compassion on him" (v. 33b → Mercy, art. *splanchna*) which in the gospels is applied elsewhere only to Jesus, indicates that Luke saw the figure of Jesus shining through that of the Samaritan. The early church interpreted the parable allegorically of Jesus (cf. C. H. Dodd, *The Parables of the Kingdom*, 1936², 11 ff.; W. Monselewski, *Der barmherziger Samariter*, 1967).

The NT combines the two OT commandments of love to God (Deut. 6:5; 10:12) and of love to one's neighbour (Lev. 19:18) into a double commandment (Lk. 10:25–37; Matt. 22:37 ff. par.; cf. Rom. 13:9; Gal. 5:14; Jas. 2:8). It sees them embodied together in him. Christ awakens love for him in us bruised and miserable men. His call to "Go and do likewise" demands action which is capable of awakening love in my neighbour. This is the meaning given by the gospel to the popular concept of love for one's neighbour. Christ meets me in the other person, whether he is brother or enemy, neighbour or godless, helper or beggar. He gives me his love and fills me with it, so that it flows over to the other. This moves love to my neighbour out of the dangerous region of new legalism, or proud charity, and puts it under the sway of love, which both takes and gives. It opens up a wide sphere of Christian action (Eph. 4:25 ff.) and creates new fellowship and new service of God (Mk. 12:28 ff.; cf. Hos. 6:6). *U. Falkenroth*

ἑταῖρος

ἑταῖρος (*hetairos*), comrade, companion, friend.

CL The noun *hetairos* means "one who is linked to another" in some fashion determined only by the context. The link may be military (Homer, Theopompus), religious (*Orientis Graecae Inscriptiones* 573.1), political (Lysias, Thucydides), or simply the bond of friendship or companionship (Plutarch, Philo). It is often used of peers or in reference to inferiors, e.g. pupils are associated by virtue of sharing one teacher (Aristotle, Xenophon, Epictetus), or soldiers are linked together and addressed by a superior officer (Josephus). It does not apply to the superior alone. Metaphorically *hetairos* can be applied to things: wind (Homer), empty-headed ill-will (Pindar), laughter (Plutarch).

OT In the LXX *hetairos* commonly translates Heb. *rēa'* (friend, fellow) and its cognates, but twice represents *ḥāḇēr* (associate, companion: Cant. 1:7; 8:13). The word is more common in the other Greek translations of the OT, where it occasionally replaces the words *plēsion*, *philos*, and *adelphos* found in the LXX. Philo uses the term of friends and companions, while Josephus applies it not only to soldiers and junior officials, but also to bad company.

In later Judaism, although *ḥāḇēr* continued to mean "friend", "associate", it came to be applied in the Jerusalem Talmud to the qualified teachers who for some reason had not yet been ordained as official rabbis. In Qumran literature, the same Heb. word group refers to anyone in the community, or to the community itself, but not, apparently, in a technical manner.

NT Except for the weakly attested *v.l.* of Matt. 11:16, *hetairos* is found only three times in the NT, all three ocurrences being in Matt., and all three in the

vocative *hetaire* (20:13; 22:12; 26:50). In each case, the person speaking is addressing an inferior who has insulted him in some way, but the words are without malice. Moreover, the speaker and the person addressed are bound in some sort of relationship, and it is that binding relationship which has suffered an egotistical disregard of what it means. In the two parables the speaker has the last word; in the climactic incident Jesus suffers at the hands of his betrayer, yet nevertheless the impression is unfailingly transmitted that this event still leaves Jesus in control of his destiny (cf. Matt. 26:53; Jn. 10:17 f.). *D. A. Carson*

(a). Arndt, 15 f., 314, 678 f.; K. Barth, *CD* I, 2, 417 ff.; J. B. Bauer, "Brother," *EBT* I 88 ff.; F. Beck, "Neighbour," *IDB* III 534 f.; H. Greeven and J. Fichtner, *plēsion*, *TDNT* VI 311–15; J. Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus*, 1963²; G. Johnston, "Brotherhood," "Brotherly Love," *IDB* I 468 f.; J. Ratzinger, *Christian Brotherhood*, 1966; K. H. Rengstorf, *hetairos*, *TDNT* II 699 ff.; H. von Soden, *adelphos*, *TDNT* I 144 ff.; H. Thielicke, *The Waiting Father*, 1960, 158–69; and *Theological Ethics*, I, 1966.
(b). R. Bultmann, "Das christliche Gebot der Nächstenliebe," *Glauben und Verstehen*, I, 1933, 229 ff.; J. Fichtner, "Der Begriff des 'Nächsten' im Alten Testament mit einem Ausblick auf Spätjudentum und Neues Testament," *WuD* Neue Folge 4, 1955, 23–52 (*Gottes Weisheit*, 1965, 88–114); D. J. Georgacas, *Glotta* 36, 1957, 106 ff.; H. Gollwitzer, *Der barmherziger Samariter*, *BSt* 34, 1959; E. P. Groenewald, "Die Christelike Broederskap volgens die Heilige Skrif," *Arcana Revelata*, 1951, 23–32; E. Jenni, *'aḥ*, *THAT* I 98–104; J. Manek, "Mit wem identifiziert sich Jesus? Eine exegetische Rekonstruktion ad Matt. 25:31–46," in B. Lindars and S. Smalley, eds., *Christ and Spirit in the New Testament; In Honour of C. F. D. Moule*, 1973, 15–25; O. Michel, "Das Gebot der Nächstenliebe in der Verkündigung Jesu," *Zur sozialen Entscheidung*, 1947, 53 ff.; W. Monselewski, *Der barmherzige Samariter*, 1967; C. H. Ratschow, "Agape, Nächstenliebe und Bruderliebe", *ZSTh* 21, 150–52; K. H. Schelkle, *RAC* II 631–40; J. Souček, "Der Bruder und der Nächste," *Hören und Handeln* (Wolf Festschrift), 1962; C. Spicq, "La charité fraternelle selon 1 Thess. 4:9," *Festschrift A. Robert*, 1957, 507–11.
→ Literature under Command and Love

Burden, Heavy, Labour

A burden can be both a heavy load and a metaphor for trouble. The Gk. language has four basic words for different kinds of burdens and encumbrances. *baros* means a weight or physical burden, something heavy. *phortos* and *phortion* denote a burden in the sense of a load, something carried. *ponos* denotes labour, toil, and hence pain, distress, affliction. *kopos* was early used in the sense of a stroke. It came to mean trouble, difficulty, work, labour, toil. The use of these words in the NT in a figurative sense points not so much to the psychological overtones associated with them but to the hope of an eschatological conquest of the burdens of life.

βάρος

βάρος (*baros*), weight, burden; βαρύς (*barys*), heavy, burdensome, weighty, important, fierce; βαρέω (*bareō*), to load, burden, weigh down; βαρύτιμος (*barytimos*), very expensive or precious; βαρύνω (*barynō*), weigh down; φορτίον (*phortion*), burden, load; φόρτος (*phortos*), burden, cargo; φορτίζω (*phortizō*), to burden, load.

CL *baros* in cl. Gk. and Hel. usage means a weight, heaviness, a burden. *phortos* and its diminutive *phortion* both mean a load or burden carried by an animal or a man, and hence also cargo. These words came to be used interchangeably. The

adj. *barys*, heavy, virtually corresponds to the range of meaning of the noun. The vb. *bareō* means to load, burden, weigh down.

OT In the LXX *baros* (Heb. *kāḇôḏ*) and *bareō* (Heb. *kāḇēḏ*; Exod. 7:14; 2 Macc. 13:9) occur only rarely. *barys* (Heb. *kāḇēḏ*) is more frequent. The adv. *bareōs* in conjunction with *akouō* (to hear) denotes being heavy of hearing (Isa. 6:10; cf. Matt. 13:15; Acts 18:27). Isaiah is called to prophesy and make the heart of the people fat, their ears heavy and their eyes shut, "lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their hearts, and turn again and be healed." See also the use of this prophecy in Mk. 4:12 and Jn. 12:39 ff.

NT 1. (a) *baros* is used in Matt. 20:12 of the burden of daily toil. The Jerusalem council desired to lay no greater burden on the Gentile Christians than that they should abstain from meat sacrificed to idols, from blood, from what had been strangled, and from unchastity (Acts 15:28 f.). Teaching in Rev. 2:24 is also described as a burden. 2 Cor. 1:8 and 5:4 speak of being burdened (*bareisthai*; RSV "crushed" 1:8) by persecution on the one hand and the general human condition on the other. *bareisthai* is used of the eyes weighted with sleep (Matt. 26:43; Lk. 9:32), of being weighed down with dissipation and drunkenness (Lk. 21:34), and of the church being burdened by unnecessary financial demands (1 Tim. 5:16).

(b) While *bareō* is used in the NT only in the passive, compounds are used in the active: *epibareō* (2 Cor. 2:5; 1 Thess. 2:9; 2 Thess. 3:8) and *katabareō* (2 Cor. 12:16). Both mean to burden. *barynō* which has the same meaning in secular Gk. and is frequent in the LXX is found in the NT only as a *v.l.* (Lk. 21:34; Acts 3:14; 28:27; 2 Cor. 5:4). The burdens mentioned in 2 Cor. 1:8 and 5:4 are overcome by confidence in God who raises the dead and by hope of ultimate triumph. "For this slight momentary affliction is preparing for us an eternal weight of glory (*baros tēs doxēs*) beyond all comparison" (2 Cor. 4:17). Paul's use of the word may be influenced by the fact that weight and → glory in Heb. come from the same root *kbd*. In Gal. 6:2 Paul encourages his readers to bear one another's burdens. They ought to come to the aid of one another, if overtaken by a fault. The joint bearing of suffering is not excluded. Such joint bearing does not do away with the personal responsibility of Christians. Consequently, everyone has also to bear his own load (*phortion*, v. 5) before God. In 1 Thess. 2:7 *baros* denotes the weight of authority which Paul might have exerted at Thessalonica, had he so wished. It also denotes the financial burden which he spared them by toiling to support himself (1 Thess. 2:9).

2. (a) The adj. *barys* occurs only 6 times in the NT. In Acts 20:29 false teachers who break into the church are described as "weighty", i.e. fierce or savage, wolves of whom the church must beware. In Acts 25:7 the Jews brought weighty charges against Paul. On the other hand, Paul's opponents at Corinth sneered at his weighty (*bareiai*) letters (2 Cor. 10:10).

(b) Both the burden of suffering and the burden of the Law figure in the teaching of Jesus, the latter especially in his discussions with the scribes and Pharisees. Matt. 23:4 and Lk. 11:46 speak of the heavy burdens which the hypocrites lay upon men without themselves touching them with a finger. They stress the multiplicity of external commandments and leave out of consideration "the weightier matters (*ta barytera*) of the law, justice and mercy and faith" (Matt. 23:23). Here Jesus endorses the early prophetic demand of Mic. 6:8.

Compared with the yoke of the interpreters of the law under which Judaism stood, Jesus' yoke (*zygos* → Slave) is easy and his burden (*phortion*) light. For that reason he can call to himself all those who labour and are heavy-laden (*pephortismenoi*) (Matt. 11:28 ff.). There are commandments also for Jesus' disciples. But these commandments are not heavy, for Jesus is jointly yoked with those who heed this call. In the words of 1 Jn. 5:3, "his commandments are not burdensome (*bareiai*)." For the commandments are the enactment of love. *W. Mundle*

κόπος

κόπος (*kopos*), trouble, difficulty, work, labour, toil; κοπιάω (*kopiaō*), become weary, tired, work hard, toil; πόνος (*ponos*), hard labour, toil, pain, distress, affliction; μόχθος (*mochthos*), labour, exertion, hardship.

CL 1. *kopos* means a striking, beating (Liddell–Scott, 978). It also denotes in the tragic poets striking the breast in lamentation. It then came to denote the physical consequences of a stroke, weariness, depression (cf. Aesch., *Supp.* 206; Plato, *Leg.* 537b). Thus everything that leads to work, exertion, toil, pain and hardship can be called *kopos*. The same applies to the vb. *kopiaō*. It denotes not only the activity of exertion and toil (Aesop, *Fables* 391p) and the process of becoming tired (Aristophanes; Jos., *War* 6, 142; Philo, *Cher.* 41), but also the consequent fatigue and exhaustion.

2. *ponos* is frequently found from Homer onwards as a synonym for *kopos*. *ponos* in Homer denotes physical exertion in war (*ponos machēs*, *Il.* 16, 586; 17, 718). More generally it means work and daily toil (Plato, *Soph.* 230a). In Xenophon it means pain (*Mem.* 2, 2, 5). *ponos* was a favourite term of the Stoics (Epict., *Dissertationes*, 1, 2, 15; 1, 7, 30; 2, 1, 10 and 13 f. and often). It occurs 4 times in the NT (3 times in Rev.). The vb. *poneō* (Pindar onwards) meaning to toil does not occur in the NT. Occasionally from Hesiod onwards *mochthos* is mentioned alongside *kopos* (in the NT only 3 times in Paul).

OT The LXX uses *kopos* chiefly to translate the Heb. *'āmāl*, labour (Ps. 72(73):5), toil (Eccles. 1:3; 2:18–22 translates Heb. *'āmāl* by Gk. *mochthos*), adversity (Jdg. 10:16), trouble (Ps. 10:7, 14; 94:20; Job 5:6 f.). *kopiaō* frequently renders the Heb. *yāgaʿ* to grow weary (Isa. 40:28, 30), be weary of (Isa. 43:22), labour (Isa. 49:4; Job 20:18). The ideas are found mostly in later writings, in the later chapters of Isa., the Pss., Job, Sir. and Eccles. They are not spiritualized as in Philo, but give expression to the sober reality of pessimism and resignation. "What does a man gain by all the toil (*mochthos*) at which he toils under the sun?" (Eccles. 1:3; cf. 2:18 ff.). Even the Servant of the Lord laments his toil: "I have laboured in vain, I have spent my strength for nothing and vanity" (Isa. 49:4). The growth of eschatological hope is understandable against this background. Man shall no longer toil in vain (Isa. 65:23). In general the toil of life will be overcome (Jer. 33:24). To those returning from exile Isa. 40:30 f. gives the promise: "Even the youths shall faint and be weary (*kopiaō*), and young men shall fall exhausted; but they who wait for the Lord shall renew their strength (*ischys*), they shall mount up with wings like eagles, they shall run and not be weary, they shall walk and not faint" (→ Bird OT).

NT In the NT *kopos* occurs less than 40 times. It is not common in the gospels, but is frequent in Paul. The following usages may be noted:

1. *kopiaō* is used in the general sense of to labour or toil in everyday work (cf. Matt. 6:28; Lk. 5:5; Rom. 16:6; 1 Cor. 3:8 *kopos*). Jn. 4:38 and 2 Tim. 2:6 refer to labouring in the fields and harvesting, used as a picture of work in the kingdom of God. Work (*kopos*) in Rev. 2:2 and 14:13 has an eschatological significance. It refers to work here and now which has eternal significance but which one day will be over.

2. It also denotes weariness. As was common in the ancient world, Jn. 4:6 speaks of weariness through the exertions of a journey. The church at Ephesus is praised for having borne much persecution without however having become weary (Rev. 2:3). Matt. 11:28 is to be understood eschatologically. Jesus offers those who are are exhausted by the claims of the law an enduring → rest from their toil.

3. Paul uses work in his own particular sense of work in the Lord. *kopos* and *kopiaō* describe his own manual labour (1 Cor. 4:12; 1 Thess. 2:9). He practised this in the context of his missionary calling, to make himself financially independent of the churches. There is therefore a close connection between this and the missionary work to which he was commissioned by God. This missionary activity is likewise designated from time to time by *kopos* and *kopiaō*. For Paul it meant a heavy burden and even blows (2 Cor. 6:5; 11:23, 27), together with the risk of it proving fruitless (Gal. 4:11). On the other hand, it meant the joy of encouragement (1 Cor. 15:10; Phil. 2:16). Its goal was to present every man complete in Christ before God (Col. 1:29; cf. 1 Tim. 4:10).

Other missionaries laboured together with Paul (Rom. 16:12; 1 Cor. 16:16; 1 Thess. 5:12). They laboured "in preaching and teaching" (1 Tim. 5:17) with the same goal and methods. It was a labour of love (1 Thess. 1:3).

M. Seitz, H.-G. Link

(a). Arndt, 133, 444; F. Hauck, *kopos*, *TDNT* III 827–30; G. Schrenk, *baros*, *TDNT* I 553–61.
(b). A. von Harnack, "*kopos* im frühchristlichen Sprachgebrauch," *ZNW* 27, 1928, 1 ff.; E. Lohmeyer, *Der Brief an die Kolosser und an Philemon*, *KEK* 9, 2, 1964[12], 89; SB I 608 ff., II 728, III 577; C. Westermann, *kbd*, *THAT* I 794–812.

Bury, Grave, Tomb,

θάπτω

θάπτω (*thaptō*), bury; τάφος (*taphos*), tomb; ταφή (*taphē*), burial; ἐνταφιάζω (*entaphiazō*), prepare for burial; ἐνταφιασμός (*entaphiasmos*), laying out for burial; μνῆμα (*mnēma*), μνημεῖον (*mnēmeion*), memorial, tomb.

CL (a) *thaptō* in pagan Greek is properly to "honour with funeral rites", whatever the manner of disposal of the dead. Thus the word is used with *hypo chthonos* (under the ground) in Homer, *Od.* 11, 52, and with *pyri* (with fire) in Plutarch, *Mor.* 286 f.

(b) *taphos* and cognates derive from the root of *thaptō*. *taphos* is always "funeral-rites" in Homer, later a regular word for "tomb"; *taphē* is "burial", "funeral", or is used of the place of burial, for a cinerary urn (Sophocles) or even of a "mummy"

in the Egyptian papyri. Both words may be used in connection with either inhumation or cremation.

(c) *entaphiazō* and *entaphiasmos* are both relatively rare, and both are applied specifically to instances of inhumation or of embalming, the cognate *entaphiastēs* being an "embalmer" in the papyri.

(d) The Gk. language is rich in other words for "tomb", some euphemistic, others specialized but often used with little significant distinction. Thus *tymbos*, properly a "mound" or "barrow", is used generally for any form of grave. So too *mnēma* and *mnēmeion*, from *mnaomai* (be mindful of).

(e) Both burial and cremation were widespread practices at various dates and places in antiquity. The Homeric heroes were burnt, though their Mycenaean prototypes had been buried. In Greece and Rome alike both modes had a long subsequent history. In the NT period cremation had become almost universal among the Romans (cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* 16, 6), but inhumation again became prevalent from the 2nd century. In the Semitic East burial was always predominant. In Asia Minor the tomb was conceived as the eternal house of the dead.

It is questionable how far religious significance should necessarily be attached to differences in the manner of disposal of the dead, though in some cases, as in Egypt, preservation of the body was seen as all-important, as indispensable to the after-life. Otherwise the emphasis was often more upon the proper care and guardianship of the tomb as a cultic place.

OT 1. (a) OT usage is here open to fairly easy classification. Three words are freely used for "tomb": *taphos*, *mnēma*, and *mnēmeion*. Their distribution varies widely in different sections of the LXX, but all three render the Heb. *qeḇer* (tomb) and *qᵉḇûrâh* (tomb, burial) indiscriminately, apparently according to the preferences of different translators.

(b) *taphē* usually renders the same two Heb. words, and is often likewise for "tomb", sometimes rather "burial". In Gen. 50:2, 3, 26 *entaphiazō*, *taphē* and *thaptō* are successively used to render derivatives of the different Heb. root *ḥānaṭ* (to spice, embalm) in speaking of the embalming of Jacob and of Joseph in Egypt.

(c) In some 60 places English versions use "grave" to represent Gk. *hadēs* (Heb. *šᵉʾôl*, the place of the dead). → death, hell.

(d) *thaptō* (Heb. *qāḇar*) is otherwise to "bury" throughout the LXX. Inhumation or placing in caves or rock-sepulchres was universal Jewish practice at all periods. Tombs were commonly the communal possession of a family (Gen. 23:4 etc.); there the dead was "gathered to his people" (Gen. 25:8 etc.). The cremation of Saul and his sons (1 Sam. 31:12) was exceptional, and such treatment might be regarded as a shameful abuse (Amos 2:1) or as a solemn punishment (Jos. 7:25). The law required burial of the executed criminal the same day (Deut. 21:23), and the same care was taken to bury enemies slain in battle (1 Ki. 11:15 etc.). To be denied burial was a shameful indignity (Deut. 28:26; 1 Ki. 13:22).

2. The practices of later Judaism were closely based upon the OT and early custom. It was common in the NT period to practise secondary burial, placing the bones in "ossuaries" which were stored in extended family sepulchres, sometimes in niches called *kôḵîm* (Lat. *loculi*). Scrupulous care was taken to let none be unburied (Josephus, *contra Apionem* 2, 29, 211 etc.). Rabbinic interpretation of

Deut. 21:23 (Sanhedrin 46b etc.) insisted that burial must be completed if possible on the day of death.

NT (a) In the NT the same three Gk words are used for "tomb" as in the LXX. *mnēmeion* occurs 42 times, *mnēma* and *taphos* 7 times each. All alike are used both of the tomb of Jesus and of other tombs, and are variably rendered "grave", "tomb" or "sepulchre" in AV. Matt. accounts for 6 of the occurrences of *taphos*: Jn. has *mnēmeion* exclusively. No significance should be attached to these variations.

(b) In Matt. 23:27 Jesus likens the scribes and Pharisees to "whited sepulchres" (*taphoi kekoniamenoi*; cf. Lk. 11:44). It was the custom to chalk graves on 15th Adar, lest those inadvertently walking over them incur pollution before the Passover (cf. Jn. 11:55; 18:28). In Matt. 23:29–31=Lk. 20:47–48 Jesus alludes further to the scrupulosity of the Pharisees in embellishing the tombs of prophets whom their forebears had rejected and killed. The effective contrast is between their fastidious outward observance of cleanliness and the evil of their inward motives (cf. Rom. 3:13, citing Ps. 5:9, and perhaps also Acts 23:3).

(c) Several NT passages illustrate contemporary practice and feeling about burial. The duty of burial fell upon the family or closest associates of the deceased (Matt. 8:21–22=Lk. 9:59–60; Matt. 14:12; Mk. 6:29). It was carried out with the utmost possible speed (Acts 5:5 ff., presumably by young men of the Christian community). It was deemed a good work to make special provision for the burial of strangers, though with money tainted for other purposes (Matt. 27:8). And in Rev. 11:9 the two witnesses are subjected by their enemies to the final indignity of lying dead and unburied for three days and a half. The fullest accounts of funeral practice are contained in the narratives of Lazarus (John 11) and of Jesus himself.

(d) The raising of Lazarus is important but not without difficulty. Jesus' deliberate delay in answering the summons for his help (Jn. 11:6) has the result that Lazarus had been four days in the tomb at Jesus' arrival (Jn. 11:17). The lapse of time is significant. It was the custom for mourners to visit the dead for the first three days (Semaḥoth 47a), after which interval the progress of decomposition was thought to be irreversible (cf. SB II 544 f.). Hence the action of Jesus demonstrated his absolute mastery over death. The episode is a critical point in Jn., which polarized reactions to Jesus and pointed forward to his own resurrection.

(e) The action of Joseph of Arimathea in initiating the burial of Jesus was an act both of obedience to the Jewish Law and of devotion to one whom he had feared to acknowledge in his life. Deut. 21:22–23 instructs that a man hanged on a tree shall not remain all night there, but be buried the same day, that the land be not defiled, for he is accursed.

Nicodemus brought an enormous quantity of myrrh and aloes for the burial (Jn. 19:39). This evidently accorded with usual practice (cf. Jn. 11:44), except that the sheer quantity of spices represented a costly act of devotion to Jesus, resembling that of Mary (Jn. 12:2–11). Jesus there applied her gift to the theme of his "burial" (*entaphiasmos*, Jn. 12:7), and similar words occur also in the Synoptic parallels (*entaphiasmos*, Mk. 14:8; *entaphiazō*, Matt. 26:12). The Gospel tradition, both Synoptic and Johannine, seems to insist that these acts had a significance which merited their inclusion. We may compare the significant gift of myrrh to the

baby Jesus (Matt. 2:11): this was early seen as symbolizing burial and the expectation of resurrection. The Jews did not embalm like the Egyptians, but myrrh and the other aromatic spices represented the preservation of the body, and this to the Jewish mind was the prerequisite of resurrection. Thus Mary and Nicodemus had performed acts more significant than they understood.

(f) The burial of Jesus plays a part in the primitive Christian preaching. Paul stresses it in 1 Cor. 15:4. It was the authentication both of his death and resurrection, both of them foreshadowed in the scriptures. Ps. 16:10 is an important text in the speeches presented in Acts. The words "neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption" were applicable to the risen Christ, but not to David, whose body had seen decay (Acts 13:35–37) and whose tomb remained to that day (Acts 2:27 ff.). The focal burial text, Deut. 21:22–23, likewise recurs but in a new and startling application which avers the treatment of the sin-bearing Jesus as under its curse (cf. Acts 5:30; 10:39; 13:29; Gal. 3:13; 1 Pet. 2:24).

This emphasis on the burial contrasts with a disinterest in the actual tomb. The discovery of the empty tomb is described in all four Gospels, but the subject is not mentioned in 1 Cor. 15, the earliest surviving testimony to the resurrection. That same chapter however insists strongly on the relevance of eye-witness testimony. Paul's argument is that the literal and theological aspects of the resurrection are inseparable. The truth of the fact that Christ is risen cannot be divorced from an event to whose objectivity such testimony was relevant. The paucity of reference to the empty tomb may be explained by the indications that its emptiness was not in dispute; indeed the notoriety of the fact is presupposed in the following narratives.

(g) Matt. 27:52–53 is a notorious difficulty. The point is apparently to show the resurrection of Christ as the prototype of that of the saints.

(h) In Rom. 6:4 and Col. 2:12 burial (*synthaptomai*, be buried with) is used as a figure of baptism. The disciple is represented as identified with his Master in death, burial and risen life. *C. J. Hemer*

H. von Campenhausen, "The Events of Easter and the Empty Tomb", *Tradition and Life in the Church*, 1968, 42–89; K. Kohler, *JE* (1901–6), III 432–437; T. Nicol, *HDB* I 331–333; A. D. Nock, "Cremation and Burial in the Roman Empire", *HTR* 25, 1932, 321–359; reprinted in Nock, *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, ed. Z. Stewart (1972); J. Spencer Kennard, "The Burial of Jesus", *JBL* 74, 1955, 227–238; J. M. C. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World*, 1971.

Busybody, Meddle

περιεργάζομαι

περιεργάζομαι (*periergazomai*), meddle, be a busybody; περίεργος (*periergos*), meddlesome, a busybody.

CL *periergazomai* is compounded from the prep. *peri* (around, beyond) and the vb. *ergazomai* (work). Its primary meaning is to do superfluous work. In secular Gk. it is sometimes found in a good sense, to investigate thoroughly; but more often it has a bad connotation, to take more pains than necessary, be a busybody. The derived adj. is used similarly to mean either of an enquiring mind, curious (and hence magical; cf. Lat. *curiosus*); or, in a bad sense, officious, meddlesome.

OT In the LXX *periergazomai* only appears in two alternative readings preserved in Origen's *Hexapla*, where it means seek diligently (2 Sam. 11:3; Eccl. 7:30).

periergos does not feature in biblical literature, but Jewish writers preserve both vb. and adj. in their more usual bad sense of meddle and busybody.

NT *periergazomai* is used once in the NT, in 2 Thess. 3:11, where there is a deliberate word-play on *ergazomai*. Paul condemns those whose only business is to be a busybody. The adj. *periergos* occurs twice: once in 1 Tim. 5:13 to describe young women on the church widows' register who become busybodies (as well as idlers and gossips) through having nothing constructive to do; and once in Acts 19:19 with the semi-technical sense of magic arts (cf. CL above). *D. H. Field*

Buy, Sell, Market

ἀγοράζω

ἀγορά (*agora*), market; ἀγοραῖος (*agoraios*), frequenting the market; ἀγοράζω (*agorazō*), buy; ἐξαγοράζω (*exagorazō*), redeem.

CL Originally any place of public assembly, the *agora* became identified in classical times with the market-place, a centre of community life which was regularly used for political meetings, judicial hearings, and especially for trade. The derived adj. *agoraios* (lit. belonging to the *agora*) is occasionally found in a good sense to describe those who do their business in the market-place (especially advocates in law-suits), but it is applied much more frequently to loafers who hang around the *agora* looking for excitement or trouble. *agorazō*, the vb. (lit., frequent the *agora*), came to mean "buy in the market-place", and thence "buy" in general. In Hellenistic times it was also in common use as a term for buying slaves, which is significant for its NT usage, although the practice of sacral manumission is not clearly linked with *agorazō*. The intensive form *exagorazō* could be applied to the redeeming of slaves (e.g. by Diodorus Siculus in the first century B.C.).

OT In the LXX *agora* is used, by metonymy, to describe the trading activity of Tyre (Ezek. 27:12–22). It is also the place where a girl seeks her lover (Cant. 3:2); and the "shut doors of the *agora*" are used by Eccl. 12:4 as a figure for deafness. Where the vb. *agorazō* is used, the reference is normally to commercial purchase (e.g. Gen. 41:57; Neh. 10:31). Just once, in Lev. 27:19, it translates Heb. *gā'al*, "redeem", but the object here is a field, not a person. The idea of sacral manumission was not a Jewish one. Dan. 2:8 preserves an interesting use of *exagorazō*, where the Chaldaeans attempt to evade their fate by "buying time".

NT The *agora* features several times in the Gospel narrative, and twice more in Acts. It serves as a place for children to play (Matt. 11:16 par.), an employment exchange (Matt. 20:3), a centre of public life where the Pharisees love to be conspicuous (Mk. 12:38 par.), and one focal point of Jesus' healing ministry (Mk. 6:56). Paul found himself on trial in the Philippi *agora* (Acts 16:19), and seized evangelistic opportunities among the crowds in the *agora* at Athens (Acts 17:17). In Acts 17:5 there is a reference to the *agoraioi*, the market-place rabble-rousers; and the adjective *agoraios* reappears in Acts 19:38 in its semi-technical sense of "court-sessions" (*agoraioi hēmerai*).

The verb *agorazō* is found twenty-five times in the NT with its usual commercial

meaning, mostly in the Gospels (e.g. Matt. 13:44; Lk. 22:36), but on five other occasions it describes the "buying" of Christians. This clearly reflects the contemporary terminology of the slave-market (see under CL above). In 1 Cor. 6:20; 7:23 (cf. Rev. 14:3) the main point of emphasis is not the freedom of the redeemed (as with other redemption terminology, e.g. → *apolytrōsis*), but their new status as slaves of God, bought with a price to do his will. Hence the sheer effrontery of heretics who "deny the Master who bought them" (2 Pet. 2:1). The price Christ paid for his people is spelled out in Rev. 5:9 ("by thy blood").

exagorazō is also used with this special sense of "redeem" in Gal. 3:13; 4:4, where the idea of escape from the consequences of breaking God's law is added. The intensive form of the verb occurs twice more in Paul's epistles to express the rather different idea of "redeeming the time (*kairos*)" (Eph. 5:16; Col. 4:5). In this context it probably means to "buy up intensively"; i.e., to snap up every opportunity that comes. *D. H. Field*

πωλέω — πωλέω (*pōleō*), sell; πιπράσκω (*piprask̄ō*), sell; ἐμπορέυομαι (*emporeuomai*), *trade*.

CL In secular Gk., *pōleō* and *piprask̄ō* appear without very much distinction as normal trading terms for "sell". Both could also be used in a bad sense to mean "betray" or "sell for a bribe". *piprask̄ō* was the word normally used for selling captives or slaves. *emporeuomai* began as a general term for "travel", but by later classical times its meaning was restricted to "travel on business", "trade". It could be used figuratively (e.g. "trade in philosophy"), and in Hellenistic Gk. it sometimes had a bad connotation (e.g. "trade on the forgetfulness of the judges").

OT In the LXX *pōleō* is used for selling either things or people (e.g. Gen. 41:56; Ex. 21:8). *piprask̄ō* is also found in both senses (especially in the law-codes of Lev. and Deut. to translate the Heb. *māḵar*); and it could also be applied figuratively to express the consequences of sin (so God "sells" his people – Isa. 48:10; 50:1, and the individual can "sell himself" to do what is evil – 1 Ki. 20:20; 2 Ki. 17:17; cf. 1 Macc. 1:15). *emporeuomai* normally means "trade" in the LXX (i.e., in the commercial sense, e.g. Gen. 42:34; Amos 8:6). Once it is used figuratively of trading in wisdom (Prov. 3:14).

NT Both *pōleō* and *piprask̄ō* are regularly employed in the NT as commercial terms for selling commodities (though by no means always for personal gain – cf. Mk. 10:21 par.; Lk. 12:33; Acts 4:34). Only *piprask̄ō* is used of selling a person – once literally in a Gospel parable (Matt. 18:25), and once figuratively in Rom. 7:14 ("sold under sin"). *emporeuomai* occurs twice in the NT: in Jas. 4:13 it keeps its usual meaning of "engage in trade", but in 2 Pet. 2:3 it is used figuratively, and in a bad sense, to convey the idea of exploitation. *D. H. Field*

F. Büchsel, *agorazō, exagorazō*, *TDNT* I 124–28; L. Morris, *The Apostolic Preaching of the Cross*, 1965³, 53–9; H. Preisker, *piprask̄ō*, *TDNT* VII 160.

C

Caesar, Consul, Governor

Καῖσαρ	*Καῖσαρ* (*Kaisar*), Caesar, emperor.

CL "Caesar" was originally a proper name, the family name of the Julian family, esp. of Julius Caesar, but also of Augustus (so Lk. 2:1). It developed a titular significance and became equivalent to "the Emperor", in which sense it occurs frequently in literature, inscriptions and papyri – e.g. "the Emperor's freedman", "N. the Emperor's slave", "the Caesars". The titular usage appears in all the other NT refs.: Lk. 3:1; 23:2; Acts 25:21; 26:32; 27:24; 28:19; Phil. 4:22; and below (→ NT).

OT The only refs. in Jewish literature up to and including 1st century A.D. are several historical refs. to Julius Caesar and Augustus in Josephus. *D. H. Field*

NT Insofar as *Kaisar* functions as a theological concept within the NT it denotes the legitimate power of political authority. Thus it is important for Luke that Paul can affirm his innocence not only in respect of the Jewish law and temple, but also with respect to Caesar (Acts 25:8); so too Paul is wholly justified in appealing to this civil power for protection against what amounts to religious persecution (Acts 25:11).

It is possible however for the authority of Caesar to be opposed to the authority of God in a *false antithesis*. Thus Acts 17:1–9, where it would appear that in Thessalonica a section of the Jewish community who had achieved a satisfactory balance between their religious and secular obligations felt this equilibrium to be threatened by the strong eschatological challenge of the Christian gospel (cf. 2 Thess. 2:5). That which was a threat to their own peace and established way of life they accused of being a threat to the law and order of society at large. The claims of the exalted and soon coming Jesus upon personal life and relationships in his gospel were so far-reaching that they could be misrepresented as the claims of an earthly tyrant, and Jesus portrayed as a rival to Caesar (Acts 17:7).

The problem of possible conflict between the authority of God and that of Caesar must have been a very real one for the early Christians and is specifically tackled in the apophthegm (pronouncement story) preserved in Mk. 12:13–17. The question put to Jesus concerned the poll-tax which had been levied on the inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and Idumea since A.D. 6. As tribute money to a victorious conqueror and occupying power the tax was a focus for intense national and religious feeling on the part of the Jews. The Zealots in particular were vehement and implacable in their hostility; God they affirmed was "their only ruler and king"

(Josephus, *Ant.* 18, 1, 6). The question whether it was lawful or permitted to pay the tax to Caesar or not was therefore well chosen to trap Jesus on the horns of a dilemma: either deny the authority of Caesar (rebellion) or deny the full authority of God (treason and blasphemy). Jesus' reply makes it clear that in his view the antithesis was false: political and divine authority need not necessarily conflict. The payment of tax is a legitimate obligation within the network of human relationships. As such it did not conflict with the higher and all-embracing authority of God, any more, we may say, than human love between two people need conflict with love to God. To pose Caesar and God as mutually exclusive authorities is to make all human relationships antithetical to divine authority, for all relationships involve obligation and responsibility of one kind or another. Jesus did not sanction such an either-or. Man can live within human relationships of authority and obligation and still "pay to God what is due to God".

There is however the possibility of real conflict between obligation to Caesar and obligation to God. Loyalty to Caesar can become an excuse for evading higher obligation to the truth (Jn. 18:38; 19:12–16). Whoever limits his motives and aims to friendship with Caesar shuts himself off from an answer to the question, "What is truth?" Whoever affirms loyalty only to Caesar is thereby self-condemned (cf. Jn. 16:8–11).

J. D. G. Dunn

ἡγεμών

ἡγεμών (*hēgemōn*), in Greek generally leader, commander, chief; in particular it can refer to the emperor or a provincial governor (Strabo), and frequently the prefect of Egypt. Similarly NT (Matt. 10:18; Mk. 13:9; Lk. 21:12; 1 Pet. 2:14), particularly the procurators in Judea – Pilate (Matt. 27:2, 11, 14 f., 21, 27; 28:14; Lk. 20:20), Felix (Acts 23:24, 26, 33; 24:1, 10), and Festus (Acts 26:30). In Matt. 2:6 more generally "ruler". In 1 Pet. 2:13 f. the same attitude to political authority (→ NT above) is expressed more explicitly and forcibly.

J. D. G. Dunn

ὕπατος

ὕπατος (*hypatos*), consul (e.g. Polybius). ἀνθύπατος (*anthypatos*) proconsul (frequently in inscriptions and papyri); so Acts 13:7 f., 12; 18:12; 19:38. In Acts 18:12–17 and 19:35–41 Luke shows the civil power exercising its legitimate authority in the manner appropriate to it. Consul was the title of the two chief magistrates of the Roman Republic. Holders of the office were of senatorial rank, and served for one year in Rome before going to administer in the provinces as proconsuls. The office was somewhat modified in the Empire, when even children could be given the title. It survived in the West until A.D. 534.

J. D. G. Dunn

→ Authority, → King, → Lord

(a). Arndt, 68, 343 f., 396; J. D. M. Derrett, "Render to Caesar . . .", *Law in the New Testament*, 1970, 313–38; *OCD*, 286, 881 f.; B. Reicke, *The New Testament Era*, 1968; A. N. Sherwin-White, *Roman Society and Roman Law in the New Testament*, (1963) 1965; E. Stauffer, *Christ and the Caesars*, 1955.

(b). L. Hahn, *Rom und Romanismus im griechisch.-römischen Osten*, 1906; W. Liebenam, *Beiträge zur Verwaltungsgeschichte des römischen Reiches*, I, 1896.

Call

καλέω

καλέω (*kaleō*), call; κλῆσις (*klēsis*), call, invitation; κλητός (*klētos*), called, invited; ἐπικαλέομαι (*epikaleomai*), call, appeal to; προσκαλέομαι (*proskaleomai*), summon.

CL 1. *kaleō*, in contrast to *keleuō*, urge on, command, means to speak to another either immediately or mediately, in order to bring him nearer, either physically or in a personal relationship. This leads to the following meanings in classical Gk.:

(a) Invite, e.g. into a house, to a feast (Homer, *Od.*, 10, 231). The part. *klētos* in such contexts means invited, welcomed, a guest (Homer *Od.*, 17, 386). Where the invitation conferred special honour, the word came to mean chosen (Homer, *Il.*, 9, 165). The noun *klēsis* means the act of inviting (Xen., *Symp.*, 1, 7; Plut., *Pericles*, 7, 5) and more often an official summons by a recognized authority (e.g. military or the city assembly), and so means calling together or calling to oneself (Homer, *Od.*, 1, 90; 8, 43).

(b) Hence *kaleomai*, occasionally *epikaleomai*, and correspondingly *klēsis*, are used for the summoning of one's adversary or of witnesses before a court of law (Dem., 19, 211; Xen., *Hell.*, 1, 7, 13). Very early, except in capital charges, they were replaced by the technical terms *proskaleomai* (Xen., *Hell*, 1, 7, 12) and *prosklēsis* (Dem., 43, 15 f.).

(c) It also means name, either when a man is being addressed (Homer, *Il.*, 1, 402) or when a name is bestowed. When it is a question of a nickname *epikaleō* is normally used (Hdt., 8, 44). *kaloumenos* (already in Hdt., 6, 61) with the name of people or places means called, so called. Since the → name was considered an expression of a man's character, the pass. *kaleisthai* was used as a virtual synonym of *einai* to be (e.g. Homer, *Od.*, 313).

2. The compound *epikaleō*, usually in the mid., normally has the meaning of invoking (but see above 1 (b)). It is used either (a) of the worship of the gods (Hdt. onwards; cf. 2, 39; also Plato, *Tim.*, 27c; Polyb., 15, 1, 13) or (b) in legal language of appealing, lodging an appeal, e.g. with a ruler, an official (Plut., *Marcellus* 2, 4) or the people (Plut., *Tiberius Gracchus*, 16, 1, 832b).

3. In classical Gk. *kaleō* and *klēsis* are only seldom used of a divine call. This comes rather from the mystery religions (e.g. that of Isis), the influence of the LXX, and specially the NT use. From these *kaleō* takes on the ideas of claiming (Herm., 119 B III, 10 f.) and commissioning (*CPR* 18, 9). In contrast to such a personal call, the Stoic understood *klēsis* impersonally to mean the demand made on him by a critical position to maintain the truth and power of his principles (cf. Epict., *Dissertations*, 1, 29, 49).

4. Since Gk. society did not know the biblical concept of calling, it did not share our concept of vocation. An individual's activity in the working society was called *ergon* (→ work), *ponos* (→ burden), *epangelia*, assent (→ Promise), *pragma*, deed (→ Work), *technē*, art, *schesis*, situation, condition, or *taxis*, order. Though a general term for manual labour was sought, the consciousness of vocation remained confined to priests and to some extent to those who devoted themselves to intellectual and administrative tasks.

5. The following compounds are treated under other headings: *parakaleō* → Exhort; *paraklētos* → Advocate; and *ekklēsia* → Church.

OT With minor exceptions *kaleō* (*c.* 300 times), *epikaleō* (*c.* 150 times), and *proskaleomai* (11 times) are used in the LXX to render various forms of the Heb. *qārā'*. The latter is only seldom translated by other words (e.g. *krazō*, shout). In the translation of the MT *klēsis* is used only in Jer. 31:6 (LXX 38:6) as a verbal noun. It is also found in 3 Macc. 5:14 for an invitation regarded as an action, and in Jud. 12:10 of the meal to which a person is invited. *klētoi* and the part. *keklēmenoi* are used for those invited, the guests. The combination *klētē hagia* represents the Heb. expression *miqrā'-qōḏeš*, holy assembly, i.e. the worshipping congregation at festivals (Exod. 12:16; Num. 28:25; and 11 times in Lev. 23:2–37). The phrase is particularly used with reference to their calendar. For further treatment see under *ekklēsia* and *synagōgē* (→ Church).

1. (a) *kaleō* is found very often in the sense of naming, whether of things (e.g. Gen. 1:5, 8 f., day, night, heaven, earth; Gen. 2:19, the animals), or of persons (e.g. Gen. 25:26, Jacob; Gen. 29:32–35; 30:6–24, Jacob's sons), of a city (e.g. 2 Sam. 5:9, the city of David), or of qualities (in Isa. 35:8 a way and in Exod. 12:16 a day are called holy; cf. Isa. 56:7 where the Temple is called a "house of prayer"). When the Jewish people are called "the priests of the Lord" (Isa. 61:6), or "sons of the living God" (Hos. 1:10 (MT 2:1)), this is equivalent to calling God's servants by "a different name" (Isa. 65:15), which implies a new existence.

(b) *epikaleō* is sometimes used with the act. sense of naming (e.g. Num. 21:3). The phrase "Thy name is called (*epikeklētai*) over us" (Jer. 7:14; cf. 14:9) implies a special degree of possession and protection.

2. Taken all in all, *epikaleō* is the most important term in the LXX for calling on and worshipping, and has the special characteristic of open confession (e.g. Gen. 4:26; 33:20) ([Tr.] the LXX interpretation)). Where a cry of need is involved, *krazō* may be used. The worship is addressed to God, or the God of Israel (used with the acc.: 1 Chr. 4:10), or to the Lord (1 Ki. 17:21) or above all it is to the name of God (Gen. 13:4; Deut. 14:23 f.; Isa. 64:7; Jer. 10:25 – in all such cases the accusative is used). Frequently we find the Semitism *en* (*tō*) *onomati*, Heb. *bᵉšēm* ("in the name" e.g. 1 Ki. 18:24 ff.). This may have been influenced by the idea that the worshipper comes under the name of God as in a strong tower (cf. Prov. 18:10). Since according to Deut., God wills to be worshipped at a specified place chosen by him, the LXX can even render the Heb. *šāḵan*, dwell, by *epikaleisthai* (Exod. 29:45 f.; Deut. 12:11; 16:2, 6, 11). The purpose of the revelation and manifestation of the presence of God is that men should turn to him in worship. They should answer his call in the way he expects. The legal sense (see above CL 2) is not found. The vb. is used in Deut. 15:2 for the proclamation of the year of release, but in Isa. 61:2 and Jer. 34:17 (LXX 41:17) *kaleō* is used.

3. (a) Above all *kaleō* and the few examples of *proskaleō* describe the call of the higher in rank to individuals or groups, e.g. parents to children (Gen. 24:58), rulers to subjects (Exod. 1:18; Jdg. 12:1), and Moses to the elders (Exod. 12:21; 19:7). Such a call was always a command, never a mere invitation (Job 13:22). This call expects that men should → hear and answer. Hence it is not despotic compulsion. Men can refuse to obey the call of God (Isa. 65:12; Jer. 13:10); they can refuse to hear it (Isa. 50:2; Jer. 7:13) or seek to avoid it (Exod. 3:11; 4:1, 10, 13; Jer. 1:6). By contrast, God's commanding call creates order in the universe. He calls the

stars (Isa. 40:26), and causes events to happen in history. He calls hunger (Psa. 105(104):16) and the sword (Jer. 25:29 (LXX 32:29)).

(b) Before a man can answer, he must realize that the call he has heard comes from God. How little he is prepared for this, even in the sanctuary, how hard it is for him to distinguish it from all other voices is shown dramatically in the story of Samuel's call (in 1 Sam. 3:4–10 *kaleō* appears 11 times). Just because God's call creates a claim on a man, he can hardly avoid conflict with the claims of earthly rulers (cf. Elijah (2 Ki. 1:3, 9) and Moses (Exod. 3:4; 5:2)). The call will often lead to → suffering for God's sake. This shows that fundamentally it is only bringing to light the → election which long preceded it. It is significant that in the later chapters of Isa., specially in the Servant Songs (→ Son, Art. *pais theou*) we have the profoundest use of *kaleō* in the sense of service and dedication, linked with an exceptionally frequent appearance of *eklegomai*, choose. It is the elect one (Isa. 41:8; 43:10) whom God calls in → righteousness (Isa. 42:6) and by name (Isa. 43:1; 45:3). He is a type of all who have been called from the beginnings of humanity (Isa. 41:2, 4).

4. Our word-group does not occur in the accounts of the call of the judges (Jdg. 6:13) and the prophets' accounts of their calls (cf. Isa. 6:1–8; 40:6 ff.; Jer. 1:4–9; Ezek. 2:1 ff.). This is because the call is not characterized by the use of certain phraseology but by its content and form. God speaks to a man to whom in his → foreknowledge he wishes to entrust a task. It may be prophetic or political (cf. Cyrus (Isa. 48:14 f.)), and it may be defined at once or later. God's → Word demands a decision from the one addressed. God's call is the means by which he makes men who are entirely unqualified into instruments of his will.

5. Within Judaism only the men of Qumran seem to have had a special sense of call. While statements about → election play a considerable part there, the call of God is mentioned only in 1 QM 14:5. In 1QM 16:1 God calls a sword on the nations. But the expression "the called of God" is found a number of times. In CD 4:4 it is used as an equivalent of the "the elect of Israel". In 1QM 2:7 and 1QSa 2:11, 13 it is a title of the prominent men of the council of the community. In 1QM 3:2 it is used of the trumpets calling for a gathering, and in 1 QM 4:10 of one of the standards on the battlefield.

NT In the NT *kaleō* is found 148 times (43 times in Lk; 18 in Acts; 29 in Paul; and 26 in Matt.). *epikaleomai* is found 30 times, 20 of these being in Acts. *proskaleomai* occurs 29 times, 4 in Lk., 9 in Acts and Mk. Though *klēsis* is found 11 times, it does not occur in the Gospels and Acts. *klētos* with 10 occurrences is found only once in Matt. These two words are essentially Pauline. It is noticeable that Jn. uses *kaleō* only twice, and that the word-group occurs only rarely in the Catholic Epistles and Rev.

The relatively frequent use of the word-group by Luke is due to his cultured Gk. He is the only NT writer to use compounds which occur only in superior Koine (e.g. *eiskaleō*, invite, *metakaleomai*, have brought to oneself). The usages mentioned already under CL 1, 2 occur in him. Contrasted with these are the specifically theological uses of *kaleō*, *klēsis* and *klētos* by Paul (see below 3).

1. (a) In the NT too *kaleō* means the giving of a name or nickname (Matt. 1:21; Jn. 1:42), the use of a title when addressing someone (Matt. 23:7 f.), or the attribution

of a particular rank (Lk. 6:46, Lord; Matt. 23:9, Father; Lk. 22:25, benefactor). The part. *kaloumenos*, called (Lk. 6:15; 19:29; Rev. 16:16), sometimes does not really need translation (cf. Lk. 8:2; Acts 10:1; 15:37 (so NEB)). Of special importance are the cases where God gives a name. By conferring the names Jesus (Lk. 1:31) and John (Lk. 1:13) he expresses, as in the OT, his control over their lives.

(b) More frequently than in classical Gk. and even than in the LXX there lies concealed behind the pass. *kaleomai*, be named, be called, an expression of the character and existence of a person or thing. This is perhaps seen most clearly in Paul's remark that he is "unfit to be called an apostle" (1 Cor. 15:9). Frequently in such expressions OT ideas have been taken over, as in Mk. 11:17 par., where the Temple is called "a house of prayer", quoting Isa. 56:7. This usage is particularly important in Lk. 1:32, 35, where Jesus is called the Son of the Most High, i.e. the Son of God. Consequently, his followers will be called sons of God (Matt. 5:9; Rom. 9:26) and children of God (1 Jn. 3:1). The new → name is here clearly an expression for the new existence granted by an act of God.

2. (a) We meet the meaning "invite" for *kaleō* principally in the parables of the great banquet (Lk. 14:16–25), where it occurs 9 times, and the marriage feast (Matt. 22:2–10), where it occurs 5 times. It is also used in Jn. 2:2 and Rev. 19:9 of inviting to a wedding and of those invited to the Lamb's marriage feast. With the exception of Jn. 2:2 there is a hint of privilege and command in these passages. Probably this is how we should understand "I came not to call the righteous, but sinners" (Matt. 9:13; Mk. 2:17; Lk. 5:32) on the lips of Jesus. These parables make it clear that, when a man ignores the divine invitation, he not only misses an opportunity, but may be squandering his life and hope.

(b) The note of command in the verb is seen even more clearly in the passages where rulers or officials call their subordinates: Herod (Matt. 2:7), the owner of the vineyard (Matt. 20:8); cf. also Mk. 3:31; Lk. 19:13; see above OT 3 f.). As a result, it would have been natural to use it as a special term for the call of the disciples. In fact, it occurs only in Matt. 4:21 and Mk. 1:20. In the other narratives we have the story and the words spoken, but no definite term is used to introduce them. In the Gospels the narrative does not necessarily include interpretation and technical language. This comes to the fore in Paul.

(c) It is striking that *proskaleomai* (found only in Matt., Lk., Acts and Jas. 5:14) is likewise not used for such a call. It is used of a commanding call to an individual (Matt. 18:2; Mk. 15:44) or to an existing, fairly well defined group like the disciples (Matt. 10:1; Mk. 6:7; 12:43; Acts 6:2) or the people (Matt. 15:10; Mk. 7:14). The statement, "He . . . called to him those whom he desired" (Mk. 3:13), is no exception, for the Twelve were obviously already envisaged by Jesus. In Acts 13:2 the vb. indicates the heavenly call to Paul and Barnabas, which is to be realized in their earthly commissioning. We should see in Acts 16:10 a heavenly directive to Paul and his companions which was communicated by a vision. Furthermore, the use of the part. *proskalesamenos* may suggest that the Synoptic writers saw in the call only a means to an end, and their attention was fixed on the event set in motion by it. It is the spoken → word which determines → discipleship.

(d) The statement, "For many are called, but few are chosen" (Matt. 22:14), reflects on the relationship between God's call and election. It shows that, at least

from the standpoint of human response, the circle of the called and of the elect cannot be taken as necessarily coinciding (→ Election).

3. (a) Paul uses the words *kaleō* (29 times), *klēsis* (8 times) and *klētos* (7 times) almost always with the sense of divine calling. Exceptions are 1 Cor. 15:9 (see above NT 1 (b)), 1 Cor. 10:27 (invite), and three quotations from the LXX: Rom. 9:7 (Gen. 21:12); Rom. 9:25 (Hos. 2:23(25)); and Rom. 9:26 (Hos. 1:10 (MT 2:1)). *proskaleomai* is not found in the Pauline writings. This usage is continued in the Pastorals and is taken over by Heb., and 1 and 2 Pet.

Paul understands calling as the process by which God calls those, whom he has already elected and appointed, out of their bondage to this world, so that he may justify and sanctify them (Rom. 8:29 f.), and bring them into his service. This means that the call is part of God's work of reconciliation and peace (1 Cor. 7:15). It reaches a man only through the love of Christ directed towards him and seeking him (Gal. 1:6, 15). When Paul says that God's decision is not dependent on works but solely on him who calls (Rom. 9:11), he is stressing the unfettered choice of God, which is not influenced by human preconditions. It alone brings men to faith and is able to preserve them in it. Paul's language stresses this divine initiative in its participial constructions (cf. 1 Thess. 2:12 *kalountos*, "who calls"; Gal. 1:6 *kalesantos*, "who called"; cf. also 1 Pet. 1:15 *ton kalesanta*, "who called"). In addition, Rom. 4:17 shows that God's call means a new existence, equivalent to a new → creation.

(b) God's call is mediated by the message of the Gospel (2 Thess. 2:14) which comes through the witness of men. It brings the one called both into fellowship with Christ (1 Cor. 1:9) and at the same time into fellowship with the other members of his → body. Since the call is "in the one body" (Col. 3:15, *en heni sōmati*) it is equivalent to entering the → Kingdom of God. For while God's call (*klēsis*) is addressed to the individual, it never concerns him alone. The use of the word always indicates either that the call comes from God (Rom. 11:29; Phil. 3:14) or that one is brought into fellowship with the church as a whole (1 Cor. 1:26; Eph. 4:1). Baptism is both a visible sign of the call and of the obligation of the believer to live a life worthy of his call (Eph. 4:1; 1 Thess. 2:12).

(c) Paul addresses church members as *klētoi*, called ones (Rom. 1:6 f.; 8:28; and 1 Cor. 1:2, 24). In Rom. 1:7 and 1 Cor. 1:2 he addresses the *klētoi hagioi*, those called as saints. He desires to stress that both the existence of the church and individual membership in it are based solely on the will and work of God. 1 Cor. 1:26 shows how Paul saw this calling as dependent on God and how it involves the church. The Corinthians are to consider their calling. They will realize what they once were, and with what sort of people God has joined them in his church. 1 Cor. 7:15–24 makes it clear that the call does not necessarily change the Christian's social status. So far as the law is concerned, it does not free the slave from his master, or force the believer to change his occupation. The change in relationships is reached not by revolution, but by a change in the inner attitude. In 1 Cor. 7:20 *klēsis* presents some difficulty. The literal rendering "calling" (AV) can be misunderstood as vocation, a meaning that cannot be legitimately attributed to Paul ([Tr.] the renderings "condition" (RV, NEB), "state" (RSV) are lexically questionable. It is more likely that Paul has in mind a particular place or station (perhaps even in the church?)).

(d) In rare cases Paul can use *klētos* of a personal commission. When in Rom. 1:1 and 1 Cor. 1:1 he declares himself to be *klētos apostolos* (called to be an apostle, RSV), he is stressing that he owed his office as → apostle to a special call by God.

4. The use of the word-group in 1 Pet. is essentially Pauline. Peter stresses in 1:15 and 5:10 that the call comes from God, and that God has a purpose in his call (2:21; 3:9, "for to this you have been called"). Those called by him are to bear witness to the One who had called them out of darkness (2:9) by following the example of Christ even in suffering (2:21), so that they may inherit a blessing (3:9; cf. 2 Pet. 1:3 f.).

Pauline influence may be seen also in Heb. 3:1 and 9:15 which speak of the heavenly call and the promised inheritance for those called.

5. *epikaleomai* (in the NT only in the mid. and pass.) is used in much the same way. In the expression "the name (of God) is called over (us)" (Jas. 2:7; Acts 15:17 quoting Amos 9:12, *epikaleitai . . . epi*) both God's assumption of power over a person and his simultaneous expression of care for him are brought out. The RSV renders both passages: "are called by". Similarly in Acts 4:36 and 12:12 it is used like a synonym for *kaleō* and means "called". It is used of Paul's appeal to Caesar 6 times in Acts 25–28 (but nowhere else in the legal sense of appeal). In addition, it is frequently used of calling on God or his name (cf. Acts 7:59 ([Tr.] RSV inadequately, "he prayed"); 9:14; Rom. 10:12 ff.; 1 Cor. 1:2). It normally carries with it the thought of confessing God within the church. 2 Cor. 1:23 is an exception, for here God is being called on as a witness. Such expressions are based on OT language for the invocation of Yahweh. When they are used in the NT for the disciples' approach to Jesus (cf. 1 Cor. 1:2; Acts 22:16), it is a recognition of him as God's presence, as Son and Messiah. *L. Coenen*

(a). Arndt, 399 f.; J. Jeremias, *New Testament Theology*, I, 1971, 49–56; G. Molin, "Vocation," *EBT* III 954–58; M. Noth, "Office and Vocation in the Old Testament," *The Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies*, 1966, 229–49; H. H. Rowley, *The Biblical Doctrine of Election*, 1952; K. L. Schmidt, *kaleō*, *TDNT* III 487–536.
(b). W. Bieder, *Die Berufung im Neuen Testament*, 1961; J. Daumoser, *Berufung und Erwählung*, 1955; E. Engel, *Die Berufungstheologie des Apostels Paulus*, 1939; J. Hempel, "Berufung und Bekehrung," *Festschrift* G. Beer, 1935, 41–61; G. Mensching, J. Fichtner and O. Michel, "Berufung," *RGG*³ I 1083–88; F. Müller, "Berufung und Erwählung," *ZSTh* 24, 1955, 38–71.

Care, Anxiety

μέριμνα

μέριμνα (*merimna*), care; μεριμνάω (*merimnaō*), care, be anxious; προμεριμνάω (*promerimnaō*), be anxious beforehand; μέλω (*melō*), be concerned, be worried about.

CL This group of words is frequent in classical Gk. literature. The noun *merimna* is found from Hesiod onwards (*Works* 178), and the vb. *merimnaō* since Soph. (*Oedipus the King* 1124). Both words have the same range of meaning as the Ger. *Sorge* and *sorgen* (noun and vb. meaning care) and the Eng. *care*. Thus *merimna* can mean both care in the sense of an anxious fear and also caring for, providing for, and *merimnaō* can mean being anxious, worried, and care, take responsibility for someone or something. In keeping with this meaning, the words are usually

concerned with objects in the future (cf. the compound *promerimnaō*, be anxious beforehand, which occurs only in the NT in Mk. 13:11).

Besides *merimna* and *merimnaō* there appear in Gk. literature the words *phrontis*, worrying, anxiety (not in the NT), and *phrontizō*, think of, be mindful of, care for (only Tit. 3:8).

melei, it concerns someone about . . . , is the 3rd person sing. of *melō*, be concerned about. It is usually used impersonally, but is occasionally personal. It is attested since Homer and expresses interest and concern.

OT 1. In the LXX these words appear relatively infrequently and have the same range as in classical Gk. The noun *merimna* (12 times; in Ps. 55(54):22(23) it represents the Heb. *yᵉhāḇ*, burden; otherwise it has no Heb. equivalent) means anxious care (e.g. Job. 11:18 with *phrontis*, apprehension; Dan. 11:26; 1 Macc. 6:10). The vb. *merimnaō* (9 times for different Heb. verbs) means be anxious (2 Sam. 7:10; 1 Chr. 17:9) or be troubled (e.g. because of sin: Ps. 38(37):18(19)). The same word is used in a weaker sense in Exod. 5:9, be concerned for, think of.

The wisdom literature uses the vb. and the noun in the positive sense of caring, providing (e.g. Prov. 14:23; 17:12). However, in this literary genre *merimna* can mean anxious care (e.g. Sir. 30:24; 42:9).

2. In Philo and Josephus, as already in the Stoa, *phrontis* is used for worry, care, instead of *merimna*, and *phrontizō*, be mindful of, care for, instead of *merimnaō*. Their range of meaning is the same.

NT In the NT the noun *merimna*, care, only occurs 4 times in the Synoptics, once in Paul and once in 1 Pet. The vb. *merimnaō*, be anxious, care for, occurs only in Matt. (6 times), Lk. (5 times) and Paul (5 times in 1 Cor., 2 times in Phil.).

Like the OT, the NT understands care chiefly as the natural reaction of man to poverty, hunger and other troubles which befall him in his daily life. Oppressed by the burdens laid upon him, man imagines himself delivered to a fate before which he stands powerless. By his care man tries to protect himself as best he can from what confronts him.

1. The most comprehensive summary of the NT's witness on the matter of worry is to be found in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 6:25–34) or the Sermon on the Plain (Lk. 12:22–31). It is directed against that error which denies God's care and love by supposing that man can secure his own future by temporarily securing what he needs for his livelihood. Worrying is foolish because life is more than food (Matt. 6:25), and because he who worries cannot secure his life (Matt. 6:27).

If *hēlikia* (→ Age, Old, Stature) should be translated as stature, length of body, not length of life, then the folly of worry is emphasized by this *reductio ad absurdum*. For if something so completely unimportant as bodily size cannot be guaranteed by man's worry, how much less can life itself.

We can take the saying of Matt. 6:34 in the same ironic sense. It comes from the discourses of the wisdom tradition and has Jewish and Gentile parallels (cf. Comms. ad loc.). This disciple who adds tomorrow's cares to today's is acting in an absurd way and is put to shame by secular wisdom which has long recognized the fact. But worry is not only foolish but also God-less (→ Wisdom, Folly), because it impugns God's care for men. God who feeds the birds of the air and decks the transitory flowers of the field with beauty, will do "much more" for his creature,

man (Matt. 6:26, 30). For he is the Father who knows all that his children need (Matt. 6:32). He who forgets that and, in the weakness of his faith, gives way to worry is acting like a Gentile (Matt. 6:32 → Possessions, particularly the art. *mamōnas*).

By contrast, the knowledge that the → kingdom of God is dawning liberates man from anxiety and worry. He who welcomes this kingdom of God and the → righteousness proclaimed in it with zeal and trust, finds by experience that all that is needful for his life is given to him by God's provision (Matt. 6:33). In God's kingdom all men's needs are put in their rightful place, because the Father's love provides alike things great and small, daily needs and special ones (e.g. the ability to witness faithfully under persecution, Matt. 10:19 par.).

It may be asked whether or not Jewish traditions of belief in providence (→ Foreknowledge) have been adapted or made more radical. It used to be held that the action of the righteous guaranteed God's provision (cf. Ps. 55:22(23)). It is now firmly stated that, if one gives one's undivided attention to the kingdom of God, it is superfluous to make anxious provision to secure one's life. This is stated with the help of various ideas drawn from the OT background, sometimes by the idea of God as → Father as in the Sermon on the Mount and the parallels, and sometimes by the OT belief in providence as in 1 Pet. 5:7 (cf. Ps. 55:22(23)). Because God is concerned (*melei*) about man and cares for him, man can unload his cares on to God.

2. Luke's picture of Mary and Martha (Lk. 10:38–42) exhibits the same contrast of attitudes as the Sermon on the Mount. The "many things" over which man worries, in order to secure the necessities of life, are contrasted with the "one thing" that is necessary. That is the question concerning the purpose of life, which Mary sees to be answered in Jesus' teaching. Worry is contrasted with zeal for God's kingdom.

In the same way the parable of the sower sees the word as imperilled by cares (Mk. 4:19 par.). Lk. 21:34 warns against being weighed down by *merimnai* (plur.), cares, qualified by the adj. *biōtikai*, belonging to life, daily, and so the cares for the needs of daily life.

3. *merimna*, care, and *merimnaō*, care for, can also be given a positive sense, as that caring for others that God entrusts to men. Hence Paul sees himself as one who must care for all the churches (2 Cor. 11:28). God has fashioned the church like a body so that "the members might care each alike for the other" (1 Cor. 12:25). Timothy is commended to the church in Philippi as one who will care for their interests like no one else (Phil. 2:20). Hence Paul can regard a care of this nature as a part of *ta Iēsou Christou zētein*, seeking what belongs to Jesus Christ, that is, of involvement in the affairs of Jesus Christ (Phil. 2:21).

1 Cor. 7:32 ff. shows that Paul is aware of the dangers in caring about other people. Because he desires the members of the church to be without worries (*amerimnous*), he recommends the unmarried not to marry in future in view of the eschatological situation (vv. 29, 31) and the married to live to the Lord in the freedom opened up by the concept *hōs mē*, as if not (1 Cor. 7:29).

In the exhortation of Phil. 4:6 ("Worry about nothing . . .) *merimnaō* is used with the same meaning as elsewhere in the NT, anxious care. The reason for this freedom from care lies in the Lord's proximity (v. 5) and in the church's privilege

of being able to present all their requests in → prayer to God with thanksgiving (→ Thank). *J. Goetzmann*

R. Bultmann, *merimnaō*, *TDNT* IV 589–93; and *Theology of the New Testament*, I, 1952, 239–46; H. Riesenfeld, "Vom Schätzesammeln und Sorgen – ein Thema urchristlicher Paränese. Zu Mt. vi 19–34," in *Neotestamentica et Patristica. Eine Freundesgabe Herrn Professor Dr. Oscar Cullmann zu seinem 60. Geburtstag überreicht*, 1962, 47–58.

Carpenter, Builder, Workman, Craftsman, Trade

τέκτων

τέκτων (*tektōn*), builder; ἀρχιτέκτων (*architektōn*), masterbuilder; τεχνίτης (*technitēs*), craftsman; τέχνη (*technē*), art, skill, trade.

CL In secular Gk. *tektōn* means a craftsman or builder in wood, stone or metal; *architektōn* means a head builder, masterbuilder, contractor, or director of works; *technitēs* means a craftsman, artisan or designer; and *technē* means an art, craft, trade, or professional skill.

OT In the LXX all these words appear in their classical meaning. *tektōn* usually renders *ḥārāš*. It is noteworthy that, unlike the more intellectual and aristocratic societies of Greece and Rome, the Jews had a high regard for manual work and a deep respect for those who did it well, whose ability was sometimes at any rate seen as a gift of God's spirit (Exod. 35:30 ff.).

NT In the NT, usage is as follows:

(a) *tektōn* appears only in the identification of Jesus by the people of Nazareth as "the carpenter" (Mk. 6:3), "the carpenter's son" (Matt. 13:55). Though "carpenter" is the common rendering here, *tektōn* could equally mean "mason" or "smith" (as indeed some of the Fathers took it); or it could mean that Joseph and Jesus were builders, so that both carpentry and masonry would have been among their skills.

(b) *architektōn* appears once, in Paul's description of himself as a "wise master-builder" (the phrase is lifted from the LXX of Isa. 3:3) who laid the foundation of the Corinthian church. Paul identifies this foundation with Christ – Christ, that is, as set forth in the doctrine Paul had preached, the doctrine of the givenness of reconciliation through the cross and the new community created thereby. This was the doctrine that had produced the Corinthian church (1 Cor. 3:10 ff.).

(c) *technitēs* bears its ordinary secular sense in Acts 19:24, 38; Rev. 18:22. In Heb. 11:10, however, the word is applied to God, as the craftsman who has built the heavenly city for which his people hope.

(d) *technē* has its ordinary secular sense in Acts 17:29, 18:3 (where Paul and Aquila are identified as "tent-makers" or "leather-workers" by trade), and Rev. 18:22. *J. I. Packer*

→ Creation, art. *dēmiourgos*

Cherub

χερούβ

χερούβ (*cheroub*); plur. varies between χερουβείμ (*cheroubeim*), χερουβείν (*cheroubein*), χερουβίμ (*cherou-bim*), χερουβίν (*cheroubin*).

CL The word does not occur in secular Gk, but is a transliteration of the Heb. or Aram., hence the variety of plur. endings.

OT The Heb. word is *k^{e}rûḇ* (pl. *k^{e}rûḇîm* or *k^{e}ruḇîm*), a winged heavenly messenger sometimes associated with the seraph or burning one (Isa. 6:2–6). Cherubim guard the way to the tree of life (Gen. 3:24) and either support or flank the throne of God (Pss. 80:1; 99:1; Isa. 37:16). Their swiftness in flight is likened to the wind (2 Sam. 22:11; Ps. 18:10). Two wooden replicas of cherubim, gold covered and with wings outspread, were placed over the cover or "mercy seat" of the ark of the covenant, protecting the holy things and forming a pedestal for the throne of Yahweh (Exod. 23:17–21; 37:7–9; cf. Num. 7:89). Cherubim also adorned the inmost curtains of the tabernacle and the "veil" which separated off the most holy place (Exod. 26:1, 31), and symbolized the heavenly hosts of the Lord God of hosts (1 Sam. 4:4; 2 Sam. 6:2; Ki. 19:15; 1 Chr. 13:6). In Solomon's temple emphasis is laid on the size of the cherubim, whose wings span the width of the sanctuary (1 Ki. 6:23–28; 2 Chr. 3:10–13).

Among the prophets only Ezekiel mentions the word. The golden cherubim on which had rested the glory of the God of Israel were deserted (Ezek. 9:3), and he was to be found among living cherubim who carried out his every wish (Ezek. 10, cf. Ezek. 1:5 ff.), having moved the place of his throne away from the Temple. In Ezekiel cherubim also guard the presence of God (Ezek. 28:14–16 RSV).

Later Judaism meditated much on Ezekiel's chariot throne, but speculation was discouraged by the Rabbis, and liturgical use of Ezekiel's chapters on the chariot was forbidden in the Mishnah. In the Qumran scrolls one fragment "The Divine Throne-Chariot" describes the cherubim as uttering blessings, and accompanied by a still small voice (cf. 1 Ki. 19:12) as they moved their wings. A similar interest in the heavenly throne is found in Eth. Enoch (14:11, 18; 20:7).

NT In the New Testament the word occurs only in Heb. 9:5; the phrase *cherubim of glory* is used in a description of the Holy of holies. The book of the Revelation, without using the word, describes in terms reminiscent of both cherubim and seraphim (Rev. 4:6–8) the living creatures who worship the One on the throne.

Cherubim are specifically associated with God's throne, whether in heaven or in its earthly counterpart. They stand guard, support the throne and act as swift messengers of the Lord of hosts, whom they worship. *J. G. Baldwin*

→Angel

P. Dhorme and L. H. Vincent, "Les Chérubins", *RB*, 35, 1926, 328–358; 481–495; T. H. Gaster, art. "Angel", *IDB* I 131 f.; R. K. Harrison, art. "Cherubim," *NBD*, 208 f.

Child, Boy, Servant, Son, Adoption

The word child may be understood both lit. and fig. (e.g. as a child of a particular age or society). The following article discusses a number of related terms. *teknon* (cf. *tiktō*, to bear, → Birth) means child as the offspring of his parents and forefathers. With regard to age, a distinction is made between *paidion*, the baby or little child (cf. *brephos*, baby, infant) and *pais*, the child between 7 and 14 years old. *pais* also suggests the child's lowly position in society and his ancient function as a slave.

It can therefore also mean servant or slave. *nēpios*, infant, minor, carries the overtones of helplessness, inexperience and simplicity. It can also suggest foolishness. While *pais* and *teknon* can refer to either boy or girl, the son (*hyios*) is distinguished from the daughter (*thygatēr*). *hyios* is frequently used in fig. senses, either to denote teacher-pupil relationship or membership of a particular group (cf. also *teknon*). On the christological titles Son of God (*hyios* (*tou*) *theou*) or Servant of God (*pais tou theou*) see the respective arts. under Son of God.

| νήπιος | *νήπιος* (*nēpios*), infant, minor.

CL *nēpios* denotes an infant, child or minor in cl. Gk. The word can be used in metaphorical sense, e.g. of young seedlings (Theophrastus, *Historia Plantarum*, 8, 1, 7). Furthermore, the characteristics of the foolish and inexperienced child may be so to the fore that the meaning of child recedes in favour of foolish, inexperienced (cf. Sophocles, *Electra*, 145 f.). Gk. philosophers who wanted to communicate to men true knowledge of the world and the life of reason dismissed with biting sarcasm the unperceptive man with no experience of life as *nēpios*, a fool (cf. Hesiod, *Works*, 130, 286 ff.; Epictetus, *Dissertations*, 3, 24, 53). Lucian mocked Christians as foolish children (*de morte Peregrini*, 11), for calling themselves *paides* (→ *pais*).

OT Heb. has no exact equivalent of Gk. *nēpios*. The LXX uses *nēpios*, with the meaning of child, to translate 4 different Heb. words: *yônēq*, baby, suckling (Isa. 11:8; in LXX frequently rendered by *thēlazōn*); *'ôlāl* or *'ôlēl*, little child (1 Sam. 15:3; in LXX sometimes *brephos*); *ṭap̄*, little child (Ezek. 9:6) and *na'ar*, boy (Prov. 23:13). In these contexts the most important characteristics of the *nēpios* are the weakness, helplessness and submission of the child over against the adult (cf. Lam. 1:5). Hos. 11:1 represents the origins of Israel (i.e. the exodus from Egypt; cf. also 2:17) as the people's youth (*nēpios*, *na'ar*). By contrast with the period of apostasy in Canaan, Israel followed Yahweh with undivided loyalty.

In addition to the words mentioned above, the LXX also translates *peṯî*, simple man, by *nēpios* (Ps. 19:8). Whereas the wisdom lit. reproaches the *nēpios* for being simple, i.e. dull and foolish (Prov. 1:32; cf. also 1:22 Aquila), *nēpios* in the Pss. denotes the man of simple faith (e.g. Pss. 116:6; 119:130) who stands under God's protection and pays attention to his instruction (cf. Paul's use of *mōros*, foolish [1 Cor. 4:10] → Wisdom, Folly).

NT In the NT *nēpios* occurs particularly in Paul, otherwise only in Matt., Lk. and once each in Eph. and Heb.

1. (a) In Matt. 21:16, Ps. 8:2(3) is quoted in the account of the cleansing of the Temple (Matt. 21:10–17). Jesus answers the indignation of the chief priests and scribes at the Hosanna of the children with the question, "Have you never read, 'Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings thou hast brought perfect praise'?" The quotation had undisputed authority for his opponents, so that their accusations immediately lost all substance. Clearly *nēpios* (v. 16) and the parallel *thēlazontōn*, sucklings, is linked with *paidas* (v. 15), but without any particular weight being attached to this connection. What is important is that the cry Hosanna (vv. 9, 15) is justified. The ground is thus knocked from beneath the feet of Jesus' accusers.

(b) The saying in Matt. 11:25 and Lk. 10:21 is widely attributed to the Q source, and may bear traces of Aram. (cf. SB I 606 f.). Both evangelists place it after the woes pronounced on Chorazin, Bethsaida and Capernaum, and Lk. mentions the mission of the seventy. The wording is identical in both versions: "I thank thee, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hidden these things from the wise and understanding and revealed them to babes; yea, Father, for such was thy gracious will." In both cases it is followed by the saying about the Son's unique mediation of the knowledge of the Father. *nēpioi* draws a contrast with the wise and understanding, and refers either to children, who by comparison with adults are considered as a rule immature and unwise (cf. 1 Cor. 14:20), or generally to the simple, without any emphasis being laid on the age of the "children".

2. (a) 1 Cor. 13:11 refers to the child/adult contrast. Paul uses this opposition to distinguish one age (*arti*, now) from the other (*tote*, then, v. 12). Just as the man now thinks differently from the child, so his knowledge in the age to come will be transformed. But faith, hope, and especially love hold good now (*nyni*) and will abide in the age to come (v. 13). In Rom. 2:20 the child/adult contrast is applied to the teacher/pupil relationship. The Jew, who has the law, is conscious of being in the role of the teacher, who instructs the *nēpios*, who does not have the law. But his failure to see his own hypocrisy in the light of the law undermines this role and brings dishonour to God (vv. 22–24).

In 1 Cor. 3:1 the spiritual is contrasted with the fleshly and the childish. The "not yet" and the additional "in Christ" with *nēpios* stand in contrast to the development that has begun, as the further metaphor of milk and solid food indicates. So what is at issue here is not a pre-Christian stage in contrast to the Christian life, but Christian life which has begun but still needs to develop. The Hel. mystery cults may well stand in the background (but cf. H. Schlier, *gala*, *TDNT* I 646), in which the devotee achieves ever higher stages of perfection by means of many ceremonies. The difference between Paul and the mystery cults, however, lies in the fact that he is not referring to pagan sacramental meals but to the Christian message. Accordingly, childishness is not a closed stage, but only a transitional phase (thus also Heb. 5:13 f.). The Hel. mystery cults may also provide the background to Eph. 4:14: "so that we may no longer be *nēpioi*, tossed to and fro and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the cunning of men, by their crafty deceitful wiles." It is a question of growing (v. 15) and becoming complete (v. 13). Here again it is not a matter of distinguishing between Christians and non-Christians, but of Christians, who are as easily led astray as immature children, growing up into complete Christians.

(b) There are two readings of 1 Thess. 2:7: (a) *ēpioi* (we were *gentle* in your company); (b) *nēpioi* (babes). The preceding word ends with *n*, and it seems likely that this *n* has been doubled by mistake in copying. Moreover the interpretation of the second reading leads to difficulties. For in v. 7b it is not himself but the Thessalonians whom Paul likens to "children"; he and his colleagues were like a nurse (*trophos*). Paul's argument in Gal. 4:3 is different from that of the other passages. Here he uses legal and temporal categories. The pre-Christian period, i.e. the time before Jesus' coming on earth (v. 4) was the *nēpios*-period of the immature and slaves. The *nēpioi* were held in bondage as slaves by the *nomos* (→ Law) and the *stoicheia*, the elemental powers (→ Law). But Christ has come to redeem those

under the law that they might receive adoption as sons (*hyiothesia*, v. 5 → Son). The two periods stand in clearly marked contrast. *G. Braumann*

παῖς

παῖς (*pais*), child, young man, son, servant; παιδίον (*paidion*), very young child, infant; παιδάριον (*paidarion*) little boy, child, youth; βρέφος (*brephos*), unborn child, embryo, baby, infant.

CL 1. *pais* (from Homer onwards; connected with the root *pou* or *pau*, few, little, cf. Lat. *pauper*, *paulus*) means child (mostly masc.) as son, but also a daughter in relation to descent (Homer, *Il.* 2, 205). In relation to age it denotes a child in years (Homer, *Od.* 4, 665), a boy between 7 and 14 years, as distinct from the little child or the youth (cf. Hippocrates, *De Hebdomadibus* 5). Socially it means a servant or slave (Aesch., *Cho.* 653 f.), fem. *paidiskē*, maid, servant girl, female slave. → Son of God, art. *pais theou*.

2. *paidion* (from Homer onwards), a diminutive of *pais*, denotes a little child up to 7 years (Hdt. 2, 119), the newborn child (Hdt. 1, 110). It may also refer to a young slave, male or female.

3. *paidarion* (from Aristoph. onwards), likewise a diminutive of *pais*, generally means, like *paidion*, a little child (cf. Plato, *Symp.* 207d). But it can mean a young man (cf. Tob. 6:2 f.), a young servant or slave (Xenoph., *Agesilaus* I, 21; Aristoph., *Plutus* 823, 843).

4. *brephos* (from Homer onwards) denotes the unborn child, the embryo (Homer, *Il.* 23, 266), the newborn child, the baby and the little child (from Pindar on).

OT 1. In the LXX *pais* occurs some 500 times and stands for 10 different Heb. words, particularly often for *'eḇeḏ*, slave, servant, subordinate (341 times; → Slave, art. *doulos;* → Son of God, art. *pais theou*, for Servant of the Lord). But since it also renders Heb. *na'ar*, youth (e.g. Prov. 1:4), *bēn*, son (e.g. Prov. 4:1), the use of *pais* in its breadth of meaning is not to be distinguished from secular Gk. (see above CL, 1).

2. Heb. equivalents for *paidion* include *yeleḏ* (boy, 35 times), *na'ar* (youth 27 times), *bēn* (son, 19 times), *ṭap̄* (child, 7 times); for *paidarion* predominantly *na'ar* (youth). *paidion* or *paidarion*, in the LXX as in secular Gk., denote the baby (Gen. 21:7), the little child (Gen. 21:14), the lad (Gen. 22:5, 12) and the young man (Jdg. 8:14). They are frequently used to emphasize the serving capacity of young people, as companion (Gen. 22:5), messenger (Jdg. 7:10), arms bearer (Jdg. 9:54; 1 Sam. 14:1) or servant (Neh. 13:19; Ruth 2:5 f.).

NT 1. Passages attributed to the Q source use both *pais* and *paidion*. The centurion's servant is called a *pais* (Matt. 8:6, 13; Lk. 7:7) and the children in the market place are *paidia* (Matt. 11:16; Lk. 7:32). Matt. also uses *pais* of Herod's servants (14:2) and *paidion* (Matt. 14:21; 15:38) in the great feedings. The number of those filled excluded women and children. Mk. has only *paidion* and does not use *brephos* or *pais*, e.g. Mk. 5:39 (cf. Matt. 9:24, *korasion*, girl); 7:28; 9:24. Lk. is the only evangelist to use *brephos*, chiefly in the infancy narratives, of the unborn child (Lk. 1:41, 44), and the newborn baby (Lk. 2:12, 16; Acts 7:19). In using *brephos* instead of *paidion* in Lk. 18:15 (though not 16 f.; cf. Matt. 19:13 ff.; Mk. 10:13 ff.) Lk. was perhaps thinking especially of babies. But *pais* also occurs in Lk. 2:43 of

the 12 year old Jesus; 8:51, 54 of a girl; 12:45 and 15:26 of servants. So too does *paidion* (Lk .1:59, the child at the circumcision; 11:7, children in the parable of the friend at midnight). Jn. also uses both *pais* (only Jn. 4:51), *paidion* (4:49) and *hyios* (son, 4:50) of the same child. He uses *paidion* of the newborn child (16:21) and, in addition, *paidarion* (Jn. 6:9 the only NT occurrence of the word) of the lad with five loaves and two small fishes.

In 1 Cor. 14:20 Paul warns against being childish ("do not be children"). Thus the picture of the child is here used negatively (contrast Mk. 10:15). Otherwise the word group occurs in Paul only in Gal. 4:22 f., 30 f. in the comparison of the bondage of Judaism with Sarah's maid or female slave (*paidiskē*; cf. Gen. 16:15; 21:2, 9–12). Heb. uses *paidion* 3 times (2:13, 14; 11:23). Apart from the Lk. passages referred to, *brephos* occurs only in 2 Tim. 3:15 (*apo brephous*, from childhood) and 1 Pet. 2:2 ("Like newborn babes, long for the pure spiritual milk, that by it you may grow up to salvation"). The latter passage speaks of newborn children (*brephē*) in a metaphorical sense. It may be understood against the background of the Hel. mystery cults (→ *hyios* OT, 2c and → *teknon* NT, on the Johannine understanding of child of God). *G. Braumann*

2. In the above passages no special theological significance attaches to *pais* and *paidion*. They have the same range of meaning as in ordinary language. But in three groups of passages children are related to the kingdom.

(a) Matt. 19:13 ff.; Mk. 10:13–16; and Lk. 18:15 ff. relate the incident of Jesus' blessing the children despite the protests of the disciples. The reluctance of the disciples to allow adults to bring children to Jesus has been ascribed to the disciples' concern that Jesus was tired. But perhaps there was also the implication that children (Matt. and Mk. *paidia;* Lk. *brephē*) were too young to make a responsible commitment. Certainly they would not be of the age of becoming Bar Mitzwah at 13 and able to take on themselves the yoke of the Law (cf. J. Bowman, *The Gospel of Mark: The New Christian Jewish Passover Haggadah*, 1965, 211). Jesus replies: "Let the children come to me, do not hinder them; for to such (*toioutōn*) belongs the kingdom of God. Truly, I say to you, whoever does not receive the kingdom of God like a child shall not enter it" (Mk. 10:14 f.; cf. Matt. 19:14; 18:3; Lk. 18:17). Mk. adds: "And he took them in his arms and blessed them, laying his hands upon them" (10:16; cf. Matt. 19:15). The term *such* may suggest "these and other (literal) children" or "these and others who, though not literally children, share the characteristics of children" (D. E. Nineham, *Saint Mark*, 1969, 267 f.). On the role of children in the divine order see Ps. 8:2; Matt. 11:25; 21:15 f. But Mk. 10:15 suggests that the second interpretation is appropriate. In this case, Jesus' pronouncement reverses the apparent understanding of the disciples. Instead of insisting that men should be mature enough to make a responsible commitment, Jesus is saying that there is a sense in which the reverse is true. The reason why the kingdom belongs to children is not because of any subjective qualities that they may have; it lies in their objective helplessness (C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Gospel According to Saint Mark*, 1959, 324; cf. E. Schweizer, *The Good News According to Mark*, 1970, 206 f. who points out that Jesus is not speaking of their sinlessness or purity and that the child is not a symbol for the ascetic as in Gos. Thom. 22). The saying is paralleled in Jn. 3 by the discourse with Nicodemus comparing entry into the kingdom with rebirth. Some have seen implications of infant baptism in this story

(cf. O. Cullmann, *Baptism in the New Testament*, 1950, 71 ff.; A. Richardson, *An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament*, 1958, 360 f.). On the evidence for the practice of baptism after the NT period see J. Jeremias, *Infant Baptism in the First Four Centuries*, 1960; K. Aland, *Did the Early Church Baptize Infants?*, 1963; and J. Jeremias, *The Origins of Infant Baptism: A Further Study in Reply to Kurt Aland*, 1963. With regard to the present passage, there is no solid evidence for inferring that Jesus or the early church linked the event with baptism. On the other hand, Jesus' categorical statement that the kingdom belongs to such implies that they may be full members of the church and thus fit subjects to receive the sacrament of incorporation.

(b) A similar saying occurs in Matt. 18:3 f. in the course of the dispute among the disciples as to who would be the greatest in the kingdom. Jesus set a child (*paidion*) in their midst and said: "Truly, I say to you, unless you turn (*straphēte*) and become like children (*hōs ta paidia*) you will never enter the kingdom of heaven. Whoever humbles himself like this child, he is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven." Neither of the parallel accounts in Mk. 9:33–37 and Lk. 9:46 ff. contains this saying. This has led to the suggestion that it is a doublet taken from the passages discussed under (a). But there the thought is of receiving the kingdom as a little child; here it is of becoming like little children and entering the kingdom, leading to the thought of humbling oneself "like this child." On humility in Matt. see 5:3; 20:26; 23:11.

(c) The saying which immediately follows in Matt. 23:12 is paralleled and amplified by Mk. 9:37 and Lk. 18:17. In Mk.'s version it reads: "Whoever receives one such child in my name receives me; and whoever receives me, receives not me but him who sent me." This underlines again the role that children have in their own right in the kingdom of God and at the same time the responsibility of the church in acting upon this. But it is also related to a theme which finds recurrent expression in the gospels: Jesus is present (albeit *incognito*) in those who are his. This is said of appointed witnesses to Christ (Matt. 10:40; Lk. 10:16; Jn. 13:20), of children (in the present passage), of those in need (Matt. 25:35–45; cf. Mk. 9:41), and of those in prayer and service (Matt. 18:20; cf. Jn. 15:4 ff.). These passages carry with them the corollary that those who maltreat the representatives of Christ (perhaps not even realizing the significance of their actions) bear a terrible responsibility. *C. Brown*

τέκνον

τέκνον (*teknon*), child; τεκνίον (*teknion*), little child.

CL & OT *teknon*, attested from Homer on, denotes the child in relation to his parents and forefathers (*tiktein*, beget, bear; cf. LXX *teknopoiein*, bear a child, Gen. 11:30 etc.; NT *teknogonia*, bearing of children, 1 Tim. 2:15; *teknogonein*, bear or beget children, 1 Tim. 5:14 f.). *teknon* denotes both the child still unborn (Gen. 3:17; 17:16) and the elder son (Gen. 27:13). It does not distinguish sex, although in the LXX *teknon* (representing 11 Heb. words) frequently translates *bēn*. In addition to the broader meaning, descendant (Gen. 30:1), the word is also used metaphorically, as an intimate form of address (Gen. 43:29) or to denote a pupil in his relationship to his master (1 Sam. 3:16; 26:17). In Ps. 34:11 wisdom calls to men:

"Come, O children, listen to me." *teknion*, diminutive of *teknon*, is a nursery term (A. Oepke, *TDNT* V 639) and denotes the little child. It does not occur in the LXX.

NT 1. All the strands of the synoptic tradition contain the word *teknon*. It occurs in the description of the relationship of parents to their children as a picture of our relationship with God (Matt. 7:11; Lk. 11:13), in Jesus' lament over Jerusalem (Matt. 23:37; Lk. 13:3; → Bird), and in the sense of descendant (Matt. 3:9; Lk. 3:8; cf. also Jn. 8:39; Rom. 9:7 f.; Gal. 4:31). All these passages common to Matt. and Lk. are widely attributed to Q. Mk. speaks of children with respect to their relationship to their parents (Mk. 13:12; Matt. 10:21). Jesus used the word as a form of address (Mk. 2:5; Matt. 9:2; Mk. 10:24). In the material peculiar to Matt. it refers both to children and to family relationships regardless of age (Matt. 18:25; 21:28; 27:25). The same is true of the material peculiar to Lk. 15:31, cf. 23:28; Acts 2:39; 7:5; 13:33; 21:5). As a form of address, "child" is used in Lk. 16:25, expressing intimate or group relationship (cf. wisdom's children in Lk. 7:35).

There are several references in the epistle to parent-child relationships. The obedience of children to their parents (Eph. 6:1; Col. 3:20) should be reciprocated by the kindness of parents towards their children (Eph. 6:4; Col. 3:21; cf. 1 Thess. 2:7). The parent's task includes warning; hence Paul also warns the church (1 Thess. 2:11). He compares his flock to children (1 Cor. 4:14; 2 Cor. 6:13; Gal. 4:19). Paul also saw his relationship to Timothy as a father-child relationship (1 Cor. 4:17; Phil. 2:22). The Pastoral Epistles lay great stress on orderly family relationships (1 Tim. 3:4, 12; Tit. 1:6; cf. also 1 Tim. 5:4). Timothy and Titus are addressed as Paul's children in the faith (1 Tim. 1:2; 2 Tim. 1:2; 2:1; Tit. 1:4).

teknion, little child, is used only in the Johannine writings, and then only as a form of address to the disciples or the church (Jn. 13:33; 1 Jn. 2:1, 12, 28; 3:7, 18; 4:4; 5:21; → *pais*).

teknon can, however, also describe membership of a particular group: 1 Pet. 4:14 (the obedient); Eph. 2:3 (those who have fallen under the wrath of God); Eph. 5:8 (of light); 2 Pet. 2:14 (those who stand under a curse); cf. also 2 Jn. 1, 4, 13; 3 Jn. 4. Arndt regards most of these as Hebraisms together with the expression children of wisdom (i.e. those who attach themselves to her and are led by her, Matt. 11:19 *v.l.*; Lk. 7:35) and the designation of the inhabitants of a city as its *tekna* (Joel 2:23; Zech. 9:13; 1 Macc. 1:38; Matt. 23:37; Lk. 13:34; 19:44; Gal. 4:25).

2. Traditions which are independent of each other speak of children of God. Paul's starting point is the promise that those who belong to Israel stand under God's blessing (Rom. 9:4 f.; Gal. 4:21 f.). But who belongs to Israel? Not the natural descendants of Abraham (Rom. 9:6 f.; Gal. 4:23), but those who believe, for whom the promise is valid (Rom. 9:8; Gal. 4:23, 28). "It is men of faith who are sons of Abraham" (Gal. 3:7). There is a contrast between → flesh and → spirit (Gal. 4:29; Rom. 8:13). It is not a question, therefore, of a natural relationship as children to God, but of a legal acceptance by adoption of believers as children of God and heirs of the promise. The gift which establishes the relationship (*hyiothesia*, cf. art. *hyios* below) is the → Spirit, who cries Abba, Father, leads into freedom, and engenders the hope of sonship (Rom. 8:13–17, 19–23; cf. Gal. 4:5 f.).

Paul sees the question in the light of salvation history and does not distinguish between child and son. Some scholars believe that Jn. uses the language of the Hel.

mystery religions, which saw being children of God realistically in terms of begetting and birth, as a new being mediated by initiation. The child of God is born of God (Jn. 1:12 f.; 1 Jn. 2:29; 3:2). Children of God (not sons of God) and children of the devil stand opposed (1 Jn. 3:10). Love for God and love for the brethren characterize the children of God (1 Jn. 4:21; → *hyios* NT, 2(a)). Jn. uses *hyios* (son) of Jesus Christ the only begotten Son of God (3:16; 20:31), but *tekna* of men who receive him and so become children of God (see above passages).

In Eph. 5:1 the church is called to be *mimētai tou theou*, imitators of God, and as such are *hōs tekna agapēta*, as beloved children. This expresses the call to discipleship. The → disciple stands in a child-father relationship to God. Discipleship may, however, entail, under certain circumstances, the abandonment of all by the disciple, even his children (Mk. 10:29 f.; cf. Lk. 14:26).

The horror of the end is depicted, among other things, in terms of the father set against the child and the child against the parents (Mk. 13:12; Matt. 10:21; cf. Lk. 21:16).

3. Thus the NT has not developed a theology of the child. Children are referred to in passing as a matter of course, and their role discussed accordingly. Where the documents deal with Jesus' encounters with children, we can find neither a sentimental love of children nor an ideology of childhood innocence. *G. Braumann*

υἱός

υἱός (*hyios*), son; υἱοθεσία (*hyiothesia*), adoption.

CL 1. *hyios*, attested from Mycenean Gk. onwards, denotes the son in the widest sense, as both the son of human parents (Homer, *Il.*, 5, 159) and the offspring of animals and plants. Further, *hyios* can mean descendant in general (Homer, *Il.*, 2, 727) with no reference to the immediate forebears, e.g. it can stand for grandson. The idea of family relationship can recede completely and give way to one of relationship of interest: the teacher-pupil relationship can be represented by the father–son relationship. Closely connected with this is the fact that membership of a particular group can be expressed by the word son (Homer: sons of the Achaians). Finally *hyios* with the gen. (cf. Heb. *ben* in the construct) can denote that certain things and concepts are dependent upon one another and belong together (e.g. sons of light, of darkness, etc.).

2. The attitude of Gk. antiquity towards the child underwent various changes. In the closely knit and ordered society of the city-state children (above all sons) were the pride of the family. They were a welcome help at work and inherited the honour and the duties of their father. On the other hand, deformed children, especially girls, were just not reared at Sparta and other places. Later generations with an individualistic outlook on life manifested a tendency to limit the number of children. In the early period of the arts the theme of children had no role at all. In the classical period the "children" of Niobe were represented as adult figures. From the 3rd cent. B.C. there began an increasing preference for the idyll of childlikeness, a tendency which had its origin in the sphere of playfulness and privacy, and from there was transferred to the child (details in A. Oepke, *TDNT* V 640 f.).

3. *hyiothesia* occurs seldom (never in the LXX). It is a technical legal term and means adoption, the accepting of a child as one's own.

OT 1. (a) In the OT the child and especially the son (in the LXX, above all to translate *bēn*, ca. 4800 times) was seen as the gift of God (Gen. 1:28; Deut. 28:4–11; Isa. 54:1; Ps. 128:3), although the burden of pregnancy and the pain of childbirth were understood in Gen. 3:16 as God's punishment. To have no children was reckoned a disadvantage, a disgrace (Gen. 30:1 f.; 1 Sam. 1:11), and a sign of a lack of blessing (Gen. 33:5). One was proud of one's sons, because they were a help and a support (Ps. 127:3 ff.). This did not exclude the fact that children needed upbringing (→ discipline) and that parents must exercise their responsibility towards their children (Deut. 6:7). Correspondingly, children must respect their parents and elders (Exod. 20:12). For violence against father and mother on the part of children the death penalty was prescribed (Exod. 21:15). Corporal punishment was taken for granted (Prov. 22:15). The idea of the original innocence of children, which is widespread among us, was foreign to the OT (Jer. 6:11; 44:7). Children were unwise and helpless. They were introduced to the customs and rites of religion from an early age (Exod. 12:26; 1 Sam. 1:4). In Rab. Judaism we find authorities who speak with the greatest respect of children (SB I 781). On the other hand, it was permissible for children to be sold (SB I 798). They were blessed by their parents (SB I 807 f.) and by the righteous (SB II 138).

2. (a) The motif of God's son or sons is a frequent one in the OT (→ Son of God). Israel and the Israelites, in particular the righteous, are called the children of God. Israel is "my firstborn son" (Exod. 4:22; cf. Isa. 1:2). The idea of the son of God, in dependence on Egyptian traditions, has a place in particular in the royal psalms (cf. Ps. 2:7 etc.). The son, however, is not understood here as lit. begotten but as elected (cf. A Weiser, *The Psalms*, 1962, 113 f.; → Height, art. *hypsoō*).

(b) In Judaism there is the idea of the children of God based not on nature but on God's election and man's action. Whoever acts righteously is a son of God (Wis. 2:18; cf. Matt. 5:9; Hos. 1:10 ff.—MT 2:1 ff.). This operates, however, within Judaism. The Hel. mystery religions, on the other hand, thought of this relationship as transmitted naturally or sacramentally by means of initiation ceremonies. What was sought was not a close relationship and fellowship with the godhead, but substantial interchange with and participation in it.

3. The Qumran documents speak of sons in a wide variety of phrases: the sons of light and of darkness, the sons of righteousness and unrighteousness, of truth and corruption, of Belial, of God's good pleasure (IQH 4:32; cf. Lk. 2:14), of heaven (1QS 4:22), of grace (1QH 7:20), of the world (CD 20:34), of iniquity (1QH 6:30), and of mischief (1QH 5:25).

NT 1. Apart from 1 Cor., Phil., Col., the Pastorals, 2 Pet. and the letters of Jn., *hyios* occurs in every strand and document of the NT, sometimes very frequently (on Mk. and Jn. → Son of God).

(a) *hyios* can denote the relationship of the son (→ First, art. *prōtotokos*) to his father (Mk. 10:46), to his mother (Matt. 2:20) or to both (Lk. 1:13), or to his physical ancestors (Matt. 1:20, son of David; Lk. 19:9, son of Abraham). From this arises the more general meaning of descendant (Matt. 23:31).

(b) *hyios* is used metaphorically to denote membership of a particular group of people: Acts 3:25 speaks of the sons of the prophets and of the covenant; Acts 23:6 of a son of the Pharisees. Sons of men and son of man denote membership of the

human race (Mk. 3:28; Eph. 3:5; Heb. 2:6). Participation in a greater whole is expressed in this way, so that it is possible to talk about sons of the resurrection (Lk. 20:36), of the kingdom (Matt. 8:12; 13:38), of light (Lk. 16:8; Jn. 12:36; 1 Thess. 5:5), of encouragement (Acts 4:36), of the evil one (Matt. 13:38), of hell (Matt. 23:15), of this age (Lk. 16:8; 20:34), of destruction (Jn. 17:12; 2 Thess. 2:3), of the devil (Acts 13:10), of disobedience (Eph. 2:2; 5:6), of thunder (Mk. 3:17).

(c) The allegory of the weeds among the wheat contains the contrast between the "sons of the kingdom" and "the sons of the evil one" (Matt. 13:38). Just as in the field the grain grows up with the weeds and the two are not separated until the harvest, so, according to Matt., the church is a mixed body until the day of judgment. Only then does a separation take place (Matt. 13:40 ff.).

(d) The parent–child relationship is set in a new light by Jesus' call to discipleship. On the one hand, ties of blood pale into insignificance in the light of the call (Matt. 10:37; Lk. 14:26 f.) and in the events of the end may even be transformed into enmity (Mk. 13:12). On the other hand, they regain the significance they had lost at the hands of the Pharisees (Mk. 7:9–13). In the later epistles the handling of children became a theme in its own right. Children have their place in the directions about social and family relationships (Col. 3:20 f.; Eph. 6:1 ff.).

2. (a) Of special theological significance are those passages which speak of God's sons (*hyioi theou*) and of the relationship of sonship to God (cf. *hyiothesia* 5 times in Paul). The fact that the phrase occurs both in Paul and in documents which are independent of Paul suggests the possibility of early, primitive Christian traditions existing before Paul, however one sees a background for them in the OT or in the history of religions (cf. SB I 219 f.). This suggestion finds support in so far as it is possible to demonstrate a context for the preaching of sonship to God in the early church. With regard to Rom. 8:14 f. O. Michel has commented: "Sonship . . . expresses the freedom of the baptized Christian, who needs to recognize no other tie but the will of God; it expresses the realization that God has committed himself to man; and it expresses the trust which grows out of his fatherhood" (*Der Brief an die Römer, KEK* 1965[13], 197). In Gal. 4:5 Paul speaks of receiving adoption as sons. This is linked with → baptism in Gal. 3:26 f. (cf. O. Michel, op. cit., 196; H. Schlier, *Der Brief an die Galater, KEK*, 1966[13], 172). But baptism in the NT is never treated as a rite separable from → faith (cf. Gal. 2:20; 3:5 ff., 23 ff.; Rom. 6:3 ff.; cf. 1:17; 4:1–5:1).

Paul takes the idea a stage further in that he understands sonship not just as a present condition (like his predecessors) but also as the goal of hope, still to be fulfilled (Rom. 8:23; cf. also Jas. 1:18; 1 Pet. 1:23). Thus the concept takes on a peculiar double aspect. "On the one hand, it is a thing of the future, a longed-for goal (Rom. 8:23: [*hyiothesian apekdechomenoi*] we wait for adoption as sons); on the other hand, it is a present thing, as is attested by the fact that in the Spirit – that eschatological gift – we cry 'Abba!' (Rom. 8:15 f.; Gal. 4:6 f.)" (R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, I, 1952, 278). Moreover, Paul places the preaching of sonship within his own framework of salvation history. From the fact that one belongs to Christ by being among "those of faith" (*hoi ek pisteōs*), he concludes that one belongs to the sons of Abraham (Gal. 3:7, 29). Belonging to them guarantees salvation. But if this recalls the question of descent from Abraham, the question that it raises for Paul is the question of inheritance (Gal. 4:1 ff.). Christians have

entered into the inheritance, because they are heirs of Christ and of God (Gal. 4:4 ff.; Rom. 8:17). *G. Braumann*

(b) Peacemakers are promised, in the seventh beatitude, that they will be called sons of God (Matt. 5:9; cf. Rom. 9:26). "To be called a son of God is the highest honour and the richest gift of grace. The words 'shall be called' indicate that it all depends upon God's verdict. . . . A man cannot make himself a son of God; he has to be given the name by which he becomes a son" (A. Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Matthäus*, 1959[5], 140; cf. Deut. 14:1; Hos. 2:1). The beatitude is all the more significant in view of the fact that at various crucial points in Matt. Jesus is called → the Son of God either explicitly or by implication. These include the baptism, temptation, Peter's confession, the transfiguration, crucifixion and sending out of the disciples (Matt. 2:15; 3:17; 4:3, 6 f.; 8:9, 29; 11:25 ff.; 14:33; 16:16; 17:6; 21:37 f.; 26:63; 27:40, 43, 54; 28:19). Against this background, there is the double implication in the beatitude (1) that Israel as such is not the son of God but only those in Israel who are peacemakers, and (2) that men may become through being → disciples of Jesus what he is in himself.

Matt.'s use of Hos. 11:1 ("Out of Egypt have I called my son", cf. Matt. 2:15) reinforces this conclusion. Matt. sees the return of the holy family from Egypt as a → fulfilment of this prophecy. As a fulfilment, this is not to be understood in the sense of a prediction that has come off. For Hosea is clearly talking about the exodus and not about the infant Jesus coming from Egypt. It is, however, fulfilment in the deeper sense that Jesus, and not the nation of Israel, is the true son of God, and that the original event that Hosea spoke about and which the Jews regarded as one of the great events of history was in fact only a foreshadowing of an apparently insignificant event which would turn out to be the most significant event for mankind.

(c) Lk. 20:36 speaks of "sons of the resurrection" (cf. Mk. 12:25 f.; Matt. 22:30 f.). The expression is a Hebraism which had acclimatized itself in Gk. (M.-J. Lagrange, *L'Évangile selon Saint Luc*, 1941[5], 516; A. Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, 1903[2], 162 f.). There are, however, several NT passages which make the metaphor explicit by relating resurrection and rebirth. Matt. 19:28 speaks of the regeneration (*palingenesia*) suggesting a cosmic event. The only other use of this word relates it to baptism and personal renewal as a present reality (Tit. 3:5). 1 Pet. 1:3 speaks of being "born anew to a living hope through the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead." Here there is an element of realization in the present, and the resurrection in this instance is Christ's and not ours, but it has a future aspect (cf. 1:4, 23; 3:21 f.; 5:10; cf. Col. 3:1–4). The discussion of Jesus with Nicodemus on rebirth in Jn. 3 is usually taken to refer to present spiritual experiences, but it may well have overtones of the connection between resurrection, rebirth and sonship. For that which is born of the flesh cannot enter the kingdom of God, but only that whi . is born of the Spirit (Jn. 3:5; cf. 1 Cor. 15:50). Sonship is connected with rebirth in Jn. 1:12 f. (where the Gk. word is *tekna*). But Jn. prefers to keep the term Son of God for Jesus (20:31; cf. 17:1 ff.) and his stress falls on the present reality of new life (cf. 3:16–21; 15:7 ff.). *C. Brown*

→ Son of God, Servant of God, Son of Man, Son of David

(a). G. Bertram, *nēpios*, *TDNT* IV 912–23; J. Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus*, 1963[8]; and *New Testament Theology*, I, 1971, 178–202; F. Lyall, "Roman Law in the Writings of Paul—Adoption", *JBL* 88, 1969, 458–66; Moore, *Judaism* II 131–35; A. Oepke, *pais*, *TDNT* V 636–54; E. Schweizer *et al.*, *hyios*, *TDNT* VIII 334–400.
(b). G. Delling, "Lexikalisches zu *teknon*. Ein Nachtrag zur Exegese von 1 Kor. 7, 14," in *Festschrift* for E. Barnikol, 1964, 35 ff.; W. Grundmann, *Die Gotteskindschaft in der Geschichte Jesu und ihre religionsgeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen*, 1938; O. Michel, " 'Diese Kleinen', eine Jüngerbezeichnung Jesu," *ThStKr* 108, 1937–38, 401–15; H. Schlier, *Der Brief an die Galater*, KEK 7, 1965[13]; J. Weiss, *Der erste Korintherbrief*, KEK 5, 1910.
→ Literature under Baptism, Conversion, Son

Church, Synagogue

ἐκκλησία

ἐκκλησία (*ekklēsia*), assembly, meeting, congregation, church; συνάγω (*synagō*), gather; συναγωγή (*synagōge*), assembly, synagogue.

CL 1. (a) *ekklēsia*, derived via *ek-kaleō*, which was used for the summons to the army to assemble, from *kaleō*, to call (→ Call). It is attested from Eur. and Hdt. onwards (5th cent. B.C.), and denotes in the usage of antiquity the popular assembly of the competent full citizens of the *polis*, city. It reached its greatest importance in the 5th cent. and met at regular intervals (in Athens about 30–40 times a year, elsewhere less frequently) and also in cases of urgency as an extra-ordinary *ekklēsia*. Its sphere of competence included decisions on suggested changes in the law (which could only be effected by the council of the 400), on appointments to official positions and – at least in its heyday – on every important question of internal and external policy (contracts, treaties, war and peace, finance). To these was added in special cases (e.g. treason) the task of sitting in judgment, which as a rule fell to regular courts. The *ekklēsia* opened with prayers and sacrifices to the gods of the city. It was bound by the existing laws. Every citizen had the right to speak and to propose matters for discussion, but a proposition could only be dealt with if there was an expert opinion on the matter (Aristot., *Ath. Pol.* 45). A decision was only valid if it won a certain number of votes. Authorization to participate, and the methods of summoning the assembly and of voting – by show of hands in Athens (Aristot., *Ath.Pol.*, 45), by acclaim (Thuc., 1, 87), by ballot sheets or stones (Xen. *Hell.*, 1, 7, 9) – were strictly regulated, as was the control of the assembly, which originally lay with the president of the Prytaneis and from the 4th cent. B.C. with a college of nine.

(b) Thus *ekklēsia*, centuries before the translation of the OT and the time of the NT, was clearly characterized as a political phenomenon, repeated according to certain rules and within a certain framework. It was the assembly of full citizens, functionally rooted in the constitution of the democracy, an assembly in which fundamental political and judical decisions were taken. The scope of its competence varied in the different states. Only occasionally were other terms used for this organ of government by the people (e.g. *halia*, *agora*). What is noteworthy, however, is that the word *ekklēsia*, throughout the Gk. and Hel. areas, always retained its reference to the assembly of the *polis*. In only three exceptional cases was it used

for the business meeting of a cultic guild (cf. H. Lietzmann, *An die Korinther*, HNT 9, 4). Otherwise it was never used for guilds or religious fellowships. These were referred to by such expressions as *thiasos*, cultic assembly to worship a god; *eranos*, lit. contract of partnership, but in this context a fellowship which held particular → feasts (*heortē*), to which each participant contributed; *koinon*, lit. that which is in common (→ Fellowship, art. *koinos*); or *synodos*, which meant a group following the same → way, i.e. the same teaching. Significantly, however, none of these words found its way into the NT. The same is true, moreover, of the derivatives of the nouns, the vbs. *ekklēsiazō*, trans. to assemble, and *exekklēsiazomai*, intrans. to gather together, which only occur in the LXX a few times.

2. In contrast to *ekklēsia*, which had become a technical term by an early date, the other word which is important to us in this context, *synagōgē* (derived from *synagō*, bring together, and attested from the 5th cent. B.C. onwards), exhibited from the first a wide breadth of usage. It denoted quite generally, in the trans. sense, the collecting or bringing together of things (books, letters, possessions, fruit at harvest time), and also of troops and people. Nevertheless, the word found its specialized and most clearly defined meaning in the activities of the guilds. Here it was used (above all from the 2nd cent. B.C. onwards, and now intrans.) for the regular, mostly festive assembly, linked with a meal and sacrifice, of the guilds which are almost without exception to be understood as cultic fellowships. It can also denote their normal business meeting, and the guild itself but only rarely, late, and to all appearances only in non-cultic contexts (the contexts are those of profession or interest). It is impossible to find in classical Gk. absolutely clear attestation of the fact that *synagōgē*, progressing from the nature of the activity to its scene, was used to denote the place of assembly. This probably originated within Judaism (see below OT 3 (b); relevant material in W. Schrage, *TDNT* VII 806 ff.).

OT 1. (a) In the translation of the LXX the Gk. word *ekklēsia* occurs about 100 times, of which 22 are in the Apocrypha and a further 3 have no Heb. equivalent. It represents exclusively the Heb. *qāhāl* (including once each for four derivatives of the root). On the other hand, it is striking that the Heb. word is not always rendered by *ekklēsia*. In Gen., Lev. and Num., for example, *qāhāl* is translated 21 times by *synagōgē*, and of the 15 passages in Ezek. *ekklēsia* appears only in Ezek. 32:23 and never in the five passages in Jer. Instead, *synagōgē*, along with *ochlos*, crowd (e.g. Jer. 31:8; Ezek. 16:40; 17:17) or *plēthos*, multitude (Exod. 12:6; 2 Chr. 31:18) are used.

(b) By contrast, *synagōgē* appears (225 times, of which 34 have no Heb. equivalent) with only isolated exceptions for Heb. *ʿēḏâh*, for which, practically speaking, there is no other important translation. The exceptions are Num. 4:34 *dēmos*, people; 16:40 (MT. 17:5) *episystasis*, uprising, tumult; Ps. 1:5 *boulē*, assembly. In nine passages the Heb. word is not translated directly, but has fallen out as the result of tautology. But while *qāhāl* could clearly be rendered by both Gk. words, *ʿēḏâh* was never translated by *ekklēsia*. It seems, therefore, that *synagōgē* was capable of expressing the sense of both Heb. terms, whereas *ekklēsia* could only be used with a specific meaning (cf. on this point CL 2).

2. (a) *qāhāl*, probably related to *qôl*, voice, means a summons to an assembly and the act of assembling and is perhaps most accurately translated as mustering. Verbal

forms derived from the noun occur, each 19 times, in the hiph. (to summon an assembly, e.g. Exod. 35:1; Num. 20:8; 1 Chr. 15:3) and in the niph. (to assemble, e.g. Lev. 8:4; Jer. 26:9). In these cases, especially in the Pentateuch, it is frequently the *'ēḏâh* (see under b) which assembles (e.g. Lev. 8:3; Num. 17:7; Jos. 18:1; Jdg. 20:1), or the *'ām*, the people (e.g. Exod. 32:1; Deut. 4:10), (the house of) Israel (1 Chr. 13:5), Judah (1 Ki. 12:21), the elders (1 Ki. 8:1), or the princes (1 Chr. 28:1). This breadth of usage clearly indicates that the decisive meaning of the word is to be determined from the noun and not from the vb.

Who, then, is addressed as the *qāhāl*, denoted by it, and belongs to it? In the earliest strata of the OT the word is rare and stands primarily for the summons to war of all the men capable of bearing arms (Gen. 49:6; Num. 22:4; verbal form in 2 Sam. 20:14; 1 Ki. 12:21). To a certain extent, these represent the people (the *'ām*), but occasionally the word stands for the whole congregation of the people (Num. 16:33). In Deut. *qāhāl* means above all the congregation gathered to conclude the covenant at Sinai (Deut. 9:10; 10:4). It is qualified by being linked to the name of Yahweh (cf. especially Deut. 23:2 ff.). The word stands here for the people which Yahweh has summoned, which is bound by the rules he has given (→ Commandment; → Law), and whose participation in Yahweh's→ Covenant is only maintained by obedience. Thus *qāhāl* had also a religious element alongside that of a special, solemn assembly. In the subsequent period (the stratum of the deuteronomic history) the word admittedly lost once again its strictly religious character (e.g. 1 Ki. 8:65; 12:3 ff.) and came to mean simply the special, general assembly of the people, including women and probably even children in Jer. 44:15 and in the post-exilic passages (Ezr. 10:1; Neh. 8:2). In Ezek., where the word occurs as many as 15 times (it is more frequent only in Chr.: 30 times), it is used once again quite without religious significance for the mustering of the army, troops, and even refers to nations other than Israel (Ezek. 17:17, Egypt; 27:27, Tyre; 32:22, Assyria). It is understandable that the LXX translates it throughout, not by *ekklēsia*, but by *synagōgē* or *ochlos*.

In 19 passages from Gen. to Num the word is used only quantitatively for the great multitude (of the peoples in Gen. 28:3; 35:11). But it can also give solemn emphasis to the special character of the one people dedicated to Yahweh (e.g. Num. 16:3; 20:6). The characteristic word for the congregation, however, is *'ēḏâh* (see below). In Chr., where with 30 occurrences *qāhāl* is most frequent, it appears both in a representative sense for the assembly of the leaders of Israel summoned by the king to take decisions, which may be religious (the bringing up of the ark 1 Chr. 13:2, 4) or political (1 Chr. 29:10), and also for the crowd gathered for sacrifice and worship (e.g. 2 Chr. 20:5, 14; 30:2, 4). This crowd (gathered in the temple) is also designated *qāhāl* in the Pss. (e.g. 22:23; 89:6 "or the holy ones"; 149:1 "of the faithful"). But there is also a *qāhāl* of the evil-doers (Ps. 26:5). Thus, from the point of view of meaning, *qāhāl* extends from call-up for military service, via meeting political consultation or judicial hearing, to assembly for worship.

(b) It is quite different in the case of *'ēḏâh*, which occurs above all in the Pentateuch (123 out of 147 occurrences, of which 81 are in Num. alone), the prophets (only at Jer. 6:18 and Hos. 7:12), and 10 times in Pss. This word is related to the root *yā'aḏ*, to appoint. It implies "the announcement of a resolution or decision, the carrying out of which is so bound up with a particular place or an appointed time

or a given situation, that any departure from the determining or conditioning factors is equivalent to a failure to carry out the command" (L. Rost, *Die Vorstufen von Synagoge und Kirche im Alten Testament*, 1938, 6). It is not difficult to recognize that the significance of this root agrees very closely with the deuteronomistic use of *qāhāl*. The reference to time is clear in Exod. 9:5 and 1 Sam. 13:8, 11 which have a word derived from the stem, *mô'ēḏ*, appointed time, assembly, and appointed festival.

The *'ēḏâh*, mostly without further qualification but sometimes with the addition of "of Israel" (e.g. Exod. 12:3; Num. 16:9) or "of the sons of Israel" (e.g. Exod. 16:9; Num. 1:2; Lev. 4:13; 27 times), can be defined as the expression coined for the people (*'ām*) gathered before the *'ōhel mô'ēḏ*, the tent of meeting (Exod. 33:7 ff.). The people were the people of the → covenant and thus of the → Law, represented by their menfolk. In the wilderness narratives this *'ēḏâh* is divided up into tribes, clans and families, led by elders, heads and princes. The word expresses a concept of corporateness, in which the stress falls not on the total of individuals, on the crowd, but on the unity of the fellowship. The *'ēḏâh*, the congregation, appears to have been constituted with the command to leave Egypt and celebrate the Passover. The first occurrence in our present text is Exod. 12:3. (Exod. 12:6 has *qᵉhal 'ᵃḏaṯ yiśrā'ēl*, "assembled community of Israel" NEB, a combination of the two words). At this point → Israel comes into view as a congregation. It is Israel that travels through the wilderness, that rebels, that experiences God's help (Exod. 16:1 ff. Num. 20:1 ff.). But Israel is also the witness of the revelation of God and receiver of God's commandments (Exod. 34:31 f.; 35:1). Israel offers sacrifices (Lev. 4:13 ff.), and can become guilty through the sin of individuals (Lev. 10:6). But Israel also keeps corporate watch over the ordering of the covenant to the point of carrying out sentence (the stoning of the blasphemer, Lev. 24:14, 16; of the Sabbath breaker, Num. 15:35 f.). In preserving Israel's purity the → priests play an important role as representatives and mediators to God (cf. the sin offering for the sins of the congregation through the priests, Lev. 4:13 ff.; the consecration and offering of Aaron, Lev. 8:3 ff.; 9:5 ff.; Num. 15:22; and the commissioning and consecration of the Levites, Num. 3:7; 8:9, 20).

But *'ēḏâh* does not only mean the community centred in the cult or the law (Num. 35:12, 24). In the sense of *'ām* it also represents the community as a people. It is the *'ēḏâh* which receives and deplores the report of the spies (Num. 13:26; 14:1 ff.). It is to the *'ēḏâh* that troops returning from battle (Num. 31:12 ff.) and the leaders of the people (Jos. 9:18 ff.) have to justify themselves. In the disputes with individual tribes it represents Israel as a whole (e.g. Num. 32:2, 4; Jos. 22:12 ff.). Nevertheless the *'ēḏâh* itself does not wage war, but appoints forces to do it (Num. 31:3 ff.). Otherwise, however, the word in practice covers the people as a community in all its functions, of which even the most secular was not without some connection with the law and the sanctuary. On the other hand, the *'ēḏâh* is not bound to a particular land or to a particular place. The generation of the wilderness did not yet have one, and the generation of the exile had it no longer. The tent and the ark are the symbols and source of that obedience to the law which so strongly characterizes the post-exilic community. It is for this reason that, in contrast to *qāhāl*, *'ēḏâh* never refers to any people other than Israel and clearly needs no other special qualification: only four times is the name of Yahweh added. The passages with the personal

suffix for the *ʿēḏâh* of Korah in Num. 16:5 merely serve to underline the illegitimacy of the claims made by this group. The *ʿēḏâh* is always the whole and admits of no sectarianism.

(c) If one compares the use of the two Heb. words, it becomes clear, from the passages in which both occur in the same context (e.g. Exod. 12:1 ff.; 16:1 ff.; Num. 14:1 ff.; 20:1 ff.; 1 Ki. 12:1 ff.) that *ʿēḏâh* is the unambiguous and permanent term for the covenant community as a whole. On the other hand, *qāhāl* is the ceremonial expression for the assembly that results from the covenant, for the Sinai community and, in the deuteronomistic sense, for the community in its present form. It can also stand for the regular assembly of the people on secular (Num. 10:7; 1 Ki. 12:3) or religious occasions (Ps. 22:26), as well as for a gathering crowd (Num. 14:5; 17:12).

3. (a) This conclusion is reflected in the translations. What we have already established for the LXX (OT 1(a)) can also be seen in the Targums, the Aram. translations of the MT. *ʿēḏâh* is rendered almost consistently by *kᵉništā'*, assembly, even when the reference is not to the actual assembly but to the constant entity (with the exception of the ten passages in Pss., 2 Chr. 5:6, Job 15:34). *qāhāl* appears mostly as a loan word, *qᵉhillā'* (80 times), but is also rendered by *kᵉništā'* (15 times, especially in Gen. and Pss.) and *mašrîṭā'*, camp, troop (Jer., Ezek. for enemy armies). Rost concludes, "that Judaism at the time of the Targums associated itself not with the *qāhāl* but with the *ʿēḏâh*. The strictly regulated common life of the *ʿēḏâh* as the priests had expounded it . . . was their model, . . . not the *qāhāl* with its basically less determinate form as the occasional response to the summons to action. There is always something indefinable about the *qāhāl*; for it embraces only those who have heard the call and are following it. *ʿēḏâh*, on the other hand, is the permanent community into which one was born and in which one possessed, if one was a man, certain rights and duties in an exactly determined and defined measure. The dynamic of the summons to the community was replaced by the rigidity of the community of birth, which could be regulated by laws" (op. cit., 103).

This naturally gives rise to a whole series of questions in view of the thesis that the Christians took over directly the Jewish concept of the *qāhāl* and expressed it by *ekklēsia*. This is all the more acute when one takes into account the utterly unspecific use of the word in the prophets, which does not point in the direction one would expect, even though the term was no doubt available to them as a contrast to *ʿēḏâh* which is almost completely absent.

(b) If the translation of the LXX (OT 1 (a)) agrees essentially with that of the Targums, this permits the inference that in the Gk. speaking dispersion, that is the Jews who were later known as the Hellenists, the total Jewish community as determined by the law and the temple was denoted *synagōgē* in the sense of *ʿēḏâh* (e.g. Num. 8:9; Lev. 4:13; 10:3; Exod. 12:19).

Where *ekklēsia* is used in the LXX for *qāhāl*, it indicates the assembly of the people or a judicial assembly (e.g. Deut. 9:10; 23:3 ff.; Jdg. 21:5, 8; Mic. 2:5), the political body (e.g., the returned exiles Ezr. 10:8, 12; Neh. 8:2, 17). It also indicates, especially in the Chronicler, the assembly of the people for worship (e.g. 2 Chr. 6:3 at the consecration of the temple; 30:2, 4, 13, 17 at Hezekiah's Passover; cf. also Joel 2:16 and several times in the Pss., e.g. 21 (MT 22):22; 88(89):6). Nevertheless, even in these instances (even though, unlike Deut. 23:2, 3, 4, 9, Mic. 2:5, and

Jdg. 20:2, the gen. *kyriou*, of the Lord, or *tou theou*, of God, is not added) *ekklēsia* is only used where it is a question of the people as God's assembly, characterized by having answered Yahweh's call. Admittedly the word is used especially where the historic greatness of Israel is implied, and avoided where it could perhaps suggest to the Gk. reader merely a political claim on the part of the contemporary Jewish community (in the sense of the Gk. *ekklēsia*, see above, CL). Perhaps that is why, in the legal passages regulating the life of the community, *qāhāl* is translated by *synagōgē* (cf. L. Rost, op. cit., 127 ff.).

synagōgē, on the other hand, apart from its general use as assembly, place of assembly, harvest (Gen. 1:9; Exod. 34:22; Lev. 11:36; all for neither *qāhāl* nor *'ēḏâh*) and the mustering of troops (Ezek. 38:4, 7 etc. for *qāhāl*), was clearly used to denote the religiously defined community of Yahweh. It took over none of the usual Gk. terms for cultic assemblies (see above, CL), but was a word without previous associations. Hence we can understand why in the Pentateuch (with the exception of Deut. 5:22) *qāhāl* was also translated by *synagōgē*. This choice of word could give expression to the fact that the present community had been given the Law or the laws which were regularly read in public worship. Thus *synagōgē* is at the same time a reminder of the great events of salvation history and of the promises to → Israel (Num 14:7 ff.). The term also acquired eschatological significance from its context (Isa. 56:8; Ezek. 37:10; cf. W. Schrage, *ZThK*, 60, 1963, 184 ff.).

4. The Qumran texts agree with the usage described above under 2. *qāhāl* occurs only seldom, and then for the summoned assembly of the community (CD 11:22; 12:6; 1QM 14:5; 1QSa 2:4), or in the sense of levy (1QM 4:10; *q^{e}hal 'ēl*, God's levy). *q^{e}hillā'* also occasionally means the mustering for the eschatological battle (1QM 1:10). *'ēḏâh*, on the other hand, serves both as a designation for the "congregation of unity" (e.g. 1QSa 2:21), and throughout 1QSa for the congregation of the remnant of Israel (who "keep his covenant in the midst of iniquity" 1QSa 1:3 f.) in its branches and duties (e.g. 1QSa. 1:9, 13; 2:5, 1QM 2:5; 3:4). In addition it appears in the representative sense of the elect (1QSa 2:7 f.: the congregation of the men of renown). But alongside the "holy congregation" (1QSa 1:9; cf. 1QM 12:7) or the "congregation of his elect" (4QpPs. 37 2:5; 3:5) we read in the Qumran documents also of the congregation of Belial (1QH 2:2), of wickedness (1QM 15:9), of scoffers (in Jerusalem: 4QpIsa^{b} on Isa. 5:24–25), of vanity (1QH 7:34) or raised by the prophets of deceit (1QpHab 10:10), all *'ēḏâh*. This reflects the struggle between the true and false congregations (→ Israel), which cannot be decided on the basis of names but only by obedience to Yahweh. It remains to be demonstrated whether in the Qumran texts *'ēḏâh* (perhaps directly influenced by *qāhāl*) is definitely moving in the direction of an elect → remnant, marked by special obedience and by expectation of the Messiah.

NT 1. (a) It is striking that Jesus' followers did not describe their meetings and the community represented by them as a *synagōgē* (with the single exception of Jas. 2:2). For the word would have been natural for a group which sprang from Jewish roots and which at least in the beginning counted itself a part of Judaism (→ Israel NT). *synagōgē* occurs in the NT, apart from the Jas. passage and Rev. 2:9; 3:9 (see below), only in the gospels (Matt. 9 times; Mk. 8 times; Lk. 15 times, Jn. twice) and Acts (19 times). It describes either the meeting place of the local

Jewish community or this congregation itself, representing the total number of Jews. Since the assembly most often took place in the synagogue building, the word carries both meanings. (Exceptions are Lk. 7:5 and Acts 18:7, where only the building is meant; and perhaps Lk. 20:46; 21:12 Acts 18:19, 24:12.) Acts 13:5; 14:1; 17:1, 10 have the explicit addition, *tōn Ioudaiōn*, of the Jews. Acts 6:9 mentions that Stephen's opponents came from the Synagogue of the Freedmen (as it was called), the Cyrenians and the Alexandrians. ([Ed.] Opinions differ as to the number of synagogues indicated by this verse. It may be as many as five, those of the Libertini, Cyrenaeans, Alexandrians, Cilicians and Asians, cf. F. F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1952², 156.) There were in Jerusalem several synagogues, no doubt formed according to the country of origin of the members. In general there is no special qualification (except in Lk. 4:44, the synagogues of Judea), because the place is named in the context, or synagogue is in the plur. (in Matt. 7 out of 9 times; in Lk. and Acts 14 out of 34, in Mk. 3 out of 8). Rev. 2:9 and 3:9 have a special significance. Here the Jewish assembly as a whole is described with the sharpest differentiation as *synagōgē tou Satana*, a synagogue of Satan. Their claim to be a congregation of God, the true Israel, is disputed and the title claimed for the Christians.

It is from the tension recognizable in the polemic of Rev., Jn. and Acts 6, even though it is concealed in the present text (cf. E. Haenchen, *Acts*, ad loc.), that we can infer why the Christian church consciously avoided *synagōgē* as a term to describe itself. The name synagogue which was originally a technical term for the Jewish assembly came to be regarded in time as the "symbol of the Jewish religion of law and tradition" (W. Schrage, *ZThK* 60, 1963, 196 ff.). Once the → Law of Moses had effectively taken central place in its life, liturgy and institution (cf. the ref. to Moses' seat in Matt. 23:2), the idea of the synagogue must have seemed so rigid to the Christian that he separated from it in favour of a reformed Christian assembly. It was no doubt also felt that a word with such connotations could not be used to describe a fellowship and an event, at the centre of which was the proclamation of a gospel of freedom from law and of salvation available only through → faith in Jesus Christ. Furthermore, there were probably semantic reasons which made *ekklēsia* seem more suitable as a rendering of Heb. *qāhāl* (see below (b)).

On the other hand, the vb. *synagō* occurs not only in its general meaning of gather (things, troops, fruit etc.), but particularly in Isa., Jer. and Ezek. also in eschatological contexts with the meaning of gathering the people of God (e.g. Isa. 11:12; 43:5; 60:22; Jer. 31 (LXX 38):8; Ezek. 37:21) from among nations (cf. Isa. 66:18). It appears in the NT a few times, no longer in its general sense but with a clearly eschatological meaning. In Mk. especially (2:2; 4:1; 5:21; 6:30; 7:1; cf. Matt. 13:2) it expresses the coming of people to Jesus as the salvation of God. In Acts 4:31; 15:6, 30; 20:7f. it denotes the coming together of the congregation. In Matt. 12:30 par.; chap. 25 (especially v. 32) and in Jn. 11:52; 16:6 it is used for the eschatological gathering of the people of God. Alongside these passages it is used conventionally for the meeting of the Jewish council (e.g. Matt. 26:3, 57; Lk. 22:66; Acts 4:5).

(b) What is immediately striking about *ekklēsia* is that, with the exception of Matt. 16:18 and 18:17, the word is entirely absent from the gospels. The fact that Luke, on the other hand, uses the word 23 times in Acts suggests the conclusion

that he, at least, consciously avoided using it for a group that belonged to the period of Jesus' earthly activity. By far the majority of occurrences of the word appears in Paul's letters (46 out of a total of 114; including 9 in Eph. and 4 in Col.), above all in 1 Cor. (22 times). It is Paul in particular who shaped this concept, which in Eph. and Col. was further developed in a specifically cosmic sense. The term does not appear in 1 and 2 Pet., 2 Tim. and Tit. There are only isolated instances in Jas. and Heb., and it is used only in the third of the Johannine letters. However, Rev. employs it 20 times. The fact that it occurs not only in the sing. but also frequently in the plur. (in Paul 20 times; in Rev. 13 and in Acts twice) will require particular attention.

2. *The primitive community.* The absence of the word *ekklēsia* from all the gospels (with the exception of Matt. 16:18; 18:17) cannot be explained by saying that at the time of their writing the concept was not in current use, since the gospels received their literary form contemporary with or later than the Pauline letters. Nevertheless, one can say with certainty that all the early Christian writers use *ekklēsia* only for those fellowships which come into being after the crucifixion and → resurrection of Jesus (cf. O. Cullmann, *The Early Church*, 1956, 118 ff.). It is not used for the period of the historical Jesus or to describe the → disciples who gathered around him. W. G. Kümmel has shown that the philological findings exactly correspond with the historical. In all probability Jesus himself called together the Twelve (→ Apostle), but did not found the *ekklēsia* as such in his own lifetime, not even through the institution of the → Lord's Supper ("Kirchenbegriff", *Symbolae Biblicae Upsalienses*, I 1943, 32 f., 36). This by itself would not settle the question whether he intended the church to come into being.

But equally clearly a consciousness of the church arose as early as the primitive Christian community. Its roots lie in the fact that some of the disciples became witnesses of resurrection appearances. They thus became commissioned bearers of the news that the time of salvation had dawned. The concept of the church in the primitive community is characterized by consciousness of being in the eschatological situation created by the resurrection appearances (cf. 1 Cor. 15:3 ff.). It is a situation in which one is already experiencing the signs of the end. The primitive Christian *ekklēsia* understood itself as the herald of the Lordship of Christ, which was approaching with the imminently expected parousia and was already being realized in their midst (cf. Cullmann, op. cit., especially 126 ff.). But the church was also aware that it was still part of this age, and was therefore not identical with the *basileia*, the → kingdom of God (Cullmann, op. cit., 120 ff.; Kümmel, op. cit., 22).

3. *Paul.* When he speaks of the church, which he does in individual letters with different emphasis, Paul's starting point is the → proclamation of Christ. When men receive it in faith Christ becomes present and real in their experience. The *ekklēsia* appears as the event in which God fulfils his → election through his personal → call (Rom. 8:29 f.). For this reason he can speak of the *klētoi*, the called, when he means the Christian community (e.g. Rom. 1:6 f.; 1 Cor. 1:2). For the same reason he addresses his early letters to Thessalonica to the *ekklēsia* of the Thessalonians *en theō patri*, in God the Father (1 Thess. 1:1 f.; 2 Thess. 1:1 f.), a formula which links the idea of the church as event with that of the local church. It is not difficult to recognize the basic idea of the OT *qāhāl*. But the *ekklēsia* of the Thessalonians also introduces to the Gk. mind the claim that the call of God, which

has gone out through the apostle and other preachers in the form of the offer of reconciliation (cf. 2 Cor. 5:19 f.), has brought together this assembly. It represents for this place God's new creation, the eschatological order of salvation and thus the → people of God. (Note: *laos*, people, is rare in Paul, and is only used of → Israel in OT quotations.)

It is not only the church's origin which lies with God. The *ekklēsia* can only be understood in relation to the Lord, as the *ekklēsia tou theou*, the congregation of God (1 Cor. 1:2; 11:16, 22; 2 Cor. 1:1; Gal. 1:13; 1 Thess. 2:14; 2 Thess. 1:4). Only Gal. 1:22 and Rom. 16:16 have the qualifying *en Christō*, in Christ, or *tou Christou*, of Christ. The adj. "Christian" is as yet unknown, and would in any case proclaim a sense of ownership which is only present in the experience of being received.

(b) The fact that *ekklēsia* has the nature of an event does not, however, exclude the factor of continuity. However little this happening can be commanded by men, it nevertheless expresses itself in permanent forms and institutions. Where the *ekklēsia* is an event, the institution of the *ekklēsia* comes into being and will continue to do so in the expectation that Lord will continue to make his presence real. Coming together (*synagō* as in the LXX) must be reckoned an essential element in *ekklēsia* (cf. 1 Cor. 11:18). Hence the *ekklēsia* can be thought of in purely concrete terms, and any spiritualizing in the dogmatic sense of an invisible church (*ecclesia invisibilis*) is still unthinkable for Paul.

([Ed.] The idea of the invisible church is found in Augustine, *City of God*; Wycliffe, *De ecclesia;* Luther, *Preface to Revelation;* Calvin, *Institutes* IV 1 7; and many other writers (see edition of Calvin's *Institutes*, ed. J. T. NcNeill, 1960, II 1022). The thought that is uppermost is not to minimize the importance of church membership, but to recognize the possibility of hypocrisy and deceit. In the last analysis, those who belong to God are visible to God alone. Membership of the true church is a fact which is not visible to man. The idea recalls the statement of 2 Tim. 2:19: "The Lord knows who are his." It extends to the church what Paul says of Israel, that they are not all Israel who belong to Israel, but only "the children of the promise" (Rom. 9:6 f.). It recognizes the danger, which church members are warned against, of reaping corruption through sowing to the flesh (Gal. 3:7; cf. Rom. 8:12 f.). Paul recognized the need for discipline in his own life lest he should become a castaway (1 Cor. 10:27; cf. Phil. 2:12, 19). The possibility of church members falling away is one of the great themes of Heb. (cf. 2:3; 3:7–4:14; 6:1–12; 10:26–39; 12:12–28). It is also suggested by the parables of the weeds (Matt. 13:24–43) and the sheep and the goats (Matt. 25:31–46) and the example of Judas (Matt. 10:4; 26:14, 25, 47 ff.; 27:3; Mk. 14:10, 43; Lk. 6:16; 22:3, 47; Jn. 13:2; 17:12; 18:22 ff.; Acts 1:17 ff., 25).)

The *ekklēsia* has its location, existence and being within definable geographical limits. The apostle thus writes of the *ekklēsia tē ousē en Korinthō*, the church which is in Corinth (1 Cor. 1:2; 2 Cor. 1:2), indicating both that it belongs to the people of the place and that it has a new and different quality. This is also true when he speaks of the *ekklēsia Thessalonikeōn* (1 Thess. 1:1). Whoever is drawn into the *ekklēsia* and belongs to it, lives in the sphere of power of the new → creation (2 Cor. 5:17) through the word of Christ. But he is not removed from his position in the social order. He remains a Thessalonian, an Israelite or a Roman, a slave or a freeman (cf. 1 Cor. 7:17 ff.). The new citizenship (*politeuma* Phil. 3:20) does not

mean loss of citizenship, although naturally deprivation of rights can result. It creates a new relationship alongside the old, opening up a new dimension in the midst of this world. The differences still exist in Christ, but they lose the divisive power which prevents unity and fellowship (cf. Gal. 3:27 ff.). Therefore, there are churches in particular places and among particular peoples, but not to the exclusion of others. Those who are counted among the "saints", as Paul, taking over the OT terminology for the people of God, calls the members of the *ekklēsia* (1 Cor. 1:2; Phil. 1:1; Rom. 1:7; → Holy, art. *hagios*), are those whom the Lord calls, to whom he gives → faith and whose belonging to the new life is indicated by → baptism (Rom. 6:3 ff.).

(c) Paul expressed his understanding of the Christian community in a word which best characterizes his concept of the church. He speaks of the *ekklēsia* as the → body (*sōma*, cf. Rom. 12:1 ff.; 1 Cor. 12:12–27). The metaphor of building, which he also uses (words from the group *oikodomēo*, to build, → house; e.g. 1 Cor. 3:9; 10:23), does not form a contrast to this, but expresses the same truth. The fact that the Christian community is the body, and the body of Christ at that (1 Cor. 12:27), immediately takes up the spatial idea. It is "the realm of blessing in which the crucified Lord and the realm of dominion in which the risen Lord continues to work" (E. Schweizer, *Church Order in the New Testament*, 7b, 92). But this also expresses the idea that belonging to Christ means becoming like a limb, part of an organism in which each part has its own special function. Each is assigned a particular → gift (*charisma;* → Grace, art. *charis* NT, 4) to be exercised in mutual giving and receiving, for specific tasks within the fellowship itself or in fulfilment of its commission to those outside. There is no gradation according to importance. Instead, the concept shows a remarkable breadth in the way it embraces gifts of leadership and organization, as well as healing, speaking in tongues and the discernment of spirits (1 Cor. 12:14 ff.; Rom. 12:4 ff.). They are all manifestations of the working of the one → Spirit, i.e. of the presence of the exalted Lord in this his body, through which the salvation event becomes contemporary, and the congregation becomes an eschatological reality. Their development and orderly growth requires Christian community life (1 Cor. 14:33). But Paul clearly did not intend to secure this by means of a rigid system of offices. The exercise of the gifts must be thought of concretely. Paul always understands *ekklēsia* as the living, assembled congregation. This is expressed particularly in 1 Cor. 14 (vv. 4 f., 12, 19, 23, 28). It is only in the meeting and living together of the members that → love, described in 1 Cor. 13 as the supreme gift, can be made real, just as it is only in this way that the other God-given gifts can be recognized and acknowledged. (This is also the way to understand election and commissioning.) The situation at Corinth appears to be prior to the general adoption of institutionalized offices like those of the → bishop and → elder mentioned in Phil. 1:1, Acts and the Pastoral Epistles. But even in 1 Tim. 3:15 the congregation itself is accorded greater intrinsic value than the office-holders for it is the congregation that is the *oikos theou*, the house of God.

(d) The fact that the *ekklēsia* in the full sense exists in several places at once arises out of the concreteness of Paul's concept. For it points to the present manifestation of the expected rule of the crucified Christ. (*basileia* → kingdom, is spoken of as already present in 1 Thess. 2:12; 2 Thess. 1:5; Rom. 14:17; and 1 Cor. 4:20

out of nine occurrences in Paul. In the other five instances it is qualified as future being linked with the fut. of *klēronomeō*, to inherit.) It is for this reason that *ekklēsia* occurs so frequently in the plur. (20 out of 50 instances), whether it refers to the different congregations in an area like Judea (Gal. 1:22), Galatia (Gal. 1:2; 1 Cor. 16:1), Macedonia (2 Cor. 8:1) or Asia (1 Cor. 16:19), or to a number of churches, or to all of them (e.g. Rom. 16:1; 1 Cor. 7:17; 14:33 f.; 2 Thess. 1:4). The fact that small groups in individual houses are called *ekklēsia* (Phlm. 2; 1 Cor. 16:19; Rom. 16:5; cf. also Col. 4:15) indicates that neither the significance of the place nor the numerical size of the assembly determines the use of the term. What counts is the presence of Christ among them (cf. Gal. 3:1) and faith nourished by him. Wherever possible there were several house churches in the same place. Some doctrines of the church have inferred that individual churches arose as a response to the witness of the apostles, and that the Pauline churches are to be included here, since Paul was counted as an apostle because of his call. But the church does not have its basis in a historic succession but in the fact that Christ continually reveals himself and commissions new messengers (cf. 1 Cor. 3:4–10). Hence the collections for Jerusalem (2 Cor. 8:19; 1 Cor. 16:1) should not be seen as an expression of respect for the superiority of the Jerusalem church, but as an expression of fellowship under the one Lord.

(e) The *ekklēsia* is always described and ordered in terms of its particular, local form. Neither the pattern of its life nor the gifts that determine that particular pattern need be uniform. Nevertheless, there is a sense in which there is *one ekklēsia*. Characteristically, the passages which make this clear are in particular those in which Paul recalls the time when he still persecuted the church (1 Cor. 15:9; Gal. 1:13; Phil. 3:6). It is one because the Lord of the church is one. → Baptism seals the relationship with Christ, and in the → Lord's Supper the fellowship of those in Christ experience their corporate nature (cf. the exposition of *sōma* in 1 Cor. 11:29 with reference to the congregation!). These are particular events, tied to particular places, and yet at the same time they are related to the body of Christ in its totality. Therefore, despite differences of detail, there can exist not only the one faith but beyond that common rules and even ordinances (1 Cor. 7:17; 11:16; 16:1), laid down and enforced by the authority of the apostle.

(f) A particular emphasis is added to Paul's statements about the church by the letters to the Colossians and Ephesians. The description, already used in 1 Cor. 12 and Rom. 12 of the mutual relations of the members in terms of the *sōma*, is further developed in terms of the relationship of the members to the → head (*kephalē*, Col. 1:18). If in the process (as some Ger. scholars think), Col. has taken up elements of Valentinian Gnosticism, it is only to emphasize the cosmic dimension of the atoning work of Christ. Whoever has been rescued by the Father out of the realm of the powers of → darkness (*ek tēs exousias tou skotous*) and transferred into the → *basileia* of the Son, finds himself now in this → body (Col. 1:13). He shares in *apolytrōsis* (→ redemption) and in the → forgiveness of sins, and has therefore entered the peace which Christ has created (Col. 1:20; cf. Eph. 2:12 ff.). The → reconciliation achieved by Christ in his death and announced by his messengers is the beginning of the *ekklēsia*, in terms both of chronology and of relative significance. The members of Christ's body are drawn into his being (cf. already Phil. 2:4 ff.), specifically now by the way of → suffering (Col. 1:24). The *sōma* of

the *ekklēsia* thus becomes a way of describing the sphere towards which Christ's Lordship is directed. From the point of view of the *sōma*-idea, *ekklēsia* and *basileia* are practically identical.

Eph. develops this thought in the assertion that through the *ekklēsia* the wisdom of God is made known even to the cosmic powers (Eph. 3:10; 4:8 ff.). They have lost their influence (Col. 2:14 f., 20). For Christ, who in any case stands over them, has reconciled heaven and earth (Col. 1:15 ff.; Eph. 1:20 f.).

Although in Col. 4:15 f. it is still the local or house church that is called the *ekklēsia*, the emphasis in Eph. falls on the mystical unity of the body in its cosmic aspect (especially Eph. 4:3 ff.). It is no longer seen only from the standpoint of the different functions in an organism. Taking up the ancient idea of primal man, it serves as a picture of growth "to mature manhood" (Col. 2:19; Eph. 4:13). A sharp contrast is now made between the → head and the body; the Lord stands over against his church which is completely dependent upon him. It is no accident that the relationship is spoken of in Eph. 5:25–27 in terms of the relationship of husband and wife. The concept also takes on an organizational aspect. It is related to the role of offices, clearly underlining the significance of the apostolic tradition and displaying institutional and hierarchical features (cf. Eph. 4:11). What was earlier to be the concern of the whole congregation is now the responsibility of specific officials: to equip the saints to carry out their duty (Eph. 4:12, *pros katartismon*, a medical term referring to the setting of a fracture).

4. *Matthew and Luke.* (a) From the context, *ekklēsia* in Matt. 18:17 is to be understood as the number of those living and meeting in one place, who understand themselves be to the true → Israel because of their allegiance to the Messiah Jesus, upholding the → Law (Matt. 18:16; cf. Deut. 19:15; Num. 35:30). Matt. is interested in tracing the outlines of an order for the new community. This suggests that *ekklēsia* is used here in the sense of *'ēḏâh* synagogue. The passage may have assumed a polemical character directed against assemblies with antinomian tendencies.

The interpretation of Matt. 16:18 is more difficult. For one thing, one cannot with certainty determine the Heb. or Aram. equivalent; and for another, the context does not enable one to decide whether the fut. *oikodomēsō*, I will build, refers to Jesus' lifetime or to the period after his death. Moreover, the role ascribed to Peter cannot be determined conclusively from what we know about the early church. There were others also numbered among the pillars, Gal. 2:9; cf. also the opposition in Acts 11:1 ff. Apart from this the question whether Jesus envisaged the foundation of a church in his lifetime is bound up with the question whether he already thought of himself as Messiah (→ Jesus Christ, art. *Christos* NT 5). However much the *qāhāl*, and therefore the *ekklēsia*, belongs to the Messiah as the messianic community, there is a good deal in favour of the view that the fut. refers to the period after Jesus' death, and very little in favour of idea of the foundation of a church before this. It is clearly impossible to interpret this saying in Matt. as meaning that Jesus spoke of a church coming into being at that moment.

It seems indisputable that, if *ekklēsia* here represents an idea of late Judaism, it has taken over the content of *qāhāl*, and is probably to be understood as the eschatological assembly of the true people of God. On the analogy of the claim of remnant groups representing the whole (cf. OT, 4) the word then stood for an

eschatologically determined special synagogue, in which the true Israel was present. The statement that "the powers of death (Gk.: the gates of Hades) shall not prevail against it" has its foundation in the fact that this community is linked to the risen Christ as victor over death. This again indicates the period of the primitive church.

(b) For Luke the period of the church is a particular segment of salvation history between the resurrection and the parousia. This follows directly from the use he makes of the word. While *ekklēsia* is completely absent from his gospel, he uses the term in Acts 16 times from 5:11 onwards (but not in chap. 2).

5. In *Acts*, as in Paul, *ekklēsia* indicates first of all the Christians living and meeting in a particular place: the primitive community in Jerusalem (Acts 5:11; 8:1; 11:22; 12:1, 5), the church at Antioch (Acts 13:1), and other places which Paul visited in order to appoint elders, or as a pastor to give encouragement (Acts 14:23; plur. 15:41; 16:5). Acts 20:28 characterizes the *ekklēsia* as the *ekklēsia tou theou*, the church of God, an idea which may be understood throughout. It becomes this through the → Spirit, who incorporates individual members into the church. It is the Spirit who moves the church, equips it (Acts 1:5, 8; 2:4 ff.; cf. 4:31 ff.), and for whose sake it is attacked and persecuted (7:55 ff.).

In the Acts too the *ekklēsia* is ultimately one. Admittedly, it appears only as it gathers in particular places (cf. 14:27). But it always implies the totality. As in the OT (cf. 7:38, which refers to Israel in the wilderness period), the *ekklēsia* is those who follow the call of God, come together (cf. the *synagein* of 14:27) and yet even when their meeting is over still retain their quality of *ekklēsia*. It is one throughout the whole world and yet is at the same time fully present in every individual assembly. The sing. and plur. are qualitatively identical. Therefore Luke can speak in the sing. equally of the church at large (Acts 8:3) and of the *ekklēsia* "throughout all Judea and Galilee and Samaria" (9:31). The use of the word in Acts 19:32, 39 f. for the riotous assembly in Ephesus demonstrates that Luke is at the same time fully aware of the Gk. sense of the word.

6. *The Johannine writings.* (a) The word *ekklēsia* is absent from John's Gospel. Jn. focuses attention on the fact that in this world of death and unbelief which cannot recognize the Lord (Jn. 1:10; 14:17), people can still experience the → birth from above (Jn. 3:3 ff.; cf. 1:12 f.) and pass from death to → life. Unlike Acts, with its households and local groups, it is always individuals who come to this → faith and → knowledge, and have to prove them. It is consistent with Jn.'s picture of the victorious Christ, in which everything is already completed and in the past, that for the → disciple (*mathētēs*) the Christ-relationship achieves absolute precedence.

The application to Jesus of Jewish concepts for the eschatological people of God (vine Jn. 15:1 ff.; shepherd and flock Jn. 10; door of the cosmic house Jn. 10:7–9) shows him to be the one revealer and fulfiller. Jn. draws attention to the unbridgeable gulf between faith and unbelief, and the recognition that God alone can bring a person to Jesus (Jn. 6:44; 17:2). The emphasis on the individual as a → witness is filled out by the command to mutual → love (Jn. 13:34 f.; in Jn. it is never directed to those outside), without any organizational forms and terms, however, coming into view. The disciples' authorization to → forgive sins (Jn. 20:23) is not (as in Matt. 16:18; 18:17) directly connected with the idea of the church. It seems rather that in the light of the unique authority of Jesus every

human institution fades into the background. Allegiance has long ago been determined by God (Jn. 10, especially vv. 26 ff.; 17:6; cf. 18:37, who are of the truth). Even coming together in unity can only be his work (Jn. 17:21, which certainly does not refer only to ecumenical church fellowship).

(b) In Revelation, on the other hand, *ekklēsia*, as in Acts, means the congregation which has grown up, exists and meets in a particular place. Until 22:16 all the references occur in the letters of chs. 2 and 3 or in the vision of the seven lampstands that precedes them in ch. 1 (vv. 4, 11, 20 always of the seven *ekklēsiai* in Asia). Each of these letters is addressed to the angel of the *ekklēsia* in a given place (*tēs en . . . ekklēsias*, 2:1, 8, 12, 18; 3:1, 7, 14).

It is striking that in all these passages some important MSS link the geographical name grammatically by the dat. of the *tō* with the angel, to the angel, the one . . . etc. This suggests that he should be understood not only as guardian angel and messenger, but at the same time as the embodiment of the essential characteristics of the congregation, and therefore distinct from the historical reality (cf. E. Lohmeyer, HNT 16, excursus on 1:20). Here then we have an apocalyptic exaggeration of the idea of the congregation, the meaning of which might be to assure the historical congregations, which were facing temptation and according to the text of the letters were by no means characterized by faith, obedience and holiness, that the decisions about their enduring or passing would be made at the throne of God itself (cf. Matt. 16:18).

The identical concluding statement in each letter makes what has been said with reference to the particular local church binding for all other *ekklēsiai*. This is also true of the reference to the churches at the end of the book (22:16). The only difference is that here the exalted Jesus is speaking to the churches, whereas there it is the Spirit. The three passages in 3 Jn. (vv. 6, 9, 10) all refer to a particular local Christian assembly.

7. *James and Hebrews*. Jas. 5:14, which deals with the elders of the *ekklēsia*, uses the word in the purely technical sense for a local congregation clearly organized on the pattern of a Jewish synagogue, whereas Heb. 2:12 cites Ps. 22:22 (Heb. *qāhāl*) and means the cultic festival gathering.

Heb. 12:23 is different. Here the word occurs in a series of eschatological terms taken from Jewish tradition (mount Zion, city of the living God, heavenly Jerusalem) and is qualified as *ekklēsia prōtotokōn apogegrammenōn en ouranois*, the congregation of the first-born who are written in heaven. The context indicates that entrance into this "congregation" is understood as entering into fellowship with "just men made perfect" and with "Jesus, the mediator of a new covenant," made possible by the crucifixion ("sprinkled → blood"). It is not here a question of the description of a group (perhaps even definable in terms of organization), but of the characterization of the eschatological event (the service of worship, which is indicated also by *panēgyris*, festival gathering; cf. O. Michel, Comm. ad loc.). It uses OT terminology (even though *ekklēsia* is not an established expression for such a gathering), and an apocalyptic title of honour (Michel, ad loc.) for "the wandering people of God" of the new covenant (E. Käsemann).

8. There remains the question of other terms used to denote the Christian community, particularly in writings from which *ekklēsia* is absent or where it is rare.

(a) In the gospels one is struck above all by the term *mathētēs*, → disciple, which

penetrated Rabbinic Jud. from the Hel. philosophic schools, but remained unknown to the LXX. It occurs predominantly in the plur. (exceptions: Matt. 10:25 f.; Lk. 14:26 f., 33; and 14 passages in Jn. 18–21). The word originally denoted those who were devoted to the → teaching of a master and were committed to passing it on. In the NT a disciple is also a → witness. The term occurs most frequently in Matt. (68 times; cf. Mk. 44 times) and in Jn. (58 times) and is typical of their understanding of the Christian community. It is striking that Lk. uses the word only up to the scene in Gethsemane (22:45) and then not again until Acts (from ch. 6; 24 times in each). If one excludes the passages in the sing. and reflects on the fact that the word does not occur outside the gospels and Acts, its use indicates a stratum of tradition in which the corporate concepts for the Christian community had not yet been formulated. It belongs to the period of the first gathering of people around the earthly Jesus, and in Acts around the exalted Jesus, thought of as present in the → Spirit.

(b) It is different with the plur. *hoi hagioi*, the saints, which occur 4 times in Acts (ch. 9 and 26:10, always in narratives about Paul), but 38 times in Paul for the members of the churches especially in the introductions to letters. The saints are also called the elect (Rom. 1:7; 1 Cor. 1:2; → Election), those who have been sanctified by God. The word indicates the true Israel, and was probably first used for the original congregation in Jerusalem (1 Cor. 16:1; Acts 9:13), and then for Christians in general. Of individuals → Holy.

(c) This conviction led in 1 Pet. to the use of a whole series of Jewish expressions shaped by the OT. The letter is addressed to the *eklektoi parepidēmoi*, elect strangers (1:1; → Election; → Foreign), who are to be *hagioi*, saints (1:15) and are already *pistous eis theon*, believers in God (1:21). They are described as *genos eklekton*, a chosen race, → (Generation), *basileion hierateuma*, a royal priesthood (→ Priest), *laos eis peripoiēsin*, a peculiar people (all 1 Pet. 2:9). This reflects the language of the LXX. What the author wishes to underline is the fact that the Christian community is nothing new; it is to be understood as the fulfilment of the promises and hopes given to Israel. In this it is not dissimilar to the Qumran community's understanding of itself, except that the Qumran idea of the → remnant has become in 1 Pet. absorbed in the idea of the church. The emphasis, meanwhile, rests on the unity of those who, as pilgrims (1 Pet. 1:1 f.) and in suffering (1 Pet. 2:21 ff.; 4:12 ff.; 5:8 f.), come together as living stones in a spiritual → house (2:5 ff. the metaphor of building expresses growth). They serve one another (4:10) with different gifts as a witness to the grace of God which is being revealed in them. In the process, the OT order of elders from the *qāhāl* seems to have been taken over (cf. 5:1 ff.). In all this, according to the eschatological terminology of shepherd and flock, Christ stands at the head as chief shepherd, i.e. as Messiah.

(d) The members of the congregation are also called *adelphoi*, → brothers. The term occurs most frequently in Paul (73 times as an address and a further 23 times), and also in Acts, the Johannine letters, Jas. and Heb. This form of address corresponds both to Jewish usage and to that of the ancient religious societies. The derived term *adelphotēs*, brotherhood, occurs only in 1 Pet. 2:17; 5:9.

L. Coenen

(a). C. K. Barrett, "The New Testament Doctrine of Church and State," *New Testament Essays*, 1972, 1–19; K. Barth, *CD* IV, 1, 643–739, IV, 2, 614–726, IV, 3, 681–901, and IV, 4 *Fragment;* E.

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→ Literature under Apostle, Bishop, Body, Disciple, Serve

Circumcision

περιτέμνω

περιτέμνω (*peritemno*), circumcise; περιτομή (*peritomē*), circumcision; ἀπερίτμητος (*aperitmētos*), uncircumcised; κατατομή (*katatomē*), mutilation; ἀκροβυστία (*akrobystia*), foreskin, uncircumcision, hence Gentiles.

CL The compound vb. *peritemnō* means lit. cut round. In Homer it is used fig., meaning rob, i.e. cut off for oneself. Later in secular Gk. literature from Herodotus, 2, 36, 3; 2, 104, 2 onwards it is used as the technical term for the separation (*incisio*) or removal (*circumcisio*) of the male prepuce (*akrobystia*). In the case of female circumcision, it is also used for the removal of the clitoris.

The corresponding sub. *peritomē* is first found in the 2nd cent. B.C. It seems always to have been used as the technical term for circumcision.

aperitmētos used as an adj. means unmutilated, uncircumcised. The vb. *orthotomeō* (from *orthos*, *temnō*), handle correctly, apportion aright, has moved further away from the basic meaning of the root. The later Gk. noun *katatomē*, mutilation, is nearer to it.

In secular Gk. this word-group with its religious associations is used only in the talking about foreign peoples, especially Egyptians, for the Greeks did not practise circumcision, although it was widely used in the Near East.

OT The word-group is of great theological importance in the OT, where it is used exclusively to designate circumcision as a cultic practice. In the LXX it represents

mostly the Heb. root *mûl* and occasionally other terms used for circumcising and circumcision, e.g. *kāraṭ*.

1. (a) The origins of circumcision are a matter of debate among scholars. In Exod. 4:24 ff. and Jos. 5:2–7 there are possible indications of a ransom ceremony connected with marriage, or a puberty ritual. In this connection circumcision played an important role among other West-Semitic peoples, and it is found as far away as amongst the Malaysian and Polynesian tribes. Theologically circumcision first gained importance through its connection with faith in Yahweh, and through its obligatory role in Judaism as a token of membership of the covenant. In the passages mentioned above R. Meyer suggests that, "the ancient rite carried out with stone knives . . . is traced back to a command of Yahweh but not associated with the intrinsically close concept of the covenant" (*TDNT* VI 76). Circumcision is first described in Gen. 17:1–14 where it is commanded by Yahweh as the sign and seal of his → covenant with Abraham. Many scholars believe that circumcision became important in Judaism during the exile. G. von Rad sums up the view as follows: "Because of the abolition of the great cultic regulations, the feasts, sacrifice, etc., which were binding on the national community, the individual and the family were suddenly summoned to decision. Each family with all its members, each of them personally, was bound to Yahweh's offer, and since the Babylonians (like all eastern Semites) did not practise circumcision, the observance of this custom was a *status confessionis* for the exiles; i.e. it became a question of their witness of Yahweh and his guidance of history" (*Genesis*, 1963², 196). Hence circumcision was an important distinguishing mark of the covenant for Judaism. "Circumcision is the sign that Israel belongs to the covenant with God . . . it is the guarantee of the blessing promised in the covenant" (O. Michel, *Der Brief an die Römer*, 1963¹², 90).

Circumcision was evidently not practised among adults at certain periods in Israel's history (Jos. 5:2–7). But its mandatory use is clearly reflected by the ordinances in Gen. 17:12; Gen. 21:4; and Lev. 12:3. "He that is eight days among you shall be circumcised; every male throughout your generations." Not merely the children of Jewish parents, but also slaves, whether born in the house or bought, were to be circumcised (Gen. 17:12 f.). Obviously this applied also to the foreigner who came to believe in Yahweh (cf. Exod. 12:48). Only those who were circumcised might eat the Passover meal (Exod. 12:43–48). "No foreigner, uncircumcised in heart and flesh . . . shall enter my sanctuary" (Ezek. 44:9). Anyone refusing circumcision was regarded as in breach of the covenant; he was to be cut off from his people (Gen. 17:14).

(b) Beside the lit., physical meaning of circumcision the OT knows a spiritualized sense. It was not sufficient to be physically circumcised. Only the man who lets his heart be circumcised, i.e. who humbles himself before God, who accepts the punishment of his iniquity (Lev. 26:41 RV; who makes amends for his iniquity, RSV) and so repledges his loyalty to the covenant, is really circumcised "to the Lord" (Jer. 4:4; cf. 9:25; Ezek. 44:9). The recognition that physical circumcision could in some circumstances cause false confidence led to the use of this deepened meaning of the concept as a call to Israel to repent: "Circumcise therefore the foreskin of your heart, and be no longer stubborn" (Deut. 10:16). The thought is

present in the prophets (cf. Jer. 4:4; Ezek. 44:7). Paul's thought coincides with this understanding of circumcision as a new non-cultic, but complete surrender to God, at many points.

2. (a) In the troubles of the Hel. and Roman periods circumcision appears above all as a confessional sign. In his attack on the Jewish religion Antiochus IV Epiphanes (176–163 B.C.) threatened circumcision and castration with the same penalty as murder (1 Macc. 1:48 ff.). So too did Hadrian (A.D. 117-138) later. Jewish women preferred death to abandoning "the holy law of God" by refusing to have their children circumcised (1 Macc. 1:60 f.). Circumcision belonged so inseparably to the traditional religion, that under no condition could it be abandoned. This is shown by the fact that for the Jews apostasy, renunciation of faith and breach of the covenant were mostly expressed by the so-called *epispasmos*, the surgical replacement of the foreskin. Just as they held fast to circumcision themselves so they demanded it of the heathen who happened to live within Israelite territory (cf. already Gen. 34:13–17). Josephus (*Ant.* 13, 9, 1 (257)) tells us that the Hasmonean John Hyrcanus I carried through compulsory Judaizing in Idumea, when he had conquered it, and this was marked by general circumcision.

(b) In spite of every criticism by Greeks and Romans, who considered circumcision to be barbaric, indecent and even a perversion, and although it hindered the spread of Judaism, the rite was continued unimpaired. Philo defended it, maintaining, that it was proper for a priestly people, and that it was in any case hygienically necessary (*Spec. Leg.* I, 1–11).

(c) The prophetic spiritual interpretation of circumcision is found again among the Essenes of Qumran (cf. 1QS 5:5; 1QH 18:20). But in the post-Christian period in Pharisaic-Rabbinic nomism "the purely physical understanding of circumcision was exclusively assessed" (R. Meyer, *TDNT* VI 79). Here physical circumcision is "a precondition, sign and seal of participation in the covenant which God made with Abraham" (Meyer, loc. cit., 80; cf. Jub. 15; Shab. 137b.). ([Tr.] The implied difference between Qumran and the later rabbis is almost certainly invalid. The former will have enforced the rite physically; the latter were writing in exile, which gave the rite increased importance.)

NT The vb. *peritemnō*, circumcise, is found 17 times in the NT; 9 times in Paul, 5 times in Acts, twice in Lk, and once in Jn. The noun *peritomē* is found 36 times, 31 of which are in Paul. It can mean three things: (a) circumcision itself, (b) the fact of being circumcised (e.g. Phil. 3:5), (c) the Jews (e.g. Tit. 1:10). The adj. *aperitmētos*, uncircumcised (Acts 7:51), the sub. *katatomē*, mutilation (Phil. 3:2) and the vb. *orthotomeō*, cut straight (2 Tim. 2:15), are found once each. The opposite of *peritomē*, i.e. *akrobystia*, occurs 20 times in the NT, apart from Acts 11:3 always in Paul. Like *peritomē*, it is found with three meanings: (a) the foreskin, (b) the fact of being uncircumcised (e.g. Rom. 4:10), (c) the Gentiles (e.g. Rom. 3:30).

1. The Gospels mention circumcision only in its physical meaning and without any special theological stress. Lk. 1:59 and 2:21 tell of the naming of John the Baptist and of Jesus on the occasion of their circumcision on the eighth day after birth in accordance with Jewish law (cf. Acts 7:8; Phil. 3:5). Jn. 7:22 f. also assumes the Jewish custom and its position in the law of Moses, in order to throw

doubt on the rabbinic concepts of how the Sabbath was to be hallowed. The contradiction lay in the fact that, when the eighth day fell on the Sabbath, circumcision so far from profaning it was actually commanded (cf. Shab. 132a). Yet they were angry with Jesus that he had "made a man's whole body well".

2. The word statistics given above show that the word-group is important chiefly in the Pauline epistles and Acts, where it illustrates the tension between Paul and the circumcision party. In the early Christian communities there was a tension between *hoi ek peritomēs pistoi*, the believers from among the circumcised, i.e. the Jewish Christians (Acts 10:45; cf. Acts 11:2; Rom. 3:30; Gal. 2:12; Col. 4:11; Tit. 1:10), and *hoi legomenoi akrobystia*, those called uncircumcision, i.e. the Gentile Christians (Eph. 2:11; cf. Acts 11:3; Rom. 4:10; 1 Cor. 7:18). These two groups, associated respectively with Peter and Paul, constantly clashed, because the Jewish Christians insisted that circumcision was necessary for salvation: "Unless you are circumcised according to the custom of Moses, you cannot be saved" (Acts 15:1; cf. Acts 15:5, where circumcision and the keeping of the Law are linked).

James and the elders of the Jerusalem church remonstrated with Paul, the apostle of the Gentiles, because they had heard rumours that he had taught that not merely Gentile Christians but also Jewish Christians were free from the law of circumcision (Acts 21:21). After all Paul made → freedom from the → law through the death and resurrection of Christ a central point in his proclamation, and his rejection of Jewish zeal for the Law is clearly stated. Paul stressed that the gospel for the uncircumcised (*to euangelion tēs akrobystias*) had been entrusted to him, even as that for the Jews (*tēs peritomēs*) had been to Peter (Gal. 2:7). This clearly implied freedom from the law of circumcision. This had been granted him at the Apostolic Council (Acts 15:19 f.; cf. Gal. 2:6 ff.), and it had included his fellow-workers like Titus (Gal. 2:3).

Some scholars have doubted whether the account of Timothy's circumcision by Paul, as a concession to the Jews (Acts 16:3; contrast Gal. 6:12 ff.), really represents the historical facts. In its favour is the fact that according to Jewish law Timothy was a Jew and so should have been circumcised (cf. SB II 741), and so Paul was only making good an oversight ([Ed.] It is also consistent with Paul's claim to "have become all things to all men, that I might by all means save some" (1 Cor. 9:22). This included becoming as a Jew, in order to win Jews, to those under the law "becoming as one under the law – though not being myself under the law – that I might win those under the law" (v. 20). It also may explain Paul's conduct in Acts 21:17–26.)

If Paul "had no small dissension and debate" with the Jewish Christians about circumcision (Acts 15:2), we may be sure that he was not concerned merely with a cultic act. The issue was linked with the whole question of → Law and freedom. ([Tr.] For both Jew and Jewish Christian it was axiomatic that acceptance of circumcision involved the obligation to keep the Law.) That is why he was so intransigent, and why he took Peter's vacillation so seriously (Gal. 2:11–14; cf. Paul's criticism of those who advocated circumcision out of fear of man in Gal. 6:12 f.). The Jewish belief was that circumcision gave the one who had received it an indelible characteristic that could not be lost. It made him a member of the covenant → people once and for all. Using Jewish arguments, Paul took up an

extreme position on the relationship of circumcision and the Law, stressing that only for those who did the will of God without reserve was circumcision a true sign of the covenant. Breaking the Law meant that circumcision becomes uncircumcision (Rom. 2:25; cf. also his sarcastic use of "mutilation" in Phil. 3:2 in his attack on false teachers). To keep the Law completely by his own unaided power is impossible for a man. Life must be lived by → grace revealed in Christ. "Christ is the end of the law" (Rom. 10:4; cf. also Gal. 3).

For the church, therefore, circumcision can never have the importance it has in Judaism. For Paul, "We are the true circumcision, who worship God in spirit, and glory in Christ Jesus, and put no confidence in the flesh" (Phil. 3:3; cf. 3:5; Gal. 6:13 f.). In Rom. 3:1 f. Paul speaks of a relative value attached to circumcision because of the promises connected with it. But it is only to stress that the fulfilment of the promises is solely dependent on → faith, irrespective of circumcision. For God "will justify the circumcised on the ground of their faith and the uncircumcised through their faith" (Rom. 3:30).

Rom. 4:7–12 shows clearly that from the standpoint of eternity it is immaterial whether or not a man is circumcised. There Paul calls → Abraham as his chief witness for his concept of the equal value of Jewish Christian and Gentile Christian faith. He is equally "father" of both groups. "He received circumcision as a sign or seal of the → righteousness which he had by faith while he was still uncircumcised. The purpose was to make him the father of all who believe without being circumcised and who thus have righteousness reckoned to them, and likewise the father of the circumcised who are not merely circumcised but also follow the example of the faith which our father Abraham had before he was circumcised" (Rom. 4:11 f.). If in Rom. 15:8 Paul can warn the Gentiles against pride by pointing out that, historically speaking, Christ "became a servant to the circumcised" for the sake of God's trustworthiness and faithfulness (Rom. 15:8), it has to be understood in the context of Rom. 11:17–24 (cf. 15:5 ff.).

Fundamentally neither circumcision nor uncircumcision have any decisive value in God's sight. The decisive question is how man reacts to the total claim of God. He may reject it, as to Paul's grief many circumcised did, or he may put his faith in him and allow this faith to become effective through love (cf. 1 Cor. 7:19; Gal. 5:6; 6:15; Col. 3:11). Theologically the question of circumcision turns on whether one is circumcised in heart through the → Spirit (Rom. 2:29; cf. Acts 7:51), and is not merely the true Jew, but also the new man through the Gospel. How this bursts the bounds of the Law of Moses is shown by Paul's pointed claim, "We are the true circumcision, who worship God in spirit, and glory in Christ Jesus, and put no confidence in the flesh" (Phil. 3:3). Jesus Christ has made circumcision and uncircumcision one (Eph. 2:14 ff.), a new creation (Gal. 6:15).

This new man, however, is put on in the act of → Baptism which is depicted in Col. 2:11 f. as spiritual circumcision. When the old man is thus put off and the new man put on, old contrasts are suspended by a new reality. In the future there is neither Greek nor Jew, neither circumcision nor uncircumcision, but "Christ is all, and in all" (Col. 3:9 ff.; cf. H. Schlier, KEK 7, 208). *H-C. Hahn*

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1942, 300–310; K. Kohler *et al.*, "Circumcision," *JE* IV 92–102; W. Kornfeld, "Circumcision," *EBT* I 116 ff.; R. Meyer, *peritemnō*, *TDNT* VI 72–84; Moore, *Judaism* (see index); J. B. Payne, *The Theology of the Older Testament*, 1962, 391 ff.; R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, 1961, 46 ff.; G. Vermes, "Baptism and Jewish Exegesis: New Light from Ancient Sources," *NTS* 4, 1957–8, 308–19; Commentaries on *Genesis* by D. Kidner (1967), G. von Rad (1963[2]), E. A. Speiser (1964); on *Acts* by F. F. Bruce (1951) and E. Haenchen (1971); on *Romans* by C. K. Barrett (1965, *BNTC*), F. F. Bruce (1963), J. Murray, I–II (1960–65); M. Black (1973); on *Galatians* by J. B. Lightfoot (1865, reprint 1967) and J. Bligh (1969).
(b). F. R. Lehmann, "Bemerkungen zu einer neuen Begründung der Beschneidung," *Sociologus* 7, 1957, 57–74; F. R. Lehmann and K. Galling, "Beschneidung," *RGG*[3] I 1090 f.; O. Michel, *Der Brief an die Römer*, KEK 5, 1959[9], 98 f.; H. Sahlin, *Die Beschneidung Christi*, Symbolae Biblicae Upsalienses 12, 1950; H. Schlier, *Der Brief an die Galater*, KEK 7, 1951[11].

Clothe, Naked, Dress, Garment, Cloth

In Gk. dressing and undressing are expressed by various modifications of the root *dyō*. There are a number of terms in the NT for different articles of clothing, the commonest being *himation*. *esthēs* is used for a specially valuable garment, e.g. a shining, white one, twice in the Lukan writings, and 3 times in John. *stolē*, which represents the long outer garment and which may indicate its wearer's social standing, occurs 5 times in Rev., and twice each in Lk. and Mk. In the LXX *stolē* is used especially for the priestly garment. In Mk. 12:38 it is the garment of the scribes, and in Rev. that of the glorified martyrs. *gymnos*, naked, has always a negative connotation.

γυμνός

γυμνός (*gymnos*), naked; γυμνάζω (*gymnazō*), exercise, train; γυμνασία (*gymnasia*), exercise; γυμνότης (*gymnotēs*), nakedness.

CL 1. *gymnazō* is found in secular Gk. from Aesch. onwards. As a trans. vb. it means to train someone or oneself; when intrans. it means do gymnastics. Since athletics were carried out naked, we can easily understand why the vb. was developed from *gymnos* (Homer onwards), naked (lit.), undressed, robbed of one's clothes (Appian), without an outer garment (Hesiod), poorly dressed (Dem.), and (fig.) unveiled, bare. The closely linked sub. *gymnotēs*, seldom used in secular Gk., means (lit.) nakedness, bareness, (fig.) bareness, bitter need; *gymnasia* means exercise.

2. In Gk. philosophy *gymnos* and *gymnotēs* are used to describe the state of the soul, when it is separated from the body (Plato). In later classical religion the concept of the body as the garment of the soul is widespread. *gymnasia* is used fig. for debate (Plato).

OT 1. In the LXX *gymnos* is found in the sense of extreme helplessness (Isa. 58:7; Ezek. 16:22). This helps us to understand the fig. use in Job 26:6. Even the realm of the dead cannot hide itself from God but is manifest to him in its complete helplessness. *gymnotēs*, nakedness, is found only in Deut. 28:48.

2. In late Jud. too *gymnos* is found with a double meaning. It is so used by

Josephus and especially Philo. In parts of Jewish apocalyptic it becomes a major concept with the meaning uncovered, without a covering for the body.

NT 1. The NT use of *gymnos* and its group is the same as in secular Gk.:

(a) It is found 16 times and varies in meaning from completely naked (Mk. 14:52) to forcibly stripped (Acts 19:16) and inadequately dressed (Matt. 25:36, 38, 43 f.). In Jn. 21:7 the meaning is somewhat different. RSV renders well "he was stripped for work", for a boat-man worked without his outer garment on. Peter put his outer garment on, so as not to stand *gymnos* before Jesus. The fig. use, unveiled, disclosed, revealed, made clear, is found in Heb. 4:13; 1 Cor. 15:37; 2 Cor. 5:3; Rev. 3:17; and 16:15 (cf. NT, 2).

(b) *gymnotēs* in a material context meaning nakedness, bareness, bitter need, extreme poverty, is found in Rom. 8:35 and 2 Cor. 11:27. It can be extended to mean spiritual poverty in an unfavourable sense (Rev. 3:18).

(c) *gymnazō*, train, is used only metaphorically in the NT in 1 Tim. 4:7; Heb. 5:14; 12:11; and 2 Pet. 2:14.

(d) *gymnasia* is found only in 1 Tim. 4:8 with the meaning of training, exercise. Paul is not attacking Gk. athletics, but a mistaken asceticism, as is shown by the context.

2. Of this word-group *gymnos* is the only one that has theological importance in some of the passages where it is found.

(a) No one can hide himself from the word of God (Heb. 4:13). It completely lays bare, and nothing can be hidden.

(b) In 1 Cor. 15:37 Paul compares the "naked grain" (NEB), which is sown in the earth, with the plant that emerges from it. Formerly men were less concerned with the biological process that lies behind the development from "naked grain" to full-grown plant. They wondered rather at the miracle of God's creation of a new plant after the old had died in the ground. Paul saw a type of the → resurrection of the dead in creation. Just as new plant-life springs up from the naked grain, so God causes the resurrection → body to come into being through the death of the earthly body. The continuity between the old and the new body is historical rather than material.

(c) In 2 Cor. 5:3 *gymnos* is used meaning without a body covering. The theological interpretation is difficult and there are 3 possibilities:

(i) Paul assumes that between death and the coming of Christ there is an intermediate state marked out by "nakedness", i.e. by existence without a body. Paul would gladly have avoided this state by being alive at the time of the Parousia. For it means that the redeemed then living will have the heavenly body put on over the old one (*ependyesthai*; → *dyō*, below). Paul shrank from → death because it would mean his being "unclothed".

(ii) *gymnos* may express the fate of the unredeemed. The damned do not receive a body of glory. This concept is found later in the Samaritan liturgy.

(iii) Modern German scholars for the most part assume that Paul is combatting gnostic concepts in Corinth. The gnostics denied that they had, or even wanted, "a heavenly habitation" (2 Cor. 5:2 NEB; cf. Corp. Herm.). The gnostics' goal was being unclothed (*ekdyō*; → *dyō*) of every form of body; the rising up of the naked ego freed from the body (cf. R. Bultmann, *Theology of the NT*, I, 202). The

Christian cannot desire bodilessness as the goal of → redemption, for it would rob him of communion with God. Paul longed for the new heavenly dress, so that the unclothing, i.e. death, should not end in his being naked, in his bodilessness, but in a new existence in a God-given body.

(d) *gymnos* can mean inner poverty as in Rev. 3:17 and 16:15. ((Tr.) The latter verse may allude to the custom in the Jerusalem temple of setting on fire the clothes of Levitical sentries found asleep at their posts (Middoth 1:2).) The same is true of *gymnotēs* in Rev. 3:18. *H. Weigelt*

δύω

δύω/δύνω (*dyō/dynō*), set, dress; ἐκδύω (*ekdyō*), undress; ἀπεκδύομαι (*apekdyomai*), undress, strip; ἀπέκδυσις (*apekdysis*), laying aside; ἐνδύω (*endyō*), dress, clothe; ἐπενδύομαι (*ependyomai*) put on over; ἀποτίθημι (*apotithēmi*), put off; ἀπόθεσις (*apothesis*), putting off, removal.

CL 1. *dyō* occurs in secular Gk. only in Theophr. with a trans. meaning to sink. From Homer onwards *dyō*, *dynō* and *dyomai* are frequently found used intrans. of the going down or sinking of the sun; fig. they mean put on, die, arm oneself, e.g. with strength.

2. The compound *ekdyō* (Homer onwards) means (trans.) undress; (intrans.) undress oneself, rid oneself of, extract oneself from, escape. Artemidorus uses it metaphorically of the laying aside of the covering of the body.

3. *apekdyō*, undress, disarm, and its noun *apekdysis*, laying aside, are not found earlier than the NT.

4. *endyō* (Homer onwards) means (trans.) dress, clothe; it takes an acc. of the thing (Homer), or a double acc. of the person and thing (Aristoph.). Intrans. it is used lit. (Homer) meaning dress oneself, put on, e.g. a garment, weapon, and fig. meaning assume qualities, virtues (e.g. take courage, Aristoph.), later also assume the part of a person (e.g. play the role of Tarquin, Dionysius of Halicarnassus).

5. The double compound *ependyomai* is found with the meaning put on over (Hdt. onwards).

OT In the LXX and late Jud. this word-group is used essentially as in secular Gk., though the words listed under CL 3 and 5 are not found in the LXX.

1. *dynō* is used lit. in Gen. 28:11; and fig. in Jon. 2:5(6).

2. *ekdyō* is used trans. in Gen. 37:23; Hos. 2:3(5); and intrans. in Isa. 32:11 and Prov. 11:8.

3. *endyō* for the Heb. *lāḇaš* is used lit. in Gen. 3:21 and fig. in Job 29:14 (righteousness), Isa. 52:1 (strength), Ps. 132:16 (salvation), 1 Macc. 14:9 (glory), Job 8:22 (shame), Ezek. 7:27 (despair).

4. *ependyō* is found only in later Jewish and Gnostic writers.

NT 1. *dynō* is found only in Mk. 1:32 and Lk. 4:40, both times of the setting of the sun.

2. The meaning of *ekdyō* (4 times in the Synoptics and once in 2 Cor.) is the same as in secular Gk.

(a) The lit. meaning is found in Matt. 27:28, 31; Mk. 15:20 and Lk. 10:30, each time in the sense of stripping a person of his clothes.

(b) The fig. meaning is found in 2 Cor. 5:4. Paul uses it without an obj. in the sense of undressing oneself, losing the garment of the body: "not that we would be unclothed". Three general lines of interpretation may be traced:

(i) Paul longed for Christ's return before his death, because death would bring with it an intermediate, bodiless state (→ *gymnos*), an existence in nakedness. So Paul did not wish to lose his garment, his → body, through → death, but desired to be further clothed at the Parousia. His longing for deliverance (Rom. 8:23; 2 Cor. 5:6) is one of the arguments against this interpretation.

(ii) Paul did not want to lose the garment of his body, because its loss is the fate of the unbelievers, who would lose their earthly body in death, whether before or during the Parousia, and would receive no heavenly body, as would believers. A major argument against this is that Paul was looking forward to fellowship with Christ in the intermediate period (Phil. 1:23).

(iii) Paul was combatting a Gnostic group in Corinth. The Gnostics longed to be freed of the covering of the body (→ *gymnos*). This interpretation is supported by the fact that Paul is not stressing being unclothed, but being further clothed. So Paul is contrasting the ideal of the Gnostics of not being clothed with the being further clothed with the new body.

Like *ekdyomai* we find *apotithēmi* used fig. in the NT for the laying aside of carnal qualities (Rom. 13:12; Eph. 4:25), even one's whole being in so far as it lies under the power of the former age. "Put off your old nature" (Eph. 4:22; cf. Col. 3:9) so as to "put on the new nature" (Eph. 4:24; Col. 3:10; Gal. 3:27, cf. Rom. 6:4 f.). In 1 Pet. 3:21 *apothesis* is used for the removal of dirt, and in 2 Pet. 1:14 for the putting off of the earthly body, i.e. death.

3. (a) *apekdyō* is found in Col. 2:15 and 3:9. In the latter the obj. is a thing: "you have put off the old nature". The use of the double compound is probably to stress that it is a complete putting off and putting away, which makes a falling back into the former manner of life impossible. In Col. 2:15 it has the force of undressing, rendering powerless. It is actually a mid., lay aside something for oneself. Hence Ambrose and Augustine understood it to mean the laying aside of the flesh. Gk. expositors, including Origen, take it as having an act. force. They were correct, for in Koine Gk. the mid. could be used as an act. God has "undressed" the principalities and powers (→ Beginning). Behind the picture lies an oriental custom. When the possessor of high office was deposed, he had to put off his robes of office. In the same way God stripped the principalities and powers of their honours and gave their power to the one to whom it alone belonged, Christ. In other words, the background of Col. 2:15 is not the battlefield, for which there are no parallels, but the royal court.

(b) *apekdysis* occurs only in Col. 2:11, where it is used metaphorically. Paul uses it to describe the true → circumcision, "a circumcision made without hands", "the circumcision of Christ". It consists of the putting off of the body of flesh, which the Christian experiences in → baptism, and baptism is being buried with Christ (Col. 2:12). In this case the double compound may have been used polemically against the inadequacy of Jewish circumcision.

4. *endyō* is used 28 times in the NT (10 times in the Synoptics, once in Acts, 14 times in the Pauline writings, 3 times in Rev.). Alongside its lit. meaning (Matt. 27:31) it is often used fig.

(a) With the acc. of the thing put on: the spiritual armour (1 Thess. 5:8; Eph. 6:11; Rom. 13:12), Christian virtues (Col. 3:12), the spiritual, resurrection body (1 Cor. 15:53).

(b) With the acc. of the person: put on Christ (Gal. 3:27; Rom. 13:14). This is done both by → baptism and by → faith. Faith and baptism stand here in paradoxical tension, as though inseparably linked. Were we to regard this purely formally, Paul's linguistic usage would suggest an approximation to the rituals of the mystery religions. In them the initiates sought to identify themselves with the gods by putting on their ritual garments or masks. In fact, however, Paul is concerned with a new relationship of the personality with Christ. For him putting on Christ means the beginning of sharing Christ's nature. He writes also of the putting on of the new man (Eph. 4:24; Col. 3:10). For Paul the new man is identical with Christ.

(c) It is used absolutely in 2 Cor. 5:3: "In the hope of being thus clothed" (NEB). Paul did not desire to be freed from having a body, but wished to put on a new body which is spiritual. We hear an anti-gnostic note, for the Gnostics longed to be freed from the garment of the body, to have → *gymnotēs*, nakedness. This being clothed upon will take place at the Parousia.

5. *ependyomai* is found only in 2 Cor. 5:2, 4. In contrast to the Gnostics, Paul longs to have his heavenly body put on over his present one (see above NT 2 (b) and → *gymnos*). The mid. is used with a pass. sense. *H. Weigelt*

| ἱμάτιον |

ἱμάτιον (*himation*), garment.

CL The form *himation* is technically a diminutive of *heima* from *hennymi*, dress. It is found from Hdt. onwards meaning a dress, garment, article of clothing. In secular Gk. it is not found with a fig. sense until a very late date, e.g. "the walls are the garments of the city" (Eustath.).

OT In the LXX *himation* is used for the Heb. *beged*, meaning both the outer garment and the clothes as a whole. Clothes could be torn as a mark of sorrow (Jdg. 11:35) or anger (2 Ki. 5:7; [Tr.] though the king's action is not necessarily to be interpreted as anger.) Because of the personal significance of clothing, it is easy to see that a garment can become a symbol of the transient (Isa. 50:9; 51:6, 8) and also of God's salvation and protection (Isa. 61:10; cf. Gen. 3:21).

In the Rab. writings it is used as a metaphor for repentance, the fulfilling of the commandments, good works, study of the Torah, which one wraps oneself in as a garment or armour. In Enoch (Eth. and Sl.) the garment is used as a symbol of salvation. In the Hel. mystery cults the garments had religious functions. The Gnostics sometimes used *himation* as a symbol for life.

NT *himation* is used 60 times in the NT, 41 being in the Gospels. It is used lit. for clothing in general (cf. Matt. 27:31; Acts 9:39), and more especially for the outer garment (cf. Matt. 9:20 f.; Jn. 19:2). It is also used fig. or parabolically (cf. Matt. 22:11 f.; Mk. 2:21; Heb. 1:11). The NT reflects both the usage of secular Gk. and also the fig. use of the LXX and contemporary Jewish writers.

The word has theological importance especially in the following cases:

1. Where clothes are involved in actions giving a special emphasis to what has been said:

(a) Men tear their garments as a sign of sorrow, when they hear blasphemy (Matt. 26:65; Acts 14:14). Paul shook out his garments (Acts 18:6). This should be linked with Neh. 5:13. It shows that he no longer felt any responsibility for the hardened Jews of Corinth.

(b) In Mk. 11:7 f. the multitude took their garments to use them as a saddle on the donkey and a carpet on the road of the divine rider in his triumph. By this symbolic action Jesus was proclaimed king at his entry into Jerusalem. Jesus' kingship was mocked by the purple robe which the soldiers put on him (Jn. 19:2, 5).

2. It is used fig. and parabolically:

(a) In Mk. 2:21 f. par. and Heb. 1:11, quoting Ps. 102:25(26) ff., *himation* as the "world-garment" is a symbol standing for the universe. According to the parable in Mk. 2, it is meaningless to use new cloth to patch old rags. "The old world's age has run out; it is compared to the old garment which is no longer worth patching with new cloth; the New Age has arrived" (J. Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus*², 1963, 118).

(b) The garment is the symbol of the righteousness promised by God (Matt. 22:11 ff.). In the parable of the marriage feast the *himation*, the wedding garment, is a metaphor for forgiveness and the promised righteousness (cf. Isa. 61:10: "He has clothed me with the garments of salvation, he has covered me with the robe of righteousness"). Being clothed with this garment is hence a symbol of belonging to the community of the redeemed. In Rev. this eschatological dress takes the form of → white garments (Rev. 3:4, 5, 18), the → white robes washed in the blood of the Lamb (Rev. 7:14 *stolē*). White (*leukos*) was an eschatological colour.

H. Weigelt

(a). L. Bellinger, "Cloth", *IDB* I 650–55; J. Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus*, 1963², 187 ff.; A. Oepke, *gymnos*, *TDNT* I 773–76; and *dyō TDNT* II 318–21; J. N. Sevenster, "Some Remarks on the *gymnos* in II Cor. v. 3," in J. N. Sevenster and W. C. van Unnik, eds., *Studia Paulina in honorem J. de Zwaan*, 1953, 202 ff.; W. Schmithals, *Gnosticism in Corinth*, 1971.
(b). R. Bultmann, *Exegetische Probleme des 2. Korintherbriefes*, Symbolae Biblicae Upsalienses, 1947, 1 ff.; W. Michaelis, "Das hochzeitliche Kleid," in *Die Gleichnisse Jesus*, 1956; E. Percy, *Die Probleme der Kolosser- und Epheserbriefe*, 1946; E. Peterson, "Theologie des Kleides," in *Marginalien zur Theologie*, 1956, 41 ff.; W. Straub, *Die Bildersprache des Apostels Paulus*, 1937.

Cold, Hot, Lukewarm

ψυχρός

ψυχρός (*psychros*), cold; ζεστός (*zestos*), boiling, hot; χλιαρός (*chliaros*), lukewarm; θέρμη (*thermē*), heat.

CL (a) The adjective *psychros* and the noun *psychos* (cold) derive from *psychō* (blow, breathe; make cold). In secular Greek these words are commonly used of literal cold, often of liquids, the neuter adjective *psychron* sometimes standing *per se* for "cold water" (Theognis, Herodotus), but also metaphorically, to mean "ineffectual" (Herodotus) or "insipid" (Aristophanes), or of persons, "cold-hearted" (Xenophon, Aristotle).

(b) *zestos*, like the verb *zeō* (boil, seethe), is usually literal, but may be applied figuratively to the passions of men. *zeō* is used thus in Sophocles and Plato.

(c) *chliaros* (cf. *chliō*, luxuriate, revel, and the Homeric *liaros*, warm, gentle) refers mostly to liquids or to food (Herodotus etc.).

(d) *thermos* (hot), *thermē* (heat) and cognates are very common in both literal and metaphorical senses, and are the usual antithesis of *psychros* and cognates. Unlike most of the words under discussion, *thermos* is freely predicated of persons and actions in the sense "hot", "passionate".

OT In the LXX *chliaros* never occurs, and derivatives of *zeō* are rare and never figurative. *psychos* (Heb. *qôr*, cold) and the *thermē* group (Heb. root *ḥāmam*, to be warm) are freely used of temperature. The latter group is also occasionally figurative: in particular, *thermainō* (to warm), used commonly of fire, may be applied to the heart (Deut. 19:6; Ps. 39:3; Hos. 7:7). Such metaphors are, however, found sparingly in the Greek, being avoided, for instance, in the rendering of Hebrew idiom where it speaks of God's "hot" displeasure (Deut. 9:19; Ps. 6:1; 38:1).

NT (a) *Primary Meanings.* In Matt. 10:42 the neuter adjective *psychron* is used alone of "cold water". *psychos* appears at Jn. 18:18, Acts 28:2, and 2 Cor. 11:27, always of temperature.

The otherwise common word *thermos* is absent from the NT, but *thermē* (once) and *thermainō* (6 times) are used in two of the above passages where Paul and Peter respectively warm themselves at the fire (Acts 28:2; Mk. 14:54, 67; and Jn. 18:18 ff.). To be "warmed and filled" with food and clothing are the fundamental necessities of the destitute (Jas. 2:16; cf. 1 Tim. 6:8), and James insists on a practical faith which will supply them to a brother in need.

(b) *Metaphorical Meanings.* The verbal forms *psychō* and *zeō* are applied to spiritual fervour (of love growing cold, Matt. 24:12; "fervent in spirit", Acts 18:25; Rom. 12:11).

(c) The principal NT interest of the word-group attaches to the only occurrences not thus far noted. Some aspects of the association of the three words *chliaros*, *psychros* and *zestos* in Rev. 3:15–16 are unique in surviving Greek literature. Here all three are used metaphorically and absolutely of personal character. The passage has usually been understood to refer to levels of spiritual fervour, as in (b) above, and this assumption accords with the exhortation in Rev. 3:19 (*zēleue*, be zealous): it would be natural to urge earnest endeavour upon the half-hearted.

The common interpretation is however open to question. The modern sense of *chliarotēs* (lukewarmness) is not apparently attested before Athanasius and Nilus. And the passage presents "cold" and "hot" indifferently as though both were desirable conditions: indeed, "cold" twice precedes "hot". It is not a matter of saying "it is better to be hot or *even* cold, better *even* stony indifference than half-hearted support".

Rudwick and Green have argued convincingly that the present usage is a bold image referring to the water-supply of Laodicea, which was derived from an artificial pipeline bringing water which was literally lukewarm and so impure as to have an emetic effect (cf. *emesai*, to spue out). The remains of the aqueduct survive and the hypothesis may be verified from the deposits still encrusting the pipes. It is

notable that the words "hot" and "cold" are singularly applicable to the waters of the two neighbouring and rival cities, Hierapolis and Colossae (cf. Col. 4:13). The *hot* water which produces the celebrated petrified cascades of Hierapolis (Pamukkale) was medicinal, being used for the eyes by local people even today (cf. Rev. 3:18b); the *cold* perennial stream at Colossae made that city the earliest natural settlement of the valley, though later overtaken by the positional advantage and commerce of Laodicea.

A similar collocation (*psychos, chliaros, thermos, zeō*) is used by Herodotus of spring waters (4:181), and Strabo applies *zestos* to hot springs of the Laodicea district. The whole word-group is used more often of water than of anything else. The imagery here is to be explained in vividly concrete terms.

Lukewarmness should probably be taken as denoting "ineffectiveness", the inadequacy of human effort as a substitute for diverse manifestations of God's giving. The central thought of the letter is that effective service hinges upon response to Christ, not upon human endeavour. The Laodicean Christians are characterized as those whose wealth and self-sufficiency prompted them to work by their own resources rather than recognize their need of Christ, just as their city had recently recovered from an earthquake disaster "by its own resources" (Tacitus, *Ann.* 14,27). The point is reinforced by a series of images derived from notable industries and achievements of their city. They were "rich and had need of nothing" – but they must do their business with Christ if they are to obtain the real spiritual goods. In a city which sold eye-ointments the church is spiritually blind: Christ alone can supply it with vision. The same thought runs through the references to "gold" and "white raiment": Laodicea was a great banking centre which had amassed wealth from trade in the wool of black sheep.

The appeal of Christ to the individual for admission into the inward fellowship of the heart (Rev. 3:20) may be set against this collocation of images. The message of the other letters "is essentially didactic, the Laodicean is kerygmatic; whereas the call to repentance in the others is admonitory . . . , here it is promissory" (Rudwick and Green). Cf. also Origen's application of "lukewarm" to the unregenerate man (*De Principiis* 3,4,3). *C. J. Hemer*

W. M. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, I, 1895, esp. 48–9, 85–6; W. M. Ramsay, *The Letters to the Seven Churches*, 1904, 413–30; M. J. S. Rudwick and E. M. B. Green, "The Laodicean Lukewarmness", *ExpT* 69, 1957–8, 176–8; P. Wood, "Local Knowledge in the Letters of the Apocalypse", *ExpT* 73, 1961–2, 263–4.

Come

The words discussed below have all to do with movement with regard both to place and time. *erchomai* (come) is capable of a wide variety of meanings through the addition of various prefixes. The verbs formed from the root *anta* (against) focus attention on arrival at the goal, reaching the destination, and attaining what one set out for. Apart from their broad, general usage, these words have a special significance in connection with the saving acts of God in the world. This is expressed in spatial terms when we speak of the coming and second coming of Christ. At the same time, this language has a temporal aspect. → also Present and → Goal.

ἔρχομαι

ἔρχομαι (*erchomai*), come, appear; ἔλευσις (*eleusis*), coming, advent; εἰσέρχομαι (*eiserchomai*), come in, enter; ἀπέρχομαι (*aperchomai*), go away, depart; παρεισέρχομαι (*pareiserchomai*), come in, step in; περιέρχομαι (*perierchomai*), wander; προέρχομαι (*proserchomai*), go forward, advance, proceed; προσέρχομαι (*proserchomai*), go to, approach, accede to; συνέρχομαι (*synerchomai*), come together, assemble; διέρχομαι (*dierchomai*), go through, come through; ἐξέρχομαι (*exerchomai*), go out, come out, get out; ἐπέρχομαι (*eperchomai*), come, come along, approach; παρέρχομαι (*parerchomai*), go by, pass by, pass; ἥκω (*hēkō*), have come, be present.

CL & OT *erchomai*, with the Hel. fut. *eleusomai*, aor. *ēlthon* and *ēltha*, perf. *elēlytha*, occurs in secular Gk. from the time of Homer and also in the LXX. It means to come or go, mostly in the lit. sense. The direction of movement is determined by prepositions like *apo* (from), *eis* (into, to), *ek* (out of). It is used metaphorically in a temporal sense: *erchontai hēmerai*, days are coming (1 Sam. 2:31; 2 Ki. 20:17 and often); and also of destruction which comes upon men (Prov. 1:26; 6:15). The rare noun *eleusis* is formed from the fut. *eleusomai* and has been traced to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (fl. 30 B.C.). It denotes arrival. But in the NT it is used only in Acts 7:52 of the coming of Jesus (cf. G. D. Kilpatrick, "Acts vii, 52, *eleusis*", *JTS* 46, 1945, 136 ff.) and in Lk. 21:7 *v.l.* and 23:42 *v.l.* of the second coming of Christ. (Both these variant readings are in the Codex Bezae, cf. Metzger, 181.) *hēkō* is used virtually as a synonym for *erchomai*. It meant originally the state of having come. Hence, in the Hel. period the conjugation is often perfect: *hēka* (fut. *hēxō*, aor. *hēxa*). The original perfect sense is not always to the fore. The use of these two words in the LXX and the NT passes over into each other. This also applies to the metaphorical use of *hēkō* (cf. Isa. 47:11; Ezek. 7:10, 12).

Greek Hellenistic piety could speak in terms of the divinity coming to men and men coming to God. The prayer summons *elthe*, come (cf. Ps. 80:2 (79:3)), is found in ancient prayer texts and magical papyri (cf. J. Schneider, *TDNT* II 927). But apart from the formal similarity, there is no connection between pagan and biblical worship.

In the LXX the words are used mainly in their original, literal sense. But in the light of its purpose, coming may have a religious significance. A man comes to sacrifice (1 Sam. 16:2, 5), and to worship and praise God before the sanctuary (Lev. 12:4; 1 Ki. 8:42; Ps. 100:2, 4). The heathen also go into the house of their god (2 Chron. 32:21). The composite *eiserchomai* is also used to denote such coming

In a metaphorical sense, prayer and supplication (2 Chron. 30:27; Ps. 88:3; 119:170) and man's cries (Exod. 3:9; Ps. 102:2) are said to come before God. References to the coming of the Gentiles to Israel and thus to God are bound up with messianic expectation (Isa. 60:5 f.; 66:18; Jer. 16:19; Hag. 2:7). OT writers frequently mention God's coming in judgment. The days of judgment are already spoken of by Hosea (9:7). The day of Yahweh (→ Present, art. *hēmera*) features prominently in prophecy (cf. Joel 2:31; Zech. 14:1; Mal. 4:5; Ps. 96:13; 98:9). But God comes not only as → judge, but as deliverer (Isa. 35:4; Ps. 50:3 f., 15; Zech. 14:5 ff.). He comes as the saviour who feeds his flock, the redeemer who takes away the sin of Jacob, and the bringer of → light to → Jerusalem (Isa. 40:10 f. 59:20; 60:1; → Redemption). The → hope of God's coming is bound up with

messianic expectation. The Messiah (→ Jesus Christ, art. *christos*) will come as the king of peace (Zech. 9:9), and the one who has been blessed in the → name of the Lord (Ps. 118:26). Dan. 7:13 speaks of the coming of "one like a → son of man." In the first instance, this is related to the → kingdom given to "the saints of the Most High" (vv. 22, 27). But because a kingdom cannot be thought of without a king, the son of man here was identified with the Messiah even in pre-Christian times (cf. Eth. En. 46:3 f.; 48:2). The Qumran writings indicate a lively expectation of the coming Messiah or Messiahs (1QS 9:11; 1 QM 9:7 f.; CD 12:23; 20:1; cf. F. F. Bruce, *The Teacher of Righteousness in the Qumran Texts*, 1957; H. Ringgren, *The Faith of Qumran*, 1963, 167–98). On rabbinic messianic expectation see SB IV 2, 872 ff.; J. Klausner, *The Messianic Idea in Israel*, 1955, 427 ff., 440 ff.; S. Mowinckel, *He That Cometh*, 1956; G. Scholem, *The Messianic Idea in Judaism*, 1971, 1–36.

NT 1. The NT use of *erchomai* and *hēkō* follows secular Gk. usage. The original, spatial meaning is dominant. But it merges into a religious meaning. Coming to Jesus (Jn. 1:39, 47) leads to → discipleship. There are the same overtones in the coming of the wise men from the East (Matt. 2:2) which is also symbolic of the coming of the heathen. It points to their entry into the → kingdom of God (Matt. 8:11; Rom. 11:25). The metaphorical sense of events coming in time also occurs, especially in eschatology: the days or hour are coming when . . . (Matt. 9:15; Mk. 2:20; Jn. 2:4 and often); the fullness of time comes (Gal. 4:4), as does the message of faith (Gal. 3:23, 25), wrath (Eph. 5:6), and judgment (Rev. 18:10).

2. The addition of various prefixes to *erchomai* to form compounds gives a wide range of meaning. Usage here generally agrees with secular Gk. and the LXX.

(a) *aperchomai* means to go away literally (Gen. 18:33; Mk. 1:35; 6:46; 14:39 where Jesus "went away and prayed"). *apēlthon opisō* is used of the sons of Zebedee who followed Jesus (Mk. 1:20; cf. Job 21:33). It is a Hebraistic construction (Funk § 193(1)). The use of *opisō* (after) reflects the LXX rendering of Heb. *'aḥ^{a}rê* (after) (Moulton, *Grammar*, III, 277). *aperchomai* is also used in the opposite sense of going away from Jesus (Jn. 6:66; Jude 7). It is used metaphorically in the sense of pass away (of woes in Rev. 9:12; 11:4; and of "the first earth" and "the former things" in Rev. 21:1, 4).

(b) *dierchomai* means to go through or come through (1 Macc. 3:8; Acts 14:24 etc.). It is used of death coming to all men (Rom. 5:12) and of Jesus as the great high priest passing through the heavens (Heb. 4:14).

(c) *eiserchomai*, come in, enter, is used of the entry of the Israelites into the promised land (Num. 14:30; 15:2 etc.), and of the Lord's entry into his temple (Ps. 24:7, 9). In the NT it is used lit. of entering the temple or synagogue (Lk. 1:9; 4:16). *syneiserchomai* means to enter with, and is used of Jesus entering the boat with his disciples and of Peter entering the court of the high priest with Jesus (Jn. 6:22; 18:15). It is used metaphorically of entering the kingdom, → life and → rest (Matt. 18:3; Heb. 3:11, 18).

(d) *exerchomai*, go out, come out, get out, is used in both the LXX and the NT mostly in a lit. sense (e.g. Gen. 4:16; Matt. 14:14). But it is also used metaphorically of the coming forth of the Messiah (Isa. 11:1; Mic. 5:2; Matt. 2:6), and of the law and righteousness which proceed from the mouth of God (Isa. 2:3; 45:23; 51:4).

In the NT it is also applied to news (Matt. 9:26 and often), the emperor's decree (Lk. 2:1), the word of God (1 Cor. 14:36 "Did the word of God originate with you?" RSV), demons (Mk. 1:25 f.), and the thoughts of the heart (Matt. 15:18 f.). In Johannine language it is used of Jesus' coming forth from God (Jn. 8:42; 13:3 etc., cf. Mk. 1:38).

(e) *eperchomai*, come, come along, approach, is an intensive form of *erchomai*. It is used lit. (Acts 14:19), in a hostile sense (Lk. 11:22), and temporally in a neutral sense of the coming ages (Eph. 2:7). It denotes the coming of an imminent evil (Gen. 42:21; Lk. 21:26, 35; Jas. 5:1 and often) and of the coming of the Spirit (Isa. 32:15 *v.l.*; Lk. 1:35; Acts 1:8).

(f) *parerchomai*, go by, pass by, pass, is used locally (Gen. 18:3; Mk. 6:48; Lk. 18:37) and of time (Mk. 14:35). It also has the meanings of come by (Lk. 12:37), and pass away (of time Sir. 42:19; 1 Pet. 4:3; of wealth, heaven and earth Wis. 5:9; Matt. 5:18; 24:35), and transgress (commands, Isa. 24:5; Lk. 15:29).

(g) *pareiserchomai* is found in Polybius in the 2nd cent. B.C., but is rare. It means to come in or step in, and is used of the coming in of the law (Rom. 5:20) which has a subordinate purpose in God's plan of salvation, and of false brothers who have slipped into the church at Jerusalem (Gal. 2:4).

(h) *perierchomai*, wander (Jos. 6:6, 10). It is used of Jewish itinerant exorcists (Acts 19:13), the circuit made by Paul around the coast of Sicily (Acts 28:13), of the going around from house to house of young widows (1 Tim. 5:13), and of the roaming around of the persecuted witnesses to the faith (Heb. 11:37).

(i) *proerchomai*, go forward, advance, proceed (Gen. 33:3, 14; Acts 20:5; 2 Cor. 9:5). It is used in a metaphorical sense of the precursor of Christ (Lk. 1:17; cf. *v.l. proseleusetai*).

(j) *proserchomai*, go to, approach, accede to, is used mostly lit. in the LXX and NT (e.g. Gen. 42:24; Matt. 5:1). It is used in a cultic context of the people (Ex. 16:9) and the priest (Lev. 9:7 f.) before God. It is chiefly used in the LXX for the Heb. *qārab* (approach, come near). This usage continues in the Qumran writings. In the NT Heb. 4:16 speaks of drawing near to the throne of grace (cf. Ezek. 44:16). Heb. 10:22 and 11:6 speak of the believer's drawing near to God in a way which far exceeds the prerogative of the high priest. In a more general sense Sir. 6:18 f. refers to drawing near to wisdom, and 1 Tim. 6:3 of acceding to, or agreeing with "sound words."

(k) *synerchomai*, come together, assemble (Exod. 32:26; Mk. 3:20; 1 Cor. 11:17 ff.; 14:23, 26, of a crowd or the local church); come with, accompany (Tob. 12:1; Lk. 23:55; Acts 1:21); and come together in the sense of sexual union (Wis. 7:2; Matt. 1:18; 1 Cor. 7:5).

3. (a) The idea of coming has a fundamental theological significance in relation to the coming of Christ, and the coming of God and his → kingdom. The statements about his having come in all the gospels indicates Jesus' messianic self-consciousness. The synoptic gospels present Jesus as having come to preach the → gospel, not to destroy the → Law but to fulfil it, to call sinners to → repentance, not to bring peace but a sword and to cast fire upon the earth (Mk. 1:38 f.; Matt. 5:17; 9:13; Mk. 2:17; Lk. 5:32; 12:49). The Son of man has come to give his life a ransom for many, and to seek and to save the lost (Matt. 20:28; Mk. 10:45; Lk. 19:10).

Rudolf Bultmann regards the "I-Sayings" of Jesus in the gospels as inauthentic (*The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 1968², 150–166). He sees them as the invention of the early church which put them into the mouth of Jesus. But this does not explain how this belief arose, if Jesus did not have such an awareness of his calling (→ I am).

Jn. bears witness to Jesus as the → light of the world (Jn. 1:9; 3:19; 8:12) who came to give to those who belong to him → life in all its fullness (Jn. 10:10). He did not come to judge the world, but to save it and to bear witness to the → truth (Jn. 12:46 f.; 18:37). He has come in the name of the Father. He has come from God and has returned to him (Jn. 5:43; 8:42; 16:28).

John the Baptist went before him (Lk. 1:17). He too has "come", and is indeed the → Elijah who is to come again (Mal. 4:5; Matt. 11:14, 18; 17:10; Mk. 9:11). John pointed to one mightier than himself who would come (Matt. 3:11; Mk. 1:7; Lk. 3:16). Jn. lays special stress on the preparatory significance of the Baptist. He is not himself the light, but has come to bear witness to the light. Jesus is the Lord who was before him, even though he came after him (Mk. 1:7; Jn. 1:7, 15, 27). (See further C. H. H. Scobie, *John the Baptist*, 1964, 62–79.)

(b) The coming of Jesus in the → flesh (1 Jn. 4:2) gave rise to the doubt which even the imprisoned John entertained: "Are you he who is to come, or shall we look for another?" (Matt. 11:3 RSV). The people at Jerusalem greeted the saviour king who came to them with Ps. 118:25 f. (Matt. 21:9; Mk. 11:9 f.; Lk. 19:38). But his death on the → cross set a question mark against Jesus' messianic claims (Matt. 27:42; Mk. 15:31; Lk. 23:35; Jn. 19:19 ff.). Through his resurrection Jesus is "designated Son of God in power" (Rom. 1:4 RSV). This power will also be manifested in the world. Therefore, the certainty that Jesus will come again in power and glory belongs to the Easter message. In the synoptic gospels this faith in the coming of Christ is formulated in terms of the messianic interpretation of Dan. 7:13. The Son of man will come in the clouds of heaven (Matt. 24:30; Mk. 13:26; Lk. 21:27; and Matt. 26:64; Mk. 14:62; Lk. 22:69). Christ will come as → judge (Matt. 16:27; 25:31; 2 Cor. 5:10; Rom. 2:6; 14:10). It makes no material difference if God is also spoken of as judge (Matt. 10:32 f.; Mk. 8:38; Lk. 9:26; Rev. 3:5; 2 Tim. 2:12). The strength of this hope which fills the whole NT is shown by the prayer-cry *maranatha* (1 Cor. 16:22) which was an early Aram. expression meaning "Our Lord, come!" It is reflected in the prayer at the end of Rev.: "Come, Lord Jesus!" (22:20; → Present, art. *maranatha*).

Prayer for the coming of the Lord is bound up with prayer for the coming of the → kingdom of God (Matt. 6:10; Lk. 11:2). The coming of the Messiah is not to be separated from the coming of the kingdom (Matt. 16:28; Lk. 22:29 f.). False → prophets, messiahs and even the → Antichrist will precede the coming of Christ (Mk. 13:22 f.; Matt. 24:24; 1 Jn. 2:18; 2 Thess. 2:3 ff.). The day and hour of this coming is known neither by the angels in heaven, nor even the Son, but only the Father; it is not granted the disciples to know (Mk. 13:32; Matt. 24:36; Acts 1:7). The Lord will come suddenly like a thief in the night (Matt. 24:42 f.; Lk. 12:39; 1 Thess. 5:2). Therefore, the disciples must be awake (Matt. 24:44; 25:13). Although the timing of this coming is never laid down in the NT, the hope that it will be soon is not precluded (Rev. 22:20). It is always imminent.

(c) The Fourth Gospel sees Easter and Pentecost in the light of the coming of

Jesus and → the Spirit. In departing, Jesus does not leave his disciples as orphans, but returns to them as the living one. He will reveal himself to those who love him. The Father and the Son will come to them and will make their home with them (Jn. 14:16 ff.). Jesus promises help in the coming of the *paraklētos* (Jn. 14:16, 26; 15:26; 16:7; cf. 16:12 ff.; 1 Jn. 2:1; → Advocate, Paraclete). He has the task of bearing witness to Jesus. As the Spirit of truth he will lead the disciples into all → truth. This does not mean, as some have supposed, the abandonment of the early church's hope for the future. The thought of the last judgment and resurrection is firmly held by Jn. and is indissolubly linked with the person of Jesus (5:25, 29; 6:39, 44, 54; 11:25 f.). Jn. stresses the close connection between the saving presence of Christ who has already come and the future. This finds classic expression in the statement "the hour is coming and now is" (4:23; 5:25).

(d) Men are now called to come to this → Lord who has come and who will come. Jesus refers to this in the parable of the great supper (Matt. 22:1–14; Lk. 14:16–24). But the invitation results in a refusal to come. The same picture comes in Jn. 5:40; 7:37. Clearly it is not a matter of physical presence or the expression of interest. The gospels are concerned with following Jesus (Mk. 1:20; Matt. 10:38; Lk. 14:27; Matt. 16:24; Mk. 8:34; Lk. 9:23; → Disciple, arts. *akoloutheō* and *opisō*). In Jn.'s terminology *akoloutheō* (follow) and *pisteuō* (believe) stand close together (→ Faith). The fact that Christ has already come is the basis of man's access to him. But in the last analysis man's response to this invitation is the work of God's grace (Jn. 6:37, 44). *W. Mundle*

καταντάω

καταντάω (*katantaō*), come to, arrive at; ἀπαντάω (*apantaō*), meet; ὑπαντάω (*hypantaō*), meet; ἀπάντησις (*apantēsis*), meeting; ὑπάντησις (*hypantēsis*), meeting, coming to meet.

CL *katantaō* is found in secular Gk. from Polybius (2nd cent. B.C.). It meant originally to come to, and denotes movement towards a goal, primarily a place such as a town. In a metaphorical sense it denotes the attainment of an objective, or conversely something which comes to us.

OT Use of the word in the LXX is restricted to 4 passages in 2 Macc. and 2 Sam. 3:29. But these reflect important shades of meaning. It is used lit. in the sense of coming to Jerusalem or Tyre (2 Macc. 4:21, 44). It is used metaphorically of attaining to the status of high priest and of men reaching the full measure of sin (2 Macc. 4:24; 6:14). In 2 Sam. 3:29 it translates the Heb. *ḥûl* (lit. "turn upon"), and is used of Yahweh requiting blood guilt on the head of Joab.

NT 1. In the NT the word occurs only in Acts (9 times) and Paul (4 times). In Acts it is used almost exclusively in the lit. physical sense of arrive at (in the case of Paul and the places he arrived at on his missionary journeys, cf. Acts 16:1; 18:19, 24). It occurs once in a metaphorical sense. In his address to Agrippa, Paul declared that the twelve tribes of Israel hope to *attain* the promise made by God to their forefathers, as they earnestly worship day and night, and that this was the theme of his preaching.

2. This expression is related to Paul's usage which is always metaphorical. The ultimate goal of the Christian life is to attain to the resurrection of the dead (Phil. 3:11). Eph. 4:13 speaks of all Christians attaining to the unity of faith and the knowledge of the Son of God. Bound up with the attainment of this goal is the maturity, firm faith, and growth in love which unite the church with Christ its head (Eph. 4:14 ff.).

Paul also speaks of a movement from God to man. 1 Cor. 10:11 speaks of us "upon whom the end of the ages has come." Heb. 9:26 contains a similar expression: "at the end of the ages" (→ Time, art. *aiōn*) Christ has appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself. The movement is directed by God towards its end; with us it has now attained its goal. The thought also contains the certainty that, with Christ who inaugurates the end of the ages, a new world era and order of things has begun. Admittedly this is apparent only to the believer. Nevertheless, the form of this → world is passing away (1 Cor. 7:31). This movement that comes from God is also to be seen in the fact that the Word of God has reached the churches (1 Cor. 14:36), and that it is spread abroad by them. This → word is the apostolic message which reaches its goal in the churches as they receive it as the Word of God (1 Thess. 2:13).

3. Alongside *katantaō*, the NT has two other verbs which are related in both form and sense. *apantaō* (Mk. 14:13; Lk. 17:12) and *hypantaō* (Matt. 8:28; Lk. 8:27) both mean meet, and the related nouns *apantēsis* (Acts 28:15; 1 Thess. 4:17) and *hypantēsis* (Matt. 8:34; 25:1) mean meeting. The words occur in secular Gk. and the LXX always in a spatial sense. This is also true of *synantaō*, meet (Lk. 9:37; Acts 10:25; Heb. 7:1, 10). It is used in Acts 20:22 in the sense of befall.

The use of *apantēsis* in 1 Thess. 4:17 is noteworthy. The ancient expression for the civic welcome of an important visitor or the triumphal entry of a new ruler into the capital city and thus to his reign is applied to Christ. "Then we who are alive, who are left, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord (*eis apantēsin tou Kyriou*) in the air; and so we shall always be with the Lord." The same thoughts occur in the parable of the ten virgins. The virgins leave to meet the bridegroom (*eis apantēsin tou nymphiou*), i.e. the Lord, to whom they wish to give a festive reception (Matt. 25:1). (See E. Peterson, "Die Einholung des Kyrios", *ZSTh* 7, 1929–30, 682 ff.; and *TDNT* I 380 f.) *W. Mundle*

μέλλω *μέλλω* (*mellō*), to be about to, to be on the point of, be destined to, intend, propose, have in mind; *μέλλων* (*mellōn*), is a participle used in the sense of to come, future.

CL *mellō* (imp. *emellon*; Attic form *ēmellon*) is found from Homer onwards. It is commonly used with a following infinitive, or absolutely as a participle. The action indicated by the infinitive is modified by *mellō*, making it dependent upon the intentions of the subject. Thus *mellō* means "I am able to, I can." More frequent is its use in cl. Gk. with a future infinitive: "I am in the act of, I am about to, I intend to." Often it simply means "I shall." When the action is seen as compelled by the gods, fate or some law, *mellō* means especially in the imp. "to have to." It

denotes something inevitable and determined. But it may be weakened by conjecture or probability. In that case it means "I may well." When the action in question is delayed by reflection so long that it never comes about, *mellō* means to hesitate.

The participle *mellōn* means future, what is about to come. In Aeschylus, Euripides and Plato, *ho mellōn chronos* (lit. the time to come) means the future. Similarly, the noun *to mellon* means the future, and *ta mellonta* means future things.

OT In the LXX *mellō* is often used with a present infinitive, especially in 2 Macc., 4 Macc., Wis., Job and 6 times in Isa. Mostly it is used as the equivalent of the imperfect future form of the Heb. vb. In Job 3:8 it stands for *ha'ᵃṯîḏîm*, i.e. those who are *ready* to rouse up Leviathan. In Job 19:25 *mellō* translates Heb. *'aḥᵃrôn*, "last", which EVV translate adverbially as "at last." In both cases the Heb. is difficult. See further E. Dhorme, *A Commentary on the Book of Job*, 1967, 29, 282 f.; H. H. Rowley, *Job*, 1970, 45, 173. Some LXX manuscripts of Isa. 9:6(5) add *patēr tou mellontos aiōnos* (father of the age to come). This is the only instance in the LXX of *ho aiōn ho mellōn* (the age to come). Later it was of great significance in Jewish apocalyptic in such works as 4 Esd. and Apoc. Bar. (→ Time, art. *aiōn*. Cf. D. S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic*, 1964, 223 f., 266 ff.).

NT 1. In the NT *mellō* has all the meanings that it has in Gk. literature. It means to intend, to have in mind in Matt. 2:13; Lk. 10:1; 19:4; Jn. 6:6, 15; 7:35; Acts 5:35; 20:3, 7, 13; 23:15; 27:30; 2 Pet. 1:12; Heb. 8:5. It occurs frequently with the present infinitive (84 times) and occasionally with the aorist infinitive with the sense of "to be about to", "to be on the point of" (Matt. 24:6; Lk. 7:2; 19:11; 21:7; Jn. 4:47; Acts 3:3; 12:6; 16:27; 18:14; Rev. 3:2; 10:4, 7; 12:4 f.). The participle formed from *mellō* is used both as an adj. and as a noun in the sense of future (Lk. 13:9; 2 Pet. 2:6; Rom. 8:38; 1 Cor. 3:22; 1 Tim. 6:19; Heb. 11:20). *ti melleis* (Acts 22:16) means "Why do you hesitate?"

2. *mellō* means must, to have to, be certain to, in the context of events which happen according to the will and decree of God and which are thus necessary, certain and inevitable. It occurs in statements about the saving work of Christ, especially his suffering and death. Thus, "he began to tell them what *was to* happen to him" (Mk. 10:32); "the Son of man *is to* be delivered into the hands of men" (Matt. 17:22; cf. 17:12; 20:22; Lk. 9:31, 44; 24:21; Jn. 7:39; 11:51; 12:33; 14:22; 18:32; Acts 26:23). It is used in connection with Judas' betrayal (Lk. 22:23; Jn. 6:71; 12:4). It occurs in the context of God's action in grace and judgment (Mk. 13:4; Acts 17:31; Rom. 4:24; 8:13; Gal. 3:23; 1 Thess. 3:4; 1 Tim. 1:16; Heb. 1:14; 10:27; 11:8; Rev. 1:19; 3:10). With this may be included prophetic utterances made with divine certainty (Acts 11:28; 24:15; 26:22).

3. Participial forms of *mellō* are used both as adjs. and nouns in the sense of coming, future (as in NT 1.). In this sense, it is incorporated in an important NT eschatological formula, which has taken over the thought of late Judaism and Hel. apocalyptic. The basic apocalyptic doctrine of the two ages (→ Time, art. *aiōn*) provides the foundation for the NT doctrine of the → kingdom of God. The present age which is passing away has been broken into by the age to come (*mellōn aiōn*). The coming world (*hē oikoumenē hē mellousa*, Heb. 2:5; cf. Eph. 1:21) is alone the realm of Christ. Here in the present world, believers have no abiding (*menousa*) city; they seek the future (*mellousa*) one (Heb. 13:14). This future city

has firm foundations (Heb. 11:10), and has been prepared by God for the patriarchs (Heb. 11:16). It is the heavenly city (Heb. 11:16; 12:22), our home and the promised rest (Heb. 3:11, 18; 4:3 ff.). It is our refuge from death and judgment. This new world is described in terms of future glory (*tēn mellousan doxan*, Rom. 8:18; cf. 1 Pet. 5:1). It is already present with God and is ready to be revealed. In the light of it, the inevitable sufferings of the present age are to be counted as nothing. But he who is afraid to suffer and lives according to the → flesh must die (*mellete apothnēskein*, Rom. 8:13). This is the inevitable outcome of the coming judgment and wrath (Matt. 3:7; Acts 24:25). Christ is the coming Son of man (Matt. 16:27) and judge (2 Tim. 4:1). In the age to come there is no → forgiveness of blasphemy against the Spirit (Matt. 12:32; cf. Mk. 3:29). Godliness is of value as it holds promise for the present → life and the life to come (1 Tim. 4:8). It is possible to taste the powers of the age to come (Heb. 6:5). Christ is the "high priest of the good things that are to come" (Heb. 9:11 *v.l.* which is very strongly attested [cf. Metzger, 668]; it is the marginal reading in RSV, the text having "the good things that have come"). These good things of the new age have been secured for the believer by Christ's death. The → law has only the shadow of the good things to come (Heb. 10:1). Regulations are "only a shadow of what is to come; but the substance belongs to Christ" (Col. 2:17 RSV). This reality is the → body of Christ, the coming one (cf. E. Lohmeyer, *Die Briefe an die Kolosser und an Philemon*, KEK 9, 2 1964[12], 122 f.). As the one to come who inaugurates the new world, Christ is seen as the antitype of → Adam in Rom. 5:14. *W. Schneider*

(a). Arndt, 310 f., 345, 416, 501 f.; O. Michel, *katantaō*, *TDNT* III 623–26; S. Mowinckel, *He That Cometh*, 1956; J. Schneider, *erchomai*, *TDNT* II 666–84; and *hēkō*, *TDNT* II 926 ff.
(b). H. Conzelmann, "Eschatologie im Urchristentum," *RGG*[3] II 665 ff.; A von Harnack, "Ich bin gekommen," *ZTK* 22, 1912, 1 ff.; S. Herrmann, *Die prophetischen Heilserwartungen im Alten Testament*, 1965; E. Jenni, *bō'*, *THAT* I 264–69; E. Lohmeyer, *Die Briefe an die Kolosser und an Philemon*, KEK 9, 2, 1964[12]; W. Mundle, *Der Glaube an Christus und der historische Zweifel*, 1950, 24 ff.; R. Prenter, "Eschatologie im NT und Urchristentum," *EKL* I 115; R. Schnackenburg, "Eschatologie," *LTK* III 1088 ff.
→ Literature under Present

Comfort, Encouragement

θαρσέω

θαρρέω (*tharreō*), *θαρσέω* (*tharseō*), be of good courage, take heart.

CL *tharseō* (Homer), like the Attic form *tharreō* (from 5th-4th cent. B.C.), means, to be of good courage, take heart, have confidence. In later Gk. both forms are found side by side. The imperative form *tharsei*, *tharseite*, take heart, is common in classical Gk. usage. A famous example is the exhortation from a pagan mystery rite recorded by Firmicus Maternus (4th cent. A.D.), *tharreite mystai*, "Take heart, initiates!"

OT The dominant form in the LXX is *tharseō; tharreō* (e.g. Prov. 1:21; Dan. 6:16 (17)) is less frequent. Only in Prov. 31:11 is it used to render the Heb. *bāṭaḥ*, to trust (not in a religious sense, but of trusting one's wife). Otherwise it is consistently used for *yārē'* in the prohibition, "fear not". Whether it is Moses' exhortation to the

people overcome with fear (Exod. 14:13; 20:20), Elijah's words of comfort to the widow in Zarephath threatened with death by starvation (1 Ki. 17:13), or prophetic encouragement to the nation or to Jerusalem (Zeph. 3:16; Hag. 2:5; Zech. 8:13, 15), comfort and encouragement arise from overcoming → fear and are based on confident → hope in God's help and promises.

NT In the NT the form *tharseō* appears 3 (possibly 2) times in Matt. and Mk., and once each in Jn. and Acts. *tharreō* occurs 5 times in 2 Cor. and in Heb. 13:6.

1. In Mk. 10:49 the companions of blind Bartimaeus address him with the expression, *tharsei*, take heart. He may take heart because Jesus is calling him and offering him help. Elsewhere the imperative is found only in the mouth of Jesus. The paralytic whose sin Jesus forgives is to be of good cheer (Matt. 9:2), as is the woman with an issue of blood whom he heals (Matt. 9:22; cf. Lk. 8:48 *v.l.*). When the disciples are frightened by his appearance on the lake, the word of comfort is strengthened by the addition of *mē phobeisthe*, → fear not (Matt. 14:27). In the farewell discourses of the Fourth Gospel, Jesus commands the disciples, whom he is leaving behind in a world full of tribulation: "Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world" (Jn. 16:33). In Acts 23:11 a similar word of comfort is given by the risen Lord to the apostle in prison.

2. In 2 Cor. 7:16 Paul uses the word *tharrō* to express the confidence which he has in the Corinthian church. But in 10:1, 2 the same word is used of the boldness with which he is determined to face those who oppose him in Corinth (→ Openness). In 2 Cor. 5:6, 8 he uses *tharrountes* and *tharroumen* to speak of the confidence which fills his heart. In his life of suffering he is supported by the assurance that he has an eternal home with the Lord → faith, art. *peithomai*). The letter to the Hebrews exhorts its readers to a similar confidence, as they face the necessity of holding out in a pagan environment which is hostile towards them (Heb. 13:6).

W. Mundle

παραμυθέομαι

παραμυθέομαι (*paramytheomai*), encourage, cheer up, console; παραμυθία (*paramythia*), encouragement, comfort, consolation; παραμύθιον (*paramythion*), encouragement, consolation, alleviation.

CL *paramytheomai* (Homer) has the more general meaning of to speak to someone, in a positive, benevolent way (Plato, *Phaedo* 83a; philosophy comforts the soul and seeks to release it). But it also means to encourage or exhort (Homer, *Il.* 9, 417: "the others too I would kindly exhort to sail home"), and to comfort, soothe, address cheering words to (Plato, *Phaedo* 70b: "But surely it requires a great deal of argument and many proofs to show that when a man is dead his soul yet exists and has any force or intelligence," B. Jowett, *The Dialogues of Plato*, 1973 ed., 453). *paramythion*, encouragement, exhortation, assuagement, is attested from Soph. onwards. Commenting on Phil. 2:1, E. Lohmeyer cites Papyri Florentini III 339, 19, "Write to me . . . concerning your health, that I may have some consolation (*paramythion*)", and from an epitaph from the time of Hadrian the words, "Father's and mother's . . . comfort (*paramythion*)" (*Die Briefe an die Philipper, Kolosser und an Philemon*, KEK 1956[11], 83).

OT In Heb. there is no term equivalent to *paramytheomai*. The LXX uses the word in the sense of comfort, console, encourage. "And he exhorted (*parekalei*) his men not to fear the attack . . . and encouraged (*paramythoumenos*) them from the law and the prophets" (2 Macc. 15:8 f.). "If they die young, they will have no hope and no consolation (*paramythion*) in the day of judgment" (Wis. 3:18). In the OT there is mention of various kinds of comfort (*paraklēsis*) and comforting (*parakaleō*, → Exhort, Warn), but not with the sentimental overtones which the word has acquired in our language. Isa. 57:17 f. speaks first of God's anger and punishment; but then God alters his plan and brings healing and comfort. The word of God has life-giving power, and thus brings comfort in affliction (Ps. 119:50). A faithful friend is described as an elixir of life (Sir. 6:16).

In Rab. Judaism the "consolation of Israel" is a blanket term for the fulfilment of Messianic expectation (cf. Lk. 2:25 → *paraklēsin tou Israēl*; SB II 124), while to comfort those who mourn is one of the works of love which earn merit (SB II 544; IV, 1 592 ff.).

NT The first example of the use of *paramytheisthai* in early Christian literature is in 1 Thess. 2:12, where it is used, as at 5:14, in conjunction with *parakalein*, to exhort (cf. also v. 3). Paul reminds his readers ("for you know", v. 11) that when he visited Thessalonica (v. 1), he exhorted and encouraged them. He also indicates the content of this encouragement in the words: "to lead a life worthy of God, who calls you into his own kingdom and glory" (v. 12). The term → kingdom (*basileia*) belongs to the very earliest language of the → church. Paul undertook the task of encouraging the people in this way with complete devotion ("Like a father with his children", v. 11) and person to person ("each one of you", v. 11). In 1 Thess. 5:14 the apostle urges the brethren (i.e. the whole church and not just their leaders) in Thessalonica, to encourage (*paramytheisthe*) the faint-hearted.

Encouragement is an expression of love. Together with participation in the Spirit and heartfelt sympathy, it forms one of the foundations of church life as lived out in the sphere of Christ (Phil. 2:1). This applies also to the special circumstances at Corinth. There it is the → prophets (or more exactly, those who exercise the gift of prophecy) who build up, encourage and console the church. "He who prophesies speaks to men for their upbuilding (*oikodomēn*) and encouragement (*paraklēsin*) and consolation (*paramythian*)" (1 Cor. 14:3 f.). Such prophets did not have any right of office which was binding for other churches (cf. 1 Thess. 5:14, where it is "brothers" rather than prophets who exercise this ministry). To sum up, giving comfort is part of the apostle's missionary activity and also of the life of the young church. It is extended in a personal way both to individuals and to the church. It builds and establishes them, gives strength to the faint-hearted, and is an expression of love in the sphere of Christ.

In Jn. 11:19, 31 *paramytheomai* is a technical term for the expression of sympathy. Mk. 5:38 and Lk. 7:12 record instances of weeping for the dead (cf. Moed Katan 3:7 ff.; T. B. Moed Katan 23a; T. J. Moed Katan 3:82b:28; SB IV 596).

G. Braumann

→ Advocate, art. *paraklētos*, → Exhort, Warn, Console, arts. *noutheteō*, *parakaleō* → Openness, Boldness, Frankness

W. Grundmann, *tharreō TDNT* III 25 ff.; G. Stählin, *paramytheomai*, *TDNT* V 816–23.

Command, Order

This article deals with the following words: *dogma* (decree, ordinance, decision, command, doctrine, dogma), *entolē* (command, order), and the vb. *parangellō* (to give orders, command, instruct, direct).

δόγμα

δόγμα (*dogma*), decree, ordinance, decision, command, doctrine, dogma; *δογματίζω* (*dogmatizō*), decree, ordain.

CL The word *dogma* stems from the vb. *dokeō* (think, suppose, imagine, conclude), and means opinion, conclusion, belief. From the noun comes the intensive vb. *dogmatizō* (lay down as an opinion, order, decree).

It occurs only 3 times in the pre-Socratic writers and always in connection with Pythagoras. From Xenophon onwards in the fourth cent. B.C. it has the following meanings: (1) opinion (in ordinary speech); (2) a doctrine (in philosophy, e.g. Epicurus, *De rerum natura*, 14, 1, 15 and 28); (3) a decree of God (in religious writers); (4) a decree, ordinance, edict (in official language, with the emphasis on public promulgation). (See Arndt, 200.)

OT 1. The following are found in the later writings of the LXX: (1) *dogma* in the sense of a public decree, edict or ordinance (Est. 4:8; Dan. 2:13; 4 Macc. 4:23), and the corresponding vb. *dogmatizō* (Dan. 2:13; Est. 3:9; 2 Macc. 10:8); (2) *dogma* in the sense of a divine ordinance of the Mosaic law (3 Macc. 1:3); and (3) *dogmatizō* meaning to make a decision in the community (2 Macc. 15:36).

2. In the late Judaism of the first cent. A.D., Philo and Josephus understood the Mosaic law as a system of holy tenets, the *dogmata* of a divine philosophy. As the most exalted of all systems, it was superior to the doctrines of the rest of ancient philosophy (Philo, *Leg. All.*, 1, 54 f.; *Spec. Leg.*, 1, 269; *Gig.* 52; Josephus, *War*, 2, 42; *Ap.*, 1, 42; cf. G. Kittel, *TDNT* II 231).

NT 1. (a) *dogma* has the meaning of CL (4) in the writings of Lk. It is used of the decree of Caesar Augustus concerning the enrollment (Lk. 2:1). The Jews at Thessalonica accused Jason before the civil authorities of aiding and abetting Paul and Silas in "acting against the decrees of Caesar" (Acts 17:7). It also occurs in some manuscripts at Heb. 11:23.

(b) In Acts 16:4 the decisions of the Jerusalem council that were to be enforced in the mission churches are called *dogmata* (cf. 2 Macc. 15:36 in OT 1 above).

(c) Eph. 2:15 uses the pl. *dogmata* to denote the individual statutes of the commandments (*entolōn*) of the Mosaic Law. Col. 2:14 uses the word to denote the "legal demands" (RSV) levelled against us which God has nailed to the cross. Hence, Col. 2:20 forbids the church to allow statutes, rules or regulations regarding food and cleanliness to be imposed upon it (cf. v. 21). Here the vb. *dogmatizō* is translated by RSV: "Why do you submit to regulations?"

2. Where *dogma* is used in a general, secular sense as an official, public decree, it has only indirect theological significance. The parents of Moses were witnesses to the faith in that they fearlessly disregarded Pharaoh's command (*dogma*) that children should be put to death (Heb. 11:23 in some manuscripts; the better attested reading is however *diatagma*, edict). Caesar's edict is seen by Lk. 2:1 ff. to serve God's plan of salvation, in bringing about the birth of the Messiah at → Bethlehem.

The Jewish opponents of the Christian mission complained that the Christians were guilty of treason by contravening Caesar's edicts (Acts 17:7; cf. E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1971, 508). The contexts of these passages show the impotence of all the *dogmata* of the mighty ones on earth in the face of the saving works of God.

3. With the death of Christ, the → law with all its commandments and ordinances "is removed from the world as a factor in salvation" (M. Dibelius, *An die Kolosser, Epheser, An Philemon*, HNT 12 revised by H. Greeven, 1953³, 70 on Eph. 2:15; cf. 2.14 and 2:20 ff. on the regulations of "the elemental spirits" → Law, art. *stoicheia*).

4. The use of *dogma* is, therefore, all the more surprising when used in a positive sense (cf. above OT) for teaching that is binding on the whole church. Acts 16:4 lays the foundation for the idea of dogma as an ecclesiastical decree, requiring intellectual assent. It runs the risk of turning the gospel of Christ into legalism. On the other hand, the pressure from the Judaizers forced the Jerusalem council to take a stance in defining their attitude. The *dogmata* of the council were in fact decrees proclaiming liberty within a defined area rather than a series of tight restrictions.

H-H. Esser

ἐντολή

ἐντολή (*entolē*), command, commandment, order; ἐντέλλομαι (*entellomai*) to command, give orders, order.

CL The noun *entolē* (injunction, order, command) is connected with the deponent mid. vb. *entellomai* (enjoin, command, either a person or an order). The vb. is also used either absolutely, or with acc. and infin. act. or infin. pass. *entolē* has replaced the perf. pass. participle used as a noun *ta entetalmena*, lit. what has been commanded. The vb. and the noun occur from the 5th cent. in Aeschylus, Pindar and Herodotus to denote chiefly the instructions given by a person of high social standing to a subordinate. The plur. of the noun is common in the expression *entolas dounai*, to give instructions.

This secular use is dominant. But at an early date (Aeschylus and Pindar) these words were also used of the commands of God, in a way similar to the royal or imperial decrees (→ *dogma*). Most examples of this are found in inscriptions and papyri. In the 4th cent. A.D. the words came to be used as technical terms in connection with the power of attorney.

OT 1. The vb. is found approximately 400 times in the LXX, of which 39 instances are without a Heb. equivalent. The noun occurs 244 times (46 times without a Heb. equivalent). The occurrence of both is concentrated in the Pentateuch (where more than half the instances of the vb. are to be found) and especially in Deut. The Deuteronomic literature and the historical writings dependent on it often exhibit words of this group (see 2. below). For the rest, the vb. is frequent in Jer. and the noun in the Pss.

2. (a) Among the Heb. equivalents rendered by *entolē* and *entellomai* the most common are the words derived from the root *ṣwh* (the vb. *ṣiwwâh* 344 times; the noun *miṣwâh* 159 times).

ṣiwwâh means to order, direct, summon a person or thing to a place or task. Yahweh appoints a king over his people (2 Sam. 13:14; 16:21). He gives his angels

charge over those whom he protects (Ps. 91[90]:11; the same idea is also translated by *apostellō*, send → Apostle, cf. Isa. 10:6; Exod. 4:28). He summons help for Israel (Ps. 44:5 [LXX 43:4]). He commands things to be done (Gen. 32:18). Alternatively, when the vb. is linked with a negative, he forbids (Gen. 2:16; 18:1). On God's commands see also Gen. 6:22; Exod. 7:2; Deut. 1:3.

miṣwâh is also used of a human command, but mostly of divine commands. In the Pentateuch it is reserved for the latter. There especially such formulae occur as: the command (or commandment) of Yahweh, the command of my (or our) God, his command, his commands, these commands, the command. When God speaks, the expression "my commands" occurs. The Pss. especially speak frequently of "your commands." These expressions imply that the command of God is something known. The noun means: commission, command, single commandment, commandments in general (in this case mostly in the plur. with *phylassesthai*, to keep), ordinance (Neh. 13:5 [LXX 2 Esd. 23:5]), obligation (Neh. 1:32 [LXX 2 Esd. 20:33]).

(b) Among the less common equivalents the root *pqd* (24 times) is the most frequent. The vb. *pāqaḏ* is translated by *entellesthai* 6 times. In the qal it means to entrust something to someone (2 Chron. 36:23) and to call to account, to punish (wickedness, Isa. 13:11). In the piel it means to muster (a host, Isa. 13:4). In all these cases the subject is God. In the niphal it means to get lost, to be missing (1 Sam. [LXX 1 Ki.] 25:7; in v. 15 it is used in the qal in the sense of miss).

The noun *piqqûḏîm* (pl.) occurs 18 times as an equivalent, and is used as a technical term for the precepts or commandments of God (cf. Pss. 103[102]:18; 111 [110]:7; and 119[118] where it comes 21 times in the formula "thy commandments"). However, on 5 occasions the LXX translates the word by the Gk. *dikaiōmata* (Ps. 119[118]27, 56, 93, 94, 141; → Righteousness).

(c) The root *dbr* is translated by *entolē* and *entellomai* 10 times. It is the common word for speak, and it means command in the Heb. of 6 of these instances. It is always Yahweh or his representative who is thus commanding (Moses, Deut. 18:14; Joshua, Jos. 4:12). What he thus speaks is a particular command: Exod. 7:13 23:22; Jos. 4:12 (a plan of battle); 11:23; 1 Ki. (LXX 3 Ki.) 13:17; Jer. 19:15; Exod. 34:32 (a collection of commandments); Deut. 28:14 (a collection of blessings and cursings); Ps. 119(118):57, 139 (the claim of God to thorough obedience).

(d) The equivalent *ḥōq*, *ḥuqqâh* (mostly in the plur.) merits special attention. It means lit. what is established, engraved (in stone), carved, fixed in writing, and therefore a statute (→ Law, art. *stoicheia*). It is often used in Deuteronomic theology for the unaltered handing on of the tradition that is necessary for life: the instruction of children in the confession (Deut. 6:24); instructions for feasts (Deut. 16:12); the laws regulating life of Israel at the renewal of the covenant (Deut. 28:15); David's testament to Solomon (1 Sam. [3 Ki.] 2:3); the prophetic designation of Jeroboam as king (1 Ki. 11:38). In this tradition these statutes are handed down and experienced. God's → covenant, the → law, justice, commandments and ordinances are thus realized. This may be seen in God's answer to the prayer of Solomon (1 Ki. 3:14). The underlying relationship of God to his people is determined by the commandments proclaimed to them and their obedience in return. This applies even when national unity is lost, as with the end of the northern

kingdom and the exile in Babylon. The newly proclaimed commandment was essential for the ordering of the life of the community that returned after the exile (Neh. 8 ff.). Disregard of the divine statutes brings the punishment of Yahweh (1 Ki. [3 Ki.] 11:11). But future observance of the rules of life opens up Yahweh's forgiveness of earlier trespasses and a new grant of life to the penitent sinner (Ezek. 18:21 f.).

(e) *entolē* is rarely used for Heb. *tôrâh* (→ law). In such cases it has the secondary sense of the summary of God's commandments and thus the normative law of God for Israel (2 Ki. 21:8, where the stem *entel-* occurs 3 times; 2 Chron. 30:16). It occurs in the phrase "all the words of the law" (Deut. 17:19), where it is parallel to the expression "these commandments" (Heb. *ḥuqqîm*, Gk. *dikaiōmata*).

3. In the Qumran literature the Heb. words discussed under section 2 occur some 235 times: *ṣiwwâh* (26 times), *miṣwâh* (25 times), *pāqaḏ* (33 times), *p*^{e}*quddâh* (14 times), *piqqûḏîm* (once), *dibbēr* (as a vb. 5 times, as a noun 12 times), *ḥōq* (50 times, of which 16 are in the sing.; it is often used absolutely), *ḥāqaq* (twice), *ḥuqqâh* (3 times), *tôrâh* (63 times in the sense of 2 (e), mostly used absolutely, otherwise as the "law of Moses"). This linguistic usage strengthens the contention that the Qumran sect was concerned with the literal, scriptural keeping of the commandments of the Pentateuch and the prophets (cf. 1QS 1:3). This differentiated them from the more lax attitude of the Jerusalem priesthood. The following stereotyped formulae occur: "as he [God] has commanded" (1QS 1:3, 17; 5:1, 8, 22; and often); "what I have commanded you", "what I command you this day" (1QS 1:3; 4:6, 9 and often); all "that thou hast commanded" (1QH 15:11, 18 f.). The substance of the Mosaic law is presupposed in these summary formulae and in the terms commandment and law, used absolutely. It was preserved through constant learning and remembrance in daily living. Observance of this normative pattern for life is decisive in determining whether someone belongs to the children of light. It is also decisive in whether one will stand in the impending last → judgment (see 1QM as a whole). From this standpoint the predilection for the *pqd* word-group is understandable. Its meaning encompasses a whole concept of history. It denotes the mustering of the men who belong to the sect (1QM 2:4; 12:8 and often; CD 10:2 and often), the keeping of the commandments (1QS 5:22), the commandments themselves (CD 20:2), and God's calling to account of the response that men have given to the commandment of God (CD 8:3 and often). This is more than simply God's visiting (→ Bishop, art. *episkopos* NT). On the appropriate form of action see above 2 (b).

There is only occasional reference to the necessity of actualizing in the historical present the eternal commandments of God (1Q22 2:8; 1QS 9:12 ff.). In the latter reference the rules of the sect express the particular form of the divine commandments through the teacher and instructor. Since the rules of the community are understood as the logical interpretation of the Mosaic law, the term *ḥōq* (commandment) is occasionally used to denote these rules (e.g. 1QS 9:12 ff.; 1QSa 1:5; CD 12:20). The use of ethical terms to describe creation ordinances indicates that the dualism of light and darkness was adapted to express faith in creation and the covenant (cf. CD 2:21; 1QM 10:12; 1QH 1:10; 12:5). In short, the use of these terms in the Qumran literature reflects a rigid reduplication of the law (see above 2 (a) and (d)).

4. In the strictly regulated life of the Qumran community the supervision of moral behaviour appears to have been ensured. On the other hand, the Judaism of the synagogues suffered from an atomistic ethic which fragmented everything into nothing but individual demands and individual acts (G. Schrenk, *TDNT* II 547: SB I 814 ff.; IV, 1 3–19, 490–500). The OT apocrypha and pseudepigrapha maintained the usage and sense of the OT and LXX (cf. Test. Lev. 14:2, 6; Test. Jud. 14:6; 16:3 f.; Ass. Mos. 12:10; Test. Dan. 5:1; Test. Ben. 10:3 f.). Josephus probably assimilated his ideas of *entolē* to Roman thinking and used it in a legal rather than a theological sense (*Ant.* 1, 43; 7, 338, 342; 8, 94, 120, 337). Philo exhibits a Stoic antipathy towards the necessity of concrete commands, for the man who controls his knowledge and natural inclinations has no need of them (*Spec. Leg.* 1,300; *Rer. Div. Her.* 8; *Praem.* 79, 101; *Som.* 2, 175; cf. G. Schrenk, *TDNT* II 546 f.).

Judaism at the time of Jesus thus lived in a tension. On the one hand, there was the search for comprehensive basic commandments, the obligation of the halachah (the transmission in a kind of catechism of ethical rules) to observe a casuistical system. On the other hand, there was the attempt to distinguish between the important and the less important commandments (cf. SB I 903, 907; II 87 f.; III 543; 4 Macc. 5:20; the two great commandments consisting of Deut. 6:5 and Lev. 19:18 discussed in Mk. 12:29 f.; Matt. 22:34–40; Lk. 20:39 f.; 10:25–28). Test. Iss. 5:2 contains the exhortation: "But love the Lord and your neighbour. Have compassion on the poor and weak." However, scholars are divided over whether the work is Jewish (2nd cent. B.C.; cf. Charles, II, 289 f.) or Christian (*c.* A.D. 200; cf. M. de Jonge, *The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*, 1953). The theological problem in Judaism lay in the lack of an authoritative, prophetic message which could apply the law in terms of commandments which were valid for the contemporary situation.

NT In the NT the noun occurs 68 times and the vb. 14 times. These are concentrated chiefly in the Johannine writings including Rev. (34 times; 14 times in Jn. where the vb. occurs only 3 times) and in Paul (14 times, the noun only, of which Rom. has 7 instances). In the syn. gospels Matt. uses the noun 6 times and the vb. 4 times; Mk. the noun 8 times and the vb. twice; Lk. the noun 5 times and the vb. once. The remaining instances are divided between Acts (3 instances), Heb. (6 instances) and 2 Pet. (2 instances).

1. According to the syn. gospels, Jesus' teaching entered without reserve into the divisive discussion of the commandments (see above OT 4). Jesus refused to participate in casuistry or set up a hierarchical scale which would distinguish between the least, and therefore dispensable commandments (*entolē* as an individual commandment, Matt. 5:19) and a great commandment in the sense of an an omni-comprehensive, unified law. The latter is reflected in the expressions *megalē en tō nomō* (lit. "great in the law", Matt. 22:36); *prōtē* (first, Matt. 22:38; Mk. 12:28); *meizōn toutōn* (greater than these, Mk. 12:31). He refused to play off the command to love God against the command to love men (see the above passages, cf. Lk. 10:25 ff. though the word *entolē* is not actually used here). He also refused to allow a clear commandment of God to be rendered void by man-made ordinances under the pretext of a supposed love of God which had priority. He

denounced these human statutes as "your tradition" (*tēn paradosin hymōn*, Matt. 15:3; Mk. 7:9) and "the tradition of men" (*tēn paradosin tōn anthrōpōn*, Mk. 7:8). Instead of this, Jesus taught that love of God and love of man were inseparable. Beside the first great commandment, there is a "second like it. . . . On these two commandments depend all the law and the prophets" (Matt. 22:39 f.). "There is no other commandment greater than these" (Mk. 12:31). By relating the commandment to its original sense of an offer of life springing from the love of God, it is possible both to love God and one's neighbour in gratitude.

This is shown by numerous examples in the teaching of Jesus. The rich young ruler was challenged to surrender all his goods to the poor in order to live without reserve by the daily care of God as he followed Jesus (Matt. 19:16–30; Mk. 10:17–31; Lk. 18:18–30). God's original ordinance of monogamous marriage was designed to further the joy of marriage, rather than sanction a casuistical approach to divorce (Matt. 19:7; Mk. 10:3, 5; cf. Deut. 24:1). Both the context and the parable of the Good Samaritan (Lk. 10:25–37) show Jesus' loving attitude to his legalistic opponent. They show how, through encounter with the love of God, the shattered unity of love for God and love for one's neighbour is restored (cf. Lk. 10:27, 29). Through response to the loving commandment of God (10:37, cf. 33 ff.), love for God grasps the God-giving opportunities to serve and love one's fellow man (→ Mercy, Compassion).

Jesus brought word and action into a unity. He stands in contrast to his opponents who burdened men with commandments (Matt. 23:4; cf. Lk. 11:46; Matt. 11:28 ff.; where *phortion*, → burden, is a picture of the oppressive burden of the commandments, cf. Arndt, 873). Jesus displayed a prophetic and regal authority over the commandment. He showed this in the antitheses of the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5:21–48) and his attitude to the → sabbath (Mk. 2:23–27). He did not set aside the law. Rather, he rose above the discussion of the commandments and the bondage into which men get when they administer them, by turning our eyes to the giver of the law (Matt. 5:48; cf. 5:17). The doing of the law is no longer a problem in the presence of God revealed by Jesus.

Jesus fulfilled utterly and completely the commandment of God to abandon self for mankind (Matt. 26:39; Mk. 14:36; Lk. 22:42; cf. Phil. 2:8; Jn. 19:30). Hence, the Johannine writings can rightly speak of a "new commandment" (*kainē entolē*, Jn. 13:34 and often, see under 3). The missionary command can speak of doing all that Jesus commanded (Matt. 28:20; cf. Acts 1:2, 8). Paul could speak of serving the law of God in the power of the Spirit in gratitude to God through Christ (Rom. 7:25; cf. 7:1–24; Rom. 8:2; see below 2 (a)).

The remaining synoptic passages containing *entolē* and *entellesthai* are less significant theologically and have the meanings outlined under OT. The parents of John the Baptist walked "in all the commandments and ordinances" (Lk. 1:6). The women among the followers of Jesus rested on the sabbath "according to the commandment" (Lk. 23:56). In the temptation narratives the devil quoted Ps. 91[90]:11: "He shall give his angels charge over you" (*enteleitai . . . peri* with the gen., Matt. 4:6; Lk. 4:10 adds "to guard you"). Jesus commanded (*eneteilato*) his disciples not to speak about his transfiguration (Matt. 17:9). Mk. who lays great stress on the messianic secret used the stronger term *diesteilato* (charged, Mk. 9:9).

2.(a) The rabbis taught that the → law was the best means appointed by God to subdue evil inclination (SB III 237). In contrast, Paul developed the sharpest antithesis to this in the central section of Rom. (7:7 ff.). For Paul, the Spirit of God is the only power that subdues evil inclination (O. Michel, *Der Brief an die Römer*, KEK, 4 1963[12], 147, 180; cf. above 1). Using the first person singular the apostle testifies to the revelatory function of the law in history in unveiling the power of sin. Although the law is holy (Rom. 7:12) it results in bringing about → desire which brings in its train sin and death (7:10; cf. G. Bornkamm, *Early Christian Experience*, 1969, 87–104). Law (*nomos*) and commandment (*entolē*) are identified in the whole passage Rom. 7:7–13. The intention is to express the force of the law concretely in the commandment, so that "the *nomos* becomes acute through the *entolē*" (G. Schrenk, *TDNT* II 550). The word commandment does not denote the creation ordinance, for it is the tenth commandment of the Decalogue that is quoted (Exod. 20:17; Deut. 5:21). Moreover, it is intensified by omitting the object. The fateful, compulsive plunge from desire to sin, to eschatological death is, however, depicted ontologically by the story of the fall (Gen. 3; cf. S. Lyonnet, see bibliography). Paul twice uses the formula: "sin, finding opportunity [*aphormēn labousa*] in the commandment" (7:8, 11). Thus sin works all kinds of covetousness (7:8), and deceives and kills through the commandment by making use of it (cf. O. Michel, op. cit., 173). The commandment has even provoked the virulence of sin and brought to life its death-dealing power through which the self that succumbs to it perishes (7:9 f.). However, the commandment is holy, just and good (7:12). This is not only because it corresponds to God (= good), is given for life (7:10) and represents God's rights (= just). It is also holy in that it is set apart for the service of God and thus fights on the side of the Spirit (cf. 7:14 "the law is spiritual" [*pneumatikos*]). Its service is ultimately beneficial, because its leads man to see his powerlessness before sin and the hopeless and fatal character of his struggle. As one set under the law, he is obliged to carry it on by himself against the personal might of sin (7:24). But the law also drives him to the saving power of the gospel of Jesus Christ (7:25; 8:1 ff.; cf. O. Michel, op. cit., 179 ff.). The teaching of Paul, the servant of the risen Christ, is thus in line with the teaching of Jesus (see above 1). The apostle also removes exhortation from the burden of the law and presents it in the context of the Christ-event, as God's saving will here and now. Nowhere is this basic theme of Pauline preaching found in a more pregnant form than in the confessional formula: he has abolished "in his flesh the law of commandments and ordinances" (Eph. 2:15). The accumulation of synonyms *ton nomon tōn entolōn en dogmasin* graphically describes how they were all swept away by Christ. Similarly, Tit. 1:14 exhorts not to give heed "to Jewish myths or to commands of men who reject the truth" (cf. Mk. 7:8 f. par.).

There is no basic contradiction when Paul, like Jesus (cf. Matt. 19:17), urges men to keep "the commandments of God" (*tērēsis entolōn theou*, 1 Cor. 7:19). Gal. 5:6 and 6:15 have the same premise (neither circumcision counts for anything nor uncircumcision, but . . .). These passages show that faith which works through love (Gal. 5:6) and the new creation (Gal. 6:15) provides the presupposition for keeping the commandments. On this basis, 1 Cor. 7:19 repudiates Christian libertinism (see below, 3 and 4). Eph. 6:2 endorses the Fifth Commandment to "Honour your father and mother" (cf. Exod. 20:12). Rom. 13:9 sees the command "You

shall love your neighbour as yourself" (Lev. 19:8) as a summary of all the individual commands of the second table of the Decalogue. Both these passages stand in close conjunction with apostolic exhortation. The imperative is grounded in the preceding indicative that has already been expounded.

On several occasions Paul uses *entolē* to denote the directions that he gives in his authority as an apostle. Col. 4:10 speaks about the instructions concerning Barnabas (cf. Acts 17:15). 1 Cor. 14:37 stresses that what he is writing is a command of the Lord, and thus will be recognized by those who are spiritual. Timothy is charged to keep the commandment unstained (1 Tim. 6:14; cf. 6:20).

(b) In agreement with Paul (see above on Eph. 2:15), Heb. systematically expounds the theme of the superiority of the heavenly, royal high-priesthood of Christ over the levitical priesthood. It shows how "a former commandment is set aside [*athetēsis*, a legal technical term] because of its weakness and uselessness" (Heb. 7:18). It is superseded by a better hope (Heb. 7:19; cf. Rom. 7:7–10). In the same way, Heb. 7:16 speaks of the setting aside of the "law of fleshly commandment" (*nomon entolēs sarkinēs*), i.e. the commandment bound to what is transitory, by the power of "an indestructible life" (*dynamin zōēs akatalytou*). The remaining passages deal with OT references (7:5; 9:19 f.). *eneteilato* in Heb. 11:22 is used of Joseph's giving directions for his bones.

3. (a) In Jn. *entolē* and the plur. *entolai* and the vb. *entellomai* are used virtually exclusively in relation to the only Son, the revealer. Jn. 11:57 is an exception. Here the chief priests and Pharisees gave police instructions (*entolas*) that they should be informed of Jesus' whereabouts. Otherwise, the words occur only in the discourses which are presented as the utterances of the Son. There is no basic significance in the frequent oscillation between the sing. and plur. of the noun. Just as the Father's commands to Jesus (15:10) constitute one command (12:49 f.), so he speaks now of his commands (15:10; 14:15, 21) and now of his command (13:34; 15:12). His commands are really only one command, the command to love (15:12). "The new *entolē* of Jesus to His disciples is the command to love. It is given its deepest basis in Jn. 13:34. The new factor is not the law of love as such, nor a new degree of love, but its christological foundation. They are to love one another as those who are loved by Jesus. . . . The *entolai*, always summed up in the one command of love, do not imply a Jewish multiplicity of ordinances, but the radiating of the one *entolē* out into the manifoldness of the obedient life" (G. Schrenk, *TDNT* II 553 f.). The expressions "keep [*tērein*] the commandments" (Jn. 14:15; 15:10), "have [*echein*] the commandments" (14:21), "keep the word [*logon*]" (8:51 f., 55; 14:23; 15:20; 17:6), and "keep the words [*logous*]" (14:24) are also interchangeable, because the word of the Son is the source of the command.

The basic relationship established by the commandment is that of the Father to the Son (10:18; 14:31; 15:10; 12:49 f.). There is no conflict between the authority given to the Son and his free decision and active obedience (cf. 10:18 with 10:17; 14:31). Nor is there a conflict here with the words and actions of the Son (12:49; cf. above, 1). The command of the Father is eternal life (12:50), not because anyone could fulfil it and thus gain eternal life, but because the fulfilment of this command by the Son means eternal life for the world. Through keeping the Father's commands, the Son loves the Father (14:31). The Son remains in the love of the Father, i.e. in the love with which the Father loves him (15:10). This love is not a mystical or purely

inner-trinitarian love; it is active in history (3:16). It means the giving of the Son through the Father and the self-giving of the Son for the disciples (14:9; 15:12 ff.). For Jn. the disciples represent the whole eschatological community (10:16; 17:20ff. and often).

The historical expression of the Son's love does not end with the person who is loved. Rather, it provides the basis, conditions and possibility of extending this love through the loved one. "A new commandment I give to you, that you love one another; even as I have loved you, that you also love one another" (13:34, on *kathōs*, as, see Arndt, 392; cf. also R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 1971, 382, 492, 525, 536). This love is to be practised. It is therefore the one new commandment (cf. also 15:12). Here again *kathōs* is the conjunction which gives both the reason and the manner of love. The vb. *entellomai* is connected with friendship and love in 15:12 and 17. The unique ground of all this is the Son's act of love which has introduced a new era. Historically and ethically this commandment is by no means new (see above OT and NT 1). The love of the disciples should have its ground and norm in the love of Jesus which they have received (cf. R. Bultmann, op. cit., 542, on 15:12). It excludes all legalism and also all antinomianism that might try to evade with gnostic arrogance the logical consequences of this single imperative (13:35; cf. 1 Cor. 7:3 f., 19: Lk. 10:25 ff.; Rom. 13:9). At the same time as the disciples love one another they also love the Son, and vice versa (14:21; cf. 14:15). To abide in the Son's commandments is to abide in his love, just as his own abiding in the Father's commandment means to abide in the Father's love (15:10 see above 1). He who has and keeps the Son's commandments loves the Son, and will be loved by the Father. Likewise the Son will love him and will reveal himself as the exalted one to him (14:21).

(b) The use of the terms in the Johannine epistles is essentially the same as in Jn. The plur. (1 Jn. 2:3 f.; 3:22, 24; 5:2 f.; 2 Jn. 6) alternates with the sing. (1 Jn. 2:7 f.; 3:24; 2 Jn. 4 ff.). Keeping the commandment or commandments is equated with keeping the word (1 Jn. 2:4 f., 7). However, there are significant formal differences which are also significant for interpretation. In the letters it is no longer the Son himself who proclaims the commandment. Instead, there are discussions and meditations on the commandment of God or Jesus. In contrast with the gospel, the discussion is often about the "commandment of God" or "the Father", giving the impression that the writer is thinking simply of the command to love in the gospel. The OT commandments do not come into view. This indicates a distance in time from the gospel (1 Jn. 3:21 ff.; 5:2 f.; 2 Jn. 4). The apologetic situation of the author and the recipients of his letters suggests a conflict with antinomian docetism which evidently disputed both the person of Christ and the need for spiritual believers to submit to an ethic binding on all (cf. 1 Jn. 1:1–10; on the background see D. Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, 1962, II, 191–94). This necessitates further explanation of the commandment. "And this is his commandment, that we should believe in the name of his Son Jesus Christ and love one another, just as he has commanded us" (1 Jn. 3:23; cf. Gal. 5:6; 1 Cor. 7:19). The idea of the commandment can also be given a new meaning. God's timing (*kairos*) adds a new perspective. "Yet I am writing to you a new commandment, which is true in him and in you, because the darkness is passing away and the true light is already shining" (1 Jn. 2:8). On the other hand, the commandment to love preached in the

mission field of the churches (the "new commandment" of Jn., cf. 3 (a) above) is now the "old commandment." "Beloved, I am writing you no new commandment, but an old commandment which you had from the beginning; the old commandment is the word which you have heard" (1 Jn. 2:7; cf. 2 Jn. 5 f.). Here the word → old (*palaia*) means known of old, of long standing, as opposed to the enthusiastic new doctrine of the docetic gnostics. This long known commandment is so deep-rooted that the author speaks of it without using the art. (1 Jn. 3:23; 2 Jn. 4, 6). This commandment which has been long observed in the churches provides the ground for certainty that all prayers are answered by God (1 Jn. 3:22). 1 Jn. 4:21 formulates the twofold commandment of the OT and the synoptics (cf. Mk. 12:28 ff., see above 1) as a single command which comes from "him": "And this commandment we have from him, that he who loves God should love his brother also." Again the stress falls on brotherly love. But there is also a corollary. "By this we know that we love the children of God, when we love God and obey his commandments" (1 Jn. 5:2). Overtones of Jesus' invitation in Matt. 11:28 ff. and the certainty of victory in 1 Jn. 2:8 may be heard in 1 Jn. 5:3 f. The fulfilment of the commandment on the part of God and also on the part of the man equipped for it is assured.

(c) In the same certainty of victory, Rev. testifies to present opposition (12:17, in the demand for the worship of images), patience and final victory (12:14; 22:14, where some manuscripts read "do his commandments"). This is the lot of those who keep God's commandments and bear witness to Jesus. Never again in the Johannine teaching are the commandments spoken of without Jesus being named (G. Schrenk, *TDNT* II 555).

4. 2 Pet. attacks libertine groups in the churches he addresses even more strongly than 1 and 2 Jn. These opponents have turned back "from the holy commandment delivered to them" (2:21). This refers to the entire Christian teaching, above all in ethical practice which is described in the same verse as "the way of righteousness" (cf. Prov. 21:16; Job 24:13; Matt. 21:32). The sole defence against libertinism is to recall OT prophecy and "the commandment of the Lord and Saviour through your apostles" (3:2). In both passages the way is prepared to understand Jesus as the proclaimer of a new law and Christian doctrine as the summary of it.

5. Finally, the exhortatory passages of the Apostolic Fathers present a picture of a new legalism. The scheme of a two ways doctrine (especially in Barn. 19 ff.; cf. Hermas, *Com.*) promises eternal punishment to those who do not hear or keep the commandments of Christ (2 Clem. 4:5, an unknown word of the Lord; 6:7). (The expression "God's commandments" [Barn. 4:11; 1 Clem. 50:5] is less common.) But those who keep the commandments are promised eternal life (2 Clem. 8:4; Hermas, *Vis.* 3, 5, 3; Hermas, *Com.* 8, 12; Hermas, *Sim.* 10, 3, 9, the command of the angel of repentance; cf. *Vis.* 5, 5 ff.). Ignatius exhorted the church to be subject to the bishop and to the commandment (absolutely, *Trall.* 13:2). He praised them because they were united in the commandments of Christ (*Rom.* preamble), and were "adorned with the commandments of Jesus Christ" (*Eph.* 9:2). The instructions of the Sermon on the Mount were understood as the "commandment and ordinances [*parangelmata*] of the Lord" (1 Clem. 13:3). The almost exclusive use of the plur. shows how far they were removed in understanding from the Johannine *one* commandment (see above, 3). *H-H. Esser*

παραγγέλλω

παραγγέλλω (*parangellō*), order, give orders, command, instruct, direct; παραγγελία (*parangelia*), order, command, precept, advice.

CL *parangellō* means to order or command (someone or with the infin. of the vb.). Originally it meant passing on a command. *parangelia* means order or instruction in secular Gk. and is found from about the 5th and 4th cents. B.C. The words were used by persons of different kinds of authority, including military commands, the instructions of the philosophers (Epictetus), and even a god (in Plato). The essential element is that someone is put under an obligation.

OT The noun does not occur in the LXX. 1 Sam. 22:14 has *parangelma* which has the same meaning. The vb. is common in the LXX for Heb. *šāmaʿ* in the piel and hiphil, meaning to cause to hear, assemble, proclaim, summon. It is used of the military proclamations of kings and generals (1 Sam. 15:4; 23:8; 1 Macc. 5:58 and often), the command of Joshua and Cyrus (Jos. 6:7; 2 Chron. 36:22) etc. In prophetic teaching it is used of the call to war against Babylon (Jer. 27[MT50]:29; 28[MT51]:27). The instructions of Daniel and Judas Maccabaeus also had a religious character (Dan. 2:18; 2 Macc. 13:10). Nebuchadnezzar's command to worship the image of his cult was opposed to God (Dan. 3:4).

NT 1. Both words are used in the NT in a general, secular sense. Both the noun and the vb. occur in the account of the command of the authorities at Philippi to put Paul and Silas into prison (Acts 16:23 f.). The tribune Claudius Lysias issued orders to protect Paul from assassination (Acts 23:22, 30). The high priests commanded the apostles not to speak and teach in the name of Jesus (Acts 4:18; 5:28, 40). The emphatic semitic construction *parangelia parēngeilamen* (5:28, "we strictly charged" RSV) underlines the seriousness of the command. (Cf. M. Wilcox, *The Semitisms of Acts*, 1965, 151, who sees the construction as a reflection of the Heb. infinitive absolute construction. The construction is found some 200 times in the LXX.) In the early church there were Jewish Christians who were Pharisees who said that it was necessary to circumcise Gentile Christians and "charge them to keep the law" (Acts 15:5).

2. In the gospels only the vb. is used, and that in a few passages in the synoptics which refer exclusively to the commands of Jesus. In the feeding of the four thousand, Jesus commanded the crowd to sit down on the ground (Matt. 15:35; Mk. 8:6). Jesus commanded silence of the leper who had been healed and the parents of Jairus's daughter (Lk. 5:14; 8:56). The disciples received the same order at the confession of Christ (Lk. 9:21). The statements in Matt. 10:5 and Mk. 6:8 refer to the instructions that the Lord gave to the disciples when he sent them out. Jesus commanded the unclean spirit to leave the demoniac (Lk. 8:9). Paul gave the same rebuke "in the name of Jesus" to the spirit of divination in a girl (Acts 16:18). The risen Christ gave the disciples the command not to leave Jerusalem before Pentecost (Acts 1:4). The authority of Jesus continued in the apostolic preaching which stood under the command of Jesus and through which God commands men to repent (Acts 10:42; 17:30).

3. The letters of the apostles present the same picture. Paul based his prohibition of divorce on the word of the Lord (1 Cor. 7:10). Here he distinguished between

the authority of Jesus and his own. He wanted to show that the commands which he gave "of the Lord" were absolutely binding for the church (1 Cor. 7:25; cf. 1 Thess. 4:2). Apostolic authority lay behind the directions for the behaviour of women in worship, the exhortations to Christians to behave respectably in the eyes of the pagan world, to work in peace and to eat their own bread (1 Cor. 11:17; 1 Thess. 4:11; 2 Thess. 3:12). Regardless of whether it is in the form of written or oral instruction, the apostle expected that the church would comply with them. They were even to keep away from any brother who did not walk according to the apostolic commands (2 Thess. 3:4, 6, 10 ff.). Paul commanded (*parangellō*) Timothy to "keep the commandment [*entolēn*] unstained and free from reproach until the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ" (1 Tim. 6:14). "The aim of our charge [*parangelia*] is love that issues from a pure heart and a good conscience and sincere faith" (1 Tim. 1:5). Timothy is therefore charged to wage a good warfare (1:18), and to "charge certain persons not to teach any different doctrine" (1:3). The apostolic instructions apply to certain individual groups, including "widows" (5:7) and the rich (6:17). The solemn appeal to God and Christ makes clear the nature of authority behind the apostolic commands (6:13 f.). *W. Mundle*

→ Exhort, Warn, Console, → Law, → Love

κελεύω

κελεύω (*keleuō*), command, order; κέλευσμα (*keleusma*), signal, cry of command.

CL & OT The verb *keleuō* occurs widely in classical Greek from Homer onwards. It is generally used of verbal orders emanating from a person of superior rank or status. The word is also attested in Philo (*Leg. All.* 2; 28) and Josephus (*Ant.* 11, 28; 20, 132). In the LXX its use is confined to books from the Apocrypha. Here it can be used of a Levitical command (1 Esd. 9:53), of a master's instructions (Tob. 8:18), of an army officer's command (Jud. 2:15; 12:1; 2 Macc. 5:12; 13:12; 14:31), of royal directives (2 Macc. 1:20; 7:5; 9:7; 14:27), of a prophet's word (2 Macc. 1:4), and of God's command (2 Macc. 15:4).

NT In the NT the use of *keleuō* is confined very largely to Matthew and Acts. There are eighteen occurrences in Acts, eight in Matthew, and one in Luke. In Acts the word is used only of orders given by human authorities: of the Sanhedrin (4:15), the Ethiopian eunuch (8:38), Gamaliel (5:34), Herod (12:19), the magistrates (16:22), the tribune (21:33; 22:24; 22:30; 23:10), the High Priest (23:3), Felix (23:35; 24:8), Festus (25:6; 25:17; 25:21; 25:23) and the centurion (27:43). The word is not used for commands issued by God or members of the church. In these cases *entellomai* or *parangellō* is used (Acts 13:47; 10:42; 15:5; 16:18; 17:30).

In Matthew *keleuō* is again used of orders given by human authorities: of Pilate (27:58; 27:64) and Herod (14:9) (cf. also the master in the parable of 18:25). On a few occasions however the word is used of orders given by Jesus. It occurs in his command to cross over and escape the crowds (8:18), and in the two feeding miracles where it expresses Jesus' order to the crowds to be seated (14:19; 15:35). Luke's solitary use of the word is also a command of Jesus to the effect that the blind man be brought to him (Lk. 18:40). Mark prefers to use such words as *eipon*, *entellomai*, *epitassō* and *parangellō*.

The word *keleusma* occurs in classical Greek from Herodotus and Aeschylus onwards. Here it is often used of the command of a god. The word can also mean signal, summons, and can even be a word of encouragement to animals (Plato) or rowers (Aeschylus). Sometimes *keleusma* is simply a cry. Its meaning is therefore fairly wide, ranging from specific commands to terse orders and inarticulate cries. All of these senses are attested in Josephus (*Ant.* 17, 140, 199; 19:110; *War* 2, 549) and Philo (*Praem.* 117; *Abr.* 116). In the LXX *keleusma* occurs only in Prov. 30:27, where it refers to the orderly march of locusts at one command. In the NT *keleusma* is to be found only in 1 Thess. 4:16 where it denotes a shout of command at the onset of the parousia, together with a call of the archangel and a trumpet sound. It is not clear who gives this *keleusma* – God, Christ or the archangel. The context suggests that the specific purpose of the shout is to awaken the dead, but it is probably also meant to intimate the end of all things in general. *P. J. Budd*

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Conceive, Apprehend

συλλαμβάνω — *συλλαμβάνω* (*syllambanō*), seize, conceive, assist.

CL *syllambanō* is a verb compounded from the preposition *syn* (with, together) and *lambanō* (take). From its primary meaning "take with", "collect together", several derived meanings are to be found in secular Gk. literature, e.g. (a) put together, close (as with the eyes and mouth of a corpse – Plato); (b) lay hands on, seize; (c) grasp, apprehend (of the mind); (d) conceive, become pregnant; (e) take part with another, assist.

OT In the LXX, *syllambanō* is very often used to translate Heb. *hārâh*, "conceive", either literally (e.g. Gen. 4:1, 17; 1 Sam. 1:20) or figuratively (Ps. 7:14). Elsewhere it frequently has the meaning "seize" or "arrest". In this latter sense it can describe the physical act of arresting a person or catching an animal (e.g. Num. 5:13; Deut. 21:19; Jdg. 15:4); the capture of a town or place in a military campaign (e.g. 2 Ki. 14:7; Jer. 39:24); or, figuratively, the "snatching away" of sinners before their time by an act of God's judgment (Job 22:16; Ps. 9:16), or the "snaring" of the unsuspecting by the wicked (Jer. 5:26; cf. Eccl. 7:27). It does not carry the meaning of "assist" in the LXX, though the Jewish historian Josephus uses it in this sense.

NT *syllambanō* occurs sixteen times in the NT, and it is used in three distinct ways:

(a) Luke uses it to mean "conceive" in his account of the births of John the Baptist and Jesus (Lk. 1:24; 31, 36; 2:21). *syllambanō* also bears this meaning figuratively in Jas. 1:15; where the imagery of conception, birth and growth demonstrates the close relationship between desire, sin and death.

(b) As in the LXX and classical Gk., *syllambanō* also bears the sense of "seize" or "capture" in the NT. Perhaps because the idea of physical strength is prominent, rather than legal powers of arrest, this is the word used in all four Gospels to describe the seizing of Jesus in the Garden of Gethsemane (Mk. 14:48 par.; Lk. 22:54; Jn. 18:12; cf. Acts 1:16). Luke also employs it in his narrative of the arrest of Peter by Herod (after Herod had "laid violent hands upon some who belonged to the church" – Acts 12:1–3), and again in the account of the attempt by the

Jews to lynch Paul outside the temple at Jerusalem (Acts 23:27). In Lk. 5:9 the same word describes a huge catch of fish.

(c) *syllambanō* also appears twice in the middle voice, meaning "take hold of together", "assist" (see CL (e) above). In Lk. 5:7 it carries its usual physical sense, when those in Simon's boat call for help when their nets break under the strain of a miraculous catch; and in Phil. 4:3 Paul uses it to appeal to an unknown church member to "help" Euodia and Syntyche resolve their differences.

→ Birth *D. H. Field*

Arndt, 784; G. Delling, *syllambanō*, *TDNT* VII 759–62.

Confess

ὁμολογέω

ὁμολογέω (*homologeō*), promise, confess, declare, praise; *ἐξομολογέω* (*exomologeō*), promise, confess, praise; *ὁμολογία* (*homologia*), confession.

CL *homologeō* (Soph. onwards) and *homologia* (Hdt. onwards) are compounds of *homos*, the same, similar, and *legō*, say, or *logos*, word, speech. Hence *homologeō* means to say the same, i.e. agree in one's statements, and *homologia* means agreement, consent.

The legal connotation is dominant. A man agrees with another's statement, concedes or confesses something (e.g. his guilt before a judge), agrees to something (e.g. another's wish) and so promises. This agreement expresses itself in an act of commitment, promise, or confession in a court or legal contract.

The religious use of the words is probably derived primarily from their use in the language of treaties and the law-courts. The man who binds himself by an oath (*homologeō*) enters into a treaty relationship with the deity. This concept was then transferred from the solemn confession of wrong-doing before a court of law to the confession of sin to the deity. These concepts were used especially in the oriental cults, as may be seen from Lydian and Phrygian expiatory inscriptions. In modern Gk. the concept has come to mean sacramental confession to a priest: *exomologeomai*, I make my confession; *exomologeō*, I hear a confession.

OT 1. In the LXX *homologeō* is used once each to translate Heb. *yāḏâh*, praise (Job 40:14(9)), *nāḏar*, make a vow (Jer. 44:25 (LXX 51:25)) and *šāḇa'*, swear (Ezek. 16:8). *homologia* is used occasionally for Heb. *n^{e}ḏāḇâh*, freewill offering (Deut. 12:17; Ezek. 46:12; Amos 4:5), *nēḏer*, vow (Jer. 44:25 (LXX 51:25); Lev. 22:18) and *tôḏâh*, praise, honour (Ezr. 10:11 (LXX 1 Esd. 9:8)). As O. Michel points out, "in transl[ation] the *homologia* group is given less prominence because its legal and commercial sense seemed too profane" (*TDNT* V 204).

Far commoner is the compound *exomologeō*, used *c.* 120 times, mainly as a translation of the Heb. *yāḏâh*, praise, confess. It is sometimes used along with *psallō*, sing praises (cf. 2 Sam. 22:50; Pss. 7:17(18); 18:49(50); 30:4(5)), or *aineō*, thank (cf. 1 Chr. 16:4; 29:13; 2 Chr. 31:2; Ps. 106:47). Hence it means to praise, confess with praise – "among the nations" (Ps. 18:49), worship with song (cf. 2 Chr. 31:2; Ps. 100:4). The same is true of the noun *exomologēsis* (cf. 1 Chr. 25:3; 2 Chr. 20:22; Neh. 12:27; Ps. 147:7). The subject of the praise is God's majesty and power (1

Chr. 29:12 f.), his mighty acts in the history of the people (Ps. 105:1–6), his gracious goodness (Ps. 118:1–4), his saving of men from distress (Ps. 107:1, 8, 15, 21, 31), and his deliverance from enemies (Ps. 9:1(2)). So the word often gains the further connotation of thanks, especially when answered prayer is specially mentioned (Pss. 28:6 f.; 118:21; cf. 106:47).

If we compare it with secular Gk., this usage involves a considerable change in meaning. But the original Gk. meaning of confessing an offence openly was never quite lost. The Heb. *yādâh* in hiph. and hith. means both to praise, give glory and confess an offence. This is particularly clear in Jos. 7:19; 1 Ki. 8:33–36; and 2 Chr. 6:24–27, where the glorifying confession of Yahweh's name linked with the acknowledgement of the sin committed is called for. We may compare also Ps. 107:15 with v. 11 and v. 21 with v. 17, where confession of sin and thanks for deliverance are heard together.

For us this association of confession of sin and praise of God is strange. It comes from the fact that in Israel the praise of God is always linked with a definite past action of God, with a saving event in history, or even with an act of judgment. In the last case "in accepting a justly imposed judgment" the one who praises confesses "his transgression and he clothes what he says in the mantle of an avowal giving God the glory" (G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology* I, 1962, 359). When the one who is praying confesses in his thanksgiving that God is right and so recognizes his own fault and the rightness of the punishment that has followed it, the law-suit against him is closed (von Rad, ibid., 358). This gives a clue to the understanding of passages like Jos. 7:19, where Achan is called on to give glory to God before his execution, and Ezr. 10:11 (LXX 1 Esd. 9:8) with its call to confession by the people.

The combination "call on the name of the Lord, praise . . ." is often expressed by *epikaleō* in the LXX (→ Call).

2. In late Jud. *homologeō*, *exomologeō*, etc., were used of the confession of sins (cf. Pss. Sol. 9:12(6)). Repentance and confession belong together, and the prayer of repentance developed its own phraseology. Daniel (Dan. 9:3–19), the exiled people (Bar. 1–3), and Tobit (Tob. 3:1–6) confess the sins of their people, humble themselves under God's judgment, confess that he is right, and pray to him to show mercy for his name's sake. Josephus states that confession of sin preserves one from God's judgment (*Ant.*, 8, 4, 6; 8, 10, 3; 8, 13, 8 (129; 256 f.; 362); *War*, 5, 9, 4 (415)). The word-group is also used, as in the Pss., for praise of God and thanksgiving (Sir. 51:1–12). In Josephus *Kaisara despotēn homologein*, to confess Caesar as lord (*War* 7, 418), is parallel to 2 Macc. 7:37, "confess that he (God) is God alone." In the apocalyptic writings the word-group is used for the praise of God in which the elect and the angels of God will unite at the coming of the Judge of the world (cf. O. Michel, *TDNT*, V 204 ff.).

The term *yādâh* was particularly important in Qumran. Most of the psalms discovered there (1QH) begin, "I thank Thee, Lord, because . . ." (1QH 2:20, 31, etc.). This is parallel to Matt. 11:25. Confession of faults is often mentioned (1QS 1:24; cf. 1:9 ff.).

NT *homologeō* is found 26 times in the NT (10 times being in John) with a wide range of usage. It stretches from the basic use in secular Gk. via the LXX meanings to those found in the writings of late Jud. This is also partially true of the

compound *exomologeō*, which occurs only 10 times. But the noun *homologia* (found 6 times) is confined to the Christian confession (2 Cor. 9:13; 1 Tim. 6:12 f.), and is used with a fixed liturgical connotation (cf. Heb. 3:1; 4:14; 10:23).

1. The secular Hel. usage may be seen most clearly in Matt. 14:7 and Lk. 22:6. Herod promised his step-daughter with an oath to carry out her wish. Judas bound himself with an oath to betray Jesus. In both cases the "confessing" is tantamount to promising or swearing. There is a similar usage in Acts 7:17, for the confession or promise to Abraham was a binding one.

Heb. 11:13 is probably best understood in the light of the secular Gk. usage of confessing and avowing. On the threshold of the promised land the patriarchs had to confess in the presence of death that they were only strangers on the earth. But it may be that we should understand it as a proclamation, as a confession made openly. It could be that the writer deliberately used this word so as to permit both interpretations.

2. *homologeō* in Heb. 13:15 and *exomologeō* in Matt. 11:25; Lk. 10:21; and Rom. 15:9 (quoting Ps. 18:49) have the LXX meaning of praise. Jesus praised God's actions by gladly accepting God's plan. The praise to the glory of God begun in Christ – Ps. 18:49(50) is probably here taken as referring to Christ – is to be taken up and continued by the Gentiles (Rom. 15:9). Heb. 13:15 calls on the church to praise the name of God through Christ, i.e. through his mediation and in his presence.

3. The word-group, however, is used most frequently in the sense of confess, confess openly, state publicly.

(a) Paul made an affirmation before Felix, when he was on trial, which was in fact a confession of Jesus linked with one of God his Father. Similarly, John confessed openly that he was not the one they were awaiting (Jn. 1:20).

(b) Derived from this legal usage, *homologeō* in 1 Jn. 1:9 means the confessing and acknowledgment of sins. The one who makes the avowal faces a fact. He tries neither to hide nor deny it. When someone acknowledges and avows his fault thus honestly, he experiences God's faithfulness and righteousness in the forgiveness of sins. The tradition of the penitential psalms is continued in passages about confession of sins where except in 1 Jn. 1:9 *exomologeō* is used. Confession is a sign of repentance (→ Conversion) and thus a mark of the new life of faith. This is seen particularly clearly in Mk. 1:5 par., where, as in the Pss., public confession of sins means also being set free from them. The same is true of Acts 19:18, where the converts confess their earlier magical practices, and of Jas. 5:16, where James exhorts mutual confession of sins, especially where illness is involved.

(c) The church, or the individual believer, responds to the forgiveness of sins, i.e. to the saving act of God in Jesus Christ, by public confession (cf. 1 Tim. 6:12 which may refer to baptism). In this confession Jesus Christ is acknowledged as → Lord, and testimony is borne that God raised him from the dead for the salvation of his church. "In his 'confession' of faith, the believer turns away from himself, confessing that all he is and has, he is and has through that which God has done" (R. Bultmann, *Theology of the NT* I 319). So such a confession as an act of faith, even if it bears a formal character, is clearly linked to God's act of salvation in Christ, while the confession of the Pharisees in Acts 23:8 ff. is linked with a point of doctrine, which, though formally true, did not exclude resistance to Jesus. ([Tr.] The

implication of this statement may be misleading, for the Jewish confession is for the most part based directly or indirectly on God's saving acts in history.) When belief and confession, heart and mouth, are in unison, there is a promise of justification and salvation for eternity (Rom. 10:8 ff.). It seems certain that a primitive, Christian confessional formula lies behind v. 9. Obedience with regard to the confession (*hypotagē homologias*, 2 Cor. 9:13) is demonstrated in practical loving action (2 Cor. 9:6–13).

An integral part of true faith is the public confession of the incarnate Son of God (cf. Jn. 1:14; 1 Jn. 4:2), for fellowship with God is dependent on it (1 Jn. 2:23; 4:15). It is a mark of true christology in the face of heretical movements, possibly Gnostic, which denied the identity of Jesus with the Christ (1 Jn. 2:22; 4:2 f., 15). John never means isolated teachings, when he writes of confession, but the whole truth which produces fellowship with God. This truth is not a theological proposition but the person of Jesus. In his confession a man indicates that he stands by the fact of Christ and submits his life to it. It becomes a touchstone, a sign which tests the spirits. In his Gospel John relates that anyone openly confessing Jesus as the Messiah was put out of the synagogue (Jn. 9:22; 12:42). He calls on the church to distinguish in its meetings between true and false confessions (cf. 1 Jn. 4:1 f.).

Tit. 1:16 is also an attack on a heretical confession. Since the confession – perhaps one claiming the higher knowledge of the Gnostics – and the life of the one making it contradict one another, it is plain that the confession is false.

When *homologeō* stands in contrast to its opposite *arneomai* (→ deny), it gains a special significance (Jn. 1:20; Tit. 1:16; 1 Jn. 2:23; Matt. 10:32 f.; Lk. 12:8 f.). Since denial is always identical with apostasy from Jesus, the eschatological aspect of the confession is specially emphasized. When someone either places himself on the side of Jesus or separates himself from him in the sight of those who know him, he makes a decision on which God will act in → judgment (Matt. 12:32 f.; Rev. 3:5; cf. Mk. 8:38). The believer is so completely included in fellowship with Jesus, that his confession before man, e.g. before a human court of law during a time of persecution, is regarded as though it had been made before God's judgment seat. In such a context "confession" includes not only what a man says but also his obedience (→ Hear) which has become visible in his whole life. Where this total obedience is not found, where a man is satisfied with his understanding of and knowledge about salvation, it is equivalent to denial, which Jesus will "confess", when he says in judgment, "I never knew you" (Matt. 7:23). At the last every power and might will have to confess Jesus as the Christ, i.e. recognize him and do homage (Phil. 2:11). *D. Fürst*

(a). G. Bornkamm, "On Understanding the Christ-hymn (Philippians 2:6–11)," *Early Christian Experience*, 1969, 112–22; O. Cullmann, *The Earliest Christian Confessions*, 1949; C. H. Dodd, *The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments*, 1944²; J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, 1950; R. P. Martin, *An Early Christian Confession: Philippians II 5–11 in Recent Interpretation*, 1960; and *Carmen Christi: Philippians ii. 5–11*, 1967; O. Michel, *homologeō*, *TDNT* V 199–220; V. H. Neufeld, *The Earliest Christian Confessions*, 1963; B. Reicke, *The Disobedient Spirits and Christian Baptism: A Study of I Peter 3:19 and its Content*, 1946; H. N. Ridderbos, "The Earliest Confession of the Atonement in Paul," in R. Banks, ed., *Reconciliation and Hope* (Leon Morris Festschrift), 1974, 76–89; J. T. Sanders, *The New Testament Christological Hymns: Their Historical Religious Background*, 1971.

(b). G. Bornkamm, "Homologia," *Hermes* 71, 1938, 377 ff.; and "Das Bekenntnis im Hebräerbrief," *ThBl* 21, 1942, 56 ff.; E. Burnier, *La notion de témoignage dans le Nouveau Testament*, 1939;

H. von Campenhausen, *Die Idee des Martyriums in der Alten Kirche*, 1936; P. Feine, *Die Gestalt des apostolischen Glaubensbekenntnisses in der Zeit des Neuen Testaments*, 1925; K. Fiedler, *Bekennen und Bekenntnis. Hinweise für wahrhaftes Bekennen im Sinne des Evangeliums*, 1943; W. Maurer, *Bekenntnis und Sakrament*, 1939; O. Michel, "Biblische Bekennen und Bezeugen, *homologein* und *martyrein* im biblischen Sprachgebrauch," *EvTh* 2, 1935, 231–45; H. Ott, *Glaube und Bekennen*, 1963; O. Procksch, *Das Bekenntnis im Alten Testament*, 1936; C. Westermann and E. Kamlah, "Bekenntnis," *RGG*³ I 988 ff.

Conscience

συνείδησις

συνείδησις (*syneidēsis*), consciousness, conscience; σύνοιδα (*synoida*), perf. with pres. meaning, be conscious of, have a conscience about.

CL From Aesch. and Hdt. in classical Gk. the verbal form *synoida* is found with the following meanings: (a) to share the knowledge of, be privy to (e.g. as an accusing witness or as one who is able to clear someone); and (b) in the reflexive form *synoida emautō*, to be conscious of (cf. the famous statement of Socrates: "For I know that I have no wisdom, small or great," Plato, *Apol.*, 21b).

From the 1st cent. B.C. *syneidēsis* and *syneidos*, the neut. participle used as a noun, are used synonymously in both pagan Gk. and hel. Jewish writings. *syneidos* is first found in Dem., meaning faculty of memory. *syneidēsis* first occurs in Democ., Frag. 297. According to context, it means consciousness, conscience and conscientiousness.

1. Originally *syneidēsis* appears to focus on knowledge: the capacity to relate to oneself, especially when one looks back at one's own past. This looking back did not stop short with ascertaining facts, but led to evaluations and judgments about the criterion of good and evil. Hence, the word gradually acquired the current moral meaning of conscience. This development began with the Seven Sages (Periander, Bias; according to Stobaeus), and is common in this sense from the 1st cent. B.C., occasionally in the historians Dio, Strabo and Plutarch. Depending on whether a man can justify himself when he looks back on his actions, writers speak of a good (*agathē* or *orthē*) or a bad (*deinē* or *ponēra*) conscience. The usual implication is that the good conscience is at peace, whereas the bad conscience makes itself painfully felt by relentlessly troubling its owner. An example of this is the tragedy of Orestes who is guilty of matricide, and sees conscience as a sickness that destroys him. The description *hē synesis, hoti synoida dein' eirgasmenos* sees conscience as consciousness of evil deeds (Eur., *Or.*, 396). In Gk. literature the Erinyes were a mythical embodiment of the afflictions of an evil conscience.

2. It is striking that pre-Christian Gk. literature speaks almost exclusively of a bad conscience, whereas the Romans often spoke of a *conscientia bona* (good conscience) and even of a *conscientia praeclara* (clear conscience) and a *conscientia optima* (best conscience), especially Cicero. *Conscientia* is a retrospective knowledge of failures and vices which frequently has an accusing, disconcerting character. "But in the ethically robust structure of the Roman officer and lawyer, who knows that his duties are clearly defined and can be discharged, there easily arises the sense of duty done" (C. Maurer, *TDNT* VII 907; cf. Caesar, *Bellum Civile*, 3, 60, 2).

Especially in the Later Stoa (Seneca) the restrospective character of conscience was toned down under the influence of the Pythagoreans. Conscience was seen as a watchman (*epitropos;* Lat. *testis*, witness), bestowed by God upon the individual. Its function was to guide him to live according to nature and to direct his moral progress. "In his conscience he has a reliable direction-sign for his conduct" (M. Pohlenz, *Die Stoa*, I, 1948, 320). Its task was still in the main that of a critical court of appeal in man that passed judgment on what had happened or at best on what was happening. Nevertheless, the ground was prepared for conscience to become a normative guide (cf. C. Maurer, *TDNT*, VII 907).

OT 1. The OT has no special word for the phenomenon of conscience. In the LXX *syneidēsis* occurs only in 3 late passages (Eccl. 10:20; Wis. 17:11; Sir. 42:18). This may be due to a different understanding of human nature from the Greeks'. For the Israelites of the old covenant the problem of man's attitude to himself was less significant than that of his attitude to God. He was more concerned with his accountability before God than with exploring his self-consciousness. Confession was made to God whose law man sought to fulfil in obedience. "Conscience is hearing in the sense of willing adherence" (C. Maurer, *TDNT* VII 908).

This does not mean that the OT knows nothing of the reality of a tormented conscience. But the voice of conscience possesses no intrinsic value. It is the voice of the divine judge, demanding from man an account of his dealings. The function of conscience is attributed to the → heart (Heb. *lēḇ*). Thus the heart of David smote him to remind him of his guilt (1 Sam. 24:6; 2 Sam. 24:10). It summoned him to penitence and regret. Ps. 51:10, which according to its title was a Psalm of David written after his adultery with Bathsheba, contains the plea: "Create in me a clean heart, O God, and put a new and right spirit within me" (51:10). The idea of a clean heart, which is more common in the LXX than in the Heb. Masoretic text of the OT, points forward to the notion of a good conscience in the NT.

2. Where *syneidēsis* occurs in the LXX, an assimilation to the Gk. idea of conscience may be ascertained. This is illustrated by Wis. 17:11 which speaks of a bad conscience in an ethical sense ("for wickedness condemned by its own witness is cowardly, and driven into a pass by conscience it always does what is worst"). Here conscience "takes on the function of the prosecutor and judge in one person" (C. Maurer, *TDNT* VII 909).

3. The correspondence between the OT notion of the heart and the Gk. concept of conscience is still more marked in Philo, who was "the first to think through theologically a doctrine of conscience" (C. Maurer, *TDNT*, 911). Philo heard "its voice just as loud as the Roman Seneca" (M. Pohlenz, op. cit., 377). For him conscience is no mere autonomous court of appeal, but a normative entity shaped by the law of God. Its task is to *elenchein* (convict, reprove, expose), i.e. to bring man consciousness of sin and penitence. "When it (the elenchus native to the soul) is once awakened, it comes forth as an accuser, indicts, charges, and shames; on the other hand it also instructs as a judge, giving correction, advising conversion, and when it persuades it is pleased and propitiated" (*Decal.*, 87). Otherwise, it continues to trouble the sinner. Conscience performs all this in order to drive the sinner into the arms of a merciful God. This relationship with God provides the OT foundation for Philo's doctrine of conscience.

NT In the NT the vb. *synoida* occurs only twice. In 1 Cor. 4:4 it is reflexive: "I am not aware of anything against myself" (RSV); cf. however NEB "I have nothing on my conscience." Acts 5:2 suggests a shared knowledge: "and with his wife's knowledge he kept back . . ." (RSV). On the other hand, the noun *syneidēsis* occurs some 30 times. In addition, it appears in some manuscripts of Jn. 8:9 in the pericope about the woman taken in adultery which is omitted from the best texts of Jn. Apart from this, it does not occur in the Gospels. Apart from two instances in Acts, the passages where it occurs are all in Paul, including the Pastoral Epistles, and in Heb. and 1 Pet.

1. In Rom. 2:15 *syneidēsis* stands alongside *kardia* (→ heart) and *logismoi* (→ thoughts; cf. *dialogismoi*, opinions, Rom. 14:1) as critical organs. They enable the Gentiles to live a life that corresponds to that of the Jews according to the law. Conscience is assigned the role of awakening awareness of the law that is written on the heart. This is shown by the vb. *symmartyrein* (bear witness with; cf. Rom. 9:1 where Paul appeals to his conscience as a witness that he is not lying). Conscience appears – to put it graphically – as a court of appeal which is not able to promulgate any statutes (for only God himself can do this) but is able to deliver judgment on the cases before it. ([Ed.] Rom. 2:14 ff., is often taken to apply to the hypothetical case of Gentiles keeping the law without having heard of the OT law or the gospel. Karl Barth has questioned whether this is Paul's meaning and suggests that Paul is thinking of Gentile converts to Christianity in whom the promise of the new covenant, that the law will be written on their hearts, is fulfilled [*CD*, I, 2, 304; II, 2, 242, 604; IV, 1, 33, 369, 395; cf. C. Brown, *Karl Barth and the Christian Message*, 1967, 96. But see also R. Atallah, "An Egyptian Parallel to Romans 2:15", *Themelios* 10, 3, 1974, 1–7].)

The thought of conscience as a court of appeal is clear in the passages in which Paul deals with the Corinthians' question of the propriety of eating meat that has been sacrificed to idols (1 Cor. 8:7 ff.; 10:25 ff.). Paul makes two points in this connection. On the one hand, he proclaims the Christian's freedom from regimentation by an alien conscience. He is concerned with what Barth calls "the conscience that is freed through the Word of God" (*CD*, I, 2, 788). On the other hand, he calls for regard to the more sensitive conscience of another person.

Paul rejoices in the testimony of his own conscience that has been informed by God (2 Cor. 1:12). Likewise, he hopes that the consciences of others which are open to the sight of God will recognize the sincerity of his missionary life and work (2 Cor. 4:2; 5:11). Thus not only is the avoidance of a bad, accusing conscience (as is mentioned in Jn. 8:9) worth aspiring after. It is even more important to have a good conscience which confirms the agreement of faith and life. Appealing to such a conscience which is in line with the will of God, Paul can also demand obedience to those in authority (Rom. 13:5). A similar thought occurs in 1 Pet. 2:19; 3:16, 21.

Accordingly, Acts 24:16 lays down what is virtually a rule of conduct: "I [Paul] always take pains to have a clear conscience toward God and towards men." Similarly, Paul began his appeal to the council of Jewish leaders: "Brethren, I have lived before God in all good conscience up to this day" (Acts 23:1).

2. The Pastoral Epistles lay great emphasis on a good conscience. They speak of the "corrupt and unbelieving" whose "minds and consciences are corrupted"

(Tit. 1:15), and "liars whose consciences are seared" (1 Tim. 4:2). By contrast, Christians are to hold "faith and a good conscience [*agathēn syneidēsin*]" (1 Tim. 1:19; cf. 1 Pet. 3:16) and "to serve with a clear conscience [*en kathara syneidēsei*]" (2 Tim. 1:3). The good and the clear conscience thus become a characteristic of the Christian, as for him "the verdict of conscience and the verdict of faith coincide" (W. Schrage, *Die Konkreten Einzelgebote in der paulinischen Paränese*, 1961, 152). Alongside a "pure heart [*kathara kardia*]" and a "sincere faith [*pistis anhypokritos*]", 1 Tim. 1:5 names the conscience as the source of love in action. In short, the conscience can be regarded as the place where the "mystery of faith" is to be found (1 Tim. 3:9). That is why "the appeal to God for a clear conscience", which is the essence of baptism (1 Pet. 3:21), is so important. The same passage links it with "the resurrection of Jesus Christ" (→ Resurrection; → Faith).

3. Heb. also stresses the christological basis of the NT understanding of conscience, when it declares that "the blood of Christ" purifies the conscience "from dead works to serve the living God" (Heb. 9:14). Using the symbolism of the Day of Atonement ritual in which the high priest entered the sanctuary once a year, Heb. 10:22 urges believers to enter themselves, drawing near "with a true heart in full assurance of faith, with our hearts sprinkled clean from an evil conscience and our bodies washed with pure water." Late Judaism knew of no complete release from consciousness of sin despite repeated cultic rites (cf. Heb. 9:9; 10:2). It is only because of the high priestly sacrifice of Christ that "we are sure that we have a clear conscience" (Heb. 13:18).

4. In this way the Christian understanding of conscience is transformed by faith in the forgiving power of Jesus Christ. The Greeks saw conscience as something bad operating retrospectively. Christians came to see conscience as being made clean through trust. Its purity lay in the believer's knowledge of his standing in Christ. The fact that it was directed by the Word of God gave the believer heart to serve God in love. ***H-C. Hahn***

The researches of C. A. Pierce, *Conscience in the New Testament*, 1955, have shed further light on the background of the whole word-group and have led to a plausible suggestion as to how *syneidēsis* came to feature in the NT epistles. His detailed analysis of the terms in secular Gk. has overthrown the widespread idea that it was a Stoic technical term. At best there are only 3 quotations that can be offered in evidence for the latter idea (op. cit., 13 ff.; see also the tabular analysis of the use of the entire word-group on pp. 132–147). There is little ground for thinking that Paul adopted it from the Stoics. Pierce contends that the term was an everyday Gk. word which in general had the morally bad negative sense of the pain that we feel when we do something wrong.

Pierce suggests that the term came into the NT via the Corinthian church, where conscience was used as a catchword (op. cit., 60 ff.). This explains the absence of the term in the OT and the gospels and its widespread use in the Corinthian correspondence and later epistles. The Corinthians were appealing to conscience to justify their attitudes in the various burning issues of the day, in particular the practice of eating meat that had been offered to idols. Because some claimed that they could do this with a clear conscience, they argued that the practice was permissible. Paul condemns the idea that conscience alone is an invariable and infallible guide. In

1 Cor. 4:4 he uses the verbal form *ouden gar emautō synoida* ("I have nothing on my conscience", NEB) to show that that by itself does not acquit him of any wrong that he may have done. A man may have a clear conscience because it is dead or inadequately educated. There are other factors in deciding the rightness and wrongness of actions. At best conscience is a check. Later on in the epistle Paul explains the limitations of conscience in the light of the burning issues at Corinth of the propriety for a Christian to eat meat sacrificed to idols. The weak brother may eat the meat, following the example of the strong brother who knows that idols are nothing. He is weak in the sense that he has no clear principles of conduct settled in his mind. He eats, and is then tormented by conscience (1 Cor. 8:7, 10, 12). The problem here is that of a sensitive conscience which at the same time is imperfectly educated. The way out of the dilemma is not to act out of → "knowledge" (8:1 ff.), or by copying the "strong" brother whose conscience does not pain him, but out of love. "Therefore, if food is a cause of my brother's falling, I will never eat meat lest I cause my brother to fall" (8:13).

In ch. 10 conscience is again given a subordinate role. Again the Christian's motive is to be love (10:23 f.). Indeed, the Corinthians are to avoid referring the matter of conscience (10:27, 28, 29). The question is lifted to the higher plane of concern for the weaker man and his conscience. The believer may eat whatever is sold in the market. It is best to avoid asking questions about its origin, so as to avoid raising questions of conscience. But if the weaker brother says that a piece of meat has been offered to idols, it is best not to eat it. It is a case, not of defiling the eater's conscience or of weakening his spirituality by engaging in dubious practices, but of avoiding inflaming the sensitive man's conscience.

In other words, conscience can be a highly defective guide, if one relies solely on the absence of the pain that we call conscience as a guide to conduct. To function at all, it depends upon knowledge (10:25 ff.). For conscience by itself could not tell where the meat had come from. And it only operates effectively in relation to moral principles outside itself. A clear conscience is no guarantee of being right (4:4). On the other hand, an over-sensitive conscience may lead to tormenting dilemmas that can only be resolved on the other grounds (chs. 8 and 10). The ultimate grounds for action are love and the glory of God (10:31 ff.; cf. 13:1–14:1).

If Pierce is right, conscience came into the NT via the troubles at Corinth. Thereafter, Paul began to find a place for it in his own thinking. Subsequent treatment in the NT amplifies the role assigned to conscience in 1 Cor. The conscience may be seared by constant disregard, and therefore fail to fulfil its function in those who teach false doctrines and practices (1 Tim. 4:2; Tit. 1:15). Conversely, the story of Jephthah in Jdg. 11 appears to be that of a man with an over-sensitive conscience (although, of course, the word is not used). He had made a vow to God which involved the most ungodly consequences. Perhaps his conscience forced him to fulfil the vow, even though human sacrifice was against Heb. religion. To say this, however, does not mean that the NT writers urge that conscience should be ignored. Christ died to make the conscience clean (Heb. 9:14; 10:22; cf. 9:9; 10:2; 1 Pet. 3:21). But the conscience is only part of our moral make-up. Its work is largely negative. As the pain we feel when we do something wrong, it acts like a red warning light. It serves as a sort of moral double-check on our actions. It operates largely on the basis of experience. It needs to be educated and carefully tended.

But as such, it is very important (Acts 23:1; 24:16; Rom. 2:15; 9:1; 13:5; 1 Tim. 1:5, 19; 3:9; 2 Tim. 1:3; 1 Pet. 2:19; 3:16; 2 Cor. 1:12).

When we speak of conscience in English, our meaning often seems to oscillate between conscience in the narrow sense as the pain, or the instrument which makes us feel pain, when we transgress the moral law, and the wider sense of moral consciousness. The latter involves the whole person, viewed as a responsible moral being. It is not just a pain which works retrospectively in the light of past actions and which by extension might enable us to forecast what future actions might cause us pain. It includes the power of discernment and rational reflection which enables the mind to analyse situations and actions, to discern moral values and principles, the capacity to hear and apply the Word of God to our lives, and also conscience in the narrower sense. For the Christian, guidance belongs to the realm of moral consciousness in this wider sense which includes *syneidēsis* in the narrower sense, but is by no means confined to it. *C. Brown*

(a). D. Bonhoeffer, *Ethics*, (1955) 1964, 242–48; R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, I, 1952, 211–20; R. D. Congdon, "The Doctrine of Conscience," *Bibliotheca Sacra* 102, 1945, 26ff. and 474–89; G. Ebeling, *Word and Faith*, 1963, 407–23; R. Jewett, *Paul's Anthropological Terms: A Study of their Use in Conflict Settings*, 1971, 402–46, 458 ff.; W. Lillie, *Studies in New Testament Ethics*, 1961, 45–56; C. Maurer, *synoida*, *TDNT* VII 898–919; C. A. Pierce, *Conscience in the New Testament*, 1955; N. H. G. Robinson, *Christ and Conscience*, 1956; R. Schnackenburg, *The Moral Teaching of the New Testament*, 1968, 287–96; J. N. Sevenster, *Paul and Seneca*, 1971; C. Spicq, "Conscience," *EBT* I 131–34; W. D. Stacey *The Pauline View of Man*, 1956, 206 f.; K. Stendahl, "The Apostle Paul and the Introspective Conscience of the West", *HTR* 56, 1963, 199–215; H. Thielicke, *Theological Ethics*, I, 1968, 298–382; M. E. Thrall, "The Pauline Use of SYNEIDESIS," *NTS* 14, 1967–68, 118–25; and "The Meaning of *oikodomeō* in Relation to the Concept of *syneidēsis*", *Stud Ev* IV 1, 1968, 468–72.

(b). P. Althaus, *Paulus und Luther über den Menschen*, 1958; G. Bornkamm, *Studien zu Antike und Christentum*, II, 1962, 111–18; F. Delekat, *Der gegenwärtige Christus*, 1949, 104 ff.; H. G. Drescher, "Das Gewissen," *Das Gespräch* 32, 1961; L. Eckstein, *Stufen der Gewissensbilding*, 1961; *Das Gewissen*, Studien a. d. C. G. Jung-Institut VII, 1958; W. Korff, *Ehre, Prestige, Gewissen*, 1966; W. Loch, "Biologische und gesellschaftliche Faktoren der Gewissensbilding," *Wege zum Menschen*, 1962, 346 ff.; C. von Monakow, *Gehirn und Gewissen*, 1950; C. Maurer, "Glaubensbindung und Gewissensfreiheit im Neuen Testament," *ThZ* 17, 1961, 107 ff.; H. van Oyen, "Über das Gewissen," in F. Karrenberg, ed., *Spannungsfelder der evangelischen Soziallehre*, 1960, 39 ff.; M. Pohlenz, *Die Stoa*, I, 1948; B. Reicke, "*Syneidēsis* in Röm. II, 15," TZ 12, 1956, 157–61; W. Ross, "Das Fluch des guten Gewissens," *Wege zum Menschen*, 1962, 138 ff.; G. Rudberg, "Cicero und das Gewissen," *Symbolae Osloenses*, 1955, 96–104; W. Schrage, *Die konkreten Einzelgebote in der paulinischen Paränese*, 1961, 152 ff.; H. H. Schrey, "Gewissen," *Theologie für Nichttheologen*, II, 1964, 33 ff.; O. Seel, "Zur Vorgeschichte des Gewissensbegriffes, im altgriechischen Denken," *Festschrift F. Dornseiff*, 1953; 291–319; C. Spicq, *RB* 47, 1938, 50–80; and *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 1943, 169 f.; J. Stelzenberger, *Syneidēsis im Neuen Testament*, 1961; G. Wehrung, *Welt und Reich*, 1952, 315 ff.; E. Wolf, "Vom Problem des Gewissens in reformatorischer Sicht," *Peregrinatio*, I, 1954, 81 ff.; and "Gewissen zwischen Gesetz und Evangelium," *Peregrinatio*, II, 1965, 104 ff.

Conversion, Penitence, Repentance, Proselyte

Repentance, penitence and conversion are closely linked. Whenever someone gives his thought and life a new direction, it always involves a judgment on his previous views and behaviour. This process is expressed in the NT by three word-groups which deal with its various aspects: *epistrephō*, *metamelomai* and *metanoeō*. The first and third both mean turn round, turn oneself round, and refer to a man's

conversion. This presupposes and includes a complete change under the influence of the Holy → Spirit. *metamelomai* expresses rather the feeling of repentance for error, debt, failure and sin, and so it looks back. Hence, it does not necessarily cause a man to turn to God. *epistrephō* is probably the widest conception, because it always includes → faith. We often find *pisteuō*, believe, expressly used with *metanoeō*, since faith complements repentance (cf. L. Berkhof, *Systematic Theology*, 1938, 482).

ἐπιστρέφω

ἐπιστρέφω (*epistrephō*), turn, turn around, turn back, be converted; στρέφω (*strephō*), turn, change; ἀποστρέφω (*apostrephō*), turn away from; ἐπιστροφή (*epistrophē*), conversion.

CL From Homer onwards *strephō*, *apostrephō* and *epistrephō* were used transitively and intransitively by Gk. authors, e.g. Xen., Aristoph., Polyb., and in inscriptions and magical papyri. All three share the meaning of turn, turn to, turn oneself, turn round. They describe a largely intentional turning of the body, or thoughts, to a person or thing. *strephō* is used more in the sense of turn over, turn round, transform, and later turn towards. *epistrephō* means turn towards, turn round, return, both trans. and reflex., and then derivatively be converted, i.e. change one's mind and behaviour. Thus in the classical philosophical literature *epistrephō* and its sub. *epistrophē* mean *inter alia* the turning of the soul to piety or the divine. This concept passed from secular Gk. via the LXX into the vocabulary of the NT. For the compound *anastrephō* → walk.

OT 1. Behind *epistrophē* in the LXX lies the Heb. *šûḇ*, which occurs *c.* 1050 times in the OT and means turn round, return (qal), bring back, restore (hiph.). It appears with its specifically theological meaning *c.* 120 times: turn round, return, be converted, bring back, in the sense of a change in behaviour and of a return to the living God. The LXX translates these passages by *epistrephō*, *apostrephō*, *anastrephō*, but not, as in the NT, by *metanoeō*. The theological meaning of *šûḇ* can be clearly traced in the NT.

Turning, or conversion, is described in the OT as turning from evil (Jer. 18:8) to the Lord (Mal. 3:7). Man can, however, be so permeated by evil (Hos. 5:4) that he resists such turning (2 Chr. 36:13). God gives the impulse to conversion; God first moves man (Jer. 31:18; Lam. 5:21). Even when man returns, it is because he has first received (Jer. 24:7). Both individuals (2 Ki. 23:25) and nations (Jon. 3:10) may turn. God uses the prophets to help to bring about conversion (Neh. 9:26; Zech. 1:4). Those who refuse to return to God experience God's wrath in drought (Amos 4:6–8), captivity (Hos. 11:5), destruction (1 Ki. 9:6–9) and death (Ezek. 33:9, 11). He who returns to God receives → forgiveness (Isa. 55:7), remission of punishment (Jon. 3:9 f.), fertility and prosperity (Hos. 14:5 ff. (MT 6 ff.)), and life (Ezek. 33:14 ff.). The historical books of the OT always call for the conversion of Israel as a body, but the prophets, especially Jer. and Ezek., stress that of the individual. They look forward to the new covenant when God will give a new → heart and spirit (Jer. 33:31 ff.; Ezek. 11:19; 18:31; 36:26 f.; 37:14). The conversion of the people as a whole is seen as taking place in the messianic age (Deut. 4:30; Hos. 3:5; Mal. 4:5 f. (MT 3:23 f.)).

2. Rab. Judaism accepted and developed the OT tradition. A prior condition for

admittance to the Qumran community was conversion, i.e. turning from all evil and turning to the Law of Moses. The members of the community called themselves "those who had turned from transgression" (cf. Isa. 59:20) or "the converts of Israel". Hel. circles also knew before the Christian era the concept of religious conversion. He who turns to Yahweh is forgiven his sins; he does not continue deliberately in sin but keeps the commandments of God. "Conversion is always an individual and practical problem, never a theoretical and theological one" (K. H. Rengstorf, *RGG*^{3}, I 978). *strephō* and its compounds or their equivalents occur in Test. XII, Eth. Enoch, Sib., Syr. Bar., Josephus and Philo (cf. SB VI 799).

NT 1. *epistrephō* is found 36 times in the NT, and in addition in variant readings in Lk. 10:6(D), Acts 15:16(D), 2 Pet. 2:21(TR) (cf. Arndt s.v.). 18 times it has its secular meaning of turning, returning, turning away, etc. (cf. Matt. 10:13; 2 Pet. 2:22), and 18 times with its theological meaning of conversion especially in Acts and the Epistles (cf. Mk. 4:12 par.; Lk. 1:16 f.; 22:32; Acts 15:19; 2 Cor. 3:16; Jas. 5:19 f.). Here, unlike the LXX, it is often synonymous with *metanoeō*. Only in Matt. 18:3 and Jn. 12:40 is *strephō* used with the meaning of turning oneself (be converted); likewise *apostrephō* only in Acts 3:26. The noun *epistrophē* is found only once in the NT in Acts 15:3.

2. (a) When men are called in the NT to conversion, it means a fundamentally new turning of the human will to God, a return home from blindness and error to the Saviour of all (Acts 26:18; 1 Pet. 2:25). The use of *epistrephō* suggests that we are not concerned primarily with turning from the old life, but that the stress is on the turning to Christ, and through him to God (cf. Jn. 14:1, 6) and so to a new life. Conversion involves a change of → lords. The one who until then has been under the lordship of Satan (cf. Eph. 2:1 f.) comes under the lordship of God, and comes out of darkness into light (Acts 26:18; cf. Eph. 5:8). Conversion and surrender of the life to God is done in → faith, and includes faith in Jesus Christ (Acts 11:21). Such a conversion leads to a fundamental change of the whole of life (Acts 26:20). It receives a new outlook and objectives. God's original purpose in creating man is realized in the new life. The converted man is to serve him alone with a clear conscience in voluntary dependence (1 Thess. 1:9; Acts 14:15; cf. Heb. 9:14). The effect of conversion is the forgiveness of all sins (Acts 3:19; 26:18).

Acts frequently describes the results of the missionary → proclamation by the first Christians. It always speaks of conversion as a once-for-all and self-contained event (Acts 9:35; 11:21). From Acts 15:3 it is clear that the word "conversion" very soon became a technical term that needed no further explanation.

(b) *epistrephō* is used for the conversion of a man which involves a complete transformation (→ Form, Art. *morphē*) of his existence under the influence of the Holy Spirit. *metamelomai*, however, expresses rather the feeling of repentance of sin, which need not involve a true turning of a man to God. *metanoeō* on the other side is much closer to *epistrephō* (→ *metanoia*; cf. Acts 3:19; 26:20). It expresses the conscious turning from → sin, a change of mind (→ Reason, Art. *nous*) and of the whole inner attitude to life, without which true conversion is not possible. *epistrephō* has a wider meaning than *metanoeō*, for it always includes faith, while *metanoeō* and *pisteuō* can stand together and complement each other (→ Faith, art — *pistis*). *F. Laubach*

μεταμέλομαι

μεταμέλομαι (*metamelomai*), change one's mind, regret, repent; ἀμεταμέλητος (*ametamelētos*), not to be regretted, hence irrevocable.

CL *metamelomai* is linked with the impersonal *melei*, it concerns (someone). In classical Gk. *metamelomai* expressed a changed feeling towards a thing, but it cannot always be clearly distinguished from *metanoeō*, which implies that in retrospect one thinks differently about a matter (cf. *nous* → Reason). In secular speech *metamelomai* is found in Thuc., Diod. Sic. and inscriptions and means feel regret, repent.

OT The Heb. *nāḥam* (in niph.) is rendered *c.* 35 times in the LXX either by *metanoeō* or *metamelomai*, showing that the LXX distinguished between them no more clearly than did classical Gk. The word is used in Exod. 13:17 and Jdg. 21:6 for purely human regret. In Job 42:6 and Jer. 31:19 it involves humble agreement with God's righteous judgment, for good or ill. When God is said to "repent", there are two possibilities. God can reject men, because they have tûrned against him in disobedience though he had earlier chosen them (1 Sam. 15:11, 35). However, in spite of his judgment God can also turn again to men in grace and mercy (Jdg. 2:18; 1 Chr. 21:15; Ps. 106:45; Jon. 3:9 f.). When it is clearly stressed that God does not repent (Ps. 110:4; Jer. 4:28), it is the guarantee that God will not deviate from the plan that he conceived at the first.

The tension between God's justice and grace is familiar also in Judaism. As the Almighty, he is simultaneously the Judge and the merciful One.

NT While the word-group *metanoeō* is frequently found in the NT, *metamelomai* occurs only in Matt. 21:29, 32; 27:3; 2 Cor. 7:8 (twice); Heb. 7:21, quoting Ps. 110:4; and the adj. *ametamelētos*, not to be regretted, only occurs in Rom. 11:29 and 2 Cor. 7:10. It refers to something of which God (Rom. 11:29) or a man (2 Cor. 7:10) will not repent, and hence means irrevocable.

In Jesus' parable in Matt. 21:28–32 the father asks both of his sons to work in his vineyard. One says Yes, but does not go. The other refuses, but then regrets his answer and goes. In such a context the word can be translated "change one's decision". Jesus applied the parable to the high priests and elders of Israel. The second son had changed his attitude to his father, and so had the tax-collectors and harlots, who had believed John the Baptist's message and had repented. In contrast, the elders of Israel had continued in their disobedience (*oude metemelēthēte*).

The example of Judas makes it clear that *metamelomai* and *metanoeō* do not have identical meanings in the NT (see above CL and OT). Judas recognized that Jesus had been wrongly condemned. He regretted his betrayal (Matt. 27:3), but he did not find the way to genuine repentance. We find the same differentiation in 2 Cor. 7:8–10. Paul did not regret that he had written a sharp letter to the Corinthians, for the sorrow caused to its recipients had led them to true repentance (*metanoia*), to an inner turning to God. There is no need to regret such a repentance, for it always serves only our salvation.

The oath which God will never regret (Heb. 7:21, quoting Ps. 110:4; RSV both here and in Ps. 110:4 "change his mind") serves both to guarantee the superiority

of Jesus' high-priesthood over that of the OT and to express the unchangeable faithfulness of God. This faithfulness can be recognized also by the fact that God's gracious gifts and call are *ametamelētos*, irrevocable (Rom. 11:29). In spite of the disobedience and hardening of men's hearts God will accomplish his purpose of salvation also in his people Israel. *F. Laubach*

μετάνοια

μετάνοια (*metanoia*), change of mind, repentance, conversion; μετανοέω (*metanoeō*), change one's mind, repent, be converted; ἀμετανόητος (*ametanoētos*), impenitent.

CL The word-group is found relatively rarely in classical Gk. literature, the vb. from the sophist Antiphon onwards, the noun from Thuc. onwards. Both words are used more frequently in Koine Gk. The prep. *meta* used with vbs. of motion and of mental activity indicates a change in the meaning of the simple vb. Hence, *metanoeō* is equivalent to the Heb. *niḥam* (niph.), to be sorry about something. It is so used of God in 1 Sam. 15:29. Hence, if the change of mind involves the recognition that the previous opinion was false or bad, we get the meaning of feel remorse or regret for the vb. and that of a change of mind, remorse, regret for the noun In pre-Biblical Gk. the word-group does not develop the precision which characterizes its use in the NT. Gk. society never thought of a radical change in a man's life as a whole, of conversion or turning round, even though we may find some of the factors which belong to conversion. This shows that the concept of conversion is not derived from Gk. thought, and its origin must be sought elsewhere.

OT 1. We are not helped by the LXX. It does not use the noun. (Prov. 14:15 is not a translation of the Heb. text.) The vb. is used to render *niḥam* (see above CL), whether of God (cf. 1 Sam. 15:29; Jer. 18:8; Joel 2:13 f.; Amos 7:3, 6), or of men (Jer. 8:6; 13:19). The thought of turning round, preached especially by the prophets and expressed by the Heb. verb *šûḇ*, is rendered by → *epistrephō* in Gk. (Amos 4:6; Hos. 5:4; 6:1). The prophetic call to turn presupposes that the relationship of the people and of the individual to God must be understood in personal terms. Sin and apostasy disturb and break this personal relationship. Turning means giving a completely new direction to the man as a whole and a return to God. This includes turning away from evil.

2. The Qumran community continued this call to repentance by demanding from its members that they be converted from all evil (1QS 5:1) and return to every commandment of the Law of Moses (1QS 5:8). The members of the community therefore called themselves the converts of Israel (CD 4:2), those that turn from transgression (1QS 10:20; 1QH 2:9, etc.). They called their covenant the covenant of conversion (CD 19:16).

NT 1. The NT does not follow LXX usage but employs *metanoeō* to express the force of *šûḇ*, turn round. This change in meaning was prepared for by other Gk. translations of the OT and in Hellenistic Jud. (for evidence cf. J. Behm, *TDNT* IV 989). The change in the choice of words – *metanoeō* instead of *epistrephō* – shows that the NT does not stress the concrete, physical concept implied in the OT use of *šûḇ*, but rather the thought, the will, the *nous*. The ideas of repent, be converted, (and correspondingly repentance and conversion) come to the fore. Correspondingly

ametanoētos (only in Rom. 2:5) means impenitent. For all that, the change of words has not merely intellectualized the concept of *šûḇ*. In fact the predominantly intellectual understanding of *metanoia* as change of mind plays very little part in the NT. Rather the decision by the whole man to turn round is stressed. It is clear that we are concerned neither with a purely outward turning nor with a merely intellectual change of ideas.

2. The closest link with the prophetic call to repentance is undoubtedly found in John the Baptist, who called the people to repentance and to "bear fruit that befits repentance" (Matt. 3:2, 8 par.). Corresponding to the OT pattern, the call was addressed to the whole people (cf. Acts 13:24; 19:4) and also to the pious, who believed that they did not need to repent (Matt. 3:7 ff.). John, like the rest of the NT, based the urgency of his message on a different foundation from that of the → prophets. Motivation in the OT for repentance and returning along the true road of God's → righteousness was linked with the past and its social unrighteousness and idolatry. For John it was that "the kingdom of heaven is at hand" (Matt. 3:2). Hence, there can be only one way for the man wishing to escape judgment. He must repent, so that his whole life is changed and brought into a new relationship with God (Matt. 3:10). John linked his call to repentance with the eschatological sacrament of the → baptism of repentance, as sign of the → forgiveness of sins (Mk. 1:4 par.) having repentance as its goal (Matt. 3:11, *eis metanoian*; cf. Acts 13:24; 19:4). This indicates that repentance is regarded both as an act open to man and as a duty. It is a possibility given to man by God as an eschatological gift of grace, and it is also a duty required of him.

3. According to the Synoptics, the preaching of Jesus resembled that of the Baptist. Matt. 3:2 and 4:17 record the identical call, "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." The clear difference between them is that Jesus did not, as did John, look for one to follow him (Matt. 3:11). He saw in his own coming the beginning of God's decisive work (Lk. 11:20; 17:21; Matt. 11:6). Hence the woes addressed to the towns that were not ready to repent (Matt. 11:20–24 par.). That is why the inhabitants of Nineveh will find it better in the day of judgment than will the contemporaries of Jesus. The former repented at the preaching of Jonah, and "behold, something greater than Jonah is here" (Matt. 12:41 par.). Hence, repentance is now no longer obedience to a law but to a person. The call to repentance becomes a call to → discipleship. So repentance, faith and discipleship are different aspects of the same thing (Mk. 1:15, "Repent and believe").

There are many passages in which the term *metanoeō* does not appear, but in which the thought of repentance is clearly present. This helps us to see to what extent Jesus' message was determined by the call to repent in the light of God's sovereign rule, which he himself had brought in. Examples are: "Unless you turn (*straphēte*) and become like children, you will never enter the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. 18:3); "so therefore, whoever of you does not renounce all that he has cannot be my disciple" (Lk. 14:33). It is the spiritually poor, the little ones and the helpless, and those that need our help who receive the promise of the → kingdom of God (Matt. 5:3; 18:10, 14). Jesus came not to call the righteous but sinners to repentance (Lk. 5:32). However absolute the call to repentance, it was a message of joy, because the possibility of repentance exists. Because God has turned to man (Lk. 5:32, *elēlytha* (perf.) I have come), man should, may and can turn to God.

Hence conversion and repentance are accompanied by joy, for they mean the opening up of life for the one who has turned. The parables in Lk. 15 bear testimony to the joy of God over the sinner who repents and call on men to share it. God's gift to men in their conversion is → life. When the parable of the prodigal son pictures conversion as a return to the Father, it can be said of the man who has repented, "This my son was dead, and is alive again" (Lk. 15:24; cf. 32).

4. Primitive Christian preaching continues the call for repentance (cf. Mk. 6:12 and the sermons in Acts). This missionary preaching linked with the call for repentance all the elements we have already met, the call to faith (Acts 20:21; cf. Acts 26:18; 19:4), the demand to be baptized (Acts 2:38), the promise of the forgiveness of sins (Lk. 24:47; Acts 3:19; 5:31), and of life and of salvation (Acts 11:18; 2 Cor. 7:9 f.). Conversion is turning from evil (Acts 8:22; 2 Cor. 12:21; Rev. 2:21 f.) to God (Acts 20:21; 26:20; Rev. 16:9). In Acts 3:19 and 26:20 *metanoeō* and *epistrephō* are placed side by side. This shows that the two concepts are related. In these cases *metanoeō* describes rather the turning from evil and *epistrephō* the turning to God.

5. The fact that this group of words does not occur often in the Pauline writings (only 6 times) and not at all in the Johannine (apart from Rev.), does not mean that the idea of conversion is not present there but only that in the meantime a more specialized terminology had developed. Both Paul and John convey the idea of conversion by that of → faith. Paul speaks of faith as "being in Christ", as the "dying and rising of a man with Christ", as the "new creation", as "putting on the new man". The Johannine literature represents the new → life in Christ as "new birth", as a passing from death to life and from → darkness to → light, or as the victory of → truth over falsehood and of → love over hate.

6. The early church soon began to consider whether it were possible for man to turn repeatedly to God. This arose from experiences in their missionary activity and from certain elements in their tradition, e.g. after Peter had long been following Jesus he was told, "When you have turned again . . ." (Lk. 22:32, where *epistrephō* is used). The present writer believes that Hebrews took the matter to its logical conclusion and sees Heb. 6:4-8 as rejecting the possibility of a second repentance. On the one hand, in keeping with the view of the rest of the NT, this was done to stress the absoluteness of conversion over against a form of Christian faith that was lapsing into apathy. On the other hand, it showed that conversion was not just a human act but that God must give a "chance to repent" (Heb. 12:17). A man who deliberately sins after conversion incurs God's judgment (Heb. 6:8; 10:26 f.). Such a heavy emphasis on the finality of conversion does not exclude God's all-embracing desire to save. He "does not desire that any should be lost, but rather that all should come to repent" (2 Pet. 3:9). Rather it stresses the absoluteness of his mercy. God saves completely and finally, and thus man's conversion to God must be complete and final. *J. Goetzmann*

προσήλυτος

προσήλυτος (*prosēlytos*), proselyte; φοβούμενος τὸν θεόν (*phoboumenos ton theon*), God-fearer; σεβόμενος τὸν θεόν (*sebomenos ton theon*), God-fearer.

CL *prosēlytos* (from *proserchomai*, approach) occurs only in Jewish and Christian literature. It is a technical term and designates the proselyte, i.e. the non-Jew who has gone over (from paganism) to Judaism.

OT 1. In LXX *prosēlytos* translates *gēr*, stranger, sojourner. In OT the *gēr*, as a non-Israelite settled in the land, is distinguished from the *nokrî*, the stranger only temporarily in the land. He was usually subject to an Israelite master (head of a house, tribe or locality) as a citizen without full rights, but in contrast to the → slave he had his personal freedom. He was not allowed to own or acquire landed property. Thus *gēr* at the first was a sociological concept. But as the *gēr* had a share in the land, he stood not only under the protection but also to a certain extent under the jurisdiction of Israel. Thus he had, for example, to keep the sabbath with Israel according to the directions of the Book of the Covenant (Exod. 23:12; 20:10) and was not to be discriminated against by the Israelites, as his cry would come before Yahweh just as theirs did (Exod. 22:21 ff.; MT 22:20 ff.; cf. 23:9).

Later, when Israel, for the sake of its purity, separated itself more and more from everything non-Jewish, the *gēr*, who after all lived in Israel and already had certain religious duties, was to an increasing degree drawn into its life. He was given a share in the law, as in the sacrifices and the great festivals (Num. 15:15 f., 30; Deut. 16:10, 13 f.). If he accepted → circumcision he could even celebrate the Passover and was then fully integrated into the people (Exod. 12:48). At this point the concept of the *gēr* has already come very close to the later one of the *prosēlytos*.

2. The term acquired its characteristic meaning in Inter-Testamental Judaism. An intensive missionary movement began in the Hel. Jewish Diaspora. On the one hand, it was very effective because of its concept of the transcendent → God who is invisible and incapable of representation by an image. On the other hand, it was limited by → circumcision as an act of complete adherence because of fear of anti-Semitism (K. G. Kuhn, *TDNT* VI 731). Those pagans who identified themselves with the Jews by circumcision were called *prosēlytoi*, corresponding to the OT *gēr*. In this sense the term is also found in Philo. It was taken for granted that proselytes were circumcised.

Only the Damascus Rule among the Qumran texts refers to the *gērîm* (CD 14:3 ff.). In the order of precedence sojourners took the lowest place after priests, Levites and Israelite commoners.

In Palestinian Judaism *gēr* now always referred to the pagan who had been converted to Judaism. According to the Rab. texts, conversion followed on the acceptance of circumcision (in the case of men), baptism and a sacrifice in the Temple. Thereafter the converted pagan counted as a Jew. He was like, it was said, a new-born child. His former pagan life was no longer significant. The greatest possible emphasis was laid on circumcision; without it the convert remained a pagan.

3. Proselytes are to be distinguished from those non-Jews, who took part in synagogue worship and kept the law to some extent, without, however, being converted to Judaism through the acceptance of circumcision. The latter were required only to keep the Sabbath and food laws, together with the moral code, and to acknowledge the one God (E. Lohse, *RGG*^{3} IV 972; cf. the so-called Noahic Commandments). The Rabbis called them *yir'ê šāmayîm*, God-fearers, Gk.

phoboumenoi (from *phobeomai*, → fear) *ton theon* or, more freely translated, *sebomenoi* (from *sebomai*, worship; → Godliness) *ton theon. sebomenoi* can also stand alone (Acts 17:4, 17). With this concept, too, we are dealing with a technical term (to be distinguished from *theosebēs*; → Godliness, art. *sebomai*).

NT In the NT the terms proselyte (with the single exception of Matt. 23:15) and God-fearer appear characteristically in Acts, the book which sets out to describe the coming into being of the young church on the mission field or among the Jews of the dispersion. As there is little reason for questioning its presentation of Paul's missionary methods of linking up with the synagogues (cf. K. G. Kuhn, *TDNT* VI 744) it is remarkable that the terms do not occur in the Pauline writings (but → Greek).

1. *prosēlytos* occurs only four times:

(a) In Matt. 23:15 among the woes pronounced against the Pharisees. Jesus is not here attacking the missionary zeal of the Pharisees as such, but the fact that they convert their followers to their own legalistic understanding of the law and thus make them "children of hell" (Kuhn, *TDNT* VI 742).

(b) In Acts 2:11 the various national groups are summed up as *Ioudaioi te kai prosēlytoi*, as → Jews by birth and proselytes. But all who had gathered were Jews from the dispersion who had come together for the festival.

(c) In Acts 6:5 Nicolaus, one of the Seven, is called *prosēlytos Antiocheus*, a proselyte of Antioch. In contrast to the others, who were born Jews, he was born a pagan.

(d) Acts 13:43: *sebomenōn prosēlytōn* (gen. pl. "devout converts to Judaism" RSV). This more precise definition is not found anywhere else. Usually we find in Acts alongside the Jews the *sebomenoi*, non-Jews who took part in the synagogue worship. Here, too, *sebomenōn* must have this technical sense, so our text is an inexactitude on the part of Luke or an old gloss (E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1971, ad loc.). ([Ed.] Or else it is used to characterize full, worshipping proselytes; there is no MS evidence to support the idea of a gloss (cf. F. F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1952², 272 f.).)

2. The phrase *phoboumenos* or *sebomenos ton theon* occurs only in Acts. Paul preached in the synagogues before Jews and "God-fearers" (Acts 13:16, 26; on 13:43 see above). The → Greeks of Acts 14:1 and 18:4 must have been also such "God-fearers." It was among them that the apostle found a hearing. Lydia, the seller of purple stuff in Philippi (Acts 16:14) and Titius Justus in Corinth (Acts 18:7) are mentioned by name. It was because Paul did not demand circumcision but faith in Christ that the *sebomenoi* attached themselves to him. As a result he came into conflict with the Jews, who accused him before Gallio of persuading men to worship God contrary to the law (Acts 18:13).

But the same conflict arose even within the Christian community, as is apparent in the story of the centurion, Cornelius (Acts 10:1–11:18). Cornelius is described as *phoboumenos ton theon* (Acts 10:2, 22). In the primitive church the "God-fearer" was regarded, in accordance with the Palestinian-Jewish way of thinking, as a pagan because he was not circumcised (cf. OT 2). Therefore Peter was attacked by the Jerusalem church because he had not avoided contact with the uncircumcised, as was commanded in the law. In the case of the God-fearing women in Acts 13:50 we are probably dealing with women proselytes. *U. Becker*

(a). K. Barth, *CD* IV, 2, 553–84; J. B. Bauer, "Conversion," *EBT* 1, 138 ff.; J. Behm and E. Würthwein, *metanoeō*, *TDNT* IV 975–1008; G. Bertram, *strephō*, *TDNT* VII 714–29; S. H. Blank "The Current Misinterpretation of Isaiah's She'ar Yashub," *JBL* 68, 1948, 211–15; J. Dupont, "The Conversion of Paul and its Influence on his Understanding of Salvation by Faith," in W. W. Gasque and R. P. Martin, *Apostolic History and the Gospel*, 1970, 176–94; W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*, II, 1967, 443–83; E. M. B. Green, *Evangelism in the Early Church*, 1970, 146–65; F. Hahn, *Mission in the New Testament*, *SBT*, 1965; A. von Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity*, (1908) 1962; W. L. Holladay, *The Root šûb in the Old Testament*, 1958; J. Jeremias, *Jesus' Promise to the Nations*, 1958; and *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, 1969, 320–34; K. G. Kuhn, *prosēlytos*, *TDNT* VI 727–44; Moore, *Judaism* I 507 ff.; A. D. Nock, *Conversion*, 1933; Schürer II, ii, 291–327; R. Schnackenburg, *The Moral Teaching of the New Testament*, 1968, 10 ff.; J. Schniewind, "The Biblical Doctrine of Conversion", *SJT* 5, 1952, 267–81; J. N. Sevenster, "Education or Conversion: Epictetus or the Gospels," *NovT* 8, 1966, 247–62; R. J. Thompson, *Penitence and Sacrifice in Early Israel outside the Levitical Law*, 1963; commentaries on *Acts* by F. F. Bruce (1951) and E. Haenchen (1971) on Acts 6:5.
(b). A. Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden*, 1896; H. Braun, " 'Umkehr' in spätjüd.-häretischer und in frühchristlicher Sicht," *ZTK* 50, 1953, 243–58; and "Spätjüd.-häretischer und frühchristlicher Radikalismus," I, II, *BHTh* 24 I, II, 1957; E. K. Dietrich *Die Umkehr im Alten Testament und Judentum*, 1936; P. Feine, *Bekehrung im Neuen Testament und in der Gegenwart*, 1908; J. Fichtner, K. H. Rengstorf, W. Joest and W. Freytag, "Bekehrung," *RGG*³ I 1976–84; G. Fohrer, "Umkehr und Erlösung beim Propheten Jeremia," *ThZ* 11, 1955, 161–85; H. Hegermann, "Das hellenistische Judentum" in J. Leipoldt and W. Grundmann, *Umwelt des Urchristentums*, I, 1965, 307 ff.; J. Herzog, *Der Begriff der Bekehrung*, 1903; M. Hofer, *Metanoia, Bekehrung und Busse* (Dissertation Tübingen) 1947; A. Hulsbosch, *Die Bekehrung im Zeugnis der Bibel*, 1968; R. Joly, "Note sur metanoia," *Revue de l'histoire des Religions* 160, 1961, 148–56; O. Kietzig, "Bekehrung zum Glauben an Jesus Christus," *TLZ* 11, 1957, 891 ff.; R. Koch, "Die religiöse-sittliche Umkehr nach den drei ältesten Evangelien und der Apostelgeschichte," *Anima* 14, 1959, 296–307; S. Légasse, "Jésus a-t-il annoncé la Conversion Finale d'Israël? (A propos de Marc x. 23–7)," *NTS* 10, 1963–4, 480–7; E. Lerle, *Proselytenwerbung und Urchristentum*, 1960; E. Lohmeyer and W. Schmauch, *Das Evangelium des Matthäus*, KEK 1967⁴, on Matt. 23:15; E. Lohse, "Mission," *RGG*³ IV 971 ff.; M. Meinertz, *Jesus und die Heidenmission*, 1925; W. Pesch, *Der Ruf zur Entscheidung. Die Bekehrungspredigt des Neuen Testaments*, 1964; H. Pohlmann, *Die Metanoia als Zentralbegriff der christlichen Frömmigkeit*, 1938; SB I 162 ff.; K. L. Schmidt, "Israels Stellung zu den Fremden und Beisassenen," *Judaica* 1, 1945–46, 269 ff.; J. Schniewind, *Die Freude der Busse*, 1960; and *Das biblische Wort von der Bekehrung*, 1951; and "Was verstand Jesus unter Umkehr?" in H. Asmussen, ed., *Rechtgläubigkeit und Frömmigkeit*, II, 1938, 70–84; E. Sjöberg, *Gott und die Sünder im palästinischen Judentum*, *BWANT* IV, 27, 1939; T. Sorg, *Das biblische Zeugnis von der Bekehrung und unsere Verständigung*, 1962; G. Strecker, "Noachische Gebote," *RGG*³ IV 1500 f.; J. de Vries and F. Horst, "Fremde," *RGG*³ II 1124 ff.; H. W. Wolff, "Das Thema 'Umkehr' in der alttestamentlichen Prophetie," *ZTK* 48, 1951, 129–48.

Council, Sanhedrin

συμβουλεύω

συμβουλεύω (*symbouleuō*), advise; *σύμβουλος* (*symboulos*), adviser; *συμβουλία* (*symboulia*), advice; *συμβούλιον* (*symboulion*), advice, council.

CL Words associated with the stem *symboul-* refer to the giving of advice by one person to another. *symbouleuō* means to advise, counsel; middle, to consult with a person, ask for advice. *symboulos* is one who gives advice, advisor, counsellor; it could be used of public officials. *symboulia* is counsel, especially in public affairs, or a "consultation". *symboulion* means counsel or a council.

OT All the words are found in the LXX, but *symboulion* is rare. *symbouleuō* often translates *yā'aṣ*, to advise. *symboulos* is used once of a person who might give advice to God (Isa. 40:13), the thought, however, being the inappropriateness of attempting to counsel God. God has no need of a heavenly council of advisers. (On this passage see R. N. Whybray, *The Heavenly Counsellor in Isaiah XL 13–14*, 1971.)

NT The words are mostly employed in secular senses in the NT. *symbouleuō* is used of the evil plots of the Jews against Jesus and the early church (Matt. 26:4; Jn. 18:14; Acts 9:23), but also of the good advice given by Christ to the church at Laodicea (Rev. 3:18). *symboulion* can be used concretely of the panel of advisers (Lat. *consilium*) employed by a Roman governor (Acts 25:12; cf. Jos. *Ant.* 14, 192; 16, 163; cf. Philo's reference to *synedroi*, *Leg.* 244, 254, 350). Matt. uses the phrase *symboulion lambanein*, a Latinism equivalent to *consilium capere*, to resolve, with reference to the machinations of the Jewish authorities against Jesus (12:14; 22:15; 27:1, 7; 28:12). The similar phrase *symboulion didonai* (Mk. 3:6) has the same meaning. *symboulion poiein* (Mk. 15:1 B *Byz;* UBS) can mean to resolve or to hold a meeting (the variant *symboulion hetoimazein* (Aleph *pc;* BFBS) means to make a decision), but the phraseology leaves it uncertain whether a second, morning meeting of the sanhedrin took place. *symboulos* occurs in a quotation of Isa. 40:13 in Rom. 11:34; the rhetorical question stresses the transcendent and incomprehensible character of God's wisdom. *I. H. Marshall*

| *συνέδριον* | *συνέδριον* (*synedrion*), council, sanhedrin.

CL *synedrion* is a Gk. word related to *synedros* (*syn*, *hedra*), one who sits with somebody else, sc. in a council, and *synedreuō*, to sit in council. Originally it meant the place where a council met, then the body of councillors or their actual meeting. It was used of various official bodies (including courts) and served to render Latin *senatus* into Gk.

OT The word is used a dozen times in the LXX, but with no fixed significance. Jos. uses it for various councils and courts, but the most important from the NT point of view is as a technical term for the supreme Jewish council. The body which guided Jewish affairs in Jerusalem from an uncertain point after the return from the exile was an aristocratic council of priests and lay leaders, originally termed a *gerousia* (Josephus, *Ant.*, 2, 138; Acts 5:21; cf. Moulton–Milligan, 124; literally, a council of old men). Its rights were curtailed under the Hasmoneans, and in the reign of Alexandra the scribes of the Pharisaic party gained seats on it. The earliest use of the term *synedrion* in this sense occurs in a decree of Gabinius (57–55 B.C.) which mentions five such bodies in different areas of Palestine (Josephus *Ant.*, 14, 91; *War*, 1, 170). Slightly later the Jerusalem council gained authority over the whole country and was regularly called *synedrion*, even by the Jews themselves who took the word over in the Hebrew/Aramaic form *sanhedrîn* (hence English "sanhedrin").

It was composed of 71 members with the high priest as chairman and included the heads of the chief priestly families (or leading priestly officials), leaders of the

lay aristocracy (the "elders") and a number of scribes; the first two groups stood together as the → Sadducean party, while the third group was → Pharisaic in outlook. The membership appears to have been self-perpetuating. The sanhedrin was essentially a court charged with the maintenance of Jewish customs. It could impose the death sentence, but (except in rare circumstances) the Romans retained the right of actually inflicting the penalty (Jn. 18:31). We do not know how it functioned in NT times, since the rules for procedure in the Mishnah reflect Pharisaic ideals rather than the actual Sadducean practice.

There were also smaller Jewish courts known by the same name outside Jerusalem to exercise jurisdiction among Jewish communities both in Palestine and the Diaspora. The Mishnah lays down a membership of 23 persons for them.

NT In the NT Christians are warned that they may be summoned to bear witness before such local courts and even to be sentenced to scourging by them (Matt. 10:17; par. Mk. 13:9). Jesus said that a person who is angry with his brother (→ Anger) is liable to judgment by the sanhedrin, thus indicating metaphorically that the sin of anger is as culpable as the crime of murder for which a person would be tried by the sanhedrin (Matt. 5:21 f.).

The majority of references to the sanhedrin are in connection with its proceedings against Jesus and the early church. From an early point in his ministry the sanhedrin determined that Jesus must be put away (Jn. 11:47), and it seized the opportunity given by Judas at the passover to arrest Jesus and try him (Lk. 22:66; Mk. 14:55 (par. Matt. 26:59); 15:1). The historical problems raised by this account cannot be raised here (see bibliography). The theological significance of the sanhedrin is that it is seen as the focus of the opposition of the Jewish leadership to Jesus. This opposition continued towards the early church (Acts 4; 5:17 ff.; 6:8 ff.; 22:30–23:10, 20, 28; 24:20), but according to Acts the Pharisees took a more favourable position towards the early church. *I. H. Marshall*

E. Bammel, ed., *The Trial of Jesus*, 1970; J. Blinzler, *The Trial of Jesus*, 1959 (much fuller: *Der Prozess Jesu*, 1969⁴); D. R. Catchpole, *The Trial of Jesus*, 1971; J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, 1969; E. Lohse, *TDNT* VII 860–871; S. Safrai, M. Stern *et al.*, eds., *The Jewish People in the First Century*, I, 1974; E. Schürer, II, 1, 163–195; N. B. Stonehouse, *Paul before the Areopagus*, 1957, 41–69; P. Winter, *On the Trial of Jesus*, (1969) 1974².

Courage, Boldness

τολμάω

τολμάω (*tolmaō*), be brave, dare, risk; τολμηρός (*tolmēros*), confident, bold, audacious; τολμητής (*tolmētēs*) arrogant.

CL With a basic sense of doing or bearing that which is fearful or difficult, the vb., adj. and noun are well exemplified classically, embracing the related ideas of patience, submissiveness, courage and daring (in good sense of "brave enough" and in the bad sense of "rash, foolhardy enough").

OT Only the vb. is exemplified in the LXX. Twice in Esther it has the sense of "to have the affrontery to" (1:18; 7:5) and in Job 15:12 (where Heb. uses *lāqaḥ* as in Prov. 6:25 in the sense "to take captive, to enslave, with consequent loss of moral and rational status") it implies "what rashness does your heart suggest?"

NT NT usage is much more varied and flexible than LXX and reflects the wider interests of classical writers. The single occurrence of the noun (*tolmētēs*) is clearly in the bad sense indicated above, the "arrogant" man of 2 Pet. 2:10 who brooks no restriction on self-will and recognizes no authority to which he will be answerable. The single case of the comparative adverb (*tolmēroteron*, from *tolmēros*, Rom. 15:15) is, however, in a good sense: the confidence proper to a person who is sure of his ground. The vb. swings freely between these two points, but for the most part it moves in the realm of the moral rather than the physical. It describes the sheer courage of Joseph in asking the body of Jesus (Mk. 15:43) and the cowardice of those who shrank from joining the early church (Acts 5:13); the true moral propriety of Moses who dared not gaze on God (Acts 7:32) and of Paul who asserted the courage of his convictions in relation to Corinthian opponents (2 Cor. 10:2; cf. Jude 9); and the moral impropriety of questioning the unimpeachable evidence of the resurrection (Jn. 21:12) or of taking a fellow Christian to law (1 Cor. 6:1). Moral and physical courage are both involved in Matt. 22:46 and parallels, a meaning combining both "did not have the face to" and "did not have the gall to". It has the strongest sense of "putting oneself at risk" in Rom. 5:7, and a weak but similar sense in Rom. 15:18; 2 Cor. 10:12; 11:21, where it is little more than a conventional politeness: "to venture to." *J. A. Motyer*

→ Openness, art. *parrhēsia*

G. Fitzer, *tolmaō* etc., *TDNT* VIII 181–6.

Covenant, Guarantee, Mediator

This article examines the terms *covenant*, *guarantee*, and *mediator* which are all used in the Bible to describe the relationship between God and man established by the covenant.

διαθήκη

διαθήκη (*diathēkē*), covenant.

CL The term *diathēkē* occurs from Democritus and Aristoph. onwards in the sense of a will or testament. It is not thought to be derived from the act. *diatithēmi*, distribute, allocate, regulate, but only from the mid. *diatithemai*, control persons and things (Xen.), and especially dispose of by will (so private legal documents among papyri). It denotes, therefore, an irrevocable decision, which cannot be cancelled by anyone. A prerequisite of its effectiveness before the law is the death of the disposer. Hence *diathēkē* must be clearly distinguished from *synthēkē*, an agreement. In the latter two partners engaged in common activity accept reciprocal obligations. *diathēkē* is found only once with this meaning (Aristoph. *Birds*, 1, 440). Elsewhere it always means a one-sided action.

OT 1. In the LXX *diathēkē* is the commonest rendering (270 times) for Heb. *b^{e}rîṯ*, covenant. This is the common OT word for a wide variety of agreements.

(a) They include a covenant between two friends (1 Sam. 18:3), which however was regarded as having legal force (1 Sam. 20:8); a covenant between two rulers

fixing their spheres of interest (Gen. 21:22 ff.; 26:26 ff.; 1 Ki. 5:12, MT 5:26), or terms of peace (1 Ki. 20:34); the covenant between two kings which, of course, included their peoples. Two tribes could also make a covenant (Jos. 15:9). It is even used for a covenant between Israel and its slaves (Jer. 34:8 ff.). ([Tr.] The natural meaning of the Heb. is that it was a covenant between the king and the slave owners.)

(b) The situation was somewhat different when the king made a covenant with his subjects (2 Ki. 11:4; [Tr.] this was probably a private agreement between Jehoiada and the royal guard); or when by the covenant a man became the subject of the other (1 Sam. 11:1). The covenant made by Abner with David (2 Sam. 3:12 f.) was intended to make all Israel (v. 21) subject to David, not merely Abner.

(c) Yahweh's covenants with Noah (Gen. 6:18), Abraham (2 Ki. 13:23), or David (Jer. 33:21) are similar. Here the covenant extends explicitly to their descendants (Gen. 9:8 ff.; 15:18; cf. 2 Sam. 7:12–16), and becomes a covenant with Israel (Exod. 6:4 f.). But in Jer. 50:5 the covenant can also be interpreted as a covenant of Israel with its God. Ezek. 16:8 speaks of a covenant with Jerusalem. Linguistically the LXX might have used *synthēkē* in the examples under (a) (cf. CL above). But in the latter cases *b^{e}rîṯ* is used to denote the one's disposition of the many (Gen. 9:12; 17:7 f.; Jer. 31:31–34, etc.). Hence the LXX translation *diathēkē* has its full force. On the other hand, there are exceptional usages like Yahweh's covenant with day and night (Jer. 33:25), and Jerusalem's with death (Isa. 28:14–18).

(d) Earlier scholars used to distinguish between secular and religious covenants but the variety of covenant conceptions, all using the same terminology, makes this impossible. Moreover, the most secular of covenants presupposes that it has been witnessed by God (Gen. 31:44–50; 1 Sam. 23:18), while in the most religious covenants Yahweh remains comparable with a monarch making a covenant. For the OT a separation between religious and secular is unthinkable.

2. This situation has made many ask whether there was not some original and unambiguous idea of the covenant, from which the others developed. Modern research has produced four answers. (i) J. Pedersen considered that originally the two sides in the covenant stood on an equality. (ii) J. Begrich, on the other hand, maintained that the covenant started as something the stronger granted to the weaker. (iii) G. E. Mendenhall found the religio-historical background in the Hittite suzerainty treaties, and deduced that the treaty element was the most important in the covenant. (iv) M. Noth has drawn attention to the most recent textual finds, which show that the covenant was mediated by a third party between the two sides. It is impossible to prove that any one of these elements was original, or that any came later. God's covenant and the people's covenant are mentioned in Exod. 34; the individual and the royal covenant in 2 Sam. 3. We cannot at present decide on any original form for the covenant.

3. Since all these concepts were expressed by the one term *b^{e}rîṯ*, the Jews must have felt some unity behind them. Though neither the relationship of the covenant partners nor the contents of the covenant agreement provided this, it has been shown that there was a common pattern in the making of a covenant (Baltzer, see bibliography). There were 6 vital elements in such a ceremony: (i) the preamble mentioning the names of the partners; (ii) a preliminary history of the relationship

of those entering the covenant; (iii) a basic declaration about the future relationship of the partners; (iv) details of the new relationship; (v) an invocation of the respective gods worshipped by both sides to act as witnesses; (vi) a pronouncement of curse and blessing. Baltzer traced this outline right down to the Qumran documents, and even into and beyond the NT. This shows that at least outwardly the covenant conception is as fundamental an element in biblical thought as it is in the national existence of Israel.

4. When we approach them from the standpoint of the covenant, we see how very diverse elements in OT tradition belong together. The preamble is suggestive of the way in which Yahweh introduces himself (cf. Exod. 20:2, which, as in the covenant formula, is followed by a survey of past events). This seems to be the source of Israel's unique interest in its history, which is seen to be Yahweh's history with it, and hence covenant history and so salvation history. The third section reflects the thought which found its clearest expression in Isa. as proclamation of salvation, the promise of divine faithfulness and peace (Isa. 54:10; 55:3). Since this promise cannot be revoked because of the disobedience of the people, God has proclaimed himself bound and has renounced all arbitrariness. "The basis is thus laid for the Gospel" (G. Quell, *TDNT* II 123). When we compare these covenant promises and those in Jer. 31 with (e.g.) the formula of the Sinai covenant we realize that the details mentioned in 3 (iv) above are not to be understood as a condition to be first fulfilled which would be followed by a reward for achievement. This impression might be given by passages like Lev. 26:15 f. and Deut. 31:20. They are rather the regulations for the new life that is made possible by God's covenant (cf. Gen. 9:9; 15:13–16; Jer. 31:31). As in Deut. 26, Israel's reflection on its past history and the law belong together as instruction for its new life.

5. The relationship of the partners in the covenant is expressed by *ḥeseḏ*, God's covenant loyalty (RSV steadfast love; NEB love, loyalty, constancy). 1 Sam. 20:8 understands it as protective action. Man's remembrance of the covenant expresses itself in action (Ps. 103:17 f.). Both partners – Yahweh and the covenant people, represented only by an individual – face one another in the *bᵉrîṯ*. They are thus in an active and real partnership (Pedersen), and so they both share in the covenant meal (Gen. 31:54; Exod. 24:9 ff.). It goes without saying that this strengthens the → fellowship of those involved. This does not mean to say that the covenant and its renewal were purely cultic acts. It can hardly be denied that it had a place in the cultus (Ps. 50). This seems to have been especially the case in Shechem (Jos. 8:30–35; 23:24). The relationship to Baal-berith or El-berith, formerly worshipped there, has never been satisfactorily explained (Jdg. 8:33; 9:4, 46). Nevertheless, the covenant belongs in the first place to the daily life of the tribes of the covenant people, which it seems to have steadily separated from the cultus. This may be seen in Deut. with its covenant theology and secularization of life. The cultus could not guarantee the continuance of an intact, everlasting covenant. Yahweh alone, as founder of this covenant, could guarantee its continuance and with it the cultus in its true meaning. Only he could renew the covenant broken by human disobedience.

This explains why in many prophets the thought of the covenant virtually vanishes in favour of the call to obedience. The early parts of Isa. avoided – obviously

deliberately – the concept of covenant almost entirely, the only exceptions being 24:5; 33:8 and the covenant with death mentioned earlier (28:15, 18). Hosea probably felt the danger of a one-sided appeal to the legal character of the covenant, and so he preferred to describe God's relationship to his people by the picture of marriage. The *b^{e}rîṯ* is mentioned only as broken in 6:7; 8:1; in 10:4; 12:1(2) it refers to human agreements. Jeremiah stressed his expectation of a completely new covenant in the place of the one that had been broken (31:31–34). Whatever continuity there may be is created solely by Yahweh. It is completely other in that the direct working of God on human hearts through his Spirit takes the place of the demand for obedience. This shows how deep the break is, and prepares the way for the NT.

([Ed.] There is, however, an essential continuity, for Jeremiah does not speak of the abolition of the law. Rather, he declares: "But this is the covenant which I will make with the house of Israel after those, says the Lord: I will put my law within them, and I will write it upon their hearts; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people" (Jer. 31:33). There is here the same divine upholding of the covenant that is found elsewhere in the OT (see 4, above). The covenant relationship is summed up in the promise, "I will be your God, and you shall be my people" (cf. Exod. 6:7; Lev. 26:12; Jer. 7:23; 11:4; 30:22; 32:38; 2 Cor. 6:16; Heb. 8:10; Rev. 21:3). For Jeremiah, this relationship is to be realized not by setting aside the law but by a more personal application of it.)

6. The standard expression in the OT, *kārat b^{e}rîṯ*, to cut, i.e. make, a covenant, is probably to be explained by Gen. 15:9 f., 17 and Jer. 34:18. ([Tr.] It is not the only expression used, and it does not seem to have been essential for the making of a covenant.) It is expressed in the LXX by *diathēkēn diatithemai*, to establish a *diathēkē*. The Gk. understanding of the term *diathēkē* suggests that the covenant was no longer an agreement between two parties with equal rights. It came about as an exclusively divine action, which men can only accept in the form in which it is given to them. However, the LXX is supported by the Heb. expression *hēqîm b^{e}rîṯ*, which occurs frequently after the exile, and means "to establish a covenant". The apocryphal books carry this further. Philo worked out an allegorical exegesis of the thought of a will. The rabbis confined the covenant to the concept of an absolute law.

The Qumran community attributed great importance to the covenant. They considered that the promise of the new covenant (Jer. 31:31–34) had been fulfilled in their midst and called themselves "the new covenant in the land of Damascus" (CD 6:19). While the Sinaitic covenant was for the whole people, the Qumran covenanters considered themselves to be its holy remnant, the pure, eschatological community of the age of salvation. This explains their strict rules for receiving new members and their commitment to the "laws of the covenant (i.e. the Law as it was expounded by the community) which characterized the community. The sect's eschatological thinking on the covenant distinguished them especially from the rabbis, who equated the covenant with circumcision and saw its preservation guaranteed by a rigorous keeping of the Mosaic Law, and who expected the fulfilment of Jer. 31:31–34 only in the future. ([Tr.] In fact, probably owing to polemics against Qumran and Jewish Christianity, the new covenant plays virtually no role in Talmudic Jud.)

NT It is noteworthy that while covenant is found almost 300 times in the OT, it occurs only 33 times in the NT. Almost half of these instances come in quotations from the OT, and another 5 clearly look back to OT statements. The few independent cases are almost exclusively in Heb., quite rarely in Paul (never in the Pastorals) and Acts, and never in the Johannine writings.

In accord with this, *diatithemai* (only mid.), order, enact, dispose, is found only twice in the Lukan writings and four times in Heb., each time clearly looking back to the OT. In the 2 cases where the standard Gk. meaning of "will" plays a part (Heb. 9:16; Gal. 3:15) it is easy to recognize the intention of helping the Greeks to understand the OT concept. Paul makes this explicit.

These statistics are, however, misleading. The covenant question in the NT cannot be answered solely from the passages where the word is used. It involves a whole complex of theological ideas including covenant terminology. There are 3 groups of problems: (1) the question of the Lord's Supper; (2) the Pauline question about the relationship of the Christian church to Israel as the people of God; (3) the covenant theology in Heb.

1. In all 4 NT passages dealing with the Lord's Supper *diathēkē* plays an important part: 1 Cor. 11:25; Mk. 14:24; Matt. 26:28; Lk. 22:20 (omitted in some MSS and RSV and NEB). Each time it is in connection with the cup, and only there. Paul and Lk. add the adj. "new". This gives a new stress, which hides to some extent the link with the blood, in contrast with the original formula preserved in Matt., Mk., "the blood of the covenant". The use of this formula together with "shed" or "poured out" makes clear beyond question the reference to the covenant blood of the OT (cf. Exod. 24:5–8) and with it the covenant which Yahweh made with Israel. This means that, in the Christian *kērygma* and witness, the work of Jesus was, according to his own word, a taking up and fulfilling of the covenant statements of the OT. Schniewind is, therefore, fully justified in pointing out that "Jer. 31:31–34 can be heard in every variation of the words over the cup" and that the prophetic promise finds fulfilment here.

If the term covenant (*diathēkē*) does not appear as often as one might expect, the reason is that the underlying thought has been taken over in the sayings about the → kingdom of God. Linguistically we can see this perhaps most clearly in Lk. 22:29 in the phrase *diatithemai . . . basileian*, appoint a kingdom, which exactly expresses the formula *diatithemai diathēkēn* (see above OT 6). The new covenant and the kingdom of God are correlated concepts.

In the OT the common meal followed the completion of the covenant by the sprinkling of the people with blood after its pledge (Exod. 24:8 ff.), because the covenant had been made with a people that was already united. In the NT such a single, united people cannot be presupposed. The new people of God is derived rather from that which until then was no people (Rom. 9:25; 1 Pet. 2:10, quoting Hos. 2:23(25)). It is composed of the "many" who have come to share the atoning power of Jesus' blood through his word and spirit (Matt. 20:28; Mk. 10:45). The fellowship of the early Christians based on the word found expression in the common meal (1 Cor. 10:16b, 17; Acts 2:46), which has its counterpart in the first part of the Lord's Supper.

As in the old covenant curse and blessing played a part, so there is also in the new covenant an indication of the curse (1 Cor. 11:27–32; cf. 12:3). Just as one could

keep the old covenant only if one knew its ordinances, so in the Lord's Supper repetition is expressly intended to produce remembrance (*anamnēsis*, 1 Cor. 11:25). Not long after this entire Christian writings like the *Didache* were moulded by the theology of the Lord's Supper and show the structure of the covenant ritual. It is only a development of a connection that is already obvious here.

2. It is not easy to formulate Paul's attitude to the old people of God.

(a) Paul himself can use only the term "mystery" (→ *mystērion*, secret) for the Jewish rejection of Jesus and their enmity to the gospel and the church (Rom. 11:25). He does so in "great sorrow and unceasing anguish" (Rom. 9:2). He was so deeply moved by this subject, that his delineation of the righteousness of God given through Christ (Rom. 1–8) of necessity passed over to a presentation of the inexplicable hardening of Israel, which nevertheless is to lead to salvation in God's will (Rom. 9–11, especially 11:11–16). This account reaches its climax in praise of the unfathomable depths of the divine action (Rom. 11:33–36). In it Paul appeals to the fact that Israel's rejection and unfaithfulness cannot cancel God's covenant. He also knows that there is a fellowship between Israel and the church which cannot be removed, because it is based on the unity of the One who calls. In other words, God's people from now on includes the church and Israel.

(b) In the light of this, Paul considers the fact that a part of Israel has been hardened (Rom. 11:25). The expression "a hardening *has come upon* Israel" (*tō Israēl gegonen*) suggests that it has happened through God's will. God promised Israel in his covenant that sin would be completely blotted out and that all obstacles between God and man would be removed without trace. This is the force of the quotation from Isa. 59:20 f. in Rom. 11:26 f. It is, therefore, obvious that the fulfilment of this covenant promise is still to be awaited, so long as the obstacle of the hardening still exists. Since God's covenant has not reached complete fulfilment or has been cancelled or repented of by him (Rom. 11:29), the promise will be fulfilled with regard to the remnant of Israel.

(c) To make this clearer still, in Gal. 3:15 Paul examined the Gk. concept of a will that could not be annulled. If a human will cannot be annulled, how much less can God's covenant with Israel (3:17), through which it has such incomparable privileges (Rom. 9:4 f.), of which Paul the Christian can boast again and again (Rom. 11:1; 2 Cor. 11:22; Phil. 3:5)?

If God's covenant with Abraham, which consists of the promise, has come into force (Gal. 3:16), something which came in later as an addition to it (Rom. 5:20), the law (Gal. 3:17), cannot narrow this promise or annul it. In the opinion of the present writer, Paul could hardly mean the law which according to OT conceptions belonged to the covenant by its very nature, and thus must be regarded as an ordinnance (see above OT 4). Hence it is no more in contradiction with the covenant of grace as the OT is with the NT. Paul is thinking rather of the law as seen by late Jud., and the rabbis and understood as something in its own right and absolute (see above OT 6). This mass of inexplicable regulations, which simply have to be fulfilled, has been annulled by Christ (Rom. 10:4), because it was only a *paidagōgos*, custodian (RSV), tutor (NEB), "until Christ came" (Gal. 3:24). The law of God itself is not evil, but "holy and just and good" (Rom. 7:12). It belongs to the Sinaitic covenant (Gal. 4:24), not to the Abrahamic covenant (Gal. 4:23, the picture of the two women representing two covenants). Hence it cannot bring salvation. The

one who clings to it remains a slave child (Gal. 4:25). Christians, on the other hand, are children of the promise (Gal. 4:26 ff.) and hence free, and belong to Christ without any distinctions (Gal. 3:26 ff.).

([Ed.] The identification of the law here with the elaborations of late Judaism is not the most obvious interpretation of the references cited. The argument about circumcision and keeping the law in Rom. and Gal. does not suggest that Paul is arguing against a particular rabbinic interpretation. Rather, he is arguing that man cannot use the ordinances of God to establish his own righteousness. Man is saved by the grace of God through Christ's atoning death. Paul does not attack the ordinances of the law as such, but the assumption that man becomes righteous through conformity with certain tenets. Such an attitude of mind implies that it is in man's power to keep the entire law. It betrays a profound lack of awareness of the deep-rooted character of sin and its seriousness in the eyes of God. The Christian, Paul argues, must not relapse into a legalistic frame of mind, for righteousness is the free gift of God in Christ.)

3. We have been seeing how the covenant concept stands in its relationship to the → Law, the → Promise, and the people of God, but we have to turn to Heb. for a developed covenant theology (*diathēkē* is mentioned 17 times). Since the high-priestly office of Christ is "the prevailing conception of Hebrews' Christology", it expresses the new covenant in a cultic setting, which reflects the author's intense concern for "purification, sanctification, perfection" and also sacrifice, atonement and blood (W. G. Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 1966, 277). He clearly contrasts the old and the new covenants. The new is the better covenant (cf. 7:22 *kreittōn*, superior). Its guarantor and mediator is Christ (8:6; 12:24) through his death for the redemption from the sins of the old covenant (9:5). It is against this background of blemish that the prophetic promise of Jer. 31:31–34, twice quoted (8:8–12; 10:16 f.), becomes important and is developed. By the very promise of the new covenant the old has been declared obsolete by God himself, and so it is ready to vanish away (8:13). This does not mean that it has been completely ruled out, but that it has been overtaken and fulfilled by the new. In Christ the pattern (*typos*, 8:5) and "the true form" (*eikōn*, 10:1) of the one covenant concept has become a reality. The new covenant is founded on better promises (8:6; 9:15), but like the old covenant it is a covenant in blood (10:29; 12:24; 13:20). It is not, however, the blood of a sacrificial animal, but the blood of the sacrificer himself, the high priest (9:13 ff.; 10:12 ff.). Hence the death of Christ was essential, for only through the death of the testator does his will become operative in law (9:16 f.; cf. above CL).

Seeing that the forgiveness of sins and renewal of heart promised in Jer. 31:31–34 has become a reality in Christ (Heb. 10:16 ff.), the old covenant is explained as a shadow of that to come. In the new it has been annulled in the sense that it has become "obsolete" and "superfluous". On the other hand, the Pauline tension over the problem of Israel's hardening has disappeared here. That which Paul could only proclaim in his praise of God's mystery (Rom. 11:33–36) is presented in Heb. in an almost rationalistic and comprehensive manner. This can be explained probably only because the author of Heb. faces the old covenant more theoretically, while Paul, in spite of all, knows and confesses that he belongs to it.

([Ed.] Many scholars would dissent from the writer's conclusions here. It is not

that the author of Heb. presents everything more rationalistically than Paul. Indeed, he refrains from speculating about the future of Israel and does not discuss the problems that Paul wrestled with. Instead, his warnings against the danger of rejecting Christ come like a refrain throughout his work (3:7–19; 4:1–13; 6:4–8; 10:26 ff., 38 f.; 12:1–29). Conscious of the judgments which befell the rebellious and hardened in Israel, he warns his readers against deliberate, conscious sin. For him there is a point beyond which a man cannot return. That point cannot be defined in advance. The safeguard against falling into condemnation is summed up in the quotation from Ps. 95:7 f., "Today, when you hear his voice, do not harden your hearts" (Heb. 3:7, 15; 4:7).) *J. Guhrt*

ἔγγυος	ἔγγυος (*engyos*), guarantor.

CL & OT *engyos* is derived from the verb *engyaō* pledge, engage. As an adj., it means offering surety, and so becomes a noun meaning guarantee or guarantor. The *arrabōn* pledge (→ Gift) applied to things: *engyos*, surety, guarantee, may be applied to persons. The *engyos* guaranteed that a legal obligation would be carried out. This could lead even to risking his life for another (Sir. 29:15). Metaphorically in 2 Macc. 10:28 reliance upon the Lord is the pledge of victory. In many religions when an oath was taken, a god was called on to act as guarantor (A. Oepke, *TDNT*, IV 603).

NT *engyos* is found in the NT only in Heb. 7:22, though it has an obvious par. in 8:6, where *mesitēs*, mediator (see below), stands instead of it. 7:22 is to be linked with v. 20. Here the usual procedure with an oath (see above CL/OT) has been reversed. For man has not named God as guarantor, but God has placed the man Jesus as guarantor for the new divine dispensation (*diathēkē*), which has the → promise (8:6 *epangelia*) as its content. Paul expresses the fact by saying that the Holy Spirit comes to us on earth, i.e. to the church of Christ, as the heavenly gift and pledge (*arrabōn*) of our redemption (2 Cor. 1:22; Eph. 1:14). Heb. does it by showing that, after Jesus had offered the vicarious sacrifice of himself, he ascended to God in heaven, where he now acts as the guarantor and representative of those who are still on earth awaiting the rest promised to the people of God (4:9). This can hardly be taken to mean that he is a guarantor before God for our faith and obedience. He is rather a guarantee to those who believe God's promise and know that it has been accomplished in Christ, though they do not yet see its fulfilment. This guarantee is anchored as our hope (6:19) in his twofold and unrepeatable work: his offering up of himself (7:27), and his entrance into the sanctuary (9:12). Through it our sanctification (10:10) has been accomplished once for all. In this way he links our future perfection with his already achieved perfection.

O. Becker

μεσίτης	μεσίτης (*mesitēs*), mediator, intermediary, guarantor.

CL *mesitēs*, mediator, is a Hel. formation, found from Polyb. on, derived from adj. *mesos*, in the middle (cf. *politēs* derived from *polis*). Hence *mesitēs* means one

who finds himself between two bodies or parties. The vb. *mesiteuō*, to function as a mediator, is derived from the sub. (cf. *politeuō* derived from *politēs*).

1. Already in cl. Gk. *mesos* has become a legal term with the meaning of the neutral (cf. Lat. *neuter*, neither of two) place between two parties in conflict, occupied by the arbitrator who seeks to judge and settle (Homer *Il.* 23, 574). "We look for the judge as *mesos* (the man who stands in the middle), and call him *mesidios*" (the later Hel. *mesitēs*) (Aristot. *Eth. Nic.* 1132a, 22 f.). This may be compared with 1 Cor. 6:5: "Can it be that there is no man among you wise enough to decide *ana meson tou adelphou autou*, between his brother," i.e. between one and another of his brothers.

At first there was the ceremonial of coming between the two parties, and this is the origin of the later concept of the mediator stepping in as a neutral third party. This gave *mesitēs* in legal terminology a wide range of meaning. He could be the conciliator or arbitrator in cases that had not yet come before a court of law, so as to prevent this happening. He could be the administrator or trustee for something in dispute. He was also the witness to legal business that had been settled with the responsibility of guaranteeing that the decision would be carried out. He could be a pawnbroker and sometimes a guarantor (→ *engyos*), who guarantees the liabilities of another with his own property.

2. The vb. *mesiteuō* points to another function of a mediator, that of a negotiator, appointed by one side to establish a link with the other side and so negotiate appropriate terms (e.g. in a peace treaty).

OT 1. (a) There is no single term for a mediator in OT, either in Heb. or Gk. The comprehensive Gk. term *mesitēs* is found in the LXX only in Job. 9:33 in an inaccurate rendering. The Heb. *môḵîaḥ* (RSV umpire) is rendered here *elenchōn*, the convictor, which is close to the basic Heb. meaning. It was not really a question of arbitrating between the two parties, but of listening to accusation and defence and restoring the infringed law by dealing with the guilty party – unless of course the accusation was rejected. Thus the relationship between the parties was restored. In Israel there was no civil code which would function by upholding a golden mean between conflicting interests. There was only divine law, which bound together the members of the people as fellow-men. It was ultimately God who chastened and judged (cf. Ps. 6:1 (MT 5:2)). Hence there could hardly be any real difference between an arbitrator and an official judge in Israel.

(b) The negotiator, representative, Heb. *mēlîṣ*, probably originally meant spokesman (2 Chr. 32:31). In Gen. 42:23 it means interpreter.

(c) All this means that we cannot find the concept of mediator in the OT. Where the term appears, it means something quite different from the concept in the Gk. world. The → priest and → prophet were mediators between God and his people, though never in the role of a neutral third party. This is less true of the king, for it is only in his future role as Messiah that he is the mediator of salvation for Israel. Two mediators stand out in Israel's history. One comes at the beginning and the other is eschatological. → Moses mediated salvation at the Red Sea (Exod. 14:15–18). He was the mediator of the covenant at Sinai (Exod. 24:4–8) and as such of the → law and of → revelation (Exod. 33:7–11). These thoughts occur again in the eschatological picture of the awaited Servant of Yahweh (→ Son of God) in Isa.

He is the bearer of God's revelation (Isa. 42:1–4). God makes him the bearer of salvation to the nations (Isa. 49:1–6). He takes the guilt of men upon himself and blots it out by his suffering (Isa. 52:13–53:12).

2. In post-biblical Heb. and Aram. *sarsōr* means middle man, negotiator, interpreter. It acquires a theological meaning when applied to Moses who is the mediator *par excellence* of the Torah to the nation (SB III 556). Jewish literature shows, however, surprisingly little interest in the Servant of Yahweh ([Tr.] This, if we may judge from Qumran, is a deliberate counter to Jewish-Christian propaganda.) Philo uses *mesiteuō* to express the activity of the invisible God and of the Logos (→ Word), who is also called *mesitēs*. But this epithet is also applied to the angels and Moses.

3. The concept of mediation belongs to the essential nature of all religions, both in man's relationship to the divine (e.g. priests, sacral kingship, prophets) and in man's relationship to his fellow man (e.g. law, truth, a god called on to act as witness, mediator and guarantor of oaths). Yet both in the ancient world and later we can hardly find a theology which makes the concept of mediation as such central. On the other hand, there were various mediating figures like Mithras in the Persian mystery religions who was a familiar figure for the Hel. world. The concept of mediator became pivotal for Calvin (cf. *Institutes*, II 12–17), but it is already prominent in Thomas Aquinas (*Summa Theologiae*, III QQ 16–26).

NT The vb. occurs only once in the NT (Heb. 6:17) and there it has God as its subject. The noun occurs only 6 times. (a) As applied to Christ, *mesitēs* is qualified by the gen. → *diathēkēs*, of a covenant (of a better covenant, Heb. 8:6; of a new covenant, Heb. 9:15; 12:24), or by the gen. *theou kai anthrōpou*, between God and men (1 Tim. 2:5). (b) It also refers to another figure who once mediated the law **(Gal. 3:19 f.).**

For us it is a familiar thought that Jesus is the mediator between God and man, but the fact that this concept appears so seldom in the NT raises the question whether we are justified in seeing in Jesus "the fulfilment of the mediator concept as such" (A. Oepke, *TDNT* IV 624).

1. In Gal. 3:19 f. the word *mesitēs* appears to have depreciatory overtones. According to Paul, in company with many rabbis (SB III 554 ff.), the law was not given directly by the one God, but by many cosmic powers (→ Angel). A mediator, Moses, between this multitude and the people was, therefore, necessary. The age of the law, and so of Moses and the powers he represented, was brought to an end by Christ, who had been referred to in the promise given 430 years before the giving of the law. Unlike Moses he is not a mediator, nor a representative of the promise, but its fulfilment. Hence the age of the mediator has passed and that of the Son has come (Gal. 4:4; cf. Jn. 1:17).

2. In Hebrews *mesitēs* has an entirely different meaning. Here we are concerned with "the surety for our attaining the heavenly homeland" (E. Käsemann). The promise which underlies this surety is expressed in the new covenant (*diathēkē*). In Heb. this always denotes the right instituted by God through Christ for liberation from death and sin. *mesitēs*, like *diathēkē*, has a legal function, and describes the one who procures and guarantees that right. On the one hand, this right is "legally secured" (8:6 NEB) by the promise given and, on the other hand, it is the

pre-supposition of the fulfilment of the promise (9:15), which in any case was "guaranteed" by God with an oath (6:17 NEB). *mesiteuō* accordingly does not mean mediate (cf. 7:20 ff., where the office of Jesus as high priest and guarantor are made dependent on this oath). Both from the meaning we have been led to give to *mesiteuō* and from the parallelism of 7:22 to 8:6 (*engyos* with *mesitēs*) we see that we have to give *mesitēs* the meaning of guarantor in Hebrews.

Moreover, *mesitēs* denotes the One who guarantees us salvation, both as its creator and giver. As the ever-present high priest, who has been exalted by his obedience, sufferings, death on the cross, and sacrifice accepted by God, he has by his own blood transformed the right of vengeance (Abel) into the right of forgiveness (12:24). He who believes this promise shares this right (4:3). Just as Heb. uses the terms *mesitēs* and *engyos* to express a legal guarantee for those who believe in Jesus Christ, so Paul uses a similar legal term, *arrabōn*, pledge (→ Gift) for the Holy Spirit.

3. If we should not translate *mesitēs* in Heb. by mediator, there remains only one passage in the NT where Jesus Christ is explicitly called a mediator between God and man, 1 Tim. 2:5. On the one hand, in Rom. 3:30 and Eph. 4:6 the unity of God is used as the foundation for showing the universality of salvation including Jews and Gentiles. On the other hand, in Gal. 3:12–19 and 2 Cor. 5:14 our whole salvation is found in the one man Jesus. The concept of mediator in 1 Tim. 2:4 ff. links the two closely. Just as in Gal. 3:19 f. the importance for salvation of Moses is rejected, because he was only a mediator, so in 1 Tim. 2:5 the importance of Moses and every other figure in salvation history is excluded, because Jesus Christ alone is the mediator between God and all men.

4. If there is then only one passage in the NT where Jesus Christ is called mediator in the full sense of the word, we still must ask whether there are not other passages where the same thought finds expression in other terms. The most obvious is probably Jn. 14:6, "I am the way . . . ." Matt. 11:25–30, especially v. 27, points the same way. But it excludes the thought of a mediator understood as though there were a bridge from man via Jesus to the Father. For the Son, i.e. the secret of the person of Jesus which includes his function as mediator, is known only by the Father.

This may be one reason why the NT is so reticent about the concept of mediation, using it only once in a way that excludes every other possible figure right back to Moses as a mediator between God and man. Where the figure of a mediator like the Servant of Yahweh in Isa., or titles like → priest, → prophet or king are taken over by the NT, Jesus is directly identified with them. This is never done so as to allow us to say that this figure or title tells us who Jesus is. The person and work of Jesus, revealed to us through his resurrection and exaltation, make it possible for us to recognize who is meant by this figure or title. We may express it by a paradox. Because Jesus is a mediator between God and men in this way, he does not fulfil the concept of mediator as generally understood. He has emptied all our preconceived ideas of mediation of their meaning for salvation. *O. Becker*

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Creation, Foundation, Creature, Maker

The term creation has a number of meanings in current usage. But it always refers to an act by which something which has not previously existed in this form is brought into being. In Gk. there are two groups of words which denote this idea. In both cases the terms can have many different shades of meaning which vary according to context. *katabolē* refers primarily to foundation, and thus can mean beginning, that which gives something direction and determination. *ktisis*, originally foundation, describes in a broad sense rather the process of becoming and coming into being, resulting from a decision of the will. But it also goes beyond the meaning of *katabolē* and denotes the result of such an act, the created thing as an entity. Although both groups of words are represented in the NT, the *ktizō* group is used much more in biblical statements about God's creative activity, both with regard to existence in general and as it concerns faith in particular.

καταβολή

καταβολή (*katabolē*), foundation, beginning; καταβάλλω (*kataballō*), throw or strike down, found, ground.

CL The vb. *kataballō* (Homer) derives its basic meaning from its two roots *kata*, down, and *ballein*, to throw. It thus means, to bring from an upright into a

horizontal position (e.g. to throw down, fell to the ground, kill, throw away; or, in a fig. sense, to put down, disparage, reject, and also pay down). The meaning with which we are concerned, to lay a foundation, found, originate, is no exception. It is derived from ancient building technique, and refers to the throwing (or stacking) of stones into the foundation trench; or on rocky ground, the rolling, pushing and squaring of the vital cornerstones of the building. This was something more than the merely symbolic laying of a foundation stone today. The rarer and late noun *katabolē*, lit. laying down, chiefly takes up the fig. meaning. It can mean, payment (laying out) of certain sums of money, or the date by which payment must be made; the date of commencement for a building. In medical language it denotes an attack of fever (*pyretou*). Biologically it denotes the depositing of seed (*tou spermatos*) in the ground or mother, i.e. sowing or fertilization (cf. Aristot., *Problemata*, 20, 12).

katabolē refers also to an historical starting-point, e.g. in the phrase *katabolēn tēs staseōs poiein*, to start the quarrel. From Polybius (2nd cent. B.C.) onwards writers use the phrase *apo* or *ek katabolēs kosmou*, since the beginning of the world. Aristeas, 129 (before 100 B.C.), already uses *katabolē* absolutely in the sense of the creation as the totality of created things.

OT 1. The Heb. equivalents of the vb. *kataballō* are of no significance with regard to the concept of creation. In any case, they are lacking in 15 out of the 42 instances in the LXX. They belong chiefly to military language (to fell with the sword, to bring down city walls, etc.). This is also true of the non-canonical books. Only in 2 Macc. 2:13 does it have the sense of to found. Nehemiah is reported to have founded a library by collecting the ancient writings of Israel, i.e. he originated something.

2. The noun *katabolē* is found in the LXX only at 2 Macc. 2:29, in a *pars pro toto* expression. *architektoni tēs holēs katabolēs phrontisteon*, the master builder must be concerned with the whole construction.

3. Among inter-testamental writers Aristeas uses *katabolē* absolutely, as above mentioned. Philo speaks of the begetting of individuals as *tē prōtē katabolē tōn anthrōpōn* (*Op. Mund.*, 132). Josephus uses the noun in reporting an historical date in speaking of the *beginning* of the rebellion (*War*, 2, 260).

NT 1. In the NT only the noun is found: twice in Matt., 3 times each in Heb. and the Johannine literature, once each in Lk., Eph. and 1 Pet. Foundation of the world (*katabolē kosmou*, without art.) and the term foundation, used absolutely (Matt. 13:35 a citation of Ps. 78:2 with *katabolē* for *archē* where TR adds *kosmou*), have become fixed expressions for the point from which historical dates are reckoned (cf. Jewish chronology). When God's free activity is dated before this point in time (*pro katabolēs kosmou*) as in Jn. 17:24 (where the object of God's love is Jesus) and Eph. 1:4 (where the object is the believer), the purpose is to declare the independence of God's providence from the absolute beginning which he himself set and from history. This independence enables him to break into history in his loving purposes and to bring the course of history to its completion, again in his love (cf. also Rab. literature; → art. *ktisis* OT 7).

2. Two points stand out in all the texts which mention the foundation of the world. One is that it is always associated with a statement about man's destiny.

The other is the implied connection between God's → foreknowledge and predestination. In particular, Matt. 25:34 and Eph. 1:4 speak of → election. Rev. 13:8 and 17:8 speak of reprobation. Lk. 11:50 (a lamentation of Jesus) and Heb. 4:3 speak of historical failure for which account must be rendered. Finally Matt. 13:35 (quoting Ps. 78:2); Heb. 9:26 and 1 Pet. 1:20 (cf. Jn. 17:24) refer to the unique, central position of Jesus Christ in the history of salvation. He reveals in the midst of history what has been hidden since the foundation of the world, and thus fixes the end of time. The phrase "*before* the foundation of the world" in Eph. 1:4; 1 Pet. 1:20; Jn. 17:24 is foreign to the OT and is probably an attempt to express the independence of the creator from his creation in the face of Hellenism, and thus to make his acts of salvation dependent on him alone.

3. In Heb. 11:11 where the text is dubious, *katabolē* is used in the same way as in Philo (see above OT, 2). It is linked with *spermatos*, and means laying or depositing seed, i.e. begetting. V. 11a should be translated "he also, together with Sarah, received power to beget a child" (cf. O. Michel, *Der Brief an die Hebräer*, KEK 13 10 ad loc.; cf. F. Hauck *TDNT* III 621). *H-H. Esser*

κτίσις

κτίζω (*ktizō*), create, produce; κτίσις (*ktisis*), creation, creature; κτίσμα (*ktisma*), created thing, creature; κτίστης (*ktistēs*), originator, creator.

CL The root *kti* (according to Hofmann, *kþei*; cf. Latin *situs*; Ger. *siedeln*) is found as early as Mycenaean Gk., and has the meaning, to build on, found. The vb. *ktizō* (Homer) originally had the meaning of the root, but then the transf. meaning, to bring into being, set in operation, colonize. (Hence the substantive part. *hoi ktisantes*, the original inhabitants.) The derived sub., *hē ktisis* (Pindar) means (a) the act of creation; (b) the created thing, the result of this act; (c) more rarely, the result of the act of an authority, generally a foundation. The meaning (b) may be compared with *to ktisma* (Polybius). *to ktisma* does not occur before the LXX in this sense of the result of creation. When it does, it is generally synonymous with *ktisis*. It also occurs in the plur. meaning the individual constituents of the creation. *ho ktistēs* (Aristotle) is most often a name for rulers in their function as founders and originators, in particular as restorers of the old order (Plut., *Cimon*, 10, 22). Applied to the deity, it means creator. In the biblical literature, the words are almost exclusively reserved for the incomparable creative activity of God, and its products.

OT 1. LXX has two terms for create: *dēmiourgein*, to work on or with a material, manufacture; and *ktizein* which expresses the decisive, basic act of will behind the bringing into being, foundation or institution of something. Of these, the latter is consciously preferred as a description of God's creative activity (cf. W. Foerster, *TDNT* III 1023 ff.). Nevertheless, the exclusiveness implied by the Heb. *bārā'* (see below) remains largely hidden in the LXX translation of the Pentateuch and Isa., since the general term *poiein*, to make, is used instead of *ktizein* to render it. (Incidentally, this fact gives some insight into the length of time it took for the LXX to be produced, and into the development of theological outlook of the translators; cf. W. Foerster, *TDNT* III 1026.) *ktizein* occurs 66 times in the LXX, and in 39 of

these instances without Heb. equivalent. The survey which follows shows the relative frequency of the Heb. equivalents.

(a) Heb. *bārā'* (translated *ktizō* 16 times) is a theological term, whose subject is always God. It is the word used to convey the explicit faith in creation which is expressed in the later chapters of Isa. and the development of the theology of Gen. 1. *bārā'* expresses the incomparable creative activity of God, in which word and act of creation are one (cf. Gen. 1; Ps. 148:5). It refers not only to God's activity in calling the world and individual creatures into being, but also to his actions in history which lie behind election, temporal destiny, human behaviour, and even justification. A simple statistical survey shows the close association which exists between faith in God's government of history and salvation, and the doctrine of creation. R. Rendtorff in "Die theologische Stellung des Schöpfungsglaubens bei Deuterojesaja", *ZThK* 51 1945, 3 ff. and G. von Rad in *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays*, 1966, 131–143, maintain that the developed doctrine of creation is a late offshoot of the Israelites' doctrine of salvation in history which emerged during the period when their faith was in extreme danger of destruction in the Babylonian exile. It was proclaimed both in attack and defence, and afterwards continued as an inalienable tenet, about which there was complete confidence. This may be compared with the similar situation with regard to the 1st and 2nd articles of the Christian creed, ever since the refutation of Marcion.

Referring to the original creative activity of God, *bārā'* (Ps. 148:5) is used of the creation of the heavens and of the heavenly waters (Gen. 1:1) which were separated on the second day (Gen. 1:7). It is also used of the spreading of the circle of the earth, of North and South (Ps. 89(88):12, par. to *yāsaḏ*, to found the world), the mountains and the wind (Amos 4:13), man upon the earth (Deut. 4:32), and man in his transient nature (Ps. 89:47).

bārā' is also used to express God's new work of creation extending into history, or rather the historical continuation of his creative activity. Thus Ps. 104(103):30, echoing Gen. 2, declares: "When Thou sendest forth Thy Spirit, they are created." In Eccl. 12:1 (lit. "Remember him who created you"; the noun "Creator" is foreign to the MT) the reference is to the creation of the individual (cf. the creation of the King of Tyre, Ezek. 28:13, 15). A people yet to be created will praise God (Ps. 102:18). In the well-known text, "Create in me a clean heart, O God" (Ps. 51:10), *bārā'* is again used in this sense. These last two references in the Pss., like those from the prophets mentioned below reveal the rift that runs through the original creation, which make it necessary for God to intervene on behalf of his chosen people and the individual sinner.

The link between the statements of God's original creation and those concerning his creative work in history becomes clear in the following passages. Yahweh who forms light and created darkness (according to Gen. 1:3–5, light is created by the word, but darkness is not created) also "makes weal and creates woe" (Isa. 45:7). He who has created the weapons which threaten has also created the destroyer of those weapons (Isa. 54:16). The people that God has created nonetheless profanes the covenant (Mal. 2:10).

The later Gk. versions of the OT – Theodotion (1st cent. A.D.), Aquila (2nd cent. A.D.) and Symmachus (3rd cent. A.D.) – consistently use *ktizein* instead of the more general words used to translate *bārā'* in the LXX (see above OT) in passages which

they regard as important in Gen., Deut., Isa., and Jer. These include Gen. 1:1, heaven and earth; 1:27, man in God's image; Isa. 40:26, the heavenly host; 41:20, new plant life in the wilderness, as a picture of Yahweh's historical power to save; 43:7, foreign nations from the ends of the world; 65:17 f., the new heaven, the new earth, the new Jerusalem, the new people; Jer. 31:22, a new thing on earth.

(b) *qānâh* (translated 3 times by *ktizō*) means to create, produce. Gen. 14:19, 22 speak of God Most High, in blessing and prayer respectively, as he who has made heaven and earth. Wisdom (Prov. 8:22), probably seen here as a heavenly being with a mediatorial role, exists before God's creation of the world. (Jer. 32(39):15 should probably be translated, as against Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Vaticanus, "fields . . . shall be bought (*ktēthēsontai*)" rather than "created" (*ktisthēsontai*).

(c) *yāṣar* (twice rendered by *ktizō*) means to form, fashion (like a potter), or plan. It is sometimes used of the spontaneous action of God in history. He directs destinies (Isa. 22:11). His planning and doing (*poiein*) are simultaneous.

(d) *kûn* (twice the Heb. equivalent of *ktizō*) is used both of the original creation and of God's working in history. Thus precious stones were prepared (Ezek. 28:13, par. to *bārā'* see above (b)). Yahweh is the One who has prepared, or established, Israel (Deut. 32:6d).

(e) *ktizō* is used once for *yāsaḏ* (niph., to be founded; used of Egypt in Exod. 9:18); once for *'āmaḏ*, to stand forth at God's creative word (Ps. 33(32):9; see above 1(a), and the excursus of H.-J. Kraus in *BKAT* XV 263 f. on the creative power of the word of God). It is also used once for *šāḵan*, to be situated, established (part.), of the "tabernacle", the tent of meeting (Lev. 16:16) built according to the revealed pattern (Exod. 25:9).

2. In the passages without Heb. equivalent, which belong predominantly to the literature of Wisdom and of legendary history, expression is given to the contemporary priority of the doctrine of creation over the doctrine of redemption. Especially in the latter type of literature, confession, praise, and prayer to the Creator can become the sole basis and content of faith (1 Esd. 6:13; Jud. 13:18; Bel 5; 3 Macc. 2:3, 9). With the exception of Hag. 2:9 (a LXX addition to the MT) and 1 Esd. 5:53, where *ktizein* describes human acts of foundation, the term is everywhere reserved for divine activity. Traces of Hel. and general thought of the late classical period are linked up with previous Israelite ideas about creation. God has created all things that they might exist (Wis. 1:14), and the world out of formless matter (11:17). He has created man for incorruption in the likeness of his own nature (2:23). He is called "author of beauty" in connection with the creation of the stars (13:3). However, Gen. 1:14 ff. keeps at a cool, demythologizing distance in recounting the creation of the heavenly lights (cf. the LXX addition to Hos. 13:4).

Emphasis on the pre-existence of the hypostasized figure of wisdom as the first created being likewise demonstrates the dehistoricizing of the concept of God. God becomes absolutely transcendent, and exercises only mediate influence on present history. It also dehistoricizes creation (Wis. 10:1; Sir. 1:4, 9 f.; 24:8 f.; the latter passage also speaks of the post-existence of wisdom for eternity). This reverses what happened with the emergence of an explicit doctrine of creation. History must now be seen from the viewpoint of creation in which all is foreseen. From the beginning goodness is determined for the good. Winds, fire, hail, famine and plague are created for punishment; and death, bloodshed, strife, sword, devastation,

corruption, hunger and tribulation for the ungodly (cf. Sir. 23:20; 39:21–30; 40:10). Creaturely limitations are retained: pride and anger are not created for man (Sir. 10:18). Man is created from earth (Sir. 17:1; 33:10), and to the earth he will return (Sir. 17:1). The eye is recognized as the greatest possible source of danger to man among created things. This warning is graphically expressed in the question: "What has been created more evil than the eye?" (Sir. 13:13; cf. Matt. 5:29). One of the theological emphases of the wisdom literature is the extension of the doctrine of creation to include joy in the good things that have been made (cf. the hymns and songs of the Baroque period celebrating creation!). Wine has been created to make men glad (Sir. 31:27). Tilling the soil is an ordinance of the Most High, and should not be despised (Sir. 5:15). Men have God to thank for doctors and medicines (Sir. 38:1; 4, 12). Only once is reference made to the direct creative work of God in history, we have to thank God for the glory of famous men (Sir. 44:2).

3. The noun *ktisis* has only 2 Heb. equivalents in the MT, *hôn* and *qinyān*, each occurring twice and meaning possessions, goods, wealth, belongings. In three passages (Ps. 105(104):21; Prov. 1:13; 10:15) we should therefore (and also on grounds of textual criticism) read rather *ktēsis*, possessions. Only in the creation Psalm 105 does *qinyān* have the sense of creatures (Ps. 104(103):24).

Of more interest are the 15 instances in the LXX which have no Heb. equivalent. A number of them underline the doctrine of creation in prayer (see above 2) in the manner typical of this period of Judaism (Tob. 8:5, 15; Jud. 9:12; 16:14; Ps. 74 (73):18; 3 Macc. 2:2, 7; 6:2). Since God is the Creator and everything results from his word, he can be taken at his word and addressed as the Lord of creation (Jud. 16:14b, and the above-mentioned prayers). God's power in history is no longer seen or believed to be direct in its operation, but mediated by his creation. His power to predict and to elect are thus in effect one and the same. He arms the *ktisis*, creation, to bring vengeance on his enemies. It exerts itself to punish sinners, and relaxes for the sake of those who have trust in God (Wis. 5:17; 16:24). Thus the miracle at the Red Sea is not regarded as an incursion by Yahweh into his creation or a sovereign action against it. Rather God creates special new conditions for the creation which then obeys his special commands, to bring about the redemption of his elect (Wis. 19:6). The proper attitude of man to the creation is to marvel at its wonders (Sir. 43:24 f.), praise the Creator (Tob. 8:5, 15), and serve his fellow man (Jud. 16:14). On the other hand, it is despicable to misuse the creation in order to gain purely selfish enjoyment, as the ungodly encourage one another to do (Wis. 2:6). The righteous should not, however, indulge in nihilism because of their own insignificance amid the immeasurable extent of the created order (Sir. 16:17). The answer to the question of the meaning of life is given not by the creation but by the Creator. The context makes clear in each passage which of the two meanings of *ktisis* is intended, creation or creatures.

4. The late noun *ktisma* occurs only in passages without a Heb. equivalent in the sense listed in CL above (6 times, of which 2 are in prayers). In Wis. 9:2 a prayer for wisdom is being made, and wisdom is seen as the instrument of creation, as having something to do with man's commission to have dominion. In Sir. 36:15 a prayer for God's intervention in a historical situation to free Israel is based upon the continuing interest of God in his creation. (It must be left as an open question whether Israel, the patriarchs, wisdom, the Messiah, or his kingdom, all of which

belong according to Judaism to the class of things created before the rest of creation, are meant here. This argument from creation corresponds to the argument from eschatology in the same context, where the present activity of God is under consideration.) Wis. 13:5 and 14:11 should be seen as having a direct link with Rom. 1:20 ff. The greatness and beauty of created things enables conclusions to be drawn regarding their Creator, but idols (→ Image; → Man) are an abomination within the created order. With a faintly ironical undertone Sir. 38:34 concludes that artisans maintain the stability of the eternal creation (Jerusalem Bible: "they give solidity to the created world"), but are not in a position to attain wisdom. Ultimately this low estimation of practical work makes it impossible for the service of God in daily life to be regarded as an expression of faith in creation. The result is the emergence of the hierarchy of righteousness which Jesus later sharply criticized. *ktisma* is also used of parts of the eternal, good created order, such as sleep (3 Macc. 5:11): God remains its Lord and causes it to come and go.

5. The noun *ktistēs*, creator, is found only in non-canonical texts. 2 Sam. 22:32 (where the MT has "rock" and only the LXX translates it "creator"), and Isa. 43:15 (where Symmachus has "creator" for the participial form "I who have created" (cf. Eccl. 12:1), while the LXX has "I who have discovered thee") are thus no real exceptions.

The rare use of the noun (only 9 times including 2 Sam. 22:32 and Isa. 43:15 Symmachus) nevertheless gives us a glimpse of the central position occupied by the doctrine of creation in the two centuries before Christ. In confession (2 Macc. 7:23) and confession before non-Jews in persecution the Creator of the universe is invoked (4 Macc. 11:5). To him is committed in prayer the salvation of Israel (2 Macc. 1:24 ff.), and the outcome in holy war (2 Macc. 13:14). The hypostasized figure of wisdom stands as mediator in direct relation to him (Sir. 24:8). The historical association of the Creator with Israel is no longer expressed in terms of action (→ Covenant; → Grace), but ontologically after the manner of the Greeks. He is the one who "feels with us according to his nature" (4 Macc. 5:25).

6. The Qumran sect brought to the doctrine of creation a demonological and anthropological dualism. God has created the spirits of light and of darkness, and based every work upon them (1QS 3:25). Along with his commission to have dominion over the earth, man is assigned spirits of truth and of wickedness (1QS 3:17 f.). The doctrine of double predestination which is bound up with the foreknowledge of God corresponds to this in the case of the historical creation of individuals. Before he created the eternal generations, God knew their works for all eternity (1QH 1:7 f.). He created the righteous and the ungodly (1QH 4:38), the one intended for the day of favour, the other for the day of conflict (1QH 15:14 f., 17). God created breath for the tongue. He knows its words and fixes the fruit of the lips before they appear (1QH 1:27 f.).

In contrast to Gen. 1, this dualistic thinking allows the seas and floods to have been created and not merely separated (1QH 1:13 f.). Like the Priestly writing, 1QM 10:12 emphasizes that God created laws dividing the earth at the same time as he created the earth itself. The basic and final authority of the Creator over the dualistic forces remains a theme of hymns of praise, in which the righteous identify themselves with the side of the victor. (Hence the majority of references to creation occur in the hymns, 1QH.) For the righteous have been created to praise the name

of God (1Q34 3, 1, 7). The idea of the new, eternal creation after the break-up of the old is therefore a quite consistent part of the eschatological future envisaged by the righteous (1QH 13:11 f.).

Moreover, monogamy – mentioned in polemic against the bigamous ideas of the false prophet Zaw – is based on Gen. 1:27c interpreted in the singular: "as man and wife he created them" (CD 4:21).

7. In Rab. literature the doctrine of creation is also connected with the doctrine of providence and prescience. God's foreknowledge can either begin with the commencement of his creative work, or be fixed and determined in God's purpose before the beginning of creation (cf. SB I 982; → *katabolē*, NT 2).

8. The history of the OT doctrine of creation is not adequately covered by a mere survey of the meaning of the term *ktizō* with its derivatives and equivalents. It can be mapped out roughly in stages: Gen. 2 – Ps. 104 – Isa. 40 – Gen. 1 – Ps. 33 – and then the non-canonical books of history and wisdom. At every stage we may see a witness to the God of Israel as Lord of creation and as Lord of the world. This shows the ability of Israel to take over every theory of life, and to use it in declaring the creative power and world dominion of her God. The only process of development which can be observed in this doctrine is a movement from an anthropocentric view of creation, which sees the limits of the world only in a horizontal direction (Gen. 2), to a cosmic, total view of creation. It reached its climax by way of the pre-exilic creation psalms in the explicit doctrine of creation in the exilic period when it had an apologetic motive (see above 1(a)). It gained further profundity as existential implications were thought out.

In biblical literature covenant and salvation are closely linked with creation. Karl Barth saw in Gen. 1 "Creation as the external basis of the covenant" and in Gen. 2 "The covenant as the internal basis of creation" (*CD*, III 1, 94–329). But the final phase of development in non-canonical literature led to the isolation and absolute dominance of the doctrine of creation. Here we are no longer allowed to find a basis for the doctrine in the covenant. Creator and creation are held to be perspicuous to all. The Lord of history has now departed into a transcendent realm. He has become the One who at creation has already determined the whole course of history, which is left to unroll according to plan. He is no longer the One who is ready to act on Israel's behalf, and who appears when and where he so chooses in his freedom (cf. Exod. 3:14 ff.).

NT 1. *ktizō*, create, produce, and its derivatives are found 38 times in the NT. Of these there are 14 instances of the vb. and 19 of the noun *ktisis* in the senses mentioned in CL above. Sense (b) may be further subdivided into the total creation and the creature. *ktisma*, thing created, occurs 4 times; *ktistēs*, creator, only in 1 Pet. 4:19. The latter concept is, however, expressed 8 times by a relative clause or a participle, as in the Heb. verbal construction.

The occurrences of this group of words do not, however, exhaust the terminology of creation. The following are also found, though less frequently: *poieō*, to make, *plassō*, to form; and less frequently still *kataskeuazō*, prepare (Heb. 3:4), *themelioō*, found, and *dēmiourgos*, craftsman, shaper. Other terms like *ta panta*, all, *archē*, → beginning (used absolutely in Jn. 1:1), and lists of the separate areas of creation (heaven, earth, sea, etc.) and their inhabitants likewise refer to the doctrine of

creation. So too do statements which directly refer to creation events (Rom. 4:17), or repeat phrases from the creation narratives (Matt. 6:26a; 2 Cor. 4:6).

Occurrences of the *ktizō* group of words which apply exclusively to divine activity are divided as follows among the NT writers: Matt. once; Mk. 4 times; the Pauline Epistles 22 times (Rom. 8 times; Eph. and Col. 4 or 5 times; 1 Tim. twice); Jas. once; Heb. twice; 1 Pet. twice; 2 Pet. once; Rev. 5 times.

2. The NT presupposes the OT-Jewish doctrine of creation. To this extent the Christian church is dependent on the primeval narratives of the OT. But the NT gains anew the historical power of faith in the God of creation in its proclamation of God's kingdom being at hand and having its dawn in Christ. A key text here is the passage in the Sermon on the Mount which centres on the prohibition of worry (Matt. 6:24 ff.; cf. esp. v. 33). There is here a return to the original prophetic order, and the vital link between a person's faith in historical salvation ("Seek first. . .") and faith in creation ("all these things shall be added unto you"). The same is true of the Lord's prayer (cf. the first three petitions with the fourth).

In the preaching and actions of the earthly Jesus men are brought into a position of unbroken, healing confidence in the Creator. The Sabbath was *made* for man (*egeneto*, Mk. 2:27 par.). Foods do not defile a man (Matt. 15:11 par.). Fasting is not appropriate in the presence of Jesus (Mk. 2:18 ff. par.; Matt. 11:19), In his service there is no lack of the necessities of life (Lk. 22:35). He gives thanks when breaking bread and observing the feast (at the feeding of the 5000, and the Passover feast). Monogamy and the indissolubility of marriage are expressly based by Jesus on the creation ordinance from the beginning (Mk. 10:6, *ktisis*; in the par. Matt. 19:4, *ktizō*), as against the practice of divorce which arises from selfish hardness of heart. He does not succumb to the temptation arbitrarily to use the creation in opposition to the will of God (Matt. 4:1–11 par.).

Jesus demonstrates his creative power in the so-called nature miracles (the feeding miracles, walking on the water, and stilling of the storm). These give rise to the question, "Who then is this, that . . . ?" (Mk. 4:41 par.). In his exorcisms, healings and raising of the dead, in which new life is created by the liberating word, Jesus' creative power is exercised for the benefit of men who belong to a fallen creation. Thus according to the longer but inauthentic ending of Mk., the whole creation seems to be in need of the gospel of Christ (Mk. 16:15).

3. It is therefore a necessary consequence of the self-revelation of God which has taken place in Jesus of Nazareth, that the post-resurrection confession of faith should include worship of *the ascended One*, who now sits at God's right hand, as the original *mediator of creation* (1 Cor. 8:6; Col. 1:16; Heb. 1:2, 10; Jn. 1:1 ff.). The whole creation was made through him and with him in view (Jn. 1:3; 9–12). It has its basis (Rev. 3:14) and its goal in him (Heb. 1:11 f.).

4. References in the Pauline epistles to the doctrine of creation may be grouped into (a) those concerning the nature of the first creation, and (b) those which have as their subject the new creation, *kainē ktisis*, which has begun in Christ. The latter predominate, and there are many references to the relation between the two groups (e.g. Rom. 8:19 ff.; 2 Cor. 5:17; Gal. 6:15).

(a) The Creator alone is worthy of worship and veneration. The creature is limited by the fact that it is created. The limitation of creaturehood cannot be

overcome from man's side. Where worship is nevertheless offered to creatures, God gives up those who have thus transgressed to their own evil ways (Rom. 1:25). Since the creation (*ktisis*) of the world God's invisible nature has been clearly seen and recognized in his works (cf. Wis. 13:5). It follows that all human creatures are without excuse (Rom. 1:20). But all men in their disobedience have failed to make use of this opportunity, and are therefore dependent on God's free gift in the redemptive work of Jesus Christ (Rom. 3:21 ff.). Everything created (*ktisma*) by God is good, and nothing that God has created is to be rejected. This includes foods which are to be received with thanksgiving (1 Tim. 4:3 f., see above 1). However, because of the arrogance and rebelliousness of man, the creation (*ktisis* here means creaturely status) is in danger of becoming a temptation to him and separating him from the love of God firmly assured in Christ (Rom. 8:39). Since man is the goal of the whole creation, the state of the created order is determined by him. It is to man that all the non-human creation looks. All the hopes and longings of every created thing (*ktisis*) are therefore directed to him. With man, who has subjected the created world to himself, it has become subjected to futility, and it sighs and groans in its sufferings (Rom. 8:19a, 20, 22).

In a polemical passage (1 Cor. 11:9), Paul bases his teaching on the behaviour and rôle of women in worship on the principle of the original creation, whereby woman was made for man (Gen. 2:18; → Head). In the central passage, Gal. 3:28, however, he declares equality of the sexes in the unity which exists in the fellowship of Christ. Whilst he ascribes to man an authority which he does not ascribe to woman on the basis of Gen. 2:18, he nevertheless asserts their mutual dependence on each other and their joint dependence on God (1 Cor. 11:11 f.).)

(b) Because of what man has done, all creatures are dependent on the restoration of a right relationship between God and his representative in the created world. This can come about only through God's intervention. This is what Rom. 8:19b means when it speaks of waiting for the revelation of the sons of God. Since their acceptance as sons has already been promised (v. 23c) while they are still in the body (v. 23d), the hope of the final revelation of the sons of God is also hope which looks for the liberation of all creatures from bondage to decay (v. 21). The final realization of sonship lies outside the believer hidden ready in Christ. Christ is identified with the love of God (Rom. 8:39). Paul can therefore speak here and in 2 Cor. 5:17 with complete assurance about the new reality. Where a person belongs to Christ, new creation is a fact. Former things which hitherto determined his life have passed away.

In Christ the old privileges which men use to erect barriers between themselves (circumcision and uncircumcision) are no longer valid. Only belonging to him counts – the new creation. The past has been cancelled by the cross. Therefore the world, as the embodiment of the old creation, is unable to make any claims upon Christ. For his part the Christian is unable to live in dependence on the world: they are dead to each other (Gal. 6:14 f.).

Similarly, in Eph. 2:15 the removal by Christ of the basic distinction among mankind – the distinction between God's people and those who do not belong to it, i.e. between Jews and non-Jews – is regarded as *the* decisive act of reconciliation. *One* new man is created in Christ who now stands before God representing all men. The result of the new creation is here named, in a phrase popular in Eph. and Col., as

the new man. It is the nature of this new man to see himself totally and unconditionally in the light of God's act of creation in Christ, as his workmanship (Eph. 2:10). The new man can be "put on" as a new self, who no longer has anything to do with the old. Where the old man was characterized by acts which destroy fellowship with God and with other men, the new is marked by a new knowledge, emanating from the will of God. This knowledge allows the new man to become truly an image of his Creator (here referred to in a relative clause) in acts of neighbourly love (Col. 3:10–12). The new man's condition of being "created after the likeness of God" (Eph. 4:24) means therefore that he is created so as to match up to God. He accepts the rightness of his gracious verdict upon us (in righteousness); he is separated for his service (in holiness); and lives in dependence upon him who is the truth, i.e. Christ (in truth). The drive of man to establish himself by his own efforts, even when these efforts are religious in character, belongs to the sphere of the old man. Yet there is a place for good works. For God has not only created the new man. He has created him for good works which he has prepared beforehand that we should live in them (Eph. 2:10).

5. The occasional references in the Catholic Epistles to the old creation and the new are essentially no different from the Pauline ones. Christians are the *first-fruits of God's creatures*, because they are "brought forth by the word of truth", i.e. born again (Jas. 1:18). The soteriological interpretation of this verse is to be preferred to the cosmological one. Heb. emphasizes God's eternal creative power which sees no conflict between his unlimited knowledge of all his creatures and their duty to give account of themselves (Heb. 4:13; cf. Rom. 1:20b; Rev. 4:11; 5:13). Heb. also stresses the infinite superiority of the new covenant over the old. The centre of worship for the old covenant belongs to this, our present created order. It is made with hands. The sphere of operation of the one heavenly high priest, Christ, is not subject to such limitation (Heb. 9:11). 1 Pet. attributes the ability of Christians to put their life at God's disposal for good works, even when this means suffering, to the faithfulness of the Creator (1 Pet. 4:19).

The interpretation of *ktisis* in 1 Pet. 2:13 is debated. In order to avoid the offensive teaching that we should submit to "every human *creature*" (which would be tantamount to making created beings into a god), it has been suggested that the translation should read "every human *ordinance*", or that instead of *ktisei* we should read *krisei*, judgment. The concept of subordination is, however, modified by the teaching, that it is not for the creature's sake, or for our own, but for the Lord's sake. Thus this subordination is seen as a sign of freedom, with the limitation set upon it that a man remains the servant of God.

2 Pet. 3:4 defends the Christian hope of the return of Christ against people who maintain that there is a perpetual continuity "from the beginning of creation", and use it to justify their self-assurance.

6. The language of Revelation depicts a visionary anticipation of the world to come. In hymns and acts of heavenly worship it proclaims what is already true in faith and will one day be objectively true finally, for ever and for all. He who sits upon the throne is worthy to receive glory, honour and power, for he has created all things and they owe their existence to his will (4:11). This worship of every creature (*ktisma*) belongs (5:13) not only to him, but also the Lamb (a metaphor for the crucified and exalted One). The act of praise goes out from heaven, reaching

in concentric circles, as it were, the earth, the region under the earth, and the sea, together with the creatures in them (cf. W. Foerster, *TDNT* III 1130 f.). As in 10:6, heaven and all that lives within it, are here seen as something created. But as the central scene of the worship of God it is clearly distinguished from earth and sea. Startling in its applicability to the present day is the vision of the death of a third of the creatures (*ktismata*) in the sea, when a mountain of fire is thrown into it (8:8 f.). The Revelation speaks of God's new work of creation as something going beyond the individual to embrace the whole world. It is a new creation of the cosmos (21:1 ff.). But the word used in this context is not *ktizō*, but *poieō*, make (21:5; → Work, art. *poieō*). *H-H. Esser*

| *δημιουργός* | *δημιουργός* (*dēmiourgos*), maker.

CL & OT *dēmiourgos* (originally a "public worker") and associated forms were used in Gk. of magistrates and of workmen, especially skilled handworkers. From Plato onwards they were also used to refer to the activity of God in creating the universe (*Tim.* 28 ff.; *Rep.* 530a). The word group is scarcely used in the LXX; the verb *dēmiourgeō* is used of a potter (Wis. 15:13) and of making altars (2 Macc. 10:2), the noun metaphorically of causing evils (2 Macc. 4:1), and only later in Symmachus is the noun applied to God as creator (Job 37:15; 38:4). But the word group is common enough outside the Bible, being applied to God by Josephus (*Ant.* 1, 155; 7, 380; 12, 23). Philo makes considerable use of the terms, with frequent reference to God as the creator of the universe (*Op. Mund*, 10; *Mut. Nom.*, 29–32); sometimes the term *technitēs* (craftsman) occurs in the same context (*Rer. Div. Her.* 133). From Philo's usage it is clear why the term was scarcely ever used of God in the Gk. Bible or in Rabbinic Judaism (but cf. P. Aboth 4:22): Philo comments that God did not just handle existing material as an artificer (*dēmiourgos*) but was himself its creator (*ktistēs*) (*Som.* 1, 76). In general, however, Philo was influenced by Gk. ideas of God as the fashioner of the world. The Bible prefers to use *ktizō*, a word which better conveys the idea of God's rule over the universe and his power to create out of nothing.

NT Hence the virtual absence of *dēmiourgos* from the NT is not without significance. In Heb. 11:10 it is used of God as the *technitēs* (Wis. 13:1) and *dēmiourgos* of the heavenly city. The writer here uses a fine, rhetorical phrase to stress the excellence and abiding quality of the heavenly city as one built on firm foundations by God himself; the thought is metaphorical and non-philosophical.

In later Christian writing the word became more common (1 Clem. 20:11; Ep. Diog. 7:2), and it also played a considerable role in Gnosticism, in which the idea of a "demiurge", separate from and inferior to God, was used to explain the origin of the evil, material universe. *I. H. Marshall*

→ Beginning

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Cross, Wood, Tree

The word now normally translated as *cross* denotes in Greek an instrument of torture and execution. It has gained a special significance through its historic connection with the death of Jesus. Two words are used for the instrument of execution on which Jesus died: *xylon* (wood, tree) and *stauros* (stake, cross). *xylon* meant originally wood, and is often used in the NT of wood as a material. Through its connection with Deut. 21:23 (quoted in Gal. 3:13, "Cursed be everyone who hangs on a tree"), *xylon* could virtually be treated as synonymous with *stauros*. In the gospels *stauros* is used in the accounts of the execution of Jesus, and in the theological reflection of the Pauline literature it symbolizes the → sufferings and → death of Christ.

ξύλον	ξύλον (*xylon*), wood, pole, gallows, tree, cross.

CL *xylon* is commonly used in cl. literature for wood or timber, as a building material, fuel, and material from which utensils and cultic objects are made (e.g. Dem. 45, 33; Hesiod, *Works* 808). Cudgels, clubs, instruments of torture and punishment in the form of sticks, blocks and collars for slaves, lunatics and prisoners were called *xylon* (Hdt., 2, 63; 4, 180). *xylon* as a tree is rare. It is first attested in Hdt., 3:46; 7, 65; Euripides, *Cyclops*, 572; and Xen., *Anab.*, 6, 4, 5.

OT Wood is mentioned in the LXX as fuel (Gen. 22:3), building material (Gen. 6:14; Exod. 25:10 ff.; 1 Ki. 6:15), and as an instrument of torture (stocks, Job 33:11 RSV). The meaning *tree* is more common than in secular Gk. *xylon* is used to denote fruit trees, cypresses and trees planted by running water (Gen. 1:11; Isa. 14:8; Ps. 1:3). According to Gen. 2:9, "God made to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food, the tree of life also in the midst of the garden, and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil." The Garden of Eden represents God's providential care. The tree of life represents the fact that all life comes from God as a gift. The tree of the knowledge of good and evil which is forbidden to man symbolizes the benevolent character of God's commands (cf. G. von Rad, *Genesis*, 1961, ad loc.). God gives and sets limitations at the same time. In setting the tree of knowledge as a limit, he lets man know that he both gives and requires obedience. The motif of the tree of life, to which later Jewish apocalyptic attributed supernatural vital powers in a paradise at the end of time (Eth. En.

25:4 f.; cf. Prov. 3:18), already suggests a primeval paradise. (On the trees see U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis*, 1961, I, 110 ff.)

Disobedience turns a created thing into a god. The tree becomes a cultic object and the carving an idol. The prophets condemned Israel's apostasy as "adultery with stone and tree" (Jer. 3:9 RSV; cf. Isa. 40:20; 44:13 ff.; Ezek. 20:32).

In the LXX wood is rarely mentioned as an instrument of torture and execution. However, executed criminals were hanged on a stake and exposed to public view. "And if a man has committed a crime punishable by death and he is put to death, and you hang him on a tree, his body shall not remain all night upon the tree, but you shall bury him the same day, for a hanged man is accursed by God; you shall not defile your land which the Lord your God gives you for an inheritance" (Deut. 21:22 f. RSV; cf. Jos. 10:26; Est. 5:14).

NT 1. The NT mentions wood as a weapon (staves) and building material in Matt. 26:47; Mk. 14:43; and Rev. 18:12. Jesus asked figuratively: "For if they do this when the wood is green, what will happen when it is dry?" (Lk. 23:31). If he himself was not spared divine judgment, how much more will Israel burn like dead wood in the fire of judgment? (Cf. J. M. Creed; "if the innocent Jesus [*en hygrō xylō*] meets such a fate, what will be the fate of guilty Jerusalem [*en tō xērō*]?", *The Gospel According to St. Luke*, 1930, 286; cf. SB II 263. There may also be an element of time implied in the contrast between the green wood and the dry: if this happens now, what will happen later?)

In 1 Cor. 3:12 wood is mentioned metaphorically in the context of a series of materials ranging from → gold to straw. There is only one possible → foundation in the church, and that is Christ. But men may build a variety of structures on this foundation which will all be tested by fire. Those which are perishable like wood and straw will be consumed, though the foundation will remain. A man's work may be burned up, but he himself will be saved, but only as through fire.

2. The concepts of the tree and the curse and the "tree of life" are theologically more central. Peter accused the Jewish leaders of killing Jesus "by hanging him on a tree" (Acts 5:30; cf. 10:39). The expression is reminiscent of Deut. 21:23, and stresses the shame of the crucifixion. For as someone hanged on a tree, Jesus stood under the curse of God. Paul drew this inference in Gal. 3:13: "Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, having become a curse for us – for it is written, 'Cursed be every one who hangs on a tree.' " He has taken upon himself in our place and for our benefit the curse of the law and by his death has destroyed it (cf. 2 Cor. 5:21). Alluding to Isa. 53:4, 12, 1 Pet. 2:24 declares: "He himself bore our sins in his body on the tree, that we might die to sin and live to righteousness." The tree is the place at which Christ's body, laden with our sin, was killed. Through the death of his body sin was annulled. (On Jn. 3:14; Num. 21:9 → Dragon, art. *ophis*.)

The picture of the tree of life reappears in Rev. 2:7: "To him who conquers I will grant to eat the tree of life, which is in the paradise of God." What was forbidden to → Adam and Eve is given in the new creation. In the new → Jerusalem on either side of the river of → life grows "the tree of life with its twelve kinds of fruit, yielding its fruit each month; and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations" (Rev. 22:2). The righteous alone have access to the tree of life (Rev.

22:14, 19). The living tree symbolizes life, and presents a contrast with the cross as the wooden instrument of death. But the significance of the cross is retained. It is the place where God bears and overcomes suffering and death, so that he may give life to a world overcome by sin and death (Rev. 22:14). *B. Siede*

σταυρός

σταυρός (*stauros*), stake, cross; σταυρόω (*stauroō*), hang upon a cross, crucify; ἀνασταυρόω (*anastauroō*), crucify; συσταυρόω (*systauroō*), crucify with; κρεμάννυμι (*kremannymi*), hang.

CL 1. (a) *stauros* is an upright, sometimes pointed stake. It may serve various purposes, e.g. as fencing (Hom., *Od.*, 14, 11), a foundation (Thuc., 7, 25, 5), and as a palisade (Homer onwards). Similarly, *stauroō* means to drive in stakes, or erect a palisade (Thuc. onwards).

(b) Both the noun and the vb. have a more specific meaning in connection with punishment. But this occurred in a variety of ways. The words do not always have the same precise meaning, and cannot without closer definition be applied to the crucifixion of Jesus.

The vb. is more common in the compound *anastauroō* which has the same meaning. It is virtually interchangeable with *anakremannymi* (Hdt., 3, 125, 3 f.; 7, 194, 1 f.) and *anaskolopizō* (Hdt., 9, 78, 3) meaning to hang up, impale, apparently always in public. These vbs. may have the following possible meanings, depending upon the manner of execution then current: impale (Hdt. 7, 238, 1); hang up, especially as a sign of disgrace (Hdt., 3, 125, 3 f.) as well as a form of execution (see below, 2 (a)); fix to a cross, crucify (see below, 2 (a)).

Corresponding to the vb. which was more common, *stauros* can mean a stake which was sometimes pointed on which an executed criminal was publicly displayed in shame as a further punishment. It could be used for hanging (so probably Diod. Sic., 2, 18, 2), impaling, or strangulation. *stauros* could also be an instrument of torture, perhaps in the sense of the Lat. *patibulum*, a cross-beam laid on the shoulders. Finally it could be an instrument of execution in the form of a vertical stake and a cross-beam of the same length forming a cross in the narrower sense of the term. It took the form either of a T (Lat. *crux commissa*) or of a + (*crux immissa*).

2. The exact technical form and significance of execution are not conveyed by the words *stauros* and *(ana)stauroō*, without further definition. In order to determine this, it is necessary to know in what region and under what authority the execution was carried out. It is also necessary to know the standpoint of the writer who uses these terms.

(a) There appears to be a fundamental difference between the East and the West over the question of execution and its means. In the East there was the practice of hanging and impaling bodies which were sometimes decapitated (cf. Polyb., 7, 21, 3). This was an additional penalty. By being exhibited the person executed was put to further shame.

This form of punishment was rejected in the West and not practised (cf. Hdt., 7, 238, 1 f. with 9, 78, 3; 9, 79, 1; Plut., *De Pericle*, 28, 1). Hanging or fastening in some way to a stake, beam or cross was a means of execution of someone still alive (cf. Hdt., 9, 120, 4). A distinction must, however, be drawn between the various

modes of execution. A more or less quick death was effected by strangulation. On the other hand, hanging could be long and painful for the victim. This was the intention of fastening the condemned man to the *stauros* while he was still alive. Execution by crucifixion was known in Greece and Carthage. The Romans may even have taken it over from the Carthaginians. Crucifixion in this sense was not developed and practised in the East.

(b) In Judea at the time of Jesus sentencing to crucifixion and execution was entirely in the hands of the Roman authorities. With regard to the procedure followed by the Romans the following may be said. As with the Greeks and probably throughout the East, freemen with Roman citizenship were exempted from crucifixion up to the early imperial period. Apart from a few executions carried out against this generally established right, crucifixion was inflicted on slaves, foreigners and inhabitants of foreign provinces.

As a rule, crucifixion was inflicted on slaves only in cases of serious crimes. It is significant that this form of capital punishment was instituted primarily for offences against the state, such as treason that was potentially dangerous to security. It is understandable that in Palestine it constituted an important punitive weapon in the hands of the Roman occupying power, by which it sought to deal effectively with any resistance to its authority.

Punishment by crucifixion was seen as a disciplinary measure for the maintenance of existing authority, intended more as a deterrent than as a means of retribution. This explains why the instrument of execution was set up in an open place. The public and starkly cruel character of this form of execution also answered to this purpose. Contemporary writers condemned this form of execution as excessively cruel and disgraceful (Cicero, *In Verrem*, 64, 165 and often; Tacitus, *Historia*, 4, 3, 11; Josephus, *War*, 7, 203).

It is certain only that the Romans practised this form of execution. But it is most likely that the *stauros* had a transverse in the form of a crossbeam. Secular sources do not permit any conclusion to be drawn as to the precise form of the cross, as to whether it was the *crux immissa* + or the *crux commissa* T. As it was not very common to affix a *titlos* (superscription, loanword from the Lat. *titulus*), it does not necessarily follow that the cross had the form of a *crux immissa*.

There were two possible ways of erecting the *stauros*. The condemned man could be fastened to the cross lying on the ground at the place of execution, and so lifted up on the cross. Alternatively, it was probably usual to have the stake implanted in the ground before the execution. The victim was tied to the cross-piece, and was hoisted up with the horizontal beam and made fast to the vertical stake. As this was the simpler form of erection, and the carrying of the cross-beam (*patibulum*) was probably connected with the punishment for slaves, the *crux commissa* may be taken as the normal practice. The cross would probably have been not much higher than the height of a man.

According to Roman practice, the procedure of crucifixion would then be as follows. First, there was the legal conviction. Only in extraordinary cases, such as in times of war, did this occur at the place of execution itself. If the execution took place at somewhere other than the place of sentencing, the condemned man carried the *patibulum* to the spot which was usually outside the town. The expression "to bear the cross (*stauros*)" which is a typical description of the punishment of slaves

has its origin here. At the place of execution the victim was stripped and scourged. He may also have been previously scourged. This practice was an important part of crucifixion which took place between sentencing and execution. The condemned man was tied with outstretched arms to the cross-beam which was presumably laid upon his shoulders. Nailing is testified to only in isolated instances (Hdt., 9, 120, 4; 7, 33). It is uncertain whether this was done to the feet as well as to the hands. (In the post-resurrection narratives of Jesus' appearances, Jn. 20:20, 25 ff. mentions Jesus' hands, and Lk. 24:39 his hands and feet.) The victim was then hoisted on to the stake with the cross beam. Death came slowly after extraordinary agony, probably through exhaustion or suffocation. The body could be left on the scaffold to rot or provide food for predatory animals and carrion-crows. There is evidence that the body was occasionally given to relatives or acquaintances.

It must be remembered that the secular writers of the period did not deign to provide a detailed description of this disgraceful and cruel form of execution. Many questions must be left open. The picture obtained on the basis of secular accounts may not, without more ado, be enlarged or altered by means of the gospel narratives concerning the crucifixion of Jesus.

([F.F.B.] In June 1968 an ossuary was discovered on Ammunition Hill, north of Jerusalem, containing the bones of a young man who had plainly been crucified, about the beginning of the 1st century A.D. One nail had been driven through each of his forearms, and a third, which was still *in situ*, through both his ankles together. His legs had been broken like those of Jesus' two companions in John 19:32 (cf. V. Tzaferis and others, "Jewish Tombs at and near Giv'at ha-Mivtar, Jerusalem", *Israel Exploration Journal* 20, 1970, 18 ff.).)

OT 1. According to the OT, oriental ways of execution (see above CL 2. (a)) were known in Israel and were in part followed. The body of Saul was beheaded by the Philistines and set up on a stake (1 Sam. 31:9 f.). Joseph interpreted the dream of a royal, Egyptian court official. Pharaoh would behead him and dishonour him by leaving his body hanging on a stake (Gen. 40:18 f.). This, however, cannot be taken as certain proof for normal practice in Egypt. According to Ezr. 6:11, Darius made a decree that anyone infringing an edict of king Cyrus should have a beam pulled from his house and be impaled on it. Est. 5:14; 6:4; 7:9 f.; 9:13 f. reflect oriental practice. But inferences should not be drawn from these about particular Persian practices. The regulation in Deut. 21:22 f. clearly shows that penal procedure in Israel followed general oriental practice. This is applied here to capital offences, but a specific limitation is also made. The corpse is not to remain on the tree overnight, lest the land be defiled. This regulation corresponds to two accounts of executions under Joshua in which the victims were hanged then buried under stones or sealed in a cave before nightfall (Jos. 8:29; 10:26). Thus according to the OT, Israel did not know of the stake as a means of torture and death or of execution by crucifixion.

2. The LXX never uses the word *stauros*. The vb. *stauroō* occurs only in Est. 7:9 (for Heb. *tālâh*, hang); Est. 8:12 (a LXX addition); and in Lam. 5:13 *v.l.* The usage alone does not permit an unambiguous interpretation. Est. 8:12 does not admit any firm inferences. The expression in Est. 7:9 *staurōthētō ep' autou* ("Let him be crucified on that") is immediately followed by *ekremasthē* ("he was hanged") which

refers to hanging Haman on the gallows. This may, therefore, suggest the oriental custom. Lam. 5:13 v.l. *en xylō estaurōthēsan* (they were hanged on a tree) could imply the execution of a person who was still alive. Ezr. 6:11 is ambiguous. Only the LXX translation of Jos. 8:29 suggests that the author may have thought of actual crucifixion, and even so he avoids using the words *stauros* and *stauroō*. After speaking of *kremannymi epi xylou* (hang upon a tree) he adds *didymou*, i.e. to the twofold tree. This might be taken as a reference to hanging on a cross. ([Ed.] But this may simply indicate a form of gallows, and the king of Ai evidently died much more quickly than was normal at crucifixions.) The Jews of the Hel. dispersion may thus have known of crucifixion as practised in the West, and the LXX translator may just conceivably have depicted this event as a crucifixion.

3. Apart from this, there is record of the Jewish ruler Alexander Jannaeus (103-76 B.C.) ordering a mass execution by hanging men alive on stakes. The violent attack on this form of execution in 4QpNah 1:7 and Josephus (*Ant.*, 11, 261, 266 f.; 17, 295; 20, 102, 129, 161; *War*, 5, 449 ff.) indicates that it was a highly unusual procedure, detested and not normally practised in Judaism.

4. The same picture is presented by rab. sources, where in particular the form of execution in Deut. 21:22 f. is taken as a basis and defined still further. Thus the additional hanging of a blasphemer who has been previously stoned to death becomes a mere legal formality. Someone binds the condemned man first, and someone else unbinds him immediately afterwards (SB I 1034 f.). This, however, is an ideal prescription and not regular practice. From the middle of the 1st cent. B.C. implementation of the death penalty was in practice taken out of the hands of the Sanhedrin. Nevertheless, even these idealistic discussions, which were partly directed against Roman penal practice, show how much the Jews detested the Roman practice of crucifixion which they must have come to know in Palestine. They also show how little crucifixion was legally practised in Judaism or advocated by Jews as a form of punishment.

NT In the NT the words *stauros* (cross), *anastauroō* and *stauroō* (crucify), and *systauroō* (crucify with) occur essentially in two sets of textual and theological complexes. (1) In the passion narratives of the gospels (Mk. 15:1–47; Matt. 27:1 f., 11–61; Lk. 23:1–56; Jn. 18:28–19:24). Here also belong: Matt. 20:19 (the reference to the crucifixion in the third passion prediction); Matt. 26:2 (further prediction of the crucifixion of Jesus); Lk. 24:20; Acts 2:36; 4:10 (statements about the Jews' part in the crucifixion of Jesus); Rev. 11:8 (the identification of the "great city" with Sodom and Egypt "where their Lord was crucified"). (2) In the theological reflection of the Pauline letters (some 20 times). To this may be added because of their content Heb. 6:6; 12:2 and the synoptic sayings about bearing the cross (Mk. 8:34; Matt. 16:24; Lk. 9:23; and Mk. 10:38; Lk. 14:27).

1. *The crucifixion of Jesus as a historical and theological question.*

Paul who was the earliest NT writer speaks of the cross of Christ in numerous places but gives no details at all about the event. 1 Thess. 2:15 f. is, however, important in view of the fact that Paul sees the church threatened by persecution from the Jews in a parallel situation to Jesus. For the Jews "killed both the Lord Jesus and the prophets, and drove us out, and displease God and oppose all men" (2:15). Paul may have been drawing on traditional material in saying this (cf. 1 Cor.

15:1 ff.). Similar in content is the saying: "Therefore I send you prophets and wise men and scribes, some of whom you will kill and crucify, and some you will scourge in your synagogues and persecute from town to town" (Matt. 23:34).

The Jews and their representatives similarly appear in the oldest gospel narrative in Mk. as the driving force behind the crucifixion for which they are virtually alone responsible.

It is at their instigation that Jesus is arrested (Mk. 14:43 ff.), tried and sentenced to death by the Sanhedrin (14:53 ff.). Pilate recognizes their motive, but finds no grounds for condemnation. Finally like a weakling anxious for their favour, he gives in to the people who have been stirred up by the agents of the Jews, violently demanding the crucifixion of Jesus. There is no suggestion of a formal sentence passed by the representative of imperial Rome (15:1–15). The theologically significant insults heaped upon the crucified one come from the lips of passing Jews and those who represent the Jewish nation and its theology: "[29] 'Aha! You who would destroy the temple and build it in three days, [30]save yourself, and come down from the cross!' [31]So also the chief priests mocked him to one another with the scribes, saying, 'He saved others; he cannot save himself. [32]Let the Christ, the King of Israel, come down now from the cross, that we may see and believe' " (15:29–32).

In the narratives of the other evangelists this tendency is less pronounced, partly due to the inclusion of material not found in Mk. Pilate's wife urged her husband: "Have nothing to do with that righteous man, for I have suffered much over him today in a dream" (Matt. 27:19). Pilate washed his hands and declared, "I am innocent of this man's blood: see to it yourselves" (Matt. 27:20, 24 f.). Lk. records the saying, "Daughters of Jerusalem, do not weep for me, but weep for yourselves and for your children" (Lk. 23:28; cf. 23:2, 5, 10, 13 ff., 22b, 25b, 28–31 for Lk.'s account of the events leading up to the crucifixion). For Jn.'s account see Jn. 18:31, 38b; 19:4, 6 f., 12 f., 15b. Lk. expresses the evangelists' typical attitude in the words of Peter addressed to the Jews at Pentecost: "this Jesus whom you crucified" (Acts 2:36; cf. 4:10; Lk. 24:20).

In this there may have been the partial motive of absolving Roman rule of responsibility. But this was in any case secondary. The chief motivation was, as in the early tradition reflected in 1 Thess. 2:15 f., the contemporary debate with Judaism. The persecution and sufferings of the early church have to be taken into account in assessing the form and original context of the narrative traditions of the trial and crucifixion of Jesus.

(a) Any historical reconstruction must be based upon the following facts. In Judaea capital jurisdiction during the period of occupation belonged to the imperial representative alone and was not assigned to the Sanhedrin in any form however restricted. The following may be regarded as historically certain: (1) Pilate's judicial decision for the *stauros* was decisive. (2) Like the death sentence, the execution was carried out by Romans according to Roman practice. (3) Hence, Jesus died on the cross as an instrument of torture, probably slowly through suffocation or exhaustion. (4) Crucifixion according to Roman practice would authenticate the account of the scourging of Jesus (wherever it took place), the removal of his clothing and the guard of Roman soldiers at the place of execution. This would follow from our knowledge of current Roman practice, regardless of whether the accounts rest upon eye-witnesses.

The custom of bearing the cross was probably used outside the city (Mk. 15:20b, 21). If the *stauros* was the cross-beam (Lat. *patibulum*), the form of the cross would probably be the *crux commissa* T. One cannot begin with the *titlos*, the superscription on the cross, as a basis for reconstruction. On the other hand, the explicit demand for the crucifixion of Jesus came from the Jews (Mk. 15:6–15; Matt. 27:15–26; Lk. 23:17–25). Some scholars find this difficult to accept in view of the Jewish detestation of this Roman form of punishment (see above OT 4). They also find it difficult to believe that Pilate would have ordered Jesus' crucifixion against his better judgment to meet Jewish demands. They see his action as incompatible with the integrity of Roman rule. In Roman eyes, Jesus would have been condemned and executed according to their standards and legal practices, not as a blasphemer, but an agitator, whatever the justice of the case (see above, CL 2. (b)).

This does not rule out, however, the interaction of interests on the part of the Romans and the upper stratum of Jews in Jerusalem who instigated the affair. It is supported by the striking fact that, as compared with other penal actions by the Romans, only Jesus was arrested, and that by the Jewish temple police. His followers were allowed to escape. On the analogy of other incidents, the intervention of Roman soldiers would have had other consequences (cf. Josephus, *Ant.*, 18, 85 ff.; 20, 97 ff.; 20, 169 ff.; *War*, 2, 2, 261 ff.). On the other hand, there were quite different reasons among the Jews which could have come into play. These concerned the opposition of the Jewish theologians and pious laity to the preaching of Jesus, and are evidenced elsewhere in the synoptic tradition (cf. E. Käsemann, *Jesus Means Freedom*, 1969, 43 ff.). The current abiding dispute between the church and Judaism led the gospel accounts to focus on the Jewish motivation rather than on the decisive role of the Romans.

(b) Exegetical and theological considerations also demand close critical scrutiny of the historical question. Matt. and especially Lk. exhibit differences from Mk.'s account. Jn. deals with the passion narrative quite differently. In each case theological motives can be clearly seen. This process of shaping the material can be seen elsewhere in the synoptic tradition even before Mk. Thus the oldest tradition of the crucifixion of Jesus used by Mk. shows a definite theological tendency. The events are seen in terms of Ps. 22 (cf. Ps. 22:19; Matt. 27:35; Mk. 15:24; Lk. 23:34b; Jn. 19:24; Ps. 22:7 f.; Matt. 27:39, 43; Mk. 15:29; Lk. 23:35; Ps. 22:9; Matt. 27:43; Ps. 22:2; Matt. 27:46; Mk. 15:34; Ps. 22:22; Heb. 2:12; on this see H. Gese, "Psalm 22 und das Neue Testament", *ZTK* 65, 1968, 1–22). Attempts to harmonize the account should not be allowed to obscure such theological intentions. Passages like Heb. 2:14–18; 3:14; 4:14 f.; and 5:7–10 indicate the early church's interest in the story of the crucifixion and suffering of its Lord. Basic is the church's confession of the crucified one as the one exalted to God in the sense of a cosmic, saving act. When the church saw itself attacked, persecuted and suffering as a consequence of this confession, its interest in the earthly career of its Lord came to the fore. This form of the tradition of the suffering and crucifixion of Jesus shows in anticipation and perspective the church's walk on earth. The saviour leads the way as an obligatory pattern of suffering for his followers. This is how the narrative of the suffering and crucifixion of Jesus is understood, even though its soteriological character is not immediately apparent.

The ground of the opposition to Jesus is stated by Mk. 15:10 and Matt. 27:18

as envy. Jn. presents the actions of Caiaphas as being motivated by expediency: "It is expedient for you that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation should not perish" (Jn. 11:49). But there was a genuine theological zeal which was present in the Jews' attitude to Jesus and their reaction to the early church. The repudiation of the craving for legitimization of "the word of the cross" by signs (1 Cor. 1:18–25) is reflected in the crucifixion narrative of Mk. 15:29–32; Matt. 27:39–43; Lk. 23:35 ff.

The historical question of responsibility for the crucifixion must be discussed without prejudice. But equally the historical question of guilt transcends the time of Jesus and demands a decision of the Jews as of men in general including Christians. This aspect which transcends time and persons is shown by Heb. 6:6 where those who commit apostasy are said to "crucify [*anastaurountas*, present participle] the Son of God on their own account and hold him up to contempt" (RSV). The question of guilt for the cross of Christ remains a contemporary one, wherever man's righteousness is presented as grounded in the grace of God demanding self-surrender in faith.

2. *The theological significance of the crucifixion of Jesus.*

(a) Paul. The use of these words in this sense occurs most frequently in Paul. They occur altogether 17 times: *stauros* 7 times; *stauroō* 8 times; *systauroō* twice. All these statements refer to something quite distinct from the actual procedure of crucifixion. The cross of Christ is seen as the saving event which radically transforms the world, providing a completely new motivation for action and thought.

The *euangelion* (→ Gospel) is central for Paul. It embraces the *logos tou staurou* (→ word of the cross), i.e. the saving proclamation based on the cross of Christ (1 Cor. 1:17 f.; cf. 2:1 f.; Rom. 1:16; Gal. 3:1; → also Proclamation, art. *kēryssō* for the term *kērygma*, proclamation, preaching). This terminology shows that the cross of Christ is not to be understood purely as an immanent, isolated event in history, but as the act of God. God acts as the cross of Christ is proclaimed as his Word, his liberating and binding message to mankind. In the kerygma of the messengers of Christ, the transcendent action of God is present as the word of the cross. The proclamation of Christ did not paint the historic details of the crucifixion before the eyes of its hearers. Instead, it publicly proclaimed Jesus Christ as the crucified one, portraying him to everyone as God's saving event in terms of the law. This is how Gal. 3:1 is to be understood (cf. H. Schlier, *Der Brief an die Galater*, KEK 7, 1971[14] ad loc.).

The message of the cross brings *sōtēria*, salvation (1 Cor. 1:18, 21; → Redemption, art. *sōzō*). This is indeed only to the *pisteuontes*, believers (1 Cor. 1:21→Faith), those who submit to God's verdict in the cross of Christ (1:19 ff.) on man's self-seeking wordly wisdom which even seeks to justify itself through man's religious experiences (1 Cor. passim). It is for those who let themselves be crucified by the word of the cross (Gal. 6:14; cf. 2:19). This condemnatory and at the same time liberating message of salvation is folly and scandalous not only to the Jews and Greeks (1 Cor. 1:18–25). It is also this to any perverted form of Christianity, whether it is enamoured of its own religious experiences (like the Corinthian church) or whether it falls back into a legalism which effectively denies the cross of Christ (like the Galatians).

This identification of the gospel with the cross of Christ is underlined by Phil. 2:8. Most scholars regard Phil. 2:6–11 as a hymn about Christ's renunciation of equal status with God and humiliation and obedience to death which Paul incorporated into his argument to urge Christians to have the mind of Christ. But Paul was not satisfied merely with the statement in the hymn about the death of Christ. He added the words *thanatou de staurou* ("even death on a cross" RSV). ([Ed.] On this passage see R. P. Martin, *Carmen Christi: Philippians ii. 5–11 in Recent Interpretation and in the Setting of Early Christian Worship*, 1967, 199–228; C. F. D. Moule, "Further Reflections on Philippians 2:5–11", in W. W. Gasque and R. P. Martin, eds., *Apostolic History and the Gospel*, 1970, 246–76.)

This focussing on the theology of the cross coincides with Paul's particular emphases. 1 Cor. 1:13 shows how Paul took over the traditional interpretation of the death of Jesus (cf. 1 Cor. 15:3). In a question that reveals the absurd behaviour of the Corinthians, Paul asks, "Was Paul crucified for you?" Paul has not brought about salvation. The Corinthians were not his property. And so there was no ground for dividing the church as the body of Christ on his account. Paul uses here the preposition *hyper* (for) in connection with *stauroō* in a way which was characteristic of the early church sacrificial and representative theology.

([Ed.] Although this is the only instance where Paul brings the two words *stauroō* and *hyper* together in the sense of being *crucified for*, it would not be true to think that this is the only case where Paul thinks of Christ's death as a representative sacrifice bearing the punishment of sin on behalf of others. The whole argument of Rom. depends upon the fact that God put forth Christ "as a propitiation by his blood, to be received by faith. This was to show God's righteousness, because in his divine forbearance he had passed over former sins; it was to prove at the present time that he himself is righteous and that he justifies him who has faith in Jesus" [Rom. 3:25 f.]. On the term propitiation (*hilastērion*) → Redemption; cf. L. Morris, *The Apostolic Preaching of the Cross*, 1955, 125–85. The preposition *hyper*, meaning for, instead of, in the place of, in the name of, in the interest of, for the benefit of, is used by Paul in connection with the death of Christ in the crucial passages and Gal. 3:13 and 1 Cor. 15:3 (cf. its use in 1 Cor. 15:29; 2 Cor. 5:20; Phlm. 13; 1 Tim. 2:6; Mk. 10:45; Jn. 10:11; 11:50; Rom. 16:4; cf. L. Morris, op. cit., 59). Other passages which stress the sacrificial, penal, representative and substitutionary character of the death of Christ without using the words cross or crucify are Rom. 5:10 f., 18; 8:1 ff.; 1 Cor. 11:24 f.; 2 Cor. 5:19 ff.; Eph. 1:7; 2:13. → Blood, → Reconciliation, → Redemption.)

In addition, Paul's theology of the cross has its own special emphases. Paul saw men as unredeemed, whether they were heathen or Jews who kept strictly to the law. This was not simply because of an uncleanness brought about by the accumulation of individual acts of sin. It was because of man's basic, depraved, self-seeking hostility to God. This appears: (1) in man's religious concern for achievements and in his presumptuous demand that the Word of God should be validated by miraculous proofs; and (2) in his insistence that the gospel of God should conform to → wisdom in both its teaching and form. In Christian terms, this meant that its power (its spiritual *dynamis*) should elevate and exalt the religious man to the realm of the superhuman and divine (1 Cor. 1:22; and cf. the underlying controversies of 1 and 2 Cor.). In all this is manifested nothing but that self-centred

ego that rejects with ingratitude and disobedience God's claim on man which would liberate him (cf. Rom. 1:12 f.). Man is not content simply to live by receiving (cf. 1 Cor. 4:6 ff.). Therefore, in effect he judges God and discounts the cross and its proclamation for man's salvation (1 Cor. 1:19 ff., 26–29). Wisdom theology no less than legalistic piety discounts the cross of Christ. Both deprive it of its significance (1 Cor. 1:17).

From the standpoint of his *theologia crucis* (theology of the cross) Paul's teaching can be seen as a unity. On the one hand, Paul opposes the Jewish-Hellenistic view of life and salvation, which was measured in terms of wordly-legalistic and spiritual ecstatic wisdom, by life in Christ. On the other hand, he opposes Judaism with his doctrine of justification which was the consequence of his message of the cross. This is expressed in 1 and 2 Cor. and Gal. in terms of *stauros* and *stauroō*. But in the comprehensive exposition of justification in Rom. only *systauroō* occurs in Rom. 6:6 ("We know that our old self was crucified with him so that the sinful body might be destroyed, and we might no longer be enslaved to sin"). Nevertheless, Paul's doctrine of justification is to be understood on the basis of the cross. For the end of every legalistic theology is Christ who is none other than the crucified one in the sense of the Pauline "word of the cross" (1 Cor. 1:18). (On the parallels of the terminology of 1 and 2 Cor. and the doctrine of justification see H. Braun, *ThV* 49, 1948, 26 ff.) The parallel is also demonstrated by Gal. 2:19 ff. and 6:12. The *theologia crucis* and the doctrine of justification form an inseparable unity and are to be interpreted mutually in terms of each other.

Gal. 6:12 also demonstrates how Paul's doctrine of justification, preached in terms of the cross of Christ, brought with it persecution by the supporters of legalistic theology. (Cf. also Paul's reference to bearing in his body "the marks of Jesus", Gal. 6:17; → Body, art. *sōma* NT 2. (a).) Paul apparently thinks that such persecution provoked by the "offence of the cross", like the opposition provoked by the message of justification of the sinner without prior merit and the implied sacrifice of the intellect, would not occur (Gal. 5:11), if the message of the cross of Christ were turned into another gospel (Gal. 1:6 ff.).

In the case of the erring church it is not enough to speak of "Christ". For "Christ" could be understood as a glorified Christ removed from the world and removing men from the world (see the context of 1 and 2 Cor.). He might also be understood as a perfect Moses (as in Gal.). But Paul sets alongside the word *Christos* the unambiguous *estaurōmenos* (crucified, 1 Cor. 1:23; Gal. 3:1). He speaks with special emphasis in 1 Cor. 2:2: "For I decided to know nothing among you except Jesus Christ and him crucified (*ei mē Iesoun Christon kai touton estaurōmenon*)." This intensification reflects Paul's experience in Corinth and in general (Gal. 3:1). The cross of Christ alone (again the exclusive *ei mē*, Gal. 6:14) is Paul's ground for boasting and confidence. In practical terms, this means that Paul boasted most gladly of his weaknesses (2 Cor. 12:9 f.).

The practical significance of the resurrection is implied in Paul's teaching about the cross. Paul presents Christ crucified as the decisive act of God in salvation. The risen Christ does not simply supersede the crucified Christ. His self-humiliation and obedience in the shame of the death on the cross are not simply cancelled out. Through the exaltation they are justly raised in power as the sign of salvation (Phil. 2:8 ff.). Christ who took upon himself this weakness and was thus crucified,

lives by reason of the creative power of God which raises the dead (2 Cor. 13:4). Believers who enter this new level of existence which is determined by the cross live in hope that is founded on the same act of God. This resurrection life which comes from God conquers death in the believers' existence under the cross. It is already manifest in this life for the well-being of others (2 Cor. 4:7–12). This is the ground of the apostle's existence under the cross (1 Cor. 15:30 ff.). This is the power of God grounded in the cross of Christ which is now revealed and active. Without it the apostle's life would be the most pitiable self-deception imaginable (1 Cor. 15:29).

The cross of Christ and the crucified Christ present in the kerygma are alone the → power (*dynamis*) and → wisdom (*sophia*) of God (1 Cor. 1:18–24). This is not the unmitigated power of the Corinthians' theology that would replace it with the world and its high-handed behaviour. But knowledge of the true power of God in the cross and the kerygma substantially forms the basis of Paul's exhortations and practical teaching. Paul reminded the erring churches, each in a specific way, to submit to the message of the cross (1 Cor.; Gal.; Phil. 3). It is not only the sections on the divisions in the Corinthian church (1 Cor. 1:10–4:21) but the whole of 1 Cor. that urges that thought and action should be determined by the cross of Christ. This applies to preoccupation with power, fame, and wisdom that is purely self-seeking and thus divisive of the body of Christ (1:10–4:21). It also applies to renunciation of one's rights (6:1–11) and even of one's proper freedom for the sake of others (8:1–11:1). Moreover, Paul refers not only to the crucified Christ himself as present in the word, but also to an astonishing extent to his own mode of life and preaching. They represent almost bodily the way of life controlled by the cross of Christ (1:17, 23; 2:1–5; 3:5 ff.; 4:6; cf. also the exhortations to imitate Paul which occasionally round off the longer sections, 4:16; 11:1).

The fundamental basis here is Christ as the pattern, especially his renunciation of his rights (1 Cor. 11:1; cf. ch. 6 and what follows) and his humiliation to death on the cross for the sake of others (Phil. 2:1 ff.). To this also belongs Heb. 12:2. The afflicted are exhorted to look to Jesus who endured the cross despising its shame "for the joy that was set before him (*anti tēs prokeimenēs autō charas*)." This phrase can be taken to mean: (1) instead of the joy that he could have had; or (2) for the sake of the joy that was set before him. There may be an underlying parallel with Phil. 2:6 which would favour (1). But in the context of Heb. 12, meaning (2) may be more likely, though this thought would be more removed from Paul's thought in Phil. 2.

Paul can even speak of some people as "enemies of the cross of Christ" (Phil. 3:18) in the context of a call to imitate the example of himself and others (Phil. 3:17). These enemies are those who strive after earthly things and whose life is not shaped by the message of the cross (3:18 f.). They are those who have not sought salvation in Christ crucified. They have not, like Paul, left their legalistic existence behind them like refuse, or sought to know the sufferings of Christ, or be conformed to his death (3:7 ff.).

What Paul says about the basis of the church in the preaching of the cross in 1 Cor., about humility in the Christ-hymn of Phil. 2, about the message of justification in Phil. 3, and in all three places about imitation and its practical application, he also develops in relation to → baptism (Rom. 6; cf. Gal. 2:19). Christ has died (Rom. 6:10), and thus Christians have also died (6:2). They have been thereby, like

him, freed from the power of sin. "The death he died he died to sin, once for all" (6:10). Baptism into Christ means baptism into his death (6:3). Baptism thus represents the unique and all-encompassing event of Christ's death. Believers are thus crucified with Christ (*systauroō*, Rom. 6:6; Gal. 2:19).

Gal. 2:19 speaks of the crucifixion of the sinful self which is given over to legalism. But behind this, the historical and religious background can still be seen. Rom. 6:6 speaks of "our old self (*ho palaios hēmōn anthrōpos*)" or "our old man" being crucified with him so that "the sinful body might be destroyed." By this means the power of sin over us is broken ("we might no longer be enslaved to sin", 6:6). Gal. 6:14 is a parallel statement on a cosmic scale: "Be it far from me to glory except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by which the world has been crucified to me, and I to the world." Through the cross of Christ the compelling power of the → world has been crucified for the benefit of the inner self of the believer. On the other hand, the self was delivered to death to the hurt of the world, so that it has lost its basis of operation. Above all, the active formulation of this idea shows that the thought goes beyond the crucifixion of Christ and the cultic background of soteriology (→ Reconciliation). Believers who have become Christ's possession have crucified the flesh with its passions and desires (Gal. 5:24). In this they are not merely passive; it is something that they do themselves.

Two ideas have been critically adopted here: (1) the anthropological idea that salvation comes about through killing the flesh or the external man; (2) the idea of a primeval figure who went just such a way to accomplish salvation into which men of his sort can now enter. Paul uses these ideas to express the radical transformation brought about by the cross of Christ and its continuing decisive role in the life of the believer. In the same way, Paul exhorts Christians to imitate the example of him who gave himself, putting them under an obligation and at the same time giving them hope. He remained the obedient in suffering and shame of the cross. And in all this he gave an eschatological manifestation of God's right in action. This interpretation of the cross must also be set in relation to the message of justification and worked out systematically and critically. This is what is in fact done in an unconscious way in Rom. 6 (cf. the basis for it in 1:18–5:21); Gal. 2:19; 6:14; Phil. 3:10, 17.

(b) Col. and Eph. adopt a different approach from the epistles of Paul already discussed. They mention only the noun (3 times).

Col. continues the earlier Pauline teaching which in Rom. 6 relates dying with Christ to baptism. "For you have died and your life is hid with Christ in God" (Col. 3:3). "And you were buried with him (*syntaphentes autō*) in baptism, in which you were also raised with him through faith in the working of God, who raised him from the dead" (Col. 2:12). Moreover, this liberates man from the enslaving, cosmic elemental powers. "If with Christ you died to the elemental spirits of the universe (*stoicheia tou kosmou*), why do you live as if you still belonged to the world? Why do you submit to regulations?" (Col. 2:20). ([Ed.] Alternatively, *stoicheia* is taken by other interpreters to mean the elementary principles of the world; → Law, art. *stoicheia*.) There is a partial analogy here with Gal. 5:24. The exhortation to the believers themselves to put to death what is earthly in them (Col. 3:5), the particular forms of sin which arise from the → flesh (Col. 3:5–9), is seen as the outworking of the decisive saving event of the death of Christ. Eph., on

the other hand, speaks only of the believer's being made alive in Christ, which has already taken place. "And you he made alive, when you were dead through trespasses and sins" (Eph. 2:1; cf. 1:20; 2:6; Col. 3:1). In both Col. and Eph. there is no longer any talk of a crucifixion with Christ that has already taken place. The development of soteriological ideas is correspondingly less rigorous than in the earlier epistles. This may be seen in the way Col. 2:22 urges the readers: "Put off your old nature which belongs to your former manner of life and is corrupt through sinful lusts." This may be compared with the similar exhortation in Rom. 6:6 which is set in the context of a carefully articulated discussion of the death of Christ.

On the other hand, Col. and Eph. develop a theology of the cosmic significance of the Christ-event which is not found in the earlier epistles. Col. 1:19 f. may be based on an already existing hymn: "For in him all the fullness of God was pleased to dwell, and through him to reconcile to himself all things, whether on earth or in heaven, making peace by the blood of the cross." The reconciliation of all things through his exaltation and assumption of authority is grounded in "the blood of the cross." Eph. 2:16 develops this thought in a specific direction, declaring that his purpose was to "reconcile us both [i.e. Jew and Gentile] to God in one body through the cross, thereby bringing the hostility to an end." By "abolishing in his flesh the law of commandments" he creates "in himself one new man in place of the two, so making peace" (Eph. 2:15).

Col. 2:14 f. further develops the cosmic significance of the cross. The decisive conquest of the powers of evil took place on the cross, and this is related to his "having cancelled the bond which stood against us with its legal demands; this he set aside, nailing it to the cross" (v. 14). Two pictures are combined here. (1) There is the picture of debt, drawn from the ancient business world. This represents the ordinances of the Jewish law and the dictates of the false teachers. Its accusing testimony is cancelled. (2) There is also the picture of a public, official decree that has been posted up. This was probably in accordance with the custom sometimes adopted of fastening a *titulus* with the *causa poenae* of the criminal to the cross. Taken together these pictures show that Christ himself made the cross into a public valid declaration, proclaiming the cancelling out of our sins and the end of all claim to legalism.

(c) *The sayings about bearing the cross.*

These occur 5 times in 2 lines of tradition. What may be called Version A (Matt. 10:38; Lk. 14:27) is thought by many scholars to be derived from the Q source. They regard Lk.'s version as being nearer to the original. Version B is common to all three Synoptic Gospels (Matt. 16:24; Lk. 9:23; Mk. 8:34). Most scholars regard Matt. and Lk. as drawing on Mk. Lk. includes the words *kath' hēmeran* (daily); the cross is to be taken up repeatedly without flagging. Scholars think that the saying in the conjectured Q source was formulated negatively and was the more original: whoever does not constantly bear his own cross as a disciple and so follow Christ on the way he has opened cannot possibly belong to the disciples. Mk.'s version speaks positively about entering the way of Christ which is generally described by taking the cross on oneself.

There is considerable debate about the original setting and significance of these sayings. The pictorial way of speaking presupposes that they go back to Jesus. There is no evidence of this way of speaking in contemporary Judaism (SB I 587).

Gen. R 56 (36c) declares that, "Abraham took the wood for sacrifice and laid it on his son Isaac, like one who bears the cross on his shoulders" (cf. J. Schniewind, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, NTD 1 1963[10], 121). But this is no real, historically dependable parallel. Its date is uncertain. The purely hypothetical assumption that Jesus adopted this way of speaking from the Zealots and their disciples (A. Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Matthäus*, 1959[5], 350 f., who also cites Gen. R. 56 and Tanh. 46, 114) is hardly credible. Just as the Roman practice of crucifixion was foreign to the East and was thoroughly detested by the Jews (see above, CL 2), the Jewish world did not know of the expression *bastazein stauron* in the sense of the Lat. *patibulum ferre*. E. Dinkler has made the original suggestion that Jesus was referring to the cultic sign in the form of a cross by means of the letters tau or chi (τ and χ) and that he required this as a seal of the elect in the end-time (*Signum Crucis*, 1967, 55 ff.). But this would mean that the words of Jesus had undergone a thorough transformation of meaning in the church's tradition. Originally they would have had a merely formal significance. The theory appears to be altogether too artificial and arbitrary.

There remains the theory that the sayings are a word from the exalted Christ delivered by an early church prophet to a church fearful of persecution. The church is reminded that, if they will gain life, they too are not exempted from self-renunciation. The way of Christ must also be the way for Christians in this particular way. The sayings about bearing the cross are thus the synoptic equivalent of Paul's theology of the cross. The striking formula of "his" (i.e. the disciple's) cross underlines the theological connection between Christ's way and the Christian's way. It denotes not merely the particular form of punishment by crucifixion, but the implicit renunciation of life that could even mean martyrdom. Lk. 9:23 gives expression to this wider meaning. *E. Brandenburger*

The contention that the sayings about bearing the cross are the synoptic equivalent of Paul's practical application of the theology of the cross is a valid one. However, there are several objections against regarding these sayings as utterances of prophets speaking in the name of Jesus to the early church. (1) The above argument about the uniqueness of pictorial language and its connection with Jesus would point to the earthly Jesus as the author of these sayings. (2) Their present context suggests that they were understood as such. It remains to be demonstrated that the early church made no sharp differentiation between utterances of the earthly Jesus and those of the ascended Christ. The literary genres that we have in the NT suggest the opposite. (3) If the earthly Jesus did not warn his followers in this way, there is the implication that the followers of Jesus were instructed about the extreme demands of renunciation with the implication of martyrdom only after the death of Jesus. (4) The historical setting indicated by the gospels in the life and ministry of Jesus is coherent in itself. Jesus was aware of the only possible outcome of his mission, given the attitudes of the religious leaders of the day. He would also realize that only the Romans had power of capital punishment and that the form of capital punishment was crucifixion. This was something that he lived with. He would know also of the practice of the condemned man bearing the *patibulum*. Whatever fate, therefore, awaited him would also await those who followed him.

The sayings about bearing the cross form part of warning the disciples to count the cost (see the context of Matt. 10:38 and Lk. 14:27). This is coupled with the warning that a servant is not above his master (Matt. 10:24; cf. Lk. 6:40; Jn. 13:16; 15:20). Moreover, the saying common to all three Synoptic Gospels occurs in the context of Jesus' acknowledgment of Peter's confession of him as the Christ. For Jesus the inevitable implication of being the Christ is suffering, death, and the opposition of men. Inevitably, therefore, those who associate with him as the Christ are liable to the same fate. *C. Brown*

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(b). J. Blinzler, "Kreuzigung," *LTK* VI 621 ff.; G. Bornkamm, "Kreuz," in *Theologie für Nichttheologen*, III, 1965, 5 ff.; J. Daniélou, *Les symboles chrétiens primitifs*, 1961, 143–51; G. Delling, "Der Tod Jesu in der Verkündigung des Paulus," in *Apophoreta*, Festschrift E. Haenchen, 1964, 85 ff.; E. Dinkler, "Kreuzzeichen und Kreuz," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 5, 1962, 93–112; "Jesu Worte vom Kreuztragen," in *Neutestamentliche Studien für R. Bultmann*, 1957², 110 ff. (*BZNW* 21, 1954; *Signum Crucis*, 1967, 77 ff.); "Das Kreuz als Siegeszeichen" *ZTK* 62, 1965, 1 ff. (*Signum Crucis*, 1967, 55 ff.); G. Eichholz, "Paulus im Umgang mit jungen Kirchen. Exegetische Beobachtungen zu 1 Kor. 1:18–25," in *Basileia*, Festschrift für W. Freytag, 1959, 49 ff. (*ThBl* 29, 1965, 99 f.); O. Glombitza, "Das Kreuz. Eine neutestamentliche Studie," in *Festschrift* M. Mitzenheim, 1961; H. Gollwitzer, *Von der Stellvertretung Gottes*, 1967; A. Grillmeier, *Der Logos am Kreuz*, 1956; H. F. Hitzig, "Crux", Pauly-Wissowa IV 1728 ff.; J. Jeremias, *Der Opfertod Jesu Christi*, 1963; E. Käsemann, "Die Gegenwart des Gekreuzigten," in *Protestantische Texte*, 1967, 85 ff.; and "Das Kreuz," in *Christus unter uns*, 1967; B. Klappert, ed., *Diskussion um Kreuz und Auferstehung*, 1968²; W. Kreck, "Zum Verständnis des Todes Jesu," *EvTh* 28, 1968, 277 ff.; K. Latte, "Todesstrafe," Pauly-Wissowa Supplement VII 1599 ff.; H. Lietzmann, "Der Prozess Jesu," *Kleine Schriften*, II, 1958, 251 ff.; E. Lohse, *Märtyrer und Gottesknecht*, 1963²; W. Marxsen, "Erwägungen zum Problem des verkündigten Kreuzes," *NTS* 8, 1961–62, 204 ff.; W. Michaelis, "Zeichen, Siegel, Kreuz", *ThZ* 12, 1956, 505 ff.; K. Müller, "1 Kor. 1, 18–25. Die eschatologisch-kritische Funktion des Kreuzes," *BZ* 10, 1966, 246 ff.; F. J. Ortkemper, *Das Kreuz in der Verkündigung des Paulus*, 1964; C. D. Peddinghaus, *Die Entstehung der Leidensgeschichte*, (Dissertation Heidelberg) 1965; E. Peterson, *Das Kreuz und das Gebet nach Ostern: Frühkirche, Judentum, und Gnosis*, 1959, 15–35; H. Rahner, "Das mystische Tau," *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 75, 1953, 385–410; SB I 1034 f.; III 792; IV 1121 ff.; V. Schultze, "Kreuz und Kreuzigung," *RE* XI 90 ff.; M. Sulzberger, "Le symbole de la croix," *Byzantion*, 2, 1925, 356–83; F. Viering, *Der*

Kreuztod Jesu, 1969; O. Weber, "Das dogmatische Problem der Versöhnungslehre," *EvTh* 26, 1966, 258 ff.; U. Wilckens, *Weisheit und Torheit. Eine exegetische-religions-geschichtliche Untersuchung zu 1 Kor. 1, 18–2, 16*, *BHTh* 26, 1959.

Crown, Sceptre, Rod

στέφανος

στέφανος (*stephanos*), wreath, crown; στεφανόω (*stephanoō*), to crown; στέμμα (*stemma*), garland; διάδημα (*diadēma*), diadem, crown.

CL (a) *stephanos* (from *stephō*, surround, encompass) was used originally of anything which encircles, such as a besieging army (Homer) or the wall around a city (Pindar). The usual meaning throughout secular Greek became a "crown" or "wreath" (Homeric Hymns and Hesiod onwards), especially the victor's wreath of leaves at the various athletic games (Pindar etc.). A wreath, often worked in gold, was awarded by Greek states as a high mark of honour (Plato etc.). The *stephanos* in fact played its part in many ancient customs, and bore diverse connotations, of victory, festivity, worship, public office or honour, kingship or royal visitation.

stephanos and the verb *stephanoō* were often used figuratively, especially where "crown" denotes an "object of pride".

(b) *stemma* was used especially of the laurel-wreath of a sacrificing priest. Homer speaks of it as wound around his staff (*skēptron*, *Il.*, 1, 14–15; → sceptre).

(c) *diadēma* (band, from *diadeō*, bind on either side) was strictly the band round the *tiara* of the Persian king (Xenophon), worn also by Alexander and later kings (Arrian, Plutarch), and so generally "crown" as a badge of kingship.

OT (a) In the LXX *stephanos* mostly represents the Heb. *ʿaṭārâh*, both of a royal crown (2 Sam. 12:30 etc.), and very commonly figurative, of honour, victory or pride, especially in the poetic books. *diadēma* is applied in Est. to the royal crown of Persia (Heb. *keṭer*), but is more frequent in the apocryphal books, and there often in metaphorical senses otherwise confined to *stephanos* (Wisd. 5:16; Sir. 47:6; etc.).

The Heb. *nēzer* (consecration, crown; cf. *nāzar*, to consecrate, separate), applied regularly to the crown of the kings of Israel and to the headdress of the high-priest, is variably and confusedly rendered in the LXX.

(b) The crown was a frequent image in later Judaism. The future expectation of a "crown of glory" appears in Test. Ben. 4:1. Other references appear to build on the term *nēzer* in passages like Ps. 89:39 and 132:18: the king, as well as the priest, was divinely consecrated to his office, and the crown was attributed to the ideal Davidic king. So there were said to be three "crowns", of Torah, priesthood and royalty (Pirqe Aboth 4:17; 6:5; cf. Yoma 72b).

NT (a) In the NT *stephanos* occurs 18 times (8 of them in Rev.), *diadēma* 3 times (all in Rev.) and *stemma* once (Acts 14:13, its only appearance in Biblical Greek).

(b) *diadēma* signifies kingship, of the dragon (Rev. 12:3), of the beast (13:1), and of Christ (19:2).

(c) *stemma* is used only of the "garlands" brought by the pagan priest who would have offered sacrifice to Paul and Barnabas at Lystra.

(d) *stephanos* is used of the "crown of thorns" (Matt. 27:29; Mk. 15:17; Jn. 19:2, 5). As a wreath made of a plant it was literally so called. To the soldiers it meant mock royalty: to the evangelists it constituted testimony to the true kingship of Christ over a spiritual kingdom, while perhaps also implying his forthcoming victory over death. The view that *stephanos* could never be used thus of kingship is overstated.

(e) *stephanos* in the NT is often the prize of athletic victory as a metaphor for the eternal reward of the faithful. *stephanos* or *stephanoō* are used thus 1 Cor. 9:25; 2 Tim. 2:5; 4:8; Jas. 1:12 ("crown of life"); 1 Pet. 5:4 ("crown of glory"); Rev. 3:11; 4:4, 10. Cf. also the thought of passages like 1 Tim. 4:8 and Heb. 12:1, where the athletic imagery is very clear. The eternal hope is set against the transience of perishable wreaths (1 Cor. 9:25; 1 Pet. 5:4): in the former case there may be allusion to the use of *withered* parsley for the crown at the Isthmian Games.

Paul refers elsewhere (Phil. 4:1; 1 Thess. 2:19) to the recipient churches as his "crown", his pride or glory. Another line of thought may also sometimes be subtly blended with the athletic metaphor. At the official visit (Gk. *parousia*) of a human potentate it was the custom to present him with a crown as a token of allegiance (Deissmann, *Light*, pp. 368–373; cf. also 1 Macc. 13:37; 2 Macc. 14:4; and the use of the term for a money tribute, 1 Macc. 10:29; Jos., *Ant.* 12, 3, 3 (142)). Perhaps in 1 Thess. 2:19 the Thessalonians are seen as Paul's joyful tribute to the coming Christ. In 2 Tim. 4:8 (cf. 1 Pet. 5:4) this may be combined with the athletic image: Christ at his *parousia*, instead of demanding a crown from his people, will bestow on them the athlete's prize.

(f) The phrase "crown of life" in Rev. 2:10 (cf. Jas. 1:2) is of special interest. The genitive here, as in the parallels, is best taken as epexegetic, of the prize "which consists in life". The term was particularly apposite in Smyrna, where a crown or wreath was a pervasively common numismatic emblem and a constant theme of the rhetorical panegyrics of Aelius Aristides in the following century. Cicero (*pro Flacco*, 31, 75) alludes with emphatic sarcasm to a Smyrnaean custom of bestowing a crown as a posthumous honour to distinguished citizens (cf. the numerous class of inscribed monuments, *CIG*, 3216 ff.). Eternal life, untouched by the threat of spiritual death, shall be the prize of the faithful "athlete" who endures persecution to the suffering of physical death. In that he shall share the experience of him "who was dead, and is alive" (Rev. 2:8). Cf. the common Christian image of the martyr as an athlete, winning his "crown" in the arena: Polycarp, the classic instance, suffered thus at Smyrna.

(g) *stephanoō* is used in Heb. 2:7, 9, in a messianic application of Ps. 8:5. Some have seen here reference to the Transfiguration or the crown of thorns as preceding Christ's death and prefiguring his heavenly glory. Probably the words are not to be pressed in this way, and the reference is to Christ's future glory, as in Phil. 2:9 and elsewhere in Heb.

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G. T. Purves, *HDB* I 129–131; W. M. Ramsay, *The Letters to the Seven Churches*, 1904, 251–80; A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, tr. L. R. M. Strachan, 1927, 368–373; H. St. J. Hart, "The Crown of Thorns in John 19, 2–5", *JTS* n.s. 3, 1952, 66–75; O. Broneer, "The Isthmian Victory Crown", *American Journal of Archeology* 66, 1962, 259–263.

ῥάβδος

ῥάβδος (*rhabdos*), rod, staff; *σκῆπτρον* (*skēptron*), staff, sceptre.

CL *skēptron* (from *skēptō*), to prop, lean), a staff, esp. that borne by kings as a hereditary emblem of authority and by heralds and public speakers (Homer), occurs mostly in older Greek and in poetry. *rhabdos* later tends to replace *skēptron* for a staff of office. Under the Romans *rhabdouchos* (rod-bearer) was used to render the Lat. *lictor*. These officers were the attendants of the consuls or other Roman magistrates and bore the *rhabdoi* (Lat. *fasces*) which were the badge of their authority.

OT (a) In the LXX both *rhabdos* and *skēptron* are common, rendering several Heb. words, but mostly *šēḇeṭ* and *maṭṭeh*. *šēḇeṭ*, used of a shepherd's club, is often also the badge of authority or chastisement; *maṭṭeh* (cf. *nāṭâh*, spread, incline) may be the traveller's staff, but is also used like *šēḇeṭ*. These Heb. words are both also applied to the "tribes" of Israel. In 1 Sam. 2:28 etc. *šēḇeṭ* in the latter sense is incongruously rendered *skēptron*.

(b) Several passages containing this word-group were important in later Jewish interpretation. Passages referring to a future ruler of Israel were applied Messianically. Such are Gen. 49:10, where *šēḇeṭ* becomes LXX *archōn* (ruler), and notably Num. 24:17 (LXX *anthrōpos*, man), cited thus in Test. Levi 18:3, in Test. Judah 24:1 and in the Qumran literature, where the star and sceptre of this verse are respectively equated with the royal and the priestly Messiah expected by the sect. The same verse underlies the Messianic claim in the title Bar-Kokhba. Again, the Qumran Isaiah commentary applies to the kingly Messiah the term "rod" of Jesse from Isa. 11:1 (Heb. *ḥōṭer;* LXX *rhabdos*).

NT (a) *skēptron* is absent from the NT.

(b) *rhabdos* occurs 12 times in the NT. It is used literally of a traveller's "staff" in Matt. 10:10; Mk. 6:8; Lk. 9:3, each referring to Jesus' sending forth of the Twelve. In two of the Gospels they are to take no staff; in Mk. a staff alone is permitted.

(c) *rhabdos* and its derivatives are also used literally in the NT of a "rod" of authority or chastisement. The *rhabdouchoi* at Philippi (Acts 16:35, 38) were the lictors attendant on the two colonial *stratēgoi* (Lat. *praetores, duumviri*): *rhabdizō* (beat with rods) was used of the flogging inflicted by them (Acts 16:22; cf. 2 Cor. 11:25).

(d) This sense of *rhabdos* may be applied figuratively, as in Paul's threat in 1 Cor. 4:21. In the Rev. some of the OT passages where the "sceptre" or "rod" were already explained messianically in Judaism are applied to Christ. Balaam, the seer who uttered the crucial oracle in Num. 24:17, is prominent in the Pergamene letter (→ Nicolaitans), and in the closely related one to Thyatira a messianic application of his "star" is linked with the citation of Ps. 2:9 ("thou shalt break them with a rod of iron") in the conqueror's promise of dominance over the nations (Rev. 2:27–28; on which see Rev. 22:16, and with that cf. Isa. 11:1 above). The same image is used of the man child of 12:5 and of the triumphant Christ in 19:15, where the two symbols of authority in the two letters, "sword" and "rod", are combined. In Thyatira, as at Pergamum, the Christian was helpless before hostile pagan authority: in each case Christ's authority is elevated above that of human

tyrannies and represented by a suitable figure derived from the OT. The conqueror, who in obedience to Christ's authority keeps his works to the end, shall himself be delegated that messianic authority over the forces which now oppress him. This reading of the context favours the rendering "rule" rather than "break" for the problematic *poimanei* (Rev. 2:27), whether or not this usage is to be explained simply as a citation from the LXX.

(e) References to *rhabdos* in Heb. illustrate further the theme of the rod or sceptre of authority in the NT exegesis of the OT. Heb. 1:8 cites Ps. 45:6–7. The superiority of the unique Son to angels is enforced by appeal to a series of OT testimonies, again including Ps. 2 and this royal marriage-psalm which invokes the righteous king as "God". Heb. 9:4, in a passage contrasting the temporary character of the OT sanctuary and its furnishings with the eternal new covenant, alludes to the rod of Aaron which budded and was then to be preserved (Num. 17:10), the emblem of the Levitical priesthood, itself now superseded.

In the reference to the faith of Jacob in his blessing of the sons of Joseph (Heb. 11:21) the word *rhabdos* is taken from the LXX of Gen. 47:31, which apparently renders *maṭṭeh* where the MT has the vocalization *miṭṭâh* (bed). *C. J. Hemer*

C. Schneider, *rhabdos*, *TDNT*, *VI* 966–71.

Cry

κράζω

κράζω (*krazō*), cry aloud; *ἐπιφωνέω* (*epiphōneō*), call out, shout; *κέλευσμα* (*keleusma*), a call, signal, command.

CL (a) The verb *krazō* has an onomatopoeic derivation, *kr* + vowel + guttural, reflecting the raucous cry of the raven. Post-Homeric, it is found in writers from Aeschylus on, and, among wildlife, not only of the cry of ravens but also of the noise of frogs (Aristophanes). More commonly it is applied to men. Its religious connection is usually in the sphere of the demonic. Lucian uses the verb to describe the invocation of the gods of the underworld by the magus after blood-offering. It can refer to a wailing, inarticulate and mysterious beseeching of the gods (Hippolytus). Witches cry out magical incantations. On the other hand, both the Greeks and the Romans tended to regard the cries of demons themselves as rather vulgar and barbaric (e.g. Juvenal). The verb is also used with a less evil connotation of the hierophant's proclamation of the Eleusinian mysteries (Hippolytus, Plutarch).

(b) In secular Gk. the verb *epiphōneō* is used from the time of Sophocles, and can bear a strong meaning, "call out", "proclaim", "exclaim" (Epicurus) or a weaker sense, "tell of" (Aristaenetus). Plutarch's use, "say with respect to (someone)", carries a denunciatory nuance.

(c) The noun *keleusma* (cf. Lat. loan-word, *celeusma*, a command of the chief oarsman to the rowers) derives from the root *kel* "to impel", and is often found in its older form *keleuma*. Its range of meanings includes a broad spectrum: (1) "a specific command", whether of a man or a god (Sophocles, Euripides, Herodotus); (2) "signal", "summons", "terse order" whose substance is understood by the recipient (Herodotus, Plato, Aeschylus, Xenophon – the latter of the call of the *keleustēs*, chief oarsman who sets the rhythm for the rowers); (3) "inarticulate cry" or "shout" (Aeschylus, Euripides). → Command, art. *keleusma*.

OT (a) In the LXX *krazō* occurs most frequently in the perfect and aorist tenses, usually standing for Heb. *ṣā'aq*, *zā'aq*, and *qārā'*. Flexible enough to cover the shout of war (Jos. 6:16), the cry of childbirth (Isa. 26:17), the wild call of a raven or the braying of an ass (Job 38:41 and 6:5 respectively), *krazō* becomes especially significant when it translates *qārā'*, notably in the Psalms. Men cry to the Lord in individual or national distress, and God hears and delivers (Exod. 22:22 f.; Jdg. 3:9; Pss. 21:5; 33:17; 106:6; etc.). Although Yahweh invites such crying from Isaiah (40:3 ff. LXX), which cry elicits the proclamation of redemption from Babylon, the coming of the Messiah, and the inauguration of the new covenant, he will not hear the cry of the ungodly (Mic. 3:4). Nevertheless the crying depicted in the Psalms often pulsates with assurance that God will answer (e.g. 4:3; 21:24; 54:16); the idea of relationship with the Almighty is very strong, and in this differs from Hellenistic usage. Two distinctive uses deserve special note: the worshipful crying of the angels who stand in Yahweh's presence (Isa. 6:3 f.), and the quietness of the coming of the Servant of the Lord (Isa. 42:2).

Philo makes little use of the verb (but cf. *De Ebrietate*, 98, a Hellenistic usage). Josephus uses *krazō* in the sense of prophetic proclamation (cf. also *Tanchuma*). The Rabbis refer to "crying" (*ṣwwḥ*) as part of a formula introducing quotations cited by them in support of their views. However, a more OT late-Jewish usage is preserved in apocalyptic (e.g. Eth. En. 71:11).

(b) In the three instances where *epiphōneō* is used in the LXX – and all three are outside the Heb. canon – the idea appears to be of a quasi-liturgical response of the people (1 Es. 9:47; 2 Macc. 1:23; 3 Macc. 7:13).

(c) The noun *keleusma* is found but once in the LXX, of the command to "march" given by one locust to his fellows (Prov. 30:27; LXX 24:62). Both Josephus and Philo apply the word in all three senses given above.

NT (a) *Synoptics:* Common in the Synoptics, *krazō* is used primarily for cries of help springing out of need and/or fear (e.g. Matt. 9:27; 14:26 (Mk. 6:49 uses a cognate); 14:30; 15:22 f.), and for the cries of demons, whether articulate (Mk. 1:23; Matt. 8:29, etc.) or inarticulate (Mk. 5:5; Lk. 9:39). It is possible that the latter are magical incantations. An element of praise is introduced by the personification metaphor of Lk. 19:40: the stones themselves would cry out if Jesus were to hush the crowd. But more resonant are the cries of hate demanding Jesus' death (Matt. 27:23; Mk. 15:13 f.; *epiphōneō* in Lk. 23:21, only here in NT outside of Acts) or the release of Barabbas (Lk. 23:18). Jesus himself is quiet; Isa. 42:2 is fulfilled in him (Matt. 12:19, but the verb is the cognate *kraugazō*). When he does cry (Matt. 27:50) it is not an inarticulate sound (cf. Lk. 23:46), but the prayer to his Father which brings his → work on the → cross to its blessed climax.

(b) *John:* The Fourth Evangelist customarily employs *kraugazō* where the Synoptists prefer *krazō* (e.g. 12:13; 18:40; 19:12). In addition, Jesus calls forth (*kraugazō*) Lazarus from his tomb. John's four occurrences of *krazō* bear a distinctive meaning akin to the rabbinic sense of "proclaim". Each refers to some facet of Christ's person or work. Once it is the Baptist who thus proclaims the superiority of Jesus (1:15), while on the other three occasions Jesus himself is the One who cries out his message to the people (7:28, 37 f.; 12:44 ff.).

(c) *Acts:* This book embraces both a Synoptic and a Johannine use of *krazō*.

There are several references to the cries of Christians, e.g. in petition for others (7:60), and in protest (14:14); as well as to public outcry (e.g. 19:28). The verb *epiphōneō* puts in its three other NT appearances. Two of these refer to the incoherent but denunciatory uproar against Paul (Acts 21:34; 22:24), and in the other the people cry in idolatrous (mocking?) worship of Herod (12:22).

(d) *Pauline Corpus:* Paul utilizes *krazō* three times. One occurrence is in the sense of prophetic proclamation (Rom. 9:27); the other two appear to be a NT modification of the calling on the Lord by a righteous man, so common in the Psalms (Rom. 8:15; Gal. 4:6). The difference is that it is the Spirit (of adoption, Rom.; of God's Son, Gal.) which enables the believer to cry "Abba, Father!".

The one use of *keleusma* in the NT is found in 1 Thess. 4:16. The reference is problematical: it is unclear whether the "shout" is the same triumphant noise as the "voice of the archangel" and the "trump of God", or whether the three are to be distinguished or possibly reduced to two sounds. It may well be the authoritative signal which heralds the parousia.

(e) *James:* Injustice, or more explicitly, withheld pay, is personified and cries out to heaven (5:4). The personification is reminiscent of Lk. 19:40; the implicit denunciation, of Acts 16:17; the plea for help, of the Psalms.

(f) *Revelation:* This book puts *krazō* to a variety of uses: a call for help (6:10); a cry of jubilation (7:10); an angelic cry (10:3), command (7:2; 19:17), proclamation (18:2), or call to the Son of Man 14:15); the wail of the woman in childbirth (12:2); and lamentation over fallen Babylon (18:2). The plethora of dramatic cries reinforces the thought that the end comes quickly and cataclysmically.

D. A. Carson

βοάω

βοάω (*boaō*), call, shout, cry out; *ἀναβοάω* (*anaboaō*), cry out; *βοή* (*boē*), cry, shout.

CL & OT *boaō* occurs in cl. Gk. from Homer onwards and also in inscriptions, the papyri, the LXX, Philo and Josephus. It is used in the sense of crying out (Heb. *qārā'*) in Isa. 36:13; 1 Macc. 13:45; 4 Macc. 6:16; 10:2 and of calling to in Gen. 39:14. But in many contexts in both Testaments it is expressive of the extremities of man's needs and joys. Both *boaō* and *anaboaō* are used in the LXX in the sense of calling out in distress (Heb. *ṣā'aq*), e.g. Jdg. 10:10; Num. 20:16. The noun occurs in 1 Sam. 9:16 and Exod. 2:23. In each case the cry of God's people in their affliction does not go unheeded by God. Numerous warnings are given against disregarding the cries of the needy (Exod. 22:20 ff.; Deut. 24:15; Job 31:38; Mal. 3:5). There is also an extended use of the idea of crying in the sense of a murder crying out for justice and retribution. In Gen. 4:10 the blood of Abel is said to cry (Heb. *ṣā'aq*) for vengeance (cf. Job 16:18 ff.; Isa. 26:21; 1 Ki. 21:19 ff.; 2 Macc. 8:3; Eth. En. 7:5–9:3; 22:7, 12; Sl. Enoch 58:6). Both the crime and the victim cry for retribution. If the victim is dead, the deed itself is an accusing witness. Such passages indicate a sense of justice built into the structure of human affairs, which man is expected to heed. But if man does not heed, God remains the ultimate → judge.

Crying is used in the context of the coming salvation promised in Isa. Isa. 40:3 refers to the triumphant return of the exiles from Babylon through the deserts led

by the Lord himself: "A voice cries [*qārā'*]: 'In the wilderness [*miḏbār*] prepare the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert ['*ᵃrāḇâh*] a highway for our God." The coming of the Lord will be a demonstration to all → flesh of his glory. In the next stanza the prophet is told to cry of the transitoriness of man compared with the → word of God: "A voice says, 'Cry!' And I said, 'What shall I cry?' All flesh is grass and all its beauty is like the flower of the field. . . . The grass withers, the flower fades; but the word of our God will stand for ever" (Isa. 40:6, 8). Isa. 54:1 refers to crying aloud for joy: "Sing, O barren one, who did not bear; break forth into singing and cry aloud [*ṣāhal*], you who have not been in travail! For the children of the desolate one will be more than the children of her that is married, says the Lord." The passage recalls the theme of the increase of the nation despite apparent adverse circumstances (cf. Gen. 12:2; 15:5; 17:4, 5; 18:18; 22:17; 28:14; 32:12; 35:11; 46:3).

NT The same range of reference is found in the NT, where the Isa. passages are seen as finding their fulfilment in events attending the coming of Christ. *anaboaō* is used lit. in Mk. 15:8 *v.l.*; Lk. 1:42 *v.l.*; 9:38 *v.l.* and of Jesus' cry of anguish in Matt. 27:46 (where the parallel in Mk. 15:34 uses *boaō*). This cry from the cross expresses the desolation of the sense of abandonment by God in the words of Ps. 22:1. Taken at their face-value, the words suggest that Jesus experienced the desolation that the people of God experienced throughout their history. But there is a double irony in the situation. For this was *the* Son of God experiencing the desolation, and it was at the hands of the people of God and not merely at the hands of aliens. Many commentators hold, however, that the cry is to be taken in the context of the entire Psalm and see in it "not a cry of despair, but the prayer of a righteous sufferer who still trusts in the protection of God and confidently expects vindication (see Ps. 22:24, 26)" (D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 1972, 355; cf. G. H. Dalman, *Jesus-Jeshua*, 1929, 206; see further the discussion in K. Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew*, 1968², 84–7; R. H. Gundry, *The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel*, 1967, 63 ff., 203, 210 f.).

boē (Jas. 5:4) is the cry of the oppressed. *boaō* is used of evil spirits when leaving a person (Acts 8:7), of the sick (Lk. 9:38; 18:38), and of the shouts of the crowds in Acts 17:6; 25:24. Crying to God is a form of → prayer which God answers (Lk. 18:7).

boaō also occurs in the quotation from Isa. 40:3 which all four evangelists apply to John the Baptist (Matt. 3:3; Mk. 1:3; Lk. 3:4; Jn. 1:23; cf. Barn. 9:3). The synoptists see it as the → fulfilment of prophecy, and Jn. attributes the quotation to the Baptist's understanding of his own mission. The Baptist himself is the voice which cries, and his message is a christological interpretation of the cry in Isa. 40:3. The preparation of the desert for the coming of the Lord is seen as a type of the preparation of the people for the coming of the Lord in the person of Jesus Christ. (See further C. H. H. Scobie, *John the Baptist*, 1964, 15, 41, 46 f., 126 f., 196; D. Hill, op. cit., 88 f.; K. Stendahl, op. cit., 47 ff.; R. H. Gundry, op. cit., 9 f., 225.)

Isa. 54:1 is applied to the church in contrast with Israel in Gal. 4:27 (cf. 2 Clem. 2:1 f.). The quotation occurs in the context of an argument which contrasts Isaac and Ishmael, Sarah and Hagar, the Jerusalem above with the present Jerusalem, the new covenant with the one from Mount Sinai, and the free-born children with

those born in slavery. In each case the latter are characterized by the bondage entailed by the desire to be under the law (cf. v. 21) and the former by promise (cf. v. 28). In so far as believers live by the promises of God, the promise, the freedom, and the joy of Isa. 40:3 applies to them. *C. Brown*

W. Grundmann, *krazō*, *TDNT* III 898–903; W. Janzen, *Mourning Cry and Woe Oracle*, 1972; E. Käsemann, "The Cry for Liberty in the Worship of the Church", *Perspectives on Paul*, 1971, 122–37; L. Schmid, *keleusma*, *TDNT* III 656–59; E. Stauffer, *boaō*, *TDNT* I 625–28; A. Walde, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*, ed. J. Pokorny, 1926, I, 413 f.

Cunning

πανουργία

πανουργία (*panourgia*), craftiness, cunning; πανοῦργος (*panourgos*), crafty, cunning, knavish.

CL The word group derives from the two roots *pan-* (→ all) and *erg-* (→ work), giving the basic meaning "capable of all work". Its first appearance is in Aeschylus; and from then on in secular Greek its connotation is most commonly pejorative, an unprincipled "capable of doing anything" (e.g. Aristotle, Lysias). Even as a divine attribute (in Euripides, Artemis applies it to Aphrodite) the connotation is negative. In the few instances where the word bears a positive sense, there is a hint of presumption or perhaps deceptive evaluation (Plato, Plutarch). It is possible that the positive ability implicit in the etymology of the word group never got off the ground because in Gk. thought the very idea of such ability is indicative of an arrogance which soon tinges the *panourgia* with undesirable characteristics.

OT In the LXX, the word group is significantly affected by the Heb. verb *'ārōm* and its cognates, for which it stands seventeen times. The Heb. group can mean "crafty", "sly" (e.g. Jos. 9:4; Job. 5:12), but in Proverbs, where it occurs most frequently, it takes on an unconditionally positive nuance, "prudent", "clever" (1:4; 8:5; 12:16, etc.). The three other occurrences of the *panourgia* group, translating other Heb. words (Prov. 13:1; 21:1; 28:2), are likewise positive. The antithetical Hebrew formulations of ethical behaviour have invested *panourgia* with new meaning, probably due in part to the belief that the man who fears God and is blessed by him can indeed successfully accomplish any task.

Although there are positive uses in the LXX outside the Heb. canon (e.g. Ecclus. 1:6; 6:32; 21:20) nonetheless it is made explicit that *panourgia* derives from wisdom springing from divine revelation. When *panourgia* throws off this presuppositional restriction it degenerates to *panourgia* in the secular sense (Ecclus. 21:12; cf. 19:25). For both Josephus and Philo, the term is consistently negative and heads a long list of vices. The one possible exception is *Leg. All.*, 2, 106 f., where the term refers to an artisan's "manual skill"; but the context reveals that even this "skill" is put to perverted use.

On the other hand, Qumran scrolls use the noun *'ormâh* in a positive fashion akin to usage in Proverbs, while tying the ethical more closely to sectarian covenanting formulations (e.g. 1QHab. 7:14; CD 2:4).

NT With this background in mind it is somewhat surprising that in its half dozen NT appearances *panourgia* is used only negatively. The scribes and the chief priests are guilty of "trickery" in their question to Jesus (Lk. 20:23); but God catches the wise in their "craftiness" (1 Cor. 3:19), for man's ability to reason cannot stand up against divine sovereignty. Opponents of the truth are accused of "treacherously perverting" the Word of God (2 Cor. 4:2; Eph. 4:14); and therefore Paul fears that the minds of the Corinthian converts may be led astray from purity of devotion to Christ, as the serpent by his "craftiness" deceived Eve (2 Cor. 11:3). The one occurrence of *panourgos* in the NT bears the added weight of irony (2 Cor. 12:16): Paul claims he is "crafty", meaning, of course, that he is not.

D. A. Carson

O. Bauernfeind, *panourgia*, *TDNT* V 722–727.

Curse, Insult, Fool

Under the central word *curse* are included all the terms which carry the sense of verbal, as opposed to physical, hurt. The evil word stands in contrast to the good, as with → blessing or praise (→ Thank). Its expressions extend from denial of the honesty of another through evil slander and deliberate disparagement *kakologeō*, invective and abuse *blasphēmeō*, *katalaleō*, *loidoreō* to actual damning *kataraomai*, an action which was originally doubtless accompanied by a corresponding gesture. To this day as understood in the East, its aim is to destroy the object of the curse, since it delivers him up to the destructive working of supernatural powers or brings them into action against him. Also discussed is the swear-word *rhaka* which stems perhaps from the Aramaic and is used only once in the NT, as is also the formula of excommunication *anathema*, which was so significant in later dealings with heretics.

ἀνάθεμα

ἀνάθημα (*anathēma*), votive offering; *ἀνάθεμα* (*anathema*) cursed, accursed; *ἀναθεματίζω* (*anathematizō*), execrate, to lay a curse on; *κατάθεμα* (*katathema*), that which is devoted to the deity and hence accursed thing; *καταθεματίζω* (*katathematizō*), curse.

CL *anathema*, a Hel. secondary form of the Att. *anathēma*, made up of *ana* (on) and *tithēmi* (set, place, lay), means that which is set up. From this the following meanings have evolved: the consecrated gift, the offering (set up in the temple of the deity); what is handed over (to the wrath of the gods); what is dedicated (to destruction), and what has fallen under the power of a curse or ban.

OT 1. The LXX uses *anathema* regularly to translate the Heb. *ḥērem*, ban, what is banned (cf. Num. 21:3; Jos. 6:17; 7:12; Jdg. 1:17; Zech. 14:11 with the original root meaning to forbid (Arab. *ḥarama*), separate, consecrate, annihilate). What is banned (persons or things) is directly given up to God and so cannot be redeemed (Lev. 27:18). To ban is the right of the conqueror (Jos. 11:21; 1 Sam. 15:3 ff.). The OT recognizes the destruction of what is banned (Lev. 27:19; Deut. 13:16; Jos.

10:28 ff.) or its annihilation (mostly by fire, Deut. 13:17). But also it may be assigned in some instances to the priests for their maintenance or disposal (Num. 18:14; Ezek. 44:29). In Jdg. 21:10 virgins were spared and given in marriage to those who had been wronged.

2. Besides the understanding of the ban as dedication the ban can also be punishment (Lev. 27:29). He who appropriated to himself what has been banned or refuses to accept the *anathema* in all its extent, comes under the power of the ban himself (Deut. 7:26; 1 Ki. 20:42). Likewise when an offence is suspected against the sacred covenant (Jdg. 21:11) or when punishment by God is spoken of (Isa. 34:2, 5; 43:28; Jer. 50:21, 26; Zech. 14:11; Mal. 3:24 and often), *anathema* occurs as punishment.

3. Ezr. 10:8 distinguishes between a ban on all *belongings* and *personal exclusion* from the community. In the OT ban and excommunication are always different measures (F. Horst, *RGG*[3] I 861). In excommunication those referred to are exiled from the community and so from the sphere of salvation, but they are not, as in the case of the banned, directly given over to God and destroyed.

4. The occurrence of the word *anathema* on the table of curses from Megara (1–2 cent. A.D.) may well be an indication of Jewish influence. The idea passed into the NT from OT vocabulary. In the time of the Talmud two kinds of punitive ban were known: the simple ban from the synagogue (*niddûy* from *nāḏâh*, to exclude) which could be pronounced by anyone, and the intensified ban from the synagogue (*ḥērem*) which could be decreed only by a court pronouncement.

NT 1. The old form *anathēma* is found only in Lk. 21:5 with the meaning of a consecrated gift. These consecrated gifts offered in the temple are in fact votive offerings which were often costly (cf. 2 Macc. 2:13; Jud. 16:18 f.).

2. Paul takes over a restricted use of *anathema* from the LXX: the cursed thing, what has been dedicated to destruction (cf. J. Behm, *TDNT* I 354).

(a) Paul's Jewish kinship is not abolished by his membership of the church of Jesus Christ. For the salvation of his own people he is even ready to come under the curse (*anathema*), to be annihilated by God, to renounce his association with the Messiah (*apo tou Christou*), and to deliver himself to eschatological judgment, in order to save Israel (Rom. 9:3). Paul speaks here in the prophetic style of late Judaism. The relation of his readiness to the sacrifice of Christ is not the point at issue (cf. on Rom. 9:3 the excellent review of research in O. Michel, *Der Brief an die Römer*, 224–227).

(b) In 1 Cor. 12:3 the issue is to distinguish between → ecstasy which is the work of the Spirit of God and ecstasy which issues from demonic influence. Persons in ecstasy who pronounce the *anathema* on Jesus, who in uttering the ban deliver Jesus to annihilation by God, cannot possibly speak by the Holy Spirit. Such persons have become the mouth and instrument of demonic powers.

(c) As G. Bornkamm has shown convincingly, the curse formula in 1 Cor. 16:22, like the remaining formulae at the end of 1 Cor., stems from the liturgy of the Lord's Supper. The *anathema* calls upon those participating to test their faith – which finds expression in their love to the Lord – before the meal so that before the partaking of it the unworthy may be excluded (cf. 1 Cor. 11:28). The formula *ētō anathema* ("let him be anathema;" RSV "accursed") is not a "disciplinary

order" of some human court to prosecute an unworthy person. Rather, it pronounces for a specific case the sentence that comes from God and delivers the offender to the punishment of God. Thereby responsibility rests entirely upon the person addressed and the *anathema* means a call to self-examination (cf. G. Bornkamm, *Early Christian Experience*, 1969, 171). Cf. *maranatha* (→ Present) which with its reference to the heavenly Lord further emphasizes the *anathema*.

(d) Paul uses *anathema* in the same sense in Gal. 1:8, 9. He who preaches a false gospel is delivered to destruction by God. Again it is not a matter of an act of church discipline in the sense of excommunication. The curse exposes the culprits to the judicial wrath of God.

3. In this act of being handed over to God lies the theological meaning of the consecrated gift and the ban curse. As the consecrated gift is a sign of acknowledgment (1 Sam. 10:27) and submission (1 Ki. 10:25), of atonement for wounded honour (Gen. 12:16; 20:16) and of reconciliation (Gen. 32:14 f.), so, like a consecrated gift, the person sentenced by the *anathema* is immediately delivered up to the judgment of God. At the same time hope of a last-minute change of mind is not discounted. On the contrary, it is emphasized (cf. 1 Tim. 1:20).

4. *anathema* is also used in association with the vb. *anathematizein*, to bind with an oath or a curse and thus confirm an agreement that has been made (Acts 23:14; cf. Deut. 13:15; 20:27). In the LXX the vb. has as a rule the meaning: to carry out the ban (Num. 21:2 f.; Deut. 13:15; 20:27; Jos. 6:21). But it also may mean: to spread a curse over, to execrate. In Mk. 14:71 it is simply "to curse" with the same meaning as the verb *katathematizein*, used in the parallel passage Matt. 26:74. The noun *katathema* (Rev. 22:3) is not markedly different in meaning from *anathema* and denotes likewise what has been delivered up to God, what has had the ban curse laid upon it. *H. Aust, D. Müller*

κακολογέω *κακολογέω* (*kakologeō*), speak evil of, revile, insult, execrate.

CL & OT *kakologeō* is found in secular Gk. from the time of Homer, but is relatively seldom used. It means to speak ill of, to revile; and is used with the aid of both persons and things. In LXX usage *kakologeō* serves to render the Hebrew *qallēl*, to execrate (cf. Exod. 21:16; 22:27, Ezek. 22:7). In 2 Macc. 4:2 it has its original meaning, to speak ill of. The transition to the meaning of execrate has its explanation in the belief in the power of the spoken word. Certainly reviling can also include a curse.

NT *kakologeō* occurs in the NT only in four passages. In Matt. 15:4 and Mk. 7:10 it means to execrate. ([Ed.] RSV, however, translates both passages in the sense of "speak evil of".) The basis here is Exod. 21:16. Jesus takes issue with the Jewish interpretation of the commandments (→ Command; cf. SB I, 709 ff.). This interpretation softened the meaning of the biblical commandments and robbed them of their force (Matt. 15:5, 6). In Mk. 9:39 Jesus forbids his disciples to restrain a strange wonder-worker who wishes to cast out demons in his name. "For no one who does a mighty work in my name will be able soon after to speak evil of me." In Acts 19:9 *kakologeō* is also rendered, speak ill of. The unbelieving Jews speak ill of the "way", the Christian teaching about salvation. *W. Mundle*

καταράομαι

καταράομαι (*kataraomai*), curse; κατάρα (*katara*), curse, malediction; ἀρά (*ara*), curse; ἐπικατάρατος (*epikataratos*), cursed; ἐπάρατος (*eparatos*), accursed.

CL 1. *ara*, curse is current from the time of Homer. From the 5th–4th cent. B.C. there is also the compound *katara* with the same meaning. *kataraomai*, curse someone (dat.) or to execrate him (acc.), occurs in secular Gk. from Homer. Besides the pass. part. *katēramenos* there are found the verbal adjs. *eparatos* (since the time of Thucydides, but not in the LXX) and *epikataratos*, execrated. The latter appears only in the LXX and in post-biblical Gk.

2. In ancient thought the spoken word has intrinsic power which is released by the act of utterance and is independent of it. The person cursed is thus exposed to a sphere of destructive power. The curse works effectively against the person execrated until the power that dwells in the curse is spent. That is clear in the Gk. tragedies, in which men act under the compulsion of the *ara*. Words of malediction and words of benediction are thus more than evil or pious wishes.

OT 1. In the LXX *ara* (Ps. 9:28; 13:4; 56:13 and often) is found as well as *katara*. The latter renders as a rule the Heb. *qᵉlālâh* and is the opposite of *eulogia* → blessing (Deut. 11:26–29; 30:1–19). "I have set before you life and death, blessing and curse" (Deut. 30:19). *kataraomai* usually renders the Heb. *qallēl* with the dat. (e.g.) in Ep. Jer. 65 and the acc. in Gen. 12:3; Num. 22:6–12 and often. It is used as an alternative to the synonymous *araomai* in Num. 22:6, 11 and *epikataraomai* in Num. 22:17; 23:7 and often. In 2 Ki. 9:34 Jezebel is designated *katēramenē*, the accursed one. *epikataratos*, Heb. *'ārûr*, stands in Deut. 27:15 ff. and 28:16 ff. in the threatening of curses at the end of the Torah. The story of Balaam in Num. 22–24 shows that the belief, widespread in the world of religion, that with a curse "fulfilment is implied in the act of cursing" (F. Büchsel, *TDNT* I 449; see above CL, 2), was also lively in Israel. The Moabite king Balak charged Balaam to curse Israel that he might become master of his mighty enemy. But God prevented Balaam from pronouncing the curse. Rather he had to bless Israel against the will of his employer.

The curse decreed by God or his messengers works irrevocably. Jer. 26:6 is here instructive. The punishment with which Jeremiah here threatens Jerusalem consists in her being delivered defenceless to the curse of the heathen (cf. 24:9). Likewise in Mal. 2:2, the divine judgment consists in the blessing of the priests being changed by God into a curse. Only God himself can annul this curse.

2. Maledictions also played a large part in late Judaism. The liturgy of the feast for the renewal of the covenant in the Qumran community contains solemn maledictions upon the hypocritical and the godless who are described as *mᵉqalᵉlîm* and pronounced *'ārûr* (1QS 2:4 ff.).

NT In the NT *ara* occurs only in Rom. 3:14 (LXX citation of Ps. 9:28 [10:7]). It exhibits the sinfulness of men who live under the law (cf. 9:19). Heretics who entice unbalanced souls are "children of the curse", *kataras tekna* (2 Pet. 2:14). Ground which, in spite of rain and cultivation, grows only thorns and thistles is said figuratively in Heb. 6:8 to be near to being cursed. The passage has in mind Christians who, in spite of the spiritual blessing which they have received, fall

away from the faith (6:4–10). The vb. *kataraomai* is found in the story of the fig tree which Jesus cursed because he found no fruit on it (Mk. 11:21; → Fruit, art. *sykē*). The curse was fulfilled and the tree withered. Many expositors (including A. Schlatter and J. Schniewind) find in this story a figurative reference to the judgment of God (cf. Lk. 13:6–9). Men should not take an active part in the divine judgment. Therefore, Christians are forbidden to curse (Rom. 12:14, 19). In giving this instruction, Paul is in accord with the word of Jesus. Disciples should love their enemies and bless those who curse them (Matt. 5:44; Lk. 6:28). The warning given in Jas. 3:9 f. points in the same direction.

eparatos, accursed, is found only in Jn. 7:49. In the judgment of the Pharisees people who believe in Jesus are accursed. The cause of this belief can only be ignorance of the law. Here the enmity of the Pharisees against Jesus is clear. But to Jesus the curse also makes evident the finality of the divine judgment. The accursed, *katēramenoi* (Matt. 25:41), are the sinners who are condemned in the last judgment.

The verbal adj. *epikataratos* occurs twice in the NT (Gal. 3:10–13). It is used in the context of expositions in which Paul speaks about the curse of the law and redemption through Christ. The curse of the law signifies being surrendered to the judgment and wrath of God, which includes the whole of sinful humanity (Rom. 1:18; 2:5). The curse affects all who do not abide in the commandments of the law (Gal. 3:10). From Lev. 18:5 and Deut. 27:26 Paul concludes that all action comes under the domain of the law. But Jews and Gentiles who have come under the power of sin are not doers of the law (Rom. 3:19), and so remain under the curse. Jesus, who hung upon the cross as one accursed and died the death of a criminal, took upon himself the curse which lay upon sinful humanity and with it the judgment of God. The proof from scripture is given in Deut. 21:23. Here is found also the idea of substitution which is also often expressed by Paul (Rom. 3:25; 1 Cor. 1:30; 2 Cor. 5:21). Through redemption by Christ the ban curse (see above CL, 2) has been broken. The blessing of Abraham can now come to those who hold to Christ in faith. As the redeemed who are called to divine sonship and have life through belief, they also receive the fullness of salvation which is bound up with the promise of the Holy Spirit (Gal. 3:14; 4:5 ff.). *W. Mundle*

ῥακά	ῥακά (*rhaka*), empty-head, fool.

CL & OT The origin of *rhaka* is uncertain. The variant *rhacha* is sparsely attested. Derivations from Aram., Heb. and Gk. have been suggested (cf. Arndt. 741).

(a) J. Jeremias (*TDNT* VI 973 f.) and J. Schniewind (*NTD* on Matt. 5:22) regard *rhaka* as the transcription of the Aram. term of abuse *rêqā'*, empty-head, blockhead (cf. Heb. *rîq*, empty in the brain). *rhaka*, instead of *rhēka*, was formed under Syr. influence.

(b) In the Gk. of pre-NT times *rhaka* appears only in a Zenon papyrus (257 B.C.), where it is a vulgar expression.

(c) Rab. writings present a great number of instances of *rēqā'* (cf. SB I 278, 286,

385; II 586, 714). In personal address *rēqā'* is an expression of angry scorn, perhaps with the meaning mutton-head, ass.

NT In the NT *rhaka* appears only in Matt. 5:22: "But I say to you that everyone who is angry with his brother shall be liable to judgment: whoever shall say to his brother, 'Empty-head' (*rhaka*), shall be liable to the council; and whoever says, 'Fool' (*mōre*), shall be liable to the Gehenna of fire." *rhaka* is here compared with *mōre*, the term of abuse that was most in use (→ Wisdom, Folly). *mōre* is more drastic in meaning and is perhaps to be rendered by idiot or fool (cf. 14:1). In Matt. 5:22 there are thus assembled the two everyday terms of abuse that were most prevalent in Jesus' environment (J. Jeremias, *TDNT* VI 975).

The *egō de legō hymin*, "but I say to you", of Jesus introduces a divine law that is a development of the OT. Not only does actual murder place men under the punishment of death. The heart that has become inflamed with the destructive mental attitude, from which springs the damning word, merits the same judgment. With tremendous sharpness Jesus' word makes it clear that God's judgment on sin is radical and far-reaching. It does not merely cover the accomplished deed; it exposes the motive behind it. Jesus does not simply condition the divine commandment by an overstatement which emphasizes human powerlessness. "He sets together the inevitability of judgment and the reality of new conduct" (J. Schniewind, op. cit., 60). Accordingly in this three-stage development, Jesus sets the sins of thought and tongue (which include the damning of a man) on the same level as physical murder which can be atoned for only by death. *T. Sorg*

(a). Arndt, 53 f., 103, 398, 418, 741; J. Behm, *anathema*, *TDNT* I 354 f.; S. H. Blank, "The Curse, the Blasphemy, the Spell, and the Oath," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 23, 1950–51, 73–95; G. Bornkamm, "The Anathema in the Early Christian Lord's Supper Liturgy," in *Early Christian Experience*, 1969, 169–79; H. C. Brichto, *The Problem of "Curse" in the Hebrew Bible*, 1963; F. Büchsel, *ara*, *kataraomai* etc., *TDNT* I 448–57; T. Canaan, "The Curse in Palestinian Folklore," *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 15, 1935, 235–79; F. C. Fensham, "Malediction and Benediction in Ancient Near-Eastern Vassal-Treaties and the Old Testament," *ZAW* 74, 1962, 1–9; and "Common Trends in Curse in the Near Eastern Treaties and Kudurru-Inscriptions," *ZAW* 75, 1963, 155–75; D. R. Hillers, *Treaty Curses and the Old Testament Prophets*, 1964; J. Jeremias, *rhaka*, *TDNT* VI 973–76; G. E. Mendenhall, *The Tenth Generation*, 1973; M. Noth, "For All who Rely on Works of the Law are under a Curse," in *The Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Essays*, 1966, 118–31; J. Pedersen, *Israel*, I–II, 1926, 433–52; J. Scharbert, "Curse", *EBT* I 174–79; J. Schneider, *kakologeō*, *TDNT* III 468. W. C. van Unnik, "Jesus: Anathema or Kyrios (I Cor. 12:3)", in B. Lindars and S. S. Smalley, *Christ and Spirit in the New Testament; Studies in Honour of C. F. D. Moule*, 1973, 113-26; G. P. Wiles, *Paul's Intercessory Prayer*, 1974, 135-55. (See also Addenda, p. 822.)
(b). H. A. Brongers, "Die Rache- und Fluchpsalmen im Alten Testament," *OTS* 13, 1963, 21–42; L. Brun, *Segen und Fluch im Urchristentum*, 1932; P. Heinisch, *Das Wort im Alten Testament und im Alten Orient*, 1922; J. Hempel, "Die israelitische Anschauungen von Segen und Fluch im Licht orientalischer Parallelen," *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 79, 1925, 20–110; K. Hofmann, *anathema*, *RAC* I 427 ff.; F. Horst, "Bann," *RGG*³ I 860 f.; and "Segen und Fluch im AT," *RGG*³ V 1649 ff.; J. Kiss, "Der Begriff 'Fluch' im Neuen Testament," *Communio Viatorum* 7, 1964, 87–92; H. Köster, "Segen und Fluch im NT," *RGG* V 1651 f.; E. Lohmeyer, *Das Evangelium des Matthäus*, ed. W. Schmauch, KEK 1967⁴; O. Michel, *Der Brief an die Römer*, KEK 4 1966¹³; S. Mowinckel, *Segen und Fluch in Israels Kult und Psalmendichtung*, 1924; J. Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten*, 1914; J. Scharbert, *Solidarität in Segen und Fluch im Alten Testament und in seiner Umwelt*, 1958; and " 'Fluchen' und 'Segnen' im Alten Testament," *Biblica* 39, 1958, 1–26; J. Schniewind, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus*, *NTD* II, 1968¹²; F. Steinmetzer, "Babylon: Parallelen zu den Fluchpsalmen," *BZ* 10, 1912, 133–42 and 363–69.

D

Danger, Risk, Peril

κινδυνεύω

κινδυνεύω (*kindyneuō*), be in danger; κίνδυνος (*kindynos*), danger, risk.

CL & OT Both vb. and noun are found widely in Hellenistic Greek from the time of Herodotus onwards. An occurrence of *kindyneuō* is attested in Josephus (*Antiquities*, 4, 188). In the LXX the vb. can be found in Isa. 28:13, where it describes, along with vbs. indicating their fate, the risk run by those who refuse to hear. In Ps. 114:3 (116:3) *kindynos* is used with Hades to describe the predicament from which the Psalmist has been delivered. In Sirach 43:24 *kindynos* is used of the perils faced by mariners.

NT The vb. *kindyneuō* occurs 4 times in the NT. In the Gospel narrative of the stilling of the storm, Luke includes a note, peculiar to his own story, to the effect that the disciples were in danger (Lk. 8:23, contrast Mk. 4:36–41; Matt. 8:23–27), thus adding to the colour and drama of the narrative. In 1 Cor. 15:30 Paul refers to the constant dangers attending his ministry; his argument is that to face these risks is pointless if there is no resurrection. Two further occurrences of the vb. can be found in Acts 19. Both occur in the story of the riot at Ephesus. In 19:27 Demetrius and his fellow craftsmen are concerned at the danger posed to their trade by the activity of Paul; in 19:40 the town clerk warns of the perilous consequences of the rioting.

Paul uses the noun *kindynos* in two places. In Rom. 8:35 peril is one of the series of unpleasant phenomena which cannot separate the Christian from the love of Christ. In 2 Cor. 11:26 he uses it several times to describe the difficulties with which his ministry has been beset. The perils in question include the elements (sea and storm) and the hostility of men (robbers, Jews and Gentiles). In the whole context these reflections are part of Paul's attempt to demonstrate to the Corinthians the authenticity of his apostolic ministry. *P. J. Budd*

χαλεπός

χαλεπός (*chalepos*), hard, difficult.

CL & OT This word is well attested from Homer onwards both in Hellenistic and Jewish sources. It can be used of words that are hard to bear, or of men and animals that are hard to deal with, and therefore dangerous (cf. e.g. Josephus, *Antiquities* 15, 98). In some authors (e.g. Xenophon) *chalepos* has moral implications meaning bad or evil. In the LXX it is used of a nation (Isa. 18:2), probably

in the sense of harsh. In Wis. it has the moral sense, denoting evil and wickedness (3:19; 17:11; 19:13). In Sir. 3:21, however, *chalepos* is used of intellectual difficulty – that which is too hard for the student.

NT In the NT *chalepos* is used on only two occasions. In Matt. 8:28 it indicates the devilish ferocity of the two demoniacs from the country of the Gadarenes. This is a peculiarly Matthaean touch. In 2 Tim. 3:1 it is used in a very different way to denote the character of the last days – times of stress and hardship when self-interest is the decisive factor in human relationships (3:2–4). *P. J. Budd*

Darkness, Night

What is dark, gloomy, and therefore sinister is the opposite of what is → light. In Gk. the concept is conveyed by the group of words connected with *skotos*, darkness, used literally, physically and also with ethical and religious overtones. Absence of light leaves room for → evil and → sin. In this sense darkness may be described as evil. This double meaning also extends to *nyx*, night. Here admittedly the darkness is no longer absolute. But where *nyx* is used symbolically and not simply as a measure of time, it can have the same range of meaning as *skotia*, darkness.

νύξ — νύξ (*nyx*), night.

CL *nyx* (cf. Lat. *nox*), night, means the period without sunlight which is divided into 3 or 4 watches. In a fig. sense *nyx* means darkness, obscurity, blindness, powerlessness, death. In cl. Gk. *nyx* is only occasionally seen positively (i.e. as the time of refreshment in sleep). Mostly the term has a negative character. Night is ominous and brings fear. In mythology *Nyx*, the goddess of night, appears among other things as the mother of the Furies. *nyx* is also the time for → magic and the moon goddess who favours sorcery.

OT In the OT the word is used as a simple indication of time (e.g. Gen. 7:4; Jon. 1:17). But it is also the hour of terror (Ps. 91:5; Wis. 17:14 f., where Hades is said to be its place of origin), the time of drunkenness (Gen. 19:33), thieves (Jer. 49:9), sexual misdeeds (Jdg. 19:25), murder (Neh. 6:10), and occult practices (1 Sam. 28:8). By night man is particularly prone to worry and to the attacks of the evil one (Job 7:3; Ps. 6:7). But *nyx* is also God's time, when he shows the way by a pillar of → fire (Exod. 13:21), and makes himself known in dreams (Gen. 20:3) and visions (Dan. 7:2; Zech. 1:8). At the last day, on the other hand, when salvation is fulfilled, there will be no more night (Zech. 14:7).

NT In the NT *nyx* occurs 61 times (20 times in the synoptic gospels, 16 times in Acts, 11 times in Paul, 6 times in John, and 8 times in Rev.). *nyx* serves chiefly in the NT as an indication of time. In the fourth watch of the night Jesus walked upon the water (Matt. 14:25). By night he prayed (Lk. 6:12, *dianyktereuō*, pass the night; cf. Matt. 26:36 ff.; and Acts 16:25, *mesonyktion*, midnight). Nicodemus chose the quietness of night for his visit (Jn. 3:2). *nyx* is the hour of escape (Acts 9:25),

betrayal (Jn. 13:30), and denial (Matt. 26:34). It is found in formal indications of time (e.g. Matt. 4:2; 12:40). Particularly in Acts, *nyx* appears as the time for the activity of divine powers. It is at night that → angels perform their services (Lk. 2:8 f.; Acts 5:19; 12:7; 27:23; cf. Matt. 12:20; 2:13), that God speaks to man in visions (→ See; cf. Acts 16:9; 18:9; 23:11) and instructs him in dreams (Matt. 2:12, 22).

Metaphorically *nyx* can have the meaning of → *skotia*, darkness, describing, in contrast to *phōs* (→ light), the situation of estrangement from God or Christ (Jn. 11:10; 9:4). In a similar sense Paul uses *nyx* in contrast to *hēmera*, day (→ Present) in connection with the era of salvation which has dawned in Jesus Christ (1 Thess. 5:5–7). Similarly in Rom. 13:12 the contrast of *nyx* and *hēmera* illustrates that between the old aeon (destined to pass away) and the new (just about to break in). He who clings to Christ is no longer under the curse of night (1 Thess. 5:5). He is no longer a sleeper or drunken (1 Thess. 5:7), but is awake (1 Thess. 5:6; cf. 1 Cor. 16:13; 1 Pet. 5:8). After the darkening accompanying the last day which breaks in "like a thief in the night" (1 Thess. 5:2; Lk. 17:34, Rev. 8:12), the heavenly Jerusalem will receive him, and there will be no more night (Rev. 21:25), "for the Lord God will be their light" (Rev. 22:5). ***H-C. Hahn***

σκότος

σκότος (*skotos*), darkness, gloom; σκοτία (*skotia*), darkness, gloom; σκοτόω (*skotoō*), darken; σκοτίζω (*skotizō*), darken; σκοτεινός (*skoteinos*), dark, obscure.

CL 1. From Homer (*Il.*, 5, 47; *Od.*, 19, 389) onwards the masc. noun *skotos*, darkness, gloom, is found in cl. Gk. The fem. form *skotia*, which has the same meaning, is of Hel. origin (Apoll. Rhod., 4, 1698). In addition to these nouns, there are the vbs. *skotoō*, darken (Soph., *Ajax*, 85), which is found only in the pass. in the NT, and the Hel. *skotizō* (Plut., *Adversus Colotem*, 24, 2, 1120e) also meaning to darken. A further derivative which appears in the NT is the adj. *skoteinos*, dark, obscure (Aesch., *Choephori*, 661).

2. In cl. Gk. darkness applies primarily to the state characterized by the absence of → light (*phōs*) without any special metaphysical overtones. The thought is chiefly of the effect of darkness upon man. In the dark man gropes around uncertainly (Plato, *Phaedo*, 99b), since his ability to see is severely limited. Thus the man who can see may become → blind in the darkness, and no longer know which way to turn. Hence darkness appears as the "sphere of objective peril and of subjective anxiety" (H. Conzelmann, *TDNT* VII 424). Since all anxiety ultimately derives from the fear of death, the ominous character of darkness culminates in the darkness of death which no man can escape (cf. Homer, *Il.*, 4, 461). Darkness is therefore Hades, the world of the dead, which already reaches out into our world in the mythical figures of the Eumenides, the children of Skotos and Gaia (Soph., *Oedipus Coloneus*, 40).

Freed from their proper, temporal sense, the words of this group can be used in a metaphorical sense to describe human ways of life and behaviour. Thus they can describe a man's seclusion or obscurity. They can also indicate the secrecy, furtiveness or deceitfulness of his activity, the abstruseness of his speech, lack of enlightenment, insight and knowledge. "The word does not attain to high conceptual rank

in philosophy. Mention of darkness serves to set off light; it has no philosophical content of its own" (*TDNT* VII 425 f.).

3. This does, however, happen in Gnosticism. Here the concept of darkness goes beyond the purely relative, to become an independent force, seen as the unlimited ruler of the earthly world. This world is so filled with darkness that even its luminaries are but *skoteinon phōs*, dark light (Corp. Herm. 1, 28). In radical contrast to this world of darkness shines the transcendent world, the priority of which is stressed in Gnostic literature. Man has been endowed with a soul, coming from a spark of light. It is his task by means of *gnōsis* (→ knowledge) to attain to enlightenment. Hence, by contrast with *gnōsis* darkness has the character of *agnoia*, the sphere of ignorance which keeps man from his salvation. The very fact of having a body involves the natural man in this sphere. The contrast between the world of light and the world of darkness results in a call to *metanoia*, repentance (→ conversion), the decision to turn from the darkness of the earth-bound and bodily to the → light and life.

This dualism, calling for a decision between the light which contains salvation and darkness which means death, is developed to its most consistent conclusion in the metaphysical systems of the Mandaeans and of Manichaeism.

OT 1. The key to the OT view of light and darkness is faith in God as Creator who stands above both. He is not only the Lord of light; darkness also has to bow before him. Darkness is first mentioned in connection with the primeval ocean or chaos (Gen. 1:2). God creates both light and darkness (Isa. 45:7). He causes day to follow night (Ps. 104:20; Amos 5:8; cf. Gen. 1:4 f., 18). In his saving activity he can make use of darkness, as when he sent darkness upon Egypt (Ps. 105:28; Exod. 10:22).

The fact that God is Lord over darkness does not automatically diminish the threat of this force hostile to man. As in the Greek world, darkness describes "the whole range of the harmful or evil – in the sense of the threat to life, of what is bad for me, as well as in that of moral evil – or fatal" (*TDNT* VII 428). Hence, the OT depicts darkness as a symbol of limitation, restraint and affliction (Isa. 9:1). Man belongs to this sphere by nature. "They will look to the earth, but behold, distress and darkness, the gloom of anguish; and they will be thrust into thick darkness" (Isa. 8:22; cf. 60:2). It should be noted that here the term darkness is used chiefly in a sense influenced by theological considerations. Darkness is the place where the light of God does not shine. When a person separates himself from God by disobedience, darkness remains (Ps. 107:10 f.). On the other hand, God illumines the darkness for those who fear him. The person who walks through the valley of deep darkness need not fear (Ps. 23:4; cf. 112:4; Isa. 50:10; Mic. 7:8). For darkness is not dark to God (Ps. 139:11 f.) and to those who will be led by him (cf. Isa. 42:7, 16; 49:9).

Although God allows darkness to exercise a certain power even exposing the righteous to its terrors (Ps. 88:6; Job 19:8; 30:26), and although he wraps himself in impenetrable darkness (1 Ki. 8:12; Ps. 18:9 ff.), the promise remains that the people who walked in darkness shall see a great light (Isa. 9:2).

However, there are those who hide themselves from the light of God (Isa. 29:15), as for instance the people who offend against the commandment to love one's

parents (Prov. 20:20) and the liars who turn darkness into light (Isa. 5:20). All such are heading for the day when God who sees through all darkness (Job 34:21 f.) will bring the darkness of sin out into the light (Job. 12:22) and hold a terrible judgment (Job 34:23 f.). Hence the prophets proclaim that the day of Yahweh will not be, as the people expect, a day of joy for Israel, but a day of darkness and calamity (Joel 2:2, 10; Amos 5:20; 8:9), unless Israel repents at the last moment (Joel 2:12 ff.). The darkness of the day of judgment will be far worse for the ungodly than the day of natural → death, for eschatological darkness means the final and eternal → destruction of the faithless and disobedient.

2. The concept of eschatological darkness and damnation in the world beyond is emphasized and further developed in later Jewish writings (cf. Jub. 5:14; Eth. Enoch 17:6; 63:6; 108:11 ff.). The purpose of such teaching is to bring about enlightenment and a decision to follow the way of light.

One of the most important themes of the Qumran literature is that of man caught in the tension between light and darkness. Here light and darkness oppose one another as cosmic forces which determine the existence of man. Thus darkness seeks to lead him astray by means of its representative Belial (1QM 13:11 f.; 1QS 3:21–24). Man can extricate himself from the influence of darkness and its ruling power by deciding to enter the → covenant (OT 6). By this means he can be changed from a child of darkness into a son of light for whom is prepared life eternal in everlasting light (1QS 4:7 f.).

NT As in the literature already mentioned, the NT uses this group of words in both the lit. and (as a rule) the fig. senses. It occurs relatively often: *skotos* 30 times; *skotia* 17 times, of which 14 are in the Johannine literature, both terms meaning darkness or gloom; *skotizesthai* (be darkened) 5 times; *skotousthai* (be darkened) and *skoteinos* (dark) 3 times each.

1. It serves as an indication of time and is mentioned in connection with the darkness of night setting in or departing (Jn. 6:17; 20:1). Metaphorically but without any particularly negative allusion attaching to night, *skotia* and *phōs* (light) are used in Matt. and Lk. "What I tell you in the dark, utter in the light" (Matt. 10:27). "Whatever you have said in the dark shall be heard in the light, and what you have whispered in private rooms shall be proclaimed upon the housetops" (Lk. 12:3).

2. The words are given a clearly negative sense in those passages which contrast a sound eye (as the organ which guides) in a body full of light with an evil eye in a body full of darkness (Matt. 6:22 f.; Lk. 11:34–36). By looking in the wrong direction the → body succumbs to the power of darkness. At the arrest of Jesus (Lk. 22:53) and still more in the hour of his death (Matt. 27:45; Mk. 15:33; Lk. 23:44), this power of darkness could give the impression of having won a victory. But at Easter the divine power of → light triumphed once and for all over the Satanic powers of darkness, the world's night and the gloom of death. It is in the light of this victory that darkness is mostly seen and evaluated in the NT.

3. The natural man lives in the domain of darkness. He belongs to the people who dwell in darkness (cf. the Isaiah citation [9:2] in Matt. 4:16). He cannot avoid the darkness of → death (Lk. 1:79). But above all, darkness appears as darkness before God. "Before the encounter with the Revealer the life of all men lies in darkness and sin" (R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 1971, 159). In this sphere the

"power of Satan" holds sway (Acts 26:18; cf. Eph. 6:12). This impels men to do the evil → works of darkness (Jn. 3:19; Rom. 13:12; Eph. 5:11). Through it the minds of the heathen (Eph. 4:18) or in another phrase, "their senseless → hearts" (Rom. 1:21) are darkened. Through it the Jew who is faithful to the law can become so blinded as to make, for instance, out of → circumcision a system of false security about salvation. So he becomes a blind leader of the blind (Matt. 8:12; 15:14; cf. Rom. 2:19).

In view of the dominating power of darkness – which is to be seen in close connection with the terms → sin, → flesh, and → desire – Paul goes so far as to identify man with this force and say that those to whom he is writing were once darkness (Eph. 5:8). This makes it clear that "it is not merely a supernatural, dark, spiritual power which sets itself up secretly in opposition to Him (God); no, the 'principalities and powers' also assume quite tangible and visible forms in the situations facing both world and church" (W. Lüthi, *Johannes*, 1963, 11).

4. Darkness does not, of course, appear as a power on the same level as God. Bultmann points out: "*skotia* is not an autonomous power existing alongside the *phōs*, but it is only because of the light that there is darkness at all" (op. cit., 47). This is hinted at in the passages which speak of God himself as darkening the eyes of (i.e. hardening) certain people: the citation from Psalm 69:23 in Rom. 11:10; and also Acts 13:11, where God blinds the magician Bar-Jesus by a word of the Spirit spoken by Paul. And just as in creation, God now causes light to shine out of darkness into the hearts of men (2 Cor. 4:6). He is Lord over darkness also.

This Lordship of God is displayed above all in Jesus Christ whom he has sent into the world in order to call his holy people out of darkness into his wonderful light (1 Pet. 2:9), into the kingdom of the son of his love (Col. 1:13). This theme is taken up particularly by John who makes great use of the metaphor of light and darkness. In the prologue of his gospel it is introduced as a principal theme: "The light shines in the darkness, and the darkness has not overcome it" (Jn. 1:5). Light and darkness are set over against each other in the Johannine writings in similar fashion to other pairs of opposites (→ life and → death, → truth and → lie). These opposites are mutually exclusive, as in Paul's rhetorical question, "What fellowship has light with darkness?" (2 Cor. 6:14). A decision has to be made for one or the other, for God or against him who is the light in whom there is no darkness at all (1 Jn. 1:5), or to be more precise, for or against Jesus Christ who described himself as the light (Jn. 12:46; cf. 8:12). It is his person that provides the yardstick. He who rejects him condemns himself by the same act (Jn. 3:18 f.). On the other hand, he who believes him (Jn. 12:46) and follows him (Jn. 8:12) no longer walks in darkness.

5. However, it is not enough merely to confess with one's lips allegiance to the light. It is impossible to have fellowship with God and at the same time to walk in darkness. He who declares the opposite to be true is a liar (1 Jn. 1:6). Unless he has the kind of faith which affects his whole life and being and finds expression in love of the brethren, a man is still in darkness (1 Jn. 2:9). He who continues to hate his brother is behaving like a man of darkness, wandering around without sight (1 Jn. 2:11; cf. Jn. 12:35). He has not yet understood that darkness is passing away, and that the one true light is already shining (1 Jn. 2:8).

For these people who stubbornly reject the light, who refuse to acknowledge

Jesus Christ as Lord and perform the works of darkness – here false teachers come in for special mention (2 Pet. 2:17; Jude 13) – there is coming one day the deepest darkness of all, God's judgment. In this judgment the Lord will "bring to light even the hidden things of darkness and expose the counsels of the hearts" (1 Cor. 4:5). Whereas others will be accepted, these men of darkness will be cast out into the gloomy place of eschatological destruction (Matt. 8:12; 22:13; 25:30; → Destroy). This judgment is expected at the second coming of Christ which, according to the NT records leaning on apocalyptic ideas from the OT, will be accompanied by manifestations of darkness. "The sun will be darkened, and the moon will not give its light" (Mk. 13:24 and Matt. 24:29; cf. Isa. 13:10; Ezek. 32:7; Joel 2:10 f.; Zeph. 1:15; cf. also the quotation from Joel 2 in Acts 2:20; Rev. 8:12; 9:2; 16:10). Therefore Paul can strongly exhort Christians to watchfulness and soberness in the light of the → Parousia which is suddenly to overtake them. "Do not be in darkness, for that day to surprise you like a thief; for you are all sons of the day. We are not of the night nor of darkness. So let us not sleep, as others do" (1 Thess. 5:4–6).

H-C. Hahn

→ Light, → Present, Day and the bibliographies under these articles, → Conceive, Apprehend.

(a). H. Conzelmann, *skotos*, *TDNT* VII 423–45; G. Delling, *nyx*, *TDNT* IV 1123–26; C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, 1953, 201–12, 345–62; A. R. C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning*, 1966, 37 ff.; commentaries on John by C. K. Barrett, 1955; R. E. Brown, 1967; R. Bultmann, 1971; B. Lindars, 1972; J. Marsh, 1968; J. N. Sanders and B. A. Mastin, 1968; L. Morris, 1972; R. Schnackenburg, 1969; and B. F. Westcott, 1958 reprint.
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David

Δαυίδ	*Δαυίδ* (*Dauid*), Heb. *dāwîḏ*, David.

OT The origins of kingship in Israel are not as much shrouded in obscurity as beset by problems of detail, interesting in themselves but beyond the scope of this article. One thing, however, must be examined. The contrast between the pre-monarchic and the monarchic periods must not be drawn in terms of a theocratic and a non-theocratic system. In Israel, judgeship and kingship were two forms of the same theocratic ideal, that Yahweh is both → Judge and → King. Thoughtful examination of the traditions shows that the element of divine rebuke occasioned by the request for a king did not arise from the fact that monarchy as such betokened a decline from the theocratic principle, but from the fact that a permanent institution such as kingship inevitably meant that the people were not walking in absolute confidence that Yahweh would continue to care for them in the provision of timely leadership, as he had done throughout the period of the judges. It was in this sense that they had rejected him from being king (1 Sam. 8:7) and it is to this point precisely that Samuel directs his magnificent farewell speech: that hitherto

prayer had sufficed (1 Sam. 12:8, 10) but now, pressed by a new Ammonite threat (v. 12), they wearied of the demands of the way of faith and pressed for the security of an institutionalized system. Yet monarchy, Samuel asserted, left the theocracy and its demands unimpaired: it was still with Yahweh that both king and people had to do (vv. 14 ff.).

It is one of the continuing stresses of biblical theology that divine purposes are fulfilled by an apparent condescension to human needs and failings. Kingship is no exception, but it comes without surprise that what was thus introduced as a seeming accommodation to need (1 Sam. 12:12), failure (1 Sam. 8:1–3) and stubbornness (1 Sam. 8:19) was found to be the highest and best intention of God. This was realized in the person of David whose history is recounted in 1 Sam. 16—1 Ki. 2 and 1 Chr. 11–29.

At this point another group of problems arises. When David became established on his throne, he apparently considered that the time of the Deuteronomic ideal had arrived (cf. Deut. 12:10 with 2 Sam. 7:1) and wished to crystallize national religious aspiration by building Yahweh's house in Yahweh's chosen place. This was forbidden, and in the neatest possible way Nathan's oracle of prohibition was turned into an oracle of hope: far from David building Yahweh a house, Yahweh would build the house of David (2 Sam. 7:11). In some unspecified connection with this oracle, and arising at some time subsequent to it, the Davidic hope began to be cherished in Israel. Nathan did not promise an ideal king in David's line; at most he promised an endless succession of kings who, at least potentially, might come under Yahweh's chastening. Yet, somehow, the vision of the ideal grew and became focused in a single expectation.

At what point did the "honeymoon" view of monarchy and its benefits, as spelled out in the book of Judges, end, to be replaced by the hope that one day a perfect king would arise? And at what point was that perfect king first conceived of as *David redivivus*? There is no sure answer to these questions, though Psalm-study, among other factors, has made the late dating of what we may (even if loosely) call "messianic hope" seem less than realistic. If longing for the ideal arose by contrast with the short-comings of the actual we need not look beyond the days of Solomon for a point of origin. Indeed, in the light of Nathan's oracle, such a hope would more naturally arise while the promised line was still in vital existence (i.e. during the monarchic period) than after the Davidic line had run out into the arid sands of the exile and post-exile.

The Psalms clearly show a hope running beyond the dimensions of any actual king (e.g. 2, 72) and we cannot be far if at all wrong if we see them as taking their origin from the focal points (e.g. coronation, marriage, royal cult ceremonies) of the reign of an actual king but consciously reaching forward to the realization of that which he was failing to be.

The main point of such an expectation were as follows: the qualities of the kingly person and rule (e.g. Isa. 11:1–9), his universal sway (e.g. Isa. 9:7; Ps. 72), the priestly dimension of his kingship (Ps. 110; Zech. 3:8–10; 6:12, 13), even (if we follow the clues of Is. 55:3 and elsewhere and identify the Servant with the Davidic Messiah) that he would himself perform the priestly rite of substitutionary sacrifice (Isa. 52:13–53:12). There is also in the OT what must be called the mystery of the person of the expected king: three examples must suffice: he is a shoot from Jesse's

stock, but he is also the root from which Jesse springs (Isa. 11:1, 10); he can be addressed as "God" (the most direct understanding of Ps. 45:6, but see comms.) and yet receive anointing from "God, thy God" (45:7); he is born in David's line and yet entitled "mighty God" (Isa. 9:6,7), he can spring out from a buried, seemingly defunct, root and yet be "the Arm of the Lord" (53:1–3). This mystery finds no solution prior to the NT revelation.

NT Within the NT the life of David is alluded to in Matt. 12:3; Mk. 2:25; Lk. 6:3; Acts 7:45; 13:22; Heb. 11:32; Acts 2:9, 34; 13:36. His authorship of certain psalms is asserted in Acts 1:16; 2:25; 4:25; Rom. 4:6; 11:9; Heb. 4:7. But the main interest in the NT is to be found in those places where Jesus is connected directly with David and where David concepts are applied to Jesus.

The "ancestry theme" is found in Matt. 1:1 ff.; Lk. 1:27, 32; 2:4, 11; 3:31; Rom. 1:3; 2 Tim. 2:8. There are two stresses to be discerned. An unequivocally human ancestry secures the reality of the unequivocal humanity of Jesus, so that both the miracle and the power of his resurrection shine out. Theologically, this, in turn, secures the truth so prized in Hebrews, that the values exemplified in the life of the man, Christ Jesus, are those which have been hall-marked by the act of God. Secondly the reality of the descent of Jesus from David makes him the repository of the promises vouchsafed to but never secured by his famous ancestor: Lk. 1:69; Jn. 7:42; Acts 13:34; 15:16.

By the time of Jesus, messianism in Davidic terms had developed to the point where it was common knowledge and could even be trespassed upon by the non-Israelite in hope of securing an Israelite favour (e.g. Matt. 15:22). The general acceptance of the terminology of the Davidic hope is seen in the greetings given (unwittingly) to Jesus: Matt. 21:15; Mk. 11:10; more thoughtfully it reveals itself in the query whether any but the expected son of David could act in such power as to heal a demoniac (Matt. 12:23); with complete assurance, it sounds out in the descriptions of the royal Christ of the book of Revelation, the possessor of Davidic authority (3:8), David's root (5:5), and in one glorious paradox, the whole OT mystery unrolled, David's root and offspring (22:16).

This leads us to the passage wherein most completely the self-consciousness of Jesus on this point stands revealed: his question to the scribes and Pharisees how the expected Messiah could be both David's son and David's lord (Matt. 22:41–45; Mk. 12:35–37; Lk. 20:41–44). This was certainly no mere debating point to be scored and then left, nor is its thrust to be weakened by any specialist hesitations concerning the Davidic authorship of Ps. 110. To Jesus the matter appeared thus: David, the inspired author, saw a descendant upon his throne, appointed by Yahweh, and referred to that descendant as "Lord". How can one and the same person be derivative and therefore dependent and also lord and therefore superior?

It is germane at this point to remind ourselves that Jesus deliberately shunned the ascription of kingship as currently defined. His reply to Pilate (" 'King' is your word", Jn. 18:37, NEB) is most pointed: he could not deny being a king, yet he could not accept the ascription, tainted and deformed as it was by Pilate's and Jewish political ambitions and half-understandings. Therefore, if possible before it is too late, Jesus would have the religious leaders face up to the mystery inherent in the expectations they professed, and facing up to the mystery, learn to reform

their thinking, first in the light of the total OT revelation of the Messiah, and secondly in the light of that revelation illumined, explained and fulfilled in Jesus. → Son of David *J. A. Motyer*

(a). A. Weiser, *The Psalms*, 1962; A. A. Anderson, *The Psalms*, I–II, 1972; F. D. Kidner, *The Psalms*, 1973; H. Ringgren, *The Faith of the Psalmists*, 1963; D. Anders Richards, *The Drama of the Psalms*, 1968; H. Ringgren, *The Messiah in the Old Testament*, 1956; S. Mowinckel, *He That Cometh*, 1959; W. Vischer, *The Witness of the Old Testament to Christ*, 1949; M. Buber, *Kingship of God*, 1967; *NBD*, "Messiah"; B. B. Warfield, "The Divine Messiah in the Old Testament", *Biblical and Theological Studies*, 1952; A. R. Johnson, *Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel*, 1955; A. Bentzen, *King and Messiah*, 1955; A. T. Hanson, *Jesus Christ in the Old Testament*, 1965; R. T. France, *Jesus and the Old Testament*, 1971; R. E. Clements, *Abraham and David*, 1967; D. F. Payne, *The Rise and Fall of the Monarchy; David and his Heirs*, 1976; O. Eissfeldt, "The Promises of Grace to David in Isa. 55. 1–5," *Israel's Prophetic Heritage*, ed. B. W. Anderson and W. Harrelson, 1962, 196–207; M. Noth, "David and Israel in II Sam. 7," *The Laws of the Pentateuch and Other Studies*, 1966, 250–90; D. C. Duling, "The Promises to David and their Entrance into Christianity – Nailing Down a Likely Hypothesis," *NTS* 20, 1973–74, 55–77; S. E. Johnson, "The Davidic-Royal Motif in the Gospels", *JBL* 87, 1968, 136–50.
(b). A. H. J. Gunneweg, "Sinaibund und Davidbund," *VT* 10, 1960, 335–41; N.-U. Nübel, *Davids Aufsteig in der frühen israelitischen Geschichtsschreibung*, dissertation Bonn, 1959; L. Rost, "Die Überlieferung von der Thronnachfolge Davids," *Das kleine Credo und andere Studien zum Alten Testament*, 1965, 119–253; "Davidsbund und Sinaibund," *ThLZ* 72, 1947, 129–34; A. Weiser, "Der Tempelbaukrise unter David," *ZAW* 77, 1965, 153–68; C. Burger, *Jesus als Davidsshon*, 1970.

Deaf, Dumb

κωφός — κωφός (*kōphos*), deaf, dumb.

CL In classical Greek *kōphos* has the general sense of blunt or dull, but more specifically can mean either deaf (Homer) or dumb (Herodotus). The context gives the sense required.

OT This quality is also present in Jewish usage. With the meaning dumb *kōphos* can be found in Wisdom 10:21, in Philo (*Flacc.* 20) and in Josephus (*Ant.* 18, 135). The meaning deaf occurs in Philo (*Mut.Nom.* 143), and several times in the LXX (cf. e.g. Exod. 4:11; Isa. 43:8; Ps. 37:14). In some contexts *kōphos* can be used of a deaf mute (Philo, *Spec.Leg.* 4:197; Sib. 4:28). A figurative use applied to idols occurs in Hab. 2:18.

NT In the NT *kōphos* is to be found only in the Gospels. These occurrences are found in five distinct incidents, four of which have to do with cures achieved by Jesus. In Mk. 7:32, 37 the word must mean deaf since the text also uses the rare word *mogilalou* (having a speech impediment), and since the miracle includes the gift of hearing (7:35). This narrative is peculiar to Mark's Gospel. In Mk. 9:25 *kōphos* is a peculiarly Markan feature of the story of the possessed boy. Mark, unlike the other Evangelists, has already described the spirit as dumb (*alalos*) (9:17), and now, in addressing the spirit, Jesus also calls it *kōphos*, meaning presumably a spirit of deafness. In Matt. 11:5; Lk. 7:22 deafness is again the meaning in this description by Jesus to the imprisoned John the Baptist of the content of his ministry. Part of the evidence demonstrating Jesus's messiahship is the fact that the *kōphoi* hear.

The use of *kōphos* to signify dumbness is also attested. In Matt. 9:32, 33; 12:22; Lk. 11:14 the criticism that Jesus heals by devilish power is prompted by the healing of a man who is *kōphos* and who now speaks (cf. also the general observation about Jesus' healing ministry in Matt. 15:30–31 which must also refer to dumbness). In Lk. 1:22 Zechariah's vision in the Temple renders him unable to speak, and he remains *kōphos*.

For all three Evangelists this particular aspect of Jesus' ministry is a firm indication of the fulfilment in him of such prophecies as Isa. 35:5–6; 43:8; 61:1–2. It is in particular a ministry of release involving vigorous conflict with spiritual evil (Mk. 9:25), calling for effort (Mk. 7:34), and by its very nature and Israel's hardness of heart open to serious misinterpretation (Matt. 9:34). *P. J. Budd*

→ Blind, → Heal, → Lame

(a). C. E. B. Cranfield, "St. Mark 9:14–29," *SJT* 3, 1950, 57–67; J. Moffatt, "Matthew 11:5," *ExpT* 18, 1906–7, 286 f.; A. S. Weatherhead, "The Healing of One Deaf and Dumb," *ExpT* 23, 1911–12, 381; R. K. Harrison, "Disease," *IDB* I 847–54; A. Cole, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 1961, 134 f.
(b). F. Fenner, *Die Krankheit im Neuen Testament*, 1930.

Death, Kill, Sleep

In the NT, as in classical literature, a variety of words describe death and dying – those events which remind man that life is something over which he has no ultimate control. In addition to the words related to *thanatos* (death), there are other terms which originally have a quite different meaning. Sleep (*hypnos*) which was used early on as a euphemism for death and dying was used even more in the Christian era. Other related terms are *katheudō* (to sleep), and *koimaomai* (to fall asleep). That which is lifeless, whether it be a corpse or inanimate matter, is *nekros* (dead). *teleutaō* means to come to an end, finish and thus to die. *apokteinō* (kill) indicates a violent extinction of life. The words of the *thanatos* group and *nekros* have particular theological undertones in the NT.

ἀποκτείνω

ἀποκτείνω (*apokteinō*), kill; τελευτάω (*teleutaō*), come to an end, die.

CL 1. The vb. *apokteinō* (Homer), derived from *kteinō*, kill, expresses any kind of violent ending to (someone else's, only later one's own) life. It can thus mean to kill, have put to death, murder, and execute.

2. *teleutaō*, derived from *telos* (→ Goal, End), and attested from Homer onwards, originally had the general meaning of bring to an end (e.g. one's work), to complete; intrans., to come to an end, be fulfilled (e.g. of dreams), and then also to die, lose one's life.

OT 1. *apokteinō*, kill, is found over 150 times in the LXX, chiefly to render the Heb. roots *hārag̃*, kill, and *mût*, die (especially hiph., cause to die). It can refer to homicide (Gen. 4:8, of Cain), penal execution (Exod. 32:27), or the carrying out of mass killing in the course of a holy war (Num. 31:7 f.; 1 Sam. 15:3). It also occurs in prophetic visions of judgment (Amos 4:10; 9:1; Ezek. 23:10).

2. In about 70 instances in the LXX *teleutaō* is used to render the Heb. *mût*, die, almost always in the sense of expire, end one's life. No distinction is drawn here as to whether the death is from natural causes (e.g. Exod. 1:6; Jos. 1:2), or is sudden and violent (*thanatō teleutēsei*, he will, or shall, die the death, Exod. 19:12; 21:16 f.; Amos 9:10).

NT 1. *apokteinō*, kill, occurs 74 times in the NT, especially often in the four gospels and Rev. (15 times); only 5 instances are found in the (Pauline) epistles. In these passages the vb. nearly always refers to the violent killing of God's messengers, whether in direct narrative (Matt. 14:5, of Herod's intention with regard to John; cf. Mk. 6:19), in parables (Mk. 12:5 ff. and parallels of the labourers in the vineyard; cf. Matt. 23:37 par.), or prophetically with reference to the disciples in the synoptic apocalypse (Matt. 24:9). Its use in the three synoptic passion predictions (Mk. 8:31; 9:31; 10:34; and parallels) is of central significance. The → witness who is to be killed and upon whom the attacks are concentrated is the → Son (cf. 1 Thess. 2:15). In Jn. it is noteworthy that *apokteinō* is almost always combined with *zēteō*, seek, or *bouleuomai*, plan (e.g. 7:1; 19 ff.; 11:53). The disciples also come within the scope of this threat (Acts 21:31; 23:12–14). This is indicated especially in Rev. 6:11 (cf. also 11:7, where the beast kills the two witnesses), though the vb. is there used more often of the execution of God's judgment (by the four riders, Rev. 6:8; cf. 9:15–18; 19:21). In a late interpretation of the meaning of the cross, Eph. 2:16 declares that by his death Jesus has "killed" the hostility, i.e. brought about reconciliation. Paul uses the word twice in a fig. sense. In Rom. 7:11 → sin (*hamartia*), here regarded as a power, is said to kill man by means of the → commandment (*entolē*). It forces man into a conflict which deceives him as to his standing before God and thus brings death. It is really the law which brings death here. In 2 Cor. 3:6 the meaning is the same: there *gramma*, letter, is said to kill in contrast to the life-giving Spirit.

2. *teleutaō* is found only 11 times in the NT, and of these 3 are in quotations from the OT (Matt. 15:4; Mk. 7:10; 9:48). It is noteworthy that in Matt. 9:18 (aor). and Jn. 11:39 (perf. part.) the vb. is used with reference to dead persons who are subsequently raised to life again by Jesus. The evangelists seem here to use the word in order to emphasize the fact that the girl and Lazarus have really died. The use of → *katheudō* or *koimaomai* (sleep, fall asleep) in the same context implies no contradiction of this. The vb. is also used of the death of Herod (Matt. 2:19), in the parable of the brothers who died (Matt. 22:25), and in historical allusions to the deaths of David, Jacob and Joseph (Acts 2:29; 7:15; and Heb. 11:22). The dominant word for die in the NT is undoubtedly *apothnēskō* (→ *thanatos*).

L. Coenen

θάνατος

θάνατος (*thanatos*), death; θανατόω (*thanatoō*), kill; ἀθανασία (*athanasia*), immortality; θνῄσκω (*thnēskō*) die; ἀποθνῄσκω (*apothnēskō*), die; συναποθνῄσκω (*synapothnēskō*), die together, with someone; θνητός (*thnētos*), mortal.

CL *thanatos* (Homer) means the act of dying or the state of death. But it is also used of mortal danger, the manner of death, and the death penalty. Similarly *thanatoō* means to put someone to death, kill, and lead into mortal danger. Living

creatures subject to death are described as early as Homer as *thnētos*, mortal. Men are referred to as *hoi thnētoi* (the mortals), in contrast to the gods who possess *athanasia* (immortality). Only in exceptional cases are men elevated as heroes into the number of the immortal gods.

thnēskō, die, and *apothnēskō*, expire (both Homeric) denote the act of dying. Where the reference is to a death shared with others we find the compound form *synapothnēskō*, die together with someone (Hdt.; cf. the Indian custom of burning the widow).

In the Hel. period the terms *thanatos*, *thanatoō*, *thnēskō* and *apothnēskō* are also used metaphorically of intellectual and spiritual death.

1. For the Greeks, death meant the end of living activity, the closing of the life-span, the destruction of existence, even if the shade (→ soul) found a place in the realm of the dead (Homer, *Od.* 11, 204–222). Death is the common destiny of man, and its negative side is occasionally made evident, when death appears personified as a demon or monster from the underworld (Eur., *Alcestis* 28 ff.). Since they had no doctrine of creation, death did not pose for them the question "Why?". All men by nature are subject to it, just as immortality is the natural lot of the much-envied gods. Complaints about the mortality of man are frequently expressed (cf. Homer, *Od.* 11, 488). Realization of the inevitability of death found its normal consequence in the demand to enjoy → life (*zōē*) to the full. The maxim cited by Paul in 1 Cor. 15:32, "Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die", accords with many expressions of Greek and Roman thought on the matter (cf. Eur., *Alcestis*, 782 ff.). Roman dining rooms of the imperial period sometimes had pictures of a skeleton with the inscription "Know thyself". This is an invitation to make sure not to miss the pleasures of the moment. Where age mars the enjoyment of the pleasures of life, one might as well die at once (Eur., *Hecuba*, 1104 ff.). The necropoleis of the ancient world lie along the main roads of the city, and are intended to bring near to those who are dead the only life that there is, the life of those who have not yet died. A gentle death after a long life is regarded as a great blessing (Homer, *Od.*, 11, 134 ff.), but comfort is also found in the realization that death is a release from the futilities of life (Eur., *Troades*, 635 ff.).

2. Death itself does, however, present a problem, and the horror of it becomes a subject for reflection. A way of overcoming it is sought, and often the view appears that a man lives on in his children (Mimnermus, *Frag.*, 2, 13 ff.). Epitaphs and great funeral monuments keep alive the memory of the deceased, proclaiming his deeds to posterity and so make death tolerable.

A special characteristic of the Greeks, however, is to make death a part of life by regarding it not as a fate but rather as an act of human achievement. It is important to die gloriously, either in fighting courageously or by facing death without fear (Eur., *Heraclidae*, 533 f.). Where in some such way death can be seen as one of the achievements of life, it is regarded as a fine thing, ensuring that the name of the one who had died will be honoured by those who live on, particularly if he died on behalf of the *polis* (→ People) (Eur., *Heraclidae*, 621 ff.).

(a) For Plato real life consisted of withdrawing from the constraint of purely natural circumstances and living not for the sake of pleasure but for virtue. For the man who lives thus even death loses its terrors. For why should I fear death, whose nature I cannot comprehend, rather than flee from the evils of this life which

are well-known to me? The calm with which a person who has this philosophical insight is able to meet death, again turns death into a human achievement (*Phaedo*, 80e), especially since death often provides an opportunity for a direct display of virtue, especially where it could only be avoided – e.g. in battle – at the price of base conduct (*Apology*, 38e–39b).

(b) The Stoics took a similar view. For them death lost its terrors when a person accepted its natural inevitability and regarded himself as one in the process of dying. This enabled the Stoics to feel free with regard to death and to regard his own status as a mortal. He needs no liberation from the power of death. He who is overcome by death and the fear of it is the one who is really dead (Epict., *Dissertationes*, I, 19, 9). This continual, free readiness to die calmly after a virtuous life again turns death into a human achievement (Seneca, *Letters*, 93; 101, 15), which can even be consciously brought about by suicide. "Where one ceases is of no importance. Cease when you wish. It only matters that the end be a good one" (idem, 77, 20),

3. (a) In addition to these attitudes, and occasionally in combination with them, belief is sometimes found in the immortality of the → soul. This originated from the obscure springs of Orphic and Pythagorean mysticism. But Plato was the first to discuss it at any length and give it a philosophical basis as the corollary of a moral view of personality. In death the soul is freed from the → body, the immortal from the mortal, the passionless from the suffering part of man (*Phaedo*, 80c ff.). Since the philosopher's life is completely devoted to the pursuit of pure reason, a wise man can view death, which frees him from a body bereft of reason, only as a goal to be coveted (*Phaedo*, 114a ff.). ([Ed.] The *Rep.*, 10, 614–21, contains a doctrine of the transmigration of souls which is connected with rewards and punishments for actions in life. In the Hel. period such views of immortality became more widespread, but they did not find complete acceptance in popular belief.)

(b) Stoicism in general rejected personal immortality; the individual soul becomes submerged in the divine universal soul, which permeates the cosmos (→ Earth, World).

(c) In the mystery religions coming in from the East, man was elevated from the mortal state he had by nature to a divine state by means of initiation rites. These gave him a share in the life-force of the god concerned.

(d) In Gnosticism (→ Knowledge, art. *ginōskō*) the mild, anthropological body-soul dualism of Plato underwent an intensification, becoming a sharp, antithetical cosmic dualism. The cosmos is regarded as devilish, and the body as a part of the cosmos. The soul, on the other hand, stems from a world of → light and → life which is separate from the cosmos, and has become imprisoned in the body. Real death is life in the body; liberation from the body means victory over death.

(e) In Neo-Platonism, Platonic ideas and Gnostic myths were combined to form a speculative system, in which an important part is played by the journey of the soul and its progressive purification and elevation over the world of the senses.

OT All the words in this group are found in the LXX, except that *athanasia* (immortality) occurs only in late writings influenced by Hellenism (Wis., 4 Macc.). The way in which they are used is not much different from that in classical Gk. literature. The Heb. equivalent for all these terms is, with few exceptions, *māweṯ* (death), or *mûṯ* (to die, kill).

1. (a) In OT thought death means the final end of man's existence (2 Sam. 12:15). "We are like water spilt on the ground, which cannot be gathered up again" (2 Sam. 14:14). Man has been taken from the ground, and to dust he returns (Gen. 3:19). Once the soul or shade has descended to Sheol (→ Hell, art. *hadēs*), no further life can come to it. This is particularly evident from the frequent complaints that death brings with it separation from Yahweh, the source of life (Ps. 6:5; 30:9; 88:5, 10 ff.; Isa. 38:11). Man has no option but to accept the common lot of death (Gen. 3:19; Sir. 14:18 f.; 41:1–4). If God allows him to die old and full of days, so that he achieves in his life what is possible for man, he may be thankful and content (Ps. 91:16; Gen. 15:15). That is not to say that he will not sigh over the transience and shortness of life (Ps. 90). Where life is marred by sickness and trouble, a man may speak in his prayers of the snares of death and of descent into hell (Ps. 116:3,8), as if death juts out here and there into life. Death, however, does not become in itself an object of fear. What is to be feared is an evil or early death which, according to popular opinion, indicates God's → punishment for human → guilt. For God punishes individuals by death in order to cleanse the community of his people of evil-doers. In the same way the community itself condemns individuals to the death penalty, in order to ward off → judgment from the whole people (Deut. 13).

(b) Death itself is not a divine punishment, since it was not part of the intention of creation that man should be immortal. Adam was threatened with *early* death as a punishment for a definite act of disobedience; after the fall had taken place he was punished merely by exclusion from the garden of Eden. Even in Ps. 90, which refers back to the story of the fall and reflects upon the connection between → sin and death, it is never death, but rather the fleeting nature of life, which is attributed to human sin (cf. also Ps. 51; 14:2). Although there is thus mention of the universality of sin and death (the only exceptions being the cases of "translation"), there is in the OT as little mention of inherited death as a consequence of the sin and death of Adam as there is of original sin. Since God's relationship is not primarily with individuals, but with the people (→ covenant; → Israel), death does not represent a threat to faith, and the question "why?" does not arise with regard to death.

(c) Furthermore, since the individual is given his life and can lead it only as a member of the people of Yahweh, the idea does not occur to anyone that death may be seen or brought about as an act of heroism. Even where the individual becomes very keenly aware of the burdensomeness of life, the temptation to commit suicide is outweighed by the fact that this would be a denial of life, or by the desire for a "good" death. When Saul killed himself after the death of his sons and defeat in battle, in order to avoid falling into the hands of the Philistines, there is no suggestion that this is a heroic ending to his life (1 Sam. 31; cf. Ahithophel, 2 Sam. 17:23)

(d) Only occasionally is Yahweh seen as the Lord of Sheol (Ps. 139:8). Here we find that total confidence may be placed in him, even in the face of death (Ps. 73:23 ff.; Job 19:25). It was of such passages that the later doctrine of the → resurrection was able to avail itself.

2. (a) After the Exile the concepts of the → people and the → covenant of Yahweh were given a new meaning. The central position came to be occupied by belief in the Torah, and in a certain sense we may speak of an individualization of

the relationship with God (Jer. 31:29 ff.; Ezek. 18:2). This meant that for the Jews of the last few centuries before Christ, death posed a difficult problem. It was looked upon as something inappropriate to human destiny, and its origin sought in human sin. No longer just untimely death but death altogether is seen as a punishment for sin. The line which in the opinion of some scholars may already be seen in the Yahwistic tradition of the fall narrative, Gen. 2 and 3, is now extrapolated in a heightened form. Adam's sin first brought death into the world: "Thou didst lay upon him (Adam) a single commandment of thine; but he transgressed it. At once thou didst appoint death for him and for his descendants" (2 Esd. 3:7). "From a woman sin had its beginning, and because of her we all die" (Sir. 25:24). Opinions differ as to whether there are or have been sinless men, who have to die only because of the common destiny of death brought about by Adam, or whether all men deserve death on account of their own sins (cf. for example Syr. Bar. 54:19: "Adam is the cause of his own soul, and only his; but we have each become an Adam for ourselves". Further material in SB I 815 f.; III 227 ff.).

(b) Where death is thus regarded not as the natural destiny of man, but as something brought upon him in the course of history, the way is open for reflection upon the possibility that God will overcome sin and death. Thus in Jewish apocalyptic we find the concept of a Kingdom of God at the end of time, in which sin has been conquered and death has lost its power. The hope of a resurrection, first found in Isa. 26:19 and Dan. 12:2, and then formulated with the help of Iranian ideas, further makes possible a faith that even for earlier generations death will be overcome by a divine act of new creation. The righteous will enter into eternal life, the unrighteous into eternal death (2 Esd. 7:31 ff.). The doctrine of → resurrection (art. *anastasis* OT) naturally remained a subject of controversy. The Pharisees defended it, and were opposed by the Sadducees. There were also differing opinions as to whether only Israelites will be resurrected, or also Gentiles, only the righteous or also the unrighteous (the latter to judgment).

(c) Where the ancient Jewish view of death is maintained alongside these ideas of resurrection, the result can be pessimism. "For the fate of the sons of men and the fate of beasts is the same; as one dies, so dies the other. They all have the same breath, and man has no advantage over the beasts . . . all are from dust, and all turn to dust again" (Eccl. 3:19 f.).

(d) There is also an increasing use of the language of death in a figurative sense. In Deut. 30:15 we already find it being said of the commandments and laws of Yahweh, "See, I have set before you this day life and good, death and evil" (cf. Jer. 21:8). Death takes place whenever Israel, or (begininng with Ezek.) the individual Israelite, breaks away from God (Ezek. 18:21 ff., 31 f.). Here it is the breaking off of fellowship with God which is seen as death, just as its enjoyment is seen as → life.

(e) [Ed.] On the possible implications of life after death in Job 19:25 f. see H. H. Rowley, *Job*, 1970, 172 ff.: "For I know that my Redeemer lives, and at last he will stand upon the earth; and after my skin has been thus destroyed, then without my flesh (mg. from my flesh, Heb. *mibbᵉśārî*) I shall see God" (RSV). Although many commentators see this as Job's faith in vindication in this life, Rowley is inclined to see in these words a hope for vindication after death in view of the fact that in the preceding verses Job sees no hope of vindication in the present life.

3. With the changes of spiritual emphasis which characterized the Hel. period, and the greater importance attached to man-centred categories, strongly dualistic ideas began to find their way into Judaism to a greater or lesser extent.

(a) Thus the → soul came to be regarded as immortal (Wis. 3:4; 4:1; 15:3). It remains in heavenly places awaiting the resurrection (Eth.En. 102 ff.; 2 Esd. 7:88 ff.) except where the concept of resurrection is completely abandoned and an eternal, bodiless existence held to begin immediately after death (4 Macc. 16:13; 17:12).

(b) Another effect of Gk. influence can be seen in the way that Jewish martyrs come to see their death as an heroic deed, so that the death of martyrs is extolled as glorious (4 Macc. 10:1) and virtuous (2 Macc. 6:31).

(c) Philo described the body as an "evil and dead companion" of the soul, and so saw physical death, which separates the soul from the body, as an act of liberation (*Leg. All.*, 1, 107). He sees two kinds of death in this world, adopting a Gk. idea in that he makes light of natural death and regards real death as the state where the body rules the soul and buries it under passions and evil things of every kind (*Leg. All.*, 1, 105 ff.).

(d) Josephus makes the Jewish commander Eleazar produce the usual Hel. arguments when he is encouraging the Jews in the fortress of Masada to choose death rather than surrender to the Romans. If it is impossible to live with honour, one ought to die bravely (*War*, 7, 341). The choice of a death so fine and free (*War*, 7, 325 f.) leaves behind it admiration for such boldness (*War*, 7, 388). He who falls fighting for liberty must be regarded as fortunate (*War*, 7, 372). Moreover, death bestows upon the soul freedom from the evil of a mortal body – souls fettered to the body are in reality dead – and leads it into its native fields (*War*, 7, 341 ff.). For the soul possesses immortality (*War*, 7, 340).

NT In the NT *thanatos* (death) is found about 120 times: in the gospels mostly with reference to the death of Jesus; in Paul mainly of human death. *thanatoō*, kill, occurs 11 times in various parts of the NT; *thnētos*, mortal, 6 times, all in Paul. *apothnēskō*, die is used 113 times in the NT (and *thnēskō* 6 times). In the Synoptic Gospels it is rarely used of the death of Jesus. But in Paul, on the other hand, this use is frequent because of the pre-Pauline confessional formula, "Christ died for our sins" (1 Cor. 15:3; Rom. 5:8). *synapothnēskō*, die together with someone, occurs in Mk. 14:31; 2 Cor. 7:3; 2 Tim. 2:11. Only in the last instance has it a christological reference. *athanasia* (immortality) is found 3 times. 1 Cor. 15:53 f. speaks of immortality being "put on" in an apocalyptic context. In 1 Tim. 6:16 God is described as the One to whom alone immortality belongs.

1. The NT view of death is in direct continuity with the old Jewish view. The Hel. influences of intertestamental Judaism have had scarcely any effect. For the most part a consistent view is maintained. Whenever the term *thnētos* (mortal) occurs, it indicates that the mortality of man is taken as a self-evident fact. Man lives in the shadow of death (Matt. 4:16; Isa. 9:1 LXX). God, the source of all life, is the only one to whom immortality belongs (1 Tim. 6:16), whereas man has to live out his whole life in the fear of death (Heb. 2:15). As in Judaism death is always seen as the death of an individual, and the possibility of relativizing death by reference to the continuing life of a community is foreign to NT thought.

(a) This being the case, importance is naturally attached to the question of what causes death. The answer to this question is summed up by Paul in a pregnant statement: "The wages of sin is death" (Rom. 6:23). On the basis of this view, the devil (→ Satan) can be regarded as the one who has power over death (Heb. 2:14), although, of course, it is God himself who can destroy both body and soul in hell (Matt. 10:28; Rev. 2:23). For the NT the question as to the cause of death is not a speculative one. Indeed, it is in connection with death that we are made most clearly aware that the NT is not interested in scientific problems. The question must be interpreted in the light of its answer. This way we can see that Paul does not reflect upon death as a biological phenomenon, but as a theological one, in the sense that in the universality of death, the universality of man's guilt and need of redemption become evident. Where man turns his back upon God, "who gives life to the dead and calls into existence the things that do not exist" (Rom. 4:17), he cuts himself off from the root of his life and becomes subject to death. The phenomenon of death reveals, on this interpretation, the objective state of man in his lifetime. Living by what is created, by natural things over which he exercises control, he has cut himself off from the source of true life and thus given himself up to worthlessness. In his "progress" towards death man can catch sight of the basic condition of his life. He lives as a sinner *in* death. Death is thus the power dominating his life, and to that extent a *present* reality. "Spiritual" death and "physical" death, inextricably bound up together, constitute the reality of a life in sin. This leads the sinner to cry: "Who will deliver me from this body of death?" (Rom. 7:24). In the same way the father of the prodigal son calls his son dead (→ *nekros*, Lk. 15:24, 32). In the Fourth Gospel death and life are also present realities of existence, depending on how man responds to Jesus as the divine crisis of his existence (Jn. 5:24; 8:51; 11:25). He who cuts himself off from the church, in which the life-bringing word is proclaimed, is at the point of death (Rev. 3:2).

(b) It is Paul who among the NT writers reflects most on the connection between the guilty state of man and his mortal destiny. After setting out in Rom. 1–4 a number of arguments to provide evidence that all men without distinction have fallen into sin and thus become subject to death, and that they are called to life in Christ, he goes on in Rom. 5:12–21 to develop these themes further with the help of → Adam–Christ typology. The life which has been brought about by Christ is made to form an analogy to the fact that "sin came into the world by one man, and death through sin" (Rom. 5:12; cf. 1 Cor. 15:21 f.). Paul explains that death has spread to all men "because all have sinned", thus guarding against the idea that death as a result of sin is simply a fate we have inherited. He underlines its active character, and the fact that death is a punishment for each man's own sin (cf. G. Bornkamm, *Aufsätze*, I, 84 f.). This does not, however, alter the important statement that all men without exception are subject to sin and death. Hence, salvation and life, that is victory over death, are not to be expected as a result of man's own efforts, but only through an act of God's grace coming from outside man and appropriated by him.

In his rebellion against God, man is always seeking to find life through his own → works, and consequently whenever he avails himself of the law as a means of salvation, he only finds death. For Paul therefore → law, → sin and death are all on the same level. "The sting of death is sin, and the strength of sin is the law" (1

Cor. 15:56). Accordingly, for the man who tries to find life on the basis of law, death becomes a present reality: "When the commandment came sin revived and I died" (Rom. 7:9 f.).

If death is regarded as the historical consequence of human sin, the "natural" association of human death with that of other living creatures raises the question why non-human living creatures are likewise subject to mortality. To this question Paul, in line with contemporary Judaism (Gen. R. 12:5), replies that the → "creation" has been subjected not by its own will, but as a result of human sin, to futility and impermanence. It now waits to be set free from death, together with the "children of God" (Rom. 8:19–22). Thus Paul does not regard even death in the world of nature as a "natural" phenomenon.

(c) From all that we have said it is evident that in the NT death is regarded not as a natural process, but as an historical event, indicating clearly the sinful condition of man. In this historical sense death is seen as a power which enslaves man in the course of this life (Heb. 2:15). Hence it appears sometimes in a quasi-personal form (Rev. 20:14). The possibility of removing the horror of death by means of intellectual insight concerning its inevitability, or through a heroic act of dying, is therefore excluded for NT thought. The effect of the latter means would be rather to intensify sin. For it would mean that a man was trying to earn salvation by his own effort even at the moment of dying, when death itself spells out a definitive condemnation of that whole attitude.

2. Statements about the death of Jesus form the central point of the story of salvation in the NT (→ Cross, art. *stauros* NT, 2). They are nearly always found in the NT in connection with statements about his → resurrection and the justification or new → life of those who believe.

(a) Even in pre-Pauline confessions it is stated "that Christ died for our sins in accordance with the scriptures, that he was buried, that he was raised on the third day in accordance with the scriptures, and that he appeared" (1 Cor. 15:3 ff.), and that he "was put to death for our trespasses and raised for our justification" (Rom. 4:25). Jesus died our human death (Phil. 2:7 f.; Heb. 2:14), and he really died it, as the "buried" of the early confession indicates (1 Cor. 15:3 f.). This death is "for us", i.e. to our advantage (Rom. 5:6 ff.; 1 Thess. 5:10; Heb. 2:9 f.; Mk. 10:45), a teaching which is emphasized in various ways by statements about his resurrection and exaltation (e.g. 2 Cor. 5:14 f.; 1 Pet. 3:18). His death overcomes the law (Rom. 7:4; cf. Gal. 2:21), sin (2 Cor. 5:21; Col. 1:22; → Reconciliation), and our death (Rom. 5:9; 2 Tim. 1:10; Heb. 2:14 f.; Rev. 1:17 f.). It is to make manifest this victory that the death of Jesus, the risen, present and coming One (1 Cor. 11:26; 2 Cor. 5:14 ff.), is proclaimed, in order that his death may not have been in vain (Gal. 2:21).

(b) This gospel of victory over death is expressed in many different kinds of language. A very early and widespread concept is that taken from Isa. 53, the concept of Jesus' death as a propitiatory sacrifice (→ Reconciliation, art. *hilaskomai*), which removes the guilt of sin (Rom. 3:25 f., a pre-Pauline formula; 1 Cor. 11:24 f., pre-Pauline eucharistic words; cf. also Eph. 1:7; 1 Pet. 1:18 f.). Here the OT ideas of the covenant sacrifice (Mk. 14:24; Heb. 13:20) and the passover sacrifice (1 Cor. 5:7) can also find a place. In addition we find the related concept of Christ's death as a substitutionary sacrifice (2 Cor. 5:21). Frequent too is the

idea of ransom, a concept originating in the laws of slavery, but strongly metaphorical in its christological use (→ Redemption, art. *lytron;* cf. Mk. 10:45; Gal. 3:13; 2 Pet. 2:1). Another concept is that of the descent of the slain redeemer into Hades, there to defeat the devil and release from death the people in his power (Heb. 2:14 f.; Rev. 1:17 f.; cf. 1 Pet. 3:19 f.; cf. J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, 1972², 378–88).

The difficulty of the language borrowed from the cultic and forensic spheres (propitiation, ransom, substitution) is that it expresses only deliverance from the burden of guilt in the past, and from future death as a punishment for the sins which brought that guilt. It does not give full expression to the idea of the present as the sphere of sin or of → righteousness, of death or life.

(c) The Pauline literature therefore uses not only theological expressions drawn from the cultic and forensic sphere, but also the language of the mystery cults and gnosticism, since the categories provided by these religions allow the effect of the death of Jesus on human life to be expressed with particular clarity. ([Ed.] Dr. Schmithals has dealt with the question of gnosticism more fully in *Gnosticism in Corinth*, 1971, and *Paul and the Gnostics*, 1972. A contrary position which sees gnosticism as essentially post-Christian and therefore not decisive in the background has been argued by E. Yamauchi, *Pre-Christian Gnosticism*, 1973; cf. F. L. Cross, ed., *The Jung Codex*, 1955. See also the discussions in U. Bianchi, ed., *Origins of Gnosticism*, 1967. On the mystery religions see G. Wagner, *Pauline Baptism and the Mystery Religions*, 1967; → also art. Baptism.) The language of the mysteries is found especially in connection with the significance of → baptism: "Do you not know that all of us who have been baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death? We were buried therefore with him by baptism into death . . ." (Rom. 6:3 f.). "To die with Christ" thus means to die to the world as the sphere of opportunity for finding life (Gal. 6:14), or to the enslaving powers of the world (Col. 2:20; → Law), to the slavery of the law (Rom. 7:6), to life in sin (Rom. 6:6), or to living "for oneself" (2 Cor. 5:14 f.). Elsewhere there appears to be some relation to Gnostic language, with its assumption of a substantial unity of redeemer and redeemed, e.g. in 2 Cor. 4:10: "always carrying in the body the death of Jesus, so that the life of Jesus may be manifested in our mortal flesh" (cf. also Col. 1:24).

(d) John, in contrast to the Pauline and pre-Pauline tradition, lays emphasis not specifically on the death of Jesus, but on the whole event of his coming (→ Come, art. *erchomai*) into this world of death. Jesus' death on the → cross is the highest expression of the incarnation of the Logos (→ Word). At the same time, when seen as an exaltation, it is a divine token of the general victory over death (Jn. 12:33; 18:32).

(e) The ways in which the death of Jesus is described, in terms of the religious concepts of the period, indicate that the early Christians did not attach importance to it primarily as a biographical event. Jesus' death is regarded neither as the death of a noble man and martyr for a good cause, nor as that of a political rebel or the victim of an error of justice. It is seen rather as a unique, fundamental event of salvation history, and is proclaimed as such (Rom. 6:10).

The various statements of the NT concerning the death of Jesus have in common that they proclaim it as a death "for" (for us, Rom. 5:8; 1 Cor. 15:3; for many, Mk. 10:45; 14:24 par. in Matt. 26:28; Heb. 9:28; cf. Jn. 10:15; for you, 1 Cor.

11:24; cf. Lk. 22:19 f.). The intention here is to declare that God breaks the power of sin by identifying himself with man in the death of Jesus, unmasking the death-bringing power of the → law, ending its validity, and thus robbing death of its power. Since God seeks out man in the place where he is, namely death, and offers his own self as a basis for life, man is freed from compulsion to commit the primal sin of self-righteousness. He is acquitted (justification of the sinner), brought into a proper creaturely status (new creature), and given new life with Christ.

3. In the teaching of the NT especial importance is accorded to this defeat of death (or of law, or sin), already accomplished through the death of Jesus, and to the corresponding promise of life already present. For this purpose particular use is made of statements taken from Gnosticism and the Mysteries.

(a) Compare, for instance, the following statements from Pauline literature. "The death he died he died to sin, once for all, but the life he lives he lives to God. So you also must consider yourselves dead to sin and alive to God in Christ Jesus" (Rom. 6:10 f.). "For I through the law died to the law, that I might live to God. I have been crucified with Christ; it is no longer I that live, but Christ who lives in me; and the life I now live. . ." (Gal 2:19 f.). "If with Christ you died to the elemental spirits of the universe, . . . why do you submit to regulations?" (Col. 2:20).

These passages are saying: where the "scandal" of Christ's death on the cross has been overcome, where a man has given up to death his "old" self, the "old man", i.e. the desire or imagined obligation to find life independently by his own efforts, there Christ is experienced in the here and now as the power and wisdom of God (cf. 1 Cor. 1:23 f.). True life is the life which comes by God's grace, and is free from the obligation to seek autonomously one's own fulfilment. It begins with faith in Jesus Christ.

(b) John expresses the same concept in statements which are given particular emphasis: "Truly, truly, I say to you, if any one keeps my word, he will never taste death" (Jn. 8:51). "Truly, truly, I say to you, he who hears my word and believes him who sent me, has eternal life; he does not come into judgment, but has passed from death to life" (Jn. 5:24). "We know that we have passed out of death into life, because we love the brethren" (1 Jn. 3:14). Freedom from death, in the sense of a death-bringing obligation continually to justify oneself, gives to the man who knows that he has been accepted by God the freedom to give himself without reserve to his neighbour.

(c) In the Synoptic Gospels the fact that death has already been defeated is demonstrated especially by the miracle stories, and in particular the raising of the dead. Faced with death, Jesus says: "Do not fear, only believe" (Mk. 5:36). He can therefore say to his disciples, "Follow me, and leave the dead to bury their own dead" (Matt. 8:22). All these sayings are consistent in viewing freedom from sin as deliverance from the fate of death and the beginning of real life: to live by God's grace is truly to live.

(d) The defeat of death here and now for the Christian has a natural corollary in the final subjection of the unbeliever to death. For the apostle's preaching is "to one a fragrance from death to death, to the other a fragrance from life to life" (2 Cor. 2:16).

4. If by the death of Jesus the power of sin has been broken, and the Christian delivered from the vicious circle of sin and death, so that he already lives as a new

creature (2 Cor. 5:17), the fact that physical death continues to reign over man raises a question in view of the direct connection between sin and death. Although at the outset of NT thinking "spiritual" and "physical" death were not distinguished, since death in every sense had its origin in sin, reflection on the facts of human life resulted in a distinction being drawn. For the believer had been delivered from the power of sin and death ("as men who have been brought from death to life", Rom. 6:13) and yet had to die. During the period when the end was expected at any time, this phenomenon could be overlooked. When it arose, various answers were given.

(a) For Paul the phenomenon of physical death serves to guard against a sense of security with regard to judgment, and the dialectic of "now already" and "not yet" is developed. For if the final defeat of death, as the "last enemy", remains to be accomplished (1 Cor. 15:26), man is not yet removed from danger. He continues to be utterly dependent on the grace of God which never becomes a possession at his own disposal. Thus along with statements about present salvation – "Behold, now is the day of salvation" (1 Cor. 6:2) – we find future expectation. "As in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive" (1 Cor. 15:22). The Christian has received the → Spirit as a pledge of eternal life, but he awaits as something future the redemption of his body (Rom. 8:23; 1 Cor. 15:53). The expectation of this future victory over death takes the concrete form of a belief in the resurrection of the dead, which according to Paul has already begun with the resurrection of Jesus from the dead (1 Cor. 15:12 ff.). The fact that physical death is to be expected means that hope in the God who gives life to the dead (Rom. 4:17) becomes an integral part of the faith (2 Cor. 5:1–10; Rom. 5:1–5). Not even the believer can become master of his life and of his death. The assurance that death has yet to be swallowed up in victory (1 Cor. 15:54 f.) therefore appears side by side with the believer's song of triumph. "Thanks to be to God, who gives us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ" (1 Cor. 15:57).

This thought is developed at the christological level, where the Christian learns to regard his sufferings and death, through an act of faith, as suffering and dying with Christ. For him it is in the very experience of suffering and death that he finds fellowship with God, and thus also assurance of salvation and of eternal life (2 Cor. 4:11 f.; Phil. 1:20; Rom. 8:36 ff.). In this sense Paul can regard death as simply a laying aside of the mortal body. "For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain" (Phil. 1:21).

Luke develops this idea in a special way when he portrays the death of Jesus as an example of martyrdom, and describes the martyrdom of Stephen in terms modelled on the death of Jesus (Acts 7:54 ff.). His purpose here is to show to the martyrs of his own day a positive way of looking at the death they have to undergo, though he does so of course at the expense of a thoroughgoing *theologia crucis*.

(b) For John the fact that the believer has to die is not a subject for extensive theological consideration. So radically does he emphasize the present tense of salvation, that even the connection between death and the traditional doctrine of judgment and resurrection disappears altogether (except for Jn. 5:28 f.). Since believers have passed through the judgment and already have eternal life, they will not die for all eternity (Jn. 10:28). Hence in Jn. 14:2 f. we read of being taken up into the "mansions" of the Father's house by the returning Son – doubtless a reference to the death of believers.

(c) In the later writings of the NT, and even in the Synoptic Gospels, we do not find the same intensive concern with the dialectic of salvation and judgment, life and death, as we do in those of John and the earlier letters of Paul (cf. 2 Tim. 4:7 f.; Tit. 3:7 f.; 2 Pet. 3:11 ff.). The emphasis on present experience of salvation becomes progressively replaced in the later church by a strong moral interpretation of the Christian faith, with the result that physical death ceases to be a problem for the Christian. We must all die on account of our sins, only to find grace at the final judgment: "If we die with him, we shall also live with him" (2 Tim. 2:11). Since the believer will thus stand in the judgment and remain in eternal life, it is easy to understand how the concept arises which we find in Revelation, of a second death for those who are condemned. "He who conquers shall not be hurt by the second death" (Rev. 2:11; 20:13 f.).

(d) At the same time the different traditions have in common the conviction that death does not separate the Christian from God, but rather leads him into fellowship with the suffering and dying Christ, and thus to the source and spring of all life. Thus Paul, especially, delimits the Christian view of death by insisting that on the one side Christian faith cannot go further than this in its teaching about death, but on the other that it must not be content with anything less. "Life or death or the present or the future, all are yours; and you are Christ's; and Christ is God's" (1 Cor. 3:22 f.). "If we live, we live to the Lord, and if we die, we die to the Lord; so then, whether we live or whether we die, we are the Lord's" (Rom. 14:8). "For I am sure that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor anything else in all creation, will be able to separate us from the love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord" (Rom. 8:38; cf. Phil. 1:20; 1 Thess. 4:13 f.; Jn. 12:24–26; Rev. 14:13).

W. Schmithals

καθεύδω

καθεύδω (*katheudō*), sleep; κοιμάομαι (*koimaomai*), sleep, fall asleep; ὕπνος (*hypnos*), sleep.

CL 1. Whereas *katheudō* in cl. Gk. is used exclusively to mean sleep, the vb. *koimaō*, derived from *keimai*, to lie, has as its basic meaning, to lull (oneself), to sink into sleep (Homer, *Il.*, 11, 241). Particularly in its mid. and pass. forms it can be used either of natural sleep, or (with or without an explanatory phrase), of dying. There is no clear evidence that it is used in the sexual sense, to sleep together with.

2. *hypnos* (Indo-Germanic* *supnos*; Lat. *sopor*) is attested from Homer onwards in the sense of natural sleep which refreshes or overcomes man, causing him to forget the burdens of the day. However, the fact that in sleep we are inactive and the body appears to be lifeless causes philosophers and religious thinkers to draw certain conclusions. Inasmuch as life is identified with our waking consciousness in which we are involved with the world around us, sleep inevitably comes to be seen as useless, obstructive, degrading and animal-like (as early as Heraclitus, but particularly in Plato, e.g. *Republic*, 9, 571c; cf. also Epictetus, *Dissertationes*, 3, 22, 95). The similarity between sleep and death led in mythology to the portrayal of *Hypnos* as the twin brother of the god *Thanatos* (Homer, *Il.*, 16, 671 ff.). In early

medicine sleep was regarded as an intermediate, physical stage between life and death, the death of the body, not of the soul (cf. Aristotle, *De somno et vigilia*, p 453b 11 ff.). The euphemistic use of the expression in the sense of death hardly appears at all, however, before the 2nd cent. B.C. It is much more frequent altogether in the 1st and 2nd cent. A.D. (cf. the inscriptions collected by E. Peek, *Griechische Grabgedichte*, 1960). This shows the usage to be Hellenistic.

OT 1. (a) In the LXX *katheudō* (36 instances) is used chiefly to render the Heb. *šāḵaḇ*, to lie down (e.g. 1 Sam. 3:2 ff.). It denotes natural sleep, and is never used to mean to die. The same applies to the noun *hypnos* which generally stands for the Heb. *šēnā'*, sleep, except for Jer. 51:39 (*hypnon aiōnion*, eternal sleep), and Job 14:12, where the context ("will not awake") makes it clear that the noun and the vb. derived from it, *hypnoō*, refer to the state of death (cf. also Ps. 13:3, *hypnōsō eis thanaton*, to fall asleep into death). There are some 80 instances of the vb. *hypnoō*, sleep.

(b) The same cannot be said about the more frequently used vb. *koimaomai* (about 150 instances, again chiefly for the Heb. *šāḵaḇ*). The act. form is found only in Gen. 24:11 and 1 Ki. 17:19, and means to lay down, or make to lie down. Otherwise it is found only in the mid. (lie down, encamp, lie). Hence it comes to mean sleep (e.g. 1 Sam. 3:9, like *katheudō*). In the Pentateuch especially (*koimaomai meta*, e.g. Gen. 19:32 ff.) it is used of sleeping together. In the later strands of the OT, especially in historical narrative, it acquired the meaning to die, in the sense of an honourable death, when used in the phrase *ekoimēthē meta tōn paterōn autou*, he slept with his fathers (36 instances in 2 Ki. and Chron., e.g. 2 Ki. 14:16 22, 29; 15:7, 22, 38; 2 Cron. 26:2, 23). Hence it came also to be used in this sense without any explanatory phrase (Ezek. 32:19 ff.; Job 14:12; Isa. 43:17; 50:11). In earlier literature the word is used only occasionally in this sense (e.g. Gen. 47:30; Jdg. 5:27).

2. Heb. *šāḵaḇ*, in the sense of to die, is frequently used by the Jewish Rabbis. But *katheudō* and *hypnos* are used even by Philo and Josephus of sleep in the physical sense only, except where they refer to knowledge and watchfulness. On the other hand, as early as Test.Iss. 9:9 the idea is found of an *hypnos aiōnios*, eternal sleep, i.e. sleep of death, from which the departed are to be awakened (cf. Test.Jud. 25:4, *exhypnizō*). This concept of the sleep of the dead (→ Soul OT), the so-called intermediate state, finds further development especially in Jewish apocalyptic (e.g. Eth.Enoch 91:10; 92:3), and forms the background of NT teaching about death and resurrection.

NT 1. The noun *hypnos*, sleep (only 5 instances in the NT), and the vb. *katheudō*, to sleep, always refer to the literal state of sleep (e.g. Matt. 1:24; Lk. 9:32; Jn. 11:13). However, in the scene in Gethsemane (Matt. 26:40; Mk. 14:37; Lk. 22:45) and in 1 Thess. 5:6 sleep has a negative connotation, in that it indicates a lack of watchfulness. The vb. *koimaomai*, sleep, (only in mid. in the NT) has, on the other hand, in 15 out of 18 instances the meaning, to die. Only at Matt. 28:13; Lk. 22:45 and Acts 12:6 is it used in the lit. sense, to sleep.

It is chiefly Paul who uses the vb. in the fig. sense, emphasizing as it does the close relationship which exists for the observer between a person asleep and one dead. Accordingly he generally uses participial forms to describe the dead. It is noticeable

that in 1 Thess. 4:13, 14, 15 and again in 1 Cor. 15:18, 20 these occur in connection with statements about the → resurrection or reawakening by Jesus of the dead. The same is true, both in grammar and in meaning, of Matt. 27:52. Since an ambivalence of meaning between sleep and death is attested as early as Homer and also in the LXX, we should be careful not to exaggerate this connection. Nevertheless, the term is well suited to the purpose of identifying the person who is to be called to a new life with the one who has "fallen asleep" or died.

In 1 Cor. 7:39; 15:6, 51 *koimaomai* is used as an exact equivalent of to die (cf. also Acts 7:60; 13:36; 2 Pet. 3:4 of "the fathers"). John uses the ancient ambiguity of the vb. quite deliberately in Jn. 11:11–14, in the story of the raising of Lazarus, in order to show a misunderstanding on the part of the disciples. Jesus means that Lazarus has died, but the disciples understand him to mean a sleep which will bring healing. Perhaps here too the language is intended to draw attention to Jesus' victory over the humanly invincible power of death. For him who overcomes these powers, *thanatos* is no more than *hypnos*.

2. Only at 1 Thess. 5:10 is *katheudō* used in the sense of having died. At Matt. 9:24 par., where it appears in contrast to *apethanen*, she is dead, it is used in the mouth of Jesus to indicate that for him the child's state is not final and irrevocable.

L. Coenen

νεκρός

νεκρός (*nekros*), dead, dead person; νεκρόω (*nekroō*), put to death; νέκρωσις (*nekrōsis*), death, deadness.

CL 1. From the root *nek-* with its basic meaning of trouble, misfortune (cf. Lat. *nex*, murder, death; *neco*, to kill; *noceo*, to harm) are derived both the poetic masc. *nekys*, dead person, corpse, and *nekros*, with the same meaning. As a noun it means a dead person, corpse (e.g. Homer, *Il.*, 6, 71). From Pindar onwards it is found as an adj., dead. At first it is used only to refer to the dead bodies of humans or animals (Pindar, *Fragments*, 203), meaning that which is no longer animated by the *psychē* (→ Soul), i.e. mere matter (Plotinus, 4, 7, 9). The vb. *nekroō*, to kill, put to death, more often used passively, to die, and the noun *nekrōsis*, meaning the process of dying or the state of being dead, are Hel. forms from the medical sphere. They indicate the mortification of a part of the body due to illness (Galen, 11, 265; 18(1), 156). Later the terms were used to refer to frozen things in nature, a tree (*Corpus Medicorum Graecorum*, 1908 ff. V, 9, 1 p 31, 5); the earth (Plotinus, 5, 1, 2), and sometimes even actively of the effect of narcotics (*Corpus Medicorum Graecorum*, V, 9, 1 p 115, 11).

2. Whereas cl. Gk. literature throughout uses *nekros* in the lit. sense, Stoic writers use the word as an adj. especially in a fig. sense. They distinguish three criteria: (a) What is *nekros* is what is not controlled by the *psychē*, soul, or the *nous*, → mind, or spirit, i.e. the world of the senses (cf. M. Ant., 12, 3, 2). (b) Also *nekros* is the physical part of man, i.e. his *sōma*, → body, which the *nous* has to drag around with itself, the part of man which he has in common with the *zōa*, the animal world (→ Life), and which separates him from what is divine (cf. Epictetus, *Dissertationes*, 1, 3, 3; 2, 19, 27; M. Ant., 9, 24). (c) Finally *nekros* is also used to describe that which does not accord with one's own standards of judgment, determined by *nous*, e.g. false teachers or philosophers (e.g. Epictetus, *Dissertationes*,

1, 9, 19; 3, 23, 28). All three definitions are based on the assumption that nothing but the consciousness of the highest and most sublime in us (*nous*) is worthy of being described as alive. Hence, all that does not come under its control is dead.

OT 1. In the LXX the Hel. verbal and substantival forms are not found at all. *nekros*, along with participles like *tethnēkōs*, dead, is attested about 60 times, mostly as a noun, but also as an adj. In 28 instances in the Wisdom literature, Tob., Jud. and Macc., there is no Heb. equivalent. But otherwise the word is predominantly used to render the Heb. participle *mēṯ*, one who has died, a dead person. In Ezek. 9:7; 11:6, 7 it renders *ḥālāl*, pierced, slain. Occasionally it stands for other words meaning a corpse. It is consistently used literally of people who are in the state of death (e.g. Abraham's wife, Gen. 23:3 ff.; *sōmata nekra*, dead bodies or corpses, 2 Ki. 19:35), whether still visible on earth, or already consigned to the realm of the dead (Deut. 18:11). The dead are buried (Tob. 2:8; 12:12). It is regarded as a terrible punishment if they are left uncovered, to be eaten by the beasts (Jer. 7:33; 19:7; Deut. 28:26). In Num. 19:16 the particular nuance of *nekros* becomes evident. It is here distinguished from the one who has just been slain, where it is the occurrence of death that has the prominence (as with *tethnēkōs*), and from the skeleton. In other words, *nekros* includes recognizable identity, but excludes animation. The same chapter of the Mosaic law draws an absolute boundary between the sphere of death and that of life, which is also that of the cult and of God. He who comes directly or indirectly in contact with the dead is unclean, i.e. separated from Yahweh. The dead know and see nothing (Eccl. 9:5; Isa. 26:14; cf. Ps. 88:4 f.). God has no more dealings with them (Ps. 88:10). They do not praise God (Ps. 115:17). There is no hope for them (Ps. 143:3; Wis. 13:10), and so "a living dog is better than a dead lion" (Eccl. 9:4). All this marks off Israel's religion sharply from the cult of the dead and the oracles of the dead which are so common in the surrounding world. Not until the exile and afterwards do we find the beginnings of a hope of resurrection, arising from the experience of the suffering of the righteous. This hope at first takes the form of a confidence that even death cannot separate from Yahweh (cf. Isa. 26:19; Sir. 48:5; cf. also Ezek. 37:9). On the other hand, only in late literature influenced by Hellenism are idols characterized in a transferred sense as "dead" (Wis. 15:5).

It is worth noting that in Heb. it is quite possible to combine *mēṯ* with *nepeš*, soul, life. For *nepeš* means the whole man, his total existence, and it is the whole man that dies. In the LXX, however, *nekros* is not combined with *psychē*, soul. By thus accommodating the Gk. concept of a permanent → soul contrasted with a transient body (the soul does not die), the way was prepared for the later infiltration of the doctrine of the soul's immortality.

2. The Heb. literature of Qumran does not depart from the usage of the OT. In Rab. literature, on the other hand, a metaphorical use is occasionally found. The ungodly can be described as dead (SB I 489, on Matt. 8:22). In the Jewish Eighteen Benedictions mention is made of the God "who makes the dead (*hammēṯîm*) to live". Finally, Philo adopted the figurative usage of the Stoics, and with it the doctrine that the spiritual and intellectual is life, and that all that is subject to the senses is death.

NT 1. In the NT there are 130 instances of *nekros* (dead, a dead person), both as an adj. and as a noun. It is rather more frequent than elsewhere in Acts, Rom. and 1 Cor. 15, and lacking altogether in the Johannine letters, 2 Thess., 2 Pet., Jude and 2 Tim. The vb. *nekroō*, kill, is found only at Rom. 4:19, Col. 3:5, and Heb. 11:12, and the noun *nekrōsis*, death, putting to death, deadness, only at Rom. 4:19 and 2 Cor. 4:10. In Rom. 4:19 Paul makes use of these Hel. terms in order to indicate the ending of Abraham's and Sarah's capacity to beget children (cf. Heb. 11:12 and non-Biblical literature). In 2 Cor. 4:10 the *nekrōsis tou Iēsou*, the "dying of Jesus", which the apostle speaks of carrying about in his own body, is a reference to the symptoms of a loss of strength and suffering marked by death. It is, as it were, a (sacramental?) sharing in the passion of Christ which takes place in this life. Col. 3:5, on the other hand, possibly takes up the language used by opponents who are advocating asceticism. It launches into an attack on this very thing in its outward form, interpreting the *melē*, members, which are to be mortified as the passions which govern the body and its members.

2. The NT use of *nekros* differs both from the normal Gk. usage and from that of the OT. In the NT the state of death is no longer a final state for man. It has to be viewed in the light of the resurrection of Jesus. This can be seen from statistics alone: in no less than 75 places *nekros* is the object of *egeirō*, to awaken, or *anastasis*, (→ resurrection), or other cognate words. In addition to this, there are a number of similar combinations, such as with *zōopoieō*, to make alive (→ life; e.g. Rom. 4:17; Col. 2:13), and *prōtotokos ek*, → firstborn of (e.g. Col. 1:18; Rev. 1:5).

(a) This association of terms gives expression to a set of doctrines underlying them. From the earliest Pauline epistles (1 Thess. 1:10) to the gospels (e.g. Matt. 27:64; 28:7; Jn. 20:9; 21:14) and right through to later texts like Eph. 1:20, 2 Tim. 2:8, and Rev. 1:5, the basis of Christian → proclamation lies in testimony to the fact that God raised Jesus from the dead (see especially the early chapters of Acts, e.g. 3:15; 4:10; 10:40 f.; 13:30, 34), that he is the "firstborn of the dead", and that he is alive (Rev. 2:8). This testimony is most extensively developed in 1 Cor. 15:3 ff.: "Now if Christ is preached as raised from the dead. . . ."

(b) In the OT it was still necessary to say that God is "God not of the dead, but of the living" (see above OT 1). This boundary is still to be seen in the background of the Lukan question: "Why do you seek the living among the dead?" (*meta tōn nekrōn*, Lk. 24:5). When, however, the statement is taken up in the mouth of Jesus at Mk. 12:27 (par. Matt. 22:32; Lk. 20:38), it is put into the context of the expectation of and testimony to the general → resurrection. It is consequently changed in the light of the death and resurrection of Jesus. He is Lord (*kyrieusē*) both of the dead and of the living (Rom. 14:9), or, as Luke has it, "the one ordained by God to be judge of the living and the dead" (Acts 10:42; cf. 1 Pet. 4:5). Death is no longer a realm inaccessible to God and beyond the range of his power. It has been conquered by Jesus. The accounts in the gospels of Jesus raising the dead to life (Matt. 9:23 ff., par.; Lk. 7:11 ff., especially v. 15; Jn. 11; 12:1, 9) provide graphic backing for this assertion, and lead to the claiming of prophetic promises as the background of the fulfilment which has taken place in Christ (Matt. 11:5 par.; Lk. 7:22). Here the formulae of Isa. 35:5 f. and 61:1 ff. are taken up, but are extended by the addition of *nekroi egeirontai*, dead are raised up. Moreover, since the conquest of death is seen as a vital part of the Christ-event, it is natural that a

similar promise be applied (together with promises that the sick will recover and → demons be cast out) to the disciples in Matt. 10:8 (cf. Mk. 16:17 ff.), and again that such a miracle be recorded, in the raising of a dead man by Paul (Acts 20:9–12).

Associated with the preaching of the resurrection of Jesus in the NT is that of the general resurrection (Rom. 4:17, 24; again especially 1 Cor. 15:12 ff.; Mk. 12:25 f. par.; Acts 23:6; Jn. 5:21, 25). This was already foreshadowed in Jewish expectation (cf. on this also the saying about John the Baptist, Mk. 6:14 par.). Precedence in this is accorded to those who have died believing in Christ (1 Cor. 15:23; 1 Thess. 4:16; Rev. 14:13).

3. There are only a few places where *nekros* occurs apart from this context in the lit. sense of corpse. Rev. 11:18; 20:5, 12 f. speak of the dead in the final → judgment. Matt. 8:22 and the par. Lk. 9:60 set the word in its lit. sense alongside a figurative usage. "Let the dead bury their dead" puts "those who resist the call of Jesus . . . on the same level as the dead" (R. Bultmann, *TDNT* IV 893). For the true life is found only in following Christ. In Mk. 9:26 (the state of the epileptic boy) and Matt. 28:4 (the state of the guards) *nekros* is used with *hōs*, like, in a simile. Thus strictly speaking the old, literal meaning is present only in Acts 5:10 (of Sapphira).

4. (a) It is a different matter when we come to the fig. sense foreshadowed in the Stoic writers. In the parable of the Prodigal Son, Luke calls the one son "dead" (Lk. 15:24, 32) in the sense that as far as the father is concerned he has left the number of the living. Paul uses the adj. in sacramental language concerning the doctrine of baptism at Rom. 6:11, 13, where he exhorts Christians to consider themselves *nekrous men tē hamartia*, dead to sin, and to give themselves to God as "men who have been brought from death to life." The same probably applies to Rom. 8:10, although the terminology seems dualistic. What we have here is not a pejorative declaration concerning the nothingness of the *sōma*, body; for even the → spirit and → soul of man belong for Paul to the sphere of the *sarx*, flesh. The reference is rather to the fact that man in his independence, man loose from God, man without Christ, is subject to judgment and hence to death. This is shown clearly also by Eph. 2:1, 5 and Col. 2:13, where the state of being *nekros* is seen to be grounded in transgressions (*paraptōmasin*; → Sin).

(b) Typical examples of the fig. use are found in the advanced reflection of Heb. and Jas. In Heb. 6:1; 9:14, *erga* (→ works), i.e. the works-righteousness of man without Christ, are described as *nekros*, dead. Jas. 2:17, 26 goes a step further and characterizes even *pistis* (→ faith) as dead, if it does not result in outward manifestations of life. Here *erga* (works) occurs again, but this time of course in a positive sense. Belief in the conquest of death makes it impossible to allow even the word itself any permanent place in its own right. *L. Coenen*

→ Adam, → Destroy, → Heaven, → Judgment, → Law, → Life, → Resurrection, → Sin, and the attached bibliographies.

(a). H. Balz, *hypnos*, *TDNT* VIII 545–56; F. F. Bruce, "Paul on Immortality", *SJT* 24, 1971, 457–72; R. Bultmann, *thanatos*, *TDNT* III 7–21; and *nekros*, *TDNT* IV 892–95; J. B. Burns, "The Mythology of Death in the Old Testament", *SJT* 26, 1973, 327–40; O. Cullmann, *Immortality of the Soul or Resurrection of the Dead*, 1958; J. Denney, *The Death of Christ*, 1902; J. D. G. Dunn, "Paul's Understanding of the Death of Jesus," in R. Banks, ed., *Reconciliation and Hope*

(Leon Morris Festschrift), 1974, 125–41; R. Martin-Achard, *From Death to Life: A Study of the Development of the Doctrine of the Resurrection in the Old Testament*, 1960; J. D. McCaughey, "The Death of Death (1 Cor. 15:26)," in R. Banks, ed., *Reconciliation and Hope* (Leon Morris Festschrift), 1974, 246–61; A. Oepke, *katheudō*, *TDNT* III 431–37; J. Owen, *The Death of Death in the Death of Christ*, 1960 reprint, also in reprint of Owen's *Works*, X, 1967; K. Rahner, *On the Theology of Death*, 1961; H. H. Rowley, "Death and Beyond," *The Faith of Israel*, 1956, 150–76; E. Schmitt, "Death", *EBT* I 181-4; E. Schweizer, "Dying and Rising with Christ," *NTS* 14, 1967-68, 1 ff.; R. L. Tannehill, *Dying and Rising with Christ, BZNW* 32, 1966. (See also Addenda, p.822.)
(b). C. Barth, *Die Errettung vom Tode in den individuellen Klage- und Dankliedern des Alten Testaments*, 1947; H.-W. Bartsch, "Die Bedeutung des Sterbens Jesu nach den Synoptikern," *ThZ* 20, 1964, 87 ff.; E. Benz, *Das Todesproblem in der stoischen Philosophie*, 1929; E. Brandenburger, *Adam und Christus*, *WMANT* 7, 1962; G. Braumann, "Leidenskelch und Todestaufe (Mk-10, 38)," *ZNW* 56, 1965, 178 ff.; J. Choron, *Der Tod im abendländischen Denken*, 1967; H. Conzelmann, E. Flesseman van Leer, E. Haenchen, E. Käsemann, E. Lohse, *Zur Bedeutung des Todes Jesu*, 1967; H. M. Feret, *Das Mysterium des Todes*, 1955; F. Hesse, S. Schulz and H. Engelland, "Tod und Totenreich," *EKL* III 1451 ff.; P. Hoffmann, *Die Toten in Christus*, *NTAbh* Neue Folge 2, 1966; E. Jüngel, *Tod*, *Themen der Theologie*, 8, 1971; A. Kassing, "Der Tod im Leben des Christen nach dem Apostel Paulus," *Pro Veritate*, 1963, 7–21; J. Leipoldt, *Der Tod bei Griechen und Juden*, 1942; O. Michel, "Jesu Lehre vom Todeschlaf," *ZNW* 35, 1936, 285 ff.; G. Pfannmüller, *Tod, Jenseits und Unsterblichkeit in der Religion, Literatur und Philosophie der Griechen und Römer*, 1953; G. Quell, *Die Auffassung des Todes in Israel*, 1925; E. Rohde, *Psyche, Seelenkult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen*, (1893) 1925[10]; J. Roloff, "Anfänge der soteriologischen Deutung des Todes Jesu (Mk. x. 45 und Lk. xxii. 27)," *NTS* 19, 1972–3, 38–64; F. Schneider, "Das Problem des Todes in der Biochemie," *Praktische Theologie* 58, 1969, 174 ff.; J. Schreiner, "Geburt und Tod in biblischer Sicht," *BuL* 7, 1966, 127 ff.; A. Schulz, *Der Sinn des Todes im Alten Testament*, 1919; G. Schunack, *Das hermeneutische Problem des Todes. Im Horizont von Römer 5 untersucht*, *Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Theologie* 7, 1967; E. Schweizer, "Die Mystik des Sterbens und Auferstehens mit Christus bei Paulus," *EvTh* 26, 1966, 239 ff.; and "Die Leiblichkeit des Menschen: Leben – Tod – Auferstehung," *EvTh* 29, 1969, 40 ff.; L. Wächter, *Der Tod im Alten Testament*, *AzTh* II, 8, 1967.

Defile

μιαίνω

μιαίνω (*miainō*), defile; μίασμα (*miasma*); μιασμός (*miasmos*), defilement, pollution; ἀμίαντος (*amiantos*), undefiled, pure.

CL The basic meaning of *miainō* is to colour something by painting or staining it. In this sense the word is morally and aesthetically neutral. But from Homer on it is also used metaphorically for causing oneself or other people or places to be "stained", i.e. unclean, with defilement that needs deliberate ritual cleansing. And in a broader moral sense *miainō* is used for profaning religion and justice (Aeschylus), sullying one's father's fame (Euripides), and polluting one's soul (Plato). *miasma*, meaning the defilement resulting, and *miasmos*, meaning the defiled state, have a corresponding range of physical, cultic and moral meaning, while *amiantos* signifies freedom from defilement in both the moral and the religious sense.

OT In the LXX, *miainō* frequently renders forms of *ṭāmē'*, "defile", especially in ritual contexts in Lev., Num. and Ezek. In Lev. 13:3 the meaning of *miainō* is declarative, "to pronounce unclean." Since the OT does not contrast ritual and moral defilement, as modern scholarship tends to do, but rather assimilates the two, seeing both as contraventions of God's revealed will, it is no surprise to find *miainō* used also of the defilement which moral and spiritual transgressions cause

(e.g. Isa. 47:6; Ezek. 14:11; Hos. 6:11(10)). Disregard for God's law in general and sexual license in particular are highlighted as sources of defilement in this latter group of passages. In the canonical LXX *miasma* occurs three times, in the apocryphal books *miasma* is found four times, *miasmos* twice, and *amiantos* five times; and each word denotes defilement in both its ritual and its moral aspects, just as *miainō* does.

NT In the NT *miainō* is used of the ritual uncleanness Jews feared from entering Gentile premises (Jn. 18:28), and also of the moral defilement of mind, conscience and flesh (total psycho-physical being) which results from becoming a faithless libertine (Tit. 1:15; Jude 8). Heb. 12:15 expresses the fear that one apostate will defile others, presumably by drawing them to follow his bad example. *miasma* comes only in the phrase "pollutions of (i.e., incurred and communicated by) the (ungodly) world" (2 Pet. 2:20); *miasmos* appears only in 2 Pet. 2:10, in a phrase meaning either "in their foul lust" or "in their lust for filthiness", apparently referring to sexual and perhaps homosexual self-indulgence. *amiantos* is used to express the purity of Christ as High Priest (Heb. 7:27), of our heavenly inheritance (2 Pet. 1:4), of sexual relations within marriage (Heb. 13:4), and of practical religion (Jas. 1:27); what it affirms in each of its applications is the absence of anything that would constitute guilt before God.

The adj. *koinos*, in the sense of common or impure, ceremonially unclean, and the corresponding vb., *koinoō*, in the sense of to make common or impure, defile, profane, desecrate, also occur in the NT. For *koinos* in the sense of common, communal, and other related words → Fellowship, art. *koinōnia*. *koinos*, in the sense of unclean, occurs in Mk. 7:2, 5 (cf. *koinoō* in Mk. 7:15, 18, 20, 23; Matt. 15:11, 18, 20) in the context of Jesus' teaching that it is not dirt or anything external that defiles a man but the thoughts of the → heart. Likewise Paul declared: "I know and am persuaded in the Lord Jesus that nothing is unclean in itself; but it is unclean for any one who thinks it unclean" (Rom. 14:14). The vision to Peter in Acts 10 in which he was commanded to eat unclean creatures (*koinos* in 10:14, 28; 11:8; cf. 1 Macc. 1:62; *koinoō*, in the sense of consider or declare unclean, 10:15; 11:9) symbolized God's acceptance of the Gentiles and their inclusion in the new → covenant. Paul was accused of defiling the temple by introducing Gentiles (Acts 10:28), although in fact he had refrained from giving offence in this way. *koinos* refers to defilement under the old covenant in Heb. 9:13. But Heb. 10:29 speaks of defiling or profaning the blood of the covenant, spurning the Son of God, and thus being worthy of greater punishment than under the old covenant. Rev. 21:27 takes up the concept and applies it in a moral sense, when it declares that, "nothing unclean shall enter" the new → Jerusalem, "nor any one who practises abomination or falsehood, but only those who are written in the Lamb's book of life." (See further F. Hauck, *TDNT* III 789-97; C. E. Carlston, "The Things that Defile (Mk. 7:14) and the Law in Matthew and Mark", *NTS* 15, 1968-69, 75-96). *J. I. Packer*

μολύνω, μολυσμός — *μολύνω* (*molynō*), defile, befoul; *μολυσμός* (*molysmos*), defilement.

CL & OT The literal meaning of *molynō* is "besmear, soil", as one does by applying mud or other filth. Metaphorically, it is used in ethical and religious contexts to

signify actions which demean and pollute oneself and/or others, especially in sexual matters. The noun *molysmos* has a comparable range of meaning. In the LXX rendering of the canonical OT, *molynō* occurs ten times (for eight different Heb. equivalents!), being used both literally, of dirtying feet and clothes (Gen. 37:31; Cant. 5:3; Isa. 59:3) and metaphorically, of causing defilement before God (Isa. 65:4; Jer. 23:11). *molysmos* occurs once, in a parallel metaphorical sense, in Jer. 23:15.

NT In the NT *molynō* is used in its metaphorical sense three times: in 1 Cor. 8:7, of of a weak conscience that is defiled, i.e. made to feel guilty, through doing things about which one had scruples; and in Rev. 3:4; 14:4, of not lapsing into unfaithful and disobedient ways, pictured in the first reference as dirtying one's clothes and in the second as losing one's virginity. *molysmos* appears once, in 2 Cor. 7:1, signifying the moral and spiritual defilement that comes from embracing the pagan life-style. *J. I. Packer*

F. Hauck, *miainō*, etc., and *molynō*, etc., *TDNT* IV 644 ff., 736 f.; R. C. Trench, *Synonyms of the NT*, 1880⁹, 110 f.

Demon, Air, Cast Out

The article on *daimōn* should be compared with that on *pneuma* (→ Spirit), for it is concerned with spiritual, intermediary powers in personal form. Since in the NT it is used only of evil powers, it should be compared also with the article on *diabolos* (→ Satan). It is examined here together with *aēr* (air) and *ekballō* (cast out). For in the NT the air is normally the sphere of the demonic powers, and *ekballō* is theologically relevant only in connection with casting out demons.

ἀήρ

ἀήρ (*aēr*), air.

CL & OT According to cl. concepts the *aēr*, air, filled the space between the earth and the moon. The Greeks distinguished qualitatively between *aēr* as the lower, impure air (vapour), and the upper, pure air, the ether. Since *aēr* was the less pure element, it was the home of the spirits. This idea is already found in Pythagoras (*c.* 500 B.C.). Late Jud. also at times regarded the air as the home of the demons (Sl. Enoch 31; Asc. Isa. 11:23).

NT *aēr* appears 7 times in the NT. It is used (a) for the space above us (Acts 22:23; 1 Thess. 4:17; Rev. 16:17); (b) in idioms: beat the air (1 Cor. 9:26), speak into the air (1 Cor. 14:9); (c) in God's eschatological judgments "the air" is also affected. The smoke from the abyss (→ Hell, art. *abyssos*, underworld) darkens both it and the sun (Rev. 9:12); one of the angels pours his bowl of wrath into the air (Rev. 16:17).

Since the air fills the space between heaven and earth, it is the place where Christ meets the church at the parousia. The church is caught up to meet Christ in the air (1 Thess. 4:17). Satan is the evil spirit who rules in the air (Eph. 2:2; cf. 6:12) and is at work in the godless. Contemporary Jewish concepts are here brought into

relationship. The organized evil spirits are under a ruler, a concept modelled on the angels (or lords) of the darkness found in the Qumran writings, from which it may have been derived (→ *daimōn*; → Satan, art. *diabolos*). *H. Bietenhard*

δαιμόνιον

δαίμων (*daimōn*), demon; *δαιμόνιον* (*daimonion*), demon, evil spirit; *δεισιδαιμονία* (*deisidaimonia*), reverence for the divinity, religion, superstition; *δεισιδαίμων* (*deisidaimōn*), superstitious, religious; *δαιμονίζομαι* (*daimonizomai*), be possessed by a demon.

CL *daimōn* is derived from *daiomai*, divide, apportion. It may be connected with the idea of the god of the dead as the divider of corpses. It denotes superhuman power, god, goddess, destiny, and demon.

In Gk. popular belief the world was full of demons, beings between gods and men which could be appeased or controlled by magic, spells and incantations. They were first of all spirits of the dead, especially the unburied (an animistic concept), then ghosts which could appear in varying forms especially at night. There is no essential difference between → gods and demons. The latter lived in the air near the earth. The work of demons could be seen in the disasters and miseries of human fate. Through natural catastrophes they shook the cosmos. Above all they made men sick or mad.

Gk. philosophy was not able to free itself completely from this belief. The world was not a system of abstract forces, but was filled with demons. Offensive myths about the gods were explained away or opposed by using the idea of demon. The problem of divine providence was also approached from this standpoint. In Homer's *Il.*, *daimōn* is still sometimes used for the gods, but in the *Od.*, this was avoided so as not to place them on the same level as lower spirits. In Hesiod during the golden age men became demons after death. As Zeus' representatives they watched over human behaviour, apportioning rewards and punishments at his command. For Empedocles the *daimōn* was a separate spiritual being, not the *psychē* which accompanied a man from birth. Socrates' *daimonion*, his "good spirit", had the same characteristics. It dissuaded, but never advised him (Plato, *Apology*, 31c, 8 ff.). *daimōn* was even equated with the *hēgemonikon* (the authoritative part of the soul, the reason) of the Stoics. In later systems (Neoplatonism, Porphyry) whole hierarchies and courses of demons were drawn up. The demons were mediators between gods and men. Sometimes they supervised men. They could also be considered as one of the stages leading from deity to matter.

daimonion is the adj. of *daimōn*, and is used as a noun as the "divine". It expresses that which lies outside "human capacity and is thus to be attributed to the intervention of higher powers" (W. Foerster, *TDNT* II 8). In popular belief *daimonion* was used as a diminutive of *daimōn*.

Philo and Josephus stood entirely in the Gk. tradition. Philo considered that → angels and demons were of the same nature, but angels kept their distance from the earth and were used by God as messengers. Josephus used *daimonia* especially for evil spirits.

OT 1. Traces of the general popular belief are also to be found in the OT (1 Sam. 28:13; Isa. 8:19). Necromancy was forbidden in Israel (Deut. 18:11; Lev. 19:31;

1 Sam. 28:36), as were sacrifices to evil spirits (Lev. 17:7). Demonic beings are called the *śᵉʿîrîm* (satyrs, demons, BDB), *šēḏîm* (demons), *lîlîṯ* (lilith) and *ʿᵃzā'zēl* (Azazel) (Isa. 13:21; 34:14; Deut. 32:17; Lev. 16:8, 10, 26; Eth. En. 6:6 onwards). Demons are mentioned in connection with Israel's idolatry. It may be that heathen gods were mockingly called demons (Deut. 32:17; 2 Chr. 11:15; Ps. 106:37).

The general trend in the OT is to exclude belief in demons. An example is the way in which sun, moon and stars in Gen. 1 are simply called "luminaries", while the surrounding nations looked on them as demons and feared and honoured them. Another example is the manner in which calamities and evil are attributed to God (1 Sam. 16:14; 2 Sam. 24:1; → Satan). The mediators between God and man are not demons, but the → angel of Yahweh. The Israelite may not turn to any power other than Yahweh. Above all he had to keep himself from → magic.

In the LXX *daimōn* occurs only in Isa. 65:11. *daimonion* is found 19 times, 9 times in Tob., twice in Bar. Psa. 96:5 is important: all the gods of the peoples are *daimonia* (cf. Deut. 32:17; Psa. 106:37; Isa. 65:3; Bar. 4:7). Heb. *šēḏ* is rendered by *daimonion*, as is *śēʿîr* in Isa. 13:21 and 34:14. The concept in Tob. 6:7, 13 f. is late. It holds that an evil spirit, hostile to a man, can gain power over him and kill him (but cf. Exod. 4:24 ff.). The LXX's use of *daimonia*, rather than *daimōn*, influenced Josephus and the NT, where the evil spirits of popular belief are so named.

2. Judaism. (a) Rab. Jud. abandoned the strict reserve of OT piety. Belief in demons became widespread, though the Jews never felt themselves as strongly threatened by them as did their neighbours. The scribes also were steeped in belief in demons. They had many names for them; *šēḏîm*, powerful ones, lords, demons; *mazzîqîm*, harmers; *mᵉḥabbᵉlîm*, destroyers; *pᵉgāʿîm*, attackers; *śᵉʿîrîm*, satyrs; *rûaḥ rāʿâh*, evil spirit; *rûaḥ*, spirit. In the earlier period it was believed that demons were the result of sexual relations between fallen angels and women. This thought is sometimes attributed to Gen. 6:1–4. Others thought that some of the generation of the Tower of Babel were turned into demons, or that they were the result of sexual relations between Adam and Eve and female or male spirits, or that they were a special creation by God.

The demons are spirits, but they have bodily organs such as wings. They need food and drink. They can propagate themselves and appear in human or other forms. They are innumerable and fill the world. They are led by Ashmedai, a figure borrowed from the Parsees who has lesser leaders under him. The demons have access to heaven, where they can discover God's counsels. They live both on the earth and in the air, preferably in deserts, ruins and impure places, especially cemeteries. Though they belong to Satan's kingdom, God gives them authority to inflict the punishments imposed on sinners. Their power began in the time of Enosh (Gen. 4:26) and will end in the days of the Messiah. Their main goal is to lead men into sin. They can also kill. They are the cause of some, but not all, diseases. God and the holy → angels, God's word, the keeping of commandments, amulets, and exorcisms protect men against against them. Traditionally Solomon was the controller of the demons. Among the people, including some rabbis, there was much magic. In contrast to the Gk. world, the demons were not intermediate stages between God and man, nor were they the spirits of the dead. A clear distinction was drawn between angels and demons.

(b) Pseudepigrapha. The commonest name for the demons is "spirit" (unclean, evil). Gen. 6:1–4 is important as giving the origin of demons. They are sometimes called Satan's angels. They lead astray to magic, idolatry, war, conflict and bloodshed (cf. Jas. 3:15). They also tempt men to penetrate into hidden secrets. Eth. Enoch 8:1 attributes the gains of culture to them. The heathen worship them (Eth. Enoch 99:7; Jub. 1:11; 22:17). Fallen angels generate giants who lead men astray (Eth. Enoch 7:2 ff.; Jub. 5:1). The angels are already kept incarcerated for judgment. Unclean demons led the descendants of Noah astray (Jub. 7:27; 10:1 ff.). They are bound at the place of condemnation, but a remnant is at the disposal of Mastema, "the Lord of the Spirits", so that he can lead men astray and harm them.

(c) Qumran. The Qumran documents present a cosmological dualism mitigated by monotheism. Two spirits are subordinate to God: Michael, the spirit (angel) of light, and Belial (→ Satan), the spirit (angel) of darkness (cf. 1QS 1:18; 3:17–25; 4:1, 9–11; 1QM 13:11 f.). 1QS 4:9–11 gives a list of the vices of the spirit of darkness, which also applies to the characters of those who belong to his "lot". "Angels of destruction" (1QS 4:12) serve under the evil spirit and execute God's temporal and eternal judgments on evil-doers. Belial seeks to cause evil-doing and create guilt (1QM 13:11 ff.). His angels walk according to the laws of darkness. In these writings we find the concept of a prince of evil, controlling a kingdom of evil spirits. This was probably developed under the influence of Parseeism. In the Qumran community's rites both at men's entry into the covenant and at the covenant renewal ceremonies, the Levites had to recite the transgressions of Israel under the lordship of Belial (1QS 1:23) and to curse all "men of the lot of Belial" solemnly (1QS 2:4 ff.). A man is not freed from responsibility, because he belongs to the lot of Belial. In the final, eschatological battle Belial and his angels fight alongside the enemies of the "sons of light" (1QM 1:10 f., 13–15). After the fight a curse is pronounced against Belial and his angels (1QM 13:1–5).

In the night after Pharaoh had taken Sarah (Gen. 12:15 ff.) God sent a destructive spirit who did all kinds of harm in the palace. Only the prayer of Abraham was effective against him (1QGenAp 20:16 ff., 28 f.).

NT In the NT *daimōn* occurs only in Matt. 8:31 in the plur. Otherwise we always find *daimonion* (63 times) or *pneuma* (→ spirit). On *phantasma*, apparition, ghost, → Revelation, art. *epiphaneia* NT 5 (e). Angels and demons appear as opposites. The fear of demons disappears because of faith in the triumph of Jesus Christ.

Since dealings with demons lie behind sorcery (→ Magic), it is rejected (Gal. 5:20; Rev. 9:20 f.; 18:23; 21:8; 22:15). Heathen worship brings men into contact with demons (1 Cor. 10:20 f.), for demons stand behind paganism in general (Rev. 9:20). They will be specially active in this sphere in the last times (1 Tim. 4:1; Rev. 16:13 f.). Demons are active today (Eph. 6:12), and teach their wisdom (Jas. 3:15). Hence it is important to discern the spirits (1 Jn. 4:1; 1 Cor. 12:10). The demonic powers are destined for judgment (Matt. 25:41; 8:29). The idea of the demons being chained and kept for judgment which appears in the Pseudepigrapha is found in 2 Pet. 2:4 and Jude 6.

Demons are subordinate to → Satan, and are his angels (Eph. 2:2; Mk. 3:20 ff., the prince of the demons). They have power to do evil. Above all they cause illness. In Lk. 13:11, 16 the woman who had "a spirit of infirmity" had been bound by

Satan (cf. Acts 10:38; 2 Cor. 12:7). But not all illness is attributed to them. In the gospels we find demon-possessed persons whose personality had been eliminated by the evil spirits who spoke out of them (Mk. 5:5 ff.). Because the kingdom of God was present in Jesus, he broke the power of the demons (Matt. 12:28) through his word of command (→ *ekballō*). Demons have more than human knowledge. They knew Jesus and their own fate (Matt. 8:29; Jas. 2:19). The reproach was made against Jesus himself that he had a demon (Jn. 7:20; 8:48 f., 52; 10:20 f.). This was the most complete rejection of Jesus because of its religious motivation. Had it been true, no one would have been justified in listening to him. In his answer Jesus claimed that he honoured the Father (Jn. 8:49).

deisidaimonia is compounded of *deidō*, to be afraid, and *daimōn*, and means reverence for the gods, fear of God, superstition, religion. In the NT it is found only in Acts 25:19, where it means religion (so NEB; RSV "superstition"). Festus told Agrippa and Bernice that the Jews had certain disputes about their *deisidaimonia* and a certain Jesus.

deisidaimōn, reverent before gods or God, superstitious, religious, is found only in Acts 17:22. Paul addressed the Athenians as being especially religious. This agrees with other writers who said the same about them.

daimonizomai, "be possessed by a demon" is found 7 times in Matt., 4 times in Mk., once each in Lk. and Jn. *H. Bietenhard*

ἐκβάλλω	ἐκβάλλω (*ekballō*), drive out, expel, send out, take out.

CL & OT *ekballō* is used in secular Gk. and in the LXX (in the latter some 50 times). It has the sense of drive out: Gen. 3:24, of man from Eden; Lev. 21:7, lit. "driven away from her husband" hence divorce; Jdg. 6:9 (for *gāraš*) and Exod. 34:24 (for *yāraš*) for forcible throwing out, rejection and driving out of enemies, demons and similarly unwelcome beings from a house. Not until the 1st and 2nd cent. A.D. is it used in the favourable sense of sending out.

NT The 81 cases in the NT illustrate the whole gamut of its range of meanings. The slave-wife is cast out (Gal. 4:30; cf. Gen. 21:10). A disciple of Jesus is cast out of synagogue fellowship (Jn. 9:34 f.). The name of Christ (i.e. the Christian) is despised (Lk. 6:22). While Jesus rejects no one who comes to him (Jn. 6:37), Diotrephes excludes Christians from the church (3 Jn. 10). The taking out of a splinter (Matt. 7:4) and the removal of an eye (Mk. 9:47) still imply the use of force. But other passages like Mk. 1:12 (where the Spirit "drives" Jesus into the wilderness) and Jn. 10:4 (the shepherd "drives" the sheep out) show the transition to the positive sense of sending out reapers (Matt. 9:38 par.), sending away (Acts 16:37, "smuggle out" NEB; Jas. 2:25), leaving out (Rev. 11:2), and bringing out, distributing (Matt. 12:35; 13:52; Lk. 10:35).

The word has a theological bearing only in connection with casting out demons (cf. Matt. 7:22; 8:16 par.; 9:34; 12:26 f.; 17:19 par.; Lk. 13:32). Jesus and the primitive church shared the conceptions of their contemporaries about demons (→ *daimonion*). But while the pagans and Jews of the contemporary world environment tried to drive out the demons by magic, exorcisms and other magical practices,

Jesus needed only his word of command (Matt. 8:16). The driving out of the demons was as much an accompaniment of his proclamation as were his acts of healing (Mk. 1:39). Because Jesus with the authority of God showed himself the stronger (Mk. 1:24 par.), the demon had to yield to him and bow to his power. In his majesty Jesus also gave his disciples authority to cast out demons (Matt. 10:1, 8). His dominion over these powers was a sign that the kingdom of God had come in his person (Matt. 12:22–28). *H. Bietenhard*

→ Accuser, → Magic, → Satan

(a). Arndt, 19 f., 168 f.; K. Barth, *CD* III, 2, 519–31; B. J. Bamberger, *Fallen Angels*, 1952; G. A. Barton, "Demons and Spirits (Hebrew)," *ERE* IV 594 ff.; H.-W. Bartsch, ed., *Kerygma and Myth*, I, 1953; II, 1962; G. B. Caird, *Principalities and Powers: A Study in Pauline Theology*, 1956; S. Eitrem, *Some Notes on the Demonology in the New Testament*, 1950; W. Foerster, *aēr*, *TDNT* I 165 f.; and *daimōn*, *TDNT* II 1–20; F. Hauck, *ballō* etc., *TDNT* I 526–29; E. Langton, *The Essentials of Demonology: A Study of Jewish and Christian Doctrine – Its Origin and Development*, 1949; R. Leivestad, *Christ the Conqueror: Ideas of Conflict and Victory in the New Testament*, 1954; H. Loewe, "Demons and Spirits (Jewish)," *ERE* IV 612 ff.; J. Michl, "Demon", *EBT* I 191–96; G. H. C. Macgregor, "Principalities and Powers: the Cosmic Background to St. Paul's Thought," *NTS* 1, 1954–55, 17–28; W. Manson, "Principalities and Powers: the Spiritual Background of the Work of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels," *Bulletin of the Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas*, 1952; M. Prager, "Possession by evil spirits," *EBT* II 669 ff.; H. Schlier, *Principalities and Powers*, 1961; M. F. Unger, *Biblical Demonology: A Study of the Spiritual Forces behind the present World Unrest*, 1952.

(b). F. Andres, "Daemon," Pauly-Wissowa *Supplement* III 267 ff.; O. Böcher, *Dämonenfurcht und Dämonenabwehr*, 1970 (extensive bibliography); E. Dhorme, "La démonologie biblique," *Hommage W. Fischer*, 1960, 46–54; M. Dibelius, *Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus*, 1909; A. Dupont-Sommer, "L'Instruction sur les deux Esprits dans le 'Manuel de Discipline' ", *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 142, 1952, 5–35; G. Gloege, "Dämonen," *RGG*³ II 2 ff.; H. W. M. de Jong, *Demonische ziekten in Babylon en Bijbel*, 1959; H. Kaupel, *Die Dämonen im Alten Testament*, 1930; B. Noack, *Satanas und Soteria: Untersuchungen zur neutestamentlichen Dämonologie*, 1948; F. Nötscher, "Geist und Geister in den Texten von Qumran," *Mélanges bibliques A. Robert*, 1957, 305–15; B. Otzen, "Die neugefundenen Sektenschriften und die Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen" *StTh* 7, 1953–54, 125–57; E. von Petersdorff, *Dämonologie*, I, *Dämonen im Weltplan*, 1956; J. Samain, "L'Accusation de Magie contre le Christ dans les Évangiles," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 15, 1938, 449–90; J. Smit, *De daemoniacis in historia evangelica*, 1913; H. Wohlstein, "Zu den altisraelitischen Vorstellungen von Toten- und Ahnengeistern," *BZ* 5, 1961, 30–38; M. Ziegler, *Engel und Dämonen im Lichte der Bibel*, 1957.

Deny

ἀρνέομαι

ἀρνέομαι (*arneomai*), refuse, deny, dispute, disown, disregard; *ἀπαρνέομαι* (*aparneomai*), deny, disown, renounce.

CL The primary meaning of *arneomai* (Homer) is to deny. In the context of a demand or challenge the denial becomes definite: to refuse, reject, decline (Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 408; Demosthenes, 18, 282). The opposite is *didonai*, to grant, give (e.g. Hdt., 3, 1, 2). With reference to a matter needing clarification, or to a question, *arneomai* means to dispute, contest, gainsay (Thuc. 6, 60). The opposite is *homologeō*, to agree, assent to (e.g. Hdt., 2:81; → Lie, art. *pseudomai*.). In Hel. literature (e.g. Appian, *Bella Civilia*, 2, 39) and especially the NT *arneomai* has the further meaning of disown, renounce. It is in this sense that the originally intensive form *aparneomai* is mostly used in the NT.

OT Only in Gen. 18:15 does *arneomai* in the LXX have a Heb. equivalent: *kāḥaš* dispute, deny. *aparneomai* occurs only at Isa. 31:7, where it stands for *mā'as*, reject. This is not to say that the concept which *arneomai* expresses is not present in the OT. But in the LXX *kāḥaš* is mostly rendered by *pseudomai*, lie, and *mā'as* usually by *exoutheneō*, despise, reject. In the few places in later Jewish literature where *arneomai* occurs, it has the sense of refuse (Wis. 12:27; 16:16; 17:10), and renounce (4 Macc. 8:7; 10:15). Rab. texts speak of rejecting (*kāpar*)) the commandments (Shabbath 116a) or God (Sanhedrin 102b; cf. SB I 585, II 518).

NT 1. In the NT *arneomai* (32 times) is found chiefly in the gospels and Acts, and occasionally in the Pastorals, 1 and 2 Pet., and Rev. *aparneomai* (12 times) is found only in the synoptic gospels. In addition to the senses of refuse (e.g. Heb. 11:24) and deny (Jn. 1:20), the vb. has the specific sense of disown in relation to Jesus Christ.

2. Denial and rejection of Jesus Christ can be the result of ignorance (Acts 3:13 f., cf. 17). Generally, however, *arneomai* means to fall back from a previous relationship with him into unfaithfulness. This is the meaning of the denial of Peter (Mk. 14:30, 68, 70). The opposite to this denial is "to hold fast" (Rev. 2:13), or "to be faithful" (2:10). Used absolutely, *arneomai* can mean to abandon fellowship with the Lord (2 Tim. 2:12). Instead of the person of Jesus (2 Pet. 2:1; 1 Jn. 2:22 f.; Jude 4), it can be his name (Rev. 3:8) or faith in him (Rev. 2:13) that is denied.

(a) Denial of Jesus is not only a matter of the lips; it is failure in discipleship. The above verses in Rev. show that in the situation of suffering there is particular danger of denying the Lord (cf. also the contrast between denying and dying, or suffering with, Christ, 2 Tim. 2:11 f.). The motive for denial is usually fear of men, anxiety about what others will think, or the thought that to confess faith in the one who was crucified may mean suffering ridicule and persecution.

(b) According to 1 Jn. 2:22, denial consists of disputing that the earthly Jesus is the Messiah. Here an attack is being made on (gnostic?) teaching, which would distinguish the true, spiritual redeemer from the one who has come in the flesh. That would be to separate Jesus from God (v. 23), and to set oneself in opposition to him and hence to God.

3. Denial of Christ is also present where the claims of one's neighbour go unrecognized and unfulfilled (1 Tim. 5:8; 2 Tim. 3:5; Jude 4). Such a denial of God on man's part can only be met by a denial of man on God's part (Lk. 12:9; 2 Tim. 2:12). For denial is a rejection of God's offer of salvation and a conscious renunciation of the grace which has appeared. The only apparent contradiction to this is in 2 Tim. 2:13. In contrast to v. 12, we read here: "He cannot deny himself," i.e. he remains true to his own nature. He holds fast to his commission and his claim, in spite of our faithlessness.

4. To follow him who "emptied himself" (Phil. 2:7) implies "to deny oneself" and "to take up one's cross" (Matt. 16:24; Mk. 8:34; Lk. 9:23). If we interpret this in the light of Peter's denial ("I do not know the man" Matt. 26:70; 72, 74; Mk. 14:68, 70 ff.; Lk. 22:57 ff.; Jn. 18:25 ff.), this means to say no to one's self and to surrender oneself totally. It may be that the thought here is on the necessity, if circumstances demand, of dying a martyr's death. But the connection with Paul's remarks about "being buried with Christ" (Rom. 6:4 f.) and being crucified with

Christ so that Christ lives in him (Gal. 2:20), should not be overlooked. "To deny oneself" is not therefore a legalistic demand, but the way forward into life "in Christ." *H.-G. Link, E. Tiedtke*

(a). O. Cullmann, *Peter: Disciple – Apostle – Martyr*, 1962²; M. Goguel, "Did Peter Deny his Lord?" *HTR* 25, 1932, 1–27; R. Koch, "Self-Denial," *EBT* III 833–39; G. W. H. Lampe, "St. Peter's Denial", *BJRL* 55, 1972–73, 346–68; H. Riesenfeld, "The Meaning of the Verb *arneisthai*," *Coniectanea Neotestamentica* 11, 1947, 207–19; H. Schlier, *arneomai*, *TDNT* I 469 ff.; M. Wilcox, "The Denial-Sequence in Mark xiv. 26–31, 66–72," *NTS* 17, 1970–71, 426–36.
(b). E. Dinkler, "Jesu Wort vom Kreuztragen," *Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolf Bultmann*, 1954, 110–29; A. Fridrichsen, "Sich selbst verleugnen," *Coniectanea Neotestamentica* 2, 1936, 1–8; 6, 1942, 94 ff.; *Sv. exeg. Årsbok*, 5, 1940, 158–62; G. Klein, "Die Verleugnung des Petrus – eine traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung," *ZTK* 58, 1961, 285 ff. (= *Rekonstruktion und Interpretation*, *BEvTh* 50, 1969, 49 ff.); J. Lebreton, "La doctrine du renoncement dans le Nouveau Testament," *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, 65, 1938, 385–412; and "Le Renoncement," *Lumen Christi*, 1947, 171–96; E. Linnemann, "Die Verleugnung des Petrus," *ZTK* 63, 1966, 1 ff. (= *Studien zur Passionsgeschichte*, *FRLANT* 102, 1970, 70 ff.).

Desire, Lust, Pleasure

A whole range of words – desire, longing, greed, craving, lust – expresses man's inner striving for an objective which may be a person, a thing or an experience. They also indicate the sort of action that may follow. The same is found in Gk. The most important word is *epithymia* (desire, lust). *hēdonē* (pleasure) which is familiar in ordinary speech and especially in philosophy is less important. *orexis* (desire) and *epipotheō* (long for, desire) are little used, the latter being somewhat commoner.

ἐπιθυμία	*ἐπιθυμία* (*epithymia*), desire, lust; *ἐπιθυμέω* (*epithymeō*), desire, want.

CL Both these words are found already before Socrates, especially in Hdt. From the basic meaning of being excited about something (cf. *thymos*, urge, passion) they already had in secular Gk. the meaning of impulse, desire. The word is first found in literature in a neutral sense. But later it is ethically bad, because *epithymia*, like the other three passions, fear, pleasure and sorrow, results from a false evaluation of the possessions and evils of this life.

OT In the LXX *epithymia* and *epithymeō* each occur about 50 times. They are used in the first place for human aspirations in general, and normally translate Heb. *'āwâh* and *ḥāmaḏ*. They express: (a) a morally indifferent desire (e.g. Deut. 12:20 f., as much as you want); (b) a praiseworthy desire (e.g. Gen. 31:30, the desire for one's father's house; Isa. 58:2, the yearning of the righteous for God); (c) an evil desire, which is opposed to God's will (e.g. Num. 11:4; Num. 11:34; Deut. 9:22 ([Tr.] cf. Kibroth-hatta'avah, graves of craving)). If the tenth commandment (Exod. 20:17) forbids such desire, it is because God desires from men not merely obedience in acts, but also in their words, thoughts, looks, efforts and wishes. He desires love from the whole heart (Deut. 6:5).

NT 1. Apart from Lk., where it is found 5 times, the word-group is not found in the Gospels and is rare in Heb. and Rev. It is quite lacking in 2 Cor. and 2 Thess.

Most of the occurrences are found in the other Pauline writings (19 of the 38 cases of *epithymia* and 5 of the 16 cases of *epithymeō*). The noun is found in a neutral or good sense only in Lk. 22:15; Phil. 1:23; 1 Thess. 2:17 and perhaps Rev. 18:14. In all other cases its connotation is bad. Normally the vb. is used in a good sense. Only in Paul and Matt. 5:28 has it a bad connotation. Paul uses *epipotheō* when the desire is praiseworthy.

2. Where the terms are used in a neutral or good sense (cf. CL, OT), they express a particularly strong desire (cf. Matt. 13:17; Lk. 15:16; Phil. 1:23; 1 Thess. 2:17; Heb. 6:11). It is to be noticed that the vb. is more often used in a good sense than the noun, and → *oregomai* can stand parallel to it with the same meaning (cf. 1 Tim. 3:1).

3. Theologically those passages are more important where *epithymia* is used in a bad sense of evil desire or lust.

(a) In the Synoptics this bad sense is found only in Matt. 5:28 (where it refers to sexual desire and lust) and in Mk. 4:19 (where it is used of the desire for all kinds of other goods and values of this world, like riches (→ Possessions)). It is clear from both these passages that Jesus considered *epithymia* as a sin with a highly destructive power. It chokes the word (Mk. 4:19, where it is compared to an exuberantly growing thorn thicket which always tries to spread if it is not prevented). It breaks marriage (Matt. 5:28). In other words, Jesus is far from making little of desire, because it "only" operates in the thoughts and wishes of the → heart, and not in the realm of deeds. For Jesus, evil desires, just like evil deeds, flow out of and betray the evil heart which has separated itself from God.

(b) Paul sees *epithymia* as an expression of the → sin which rules man. He sees in it the driving power in man's → "flesh" (*sarx*), his sinful being which has turned from God. *epithymia* seeks gratification (Gal. 5:16). It urges man to activity. When all is said and done, it expresses the deeply rooted tendency in man to find the focus of his life in himself, to trust himself, and to love himself more than others. Paul equates this tendency with the flesh and the passions (Eph. 2:3), the powers which draw a man away from God. The power of the "old nature" (Eph. 4:22) is seen in *epithymia.*

Desires can find their expression in every direction: sexual desire, material enjoyment, coveting another's possessions (cf. Rom. 1:24; 1 Tim. 6:9; Tit. 3:3; Gal. 5:16–21). By directing a man's attention, they can bring him completely under their domination. The recognition expressed in Rom. 6:12 that anyone who allows himself to be driven by his desires is already under the reign of → sin recurs frequently in the Pauline writings (Eph. 2:3; 2 Tim. 3:6; Tit. 3:3). The desires determine and enslave a man. While he becomes the → slave of their allurements and temptations (Eph. 4:22), his "heart", i.e. the centre of his whole personality (Rom. 1:24), comes under their control. When that happens, all decisions of the will, and even the best and highest impulses and powers of a man are determined by these desires. Only the life that is turned to God's will and regulation and is subject to God and determined by him, presents the opposite picture (Rom. 6:12 ff.; Eph. 4:22 ff.; Tit. 2:12 ff.).

Since there is something primitive and instinctive in human desire, Paul maintains that it is recognized as what it really is when the law speaks to it (as in the commandment, "You shall not covet"). This causes desire to become conscious sin

(Rom. 7:7 f.) which flagrantly contradicts God's commandment. Before I know the law, desire is instinctive and not yet a consciously desiring will.

God's answer to desire is the → Spirit. The man who walks by the Spirit has the power to resist desire (Gal. 5:16; cf. Rom. 8:9 ff.), because the Spirit replaces desire as the determining power in his life (Eph. 4:23).

When Paul speaks of desire and longing in a good sense, he uses *epipotheō* (cf. Rom. 1:11; 2 Cor. 5:2; 9:14), *epipothēsis* (2 Cor. 7:7, 11) and *epipothia* (Rom. 15:23). This word-group is used 13 times in the NT, 11 of them being in the Pauline writings and always in a good sense.

(c) In the Johannine writings the origin of desire is traced even further back. It does not originate merely in man but in the → "world" (1 Jn. 2:16), and ultimately comes from the devil (Jn. 8:44; → Satan). World here means the sphere of enmity to God and Christ, the sphere in which one recognizes the authority of "the prince of this world". He entices with "the lust of the flesh and the lust of the eyes and the pride of life" (1 Jn. 2:16), i.e. with external allurements appealing to the senses, material in their nature, by which he tries to gain our "love" He awakens the dormant thoughts of hatred in man and his tendencies to lie, for "he is a murderer from the beginning" and "the father of lies" (Jn. 8:44).

Since desire originates "from the world", it is transient like this world. He who builds on it and allows himself and his life to be determined by it will "pass away" with it. Conversely he who is led by God's will "abides for ever" (1 Jn. 2:17).

(d) In the Catholic Epistles the use of *epithymia* is either neutral or shows the same trend as in Paul and John. It represents the "flesh" and its passions (1 Pet. 2:11; 2 Pet. 2:10). It is related to other lusts of the senses in their desire for the material, in revels, drunkenness, carousing (1 Pet. 4:3), and debauchery (2 Pet. 2:18 NEB). It is a power which draws, entices, and lures a man, so as to bring him under its domination (Jas. 1:14; 1 Pet. 1:14; 2 Pet. 2:18). It promises him complete freedom and liberty but in reality abjectly enslaves him (→ Slave). It is always lying in wait within a man, so that at the right moment he may yield his will to it and become subject to it (Jas. 1:14). When that happens it "gives birth" to sinful action, which makes a man guilty before God (Jas. 1:15). And so it leads finally to "death" (Rom. 7:5) and "corruption" (2 Pet. 1:4).

Since *epithymia* is so bound up with man's nature, the Christian needs constantly to be attentive and awake in turning from it. He can conquer it, if he constantly allows himself to be controlled by the Spirit of God and lives "by the will of God" (1 Pet. 4:2). *H. Schönweiss*

ἡδονή

ἡδονή (*hēdonē*), pleasure; φιλήδονος (*philēdonos*), lover of pleasure.

CL *hēdonē* is from the same root as *hēdys*, sweet, pleasant, pleasing. Originally it meant something pleasant to the taste, and then pleasant generally. In Hdt. it means the pleasures of the senses. It occurs in an extended sense as feelings of pleasure, enjoyment (already in Homer in the form *hēdos*). Finally, just as with → *epithymia*, it came to mean desire for pleasure (Xen.). When regarded as a gift of nature, *hēdonē* was considered good. Plato called pleasure in the good, true and

beautiful *hēdonē*. Aristotle used it as a synonym of *chara*, joy, in expressing pleasure in practising the virtues and for aesthetic pleasure in works of art (*Eth. Nic.* VII 12:1 (1152b 25 ff.)).

In Hellenism a distinction was made between higher and lower *hēdonai*, between those of the mind and soul and those of the body. Then the concept was confined to its ethically bad elements, and it was used in contrast to *chara*, joy, and *aretē*, virtue. In the language of the Cynic-Stoic travelling teachers it meant the pleasure of the senses, of sex, and then the unrestricted passions. The growing pessimism of the late classical period caused the concept to mean man's involvement in his material surroundings, which held down the soul trying to mount up to God. It was considered that the one who let himself be ruled by *hēdonē* had missed the purpose of life.

OT In the canonical books of the LXX the word is only used with a Heb. equivalent in Num. 11:8, where it represents the Heb. *ṭa'am*, (good) taste. In the par. Exod. 16:31 *geuma* is used. It is used first in a good sense, meaning a quality in a thing which gives a man pleasure. It has the same meaning in the three other passages where it is used: Prov. 17:1 (no equivalent in Heb.); Wis. 7:2; 16:20. It is not until 4 Macc. (11 occurrences) and especially Philo, who uses *hēdonē* as the power in revolt against *logos*, that the word is used in the same sense as in Cynic-Stoic teaching. Here *hēdonē* is a root of all evil impulses and can bring only *ponos*, trouble, pain. There are many parallels in Rab. writings. The feeling of pleasure so characteristic of the Gk. concept is hardly mentioned, but there are repeated warnings against the "evil impulse" (*yēṣer hā-rā'*) which makes a man reluctant to study the Torah (cf. SB IV 473 f.).

NT In the NT *hēdonē* is found only 5 times. All are in later books and all have a bad connotation.

1. The desire for pleasure fills the man estranged from God. He thinks that he is living out his own irresistible desire for pleasure, and in so doing he revolts against God and his will, but in fact he becomes the slave of the *hēdonai*. He has become a *doulos* → slave and lives in → sin. He is separated from God, unless God delivers him from this slavery (Tit. 3:3 ff.). 2 Pet. 2:13 ff. give a picture of these people who have given themselves over to their *hēdonai*, showing how they have become the victims of the destructive powers which are in revolt against God.

2. Men estranged from God are not the only ones threatened by the insatiable desires of the impulses (Tit. 3:3). The Christian also remains exposed to this power. Even prayer can be misused as a means to satisfy these passions. Jas. 4:3 shows how vain prayer is under these circumstances. Where unrestricted impulses have their way and *hēdonē* rules the life, man's relationship to God is inevitably threatened, inner → peace is destroyed, and good relationships with one's fellow-man are poisoned. If a man gives way to his desires, he is entangled in perpetual dissatisfaction and finds himself in a chaotic condition (Jas. 4:1). The NT lists of vices picture clearly and in detail the characteristics and results of *hēdonē*. They range from unrestrained sexuality through all the symptoms of lack of self-discipline to a self-centred indifference to one's fellow-man.

3. The dangers which unchecked impulses have for faith are seen most clearly in the interpretation of the parable of the sower. The word is used only in Lk. 8:14,

hēdonai tou biou "pleasures of life" (cf. the par. in Mk. 4:19 and Matt. 13:22). Where *hēdonē* reasserts its mastery, faith dies, choked among the thorns.

4. This process is seen most clearly in false teachers. They entangle themselves in false teaching, lead others astray into it, and become victims of a moral self-destruction. This is described in vivid detail in 2 Tim. 3:1–5 as one of the ways in which "the last days" can be recognized. Here Paul uses the Hel. forms *philēdonoi*, lovers of pleasure, and in contrast *philotheoi*, lovers of God (both NT *hapax legomena*, but used already by Philo).

5. Both in *epithymia* and *hēdonē* the sinister power of the instincts is expressed. It is insatiable and directed against God. It lives in man, threatens his ethical standards and enslaves him. The NT warns the Christian not to be driven by them – even if the *hēdonai* are expressly mentioned only in Tit. 3:3 – and not to neglect watchfulness. *hēdonē* as the drive to self-expression can be conquered only by the power of God.

We must beware of confounding *hēdonē* with the desire for true → joy (*chara*) which is never rejected by the NT. Joy is satisfied rather by communion with God, often even in the midst of suffering and persecution. If G. Stählin (*TDNT* II 926) is correct in seeing the contrast to 2 Pet. 2:13, "They count it pleasure (*hēdonēn*) to revel in the daytime", in Jas. 1:2, "Count it all joy (*charan*) . . . when you meet various trials", then it is clear how paradoxically the Christian's longing for joy finds its fulfilment and goal. *E. Beyreuther*

ὀρέγομαι

ὀρέγομαι (*oregomai*), strive; ὄρεξις (*orexis*), desire.

CL *oregomai*, the mid. voice of *oregō* – both forms are found from Homer onwards – is connected with the Lat. *regere* and the Eng. right, and means stretch oneself, stretch out. It is found especially with a metaphorical meaning. Like the noun *orexis* (Plato onwards) it denotes striving (a) of the heart and mind, (b) of bodily desire (relatively seldom). The Stoics gave it the special sense of a striving of the soul, following on a deliberate decision of the will guided by human reason. When the power and discipline of reason are removed the striving becomes desire (→ *epithymia*). The highest ideal of life is striving in conformity with one's own self (*kata physin*). Philo sees in *orexis* the soul's homesickness for the world of ideas.

OT The concept is first found in the post-canonical books of the Bible. It is used in a good sense in Wis. 16:2 f., where God satisfies the desire of Israel in the wilderness with quails. In a bad sense it is found in Sir. 18:30 and 23:6 where Ben Sira warns against perversions at banquets. The influence of Gk. philosophy can be recognized here.

NT *oregomai* is found 3 times in the NT and *orexis* once. In 1 Tim. 3:1 and Heb. 11:16 they are used in good sense; in 1 Tim. 6:10 and Rom. 1:27 in a bad one. In Heb. 11:16 *oregomai* continues the thought of *epizēteō* in v. 14. It speaks of the desire of faith for a better and heavenly homeland, i.e. a home with God. This desire does not come from immanent impulses in man or from his essential nature but from response to God's promise (Heb. 11:9, 13, 15). It manifests itself in utter

reliance upon the promise and the obedience of faith (Heb. 11:8, 17). This means that it is no inner emotional feeling divorced from reality. It brings the will into line with a goal given by God which is expressed in the real things of this world. When the goal of desire and striving is not the salvation given by God, we fall victim to destructive powers, such as love of money (1 Tim. 6:10). The same letter praises the desire for office in the church (1 Tim. 3:1).

In Rom. 1:27 *orexis* is used for sexual desire. But Paul is not rejecting physical desire on the basis of Gk. dualism. He is attacking only perverted forms of that desire, e.g. homosexuality, which find their origin in the fact that men have exchanged the truth of God for a lie (Rom. 1:25). *J. Guhrt*

→ Belly, → Command, → Flesh, → Law, → Sin, → Virtue

(a). F. Büchsel, *epithymia*, *TDNT* III 167–72; J. Gamberoni, "Desire," *EBT* I 206–9; H. W. Heidland, *oregomai*, *TDNT* V 447 f.; G. Stählin, *hēdonē*, *TDNT* II 909–26; P. Tillich, *Systematic Theology* II, 1957, 59 ff.

(b). B. Bartmann, "Die Konkupiszenz, Herkunft und Wesen," *ThG* 24, 1932, 405 f.; A. M. Dubarle, "Le péché originel dans la Genèse," *RB* 64, 1957, 5–34; and "Le péché originel dans les suggestions de l'Évangile," *Revue des Sciences philosophiques et theologiques* 40, 1956, 213–54; K. G. Kuhn, "*Peirasmos-hamartia-sarx* im Neuen Testament und die damit zusammenhängenden Vorstellungen," *ZTK* 49, 1952, 200–22; S. Lyonnet, " 'Tu ne convoiteras pas' (Rom. vii 7)", in *Neotestamentica et Patristica* (O. Cullmann Festschrift), 1962, 157–65; R. Storr, "Das Frömmigkeitsideal der Propheten," *Biblische Zeitfragen* 12, 1926; SB IV 466–83.

Despise

καταφρονέω

καταφρονέω (*kataphroneō*), περιφρονέω (*periphroneō*), despise; καταφρονητής (*kataphronētēs*), despiser.

CL In classical Gk. *kataphroneō* is a common word, used with a single or double gen. or, more rarely, with the acc. in the general sense of acting in a way that shows contempt or disregard for somebody or something, or for somebody on account of something. Whether it is used as a compliment or a censure depends on who or what it is that is being disparaged. *kataphronētēs*, late and rare, means "one who despises", usually in a bad sense. *periphroneō* is used with both genitive and accusative as a synonym of *kataphroneō*, though its primary meaning, both etymologically and in use, is simply to think hard about something.

OT In the LXX, *kataphroneō* usually renders *bûz* and *bāzâh*. Objects of contempt include God (Hos. 6:7), one's father (Gen. 27:12), one's mother (Prov. 23:22), the ways of the law (Prov. 19:16). Such contempt was, of course, profoundly impious. *periphroneō* appears only in 4 Macc., in a good sense, of despising distress (6:9), torments (7:16), and pains (14:1). *kataphronētēs* renders forms of *bāḡaḏ*, which signifies dealing treacherously and unfaithfully, in Hab. 1:5; 2:5; and Zeph. 3:4. In the second of these references the noun is used absolutely; in the first and third the object of contempt is God.

NT In the NT, *kataphroneō* occurs 9 times. In the proverbial saying of Matt. 6:24 = Lk. 16:13 it is morally neutral; its sense is good in Heb. 12:2, where Jesus is said to have despised the shame of the cross; but it is bad in the warnings against despising God's kindness (Rom. 2:4), God's church (1 Cor. 11:22), Christ's little ones

(Matt. 18:10), a youthful leader, or a leader for his youth (1 Tim. 4:12; the double genitive can be rendered either way), and Christian masters of slaves (1 Tim. 6:2). So, too, it is bad when Peter censures heretics for despising "dominion" (*kyriotēs*: possibly angelic powers, but more probably the lordship of Christ exercised through church officers) (2 Pet. 2:10, based on Jude 8, where the verb is *atheteō*, reject). *periphroneō* occurs only in Tit. 2:15, which is parallel in sense to 1 Tim. 4:12, cited above. *kataphronētēs* appears only in Paul's citation of Hab. 1:5 (LXX) at the end of his evangelistic sermon to Jews and proselytes in Antioch of Pisidia (Acts 13:41). In the NT, as in the LXX, the common use of this word-group is in contexts dealing with lack of due respect for the words, works, ministers and people of God.

J. I. Packer

ὀλιγωρέω	ὀλιγωρέω (*oligōreō*), despise.

CL Derived from *oligos*, "little", *oligōreō* in secular Gk. means "think little of, make light of, disregard". Like *kataphroneō* and *periphroneō*, it usually takes the gen. (of comparison).

OT & NT In the LXX, *oligōreō* is used only in Prov. 3:11, where a warning is issued against despising God's *paideia* (training, instruction, corrective discipline). This warning is quoted in Heb. 12:5, as an admonition from the heavenly Father to his persecuted children telling them to see their sufferings as a providential means of sanctifying them for the life with God that is in store for them.

→ Abolish, Nullify, Reject *J. I. Packer*

C. Schneider, *kataphroneō*, *TDNT* III 631 ff.; R. Macpherson, "Despise", *DCG* I 453 f.

Destroy, Perish, Ruin

The terms considered here deal with destruction, annihilation, disaster, ruin and downfall. A distinction may be made between *apollymi* and the related nouns *apōleia* (destruction) and *olethros* (ruin, perdition) which are more strongly associated with physical destruction, and the vb. *phtheirō* which includes moral and religious destruction. Theologically related concepts include → Darkness, → Hell and → Judgment.

ἀπώλεια	ἀπώλεια (*apōleia*), destruction; ἀπόλλυμι (*apollymi*), destroy; Ἀπολλύων (*Apollyōn*), Apollyon, Destroyer.

CL 1. The vb. *apollymi* is a compound of *ollymi* (destroy, make an end of, lose). It is related to the noun *apōleia*, and is found at an early stage in cl. usage both in a trans. form and in an intrans. middle form.

In Homer the trans. form is found with a dual meaning: (a) to lose (e.g. father, spouse, courage, life); and (b) to annihilate (e.g. a crowd of people in war), destroy, kill (*Il.* 5, 758). The mid. can be rendered according to context: (a) to disappear, get lost, be lost (*Od.*, 11, 586); or (b) to die, go to ruin through financial disaster or violence resulting in loss of life (cf. Hdt., 5, 126; Epictetus, *Dissertationes*, 2, 19, 16).

apōleia which is not found until the 4th century (Aristotle, *Eth.Nic.*, 1120a2) means destruction, downfall, annihilation. *apollyōn* is a personification of the Heb. *'abaddôn*, ruin. It means the destroyer, and contains a pun on the name of *Apollōn*, the god of plagues (Aesch., *Agamennon* 1081). (See below NT 4.)

2. The ideas conveyed by this group of words usually involve injury (of a violent nature), destruction or the final end of earthly existence. Accordingly, at one point in a dialogue of Plato concerning the immortality of the soul, the conclusion is reached that "evil is everything that corrupts (*apollyon*) and destroys (*diaphtheiron*), and good is that which preserves (*sōzon*) and strengthens (*ōpheloun*)" (*Rep.*, 608e). Among the destructive forces mentioned in the passage which follows are sickness for the body, rot for wood, and rust for iron.

OT 1. In the LXX *apollymi* represents 38 different Heb. words. Most frequently it stands for *'ābaḏ*, to be lost, perish, or, to destroy. In non-religious contexts it is used variously of the destruction of a city, a group of people or a tribe (cf. Num. 16:33; 32:39; 33:52). As with the similar concept *apokteinō* (kill, → Death), *apollymi* (often used in the active) threatens the very existence of an individual or group, such as one's enemies. Of great importance are the requirements of the Holiness Code. These warn transgressors of the law, such as those who make child sacrifices to Moloch and those who consult fortune-tellers or the spirits of the dead, that they will be "cut off" from the people of the covenant. In other words, they will be stoned (Lev. 20:3, 5, 6). The exhortations which conclude the book of Deuteronomy confront the whole nation with the alternatives of receiving the blessing of a long life by means of obedience, or the curse of extinction by disobedience (Deut. 28:20; 22:24; 30:18 etc.). Thus *apōleia* involves not only exclusion from belonging to Yahweh, but also destruction and loss of life. The LXX brings out more strongly than Gk. literature the element of guilt in destruction. Although in most of the OT writings destruction is understood in the sense of earthly death and extinction, later texts occasionally link the words of this group with the concepts of *hadēs*, the underworld (→ Hell), and *thanatos*, → death (Prov. 15:11; 27:20; cf. Job 26:6; 28:22). They give to destruction a far-reaching significance, relating to the state after death.

2. In Jewish apocalyptic of the intertestamental and NT period, the idea appears of an eschatological destruction of the world, sometimes conceived in terms of a world conflagration. The ungodly will perish along with the world. Hence in the Qumran texts they are often called "men of perdition" (1QS) or "sons of perdition" (CD).

NT While the simple form *ollymi* is not found in the NT, verbal forms of *apollymi* or *apollyō* occur 90 times, and *apōleia* 18 times.

1. These words occur in the lit. senses already mentioned. Lk. 15:4, 8 tell of the loss of a sheep and a coin. Similarly the mid. is used of the state of being lost in the case of the sheep and the son (Lk. 15:4, 6, 24, 32). *apollymi* is found in the sense of kill, destroy, in Matt. 2:13; 27:20; Mk. 3:6 par.; 9:22; 11:18 par.; Lk. 6:9. In each case it is with reference to a person. On the other hand, the vb. has an impersonal object in the text quoted from Isa. 29:14 in 1 Cor. 1:19, "I will destroy the wisdom of the wise." Again the mid. is found in the sense to die or perish, both with

reference to things (Jn. 6:12, 27 fragments, food; 1 Pet. 1:7 gold; Heb. 1:11 heaven; 2 Pet. 3:6 the world). More frequently it refers to people (Mk. 4:38 par., the disciples' cry for help, "Do you not care if we perish?"; Matt. 26:52 "by the sword"; Lk. 11:51; 13:3, 5, 33; 15:17; 1 Cor. 10:9 f.; 2 Cor. 4:9). Finally, the noun *apōleia* has in most instances the intrans. meaning of ruin, destruction (Matt. 7:13; Rom. 9:22; Phil. 1:28; 2 Pet. 2:1; Rev. 17:8). But occasionally it appears in the trans. sense of waste, squandering (Mk. 14:4 par.).

2. The fig. theological use of these words in the NT follows in part the usage of the LXX. In the three parables of Lk. 15 the human condition of being lost is portrayed. People without God are like lost → sheep (cf. Ps. 119:176), doomed to perish unless rescued by the → shepherd. Jesus is pictured as this shepherd (cf. Jn. 10:11 ff.). He has come "to seek and to save the lost" (Lk. 19:10). He is commanded not to lose those whom the Father has given him (Jn. 6:39; 18:9). It is in relation to him that the question whether a man is lost or saved (→ Redemption) is decided. He who endeavours to secure his life by his own efforts will lose it. But he who loses it for Christ's sake and the gospel's by giving himself to him and following him (cf. Matt. 8:19–22; 16:24) will keep it (Mk. 8:35 par.; Matt. 10:39; Lk. 17:33; Jn. 12:25). For with him is life. In him God reveals his love "that whoever believes in him should not perish but have eternal life" (Jn. 3:16).

3. The specific theological sense of these words in the NT is brought out by Jn. and Paul. Just as *sōtēria* (salvation) and *zōē aiōnios* (eternal life) connote sure and lasting salvation, so *apollymi* and *apōleia* mean "definitive destruction, not merely in the sense of the extinction of physical existence, but rather of an eternal plunge into Hades and a hopeless destiny of death" (A. Oepke, *TDNT* I 396). Besides those who receive eternal life (Jn. 10:28) there will also be those who "perish" (1 Cor. 1:18; cf. 2 Cor. 2:15; 4:3). "As from now on there are only believers and unbelievers, so there are also now only saved and lost, those who have life and those who are in death" (R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 1971, 155). Over against life with God there stands the terrible possibility of eternal perdition. The NT use of → *olethros* and related words is characterized by the way in which destruction is set in the light of eternity. Perdition is the fate that awaits the man who does not come to repentance (2 Pet. 3:9; cf. Matt. 13:3, 5), who rejects love of the truth (2 Thess. 2:10), who goes on the broad way "that leads to destruction" (Matt. 7:13), or who is one of the enemies of the cross of Christ (Phil. 3:18 f.). Judas (Jn. 17:12) and the → Antichrist (2 Thess. 2:3) are specifically described as "sons of perdition" (see above, OT 2). Perdition can be brought on a person by another who corrupts his soul (Rom. 14:15; Jn. 10:10), or by one commissioned by God (Mk. 1:24; but cf. Lk. 9:56 *v.l.*; cf. also the curse formula in Acts 8:20), or by God himself as → judge (Jas. 4:12; Matt. 10:28; 22:7; Mk. 12:9 par.). God's role as judge appears also in the manifestation of his wrath. Commenting on Rom. 9:22 f., O. Michel writes: "*orgē* and *apōleia* belong together: the future destruction is revealed just as much in the wrath of God as the future glory is revealed in his mercy" (*Der Brief an die Römer*, KEK 4^{12}, 214).

4. This group of words includes also the substantive part. *Apollyōn* which occurs only once in the NT at Rev. 9:11. It is given as a translation of *'abaddôn* (cf. Job 26:2; 28:22; Ps. 88:12; Prov. 15:11; Eth. En. 20:2; → above CL 1). Here it refers to the angelic king of the underworld, the prince of the scorpions, describing him

as Destroyer, and so illuminating once again the contrast between God's salvation (*sōtēria*) and eschatological ruin (*apōleia*). *H-C. Hahn*

ὄλεθρος

ὄλεθρος (*olethros*), destruction, ruin, death; ὀλοθρεύω (*olothreuō*), destroy, ruin; ἐξολεθρεύω (*exolethreuō*), destroy utterly; ὀλοθρευτής (*olothreutēs*), destroyer.

CL *olethros* (Homer, e.g. *Il.*, 22, 325) is related to *ollymi* (destroy), and means destruction, ruin, death. It can also refer to that which brings destruction. *olothreuō* similarly means to destroy (e.g. Philo, *Leg. All.*, 2, 34). The intensive form *exolethreuō* means to destroy utterly, annihilate. *olothreutēs* (only found in Christian literature) means destroyer. In classical Gk. *olethros* often has the connotation of sudden destruction (*olethros aipys*). It especially refers to destruction of life (*olethros psychēs*). But in some cases it can mean the loss of things (e.g. *olethros chrēmatōn*, loss of money, Thuc. 7, 27). The other three words in the group are seldom found in classical Gk.

OT In the LXX, on the other hand, apart from *olothreutēs* these words are found more often. *olethros*, especially in the prophets, often carries the meaning of an eschatological destruction as a result of God's judgment (e.g. Jer. 5:6; 22:7; 25:36; Ezek. 6:14; 14:16; Hag. 2:22). The vb. *exolethreuō* is also used especially in Deut., Jos. and Pss. to describe punishment by God. It expresses his wrath (→ Anger) over the sin of man and the disobedience of his people Israel.

This language continued to be used later, particularly in Jewish apocalyptic and the Qumran texts which frequently refer to the eschatological destruction of sinners.

NT In the NT *olethros* occurs only 4 times, all in Paul. *olothreuō* and *olothreutēs* are found only in Heb. 11:28 and 1 Cor. 10:10, while *exolethreuō* comes only once in Acts 3:23.

In comparison with → *apōleia*, the *olethros* group is used to a much more limited extent. Whereas *apōleia* embraces various points in a wide spectrum of ideas concerned with destruction, including even the loss or extermination of objects, *olethros* – like the three words derived from it – is used in the few places where it occurs in the NT exclusively of persons.

1. *exolethreuomai* is found in Acts 3:23 in connection with a quotation of Deut. 18:15, 18 f. which is actually made more severe by the use of this word. While Deut. 18:19 only says that God will "require" of the sinner his disobedience to the words of the prophet, the actual punishment is now named. He will be "cut off from his people" (cf. Lev. 23:29). This is probably done in order to bring home to the hearers of this sermon the full seriousness of their own situation and the possibility of repentance. The same object may lie behind the use of *olothreutēs* in 1 Cor. 10:10. Here Paul warns his readers in a reference to the plague of serpents in the wilderness (Num. 21:4–9): "we must not . . . grumble, as some of them did and were destroyed by the Destroyer." *olothreutēs* here means something like the "destroying angel" (cf. 1 Chr. 21:12–15). This is likewise the meaning of *olothreuōn*, destroyer, who is mentioned in Heb. 11:28, again in the context of a kind of sermon from OT history (cf. Exod. 12:12 f., 23; Wis. 18:25).

2. In 1 Thess. 5:3 *olethros* refers to eschatological destruction suddenly breaking into a situation of apparent security and surprising men like labour pains coming upon a pregnant woman. Special candidates for final destruction are the rich whose end will be *olethros* and *apōleia* (1 Tim. 6:9). They, of course, are only one group among the ungodly, who will all suffer the same punishment of "exclusion from the presence of the Lord," i.e. "eternal destruction" (2 Thess. 1:9; cf. Ps. 37:17).

H-C. Hahn

3. The context of 1 Cor. 5:5 indicates that destruction may even fall within the province of the judgment of the church. The Corinthian church has apparently countenanced a case of gross immorality and Paul urges that it should be dealt with and the offender "removed from among you" (5:2). "For though absent in body I am present in spirit, and as if present, I have already pronounced judgment in the name of the Lord Jesus on the man who has done such a thing. When you are assembled, and my spirit is present, with the power of our Lord Jesus, you are to deliver this man to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that his spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus" (1 Cor. 5:3–5).

The passage has been taken to refer to secret execution (J. Klausner, *From Jesus to Paul*, 1944, 553). Later ages have seen in it justification for the torture and burning of heretics. But the similar expression in 1 Tim. 1:20 can hardly mean that, when Paul "delivered to Satan Hymenaeus and Alexander that they may learn not to blaspheme," he had them privately done away with. In discussing baptism and its significance in Rom. 6:6, Paul writes: "We know that our old self was crucified with him so that the sinful body might be destroyed (*katargēthē*), and we might no longer be enslaved to sin." Although a different vb. is used here, the thought is a similar one. Clearly, physical destruction is not envisaged. The thought of 1 Cor. 5:5 suggests rather expulsion from the church into the realm dominated by "the god of this world" (2 Cor. 4:4). If Rom. 6:6 and 1 Cor. 5:5 are comparable, the inference might be as follows: what the man has failed to accomplish through the means of grace within the church, he must now accomplish without them, in the hope that he would be driven back to God in penitence. The offender would thus be excluded from the sphere of grace and its promises, as mediated by the Word and sacraments. This expulsion would take place at a formal meeting of the church which met in the name of the Lord Jesus and with his power (→ Might) (5:4). Paul's recommendations suggest the proceedings laid down in Matt. 18:15–20, where the → church is given power to → bind and loose in heaven and on earth and where the presence of Jesus Christ is made to those who gather in his name. An instance of such an assembly may be the case of Ananias and Sapphira who actually died on being told that they had lied to God and had tempted the Spirit of the Lord (Acts 5:1–11; cf. also 13:11).

The idea of being delivered to an evil power or to death is paralleled outside the Christian community. C. K. Barrett cites the papyrus formula: "Daemon of the dead . . ., I deliver to thee so-and-so, in order that . . ." (*A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1968, 126; cf. A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 1910, 304; *London Magical Papyrus* 46. 334 ff.; = K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, I, 192). He also cites Sanhedrin 6:2 where the criminal about to be executed is instructed to say: May my death be an atonement for all my sins.

But as Barrett points out, atonement for Paul is not through our death but through Christ's.

Elsewhere in both the OT and the NT, → Satan is seen as one who in the providence of God is permitted to afflict the flesh for the ultimate benefit of man. He is allowed to afflict Job to show that despite every trial, Job retains his faith and integrity (Job 2:3–10). Paul's own "thorn in the flesh" and "messenger from Satan" (2 Cor. 12:7) brings him to the realization that God's strength is made perfect in man's weakness (v. 9). Here, however, the word destruction (*olethros*) and the circumstances of the offence suggest that the case was so serious that the judgment of exclusion from the church and thus from the realm of grace might lead to the person succumbing to physical death, as in the case of Ananias and Sapphira (cf. also those mentioned later who had profaned the Lord's Supper, 1 Cor. 11:30). For Christ alone is the victor over the powers of evil and death (1 Cor. 15:24–27; cf. Phil. 1:10 f.; Col. 2:15). And to be cut off from the → body of Christ (1 Cor. 12:12 ff.) is to be exposed to the reign of evil and death. In the same way, the idolaters and immoral persons in Israel who turned back from Christ were "destroyed by the Destroyer" (1 Cor. 10:10; cf. 10:1–13; see above NT 1). The destruction of God's temple invites destruction by God (1 Cor. 3:17).

At the same time, there is the expressed intention "that his spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus" (5:5; cf. 1:8; 3:13; 15:22 ff.). Like the hardening of Israel in Rom. 9–11, the destruction here envisaged is not the final and complete outworking of the wrath of God (→ Anger), such as is mentioned in 2 Thess. 1:9 and 1 Tim. 6:9. The → spirit here refers to the man's essential self. The body may waste away, but the self will be clothed in life (2 Cor. 4:16; 5:4). Behind the remark may lie the conviction that, whilst a man's work may be destroyed in the day of judgment, he himself will be saved "but only as through fire" (1 Cor. 3:15). Paul's hope of the man's ultimate salvation may be related to the hope that the judgment will bring about in him the "godly grief" that "produces repentance that leads to salvation and brings no regret" and not the "worldly grief" that "produces death" (2 Cor. 7:10). Paul's remarks in 2 Cor. 2:5–11 about the restoration to fellowship and forgiveness of one who has erred lest "he may be overwhelmed by excessive sorrow" (v.7) and to "keep Satan from gaining the advantage over us" (v. 11) may be an indication that this was in fact what had happened. However, from Tertullian onwards (*De pudicitia* 13–15) there have been those who have held that the two cases were quite distinct on the grounds of Paul's apparent leniency in 2 Cor.

See further C. K. Barrett, op. cit., 124–27; P. E. Hughes, *Second Corinthians*, 1962, 59 ff.; F. F. Bruce, *1 and 2 Corinthians*, 1971, 54 f., 184.; H. Conzelmann, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther*, *KEK* 5, 1969[11], 117 f.; C. K. Barrett, "*ho adikēsas* (2. Cor. 7, 12)," in O. Böcher and K. Haacker, eds., *Verborum Veritas: Festschrift für Gustav Stählin*, 1970, 149–57. *C. Brown*

φθείρω

φθείρω (*phtheirō*), destroy, ruin, corrupt, spoil; ἀφθαρσία (*aphtharsia*), incorruptibility, immortality; ἄφθαρτος (*aphthartos*), imperishable, incorruptible, immortal; διαφθείρω (*diaphtheirō*), spoil, destroy, ruin; διαφθορά (*diaphthora*), destruction, corruption; φθορά (*phthora*), ruin, destruction, perdition, corruption.

CL In classical Gk. from the time of Homer onwards, and also in Philo and the Test. XII, *phtheirō* means to ruin, corrupt, destroy, kill. The term has various shades of meaning: to corrupt morally (Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.*, 1103b), to bring down the state of laws (Plato, *Laws* 958c), to bribe (Dem., *Orationes* 18, 247), to seduce a woman (Dem., *Orationes*, 45, 79), to defile a virgin (Lucian, *Cataplus sive Tyrannus* 26). In the pass. it means to go to ruin, perish, be corrupted, destroyed; and in the mid. to destroy oneself (Thuc., 3, 113, 5).

Derived from the word are *phthora*, destruction, corruption (Plato, *Timaeus*, 23c), and *diaphthora*, destruction (Polybius, 1, 48, 3, 8), murder (Euripides, *Ion*, 617), which is later used in the sense of corruption, disorder. Later words are *aphtharsia*, indestructibility, immortality (not before Epicurus, according to Diog. Laert., 10, 123), and *aphthartos*, incorruptible (Aristotle, *De longitudine et brevitate vitae*, 4, 466a 1; cf. also Wis. 12:1; Philo, *Sacr.*, 95).

diaphtheirō can mean, in combination with other terms, to frustrate attempts to help (Thuc., 3, 113, 5), to change one's mind (Aesch., *Agamemnon*, 932).

OT In the LXX the words of this group are used chiefly to render the Heb. roots *šāḥaṭ* (91 times, 51 of these *diaphtheirō*), and much less often *ḥāḇal*. They can mean to kill people (2 Sam. 24:16), to lay waste a stretch of country (1 Chr. 20:1), a city (1 Sam. 23:10), or to destroy weapons (Isa. 54:16). In Gen. 6:11 and Hos 9:9 *phtheirō* is used to describe a sinful and fallen world. God is the one who can redeem life from destruction (*phthora*, Ps. 103:4). In the cultic sphere a sacrificial animal which is not free of blemish is described as marred (*phthartos*, Lev. 22:25).

The contrast between *phthartos*, perishable, and *aphthartos*, imperishable, acquired a special significance in the writings of Philo. Man will pass away utterly, for he is mortal (*Aet. Mund.*, 143), whereas God is immortal (*Leg. All.*, 3, 36). The man who is good and wise can gain a share in the immortality of the divine world, if he lives according to the "right *logos*" (→ Word), which is identified with the → Law (*Ebr.*, 142).

NT It is interesting that in the NT this group of words occurs nowhere in the gospels except for Lk. 12:33 (of moths destroying (*diaphtheirō*) clothes). Of the 8 occurrences of *phtheirō*, 5 are in Paul (1 Cor. 3:17; 15:33; 2 Cor. 7:2; 11:3; Eph. 4:22). The others are in 2 Pet. 2:12; Jude 10 and Rev. 19:2. A similar pattern emerges in the other words of this group. *diaphthora* occurs only in Acts 2:27, 31; 13:34 f. From this it may be concluded that the words are used mostly within a Hel. environment. As in classical Gk., various shades of meaning are found in the NT. In Rev. 11:18 *diaphtheirō* expresses the extermination of men as a result of divine judgment.

1. (a) In dealing with the shortcomings at Corinth, Paul writes in the emphatic style of a cultic law: "If anyone destroys (*phtheirei*) God's temple, God will destroy (*phtherei*) him" (1 Cor. 3:17). The divine penalty is announced in the form of a legal judgment, though the possibility of avoiding it is left open. In this way God himself protects his church. Paul, for his part, can claim that "we have wronged no one, we have corrupted (*ephtheiramen*) no one, we have taken advantage of no one" (2 Cor. 7:2). He is therefore in a position to require the church to make room in Corinth for himself and his message. He exhorts this church not to be led astray. He fears that just as Eve was once "deceived" by the serpent, so the church will be led into rebellion by his opponents and the confusion they sow. Thus "your

thoughts will be led astray (*phtharē*) from a sincere and pure devotion to Christ" (2 Cor. 11:3). And to demonstrate that false teaching and apostasy are not without their effect on human relationships, Paul refers in 1 Cor. 15:33 to a saying which had become proverbial, originating in the lost comedy *Thais* by the Attic poet Menander (342–291 B.C.): "Bad company ruins (*phtheirousin*) good morals." In this context Paul uses the saying to warn the Corinthians not to make common cause with those who deny the resurrection of the dead.

(b) According to 2 Pet. 2:12, heretics are "like irrational animals", born of nature to be caught and killed (*eis halōsin kai phthoran*). They will "be destroyed in the same destruction with them", they will perish like the beasts (cf. also Jude 10). Those who serve Christ, on the other hand, are "to put off the old nature which belongs to your former manner of life and is corrupt (or "being destroyed" [*phtheiromenon*]) through deceitful lusts" (Eph. 4:22). They are no longer enslaved to the "corruption (*phthora*) that is in the world because of passion"; they live a new life in the power of Christ (2 Pet. 1:4). The church is warned therefore not to sow "to the flesh". For as a man sows, so shall he reap (Gal. 6:7 f.).

(c) In the Rev. the harlot Babylon is the epitome of apostasy against God. In the visionary triumph song it is said that she has corrupted (*ephtheiren*) the earth with her "fornication". But now she is judged. In other words, God's victory over the sin of the world has been made manifest (Rev. 19:2).

2. (a) Immortality (*aphtharsia*) is one of the terms used, as in honorific titles for royalty in late Gk. usage, to describe the character of God. In the doxology of 1 Tim. 1:17 the church praises him as "the King of ages, immortal, invisible, the only God" (cf. Philo, *Vit. Mos.*, 3, 171; and Epicurus according to Diog. Laert., 10, 123). The sin of the heathen is that they "exchange the glory of the immortal God for images resembling mortal man" (Rom. 1:23).

(b) Immortality is not however attributed only to God himself; it is also attributed to Christ as the *Kyrios* (→ Lord). In the closing words of Eph. (6:24) peace is pronounced on all those who "love Jesus Christ *en aphtharsia*." RSV paraphrases this as "with love undying". But M. Dibelius takes it to mean "love Jesus in his immortality" (HNT 12, ad loc.). As the exalted One, he shares fully in the immortality of the Father. It is this Christ whom the church confesses, declaring that he has "abolished death and brought life and immortality to light through the gospel" (2 Tim. 1:10). In spite of the delay of the Parousia the church lives in the knowledge that her salvation is something present and already given. She knows that because of the manifestation of Christ she has been taken up into his immortality. Believers are already in possession of the inheritance which is "imperishable, undefiled and unfading" (1 Pet. 1:4). They are called by the apostolic command to love one another, seeing that they have been born again. They are no longer of natural and therefore perishable origin. They have been born of imperishable seed by the living and abiding word of God (1 Pet. 1:23). This should be apparent even in outward things. Gentleness and quietness, not outward adorning of every kind, are the proper, God-given and hence "imperishable jewels" of the Christian (1 Pet. 3:3 f.).

(c) In 1 Cor. 9:24–27 Paul compares the life of the Christian with an athletic contest (cf. Rom. 9:16; Gal. 2:2; 5:7). In both there is a victory to be striven for;

both demand utter dedication and self-denial. But the aim is a high one. The victor is beckoned by the prize (→ Fight, art. *brabeion*), which for the athlete is a perishable one. The glory and honour brought by sport are as passing as the laurel of which the perishable → crown (*phthartos stephanos*) was made. But for the Christian there awaits an imperishable prize, to be with God for eternity (cf. Rom. 2:7).

3. (a) The contrast between mortality (*phthora*) and immortality (*aphtharsia*) is used by Paul in describing the resurrection of the dead (1 Cor. 15:42 ff.). Using the illustration of the seed sown in the ground, he makes it clear that there is no coming to life without a previous dying. It is only when the seed disintegrates in the earth that it becomes changed into a new form (1 Cor. 15:35–42a). It is the same with the resurrection of the dead – and yet it is quite different. All comparisons which can be used are inadequate. "What is sown is perishable, what is raised is imperishable" (1 Cor. 15:42b). A body tied to the "flesh" is sown, but a spiritual → body (*sōma pneumatikon*) is raised (v. 44). Resurrection is a new creation of life by means of total transformation. Paul thus guards against the idea that there is anything intrinsically imperishable about man. Everything passes away, because the whole man is subject to → sin and hence to → death (Rom. 6:23). The "outward nature is wasting away (*diaphtheiretai*)" (2 Cor. 4:16). Resurrection is a new existence, gained by being raised to immortality. Accordingly it is not simply the resuscitation of bodies lying in the grave. "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God", any more than "the perishable [can] inherit the imperishable" (1 Cor. 15:50).

(b) Paul again emphasizes the same truth when he comes to speak of those who will not yet have died at the time of the Parousia. They do not simply continue their life in immortality; they will be changed (v. 52). It is just as true for them as for the dead, that mortality cannot attain immortality. "Once more must the miracle of God step in between corruption and incorruption, so that the latter may inherit the former" (K. Barth, *The Resurrection of the Dead*, 1933, 217). When the end comes, the great transformation will come for all. The illustration is used of putting on new clothes (→ Clothe, art. *dyō*). This idea may be understood in the context of the initiation rites of the Hel. mystery cults. The inward transformation of the initiate would be symbolized by the laying aside of his old garments. New clothes would be put on. The perishable is laid aside; the imperishable, the divine is put on. The initiate was changed into the divine nature, made like the deity (cf. E. Dinkler, "Die Taufterminologie", 183 ff., see bibliography). Similarly here, the perishable puts on the imperishable; out of what is mortal comes what is immortal (v. 54). Thus "death is swallowed up in victory", which is given "through our Lord Jesus Christ" (vv. 54, 57). Cf. also 2 Cor. 5:1–5.

(c) Jesus is the first to have been resurrected by God, and thus is vindicated as → Messiah. "He did not see corruption (*diaphthora*)" (Acts 2:27, 31; 13:35 ff.), a quotation from the LXX of Ps. 16:10 which gives an interpretative translation of Heb. *šaḥaṭ* (pit, grave). The latter word has the same root as the vb. *šāḥaṭ* (destroy). The grave or pit is the place where the body is destroyed.

The defeat of → death through the victory of Christ affects the whole cosmos. Through the → sin of man it has been subjected to mortality, but the → redemption of mankind means also the redemption of the → creation. It will be set "free from its bondage to decay and obtain the glorious liberty of the children of God" (Rom. 8:21). *F. Merkel*

ἐξαλείφω — ἐξαλείφω (*exaleiphō*), wipe away, blot out.

CL In classical Gk. *exaleiphō*, a derivative of *aleiphō* which means to anoint and rub with oil, and so to polish by rubbing smooth, signifies literally to plaster, whitewash or wash something over, and metaphorically to wipe out, obliterate, cancel or destroy.

OT In the LXX *exaleiphō* carries both these meanings. In the literal sense of "plaster" it appears in Lev. 14:42, 43, 48; in its metaphorical sense, in which it usually renders forms of *māḥâh*, it denotes God's judicial work of wiping out life (Gen. 7:23) and the names and memory of offenders (Exod. 17:14; Deut. 9:14), and of erasing names from the book of life (Exod. 32:32 f.); also it denotes his gracious work of obliterating sins (Ps. 50[51]:9, 108:14; Isa. 43:25).

NT In the NT, *exaleiphō* appears 5 times as a metaphor for obliterating sins (Acts 3:19), erasing names from the book of life (Rev. 3:5), wiping away tears (Rev. 2:14; 7:17), and cancelling a bond of debt, an IOU (Col. 2:14). The image expressed by the verb here and perhaps elsewhere is most probably smoothing the surface of a wax writing-tablet for re-use (cf. "wiping the slate clean"). The bond in Col. 2:14 is our obligation as God's creatures to keep his law on pain of death – a bond which becomes an actual death-warrant as soon as we sin. *J. I. Packer*

→ Death, → Judgment

(a). G. Harder, *phtheirō*, *TDNT* IX 93 ff.; A. Oepke, *apollymi*, *apōleia*, *Apollyōn*, *TDNT* I 394–97; J. Schneider, *olethreuō* etc., *TDNT* V 167–71.
(b). E. Dinkler, "Die Taufterminologie in 2 Kor. i 21 f.," in *Neotestamentica et Patristica*, Festschrift for O. Cullmann, 1962, 173–191 especially 183 ff. (=*Signum Crucis*, 1967, 99 ff. especially 109 ff.); H. Köster, "Verdammnis," *RGG*³ VI 1260.

Determine, Appoint, Present

Several words are used in the NT to express appointment. The following are dealt with in this article: *kathistēmi*, *horizō*, *paristēmi*, *procheirizō*, *tassō*, *tithēmi*, *prothesmia*, *cheirotoneō* and *lanchanō*. In addition, *keimai* (lit. lie, recline; fig. be appointed, set, destined) is used in Lk. 2:34 ("this child *is set* for the fall and rising of many in Israel"), Phil. 1:16 ("I *am put* here for the defence of their gospel"), and 1 Thess. 3:3 ("this *is to be* our lot", RSV).

See also the art. on Foreknowledge, Providence, Predestination for the vbs *proginōskō* (know beforehand), *pronoeō* (think of beforehand), *prohoraō* (foresee), *prohorizō* (predestine), *protithēmi* (plan, intend) and their cognates.

καθίστημι — καθίστημι (*kathistēmi*), bring, appoint, put in charge, make.

CL *kathistēmi* is a compound of *histēmi*, stand, place, set. It has three main meanings which are basic for our understanding of its NT use: (a) lead or bring in; (b) appoint, especially to an office or position; (c) bring it to pass that, and in perf. (intrans.) have become something, appear as. This expresses both the objective fact

and also the subjective representation of, or judgment on, a matter (A. Oepke, *TDNT* III 444 f.).

OT The commonest meaning in the LXX is to place somewhere, and appoint to an office (cf. Deut. 17:15; 1 Sam. 8:1; Ps. 105:21).

NT Meaning (a) is found only in Acts 17:15 "those who conducted Paul"; (b) is found in Acts 6:3 of deacons, Tit. 1:5 of elders, Heb. 5:1; 8:3 of the high priest, Matt. 24:45 par. of the controller of a household.

The usage (c) is theologically important, and occurs in Rom. 5:19; Jas. 4:4; and 2 Pet. 1:8. Rom. 5:12–21 is a passage of major theological importance. In it → Adam and → Christ are contrasted. Adam's act of disobedience has binding results for all; they stand there (*katestathēsan*) as sinners. Through Christ's obedience they are to be reckoned (*katastathēsontai*) as righteous. In v. 19 this contrasted pair of facts is thus in each case described by *kathistēmi*. Paul uses this verb to describe God's judgment on man; he draws on the language and ideas of the OT and late Jud. This anthropomorphic way of expressing it presents two contrasting aspects: existence as a sinner and → justification. The decisive event is seen to be Christ's obedience even to death (cf. Phil. 2:5–11). Through it the real possibility is granted to all of standing as righteous before God. Adam here is a representative of "man" used to illustrate the fact of man's being a "sinner" because of his disobedience. ([Tr.] cf. the discussion of Rab. teaching on Adam in W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, 1955², 36–57.) The reality of man under the judgment of God, as seen by faith, is revealed to him above all in the salvation from his lost state which is offered to him. *S. Wibbing*

ὁρίζω

ὁρίζω (*horizō*), determine, appoint; ἀφορίζω (*aphorizō*), separate, set apart, appoint.

CL *horizō* is connected with *horos*, boundary, and *horion*, region. Originally it meant to set bounds, bound, and hence to establish, determine. In the 5th cent. B.C. it is found frequently in Aesch. and Hdt. In Soph. the gods establish laws, and in Eur. they determine human fate. Plato and Dem. transfer the spatial force of *horizō* to temporal relationships. This occurs also later in Josephus. The compound *aphorizō* (Soph. and Plato onwards), has first the meaning, separate, and then choose, determine.

OT *horizō* is found 17 times in the LXX. In its original meaning of setting a boundary it occurs in Num. 34:6; Jos. 13:27; 15:12; 18:20. In Num. 30:3–12 it is used a number of times for *'āsar*, bind oneself by a vow. In Prov. 18:18 it represents *pāraḏ* (hiph.), separate, decide between. In Prov. 16:30 it is used freely as a par. to *logizomai*, think, plan. *aphorizō* is found *c.* 50 times in the LXX. It has no predominant Heb. equivalent, but all the Heb. concepts represented by it have the connotation of separating, cutting off (cf. Gen. 10:5, "the peoples . . . separated" NEB; Deut. 4:41; Lev. 13:4).

NT *horizō* is found 8 times in the NT (6 in Lk.) meaning determine, establish, appoint. *aphorizō* is found 10 times meaning separate, choose for, determine.

1. Jesus' messianic claim and his death on the cross were irreconcilable, self-contradictory opposites for the Jews. Peter wished to counter this offence by showing that it was God's "deliberate (*hōrismenē*) will and plan" (Acts 2:23 NEB) by which Jesus was crucified by blinded Jewry. Similarly in Lk. 22:22 the Son goes the way "determined" by God for him, "but woe to that man by whom he is betrayed". It is this Jesus who is the one "ordained" by God to be the judge of the last judgment (Acts 10:42).

Paul made a similar statement to the Areopagus. After God had "determined" allotted periods and boundaries for the men that he had created so that they should seek him, he "appointed" a man to judge the world on the day appointed for it (Acts 17:26, 31).

It has been suggested that an adoptionist credal form might lie behind the *horizō* of Acts 10:42 and 17:31. But in context the passages must doubtless be understood in sense of a predestination from all eternity.

Heb. 4:7 declares that after the day of testing in the wilderness (3:8) God appointed another day, a new period of salvation, beginning with Christ, which offers the opportunity to turn.

In Rom. 1:3 f. Paul is apparently quoting a primitive Christian creed to show that he is linked with the tradition of the fathers. In this creed the human mode of Jesus' existence ("descended from David according to the flesh") is contrasted with his divine mode of existence ("designated Son of God in power according to the Spirit of holiness"). The word "designated" suggests an advance: Jesus is the Davidic Messiah, but also much more; he is God's Son in power. It also suggests temporal sequence: he was born as a man but designated Son of God by the resurrection. Many German scholars see in this sequence a primitive, adoptionist christology, because "in the earliest Church Jesus' messiahship was dated from the resurrection" (R. Bultmann, *Theology of the NT*, I 1952, 27). We must remember, however, that Paul does not indicate anywhere else that he thought that Jesus was installed as Son first at his resurrection (cf. Rom. 8:3). He holds that Jesus was God's Son from all eternity. That is why K. L. Schmidt maintains that *horizō* does not have the force here of institute or appoint but that of determine beforehand (*TDNT* V 453). O. Michel is no doubt correct when he writes in his commentary on Romans, "Paul is here concerned with a double truth, with understanding Jesus in his human and in his divine aspect" (*KEK* 4^{12} 1963, 40).

In one place alone (Acts 11:29) the vb. is not used of God, but of men, as normally in secular Gk. The disciples "determined" to send relief to the brethren in need.

2. The word *aphorizō* is always concerned with separating. The good are separated from the evil (Matt. 13:49; 25:32). The unbelievers exclude the believers (Lk. 6:22), and conversely the church withdraws from unbelief (Acts 19:9; 2 Cor. 6:17). In Gal. 2:12 Paul accuses Peter of separating himself from the common Lord's Supper with the Gentile Christians after Jewish Christians had come from Jerusalem to Antioch. The importance of Peter's step for Paul was that by separating himself he recognized the validity of the old Jewish dietary laws, which were thereby given greater importance than the one body of Christ composed of Jews and Gentiles.

There are passages, however, where the meaning separate can hardly be distinguished from determine, appoint. Thus Paul knows himself to be set apart and

chosen for the service of the gospel (Rom. 1:1; Gal. 1:15). He did not appoint himself as an apostle, but God set him apart for the office (Acts 13:2). *G. Dulon*

παρίστημι

παρίστημι (*paristēmi*), place, put at the disposal of, present.

CL *paristēmi* (from the 2nd cent. B.C. also *paristanō*) is a compound of *histēmi* (stand), the root being connected with the Lat. *sistere* (place, stand). Its basic meaning is (trans.) place beside, (intrans.) stand beside, and (mid.) place before oneself. In secular Gk. this was widely developed in various directions but without any fixed connotation. The following are worth mentioning: (a) (trans.) put down, place at someone's disposal, to bring (especially as a technical term in Hel. sacrificial language), bring before (the emperor or the court); (b) (intrans.) approach (the emperor or an enemy), help someone (already in Homer), wait on (of a female servant, Homer, *Od.*, 1, 335), be present (also used of the time of death and of harvest).

OT The word is used in the LXX *c.* 100 times. One third of these represent Heb. *'āmaḏ* and *yāṣaḇ*. The godly watch for God's coming (Ps. 5:3(4)). Foreigners enter his service (Isa. 60:10). When *paristēmi* is used with a prep., in contrast to secular usage, it means stand as a servant before his master which always implies special honour (cf. 1 Sam. 16:21; 2 Ki. 5:25). It is so used of angels (Job 1:6) and martyrs (4 Macc. 17:18) before God. Standing before God expresses the purpose of the choice of the prophet (1 Ki. 17:1) and priest (Deut. 10:8; 18:5, 8 where it is par. to *leitourgeō* → Serve). The word also expresses God's standing by someone to reveal himself (Exod. 34:5), to help (Ps. 109:31), or to charge him with his sins (Ps. 50:21).

NT 1. In the NT only *paristanō* is found in the present. It is used intrans. of standing before Caesar (Acts 27:24), God's judgment (Rom. 14:10), God's support in standing by someone (2 Tim. 4:17), that of the local church (Rom. 16:2), and of the coming of an angel (Acts 27:23). Gabriel stands before God (Lk. 1:19), because according to contemporary Jewish concepts there was no sitting in heaven. Only God sits, as a sign of his uniqueness and grandeur. All that has been created must stand before him.

2. The trans. use is of more importance and is found virtually only in Acts and the Pauline writings. It is used in Lk. 2:22 of Jesus' presentation to the Lord where it carries with it the idea of consecration (cf. Exod. 13:2). (*paristēmi* is used of Jeroboam's "placing" of priests in Bethel in 1 Ki. 12:32 (LXX).)

Those passages where *paristēmi* is used almost in the sense of make, set up, place, are of special theological importance. Col. 1:22 implies that a holy community has been made by the death of Jesus Christ from a humanity until then estranged from God. Since Christ is perfect, the church can also be presented perfect to God (Col. 1:28, RSV, NEB "mature"). Just as Jesus presented himself after Easter to his apostles in various appearances as alive (Acts 1:3), so God will present the believers raised to a new life with Jesus in his presence (2 Cor. 4:14; → Election and above OT). By his self-sacrifice Christ has presented the church in splendour of a bride

(Eph. 5:27; cf. Col. 1:22). Corresponding to this act of God, we should do our best to present ourselves as approved (2 Tim. 2:15, "worthy of God's approval" NEB). Where such a church has come into being through the preaching and pastoral work of the messenger, Paul can picture himself as the match-maker who brings the bride to the bridegroom (2 Cor. 11:2, *parastēsai*).

Neither the supposed freedom of those who consider themselves strong, nor the scrupulous self-denial of those weak in faith will "bring us into God's presence" (1 Cor. 8:8 NEB). Rather the members that were once yielded to impurity are now to be yielded (*parastēsate*) to the service of righteousness. Sin has no longer a right to claim lordship (Rom. 6:13–19), and those who are justified by faith present their "very selves" (NEB) to God as a sacrifice (Rom. 12:1). Hel. sacrificial terminology made Paul's readers familiar with his linguistic usage. *paristēmi* is a sort of codeword for changing the form of one's existence by changing one's lord. The justified recognize that Jesus is *Kyrios*, Lord, and practise submission. Moreover, they live in sanctification in view of his presence and the coming perfection. "He who is dead in sins will hardly say that he places himself at the disposal of sin; but when he is alive, he can place himself at God's disposal" (J. A. Bengel on Rom. 6:13).

K. Munzer

προχειρίζω — προχειρίζω (*procheirizō*), determine, appoint.

CL *procheirizō* is derived from the adj. *procheiros* (from *pro* in front of, and *cheir*, hand), which means (when used of things) handy, ready, ready for use, and (of persons) decided on an action or ready. *procheirizō* consequently means prepare something or someone for a purpose, or keep ready. It is seldom used in the act., and is found especially in the participial forms in the pass. It is used of the benefits which would accrue to the Athenians if peace were made, and which were spoken of in terms which suggested that they had already been prepared and were ready (*prokecheirismena kai hetoima*, Dem. 7, 33).

The mid. is most used with the meanings: (a) prepare for oneself, keep something at one's disposition (e.g. resources in Aristoph., *Ecclesiazusae* 729; troops, Dem., 4, 19). (b) When used in political and military settings, where it is often found, it means determine, nominate, elect. With the acc. of the person it is used for the election of leaders of the people (Isoc., 8, 122) or the appointment of a prosecutor by the general assembly (Dem., 25, 13). With two acc. it is used of the election of a *stratēgos*, general (Diod. Sic., 12, 27, 1) or of a dictator (Dio Cass. 54, 1, 3). It is also used of the allotment of land (P. Cair. Zen. 132,3) or of legions to a general (Polyb., 3, 40, 14), or of the resolutions of a legislative or executive body; these resolutions are recorded in the infin. (Polyb., 3, 40, 2) or with an acc. and infin. (*SIG*^{3} 457:15–20, Thespiae). The term is one that belonged at first to the life of classical Athens, but then became common in Hel. writers and the legal language of the inscriptions and papyri.

OT The Gk.-speaking Jewish Diaspora knew both words, but in the LXX *procheiros* is found only in Prov. 11:3, whereas the vb. occurs 6 times. In Jos. 3:12 it represents *lāqaḥ*, but the par. Jos. 4:2 has *lambanō*. In Exod. 4:13 it is linked with *šālaḥ*,

send. It is introduced in Dan. 3:22 without any Heb. equivalent. It means the choice and commissioning of someone by God (Exod. 4:13) or men (Jos. 3:12; Dan. 3:22) to carry out a particular task, especially one of a political or military nature (2 Macc. 3:7; 8:9; 14:12). Prov. 8:23 is difficult. Wisdom says *mē'ôlām nissaḵtî*, I was poured out from eternity (Eng. versions "I was set up"). The Gk. translators varied in their renderings. Symm. (and perhaps also Theod.) has *ap'aiōnos prokecheirismai*. He may have thought of wisdom standing at God's disposal from the first, or having been appointed by God for a particular task.

NT The adj. is not found in the NT, but the vb. is found 3 times in Acts, where it must presumably be understood from common Gk. usage. In Acts 26:16 it is used with two acc. in the words of Christ to Paul who is appointed as a minister and witness to what he had seen and would see (cf. Acts 16:9 f.; 22:17–21; 23:11). This appointment which made him the apostle to the Gentiles is made by the risen Christ's words to him. Ananias' words (Acts 22:14) are to be similarly understood. The God of Israel has elected or appointed Paul to know his will, to see that Just One, and to hear a voice from his mouth. Paul's work of witness rested on this seeing and hearing which demanded his response. The determining is presented as something that has come to pass without any mention of → time. The grammatical construction which this interpretation presupposes, viz. linking *procheirizō* with the acc. of the person and the inf. of purpose, is apparently unparalleled at present. So it may be better to take it as an acc. and infin. as in an inscription from Thespiae, dating from the 3rd cent. B.C. (see above CL). In that case it would not mean that God appointed Paul, but that he determined that Paul should know the divine will.

Acts 3:20 urges repentance "that he may send the Christ appointed for you, Jesus" (*ton prokecheirismenon hymin Christon, Iēsoun*). *P. Schmidt*

τάσσω τάσσω (*tassō*), arrange, appoint; προστάσσω (*prostassō*), command, appoint.

CL & OT *tassō* is common in classical Gk. Its first meaning is military: to draw up troops (or ships) in battle array, and so to post or station them. From this the verb comes to mean to direct or appoint someone to a task, and to arrange, set up and put in order things or plans which would otherwise be indefinite and uncertain. *prostassō* means first to attach someone somewhere, and then simply to command, in which sense it occurs frequently. Both verbs imply an acknowledged authority and power residing in the person from whom the decisions or directives issue. In the LXX both verbs are used for a wide range of Heb. equivalents, with both God and men as the arranging or directing agents.

NT In the NT both verbs appear in their ordinary meanings. Lk. makes more use of them than any other writer. In addition to being used of such things as Claudius' edict banishing Jews from Rome (Acts 18:2), *tassō* denotes God's appointment of "the powers that be" (Rom. 13:1), of a career of service for Paul (Acts 22:10), and of individual persons to attain eternal life through believing the gospel (Acts 13:48). *prostassō*, with its emphatic and rather official sense of "command", is used with the angel of the Lord (Matt. 1:24), Moses (Mk. 1:44), Peter (Acts 10:48),

Jesus (Matt. 21:6) and God as its subject. In Acts 10:33 it refers to what God has charged Peter to say, and in 17:26 (where the Received Text has *protetagmena*, "appointed beforehand") to God's determining definite epochs (*kairos*) in human history. *J. I. Packer*

τίθημι

τίθημι (*tithēmi*), put, place, set, render, appoint. On *protithēmi* → Foreknowledge, art. *protithēmi*.

CL & OT *tithēmi* is the standard and very common Gk. word for "put" in all sorts of connections, both literal (putting something in a place) and metaphorical (putting something into a category, or a plan). With a predicate in apposition *tithēmi* means "cause to be" or "regard as". In the LXX *tithēmi* is frequent, rendering no less than 37 Heb. equivalents.

NT In the NT *tithēmi* occurs 100 times with the wide range of meaning which it has in secular Gk. It has God as its subject on occasion in both its active and middle voices. In the active voice it signifies God's destining someone for something, both in Heb. 1:2 (the Son appointed heir of all things) and also in four major *testimonia* cited substantially from the LXX: Ps. 110(109):1, "until I *make* thine enemies thy footstool" (quoted in Mk. 12:36; Matt. 12:44; Lk. 20:43; Acts 2:35; 1 Cor. 15:25; Heb. 1:13; 10:13); Gen. 17:5, "A father of many nations have I *made* thee [Abraham]" (quoted in Rom. 4:17); Isa. 49:6, "I have *set* thee [Christ the servant] for a light of the Gentiles" (quoted in Acts 13:47); Isa. 28:16, "I *lay* in Zion a stone. . ." (quoted in Rom. 9:33; 1 Pet. 2:6; both times with *tithēmi* as the verb, though oddly the LXX has *emballō*). In the middle voice (which insofar as it differs from the active accentuates the thought of action for the agent's own benefit) God *fixes* times (Acts 1:7), *arranges* parts of the body (1 Cor. 12:18), *sets* gifted men in the church (1 Cor. 12:18), *appoints* presbyters as overseers (Acts 20:28), and Christians to obtain salvation (1 Thess. 5:9), *puts* Paul into ministerial work (1 Tim. 1:12), *making* him a herald and apostle to further the gospel (1 Tim. 2:7; 2 Tim. 1:11), and *placing* the word of reconciliation in his hands (2 Cor. 5:19). The thought of God settling what shall be by sovereign decision runs through all these passages. *J. I. Packer*

προθεσμία

προθεσμία (*prothesmia*), appointed date.

CL & OT Derived from *thesmos*, meaning "law" in the sense of what is laid down, *prothesmia*, a feminine adjective with which *hēmera*, "day", should be understood, signifies a time-limit appointed in advance for the completing of legal, financial or political transactions. It appears in the papyri though not the LXX, and in secular Gk. is found from the fourth century B.C.

NT In the NT *prothesmia* occurs once, in Gal. 4:2, where the words "of the father" seem to envisage, as the matter of the illustration, a special guardianship operating during the father's lifetime rather than the regular guardianship of an orphaned minor, which was ended automatically not by the father's will but by law when the orphan reached the age of 25. (See E. de W. Burton, *Galatians* [ICC], 1921, 212 ff.) *J. I. Packer*

χειροτονέω — χειροτονέω (*cheirotoneō*), appoint; προχειροτονέω (*procheirotoneō*), appoint beforehand.

CL & OT *cheirotoneō*, from *cheir*, "hand", and *teinō*, "stretch", means to vote or elect by a show of hands, as was regularly done in the Athenian assembly. From this the verb came to mean appoint, and its *pro-* compound means appoint beforehand (or, in some instances, take a preliminary vote). Neither word appears in the LXX.

NT In 2 Cor. 8:19 *cheirotoneō* refers to the churches' appointment of their representative to accompany Paul to Jerusalem to deliver the collection, and in Acts 14:23 it refers to the appointment by Barnabas and Paul of elders in the Galatian churches; from whence, apparently, it became the standard term for ordination in later ecclesiastical Gk. In Acts 10:41 *procheirotoneō* signifies God's appointment of the apostles, prior to Jesus' resurrection, to be witnesses of that event.

J. I. Packer

λαγχάνω — λαγχάνω (*lanchanō*), obtain as by lot; draw lots for.

CL & OT The basic classical meaning of *lanchanō* is to obtain something by lot. At Athens, both political offices and permission to bring suits in the law courts were awarded by lot, and *lanchanō* often appears in these contexts. More broadly, it denotes getting anything as if by lot, i.e. out of the blue, seemingly by luck rather than as a consequence of effort or desert. In the canonical LXX *lanchanō* is used once, of Saul obtaining the monarchy, which he did by God's appointment divorced from any action of his own (1 Sam. [1 Ki.] 14:47).

NT In Jn. 19:24 *lanchanō* appears in the non-classical sense of casting lots for something (Jesus' coat). Otherwise, it indicates divine appointment irrespective of personal quality. In Lk. 1:9 Zechariah obtains by lot the honour of offering incense in the Holy Place of the temple, where the angel meets him. In Acts 1:17 Peter refers to Judas having obtained through Christ's choice a share in the apostolic ministry. In 2 Pet. 1:1 Peter addresses those who have obtained (through God's grace-gift, not by personal merit) "like precious faith with us" – probably meaning by this Gentile believers. *J. I. Packer*

→ Elect, → Foreknowledge, Providence, Predestination

(a). L. C. Allen, "The Old Testament Background of (*pro*)*horizein* in the New Testament", NTS 17, 1970–71, 104–8; H. Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke*, 1960, 149–57; G. Delling, *tassō* etc. *TDNT* VIII 27–48; C. Maurer, *tithēmi* etc., *TDNT* VIII 152–58; W. Michaelis, *procheirizō*, *TDNT* VI 862 ff.; A. Oepke, *kathistēmi*, *TDNT* III 444–47; G. Bertram and B. Reicke, *paristēmi*, *paristanō*, *TDNT* V 837–41; K. L. Schmidt, *horizō* etc., *TDNT* V 452–56; commentaries on *Acts* by F. F. Bruce, 1951; and E. Haenchen, 1971; commentaries on *Romans* by C. K. Barrett, 1965; F. F. Bruce, 1963; J. Murray, 1967; A. Nygren, 1952; W. Sanday and A. C. Headlam, (ICC) 1902[5]; M. Black, 1973.

(b). E. Lohse, *Die Ordination im Spätjudentum und im Neuen Testament*, 1951; O. Michel, *Der Brief and die Römer*, *KEK* 4 1966[13]; U. Wilckens, *Die Missionsreden der Apostelgeschichte*, 1961, 152 ff.

Dirt, Filth, Refuse

περίψημα, περικάθαρμα

περίψημα (*peripsēma*); περικάθαρμα (*perikatharma*) filth, offscouring.

CL From *peripsaō*, meaning to wipe round, rub clean, and so clean out, *peripsēma* in secular Gk. means (a) that which is wiped off, refuse, scum (and in inscriptions *peripsēma sou* is used, Chinese-style, to mean "your humble servant"); (b) that which effects cleansing – literally, a sweat-rag or bath-towel, and metaphorically an expiatory sacrifice putting away cultic impurity. It was a recurring Gk. custom for communities to placate angry gods by offering a human sacrifice as a scapegoat (citizens might rub their hands on him to impart to him their own uncleanness). For such sacrifices the "scum" of society – criminals under sentence, paupers, deformed persons – were regularly recruited; thus the pejorative sense of *peripsēma* was reinforced. *perikatharma*, a late noun from *perikathairō*, meaning to cleanse all round, is a more intensive form of *katharma*, and is almost synonymous with *peripsēma*: it signifies (a) a guilt-laden expiatory sacrifice, particularly a human one, and (b) a term of contempt for the kind of persons who volunteered as victims – "human rubbish".

OT In the LXX *peripsēma* occurs only in Tob. 5:18, meaning a sacrifice or ransom in virtue of which God will protect Tobias' life (RV and RSV are wrong here in giving it the sense "refuse", "rubbish"). *perikatharma* occurs only in Prov. 21:18, with which cf. 11:8. The thought is that God in providence expends the wicked to preserve the upright (cf. Isa. 43:3 f.); a pattern of procedure which Christ's cross entirely reversed (cf. 1 Pet. 3:18).

NT In the NT, both words occur once only, in 1 Cor. 4:13, as Paul's ironic description of the apostles as men regard them (*peripsēma*, sense (a); *perikatharma*, sense (b)), with the undertone, clear from the context, that by throwing away their lives as they do the apostles are bringing benefit to others (*peripsēma*, sense (b); *perikatharma*, sense (a); see 2 Cor. 4:10 ff., 6:10; Phil. 2:17; Col. 1:24).

J. I. Packer

ῥύπος

ῥύπος (*rhypos*), dirt; ῥυπαρία (*rhyparia*), filthiness; ῥυπαρός (*rhyparos*), dirty; ῥυπόω, ῥυπαίνω, ῥυπαρεύω (*rhypoō*, *rhypainō*, *rhypareuō*), make filthy.

CL In classical Gk. *rhypos* is used of literal dirt, liquid and solid, and *rhypoō* (also *rhypaō*) is used intransitively for being dirty. *rhyparos* and *rhyparia* carry both literal and metaphorical meanings; with *rhypainō* the metaphorical meaning, to "mess up" one's life and character, seems to be primary.

OT *rhypos* appears twice in the LXX for literal dirt (Job 9:31; 11:15) and twice for defilement before God (Job 14:4; Isa. 4:4). *rhyparos* is used twice in Zech. 3:4 f. of dirty clothes. The other words in this group do not appear.

NT In the NT, *rhypos* occurs once, of physical dirt (1 Pet. 3:21); *rhyparia* once, of moral filthiness (Jas. 1:21); *rhyparos* once of dirty clothing (Jas. 2:2) and once of a morally unclean person (Rev. 22:11); and each verb appears in some manuscripts of Rev. 22:11, where the sense is "let him who is defiled continue to be defiled."

J. I. Packer

σκύβαλον

σκύβαλον (*skybalon*), refuse, dung.

CL In secular Gk. this depressing word means rubbish and muck of many kinds: excrement, rotten food, bits left at a meal as not worth eating, a rotting corpse. Nastiness and decay are the constant elements of its meaning; it is a coarse, ugly, violent word implying worthlessness, uselessness, and repulsiveness. Gnostics applied the word to the human body to express their low view of it, as the tomb of the soul.

OT *skybalon* occurs once in the LXX, signifying moral uncleanness and defilement (Ecclus. 27:4).

NT The only NT usage is Paul's in Phil. 3:8, where he says of all the natural and religious privileges which once seemed sweet and precious, and all the things he has lost since becoming a Christian, "I count (estimate, evaluate) them as (nothing but) dung." The coarse and violent word shows how completely Paul had ceased to value them. *J. I. Packer*

κόπρος, κόπριον

κόπρος, κόπρον, κόπριον (*kopros, kopron, koprion*), dung; κοπρία (*kopria*), dunghill.

CL & OT In classical Gk. and LXX, *kopros* (which is feminine), *kopron* and *koprion* are the ordinary words for dung, and *kopria* the ordinary word for a dunghill. In Ecclus. 27:4 *kopria* is used for dung caught in a sieve.

NT In the NT, *koprion* and *kopria* are each found once, in their literal sense (Lk. 13:8; 14:35), and *kopros* and *kopron* do not appear. This fact has no theological significance. *J. I. Packer*

G. Stählin, *peripsēma*, *TDNT* VI 84 ff.; F. Hauck, *perikatharma*, *TDNT* III 430 f.; F. Lang, *skybalon*, *TDNT* VII 445 ff.

Disciple, Follow, Imitate, After

Men are dependent upon one another and their lives are shaped by each other in many ways. Sometimes it is through a casual relationship, an interested companion or hanger-on. But it may be the more lasting relationship of a pupil or disciple to his master or teacher. In the NT, the words connected with discipleship are applied chiefly to the followers of Jesus and describe the life of faith. *akoloutheō* (follow) denotes the action of a man answering the call of Jesus whose whole life is redirected in obedience. A *mathētēs* (disciple) is one who has heard the call of Jesus and joins him. *mimeomai* (imitate) can be distinguished, in so far as it mainly emphasizes the nature of a particular kind of behaviour, modelled on someone else. The prep. *opisō* (after) is characteristic of the call to follow Jesus.

ἀκολουθέω

ἀκολουθέω (*akoloutheō*), follow; ἐξακολουθέω (*exakoloutheō*), follow; ἐπακολουθέω (*epakoloutheō*), follow; παρακολουθέω (*parakoloutheō*), accompany, understand; συνακολουθέω (*synakoloutheō*), follow.

CL 1. *akoloutheō* is formed from *keleuthos*, a path (Homer onwards), and is used in cl. Gk. from Thuc. onwards. It means (a) go somewhere with someone, accompany; (b) go behind someone, follow, and also (with hostile intentions) pursue. Alongside the lit. meaning there soon grew up a metaphorical one: follow the drift, understand (Plato), follow someone's opinion, agree (Plato), adapt oneself (Thuc.). Substantival forms meaning disciple or discipleship also occur. Compound vbs. are also found: *exakoloutheō*, follow, reconnoitre; *epakoloutheō*, follow, pursue; *parakoloutheō*, accompany, comprehend; *synakoloutheō*, follow closely, accompany; follow (in logic).

2. Among the Stoics *akoloutheō* has religious and philosophical connotations. It is used to refer to the conformity of the wise to the law of the world (→ Reason art. *nous*; → Nature, art. *physis*). To "follow" nature or God is the basic direction of the philosophical life. Following here virtually means identification of one's being through incorporation. Behind this lies the Gk. view of the innate relationship of rational man with God.

OT 1. The corresponding OT phrase is *hālaḵ 'aḥ^{a}rê*, lit. go behind (in 1 Ki. 19:20 with → *opisō* where Elisha wants to follow Elijah as his servant). It is used contemptuously in the sense of pursue (Hosea 2:7 (LXX v. 5) similarly with *opisō* where Israel is compared to a whore chasing her lovers). On most occasions the words are used with no particular theological force (e.g. Ruth 1:14). There are no OT precedents for the more specific NT usage of *akoloutheō*. Even where other words are used for following, such as *poreuō*, they are applied to Yahweh only with great care (cf. Deut. 13:5 (EVV v. 4) and 1 Ki. 14:8). They never mean becoming like God, but only obeying him. God remains above this world and incomparable even as the → Covenant God. The negative usage of *hālaḵ 'aḥ^{a}rê* is therefore the dominant one. It is used as a fixed phrase for backsliding into paganism by going after other gods (cf. Jdg. 2:12; Deut. 4:3; Jer. 2:5).

2. In post-exilic Jud. the general OT usage is found (cf. SB I 372). The negative variant survives in the Qumran texts, denoting association with a deceiver. *hālaḵ 'aḥ^{a}rê* and *akoloutheō* both assume particular significance among the Rabbis. The words describe the relationship of a pupil to a teacher of the Torah. The pupil (the *talmîḏ*) who chooses to subordinate himself to a Rabbi follows him everywhere he goes, learning from him and above all serving him (→ *mathētēs*). The pupil's obligation to → serve is an essential part of learning the Law. The goal of all his learning and training is a complete knowledge of the Torah, and ability to practise it in every situation. Without this true piety is scarcely deemed possible (cf. SB I 527; → *mathētēs* OT 2).

NT 1. The very nature and restricted use of the NT occurrences of these words is of importance.

(a) *akoloutheō* appears almost exclusively in the gospels: 56 times in the Synoptics and 14 times in Jn.; only 3 times in Acts, once in Paul and 6 times in Rev. In other words, it occurs in the writings that are nearest to the Rab. world. Whereas secular Gk. knew of an abundance of derivative words, only the vb. occurs in the NT and usually in its simple form. The compound vbs. are less used and are not normally applied to people. Except for *synakoloutheō*, accompany (Mk. 5:3–7; 14:51; Lk. 23:49), they hardly occur at all in the gospels.

(b) But following does not in every instance involve being a disciple. Where the Synoptics speak in the ind. of crowds of people who followed Jesus (*akoloutheō*; cf. Matt. 4:25; 8:1; 21:9; Mk. 10:32), the word is used in a neutral sense. No particular calling or conviction can be inferred from this.

(c) The word has special significance where it refers to individuals. On Jesus' lips it often appears as an imperative, as when he calls the disciples (Matt. 9:9 par.; 19:21 par.; 8:22 par.; Jn. 1:43; 21:19 ff.; cf. Mk. 1:16 ff. par. with → *opisō*). The response of those called is described as following (e.g. Lk. 5:11). *akoloutheō* is always the call to decisive and intimate discipleship of the earthly Jesus. It always points to the beginning of discipleship. Jn. hints at its spiritual implications for fellowship with the Exalted One (especially 12:26 ff.).

(d) The occurrences in the Pauline letters and in Acts are not theologically significant. In Rev. 14:4 *akoloutheō* denotes those who have shared in the lot of suffering of the slaughtered and exalted → Lamb.

2. For a theological analysis two observations are important.

(a) The simple *akoloutheō* is never used purely metaphorically in the NT. The semi-literal sense of "going behind" remains even in the special sense noted above (NT 1 (c)). On the other hand, *akoloutheō* is always used (except in Jn. 21:19 ff. and Rev. 14:4) with reference to the earthly Jesus. This fact supports the supposition of an affinity with the teacher-pupil relationship of the Rabbis.

(b) Nevertheless, there are characteristic differences between the disciples of Jesus and those of the Rabbis.

(i) Jesus did not wait for voluntary followers. He called men with divine authority as God himself called the prophets in the OT (Mk. 1:16 par.; Matt. 8:22).

(ii) Jesus did not call men to acquire and master traditional modes of conduct. He pointed them to the future dawn of the Kingdom of God (Lk. 9:59 f.). To be a disciple of Jesus was an eschatological calling to help in the service of the "kingdom" which is "at hand" (Mk. 1:15). Those who were called to discipleship shared accordingly in Jesus' authority. They are sent to the same men (cf. Matt. 15:24 with 10:5 f.), with the same message (cf. Matt. 4:17 with 10:7), to do the same mighty deeds (Mk. 3:14 f.). They will sit with him on the throne of the Judge of the world (Matt. 19:28; Lk. 22:30).

(iii) As a rule, one who takes up the new "calling" gives the old one up. It is not an oppressive pre-condition, however. It follows almost self-evidently (Mk. 1:16 ff.; Matt. 9:9), as the figure of the Rich Young Ruler makes clear (Mk. 10:17 ff.). He founders "when confronted with the unheard-of offer of 'eternal life', and turns again to the emptiness of his worldly possessions" (G. Bornkamm, *Jesus of Nazareth*, 148). He could not free himself from the old ties. Even the disciple who is already following Jesus is not thereby exempt from the danger of making new reservations in his discipleship (cf. Matt. 8:21 f. par.). It is a question here of "the repeated demand for a new decision in terms of complete obedience *within* discipleship" (H. J. Held in G. Bornkamm, G. Barth and H. J. Held, *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew*, 1963, 203).

(iv) Since the disciple cannot expect any better fortune than his Lord (cf. Matt. 10:24 f.), readiness for → suffering becomes a part of discipleship. "If any man would come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me" (Mk. 8:34; cf. Matt. 10:38). "To take up the cross" means "to be ready for death"

(G. Delling, *TDNT* IV 6). But readiness to suffer is only made possible through the "self-denial" which consists in freedom from oneself and all forms of personal security. Such self-denial is possible only when man gives himself to God in unconditional discipleship.

(c) John takes over synoptic phraseology (1:43 ff.), but tends to see it less in its particular historical context and more within the framework of his total vision. Jesus appeared as → Light and → Life in the world of death and darkness. Anyone who "follows" him (8:12) walks in the light and is saved. Accordingly following here means believing acceptance of the → revelation. *akoloutheō* means having →faith (cf. Jn. 12:44). In discipleship men's lives find a new settled purpose as they are directed into the true life. To follow the call of the Shepherd (10:4, 27) means both safety in Christ and fellowship in suffering with him (12:26) which in turn means "exaltation" with him (12:32). "But just as for Jesus himself the exaltation on the cross is at the same time his *doxasthēnai*, so also the promise of following him and being where he is means the promise of participating in his *doxa*" (R. Bultmann *The Gospel of John*, 426). The call to discipleship in Jn. has, therefore, the character of invitation (8:12) and promise (13:35 f.).

3. The word *akoloutheō* is essentially restricted to the gospels. In the rest of the NT writings one can sense a struggle to find another terminology to describe the Christian's fellowship with Christ, such as Paul's concept of being "in Christ", or "imitation" of Christ (cf. Phil. 2:5–11 → *mimeomai*) with its ethical overtones.

C. Blendinger

μαθητής

μαθητής (*mathētēs*), learner, pupil, disciple; μανθάνω (*manthanō*), learn.

CL *manthanō* in the pres. tense has already various stages of development behind it when it first appears in Pindar. Homer uses only the strong aorist forms *mathon*, *emmathes*, *emmathen*, from the stem *math-*, from which is formed *mathētēs* (first used by Hdt.).

1. (a) In Homer's writings *manthanō* has the sense of adapting oneself, preparing for, growing accustomed to (cf. Homer, *Il.*, 6, 444; *Od.*, 18, 226 f.). In another area of development it comes to mean acquire or adopt (whether through teaching or experience) and learn (cf. Hdt., 7, 208).

(b) *manthanō* denotes the process by which one acquires theoretical knowledge (Heraclitus, Protagoras and others). The word therefore plays an important role in speculative thought from Socrates onwards. Socrates held that, when a man is learning something, he should penetrate deeply into the nature of everything (including his own nature). He should be able to proceed beyond this "insight" to a knowledge of morality so as to be able to act according to ethical principles. See especially Plato's *Dialogues* (e.g. *Tim.*, 88a; *Theaetet.*, 114b, 150b ff.; *Apol.* 33a f.; and Xen., *Mem.*, 1, 4, 17; 4, 7, 1). Plato goes further than Socrates in defining learning (*manthanein*) "as *anamnēsis*, i.e. the recollection of what was known before time" (K. H. Rengstorf, *TDNT* IV 396). There exists in the human soul, albeit unconsciously, a factual knowledge of ideas and truths, known in a previous existence of which people can only be made aware through the process of teaching (Plato, *Phaed.*, 72e; *Meno.*, 86b). In later Gk. philosophy *manthanō* was

rationalized and applied to the acquisition of theoretical knowledge. In the mystery religions the use of the word approximates more closely to that of *ginōskō* (→ knowledge).

2. (a) A man is called a *mathētēs* when he binds himself to someone else in order to acquire his practical and theoretical knowledge. He may be an apprentice in a trade, a student of medicine, or a member of a philosophical school. One can only be a *mathētēs* in the company of a *didaskalos*, a master or teacher, to whom the *mathētēs* since the days of the Sophists generallyhad to pay a fee. An obvious exception to this is when *mathētēs* refers to spiritual dependence on a thinker long since dead. Socrates never wanted to have any *mathētēs* and never regarded himself as a *didaskalos* (Plato, *Laches*, 186e; *Apol.*, 33a). The reason for this was his concern that a man should use the company of his master to enable himself to fathom the nature of things and gain insight independently. This particular kind of communal relationship, in which both the teacher and the one taught felt themselves committed to the same common goal (such as the knowledge of morality) led far beyond the category of "pupil" to that of "disciple". But the word *mathētēs* could no longer be used because of its impersonal and commercial associations. By contrast with the Sophists, Socrates refused any kind of payment from his pupils. From the time of Socrates (for this reason?) the word *mathētēs*, in the sense of a disciple in relation to his master, largely fell into the background among succeeding Gk. philosophers. Alternative words came to be used such as *hetairos*, friend; *gnōrimos*, expert; *akolouthos*, follower.

(b) In a wide range of ancient philosophical schools, including the Pythagoreans and Neo-Pythagoreans, clearly-defined master-pupil relationships grew up where the disciples developed and represented their masters' case. In these schools a principle of tradition is to be found which scholars long believed only existed in the mystery religions (cf. K. H. Rengstorf, *TDNT* IV 425 f.).

OT 1. (a) *manthanō* is used *c.* 40 times as a translation of a Heb. equivalent. It is used 28 times to render Heb. *lāmaḏ*, grow accustomed to, make oneself familiar with, learn. In most of these passages *manthanō* has no special theological emphasis (e.g. "they will not learn war any more" (Mic. 4:3; Isa. 2:4); "he grew accustomed to tearing his prey" (Ezek. 19:3, 6)).

The theologically relevant usage of *manthanō* is particularly clear in Deut., where Israel is in great danger of forgetting Yahweh's goodness, of taking no further notice of Yahweh's will and of forfeiting its election and the divine promises of salvation (cf. Deut. 6:10–12; 8:17; 9:4–6; 11:2). Israel must now learn again to obey and perform the revealed will of God (Deut. 4:10; 14:23; 17:19; 31:12 f.). In each of these cases the object of *manthanō* is *phobeisthai kyrion ton theon*, to fear the Lord God. Learning means the process by which the past experience of the love of God is translated by the learners into obedience to the Torah of God (cf. Deut. 4:14). It means fully understanding the Torah which in Deut. is the whole story of the saving actions of God's will. This understanding is to lead to an inner acceptance of the divine will (cf. Deut. 30:14).

Similarly in Ps. 119(118):7 f., 71,73 (cf. Isa. 1:17; 26:9) the Psalmist prays ("that I may learn") for a right attitude to the Torah which is here understood as an all-embracing guide and direction. H.-J. Kraus sees it as both the canonical law of God

and oral instruction from the priest (*Psalmen*, II, 822). The goal of learning is action which corresponds to the word (Ps. 119(118):101). Even in Isa. 1:17 "it is not primarily a question of individual actions or fulfilment of the Law, but of a fundamental re-direction of human existence. Isaiah is not looking for a new 'disposition' but for a completely different basic attitude, which will express itself in practical dealing with all one's fellow men" (H. Wildberger, *Jesaja*, 47). The objects of *manthanō* are, therefore, *phronēsis*, disposition (Bar. 3:14); *synesis*, power of decision, insight (Sir. 8:9); *sophia*, wisdom (Wis. 6:9; 7:13). All these denote qualities and gifts that are needed to do God's will.

(b) *mathētēs* is found in the LXX only in alternative readings of Jer. 13:21; 20:11; 26:9, and is accordingly weakly attested. Even the Heb. noun corresponding to the vb. *lāmaḏ*, *talmîḏ*, a pupil, which plays such an important part in later Rabbinic usage, is found only in 1 Chr. 25:8. The lack of any OT vocabulary for a learner, such as the teacher-pupil relationship describes, is bound up with Israel's consciousness of being an elect people. What the individual Israelite has to learn in respect of God's will does not make him a "pupil" in relation to his "master", God. For even as a learner the individual always remains a part of the whole chosen people, all of whom encounter in the divine Word the authority of the Electing One. This excludes any possibility of a disciple-master relationship between men, because even the → priest and the → prophet do not teach on their own authority. This is shown, for example, in the fact that the attendants of Moses and the prophets are not called pupils but servants (*mᵉšārēṯ*). Joshua is the servant of Moses (Exod. 24:12; Num. 11:28); Elisha is the servant of Elijah (1 Ki. 19:19 ff.); Gehazi of Elisha (2 Ki. 4:12); Baruch of Jeremiah (Jer. 32:12 f.). "There is no place for the establishment of a master-disciple relation, nor is there the possibility of setting up a human word alongside the word of God which is proclaimed, nor of trying to ensure the force of the divine address by basing it on the authority of a great personality" (Rengstorf, *TDNT* IV 431).

2. (a) The situation is different in Rab. Judaism. Here the *talmîḏ* is someone whose concern is the whole of Jewish tradition. According to Shammai (Shabbath 31a), this was the written Torah (the biblical writings of the OT) and the oral Torah, the *paradoseis tōn presbyterōn* (the traditions of the fathers) which includes the Mishnah, Midrash, Halachah and Haggadah. The *talmîḏ* now, as originally the Gk. *mathētēs*, belongs to his teacher, to whom he subordinates himself in almost servile fashion. It was the distinct casuistic form of Rab. theology, built around emphasis on achievement in the religious thought of developed Judaism, which created the pre-requisites for attributing a value of its own to human authority which previously was entirely unknown in Israel and Judaism. Since the Rabbi's knowledge gives him direct access to the Scriptures which facilitates right hearing and right understanding, he becomes a kind of mediator between the *talmîḏîm* and the Torah. To listen to the Scriptures without the guidance of a teacher is something to be avoided at all costs (cf. B. Berakoth 47b). *lāmaḏ* and *manthanō* still mean to learn, to occupy oneself with the Torah in order to discover God's will in it. But now learning is determined by the authority of the teacher and his interpretation of the Torah – not by a personal and, as far as possible, unbiased study of the Torah. Therefore learning means primarily that the *talmîḏ* appropriates the knowledge of his teacher and examines it critically by comparing it

against the Torah. Only one who had studied and served under a *ḥāḵām* (a Jewish scholar) for an extensive period, and had thus concluded his essential study, could later become a *ḥāḵām* with authority to teach his own tradition in his own school. The pupil-teacher relationship of Rab. Jud., in contradistinction to the OT, thus became an important institution for detailed study of the Torah.

(b) Not only the Rabbi, but also the *talmîḏ* originated through Judaism's contact with Gk. philosophy (cf. Rengstorf, *TDNT* IV 437 ff.). The way in which the various scholars (like many Gk. philosophers) regarded their differing methods and doctrinal opinions as possessing absolute validity gave rise to schools in the Rab. world and then to rival circles of disciples grouped around a master. Hel. influence on Judaism led to a simultaneous intellectualism and dogmatism concerning the revelation of the divine will in Israel.

NT The vb. *manthanō* occurs only 25 times in the NT and only 6 times in the Gospels, where one would have expected it most as a mark of discipleship (3 times in Matt., 1 in Mk., 2 in Jn.; Lk. has it only once in Acts). Much more common in the NT is *didaskō*, teach. The noun *mathētēs* occurs 264 times in the NT, exclusively in the Gospels and Acts. It is used to indicate total attachment to someone in discipleship. The secular Gk. usage of the word in the sense of apprentice, pupil or student is not found. Matt. 10:24 ff. and Lk. 6:40 ("the disciple is not above his master") cannot be used as evidence against this, since the issue here is not simply that of the relationship of a pupil to a teacher, but that of a disciple to the *kyrios*, Jesus.

1. *manthanō* means learn, following secular Gk. usage, in Acts 23:27 and Rev. 14:3. In some cases it is debatable as to whether the word is used in an OT or a secular Gk. sense (cf. Gal. 3:2; Eph. 4:11; Col. 1:7). In many passages it is used in the specifically OT sense of *lāmaḏ*, learn the will of God, or learn to direct the whole of one's human existence towards the will of God (cf. OT 1).

(a) This is the case with those usages of *manthanō* which refer directly to the will of God, as it comes to the hearer in Jesus (Matt. 9:13; 11:29; Jn. 6:45; cf. Mk. 13:28 par). Jesus himself is the central point of reference, where alone man can know the will of God (Matt. 11:29). In living and preaching the compassion of God, Jesus does not introduce a new → Law which must be learnt. Instead he restores to the Law its original function of enabling men to recognize the will of God and directs men to it (cf. G. Barth, op. cit., 58–164). Learning here is not appropriation of knowledge. It comes about through "the surrender of one's own judgment" (Bultmann) and keeping oneself open to the word of the Father which leads men to follow Jesus (Jn. 6:45). Learning here includes the OT emphasis on doing God's will. In concrete terms it means putting one's → faith in Jesus and following him in his work of compassion (cf. Matt. 9:13).

(b) *manthanō* has a similar meaning when it is used in the epistles to refer to the message or teaching (→ Teach) of Jesus (Rom. 16:17; Eph. 4:20; 2 Tim. 3:14). To hold to the teaching which the recipients of the letters received means to hold to their faith. For learning is no mere intellectual process by which one acquires teaching about Christ. It implies acceptance of Christ himself, rejection of the old existence and beginning the new life of discipleship in him (cf. Phil. 4:9; 1 Cor. 4:6). It is possible that the unique formulation, "You have not so learned Christ" (Eph.

4:20), is a reminder of previous baptismal instruction in which the Ephesians learned that understanding of the teaching is revealed in one's conduct.

(c) The Hel. play on words in Heb. 5:8 is unique. Speaking of Christ himself, it says that he learnt obedience by virtue of his suffering (*emathen aph' hōn epathen*, he learnt through what he suffered). Learning here means recognition of the Father's will in his suffering and affirmation of that will in his acceptance of the suffering.

(d) In the Pastorals one can be fairly certain that there are reminiscences of the Jewish use of *manthanō*. For example, the ref. in 2 Tim. 3:7 to women who let themselves to be lead astray by false doctrines (of a Judaizing syncretistic gnosticism) is most probably an allusion to legalistic instruction about the Law (cf. also 1 Tim. 5:13).

2. The main interest in this word-group in the NT falls on the noun *mathētēs*. The evangelists who, as we saw, are the only ones to use the word probably took it over from Hel. Jud. But despite possible overtones of the figure of the Rab. *talmîḏ*, it is given a completely new character through its association with Jesus. That they found the word with a wider frame of reference is also clear from the fact that it was used in circles unrelated to Jesus, such as the disciples of John the Baptist (Matt. 11:2 par.; Mk. 2:18 par.; 6:29; Lk. 5:33; 11:1; Jn. 1:35, 37), the disciples of Moses (Jn. 9:28), and the disciples of the Pharisees (Matt. 22:16; Mk. 2:18).

(a) John the Baptist has "a solid group, closed both inwardly and outwardly" (Rengstorf, *TDNT* IV 456). His disciples were not far away when he was in prison (Matt. 11:2 par.). They later buried his body (Mk. 6:29 par.). They had their own form of prayer (Lk. 11:1), they fasted (Mk. 2:18 par.) and become involved in controversy with the Jews (Jn. 3:25). In all these particulars they were no longer "pupils" like those of the Rab. schools. They were adherents of a movement from which it is possible that Jesus himself came. At any rate, Jn. 1:25 ff. reports that Jesus' first two disciples originated from the Baptist's circle of disciples. This probably contains an ancient tradition which has preserved the historical and factual basis of the account. It is probable that later on the Baptist's movement and Jesus' circle came into conflict with one another from time to time, as is reflected in the scene in Jn. 3:22–26 (cf. R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 1971, 170 ff.).

(b) In Jn. 9:28 the Jews dispute Jesus' authority. They, the disciples of Moses, appeal to the revelation of God's will which he received. They do not comprehend that the miracle of healing reveals Jesus to be precisely the One who does God's will (v. 30).

(c) Finally, there is the mention of the *mathētai tōn Pharisaiōn*, the disciples of the Pharisees (Mk. 2:18 and elsewhere). This formula may have been used as an explanatory term to readers who were not familiar with the original situation. The par. passage Matt. 9:14 does not argue against this. In Matt. too, the Pharisees, like the Scribes, Sadducees and High Priests, are enemies of Jesus, standing typically for the whole nation (→ Israel). Equally, the expression *hoi hyioi hymōn*, your sons (Matt. 12:27; cf. 22:16), is understandable if the words referred originally to the Jews in general, and the Pharisees were mentioned as typical representatives of controversy (cf. R. Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 52 ff.; →

Pharisee). In view of contemporary practice, one might have expected the phrase "disciples of the Scribes" (see above OT 2), but this does not appear.

3. It is indisputable that the earthly Jesus called men to be his disciples and to follow him. But today we cannot draw a completely clear picture of discipleship under the historical Jesus. No doubt, the nature of discipleship of Jesus was determined right from the beginning by his own person to which his disciples bound themselves (→ Jesus Christ). But despite questions and uncertainties, we can set out a list of characteristics of discipleship at the time of the historical Jesus.

(a) Clearly, Jesus came forward like a Rabbi or Scribe. He taught and discussed like one (Mk. 12:18 ff.), and was asked to make legal decisions (Lk. 12:13 f.). Even if he was not recognized by many, because he had not passed through a Rab. school (Mk. 6:2; Jn. 7:15), it was certainly with justice that he was addressed as "Rabbi" by his disciples (Mk. 9:5; 11:21; Jn. 1:38; 4:31) and outsiders (cf. Jn. 3:2). Even at this point one can see a parallel with the Rabbis of Jud., in that Jesus gathered a circle of disciples around him. But at several decisive points Jesus went beyond the recognized limits for a Rabbi, and this gives the disciple-master relationship its own distinctive colouring.

(b) Whereas in Rab. circles and in Gk. philosophical schools a man made a voluntary decision to join the "school" of his master and so become a disciple, with Jesus it was his → call that was decisive (Lk. 5:1–11; cf. Matt. 5:18 ff.). Jesus seized the initiative and called men into discipleship (Mk. 1:17 par.; 2:14 par.; Lk. 9:59–62; Jn. 1:43).

(c) The Gk. pupil and the Rab. *talmîḏ* bound themselves personally to their master and looked for objective teaching, with the aim of themselves becoming a master or a Rabbi. But Jesus' call to discipleship does not mean that a disciple is put in a learning relationship from which he can depart as a master (cf. Matt. 23:8). Following Jesus as a disciple means the unconditional sacrifice of his whole life (Matt. 10:37; Lk. 14:26 f.; cf. Mk. 3:31–35; Lk. 9:59–62) for the whole of his life (Matt. 10:24 f.; Jn. 11:16). To be a disciple means (as Matt. in particular emphasizes) to be bound to Jesus and to do God's will (Matt. 12:46–50; cf. Mk. 3:31–35). This means that during Jesus' earthly ministry the disciple had quite literally to "follow" Jesus, i.e. to follow behind him (→ *akoloutheō*) and accept the renunciatory lot of wandering about with him (Matt. 8:20 f.; cf. G. Bornkamm, *Jesus of Nazareth*, 146).

(d) Unlike the Rabbis, Jesus broke through the barriers separating the clean and the unclean, the sinful and the obedient. He summoned the tax-collector who stood outside the worshipping community (Mk. 2:14), just as he did the Zealot (Lk. 6:15; Acts 1:13) and the fisherman (Mk. 1:16 ff.). "The very fact that Jesus calls people to follow him, and that he does this with the consequence that they leave boat and toll-office and family, denotes a quite astonishing knowledge of his mission. . . .This holds good to an even greater extent of the breaking through all barriers as in the case of Levi. Grace becomes an event in such calling" (E. Schweizer, *Lordship and Discipleship*, 13 f.). Jesus' call to tax-collectors and sinners to abandon their old associations for discipleship indicates something of his own self-understanding and also the special nature of such discipleship.

(e) It is important for understanding discipleship of Jesus to realize that the call

to be a disciple always includes the call to service. According to Mk. 1:17 and Lk. 5:10, the disciples are to be fishers of men. This is a colloquial phrase, meaning that in view of the impending reign of God, the disciples are to catch men for the coming kingdom by preaching the gospel and working in the name of Jesus (cf. Matt. 16:15 ff.).When Jesus sent out the Twelve (Mk. 6:7–13 par.) and the Seventy (Lk. 10:1–13), they were to go out in pairs healing, bringing salvation and peace, and proclaiming the Kingdom of God. We may see from this that the earthly Jesus himself sent out disciples for service of one kind or another.

(f) This service leads the disciple into the same dangers to which his master was exposed (cf. Mk. 10:32). Jesus went before them in suffering (→ Suffer). The disciple can expect no better fortune than his Lord (Matt. 10:24 f.; 16:24 f.; cf. 10:38).

(g) In the gospel tradition we keep coming up against the disciples' lack of understanding. This applies not only to the message itself (Mk. 4:10 f. par.; Matt. 13:36), their activity (Mk. 10:13 ff.; 10:48), and the goal of discipleship (Mk. 10:35 ff.), but above all to Jesus' suffering (Matt. 16:22 ff.; Mk. 14:47; Lk. 18:34; 22:37 f.).

(h) The promised → reward (which must not be understood as something deserved, since the promise exceeds every kind of merit) is fellowship with God through Jesus and thus a share in Jesus' authority. It is also the new and future life (cf. Matt. 16:25; Jn. 14:6).

(i) Who are meant by *hoi mathētai* (the disciples)? *hoi mathētai* are not simply the equivalent of *hoi dōdeka*, the Twelve. This identification can be observed only in some parts of the tradition. The circle of the Twelve was both a symbolic representation of the twelve tribes of Israel, and thus of the whole people of God, and also a section of the larger circle of disciples which Jesus summoned to discipleship from a still wider group of adherents. This is more probable than to suppose that there existed yet another separate circle of apostles alongside the circle of the disciples (→ Apostle NT 2 (c); but cf. Rengstorf, *TDNT* IV 450–55). It is no longer possible today to determine the precise limits of the circle of disciples. But it is clearly not a question with Jesus of an ascetic elite with a distinct ethic which Jesus was able to demand only of a few people. The disciples would have been a circle of immediate followers who were commissioned to particular service (cf. G. Bornkamm, *Jesus of Nazareth*, 147 f.; E. Schweizer, op. cit. 20).

4. (a) As a rule, the individual gospel passages which speak of "following" and of discipleship are already reflections on the meanings of discipleship. Thus Matt. graphically depicts the lot of the disciples, by linking the account of the storm on the lake with an account of calling, and so presents it as a story whose purpose is to illustrate that those who follow Jesus are destined to suffer (Matt. 8:19–26; cf. G. Bornkamm in *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew*, 52–57). Renunciation (Matt. 23:7 ff.), humility (Matt. 18:1 ff.), poverty (Matt. 19:23 ff.) and readiness to suffer (Matt. 10:17 ff.) can all become characteristics of true discipleship (→ Humility, → Poor).

Decisive in understanding *mathētes* in the gospels, however, is → faith (Mk. 16:16; Lk. 17:5; 22:32) in Jesus himself (Matt. 18:6; esp. Jn. 2:11; and 6:69; 11:44). "Everyone who acknowledges me before men, the Son of man also will acknowledge before the angels of God; but he who denies me before men will be

denied before the angels of God" (Lk. 12:8 f.). These words express the whole promise and also the great dangers of genuine discipleship. The disciple's faithfulness to his Lord is crucial. It is, therefore, not accidental that Lk. avoids using the word *mathētēs* from Gethsemane onwards, taking it up again only in Acts 6:1, albeit now in a different sense (see below (b)).

(b) Reflection on discipleship is particularly characteristic of John's Gospel. Not only do the categories of the narrower and wider circles of disciples point quite fundamentally beyond themselves to the Christian community addressed by Jn. (cf. Jn. 6:60; 61:66). *mathētēs* in Jn. is often simply a term for "Christian" (Jn. 8:31; 13:35; 15:8). Moreover, since any word for the church, such as *ekklēsia*, is entirely lacking (→ Church, art. *ekklēsia* NT 5. (b)), the word *mathētai* comes to stand for the gathered community. Or in Johannine terminology, it denotes those who have come out of the sphere of darkness into the sphere of light (3:21; cf. the farewell discourses, chs. 13–17). This also marks a further step. The disciples are now no longer bound to the presence of the earthly Jesus. Instead, their dwelling "in the Word" (8:31) and "in the Spirit" (14:15–17; 15:26 f.) means that they, his disciples, remain in full fellowship with him. This fellowship finds its visible expression in the world in the manner of their service. Everyone is to be able to recognize a disciple of Jesus by his practical love (Jn. 13:34 f.). A disciple's duty does not consist in maintaining and passing on particular teaching about Jesus. The essence of discipleship lies in the disciple's fulfilment of his duty to be a witness to his Lord in his entire life (→ Witness).

This becomes clearer still from the way the word is used in Acts. Luke has taken over certain specific pieces of tradition which show that the use of *mathetēs* remains confined to particular sections of the book. It is lacking, for instance, in the "we"-sections (Acts 16:10–17; 20:5–15; 21:1–18; 27:1–28:16). In these passages, *mathētēs* has the general sense of "Christian", one who believes in Jesus (cf. Rengstorf, *TDNT* IV 457 ff.; cf. Acts 6:1f., 7; 9:1, 10, 19, 25f., 38; 11:26, 29; 13:52; 14:20, 22, 28; 15:10; 16:1; 18:23, 27; 19:1, 9, 30; 20:1, 30; 21:4, 16). *D. Müller*

μιμέομαι

μιμέομαι (*mimeomai*), imitate, follow; μιμητής (*mimētēs*) imitator; συμμιμητής (*symmimētēs*), fellow-imitator.

CL 1. *mimeomai*, used from the 6th cent. B.C. and derived from the root *mi*, to exchange, means: (a) imitate, mimic what one sees someone else doing. According to Aristot. and Democritus, at the beginning of civilization men learnt from animals – weaving and spinning from spiders, and house-building from swallows (cf. W. Michaelis, *TDNT* IV 660); (b) emulate with joy, follow; (c) in the arts (plays, paintings, sculpture and poetry), represent reality by imitation, imitate in an artistic way. By contrast with Plato, Aristot. gives art a positive basis in the imitation or reality. An actor is therefore a *mimos*, a mimer (Aesch. onwards). A *symmimētēs* (Lat. *imitator*) is an imitator, especially a performer or an artist who imitates. When used in a derogatory sense, the words refer to quasi-dramatic "aping" or feeble copying with lack of originality. Very early on (in Democritus of the pre-Socratics) the words were used to express ethical demands made on men. One should take as one's model the boldness of a hero, or one should imitate the good example of one's teacher or parents.

2. The words have a central place in Platonic cosmology. The whole of the lower world of appearances is only the corresponding, imperfect, visible copy or likeness (*mimēma*) of the invisible archetype in the higher world of the Ideas (*Timaeus* 38–48). At first the *mimēsis* concept is a purely ontological designation which expresses the analogous relationship of the various levels of Being to each other. The phrase "to imitate God" (*Phaedrus*, 252 f.) here indicates reflection on the image of the Idea which sticks in the memory and the development of this given state of affairs. It does not contain the crucial element for imitation in an ethical sense – personal decision. Only later do Gk. philosophers reflect an increasing ethical influence on these originally purely cosmological ideas.

OT The LXX only attests *mimeomai* and *mimēma* in the Apocrypha (Wis. 4:2; 9:8; 15:9; 4 Macc. 9:32; 13:9). The Rabbis were the first to speak of imitation of God in the sense of developing the image of God in men. In the Pseudepigrapha in addition to the exhortation to imitate men of outstanding character (Test. Ben. 3:1; 4:1) one can also find the thought of the imitation of God (i.e. keeping his commands, Test. Ash. 4:3) and of particular characteristics of God (Aristeas 188, 210, 280 f.).

NT In the NT *mimeomai* is found only 4 times (2 Thess. 3:7, 9; Heb. 13:7; 3 Jn. 11); *mimētēs* 6 times (1 Cor. 4:16; 11:1; Eph. 5:1; 1 Thess. 1:6; 2:14; Heb. 6:12); and *symmimētēs* only once in Phil. 3:17. All are used with an ethical-imperative aim and are linked with obligation to a specific kind of conduct.

1. The words are applied to particular persons who are obvious living examples for the life of → faith. When the apostle Paul puts himself forward as such a model (1 Cor. 4:16; 11:1; Phil. 3:17; 2 Thess. 3:7, 9), he does not think of himself as the personal embodiment of an ideal which must be imitated. In fact, prior to the demand to imitate him, he deliberately places a confession of his own imperfection (Phil. 3:12). The *typos*, the example or type (→ Image), is not here a representation of particular qualities, but first conduct which is shaped by a definite goal (Phil. 2:12–15), and secondly the experience of persecution and suffering for Christ's sake – in short it is life in fellowship with Christ. To be an imitator of the apostle accordingly means laying hold of Christ in the consciousness of one's own imperfection and letting one's life be continually re-moulded by Christ in obedience to him (cf. 3 Jn. 11). The full significance of this is clear in 1 Cor. 4:16. When Paul reminds the Corinthians in v. 17 of his ways and his teaching, his demand for imitation means that they are to direct their manner of living in accordance with the instructions and conduct of the apostle. Even if this assumes an apostolic authority which requires implicit respect (cf. W. Michaelis, *TDNT* IV 667 ff.), Paul's language here cannot be reduced to a demand for personal obedience.

2. (a) Paul never intends to bind the demand for imitation to his own person. It is always ultimately to the One whom he himself follows. On two occasions he names Christ alongside himself as the "type" to be imitated in exhortation to self-correction. These examples show how believers share Christ's lot passively in what they suffer (1 Thess. 1:6) and how they may actively imitate him in his love (1 Cor. 11:1). The present writer believes that when Paul refers to Christ, he is not thinking of specific occasions in the earthly life of Jesus, but rather of the authority of the Exalted One present in his word and his Holy Spirit and of the kind of behaviour

that would be consistent with existence in the sphere of the Lordship of Christ. Christ is to be the Subject who fashions the activity and fulfilment of our life, not its Object (W. Elert, *Das christliche Ethos*, 303). He is more than a general human pattern. He is the archetype, not an *exemplum*, but the *exemplar* (Luther, *WA* 2, 518, 16). Paul's appeal to imitate Christ is otherwise conveyed by other phrases (Rom. 15:3, 7; 2 Cor. 5:14; 8:9; 10:1; Phil. 2:5 ff.; Eph. 5:2, 25; cf. Mk. 10:45; Jn. 13:15).

(b) The letter to the Hebrews uses the word-group much as Paul does. The exhortation of Heb. 6:11 precedes the demand for imitation: "We desire each one of you to show the same earnestness in realizing the full assurance of hope until the end". As imitators, however, they do not stand alone. They are numbered in the ranks of the fathers. The attitude of faith of the OT fathers (6:12) and their own teachers (13:7), as an example of those who have finished their course, strengthens the conviction and confidence of those believers who find themselves still *en route*.

(c) Eph. 5:1 is the first place where the thought appears that God should be imitated – not as a metaphysical Being with certain attributes which might serve as ideals for us, but in his nature as graphically revealed in Christ. What is to be imitated is Christ's obedient adherence to the Father's will, shown in love and forgiveness (cf. Matt. 5:48 par.).

3. "Imitation" in the NT is consequently not conceived as the reproduction of a given pattern. It is the way of life of the man who derives his being from the forgiveness of God. It is not the way to salvation through pious achievement, but an attitude of thanks in response to the salvation that has been given to us (cf. H. Conzelmann, *Epheser*, 83). The summons to discipleship can only be fulfilled, when a man is grasped by Christ and undergoes the transformation which existence under the Lordship of Christ involves. *W. Bauder*

ὀπίσω

ὀπίσω (*opisō*), behind, after; ὄπισθεν (*opisthen*), from behind.

CL *opisō* (from the root *opi*; cf. Lat. *ob*, facing, against) is an adv. of place, meaning behind, to the rear, backwards. *opisthen* also means from behind as well as being equivalent to *opisō*. Both are also used of time and occur as adv., noun and prep.

OT 1. These words translate Heb. *'aḥar* and its derivatives in the LXX. Linked with vbs. of motion, they indicate following behind as in processions after the ark (cf. Jos. 3:3; 6:9); following in war (1 Sam. 11:7); political allegiance (Jdg. 9:3 f.; 2 Sam. 2:10; Ezek. 29:16); following as a prophet's servant (1 Ki. 19:20 f.); devotion to a lover (Ruth 3:10; Jer. 2:5; Hos. 2:7, 15); following after things (1 Sam. 8:3; Ezek. 33:31; Sir. 31:8) and spiritual objects (2 Ki. 13:2; Isa. 65:2; Jer. 3:17); self-giving (Hos. 1:2 *opisthen*; Exod. 34:15 f.); and, in a religious sense, dedication and obedience to a god (1 Ki. 19:21; Jdg. 2:12 f.; Jer. 2:23; 7:6, 9; Ezek. 20:16; of Yahweh, Deut. 13:4; Sir. 46:10). As a movement of the heart, *opisō* can indicate the direction of the whole human personality (1 Ki. 11:1 ff.; Ps. 63:9; Jer. 16:12).

2. In Jud. too, following behind someone is a sign of subservient subordination to a person of respect. As a Rab. expression, it refers to the state of being a pupil, largely with respect to the shared life with the teacher (→ *mathētēs* OT 2 (b)).

NT The temporal use is found in the NT (e.g. in Matt. 3:11; Mk. 1:7; Jn. 1:15, 27, 30; cf. in the OT 1 Sam. 24:22; Eccl. 10:14). And OT phraseology indicating attachment is found in Lk. 21:8; Jn. 6:66; 12:19; Acts 5:37; 20:30; 1 Tim. 5:15; 2 Pet. 2:10; Jude 7; Rev. 13:3. However, *opisō* is largely used in the NT with the gen. predominantly of persons. Those passages where the gen. *opisō mou* refers to Jesus (cf. Matt. 10:38; Mk. 1:17 par., 20; 8:34 par.) are particularly significant theologically. *opisō* here takes on the meaning of *akoloutheō*, follow, go "behind" someone (cf. Mk. 2:14). Mk. 1:17 f. has this call to discipleship in its simplest form: "Come after me (*deute opisō mou*), and I will make you to become fishers of men." "Three points appear to be of interest. 1. The call comes from Jesus. That is the beginning of it all. 2. It is a call to service, and Jesus himself creates the possibility of such service. 3. Obedience entails forsaking old ties" (E. Schweizer, *Lordship and Discipleship*, 13). "Going behind" means having a share in the fellowship of Christ's life and suffering (Matt. 10:38 par.; 16:24 par.; cf. *opisthen* Lk. 23:26). Matt. 16:23, which Bornkamm translates "you would lead me astray" (*Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew*, 47), shows that it is precisely the suffering of discipleship that Peter does not understand, because he does not comprehend the way of the Lord himself. The meaning of discipleship is that Jesus goes on ahead and prescribes the way.

Looking back is no more possible for the disciple than it is for someone who flees persecution (Lk. 17:31 f. par.; cf. Gen. 19:17, 26), for the ploughman at his furrow (Lk. 9:62; cf. 1 Ki. 19:20 f.), or for the runner who dares not look back at the ground he has covered but only at the finishing-post (Phil. 3:13). For the disciple of Jesus, there is no looking back at associations and ties that are left behind, no looking back into the past, and no looking back at former achievements.

→ Apostle, → Bishop, → Call, → Confess, → Deny, → Faith *W. Bauder*

(a). W. Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity*, 1972; E. Best, "Discipleship in Mark: Mark 8.22–10.50", *SJT* 23, 1970, 323–37; W. P. de Boer, *The Imitation of Paul*, Dissertation Kampen, 1962; D. Bonhoeffer, *The Cost of Discipleship*, 1956[6]; G. Bornkamm *Jesus of Nazareth*, 1960; G. Bornkamm, G. Barth and H. J. Held, *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew*, 1963; R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, II, 1955, 203–36; and *History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 1968[2]; H. von Campenhausen, *Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power in the Church of the First Three Centuries*, 1969; O. Cullmann, *Peter: Disciple – Apostle – Martyr*, 1962[2]; D. Daube, "Responsibilities of Master and Disciples in the Gospels," *NTS* 19, 1972–3, 1–15; S. Freyne, *The Twelve: Disciples and Apostles. A Study in the Theology of the First Three Gospels*, 1968; A. R. George, *Communion with God in the New Testament*, 1953; J. Jeremias, *New Testament Theology*, I, 1971, 203–30; G. Kittel, *akoloutheō*, *TDNT* I 210–16; E. M. Kredel, "Disciple," *EBT* I 209–13; W. Michaelis, *mimeomai* etc., *TDNT* IV 659–74; K. H. Rengstorf, *manthanō* etc., *TDNT* IV 390–61; K. H. Schelkle, *Discipleship and Priesthood*, 1966; R. Schnackenburg, *The Moral Teaching of the New Testament*, 1964; E. Schweizer, *Lordship and Discipleship*, 1960; H. Seesemann, *opisō*, *TDNT* V 289–92; H. Thielicke, *Theological Ethics*, I, 1966; II, 1969; E. J. Tinsley, *The Imitation of God in Christ: An Essay in the Biblical Basis of Christian Spirituality*, 1960; and "Some Principles for Reconstructing a Doctrine of the Imitation of Christ," *SJT* 25, 1972, 45 ff. (See also Addenda, p.822.)

(b). H. D. Betz, *Nachfolge und Nachahmung Jesu Christi im Neuen Testament*, *BHTh* 37, 1967; H. W. Beyer, P. Althaus, H. Conzelmann, G. Friedrich and A. Oepke, *Die kleineren Briefe des Apostels Paulus*, *NTD* 8, 1968[11]; E. Dinkler, *Jesu Wort vom Kreuztragen*, *BZNW* 21, 1954, 110 ff. (=*Signum Crucis* 1967, 77 ff.); F. Frerichs, "Nachfolge Christi," *EKL* II 1495 ff.; P. Gaechter, *Petrus und seine Zeit*, 1958; M. Hengel, *Nachfolge und Charisma*, 1968; H. Kahlefeld, *Der Jünger*, 1962[2]; H.-J. Iwand, *Predigtmeditationen*, 1964, 272 ff., 622 ff.; H. Kosmala, "Nachfolge und Nachahmung Gottes: I Im griechischen Denken, II Im jüdischen Denken," *Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute* 2, 1963, 38 ff.; 3, 1964, 65 ff.; H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen*, I–II, *BKAT* XV, 1966[3];

E. Larsson, *Chistus als Vorbild*, 1962; E. Lohse, E. Kähler, N. H. Søe, "Nachfolge Christi," *RGG*³ IV 1286 ff.; A. Oepke, "Nachfolge und Nachahmung Christi im Neuen Testament," *Allg. ev. luth. KZ* 71, 1938, 850 ff., 866 ff.; B. Rigaux, "Die 'Zwölf' in Geschichte und Kerygma," in H. Ristow and K. Matthiae, eds., *Der historische Jesus und der kerygmatische Christus*, (1960) 1962², 468–86; A. Schlatter, *Die Geschichte des Christus*, 1921; A. Schulz, *Nachfolge und Nachahmen. Studien über das Verhältnis der neutestamentlichen Jüngerschaft zur urchristlichen Vorbildethik*, 1962; A. Schulz and R. Hoffmann, "Nachfolge Christi," *LTK* VII 758 ff.; T. Süss, "Nachfolge Jesu," *TLZ* 78, 1953, 129 ff.; R. Thysmann, "L'Éthique de l'imitation du Christ dans le Nouveau Testament," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 42, 1966, 138 ff.; H. Wildberger, *Jesaja*, *BKAT* X, Lieferungen 1–3, 1968; G. Wingren, "Was bedeutet die Forderung der Nachfolge Christi in evangelischer Ethik?" *TLZ* 75, 1950, 385–92; E. Wolf, "Schöpferische Nachfolge," *Peregrinatio*, II, 1965, 230 ff.; J. H. Yoder, *Nachfolge Christi als Gestalt politischer Verantwortung*, 1964.

Discipline, Prudence, Immorality, Prostitute

Discipline is a concept that plays a significant part in the philosophical ethics of classical Greece and also in Hellenism. It is striking that the word-groups discussed here are relatively rarely attested in the NT. The life of man in the Bible is determined not so much by self-control in the sense of an autonomous ethic as by the commandments of God. *enkrateia* denotes more the power and control one has over oneself, whereas *sōphrosynē* (in cl. Gk. one of the four cardinal virtues) describes more strongly the proper moderation which does not overstep the set limits. The word-group *porneuō* is treated here as its antonym, because in *porneia* the limits which are willed and set by God (in this case in the realm of sexual ethics) are obliterated. → Marriage, art. *moicheuō*; → Teach, art. *paideuō*.

ἐγκράτεια

ἐγκράτεια (*enkrateia*), self-control, self-restraint, abstinence; ἐγκρατής (*enkratēs*), master of oneself, self-controlled; ἐγκρατεύομαι (*enkrateuomai*), have control over oneself, exert self-restraint, abstain; ἀκρασιά (*akrasia*), licentiousness, lack of self-control; ἀκρατής (*akratēs*), uncontrolled, unbridled; ἀσκέω (*askeō*), practise something, engage in.

CL 1. *enkrateia* and *enkratēs* contain the root *krat-* which means power or control. *enkratēs* accordingly denotes a man who has power in the physical or intellectual sense (the opposite being *akratēs*). *enkrateia* is also used absolutely of having power over oneself. It then means self-control in the sense of perseverance, steadfastness or restraint with reference to sexual matters (the opposite being *akrasia*). From *enkratēs* is derived the vb. *enkrateuomai*, to abstain from something.

2. The idea of *enkrateia* is first introduced into ethics by Socrates as one of the chief virtues (cf. Xen., *Mem.* 1, 54). Plato and Aristotle adopted it in turn. For Plato *enkrateia*, the control of the sensual drives, is basically a popular expression for → *sōphrosynē* (cf. *Phaedr.*, 256b; *Rep.*, 403e). According to Aristotle, the one who is *enkratēs* has strong desires but is able to suppress them, whereas the one who is *sōphrōn* is elevated above all such fierce drives (*Magna Moralia*, 2, 6, 1203b 13 ff.). Among the Stoics, *enkrateia* was taken as a sign of human freedom. It was part of being truly human to moderate one's desires, particularly one's sexual drive and enjoyment of food and drink. The Neo-Pythagoreans developed a dualistic

system: the body must be kept in check through asceticism, so that the soul may rise to God. In making one fit for cultic worship, asceticism also played a large part in the ancient world (→ Pure, art. *hagnos*). Philo praised *enkrateia* as transcendence over one's desires and passions (*Spec.Leg.*, 1, 149, 173; 2, 195; 4, 112). The Essenes at the time of Jesus are known to have recommended celibacy, and also to have lived ascetically in various other ways, e.g. in regard to possessions, food and vigils (Josephus, *War*, 2, 120, 138, 150; cf. H. Ringgren, *The Faith of Qumran*, 1963, 139 f., 237 f.). (See further W. Grundmann, *TDNT* II 340 f.)

3. The vb. *askeō* involves a related idea. Originally it meant to exert oneself, to practise, particularly in the sense of technical work and ornamental decoration (Hom.). In Xen. it is employed of physical, gymnastic exercises, so that an athlete can be directly called an *askētēs*. Epict. spoke of systematic intellectual asceticism, the practice of doing good. This reflects the later meaning of the term: the fundamental, in certain circumstances life-long, taming of the passions, especially of sexual desire.

OT In the LXX *enkrateia* occurs only 3 times, exclusively in the Wisdom literature (Sir. 18:15, 30; 4 Macc. 5:34), meaning abstinence from excess. *enkratēs* (11 times, only in apocryphal writings) and *enkrateuomai* (3 times) are not so much special ascetic terms. They chiefly denote that one has gained or is in control of something (cf. Gen. 43:31; 1 Sam. 13:12; Sir. 6:27). *askeō* is found in the LXX only in 2 Macc. 15:4. Systematic asceticism is not known in the OT, apart from → fasting. The Heb. *'innâh nepeš*, to humble the soul, occurs in that connection (Lev. 16:12, 31; 23:27, 32; Num. 29:7; 30:14; Isa. 58:3, 5; Ps. 35:13).

NT In the NT the word-group *enkrateia* (including *akrasia* in Matt. 23:25 and 1 Cor. 7:5, and *akratēs* in 2 Tim. 3:3) is attested only 10 times, of which 4 are in Paul (1 Cor. 7:5, 9; 9:25; Gal. 5:23). *askēo* is found only in Acts 24:16 ("I also take pains at all times to have a clear conscience"). In the Gospels the words are entirely lacking apart from Matt. 23:25, where *akrasia*, shamelessness, self-indulgence, rapacity (RSV), occurs in pictorial language.

1. This statistical survey does not, however, compel us to say that there are no traces of asceticism in the Gospels. Lk., in particular, underlines an ascetic trait, especially with regard to one's possessions, without using these words (cf. Matt. 5:3 ff. with Lk. 6:20 ff.; Matt. 25:34 ff. with Lk. 14:14; also 12:33; 14:33; cf. H. von Campenhausen, *Tradition and Life in the Church*, 1968, 90–122). Viewed as a whole, however, asceticism in the sense of renunciation of possessions, sexual activity, and food-restrictions is not generally enjoined by the teaching of Jesus in the Gospels. This does not mean that renunciation by a particular person in a concrete situation is excluded (cf. the story of the rich young ruler, Matt. 19:21). It is only that from such passages (cf. Matt. 11:19; 9:14 ff.; Mk. 2:18 f.; Lk. 5:33 ff.), one cannot deduce a basic ascetic attitude on the part of Jesus, just as one cannot deduce his will for the overall validity of an ascetic ethic. Renunciation is only demanded where something stands in the way of following Jesus.

2. In Acts 24:25 *enkrateia* is found alongside righteousness and judgment as the theme of Paul's proclamation. "Self-control" may here be an allusion to the marriage of the procurator Felix, which was the result of adultery. But it may also

simply be an expression of an ascetic tendency which Lk. continues in Acts (cf. 2:44 f.; 4:32).

3. 1 Cor. 7 shows clearly that Paul affirms sexual asceticism for himself and regards it as desirable for the members of the congregation (v. 1). But Paul does not thus turn marriage and sexual intercourse into a sin (cf. v. 28). "Come together so that Satan may not tempt you on the grounds of your immodesty (*akrasia*)" (v. 5). It is therefore better to remain within marriage than merely to aggravate suppressed drives by compulsory abstinence (v. 9: "but if they cannot exercise self-control" [*enkrateuontai*]). Asceticism for Paul has no redemptive significance. And yet for him marriage is a concession to the constraint of human drives. Celibacy or abstinence (7:7) is preferable for him. In the expectation of the imminence of the end of the world marriage has lost its value for Paul as an ordinance of creation. He would like to preserve the Corinthians from the hardships that being married involves in the final catastrophe (7:26). They are to be free in the service of their Lord: "Every athlete exercises self-control [*enkrateuetai*] in all things" (9:25). Nevertheless, he does not recommend the break up of → marriage which is a picture of the relationship between Christ and the church (Eph. 5:21–33; Col. 3:18 f.).

enkrateia occurs in Gal. 5:23 in a list of the fruit of the Spirit. Self-control or discipline is here obviously the positive behaviour which is set over against the fornication (→ *porneia*), impurity, debauchery and idolatry of vv. 19 f. *enkrateia*, the possibility of fashioning one's life in the way God desires, is never something firmly at one's disposal. It must always be received afresh as the gift of the Spirit in one's commitment to the gospel. Whether *enkrateia* in Gal. 5:23 refers only to the sexual side or is meant more comprehensively is disputed. What one must hold on to, however, is the fact that, despite the high esteem in which Paul holds sexual asceticism, it is never dualistically anchored (see above CL) and never acquires any inherent value.

4. 2 Tim. 3:3 (*akratēs* in a list of vices) and Tit. 1:8 (*enkratēs* in a list of virtues) do not betray an ascetic attitude in the Pastoral Epistles. Rather, the Pastoral Epistles see marriage as a healthy ordinance of life willed by God, in contrast to some of Paul's opponents (1 Tim. 5:10, 14 f.; Tit. 1:16). Part of the intention of the catalogue of vices in 2 Tim. 3:1 ff., with its affirmation of marriage, is to warn against its dissolution and against a false self-gratification in the last days. Equally, the elder of a congregation should be *enkratēs*, chaste (Tit. 1:8), i.e. not a dissolute character, but married to one woman (1:6; cf. 1 Tim. 3:2), which may be a reflection on the social attitudes of the times.

5. *enkrateia* occurs twice in 2 Pet 1:6. In this late writing of the NT canon, yet another attempt is made with a clearly Hel. vocabulary to make faith intelligible in a new situation, which differed from that at the beginning, so that the tension between the past and the eschatological future is retrained. The author characterizes the attitude of Christians in the period following the apostolic preaching to the time of the Parousia (with the attendant danger of weariness) in a chain of virtues: faith, virtue, knowledge, self-control (*enkrateia*), patience, godliness, love for all men. The list exhibits the movement by which faith comes alive and becomes fruitful in love. *enkrateia* is here hardly to be understood in an ascetic sense. The term is used rather in its original meaning of having power over oneself (→ CL, 1),

not however on the basis of some supposed self-realization, but on the basis of the knowledge which comes from → faith (vv. 5 and 6). It is the precondition for the patience which the believer needs to prevent him from becoming weary.

H. Baltensweiler

πορνεύω

πορνεύω (*porneuō*), practise prostitution or sexual immorality, commit fornication; πόρνη (*pornē*), harlot, prostitute; πόρνος (*pornos*), an immoral person, a fornicator; πορνεία (*porneia*) unchastity, harlotry, prostitution, fornication.

CL *porneuō* from *pernēmi* (to sell) (Hdt. onwards), means trans. to prostitute. It is usually in the pass. of the woman: to prostitute oneself, become a prostitute. But it is also used of the man, to whore, to fornicate. Derivations include (a) *pornē* (Aristot. onwards), a woman who is for sale, a prostitute, courtesan; (b) *pornos* (likewise Aristot. onwards), the fornicator who has sexual intercourse with prostitutes, but then also an immoral man, i.e. one who allows himself to be misused for immoral purposes for money, a male prostitute; and (c) *porneia* (Dem. onwards, rare in cl. Gk) harlotry, unchastity (also of a homosexual nature).

1. The word-group can describe various extra-marital sexual modes of behaviour insofar as they deviate from accepted social and religious norms (e.g. homosexuality, promiscuity, paedophilia, and especially prostitution).

(a) According to G. van der Leeuw, "the instincts of sex and hunger are the two great impelling factors whereby the will climbs to power and even rises to heaven; in the face of these the consciousness of impotence collapses. Food and drink on the one hand, and on the other sexual intercourse, are therefore not merely the two outstanding symbols of community with the god, but are also the means wherewith human potency sets to work" (*Religion in its Essence and Manifestation*, 1964², 230). For this the most varied religious actions and rites are required. These include cultic prostitution as part of the ancient fertility rites. It was believed that performance of sexual intercourse in the sanctuary would ensure the fertility of everything living in the land and prevent the loss of the procreative and generative faculties. Evidence of cultic prostitution is first found in Babylon. Hdt. recounts that once in her life every Babylonian woman had to "sacrifice" herself to the goddess Mylitta by giving her body to a stranger in the temple precincts (1, 199). Similar customs are attested in other areas, including Cyprus.

In the Gk. world cultic prostitution gained acceptance primarily in the great sanctuaries of Corinth, Eryx and Athens. According to the historian Strabo (8, 378), over a thousand courtesans consecrated to Venus lived in Corinth alone (cf. H. Conzelmann, *Korinth und die Mädchen der Aphrodite: zur Religionsgeschichte der Stadt Korinth*, 1967). Religious prostitution played a particular role for Israel in the Baal cult.

(b) In order to be able to understand secular prostitution in Greece, note must be taken of the following facts especially concerning the Ionians: (i) According to a citizenship law of 451 B.C. inhabitants of Athens did not have any citizenship rights if their parents were not both Athenians. For many this meant material disadvantages, so that now non-Athenian women "worked" more and more as prostitutes. Thus began the professional class of *hetaerae*. (ii) The married women

were mostly uneducated and were thus regarded as *oikourēma*, a chattel used for looking after the house (thus Eur.) and for bearing children. (iii) Slavery allowed the men to take slave-girls as mistresses (cf. Homer, *Il.*, 8, 284). The following judgment of Demosthenes is interesting and significant: "The *hetaerae* we have for our pleasure, the concubines for the daily care of our bodies, and our wives so that we can have legitimate children and a true guardian of the house" (59, 122). These circumstances led, on the one hand, to an extended and widely ramified system of prostitution. On the other hand, they encouraged the married Athenian women to have sexual relations with the slaves and to indulge in lesbian love. The situation was very different among the Dorians in Sparta. Ancient marriage conditions, which exhibited traits of earlier group marriage, gave less cause for the growth of prostitution. But paedophilia developed there especially, spreading then over the whole of Greece.

2. The Stoics strove for a new sexual ethic. They did not reject sexual pleasure, but they unanimously condemned all adultery and extra-marital sexual intercourse. The Stoic Musonius Rufus also rejected that of the man with slave-girls and *hetaerae*.

OT 1. The word-group *pornē* in the LXX generally stands for Heb. *zānâh*, to commit fornication, whereas *moicheuō*, to commit adultery (→ Marriage), regularly represents *nā'ap̄*. Both word-groups are therefore to be clearly separated.

2. Prostitution was likewise not unknown in Israel. But at the beginning it was evidently not felt to be a serious moral problem (cf. Gen. 38:15; Jdg. 15:1; 1 Ki. 3:16). In certain circumstances, therefore, both prostitution (only female prostitution, not male, was ever tolerated) and extra-marital intercourse on the part of the man (e.g. with his maid – Gen. 16:1 f.; 30:1 ff.) were sanctioned. This may have been because of the high infant mortality in the East, where there was often great concern for the preservation of the tribe. (For extra-marital intercourse of the women, → Marriage, art. *moicheuō*.)

Prostitution first became a serious problem through confrontation with the fertility cults, in particular the Baal cult. Baal's "relationship to the earth was that of a *hieros gamos* [a sacred marriage]; he is the mythical generative power that fructifies the earth by means of the sperm of the rain. Human beings share in his fertilising power by entering this mystery and imitating it" (G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, I, 1962, 22). This took place through intercourse with a prostitute in the sanctuary, which was supposed to bring man into cosmic harmony. Since this religion was not simply – as has often been falsely assumed – concerned with gross sensuality but with sensuality in a particular "spiritual" form, it had a strong attraction for the educated Israelites. The prostitutes in the sanctuary were respected women. The bitter struggle (e.g. of Hosea) was primarily directed against Israel's belief that they owed the blessings of the land to the rites of the Baal-cult, the spirit of harlotry, which had gained acceptance in the Yahweh-cult. Israel "does not know that it is I who gave her corn, new wine and oil, who lavished upon her silver and gold" (Hos. 2:10 [EVV v. 8]). "Israel, however, misunderstood both the giver and the gifts; she failed to see that she had been brought into a *status confessionis* before Yahweh because of these gifts; rather, she fell victim to a mythic divinisation of husbandry and of its numinous, chthonic origins" (G. von Rad, op. cit., II, 1965, 142). It is thus not primarily the sexual intercourse that shocks the

prophets, but the absolute lack of personal faithfulness. The priests have disregarded the tradition of the word of Yahweh and lost their orientation (cf. Hos. 4:4–19). Cultic prostitution, according to the accounts of Jeremiah (cf. 3:1–9; 5:7 ff.) and Ezekiel (esp. chs. 16 and 23), had taken on disgusting forms. It became – as harlotry – a picture of Israel's apostasy from Yahweh, depicting the whole forlorn situation in which Israel found itself before Yahweh. It was out of this struggle against the Baalization of the Yahweh cult that the sharp rejection of any kind of prostitution in Israel arose. "Passages which originally prohibited cultic prostitution through the sacred Law of God became in the later tradition general prohibitions of fornication in Israel. Acc. to Lv. 19:29 the toleration or even the promoting of fornication, e.g. on the part of a daughter of Israel, defiles the whole land and brings it under the threat of God's judgment" (F. Hauck and S. Schulz, *TDNT* VI 585 f.). Quite distinct from immorality was the so-called Levirate marriage, i.e. the obligatory marriage between a childless widow and her brother-in-law to prevent the extinction of the name of the dead man in Israel (Gen. 38:6–30; Deut. 25:5–10; Ruth 1–4; cf. H. H. Rowley, "The Marriage of Ruth", *The Servant of the Lord and Other Essays*, 1952, 161–86).

3. In later Jewish Rab. language, *zᵉnûṯ* (*porneia*) is to be understood as including not only prostitution and any kind of extra-marital sexual intercourse (Pirqe Aboth 2:8) but also all marriages between relatives forbidden by Rab. law (cf. SB II 729 f.). Incest (Test. Rub. 1, 6; Test. Jud. 13, 6; cf. Lev. 18:6–18) and all kinds of unnatural sexual intercourse (e.g. Test. Ben. 9:1) were viewed as fornication (*porneia*). One who surrenders to it shows ultimately that he has broken with God (cf. Wis. 14:27 f.). Thus Jub. can even call *porneia* an unforgivable mortal sin (33:13, 18). In order to avoid fornication, early marriage was recommended. In the so-called "lists of vices" of Hel. Diaspora Judaism, adultery and prostitution are found alongside idolatry, sorcery and murder. Although intercourse with a slave-girl or a concubine is condemned as a grievous sin (cf. Deut. 23:17 f.), and Israel "boasted repeatedly of the purity of its marriages . . . in contrast to the pagan environment", this boast requires to be strictly limited (SB III 66 with many examples). Not without reason could R. Hillel have judged: "Many slave-girls – much fornication." Correspondingly the Dead Sea Scrolls give frequent warnings against such fornication (1QS 1:6; 4:10; CD 2:16; 4:17, 20).

NT In the NT the main weight of the word-group (used in all 55 times, of which *porneia* alone accounts for 25) falls clearly in Paul (21 times, of which 1 Cor. and 2 Cor. account for 15) and in Rev. (19 times). From this one realizes that the question of *porneia* comes up for discussion particularly in the confrontation with the Gk. world and in the context of the final judgment (there again linked with a person's relationship with God).

1. There was also prostitution in Israel at the time of Jesus. Whereas, however, according to Jewish law, prostitutes and tax collectors were excluded from the people of God and thus from salvation, Jesus proclaimed to them God's forgiveness on the basis of their faith, and thus the way to salvation (Matt. 21:31 f.; Heb. 11:31; cf. Jas. 2:25). Their faith is held up as an example for the self-confident priests and elders of the people. This in no way softens Jesus' rejection of prostitution (Mk. 7:21 par.). But it does mean that, along with other sins, it is no longer

excluded from forgiveness. It is not absolutely clear whether *porneia* in the "exceptive clause" (Matt. 5:32; 19:9) is to be understood simply as extra-marital sexual intercourse in the sense of *moicheia* or as prostitution (→ Marriage; → Divorce). Some exegetes argue that the reason for divorce could only be that during the marriage the woman's earlier activity as a prostitute became known. Most exegetes, however, suppose that *porneia* is to be understood synonymously with *moicheia* as adultery. Whether in Matt., by contrast with Mk. 3:4; 10:2–12 and Lk. 16:18, we have a secondary, mitigating qualification of the prohibition of adultery, and whether the Matt. version goes back to Jesus himself are disputed. G. Bornkamm holds that in the conflict between the various Rab. schools about what constituted sufficient grounds for divorce, Matt. with the secondary "exceptive clause" represents the strict standpoint of the school of Shammai. "The radical prohibition by Jesus, to which the whole line of argument, even in Matthew, in vv. 4 ff. (Mark 10:6 ff.), is aimed, is thereby robbed of its stringency" (G. Bornkamm, G. Barth, H. J. Held, *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew*, 1963, 26). ([Ed.] John Murray, on the other hand, holds that the clause goes back to Jesus himself, and that Matt. is dealing with a further question which Mk. and Lk. do not enter upon. Matt. 19:9 is just as absolute as Mk. 10:11 and Lk. 16:18 in abrogating the permission implied in Deut. 24:1–4. The Mosaic Law was not concerned with *divorce for adultery* [for death was the prescribed penalty for those found guilty of adultery, Deut. 22:22] and thus it did not enter upon the question of the *right of remarriage* in the event of such a divorce. Murray holds that this is the question that Matt. is treating here [*Divorce*, 1953, 51 ff.].)

2. In the Pauline writings the word-group *pornē* denotes any kind of illegitimate sexual intercourse. Paul's usage of the word-group predominantly in 1 Cor. (14 times) shows that the problem was posed for him in an acute way in this church. Corinth was a town with traditional temple prostitution (see above CL 1). As an important port it was especially open to the syncretism of the ancient world and stamped with sexual licentiousness in the slums around the harbour and in the sanctuaries. But it was from the circles of this harbour proletariat that many members of the Corinthian Church came (cf. 2 Cor. 12:21). In addition a kind of Gnosticism (→ Knowledge) invaded the Corinthian community. The pneumatic who boasted of his freedom ("all things are lawful") believed that in mystic exaltation he has left the limitations of temporality behind him, and was able to live out a life of unlimited freedom within the context of this world. It is against this background that the problem of incest is to be seen (intercourse of the son with his step-mother). Paul deals with this in 1 Cor. 5:1 ff. If the congregation does not separate from such unchaste persons, the whole church is endangered (5:9 ff.), and stands under God's judgment (→ Destroy, art. *olethros*). Since gnostic dualism saw in corporeality something that decayed and perished, sexual needs relating to one's body could be freely and spontaneously expressed. Paul passionately resisted this outlook (1 Cor. 6:9–20). The stomach is meant for food, but the human body is not intended for unchastity (6:13). Human existence cannot be dissected into two realities, a sarkic and pneumatic (v. 15 ff.). From *porneia* as from *eidololatria*, idolatry, one must flee (6:18; 10:14), because *porneia* cannot be secularized in the way the Corinthians hold. It is rather as if a religious and demonic power is let loose in *porneia*. "It is manifestly a different spirit, a *pneuma akatharton* (Matt. 10:1),

a spirit that is incompatible and irreconcilable with Christ, which takes control of man in *porneia*" (Iwand, op. cit., p. 615). Because man does not have a *sōma* (→ Body) but is *sōma* (i.e. is conceived as an indivisible totality), he is either a member of the body of Christ with his total reality or equally totally linked to a *pornē* (1 Cor. 6:15–19; cf. Heb. 12:16). Thus Paul has to keep on warning not only this congregation (1 Cor. 7:2; 10:8), but also others (Gal. 5:19; Eph. 5:3; 1 Thess. 4:3) specifically against *porneia*, and with the greatest urgency, because it affects the whole person.

3. In Rev. unbridled sexual excess is mentioned among the chief sins of the pagans (9:21), just as fornicators are mentioned among the obvious sinners who are threatened by the second death. In the figurative sense → Babylon (chs. 17–19), the great whore, the mother of harlotry and of every obscenity on earth is named as the embodiment and personification of enmity to God. It is here a designation of Rome and its public affairs which stand opposed and hostile to God and his people. Harlotry is therefore meant both literally and also with reference to Rome's wooing for political and economic favours.

H. Reisser

σωφροσύνη

σωφροσύνη (*sōphrosynē*), prudence, self-control; σωφρονέω (*sōphroneō*), be of sound mind, be reasonable, prudent; σώφρων (*sōphrōn*), prudent, sensible, self-controlled; σωφρόνως (*sōphronōs*), reasonably, with restraint, soberly.

CL 1. The noun *sōphrosynē*, prudence, belongs to the word-group *sōphroneō*, be reasonable, prudent; *sōphrōn*, sensible, prudent. *sōphrosynē* is formed out of *sōphrōn* (*sao-phrōn*) from the component parts *sōs*, safe, sound, and *phrēn*, the heart as the seat of the passions, the place where the activities of the soul are located. The only word of this group that appears in Homer's *Iliad* is *phrenes* (plur. of *phrēn*). From the time of the *Odyssey* *sōphrosynē* is found, and from the Tragedians onwards the vb. *sōphroneō*. The meaning is given in *Od.*, 23, 10–14, where *sōphrosynē*, prudence, self-control, is an antonym of ignorance and frivolity and has a corresponding positive sense. The eudaemonism which pervades these early ethical ideas – happiness is the greatest good – is consolidated in Plato into the doctrine of the four cardinal virtues (cf. F. Ueberweg, *History of Philosophy*, I, 1888, 128): wisdom (*sophia*), courage (*andreia*), prudence (*sōphrosynē*), and justice (→ Righteousness, art. *dikaiosynē*). Plato did not tie himself down to a definition of *sōphrosynē*. The main emphasis fell on the man-centred doctrine of the state. In the relationship of the three classes to one another the lower ones have to exercise "moderation". This understanding is equally true for the desires. All → virtues count as a unity, but in their differentiation they include the possibility of further subdivision in each individual case.

2. In the school tradition of the Stoics and in popular philosophy prudence (*sōphrosynē*) is encountered in the scale of the cardinal virtues, and expanded in a series of subordinate virtues (discipline, obedience, decency, propriety, modesty, temperance, self-control). The sub-divisions are intended to give precision and concreteness. In Eur., *Medea*, 635, and *Iph. Aul.*, 544, 1159 the meaning of *sōphrosynē*

is narrowed down to moderation and control of the sexual instincts and chastity. (See further U. Luck, *TDNT* VII 1098 ff.)

OT As the LXX shows, there is no Heb. equivalent for *sōphrosynē*, prudence. The noun is found chiefly in 4 Macc. In Hel. Judaism it also assumed a special position as one of the four chief virtues. According to Philo, it is by means of prudence that man is to suppress above all his desires. From the perspective of OT tradition virtue is related to the transcendent divine creator of the world: it is a divine gift, manifested in obedience. In Wis. 8:7 *sōphrosynē* is encountered as one of the four cardinal virtues, which are understood as wisdom, grounded in God.

NT In the NT the noun *sōphrosynē*, prudence, self-control, is found only in Acts 26:25 and 1 Tim. 2:9, 15. *sōphroneō*, to be of sound mind, to be reasonable, prudent, *sōphronōs* and *sōphrōn* occur in Mk. 5:15; Lk. 8:35; 2 Cor. 5:13; cf. Rom. 12:3; 1 Pet. 4:8; and the Pastoral Epistles (Tit. 2:6, 12; 1 Tim. 3:2 etc.). It is no accident that no moral philosophy, and therefore also no scheme of the four cardinal virtues can be found in the NT, even though the paraenetical sections have adopted much from their environment and make use of their language and forms. In the face of an obedience which is linked to definite situations the Gk. ideal of virtue is foreign to the NT. In respect of the catalogues of virtues, however, the Pastoral Epistles stand within the tradition of their Hel. environment, and thus adopt the admonition to be prudent in the correspondingly general sense of moral formulae (1 Tim. 3:2; Tit. 1:8; 2:2). *sōphrōn* in 1 Tim. 2:9 and Tit. 2:5, where the women are addressed directly, again has the meaning of chaste, pure. "To the degree that faith is concerned with the life of Christians in the world, the ethical traditions with their developed concepts help to ward off a pneumatic-ecstatic misunderstanding of the faith" (U. Luck, *TDNT* VII 1103). But there are not here any traces of a direct confrontation. Rather, "being prudent" is here encountered as a Christian virtue, which already displays the stamp of early Christian tradition.

The nature and theme of thoughtful and prudent action are to be based neither in an ethic derived from character nor in moral achievement. This is made clear in Rom. 12:3. Paul sees the capability, the deliberate effort towards thoughtful prudence (*phronein eis to sōphronein*), as grounded in faith. In prudence Paul thus appeals for a basic attitude, which seeks to perceive both its own limitations and the other person in his humanity, and determines its action towards him accordingly. Prudence is not a Stoic "given", nor a virtue based on principle, but a necessary element of a love which maintains the tension between commitment and reflective distance. *S. Wibbing*

→Divorce, → Marriage, → Teach, and the literature mentioned there.

(a). J. B. Bauer and J. Gabriel, "Discipline," *EBT* I 213 f.; W. Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity*, 1972; G. Bertram, *paideuō*, *TDNT* V 596–625; H. von Campenhausen, "Early Christian Asceticism," *Tradition and Life in the Church*, 1968, 90–122; and *Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power in the Church in the First Three Centuries*, 1969; J. Gray, "The Nature and Function of Adult Christian Education in the Church," *SJT* 19, 1966, 457–63; W. Grundmann, *enkrateia*, *TDNT* II 339–42; F. Hauck and S. Schulz, *pornē TDNT* VI 579–95; G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in its Essence and Manifestation*, 1964²; U. Luck, *sōphrōn*, *TDNT* VII 1097–1104; J. A. Muirhead, *Education in the New Testament*, Monographs in Christian Education 2, 1965; V. C. Pfitzner, *Paul and the Agon Motif: Traditional Athletic Imagery in Pauline Literature*, 1967; J. N. Sevenster, "Education or Conversion: Epictetus and the Gospels," *NovT* 8, 1966, 247–62;

M. Thurian, *Marriage and Celibacy*, 1959; H. Windisch, *askeō*, *TDNT* I 494 ff.; H. Malina, "Does *porneia* mean Fornication?" *NovT* 14, 1972, 10–17.
(b). A. Adam, "Enkratiten," *RGG*³ II 494; R. Bohren, *Kirchenzucht im Neuen Testament*, 1952; H. Chadwick, "Enkrateia," *RAC* V 343 ff.; L. Dürr, "Die Erziehungswesen im Alten Testament und im antiken Orient," *Mitteilungen der vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft* 36, 2, 1932; W. Gabriel, "Was ist Porneia im Sprachgebrauch Jesu?" *Ethik* 7, 1931, 106 ff.; H.-J. Iwand, *Predigt-Meditationen*, 1964², 614 ff.; W. Jentsch, *Urchristliches Erziehungsdenken*, 1951; G. Mensching, H. Bardtke, K. G. Kuhn, F. Lau, "Askese," *RGG*³ I 639 ff.; H. Strathmann, "Askese," *RAC* I 749 ff.; F. Überweg and K. Praechter, *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie*, I, *Die Philosophie des Altertums*, 1953¹³; S. Wibbing, *Die Tugend- und Lasterkatalogen im Neuen Testament*, 1959; W. Zeller, "Askese," *EKL* I 228 ff.

Distinguish, Doubt

διακρίνω

διακρίνω diakrinō, make a distinction, judge, judge correctly, render a decision; doubt, waver (only in the NT); *διάκρισις* (*diakrisis*), distinguishing, quarrel; *ἀδιάκριτος* (*adiakritos*), unwavering, impartial.

CL *diakrinō* (Hom. onwards; a form of *krinō*, to arrange, strengthened by *dia*) has the basic meaning of 1. (a) to judge, make a distinction, distinguish (Hom., *Od.*, 8, 195). From this is developed the meaning 1. (b) to separate, divide (flocks of sheep, Hom., *Il.*, 2, 475). The vb. is chiefly used as a legal technical term. 2. It also means to give a decision, dispense justice (Xen., *Hel.* 5, 2, 10). 3. In the pass. it is used of an issue that has been brought to a decision (Hdt., 9, 58), and with the meaning to be separated (cf. Hdt., 7, 206).

The noun *diakrisis* (pre-Socratics onwards) means separation, division (Plato), as in 1. (b). It can also mean an interval, judgment (as in law, Plato, *Leg.*, 11, 937b; cf. above 1. (a)), distinction, and quarrel, struggle (Polyb., 18, 28, 3; cf. above 3).

OT In the LXX and Judaism *diakrinō* has chiefly the meaning 1. (a) to judge, distinguish, make a distinction (4 Macc. 1:14; cf. Jos., *War*, 1, 27). In particular, *diakrinō* serves to translate Heb. *šāpaṭ* (Exod. 18:16; 1 Ki. 3:9; 1 Chr. 26:29; Ps. 82(83):1; Ezek. 34:17, 20; Prov. 31:9), and more rarely Heb. *dîn* (Zech. 3:7), with meaning 2. dispense justice. The meaning 3. to take issue, to enter into judgment is also attested (Ezek. 20:33, 36; Joel 4:2 = *šāpaṭ* niph.). The meaning to judge can be intensified to mean examine (Job 12:11; 13:10 = *bāḥan*) and choose (Job 14:9; 15:5 = *bāḥar*). In Philo *diakrinō* can even mean to search out (*Op. Mund.*, 137).

diakrisis is found only once in the LXX in Job 37:16, as a translation of the unique OT word *miplāś* (layer [of clouds], Koehler-Baumgartner, 552). Whether the translator was thinking of something similar to Matt. 16:3, or whether there is a mistake in the translation must remain an open question.

NT 1. In the NT *diakrinō* is found 18 times, including 7 times in Paul (Rom., 1 Cor.), 4 times in Acts and 3 times in Jas. The word-group is entirely lacking in Eph., Col., the Pastorals and Johannine writings. It is rare in the Gospels (3 times).

(a) In 3 instances it means to judge: the appearance of the sky, but not the signs of the times (Matt. 16:3); oneself (1 Cor. 11:31); and prophetic words (1 Cor. 14:29). Twice it means to make a distinction: God makes no distinction between Jews and pagans (Acts 15:9; cf. 11:12). The idea of distinguishing in the sense of

making differentiating evaluation is found twice: "Who sees anything different in you?" (1 Cor. 4:7 RSV); "For anyone who eats and drinks without discerning the body eats and drinks judgment upon himself" (1 Cor. 11:29 RSV). The meaning CL 1. (b) "to separate" is lacking (but cf. *Ep. Diog.* 8:7, *panta kata taxin diakrinas*, "arranged all things in order"). As a legal technical term (cf. CL 2), *diakrinō* is found only in 1 Cor. 6:5 of dispensing justice between brother and brother (cf. Ezek. 34:17, 20; Sir. 25:18). It is used twice in the mid. in the sense of take issue with, contend with: the circumcision party with Peter (Acts 11:2); and Michael with the Devil (Jude 9).

(b) The vb. *diakrinō* in the NT takes on the further meaning of doubt (8 times). Rejection of the word of God is found in the OT (cf. Gen. 18:12 with Rom. 4:19, 20 and Isa. 7:1–25), but the OT lacks specific terms for the condition of doubt in the promises of God. Of the vbs. used in pre-NT Gk. for doubt – *distazō* (Plato, Arist.), *amphisbēteō* (Plato, Hdt.), *amphiballō* (Polyb., Aelius Aristides) – only *distazō* occurs twice: "Man of little faith, why did you doubt?" (Matt. 14:31); and "some doubted" (i.e. the promise of Matt. 28:7). No significant difference can be posited between *distazō* and *diakrinō*, though *diakrinō* appears to be more comprehensive.

(c) In some NT passages doubt appears as a lack of → faith and thus as sin (Rom. 14:23). Jas. 1:6–8 relates this to intercession: one must ask in faith (*en pistei*); a man who asks in doubt is a divided man (→ Simplicity). He lacks the power of → hope and yet still prays.

Mk. 11:23 and Matt. 21:21 describe faith which does not doubt as a faith with which one can shift mountains. A comparison with Matt. 17:20, where almost the same *logion* is addressed by Jesus to the disciples "on account of . . . small faith", shows that doubt is akin to faint-heartedness.

In Rom. 4:20 f. doubt comes close to disbelief: "He [Abraham] did not doubt God's promise in disbelief, but grew strong in faith as he gave glory to God, fully convinced that God had power to do what he had promised." Faith is not a substitute knowledge of supernatural matters which have remained hidden despite divine → revelation (art. *epiphaneia*) and human research. Faith is always faith in the promises of the God of history. Doubt is thus a lack of trust in the act of God which he has still to perform and which men are to await.

(d) The dogmatic doubt of others which gives rise to theological apologetics is found explicitly only in the disputed and textually difficult verse Jude 22. Here RSV reads "And convince some, who doubt" (cf. NEB mg. "There are some who raise disputes; these you should refute"; cf. also Arndt. 184). According to Acts 10:20, doubt is lack of trust in the Spirit who desired to set Peter on the road to the pagan believer, Cornelius.

2. The noun *diakrisis* is used in the sense of distinguishing or differentiation, of spirits (1 Cor. 12:10), and of good and bad (Heb. 5:14) (cf. above CL 1 (a) and 1 Clem. 48:5). In Rom. 14:1 and Acts 4:32 (Codex Bezae) it means quarrel (cf. Arndt, 184, and above CL 3). The noun is not found at all in the NT in the sense of doubt. The kind of doubt developed by Descartes in his *Discourse on Method* (1637), especially Part 2, para. 7, for the heuristic method of philosophical comprehension of the world, is foreign to the NT. In the NT the doubter sins against God and his promises, because he judges God falsely.

The doubter is ultimately a man whose belief and action do not coincide. He therefore ought to doubt himself, i.e. his own credibility (Jas. 2:4, cf. 1:8, *dipsychos* "double-minded"). His behaviour does not fit with God's behaviour, for in God's wisdom there is nothing wavering or conflicting. The wise man is *adiakritos*, unwavering, impartial (Arndt, 16), "without uncertainty" (Jas. 3:17 RSV).

If the promise is a structural element of the gospel, hope is a structural element of faith. Strictly speaking, doubt in the NT is directed against hope and confidence. Such doubt is an eschatological problem. It always arises in confrontation with the gospel, in that the possibility of doubt only exists where the gospel can be heard or seen. For it is to this that doubt is related. Doubt in the NT is an affair of the believer rather than of the unbeliever, although doubt can certainly lead to unbelief.
→ Faith, → Judge *B. Gärtner*

(a). Arndt, 184; K. Barth, *CD* IV, 3, 1, 434–61; F. Büchsel, *diakrinō*, *TDNT* III 946 ff.; R. Davidson, "Some Aspects of the Theological Significance of Doubt in the Old Testament," *Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute* 7, 1968–69, 41–52; P. Tillich, *Systematic Theology*, II, 1957, III, 1966 (see index); O. J. F. Seitz, "Afterthoughts on the Term 'Dipsychos' ", *NTS* 4, 1957–58, 327–34.
(b). H. Blankertz, "Zweifel," *RGG*³ VI 1944 f.; E. Bloch, *Tübinger Einleitung in die Philosophie*, I, 1963, 24 ff.; G. Rein, ed., *Dialog mit Zweifel*, 1969; S. E. Rodke, "Zweifel und Erkenntnis", *Lunds Universitets Årsskrift* NF Avd. I, 41, 3, 1945; E. J. von Tessen-Wesierski, *Wesen und Bedeutung des Zweifels*, 1928.

Divorce

ἀποστάσιον

ἀπολύω (*apolyō*), to set free; ἀποστάσιον (*apostasion*) divorce.

CL *apolyō* means to set free, release, free from; it can be used of releasing prisoners or freeing a person from legal charges. It also means to dismiss, e.g. an individual or a group of people such as an army. It is occasionally used of dismissing a wife (Dion. Hal. 2, 25, 7; Diod. Sic. 12, 18, 1). *apostasion* refers to the relinquishment of a property upon sale (e.g. *apostasiou syngraphē*, deed of cession).

OT Both words are rare in the LXX. *apolyō* is used in a variety of senses, including divorce (Deut. 24:1 ff.; 1 Esd. 9:36; cf. Jos. *Ant.* 15, 259). *apostasion* occurs 4 times with reference to a *sēper k^erîṯût*, deed of divorce (Deut. 24:1, 3; Isa. 50:1; Jer. 3:8). OT law allowed divorce if "some indecency" was found in a wife, but forbade it to a man who had been compelled to marry a girl whom he had raped (Deut. 22:28 f.). The penalty for a wife who was discovered not to be virgin was death (Deut. 22:13–21), and the penalty for both partners in a case of adultery was death (Deut. 22:22). In general divorce was frowned upon, but cases did occur (Mal. 2:14–16). After the exile Jewish men who had married foreign wives were required to put them away (Ezr. 9–10; Neh. 13:23 ff.).

NT In the NT *apolyō* has its classical Gk. meanings: to release a prisoner (Mk. 15:6–15 par.; cf. Matt. 18:27 of a debtor); set free from disease (Lk. 13:12); acquit (Lk. 6:37); send people away (Mk. 6:36, 45; 8:3, 9); dismiss from the duties of life, allow to die (Lk. 2:29; cf. dismissal from military service [Moulton–Milligan,

66 f.]; Gen. 15:2; Num. 20:29; Tob. 3:6, 13; 2 Macc. 7:9). It is especially used of divorcing a wife (Matt. 1:19; 5:31 f.; 19:3, 7–9; Mk. 10:2, 4, 11 f.; Lk. 16:18). *apostasion* means divorce (Matt. 5:31; 19:7; Mk. 10:4).

Divorce was an accepted fact of life in NT times (for Jewish practice, see SB I, 303–321). A husband was at liberty to put away his wife, provided that the proper legal process of granting her a notice of divorce was followed. But the grounds on which a husband might divorce his wife were disputed between the two rabbinic schools of Shammai and Hillel (teachers in first century B.C.) who allowed divorce only for adultery or for marital incompatibility respectively.

The teaching of Jesus in Mk. 10:1–12 affirms that God's purpose in creation was that husband and wife should become one flesh. Therefore men should not separate what God has joined. Nevertheless, it is admitted that Moses allowed divorce to be carried out, provided that proper legal forms were followed. But this concession was either in view of men's obstinacy of heart towards the commandment of God (perhaps so as to prevent even worse situations arising) or in order to bring such obstinacy out into the open. Jesus' teaching would appear to be that divorce is inconsistent with obedience to God's will. What is not clear is how this teaching affects the Christian attitude to legislation in a non-Christian society, or how the church should treat Christians involved in divorce (see, however, Jn. 7:53–8:11).

In the ensuing discussion Jesus explains why divorce is wrong by defining it in terms of adultery. A man who divorces his wife and remarries is committing adultery *ep'autēn*. The traditional rendering is that he is committing adultery *against* the first wife. If, however, the phrase means that he is committing adultery *with* the second wife, the point is unchanged, for in both cases the adultery can only be against the first wife. It is commonly accepted that in saying this Jesus was going beyond the existing Jewish view of adultery as an offence against a husband, whether by his wife or her lover. Jesus here states that the wife is on the same level as a husband, for his intercourse with another woman is adultery against her. The same principle is applied in Mk. 10:12 to a wife who divorces her husband (as was possible in the Roman world, but not among Jews) and remarries. Remarriage after divorce is adultery. Luke 16:18a makes the same point as Mk. 10:11, and Lk. 16:18b stresses that the man who marries a divorcee commits adultery against her first husband, thus stating that the existing Jewish understanding of adultery must be applied to remarriage as well.

Matt. 19:9 agrees with Mk. 10:11, but allows an exception "in case of adultery". This has often been thought to be a modification of Jesus' saying by the early church in order to bring it into line with the ruling of Shammai, and hence presumably to allow a husband to remarry after divorcing a wife guilty of adultery. An alternative view is that the adultery in question is misconduct on the part of a betrothed woman before the consummation of her marriage. In this case Jewish law demanded that the wedding should not be proceeded with. Before Joseph married Mary he discovered that she was pregnant and felt obliged to put her away according to this law, but received a divine command to continue with the wedding since his wife was free from adultery (Matt. 1:18–25).

A further form of Jesus' teaching appears in Matt. 5:32 where he states that a person who divorces his wife (except for the above reason) is responsible for making

her and her second husband commit adultery against him. (For further discussion → Discipline, art. *porneuō*.)

Similar teaching is given by Paul. Only after the death of a person's partner is he or she allowed to remarry (Rom. 7:1–3). He repeats the command of Jesus that husband and wife should not separate from each other; if, however, they do separate they should not remarry (1 Cor. 7:10 f.). In cases where only one partner has become a Christian, the Christian should not regard this as a reason for divorce, perhaps because of the fear that there was something unholy about a union between a Christian and a non-Christian. 1 Cor. 6:15 f. might have led some to this false conclusion, but it refers to union with a prostitute. The marriage bond itself is not a cause of defilement, since the unbelieving partner and any children are "consecrated" by the believing partner. However, if the unbelieving partner seeks a separation, the Christian is to allow it. What is not clear is whether in such a case the Christian partner is free to remarry (the so-called "Pauline privilege"). This particular situation is clearly not one of much contemporary relevance, but it does raise the question whether in the analogous situation of the so-called "innocent party" remarriage is allowable. On this point there does not seem to be any clear NT teaching. *I. H. Marshall*

→ Marriage, Adultery, Bride, Bridegroom; Separate (art. *chōrizō*)

(a). D. Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, 1956, 71–86; J. D. M. Derrett, "The Teaching of Jesus on Marriage and Divorce." *Law in the New Testament,* 1970, 363-88; R. J. Ehrlich, "The Indissolubility of Marriage as a Theological Problem", *SJT* 23, 1970, 291-311; F. Hauck, *moicheuō*, *TDNT* IV 729–35; F. Hauck and S. Schulz, *pornē*, *TDNT* VI 579–95; A. Isaksson, *Marriage and Ministry in the New Temple*, 1965; W. Lillie, *Studies in New Testament Ethics*, 1961, 118–28; T. W. Manson, *The Sayings of Jesus*, 1949, 136 ff.; J. Murray, *Divorce*, 1953; A. Oepke, *gynē*, *TDNT* I 776–89; R. Schnackenburg, *The Moral Teaching of the New Testament*, 1965, 132–43; E. Stauffer, *gameō*, *TDNT* I 648–57.

(b). H. Baltensweiler, *Die Ehe im Neuen Testament. Exegetische Untersuchungen über Ehe, Ehelosigkeit und Ehescheidung*, 1967; G. Delling, "Das Logion Markus 10, 11 und seine Abwandlungen im Neuen Testament," *NovT* 1, 1956, 263–74; H. Greeven, "Ehe nach dem Neuen Testament," *NTS* 15, 1968–69, 365–88; B. Schaller, "Die Sprüche über Ehescheidung und Wiederheirat in der synoptischen Überlieferung," in E. Lohse, ed., *Der Ruf Jesus und die Antwort der Gemeinde*, 1970, 226–46.

Dragon, Serpent, Scorpion, Sting

The term *thērion* is a general expression for a wild → animal or beast. It is used in a bad sense in Rev., but is found elsewhere with a neutral or even a good sense. But *drakōn*, found only in Rev., has always a bad sense. In this there is no difference between the NT and other contemporary religious and epic sources. With few exceptions the snake (*ophis*) is also hostile to God and man. It has symbolic and psychological overtones.

δράκων	δράκων (*drakōn*), dragon.

CL & OT *drakōn* is derived from *derkomai*, look at, and is the animal with the bewitching, crippling look: the dragon, snake, giant sea-snake, or serpent. In many old myths the dragon or serpent is a picture of the primeval power of chaos.

Its defeat at the hands of a god enabled the world to come into being. In other words, the cosmos is made from chaos. Such concepts may also lie behind some passages in the Bible. God killed dragons in the primeval period (Job 26:12 f.; Isa. 51:8; Ps. 74:13 f.). Monsters or dragons live in the sea (Job. 7:12; Ps. 148:7; Amos 9:3). The time will come when God will kill the dragon in the sea (Isa. 27:1). In calling Pharaoh a dragon, as an enemy of God's people, Ezek. 29:3; 32:2 typifies the attitude of the entire OT to the mythological world view. It is not concerned about mythical beings, their power or their peculiarities. It praises the fact that Yahweh has removed all threats to his people in the past, and will continue to do so. That is why the LXX, in the account of the signs by which Moses was to confirm his call, translates serpent (snake) by dragon, so as to give greater glory to God's action (Exod. 7:9–12).

NT In the NT *drakōn* is found only in Rev., where it is used exclusively as a synonym for → Satan. This is made explicit in 12:9; 20:2. It is a clear ref. back to Gen. 3: "ancient serpent" in these vv. is *ho ophis ho archaios* (→ *ophis*). Rev. 12 uses old mythological concepts. The nearest par. is the Gk. myth of the dragon Python which persecuted Leto and was killed by Apollo. In Rev. 12 the dragon has 7 heads and 10 horns (cf. Dan. 7:7 f.). It has power in heaven and its tail sweeps down a third of the stars. → Demons are subordinate to it. It stands by the woman who is to give birth to the man child so that it may devour him, but is defeated by Michael and his forces of → angels and is cast down to earth together with its demons (12:7 ff.). It persecutes the woman and tries to drown her in a flood of water from its mouth (12:13 ff.), which is probably reminiscent of Bab. concepts of the dragon of chaos. On earth it gives its power and its throne to the "beast" (which like the dragon has 7 heads and 10 horns). Through the beast the dragon causes the inhabitants of the world to worship it (13:2, 4). He who worships the state, personified in its ruler, is in fact worshipping the devil. The dragon is thrown into the abyss by an angel for a thousand years (20:2 f.), so that it can no longer deceive the nations. When the thousand years are past (→ Kingdom, art. *basileia*; → Number), it is released again and it collects Gog and Magog for the final battle against the people of God; it is defeated and thrown into the lake of fire (20:8, 10). The consummation of Christ's victory will be the elimination of Satan.

([Ed.] This period of a thousand years is often referred to in Christian thought as the millennium. Since the early church there have been those who believed that the preaching of the gospel would usher in a golden age prior to the final consummation. There are three main schools of thought. The Postmillennialists maintain that the second coming of Christ will follow the millennium. The Premillennialists believe that these verses refer to a time of restoration and widespread response to the gospel following the second coming of Christ. Amillennialists take these verses to refer not to a future time but to the present era. Satan is bound in the sense that the strong man is bound (Matt. 12:29; Mk. 3:27; Lk. 11:21 f.). Just as Jesus was able to plunder Satan's possessions by binding him first, so there is a sense in which Satan is bound "that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years were ended" (Rev. 20:3). Amillennialists take this to refer to the fact that the gospel is now proclaimed to the Gentiles, and is not confined to the Jewish nation as the people of God.) *H. Bietenhard*

ὄφις | ὄφις (*ophis*), snake, serpent.

CL The attitude of people towards the snake has always been ambivalent. On the one hand, it has been regarded as a strange and threatening animal, dangerous to life and full of cunning, deceit and evil. On the other hand, because of its nearness to the earth and the subterranean waters it has been linked with the subterranean gods and their powers to give and renew life. It was also a symbol of the gods who grant healing (Ascl.). So it became a symbol of the earth itself which both gives life and then receives it back.

OT *ophis* is found 32 times in the LXX, in 29 cases as a translation of *nāḥāš*. It appears with theological importance in Gen. 3, where the snake is introduced as an exceptionally clever, rather sly, animal which by an almost playful use of its cleverness ("Is it true that God. . . ?" NEB) led man into disobedience. This recondite figure conveys the mystery of the breaking in of evil into the world which God had created good. Num. 21 gives one of the many accounts of the people's murmuring against God and Moses which is punished by a plague of snakes. But Yahweh turns again in grace to his people. If anyone turned to the symbol of the bronze snake he was saved. Yahweh did not merely grant his help; he linked it with the symbol that he had appointed. ([Ed.] The Heb. word for these snakes is *śᵉrāpîm* (lit. burning ones). The same word is used of the Seraphim in Isa. 6:1, where they have wings and act as God's messengers. Here they are associated by some scholars with snake-demons, as the jinn of the desert often took a serpent form. The point of lifting up the serpent may be to represent symbolically that the object lay under the curse of God (cf. Deut. 21:23; Gal. 3:13). According to 2 Ki. 18:4, the bronze serpent survived until the time of Hezekiah who destroyed it, because the people of Israel had burned incense to it and called it Nehushtan. Later Jewish tradition emphasized that it was not the serpent itself that saved. "For he that turned himself toward it was not saved because of what he saw, but because of thee, the Saviour of all" (Wisd. 16:17). The Mishnah commented: "But could the serpent slay or the serpent keep alive! – it is, rather, to teach thee that such time as the Israelites directed their thoughts on high and kept their hearts in subjection to their Father in heaven, they were healed; otherwise they pined away" (*Rosh ha-Shanah* 3:8). It went on to draw the general rule that, "any on whom an obligation is not incumbent [e.g. a deaf-mute, an imbecile or a minor] cannot fulfil that obligation on behalf of the many." Philo also discussed the incident (*Leg. All.*, 2, 79–81; *Agric.*, 95–9), but does not seem to throw light on Jn. 3:14 (cf. C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel According to St. John*, 1955, 178).)

In late Jud. it was only in later writings that the snake became an instrument of the devil or was identified with him. Occasionally it was identified with the Angel of Death. They contain speculations about the motives that moved the snake in Paradise to attack man, such as envy, sexual desire, desire for world rule.

NT The condemnation in Matt. 23:33 (cf. Matt. 3:7) calls the scribes and Pharisees "snakes" in view of their evil and unwillingness to repent, possibly indicating their link with Satan. It threatens them with the judgment of *gehenna* (→ Hell). In his call to prayer in faith, Jesus stressed that no father would give his son a snake instead of the fish he had asked for (Matt. 7:10; Lk. 11:11), i.e. something evil

and dangerous instead of food. How much more would God give that which was good, when asked by the disciples. Gen. 3:1 and Cant. 5:2; 6:9 lie behind the paradoxical exhortation to wisdom and innocence in Matt. 10:16.

Because Satan has been cast down, the disciples have obtained authority to tread upon snakes and scorpions, the instruments of the Evil One (Lk. 10:19; cf. Ps. 91:13). Mk. 16:18 is similar. Because the Messianic age has broken in, snakes can be picked up without danger (cf. Isa. 11:8). ([Ed.] However, this verse in Mk. belongs to the so-called longer ending of Mk. [vv. 9–20] which is not in the best MSS. The whole passage is probably a later composition, reconstructed from other teaching and such events as Paul's handling of the viper in Acts 28:1–6.)

In Rev. 9:19 the horses of the demonic cavalry have tails like snakes by which they do harm. In Rev. 12:9; 20:2 the snake recalls Gen. 3 and is identified with Satan (cf. art. *drakōn*). 2 Cor. 11:3 also recalls the Genesis story. The church is warned against listening to Satan's whispered suggestions and so being led astray from sincere devotion to and trust in Christ. Jn. 3:14 f. looks back to Num. 21:8 f. As there, to look at the bronze snake brought salvation, so faith saves the one who looks to the Son of Man exalted on the cross and on the throne of God.

H. Bietenhard

[Ed.] Later Christian writers treated the serpent in Jn. 3 as a type of Christ (Barn 12:5 ff.; Justin, *Apol.* I, 60, *Dial.* 94, 112; Tert., *Adv. Marc.*, 3, 18). But the main point of Jn.'s comparison is not the serpent but the lifting up (cf. 12:32; C. K. Barrett, op. cit., 178; R. Schnackenburg, *The Gospel According to St. John*, I, 1968, 396). The Gospel also associates the act with the exaltation of Christ in his suffering, the divine purpose, and the role of faith. R. Bultmann thinks that the notions of the gnostic Ophite sect concerning the serpent go back to Num. 21 and that the sect was older than the Fourth Gospel. Nevertheless, he does not think it possible to show any dependence between Jn. and gnosticism at this point. The gnostics made no use of the exaltation of the serpent which for Jn. is the main point of the comparison (*The Gospel of John*, 1971, 152).

σκορπίος | *σκορπίος* (*skorpios*), scorpion.

CL & OT The scorpion belongs to the spider family, and is some two to six inches long. It was known to both Greek and Jews, with references in Aeschylus, Plato, Philo and Josephus, among others. There are at present some ten species in Palestine. The poisonous sting in its tail is painful, and can be fatal to young children.

In the LXX *skorpios* translates the Hebrew *'aqrāḇ*. In Deut. 8:15 it is depicted as a fearsome denizen of the wilderness, one of the perils from which Yahweh protected his people. Elsewhere the word is used figuratively to convey the idea of extreme pain or harm. In Ezek. 2:6 scorpions are the hostile words and attitude of those to whom the prophet will speak. In 1 Ki. 12:11, 14 (cf. 2 Chr. 10:11, 14) they symbolize the increased demands that Rehoboam intends to make of Israel.

NT In Luke's Gospel Jesus uses *skorpios* twice. In Lk. 10:19 the miraculous protection from scorpions experienced by those sent out on mission is a part of the

authority he has given them. In Lk. 11:12 he uses a proverbial style to indicate the disposition of a human father to the request of his son as a means of showing how much more ready the heavenly Father is to respond with the gift of the Holy Spirit.

In Rev. 9:3, 5, 10 supernatural locusts with the power and viciousness of scorpions are allowed to torture the faithless. As in Lk. 10:19 they represent demonic power.

P. J. Budd

κέντρον

κέντρον (*kentron*), sting, goad.

CL & OT The word *kentron* occurs in classical Greek from Homer onwards, in Philo, and in Josephus (cf. e.g. *War* 2, 385; *Antiquities* 7, 169). It is often used of the sting of an animal (as in Aristotle). In the LXX it is used figuratively of death (Hos. 13:14). Another meaning frequently attested in classical Greek is goad. This usage also occurs in the LXX (Prov. 26:3).

OT In the NT both meanings occur. The literal sense of sting occurs in Rev. 9:10 in connection with the locusts mentioned above, while the figurative use of Hos. 13:14 is taken over by Paul as a climax in his argument on resurrection (1 Cor. 15:55, 56). Paul's resistance to the claims of Jesus prior to his conversion is described figuratively as a kicking against the goads (Acts 9:5 t.r.; 26:14).

P. J. Budd

(a). G. S. Cansdale, *Animals of Bible Lands*, 1970; J. L. Cloudsley-Thompson, *Spiders, Scorpions, Centipedes, and Mites*, 1958; W. Foerster, *drakōn*, *TDNT* II 281 ff.; and *ophis*, *TDNT* V 566–82; K. R. Joines, "Winged Serpents in Isaiah's Inaugural Vision", *JBL* 86, 1967, 410–15; W. S. McCullough, "Serpent," *IDB* IV 289 ff.; H. Pegg, "A Scorpion for an Egg," *ExpT* 38, 1926–27, 468 f.; H. H. Rowley, "Zadok and Nehushtan," *JBL* 58, 1939, 113–41; L. Schmid, *kentron*, *TDNT* III 662–8; D. J. Wiseman, "Flying Serpents?" *TB* 23, 1972, 108 ff.
(b). M. Eliade, "Drache," *RGG*³ II 259 f.; E. Fascher, "Drache," *BHHW* I 353.

Dream

ὄναρ

ὄναρ (*onar*), dream.

CL & OT The word *onar* occurs widely in classical Greek from Homer onwards, but not in the LXX where *enypnion* is customary for dream. It is also used by both Philo (cf. e.g. *Flacc.* 164) and Josephus (cf. e.g. *War* 2, 112; *Ant.* 2, 63; 10, 195).

In the OT, in Judaism, in the Greek world, and in the ancient Near East generally dreams were regularly understood to contain messages from God, particularly the dreams experienced by kings and priests. Such communication was sometimes sought intentionally, as in the dream of King Keret in the Ugaritic texts. Though there is no certain example of this deliberate custom in the OT, dreams with divine content often occurred at sanctuaries (cf. e.g. Jacob at Bethel (Gen. 28:12 ff.), Samuel at Shiloh (1 Sam. 3), and Solomon at Gibeon (1 Kings 3:4–15). Elihu bears witness to this generally held view that dreams are an authentic means of divine revelation (Job 33:14–18; cf. also 1 Sam. 28:6). In Genesis dreams are a regular means of such communication alongside the more direct appearances of

Yahweh (cf. e.g. Gen. 20:3; 28:12; 31:11). The dream was also a medium by which truth was conveyed to a prophet (Num. 12:6), while the dreams to be dreamed by old men are a part of the universal and immediate contact with God to be experienced in the latter days (Joel 3:1).

In most cases the content of the divine message is conveyed to the dreamer clearly and unambiguously (cf. e.g. Gen. 20:3; 31:10–13; 1 Ki. 3:4–15), but in two cycles of stories the skills of experts or professional interpreters are required. These are the Joseph stories (cf. Gen. 37:5–10; 40:5 ff.; 41:1 ff.), and the Daniel narratives (cf. Dan. 2). These special interpretative skills are God-given (Gen. 40:8; Dan. 2:27–28), and involve an ability to read the pattern of future events in the various symbolic features of the dream. In the Greek world dreams were treated with the same sort of respect, and sophisticated systems of interpretation were developed (cf. A. Oepke, *onar*, *TDNT* V 227).

On the other hand, dreams and their interpretations were not accepted uncritically by all. The polemic against false prophecy in the prose discourses of Jer. contains scathing criticism of lying dreamers (Jer. 23:32; 27:9), and Zechariah offers similar criticism in terms of their emptiness (Zech. 10:2). A dreamer whose word encouraages apostasy is, in the view of the Deuteronomic law, to be put to death (Deut. 13:2–6). Qoheleth's scepticism extends to the dream world (Eccl. 5:7), and some witness to its fleeting insubstantial character is to be found in Job 20:8; Pss. 73:20; 90:5.

In later Judaism this scepticism can be found in Sir. 34:5 ff, but for the most part the strong uncritical belief in dreams dominates (cf. e.g. Esther 1:1 ff; 10:3 ff. (LXX); 2 Macc. 15:11 ff.; Test. Levi 2–5; Test. Naph. 5–7). In Hellenistic Judaism the strong Platonic-Stoic belief in dreams is prominent. For Philo it is through dreams that God gives knowledge of heavenly things to the pure soul (*Aet. Mund.* 2).

NT In the NT interest in dreams is confined almost exclusively to Matthew's Gospel. The word *onar* is to be found there alone, and on 5 of its 6 occurrences it is to be found in the birth narratives, as follows: to Joseph explaining Mary's pregnancy, through an angel (1:20); to the wise men warning them not to return to Herod (2:12); to Joseph telling him to flee with his family to Egypt, through an angel (2:13); to Joseph telling him to return from Egypt, through an angel (2:19); to Joseph warning him against settling in Judaea (2:22).

Clearly this means of communication and guidance is a very distinctive feature of Matthew's special source in these chapters. It serves to convey God's particular provision for the infant Jesus in the face of various uncertainties and threats, particularly those posed by hostile rulers. The dream is thus highly valued as an illustration of the divine guidance and intervention operative in the life of Jesus from the outset. This serves to enforce a basic Matthaean theme that this Jesus is God's chosen and anointed one. The other occurrence of *onar* is in Matt. 27:19 where, at the trial of Jesus, Pilate's wife reports the disturbance she has suffered in a dream on Jesus's account. The precise content of the dream is unclear.

In the narrative of Acts direction and encouragement is often given to Paul in visions of the night (Acts 16:9; 18:9; 23:11; 27:23–24), but *onar* is not used. In the quotation from Joel (Acts 2:17) Peter uses *enypnion*. *P. J. Budd*

Arndt, 572 f.; A. Oepke, *onar*, *TDNT*, V 220–38; E. D. Ehrlich, *Der Traum im Alten Testament*, *BZAW* 73, 1953; M. M. Bourke, "The Literary Genre of Matthew 1–2," *CBQ* 22, 1960, 160–75. L. Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East*, 1956; W. Richter, "Traum und Traumdeutung im Alten Testament," *BZ* 7, 1963, 202-19; J. B. Bauer, "Dream", *EBT* I 214 ff. for further literature. (See also Addenda, p.822.)

Drunken, Sober

μεθύω

μεθύω (*methyō*), be drunk; μεθύσκω (*methyskō*), cause to become intoxicated; μέθυσος (*methysos*), drunkard; μέθυσμα (*methysma*), intoxicating drink; μέθη (*methē*), drunkenness.

CL These words occur regularly in Hellenistic Greek in connection with intoxication (*methyō* – Homer; *methyskō* – Herodotus and Xenophon; *methysos* – Aristophanes; *methē* – Herodotus and Plato). In Plotinus intoxication with nectar (*methystheis tou nektaros*) is used to describe a state of mystical union with God. In Hellenistic gnosticism drunkenness is often linked with *agnōsia* in opposition to true *gnōsis*. In the Odes of Solomon (11:8) a drunkenness brought about by the water of the *logos* is contrasted with the *methē tēs agnōsias*.

OT In the LXX *methyō* meaning intoxication with wine is familiar enough (cf. e.g. Gen. 9:21; Isa. 19:14; 28:1; Joel 1:5). It can also be used however of the refreshment brought by rain to dry ground (Isa. 55:10; Ps. 64:10). *methē*, meaning drunkenness, occurs in Isa. 28:7; Ezek. 22:33; Prov. 20:1. *methyō* and *methyskomai* are used by Josephus (*War* 2, 20; 6, 196; *Ant.* 8, 376). Sometimes *methyskō* is used figuratively; in Isa. 34:5 the sword of Yahweh drinks its fill, with blood as the intoxicating liquid (Isa. 34:7; 49:26).

Of particular interest in Philo is his treatise entitled *peri methēs* (*De Ebrietate*). He describes *methē* as *dēmiourgos kakōn*, and drunkenness generally as a mark of the blind and foolish man who is a slave to the material world. For the wise drinking has its value, encouraging relaxation and cheerfulness, so that its effects depend very much on the one who drinks. In his *Vit. Mos.* (1, 187) Philo speaks of Israel's drinking from the sweetened spring in Ex. 15 as a sober intoxication. A favourite expression *nēphalios methē* (temperate or sober intoxication) describes the mystical union of the soul with God in the Dionysus cult.

NT In the NT *methysos* and *methē* occur in lists of vices (Rom. 13:13; Gal. 5:21; 1 Cor. 5:11; 6:10). The words *methyō* and *methyskomai* are also used literally, and generally condemnation is involved (but cf. Jn. 2:10). In these contexts drunkenness is seen as an element in the old way of life now abandoned, and as incompatible with Christian living. Typical of the Pauline attitude is 1 Thess. 5:6, 7, where, with an awareness of the imminence of the end, Paul issues a strong warning against the perils of drunkenness. The argument is based on the conviction that Christians now live in the light of Christ's new day. Since drunkenness is a night-time experience it is incompatible with authentic Christianity. A similar attitude is present in one of the parables (Matt. 24:49; Lk. 12:45), where drunkenness is shown to be inconsistent with the alertness of the faithful servant, who is properly aware of the eschatological dimension of service in the new age (cf. Lk. 21:34).

This incompatibility can also be deduced from the fact that the Christian is

Spirit-filled (Eph. 5:18; cf. Acts 2:15), a condition which shows itself not so much in ecstasies or mystical experiences, but in liturgical praise (Eph. 5:18–20), and in ethical commitment (5:21–6:9). The incongruity of drunkenness and Christian experience emerges very clearly in the context of the Lord's Supper (1 Cor. 11:21), so clearly in fact that current Corinthian practice must be declared invalid (11:20). The Dionysus cult, with its stress on religious intoxication, was familiar in Corinth and further afield, and it is reasonable to see within these NT epistolary texts a concern to draw a clear line between all such Hellenistic cults, and the life of the Christian in the Spirit.

A figurative use of this word group is characteristic of Rev. In 17:2 idolatry is vividly depicted as a drunkenness with the wine of whoredom, probably with direct allusion to the intoxicating and orgiastic character of some current cults. In 17:6 the woman, symbolizing power opposed to God within the world, is drunk with the blood of the saints.

paroinos (drunken) occurs occasionally in Hellenistic Greek, and in Jewish literature in Test. Jud. 14:4. In all such cases it is used of persons who are drunken or addicted to wine. It is the distinctive word for drunkenness in the Pastoral Epistles, occurring twice there but nowhere else in the NT. In 1 Tim. 3:3 and Tit. 1:7 it is one of the disqualifying factors for the office of bishop.

kraipalē (intoxication) occurs in a few Hellenistic sources (e.g. Aristophanes), and can also be used of the effects of intoxication – dizziness and staggering. In the NT *kraipalē* occurs only once, and in conjunction with *methē* (Lk. 21:34). The effect of drunkenness is probably intended (thus "dissipation" RSV). The context, as in Matt. 24:49; Lk. 12:45, is readiness for the day of the Lord's coming.

A further word for drunkenness, *oinophlygia*, is attested in Aristotle and in Philo (cf. e.g. *Vit. Mos.* 2, 185). Its only NT attestation is 1 Pet. 4:3 where it occurs in a list of vices which are a feature of the Gentile world, but incompatible with Christian life.

P. J. Budd

νήφω

νήφω (*nēphō*), be sober; *νηφάλιος* (*nēphalios*), temperate; *ἐκνήφω* (*eknēphō*), become sober; *ἀνανήφω* (*ananēphō*), become sober.

CL & OT This word group carries with it the idea of sobriety, the opposite of intoxication (see *methyō*). In Hellenistic Greek the words can be used literally, of a state of abstinence from wine, but also figuratively indicating complete clarity of mind and its resulting good judgment. Thus for Plato sobriety can mean a preference for moderate possessions rather than many.

For Philo *nēphein* is a precondition for a proper approach to God, and involves the deliberate avoidance of all that would offend him (*De. Ebr.* 131) (see also the reference to "sober intoxication" under *methyō*).

NT For the NT writers, though the literal is often implied, the figurative sense is also prominent. *nēphō* occurs twice in the argument of 1 Thess. 5:6–8 (discussed under *methyō*) denoting the alertness required in the light of an imminent parousia, and once in the Pastoral Epistles (2 Tim. 4:5), where it indicates the clarity of mind able to resist the subtle attractions of deviant mythologies.

In 1 Pet. *nēphō* has a generally eschatological setting, pointing to the appropriate frame of mind for an imminent appearance of Jesus (1:13) and for prayer in the end time (4:7). In such days the ferocious hostility of the devil is evident, and an alertness able to resist is essential (5:8).

nēphalios occurs only in the Pastoral Epistles and denotes the abstemious style of life required of bishops (1 Tim. 3:2), women (1 Tim. 3:11) and elders (Tit. 2:2). The main point in these contexts is the self-control necessary for effective ministry. *eknēphō* occurs only in 1 Cor. 15:34 denoting a clarity of mind similar to that required in 2 Tim. 4:5. The context suggests confusion of ideas concerning the resurrection. *ananēphō* occurs only in 2 Tim. 2:26 and indicates the clarity of mind demanded of a teacher if opponents are to be silenced. *P. J. Budd*

→ Discipline, → Fast, → Feast, → Wine

Arndt, 449, 500, 540, 564 f.; 634; H. Preisker, *methē* etc. *TDNT* IV 545–8; O. Bauernfeind, *nēphō* etc,. *TDNT* IV 936–41.

Dry Up, Wither

ξηραίνω	*ξηραίνω* (*xērainō*), dry up; *ξηρός* (*xēros*), dried up.

CL In classical Greek *xērainō* is attested from Homer onwards, and *xēros* likewise from Herodotus. The verb generally occurs in the passive though the active form can be found in Thucydides. The usage is normally literal – of plants in particular, or of dry land, but sometimes of human ailments also (cf. e.g. Hippocrates).

OT In the LXX an active form of the verb is to be found in Isa. 42:15 with reference to plants (cf. also Jer. 28:36). The passive is more usual, however, and occurs in connection with trees (Isa. 56:3; Ezek. 17:24; Joel 1:12), with water (Gen. 8:7; 1 Ki. 17:7; Isa. 19:5, 6), and with Jeroboam's withered hand (1 Ki. 13:4). On many occasions *xēros* means dry land (cf. e.g. Gen. 1:9), and it can also be used of sea that has been dried up (Jon. 1:9; Hag. 2:21; 1 Macc. 8:23, 32). In Hos. 9:14 it is used of milkless breasts.

Several of these usages can be found in other Jewish texts (cf. e.g. Josephus, *War*, 3, 228; *Antiquities*, 5, 249; Testament of Levi 4:1; Testament of Zebulun 2:7). The use of *xēros* in connection with a diseased condition is particularly noteworthy in Testament of Simeon 2:12.

NT In the NT there is only one active occurrence of the verb in Jas. 1:11. Here *xērainō* is used of the scorching effect of the sun's heat on grass. This effect is likened to the transience of the rich man's wealth.

With the passive form there are three texts which refer to withered trees. The story of the → fig tree (Mk. 11:20, 21; Matt. 21:19, 20) appears to use this illustration of Jesus' power as a word of condemnation against contemporary Judaism – a leafy appearance of righteousness without the fruit. In Matthew the withering takes effect at once; in Mark a lapse of time seems to be envisaged. The idea of condemnation is also central in Jn. 15:6 where the severed and withering branch is fit only for burning. In the peculiarly Lukan word of Jesus (Lk. 23:31), set in the

crucifixion narrative, dry wood (*xēros*) is the symbol of times of testing and difficulty. The saying has some rabbinic parallels, and in context seems to stress the fearsome fate that will overtake those guilty of the crucifixion in the less propitious times that are coming.

The parable of the sower uses the verb of plants which lack good roots, and therefore cannot withstand the heat of the sun (Matt. 13:6; Mk. 4:6; Lk. 8:6). Here again a judgment motif is central: for the coming of the kingdom does not meet with universal recognition. In 1 Pet. 1:24, where the verb occurs in a quotation from Isa. 40:7, the idea of withering is used to stress the fleetingness of human existence in contrast to the permanence of God's word. In Rev. 14:15 the verb occurs in a context which seems to demand that it be understood in terms of ripeness – ready for harvesting (RSV). It is possible that over-ripeness is intended (RV).

The drying up of the Euphrates (Rev. 16:12) also appears in a prominently judgmental context; it is a prelude to the final battle between God and his adversaries. In Heb. 11:29 the word is used of the drying up of the Red Sea, while in Matt. 23:15, Jesus' reference to the proselytizing activity of the Pharisees, *xēros* is used of land in general.

Several occurrences of both words can be found in connection with the healing ministry of Jesus. The story of the man with the withered hand (Matt. 12:11; Mk. 3:1; Lk. 6:6) probably refers to some form of paralysis (cf. Jn. 5:3). Mark also uses forms of the verb to describe the healing of the woman with the flow of → blood (Mk. 5:29), and the condition of rigidity to which the spirit reduces the possessed boy (Mk. 9:18). *P. J. Budd*

→ Fruit, art. *sykē*

J. N. Birdsall, "The Withering of the Fig Tree," *Exp. T.* 73, 1961–62, 191; F. Fenner, *Die Krankheit im Neuen Testament*, 1930; C. W. F. Smith, "No Time for Figs", *JBL* 79, 1960, 315–27.

E

Earth, Land, World

For the Bible the world is not so much a part of the universe as the place where man lives. *gē*, which was originally used to distinguish land and soil from the sky (→ Heaven) and the sea (→ Water), is more particularly used for the area where man lives and works, or for a country as part of it. When the thought is political rather than geographical, *hē oikoumenē* is more often used. This has no special theological significance in the NT. It is seen rather as the area into which the gospel has to penetrate. Both words are clearly concrete in their application in contrast to *kosmos* (world) which has strong philosophical and religious overtones. It may be noted that Eng. idiom often demands the translation "world" for them.

γῆ

γῆ (*gē*), earth, world; ἐπίγειος (*epigeios*), earthly.

CL 1. *gē* is the earth or world; the land in contrast to water; and also, as part of the earth, a piece of land, a field with arable soil. The meaning "land", as the area controlled by a single state, emerged by analogy alongside these natural meanings.

2. In ancient Gk. mythology *gē* and *ouranos*, sky, are among the oldest deities. They were not envisaged like the gods in the Homeric epics. *gē* was a woman, half of whose body extended from the ground. As she received seed and rain, she was the mother from whom all life proceeds.

OT The LXX uses *gē* more than 2,000 times. Neither in the LXX nor the NT is there any thought of divinity about it. The earth is part of God's creation (cf. Gen. 1:1 f.). Heb. *'ereṣ* has very much the same meaning as in CL 1 above, though the thought of its having been created is always strong. All that is said of NT usage applies also to the OT.

NT In NT *gē* is used 248 times, particularly in the Gospels, Acts and Rev. It is first of all the soil in which the sower sows his seed ("since they had no depth of soil", Matt. 13:5). One can sit down on the earth (Mk. 8:6). It stands in contrast to water ("the boat by this time was many furlongs distant from the land", Matt. 14:24). All land taken together has a boundary ("the queen of the south . . . came from the ends of the earth," Matt. 12:42; the witnesses of the risen One were to go "to the ends of the earth", *heōs eschatou tēs gēs*, Acts 1:8). The angels of judgment stood "at the four corners of the earth", controlling "the four winds of the earth" (Rev. 7:1; cf. Matt. 24:31). Christ will be, as was Jonah when he was

in the fish in the midst of the water, "in the heart of the earth" (Matt. 12:40). There is also a sphere of life "under the earth" (*katachthonios*, Phil. 2:10; cf. Exod. 20:4). In all these passages the earth is something created. They never go beyond the ideas of the ancient world.

1. The historical use of the term occurs wherever it is used in a political sense, e.g. the land of Judah (Matt. 2:6), the land of Israel (Matt. 2:20), the land of Midian and the land of Egypt (Acts 7:29, 36). It is frequently difficult to decide whether a particular passage is speaking of a particular country, especially the land of Israel, or of the populated earth as a whole (→ *oikoumenē*). With our modern outlook on the world we are inclined to think globally and universally. However, the NT can use "the earth" in a very particularistic way. *pasai hai phylai tēs gēs* (Matt. 24:30; Rev. 1:7) means in the setting of Zech. 12:10–14 "all the tribes of the land". On the other hand, the remarkable expression "from the ends of the earth to the ends of heaven" (Mk. 13:27) means the whole earth, expressed here by joining two OT sentences, Ps. 19:6(7) and Deut. 13:7 (but cf. also Deut. 30:4; Jer. 12:12). According to the classical world, the end of the earth and the end of heaven could coincide.

2. Both earth and → heaven are God's creation. Heaven and earth can and will pass away (Matt. 5:18; 24:35). But in so doing, they will make way for "a new heaven and a new earth" (Rev. 21:1; 2 Pet. 3:13). The passing of heaven and earth means the passing away of the present sinful world order, which must be renewed by passing through God's judgments. Redemption extends to the furthest corner of the physical realm. That the meek will inherit the earth is the promise of Christ (Matt. 5:5) and this earthly kingdom is the same as the kingdom of heaven, the world of the coming age, the coming redeemed creation (Rom. 8:21).

Though, especially in eschatological passages, heaven and earth are brought together as works of the Creator, a distinction is made between them following key passages which reflect OT thought: Isa. 66:1; Matt. 5:34 f.; Acts 7:49. The earth is the scene of the imperfect (Heb. 8:4 f.), of sin (Mk. 2:10; Rev. 17:5), and of death (1 Cor. 15:47). Hence Christians are to set their minds on things that are above, not on things that are on earth (Col. 3:2). And they are to put to death their "members upon the earth" (Col. 3:5 RV).

3. *epigeios* (7 times in the NT) means lit. "on the earth", but it can also be linked with the dualism of heaven and earth and so mean earthly (1 Cor. 15:40; 2 Cor. 5:1; Phil. 3:19). *R. Morgenthaler*

οἰκουμένη

οἰκουμένη (*oikoumenē*), earth.

CL *oikoumenē* (understand *gē*) is the pres. part. pass. of *oikeō*, inhabit. It means the inhabited (earth) and was used (a) from Dem. (4th cent. B.C.) on for the world inhabited by Greeks in contrast to those lands inhabited by "barbarians"; (b) from Aristot. (4th cent. B.C.) on for the inhabited world, including the barbarian lands, i.e. settled, as opposed to unsettled, areas; (c) in the Roman period (since the conquest of the East in the 2nd cent. B.C.) for the *imperium Romanum* – the lands under Roman rule. In other words, what had originally been a geographical and cultural concept had become a political concept in the Roman period. The

Emperor Nero was entitled *sōtēr* (saviour) and *euergetēs* (benefactor) of the *oikoumenē* (→ Salvation, art. *sōzō*).

OT The LXX uses the word 46 times, especially in the Pss. (15 times, but *kosmos* is entirely absent here) and in Isa. (15 times). In the Pss. it is often found in expressions of an obviously confessional type: "He will judge the world with righteousness" (Pss. 9:8(9); 67:4(5); 96:13; 98:9); "to the end of the world" (Pss. 19:4(5); 72:8); "the world and those who dwell therein" (Pss. 24:1; 98:7; cf. Isa. 34:1); "all the inhabitants of the world" (Pss. 33:8; 49:2(1); cf. Lam. 4:12). In Isa. it appears especially in the oracles against the nations in chs. 13, 14, 23 (10:14, 23 probably belongs to this section also).

Throughout, the word means the inhabited world (see above CL (b)). This is clear in Exod. 16:35 where Israel comes again into an inhabited land, i.e. a settled land in contrast to the wilderness where the nomads roam. In Isa. 62:4 the LXX text differs from the Heb.: "Your land shall be called Inhabited (*oikoumenē*)".

NT *oikoumenē* is found 15 times in NT, mainly in Luke (8 times) and Rev. (3 times). Is it used generally as in Hel. popular speech meaning inhabited world (O. Michel *TDNT* V 157 ff.), or does the political and imperial usage predominate (M. Paeslack, *Theologia Viatorum* 2, 1950, 33 ff.)? The latter is clearly the main one in Lk. 2:1. The Emperor Augustus ordered a census of the whole *oikoumenē*, i.e. the territories over which he ruled. Also in Rev. 3:10; 12:9; 16:14 there is probably a political note. The *oikoumenē* is the inhabited world in the sense that all its population has to suffer under Satanic powers for religious, but mainly political, reasons. Equally in the story of Christ's temptation, the replacement in Lk. 4:5 of *kosmos* by *oikoumenē* suggests a strong political connotation, even though "the kingdoms of the world" prevents a direct identification with the Roman empire. In Lk. 21:26, Acts 11:28 and Rev. 3:10 it is used in apocalyptic prophecies. In Acts 17:6 the preaching of the apostles is attacked as a political crime directed against the Emperor by men "who have turned the *oikoumenē* upside down". Similarly in Acts 19:27 and 24:5 Paul is called a causer of trouble in the *oikoumenē*. In the latter passage he is accused of it before the Roman governor.

Heb. 1:6 uses it in the general Hel. sense. Heb. 2:5 speaks of the coming world as the future *oikoumenē*. In Matt. 24:14 it is also hard to believe that there is any political connotation.

It is striking that the term is not used by Paul except in Rom. 10:18, where he is quoting the LXX Ps. 18:5(19:4). Can it be that Paul still saw the state in a friendlier light than Luke and Rev., and so avoided using for it an expression which had negative overtones for him? We have to agree with M. Paeslack's conclusion, that in the NT *oikoumenē* is "not the fellowship of Christians" – this is rather the *ekklēsia* (→ Church) – "but the world of the heathen Graeco-Roman Empire threatened by the powers of darkness" (op. cit., 47). This does not exclude the *oikoumenē* from being the field where the church is to labour. The *oikoumenē* is the sphere in which the church lives and which she claims for her Lord, who according to Heb. has been brought into the *oikoumenē* as first-born, and who therefore is its legitimate ruler. An inward-looking ecumenical attitude by the Church is therefore a contradiction in terms (W. A. Visser't Hooft, *The Meaning of "Ecumenical"*, 12).

O. Flender

ἀγρός

ἀγρός (*agros*), field; ἄγριος (*agrios*), of the field, wild.

CL In secular Gk., *agros* is normally used to denote a piece of cultivated land, but it can also mean the countryside as distinct from the town or village. The adjective *agrios* has a similar double reference. Sometimes it describes trees, animals or crops to be found "in the fields", but more often it has the sense of "wild", describing life and terrain to be found outside the conurbations of man. In this latter sense it is frequently applied figuratively to people (savage, fierce), and to things and circumstances (cruel, harsh).

OT Most of the above usages are found in the LXX. Any piece of land under cultivation is an *agros* (e.g. Exod. 8:13; Num. 21:22; Ruth 2:2), whether owned by an individual (Gen. 23:9; 1 Ki. 2:26) or by the community (Lev. 25:34; Ruth 1:1, 2). At the same time *agros* describes the untilled open country beyond the town or village boundary (e.g. Deut. 22:27; 1 Sam. 30:11), where the traveller might expect to meet the bear and the lion, as well as the hind (Hos. 13:8; Jer. 14:51). Such beasts are naturally *agrios*, wild (Job. 6:5; Ps. 79:14). The adj. is not applied figuratively to people in the LXX or other Jewish writings, but it can describe a "malignant" ulcer (Lev. 21:20; Deut. 28:27) or "wild" waves (Wis. 14:1).

NT *agros* occurs 30 times in the Gospels; only once elsewhere in the NT. 18 times it refers to land under cultivation or destined for it (e.g. Matt. 13:24; Lk. 14:18; Acts 4:37). *agroi* can mean countryside where farm-houses may be found (Lk. 9:12). Otherwise (apart from allusions to the potter's field in Matt. 27:7 f.; 10; cf. Zech. 11:13, bought with Judas' betrayal money as a burial ground), the reference is to the countryside (e.g. Mk. 15:21). The adjective *agrios* is used in its lit. sense, "found in the open field" in Mk. 1:6 par.; fig., to describe the "wild" waves of the sea in Jude 13.

D. H. Field

χοῦς

χοῦς (*chous*), soil, dust; χοϊκός (*choikos*), made of soil.

CL The noun *chous* (deriving from the verb *cheō*, which means "pour" a liquid or "throw up" earth) is used by the classical historians Herodotus and Thucydides to describe excavated or heaped up soil. *choikos*, the adjective, is not found until Philo's time.

OT *chous*, in the sense of "dirt" or "dust", is used extensively in the LXX to translate the Heb. *'āpār*. In similes it often signifies a tiny or worthless object (e.g. Ps. 34:5; Isa. 17:13; cf. Neh. 4:10). Enemies lick up *chous* in humiliation, while the penitent and bereaved pour it over their heads in grief (Jos. 7:6; Lam. 2:10). Significantly, it was out of *chous* that God made man (Gen. 2:7; Ps. 102:14), and it is to *chous* that man returns when he dies (Eccl. 3:20; 12:7). The adj. *choikos* does not feature in the LXX, but Philo uses it once with *konis*, dust.

NT *chous* appears twice in the NT, where it stands for the dust of the road (Mk. 6:11) and for dirt thrown on the head as a sign of mourning (Rev. 18:19). *choikos* occurs 4 times in 1 Cor. 15:47–49, where Paul distinguishes man as God created him (cf. Gen. 2:7) from Jesus, "the second man", whose origin is heavenly, not earthly. Cf. Philo, *Op. Mund.* 134 ff., *Leg. All.* 1, 31 f.; and *TDNT* IX 474 ff.

D. H. Field

κόσμος

κόσμος (*kosmos*), order (in cl. Gk.), adornment, world; κοσμέω (*kosmeō*), arrange, put in order, adorn; κόσμιος (*kosmios*), respectable, honourable; κοσμικός (*kosmikos*), earthly, worldly.

CL 1. The noun *kosmos*, attested from Homer onwards, denoted originally building and construction (e.g. Homer, *Od.*, 8, 492; Hdt., 3, 2). But more especially it denotes order, both generally (e.g. Homer, *Il.*, 2, 214 and often in the phrase *kata kosmon*, duly, in order) and in a specific sense (e.g. the seating position of the rowers, *Od.*, 13, 76 f.; battle array, *Il.*, 12, 225; later the regulation of life in human society, the constitution, Plato, *Leg.*, 8, 846d). It also often means ornament and adornment (esp. of women; e.g. Hom. *Il.*, 14, 187; Hes., *Works* 76; Hdt., 5, 92).

In Gk. philosophy (see below, 2) *kosmos* is the basic term for the world-order, the world-system, the sum total of things preserved by this ordering, the world in the spatial sense, the cosmos, the universe, the earth, and also (in Koine Gk.) the inhabitants of the earth, humanity, the → *oikoumenē*.

The vb. *kosmeō*, corresponding with the basic meaning of *kosmos* as order, is used as a technical term, e.g. to marshal an army, to arrange battle formation (Homer, *Il.*, 2, 554; Xen. *Cyr.*, 2, 1, 26), and also generally to organize, put in order, and very frequently to adorn (e.g. Hesiod, *Works*, 72).

2. The cosmos-concept of Gk. philosophy may be seen against the background of the question: How is it possible that, with all the individual things conflicting with one another (heaven and earth; God, men and living beings), the world is not destroyed? The answer was given that they are held together by an all-embracing order (cf. Anaximander, *Frag.* 9). This world-order is designated by the word *kosmos* which also comes to denote the world in the spatial sense. According to Democritus, man is a microcosm (*Frag.* 34). This enables him to perceive the order of the world and praises its beauty (Heracl., *Frag.* 124) and the perfection of its spherical form and circular movement.

(a) Plato was the first to teach that the origin of the cosmos was due to a Demiurge (→ Creation, art. *dēmiourgos*) who formed "the world in accordance with the idea of the perfect living being" (*TDNT* III 875; cf. *Tim.*, 28 ff.). For him the cosmos is an animated body, a rational being and thus a manifestation of God. The cosmos is not creature and not creation, but a copy.

(b) Aristotle's conception of the world, which prevailed in the West for almost 2000 years, is of a spherical earth, surrounded by various layers of heavenly spheres, which rests unmoved in the centre of a spherical cosmos (*Cael.*, 2, 2p, 285a, 32). The cosmos is the sum total of everything linked to space and time. Beyond that is the transcendent world of God which, removed from space and time, leads an unchangeable and thus perfect life. God has not fashioned the world. He is pure → reason (*nous*) meditating on himself. He moves everything, but he himself remains unmoved and does not intervene in world events.

(c) The Stoics linked their cosmology with the thought of eternally returning same-ness, an idea stemming from oriental astrology. The cosmos does not owe its origin to a new beginning, but is the restoration (*apokatastasis*, → Reconciliation) of that which once was. The disappearance of the cosmos in a universal conflagration is not its end. It arises anew in a cosmic rebirth (→ Birth, art. *palingenesia*).

(d) In Neo-Platonism the dualism which one can already find in Plato reaches its climax. The intelligible world (*kosmos ekeinos*, that world) and the world of appearances (*kosmos houtos*, this world) are mutually opposed. Although the empirical world is the beginning of evil, Plotinus can boast of its size, order and beauty; how much more praiseworthy, then, must be the true cosmos, the archetype of this world (*Enneads*, 5, 1, 4; 5, 8; 3, 2, 2 ff.; cf. H. Sasse, *TDNT* III 879).

In Hellenistic times when oriental cosmologies were penetrating the world of Gk. culture, the cosmos became a foreign country. It is no longer a harmonic unity, but falls into two domains: the lower earthly world and the world of the stars. What happens on earth depends on what happens in the world of the stars. Men's dealings are fundamentally meaningless.

In gnosticism there are to some extent conflicting statements about the cosmos. The separation between God and world has become absolute. The cosmos was a creation of demonic powers from the chaos of darkness, with the help of light-elements. It is an imitation of the construction of the world of light. God is that which is not-world, the cosmos has been rid of every element of divinity. It is purely material and fleshly, a → fullness (*plērōma*) of evil (*Corp. Herm.*, 6, 4). It is therefore not only foreign territory, but a prison from which the pre-existent soul of man longs for liberation, for which the heavenly figure of light, the Son of God, gives him help. But the *kosmos* may also be a mythological figure, and is designated *inter alia* "Son of God" (*Corp. Herm.*, 8, 5). It may even be viewed as an animate organism which is the image of God and of which man is the image (*Corp. Herm.*, 10, 11). ([Ed.] The Hermetic writings probably date from the middle of the 1st to the end of the 3rd cent. A.D., see Glossary of Technical Terms.)

OT 1. The LXX uses *kosmos* 7 times to translate Heb. *ʿᵃḏî*, ornaments (e.g. Jer. 2:32; 4:30), once for *kᵉlî*, ornaments, jewellery (Isa. 61:10), twice for *tip̄ʾereṯ*, ornament, decoration (Prov. 20:29, Isa. 3:18); also 5 times for *ṣāḇāʾ*, the hosts of heaven (and earth), the stars (cf. Gen. 2:1; Deut. 4:19). Meaning "world", *kosmos* is only found in the later Gk. writings of the LXX (Wis. 19 times, 2 Macc. 5 times, 4 Macc. 4 times). It was probably adopted in this meaning from Gk. linguistic usage under the influence of Hel. Judaism.

2. The OT knows of no word for the world corresponding to the Gk. *kosmos*. It calls the universe "heaven and earth", and only in later writings *hakkōl* (lit. the all), the universe (Jer. 10:16; Ps. 103:19; also without the art. (*kōl*, lit. all), Isa. 44:24; Ps. 8:7). As well as the word, the OT also lacks the Gk. concept of the cosmos. It never regards the world as an independent entity in itself, but always in its relation to God, the Creator (→ Creation). It is true that the account of creation in Gen. 1:1–2:4a is interested in cosmology, in that it speaks of the deep and the waters (the primeval flood and primeval darkness), the firmament, the heavenly ocean and the stars. But its statements have the sole intention of witnessing to God as the Lord over everything including chaos. Its objective is clearly the creation of man which stands at the focal point of the statements in Gen. 2:4b – 25. Man's vocation is to recognize his task in the world as accountable to God and to exercise lordship over the creation (1:26, 28; 2:15, 19; cf. Ps. 18). The first account is not concerned (as the second is) to describe an immanent world-order, but rather to express God's lordship over man, the nations of the world and their history.

When it states that "everything that he had made . . . was very good" (Gen. 1:31), it is not the world as such that is being praised, but God who made it and established his dominion over the world for the salvation of man (cf. Pss. 33; 65; 136; 148; Amos 4:13; 5:8; 9:5 f.).

3. The OT does not give a unique picture of the world which has nothing in common with other pictures. It draws on contemporary oriental ideas which it uses in its own particular way as material or framework for its own proclamation. The world is thus represented as tripartite.

The vault or firmament (*raqîa'*) of → heaven divides the waters above from the waters below (Gen. 1:6 ff.). This vault rests on "pillars" (Job 26:11; cf. Ps. 104:3), and the stars are set in it as luminaries (Gen. 1:14 f., 17).

The earth is sometimes pictured as a disc, whose middle-point is the central sanctuary (Jdg. 9:37; Ezek. 38:12; cf. Eth. Enoch 26:1; Jub. 8:19). It too rests on pillars (Job 9:6; cf. Ps. 104:5; 1 Sam. 2:8), or is suspended over nothing (Job 26:7). The waters above it and below it are restrained by God's providential care (Gen. 1:7; 7:11; 49:25; Exod. 20:4; Deut. 33:13; Prov. 8:27 f.).

The theological pronouncements of the OT made use of this common imagery. Heaven, the dwelling-place of Yahweh (Ezek. 1:22 f.) and the water are (like Tiamat in the Babylonian myth) the abode of beasts (Leviathan in Job 3:8; Ps. 74:14; Isa. 27:1; Rahab in Ps. 89:10; the serpent kept by Yahweh under the sea in Amos 9:3).

The underworld, *šᵉ'ôl* (→ Hell) is the kingdom of the dead, from which there is no return (Job 10:21). In complete contrast with contemporary religions, the OT also refuses to engage in speculative embellishment in statements about the underworld.

Nature, cosmic entities and elements are not observed for their own sake but always in their relation to their Creator and Lord. They are only instruments of God. The OT thus assimilates mythical cosmological elements with absolute freedom, but at the same time demythologizes them by co-ordinating them with and subordinating them to theological and soteriological statements.

4. Philo uses the word *kosmos* with strikingly greater frequency than the OT, but in statements which conflict with one another. He distinguishes between a *kosmos noētos*, the world which can only be apprehended by the mind, and the *kosmos aisthētos*, the world which is apprehended by the senses (*Op. Mund.*, 25). He also calls the latter "this world" (*Rer. Div. Her.*, 75) or the "visible world" (*Op. Mund.*, 16). At the same time he says that there is only one cosmos. Philo can speak of the cosmos as a living and animate being. Starting from the picture of God as the Father of the cosmos (*Vit. Mos.*, 2, 134), he can even call it *hyios theou*, son or child of God (*Ebr.*, 30; *Deus. Imm*, 31). These thoughts were taken up and developed by Egyptian Hel. gnosticism.

5. Under the influence of Hel. Judaism the originally temporal understanding of the Heb. word *'ôlām* (age, cf. Aram. *'ālᵉmā'*; long, far off; → Time, art. *aiōn*) acquired the spatial meaning of *kosmos*, world, universe, world of men, *oikoumenē* (from the time of 4 Esd.). Whereas *'ôlām* still has the old temporal meaning in the Dead Sea Scrolls, this spatial meaning of "world" is found increasingly frequently in Rabbinic usage. "Lord of the world" or "King of the world" are favourite titles of God.

This change of meaning took effect particularly in developed Judaism and, together with the Jewish apocalyptic doctrine of the Two Ages (→ Time, art. *aiōn*), conditioned views of the world. "This world", like "this age", is described in Rab. lit. as being under the domination of Satan, sin and death (cf. SB IV 847 ff.). This led to a simultaneous moral depreciation of the existing cosmos. But as Judaism held fast to belief in creation, it never adopted a gnostic dualistic world-view.

NT 1. (a) In the NT, as in secular Gk. and Hel. Judaism, the noun *kosmos* denotes the world. The sole exception is 1 Pet. 3:3, where it means adornment. Of the 185 occurrences of the word 78 come in Jn., 24 in the Johannine letters, 47 in the Pauline letters, 14 in the Synoptics and 22 in the rest of the NT writings. This frequent usage indicates both its theological importance and the area of confrontation. The *kosmos*-concept demands clarification when the gospel comes into contact with Gk. thought.

(b) The adjs. are found rarely and only in the later NT writings: *kosmios*, honourable, virtuous, respectable, only in 1 Tim. 2:9; 3:2; *kosmikos*, earthly, worldly, only in Tit. 2:12; Heb. 9:1.

In the vb. *kosmeō* (10 times) to put in order (Matt. 25:7, trim), decorate, adorn, (e.g. Matt. 12:44; Tit. 2:10) it is still the basic meaning of *kosmos* as adornment or order which counts.

2. The use of the noun *kosmos* in the inclusive sense of "world" exhibits three nuances:

(a) It can denote the universe (e.g. Acts 17:24; cf. also the phrase *ta panta*, (everything, all things) for the world as the sum-total of created things, cf. Jn. 1:3).

(b) It can also mean the world as the sphere or place of human life, the earth, the *oikoumenē*. This usage takes precedence in the Synoptics; thus Mk. 8:36, to gain the whole world; Matt. 4:8, all the kingdoms of the world (cf. Lk. 4:5, all the kingdoms of the *oikoumenē*).

The phrases "to come into the world" (Jn. 1:9; 3:19 etc.), "to be in the world" (e.g. Jn. 1:10; 2 Cor. 1:12 etc.) and "to go out of the world" (e.g. 1 Cor. 5:10) can also be understood in this sense.

(c) Finally it can stand for humanity, the world of men (cf. Jn. 3:19; 2 Cor. 5:19), where, especially in Paul and John, it designates the place and object of God's saving activity.

3. As early as Paul, the term *kosmos* is given a typically anthropological and historical stamp.

(a) The course of the world is determined by → man, through whose → fall → death came into the world and rules over it (Rom. 5:12 ff.). "The whole world" (i.e. of man) has become guilty before God (Rom. 3:19). Even the created world (Rom. 8:20–22; literally "the whole of creation") has been subjected to transience and longs for liberation. The *kosmos* is thus also the whole → creation subject to futility. This understanding of the world primarily finds verbal expression where Paul speaks of this world (*ho kosmos houtos*) analogously to this age (*ho aiōn houtos*, cf. 1 Cor. 3:19; 5:10; Eph. 2:2). God's → judgment is passed on this cosmos (Rom. 3:6), which belongs to the present age (→ Time, art. *aiōn*). The degree to which the word *kosmos* serves to denote the existent world threatened by

futility and need can also be seen in the fact that the future redeemed world is never called *kosmos*, but the → "kingdom of God", "a new heaven and a new earth". There is no phrase corresponding to "this cosmos" (*ho kosmos houtos*) such as "the coming", "the future", or "that" cosmos. God and *kosmos* are strictly disparate.

(b) But it is into this world as it is, a world which has fallen into the power of → sin and → destruction, that God has sent his Son in order to reconcile it to himself (2 Cor. 5:19 ff.). And in this cosmos, whose → form is passing away (1 Cor. 7:31) the Christian → church lives as a sign of the presence of Christ (→ Body). Its relationship to the world is therefore dialectically determined. It can be neither unconditional surrender to nor denial of the world. Because Christians live in the cosmos (1 Cor. 5:10; Phil. 2:15), they must have dealings with the world. But it must be as if they had no dealings with it (1 Cor. 7:29 ff.). The church can be assured that everything belongs to them ("whether . . . the world or life or death or the present or the future"), but they themselves belong not to the cosmos but to Christ (1 Cor. 3:21 ff.). The world has thus become the field for obedience and maintenance of faith. Despite all its responsibility to the world and its involvement in it, the Christian church can still stand in the freedom of Christ. For it is also free from the world and its regulations (1 Cor. 7:20 ff.; cf. Matt. 17:24 ff.).

(c) Colossians shows how early Christianity had to get to grips with confronting the *kosmos*. The principalities and powers have been defeated by Christ (2:15). Therefore the elements of the cosmos (2:8, 20a) cannot be the object of ritual celebration or veneration. Christians who through Christ have died to the elements of the cosmos, no longer live "in the cosmos" (2:20b), but have been completely freed from subjection to its precepts and constraints.

4. *John*. R. Bultmann suggests that Jn. has utilized such concepts of gnosticism as the lostness of man in the world, the dualism of light and darkness, God and world, Jesus' descent from heaven, and the response of those in the truth (*The Gospel of John*, 1971, 7 ff.). He presents an individual understanding of the relationship between God and world, and man and world. By contrast with gnosticism, however, Jn. provides no cosmological undergirding for the lostness of the world and of man. The God-world dualism is not traced back to the badness of the cosmos as an innate quality in it, but is recognized as the consequence of the fault of man. Man belongs so much to the world that *kosmos* in Jn. almost always means the world of men. *kosmos* in Jn. can certainly be seen under different aspects, for example, as the world of men separated off from the rest of → creation (as subject 1:10; 15:19; as object of divine action 3:16 ff.; 4:42). Yet it is the world of men that is the determining feature of the whole of creation, notably in those places which speak of sending or coming into the world (3:17, 19; 9:39; cf. Bultmann, op. cit., 55 f. on Jn. 1:10). Out of love for this world (a completely un-Gk. thought!) God sends his Son (3:16), not to judge but to save (3:17; 12:47). As "the Lamb of God" he bears the sins of the world (1:29; cf. 1 Jn. 2:2). But the Son who has come into the world to bring salvation at the same time becomes its judgment (3:19), since it does not know him and is blind to him (1:10). The *kosmos* (understood as the world of men) constitutes a uniform subject which opposes God in enmity, resists the redeeming work of the Son, does not believe in him, and indeed hates him (7:7; 15:18 ff.). It is ruled by the prince of this cosmos (12:31; 16:11), i.e. the Evil One (1 Jn. 5:18). Nonetheless, the Son remains the victor over the world

(16:33). This does not lead to the extinction of the cosmos but to the redeemer of the world creating men who are not born "from out of the cosmos" (15:19; 17:14, 16) but of God (1:12 f.) and the Holy → Spirit (3:5). They endure much anguish in the world, but are removed from its domination (16:33).

Even though believers are no longer conditioned by the cosmos, they are not taken out of the world (17:15), but, in that they (as the frequently recurring formula says) remain "in him" (i.e. the Son), they are able to demonstrate in the world the belief and practice of the new commandment to love (13:34 f.; 15:9 ff.). When the Christian church is warned to maintain its distance over against the world (as in 1 Jn. 2:15: "Do not love the world or the things in the world. If any one loves the world, love for the Father is not in him"), we are concerned with the cosmos in its transience (v. 17), *ho kosmos houtos*, this world (cf. 12:31; 16:11). The church is to keep itself free from its seductive power. For anyone who loves this cosmos, i.e., abandons himself to it, does not have any share in the love of God which reaches out to him, and is therefore not capable of love as instructed in the command of the Lord. For as God has devoted his love to the world of men by sending his Son, so the Christian community is sent into the world by the Son (17:18; cf. 20:21) to keep his word and commandment (14:15, 23). *J. Guhrt*

→ Beginning, → Creation, → Heaven, → Kingdom, → Time, → Water

(a). Arndt, 13, 156, 44–48; 563 f., 892; A. Auer, "World," *EBT* III 1001–6; G. Bornkamm, "Christ and the World in the Early Christian Message," *Early Christian Experience*, 1969, 14–28; R. Bultmann, "The Understanding of Man and the World in the New Testament and in the Greek World," *Essays*, 1955, 67–89; and *Theology of the New Testament*, I, 1952, 254–59; II, 1955, 15–32; W. D. Davies, *The Gospel and the Land: Early Christianity and Jewish Territorial Doctrine*, 1974; W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*, II, 1967, 93–117; G. Johnston, "*Oikoumenē* and *kosmos* in the New Testament," *NTS* 10, 1963–64, 352 ff.; O. Michel, *oikoumenē*, *TDNT* V 157 ff.; G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, I, 1962, 296–305; II, 1965 (see index); J. M. Robinson, "World in Modern Theology and in New Testament Theology," in *Soli Deo Gloria, Festschrift* for W. C. Robinson, 1968, 88 ff.; H. Sasse, *kosmeō*, *kosmos* etc., *TDNT* III 867–98; H. Schlier, *Principalities and Powers*, 1961; W. A. Visser t'Hooft, *The Meaning of Ecumenical* (The Burge Memorial Lecture, 1953), 1953; and "The Word 'Ecumenical' – its History and Use," in R. Rouse and S. C. Neill, *A History of the Ecumenical Movement, 1517-1948*, 1967²; 735-44; E. Schweizer, *choikos, TDNT* IX 472-9. (See also Addenda, p.822.)

(b). G. Gloege, "Welt," *RGG*³ VI 1595 ff.; G. Harbsmeier, "Welt," *EKL* III 1756 ff.; G. Hierzenberger, *Weltbewertung bei Paulus nach 1 Kor. 7, 29–31. Eine exegetisch-kerygmatische Studie*, 1967; E. Jenni, "Das Wort *'ôlām* im Alten Testament," *ZAW* 64, 1952, 197 ff.; 65, 1953, 1 ff.; E. Jüngel, "Die Welt als Möglichkeit und Wirklichkeit," *EvTh* 29, 1969, 417 ff.; W. Kranz, "Kosmos," *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte*, II 1 and 2, ed. E. Rothacker, 1955–57; R. Löwe, *Aiōn und Kosmos*, 1935; K. Lüthi, "Säkulare Welt als Objekt der Liebe Gottes," *EvTh* 26, 1966, 113 ff.; W. E. Mühlmann *et al.*, "Weltbild," *RGG*³ VI 1606 ff.; F. Mussner, *Christus das All und die Kirche*, 1955; and "Kosmos," *LTK* VI 576 ff.; M. Paeslack, "Die 'Oikoumene' im Neuen Testament," *Theologia Viatorum* 2, 1950, 33 ff.; R. Schnackenburg, *Christliche Existenz nach dem Neuen Testament*, II, 1968, 149–85; and "Das Verständnis der Welt nach dem Neuen Testament," op. cit., I., 1967, 157–85; W. Schrage, "Die Stellung zur Welt bei Paulus, Epiktet und in der Apokalyptik," *ZTK* 61, 1964, 125 ff.; J. Sint, "Kosmologie," *LTK* VI 569 ff.; R. Völkl, *Christ und Welt nach dem Neuen Testament*, 1961; E. Walter, *Christus und der Kosmos*, 1948; H. F. Weiss, *Untersuchungen zur Kosmologie des hellenistischen und palästinischen Judentums*, *TU* 97, 1966; H. E. Wilhelm *et al.*, "Weltbild, Weltanschauung," *EKL* III 1761 ff.

Ecstasy, Astonishment, Distraction, Horror, Madness

The NT uses two different word-groups to express the behaviour of a person who

is no longer controlled by his normal reason. *ekstasis* means basically that a person has been brought out of his normal routine and outlook by the experience of a power or experience outside him. This can happen through the power of the Spirit of God. *mainomai*, however, is always used to express a diseased mental condition, normally associated in the ancient world with → demonic powers. *ekplēssō* means amaze, astound.

ἔκστασις

ἔκστασις (*ekstasis*), distraction, confusion, astonishment, terror, trance, ecstasy; ἐξίστημι (*existēmi*), trans. drive out of one's senses, confuse, amaze, astound; intrans. lose one's mind, be out of one's senses, be amazed, astonished.

CL *ekstasis* is found in secular Gk. from 5th–4th cent. B.C. Originally it meant a change of location, and then metaphorically confusion, terror, madness. The specific meaning of ecstasy, in which consciousness is partially or entirely non-operative through the work of a divine power, is found especially in Philo. The verb *existēmi* (variant form *existanō*) from 5th cent. B.C. on means confuse, terrify; in the mid. *existamai* (aor. *exestēn*) means lose one's wits. The biblical usage, be terrified, is seldom found in secular Gk.

OT Neither vb. nor noun is used in the LXX in the specific sense of ecstasy. (For such states *prophēteuō*, Heb. *hiṯnabbē'*, is used.) *ekstasis* often means confusion, terror, madness (cf. Jer. 5:30; Zech. 12:4). In 1 Sam. 11:6; 14:15 it means a terror or panic caused by God; in Deut. 28:28 madness. The vb. used in the act. sense is found in Exod. 23:27; Jdg. 4:15; 8:12 with the same force as in secular Gk. The mid. *existamai* means in Isa. 28:7 lose one's wits, but the meaning of be terrified, be frightened is commoner. In Ezek. 26:16; 27:35 etc. it is strengthened by the addition of *ekstasei*, i.e. be terribly frightened (cf. Gen. 42:28; 43:33).

Ecstatic phenomena are found in the OT just as in the Gk. and Hel. worlds. In the early days of Israel there was the ecstasy of the elders in the wilderness (Num. 11:24–29) and the description of the trance condition of Balaam (Num. 24:4). The ecstatic character of the early Israelite prophetic bands is described in 1 Sam. 10:5 f., 10; 19:20–24. When occasionally prophets are said to be mad (2 Ki. 9:11; Hos. 9:7) or drunken (Isa. 28:7; Jer. 23:9), the passages point to the link between prophecy and ecstasy. But false prophets also appeared in Israel and neighbouring countries as ecstatics and visionaries. The prophets of Baal, whom Elijah as the true prophet of God opposed on Carmel, even cut themselves in their prophesying (1 Ki. 18:28). Israelite prophets claimed their own visions as messages from God (cf. Jer. 23:16 f.). Neither ecstasy, visions, nor the claim to an oracle are infallible signs which distinguish the true from the false prophet. Only the message itself will do that. In the intertestamental period prophecy gradually died out. The Jewish apocalyptic works hence claimed ecstatic experiences for pious men in time past, but their descriptions show that such experiences were not entirely unknown (cf. Dan. 4:16 (LXX); Eth. Enoch 71:11 "And I fell on my face, and my whole body became relaxed, and my spirit was transfigured"). In accounts of the Merkabah mysticism among the rabbis ecstatic experiences are described (Hagigah 13 ff.).

NT In the NT *ekstasis* and *existasthai* are used to express men's reaction to the wonderful acts of God, as are *thaumazō* and related expressions (→ Miracle, art. *thauma*; cf. Mk. 2:12; 5:42; Lk. 5:26; Acts 3:10). The act. *existēmi* is found in Lk. 24:22 and Acts 8:9, 11 with the meaning terrify, amaze.

The statement of Jesus' relations about him might be understood in the specific sense of ecstasy (Mk. 3:21), which would mean that he was taken to be an ecstatic. We should, however, prefer the interpretation that they were saying he was mad, for there are no ecstatic traits in Jesus' life of faith and prayer as depicted by the evangelists. According to Acts 10:10; 11:5; 22:17, the visions seen by Peter in Joppa and Paul in Jerusalem were in a trance (*ekstasei*). Acts also records speaking in tongues, and recognizes in it the work of the Holy Spirit (Acts 10:44, 46; 11:15, 17; 19:6). But in 1 Cor. 14 Paul clearly regards this phenomenon as ecstatic (cf. v. 23). On the other hand, it is purely a hypothesis when Behm suggests that the historic kernel of the Pentecostal event in Acts 2 was "mass ecstasy on the part of the disciples which includes outbreaks of glossolalia" (*TDNT* I 725). Paul says in 1 Cor. 14:18 that he was no stranger to speaking in tongues. Hence some have seen in 2 Cor. 5:13 a reference to ecstatic speech. In that case the thought would be the same as in 1 Cor. 14:19. It is more probable that Paul is defending himself against the charge of having exaggerated his authority above measure (cf. A. Oepke, *TDNT* II 457 f.). 1 Cor. 14:18 and Acts 22:17 suggest that the visions and revelations of 2 Cor. 12:2 ff., 7 were ecstatic experiences. The same could be true of John (Rev. 1:10; 4:1 f.) who describes his own spiritual experiences in contrast to the Jewish apocalypses. If so, he was seized by the Spirit and carried up to heaven, like Paul in 2 Cor. 12:2, 4. The apostle's reticence in 2 Cor. 12 and his sober evaluation of speaking in tongues in 1 Cor. 14:19 show that one must not overrate the importance of ecstasy for the primitive church. Paul did not regard his initial vision of Christ on the road to Damascus as ecstatic (1 Cor. 9:1; 15:8; Gal. 1:16). The strong spiritual consciousness which meets us in the NT writings is founded on the certainty that the church has been given a new revelation in Christ, transcending all that has gone before. The examples of ecstatic pious experiences are to be seen as a result but not as the cause of this faith. *W. Mundle*

μαίνομαι

μαίνομαι (*mainomai*), rave, be mad, be out of one's mind; *μανία* (*mania*), madness, frenzy.

CL *mainomai* (already in the Orphic writings) is linked with the Indo-European root *men-*, think, be moved, desire (cf. Lat. *memento*). Gk. used *mainomai* especially for excited thought, being in ecstasy, raving: (a) rage, rave (in Homer for both gods and men); (b) be intoxicated (Homer *Od.*, 21, 298), through an intoxicating drink; (c) the passion of love (Plato, cf. Test. Jos. 8:3); (d) be mad, in opposition to *sōphroneō;* (e) an expression for the madness and enthusiasm of the Bacchantes, be entranced; "A prophet is Dionysus also, for the Bacchus frenzy, the drunken madness, includes in it the prophetic power, for the one quite possessed by the spirit of the god, he makes to rave that he may foretell that which will be" (Eur., *Bacchae*, 260 ff.); "Because such a one stands aloof from human interests, and is rapt in contemplation of the divine, he is taken to task by the multitude as a

man demented, because the multitude do not see that he is inspired by God" (Plato, *Phaedrus*, 249 d; cf. Jn. 10:20).

mainesthai is the technical term of the cult of Dionysus and of the inspired "mantic" divination, the best known representatives of which were the Sibyls in the grip of a divine power. At that time Dionysus was the favourite god to whom ecstasy was attributed. *mania* was one of his oldest attributes. At the same time he could free a man of madness and allow him to return to quiet self-consciousness through an act of purification.

OT The LXX renders Jer. 25:16 "be crazed" (of the peoples who have drunk from God's cup of wrath) by *manēsontai*. Yahweh threatens them all with the terror of war as punishment. In Jer. 29:26 (LXX 39:26) "every one who is mad" (*mainomenō*) is placed beside "who prophesies" (*prophēteuonti*) in a context intended to bring Jeremiah's prophetic opponents into discredit. In 4 Macc. 8:5; 10:13 Antiochus Epiphanes considers as madness the loyalty to their faith of the priest Eleazar and his sons, which led to their death as martyrs. Josephus called the building of the Tower of Babel madness (*Ant.*, 1, 116).

NT *mainomai* is found 5 times, and *mania* once in the NT. In Acts 12:15 Rhoda was told "You are mad", when she came with incomprehensible news. Festus (Acts 26:24) believed that Paul was mad and that he had lost his reason in his enthusiasm to penetrate into the ultimate secrets. Paul placed the "sober truth" (*sōphrosynē*) in antithesis to *mania* (v. 25). The elders of Athens had once judged Solon as Festus had judged Paul; "they said that he was mad (*mainesthai*)" (Diog. Laert., 1, 49). In 1 Cor. 14:23 Paul used *mainesthai* to describe the impression that would be made on invited or casual visitors to the church by speaking in tongues.

In Jn. 10:20 the use of *mainetai* is important. The unbelieving among the Jews reacted to Jesus' message by saying, "You have a demon and are mad." One was not allowed to listen to a demon-possessed man. In other words, we have here a strong religiously motivated repudiation of Jesus. While faith recognizes the highest sense in Jesus' message, it becomes madness for unbelief. The use of *mainesthai* reminds us of the madness in the cult of Dionysus in which a man is carried away in *mania* from his own responsible thinking into an ecstasy caused by the deity. Some of his hearers thought that by saying that Jesus had lost his wits through the action of an evil demon (cf. Jn. 7:20; 8:43, 52) they were absolved from the responsibility of listening further. Others, however, saw in the healing of the blind man God's vindication of Jesus' message. *J. Schattenmann*

ἐκπλήσσω ἐκπλήσσω (*ekplēssō*), amaze, astound.

CL The primary meaning of *ekplēssō* is to strike out or expel. The vb. is found with this sense in classical Gk. (e.g. "enjoyment banishes grief", Thucydides), but it occurs far more frequently with its derived meaning of astound or amaze (i.e. drive out of one's senses by a sudden shock). Among the sources of amazement expressed by *ekplēssō* in non-biblical literature are fear, desire, love, joy and pleasure.

OT Josephus uses *ekplēssō* several times to express amazement or overwhelming fear. The only example the LXX provides of its use is in Eccl. 7:17, where it translates the Heb. *šāmēm*, and means "be appalled" in the strong sense of "be destroyed".

NT *ekplēssō* occurs 13 times in the NT, but only once outside the Gospels. It is always found in the passive (*ekplēssomai*, be amazed). Usually it expresses the astonished reaction of uncommitted onlookers to Jesus' teaching (e.g. Mk. 1:22 par.; 6:2 par.) and – just once – to a demonstration of his healing power (Lk. 9:43). Only Luke names individuals as the subject of *ekplēssomai*: Mary and Joseph are amazed to find the boy Jesus sitting among the temple teachers (Lk. 2:48), and the proconsul Sergius Paulus is "astonished at the teaching of the Lord" (Acts 13:12). *D. H. Field*

→ Demon, → Knowledge, → Holy Spirit, → Prophet, → Revelation, → Word, → Tongue

(a). J. Behm, *glōssa*, *TDNT* I 719–27; J. D. G. Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit*, 1970; H. von Campenhausen, "Spirit and Authority in the Pauline Congregation", *Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power in the Church of the First Three Centuries*, 1969, 55–75; J. C. Hurd, *The Origin of 1 Corinthians*, 1965; A. Oepke, *ekstasis*, *TDNT* II 449–60; J. Preisker, *mainomai*, *TDNT* IV 360 ff.; J. P. M. Sweet, "A Sign for Unbelievers: Paul's Attitude to Glossolalia," *NTS* 13, 1966–67, 240–57; S. Tugwell, *Did You Receive the Spirit?* 1971; I. M. Lewis, *Ecstatic Religion*, 1971.
(b). F. Maass, "Zur psychologischen Sonderung der Ekstase," *Festschrift A. Alt, Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift* Leipzig 3, 1953–54, 167 ff.; and "Ekstase," *EKL* I 1057 f.; E. Rohde, *Psyche*, II 4, 1910, 40 ff., 59 ff.; A. Schimmel, "Ekstase," *RGG*³ II 410 ff.; C. Schneider, *Geistesgeschichte des antiken Christentums*, 1954, 140 ff.

Egypt, Egyptian

Αἴγυπτος

Αἴγυπτος (*Aigyptos*), Egypt; *Αἰγύπτιος* (*Aigyptios*), Egyptian.

OT The Greek word derives from Egyptian *ḥwt-k3-Ptḥ* (pronounced approximately *ḥa-ku-ptaḥ*), a name of Memphis, Egypt's ancient capital (opposite modern Cairo, its successor). The term was extended (by the Greeks?) to include the country as well as its capital, much as in modern Arabic *Maṣr* (strictly Cairo) applies to Egypt. In the LXX, *Aigyptos* translates Hebrew *miṣrayim*, a word of uncertain meaning (connected with "forts" or "borders"?), whose outwardly dual form might possibly reflect Egypt's duality in geography (long valley, broad delta) and institutions (twin origins and forms of pharaonic monarchy and administration).

In the OT (hence also LXX), the significance of Egypt may be surveyed under seven heads.

1. *Part of God's World.* In Gen. 10:6, 13, *miṣrayim* (LXX, *Mesrain*) appears as an ancestral or eponymous figure for Egypt and the Egyptians, securing them their place in God's world among the families of the earth. At the opposite extreme from the Euphrates, the East-Delta arm of the Nile of Egypt was an outermost bound of

the lands covenanted with Abraham (Gen. 15:18). Culturally, Egypt was a land of great antiquity (cf. Isa. 19:11), known for luxurious products – fine linen (Prov. 7:16; Ezek. 27:7), or dashing chariots and steeds (1 Ki. 10:28–29; Cant. 1:9). Like Assyria or → Babylon, Egypt was a great Gentile power *par excellence*; but as such, it was still subject to God's summons (Zech. 14:18–19). The sweeping onset of her annual Nile flood was the symbol of devastating judgment on Israel (Amos 8:8; 9:5).

2. *Place of Refuge and Sojourn.* (a) *Of Man's Choice.* After Bethel (cf. Gen. 12:8; 13:3–4), → Abraham pressed by famine sought deliverance not from God but in Egypt (Gen. 12:10–13:1). Thence he brought Hagar, by whom he and Sarah thereafter sought a purely human solution to their childlessness (Gen. 16), though God's promise came not by the "bondwoman" but by his gift (cf. Gen. 17:19; 21:10).

(b) *Of God's Giving.* In due time (cf. Gen. 15:13–14), Egypt was the divinely-provided refuge for Israel's family (Gen. 37; 39–50), through Joseph (Gen. 45:7–8; 50:20), whence Jacob-Israel himself made a funerary "exodus" (Gen. 50:5 ff.) as later did Joseph (Gen. 50:25; cf. Exod. 13:19).

3. *Bondage whence God Delivered Israel.* In OT tradition, Egypt became above all else "the house of bondage" from which God saved Israel by his might and wonders (Exod. 20:1; Deut. *passim*) at the Exodus (Exod. 1–15). This deliverance was recalled in the wilderness (Exod. 23; 32; Lev. 11:45; 25:38; etc.) and impressed Israel's foes (Jos. 9:9; 1 Sa. 4:8; 6:6). Forever after it re-echoed down the centuries as a major starting-point whence God led a rebellious Israel through history – under the judges (Jdg. 2:1, 2; 1 Sa. 8:8; 10:18), Solomon (1 Ki. 8), later kings (e.g. 2 Ki. 17:7) and after the Babylonian Exile (Neh. 9:9, 18). The psalmists sang of it (e.g., Pss. 78:12, 43, 51; 80:8; 106:7, 21), and the prophets swelled the chorus (e.g., Jer. 2:6 and *passim*; Ezek. 20; Dan. 9:15; Hos. 12:9, 13; Amos 2:10; 9:7; Hag. 2:5). Israel came forth as God's "son" (Hos. 11:1).

4. *As Measure of Later Bondage and Deliverance.* God's marvels in delivering early Israel from Egypt are the measure he gives of future acts (Mic. 7:15). Egypt further became a symbol of spiritual bondage, e.g. of servitude to idolatry in future exiles (Hos. 8:13 and 9:3 in context of Assyrian threat), although not again to be the place of exile of the whole Hebrew nation (Hos. 11:5). Future deliverances for Israel were to be measured by the Egyptian deliverance (Isa. 11:11; Hos. 11:11; Zech. 10:10), also in minor key (so Jer. 44:28).

5. *In Later Historical Contexts.* After the Exodus period, Egypt's role in the OT again varies – occasionally an ally (1 Ki. 3:1) or a refuge (1 Ki. 11:40; Jer. 26:21 ff.), sometimes an outright foe (1 Ki. 14:25 ff.; 2 Ki. 23:33–34; cf. Ezek. 19:4), but above all as a snare, an object of misplaced confidence for help (e.g., 2 Ki. 17:4; cf. 18:21, etc.). Hebrew trust in Egyptian "strength" rather than in God's provision led to new forms of bondage, political and similar (cf. (e.g.) Isa. 30–31; Jer. 2:18, 36; 37:5, 7; 41:17; 42–44; Ezek. 17:15; 23; Hos. 7:11, 16; 12:1).

6. *Object of Judgments.* Judgment was pronounced on Egypt by the word of the Lord through Isaiah (19; 20), Jeremiah (46), Ezekiel (29–32) and even Joel (3:19), because of pride, self-assertion, and attacks on the covenant people.

7. *Object of Blessing.* But Egypt was also to know restoration and divine healing.

With Assyria and Israel Egypt too was to become "his people" (cf. Isa.19:19–25),but not again to be a snare or exalted over other nations (cf. Ezek. 29:13–16).

NT In the NT, Egypt's roles correspond in outline to those in the OT.

1. *Part of God's World.* At Pentecost, among so many others, Egyptians heard God's works proclaimed in their own tongue (Acts 2:10). An Egyptian is mentioned as one who had sought violent means to solve political problems (Acts 21:38; cf. Jos. *War*, 2, 261; *Ant.* 20, 169 ff.).

2. *Bondage from which God Delivered Israel.* In the NT, deliverance from Egypt at the Exodus remains a paradigm example of God's saving power (Acts 7; 13:17); and Israel's subsequent unfaithfulness, of human sin (Acts 7:39; Heb. 3:16; 8:9; Jude 5).

3. *Refuge from which God called His Son.* As of old the patriarch Israel and his people were divinely sustained in Egypt (Gen. 45:5, 7), whence God later called forth Israel as his "son" (Hos. 11:1), so the infant Jesus was taken into refuge in Egypt by divine command (Matt. 2:13), and thence came forth in final fulfilment of Hosea's words (Matt. 2:15, 19). → Fullness, art. *plēroō*.

4. *Symbol of Man's Materialism and Earthbound Law.* In the gallery of faith, Moses is seen to have rejected Egypt's blandishments of rank and material treasures in favour of God's call to lead his people to deliverance (Heb. 11:24–27). This antithesis of rebel worldliness in opposition to God finds focus also in Rev. 11:8, where the bodies of faithful slain lie in the street of a city called "Sodom and Egypt", in character with earthly pharisaic Jerusalem and idolatrous Rome. Finally, Paul draws from Gen. 16 (cf. OT 2 (a) above) the example of Hagar/Ishmael and Sarah/Isaac to illustrate human legalistic devising and divine promise and fulfilment, and to make clear the distinction between law and grace. The one is born of human self-will, under law; the other is the heir of promise, God's gift from above (Gal. 4:21–31). *K. A. Kitchen*

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Elect, Choose

Two groups of words are used in the NT to describe the act of judgment or decision by which preference is given to one of several possibilities, people, or groups. They are *haireomai* and *eklegomai* in their various forms. The second group is much more frequent than the first, although neither occurs particularly often. Both are capable of expressing not only human choice, but the electing activity of God in a specifically theological sense. In the great majority of cases, however, it is clear that the latter meaning is intended. When the sense is that of commission to a particular task, giving the person concerned what is in effect a special position, *kaleō* and its derivatives (→ Call) are used. For the definition of the limits of such a task, the word is *horizō* or *prohorizō* (→ Determine, Appoint). Where it is a matter of appointment to a particular office or to a function within a certain order of precedence, *kathistēmi*, *paristēmi* (→ Determine, Appoint) or *tassō* (→ Place, Put) are also found.

αἱρέομαι

αἱρέομαι (*haireomai*), choose; αἵρεσις (*hairesis*), sect, school, party, group; αἱρετικός (*hairetikos*), factious, heretical, heretic; αἱρετίζω (*hairetizō*), choose; διαιρέω (*dihaireō*), distribute, divide; διαίρεσις (*dihairesis*), allotment, division.

CL 1. *haireō* (act.) is found frequently in cl. Gk. from Homer onwards (also Philo, Josephus), in the senses of take, seize, grasp, gain, understand. But the mid. *haireomai*, take for oneself, seize for oneself, gain for oneself, choose for oneself, decide in favour of something, is also in common use. The noun *hairesis* (Aesch., Hdt.), formed from the vb. *hairein*, denotes in cl. Gk. (a) taking, acquisition, conquest; (b) choice, opportunity to choose; (c) aspiration, desire for something, inclination; and (d) purposeful decision or resolve. Thus it always contains an element of action and personal decision.

The adj. *hairetikos*, used as a noun in cl. Gk., describes someone who is capable of choice, able to choose. *hairetizō* (Hippocrates) is an intensive form of *haireomai* meaning to make someone *hairetos* (Hdt.), eligible, i.e. to choose him. Finally, the derivative *dihaireō* (Homer) means to take apart, tear asunder, divide, in order to differentiate; i.e. to distinguish, separate, distribute; then also allocate. The noun *dihairesis* (Hdt.) similarly means dissection, dividing, distribution, allocation, and also classification, distinction. As in the case of *hairesis*, the emphasis is on the action, and only secondarily on the effect.

2. In the late classical writers, and especially in Hel. Gk., the two nouns *hairesis* and *dihairesis* have a specific meaning. *hairesis* here has its meaning objectified and denotes the teaching or the school of a particular philosopher with which a person identifies himself by his own choice. A school of philosophy, which gathered around the authoritative figure of its teacher, was defined by dogmas (→ Commandment, art. *dogma*) to which the followers assented and by a communal set of rules governing their style of life. *dihairesis* is used by Plato as a term for dialectic method, as employed for the purpose of classifying words (cf. *Pol.* 258c ff.).

OT 1. In the LXX this group of words – in contrast to → *eklegomai* or *boulomai* (→ Will) – is not particularly frequent. This may be due to the character of the

OT concept of election which was not, of course, based upon the pattern of free, political choice or that of complete freedom to choose a set of teachings or an outlook on life. Of the 11 texts in which *haireomai* occurs, in 4 it represents *bāḥar*, choose, choose out, prefer (e.g. 2 Sam. 15:15; Jer. 8:3). Otherwise, it stands *inter alia* for *ḥāpēṣ*, delight in (1 Sam. 19:1; → Please). *hairesis* is found only 5 times altogether, and only in Lev. 22:18, 21 as a direct translation (*nᵉḏāḇâh*, free-will offering) of a Heb. equivalent. It has the meaning choice in the phrases *ex haireseōs* (Gen. 49:5) and *kata hairesin* (Lev. 22:18, 21), of free choice. Rather more frequent is the intensive form *hairetizō* (to choose) which usually stands for *bāḥar*. It is often used together with *eklegomai* for God's act of choice (cf. 1 Chr. 28:4, 6, 10; Ps. 25:12; 119:30). In some examples (Hag. 2:23; Mal. 3:17) the sense of adoption is also present. Matt. 12:18, the only place where *hairetizō* occurs in the NT, is a quotation from Isa. 42:1, where the meaning is "choose" in parallelism with *eudokein* ("be well pleased", though Matt. is not following the LXX but another translation here).

dihaireō is used for various forms of *ḥālaq*, divide, share, take possession of, and *ḥāṣâh*, to divide, and also for *bāḥar* (Gen. 15:10) and other words. It is found chiefly in the sense of classify, apportion (cf. Gen. 32:7; Jos. 18:5; 1 Chr. 24:3 ff.; Ezek. 37:22). The noun *dihairesis* usually represents the Heb. *maḥᵃlōqeṯ*, division, and means distribution, part, division (e.g. 1 Chr. 27:1 ff.), or even clan (Jdg. 5:15).

2. The writings of Philo and especially those of Josephus contain a specific development of these nouns. *hairesis* is used to describe both Gk. schools of philosophy and the religious groups within Judaism, the Essenes, the Sadducees and the Pharisees. The Heb. equivalent in Rab. Judaism is *mîn*, which however denotes a member of a sect (*hairetikos*) rather than the sect itself. At this point the meaning of the word underwent a decisive change. Used at first quite generally for the parties within Judaism, it came to be used more and more for a heretical sect in the bad sense. This change, which came around A.D. 100, finally caused *mîn* by the end of the 2nd cent. A.D. to be used no longer to distinguish between groups within the Jewish community, but for people of other faiths, e.g. Christians or Gnostics. These stood outside the believing community and were thus altogether outside the sphere of salvation.

NT 1. In the NT *haireomai* occurs in only 3 places, always in the mid. voice. At Phil. 1:22 and Heb. 11:25 it has the weakened meaning, prefer. This corresponds to its frequent use in cl. Gk. with or without *mallon*, rather (*mallon haireisthai . . . ē . . .*), or with the accusative. Here it overlaps in meaning with *thelō* and *boulomai* (→ Will). However, *thelō* expresses more a sovereign decision with clear, resolute intent, while *boulomai* means a wish and desire based on asserted authority.

In 2 Thess. 2:13 *haireomai* has a specialized biblical meaning not found in cl. Gk., elect someone to something (here God's election of the church to salvation). In this sense of God's elective decision, it is to be distinguished from *eudokeō*, have good pleasure (→ Please) which expresses his sovereign choice, and *klēroō* which promises to the chosen, as those called, their appointed destiny (→ Inheritance, art. *klēros*). *eklegomai*, on the other hand, emphasizes the selective aspect of the choice, and *dechomai* acceptance and reception on the ground of God's good pleasure.

2. The NT meaning of *hairesis* follows the usage in Hel. Gk. and Jud. In Acts, where 6 of the 9 examples are found, it refers to the parties of the Pharisees and Sadducees as groups within the Jewish community: *hairesis tōn Saddoukaiōn*, the sect of the Sadducees (Acts 5:17); *hairesis tōn Pharisaiōn*, the sect of the Pharisees (Acts 15:5; cf. 26:5). From the Jewish point of view, the Christians too are described as belonging to a *hairesis: prōtostatēs tēs tōn Nazaraiōn haireseōs*, ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes (Acts 24:5; cf. Acts 24:14; 28:22).

Because of its universal character, the Christian *ekklēsia* (→ Church) could not be content to regard itself as a *hairesis*. All Christians belong to the church, "the lawful public assembly of the whole people of God" (H. Schlier, *TDNT* I 183), while the term *hairesis* suggests the private, unauthorized character of a school or party. Hence in Gal. 5:20 *haireseis* are listed as one of the *erga tēs sarkos*, works of the flesh. Justification for this is provided in 1 Cor. He who splits the church or breaks it up into parties is dividing Christ, whose body is the church (1 Cor. 1:10 ff.; 11:18 f.; cf. 12:27). A distinction is drawn in 1 Cor. between *haireseis* and *schismata*. Whereas *schismata* means "splits in the church caused by personally motivated disputes" (H. Schlier, ibid.), *haireseis* add to the division an eschatological aspect. "*haireseis* are the results of the *schismata*" (H. Lietzmann, 1 *Kor.*, *HNT*, 56). The ruinous *haireseis* are brought about by the activities of false teachers (*pseudodidaskaloi;* → Teach) who deny Christ (cf. 2 Pet. 2:1).

In complete contrast to its use in cl. Gk. (where it means able to choose), *hairetikos* is used in biblical Gk. for the adherents of a *hairesis*, a heretic. In Tit. 3:10 we see the church's procedure for disciplining heretics, following Matt. 18:15 ff. and 2 Jn. 10.

In the early church *hairesis* became a technical term for a body opposing the *ekklēsia* understood in eschatological terms. This is especially true in Ignatius and Justin (Ign., *Eph.* 6:10; *Tral.* 6:1; Justin, *Dial.*, 51:2). But Origen returns to the old meaning of *hairesis*, using it to refer to different schools within Christianity (*Contra Celsum*, 3, 12).

3. In the list of the *erga tēs sarkos*, works of the flesh (Gal. 5:19 ff.), between *eritheiai*, quarrels (→ Anger), and *haireseis* there is mention of *dichostasiai*. This word is used in cl. Gk. to mean dispute, disunity, strife, in general, and also political opposition, revolt, rebellion. It is warned against in Rom. 16:17 together with the creation of stumbling-blocks (*ta skandala*). In some MSS of 1 Cor. 3:3 it is listed together with *zēlos* and *eris* and declared to be "fleshly" behaviour (*kata anthrōpon*). If it is here a matter of disunity and dissensions in the church, the political meaning in 1 Clem. 46:5 is unmistakable.

4. *dihaireō* should be translated in the NT, to distribute. Lk. 15:12: "And he divided his living between them". 1 Cor. 12:11 speaks of the distribution of spiritual gifts which the Spirit apportions to the various members of the church as he will (→ Body).

The noun *dihairesis* occurs in the NT only in 1 Cor. 12:4 ff., where the reference is to the manifold nature of the gifts of the Spirit and their *distribution* among many members in the unity of single grace of God, bearing witness to God's revelation. This use of the word led later to the appearance in the Fathers of *dihairesis* as a term for the distinctions in the relationship between the persons of the Trinity (H. Schlier, *TDNT* I 185). *G. Nordholt*

ἐκλέγομαι

ἐκλέγομαι (*eklegomai*), pick out for oneself, choose (out); ἐκλεκτός (*eklektos*), chosen (out); ἐκλογή (*eklogē*), picking out, election, selection.

CL 1. *eklegomai* (Hdt.) is the mid. of *eklegō*, pick out, choose out a person or thing (from a sizeable number). The act. form does not occur at all in the NT and only occasionally in the LXX. It is derived from *legō*, count, collect, read (→ Word). The verbal adj. *eklektos*, which is sometimes used absolutely (attested since Plato), denotes the person or thing upon whom the choice has fallen. The noun *eklogē*, derived from the vb. (likewise Plato) and originally meaning exclusively the act of choosing, can be used with the vbs. *lambanō*, take, *poieomai*, do, or *ginomai*, here in the sense of arrive at. The words of this group are used in various contexts, but wherever they are found, it is evident that certain things common to them all are implied. First, there are several objects from which to choose; secondly, the person making the choice is not tied down by any circumstances which force his hand, but is free to make his own decision. Thirdly, the person making the choice – at least at the moment of choosing – has the person or thing to be chosen at his disposal. Moreover, the act of choosing (and thus the words of this group) includes a judgment by the chooser as to which object he considers to be the most suitable for the fulfilment of his purpose. It is not of vital importance whether it be objective criteria, or subjective feelings and considerations which are paramount in making the decision.

2. Although these words originate in military vocabulary, by the time of Plato *eklegomai* and *eklogē* are already in use in a political sense (referring to elections). In every case it is a matter of electing people to perform a certain task, or administer a certain office. These include in the political sphere the *presbytai*, → elders, for the administration of the *polis* (Plato, *Rep.*, 536c; Polybius, 6, 10, 9), the *archontes* (Plato, *Rep.*, 414a, → Beginning, art. *archē* NT 4), or other officials and people with public responsibilities (Plato, *Laws*, 802b). *eklogē*, however, is also used of the general conscription of men for military service (Polybius 5,63,11), and the selection of individuals from the whole army for a particularly difficult or glorious mission (Polybius 9, 13, 9). Prudence and experience, appropriate standing in society or sufficient wealth, courage and suitability constitute the conditions necessary in each instance, if a person is to be considered for election. But it is the election itself which makes it possible for him to take up his function and which at the same time lays an obligation upon him. For election, whether of individuals or of a group, is regarded as a distinction (very occasionally it is used in a negative sense, implying especial severity). It is usually conducted in a manner in keeping with the concept of an aristocratic élite. It is always, however, accompanied by some kind of obligation or task concerned with the well-being of all the other members of the community of which the one elected forms part. Through its proper organs, the *polis* gives the individual who has special gifts the opportunity to develop these for the benefit of all.

3. At the same time, the words may be applied to objects. *eklegomai* is used of the choice of certain places (Plato, *Tim.*, 24c), deciding in favour of what is intellectually or aesthetically good (*Symposium*, 198d), or selection of especially treasured passages from literature in general or from the work of a certain author (Athenaeus, 14, 663c; Polybius, 1, 47, 9). *eklogē* can also refer to the requisition of material

(e.g. ships), or the levying of official tribute and taxes (Athenaeus 6, 235b). The words express in every case the idea that a part has been claimed from a greater quantity, by an independent act of decision for a particular purpose, and that the remainder has been passed over.

4. It is not until the Stoic writers that we find a change in meaning of the words of this group, approximating to what we have said about *haireomai*. *eklogē* can now be used, no longer with reference to a special dignity, but in an individual sense, to mean a single person's free decision between two or more possibilities with respect to his manner of life, livelihood or use of his material goods. Epictetus (*Dissertationes*, 2, 10, 6) produces the maxim that such a choice must be in favour of that which is fitting to the nature of the case.

OT 1. (a) The first thing to be noticed in the LXX is that the Gk. noun *eklogē* is completely lacking. This is due to the fact that there is no Heb. word for it to translate, since abstract concepts are generally foreign to the Heb. language. The fact that only verbal forms are found automatically results in an emphasis, not so much on the action itself (see above CL, *eklogē*), as on the person who chooses and the one chosen (*eklektos*) in each instance. The act. form *eklegō*, which has the same meaning and syntax, occurs only 10 times, especially in the books of Kings and Chr. The mid. *eklegomai* nearly always renders forms of the Heb. vb. *bāḥar*, choose, select, prefer. Only in exceptional cases is *bāḥar* translated by *epilegō*, a related word of the same meaning (cf. Exod. 17:9; Num. 16:5), *haireomai* (cf. 2 Sam. 15:15; 1 Chr. 28:6), *hairetizō* (cf. Ps. 119:30), *areskō*, to have good pleasure in (Deut. 23:17), and *bouleuomai*, to prefer.

bāḥar, however, has in fact roughly the same range of meanings as the Gk. vb. For instance, in Isa. 40:20 it describes the choice of a suitable material (wood for an idol); in Gen. 6:2 the carefully considered choice of a wife, at the same time motivated by liking and desire; in Gen. 13:11 Lot's choice of the part of the land which seemed to him most favourable. In Prov. the niph. is used to portray an object as especially desirable in comparison to another. Understanding, fear of God, and wisdom, in short a devout and obedient life before God is to be preferred to gold and silver (Prov. 8:10, 19; 16:16). The vb. is also found in the sense of election by the people (cf. the Gk. election of *archontes*) of a king (1 Sam. 8:18). The participial forms *bāḥûr* and *bāḥîr* (again like the Gk.) can be used to describe specially chosen élite troops (cf. Jdg. 20:15 f.; 1 Sam. 24:2; 2 Chr. 25:5), or particularly suitable material (Exod. 14:7, chariots). *eklegomai* can even be used in the sense of a considered choice between several possibilities (the punishment to be imposed, 2 Sam. 24:12; or the promised reward, 2 Sam. 19:39). Finally it is used of the basic religious decision between Yahweh and other gods (Jos. 24:15), or between life in God's temple and life in the world of evildoers (Ps. 84:10).

(b) Besides *bāḥar*, *eklegomai* is also used to translate the rare vb. *bārar*, set apart, select, purge (e.g. 1 Chr. 16:41, of the dedication of priests for service before the ark; Ezek. 20:38, of the separation of rebels from the rest of the people). *eklektos* also appears a number of times for Heb. roots connoting loveliness, preciousness (Jer. 3:19; Hag. 2:7), or excellent condition (e.g. the cows in Gen. 41:2, 4). Here the adj. does not express the fact of being chosen, but in a wider sense factors already present which make choice likely.

(c) In the majority of cases where *bāḥar* (and thus *eklegomai*) is found, it is not man, but God, who does the choosing. Yahweh is the subject, the one who chooses. This is true particularly in Deut., the books of Samuel, Ki. and Chr., some of the Pss., and Isa. As the object of God's choice, the picture is as follows. In Deut., besides the people which God has singled out for a special mission (Deut. 4:37; 7:7; 14:2), it is above all the one place (Heb. *māqôm*; Gk. *topos*) excluding all others which God has appointed for his people as a centre for worship and the performance of his sacrifices (cf. Deut. 16:6 f.; 18:5 f.; 26:2). In 1 Ki. (cf. 11:13, 32; 14:21) and 2 Chr. (cf. 6:34, 38; 12:13) this is defined more closely as the city of David (→ Jerusalem on the choice of Zion). David is himself likewise described as chosen in this context (1 Ki. 8:16; 11:34). In the cultic sphere we also find the choice of the priests (Deut. 18:5; 1 Sam. 2:28; 1 Chr. 15:2; 16:41, also including Levites). Saul and David are regarded as having been chosen as kings (1 Sam. 10:24; 16:8–10; and especially 2 Sam. 6:21; but note the contrast between this and 1 Sam. 8:18). Finally, in the later chapters of Isa., the Deuteronomic statements about the election of the people (see above) are applied to the servant (Isa. 43:10), Jacob and Abraham (41:8), as representatives of the people.

2. The linguistic observation, that in the use of the Heb. and Gk. terms the emphasis is totally on the action of God, is strengthened still more by the fact that the part. *bāḥûr*, which points rather to the quality of the object, is not used of Israel as the chosen people. Theologically, this means that the OT – obviously quite consciously and consistently – is concerned to avoid the temptation of drawing attention to the importance or status of the nation. Rather it is to be directed to God's free acts of grace which indeed run counter to all human concepts of merit. For this reason the other participial form *bāḥîr* is used, although this is not apparent in the Gk. of the LXX (*eklektos* is used for both). *bāḥîr* (cf. 2 Sam. 21:6; Ps. 105:43; Isa. 42:1; 65:22) indicates that the purpose of the choice is some commission or service, and can only meaningfully retain its validity in its fulfilment. The whole Deut. outlook, as well as Isa., sees in this activity of God the creation among the nations of a new, quite different type of community. Its purpose is to show in Israel in the midst of world history God's sovereign acts, his grace, and the seriousness of his demands. The doctrine of election is thus an indissoluble part of the knowledge of God's holiness, uniqueness, and unconditioned sovereignty. It expresses the total claim he makes in keeping with these aspects of his nature. This line of thought reaches its climax in the passages of Isa. which speak of God's servant (→ Son of God, art. *pais theou*), where the latter appears as God's agent in the redemption of all mankind. God's election is not tied to and is certainly not based upon human qualifications. Nor does it create a position of privilege. Hence, it can only be meaningfully maintained, where it leads to a response to the love of God, to obedience, and to the kind of life which is presupposed by the commission and the → commandments. It is not a goal already reached, but a beginning which has to be confirmed. Therefore, we find at the same time a warning that God may reject again those whom he has drawn to him in this way (cf. 1 Sam. 16:1; Jer. 14:19).

The concept we are here considering is, however, elsewhere sometimes spoken of by means of other terms and metaphors, e.g. in language about the → covenant, the → love of God, God's knowledge (Amos 3:2), and the (new) creation (Deut. 32:6). From this it can be seen that Israel's consciousness of being chosen has its

roots in the patriarchal tradition (→ Abraham) and that of the exodus (→ Moses), but that it was more explicitly worked out during the exile and later. It was in the break-up of Israel's national existence that her religious and political boundaries were overcome and the way opened up into the wider world outside.

3. There is, however, a danger of thinking and speaking of those who are chosen, their qualifications and the difference between them and other people, as if man could dispose over election as an established fact. This is unavoidable, when the idea creeps in of an élite who deserve preference over the rest by reason of their struggles, sufferings, their stricter discipline or their greater self-sacrifice. Rab. theology, and even more so apocalyptic (→ Secret, art. *mystērion* OT), effected such a transformation in the interpretation of suffering in connection with the servant passages in Isa. It similarly saw proof of election in unyielding resistance in times of affliction (the infiltration of Hellenism, and the Jewish war). Thus the utmost importance came to be attached to the possession and knowledge of the Torah as a basis for belief in election, giving Israel an advantage over others (cf. 4 Ezr. 5:23 ff.). This was expressed particularly in thoughts of vengeance which also influenced this line of thought (cf. Eth. Enoch 62:11–15). Election thus became a status and privilege which can be recognized and achieved by means of dubious merits (cf. 1QM 10:9 f.). It is only a continuation of these ideas when the OT teaching about the difference between the true spiritual Israel and mere political and physical membership of the people, especially in the context of resistance to Hellenistic "infiltration", led the devout to separate themselves off into exclusive groups. Inevitably this brought the concept of individual election further to the fore (cf. 1QH 9:29 f.). This is especially apparent in the Qumran texts (e.g. 1QS 4:22; 8:1–15) in which consciousness of being chosen leads not only to a feeling of superiority over other nations, and over the ungodly in their own (the chosen are seen as judges, 1QpHab 5:4 ff.), but also to a direct hatred for those who have been rejected (1QS 1:4). Certain aspects of Pharisaic piety, e.g. their contempt for the common people (*'am hā'āreṣ*), are also expressive of such an attitude (→ Pharisee).

NT 1. In the NT, the vb. *eklegomai* and the part. *eklektos*, used as a noun, occur relatively seldom in comparison with the LXX (each 22 times). The noun *eklogē*, not found in the LXX (only in Aquila and Theodotion), is found 7 times, chiefly in Paul.

(a) Matt. and Mk. (except for 13:20) use only the part. in the plur. in the context of eschatological sayings. This use is clearly in the same sense as Jewish tradition, according to which the object of election (→ Redemption) is a body of people, even though it is spoken of as many individuals. (This is also made explicit in 1 Pet. 2:9, *genos eklekton.*) This rule applies in other instances of the word as well, though exceptions stand out. The sing. is applied to Jesus Christ in Lk. 23:35 (which corresponds to the verbal form in 9:35), Jn. 1:34 (*v.l.*), and 1 Pet. 2:4, 6. On the other hand, it is used only on one occasion (Rom. 16:13) of an individual church member. It occurs also in 2 Jn. 1 and 13 with *kyria* or *adelphē*, but the reference is hardly to individual persons, but rather to churches.

(b) Of the 22 instances of the vb., always mid., the majority occur in the writings of Luke. Otherwise, it occurs 5 times in Jn., 3 times in the same context in 1 Cor. 1, and once each in Eph., Jas. and Mk. 13 (along with part.). As far as the subject of

eklegomai is concerned, we may group the instances under four heads. (i) In 4 places in Acts (6:5; 15:22, 25; and possibly 1:24) the vb. indicates appointment by the church to a particular office (see above CL 2; cf. also the par. words under → Call, → Determine, Appoint, → Hand). (ii) Lk. 14:7 describes the self-esteem in which men indulge when they choose special seats at table (see above CL 3). (iii) In Lk. 10:42 Mary's decision to devote herself exclusively to the words of Jesus, to receive something rather than to be occupied with her own exertions, is described by saying that she has chosen the good part (see above CL 3 and 4; cf. 1 Sam. 15:22). (iv) In all other cases, it is used in connection with God's or Christ's work of election. Only one of the NT writers, however, John, consistently represents Christ as the agent of election (6:70; 13:18; 15:16, 19). Otherwise, there is only one instance, when Luke speaks (Lk. 6:13) of the selection of the Twelve (→ Apostle).

(c) The noun *eklogē* is used unambiguously and exclusively for God's act of election: in Rom. 9:11; 11:5, 7, 28, each time with reference to → Israel; in 1 Thess. 1:4 and 2 Pet. 1:10, where the church is reminded that God's election is the basis of her existence; and in Acts 9:15, the only case in which the meaning is slightly different, where Paul is described in the words of the exalted Lord as a *skeuos eklogēs*, vessel of election, i.e. an instrument by means of which God operates and makes effective his choice.

2. If we set aside as irrelevant to theological discussion those examples of the vb. in the writings of Lk. where it is used in the same way as is normal in classical Gk., we may concentrate our attention first on what is said about the circumstances and purpose of God's elective activity, and secondly on the unique position given to Christ or attributed to him in the thought of the biblical witnesses. It is necessary to speak in these terms, because all the statements about election arose as a result of reflection on the part of these witnesses to God's work after they had encountered him and been added to the church. It was then that they began to face the question of where the fundamental starting-point lay on their own road to → faith, and of what was the foundation of a → church which was able to survive temptation and persecution. In other words, they were asking themselves whether faith and → discipleship were the fruit of human temperament and human decision, or whether the secret lay elsewhere of how a response of obedience came to be made to the → call which went out through the → preaching of the → gospel, the word of the → cross. Statements about election are thus an attempt to express the truth that the existence of people of God can be explained only on the basis of God's plan (→ Foreknowledge), → will, and action, not from a series of human resolves. The problem is presented most clearly in Matt. 22:14 (in some MSS also at Matt. 20:16), where we find added to a parable the epigrammatic saying: "Many are called (*klētoi*), but few are chosen (*eklektoi*)." Here we may detect the surprise occasioned by a consideration of historical experience, which shows that evidently not all to whom God shows favour actually arrive at the goal of this call. This saying of Jesus directs attention to two facts: first, that between the first stage and the last God is active in relation to man; and second, that arrival at this goal is based solely on God's gracious choice.

3. In Rom. 9–11 Paul, whose whole outlook on life has been shaken to the roots, wrestles with this problem as it related to Israel's position before God in view of her → rejection of Christ. He comes to the conclusion that → Israel is counted as

God's chosen people because of a free decision of God, dependent not on any conditions, but solely on the One who elects. The nation continues to enjoy God's love in election not because of blood-descent, but because of his promise (Rom. 9:11 f.; 11:28). Since election was a free act of God's grace, not all have in fact reached the goal (cf. the Matthaean epigram above). But although the majority have gone astray, there remains a → remnant (Rom. 11:5, 7). Even God's elect, Israel, can for a time become enemies of God and of his message. But he does not abandon his aim, even though for the time being all seems lost. The interval during which Israel rejects God's purpose serves rather to extend the horizon of God's grace (Rom. 11:28 ff.). It means that (for the time being!) he shows favour to the Gentiles.

In one of the speeches of Paul in Acts (13:17), Lk. likewise draws attention to the choice of Israel through the patriarchs. He also gives expression to the Pauline thought of Rom. 11 in the address of Peter in Acts 15:7. This is the only passage in which *ta ethnē*, the nations or Gentiles (→ People), are expressly named as the object or the sphere of operation of God's elective activity. The barrier is now broken down; salvation (→ Redemption) has become universal. This does not mean, of course, that the mystery of God's electing grace has been fathomed. It is based on a plan, and yet it is not an automatic process which one could predict. It is the action of God in history which is always open to modification.

4. Is there any discernible reason for this activity of God in picking out those whom he chooses? Again it is Luke who hints at the answer in his gospel. When in the story of the transfiguration the heavenly voice bears witness to the greatness of Jesus (Lk. 9:35), Lk. substitutes for *agapētos* in the par. passages in Matt. and Mk. the word *eklelegmenos*, chosen. This is to show that the whole elective activity of God reaches its culmination in him, the Son, who abstains in his behaviour from every attempt to assert himself (cf. the mocking words of the rulers, Lk. 23:35). The use of the same title, which a few MSS put into the mouth of the Baptist at Jn. 1:34, is unlikely to be original. Jesus is God's chosen One. The ultimate goal of all previous election was to prepare the way for him to be revealed. If we add to this the teaching of 1 Pet., we find that through him is revealed also the lack of understanding among men, and even among his own people. The possibility of recognizing the work of God in and through him is closed to them. It is the One rejected and cast out by men (cf. 3 above) whom God makes his chosen cornerstone (*lithon eklekton akrogōniaion*, 1 Pet. 2:4, 6; cf. Ps. 118(117):22; Isa. 28:16 → Stone). The consequences of being God's chosen one becomes apparent in his life.

5. It is upon this cornerstone, Christ, that God builds up his church from the nations. At the same time the continuity of the → covenant is assured in him. As men are called by election, the church comes into being as the → body of Christ, the new *genos eklekton* (1 Pet. 2:9), the chosen race. Wherever we read of the election of the church (e.g. 1 Thess. 1:4), the underlying thought is that of the basis of its existence in Christ. It is significant how seldom this is in fact mentioned. Generally its existence is attributed directly to the → grace of God. However, in the "little apocalypse" (Mk. 13 par.) and Lk. 18:7, the church is spoken of as the elect (*eklektoi*). This is in the context of the → persecution which, as the "final gleanings of God" (Schrenk), they are to endure, the → suffering which they are to bear in the course of discipleship, and the protection which they will be given by

God, who entirely for their sake will go so far as to shorten the time (*koloboō*, Mk. 13:20 par.). Again, it is nothing but the fact that they belong to Christ that will protect the church's members from → judgment and condemnation (Rom. 8:33). With direct reference to the apostles but as an example of what is true of disciples generally, John shows Christ as the One who chooses and puts God's election into effect. In Jn. 6:70; 13:18; 15:16, 19, Jesus is the explicit subject (with an emphatic *egō*, I) of *eklegomai*. Lk. 6:13 likewise refers to the choice of the apostles, and so in its context does Acts 1:24. The chosen One of God is God's agent of choice. In Christ God's favour has already been bestowed upon man, and it comes to him effectively in the call which goes out and invites him through Christ.

6. If it be asked what are the principles which underlie God's choice, the only positive answer that can be given is that he bestows his favour upon men and joins them to himself solely on the basis of his own free decision and his → love which is not dependent on any temporal circumstances. This is probably the deeper meaning of Eph. 1:4, where *pro katabolēs kosmou*, before the foundation of the world, is surely not to be understood in a purely temporal sense. Rather it refers to a decision rooted in the depths of God's nature, like his *prognōsis* (foreknowledge) or *prothesis* (purpose). (Cf. here the chain of verbs in Rom. 8:29 f., whose tense suggests that all these actions are already past.) In any case, what is revealed of God's work of election runs right across all the usual human standards. With majestic independence he passes by those who are worthy of respect (or have they scornfully rejected his call?), and presents as his elect the poor (Jas. 2:5), the weak, the foolish and the despised of this world (1 Cor. 1:27 f.). Does this result in a pure *corpus electorum*, a community of the elect? As far as their character in God's eyes is concerned, yes, certainly. But the question attributed to Jesus in Jn. 6:70 gives food for thought. Among the company of the elect there is a devil! Is it possible to fall from grace? Certainly the assurance of election must never be allowed to turn into a false sense of security. As early as 1 Thess. 1:4, but stated more clearly in Col. 3:12 and 2 Pet. 1:10, we find the reminder of the manifestation of God's grace linked with an imperative, an exhortation also to live in it, to prove oneself as one whom God has sanctified (→ Holy). For it is only if and when faith is lived out, that election is evident (cf. Tit. 1:1). We can only really speak of election, when we also give due weight to what Jn. in particular emphasizes, but which is always implicit: the commission to fruit-bearing service, obedience and a God-fearing and God-trusting life. *L. Coenen*

→ Covenant, → Determine, → Foreknowledge, → Hard

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(b). E. B. Allo, "Versets 28–30 du *c.* VIII ad Romanos," *Revue des Sciences théologiques et philosophiques* 7, 1913, 263–73; and "Encore Rom. 8:28–30," op. cit. 13, 1924, 503 ff.; J. B. Bauer, "Röm. 8:28," *ZNW* 50, 1959, 106–12; A. Feuillet, "Le plan salvifique de l'Épître aux Romains," *RB* 57, 1950, 336–87 and 489–529; F. Hesse, *Das Verstockungsproblem im Alten Testament*, 1955; K. Koch, "Zur Geschichte der Erwählungsvorstellung in Israel," *ZAW* 67, 1955, 205 ff.; W. Kreck, "Die Lehre von der Prädestination," O. Weber, "Die Lehre von der Erwählung und die Verkündigung," E. Wolf, "Ehrwählungslehre und Prädestinationsproblem," in *Die Predigt von der Gnadenwahl*, *Theologische Existenz Heute* Neue Folge 28, 1951; R. Liechtenhan, *Die göttliche Vorherbestimmung bei Paulus und in der Posidonianischen Philosophie*, 1922; P. Maury, *La Prédestination*, 1957; J. Munck, *Christus und Israel. Eine Auslegung von Röm. 9–11*, 1956; F. Nötscher, "Schicksalsglaube in Qumran und Umwelt," *BZ* 3, 1959, 205–34, and 4, 1960, 98–121; E. Schweizer, "Zur Herkunft der Präexistenzvorstellung bei Paulus," *EvTh* 66, 1959; C. Schedl, "Bund und Erwählung," *ZTK* 80, 1958, 493 ff.; K. Stürmer, *Auferstehung und Erwählung*, 1953; T. C. Vriezen, *Die Erwählung Israels nach dem Alten Testament*, *AThANT* 24, 1953; H. Wildberger, *Jahwes Eigentumsvolk. Eine Studie zur Traditionsgeschichte und Theologie des Erwählungsgedankens*, 1960; G. E. Wright, E. L. Dietrich, J. Schneider, W. Pannenberg, "Erwählung," *RGG*³ II 610 ff.

Elijah

Ἠλίας — *Ἠλίας* (*Hēlias*), Elijah (Elias, Vulg., AV); Heb. *'ēlîyyâhû* or *'ēlîyyâh* (Yah(u) is God, BDB, 45).

OT 1. The OT account about Elijah is found in 1 Ki. 17 – 2 Ki. 2. Elijah came from Tishbe (so LXX, RSV, NEB) in Transjordan, and was active as a prophet in the Northern Kingdom of Israel in the first half of the 9th cent. B.C. The Carmel area became Israelite through his activity. He prepared for Jehu's revolution, which destroyed the dynasty of Omri which favoured absolutism and Canaanite culture and religion. Elijah took a stand on the position that in Israel Yahweh's claims alone should be recognized and faith in Yahweh should remain free from all Canaanite influences, and thus remain practical monotheism. Elijah was "jealous" for Yahweh (→ Zeal). He fought that the old faith in Yahweh should be maintained even under the changed conditions of a settled culture.

Elijah preached that it was Yahweh who guided the fortunes of men and nations. The forces of nature, e.g. the drought in 1 Ki. 17, for which the Baal cult had no explanation, were also under Yahweh's sovereignty and served to carry out his purposes. Yahweh demanded the rule of law and justice, and watched over the ethical and legal norms for life, to which the king also was subject. Yahweh, not Baal, had the power over life and death. Yahweh was the giver of rain and in addition of all the good things of settled life. He did not intervene merely at critical times in the affairs of the people. From this he deduced Yahweh's claim to sole obedience from his people. Yahweh revealed his character not merely in catastrophic expressions of his rage but also in the silence (cf. "a still small voice" [1 Ki. 17:12]). He worked quietly, hardly recognizable behind events (cf. "the waters of Shiloah that flow gently" [Isa. 8:6]). Elijah cast the old faith in Yahweh in a new mould and placed it on a new foundation. This justifies the tradition that places him beside Moses. Mal. 4:5 f. (MT 3:23 f.) presents Elijah as a figure of the Messianic age. He prepares the way for God, purifies the priests and creates peace.

2. In Inter-Testamental and Rab. Jud. three parallel concepts of Elijah's return were developed: (a) Elijah belonged to the tribe of Gad; he would prepare the way

for God and deliver Israel in the last days. (b) Elijah belonged to the tribe of Benjamin: he would be the forerunner of the Messiah. (c) Elijah belonged to the tribe of Levi: he would be the high-priest of the Messianic age.

In his life Elijah was sinless and so he obtained eternal existence. It was assumed that Elijah was the intercessor for Israel in heaven. He was also the one who rescued from greatest need. In post-NT times we find the idea that he was the heavenly scribe who made a record of the acts of men and especially that he kept a register of Israelite marriages. He accompanied the souls of the dead into the other world. Later Talmudic accounts tell how he had appeared to individuals, especially rabbis, in the form of a man or angel. (As with much Rab. haggadah it is questionable how much of this speculation was meant to be taken seriously.)

Sir. 48:10 expects that Elijah will have the task of restoring the tribes of Israel which in Isa. 49:6 is one of the tasks of the Servant of the Lord. Elijah thus receives a messianic function. It was widely believed that Elijah was a forerunner of the Messiah who proclaimed the coming days of salvation, fought against the Antichrist, introduced the Messiah, and sometimes anointed him. Since Mal. 3:1; 4:5 f. (MT 3:23 f.) were combined with 2:4, the expectation was reached that Elijah would be the eschatological high-priest. According to Mal. 4:6 (MT 3:24), Elijah is to reconcile men. He would restore pure doctrine and a pure community. He would clear up controversies in doctrine, law and difficult passages of Scripture. Hence many points in Jud. were left open. One awaited the coming of Elijah who would decide the matter. According to the Targum, God would gather the diaspora through Elijah and Moses. The Midrash on Ps. 43 says there are two deliverers, Elijah of the tribe of Levi and the Messiah of the house of David (cf. the expectation at Qumran that in the Messianic age there would be a priestly Messiah beside the Messiah from the tribe of Judah). Some thought that Elijah had been Phinehas, the son of Aaron (Exod. 6:25). According to R. Phineas b. Jair, Elijah would be involved in the resurrection of the dead (Sot. 9:15).

NT Elijah is mentioned 29 times in the NT (30 if *v.l.* in Lk. 9:54 is included). Lk. 4:25 f.; Jas. 5:17; and Rev. 11:6 refer to the historical details of his life. The statement in Jas. 5:17 that the drought lasted $3\frac{1}{2}$ years is based on Palestinian tradition (a legitimate deduction from the OT story). Lk. 4:25 f. is a threat by Jesus, that it may please God to offer salvation to the Gentiles to the exclusion of Israel. Jas. 5:17 stresses the power of prayer by quoting the example of Elijah. Lk. 9:54 refers to 2 Ki. 1:10, 12; cf. Sir. 48:3 (the reading "as Elijah did" is found already in the 2nd cent. in Marcion). Jesus rejected the suggestion that he should act like Elijah, for it was incompatible with his task to save and help.

In Mk. 15:34 f. and Matt. 27:46 ff., Jesus prayed in the words of Ps. 22:1(2) on the cross. This prayer was misunderstood by those standing by as a call to Elijah to help, since Elijah was the helper in need. Since Elijah did not intervene Jesus' Messianic claim could be considered a failure (A. Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Matthäus*, 1963⁶, 783). The NT does not know the concept of Elijah as helper in need, but only Jesus as such.

According to the NT, some expected Elijah to come before the dawn of the end (Mk. 9:11; Matt. 17:10). Some wondered whether John the Baptist was Elijah (Jn. 1:21, 25); others thought that Jesus himself was Elijah who had returned

(Mk. 6:15 par.; 8:28 par.). Mk. 9:11 expresses the Jewish expectation of Elijah as forerunner of the Messiah and restorer. Rev. 11:3 shows that it was expected that the restoration would come by the preaching of repentance. This expectation was based on Scripture, "first Elijah must come" (Mk. 9:11). The argument of the scribes was that since he had not come, Jesus could not be the Messiah. This was also the belief of the disciples. By stressing that Elijah had not yet come they wanted to refute Jesus' prophecy of his sufferings.

Jn. 1:21, 25 states that John the Baptist refused to accept that he was the eschatological Elijah. We have no grounds for doubting this, for it is an isolated statement contrasting with the more common affirmation that the appearance of John had fulfilled the expectation of the coming of Elijah. Mk. 9:11 ff. par. and Matt. 11:10–14 par. give this as Jesus' verdict on John. Matt. 11:14 ("if you are willing to accept it") shows that this was a new and unusual verdict. His statement meant that there was to be no pure, direct embodiment of Elijah in person, but also that the promise was fulfilled. It meant also that Jesus did not take the restitution in a political or national sense, but in a religious one through repentance and forgiveness. In addition Jesus saw his own fate foreshadowed in that of the Baptist (Mk. 9:13). The primitive church accepted Jesus' verdict and thereby confessed Jesus' Messiahship (Mk. 1:2; Lk. 1:16 f., 76).

Elijah appeared with → Moses at Jesus' transfiguration (Mk. 9:4 f. par.). Apocalyptic but not Rab. tradition knew of two forerunners of the Messiah (Eth. Enoch 90:31; 2 Esd. 6:26), normally Enoch and Elijah both of whom were raptured. But in Rev. 11:3–6 they are Moses and Elijah. When Moses and Elijah appear at Jesus' transfiguration, it is an announcement of the beginning of the end time. According to Mk. 9:12 f., Rev. 11:3 ff., and also non-canonical literature, Elijah is a suffering figure. That he appears at Jesus' transfiguration points to Jesus' coming sufferings and confirms his prediction of suffering (Mk. 8:31 f.; Lk. 9:31).

There is a tension between Rev. 11:3 ff. and the idea that John the Baptist was the fulfilment of the expectation of Elijah, for one of the two who preach repentance and are killed by the beast is Elijah, for the power "to shut the sky" (v. 6) refers back to 1 Ki. 17:1.

Paul refers to the OT story in Rom. 11:2 ff. He had gained the conviction from 1 Ki. 19:10, 14, 18 that also in Elijah's time God had separated for himself an elect, holy remnant, viz. those Jews who believed on Jesus as their Messiah.

H. Bietenhard

→ Messiah, → Moses, → Redemption

(a). G. H. Boobyer, *St. Mark and the Transfiguration Story*, 1942; C. E. Carlston, "Transfiguration and Resurrection," *JBL* 70, 1961, 233–40; D. Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, 1956, 20–26; J. Jeremias, *El(e)ias*, *TDNT* II 928–41; J. A. T. Robinson. "Elijah, John and Jesus", *Twelve New Testament Studies*, 1962, 28–52; H. H. Rowley, *Men of God*, 1963, 37–65; B. L. Smith, "Elijah," *NBD*, 363 f.; M. Thrall, "Elijah and Moses in Mark's account of the Transfiguration," *NTS* 16, 1969–70, 305–17; R. S. Wallace, *Elijah and Elisha*, 1957.
(b). H. Baltensweiler, *Die Verklärung Jesu*, *AThANT* 33, 1959; G. Fohrer, *Elia*, *AThANT* 31, 1957; W. Gerber, "Die metamorphose Jesu, Mark. 9, 2 f. par.," *ThZ* 23, 1967, 385–95; SB IV 764–98, Exkursus "Der Prophet Elia nach seiner Entrückung aus dem Diesseits"; A. Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Matthäus*, 1963⁶, 783; P. Volz, *Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde im neutestamentichen Zeitalter*, 1934, 195 ff.; C. A. Keller, "Wer war Elia?", *ThZ* 16, 1960, 298 ff.

Empty, Vain

The word empty refers to things, but it may be applied metaphorically to people. In the first instance, *kenos* means lit. empty (e.g. an empty well or house). When applied to people, it means devoid of sense, foolish, senseless. A life may be empty in the sense of being worthless or ineffective. The word *mataios* and its derivatives have an essentially more personal application. It is used in the sense of empty, useless, worthless, and futile. It denotes a person who falls short of God's standard and human norms. His life is illusory, motiveless, aimless, scandalous and foolish

κενός

κενός (*kenos*), empty, and thus fig. without content, basis, truth or power, without result or profit; κενόω (*kenoō*), to empty, and thus destroy, render void; κενοδοξία (*kenodoxia*), vanity, conceit, illusion, delusion, error; κενόδοξος (*kenodoxos*), conceited, boastful.

CL 1. *kenos*, found frequently from Homer onwards, means empty, as opposed to *plērēs* (full). It is thus used mostly lit. of things (e.g. an empty jug, pit [cf. Gen. 37:24], or house). But it is also occasionally used of persons (e.g. with empty hands [cf. Gen. 31:42]).

When used metaphorically in connection with things, *kenos* means either lacking content (e.g. *kenoi logoi*, empty words [cf. Plato, *Lach.*, 196b]), or a missing effect (especially in the expression *eis kenon*, in vain [*The Flinders Petrie Papyri*, II, 37, 1b, 12; Josephus, *Ant.*, 19, 96]). With people, *kenos* means hollow, shallow, lacking in judgment (*tou nou kenos*, empty in mind [Soph., *OC*, 931]), and also in the ethical sense of ineffectual, vain (Soph., *Ant.*, 709).

2. The vb. *kenoō* occurs from Herodotus onwards, meaning to empty, in the sense of either to plunder (Aesch., *Supp.*, 660; cf. Phil. 2:7) or to bring to nothing (Vettius Valens, II, 22p, 90, 7).

3. *kenodoxos* means vain-glorious, conceited. It denotes the man who has acquired an unfounded reputation (*kenē doxa*, vain repute, or glory, cf. Polyb., 27, 6, 12).

4. *kenodoxia* means either vanity, conceit, the futile thirst for glory (Polyb., 3, 81, 9) or error, delusion (Epictetus, p. 78, 7).

OT 1. Heb. has no exact equivalent to Gk. *kenos*. This is indicated by the fact that the LXX translates 19 different Heb. words by *kenos*. The most common of these is *rîq*, empty, worthless, vain. The commonest occurrence is in the prophets (especially Isa. and Jer.) and the later writings (especially Pss., Job, Sir.).

2. *kenos* is used mostly in the lit. sense of empty (e.g. Jer. 14:3, vessels; Exod. 3:21 and Deut. 15:13, empty-handed). But it also has a distinctive metaphorical sense. Jdg. 9:4 and 11:3 speak of *andres kenoi*, worthless men, who are not counted among the people of Yahweh and who are ready and willing to perform any kind of deed, even murder. The prophets spoke of turning away from Yahweh as giving oneself to vanity. The help that Israel sought from the Egyptians was worthless and empty (Isa. 30:7). Israel has forgotten Yahweh and offers sacrifice to vanity or nothing, i.e. the idols (Jer. 18:15). The idea of emptiness was sharpened in the message of the prophets as a deceptive power upon which no reliance can be placed (Isa. 29:8). It is unmasked as senselessness. Only Yahweh can help. The Lord's chosen ones shall not toil in vain (Isa. 65:23).

3. The term is found most frequently in the cries of Job. He resents the vain words (Job 27:12) and the empty comfort (21:34) of his friends. He sees not only the things around him but his own life sink into nothing. He laments the months of emptiness (7:3) and vain hope (7:6). He cries out: "Leave me alone! For my life is nothing" (7:16). He sees himself delivered to the curse of nothingness without reason. Unless Yahweh rescues him, he can only perish.

NT *kenos* occurs almost exclusively in the Pauline literature. It is very rare in the synoptics. The vb. *kenoō* occurs only in Paul.

1. *kenos* occurs in the parable of the vineyard, when the tenants send back the master's servants empty, i.e. empty-handed (Mk. 12:3; Lk. 20:10 f.; but not the par. in Matt. 21:35 f.). But Paul gives it a distinctive sense, especially in the negative expression *mē eis kenon*, not in vain. If in the LXX the idea denotes emptiness, vanity and nothingness, now the accent is on fruitlessness and inefficacy. Paul uses it to suggest that under certain circumstances certain things would be pointless, fruitless, or in vain. He can apply it to grace (2 Cor. 6:1), preaching (1 Cor. 15:14), missionary work (1 Thess. 3:5), and his own activity as an apostle (Gal. 2:2; Phil. 2:16). In all these cases the basic question is the power and effectiveness of Paul's mission. As the work of God, it is wrought in power in contrast to the empty, ineffective words of paganism (Eph. 5:6). For the apostle, the power of divine grace is put to the proof in the effectiveness of his preaching. Hence, neither his missionary work, nor grace, nor the kerygma are in vain.

2. With the vb. *kenoō*, on the other hand, the emphasis falls on emptying and making void. Significantly, Paul uses it again negatively and also passively. He speaks of certain things that cannot be made empty, i.e. made void. Among them are faith (Rom. 4:14), the cross of Christ (1 Cor. 1:17), and his boasting as an apostle (2 Cor. 9:3). The cross and faith form the central subject matter of the gospel and thus constitute its power. Hence, the offence of the cross which both condemns and saves should not be made void by word of worldly wisdom (1 Cor. 1:17). The saving way of faith should not be made void by justification through the law (Rom. 4:14).

3. The precise significance of *heauton ekenōsen* (Phil. 2:6) has been much discussed. The words mean lit. "he emptied himself." Most scholars regard Phil. 2:6–11 as a pre-Pauline hymn about Christ which Paul quotes in the course of his argument in order to illustrate his point, that Christians should be unselfish, humble and outgoing in their relationships, and thus have the mind of Christ. E. Käsemann (*Exegetische Versuche und Besinnungen*, I, 1950, 71 ff.) adopts the same approach as A. Oepke (*TDNT* III 661). He sees it against the Hel. background of a gnostic heavenly redeemer, involving the incarnation of the pre-existent Christ. He emptied himself in the sense that he freely exchanged his pre-existent, divine mode of being (v. 6) for common, human, earthly existence. According to Oepke, "What is meant is that the heavenly Christ did not selfishly exploit his divine form and mode of being . . . , but by his own decision emptied Himself of it or laid it by, taking the form of a servant by becoming man." He sees 2 Cor. 8:9 as the best commentary: "though he was rich, yet for your sake he became poor, so that by his poverty you might become rich."

A different view is taken by E. Lohmeyer (*Kyrios Jesus*, 1928) and J. Jeremias (*TDNT* V 711). They see the passage against the background of the early Palestinian church and Isa. 53. Jeremias points out that the expression "is not attested elsewhere in Gk., and is grammatically extremely harsh, [and] is an exact translation of *he'ᵉrâh . . . napšô*" (Isa. 53:12). Thus the passage should be translated: "he poured out his life" (Isa. 53:12). The passage would then refer, not to the incarnation as such, but to Jesus' self-surrender and the giving of his life on the cross. The former interpretation is, however, favoured if the passage is taken as a progression: v. 7 speaks generally of his becoming a man, and v. 8 of his humiliation and obedience to death on a cross. *E. Tiedtke, H.-G. Link*

Phil. 2:7 has played an important part in the discussion of christology. It has given rise to the doctrine of *kenōsis*, according to which Christ emptied himself or did not make use of some at least of his divine attributes during the period of his earthly life. Thus, he was not omnipresent, omniscient or omnipotent in his incarnate state. Scholars appealed to the gospels to show that Jesus was tired and had other bodily needs. He also disclaimed omniscience (Mk. 13:32). They then explained this in terms of a self-emptying of divine attributes which they found implied in Phil. 2:7.

The Lutheran *Formula of Concord* condemned the idea if not in name (Epitome VIII, Affirmativa 3–11, Negativa 20). A kind of kenoticism found devotional expression in the writings of Count Zinzendorf and in Charles Wesley's lines, "Emptied himself of all but love, And bled for Adam's helpless race." It was taught by Ernst Sartorius and W. F. Gess. But the most significant exponents of *kenōsis* in the 19th cent. were Gottfried Thomasius in Germany and Charles Gore in England.

In *Christi Person und Werk* I–III (1853–61) Thomasius endeavoured to state a doctrine of the incarnation which would answer the charges of radical critics like D. F. Strauss that the orthodox picture of Christ as divine and human was that of a historically inconceivable hybrid. Thomasius's answer was designed to show how Jesus could be thought of as God and yet at the same time living a life that was fully human. His reply was thus a restatement of dogmatic ideas to meet the exigencies of historical criticism. It may be noted, however, that whereas more liberal and radical attempts to restate who Christ was simply cut the knot and said that he was a man inspired by God comparable with the prophets, kenotic christology was an attempt to preserve the two-natures doctrine of Christ. Whereas the radicals said that Jesus was not divine, *kenōsis* replied that he was divine, but he did not possess or use all the divine attributes. For he deliberately accommodated himself to the common conditions of mankind. (For Thomasius see C. Welch, *God and Incarnation in Mid-Nineteenth Century German Theology*, 1965, 31–101.)

In *Lux Mundi* (1889) Gore appealed to *kenōsis* to reconcile liberal, critical views of the OT with the acceptance of Jesus' authority as a teacher. He explained that Jesus' views were at variance with modern criticism partly because he sometimes deliberately accommodated his teaching to his hearers and partly because Jesus himself was subject to the limitations of his time. In later writings Gore saw *kenōsis* as an expression of the divine humility in general in the way in which God deliberately limits himself in his dealings with mankind. In developing this teaching,

Gore, like Thomasius, was endeavouring to adapt a traditional orthodox christology to meet certain needs without surrendering altogether the divinity or humanity of Christ. (On Gore see C. Brown, "Charles Gore" in P. E. Hughes, ed., *Creative Minds in Contemporary Theology*, 1966, 354 ff., 367 ff.)

Kenotic christology has been questioned on two levels: (1) the theological questions that it raises; and (2) whether kenoticism is really implied by Phil. 2:7.

(1) The attributes of omniscience, omnipotence and omnipresence are in fact essential attributes of divinity. God would not be God without them. If Christ be divested of essential divine attributes, it is difficult to see how the doctrine of his divinity could still be maintained, as both Gore and Thomasius want to maintain it. It would make him, as the Arians believed, something less than God, but more than man. A further question which all orthodox christologies have to face is: What became of the cosmic functions of the divine Word (cf. Jn. 1:1 ff.; Col. 1:17; Heb. 1:3) during the period of the incarnation? Did the Word abandon them (as *kenōsis* seems to imply)? Or was it rather that the divine Word which sustains the universe was both in him, living out the divine life in this human life, and also outside him (as the doctrine of the *extra Calvinisticum* teaches)?

To resolve this dilemma the suggestion has been made there may be some analogy between the conscious mind's relation to the unconscious mind and Jesus' relationship with the divine Word. The conscious mind is only partly aware of its own workings, yet nevertheless it continues to work unconsciously. In a similar way, perhaps Jesus was aware only of what he needed to be aware of as the son and servant of man (cf. W. Sanday, *Christology and Personality*, 1911, 135 ff.).

(2) Neither the gospels nor Phil. 2 present the picture of the abandonment of any divine attributes. They do, however, show Jesus clearly accepting the status and role of a servant (Phil. 2:7; Mk. 10:45; Lk. 22:27; Jn. 13:4–16; 15:20; Matt. 10:24). The motive and guiding principle in all Jesus' actions was love, humility and obedience to the Father, as Phil. 2 shows (cf. Matt. 3:15; Jn. 5:19; 7:16; 15:10; 17:4; Gal. 4:4). As a servant, Jesus accepted the limitations that were the Father's will. Phil. 2 sees Christ as having a pre-existent state, the state of humiliation as a servant in his life and death, and a state of exaltation in which he is universally acknowledged as Lord. It is usual to take the various descriptions in vv. 7 and 8 as involving successive acts. But the emptying, the taking the form of a servant, and being born in the likeness of men were clearly not successive acts, for the birth is mentioned last. Similarly, the humbling and obedience were not stages which followed each other until they were replaced by the cross. Rather, these descriptions each apply to the whole of Christ's life, all of them culminating in the cross. It would seem that Phil. 2 does not demand that we should choose between the interpretations of Oepke and Jeremias, to the exclusion of one of them. Rather, the imagery of the passages makes use of both the picture of the pre-existent Christ and Isa. 53. The emptying of v. 7 is the outpouring of himself in life and also on the cross.

C. Brown

μάταιος

μάταιος (*mataios*), empty, fruitless, useless, powerless, worthless, futile; ματαιότης (*mataiotēs*), emptiness, futility, worthlessness; ματαιόω (*mataioō*), render futile; μάτην (*matēn*), in vain,

to no end; ματαιολογία (*mataiologia*), useless talk, empty prattle; ματαιολόγος (*mataiologos*), idle talker.

CL *mataios*, derived from *matē*, folly, fault, and *matia*, vain effort, means null as both cause and effect. Hence it means both fallacious, fictitious, groundless, and in vain, ineffectual, aimless.

In Gk. literature *mataios* and its cognates have as their background certain set values, moral standards, religious realities, recognized truths and facts. The conduct of anyone who ignores them wittingly or unwittingly, or disregards and transgresses them, falls under the judgment of being *mataios*. A man's life thus becomes a deceptive appearance. *kenos* which is also applied to such circumstances stresses the emptiness of things and people, who are thus empty, worthless or vain. The idea is especially common in the tragedies. Creon, blinded by lust for power and hate, feels himself duped by fortune and finally declares himself to be an *anēr mataios* (Soph., *Ant.*, 1339). Lit. this means an "empty man", but it amounts to being a "fool" or even a "criminal". For he has despised the divine warning and misused his freedom. The Gk. world counselled reflection and prudence to guard against such aberrations.

To check *mataiotēs*, Aeschylus coined the counter-idea *mē mataion* (*Suppl.*, 197 f.) which manifests itself in *sōphrosynē* (→ Discipline, Prudence). But surprisingly the idea receded in the later Gk. world. Gk. antiquity allowed itself to be carried away neither by scepticism into a thorough-going relativism, nor by nihilism. On the other hand, the gods did not possess the power effectively to overcome negative *mataiotēs*. Evidently the conflict between *mataios* and *mē mataion*, between man's mere appearance and his being, slackened off in a later age.

OT The LXX used *mataios* and *matēn* etc. to translate various Heb. words which denote different aspects of nothingness. The most frequent are: *heḇel* (breath, vanity, nothingness), *šāw'* (worthless, in vain, unfounded, deception), *kāzāḇ* (deception, imposture), *tōhû* (lit. desert, hence emptiness, unreality; adv. in vain), *ḥinnām* (in vain), *'āwen* (trouble, wickedness; also used for idolatry).

These words all denote the various ways in which man can resist the reality of God in his revelation and claims on him. The diversity of these Heb. words is an indication of the fact that the OT can express these truths in a much more varied and also more radical way than the Gk. tragedies. An example of Yahweh's uncompromising confrontation with vanity is the Third Commandment: "You shall not take the name of the Lord your God in vain" (Exod. 20:7). G. von Rad suggests that the original term here (*šāw'*) may originally have signified magic, adding that even in Israel it is conceivable that people were at times liable to use Yahweh's name for sinister purposes (*Old Testament Theology*, I, 1962, 183).

mataios occurs in the OT chiefly in 3 contexts: (1) as a designation of the lying words of false prophets; (2) in condemnation of the idols of foreign nations; (3) in statements about men and their lives.

1. Prophets who speak without being commissioned and utter the revelations of their imaginations as the Word of God speak vanity. Their words are lies and deception. They fall under the judgment of God. Anyone who follows them falls prey to vanity. He experiences it in the magisterial judgment of God which gives the lie to the words of the false prophets (Ezek. 13:6 ff.; Zech. 10:2; Lam. 2:14; Jer.

23:16 ff., the latter being the sole occasion when *mataioō* is used actively). Zeph. 3:13 promises the cessation of lies and vanity in the eschatological future.

2. *mataios* is often used as a designation of the idols, the making of idols, and of their worship. *ta mataia* (the empty things or vain things) is often used as a translation for the names of gods of foreign peoples (Isa. 2:20; 2 Chron. 11:15). They are "nothings", "nonentities" or "worthless gods" (cf. G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, II, 1965, 340; cf. Lev. 17:7; Jer. 2:5; 8:19; 10:15; 51:18; Jon. 2:9; in each case for Heb. *hebel*).

3. The godly man in the OT is not unaware of the futility and vanity of human life (Ps. 103:14 ff.; Job 14:1 ff. and often) and thought (Ps. 94:11). But in Eccles. this awareness is intensified to the point of extreme scepticism. "All is vanity" (Eccles. 1:2; cf. 2:1 and often). *mataiotēs* occurs more than 30 times for Heb. *hebel*. The Preacher's scepticism can understand neither God's government nor the meaning of his own life. There remains only the resignation of tragic existence which has no message but only lamentation for the vanity of existence. This may be partly explained by the distance in time from the mighty acts of God in history and the absence of God's intervention in the course of the world in the present. Nevertheless, he is held back from plunging into nihilism by such affirmations of life as Eccles. 2:25; 3:13; 7:14; 9:7 ff. There are overtones of resignation in the following passages which speak of the vanity of work and effort: "In vain have I smitten your children, they took no correction" (Jer. 2:30); "I have laboured in vain, I have spent my strength for nothing and vanity" (Isa. 49:4); "You have said, 'It is vain to serve God' " (Mal. 3:14). Each of these cases concerns the relationship between God and man.

NT *mataios* and its cognates occur in the NT only 11 times. They are absent from the Gospels, and occur only in Acts, the Pauline literature and Catholic Epistles. This may be compared with the frequent use of *mataios* in the prophets in contrast to the historical books of the OT. *mataios* in the NT means mostly empty, futile, vain. With the same sharpness as in the OT, the judgment *mataios* is passed upon everything that is opposed to God and his → commandments. It falls on: (1) the presumption of human thought (1 Cor. 3:20; Rom. 1:21); (2) pagan idolatry (Acts 14:15); (3) a deceitful way of life (1 Pet. 1:18; Jas. 1:26).

1. In 1 Cor. 3:20 Paul contends against Christian pseudo-wisdom. The cross of Jesus makes those who would be clever foolish before God and man. Paul finds confirmation of this in Ps. 94:11. The Lord "knows the thoughts of man, that they are but a breath." The "Christian" → wisdom of the wise stands in contrast to the foolishness of the cross which is God's wisdom for those who believe (1 Cor. 1:24; Rom. 1:21 see below). The cross appears foolishness, weakness and vanity to natural thinking. In 1 Cor. 15:17 Paul describes as vain a faith which denies the reality of the risen Christ. It is still under the power of sin. It would remove the basis of the kerygma, the message of Christ. It would be empty, just as faith in such a message would be empty. 1 Cor. 15:14 uses *kenos* twice. However, because the resurrection of Jesus actually happened as the act of God, faith is no "illusion" (*mataia*, v. 17).

2. The prophetic attack on idols is continued in missionary preaching (Acts 14:15). The revelation of God in Christ does not permit foreign gods, men or

images to be worshipped as divine. The gospel causes men to turn from these non-entities (Zeus and Hermes who were thought to be personified in the figures of Barnabas and Paul) to the living God.

3. 1 Pet. 1:14–18 contrasts the church's sanctified way of life with the pagan way. Christ's sacrificial death brings about redemption from the futile way of life inherited from their fathers (1:18). The Gentile Christian would understand *mataios* here as the worship of idols which is the root of his former unrestrained way of life. According to Jas. 1:26, a man's religion is vain when he is outwardly pious but at the same time deludes himself as to his real godless state by his unrestrained prattle (cf. 2 Pet. 2:18). The Catholic Epistles understand *mataios* as powerless life which denies the bodily obedience of Christian existence. It is this that they are contending with.

4. *mataiotēs*, vanity, is a recurring expression in the OT, especially in Eccles. In Rom. 8:20 Paul likewise sees the whole creation subject to vanity. It is in bondage to decay (v. 21). But this corruptibility also passes, because it is not self-elected but imposed upon it by the creator, so that he may reveal to it its future splendour. Thus there is not only sighing (v. 22), but a well-founded waiting for redemption from vanity (v. 19).

According to Eph. 4:17, *mataiotēs* is the characteristic of the pagan way of thought and life. In ingratitude man forsakes God, the fountain of life. In his thought he takes counsel only for himself, and in carrying out his vain thoughts he thwarts himself and the world he lives in.

5. In the NT *mataioō* occurs almost entirely in the passive in the sense of being given over to vanity (cf. Jer. 2:5). Rom. 1:21 speaks of men being responsible for this (cf. the discussion of 8:20 above, where the transitoriness of creatureliness is imposed by God). But man is given over to vanity because he ungratefully denies God the honour that is justly God's. It destroys his thinking, planning and action.

matēn, in vain, occurs in Matt. 15:9; Mk. 7:7; cf. Isa. 29:13. *mataiologia* (1 Tim. 1:6) means empty prattle, "vain discussion" (RSV). This comes about when men do not keep to what God has appointed for them: "love that issues from a pure heart and a good conscience and sincere faith" (1:5; cf. 2 Pet. 2:18). There are many "empty talkers" (*mataiologoi*, Tit. 1:10) and deceivers especially among the circumcision party. *E. Tiedtke*

→ Jesus Christ, → Fullness, art. *plēroō*, → Serve

(a). D. M. Baillie, *God was in Christ*, 1948; O. Bauernfeind, *mataios*, *TDNT* IV 519–24; G. C. Berkouwer, *The Person of Christ*, 1954, 27–31; H. W. Boers, *The Diversity of New Testament Christological Concepts* (Dissertation, Bonn), 1962, 114 ff.; G. Bornkamm, "On Understanding the Christ-hymn (Philippians 2.6–11)," *Early Christian Experience*, 1969, 112–22; A. B. Bruce, *The Humiliation of Christ*, 1900[5]; L. Cerfaux, *Christ in the Theology of St. Paul*, 1959; O. Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament*, 1963[2]; E. R. Fairweather, "The 'Kenotic' Christology," in F. W. Beare, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Philippians* (BNTC), 1959, 159–74; W. Foerster, *harpagmos*, *TDNT* I, 472 ff.; J. Harvey, "A New Look at the Christ Hymn in Philippians 2:6–11," *ExpT* 76, 1964–65, 337 ff.; J. Jeremias, *pais theou*, *TDNT* V 711 ff.; H. Johnson, *The Humanity of the Saviour*, 1962; R. P. Martin, *An Early Christian Confession: Philippians II. 5–11 in Recent Interpretation*, 1960; *Carmen Christi: Philippians ii.5–11 in Recent Interpretation and in the Setting of Early Christian Worship*, 1967; and *The Epistle of Paul to the Philippians*, 1959; W. R. Matthews, *The Problem of Christ in the Twentieth Century*, 1950; I. H. Marshall, "The Christ-Hymn in Philippians 2:5–11," *TB* 19, 1968, 104–27; E. L. Mascall, *Christ, the Christian and the Church*, 1946, 23–47; C. F. D. Moule, "Further Reflections on Philippians 2:5–11," in W. W. Gasque and R. P. Martin, eds., *Apostolic History and the Gospel, Biblical and Historical Essays presented to*

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(b). G. Braumann, *Vorpaulinische christliche Taufverkündigung bei Paulus*, *BWANT* 5, 2, 1962, 56 ff.; A. Feuillet, "L'hymne christologique de l'épître aux Philippiens," *RB* 27, 1965, 352 ff., 418 ff.; D. Georgi, "Der vorpaulinische Hymnus, Phil. 2:6–11," in E. Dinkler, ed., *Zeit und Geschichte, Dankesgabe an Rudolf Bultmann*, 1964, 263 ff.; E. Haenchen, "Die frühe Christologie," *ZTK* 63, 1966, 152 f.; P. Henry, "Kénose," *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, Suppl. V, 1957, 56 ff.; J. Jeremias, "Zur Gedankenführung in den paulinischen Briefen," *Studia Paulina*, Festschrift J. de Zwaan, 1953, 152 ff. (= *Abba*, 1966, 269 ff.); and "Zu Phil. 2, 7," *NovT* 6, 1963 182 ff. (= *Abba*, 1966, 308 ff.); L. Krinentzki, "Der Einfluss von Jes. 52, 13 ff. auf Phil. 2, 6 ff.," *ThQ* 139, 1959, 157 ff., 291 ff.; E. Lohmeyer, *Kyrios Jesus. Eine Untersuchung zu Phil. 2, 5–11*, (1928) 1961[2]; O. Michel, "Zur Exegese von Phil. 2, 5–11," in *Theologie als Glaubenswagnis, Festschrift Karl Heim*, 1954, 79 ff.; W. Schmauch, *Beiheft zu E. Lohmeyer, Die Briefe an die Philipper, Kolosser und an Philemon, KEK* 9, 1964[13], 19 ff.; and "Das Heilsgeschehen in Christo Jesu. Zur Interpretation von Phil. 2, 5–11," in "... *zu achten aufs Wort.*" *Aufsätze*, ed. W.-C. Schmauch, C. Grengel and M. Punge, 1967, 37 ff.; G. Strecker, "Redaktion und Tradition im Christus-Hymnus Phil. 2, 6–11," *ZNW* 55, 1964, 63 ff.; K. Wegenast, *Das Verständnis der Tradition bei Paulus und den Deuteropaulinen*, *WMANT* 8, 1962, 83 ff.; K. Wengst, *Christologische Formeln und Lieder des Urchristentums* (Bonn Dissertation), 1967, 137 ff.

Enemy, Enmity, Hate

When our relationships with others rise above absolute indifference, they are conditioned by basic attitudes which may be positive or negative in character. The NT describes an inward attitude which is directed positively towards the well-being of another as → love or friendship, and the esteem which derives from such an attitude as → honour. The opposite concepts are enmity and hatred.

miseō, hate, originally denoted the resentment which arises when someone feels himself injured by the behaviour of another (→ Suffer). This meaning is also broadened to include an active element (→ Persecution, art. *diōkō*). *echthros* and its cognates, on the other hand, derive from the Gk. *echthos*, hatred, and convey rather the fixed idea of irreconcilable, deep-rooted enmity. An *echthros* is someone from whom one can expect only harm and danger, or at least from whom one imagines that this is what one should expect. → also Foreign.

ἐχθρός ἐχθρός (*echthros*), hostile, hated, enemy; ἔχθρα (*echthra*), enmity; ἀντίδικος (*antidikos*), enemy, opponent.

CL *echthros* in the pass. sense, hated, hateful (Homer); in the act. sense, hostile, enemy, opponent (Hesiod). *antidikos* is originally an opponent, standing over against one in a trial (Xen.), hence, enemy, adversary.

OT In the LXX *echthros* occurs more than 450 times, usually to translate *'ôyēḇ*, but also *ṣar*. *echthroi* are enemies in military conflicts, the nations with which one is in a state of war (1 Sam. 29:8; Nah. 3:11, 13), and also a man's personal enemies (Exod. 23:4; Num. 35:23; Ps. 5:8; 13:3). In the case of Israel's enemies it is not a matter merely of national enemies in the normal sense. Since Israel is God's people,

its enemies are also God's enemies (Exod. 23:22; Jos. 7:8; 2 Sam. 12:14 LXX). When the people fall away from God, God's enemies are to be found within Israel itself (Isa. 1:24). The ungodly man is the enemy of the righteous (Ps. 5:8 ff.; 55:3) and of God (Ps. 37:20). Hope for the future centres upon deliverance from enemies and their destruction (Mic. 5:9; Isa. 62:8; Num. 24:18; Ps. 110:1 f.; 132:18). In the Pseudepigrapha → Satan is occasionally described as the "enemy" (Test. Dan 6:3 f.; Apc. Mos. 2, 7, 25; Gr. Bar. 13:2).

NT In the NT *echthros* occurs 32 times (of which 16 are in the Synoptic Gospels, and 9 in Pauline writings), *echthra* only 6 times (4 times in Pauline writings), and *antidikos* 5 times.

1. *echthros* is first of all someone's personal enemy (Rom. 12:20; Gal. 4:16). OT usage is taken up in the idea that the coming of the era of salvation implies deliverance from enemies (Lk. 1:71, 74). In the prophecies concerning Jerusalem, it is said that enemies will besiege and destroy the city (Lk. 19:43). Enemies rise against the two eschatological witnesses (Rev. 11:5, 12). The enemies of the cross of Christ will come to grief (Phil. 3:18; Acts 13:10). Enemies of Christ are referred to again in those passages where Ps. 110:1 is cited as a prophecy of Christ (Matt. 22:44; Mk. 12:36; Lk. 20:43; Acts 2:35; 1 Cor. 15:25; Heb. 1:13; 10:13). In 2 Thess. 3:15 the reference is to an enemy of the church, with whom fellowship is to be broken off. Satan, too, as in certain pseudepigraphical writings, can be described as *echthros* (Matt. 13:24 ff.; Lk. 10:19) and even *antidikos* (1 Pet. 5:8). Possibly here the thought is that of → accuser in the final judgment, for *antidikos* is found otherwise in the NT only in the sense of opponent in the lawcourt (Matt. 5:25; Lk. 12:58; cf. 18:3).

Since the natural man rebels against God in his thought and action, he is an *echthros* in relation to God (Rom. 5:10; Col. 1:21). According to Rom. 11:28, those Jews who do not yet believe are "enemies" for the Gentiles' sake. Because of the stubbornness and unbelief of the Jews, the gospel, God's salvation, comes to the Gentiles.

When in Matt. 5:43 f. the command to love one's neighbour is contrasted with a call to hate one's enemy, the reference can scarcely be to any OT passage (cf. Ps. 31:6a; 139:21f.). It may well be more to the point to compare certain regulations of the Qumran community. Those who belong to this community undertake to "love all that he (God) has chosen, and hate all that he has rejected" (1QS 1:3); and further, to "love all the sons of light, each according to his lot in God's community, and hate all the sons of darkness, each according to his guilt, in God's vengeance" (1QS 1:9 f.). The Levites curse "all the men of the lot of Belial" (1QS 2:4–9), a group to which all ultimately belong who are not members of the Qumran community. Josephus also reports that the Essenes had to swear to hate the unrighteous and to support the just (*War* 2, 8, 7(139)). It is highly possible that in Matt. 5:43 f. Jesus was dissociating himself from the regulations of a contemporary sect, and that it was with such ideas in mind that he introduced the commandment to love one's enemies.

2. *echthra*, hate, enmity, existed between Herod Antipas and Pilate (Lk. 23:12), but as a result of their common action against Jesus this turned into friendship. In the catalogue of sins in Gal. 5:19 ff. *echthra* is explicitly named as one of the

"works of the flesh" (v. 20). The "mind set on the flesh" is *echthra* against God (Rom. 8:7, RSV "hostile to God"). Christ, however, has brought peace, in that he has removed the hostility between God and man and the hostility between Jews and Gentiles through his cross (Eph. 2:14, 16). *H. Bietenhard*

| μισέω |

μισέω (*miseō*), hate.

CL *miseō* (etymology uncertain) attested since Homer, means hate, abhor, reject.

The vb. connotes not only antipathy to certain actions, but also a permanent and deep-seated human hostility towards other men or even the deity. It is further used of the gods' abhorrence of the base aspects of man's nature (Eur., *Or.* 708 f.), and divine hatred of unrighteous men who are the objects of divine punishment (especially Aesch.; cf. *TDNT* IV 683 f.).

OT 1. The Heb. equivalent of the LXX *miseō* is nearly always *śānē'*. This can mean:

(a) Hate, as an emotional impulse. Joseph's brothers hated him because he was the favourite (Gen. 37:2 ff.). Wisdom teaches that hatred stirs up strife, but love covers all offences, *p*^{e}*šā'îm* (Prov. 10:12). All a poor man's brothers hate him; indeed, even his friends are far from him (Prov. 19:7 LXX). Yahweh however forbids hatred against a member of Israel and commands that love be extended to him as to oneself (Lev. 19:17 f.).

(b) The pass. *miseomai*, especially the part. *misoumenē*, can also be used of a wife who is not loved (Gen. 29:31, 33; Deut. 21:15 ff.; 22:13 ff.; Isa. 60:15). The transformation of strong desire into utter loathing is portrayed in 2 Sam. 13.

(c) The term haters is often a synonym for enemies (Deut. 7:15; 30:7; 2 Sam. 22:18; Ps. 18:17); also where the reference is to enemies of God (Num. 10:35; Ps. 68:1; 139:21). Similarly one's enemies are those whom one hates oneself (Ezek. 16:37; 23:28). It does not make sense to love those who hate one and to hate those who love one (2 Sam. 19:6 f.).

(d) Those who hate God are also those who are disobedient to him (Exod. 20:5; Deut. 5:9; 7:9–11). They hate anyone who reproves them in the name of Yahweh (1 Ki. 22:8; Amos 5:10; cf. Ps. 50:17; Prov. 5:12). They hate right knowledge (Prov. 1:22, 29), the righteous (godly) man (Ps. 34:21; 69:4; 9:13; 69:14; Prov. 29:10) and the man of discretion (Prov. 14:17).

(e) God hates wickedness (Jer. 44:3 f.; Zech. 8:17; Mal. 2:16, divorce) and the man who does it (Hos. 9:15; Jer. 12:8; Ps. 5:5, an aphorism; Prov. 6:16 ff.). Israel therefore is also to hate wickedness (Amos 5:15; cf. Ps. 119:104, the way of lying; 26:5, the company of evildoers; Ps. 139:21 f., those who hate God).

(f) To hate oneself is folly. He who despises correction hates himself (*napšô*, lit. "his soul", Prov. 15:32; cf. 29:24).

2. Ancient Judaism recognized the destructive power of hatred. Baseless hatred destroyed the second temple, for hatred is more serious than immorality, idolatry and the shedding of blood put together (*Yoma* 9a). At the same time there is a hatred which is commanded. "Hate the Epicureans [free-thinkers], those who seduce and mislead, and likewise those who betray" (Ab. R.N. 16; cf. Ps. 139:21 f.). "It is forbidden to harbour feelings of anger and revenge against the sons of the people [sc. and fully-fledged proselytes], but not against others" (Siphra on Lev. 19:18;

cf. SB I 358 on Matt. 5:43 f.). The Qumran community spoke in similar vein. Its members were to "do what is good and righteous before Him [God] as He commanded by the hand of Moses and all His servants the Prophets . . . [to] love all the sons of light, each according to his lot in God's design, and hate the sons of darkness, each according to his guilt in God's vengeance" (1QS 1:2 f., 9–11; cf. 9:21–23).

NT *miseō* occurs 39 times in the NT (20 times in the Johannine writings alone).

1. According to the preaching of Jesus, God now accepts his enemies as sons (Matt. 5:43 ff.; Lk. 15:11 ff.). Hence it no longer makes sense for the righteous to hate "the sons of darkness" (1QS 1) and wayward spirits (see above OT 2). Rather, in the name of God Jesus demands: "You have heard that it was said, 'You shall love your neighbour and hate your enemy.' But I say to you, Love your enemies" (Matt. 5:43 f.); "Do good to those who hate you" (Lk. 6:27). It is of course right for the Christian church, as for "the Son" (Heb. 1:9), to hate evil and evil deeds (Rev. 2:6; cf. also Jude 23 "hating even the garment spotted by the flesh", probably to be understood, in view of Zech. 3:3 f., as a metaphor for *anomia*, lawlessness, of the wearers, who have fallen into a heresy, probably with libertine teachings; cf. Rev. 3:4). Within the church, however, "He who says he is in the light and hates his brother is in darkness still" (1 Jn. 2:9). "Anyone who hates his brother is a murderer" (3:15; cf. 4:20). In the last days there will be hatred even within the church (Matt. 24:10). But this is really the mark of non-Christian humanity (Tit. 3:3).

2. Jesus' radical command to love one's enemies brings the disciples into line with God's action towards good and evil men (Matt. 5:45 ff.; Lk. 6:35). But Jesus could also say: "If anyone comes to me and does not hate his own father and mother and wife and children and brothers and sisters, yes, and even his own life, he cannot be my disciple" (Lk. 14:26; cf. Jn. 12:25). Like God himself (Deut. 13:6 ff.), Jesus thus requires that obedience to God must take precedence over all human obligations. God's own action and demands are represented in him, Jesus. The world, however, like everyone who does evil, hates the light (Jn. 3:20). It hates the Revealer without cause (Jn. 15:25), because he bears witness that its works are evil (Jn. 7:7). This hatred is directed also against Jesus' disciples (Matt. 10:22; Mk. 13:13; Lk. 21:17; Jn. 15:18 ff.; 17:14; 1 Jn. 3:13). They are counted blessed when men hate them (Lk. 6:22) for the Revealer's sake (Matt. 5:11). Those, on the other hand, who do not reckon themselves separated from the world (the brothers of Jesus) are not hated (Jn. 7:7).

3. Paul uses *miseō* in two difficult passages. (a) In Rom. 7:15 he says of man under the → law. "I do not understand my own actions; for I do not do what I want, but I do the very thing I hate." The reference is not to man's inability to become righteous in terms of God's law (as Phil. 3:6 shows), but his inability to discern what is the outcome of his endeavour to fulfil the law. For he does not attain to life, as he wants, but to death which he hates, since sin is able to make use even of the law for its own ends and cannot therefore be restrained by the law.

(b) In Rom. 9:13 Paul cites from Mal. 1:2 f.: "Jacob I loved, but Esau I hated". This means that even before the two sons of Isaac could give any grounds for acceptance or rejection, God chose the younger one, Jacob, as the heir of his promise,

and rejected Esau, the older brother, in order to show that his salvation rests on his promise (*epangelia*) alone, and not on natural descent or similar prerogatives (cf. Rom. 9:7 f., 11 f. Gen. 25 and 28; → Israel).

4. *miseō* is used in a sense completely in line with OT usage at Lk. 1:71 (of enemies) and Rev. 18:2 (of unclean → birds, loathed by God). *H. Seebass*
→ Brother, → Love

(a). G. W. Anderson, "Enemies and Evildoers in the Book of Psalms", *BJRL* 48, 1965–66, 18 ff.; H. Birkeland, *The Evildoers in the Book of Psalms*, 1955; A. Carr, "The meaning of 'Hatred' in the New Testament," *The Expositor* VI, 12, 1905, 153–60; B. S. Childs, "The Enemy from the North and the Chaos Tradition," *JBL* 78, 1959, 187–98; W. D. Davies, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount*, 1964, 211 ff., 245 f., 405 ff.; W. Foerster, *echthros*, *TDNT* II 811–16; O. Michel, *miseō*, *TDNT* IV 683–94; J. Scharbert, "Enemy", *EBT* I 220–24; M. Smith, "Mt. v 43. Hate thine enemy," *HTR* 45, 1952, 71 ff.; F. L. R. Stachowiak, "Hatred," *EBT* I 351–55; E. F. Sutcliffe, "Hatred at Qumran," *Revue de Qumran* 2, 1959–60, 345–56; O. J. F. Seitz, "Love your Enemies," *NTS* 16, 1969–70, 39–54; commentaries on the *Psalms* by A. Weiser, 1962; and A. A. Anderson, I–II, 1972.

(b). W. Bleibtreu, *Paradoxe Ansprüche Jesu*, 1926, 15–35; P. Jedzink, *Das Gebot der Nächstenbliebe im Evangelium*, 1916; H.-J. Kraus, "Die Feinde des Einzelnen," in *Psalmen*, I, 1960, 40 ff.; J. Nikel, *Das Alte Testament und die Nächstenliebe*, 1913; A. F. Puukko, "Der Feind in den Psalmen," *Oudtestamentische Studien* 8, 1950, 47–65; J. Ridderbos, *De Psalmen*, I, 1955, 382–408; SB I 353–68; H. Schmidt, *Das Gebet des Angeklagten*, 1928.

Envy

φθονέω

φθονέω (*phthoneō*), be envious; φθόνος (*phthonos*), envy.

CL In secular Gk., *phthoneō* can mean to bear ill-will of a general kind, but more often it is used specifically to express the envy which makes one man grudge another something which he himself desires, but does not possess. The noun *phthonos* is used in a similar way. Frequently it appears with *zēlos*, jealousy, but several classical writers are careful to distinguish between these two apparent synonyms. Aristotle, for example, defines *zēlos* as the desire to have what another man possesses, without necessarily bearing a grudge against him because he has it; while *phthonos* is concerned more to deprive the other man of the desired thing than to gain it. "The envious are those who are annoyed only at their friends' successes" (Xenophon).

OT Neither *phthoneō* nor *phthonos* appears in the canonical literature of the LXX, though the idea is apparent in such verses as Prov. 14:30, and the noun is found in the apocryphal writings of I Maccabees and Wisdom (where the coming of death into the world is attributed to the devil's *phthonos*, Wis. 2:24).

NT In the NT *phthoneō* is found only once (in Gal. 5:26, where "envying one another" is set in sharp contrast to "living by the Spirit"). *phthonos* occurs nine times in all: (a) In the Epistles it features in several lists of bad qualities which characterize the unredeemed life. It is one of the "works of the flesh" which are opposed to the "fruit of the Spirit" in Gal. 5:19–24. It marks out those whom God has given up to a "base mind" (*adokimon noun*, Rom. 1:29). It is a feature of life before conversion (Tit. 3:3), to be "put away" by those who "grow up to salvation"

(1 Pet. 2:2). And it is symptomatic of pseudo-Christian teaching which trades on controversy and wordy dispute (1 Tim. 6:4).

(b) The phrase *dia phthonon*, "because of envy", describes the evil motives of those who delivered Jesus to Pontius Pilate (Mk. 15:10 par.). The same expression reappears in Phil. 1:15 (bracketed with *eris*, "strife" and contrasted to *eudokia*, "good will") to expose the motivation of those who preached the gospel from a desire to undermine Paul's evangelistic reputation, rather than share his gift.

(c) Jas. 4:5 may provide the only example of *phthonos* used in a good sense, but the translation of this verse in notoriously difficult. Following RSV, God "yearns jealously (*pros phthonon*) over the spirit which he has made to dwell in us". The description of God as the jealous lover who cannot brook a rival is prominent in the OT, but the Gk. word used to translate the Heb. *qin'âh* in this context is *zēlos*, not *phthonos* (cf. Zech. 1:14). Thus NEB (e.g.) prefers to take the (human) spirit as the subject of the sentence in Jas. 4:5, giving *phthonos* its more usual bad sense of envy.

D. H. Field

R. C. Trench, *Synonyms of the New Testament*, 1880, 86 ff.; W. Barclay, *Flesh and Spirit*, 1962 44 ff.; S. S. Laws, "Does Scripture speak in vain? A reconsideration of James iv. 5," *NTS* 20, 1973–4, 210 ff.

Escape, Flee

φεύγω

φεύγω (*pheugō*), escape, flee, avoid; ἀποφεύγω (*apopheugō*), flee from, avoid; φυγή (*phygē*), flight.

CL The *pheugō* word group derives from Indo-European *bheug-* (cf. Lat. *fugere*). From the time of Homer, its most common meaning is "flee", "take flight", whether absolutely, or from someone or something (Homer, Plato, Herodotus, etc.). The present and imperfect tenses often express only the purpose or endeavour to get away. Hence the compounds *apopheugō*, *katapheugō*, *ekpheugō*, or *propheugō* may be added to the participle *pheugōn* in a sentence to denote the escape itself. The accusative (and occasionally the genitive) with *pheugō* specifies that which is being "shunned", "escaped from", or "avoided" – whether death and war (Homer), evil (Demosthenes), or the consequences of murder (Euripides). Metaphorically reins may "escape from" the hands of the charioteer. Because a person may flee his country, the articular participle refers to "the exile(s)" (Homer, Xenophon, Thucydides); and since such people may well have been banished, by a natural extension the active verb itself takes on the quasi-passive force of "be banished", "be expelled" (Herodotus, Xenophon, Dinarchus). Similarly *phygē* comes to mean "exile", "banishment". In Attic Greek, both *pheugō* and *apopheugō* occur as law-terms. The *pheugōn* is the defendant, as opposed to the *diōkōn*, the prosecutor; and *pheugein graphēn* (or *dikēn*) means "to be put on trial", while an added genitive (e.g. *phonou*, murder) specifies the charge. To escape the prosecutors (*apopheugein tous diōkontas*) therefore means "to be acquitted".

OT In the LXX the *pheugō* word group represents eight different Heb. roots, the most important of which are *nûs* (flee, escape, depart, take flight, fly to the attack) and *bāraḥ* (go through, flee, hasten quickly). Unlike the secular literature, the LXX does not yield examples of a legal idiom, but offers more instances of

flight in a moral context: e.g. flight from an unbearable friend (Sir. 22:22), or from sin (Sir. 21:2); flight to the Lord or to the altar (3 Ki. 2:29), or flight based on fearful ungodliness (Prov. 28:1). The Jewish background is also revealed by a pedantic translation of Heb. idiom, e.g. the large number of times the Israelites "flee to their tents". Cf. also the stilted idiom of 2 Ki. 18:3; Job 27:22. On the whole *pheugō* is avoided when the Heb. original means something less than rapid flight: e.g. in Cant. 2:17; 4:6 the Heb. verb *nûs* is used for the "departing" shadows of night; but *pheugō* is not used. Contrast Cant. 8:14. The noun *phygē* always means "flight" or "escape", although in Ps. 141:4 the thought is close to "refuge". In Philo and Josephus the word-group is more restricted to the concepts of physical "flight" and "escape" than in the LXX.

NT (a) In the most literal sense, Joseph was ordered to flee to Egypt with Mary and the infant Jesus (Matt. 2:13); and the disciples when persecuted in one city were to flee to the next and continue their ministry (Matt. 10:23). Similarly there is no shame in the flight of the sheep from false shepherds (Jn. 10:5), nor in the escape from the sword accomplished by men of faith (Heb. 11:34). Indeed, the believers in Jesus' day were commanded to flee to the mountains when Jerusalem appeared in danger (Matt. 24:16 = Lk. 21:21; cf. Matt. 24:20, the only occurrence of *phygē* in the NT). On the other hand, fear is attached to the flight of the swineherds (Mk. 5:14 par.) and to the escape of Moses (Acts 7:29); cowardice to the hirelings (Jn. 10:12); irresponsibility and unbelief to the sailors manning the boat which conveyed Paul towards Rome (Acts 27:30); and shame to the total abandonment of Christ by the disciples in the Garden (Mk. 14:50, 52 par.). Jesus himself is never said to flee, unless we accept the weaker *v.l.* of Jn. 6:15. The devil, however, will flee from men if he is resisted (Jas. 4:7).

(b) Both John the Baptist and Jesus warn men to flee from the wrath to come, from the judgment of hell, in contexts urging tangible evidence of genuine repentance (Matt. 3:7 = Lk. 3:7; Matt. 23:33). Repentance thus becomes evidence of such flight.

(c) Related to this is the epistolary exhortation to flee from moral evil. The Corinthians are told to avoid fornication (I Cor. 6:18) and idolatry (10:14); Timothy to flee youthful lusts (2 Tim. 2:22) and assorted vices (I Tim. 6:11), and pursue such virtues as righteousness, godliness, faith, love, etc. 2 Pet. 1:4; 2:18, 20 use *apopheugō* in the sense of "escape", rather than "flee", the escape being from the corruption of the world. If one successfully escapes such defilements and then returns to them, the end depravity is incomparably worse than the first entanglement.

(d) *pheugō* is used metaphorically in the majestic apocalyptic panoramas of Revelation. The woman flees to the desert (12:6). When men seek death, it flees from them (9:6). The islands flee and the mountains disappear in God's fierce wrath (16:20); indeed, before the face of his majesty, heaven and earth flee away (20:11). *D. A. Carson*

Eunuch

εὐνοῦχος

εὐνοῦχος (*eunouchos*), eunuch; εὐνουχίζω (*eunouchizo*), castrate.

CL The Greeks themselves explained *eunouchos* as a compound of *eunē*, bed, and *echō*, hold. Hence it meant a holder or guardian of the bed. There is, however, the view that it is really a Sem. loan word. Primarily it meant a guardian of the harem. This office was normally carried out by those who had been castrated, and so the word came to mean eunuch, as we understand the term. Sometimes when the term is used of a high official of state (cf. Acts 8:27), it is no longer clear whether we are to take it literally, or whether "eunuch" has become a mere title. The term is used fig. of castrated animals and of plants that do not bear seed. The vb. *eunouchizō*, found only twice in classical literature, is used only for the act of castration.

OT Almost half the OT occurrences are in Est. Where no stress seems intended, we must take *sārîs* as a court official without our being able to affirm whether or not he was castrated (cf. Gen. 39:1, Potiphar; Gen. 40:2, Pharaoh's chief butler and baker; 1 Sam. 8:15 and in Kings generally). Etymologically *sārîs* has nothing to do with castration. If it acquired the meaning of a eunuch, it was because many court officials fell into this class. It is purely a title. The eunuch was excluded from the community of Israel (Deut. 23:1). This separated Israel from the fertility cults of its neighbours which found their climax not merely in the *hieros gamos* and sacred prostitution, but also in self-castration to the glory of the deity. This latter is attested in the cults of Cybele, the Magna Mater, in Asia Minor, of Attis, and of the Ephesian Artemis. In the last days the eunuch who had been excluded will find a place in God's salvation (Isa. 56:3 ff.).

Rab. Judaism, like the OT, rejected castration. It differentiates, however, between those who are sterile because of physical malformation and those who have been made eunuchs by men. The reason is basically the command to marry which was deduced from Gen. 1:28. Probably as a result of Hel. influence a certain laxness had come in the NT period. Josephus tells us that Herod had eunuchs at his court (*War*, 1, 488).

NT In the NT the treasurer of Queen Candace is called a eunuch (Acts 8:27), but perhaps it should not be taken literally. It could mean no more than a high court official. If he really was a eunuch his conversion could be seen as a fulfilment of Isa. 56:3 ff. Since the resurrection of Jesus the age of salvation and of the Messiah was dawning, and so such persons could be received into the community of salvation. The treasurer would have been a semi-proselyte; as a eunuch he could not be a full proselyte. So the previous barriers were doubly breached. The gospel was offered to the half-proselyte and to one who was until then excluded from the community of salvation (→ Conversion, art. *prosēlytos*).

The vb. *eunouchizō* is found twice linked with *eunouchos* in Matt. 19:12, where three types of eunuchs are described: (a) those who are such from birth, due to corporal malformation, (b) those who have been made such by men, (c) those who made themselves eunuchs "for the sake of the kingdom of heaven".

Jesus is clearly speaking not merely of celibacy, but also of unfitness for marriage. He is dealing only with the physical, without considering other causes that might prevent marriage. Under the first two headings Jesus adopts the division accepted by the rabbis. Only the third category, those who are eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake, presents something new, showing that the real stress falls here.

Physical inability by nature or castration is intended in the first two, but this is improbable in the third. There were those who took it lit. in the early centuries of the church, and there were rare cases of self-castration, e.g. Origen (cf. Eusebius, *HE*, 6, 8; cf. Justin, *Apol.* I, 29; Canons of Nicea, 1). Later, however, Origen clearly rejected a lit. understanding of the passage (*Commentary on Matthew*, 15, 3).

It could be that Jesus is here reacting against a slander spoken against him and his disciples. Because he was unmarried he was perhaps accused of being a eunuch (cf. the charge in Matt. 11:19, "a glutton and a drunkard"). Jesus answers by referring to the kingdom of God. One's joy in it can be so great, that one is prepared for the sake of the kingdom to renounce everything else, under some circumstances even marriage.

We can also approach it from a comparison with Matt. 5:29 f., plucking out an eye and cutting off a hand. Measured by the standards of the kingdom of heaven even things necessary to life are unimportant, and must be surrendered where there is a conflict. *H. Baltensweiler*

→ Discipline, → Marriage

(a). D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 1972, 278–82; A. Isaksson, *Marriage and Ministry in the New Temple*, 1965; J. Schneider, *eunouchos*, *TDNT* II 765–68.
(b). J. Blinzler, *Eisin eunouchoi*, *ZNW* 48, 1957, 254 ff.; SB I 805 ff.

Evil, Bad, Wickedness

The two main NT terms for expressing the shortcomings or inferiority of a thing (i.e. bad) and the ethically negative and religiously destructive character of a person or thought (i.e. evil) are *kakos* and *ponēros*. In the NT *kakos* occurs 50 times and the linguistically later *ponēros* 78 times, though the LXX uses it only 50 times compared to the 300 cases of *kakos*. Unlike the terms dealt with under → Good, it is impossible to show any difference between these two terms. Both are used even for the personification of evil in the devil or men.

κακός

κακός (*kakos*), bad, evil; ἄκακος (*akakos*), guileless, innocent; κακία (*kakia*), badness; κακόω (*kakoō*), harm, embitter; κακοποιέω (*kakopoieō*), do wrong, harm; κακοποιός (*kakopoios*), evil-doer; κακοῦργος (*kakourgos*), evil-doer, delinquent; ἐγκακέω (*enkakeō*), become tired, lose heart; φαῦλος (*phaulos*), bad, evil.

CL *kakos* is found from Homer on in a large variety of associations. It means bad in the sense of lacking something, always in contrast to *agathos*, → good. Secular Gk. has 4 main uses: (a) negligible, unsuitable, bad; (b) morally bad, evil; (c) weak, miserable; (d) bad, harmful, unfavourable. *to kakon* and the plur. *ta kaka* mean evil, suffering, misfortune, ruin.

In the Gk. world the question of the meaning and origin of evil was answered in many different ways in the course of the centuries. There were, however, two basic concepts around which thinking constantly circled. (a) Evil was seen as a metaphysical principle, e.g. among the Pythagoreans and in Plato's later writings. (b) Man's ignorance is the source of all evil, e.g. in Democritus, Socrates, Plato. An unenlightened and ignorant man does evil involuntarily, and this is the basis of all

ruin and corruption (Plato). Enlightenment leads to knowledge and frees him from evil, causing him to do good and so creating the moral man.

Plato reached a synthesis of these two basic concepts by developing a metaphysical dualism of spirit and matter, with its ethical expression in a dualism of soul and body. The cause leading to evil lies in the material and physical. In his old age Plato went a step further and assumed the existence of an evil world-soul.

In Hel. thought evil was understood as imperfection. Plotinus held this to be in the very nature of matter, which in the last analysis stands in contrast to the highest good and the light from which all has been derived. Here too evil is lack of light, i.e. of knowledge.

Whichever cause is regarded as the basis of evil, even when it is seen as *hamartia* (→ Sin), it must not be regarded as personal guilt, for it is not the result of a free and responsible personal decision but of a lack. It may be the lack of knowing the divine providence (Socrates), or of the working of a cosmic power.

OT 1. In the LXX *kakos* is used predominantly for Heb. *ra'* and *rā'âh* (227 times), which are also rendered by → *ponēros* 226 times. There is a similar balance in the use of the verbs *ponēreuomai* (22 times) and *kakoō* (21 times).

(a) *kakos* is primarily the evil which objectively hurts one's existence. (i) It is predominantly looked on as God's punishment (Deut. 31:17) which normally corresponds exactly to the preceding sin. The evil which men set in motion is brought back on their heads by Yahweh. Hence Amos 3:6b can say, "Does evil befall a city, unless Yahweh has done it?" (cf. Homer, *Od.*, 4, 236 f.). (ii) On the other hand, God grants protection in the midst of all evil (Ps. 23(LXX 22):4). When the pious find themselves threatened by evils, they can turn to God, for the purpose of his punishments is not evil. God's "plans [are] for welfare and not for evil" (Jer. 29:11). (iii) Behind the evil lies God's gracious purpose of visitation. His final purpose is "to give you a future and a hope" (Jer. 29:11c). (iv) The OT reaches the climax of its search for the origin and purpose of evil when faced with God's all-sovereign goodness. For here all questioning is silenced. In Job the three friends seek to link Job's suffering with his sins. Job never denies his sinfulness, but the work as a whole makes no direct connection between his sinfulness and his sufferings. Suffering is not necessarily the result of sin. It may be training in faith and hence testing (Job 5:17 f.). Ps. 73(LXX 72) in particular shows us the pious man who wins his way to the "Nevertheless" of faith (v. 23), without having discovered and understood the reason for his suffering. Where evil attacks on every side, man can only seek for still closer links with God through prayer.

(b) Evil is also an aspect of moral behaviour (cf. Mic. 2:1; Jer. 7:24; Pss. 28:3; 34:12 ff. (MT 13 ff.)). It is to be noted that the OT very seldom speaks theoretically of evil. It describes it concretely and concentrates on the case in hand. Hence evil is not abstract.

(c) The OT has no comprehensive theory of evil. Does it derive from the fact of being a creature? The serpent in Gen. 3 was after all a creature of God (cf. 2:9). In Gen. 3:5, 22 → *ponēros* is used in connection with the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. Is evil sent by God himself (1 Sam. 16:14)? The concept of an evil power opposed to God is found only late in Israel (cf. 1 Chr. 21:1 with 2 Sam. 24:1). (→ Dragon, Serpent.)

2. In Zoroastrianism the question of the origin of evil found an answer in a consistent dualism. Two opposed principles have been in conflict from the first, the good power, Ahura Mazda, and the evil power, Ahriman. Men belong to the one or the other power according to their moral behaviour, and will inherit after death either eternal bliss or eternal darkness. Ultimately evil will be conquered and destroyed in a final battle. Zoroastrianism is of special interest because of a number of parallels with Christian eschatology, but it is mythology in the former, history in the latter.

3. Zoroastrian dualism found its way into Qumran, and there are strong reminiscences of it in the Dead Sea Scrolls. According to the teaching of Qumran, God created at the beginning two spirits, the good spirit, the spirit of light, and the evil spirit, the spirit of darkness (Belial). According to God's eternal decree, all men belong to one or other of these spirits, and this is revealed by their good or evil deeds (1QS 3:13 ff.). The dualism in the Qumran texts (light-darkness, truth-wickedness) is the closest parallel in the history of religions to the dualism we find in Jesus' teaching, e.g. God's kingdom – Satan's kingdom (Mk. 3:22–30), especially the dualism in the Johannine writings (light-darkness, truth-lie), and also the dualism in some of Paul's writings (cf. Rom. 13:11–14; 2 Cor. 6:14–18).

4. Philo clearly attributes the origin of good to God and evil to man. But man has the possibility of choosing the good, just as he chooses between good and bad clothes. For Philo, evil is a reality opposed to God, but not a person opposed to him. Gk.-Hel. philosophy does not personify evil as the devil, but regards it as inadequate good. By so doing it makes evil harmless and offers no real help for conquering it.

NT 1. *kakos* is used in the NT with the meaning evil, bad, destructive, damaging, unjust. It is found 50 times, 26 of these being in Paul (Rom. 15 times, but only 7 times in the Synoptics). Its derivative *akakos* means without suspicion, simple-minded (Rom. 16:18), guiltless, untouched by evil (used of Christ in Heb. 7:26).

The noun *kakia* is often used synonymously with the neut. adj. *kakon* as evil, badness, wickedness, and denotes the source of the behaviour of a *kakos*, an evil person, or *kakopoios*, evil-doer (cf. Acts 8:22; Rom. 1:29; 1 Cor. 5:8). In Matt. 6:34 it means trouble, hardship, or misfortune.

The vb. *kakoō* means do evil, cause damage, handle badly or harm (1 Pet. 3:13, and often in Acts), stir up, embitter (Acts 14:2, RSV poison); and *kakopoieō* behave badly, do wrong (1 Pet. 3:17; 3 Jn. 11), harm (cf. Mk. 3:4 par.). A change in meaning is observable with *enkakeō*. It no longer means behave badly, but become tired or careless (in prayer, Lk. 18:1, RSV "lose heart"; 2 Thess. 3:13, be weary in doing good), lose heart (2 Cor. 4:1; Eph. 3:13). Weariness here is not physical but spiritual.

kakos and its derivations are of less importance in the NT than in the OT. The NT prefers → *ponēros* and *hamartia* (→ Sin) to express evil and personal guilt.

2. (a) Though numerous dualistic notes may be heard in the NT (see above OT 3), one can never find a dualism in which evil has the same power as good. Equally the thought is rejected that the root of evil could lie in God; "for God is untouched [lit. cannot be tempted] by evil" (Jas. 1:13, NEB). Evil comes rather from a man's heart in the form of evil thoughts which find expression in acts (Mk. 7:21 f. par.;

cf. Matt. 15:19 → *ponēros*), e.g. love of money (1 Tim. 6:10), misuse of the tongue (Jas. 3:6–10; 1 Pet. 3:10).

(b) The question of justifying God's ways does not arise, or is answered in another way. Evil (e.g. Lk. 13:1–5) is either God's righteous punishment and only repentance can save from further experience of it, or it can be borne and conquered by the experience of the love of God in Christ (Rom. 5:5; 8:35, 37 ff.).

(c) *kakos* is used attributively and as a noun of persons (Matt. 21:41; 24:48; Phil. 3:2; Tit. 1:12; Rev. 2:2) and attributively of things (Mk. 7:21; Rom. 13:3; 1 Cor. 15:33; Col. 3:5; Rev. 16:2). Otherwise it is always a neut. noun meaning evil or the evil in the sense of a misfortune, wrong, suffering (cf. Lk. 16:25; Acts 16:28; 28:5), or an evil act, a sin (cf. Matt. 27:23 par.; Acts 23:9; 3 Jn. 11), especially in Paul (cf. Rom. 7:19, 21; 12:21; 13:4; 16:19).

(d) For Paul, the problem of evil (*kakos* appears 26 times in his letters) lies in the fact that a man often does evil against his will (Rom. 7:15, 17 ff.), that it rules in him like a strange law (Rom. 7:21, 23), and yet it is an expression of his existence and nature. His evil nature which shows itself in his evil acts, separates him from God and brings him under judgment. Since a man constantly does the evil instead of the good he wants to do, and therefore achieves death and not life, every hope of conquering evil by his own strength is blasted. The solution of this problem is not to be found, therefore, in a human struggle, but in Christ's victory over evil in his cross and resurrection. This solution is seen in Paul's shout of salvation, "Thanks be to God through Jesus Christ our Lord!" (Rom. 7:25).

(e) We must understand the many apostolic exhortations to conquer, lay aside, and shun the evil against this background of evil's being stripped of its power (Rom. 12:17, 21; 16:19; 1 Cor. 10:6; 1 Pet. 3:11; Col. 3:5). Though every governing authority (Rom. 13:1, 3 f.; *exousia* → Power) should hold down evil as God's representative, the problem of evil is solved only by justification and sanctification. The one who has been justified is in the sphere of influence of the One who has conquered evil and gives the Spirit. Hence he does not face the powers of evil without strength (Rom. 13:10; 1 Cor. 13:5; 2 Cor. 13:7).

3. *phaulos* (6 times in the NT) is used as a synonym of *kakos* and means evil, bad. In Tit. 2:8 it is used in a judgment on people. Otherwise it is used for actions (Jn. 3:20; 5:29; Rom. 9:11; 2 Cor. 5:10; Jas. 3:16 (RSV "vile")). Its opposite is *agathos* (→ Good).

4. In two passages in the NT we find *kakourgos*, evil doer. In Lk. 23:32, 33, 39 it is used for the criminals crucified with Jesus. In 2 Tim. 2:9 Paul uses it with reference to his imprisonment "like a criminal." *E. Achilles*

πονηρός

πονηρός (*ponēros*), in a poor condition, sick, bad, evil, wicked; πονηρία (*ponēria*), evil, badness, wickedness.

CL *ponēros*, sub. *ponēria*, is derived from *ponos*, work, toil, and *poneō*, to be involved in work, labour (→ Burden). They are often used as synonyms of → *kakos* and *kakia* and their derivatives. The original vb. was *penomai*, take pains, be poor, with its derivatives *penia* (not in the NT), poverty, and *penichros* (in the NT only Lk.

21:2), poor, in want (→ Poor). *ponēros* is not found in Homer, but it is used by Hesiod and Thuc. as well as by inscriptions and papyri, all with pass. force in the sense of laden with toil, full of suffering, unfortunate, to be pitied, unfit, miserable. The act. force is also found in the sense of bad, causing disaster, dangerous, especially in the political and social arena where it describes an enemy of the state. This leads to the moral concept of ethically reprehensible, bad.

OT 1. In the LXX *ponēros* represents Heb. *ra'* (→ *kakos*, OT 1), evil, bad, of little value, unusable; of animals, food, land and persons (e.g. 1 Sam. 25:3). When used of animals it can mean dangerous, harmful (Gen. 37:20). It can also mean damaging to a person's reputation (e.g. Deut. 22:14) or, very often, evil in relation to the human spirit (e.g. 1 Sam. 16:14 ff.). In Neh. 2:2 it means sad looking. Ethically *ponēros* means evil, bad, worthless, depraved, corrupt, whether used of persons (cf. Gen. 13:13; Isa. 9:17(16); Sir. 25:25) or of things (cf. Isa. 3:9). Like → *kakos*, *ponēros* has not merely a moral but also a religious connotation. It implies separation from God, opposition to God and his will (Amos 5:14 f.). In contrast to the NT, it is never used to denote the devil. The expression "good and evil" (Gen. 3:5, 22), in which *ponēros* is used, means in the widest sense "everything." "What the serpent's insinuation means is the possibility of an extension of human existence beyond the limits set for it by God at creation . . . power over mysteries that lie beyond man" (G. von Rad, *Genesis*, 1961, 87). Such knowledge renders man autonomous, for it and not God is exalted to the guiding principle of his life. ([Tr.] In a passage like Deut. 1:39 it means the knowledge brought by maturity rather than omniscience.)

The noun *ponēria* shares many of the meanings of the adj. In addition, it means the harm or calamity which God brings on man (Jer. 2:3) or man brings on his fellow man (Gen. 26:29).

2. For various uses in late Jud. see *kakos*, OT 2 ff.

3. In the pseudepigrapha *ponēros* and *ponēria* are used almost exclusively in ethical and religious contexts and are virtually synonymous with → Sin. The same is true of Philo and Josephus, though they frequently use *kakos* and *kakia*.

NT *ponēros* is used 78 times in the NT, 26 times in Matt., 13 in Lk., 13 in Paul, 8 in Acts, 8 in Jn. *ponēria* occurs 7 times.

1. It is used physically of the eyes in Matt. 6:23 and Lk. 11:34 as bad, sick. It cannot be established with certainty whether it was intended here in an ethical sense (so Jülicher), but the final exegesis will be little affected by our answer, for even if the ref. is to sickness of the eye rather than to evilness the parable means us to understand it in a metaphorical sense (so, e.g., Schlatter). In Matt. 18:32 it refers to worthless servants. It is used of trees and their fruit in Matt. 7:17 f. as spoilt, useless. ([Tr.] Note that the word applied to the tree is *sapros*.)

2. It is used ethically in the sense of being opposed to God. (a) Jesus used it as an adj. of men in general, whom he called evil (cf. Matt. 7:11 par.). God alone is good, in contrast to them (Mk. 10:18). The Pharisees were evil in the sense of being hardened (Matt. 12:34), just as the Jews were the evil generation (Matt. 12:39; 16:4; Lk. 11:29), who showed their character in their opposition to Jesus. So too anyone is evil who decides against Jesus (cf. 2 Thess. 3:2; 2 Tim. 3:13). Out of the

evil treasure of his heart he brings forth evil (Matt. 12:35 par.). It is used in a social sense in Acts 17:5 (NEB, "low fellows").

Thoughts also can be evil (Matt. 15:19). In Jas. 2:4 the *dialogismōn ponērōn* mean the evil reflections by which judges may be led astray (NEB, "you. . .judge by false standards"). In Col. 1:21 and 2 Tim. 4:18 it is used with *ergon* to denote human actions (the RSV "from every evil" is inadequate in the latter; cf. NEB "from every attempt to do me evil"). *ponēros* can also be used in connection with boasting, words, insults, conscience, the name of Christian (Lk. 6:22, the verdict of unbelievers), the present age (Gal. 1:4), and the present day (Eph. 6:13). Jn.'s contrast of *ponēros* with God's light, work and word is particularly striking (Jn. 3:19; 17:15; 1 Jn. 2:13; 3:12; 5:18 f.; 2 Jn. 11; 3 Jn. 10).

(b) When used as a noun, *ponēros* has a double meaning. (i) A bad man. This is so even in Matt. 22:10, where many have wanted to give it a social sense, e.g. someone in rags. In fact, it is the man who has rejected the gospel. In Matt. 5:39a we should, as in RSV and NEB, understand it of the evil person, for this is the inference to be drawn from the 2nd half of the verse. Matt. 13:49 f. declares that in the final judgment the *ponēroi* will be separated out by God and condemned (cf. Matt. 22:13 f.). The church should exclude the evil man (1 Cor. 5:13). But the goodness of God is available even for the evil as long as they live on earth. Hence Christians should show them love (Lk. 6:35).

(ii) *ho ponēros*, standing absolutely, is the evil one (→ Satan). This is clear in Matt. 13:19, for the par. Mk. 4:15 has Satan, and Lk. 8:12 the devil. The same is true of Eph. 6:12, *ta pneumatika tēs ponērias*, where Phillips has "spiritual agents from the very headquarters of evil"); Jn. 17:15; Eph. 6:16; 2 Thess. 3:3 (RSV mg, NEB). It is used noticeably often in 1 Jn. (cf. 2:13, 14; 3:12; 5:18, 19). It is debatable whether we should understand *tou ponērou* in Matt. 13:38 as masculine (i.e. the evil one) or neuter (i.e. evil). G. Harder (*TDNT* VI 560 f.) decides for the latter. But this is not completely certain, for the source of the evil is said in v. 39 to be the devil, and this prevents us giving any weakened meaning to evil (v. 38). The history of theology shows that efforts to avoid the personifying of evil in the devil have led to a depersonalizing of God and Christ.

Translators and expositors are divided over the meaning of Matt. 6:13b. RSV follows the traditional rendering: "But deliver us from evil." But RSV mg and NEB suggest that the prayer is for deliverance from → Satan by rendering it "the evil one." G. Harder rejects the personal interpretation on the grounds of impersonal rab. parallels, the impersonal use elsewhere in Jesus' teaching, and the fact that rescuing in the NT is never applied to the devil (*TDNT* VI 561). He sees it as a prayer for eschatological deliverance (cf. Col. 1:13; Lk. 1:74; Rom. 7:24; 1 Thess. 1:10). W. Lüthi regards the prayer as a petition for the passing away of the evil world (*The Lord's Prayer*, 1961, 68). E. Lohmeyer sees the words "from evil" as summing up all the last dangers, external and internal, as expressions of the naked power of Satan (*The Lord's Prayer*, 1965, 227). It is clear that *tou ponērou* must be read in the light of the first half of the verse. J. Jeremias maintains that "temptation" does not refer to small, everyday temptations but to the great temptation of the last days, which is at the door and will involve the whole world (*New Testament Theology*, I, 1971, 202; *The Prayers of Jesus*, 1967, 104 ff.). He thinks of the revelation of the mystery of evil and the Antichrist, of the abomination of desolation,

Satan in the place of God, the final persecution and the testing of God through false prophets and false saviours. If 6:13a is so clearly a petition for help against the devil, then we must understand *ponērou* in v. 13b. as masc. It is a prayer to be snatched out of this power (cf. K. G. Kuhn; see bibliography). J. A. Bengel, *Gnomon*, ad loc., considers the 6th and 7th petitions to be closely linked, a positive and negative formulation of the same matter, which are therefore considered one petition by some. He quotes Hiller on Matt. 6:13, "The evil one has not changed his purpose since Adam's temptation. He remains the evil one, and he is the enemy of God and of Christ, and of all who believe on God and Christ."

(iii) *ponēros* is also used as a neut. noun (*to ponēron*), Lk. 6:45b; Rom. 12:9; 1 Thess. 5:22; Matt. 5:11; Acts 5:4 (*v.l.*); 28:21). It should be remembered, however, that several passages in the NT trace evil to the devil. When in Matt. 9:4 Jesus accuses the scribes, and in Matt. 12:35 the Pharisees, of evil thoughts, *ponēros* is also to be linked with the devil. Elsewhere (Jn. 8:44) Jesus called them children of the devil. There is no neutral zone between God and the devil, where evil as something purely neutral could find its home. *E. Achilles*

→ Demon, → Fall, → Satan, → Sin

In the following list * denotes works dealing with the more philosophical implications of evil.
(a). M. B. Ahern, *The Problem of Evil*, 1971*; K. Barth, *CD*, III 3, 289–368; G. C. Berkouwer, *The Triumph of Grace in the Theology of Karl Barth*, 1956; G. Bornkamm, "Sin, Law and Death (Romans 7)," *Early Christian Experience*, 1969, 87–104; R. Bultmann, "Christ the End of the Law," *Essays*, 1955, 36–66; A. Farrer, *Love Almighty and Ills Unlimited*, 1961*; W. Grundmann, *kakos*, *TDNT* III 469–87; A. T. Hanson, "The Conquest of the Powers," *Studies in Paul's Technique and Theology*, 1974, 1–12; G. Harder, *ponēros*, *TDNT* VI 546–66; J. Hick, "The Problem of Evil",* in P. Edwards, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, III, 1961, 136–41; and *Evil and the God of Love*, 1966*; J. Jeremias, *The Prayers of Jesus*, 1967; and *New Testament Theology*, I, 1971; C. E. M. Joad, *God and Evil*, 1943*; C. S. Lewis, *The Problem of Pain*, 1940*; E. Lohmeyer, *The Lord's Prayer*, 1965; W. Lüthi, *The Lord's Prayer*, 1961; H. Meynell, *God and the World*, 1971, 64–83*; G. von Rad, *Genesis*, 1963²; W. Temple, *Mens Creatrix*, 1917*; F. R. Tennant, *Philosophical Theology*, II, 1929*; Y. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness*, 1962.
(b). G. Baumbach, *Das Verständnis des Bösen in den synoptischen Evangelien*, 1963; J. Becker, *Das Heil Gottes*, 1964; W. Krötke, *Sünde und Nichtiges bei Karl Barth*, 1971; K. G. Kuhn, *Achtzehngebet und Vaterunser und der Reim*, 1950; W. Lüthi, *Gott und das Böse*, 1961; G. Mensching, *Gut und Böse im Glauben der Völker*, 1950; S. Wibbing, *Die Tugend- und Lasterkataloge im Neuen Testament und deren Traditionsgeschichte unter besonderen Berücksichtigung der Qumrantexte*, 1959.

Exhort, Warn, Console, Rebuke

Teaching has primarily to do with imparting intellectual insight and knowledge, and education (as it concerns the whole man) is often thought to be limited to a person's formative years. But to exhort means to exert influence upon the will and decisions of another with the object of guiding him into a generally accepted code of behaviour or of encouraging him to observe certain instructions. Exhortation always presupposes some previous knowledge. It consists of reminding a person of this with the intention that he should carry it out. To exhort is to address the whole man. Originally at least knowledge, emotion, and will are all involved. In NT Greek, with one exception, only Paul uses the vb. *noutheteō* (8 times altogether,

the noun 3 times) to express this concept. Elsewhere the broader term *parakaleō*, is employed, denoting anything from urgent pressure to comfort and encouragement.

νουθετέω

νουθετέω (*noutheteō*), to warn, advise; *νουθεσία* (*nouthesia*), admonition, warning, instruction.

CL *noutheteō* (tragic poets) and the noun *nouthesia* (Aristophanes), derived from *nous* (mind) and *tithēmi* (put) (Liddell-Scott), describe the exertion of influence upon the *nous*, implying that there is resistance. By means of admonition, advice, warning, reminding, teaching and spurring on, a person can be redirected from wrong ways and his behaviour corrected. In contrast to *didaskō*, which is concerned with the development and guidance of the intellect, *noutheteō* has to do with the will and the feelings of a man. Its meaning is more restricted than that of *paideuō* and *paideia* (→ Teach), which refer to the education of a child, with all the appropriate means which are used to guide it into the world of adults. *paideuō* is always used with reference to minors who must be treated with strictness and severity. In the case of *noutheteō*, however, the meaning chastise is only secondary and does not occur in the NT at all. *kolazō* (punish) and *kolasis* (punishment) refer to → punishment, as the reaction and answer to evil deeds, not as a means of education. Punishment in this sense can at the most serve as a deterrent and warning to the outsider.

OT The LXX uses *noutheteō*, with the exception of 1 Sam. 3:13 (correct), only in the Wisdom Literature: Wis. 11:10; 12:2, 26, warn; similarly the noun, in the LXX only at Wis. 16:6, means warning – the plague of serpents during Israel's wilderness wanderings was God's "warning" for the people. In the book of Job the vb. has the active sense of instruct (Job 4:3). But it can also be used in a negative sense. "The least of men treat me like schoolmasters, one after another" (Job 30:1 LXX). The more unusual passive meaning, to let oneself be taught, let someone tell one something, gain insight, understand, is also found in Job (23:15; 36:12; 37:14; 38:18).

NT In the NT *noutheteō* is found only in the letters of Paul and Acts 20:31, where Luke is reporting a speech of the apostle; the noun only at 1 Cor. 10:11; Eph. 6:4; and Tit. 3:10.

In Ephesus the apostle worked as a faithful and exemplary church leader with constant zeal for the continued life of the church, taking trouble over every individual and "admonishing him with tears" (Acts 20:31). Likewise he "admonishes" the church leaders in Corinth as his "beloved children" (1 Cor. 4:14). Even if he has to write to them in a correcting and critical vein, it is done out of his love for them and for their own good.

In Col. 1:28 and 3:16 *noutheteō* is coupled with *didaskō*, in reference to the proclamation of Christ. Warning and → teaching belong inseparably together, as the constant counterpart of knowledge and action. The aim of this teaching and warning ministry is "maturity in Christ" (1:28).

It is an important task of apostles, church leaders and elders to admonish the members of the church. It is for the church to accept and recognize this ministry

in love (1 Thess. 5:12). Admonition as a form of spiritual counselling is also the task of the whole church towards one another (Col. 3:16), provided that it is spiritually fit to do so like the church at Rome (Rom. 15:14). Individual members too, when disobedient, must be corrected by the church, in order that they may be made aware of the wrongness of what they are doing and won back again (1 Thess. 5:14; 2 Thess. 3:15). Failure to respond to such admonition can under certain circumstances lead to total rejection of the one who has been warned (Tit. 3:10; *nouthesia*).

According to Eph. 6:4, the right way to bring up children is *en paideia kai nouthesia* ("in discipline and correction"). It is not determined by the use or non-use of certain educational helps, but by whether it is directed towards the Lord. With this as the guiding principle, the means to be employed may be chosen in freedom and yet out of a sense of duty. The two terms used are here more or less identical in meaning (cf. G. Bertram, *TDNT* V 624; H. Schlier, *Die Zeit der Kirche*, 282 f.). It is not the educational method, but the purpose for which it is used, that characterizes Christian upbringing. In 1 Cor. 10:11 *nouthesia* is used as in Wis. 16:6 in the sense of warning. The list of punishments, which befell the people because of their sins, should serve as a warning to the readers. *F. Selter*

παρακαλέω

παρακαλέω (*parakaleō*), summon, invite, exhort, encourage, implore; παράκλησις (*paraklēsis*), encouragement, exhortation, appeal, comfort, consolation.

CL *parakaleō* means to call in (e.g. Xenophon, *Anab.* 3, 1, 32: *ton stratēgon parekaloun*, "they called in the general"). From this follow the other meanings which are often hard to distinguish from one another: to ask (e.g. *BGU* 846, 10: *paraka(l)ō soi, mētēr, d(i)alagēti moi*, "I beg you, mother, be reconciled to me"), sometimes used of invocation of the gods (e.g. *kai gar peri toutou parakalesa ton theon*, "And concerning this I besought the god," cf. A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 1911², 311; Moulton–Milligan, 484); to exhort, request (e.g. Xenophon, *Anab.*, 5, 6, 19: *bouletai gar Xenophōn kai hēmas parakalei*, "for Xenophon wants to and is encouraging us (to join him)"); and, although examples are rare, to speak consoling words especially in cases of bereavement, the consolation always containing a note of exhortation (e.g. an encouragement to maintain one's proper behaviour even in sorrow). On the origin of the word → Call, art. *kaleō* CL).

OT In the LXX *parakaleō* is chiefly used for the Heb. *nāḥam* (especially the niph. and piel), be moved to pity, comfort, usually in the latter sense (cf. Ps. 119:50, *hautē me parekalesen en tē tapeinōsei mou*, "this has comforted me in my humiliation"; Gen. 37:35, concerning mourning for the dead, *kai ēlthon parakalesai auton, kai ouk ēthelen parakaleisthai*, "and they came to comfort him, but he would not be comforted"). It is part of the prophet's task to bring comfort (cf. Isa. 40:1, *parakaleite parakaleite ton laon mou*, comfort, comfort my people). Similarly *parakaleō* is used in Test. Rub. 4:4 ("And yet my father comforted me and prayed for me to the Lord"); Test.Jos. 17:4; 2 Esd. 10:19; and often.

parakaleō can however stand for *nāḥam* (niph. and hith.), where the sense is to be sorry, have compassion, e.g. Ps. 135:14 ("the Lord has compassion on his servants"; cf. Deut. 32:36), and Jdg. 2:18 ("the Lord was moved to pity by their groaning"). This use of the word is found only in the LXX.

Where *parakaleō* is used for other Heb. equivalents, it also means to encourage, strengthen (Deut. 3:28; Job 4:3), lead astray (Deut. 13:6), or lead along, guide (Exod. 15:13).

In 1st century Jud. the "consolation of Israel" (cf. Lk. 2:25) is spoken of and means "the fulfilment of the Messianic hope" (SB II 124). "For if ye endure and persevere in His fear, and do not forget His law, the times shall change over you for good, and ye shall see the consolation of Zion" (Syr. Bar. 44:7).

It is striking that in the Hel. world more is heard of asking and exhortation, while the emphasis is on comfort where the influence of the OT is felt. One may ask whether this is coincidental, or whether it expresses the comfortlessness which burdened Hellenism and the consolation hoped for in the world of the OT (cf. G. Stählin, *TDNT* V 787 f.).

NT *parakaleō* occurs 109 times in the NT and means: (a) summon, invite, ask, implore; (b) exhort; (c) comfort, encourage. The noun *paraklēsis* means exhortation, encouragement, appeal, request, comfort, consolation. The words are not found in the Johannine literature, Jas., or 2 Pet.

1. The sense of summon (or ask) is found in Acts 28:20. In Acts 28:14 it should be translated in the special sense of invite. In all the strands of the synoptic tradition *parakaleō* means to ask, implore, in the context of needy people who come with their requests to Jesus (in the "Q" passages Lk. 7:4 = Matt. 8:5; Mk. 5:12 = Matt. 8:31 = Lk. 8:32; and also Lk. 15:28; Matt. 18:29). Only at Matt. 26:53 is it said of Jesus himself, that he could ask his Father for angelic assistance. In Acts 16:9 f. (cf. also 8:31; 13:42) the reference is to a request for missionary ministry.

2. Obviously even before Paul, exhortation had its place in the life of the church, especially as the task of the early Christian prophets. In 1 Cor. 14:30 f. Paul sees the need of requiring the (charismatic and gnostically-inclined) prophets to speak one after another in order, so that all may be exhorted. In Acts 15:32 the prophets Judas and Silas are said to have exhorted the brethren. Exhortation is an almost stereotyped part of the church's life (cf. Acts 16:40). Paul encourages the Philippians to exhort one another (Phil. 2:1). He sends Timothy, among other things, to exhort the church (1 Thess. 3:2; cf. Rom. 12:8). This ministry of exhortation, attested as it is from the earliest Christian period, is probably the setting (*Sitz im Leben*) for the paraenetic passages found particularly at the end of the Pauline letters. Paul sees it as his duty to follow the normal custom of the early church and to exhort the community (1 Thess. 4:1; Phil. 4:2; Rom. 12:1). Theologically, however, Paul gives to exhortation a specific basis. He does not give his readers direct moral instruction, but addresses them "through" (*dia*) God or Christ, so that the apostle thinks of his admonition as mediated "by the mercy of God" (Rom. 12:1; cf. v. 3), "by our Lord Jesus Christ and by the love of the Spirit" (Rom. 15:30); "by the name of Jesus Christ" (1 Cor. 1:10, → baptism, so that here the interpretation "by invocation" may be correct, cf. O. Michel on Rom. 12:1); "by the meekness and gentleness of Christ" (2 Cor. 10:1; W. G. Kümmel, ad loc., sees here a possible allusion to the earthly Jesus and to Matt. 11:29). May this also be the explanation of *di' hēmōn* in 2 Cor. 5:20? In this case it would mean that God

makes use of our mediation (H. Lietzmann, ad loc., by our mouth), and himself warns (or asks?). The same idea is behind 1 Thess. 4:1; and 2 Thess. 3:12, *parakaloumen en kyriō*, we exhort "in" the Lord (cf. also Phil. 4:2).

Consideration of the special basis for exhortation in Paul leads us, however, to the fundamental and much wider problem of ethics and the imperative in Paul. This imperative can only be properly understood, when it is viewed in the light of the indicative. "If the whole being of the man who is justified is determined by *charis*, so also is the imperative under which he stands. For it is a part of the life of the justified to stand under the imperative. The believer can understand this life only as the gift of God. So just as the moral demand expressed by the imperative is for him the commandment of God, the attitude of obedience towards the command is also the gift of God, worked by the *pneuma*, although this does not mean that the demand loses its imperative character" (R. Bultmann, *ZNW* 23, 1924, 140). Similarly Paul exhorts the Corinthians not to receive the grace of God "in vain" (2 Cor. 6:1). For that would be the case if they did not prove themselves in their lives. The apostle can describe himself as their example in view of his "ways in Christ" (1 Cor. 4:16 f.; cf. 1 Thess. 2:12; 4:1, 10; 5:11).

For Luke the present era gains in importance (because of the delay of the Parousia, or because of the persecution affecting the church?). Hence there is an added emphasis on the demand for right conduct in this life. Now is the time when it is important to prove oneself. Therefore, John the Baptist, Judas, Silas, and others exhort people to → walk aright (cf. Lk. 3:18; Acts 15:32). It is necessary to warn them to → remain faithful to the Lord (Acts 11:23), to continue in the faith (Acts 14:22), and to save themselves (Acts 2:40). The necessity of mastering the present leads further in Eph. 4:1, the Pastoral Epistles, Heb. and 1 Pet. to the exhortation to → "walk worthy", and similar expressions. In some passages the translation "exhort" is questionable, and we should possibly in some cases render it "comfort" (cf. Rom. 12:8; 1 Cor. 14:31; 2 Cor. 13:11; 1 Thess. 4:18; 5:11; but see above).

3. The sense of "comfort", which connotes friendly speech as much as exhortation (e.g. Acts 16:39), is found in various writings of the NT and with especial frequency in 2 Cor. 1:3 ff. Here Paul sets consolation over against tribulation, suffering and death, identifying his own sufferings with those of Christ, and at the same time sharing in Christ's comfort. This line of thought is carried further by the application of the apostle's suffering and his experience of comfort to the situation of his readers. In 2 Cor. 7:4 ff. the tribulation and comfort theme is again taken up. Paul is now comforted by Titus and what he has to tell of the situation in Corinth (cf. also 1 Thess. 3:7). The comfort promised to the mourners in Matt. 5:4 is paralleled by the woes promised to the rich in Lk. 6:24. According to Matthew (as in Paul), suffering is met by God's consolation. Luke presents the alternative: he who is rich in this life cannot expect the consolation of God in the life to come (cf. also Lk. 16:25). Finally, comfort (along with hope, Rom. 15:4; 2 Thess. 2:16) is part of Christian experience in this world (Heb. 6:18; 12:5). The suggestion that an allusion to the name Barnabas (cf. Acts 4:36, where it is interpreted as meaning "son of consolation") is intended also in Heb. 13:22 (*logos tēs paraklēseōs*), as Bornhäuser and others have thought, has nothing to support it in the text. For *paraklētos* → Advocate. *G. Braumann*

ἐπιτιμάω

ἐπιτιμάω (*epitimaō*), rebuke; ἐπιτιμία (*epitimia*), censure.

CL The vb. is found in secular Greek from Herodotus to the 3rd cent. A.D., meaning to honour, censure, penalize and raise in price. The noun, also found until 3rd cent. A.D., can mean penalty, value, honour and respect.

OT In the LXX, Jewish Apocrypha, Damascus Document and pseudo-Philo men rebuke (e.g. Gen. 37:10) but should not do so (Ruth 2:16), unless they have authority, judicial, paternal or fraternal (Ecclus. 11:7; Prov. 17:10 Aquila, Theodotion; Jubilees 11:19). But God does have the right to rebuke, not only men or his enemies (Pss. 75:6; 9:5) but also the created order (Pss. 105:9) and → Satan (Zech. 3:2). The noun means punishment (Wis. 3:10).

NT The vb. is found frequently in all three Synoptic Gospels, implying disapproval, but not exaction of a concrete penalty. The sense "censure", "rebuke," will suit all instances, but more precise definition is possible. (1) People rebuke one another as a sign of disapproval, the disciples rebuking those who presented children to Jesus (Mk. 10:13 par.), the crowd rebuking the blind man who sought Jesus (Mk. 10:48 par.), Peter rebuking Jesus for his passion prediction (Mk. 8:32 par.) and the Pharisees asking Jesus to rebuke the disciples (Lk. 19:39). In each instance Jesus disapproves of the rebuke, but he himself is free to deliver a rebuke (to Peter, Mk. 8:33; to the Sons of Thunder, Lk. 9:55). It is conceivable that Jesus objected to men rebuking one another on the principle of Matt. 7:2, regarding it as his own right *in loco Dei* (cf. Yahweh in Ps. 75:6). However, both the rebuke by the penitent thief and the situation of one brother rebuking another do not receive adverse comment (Lk. 23:40; 17:3). E. Schweizer, *The Good News according to Mark*, 1970, accounts for each rebuke by Jesus one by one, seeing the ground not in general terms but in the particular context. (2) Sometimes Jesus rebukes in order to repress, when he casts out demons (Mk. 1:25; 9:25; D. E. Nineham, *Saint Mark*, 1963, 75, claims that *epitimaō* is a common term in exorcism formulae), dispels a fever (Lk. 4:39), or stills a storm (Mk. 4:39). Jesus is here depicted as Lord of all on the model of Yahweh (Ps. 105:9; E. Schweizer, op. cit., 109) and as bringer of salvation, for demons flee at his command (J. Jeremias, *New Testament Theology*, I, 94 f., 253–4). (3) At Mk. 3:12; 8:30 and parallels, Jesus does not censure what is happening or has happened, but he rebukes in the sense of forbidding what might happen, when the disciples or cured demoniacs were likely to publish his deeds as Lord of all. He was reluctant for "the proclamation of the demons, the healed, or even the disciples, however exact it may be, can only do harm until Jesus' path to the cross makes it possible for men to follow and even makes that following an irrevocable requirement" (Schweizer, op. cit., 56; → Christ). Otherwise, the vb. appears in 2 Tim. 4:2, where rebuking is a function of the authoritative Christian teacher alongside preaching, convincing and exhorting in "the teaching"; also at Jude 9, where the archangel Michael upbraids Satan with "the Lord rebuke you", recalling Zech. 3:2.

The noun *epitimia* appears only in the NT at 2 Cor. 2:6, where it refers to censure or even punishment meted out by the church in congregational discipline.

G. T. D. Angel

→ Advocate, → Command, → Conscience, → Discipline, → Teach

(a). J. Behm, *noutheteō*, *TDNT* IV 1019–22; G. Bertram, *paideuō*, *TDNT* V 596–625; G. Bornkamm, "The Edification of the Congregation as the Body of Christ," *Early Christian Experience*, 1969, 161–69; E. Brunner, *The Divine Imperative*, 1937; C. E. B. Cranfield, *A Commentary on Romans*, 12–13, *SJT Occasional Papers* 12, 1965; A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 1911²; R. N. Flew, *Jesus and his Way*, 1963; K. H. Rengstorf, *didaskō*, *TDNT* II 135–148; O. Schmitz and G. Stählin, *parakaleō*, *TDNT* V 773–99; R. Schnackenburg, *The Moral Teaching of the New Testament*, 1965; E. Stauffer, *epitimaō*, *TDNT* II 623–6.
(b). C. J. Bjerkelund, *Parakalō. Form, Funktion, und Sinn der Parakalō-Sätze in den paulinischen Briefen*, 1967; R. Bultmann, "Das Problem der Ethik, bei Paulus," *ZNW* 23, 1924, 123 ff.; A. Grabner-Haider, *Paraklese und Eschatologie bei Paulus*, 1968; W. Flitner, "Erziehung," *RGG*³ II 631 ff.; E. Kamlah, *Die Form der katalogischen Paränese im Neuen Testament*, 1964; W. G. Kümmel, "*paresis* und *endeixis*, ein Beitrag zum Verständnis der paulinischen Rechtfertigungslehre," *ZTK* 49, 1952, 154 ff.; E. Lohse, "Paränese und Kerygma im 1. Petrusbrief," *ZNW* 45, 1954, 62 ff.; M. Müller, "Freiheit. Über Autonomie und Gnade von Paulus bis Clemens von Alexandria," *ZNW* 25, 1926, 177 ff.; W. Mundle, "Religion und Sittlichkeit bei Paulus in ihrem Zusammenhang," *ZSTh* 4, 1927, 456 ff.; T. Ohm *et al.*, "Strafe," *RGG*³ VI 392 ff.; H. von Soden, *Sakrament und Ethik bei Paulus*, 1931; S. Wibbing, *Die Tugend- und Lasterkataloge im Neuen Testament*, 1959; H. Windisch, "Das Problem des paulinischen Imperativs," *ZNW* 23, 1924, 265 ff.

Explain, Interpret, Tell, Narrative

ἐξηγέομαι

ἐξηγέομαι (*exēgeomai*), explain, expound, interpret, tell; ἐξήγησις (*exēgēsis*), narrative, explanation, interpretation; ἐξηγητής (*exēgētēs*), interpreter; διήγησις (*diēgēsis*), narrative, account; διηγέομαι (*diēgeomai*), tell, describe.

CL 1. (a) In classical writers *exēgeomai* may mean to lead or to govern (e.g. Thucydides, 1, 76; Plato, *Rep.* 474c). But this use of the term is not strictly relevant to the NT (unless we accept M.-E. Boismard's interpretation of Jn. 1:18 discussed below).

(b) *exēgeomai* also means to dictate or to prescribe, as when Plato speaks of "what the law prescribes" (*Rep.*, 604b). (c) The use of the word to mean to expound or to interpret (Herodotus, 2, 49; Plato, *Cratylus*, 407a) is more important from the viewpoint of NT study. Lysias (6:10) speaks of unwritten laws which the Eumolpidae, priests of Eleusis, follow in their exposition (*exēgountai*). Plato speaks about expounding (*exēgoumenous*) the intentions of the lawgiver (*Laws*, 802c), and also about expounding the poets (*Cratylus*, 407a). Hence the adj. *exēgēmatikos* means having a gift for exposition, whilst the noun *exēgēma* means explanation. (d) In such authors as Herodotus, Aeschylus, Xenophon and Thucydides, *exēgeomai* may also mean simply to tell, to relate, or to relate in full. Thus Thucydides (5, 26, 6) proposes to relate (*exēgēsomai*) the course of hostilities after the first ten years of war.

2. The noun *exēgēsis* may mean either statement, narrative (Thucydides, 1, 72; Polybius, 6, 3, 1), or else explanation, interpretation, as when Plato (*Laws*, 631a) speaks of "your exposition of the laws".

3. This brings us to questions about the technical meaning of *exēgētēs* in Greek religion, which some scholars take as a point of departure for examining *exēgēsis* in Jn. 1:18. Herodotus (1, 78, 2) gives this title to a college of diviners at the Telmessian oracle in Lycia. From about the fourth century B.C. Athens had official *exēgētai* who expounded its sacred and ancestral laws. They were custodians of the

unwritten law, but also pronounced on related questions in secular and domestic life (cf. J. H. Oliver and O. Kern, see bibliography). Plato speaks of "the interpreters" in the sense of official exponents of sacred law (*Laws*, 759c, e, 775a), and also describes the Delphic Apollo as "the interpreter (*exēgētēs*) of the religion of their fathers" (*Rep.*, 427c). By about A.D. 132 we find the combination of the offices of priest and *exēgētēs* in the Oxyrhynchus Papyri (III 477); and N. Hohlwein investigates the use of the term in the Roman imperial era to designate certain local officials in Egypt (*L'Égypte romaine*, 1912, 224–6). In the 2nd cent. A.D. it occurs in the technical sense of communicating divine secrets in Pollux, 8, 124.

4. *diēgēsis* means narrative or narration, sometimes perhaps, as J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan believe, with the added idea of fullness of detail (*The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, 1930, 161). In Gk. rhetoric it sometimes means statement of the case, but also describes the device of inserting a story of some detail into a speech (cf. "*diēgēsis* in Public Speeches" in S. Trenker, *The Greek Novella in the Classical Period*, 1958, 154–62). *diēgeomai* means simply to describe or tell, sometimes perhaps, again, with the force of setting out something in detail.

OT 1. In the LXX *exēgeomai* mainly translates the Hebrew verb *sāp̄ar* when this occurs in the piel, in the sense of recount, tell, or declare. Thus it is used of telling a dream (Jdg. 7:13), of describing a miracle (2 Ki. 8:5), and of declaring the Lord's glory among the nations (1 Chr. 16:24). Once it translates the hiphil form of *yāḏâh*, to speak out, to confess: "he who confesses his fault shall be loved" (Prov. 28:13). Once or perhaps twice it translates the hiphil form of *yārâh*, to show, to point out, to instruct (Lev. 14:57). *exēgēsis* translates *mispār*, from the verb *sāp̄ar*, in Jdg. 7:15, although Codex Alexandrinus has *diēgēsis*. Corresponding roughly to CL 3 above, *exēgētēs* translates the technical term *ḥarṭummîm* (found only in the plural), scribe, Egyptian wise man, writer of hieroglyphics (Gen. 41:8, 24). In Prov. 29:18 it stands for the Hebrew *ḥāzôn*, prophetic vision, oracle ("where there is no prophetic vision, the people cast off restraint"; although the NEB renders the phrase "no one in authority", referring to the role of prophets or sages).

2. *exēgeomai* also occurs in 1 Macc. 3:26 in the sense of telling the story of a battle, and in 2 Macc. 2:13 in the sense of reporting events. In Sirach (Ecclus.) 21:16 *exēgēsis* means simply speech or talking, the talking of a fool. However, in Josephus and in Philo we return to the meaning of interpretation or exposition. Josephus speaks of two rabbis who give expositions of the laws (*exēgoumenous*, *Jewish War*, 1, 649) or who are "interpreters of the ancestral laws" (*exēgētai*, in the parallel account *Jewish Antiquities*, 17, 149; cf. also 11, 192 and 18, 81). Philo describes how expositions (*exēgēseis*) of holy Scripture treat an inner or allegorical meaning (*On the Contemplative Life*, 78). The Old Testament expositor is an *exēgētēs* (*On the Special Laws*, 2, 159). Philo also uses *exēgeomai* in the sense to describe, to relate, or to report.

3. In the LXX *diēgeomai* occurs many more times than *exēgeomai* as the regular translation for *sāp̄ar* in the piel, meaning to tell, to recount, to declare (see above). Thus Abraham's servant tells Isaac all that he has done (Gen. 24:66); Jacob tells Laban of his family (29:13); and Saul is told about the men of Jabesh (1 Sam. 11:5). On 4 occasions *diēgeomai* stands for the Heb. *śîaḥ*, to talk, to sing, or sometimes to complain, as in telling God's wonderful works (1 Chr. 16:9; Ps. 105:2; 145:5), or

in complaining to him (Ps. 55:17). *diēgēsis* occurs less frequently in the LXX. Once it translates *ḥîḏâh* in the sense of telling a parable against someone (Hab. 2:6); once in Codex Alexandrinus it translates *mispār* (Jdg. 7:15, see above). It occurs 7 times in Sirach (Ecclus.) in the sense of godly discourse (6:35; 27:11), speech or conversation (9:15; 38:25), or a story (22:6) or a saying (39:2). It is used at the beginning and end of the Letter of Aristeas to describe the narrative which the book tells. Similarly in Philo *diēgēsis* primarily means story or narrative (e.g. *Embassy to Gaius*, 223). In view of questions about to be raised concerning Jn. 1:18, we must also note the occurrence in Sirach (Ecclus.) of *ekdiēgeomai:* "Who has seen him (God) and can describe (*ekdiēgēsetai*) him?" (43:31).

NT 1. In the NT *exēgeomai* occurs once in Jn., and 5 times in Lk.–Acts. Jn. 1:18 has considerable theological importance: "No one has ever seen God; the only Son who is in the bosom of the Father, he has made him known" (*ekeinos exēgēsato*). (a) M.-E. Boismard has suggested that the verb retains its classical meaning of "lead", "lead the way". Thus he emends the text to read "No one has even seen God except (*ei mē*) the only-begotten: to the bosom of the Father he has led the way" (cf. "Dans le sein du Père, Jn. 1:18", *RB* 59, 1952, 23–39). But although the resulting idea may harmonize well with Johannine thought, there are no adequate grounds for emending the text to place *ei mē ho* before "only-begotten", and omitting *ho ōn* before "in the bosom of". Moreover, as we have seen, *exēgeomai* does not, it seems, have this meaning in first-century Gk. (b) A second interpretation, advocated by R. Bultmann, C. K. Barrett, J. N. Sanders, and many others, depends on understanding *exēgeomai* as "a word which from earliest times was used in a technical sense for the interpretation of the will of the gods by professional diviners, priests, and soothsayers, but which can also be used of God himself when he makes known his will" (R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John* 1971, 83). This interpretation probably began with Wettstein, and gives the verb some such meaning as "reveal". As we have seen, Plato uses the term in this way of the Delphic Apollo, and especially the noun *exēgētēs* is used of priests explaining the oracles. Nevertheless we have also seen that this usage often retains the added idea of interpretation or exposition (it is usually the oracles, rather than the gods themselves, that are revealed or expounded). Further, this is not necessarily the most frequent use of the term in the 1st century. We cannot then conclude with certainty that this background contributes decisively to the meaning of Jn. 1:18. Perhaps the most that can be said is to point out, with J. Marsh and Barnabas Lindars, that Jn. uses a word which is *both* a technical term in Judaism for making known interpretations of the law (see above), *and* a term in Gk. religion for making known divine truths (Marsh, *The Gospel of St. John*, 1968, 112). The incarnate Word brings from the heart of God a revelation both for Jew and for Greek. (c) J. H. Bernard understands *exēgēsato* to mean "it is he who interpreted the Father" (*Gospel according to St. John*, (ICC) 1928, I, 33). The Logos declared the Father with a precision which could only be exhibited by one whose dwelling was in the bosom of the Father. Similarly E. C. Hoskyns writes that "Jesus and the rabbis are bound together as 'exegetes' of the mysteries of God" (*The Fourth Gospel*, 1947², 153); and Leon Morris considers it a "suggestive thought" that Christ is the exegesis of the Father (*Gospel according to John* 1971, 114 n. 122). It is true that, as A.

Schlatter urges (*Der Evangelist Johannes*, 1960³, 36) and as we have seen, *exēgeomai* frequently means to expound or to interpret. This suggestion cannot therefore be ruled out. But it is impossible, again, to be certain that the word bears this more specialized meaning here. (d) Leon Morris believes that the phrase "does point to the adequacy of the revelation made in Christ" (loc. cit.). Christ is "a full and authoritative revelation of the divine being". It may well be that this is implied in the thought of Jn.'s prologue as a whole; but it would be precarious to argue that *exēgeomai* must mean "relate in full" in this verse. (e) Probably, as R. Schnackenburg suggests, the force of the verb in Jn. 1:18 is simply that of "speaking of things hidden in God, tidings of the divine glory" (*The Gospel according to St. John*, I, 1968, 279). The Logos speaks of, makes known, declares, the invisible God. As F. Büchsel points out, Jn. 1:18 is like an intentional answer to the question of Sirach (Ecclus.) 43:31 (above, OT 3). That this is in fact an accurate, clear, and full revelation of God emerges not from the meaning of *exēgeomai* in lexicography, but from the contribution of the wider context of Johannine thought (cf. also Heb. 1:1, 2).

2. In Lk.–Acts *exēgeomai* always means to relate or to tell. Cleopas and his companion relate what happened on the road to Emmaus (Lk. 24:35), and Cornelius relates his vision to his servants (Acts 10:8). In the remaining 3 passages in Acts men relate what God has done (15:12, 14; 21:19). In this last passage Paul relates God's acts "in detail" (*kath' hena hekaston*). The noun *exēgēsis* does not occur in the NT.

3. *diēgeomai* occurs 8 times in the NT, meaning to tell, to describe, or to declare. Witnesses tell what happened to a demoniac (Mk. 5:16); the apostles tell Jesus what they have done (Lk. 9:10; cf. Mk. 9:9; Acts 8:33; 9:27; 12:17; Heb. 11:32). The demoniac who is cured is to declare how much God has done for him (Lk. 8:39). Once (Acts 8:33) the word occurs in a quotation of the LXX of Isa. 53:8, to mean declare or describe.

4. The noun *diēgēsis* is used in the sense of narrative or account in the much-discussed prologue of Lk. (1:1). Lk. has predecessors whose work he describes as attempts *diēgēsin anataxasthai*, and thus the meaning of *diēgēsis* is thought by some to be relevant to questions about Gospel origins. G. E. Lessing argued that, since the term occurred in the singular, Lk. was referring to an original single narrative, which was composed by the apostles, and which Lessing identified as the Gospel of the Nazarenes. He was then obliged to take *anataxasthai* to mean "re-arranged" rather than "drew up". More recently W. R. Farmer has also urged that *diēgēsis* refers to a single narrative, namely the Gospel of Matthew (*The Synoptic Problem*, 1964, 221–3). The "many" are then compilers who are not eye-witnesses. More often, however, it has been argued that Lk.'s predecessors are Mk. and Q, and that little else can be said. J. Bauer has urged that Lk.'s reference to "many" cannot be pressed ("Polloi, Lk. 1:1" in *Novum Testamentum* 4, 1960, 263–6). It is also likely that *diēgēsis* refers to a narrative-unit much larger than the usual pericopae of form criticism. Apart from this, we must conclude, however, that the meaning of ***diēgēsis*** itself offers no substantial help towards solving problems of Gospel origins. *A. C. Thiselton*

ἐπιλύω — ἐπιλύω (*epilyō*), explain, interpret, settle, solve, release; ἐπίλυσις (*epilysis*), explanation, interpretation.

CL 1. In classical Gk. (e.g. in Xenophon, Plato, and Theocritus) *epilyō* may mean to loose, to untie, or to release. This meaning does not occur in the NT, but appears again in the second century A.D. and later (e.g. in Lucian). *epilysis* is used in Aeschylus (*Septem contra Thebas*, 134) to mean release from fear. In the papyri the word is used for the "discharge" of an account.

2. In later authors *epilyō* or *epilyomai* comes to mean to explain, to interpret, or to solve a problem, occurring mainly in writers of the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D., and usually in the middle or passive (e.g. Athenaeus, 10, 45; Vettius Valens, 259, 4). But it may also mean to confute an accusation (Lucian, *Bis Accusatus*, 30). The noun *epilysis* often, but not always, means interpretation. It is used of the interpretation of an oracle (Heliodorus, 4, 9) or the interpretation of dreams (1, 18), but also of the exposure of sophisms (Sextus Empiricus, *Pyrrhonic Elements*, 2, 246). Probably most often it means the explanation of something obscure (e.g. in Athenaeus and especially in Hermas, see below), although in the specialized contents of medicine and magic it can mean a change of dressing or a magic spell.

OT *epilyō* and *epilysis* occur in Aquila's version of the LXX to mean the interpretation of dreams (Gen. 40:8; 41:8, 12). Josephus uses the verb in the sense of solving a problem: Solomon grasps the problems set by the Queen of Sheba, and solves them (*epelyeto*) quickly (*Jewish Antiquities*, 8, 167). Similarly Philo describes how the president of the community discusses questions arising from Scripture and solves one (*epilyetai*) that someone had raised (*On the Contemplative Life*, 75). But Philo also uses the word to mean exposing fallacies (*On Husbandry*, 16). (On *lysis* in Eccl. 8:1, see below.)

NT In the NT the verb *epilyō* occurs twice (Mk. 4:34; Acts 19:39), and the noun *epilysis* occurs once (2 Pet. 1:20). 1. The very broad meaning of *epilyō* (active) in Mk. 4:34 seems to be clear: Jesus explained or expounded the parables privately to his disciples. But if *epilyō* means to make plain what was obscure, does this imply that the parables represent only esoteric teaching for the initiated? (a) A. Jülicher saw a contradiction here between the intentions of Jesus and the view of Mk. (*Die Gleichnisreden Jesu*, I, 1899²). The parables, he urged, were self-explanatory; but the evangelists misconceived their purpose and changed them, partly by allegorizing them, into puzzling, concealing stories, which needed interpretation. Thus Jesus gives a private "explanation" to the disciples. But Jülicher's arguments rest on too clear-cut a contrast between simile and metaphor, and on too uniform a view of the category of "parable". Sometimes the application of a parable is left open-ended in order to let the hearer arrive at its truth *for himself* (cf. the interpretations of E. Fuchs, R. W. Funk, and others). (b) Mk. himself seems to give content to *epilyō* in terms of the "explanation" of the Parable of the Sower in 4:14–20. This use of the verb would accord perfectly with its repeated reference in Hermas, *The Shepherd* (Parable 5.3:1, 2; 5.4:2; 5.5:1; 5.6:8; 8.11:1; 9.11:9 (*tas epilyseis tōn paraboln*). Nevertheless the meaning of Mk. 4:34 may be broader. Questions about the parables and their *epilysis* are more far-reaching than questions about how to translate the symbols of a semi-allegorical example of parabolic teaching. Jesus was not simply concerned about de-coding an allegory. If it were not for the word "all" (*panta*) in this verse, we might suggest that he is offering only a sample exposition of *one* parable, whilst allowing the disciples, as well as the

crowd, to arrive at truth for themselves on subsequent occasions. Vincent Taylor insists that there is no suggestion that the parables were spoken only for the multitudes (*The Gospel according to St. Mark*, 1959, 271). But in addition to the problem of *panta*, Mk. 4:11 seems to suggest a different conclusion. (c) C. E. B. Cranfield rightly sees the importance of "the secret (*to mystērion*) of the kingdom" in 4:11. Whilst the crowds, he suggests, already understand that Jesus is talking about the → kingdom, Jesus' *epilysis* to the disciples concerns the relation of the kingdom to his own person (*The Gospel according to St. Mark*, 1963, 172). The idea that Jesus brings the eschatological crisis here and now would also accord well with notions at Qumran about the "interpretation" of divine secrets (*rāzîm*). Whilst this interpretation has much to commend it, it must be asked whether *epilysis* now has a different content in the intention of Jesus from that understood by Mk. (d) Perhaps the simplest explanation is that *epilyō* refers to the translation of parabolic speech into straightforward discourse, of which Mk. 4:14–20 furnishes only one kind of example. As E. Schweizer points out, the important principle is "as much as they could understand" (*The Good News according to Mark*, 1971, 106). Jesus is not dispensing with indirect communication where it is needed. But whilst in the case of the crowd he was mainly concerned with initial *response*, in the case of the disciples Jesus was also concerned with *instruction*.

2. In Acts 19:39, *epilythēsetai* means to solve a problem or to settle a dispute. The immediate linguistic context is decisive for this meaning: a question can only be "settled", and a problem can only be "solved". Thus the town clerk tells the men of Ephesus that the regular or statutory (*ennomos*) assembly will "settle" any further question which is raised. We have already noted the meaning of "solving a problem" in Josephus or Philo; and to solve a problem is thereby to settle a question.

3. The meaning of *epilysis* in 2 Pet. 1:20 ("No prophecy of Scripture is a matter of one's own interpretation") is controversial. (a) F. Spitta understood *epilysis* to mean "dissolution", and interpreted the verse as "no prophecy of Scripture is of such a kind that it can be annulled". But although in classical authors it can mean "release", this is forcing the meaning of the word, and meets with no general acceptance. (b) Several older commentators (H. Alford, A. T. Robertson, R. H. Strachan) understood *epilysis* to refer to the activity of the Biblical prophet himself; to what was in his mind as he wrote. The word usually translated "is" (*ginetai* with the genitive) means "comes from", denoting origin. The meaning of the verse would then harmonize with a passage in Philo in which Balaam says that he speaks nothing of himself (*idion; Life of Moses*, 2, 125). It also anticipates the thought of the next verse that "it was not through any human whim that men prophesied of old, but . . . they spoke the words of God" (2 Pet. 1:21). The difficulty of this interpretation is that, as J. B. Mayor insists, it is not in harmony with the ordinary force of *epilysis*. Further, C. Bigg maintains that *ginetai* cannot possibly mean "comes from." (c) Most commentators take *epilysis* to mean "interpretation." But does *idiās epilyseōs* mean "private" in contrast to Spirit-inspired, or "private" in contrast to that of the Christian community? A. R. C. Leaney argues that it is not so much a warning to accept the authority of the church as a reminder about the believer's need of the Spirit (*The Letters of Peter and Jude*, 1967, 117).The passage, together with 3:16, makes it clear that certain false teachers had been guilty of

misusing OT prophecy. It may be that the author is saying: just as the prophets themselves were led by the Spirit (2 Pet. 1:21), so no reader can "interpret" prophecies without the guidance of the Spirit. (d) Traditionally, however, "private interpretation" is understood to mean arbitrary exegesis on the basis of personal whim, without reference to others in the Christian community. J. N. D. Kelly goes as far as to maintain that "the notion of an official Church as the appointed custodian of Scripture is evidently taking shape" (*Commentary on the Epistles of Peter and of Jude*, 1969, 323–4). Perhaps the most that can be said, with C. Spicq, is that the author condemns arbitrary exegesis (*Les Épîtres de S. Pierre*, 1966, 224–6). Whether (c) or (d) is the correct explanation cannot be concluded with absolute certainly, but the use of *idias* ("private" or "one's own") might be said slightly to favour (d). *A. C. Thiselton*

ἑρμηνεύω

ἑρμηνεύω (*hermēneuō*), explain, interpret, translate; ἑρμηνεία (*hermēneia*), interpretation, translation; ἑρμηνευτής (*hermēneutēs*), interpreter, translator; μεθερμηνεύω (*methermēneuō*), translate; διερμηνεύω (*diermēneuō*), translate, interpret, explain; διερμηνεία (*diermēneia*), interpretation, translation; διερμηνευτής (*diermēneutēs*), interpreter, translator.

CL 1. In classical Gk. *hermēneuō* may often mean to explain, expound, or interpret. But of the standard passages cited by lexicographers in which the word is said to have this meaning, a number suggest, on closer examination, little more than "to speak", to "to speak plainly" (e.g. Plato, *Rep.*, 5, 453c; Sophocles, *Oedipus Coloneus* 398, where *hermēneue moi* means either "explain to me" or "tell me plainly"). Even in the case of the well-known example in Plato that good poets "interpret" to us the utterances of the gods, J. M. Robinson suggests that *hermēneuein* means only "act as spokesman for", just as Hermes was spokesman for the gods (*New Frontiers in Theology: II The New Hermeneutic*, 1964, 2). Similarly, the noun *hermēneia* often means interpretation (Plato, *Theaetetus*, 209a), but sometimes means little more than communication or speech (Plato, *Rep.*, 7, 5246). The noun *hermēneus*, found in classical authors but not in the NT, means interpreter (e.g. Pindar, *Olympian Odes*, 2, 85). But *hermēneutēs*, found mainly in later Greek, means either interpreter (Plato, *Laws*, 907d, "a statement [*logos*] to serve as the law's interpreter"), or else, again, spokesman, as in the passage in which Plato speaks of priests or diviners as spokesman (just possibly interpreters) of the gods (*hermēneutai . . . parạ theōn*, *The Statesman*, 290c). The adjective *hermēneutikos* describes one who possesses the art of the interpreter (*The Statesman*, 260d).

2. Closely related to the meaning of "speech" in general, *hermēneuō* and *hermēneia* are used in the quasi-technical sense of "articulation" or "expression" of thoughts in words. Thus Xenophon refers to the "power of expression" which makes teaching and the formulation of laws possible (*Memorabilia*, 4, 3, 12). Plato speaks of expressing (or perhaps expounding) the laws in word (*Laws* 966b); whilst Aristotle describes how the tongue provides capacity for speech (*On the Soul*, 420b, 20; *On Breath*, 476a, 20).

3. The other main meaning of *hermēneuō* is to translate. It occurs in this sense in Xenophon, but is mainly characteristic of later writers. In the 1st century B.C.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus refers to translating "council" into Gk. (2, 12, 3). *hermēneus* appears in 3rd century A.D. papyri with the meaning "court interpreter", and *hermēneutes* means "translator" in Xenophon. The verb *diermēneuō* occurs in Polybius in the first century B.C. ("translate as accurately as possible," 3, 22, 3). *Methermēneuō* occurs in Polybius (6, 26, 6), in Dionysius of Halicarnassus (4, 76, 2), and in Diodorus Siculus ("the names are translated into Greek . . .", 1, 11, 2).

OT 1. In the LXX the usual meaning of *hermēneuō* is to translate. In Ezra 4:7 it represents the Hebrew *targēm:* a writing is made in Aramaic and also "a translation" (*graphēn . . . hērmēneumenēn* = *m^{e}ṯurgām*). In Esther 10:3(2) (LXX) it also means "translate". In Job 42:18 (also LXX only) *hermēneuetai* means simply "described as", but refers to a description in "the Aramaic book". *hermēneutēs* occurs only in Gen. 42:23, of Joseph's use of an official interpreter, where it translates the Hiphil form of *lûṣ* or *lîṣ*. In the prologue to Sirach (Ecclus.), 14, *hermēneia* refers to a translation from Hebrew into Greek, although in 47:17 it refers to "interpretations" alongside songs, proverbs, and parables. *diermēneuō* occurs only in 2 Macc. 1:36, where it should probably be translated "means", or "means in effect"; whilst *methermēneuō* occurs only in the prologue to Sirach (Ecclus.) in the sense of "translate" (14).

The use of these words to mean "translate" occurs in Josephus (*Jewish Antiquities*, 12, 7, to translate the LXX) and in Philo (*On Noah's Work as a Planter*, 38). But *hermēneutēs* also means an interpreter of dreams (*Jewish Antiquities*, 2, 72), and *hermēneia* is used in Philo in the quasi-technical sense of articulating thoughts in words. Thus he speaks of putting something into language (*hermēneian*, *On the Cherubim*, 105); of reproducing something in actual words (*diermēneuein autolexei*, *On the Embassy to Gaius*, 353); of literal language in which thought is expressed (*On the Contemplative Life*, 28, 31); of beauty of expression (*The Worse Attacks the Better*, 79); and of how the image of the divine word articulates (*diermēneusantos*) the invisible light (*On the Creation*, 31). In one passage about Moses and Aaron, *hermēneia* occurs twice: on the one hand, Aaron is to be Moses' "spokesman"; on the other hand, God will give to Moses the capacity to express thought in words (*The Worse Attacks the Better*, 39).

2. A purely lexicographical study of *hermēneuō* could not take account of the term *miḏrāš* in Judaism. However, a broader discussion of the *concepts* or "field" relating to "explain", "interpret", would not be complete without at least briefly mentioning it, together with other related terms in Jewish hermeneutics. According to M. Gertner (see bibliography), the "meaning of *miḏrāš*, combining interpretation and narrative, is paralleled in the corresponding Greek and Latin terms *hermēneia*, *exēgēsis*, *expositio*, and *interpretatio*" (loc. cit., 11). *miḏrāš* in Judaism represents both the procedure and the result of interpretation. It thus involves, firstly, investigation (*dāraš*, e.g. Ezra 7:10, Greek *zēteō*), analytical study, midrashic interpretation, and exposition; and then, secondly, the conveying of the results arrived at, in what amounts to the beginning of a tradition. In midrashic literature, interpretation may sometimes proceed by means of specific hermeneutical rules (*middôṯ*) such as the seven rules formulated by Hillel (*c.* 30 B.C.). The first of these concerned inferences *a minore ad maius*; the second concerned analogies and comparisons (*g^{e}zerâh šāwâh*); and so on (see B. Rosensweig in bibliography). By the second

century Rabbi Eliezer ben Jose the Galilean had expanded these rules until they numbered thirty-two. Originally *miḏrāš* meant little more than "narrative" (2 Chron. 24:27), but as it came increasingly to mean "interpretation", the term *haggādāh* was coined to mean narrative. Other related terms of hermeneutical importance include: *pāṯaḥ*, to begin, set out, open, explain; *pāraš*, to specify, pronounce explicitly, explain, interpret; *targēm*, to translate or to elucidate (see above); *pāšar* (*pēšer*, translated as *lysis* in Eccl. 8:1, LXX) and *pāṯar*, to interpret; and *pāšaṭ*, to elucidate, make clear by removing difficulties or obscurities.

NT 1. More than half of the 20 or so occurrences of *hermēneuō* and related words in the NT mean "translate" in a fairly straightforward sense. In the passive *methermēneuomai* always means "is translated", or "means". Thus Emmanuel means "God with us" (Matt. 1:23); the Aramaic transliteration "*Talitha, koum*" (*ṭ*^{e}*lîṯā' qūm*) means "Little girl, get up" (Mk. 5:41); Golgotha means a skull (15:22); Messiah means → Christ (Jn. 1:42); rabbi means a teacher (1:38); and so on (Mk. 15:34; Acts 4:36; 13:8). *hermēneuomai* can be used in the same way (Jn. 1:43; 9:7; Heb. 7:2), as also can *diermēneuomai* (Acts 9:36). An interesting point arises, however, in connection with Jn. 9:7 and Heb. 7:2. Siloam does not strictly *mean* "sent", although the word in the Hebrew (*šilōaḥ*, Isa. 8:6) is related to the word for "send" (*šālaḥ*). The word may have been arrived at originally because water was "sent" into the pool by a channel (although some derive it from the Akkadian *siliḫtû*, basin of a canal). But *šilōaḥ* is still not a passive participle, like the Greek *apestalmenos*. Thus *hermeneuetai* means something broader than "is translated". Siloam conveys the thought expressed by "sent", which is an important key word for Jn. There is no justification for insisting on the idea of "means etymologically". Jn. is not primarily interested in bad linguistics. The same can be said of Heb. 7:2. Melchizedek "means" king of righteousness (Heb. *ṣeḏeq*, righteousness; *meleḵ*, king) only in the broad sense that the name expresses the thought inspired by the language. We have already noted this kind of meaning for *hermēneuō* in other writers, especially Philo. The main point about most of the passages in which *hermēneuō* means "translate", however, is the concern of the evangelists that this language should be intelligible to outsiders or non-Jews.

2. In Lk. 24:27 *diermēneuō*, means to expound or to interpret. Beginning with the Pentateuch and the prophets, Jesus expounded the OT in terms of his own person and mission. Lk.–Acts suggests that this would have involved especially such passages as Isa. 53:7–12 (Lk. 22:37; Acts 8:32, 33; cf. Mk. 9:12). This "expounding" is parallel to Christ's "opening" (*diēnoigen*) the Scriptures in Lk. 24:32, which probably corresponds to the use of *pāṯaḥ* in Jewish hermeneutics (see above). In the light of Christ's finished work, OT passages which hitherto had expressed only promise could now be "interpreted" in terms of fulfilment. The OT is seen not simply as an end in itself, but also as a tradition of conceptual and historical paradigms of God's acts which reach their climax in the coming of Christ (cf. 1 Cor. 10:11, "for our benefit"). Thus whilst the OT interprets the coming of Christ, Christ also interprets the OT. Hence the Christian interpretation of Isa.53, for example, can never remain merely "Jewish".

3. The remaining 7 uses of *diermēneuō*, *diermēneutēs*, and *hermēneia* all relate to the interpretation of speaking in tongues (1 Cor. 12:10, 30; 14:5, 13, 26, 27, 28).

It is tempting to imagine that this takes the form of "translating" otherwise unintelligible speech. But if speaking in tongues is, as Paul seems to imply (14:14), subrational and pre-conceptual, it does not provide communicable concepts which may then be "translated" into the native language of the community. Conversely, if glossolalia were already rational and conceptual, it is difficult to see why the speaker could not always "interpret" his own utterances to the church. In at least four places, however, Paul makes it clear that often, although not always, the interpreter is a different person from the one who speaks in tongues (1 Cor. 12:10; 14:5, 13, 28). Further, ecstatic utterance is usually addressed to God rather than to the congregation (14:2; cf. 14:16; although cf. also the reference to "different kinds of tongues", in 12:10). It is therefore doubtful whether any light is shed on this passage by Plato's reference to prophets assessing the ecstatic utterances of seers (*Timaeus*, 72a). Presumably, then, *hermēneia* in these verses is an intelligible description of the pre-conceptual mood or attitude which is expressed in tongues. If this is so, it is perhaps just conceivable that Paul's injunction to the ecstatic to pray for the capacity to "interpret" his own utterance is tantamount to short-circuiting the place of tongues in public worship altogether (14:13). At very least, Paul certainly views tongues as being primarily a private affair between man and God (14:2–6, 16, 19, 23, 28) but by way of concession allows a maximum of two or three ecstatic utterances in public on condition that someone is present who can interpret them (14:27, 28). The basic principle expressed in these passages is the importance of rationality and intelligibility in public worship. Only that which is intelligible can build the church up (14:1–6, 19, *et passim*; cf. further, J. P. M. Sweet, "A Sign for Unbelievers: Paul's Attitude to Glossolalia", *NTS* 13, 1966–7, 240–57; and commentaries on 1 Cor., ad loc.).

4. One famous use of *hermēneutēs* occurs in early Christian literature in Eusebius, *HE* 3, 39. Papias says that Mk., "who had been Peter's *hermēneutēs*, wrote down carefully as much as he remembered, recording the sayings and doings of Christ . . ." Many have taken the term to mean "translator" here, but recently it has been argued that it means something more like "private secretary" or "aide-de-camp" (cf. R. P. Martin, *Mark: Evangelist and Theologian*, 1972, 52; and E. Stauffer, see bibliography).

5. In the history of Christian thought up to the present, the study of hermeneutics has taken two distinct forms.

(a) Traditionally hermeneutics has involved the attempt to formulate general rules for the interpretation of Biblical texts. But this approach encounters two difficulties. Firstly, it has become increasingly recognized in the light of Biblical criticism that different types of Biblical literature require particular methodologies of their own. For example, methods used in the interpretation of the parables of Jesus will be different from those employed in interpreting Hebrew poetry or parts of the Pauline epistles. The few general principles which can be universally applied to all types of Biblical literature tend to be so basic as to be obvious: for example, the need to pay due attention to the linguistic context, the historical situation, the literary genre, and the purpose of the writer. Secondly, nowadays it is also more widely appreciated that the process of understanding a text is, as Schleiermacher insisted, not simply a matter of observing certain hermeneutical rules. The observance of such rules may admittedly constitute a necessary pre-condition for the

correct interpretation of a text; but they do not of themselves create or initiate genuine understanding. It is the recognition of this latter difficulty that leads to a second and more adequate understanding of the task of hermeneutics.

(b) If the interpreter is to understand a text adequately and correctly, due account must be taken of his own subjectivity. His own presuppositions, cultural orientation, and psychological capacities will shape his understanding of the text. Some of these presuppositions may act as a barrier to understanding; yet it is more important to note that they also serve as an indispensable point of contact with the subject-matter of the text, at least at the commencement of the ongoing process of understanding. This point was stressed by Schleiermacher, and has connections with Bultmann's conception of pre-understanding (*Vorverständnis*). One special aspect of the problem of the relation between the interpreter and the text is that of historical distance. This aspect was explored especially by Dilthey, and has been sharpened as a two-way problem of "historicality", or historical relativity, in Heidegger, Gadamer, and Pannenberg. Both the text and the interpreter are to some extent conditioned by their particular place in history.

This problem can be illustrated with reference to Bultmann's proposals about demythologizing. He contends that belief in miracles is bound up with a first-century world-view. But it is also possible to argue that the attitude of the modern secular man towards miracles equally reflects his own historicality, as the product of a materialistic science-orientated culture in the twentieth century. The problem of historicality therefore is a two-way issue, and concerns the horizons of the modern interpreter as well as those of the text.

In practice the task of hermeneutics is first to recognize and accept the problem of "distance" between the interpreter and the text, and to allow him to disentangle what the text actually says from his own presuppositions about what at first it merely *seems* to say in the absence of due critical reflection. The interpreter must not merely read his own ideas into the text. Next, the horizons of the interpreter and the horizons of the text must be brought into a relationship of active engagement and dialogue, until the two sets of judgments, or of questions and answers, become eventually fused into one. The two principles, the negative and the positive, are carefully explored by Gadamer in his *Wahrheit und Methode* in the sections on historical distancing and the merging of horizons (*Horizontverschmelzung*). A useful discussion of them is also undertaken by Richard Palmer, and a brief popular approach has been worked out by Walter Wink.

In the writings of Ernst Fuchs this crucial area of shared understanding is described under the key category of *Einverständnis*, often translated as "common understanding", but sometimes also as "empathy". He illustrates what is meant by citing the "common understanding" which exists within a close-knit family, whereby what is said within the home is "understood" by all the members of the family. Understanding rests on shared experiences and attitudes. In particular, Fuchs believes that the parables of Jesus create a "world" into which the hearer is drawn, and is at home. But the content of the parables challenges him, as a new reality. The word of Jesus becomes a language-event, the hearer is grasped deep down, and his own "world" is extended, as it were, from within. To understand the parable is thus not merely to have certain ideas explained, but to enter a new world or reality together with Jesus, so that he hears the word anew. The final goal

of hermeneutics, according to Fuchs, is not so much that the interpreter should interpret the text, as that the text should interpret him.

The new hermeneutic, as represented by Fuchs and Ebeling, endeavours to take full account of the subjectivity of the interpreter, but without losing sight of the primacy of the text itself. Admittedly the interpreter's understanding of a text is shaped by his own questions and pre-judgments. But the text, in turn, speaks back to the interpreter, so that his initial questions and pre-judgments are re-shaped. The term "hermeneutical circle" may be misleading, for in the hermeneutical movement between text and interpreter, genuine progress will be achieved towards a fusion of horizons, provided that there is both critical reflection and also a humble listening to the text. It is clear that the hermeneutical problem is a genuine and important one, and it would be a mistake to avoid it by arguing that the interpretation and application of Scripture is exclusively the work of the Holy Spirit. The same might be said about the need for any theological study. *A. C. Thiselton*

(a). P. J. Achtemeier, *An Introduction to the New Hermeneutic* 1969; J. Behm, *hermēneuō*, *TDNT* II 661–6; F. Büchsel, *hēgeomai*, *TDNT* II 908 f.; R. Bultmann "Is Exegesis without Presuppositions Possible?" *Existence and Faith*, 1964, 342–51; and "The Problem of Hermeneutics," *Essays Philosophical and Theological*, 1955, 234–61; G. Ebeling, *Word and Faith*, 1963; and *God and Word*, 1967; and *Theology and Proclamation*, 1966; E. Fuchs, *Studies of the Historical Jesus*, 1964; and "The Hermeneutical Problem," in J. M. Robinson, ed., *The Future of our Religious Past*, 1971, 267–78; R. W. Funk, *Language, Hermeneutic and Word of God*, 1966; M. Gertner, "Terms of Scriptural Interpretation: A Study in Hebrew Semantics," *BSOAS* 25, 1962, 1–27; M. Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 1962; E. D. Hirsch, *Validity in Interpretation* 1967; Liddell-Scott, 593; J. H. Oliver, *The Athenian Expounders of the Sacred and Ancestral Law*, 1950, 122 ff.; R. E. Palmer, *Hermeneutics, Interpretation Theory in Schleiermacher, Dilthey, Heidegger, and Gadamer*, 1969; and "*Hermēneuō* and *Hermēneia*", *Hermeneutics*, 1969, 12–32; W. Pannenberg, *Basic Questions in Theology*, I, 1970; J. M. Robinson and J. Cobb, eds., *New Frontiers in Theology: II, The New Hermeneutic*, 1964; B. Rosensweig, "The Hermeneutic Principles and their Application," *Tradition* 13, 1972, 49–76; A. C. Thiselton, "The Parables as Language-Event. Some Comments on Fuchs's Hermeneutics in the Light of Linguistic Philosophy", *SJT* 23, 1970, 437–68; "The Use of Philosophical Categories in New Testament Hermeneutics," *The Churchman* 87, 1973, 87–100; and "The New Hermeneutic" in I. H. Marshall, ed., *New Testament Interpretation* 1977, 308-333; and *The Two Horizons*, 1980; W. Wink, *The Bible in Human Transformation* 1973.

(b). A. M. Denis, "Foi et Exégèse: Réflexions sur les Fondements Théologiques," *NTS* 20, 1973–4, 45–54; E. Fuchs, *Hermeneutik* 1970[4]; *Marburger Hermeneutik*, 1968; *Zum hermeneutischen Problem in der Theologie*, 1959; H.-G. Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode, Grundzüge einer philosophischen Hermeneutik*, 1965[2]; M. Heidegger, *Unterwegs zur Sprache*, 1960; O. Kern, *exēgētai*, Pauly-Wissowa VI 1583–4; E. Stauffer, "Der Methurgeman des Petrus," in J. Blinzler, ed., *Neutestamentliche Aufsätze*, Festschrift J. Schmid, 1963, 282 ff.

F

Face

πρόσωπον

πρόσωπον (*prosōpon*), face; προσωπολημψία (*prosōpolēmpsia*), partiality, bias; προσωπολημπτέω (*prosōpolēmpteō*), show partiality, give a biased judgment; προσωπολήμπτης (*prosōpolēmptēs*), biased, taking sides; ἀπροσωπολήμπτως (*aprosōpolēmptōs*), unbiased.

CL *prosōpon*, face. Originally it probably meant that which struck the eye (*pros* towards, and *ops* eye), that which one looks at. In secular Gk. it meant face, death-mask, actor's mask, then (fig.) the part played by the actor. When used of things it meant surface, either the top one, or the one facing the observer. It is occasionally used for the face of the gods. When used as a part representing the whole, it meant the figure. The meaning person (not found before Polyb.) is a borrowing from Lat. usage.

OT *prosōpon* is found *c.* 900 times in the LXX, mostly as a translation of *pānîm*.

1. It is used: (a) For man's face (Gen. 31:2), his appearance (Gen. 4:5), as a paraphrase for the whole man (Deut. 7:10). The frequent expression to turn the face means to greet respectfully. It is sometimes also used for the faces of animals (Ezek. 1:10). (b) For the side turned to the observer, e.g. the face of the earth (Gen. 2:6). (c) It is also used with various prepositions to express relationships, e.g. before the face of, before, into, in front of, opposite.

2. It is used above all for the face of God: (a) As the aspect of God that concerns man. Where the LXX speaks of the face of God, it is often referring to some relationship of God to man, e.g. his gracious turning to him, or his disappointed turning from him. If God lifts up or causes his face to shine upon Israel, it receives peace (i.e. salvation) thereby (Num. 6:25 f.). When God hides or turns away his face, it implies the withdrawal of grace (cf. Ps. 13:2; 104:29). Actions and reactions of God which either bring the good fortune of fellowship with God (Ps. 25:25) or an abiding under God's wrath (Lev. 17:10) are expressed by such anthropomorphic pictures. The possibility of seeing God's face is mentioned as the most exceptional possibility (Gen. 32:30, Peniel, the face of God; cf. also Gen. 16:13; Exod. 24:9 ff.; Deut. 4:12; Jdg. 6:22 f.). It is always stressed how dangerous this experience is. If a sinful man sees the holy God, he must die (Exod. 33:20; cf. Isa. 6:5). → Blessing.

In Exod. 33 three different traditions – Yahweh sends an angel as guide; a link with Yahweh through the Tent; Yahweh's *pānîm* accompanies the people – are linked together by the basic thought of the leading of the people after the departure from Sinai. In the third strand of tradition *pānîm* (Exod. 33:14 f.) appears uniquely

hypostatized as a manifestation of Yahweh to Israel. This has led to divergent attempts at interpretation. Some understand "my *pānîm*" as "I myself", i.e. an emphasis on the personal presence of Yahweh. Others maintain that this passage justifies us in claiming that the priest used a mask in the cultus. Others interpret it to mean that in the cultus at the sanctuaries the face of Yahweh was present, i.e. the aspect of him turned manward. No single, certain interpretation can be offered.

(b) When God's face is mentioned in connection with the temple, the language is cultic. Extra-Biblical usage may have had an influence here. Among the nations surrounding Israel the face of the deity was seen and worshipped in that of the temple image. Since there was no image used in Israel's worship, the phrase could be used only in a metaphorical sense, when it was said that the worshipper sought God's face in the temple (Ps. 24:6; 42:2 (MT 42:3); Zech. 8:21 f. (MT and LXX); Mal. 1:9 (MT)). The gracious presence of God is meant, his turning to men which the Israelite sought especially in the temple. So to seek the face of God in the OT means to come near to God in → prayer. Finally, quite apart from the cultus, it has the general meaning of seeking fellowship with God. The psalmist urges Israel to do this "continually" in Ps. 105:4.

The literal meaning of shewbread (Exod. 25:30) is "bread of face" ("bread of the Presence", RSV). Such loaves were known in the heathen cults, where they served as food for the deity (cf. Jer. 7:18). When Israel took over the custom, the → bread (art. *artos*) was put with frankincense on the special table as a gift, not as food, before the face of God. See further Exod. 35:13; 39:36; Num. 4:7; 1 Sam. 21:6; 1 Ki. 7:48; 1 Chron. 9:32; 23:29; 28:16; 2 Chron. 2:4; 4:19; 13:11; 29:18; Neh. 10:33; Matt. 12:4; Mk. 2:26; Lk. 6:4; Heb. 9:2; Josephus, *Ant.*, 3, 6, 6; 3, 10, 7.

(c) In Rab. Judaism man's highest hope is to see the face of God or of the *šᵉkînâh*, either in the hour of death and in the world to come after the days of the Messiah or even according to some opinions during the days of the Messiah. In the reflection of the divine light the face of the righteous will shine like the sun (cf. Dan. 12:3), but the godless will receive their punishment before the face of God. Contrast, however, R. Johanan b. Zakkai's fear on his deathbed (SB I 208; ML 478).

NT NT follows the OT usage, and *prosōpon* is used as follows:

1. (a) Lit. of man's face (e.g. Matt. 6:16 f.; 2 Cor. 11:20). (b) In various metaphorical expressions, e.g. "to fall on one's face" as a sign of respect and subjection (Matt. 17:6; Lk. 5:12; 1 Cor. 14:25), or "he set his face to go to Jerusalem" (Lk. 9:51) which expresses Jesus' immovable decision to go to Jerusalem. For Luke this marks a new period in Jesus' life.

(c) Face can stand for the whole person (2 Cor. 1:11; Gk. "many faces"), especially in the sense of respect of persons (Mk. 12:14 par.).

(d) Combined with prepositions – mostly in literal reproductions of Sem. expressions – e.g. "before thy face" (Mk. 1:2), "in the presence of" (Lk. 2:31).

(e) Face is used to refer to the surface of the earth (Lk. 21:35; Acts 17:26), the appearance of the sky (Matt. 16:3), and of plants (Jas. 1:11).

2. It is further used of the face of God and of Christ. The NT continues Rab. thought when it speaks of seeing God in the heavenly world. The angels of the "little ones" (Matt. 18:10) see the face of God. This is a circumlocution for God's

care for the humble. In the heavenly sanctuary Christ appears for us before the face of God (Heb. 9:24). Thereby the heavenly sanctuary replaces the earthly temple and cultus. The NT reflects Heb. modes of thought and speech, in that it does not describe the appearance of anyone and so not that of Jesus.

For the believer the glory of God (→ Glory, art. *doxa*) has appeared in the face of Christ (2 Cor. 4:6). This verse is linked with the story of the transfiguration (in Matt. 17:2 Jesus' face "shone like the sun"). But Paul writes of the glorified, not the earthly Lord. Hence *prosōpon* is not the outward appearance, nor does it stand only for the person. It recalls the "face" of God in the OT. Christ "is the likeness of God" (2 Cor. 4:4; Jn. 12:45; 14:9), God's turning to us and his final revelation. The reference of the whole context to Exod. 34 makes this certain. The glory on Moses' face, derived from his meeting with God, was transient (2 Cor. 3:13). Hence he covered his face with a veil. Paul expands the picture to cover the whole OT. The veil which hid Moses' transient glory covers the whole OT, where Israel is concerned, so that they cannot see the glory of the promise and fulfilment in Christ (2 Cor. 3:14 f.). Otherwise Moses would serve them as a (negative) witness to Christ. Only when there is faith in Christ is the veil removed (2 Cor. 3:16). Here "face" stands for man's innermost being (as "heart" in 4:6, and "mind" in 3:15; 4:4). In spite of that, all knowledge by faith is only an imperfect anticipation of the future knowledge, "face to face" (1 Cor. 13:12). The servants of God will not see his face till they are in the new Jerusalem (Rev. 22:4; cf. Matt. 5:8).

3. *prosōpon* is also used in the compound words *prosōpolēmpsia*, *prosōpolēmptēs*, *prosōpolēmpteō* which are all compounded with a form of the verb *lambanō* (lit. take). This translates the Heb. *nāśā'*, lift up the face of the one who has bowed humbly in greeting, i.e. to acknowledge him. God does not allow himself to be influenced by appearances or respect of persons (Deut. 10:17, in LXX *thaumazō*, esteem). Equally the earthly judge must refrain from all partiality (Lev. 19:15; Deut. 1:17; 16:19; cf. in the NT Mk. 12:14; Jude 16; Gal. 2:6). *prosōpolēmpsia* which first occurs in the NT means partiality or bias (Rom. 2:11; Eph. 6:9; Col. 3:25; Jas. 2:1). In Jas. 2:9 *prosōpolēmpteō* means to show partiality. These passages warn against common preferences (e.g. of the rich), pretences (eyeservice, Col. 3:22), self-deceit (Col. 3:25), disdain (e.g. of slaves), special religious claims (e.g. by the Jews). They are always based on the fact that God is impartial (*ou prosōpolēmptēs*, Acts 10:34) and acts impartially (*aprosōpolēmptōs*, 1 Pet. 1:17), and shows to all one and the same grace. *E. Tiedtke*

(a). Arndt, 728 f.; E. Lohse, *prosōpon*, *TDNT* VI 768 ff.; Moulton–Milligan, 553; Commentaries on 2 *Corinthians* by J. Denney, 1894, and P. E. Hughes, 1962, on 3:7–18; 4:6.
(b). H. Preisker, "Angesicht," *BHHW* I 93 f.

Faith, Persuade, Belief, Unbelief

The words dealt with here are basically concerned with that personal relationship with a person or thing which is established by trust and trustworthiness (including their negation). If this relationship comes about through persuasion or conviction, the vb. *peithomai* is used. The perf. tense *pepoitha* expresses the firm conviction and confidence that has come about. The words of the *pistis* group are derived from the same verbal stem. They denoted originally the faithful relationship of partners in

an agreement and the trustworthiness of their promises. In a broader sense they came to denote the credibility of statements, reports and accounts in general, both sacred and secular. In NT Gk. they gained a special importance and specific content through their application to the relationship with God in Christ: the trusting acceptance and recognition of what God has done and promised in him.

πείθομαι

πείθω (*peithō*), convince, persuade; πείθομαι (*peithomai*), obey, believe; πέποιθα (*pepoitha*), be convinced, trust; πεποίθησις (*pepoithēsis*), trust, confidence; πειθός (*peithos*), persuasive; πειθαρχέω (*peitharcheō*), obey; πεισμονή (*peismonē*), persuasion; ἀπειθέω (*apeitheō*), be disobedient; ἀπειθής (*apeithēs*), disobedient; ἀπείθεια (*apeitheia*), disobedience; πιθανολογία (*pithanologia*), persuasive speech, art of persuasion.

CL 1. The stem *peith-* (*pith-*, *poith-*) has the basic meaning of trust (cf. Lat. *fido*, *fides*). The same stem is also the basis of the formations with *pist-* (→ *pisteuō*). Trust can refer to a statement, so that it has the meaning to put faith in, to let oneself be convinced, or to a demand, so that it gets the meaning of obey, be persuaded. The original intrans. act. *peithō* (trust) became trans., to convince, persuade (already in the time of Homer), first through the pass. (be convinced, persuaded). The meaning to trust was taken over with both the above-mentioned branches from the mid. pass. *peithomai*. Only the 2nd perf. *pepoitha* retains in the act. the original intrans. meaning (strictly, to have taken hold of trust with the effect continuing into the present). It has the present meaning of trusting firmly, relying upon. The mid. pass. of the 1st perf. *pepeismai* (strictly, to have been convinced, or to have convinced oneself) likewise means to be convinced. The noun *pepoithēsis* (trust, confidence), derived from *pepoitha* is late Gk.

2. The adj. *peithos* (persuasive), derived from *peithō* is found nowhere in Gk. except 1 Cor. 2:4, where another reading has the noun *peithō* (art of persuading, see under 4) which is common in Gk. but does not occur elsewhere in the NT. From the same stem as *peithō* comes *pithanos* (convincing, trustworthy) and from it *pithanologia* (persuasive speech, art of persuasion) for persuading through appearances in contrast to *apodeixis* (proof, cf. Plato, *Theaet.*, 162e; 1 Cor. 2:4). The earliest and in the NT sole occurrence of *peismonē* (persuasion, persuasiveness) is Gal. 5:8. The vb. *peitharcheō* (obey) is current from the time of Sophocles, and is derived from the adj. *peitharchos* (obeying a superior, the government, or an authority [*archē*]).

3. *apeitheō* (be disobedient) and *apeitheia* (disobedience) are derived from *apeithēs* (disobedient) also in classical Gk.

4. The active meaning convince, persuade, is especially characteristic of Gk. thought. It is significant that Peitho (art of persuading, see above 2) is regarded as a goddess. But *peithō* can also extend the meaning of persuade to include lead astray, corrupt. The mid. pass. meaning of trust, rely on, can also refer to God in secular Gk. From the meaning to allow onself to be convinced comes the variant to have faith (in another). From the meaning let oneself be persuaded comes the use in the sense of follow (another), be obedient, obey (Plato, *Apol.*, 29d: "I will obey God rather than you"). On *pepoitha* cf. Aeschylus, *Eum.*, 826, where Athene says to the chorus of the Eumenides: *kagō pepoitha Zēni* ("I too rely upon Zeus").

OT 1. In contrast to Gk., Heb. has no word for persuade, convince. In the few places, where tenses other than the perf. of *peithō* and *peithomai* occur in the LXX (chiefly in 2 and 4 Macc. and Tob.), there is no Heb. equivalent.

2. It is otherwise in the case of the perf. *pepoitha* which occurs about 80 times for the Heb. *bāṭaḥ*, trust, rely upon. This Heb. word and its derivatives are translated almost as often by *pepoitha* as by the vbs. *elpizō* and *epelpizō* and the noun *elpis* (→ hope). On the other hand, *pepoitha* is used to translate several other Heb. words (especially *ḥāsâh*, seek refuge, which in fact is translated twice as often by *epelpizō*. *pepoitha* serves to draw attention to the object and ground of Israel's hope, especially in Isa. 10:20, Jer., proverbial wisdom and (together with the more common *elpizō*) in the Pss. expressing trust (cf. Pss. 24[25]:2; 56[57]:1). This lies in God's → covenant fidelity, → election and → promise. It is to be distinguished from trust in men, idols and material goods (cf. Isa. 17:7 f.; 32:3; 36:6; Jer. 7:4; Ps. 117[118]:8). The noun *pepoithēsis* occurs in the LXX only once for the Heb. *biṭṭāḥôn*, trust (derived from *bāṭaḥ*), in 1 Ki. 18:19.

3. The noun *pithanologia*, persuasive speech, art of persuasion, which corresponds to *peithō* does not occur at all in the LXX. And the vb. *peitharcheō*, obey, does not occur apart from 1 Esd. 8:94; Sir. 30:38 (33:28) and Dan. 7:27. On the other hand, *apeitheō*, and in one instance *apeithēs*, are used to characterize the people who disobey God, especially in Deut. and Isa. It translates various Heb. vbs. including *mārâh* (Deut. 1:26; 9:23 f.; Isa. 3:8; cf. Philo, *Spec.Leg.*, 5, 741d: "they punish him who is not only disobedient [*ton apeithounta*] to the law but also to God").

NT In the NT *peithō*, *peithomai* and *pepoitha* are quite common; they occur most frequently in Paul (22 times) and Acts (17 times). But they are absent from Mk., Jn., 1 and 2 Pet., Jude and Rev. as well as 1 Cor., Eph., Col., 1 Thess., 1 Tim. and Tit. Examination of the passages shows that Paul – like the LXX – used the active forms only rarely (twice), but the perf. forms of *pepoitha* quite frequently. Otherwise these occur only in quotations in Matt. and Heb. and twice in Lk. The noun *pepoithēsis* is found 6 times in Paul. *peitharcheō* occurs only in Acts (3 times) and Tit. 3:1.

The negative forms are relatively rare. Whereas the vb. *apeitheō* occurs 13 times (5 times in Rom., and 4 times in 1 Pet.), the noun and the adj. are each found only 6 times. Apart from Rom. 1:30, the adj. occurs only in the Pastoral Epistles, Lk. and Acts. *apeitheia* occurs twice each in Rom., Eph. and Heb.

1. The range of meaning of the vb. may be ascertained by looking at its tenses with regard to the beginning, end and duration of the action concerned.

(a) The act. form of *peithō* in the aor. (e.g. *epeisan*, Matt. 27:20; cf. Acts 12:20; 14:19; 19:26) always has the meaning of persuade, induce, and even to mislead or corrupt. But it has no special theological significance.

By contrast, the imperfect expresses the attempt to influence a person to adopt a particular attitude or action. It is characteristic that Acts uses the vb. to describe Paul's preaching to the Jews of the synagogue (→ Church, art. *synagōgē*) and the → Greeks (→ Conversion, art. *prosēlytos*). Here Paul was not trying to evince faith in the one God, but to persuade them of the newly given grace in Christ (Acts 13:43) through teaching (18:4; → Think, art. *dialogizomai*). The same applies to

the pres. part. Acts 19:8 describes how Paul argued for three months in the synagogue attempting to convince the Jews of the kingdom of God (cf. 28:31, where his activity is also described as "teaching about the Lord Jesus Christ").

(b) The pres. ind. denotes not only the duration of the action but the fact that it is taking place at the present time. Here the context determines the meaning. In 3 passages the meaning is disputed (Acts 26:28; 2 Cor. 5:11; and Gal. 1:10). E. Haenchen translates Acts 26:28: "Soon you will convince me to play the Christian" (*The Acts of the Apostles*, 1971, 689). The Gk. text reads *en oligō me peitheis Christianon poiēsai*, lit. "In a little you persuade me to make a Christian." Here the vb. *poiēsai* is a technical theatrical term, used of playing a part. These words of the Jewish King Agrippa are not to be taken ironically. They show how he came within a hair's breadth of conversion. He was a Jew, and this suggests that *peitheis* is used here in the sense of 1 (a) above. On the other hand, the expression chosen here indicates just how far he was from taking the step. Some manuscripts have *genesthai* (become) instead of *poiēsai*, but these are inferior. The better manuscripts do not speak directly of the possibility of Agrippa becoming a Christian. F. F. Bruce translates the passage: "In short, you are trying to persuade me to act the Christian" (*The Acts of the Apostles*, 1952², 449). Agrippa sees himself in a dilemma. If he says that he rejects the prophets (v. 27), his reputation for orthodoxy is gone. But if he agrees with Paul's reasoning, he realizes that he is being manoeuvred into a position of public agreement with Paul. For other interpretations, see R. Bultmann, *TDNT* VI 2, n. 4, and Arndt, 645.

2 Cor. 5:11 and Gal. 1:10 are the only instances in Paul of the act. use. They probably do not refer directly to persuasion to accept the gospel. Paul had to defend himself against the claims of spurious authorities, who were working against him. In 2 Cor. 5:11 he says: "Therefore, knowing the fear of the Lord, we persuade men." In Gal. 1:10 he asks: "Am I now trying to persuade [RSV "seeking the favour of"] men or God?" In these passages he is stressing the fact that he strives to convince men by argument, not because it was necessary for his personal authority, but for the sake of the gospel that he proclaimed.

(c) The fut. act. comes very close to the aor. in meaning to persuade. It also means to reassure. Perhaps there is the thought of corruption in the background of Matt. 28:14 (cf. RSV, Arndt. "satisfy"). In 1 Jn. 3:19 ("By this we shall know that we are of the truth, and reassure [*peisomen*] our hearts before him" RSV) it is a question of true self-knowledge. The point is a double one. On the one hand, it is a question of being in the truth or not, and this is shown by whether love is shown in action. On the other hand, it is a question of whether God will condemn us. These two points are not simply parallel. Someone who is merely of the truth could still condemn himself before God, although this does not inevitably follow (cf. v. 21). If his heart drives him to it, he may still reassure it before God. For God knows better than ourselves not only about our guilt, but also that which he has newly created in us.

2. The mid. and pass. deponent *peithomai* corresponds to the act. voice and stresses the result and outcome of the influence. This applies to the aor., imp., and fut. which occur only in the Lucan writings in the NT.

(a) The aor. occurs 3 times. Acts 17:4 shows the success of Paul's teaching in the synagogue (cf. v. 2; see above 1 (a)). Acts 5:39 (RSV v. 40 "So they took his

advice [*epeisthēsan de autō*]") refers to the council of Jewish leaders being persuaded by Gamaliel. It is characteristic of Acts that it uses the same form of the vb. in both passages, as also in Acts 23:21 where warning is given (though without theological significance) against being influenced by false advice. The dat. following the vb. refers to the person who is exerting influence. The following are possible meanings: to be persuaded by someone, to follow someone, to yield to (cf. Acts 23:21 RSV), to listen to someone in the sense of hearken and obey.

(b) Similarly, the imp. means to heed, to pay attention to someone's words, attitudes or actions, so that one is influenced by them. According to Acts 27:11, the centurion "paid more attention [*mallon epeitheto*]" (RSV) to the captain and owner of the ship than to Paul. Again, with reference to the behaviour of the Roman Jews, Acts 28:24 expresses a contrast: "And some were convinced [*epeithonto*] by what he said, while others disbelieved [*ēpistoun*]" (RSV). *peithomai* here has the meaning of believe (Paul's words). Thus the vb. can also come to denote following a leader, as in the case of Theudas and Judas the Galilean (Acts 5:36 f.).

(c) In the only passage in the fut., Lk. 16:31, where it follows the conjunction *ean* (if) denoting a hypothetical or possible fut. act, the vb. means to be convinced. "If they do not hear Moses and the prophets, neither will they be convinced if some one should rise from the dead." In Acts Paul seeks to convince the Jews by arguments which any Jew must accept. Lk. 16:31 expresses the corollary. Where agreement to such argument is refused, a man will not be convinced even though someone should rise from the dead.

(d) The pres. has no particular theological significance in Acts 21:14 and 26:26, where it means to be persuaded, and Heb. 13:18 ("we are sure" RSV). In other places it means to obey or follow (Gal. 5:7; Heb. 13:17; Jas. 3:3). In Rom. 2:8 disobedience (→ *apeitheō* below) to the truth is seen as being grounded in subjection to unrighteousness. This is abolished by faith. But where there is a renewed regard for the law, disobedience to the truth necessarily follows (cf. Gal. 5:7; → *peismonē* below).

(e) The perf. always denotes a situation in which the act of examining and weighing up has been concluded, and where a firm conviction has already been reached (cf. Lk. 20:6; Rom. 8:38; 14:14; 15:14; 2 Tim. 1:5, 12; Heb. 6:9). This can refer to convictions concerning facts or people (e.g. that John was a prophet, Lk. 20:6), as well as to the all-embracing, unshakeable certainty that has been attained in faith (Rom. 8:38).

3. The 2nd perf. *pepoitha* with the prep. *epi* always means to depend on, trust in, put one's confidence in. It indicates a conviction as the basis for further thought and action. Thus it can refer to one's trust in one's own righteousness (Lk. 18:9; negatively in 2 Cor. 1:9; cf. the addition in the variant reading in Mk. 10:24; and Lk. 11:22). But it can also refer to the trust in a good sense which can be placed in someone. Thus Paul expressed confidence in the church (2 Cor. 2:3; 2 Thess. 3:4, "in the Lord"; cf. Gal. 5:10; Phil. 2:24). However, in both the former passages the vb. can be understood in relation to the following *hoti*, so that, as in other passages, *pepoitha hoti* can be translated to be confident that. *epi*, like *eis* in Gal. 5:10, means "in view of." Thus the confidence would refer not so much to the persons as to the circumstances brought about by God in which Paul trusts "in the Lord", such as God's faithfulness in completing the work that he has begun. The

trust is ultimately in the Lord himself. At the same time this expresses a hope in the future, a fact indicated by the use of *pepoitha* in the LXX and also Phil. 1:25 and 2.24. Here Paul expresses his conviction that he will survive for the sake of the work, and will come again to Philippi. *pepoitha* is followed by the prep. *en* (in) only in Phil. 3:3 f., where it is set in contrast to glorying in (*en*) Christ Jesus. Here, as with the construction with *epi*, the meaning is to have confidence in. Paul disclaims all confidence in the flesh; rather, he glories in Christ.

Confidence is also expressed by forms of *pepoitha* followed by the infin. "If anyone is confident that he is Christ's [*ei tis pepoithen heautō Christou einai*], let him remind himself that as he is Christ's, so are we" (2 Cor. 10:7; cf. Rom. 2:19). When followed by the dat., the vb. means simply to trust, believe *in* (Phil. 1:14, but see RSV; Phlm. 21). The entrusting of oneself to God that is characteristic of the Pss. finds direct expression only in OT quotations that are applied to Jesus. Matt. 27:43 and Heb. 2:13 (cf. Isa. 8:17) suggest that the personal attitude and hope of the OT prayer is fulfilled in him. Trust in God now coincides with faith in Jesus Christ. This also applies to 2 Cor. 1:9, where trust in God who raises the dead comes from faith in the risen Christ.

4. The noun *pepoithēsis*, confidence (Phil. 3:4), has the same meaning as the vb. in vv. 3 f. It is likewise connected with *en sarki*, "in the → flesh", and refers to the self-confidence that grows out of observance of the law. On the other hand, 2 Cor. 3:4 refers to the confidence that grows out of the apostolic commission (cf. vv. 5 f.). The latter leads Paul to describe the Corinthian church as his letter of commendation written by the Spirit of God on hearts of flesh (v. 3). Confidence in men (2 Cor. 8:22, where the preposition *eis* is used for "in"; cf. Gal. 5:10) is set in the context of confidence in God (*pros ton theon*, 2 Cor. 3:4). The confidence expressed in 2 Cor. 1:15 is to be understood in the light of the → hope spoken of in vv. 13 f. The confidence of 2 Cor. 10:2 is grounded in Paul's commission as an → apostle (see above 2 Cor. 3:4), which enabled him to risk coming into violent conflict with certain people. In Eph. 3:12 this boldness is further defined by the words "and confidence of access [*kai prosagōgēn en pepoithēsei*]" in which the *kai* (and) is epexegetic.

5. On the adj. *peithos* (persuasive) and the noun *peithō* (persuasiveness) it may be said that the meaning of 1 Cor. 2:4 remains the same, whether it is read as *en peithois sophias logois* ("in persuasive words of wisdom") or *en peithoi sophias* ("with the persuasiveness of wisdom", cf. Arndt, 644; to which some manuscripts add *logois* or *logōn*, i.e. through words). On the textual difficulties see C. K. Barrett, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1968, 62, 65, who thinks that Paul himself was largely responsible for the problem by coining the word *peithos* meaning persuasive from the vb. *peithō* (persuade). In either case it is clear that the Corinthians did not come to faith through human → wisdom and its ways of persuading. The latter are described in Col. 2:4 as *pithanologia* ("beguiling speech" RSV; "persuasive speech", "art of persuasion", "plausible [but false] arguments", Arndt, 663), by which people are deceived.

6. The noun *peismonē* in Gal. 5:8 ("persuasion" RSV) may be understood actively in relation to *peithō*. But there may be here a play on words with *peithesthai* in the preceding verse which means to obey: "Who hindered you from obeying the truth? This persuasion is not from him who called you." The result of this persuasion

which did not come from God would thus be that the Galatians would no longer allow themselves to be persuaded by the truth. The play on words is not reflected by the Eng. tr. R. Bultmann prefers to translate v. 8 by "This following, or obedience, does not come . . ." (*TDNT* VI 9) which would thus preserve the play on words. But on this see H. Schlier, *Der Brief an die Galater*, 1962[12], 236; E. D. Burton, *Galatians*, ICC 1920, 282 f. The text is uncertain. Some manuscripts read: "Who has hindered you? Obey no one in not obeying the truth" (cf. R. Bultmann, *TDNT* VI 4, n. 11; cf. Funk § 488 1 (b)).

7. The vb. *peitharcheō* (obey) is used for obedience both to God (Acts 5:29; cf. above CL 2 on *peithomai*; 5:32) and to men (Acts 27:21 = *peithomai*, v. 11). In Tit. 3:1 it is identified with being submissive to rulers and authorities.

8. (a) *apeithēs* (disobedient) occurs in Acts 26:19 in the form of a double negative designed to stress Paul's obedience: "Wherefore, O King Agrippa, I was not disobedient to the heavenly vision." In Rom. 1:30 and 2 Tim. 3:2 it occurs in the catalogues of vices in connection with disobedience to parents.

(b) In all other passages, where *apeithēs*, the noun *apeitheia* (disobedience) and the vb. *apeitheō* (be disobedient) occur, the context suggests disobedience to God, mostly in contrast with faith. This is the sense of the LXX (cf. Lk. 1:17 which speaks of Elijah being sent to turn "the disobedient to the wisdom of the just"; cf. Mal. 4:5). It is exemplified by Jn. 3:36; Acts 14:2; 19:9 (of disbelieving Jews; see above NT 1 (b) on *peithō* and *peithomai*); Rom. 15:31; Eph. 2:2; 5:6 (with the contrast between the "sons of disobedience" [non-Christians] and "sons of the light", v. 8); and Tit. 1:16. 1 Pet. presents a distinctive usage in the way it qualifies disobedience as disobedience to the → word or to the → gospel (1 Pet. 2:8; cf. v. 7 *v.l.*; 3:1; 4:17; on Rom. 2:8 see above 2). It also speaks of the defective obedience of men before the flood despite the patience of God (1 Pet. 3:20).

Heb. 3:18 and 4:6 hold up to Christians (cf. v. 11) the behaviour of the generation in the wilderness as a warning example. The man will come to grief who looks back, or stops his ears to God's instructions for the present time, and is not ready to receive the future from the hands of God in utter trust. Because of her faith Rahab the harlot was unlike the latter, and she did not meet with the destruction which came upon the disobedient inhabitants of Jericho (Heb. 11:31). The Gentile Christians were themselves once likewise disobedient (Rom. 11:30; cf. Tit. 3:3). But *now* through the *apeitheia* of Israel in which God's covenant people did not as a whole wish to enter the new covenant in Jesus Christ (cf. Rom. 10:21), they have received mercy. Israel's disobedience is *now* intensified through their opposition to the mercy that has come upon the Gentiles (11:31). But in turn they may through all this *now* receive mercy. (This third *now* has been changed to "later" or omitted altogether in some manuscripts.)

The climax of the argument of Rom. 9–11 shows that this lack of trust, obedience, faith, and acceptance of God's will is the normal situation of man (Rom. 11:32). Only God himself can save man by having mercy on him and granting him faith.

O. Becker

πίστις

πίστις (*pistis*), faith; πιστεύω (*pisteuō*), believe; πιστός (*pistos*), pass. trustworthy, faithful, act. trusting, believing;

πιστόω (*pistoō*), rely, convince; ἀπιστία (*apistia*), unbelief; ἀπιστέω (*apisteō*), disbelieve; ἄπιστος (*apistos*), unbelievable, faithless, unbelieving.

CL 1. (a) In classical Gk. literature *pistis* means the trust that a man may place in men or the gods (Hesiod, *Works*, 372; Soph., *OT*, 1445), credibility (Soph., *OC*, 611), credit in business (Dem., 36, 57), guarantee (Aesch., Frag. 394), proof (Democ., 125), or something entrusted (*IG* 14, 2012 A 23). Similarly, *pisteuō* means to trust something or someone (Hdt., 1, 24; Aesch., *Pers.*, 800 ff.). It can refer to and confirm legendary tales (Hdt., 4, 96) and mythical ideas (Plato, *Grg.*, 524a). In the construction *pisteuō tini ti* it means to entrust something or someone to someone (Xen., *Mem.*, 4, 4, 17). With reference to people, *pisteuō* means to obey (Soph., *OT*, 625). The pass. means to enjoy trust (Xen., Anab., 7, 6, 33). The adj. *pistos* means trusting (Theognis, 283), trustworthy (Hom., *Il.*, 2, 124). *to piston* means dependability or the faithfulness of those bound through an agreement (Aesch., *Ag.*, 651; Xen., *Anab.*, 2, 4, 7). The vb. *pistoō* has the meaning of binding someone or oneself to be faithful (Soph., *OC*, 650). In the pass. it means to be sure, to trust (Hom., *Od.*, 21, 217 f.). The *pistis* word-group has a special colouring, where it refers to believing *doxa* (opinion). In such a case dependability is limited (cf. Plato, Phd., 107b).

apistia means mistrust (Theognis, 831), unreliability (Soph., *OC*, 611), and incredibility (Hdt., 1, 193). *apisteō* means to be mistrustful to disbelieve (Hom., *Od.*, 13, 339), and particularly to be disobedient (Soph., *Ant.*, 219, 381 f.). *apistos* means distrustful (Hom., *Od.*, 14, 150), undependable (Thuc., 1, 120, 4).

(b) Originally the word-group denoted conduct that honoured an agreement or bond. It had a social orientation, and its use indicated misconduct by implication. In order to obtain a pause in battle, it was necesssary to make agreements pledging fidelity (Hom., *Il.*, 2, 124: *horkia pista*). Disappointed confidence led to the accusation: "There is nothing trustworthy in women" (Hom., *Od.*, 11, 456). The critical situation revealed fidelity. Hence, experience of faithfulness and unfaithfulness belongs to the idea of faith from the beginning.

(c) The idea had religious overtones at a very early date. The gods vouch for the validity of an alliance or treaty (Hom., *Il.*, 2, 115 ff.; note the importance of the oath). The words can also be applied directly to the divinity in cases of the trustworthiness of an oracle. The *pistis* word-group plays an important part in questions of the power of the gods to save in face of threatening danger (Aesch., *Sept.*, 211 f.), the unfathomable sovereignty of God ("He who hears the word of God and does not obey is out of his mind," Eur., *Iph. Taur.*, 14, 75 f.), and the power of God to direct a man's fate against his will (Soph., *OT*, 1445). In such case unquestioned obedience to the will of God is required of men.

(d) Faith is given unique expression in the enthusiastic piety of Empedocles of Agrigentum (5th cent. B.C.). He appeared as an immortal god, pointing the way of salvation (Frag. 112), demanding faith in the sense of assent to divine revelations, in his teaching on cosmology and metempsychosis (Frag. 114 ff.). Faith and recognition of the authoritatively proclaimed revelation were the same (Frag. 4, 5).

To the end of the classical era belong the inscriptions of the temple of Asclepius in Epidaurus which received their present form between 350 and 300 B.C. Here too

faith is called for, in particular in the miraculous power of God (cf. R. Herzog, *Die Wunderheilungen von Epidauros*, 1931).

2. (a) In the Hel. period during the struggle with scepticism and atheism *pistis* acquired the sense of conviction as to the existence and activity of the gods. It took over the place of the older *nomizō* (deem, hold, believe that; cf. Plut., *De superstitione*, 11; *Pericles*, 32; *Amatorius*, 13). The didactic element now emerged as the general and basic meaning. *pistis* as faith in God stood for theoretical conviction. But stress was laid on the belief that life was constituted in accordance with this conviction. To that extent *pistis* could assume the practical features of the older *eusebeia* (piety; cf. Plut., *De sera numinis vindicta*, 3; *De Pythiae Oraculis*, 18). The tension between the visible and invisible, the physical and spiritual world likewise left behind it clear traces in discussion. The result was a materialized concept of faith which in the philosophically articulate doctrinal system of Neo-Platonism called for a definite, intellectualistic conviction, conditioned by tradition (Plotinus, *Enneads*, 1, 3, 3; 5, 8, 11; Porphyry, *Ad Marcellam*, 21 ff.).

(b) The Stoic understanding of *pistis* is particularly important. Here the philosopher expressed his recognition of the divine ordering of the world, the centre of which was himself as an autonomous moral person (Epict., 2, 14, 11–13). *pistis* reveals the essence of man (Epict., 2, 4, 1). Man's fidelity to his moral destiny leads to fidelity towards others (Epict., 2, 4, 1–3; 2, 22).

(c) In the mystery religions faith denotes abandonment to the deity by following his instruction and teaching, and by putting oneself under his protection (Apul., *Met.*, 11, 25–28; P. Oxy., 11, 1380, 152). In the *Corpus Hermeticum* of syncretistic, Platonic revelations of the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D., faith is a higher form of → knowledge. It thus belongs to the realm of *nous* (→ Reason, Mind). In a mystical way man is led out of the realm of the Logos, until his spirit comes to rest in the knowledge of faith. He thus participates in the divine (*Corp. Herm.*, 9, 10; *Ascl.*, 29). Besides Judaism and Christianity, the mystery religions stand out in their demand of faith in their divinities, and the revelations and teaching delivered by them (e.g. the cult of Isis and Osiris). In this way salvation (which in the mystery religions was equated with divinization) was promised to the believer. To the background of Judaism and Christianity probably belong the "divine sons" (→ Child, art. *hyios*) who appeared with express claim to revelation and who thus presented an alternative to Christianity. All had the same demand to hand: "Believe, if you would be saved, or begone" (Origen, *Contra Cels*, 6, 11).

3. In secular Gk., therefore, this group of terms represents a broad spectrum of ideas. It is used to express relations between man and man, and also to express relationship with the divine. The particular meaning is determined by the prevailing philosophical and religious influences. Originally it had to do with binding and obligations. But Stoicism made out of it a theoretically based law of life which brought the individual man into harmony with the cosmos. There was also a dangerous development in which *pistis* was demanded in response to a claim to revelation which was not subject to any control.

OT 1. *The Concept of Faith.* (a) In Heb. the root *'āman* in the niph. means to be true, reliable, faithful. It can be applied to men (e.g. Moses, Num. 12:7; servants, 1 Sam. 22:14; a witness, Isa. 8:2; a messenger, Prov. 25:13; prophets, 1 Sam 3:20).

But it can also be applied to God himself who keeps his covenant and gives grace to those who love him (Deut. 7:9). Particular stress is laid on the word of God (or men) preserving its dependability and being confirmed by subsequent action (1 Ki. 8:26; 1 Chron. 17:23 ff.; in the case of men, Gen. 42:20). In many passages the niph. acquires the meaning of to be entrusted with (Num. 12:7; 1 Sam. 3:20; Hos. 12:1). In an ancient strand of tradition which goes back to an original promise (2 Sam. 7:8 ff.), the Davidic dynasty is called "an established house." This state of being confirmed does not rest upon the qualities of the members of the dynasty or upon human measures, but upon the action of God which is initiated by his promise (2 Sam. 7:16; 1 Sam. 25:28). The niph. of *'āman* thus gives expression to an unalterable fact that future generations could – and must – reckon with, despite every change of fortune in history.

A related idea is expressed by the root *bāṭaḥ* (LXX *pepoithenai; elpizō* → hope) with the meaning to trust, rely upon. The negative evaluation of such action is dominant: men trust in false security (Hab. 2:18), or set their hope on something false (Hos. 10:13). But it was also early on applied to Yahweh, the true ground of security (Jer. 39:18; 2 Ki. 18:30).

(b) Later the root *bāṭaḥ* was assimilated in meaning to the root *'āman*. Basic for the OT idea of faith are the statements of Exod. 4:1–9, 27–31. The question is how will Moses assert his authority as the one sent by God before the people. In reply to Moses' objection that they will doubt his commission, God promises three miracles through which he confirms his authority, whereupon the people believe in Moses' mission and the coming redemption. Faith is here related to a mission which is expressly confirmed by divine authentication. Faith in the word is inseparable from the attitude assumed to the envoy.

(c) The absolute use in Isaiah is pointed. In the confrontation with Ahaz in view of the political threat, Isaiah dares to say: "If you will not believe, surely you shall not be established" (Isa. 7:9). The survival of the people lay alone in firm trust in the eternal God. Political action was called for which corresponded to this trust. Isa. 28:16 contains the saying about Zion's foundation: "Behold, I am laying in Zion for a foundation a stone, a tested stone, a precious cornerstone, of a sure foundation: 'He who believes will not be in haste' " (RSV). In the coming catastrophe only the believer will be sure of divine protection. The prophet himself is an example of believing trust: "I will wait for the Lord, who is hiding his face from the house of Jacob, and I will hope in him" (8:17). The tense hope in Yahweh (here linked with other vbs.) is directed to the future. Moses was a leader to a salvation the way of which was the way of faith. The prophets stood in the midst of national catastrophe as spokesmen for the God who had placed them in an almost hopeless situation. The faith which is set before the people is the way of deliverance from catastrophe to a future beyond the disaster.

(d) Besides the above passages from Isa., Gen. 15:6 is important for the connection between the OT and the NT (cf. Rom. 4:3, 9, 22 f.; Gal. 3:6; Jas. 2:23). The passage speaks of Abraham's faith as his readiness to lay hold of the rich promises of God. He made the word of God his security and base. The "reckoning" of faith constituted a declaratory act, which was formerly customary with the priests. God treats this trust of Abraham as the behaviour appropriate to the covenant relationship. In fellowship with God there lies a claim which man fulfills when he trusts.

The statement in Gen. 15:6 does not describe Abraham's entire relationship with God. But in view of a particular situation God's gracious, overarching judgment was pronounced over him. G. von Rad holds that the text originated at a time in which the question of faith was already known (*Genesis*, 1961, 179 f.; *Old Testament Theology*, I, 1962, 170 f., 379 f.).

(e) For Jewish and Christian tradition, the prophetic context of Hab. 2:3 f. is important. The vision granted by God is expressly confirmed. It is preserved for the end, and will not fail to appear. The "arrogant man" is expressly condemned by God's word; but life is promised to the "righteous" in view of his faithfulness. It is understood that the "arrogant man" stands on the side of the hostile world power and the "righteous" on that of the people of Judah. But textual criticism of the process of tradition has shown that already very early the divine sentence was applied to the devout individual (see further K. Elliger, *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer*, 1953). "Faithfulness" and "faith" stand here close together in the Heb. term *'ᵉmûnâh*. The idea is that of unwavering hold of the word of God against all contrary appearances. The sense is changed by the promise in the LXX translation: "the righteous will live by my faithfulness [*ek pisteōs mou*]."

(f) In a later stratum of the OT which expressly rivets the confession of the devout man to the Torah, the trustworthiness of the commandments is firmly underlined (Ps. 117:7; 119:66). The godly man is instructed by the commandments in the will of God; he knows that he receives wisdom and knowledge from them. In the temptations of life he can – as the servant of God (→ Son of God, art. *pais theou*) who directs his life in accordance with God's word – rely upon the trustworthiness of the → commandments. Post-exilic Torah-piety cannot be called legalistic without qualification. Torah (→ Law) and *dāḇār* (→ Word) were at the time living entities which were received by the godly in obedience and trust, and praised with thanksgiving and testimony. Stress on insight and knowledge of God points to an understanding of salvation in the wisdom tradition which in turn assigns a somewhat different role to faith (H.-J. Kraus). To sum up, it may be said that *he'ᵉmîn* and *'ᵉmûnâh* describe a living act of trust in the OT, and also the dimension of human existence in a historical situation. The group of words does not step outside the realm of the personal. Special stress is laid on the future goal. The past was the starting-point but not the goal of trust. The whole emphasis falls on overcoming the opposition of the ungodly and the realization of the divine purpose. Above all, it is clear in the prophets that faith must pass through extreme need and judgment, before it attains its goal in the salvation that lies in the future. In the first instance, faith in the OT is concerned with the fate of → Israel, although time and again the conduct of the individual can be decisive (cf. Gen. 15:6). The LXX translates the Heb. root *'āman* uniformly by *pisteuō* and attempts to include in it the wealth of the OT group terms.

2. *The Influence of the Terms in later Judaism.* (a) In later Jud. the main emphasis fell on the behaviour of the individual. Sotah 48b preserves an aphorism of R. Eliezer b. Hyrcanus: "If anyone has bread in his basket and says, what shall I eat tomorrow? he belongs to those who are small in trust." He knows that faith is frugal (Prov. 30:8), and must overcome anxiety about having more than enough. "Small in faith" has become a deprecatory word-picture which represents failure. According to Taanith 8a, R. Ami taught: "Rain comes only on account of the

people of faithfulness" (referring to Ps. 85:12). The term "men of faithfulness" (*'anšê 'ᵉmānâh*) in rab. literature is the mark of particular, definable, exemplary conduct. Complaint is made of its absence (Sotah 12b). Both the language and the way of thinking are different from the older strata of the OT. Faith is taught and inculcated in the manner of the wisdom writings. Because of its identity with faithfulness, faith remains the most important feature of → righteousness. The celebrated "Song of Faith" in Mek. Exod. 14:31 begins with the words: "Great is faith." It is concerned with the interpretation of Exod. 14:31: faith in God and his servant Moses. The man who believes in the shepherd of Israel believes in God himself who spoke and called the world into being. There follows praise of faith and its reward in the style of the wisdom literature. The "reward" is understood as the holy → Spirit who praises the saving acts of God in hymn and confession (Exod. 14:31; 15:1). Compared with the underlying OT text, the fact of the faith of the people stands in the foreground. There is a hope in the future, but the whole is lacking in enthusiasm.

(b) In the Qumran tradition the basic passage Hab. 2:4 was interpreted of "all doers of the law," and thus of the members of the community. God will save them from the house of judgment on account of their suffering and their faithfulness to the teacher of righteousness (1QpHab 8:1–3). The doing of the law is here the supreme and decisive idea. Faithfulness to the teacher, on the other hand, means holding to the knowledge revealed to him.

(c) The idea of faith played a particular role in later apocalyptic literature, because expectation of the future made a radical demand of faith. The doing of the law and the setting forth of the apocalyptic expectation began to be distinguished (2 Esd. 9:7; Syr. Bar. 57:2). Yet the close connection continued (Syr. Bar. 54:5, 21). The revelation of eschatological truth was at the same time the requital of obedience and disobedience. "For assuredly he who believes will receive reward" (Syr. Bar. 54:16). In these apocalyptic circles the concept of faith was used to help draw a dividing line between the true community and their opponents. In so doing, the ecstatic element receded behind the wisdom teaching tradition.

(d) In Hel. Judaism, faith as the confession of the OT revelation stood in opposition to the surrounding pagan world. It served to distinguish the difference with paganism and the gulf between them. At the same time, it raised the question of the roots of human knowledge in the area of common culture, life-style and wisdom. The contrast between the "godless" and the "righteous" and their differing views of life is typical of wisdom literature (Wis. 2:1 ff.; 3:1 ff.). Faith in wisdom belongs to the teaching about righteousness and wisdom (1:2; 3:9). It is expressed in fixed formulae: *hoi pepoithotes*, those who trust (→ *peithomai*); *hoi pistoi*, the faithful; *hoi eklektoi*, the elect (→ Elect, art. *eklegomai*). Faith stands in a fixed tradition; knowing and proving one's worth constitute the authentic testimony. 4 Macc. 15:24; 16:22; and 17:2 also contain a given element as a foundation (*hē pros theon pistis*, the faith in God). Faith enters the realm of philosophical interpretation and becomes an outlook and a virtue.

In Philo too faith in God can be trust, and the presupposition of all human existence and conduct. In his relation to God the wise man is the "believer"; for his part God bestows trust through his promises (*Abr.*, 268 ff.; 272 ff.). As formerly in Judaism at large, faith is regarded as the source and sum of every other attitude.

As in 4 Macc., faith for Philo can also be taught and learnt. One can learn to distinguish between what changes and what does not (*Leg. All.*, 2, 89). Josephus sets beside each other statements about the right view of God (*orthē doxa*) and trust in God (*hē peri tou theou pistis*), thus giving expression to the Hel. didactic and the OT traditions (*Ap.*, 2, 169, 256). In the description of the messianic tempter, use of the *pistis*-group of words is naturally lacking.

(e) Samaritan religion stressed the meaning of faith more strongly than Judaism, as is shown by the role of Haggadah, teaching and confession. [On the Samaritans see further J. Macdonald, *The Theology of the Samaritans*, 1964.]

NT *pistis* in the NT and the call made to man in the name of God involve a renunciation of existing cult piety and rab. teaching. It was also the special mark of primitive Christian missionary preaching in the Hel. world (R. Bultmann, *TDNT* VI 203 ff., 208 f.). Nevertheless, there are several stages in the early Christian tradition which may not be overlooked. The preaching of John the Baptist set repentance at the centre with a resolute one-sidedness. The earliest preaching of the kingdom of God was also subordinate to the demand of repentance (Matt. 3:2; 4:17). It is impossible to demonstrate a demand for faith in the passages concerning John (cf. A. Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Matthäus*, 1963[6] 52–85; see also bibliography). And yet his overthrow of all contrived security (Matt. 3:9) is reminiscent of the tension between *'āman* and false *bāṭaḥ*. Moreover, the mission of the Baptist raises the question of its legitimacy and thus also of faith (expressly in Matt. 21:25, 32). Nevertheless, despite all the implied elements of faith, neither Qumran, nor John the Baptist, nor yet the ancient zealot movements made any explicit demand of faith. Only in the post-Easter situation of the primitive Christian mission was the programme developed: "Repent and believe the gospel" (Mk. 1:15). The gospel became a fixed tradition of teaching which laid legitimate claim to be received by every hearer. The call to repent in the Baptist's preaching (Mk. 1:4) was taken up into the faith-preaching of the Hel. Christian tradition. It is this development that is to be examined in the following survey.

The NT use of the *pistis/pisteuō* word-group involves in the first instance the further development of the OT and Jewish tradition and the questions peculiar to it. The frequent use of *pisteuō eis*, believe in (e.g. Gal. 2:16; Jn. 1:12; 3:18), in the vocabulary of mission, is a striking departure from ordinary Gk. and the LXX. *hoti*-sentences (believe *that* . . .) which relate faith to a particular event in the history of Jesus (1 Thess. 4:14; Rom. 10:9), or to a christological statement (Jn. 20:31), are significant for the linguistic usage of the Hel. church. They involve the incorporation of a specific, historical content into the christological confession. "Repentance from dead works" and "faith in God" were important elements in the teaching of the primitive Christian catechism (Heb. 6:1). More important is the pointed use of *pistis* in the context of Pauline theology to denote the reception of Christian → proclamation and the saving faith which was called forth by the gospel (Rom. 1:8; 1 Thess. 1:8). For Paul *pistis* is indissolubly bound with proclamation. Early Christian missionary preaching thus brought faith into sharp focus.

1. *Jesus and the Synoptic Tradition.* The miracle stories often contain reference to the faith of the sick person or those around him (Mk. 2:5; 5:34, 36; 10:52; Matt. 8:10). What is meant is trust in the mission of Jesus and his power to deliver

from trouble. These saving acts are performed in the service of his commission and are intended to confirm an existing faith. The question of faith is clearly bound up with these miracle stories. Jesus did not only seek to deliver people from physical need, but to make men witnesses of his saving work. It is not a matter of making a condition upon which he will act. Rather, he is concerned with the goal beyond the physical process. His intention was not to be a mere "healer", but to be a helper in God's name. He was therefore more concerned to ask for faith than to demand it. Man's trust presents the possibility for God to do his work. It is thus only a start and a first step to what was to be declared later by the Hel. church.

Mk. 6:5 f. contains an account of the opposition in Nazareth, Jesus' home town. Refusal to believe was so strong that he could perform no "mighty works". He confined himself to helping a number of sick individuals. If his saving work was bound up with faith, refusal to believe likewise brought conflict with him. The evangelists did not intend to convey the impression that it was absolutely impossible for Jesus to do "mighty works" here because of the unbelief of the Nazarenes. The accounts of Jesus' teaching contain several sayings which appear to go beyond the specific situation in which they occur (Mk. 9:23; 11:22 ff.; Lk. 17:5 f.; Matt. 17:20). The distinctive feature of these sayings about faith consists in the fact that they present the believer with unlimited possibilities, and that Jesus expressly summons his disciples to this boundless faith. Despite all the external similarities with rab. parallels, these sayings of Jesus stand isolated in the tradition. Their emphatic, confessional tone is at once apparent. Jesus himself lived by faith. He submitted to its possibilities, and encouraged men to follow his example (cf. J. Schniewind, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, (1931) 1968, 120). The pictures of faith moving mountains (Mk. 11:23) and uprooting the fig tree (Lk. 17:6) confirm the word of power that is able to transform the created order. The instructions to the disciples in Mk. 11:24 f. show the connection in the teaching between the promise that rests upon the word of power and supplication. The supplication is the prerequisite of the word of power.

Faith in God means for Jesus being open to the possibilities that God presents (cf. Mk. 11:22: *echete pistin theou*, have faith in God). It also involves a reckoning with God which is not simply content with the thing given and the events that have come about. Expressions like *echein pistin theou* (to have faith in God, Mk. 11:22) and *prostithenai pistin* (increase faith, Lk. 17:5) show how Jesus' teaching on faith was subsequently understood. There was a special kind of faith in God or Jesus-faith. The antithesis between small and great (Lk. 17:6; Matt. 17:20) presents a contrast between the human attitude and the greatness of the promise. What takes place in man is small compared with the greatness that comes from God. However, Jesus spoke of a boundless faith as if of something new. He did not build on something that was already there, but upon something new. Yet his teaching was quite distinct from wild enthusiasm, because it was not divorced from constant wrestling with God and speaking with him. It stood within the circle of trust (Heb. *biṭṭāḥôn*) and knowledge (*da'aṯ*). Jesus turned to the individual, because his people as a whole were summoned to the decision of faith (Lk. 19:42). Statements about faith in the synoptic tradition are always qualified. One might see here later influences (cf. the imperative *metanoeite*, repent, in the light of the reception of the message of salvation). But it must not be forgotten that every summons and statement of Jesus

contained the elements of faith, trust, knowledge, decision, obedience and self-direction. The preaching of Jesus cannot be understood apart from the many-sided aspects of faith (Heb. *'ᵉmûnâh*) and trust (Heb. *biṭṭāḥôn*). The faith of Jesus was directed towards reality. It was deeply involved in the act of living, and was on a completely different plane from hypothetical abstractions.

2. *Paul and the Pauline Tradition.* Paul's teaching presupposes a continuity with the teaching of the Palestinian Jewish and the Hel. church. His calling by the risen Lord led him to grapple with the particular questions raised by the churches. He addressed his readers as "believers" (*hoi pisteuontes*, Rom. 1:16; 3:22; 4:11; 1 Cor. 1:21). Their turning to God is described as "believing" (*pisteuein*, 1 Cor. 15:2, 11). "Faith" means receiving the message of salvation and conduct based on the gospel (*hē pistis*, Rom. 1:8; 1 Cor. 2:5; 15:14, 17). It is explicitly a saving faith, based on the → cross of Jesus and his → resurrection (1 Cor. 15:3–4:11). The unique event is the divinely appointed norm which determines every theological statement and every aspect of Christian conduct. This is shown by the debate with the Jews and Judaism. Both started from the validity of the old → covenant and the → law. Both misunderstood the point of eschatological existence. It is also shown by the conflict with Hel. enthusiasm and gnosticism which misconstrued the future and eschatology. The → righteousness received by faith (*ek pisteōs*, *dia pisteōs*, *eis pistin*, of faith, through faith, in faith) is a gift of → grace. It contradicts all human boasting and undermines any attempt to base man's relationship with God on doing the law (Gal. 3:10 ff., 23 ff.; Rom. 3:27–31). The new → covenant supersedes the old both in its historical form and its effect on men (Gal. 3:23 ff.; 4:21–31; 2 Cor. 3:6). Faith recognizes the eschatological saving event which was anticipated in the call of → Abraham (Rom. 4:9 ff.; Gal. 3:17 ff.); it finds its goal in the Gentile mission (Rom. 4:17 ff.; Gal. 3:26–29). In the debate with Hel. enthusiasm and gnosticism which were based on a speculative understanding of baptism and the gift of the Spirit, Paul stressed historical facts and also his eschatological goal (2 Cor. 5:7). Since faith contains the element of being sustained (Heb. *'āman*), as well as trust (Heb. *bāṭaḥ*), it merges into hope (Rom. 8:24; 1 Cor. 13:13).

Of special importance is the way Paul's teaching links together the triad of faith, hope and love (1 Thess. 3:5, 8; 1 Cor. 13:13; Col. 1:4 f.). It is not a matter of calling upon men to adopt Hel. virtues. Faith, hope and love are different aspects of the Christian life, derived from the kerygma, which form the basis of the life of the church. It is questionable whether non-Christian lists may be traced behind the Pauline triad (cf. however the fourfold list in Porphyry, *Ad Marcellam*, 24). If the gnostics were inclined to have "lists", the unspeculative character of the Pauline triad is all the more striking. The transforming eschatological prospective reveals the difference: faith and → hope come to fulfilment; → love alone determines the new aeon (1 Cor. 13:13; → Time, art. *aiōn*). The Pauline triad must not be regarded as charismatic gifts, for they are quite distinct from the latter. They are the practical application of the gospel itself and are obligatory for all members of the church without exception. Charismatic gifts have a structure different from the Pauline exposition of the triad (→ Grace, art. *charis*). On the other hand, Paul's endeavour to set out the fullness of gifts in his doctrine of the Spirit led him to include faith as a gift along with the others (1 Cor. 12:9). Justifying faith is not meant here. Nor

perhaps is it the "all faith" that can remove mountains (1 Cor. 13:2). What is clear is that it is distinct from "the utterance of wisdom" and "the utterance of knowledge" which are mentioned previously (1 Cor. 12:8).

There is a tension between the invisible that cannot be seen (*ta mē blepomena*) and the visible. This points to the fact that we do not have the future at our disposal. There is a contrast between what is accessible to men and what is accessible to God alone (2 Cor. 4:18; 5:7). The invisible is not the Platonic immaterial world, but the goal of Christian existence perceived in faith and trust. The → cross of Christ is always the focal point of attack against legalism (Gal. 2:21) and speculative wisdom (1 Cor. 1:17). The resurrection opens the way to the gift of a new existence through baptism (Rom. 6:4; 2 Cor. 5:17).

Gal. 5:6 suggests a fixed formula: "For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision nor uncircumcision is of any avail, but faith working through love" (cf. 6:15; 1 Cor. 7:19). Through → baptism a new law has come into operation which transcends all previous differences. The will of God which was expressed in the demands of the law finds its eschatological fulfilment in love. This solution which Paul stresses heavily places faith in the context of eschatological transformation. It thus corresponds directly with Paul's doctrine of the → Spirit. His teaching on faith and the gift of the Spirit are brought together in baptism.

Another important aspect of Paul's teaching is his understanding of the life of faith, characterized by the tension between indicative and imperative (cf. R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, I, 1952, 332 f.). The justified believer who has been baptized finds himself in a struggle between the → Spirit and the → flesh (Rom. 8:4 ff.; Gal. 5:16 ff.). He is called upon not to evade the tasks of the Spirit. Without obedience to the tasks of the Spirit, faith does not gain the power required in the conflict (1 Cor. 2:4).

The notion of being "weak" in faith (Rom. 14:1) introduces a particular discussion. It is bound up with making critical judgments. Paul does not evade this. For there is such a thing as growth in faith (2 Cor. 10:15), steadfastness in faith (1 Cor. 15:58), and self-critical examination as to whether one's own attitude springs from faith (cf. the important statement in Rom. 14:23). All these exhortations starkly show how faith is not only exposed to critical judgment, but submits itself repeatedly to it. The fact that the gospel finds its ultimate expression and foundation in the cross of Christ means that faith must constantly measure itself by this norm. Faith is dynamic movement which involves adjustment and self-adjustment. In this respect also the situation corresponds to the doctrine of the Spirit.

Eph. 4:3 calls for the maintenance of "the unity of the Spirit". The exhortation moves in a direction which was subsequently to prove momentous. Despite diversity of groups and differences of opinion, post-apostolic tradition endeavoured to maintain a general outlook. Eph. 4:5 speaks of "one faith" (*mia pistis*) together with "one Lord" and "one baptism", as if this triad reflected the baptismal act. The common outlook conferred by baptism is a process directed towards a goal (Eph. 4:13). It is guided by Christ himself.

3. *The Johannine Tradition.* Here, as in the Heb., the vb. comes to the forefront. The noun is found only occasionally in the epistles (1 Jn. 5:4) and Rev. (2:13, 19; 13:10; 14:12). The adj. *pistos* (the opposite of which is *apistos*) can be applied to Jesus, his witnesses and the church (Rev. 1:5; 2:10; 31; 1 Jn. 1:9; 20:27). The link

with Semitic thought is clear especially in Rev. Faith, and the act of believing, assume the character of fidelity. Rev. also contains didactic lists of qualities and actions in which "works" (*erga*) predominate (2:2, 19), *pistis* here comes close to being the motive of faithfulness (2:19). It is basic for the Johannine tradition that the attitude of faith should be modelled on and formed by the testimony recognized by the church. This testimony is also important for the Gospel, where testimony is based on historical witness.

The thought-forms are different from elsewhere in the NT. Faith arises out of testimony, authenticated by God, in which signs also play a part. It is addressed to all men (Jn. 1:7). The claim to be true and truthful (→ Truth) underlines the fact that it is authenticated by God. Hence, the man who is of the truth hears this call of God (Jn. 18:37). Faith and knowledge (Jn. 6:69), knowledge and faith (Jn. 17:8; 1 Jn. 4:6), are not two processes distinct from each other, but instructive co-ordinates which speak of the reception of the testimony from different standpoints. Faith alone which receives the testimony possesses knowledge; he who knows the truth is pointed to faith. The co-ordination of knowledge and faith is anti-gnostic and anti-speculative. The hearer should understand that both are involved in salvation: acceptance of the testimony as well as personal response and reformation that conforms to the testimony. The distinction in Jn. 4:42 is important.

Faith and life are intimately connected. He who believes in the Son has the promise that he will not perish but have eternal life (Jn. 3:16 ff.; 11:25). The → promise points to a → fulfilment that lies already in the present. The enmity of the world towards God is not a metaphysical one; it is a reaction to the one sent by God (Jn. 3:20; 7:7; 15:18, 23). Even the disciples are drawn into it. The believer is able to endure this conflict with the world through no longer being subject to its motive power and by seeking the will of God (1 Jn. 2:15 ff.). The tension between the believer and the → world is not therefore seen in a speculative manner. The blessing pronounced on those who believe, even though they have not seen, belongs to the complex of questions raised by the Easter tradition. This is not intended as a criticism of the apostolic Easter tradition preserved in the synoptic gospels. Rather, it gives to later generations the same access to the joy of Easter. R. Bultmann takes the opposite view (*The Gospel of John*, 1971, 696).

The original saving event belongs in the past. A new set of problems arises with each new generation to whom are addressed the two sayings: "who have not seen and yet believe" (Jn. 20:29) and "without having seen him you love him" (1 Pet. 1:8). The double application to Jesus in 1 Pet. 1:8 ("without having seen him you love him; though you do not now see him you believe in him with an unutterable and exalted joy") suggests contact with the Johannine tradition. In general, however, the series of exhortations, in which faith and love are presented together in various Hel. contexts, come later (cf. 1 Tim. 2:15; 4:12; 6:11; 2 Tim. 2:22). But here too we do not have the simple appropriation of Hel. virtues. Rather, they represent further instruction for new situations in life which developed out of baptismal teaching.

4. *The Understanding of Faith in the Rest of the NT.* The linguistic usage of Acts frequently points back to formulae and expressions drawn from the terminology of mission. People come to faith in God (16:34), or in the Lord (5:14; 18:8).

Exhortations to faith are directly connected with the promise of eschatological salvation (16:31). There is also a new trust in Christian circles in "what is written" (24:14; 26:27). There thus grew up a way of looking at salvation history analogous to Jewish Hel. piety (cf. the continuity expressed in 2 Tim. 1:5).

Heb. represents an independent tradition of teaching. It makes extensive use of OT motifs, and draws upon the history of the patriarchs in connection with words of the *pistis*-group. In its exhortation, Heb. takes up the promise of faith and the warning against unbelief (Heb. 10:37 f. = Hab. 2:3 f.). Above all, Heb. 11:1 presents an instructive definition which combines OT and Hel. motifs: "Now faith is the assurance of things hoped for, the conviction of things not seen" (RSV). This is not a comprehensive summary of all the elements in faith, but of those which were fundamental for a church under persecution: assurance of what is hoped for and conviction of being led by what cannot be seen. The future and what is hidden from view are here closely connected. This definition introduces the survey of patriarchal history in ch. 11 and the picture of the NT church in 12:1–11. Jesus Christ appears as the "pioneer and perfecter of our faith" (Heb. 12:2). He has been made perfect by God and can now bring the struggle for perfection to its conclusion. As those given the promise, the people of God are charged with acting upon faith. The next world is the goal promised by the word of God. The tension between the here and now and the beyond which characterized Hel. tradition thus finds new expression.

The essence of Paul's thought reappears in the Pastoral Epistles. But it is restated in a context that is opposed to wild enthusiasm and gnostic false teaching. 1 Tim. 1:5 puts forward the thesis: "the aim of our charge is love that issues from a pure heart and a good conscience and sincere faith" (RSV). A tendency opposed to enthusiasm may be detected here. The command to love is reformulated so as to include faith. Soundness in faith (Tit. 1:13; 2:2) sets a new standard that distinguishes the Christian life from all false teaching. The overtones of philosophy and wisdom strengthen the self-awareness of a church that is consolidating itself.

As in the paraenetic tradition elsewhere, Jas. is conscious of the need to prove faith (1:3; cf. 1 Pet. 1:7). He demands renunciation of all conduct that conflicts with living faith and confession (1:6 ff.). For him, faith and obedient conduct are indissolubly linked. Faith understood merely as trust and confession is not able to save. Only through obedience (→ Hear, art. *hypakoē*) and conduct which fulfills the commandments of God does faith come to completion (Jas. 2:22). The opponent that Jas. has in mind does not attack faith but exempts himself from obedience.

([Ed.] Some scholars hold that James's teaching stands in conflict with that of Paul, especially on the question of → justification. It would seem that Jas. is replying to those who have taken Paul's doctrine of justification by faith out of context, assuming that Paul's repudiation of works as the ground of justification relieved them of the need for good works and a changed life. Thus they may have taken Rom. 4:3 and Gal. 3:6 (= Gen. 15:6) and ignored Rom. 6:1 ff.; 12:1 ff.; Gal. 5:15–26. It is striking that Jas. also quotes Gen. 15:6 in Jas. 2:23. He also illustrates his argument by referring to the example of → Abraham. But whereas Paul appeals to Abraham's belief in the promise of God which was the occasion of the verdict of justification in Gen. 15, Jas. appeals to the story in Gen. 22 which shows Abraham's willingness to sacrifice Isaac. Jas. 2:22 draws the conclusion: "You

see that faith was active along with his works, and faith was completed by works." It may be said that for both Paul and James "justify" means to *declare righteous.* In the case of Paul, it is God who declares the believer righteous. In the case of Jas., it is a man's works which declare him righteous by showing that he is a man of faith. For the thesis which Jas. wishes to argue is that "faith by itself, if it has no works, is dead" (2:17).)

5. *The Act, Structure and Content of Faith.* Christianity is a unique faith-event. The act of faith, together with the thought-forms and structures bound up with it and the relevant relations and norms (the gospel, the kerygma, the word of God), have a special significance in Christianity. It is striking that in the early church there were other thought-forms which were originally autonomous (e.g. which started from the Spirit or from knowledge) and which continued to exist in tension with the faith-event. Christianity came to be seen as a faith-event, because this gave the most powerful expression to its understanding of the historical situation and its outlook in view of the claims of the gospel. It is only in relation to the gospel and the claims of the word of God that faith can declare what it has to say. The Christian knows that he has received grace and is summoned to follow a particular path towards a goal. The saving act of God goes before him. The basis of faith is God's revelation of himself. Faith remains subordinate to knowledge; but knowledge belongs to the substance of faith. *O. Michel*

→ Law, → Works

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Fall, Fall Away

ἀφίστημι

ἀφίστημι (*aphistēmi*), trans. cause to revolt, mislead; intrans. go away, withdraw, depart, fall away; ἀποστασία (*apostasia*), rebellion, abandonment, state of apostasy, defection; ἀποστάσιον (*apostasion*), bill of divorce.

CL *aphistēmi* (Homer), derived from *histēmi*, means trans. to put away, remove: (a) in a spatial sense; (b) from a condition or relationship; (c) from association with a person. It also means to turn someone (either privately or politically) against a person, to cause to revolt (Herodotus). Intrans. it means to remove oneself, go away; to stand aloof, withdraw from, cease, give up; recoil, separate oneself; to fall away. From it are derived the nouns *apostasis*, revolt (first found in cl. Gk., from the time of Thuc., 1, 122); *apostatēs*, deserter, political rebel (e.g. "against the king", "against the country"; a later term found in Polybius); *apostasia*, a late form of the classical *apostasis*, meaning, state of rebellion or apostasy (e.g. "from Nero"; "from the Romans"); and *apostasion*, a legal term for handing over at purchase, conveyance, and used of a bill of divorce (Deut. 24:1, 3; Matt. 5:31; 19:7; Mk. 10:4; → Divorce).

OT 1. In the LXX words of this group are found more than 250 times, rendering about 40 different Heb. words, but most frequently *hēsîr* (hiph. of *sûr*), to remove (about 65 times). It is of especial interest theologically when used to translate forms of *mā'al*, to act unfaithfully, contrary to duty, or against the law (2 Chr. 26:18; 28:19, 22; 29:6; 30:7; 33:19); *pāša'*, to rebel, transgress (2 Chr. 21:8, 10; Jer. 33:8; Ezek. 20:38); *māraḏ*, to rebel, revolt (Gen. 14:4; Num. 14:9; Jos. 22:16 ff.; 2 Chr. 13:6; Ezr. 4:12, 15, 19; Neh. 2:19; 6:6; 9:26; Ezek. 17:15; Dan. 9:5, 9); → Sin, art. *paraptōma*.

The meaning of *aphistēmi* and its Heb. equivalents is like that in classical Gk.: removal in a spatial sense (Gen. 12:8), separation of persons (1 Sam. 18:13; Ps. 6:8), withdrawal from a relationship (Num. 8:25) or from a state (Prov. 23:18; Isa. 59:9); political revolt (Gen. 14:4; 2 Chr. 21:8, 10; Ezek. 17:15). This is the most frequent meaning of the word and underlies most of the substantival forms.

A meaning not found in cl. Gk. is the use in religious contexts: God departs from men (Jdg. 16:20; 2 Ki. 17:18; 23:27; Ps. 10:1; Ezek. 23:18) and withdraws his gifts (Num. 14:9, protection; Jdg. 16:17, 19, strength; 2 Sam. 7:15, steadfast love; Isa. 59:11, 14, salvation and righteousness). The underlying cause is man's own wilful departure from God (Deut. 32:15; Jer. 2:19; 3:14; 17:5, 13; Sir. 10:12), and scorn of God's gifts (Num. 14:31, the land; Neh. 9:26, the law). This rebellion expresses itself in the cultic worship of other gods (Deut. 7:4; 13:10, 13; Jos. 22; Jdg. 2:19; 2 Chr. 29:6; 1 Macc. 2:19), and in ethical behaviour constituting disobedience towards God (Isa. 30:1; Ezek. 33:8; Dan. 9:9–11; Sir. 48:15; 2 Macc. 5:8). It is against this background that we should understand the exhortations to keep aloof from sin (Exod. 23:7; Ps. 119:29; Isa. 52:11; Tob. 4:21; Sir. 7:2; 23:12; 35:3).

2. At Qumran the act of turning away from the community and its rules is fundamentally condemned as apostasy. The literature of the sect sets down a two-year period of repentance for the apostate member who is willing to return (1QS 7:18 ff.); but anyone who has belonged to the community for more than 10 years is completely excluded if he becomes guilty of apostasy (1QS 7:22 ff.).

NT 1. In the NT this group of words is found only in Luke (*aphistēmi* 10 times and twice in *v.l.*; *apostasia* Acts 21:21), Paul (*aphistēmi* 3 times, and 1 Tim. 6:5 *v.l.*; *apostasia* 2 Thess. 2:3), and Heb. 3:12. Apart from Acts 5:37, only the intrans. sense is found. On *apostasion* → Divorce.

2. *aphistēmi* occurs in the spatial sense in Lk. 2:37 ("she did not leave the temple"). More often it refers to the separation of people: holding back from carrying out a punishment (Acts 5:38; 22:29); the withdrawal of Mark from helping Paul in his work (Acts 15:38); the departure of the Christians from the Jewish synagogue (Acts 19:9); the disappearance of supernatural beings from human presence (Lk. 1:38 *v.l.*; 4:13; 24:51 *v.l.*; Acts 12:10; 2 Cor. 12:8). In Lk. 13:26, 27 (citation of Ps. 6:8) believers are warned against unfruitful discipleship. By having set before them in this parable the possibility of being too late, they are called away from their speculative enquiry (v. 23) to face a genuine decision that affects them in their total existence. The man who fails to recognize and grasp the present hour of grace may one day find himself separated for ever from the Lord: *apostēte ap' emou*, depart from me (v. 27).

In 2 Tim. 2:19 *aphistēmi* refers to moral behaviour: "Let everyone who names the name of the Lord depart from iniquity." Acts 5:37 mentions political defection.

3. Of theological importance is falling away in the religious sense. In Acts 21:21 (cf. 2 Macc. 5:8; Jas. 2:11 *v.l.*) Paul is accused of leading the Diaspora Jews astray by teaching them to disregard the OT law. The absolute use of *apostasia* in 2 Thess. 2:3 is a common expression in Jewish apocalyptic, with its prophecy of a period of apostasy shortly before the appearance of the Messiah (Eth. En. 5:4; 93:9). Paul locates this event in an anti-Christian period directly preceding the return of Christ. 1 Tim. 4:1 describes "falling away from the faith" in the last days in terms of falling into false, heretical beliefs. Lk. 8:13 probably refers to apostasy as a result of eschatological temptation. Here are people who have come to believe, who have received the gospel "with joy". But under the pressure of persecution and tribulation arising because of the faith, they break off the relationship with God into

which they have entered. According to Heb. 3:12 (cf. Heb. 6:6 → *piptō* below; → Sin, art. *paraptōma*), apostasy consists in an unbelieving and self-willed movement away from God (in contrast to Heb. 3:14), which must be prevented at all costs.

aphistēmi thus connotes in the passages just mentioned the serious situation of becoming separated from the living God after a previous turning towards him, by falling away from the faith. It is a movement of unbelief and sin, which can also be expressed by other words (cf. the par. to Lk. 8:13 in Matt. 13:21; Mk. 4:17; → Offence, art. *skandalon*). Expressions equivalent in meaning to the warning in 1 Tim. 4:1 include *nauageō*, suffer shipwreck, 1:19; *astocheō* miss the mark, 1:6; 6:21, 2 Tim. 2:18; cf. also *aperchomai*, go away, Jn. 6:66; *apostrephō*, turn away; *arneomai*, deny; *metatithēmi*, change, alter; *mē menein*, do not abide, Jn. 15:6; → art. *piptō*; → Lead Astray, art. *planaō*; and the pictures of defection in Matt. 24:9–12, and Rev. 13. As can be seen from a consideration of the Heb. words in the LXX corresponding to *aphistēmi*, it emphasizes strongly, like *parapiptō* (Heb. 6:6), the part played by the human → will in the loss of → faith. *W. Bauder*

πίπτω

πίπτω (*piptō*), fall; ἐκπίπτω (*ekpiptō*), fall off or from, lose one's way; καταπίπτω (*katapiptō*), fall down; παραπίπτω (*parapiptō*), fall beside, fall away; περιπίπτω (*peripiptō*), fall into, among; πτῶμα (*ptōma*), that which has fallen, corpse; πτῶσις (*ptōsis*), falling, fall.

CL *piptō* (root *pet*, to fall, fly, reduplicated; cf. Lat. *peto*, fall upon, attach, beg) has the basic meaning to fall, drop from a height or from an upright position; of men, to fall in battle, but also, to fall into life, i.e. to be born (Homer, *Il.*, 19, 110). It is also used of falling intentionally, to throw oneself down. In a fig. sense *piptō* means to fly into a rage, to fall into misfortune, shame, etc., to fall by the wayside (but not implying guilt in the sense of a moral lapse); also to fall utterly, be ruined.

The noun *ptōsis*, act of falling, and *ptōma*, that which has fallen, signify fall, collapse, and fig. misfortune, disaster, destruction. *ptōma*, like *piptō*, has the special meaning of that which has fallen of a living being, i.e. a corpse, especially of one killed violently.

ekpiptō means to fall out of something, to go out of something, e.g. to lose the way, to give up hope; in the pass. sense, to be driven out, excluded, or to lose something. As a technical naval term it means to be driven off course, to drift, to be cast ashore, because of inability to follow the course on which one has set out.

peripiptō, to fall around, fall in. It is also used of events which befall one. *parapiptō* means lit. fall beside, befall, go astray, err.

OT The LXX mostly uses *piptō* to translate forms of *nāpal*, which is almost exactly equivalent in meaning. The group of words exhibits here the same broad range of meaning as it does outside the Bible. *piptō* has a fig. meaning for the most part in the OT Wisdom Literature: to have a mishap through no fault of one's own (Ps. 37:4; Prov. 24:16; Eccl. 4:10); to go to ruin, be destroyed (e.g. Job 18:12,

ptōma; Prov. 24:17; Sir. 5:13, *ptōsis*). The mode of expression remains concrete even in metaphorical use: "the ungodly fall into unrighteousness" (Prov. 11:5; cf. Isa. 8:14; Jer. 8:4; Mic. 7:8). The NT sense of to lose one's salvation has no parallel in the OT. The most that one can say is that it is foreshadowed in Prov. 11:28; Sir. 1:30; 2:7. The meaning to → sin, is found only where *parapiptō* is used (Ezek. 14:13; 15:8; 18:24; 20:27 = Heb. *mā'al*; Wis. 6:9; 12:2).

NT 1. In the NT the words of this group are found most often in the literal sense: of the collapse of buildings (Heb. 11:30 = Jos. 6:5, 20; Lk. 13:4; cf. Isa. 30:25); of things falling flat or falling down (Matt. 15:27; 13:4–8 par.; Jn. 12:24), especially the falling off of dead flowers as an image of the shortness of life and speedy change (1 Pet. 1:24 and Jas. 1:11 = Isa. 40:7; cf. Job 14:2; 15:33), the falling of → animals (Matt. 10:29; cf. Amos 3:5; Matt. 12:11; cf. Exod. 21:33), and the unintentional falling of → men (Matt. 15:14; cf. Isa. 24:18; Jer. 48:44; Acts 20:9; Mk. 9:20; Matt. 17:15).

2. Even abstract things like fear and darkness can be said to fall on someone. The word here conveys the idea of suddenness and inescapability. Generally it is a heavenly vision or some other manifestation of God which brings this about (Lk. 1:12; Acts 13:11; 19:17; Rev. 11:11, cf. Gen. 15:12; Exod. 15:16; Job 13:11; Ps. 55:5). In the same way it is said that God's Spirit "falls" upon people, i.e. the Spirit of God comes with irresistible power, as a divine intervention which silences all opposition and doubt (Acts 10:44; 11:15; cf. 8:16; 1 Sam. 18:10, Ezek. 11:5).

3. The words appear in idiomatic sayings found also outside the Bible. When a person's love is aroused, he has the urge to "fall on someone's neck" (Lk. 15:20; Acts 20:37; cf. Gen. 45:14; 46:29). The "falling" of the lot indicates a decision having nothing to do with human choice, a divine verdict (Acts 1:26; cf. Ps. 16:6; Jon. 1:7). "Not a hair shall fall from your head" means "No evil will befall you" (Acts 27:34; cf. 1 Sam. 14:45; 2 Sam. 14:11). "To fall into the hands of" means to be given up to (Heb. 10:31; cf. Jdg. 11:18; 2 Sam. 24:14; Sir. 2:18; 8:1). The phrase "to fall into a snare" (in the OT Prov. 12:13; Sir. 9:3; Tob. 14:10) is derived from the language of hunting: snares are set and hidden, and an animal gets caught. It is the same with the devil's snare (1 Tim. 3:7; 6:9; cf. Jas. 1:2). "To fall into condemnation" (1 Tim. 3:6; Jas. 5:12) means to give grounds for accusation later resulting in a verdict of guilty.

4. Like the OT (Jos. 21:45; 23:14; 1 Sam. 3:19; 2 Ki. 10:10), the NT says that God's word does not "fall to the ground", but retains its validity and efficacy (Lk. 16:17, of the law; Rom. 9:6, of God's promises; cf. 1 Pet. 1:24). Love will not "fail" either (1 Cor. 13:8), since faith, hope and love form the three unchanging gifts of God's grace which, in contrast to all the others, alone have permanence (v. 13).

5. "To fall on one's face" (usually intentionally) before someone (in the OT, for instance, Gen. 17:3, 17; 44:14; Ruth 2:10; 2 Sam. 1:2; Ps. 95:6; Ezek. 11:13) is an expression of deferential greeting (Jn. 11:32). Thus slaves indicate in this way their subjection to their master (Matt. 18:26). It emphasizes a request (Matt. 18:29; Mk. 5:22; 7:25; Lk. 5:12), or thanksgiving (Lk. 17:16). It is the humblest posture for prayer (Matt. 26:39), and the attitude of self-abasing reverence (before a king, Matt. 2:11; a supernatural being, 4:9; Acts 10:25; Rev. 19:10; 22:8; God and

Christ, 1 Cor. 14:25; Rev. 4:10). It can be the effect of a revelation of God (Matt. 17:6; Lk. 5:8; Acts 9:4; 16:29; cf. Mk. 5:33; Jn. 18:6; Rev. 1:17; in the OT, 1 Ki. 18:39; Ezek. 1:28; Dan. 8:17; 10:9). → Prayer, arts. *gonypeteō* and *proskyneō*.

6. *piptō* can also mean to fall down dead, to be killed (Lk. 21:24; Acts 5:5, 10; 28:6; 1 Cor. 10:8; Heb. 3:17; Rev. 17:10). *ptōma*, corpse (in the OT, Jdg. 14:8; Ps. 110:6; Ezek. 6:5), is used of human corpses (Matt. 14:12; Mk. 15:45; Rev. 11:8 f.) and perhaps also animal carcasses in Matt. 24:28. It marks the place where the vultures gather (→ Bird). The connection with v. 27 is perhaps to be found in the sense that just as certainly as the carcass does not remain hidden from the vultures, so at the end everyone will see the coming Messiah. ([Ed.] But in the context of judgment on Israel and Jerusalem a human body may be meant.)

7. The words are used in a number of ways in the portrayal of apocalyptic horrors of the end-time. Everything that is makeshift will collapse in a flood-like catastrophe (Matt. 7:25, 27). Great parts of cities (Rev. 11:13), indeed whole cities (16:19), will become heaps of ruins. The great world-power, hostile to God, will be overthrown (Rev. 14:8; 18:2; cf. Isa. 21:9; Jer. 51:8). In their terror at the desolation of the last days, men will cry out in their longing to die for a great earthquake which will make mountains with their rock faces fall upon them (Lk. 23:30; Rev. 6:16; cf. Hos. 10:8; Ezek. 38:20). In a cosmic upheaval the stars will fall from heaven like meteorites (Matt. 24:29; Mk. 13:25; Rev. 6:13; cf. Isa. 34:4). The stars can also stand for political powers. In Isa. 14:12 the expression is used of the fall of a powerful ruler. The fall of great stars from heaven makes the water on which life depends unusable, and unleashes the powers of darkness (Rev. 8:10; 9:1). The picture of Satan's fall from heaven in Lk. 10:18 is intended to show that the end has come for the devil's dominion. The mighty ruler who up till now has terrorized the world has lost his power and his position as accuser before God in a fall as rapid as a flash of lightning.

8. The fig. sense peculiar to the NT, to lose salvation, and so, to go to eternal destruction, is found in the Gospels, Paul, Heb. and Rev.

(a) It lies in the background of images like that in Matt. 7:25, 27 of total human downfall; of the blind leaders of the blind in Matt. 15:14; Lk. 6:39; and in those passages where Christ is spoken of as the "stone". In Lk. 2:34 he is the → rock on which many will meet their doom. Lk. 20:18 describes the annihilating effect of this stone on everyone who rejects the claim and the person of Jesus. Either they will fall over the stone (i.e. stumbling against it leads to destruction, v. 18a; cf. Isa. 8:15), or the stone will fall upon them (i.e. Christ will crush and shatter his enemies, v. 18b; cf. Dan. 2:34, 44).

(b) Paul uses the metaphor of standing and falling (cf. Prov. 24:16; Jer. 8:4; Amos 5:2; 8:14) in Rom. 14:4. He alludes to the ancient law whereby a slave is subject to his master's jurisdiction which alone decides whether his performance of a task is satisfactory, or whether he must be condemned because of bad work. In the same way the Christian is responsible to no one but his Lord, who alone decides whether he has done well or failed. The same idea is present in 1 Cor. 10:12, with its warning to guard against false security. As long as the eschatological tribulation with its Satanic power has not run its full course, the possibility of falling must not be forgotten (*piptō* here echoes v.8).

(c) "To fall from grace" is an expression arising from the concept of grace as the new sphere of life given to the Christian, to which the believer has "obtained access" (cf. Rom. 5:2 RSV). Those who depart from it deny God's unconditional mercy, the redeeming work of Christ (Gal. 5:4). What Christians must do is to abide in this state of grace, and not fall prey to any false teaching (2 Pet. 3:17). In Rom. 11:11, 22 *piptō* is again used of falling into destruction. The fall of Israel – despite God's gracious desire not to give up his people – demonstrates the severity of God's judgment. In Heb. 4:11 falling is the result of disobedience, and means apostasy (cf. 3:17 for *piptō* in the sense of dying under divine judgment). According to 10:31, the apostate faces a terrible future. Cf. also art. *aphistēmi*.

(d) Rev. 2:5 reminds a church of the love in which it stood at first. But it has moved quickly downwards, and fallen a long way. A return is nonetheless still possible, for the corruption has not yet gone too far. Apart from Rev. 2:5 and probably Rom. 11, the thought behind all these passages where *piptō* is used is of the incurring of guilt and the consequent loss of salvation, rather than of a mere failure from which recovery can be made. It is a catastrophic fall, which means eternal ruin. If it were not so, all the warnings against falling would lose their threatening urgency. To fall into sin and guilt, as an expression of a total attitude, is to plunge into irrevocable misfortune. *W. Bauder*

→ Guard, Keep, → Hard, → Sin

Arndt, 126, 664 f.; I. H. Marshall, *Kept by the Power of God: A Study of Perseverence and Falling Away*, 1969; H. Schlier, *aphistēmi*, *TDNT* I 512 ff.; W. Michaelis, *piptō*, *TDNT* V 161 ff.; E. D. Starbuck, "Backsliding", *ERE* II 319 ff.; V. Taylor, *Forgiveness and Reconciliation*, 1961; H. Windisch, *Taufe und Sünde im ältesten Christentum bis auf Origenes*, 1908.

Fast

νηστεύω

νηστεύω (*nēsteuō*), to fast; *νηστεία* (*nēsteia*), fasting, fast; *νῆστις* (*nēstis*), not eating, fasting.

CL *nēstis* (probably derived from *nē-*, particle of negation, and *edō*, eat, i.e. not eating) means, having an empty stomach. From it are derived *nēsteuō*, fast, and *nēsteia*, fasting. The vb. and noun can also have the more general meaning, not to eat, abstain from food, or, to be without food, starve. These words are, however, more frequently used in the sense of a religious ritual.

To fast is to abstain for a limited period from any kind of food. (Total and permanent abstinence from particular, "forbidden" foods is a quite separate matter.) What is the real motive for fasting? In the pagan religions of the ancient world, it was clearly fear of demons and the idea that fasting was an effective means of preparing oneself for an encounter with the deity, since it created the right kind of openness to divine influence. For this reason it belonged in the mystery religions to the ritual of initiation for novices. In magic and with the oracles fasting was also often regarded as a preparation necessary to success. The custom of fasting following a death was widespread. While the soul of the dead person is still near, there is danger of demonic infection in eating and drinking. Fasting was also required, for instance, in certain fertility rites. Thus at Athens *hē Nēsteia* is the name given to the

fast-day in the women's fertility festival in the month of sowing (October). Abstinence, here including particularly sexual abstinence, makes a person readier to receive the divine powers of fertility.

In practice, fasting in the setting of religious rites and as a defence against trouble was common in the whole of the ancient world, but not fasting for ethical motives (asceticism).

OT 1. In the LXX the Gk. words represent the Heb. *ṣûm*, fast. Along with this the MT has *'innâh nepeš*, afflict oneself (lit., humble one's soul), referring to a purification rite in which fasting played a part (Lev. 16:29, 31; 23:27, 32; Num. 29:7; Isa. 58:3; Ps. 35:13). Frequently too we read simply of "eating no bread and drinking no water" (e.g. Exod. 34:28).

The forms and purposes of fasting are many. Fasting is practised in Israel as a preparation for converse with God (Exod. 34:28; Deut. 9:9; Dan. 9:3):

(a) It was practised by the individual, when oppressed by great cares (2 Sam. 12:16–23; 1 Ki. 21:27; Ps. 35:13; 69:10).

(b) It was practised by the nation in imminent danger of war and destruction (Jdg. 20:26; 2 Chr. 20:3; Est. 4:16; Jon. 3:4–10; Jud. 4:9, 13); during a plague of locusts (Joel 1 and 2); to bring success to the return of the exiles (Ezr. 8:21–23); as an expiatory rite (Neh. 9:1); and finally in connection with mourning the dead (2 Sam. 1:12).

Fasting and prayer go constantly together (Jer. 14:11–12; Neh. 1:4; Ezr. 8:21, 23). Fasting usually lasts from morning to evening (Jdg. 20:26; 1 Sam. 14:24; 2 Sam. 1:12), although Est. 4:16 tells of a 3-day fast. In the description in Ps. 109:24 the torments of fasting during the period of accusation are at the same time a reflection of the inward torments suffered by the suppliant.

The Israelite law ordained fasting only on the day of atonement (Lev. 6:29–30; 23:27–32; Num. 29:7). After the destruction of Jerusalem (587 B.C.) four fast-days were laid down as days of remembrance (Zech. 7:3–5; 8:19).

2. In the course of time the deeper meaning of fasting, as an expression of man's humbling of himself before God, was lost for Israel. Increasingly it came to be regarded as a pious achievement. The struggle of the prophets against this depersonalization and emptying of the concept (cf. Isa. 58:3-7; Jer. 14:12) was without success. By the time of Jesus those who were earnest about their religion, especially the Pharisees, were required to keep two fast-days each week (cf. SB II 242 ff.). The disciples of John had a similar rule (cf. Mk. 2:18).

NT In the NT *nēsteuō* occurs 20 times, all in the Synoptic Gospels (Matt. 8 times, Mk. 6 times, Lk. 4 times) and Acts (twice). *nēsteia* occurs 5 times (3 times in Lk. and Acts, twice in Paul), and *nēstis* twice (Matt. and Mk.). The words of this group thus do not occur at all in John or (with the two exceptions noted above) in the epistles.

1. The entirely new view brought by the NT to the question of fasting is most clearly expressed in the words of Jesus, "How can the wedding guests fast while the bridegroom is with them?" (Mk. 2:19 par.). The irruption of the kingdom of God, the presence of the Messiah, the good news of salvation not dependent on good works – all this means joy which is something excluded by fasting in the Jewish

sense (see above OT 2). In the light of the Messiah-centred preaching of Jesus, such fasting is a thing of the past, belonging to a bygone era. In the Gospels the answer to the question about fasting is linked to the parables of the new patch on the old garment and the new wine in the old bottles (Mk. 2:21 f. par.). We must take this as an indication that fasting has been superseded by Jesus. In fact, there is no evidence from the 1st century that Christians voluntarily imposed fasting on themselves (cf. J. Behm, *TDNT* IV 933). The epistles of the NT make no reference to it, and even in those passages which concentrate on the ascetic tendencies of some (Rom. 14 and Col. 2), fasting remains unmentioned.

2. There are however a number of passages which raise questions about the consistency of this picture:

(a) According to Matt. 4:2, Jesus himself fasted for 40 days and 40 nights before beginning his public ministry. (It might be argued, on the other hand, that this was something which happened "on the threshold" of the coming of salvation.)

(b) In Matt. 6:16–18 Jesus does not condemn fasting as such, but ostentatious fasting. Fasting is not to be practised before the eyes of men, but before God who lives in secret and "sees into the secret place". (Here it could be pointed out that this word is addressed not to the community of his disciples, but to the Jews.)

(c) According to the words of Jesus in Matt. 17:21, there are certain conditions of demonic enslavement from which a man can only be released "through prayer and fasting". (Here it may be observed that this verse is lacking in good MSS and that in the par. Mk. 9:29 prayer alone is mentioned.)

(d) In Acts 13:3 and 14:23 we read that in the Christian church prayer was backed up by fasting (cf. *Did.* 1:3: "fast for those who persecute you").

We may thus conclude that the idea that fasting has a value in its own right was abandoned, but that the primitive Christian church in Palestine still retained the practice of fasting in order to demonstrate that their prayers were in earnest (cf. Acts 13:3; 14:23). In the Hel. churches, as evidenced by the total absence of the terms in the epistles, particularly in those of Paul (for the two instances in 2 Cor. 6:5 and 11:27 are both autobiographical) and in Heb., the practice of fasting does not seem to have existed at all. *F. S. Rothenberg*

→ Bread, → Hunger

(a). I. Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, I, 121–28; R. Arbesmann, "Fasting and Prophecy in Pagan and Christian Antiquity," *Traditio* 7, 1949–51, 1–72; J. Behm, *nēstis*, *TDNT* IV 924–35; D. E. Briggs, *Biblical Teaching on Fasting*, 1953; H. von Campenhausen, "Early Christian Asceticism", *Tradition and Life in the Church*, 1968, 90–122; J. Gamberoni, "Fasting," *EBT* I 257–60; H. H. Guthrie, "Fast, Fasting," *IDB* II 241–44; J. A. Montgomery, "Ascetic Strains in Early Judaism," *JBL* 51, 1932, 183–213; Moore, *Judaism*, II, 55 ff., 257 ff.
(b). H. J. Ebeling, "Die Fastenfrage (Mk. 2, 18–22)," *ThStKr* 3, 1937–38, 387 ff.; M. S. Freiberger, *Die Fasten im alten Israel*, 1929; K. Fruhstorfer, "Fastenvorschriften und Fastenlehren der Heiligen Schrift des Alten Bundes," *Theologisch-praktische Quartalschrift* 69, 1916, 59–72; P. Gerlitz, *Das Fasten im religionsgeschichtlichen Vergleich*, (Dissertation Erlangen) 1954; A. Guillaumont, "*Nēsteuein ton kosmon* (P Oxy I, verso, 1:5–6)," *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, Cairo, 61, 1962, 15–23; K. E. Koch, *Fasten und Beten*, 1963; P. Rohleder, "Die Übung des Fastens", *Quatember* 19, 1954–55; SB IV 77–114; K. T. Schaeffer, " '. . . und dann werden sie fasten an jenem Tage' (Mk. 2, 20)", *Synoptische Studien: Festschrift A. Wikenhauser*, 1953, 124–47; F. Schmidt-Clausing, "Fasten," *RGG*[3] II 882 ff.; J. Schümmer, *Die altchristliche Fastenpraxis*, 1933; R. Taut, "Askese tut Not!" in F. S. Rothenberg, ed., *Christsein Heute*, I, 1958, 65 ff.; H.-D. Wendland, "Evangelium und Askese", *Quatember* 19, 1954–55, 65 ff.

Father

In the patriarchal societies of antiquity, the father figure is endowed with two particular characteristics. On the one hand, the father rules as head of the household and the person to whom most respect is due, having absolute authority over his family. On the other hand, he has the responsibility of guarding, supporting and helping the other members. Both these characteristics are also present when a deity is described or addressed as father. Whereas the word *abba*, which is borrowed from the Aramaic, occurs only in the NT and there only in the context of addressing God in prayer as "Father", *patēr* covers the full range of meaning of the Eng. *father*. It can be used both as a description and as a form of address, either in a secular or a religious sense. The religious use of the image of a father "is one of the basic phenomena of religious history" (G. Schrenk, *TDNT* V 951). Biblical theology is concerned with the particular figure to which this phenomenon points in the OT and NT.

ἀββά	*ἀββά* (*abba*), father.

CL & OT *abba*, father, is an Aram. word, occurring in the NT only in 3 places: Mk. 14:36; Rom. 8:15; Gal. 4:6. In each case it is used in calling on God in prayer. In the other Gk. literature of early Christianity it is found only in quotations of these passages.

1. In Aram. '*abbā*' is originally, like the feminine equivalent '*immā*', a word derived from baby-language. When a child is weaned, "it learns to say '*abbā*' (daddy) and '*immā*' (mummy)" (Ber. 40a; Sanh. 70b; cf. Tg. Isa. 8:4). Even in the pre-Christian era the word underwent a considerable extension of meaning. It came to replace not only the older form of address common to biblical Heb. and Aram., '*āḇî*, my father, but also the Aram. descriptive terms for "the father" and "my father", i.e. the noun in the emphatic and the form with the 1st person sing. suffix. The effect of this widening of meaning was that the word '*abbā*' as a form of address to one's father was no longer restricted to children, but also used by adult sons and daughters. The childish character of the word ("daddy") thus receded, and '*abbā*' acquired the warm, familiar ring which we may feel in such an expression as "dear father".

2. Nowhere in the entire wealth of devotional literature produced by ancient Judaism do we find '*abbā*' being used as a way of addressing God. The pious Jew knew too much of the great gap between God and man (Eccl. 5:1) to be free to address God with the familiar word used in everyday family life. In the literature of Rab. Judaism we find only one example of '*abbā*' used in reference to God. It occurs in a story recorded in the Babylonian Talmud (Taanith 23b): "When the world had need of rain, our teachers used to send the schoolchildren to Rabbi *Ḥanan ha Neḥba* [end of the 1st cent. B.C.], and they would seize the hem of his cloak and call out to him: 'Dear father (*'abbā'*), dear father (*'abbā'*), give us rain'. He said before God: 'Sovereign of the world, do it for the sake of these who cannot distinguish between an '*abbā*' who can give rain and an '*abbā*' who can give no rain' " (cf. SB I 375, 520). It would certainly be reading too much into this text to conclude from it that in ancient Judaism God was described, still less addressed, as '*abbā*'.

Rabbi Chanin is here simply taking up the children's cry of *'abbā'* in order to appeal to God's fatherly mercy; he himself on the other hand uses the respectful invocation "Sovereign of the world."

NT 1. It is clear from the Gospel tradition and moreover indirectly confirmed in Rom. 8:15 and Gal. 4:6 (see below, 2), that Jesus addressed God in his prayers as "My Father". In so doing, he made use of the warm, familiar term *'abbā'* used in the everyday life of the family. The only exception is the cry of dereliction from the cross (Mk. 15:34 par.) which appears to be a quotation from Ps. 22:1 (→ God, art. *theos*, NT 6 (d)).

(a) The invocation *'abbā'* is expressly attested in the Markan text of the prayer in Gethsemane (Mk. 14:36). But in the other prayers of Jesus recorded by the evangelists (→ *patēr* NT 2(a)) it is again the Aram. *'abbā'* that underlies, either directly or indirectly, the various Gk. versions of his invocation of the Father. In the Gk. account of the prayers of Jesus the words used to address the Father vary between the voc. *pater*, the use of the nominative with the art., *ho patēr*, in a vocative sense (unusual in Gk. usage, but found as a Hebraism, cf. Funk § 147), and the voc. form with the 1st person sing., *pater mou*. These variations are to be explained by the fact that we have here to do with variant translations (cf. J. Jeremias, *The Prayers of Jesus*, 1967, 56). These result from the fact already mentioned, that in Palestinian Aram. of the 1st cent. A.D. *'abbā'* was used not only as a form of address (vocative), but also for the nom. with the art., and for the form with the 1st person sing. pronominal suffix.

(b) The use, unthinkable for the pious Jew, of the childish and familiar term *'abbā'* in prayer is an expression of the unique relationship of Jesus to God. It expresses not only his attitude of trust and obedience towards the Father (Mk. 14:36 par.), but also his incomparable authority (Matt. 11:25 ff. par.).

2. The early church took over the use of *'abbā'* in prayer. This is shown by the two passages Rom. 8:15 and Gal. 4:6, where Paul may have been thinking of the Lord's Prayer. In the oldest version of this prayer (Lk. 11:2 ff.), the invocation reads *pater*, (dear) Father, and indicates *'abbā'* as the Aram. original. This means that when Jesus gave his disciples the Lord's Prayer, he gave them authority to follow him in addressing God as *'abbā*,' and so gave them a share in his status as Son (→ Son, art. *hyios tou theou*). Accordingly, Paul sees in the invocation "Abba", dear Father, clear evidence of our adoption through Christ as sons, and of the eschatological possession of the Spirit (Rom. 8:14 ff.; Gal. 4:4–7). The fact that the church, like Jesus, may say "Abba" is a fulfilment of God's promise: "I will be a father to you, and you shall be my sons and daughters" (2 Cor. 6:18; a free citation of 2 Sam. 7:14; cf. also Jub. 1:24 f.). *O. Hofius*

πατήρ *πατήρ* (*patēr*), father; *πατριά* (*patria*), family, clan; *πατρίς* (*patris*), fatherland, homeland, home city, one's own part of the country; *ἀπάτωρ* (*apatōr*), fatherless.

CL 1. *patēr*, father, like *mētēr*, mother, a word of Indo-European origin, is used in classical Gk. of a lit. father (Homer, *Od.*, 1, 94), of the patriarch of a family (Josephus, *Ant.*, 14, 255), or in the plur. of forefathers and ancestors generally

(Homer, *Il.*, 6, 209). In a fig. sense the word is used as a title of honour for, or as a respectful means of addressing, a venerable old man (Homer, *Il.*, 24, 362), and also to indicate spiritual or intellectual fatherhood. Thus a philosopher may be called the "father" of his followers (Epictetus, *Dissertationes*, 3, 22, 81 f.), and in the mystery religions the one who conducts the ceremony of initiation can be described as "father" of the newly initiated (Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, 11, 25, 7).

Derived from *patēr* are the words *patria*, lineage, clan (indicating descent from the same father and ancestral patriarch; in the NT only at Lk. 2:4; Acts 3:25; Eph. 3:15); *patris*, fatherland (in the NT e.g. Jn. 4:44; Heb. 11:14), or home city (e.g. Matt. 13:54; Lk. 4:23); and *apatōr*, fatherless (in NT only at Heb. 7:3). The latter term is used in classical Gk. of orphans, foundlings, children born out of wedlock, outcasts and outlaws (examples in *TDNT* V 1019 ff.; for similar usage in Jewish literature, see ibid. and SB II 693 f.). Where gods are described as "fatherless", the term is intended to indicate their miraculous origin (see *TDNT* ibid.). In the Hel. period *apatōr* is found also – often in combination with *amētōr*, motherless – as an attribute of God. It describes God's divinity and eternity (in Orphism, the mystery religions, and gnosticism). This is the sense of the term in Apoc. Abr. 17:9, where we find the invocation "Fatherless, motherless, unbegotten One." We may compare with this an Egyptian hymn to the god Ptah, which contains the words: "Thou hast no father, who has begotten thee. . .; thou hast no mother who has borne thee."

2. (a) The use of the name father for *God* in the religions of the ancient orient and classical Greece and Rome is always based upon mythical ideas of an original act of begetting and the natural, physical descent of all men from God. Thus the god El of Ugarit is called "father of mankind", the Babylonian moon-god Sin is "father and begetter of gods and men", and in Greece Zeus (from Homer onwards) is called "father of men and gods". In Egypt the Pharaoh is regarded in a special way as the son of God in a physical sense. The name of father expresses above all God's absolute authority, demanding obedience, but at the same time his merciful love, goodness and care. The appropriate attitude of man for his part is a double one: on the one hand, "recognition of his own powerlessness and total dependence on the deity", and on the other, "the attitude of childlike trust and love towards the deity" (G. Mensching, *RGG*[3] VI 1233).

(b) The idea of the fatherhood of God is given a philosophical interpretation in Plato and the Stoics. Plato, in his cosmological elaboration of the father idea, emphasizes the creator relationship of God, the "universal father", to the entire cosmos (*Tim.*, 28c, 41a, and often). According to Stoic teaching, God's authority as father pervades the universe: he is "creator, father, and sustainer" of men, who are his children, related to him (Epictetus, *Dissertationes*, 1, 9, 7; cf. Cleanthes' famous hymn to Zeus).

(c) In the ancient mystery cults the regeneration and deification of the initiate is seen as an act of begetting by the deity; hence the latter is invoked in prayer as "Father" (examples in *TDNT* V 953 f.).

(d) The gnostics too describe the supreme God as the father, or first father (see especially the Gospel of Truth from Nag Hammadi; cf. K. Grobel, *The Gospel of Truth*, 1960, 32 ff. and passim). Here, however, the personal relationship between God and man disappears altogether. The sparks of light emanating from God,

which have become locked in the human body, are to the first Father like drops of water to the sea.

OT The OT uses the word father (Heb. *'āḇ* = LXX *patēr*) almost exclusively (*c.* 1180 times) in a secular and only very occasionally (15 times) in a religious sense. As in the case of the OT, so in the literature of ancient Palestinian Judaism, we may note a marked reserve in the use of the word in a religious sense. Not until the literature of Diaspora Judaism do we find more frequent use of the name "Father" in reference to God.

1. *Secular usage.* (a) Physical fatherhood is the gift and command of the Creator (Gen. 1:28). As bearer of the divine blessing (cf. Gen. 27), the father is head of the family, his → house (cf. Jos. 24:15b), and an authority which must be respected under all circumstances (Exod. 20:12; 21:15, 17; Prov. 23:22). Not only is it his task to feed, protect, and educate his family, but, more important still, he is the family priest (Exod. 12:3 ff.) and teacher (Exod. 12:26 f.; 13:14 ff.; Deut. 6:7, 20 ff.; 32:7, 46; Isa. 38:19; for references in Rab. literature, see SB III 615). He is responsible for seeing that family life is in accordance with the covenant, and that the children receive religious instruction. Even servants may address a master as "my father" (2 Ki. 5:13).

(b) Earlier generations of Israel are called "the fathers" (Ps. 22:4; 106:7), as are outstanding men of God of previous ages (Sir. 44:1 ff.), and particularly the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, the bearers and mediators of the covenant promises of God (Jos. 24:3; 1 Chr. 29:18; Rab. references in SB I 918 f.).

(c) Father is used as a title of honour for a priest (Jdg. 17:10; 18:19), and for a prophet (2 Ki. 6:21; 13:14). In 2 Ki. 2:12, on the lips of the prophet's disciple, it also expresses spiritual relationship. In Rab. Judaism, where the title of father was frequently used of respected scribes (SB I 918 f.), the metaphor of father and child is occasionally applied to the relationship between a teacher of the Torah and his pupil (SB III 340 f.).

2. *Religious usage.* (a) God as Father in the Old Testament. Apart from comparisons with an earthly father (Ps. 103:13; Prov. 3:12; cf. Deut. 1:31; 8:5), the word father is used of God only 15 times in the OT, 13 times as an epithet and twice directly in prayer.

The description of God as Father refers in the OT only to his relationship with the people of Israel (Deut. 32:6; Isa. 63:16 twice; 64:8; Jer. 31:9; Mal. 1:6; 2:10) or to the king of Israel (2 Sam. 7:14 par. 1 Chr. 17:13; 22:10; 28:6; Ps. 89:26; cf. 2:7). It never refers to any other individual (on Ps. 68:5 see below), or to mankind in general. The basic difference between this and the views of the fatherhood of God held by Israel's neighbours is that in the OT God's fatherhood is not understood in a biological or mythological sense, but in a soteriological one. To be a child of God is not a natural state or quality; rather it grounded in the miracle of divine → election and → redemption (cf. also Exod. 4:22; Deut. 14:1 f.; Hos. 11:1 ff.). Even where, in connection with God's fatherhood, the language of creating (→ Creation) and begetting (→ Birth) is used, the reference is to the historical, elective action of God towards a people, or king, who existed already in the biological sense. When God, the One who elects and redeems, is described as Father, expression is given both to his merciful, forgiving → love (Jer. 31:9, 20; cf. Hos. 11:8),

and to his claim to respect and obedience (Deut. 32:5 f.; Jer. 3:4 f., 19; Mal. 1:6). Because the Israelites share in being children of God, they have a special obligation to be loyal to one another (Mal. 2:10). If the individual sees God as his Father, it is because of his status as a member of the people and because he has experienced the work of God in a way corresponding to his redemption of Israel (Ps. 68:5 in the context of verses 4–10).

The vocative "my father" is found only at Jer. 3:4, 19, and here significantly not on the lips of an individual, but as a prayer of the chosen people.

(b) God as Father in Palestinian Judaism. As in the OT, so in Palestinian Judaism of the pre-Christian period the description of God as Father is rare. In the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, as far as writings of Palestinian origin are concerned, it is found only very occasionally (Tob. 13:4; Sir. 51:10; Jub. 1:24 f., 28; 19:29), while the Qumran texts provide but a single example (1QH 9:35 f.). In Rab. Judaism of the 1st cent. A.D. the use of the name of Father became more widespread, but it was still far less frequent than other descriptions of God. God is known as "Father in heaven" (examples in J. Jeremias, *The Prayers of Jesus*, 1967, 16 ff.). The addition of "in heaven" indicates the distance between God and man. The new element as compared with OT usage is that in Palestinian Judaism the individual worshipper too speaks of God as his "Father in heaven" (J. Jeremias, op. cit., 21). The texts emphasize, however, that the indispensable condition for this personal relationship of child to father is obedience to God's commandments (cf. Sir. 4:10).

As an invocation of God, we find in the 1st cent. A.D. the expression "our Father, our King". But this is only in liturgical prayers of the whole congregation, not in the normal spoken Aramaic, but in the Heb. language of worship (cf. the "Ahaba rabba" prayer and the New Year litany "Abinu malkenu" in W. Staerk, *Altjüdische liturgische Gebete*, 1930², 6, 27 ff.; cf. J. Jeremias, op. cit., 24 f.). It is to be observed that this expression draws attention to the fatherhood of God and to his majesty at the same time. The invocation "our Father in heaven", which is occasionally to be found in later Jewish prayers, is likewise attested in the 1st cent. A.D. by Matt. 6:9. On the other hand, we have yet to find an example of an individual addressing God as "my Father". Sir. 23:1, 4 appears in the Gk. text as "Lord, my Father", but the Heb. original has, as it does in 51:1, "God of my father" (cf. Exod. 15:2).

(c) God as Father in Diaspora Judaism. The Greek-speaking Jews of the Diaspora were more frequent and less reserved than the Jews of Palestine in their use of the term father as a description of God (3 Macc. 5:7; Wis. 2:16 ff.; Tob. 13:4). Philo (*Op. Mund.*, 89; *Spec. Leg.*, 1, 96; 2, 6 and often) and Josephus (especially *Ant.*, 7, 380) reveal clearly the influence of the Gk. concept of the universal father.

In the Diaspora the invocatory use of "Father" occurs, under Gk. influence, even in the prayers of individuals (3 Macc. 6:3, 8; Wis. 14:3; Apocryphon of Ezek. Frag. 3 = 1 Clem. 8:3).

NT The range of meaning of *patēr*, father, in the NT corresponds to that of *'āḇ* and *patēr* in the OT. In contrast to the OT, which uses the name of Father only very occasionally for God, the number of examples of *patēr* in the religious sense in the NT (245 times) far exceeds the number of those in a secular sense (157 times).

1. *The secular use of patēr.* (a) According to the synoptic tradition, Jesus specifically emphasized the binding validity of the commandment to honour one's parents (Mk. 7:9–13 par.; 10:19 par; cf. Exod. 20:12). Even more important, however, than the tie to father and mother is the obligation that Jesus makes to follow him (Matt. 10:37; Lk. 14:26; cf. Mk. 10:29 f. par.). The family rules laid down in Eph. and Col. again underline the commandment of obedience towards father and mother, but they also point to the human and spiritual responsibility of the father towards his children (Eph. 6:1–4; Col. 3:20 f.).

(b) The close connection between Israel and the church, which receives extended treatment in Rom. 9–11, is the basis of Paul's words in 1 Cor. 10:1, when he speaks of God's people of the Old Testament as "our fathers" even though he is addressing Gentile Christians (cf. also Rom. 9:10; Heb. 1:1; 1 Clem. 4:8; 31:2; 60:4).

(c) The idea of spiritual fatherhood appears in 1 Cor. 4:14 ff. and also indirectly where spiritual sonship is mentioned (Phlm. 10; 1 Tim. 1:2, 18; 2 Tim. 1:2; 2:1; Tit. 1:4; 1 Pet. 5:13). The apostle is regarded as "father" of those Christians who owe their faith to his preaching. Matt. 23:9 forbids the use of the name of father as a title of honour.

(d) Among the derivatives of *patēr*, *apatōr* (without father, Heb. 7:3), deserves special mention. The author of Hebrews describes → Melchizedek as "without father or mother or genealogy, (having) neither beginning of days nor end of life." The writer arrives at this remarkable conclusion with the help of the Rab. principle, "What is not mentioned in the Torah does not exist." In the silence of the OT (Gen. 14:18 ff.) about the descent, parentage, birth and death of Melchizedek he finds a cryptic reference to the miraculous, heavenly origin of the priest-king and to his eternal priesthood. As a heavenly being (cf. 11Q Melchizedek), Melchizedek is superior to the Levitical priests, for whom priestly descent is an absolute precondition for service (Neh. 7:63 f.; Lev. 21:13 ff.; cf. F. Schröger, *Der Verfasser des Hebräerbriefes als Schriftausleger*, 1968, 140 ff.). Hence he is for the writer of Heb. a type and prophetic prefiguring of the pre-existent Son of God and eternal High Priest Christ, who is similarly not descended from the tribe of Levi (Heb. 7:13 f.).

2. *God as Father.* The concordance alone tells us that in the concept of the fatherhood of God we see one of the central ideas of primitive Christian theology. This is confirmed when we consider the meaning of the terms (cf. art. *abba*; also → Child, art. *hyios*).

(a) Jesus' use of the name Father for God. Jesus' use of the name Father as a description of God is attested 3 times in Mk., 4 times in the sayings-source used by Matt. and Lk., 4 times in Lk.'s special material, 31 times in the remaining parts of Matt., and 100 times in Jn. This analysis suggests to some scholars that Jesus himself did not often describe God as Father, and that in the period of the early church there was an increasing tendency to put the name on his lips. Two things are of significance about Jesus' own usage. He evidently never called God the Father of Israel. He spoke of God as his Father ("my Father") and as the Father of the disciples ("your Father"). But he never joined with them together in a common "our Father" (the Lord's Prayer is a prayer for the disciples to use!).

When Jesus called God his Father, this is based upon a unique revelation of God given him from above and on his incomparable status as Son (Matt. 11:25–27

par. Lk. 10:21 f.). On the question of authenticity and for a detailed exposition of these passages, see J. Jeremias, op. cit., 45–52; cf. *New Testament Theology*, I, 1971, 59 ff.). In the mission of Jesus, in whose word and works the coming → Kingdom of God is dawning, God reveals himself as Father. God's fatherhood, revealed in the Son, is therefore an eschatological reality (cf. E. Lohmeyer, *The Lord's Prayer*, 1965, 42 ff.).

The expression "your Father" is found only in the words of Jesus to his disciples. This means that Jesus did not teach the idea that God is the Father of all men. Rather, he linked the fatherhood of God to men's relationship to himself. God shows himself to be the Father of the disciples in his mercy (Lk. 6:36), goodness (Matt. 5:45), forgiving love (Mk. 11:25) and care (Matt. 6:8; 6:32 par. Lk. 12:30). He gives them the gifts of the age of salvation (Matt. 7:11) and is preparing for them full salvation at the close of the age (Lk. 12:32). The disciple's experience of the fatherly love of God places him under a special obligation in the way he conducts himself with his fellow men, as is expressly stated in e.g. Matt. 5:44 ff. and Lk. 6:36.

According to the accounts in all the Gospels (with the exception of the cry of dereliction in Mk. 15:34, par. Matt. 27:46, where the words "My God" were present in Ps. 22:1 which is being quoted), Jesus always addressed God in his prayers with the words "(my) Father" (Mk. 14:36 par. Matt. 26:39, 42 and Lk. 22:42; Matt. 11:25 f. par. Lk. 10:21; Lk. 23:34, 46; Jn. 11:41; 12:27 f.; 17:1, 5, 11, 21, 24 f.). "This constancy of the tradition shows how firmly the address 'Father' was rooted in the tradition of Jesus, quite apart from the question of the authenticity of the individual prayers themselves" (J. Jeremias, *The Prayers of Jesus*, 55). When we consider that the personal invocation "(my) father" was something totally new in Palestine (cf. above OT, 2 (b)), it must have seemed nothing short of outrageous that Jesus should make use of the completely unceremonious Aram. word *'abbā'* (→ art. *abba*).

(b) The use of name of Father for God by the NT witnesses. The NT witnesses, especially Paul (including Eph. and Col.) and John (Jn. and 1 & 2 Jn.), are unanimous in making the fatherhood of God rest upon a basis of christology and soteriology.

In the Pauline letters the description of God as Father occurs 40 times, normally in liturgical formulae (blessings: Rom. 1:7; 1 Cor. 1:3; 2 Cor. 1:2; doxologies: Rom. 15:6; 2 Cor. 1:3; Eph. 1:3; creeds: 1 Cor. 8:6; Eph. 4:6; prayers: Eph. 5:20; Col. 1:12). When Paul uses, in addition to "God the Father" and "God our Father", the phrase "the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ", as he frequently does (e.g. Rom. 15:6; 2 Cor. 1:3; 11:31), he is emphasizing that God has revealed himself as Father in Jesus Christ and can hence be recognized as such only in him. The fatherhood of God is not a fact of nature, but an eschatological miracle (cf. Rom. 8:14–17; Gal. 4:1 ff.).

John who uses the word Father almost as a synonym for God stresses Jesus' unique relationship to the Father (Jn. 6:57; 10:30; 14:10 f.). As the Son who has been accorded a complete knowledge of God (3:35; 10:15a; 16:15a), Jesus reveals the Father (1:18; 8:26–29; 12:49 f.; 14:7, 9). He thus imparts to his own the status of children of God, a status which can only be attained through him (14:6; 17:25 f.) and can only be received as a gift of divine love (1 Jn. 3:1 f.).

There are only 3 occasions in the NT where a concept of God's fatherhood appears which is without a christological anchor. In Eph. 3:14 f. God in his capacity as creator of the world is called "the Father . . . (of) every family (*patria*) in heaven and on earth." In Heb. 12:9 in his capacity as the creator of men's souls he is called "Father of spirits." In Jas. 1:17 as creator of the stars, he is called "Father of lights" (cf. Apc. Mos. 36:3). It is possible that in these passages we see a trace of the Gk. concept of the universal fatherhood of God.

The invocatory use of the term Father for God by the Christian church is attested in Matt. 6:9 par. Lk. 11:2; Rom. 8:15; and Gal. 4:6 (→ *abba* NT, 2). 1 Pet. 1:17 may be an allusion to the invocation of God as Father in the Lord's Prayer (cf. the Coptic Sahidic translation: "If you address him as 'Our Father' who . . ."). With the privilege of calling God "Father" in prayer goes the obligation to live a holy life. *O. Hofius*

→ Adam, → Child, → God, → Man, → Son, → Woman

(a). P. A. H. de Boer, *Fatherhood and Motherhood in Israelite and Judean Piety*, 1974; G. Dalman, *The Words of Jesus*, 1902, 184–94; F. Hahn, *The Titles of Jesus in Christology*, 1969, 307–17; J. Jeremias, *The Central Message of the New Testament*, 1965, 9 ff.; *The Prayers of Jesus*, 1967; *New Testament Theology*, I, 1971, 36 f., 61 ff.; G. Kittel, *abba*, *TDNT* I 5 f.; G. W. H. Lampe, " 'Our Father' in the Fathers", in P. Brooks, ed., *Christian Spirituality: Essays in Honour of Gordon Rupp*, 1975, 9–31; E. Lohmeyer, *The Lord's Prayer*, 1965; J. Lowe, *The Lord's Prayer*, 1962; W. Lüthi, *The Lord's Prayer*, 1961; T. W. Manson, *The Teaching of Jesus*, (1931) 1959[3], 89 ff.; H. G. May, "The God of my Father: A Study of Patriarchal Religion," *JBL* 60, 1941, 155 ff.; H. W. Montefiore, "God as Father in the Synoptic Gospels," *NTS* 3, 1956–57, 31 ff.; Moore, *Judaism*, II 201 ff.; G. Quell and G. Schrenk, *patēr* etc. *TDNT* V 945–1022; H. Ringgren, *'āḇ*, *TDOT* I 1 ff.; A. Stöger, "Father," *EBT* I 260–65; T. M. Taylor, " 'Abba, Father' and Baptism", *SJT* II, 1958, 62–71.

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Fear, Awe

φόβος

φόβος (*phobos*), terror, fear, alarm, fright, reverence, respect, awe; φοβέομαι (*phobeomai*), to be afraid, fear, have reverence, respect for; φοβερός (*phoberos*), fearful, terrible, frightful.

CL *phobos* means panic, fright, fear, awe, reverence. Like the vb. *phobeō*, to be frightened, it is already found in Mycenean Gk. (Linear B). Sometimes these words denote fear of the gods, holy awe. But in general, the attitude of reverence before the deity is denoted by *sebomai* (fear, feel awe, reverence, worship) and the related words *eusebeia* (which can denote reverence towards the gods and one's parents) and its opposite *asebeia* (ungodliness, impiety). (On the latter terms → Godliness, art. *sebomai*; → W. Foerster, art. *sebomai*, *TDNT* VII 168–96.)

OT 1. In addition to the above meanings, *phobos* in the LXX can also mean someone or something that is to be feared. Here the Heb. vb. is *pāḥaḏ* (tremble). It may even be applied to God as one who is to be feared (Gen. 31:42, 53; Isa. 8:13). The Gk. vb. *phobeomai* is used in the LXX and the NT only in the middle (apart from Wis. 17:9). It is used intransitively with the preposition *apo* in the sense of "to be afraid of" (Lev. 26:2; Deut. 1:29). It is used transitively with a personal or impersonal object meaning "to fear" (Num. 14:9, a foreign people; Prov. 13:13, a command; Lev. 19:3, parents; Prov. 24:21, the king). The adj. *phoberos* (fearful, terrible, frightful) was used in secular Gk. from the 5th cent. B.C. It was applied especially to God in his works (e.g. Ps. 66:5 [LXX 65:3]). The rare noun *phobētron* (also *phobēthron*) meaning horror, terror, is found in Isa. 19:17 LXX, Justin, *Apol.*, 2, 8, 7, and once in the NT in Lk. 21:11 where it means terrible sight, event or horror (Arndt, 871, "there will be *dreadful portents* and signs").

2. There is a characteristic difference between Israel's relationship with God and the religious attitude of the Greeks. The Israelite can stand before God in fear and love. God is great, mighty and terrible (Deut. 10:17 f.; cf. 1 Chron. 16:25). Nevertheless, he is gracious to man (Deut. 6:5, 13). Thus we can understand the frequent address to man which passes right on into the NT: "Fear not" (Gen. 15:1; Jdg. 6:23; Isa. 44:2 and often). God's grace and favour do not abolish the solemnity of the address. It demands man's total obedience (Amos 5:6 f.; Hos. 6:6). For love is not mere feeling. It has to be proved in action, just as God's love is proved (Isa. 41:13 and often). Nevertheless, the motive of fear predominates. The fear of God is the first essential motive in the laws of the Pentateuch (Lev. 19:14, 32; Deut. 13:11; 17:13 etc.). It is the decisive religious factor in OT piety, especially in the Pss., Prov. and Sirach (cf. Ps. 103:11, 13, 17; Prov. 1:7; 23:17; Sir. 1:11 ff. and often). On the other hand, the man who trusts in God does not need to fear enemies, adversity or danger (Pss. 27 and 46, and often).

Compared with the frequency of *phobeomai* and its cognates, the LXX uses *sebomai* and *eulabeomai* comparatively rarely, although their meanings are similar. This presents a contrast with secular Gk.

NT 1. The use of these words in the NT follows that outlined in CL and OT. Objects of fear are: the appearance of angels (Lk. 1:12; 2:9; Matt. 28:4); the catastrophes at the end-time (Lk. 21:26); death (Heb. 2:15); rulers (Rom. 13:3); and the Jews (Jn. 7:13; 20:19). Fear in the sense of anxiety is denoted by the expression *phobos kai tromos*, fear and trembling, which occurs already in the LXX (Exod. 15:16 and often; cf. 1 Cor. 2:3; 2 Cor. 7:15; Phil. 2:12; cf. also Mk. 5:33). Similarly, *phobos* and *deilia* (timidity, despondency) are combined in Sir. 4:17. The noun *deilia* occurs in 2 Tim. 1:7, and the vb. *deiliaō* (to be afraid, despondent) in Jn. 14:27 (cf. Deut. 1:21; 3 Macc. 6:19 and often).

phobos and its cognates are used in the sense of fear, awe and reverence before God (e.g. Acts 9:31; 2 Cor. 7:1; Col. 3:22; cf. Eph. 5:21 where the object is Christ). Reverence should be shown to masters (Eph. 6:5; 1 Pet. 2:18), husbands (1 Pet. 3:2), and those outside the church (1 Pet. 3:16). *phobeomai* (fear) may be followed by *apo* (Matt. 10:28; Lk. 12:4 and often). But it may also be used transitively with a person or a thing as its object (Matt. 14:5, the people; Heb. 11:23, the king's edict). In such cases the object of fear is some power behind the immediate object. The vb. is used in the weakened sense of "to be afraid that" in Acts 23:10 and Gal. 4:11.

The term *phoboumenos ton theon*, a God-fearing man (Acts 10:2, 22; 13:16, 26), is a designation for a non-Jew who has connections with the synagogue (→ Conversion, art. *prosēlytos*). The adj. *phoberos* (fearful, terrible, frightful) occurs in Heb. 10:27, 31; 12:21.

2. Fear and reverence of God, and also of Christ (Eph. 2:21), provide both the motive and manner of Christian conduct (Lk. 18:2, 4; Acts 9:31; 1 Pet. 2:17; Rev. 11:18). Jesus himself impressed upon the disciples the absolute necessity to fear God who can destroy both body and soul in → hell (*geenna*) (Matt. 10:28; Lk. 12:5). "It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God" (Heb. 10:31; cf. v. 27). Jesus' warning, like the teaching of the apostles (2 Cor. 5:11; 1 Pet. 1:17) points unambiguously to the prospect of judgment. Paul could exhort the Philippians to "work out your own salvation with fear and trembling" (Phil. 2:12). But this is only one side of the motivation. For he immediately adds: "for God is at work in you, both to will and to work for his good pleasure" (2:13).

3. This fear that overtakes men when they encounter God or his messengers may be seen in the accounts of the → miracles of Jesus and the → apostles and also in the appearances of Christ and the → angels. But here, as in the OT, we repeatedly find the command, "Fear not!" It occurs in the accounts of Jairus's daughter (Mk. 5:36; Lk. 8:50), Peter's draught of fishes (Lk. 5:10), the appearance of the angels to Zechariah and Mary (Lk. 1:13, 30), Paul's visions (Acts 18:9; 27:24), John's vision on Patmos (Rev. 1:17), and the prophecy fulfilled on the first Palm Sunday (Jn. 12:15; cf. Isa. 41:10, 13; Zech. 9:9 f.). It occurs in the plur. in the nativity story (Lk. 2:10), Jesus' walking on the water (Matt. 14:27; Mk. 6:50), the transfiguration (Matt. 17:7) and the angel's and Jesus' words at the empty tomb (Matt. 28:5, 10).

4. The exhortation not to fear is also found frequently with regard both to men and the world. The disciples need not fear those who only kill the body (Matt. 10:26, 28; Lk. 12:4 f.). The little flock need not fear want (Lk. 12:32). Christians need not fear their opponents (Phil. 1:28) or suffering (1 Pet. 3:14; Rev. 2:10). For fear of men is taken away from them by security in God (Matt. 10:30 f.; Heb. 11:23, 27; 13:6).

5. The NT letters clearly present the real ground for overcoming fear. Christ has appeared to "deliver all those who through fear of death were subject to lifelong bondage" (Heb. 2:15). Those who are led by the Spirit of God have received the Spirit of sonship which enables them to cry "Abba! Father!" (Rom. 8:15; cf. Gal. 4:6). "God did not give us a spirit of timidity but a spirit of power and love and self-control" (2 Tim. 1:7). "There is no fear in love, but perfect love casts out fear. For fear has to do with punishment, and he who fears is not perfected in love"

(1 Jn. 4:18). It is not fear of punishment but this love which provides the motive and power to keep his → commandments (1 Jn. 5:3).

6. The Christian is constantly confronted by the task of overcoming the motive of fear by that of love. Over and above the motive of fear, faith which is active in love appears at the nerve-centre of Christian conduct in the NT (Gal. 5:6). The NT presents a tension between fear and love. In a paradoxical way they exist together. We are not, therefore, justified in ascribing fear of God and judgment entirely to the influence of the Jewish synagogue and dismissing it as a remnant of Jewish thought. *W. Mundle*

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(b). J. Becker, *Gottesfurcht im Alten Testament*, *Analecta Biblica* 25, 1965; H. Cremer and J. Kögel, *Biblisch-theologisches Wörterbuch der neutestamentlichen Gräzität*, 1923[11], 1115 ff.; L. Koehler, "Die Offenbarungsformel 'Fürchte dich nicht' im Alten Testament," *SThZ* 36, 1918, 33 ff.; W. Lütgert, "Die Furcht Gottes," *Theologische Studien für M. Kähler*, 1905, 163 ff.; S. Plath, "*Furcht Gottes.*" *Der Begriff "Furcht" im Alten Testament*, 1963; K. Romaniuk, "La crainte de Dieu à Qumran et dans le Nouveau Testament," *Revue de Qumran* 4, 1963, 3–10; A. Strobel, "Furcht, wem Furcht gebührt. Zum profangriechischen Hintergrund von Röm. 13, 7," *ZNW* 55, 1964, 58 ff.

Feast, Passover

Festivals and feasts belong together and denote the passage of time, marking the high points and breaks in the rhythm of life in the ancient world. Nearly always they are religious in origin. The comprehensive Gk. term *heortē* contains both this religious element and the idea of a pause from normal work. The festivals which were important for the biblical writers and the world around them are dealt with in the first and more general article. Because of its particular significance in the passion narrative, the *pascha*, the Passover, is dealt with separately in the second article.

ἑορτή

ἑορτή (*heortē*), festival, feast; ἑορτάζω (*heortazō*), celebrate a festival.

CL 1. *heortē* has the basic meaning of performance, fulfilment (for the benefit of a deity). In its usual meaning of festival it is attested since Homer (*Od.*, 20, 258 f.).

2. Among the Greeks a great many events were elevated by means of festivals out of the common run of daily life: the change of the seasons and the high points of the year's work from seed-time to harvest (fertility festivals); family events and the relationship between the individual and the community (family and tribal festivals). In later times especially, these festivities were practically always associated with certain deities and named after them. In addition to many festivals of local significance, there was an increasing number which were general throughout Greece. The list of these "legally sanctified portions of time" (Plato, *Definitiones*, 415a) produced a well-filled calendar of feasts which covered the whole year (in Roman times about a third of the total number of days in the year!) and every area of human life. It was not until later that important political events were also given

festivals (memorial feasts), e.g. the battle of Marathon and the victory of Salamis. In these festivals the whole family, or clan, or all members of the tribe or nation would take part, depending on the nature of the festival. But later the number was limited (in the secret rites, or mysteries) to the community of believers and initiates.

Spanning the whole realm of nature, every kind of occupation, and every special situation in life, numerous gods were honoured with a festival. Processes that were natural in origin were not only continued, but exaggerated to excess by celebrations involving immoderate indulgence in wine-drinking and love (especially in connection with the cult of Dionysus; cf. also the practice of *hieros gamos*, sacred marriage, → Marriage). Preparation for such feasts included fasting, washings and changes of clothing. The festival itself was celebrated with prayer and song, music and dancing, processions, sacrifice, sport, games and competitions. Markets and fairs were also part of the festival, and hostilities were usually interrupted. Gods appeared and entertained or were entertained by their worshippers. They gave counsel and help, allowed men to join in their mourning and rejoicing, to suffer, die and rise again with them. They gave victory to the spirit over the flesh, and bestowed eternal life in the world of the dead. But for all the individualization and spiritualization which these ceremonies underwent, they were in the end all variations of a fertility religion, which, under the symbols of an ear of corn and the phallus, sought by magical means to further the processes of conception, growth and life in plants, animals and human beings.

OT 1. The ancient farming and city culture of Canaan possessed a wealth of religious cults honouring the gods El, Dagon, Baal, the goddesses Asherah, Astarte-Anath and others, and later Egyptian and Babylonian deities also. These cults were full of fertility rites, which attributed to sexual processes a religious potency (sacred prostitution of men as paederasts and of women as *q*^{e}*ḏēšôṯ*). The constant temptation of Israel arising from the fascination of these cults is witnessed in particular by the books of Kings. But on the whole Israel, unlike Greece, which in this respect inherited the traditions of the Orient (see above CL), withstood the temptation.

The immigrant shepherd tribes of Israel had to take over a considerable amount from the religion of Canaan in order to be able to live in the land to which that culture belonged. But in order to be able to live before God as the chosen people, they also rejected a great deal (see e.g. the prohibition of religious prostitution, Deut. 23:18 f.; the law forbidding priests to have anything to do with the dead, and the requirements of abstinence from alcoholic drink and women during their service). All sexual activities were separated from the ritual, and reckoned as part of the created order. God himself was also regarded as transcending sexual differences. What was taken over from Israel's neighbours was, moreover, radically altered.

2. Some scholars think that Israel's forebears brought two festivals with them from the steppe-land into the land where they settled. These were the *šabbāṯ* (→ Sabbath), a day on which important decisions and work were avoided, and the Passover (→ art. *pascha*) which had the purpose of protecting the herds from harmful demons. In the land of Canaan Israel found and took over at once the calendar of agricultural festivals which belonged to that land, and divided up the cycle of the farmer's year: *maṣṣôṯ*, at the beginning of the wheat harvest, the Feast

of Weeks at the end of it, and the Feast of Tabernacles at the end of the wine harvest. With the combination of the Passover and the *maṣṣôṯ*, the Passover too became a feast of pilgrimage (Deut. 16:1 ff.) without increasing the total of three (Exod. 23:14–17; 34:18, 22 f.).

Ancient festal customs remained. There is a detailed calendar in Lev. 23, Deut. 16:1–16, and the appropriate sacrifices are listed in Num. 28:9–29:39. But the recipient now was quite clearly the God of Israel. Sabbaths and feasts of pilgrimage were "to the Lord" (cf. Exod. 16:23, 25). Israel associated the ancient festivals which were based on the cycle of nature with the events of her great history. Thus the *pesaḥ-maṣṣôṯ* was early associated with the salvation from Egypt, the Feast of Weeks with the making of the covenant and the giving of the commandments on Sinai, and the Feast of Tabernacles with the journey through the wilderness (Exod. 12:12, 17; 19:1; Lev. 23:43). To preserve this historical link, which underlined the ethical content of the festivals, and to prevent Israel from relapsing into mere ritual and heathenism in its feasts, was the task of the prophets who struggled and remonstrated with the people on God's behalf because of their love and the ties of kindred. By threatening (Amos 8:10; Mal. 2:3) and scolding (Amos 5:21; Isa. 1:13 f.), they aimed to make room for God's commandments and their fulfilment along with and indeed within the sacrificial rites. Voluntary abandonment of sacrificial worship was never demanded. But whenever it became impossible for the people to carry on the sacrifices which God had ordained, the → sabbath became the most important festival for Israel, representing both a witness to outsiders and a sign of the covenant (Exod. 31:12–18).

3. The Heb. equivalents for the term *heortē* in the LXX are *ḥagˉ* (about 52 times), with the basic meaning derived from *ḥgg*, to dance (the cycle of dances – the cycle of the year), and *môʿēḏ* (about 29 times), from the root *yʿd* with its primary meaning of appoint, designate. *ḥag* is a general term for festival, and is used for the three festivals of pilgrimage and especially the Feast of Tabernacles. It denotes perhaps also procession, or festal dance. *môʿēḏ* means appointed time, festal assembly (also festal sacrifice and location).

There were also individual and family celebrations (→ circumcision, → marriage and burial), national ones (accession and victory celebrations), local festivals, and occasions like a festival of sheep-shearing. In addition to sabbath days, importance was attached to celebrating the new moon, when a day of rest was kept and special sacrifices were offered. Two further important religious festivals were held in the autumn (which are attributed by some scholars to the Holiness Code): the New Year on the 1st and the Day of Atonement on the 10th of the month Tishri (Num. 29:1–11; Lev. 23:32–32). There may also have been at the New Year a festival of renewing the covenant (cf. Jos. 24; Exod. 19–24), and even, according to Mowinckel, the enthronement of God. After the exile there arose in the Eastern diaspora the "feast of lots (Purim)", associated with the book of Esther. The Apocrypha tell of the desecration of the feasts and the temple (1 Macc. 1:39, 45; 2 Macc. 6:6 f.), the reconsecration of the temple and the establishment of the feast, Hanukkah, the feast of dedication, to commemorate this event (1 Macc. 4:36–41; 2 Macc. 10:1–8). Tobit (1:6), Judith (8:6; 10:2) and Jesus ben Sirach (33:8; 43:7; 47:10) also tell of the observance of festivals in obedience to God's commandment.

4. In looking for the roots of the Christian attitude to feasts within Jud. we must first consider Philo. He mentions over ten festivals by name (*Spec.Leg.*, 1, 169–89; 2, 41), of which the sabbath is of prime importance as the birthday of the world and to which nature itself points (*Op.Mund.*, 89; *Praem*, 153). Only God himself can celebrate the festivals properly (*Cher.*, 90:85 f.), but he allows the righteous to take part in his celebrations, so that the whole life of the faithful is one continuous feast (*Spec.Leg.* 2, 42–55).

Even Gentiles are impressed by the holiness and seriousness with which, in keeping with Jewish customs, the worshippers can bridle their lusts as with perfect virtue they approach God's sanctuary for prayers and sacrifice (*Congr.*, 161 ff.; *Vit.Mos.*, 2, 20–24; cf. Josephus, *Ap.*, 2, 282). Josephus too records a calendar of feasts (*Ant.*, 3, 237–254) in which he mentions not only those known to Philo, but others like the festival of wood-carrying (*War*, 2, 425), the Festival of Lights in memory of the re-establishment of the temple worship under Judas Maccabaeus (*Ant.*, 12, 323–325), and the celebrations to mark the completion of the Herodian temple (*Ant.*, 15, 421).

5. Philo and Josephus give us an idealized picture of the festivals which were celebrated by the Jews in their time. In fact, Jewish groups have always celebrated the same festivals, but each in their own way and often too at their own particular time. There were even independent festivals, which were of importance only to a particular group, or were directed against other groups. Examples are the days observed by Pharisees of the Shammaite and Zealot schools to celebrate the victory of Pharisaic theology and jurisdiction over that of the Sadducees, and the political victories over the Seleucids and the Romans. Among the Essenes of Qumran there were the Feast of Weeks and the Feast of Renewal of the Covenant, an oil festival, and quarterly intercalary days which served as harvest festival, summer festival, sowing festival and green grass festival. These festivals belonging to isolated groups also differed in content, particularly in regard to the particular group's attitude to the temple or the Messiah figures. The Essenes were so critical of the temple worship that they took no part in the animal sacrifices.

A special cause of differences was provided by the dates of the festivals, since there was no general agreement on the calendar, and the dates observed, for instance, by the Pharisees and the Essenes, differed from one another, as did nominally even the sabbath dates (Jub. 6:32–38; 4QHos. 2:15; Men. 65a–66a). The Pharisees reckoned their calendar according to the lunar cycle, and brought it where necessary (later by calculated rules) into line with the solar year by adding an extra month. The Essenes, on the other hand, reckoned by the sun. Since the law of time illustrates the harmony of heaven and earth, the commandment demands that the days and hours appointed by God should be observed, and that all activity should be ordered by them (1QS 9:13 f.; 10:1–8; 1QHab 7:13 f.; 1QH 12:4–11). Hence at Qumran importance is attached to the exact study of the instructions and of the stars, and to the special revelation concerning the proper times for festivals (CD 6:18 f.; 1QS 1:9; 3:10). The Qumran calendar may be reconstructed from Jub. 6:23–32 and Eth.Enoch 72:7–32; four seasons of equal length ($3 \times 30 + 1$ day $= 91$ days $= 13$ weeks) make up a year of 364 days $= 52$ weeks (cf. also the liturgy of the heavenly sabbath sacrifice, found at Herod's fortress Masada). This meant that every feast was always celebrated on the same day of the week, and that none

of the main festivals could fall on a sabbath. A fragment of a calendar found in Cave 4 (called "Mishmarot"), which lays down the periods of duty for the divisions of priests, shows on which days of the week the chief feasts fall (Passover on a Tuesday, offering of sheaves and Feast of Weeks on a Sunday, New Year on a Wednesday, Day of Atonement on a Friday, and the Feast of Tabernacles on a Wednesday).

NT Early Christians found themselves in a tension between the various Jewish communities. Thus in the question of the festival calendar too, they had to face disagreements with other groups. And since their members were drawn from the different "parties", this happened even within their own ranks.

1. In the early Christian church the propriety of celebrating the festivals together with the whole of the Jewish people was never questioned, so that it needed no special mention. Only occasionally is it stated that Jesus or Paul went to the synagogues on the sabbath, in order to pray, read or to teach (cf. Mk. 1:21; Lk. 4:16; Acts 16:13), or that the disciples and the churches took part in the pilgrim festivals. It is thus not surprising that the Jewish festival liturgy finds its way into the literature of the NT. The readings and actions used at the New Year and at the Day of Atonement form, for example, the basis for the liturgical interpretation (homiletic midrash) of Hebrews. A warning like that of 1 Cor. 5:1–8 had as its original setting a celebration during the *pesaḥ-maṣṣôṯ* week (similarly Gal. 5:9). The confessional formula about the one God through whom are all things (1 Cor. 8:4–6) reminds us of the first pericope of the cycle of Bible readings. Pagans who had to give up their form of festival celebrations in order to become Christians, could be taken along to the widely known Jewish festivals, whose historical background was in agreement with the spiritual and moral values which pervaded them.

2. What in the Synoptic Gospels is tacitly assumed rather than explicitly stated, becomes in the Fourth Gospel a main theme: Jesus is not merely a Jew among Jews; he represents rather the true Israel. Therefore, he demonstrates in his life, suffering and death the proper festal celebration. Through him the meaning of the traditional festivals returns with a new, final significance and is offered afresh to the Jews in this renewed form. The Jesus of the Fourth Gospel speaks in the style of the Pesikta (midrashim, sermon-like expositions of bible texts which were read at festivals and important sabbaths, probably in a three-year cycle). Woven into, as it were, the fabric of the recurring festivals of Israel, he presents himself with his discourses as their secret, and yet revealed, centre and climax. In each case the discourse centres on the "I am" words. The significance of this for the structure of John is even shown statistically by the fact that 15 of the total of 25 occurrences of the word *heortē* in the NT are found in this gospel. The prologue of the gospel is related to the liturgy of the Nisan cycle of festivals. With 1st Nisan in the spring, the Jewish festal year began (Rosh ha-Shanah 1:1), and this date was widely regarded as the anniversary of the creation of the world (ibid. 10b–11a; 12). Hence in some Jewish circles the reading of Gen. 1, the first of the series of pericopae, was appointed for Nisan, and Jn. 1:1–18 may well be a homiletic midrash arising from such a reading. The exegesis of the passage underlines the connection between the beginning and the new creation, while the rhythmic form of this → *archē* hymn indicates liturgical associations (similarly Col. 1:15–18).

The temporal statements of Jn. 1:29 ff. enable us to recognize a period of about two weeks, i.e. from 1st Nisan to the Passover festival on 15th Nisan (Jn. 2:13). From 2:13 (23), the cycles of feasts spread through the whole gospel. Probably three years are intended, provided that in 5:1 we read "a" feast, which will then no doubt refer to the Feast of Tabernacles. The second cycle accordingly begins at 6:4, and goes on through the Feast of Tabernacles to the Dedication of the Temple. After initial refusal Jesus goes, when the *kairos* (→ Time) has come, once more to the Feast of Tabernacles (ch. 7), in order to reveal after the fashion of a *pēšer* at Qumran the hidden meaning of the festal customs (the water procession, the great illuminations, Sukkah 5:2 ff.) by his own exposition of them (see Jn. 7:37; 9:7, 5). In the same year Jesus' presence in the temple for the Feast of Dedication is recorded (Jn. 10:22–29; cf. 1 Macc. 4:36–59). The third cycle begins in 11:55. The Passover of the trial and death, which is the only one mentioned by the synoptics, receives in John's record the most extensive treatment.

In all three Passover feasts which he mentions John makes use of a few of the chief characteristics of this festival, which after the destruction of the temple was the easiest one to preserve, since it was a festival of the family and of the laity. The vivid re-enactment of the historical events made redemption a concrete reality in memory, experience and hope, and reached its climax in the messianic hope with which this time was filled. At Passover time multitudes of people thronged together, seeking, and here and there finding, bringers of salvation, messiahs. Many appeared in and around Jerusalem, on the Mount of Olives, or by the Jordan (Josephus, *Ant.*, 20, 169 ff., 97 ff.). Occupation forces, moved from Caesarea to Jerusalem especially for the feast (Josephus, *Ant.*, 20, 106 f.), watched over their movements and prevented them from carrying out their intentions by scattering the communities and killing their leaders. But messianic pretenders also arose far from the temple in Samaria, Galilee, and in the wilderness. Wherever they arose, they inspired the hope that with the dawning of the end-time the early days of Israel would return, e.g. the wilderness period with the miraculous feeding of Israel with bread from heaven.

The Passover at the beginning of John's Gospel, with its record of the cleansing of the temple (2:12–22), already sounds the note of messianic hope. In the second Passover (Jn. 6) the bread motif is emphasized: the bread of slavery becomes the bread of freedom. The chapter is a *pēšer*, an actualizing exposition, on the words bread and flesh. The Christian sacrament of a meal (→ Lord's Supper) is a substitute for the passover sacrifice in a form which had a long history in Judaism and after A.D. 70 became universal practice. In the account of the third Passover (Jn. 12 ff.) the messianic motif is again stressed at the start, and in contrast to his attitude at the feast of the previous year Jesus now accepts the acclamation of the people (12:12–15; cf. 6:15). His ceremonial entry occurs on the very day on which the passover lambs were selected to be slaughtered the day before the evening of the festival. Thus the whole Johannine account of the trial points with unmistakable symbolism to the fact that Jesus is in truth the Lamb of God who will be sacrificed for Israel. He dies on the day and at the hour when Israel kills the lambs, and (in contrast to those crucified with him, but like the passover Lamb, according to the regulation of Exod. 12:46) no bone of his body is broken (Jn. 19:14, 32–36; cf. also 1:29–36; Rev. 5:6, 9, 12; 12:11; 1 Cor. 5:7; 1 Pet. 1:19). This lamb symbolism

in Jn. 12 and 19 forms a setting for the passion discourses, in which themes from the Song of Solomon, which was read in the services of Passover week, appear in midrash form (exhortations to unity in love, Jn. 13:31 ff.; 14:15 ff.; 15:9 ff.; question of the way, seeking and finding, 16:5).

In the Johannine account of the Passover of the trial, traces may be discerned of a Passover celebration according to the Essene rites, behind the elements of the Pharisaic tradition. The indication of time in Jn. 12:1 indicates that the framework with which the gospel closes is concentrated, as it were, within a festival week. (The synoptics also show signs of such a reckoning.) The end of the world corresponds to the creation (seven-day cycles of this kind originated and were handed down in priestly circles, cf. Gen. 1; Exod. 24:16). The first day (12:1 ff.) in Bethany is Sunday; the second (12:12 ff.) is Monday with the acclamation of Jesus as Messiah. The next indication of time is indefinite (13:1): "before the feast of the Passover". This introduces the foot-washing and the Last Supper, and because of the many events still to follow occurs as early as possible. The Tuesday would be the exact date for the Passover meal among the Essenes, their 14th Nisan. The discourse on bread in Jn. 6 also takes place shortly before the (Pharisaic) Passover feast. According to this account, Jesus and his party celebrated their feast on the Tuesday evening. Chief importance is attached to the change of clothes and the washing, while the eating of the lamb, which was the most important part of the Pharisees' celebration of the Passover, is given as little attention in John's account as it is in that of the synoptics. All the NT accounts are alike in making it resemble what we know of the Essene feast, which was eschatological in emphasis and probably involved no sacrificial lamb (see the description of their daily meal in Josephus, *War*, 2, 129–131; 1QS 6:4 f.; the eschatological feast, 1QSa 2:17–22; also Gos. Heb. according to Epiphanius, *Haer.*, 30, 22, 4, where Jesus says in answer to his disciples after the Passover meal, "Do you think I desire to eat meat with you at this Passover?"). Towards the morning, i.e. early on Wednesday, the betrayal and arrest take place (18:1 ff.; on Tuesday and Wednesday, Syrian Didascalia 21). This would leave sufficient time on this and the following day to carry out what is recorded in 18:13, 24, 28 without a breach of the law. (For instance it is forbidden, according to Mishnah *Sanhedrin* 4:1, to hold a trial by night or during a festival, or to pass a death sentence at the first hearing.) The impression conveyed by the accounts as they now stand is due to the fact that they are interested in other themes besides strict chronology.

The Pauline tradition does not necessarily contradict this chronology, for the "night when he was betrayed" (1 Cor. 11:23) does not have to be identical with the night before he died. Later church tradition associated (on the ground of Did., 8:1) the Christian practice of fasting on Wednesdays with the arrest of Jesus on this day, and the Friday fast with the crucifixion. The fifth day is again fixed (Jn. 19:14): a Friday, according to Jn. the day of preparation for the Passover, i.e. the 14th Nisan of the Pharisaic calendar (so too Sanhedrin 43a; according to the synoptic tradition the first day of the feast). The sixth day, a sabbath, is only hinted at. For non-Christian Jews it was always a day of pleasure, but here it is a day of quiet mourning on account of Jesus' burial. In contrast to this is the "first day of the week" (20:1 ff.), the day of Jesus' resurrection and thus the symbol of the dawn of a new world. ([Ed.] In 1 Cor. 5:8 Paul sees the Christian life in terms of the Passover:

"Let us, therefore, celebrate the festival [*heortazōmen*], not with the old leaven, the leaven of malice and evil, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth" [RSV].)

This taking up of the Jewish festivals, which in John's Gospel appears in a thoroughly conservative and biblical form, had the effect of causing the Christian festivals to retain the biblical and historical emphasis, and thus averted the danger of a pagan, erotic form of celebration.

3. In spite of the fact that the Christian festivals were thus rooted in Jewish tradition, differences and conflicts soon appeared. Paul's polemics are particularly severe against feast days which imply recognition of astral and other natural powers instead of the one God which were celebrated in the old spirit (Gal. 4:8–11; Col. 2:8–17; Rom. 14:5 ff.). Moreover, for Paul the significance of all feasts, whether Jewish or pagan, has been superseded by Christ. He does not reject all celebrations as such, but he requires celebration of the right kind.

A similar situation is found in the → sabbath controversy of the Gospels. Jesus took part in the debates of the schools on the question of keeping the sabbath rightly. The catalogue of weekday work which was forbidden had not yet been finalized. The learned scribes were concerned on the one hand to preserve the law, but on the other to preserve humanity. Jesus was criticized by those who held stricter views, and in answer justified his actions in the manner of his times on biblical grounds (cf. Matt. 12:1–12 par.). If in the Fourth Gospel the debate seems to be more intense than in the Synoptics, this intensification of the conflict is not to be seen as the cause of the division between Christians and (what was now) orthodox Judaism, but rather as its immediate result.

4. Along with the general adoption of the Jewish festivals by the early Christian communities with differences of detail, special Christian festivals also began to develop. But in the NT we find only the beginnings of these. In addition to the sabbath services, the Christians had their special gatherings on the first day of the week in memory of the redemption brought about by the resurrection of the Lord (1 Cor. 16:2; Acts 20:7). Towards the end of the 1st cent. it came to be called the "Lord's day" (Rev. 1:10). However, the fact that the two days followed one another soon led to a conscious contrasting of the two (Ign., *Mag.* 9:1; Barn. 15:9; Did. 14:1). In the following centuries, when the days of the week came generally to be given the names of the ancient pagan planet-gods, the name "Lord's day" was changed to "Sunday", which earned for the Christians the accusation that they were sun-worshippers.

It was not until the end of the 2nd cent. that Passover became the Christian Easter, and 100 years later still that the Feast of Weeks became the Christian Whitsuntide. But Jesus who gives new meaning to these feasts points the church back to their Jewish origin. In the course of the 4th cent. Ascension was introduced between them as a purely Christian festival. The last of the great Christian festivals to appear is Christmas around A.D. 335 in Rome. Of the many dates suggested, 25th December prevailed. The purpose was that it should be celebrated in opposition to the sun-cult, but with it were adopted solstice celebration customs from various nations. It is worthy of note, however, that the date is not far removed from that of the Jewish Hanukkah festival. Both were in part known as a Festival of Light.

Christians in every age have celebrated festivals, for the celebration of festivals draws attention to historical realities. It has its basis in an appreciation of time and the refusal simply to accept continuous repetition without a break. Like the commandments, the festivals of Israel were also at first accepted without question by Jewish Christians. In the end they had to be forcibly excluded as heretics, since for them Jesus Christ had become increasingly the real meaning of the ancient feasts, and it was through him that they regarded themselves as permanently linked to all Israel.

Gentile Christian churches also celebrated their festivals in accordance with the Jewish calendar, although in a certain contra-distinction to them. The determination to break free from the fortunes of the Jewish community led them, however, to adopt new pagan elements as well. In the lively controversy which resulted we can see the permanent link between the old community and the new. *R. Mayer*

πάσχα πάσχᾰ (*pascha*), Passover.

OT *pascha* is the Gk. transliteration of the Aram. *pasḥā'* which corresponds to the Heb. *pesaḥ*. The meaning is not completely clear. Exod. 12:13, 23, 27 indicate a connection with the Heb. *pāsaḥ 'al*, leap over, spare, but some scholars think that this is a popular explanation. The Gk. pronunciation of the Aram. *pasḥā'* has in origin nothing to do with *paschein*, suffer, although a kinship between them was postulated in the patristic age.

1. In OT and Jewish literature the word is used in various senses. It can mean (a) the Passover festival (Exod. 12:11; Num. 9:2) which took place between 14th and 15th Nisan (Ezek. 45:21, conjectured reading; Lev. 23:5); (b) the animal killed at this feast (Exod. 12:5, 21; Deut. 16:2); and in Judaism (c) the seven-day festival of *pesaḥ-maṣṣôṯ*, made into a single festival at the time of the exile at the latest (Lev. 23:6–8; cf. *heortē* OT 2).

2. The Passover festival goes back to an ancient nomadic custom, which may have been connected with the annual change of pasture in the spring, and may have had the purpose of protecting the flocks from demons. In the OT tradition, however, it is associated solely with the events of the exodus from Egypt (Exod. 12:21–23), and is dedicated to be a memorial of this in the history of God's salvation of Israel (Deut. 16:1; Exod. 12:11–14). The way in which it was observed underwent various changes in the course of time, the most radical of which was in connection with the religious reforms of Josiah (621 B.C.). These meant that the celebration of the festival, which had originally been undertaken by the individual clans each in its own locality, was now confined to Jerusalem and linked with the temple worship (Deut. 16:1–8; 2 Ki. 23:21–23). Consequently the feast took on the character of a pilgrim festival like that of Pentecost and the Feast of Tabernacles (→ *heortē* OT).

3. (a) In the NT times it was the chief festival of the year, for which thousands of pilgrims from the whole Jewish world streamed to Jerusalem (cf. Lk. 2:41; Jn. 11:55). The actual feast, the Passover meal, used to take place in the houses, and, because of the great number of those taking part (more than 100,000; cf. J. Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, 1966², 42), partly on the roofs and in the courtyards. It was held in small groups of at least 10 persons, and began in the evening at or

after sunset (15th Nisan). The killing of the lambs in the inner forecourt of the temple, which was carried out by representatives of the individual groups (the only duty of the priests was the sprinkling of the blood of the lambs on the altar of burnt offering), and the preparation of the Passover meal took place on the previous afternoon (14th Nisan). The meal itself was eaten reclining. (i) To begin with, the head of the household spoke a word of dedication over a first cup of wine, from which he and after him all the members of the household drank. Then a preliminary dish was eaten (various herbs with a sauce of fruit purée). After this the main meal (passover lamb, unleavened bread, bitter herbs and purée, together with wine) was brought in, and a second cup of wine poured out. Neither of these was yet touched, however, for the next event was (ii) the Passover liturgy. The most important part of this was the Passover *haggaḏâh*, in which the head of the family related the story of the exodus from Egypt according to Deut. 26:5–11, and explained the meaning of the special items in the meal (the lamb, the unleavened bread, and the bitter herbs). Then followed the communal singing of Ps. 113 or 113 and 114 (the first part of the Passover *Hallēl*). Not until then was (iii) the main meal eaten, the head of the family introducing this with a prayer over the unleavened bread and ending it with a prayer over a third cup of wine. The end of the feast (iv), which was not allowed to continue beyond midnight, was formed by the singing of Pss. 114–117 or 115–118 (the second part of the Passover *Hallēl*), and the blessing pronounced by the head of the family over a fourth cup of wine.

(b) This feast served in ancient Judaism as a reminder of the redemption of the people from the slavery of the Egyptians and the joy over the freedom thus attained. This is its meaning in the OT also. But in addition to this it was an occasion for looking forward to the coming redemption to be brought by the Messiah. Passover time, particularly during the Roman occupation of Palestine, was always a time of increased Messianic expectation (Lk. 13:1–3; Mk. 15:7 par.; Jn. 6:15; cf. A. Strobel, *ZNW* 49, 1958, 187 ff.).

NT In the NT *pascha* has the same range of meanings as in contemporary Jud. Its chief use is for the Feast of the Passover including the Feast of Unleavened Bread (*maṣṣôṯ*; Matt. 26:2; Lk. 2:41; 22:1; Acts 12:4; Jn. 2:13, 23; 6:4; 11:55; 12:1; 13:1; 18:39; 19:14). But it can also refer to the Passover proper (Mk. 14:1; Matt. 26:18; Heb. 11:28) or the Passover lamb (Mk. 14:12; 14, 16; Matt. 26:17, 19; Lk. 22:7, 8, 11, 13, 15; Jn. 18:28; 1 Cor. 5:7). The expressions "to prepare the Passover" and "to eat the Passover" could also refer to the entire main part of the feast.

1. (a) The only reference made in the NT to the Passover of the exodus from Egypt is at Heb. 11:28. It is interpreted as evidence of the faith of Moses, in that he believed God's promise to spare the people on the ground of the Passover blood, and showed his faith by keeping the Passover.

(b) The Passover background plays a special part in the passion narrative. All four Gospels record that the Last Supper of Jesus, his arrest, trial and condemnation took place at Passover time (Mk. 14; Matt. 26, 27; Lk. 22, 23; Jn. 18, 19). According to the synoptic gospels, Jesus' Last Supper was itself a Passover meal (Mk. 14:12–26 par.), and he was arrested, tried and condemned on the Passover night and crucified the next day. According to John, on the other hand, all these

events happened 24 hours earlier (cf. Jn. 18:28; 19:14), so that the death of Jesus took place at the time when the Passover lambs were killed, on the afternoon of the 14th Nisan. Many regard this as a later alteration of the date, probably occasioned by the comparison found elsewhere in the NT (1 Cor. 5:7; 1 Pet. 1:19; Jn. 19:36; cf. Rev. 5:6, 9, 12; 12:11) of Jesus with the Passover lamb. ([Ed.] However, the chronological schemes of the Gospels and the contemporary systems of reckoning are subjects of intense discussion, see bibliography.) The objections which have been raised, particularly against the identification of Jesus' Last Supper with a Passover meal, do not carry much weight. Not only the setting (Mk. 14:12 par.; Lk. 22:14), but also the words of explanation, in which Jesus compares himself to the Passover lamb (Mk. 14:22–24 par.; Lk. 22-19 f.), surely point us to this context (the interpretation of the elements of the feast by the head of the family; cf. J. Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, 1966², 41–84).

2. In the early church the Passover continued to be celebrated (Jn. 2:13; 6:4; 11:55 imply this; cf. Acts 20:6). As in Judaism, the feast took place on the evening following 14th Nisan and in expectation of eschatological redemption. This cannot be ascertained directly from the NT, but it may be deduced, in particular, from the records we have of the Passover festival of the Quartodecimans (cf. B. Lohse, see bibliography), a Christian community in Asia Minor and Syria which retained in this respect the customs of the earliest church. As we can see from 1 Cor. 5:7–8 (which may be an early Christian Passover *haggaḏâh*) and 1 Pet. 1:13–19, the primitive church regarded itself as the people of God redeemed in the eschatological Passover. The baptized are exhorted, like those involved in the first Passover, to live holy lives in readiness to depart (1 Pet. 1:13, 17), as those redeemed "with the precious blood of Christ, like that of a lamb without blemish or spot" (1 Pet. 1:19, cf. 1 Cor. 5:7 "Christ our Passover"). The church receives the call to keep the feast (*heortazōmen*) and cleanse itself from the old leaven, "that you may be a new lump" (1 Cor. 5:7 f.). The eschatological Passover feast has begun with Good Friday, and its fulfilment in the return of Christ is awaited at any time in the Passover night.

3. This form and interpretation of the Passover festival disappeared early in the history of the church. During the 2nd cent. the celebration of Easter on a Sunday became general, with its emphasis on remembering the sacrificial death of Jesus, the true Passover lamb. This process gives clear expression both to the break between Judaism and Christianity and to the decline of eschatological expectation within the early Christian church. *B. Schaller*

→ Lord's Supper, → Pentecost, → Resurrection, → Sabbath

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Times to A.D. 70, London Oriental Series 12, 1963 (extensive bibliography); M. H. Shepherd, *The Paschal Liturgy and the Apocalypse*, 1960; N. H. Snaith, *The Jewish New Year Festival: Its Origin and Development*, 1947; R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions*, 1961, 484–518 (literature on individual feasts, 552); A. Guilding, *The Fourth Gospel and Jewish Worship*, 1960; L. Morris, *The New Testament and the Jewish Lectionaries*, 1964 (reply to Guilding); J. D. M. Derrett, "The Parable of the Great Supper," *Law in the New Testament*, 1970, 126–55; G. Ogg, "The Chronology of the Last Supper," *Historicity and Chronology in the New Testament*, *SPCK Theological Collections* 6, 1965, 75–96.

(b). On *heortē*: E. Auerbach, "Die Feste im alten Israel," *VT* 8, 1958, 1–18; L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, reprint 1956; I. Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst*, 1924²; A. Jaubert, "Jésus et le calendrier de Qumrân", *NTS* 7, 1960–61, 1–30; H.-J. Kraus, "Gottesdienst im alten und neuen Bund," *EvTh* 4–5, 1965, 171 ff.; H. Lietzmann, *Der christliche Kalender*, 1935; G. Loeschke, *Jüdisches und Heidnisches im christlichen Kult*, 1910; R. Mayer, *Der Babylonische Talmud*, 1965² (selections, see on feasts); S. Mowinckel, *Das Betronungsfest Jahwes und der Ursprung der Eschatologie*, 1921; M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung, mit Ausschluss der attischen*, reprint 1957; B. Reicke, *Diakonie, Festfreude und Zelos in Verbindung mit der christlichen Agapenfeier*, 1951; L. Rost, *Weidewechsel und altisraelitischer Festkalender*, 1951; P. Volz, *Das Neujahrfest Jahwes*, 1912.

On *pascha*: J. Carmignac, "Comment Jésus et ses contemporains pouvaient-ils célébrer là Pâque à une date non officielle?" *Revue de Qumran* 5, 1964, 59 ff.; R. Le Déaut, *La Nuit Pascale*, 1963; P. Grelot and J. Pierron, *La Nuit et les Fêtes de Paques*, 1956; N. Flüglister, *Die Heilsbedeutung des Pascha, Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament* 8, 1963; H.-J. Kraus, "Zur Geschichte des Passah-Massotfestes im Alten Testament", *EvTh* 18, 1958, 47–67; E. Kutsch, "Erwägungen zur Geschichte der Passahfeier und des Massotfestes," *ZTK* 55, 1958, 1–35; B. Lohse, *Das Passahfest der Quartadezimaner*, *BFChTh* 54, 1953; J. Pedersen, *Passahfest und Passahlegende*, 1933; J. Schildenberger, "Der Gedächtnischarakter des alt- und neutestamentlichen Paschas," in B. Neunheuser, ed., *Opfer Christi und Opfer der Kirche*, 1960, 75–97.

Fellowship, Have, Share, Participate

The following article deals with words which have to do with having, sharing and participation and fellowship. The two key words that are examined together with their associated ideas are *echō* (have), and *koinōnia* (communion, fellowship).

ἔχω

ἔχω (*echō*), have; μετέχω (*metechō*), share, participate in; μετοχή (*metochē*), sharing, participation; μέτοχος (*metochos*), partaking, sharing, participating, a partner, companion.

CL *echō* means to have or hold in wide range of senses: possess, keep, have, hold; aor. acquire, take into possession; intrans. keep, hold oneself. Thus the connection between the subject and object of *echō* can denote a similar wide range of personal, material and metaphorical meanings. Sometimes the subject and object can exchange places. In Gk. one may say "he has a sickness" or "a sickness has him." Moreover, the word can denote entry into any one of these conditions: to attain to, get hold of, come by.

This great breadth of meaning evidently made it possible for Aristotle to take *echō* into his teaching about categories. In view of its content it is clearly regarded as a genuine category (*Cat.*, 15). Elsewhere, however, he felt free to omit it with *keisthai* (posture, attitude, *Cat.*, 2) altogether or to group it with another category (cf. F. Ueberweg, *History of Philosophy*, I, 188, 154). In his later *Metaphysics* it is again counted among the 30 categories discussed there. It means to have or to hold

in the following senses: (1) to treat a thing according to its own nature or impulse (e.g. a fever has a man; people have clothes); (2) to be present in (e.g. "the body has a disease" means that a disease is present in the body); (3) to contain or hold (e.g. the vessel holds the liquid); (4) hindering a thing from acting according to its natural impulse (e.g. a pillar holds that which it supports).

metechō means to share or participate. Its object is always in the gen. The noun *metochē* means sharing, participation, and the adj. *metochos* likewise means sharing.

Two aspects of these words are theologically significant. There is the rational and material sense of having (as in Aristotle), and there is the enthusiastic sense of having, as being possessed, or mystical sharing. The latter sense found expression in Homer, Plato, Plotinus and other writers who spoke of the *daimonion echein* (having a demon or a demon having one) which acted in people and which a man could have. Later the idea broadened out into the pantheistic and mystical having of the divine One in Plotinus. In later philosophy the *nous* (mind) became the world-soul which no longer had personal characteristics. It was no longer said that man had *nous* or *logos* (reason). Instead he was said to participate (*metechō*) in them. Plato used *metochē* (participation) to express the relationship of particular things to the Idea or → Form. The lower and relative participates in the higher and absolute. Out of this there arose in the course of philosophical development a cosmic hierarchy of all existents which leads in an unbroken line of participation to a higher world (on Plotinus see *TDNT* II 830). The theological aspect of this idea of cosmic participation found classical expression in Origen's Platonic restatement of the doctrine of creation (cf. J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, 1968⁴, 128 ff.).

OT Heb. has no special word for *echō*. What is expressed by *echō* in Gk. is expressed in Heb. by the dat., a pronoun, a preposition or a circumlocution, such as saying that someone or something is in the hand or hands of someone (*'al yaḏ* or *biyḏê* etc.). *echō* is found 12 times in the LXX for these expressions. In all, it is used to translate over 50 different Heb. expressions. *echō* occurs more than 500 times in the LXX. But a large number of these instances come in passages which have no Heb. original.

It is the same with the compounds *metechō*, *metochē*, and *metochos* as with → *koinōneō* etc. The words appear only in the later writings of the OT. *metechō* is used to translate expressions which in Heb. use only prepositions. *metochē* and *metochos* mostly translate words connected with the root *ḥāḇar* (tie, unite).

The words are used in these passages in basically the same sense as in earlier Gk. literature. Their theological significance is not, however, to be derived from the Gk. but from Heb. usage against its OT background.

At the heart of the OT message stands the confession that God has chosen his people. It is his possession. The reverse is also true. He is his people's God (Pss. 33:12; 144:15; cf. Hos. 2:21–25; → Covenant). Therefore, there shall be no other gods beside him (Exod. 20:2 f.). Because Yahweh is the God of his people, he is strength, rock, fortress and saviour of the individual (e.g. Pss. 18:3; 27:1). God is the → inheritance of the Levites (Deut. 10:9; Ezek. 44:28; and often). Hence, Israel's confession: "Our God is a God of salvation" (Ps. 68:20; cf. 73:25). Esther

prayed: "I have no helper beside you" (Est. 4:17t LXX). For similar expressions in Maccabean and post-Christian literature see *TDNT* II 817, 822 f.

The word *echō* does not in fact appear in any of these OT passages apart from the late reference in Est. On the other hand, the relationship described there which God guarantees to his people through the → covenant provides the basis for what the NT describes in its theological use of the idea of having. Paul, for example, clearly refers to this when he wrote that Israel had the → law and boasted of it (Rom. 2:20, 23). Israel had a zeal for God (Rom. 10:2) and much more. Israel had "the sonship, the glory, the covenants, the giving of the law, the worship, and the promises . . . the patriarchs, and of their race, according to the flesh . . . the Christ" (Rom. 9:4 f.). But Israel did not have the fulfilment of all this in Christ. The NT is the first to testify to this.

NT The distribution of *echō* in the NT varies considerably in different writings. But it has the same broad range of meaning as in secular Gk. and the LXX. The following aspects are theologically significant.

1. *echō* is used as an expression for possession and relationship. The phrase *daimonion echein* (to have a demon) which occurs in secular Gk. also occurs in the Synoptics (Matt. 11:18; Lk. 5:33). But the demon is only mentioned in the context of Jesus' lordship over it. For that reason the reproach that he had Beelzebul (→ Satan), i.e. that he was possessed by him, is absurd and blasphemous (Mk. 3:22, 30; cf. Jn. 7:20; 8:48; 10:20 f.). It may be compared with the expression *akatharton pneuma echein*, to have an unclean spirit (Mk. 7:25; Lk. 4:33; and often; cf. 13: 11).

The NT has also such statements as to have children, sons, brothers, a wife etc. *echō* is used absolutely for sexual intercourse (Matt. 14:4). The prayer of Esther mentioned above corresponds to the words of the lame man at the pool of Bethesda: "I have no man to put me into the pool" (Jn. 5:7). Similarly Paul: "I have no one like him" (Phil. 2:20; cf. 1:7).

Having is used in a theologically significant way in those passages in which relationship with God is involved. The Jews claimed to have God as their father (Jn. 8:41). "Masters, treat your slaves justly and fairly, knowing that you also have a Master in heaven" (Col. 4:1). This relationship between God and man is further defined by Christ. Believers have him as their advocate with the Father (1 Jn. 2:1) and as high priest (Heb. 4:14; 8:1; 10:21). He who despises him already has a judge (Jn. 12:48).

2. As in the OT, this having fellowship with God is characterized, not by man's striving, but by God's promises and gift. This was also the ground of salvation in the OT. To have salvation is to have it through Jesus Christ. "He who hears my word and believes him who sent me has eternal life" (Jn. 5:24). This thought is stressed by Heb., Paul and especially Jn.

Jn. does this in his own special way. "He who has the Son has life; he who has not the Son has not life" (1 Jn. 5:12). "Anyone who goes ahead and does not abide in the doctrine of Christ does not have God; he who abides in the doctrine of Christ has both the Father and the Son" (2 Jn. 9). A man can know of God, talk about him, and even claim to have him, like the false teachers, and still not have him. Here *echō* is the expression for genuine fellowship with God and true faith in its

fullest and deepest sense. To "have fellowship" with one another and with Christ (1 Jn. 1:6 f.) is to "know" him (1 Jn. 2:3) and to "abide" in him (v. 6). These polemically intended words all refer to the same thing which is most tersely expressed by *echō*. The same applies to those passages which speak of having eternal → life (Jn. 3:15 f., 36), → peace (16:33), and the → light (8:12; 12:35 f.).

John's opponents see this fellowship with God as a mystical mastering of God. For John it is possible only through the Son of God who has become flesh. It comes though the witness of the Holy Spirit whom Christians have (1 Jn. 2:20, 27; 5:10). Those who do not have the witness of the Father and his word living in them do not know God and have no life (Jn. 5:38 ff.). But those who stand in a personal relationship to the historical Jesus through the Spirit have the Father and life (1 Jn. 1:1–3; 4:13 ff.). To this also belong → confession (1 Jn. 4:2, 15; 2 Jn. 7), abiding in the doctrine of Christ (2 Jn. 9), and keeping his word and commandments (1 Jn. 2:3 ff.).

In this way John takes up the prophetic, eschatological message of John the Baptist which saw the promised time of salvation break in with Christ. This is a theme which links Jn. with the Synoptics and Paul. Behind it is the thought of late Jewish apocalyptic that the present is void of salvation. For salvation is revealed only to a few gifted visionaries; it is to be expected in its fullness only in the future. However, Jn. and the other NT writers reject this idea. For here and now in the present believers have peace with God (Rom. 5:1), redemption through his blood (Eph. 4:7; Col. 1:14), and access to God's gracious purpose in salvation (Eph. 3:12). Now is the day of salvation (2 Cor. 6:2). Life as full salvation in Christ (Jn. 3:16, 36) is entered into now.

3. This is strongly emphasized by Paul in a different way. To participate in salvation is to be in Jesus Christ through his → Spirit. It is a spiritual having. "Anyone who does not have the Spirit of Christ does not belong to him" (Rom. 8:9). The Spirit of Christ, his *nous* (mind, 1 Cor. 2:16), gives Paul the authority to summon the church to obedience and imitation of Christ (→ Might, art. *exousia*). To have the Spirit means to be led by the Spirit (Rom. 8:14). The believer is no longer his own (1 Cor. 6:19; cf. 3:16). He is Christ's → slave (Rom. 1:1; 1 Cor. 7:22). This also means that to have the Spirit and to be bound to this Lord is to have this treasure in earthen vessels (2 Cor. 4:7) and to bear continually in our bodies the dying of Jesus (2 Cor. 4:10 ff.). Although the Spirit is the pledge and first fruits (→ Gift, art. *arrabōn*; Rom. 8:23; 2 Cor. 1:22; 5:5), the believer remains on this side of the barrier of death which Christ has already broken through. But as the pledge of future resurrection glory he gives us the certainty (Rom. 8:11) that one day our earthly house will be destroyed (2 Cor. 5:1) and we shall participate in this glory. To have in this age is to have in hope (Rom. 5:2; Phil. 3:8 ff.; cf. *TDNT* II 824).

Here lies the point of contrast between Paul and the gnostics. The enthusiasts in Corinth claimed that they had already the resurrection glory (1 Cor. 4:8, 10; 15:12). Paul opposed this with the gospel of the cross (1 Cor. 1:17, 23). In opposition to the self-seeking grandeur of "knowledge" which destroys, Paul stressed love which builds up (8:1). Love is also opposed to libertinism (10:23 f.; 13:2). For the sake of the gospel Paul had to bear much suffering and strife. It even meant

bearing the dying of Christ in his own body (2 Cor. 4:10). But in this suffering he also received great strengthening and → comfort (2 Cor. 1:5).

4. This having is to be understood neither as a permanent possession nor as absolution from obedience. This is underlined by the use of *metechō* in Paul and Heb. To share in *dikaiosynē* (righteousness, justification) puts the whole of a man's life under obligation, and excludes *anomia* (lawlessness, 2 Cor. 6:14). To be in Christ leaves no room for sin. Participation in the Lord's Supper rules out participation in pagan sacrifices and vice versa (1 Cor. 10:17, 21). *metechō* is used virtually as a synonym for → *koinōneō*. In Heb. the concern is above all with sharing in the sufferings and → patience of Christ. The *metochoi Christou* (those who "share in Christ", Heb. 3:14; cf. 6:4) are thus called to patient endurance in persecution and holding fast to the true faith, so that they may not lose their share in future glory. To be *metochoi paideias* (participants in chastisement, 12:8) is in fact a sign of being a true → child, for the Lord disciplines those whom he loves (12:6; cf. Prov. 3:12).

5. Just as all spiritual having comes under the lordship of the present and coming Lord, so is also the possession of all material goods. "What do you have that you did not receive?" (1 Cor. 4:7). For all earthly goods God has to be asked in the right attitude (Jas. 4:2). Their use has to be seen in the light of eschatology. Paul is one who has nothing and yet possesses all things (2 Cor. 6:10). Therefore, he urged the Corinthians to have as if they did not have (1 Cor. 7:29 ff.). It is not only for the Corinthians to have as if they did not have (1 Cor. 7:29 ff.). It is not simply that for the sake of future glory they are to break loose from all possessions. They are need (Eph. 4:28). Everything that the NT has to say about having and participating is a testimony to the act of God in Jesus Christ with a view to future glory. But participation is now already a fact through the Holy Spirit who establishes us in sonship, obedience, love and hope. *J. Eichler*

κοινωνία

κοινός (*koinos*), common, communal; κοινόω (*koinoō*), make common or impure, defile, profane; κοινωνέω (*koinōneō*), share, have a share in, participate in; κοινωνία (*koinōnia*), association, communion, fellowship, participation; κοινωνικός (*koinōnikos*), giving, sharing, liberal; κοινωνός (*koinōnos*), companion, partner, sharer; συνκοινωνός (*synkoinōnos*), participant, partner; συνκοινωνέω (*synkoinōneō*), participate in with someone, be connected with, share.

CL 1. *koinos* is found from Mycenean Gk. onwards. When applied to things, it means common, mutual, public. Hence, *to koinon* means the community, common property, in the plur. public affairs, the state. When applied to people, *koinos* means related, a partner, impartial. The corresponding vb. *koinoō* means to have a share in, unite, communicate, and also to profane. *koinōneō* means to possess together, have a share, join oneself to; *koinōnia* communion, participation, intercourse. As an adj., *koinōnos* means common; as a noun, companion, partner.

In the Gk. and Hel. world *koinōnia* was a term which meant the evident, unbroken fellowship between the gods and men. Even Philo spoke of "the sublime fellowship [of Moses] with the father and creator of the universe" (*Vit. Mos.*, 1,

158). But the word was not used in the LXX to denote the relationship between God and man.

koinōnia also denoted the close union and brotherly bond between men. It was taken up by the philosophers to denote the ideal to be sought. The life-tie which united the Pythagoreans was called *hē tou biou koinōnia* (lit. the fellowship of life). *koinōnia* has thus virtually the sense of brotherhood, and is a standing expression for the way social life is constituted. The Stoic doctrine of the state opposed the ethical atomism which was breaking up Hel. society. It went back ultimately to the *zōon koinōnikon* (Aristot., *Eth. Eud.*, 7, 10, which denoted belonging to a society; cf. *TDNT* II 809). The philosopher was regarded as the educator of the nations and his teaching was to provide the basis for political life. A remarkable example of this development is the inscription on the tomb of Antiochus Philopappus of Commagene, a highly important piece of evidence for Hellenism in the first century B.C. The word *koinos* occurs seven times. The term is not only a witness of a religious syncretism which depicted gods from four different cultures reigning together. It also testifies to an ever increasing cosmopolitanism.

2. Plato's *Republic* and *Laws* sketched the ideal of a communistic utopia. His attempt with Dionysius in Syracuse to translate his vision into reality suffered shipwreck. So too did the social revolution of Aristonicus at Pergamum (133–132 B.C.). Impulse to revolutionary ideas came from the fervently religious poetry of Hesiod (*c.* 700 B.C.). To the people groaning under the oppression of the aristocracy his *Works and Days* proclaimed the myth of a golden age, in which dreams of happiness, equality, justice and brotherliness were transposed into a shining primeval period. The doctrine of common property had a primeval aspect. Early Athens was seen as a model. Plato took up the same theme. "Neither had any of them anything of their own, but they regarded all that they had as common property; nor did they claim to receive of the other citizens anything more than their necessary food" (*Critias*, 110). But whereas this looked back to a golden age, the sharing in the early church at Jerusalem is to be understood in the light of its eschatological experience. The Stoics declared that friends must share and possessions are the common property of friends. But they too based their demands on an ideal picture of a golden age, which was now lost for ever in its original pure form. The NT, on the other hand, does not look backwards but forwards. The new age must break into the present, lost world.

OT 1. In the primeval history of Gen. the rupture of fellowship with God was followed by the loss of unity among men. But God's activity in forgiving, saving and preserving did not cease. Instead, it found new ways (Gen. 8:21 f.; 12:3). Abraham and after him the people of Israel stood in a saving relationship to Yahweh, the goal of which was to bridge the gulf between God and man.

God dealt with Israel as a community and fulfilled his promises to it. He gave Israel the land as an inheritance which in the last analysis belonged to himself (Lev. 25:23). The tribes, families and especially the individuals were only tenants of the portions allocated to them. They had therefore no right to dispose of them. The judicial murder of Naboth (1 Ki. 21) should be judged in this light. Its background is the clash between the ancient Israelite right to land described above and the Canaanite royal right which Ahab wished to exercise.

From here a line can be drawn to the attitude of the prophets in general. Just as Elijah denounced the breach of the ancient right, the prophets were opposed to all land speculation (cf. Isa. 5:8), and stood up for the interests of the community.

This obvious solidarity of God, the nation and the land continued into the NT period. Israel could not envisage faith in God without entering the community and receiving the covenant sign. (On the significance of *qāhāl* for Israel → Church; and on the → covenant sign → Circumcision.)

2. The theological motif of broken fellowship with God (as in primeval history), the problem of preserving the community in the order which is according to God's will (cf. Isa. 5:8), and the role of the community in the ultimate, universal picture of salvation (cf. Gen. 12:3; Isa. 49:6), play a large part in the OT. It is therefore all the more striking that the *koinōnia* word group occurs almost exclusively in the later writings (Eccl., Prov., Wis., 1–4 Macc.), usually to translate words connected with the Heb. root *ḥāḇar* (unite, join together). It is doubtful whether the absence of this term in the earlier OT writings is due to dislike of abstractions. In the OT stress was laid on the covenant and the individual's membership of the people. These were communal ideas. But in contrast to the quasi-egalitarian idea of *koinōnia*, these ideas stressed the unilateral role of Yahweh as the founder and guarantor of the community and its members. Where *koinōnia* etc. occur in the LXX, they are used in a general sense: "It is better to live in a corner of a housetop than in a house shared with a contentious woman" (Prov. 21:9; 25:24); "he who is joined with all the living has hope" (Eccl. 9:4); "who goes in company with evildoers" (Job 34:8). 1 Macc. 1:47 has *koinos* in the sense of profane, ceremonially defiled. This was the sense it often had later (cf. Acts 21:28; Rev. 21:27).

3. According to Josephus (*War*, 2, 119–161) and Philo (*Omn.Prob.Lib.*, 12 f.), the communal life of the Essenes was based on the idea of the equality of all the members. This is emphatically supported by the evidence of the Dead Sea Scrolls for the Qumran community. Each member was required to renounce his possessions (1 QS 1:11 f.; cf. 3:2; 6:19 f.; cf. H. Ringgren, *The Faith of Qumran*, 1963, 142 f., 210, 236; Millar Burrows, *More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1958, 81, 116, 383). He had to hand over his entire possessions to the estate of the community. The principal motive for this was not as in ancient Greece the ideal of brotherly communal possession, but the idea that possession of money was tainted with sin. Money was the possession of ungodliness, stained with uncleanness. It was for this reason that the Essene parted with his private property.

According to Philo (*Vit.Cont.*, 25), there was a band of Jewish men and women that lived in a communal life of monastic seclusion, possessing no private property, which was devoted to the study of scripture. The word *monastērion* (monastery) occurs here for the first time. The Christian communities of the 4th cent. A.D. continued the tradition of ascetic, monastic life, sharing common property.

In the tractate Pesahim 7, 3a, 13a *ḥ^{a}ḇûrâh* (fellowship) means the Passover fellowship: "One day the Holy[God] . . . will prepare a feast for the devout." At the heavenly table David will distribute the chalice with wine. This eschatological meal recalls Lk. 22:19 and Did. 9:2.

NT *koinōnia* is absent from the synoptics and Jn. But it occurs 13 times in Paul and is a typical Pauline term. The same is true of the vb. *koinōneō*. The use of *koinos*

and *koinōnia* in Acts 2 and in general in Lk.'s picture of the primitive church requires special attention. Elsewhere, *koinos* (Matt. 15:11, 18; Mk. 7:15; Acts 10:14) and the vb. *koinoō* (Mk. 7:18; Acts 10:15; 21:28) mean respectively unclean and to defile. *koinōnos* (Lk. 5:10; 2 Cor. 8:23; Phlm. 17) means partner, companion, sharer. In most cases, however, it is to be translated as an adj., sharing, participating in, or by a verbal phrase. *koinōnikos* occurs only in 1 Tim. 6:18, where it means liberal. *synkoinōnos* (participant, partner) and *synkoinōneō* (participate in with someone, be connected with, share) occur only in Paul and Rev. 1:9; 18:4.

1. Acts 4:32 ff. gives a picture of the communal sharing of goods which was practised for a time in the early church. This "religious communism of love" (Troeltsch) in the primitive church was the expression of an enthusiastic love. But it presupposed the continuance of private earning and the voluntary character of sacrifice and giving to the needy. There is no hint of either communal production or communal consumption. It was not organized, and is not to be seen in economic categories. It rose out of the untramelled freedom from care that Jesus preached and from his lofty scorn of goods (Matt. 6:25–34). It is to be seen as the continuance of the common life that Jesus led with his disciples (Lk. 8:1–3; Jn. 12:4 ff.; 13:29). The idea of equality is completely lacking. The extraordinary action of Barnabas (Acts 4:36) and that of Ananias and Sapphira (Acts 5:1–11) were singled out for mention. But this does not mean that the community of possessions was general. This would not have been possible for the great majority of church members. Mention of the house of Mary (Acts 12:12) indicates that private ownership continued. Lk.'s general account of the Jerusalem church reflects the attitude of love which was intensified by an acute expectation of the end.

The *koinōnia* in Acts 2:42 can be taken in an absolute sense as an essential part of the life of worship: "And they devoted themselves to the apostles' teaching and fellowship, to the breaking of bread and the prayers" (Acts 2:42). There were thus four main aspects of this way of life (cf. B. Reicke, *Glauben und Leben der Urgemeinde*, 1957, 56). In this case, *koinōnia* could be translated "communion" or "liturgical fellowship in worship." But *koinōnia* expresses something new and independent. It denotes the unanimity and unity brought about by the Spirit. The individual was completely upheld by the community. The Hellenist Luke clearly had in mind the Pythagoreans and the Essenes. The educated reader would have got the impression that here the Greek ideal of society had been realized.

The early church doubtless had financial cares. The fishermen and peasants that had migrated from Galilee would find earning a living difficult in the capital city. Moreover, the economic state of Palestine deteriorated through famine and continued unrest. The impoverishment of the early church was not a consequence of the sharing of possessions. The collections that Paul brought to Jerusalem were a tangible expression of fellowship in the churches. The collection has a religious overtone in 2 Cor. 9:13: "by the generosity of the fellowship (*koinōnias*, RSV "contribution") for them and for all others." For it arises out of the one gospel that unites Jew and Gentile, and belongs to the same spiritual and material giving and taking of which Paul speaks in Rom. 15:26. There was real need in Jerusalem. The poor among the saints at Jerusalem were in the majority. The stream of "spiritual gifts" which flowed from Jerusalem was answered by a counter-stream of "earthly gifts."

The example of the early church remained isolated. Copying its example was neither demanded nor acted upon. The integrity of private property was regarded as a matter of course in all the churches. Christianity brought a new outlook, not a new order of society. At the Evangelical Social Conference in 1895 Friedrich Naumann said: "It is not possible to come to a system of economics from the standpoint of religion." On the other hand, Ernst Troeltsch pointed out that there is an independent revolutionary element in Christianity but no will to instigate revolution (*The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, I, 1931, 39–69).

2. In Paul *koinōnia* and the associated words have a central significance. Close analysis of the term shows that Paul never used *koinōnia* in a secular sense but always in a religious one (H. Seesemann, *Der Begriff koinōnia im Neuen Testament*, 1933, 99). It is never equated with *societas*, companionship or community. It is not a parallel to *ekklēsia* and has nothing to do with the local congregation. Nor does it correspond with the Jewish *ḥ^{a}ḇûrâh* (fellowship, union). It is not, as in the Stoa, a group of individuals united by a common idea. Hence *koinōnia* is to be sharply distinguished from both Gk. ideas and Judaism.

(a) The idea of an earthly society grounded in human nature is foreign to Paul. For him *koinōnia* refers strictly to the relation of faith to Christ: "the fellowship of his Son" (1 Cor. 1:9), "the fellowship of the Holy Spirit" (2 Cor. 13:13), "fellowship in the gospel" (Phil. 1:5), "fellowship of faith" (Phlm. 6). In each case the object is in the gen. The "right hand of fellowship" (Gal. 2:9) given to Paul and Barnabas by James, Peter and John was not just a handshake over a deal but mutual recognition of being in Christ. Similarly, *koinōnia* in 1 Cor. 10:16 means "participation" in the body and blood of Christ and thus union with the exalted Christ. This fellowship with Christ comes about through the creative intervention of God. It happens through the transformation of man to the very roots of his being. It is birth into a new existence, and can be expressed by the contrast of life and death. This new existence is not a divinization in the sense of mysticism and the mystery religions, but incorporation in Jesus' death, burial, resurrection and glory. It is not the elimination or fusion of personality but a new relationship based on the forgiveness of sins. Paul expressed this in paradoxes, new expressions that he coined and mixed metaphors which he used to present *koinōnia* and guard against mystical misunderstanding. These include: *syzēn*, to live with (Rom. 6:8; 2 Cor. 7:3); *sympaschein*, to suffer with (Rom. 8:17); *systaurousthai*, to be crucified with (Rom. 6:6); *synegeiresthai*, to be raised with (Col. 2:12; 3:1; Eph. 2:6); *syzoōpoiein*, to make alive with (Col. 2:13; Eph. 2:5); *syndoxazein*, to glorify with (Rom. 8:17); *synklēronomein*, to inherit with (Rom. 8:17); *symbasileuein*, reign with (2 Tim. 2:12). The suffering of the apostle which is a part of the total suffering of Christ (Phil. 3:10; Col. 1:24) gives him the prospect of glory (cf. Phil. 3:10 with with Rom. 8:17; 1 Thess. 4:17).

(b) Apart from in Matt. 23:30, where the Pharisees reject the charge that they had a share in the blood of the prophets, and those passages where it means fellow worker or companion, *koinōnos* belongs to this area of Pauline usage. To eat meat that has been sacrificed to idols means to be a sharer in pagan sacrifice and fellowship with demons which excludes one from fellowship in the Lord's Supper and fellowship with Christ (1 Cor. 10:18). 2 Cor. 1:7 and 1 Pet. 5:1 refer to the sharing by the apostle and the church in the suffering and glory of the risen Lord. Anyone

who suffers oppression and persecution through following Christ may rest assured that he will like his Lord attain life through temptation and death. In the same connection, Heb. 10:33 speaks of being partners with those who are ill-treated and exhorts its readers to patience. According to 2 Pet. 1:4, believers are made "partakers of the divine nature", "through the knowledge of him who called us to his own → glory" (v. 3) and patient endurance. Thus he has already a share in the divine nature which is superior to all mundane existence. The same applies to passages where *synkoinōneō* and *synkoinōnos* occur. Participation in evil is rejected (Eph. 5:11; Rev. 18:4). But one can participate in suffering (Phil. 4:14) and the gospel and its hope (1 Cor. 9:23; Phil. 1:7). According to Rom. 11:17, the Gentiles who are like branches grafted in to the olive tree of Israel now share in its election and promises.

3. *koinōnia* in 1 Jn. 1:3, 6, 7 does not refer to a mystical fusion with Christ and God, but to fellowship in faith. Its basis is in the apostolic preaching of the historical Jesus, walking in the light, and the blood of Jesus which cleanses from all sin. It thus excludes the sectarian pride which denies the incarnation and misrepresents the character of sin. *J. Schattenmann*

→ Avarice, → Body, → Church, → Deny, → Disciple, → Love, → Possessions

(a). M. Burrows, *More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1958; J. Y. Campbell, *Three New Testament Studies*, 1965; O. Cullmann, *The State in the New Testament*, 1957; W. R. Farmer, *Maccabees, Zealots and Josephus*, 1956; A. R. George, *Communion with God in the New Testament*, 1953; D. R. Griffiths, *The New Testament and the Roman State*, 1970; H. Hanse, *echō*, *TDNT* II 816–32; F. Hauck, *koinos*, *TDNT* III 789–809; W. Lillie, *Studies in New Testament Ethics*, 1961; K. F. Nickle, *The Collection: A Study in Paul's Strategy*, 1966; A. Richardson, *The Political Christ*, 1973; R. Schnackenburg, *The Moral Teaching of the New Testament*, 1965; E. Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, I-II, 1931. (See also Addenda, p. 822.)
(b). F. Hauck, *Die Stellung des Urchristentums zu Arbeit und Geld*, 1921; J. L. Leuba, *Institution und Ereignis*, 1952; F. Meffert, *Der "Kommunismus" Jesu und der Kirchenväter*, 1922; R. von Pöhlmann, *Geschichte der sozialen Frage und des Sozialismus in der antiken Welt*, 1925; B. Reicke, *Glauben und Leben in der Urgemeinde*, 1957; H. Seesemann, *Der Begriff koinōnia im Neuen Testament*, 1933.

Fight, Prize, Triumph, Victory

Struggle for superiority can be a contest or fight, *agōn* (not only a sporting contest), or an armed conflict or battle, *polemos*, with the thought of eliminating one's opponent. *polemos* is a large-scale combat carried on by whole groups, as opposed to *machē*, a personal fight or quarrel. It appears in the NT not only in its usual neutral sense, but also especially in the synoptic apocalypses and in Rev. as the work of demonic powers. The noun and vb. (only Jas. and Rev.) are therefore scarcely used for the behaviour of Christians. On the other hand, *agōn* which generally does not have the connotation of → enmity, is frequently used to describe the Christian life as is also *brabeion*, the victor's prize in sport. Victory, *nikē*, is the aim of every fight. *thriambeuō* has special significance as an expression of the triumph of God.

ἀγών

ἀγών (*agōn*), fight; ἀγωνίζομαι (*agōnizomai*), fight; ἀνταγωνίζομαι (*antagōnizomai*), fight against; ἐπαγωνίζομαι (*epagōnizomai*), fight for; καταγωνίζομαι (*katagōnizomai*), conquer, defeat;

συναγωνίζομαι (*synagōnizomai*), fight along with, help; *ἀγωνία* (*agōnia*), agony, anxiety.

CL 1. *agōn*, from *agō*, drive, lead (both Hom. on; same root as Lat. *ago*), means: (a) gathering, (b) gathering place, e.g. of the gods on Olympus or of ships in a harbour; and (c) the fight itself, even the sporting contest (*agōnes gymnikoi, hippikoi, mousikoi*), for the → *brabeion*, the prize. It also means fight in war, politics or law (a contest between parties, a case).

The vb. *agōnizomai* (attested from Hdt. onwards) has the same shades of meaning even when compounded with *ant-*, *ep-*, *kat-*, *syn-*, as the noun. Similarly *agōnia* (Pindar onwards) which occurs only in higher style ranges in meaning from effort to anxiety.

The word group *athlēsis*, *athleō*, *synathleō*, attested in the case of the vb. from Hom., is used for sporting contests (cf. 2 Tim. 2:5: *athlein nomimōs*, compete fairly). It may, however, be used metaphorically of any effort. On the other hand, the word group *machomai*, *machē* etc. (from Hom.), originally meant hand to hand combat, first of all in war, but then also in sport. It has also in addition the neutral sense of to quarrel, wrangle, contend.

2. In the Cynic and Stoic diatribes in particular the whole outlook and terminology of the stadium is used for exercise in virtue and for life's moral struggle, in complete contrast to OT Judaism to which this range of concepts is completely alien. It is so alien that in his Heb. version of the NT F. Delitzsch is forced to translate 1 Cor. 9:25, "Every athlete exercises self-control in all things", by "Everyone who devotes himself to wrestling is a Nazirite in all things."

OT 1. In the LXX *agōn* occurs only in the Apocrypha (particularly in 2 and 4 Macc., altogether 15 times) and never stands for a Heb. word. The same is true of the vb. *agōnizomai*, and the compounds are altogether absent. Although in 2 Macc. 4:18 the noun denotes the Tyrian games and in Wis. 4:2 moral striving, it otherwise stands predominantly for military conflict. Heb. denotes this by *milḥāmâh* which the Gk. renders, however, almost always by *polemos* (more than 250 times). On the other hand, for a legal battle (Heb. *rîḇ*) the LXX employs a variety of equivalents, ranging from *dikē* to *machē*. It is not until the late Hel. Jewish period that ideas and expressions appear whose origins lie in Hel. sporting terminology. The word for Jacob's wrestling (Gen. 32:24 f.) is *palaiō* (Heb. *'āḇaq*).

2. For Philo, as in the diatribes, the struggle of life is the place in which the hero of virtue can accomplish ascetic achievements in order to overcome lusts and wickedness. Similarly, Macc. speaks of the struggle for → virtue (*aretēs*; 4 Macc. 12:14) and Sir. 4:28 of the struggle for → truth. The suffering of the martyrs which frequently (cf. 2 Macc. 4:11) took place in the hippodrome (circus) is also described in Macc. in the imagery of the stadium. Expressions like *agōn theios*, divine struggle, or *hieroprepēs*, holy struggle (4 Macc. 17:11; 11:20), indicate that, just as the games were held in honour of a deity, the sufferings and deadly combats of the martyrs were considered to be to the glory of God. These ideas had a powerful influence on primitive Christianity, especially in Heb. and Rev.

3. The patient Job in the Test. Job takes something of a middle position between these two meanings: he does not fight against lust (*epithymia* → Desire) nor against a tyrant, but against → Satan. "Like a boxer who bears hardship and distress he

waits for the prize with patience and endurance (*hypomonē kai makrothymia*)" (Test. Job 4). In his wrestling with and for God the way is prepared for the NT's wrestling in prayer.

4. The Gk. idea of conflict is foreign to the Qumran community too. Where fighting is mentioned here, especially in 1QM (e.g. 6:1–6; 16:3 ff.; 10 ff.), it refers to the holy war which the elect of God, the sons of light, enter upon against the wicked, the sons of darkness. Their aim is to inflict a military defeat upon them and thus by their victory usher in the kingdom of God – a concept which is expressly rejected in the NT.

NT 1. (a) In the gospels *athleō*, to contend, does not occur at all and *agōnizomai* only twice: Jn. 18:36, of the servants who would fight for Jesus with weapons, and Lk. 13:24, "Strive to enter [the kingdom] by the narrow door." The remaining words occur predominantly in the Pauline writings, above all those connected with *agōn* (*athleō* only twice in 2 Tim.). The technical terms from the stadium are used by Paul, who hailed from a Hel. city.

The compounds of *agōnizomai* are only used occasionally, but without any change of meaning (Heb. 11:33; 12:4; Jude 3; Rom. 15:30). On the other hand, *agōnia* (Lk. 22:44 hapax legomenon) which could mean effort, excitement, alarm, anxiety, as early as Aristotle, stands for fear in Philo and Josephus, as in the Apocrypha. ([Ed.] RSV has "agony", and Arndt gives "agony", "anxiety".) Thus Lk. 22:44, the Gethsemane passage (cf. Heb. 5:7), should not be translated "as he fought with death" but, with Schlatter and Karrer, "being afraid". The translation, struggle with death, which has conditioned the meaning of the loan-word agony, imports an element not in the original. Stauffer interprets Jesus' *agōnia* in Lk. 22:44 as due not to "fear of death, but concern for victory in face of the approaching battle on which the fate of the world depends" (*TDNT* I 140).

(b) Of the four NT passages which contain forms of *athleō* (2 Tim. 2:5; *synathleō* Phil. 1:27; 4:3; *athlēsis* Heb. 10:32), three are connected with → suffering. In the Heb. passage the accompanying *theatrizomenoi* indicates the crowd of spectators who are present at the abuse and torture, just as in 4 Macc. 17:14 ff. In early Christendom the image of the *athlētēs*, contestant, found such favour that the word was taken over into the vocabularies of the Latin and Coptic churches. The seventh of the books in Codex II of the 12 codices discovered at Nag Hammadi, which is still unpublished, bears the title, "The Book of Thomas the Athlete" (see A. K. Helmbold, *The Nag Hammadi Gnostic Texts and the Bible*, 1967, 77 f., for a summary; cf. also E. M. Yamauchi in R. N. Longenecker and M. C. Tenney, eds., *New Dimensions in New Testament Study*, 1974, 56 f.), and in the Acts of Thomas (39) Christ is called "our athlete."

(c) Throughout the NT in contrast to secular Gk. and late Hel. Jewish usage, the word group *machē* is never used in a neutral sense. Nor is it ever used positively of the struggle demanded of the Christian (contrast *strateuomai*, engage in war service, 2 Cor. 10:3; 2 Tim. 2:4; used pejoratively in Jas. 4:1; 1 Pet. 2:11). Every *machesthai* is rejected (cf. 2 Tim. 2:24) as an expression of readiness to quarrel and wrangling contentiousness. Not only a bishop (1 Tim. 3:3) but every Christian (Tit. 3:2) is to be *amachos*, peaceable. *theomachos*, contending against God, rare in Hellenism and in the LXX, was perhaps chosen by Lk. in Acts 5:39 (the only

passage) as he recalled the *Bacchae* of Eur., which depicts fatal opposition to the triumphal procession of the god Dionysus.

2. The transforming power of the → faith of a Christian shows itself also in his language, which reverses in a positive sense realities like the → cross and slavery which seem completely negative to the natural man. *doulos Christou*, → slave of Christ, becomes a title of honour! It also draws into its range of imagery things essentially foreign to the Christian, like military conflict (cf. Eph. 6:10 ff.: "spiritual armour" and "contending against principalities and powers"). Apart from Paul it is in the later writings, the Pastoral Epistles (not necessarily non-Pauline), Heb. and Lk., in which the image of the fight found a place. Three groups of ideas can be distinguished:

(a) *agōn* emphasizes the conscious application of one's powers for the achievement of a goal. Lk. 13:24 indicates this by its version of our Lord's words, *agōnizesthe eiselthein. agōn* and the related vbs. are connected grammatically with *eis* and *hina*. The apostle's work is not merely the fulfilment of an obligation but an *agōn*, which is linked with toil (*kopos*, → Burden) and hardship (*ponos*, Col. 1:29; 1 Tim. 4:10). What matters is the highest, imperishable and only rewarding goal, the → *brabeion* (cf. from the point of view of content, without the imagery of contest, the parables of the pearl and the treasure in the field, Matt. 13:44 ff.). Therefore, not only supreme effort but also supreme renunciation are demanded. 1 Cor. 9:24–27 (*pas ho agōnizomenos panta enkrateuetai*, everyone who competes exercises self-control) does not mean a kind of asceticism, which keeps the body in submission out of contempt. Rather, the *hypōpiazō mou to sōma kai doulagōgō*, I pommel my body and subdue it (v. 27), is the expression of the contestant's manly discipline (→ Beat). He has his body under control and directs it towards a goal in accordance with his own will. For this, moderation (2 Tim. 4:5) and exercise (1 Tim. 4:7) are necessary. This is the race, the good fight, which, according to the Pastoral Epistles, Paul has completed (2 Tim. 4:7) and which he also recommends to Timothy (1 Tim. 6:12).

(b) The object of this *agōn*, however, is the spreading of the → gospel. It is not primarily a question of striving for the perfection of the individual (although, of course, that is not a matter of indifference, → Holy), a private salvation, but of the salvation of the elect of God, "that we may present every man mature in Christ" (Col. 1:28). So we are always dealing with an *agōn hyper*, a struggle for, on behalf of, others (Col. 2:1 f.; 4:12; Rom. 15:30). It takes place above all in → prayer. "In prayer there is achieved unity between the will of God and that of man, between human struggling and action and effective divine operation" (E. Stauffer, *TDNT* I 139). In prayer a man can intercede for someone else and make this cause and his suffering his own (Rom. 15:30; Col. 4:3; 1 Thess. 5:25; 2 Thess. 3:1; Heb. 13:18).

The proclamation of the divine message leads to conflict with opponents (Heb. 12:3 f.; 2 Cor. 7:5). But in the last analysis the adversaries are not men (*haima kai sarx*, blood and flesh) but "the supernatural principalities and powers, the dark rulers of this world, the spiritual hosts of wickedness" (Eph. 6:12).

(c) This struggle through suffering which reaches its climax in martyrdom is particularly expressed in the prep. *syn*. The compounds *synagōnizomai* and *synathleō* (Rom. 15:30; Phil. 1:27; 4:3) do not just convey the bearing of the same

conflict as the apostle (Phil. 1:30), but a suffering with Christ while looking up to him (Heb. 12:1–4), to "share his sufferings" (Phil. 3:10), being "poured out as a libation upon the sacrificial offering (Christ)" (Phil. 2:17; cf. Tim. 4:6), completing "what is lacking in Christ's afflictions for the sake of his body, that is, the church" (Col. 1:24; cf. esp. A. Schweitzer, *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle*, 1931, ch. 7, "Suffering as a Mode of Manifestation of the Dying with Christ"). Therefore, the *agōn* with all its sufferings brings joy to the Christian, the joy of the team which is indebted to its captain for the victory. *A. Ringwald*

βραβεῖον

βραβεῖον (*brabeion*), prize; *βραβεύω* (*brabeuō*), award prizes, judge, rule; *καταβραβεύω* (*katabrabeuō*), decide against, condemn.

CL The noun *brabeion*, victor's prize, is to such an extent a technical term from sport that it is rare even in secular Gk. *brabeuō* denotes the function of the umpire, but was also frequently used metaphorically and then meant to lead, determine, rule.

brabeion embraces as an additional concept – synonymous with *athlon*, which does not occur in the NT but is frequent in secular Gk. – the prizes of the *agōn thematikos* (fixed money prizes; oil, barley, shields as gifts of the deity; money and accompanying rights throughout the home cities) and also the prizes of the *agōn stephanēphoros* (wreath made, according to the sanctuary, of olive, laurel, ivy, pine or flowers, and also of silver or gold; palm branches, *phoinikes*, as in Rev. 7:9 and myrtle, *tainia* to be worn on the head or arm and honours from the herald; → *agōn*; → *nikaō*). Not only the victor but also any ruler who was present was crowned. Originally the wreath was a sign of exaltation by the deity (Pauly-Wissowa, ad loc.). Just as *brabeus*, umpire, can have the meaning of prince, *brabeion* is also used with the sense of sceptre. In addition, *athlon* denotes the prize that is awarded, as seen from the viewpoint of the giver, whereas *brabeion* is used almost without exception for the prize received. Hence, the NT's use of the latter term may not have been accidental.

OT Heb. ăltogether lacks the idea of the prize. Delitzsch's Heb. NT translates *brabeion* in both NT passages by *śᵉkar ha-niṣṣāḥôn*, recompense or reward of victory. Despite its use of the imagery of the fight, the LXX does not make use of *brabeion* which does not occur until the Hel. Jewish period, in Gr. Bar. and Philo. Tertullian took it over into Lat. as a loan word, *brabium* (it appears in the form *bravium* in the Vulg. and some pre-Vulg. versions of the NT). *brabeuō* appears in the LXX only in Wis. 10:12 where Wisdom was the umpire at Jacob's struggle with the angel (Gen. 32:24 ff.).

NT To be accurate, *brabeuō* (only in Col. 3:15) should be translated: "let the peace of Christ decide as umpire in your hearts." It is striking that Paul also uses in Col. the word *katabrabeuō*, withhold the victor's prize (Col. 2:18). It stands as an alternative to the *krinein* (judge) of Col. 2:16.

In the two exclusively Pauline passages in which *brabeion* occurs extraordinary emphasis is placed upon the determination with which the contest is to be pursued. *ouk adēlōs*, not hesitantly, in 1 Cor. 9:24 ff. which qualifies *trechein*, run, is followed

by "that you may obtain it." In Phil. 3:10-14 it is underlined by the vbs. *katantaō*, arrive at, *katalambanō*, grasp, *epekteinomai*, stretch out for, *diōkō*, pursue, press after. The *brabeion* is the victor's prize which the Christian obtains only with effort and perhaps the sacrifice of his life (Phil. 2:16–17 in the context of the imagery of a race; cf. *agōn* as the martyr's struggle), and through *koinōnia*, sharing in the → suffering of Christ (cf. Phil. 3:10). This has nothing to do with ethical perfection. Christians have entered the race (1 Cor. 9:24), *teleioi* (Phil. 3:15), having been made Christ's own (v. 12), "not having a righteousness of their own but the righteousness from God that depends on faith" (v. 9). Phil. 3:14 means participation in the resurrection of the dead, not, of course, in the general resurrection of the good and evil, but, "as always in Paul's letters, the resurrection which is revealed to all the children of God to whom has been granted the life-giving Spirit of the glorified Christ, a blessed experience of being with him (1 Thess. 4:17), and reigning with him (cf. *brabeion* as sceptre) in his kingdom" (Rom. 5:17; 1 Cor. 6:2 f.) (Klöpper; → Resurrection). Perhaps we should think of the so-called first resurrection at Christ's return on the clouds before his thousand year reign (1 Thess. 4:14–17; Rev. 20:6; 1 Cor. 15:23; similarly perhaps also 1 Cor. 9:24). In any case the *brabeion*, the victor's prize, does not by any means go to all who were once called Christians. *A. Ringwald*

θριαμβεύω | θριαμβεύω (*thriambeuō*), lead to a triumphal procession.

CL & OT The vb. *thriambeuō* is derived from the noun *thriambos*. *thriambos* means the hymn which was sung at the ceremonial processions in honour of the god Dionysus, and so originates in the cult of Dionysus. At a later period this resulted in Dionysus receiving the name *thriambos*. The noun passed by way of Etruscan into Lat. as *triumphus*, with the sense of triumph. *thriambeuō* first attested in Polybius (2nd cent. B.C.), is the Gk. neologism based on Lat. *triumphare* and means (a) intrans: to celebrate a triumph, (b) trans: to lead someone in a triumphal procession. All the meanings of *thriambeuō* go back to the content of the Lat. vb. *triumphare*, right up to Anastasius Sinaita (5th cent. A.D.): the public display of a criminal to shame.

In the Hel. environment of the NT *thriambeuō* meant the triumphal procession of a ruler which his defeated enemies had to follow. "He led both kings and governors in triumph" (Plutarch, *Romulus* 33, 4). The prisoners provided a spectacle laid on by the victor. Censers were also carried in the triumphal processions and spread a festive perfume.

This word group does not occur at all in the LXX.

NT *thriambeuō* only appears twice in the NT: Col. 2:15 and 2 Cor. 2:14, on both occasions in the trans. sense, to lead in a triumphal procession.

1. Col. 2:15 presents God as the triumphant victor: Jesus' journey to the cross is God's triumphal procession. Through Jesus' death and resurrection the authorities (→ Might) and powers opposed to God have been disarmed and defeated. God as the *imperator mundi* (world ruler; cf. G. Delling, *TDNT* III 160) leads them in his triumphal procession like prisoners put on show.

2. 2 Cor. 2:14 reads: "But thanks be to God, who in Christ always leads us in triumph and through us spreads the fragrance of the knowledge of him everywhere." Here Paul himself is led in triumph as one whom God has defeated, who as the → slave (*doulos*) of Jesus Christ is at all times and in all places a part of God's triumphal procession. The apostle understands his missionary task as the work of a slave who puts the power of the divine victor on show and by his proclamation spreads the perfume of the knowledge of God, to some for → life, to others for → death (cf. the context 2 Cor. 2:14-17). *K. Dahn, H-G. Link*

νικάω

νικάω (*nikaō*), be victorious; νῖκος (*nikos*), victory; νίκη (*nikē*), victory.

CL From Hom. on *nikaō* is frequently used in Gk. literature and means to be victorious, both in military and legal combat. The vb. expresses visible superiority in the natural rivalry which takes place among men. But it is also applied to the realm of the gods. It can also be translated surpass, overcome, be stronger. It presupposes achievement in physical or spiritual combat. The corresponding noun is *nikē*, victory, or the power that confers victory. *Nikē* is also the name of a Gk. goddess who is often represented in art as a symbol of personal superiority. The gods assist men in their conflicts and give the victory to the side of their choice. In the mystery religions man binds himself cultically to the superior deities who are worshipped as victorious powers.

to nïkos, first attested in the LXX, is synonymous with *nikē*. *hypernikaō*, attested from Hippocrates on but rarely used, strengthens the basic meaning of the simple vb.

OT In the LXX *nikaō* and *nikē* do not occur particularly frequently. The vb. appears about 25 times, and the sub. about 10 times. Of these only a few instances occur in the late books of the Heb. OT (Prov.; Chr.), whereas by far the majority are to be found in Macc. and render the Heb. *nāṣaḥ*, to defeat, have control of, or *nēṣaḥ*, splendour, endurance.

The OT is familiar enough with the phenomenon of human rivalry (cf. the conflict between Hagar and Sarah, Gen. 16; Joseph and his brothers, Gen. 37), but *nikaō* is used in the LXX almost exclusively to denote victory over hostile powers. The real victor is God, who has power over his own enemies and those of his people and of the righteous (1 Chr. 29:11; cf. Ps. 51:6). The people's victory does not primarily depend upon the strength of their soldiers but upon whether God has delivered the enemy into the hands of the Israelite armies (Jdg. 7; 1 Macc. 3:19). For this reason the rallying cry for the "Holy War" in Maccabaean times was "Victory with God!" (2 Macc. 13:15). Finally, the faith of Israel waits and prays for the time when God will defeat all the enemies of the people. In the wisdom literature the word victory acquired a spiritualized metaphorical meaning. The wise man does not allow himself to be conquered by the beauty of an adulteress (Prov. 6:25), but rather reason overcomes instinct (4 Macc. 3:17; 6:33).

NT NT usage of the word group almost always presupposes the conflict between God or Christ and opposing demonic powers. *nikaō* occurs most frequently in

Rev. and in the Johannine letters. *nikē* occurs only in 1 Jn. 5:4; *hypernikaō* only in Rom. 8:37. The terms occur seldom in Paul, but nevertheless, when they do, have particular theological significance.

1. In the synoptic tradition the word group appears only in Matt. 12:20 in a quotation from the first Servant Song (Isa. 42:1–4: "he brings justice to victory") and in Lk. 11:22. Here the stronger man overcomes the armed strong man (the synoptic parallels Matt. 12:29 and Mk. 3:27 have "binds"), disarms and despoils him. The metaphor explains Jesus' superiority over the demonic powers. "If it is by the finger of God that I cast out demons, then the kingdom of God has come upon you" (Lk. 11:20). The earthly Jesus demonstrates by his actions that he is the hidden victor over the forces opposed to God, whilst it is not until the resurrection that he achieves the final victory over sin, death and the devil.

2. Rom. 8 and 1 Cor. 15 are the chapters in which Paul speaks most forcibly about overcoming the world and death through the redemptive work of Jesus Christ. Jesus' death on the cross and his resurrection are the reason that no power in the world can finally have the victory. "Death is swallowed up in victory. O death, where is thy victory?" (1 Cor. 15:54 f.). As children of God, believers are included in this victory. Their victory is not an achievement or reward, but is "given" them (1 Cor. 15:57). They are thereby placed in a position in which they themselves can overcome evil (Rom. 12:21). Now they are oppressed by trouble, anxiety, danger, persecution and hunger. But these forces have lost their controlling power. The believer's struggle against the rule of these demonic forces is conducted under the promise of victory and thus takes on the character of overcoming: "No, in all these things we are more than conquerors through him who loved us" (Rom. 8:37).

3. John sums up the forces opposed to God in the term *kosmos* (→ world). Jesus' coming, suffering and return to the Father signify victory over the world. This victory is expressed in the perfect tense (Jn. 16:33). The evil one, the ruler of this world, has had his power restricted by Jesus Christ, in that Jesus, as the stronger man, has freed his people from the dominion of the evil one. The battle has thus been decided, even if it is not yet over. By faith Christians participate in this victory and are thus placed in a position to overcome the world for themselves. Faith is the victory over the world (1 Jn. 5:4 f.; 2:13 f.; 4:4 f.).

4. The seven letters of Rev. (chs. 2 and 3) are directed to troubled Christian churches in Asia Minor suffering under persecution. Each letter concludes with a call to overcome, introduced by the formula *ho nikōn* or *tō nikōnti* (2:7, 11 etc.). The conflict and the trials of this present life in the world and in the church are not final. The church's anticipated victory has its foundations laid in the victory already won by Jesus. The promise of an inheritance is to those who overcome (cf. Rev. 21:7). The end, however, will be preceded by the apocalyptic conflict between God and the demonic powers. This is the theme of Rev. The world powers often gain victories in this conflict (Rev. 6:2; 11:7; 13:7) but their victories are fleeting ones. In the end it is the ultimate victory of the Lamb that will remain. Christians have followed him and have poured out their blood in martyrdom (Rev. 11:7:12). In the middle of the picture of the plagues and the wrath of God John sees the victors standing, singing a hymn of praise (Rev. 15:2 ff.). Thus the victory which the Lamb has won and which he has promised to his people is already secure, despite all confrontations with the demonic powers, for the Lamb is the King of all

kings and the Lord of all lords (Rev. 17:14). This is the origin of the Christian symbol of the Lamb with the banner of victory. *W. Günther*
→ Caesar, → Crown, → Discipline, → Soldier, → War, → Weapon

(a). O. Bauernfeind, *nikaō*, *TDNT* IV 942–45; and *polemos*, *TDNT* VI 502–15; G. Delling, *thriambeuō*, *TDNT* III 159 f.; H. Gross, "War," *EBT* III 958–61; G. H. C. Macgregor, *The New Testament Basis of Pacifism*, 1953²; J. Pedersen, *Israel: Its Life and Culture*, III–IV, 1926, 1–32; V. C. Pfitzner, *Paul and the Agon Motif: Traditional Athletic Imagery in the Pauline Literature*, 1967; G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, I, 1962; II 1965 (see index); and "Deuteronomy and the Holy War," *Studies in Deuteronomy*, 1953, 45–59; L. E. Toombs, "War, ideas of," *IDB* IV 797–801; E. Stauffer, *agōn*, *TDNT* I 134–40; and *brabeuō*, *TDNT* I 637 ff.; R. de Vaux, "Military Institutions," *Ancient Israel*, 1961, 213–67 (bibliography 535 ff.); J. W. Wevers, "War, methods of," *IDB* IV 801–5; L. Williamson, "Led in Triumph: Paul's Use of *thriambeuō*", *Interpretation* 22, 1968, 317–3; Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands*, 1963.
(b). H. Fredriksson, *Jahwe als Krieger*, 1945; G. von Rad, *Der Heilige Krieg im Alten Israel*, 1958³; F. Schwally, *Semitische Kriegsaltertümer*, I, *Der heilige Krieg im alten Israel*, 1901.

Fire

The importance which has been attached to fire from the earliest days of human civilization is reflected in the common root which may be traced behind the words used for it from Iceland (*fyrr*) far into the Orient (Hittite *pahhur*, Armenian *hur*). As well as the Gk. word *pyr* we must discuss here the group of words connected with *kauma*, heat. While *pyr* refers primarily to the power contained in fire, or to the fire-place (whether in the temple or at home), with the significance attaching thereto, *kauma* indicates rather the process of burning, scorching, and the effect which this has on the senses (light, heat, etc.). Both groups of words are used in the NT in connection with the activity of God.

καῦμα

καῦμα (*kauma*), heat, burning; *καυματίζω* (*kaumatizō*), burn, scorch.

CL *kauma* (Homer) means burning, heat, especially sunburn or heat of the sun; and in a transferred sense, fever heat, ardour of love, frostbite. *kaumatizō*, not attested before the NT but later in Plutarch and Arrian, means dry up by heat; and by extension in the mid. form to suffer from fever.

OT 1. In the LXX *kauma* serves most frequently as a translation of *ḥōreḇ* or *ḥōm* (each 4 times) in its original sense of the heat of the sun, burning sun (cf. Gen. 31:40; Sir. 43:3; Jer. 43(36):30 LXX), but also in the transferred sense of fever heat (Job 30:30). Its use is, however, illuminating as can be seen from the context in each case.

2. (a) Even in Jer. 43(36):30 (LXX) the context should be noted. The fact that the body of Jehoiakim is to be exposed to the heat of the sun and the frost of night is a sign of divine judgment upon him because of his guilt. The same idea is conveyed by the complaint of Job, "My bones burn with heat" (30:30). He sees in this a sign that God has become a cruel enemy (30:21).

(b) The word is also used as a parable for affliction and trouble. Thus in Jer. 17:8 the man who trusts in the Lord "is like a tree planted by water, that sends out its roots by the stream, and does not fear when heat comes, for its leaves remain

green." Similarly in Sir. 14:27 the man who meditates on wisdom "will be sheltered by her from the heat." Looking forward to the coming reign of peace, Isaiah prophesies: "Glory will be spread over all as a covering and a canopy, a shade from the heat by day, a refuge and a shelter from rain and tempest" (Isa. 4:5 f. NEB).

NT 1. In the NT the noun and the vb. occur only 6 times; 4 times in Rev., twice in the Gospels. The OT usage outlined in OT 2 above is taken up and continued.

2. (a) Rev. 16:8, 9 speaks of divine judgment and wrath. The fourth bowl of wrath is poured on the sun, "and it was allowed to scorch (*kaumatisai*) men with fire; men were scorched (*ekaumatisthēsan*) by the fierce heat (*kauma*)."

(b) Matt. 13:6 and Mk. 4:6 tell of the seed which fell on rocky ground and was scorched by the sun. The parable here refers to those who take offence at God's word, when tribulation and persecution arise. In Rev. 7:16 it is said of the members of the church, who have come through great affliction and martyrdom and have been raised to the heavenly glory: "They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more; the sun shall not strike them, nor any scorching heat." *S. Solle*

πῦρ

πῦρ (*pyr*), fire; πυρόω (*pyroō*), to set on fire, burn; πύρωσις (*pyrōsis*), burning, being burnt; πύρινος (*pyrinos*), fiery, of fire; πυρράζω (*pyrrazō*), be red; πυρρός (*pyrros*), flame-coloured, red; πυρά (*pyra*), pile of combustible or burning material; πυρετός (*pyretos*), fever; πυρέσσω (*pyressō*), suffer with a fever.

CL *pyr* (related etymologically to the Eng. word *fire*) is attested from Mycenaean Gk. onwards.

1. The history of religion and culture shows fire as something to which great importance has been attached in human life both in a positive and in a negative sense, as a life-giving and as a life-destroying force. On the one hand, it is regarded as a force coming to man from nature, giving him life, but unpredictable and to be held in awe. On the other hand, it is viewed as a human accomplishment, kindled and kept alive by the genius of man (cf., for example, the double birth of fire in the Indian Agni cult). It is "used" by man at the centre of his home (the hearth, which is therefore, like sacrificial fire, regarded by many people as something holy; cf. for instance Hestia, Vesta). It is seen as a protection against evil influences (e.g. the burning of corpses in India; the fire baptism of the Mandaeans, cf. Matt. 3:11; the fire on the altar at Delphi, cf. Plutarch, *Aristides*, 35). It is also used as a weapon in fighting and war.

As far as the environment of the OT and Jud. is concerned, the fire cult of the Persian religion is of particular importance. Fire and a serpent represent the contraries truth and falsehood in the Mazda teaching of Zoroastrianism. In the conflict between the good and evil basic principles, man should place himself on the side of the good to which fire belongs. The body of Mazda is always represented as fiery, as a blazing, uncreated flame. Since fire is revered in this way as the element of purity, it must not be allowed to become contaminated, for instance, by contact with dead bodies. Hence, the burning of corpses is regarded as a terrible sin. In the final judgment fire will be the means employed for the last test. Good and evil are to be separated in a stream of fiery metal, and in the end everything, including hell

itself, will be purified by fire. Fire is the protector of the good, divine order of life.

2. In the Greek world fire is used in both secular and religious spheres. Metaphorically it can describe the most diverse human experiences, such as intensity of passion, wickedness, or the heat of battle. At the same time situations of anarchy can be illustrated by the image of fire.

In Gk. religion fire is used as a means of ritual cleansing (e.g. purificatory offering after childbirth or after a death, and the various feasts of purification). Although corpses were burned in funeral rites, it was believed that the soul could not be affected by the fire or cut off from its future existence. Among the gods, Hephaestus and Hestia have a special connection with fire. Prometheus and Hermes are said to have brought fire to men. On the holy, national hearth in the Prytaneion there burned a fire which never went out (F. Lang, *TDNT* VI 931). From it colonists took a flame for the hearth of the daughter-city that they were going out to found. Fire, regarded as one of the various tokens of the gods, accompanies the appearance of a deity. There are fire and rivers of fire in the underworld. Occasionally we find the idea that the soul is purified by fire. Fire plays an important part in the mystery religions, both for purposes of purification and in the representation of the divine (cf. A. Dietrich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, 1923³, 8:17 ff.; *TDNT* VI 932) and of the new nature of the initiated. Generally speaking, the Greeks attached a positive value to fire.

In Gk. philosophy fire is one of the four (or five) elements. According to Heraclitus of Ephesus, fire is the basic element of all things: the world is a movement of fire, which is undergoing a constant process of change and is identical with the deity (or *logos*). "As the original fire is endowed with reason and is the cause of all world government ([Diels-Kranz] *Frag.* 64 [I, 165, 1 ff.]), so the soul of man consists of fire" (*TDNT* VI 930). In this pantheistic system, God, the fiery universe, universal reason and the human spirit are all regarded as one. Heraclitus holds that a great world era comes to its end when everything is burned up and so returns to the primal fire; then the world is produced anew out of the primal fire. These ideas were later taken up again by the Stoics who likewise see fire as the active world principle, the world soul which guides everything according to purpose, holding all things together and controlling them by law and reason. The world originates by a transformation of the primal fire, and then by a process of general combustion (*pyrōsis* from Theophrastus onwards; hence the Stoic concept of the *ekpyrōsis*, an end of the world brought about by fire) it returns to the original state, whereupon the world cycle begins again. The human soul is part of the Godhead, and therefore fiery in nature, and it too returns to primal fire when the world disappears in flames.

OT 1. In the OT *pyr* is used in over 350 places to translate the Heb. *'ēš* (altogether 490 times in the LXX). Fire is used for several purposes in the home (Exod. 12:8; Isa. 44:15; Jer. 7:18; 2 Chr. 35:13), and also in craftwork, especially metal work (Isa. 44:12 ff.; Jer. 6:29; Sir. 38:28). In war it is a means of destruction (cf. Deut. 13:16; Jdg. 20:48; Amos 1:4). No fire may be kindled on the sabbath (Exod. 35:3). Among natural phenomena, lightning is the "fire of God" (cf. 1:16; 2 Ki. 1:12). In a metaphorical sense, fire stands for various human activities: slander and quarrelling (Prov. 26:20 f.), anger (Sir. 28:10 f.), the shedding of

blood (Sir. 11:32; 22:24), the passion of love and debauchery (Sir. 9:8; 23:16), adultery (Job 31:12; Prov. 6:27 ff.).

Fire also serves in the OT as a means of purification (cf. Lev. 13:52; Num. 31:32; Isa. 6:6). The only corpses which are burned, however, are those of criminals (Gen. 38:24; Lev. 20:14; 21:9; Jos. 7:15). This is done in order that they may have no place in the grave of their fathers.

In worship the sacrificial fire is used for burning gifts upon the altar, and incense in the censer (Lev. 1:7 ff.; 3:5; 6:9 ff.; 16:12 f.). No sacrifice may be offered by fire that does not come from the altar (Lev. 10:1; Num. 3:4). Heathen customs are forbidden: the burning of children for Molech (Lev. 20:2; Deut. 12:31; 18:10), i.e. "making one's son or daughter pass through the fire" (2 Ki. 17:17; 21:6). But this was practised under Ahaz and Manasseh under foreign influence (2 Ki. 16:3; 21:6; Jer. 7:31). We remain, however, completely in the dark as to the purpose and nature of this custom, and the extent to which it was practised.

Since Yahweh is present among his people as the Judge, who brings deliverance as well as punishment, the fire which accompanies him becomes the expression of two different aspects of his activity. First, it is the mark of divine judgment (Gen. 19:24; Exod. 9:24; Lev. 10:2; Num. 11:1; 16:35; 2 Ki. 1:10; Amos 1:4, 7). But secondly, it is also a sign of Yahweh's grace, in that he displays by means of fire his acceptance of a sacrifice (Gen. 15:17; Lev. 9:23 f.; Jdg. 6:21; 1 Ki. 18:38; 1 Chr. 21:26; 2 Chr. 7:1). Moreover, fire is also a sign of divine guidance (cf. the pillars of cloud and of fire, Exod. 13:22; Num. 14:14). Yahweh speaks out of the fire (Deut. 4:12, 15, 33). Especially elect persons can be taken to him with fiery manifestations (2 Ki. 2:11).

Yahweh himself is a devouring fire (Deut. 4:24; 9:3; Isa. 33:14). This is not to say that he is a personification of an element (cf. CL above), but that he watches over obedience to his will with fiery zeal. His word can also be described as a devouring fire (Jer. 23:29).

From the concept of the theophany which has its root in the covenant cultus and in the idea of judgment, it may be seen that when Yahweh appears, he is accompanied by fire (Gen. 15:17; Exod. 3:2 f.; 19:18; Jdg. 6:21; 13:20; Num. 14:14; Isa. 4:5; Ezek. 1:27). This does not mean, however, that he is thought of as the god of fire or the god of the volcano. For Israel drew a distinction between Yahweh himself and the phenomena which accompany his appearance. Fire is one of Yahweh's "servants", an instrument in his hand (1 Ki. 19:11 f.; Ps. 50:3; 104:4). Fire is a symbol of Yahweh's holiness as judge of the world, and also of his divine power and glory (Exod. 24:17; Isa. 6:1–4; Ezek. 1:27 f.). According to Dan. 7:10, a stream of fire issues from beneath the throne of Yahweh, a concept which plays an important part in Jewish and Christian cosmology and apocalyptic.

In the post-exilic period it was expected that Yahweh would appear to bring history to its consummation, and fire is the token announcing the day of Yahweh (Joel 2:30). The enemies of Yahweh will be destroyed by fire and the sword (Isa. 66:15 f.; Ezek. 38:22; 39:6; Mal 4:1). According to Isa. 66:24, the effects will be far-reaching: those condemned in the judgment will be continuously tormented by fire.

2. In Jewish apocalyptic fire becomes the mark of the heavenly world. The house in which Yahweh lives in heaven consists of and is surrounded by fire (Eth. Enoch 14:9–22 and often). Fire is the means of punishment in hell (Eth. Enoch 91:9;

100:9; 2 Esd. 7:38; Syr.Bar. 44:15 and often). The final judgment is a judgment by fire (Eth.Enoch 102:1; Syr.Bar. 37:1; 48:39; 2 Esd. 13:10 f.; Jub. 9:15; 3:10). The community of Qumran also expected the ungodly to be judged by fire in the final judgment (1QS 2:8; 4:13; 1QH 17:13). Under Stoic and Persian influence the doctrine of the world conflagration also found its way into Judaism (Sib. 2:186 ff., 238 ff. and often). This is also found in the Qumran texts in the "little apocalypse" (1QH 3:25 ff.).

Rab. speculation concerned itself with the origin of fire, and several states of fire are distinguished. It is said that the Torah originated from fire: letters of black fire were written on white fire. This lies behind the frequent reports of fiery manifestations when Rabbis study the Torah. The fiery place of punishment for the ungodly is called Gehenna (→ Hell). To this is added in the 2nd cent. A.D., as a result of Persian influence, the doctrine of an intervening purgatory.

NT In the NT *pyr* occurs 71 times. It is part of everyday life: Mk. 9:22; Lk. 22:55; Acts 28:5; Heb. 11:34 (torture); Rev. 17:16; 18:8 (in war). It appears in a fig. sense in Jas. 3:5 f. (the tongue as a devouring fire) and Lk. 12:49 (the fire of discord). Similarly the vb. *pyroō*, burn, be inflamed, is used of the heat of emotions: in 1 Cor. 7:9 (of sexual desire); in 2 Cor. 11:29 (of indignation over another's hurt). Several derivative words also occur in the NT: *pyressō*, suffer with a fever (Matt. 8:14; Mk. 1:30); *pyretos*, fever (Lk. 4:38; Acts 28:8); *pyra*, pile of combustible material (Acts 28:2f.; Lk. 22:55 *v.l.*); *pyrrazō*, be fiery red in colour (Matt. 16:2 f.); *pyrros*, fiery red in colour (Rev. 6:4), also a proper name (Pyrrhus in Eng. versions) in Acts 20:4; *pyrōsis*, the process of burning (Rev. 18:9, 18), and fig. as a fiery test or ordeal (1 Pet. 4:12; cf. Prov. 27:21; Did. 16:5).

Fire has particular theological significance:

1. As a sign of heavenly, divine glory. The exalted Christ has eyes like flames of fire (Rev. 1:15; cf. Ezek. 1:27; Rev. 2:18; 19:12). The angel in Rev. 10:1 has legs like pillars of fire. Before God's throne there burn seven torches of fire (Rev. 4:5; 15:2). The Holy Spirit, being of heavenly origin, appears in tongues as of fire (Acts 2:3, cf. Jn. 3:8), and fire accompanies the appearance of God (Acts 7:30, referring to Exod. 3:2; Heb. 12:18 ff., especially v. 29; cf. Exod. 19:12 ff.).

2. In metaphorical expressions. In the proverbial sayings in 1 Pet. 1:7 (cf. Prov. 17:3), just as gold is tested in fire, so faith is tested by suffering in this world. Sufferings are a *pyrōsis*, burning, which comes upon Christians in order to test or prove them, and is a sign of the end-time (1 Pet. 4:12; cf. v. 7). The image reappears in a way similar to that in 1 Pet. 1:7, at Rev. 3:18: gold refined by fire (*pepyrōmenon*) represents true Christian faith which will stand the test. In the passage about the spiritual armour of the Christian (Eph. 6:16), the shield of faith serves to ward off all the fiery (*pepyrōmena*) darts of the wicked one. Clearly a dualistic thinking (cf. the addition of *tou ponērou*, → Evil) is in the background here, with the idea that the faithful, as children of light, are engaged in battle with the forces of darkness. (Cf. the parallels to this in the Qumran literature: "They have surrounded me with all their weapons of war; arrows destroy, without any to heal, and the spear-point is in a fire which devours trees", 1QH 2:25 f.)

3. (a) As a picture of divine judgment in Matt. 3:10; 7:19; Lk. 3:9; Jn. 15:6. Here images from the farmer's life are used to illustrate the eschatological judgment

of God. Rev. 9:17 f. depicts horses coming out to execute judgment, with smoke and sulphur issuing from their mouths. This marks them out as a scourge, bringing destruction with them. Similarly the rider's breastplates, "the colour of fire" (*pyrinos*), point to the dawning of the judgment. Even in this age God can use fire as a means of judgment. The sons of Zebedee want Jesus to give them permission to call down fire on the inhospitable Samaritan village (Lk. 9:45; cf. 2 Ki. 1:10, 12). The final powers to array themselves against God, Gog and Magog, will be destroyed by divine fire (Rev. 20:9). Lk. 17:29 recalls Gen. 19:24; and Rev. 8:7 recalls Exod. 9:24. (Is the reference to a volcano or to a star?) The two witnesses in Rev. 11 are able to destroy their enemies with fire (cf. v. 5): God's power of judgment is at their disposal (cf. 2 Sam. 22:9). As a sign of the deceiving powers of Satan, the false prophet calls down fire from heaven (Rev. 13:13). An angel is given power over fire (Rev. 14:18). The riders of Rev. 6:1–8 remind us of the horses in Zech. 1:8; 6:2 ff. The rider of the red (*pyrros*) horse brings war and bloodshed. In Rev. 12:3 the red colour signifies that the dragon, i.e. → Satan, is bellicose and murderous. (→ Black, White, Red.)

(b) In Lk. 12:49 f. the mission of Jesus is presented as a fulfilment of the Baptist's prophecy – but now in the sense that he who baptizes in spirit and fire must himself suffer. His way of bringing the judgment is to take it upon himself, and so the eschatological judgment is taken up in the present, historical sufferings of Jesus. In Mk. 9:49 salt and fire are linked together in a riddle. Salt has power to purify, preserve and give flavour, and fire is an image of the divine judgment. He who would find fellowship with God must give up the old man to judgment, by denying himself. If a man will not do that, he is liable to the eschatological judgment of wrath. 1 Cor. 3:13 depicts the traditional notion of an eschatological judgment by fire, in which every man's work will be tested (see above NT 2). Bad workmanship will be burned up, but the builder himself will narrowly escape, like a stick pulled out of a burning wood-pile. In 2 Thess. 1:8 the Parousia is described in OT terminology (cf. Exod. 3:2; Isa. 66:15). In Rom. 12:20 Paul cites Prov. 25:12 f., making the metaphor refer to the final divine judgment. Only in one passage in the NT, 2 Pet. 3:7, 10, 12, does the ancient doctrine of the world conflagration appear, combined with a recollection of the flood catastrophe recorded in the OT.

(c) Fire appears in Matt. 13:42; 18:8 f.; 25:41 par. and Mk. 9:43, 45, 47 as the opposite of the "Kingdom of God" (→ Kingdom, art. *basileia*) and → life (art. *zōē*). The "hell of fire" (→ Hell) in Mk. 9:48 recalls Isa. 66:24. Contemporary Jewish ideas of the present punishment by fire of the people of Sodom and Gomorrah are suggested by Jude 7. Fire and brimstone indicate eternal damnation in hell at the end of time (Rev. 14:10; 19:20; 20:10, 14; 21:8). *H. Bietenhard*

→ Anger, → Hell, → Holy, → Punishment

(a). J. B. Bauer, "Fire," *EBT* I 269 f.; O. C. de C. Ellis, *A History of Fire and Flame*, 1932; J. G. Frazer, *Myths of the Origin of Fire*, 1930; E. M. Good, "Fire," *IDB* II 268 f.; F. Lang, *pyr* etc. *TDNT* VI 928–52 (bibliography 928); P. D. Miller, "Fire in the Mythology of Canaan and Israel," *CBQ* 17, 1965, 256–61; M. P. Nilsson, "Fire Festivals in Ancient Greece," *Journal of Historical Studies*, 43, 1923, 144–48; A. D. Nock, "Cremation and Burial in the Roman Empire," *HTR* 25, 1932, 321–59.

(b). C. M. Edsman, "Le baptême de feu," *Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis* 9, 1940; "Ignis divinus. Le feu comme moyen de rajeunissement et d'immortalité: contes, légendes, mythes et rites," *Skrifter utgivna av Vetenskaps-Sozieteten i Lund*, 34, 1949; and "Feuer," *RGG*[3]

II 927 f.; S. Eitrem, "Die vier Elemente in der Mysterienweihe," *Sym. Osl.* 4, 1926, 39–59; 5, 1927, 39–59; F. Lang, *Das Feuer im Sprachgebrauch der Bibel, dargestellt auf dem Hintergrund der Feuervorstellungen in der Umwelt*, (dissertation Tübingen) 1950; R. Mayer, "Die biblische Vorstellung vom Weltbrand," *Bonner Orientalische Studien*, Neue Folge, 4, 1956, 79–136; J. Michl, "Gerichtsfeuer und Purgatorium, zu 1. Kor. 3, 12–15," *Stud.Paul.*, 1963, 395–401; E. Pax, EPIPHANEIA, *Münchener Theologische Studien*, I 10, 1955; K. Reinhardt, "Heraklits Lehre vom Feuer," *Hermes* 77, 1942, 1–27; F. Stolz, *'ēš*, *THAT* I 242–46.

Firm, Foundation, Certainty, Confirm

The life of individual people or of the community is often described in the NT under the metaphor of a building (→ House). The durability and toughness of a building depends on the quality of its foundations, and the same is true of human life. *themelios* connotes this basis, usually not immediately obvious to the observer, which upholds, supports and affects the whole edifice. Another word used in the same sense is *hedraiōma*, although this is derived from a different range of concepts. *hedraios* originally refers to the state of standing steady on the ground; then, to the human sitting position. The *bebaios* group, on the other hand, is concerned with that which is based, or still to be fixed or anchored to a foundation, assumed to be unshakeable. Hence *bebaios* becomes a predominantly legal term, used to refer to a position or guarantee which is subject to no risk of alteration (see also → Seal).

βέβαιος

βέβαιος (*bebaios*), sure; *βεβαιόω* (*bebaioō*), confirm; *βεβαίωσις* (*bebaiōsis*), confirmation.

CL *bebaios*, from *bainō*, means fit to tread on (having a firm foundation). In classical Gk. from the 5th cent. B.C. it acquires the meaning of firm, durable, unshakeable, sure, reliable, certain; and in the legal sphere, valid, legal. *bebaioō* similarly means make firm, strengthen, confirm; and also, guarantee. *bebaiōsis* means establishing, confirmation, or (in legal language) guarantee (legally valid confirmation of a legal act).

OT In the OT (LXX) this group of words occurs only rarely, e.g. in Ps. 119:28 in the sense, to strengthen. Where it occurs, it has generally the same meaning as in classical Gk.

NT In the NT the words under consideration occur in all 19 times (8 times in Heb. alone). They connote first validity, i.e. the confirming evidence of the divine word (Mk. 16:20; Heb. 2:2 f.), of the gospel (Phil. 1:7), etc. Here the NT has adopted the technical sense that the words had already acquired in the legal sphere (see above CL). Secondly, they are used in the original sense to denote that a thing is firm, reliable, because it has a firm foundation. Thus the hope and confidence of man is firmly secured as by an anchor, when the object of trust is the word of God, which he has legally confirmed with an oath (Heb. 6:16, 19).

1. (a) The → promises of God, the → word of God, and the → gospel will be fulfilled with absolute certainty, because they have been legally confirmed by God, and so form the foundations of the faith. Thus God's promise stands secure. Because of its legal validation it is a reliable and absolutely sure foundation, on

which the believer may depend. The promise has been given "from grace" by God to faith, not on the basis of the law (Rom. 4:16). It thus depends for its validity and efficacy on God alone, not on man. It is this that makes it sure. Hence it applies to the man who lives totally "from grace", i.e. the believer. It is he who possesses, through the promise, God's future, and not the person who founds his standing before God on the law and his obedience to it. If the validity of God's promises were dependent on that, we should never be able to have assurance about them.

Another reason for the "confirmation" (legal validation) of God's promises to the fathers is given in Rom. 15:8: Jesus Christ has himself given them this legal validation. His whole life was one of "service" to the Jews and to the Gentiles, in order to make God's promises sure for them. He showed them how all the promises of God were fulfilled in him, and thus proved to be true. Thereby he made evident "God's truthfulness" and faithfulness, which form the ultimate and most profound basis for confidence and certainty about the foundations of faith. Heb. 6:16 ff. states that in order to confirm and vouch for his promises, and thus for the impregnable nature of his will, God has even gone so far as to swear an oath. If even in human relations an oath serves to confirm a promise (*eis bebaiōsin* is a recognized Gk. legal term for a guarantee), and excludes any contradiction or any further objection, how much more so when God vouches for his word with an oath! This terminology is also confirmed by its use in Heb. 9:17. God's promise (v. 15) is compared with a will which comes into force when the person who issued it dies. This throws a special light upon the death of Jesus.

(b) Rather than God's promise, it is often the *logos*, the word (of God), which is described by these terms as trustworthy. Heb. 2:2 states that, if the message declared by angels (i.e. the OT law) was sure, impregnable and valid, so that "every transgression or disobedience received a just retribution," how much more is the word of the Lord who is so much "superior to angels" (Heb. 1:4). For God himself has borne witness to that word, and has confirmed it by "signs and wonders and various miracles" (Heb. 2:4). "Behind the *bebaios logos* stands the covenant of God (*diathēkē*), which guarantees that the word will be carried out. It is not the fact that the message is delivered by angels, but that the word is undergirded by the covenant of God on Sinai, that gives it its impregnability and legal validity" (O. Michel, *Der Brief an die Hebräer*, 63; → Covenant). In Mk. 16:20 (not in the best MSS [Ed.]), the validity of the word (of the disciples) is confirmed (*bebaiountos*) by "signs following". These signs are an indication that the living Lord himself is speaking and working through his witnesses, and that their witness is therefore true and reliable. If God's truthfulness and faithfulness are the primary basis for the validity of God's word and therefore for the whole of the Christian's assurance concerning his faith, then these signs are for the Christian a not unimportant subsequent confirmation of his confidence with regard to God's promises. According to 2 Pet. 1:19, we have "the prophetic word made more sure", because it has been confirmed by divine actions and manifestations from the heavenly world, namely at the transfiguration of Jesus. These experiences (like the Easter experiences) strengthened the disciples' confidence in the absolute reliability and validity of the word of God.

(c) This use of the term leads also to the sense of witnessing and witness (to the gospel), as in 1 Cor. 1:6; Phil. 1:7; and Heb. 2:3. Here there is also the idea that

God's word is so sure and reliable that it must be believed when it is preached. Thus the idea drawn from the legal sphere, that God's word is here and now made valid by the witness which is borne to it, is often present (cf. H. Schlier, art. *bebaios*, *TDNT* I 603; see above CL). At the same time man's responsibility towards it is emphasized.

2. (a) It is on this basis of the legal foundation and validity of God's word and promise (see above NT 1 (a)) that the believer's assurance about his salvation is to be understood. Often the two meanings are directly related to one another (cf. Heb. 6:16 and 6:19; 1 Cor. 1:6 and 1:8; 2 Pet. 1:10 and 1:19). The certainty of the believer's hope is inextricably rooted in the legal validity of God's word. This is worked out very impressively in Heb. 6:19. Since God's promise is unchangeable and his oath (v. 16) valid (God does not lie!), the believer's hope is firm and assured like a ship which is firmly anchored. The writer of Heb. uses here the formula *asphalē kai bebaian*, an expression common in the Gk. world also. *asphalēs*, safe, can here scarcely be distinguished in meaning from *bebaios* (cf. O. Michel, ad loc., 157). Since the church on earth is always subject to temptation and is therefore in danger of losing its unique confidence (*parrhēsia*, → Openness), it is necessary for the church to show itself unshaken in its trust in God and its expectation of the future, i.e. in its assurance of salvation and that it should be ready to withstand every attack (Heb. 3:6, 14). This is indeed the very condition we must fulfil, in order to belong to "Jesus' house" and be his children and "partners" (v. 14 NEB).

(b) Because of this, the whole position of the Christian gains an element of assurance and certainty. It is God himself who establishes, makes firm, the believer in Christ (2 Cor. 1:21; similarly 1 Cor. 1:8), and seals him with the Holy Spirit. Such a person is "established in the faith" or "through faith" (Col. 2:7). 1 Pet. 5:9 has in the same sense *stereoi tē pistei*, "firm" or "solid" "in the faith", "rooted" (*rhizoomai*, parallel term to *bebaios*) in Christ and "built" on him. He has a "heart established through grace." He is secure just because he looks away from all efforts of his own and stands entirely upon what lies outside himself! In a very similar sense we find *stērizō* in 2 Thess. 2:17, and 1 Pet. 5:10, where it is used alongside *themelioō*. *H. Schönweiss*

θεμέλιος

θεμέλιος (*themelios*), foundation; θεμελιόω (*themelioō*), lay the foundation, pass. be founded; ἑδραῖος (*hedraios*), firm, steadfast; ἑδραίωμα (*hedraiōma*), foundation.

CL *themelios* was probably intended originally as an adj., which went with *lithos*, stone; but this cannot be verified from literature. It is used in the masc. and neut., without any difference in meaning. The word is attested from Homer onwards (there in the form *themeilia*, or *themethla*), and it is linguistically connected with the vb. *tithēmi*, place, stand, lay down. Hence it means that which lies beneath, foundation (stone), base, both in the lit. sense (e.g. foundations of a house, city, or building) and in a transf. sense (e.g. in legal correspondence to describe the right of possession to a building, or in philosophical thought, where the term means the basis of a system). Similarly the vb. *themelioō* means to lay the foundation (attested from Xen. onwards).

A similar meaning is conveyed by the adj. *hedraios* (derived from *hedra*, seat, chair, abode, place), which originally was used by men in the sense of sitting, sedentary, and then more generally for firm, unshakeable, stable. Thus *hedraios* is used in much the same way as *themelios* in questions about absolute certainty and the ultimate basis of all existence (especially by Plotinus). The reference is always to something secure and permanent in itself. The substantival form *hedraiōma*, foundation, is not found in classical Gk.

OT 1. There are various Heb. equivalents to *themelios*, mostly from the root *yāsaḏ*, to lay a foundation; but in the pre-exilic prophets frequently *'armôn*, citadel, palace; cf. Amos' prophecies against the nations. When the OT speaks of a basis and foundation it is never in the Greek, philosophical sense of ultimate, self-sufficient existence. The OT speaks of the foundations of houses (1 Ki. 7:9 f. [LXX 7:45 f.]; Jer. 51:26) and cities (Amos 1:4 ff. especially 2:5), and also of the mountains (Deut. 32:22; Ps. 18:7), the earth (Isa. 24:18; Mic. 6:2; Prov. 8:29) and the heavens (2 Sam. 22:8). Even in the last examples, foundations are here certainly to be understood in a lit. sense, in keeping with the ancient conception of the universe. The important point is that these foundations are not secure in themselves, but are laid by God (Prov. 8:29; Isa. 14:32; cf. Job 9:6) and are capable of being destroyed again (Deut. 32:22; Lam. 4:11; Ps. 18:7). The stability of this world is not an immanent possession of her own, but results from an act of foundation which is wrapped in mystery and so remains a gift from God. Hence the foundations of all things can tremble at the theophany in Ps. 18 (vv. 7, 15), which calls in question at the same time the permanence and stability of the earth's foundations.

Of particular importance for the theological meaning of the term *foundation* is Isa. 28:16 (cf. 54:11). Here Yahweh himself will lay the foundation and cornerstone for Israel in Zion. The image of a new building is certainly not intended to point to a future great new city, but to the establishment in the city of God of a people of God which lives by faith. Zion is to become a centre of pilgrimage for the nations (cf. Isa. 2:2 f.; Mic. 4:1 f.). Not until much later (cf. Eph. 2:20; 1 Pet. 2:4 ff.) is the foundation stone (Isa. 28:16) seen to refer to the Messiah (Christ).

2. In late Jewish literature the use made of the concept in the Qumran texts is striking. Here the Heb. words *sôḏ* and *y^{e}sôḏ* are used interchangeably in the sense of foundation. The community is often regarded as the eschatological temple or the eschatological city of God. In such contexts mention is often made of its foundations, Isa. 28:16 being interpreted as referring to the community (1QS 8:5 ff.; 9:3 and often).

NT The NT use of *themelios* extends throughout the NT (in all it occurs 16 times), and does not differ from cl. Gk. usage in its meaning. The vb. is used 6 times. *hedraios*, on the other hand, is used only 3 times by Paul (1 Cor. 7:37; 15:58; Col. 1:23), and *hedraiōma* occurs only in 1 Tim. 3:15 (in the same sense as *themelios*). Luke uses *themelios* only in the lit. sense of the foundations of a building (6:48 f.; 14:29; Acts 16:26). In Heb. 11:10 and Rev. 21:14, 19 it refers to the foundations of the future city of God. Paul, on the other hand, uses the noun and vb. only in a fig. sense.

In discussing the theological significance of these terms, we may ignore all the passages which use them in the lit. and concrete sense, so that apart from Heb. 6:1 and 1 Pet. 5:10 our discussion is confined to the Pauline passages.

1. The image of a → house and house-building (*oikos*, *oikodomē*) is occasionally used in the NT as a picture of how a man governs and orders his life, as he founds and builds it (Matt. 7:24 f.). If he has the words of Jesus as the foundation, he is securely based. This also applies particularly to the Christian community, the church. It is a "spiritual house" (1 Pet. 2:5; Eph. 2:20–22; 1 Tim. 3:15) which Jesus himself plans to build (cf. Matt. 16:18) by his Spirit and his word. Just as the foundation is of decisive importance in building a house, so it is with the church. This foundation is Jesus Christ (1 Cor. 3:11). "Everything that has to be regarded as the reality and truth of justification and faith and their mutual relationship begins in Him and derives from Him" (K. Barth, *CD* IV 1, 637). On this foundation Paul has set the church (v. 10), and on this foundation the further building must proceed (vv. 12 ff.). But whatever is built, Christ must remain the basis (cf. v. 15). Insofar as this foundation only comes to men through the proclamation of the apostles and prophets, they can themselves be described as *themelios*, "Christ Jesus himself being the cornerstone" (Eph. 2:20). In the same way in Matt. 16:18 Peter is called the rock on which the church will be built. The church thus lives from that which God has done in Jesus and caused to be proclaimed by the apostles. She is no longer the church, if she allows other things beside to be regarded as fundamental such as blood or race (→ Rock, Stone).

2. Where the church rests on such a foundation, she can herself conversely be described as the foundation of the truth (1 Tim. 3:15; *hedraiōma*). For it is she who protects and preserves the truth in her confession (v. 16) in the fight against enemies within and without. Similarly in 2 Tim. 2:19 the foundation is formed not only by God's act in Christ, but arising out of this, the fact that the church puts away from herself all unrighteousness (cf. v. 20 f.).

3. As is evident from the simile of building a house, Paul makes a fundamental distinction between two separate tasks of the preacher. The first is to lay the foundation (missionary proclamation, evangelism); the second is to build up the church (1 Cor. 3:10). He believes himself above all called only to the first of these tasks (Rom. 15:20; cf. 2 Cor. 10:16), and is not prepared merely to build further where someone else has already laid the foundation.

4. In addition to these ecclesiological uses, *themelios* can also be applied, like *hedraios*, to the individual Christian. The steadfastness to which he is called (1 Cor. 15:58) depends entirely upon his relationship to his Lord which is grounded in faith (Col. 1:23) and love (Eph. 3:17). There may, however, be an allusion here too to the church, for in both contexts it is mentioned, as the body of Christ or by the expression "in Christ" (Col. 1:18; Eph. 3:21).

5. A completely different use is found in Heb. 6:1, where *themelios* means the basic doctrines of the Christian faith. The distinction made here is between the groundwork, which every Christian has to know, and further insights which come to those who are prepared to study the scriptures in greater depth. *themelios* is thus used here rather to distinguish between the relative importance of various items of Christian teaching, than to refer as in Paul to the relationship of a person to Christ.

J. Blunck

(a). H. Schlier, *bebaios*, *TDNT* I 600–3; K. L. Schmidt, *themelios*, *TDNT* III 63 f.; E. Stauffer, *hedraios*, *TDNT* II 362 ff.
(b). K. Heim, Glaubensgewissheit, 1923; H. J. Rothert, *Gewissheit und Vergewisserung als theologisches Problem*, 1963; K. T. Schäfer, "Über Eph. 2, 20," *Neutestamentliche Aufsätze*, Festschrift J. Schmid, 1963, 218 ff.

ἀσφάλεια

ἀσφάλεια (*asphaleia*), firmness, certainty, security; ἀσφαλής (*asphalēs*), firm, sure, safe, secure; ἀσφαλίζω (*asphalizō*), guard; ἀσφαλῶς (*asphalōs*), securely.

CL *asphaleia* occurs in cl. Gk. with the following meanings: security against stumbling (Thuc., *History*, 3, 22), assurance from danger (Aeschylus onwards), caution (in post-Christian writings), assurance, certainty (Thuc. *History*, 2, 11), the certainty or convincing nature of an argument (Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, 4, 6, 15), and as a security, bond or pledge as a technical law term (Arrianus, *Epicteti Dissertationes*, 2, 13, 7; *BGU* 1149, 24; P. Teb. 293, 19; *The Amherst Papyri*, 78:16).

The adj. *asphalēs* occurs from Homer onwards in the sense of immovable, steadfast, unshaken, unfailing both lit. and in the case of friends etc., and safe both lit. and fig. The vb. *asphalizō* is used in the sense of secure, safeguard and, in 1st cent. B.C. literature, arrest.

OT *asphaleia* occurs 19 times in the LXX as a translation of 6 different nouns. In Lev. 26:5 and Deut. 12:10 it is used of the security (Heb. *beṭaḥ*) which the Lord promises his people (cf. Prov. 8:14; 11:15; 28:17 where the Heb. equivalents are all different). In Ps. 103(104):5 it is used of the foundations of the earth. It is found in Isa. 8:15; 18:4; and 34:15. But most instances occur in 2 Macc. (3:22; 4:21; 9:21; 15:1, 11 where it means security, cf. also Jos., *War* 3, 398).

asphalēs occurs in Prov. 3:18 (*v.l.*); 8:28; 15:7 but in each case there are differences between the Heb. and the Gk. and the Eng. tr. does not give a lit. rendering of the Gk. It is also found in Tob. 5:15 (*v.l.*); Wis. 4:3; 7:23; 14:3. The adv. *asphalōs* translates Heb. *beṭaḥ* in Gen. 35:25 (they "came upon the city unawares" RSV). It has the meaning of surely, certainly or safely in Wis. 18:6; Bar. 5:7; 1 Macc. 6:40; 3 Macc. 7:6; Aristeas 46.

The vb. *asphalizō* translates *ḥāzaq* in Neh. 3:15 (RSV "repaired the Fountain Gate"). It is used in Isa. 41:10 (Heb. *tāmaḵ*) which RSV translates "I will uphold you with my victorious right hand." In Wis. it means keep safely (4:17), guard (10:12) and make fast (13:15). It has the meaning of guard in P. Teb. 283, 19 (1st cent. B.C.; cf. *Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, 68, 19).

NT *asphaleia* is used in a physical sense in Acts 5:23 ("we found the prison locked in all security"). It is used fig. of the "certainty" or "truth" (RSV) of the things in which Theophilus has been instructed (Lk. 1:4). It denotes security in 1 Thess. 5:3 where Paul is warning against a false sense of security. *asphalēs* means "safe" in Phil. 3:1, i.e. a safe course. The adv. *asphalōs* means securely in the sense of being securely guarded in Mk. 14:44 and Acts 16:23. It is used fig. in the sense of "certainly", "assuredly" (RSV) in Acts 2:36. *asphalizō* means to guard or make secure (of the tomb of Jesus) in Matt. 27:64 ff.; to guard in Acts 16:30D; and to fasten in Acts 16:24. *C. Brown*

Arndt, 118; Hatch-Redpath, 174; A. J. B. Higgins, "The Preface to Luke and the Kerygma in Acts" in W. W. Gasque and R. P. Martin, eds., *Apostolic History and the Gospel*, 1970, 78–91; Liddell-Scott, 266; J. H. Ropes, "St Luke's Preface: *asphaleia* and *parakolouthein*", *JTS* 25, 1924, 67–71; K. L. Schmidt, *asphaleia*, *TDNT* I 506; F. Vogel, *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 44, 1933, 203 ff.

κυρόω

κυρόω (*kyroō*), confirm, ratify, make valid; προκυρόω (*prokyroō*), establish, confirm beforehand.

CL & OT *kyroō*, from *kyros*, meaning authority or validity, expresses the thought of ratifying and making firm in all sorts of contexts. *prokyroō*, a regularly-formed compound meaning confirm beforehand, only appears twice in secular Gk., though *kyroō* is common from Herodotus and Aeschylus on. In the canonical LXX *kyroō* appears twice, both times in the passive voice of confirming possession (Gen. 23:20; Lev. 25:30). In the papyri it appears several times as the legal word for the confirming of transactions and appointments.

NT In Gal. 3:15, 17 both *kyroō* and *prokyroō* appear in connection with the ratifying, i.e. the actual formal making, of a will. In 2 Cor. 2:8 Paul uses *kyroō* in his plea to the Corinthians to "confirm" or perhaps "reaffirm, re-establish" their love towards the errant brother. *J. I. Packer*

First, Firstborn

The word "first" denotes priority within an order. This implies the consequent dependence or secondary status of other persons or things. The existence of such secondary persons or things is demanded by the distinction between *prōtos* (first) and *heis* (→ one) or *monos* (only), since these words exclude any comparable entity. In the NT the term *prōtotokos*, firstborn, which is derived from *prōtos*, has been given particular importance by its use as a title of Christ.

πρῶτος

πρῶτος (*prōtos*), first; πρωτεύω (*prōteuō*), be first; πρότερον (*proteron*), beforehand; πρωτοκαθεδρία (*prōtokathedria*), seat of honour; πρωτοκλισία (*prōtoklisia*), place of honour, best seat; πρωτοκαθεδρίτης (*prōtokathedritēs*), one who occupies a seat of honour, church leader.

CL 1. *prōtos* is the superlative of *pro*, before, and the ordinal number corresponding to *heis*, one. Hence in late Koiné Gk. it is used for *proteron* (earlier) also. It is used first as an adj. or noun meaning first; then in the neut., *prōton*, as an adv. meaning first, at first (so also the proper adv. *prōtōs*, Arist., but lacking in biblical Gk.). *prōtos* is attested from Homer in (a) a spatial, (b) a temporal sense. It further connotes (c) order or succession, and (d) rank and worth. In cl. Gk. these basic meanings give rise to 25 different senses or nuances.

2. In Gk. philosophy *ta prōta* means the elements (Empedocles, 38, 1); in logic, the primary, unprovable propositions; *prōtos syllogismos* is an original, normal, typical conclusion (Aristot., *Rhet.*, α 2, 1357ª 17). In Aristot. *prōtē philosophia* means

that which is of the highest order (i.e. metaphysics); or alternatively, the philosophy of the ancients (i.e. the Pre-Socratics). In mathematics the prime numbers are called *prōtoi arithmoi*. As a title of rank and honour, the Ptolemaic court used the phrase *tōn prōtōn philōn*, one of the first friends (P. Teb 31, 15; cf. W. Michaelis, *TDNT* VI 865; Liddell–Scott, 1939).

3. Hel. religions. Among the followers of Orpheus Zeus is known as "first and last, head and centre" (*prōtos kai eschatos, kephalē kai messa*). Here the phrase *prōtos kai eschatos* denotes the majesty of the Ruler of All (Ps. Aristot., *Mund.* 401a 28; cf. 401b 5; → *basileus*, king; → *archōn*, ruler).

OT 1. In the LXX *prōtos* (*c.* 240 times) usually represents, as does *archē* (→ beginning), the Heb. *rō'š* (including *ri'šôn* and similar related words, 125 times). It is also frequently used for *ḥaḏ*, *'eḥāḏ* (17 times), first, one; and *qeḏem* (9 times), forward. Generally speaking, the meanings correspond to those in classical Gk., though they are confined to the four basic senses mentioned above. Even when an order or succession is not directly specified, it is there in the background.

(a) In the spatial sense: in front, towards the East (the first in rank of the directions, "towards the sunrise", Num. 2:3 for *qeḏem*); the furthest town (Jos. 15:21); in the front, above (1 Sam. 9:22); nearest, next (Est. 1:14).

(b) In the temporal sense (the most frequent use): first (Deut. 13:9, here the basic implication of a succession is easiest to discern); first (kindness) (Ruth 3:10); in earlier times, in those days (2 Sam. 16:23); first of all (Tob. 5:10 Symmachus); as a noun in neuter plur., beginning (Job 8:7); former things, in contrast to later (Eccl. 1:11).

(c) As an ordinal number to denote order or succession: first (Gen. 32:17; Exod. 12:18; 1 Sam. 14:14; 1 Chr. 24:7; Dan. 7:4; 2 Macc. 7:7).

(d) To denote rank and worth: (i) of persons, the first, chief priest, the high priest (1 Ki. 2:35); the king's counsellors (1 Chr. 18:17); *prōtos philos*, closest friend (1 Chr. 27:33); the first singer, leader of the choir (2 Esd. 22:46 = Neh. 12:46); *prōteuō* similarly means to be the first, most noble (Est. 5:11); (ii) of things: the most valuable (1 Sam. 15:21), most precious (Amos 6:6); (iii) God is the first (*prōtos*): this is the special characteristic of the preaching and theology of Isa. (cf. 41:4; 44:6; 48:12). He is *prōtos* as the Creator; he is also the last. The whole creation, both man and world, is directed towards his acts. It is true that the temporal sense is present here as well, since the Creator is the Eternal One before (and after) all creation. But in the first instance *prōtos* here expresses the position of God as the Lord of the world.

2. Hel. Jud. and Rab. Jud. In interpreting Gen. 2:7, Philo distinguished two kinds of men. The "first" is from heaven and spiritual; the "second" is → Adam, the forefather of the human race (H. Lietzmann, *HNT* 9, 85; cf. on Rab. ideas, SB III 478). Paul reverses the order: "the first Adam became a living soul, the last Adam a life-giving spirit" (1 Cor. 15:45; cf. C. K. Barrett, *From First Adam to Last*, 1962, 1–21). Occasionally God is called *prōtos kai monos*, the first and only one. Both terms express the uniqueness of God (→ One, art. *monos*; cf. *TDNT* VI 865). In Rab. writings "first" occurs as a title for the Messiah, interpreting Isa. 41:27 (SB I 65). Moreover, besides Adam the Torah is described as "the first" or "first-born" (→ *prōtotokos;* cf. E. Lohmeyer *Der Kolosserbrief*, 1930[8] on 1:15).

NT 1. In the NT *prōtos* occurs altogether 152 times (92 as adj. or noun, 60 as adv.), being relatively frequent and evenly distributed in the Synoptic Gospels (Matt. 23 times; Mk. 17 times; Lk. 20 times) and Acts (16 times), Rev. (18 times) and Heb. (10 times). In Paul the word is important chiefly in Rom. (7 times) and Cor. (8 times). In Jn. it occurs only 13 times. Otherwise is found only here and there. It is used in much the same way as it is in the LXX.

(a) In a spatial sense (Acts 12:10; Heb. 9:2, 6, 8).

(b) In a temporal sense: first, first of all, to begin with, previously (Matt. 5:24 followed by *kai tote*, and then; Lk. 9:59, 61); for *proteron*, beforehand (Matt. 12:29; Jn. 1:15); in the pair of opposites *ta prōta - ta eschata*, beginning – end (Lk. 11:26). An element of evaluation is contained in the contrast, typical for Heb., between *hē prōtē* and *hē kainē diathēkē*, the first and the → new → covenant (Heb. 8:7, 13; cf. 8:8 and 8:6, *kreittōn diathēkē*, better covenant). The first, earlier, → old covenant has been superseded by the new and is no longer valid (in 2 Cor. 5:17 and 2 Pet. 2:5 *archaios* is used; in 2 Cor. 3:14, *palaios*).

(c) In a succession or order, *prōtos* means the first in a series, followed possibly by *deuteros*, *tritos*, second, third, or else by *heteros*, *heteros*, the other, the third (Matt. 22:25; Lk. 14:18); sometimes in contrast to the last (Matt. 20:8 ff.); or when there are two, *ho prōtos – ho allos*, the one – the other (Jn. 19:32). It is used adverbially as the first, first (Jn. 20:4); and without any idea of continuing the series (Lk. 2:2); the first, best (fish) (Matt. 17:27).

(d) As a designation of rank and office, *prōtos* stands alongside *megistanes* and *chiliarchoi* as a title (Mk. 6:21). It draws attention to the value of a special garment (Lk. 15:22). In the *prōtoi* and *eschatoi* of Matt. 19:30 there is an element of evaluation: the *prōtoi* are those who have been accepted, the last those who are rejected. Used adverbially in this sense, it denotes priority perhaps to the exclusion of others (Mk. 7:27); in the first place (Rom. 1:16; 29:9, 10); so too probably in 1 Tim. 1:16, where Paul as the first is "the typical representative of mercy" (H. Conzelmann, *HNT* 13, 25). Possibly Rev. 2:4 comes under this heading as well: the most important kind of love, namely love of the brethren (cf. E. Lohse, *NTD* 11, 22). Rank and office are also implied by *prōtoklisia*, the seat of honour at a feast (next to the host) (Mk. 12:39 par.; Lk. 14:7, 8), and *prōtokathedria*, the chief seat in the synagogue or its equivalent (Matt. 23:6). On the basis of this the leader of a church came later to be called *prōtokathedritēs*, lit. one who occupies the first seat (Hermas, *Vis.*, 3, 9, 7) and *prohēgoumenos*, president (cf. Arndt, 712, 732; → Bishop). *prōteuō* also denotes privilege: to take the first place, be pre-eminent (Col. 1:18; on this verse → art. *prōtotokos*, and E. Käsemann, "A Primitive Christian Baptismal Liturgy", *Essays on NT Themes*, 1964, 157 f.).

2. The frequent occurrence of *prōtos/prōton* in the NT as an expression of order or sequence (69 times) demonstrates the significance of → order in God's revelation, however important the free, unpredictable Spirit may be. This is partly accounted for by the influence of the OT and Jud. and the importance they attached to a devout, believing, well-ordered life (Lk. 11:38; Jn. 7:51 referring to the orderly process of justice; cf. SB III 469 f.). Jesus insisted on priorities in his new, Messianic order: before bringing your sacrifice, first be reconciled to your brother (Matt. 5:24); seek first the kingdom of God (Matt. 6:33); first take the beam out of your

own eye, then set about removing the splinter from your neighbour's (Matt. 7:5; cf. Lk. 14:28, 31). For the opposite see Lk. 9:59, 61 (cf. *TDNT* VI 869). God has even ordered the course of the world up to its end in the final judgment (Mk. 9:11 par.; Lk. 17:25; 2 Thess. 2:3; f. Lk. 21:9; 1 Thess. 4:16; 1 Pet. 4:17; *TDNT* VI 869).

The church drew inferences from the divine ordering of events which it applied to the ordering of worship (1 Cor. 14:30; cf. vv. 33 and 40), and the ordering of offices in the church (1 Cor. 12:28). Paul insisted that the freedom of the Spirit is not anarchy (→ Love, art. *agapē*). On the other hand, the order of the church of Jesus Christ must not be made into a hierarchy. To be the first is not, and never becomes, an institution. It always remains a function: he who would be first in the church, let him become your slave and so follow the example of Jesus. He is the only servant (*diakonos*) in the full sense, and hence the only one who is "first" (Matt. 20:27 f.). God made Jesus the Lord of this order by making him the *prōtos kai eschatos* (a title of God, Isa. 44:6; 48:12; cf. Rev. 1:17; 2:8; 22:13; cf. Acts 26:23). As the First and the Last, he is also the unique One (→ One, art. *monos*). His mission is unique and unrepeatable (→ One, art. *hapax*). Hence Jesus alone has the authority to make the last first and the first last (Matt. 20:16). Thus he confirms Israel's abiding pre-eminence (Mk. 7:27; cf. Rom. 1:16; 2:9 f.; 11:2; but see also Matt. 8:11 and Lk. 13:28–30). And yet for the moment he gives the Gentiles preference over his own people (to be understood literally in the temporal sense, cf. Rom. 11:25 ff.), in order to make them jealous and move them to return to him.

K. H. Bartels

πρωτότοκος πρωτότοκος (*prōtotokos*), firstborn.

CL & OT *prōtotokos* is a late derivative from *prōtos* (first) and the aorist root *tek-* (born). The active form *prōtotokos* means, bearing one's firstborn; the pass. form *prōtotokos*, firstborn, is first found in the LXX, about 130 times, almost always for Heb. *bᵉḵôr*, firstborn. The *tekein*, i.e. bearing element in the word, sometimes takes a secondary place or disappears in the transferred sense, since *bāḵar* is related neither to *riʾšôn*, first, nor is it used as a vb. meaning to give birth (see below 2; *TDNT* VI 871 ff.).

1. In the LXX *prōtotokos* is used (a) in its lit. sense both of man and of beast, often as a noun in the neuter sing. with the accompanying phrase "which opens the womb" (*dianoigon tēn mētran*) (e.g. Exod. 13:2). The following expressions are confined to humans: *prōtotokos hyios*, firstborn son (cf. Gen. 25:25 (Esau); Exod. 4:22 (Israel)), and *prōtotokos* as a noun joined to the proper name (cf. Num. 3:2). The idea held generally in the ancient orient that firstborn inherits his father's strength (cf. Gen. 49:3) gives him a special position in law (cf. Deut. 21:15 ff.). For this reason it is normal for him to receive his father's special love (cf. *TDNT* VI 874). (b) In a transferred sense, *prōtotokos* is used to express a special relationship with the father, especially with God. Here the two roots from which it is derived, *prōtos*, first of several, and *tekein*, denoting physical descent, birth, no longer play any part in the meaning. See, for example, Exod. 4:22. In Ps. 89:27 ff. the thought

is of "adoption", i.e. the bestowal of special legal rights and honours. It is to be noted that while *prōtotokos* is used in the OT as a title of honour for the chosen, those who have received grace, it is not found in an eschatological or soteriological sense.

2. In Rab. Judaism the Torah is described in a comment on Prov. 8:22, 23 as the first created thing, the firstborn of the way of Yahweh, and the earliest of his works. The same description is applied to the sanctuary with reference to Jer. 17:12. In both cases the term is used in a figurative sense to express the special love of God for the Torah and the sanctuary (SB III 256; → *prōtos*).

NT *prōtotokos* appears 8 times in the NT.

1. In the lit. sense, e.g. Lk. 2:7. "This is the only instance in the NT where, through the paronomastic use of *tiktein*, *prōtotokos* refers unequivocally to the process of birth, and this in the natural sense" (W. Michaelis, *TDNT* VI 876). "Firstborn" possibly conveys the implication that Jesus was the first of several children (cf. Mk. 6:3). Or it may emphasize, in view of the mention in Lk. 1:27, 34 of her virginity, that Mary had borne no previous children. In any case, however, *prōtotokos* does not preclude further children of Mary (cf. ibid.; → *monogenēs*).

2. In the fig. sense, as a title of honour for Jesus, *prōtotokos* is comprehensible only as translation of LXX Gk., with *bāḵar* in the background (see above OT 2). This must not be forgotten when we encounter shades of meaning for *prōtotokos* in the NT which go beyond its use in the LXX.

(a) As a title for the mediator of creation, it is used in Col. 1:15, as is demonstrated by parallel sayings in v. 16, "in him all things were created . . . all things were created through him and for him," and v. 17, "He is before all things, and in him all things hold together." Both supporters and opponents of the suggestion that *prōtotokos* in Col. 1 echoes Hel., mythical ideas agree that the statement is a confession of the supreme rank of the pre-existent Christ as the mediator in the creation of all things (cf. E. Käsemann, op. cit., 154 ff.; W. Michaelis, *TDNT* VI 879 f.).

(b) It is used in a eschatological sense in Heb. 1:6 to qualify *hyios*, son (v. 5), as a title given to Jesus at his ascension, i.e. the heavenly enthronement of the risen Lord (E. Käsemann, *Das wandernde Gottesvolk*, 1957, 58 f.). According to Ps. 2:7 cited in Heb. 1:5, it follows that, "The exaltation of Christ represents the *teleiōsis* of Jesus and thus the first attestation given by God, to be followed by others when the redeemed are made perfect" (Käsemann, ibid., 73). Michaelis interprets the passage otherwise, seeing v. 6a as a reference to the incarnation of the pre-existent Christ, although he also considers the possibility of a reference to the enthronement of the exalted Christ at the parousia (*TDNT* VI 880). Since the exalted Christ is one step ahead of his followers (in chapter 2 likewise called *hyioi*, sons) on the way to consummation, he is already *prōtotokos*, "Lord and *archēgos* of the redeemed community" (Käsemann, ibid.). Rom. 8:29 refers to the "eschatological transfiguration", when those who have been foreknown and chosen out are made like him (by the resurrection of the dead). As the *prōtotokos*, he will "be like them but above them in rank and dignity, since He remains their Lord" (*TDNT* VI 877). Col. 1:18 and Rev. 1:5 connect the title *prōtotokos* with the resurrection: Jesus is the first to be raised by God (→ *prōtos*, Acts 26:23), with the purpose "of being

first in all things" (cf. Acts 3:15; 5:31; Heb. 2:10: the pioneer (founder) of life or salvation).

As a title of honour for Jesus, *prōtotokos* expresses more clearly than almost any other the unity of God's saving will and acts: "the firstborn of all creation", "the firstborn from the dead" (Col. 1:15; 18), "the firstborn among many brethren" (Rom. 8:29; cf. Heb. 12:23). Creator and Redeemer are one and the same, the all-powerful God in Jesus Christ "the first and the last", "the beginning and the end", who binds his own to himself from all eternity, and is their surety for salvation, if they abide in him. This goes beyond the limits of what can be logically asserted: the man Jesus of Nazareth (Lk. 2:1–2) is the mediator of creation; he who was executed on the cross as a criminal is the first to experience resurrection, and the one who leads us into life. This would have been reason enough for the NT witnesses to look back to the language of myth, in order to overstep the limitations of the OT and orthodox Judaism, and to express the inexpressible in the form of a confession (cf. the hymn-like style of Col. 1; so Käsemann, 149 ff.; E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 1923, 241, 253). For in Jesus God has in fact made the impossible true. In the man Christ Jesus, the *prōtotokos*, God has brought his divine power and glory to its climax (Col. 1:19 f.), and has given a share in this to the church.

3. The plur. *prōtotokoi* is used with reference to the church. Should Heb. 12:23 ("the assembly of the firstborn who are enrolled in heaven") be taken literally? This would mean that Christians are here set directly alongside Christ, in an unparalleled and almost dangerous manner. Doubtless the author sees the Son and the sons (chs. 1 and 2), the *hagiazōn*, sanctifier, and the *hagiazomenoi*, those being sanctified, as very closely related. They are *ex henos pantes*, "all of one origin" (2:11). Käsemann refers here to gnostic myth (*syngeneia* teaching; *Das wandernde Gottesvolk*, 92 f.), but is careful to emphasize that the naturalism which characterizes gnostic myth has been abandoned. "The union of Christ and his followers, like the whole process of redemption, cannot be understood here except in terms of God's purpose of salvation" (ibid., 94). This is why Heb. 2:10 stresses *eprepen autō*, it was fitting for him to "make the pioneer [*archēgos*] of their salvation perfect through suffering". The *prōtotokoi*, as "brothers" of Christ, are enrolled in heaven. They do not possess the rank of firstborn as an inalienable right (as in the gnostic myth), but expect it like heirs, on the ground that Christ is the *prōtotokos* and as such their → *archēgos*, pioneer (→ Beginning; cf. *arrabōn*, first instalment, 2 Cor. 1:22, → Gift; cf. Rom. 8:17; *aparchē*, first-fruits, Rom. 8:23; → Sacrifice). *K. H. Bartels*

→ Adam, → Abraham, → Election, → Fruit, → Image, → Jesus Christ, → Lord, → Son of God, → Sacrifice

(a). A. T. Hanson, "Christ the First Fruits, Christ the Tree," *Studies in Paul's Technique and Theology*, 1974, 104–25; E. Käsemann, "A Primitive Christian Baptismal Liturgy," *Essays on New Testament Themes*, 1964, 149–68; V. H. Kooy, "First-born," *IDB* II 270 ff.; W. Kornfeld, "First-fruits (firstborn)," *EBT* I 271 ff.; I. Mendelsohn, "On the Preferential Status of the Eldest Son," *BASOR* 156, 1959, 38 ff.; W. Michaelis, *prōtos*, *TDNT* VI 865–82; J. Morgenstern, "First Fruits", *IDB* II 270; R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, 1961 (see index).

(b). M. Albertz, "Die 'Erstlinge' der Botschaft des Neuen Testaments," *EvTh* 12, 1952–53, 151 ff.; E. Brunner, "Der Ersterschaffene als Gottes Ebenbild," *EvTh* 11, 1951–52, 298 ff.; J. Henninger,

"Menschenopfer bei den Arabern," *Anthropos* 53, 1958, 721 f., 776 f.; E. Käsemann, *Das wandernde Gottesvolk*, 1959[3]; W. Kornfeld, "Der Moloch," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 51, 1952, 287–313; W. Michaelis, "Die biblische Vorstellung von Christus als dem Erstgeborenen," *ZSTh* 23, 1954, 137 ff.; E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, (1923) 1960; C. H. Ratschow and A. Wendel, "Erstlinge," *RGG*[3] II 608 ff.

Fish

ἰχθύς

ἰχθύς (*ichthys*), fish; ἰχθύδιον (*ichthydion*) diminutive of foregoing, little fish; ὀψάριον (*opsarion*), fish for eating (with bread); κῆτος (*kētos*), sea-monster.

CL In cl. Gk. *ichthys* (with a variety of compounds, e.g. *ichthyophagos*, "fish-eating") was in general use. It appears as a metaphor for a "foolish man" in Plut., *Moralia*, 975 B.

Classically, *kētos* is specifically a sea-monster, of the whale kind (Aristotle), a cetacaean. Adj. *kēteios* is used in the general sense "monstrous". *kētos* is also the constellation, and the supposition that sea-monsters inhabited the deep gave rise to *kētos* in the sense "gulf". Possibly derived from *keiō*, to lie outstretched.

OT In the LXX, *ichthys* describes all created life living in the water (e.g. 1 Ki. 4:29 (33); Job 12:8), whether fresh (Exod. 7:18; Ezek. 29:4) or salt (Hos. 4:3) water. Fish are involved in the subservience of creation to the Creator (Ezek. 38:20) and by the Creator's will are under human domination (Gen. 1:26; 9:2; Ps. 8:9[8]). Their commercial value is implied in Neh. 13:13 and by the provision of a "fish-gate" (Neh. 3:3). With the rest of creation, fish fall under divine judgments on man (Exod. 7:18; Ps. 104[105]:29), illustrate divine providential interventions (Isa. 50:2) and figure in the ideal future (Ezek. 47:9). The angler's art aptly denotes man's inhuman treatment of man (Hab. 1:14). Religiously, it is forbidden to make fish-like representations of the divine nature (Dt. 4:18), a prohibition much to the point in the light of Assyrian representations of Ea in fish-form and the fish-costume of exorcist priests (cf. Tob. 6:1 ff.). In all these references LXX OT translates Heb. *dāḡ*, *dāḡâh*, or *dᵉḡaṯ-hayyām*, i.e. the general OT designation of sea-creatures.

kētos is used by the LXX to translate *tannînîm gᵉḏôlîm* (Gen. 1:21), *liwyāṯān* (Job 3:8) and *rahaḇ* (Job 9:13). In the last two it has clear mythological overtones. Otherwise it is only used of the sea-monster (*dāḡ gāḏôl*, and *haddāḡâh*) in Jon. 2:1 [1:17], 11[10].

NT The NT use of *ichthys* reflects much of the OT background. The whole Galilee narrative of the Gospels implies commerce in fish, but neither here nor throughout the OT is there any stress on different species of fish, nor are any particular varieties named, even though Galilee abounded in many sorts. The vocabulary of the LXX is increased by the occasional use of *opsarion* for fish prepared for or designed as food (Jn. 6:11; 21:9). The word does not necessarily mean "small" fish, as Jn. 21:9 ff. indicates. 1 Cor. 15:39 offers the sole NT observation on zoology, but its interest is clearly theological, the subservience of all creation to the Creator's will and design and it is this truth which receives vivid illustration in the nature miracles of Jesus, the two feedings of the multitudes (Matt. 14:17; 15:36,

with parallels), the tribute money (Matt. 17:27) and the miraculous catches of fish (Lk. 5:6; Jn. 21:6). The single thread of truth linking these narratives is that by the mere exercise of his will Jesus subdues creation to his plan throughout in works of mercy for the well-being of people, and thus is manifested as the incarnate Creator.

kētos makes its only appearance in Matt. 12:40 with reference to the "great fish" (*dāḡ gāḏôl*) of Jonah. Both the LXX and NT have clearly made the correct choice of word here in the light of total usage, a sea-monster of undefined nature but undoubted size. *J. A. Motyer*

→ Animal, → Bird, → Jonah

G. S. Cansdale, *Animals of Bible Lands*, 1970; J. D. M. Derrett, "Peter's Penny," *Law in the New Testament*, 1970, 247–65; W. S. McCullough, "Fish," *IDB* II 272 f.; J. A. Thompson, "Fish, Fishing," *NBD* 424 f.; C. U. Wolf, "Fishing," *IDB* II 273 f.

Flesh

σάρξ

σάρξ (*sarx*), flesh; σάρκινος (*sarkinos*) consisting of flesh, fleshly; σαρκικός (*sarkikos*), after the manner of the flesh, belonging to the domain of the flesh, fleshly; κρέας (*kreas*), flesh, meat.

CL *sarx*, in Homer nearly always in the plur. (the only exception is in *Od.*, 19, 450), means the flesh of a man as distinct from his bones, sinews etc. From Hesiod onwards it means also the flesh of an animal, and in a wider development (also used now in the sing.) the flesh of fishes and small animals, as well as of fruits. The → body (*sōma*) consists of bones, blood, sinews, flesh and skin (Plato, *Phaedr.*, 98 c.d); or of hair, flesh, bones (*Symp.*, 207d). Occasionally *sarx* denotes the whole physical body which can be old (*sarki palaia*, Aesch., *Ag.*, 72) or young. A typical expression is *hai sarkes kenai phrenōn* (Eur., *El.*, 387), by which men are meant who are without understanding and so mere flesh.

Transitoriness is a particularly characteristic mark of *sarx*. When vital energy (*psychē* → soul) and desire (*thymos*) pass away, flesh and bones disappear (*Od.*, 11, 219–222). Unlike men and animals, the gods have no *sarx*, but are *nous* (mind), *epistēmē* (insight), *logos* (→ word, reason) (Epict., *Diss.*, 118, 2). Accordingly, man's imperishable nature is increasingly contrasted with his perishable flesh. The *onkos sarkōn* (body of flesh), which is buried, is not our own real being (Plato, *Leg.*, 959c; cf. "the strange garment of the flesh", Emp., *Frag.*, 126). Epicurus, however, gave a new turn to this idea. Disappearance is only a dispersion of atoms; but this does not leave behind it any remainder. Accordingly, the start and root of all good is well-being, the *hēdonē* (→ desire) of the belly (*Frag.* 409). When flesh cries out, "Do not hunger, do not freeze, do not thirst", the soul heeds this reminder (*Frag.* 200). Since the *dianoia* (understanding) knows the end and limit of the *sarx*, Epicurus certainly does not invite men to a life of luxury, but on the contrary to one that is utterly controlled and temperate. For not only present but also future *hēdonē* is essential to good fortune (*Frag.* 68).

These ideas were much debased and popularized in a form that was depicted as favour of evil desire, especially by their opponents of the Platonic school. According to them, the cravings and lusts of the body defile the → soul which has a share in the divine. Epicurus was obliged to defend himself against the imputation of

approving appetite, bodily desire, fornication, and intemperance (*Frag.* 414). The anti-Epicurean polemic was widely spread in Hellenism and it penetrated deeply into Judaism.

OT The Hebrew equivalents of *sarx* (LXX) are *bāśār* and *šᵉ'ēr*; *bāśār* is by far the more frequent (266 times against 17 times). *kreas* also renders *bāśār* some 50 times, denoting mostly flesh as an item of food. *sarx* has a wider meaning. It can even denote humanity (Isa. 40:5 f.).

1. (a) *bāśār* denotes flesh as the food of men (1 Sam. 2:13, 15; the flesh of quails, Num. 11:33; of swine, Deut. 14:8; of cows, Gen. 41:2). Flesh and wine are food for good times (Dan. 10:3). → Animal, → Bird.

(b) Likewise, *bāśār* also denotes human flesh. God took one of the ribs of the man and closed up its place with flesh (Gen. 2:21). Daniel and his friends remained, in spite of a reduced diet, *bᵉrî'ē bāśār*, "fatter in flesh", and therefore in good bodily condition (Dan. 1:15).

Ezek. 37:6, 8 mentions together sinews, flesh, skin and → spirit (*rûaḥ*), and Job 10:11 skin, flesh, bones, sinews. In a specific sense the penis is called the naked flesh (Exod. 28:42), the flesh of the foreskin (Gen. 17:11 ff.; Lev. 12:3), and also simply flesh (Lev. 15:2 f. [LXX *sōma*]; Ezek. 16:26; 23:20; 44:7, 9).

(c) *bāśār* can also denote the human body in its entirety, specifying the part for the whole. "Ahab . . . rent his clothes, put sack-cloth upon his flesh and fasted" (1 Ki. 21:27). When in deep sleep a word from Yahweh is heard, the hair of the flesh stands up (Job 4:15). The flesh is, however, not merely the body but the whole, man as a person. "O God, thou art my God, I seek thee, my soul thirsts for thee my flesh longs for thee" (Ps. 63:2; cf. 54:3). Here the flesh denotes man's own self. ([Ed.] Job 19:25 f. declares: "For I know that my Redeemer lives, and at last he will stand upon the earth; and after my skin has thus been destroyed, then without (mg. from) my flesh (Heb. *mibbᵉśārî*) I shall see God." The natural reading of the grammar would suggest that "from" would be the more likely translation, but many commentators are reluctant to ascribe to Job belief in resurrection or life after death. See further H. H. Rowley, *Job*, 1970, 172 ff. Whilst recognizing the textual and grammatical difficulties of the verse and the fact that many commentators see in it a hope for vindication in this life, Rowley is inclined to see here a hope for vindication after death in view of the fact that in the preceding verses Job sees no hope of vindication in the present life.)

(d) The self does not stand alone, however. A relative is "my bone and my flesh" (Gen. 29:14). Accordingly, Gen. 2:23 means: woman is for man, as it were, the place in the world where he is at home. Her intimate relationship creates his home. A brother is "our flesh" (Gen. 37:27). Still more comprehensively all flesh means all mankind. "If he should take back his spirit . . . all flesh would perish together and man would return to dust" (Job 34:15; cf. Ps. 56:6, 12). Similarly, "all flesh" means "everyone" "All flesh shall come to worship, says Yahweh" (Isa. 66:23). Finally the phrase can include humanity and the animal world as in Gen. 6:17 ff.; 9:11 f.

(e) From the meanings that have been adduced it is already clear that, although the obvious starting point is the same for the OT and Gk. literature, the anthropological consequences differ. In the OT flesh denotes man as a whole; man is

flesh in his essence. According to the Gk. conception, on the other hand, man has flesh but is *not* flesh. This holds good also for Epicurus, who understood the needs of the flesh as the actual reality which must by all means be satisfied. For *dianoia* (discernment) is necessary, so that future good fortune be not sacrificed to present super-abundance. The raptures of the soul, just as its griefs, are greater than those of the flesh (*Frag.* 445; Diog. Laert., 10, 137).

The same distinction shows itself in the understanding of transitoriness. In the OT the flesh denotes man in his transitoriness as one who suffers sickness, death, fright etc. It is not his desire as such, which is rather expressed by other terms, such as heart (Gen. 8:21). Thus Isaiah says: "All flesh is grass, and all its beauty is like the flower of the field. The grass withers, the flower fades" (Isa. 40:6, 8). Sennacherib's Assyrian horde is called "an arm of flesh", which is puny compared with God (2 Chr. 32:8). God "remembered that they (Israel) were but flesh – a wind that does not return." Therefore he forgave their iniquity (Ps. 78:39). On the other hand, Jer. 17:5 declares: "Cursed is the man who trusts in man and makes flesh his arm, whose heart turns away from Yahweh."

2. *šᵉʾēr* (Accad. *šîru* flesh, body; Phoen. *šʾr* flesh) seems to be the more ancient word and means: flesh to eat (Exod. 2:10; Ps. 78:20, 27); human flesh (Mic. 3:2 f.; Jer. 51:34 f.); a blood relation (Lev. 18:6; 20:19; 25:49; Num. 27:11; in LXX *oikeios* or *oikeia*, related person, kin). For the sake of its meaning Ps. 73:26 may be mentioned: "My flesh and my heart may fail [i.e. if I pass away; cf. Prov. 5:11], but God is the rock of my heart and my portion for ever."

3. Judaism in its various forms closely connected man's carnality with his sin, but without interpreting the flesh as the actual cause of sin. It referred to OT statements which describe dependence on the flesh not merely as folly but also as sin (Isa. 31:3). "All flesh" is mankind, and to strive after evil is inherent in man (Gen. 8:21). There must then be a relation between the flesh and dependence on the flesh.

(a) The Qumran teaching that man "is in iniquity from the womb" (1QH 4:30) fully accords with the OT (Ps. 51:5). But in 1QS 11:12 the elect one speaks otherwise about himself: "If I stagger because of the sin of flesh my justification shall be by the righteousness of God which endures for ever." This probably means that man, in so far as he is merely flesh, belongs to the community of wickedness. For a little earlier (11:9) it is said, "I belong to wicked mankind, to the company of ungodly flesh." And in 1QH 15:16 f.: "Thou alone didst create the just . . . thou wilt raise up his glory from among flesh; but the wicked thou didst create for the time of thy wrath." The righteous man thus receives his life (righteousness) from God; it is no longer derived from the flesh. The counterpart to flesh is not, however, → spirit. For side by side with the spirit of holiness there is also found the spirit of wickedness and of the flesh (1QS 4:20 f.; 1QH 13:13 f.). It is always God or his justifying righteousness that stands over against the flesh.

(b) Rab. usage shows two characteristic departures from the OT. Man in his transitoriness is now called "flesh and blood" (instanced for the first time in Sir. 14:18). Even more important is the frequent replacement of the OT *bāśār* by *gûp* (originally perhaps "cavity", Arab. *ǧauf*, cf. on this *TDNT* VII, 116). Behind this there doubtless stands a new anthropological conception of the body as a vessel which at any time can be possessed by a different spirit. In this way the body is not

devalued, since in the final judgment God will fetch the soul and place it in the body and judge the two together (*Sanh.* 91a). But the body no longer denotes man as a whole. "All creatures which are made from heaven derive their soul and body from heaven, and all creatures which are made from the earth derive their soul and body from the earth. Man is the sole exception: his soul is derived from heaven, his body from the earth. If then man obeys the law and does the will of the heavenly Father, then he is as the higher creatures . . . but if he does not fulfil the law and do the will of the heavenly Father, then he is as the lower creatures" (*Siphre Deut.* 305, 233, 2). A Hel. oriental influence is to be found here. But beside it, the OT usage may still be found (cf. SB I 581).

(c) Hel. Judaism showed its peculiarity in two characteristic alterations made in the LXX as compared with the MT. In Ezek. 10:22 it does not speak of the flesh of the cherubim, and in Num. 16:22; 27:16 it translates the Heb. phrase "God of the spirits (*rûḥôṯ*) of all flesh" by *theos tōn pneumatōn kai pasēs sarkos*, "Lord of the spirits and of all flesh". Here, as in Rab. Judaism, there is a considerable separation of heaven and earth. But for the rest, the appraisal of flesh is quite different. According to Eth. En. 17:6, Hades is the place whither no flesh goes. According to Paralipomena Jeremiae 6:6, the *sarx* will have incorruptibility. In the Apocalypse of Elias 35:7 f.; 42:12 f. it is said that the physical flesh is discarded but that a spiritual flesh (*sarkes pneumatos*) is put on, whilst according to Life of Adam 43:4 and 2 Esd. 7:78, 100, the soul in death detaches itself from the body.

Statements inclining in the direction of cosmological dualism are found in Philo. For him God is a being without flesh or body. Accordingly, he can be perceived only by a soul that is without flesh or body (*Deus Imm.* 52–56). For the soul the body (the flesh) is a burden, servitude, a coffin and an urn. Freedom from the flesh through asceticism is thus important, for otherwise the soul is hampered in its upward flight. Guilt begins with the soul's steadfast continuance in the flesh (cf. *Leg. All.* 3, 152). Philo is correspondingly aware that the soul has *aloga pathē*, passions that war with reason, and beget evil when it is overcome by the flesh (*Deus Imm.* 52). For the body with its passions incites men to commit sin. On the other hand, it remains conceivable that the *onkos sarkinos*, fleshly body, may be taken into service as sandals under the feet (*Sacr.* 63).

NT Just as in Hel. Judaism, the different authors of the NT vary in their appraisal of the flesh. The division can be shown statistically. 91 of the 147 instances of *sarx* are found in the Pauline writings, above all in Rom. and Gal. The adjectives *sarkikos* (7 times) and *sarkinos* (6 times) also occur only in Rom. and 1 and 2 Cor., apart from one exception each in Heb. and 1 Pet. In the non-Pauline writings the occurrences are few in comparison. In Jn. the noun is found only 13 times (in Rev. and 1 Pet. 7 times, elsewhere only sporadically). *kreas* occurs in the NT only twice in Paul in the sense of flesh as an item of food.

1. Paul uses *sarx* so frequently that only the most essential passages for its understanding can be discussed.

(a) As mere *flesh* (of men, → animals, → birds, → fishes), *sarx* occurs only in 1 Cor. 15:39. Occasionally it denotes the *human body* (as in 2 Cor. 12:7, a thorn in the flesh probably means sickness (cf. Arndt, 763 f.); Gal. 4:13, infirmity of the flesh, probably again sickness; Gal. 4:14, my flesh means Paul's sick body). But it also denotes man generally. According to 2 Cor. 7:5, "our flesh" (= we) had

no rest because there were fightings without and fears within (about the stability of the church). In marriage the flesh suffers troubles (1 Cor. 7:28), because now it is the last time and persecutions threaten (1 Cor. 7:29 ff.). When Paul says that before he began to preach the gospel he did not confer with flesh and blood (Gal. 1:16), he means he did not confer with men. If flesh and blood will not inherit the kingdom of God (1 Cor. 15:50), it means that, according to OT anthropology (Prov. 5:11), in death the whole man must disappear and a new *sōma* come into existence (→ Body).

(b) *sarx* also denotes relationships which have a merely temporary significance. Thus according to the flesh, Jesus is a son of David (Rom. 1:3), but only from the resurrection onwards is his divine sonship manifest according to the spirit of holiness (Rom. 1:4). "Israel after the flesh" (1 Cor. 10:18) is the whole people descended from the patriarch (Rom. 4:1; cf. 11:14). From him Paul's brethren are descended, his kinsmen according to the flesh (Rom. 9:3; cf. "near of kin", *šᵉʾēr bᵉśārô*, flesh relation, Lev. 18:6). From him comes the Messiah (Rom. 9:5, 8). *sarx* means common humanity in Phlm. 16, when Paul says that the slave Onesimus is Philemon's brother "both in the flesh and in the Lord". But Paul uses "all flesh" for "mankind" only in the fundamental expression of his theology, "All flesh cannot [i.e. no flesh can] boast before God" (Rom. 3:20; cf. Gal. 2:16; 1 Cor. 1:29).

(c) *sarx* is used not only to indicate physical kinship; it can be used also generally in reference to what is human. Thus "the wise after the flesh" are the wise according to human standards (1 Cor. 1:16; cf. 2:6, "wisdom of this age"). The weapons which Paul uses in his campaign are no longer of human invention, but are made effectual by God (2 Cor. 10:4). In contrast to him stand those who wish to make themselves agreeable to the church by human means (Gal. 6:12), so that in human ways they might be able to glory in the → circumcision of a Christian → church (v. 13). But the circumcised, like the uncircumcised, stand under the condemnation that they fall short of the glory of God. Paul might have every reason to glory in descent, in circumcision, in zeal for the law. But that would be to have confidence in a human reckoning (the flesh) which does not count with God (Phil. 3:3 f.). For with God only the → righteousness of Christ, received by faith, is of any consequence (vv. 8–11).

(d) This leads to the use of the phrase *kata sarka*, according to the flesh. Even though Paul lived as a man "in the flesh", he did not carry on his fight in the light of human considerations ("after the flesh" 2 Cor. 10:2 f.; cf. 1:17). This principle applies even to seemingly "religious" matters. To glory in visions is as foolish as to glory in circumcision (2 Cor. 11:18), and even Jesus Christ himself must be seen with new eyes rather than simply in accordance with old pre-Christian expectations and values: "even though we once regarded Christ from a human point of view (*kata sarka*) we regard him thus no longer" (2 Cor. 5:16, RSV). Similarly, the Christian is no longer in the grip of the self-centred, self-justifying standards of secular man. He → walks "not according to the flesh (*kata sarka*) but according to the Spirit (*kata pneuma*)" (Rom. 8:4). Thus the new life in the Spirit is paralleled by a renunciation in principle of human efforts at self-justification.

(e) The flesh, i.e. man's existence apart from God, has therefore a drive that is opposed to God. It not only occasions sin but also becomes entangled in it.

Accordingly, Paul can draw up a catalogue of vices which he characterizes as "works of the flesh" or "desires of the flesh" (Gal. 5:16, 19; cf. Rom. 13:14). Above all, in Gal. 5:17 he is able to say, "The desires of the flesh are against the Spirit and the desires of the Spirit are against the flesh, for these are opposed to each other to prevent you from doing what you would." This is not the flesh of the anti-Epicurean polemic, but man himself, in so far as he gives himself up to his own aims in opposition to God's. Hence, the → law also is weak through the flesh, because it can be used by it as a means of self-assertion against God (Rom. 8:3). Therefore, God sent his Son in the likeness of a human being determined by sin that in this most Godlike of all men he might bring sin (self-justification before God on the basis of human achievements) into judgment, so that after his death only God's achievement might remain. The believer is thus already dead in respect to the ambitions and drives that mould life apart from God. In this sense he is no longer in the flesh (Rom. 8:8 f.). Moreover, he now lives according to God's life; "for I know that nothing good dwells within me, that is in my flesh" (Rom. 7:18). For man, indeed, desires to achieve what is good, i.e. the true life. But actually he achieves the evil which he does not desire, namely death, because he does not allow God to care for him, but desires to care for himself. "So then, I of myself, serve the law of God with my mind (*noï*), but with my flesh (in actuality) I serve the law of sin" (Rom. 7:25b). Though Paul adopts here a typically Gk. manner of speaking, his understanding of man is completely different. Even the *nous*, the rational power of mental comprehension, is unable to find out what is good, since the true meaning of life remains hidden from it by sin.

(f) On the one hand, Paul can say that the believer no longer lives in the flesh (Rom. 7:5; 8:8 f.; Gal. 5:24). But on the other hand, as a believer, Paul still lives in the flesh (2 Cor. 10:3; Gal. 2:20; Phil. 1:22–24). The contradiction is resolved in Phil. 1:22–24. To be in the flesh is for him something that has been so vanquished, that for him it is all one whether he lives or dies. Life is to exist in and for Christ, and no longer by one's own abilities. Even death, as departure and being with Christ, is much better. But for the sake of the future of the kingdom of God it is more important for him to remain in the flesh.

In the combination *sōma tēs sarkos* Col. seems to show considerable Hel. influence. *sarx* is here the material of which the body (*sōma*) is composed (1:22; 2:11). In the Qumran texts the corresponding Heb. phrase *gᵉwiyyaṭ bᵉśārô* means "physical body" (1Qp Hab. 9:2). Hence, "the uncircumcision of the flesh" in 2:13 means the time before the putting off in baptism of the body of the flesh (2:11). *sarx* is not corporality but the understanding of oneself as flesh. Its meaning is shown in 2:18. "The mind of the flesh" or "sensuous mind" (RSV), Gk. *nous tēs sarkos*, is preoccupied with angelic powers to whom as *sarx* man seems to be in subjection. But the believer holds fast to the head (2:18), in whom the whole fullness of deity dwells bodily (2:9). Thus, living in the flesh, he is not in subjection to these powers, but in his flesh he already shares in the life of Christ (1:24).

Eph. pursues a related thought. In its desires the flesh is open to the powers and influences of this world, which themselves are not flesh and blood (2:2 f.; 6:12). In 2:11 f. *sarx* appears as what is temporary. The wall of partition that existed between circumcision in the flesh and uncircumcision in the flesh Jesus broke down by his death in the flesh, abolishing the law of commandments and ordinances.

([Ed.] Flesh in the passage in 1 Tim. 3:16 which appears to be an early credal formulary means human life: "Great indeed, we confess, is the mystery of our religion: He was manifested in the flesh, vindicated in the Spirit, seen by angels, preached among the nations, believed on in the world, taken up in glory.")

2. (a) The non-Pauline uses of *sarx* are, as might be expected, quite different. From the OT heritage comes Matt. 16:17, where flesh and blood, i.e. men, are contrasted with God. The same holds good for Acts 2:31 (cf. Ps. 16:10). Christ was not left in Hades and his flesh did not see corruption, for here "flesh", being parallel to Christ, stands for the whole man. In Lk. 24:39 the Risen One makes it known that he is not a spirit because he has flesh and bones (the expression "to have flesh and bones" appears to be Hellenistic). The saying in Mk. 14:38 that "the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak" is not an OT quotation, and is thought by some to be Pauline or to come from Hel. Wisdom literature. But V. Taylor sees it anticipated by Num. 27:16; Isa. 31:3 (*The Gospel according to St. Mark*, 1952, 555). On the other hand, Jude 7 refers to the unnatural lust of the men of Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen. 19) which anticipates contemporary perversions. In 2 Pet. 2:10 there is the more Heb. thought, that one should not in any way hanker after the flesh, because such hankering brings defilement.

In the same way 1 Pet. 2:11 speaks of the fleshly (*sarkikos*) desires which wage war against the soul. Christ has suffered in his flesh. Only the man who suffers in the flesh in the same spirit as Christ is free from sin (4:1–3) and escapes the depravities of the flesh (4:4 f.). On the other hand, Christ was indeed put to death in the flesh, but he was made alive in the spirit (3:18). Accordingly, one interpretation of 1 Pet. 4:6 declares that the gospel was preached to the dead so that like all men in the flesh, they might receive their sentence. In their case, since they were already dead, this has already come about. But, behind this there is the intention that they might live according to the will of God in the spirit. Hence baptism also serves not for the cleansing of the flesh, but for that of the spirit in a good conscience (3:21). ([Ed.] Alternative interpretations of 1 Pet. 4:6 suggest that it refers to the proclamation of the gospel by the preincarnate Christ to men in OT times which might also be related to 1 Pet. 3:20 (cf. 1 Cor. 10:4), or that it refers simply to those in the present age who have received the gospel and since died. The verse would then mean that, although they share the common destiny of sinful mankind in death, nevertheless they live now in the spirit. On Christ's "descent into hell" see E. G. Selwyn, *The First Epistle of St. Peter,* 1947², 313-62; J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds,* 1972², 378-88; and *A Commentary on the Epistles of Peter and Jude*; W. J. Dalton, *Christ's Proclamation to the Spirits*, 1965).

Heb. makes use of flesh as the human nature which Christ assumed. Christ for a while was made lower than the angels and so shared in flesh and blood (2:14). These were "the days of his flesh" (5:7). Through his flesh he made for us a way into the heavenly sanctuary; for the sphere of flesh is the curtain which separates us from it, and by death Jesus passed through it (10:20). He cleanses the conscience, and not just the flesh as do the offerings of rams and bulls (9:13 f.). The *dikaiōmata sarkos* (regulations for the flesh, 9:10) are therefore statutes for the purification of the flesh.

sarkinos (Heb. 7:16) refers to the physical descent of the Levitical priesthood as contrasted with the priesthood of Melchizedek and Christ.

sarx mia (Matt. 19:5b) has a special significance as the translation of the Hebrew *bāśār 'eḥāḏ* (one flesh) of Gen. 2:24. The union of man and woman (→ Marriage) creates a new relationship. "One flesh" does not in the first instance mean sexual intercourse, though it includes it. It signifies the coming into being of a unitary existence, a complete partnership of man and woman which cannot be broken up without damage to the partners in it. That does not mean that every marriage is automatically such a complete partnership. Rather, this complete partnership is the promise of marriage which should be claimed. It is the meaning of marriage granted by God (19:6). This phrase serves to show the positive character of marriage for mankind rather than deny the possibility of divorce by state law.

(b) In many respects, John appears to stand near to the OT. He speaks of "all flesh" in the OT sense (17:2; but cf. also Matt. 24:22). The declaration that men should not judge Jesus according to the flesh (8:15), "by appearances" (7:24) is in accord with Matt. 16:17. One should judge him not by his human circumstances but by his mission. For that which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the spirit is spirit (3:6). That which is born of the flesh comes from itself or from the world, but that which is born of the Spirit is a completely new humanity in so far as it comes from God (1:13). It is not surprising, therefore, that the flesh profits nothing. It is the spirit indeed that gives life (6:36). Men cannot comprehend Jesus on a merely human level. But they may do so by seeing him return to where he was before (6:62), and receiving his words which are "spirit and life".

But alongside all this, there is another fact for Jn.: the Word, which was *theos* and was in the beginning with God, became flesh (1:14). The world closes its mind to the → Word. The latter is not merely a communication of divine truth as in gnosticism. The entry of the Word as flesh among all flesh reveals how estranged it is from the Word and so from the true life, which it does not have. Jn. 6:51–58 should be understood against this background. If the believer eats the flesh of the Revealer, he confesses not merely that only the coming of the Word in the flesh can redeem him (so *TDNT* VII 139 f.). He also confesses that there is nothing in the flesh (i.e. the world) to help. In receiving the incarnate Word he is in the world as one who is not of the world.

In the Johannine Epistles the confession that Jesus is come in the flesh separates belief from unbelief (1 Jn. 4:2; 2 Jn. 7). John's opponents no longer wished to associate the Revealer with the flesh that they had rejected. Moreover, it asserts the historicity of the incarnation. A typically Hel. note is struck when in 1 Jn. 2:16 the desire of the flesh is spoken of as parallel with the desire of the eyes. *H. Seebass*

Since the meaning of *sarx* varies radically from context to context, several distinct points must be made about the hermeneutics of the term.

1. In some contexts, especially in the OT, *sarx* calls attention to man's *creatureliness and frailty;* to the fact that he is fragile, fallible, and vulnerable. Thus "all flesh is grass, and its glory is like the flower of the grass. The grass withers, the flower fades" (Isa. 40:6–8; cf. 1 Pet. 1:24). However promising and flourishing it appears at first sight, it holds out no certain promise of being able to withstand pressures which are brought against it. Like the grass before the winds, man is vulnerable to forces which threaten him, whether these are physical, psychological, or spiritual in form. Physically, a relatively small change in the atmosphere or in

the cells of the brain deprives him of that optimum margin of conditions which are necessary for his life. Psychologically, man is at the mercy of pressures which can arise from loneliness, loss of self-respect, fantasies of his own making, or the need to adjust to the verdicts of the crowd or to a "normal" environment. Spiritually, he may have to wrestle with forces which are more than mere "flesh and blood" (Eph. 6:12; cf. 2 Cor. 10:3).

The biblical writers draw at least four distinct lessons from this basic datum of man's weakness and frailty. (a) They give a warning against any false hope and consequent disillusionment brought about by putting undue confidence and trust in man as a fallible and frail creature (Jer. 17:5; cf. Phil. 3:3 f. discussed below). Further, as against a false type of "enthusiasm," Paul warns us that even Christians remain fallible, since believers still live "in the flesh" (Gal. 2:20; 2 Cor. 10:3, on which see especially R. Jewett, *Paul's Anthropological Terms*, 1971, 129; Phil. 1:23; cf. 1 Cor. 3:1–3). (The apparent contradictions of Rom. 7:5 and 8:9 arise only because these uses of flesh belong under 4(a) below; see also above NT 1 (f).) (b) The Bible also calls attention to man's creatureliness before God, and distance from him in his otherness and transcendence (Gen. 6:3; Job 10:4; Dan. 2:11; 1QpHab. 4:29). As "flesh and blood", man has no natural right to the kingdom of God (1 Cor. 15:50), and stands in need of the Holy Spirit (Jn. 3:6; 6:63). (c) In at least one passage man's very weakness is a ground of God's loving compassion and restraining patience: "he restrained his anger . . . he remembered that they were but flesh" (Ps. 78:38, 39). (d) In times of oppression or persecution, the believer is encouraged not to fear an enemy who is mere flesh: "with him is an arm of flesh, but with us is the Lord our God" (2 Chr. 32:8); "in God I trust without fear; what can flesh do to me?" (Ps. 56:4; cf. Isa. 31:3).

2. In other contexts *sarx* is used quite simply to denote the *physical* part of man, and does not offer an evaluation of man as a whole. "Infirmity of the flesh" (Gal. 4:13) is physical illness; and flesh in 1 Cor. 15:39 means the physical substance appropriate to a given physical environment. The NT asserts the importance of the physical as over against ideas which later developed into gnosticism. (a) Especially in Johannine thought this relates to the incarnation: "the word became flesh" (Jn. 1:14; cf. 6:51–56); the test of whether a spirit is of God hinges on the confession "that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh" (1 Jn. 4:2, cf. 2 Jn. 7). God's spoken word was not merely an inner or psychological reality. Word and deed became one and mutually interpreting, and God entered upon the stage of history in the costliness of an act which involved physical consequences. Thus other NT writings besides John stress that Christ suffered "in the flesh" (1 Pet. 4:1), or that God was "manifested in the flesh" (1 Tim. 3:16; cf. Lk. 24:39; Rom. 8:3; Eph. 2:15; Heb. 5:7).

(b) Similarly the physical nature of *sarx* has positive significance in terms of the bodily obedience of the Christian. Paul is far from endorsing the verdict of Seneca, his contemporary, that the flesh is "useless" (*Epistulae Morales* 92:10, cf. 65:22). The life of Jesus is to be manifested "in our mortal flesh" (2 Cor. 4:11). Here Paul's use of flesh overlaps with that of *sōma*, body (2 Cor. 4:10). The believer still lives "in" the flesh (*en sarki*) although not "according to" the flesh (2 Cor. 10:3). To remain in the flesh is necessary (Phil. 1:24) and of positive value (Col. 1:24). For the fact that man has physical existence as part of the physical world brings home to him his responsibility for his thoughts and actions in terms of visible and tangible

consequences. Physical flesh is the raw material which reveals good or bad thoughts and attitudes for what they are, so that belief involves commitment to action and can never be a merely inner or private affair which has no consequences for the individual. What a man chooses to do with his one life becomes indelibly clear, and has permanent repercussions both on himself and on others with whom he interacts.

3. To assess a truth or a phenomenon "in accordance with the flesh" (*kata sarka* or *kata tēn sarka*) is to reach a verdict on the basis of purely *human, external, or natural considerations.* [See above, NT 1 (b)–(d).] It is an assessment which leaves spiritual dimensions out of account. Thus Paul admits that very few of the Corinthian congregation are wise in the "ordinary" sense of the term (1 Cor. 1:26). Jesus warns the Pharisees that they are almost certain to misunderstand him, because they judge his testimony in purely human terms alone (Jn. 8:15). It is parallel to judging "by appearances" only (*kat' opsin*, Jn. 7:24). Paul insists that it is both wrong and misleading to judge either the person of Jesus Christ or even a fellow Christian in purely human terms (2 Cor. 5:16), for this viewpoint leaves out of account the fact that a Christian is God's new creation (5:17). Yet judgment "according to the flesh" is not always wrong or irrelevant. Whatever their spiritual relationship, slaves have those who are their masters on an ordinary human level (Col. 3:22).

It is important to note that Paul is not contrasting some "gnostic" means of insight as over against rational thought. For "mind" (*nous*) and rational argument have a prominent and often positive place in his epistles. The point is, rather, that to understand truths relating to God and his dealings with men, man who is flesh needs the Holy Spirit and a frame of reference instructed by Scripture (1 Cor. 2:10–16; 15:3). The same phenomenon can be seen from different viewpoints, and the viewpoint "according to the flesh" is limited so radically that in many cases it can lead to misunderstanding and error. Nevertheless, what is seen from such a viewpoint is not necessarily dismissed as irrelevant in every single case. Its relevance depends on what is under consideration. This explains why the tone of 1 Cor. 1:26 and Col. 3:22 is so different from that of Jn. 8:15 and 2 Cor. 5:16.

4. A quite different use of *sarx* appears in the major theological passages in Paul such as Rom. 8:5–8, which concludes, "those who are in the flesh cannot please God". In this passage the mental outlook of the flesh (*to phronēma tēs sarkos*) is hostile to God. "Flesh" here evaluates man as a sinner before God. The outlook of the flesh is *the outlook orientated towards the self, that which pursues its own ends in self-sufficient independence of God.*

(a) It is most striking, as R. Bultmann and R. Jewett have rightly pointed out, that Paul explicitly speaks of the "fleshly" outlook in connection with the law and circumcision. The fleshly mind in Gal. above all implies "shifting one's boasting from the cross of Christ (Gal. 6:14) to the circumcised flesh (6:13)" (R. Jewett, op. cit., 95). It represents the desire to secure one's righteousness independently of God's grace in Christ by means of the law. Thus in Jewett's words, "*sarx* for Paul is not rooted in sensuality but rather in religious rebellion in the form of self-righteousness" (p. 114). As Bultmann expresses it, flesh represents "trust in oneself as being able to procure life . . . through one's own strength and accomplishment" (*Theology of the NT*, I 1952, 239) Thus Paul's crucial question, "Having begun with the Spirit, are you now ending with the flesh?" (Gal. 3:3) clearly refers to reliance on obedience to the law rather than on God's grace in Christ. This is

precisely the issue also in Phil. 3:3–7, where Paul explains his language about "confidence in the flesh" with reference not just to physical descent but also to "righteousness under the law" (3:6). To be found in Christ, rather than trusting in the flesh, is "not having a righteousness of my own based on law" (3:9). Similarly, Rom. 8:5–9, 12, 13 is closely parallel to the main point in Gal. 3 and 4. The mental outlook of the flesh is both hostile to God and also incapable of genuine obedience to the law (Rom. 8:7). For the very desire to use the law as a means of justification before God makes obedience for its own sake impossible. That is why to live in accordance with the flesh is incompatible with living according to the Holy Spirit (8:4, 5, 9). Fleshly man puts himself at the centre, trusting in his own ability to secure life even, if need be, by cultivating "religion". Man under the Spirit casts himself on God as his father (8:15; cf. Gal. 4:6), abandoning all self-reliance, in complete dependence on God.

(b) At the same time, *sarx* admittedly also characterizes man as a sinner in his rejection of the law [see above NT 1 (e)]. The "works" of the flesh include immorality, licentiousness, idolatry, enmity, strife, and anger (Gal. 5:19–21). The criterion which establishes that the Corinthian Christians are still "fleshly" is the continued presence of jealousy and strife within their community (1 Cor. 3:3, 4). In contrast to the use of *sarx* discussed under heading 1, the point about "flesh" in Gal. 5:19–21 is not that it weakens man's will to do the good, but that it lures him to substitute his own good for God's. Jewett believes that the meaning here is almost the same as in (a) above, namely that both legalism and lawlessness are "fleshly" in so far as they both hold out a false promise of life on the basis of man's own efforts. Thus jealousy, for example, is a by-product of seeking life in popularity; ill-temper arises from frustration in seeking life in comfort and quiet. But it may well be that Jewett sees a closer connection than is actually there. *sarx* functions as a polymorphous concept, the actual content of which varies from case to case. Sometimes it may be used simply as a general value-judgment of disapproval, just as the term "spiritual", to which "fleshly" stands in opposition, may also function as a term of approval, the content of which needs to be defined in a given case (cf. A. C. Thiselton in *SJT* 26, 1973, 204–28). The nearest that we can go towards finding a "general" meaning for this particular category is to say that fleshly life is life lived in pursuit of one's own ends, in independence of God or of the law of God, in contrast to living in accordance with the direction of the Holy Spirit. This can take as many different concrete forms as being "selfish" or "self-centred".

(c) In at least two passages Paul outlines the close relationship between flesh and death: "if you live according to the flesh you will die" (Rom. 8:13); "he who sows to the flesh will from the flesh reap corruption (*phthoran*)" (Gal. 6:8). Here death is the inevitable fruit that grows out of a fleshly way of living. At this point, if not at others, the existentialist interpretation of the NT becomes relevant and convincing. If man is simply what he makes of himself (man as *sarx*), he lives in a world of vanishing possibilities. Each decision that he makes about his own life limits the future possibilities which are still left open to him; he is moulded and restricted by the fruits of his own decisions. By contrast, the Spirit in the NT enables a man to go beyond what his own past has made him, giving him new desires, new capacities, new horizons. If "life" is understood in the dynamic sense which it often has in the

Biblical writings, to live according to the flesh is to travel into the cul-de-sac which ends in death; to live according to the Spirit is to enter life. *A. C. Thiselton*

→ Body, → Heart, → Soul, → Marriage, → Spirit

(a). W. Barclay, *Flesh and Spirit*, 1962; R. Batey, "The *mia sarx* Union of Christ and the Church," *NTS* 13, 1966–7, 270–81; R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, I, 1952, 232–46; E. De Witt Burton, *Spirit, Soul and Flesh*, 1918: W. D. Davies, "Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Flesh and Spirit," in K. Stendahl, ed., *The Scrolls and the New Testament*, 1957, 157–82; J. Jeremias, "Flesh and Blood Cannot Inherit the Kingdom of God," *NTS* 2, 1955–56, 151–59; R. Jewett, *Paul's Anthropological Terms*, 1971; W. G. Kümmel, *Man in the New Testament*, 1963; W. Mork, *The Biblical Meaning of Man*, 1967, 19–32, 146–50; R. E. Murphy, "*Bsr* in the Qumran Literature and *Sarx* in the Epistle to the Romans," *Sacra Pagina* 2, 1959, 60–76; J. A. T. Robinson, *The Body*, 1952, 11–33; J. P. Sampley, '*And the Two Shall Become One Flesh*': *A Study of the Traditions in Ephesians 5:21–33*, 1971; E. Schweizer, *sarx, sarkikos, sarkinos*, *TDNT* VII 98–151; C. Ryder Smith, *The Biblical Doctrine of Man*, 1951, 153–65; W. D. Stacey, *The Pauline View of Man*, 1956, 92 f., 154–80; A. C. Thiselton, "The Meaning of *Sarx* in 1 Cor. 5:5: A Fresh Approach in the Light of Logical and Semantic Factors," *SJT* 26, 1973, 204–28.

(b). E. Brandenburger, *Fleisch und Geist. Paulus und die dualistische Weisheit*, 1968; J. Fichtner and E. Schweizer, "Fleisch und Geist", *RGG*³ II 974 ff.; W. Gutbrod, *Die paulinische Anthropologie*, 1934; H. W. Huppenbauer, "Fleisch in den Texten von Qumran," *ThZ* 13, 1957, 298 ff.; E. Käsemann, *Leib und Leib Christi*, 1933, 100–118; N. Krautwik, "Der Leib im Kampf des '*pneuma*' wider die '*sarx*'," *Theologie und Glaube* 39, 1949; K. G. Kuhn, "*peirasmos, hamartia, sarx* im NT und die damit zusammenhängenden Vorstellungen," *ZTK* 49, 1952, 200 ff.; O. Kuss, *Der Römerbrief*, 1959, 506 ff.; N. P. Bratsiotis, *Anthrōpologia tēs Palaias Diathēkēs*, 1967; A. Sand, *Der Begriff "Fleisch" in den paulinischen Hauptbriefen*, 1967; W. Schauf, *Sarx: Der Begriff "Fleisch" beim Apostel Paulus unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner Erlösungslehre*, *NTAbh* 11, 1924; W. Schmidt, "Anthropologische Begriffe im Alten Testament," *EvTh* 24, 1964, 374 ff.; E. Schweizer, "Die hellenistische Komponente im neutestamentlichen *sarx*-Begriff," *ZNW* 48, 1957, 237 ff.

Flow

ῥέω

ῥέω (*rheō*), flow, stream; ῥύσις (*rhysis*), a flowing river, stream; παραρρέω (*pararrheō*), flow past, drift away, let slip.

CL Although words for "flow" commonly derive from words for "run", *rheō* is a notable exception: it reflects the Indo-European root *sreu* with the specific meaning "flow" (cf. Sanskrit *sru*). Frequently this root survives in its numerous non-verbal derivatives, the most important of which is *rhysis*.

Occurring widely from the time of Homer, the word group commonly refers to the flow of a stream or river; but it can be applied to the run-off from melted snow (Herodotus), the "running" of milk and honey, equivalent to prosperity (Theocritus), or, with respect to blood, a haemorrhage (Hippocrates, Dioscorides). Homer, Hesiod, and Aeschylus apply it to a stream of glib words; Homer to darts. A city or an area may stream with men (Herodotus, Euripides, Aristophanes) or gold (Herodotus). Solid objects liquefy and "melt away" (Sophocles) – even stone (Aristotle). Hence it is not surprising that the word group takes on the meaning of "fall", "drop off" – of hair (Homer, Hesiod, Theocritus), or ripe fruit (Polybius). An individual may be "given to" something, "inclined" to it (Isocrates, Plato): it is easy to imagine how such an idiom would develop.

OT The LXX reflects an equally wide variety of usage. The word group most often stands for Heb. *zûḇ* (flow, gush), especially as applied to the promised land

which flows with milk and honey (Exod. 3:8; 13:5; Lev. 20:24; Num. 14:8; Deut. 6:3; 26:9; Jos. 5:6; Jer. 11:5; Bar. 1:20; etc.) or to some discharge or haemorrhage (notably in Lev. 15). Further, water flowed from the smitten rock (Ps. 77:20; 104:41; cf. Isa. 48:21, LXX with future tense). The Heb. word group next most likely to be represented by *rheō* is *nāzal* (and synonym *rā'aṗ*; trickle, drip), usually in connection with the descent of precipitation at the divine command (Job 36:28; 38:30; Ps. 147:18; Prov. 3:20; cf. Job 38·25), but also with the falling of tears (Jer. 9:18) and wafting by the wind of perfume (Cant. 4:16). Joel twice uses *rheō* to translate the diversely-used Heb. verb *hālaḵ* with reference to the flow of water and milk from Judea's hills when the Spirit of the Lord is poured out and blessings abound (3:18 *bis*). A more ominous use of the verb is made by Zechariah, who pictures flesh decaying and eyes "melting out" of their sockets, fitting retribution for those who war against Jerusalem (14:12; Heb. *māqaq*, fester, rot). Simile is invoked to liken the disappearance of the hope of ungrateful people to the "running away" of water and the melting of hoar frost. (Wis. 16:29). Men are warned not to trust in wealth even if it should "flow in" (Ps. 62:10; Heb. *nûḇ*, bear fruit).

Both Philo and Josephus utilize the word group with similar diversity, the latter applying it on one occasion to the stream of memory which "runs down" through the ages, recalling the noble sacrifice of Jeconiah (*War* 6, 105).

NT The verb *rheō* occurs but once in the NT: "from his innermost being shall flow rivers of living water" (Jn. 7:38). Some commentators run 7:37b and 7:38a into one sentence: "If any man is thirsty, let him come to me, and let the one who believes drink." In that case "his" innermost being refers to Christ, who alone provides "living" water (cf. Jn. 4:10). It is more likely correct to see a sentence division at the end of 7:37, making the believer the one from whose being the water (= Spirit) flows. The believer is thus viewed as a channel for the outflowing of the Spirit to others (cp. 15:26 f.).

The 3 NT occurrences of *rhysis* are all in connection with "flow of blood" = haemorrhage (Mk. 5:25 = Lk. 8:43 f.), endured by one woman for twelve years.

([F. F. Bruce] The compound *pararrheō*, lit. "flow past", is used figuratively in Heb. 2:1 with reference to "what we have heard" (i.e. the gospel), "lest we drift away from it" (RSV; cf. RV, NEB). AV, "lest . . . we should let them slip", follows another sense of the vb., e.g. of letting a ring slip off one's finger [Plut., *Amatorius* 754a].) *D. A. Carson*

Arndt, 627, 742; W. K. Hobart, *The Medical Language of St. Luke*, 1882, 15 f.; Liddell-Scott, 1322 f., 1568; Moulton-Milligan, 489, 563.

Foreign, Alien, Dispersion, Stranger

Under this heading are grouped together various terms and ideas which have deep roots in the ancient world and particular significance in the OT and NT. The key terms discussed below are: *allotrios* (strange, alien, hostile), *diaspora* (dispersion), *xenos* (strange, an alien), *parepidēmos* (stranger, exile, sojourner), and *paroikos* (stranger, alien).

ἀλλότριος

ἀλλότριος (*allotrios*), adj., belonging to another, strange, alien, hostile; noun, a stranger; ἀλλοτριόω (*allotrioō*), estrange, alienate; ἀλλογενής (*allogenēs*), foreign; ἀλλόφυλος (*allophylos*), alien to the race, hence from a Jewish standpoint a Gentile, heathen.

CL *allotrios* (derived from *allos*, another, cf. Lat. *alius*) means another, strange, foreign, what belongs to another, alien to the people or the land, and hence unsuitable and even hostile. *apallotrioō* means to alienate, estrange, exclude. *allogenēs* is compounded from *allos* (another) and *genos* (race), and means foreign, strange. *allophylos* is compounded from *allos* and *phylē* (tribe), and means alien to the race, alien to the people, strange.

OT In the LXX, *allotrios* occurs frequently as a translation of Heb. *nokrî*, foreign, alien (Gen. 31:15; Deut. 14:21; 15:3; and often). It also occasionally translates *zār*, strange, foreign (Lev. 10:1; Deut. 32:16). But usually the LXX translates *zār* by *allogenēs* (Exod. 29:33; Num. 16:40; Lev. 22:10; Joel 3:17; and often). The sojourner is in Heb. *gēr* or *gûr* (LXX *prosēlytos*, Exod. 22:20; Lev. 17:12–15; → Conversion) or *tôšāḇ* (LXX → *paroikos*, e.g. Gen. 23:4). The sojourner is still a foreigner (Exod. 12:43 ff.), but he has certain rights and duties in the community.

NT 1. *allotrios* occurs parabolically in Matt. 17:25 in the discussion of the propriety of paying the half-shekel temple tax (cf. Exod. 30:11–16; 38:26). Jesus asked whether kings took tribute "from their sons or from others [*apo tōn allotriōn*]." Peter replied that it was from others, to which Jesus replied, "Then the sons are free." However, he counselled payment of the tax to avoid giving offence. The incident implies that the disciples are "sons of God", and that the Jews are in fact "others". In Lk. 16:12 *allotrion* (another's) stands parallel to the "unrighteous mammon" (v. 11). Money and possessions belong to another. The implication is that they do not belong to the disciple who is nevertheless a steward. "If then you have not been faithful in the unrighteous mammon, who will entrust to you the true riches? And if you have not been faithful in that which is another's, who will give you that which is your own?" (→ Possessions, art. *mamōnas*). In Jn. 10:5 the stranger and strangers are not known by the sheep who belong to the shepherd whose voice they know and follow. The implication is that Jewish (and other would-be) teachers are strangers disowned by the true flock of God, whereas Jesus is the true shepherd known and followed by the true people of God.

In Acts 7:6 (referring to Gen. 15:13) the *gē allotria* ("a land belonging to others" RSV) is the foreign land (Egypt), whereas Palestine is the homeland of Israel. But for → Abraham even the promised land was a foreign country (Heb. 11:9), because it was not his true, heavenly home. Therefore, he dwelt in tents, and by it testified that he was a stranger in this world.

The Christian is the slave of Christ. Therefore, he has not to judge others (Rom. 14:4). Paul refused to boast of the work or methods of others (2 Cor. 10:15 f.), because he would not adorn himself with borrowed plumage. He would not even preach in a place where others had already been at work, refusing to build on a foundation laid by someone else (Rom. 15:20). Timothy was warned not to be hasty in laying hands on a man and entrusting him with a ministry. Otherwise, he

might participate in another man's sins and be called to account for it (1 Tim. 5:22). The Jewish high priest entered the Holy Place with *en haimati allotriō*, "with another's blood" (Heb. 9:25). Unlike Jesus on the cross, he did not bring his own blood as a sacrifice. In Heb. 11:34 the word occurs in the expression "put foreign armies to flight."

2. *apallotrioō* occurs only in Eph. 2:12; 4:18; and Col. 1:21, in each case as the passive participle meaning "alienated", "estranged". Before their conversion, the readers were not citizens of Israel, the chosen people of God. They stood – like the heathen now – outside God's covenant and promises, and were thus subject to wrath. They did not know God, and lived in sin. Since they have now become Christians, they are not to return to their sinful state.

3. *allogenēs* occurs only in Lk. 17:18. The grateful Samaritan who returned to give thanks after being healed of his leprosy is called one of another race, a foreigner, for he was not a Jew. *allophylos* occurs only at Acts 10:28. The Jew is forbidden to have fellowship with an *allophylos*, "one of another nation" (RSV). For the heathen was ceremonially unclean, and he would make the Jew likewise unclean. Only in Christ were these barriers of the → law abolished. *H. Bietenhard*

διασπορά — *διασπορά* (*diaspora*), dispersion.

CL *diaspora* (derived from *diaspeirō*, disperse) means dispersion. The word was first used in the LXX, and occurs almost entirely in Jewish and Christian, literature. In cl. Gk. it is found in Plutarch, *Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum*, 27.

OT 1. *diaspora* occurs 12 times in the LXX. In 3 instances it translates Heb. *niddaḥ*, what is scattered, dispersed, outcast (Deut. 30:4; Neh. 1:9; Ps. 147:2). In the other cases it stands as a rather free translation of *zaʿᵃwâh*, trembling, terror (Deut. 28:25; Jer. 34:17 [41:17 LXX]); *hašḥîṯ*, destruction (Jer. 13:14); *mizreh*, pitch-fork (Jer. 15:7); *nᵉṣûrê*, the preserved (Isa. 49:6). It also appears without any Heb. equivalent in Ps. 139 [LXX 138] as a title; Dan. 12:2; 2 Macc. 1:27; Jud. 5:19.

The Gk. word has 3 different meanings: (1) the event or state of the dispersion of the Jews among the heathen nations (Deut. 28:25; Jer. 34:17–41:17 LXX); (2) the community of those so dispersed among the Gentiles (Isa. 49:6; Ps. 147:2; 2 Macc. 1:27; Pss. Sol. 8:28); (3) the place or country where the scattered Jews now live (Jud. 5:19; Test. Ass. 7:2).

2. Although *diaspora* virtually became a technical term for the scattering of the Jews, it is remarkable that it is never used to translate the corresponding Heb. terms *gōlâh* and *gālûṯ* which denote the leading away into captivity, the exile, and the exiles. To translate these words the LXX has *aichmalōsia*, captivity (21 times); *apoikia*, exile (19 times); *apoikesia*, captivity (7 times); *metoikesia*, captivity (7 times); *apoikismos*, settlement of a colony (twice); and *paroikia*, sojourning in a foreign land (once). The LXX appears to prefer the hard, negative ideas, suggesting captivity in a foreign country, doubtless out of loyalty to the Heb. original. *diaspora* which made its way into Hel. Jud. is more neutral.

This historical change of usage reflects a historical evolution. After wars of conquest foreign rulers deported masses of Jews, in order to break their military strength. The first large Jewish *diaspora* was in Babylonia, where Nebuchadnezzar had deported a section of the vanquished (2 Ki. 24:14 ff.; 24:11–21) and where the majority of Jews remained even after the edict of Cyrus allowing them to return. Following the great prophets, the deportation and exile were seen as God's punishment (Jer. 17:1–4; Ezek. 12:15). But this outlook gradually dissipated, and out of the exile there grew up minority communities of the Jews of the dispersion who lived there of their own volition. Through the preaching of the exilic and post-exilic prophets a positive attitude to the new situation emerged (cf. Isa. 60; Hag. 2:6 ff.; Zech. 8:20 ff.). Through the dispersion of Israel God intends to bring all nations home to himself. This new approach was powerfully developed in Isa. 40–66. It provided the motivation for the almost worldwide missionary activity of late Judaism.

NT In the NT *diaspora* occurs only 3 times (as does the vb.). It is always in the traditional sense. Jn. 7:35 speaks of the *diaspora tōn Hellēnōn*, i.e. the dispersion among the Greeks. Acts 8:1, 4 and 11:19 refer to the scattering of the church. Jas. 1:1 and 1 Pet. 1:1 are theologically more significant. If these letters were written to Gentile Christian churches, the word *diaspora* has here a special theological significance. The apostles see in the fact of the "dispersion" a parallel to the Jewish dispersion. The true homeland of the disciples of Christ is not the place where they happen to live. It is in heaven (cf. Phil. 3:20). It is the Jerusalem that is above (cf. Gal. 4:26). On earth they are always strangers, living as → *paroikoi*, sojourners. They are like God's seed that is sown far and wide. Its fruit will only be apparent at the great ingathering (cf. Matt. 24:31). *F. S. Rothenberg*

ξένος

ξένος (*xenos*), adj., strange, foreign; noun, stranger, alien; φιλοξενία (*philoxenia*), hospitality; φιλόξενος (*philoxenos*), hospitable; ξενοδοχέω (*xenodocheō*), show hospitality.

CL *xenos* occurs from Mycenean Gk. and Homer onwards. Its root is connected with Lat. *hostis*, stranger, enemy, and Ger. *Gast*, Eng. guest. The following points stand out in the history of religion and culture.

1. In primitive society the stranger is basically an enemy, because he is unknown and therefore sinister. Mutual fear and resistance are characteristic of the attitude of the foreigner and the people round him. Foreigners were often outlawed and put to death, or driven away cowed by magical practices. The stranger never had rights. At a later stage a pattern of relationship with strangers emerged which originally developed out of fear. The stranger was seen as a messenger of the gods. Out of fear of the gods the stranger was given a helping hand and hospitality. The stranger thus came under the protection of religion and the law.

2. Among the Greeks the stranger or foreigner was originally one who did not belong to one's own community, whether it was large or small. In Homer the stranger and the beggar come from Zeus (*Od.*, 6, 207 f.). Hence one must treat them with respect. For the Greeks it was a sign of barbarity, when strangers were

treated as if they had no rights and people did with them what they pleased. Above all, Athens showed an open attitude to the stranger (cf. Soph., *OC*, 560–68, 631–41). But in religion the use of objects from foreign parts was universally avoided, and strangers were excluded from participation in the cult. Sparta was particularly hostile to strangers as a consequence of the puritanical reforms instituted in the period following 600 B.C. and the regulations about strangers that were bound up with it. Otherwise strangers stood under the protection of *Zeus hikesios*, Zeus the protector of suppliants, and also the Dioscuri. Anyone who injured a stranger was subject to the wrath of the Erinyes. The converse was also true. Those who honour the gods also honour strangers. Hence temple and altar assume the role of an asylum for the stranger who desires refuge there or seeks the protection of the priests. The first hospices for strangers sprang up in the vicinity of holy places in the fourth century. Worshippers came from far and wide, and needed to be housed and fed.

3. Through close contact with non-Gk. cities and nations from the time of the Persian wars change set in. The foreigner was simply someone who did not belong to one's own cultic community or *polis*. This did not prevent agreements from being made with strangers. But now, as before, banishment remained a punishment. The situation in religion was ambivalent. On the one hand, people were opposed to all "new" and "strange" gods, since they did not belong to the nation and they endangered morals. On the other hand, the doors were opened wide to innumerable foreign cults.

4. In Rome up to the imperial period the stranger was in theory without rights. Here too he was excluded from the cult. Only if he had a *patronus*, did he have any chance of lodging and the protection of the law. The expulsion of a troublesome alien was always a possibility. From 241 B.C. there was a *praetor peregrinus*, an official in charge of legal disputes between citizens and strangers.

5. Since Homeric times there was a system of regular hospitality. The custom persisted into late antiquity. The motive of both the Greeks and the Romans was not only fear of the gods but also love of man. In ancient catalogues of vices injustice to foreigners is ranked immediately after godlessness and want of reverence to parents (→ Godliness, art. *sebomai*). The ethics of popular philosophy exhorted everyone to show friendship to the stranger. The resident alien had obligations towards the state, such as payment of tax on aliens and military service.

6. Gk. philosophy from the 4th cent. onwards developed the thought of being a stranger. The soul was seen as a stranger in the world, since its true home lay beyond the material sphere. Being a stranger became an anthropological category. The thought was prepared for by the idea of banishment in tragedy. The → body of man, like the → world, is only a temporary lodging for the → soul.

OT 1. *xenos* occurs in the LXX 21 times, mostly as a translation of Heb. *nokrî*. Other words for stranger are → *allotrios*, → *allogenēs*, and → *paroikos*.

(a) In the OT, hospitality was also a self-explanatory practice and duty (Gen. 18:1 ff.; 19:1 ff.; 2 Sam. 12:4; Job 31:32). Jael's action was a serious breach of the right of a guest (Jdg. 4:17 ff.) which could only be justified by the extremity of the people of God in their struggle for survival. Among the godless the stranger was entirely at their mercy (Gen. 19:9; Jdg. 19:22). Israel's law forbad the affliction of

strangers, because the nation itself was a stranger in Egypt (Exod. 22:21; 23:9; Deut. 24:14). The stranger enjoyed the sabbath rest like the Israelite (Exod. 20:10). Yahweh loves and protects him (Deut. 10:18). At the consecration of the temple Solomon interceded for strangers that would come to honour Yahweh, that he should hear them (1 Ki. 8:41 ff.).

(b) The people of Israel were themselves visitors and strangers in the land of Canaan (Lev. 25:23). The land did not belong to them. It was Yahweh's property and could not be sold. But since the Israelite was God's stranger (*paroikos*), he too enjoyed his protection (Ps. 39:13; 61:5; 119:19; 1 Chron. 29:15). Because Israel is God's people, it is ultimately a stranger in the world (Est. 3:13; but cf. already Num. 23:9). This goes back to the recognition that Yahweh himself is not an immanent power in the world. As its Creator and Lord, he stands over it. It also goes back to the realization that he has chosen his people as his own possession. Hence the acts of Yahweh can be "strange" and "alien" (Isa. 28:21).

(c) It was a misfortune whenever foreigners conquered the land that God had given Israel as a dwelling place (Lam. 5:2). It was seen as the punishment of Yahweh when the Israelites were led away into foreign countries out of the land that God had given them (Jer. 5:19; Deut. 29:28; and often).

(d) The protection afforded to the person of a stranger in Israel was not extended to strange religions. Foreign cults were condemned and punished as idolatry in Israel (1 Ki. 11:4 f.; Jer. 5:19; Jos. 24:23; Deut. 4:25 ff.; and often).

(e) Yahweh is God over all the nations (Amos 9:7). Hence the exilic and post-exilic prophets could speak of the coming proclamation of the glory of God among the heathen (Isa. 42:6 ff.; 66:19) and promise the turning of the heathen to Yahweh (Isa. 14:1; 45:14 ff.; 56:1–8; Zech. 14:16; Ezek. 47:22 f.). The godless heathen were threatened with annihilation (Jer. 46:51; Ezek. 25–32). In practice after the exile there was a strict segregation from the heathen (Neh. 13:1–10). Mixed marriages were prohibited and dissolved (Ezra 9 f.; Neh. 13:23 ff.).

2. Rab. Jud. held hospitality in high esteem. The man who practised it was promised a rich reward in the age to come. On the other hand, the duty of hospitality was restricted to fellow Jews. Some Gk. practices penetrated into Judaism through the Hel. diaspora: regular hospitality (Tob. 5:6; Josephus, *War*, 3, 436 and often), and the establishment of inns (Lk. 10:34). The Essenes kept hospices in every city for strangers. *xenos*, its derivatives, and other terms became loanwords in Heb. and Aram.

3. For part of the Hel. period there was considerable danger of Israel being swamped by foreign practices even in the sphere of religion (1 Macc. 1:11–15). The Maccabean reaction and revolt were directed against this. Those who were loyal to the law restricted trade with the heathen. They refused fellowship and marriage with them. They were afraid of entering Gentile houses for fear of defilement. On the other hand, the rabbis zealously took up missionary work, sometimes with considerable success in making proselytes (cf. Matt. 23:15 and the term "God-fearer" which crops up in Acts; → Conversion, art. *prosēlytos*). Philo and Josephus strove to refute the charge of hostility to strangers which was levelled against Jews. Above all, Hel. Jud. engaged with zeal in propaganda and apologetics. From A.D. 135 conversion to Judaism was prohibited by the Romans. (See further G. Stählin, *TDNT* V 13.)

4. It is of great significance for subsequent ages that the LXX never (apart from Job 31:32) translated the Heb. *gēr* (stranger) by the corresponding Gk. word *xenos*, but almost always by *prosēlytos* (proselyte, convert). (*paroikos* is also found 11 times for *gēr*, but only 3 times in the legislation of the Pentateuch.) This may be an indication of a change that had already taken place. But it also led to the OT regulations and commandments concerning strangers being applied only to full proselytes in rab. Jud. (cf. SB I 353 ff.).

NT *xenos* occurs in the NT 14 times, including 5 in Matt., and twice each in Eph. 2, Acts 17, and Heb.

1. Four of the five places in Matt come in Matt. 25:31–46. Care of the *xenos* is care of Jesus Christ himself; refusal to provide hospitality to the stranger is to exclude Jesus himself. According to Matt. 27:7, the high priests bought with the "blood money" flung down by Judas the potter's field for the burial of strangers, i.e. non-Jews.

2. The gospel records show Jesus as the frequent recipient of hospitality in his public ministry (Mk. 1:29 ff.; 2:15 ff.; Lk. 7:36 ff.; 10:38 ff.; and often). Hospitality figures in the parables of Jesus (Lk. 10:34 f.; 11:5 ff.; and often). God's summons to his kingdom is depicted as a banquet (Lk. 13:29; 14:16 ff.; → Lord's Supper). Jesus sent out his disciples to proclaim the kingdom, expecting that they would enjoy hospitality in the towns and villages (Matt. 10:11 ff.; Lk. 10:5 ff.). Similarly in Judaism hospitality was urged especially towards the rabbis.

3. In the missionary work of the early church missionaries enjoyed hospitality (Acts 10:6; 16:15; and often). In Rom. 16:23 Gaius appears as a *xenos*, i.e. as Paul's host. In 3 Jn. 5 another Gaius is praised for what he has done for brethren from abroad.

4. On occasion, the idea of God as alien or strange occurs without the word *xenos* actually being used (Jn. 8:19; cf. Acts 17:23). Christ is "not of this world", and so is alien in this sense (cf. Jn. 8:14; 25 ff.; 9:29 f.).

5. Before their call to faith in Christ, the Gentile Christians were *xenoi* (strangers) and → *paroikoi* (aliens). As heathen, they had no part in Israel's call to be the people of God, and were excluded from the promises. But now in Christ they are fellow citizens with the saints, i.e. Jewish Christians, and members of the household of God (Eph. 2:19; cf. the whole argument of Eph. 2:11 ff.). As Christians thus become citizens in God's sight, they have their citizenship in heaven (Phil. 3:20; cf. Gal. 4:26; Eph. 2:6; Heb. 11:15 f.; 12:22 f.; 13:14). The patriarchs already provide the pattern for this. They did not receive the promises, but saw them from afar, thereby showing that they lived as *xenoi* (strangers) and *parepidēmoi* (exiles) on the earth (Heb. 11:13). Christians are thus put under a new divine law of life which shields them from the vices of the heathen who regard them as strange (*xenizontai*, 1 Pet. 4:4).

6. The Athenians supposed that Paul wanted to preach foreign deities (Acts 17:18). They themselves and the resident aliens were eager for what was new (Acts 17:21). But Paul preached "strange things" (*xenizonta tina*) to their ears (17:20). On the other hand, the church is warned in advance against being led astray by "strange teachings" (Heb. 13:9). The sufferings which befall the church are not something "strange", but belong to the Christian's lot (1 Pet. 4:12).

7. *philoxenia* (hospitality) is expected from the whole church (1 Pet. 4:9). It is recommended as a virtue to Christians (Rom. 12:13; Heb. 13:2). It is even connected with a promise. Because some practised hospitality (*xenisantes*), they entertained angels unawares (cf. Gen. 18:3; 19:2 f.). In the ancient world many a door was opened to a messenger of the new covenant and the host was thus blessed. Cornelius received Peter, and Publius took in Paul and his companions (Acts 10:23; 28:7). Paul requested Philemon to have a guest room (*xenia*) ready for him (Phlm. 22). The Pastoral Epistles indicate the importance set by hospitality in the young church. It is not only the → bishop who should be hospitable (*philoxenos*, 1 Tim. 3:2; Tit. 1:8). Even the widow was reminded to show hospitality to strangers (1 Tim. 5:10). *H. Bietenhard*

παρεπίδημος

παρεπίδημος (*parepidēmos*), adj., staying for a while in a strange place; noun, a stranger, resident alien, exile, sojourner.

CL & OT *parepidēmos* is derived from *dēmos* (people) and is found only twice in the LXX (Gen. 23:4; Ps. 38[39]:12). It means someone who lives for a short while in a foreign place as a stranger or alien.

NT It occurs in the NT 3 times. In 1 Pet. 1:1 and 2:11 believers are called *parepidēmoi* ("exiles", RSV). The word stands in parallel to *paroikoi* ("aliens", RSV), pointing back to Gen. 23:4 and Ps. 39:13. Because their true home is in heaven (cf. Phil. 3:20), God's election has drawn them out of all their natural ties and relations. They now live on earth as exiles. This call and vocation gives rise to the warning to abstain from the lusts of the flesh (1 Pet. 2:11). They are to live according to the decrees and laws of their true homeland. Heb. 11:13 depicts → Abraham and the patriarchs as patterns for the Christian. Abraham looked towards the future city (11:10). Hence he and the fathers lived as strangers and exiles on the earth. *H. Bietenhard*

πάροικος

πάροικος (*paroikos*), stranger, alien; παροικέω (*paroikeō*), inhabit as a stranger, live beside; παροικία (*paroikia*), the stay or sojourn of someone who is not a citizen in a strange place.

CL *paroikos* is a compound of *para* (by) and *oikos* (house). It was originally an adj., but was later used as a noun meaning neighbouring, the neighbour, the non-citizen, one who lives among resident citizens without having citizen rights yet enjoying the protection of the community. The vb. *paroikeo* means to live beside, to inhabit as a stranger. The noun *paroikia* means sojourning. It became a loan-word in ecclesiastical Lat. *parochia*, denoting the charge of a bishop and later of a priest, as in Eng. parish.

OT 1. In the LXX *paroikos* occurs over 30 times, especially to translate *gēr* and *tôšāḇ*, both words meaning a sojourner or stranger. *paroikeō* occurs over 60 times, especially as the equivalent of *gûr*, to sojourn. *paroikia* is found 16 times. *paroikoi* and various forms of the vb. *paroikeō* are used to designate non-Israelites who live in Israel (2 Sam. 4:3; Isa. 16:4). The Israelites had definite obligations to the resident alien. An adequate living should be made possible for him (Lev.

25:35 ff.). He is allowed to share the food of the sabbath year (Lev. 25:6). He had the right of asylum (Num. 35:15). Like widows and orphans, he stood under the protection of the law (Exod. 22:21). But he too had obligations. He was required to keep the sabbath (Exod. 20:10). He was not allowed to eat of the Passover lamb (Exod. 12:45) or the sacrificial gift (Lev. 22:10). Ezek. 47:22 f. promises the equality of Israelites and resident aliens. Above all, repeated stress was laid on the fact that the patriarchs were sojourners (Gen. 12:10; 17:8; 19:9; 20:1; 23:4; 35:27; 47:4; Exod. 6:4). Moses was a sojourner in Midian (Exod. 2:22) and the whole nation of Israel in Egypt. The attitude towards sojourners was motivated by this fact (cf. Exod. 22:21; 23:9; and often). In one sense the Israelites were always sojourners, even when they lived in the promised land (1 Chron. 29:15; Pss. 39:13; 119:19, 54; 120:5; 3 Macc. 7:19; and often). The earth and soil of Palestine, as indeed the whole earth (cf. Ps. 24:1), belongs to Yahweh. The Israelites are only sojourners on it. For this reason the land cannot be sold (Lev. 25:23). On the other hand, the devout sojourner may dwell in the tent of Yahweh (Pss. 15:1; 61:5) and so experience fellowship with God.

2. For Philo, the godly man is a *paroikos*, for he lives far off from his heavenly home. Philo combined the ancient world's denial of the world with OT ideas. (On Philo and Judaism see K. L. and M. A. Schmidt, *TDNT* V 848 ff.) The rabbis required sojourners, resident in the land of Israel, to keep the so-called Noahic commandments as a condition of living together (cf. SB III 737; Moore, *Judaism* I 274 f., 453, 462; R. Meyer, *TDNT* V 850). But this may only have been a matter of theory. → Noah.

NT The words are found only in Acts, 1 Pet., Lk., Heb. and Eph.: *paroikos*, 4 times; *paroikia*, twice; *paroikeō*, twice. Each passage contains a quotation or reference to the history of Israel (cf. Acts 17:6 with Gen. 15:13; cf. Acts 7:29 with Exod. 2:15). In Acts 13:16 ff. Paul recalls Israel's *paroikia* in Egypt (cf. Exod. 6:16). Heb. 11:9 f. stresses that Abraham lived as a sojourner in the promised land as in a foreign country, since by faith he was a citizen of the heavenly city. The same thought occurs in the use of → *xenos* and → *parepidēmos* in Heb. 11:13 (cf. Ps. 39:13). In Jesus Christ the Gentile believers are no longer *xenoi* and *paroikoi*, but fellow citizens with the saints and members of the household of God. For the promises made to Israel and the call to the kingdom of God are also valid for them (Eph. 2:19). From this point of view, Christians are also in a new sense *paroikoi* and *parepidēmoi* here on earth. Hence the warning to abstain from fleshly lusts (1 Pet. 2:11). They are to live in their time of sojourning in the fear of God (1 Pet. 1:17). *paroikeō* means "dwell" only in Lk. 24:18. Perhaps even here the thought is that the stranger is a member of the Jewish dispersion living at Jerusalem, or that he is a pilgrim attending the feast who is only spending a few days in the city.

H. Bietenhard

→ Brother, Neighbour, → Church, → Circumcision, → Conversion, → Covenant, → Greek

(a). F. Büchsel, *allos*, *TDNT* I 264–67; A. von Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity*, (1908) 1961; M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, I–II, 1974; Moore, *Judaism* I–III (see index); J. A. Sanders, "Dispersion," *IDB* II 854 ff.; K. L. Schmidt, *diaspora*, *TDNT* II 98–104; K. L. Schmidt, M. A. Schmidt and R. Meyer, *paroikos*, *TDNT* V 841–53; G. Stählin, *xenos*, *TDNT* V 1–36.

(b). H. Braun, "Die Diaspora und ihre Verheissung im Neuen Testament," *Die evangelische Diaspora* 35, 1965, 97 ff.; R. Gyllenberg and B. Reicke, "Fremder," *BHHW* I 498 f.; K. L. Schmidt, *Die Polis in Kirche und Welt*, 1940; A. van Selms, E. L. Rapp and F. Lau, "Diaspora," *RGG*³ II 174ff. J. de Vries and F. Horst, "Fremde," *RGG*³ II 1124 ff.

Foreknowledge, Providence, Predestination

This group of articles brings together words which denote human or divine foreknowledge, predestination and predetermination of future events. Their common characteristic is the prefix *pro-*, before, in both spatial and temporal significance. The temporal component is strongest in the vb. *proginōskō*, know beforehand, and in the noun *prognōsis*, foreknowledge. On the other hand, the vb. *protithēmi*, set before, plan, propose and the noun *prothesis*, setting forth, plan, purpose have spatial overtones. But when they denote a previously determined resolution they have assimilated a temporal sense. Approximating somewhat to these is the vb. *prohorizō*, predestine, which likewise expresses definite planning and care. *pronoeō*, consider beforehand, plan carefully, and the noun *pronoia*, foresight, forethought, care, are by contrast with the surrounding Gk. Hellenistic world attested in the NT only very rarely.

προγινώσκω

προγινώσκω (*proginōskō*), know beforehand, know in advance; πρόγνωσις (*prognōsis*), foreknowledge.

CL The composite *proginōskō*, formed from the prefix, *pro-*, before, and the vb. *ginōskō*, perceive, be acquainted with, understand, know, is attested from Euripides onwards (*Hippolytus*, 1072) and means to know or perceive in advance, to see the future (→ Knowledge, art. *ginōskō*). The corresponding noun *prognōsis* (attested as a medical technical term since Hippocrates) denotes the foreknowledge which makes it possible to predict the future. The early Gks. understood this as non-verbal foreknowledge of a dream-like kind which can however be apprehended and communicated by those who were clever enough. It belongs to the realm of destiny. It is often both hidden from men and open to them. It is capricious like the gods themselves. Both gods and men are subject to it. Its power controls the rise and fall of gods and nations. Hel. thinkers, especially the Stoics, transformed the concept and understood it in a pantheistic way as an expression of the purposefully creative order of the divine world-force which includes both nature and men. Fate itself is subjected to this order, and can be a factor in the order itself. Divinity, destiny, order and necessity become identical. Everything is arranged rationally and harmoniously, or at least in the direction of a development towards a harmonious consummation.

OT The vb. *proginōskō*, foreknow, is found in the LXX only 3 times, always without any Heb. equivalent. Two of these occurrences concern *sophia* (→ Wisdom), conceived in personal terms: Wisdom knows in advance those who desire her (Wis. 6:13); Wisdom has foreknowledge of signs and wonders (Wis. 8:8). The other reference concerns the foreknowledge which the Israelites in Egypt were given of the destruction of the Egyptian first-born (Wis. 18:6). The noun *prognōsis*,

foreknowledge, is found only twice in the LXX (Jud. 9:6 of God's foreknowledge decreeing the fall of the Egyptians; Jud. 11:19 of prophetic foreknowledge).

NT 1. In the NT the vb. *proginōskō*, foreknow, know beforehand or in advance, choose beforehand, is found 5 times. Two occurrences are in Paul (Rom. 8:29; 11:2). Acts 26:5 speaks of a human "having known long since" (similarly 1 Pet. 1:20; 2 Pet. 3:17). The noun *prognōsis*, foreknowledge, is attested in the NT only in Acts 2:23 and 1 Pet. 1:2.

2. In Paul the vb. *proginōskō*, foreknow, choose beforehand, demonstrates the character of God's activity among men. It assumes the aspect of a personal relationship with a group of people which originates in God himself. Rom. 8:29 declares that those whom God "foreknew he also predestined to be conformed to the image of his Son" (RSV). In Rom. 11:2 the vb. expresses God's election and love of Israel which opposes the idea of a final rejection of Israel.

3. 1 Pet. 1:20 says that Christ was "foreknown" or "destined (*proegnōsmenou*) before the foundation of the world" (RSV). The noun *prognōsis* denotes in 1 Pet. 1:2 the foreknowledge of God, which is said to be for the Christians in the Diaspora the ground of their → election. Membership of the community in a completely differently orientated and partly hostile environment is accordingly grounded in the relationship which God takes up with men as their → Father.

2 Pet. 3:17 speaks of the foreknowledge or advance knowledge of believers. They are aware that the parousia is coming despite the delay. The point at issue here is the misunderstandings and disagreements over statements of Paul (cf. 3:15 f.). They are, therefore, urged to watchfulness to counteract the danger of apostasy (→ Fall). Human *proginōskein* thus gains here a theological stress in paraenesis.

4. In Acts 2:23 *prognōsis*, foreknowledge (much as in 1 Pet. 1:20) characterizes the events surrounding Jesus of Nazareth before and up to his execution. Jesus was "delivered up according to the definite plan and foreknowledge of God [*tē hōrismenē boulē kai prognōsei tou theou ekdoton*]" (RSV).

5. Thus in the few relevant passages both the vb. and the noun speak chiefly of God's action towards Christ or towards men, and witness to his activity as planned and directed. Any interpretation in terms of an impersonal constraint (such as destiny, fate or doom), or of an autonomy which removes itself from the normal course of world events, would contradict the NT use of these words.

P. Jacobs, H. Krienke

προνοέω

προνοέω (*pronoeō*), perceive beforehand, foresee, provide, think of beforehand, take care for, take thought for; πρόνοια (*pronoia*), forethought, provident care.

CL 1. The vb. *pronoeō* (from *pro* and *noeō*, observe, notice; → Reason, art. *nous*) means initially to observe in advance, notice beforehand, foresee (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 18, 526, of a deception). But in most cases it has the meaning of to care, to see to it that, make provision for, attend to (e.g. Xen. *Cyr.* 8, 1, 1, caring for children). With the noun *pronoia*, attested since Aeschylus (*Ag.* 648), much as with the vb., the temporal meaning of foresight or foreknowledge is rare. The predominant meaning is foresight in the sense of forethought, intention, care, providence.

2. From Hdt. (3, 108, 2) onwards the noun serves to designate divine providence and a generation later in Xen. (e.g. *Mem.*, 1 4, 6) and Plato (e.g. *Tim.* 44c, cf. 30b)

it is a philosophical technical term. In Stoic philosophy, in particular a few generations later again (e.g. Zeno, *Frag.* 174, 176, in J. von Arnim, *Stoicorum veterum Fragmenta*, 1921, I, 44) it became an important concept for describing the emanation of the purposeful operations of a world-force possessing divine status and working for the benefit of mankind as well as the perfection of nature. *pronoia*, providence, thus gained a religious significance and became an expression of religious piety. In fact, among the Stoics, it was raised to the level of an indisputable dogma. Chance is ruled out, because everything runs its course according to an implanted divine law of development which is itself divine.

The characteristics of this understanding of providence are twofold. First, providence is implanted as a law, as the divinity of nature, humanity and history. The imperative is understood as an indicative. Secondly, everything evolves automatically in line with this providential power; everything repugnant is excluded. The legacy of this conception of providence was, after its rediscovery in the Renaissance, taken over in the development of the history of ideas from rationalism right up to speculative idealism and romanticism. It was also partly expressed in Christian and biblical terms, with the result that the diversity of categories in Gk. and biblical ideas was overlooked.

OT 1. In the LXX the vb. *pronoeō*, see in advance, care for, and also see, is attested only 10 times: once for the Heb. *bîn*, note, understand (Dan. 11:37); twice for Heb. *šûr*, look, catch sight of (Num. 23:9 and Job 24:15); all the other refs. are found in the apocryphal literature (Wis. 6:7; 13:16; 1 Esd. 2:28; 2 Macc. 14:9; 3 Macc. 3:24; 4 Macc. 7:18). Only in Wis. 6:7 is the vb. used of God: "He provides for all (small and great) alike."

2. The noun *pronoia*, care, foresight, is found only 9 times, almost exclusively in the Apocrypha. 2 Macc. 4:6 speaks of the hoped-for human assistance of King Seleucus IV. All the other passages speak either of God's care: God's care steers the ship (Wis. 14:3); by God's provision the jaws of the lions remain shut (Dan. 6:19 LXX; cf. 3 Macc. 5:30; 4 Macc. 9:24); of the eternal (Wis. 17:2), omniscient (4 Macc. 13:19), or divine providence (4 Macc. 17:22). Of theological importance is the thought in the final reference, that the divine providence redeems the nation through the blood of the martyrs (the seven brothers), as a way of propitiation (→ Reconciliation, art. *hilaskomai*).

3. The term for providence has, therefore, no corresponding equivalent in the Heb. of the OT. Similarly, the idea of providence did not take on any distinctive didactic stamp in the OT. Rather, the idea itself and its didactic expression stem from Gk.-Hellenistic thought. It was there and in Hel.-determined Latin that it gained conceptuality in the notion of *providentia*.

4. The acceptance of the Hel. idea of providence into Jewish thought becomes particularly evident in Philo and Josephus. The attestations for *pronoeō*, care for, and *pronoia*, care, foresight, are numerous. God's providence and provision become clear in the ruin of a persecutor of the Jews (Josephus, *War*, 7, 453) and in the example of Abraham (Josephus, *Ant.*, 11, 169). God cares for the world (Philo, *Op. Mund.*, 171), for the creation as a whole and in particular (Philo, *Spec.Leg.*, 3, 189). Like the early Stoic Chrysippus, Philo wrote a book *peri pronoias* (*Concerning Providence*).

NT In the NT the vb. *pronoeō*, take thought for, be intent on, care for, aim, is found only in Rom. 12:17 and 2 Cor. 8:21. Significantly, both instances refer to human endeavour in goodness, honesty and sincerity (probably with ref. to the LXX wording of Prov. 3:4). The noun *pronoia* (Rom. 13:14) also means concern, solicitude, provision. In this case it refers to the body (→ Flesh). In Acts 24:3 the advocate Tertullus praises the provisions of Felix. Vb. and noun are not used of God's caring activity. The fact that the word *pronoia*, in the sense of a divine wisdom of the world, does not appear in the NT despite its representation of one of the central and basic concepts of the surrounding world is not accidental. It is a sign that the NT speaks an equally eloquent language by avoiding some Hel. concepts, as it does by accepting and re-coining others (e.g. *agapē*, → Love).

P. Jacobs, H. Krienke

προοράω

προοράω (*prohoraō*), see previously, see in advance, foresee (the future), know already, take care that.

CL The vb. *prohoraō* (from *pro*, in front, before, and *horaō*, → see, notice) is attested in the spatial sense of seeing in front of one since Homer (*Od.*, 5, 393), and in the sense of foreseeing or knowing the future in advance, first in Pindar (*Nem.* 1, 27).

OT 1. In the LXX *prohoraō*, and all the forms of *proidein*, are found only in Ps. 138 (139):3 ("thou seest all my ways (before)") of God's forward-reaching sight and knowledge, in Ps. 15(16):8 of a man keeping the Lord before his eyes, in Gen. 37:18 of Joseph's being seen from a distance by his brothers, and in 1 Esd. 5:63 of those who had seen the former house of God.

2. Philo used the word largely in the temporal sense of foreseeing dangers (*Praem.*, 72) and in combination with → *pronoia*, the providence of God (*Deus.Imm.*, 29), by which God in contrast to men foresees what is coming. In Josephus we find in addition the meaning to make provision for (e.g. *Ant.*, 16, 378).

NT In the NT *prohoraō*, see before, is attested 4 times. In Gal. 3:8 Paul says, with ref. to Gen. 12:3, that the → Scripture (here personalized) foresaw "that God would justify the Gentiles by faith." The three other passages are in Acts and mean to have in front of one's eyes (2:25, quoting Ps. 16:8), to have seen already before (21:29), and – similarly to the Pauline ref. – to foresee or foreknow (2:31, with ref. to Ps. 16:10: David spoke with foresight or foreknowledge of the resurrection). **The vb. is thus not used in the NT — any more than *pronoeō* and *pronoia* — to describe the activity of God.** ***P. Jacobs, H. Krienke***

προορίζω

προορίζω (*prohorizō*), decide upon beforehand, predestine.

CL & OT The compound *prohorizō* (formed from *pro*, in front, before and *horizō*, to ordain, → determine) is only used from the 4th cent. B.C. onwards (Demosth., 31, 4), and means to preordain. It is not found in the LXX.

NT The NT uses *prohorizō*, preordain, 6 times to speak exclusively of God's decrees.

1. Paul uses the vb. in Rom. 8:29 together with → *proginōskō*, foreknow, and → *prothesis*, plan, decision, in order to ground the → call of God in his prior

decree. In v. 30 the vb. is taken up again, in order to specify the end to which these dealings of God with men are directed, namely to justify those who are called and to give them a share in his → glory (art. *doxa* NT). 1 Cor. 2:7 speaks of the → Wisdom (art. *sophia*) of God which he himself "predestined" (JB), "ordained" (AV), "decreed" (RSV), "for our glory" (JB). God's predestination is thus described as an activity of his with men directed towards their fellowship with him. (See further C. E. B. Cranfield, "Romans 8:28", *SJT* 19, 1966, 204–15; A. R. C. Leaney, "Conformed to the Image of His Son", *NTS* 10, 1963–64, 470–9; K. Grayston, "The Doctrine of Election in Rom. 8:28–30", *StudEv*, II, 1964, 574–83; M. Black, *Romans*, 1973, 124 f.; → Elect.)

2. Essentially on the same lines is the statement in Eph. 1:5, which describes sonship shared in Christ as grounded in the predetermining love of God. In Eph. 1:11 the vb. is again used with → *prothesis*, plan, decree, in order to characterize the inheritance which Christians themselves are and which Christ has made possible. This all derives from the will of God who accomplishes all things according to the counsel of his will.

3. In Acts 4:27 f. expression is given to the conviction that Herod, Pontius Pilate, the nations and peoples are only able to do to Jesus that which God has previously established or determined. *prohorizō* is thus here intended to underline that even men's sinful actions are drawn into the realization of the divine plan of salvation. *P. Jacobs, H. Krienke*

προτίθημι

προτίθημι (*protithēmi*), mid. display publicly, plan, propose, intend; act. set before as a duty; πρόθεσις (*prothesis*), setting forth, presentation, display, exhibition, plan, purpose, resolve, will. On *tithēmi* → Determine, Appoint, Present, art. *tithēmi*.

CL The vb. *protithēmi* (a compound of *pro*, in front, before, and *tithēmi*, set, place, lay, insert, make into) is attested early on. It possesses a basic local meaning, to set before (Hes., *Theog.*, 537, set food before), but also means to resolve (e.g. Plato, *Phaedr.*, 259e), propose, determine, put forward openly.

The noun *prothesis* can denote the public lying in state of the dead (Plato, *Leg.*, 12, 947b), public announcements (Aristot., *Pol.*, 6, 8, p. 1322a 9), and later an intention (Polyb., 5, 35, 2). See further C. Maurer, *tithēmi*, *TDNT* VIII 164 f.

OT In the LXX the vb. *protithēmi* is used 5 times in the sense of laying before or laying on (e.g. Exod. 40:4 of the showbread). Altogether it is used 19 times; of which 11 render a total of 6 Heb. equivalents, 6 are in the apocryphal writings, and 2 have no correspondence in the MT. In Ps. 54(53):3 and 86(85):14 it renders Heb. *śîm* (set, place, lay) in the sense of keeping God before one's eyes. It thus describes a conscious turning to God or a refusal to do so (cf. also Ps. 101[100]:3 and 3 Macc. 2:27). The noun *prothesis* (used 17 times of which 7 are in 1, 2 and 3 Macc.) is 13 times a technical term for the showbread (e.g. Exod. 39:36), and is thus to be translated ordering, presentation. Meaning intention, purpose, plan, it is found only in 2 Macc. 3:8; 3 Macc. 1:22; 2:26; 5:12, 29. These words, then, do not have any particular theological emphasis in the OT.

NT 1. In the NT the vb. *protithēmi* is found 3 times. It means to resolve in Rom. 1:13 (cf. Paul's intention to visit Rome), and to put forward in Rom. 3:25 (God put Christ forward as a propitiation; → Reconciliation, art. *hilaskomai*, NT 4), and to set forth in Eph. 1:9 (God has set forth his purpose in Christ).

The noun *prothesis*, display, exhibition, plan, intention, (previously made) decision, is attested 12 times, 4 of which refer to the showbread. Human objectives are mentioned in Acts 11:23; 27:13 and 2 Tim. 3:10 (RSV "aim in life").

2. By contrast with the non-theological use of the word in the LXX, Paul uses the noun twice in order to describe the primal decision of God (*TDNT* VIII 166). In Rom. 8:28 God's *prothesis*, resolve, decision, or purpose, is stated to be the foundation of the → call of the Christians. The → hope and certainty of a Christian are based on and upheld by God's previous activity, and not by any human capacity for decision-making. Paul uses the word similarly in Rom. 9:11 (cf. Gen. 25:23). The election of Jacob is already laid down in God's resolve even before the birth of the twins. Here too the word *prothesis* serves to characterize God's activity among men as free and grounded in his → will alone. It is thus independent of human prerogatives. The accomplishment of the promise is always God's free act both in Israel and the church.

3. Similarly, in Eph. 1:11 the existence of the church is described as the result of a decision made by God. This decision of God is both in time and in all aspects a *preceding resolve*. Here as in Rom. 8:28 ff. there is an accumulation of words which emphasize the priority of the → will of God. In Eph. 3:8 ff. it is the realization of God's saving plan in Christ (→ House, art. *oikonomia* NT 2) which is under discussion. The word *prothesis*, plan, in v. 11 serves to characterize God's activity in Christ as the fulfilment of an eternal purpose. It is one in which men do not have a say, either in time or in its intentions. 2 Tim. 1:9 is concerned with the redeeming (→ Redemption, art. *sōzō*) and calling activity of God among men. Its assumptions do not lie in the area of prior human achievement but of God's own decision.

→ Determine, → Elect, → Fullness, → Promise *P. Jacobs, H. Krienke*

(a). K. Barth, *CD* III 3, 3–57; J. Behm, *pronoeō*, *TDNT* IV 1009–17; G. C. Berkouwer, *The Providence of God*, 1952; R. Bultmann, *Primitive Christianity in its Historical Setting*, 1956 (see index); W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*, II, 1967, 167–85; J. Jeremias, *Jesus' Promise to the Nations*, 1955; C. Maurer, *protithēmi*, *TDNT* VIII 164–68; R. Pesch, "Providence," *EBT* II 722–25; K. L. Schmidt, *prohorizō*, *TDNT* V 456; M. Wiles, ed., *Providence*, *SPCK Theological Collections* 12, 1969.

(b). W. Eichrodt, "Vorsehungsglaube und Theodizee im Alten Testament," *Procksch Festschrift*, 1934, 45 ff.; F. Nötscher, *Gotteswege und Menschenwege in der Bibel und in Qumran*, *Bonner Biblische Beiträge* 15, 1958; W. Wiesner, "Vorsehung," *EKL* III 1705 ff.

Forgiveness

ἀφίημι

ἀφίημι (*aphiēmi*), let go, cancel, remit, leave, forgive; ἄφεσις (*aphesis*), release, pardon, cancellation, forgiveness; πάρεσις (*paresis*), letting pass, passing over.

CL *aphiēmi* (derived from *apo*, from, and *hiēmi*, to put in motion, send), attested since Homer, means the voluntary release of a person or thing over which one has legal or actual control. In addition to the vb., the noun *aphesis*, discharge,

setting free, is used from Plato onwards. In its fig. use *aphiēmi* overlaps in meaning with *pariēmi* (Homer), lit. to let drop, let by; fig., to let pass, allow (the noun *paresis*, since Hippocrates).

1. *aphiēmi* is used in classical Gk. both in a lit. and in a fig. sense:

(a) With a personal object, to send forth, send away (of a woman, to divorce; of a meeting, to dissolve, end), to let go, to leave, dispatch; with an impersonal object, to loose (e.g. a ship into the sea), to discharge (e.g. arrows), to give up.

(b) In the fig. sense the vb. means to let alone, permit, let pass, neglect, give up (taking trouble, etc.); in Josephus, *Ant.*, 1, 12, 3, to lose one's life, die. The legal use is important: to release from a legal bond (office, guilt, etc. and also, a woman from marriage, e.g. Hdt., 5, 39), to acquit (e.g. cancellation of criminal proceedings, Plato, *Laws*, 9, 86, 9d), to exempt (from guilt, obligation, punishment, etc.; e.g. Hdt., 6, 30). Similarly the noun *aphesis* (e.g. Demosthenes, 24, 45) means release, pardon, or remission, etc. All these meanings apply from Homer onwards only to human relationships; they are not found in a religious sense.

2. The same fig. meaning is found frequently with *pariēmi*, to let by, relax (e.g. of slackening a sail, Plato, *Laws*, 11, 931d); but also to let go unpunished, to allow, in the sense of personal leniency or indulgence (e.g. Hdt., 7, 169, 2), and the cognate noun *paresis*, letting pass.

OT The LXX uses *aphiēmi* in such classical Gk. senses as to let go (Jdg. 3:1), leave, give up (Jdg. 9:9, 11, 13), leave behind (2 Sam. 15:16; 20:3), allow (2 Sam. 16:10 f.), leave over (Ps. 17:14), release in the year of release (Deut. 15:2). It is used relatively seldom in the sense to forgive. Where it is, it usually renders the Heb. *nāśā'*, to release from guilt or punishment (Gen. 18:26; Ps. 25:18; 32:1, 5; 85:2; Isa. 33:24), or *sālaḥ*, to forgive, pardon (Lev. 4:20 ff.; 5:6 ff.; Num. 14:19; 15:25 f.; Isa. 55:7). Sometimes it stands for *kippēr*, to cover, make atonement (Isa. 22:14). The one who forgives is God (but cf. Gen. 50:17). Through the act of forgiveness, the relationship between God and man which has been disturbed or destroyed by sin is reconstituted.

Of the 50 or so instances of *aphesis* in the LXX, 22 are found in Lev. 25 and 27 (for Heb. *yôḇēl*, year of jubilee) and 5 in Deut. 15:1–9 (for Heb. *šāmaṭ*, release from debts in the year of jubilee). In general, it is more often used of the release of captives and slaves (Isa. 61:1; Jer. 34:8, 15, 17; Ezek. 46:17). Only once does *aphesis* appear in the sense of forgiveness (Lev. 16:26), and there it is without Heb. equivalent, used as an interpretation of Azazel. [F. F. Bruce suggests that in Lev. 16:26 LXX *aphesis* has the simple sense of "sending away" – an attempt at a lit. translation of *ʿᵃz'āzēl*, as though from the root *'āzal*; cf. Lat. *caper emissarius*.]

The occurrence of *aphiēmi* and *aphesis* thus indicates that they are not the words chiefly used in the LXX to convey the concept of forgiveness. Israel experienced God's grace in forgiveness largely in the context of the cultus (cf. OT, 1), so that all kinds of terms from the language of the cultus come to be used to express the idea (washing, cleansing, covering, etc.).

1. *Forgiveness in the OT.* It is probable that Israel was aware before the exile that God can forgive sin (cf. Isa. 6). The part played by the forgiveness of sins in the faith and worship of that period depends on the date ascribed to the Pentateuch. A remarkable exception is to be found in a number of pre-exilic Psalms (cf. Pss. 25:11;

65:3; 78:38; 79:9) which show a degree of reflection on the consciousness of sin and forgiveness of sins unparalleled in the early writings of the OT. The guilt here does not, however, arise from individual acts of moral transgression, but from "the opposition of the two wills, the divine and the human" (G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in Essence and Manifestation*, 1938). Sin is here opposition to God, grounded in the inmost part of man's nature. It can only be brought to an end by a new, gracious gift of God (cf. Ps. 65:5 ff.). In "Sühne and Vergebung um die Wende von der exilischen zur nachexilischen Zeit" (*EvTh* 26, 1966, 217 ff.) to which the following points are indebted, K. Koch has argued that those passages which speak of God's compassion in response to prophetic intercession (Amos 7; Exod. 32:12, 14; Jer. 26:19; cf. Mic. 7:18) mean that God passes the sinner by (*'ābar*). He is forbearing and avoids entering "the circles of the man laden with guilt." "Where such pardon is extended, punishment is also lightened, but never in the pre-exilic period cancelled" (K. Koch, op. cit., 221). The final punishment of Israel by Yahweh, in the prophetic forecasts of doom, is only comprehensible against a background of a fatal and disastrous act which renders God's forgiveness, in the sense of a removal of guilt, impossible. God can no longer pass by the sin of the people (→ Reconciliation, especially art. *hilaskomai*).

Earlier prophetic writings also speak of the forgiveness of sins, but it is Koch's opinion that the recognition that God forgives sin has been introduced at a later date by editorial additions (cf. Ezek. 36:29, 33; Isa. 4:3 f.; Mic. 7:19). The question whether sin was forgiven through cultic sacrifice prior to the exile depends on the view taken of the date of the sacrificial ordinances in the Pentateuch. According to Koch, it was in the exilic and post-exilic periods that Israel discovered "God's readiness to forgive: forgiveness is seen to be brought about by cultic acts and priestly pronouncements, and deliverance from sin is experienced" (op. cit., 227; cf. G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, I, 1962, 262 ff.). On the other hand, the passages in the law which deal with sacrifice and forgiveness quoted above locate the institution of these ordinances in the time of → Moses and the exodus. The Israelite did not think of → sin (*hamartia*) in the abstract, but as a localized sphere arising out of transgression. It could not simply be forgotten. The only way that it could be forgiven was by expiatory ritual by which God broke through the continued outworking of the act and, as in Lev. 16:20 ff., pass it on to the animal and so remove the guilt (Lev. 16:20, 22; 17:11). This puts certain prophetic allusions (cf. Isa. 1:16, 18; 6:7) and passages in the Psalms (Pss. 25:11; 65:3; 79:9) into a new light. The essential point is that God alone is the one who frees and forgives in all acts of atonement.

However, it is not every sin that can be atoned for, and so forgiven, by rites of atonement (e.g. offences against the law of circumcision, Gen. 17:14; and against the laws of the Sabbath and the Passover, Exod. 12:15; Num. 9:13).

Isa. 40–55 goes beyond these ideas, particularly those of the priestly literature. The prophet recognizes that atonement by means of the blood of animals (→ Blood, art. *haima*) is not enough. Moreover, he sees that in the situation of the exile expiatory ritual simply disappears. In the coming servant of God he heralds the one on whom the sin of Israel and of the other nations will be laid, and through whom God will bring about an all-embracing atonement and forgiveness of sin (Isa. 53; cf. 55:6–13).

To sum up, it may be said that from the exile onwards Israel sees her history as upheld by the forgiving activity of God. This is also evident in the significance which is attached to the second → temple. It is the place where the Day of Atonement is celebrated, the festival whose rites bring forgiveness of sins to every Israelite (cf. Sir. 50; 1 Bar. 1:10 ff.).

2. *Judaism. aphiēmi* and *aphesis* are found as terms for forgiveness in Josephus (*Ant.*, 6, 92) and Philo (*Vit.Mos.*, 2, 147; *Spec.Leg.*, 1, 190). However, a tension appears between this and the forgiving goodness of God which in the OT is associated with his righteousness (cf. Ps. 143:11). This is especially apparent in Josephus. The idea of man's working together with God, on the one hand, and God's *dikē* (the central concept of his theology), on the other, cause him to turn forgiveness into leniency on God's part. Where there is confession of sin and a change of mind, God is ready to be reconciled (*War*, 5, 415) and hence to remit punishment (*Ant.*, 9, 214; 11, 114). But this kind of forgiveness does not mean that evil is overcome and sin removed.

Rab. Judaism developed a thoroughgoing system of casuistry, in which God's forgiveness is catalogued. A distinction is made between (a) forgiveness of sins in this world by virtue of repentance and propitiatory sacrifices, e.g. on the great Day of Atonement (cf. T. Yoma 5:6 ff.; cf. SB I 636); (b) forgiveness of sins in the world to come by means of expiation in the fire of Gehenna, or by means of divine grace (cf. SB I 637); and (c) forgiveness of sins, or preservation from sins, in the Messianic age. In connection with the latter it is said of the Messiah that he will gain forgiveness for Israel on the grounds of his intercession and sufferings (Tg. Isa. 53:4 ff.), but there is nowhere a reference to the Messiah forgiving men's sins by virtue of his own authority. God alone has the right to forgive sins. As in the OT, however, there are unforgivable sins (e.g. blasphemy against the → name of God).

3. *Qumran.* There are a number of passages, especially in the Community Rule (1QS), the Damascus Rule (CD) and the Scroll of Hymns (1QH) which speak of God's forgiveness (1QS 3:6–12; 11:3; CD 2:3 f.; 3:18; 1QH 4:37; 7:18; 30, 35 and often). In addition to a strong consciousness of election and mission, every single member of the community had a very marked sense of sin and worthlessness (cf. 1QH 1:5–39). This awareness of the worthlessness and creatureliness of man and at the same time of election by God was emphasized by a strong insistence on sin and forgiveness and with it a confession of utter dependence upon God's grace (1QH 10:21; 11:9; and often). Forgiveness at Qumran is not tied to bloody rites of propitiation; forgiveness is obtained by the man who sees the error of his way and turns from it in humility and a right spirit (cf. 1QH 14:24; 1QS 3:7 ff.: "His sin is atoned for"). He who does not repent sincerely, but clings to Belial (Satan), excludes himself from forgiveness and thus from the new covenant (1QS 2:8, 26).

NT 1. *aphiēmi* is attested 142 times in the NT. Of these examples 47 are found in Matt., 34 each in Mk. and the Lucan writings, and 14 in Jn. This leaves only 13 examples in the whole of the rest of the NT. Oddly enough *aphiēmi* occurs only 45 times in the sense to forgive (17 times in Matt.; 8 times in Mk.; 14 times in Lk. – Acts; twice in John; and only once in Paul!). It is used occasionally in a secular sense (Matt. 18:27, 32), but usually in the religious sense of forgiveness (absolutely

in Matt. 12:32 par., etc.), or forgiveness of sins (*aphienai hamartias*, Mk. 2:5, 7, par.; Lk. 7:47 ff., etc.), debts (*opheilēmata*, Matt. 6:12), trespasses (*paraptōmata*, Mk. 11:25 f.; Matt. 6:14 f., etc.). In most cases, however, the NT uses *aphiēmi* in the original senses of to let (Mk. 1:34; 5:19, 37 par.; Acts 14:17, etc.); to dismiss, divorce, release (Matt. 13:36; 1 Cor. 7:11–13, etc.); to leave (Mk. 1:20; 10:28 par., etc.); to leave behind (Mk. 1:18 par., etc.); and to abandon (Mk. 7:8; Rom. 1:27, etc.).

The use of *aphesis* is in contrast to this. Of 17 examples in the NT, 15 have the sense of forgiveness (cf. Mk. 1:4 par.; Matt. 26:28; Lk. 1:77; Acts 2:38; Heb. 9:22), and two, release from captivity (Lk. 4:18). It is notable that of these 17 examples, 5 are found in Luke and Acts, 2 in Heb. and 2 in Mk., whereas *aphesis* is totally lacking in Paul, apart from Eph. 1:7 and Col. 1:14. This suggests that it was not used in the early period.

paresis, passing over, letting go unpunished, occurs only at Rom. 3:25. There are, in addition, further circumlocutions for forgiveness (some of them echoing OT ritual language), such as *kalyptō*, to cover (→ Hide), *airō*, to take away, cancel (Jn. 1:29, etc.), *apolouomai*, to get oneself washed (→ Baptism, art. *louō*).

In Paul the idea is expressed in more precise theological terms: *dikaioō*, to justify (→ Righteousness, art. *dikaiosynē*), and *katallassō*, to reconcile (→ Reconciliation).

2. (a) Just as the fact that man is a sinner has destroyed his relationship with God (→ Sin, art. *hamartia*; → Man, art. *anthrōpos* NT), so forgiveness takes the central place in Christian proclamation as the means whereby this relationship is restored. It stands as the action of God in the face of the sinful behaviour of man, and is based on Christ (Col. 1:14; Eph. 1:7), whose power to forgive sins is made known in preaching (Lk. 24:47; Acts 10:42 f.; 13:38), → baptism (cf. Acts 2:38; Mk. 1:4 f. par.; Rom. 6:1 ff.), and the → Lord's Supper (Matt. 26:28; cf. Jn. 6:53 ff.). The OT proclamation of forgiveness is here taken up and preached afresh as the fulfilment in Christ of what was promised of old (Jer. 31:34; 33:8) in the eschatological present (cf. Lk. 1:77; 4:18 ff.). The Synoptic Gospels and Acts often use parallel to the vb. (see above, 1) the fixed formula *aphesis hamartiōn*, forgiveness of sins (cf. Mk. 1:4 f. par., Matt. 26:28, Acts 5:31). The terms preferred by the other NT writers like → redemption (*apolytrōsis*), → reconciliation (*katallagē*), justification (*dikaiōsis* or the vb. *dikaioō*; → righteousness, art. *dikaiosynē* NT, 1), concentrate more upon the work of Christ (but cf. also Col. 1:14 and similarly Eph. 1:7).

(b) According to Mk. 10:45 par., the preaching of Jesus reached its climax in the forgiveness brought by him (Lk. 4:18–21; 15:11 ff.; Matt. 18:21 ff.). It appears as the activity appropriate to him (Mk. 2:7, 10 par.; Lk. 7:49). In Mk. 2:1–12 par. (the healing of the paralytic) we see forgiveness taking, despite all the objections, the place it is to occupy in the activity of Jesus as the one proper essential work he has come to do. Jesus' attitude to notorious sinners underlines his preaching by action (Lk. 7:36–50; 19:1–10).

(c) Forgiveness includes making of no account the sin which has been committed (Mk. 2:5 par.; cf. Jn. 8:11), and the acceptance of the sinner (Lk. 15:20 ff.; cf. also Col. 1:13 f.: deliverance from the dominion of the powers and transference to the kingdom of Christ), to whom a new life is given and with it the promise of eternal life (Lk. 23:43; Matt. 5:43–48; Jn. 14:19b). Early Christian

preaching shows that this acceptance is at the same time an acceptance into the church. It therefore includes a share in the forgiveness which is continually pronounced there, because it is continually needed (Matt. 18:18; cf. 16:19; Jn. 20:23; cf. also 10:42 f.; 13:38). Forgiveness is closely associated with the death of Jesus on the cross (in addition to general references like Mk. 10:45 par. and Jn. 3:16; cf. Heb. 9:22 and Rom. 8:32). As the "Lamb of God", he takes away the sin of the world (Jn. 1:29; cf. 1 Pet. 2:21–24). In the → Lord's Supper reference is made to the reconciling effect of the death of Jesus in the words "blood of the covenant . . . poured out . . . for the forgiveness of sins" (Matt. 26:28). In 1 Cor. 15:17 it is linked to the → resurrection of Jesus (cf. Rom. 4:25; 14:9; 2 Cor. 5:15b; Lk. 24:46 f.; cf. also Acts 5:31).

(d) Repentance (*metanoia*, → Conversion) and confession of sins (Mk. 1:15; Acts 2:38; 5:31; 1 Jn. 1:9; Heb. 6:1, 6; Jas. 5:16) are not "works" offered up to God. Rather, they are the acceptance, brought about by God himself, of his verdict upon the "old man", and an openness to his word of deliverance (cf. Acts 19:18). Nor can the readiness of a man to forgive, with which the divine declaration of forgiveness is closely linked (Matt. 6:12 par.; 14 f.; cf. 5:23 f.; Mk. 11:25; Lk. 6:37), be regarded as a meritorious precondition. It belongs to the new life which has been given. Where this has been received, it is the natural, daily sign of the forgiven sinner's gratitude. This is demonstrated negatively by the example of the wicked servant (Matt. 18:32–35). The passages cited from the Sermon on the Mount are also directed at those who have already received God's forgiveness, in whom gratitude is to be expected as a consequence, showing itself in the following or imitation of Christ and his forgiveness (cf. Col. 3:13; Eph. 4:32). Man's forgiveness of his debtor (Matt. 6:12 par.) and even of his enemy (Matt. 5:38–48; Rom. 12:19 ff.) comes about as the consequence of God's forgiveness in Christ.

(e) In Paul the terms *aphiēmi* and *aphesis* virtually disappear. (Rom. 4:7 in an OT quotation from Ps. 32:1 has *aphiēmi* in the sense of forgive; and Rom. 3:25 *paresis* in a similar sense.) This is because the proclamation of forgiveness appears in Paul's writings as a thought-out and systematized doctrine. The fact that forgiveness is not merely a remission of past guilt, but includes total deliverance from the power of sin and restoration to fellowship with God, is expressed by Paul in his doctrine of justification (→ righteousness; cf. Rom. 3:21 ff.; 4:22, 25; Gal. 3:6–9) and of → reconciliation (of the sinner, Rom. 5:10 f.; 2 Cor. 5:18; of the world, Rom. 11:15; 2 Cor. 5:19) with God. This has taken place in Christ (Rom. 5:10 f.) as God's own free act (2 Cor. 5:18 f.) and is the centre of the gospel. Forgiveness takes place because God gives himself completely in the sacrifice of his Son (2 Cor. 5:21; Rom. 8:32), and so gives man a share in his own righteousness (Rom. 3:21–28). Thus "in Christ" man becomes a pardoned sinner (Rom. 8:1) and a "new creature" (2 Cor. 5:17). This teaching represents a summary and theological consolidation of the early Christian preaching of forgiveness.

(f) The task of proclaiming the forgiveness which has been brought about by Christ is given to the → church. This task is carried out in preaching, in the personal declaration of forgiveness to individuals, and also in the proclamatore rites of baptism and the eucharist. It is not a case of mere reference to and repetition of something past. Each time it is a fresh act of proclamation, coming from Christ himself to the concrete situation of the present. Its validity is grounded in the

authority given by Christ to the church (Matt. 18:18; cf. 16:19; Jn. 20:23; cf. also 1 Jn. 5:16; Jas. 5:15 f.), and always remains conditional on obedience to him.

This comes about through renewed realization of forgiveness in the real situations of everyday life, with their call to decision, and not in some timeless application. This is shown by the commission to retain along with the commission to forgive (*krateō*, as opposed to *aphiēmi*, Jn. 20:23; cf. Matt. 18:18; 16:19; → Bind). Without this, forgiveness would be in danger of being trivialized. In this connection see 1 Cor. 5:1–5; Matt. 12:30 ff. par.; Acts 5:1–11; 1 Jn. 5:16 f.; Heb. 6:4; 10:26 f. These passages deal with the live issue of apostasy and renewed repentance, a question later taken up again by the Shepherd of Hermas. *H. Vorländer*

→ Baptism, → Blood, → Conversion, → Cross, → Grace (for *charizomai*, graciously forgive), → Judgment, → Reconciliation, → Redemption, → Sacrifice, → Sin, → Slave, Servant, → Son

(a). R. Bultmann, *aphiēmi*, *TDNT*, I 509–12; J. D. M. Derrett, "The Anointing at Bethany and the Story of Zacchaeus," *Law in the New Testament*, 1970, 266–85; W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*, II, 1967, 380–95; O. E. Evans, "The Unforgivable Sin," *ExpT.* 68, 1956–57, 240–44; F. C. Fensham, "The Legal Background of Mt. 6, 12," *NovT.* 4, 1960, 1 f.; J. M. Ford, "The Forgiveness Clause in the Matthaean Form of the Our Father," *ZNW* 59, 1968, 127 ff.; E. M. B. Green, *The Meaning of Salvation*, 1965; J. Jeremias, *The Prayers of Jesus*, 1967; E. Lohmeyer, *The Lord's Prayer*, 1965, 160–90; J. Lowe, *The Lord's Prayer*, 1962, 37–42; W. Lüthi, *The Lord's Prayer*, 1962, 46–52; H. McKeating, "Divine Forgiveness in the Psalms", *SJT* 18, 1965, 69–83; I. H. Marshall, *Kept by the Power of God: A Study of Perseverance and Falling Away*, 1969; R. P. Martin, "Reconciliation and Forgiveness in Colossians," in R. Banks, ed., *Reconciliation and Hope* (Leon Morris Festschrift), 1974, 104–24; E. B. Redlich, *The Forgiveness of Sins*, 1937; K. Stendahl, "Prayer and Forgiveness," *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok* 22–23, 1957–58, 75 ff.; V. Taylor, *Forgiveness and Reconciliation*, 1941; W. Telfer, *The Forgiveness of Sins*. 1959 H. Thyen, *BAPTISMA METANOIAS EIS APHESIN AMARTIŌN*, in J. M. Robinson, ed., *The Future of Our Religious Past, Essays in Honour of Rudolf Bultmann*, 1971, 131–68; J. G. S. S, Thompson, *The Praying Christ*, 1959.

(b). H. Dee "Vergebung der Sünden," *EvTh* 26, 1966, 652 ff.; H. Gollwitzer, "Zu H. Dee 'Vergebung der Sünden,'" *EvTh* 26, 1966, 652 ff.; W. Koch, H. Bienert, P. Jacobs, "Vergeltung und Vergebung," *EKL* III 1636 ff.; K. Koch, "Sühne und Sündevergebung um die Wende von der exilischen zur nachexilischen Zeit," *EvTh* 26, 1966, 217 ff.; H. Thyen, *Studien zur Sündenvergebung im Neuen Testament und seine alttestamentlichen und jüdischen Voraussetzungen*, *FRLANT* 96, 1969; T. C. Vriezen *et al.*, "Sündenvergebung," *RGG*³ VI 507 ff.

Form, Substance

The distinction is commonly drawn between outward form and essential substance. Whilst this distinction is also found in Gk., the Gk. idea of form does not imply that every kind of form is a mere outward appearance. The following article examines three words which may be translated as form: *eidos*, *morphē* and *schēma*. It also examines *hypostasis* which, among other things, may be translated as substance, essential nature, essence and actual being, as well as assurance, confidence.

εἶδος

εἶδος (*eidos*), form, outward appearance, sight.

CL The noun *eidos* is connected with the vb. **eidō*, see (cf. Lat. *video*). It occurs from Homer onwards and denotes appearance, visible form, stressing the link between the visible appearance and reality. Hdt. could speak of praising the *eidos*

of a woman (1, 8), meaning not only her outward beauty but her true character. The word is used in Plato for the Forms or Ideas which are the existing realities behind our world (*Phaedo*, 75, 102; *Rep.*, 6, 508–11; cf. 7, 514 ff.). The modern distinction between the external and the internal, the visible and the invisible, the husk and the kernel, and between outward form and essential content is inappropriate and foreign to this aspect of Gk. thought. Although Aristotle distinguished between *eidos*, → *morphē* and *hylē* (matter), he was not thinking of two different materials. The *eidos* was the expression of the essence in visible form.

OT The LXX uses *eidos* to translate *mar'eh* (sight, appearance, vision) and *tō'ar* (form). Here too the outward appearance of the whole being is meant (cf. Gen. 29:17; Isa. 53:2 f.), and not merely the outer shell behind which something quite different might be supposed. God conversed *en eidei* with Moses (Num. 12:8). This means that Moses saw the glory of the Lord.

NT 1. *eidos* occurs only 5 times in the NT (twice in Paul and Lk., and once in Jn.).

1 Thess. 5:22 goes back to Job 1:1, 8: "Abstain from every form of evil." G. Kittel thinks that *eidos* here means a "mint" and that the verse may reflect a saying of Jesus concerning money changers preserved in the early church (*TDNT* II 375). But Arndt (220) prefers to translate it as "kind".

2. 2 Cor. 5:7 declares that "We walk by faith and not *dia eidous* [by sight, RSV]." The interpretation is difficult, because *eidos* does not normally mean "sight" but the visible form. There is also the question of the subject of the verse. In the first half it is the 1st person plur. "we". If "we" is also to be understood as the subject of "not by sight", the verse might then imply a contrast of the present time as the sphere of faith with the coming future time in which we shall have a visible form.

On the other hand, v. 7b may be taken to refer to the visible form of the Lord. We now walk by faith (*dia pisteōs*), but the Lord does not walk in visible form. Against this view is the fact that it requires a sudden, implicit change of subject.

There is, however, a third possibility that Paul simply means that we now live by faith and not by sight.

3. In his account of the baptism of Jesus, Lk. says that the Holy Spirit descended upon Jesus in bodily form (*sōmatikō eidei*) like a dove (Lk. 3:22; cf. Mk. 1:10; Matt. 3:16). The account intends to stress the reality of what happened. Similarly, Lk. also uses *eidos* in his account of the transfiguration. "And as he was praying, the appearance of his countenance (*to eidos tou prosōpou autou*) was altered" (Lk. 9:29; cf. Matt. 17:2; Mk. 9:2). But no special tendency in Lk.'s writing can be deduced from this.

4. Jn. 5:37 contains the statement: "His voice you have never heard, his form (*eidos*) you have never seen." This is contrasted with the first half of the verse: "And the Father who sent me has himself born witness to me" (cf. also v. 38). It was part of the OT witness that God cannot be seen in visible form (cf. Deut. 4:12). But this is never intended as a reproach. Similarly, Jn. 5:37 cannot be interpreted in this way. It means rather that they have not given heed to God (cf. v. 38). ([Ed.] However, there may be the further implication that Jesus has in fact heard the voice of the Father and seen his "form" and thus has an authority and relationship with the Father which no other man has ever had [cf. the whole argument in Jn. 5:17–47].)

G. Braumann

μορφή

μορφή (*morphē*), form, outward appearance, shape; σύμμορφος (*symmorphos*), having the same shape, similar in form or appearance; συμμορφίζομαι (*symmorphizomai*), be conformed to, take on the same form as; συμμορφόομαι (*symmorphoomai*), take on the same form; μεταμορφόομαι (*metamorphoomai*), be transformed; μόρφωσις (*morphōsis*), embodiment, formulation, outward form, appearance; μορφόω (*morphoō*), form, shape.

CL 1. (a) *morphē* is instanced from Homer onwards and means form in the sense of outward appearance. Aeschylus speaks of seeing neither voice nor form of man (*PV*, 21 f.). It can also mean the embodiment of the form, the person in so far as it comes into view. "The spirit of misfortune . . . has robbed me in sending to me dust and a vain shade instead of your most loved form" (Soph., *El.*, 1156 ff.). Gk. philosophy was concerned with the question of matter and form. Plato presents Socrates as saying that an exact description of the nature of the soul will enable us to see "whether she be single and the same, or, like the *morphē* of the body, multiform. That is what we should call showing the nature of the soul" (*Phdr.*, 271; cf. 103, 104). Aristotle worked out a more precise set of concepts. He distinguished matter (*hylē*) from form (*morphē*, → also *eidos*). Matter has within itself a great number of possibilities for becoming a form and thus becoming manifest as a form. See further Aristot., *Met.*, 990b, 9; 1029a, 29; 1057b, 7; *Phys.*, 187a, 18; *Cat.*, 2b, 7.

These concepts do not imply that form and matter are separable like husk and kernel. Rather they represent different principles and ways of looking at the same object. The outward appearance cannot be detached from the essence of the thing. The essence of the thing is indicated by its outward form.

(b) Similarly, *morphōsis* means embodiment, receiving form; *symmorphos* having the same form; *symmorphizomai* and *symmorphoomai* to take on the same form; and *metamorphoomai* to be transformed (cf. Arndt, 513, 530, 786).

(c) Of special interest is the use of the word in the literature of gnosticism and the Hel. mystery religions. In the first instance, these texts are not to be compared with the accounts of the appearance of the gods in various forms (e.g. Jupiter in mortal form, *specie mortali*, Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 8, 262). For it is not so much the question of the transformation of the deity into human form (though cf. Phil. 2:6), but that of men into divine form. It is not merely the external appearance that is changed. Rather, the change of the *morphē* involves a change of essential character. According to *Pistis Sophia*, *c.* 66, one of the emanations changed itself into the form of a great serpent, whilst another changed itself into the form of a basilisk. The meaning of external appearance can even recede behind that of essential character. There is a place where there is neither man nor woman nor even forms, but a perpetual, ineffable light (*Pistis Sophia*, *c.* 143). "All the very mournful forms he [Uriel] will lead to judgment" (*Sibylline Oracles*, 2, 230). The external appearance is undoubtedly meant not as an antithesis to the essential character, but as the expression of it.

Thus the Hel. mystery religions contain a great number of stories about transformations. The initiate is transformed by dedication and rites into divine substances and so is deified. "I passed into an immortal body, and now I am not what

I was before but am born again in *nous* [mind]" (*Corp. Herm.*, 13, 3). The whole man is affected and not just a part or something in him.

OT 1. *morphē* occurs only rarely in the Gk. translations of the OT. Altogether it appears 9 times for various Heb. or Aram. words: *t^{e}mûnâh* (Job 4:16), *taḇnîṯ* (Isa. 44:13), *ṣ^{e}lēm* (Dan. 3:19). (See further J. Behm, *TDNT* II 749; E. Lohmeyer, *Der Brief an die Philipper*, KEK 9, 1930^{8}, 91 f.)

The OT spoke of God in anthropological terms. But inevitably men have to speak of God in this way (cf. K. Barth, *CD*, II, 1, 222 f., 264, 286, 369 f.). According to Gen. 18:1 ff., God appeared to Abraham in the form of three men. However, the LXX never used *morphē* to speak of the form of God.

2. Jewish apocalyptic expected in the future a transformation of the present world. But the transformation did not take place in the present. It was something that lay in the future. According to Syr. Bar. 51:1, when the appointed day has passed, the appearance of sinners is transformed. Those who have acted righteously then appear glorified.

NT *morphē* and its cognates occur only rarely in the NT. *morphē* itself in fact occurs only twice. It is remarkable that, apart from Matt. 17:2, Mk. 9:2 and 16:12, the words are confined to the Pauline writings.

1. It is a matter of debate whether Phil. 2:6–11 forms a single unit and whether Paul incorporated into Phil. an already existing hymn. (For a review of this discussion see R. P. Martin, *Carmen Christi: Philippians ii. 5–11 in Recent Interpretation and in the Setting of Early Christian Worship*, 1967, 15–95.) Nevertheless, it can hardly be questioned that these verses do constitute a hymn about Christ in which the expressions *morphē theou* (form of God) and *morphē doulou* (form of a servant, → Slave) occur. Christ is said to have been *en morphē theou* (in the form of God, v. 6). The *en* does not mean that the essential nature of Christ was different from the form (cf. Lohmeyer), as it were an outer shell or a part played by an actor. Rather it means that the essential nature of Christ is defined as divine nature which, by analogy with the Hel. mystery religions is thought of as existing "in" divine substance and power (cf. E. Käsemann, *Exegetische Versuche und Besinnungen*, I, 1960, 51 ff.). Christ is said not only to have been surrounded by divine glory and to have had the same form as God (cf. O. Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament*, 1959, 177). "Outside his human nature Christ has no other manner of existing apart from being divine" (L. Cerfaux, *Christ in the Theology of St. Paul*, 1959, 387). Whether this is to be understood in a gnostic sense is doubtful (cf. O. Michel, "Zur Exegese von Phil. 2, 5–11" in *Theologie als Glaubenswagnis, Festschrift Karl Heim*, 1954). It is said of this divine mode of existence that Christ existed in it in the past (*hyparchōn*, being, v. 6). It refers to his pre-existence prior to the incarnation. *en morphē theou* characterizes, therefore, his existence before his earthly life, but not his existence in that earthly life. For he emptied himself (*heauton ekenōsen*, v. 7) taking the "form of a servant" (*morphēn doulou*). This form replaces the "form of God". It is not to be thought of like clothing put over the previous form or as an addition to the pre-existing form. Christ's mode of being was essentially changed. ([Ed.] For other interpretations of this passage → Empty, art. *kenos*, NT 3.)

Christ's mode of existence in his earthly life is described as that of a servant. This has been interpreted in various ways. Lohmeyer and Jeremias see it as a title of

honour corresponding to the Servant of the Lord in Isa. 53 (→ Son of God, art. *pais theou*; → Empty, art. *kenos*). E. Schweizer sees it as a picture of righteous suffering (*Lordship and Discipleship*, 1960). In the opinion of the present writer, G. Bornkamm is right when he says that Christ entered upon a mode of existence which is under bondage and serfdom to the rule of cosmic powers and the elements of the world ("On the Understanding of the Christ-hymn (Philippians 2:6–11)", *Early Christian Experience*, 1969, 112–22).

According to G. Friedrich, the Christ-hymn does not contain "great speculations and profound reflections" from which dogmatic formulations can be proved (*Die Kleineren Briefe des Apostels Paulus: Der Brief an die Philipper*, NTD 8, 1962[9], 109). Käsemann sees it simply as the narrative of a continuous succession of events from the pre-existent divine mode of being which Christ gave up to an earthly existence of which the essential character was *douleia* (servitude).

2. Phil. 3:21 is to be understood in a similar way: "who will change [*metaschēmatisei*] our lowly body to be like [*symmorphon*] his glorious body, by the power which enables him even to subject all things to himself." The terms used here recall Phil. 2:6 ff. (cf. G. Strecker, "Redaktion und Tradition im Christushymnus Phil. 2, 6–11", *ZNW* 55, 1964, 63 ff.; E. Güttgemanns, *Der leidende Apostel und sein Herr*, 1966). Possibly it also contains a pre-Pauline tradition. The thought is not that of clothing in the sense of covering the essential character (→ Clothe), but that of the essential transformation of the lowly → body into a completely different one which is a glorified body. *symmorphos* does not mean becoming like, similar or equal. Rather it signifies an existence in Christ whose own mode of *sōma* permeates us without dissolving our own persons (cf. E. Güttgemanns, op. cit.; J. Jervell, *Imago Dei*, 1960). Christ and ourselves are not sharply separated individuals according to the modern understanding of personality. We have our existence in the realm of the power of Christ (→ *schēma*).

Rom. 8:29 declares that, "those whom he foreknew he also predestined to be conformed to the image [*symmorphous tēs eikonos*] of his Son, in order that he might be the firstborn among many brethren." The passage presupposes that Christ is the → image of God. In Christ God is really present. Again *symmorphos* means that we shall not only be similar to or like Christ but that we shall come into the same realm of power as he. We shall be identified with the same substance as he, and enter into the same essential nature as Christ. One might even speak in the same vein as the Hel. mystery religions and speak of a "divinization" or "Christening" (the objection of J. Behm, *TDNT* IV 758, is not fully convincing). Nevertheless, within this relationship Christ retains separate identity ("the firstborn among many brethren", cf. also 2 Cor. 3:18).

Phil. 3:10 relates *symmorphizomai* to the death of Christ: "that I may know him and the power of his resurrection, and may share his sufferings, becoming like him in his death [*symmorphizomenos tō thanatō autou*]." Again the thought is not that of a way of becoming like in the sense that the apostle might through martyrdom become like Jesus on the cross. Rather the apostle in his suffering sees the death of Christ becoming a reality in his own death. The death of Christ acquires a *morphē* in the death of the apostle. The death of Jesus is not simply a historical datum of the past for Paul. It is a present event. Nevertheless, here too Paul and Christ remain two separate personalities. (→ Like.)

3. In Gal. 4:19 Paul speaks of being "in travail until Christ be formed [*morphōthē*] in you." The thought is not that of having correct teaching in contrast to the erroneous teaching of the Galatians (cf. R. Herrmann, "Über den Sinn des *morphousthai Christon en hymin* in Gal. 4, 19," *TLZ* 80, 1955, 713 ff.). It is rather that of coming into the world as a child comes into the world through conception and → birth. Christ himself is to be formed in them in the reality of his being.

Rom. 12:2 declares: "Do not be conformed to this world [*mē syschēmatizesthe tō aiōni toutō*] but be transformed by the renewal of your mind [*alla metamorphousthe tē anakainōsei tou noos*], that you may prove what is the will of God, what is good and acceptable and perfect." This is no mere change of mind or adoption of a new moral outlook. It is a complete transformation and change, a thorough renewal of the whole man. "What is meant is not a theoretical relearning, but the renewal of the will" (R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, I, 1952, 211; → Reason, art. *nous*).

4. Rom. 2:20 refers to the Jew as "a corrector of the foolish, a teacher of children, having in the law the embodiment of knowledge and truth [*tēn morphōsin tēs gnōseōs kai tēs alētheias*]." Perhaps this is a reference to a Jewish work of propaganda which contained the word *morphōsis* in its title (cf. O. Michel, *Der Brief an die Römer*, KEK 12, 1963, 88). Knowledge and truth are contained in the law and are really present in it.

5. If the above passages may be understood primarily against the religious background of gnosticism and the mystery cults, other explanations are more probable in the case of the remaining passages. 2 Tim. 3:5 speaks of those "holding the form of piety [*morphōsin eusebeias*] but denying its power." Here the meaning is more of "appearance." The heretics are not really pious; they are only apparently devout.

6. In the longer ending of Mk. Jesus is said to appear "in another form [*en hetera morphē*]" (Mk. 16:12). The question is not raised whether the risen Christ could be recognized as the one he was before his death.

7. The transfiguration narrative (Mk. 9:2 ff.) follows on from Peter's confession of Christ (Mk. 8:27 ff.). It is presented as a divine confirmation of the preceding human confession. Both man and God confess Jesus. The word for "transfigured" in Mk. 9:2 is *metemorphōthē* (cf. Matt. 17:2). Lk. expresses it differently and says that "the appearance of his face became different [*egeneto . . . to eidos tou prosōpou autou heteron*], and his raiment became dazzling white" (Lk. 9:29). Mk. mentions his snow-white clothing, and Matt. his countenance and clothes. *G. Braumann*

σχῆμα *σχῆμα* (*schēma*), outward appearance, form, shape; *μετασχηματίζω* (*metaschēmatizō*), change the form of, transform, change; *συσχηματίζω* (*syschēmatizō*), mould, form after; pass. be formed like, be conformed to.

CL *schēma* means: (1) form, shape, figure; (2) appearance, as opposed to reality; (3) bearing, air, mien; (4) fashion, manner; (5) character. Gk. thought did not sharply distinguish between the external and the internal. *schēma* denotes the form that is seen. It could thus denote the role played by an actor which includes its

essential character (Plato, *Leg.*, 11, 918e). But the outward form can also be deceptive, and appearance become a sham. *schēma* can thus mean mere appearance as opposed to reality. It can also mean a dancing figure (Plato, *Ion*, 536c), bodily attitude or bearing (Eur., *Medea*, 1039), clothing (Xen., *Cyr.*, 5, 1, 5), and occasionally semblance (Theophrastus, *Historia Plantarum*, 3, 12, 7).

In studying the Gk. word, one has to beware of the modern outlook which would relate *schēma* merely to external things, implying that the essential character was something different. To the Gk. mind, the observer saw not only the outer shell but the whole form with it.

syschēmatizō means not only to conform to the external form, but (from Aristotle onwards) to assume the form of something, to identify oneself essentially with someone else. In the NT it occurs only in the pass.

metaschēmatizō indicates the process by which an object or a person is thoroughly transformed and changed.

OT Is. 3:17 is the only passage in the LXX where *schēma* has a Heb. equivalent. It refers to the proud bearing of women. 4 Macc. 9:22 uses *metaschēmatizō* to describe the transformation of martyrs at death to immortality. On the other hand, in 1 Sam. 28:8 it means disguise. Saul made himself unrecognizable. The words occur with various shades of meaning in Philo and Josephus (cf. J. Schneider, *TDNT* VII 955 f.).

NT *schēma* occurs only twice in the NT, both instances being in Paul. *syschēmatizō* likewise occurs only twice (once in Paul and once in 1 Pet.). *metaschēmatizō* occurs only in Paul (5 times in the Corinthian correspondence and Phil. 3).

1. On Phil. 2 → above on *morphē* NT 1, and → Empty, art. *kenos* NT 3. Phil. 2:7 declares that: he "emptied himself, taking the form of a servant [*morphēn doulou labōn*], being born in the likeness [*schēmati*] of men." This does not refer to the moral character of this earthly life (Lohmeyer), or to the appearance of Jesus (Dibelius), or to the fact of his humanity, but to the way in which Jesus' humanity appeared (Käsemann), as anyone could see. This is the force of *heuretheis* ("being found").

2. (a) 1 Cor. 7:31 shows how real the *schēma* was for Paul when he declared: "The form of this world is passing away."

(b) Phil. 3:21 depicts the eschatological transformation which comes over Christians. *metaschēmatizō* does not refer to a gnostic identification of the believer with Christ (cf. Güttgemanns), but real participation in the glorified body of Christ (→ *morphē*, NT 2).

(c) Rom. 12:2 (→ *morphē*, NT 3) is not concerned merely with making various concessions to this age, or coming down to the same level. It warns against being absorbed by it, surrendering oneself to it, and falling prey to it. To do so is to yield oneself to its power (cf. 1 Pet. 1:14).

(d) In 1 Cor. 4:6 Paul says: "I have applied [*meteschēmatisa*] all this to myself and to Apollos for your benefit" (RSV). J. Schneider takes the vb. here as expressing "something in another than the expected or customary form" (*TDNT* VII 958). Arndt, however, paraphrases: "I have given this teaching of mine the form of an exposition concerning Apollos and myself" (515).

3. In 2 Cor. 11:13 ff. the thought is not that pseudo-apostles had transformed themselves into apostles, but that they had appeared as apostles and were regarded by some as such. At this time people did not sharply define what constituted an apostle. Paul's opponents called themselves apostles and earnestly presented themselves as such. In the eyes of many, these opponents really were apostles. It was Paul who first called them false apostles. Various forms of *metaschēmatizō* occur 3 times in vv. 13–15. In each case RSV translates it as "disguise." However, the meaning may rather be that Paul ironically describes them as transforming themselves into apostles. The pseudo-apostles really did assume the form of an apostle. They identified themselves with them. They were apostles – but false apostles.

The same applies to Satan. He not only disguises himself as an angel of light and plays at being such. He really identifies himself with an angel of light, and assumes the character. The fact that it is only an appearance is disclosed in v. 15. But this is not due so much to the vb. *metaschēmatizō* as to the insertion of the word *hōs* (as). The servants of Satan present themselves "as" servants of righteousness. *metaschēmatizō* has the same meaning in these passages as it has elsewhere in Paul.

G. Braumann

ὑπόστασις

ὑπόστασις (*hypostasis*), (1) substantial nature, substance, essence, actual being; (2) confidence, conviction, steadfastness.

CL 1. The noun is the substantival form of the vb. *hyphistēmi* (to place under), reflexive *hyphistamai* (to stand under). It has a wide range of meanings in both secular Gk. and the LXX.

(a) It is used concretely for what stands under, the basis of something (Sextus Empiricus, Adversus Mathematicos, 8, 161, 183; 10, 335); the bottom under water on which one can get a foothold (Aristotle, *Hist. An.*, 551b, 29); the economic basis, the value of property or land (so frequently in the papyri, cf. F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyruskunden*, II, col. 672); treasure, *substantia bonorum operum* (4 Esd. 8:36); life's starting point, the sidereal hour of birth, a military outpost (Nah. 2:7 LXX; 1 Sam. 13:23), garrison (Hdt. 8, 91), seat (for *enedra;* Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 3, 7), substance (Pss. 88:48; 138:15 LXX); material substance (Chrysippus, *SVF* II, 503; Arius Didymus, *SVF* II, 163 f., 8 f.); essence (Ps. Sol. 17:24); stock, perhaps even source.

(b) As a human attitude *hypostasis* means putting oneself between, holding one's ground, enduring (Polyb. 4, 50, 10); *anhypostata*, what one cannot withstand (Polyb. 4, 8, 10), e.g. the endurance of torment (Josephus, *Ant.*, 18, 24); a bold venture, enterprise (together with *hormē* [impulse, assault], Aelianus, *Frag*, 56; Diodorus 16, 33, 1) venturing, pledging oneself (Hdt., 9, 34, 2; Eur., *Iph. Aul.*, 360); entering upon a risky undertaking (Diodorus 1, 3, 7; 16, 32, 3; Hdt., 3, 127, 2); constancy (Aristotle, *Metaph.*, 382b, 14). It is also related to hope, confidence (Ez. 19:5 LXX; Ruth 1:12; Polyb., 6, 55, 2; together with *tolma* [boldness, recklessness], resistance, Thuc., 1, 144, 5; 7, 66, 2) and strength to resist (Polyb., 6, 55, 2).

(c) In the physical realm *hypostasis* denotes what sets itself below, dregs (Aristotle, *Part. An.*, 671b, 20; *Metaph.*, 358a, 8; Menander in Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*,

3, 7); residue, sediment (Hippocrates, *Aphorismi*, 4, 69); the sediment in the process of smelting (Polyb., 34, 9, 10 f.; Strabo, 3, 10).

(d) In philosophy *hyphistamai* can mean to be obvious, to show up against, to come into view. It denotes the transition from the latent to the manifest actualization (cf. Wis. 16:21), realization, being a substance, matter, or an object (Plut., *De Communibus Notitiis*, 50, 1085e). It then denotes the immanent Logos (→ word) in matter giving it form. Here the *hypostasis* is to be distinguished from the *hypokeimenon*, the basic primary matter which has not yet been formed. Thus God, as the world-logos, is the *hypostasis* of the world. In Neo-Pythagorean thought → number fulfilled this function (Sextus Empiricus, *ad Math.*, 7, 93). *hypostasis* can thus mean the realization of an intention (Diodorus, 1, 3, 2; Josephus, *Ap.*, 1, 1), the entering into a relationship of matter and quality, without which there can be nothing empirical and no real being. It can also thus mean the actualization of a body (Arius Didymus, *Fr.Phys.*, 2, in H. Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*, 1879, 448, 12.)

2. In view of the above the following basic elements in the word emerge: (a) that which is permanently constituted; (b) the enduring relationship of the particular thing to reality; (c) virtually the same as essence (*ousia*), realization (cf. Aristotle, *Top.*, 2, 4p, 161, 30), especially among the Stoics. *hypostasis* is substantial, concrete being between the merely actual but contingent and the realities that are merely mental.

epinoia (thought) and *emphasis* (appearance) do have *hyparxis* (existence), but not *hypostasis* (reality) (*SVF* III, 26; Diog. Laert., 7, 135; *SVF* III, 267, 3; Seneca, Letter 58; cf. Boethius, *SVF*, II, 332). This distinction evidently originated with Posidonius (*c.* 135–51 B.C.), cf. also the *Oneirocriticus* of Artemidorus (3, 14) in the 2nd cent. A.D.

Reality and appearance were thus opposed (Diog. Laert., 9, 91; Posidonius in Aetius 3, 5 [Diels, op. cit., 371, 27]; Aristotle, *Mund.*, 4, 395a, 30). Time was thought of as *noēma* (thought, concept) and *metron* (measure) but not as *hypostasis* (Antiphon 10, 9; Aetius 1, 22, 6; cf. Diels, op. cit., 3, 18b, 22). Here too belongs Philo who said that the *augē* (light) of fire had no reality or *hypostasis* of itself (*Aet.Mund.*, 88; cf. 92). In the Middle Platonists (*c.* 50 B.C.–A.D. 250) *hypostasis* means the manifestation of the world spirit or world soul. According to Albinus (10, 2p; 167, 17 ff.), there is a *hypostasis* which belongs to being. For the Peripatetics *hypostasis* meant that which gives stability to the concrete, individual thing. It was thus not far removed from *substantia*.

OT The LXX shows how in the Hel. period a complex word like *hypostasis* had become a fashionable term comparable with the word "existence" today. The 20 instances represent 15 different Heb. equivalents, which in itself is something rare. In the 1st and 2nd centuries B.C. *hypostasis* was already a current philosophical term. This may explain its use for so many Heb. words which differ considerably in meaning.

1. In a more general sense it is used as follows: for *mā'ᵃmāḏ*, ground under water on which one can stand (Ps. 68:3 [69:2]); *yᵉqûm*, living being (Deut. 11:6); *ḥeleḏ*, duration of life (Pss. 38:6 [39:5]; 88:48 [89:47]); *miḥyâh*, food, sustenance (Jdg. 6:4); *kᵉnā'âh*, load, pack (Jer. 10:17); *maṣṣāḇ*, outpost (1 Sam. 14:4); *maṣṣēḇâh*,

pillar (Ezek. 26:11); *ruqqamtî*, lit. I was (when an embryo) woven (Ps.138[139]:15); *t^e_kûnâh*, arrangement (Ezek. 43:11).

2. It is used in a more philosophical sense for *sôḏ*, council, group of intimates (Jer. 23:22); *maśśā'*, burden (Deut. 1:12); *tôḥeleṯ*, expectation, hope (Ps. 38[39]: 8); and *tiqwâh*, hope (Ezek. 19:5). These last two Heb. equivalents give the term *hypostasis* a new meaning within the compass of scripture. The elements of hope and confidence are important for understanding NT usage.

NT *hypostasis* occurs in the NT only 5 times. The reason for this may well be that, up to the author of Heb., the NT writers were not interested in philosophical trains of thought.

1. 2 Cor. 9:4 says "lest if some Macedonians come with me and find that you are not ready, we be humiliated – to say nothing of you – for being so confident [*en tē hypostasei tautē*, lit. in this *hypostasis*]" (RSV). This interpretation follows that of A. Plummer, *The Second Epistle of St Paul to the Corinthians*, ICC 1915, 255; cf. P. Bachmann, *Der 2. Brief an die Korinther*, 1922⁴, ad loc. H. Lietzmann takes it to mean confidence (*An die Korinther I,II*. HNT 9 1949⁴, 137). Both Lietzmann and Plummer appeal to Ruth 1:12; Ps. 38[39]:8; Ezek. 19:5; Heb. 3:14; 11:1. This meaning is, however, rare. RSV translates *en tautē tē hypostasei tēs kauchēseōs* (2 Cor. 11:17) as "in this boastful confidence." But it may be asked whether the meaning in both passages should not be "enterprise" or "venture".

2. Compared with Paul, the use of *hypostasis* in Heb. is more theologically significant.

(a) The term is important in christology in Heb. 1:3: "He reflects the glory of God and bears the very stamp of his nature [*charaktēr tēs hypostaseōs autou*], upholding the universe by the word of his power" (RSV). H. W. Montefiore translates this as "the exact representation of God's being" (*A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, 1964, 35). J. Héring comments: "He is not merely like the Father, He is of the same essence, although subordinate to the Father" (*The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 1970, 5). F. F. Bruce comments: "Just as the glory is really in the effulgence, so the substance (Gk. *hypostasis*) of God is really in Christ, who is its impress, its exact representation and embodiment. What God essentially is, is made manifest in Christ. To see Christ is to see what the Father is like" (*Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, NLC* 1964, 6). He holds that *hypostasis* here means "substance" or "real essence" in contrast to what merely appears to be.

(b) RSV translates Heb. 3:14: "For we share in Christ, if only we hold our first confidence [*tēn archēn tēs hypostaseōs*] to the end." Some manuscripts have *tēn archēn tēs hypostaseōs autou*. This suggests that the copyists of these manuscripts understood the word in the same sense as in Heb. 1:3 and that the thought they intended was to hold to Christ's essential being. The phrase might thus be translated "the basis, his substance." One manuscript, perhaps referring to v. 6 and 1 Tim. 5:12 replaces *hypostaseōs* by *pisteōs* (faith). But the thought of the passage is that of confidence (cf. 1 above; F. F. Bruce, op. cit., 67). The thought is similar to that of patience (6:12) and perseverence (12:1).

(c) From the instances cited so far, it may be seen how different are the uses of *hypostasis* in Heb. The meaning in Heb. 1:3 and 3:14 is not necessarily determinative

for Heb. 11:1: "Now faith is the *hypostasis* of things hoped for, the conviction [*elenchos*] of things not seen." The following alternative translations may be considered:

(i) Confidence, expectation, confident trust in what is hoped for. The gen. would thus be understood as an objective gen. This interpretation is adopted by B. Weiss, *Der Brief an die Hebräer*, KEK 1897; E. Riggenbach, *Der Brief an die Hebräer*, 1913; J. Moffatt, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, ICC 1924; and H. Windisch, *Der Hebräerbrief*, HNT 1931. In favour of this interpretation is Heb. 10:38, where faith and shrinking back are contrasted ("but my righteous one shall live by faith, and if he shrinks back, my soul has no pleasure in him").

(ii) Pledge, security, guarantee, assurance. C. Spicq takes it as the "guarantee of what is hoped for" (*L'Épître aux Hébreux*, II, 1953, 337). Montefiore sees it as "certainty concerning what is hoped for" (op. cit., 185). ARV translates it: "Now faith is assurance of *things* hoped for, a conviction of things not seen" (cf. F. F. Bruce, op. cit., 277). "Faith is confident assurance of the things we hope for" (Arndt, 854). RSV has "assurance."

(iii) Realization, actualization (cf. H. Dörrie, "HYPOSTASIS: Wort- und Bedeutungsgeschichte", *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse*, 1955, No. 3; cf. Vulg. *sperandarum substantia rerum*, so also various fathers). Héring takes it as "essence" or "substance" as in 1:3 "In hyperbolic language, which highlights the Christian's absolute certainty that the divine promises will be fulfilled, the writer declares that faith already grasps the substance of what is promised" (op. cit., 98 f.). Riggenbach rejects the idea of a literal realization, however, on the grounds that, "The thought that faith gives a present existence to things hoped for in the future . . . brings faith very close to illusion" (ad loc.).

In support of (i) above, H. Windisch refers to the context, especially the preceding verse, and sees *hypostasis* as a confident reliance in contrast to the idea of shrinking back (*hypostolē*). There, however, the contrast is between *pistis* (→ faith) and *hypostolē*. Heb. 11 proceeds to pile up a series of examples. Faith does not only grasp an event, an act of God like the creation (11:3); it also shows itself in events. The more pleasing sacrifice and walk of Abel, the construction of the ark, the saving of Noah, Abraham's obedience in going forth and life as a sojourner, the sacrifice of Isaac, the blessing of the patriarchs, Moses' severance with the Egyptians, the saving of the firstborn of Israel by the Passover blood, the crossing of the Red Sea, the conquest of Jericho, and the rescue of Rahab – these were all events, saving acts, the history of the people of God, something new and unique on earth. Admittedly, the goal of all the hope still lay ahead. What is reported is not the *komizesthai*, the obtaining, the actual fulfilment of the promises. The people in the account are guarantees of their ultimate realization for the people of God. For this reason those addressed are exhorted not to neglect meeting together (10:25), and to remain with the people of God, in whom faith brings about a new reality and through whom God's deeds are wrought.

It is to be noted in 11:1 that *elenchos ou blepomenōn* ("a proving of [or conviction about] unseen things," Arndt, 248) stands in parallel. This could not be said of mere confidence. The question may be asked, whether *hypostasis* is not to be interpreted in the light of *elenchos*.

Since Heb. 11 follows the pattern of early Jewish enumeration of examples (cf. Wis. 10; Sir. 44–50; 4 Macc. 16:16–23), it must be asked, whether its concept of faith does not come near to that of Judaism. In Judaism a distinction was drawn between *ṣ^edḳûṯ tôrâh* and *ṣ^edḳûṯ 'ᵉmûnāh* (the righteousness of the law and the righteousness of faith). Both were, therefore, known. Paul gladly made use of the terminology. However, he understood righteousness by the law to be formal, external behaviour, corresponding to the demands of the law. Righteousness by faith likewise corresponded to the divine requirement, but it was characterized and made possible by faith.

It may be noted that throughout Heb. 11 faith is qualified by the instrumental dat. ("by faith . . ."). This faith is seen as the relationship to the commands and promises of God which made possible the acts and behaviour of the person concerned. It is that by which what is hoped for becomes a reality piece by piece in the contemporary world. According to Dörrie, faith brings about things which are not yet there or which are *para physin* (against nature). "Faith bestows on that which we hope for the full certainty of future realization. Faith bestows on what we do not see the full certainty of proof." The word *elpizomenōn* in the expression "things hoped for" is not an objective gen., as if the thing hoped for became real. Rather it is a subjective gen. The thing hoped for works through faith and produces action and attitudes. Thus Abraham hoped for a future city and therefore chose the life of a sojourner.

G. Harder

→ Empty (for exegesis of Phil. 2), → Image

(a). J. Behm, *morphē*, *TDNT* IV 742–59; G. Bornkamm, "On the Understanding of the Christ-hymn (Philippians 2.6–11)," *Early Christian Experience*, 1969, 112–22; O. Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament*, 1963²; G. Kittel, *eidos*, *TDNT* II 373 ff.; D. M. MacKinnon, "Substance in christology – a cross-bench view," in S. W. Sykes and J. P. Clayton, eds., *Christ, Faith and History*, 1972, 279–300; I. H. Marshall, "The Christ-Hymn in Philippians 2:5–11," *TB* 19, 1968, 104–27; R. P. Martin, *Carmen Christi: Philippians ii. 5–11 in Recent Interpretation and in the Setting of Early Christian Worship*, 1967; and *Philippians*, 1959; C. F. D. Moule, "Further Reflections on Philippians 2:5–11," in W. W. Gasque and R. P. Martin, eds., *Apostolic History and the Gospel* (F. F. Bruce Festschrift), 1970, 264–77; J. Schneider, *schēma*, *TDNT* VII 954–58; D. H. Wallace, "A Note on *morphē*," *ThZ* 22, 1966, 19 ff.; R. I. Witt, "*Hypostasis*", *Amicitiae Corolla* (Festschrift R. Harris), 1933, 319 ff.; commentaries on *2 Corinthians* by A. Plummer (*ICC*), 1915; and P. E. Hughes (*NLC*), 1962; commentaries on *Hebrews* by J. Moffatt (*ICC*), 1924; B. F. Westcott, 1892²; H. W. Montefiore (BNTC) 1964; F. F. Bruce (*NLC*), 1965; J. Héring, 1970.

(b). C. Arpe, "Substantiae," *Philologus*, 1940, 65 ff.; P. Bachmann, *Der 2. Brief an die Korinther*, 1922⁴; H. Cremer and J. Kögel, *Biblisch-theologisches Wörterbuch der neutestamentlichen Gräzität*, 1923¹¹ (s.v. *hypostasis*); M. Dibelius, *An die Philipper*, *HNT* 11, 1937³; R. Deichgräber, *Gotteshymnus und Christushymnus in der frühen Christenheit*, 1967; H. Dörrie, *Hypostasis. Wort- und Bedeutungsgeschichte*, Nachdrücke der Akademie der Wissenschaften, Göttingen, 1955, 35 ff.; and "Zu Hebr. 11, 1," *ZNW* 46, 1955, 196 ff.; E. Grässer, *Der Glaube im Hebräerbrief*, 1965; E. Güttgemanns, *Der leidende Apostel und sein Herr*, 1966; J. Hempel, *Gott und Mensch im Alten Testament*, 1936; J. Jervell, *Imago Dei*, 1960; E. Käsemann, "Kritische Analyse von Phil. 2, 5–11," *ZTK* 47, 1950, 313 ff. (= *Exegetische Versuche und Besinnungen*, I, 1960, 51 ff.); E. Lohmeyer, *Der Brief an die Philipper*, KEK 9, 1930⁸; W. F. Otto, *Die Götter Griechenlands*, 1929; R. Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, 1927²; E. Riggenbach, *Der Brief an die Hebräer*, 1922³; A. Schlatter, *Der Glaube im Neuen Testament*, 1927⁴, 614 ff.; and *Paulus, der Bote Jesu*, 1938⁴; C. Spicq, *L'Épître aux Hebreux*, II, 1953; G. Strecker, "Redaktion und Tradition im Christushymnus Phil. 2, 6–11," *ZNW* 55, 1964, 63 ff.; H. F. Weber, *Eschatologie und Mystik im Neuen Testament*, 1930; B. Weiss, *Der Brief an die Hebräer*, *KEK* 13, 1897⁶; H. Windisch, *Der Hebräerbrief*, *HNT* 14, 1931².

Freedom

ἐλευθερία

ἐλευθερία (*eleutheria*), freedom, liberty; ἐλεύθερος (*eleutheros*), free, independent, not bound; ἐλευθερόω (*eleutheroō*), to free, set free; ἀπελεύθερος (*apeleutheros*), freedman.

CL The noun *eleutheria* is derived from the adj. *eleutheros*. O. Schrader derives it from the Indo-Germanic **leudh-*, belonging to the people, and thus not subject. It is connected with Lat. *liber* (free), and Schrader links it with Old High German *liut*, Modern German *Leute*, people (*Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, II 1929², 454 f.; but cf. Liddell–Scott, 532). In so far as a man belongs to the people, he is a free citizen as contrasted with a slave or foreigner. *eleutheria* thus means freedom, independence, in the sense of being independent of others, being able to dispose. This way of speaking arose originally in contrast to the bondage of → slaves. Similarly, the adj. *eleutheros* means free, not bound, of free birth. It also indicates someone who is his own master. Later the noun and the adj. could occasionally be used to denote the mental attitude which makes use of freedom. It could be used (as it mostly was) in the good sense of noble, being in control of oneself, magnanimous, generous. But it could also be used in the less frequent and bad sense of being reckless, or unrestrained. The adj. *apeleutheros* follows the original sense and denotes a freedman, one who is not free by birth. This was basic to the Gk. idea. The corresponding vb. *eleutheroō* means to free, to set free, but not exclusively in relation to slaves. It could also refer to freeing someone from any bond which prevented them from acting freely.

1. In secular Gk. *eleutheros* has primarily a political sense. The *eleutheros* is the full citizen who belongs to the *polis*, the city state, in contrast to the slave who did not enjoy full rights as a citizen. Freedom consists in his right to participate fully in public debates over civic matters. It is the right of free speech, *parrhēsia* → openness, boldness, frankness. He can decide about his own affairs within the *polis*. On numerous occasions, Aristotle spoke of the Gk. *polis* as the community of the free. He considered freedom to be the essential good of the *polis*. But in order to preserve this freedom, the → law (*nomos*) is required as the principle of order. Freedom and law are thus not contradictory opposites. They belong together and qualify each other. The constant danger is rejection of the law in the name of a misconceived freedom which is purely arbitrary, because it is willing to grant itself more freedom than it is willing to grant to others. This idea of freedom was naturally applied to relations between states which gave rise to the idea of sovereignty. (See further H. Schlier, *TDNT* II 487–92.)

2. In Stoic philosophy this political idea of freedom was transformed through the collapse of the *polis* and the corresponding idea of society. Freedom was understood in a philosophical and religious sense. For the Stoic, man in the last analysis was not in control of external things, like the body, money, honour, and political freedom. *eleutheria* therefore means rather withdrawal from the apparent reality of this world. It signifies an asceticism not found in the NT. It is a deliberate surrender to the law and rule of the cosmos, or the deity that rules the cosmos. This means that man must free himself from whatever binds him too closely to the world: his passions (such as anger, anxiety and pity) and the fear of death. Freedom means that a man must be so adjusted and detached that he lives in complete

harmony with the cosmos or the gods (Epict., *Dissertationes*, 4, 1, 89 f.). He thus masters himself completely and transcends the cosmos in his inner self. This freedom must be perpetually renewed through constant struggle and unending effort. (See further H. Schlier, *TDNT* II 493–96.)

3. The mystery religions had their own answer to the question of freedom. Through the cultic rites, the initiate was freed from this hopeless world and obtained a part in the destiny of the deity (→ Knowledge, art. *ginōskō*; G. Wagner, *Pauline Baptism and the Pagan Mysteries*, 1967).

OT 1. In the LXX, *eleutheria* and its cognates are used only in the context of → slavery (Exod. 21:2, 5, 27; Lev. 19:20; Deut. 15:12 f.; and often), prisoners of war (Deut. 21:14), and once with reference to exemption from obligations (1 Sam. 17:25). It is striking that it is not found in connection either with the liberation of Israel from Egypt or the return of Israel from exile. The political use of *eleutheria* is apparently foreign to the LXX. Saul's proclamation of rewards to the victor over Goliath included making "his father's house free in Israel" (1 Sam. 17:25). The *ḥōrîm* were "nobles" (RSV) and are called *eleutheroi*, free (1 Ki. 21:8, 11; cf. Neh. 13:17; Jer. 36[29]:2). These references indicate that under the monarchy the Israelites were not free subjects, but were the king's slaves (1 Sam. 8:10–18). Only a few privileged men stood out as free. Everything here belongs to the general context of slavery.

The question of slavery in Israel is to be understood in the context of Yahweh's lordship over his people. Through the ordinances that he has given to his people, Yahweh protects the helpless and weak, including the slaves. Deut. 15:13 ff. relates Yahweh's intervention on behalf of slaves to the liberation of Egypt from Israel. An enslaved Israelite could never become a person's property in Israel. After six years he was to be set free without payment (Ex. 21:2 ff.). According to Deut. 15:12 ff., the owner was even under obligation to make material provision for him as he went. Jer. 34:8 ff. (see especially v. 11) indicates that there were those in Israel who wanted to follow the pattern in the surrounding nations of keeping slaves for life. Because of these social injustices, Jeremiah derisively proclaimed to Israel "liberty to the sword, to pestilence, and to famine" (34:17; cf. Amos 2:6–16; 8:1 ff. etc.).

2. However, the conclusion should not be drawn from the narrow range of meaning of these words that the problem of freedom did not exist for Israel. Rather, Israel's freedom, and that of its individual members, was not considered as a subject separate from the redeeming and saving acts of God. Freedom for Israel meant being set free by Yahweh, as e.g. from bondage in Egypt (Exod. 20:2; Deut. 7:8). Thus it was identical with → redemption. It was not given by nature, but was always experienced as the gracious gift of God.

The fact that Israel, even as a political entity, existed on the basis of this act of liberation has several consequences.

(a) The gift of freedom remained bound to the giver. Desertion of Yahweh had the necessary consequence of loss of freedom. This is shown by the era of the judges which was an age of falling away from Yahweh, slavery, repentance and liberation (Jdg. 2:1 ff.). The history of the northern and southern kingdoms was similar. The Assyrian conquest was the consequence of the godlessness of the

northern kingdom (2 Ki. 17:7–23), just as the Babylonian captivity was the consequence of the godlessness of the southern kingdom (2 Ki. 21:10–15; 22:19 f.; 23:25 ff.). The end of Israel's political freedom found intensely moving expression in the Lamentations of Jeremiah.

(b) The acts of God are fundamental to communal human life. "According to the Decalogue, freedom belongs, like life (Exod. 20:13), marriage (20:14), honour (20:16) and possessions (20:17), to the basic rights of man which Yahweh gives to, and maintains for, his covenant-people; for Exod. 20:15 originally forbad kidnapping" (E. Fahlbusch following A. Alt in *EKL* I, 1374). This high regard for freedom was extended to the stranger (Exod. 22:20–23:9; Lev. 19:33 f.) and to the slave (see above 1). The escaped slave was even to be afforded protection from his former master (Deut. 23:15 f.).

(c) The struggle to preserve this freedom, wrought by Yahweh and bound to him, played a repeated and significant role in the message of the prophets who developed it in their own particular ways (Isa. 1:23; 10:1–4; Jer. 7:5 f.; Amos 2:6 f.; 4:1 ff.; 5:7, 11 ff.; Mic. 3:1–3; 7:3; cf. G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, II, 80 ff.). Enslavement by the nobility of whole strata of society which were originally free is a breach of divine law. The promise is given to those that are bound that the Messiah will come "to proclaim liberty to the captives and the opening of the prison to those that are bound" (Isa. 61:1).

3. In later Judaism and at the time of Jesus freedom was understood predominantly in an external, political sense (cf. the typical misunderstanding in Jn. 8:33). Freedom movements with a religious basis were repeatedly formed with the intention of implementing the promised freedom by force against the pagan secular authorities. The best known of these were the Maccabaeans in the second century B.C. who wanted to ensure religious freedom by political freedom, and the Zealots at the time of Jesus (cf. Acts 5:37; 21:38).

NT 1. (a) In the NT *eleutheria* occurs 11 times (7 in Paul and twice each in Jas. and the letters of Pet.), *eleutheros* 23 times (16 in Paul, twice in Jn., 3 times in Rev. and once each in Matt. and 1 Pet.), *eleutheroō* 7 times (5 in Paul and 2 in Jn.), and *apeleutheros* only at 1 Cor. 7:22. The words are thus found chiefly in Paul (especially in Rom. 6–8; 1 Cor. 7–10; and Gal. 2–5) and Jn. 8:32–36. They are entirely absent from the synoptic vocabulary, apart from Matt. 17:26.

(b) NT usage exhibits some interesting nuances. *eleutheria* is never used in the secular sense of political freedom. From this it may be inferred that the recovery of Israel's political freedom no longer played any part in the thinking of the NT writers. Jesus was no political messiah. The NT also dissociates itself from the idea of freedom as power to do with oneself and one's life whatever one wants. *eleutheria* is to be seen in the light of "the glorious liberty of the children of God" (Rom. 8:21). It is present "where the Spirit of the Lord is" (2 Cor. 3:17). The term means "the freedom which we have in Christ Jesus" (Gal. 2:4), the freedom for which "Christ has set us free" (Gal. 5:1). When Jas. 1:25 and 2:12 speak of "the law of freedom", *eleutheria* means the new way of life in which man lives in accordance with the will of God. Even the vb. *eleutheroō* is used in the NT exclusively for the act which occurs or has occurred through Jesus: "The truth will make you free" (Jn. 8:32), "having been set free from sin" (Rom. 6:18, cf. 22).

On the other hand, *eleutheros* has mostly the secular sense of being free in contrast to being a slave (Gal. 3:28; Eph. 6:8; Col. 3:11; Rev. 6:15), or being independent with regard to a law (Rom. 7:3). Gal. 4:22 f. is thus used with a double meaning and leads in Gal. 4:26, 31; 5:1 to the specifically NT idea of being free in Christ. The characteristic of this free man is not the contrast with the slave but the fact that, as a free man, he is at the same time the slave of Christ (1 Pet. 2:16; 1 Cor. 9:19; cf. Paul's self-designation in Rom. 1:1; Phil. 1:1). The *apeleutheros kyriou* (freedman of the Lord) is at the same time the *doulos Christou* (slave of Christ) (1 Cor. 7:22).

2. (a) What does freedom mean? In contrast to the secular Gk. mind, the NT sees man as basically unfree (Rom. 6:20; 2 Pet. 2:19; Jn. 8:39). It denies him all possibility of being able to free himself and order his life, as if he were not in bondage. Man's perennial efforts to take himself in hand, however he attempts it, lead to the greatest bondage in which man misses what he was meant to be (Matt. 16:25; Jn. 12:15). Man's true freedom does not consist of the unfettered power to direct his life, either in a political or in a Stoic sense. It lies in life with God, lived as it was originally intended by God for man (Rom. 6:22; Gal. 5:1, 13; 1 Pet. 2:16). He only gains this as he denies himself (Matt. 16:24). Paradoxically, the free man does not belong to himself (1 Cor. 16:19; 9:19; 1 Pet. 2:16). He belongs to him who has set him free (Rom. 6:18, 22; Gal. 5:1), "who for their sake died and was raised" (2 Cor. 5:15). The NT idea of freedom thus follows on from the OT. The gift of freedom is bound to the giver. "For all things are yours . . . and you are Christ's and Christ is God's" (1 Cor. 3:21, 23). This subjection is at the same time an alliance. Its realm even extends to the supernatural powers and rulers which are robbed of their absolute authority, because they have been conquered by Christ and can no longer separate man from Christ (Rom. 8:38; Gal. 4:3, 9; 1 Cor. 15:24). The impenetrable horizon becomes transparent in the light of this freedom.

(b) What is man freed from? Man is bound in that he is subject to the powers of this age (→ Time, art. *aiōn*; cf. Eph. 6:12; Matt. 17:18; Lk. 13:16; 1 Pet. 5:8). The NT idea of freedom goes far beyond that of the OT in that it sees freedom as liberation from the manifold powers which suppress true humanity: sin (Rom. 6:18–22; 8:2 ff.; Jn. 8:31–36); → Satan (Matt. 12:22; Lk. 13:16; Eph. 6:12); the → law (Rom. 7:3–6; 8:3; Gal. 2:4; 4:21–31; 5:1–13); and → death (Rom. 6:20–23; 8:21). It is a liberation from the → "old man" (Rom. 6:6; Eph. 4:22; Col. 3:9).

Sin in the NT is not a single act which with time may pass and disappear. It has a permanent and irrevocable bondage as its consequence for the man who once lends himself to it (2 Pet. 2:19). He is no longer free to serve God; he is compelled to sin. Man is meant to be free from this compulsion. But there is no magical insurance against sin. The believer is called to a constant struggle with sin (Rom. 6:12, 19; 1 Cor. 6:18 f.; Eph. 6:10 ff.; and often). He is even exposed to the tempter (2 Cor. 2:11; 1 Thess. 3:5) and remains sinful. Side by side with the indicative statement that "we have died to sin" (Rom. 6:2) there is the imperative to give no room to sin (6:12) and to live in Christ to God (6:11). These statements are not in contradiction. The imperative follows on from the indicative.

As liberation from the compulsion to sin, *eleutheria* (Rom. 6:14, 18) opens up the hitherto impossible possibility of serving God (cf. Jas. 1:25; 2:12). What

previously separated God and man, and thus stood in the way of true humanity, is removed.

The OT law declared to man God's irrevocable intention of leading him to life in fellowship with God (Rom. 7:10; 10:5). But in fact it had the opposite effect, because it prompted man more than ever to sin (Rom. 7:7–13) and revealed his profound godlessness (Rom. 5:20; Gal. 3:19). Hence, there is no one just who can stand before God's law (Rom. 3:19 ff., 23). What was to serve as man's way of salvation became a curse to him (Gal. 3:10; Rom. 7:10). Christ has freed man from this curse (Gal. 3:13). However, the fact that man may be free from the law does not mean that the law is completely set aside (Rom. 3:31; 6:15; Matt. 5:17). It remains for the believer the expression of God's holy will (Rom. 7:12, 14; Matt. 5:18 f.), which is now to find its fulfilment in love (Jn. 13:34 f.; Gal. 5:13 f.). But it is no longer the impossible way to life. As a way of salvation, the law had its end in Christ (Rom. 10:4). Man who lives in servitude under the law (Gal. 4:3) can through Christ (v. 5) live as a son and heir (v. 7). Therefore, anyone who tries to resurrect the law as a way of salvation by trying to fulfil its demands stands under a curse (Gal. 1:8 f.; 2:18 f.; 3:1–5; 5:11 ff.).

Death is the harvest which man reaps from his life under sin and the law (Rom. 6:21, 23; 7:10 f., 23 f.; 1 Cor. 15:56). Death has a double meaning in that it denotes death in time and in eternity (Rom. 8:6). Just as Rom. 6 presents freedom from sin, and Rom. 7 freedom from the law, Rom. 8 follows the sequence by presenting freedom from death (cf. 1 Cor. 15:26). The thought here, as in the case of these other powers, is not their utter abolition, but liberation from the inevitability of their compulsion and claim. Christians must also die. But for them the sting of death is removed (1 Cor. 15:55), because they know of the resurrection of Christ as the pledge of their own resurrection. Freedom from death means that man is promised and assured of a future which lies in Christ beyond himself and his own death. The certainty that nothing more can stand between him and God (Rom. 8:38 f.) and that death in all its finality is overcome can liberate man from the fear of death. It is no longer the utter annihilation of his existence.

(c) The means of freedom. The liberation of man does not lie within the realm of his own capacities. It does not come about by man's reflection on himself, an act of the will, or by any deed of this sort or that. For this reason there is in the NT no summons to contend for freedom. It is already given in what Christ has done for us (Gal. 5:1). Only the Son can open up the possibility of existence in *eleutheria* (Jn. 8:36). It is realized by him in the event of the cross (Gal. 3:13). But for man it only becomes a present reality, when he opens his life to the call of the gospel (2 Cor. 5:20 f.). This comes about when proclamation leads to faith and to an abiding bond to Christ and his word (Jn. 8:31 f.; Rom. 10:14 ff.). The Christian message of Christ's liberating act on the cross summons man from the only possible way of life open to him *kata sarka*, after the flesh, i.e. according to human standards and thinking. It calls him to live now *kata pneuma*, according to the → Spirit (Rom. 8:12 f.; Gal. 6:8). True freedom exists only where the Holy Spirit works in a man, becoming the principle of his life, and where man does not block his working (2 Cor. 3:17; Rom. 8:1 ff.; Gal. 5:18).

(d) The goal of freedom. This freedom can be misused as "a pretext for evil" (1 Pet. 2:16). This occurs where freedom is misunderstood in the Gk. sense of man

being the master of all his decisions. This leads to libertinism or antinomianism instead of serving one's neighbour (Gal. 5:13 f.). The man who is truly free shows his freedom in being free for the service of God (1 Thess. 1:9), → righteousness (Rom. 6:18 ff.), and his fellow man (1 Cor. 9:19; Jas. 1:25). "For the love of Christ controls us" (1 Cor. 5:14). The man who is free is a *doulos Christou*, a slave of Christ (1 Cor. 7:22; Rom. 1:1; Phil. 1:1). As Luther put it, "A Christian is a perfectly free lord of all, subject to none. A Christian is a perfectly dutiful servant of all, subject to all" (*The Freedom of a Christian* [1520], cf. J. Dillenberger, ed., *Martin Luther: Selections from his Writings*, 1961, 53). This service can take many forms (Gal. 5:22; 1 Cor. 9:19 ff.). The ultimate decisive factor is that it should be done in love (1 Cor. 13). The deeper a man penetrates into the "law of liberty", the more free he becomes for such action (Jas. 1:25; 2:12).

(e) The political demand for freedom. Strangely enough to modern man, political freedom plays a quite subordinate role in the NT. Jesus unambiguously swept aside all misunderstanding here. He and his kingdom do not live by this external freedom. Otherwise, it would not have been so readily abandoned (Jn. 19:36). Even in those places where Jesus stressed his earthly authority (Matt. 28:18), no conclusions were drawn about claims for political freedom. He disappointed all the late Jewish expectation of a political messiah. His teaching had a quite different aim. The kind of freedom he preached was that which comes through returning to the Father – not freedom with regard to men (Matt. 4:17; Lk. 24:47; Jn. 8:34 ff. and often).

For the Christian, freedom is no longer a highest good (Heb. 13:14) which, if need be, is justified by resort to war and force. He knows of a freedom in Christ in which he can live even while the world and mankind remain unchanged, although it is often hidden among sufferings (Jn. 8:31, 38; Rom. 8:18–23).

At the same time, the fact cannot be ignored that within the church, as with the prophets, there was a move towards freedom in the sense of equal rights for all. The old distinctions which reflected the environment of the ancient world between the free man and the slave (cf. Phlm.), and the behaviour of men and women (1 Cor. 14:34 following on from OT law), still remained. Yet in the last analysis such distinctions are invalid (Gal. 3:28; 1 Cor. 12:13; Col. 3:11). The freedom granted by God was given to operate above all in the communal life of the people of God. For the Christian → church is the community of free men (Gal. 4:21–31).

J. Blunck

→ Courage, → Election, → Openness

(a). K. Barth, *CD* III, 4 (dealing with "The command of God the Creator" in relation to various aspects of freedom); S. G. F. Brandon, *Jesus and the Zealots*, 1967; R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, I, 1952, 330–52; and "The Significance of the Idea of Freedom for Western Civilization," *Essays*, 1955, 305–25; H. von Campenhausen, *Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power in the Church of the First Three Centuries*, 1969; *Concilium* 6, 10, 1974 (whole volume devoted to "Liberation and Faith"); O. Cullmann, *The State in the New Testament*, 1957; C. H. Dodd, *The Gospel and the Law of Christ*, 1947; W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*, II. 1967 (see index); R. Guardini, *Freedom, Grace and Destiny*, 1961; M. Hengel, *Was Jesus a Revolutionist?*, 1971; *Victory over Violence*, 1973; and *Judaism and Hellenism*, I–II, 1974; C. Johansson, *Concepts of Freedom in the Old Testament*, 1965; E. Käsemann, *Jesus Means Freedom*, 1969; and "The Cry for Liberty in the Worship of the Church," *Perspectives on Paul*, 1971, 122–37; J. Kosnetter, "Freedom," *EBT* I 280–86; H. Küng, *The Church and Freedom*, 1965; Martin

Luther, *The Freedom of a Christian* (1520) in *Luther's Works*, 31, 1957, 327–77 (also in other editions); J. Moltmann, *Theology and Joy*, 1973; J. C. Murray, *The Problem of Religious Freedom*, 1965; G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, II, 1965 (see index); K. Rahner, "Freedom in the Church," *Theological Investigations*, II, 1963, 89–107; and *Free Speech in the Church*, 1959; A. Richardson, *The Political Christ*, 1973; H. Schlier, *eleutheria*, *TDNT* II 487–502; Schürer I (see index); H. Thielicke, *Theological Ethics*, I, 1968; II, 1969 (see indexes).
(b). K. Barth, *Das Geschenk der Freiheit*, 1953; O. Betz, *Gefährliche Freiheit*, 1961; G. Bornkamm, "Christliche Freiheit," *Paulus Studien*, *BEvTh* 16, 1952, 133 ff.; W. Brandt, *Freiheit im Neuen Testament*, 1932; H. von Campenhausen and G. Bornkamm, *Bindung und Freiheit in der Ordnung der Kirche*, 1959; E. Dinkler, "Zum Problem der Ethik bei Paulus (1. Kor. 6, 1–11)," *ZTK* 49, 1952, 167 ff.; R. Egenter, *Von der Freiheit der Kinder Gottes*, 1949; E. Fahlbusch, "Freiheit," *EKL* I 1371 ff.; E. Fuchs, *Die Freiheit des Glaubens, Röm. 5–8 ausgelegt*, *BEvTh* 14, 1949; and "Freiheit," *RGG*^{3} II 1101 ff.; H. Gollwitzer, *Forderungen der Freiheit; Aufsätze und Reden zur politischen Ethik*, 1964^2; E. Grässer, "Freiheit und apostolisches Wirken bei Paulus," *EvTh* 15, 1955, 333 ff.; M. Hengel, *Die Zeloten*, 1961; W. Joest, *Das Problem des Tertius Usus Legis und die neutestamentliche Paränese*, 1951; H. Jonas, *Augustin und das paulinische Freiheitsproblem*, 1930; E. Käsemann, *Exegetische Versuche und Besinnungen*, I, 1964^3, 263 ff.; S. Lyonnet, *Liberté chrétienne et loi nouvelle selon S. Paul*, 1954; C. Maurer, "Glaubensbindung und Gewissensfreiheit im Neuen Testament," *ThZ* 17, 1961, 107–17; O. Michel, "Der antike und der christliche Freiheitsbegriff," *Universitas* 1, 1946, 1–17; J. Michl, *Freiheit und Bindung: Eine zeitgemässe Frage im Lichte des Neuen Testaments*, 1950; M. Müller, "Freiheit," *ZNW* 25, 1926, 177 ff.; K. Niederwimmer, *Der Begriff der Freiheit im Neuen Testament*, 1966; F. Nötscher, "Schicksal und Freiheit," *Biblica* 40, 1959, 446–62; and "Schicksalsglaube in Qumran und Umwelt," *BZ* 3, 1959, 205–34; H. Ridderbos, "Vrijheid en wet volgens Paulus' brief aan de Galaten," *Arcana Revelata* (F. W. Grosheide Festschrift), 1951, 89–103; K. H. Schelkle, "Erwählung und Freiheit im Römerbrief nach der Auslegung der Väter," *ThQ* 131, 1951, 17–31 and 189–207; K. Stalder, *Das Werk des Geistes in der Heiligung bei Paulus*, 1961; C. Spicq, *Charité et liberté dans le Nouveau Testament*, 1961; and *Théologie morale du Nouveau Testament*, II, 1965, 623–64; R. Zorn, *Das Problem der Freiheit*, 1952.

Fruit, Fig, Thorn, Thistle

καρπός

καρπός (*karpos*), fruit; καρποφορέω (*karpophoreō*), bear fruit; ἄκαρπος (*akarpos*), unfruitful, fruitless.

CL In secular Gk. *karpos* (cf. Lat. *carpo*, pluck) is used especially of the fruit of the ground (Homer), but also often of the offspring of animals (Xenophon). It is also found in an extended sense for the result of an undertaking, whether good or ill: the outcome, consequence (Philo, Marcus Aurelius).

OT In the LXX *karpos* stands chiefly for the Heb. *p^{e}rî* which in the OT is used for the fruit of plants (e.g. Deut. 1:25; Mal. 3:11), but also for the fruit of the body, posterity (e.g. Gen. 30:2; Deut. 7:13; Mic. 6:7; Ps. 21:11). Finally it is used metaphorically for the fruit of an action (e.g. Hos. 10:13; Jer. 6:19; 17:10).

This last use was taken over especially in late Judaism. The righteous man brings forth good fruit; the unrighteous brings forth bad fruit. Commercial language utilized *p^{e}rî* and *karpos* in the sense of interest (as the fruit of a transaction), as also did theology with its growing emphasis on belief in the beyond. Thus in discussing sin, a distinction was drawn between the original stock or capital (so-called original sin; Heb. *qeren*) and interest (individual sins). Punishment of the former was reserved for the beyond; the latter was punished here and now, partly through giving birth to ever new sins to plague mankind.

NT 1. *Primary Meaning.* (a) *karpos* occurs in the NT 66 times, mostly in Matt. and hardly at all in the Pastoral and Catholic Epistles except Jas. It has its primary, simple meaning as the fruit of plants (Matt. 21:19 par.; 13:8 par.; Lk. 12:17) or the produce of the earth (Jas. 5:7, 18; cf. Lk. 20:10). Passages like Jas. 5 make it clear that man can prepare for and encourage the growth of fruit by his labours, but he can expect and receive it only as a gift. The → seed and harvest are bestowed upon him. To what extent the growth of fruit is removed from human will-power is also shown by the fact it ripens at its appointed time (→ *kairos*) (Matt. 21:34). Its form is not optional, but is determined from the first by the seed (cf. 1 Cor. 15:35 ff.), so that one may reason back from the fruit to the plant (Matt. 12:33 par.; cf. 7:16, 20). This applies not only to the species but to quality. Matt. especially contrasts good fruit (*karpous kalous*) with bad fruit (*karpous ponērous*) (Matt. 3:10; 7:17–19) or rotten fruit (*karpon sapron*) (Matt. 12:33; cf. Lk. 6:43). The point is to show that fruit which does not come up to expectation is useless and that which bears it (the tree, Matt. 7:19; Lk. 3:9; 13:6 ff.) is designated as unusable.

(b) *karpos* in the sense of fruit of the body, offspring, is found only in the Lucan writings (Lk. 1:42; Acts 2:30).

2. *Extended Meaning.* The passages under 1 (a) are not concerned with the picture of the processes of nature but with man before God. This applies even more to the remaining passages in which the idea of fruit is applied to man's life. These are often connected with the verbs *poiein* (do) and *pherein* (bear, bring forth). The verbal compound *karpophorein* (bear fruit) occurs 8 times in the Synoptics and Paul.

(a) When, according to the Synoptics, John the Baptist demanded good deeds from men as fruit of repentance (Matt. 3:8 par.), the use of the term fruit expressly indicates that it is not a question of deliberate, self-determined action on man's part. Rather it is that "fruit-bearing" which follows from his turning to God and the power of the Spirit working in him. When Jesus taught that true disciples are recognized as such precisely by their fruits (Matt. 7:16 ff.) which they bear in true discipleship, the meaning is that their faith shows itself alive in their love. In receiving divine love, they will love; in receiving forgiveness, they will forgive. In short, the sanctification which has come to them and is going on in them is expressed by their giving God the honour. At the same time they put at the disposal of others the benefit of the divine working in them through what they do and say. The graphic pronouncement, that every tree without fruit will be condemned in the judgment of God (Matt. 3:10; 7:19; Lk. 13:6), also raises the question of the outworking of faith in the man who has received the word. Those who check the growth of fruit or even hold back others from enjoying it have their deserts set before them.

(b) In Jn. the expression *karpon pherein* (bear fruit) is used especially in Jn. 15:2 ff., where Jesus' disciples' close fellowship with the Lord is seen as the secret of the power to bear fruit. His death is the soil out of which rich fruit grows (Jn. 12:24); his death on the cross brings about redemption for men. As the vine (i.e. here the tree of life), he sends through his branches that life-giving power which is the prerequisite and means of faith. Man can indeed accomplish moral and technical achievements by his natural gifts. But the "fruit of the gospel" (Luther) – that which God expects from man – can grow only from the soil of obedience, which

essentially consists in recognition of the bond between creator and creature, established by the death of Christ. He no longer needs to consider his own achievements. Freed from the anxiety of failure, he is capable of the highest endeavour ("more fruit", Jn. 15:2, 5 8). Because the source of his capacity to bear fruit lies outside himself, the yield is certain. It counts and abides for eternal life (Jn. 4:36; 15:16).

(c) Paul recognizes the good deed as the fruit of faith, righteousness (*karpos dikaiosynēs*, Phil. 1:11; so too Heb. 12:11; Jas. 3:18) and light (*tou phōtos*, Eph. 5:9), produced by God himself, Jesus Christ or the Holy Spirit. Paul sharply distinguishes it from man's own striving to attain salvation (Gal. 5:22; Col. 1:10). The term *ergon* (→ work) which comes from the world of techniques and craftsmanship, signifying what man produces by his own efforts, is used comparatively seldom in a positive sense. On the other hand, *karpos* which comes from the realm of natural growth signifies that which grows as a matter of course, drawing on the life-giving power of the tree or soil (cf. *automatē*, of itself, Mk. 4:28). But this growth (→ Grow) as a sign of → life does not lie at man's disposal. In using this term, Paul wishes to stress that in those who have been received into the body of Christ, in whom the Spirit of Christ is active and who have a share in the gifts of this living fellowship, the outworking – the fruit – appears naturally, because it is not something manufactured. While believers in Christ thus bring their fruit to God and live for him, the power of sinful desires can only bear fruit for death (Rom. 7:4 f.).

(d) Where fruit is lacking, the NT uses – apart from its metaphorical use in Jude 12 – the adj. *akarpos*, unfruitful, fruitless, barren, unproductive (e.g. Mk. 4:19 par.; Tit. 3:14; 2 Pet. 1:8). *akarpos* is used to describe the works of darkness (Eph. 5:11) and also the state of the mind when prayer is made in tongues (1 Cor. 14:14).

(e) While *karpos* is widely used to express the outworking of faith in the witness and conduct of the individual and the church (→ Walk), Paul uses it in a further sense for the results of his own missionary work (Rom. 1:13; Phil. 1:22). It can even be understood in the sense that the apostles and, in particular, missionaries who are building up the churches by their labours "live by their fruits". They have a claim on maintenance by the churches (1 Cor. 9:7; 2 Tim. 2:6). In these passages – as in Matt. 21:41 ff.; Lk. 20:10 – fruit is seen as wages (cf. also Jn. 4:36).

(f) *karpos* occurs twice in Rev. 22:2. The picture of the tree of life, bearing fruit each month, represents the fullness of God's pervading presence in the new world, where shame and sin are overcome and all hindrances to the activity of the divine Spirit are removed. *R. Hensel*

συκῆ

συκῆ (*sykē*), fig, *Ficus Carica*, both the tree and the fruit.

CL The forms *sykea* and *sykē* are both found, and can refer to the resin of the pine or fir, as well as to the fig tree.

OT *sykē* is widely used in the LXX for the Heb. *t*^{e}*'ēnâh* for the tree, its fruit and its leaves (Gen. 3:7; Num. 13:24), especially as characteristic of the fruitfulness of the promised land (Deut. 8:8). *sykē* has wide parabolic (cf. Jdg. 9:10) and

figurative extensions. It is figurative of ease and prosperity (cf. 1 Ki. 4:25) especially in the messianic age (Mic. 4:4; Zech. 3:10); it affords comparisons for that which is intrinsically desirable (Hos. 9:10), for renewal (Joel 2:22), that which fades (Isa. 34:4), and is easy to capture (Nah. 3:12). It is also a description of disappointed hopes (Hab. 3.17). Its destruction, like that of other trees and crops, is a picture of judgment (Hos. 2:12; Isa. 34:4; Jer. 5:17; 8:13; Joel 1:2–12). In Hos. 9:10 and Jer. 24 (cf. 29:17) it symbolizes the nation which otherwise is generally pictured as a vine. Mic. 7:1–6 depicts the corrupt state of the nation which is full of bitterness, mutual hostility and bloodshed, in terms of the absence of the fig when sought: "Woe is me! For I have become as when the summer fruit has been gathered, as when the vintage has been gleaned: there is no cluster to eat, no first-ripe fig which my soul desires" (v. 1). In Rab. circles the passage was sometimes applied to times of national crisis (Sotah 9:9, 15).

NT The reference to Jesus seeing Nathanael under the fig tree (Jn. 1:48, 50) is presumably literal (for speculations about its significance see C. F. D. Moule, *JTS* New Series, 5, 1954, 210 f.; R. E. Brown, *The Gospel according to John*, I, 1966, 83). The remaining references in the NT all have figurative and symbolic aspects.

Particular problems attend the interpretation of the cursing of the fig tree (Matt. 21:18–22; Mk. 11:12 ff.). As it stands, it is not only the sole miracle of destruction in the ministry of Jesus, but it also contains statements which at first sight place it beyond the bounds of credibility. T. W. Manson's view, classing it as "ill-tempered" and "incredible" ("The Cleansing of the Temple", *BJRL* 33, 1951, 271–82) and C. E. B. Cranfield's acceptance of the early notion that in an acted parable Jesus "used the fig tree to set forth the judgment which was about to fall on Jerusalem" (*The Gospel according to St. Mark*, 1959, 356) set the limits of interpretation. Undoubtedly Cranfield is right, but it is hardly enough for him to outflank the strong-point in Manson's position by saying that for Jesus to seek figs, where he knew there could be none, supplies the element of the incongruous which calls attention to the presence of a parable. Examination of the crucial sentence, "For it was not the season of figs", goes far to relieve the problem. First, "season" (*kairos* → Time) is to be understood as in Mk. 12:2 of the time of ingathering. Jesus is thus reported to have come by the tree when, by its show of leaves it ought to be in fruit, and, inasmuch as the harvest had not been gathered, the fruit should be showing on the tree. Secondly, the explanatory clause "for the time" (*ho gar kairos*, Mk. 11:13) should not be attached to the foregoing words, "he found nothing but leaves" (this is the root of Manson's incredulity), but to the words before that again, "if haply he might find anything." An explanatory clause of exactly this structure occurs in Mk. 12:12, where *egnōsen gar* ("for he knew") belongs to the preceding clause but one. R. H. Hiers sees a parallel with Lk. 19:40; cf. Matt. 21:15 f.: "If stones should now cry out to greet the Messiah, surely a fig tree might bear fruit out of season! For in the messianic age, should not all fruit be continually in season?" (" 'Not the Season for Figs' ", *JBL* 87, 1968, 400). He points out that the incident follows Jesus' entry into Jerusalem on the first Palm Sunday which he sees as the inauguration of the messianic age. A. de Q. Robin draws attention to the OT precedents for the association of the destruction of fig trees with judgment and the symbolic representation of Israel under the figure of

figs ("The Cursing of the Fig Tree in Mark xi. A Hypothesis", *NTS* 8, 1961–62, 276–81). But in particular he sees Mic. 7:1–6 as "an appropriate summing-up of the attitude of the Jewish hierarchy to Jesus and to the impending treachery of Judas as the crisis of the Passion became imminent" (op. cit., 280). The spiritual state of the nation and its leaders was uppermost in Jesus' mind at this period (cf. Mk. 11:1; Lk. 19:41 ff.). It may be added that Jesus' allusion to the language of Mic. 7:6 in Matt. 10:21, 35 f.; Mk. 13:12; and Lk. 12:53 indicates that he saw the times in terms of the passage. The cursing of the fig tree is, therefore, not an isolated, incidental event, but an integral part of the symbolic acts of Jesus' final visit to Jerusalem, beginning with the entry on the ass (→ Animal) on the first Palm Sunday. It symbolizes judgment on the nation for its barren state, and is of a piece with the cleansing of the → temple which occurred at the same time.

Lk. does not record the cursing of the fig tree but contains a parable which presents a counterpart and which is placed some time before the time of the cursing. In Lk. 13:6 the fig tree symbolizes Israel which, despite tending, has so far failed to produce fruit. The master in the parable has sought fruit for the past three years (the period of Jesus' ministry?). But the vine-dresser asks for it to be spared one more year to give it a final chance to bear fruit. If not, he will cut it down. The context of Lk. 13:1–8 refers to disasters which have befallen people, with regard to which Jesus warns his hearers: "Unless you repent you will all likewise perish" (v. 5). The time of sparing corresponds to the time in which Israel is spared the final calamity of judgment, so giving it a final chance to bear fruit.

In Matt. 24:32 f., Mk. 13:28 and Lk. 21:29 the growth of the fig tree is seen as a sign of the approaching summer, the climax of which will be the time when the figs are ripe for gathering. This is the time when the Son of man will gather the elect (Mk. 13:27; cf. Matt. 24:31; Lk. 21:28), and come to take account (Mk. 13:34–37; cf. Matt. 24:36 ff.; Lk. 21:34 f.). If the references to the fig tree in the ministry of Jesus are connected, then the fig tree in Matt. 24:32 f., Mk. 13:28 and Lk. 21:29 is also a picture of Israel as it moves inevitably to the time when fruit will be sought and none found, reminiscent of the fig tree that was cursed.

Expectation of fruit also underlies Jas. 3:12, where the picture is one of expected natural (and thence, moral) consistency. In Rev. 6:13, as in the LXX, the picture suggests that which falls easily in judgment. *J. A. Motyer*

ἄκανθα

ἄκανθα (*akantha*), thorn; *ἀκάνθινος* (*akanthinos*), thorny, of thorn.

CL In general classical use for a thorn tree or bush, also for any prickle, whether of plant, animal (e.g. porcupine) or fish. Likewise, the adj. means thorny, made of thorn-wood, and is even used of "thorny questions".

OT The LXX uses the word with literal reference in Exod. 22:6; Cant. 2:2; Jdg. 8:7, 16. But the symbolic is never far away. Literal and symbolic combine in Gen. 3:18 where the growth of thorns symbolizes the new perversity of nature consequent upon the sin of man. The main figurative uses are for affliction (Ps. 31[32]:4, LXX only; Ezek. 28:24), that which is hazardous, full of difficulty (Prov. 15:19), painful or out of place (Prov. 26:9). "Thorns for grapes" typifies disappointed and blighted hopes (e.g. Isa. 5:2, 4, LXX only) and looks back to

Gen. 3:18 as its origin. Thorns are the wild growth when cultivation ceases (Isa. 5:6), not only physically but spiritually and religiously (e.g. Isa. 34:13; Hos. 10:8).

NT Literal blends with symbolic in the "crown of thorns" (Matt. 27:29) or "thorny crown" (Mk. 15:17; Jn. 19:5): Jesus is not only in intense suffering but bearing the fruit of the curse of Gen. 3:18. Thorns are the enemy of growth (Matt. 13:7) and spiritually are specified as the anxious care typical of this world, the deceptive allure of riches and all manner of desires (Matt. 13:22; Lk. 8:14). Spiritually, thorns evidence failure to respond to the word of God and reveal an unregenerate heart (Heb. 6:8). For botanical discussion see H. L. and A. N. Moldenke, *Plants of the Bible*, 1952. *J. A. Motyer*

τρίβολος	τρίβολος (*tribolos*), thistle.

CL The root idea is "three-pointed", and *tribolos* is first a weapon with three spikes, then a spiked water plant, the water-caltrop, then a similar land plant, or a burr. It was metaphorically transferred to "sharp" tastes like vinegar, and sharp instrument, like threshing machines.

OT It appears in LXX in Gen. 3:18 with → *akanthai*; in 2 Sam. 12:31 "iron *triboloi*" are "harrows". In Prov. 22:5 *triboloi* makes the way of the wicked hazardous. On Hos. 10:8 cf. on *akantha*.

NT Occurring twice only in the NT, once (Matt. 7:16) it illustrates consistency in nature, applied figuratively to the moral life, and once in Heb. 6:8 as illustrative evidence of an unchanged heart, cf. on *akantha*. *J. A. Motyer*

σκόλοψ	σκόλοψ (*skolops*), thorn.

CL The word *skolops* which is translated in 2 Cor. 12:7 as Paul's *thorn* in the flesh only occurs here in the NT and is not very common in secular Gk. It means something pointed, and is probably connected with *skallo*, hack. Originally it meant a pointed stake, used in defence (Homer, *Od.*, 7, 45; *Il.*, 8, 343) or upon which the head of any enemy could be stuck (Homer, *Il.*, 18, 176 f.). It was used in a similar sense to *stauros*, → cross. But it is also found in the sense of a thorn or splinter in Aesop's *Fables* (279, 11), and this sense is well attested.

OT The meaning *stake* is not found in the LXX. *skolops* is found in Num. 33:55 ("But if you do not drive out the inhabitants of the land from before you, then those of them whom you let shall be as pricks in your eyes and thorns in your sides, and they shall trouble you in the land where you dwell") and Ezek. 28:24 ("As for the house of Israel there shall be no more a brier to prick [*skolops pikrias*] or a thorn to hurt [*akantha odynēs*] them among all their neighbours who have treated them with contempt. Then they will know that I am the Lord God"). See also Hos. 2:8 and Sir. 43:19.

NT In 2 Cor. 12 Paul refers to his own "visions and revelations" (v. 1) in evident reply to those at Corinth who vaunted their own spiritual experiences and decried Paul's foolishness and weakness (11:16 ff.). Whereas his opponents made much of power, Paul refrains from → boasting, "so that no one may think more of me than he sees in me or hears from me" (12:6). He then refers to his own experience. "And to keep me from being too elated by the abundance of revelations, a thorn was given me in the flesh, a messenger of Satan, to harass me, to keep me from being too elated" (12:7). Various theories have been put forward as to what this thorn was. For discussions and literature see Arndt 763 f.; G. Delling, *skolops*, *TDNT* V 411 ff.; P. E. Hughes, *Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, *NLC* 1962, 442–58; C. K. Barrett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, *BNTC* 1973, 314 ff. It has been suggested that it was a temptation to hate or covet. Some scholars take → flesh in the widest sense as the sphere of physical existence, and thus Paul need not refer to a physical ailment. He may refer to opponents or Satan behind his opponents. Physical ailments are not implied in the OT uses of the word. However, the context suggests weakness or hardship (12:9 f.; cf. 11:23–30). Epilepsy and some form of eye trouble are possible explanations, if the expression refers to a bodily ailment. In support of the latter some commentators refer to Gal. 4:13–15, where Paul refers to a "bodily ailment" and where he reminds the Galatians that formerly "you would have plucked out your eyes and given them to me." The theory of eye trouble may be supported by the reference to the "large letters" written with his own hand (Gal. 6:11). The reference to bearing in his body "the marks of Jesus" (Gal. 6:17) may refer to some physical illness or to afflictions suffered in the course of preaching the gospel. Luke the physician's attendance on Paul may have been due to his ailments. The fact that Paul was able to travel so much and endure great hardship does not by itself prove that he was in robust health; the whole context of 2 Cor. 11–12 is a celebration of triumph over disability and hardship.

The exact nature of the thorn in the flesh remains obscure. It is perhaps significant that Paul deliberately uses this apparently trivial expression in contrast with the → cross of Christ. Elsewhere he speaks of being crucified with Christ (Gal. 2:20). Here, however, the affliction which may have been severe is seen to be ultimately trivial. The case illustrates the the role of intercessory prayer. Paul did not regard it as wrong to pray for himself for alleviation. But in answer to his prayer the Lord said to him, "My grace is sufficient for you, for my power is made perfect in weakness" (v. 9). Paul does not see the Christian life as one which is spared all weakness and hardship. In response he declares: "I will all the more gladly boast of my weaknesses, that the power of Christ may rest upon me. For the sake of Christ, then, I am content with weaknesses, insults, hardships, persecutions, and calamities; for when I am weak, then I am strong" (vv. 9 f.). *C. Brown*

(a). R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 1971, 532 ff.; A. T. Hanson, "Christ the First Fruits, Christ the Tree," *Studies in Paul's Technique and Theology*, 1974, 104–25; F. Hauck, *karpos*, *TDNT* III 614 ff.; R. H. Hiers, " 'Not the Season for Figs'," *JBL* 87, 1968, 394–400; H. N. and A. L. Moldenke, *Plants of the Bible*, 1952; T. Y. Mullins, "Paul's Thorn in the Flesh," *JBL* 76, 1957, 299–303; G. F. Post, *Flora of Syria, Palestine and Sinai*, 2nd ed. I, 1932, II, 1933; A. de Q. Robin, "The Cursing of the Fig Tree in Mark xi, A Hypothesis," *NTS* 8, 1961–62, 276–81; N. S. Smith, "The Thorn that Stayed: An Exposition of II Corinthians 12:7–9," *Interpretation* 13, 1959, 409–16; J. C. Trever, "Fig Tree, Fig," "Fruit (Products)," "Thistle, Thorn," *IDB* II 267, 320, IV 630 f.;

W. Walker, *All the Plants of the Bible*, 1957; M. Zohary, "Flora," *IDB* II 284–302; C. W. F. Smith, "No Time for Figs," *JBL* 79, 1960, 315–27; J. N. Birdsall, "The Withering of the Fig Tree," *ExpT* 73, 1961–2, 191.
(b). G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, I–II, 1928; I. Loew, *Die Flora der Juden*, I, 1928; II–III, 1924; IV, 1934.

Fullness, Abound, Multitude, Fulfil, Make Room

The words grouped together under this heading cover a wide variety of ideas. They are connected by the thought, suggested by their etymologies, of occupying, filling and even overflowing a given space. However, in some instances context and usage supersede etymology. *perisseuō* (be more than enough, be present in abundance, abound) and its cognates suggest being present in a way that the given space is unable to contain. *plēthos* means a quantity, a number or multitude, hence a crowd, assembly, population, and the whole body of a church. The cognate vb. *plēthynō* means to increase, multiply, grow. *plēroō* (like the less common *pimplēmi*) means to fill, fulfil. The noun *plērōma* means that which fills, fullness, fulfilling, and is also used as an eschatological technical term for the fullness of time and the fulfilment of the will of God. *chōreō* means to make room, go, have room for, hold, contain. The corresponding noun *chōros* means a place. Also treated in this article are *gemō* (to load, be full) and *chortazō* which is used of filling with food.

περισσεύω

περισσεύω (*perisseuō*), be more than enough, be left over, be present in abundance, be abundant, abound, excel; περισσός (*perissos*), exceeding the usual number or size, extraordinary, abundant, profuse, superfluous, unnecessary; περισσότερος (*perissoteros*), greater, more; περισσοτέρως (*perissoterōs*), adv. more; περισσῶς (*perissōs*), exceedingly, beyond measure, very; ὑπερ[εκ]περισσῶς (*hyper*[*ek*]*perissōs*), beyond all measure; περισσεία (*perisseia*), surplus, abundance; περίσσευμα (*perisseuma*), abundance, fullness.

CL *perisseuō* is used intrans. from the time of Hesiod in the sense of to be over and above, go beyond, outflank, be more than enough, remain over, abound. The adj. *perissos* means beyond the regular number or size, out of the common, extraordinary, strange, more than sufficient, superfluous, excessive, extravagant. The adv. *perissōs* means extraordinarily, exceedingly. Formations with *hyper-* are late Gk. and rare. *hyperekperissōs* and *hyperekperissou*, beyond all measure, belong to NT Gk.

OT *perisseuō* and its cognates are not common in the LXX. Normally they translate the vb. *yāṯar*, remain over; cf. the noun *yeṯer*, remainder, excess.

1. (a) *perisseia* occurs only in Eccles., usually in the sense of gain, advantage. "What does a man gain by all the toil at which he toils under the sun?" (Eccles. 1:3). The wise man like the fool (2:14b; 6:8), man like the beast (3:19), must go hence and be forgotten. God is a free Lord who bestows earthly goods (6:2). Therefore, man should enjoy them in gratitude and not haggle with God over the place that has been allotted to him (6:9 f.). Such wisdom which recognizes the freedom of the creator is real gain (7:12, 19; cf. 2:13 f.; 12:13).

(b) *perisseuō* means to have precedence (1 Macc. 3:30), posterity (1 Sam. 2:33, 36), but elsewhere to have abundance (Sir. 11:12). According to Sir. 19:24, the man who is too sure of his wisdom stands in greater danger of transgressing the law.

(c) *perissos* denotes what is over, the remainder (Exod. 10:5; 2 Sam. 25:11), what is superfluous and useless (Prov. 2:15). But it also denotes what is extraordinary and outstanding (Dan. 5:12, 14), advantage (Prov. 14:23).

2. Late Judaism expected in the end-time an abundance and blessed profusion of all desirable goods: numerous offspring, possessions, superabundant crops (Eth. En. 10:17 ff.; Syr. Bar. 29:5–8; cf. SB IV 886 f.), as well as joy (Eth. En. 51:5 f.), righteousness and wisdom (Eth. En. 48:1), and spirit (or breath) from God (Sib. 4:46, 189).

NT In the NT the words of this group occur relatively frequently: *perisseuō* 39 times; *perissos* and its comparative and adverbial forms 37 times; *perisseuma* 5 times; *perisseia* 4 times; and the forms with the prefix *hyper-* 6 times. All the words occur predominantly in the Pauline writings, and next to them the Gospels. In all the words there is the element of excess and fullness that overflows the set bounds. In this process of overflowing, the existing standards and rules are transcended, and what was comparable becomes incomparable.

1. (a) In the Gospels *perisseuō* and its cognates are found with the primary meaning to have abundance, to have many goods. Mk. 12:44 tells of the widow who gave all that she possessed, whereas others gave of their abundance. Lk. 12:15 warns of misplaced trust in the abundance of possessions. The proverbial utterance in Matt. 12:34 declares: "For out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaks." The more Jesus commanded men not to tell of his healing work, the more (*mallon perissoteron*) they proclaimed it (Mk. 7:36). The secret of his person exerted pressure on men to proclaim it openly in view of his mighty acts. The crowd was astonished beyond measure (*hyperperissōs*, Mk. 7:37) and likewise the disciples were utterly astounded (*lian ek perissou en heautois existanto*, Mk. 6:51).

(b) As the one who prepared the way for Jesus, John was more than a prophet (Matt. 11:9). But the victorious breaking in of the kingdom with Jesus showed that he still stood at the threshold. With a unique authority Jesus called the weary to him to refresh themselves (Matt. 11:28). This is brought out in the accounts of the feeding of the four thousand (Matt. 15:32–39; Mk. 8:1–10) and the five thousand (Matt. 14:13–21; Mk. 6:30–44; Lk. 9:10–17; Jn. 6:1–13). All the accounts mention the quantities of bread that were left over (12 baskets full of what remained [*perisseumata*], Mk. 8:8; cf. *to perisseuon tōn klasmatōn*, the broken pieces left over, Matt. 15:37; cf. Jn. 6:13). Jesus is seen as performing more through his Father's enabling than Moses in the desert. He gives more than food for the day (cf. Exod. 16:18). Those who belong to him have life and have it abundantly (*perisson*, Jn. 10:10). The prodigal son reflected that his father's servants had bread enough and to spare (Lk. 15:17). All this shows that the father has abundant grace which he holds out to the lost.

(c) Corresponding to the offer of abundant grace is the requirement that the disciples' righteousness must exceed greatly (*perisseusē . . . pleion*) that of the scribes and Pharisees (Matt. 5:20; cf. 5:47). The perfection of the disciples is to

correspond to that of the Father (Matt. 5:48). This radical demand raises the anxious question as to who then can be saved (Matt. 19:25; Mk. 10:26; Lk. 18:26). The NT precludes all self-security, riches in their widest sense (Matt. 19:24), and Pharisaic casuistry (Matt. 5:37; 15:4 f.). Faith should rely on the fact that with God all things are possible (Matt. 19:26), and therefore God can make obedience possible to faith.

The two great commandments to love God and to love one's neighbour as oneself are the basis of the teaching of the law and the prophets. There are no commandments greater (*perissoteron*) than these (Mk. 12:33). By contrast, those who devour widows' houses and for a pretence make long prayers will receive the greater (*perissoteron*) condemnation (Lk. 20:47; Mk. 10:40). Those who know so much of God's electing love as Pharisaic Judaism and can still reject it in Christ will receive greater condemnation. "Every one to whom much is given, of him will much be required; and of him to whom men commit much they will demand the more [*perissoteron*]" (Lk. 12:48; cf. Matt. 13:12). The parables show how this applies to man's relationship with God.

2. (a) Paul uses *perisseuō* and its cognates in Rom., when he speaks of the justifying → grace of God. No one and nothing is beyond its reach. God is rich to all who call upon him (Rom. 10:12). "Law came in, to increase the trespass; but where sin increased, grace abounded all the more [*hypereperisseusen*]" (Rom. 5:20 RSV). The splendour of the law now seems to have no splendour because of splendour which surpasses it, inasmuch as the dispensation of condemnation is surpassed by the dispensation of righteousness (2 Cor. 3:9 f.). As sin gained dominance in Adam, so grace abounded (*eperisseusen*) in Christ (Rom. 5:15; cf. 10:4). Because the abundance (*perisseia*) of grace cannot be exhausted, there can be no place for reliance on fulfilling the law (Rom. 3:20). The advantage (*perisson*) of the Jew (Rom. 3:1) consists in the fact that the Jews were entrusted with the oracles of God. But their denial cannot hinder the victorious course of grace. Rather, it brings about the fact that whatever man does it abounds to God's glory (Rom. 3:7). Moreover, it means that God's grace has now come to the Gentiles (Rom. 11:11).

Jew and Gentile alike are utterly dependent upon grace. "God has consigned all men to disobedience, that he may have mercy upon all" (Rom. 11:32). In view of this, Paul prays: "May the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing, so that by the power of the Holy Spirit you may abound in hope [*eis to perisseuein hymas en tē elpidi*]" (Rom. 15:13). Eph. 3:20 declares that "by the power at work in us [God] is able to do far more abundantly [*hyperekperissou*] than all that we ask or think." Eph. 1:7 ff. defines the riches of his grace which he lavished (*eperisseusen*) upon us as "redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of our trespasses" which he has revealed to us as part of his plan to unite all things in himself. Knowing Christ and being rooted and built up in him, believers should live in him, "abounding in thanksgiving [*perisseuontes en eucharistia*]" (Col. 2:7).

(b) Just as the Apostle Paul was exceedingly (*perissōs*) zealous in the persecution of the church (Acts 26:11) and the traditions of the law (Gal. 1:14), he pursued with the same zeal the saving work of Christ in the building up and sanctification of the churches (cf. 1 Cor. 15:58; Phil. 1:9, 26; 1 Thess. 3:12; 4:1, 10; in each case the vb. *perisseuein* appears). In 1 Thess. 3:10 Paul says that he prayed earnestly

(*hyperekperissou*) day and night that he might be with the Thessalonian church to supply what was lacking in their faith (cf. 2:17). He urged the Corinthians to use their gifts for building up the church, so that they might abound (1 Cor. 14:12). With regard to meat offered to idols, Paul urged the "strong" not to make use of their freedom, because it brought no advantage. "Food will not commend us to God. We are no worse off if we do not eat, and no better off [*perisseuomen*] if we do" (1 Cor. 8:8 RSV).

The apostle knows how to be abased (*tapeinousthai*) and how to abound (*perisseuein*), according to whether the former is commanded or the latter given (Phil. 4:12; cf. 4:18). He has striven more and suffered more (*perissoterōs*) (1 Cor. 15:20; 2 Cor. 11:23; 12:15). He had more cause for boasting than his opponents (2 Cor. 1:12; 10:8). But his way is to be satisfied with the power that proves itself in weakness (2 Cor. 12:9). Hence, imprisonment and suffering arouse in him more courage to bear witness (Phil. 1:14; cf. Lk. 12:4).

(c) *perisseuō* is featured in a particular way in connection with the collection for Jerusalem in 2 Cor. Paul is concerned with more than the money that is brought in. It is a test of love for the churches which shows whether it corresponds to Christ's self-sacrifice (2 Cor. 8:8 f.). For this reason, he praises the churches of Macedonia, "for in a severe test of affliction, their abundance of joy [*hē perisseia tēs charas autōn*] and their extreme poverty have overflowed [*eperisseusen*] in a wealth of liberality on their part" (8:2 RSV). The apostle expresses his conviction that: "God is able to provide you with every blessing in abundance [*perisseusai*], so that you may always have enough of everything and may provide in abundance [*perisseuēte*] for every good work" (9:8). (Perhaps a play on words is intended by introductory remark: "Now it is superfluous [*perisson*] for me to write to you about the offering for the saints".) The collection represented a key link between the Jerusalem church and the Gentile churches. "For the rendering of this service not only supplies the wants of the saints but also overflows [*perisseuousa*] in many thanksgivings to God" (9:12). It is thus for Paul a recognition of God's gracious work among the Gentiles.

3. Heb. warns the church, threatened by persecution, to keep its eyes on its goal and to pay closer (*perissoterōs*) attention to the teaching it has been given (Heb. 2:1). When God desired to "point out even more clearly [*perissoteron*]" (6:17; cf. Arndt, 657) to the heirs of promise his unchangeable character, he interposed with an oath. The character of Christ's priesthood becomes "even more [*perissoteron*] evident" (7:15 RSV; cf. Arndt, 657) in view of the testimony of Ps. 110:4 to being a priest for ever after the order of → Melchizedek.

The expression *perisseia kakias* (Jas. 1:21) is translated fig. by RSV as "rank growth of wickedness." Arndt takes it to mean "all the evil prevailing [around you]" (Arndt, 656). The thought is not that of *perisseia* in the sense of a surplus or abundance of evil not committed as yet, but evil in the way that it abounds so freely if it is not firmly dealt with. It is this that James urges his readers to put away and receive with meekness the implanted word that is able to save their souls.

T. Brandt

πλῆθος

πλῆθος (*plēthos*), number, multitude, crowd, throng, assembly, people, populace, population, sometimes used

for the community or assembly of the church; πληθύνω (*plēthynō*), increase, multiply, grow.

CL The noun *plēthos* is attested from Hom. onwards. It is connected with the root *plē-*, meaning fullness, and means a crowd or multitude, in contrast to a small number or an individual. It can also denote what is too big to count. The vb. *plēthynō* (in which the ending *-ynō* means make) means to make full, to fill; intrans. to be full.

The noun is used: (a) as a general term denoting a great number of things, and, in connection with time, duration; (b) with persons, a multitude, crowd; as a military term, a mass of troops; from a sociological and derogatory standpoint, the mass which lacks culture and moral understanding; in a democracy, the total number of voters or the majority that turns the scales in political decisions; people, population; the assembly (e.g. of the citizens of Athens); in religious communities, the body of members, the whole group, the congregation. The plur. can be used to give emphasis (crowds, flocks). Otherwise, an adj. can be added to give emphasis. *plēthos* can also be used as an adj., many (the comparative, more, the great majority; and the superlative, most). The meaning of the vb. corresponds to that of the noun: trans., increase, enlarge, multiply; in the pass. and intrans., to increase in number, grow, fill, be full.

OT In the LXX *plēthos* is found nearly 300 times, and *plēthynō* about 200 times.

Most often it translates forms of the root *rāḇâh*, be or become much, many, great; cf. the noun *rōḇ*, multitude, abundance, greatness. The various forms are used to describe the abundant fullness of God's giving: in the blessing of creation (Gen. 1:22, 28); in the promise to the patriarchs and the people of God of great posterity (Gen. 17:2, 4; 22:17; Exod. 1:7, 20; 32:13); in the bestowal of rich blessings (Deut. 28:11) and salvation (Pss. 5:7[8]; 31:19[20]; 51:1[3]; of the king of salvation Ps. 72:7[71:7]; in a greeting, LXX Dan. 3:31; 6:26). God's fullness of → glory (*doxa*; Exod. 15:7) and majesty (*megalōsynē*, Ps. 150:2) is to be praised. Man, on the other hand, has no cause to trust *en plēthei ischyos*, in the abundance of his strength (Ps. 32:[33]:16), nor the people in the multitude of their warriors (Hos. 10:13) or of their sacrifices (Isa. 1:11; cf. G. Delling, *TDNT* VI 276). Man stands before God in his greatness and majesty with an abundance of guilt (Gen. 6:5; Amos 4:4; Sir. 5:6; 23:3, 16).

The noun *rōḇ*, which corresponds to the Gk. *plēthos*, is also frequent in the Qumran writings. It is used to denote the assembly of the community's members (1QS 5:2, 9; 6:19). It is also often used to strengthen a term used in connection with salvation: e.g. fullness of grace, fullness of mercy, fullness of salvation.

NT *plēthos* occurs 31 times in the NT, of which 24 instances (and one *v.l.*) are in the Lukan writings. *plēthynō* occurs 11 times, including 5 instances in Acts.

The words can serve to describe the fullness of God's giving. This is illustrated by passages citing the OT which refer to the growth of the people of God in fulfilment of the divine promises (Acts 7:17 = Exod. 1:7; Heb. 6:14 = Gen. 22:17; Heb. 11:12 = Gen. 15:5; → People, art. *laos;* → Grow, art. *auxanō*). *plēthynō* also occurs in the formula of greeting offering the prayer that grace and peace (1

Pet. 1:2; 2 Pet. 1:2), and mercy, peace and love (Jude 2), may be multiplied to the readers.

Jas. 5:20 and 1 Pet. 4:8 (= Prov. 10:12) declare that the love that brings back a sinner from the error of his ways and the mutual love that is practised in the community cover a multitude of sins. The expression *plēthos hamartiōn* (cf. the MT of Prov. 10:12: "love covers all offences") is not so much concerned with the number of sins committed, as if they were counted up in some divine book-keeping, but with the effect of love which shows itself to be all the greater in undoing sin. 2 Cor. 9:10 (cf. Isa. 55:10; Hos. 10:12) promises that God will see to it that no gift of love will make a person poor, but will multiply rich blessings.

Luke frequently uses the words to describe the great impact made by Jesus and the gospel exciting the populace (Lk. 8:37; Acts 14:4; 21:36) and causing a number to follow him (Lk. 6:17 par. Mk. 3:7; Lk. 23:27; Acts 5:14, 16; 14:1; 17:4). Peter's apostolic missionary work and the harvest of the gospel among the Gentiles is anticipated by the great draught of fishes (Lk. 5:6; Jn. 21:6). The vb. especially is used to indicate the increase of the church through the spreading of the Word of God (Acts 6:17: 9:31; 12:24; reminiscent of the OT account of the creation and of the increase of the people of God as a sign of blessing).

Lk. also makes a literary use of *plēthos* to focus attention on a small group of people alongside the anonymous multitude: the priest and the multitude (Lk. 1:10); the angel of the Lord and the heavenly host (2:13); the disciples and the people (6:17); the Twelve and the great body of the church (Acts 6:2, 5). It means company or assembly in Acts 4:32; 14:4; 23:7, and underlines the corporate character of the action of the group concerned in Lk. 19:37; 23:1; Acts 4:32; 25:24.

In Lk. *plēthos* can also mean a religious assembly: participants in worship (Lk. 1:10; Acts 19:9); the company of believers (Acts 4:32); the great body of the church (Acts 6:2, 5; 15:12, 30; 21:22 *v.l.*).

Matt. 24:12 speaks of the end-time: "And because wickedness is multiplied, most men's love will grow cold." The disciples are not to lose their zeal under the pressure of events, especially when anti-Christian forces gain control even in the church and the widespread rejection of God's law makes life unbearable.

W. Bauder

πληρόω πληρόω (*plēroō*), fill, complete, fulfil, accomplish, carry out; πλήρης (*plērēs*), full, filled, complete; πλήρωμα (*plērōma*), that which has been completed, fullness; ἀναπληρόω (*anaplēroō*), fill up; πληροφορέω (*plērophoreō*), bring in full measure, fulfil, accomplish, persuade, assure, satisfy fully; πληροφορία (*plērophoria*), fullness, full assurance; πίμπλημι (*pimplēmi*), fill, complete, fulfil; ἐμπίμπλημι (*empimplēmi*), fill full, fill up, satisfy.

CL 1. *plērēs* and its derivatives are to be found in Gk. literature from Aesch. onwards, and *pimplēmi* from Homer. *plērophoreō*, on the other hand, is a late formation and is found once in Ctesias, otherwise in the 2nd cent. B.C. The majority of meanings of all these words are derived from the common root *plē-*, full, fullness. *plēroō*, as well as *empimplēmi*, means lit. to fill a vessel, so that the result can be described by *plērēs* or *plērōma*. It can be applied, for instance, to the manning of a

ship. It is used in an extended sense of fulfilling a wish, hearing a prayer, stilling wrath and anger, satisfying a desire, meeting obligation and carrying out work. It has the further sense of bringing to full measure, delivering a reward or tribute, filling a gap, enlarging (also as an alternative *anaplēroō*). It is used in a temporal sense in the pass. of expiring, coming to an end, e.g. a full (*plērēs*) year, a full number (*plērōma*) of years.

2. Just as a person can be full of pain, joy, love, and virtue, he can also be said to be filled with God (*plērēs theou;* Pollux, *Onomasticon*, 1, 15), i.e. possessed and inspired by God (ibid., 1, 16). The Pythian priestess was said to be filled by the spirit of God when she uttered an oracle (Origen, *Contra Cels.*, 7, 3). This mantic filling by God is to be distinguished from the thought that God permeates the universe and fills it (so Zeus Sarapis in Aelius Aristides, *Orationes*, 45, 21). This need not be taken in a pantheistic sense, as can be shown from Philo's use of such expressions (*Leg. All.*, 3, 4; cf. 1, 44; *Sacr.*, 67; *Vit. Mos.*, 2, 238; *Conf. Ling.*, 134 ff.). Despite Stoic influences, his idea of the God who fills the universe is that of a transcendent God (as in Platonic) dualism who fills the universe by his presence and working (as in the OT).

OT 1. *plēroō* and *pimplēmi* are almost equally common in the LXX. Together with derivatives, they translate chiefly the Heb. *mālē'*, and less frequently *śāḇa'*, *tāmam*, and *šālēm*. There is the same range of meaning as in CL above: the lit. sense (2 Ki. 4:4; Gen. 21:19; 42:25; Ps. 96:11 and 98:7 in the expression "the sea and all that fills it"); of the divine ordinance to fill the earth (Gen. 1:28; 9:1; cf. the earth and what fills it, Ps. 24:1). In an extended sense, *plēroō* and its derivatives are used of hearing prayers (Ps. 20:6), finishing work (1 Ki. 7:51), paying tribute (2 Macc. 8:10, *ekplēroō*), confirming the words of someone else (1 Ki. 1:14), bringing a punishment to full measure (Wis. 19:4, *prosanaplēroō*).

2. *plēroō* is used frequently (*pimplēmi* less so) in connection with expressions of time: to make a time full, mainly in the pass. in the sense of expiring, coming to an end. The idea implies a definite amount of → time that must inevitably come to an end, because nature (e.g. Gen. 25:24), a vow (Num. 6:5), the law (Lev. 8:33) or God's word (cf. the 70 years in Jer. 25:12; 2 Chron. 36:21) decree or determine it. Tob. 14:5[7] is interesting in this connection. Tobias has said that Israel would be devastated for a time (*mechri chronou*), but God would bring back the exiles (Tob. 14:4[6]). The house of God would also be rebuilt, but not with the former appearance. Yet this inferiority would be merely temporal. It will last until "the time of the aeons" ["the time of the times", Codex Sinaiticus] are fulfilled. Behind all this lies the idea that God has fixed a limit for the times of man (cf. Dan. 12:13 LXX). In the same way the OT speaks about the filling up of sins. Here again there is the idea of a measure to be filled up, though not in so many words. Thus, Gen. 15:16 speaks of the iniquity of the Amorites being not yet complete. The attainment of the full measure of their sins means the end of the dominion of the four godless kingdoms (Dan. 8:23). The perspective of 2 Macc. 6:12–16 is very instructive. The misery of the people of Israel is but God's temporary chastisement which has come about as a warning (v. 12). For God desires to spare sinners from ultimate punishment (v. 13). They know that: "In the case of other nations, the sovereign Lord in his forbearance refrains from punishing them till they have filled up their sins to the

full, but in our case he has determined otherwise, that his vengeance may not fall on us in after-days when our sins have reached their height" (v. 14).

3. There is a specific OT use of the term, when the word of God spoken by the prophets is said to be fulfilled (cf. 1 Esd. 1:57 [*anaplērōsis*]; 1 Ki. 2:27; 2 Chron. 36:21 f. [*plēroō*]). It is Yahweh himself who executes that which has been prophesied in his name (1 Ki. 8:15, 24).

4. There are numerous references to being filled (*empimplēmi*) by the Spirit of God. It is the distinguishing mark of the prophets (Sir. 48:12), and can be transmitted by the laying on of hands (Deut. 34:9). Skilled craftsmen are also said to be filled by a spirit, viz. that of knowledge and craftsmanship (Exod. 28:3; 31:3). Being filled by the Spirit is also given to those who seek the Lord and study the → law (Sir. 39:8), so that they instruct others (vv. 9 f.). He who keeps a bridle on his tongue is filled by the Spirit (Prov. 15:4 LXX).

The statement of Wis. 1:7 that "the Spirit of the Lord fills the world" is not to be understood in a pantheistic sense any more than in Philo. It is a confession that God hears and knows everything, and that he punishes sin (see the context). Similarly, the rhetorical question of Jer. 23:24, "Do I not fill heaven and earth?" means that God sees all things. The statement that God's → glory (Heb. *kāḇôḏ*; Gk. *doxa*) fills the earth (cf. Ps. 72:19; Isa. 6:3; Num. 14:21) means that God will reveal himself in full measure. Originally this glory was confined to the → tabernacle (Exod. 40:34 f.), the first (1 Ki. 8:10 f.; 2 Chron. 5:14; 7:1) and second (Hag. 2:9) temples, and was perceived by only a few. But in the end-time, "the earth will be filled [*plēsthēsetai*] with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea" (Hab. 2:14).

5. The Qumran writings mainly use the Heb. *mālē'* to denote the completion of a period of time (cf. 1QS 7:20, 22) and also in the pregnant eschatological sense, that all existence and events are fulfilled according to a firm plan that is already fixed by God (1QS 3:16; cf. 1QM 17:9). In the time of salvation expected at the end God will fill his land with the rich bounty of blessing and all the wealth of the nations will be brought together at Jerusalem (1QM 12:12 ff.; cf. 14:4).

NT The NT usage of these terms has much in common with what has been said under CL and OT. *pimplēmi* and the compound *empimplēmi*, neither of which is very common, remain close to the lit. meaning. Both are used chiefly by Luke.: the former to denote endowment by the Spirit which is pictured in a rather physical and visual manner, the latter to denote satisfying and filling again conceived in a somewhat physical way (Lk. 1:53; 6:25). *plēroō* is more significant, not only because it is more frequent (86 times), but also because it is virtually a technical term used in connection with the fulfilment of scripture and also a designation of the fulfilment of → time in an eschatological sense. It has thus a special theological significance. *plērēs* is used lit. in the Synoptic Gospels. It is also applied to people in the Lucan and Johannine writings. A man can be full of the Holy → Spirit, full of → faith, or full of good → works (cf. Acts 6:3, 5; 9:36). *plērophoreō* and *plērophoria* (in all 10 times) come close in meaning to the vb. → *perisseuō*, though they are translated in various ways. In 2 Tim. 4:5, 17 the vb. means to carry out the ministry of preaching. The noun *plērophoria* can mean lit. fullness and also full assurance, conviction. It is difficult to determine whether *plērōma* focuses on the

process of filling or the fact of being filled. The term occurs especially in Paul. There are only a few references to the word in its original sense (*plēroō*, Jn. 12:3; Acts 2:2; *pimplēmi*, Lk. 5:7; cf. the compound *symplēroō*, Lk. 8:23). Attention will therefore be confined to the more theological uses of these terms.

1. *Fulfilment of OT Scripture.* (a) The NT church was conscious of its living continuity with the OT. It found its strength in the OT, not only in the use it made of the OT in authenticating its apologetic and mission vis-à-vis Judaism. Right from the beginning going back to Jesus himself, the church felt the need to base its life on the OT. The OT was appealed to with a sometimes surprising self-confidence in a manner characterized by the key concept of fulfilment. The usual term here was the vb. *plēroō*, but *anaplēroō* and *pimplēmi* both occur once in this connection.

(b) The fulfilment is often introduced by the conjunctions *hopōs* and *hina*, so that . . . (especially in Matt. and Jn.). This is particularly true of those fulfilment-quotations which have their origin in the church's understanding of its faith (e.g. Jas. 2:23), or episodes in the life of Jesus which were seen as the fulfilment of the divine plan of salvation revealed in the OT. In this sense writers speak of the fulfilment of the → scriptures (*graphai*, Mk. 14:49), and of all that is written (Lk. 21:22). The thought is perhaps that of the whole OT (Lk. 24:44: Moses, the prophets, Psalms), but in particular of the prophetic writings (Matt. 26:56). Most often a particular passage is in mind which is introduced by the expressions "what was spoken" (*to rhēthen*, 10 times in Matt., e.g. Matt. 4:14), "the word" (*ho logos*, Jn. 12:38; 15:25), "the scripture" (i.e. the scripture passage, *hē graphē*, Mk. 15:28; Jn. 13:18; 17:12; 19:24, 28, 36; Acts 1:16; Jas. 2:23; cf. Lk. 4:21). The source of the quotation is often the prophets. Hence, writers may speak of the fulfilment of prophecy (Matt. 13:14, *hē prophēteia*), and of the words of the prophets (Acts 13:27).

Sometimes the prophets are named whose words are cited as scripture (Isaiah in Matt. 3:3; 4:14; 8:17; 12:17; 13:14, 35 *v.l.*; 15:7; Mk. 1:2; 7:6; Lk. 3:4; 4:17; Jn. 1:23; 12:38 f., 41; Acts 8:28, 30; 28:25; Rom. 9:27, 29; 10:16, 20; 15:12; Jeremiah in Matt. 2:17; cf. 16:14; 27:9; 2 Chron. 36:21). Sometimes the reference is simply to "the prophet" (Matt. 1:22; 2:5, 15; 21:4). Matt. expressly characterizes their activity as a subordinate one by his use of the preposition *dia*, through ("through the prophet," 10 times). Behind the scripture and the particular passage stands the true author for Matt., God himself (note the use of *hypo*, by, in the expression "what the Lord had spoken by the prophet", Matt. 1:22; 2:15). It is God himself who has declared it beforehand (Acts 3:18).

(c) Just as God is the originator, he is also the fulfiller of the word spoken by him. This finds expression in the frequent circumlocution using the semitic pass. *to be fulfilled*. Acts 13:33 and 3:18 make it clear it is God who brings about fulfilment. However, this does not preclude human participation. By their failure to understand the utterances of the prophets the inhabitants of Jerusalem fulfilled scripture (Acts 13:27).

The NT also speaks of the fulfilment of the words of an angel (Lk. 1:20) and of Jesus (Jn. 18:9, 32). In evaluating scripture proof, it is to be noted that the process starts from the eschatologically understood present and reaches back to the OT scripture, and not the reverse (cf. the frequent *kathōs gegraptai*, as it is written, e.g. Mk. 1:2; Lk. 2:23 and often). Generally it is the wording of the LXX and not the Heb. text that is referred to. Certain passages are understood as mysteriously

presaging the present advent of the final events (→ Secret; → Revelation, art. *apokalypsis*). Faith discovers in the OT the promise of the salvation that is now coming to pass. In the endeavour to discover the greatest number of mysteries (cf. Jn. 5:39: "You search the scriptures"), a form of scripture proof emerged which can be seen in Matt. But even here there is a striking freedom in dealing with the wording of the OT, as compared with Judaism. Jesus' attitude to the wording was already discriminating (cf. Matt. 5:17; Mk. 10:2 ff.). Paul also distinguished between the → Spirit and the letter (2 Cor. 3:7 ff.). Sometimes he expounded the OT in an allegorical manner (1 Cor. 9:9; cf. Deut. 25:4). This may be compared with the interpretation given to the parables (cf. Mk. 4:13–20). Heb. takes the form of a homily in which a connected string of OT passages is expounded step by step.

([Ed.] It is sometimes suggested that the apologetic interest of the NT writers has caused them to wrest OT passages out of their original context in order to give them a christological interpretation. Thus the quotation of Hos. 11:1 ("Out of Egypt have I called my son") by Matt. 2:15 appears in context to have nothing to do with the infant Jesus returning from Egypt. Rather, it refers to the original exodus of the people of Israel. Similarly the Emmanuel prophecy of Isa. 7:14 quoted by Matt. 1:23 appears to lose its point for Isaiah's time, if the fulfilment was not to occur until the birth of Jesus. The slaughter of the innocents at Bethlehem by Herod does not seem to have been the original point of Jer. 31:15, quoted by Matt. 2:18. If these and other OT quotations are regarded as direct predictions of events which did not happen until Jesus, then the NT writers cannot be exonerated of taking texts out of context for apologetic purposes, displaying ignorance of or indifference to the original meaning of the text. But as R. Schippers has pointed out above (NT 1 (c)), these NT passages are understood from the standpoint of an eschatological present. The OT passages are not treated as mere predictions but as anticipations. From the standpoint of the Jew living at the time of the original prophetic utterance, the utterance was about something significant in the history of the Jewish people. It was something that had happened or was happening in history. Matt.'s idea of fulfilment says, in effect, that the event that the Jews thought was significant turns out to be only an anticipation of an event of a similar kind but ultimately more significant in God's purposes for the salvation of mankind. It is in this sense that the latter fulfills the former.)

2. *The fulfilment of* → *time.* (a) In a general sense, the fulfilment of time refers to coming to an end, expiring. It is always pass. in the NT. The following vbs. are used: *pimplēmi* (Lk. 1:23, 57; 2:6, 21 f. in the birth narratives); *teleō* (Lk. 2:43); and *plēroō* (Acts 7:23, 30; 9:23; 24:27; cf. 19:21). Days (5 times) and years (3 times), and a point in time (Lk. 1:57) are all said to have been fulfilled, or to have come. Perhaps *plērophoreō* in Lk. 1:1 has also a temporal aspect ("the things that have been accomplished among us" RSV).

(b) The idea of fulfilment in Lk. 21:24 is more significant. The execution of judgment on Jerusalem will go on "until the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled" (cf. Tob. 14 under OT 2, above). There is more emphasis here than under (a) on the thought that God determines the times and seasons. In these passive constructions God is the implied subject. Time (→ art. *aiōn*) has a function in the plan of salvation. Lk. 9:51 and Acts 2:1 use the composite *symplēroō* in the pass. The former speaks of the days of his assumption being fulfilled (*en tō symplērousthai tas*

hēmeras tēs analēmpseōs). The latter speaks of the day of Pentecost being fulfilled (*en tō symplērousthai tēn hēmeran tēs Pentēkostēs*), when correspondingly the Spirit was given.

(c) According to Mk. 1:15, Jesus' first public preaching began with the words, "The time is fulfilled [*peplērōtai ho kairos*]." The time appointed by God and awaited by Israel has come. This may be compared with Jesus' declaration in the synagogue at Nazareth after reading from Isa. 61:1 f. (Lk. 4:18 f.): "Today this scripture has been fulfilled in your hearing" (Lk. 4:21). By contrast, Jesus declares in Jn. 7:8, "My time is not yet fulfilled [*ho emos kairos oupō peplērōtai*]." Although the time of God's intervention in Christ has already come, the events of Jesus' earthly life are still fully in the hands of God. No man, not even Jesus himself, can control them (cf. Jn. 2:4; 7:30; 8:20). The time is only revealed to Jesus later (Jn. 12:33; 13:1; 17:1).

(d) In this connection, Paul makes use of the noun *plērōma*: "But when the time had fully come [*hote ēlthen to plērōma tou chronou*], God sent forth his Son, born of woman, born under the law, to redeem those who were under the law, so that we might receive adoption as sons" (Gal. 4:4 f.). This does not mean only that a particular time has expired, or that an appointed time has come. Rather, it means that in the divine economy of salvation human time has reached its full measure. In Eph. 1:10 Paul links the *oikonomia* (administration, → House; RSV "plan") with the *plērōma* (fullness) of times (*kairōn*). He wishes to stress that the Christ-event does not lie in the realm of human factors and possibilities but in the counsel of God (v. 9).

3. *The fulfilment of God's will.* (a) Discussion of fulfilment of the → Law in the NT is always concerned with the basic thought that "love is the fulfilling of the law [*plērōma oun nomou hē agapē*]" (Rom. 13:10). "For he who loves his neighbour has fulfilled [*peplērōken*] the law" (Rom. 13:8). In Gal. 5:14 Paul says that, "The whole law is fulfilled in one word, 'You shall love your neighbour as yourself' " (quoting Lev. 19:18; cf. Matt. 22:39; Jn. 13:34). Concretely, this can mean: "Bear one another's burdens, and so fulfill [*anaplērōsete*] the law of Christ" (Gal. 6:2).

(b) In the Sermon on the Mount Jesus said that he had not come to abolish the law and the prophets (i.e. the scriptures in which God has made his will known) but to fulfil them (Matt. 5:17). However one attempts to resolve the tension between vv. 18 ff. and 21 ff., it is clear that fulfilment is not to be understood in a formal way. Here too the basic motive is love. Jesus has shown this love from the first in fulfilling "all righteousness" (Matt. 3:15).

(c) The righteous demand of the law still remains, but the sting of death is removed. Through the righteous act (*dikaiōma*) of Christ righteousness has come to us (Rom. 5:18). The sending of God's Son and the condemnation of sin in the flesh (Rom. 8:3) effect what the law could not do, "in order that the just requirement of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not according to the flesh but according to the Spirit" (Rom. 8:4).

4. *Being filled with the Spirit.* In this connection *pimplēmi* and *plēroō* are used only in the pass. God is always thought of as the giver. The adj. *plērēs* also occurs. The thought is specifically Lucan. Paul develops his doctrine of the → Spirit in a quite different way.

(a) In Lk. 1:15 John the Baptist is said to be "filled [*plēsthēsetai*] with the Holy Spirit" from his mother's womb. Likewise, his parents Elizabeth (v. 41) and Zechariah (v. 67) are full of the Holy Spirit in their prophesying.

(b) Lk. 4:1 records that Jesus returned from his baptism "full of the Holy Spirit." From the parallel passage in Mk. 1:12 it is apparent that the older tradition contained another view which was more dynamic and related to the OT. The Spirit drives (*ekballei*) Jesus into the desert as a personal power (cf. the temporary endowment by the Spirit of the charismatic leaders in the Book of Judges, e.g. Jdg. 6:34; 11:29; 14:19). Lk., on the other hand, presents the idea of a special act of bestowing the Spirit in baptism which endows the recipient with an enduring, miraculous power.

(c) What until Pentecost, the decisive date for the universal church, was the privilege of only a few individuals, is from that day forward the most important characteristic of the Jewish and subsequently (cf. Acts 10) the Gentile church. According to Acts 2:4, all were "filled with the Holy Spirit." This was manifest in the gift of tongues. The connection between being filled (*pimplanai*) and speaking also comes out in Acts 4:8 and 4:31 (cf. 13:9). It signifies that the filling is not an end in itself, but the condition for speaking with boldness in the missionary situation (cf. especially Acts 4:31). Although being filled with the Spirit appears to be a mark of the Christian in general, it is specially stressed in the case of certain individuals, such as Stephen (Acts 6:5, 10; 7:55), Paul (9:17) and Barnabas (11:24).

(d) Acts 6 shows that various gifts were apparently bestowed together with the gift of the Spirit: wisdom (vv. 3, 10), faith (v. 5), grace and power (v. 8). "Full of grace [*plērēs charitos*]" is a specifically Lucan expression (8 times in the Gospel; 17 times in Acts). → Grace, art. *charis*. On Acts 13:52 → Joy, art. *chairō*.

Without the Spirit one can be filled with bad qualities: wrath (Acts 19:28; Lk. 4:28), fury (Lk. 6:11), jealousy (Acts 5:17; 13:45), vices which are normally connected with *pimplēmi*. Peter, filled with the Spirit, unmasked their originator as Satan (Acts 5:3; 13:9). There is evidently no neutral position for a man between Christ and → Satan (Lk. 11:23 ff.).

(e) Paul saw men as standing between these two alternatives. A man either brings forth "the → fruit of the Spirit" or he does "the works of the → flesh" (Gal. 5:19, 22). This is also made clear by Phil. 1:11, where Paul exhorts the Philippians to sanctification by being "filled with the fruits of righteousness which come through Jesus Christ." Here, however, Paul's quite different doctrine of the Spirit comes into the open. To be filled with the power of the Spirit means to "live by the Spirit [*zōmen pneumati*]" (Gal. 5:25), or to be "in Christ", to "have the mind of Christ [*noun Christou echein*]" (1 Cor. 2:16), and thus to have the fullness of the gifts of grace flow through one as a member of the → body of Christ.

5. *The fullness of Christ*. A few passages in the NT speak of being filled by Christ. The noun *plērōma* is used in this connection. It is not easy to attribute a single, unambiguous meaning to it. In Rom. 11:12 it means "full inclusion" (RSV) and in Rom. 11:25 "full number" (RSV). It means "fullness" in Rom. 15:29 and fulfilling in the act. sense in Rom. 13:10.

(a) Jn. 1:16 says that the incarnate → Word possesses a fullness, which has already been referred to in v. 14, where the Logos is described as being "full of

grace and truth." This fullness is not a gnostic mystery of the heavenly world, but (like the → glory [*doxa*] in v. 14) revelation. Men can see it and have a part in this glory.

(b) According to Col. 2:9, "the whole fullness of deity dwells bodily [*katoikei pan to plērōma tēs theotētos sōmatikōs*]" in Christ. This fullness which is described in Col. 1:15–18 is entirely related to Christ's cross (v. 20), death (v. 22), and resurrection (v. 18). For this reason believers also have this fullness in him (2:10). By his cross, death and resurrection they are reconciled through faith (2:12 ff.), renewed, and made to participate in his triumph. ([Ed.] Some scholars see in Col. 2:1–15 Paul's answer to the specifically gnostic features of the Colossian heresy [cf. R. N. Longenecker, *The Christology of Early Jewish Christianity*, 1970, 56 f.; and the discussions in C. F. D. Moule, " 'Fullness' and 'Full' in the New Testament", *SJT* 4, 1951, 80; and R. McL. Wilson, "Gnosis, Gnosticism and the New Testament" in U. Bianchi, ed., *Le Origini dello Gnosticismo*, 1967, 518 ff.]. *plērōma* was certainly a technical term in later Valentinian gnosticism. But as both Moule and Wilson point out, the expression in Col. 2:9 cannot possibly be equated with the gnostic's hierarchy of beings lying between God and the world. It must mean deity, Godhead, entirety, the sum total of divine attributes. Wilson suggests that certain elements of later gnostic speculation [such as Jesus as the perfect fruit and star of the *plērōma*] appear to originate in Col. 1:19, 2:9, and Eph. 4:13. He concludes that the term should not be claimed to be specifically gnostic, nor should a gnostic interpretation be put upon it at all costs. On the other hand, a sweeping rejection of any relation to gnosticism would be equally erroneous. The whole complex of ideas in Eph. and Col. suggests that we have to deal with something here that was already in process of developing into what we know as second-century gnosticism. But the obscurity of the situation requires the greatest caution in drawing conclusions.)

(c) Believers "have come to fullness of life in him" (Col. 2:10). But the fact of salvation does not exclude their own contribution to this fullness. Eph. 3:19 contains the prayer that the readers may "know the love of Christ which surpasses knowledge, that you may be filled with all the fullness of God" (RSV). This knowledge is not given automatically. It depends upon the building up of the church as the body of Christ. Christian service must contribute to the realization of the unity of faith and the knowledge of the Son of God. This in turn leads "to the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ" (Eph. 4:13), in which believers are no longer carried about by every wind of doctrine (v. 14). This faith-knowledge is assured by Christ and is given to the church "which is his body, the fullness of him who fills all in all" (Eph. 1:23).

6. *The filling up of the measure of sin.* It was seen above (section OT) that the filling up of the measure of sin in the OT was applied to the Gentile nations. Tob. 14:5 restricts it to them and argues that God will protect the people of Israel against it. But in Matt. 23:32 Jesus says expressly to the Jewish leaders: "Fill up, then, the measure of your fathers [*plērōsate to metron tōn paterōn hymōn*]." This implies that they sin just as much as their fathers, or that they fill out what was still lacking in sins. Paul also turns the expression against the Jews in 1 Thess. 2:16: they have killed the Lord Jesus and the prophets "and drove us out, and displease God and oppose all men" (v. 15), "by hindering us from speaking to the Gentiles that they may be saved – so as always to fill up the measure of their sins [*eis to anaplērōsai*

autōn tas hamartias pantote]. But God's wrath has come upon them at last [*eis telos*]" (RSV; cf. RSV mg. "completely" or "for ever").

7. *Filling a need.* In the Pauline letters the vbs. *anaplēroō* (1 Cor. 16:17; Phil. 2:30), *antanaplēroō* (Col. 1:24) and *prosanaplēroō* (2 Cor. 9:12; 11:9) are linked with *hysterēma*, lack (both in sing. and plur.), in the sense of to fill a lack which someone has. Thus, the coming of Stephanas, Fortunatus and Achaicus made up for being separated from the Corinthian church (1 Cor. 16:17). Epaphroditus served Paul as the representative of the Philippian church in their stead (Phil. 2:30). Perhaps he even completed what was still lacking. In Col. 1:24 Paul declares: "Now I rejoice in my suffering for your sake, and in my flesh I complete what is lacking in Christ's afflictions for the sake of his body, that is, the church." There are still afflictions of Christ (→ Persecution, art. *thlipsis*), for the sufferings of the church are not to be separated from those of Christ. Not all persecution fell to the historical Jesus; a part remains for the members of the → body of Christ, the → church. Paul, the servant (Col. 1:23, 25) felt that the great suffering that was his lot was in a certain measure → suffering for the body of Christ. He can thus rejoice in his own suffering, because he thereby diverts the suffering of the church. ([Ed.] J. B. Lightfooot distinguished between sufferings which made satisfaction and those which were edificatory. Christ's sufferings were the former; Paul's were the latter in that they came about through the work of building up the church [*Saint Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, 1879², 164 f.].)

8. *Complete joy.* In Jn. and the Johannine letters there is a frequent connection between → joy (*chara*) as a subject and the vb. *plēroō* in the pass., to be filled. This joy is the joy of Jesus (Jn. 15:11; 17:13) which he brings through his coming (3:29), his words (15:11; 17:13), and his return (16:22) to his disciples (15:11; 17:13). It replaces the sorrow that fills their hearts (16:16, 20). Thus Christ's joy becomes their joy (15:11; 16:24; cf. 1 Jn. 1:4). This joy characterizes the life of the disciples in their walk with Jesus; it becomes complete (Jn. 3:29; 15:11; 16:24; 17:13; 1 Jn. 1:4; 2 Jn. 12). The pass. underlies the fact that it is God who completes this joy.

R. Schippers

χωρέω *χωρέω* (*chōreō*), make room, give way, go, go out, go away, reach, have room for, hold, contain.

CL *chōreō* is a verbal derivative of *chōros* or *chōra*, an open space, a land, country, region.

1. Intrans. it means to give room, to be in motion from one place to another. (a) When applied to persons, it means: to give ground in battle (Hom., *Il.*, 17, 533); with preps. in an extended sense, to tackle and carry out something, e.g. to start a rebellion (Appian, *Bella civilia*, 5, 4, 30); to come to regret an action (Plut., *De Fluviis*, 9, 2). (b) When applied to things, its meaning includes: to move things, e.g. the fluid content of a body (Aristot., *Problemata*, 1, 55); to spread news or commands (Xen., *Institutio Cyri*, 3, 3, 62; Plato, *Epistolae*, 7, 338b); to take course, of a process or undertaking, e.g. a war (Thuc., 1, 82, 6; without specifying whether a successful outcome was reached, Plut., *De Galba*, 10, 1).

2. Trans. it means: (a) to be able to take up, hold (of cavities, vessels, Diod. Sic., 13, 83, 3); (b) in an extended sense, to be able to put up with someone (of a city,

Dem., 21, 200); in the post-Christian era (cf. OT 2 (b)) also of intellectual and spiritual capacities (Plut., *De Catone Minore*, 64, 3).

OT 1. *chōreō* is rare in the LXX. In the 6 instances where there is a Heb. equivalent, it translates 5 Heb. roots. It is used in connection with the capacity to hold of cultic vessels (e.g. 1 Ki. 7:38; cf. Jn. 2:6; see below NT 2 (a)).

2. In the literature of Hel. Judaism outside the LXX *chōreō* is relatively common: (a) intrans. of war spreading (Jos., *War*, 6, 130); of human wickedness increasing and spreading (Test. Iss. 1:11); (b) trans. often of man's incapacity to grasp the knowledge of God presented to him (Philo, *Spec. Leg.*, 1, 44) or to bear the word of God (*Post. C.*, 143).

NT 1. *Intransitive use.* The expression *pantas eis metanoian chōrēsai* (2 Pet. 3:9, "that all should reach repentance" RSV) corresponds to the use of *chōreō* in the sense of tackling something and carrying it out. The thought is probably that of a single act that is possible, because God is delaying the last judgment. The phrase *eis tēn koilian chōrei* (Matt. 15:17 "passes into the stomach") corresponds to the description of physiological processes in medicine (see above, CL 1 (b)). It expresses a certain independence of the natural processes of the mind and the will (→ Heart, art. *kardia*). *chōreō* in Jn. 8:37 means to spread or make progress. It is applied to the failure of Jesus' word to make progress in the hearts and minds of his Jewish opponents. The assumption is less likely that *en* (in) is used in the sense of *eis* (into), giving the meaning that the word of Jesus finds no access. If the context of Jn. 8:30 is to be understood, Jesus is speaking to Jews who have heard his teaching with approval yet without letting it take effect. On the other hand, there is a tension between Jn. 8:31 and v. 37. The underlying thought is that of a process through which man is freed from the bondage to sin (8:32, 34).

2. *Transitive use.* (a) *chōreō* is used to denote the capacity to hold of water jugs (Jn. 2:6), of a place (Mk. 2:2, "so that there was no longer room for them, not even about the door"), and the world (Jn. 21:25). (b) It means to receive or embrace the apocalyptic teaching of Jesus (Matt. 19:11 f., contained in vv. 9 or 10). The meaning corresponds to understanding and grasping the teaching of the parables (cf. Matt. 13:11, 16 f., 19, 23). In both instances Matt. stresses the understanding of the disciples. *chōreō* appears to go beyond understanding and points to the capacity to receive and act upon the teaching. Matt. 19:12 contains a form of apocalyptic warning found elsewhere in primitive Christianity. It exhorts a group of people who have been given an insight or a gift for something to make use of it, and thereby marks off this group from others. Paul's plea, "Make room for us [*chōrēsate hēmas*]" (2 Cor. 7:2), takes up his earlier plea to extend themselves (6:13), and corresponds to the assurance that, "You are not restricted [*stenochōreisthe*] by us, but you are restricted [*stenochōreisthe*] in your own affections" (6:12). The Corinthians are to recognize Paul in his apostolic ministry as he has given himself to be known by them (2 Cor. 1–6), so that they can be proud of each other on the day of the Lord Jesus (2 Cor. 1:14). *P. Schmidt*

γέμω

γέμω (*gemō*), to load, be full; γεμίζω (*gemizō*), to load; γεμιστός (*gemistos*), laden.

CL In secular Gk. *gemō*, used only in pres. and imp., and *gemizō* were properly used of loading a ship (Herodotus, Thucydides), animals (Posidonius), and of being full, e.g. a harbour with craft (Plato). They are found in an extended sense also: full of truth (Aeschylus); full of evil (Euripides); of over-boldness, of disproportion and ugliness (Plato).

OT In the LXX *gemō* and its cognates are used only 6 times (omitting a mistaken use in Job 32:19) and translate the Heb. *nāśā'*, in the sense of bearing spices, gold (Gen. 37:25; 2 Chr. 9:21); *ṭā'an*, loading beasts (Gen. 45:17); *mālē'*, adj. full (Ps. 10:7; Amos 2:13).

NT Of the 20 occurrences of the vbs. in the NT, most convey the sense of filling an object with something, the root idea of "loading", used originally in exaggeration, having been forgotten. In the other instances the filling is with something intangible and usually uncomplimentary: full of wickedness (Matt. 23:25; Lk. 11:39); of cursing and bitterness (Rom. 3:4); of God's wrath (Rev. 15:7); of possessions (Rev. 17:3); of abominations (Rev. 17:4); of seven plagues (Rev. 21:9).

J. G. Baldwin

χορτάζω

χορτάζω (*chortazō*), to feed, fatten; χόρτασμα (*chortasma*), used mostly in plur., fodder; χόρτος (*chortos*), enclosed pasturage, fodder.

CL In earlier Gk. *chortazō* was used uniformly of animals but in the exaggeration of comedy was applied to men feasting. Under the influence of colloquial use, it lost its strong sense and became virtually the equivalent of *esthiō*. It used at least twice in this sense by Eubulus. *chortos*, feeding place, fodder for animals, implies primarily grass or hay for horses and cattle, but as early as the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. it was being used in poetry for food in general (Hipponax, Euripides).

OT In the LXX *chortazō* translates the Heb. *śāḇa'*, to be sated with. While the basic idea is that of satisfying with food (Pss. 37:19; 59:15; 132:15), the ground is satisfied with rain (Job 38:27), the trees with sap (Ps. 104:13), and the earth with the fruit of God's works (Ps. 104:13). On two occasions disillusion is expressed (Jer. 5:7; Lam. 3:15, 29), but more often the depth of satisfaction goes beyond that of mere food to that of seeing and knowing God (Pss. 17:15; 81:16; 107:9).

chortasma 4 times translates *mispô'*, provender (Gen. 24:25, 32; 42:27; 43:24; Jdg. 19:19), and once *'ēśeḇ*, grass (Deut. 11:15). *chortos* translates a variety of words for grass, plants, among which are *'ēśeḇ*, which includes human food (e.g. Gen. 1:29; 2:5; 3:18); *deše'*, grass (Ps. 37:2; Is. 15:6); *ḥāṣîr*, grass (Isa. 15:6; 44:4; 51:12); *šāmîr*, thorns (Isa. 32:13). Because grass grows in Palestine only during the period of the winter and spring rains and withers immediately the heat comes, it is a ready illustration of the brevity of human life, used especially in the poetical books (Job 13:25; Pss. 37:2; 102:4, 11; 103:15), and in Isaiah (37:27; 40:6, 7).

NT In the NT *chortazō* is used almost invariably to mean to eat or to satisfy with food, as in the accounts of the feeding of the five and four thousand (Matt. 14:20; 15:33; Mk. 6:42; 8:4, 8; Lk. 9:17; Jn. 6:26). The evangelists all laid

stress on the fact that the crowds not only ate but were satisfied, so taking up the sense of *chortazō* in the LXX of the Psalms, and Jesus promises the same in the Beatitudes (Matt. 5:6; Lk. 6:21). That all distinction between this vb. and *esthiō* has vanished is clear from Mk. 7:27, 28, where *esthiō* is used for the pet dogs and *chortazō* for the children. For this reason it is probably incorrect to say that Paul allows himself a vulgarism in Phil. 4:12 (Nägeli, 58, quoted in Moulton and Milligan). The only other occurrences of the verb are in Lk. 16:21, Jas. 2:16 and Rev. 19:21. *chortasma* occurs once only in the sense of food (Acts 7:11). *chortos* is used of growing plants (Matt. 13:26; Mk. 4:28), of hay as an insubstantial building material (1 Cor. 3:12), and of grass in general, commented upon because only at certain seasons was there green grass (Mk. 6:39), much grass (Jn. 6:10; cf. Matt. 14:19). The short life of the grass of the field is used by Jesus as an *a fortiori* argument that God will clothe his children (Matt. 6:30; Lk. 12:28). James and Peter quote from Isa. 40:7, 8 (Jas. 1:10, 11; 1 Pet. 1:24), emphasizing the shortness of human life. In the only other occurrences of the word it is used literally of grass (Rev. 8:7; 9:4). *J. G. Baldwin*

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Addenda

SINCE THE PUBLICATION OF THE FIRST EDITION OF *The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology* the University of Chicago Press has published an extensively revised edition of Arndt and Gingrich's standard dictionary of New Testament Greek: *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature: A Translation and Adaptation of the Fourth Revised and Augmented Edition of* Walter Bauer's *Griechish-Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur by* William F. Arndt *and* F. Wilbur Gingrich; *Second Edition Revised and Augmented by* F. Wilbur Gingrich *and* Frederick W. Danker *from* Walter Bauer's *Fifth Edition, 1958*, 1979. This work will remain indispensable to students of the New Testament for years to come. Further volumes of the *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament* have also appeared and these should be consulted by those wishing to pursue the study of related Old Testament themes.

Among the general books and commentaries, relevant to the New Testament, its background and the articles in this volume, are: J. G. Baldwin, *Daniel: An Introduction and Commentary, TC,* 1978; H. D. Betz, *Galatians: A Commentary on Paul's Letter to the Churches in Galatia, Hermeneia,* 1979; F. F. Bruce, *Paul: Apostle of the Free Spirit,* 1977; B. S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture,* 1979; P. C. Craigie, *The Book of Deuteronomy, The New International Commentary on the Old Testament,* 1976; C. E. B. Cranfield, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, ICC,* I, 1975; II, 1979; J. D. G. Dunn, *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament: An Inquiry into the Character of Earliest Christianity,* 1977; G. Hughes, *Hebrews and Hermeneutics: The Epistle to the Hebrews as a New Testament Example of Biblical Interpretation, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series* 36, 1979; A. Lacocque, *The Book of Daniel,* 1979; I. H. Marshall, *The Gospel of*

Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text, The New International Greek Testament Commentary, 1978; and *The Epistles of John,* 1978; R. H. Mounce, *The Book of Revelation: The New International Commentary on the New Testament,* 1977; H. Ridderbos, *Paul: An Outline of his Theology,* 1975; E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion,* 1977; E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.-A.D.135),* revised and edited by G. Vermes, F. Millar and M. Black, I, 1973; II, 1979; S. Smalley, *John: Evangelist and Interpreter,* 1978; G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Qumran in Perspective,* 1978; G. J. Wenham, *The Book of Leviticus, The New International Commentary on the Old Testament,* 1979; H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos,* Hermeneia, 1978; W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1, Hermeneia,* 1979.

Attention is also drawn to the books and articles which supplement the bibliographies given under the following headings:

Abomination of Desolation
D. Ford, *The Abomination of Desolation in Biblical Theology,* 1979

Advocate, Paraclete, Helper
D. E. Holwerda, *The Holy Spirit and Eschatology in the Gospel of John,* 1959

Animal
H-W. Kuhn, "Das Reittier Jesu in der Einzugsgeschichte des Markus-evangeliums", *ZNW* 50, 1959, 82-91; O. Michel, "Eine philologische Frage zur Einzugsgeschichte", *NTS* 6, 1959-60, 81f.

Bird
H. von Baer, *Der Heilige Geist in den Lukasschriften,* 1926 (on the dove at Jesus' baptism); H. Greeven, *peristera, TDNT* VI 63-72; L. E. Keck, "The Spirit and the Dove", *NTS* 17, 1970-71, 41-67; F. Sühling, *Die Taube als religioses Symbol im christlichen Altertum,* 1930.

Birth, Beget, Bear
R. E. Brown, *The Virginal Conception and Bodily Resurrection of Jesus,* 1973; R. E. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Infancy Narratives in Matthew and Luke,* 1977; R. E. Brown, K. P. Donfield, J. A. Fitzmyer and J. Reumann, eds., *Mary in the New Testament,* 1978.

Body, Member, Limb
R. H. Gundry, *SOMA in Biblical Theology with Emphasis on Pauline Anthropology: Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series* 29, 1976; H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the Old Testament,* 1974.

Church
R. E. Brown, *The Community of the Beloved Disciple,* 1979; G. Johnston, *The Doctrine of the Church,* 1942; E. Schweizer, *The Church as the Body of Christ,* 1964.

Covenant, Guarantee, Mediator
A. Jaubert, *La Notion d'Alliance,* 1963.

Cross, Wood, Tree
M. Hengel, *Crucifixion in the Ancient World and the Folly of the Message of the Cross,* 1977.

Curse, Insult, Fool
R. A. Guelich, "Mt. 5.22: Its Meaning and Integrity", *ZNW* 64, 1973, 39-51; C. H. Hunzinger, *Die jüdische Bannpraxis im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter* (Dissertation, Göttingen), 1954.

Death, Kill, Sleep
L. R. Bailey, Sr., *Biblical Perspectives on Death,* 1979.

Disciple
R. P. Meye, *Jesus and the Twelve: Discipleship and Revelation in Mark's Gospel,* 1968; T. J. Weeden, *Mark, Traditions in Conflict,* 1971.

Dream
J. Campbell, ed., *Myths, Dreams and Religion,* 1970; E. Fromm, *The Forgotten Language: An Introduction to the Understanding of Dreams, Fairy Tales and Myths,* 1951; M. T. Kelsey, *Dreams: The Dark Speech of the Spirit; A Christian Interpretation,* 1968.

Earth, Land, World
A. Alon, *The Natural History of the Land of the Bible,* 1978; D. Baly, *The Geography of the Bible,* 1974[2].

Father
J. Carmignac, *Recherches sur le "Notre Père",* 1969.

Fellowship, Have, Share, Participate
C. F. D. Moule, *The Origin of Christology,* 1977, 47-96.

Fullness, Abound, Multitude, Fulfil, Make Room
F. F. Bruce, *The Time is Fulfilled: Five Aspects of Fulfilment of the Old Testament in the New Testament,* 1978.

The New International

Dictionary of New Testament Theology Vol.2

Editor: Colin Brown



10th printing

The New International

Dictionary of New Testament Theology Vol. 2

Editor: Colin Brown

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL DICTIONARY OF NEW TESTAMENT THEOLOGY is, first, a basic translation, and then an extensive revision and considerable enlargement, of a German work entitled *Theologisches Begriffslexikon Zum Neuen Testament.* On its first publication in German this was recognized as a major work of reference, and has since become more and more widely acclaimed as an important tool for understanding the theology and message of the Bible. Its translation and publication in this new English edition, together with the extensive revisions and extensive additions, have enlarged it so as to make it a unique source of information, invaluable to ministers, teachers, and anyone interested in the study as well as the teaching of the Bible.

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"This Dictionary had already proved its worth in its original German form, and the present revised and enlarged English edition will make it a much appreciated companion to the New Testament for students, preachers, and teachers throughout the English-speaking world." *(F. F. Bruce, University of Manchester)*

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"The ministry of any pastor would be enriched immeasurably if he would keep this dictionary on his desk for constant reference during the time of sermon preparation. . . . it is perhaps the best buy of the year." *(Eternity)*

"It is an excellent work. . . . I am impressed with the significance of this dictionary. It is characterized by the most thorough scholarship." *(Donald W. Burdick, Conservative Baptist Theological Seminary)*

(continued on back flap)

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Greek and English Lexicon to the New Testament (Greenfield, Green)
Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament (Thayer)
New Testament Greek Primer (Marshall)
The Analytical Greek Lexicon Revised (Moulton)
The Englishman's Greek Concordance of the New Testament (Wigram)
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The Interlinear Greek-English New Testament (Marshall)
The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology (Brown)
The NIV Interlinear Greek-English New Testament (Marshall)
The RSV Interlinear Greek-English New Testament (Marshall)
The Zondervan Parallel New Testament in Greek and English (Marshall)

The Editor

In its English form THE NEW INTERNATIONAL DOCTIONARY OF NEW TESTAMENT THEOLOGY was edited by Colin Brown, who holds the B.D. from the University of London, the M.A. from the University of Nottingham, and the Ph.D. from the University of Bristol. His publications include *Karl Barth and the Christian Message* and *Philosophy and the Christian Faith*. Before becoming Professor of Systematic Theology at Fuller Theological Seminary Dr. Brown was Vice-Principal of Tyndale Hall. He has been Visiting Professor at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, Deerfield, Illinois, and at Regent College, Vancouver.

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL DICTIONARY OF NEW TESTAMENT THEOLOGY is a unique source of information, invaluable to ministers, teachers, and anyone interested in the study as well as the teaching of the Bible.

Some of its main features are:

- Concise discussion of the major theological terms of the Bible
- Arranged in English alphabetical order; does not demand prior knowledge of Greek or Hebrew
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- English edition based on *Theologisches Begriffslexikon zum Neuen Testament*, extensively revised and enlarged
- Glossary of Technical Terms giving concise definitions of specialist expressions and usage in Vol. 1
- Index of Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, and theological subjects (Vol. 1 and 2 separately indexed, Combined Index to all three Vols. in Vol. 3)
- Full and up-to-date bibliographies
- International team of contributors

The three-volume set of *The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology* is a treasure house of knowledge concerning a study of Greek words. But it is so written as to be usable by pastors and lay people who are not versed in the Greek language. It treats these words in alphabetical order and relates them to passages in which they appear in the New Testament.

Unlike most works of this type, these volumes provide a maximum of information with a minimum of reading. I know of no other work like it. And I heartily recommend it to all serious students of the New Testament.

Herschel H. Hobbs
Past President of the Southern Baptist Convention

Editor:
Colin Brown

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New Testament Theology

Colin Brown
GENERAL EDITOR

Translated, with additions and revisions, from the German

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ZUM NEUEN TESTAMENT

Edited by Lothar Coenen, Erich Beyreuther *and* Hans Bietenhard



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Preface

Omnis recta Dei cognitio ab obedientia nascitur – "All right knowledge of God is born of obedience." This was the testimony of Calvin in his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 1, 6, 2. It could be said that church history is the story of how the people of God have learned this truth the hard way. The relevance of Calvin's observation does not stop there. What applies to institutions applies equally to individual lives. Yet the Christian religion is not one of relentless dour demands and gritted determination to do better next time. As Calvin went on to say, "Surely in this respect God has, by his singular providence, taken thought for mortals through all ages."

The Bible is not only the primary historical source for our knowledge of ancient Israel and the beginnings of the Christian church; it is the record of God's gracious dealings with his people in times past and the Word of God for them today. The obedience to which God calls is not blind submission but a considered response to himself as he has revealed himself in the past – and as he continues to reveal himself in the present in the light of the past.

The Reformers distinguished three aspects of faith: cognition, assent and trust. Without the element of trust theology is a mere intellectual exercise which becomes increasingly irrelevant in the modern world. But unless our trust has a basis in fact – and can be shown to have a basis in fact – then faith is at the mercy of the crank and the fanatic. Clearly, studying a work like *The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology* is no substitute for the obedience of which Calvin spoke. Knowledge of God comes about in the whole range of life through response to the God who reveals himself and illuminates our way in his Word. But in order to be obeyed the Word must first be understood. It is with the understanding of the Word, as it is expressed in the words of the New Testament, that this dictionary is concerned.

The present volume contains 106 main articles on New Testament concepts, comprising 256 studies arranged under key Greek words or themes. The entries under the key Greek words are normally divided into three parts as follows:

CL Discussion of the word in secular Greek. Uses of the word are illustrated by reference not only to classical literature but also to inscriptions and papyri. But in view of the expressly theological interest of the dictionary discussion here is kept to a minimum.

OT Discussion of the word and related terms in the OT. The language of the church in the NT era was Greek, and the Old Testament Scriptures used by the church were largely the Greek translation of the Hebrew known as the Septuagint (LXX). The discussion is therefore based on the terms as they occur

in the LXX, but comparing the LXX throughout with the corresponding Hebrew Masoretic text. This section also takes account of terms as used by Philo, Josephus, the Dead Sea Scrolls and rabbinic writers.

NT Discussion of the word and related terms in the NT, noting statistical occurrences, the use in relation to the background, and specific emphases of individual writers and writings.

For further discussion of the layout and scope of the dictionary the reader is referred to the Introduction to Volume I.

The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology is based upon the *Theologisches Begriffslexikon zum Neuen Testament* which was first published in German in 1965. In preparing this work for English readers the opportunity has been taken to make revisions and to incorporate extensive new material. This second volume contains 22 completely new articles and a total of 71 new entries on key Greek words and related themes. However, in addition much new material has been incorporated into the revision of the existing articles. The bibliographies have been completely revised. As in Volume I, they have been divided into two sections: (a) works in English, and (b) works in other languages. The purpose is to offer readers a conspectus of literature as a guide to the immense amount of work that has been carried out in biblical studies in recent years. The separation of the two sections will enable them to see at a glance which works are relevant to their particular needs. Most English readers will naturally wish to consult the works in the first section. On the other hand, it was decided to include titles not available in English in order to meet the needs of the more specialist student.

In his review of the first volume of this Dictionary Dr. I. H. Marshall suggested that "It is probably best taken as a reference work to the words used in any particular NT text, by means of which the reader may be guided to the ideas expressed by those words and thus have a better understanding of the text" (*EQ* 48, 1976, 106). The Editor finds himself in basic agreement with this view, if it be stressed that to understand the words of the text one has also to penetrate the thought-world of their background. In preparing this English edition the overriding aim has been to present a concise and yet balanced guide to the theological vocabulary of the NT in the light of international contemporary scholarship. Like all other academic disciplines, theological study has experienced a knowledge-explosion in the last half-century. It is essential to the purpose of *The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology* to enable the reader to explore for himself the new avenues of discovery that have been opened up and to weigh for himself the views of scholars who have contributed to the modern study of the Bible.

The draft translation of the German original was prepared by a team of scholars which included Professor G. H. Boobyer, the Rev. Dr. Colin Brown, Mr. H. L. Ellison, the Rev. M. C. Freeman, the late Rev. Dr. George Ogg, Mr. John D. Manton, the Rev. Philip J. Seddon, the Rev. David Sharp and the Rev. Dr. A. J. M. Wedderburn. A particular debt of gratitude is owed to Professor F. F. Bruce, Rylands Professor of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis in the University of Manchester. In addition to the contributions which appear over his name, Professor Bruce has read the entire work in galley and page proof. He has been unstinting

in the advice and expert help that he has given from first to last. Thanks are also due to the Rev. A. C. Thiselton of the University of Sheffield for reading the typescript of the bibliographies and for making many helpful suggestions. Once again the Rev. Michael Sadgrove has shouldered the heavy burden of proof-reading in the course of his doctoral studies at Oxford. The magnificent indexes are entirely the work of the Rev. Norman Hillyer whose sharp and fresh eye has also contributed to the correction of the page proofs. On numerous points of detail the Editor has benefited from the advice and comments of many friends and colleagues in addition to those already named. Among them are Dr. Cleon Rogers, Principal of the Freie Theologische Akademie, Seeheim, Bergstrasse, the Rev. J. A. Motyer, the Rev. G. T. D. Angel, the Rev. P. J. Budd, Miss J. G. Baldwin, Miss E. M. Embry and Miss M. Langley of Trinity College, Bristol, Mr. Alan Millard of the University of Liverpool, Dr. D. W. Burdick of the Conservative Baptist Theological Seminary, Denver, Colorado, Dr. Janice Allister and Dr. M. G. Barker.

The article on Prayer contains the Eighteen Benedictions used in daily Jewish prayer, in the translation of the Rev. R. A. Stewart which first appeared in his book *Rabbinic Theology: An Introductory Study*, published by Oliver and Boyd, 1961. They are reproduced here by kind permission. Scripture quotations in this Dictionary from the Revised Standard Version of the Bible are used by permission of the owners of the copyright, the Department of Christian Education of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America.

Finally, the Editor would like to record once more his appreciation of the happy co-operation at all stages of the work with the Editor of the German edition, Dr. Lothar Coenen, and the German publishers, the Theologischer Verlag Rolf Brockhaus of Wuppertal, and to thank them for their kind agreement to the features incorporated in the English edition. He also wishes to pay tribute to the skill and craftsmanship of the staff of Redwood Burn in producing such a handsome book from a typescript which was often well-nigh illegible.

A full list of abbreviations and a key to the transliteration of Hebrew, Greek and Arabic words will be found in Volume 1, pp. 31–47. Volume 1, pp. 49–72, also contains a Glossary of Technical Terms which defines many of the terms currently used in theological discussion.

For this new printing of the Dictionary, the opportunity has been taken to make a number of minor corrections and alterations, and the bibliographies have been updated in the Addenda.

C. Brown, 1981.

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Inheritance, Lot, Portion, *klēros*; Possessions, Treasure, Mammon, Wealth, Money, *thēsauros*

Henry Leopold Ellison, B.A., B.D., Dawlish, Devon
Levite, *Leuitēs*

E. Margaret Embry, B.A., B.D., Lecturer, Trinity College, Bristol
Laugh, *gelaō*

Hans-Helmut Esser, Dr. theol., Professor, Horstmar bei Münster
Grace, Spiritual Gifts, *charis*; Humility, Meekness, *tapeinos*; Law, Custom, Elements, *ethos, nomos, stoicheia*; Mercy, Compassion, *eleos, oiktirmos, splanchna*; Poor, *ptōchos* (part)

Ulrich Falkenroth, Dr. theol., Braunschweig
Patience, Steadfastness, Endurance, *anechomai* (part), *makrothymia* (part), *hypomenō* (part)

Michael Farmery, B.D., Bristol
Like, Equal, *homoios* (part)

Günter Finkenrath, Burscheid-Hilgen
Joy, Rejoice, *chairō* (part); Like, Equal, *homoios* (part)

Otto Flender, Villigst
Image, Idol, Imprint, Example, *eikōn*; Layman, *idiōtēs*

Richard Thomas France, M.A., B.D., Ph.D., Senior Lecturer in New Testament, London Bible College, Northwood, Middlesex
Oil, Olive, Gethsemane, *elaion*; Pour, *ekcheō*

Johannes Gess, Kassel
Image, Idol, Imprint, Example, *charaktēr*; Lamb, Sheep, *amnos*

Jürgen Goetzmann, Essen
House, Build, Manage, Steward, *oikos, oikodomeō, oikonomia*; Mind, *phronēsis*

Friedrich Graber, Riehen, Basel
Heal, *therapeuō* (part), *iaomai* (part)

Walther Günther, Dr. theol., Stuttgart
Godliness, Piety, *sebomai*; Grow, *auxanō*; Lead Astray, Deceive, *planaō*; Lie, Hypocrite, *hypokrinō*; Love, *agapaō* (part), *phileō* (part); Marriage, Adultery, Bride, Bridegroom, *gameō* (part), *nymphē*

Joachim Guhrt, Bentheim
Offence, Scandal, Stumbling Block, *proskomma, skandalon*

Hermann Haarbeck, Schwelm
Lament, Sorrow, Weep, Groan, *klaiō, koptō, lypeō* (part); New, *kainos* (part), *neos*; Old, *palai*

Hans-Christoph Hahn, Bad Boll
Light, Shine, Lamp, *lampō, lychnos, phainō, phōs* (part); Openness, Frankness, Boldness, *parrhēsia*

Günther Harder, Dr. theol., Dr. jur., Professor, Berlin
Nature, *physis*

Murray, J. Harris, M.A., Ph.D., Professor, Bible College of New Zealand, Auckland, New Zealand
Number, *dekatē*

Roland K. Harrison, B.D., M.Th., Ph.D., D.D., Professor, Wycliffe College, Toronto
Lame, Crippled, *kyllos, chōlos*; Leprosy, *lepros, lepra*

Colin J. Hemer, M.A., Ph.D., Librarian, Tyndale Hall, Cambridge
Nicolaitan, *Nikolaitēs*; Number, *arithmos* (part), *dyo, treis, tritos, eniautous treis kai mēnas hex, pente, oktō, deka, tesserakonta, hebdomēkonta*

David Hill, B.D., S.T.M., Ph.D., Senior Lecturer, University of Sheffield
Gate, Door, *pylē, pylōn, thyra*

Norman Hillyer, B.D., S.Th., formerly Librarian of Tyndale House, Cambridge
Herb, Plant, Grass, *lachanon*; Incense, Myrrh, *libanos*

Ernst Hoffmann, Vevey
Hope, Expectation, *elpis, apokaradokia*

Otfried Hofius, Dr. theol., Professor, Paderborn
Miracle, Wonder, Sign, *sēmeion* (part), *teras*

Bertold Klappert, Dr. theol., Göttingen
King, Kingdom, *basileia*; Lord's Supper, *deipnon*

Hans Kropatschek, Lic. theol., Göttingen
Hunger, Thirst, Food, Taste, Eat, Drink, *brōma*

Fritz Laubach, Dr. theol., Hamburg
Hand, Right Hand, Left Hand, Laying on of Hands, *cheir* (part)

Hans-Georg Link, Dr. theol., Cologne
Goal, Near, Last, End, Complete, *engys* (part), *eschatos*; Guilt, Cause, Convict, Blame, *elenchō*; I Am, *egō eimi* (part); Lament, Sorrow, Weep, Groan, *lypeō* (part); Lie, Hypocrite, *pseudomai* (part); Life, *bios, zōē*; Love, *agapaō* (part); Necessity, Must, Obligation, *dei* (part); *opheilō* (part); New, *kainos* (part)

Thomas McComiskey, B.A., B.D., Ph.D., Professor, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, Deerfield, Illinois
Guilt, Cause, Convict, Blame, *amemptos*; Israel, Jew, Hebrew, Jacob, Judah, *Iakōb, Iouda*; Judgment, Judge, Deliver, Judgment Seat, *bēma, katadikazō*; Lament, Sorrow, Weep, Groan, *brychō, pentheō, stenazō*; Light, Shine, Lamp, *emphainizō*; Marriage, Adultery, Bride, Bridegroom, *koitē*; Nineveh, *Nineuē* (part)

Ralph P. Martin, M.A., Ph.D., Professor, Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, California
Image, Idol, Imprint, Example, *apaugasma, hypodeigma, paradeigmatizō*; Mark, Brand, *stigma, charagma, kaustēriazō*

Reinhold Mayer, Dr. theol., Wiss. Rat, Tübingen
Israel, Jew, Hebrew, Jacob, Judah, *Israēl*

Robert Morgenthaler, Dr. theol., Professor, Muri bei Bern
Generation, *genea* (part); Necessity, Must, Obligation, *anankē*

Leon L. Morris, B.Sc., Ph.D., formerly Principal of Ridley College, Melbourne
Gall, Poison, Wormwood, *cholē, ios, apsinthos*

John Alexander Motyer, M.A., B.D., Principal of Trinity College, Bristol
Jonah, *Iōnas*

Dietrich Müller, Marburg
Grow, *pleonazō* (part); Heal, *therapeuō* (part), *iaomai* (part), *hygiēs*; Height, Depth, Exalt, *hypsoō*; Open, Close, Key, *kleis* (part); Pharisee, *Pharisaios*

Wilhelm Mundle, Lic. theol., Professor, Marburg
Godliness, Piety, *eulabeia*; Hear, Obey, *akouō, hypakouō*; Hide, Conceal, *katalyptō, kryptō*; Image, Idol, Imprint, Example, *eidōlon*; Inheritance, Lot, Portion, *meros*;

Miracle, Wonder, Sign, *thauma*; Patience, Steadfastness, Endurance, *kartereō*; Present, Day, Maranatha, Parousia, *maranatha* (part)

Karlfried Munzer, Gauting
Head, *kephalē* (part)

Carl Heinz Peisker, Dr. theol., Mülheim, Ruhr
Hinder, Prevent, Forbid, *enkoptō*, *kōlyō*; Open, Close, Key, *anoigō* (part); Parable, Allegory, Proverb, *parabolē* (part), *paroimia*

John Pridmore, M.A., Witley
Orphan, *orphanos*

Horst Reisser, Ilten
Marriage, Adultery, Bride, Bridegroom, *moicheuō*

Karl Heinrich Rengstorf, D. theol., Dr. theol., D.D., Professor, Münster
Jesus Christ, Nazarene, Christian, *Iēsous*, *Nazarēnos*, *Christos*, *Christianos*

Reinier Schippers, Dr. theol., Professor, Amsterdam
Goal, Near, Last, End, Complete, *telos*; Persecution, Tribulation, Affliction, *thlipsis*

Ernst Dieter Schmitz, Wuppertal
Knowledge, Experience, Ignorance, *ginōskō*; Number, *arithmos* (part), *tessares*, *hepta*, *dōdeka*

Johannes Schneider, D. theol., Dr. theol., Professor, Berlin
God, Gods, Emmanuel, *theos* (part)

Walter Schneider, Hanover
Judgment, Judge, Deliver, Judgment Seat, *krima*

Hans Schönweiss, Dr. theol., Stuttgart
Prayer, Ask, Kneel, Beg, Worship, Knock, *aiteō*, *gonypeteō*, *deomai*, *proseuchomai* (part), *proskyneō* (part)

Eduard Schütz, Dr. theol., Hamburg
Knowledge, Experience, Ignorance, *aisthēsis*, *agnoeō*

Hans-Georg Schütz, Dr. theol., Dortmund
Guard, Keep, Watch, *tēreō*, *phylassō* (part); Hand, Right Hand, Left Hand, Laying on of Hands, *epitithēmi*

Helmut Schultz, Marburg
Jerusalem, *Ierousalēm*

Horst Seebass, Dr. theol., Münster
Holy, Consecrate, Sanctify, Saints, Devout, *hagios* (part), *hieros*, *hosios*; Join, Cleave to, *kollaomai*; Moses, *Mōÿsēs* (part)

Friedel Selter, Rheinkamp-Repelen
Other, *allos*, *heteros* (part); Possessions, Treasure, Mammon, Wealth, Money, *ploutos*, *chrēma*

Burghard Siede, Coburg
Heaven, Ascend, Above, *anabainō* (part)

Theo Sorg, Stuttgart
Heart, *kardia*

Friedrich Thiele, Kassel
Guilt, Cause, Convict, Blame, *aitia* (part), *enochos*; Large, Small, *megas*, *mikros*

Erich Tiedtke, Frankfurt am Main
Hunger, Thirst, Food, Taste, Eat, Drink, *geuomai*; Necessity, Must, Obligation, *dei* (part), *opheilō* (part)

Allison A. Trites, M.A., Ph.D., Acadia Divinity College, Acadia University, Wolfville, Nova Scotia
Gather, Scatter, *synaģō*, *skorpizō*

Rudolf Tuente, Bremerhaven
Lamb, Sheep, *probaton*

Herwart Vorländer, Dr. phil., Professor, Ludwigsburg
Gift, Pledge, Corban, *dōron*, Man, *anēr* (part), *anthrōpos* (part)

J. Stafford Wright, M.A., formerly Principal of Tyndale Hall, Bristol
God, Gods, Emmanuel, *theos* (part), *Emmanouēl* (part); Magic, Sorcery, Magi, *mageia* (part); Man, *anthrōpos* (part)

G

Gall, Poison, Wormwood

These words are linked by the common association of bitterness and harmfulness. The notions of bitterness and poison seem to have been closely connected in the thought of antiquity. The terms vary in the extent of the destructiveness that they signify, but there is nothing attractive about any of them. This leads to a common usage in a metaphorical sense, and all three are employed to convey thoughts of bitterness and the like.

χολή, ἰός, ἄψινθος

χολή (*cholē*), gall, bile; ἰός (*ios*), poison; ἄψινθος (*apsinthos*), wormwood.

CL & OT *cholē* appears to be cognate with the Lat. (*h*)*olus*, perhaps also with the Gk. *chloē* (green shoot, grass), and to refer in the first instance to the colour of bile, from which it comes to be used of gall or bile itself. But the impressive thing was clearly its bitter taste. Arndt (891) cites the tragedian Philocles: *epekaleito Cholē dia to pikron* (who "was called *Cholē* because of his bitterness"). In the LXX the word translates a variety of Heb. words and all three meanings, "gall", "poison" and "wormwood" are found: (1) *mᵉrōrâh*, gall (Job 20:14); (2) *rō'š*, poison (Deut. 32:32; Ps. 69:21 [68:22]; cf. Matt. 27:34); (3) *laʿᵃnâh*, wormwood (Prov. 5:4; Lam. 3:15). On occasion the word refers to a plant (e.g. Deut. 29:18; 32:32), but it remains uncertain which plant is meant.

There is dispute over the derivation of *ios*, and whether it means "arrow" as well as "poison", or whether this is another word. O. Michel is emphatic that the two should be distinguished and connects the word for poison with the Sanskrit *viṣa* and the Lat. *virus* (*TDNT* III 334; cf. Liddell-Scott, 832). In secular Gk. the term is used of a variety of poisons, especially of the poison of snakes (Liddell-Scott note its use also for the venom of a mad dog). It is used for the rust on iron and also of other deposits, such as verdigris and the patina on bronze statues. In the LXX *ios* is used for *ḥel'âh*, rust (Ezek. 24:6, 11 f.), and *ḥēmâh*, poison (Ps. 140[139]:3). It also occurs in the LXX of Ps. 14 [13]:3; the Epistle of Jeremy 12, 24; Prov. 23:32; and Lam. 3:13, where it means an arrow.

apsinthos occurs in several secular Gk. forms. Most usual is the neut. *apsinthion*, but the fem. *apsinthia* is also found as well as the form *apsinthos* which is usually designated fem., but which is masc. in Rev. 8:11 (perhaps because it is the name of a star, *astēr*, which is masc.). This last form is not found in the LXX or in classical authors. All the forms noted refer to some variety of the plant group *Artemisia*, of which several varieties occur in Palestine. All of them have a very bitter taste. *apsinthion* occurs in Aquila's translation of Prov. 5:4; Jer. 9:15(14); 23:15.

NT Two of the terms are used in the NT in the literal sense. *cholē* is used of the wine mixed with "gall" which was offered to Jesus as the soldiers prepared to crucify him (Matt. 27:34). In view of the parallel in Mk. 15:23, it seems that the word here refers to myrrh. ([Ed.] "According to the Talmud (San. 43a, cf. Prov. 31.6–7) a man about to be executed could beg a 'grain of incense' (a narcotic) in wine in order to dull his senses and alleviate pain. Jesus refuses the sedative and heroically endures his sufferings to the end" [D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 1972, 353]. Matt. 27:48; Mk. 15:36; Lk. 23:36; and Jn. 19:29 f. relate how a soldier subsequently gave Jesus *oxos*, sour wine or wine vinegar, which relieved the thirst more effectively than water and was popular in the lower strata of society because it was cheaper than ordinary wine [Arndt, 577 f.]. Like Matt. 27:34, this may also have been seen as a fulfilment of Ps. 69:21[68:22]. Gos. Pet. 5:15 f. gives the impression that the *cholē* was actually poison [cf. the MT of Ps. 69:21] which was mixed with wine and given to Jesus to hasten his death before nightfall. Jesus' death ensued not long afterwards.) *apsinthos* likewise appears to be understood literally in Rev. 8:11: "The name of the star is Wormwood. A third of the waters became wormwood, and many men died of the water, because it was made bitter." It is part of a vision of judgment on the ungodly world (see further discussion below).

But all the terms are also used metaphorically and this is the more important usage for an understanding of the NT. Outside the NT *cholē* is used for "bitter anger", "wrath" (Liddell-Scott, 1997), but this does not appear to be the case in the NT. The thought is always that of bitterness. Thus Simon Peter charged Simon Magus with being "in the gall [*cholē*] of bitterness" (Acts 8:23), when he had offered the apostle money for the gift of conferring the Holy Spirit by the laying on of hands. The thought is that to have such a complete misunderstanding of Christianity is not simply to be pleasantly mistaken. It is to find oneself in a situation which must be described in terms of bitterness. Simon had had an inkling of what Christianity was all about. He had welcomed the gospel and accepted baptism. It is not clear whether he himself received the laying on of hands (→ Hand), but he was certainly numbered among the band of converts. It was an exceedingly bitter thing when a man of whom so much might well have been expected proved to be so completely out of harmony with the gospel. He was caught in a bitter bondage to sin.

So it is with *ios*. In Romans 3 Paul is concerned with the universality of sin and with the way sin finds expression in what men say. "The poison of asps" is under the lips of sinners (Rom. 3:13), a quotation Paul takes from Ps. 140:3 (LXX 139:4). In his catena of quotations Paul lays emphasis on what words can do, referring to the throat, the tongue, the lips and the mouth ("feet" and "eyes" are mentioned once each, vv. 15, 18, but no other part of the body). The deadliness of wicked speech is stressed. James likewise finds "poison" an apt word for the untamed tongue. He thinks that such a tongue is capable of all sorts of evil and brings out the harm it causes by referring to it as "full of deadly poison" (Jas. 3:8). It is apparently the same word when James castigates the rich for their "rusted" gold and silver and sees the "rust" as evidence against them and as something that will in due course eat them up (Jas. 5:3). There is a problem in that → gold and silver do not rust, but James is speaking metaphorically and expressing forcefully the view that the treasures of the rich are tarnished and tainted and tainting.

There is a problem in the use of *apsinthos* in Rev. 8:11. It is used as the name of a star and then it describes the water into which the star fell. Obviously the water became bitter and the name of the star is connected with this bitterness. The problem is that in Revelation the water causes death, whereas wormwood, at least as we understand the term, is bitter but not poisonous. The author may have in mind a substance other than the wormwood we know and which was genuinely poisonous. Or he may be employing a way of speech we have already noted in antiquity whereby bitterness and poison were connected. He may be reasoning from the bitterness of the taste to the bitterness of the results. This fits in also with the fact that in the OT wormwood is used of God's punishment of the wicked, e.g. "Thus says the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel: Behold, I will feed this people with wormwood, and give them poisonous water to drink" (Jer. 9:15 RSV; cf. 23:15; Lam. 3:15, 19; the LXX does not use *apsinthos*, but the meaning is the same).

L. Morris

→ Bitter, → Dragon, Serpent, Scorpion, Sting, → Wine

Arndt, 128 f., 379, 891; Liddell-Scott, 229, 832, 1997; O. Michel, *ios*, *TDNT* III 334 ff.

Gate, Door

πύλη, πυλών

πύλη (*pylē*), gate, door; *πυλών* (*pylōn*), gate, gateway, entrance.

CL In classical Greek *pylē* is used, mostly in the plural, to mean the gates of a town, although it appears in the tragedians with the meaning house-door (→ *thyra*). It can be employed in a general sense to designate any entrance or opening (e.g. a geographical pass or straits). The gates of Hades is a fairly common periphrasis for the nether world, the realm of the dead (cf. Homer, *Il.* 5, 646; 9, 312; *Od.* 14, 156; Aesch., *Ag.* 1291). *pylōn* means a gateway or gate-house.

OT In the LXX *pylē* translates chiefly *ša'ar* which is used to refer to: (a) the gate of a city, building, farm or village; (b) the area immediately inside a city-gate; and (c) the gate(s) of death (Job 38:17; Ps. 107:18), of Sheol (Isa. 38:10) and of heaven (Gen. 28:17). *pylōn* usually translates *ša'ar* or *peṯaḥ*: the latter denotes an entrance, gate or doorway.

NT 1. *Literal Meaning.* In the NT *pylē* denotes: (a) a city-gate (Lk. 7:12; Acts 9:24; 16:13): that Jesus suffered outside the gate (Heb. 13:12; cf. Lev. 16:17) emphasizes that his suffering represents the true offering of the Day of Atonement and that, in his death, he is classified with law-breakers who were stoned outside the camp (Lev. 24:14; Num. 15:35); (b) a gate of the temple (Acts 3:10; cf. Acts 3:2 which uses *thyra*); (c) a prison gate (Acts 12:10) → *thyra*.

2. *Figurative Use.* (a) *pylē* is used of the narrow gate (cf. Lk. 13:24 which, in a rather different context, uses *thyra*) through which one must pass to enter into life (Matt. 7:13 f.). This image was familiar in the ancient world and here indicates an entrance that is difficult to find and hence ignored by many. The Matthean instruction on the two gates and two ways – and these are synonymous metaphors – is not

so clearly eschatological in character as the corresponding verse in Lk. In the context of the well-known catechetical schema the words form an appeal to decision to follow Christ and face all the consequences that obedience entails.

(b) *pylē* is used of the gates of Hades in Matt. 16:18. The image expresses the commonly-held ancient idea that the underworld was secured by strong gates which prevented escape and barred access to invaders. In pre-Christian Jewish usage the expression functions as a *pars pro toto* term for Hades (→ Hell), i.e. the realm of the dead, even death itself (Isa. 38:10; Wis. 16:13; 3 Macc. 5:51; Ps. Sol. 16:2). It is improbable that the gates of Hades in Matt. 16 denotes the ungodly powers of the underworld which assail the rock (cf. *TDNT* VI 927), for Hades is not regarded as the abode of evil powers, whence they emerge to attack men. In the light of the Jewish background, the image is best understood as affirming that death, in spite of its hitherto unconquerable power, will not win control over the rock or, more probably, over the *ekklēsia* erected on the rock: death will not vanquish the messiah who builds the church, nor the members of the messianic community.

pylōn denotes: (a) the gateway or porch of a house (Matt. 26:71; Lk. 16:20; Acts 10:17; 12:13; in Acts 12:14 it appears to mean the actual gate to be opened); (b) the gate of a city (Acts 14:13, perhaps temple-portals) and, in particular, the gates of the New Jerusalem (Rev. 21:12 f., 21, 25; 22:14). *D. Hill*

| θύρα |

θύρα (*thyra*), door, entrance.

CL In classical Greek *thyra* denotes a house-door and occasionally the house itself, expressing the whole by the part. The phrase "at the door(s)" may be used to indicate nearness of place or time: to be "at the door" of a king or other influential person means to be paying court to, or seeking benefit from him. The noun can also be used, in a general sense, for any entrance, literal or metaphorical.

OT In the LXX *thyra* often translates: (a) *peṯaḥ* which denotes an opening, doorway or gate; and (b) *deleṯ* which denotes a house-door, a gate, and figuratively, any aperture (e.g. an animal's jaws, human lips).

NT 1. *Literal Meaning.* In the NT *thyra* is used to mean: (a) the door of a house or room (Matt. 6:6; 25:10; Mk. 1:33; 2:2; 11:4; Lk. 11:7; Jn. 18:16; 20:19; Acts 5:9; 12:13); (b) the door of the temple (Acts 3:2; 21:30); (c) prison doors (Acts 5:19, 23; 12:6; 16:26 f.) which miraculously open to liberate apostles: the motif – which may reflect the developing use of the theme in the biographies of heroic figures in antiquity – affirms that the progress of the gospel cannot be hindered by imprisonment or bonds; (d) the entrance to a cave-tomb (Matt. 27:60; Mk. 16:3); (e) the opening in a stone enclosure (Jn. 10:1 f.).

2. *Figurative Use.* (a) The phrase "before" or "at the door(s)" indicates nearness in time or place (Matt. 24:33; Mk. 13:29; Acts 5:9; Jas. 5:9).

(b) The image of the open door denotes the provision of opportunity. This usage, which has parallels only in Rabbinic literature (cf. SB III 631; and *TDNT* III 174), is found in missionary contexts. God opens a door for the missionary (for the Word, in Col. 4:3) by giving him a field in which to work (1 Cor. 16:9; 2 Cor. 2:12; Rev.

3:8 (?)) and he opens a door of faith to Gentiles by giving them the possibility of believing in Christ (Acts 14:27).

(c) The opposite figure, the closed door (Matt. 25:10; Lk. 13:25; Rev. 3:7) carries the sense of judgment. The narrow door in Lk. 13:24 (cf. Matt. 7:13 f. where *pylē* is used in a different context) denotes the entrance into the eschatological → kingdom of God, and the shutting of that door indicates irrevocable loss of an opportunity. According to Rev. 3:8, the exalted Christ alone has the authority to grant access to the eschatological realm. Rev. 3:20 is best understood in an eschatological setting: the returning Saviour seeks fellowship with the disciple in a festal meal; the door is opened by obedience and faith. The NT only once expressly refers to the door of heaven (Rev. 4:1), though the figure – reflecting an ancient oriental view of the world – probably underlies other passages which speak of the opening and closing of heaven (Lk. 4:25; Rev. 11:6).

(d) The "I am the door" sayings in Jn. 10:7, 9. If, as seems probable, the more difficult reading "door" (and not "shepherd", so p^{75} and Sah.) is the correct one in v. 7, and if that image is interpreted in terms of vv. 1–3, then the sense is that Jesus is the gate *to* the sheep, the door whereby the genuine shepherd approaches the flock. In v. 9 the image is that of the gate through which the sheep go in and out, i.e. that Jesus is the gate *for* the sheep to go into the fold, the gate leading to salvation and life (cf. Jn. 14:6), an idea which may be indebted to a messianic interpretation of Ps. 118:20. The image of Jesus as the gate to salvation appears early in patristic exegesis (Ign., *Phil.* 9:1; Hermas, *Sim.* 9, 12, 3 f.). It is not likely that v. 9 gives expression to a Johannine revelation-formula: it is rather a pointer to the interpretation of the figure in the opening verses. We need not suppose that v. 7 and v. 9 are drawn from different sources or that one is supplemental to the other. They are two explanations of Jesus as the gate. The only unity in the discourse of Jn. 10 is christological: Jesus draws to himself every image which the picture of sheep, shepherd and sheepfold suggests. (For other "I am" sayings → I Am.; → also Open). *D. Hill*

(a). Arndt, 366, 736; E. F. F. Bishop, "The Door of the Sheep – Jn. x. 7–9", *ExpT* 71, 1959–60, 307 ff.; R. E. Brown, *The Gospel according to John, I–XII*, 1966, 385 f.; O. Cullmann, *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr*, 1962²; J. Jeremias, *thyra*, *TDNT* III 173–80; and *pylē*, *TDNT* VI 921–28; P. W. Meyer, "A Note on John 10:1–18", *JBL* 75, 1956, 232–35; J. A. T. Robinson, "The Parable of the Good Shepherd (John 10:1–5)", *ZNW* 46, 1955, 233–40 (reprinted in *Twelve New Testament Studies*, 1962, 67–75).
(b). E. Fascher, "Ich bin die Tür: eine Studie zu Joh. 10, 1–18", *Deutsche Theologie* 9, 1942, 34–57, 118–35.

Gather, Scatter

συνάγω

συνάγω (*synagō*), gather; *ἐπισυνάγω* (*episynagō*), gather together; *συλλέγω* (*syllegō*), gather up; *τρυγάω* (*trygaō*), gather in; *συστρέφω* (*systrephō*), gather together; *ἀθροίζω* (*athroizō*), gather together; *συναθροίζω* (*synathroizō*), gather together; *ἐπισυναγωγή* (*episynagōgē*), gathering together; *ἐπαθροίζομαι* (*epathroizomai*), be gathered even more.

CL In secular Greek *synagō* is used of bringing together, collecting or convening (Homer, Herodotus). It appears in a hostile sense of joining battle (*Iliad*). It can

refer to uniting in marriage (Aeschylus), or to concluding from premises (Aristotle). Sometimes it speaks of gathering together stores or crops (Xenophon).

OT In the LXX *synagō* is employed about 350 times, and stands chiefly for the Heb. *'āsap̄*. It is used of collecting things, especially fruits (Exod. 23:10; Lev. 25:3, 20; Isa. 17:5), but also ears of grain (Ruth 2:7), quails (Num. 11:32), money (2 Ki. 22:4; 2 Chr. 24:11), and the ashes of a red heifer (Num. 19:9). More importantly, the verb may refer to the gathering together of persons such as men, people, nations, armies (Exod. 3:16; 4:29; Num. 11:16; 21:16, 23; 2 Sam. 10:17; 12:29). It is also used of being gathered to one's people in Sheol (2 Ki. 22:20; 2 Chr. 34:29[28]). Other passages speak of the gathering of the dead slain in battle for the purpose of burial (Jer. 9:22[21]; Ezek. 29:5).

The verb *qāḇaṣ* also means to gather, and is used of collecting grain (Gen. 41:35, 48), booty (Deut. 13:16[17]), money (2 Chr. 24:5), birds (Isa. 34:15,[16]) and beasts (Ezek. 39:17). In the passive it frequently refers to the assembling of persons (Gen. 49:2; Isa. 45:20; 48:14; 49:18; 60:4; 2 Chr. 20:4). In the intensive form it is used of gathering grapes (Isa. 62:9), and of assembling people (Deut. 30:3, 4; Jer. 31[38]:10), particularly of God recalling and assembling the exiles (Isa. 40:11; 43:5; 56:8). Reference is made to gathering the nations for judgment (Mic. 4:12; Isa. 66:18), and to Yahweh's gathering his dispersed people, sometimes under the figure of a flock (Mic. 2:12[11]; 4:6).

NT In the NT *synagō* appears 59 times (24 in Matt., 5 in Mk., 6 in Lk., 7 in Jn., 11 in Acts, 5 in Rev. and once in Paul). In Matt. gathering refers to people (crowds, 13:2; wedding guests, 22:10), or things (birds, 6:26; fish, 13:47; vultures, 24:28). It is contrasted with → *skorpizō* (scatter) in connection with the mission of the church (12:30; 25:24, 26). There are frequent references to the assembling of the religious leaders (2:4; 22:34, 41; 26:3, 57; 27:17; 27:62; 28:12), and one reference to the whole Roman cohort gathering in the Praetorium at the crucifixion (27:27). The nations will be gathered together at the last judgment (25:32), and the messiah will gather the wheat into his barn (3:12; cf. 13:30, where the reapers are the angels who are sent by the Son of man). Wherever several believers gather in Christ's name, he will be in the midst (18:20). In 25:35, 38, 43 *synagō* means invite in, receive as a guest.

Lk. notes the gathering of the chief priests and scribes to condemn Jesus (22:66), the selfish collecting of material things (12:17, 18), and the prodigal's reckless selling of his goods (15:13). On the other hand, he recognizes that the messiah will gather the elect (3:17), and cites Jesus' principle that "he who does not gather with me scatters" (11:23).

In Jn. the fragments from the feeding of the five thousand are gathered up (6:12, 13). Christian workers gather fruit unto life eternal (4:36), and Christ's mission is to gather into one the children of God scattered abroad (11:52). Fruitless branches, however, are gathered and burned (15:6). Jesus often gathers his disciples to Gethsemane (18:2), and the chief priests and Pharisees gather or convene a council (11:47).

In Acts there are references to the church gathering for prayer (4:31), instruction (11:26), information (14:27; 15:30), consultation (15:6) and the breaking of bread (20:7, 8). The Jewish religious leaders assemble (4:5); so do Herod and Pilate

(4:26, 27). In Pisidian Antioch practically the whole city gathers to hear the word of God (13:44).

The only instance of *synagō* in Paul occurs in 1 Cor. 5:4 where believers assemble to deal with a case of incest requiring excommunication (→ Destroy, art. *olethros* NT 3).

In Rev. we read of gathering for the great eschatological battle (16:14, 16; 19:19; 20:8) and for the great supper of God (19:17).

episynagō is used in Jesus' lament over Jerusalem (Matt. 23:37; Lk. 13:34), in eschatological passages speaking of the gathering of the elect (Mk. 13:27; Matt. 24:31), and in connection with crowds gathering about Jesus (Mk. 1:33; Lk. 12:1). In Lk. 17:37 *episynagō* is used in a warning: "As surely as vultures find the carcass, so surely will divine judgement come; therefore always be ready!" (*Oxford Annotated Bible*, 1271; → Bird NT).

The verb *syllegō* is utilized for collecting grapes (Matt. 7:16; Lk. 6:44), good fish (Matt. 13:48), and of gathering up the tares for destruction (Matt. 13:28, 29, 30, 40, 41).

trygaō appears as a stylistic variation for *syllegō* in Lk. 6:44. In Rev. 14:18, 19 it speaks of gathering the clusters of the vine where the wine press of God's wrath is in view.

Several other words refer to gathering together (cf. Latin *congregare*), but are used sparingly: (1) *systrephō* in Acts 28:3, of Paul's gathering a bundle of sticks; (2) *athroizō* in Lk. 24:33, of the eleven apostles and others gathered together in Jerusalem; (3) *synathroizō* in Acts 12:12, of the believers assembled in the home of John Mark's mother; (4) *epathroizomai* in Lk. 11:29 of crowds gathered.

The noun *episynagōgē* in 2 Thess. 2:1 refers to the "gathering together" of believers to Christ at the Parousia (cf. Latin *congregatio*). *A. A. Trites*

σκορπίζω

σκορπίζω (*skorpizō*), scatter, disperse, distribute; διασκορπίζω (*diaskorpizō*), scatter, disperse, waste; διαλύω (*dialyō*), break up, dissolve, disperse; διασπείρω (*diaspeirō*), scatter; διασπορά (*diaspora*), dispersion.

CL The verb *skorpizō* is probably adopted from the Macedonian dialect about the time of Alexander. It means scatter, disperse. Examples tend to be late: Hecataeus in *Phrynichus* (p. 218); Strabo 4, 4, 6; Pseudo-Lucian, *Asinus* 32; Aelianus, *Varia Historia* 13, 45; Josephus, *Ant.* 16, 10. *diaskorpizō* also means scatter, disperse. It appears in Aelianus, *Varia Historia* 13, 46; Polybius 1, 47, 4; 27, 2, 10; and Josephus, *Ant.* 8, 404. *diaspeirō* speaks of scattering (e.g., Sophocles and Herodotus). In the Christian era it is sometimes used in the passive of churches (cf. Lucian, *Toxaris* 33; Iamblichus, *De vita Pythagorica* 35, 253; Josephus, *Ant.* 7, 244; 12, 278). *dialyō*, which generally means break up, dissolve, can be used of the dispersing of a crowd (Herodotus 8, 11; Josephus, *Ant.* 20, 124).

OT In the LXX *diaspeirō* appears approximately 60 times, *diaskorpizō* around 50, *skorpizō* about 14 and *dialyō* about a dozen times. These represent quite a number of Hebrew verbs, the chief of which are *pûṣ*, *nāpaṣ* and *zārâh*. The first of these verbs is used generally intransitively of those who disperse themselves and are

scattered; e.g., a people (Gen. 11:4; Num. 10:35; 1 Sam. 11:11; 14:34; Ps. 68:1 [2]; Ezek. 46:18) or a flock (Ezek. 34:5; Zech. 13:7). Similarly, *nāpaṣ* is used reflexively of a people dispersing themselves and being scattered (1 Sam. 13:11; Isa. 33:3; cf. Gen. 9:19) as well as transitively of dashing or shattering a people (Jer. 13:14; 51[28]:23).

The verb *zārâh* means to scatter, cast loosely about, spread (e.g., Exod. 32:20; Num. 17:2[16:37]; Mal. 2:3). It can mean to winnow, that is, disperse by casting up and scattering in the wind (Isa. 30:24; Jer. 4:11; Ruth 3:2). At times it speaks of the routing of enemies (Jer. 15:7; Isa. 41:16; Ezek. 5:2), or the dispersing of the nations (Lev. 26:33; Ezek. 5:10; 6:5; 30:26).

NT *skorpizō* occurs only 5 times in the NT, once in connection with the persecution of Christians (Jn. 16:32) and once in the pastoral allegory of Jn. 10, where the "wolf snatches the sheep and scatters them" (Jn. 10:12). Both Matt. and Lk. draw attention to the missionary principle enunciated by Jesus: "He who is not with me is against me, and he who does not gather with me scatters" (Matt. 12:30 = Lk. 11:23). Jesus here takes the theme of gathering and scattering which is applied in the OT to the people of God (Isa. 40:11; 49:6; Ezek. 34:13, 16) and applies it to his own significance in the end-time. The comparable inverted form of the saying, "he that is not against us is for us" (Mk. 9:40; Lk. 9:50) occurs in the context of casting out demons. "But they are not contradictory, if the one was spoken to the indifferent about themselves, and the other to the disciples about someone else" (A. H. McNeile, *The Gospel according to St. Matthew*, 1915, 177; cf. D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 1972, 217). Paul uses the verb once in a quotation from Ps. 112:9 when he is advocating charity and benevolence (2 Cor. 9:9).

diaskorpizō (9 times in NT) refers on occasion to the squandering of resources, either one's own or those entrusted to him by another (Lk. 15:13; 16:1). The verb also highlights the persecution and dispersion of the messianic community, for the "shepherd" will be smitten and the "sheep" scattered (Mk. 14:27; Matt. 26:31; cf. Zech. 13:7). Luke uses it in the *Magnificat* to express Mary's confidence in God's ability to turn tables on the lofty (Lk. 1:51). A striking instance of the scattering of the proud appears in the case of Judas the Galilean, whose followers are dispersed when he is discredited as a messianic pretender (Acts 5:37). Matthew twice contrasts "scattering" and "gathering" in an *argumentum ad hominem* involving sowing and reaping (Matt. 25:24, 26). John sees the mission of Jesus embracing Gentiles as well as Jews, in order that he might "gather into one the children of God who were scattered abroad" (Jn. 11:52).

The verb *dialyō* appears only once in the NT when Gamaliel draws attention to the futility of the revolt led by Theudas and the subsequent dispersal of his followers (Acts 5:36).

The verb *diaspeirō* is used 3 times of the dispersion of the early Christians through persecution (Acts 8:1; 11:19). The beneficent result of such circumstances was the proclamation of the Christian message in new areas; the persecution paved the way for missionary advance. It is not surprising, then, to find an epistle directed to "God's elect, strangers in the world, scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia" (1 Pet. 1:1). The word *diaspora* also appears in Jas. 1:1 of "the Twelve Tribes dispersed throughout the world", while the

customary usage of the LXX is maintained in Jn. 7:35, where it is a technical term for the "dispersion of the Jews among the Gentiles" (cf. Deut. 30:4; Ps. 146[147]:2).

A. A. Trites

→ Foreign, → Seed, Harvest

(a). Arndt, 187, 789 f.; S. W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, I–XV, 1952–73²; BDB, 62 f., 867 f.; J. Bright, *A History of Israel*, 1972²; M. Grant, *The Jews in the Roman World*, 1973; T. Nicol, "Dispersion", *International Standard Bible Encyclopaedia*, ed. J. Orr, II 855–59; K. L. Schmidt, *diaspora*, *TDNT* II 98–104; W. L. Walker, "Gather", *International Standard Bible Encyclopaedia*, III 1177 f. On the dispersion of the Jews generally see W. Förster, *Palestinian Judaism in New Testament Times*, 1964; F. C. Grant, *Ancient Judaism and the New Testament*, 1960; M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, I–II, 1975; Moore, *Judaism*, I–III; T. Reinach, "Diaspora", *JE* IV 559–74; S. Safrai, M. Stern, D. Flusser and W. C. van Unnik, eds., *The Jewish People in the First Century*, I, 1974; J. A. Sanders, "Dispersion", *IDB* I 854 ff.; Schürer, I–II; F. Zweig, "Israel and the Diaspora", *Judaism* 7, 1958, 147–50.
(b). A. Causse, *Les Dispersés d'Israël*, 1929; J. Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire romain*, 1914; K. G. Kuhn, "Die inneren Gründe der jüdischen Ausbreitung", *Deutsche Theologie* 2, 1935, 9–17; K. Müller, ed., *Die Aktion Jesu und die Reaktion der Kirche*, 1972.

Generation

γενεά

γενεά (*genea*), generation, family, clan, race, age; γενεαλογία (*genealogia*), genealogy, family tree; γενεαλογέω (*genealogeō*), trace descent; ἀγενεαλόγητος (*agenealogētos*), without genealogy.

CL & OT *genea*, derived from the root *gen-*, means birth, also (noble) descent, then descendants, family, race (i.e., those bound together by a common origin). Those born at the same time constitute a generation ("three generations of men are a hundred years", Hdt. 2, 142). Associated with this is the meaning: the body of one's contemporaries, an age. In the LXX *genea* is almost always the translation of *dôr* and means generation, in which case the whole history of Israel is often regarded as a work of God extending through many generations ("from generation to generation", "from all generations").

The noun *genos*, formed from the same stem and related to the verb *ginomai* (→ Birth), is frequently translated by race (except where it corresponds to the Hebrew *mîn* = "kind" in Gen. 1). Both in the LXX and in the NT its prime meaning is nation, people or tribe, and therefore is discussed under → people.

NT *genea* occurs 43 times in the NT, mainly in the Gospels and Acts; on the other hand its compounds are found only rarely: *genealogeomai* occurs once, *genealogia* twice, *agenealogētos* once.

1. The meaning of the word in the NT comes from the idea of historical sequence referred to above. It occurs 4 times in Matt. 1:17, in the context of Christ's genealogy. The remote past is denoted – as in OT and late Jewish usage – by the phrase *apo geneōn*, from (all) generations (Col. 1:26; Acts 15:21). Similarly the unending future is expressed by *eis geneas kai geneas*, "to all generations" (lit. "to generations and generations") (Lk. 1:50; 1:48; Eph. 3:21). Acts 13:36 refers to David's generation, and Acts 14:16; Eph. 3:5 to earlier generations. *genealogia*

occurs in the NT only in 1 Tim. 1:4 and Titus 3:9, and alludes specifically to the practice of searching back through one's family tree in order to establish ancestry. On any straightforward exegesis, those doing this can only have been Jews who, starting out from OT and other genealogies, were propagating all kinds of "Jewish myths", quite probably pre-Christian gnostic speculations. But it is also possible that the Ebionites were using similar arguments to attack the doctrine of the miraculous birth of Jesus which was circulating in the Christian church (cf. the genealogies in Matt. 1 and Lk. 3). (On the genealogies of Jesus → Son.)

In Gen. 14 → Melchizedek is introduced without any such statement as is usual elsewhere in the OT regarding a person's ancestry ("son of . . ."). For that reason he is described in Heb. 7:3 as *agenealogētos*, and in 7:6 as *mē genealogoumenos*, i.e. he can have had no natural ancestry like others. The author of Heb. is certainly not attempting to call in question indirectly the true humanity of Jesus. For him this is bound up with his true divinity.

2. Almost all the remaining NT *genea*-passages speak of "this generation" (*hē genea hautē*). This construction in Greek, with the demonstrative regularly following its noun, is clearly the equivalent of *haddōr hazzeh*. It is interesting that the OT does not know this stereotyped phrase in its NT sense, though Ps. 12:7 comes very close to it (cf. Gen. 7:1; Exod. 1:6; Deut. 1:35). In these passages the demonstrative has a pejorative character, i.e. the reference is to a class of people who in this world stand over against the children of light and are further described as faithless (Mk. 9:19), faithless and perverse (Matt. 17:17), adulterous (Mk. 8:38), evil and adulterous (Matt. 12:39), evil (Lk. 11:29), crooked (Acts 2:40), crooked and perverse (Phil. 2:15). The Song of Moses in Deut. 32 (vv. 5 and 20) seems here to have had a certain influence on the wording. In these passages the temporal, "genealogical" element is completely absent. The emphasis lies entirely on the sinfulness of this class, this type of people.

3. In Jesus' discourse about the future the phrase clearly bears this second meaning: Mk. 13:30; Matt. 24:34; Lk. 21:32. Indeed, in every other NT passage where *hautē* forms part of this phrase, it has the same pejorative character. But since the discourse refers to this *genea* "passing away", the temporal, genealogical element is also present, though of secondary importance. By using this phrase, Jesus appears to set a time limit for certain events, and the question then is: Which events are they? There are various conflicting views.

(a) Only a comprehensive analysis of Mk. 13 and its parallels can clarify the situation, but the following brief observations may be made. Mk. 13:1–36 with its 600 words is the most extensive complete section within the basic synoptic tradition ("triplex traditio marciana", de Solages). Like Mk. 4, it is an important piece of early Christian *didachē* (teaching); indeed the Gospel of Mk. as a whole bears the marks not of *kērygma* (proclamation) but of *didachē*. (Note the use in Mk. of the word-group *didaskein; didachē; didaskalos;* → teaching, and in particular Mk. 1:22, 27; 4:1, 2; 11:18; 12:38.) In Mk. 13:1–4 a purely didactic situation is outlined as the *Sitz im Leben*. Attempts have been made, on the basis of literary criticism, to exclude a greater or lesser portion of Mk. 13:1–36 as being of non-Marcan origin. Such attempts have failed, however, since both in terms of word-frequency and of grammar the whole passage is thoroughly Marcan in character. It is very significant that a succession of recent investigators have made their incisions at totally different

places. To call the whole chapter (or part of it) "apocalyptic" can only be misleading, for there is a complete absence of apocalyptic features: history written as prophecy, descriptions of heaven, astronomical speculations, symbolism based on animals or colours or numbers, visions, heavenly messages brought by angels, pseudonymity, precise expressions of time, portrayal of conditions in heaven or hell. Moreover, where isolated ideas or phrases are borrowed from apocalyptic, these are re-moulded in typically non-apocalyptic, indeed anti-apocalyptic fashion. The imperatives which dominate the whole chapter are essentially non-apocalyptic. Many modern form-critics see the passage as a hortatory discourse of early Christian *didachē* which originated as separate elements but was put together in its present form by the author and by the church tradition available to him. In the context of the whole gospel it is clearly presented as a farewell discourse. This type of address occurs frequently in the literature of pre-Christian times and of late Judaism, as well as in the rest of the NT. Its essential and recurring features are warnings of future apostasy and persecution, the promise of coming redemption and the exhortation to watchfulness.

(b) It is precisely these features that are present in Mk. 13 and its parallels, coupled with a tradition according to which Jesus announces the coming destruction of → Jerusalem (1–4; 14–20). The Lucan parallel to Mk. 13:14–20 (Lk. 21:20–24) shows clearly enough how Lk. understood Mk.'s cryptic language, but as Dodd, Michaelis and others have shown, this by no means implies that Lk. was prophesying after the event. Such a conclusion is suggested only by a theological interpretation, which sees Jerusalem as the embodiment of the people of Israel, whose hearts God had hardened in judgment, whilst the "times of the Gentiles" (*kairoi ethnōn*), in the sense of the "times when salvation comes to the Gentiles", had already begun (cf. Acts 28:24–28; Rom. 11:25, 26). These times cannot be calculated in advance (Lk. 17:20 f.). But they will soon come to an end with the coming of the → kingdom of God, the → Son of man, and the → Day of the Lord. (Lk. 18:8 and 21:34–36 suggest that Lk. expected that the end may come at any moment within his own lifetime.) Whilst in Lk. the "end" of Jerusalem and the "end of the world" are clearly separated from one another, Matt. has closely linked the two together. The sentence pronounced upon Jerusalem was available both to him and to Lk. in the logia source (Matt. 23:37–39 = Lk. 13:34, 35) and in the special material (Matt. 22:7; Lk. 19:41–44; 23:28–32). This close association in Matt. is shown by the form of the question in 24:3, and with particular clarity by the expression "immediately" in 24:29 (*eutheōs*), and in general by the entirely new version of the discourse which he gives. The expression *synteleisthai* in Mk. 13:4 is not by any means a technical term of apocalyptic as has been asserted (Acts 21:27 being quoted in support!), and the adverbial phrase of time in Mk. 13:24 ("but in those days after that tribulation") is linguistically semitic and ambiguous, telling us very little. Mk. occupies, so to speak, a middle position, as indeed he does in textual matters throughout. (Cf. de Solages' conclusive arguments; see bibliography below.)

Only by such considerations can the word in Mk. 13:30 and its parallels be explained. In Matt. it has the sense of *this generation*, and according to the first evangelist, Jesus expected the end of this age (→ Time, art. *aiōn*) to occur in connection with the judgment on Jerusalem at the end of that first generation (see

Mk. 9:1 and Matt. 16:18). But in view of the happenings of A.D. 70 and their theological relation to the preaching of Paul, Lk. understood *genea* as a *class of people*, perhaps even as *Israel*. Since the special material and the logia source do not link the judgment on Jerusalem and the end of the world, and since the text of Mk. 13 in general (especially vv. 13 and 24) has an indefinite and open ring, we must conclude that in this regard Jesus expressed himself in an ambiguous manner. The evangelists, however, were not copyists, but witnesses who, led by the Spirit, testified to the word they had heard and brought it to bear upon their own times.

Acts 8:33 is a literal rendering of Isa. 53:8. The passage is interpreted christologically, but the precise interpretation presents difficulties. It is fairly certain that "generation" is used in its genealogical sense. However, E. Haenchen thinks that it may be understood as referring to "spiritual descendants". The sentence would then mean: "The number of his disciples will grow incalculably, because he has become the Exalted" (*The Acts of the Apostles*, 1971, 312). *R. Morgenthaler*

4. The events referred to in Mk. 13:30 par. Matt. 24:34 and Lk. 21:32 have generally been taken to refer to cosmic events associated with the second coming of Christ. (For the survey of views see G. R. Beasley-Murray, *Jesus and the Future: An Examination of the Criticism of the Eschatological Discourse, Mark* 13, *with Special Reference to the Little Apocalypse Theory*, 1954; cf. the same author's *A Commentary on Mark Thirteen*, 1957.) But if these events were expected within the first generation of Christians (and "generation" is the most probable translation of *genea*), either Jesus or the evangelists were mistaken. The failure of events to materialize has been put down to a postponement of the catastrophe and to a telescoping of events, comparable with seeing a mountain range at a distance. The perspective makes the mountains appear to stand close together, and indeed relatively speaking they do stand close together. However, there is an alternative interpretation of the passage which points out that insufficient attention has been paid to the prophetic language of the passage as a whole.

The imagery of cosmic phenomena is used in the OT to describe *this-worldly* events and, in particular, historical acts of judgment. The following passages are significant, not least because of their affinities with the present context: Isa. 13:10 (predicting doom on Babylon); Isa. 34:4 (referring to "all the nations", but especially to Edom); Ezek. 32:7 (concerning Egypt); Amos 8:9 (the Northern Kingdom of Israel); Joel 2:10 (Judah). The cosmic imagery draws attention to the divine dimension of the event in which the judgment of God is enacted. The use of Joel 2:28–32 in Acts 2:15–21 provides an instance of the way in which such prophetic cosmic imagery is applied to historical events in the present (cf. also Lk. 10:18; Jn. 12:31; 1 Thess. 4:16; 2 Pet. 3:10 ff.; Rev. 6:12–17; 18:1). Other OT passages relevant to the interpretation of the present context are Isa. 19:1; 27:13; Dn. 7:13; Deut. 30:4; Zech. 2:6; 12:10–14; Mal. 3:1. In view of this, Mk. 13:24–30 may be interpreted as a prophecy of judgment on Israel in which the → Son of man will be vindicated. Such a judgment took place with the destruction of Jerusalem, the desecration of the → Temple and the scattering of Israel – all of which happened within the lifetime of "this generation." The disintegration of Israel as the people of God coincides with the inauguration of the → kingdom of the Son of man. Such an interpretation fits the preceding discourse and the introductory

remarks of the disciples (Mk. 13:1 ff. par.). It would not, however, pre-empt the → judgment of mankind in general. (See further J. Marcellus Kik, *Matthew XXIV: An Exposition*, 1948; R. T. France, *Jesus and the Old Testament*, 1971, 227–39.)
→ Present: The Parousia and Eschatology in the NT *C. Brown*

(a). E. L. Abel, "The Genealogies of Jesus HO CHRISTOS", *NTS* 20, 1973–74, 203–10; G. R. Beasley-Murray, *Jesus and the Future: An Examination of the Criticism of the Eschatological Discourse, Mark 13, with Special Reference to the Little Apocalypse Theory*, 1954; and *A Commentary on Mark Thirteen*, 1957; F. Büchsel, *genea* etc., *TDNT* I 662–65; C. H. Dodd, "The Fall of Jerusalem and the 'Abomination of Desolation' ", *Journal of Roman Studies*, 1947, reprinted in *More New Testament Studies*, 1968, 69–83; L. Gaston, *No Stone on Another: Studies in the Significance of the Fall of Jerusalem in the Synoptic Gospels*, 1970; T. F. Glasson, *His Appearing and His Kingdom: The Christian Hope in the Light of its History*, 1953; M. D. Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies: With Special Reference to the Setting of Genealogies of Jesus*, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 8, 1969; W. Kelber, *The Kingdom in Mark: A New Place and a New Time*, 1974; J. M. Kik, *Matthew XXIV: An Exposition*, 1948, reissued in *An Eschatology of Victory*, 1971; W. G. Kümmel, *Promise and Fulfilment: The Eschatological Message of Jesus*, 1961²; A. L. Moore, *The Parousia in the New Testament*, 1966; G. Neville, *The Advent Hope: A Study of the Content of Mark XIII*, 1961; B. de Solages, *A Greek Synopsis of the Gospels*, 1959; W. Strawson, *Jesus and the Future Life: A Study in the Synoptic Gospels*, 1959; R. R. Wilson, "The Old Testament Genealogies in Recent Research", *JBL* 94, 1975, 169–89.
(b). G. Bolsinger, "Die Ahnenreihe Christi nach Matthäus und Lukas", *BuK* 12, 1957, 112 ff.; F. Busch, *Zum Verständnis der synoptischen Eschatologie, Mk. 13 neu untersucht*, 1938; J. Conrad, *Die junge Generation im Alten Testament, AzTh* 1/40, 1970; E. Grässer, *Das Problem der Parusieverzögerung in den synoptischen Evangelien und in der Apostelgeschichte*, 1957; G. Harder, "Das eschatologische Geschichtsbild der sogenannten kleine Apokalypse Mk. 13", *ThV*, 1952, 71 ff.; M. Meinertz, " 'Dieses Geschlecht' im Neuen Testament", *BZ* 1, 1957, 283 ff.; A. Pfleiderer, "Über die Komposition der eschatologischen Rede Mt. 24:4 ff.", *Jahrbuch für Deutsche Theologie*, 1868; A. Piganiol, *Observation sur la Date de l'Apocalypse synoptique*, 1924; E. des Places, "*Ipsius enim genus sumus* (Act. 17, 28)", *Biblica* 43, 1962, 388 ff.; G. C. B. Pünjer, "Die Wiederkunftsreden Jesu", *ZWT* 2, 1878, 153–208; A. Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Matthäus*, 1929, 554; E. F. Strömer, *Die grosse Zukunftsrede des Herrn nach Matthäus*, 24, 1922.

Gift, Pledge, Corban

A gift (*dōron* and related words) is qualified by the reason for which it is given and the end which it is intended to serve. Its characteristic feature is not the act of giving (*didōmi*), but the intention behind it. This can be to fulfil an obligation or cancel a debt. But a gift may also be a present given without ulterior motive. When man gives something to God, his gift has the character of an offering (→ Sacrifice). But in the NT the theological emphasis lies, significantly, on the idea of gift as a present from God to man, In this connection → Jesus Christ and his redeeming work appear as the one great fundamental gift of God. There is also the gift of the Holy → Spirit with his various *charismata* (→ Grace). The former gives man union and → fellowship with Christ; the latter equips him for service arising from this fellowship. The *arrabōn*, first instalment, earnest, is a more specific idea, denoting the pledge which guarantees fulfilment (→ Fullness) of the → promise.

ἀρραβών

ἀρραβών (*arrabōn*), first instalment, down payment, deposit, pledge, earnest.

CL & OT The Gk. word *arrabōn* (borrowed from the Semitic, cf. Heb. *ʿērāḇôn*) is a legal concept from the language of business and trade. It is found only rarely

(Isaeus, Aristotle and later grammarians such as Suidas) and means: (1) an instalment, with which a man secures a legal claim upon a thing as yet unpaid for; (2) an earnest, an advance payment, by which a contract becomes valid in law; (3) in one passage (Gen. 38:17 ff.) a pledge. In each case it is a matter of payment by which the person concerned undertakes to give further payment to the recipient (Arndt, 109). A metaphorical use is also possible (e.g. skilfulness as an *arrabōn* of life, Antiphon, *Frag.* 123, 6).

NT In all three passages where the word occurs in the NT the Holy → Spirit is referred to.

1. Eph. 1:14 interprets the other two passages: the Spirit as the present earnest of our future → inheritance guarantees our complete, final salvation, i.e. eternal communion with God. This statement, as also 2 Cor. 1:22, is probably associated with → baptism (→ Seal). In the sealing of the believer, the Holy Spirit is given to the human → heart (*kardia*) as an earnest. The future reality represented by the earnest of the Spirit appears in 2 Cor. 5:5 as the "house" expected from heaven, which will one day replace the present "tent", our earthly body. Thus in Paul the Spirit is not the earnest of a soul freed from its earthly body, but of a new existence in an immortal body (heavenly garment; → Clothe).

2. Similarly Rom. 8:23 speaks of "the first fruits [*aparchē*] of the Spirit". Here the genitive "of the Spirit" explains the meaning of *aparchē* (gift of firstfruits; → Sacrifice; cf. 2 Cor. 1:22; 5:5). E. Schweizer holds that *aparchē*, like *arrabōn*, does not mean a preliminary participation in the Spirit. The present reality of the Spirit is a sign and pledge of that which is to come (*TDNT* VI 422). In Polycarp 8:1 Jesus Christ is referred to as *arrabōn*. But the NT avoids this and speaks of him only as *engyos* (surety; → Covenant).

In all three NT passages, however, the *arrabōn* should not be understood to imply that, in giving the earnest of the Spirit, God is legally our debtor. Even the instalment of the Spirit remains a free, undeserved gift of God to men.

O. Becker

δῶρον

δῶρον (*dōron*), gift, present; δωρεά (*dōrea*), gift; δωρεάν (*dōrean*), as a present, gratis; δωρέομαι (*dōreomai*), give, present; δώρημα (*dōrēma*), present; δίδωμι (*didōmi*), give, grant; δόμα (*doma*), gift; προσφορά (*prosphora*), presentation, offering, gift.

CL *dōron* (found already in Mycenean Greek) is from the same root as *didōmi*. *metadidōmi* means to give a share in; *dosis* and *doma*, gift, are infrequent. The derivative vb. *dōreomai*, present, is used in the mid. (originally also in the act.). Corresponding to it are the Attic noun *dōrēma* present, and *dōrea*, present, gift, bestowal. The acc. of the latter, *dōrean*, is used adverbially in the sense of gratis, undeservedly, as a present.

In extra-Biblical use, *dōron* (similarly *dōrea*) denotes especially a complimentary gift. As a gift from the gods (e.g. in Homer), it can also mean dispensation. Brought by men to the gods, *dōron* denotes a consecrated gift. It can also mean tax, tribute, or bribe.

OT 1. The LXX uses *dōron* to render several Hebrew words with the following principal meanings: (a) generally, a present such as men give to one another (Gen. 24:53; 32:13, 18 f. and passim); (b) tribute (Jdg. 3:15, 17 f. and passim; Jdg. 5:19 = booty); (c) bribe (Exod. 23:7 f.; Deut. 16:19; 27:25; Ps. 15:5 and passim; Deut. 10:17 and passim; negatively when the reference is to God; (d) most frequent is the cultic meaning offering, Heb. *qorbān*, especially in Lev. and Num. (Lev. 1:2 f., 10, 14; 2:1, 4 ff. etc.; Num. 5:15; 6:14, 21 etc.; also for *minḥâh* in Gen. 4:4; for *nēḏer* in Deut. 12:11 and passim), often with the vb. *prospherō*, to bring, to offer (*prosphora*, offering; the act of offering); (e) a gift brought to God in recognition of his greatness and power (by kings, Pss. 68:30; 72:10; by peoples, Isa. 18:7, cf. Ps. 68:32 etc.); (f) a gift from God (Gen. 30:20).

dōron rarely appears in late Jewish literature. *dōrēma* appears in the LXX only once, in the Apocrypha (Sir. 31[34]:18).

2. *dōreomai*, rare in the LXX, stands for 3 Hebrew verbs having the sense of "giving": (a) by men to one another (*nāṯan*, Est. 8:1; also Prov. 4:2); (b) by man to God (*qorbān*, Lev. 7:15 [LXX v. 5]); (c) by God to men (*zāḇaḏ*, Gen. 30:20). Much more frequent is *didōmi*, which as a rule renders the Hebrew *nāṯan*, to give (likewise used in this threefold way), but also a large number of other verbs.

3. *dōrea* occurs frequently in late Jewish literature, but in the canonical books always in the adverbial acc. form *dōrean*. It corresponds in meaning to the Heb. term *ḥinnām*: (a) for nothing (without payment, Exod. 21:2, 11; Num. 11:5; 2 Sam. 24:24 and passim; without recompense, Gen. 29:15; Jer. 22:13 and passim); (b) without cause (1 Sam. 19:5; 25:31; Ps. 35:7 and passim); (c) in vain (Ezek. 6:10; Mal. 1:10).

NT 1. (a) In the NT *dōron* (19 times) stands once for the human gift (Rev. 11:10; cf. Matt. 7:11 par. Lk. 11:13 *doma*) and once for the divine gift (Eph. 2:8). For the latter *dōrea* is found more often (e.g. Jn. 4:10; Acts 2:38; Rom. 5:15, 17; 2 Cor. 9:15; Eph. 4:7; Heb. 6:4). In Rom. 5:16 and Jas. 1:17 *dōrēma* is used (in the latter passage together with *dosis*). For the rest *dōron* is the offering (e.g. Matt. 5:23 f.; 23:18 f.; Mk. 7:11; Lk. 21:1–4; Heb. 5:1; 8:3 f.; 9:9; 11:4; while in Matt. 2:11 it is the gift of adoration). The occasional combination with *prospherō* to bring, offer, underlines the connection with the OT sacrifice system. In this sense *dōron* is parallel to *thysia*, offering (→ Sacrifice), and *prosphora*, offering.

(b) *didōmi* (416 times in the NT) is found in all the nuances of presenting, giving, bestowing, granting, etc., both (i) among men (Matt. 7:11a; Acts 20:35 and passim; also *dōreomai* Mk. 15:45; and *metadidōmi* Lk. 3:11; Rom. 1:11; 12:8; Eph. 4:28; 1 Thess. 2:8); and (ii) by God (Matt. 7:11b; 1 Jn. 4:13; Rev. 2:7, 17; cf. also 3:21 and passim; *dōreomai* 2 Pet. 1:3). The meaning to offer also occurs (Lk. 2:24), while a metaphorical meaning is found in Mk. 10:37; Acts 13:20 and passim.

(c) *dōrean* (8 times in the NT) has the threefold meaning common in the OT: (i) gratis, gratuitously, for nothing (Matt. 10:8; Rom. 3:24; 2 Cor. 11:7; 2 Thess. 3:8; Rev. 21:6; 22:17); (ii) without cause (Jn. 15:25, OT quotation from Pss. 35:19; 69:4); (iii) in vain (Gal. 2:21).

2. *dōron* and *didōmi* as cultic terms (→ Sacrifice) are found in contexts where the subject-matter is the regular offering (Matt. 5:23 f.; 8:4; Lk. 2:24; in Lk. 21:1, 4

with the meaning money-offering). There are also other passages (Mk. 7:11; Matt. 15:5) which emphasize, in line with OT prophecy, that offerings (even in a metaphorical sense) are no substitute for obedience to God's will (cf. Isa. 1:10–17; Mic. 6:6–8; also Deut. 10:12 f.). The problem of the sacrificial cult is squarely faced in the Epistle to the Hebrews (5:1 ff.; 8:3 f. and passim), where a contrast is drawn between the merely temporary OT system with its offerings (*dōron* and *thysia*) made by men, and the final, once-for-all offering of Christ (*prosphora* and *thysia*) (7:26–28; 9:25 ff.; 10:10 ff. and passim; cf. also Eph. 5:2).

3. This opens up the NT teaching that God is a God who gives, and that his giving is seen supremely in the redeeming work of Christ (→ Redemption).

(a) There are general statements to the effect that God "gave" his → Son (Jn. 3:16) and passages where Jesus as such is referred to as "the gift of God" (*dōrea*, Jn. 4:10). The statement that Christ has "given" himself for us, for our sins, appears as a credal formula in Gal. 1:4; 1 Tim. 2:6 (for literature on NT credal formulae → Confess).

(b) In addition there are references which point particularly to Jesus' death on the cross: Jesus gave his life as a ransom for many (Mk. 10:45 par.; cf. Jn. 10:15b). Likewise Lk.'s account of the Last Supper (22:19) speaks of Christ's body "given for you."

(c) This gives to Christians the assurance of belonging for ever to the → church of Christ. Jn. in particular sees the basis for this assurance in the fact that the church has been given to Christ by God (10:28 f.; cf. 17:6 ff.). Moreover, to belong to this church means to share in the gift of eternal → life (10:28; cf. 3:15 ff.; 11:25 f.; 17:3).

(d) In Paul the gift-motif is incorporated into his preaching of the free and unmerited grace of God (N.B. *dōrean*, Rom. 3:24) which declares the sinner justified "without works" (→ Righteousness; → Grace; → Reconciliation). *dōrea* or *dōrēma* (Rom. 5:15–17; 2 Cor. 9:15), taken together with *charisma*, sums up the whole of God's saving work of pardon, justification and reconciliation (cf. also Eph. 2:8).

(e) God is praised as the giver of all good gifts in general (Jas. 1:17; cf. Matt. 7:11b etc.). All who call upon him for his gifts can do so with the utmost confidence (Matt. 7:7). Yet the one great gift which he gives to his church is his → Spirit (2 Cor. 1:22; 5:5; 1 Thess. 4:8; Lk. 11:13; cf. Acts 2:38; 8:17; 10:47; 19:6; also the OT quotations in Acts 2:17 f. [Joel 2:28 ff.] and Heb. 8:10 [Jer. 31:33]). In the church, all other "gifts" (usually *charisma*, → Grace) are the results of this one gift (Rom. 12:3 ff.; 1 Cor. 12:1 ff.; cf. also 2 Pet. 1:3). In the letters of Rev. 2 and 3 the gift of eternal life is promised to him who "overcomes" trial and temptation.

(f) *doma*, gift, occurs only at Matt. 7:11 (cf. Lk. 4:6); Eph. 4:8 (on the interpretation of this verse → Heaven, art. *anabainō*); and Phil. 4:17.

4. The man who has received Christ as a free gift, responds to the twofold → commandment (Matt. 22:37–40) by a twofold giving:

(a) He gives himself to God (cf. 2 Cor. 8:5 and similar passages). According to the NT, this is the only legitimate "offering" which can and should be brought by men to God (Rom. 12:1 and passim). It includes the "sacrifices" of word and deed (Heb. 13:15 f.; 1 Pet. 2:5), and may mean even the laying down of one's life for Christ (Phil. 2:17).

(b) He gives himself to other men, as required by the "new commandment" (Jn. 13:34). This shows itself in the first instance within the church, where the giving should be a reflection of God's giving. To give simply and without ulterior motives (Rom. 12:8) is the way in which God gives (Jas. 1:5). See also 2 Cor. 9:7 on God's love for the cheerful giver (*dotēs*, found only here in the NT); Mk. 12:41–44 = Lk. 21:1–4 (Jesus' verdict on the poor widow's gift); and the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5:42; cf. Lk. 6:38). But the Christian, having first received the gift of the gospel, is concerned to pass this gift on to others. This is giving in its profoundest sense (Rom. 1:11; 1 Thess. 2:8; cf. Matt. 10:8b).

H. Vorländer

κορβᾶν

κορβᾶν (*korban*), corban, gift; κορβανᾶς (*korbanas*), temple treasury.

OT The Gk. word *korban* is transliterated from the Heb. *qorbān* and denotes a gift consecrated to God (Lev. 1:2; 22:27; 23:14; Num. 7:25; Ezek. 20:28; 40:43). Many scholars think that these passages reflect the outlook of post-exilic Judaism. The offerings mentioned include both sacrifices and gifts.

Later Judaism used the word in a more technical sense. Josephus mentions those who "dedicate themselves to God, as a corban, which denotes what the Greeks call a *gift*" (*Ant.* 4, 73; cf. *Ap.* 1, 167). Release from the vow could be obtained by payment of an appropriate sum. Rab. practice was formulated in the Mishnah in the tractate on Nedarim (Vows), see especially sections 1, 3, 8, 9, 11 and the developments in the Babylonian Talmud (Ned. 1:4; 2:2; and 3:2). The rabbis appear to be divided over the extent to which a gift vowed as corban (also later termed *kōnām*) was binding. The Mishnah indicates that most of them held that duty to one's parents constituted grounds for release from a gift vowed to God. (Ned. 9:1). The Babylonian Talmud attributed this view to the school of Shammai, whereas that of Hillel took the more rigorist view. "If anyone expressly lays such a corban on his relatives, then they are bound by it and cannot receive anything from him that is covered by the corban" (Ned. 3:2). The context of these pronouncements show that the question was not so much the handing over of certain things to God but their withdrawal from use by specified persons.

NT The rigorist position which permitted a man to neglect the care of parents on the grounds that the gift is dedicated to God as corban was denounced by Jesus according to Mk. 7:11 (The par. in Matt. 15:5 uses *dōron*, gift, offering, instead of the technical term *korban*.) The act is condemned as an act of hypocrisy in the words of Isa. 29:13 (cf. Mk. 7:6 f.; Matt. 15:7). The Pharisaic teaching on this point is characterized as "tradition" which makes void the → "word of God" (Mk. 7:13). The scribes might have claimed the support of Deut. 23:21 ff. and Num. 30:1 ff. in teaching that vows could not be broken. But they had allowed obligation to something that was relatively trivial to take precedence over a fundamental, humanitarian → command (in this case the Fifth Commandment [Exod. 20:12, par. Deut. 5:16]).

korbanas (Matt. 27:6; cf. Josephus, *War* 2, 175) denotes the temple treasury in which everything offered as *korban* (or the price of its redemption) was collected.

The chief priests declined to put into it Judas' thirty pieces of silver on the grounds that they were "blood money." *C. Brown*

→ First, → Fruit, → Grace, Spiritual Gifts

(a). B. Ahern, "The Indwelling Spirit, Pledge of our Inheritance", *CBQ* 9, 1947, 179–89; J. Behm, *arrabōn*, *TDNT* I 475; M. Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, 1967³, 139; F. Büchsel, *didōmi*, *TDNT* II 166–73; J. D. M. Derrett, "KORBAN, HO ESTIN DŌRON", *NTS* 16, 1969–70, 364–68; N. Q. Hamilton, *The Holy Spirit and Eschatology in St. Paul*, 1957, 17–40; J. H. A. Hart, "Corban", *JQR* 19, 1907, 615–50; C. C. Oke, "A Suggestion with Regard to Rom. 8:23", *Interpretation*, 2, 1957, 455–60; K. H. Rengstorf, *korban*, *TDNT* III 860–66; S. S. Smalley, "Spiritual Gifts and I Corinthians 12–16", *JBL* 87, 1968, 427–33.
(b). SB I 711.

Glory, Honour

Two different Gk. word-groups are represented by the Eng. words glory and honour. From classical Gk. onwards *timē* denoted recognition of another's work by giving him the position and honours he merited. It is always something given to God or one's fellow-man (though not necessarily one's social superior). *doxa* is often used as a synonym, but in the Bible it is a quality belonging to God and is recognized by man only in response to him. It is more often translated *glory*. It suggests something which radiates from the one who has it, leaving an impression behind. As such, it is in applicable to relationships between men.

δόξα

δόξα (*doxa*), radiance, glory, repute; *δοξάζω* (*doxazō*), praise, glorify; *ἔνδοξος* (*endoxos*), honoured, glorious; *ἐνδοξάζω* (*endoxazō*), honour, glorify; *συνδοξάζω* (*syndoxazō*), glorify together; *κενόδοξος* (*kenodoxos*), desirous of praise, conceited, boastful; *κενοδοξία* (*kenodoxia*), desire for praise, conceit, vanity, illusion.

CL This word-group affords one of the clearest examples of change in meaning of a Gk. word, when it came under the influence of the Bible. The basic meaning of *doxa* in secular Gk. is opinion, conjecture. This ranges from the opinion about a person or thing that I am prepared to defend to the valuation placed on me by others, i.e. repute, praise.

Accordingly, the noun *doxa* in secular Gk. means expectation, view, opinion, conjecture, repute, praise, fame. The vb. *doxazō* means: think, imagine, suppose, magnify, praise, extol (→ Think, art. *dokeō* NT).

OT 1. The concepts of *doxa* and *doxazō* were transformed in the LXX. This is shown, for example, by the fact that the original meaning "opinion" is not found. The meanings praise and honour are shared with secular Gk. But whereas *doxa* is seldom used for the honour shown to a man (for this *timē* is employed), it is frequently used for the honour brought or given to God (cf. e.g. Ps. 29:1; Isa. 42:12). This usage meant losing contact with secular Gk. The meaning of pomp, power, earthly majesty is based on OT (Isa. 17:4; 35:2; Hag. 2:3). But above all, *doxa* expresses God's glory and power (Pss. 24:7 ff.; 29:3; Isa. 42:8). In spite of the new reference of the words, the general structure of their meaning remains

unchanged, for in LXX also they are used for appearance, i.e. for the manifestation of a person, with special stress on the impression this creates on others. This aspect is essential for our understanding of the concept.

2. Behind this new meaning lies the Heb. OT concept of *kāḇôḏ*, glory, honour. The LXX represents this by *doxa* and gives it essentially the same meaning. When it is used of God, it does not mean God in his essential nature, but the luminous manifestation of his person, his glorious revelation of himself. Characteristically, *kāḇôḏ* is linked with verbs of seeing (Exod. 16:7; 33:18; Isa. 40:5), and appearing (Exod. 16:10; Deut. 5:24; Isa. 60:1). We may recognize this *kāḇôḏ* in creation (Ps. 19:1 [MT 19:2]; Isa. 6:3), but it expresses itself above all in salvation history, i.e. in God's great acts (Exod. 14:17 f.; Ps. 96:3), and especially in God's presence in the sanctuary (Exod. 40:34 f.; 1 Ki. 8:10 f.; Ps. 26:8), which can be conceived as fire (Lev. 9:23 f.; Ezek. 43:2; Exod. 24:17). In 1 Sam. 4:21 f. the loss of the ark of God to the Philistines meant that "The glory has departed from Israel". The event was reflected in the name Ichabod (*'îḵāḇôḏ*, where is the glory?). The ark symbolized the divine presence which could not be borne (1 Sam. 5 f.; cf. Exod. 33:17–23). In the last days a full manifestation of the *kāḇôḏ* was expected. Its purpose was to bring salvation to Israel (Isa. 60:1 f.; Ezek. 39:21 f.), but also to convert the nations (Ps. 96:3–9; Zech. 2:5–11 [MT 2:9–15]). This glory is normally found only in God, though in Ezek. 8:2; 1:7, 13 and Dan. 10:5 f. angelic beings show some of its characteristics.

3. The inter-testamental period showed a strong interest in the heavenly world. The concept of glory is not confined, as in the OT, to God's self-revelation. It is also applied to the realities of heaven; God, his throne, and the angels. In such cases glory may be used with a watered-down meaning, as an epithet which may be applied in the language of liturgy and hymns to almost any concept which is linked with God. Of importance is the notion that → Adam in paradise possessed glory but lost it through the Fall (cf. G. Kittel, *TDNT* II 246; SB IV 940 ff., 1138). This led to the idea that men too could share in the glory (but cf. Exod. 33:17–23; 34:29–36).

In Qumran it was expected that the elect would "inherit all the glory of Adam" (1QH 17:15; cf. CD 3:20). Apocalyptic writings also specially stressed the sharing of the saved in glory, while the rabbis described salvation rather as the vision of the glory of God. More nationalistic concepts understood the eschatological revelation of glory one-sidedly as a glorification of Jerusalem and Israel. Isa. 60:1 ff. was used as a proof-text (cf. SB IV 894, 960). The nations would be drawn by the visible manifestation of glory, would stream to Jerusalem and would accept the faith of Israel.

NT A. 1. *doxa* is found 165 times in NT, 77 cases being in the Pauline epistles (including Rom. 16 times; 1 Cor. 12 times; 2 Cor. 19 times), it also figures prominently in the Petrine letters (1 Pet. 10 times; 2 Pet. 5 times), the Johannine writings (Jn. 18 times; Rev. 17 times), and Lk. (13 times), though the word-group is completely lacking in 1, 2 and 3 Jn. John (23 times) is the chief user of *doxazō*, found more than 60 times in all. For other forms see A.3.

2. The meaning of *doxa* and *doxazō* is a continuation of the LXX usage and the underlying Heb. (cf. OT 1, 2 above). As a result, the ideas of opinion and conjecture

are not found. We can separate the various shades of meaning as follows. The references given are representative instances.

(a) The meanings honour, fame, repute and in the case of the vb. to honour, praise, and the special uses to seek honour (Jn. 7:18; 8:50; 5:44; 1 Thess. 2:6) and to receive honour (Jn. 5:41, 44) belong to general Gk. usage. The specifically biblical connotation may be seen in expressions like "to give God glory" (Lk. 17:18 AV, RV; Acts 12:23; Rom. 4:20; Rev. 4:9; 11:13), "to the glory of God" (Rom. 15:7; 1 Cor. 10:31), in the so-called doxologies (Lk. 2:14; 19:38; Rom. 11:36; Gal. 1:5; Phil. 4:20; Eph. 3:21; 1 Tim. 1:17), and in application to Christ (Rom. 16:27; 2 Tim. 4:18; Heb. 13:21; 1 Pet. 4:11; 2 Pet. 3:18; Jude 25).

(b) When applied to men or earthly powers with the meaning of splendour, radiance, glory, *doxa* reflects OT usage: e.g. "all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them" (Matt. 4:8 par. Lk. 4:6; Matt. 6:29; 1 Pet. 1:24).

(c) *doxa* in the sense of God's glory, majesty and power is pre-eminently the inheritance of the OT. The attempt to link it with Hel. usage (cf. Arndt. 202 f.) is untenable, for the magical texts quoted have themselves been influenced by Jewish thought. God is "the God of glory" (Acts 7:2), "the Father of glory" (Eph. 1:17), "the majestic glory" (2 Pet. 1:17). The expression "the glory of God" is frequent (e.g. Matt. 16:27; Acts 7:55; Rom. 1:23; 6:4; Eph. 3:16; 1 Tim. 1:11; Rev. 15:8). The → power of God can be mentioned along with his glory (Matt. 5:13 [many MSS]; Col. 1:11; 2 Thess. 1:9; Rev. 19:1). The concept is also applied to Christ: to his earthly life (Lk. 9:32; Jn. 1:14; 2:11; 1 Cor. 2:8), his exalted existence (Lk. 24:26; Jn. 17:5; Rom. 8:17; Phil. 3:21; 2 Thess. 2:14; 1 Tim. 3:16), his return (Matt. 16:27 par. Mk. 8:38, Lk. 9:26; Matt. 24:30 par. Mk. 13:26, Lk. 21:27; Tit. 2:13; 1 Pet. 4:13; Jude 24 [but this latter probably refers to the Father]), to his pre-existence (Jn. 12:41; 17:5) and also as an all-embracing epithet (Jn. 17:22, 24; 2 Cor. 3:18; 4:4, 6; 2 Thess. 2:14; cf. 1 Cor. 2:8).

The vb. also is used in a corresponding sense, especially in Jn. Its meaning oscillates between transfigure, cause to share in God's glory (Jn. 7:39; 12:16) and make the glory of God or of the Son effective (Jn. 11:4; 13:31 f.; 17:1, 4 f.).

(d) The NT also contains evidence of the concept which had been widespread since Ezekiel, that angels and other heavenly beings are endowed with glory (cf. OT 2, 3 above). This is found in manifestations from heaven, where stress is laid on the visible light, a concept taken from the concept of *kāḇôḏ* (Lk. 2:9; 9:31; Acts 22:11; Rev. 18:1). It is carried a step further when angelic powers are called *doxai* in Jude 8 and 2 Pet. 2:10 (cf. E.M.B. Green, *2 Peter and Jude*, 1968, 104 f., 168 f.). Paul is using Jewish language when he speaks of the *doxa* of the stars (1 Cor. 15:40 f.).

(e) When Paul speaks of the glory of the first man (1 Cor. 11:7; perhaps also Rom. 3:23) and explains the shining of Moses' face as the shining of the glory (2 Cor. 3:7, 13, 18; cf. Exod. 34:30) he is also using Jewish concepts (cf. C. K. Barrett, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1968, 252; *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1973, 115–126).

(f) Equally of Jewish origin is the important conception (cf. OT 3, above) that believers share in the glory (Jn. 17:22; 2 Cor. 3:18; Rom. 8:30 vb.) or will do so (Rom. 8:17; vb. 8:18, 21; 1 Cor. 2:7; 2 Cor. 4:17; Phil. 3:21; 1 Thess. 2:12; Heb.

2:10; 1 Pet. 5:1, 4, 10). The Christian hope is "the hope of glory" (Col. 1:27; cf. Eph. 1:18; 2 Thess. 2:14; 2 Tim. 2:10).

3. The other forms of the word-group need only brief mention. *syndoxazomai* (only Rom. 8:17), be glorified together with someone, has essentially the same meaning as 2 (f) above. *endoxazomai* (only 2 Thess. 1:10, 12) is synonymous with *doxazomai* in meaning to be recognized as glorious (cf. 2 (c)). The adj. *endoxos* (4 times) means glorious; in 1 Cor. 4:10 it is to be linked with 2 (a), in Lk. 7:25 with 2 (b), in Eph. 5:27 with 2 (f). Lk. 13:17 looks back to the OT concept that glory is revealed in the mighty acts of God (cf. OT 2). *kenodoxos* (only Gal. 5:26) and *konodoxia* (only Phil. 2:3) express the vain desire for honour. This meaning is not unknown in secular Gk., but it is in Christian literature that those words first find wider usage.

B. 1. For the Greeks fame and glory were among the most important values in life. The rabbis also had a high esteem for a man's honour. In Matt. 6:2 Jesus censured a piety which looks for honour from men. In Jn. 5:44 he stated that this attitude is incompatible with faith. Paul, following the example of Jesus (Jn. 5:41; 8:50; cf. Heb. 5:4 f.; 2 Pet. 1:17), did not seek glory from men (1 Thess. 2:6). He voluntarily accepted dishonour (2 Cor. 6:8; 4:10), strove to carry out his service to the honour of the Lord (2 Cor. 8:19 ff.), and looked to the honour and praise which Christ would give him as reward on his day (1 Thess. 2:19 f.; Phil. 2:16). Paul's statement that in the final judgment the righteous will receive "glory and honour and immortality" refers to eternal life itself (Rom. 2:7, 10; 5:2).

2. The glory of this world is depreciated in the light of eschatology (cf. NT A. 2 (b) above). Jesus, however, could also see the glory of the creation (Matt. 6:29; par. Lk. 12:27).

3. The highest duty of man is to glorify and praise God in worship, word and act (Matt. 5:16; Rom. 1:21; 1 Cor. 6:20; 10:31). In the doxologies (cf. NT A. 2 (a) above) there is no clear indication as to whether we should add the ind. or subj. of the vb. to be. 1 Pet. 5:11 suggests the former.

4. In the contexts mentioned under 1 and 3 *doxa* can in general be rendered honour. In such cases *timē* may be used as a synonym. Occasionally the two words are used together. We can, however, always hear the overtone of glory when honour is given to God and in similar settings (cf. NT A. 2 (a) above), for it must include the recognition of God's glory.

(a) The NT concept of glory shows an important expansion of the OT concept of *kāḇôḏ* in certain directions. This is due to the NT eschatological outlook. In the NT glory means the divine-eschatological reality or manner of existence. Salvation lies in man and nature having a share in this manner of existence.

(b) This concept does not, however, cancel the link with the OT *kāḇôḏ*. For glory manifests itself in the NT, just as in the OT, in the operation of God's power and salvation in "salvation history". It appears above all in Christ and his work of salvation (Matt. 17:2–5 par. Mk. 9:2–7, Lk. 9:29–35; Jn. 1:14; 2:11; 2 Cor. 4:4, 6), in believers (Jn. 17:22; 2 Cor. 3:18; Eph. 1:18; 3:16; Col. 1:11), and indeed already in the old covenant (2 Cor. 3:7–11). Just as in the OT, glory is partly linked with God's action (Rom. 6:4) and is partly an attribute of his being (cf. NT A. 2 (c)). The presence of this "personal" *doxa* of God in Christ means the presence of salvation (Jn. 1:14; 17:22; 2 Cor. 4:4, 6).

(c) The expectation of a revelation of glory at the end of time (cf. OT, 2 above) is also derived from the OT. The thought in both Judaism and the NT that the eschatological glory will take the believers and the whole creation up into itself by a new creation or transfiguration is, however, new (Rom. 8:18, 21; 1 Cor. 15:43; 2 Cor. 3:18; 4:17; Phil. 3:21; Col. 3:4; 1 Pet. 5:1). Nevertheless, the concept had been anticipated by Isa. 66:19, 22.

(d) The way in which heaven is included in this concept is important for the understanding of the NT idea of glory. Heaven in the NT is not, as was later generally believed, the permanent and final scene for the revelation of glory. Glory reveals itself from heaven, but its goal is the transfiguration of the created world and mankind. It takes place in the transformed creation. Significantly the eschatological glory appears in a revelation from heaven (Matt. 24:30; Phil. 3:20 f.; Col. 3:4; Rev. 21:10 f.).

(e) Glory with its transforming power is operative even now among believers (2 Cor. 3:18; Rom. 8:30; cf. (b) and NT A. 2 (f) above) through the resurrection of Christ and our fellowship with him, who is "the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep" (1 Cor. 15:20).

5. It is a matter of debate whether Jn. shares this outlook. But here too glory is to be understood as a revelation of God, or as the intervention of his power in history (Jn. 1:14; 2:11; 11:4; 12:41). We can hardly interpret the relatively strong diminution of interest in eschatology in this gospel as meaning that heaven has replaced the eschatological completion as the goal of all that exists. The glorification of Jesus is not accomplished merely by his entry into heaven; it becomes a reality by his sufferings, death, resurrection (Jn. 12:23–28), and finally by the witness of the Spirit (Jn. 14:16). In other words it is a parallel concept to the "righteousness" of Jesus (Jn. 16:8–11; cf. 1 Tim. 3:16).

6. The transfiguration of Jesus (Matt. 17:1–8 par. Mk. 9:2–8, Lk. 9:28–36) corresponds in the Synoptics to the continuing possession of *doxa* in Jn., though only in Lk. 9:32 does the narrative use this word. The transfiguration is a parallel on a higher plane to Moses' meeting with God on Mount Sinai (Exod. 24:15 ff.; 33:18–34:35). However, it is not to be understood, as in the case of Moses, as merely a reflection caused by temporary contact with the heavenly world, but rather as a revelation of the glory which Jesus possessed continually but not openly. We can deduce this from the fact that the transfiguration preceded the voice from heaven. At his parousia Jesus will be revealed in his glory and power (Matt. 19:28 par. Lk. 22:30; 24:30). *S. Aalen*

τιμή

τιμή (*timē*), price, value, honour, respect; τιμάω (*timaō*), set a price on, honour; ἀτιμία (*atimia*), shame, dishonour, disgrace; ἄτιμος (*atimos*), despised, dishonoured; ἀτιμάζω (*atimazō*), dishonour, treat shamefully; ἔντιμος (*entimos*), respected, honoured, valuable, precious.

CL 1. The word *timē* (from the *Iliad* on) is used in secular Gk. with the following main meanings: (a) worship, esteem, honour (used of people); (b) worth, value, price (of things); (c) compensation, satisfaction, penalty.

2. In Gk. thought *timē* is the proper recognition which a man enjoys in the community because of his office, position, wealth etc., and then the position itself,

the office with its dignity and privileges. The *timē* of a person, state, or deity must be distinguished from that of another. It is a personal possession. Slaves had no *timē*.

3. Every deity was shown honour because of the sphere of influence he controlled. This was done by sacrifice and hymns of praise. The gods on their part "honoured" men by giving them their earthly positions of honour and good fortune.

4. Shame and dishonour (*atimia*) put a person outside the community. *atimia* was the technical term for the deprivation of a citizen's rights.

5. The Stoics (cf. Epictetus) tried to rise above insult and disgrace by pretending that they did not touch the true self but only the body and visible possessions. Honour derived from position, such as that of a king, was regarded as a matter of indifference. They found fault, however, with the disgraceful treatment of slaves.

OT 1. (a) In contrast to its use of *doxa*, the LXX seldom uses *timē* for God's honour. Normally it applies *timē* to human honour, although both words usually render Heb. *kāḇôḏ*. Man has a position of honour in the creation (Ps. 8:3–8 [4–9]). Honour and position of office belong together (cf. *timaō* beside *archē* in Ps. 139:17 [LXX 138:17]). Honour should be shown to parents (Exod. 20:12; Sir. 3:3–16), the old (Lev. 19:32), to kings and the mighty (Dan. 2:37; Job 34:19 LXX). The rabbis stressed the honour due to a teacher of the law, and also one's neighbour including the poor (cf. also Prov. 14:21, 31 [LXX]; Sir. 10:23) and Jewish slaves, but not to Canaanite ones. There was a difference of opinion about the honour to be shown to a non-Israelite.

(b) A man marked out by honour might expect a corresponding position, wealth (Gen. 31:1 LXX; Isa. 16:14 LXX), and influence (Job 29:20; 30:4, 8, LXX – sometimes *doxa* is used in such passages). A worthy appearance (2 Sam. 10:5 LXX; Isa. 53:3), fitting speech (Sir. 5:13; cf. Job 29:21–25), and generosity (Prov. 22:9, LXX) also went with it.

2. (a) The godless experience *atimia* (Isa. 10:16 LXX; Jer. 23:40; cf. Dan. 12:2). The people did not grasp where the deepest dishonour lay, i.e. in faithlessness to God (Jer. 6:15), and this had to be recognized (Ezek. 16:63).

(b) For the godly in the OT there was the problem of how dishonour could come to them (Job 10:15; 30:1–12). Only the → Servant of the Lord bears shame patiently (Isa. 53:3) and leaves his cause in God's hand. Judaism ascribed an atoning value to the death of the martyrs and regarded it as honourable (4 Macc. 1:10;17:20; Josephus, *War* 2, 151). The pious rejected the scorn of the godless as something derived from a false outlook. The true basis of honour is not earthly prosperity but virtue and wisdom (Wis. 3:14–5:5). Mankind should be honoured provided that the fear of the Lord is there (Sir. 10:19). A sublimation and restriction of the concept of honour may be detected here. Apart from Isa. 53, no positive value was given to shame.

NT 1. The word-group is not strongly represented in the NT. *Timē* is found 41 times, *timaō* 21 times, the other forms more rarely. Only Paul uses *atimia*.

2. (a) Only the positive forms are used in the sense of price, sum of money: e.g. *timē* (price) in 1 Cor. 6:20; *timaō* (to set a price on) in Matt. 27:9 ("the price of him on whom a price had been set by some of the sons of Israel"); and *entimos* (precious) in 1 Pet. 2:4, 6.

(b) The meaning of *timaō* in the sense of show honour is rare (e.g. Acts 28:10 (RSVmg)). It is not clear whether *timē* should be rendered honour or honorarium, i.e. remuneration in 1 Tim. 5:17 (cf. Sir. 38:1; so J. N. D. Kelly, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 1963, 125).

(c) Generally *timē* represents the recognition of the dignity of an office or position in society. Examples are the authorities (Rom. 13:7; 1 Pet. 2:17), owners of slaves (1 Tim. 6:1), a wife (1 Pet. 3:7), the sexes in general (1 Thess. 4:4), service in the church (cf. 4 (c) below). In Heb. 5:4 *timē* means the honour of a position or the position itself (cf. 1 Pet. 1:17). The honouring of God is uppermost in the doxologies, where both *doxa* and *timē* occur (1 Tim. 1:17; 6:16; Rev. 4:11). For the vb. cf. also Jn. 5:23, 8:49. Honour should be shown to all men (1 Pet. 2:17).

(d) *timē* is used for exaltation in the ultimate eschatological salvation (Rom. 2:7, 10; 1 Pet. 1:7; 2:7; Jn. 12:26).

3. (a) In the case of *atimos* the negative aspect sometimes receives less stress. It can mean without honour, unhonoured, less honourable (1 Cor. 12:23). In 1 Cor. 4:10 it is stronger, and means despised.

(b) *atimazō* means to handle shamefully, with or without physical maltreatment: e.g. the tenants of the vineyard (Mk. 12:4 par. Lk. 20:11), the treatment of the apostles by the Sanhedrin (Acts 5:41), the poor (Jas. 2:6).

(c) *atimia* is generally translated in the NT by dishonour, e.g. of a man's long hair (1 Cor. 11:14; RSV "is degrading"), of the dead body (1 Cor. 15:43), of the apostles "in honour and dishonour" (2 Cor. 6:8). RSV renders *atimia* by "ignoble" in 2 Tim. 2:20 which speaks of various kinds of vessels.

(d) None of the uses deviates from secular Gk. A deepening ethical sense can be found in Rom. 1:26, where under the OT influence *atimia* means "shameful" (NEB, cf. v. 24 where *atimazomai* is rendered "degradation"). In secular Gk. *aischros* (cf. Lat. *turpis*) could be used in such contexts.

4. (a) As in Gk. society and the OT, *timē* is also used in the context of the social order decreed by God. *timē* is respect for the standing and task of a person who has his place in this order. When it is applied to things, it means the recognition of the value something has according to recognized norms. It may be summarized by saying that *timē* is high valuation based on position in an organized whole. This whole is God's world of men, animals and things. The distinctive distribution of honour among things of varying worth is important. The resultant order and grades of honour must be respected not only by the one placed lower, but also by the one placed higher. While the wife is placed below her husband, but she is to receive full honour from her husband (1 Pet. 3:1, 7).

(b) Things and animals have no honour. In the ancient world this was true also of slaves (though both the Stoics and the NT judge otherwise), because they had no right to direct their lives; they were looked on as things which had *timē* in the sense only of value or worth. Even this was not inherent, but was placed on them by their owner.

(c) The Biblical teaching about natural relationships, e.g. man and wife, parents and children, the authorities (see above NT 2(c), OT 1(a)), was developed from this. The same principle was applied to church life. Honour was to be shown the elders (1 Tim. 5:17, but see above 2(b)), widows (1 Tim. 5:3), and the responsible leaders

of the congregation in general (Phil. 2:29). It is noteworthy, however, that this hierarchical line is crossed by one offering honour to those on a lower level. Those who carry out the lowest services should be shown particular honour (1 Cor. 12:23 f.; cf. the admonition to show mutual honour, Rom. 12:10). Those who carry out their service in purity are all vessels for honour (2 Tim. 2:20).

(d) Man's intrinsic honour is based on his position of dominion in creation (Ps. 8:5–8 [MT 8:6–9]). To that extent it is conferred by his status in the structure. However, it is also derived from man's being formed in the → image of God which determines his essential nature. All men should be honoured (1 Pet. 2:17; cf. Rom. 12:10; this was also the teaching of the Stoics, though they did not base it on the *imago Dei*). Hence slaves were members of the church (1 Cor. 12:13; 7:22 f.; Eph. 6:9), just as much as non-Israelites. In the church the restoration of the image of God has once more become universally possible (Col. 3:10 f.).

(e) This does not lead, as it did with the Stoics, to the reduction in principle of all to the same level and to the refusal of special honour to those holding office. The uniqueness of the NT concept of honour lies in the universal claim to honour because of the *imago Dei*. At the same time honour is given to office in its various expressions. The honour of man and the honour of office are not mutually exclusive any more than are the honour of man and the honour of God. True enough, preference for one side or the other must sometimes be shown in definite cases, e.g. in the relationship between husband and wife (1 Cor. 11:2 ff.) where Paul seems to see a special aspect of the image of God in the man (vv. 7,14), i.e. presumably the gift of leadership. (Elsewhere the subjection of the wife is counter-balanced by the love of the husband which becomes a reciprocal subjection [Eph. 6:21–33; Col. 3:18 ff.].)

(f) According to the NT, therefore, the Christian must not despise any class of man. He must, however, be willing to bear personal dishonour. This is not because it was not real suffering as the Stoics thought. The NT agrees with the Stoic and Jewish Wisdom Literature, in contrast with the early Israelite, that material possessions and wealth no longer constitute a basis for honour. Hence to lose them is in itself nothing to be ashamed of. On the other hand, the NT does not reduce the ground for honour, as did the Stoics, to an inner quality, such as virtue or wisdom. Dishonour, through being despised or suffering physical violence, must be borne for the sake of love after the pattern shown by Christ (Isa. 53:3–8; 1 Pet. 2:23 f.; Heb. 12:2; 1 Cor. 4:10). It is to be endured by the power of God (2 Cor. 6:7 f.), and is made less bitter by the hope of eternal life and glory (1 Pet.1:7; Heb. 12:2; 1 Cor. 15:43; 2 Cor. 4:17, cf. 4:8). All this presupposes that it is as a righteous person that one suffers shame (1 Pet. 3:13, 17).

(g) The dishonour caused by sin, disgrace and degradation is something quite different (Rom. 1:24, 26). Sin of this kind is not regarded simply as a moral lapse. The shame lies essentially in the fact that the man has fallen from the honour given him by God in creation and has misused his body. Honour is also lost not only by perversions but by false asceticism (Col. 2:23). *S. Aalen*

On *doxa:*
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(b). S. Aalen, *Die Begriffe "Licht" und "Finsternis" im Alten Testament, im Spätjudentum und im Rabbinismus*, Skrifter utg. av Det Norske Vitenskaps-Akad. i Oslo, Hist.-filos. Kl. 1, 1951; H. Baltensweiler, *Die Verklärung Jesu*, 1959; H. Bietenhard, *Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum*, 1951; W. Caspari, *Die Bedeutungen der Wortsippe kbd im Hebräischen*, 1908; H. J. Duplacy, "L'espérance de la gloire de Dieu dans l'Ancien Testament", *Bible et Vie Chrétienne* 8, 1954; A. von Gall, *Die Herrlichkeit Gottes*, 1900; F. Hesse and E. Fascher, "Herrlichkeit Gottes", *RGG*³ III 273 ff.; H. Kittel, *Die Herrlichkeit Gottes*, 1934; E. Larsson, *Christus als Vorbild*, 1962, 275 ff.; A. Laurentin, *Doxa:* I *Problèmes de Christologie: Études des Commentaires de Jean 17.5 depuis des Origines jusqu' à Thomas d'Aquin;* II *Dossier des Commentaires de Jean 17.5*, 1972; J. Schneider, *Doxa, Neutestamentliche Forschungen* III/3, 1932; B. Stein, *Der Begriff k*ᵉ*bôd Jahwe und seine Bedeutung für die alttestamentliche Gotteserkenntnis*, 1939; M. Steinheimer, *Die "Doxa tou Theou" in der römischen Liturgie*, 1951; C. Westermann, *kbd, THAT* I 794–812.

On *timē*:

(a). Arndt, 825; G. W. Harrelson, "Honor", *IDB* II 639 f.; J. Pedersen, *Israel, its Life and Culture*, I–II, 1926, 213–44; R. Schnackenburg, *The Moral Teaching of the New Testament*, 1965 (see index); J. Schneider, *timē, TDNT* VIII 169–80.

(b). M. Greindl, *Kleos, Kydos, Euchos, Timē, Phatis, Doxa*, Dissertation, Munich, 1938; K. Keyssner, *Gottesauffassung und Lebensauffassung im griechischen Hymnus, Würzburger Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft* 2, 1932; B. Reicke, "Zum sprachlichen Verständnis von Kol. 2, 23", *StTh* 6, 1952, 39–53 (especially 47–51); R. Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, 1927³, 252 ff.; G. Steinkopf, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Ruhmes bei den Griechen*, Dissertation, Halle, 1937.

Goal, Near, Last, End, Complete

Gk. and Buddhist thought has a cyclical understanding of the world in terms of eternal, circular movement. By contrast, Christianity developed a fundamentally historical understanding of the world in which existence began with → creation and will reach its consummation at the end of the world. Beginning and end, primal time and final time are not poles in a continuous process divorced from → time, separated only by interludes of human activity. According to the Christian understanding of the → beginning, the path of history which began with creation will lead to a final consummation. This is the goal and destiny of creation which will contain more than was given at the beginning. These ideas find expression in the NT statements about the *telos*, the goal and end of the divine purposes. Paul uses the the noun *skopos* (goal) which is attested only in Phil. 3:14. The adverbs *engys* (near) and *makran* (far) and the adj. *eschatos* (last) are basically designations of place. They have acquired a temporal sense particularly in the LXX and the NT.

In biblical language *engys* frequently denotes temporal proximity, whereas *eschatos* is applied chiefly to the final times and the last day.

ἐγγύς

ἐγγύς (*engys*), near; ἐγγίζω (*engizō*), approach, come near; μακράν (*makran*), far.

CL 1. In secular Gk. the adv. *engys* (used from Homer onwards as the opposite of *makran* and *porrō*, far) means: (a) near (in space), near by (e.g. Thuc, 3, 55, 1); (b) near in the sense of temporally imminent (e.g. Epict., *Dissertationes* 3, 26, 6); (c) with numbers, nearly (e.g. Xen., *Hell.* 2, 4, 32); (d) related or similar (e.g. Plato, *Phd.* 55a; *Rep.* 3, 319e); (e) in the figurative sense of intellectual proximity (e.g. Epict., *Dissertationes* 1, 2, 14).

2. The later vb. *engizō* (Aristot. onwards), trans. to bring near, occurs mostly intrans. meaning to approach, to come near (e.g. Polyb. 4, 62, 5), occasionally with the addition "(to) the gods" (e.g. Epict., *Dissertationes* 4, 11, 3).

OT In the LXX *engys* mostly translates the Heb. *qārōḇ*. *engizō* translates forms of *qāraḇ*, draw near, approach, and *nāḡaš*, draw near, approach. The words are often found alongside the opposites *makran*, far, and *makrothen*, from afar, which render formations from the stem *rāḥaq*, to withdraw.

1. (a) In the spatial sense *engizō* is frequently found in phrases which describe approach to cultic centres (e.g. Exod. 3:5). Only the priests who conform to the requirements of the cultic prescriptions can draw near Yahweh's sanctuary (Lev. 21:21, 23; Ezek. 40:46; cf. Ezek. 44:13). *engizō* can also denote more generally participation in worship (Isa. 29:13; Ecc. 4:17) and even a devout attitude of nearness to God (Ps. 119:169; Hos. 12:7 [EVV v. 6]).

(b) Like *makran* (distant, far), *engys* (near) can also characterize the approval of Yahweh. It is one of the distinctive characteristics of the God of Israel, who can also work from afar (Ps. 136:8; 139:2), to draw near to his people. "What great nation is there that has a god so near to it as the Lord our God is to us, whenever we call upon him?" (Deut. 4:7; cf. also Ps. 34:19; Jer. 23:23 LXX). The nearness of God is not understood as a static condition, but as the free divine act of approaching (*theos engizōn*). It is experienced above all in Israelite worship (cf. Ps. 145:18).

(c) The pair of words "the near and the far" (Deut. 13:7; Isa. 33:13; 57:19; Ezek. 6:12) is a description of totality, meaning and embracing all. Later on in Judaism *engys*, near, marks out the Israelite as distinct from non-Israelites, and within Israel the righteous as distinct from the godless. For the meaning next of kin, one's relative, cf. Lev. 21:2 f.; Job 6:15; Est. 1:14 (→ Brother).

2. As an indication of time, the word-group expresses the imminent approach of the Day of Yahweh. In opposition to the way of thinking that saw that day in the far distance (cf. the quotations in Isa. 5:19; Ezek. 12:22, 27; Amos 6:3), the prophets proclaimed its nearness. This day always brings with it the impending judgment (Isa. 13:6; cf. also Ezek. 7:7; 30:3; Joel 1:15; 2:1; Zeph. 1:7, 14) which occasions darkness and terror. Only the later chapters of Isa. announce the approach of a new age of salvation which will bring forth salvation and righteousness (Isa. 46:13; 50:8; 51:5; 56:1).

3. The priestly language of the OT lived on, albeit transformed in meaning, in the Qumran literature. The community viewed itself in a priestly light. One who

comes to the community may thus draw near to God. The words "come near" and "send away" (in the case of refusal) became technical terms for entrance into the community (cf. 1 QS 6:16, 19, 22). In a similar way, "to come near" is a technical expression in Rab. Judaism for the recruiting of a proselyte.

NT The vb. *engizō*, to approach, to come near, is chiefly used in the NT by the Synoptics and Acts with its original meaning. Paul and Heb. use it more rarely, and in John it is not found at all. The adv. *engys*, near, also occurs most frequently in the Synoptics. There are a number of instances in John, but Paul scarcely uses it at all.

1. (a) In the *spatial* sense *engys*, near, is used a greater number of times than *engizō*, to come near. In Acts and Jn. the adv. *engys* has almost exclusively a local meaning (e.g. Acts 1:12, "which is near to Jerusalem"; Jn. 19:20, "was near to the city"). Occasionally the vb. serves to indicate both place and motion (e.g. Mk. 11:1 [cf. Matt. 21:1; Lk. 19:29], "when they drew near to Jerusalem").

(b) The terms are more frequently used with a temporal meaning: the hour of the passion has drawn near (Matt. 26:45), the end of all things has come near (1 Pet. 4:7), summer is near (Matt. 24:32), the Passover was near (Jn. 2:13).

2. (a) The theological interpretation of the vb. *engizō*, to come near, in the Synoptics is linked with Isa.'s proclamation of salvation: *ēngiken hē basileia tōn ouranōn*, the → kingdom of heaven has drawn near (Matt. 4:17 par. Mk. 1:15; Matt. 3:2; 10:7; Lk. 10:9, 11; cf. above OT 2). Behind the formulation *ēngiken*, it has drawn near, stands the thought of the divine → promise and preparation. The perf. *ēngiken* (the most frequently used tense of *engizō*) thus expresses the end of the time of preparation. God's kingdom *has* drawn near, i.e. in the proclamation and work of Jesus it *is* already in the present time. "Thus Mk. also sees Jesus' proclamation not as the first step of a coming kingdom, but as the consummation which has now made its appearance and become real here" (E. Lohmeyer, *Das Evangelium des Markus*, 1967 [17], KEK I, 2, 30). Corresponding to *ēngiken*, has drawn near, is the negative formulation *ou makran*, not far, which expresses the overcoming of the separation between God and man (e.g. Mk. 12:34).

(b) *engys* and *engizō* are also used in the context of the awaited apocalyptic end-time and the return of the → Son of man. Lk. in particular awaits the future of the all-embracing → kingdom of God. The desolation of Judaea and cosmic catastrophes will announce the dawn of the end of the world (Lk. 21:20 ff.). "So with you when you see these things happening, know that the kingdom of God is near" (Lk. 21:31; cf. v. 28 "when these things begin to take place . . . your redemption is drawing near"). The connection between the dawn of the kingdom of God in the coming of Jesus and the awaited coming of the Son of Man in the establishment of the reign of God is brought out by Matt. and Mk. Apart from this, both use *engizō* only in connection with the fate of Jesus (Matt. 21:1 par. Mk. 11:1, Lk. 19:29; Matt. 26:46 par. Mk. 14:42). (On the time and character of these events → Generation; → Present, art. *parousia*.)

3. (a) Whereas in the Synoptics the vb. is used in both perf. and fut., expressing the consequent tension, Paul relates these terms exclusively to the future. In Rom. 13:12 and Phil. 4:5 the prospect of the approaching day and the coming Lord provide the basis for the admonitions to the Christians to live a life full of hope.

"If the deliverance is near, then it is the hour to wake up from sleep" (A. Schlatter, *Gottes Gerechtigkeit*, [1935] 1952, 359).

(b) The word-group in the Catholic Epistles and Heb. similarly refers to the near return of Christ and the imminent end of all things (Jas. 5:8; 1 Pet. 4:7; Heb. 10:25). Thus *engizō* in the NT designates almost exclusively the drawing near of God and of his salvation to men. Only Heb. 7:19 and Jas. 4:8 speak of a responsive drawing near of man to God. *W. Bauder, H.-G. Link*

ἔσχατος

ἔσχατος (*eschatos*), extreme, last, least; ἔσχατον (*eschaton*) (noun), end, (adv.) finally; ἐσχάτως (*eschatōs*), finally.

CL 1. (a) The adj. *eschatos*, attested from Hom. onwards, is a superlative form derived from the prep. *ek/ex*, out of, away from, and originally designated the person or thing that was furthest outside (*ex*). Spatially it meant the place furthest away (e.g. Hesiod, *Theog.* 731, the utmost ends of the earth), temporally the last events of a series (e.g. Hdt., 7, 107), materially the extreme, rarely the highest (e.g. Libanius, *Orationes* 59, 88, greatest wisdom), mostly the lowest place in order of rank (e.g. Plato, *Tht.* 209b; Diod. Sic. 8, 18, 31, the most miserable of men).

(b) Substantivally *to eschaton* means the end in spatial and temporal respects (e.g. Hdt. 7, 140; 8, 52). Without the art. *eschaton* can be used just like *eschatōs* as an adv., both meaning "finally" (e.g. Xen., *Anab.* 2, 6, 1; *P.Oxy.* 886, 21).

2. The Gk. language uses the term *eschatos* to designate the end-point of a continuously conceived succession of circumstances. It corresponds with naturalistic Gk. thinking that the "extreme" is initially represented as the "ends of the earth" (Dem. *Ep.* 4, 7; Xen., *Vect.* 1, 6; Theocritus, 15, 8). In qualitative respects *eschatos* designates an extreme positive or negative intensification (Pindar, *Ol.* 1, 113, the highest reaches its peak with kings; Plato, *Rep.* 361a, greatest injustice; *Gorgias* 511d, extreme danger). In Aristotle the term denotes the conclusion of a logical path of thought and thus contributes to the systematization of the thought-processes (*An.* 3, 10, 433a, 16). As the expression of order of rank among men, *eschatos* means the opposite of *prōtos* (→ first): the lowest and most miserable of men (Dio Cass., 42, 5, 5; Dio Chrys., 21, [38] 37; Appian, *Bell.Civ.* 2, 77, §322). The temporal dimension is expressed in occasional prospects of the end (e.g. Diod. Sic., 19, 59, 6, the last, i.e. the concluding and final decision) and in the comprehensive designation of God as "the first and the last" (*prōtos kai eschatos*) e.g. Ps.Arist., *Mund.* 401a, 28). But this is the least developed sense. Gk. thought has no developed eschatological understanding of time, i.e. one directed towards a future goal or end of the historical process.

OT The very different historical understanding of existence in the OT writing is immediately apparent in a preliminary survey. *eschatos* occurs some 150 times in the LXX. It has local significance only in isolated cases (e.g. Deut. 28:49; Isa. 48:20; 49:6; Jer. 6:22, *ap'* or *heōs eschatou tēs gēs*, from or to the ends of the earth). It is not found at all in a disqualificatory sense. Its use is predominantly in the temporal sense to translate formations from the root of *'aḥar* (after, behind) and meaning last, finally, outcome, end. In the historical books the term plays no real

role, apart from the characteristic and stereotyped phrase "from beginning to end" (cf. 2 Chr. 16:11; 20:34; 25:26). On the other hand, *eschatos* features particularly in prophetic and apocalyptic expectations of the future.

1. A number of prophets use the formula "at the end of the days" (*b^{e}'aḥ^{a}rîṯ hayyāmîm*, LXX *ep' eschatou tōn hēmerōn*, e.g. Hos. 3:5; Isa. 2:2; 41:23; Mic. 4:1; Jer. 23:20; 30:24; 49:39; Ezek. 38:16). This indicates the future-directed thinking of the prophets which pointed Israel's self-understanding – till then largely orientated around past events – in a totally new direction. Moreover, the context in which this formulation is found reveals that the prophets do not think of "the end of the days" in mythical or non-historical terms. It was a renewed historical time-span, the final or end-time. Finally, it is noteworthy that the formula is mostly encountered in announcements of salvation or prefacing them. Eschatological time will be stamped by Yahweh's saving activity. Yahweh will make it possible for his people to turn back (Hos. 3:5). He will destroy his enemies (Jer. 23:20; 30:24). The nations will come to Jerusalem and receive instruction from Israel (Isa. 2:2 ff.; Mic. 4:1 ff.). Salvation will penetrate "to the end of the earth" (Isa. 48:20; 49:6). Here the local significance has a universal eschatological function. In all this Yahweh will reveal himself as holy (Ezek. 38:16, 23). However much the individual pictures of salvation presented by the various prophets differ, the expectation of a comprehensive age of salvation "at the end of the days" brought in by Yahweh himself is common to them all.

2. Apocalyptic literature contains numerous allusions to the end of the days (e.g. Dan. 2:28, 45; 10:14; 2 Esd. 6:34; Syr. Bar. 6, 8). They are distinguished from the prophetic expectation by the progression from the more simple pictures of the future into the realm of the visionary, allegorical, and other-worldly. A certain element of calculation concerning the final times is discernible (Dan. 8:19 ff.; 10:14; 12:5 ff.; 2 Esd. 14:5). According to the apocalyptic outlook, dramatic battles will take place between various world-powers. There will be cosmic catastrophes in the final times, before Yahweh establishes his transcendent imperishable → kingdom (cf. especially Dan. 2:3 ff.; 7:17 ff.). The end of this world signifies the simultaneous beginning of the coming one (2 Esd. 6:7; 7:113).

In Rabbinic Judaism the calculation of the end (*qēṣ*) is concentrated on the arrival of the messiah (2 Esd. 12:32; cf. SB III 671; IV 1003, 1006).

The formula "the end of the days" (*'aḥ^{a}rîṯ hayyāmîm*) is also found in the Dead Sea Scrolls (e.g. 1QpHab 2:5 f.; 9:9; CD 4:4; 6:11). The calculating tendency of apocalyptic has here hardened into a rigid deterministic understanding of the final time. It is the fixed and predetermined time of divine visitation (1QS 3:18, 23; CD 8:2 f.), when the godless and wickedness will be annihilated, but the righteous and truth will live for ever (1QS 4:18 ff.; 1QH 6:30 f.). It is not the saving character of the final times that stands in the foreground – as it does in the prophets – but the day of disaster, judgment and vengeance (1QS 10:18 ff.; CD 19:5–16). Only a small community of elect (4Qflor 1:19), "the poor of the flock" (CD 19:9), will be saved. By contrast with the expectations of Rab. Judaism, the members of the Qumran sect understand themselves as already the eschatological community of the saved in Israel (1QSa 1:1). It is they who obediently fulfil the divine regulations (CD 20:27 f.), and will be demonstrated to be the true Israel at the end of days (CD 20:33 f.).

NT As in the LXX, the spatial aspect of *eschatos* in the NT fades into the background. In Acts (1:8; 13:47) as in Isa. (see above OT 1) the spatial formula "to the end of the earth" (*heōs eschatou tēs gēs*) has a universal eschatological significance. More important are the material overtones of the least and lowest (e.g. Lk. 14:9), frequently in the antithesis of *prōtos* and *eschatos* (e.g. Mk. 9:35). But in the NT, the chief stress again falls on the temporal dimension of *eschatos*. On the one hand, it distinguishes the time characterized by the coming of Jesus from the past (e.g. Heb. 1:2). On the other hand, it contrasts the final future of God with the present (e.g. Jn. 11:24). *eschatos* is a concept which features in the Gospels (Matt. 10 times; Jn. 7 times). It also plays a particular role in Paul (6 times) and Rev.

1. The Synoptic Gospels record 4 times a maxim from the proclamation of Jesus about the first and the last (Mk. 10:31; Matt. 19:30; 20:16; Lk. 13:30). "Many who are first will be last, and the last first [*esontai prōtoi eschatoi kai eschatoi prōtoi*]." This maxim, formulated with inversion in antithetical parallelism, possibly meant originally something like: "How quickly man's fortunes change overnight" (cf. J. Schniewind on Mk. 10:31, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, [1931] 1968, 136). In the mouth of Jesus this aphorism undergoes an eschatological radicalization as the conclusion of a discussion concerning the rewards of discipleship (Mk. 10:28–31 par.). The antithesis of first and last indicates a succession of rank customary amongst men (see above CL 2). The first are the nobles in society, kings and rulers; the last are the lowest, slaves and outcasts. The point of this *logion* of Jesus lies in the fact that in the coming age this order of precedence will be reversed. In the kingdom of God earthly power structures are stood on their head. God stands on the side of those who are the last and lowest on earth. To them, like the poor followers of Jesus, the kingdom of God is promised, whereas those who regard themselves as its first candidates, the noble, the rich and the pious, are excluded from it (Lk. 13:28 ff.; Matt. 8:11 f.). Jesus' followers are given the commission of anticipating and realizing now in the present this eschatological reversal of all values. It is in this sense that Jesus answers the disciples' disputes about seniority with the reminder: "If anyone wants to be first, let him be last of all and servant of all" (Mk. 9:35).

2. (a) Both the way of life and the proclamation of Paul are in accord with this instruction of Jesus. He counters the Corinthian enthusiasts by saying that God has paraded the apostles as the lowest of men, like those condemned to death, a spectacle and the scum of the world – not for ever but "to this day" (1 Cor. 4:9–13; → Dirt, art. *peripsēma, perikatharma*). This may be compared with 1 Cor. 15:8, where with the thought of negative quality is linked the significance of the chronological conclusion of the list of witnesses ("last of all") (cf. G. Kittel, *TDNT* II 697; → Birth, art. *ektrōma*).

(b) Within the framework of his Adam–Christ typology (cf. Rom. 5:12–21; 1 Cor. 15:21 f.) Paul contrasts in 1 Cor. 15:45 the first man → Adam (NT 3(e)) with Christ "the last Adam" (*eschatos Adam*). Adam and Christ are not here thought of as individual persons, but each as representatives of a whole humanity. The "last Adam" therefore does not mean the last man either numerically or chronologically, but – as the allusion to the gnostic primal man myth in v. 47 shows – Christ as the new, the second representative of a new humanity created in his image, by

contrast with the first humanity summarised in Adam (cf. C. Colpe, *TDNT*VIII 474 ff.). Paul therefore understands the risen Christ, the creator of life, as the eschatological prototype of God's new humanity. With the resurrection of Jesus the final time has already begun.

(c) The letters of other authors confirm that this is not only a Pauline idea, but one belonging to early Christian eschatology generally. In Heb. 1:2 the prophetic expectation of the final times expressed in the formula *ep' eschatou tōn hēmerōn* ("in the last days", cf. above OT 1) is related to the present time of the early Christians by the addition of the demonstrative *toutōn* ("these", i.e. "in these last days"). This has come about through the fact that "God has spoken *to us* by a Son". With the enthronement of Jesus as → Son and as → Lord of → Creation the turning-point of the ages has come. Hebrews understands the early Christian present as the beginning of the final time. 1 Pet. also speaks of Christ "revealed at the end of the times" (1:20; cf. also Mk. 12:6), and 1 Jn. makes the recipients of his letter emphatically aware that they are living in the "last hour" (2:18). To the NT writers, the characteristics of the final time, now dawned, include the outpouring of the → Spirit (Acts 2:17; cf. Joel 2:28–32), the growth of moral corruption (2 Tim. 3:1 ff.), and the appearance of scoffers (2 Pet. 3:3; Jude 18) and → antichrists (1 Jn. 2:18).

(d) The term *eschatos* does not, however, serve merely to denote the new time which has begun with the coming of Jesus. It also refers to the final, consummative action of God that is still to come. In 1 Cor. 15:23 ff. Paul makes use of apocalyptic ideas (see above OT 2) in order to express the chronological sequence of the future events of the final times. In this scheme death is chronologically the last and physically the hardest enemy to be destroyed before the final goal (→ *telos*) of God is reached (v. 26 ff.).

3. Only in John's Gospel is explicit allusion found to the "last day" (*eschatē hēmera*, e.g. 6:39 f., 44, 54; 11:24; 12:48). It is absent from the synoptics. The expression takes up and continues the prophetic exposition of the "day of Yahweh" (on this see G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, II, 1965, 119–125). R. Bultmann contends that these passages have been redacted by the early church (cf. his treatment of 6:27–59 in *The Gospel of John*, 1971, 218–34). But in view of the context (cf. 6:39 f.), and of the existential bent of his interpretation (e.g. on 11:24 f.), this must remain a hypothesis on the level of conjecture. The decisive mark of the "last day", according to the Johannine witness, is the resurrection of the dead. The judgment of unbelievers (12:48) represents the negative side of this. Thus in the expectation of the end in John's Gospel, as in the eschatological proclamation of the prophets (see above OT 1), it is not the thought of judgment, but the all-embracing salvation that stands in the foreground.

4. (a) The deterministic thinking about judgment in the Dead Sea Scrolls (see above OT 3) did not find acceptance in the NT. The only reminder of the conceptions of vengeance of the Qumran sect is the vision in Revelation of the seven last plagues, through which the divine wrath is discharged (15:1 ff.; 21:9; → Anger, Wrath). But the climax of this vision is not in the annihilation of enemies, but in the song of praise to the → Lamb (15:3; 19:7 ff.; 21:22).

(b) The formula "the first and the last" (*ho prōtos kai ho eschatos*) is only found as a self-designation of the exalted Christ (1:17; 2:8; 22:13). This goes back to the

Heb. wording of the divine predicates in Isa. 41:4; 44:6; 48:12. In the Gk. translation of this expression the LXX has avoided the divine title of *eschatos* and uses a paraphrase instead, perhaps because of negative undertones. The formula belongs essentially to the synonymous phrases "the Alpha and the Omega" (Rev. 1:8; 21:6; 22:13; Alpha being the first, and Omega the last letter of the Gk. alphabet), and "the beginning and the end" (22:13). The application of these divine predicates to the exalted Christ means the ascription to him of a rank equal with God's with the attribution of the functions of Creator and Perfecter. *H.-G. Link*

τέλος

τέλος (*telos*), end, conclusion, close, goal; τελέω (*teleō*), bring to an end, finish, complete, carry out, accomplish; τελειόω (*teleioō*), bring to completion, complete, accomplish, finish, fulfil, make perfect; τέλειος (*teleios*), complete, perfect; τελειότης (*teleiotēs*), perfection, maturity; τελείωσις (*teleiōsis*), perfection, fulfilment; τελειωτής (*teleiōtēs*), perfecter; συντέλεια (*synteleia*), completion, close, consummation; συντελέω (*synteleō*), bring to an end, complete, carry out, fulfil, accomplish; τελευτάω (*teleutaō*), come to an end, in the sense of die; τελευτή (*teleutē*), end, euphemism for death.

CL 1. (a) The noun *telos* is derived from a root *tel-*, which means to turn round (*telos* = tax; Dem., *Or.* 20, 19). Originally it meant the turning point, hinge, the culminating point at which one stage ends and another begins; later the goal, the end. Marriage is in this sense a *telos* (Artemidorus, *Onirocriticus* 2, 49; the spouse is *teleios*, complete, Pausanias 8, 22, 2), as also is death (Xen., *Institutio Cyri* 8, 7, 6; Plato, *Leg.* 4, 717e). *telos* can mean the completion of intellectual development (Plato, *Menexenus* 249a) and physical (Plato, *Leg.* 8, 834c) development, as the use of the term *teleios* also makes clear (Hdt. 1,183,2). *telos* can have dynamic character, and is used, for example, of the ratification of a law (Aristot., *Pol.* 6, 8p, 1322b, 13; cf. *teleō*, to bring to a *telos*, to complete, e.g. to make his word come true [Hom. *Il.* 14, 44]).

This dynamic character is also clear in the religious sphere, where sacrifices and religious rites are called *telē*; their intention is to bring men nearer to God (Soph., *Ant.* 143). Also of significance is the religious description of God as the *archē kai telos*, the beginning and end of all things (cf. K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, IV, 2836 f.). He alone embraces beginning and end (Scythinos; cf. Diels I, 189, 32 f.). The function of the formula is thus to make a statement which embraces totality.

(b) Anything that has reached its *telos* is *teleios*, complete, perfect (e.g. unblemished sacrifical animals, Hom., *Il.* 1, 66). Both a doctor and a thief can be perfect (Aristot. *Metaph.* 4, 16p, 1021b, 15 ff.). One brings something to completion, to perfection (*teleioō*, e.g. Aristot., *Eth. Nic.* 3p, 1174a, 15 f.). The pass. of *teleioō*, to be made perfect, i.e. to reach perfection, is used equally of human adulthood (Plato, *Symp.* 192a) and of fully-grown plants (Aristot., *Gen. An.*, 776a, 31). The noun *teleiotēs* occurs only rarely. It denotes a state of completeness or perfection (e.g. Aristot., *Phys.*, 8, 7p, 261a, 36). *teleiōsis* is the carrying out of the *teleioun*, the realization, execution, conclusion (e.g. of some work [cf. W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*

Inscriptionum Graecarum[3] II, 799, 1, 29]). A *teleiōtēs* is one who effects the *teleioun*, the perfecter. This word is hitherto only once attested in Christian literature (Heb. 12:2).

2. In Gk. philosophy *telos* has the primary meaning of goal. For the pre-Socratics the goal of life was delight in the beautiful (Leucippus), contentment (*euthymia*, Democritus; cf. F. Copleston, *A History of Philosophy*, I, 1946, 125 f.), and contemplation (*theōria*, Anaxagoras, *Frag.* 29; cf. Diels II, 13,11). In Plato and Aristotle the *telos* to which one aspires is an ethical goal (Plato, *Rep.* 2 introduction; Aristot., *Eth. Nic.* introduction), and ultimately happiness and bliss (*eudaimonia*). In the realm of ethics, therefore, Plato can equate the concept of the perfect (*teleios*) with that of the good (*agathos*) (*Phlb.* 61a).

In gnosticism "perfection" is a technical term in the myth of the "redeemed Redeemer." He is the "perfect man" (cf. Hippol., *Haer.* 5, 7, 37). Anyone who is saved by him through true knowledge is the "perfect" gnostic (cf. Hippol., *Haer.* 5, 8, 30). Whether *teleios* was a technical term for initiates in the Hel. mystery religions is disputed (cf. the literature referred to by Arndt, 817).

OT 1. (a) *telos* occurs more than 150 times in the LXX, chiefly in adverbial combinations. Thus *eis to telos*, for ever, is the puzzling and erroneous translation of the Heb. phrase *lam^enaṣṣēaḥ* in the heading of 55 Pss. and Hab. 3:19. It should probably be translated by "for the choirmaster" or "for musical performance" (cf. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen*, I, 5; cf. A. A. Anderson, *The Book of Psalms*, I, 1972, 48). *eis telos* is found more than 15 times as translation of *lāneṣaḥ*, for ever (e.g. Job 20:7; Ps. 9:7; Hab. 1:4). Starting from the basic meaning "to the finish," *eis telos* can mean utterly (e.g. 2 Chr. 12:12), or, when understood temporally, for ever (e.g. Job 23:7). Sometimes *eis telos* is used where there is no MT equivalent (e.g. Gen. 46:4; Ezek. 15:4). It is also of importance that *telos* occurs repeatedly as a translation of *qēṣ*, *qāṣeh* or *q^eṣāṭ*, end, border, boundary. In such cases it means conclusion, end (cf. 2 Sam. 15:7; 2 Ki. 8:3). *qēṣ* in the eschatological sense is translated in the LXX not by *telos*, but by *synteleia*, completion (see below, 2(a)).

(b) *teleō* is found some 30 times for 8 Heb. equivalents: most frequently (7 times) for the vb. *kālâh* (qal and piel) meaning to bring to an end, to fulfil (e.g. Ruth 2:21; Ezra 9:1). It occurs in the pass. as a religious term: to consecrate oneself (e.g. to the service of Baal Peor, cf. Num. 25:3, 5; Ps. 105:28; Hos. 4:14).

(c) *teleios* is attested 20 times in the LXX: 7 times as equivalent of the Heb. root *šālēm*, to be sound, and 7 times for *tām(îm)*, complete, sound. The stress lies on being whole, perfect, intact. It is used of the heart which is wholly turned towards God (1 Ki. 8:61; 11:4), and of the man who has bound himself wholly to God (Gen. 6:9; cf. Deut. 18:13). The thought of totality is also shown in the mention of a total depopulation (Jer. 13:19), and in the fact that whole-offerings can be called *teleiai* (Jdg. 20:26; 21:4).

(d) *teleioō* (25 instances) has likewise the semantic content of being perfect and whole: to show oneself perfect, i.e. blameless (2 Sam. 22:26, hith. of *tāmam*; cf. Sir. 31:10); to make beauty perfect (Ezek. 27:11). It is used 9 times in the Pentateuch as a religious term (apart from Lev. 4:5) to translate the Heb. phrase *millē'* (*yāḏ*), to fill (the hand), i.e. to consecrate for the cult (e.g. Exod. 29:9, 29). But *teleioō* also means to bring to its conclusion (2 Chr. 8:16; Neh. 6:16).

(e) *teleiotēs* (occurring only 5 times) can also be an equivalent for formations from the root *tām* signifying perfection or integrity (Jdg. 9:16, 19; Prov. 11:3). Wis. 6:15 speaks of perfection of understanding.

(f) *teleiōsis* (16 times in the LXX) occurs mainly in connection with cultic usage. On 10 occasions it translates *millû'îm* (e.g. Exod. 29:22, 26; cf. (d)) and means consecration. It occurs chiefly in connection with the consecration of priests.

2. (a) In the apocalyptic literature of the OT the Heb. *qēṣ* is understood eschatologically (see above 1 (a)). The LXX translates it chiefly by *synteleia*, end, completion (e.g. Dan. 8:19; 11:27). In this eschatological sense *qēṣ* in Rab. literature refers chiefly to the days of the messiah's coming which were ordained before the end of the world (cf. SB I 671; III 416). The end of the world can also be spoken of idiomatically in the sense of going on for ever (e.g. Yeb. 1:1; Nazir. 1:3).

(b) In Qumran the use of *qēṣ* as an eschatological technical term is not attested. The final times are called *haqqēṣ hā'aḥ^{a}rôn*, the last time (1 QpHab 7:7, 12; cf. also the expression *g^{e}mar haqqēṣ*, the consummation of time, 1QpHab 7:2). Otherwise *qēṣ* means time, period, in general.

In Qumran the term "perfect" is coloured by the OT. Those who are perfect (*tāmîm*) are those who keep God's law wholly and so walk perfectly in his ways (1QS 1:8; 2:2). In a narrower sense the members of the community are called "the perfect" (1QS 8:20; cf. 8:4 ff.).

(c) Philo has a double *telos* in the life of man: → wisdom (*sophia*), i.e. the perfect and direct understanding of God which comes about by learning, and → virtue (*aretē*) which is attained by practice (cf. W. Völker, *Fortschritt und Vollendung bei Philo von Alexandrien*, 1938, 176 f., 203 ff.). He has three stages on the way to perfection: beginners, advanced and perfect (*Leg. All.* 3, 159). To Philo repentance holds second place to perfection (*teleiotēs*) and the "unbroken perfection of virtues stands nearest to divine power" (*Abr.* 26). Both Philo (*Plant.* 93) and Josephus (*Ant.* 8, 280) have the comprehensive description of God as *archē kai telos*, beginning and end (see above, CL 1 (a)).

NT In the NT the words of this group occur fairly often: *telos* 41 times, *teleō* 28 times, *teleios* 20 times, *teleioō* 23 times, *teleiotēs* twice, *teleiōtēs* once (Heb. 12:2) and *teleiōsis* twice. A striking point is that *telos* occurs relatively frequently in the Synoptics and Paul, *teleō* particularly in the Synoptics and in Rev., whereas *teleios* and its derivatives are more common in Heb. than in any other NT writing.

1. *The Letters of Paul.* (a) Paul uses *telos* to mean end-result, ultimate fate (cf. G. Delling, *telos*, *TDNT* VIII 55). Rom. 6:21 f. speaks of the alternatives which face man as a result of his conduct: death (v. 21) or life (v. 22; cf. Ps. 73:17). According to Phil. 3:19, the enemies of the cross of Christ find their ultimate fate in eternal destruction (cf. also 2 Cor. 11:15). *telos* occurs 3 times after a preposition: "who will sustain you to the end [*heōs telous*]" (1 Cor. 1:8); "understand fully [*heōs telous*]" (2 Cor. 1:13); "at last [*eis telos*]" (1 Thess. 2:16 RSV, cf. mg. "completely", "for ever"). *telos* means end in the sense of cessation in Rom. 10:4 (in Christ the law has ceased to be the way of salvation), and also 2 Cor. 3:13 (the end of the brightness on the face of Moses concealed by the veil). ([Ed.] M. Black, however, argues that *telos* in Rom. 10:4 involves more than the simple idea of cessation. As in 1 Pet. 1:9, the idea conforms more closely to classical Gk.: "the logical end

of a process or action – its issue, consummation, perfection – and thus in philosophical writings its chief good." The idea is similar to that of 1 Tim. 1:5: "the end of the commandment is love." Black concludes that Christ is the end of the law in the sense of "the climactic development (practically 'perfection', 'perfecting')" which in turn implies the cessation of the validity of the "old law" (*Romans*, New Century Bible, 1973, 138; cf. E. E. Schneider, "Finis Legis Christus," *ThZ* 20, 1964, 410–22; R. Bultmann, "Christ the End of the Law," *Essays Philosophical and Theological*, 1955, 36–66; F. Flückiger, "Christus, des Gesetzes Telos," *ThZ* 11, 1955, 153–7; R. Bring in *StTh* 20, 1966, 1–36.)

1 Cor. 10:11 deals with the ends of the times which "have come over us" (H. Conzelmann, *Der erste Korintherbrief*, 1969[11], KEK 5; cf. C. K. Barrett, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1968, 227 f.): the old time will soon be past; we are living at the close of time (cf. 1 Cor. 7:29, 31: 16:21). In 1 Cor. 15:24 *telos* means the conclusion of the eschatological events (cf. Mk. 13:7 par. Matt. 24:6, Lk. 21:9), the point of time when Christ hands over the → kingdom to his → Father. *telos* as goal is found in 1 Tim. 1:5. Finally, in Rom. 13:7 *telos* means tax (cf. v. 6 [*telein*], to pay taxes).

(b) *teleō* twice means to achieve one's object: of the power of Christ in the weakness of the apostle (2 Cor. 12:9); of the desires of the flesh (Gal. 5:16). In two other places it means to bring to an end: of fulfilling the Law (Rom. 2:27); and of completing one's course (2 Tim. 4:7). Acts 20:24 uses *teleioō* in this sense (cf. 13:25). In Rom. 13:6 *teleō* means to pay (cf. above (a)).

(c) *teleios* occurs 5 times meaning mature, adult: 1 Cor. 2:6; 14:20; Phil. 3:15 (Paul's statement in v. 12 that he has "not yet become perfect [*ouch hoti ēdē teteleiōmai*]" means that he has not yet attained the final thing, the victor's prize of the heavenly calling in Christ Jesus [v. 14]); Eph. 4:13 (the church is figuratively called a "grown man"); and Col. 1:28 (the grown man as the goal of the apostle's instructions).

Twice *teleios* is that which is wholly in accord with God's will (Rom. 12:2, cf. Gen. 6:9; and Col. 4:12). In 1 Cor. 13:10 "the perfect" means the future world, in which everything imperfect (v. 9) which distinguishes our present world, is overcome. In Col. 3:14 love is called "the bond of perfectness [*syndesmos tēs teleiotētos*]" (AV; cf. RSV "which binds everything together in perfect harmony"). For by it the gifts given to the → church (v. 12 f.) are fitted together into a whole.

2. *The Synoptic Gospels.* (a) In the eschatological discourses of Jesus *telos* is used as a technical term for the end of the → world (Matt. 24:6 par. Mk. 13:7; Matt. 24:14; Lk. 21:9; cf. the expression *synteleia* [*tou*] *aiōnos*, the consummation of the age, Matt. 13:39 f., 49; 24:3; 28:20). It also occurs several times in the prepositional combination *eis telos* (cf. NT 1 (a)). This probably refers to the end of the world (Matt. 10:22; 24:13 = Mk. 13:13), since this is mentioned in the context (Matt. 24:6, 14; Mk. 13:7). In Lk. 18:5 *eis telos* means finally.

The phrase *telos echein*, to have an end, occurs twice. In Mk. 3:26 a kingdom in which division dominates is said to have an end, i.e. ceases to stand (cf. on this Lk. 1:33: the reign of Christ has no end). Lk. 22:37 attributes to Jesus the statement that "what has been written about me has an end [RSV 'fulfilment']," for the words of Scripture (Isa. 53:12) are being fulfilled in him. *telos* as outcome is found in Matt. 26:58, and as tax in Matt. 17:25 (cf. v. 24 where *teleìn* means to pay).

(b) Typical for Matt. is his use of *teleō* in redactional passages. His formula "when Jesus had ended" concludes the five great instructional discourses (7:28; 19:1; 26:1; 11:1; 13:53). Matt. 10:23 (the disciples will not have come to the end of the towns of Israel before the parousia breaks upon them) and Lk. 12:50 (Jesus is in great distress until his baptism, i.e. his suffering [cf. Mk. 10:38], has been completed) also have the sense of "carrying through to the end." Lk., however, uses the vb. twice in the pass. for the fulfilment of Scripture (Lk. 18:31; 22:37; cf. also Acts 13:29) and once in the act. for the fulfilling of the → law (Lk. 2:39).

(c) The adj. *teleios* occurs only in Matt. In 5:48 there is the summons to be perfect, as the heavenly → Father is perfect. In the light of the context, this is a command to be compassionate, to love friend and foe (cf. Lk. 16:36). To serve God with an undivided heart (cf. OT 1 (c)) can also mean: sell your possessions and give them to the poor (19:21).

(d) The vb. *teleioō* is used only in Lk. When the days of the Passover feast were ended the boy Jesus stayed behind at Jerusalem (Lk. 2:43). Jesus told the Pharisees to tell Herod that, "the third day I shall be completed" (Lk. 13:32). Despite Herod Antipas' threats of murder he intended to continue his work for the salvation of men "today" and "tomorrow". What his completion on the third day signifies is not entirely clear. Does it mean that God will put an end to his work on the third day? Or does Jesus mean: Whatever violence men inflict on me I shall go on working, for "on the third day" I shall be completed notwithstanding, i.e. rise from the dead (cf. 9:22; 18:33; 24:7, 46)? (→ Number, art. *tritos*.)

Finally *teleiōsis* also occurs in Lk. 1:45 meaning "fulfilment."

3. *James and 1 Peter.* In Jas. the stress lies on *teleios* (which occurs 5 times), in 1 Pet. on *telos* (which 4 times).

(a) *teleios* has also the basic meaning of "whole" in James. One is perfect, i.e. not lagging behind in any point (1:4), when one is patient and forbearing. Jas. calls the law of → freedom, by which he means the commandment to love one's neighbour (2:8), perfect (1:25), because this alone makes men really free (cf. Jn. 8:31 f.; Gal. 5:13). That God's gifts can be called perfect (1:17) goes without saying. According to Jas., the man who does not offend in his words is whole and without fault (3:2). *teleioō* accordingly means to become whole: only through works is faith brought to wholeness (2:22, cf. vv. 17, 20). Elsewhere Jas. also uses *telos* as outcome (5:11; cf. Matt. 26:58) and *teleō* as to fulfil (a law 2:8; cf. Lk. 2:39).

(b) 1 Pet. uses *telos* as goal (1:9), as an eschatological term (4:7; cf. Matt. 24:6), as ultimate fate (4:17; cf. Rom. 6:21 f.), and as meaning finally (3:8). *teleiōs*, used adverbially, occurs in 1:13, meaning entirely.

4. *Hebrews.* In Heb. this word-group occurs with the greatest frequency, relatively speaking (18 times); only the vb. *teleō* is lacking.

(a) By contrast with its use in the rest of the NT, *teleioō* is here attested 9 times, nearly always with cultic overtones (cf. OT 1 (d)). It means to make perfect, in the sense of consecrate, sanctify, so that – like the OT priests – one can come before God. Heb. uses the vb. to elucidate the distinction between Christ, the high → priest perfected through suffering (2:10) and eternally perfect (7:28), who was thus able to be the source of eternal salvation for his people (5:9), and the priests of the old → covenant who were men subject to weakness (7:28), and whose → sacrifices could not perfect their consciences (9:9; cf. also 10:1). Christ alone was able

to perfect his people by a single sacrifice (10:14). The → law (7:19), i.e. the Levitical priesthood, has utterly failed to bring about sanctification (*teleiōsis*, 7:11). Therefore, Heb. calls Christ's heavenly sanctuary the "more perfect" (9:11) by contrast with the earthly one.

teleioō is twice used without cultic reference. Heb. 11:40 means that the witnesses to faith under the old covenant (v. 39) did not reach perfection, for this was alone given by Christ (cf. 10:14). Now, however, they too have come to share in the perfection (12:23).

(b) *teleios*, meaning adult, occurs in 5:14. *teleiotēs*, "maturity" (RSV, 6:1), correspondingly means that part of Christian doctrine which is intended for adults It is the opposite of *archē*, → beginning (5:12; 6:1).

teleiōtēs stands alongside *archēgos* in 12:2 (cf. the formula *archē kai telos*, see CL 1 (a)): Jesus is the beginner and perfecter of faith. He has not only maintained faith right to the end (5:7 f.; 12:3); he has also laid the foundation of faith (cf. 1:3).

(c) *telos* occurs in 2 prepositional combinations: *mechri telous*, to the end (3:14, this same phrase in v. 6 probably derives from v. 14); and *achri telous*, until the end (6:11). *telos* means outcome in 6:8 and end in 7:3.

5. *The Johannine Writings. teleioō* occurs (a) 5 times in Jn. and *teleō* twice; (b) 4 times in 1 Jn.; (c) *teleō* twice in Jn. Rev. has *teleō* 8 times and *telos* 8 times.

(a) In Jn. 4:34; 5:36; 17:4, *teleioō* is used where Jesus speaks of the works of the → Father which he has to accomplish. On the → cross he can say that they are accomplished (*tetelestai*, it is finished, 19:30, cf. v. 28). In the High Priestly Prayer Jesus prays that his own may be perfected in unity (17:23), so that the world may recognize the sending of Christ (cf. v. 21). In Jn. 19:28 *teleioō* is used of the Scriptures being fulfilled (cf. Ps. 22:18). *telos* occurs once, in the prepositional combination *eis telos* (13:1): Jesus loved his own to the end, i.e. perfectly, wholly.

(b) In 1 Jn. the pass. of *teleioō* is used 4 times with reference to → love. Love of God reaches its wholeness, when men keep his word (2:5) and love their neighbours (4:12). This love attains its goal in that they are liberated from fear on the day of judgment (4:17; cf. 2:28). One who knows fear is not perfectly determined by this love, for perfect love drives out fear (4:18).

(c) Revelation has *teleō* 6 times meaning to finish, or (pass.) to be finished. Rev. 11:7 refers to the completion of a testimony. Rev. 15:1 announces the seven last plagues upon the world in which God's wrath is brought to completion (cf. v. 8). Rev. 20 speaks 3 times of the end of the thousand-year reign (vv. 3, 5, 7; → Chiliasm in *Glossary of Technical Terms*). Rev. 10:7 and 17:17 deal with the mystery of God or the words of God being fulfilled. What God has previously determined is fulfilled (cf. Lk. 18:31; 22:37).

The formula "beginning and end" (cf. Isa. 41:4; 44:6; 48:12) expresses the power of God (21:6) and Christ (22:13) which embraces time and creation. Just as God is the beginning and end (cf. 1:8), the creator and perfecter of all things, so also is the exalted Christ (cf. 1:17; 2:8). Rev. has *telos* once in the prepositional combination *achri telous*, until the end (2:26). It occurs in a summons to hold fast continually the works of Christ.

6. In summing up the theological function of the word-group in the NT, a distinction can be drawn between an eschatological and an anthropological aspect. The

two are bound up with the general areas of meaning associated with *telos* on the one hand and *teleios* on the other.

(a) First and foremost is the eschatological function of *telos*. The dynamic, goal-directed character of the noun is further underlined by the frequent use of the vb. *teleō*. This aspect stands out with particular clarity in those passages which are concerned with the future consummation both in the Synoptics (cf. the so-called Little Apocalypse, Mk. 13 par.), the Pauline letters (e.g. Phil. 3:19) and Rev. (e.g. 20:1 ff.). The important point here is that the end is not understood simply as the mechanical cessation of movement. It is the consummating conclusion of a dynamic process, the goal of which manifests the realization of its meaning and its intentions. Since *telos* is a term with heavy apocalyptic overtones, the historically conditioned apocalyptic images and computations linked with it cannot be taken over wholesale without more ado by contemporary eschatological thought about the future promised in Christ. Rather, the universal, cosmic themes and implications inherent in them must be restated within the framework of Christian eschatology.

(b) Connected with the idea of the end as the completion and realization of a goal is the sense of *teleios* as that which has reached its goal, and is thus completed and perfected. To the extent that the whole is achieved only at the end, *teleios* may be applied in its fullest sense only to God (e.g. Matt. 5:48) and Christ (e.g. Heb. 7:28). In the context of individual human development *teleios* applies to the man who has reached maturity, the grown man who has come of age (especially in Paul). The NT does not speak of an ideal of ethical perfection which is to be realized by degrees (cf. G. Delling, *TDNT* VIII 77). Rather, when viewed against the background of the OT concepts of *tāmîm* and *šālēm* and applied to people's actions, *teleios* signifies the undivided wholeness of a person in his behaviour. It is in this sense that the later writings of the NT, especially Matt. (e.g. 19:21) and James (e.g. 1:4), frequently use the word. When applied to man and ethics, therefore, *teleios* denotes not the qualitative end-point of human endeavour, but the anticipation in time of eschatological wholeness in actual present-day living. Christian life in the NT is not projected idealistically as a struggle for perfection, but eschatologically as the wholeness which a person is given and promised.

R. Schippers

→ Abomination of Desolation, → Beginning, → Present, → Time

(a). R. Bultmann, "Christ the End of the Law", *Essays Philosophical and Theological*, 1955, 36–66; A. Deissler and F. Mussner, "Perfection", *EBT* II 658–67; G. Delling, *telos* etc., *TDNT* VIII 49–87; E. E. Ellis, "Present and Future Eschatology in Luke", *NTS* 12, 1965–66, 27–41; R. N. Flew, *The Idea of Perfection in Christian Theology*, 1934; E. Fuchs, *skopos*, etc. *TDNT* VII 413–17; E. Käsemann, "An Apologia for Primitive Christian Eschatology", in *Essays on New Testament Themes*, 1964, 169–95; G. Kittel, *eschatos*, *TDNT* II 697 f.; W. G. Kümmel, *Promise and Fulfilment*, 1957; J. Moltmann, *Theology of Hope*, 1967; C. F. D. Moule, "Obligation in the Ethic of Paul", in W. R. Farmer, C. F. D. Moule and R. R. Niebuhr, eds., *Christian History and Interpretation* (John Knox Festschrift), 1967, 401 ff. (on *telos* in Rom. 10:4); R. Niebuhr, *The Nature and Destiny of Man*, II *Human Destiny*, 1943; M. Noth, "The Understanding of History in Old Testament Apocalyptic", in *The Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies*, 1966, 194–214; H. P. Owen, "The 'Stages of Ascent' in Heb. v. 11–vi. 3", *NTS* 3, 1956–57, 243–53; J. du Plessis, *Teleios: The Idea of Perfection in the New Testament*, 1959; H. Preisker, *engys* etc., *TDNT* II 330–33; A. Wikgren, "Patterns of Perfection in the Epistle to the Hebrews", *NTS* 6, 1959–60, 159–67; R. Schnackenburg, "Christian Adulthood according to the Apostle Paul", *CBQ* 25, 1963, 254–370.

(b). J. Blinzler, "Vollkommenheit", *LTK* X 863 f.; R. Bring, *StTh* 20, 1966, 1–36; G. Delling, "Zur Paulinischen Teleologie", *TLZ* 75, 1950, 12 ff.; J. Dupont, " 'Soyez parfaits' (Mt. 5:48), 'Soyez miséricordieux' (Lc. 6:36)", *Sacra Pagina* 1959, 150–62; C. M. Edsman, A. Jepsen, R. Meyer, H. Conzelmann, H. Kraft, and P. Althaus, "Eschatologie", *RGG*³ II 650 ff.; F. Flückiger, "Christus, des Gesetzes Telos", *ThZ* 11, 1955, 153–7; P. Hoffmann, "*Die Toten in Christus*". *Eine religionsgeschichtliche und exegetische Untersuchung zur Paulinischen Eschatologie*, *NTAbh* Neue Folge 2, 1966; K. Karner, "Gegenwart und Endgeschichte in der Offenbarung des Johannes", *TLZ* 93, 1968, 641 ff.; B. Klappert, *Die Eschatologie des Hebräerbriefes*, *ThEH* 156, 1969; J. Kögel, "Der Begriff *teleioun* im Hebräerbrief", in *Theologische Studien für Martin Kähler*, 1905, 35–68; H. Kosmala, *Hebräer-Essener-Christen*, 1959, 208–39; H. Kremers and R. Prenter, "Eschatologie", *EKL* I 1152 ff.; H. W. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, StUNT 4, 1966; W. G. Kümmel, "Die Eschatologie der Evangelien", *ThBl* 15, 1936, 225 ff., reprinted in *Heilsgeschehen und Geschichte*, 1965, 48 ff.; W. Lohff, "Telos", *RGG*³ VI 678 ff.; U. Luck, *Die Vollkommenheitsforderung der Bergpredigt*, *ThEH* 150, 1968; R. Mach, *Der Zaddik in Talmud und Midrasch*, 1957; R. Mehl, "Vollkommenheit", *RGG*³ VI 1486 ff.; N. Messel, *Die Einheitlichkeit der jüdischen Eschatologie*, *BZAW* 30, 1915; O. Michel, "Die Lehre von der christlichen Vollkommenheit nach der Anschauung des Hebräerbriefs", *ThStKr* Neue Folge 1, 1934–35, 333–55; H. P. Müller, "Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung der biblischen Eschatologie", *Vetus Testamentum* 14, 1964, 276 ff.; F. Nötscher, *Gotteswege und Menschenwege in der Bibel und in Qumran*, 1958; and "Heiligkeit in den Qumranschriften", *Revue de Qumran* 2, 1959–60, 163–81 and 315–44; O. Plöger, *Theokratie und Eschatologie*, *WMANT* 2, 1959; K. Prümm, "Das neutestamentliche Sprach- und Begriffsproblem der Vollkommenheit", *Biblica* 44, 1963, 76 ff.; B. Rigaux, "Révélation des mystères et perfection à Qumran et dans le Nouveau Testament", *NTS* 4, 1957–58, 237–62; SB IV 799–1015; F. J. Schierse, *Verheissung und Heilsvollendung. Zur theologischen Grundfrage des Hebräerbriefes*, 1955; H. Schlier, *Christus und die Kirche im Epheserbrief*, 1930; R. Schnackenburg, "Die Vollkommenheit des Christen nach den Evangelien", *Geist und Leben* 32, 1959, 420–33; E. E. Schneider, "Finis Legis Christus", *ThZ* 20, 1964, 410–22; J. Schreiner, "Das Ende der Tage, Die Botschaft von der Endzeit in den alttestamentlichen Schriften", *BuL* 5, 1964, 180 ff.; C. Spicq, "La perfection chrétienne d'après l'Epître aux Hébreux", *Mémorial J. Chaine*, 1950, 337–52; G. Stählin, "Fortschritt und Wachstum. Zur Herkunft und Wandlung neutestamentlicher Ausdrucksformen", *Festgabe J. Lortz*, II, 1958, 13–25; W. Thüsing, *Erhöhungsvorstellung und Parusieerwartung in der ältesten Christologie*, 1970; W. Völker, *Fortschritt und Vollendung bei Philo von Alexandrien*, *TU* 49/1, 1938.

God, Gods, Emmanuel

θεός

θεός (*theos*), God; θεῖος (*theios*), divine; θειότης (*theiotēs*), deity; θεότης (*theotēs*), deity, divinity.

CL The etymology of the Gk. word has not yet been clarified; the only thing that is certain is that it was originally a title.

1. Gk. religion was polytheistic. The gods were represented in anthropomorphic form as personal beings who exercised a determining influence on the world and fate of men, but who themselves were dependent on a superior fate. As they were not creator-gods, they were not thought of as outside the universe and transcendent. The cosmos included both gods and men. The influence of the gods was not universal, but was limited by their natures and attributes. They were not → righteous in the OT sense. The Gk. gods had form. Consequently, the statement "God is spirit" (Jn. 4:24) could not be applied to them. From Aeschylus onwards the different gods came increasingly to be identified. Their convergence into one divine being was prepared by the pre-Socratic thinkers and the ideas of classical tragedy.

2. The Gk. philosophical understanding of god was non-personal. Philosophers sought the origin of all things and the principle that shaped the world. In the process

of rationalizing and moralizing, brought about by philosophical criticism and reflection, an important transformation of the Gk. concept of god took place. The divine forms were spiritualized and finally replaced by general concepts like "world reason," "the divine," and "being," which influenced and formed the world as powers giving it meaning and creating order. In Hellenistic syncretism the various Gk. and non-Gk. divinities were assimilated and even equated as a result of the recognition that behind the diverse names stood the same entities. This is particularly clear in the Isis cult. Not infrequently these tendencies lead to the honouring of one godhead as the divine All. The development reached its height in Neo-Platonism, where the divine is the universal One which has no objective existence or personality. It is being itself which is manifested through a series of hypostases and emanations in the world, since it is the ground and force behind everything that is.

OT The religion of the OT and Judaism is monotheistic and personal.

1. In the OT the words *'ēl*, *'elôah* and *'elōhîm*, from related roots, are generic designations of God. Alongside and alternating with them stands the individual, personal name *Yahweh* (cf. G. Quell, *theos*, *TDNT* III 79 ff.). The cult names formed with *'ēl* are as a rule connected with local shrines.

'ēl is a word common to all Semitic languages. It occurs as a common noun (the god, god) and also as the proper name for a particular god. This is clearly demonstrated in the texts from Ugarit in North Syria (14th century B.C.). It is true also of the Canaanites in the first and second millennia B.C. and the patriarchs, for whom *'ēl* is clearly not the highest god in a pantheon, but the only God, whom they honoured on the basis of his revelation. He appears as *'ēl 'elyôn*, "God Most High" (Gen. 14:18–22, RSV who was blessed by → Melchizedek); *'ēl rō'î*, "God of Seeing" (Gen. 16:13 RSV); *'ēl 'ôlām* "the Everlasting God" (Gen. 21:33 RSV, so called by Abraham); *'ēl bêṯ'ēl*, "God of Bethel" (Gen. 31:13; 35:7, so called by Jacob; Bethel meaning lit. "house of God"); *'ēl 'elōhê yiśrā'ēl*, "God, the god of Israel" (Gen. 33:20); and *'ēl šadday*, "God Almighty" (Gen. 17:1; 28:3; 35:11; 48:3; 49:25; Exod. 6:3). (On these titles see A. Alt, "The God of the Fathers", in *Essays on Old Testament History and Religion*, 1966, 3–66, especially 8 ff.) God is most frequently referred to as *šaddai*, Almighty, in Job where it is used along with El, Elohim, Eloah and Yahweh (cf. E. Dhorme, *Job*, 1967, lxv ff.). The shrine of Shechem seems to have been the first central shrine of the twelve united tribes (Jos. 24).

'elōhîm, though plur. in form, is seldom used in the OT as such (i.e. gods). Even a single heathen god can be designated with the plur. *'elōhîm* (e.g. Jdg. 11:24; 1 Ki. 11:5; 2 Ki. 1:2). In Israel the plur. is understood as the plural of fullness; God is the God who really, and in the fullest sense of the word, is God.

J. Schneider

2. The origin and meaning of the divine name Yahweh has been the subject of considerable discussion. Some scholars derive it from a primitive form Yah which they regard as an interjection associated with the moon cult (cf. G. R. Driver, *ZAW*, 46, 1928, 24). It is suggested that it derives from *Ya-huwa*, meaning "O he" (cf. M. Buber, *Moses*, (1946) 1958, 49 f.; S. Mowinckel, "The Name of the God of Moses," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 32, 1961, 121–33). But this has been rejected

on the grounds that to regard the name as an interjection makes it difficult to account for the religious content which faith has always found in the name and the revelatory value which is attached to it (cf. E. Jacob, *Theology of the Old Testament*, 1964³, 48). It is more likely that the name is connected with the verbal root *hwy* or *hwh*, meaning to be (cf. R. de Vaux, "The Revelation of the Divine Name YHWH" in J. I. Durham and J. R. Porter, eds., *Proclamation and Presence: Old Testament Essays in Honour of Gwynne Henton Davies*, 1970, 59 ff.; E. Jacob, op. cit., 50 f.; J. P. Hyatt, *Exodus*, 1971, 79; T. C. Vriezen, "'Ehje 'ašer 'ehje", in W. Baumgartner *et al.*, *Festschrift Alfred Bertholet*, 1950, 498–512).

The only interpretation of the name Yahweh given in the OT is at the theophany of the burning bush (Exod. 3:13 ff. attributed to the E source or tradition). "Then Moses said to God, 'If I come to the people of Israel and say to them, "The God of your fathers has sent me to you," and they ask me, "What is his name?" what shall I say to them?' God said to Moses, 'I AM WHO I AM [MT: *'ehyeh 'ašer 'ehyeh*]'. And he said, 'Say to this people of Israel, 'I AM ['*ehyeh*] has sent me to you.' " God also said to Moses, 'Say this to the people of Israel, "The LORD [MT: YHWH], the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, has sent me to you"; this is my name for ever, and thus I am to be remembered throughout all generations' " (RSV).

There has been considered debate as to the translation and meaning of the words *'ehyeh 'ašer 'ehyeh*. This is partially reflected in the RSV mg alternative translations: "I AM WHAT I AM" and "I WILL BE WHAT I WILL BE." J. P. Hyatt lists five lines of interpretation (op. cit., 75 ff.). (i) That the reply is intentionally evasive, because it is God's nature to remain hidden, or because to know God's name might give man power over him. But against this is the fact that the name is revealed to Moses in v. 15. (ii) God is the eternally existent one. (iii) "I am because I am." This suggests that there is no cause for God's existence outside himself. (iv) "I will be what I will be," or "I will be what I intend to be." (v) "I am he who is," or "I am the one who is." He is the God who alone has real existence. For discussion of the syntax involved in this translation see E. Schild, *Vetus Testamentum* 4, 1954, 296–302; J. Lindblom, *Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute*, III 1964, 4–15; B. Albrektson "On the Syntax of *'hyh 'šr 'hyh* in Exodus 3:14," in P. R. Ackroyd, and B. Lindars, eds., *Words and Meanings: Essays Presented to David Winton Thomas*, 1968, 15–28.

R. de Vaux holds that the best rendering of the formula is "I am He who Exists" (op. cit., 71). Yahweh is the God whom Israel must recognize as really existing. This is not presented as part of a metaphysic of being (cf. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* I, Q. 2 art. 3). In the context of Exodus the revelation of the divine name is a proclamation to Israel of the one with whom they have to do. God is calling his people out of → Egypt and promises to be with Moses for that purpose (Exod. 3:10 ff.; 4:12; 15, 22 f.; 6:2 f.; cf. J. A. Motyer, *The Revelation of the Divine Name*, 1959). The proclamation of the Decalogue begins with the words: "I am Yahweh" (Exod. 20:2; cf. Deut. 6:5). The first commandment requires exclusive worship and service (Exod. 20:3, cf. 5). When Moses sought God's presence, he was not permitted to see God's → face but nevertheless received the reply: "I will make all my goodness pass before you, and will proclaim before you my name Yahweh; and I will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, and will show mercy on whom I will show mercy" (Exod. 33:19). The God who

thus reveals himself to Moses and to Israel is distinct from the deities of Egypt and Canaan with their fertility rites concerned with the cycle of nature. He remains a mystery, and yet he is graciously active in the history of his people.

It is possible that the name of Yahweh existed outside Israel prior to Moses, but there is no conclusive proof (for a review of evidence see R. de Vaux, op. cit., 49–56; E. Jacob, op. cit., 48 ff.). Nevertheless, Exod. 3 does not appear to give a new name for the first time but the explanation of a name known already but now identified as that of the saving God of Israel. Although Israel did not work out a metaphysical doctrine of → time, the idea of God as "He who Is" is paralleled by numerous other statements about God in the OT (Pss. 90:1; 102:27 f.; Hab. 1:2; Exod. 30:8; Isa. 41:4; 48:12). But the thought of time is also bound up with that of Yahweh's ongoing presence (Gen. 20:28; Jos. 3:7; Jdg. 6:12; Isa. 49:6, 26; cf. E. Jacob, op. cit., 52).

The Heb. name *YHWH ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ*, Lord of hosts, occurs some 279 times. It is absent from the Pentateuch, Jos. and Jdg., but is frequent in the prophets (especially Isa. 1–39 [54 times]; Jer. [77 times]; and Zech. 1–8 [44 times]). The hosts in question have been variously interpreted as the earthly armies of Israel, the armies of the stars, and the celestial armies of spirits and angels. E. Jacob relates the title to the ark of the → covenant accompanied by the armies of Israel in battle (1 Sam. 17:45; 2 Sam. 6:2, 18; 7:2, 8, 26 f.; 1 Chr. 17:7; cf. op. cit., 55). He notes that it is found most frequently among the prophets for whom Yahweh was above all a warrior God. It is not simply a case of the prophets transferring the hosts from the terrestrial to the celestial plane. The term refers to the totality of forces over which Yahweh rules. But possibly the term also had polemical overtones, directed against the cult of the stars and spirits, claiming by its use that Yahweh also controlled them. In the LXX the term is translated by *kyrios pantokratōr*, → Lord Almighty (2 Sam. [2 Ki.] 5:10; 7:8, 25 ff.; cf. Jer. 3:19; Hos. 12:6; Amos 3:18; 4:13; 5:14; Zeph. 2:10; 2 Macc. 8:18; 3 Macc. 6:2; Arndt, 613 f.) and *basileus tōn dynameōn*, → king of powers (Ps. 67:13 LXX). The term *pantokratōr* is taken up by 2 Cor. 6:18; Rev. 1:8; 4:8; 11:17; 15:3; 16:7, 14; 19:15; 21:22. The Gk. transcription *sabaōth* (which occurs some 65 times in the LXX and other versions) is twice used in the NT (Rom. 9:29 = Isa. 1:9; Jas. 5:4; cf. Arndt, 746).

The name of Yahweh was combined with various Heb. verbs to form proper names: e.g. Jehoiachin (Yahweh establishes, from Yahweh and *kûn*), Jonathan (Yahweh gives, from Yahweh and *nāṯan*), and Joshua (Yahweh is salvation, from Yahweh and *šûa'* or *yēšûa'*). The latter is the oldest name containing Yahweh (Koehler-Baumgartner, 370). M. H. Segal sees in its early existence evidence that the name Yahweh was known prior to the revelation to Moses (*The Pentateuch*, 1967, 4). Joshua is the Heb. form which underlies the name of → Jesus.

The form *Jehovah* arose out of a misunderstanding which in turn arose out of the reluctance of pious Jews to pronounce the divine name (*c.* 300 B.C.). Instead they uttered the word *'ᵃḏōnāy*, my Lord. In the MT the divine name was written with the consonants of *YHWH* and the vowels of *'ᵃḏōnāy*, as a reminder to say the latter whenever the word was read. The divine name appears as *yᵉhōwâh* in the MT. The LXX reflects the Jewish reluctance to pronounce the divine name and puts the word *kyrios*, → Lord, in its place. The RSV and other Eng. versions also reflect the practice by giving the word LORD in capital letters whenever the name *YHWH* stands

in the text. The Lat. likewise gives the word *Dominus*, Lord, for *YHWH*. The form *Jehovah* is thus a malformation giving what is virtually a transliteration of a word which is found in the text of the Heb. OT, but which was never actually used as a word. It became current in the sixteenth century and is attested in the Lat. of P. Galatinus in the form *Iehoua* (*De Arcanis Cath. Veritatis*, 1516, II, 1 f., xlviii). In 1530 Tyndale used *Iehouah* in his translation of Exod. 6:3 (Wycliffe had *Adonay*). Subsequently Jehovah became the standard spelling. But → also Lord, art. *kyrios* OT 2. *C. Brown*

It was only in the course of history that the belief in the superiority of Israel's God over all other gods led to the development of absolute monotheism. Jeremiah was probably the first to support the proposition that the gods of the heathen are no gods (Jer. 2:11). This knowledge was first given full expression in Isa. 40:55. The God of Israel is the Lord of all, whose sovereign power fills all the earth (Isa. 6:3). There are no gods apart from the One (Isa. 41:4; 42:8; 43:10 ff.; 45:3, 6; 48:11). (See further H. H. Rowley, *The Re-Discovery of the Old Testament*, 1945, 77–93; G. E. Wright, *The Old Testament against its Environment*, 1950, 9–41; C. F. Whitley, *The Prophetic Achievement*, 1963, 93–128.)

3. The LXX is characterized by the Hellenizing of Israelite–Jewish monotheism and by the reduction of the designations of God. Thus the Heb. words *'ēl*, *'ᵉlōah* and *'ᵉlōhîm* are as a rule rendered by *theos*, "God", and in exceptional cases by *kyrios*, "Lord", or other expressions. Apart from *theos* and *kyrios*, *'ēl* is translated about 20 times by *ischyros*, "Mighty One", "Powerful One", otherwise by *dynamis* "Might", "Power" (Neh. 5:5), or *dynastēs* "Prince", "Ruler", "Potentate" (Sir. 46:5, 6). The name Yahweh or Yah, which is mostly translated by *kyrios*, is replaced by *theos* only about 330 times (G. Quell, *TDNT* II 79).

4. The OT contains no all-embracing definition of the concept of God. On the other hand, it makes an extensive range of statements which testify to the being of God and have their basis in the divine revelation. Nor is there in the OT any theogony; it does not go beyond the assertion that God is. He is the first and the last (Isa. 41:4; 44:6; 48:12), the eternal, the almighty and the living one (Ps. 36:10), the creator of heaven and earth (Gen. 1:1; 2.4, etc.); the Lord, who guides the destinies of the nations, but who has made → Israel a people for his own possession (Exod. 19:5 f.). Israel stands, therefore, under his special protection. Yahweh not only leads, guides and gives Israel his promises; he also imposes his judgments when he goes his own way. God is the commanding and demanding God who makes his will known and demands obedience. The history of Israel is the history of God with this → people. Thus Israel's belief in God is founded on a theology of history.

It expresses a conception of God as personal, that God is capable of all the emotions that a person can have: → love, → anger, → repentance and other emotions. But even if human characteristics can be attributed to him, he cannot be compared with any human being (Hos. 11:9). The transcendent God who dwells in light, where no one can approach, is exalted above time and space and is therefore unique in his Godhead, not to be portrayed or localized (cf. Exod. 20:4). He is the eternal → king (Isa. 52:7) who rules over all the → kingdoms of the world (Isa. 37:16).

The most fundamental feature of God's being is expressed by the word → "holy". In the OT this has become the characteristic attribute of God. He is the

Holy One (Isa. 40:25; Hab. 3:3; Hos 11:9). But the holy, transcendent God steps out of his concealment through his word and his acts of revelation, and repeatedly communicates with his people in demonstrations of power and glory.

The holy God is just in all that he does (cf. Ps. 7:11). He is the → judge who condemns unrighteousness and to whom man has to answer. But the OT also testifies to his → grace and → mercy (e.g. Exod. 34:6; Ps. 103:8). He comforts the pious (Job 15:11), → blesses him and helps him in his need (Pss. 45:7; 90:1; 94:22). Through the personal relationship between God and his people there is created an I-Thou relation between God and the individual believer who can turn to him in → prayer in all his needs.

God in the OT is also called → Father; he is the father of the people of → Israel (Exod. 4:22 f.; Deut. 32:6; Isa. 63:16; Jer. 31:9; Hos. 11:1). However, a full knowledge of the divine grace and love which embraces the whole world is only arrived at through the revelation of the new → covenant. Nevertheless, the OT testifies to the fact that God forgives transgressions and → sins (Exod. 34:6 f.). He has mercy on his people in everlasting grace (Isa. 54:8), and in particular takes up the cause of the poor and needy, and widows and orphans (Isa. 49:13; Ps. 146:9). Therefore, even in the OT God is not just a dreaded → enemy of man in his unholiness; he also makes it possible for him both to trust and love, because he himself loves his chosen people.

5. Judaism confessed the one God in unswerving loyalty and fought passionately against pagan polytheism. But it saw the one God working in a multitude of mediatorial and → angelic beings. Dualistic concepts were taken up in apocalyptic writings. It was this, E. Stauffer argues, that gave the fundamental monotheistic conviction of the OT the character of a "dynamic monotheism" (*TDNT* III 96).

The rabbis laid great stress on avoiding the name of God; in its place they put a whole system of substitute terms: e.g. → Heaven (*ha-šāmayim* or *šāmayim*), the → Lord (*ʾᵃḏōnāy*) and later the → Name (*ha-šēm*) (cf. K. G. Kuhn, *TDNT* III 92 ff.). In addition there were abstract terms like Glory, Power and the Abode (of God).

6. The Essenes of the Qumran community took over a cosmological dualism which was probably influenced by Zoroastrianism: e.g. God and Belial, →light and darkness, → Spirit of truth and Spirit of falsehood. To this corresponds the anthropological opposition of → flesh and spirit, the pious and the godless, sons of light and sons of darkness. However, the dualism of the two spirits that rule the world is subordinated to the fundamental OT, Jewish idea of God as the creator of all things. For he created the spirits of light and of darkness which lie at the basis of his working (1QS 3:25; cf. 3:19–26).

The Qumran texts give a series of designations of God. God is not only the creator of the world and of men, but also in a special way the "God of Israel" (1QM 1:9 f.; 14:4; 18:6), the "Father of the sons of truth" (1QH 9:35). His majesty and glory are expressed in his being called the "Prince of gods," the "King of majesties," the "Ruler of all creatures" (1QH 10:8), the "Highest" or the"Highest of all" (1QS 4:22; 1QGen Ap 2:4; 20:12), the "God of gods" (1QM 14:16), the "King of kings" (*ibid.*), the "Ruler over all the kings of the earth" (1QGen Ap 20:13). He is the "God of knowledge" (1QS 3:15; 1QH 1:26), full of deep and unfathomable secrets (1QS 11:5; 1QH 10:3; 12:13), who hides all wisdom within himself

(1QH 12:10) and thus is the foundation of knowledge (1QS 10:12). The eternal God (1QH 13:13) is wise (1QH 9:17), just (1QH 11:7, 18; 14:15), all his deeds are just (1QH 13:19), the True (1QH 15:25) and Holy (1QM 19:1), but also the God who is full of grace, favour, goodness and mercy (1QH 4:32, 37; 7:30 f.; 9:34; 10:14, 16; 11:29), who forgives sins and by his righteousness cleanses men from their guilt and from the "terrors of falsehood" (1QH 4:37; cf. 1QS 11:14; 1QHFr 2:13). He is the source of judgments (1QS 10:18) and acts of grace (1QS 10:16) found in history and the life of individuals.

All this is experienced by the pious who belong to the sons of light. Through the grace and goodness of God they receive → justification and atonement (1QS 11:13 f.). But above all they have received through revelation and instruction, the → mysteries of God and of his mighty acts which are otherwise hidden from men (1QH 11:9f., 17).

The Qumran doctrine of God stands out as being rigidly deterministic. God's actions are determined by a fixed plan (1QS 3:15; 11:11; 1QH 18:22). Nothing happens apart from his will (1QS 3:15; 11:17, 19; 1QH 1:20; 10:9), for all authority is in his power.

This is especially true for the personal life of the individual. The pious poet acknowledges, "Thou hast not cast my lot in the congregation of vanity, nor hast thou placed my portion in the council of the cunning" (1QH 7:34). "Thou hast known me from [the time of] my father [and hast chosen me] from the womb" (1QH 9:30). His hand leads him at all times and his just rebuke accompanies all his perversity (1QH 9:32 f.). He can only speak because God opens his mouth (1QH 11:33). All his thinking and planning is determined by God (1QH 10:5 f.).

The eschatological statements of Qumran are also strongly characterized by determinism. God created the righteous for eternal salvation and lasting peace, but the "perverse" for the time of his wrath (1QH 14:15 ff.); from their mother's womb they were "dedicated to the Day of Massacre" (*ibid.*, 15:17). The "lot" of Belial will bring judgment to eternal destruction (1QM 1:5); all "men of lies" will be destroyed (1QH 4:20).

The influence of the Qumran texts on the NT has been greatly overestimated. In the case of the doctrine of God, at any rate, no real connections are to be found. Primitive Christianity is much more independent in the expression of its theological thought than is often accepted. (This is true also of the cases when it has borrowed Jewish apocalyptic and gnostic concepts as vehicles for primitive Christian theology and preaching.)

7. Philo's concept of God has been affected by his attempt to link the OT idea of Yahweh with the Platonic-Stoic idea of God. When he speaks of the God of Israel, he distinguishes between *ho theos* and *ho kyrios*. *ho theos* is the good God, the Creator; *ho kyrios* the kingly Lord of the world. By omitting the definite article and speaking of *theos* he indicates the "second God," the Word. Philo also makes extensive use of the philosophical concept of *to theion*, the divine. For Philo God is fully transcendent and also the active power in everything. He produces out of himself the original, typical ideas, and forms them into the visible world. The Word is his mediator for creation and revelation. (See further H. A. Wolfson, *Religious Philosophy*, 1961; and *Philo: Foundations of Religious Philosophy in Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, I–II, 1962³.)

NT The NT rests firmly on the foundation of the OT, when it speaks about God, but its emphases are new. He is the God who is near, the Father of Jesus Christ who justifies freely by his grace (cf. the Pauline concept of the → righteousness of God). His action in election bursts all claims to exclusiveness. But it is the same God who reveals himself here as in the OT, and whose plan of salvation, there promised, comes to fulfilment here.

1. *The one God.* (a) *theos* is the most frequent designation of God in the NT. Belief in the one, only and unique God (Matt. 23:9; Rom. 3:30; 1 Cor. 8:4, 6; Gal. 3:20; 1 Tim. 2:5; Jas. 2:19) is an established part of primitive Christian tradition. Jesus himself made the fundamental confession of Judaism his own and expressly quoted the Shema (Deut. 6:4 f.; Mk. 12:29 f.; cf. Matt. 22:37; Lk. 10:27). This guaranteed continuity between the old and the new → covenant. For the God whom Christians worship is the God of the fathers (Acts 3:13; 5:30; 22:14), the God of → Abraham, of → Isaac and of → Jacob (Acts 3:13; 7:32; cf. Matt. 22:32; Mk. 12:26; Lk. 20:37), the God of Israel (Matt. 15:31; Lk. 1:68; Acts 13:17; cf. 2 Cor. 6:16; Heb. 11:16), and the God of → Jesus Christ (2 Cor. 1:3; Eph. 1:3; 1 Pet. 1:3). Just as God once made → Israel his → people, so now he has chosen those who believe in Christ as an elect race and a holy people for his possession (Acts 15:14; 20:28; 1 Pet. 2:9; Heb. 11:25). → Faith is in him (Rom. 4:3; Gal. 3:6; Tit. 3:8; Jas. 2:23; Heb. 6:1; 1 Pet. 1:21), → hope is on him (Acts 24:15; Rom. 4:18; 2 Cor. 3:4; 1 Pet. 3:5), and → prayer is to him. The community of Jesus may have no false gods beside him, whether Mammon (Matt. 6:24), the → "belly" (Phil. 3:19) or the cosmic powers (Gal. 4:8 ff.). It must serve him alone, do his will and remain faithful to him.

(b) Confession of the one God appears in Eph. 4:6 in an expanded form ("one God and Father of us all, who is above all and through and in all"), which glorifies, no doubt under Jewish-Hel. influence, the omnipresence of the rule of God. Similar formulae, referring now to God, now to Christ, occur in Rom. 11:36 and 1 Cor. 8:6. (See further J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, 1972³, 1–29; O. Cullmann, *The Earliest Christian Confessions*, 1949; V. H. Neufeld, *The Earliest Christian Confessions*, 1963; E. Stauffer, *New Testament Theology*, 1955, 244 ff.)

(c) The one God is the living and only true God (Rom. 3:30; Gal. 3:20; 1 Thess. 1:9; 1 Tim. 1:17; 2:5; Jude 25; cf. Jn. 17:3). He is the God whom the heathen do not know (1 Thess. 4:5). It is true that Paul reckons with the existence of "so-called" gods, who have authority as demonic powers over the heathen, but for the Christians there is only the one God (1 Cor. 8:5 f.). Even if the honour and power of gods does not belong to the *stoicheia* (→ Law, article *stoicheia*) which the Galatians previously worshipped, they can still intrude divisively between the young congregation and their God (Gal. 4:8 f.).

This one God is called "our God" (Acts 2:39; 2 Pet. 1:1; Rev. 4:11; 7:12; 19:5). The individual believer, above all Paul, can speak quite personally of him as *his* God (Rom. 1:8; 1 Cor. 1:4; 2 Cor. 12:21; Phil. 1:3; 4:19; Phlm. 4). Belief in the one God involves turning away from all heathen ways. Therefore in missionary preaching testimony to God is linked with the struggle against the worship of false gods (Acts 14:15; 17:24 f.; 19:26).

(d) The Epistles and especially Acts give a partial picture of the excesses of the NT world and their local expression. According to Acts, Paul was painfully

impressed in Athens by the many figures of gods and shrines which he saw as he went through the city (Acts 17:16, 23). Just how strongly the cult of Artemis dominated the religious life of Ephesus is clear from the impressive account in Acts 19:23–41. (On the background to this see E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1971, 571 ff.) Here things came to a head through a violent clash with the silversmiths who derived great profit from making little models of the temple of Artemis and felt their economic existence threatened by Paul's preaching. 1 Cor. 8:1–7 indicates the significance of sacrificial meals in the heathen cultus at Corinth. → Magic played an important part in Hel. times; in Acts it is mentioned in 8:9 (Samaria), 13:6 (Cyprus) and 19:13 ff. (Ephesus). In Ephesus, as a result of the powerful testimony borne to the Christian message of salvation, the books of magic were publicly burned (Acts 19:19). (See further below, section 9.)

Conversion to the true and living God was experienced by those who had become believers as a gift of grace; for they had been freed from bondage to false gods (1 Thess. 1:9). But for many Christians the fascinating power of the heathen cults had not entirely lost its force. Therefore Paul explained to the Corinthians, "I do not want you to be partners with demons" (1 Cor. 10:20), for the heathen presented their sacrifices to demonic beings and not to God (see further C. K. Barrett, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1968, 236 ff.).

2. *The transcendent God.* (a) God is the creator, sustainer and Lord of the world (Acts 17:24; Rev. 10:6), the master-builder of all things (Heb. 3:4). He exercises his lordship from → heaven, for heaven is his throne and the earth his footstool (Matt. 5:34; 23:22; Acts 7:49). He is the Almighty with whom nothing is impossible (Mk. 10:27). No one can hinder, let alone destroy, his work (Acts 5:39; cf. 2 Tim. 2:9). He is the highest (Mk. 5:7; Lk. 1:32; Acts 7:48; 16:17; Heb. 7:1), the great → king (Matt. 5:35), the king of the nations (Rev. 15:3).

(b) Prayer is a powerful witness to belief in the transcendent God, for → prayer is directed to God who is in heaven (Matt. 6:9; cf. Jn. 17:1), but who hears the suppliant here. At present the → Satanic and demonic powers still stand opposed to God's rule on earth. Therefore the congregation of Jesus prays for the full revelation of his *basileia* (→ kingdom), for the full accomplishment of his will ("on earth as it is in heaven," Matt. 6:10), and for the hallowing of his → name (Matt. 6:9). In Jesus the kingdom of God has already broken in; it has been demonstrated by his powerful and wonderful acts. He has broken into Satan's realm and driven out demons by the "finger of God" (Lk. 11:20); but only the age to come will bring the full establishment of the kingdom of God. Then Christ will conquer the powers opposed to God (1 Cor. 15:24; 2 Thess. 2:8; Rev. 21:8, 27). When he has completed this his last task, God will be all in all (1 Cor. 15:28).

3. *The personal character of God.* When speaking about the personal character of God, it is illegitimate to transfer to God the concept of the human personality. God must not be imagined to possess a limiting → form. On the other hand, we are only capable of speaking of him in concepts which belong to our categories of thought. Moreover, if the personal character of God is ignored or restricted, the meaning of revelation is drastically changed. A depersonalized God is not the God of the NT.

The God to whom the NT testifies is the God who speaks and acts; he reveals himself through word and deed. He works in sovereign, absolute power (Jn. 5:17).

He makes his will known in → command and demand, and brings everything to the → goal that he has → determined. After he had spoken in the old → covenant in many ways to the fathers in the prophets, he has spoken in these last days "to us" through the Son, who reflects his → glory and bears the very stamp of his nature (Heb. 1:1 ff.). In the preaching of the word he addresses every man personally and receives into his → fellowship all who believe on Jesus. There are countless illustrations of this I-Thou relationship in the NT; it is the distinguishing mark of genuine biblical piety. Without it Christian belief in God would lack its ultimate depth.

(b) It belongs to the personal character of God that he is → Spirit (Jn. 4:24). Activities of the Spirit and of power proceed from him. The Spirit of God descended on Jesus at his → baptism (Matt. 3:16; cf. 12:18). Filled by this Spirit, he worked as the messiah sent by God. Matt. 12:28 states explicitly that he cast out the evil spirits through the Spirit of God. Christians are characterized by having, not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit who is from God (1 Cor. 2:12), for the natural man does not understand anything that comes from the Spirit of God (1 Cor. 2:14 f.). Only the spiritual man is capable of knowing God (1 Cor. 2:11) and of penetrating the depths of God. God has revealed his secret wisdom to believers through his Spirit (1 Cor. 2:10). He dwells in them and thus becomes the formative power of their being (1 Cor. 2:11).

In this age limits are imposed on the believer's knowledge. In God's rule over salvation history there are "times and seasons" of true revelation which he has reserved for himself (Mk. 13:32; Acts 1:7; 1 Thess. 5:2), "judgments" which are incomprehensible and "ways" which are unsearchable (Rom. 11:33). Nevertheless, → mysteries, which have been hidden in God from the beginning of time until now, have been made known through the proclamation of the message of salvation. The apostolic ministry, given by grace, testifies to the world of the unfathomable riches of Christ. Through the Christian community the knowledge about God's manifold wisdom has penetrated even as far as the cosmic powers (Eph. 3:8–10). Paul saw himself as the custodian of the mysteries of God (1 Cor. 4:1).

In 1 Cor. 6:11 the apostle explains that the Spirit of God (in conjunction with the name of the Lord Jesus Christ) has washed, sanctified and justified Christians. Through the divine Spirit working in them they are no longer in the realm of the → flesh but in that of the Spirit. Hence they live according to the Spirit (Rom. 8:4–14).

True confession of Christ is brought about by the Spirit of God (Rom. 10:9; 1 Cor. 12:3; cf. Matt. 16:17). In situations of suffering he gives the word that is necessary for the defence of and witness to the gospel (Matt. 10:20). He rests on those who are abused on account of the name of Christ (1 Pet. 4:14).

(c) The personal character of God finds special expression in the confession of God as → Father. Jesus' relationship to God is essentially determined by his Father–Son relationship. As the "only-begotten" Son, he is bound to God in a special way, as Jn.'s use of the *monogenēs* is intended to show (cf. Jn. 1:14, 18; 3:16, 18; 1 Jn. 4:9). ([Ed.] Lit. the Gk. means "of a single [*monos*] kind [*genos*]." While *genos* is distantly related to *gennan*, beget → Birth, there is little linguistic justification for translating *monogenēs* as "only begotten." The latter practice originated with Jerome who translated it by the Lat. *unigenitus* to emphasize Jesus' divine

origin in answer to Arianism. The word *monogenēs* reflects the Heb. *yāḥîd*, only, precious [Gen. 22:2, 12, 16, of Isaac], and is used in Heb. 11:17 of Isaac who was unique in the sense of being the sole son of promise, but who was not the only son whom Abraham begat. Perhaps the word may best be translated as "unique". Jn. clearly intends to distinguish Jesus' unique relationship with the Father from that of others who become children of God through him [cf. Jn. 1:14 with v. 13]. For further discussion see Arndt, 528; D. Moody, *JBL* 72, 1953, 213–19; R. E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John*, I, 1966, 13 f.)

In → prayer Jesus called God "Abba, Father" (Mk. 14:36) or → "Father" (Matt. 11:25 f.; Lk. 23:24; Jn. 11:41; 17:1; 5, 11). At other times he spoke of him as his heavenly Father (e.g. Matt. 10:33; 16:17). Jn. emphasizes the Father-Son relationship between God and Jesus (about 80 times) more strongly than the Synoptics (but see the fuller version of Peter's confession of Christ in Matt. 16:16 ff. par. Mk. 8:29, Lk. 9:20; cf. Jn. 6:68 f.). Jesus also gave his disciples the right to approach God with the invocation "our Father" (Matt. 6:9; Lk. 11:2). In the quiet room at home the individual may pray personally to his Father (Matt. 6:4, 6, 18). The name "Father" is applied to God in illustrations and parables (e.g. Lk. 15:11 ff.). As Father, God is the God who is near to whom man can turn in believing trust with all his petitions. Moreover, God is the sustainer of the creatures he has made. He receives them with fatherly goodness and surrounds them with his care (Matt. 6:26–32; 10:29–31).

The NT epistles use the solemn, confessional formula "the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ" (Rom. 15:6; 2 Cor. 1:3; Eph. 1:3; Col. 1:3; 1 Pet 1:3). In Christ believers are related to God as children. His Spirit testifies to them that they are God's children (Rom. 8:16). Therefore, in prayer they too may cry "Abba, Father" (Gal. 4:6; Rom. 8:15). This is a gift of grace procured through the Spirit of the Son of God.

The idea of the children of God takes on a special colouring in 1 John. Here the statements are no longer determined, as in Paul, by the concept of adoption, of being received into the place of a child, but by that of begetting (→ Birth, art. *gennaō*). Christians are God's children because they have been begotten by God (1 Jn. 3:9; cf. 2:29; 4:7). This means that the origin of their new being is to be found solely in God (1 Jn. 4:4). With this are linked statements of a mystical nature. John knew not only a Christ-mysticism but also a God-mysticism. There is true fellowship with God only when Christians abide in God and when God abides in them (1 Jn. 4:16). But as God is love, this means abiding in love. Out of this deep, inner relationship with God arises a completely new, concrete, ethical obligation: love of the brethren which must lead to practical aid (1 Jn. 3:16 f.).

4. *The attributes of God.* (a) In the NT there is no fixed, systematically ordered doctrine of the attributes of God. But there is a wealth of allusions, especially in expressions of prayer and faith and in descriptions of divine acts. More rare than in the OT but nevertheless present are allusions to the → holiness of God (Jn. 17:11; 1 Pet. 1:15; Rev. 3:7; 4:8; 15:4), his (present and future) wrath (→ Anger) (Rom. 1:18; 2:5; 9:22; Eph. 5:6; 1 Thess. 1:10; Rev. 6:17; 11:18; 14:10), and his glory (Acts 7:2; Rom. 1:23; 6:4; Eph. 3:16; 1 Thess. 2:12; Tit. 2:13; Rev. 15:8; 21:11, 23). It is otherwise in the case of the kingly rule of God (→ Kingdom), which in the Synoptic Gospels forms the centre of Jesus' preaching, but which in the

proclamation of the apostles withdraws into the background in favour of the message of Christ. Only once is God called *teleios*, in the sense of moral perfection (Matt. 5:48, → Goal). The → will of God is spoken of more often (as commanding, demanding and gracious); his mysterious counsel (Acts 20:27) and plan of salvation (Eph. 1:3–11) are also spoken of. Paul strongly emphasizes the faithfulness of God (Rom. 3:3; 1 Cor. 1:9; 10:13; cf. 2 Cor. 1:18). God abides by his → promises and fulfils them (Rom. 9:6 ff.; → Fullness, art. *plēroō*). For Israel this means that God's gifts of grace and their election by God are irrevocable (Rom. 11:29). God does not lie (Heb. 6:18; cf. Tit. 1:2); he is utterly true and his testimony is absolutely valid (Jn. 3:33).

(b) God is the eternal (Rom. 16:26) and only wise God (Rom. 16:27). Beside these expressions stand others which are to be found in contemporary philosophical language. Thus God is described as the invisible (Rom. 1:20; Col. 1:15 f.; 1 Tim. 1:17; Heb. 11:27) and the immortal (Rom. 1:23; 1 Tim. 1:17). In 1 Tim. 1:11 and 6:15 he is called by an attribute taken over from Hellenistic Judaism, the "blessed" God. The doxology in 1 Tim. 6:15 f. is reminiscent of the prayers of the Hellenistic synagogue (for a review of background ideas see C. Spicq, *Les Épîtres Pastorales*, 1947, 200 f.). It confesses God in solemn words as the only Sovereign, the King of kings, the Lord of lords, who alone is immortal, who dwells in unapproachable light and whom no man has ever seen nor can see.

Paul's description of God in the Areopagus speech (Acts 17:24) also betrays Hellenistic influence. It uses Isa. 42:5 freely and has affinities with Seneca, *Ep.* 41, 3 (cf. E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1971, 522; cf. also 2 Ki. 19:18; Dan. 5:4 LXX; Wis. 13:10). God created the world and everything that is in the world. The Lord of heaven and earth does not dwell in temples made by human hands. Nor is he served by human hands, as though he needed anything, since he himself gives to all beings life and breath and everything else. Though some of these expressions may sound strange today, Paul was concerned to testify to the true and living God in terms that were relevant to his day. This is the God whom the heathen of Athens worshipped, more unconsciously than consciously, and to whom they had erected an altar with the inscription "To an unknown god [*agnōstō theō*]" (Acts 17:23). (E. Norden interpreted this as a reference to the unknown God of Gnosis in *Agnostos Theos*, 1913, 57 ff., but this is generally recognized as incorrect [cf. E. Haenchen, op. cit., 521, and also Arndt, 12]). The apostle could even press into service for his missionary task the words of a Greek poet which carry the stamp of pantheistic mysticism, "In him [God] we live and move and have our being" (Epimenides); "We are his offspring" (Aratus, *Phaenomena* 5; cf. Acts 17:28; see also below, section 9). ([Ed.] For Paul, man had a natural awareness of God which was consonant with the revelation of God in the OT and Christian experience. This knowledge is sufficient to show the error of identifying God with any finite thing or creature. Paul does not argue that man may arrive at such a conclusion as the result of a metaphysical proof. Man has this awareness already, and reflection on the finite character of the natural order should be sufficient to tell him that God is not to be identified with anything or anyone within that order [Acts 14:17; Rom. 1:19 ff., 32; and possibly Rom. 2:12–16, though this last passage may well refer to Gentile believers who have responded to the gospel without having had the law and who thus fulfil the promise of the new covenant of

Jer. 31:31 ff.]. For further discussion see N. B. Stonehouse, *Paul before the Areopagus and Other New Testament Studies*, 1957, 1–40; H. P. Owen, "The Scope of Natural Revelation in Rom. 1 and Acts 17," *NTS* 5, 1958–9, 133–43; C. Brown, *Karl Barth and the Christian Message*, 1967, 94–98; and the literature listed by E. Haenchen, op. cit., 516.)

(c) A central concept in Paul's theology is the → righteousness of God (Rom. 1:17, 21 f.; 9:30; 10:3; 2 Cor. 5:21; Phil. 3:9). It is a judging but also a saving righteousness. God is just when he condemns sinful mankind. But he is equally just when he bestows his forgiving grace on those who have believed in Christ and in the salvation procured through him. For Christ's sake, in whom God himself offered the atoning sacrifice for the → guilt of mankind, he does not count their sins against them but pronounces them righteous. Thus the *dikaiosynē theou* forms the foundation of Paul's doctrine of → justification (cf. L. Morris, *The Apostolic Preaching of the Cross*, 1963³, 273 ff.; D. Hill, *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings*, 1967, 82–162).

(d) Because God is the initiator of salvation, both he and Christ are called *sōtēr*, saviour (1 Tim. 1:1; 2:3; 4:10; Tit. 1:3; 2:13; 3:4). God sent his Son into the world (Gal. 4:4) and delivered him to death for us (Jn. 3:16; 1 Jn. 4:10; cf. Rom. 8:32). The saving act of God is proclaimed through the word of the cross which is understood by believers as God's power and God's wisdom (1 Cor. 1:18, 24). For Christ has been made by God our → wisdom, righteousness, sanctification (→ Holy) and → redemption (1 Cor. 1:30).

Paul can call the whole message of salvation, declared to the world, the → "gospel of God" (Rom. 15:16; 1 Thess. 2:2; 1 Tim. 1:11; cf. also 1 Pet. 4:17). It brings salvation to everyone who believes (Rom. 1:16; cf. 1 Cor. 2:5). At the same time the offer of salvation, which comes through the proclamation, is universal. God desires that all men should be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth (1 Tim. 2:4), for his saving grace has appeared to all men (Tit. 2:11).

The power of God (→ Might) is not only at work in the gospel; it has demonstrated itself to be powerful from the beginning. Every man can recognize the invisible being of God in the works of creation (Rom. 1:20). It is also the power of God which raised Christ from the dead (Acts 2:24, 32; Rom. 8:11; 10:9) and thereby ushered in the new creation of mankind and of the universe. Believers even now experience the transcendent → fullness of God's power (2 Cor. 4:7), his mighty strength (Eph. 1:19; 3:20). Hence the apostle prays that they may be continually built up through the Spirit, according to the riches of his glory, with power in the inner man (Eph. 3:16). But the ultimate aim of faith, knowledge and love is to be filled with all the fullness of God (Eph. 3:19).

John has the expression which does not occur elsewhere in the NT, "to have God" (1 Jn. 2:23; 2 Jn. 9). Having God, which includes having the Son (1 Jn. 5:12), is bound up with a firm, true confession of Christ, free from every false doctrine (1 Jn. 5:11; → Fellowship, art. *echō*).

(e) The saving power of the divine being is expressed in a series of genitives which are connected with the noun God. God is the God of → peace (Rom. 15:33; 16:20; 1 Thess. 5:23; Phil. 4:9; 1 Cor. 14:33; cf. Heb. 13:20), the God of → mercy (Lk. 1:78), the Father of mercies and the God of all → comfort (2 Cor. 1:3; cf. Rom. 12:1), the God of all grace (1 Pet. 5:10, 12), who has blessed us in

Christ with the fullness and the riches of his grace (Eph. 1:7), the God of → love (2 Cor. 13:11).

(f) The full depth of God's being, is expressed in the statement: God is love (1 Jn. 4:8). His → love embraces the lost world which has turned away from him. It is the decisive reason for his saving and redeeming activity. He has proved his love by giving up his Son to death in order that all who believe on him may have eternal life (Jn. 3:16). Above all his love is for the individual believer; God loved us (1 Jn. 4:10); we are the beloved of God (Col. 3:12).

All real love has its origin in God (1 Jn. 4:7). Whoever does not love has not known God (1 Jn. 4:8). The love of God is poured out in our hearts through the Holy Spirit (Rom. 5:5). It is the highest spiritual → gift, without which all the other *charismata* are meaningless (1 Cor. 13).

As God of love, God is rich in → goodness, forbearance and patience (Rom. 2:4). Tit. 3:4 speaks of the goodness and kindness of God towards men, using Hel. language associated with the solemn courtly style for the Hel. ruler and frequently discussed by philosophers (cf. C. Spicq, *Les Épîtres Pastorales*, 1947, 275 f.).

5. *God and Christ.* The uniqueness of → Jesus Christ as the → Son of God is most fully developed in Jn. and the epistles. He was "descended from → David according to the → flesh" (Rom. 1:3; cf. Matt. 1:1–17; Lk. 3:23–38; Acts 2:30; 2 Tim. 2:8; and cf. Mk. 12:35 f. par. Matt. 22:21, Lk. 20:41). And he was "designated Son of God in power according to the Spirit of holiness by his resurrection from the dead, Jesus Christ our Lord" (Rom. 1:4). Perhaps the correct meaning here is: "whom God decreed Son of God with power . . . through resurrection . . ."(cf. M. Black, *Romans*, 1973, 36). The allusion is to the divine decree of Ps. 2:6 ff. (cf. L. C. Allen, "The Old Testament Background of *prohorizein* in the New Testament," *NTS* 17, 1970–71, 104 ff.; see also on this passage M. E. Boismard, "Constitué Fils de Dieu," *RB* 40, 1953, 5–17; E. Schweizer, "Röm. 1:3 f. und der Gegensatz von Fleisch und Geist vor und bei Paulus," *EvTh* 15, 1955, 563–71; E. Linnemann, "Tradition und Interpretation in Röm. 1:3 ff.," *EvTh* 31, 1971, 264–75; and for patristic interpretations M. F. Wiles, *The Divine Apostle: The Interpretation of St Paul's Epistles in the Early Church*, 1967, 80 f.). According to the developed christology of Jn. 1:1, he existed already before his earthly existence as the divine → Word (*logos*) with God. Thus he comes from God (Jn. 3:2; 13:3; 16:27 f.). It was God himself who sent him into the world at the time that he had determined to carry out his saving purposes among men (Gal. 4:4 f.). Therefore he comes with divine authority; God is with him (Jn. 3:2). He is the image of the invisible God (Col. 1:15); in him the fullness of the Godhead dwells bodily (Col. 2:9). Because he has come from God, he alone is capable of bringing an authentic message from God (Jn. 1:18). Thus he is the only true and trustworthy revealer. He and the Father are one (Jn. 10:30; 14:10; 17:11, 21). Therefore, whoever sees him sees God (Jn. 12:45; 14:9).

(b) There is not only a oneness of being shown by God and Jesus Christ, but also a complete harmony in speech and action. The words which Jesus speaks are words he has heard from the Father (Jn. 14:10); the works he performs are the works of God (Jn. 9:4). They serve to reveal the divine glory and therefore to glorify God (Jn. 17:4). This is expressed particularly in Jesus' words of self-disclosure in statements using divine → "I am" formulae (*egō eimi*) which in the

OT are self-revelations of God himself. He is the → light (Jn. 8:12; cf. 1:4, 8 f.; 9:5; 12:35), → life (Jn. 14:6; cf. 31:5 f.; 10:10 ff.; 28; 17:2 f.; 20:31), → truth (14:6; cf. 1:14, 17; 4:23 f.; 8:32), the living → bread (Jn. 6:48; cf. vv. 51 ff., 63), → water (Jn. 4:13 ff.; cf. 6:35; 7:38), and the only way to God (Jn. 14:6; cf. 10:9). (On the background and significance of these terms see C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, 1953; and the commentaries on *John* by R. Schnackenburg, I, 1968; R. E. Brown, I, 1966, II, 1971; B. Lindars, 1972; and L. Morris, 1972.) In Rev., too, there occur divine I-am formulae like, "I am the first and the last," which come now from the mouth of God and now from that of the eternal Christ (Rev. 1:8, 17; 21:6; 22:13). It is clear that in the NT belief in God is most closely bound up with belief in Christ. The fate of men before God is decided by their position in relation to Christ.

(c) But Jesus Christ does not usurp the place of God. His oneness with the Father does not mean absolute identity of being. Although the Son of God in his preexistent being was in the → form of God, he resisted the temptation to be equal with God (Phil. 2:6). In his earthly existence he was obedient to God, even unto death on the cross (Phil. 2:8). He is the mediator, but not the originator, of salvation (2 Cor. 5:19; Col. 1:20; Heb. 9:15), the → lamb of God who bears the sins of the world (Jn. 1:36). After the completion of his work on earth he has indeed been raised to the right → hand of God (Eph. 1:20; 1 Pet. 3:22) and invested with the honour of the heavenly *Kyrios*, → Lord (Phil. 2:9 f.). But he is still not made equal to God. Although completely co-ordinated with God, he remains subordinate to him (cf. 1 Cor. 15:28). This is true also of his position as eternal high → priest in the heavenly sanctuary according to Heb. (Heb. 9:24; 10:12 f.; cf. Ps. 110:1). He represents us before God (cf. also Rom. 8:34). If in Rev. 1:13 ff. the appearance of the heavenly son of man is described with features from the picture of the "Ancient of Days" (God) of Dan. 7, this is not to say that Christ is equal with God. In Rev. a distinction is always made between God and the "Lamb" (cf. Rev. 5:6 ff.; → Like).

6. *Christ as God.* A few NT texts raise the question whether the Son of God is also called God.

(a) Rom. 9:5 is disputed. After Paul has expounded the position of Israel in salvation history and has emphasized as an especial advantage the fact that Christ, according to the flesh, stems from this people, he adds a relative clause, which runs lit. "who is over all God blessed for ever. Amen." It would be easy, and linguistically perfectly possible to refer the expression to Christ. The verse would then read, "Christ who is God over all, blessed for ever. Amen." Even so, Christ would not be equated absolutely with God, but only described as a being of divine nature, for the word *theos* has no article. But this ascription of majesty does not occur anywhere else in Paul. The much more probable explanation is that the statement is a doxology directed to God, stemming from Jewish tradition and adopted by Paul. Overwhelmed by God's dealings with Israel, Paul concludes with an ascription of praise to God. The translation would then read, "The one who is God over all be blessed for ever. Amen." or alternatively, "God who is over all be blessed for ever. Amen." ([Ed.] See further M. Black, *Romans*, 1973, 130; B. M. Metzger, "The Punctuation of Rom. 9:5", in B. Lindars and S. S. Smalley, eds., *Christ and Spirit in the New Testament. In Honour of Charles Francis Digby Moule*, 1973, 95–112;

W. L. Lorimer, *NTS* 13, 1966–67, 385 f.; H.-W. Bartsch, "Röm. 9:5 und 1 Clem. 32:4: eine notwendige Konjektur im Römerbrief," *ThZ* 21, 1965, 401–9; H. M. Faccio, *De Divinitate Christi iuxta S. Paulum: Röm. 9:5*, 1945; for patristic interpretations M. F. Wiles, *The Divine Apostle: The Interpretation of St Paul's Epistles in the Early Church*, 1967, 83 ff.; and J. Murray, *The Epistle to the Romans*, II, 1965, 245–8. Murray claims that the passage cannot be treated as a doxology to God the Father, since it does not follow the form of doxologies elsewhere in the LXX and the NT. The application of *theos* to Christ suits the context and could be regarded as the culmination of a sequence of privileges given to Israel which Paul is enumerating. Moreover, comparable assertions of divinity may be found in 2 Thess. 1:12; Tit. 2:13; Phil. 2:6; Col. 2:9; and 2 Cor. 3:17. The assertion of Christ's Lordship is in accord with Paul's teaching elsewhere [cf. Rom. 1:4; 14:9; Eph. 1:20, 23; Phil. 2:9–11; Col. 1:18 f.; cf. also Matt. 28:18; Jn. 3:35; Acts 2:36; Heb. 1:2 ff.; 8:1; 1 Pet. 3:22]. Hence, Murray argues that "God blessed for evermore" stands in apposition to Christ.)

(b) Several passages in Jn. contain ascriptions of divinity. Jn. 1:1 (RSV) declares: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God [*kai theos ēn ho logos*]." ([Ed.] The fact that there is no definite article before *theos* here has been taken to imply that the Word may be understood as being some kind of divine being but not in the fullest sense of the term. Such views have been put forward from Origen [*Commentary on Jn.* 2, 2], whose views were taken up by the Arians in the fourth century, to the Jehovah's Witnesses today. The passage is rendered by the *NEB*: "what God was, the Word was." J. A. T. Robinson appealed to it in support of his plea for a restatement of orthodox christology [*Honest to God*, 1963, 71; cf. *The Human Face of God*, 1973, 182; and the discussion by E. D. Freed, "Honest to John," *ExpT* 75, 1963–64, 61 ff.]. R. E. Brown considers the *NEB* rendering more accurate than saying simply that the Word was "divine" [*The Gospel according to John*, I, 1966, 5]. In any case, the adj. for "divine" is *theios*, whereas it is the noun *theos* that is used here. R. E. Brown points out that there are instances of nouns with the definite article after the vb. "to be" in Jn. (e.g. 11:25; 14:6), implying that we might expect the article here if Jn. had meant to say that "the word was God." On the other hand, the passage conforms to the pattern that in the NT definite nouns which *precede* the vb. regularly lack the article [cf. E. C. Colwell, *JBL* 52, 1933, 12–21; Funk, 143, §273; Moule, 116]. Hence, the RSV translation would be the correct one. For further discussion see B. M. Metzger, *ExpT* 63, 1951–52, 125 f.; J. G. Griffiths, *ExpT* 62, 1950–51, 314 ff.; N. Turner, *Insights*, 17; E. M. Sidebottom, *The Christ of the Fourth Gospel*, 1961, 48 f.; L. Morris, op. cit., 77. On the patristic interpretation of Jn. generally see M. F. Wiles, *The Spiritual Gospel: The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel in the Early Church*, 1960; and F.-M. Braun, *Jean le Théologien*, I–III, 1959–66.)

On *monogenēs* see above 3 (c). In Jn. 1:18 a number of very good MSS read *monogenēs theos* ("the only God" RSVmg) instead of *ho monogenēs hyios* ("the only Son" RSV). The unusualness of such a reading is regarded by some as grounds for accepting its authenticity (cf. L. Morris, op. cit., 113 f.). If so, it would be a further affirmation of the deity of the Word.

Jn. 20:28 contains the unique affirmation of Thomas addressing the Risen Christ as God: "My Lord and my God [*ho kyrios mou kai ho theos mou*]." The statement

marks the climax of the Gospel. God has become visible for Thomas in the form of Jesus. The climax of Johannine teaching occurs in the confessional formula of 1 Jn. 5:20 which asserts the full identity of essence of Christ and God: "And we know that the Son of God has come and has given us understanding, to know him who is true; and we are in him who is true, in his Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God and eternal life" (RSV). This gives a lit. reproduction of the Gk. words. An alternative translation is: "This [Christ] is the true one, God and eternal life."

(c) This is the nearest that the NT comes to asserting the full identity of Christ with God. Tit. 2:13 speaks of "awaiting our blessed hope, the appearing of the glory of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ" (RSV, cf. RSV mg. "of the great God and our Saviour"). Hesitation has been expressed about appealing to this text as such an instance. "The application of the formula "great God" to Jesus which was a title for God firmly rooted in late Judaism would be completely unique in the New Testament" (J. Jeremias, *NTD* 9, 58). Paul's teaching in Phil. 2:6 speaks against complete equation, when it draws a distinction in the words, "though he was in the form of God, did not count equality with God a thing to be grasped." E. Stauffer is doubtless correct when he writes: "The Christology of the NT is carried to its logical conclusion with the thorough-going designation of Christ as *theos*" (*TDNT* III 106). *J. Schneider*

(d) Jesus' cry of desolation is recorded in Matt. 27:46 and Mk. 15:34. Both give a version of Jesus' words in the original language and add their own translation: "*ēli ēli lema sabachtani*? that is 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' " (Matt.); "*elōi elōi lama sabachthani* which means, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' " (Mk.). The cry corresponds to the opening words of Ps. 22 which in the MT reads *'ēlî 'ēlî lāmâh ʿazaḇtānî*. Mk. appears to have written the Aram. *'elōi*. The bystanders evidently took it to be a call to → Elijah who was taken up to heaven (2 Ki. 2:9–12) and was believed to rescue the righteous in distress (SB IV, 2, 76 ff.).

From the earliest times the cry has been felt to raise problems for christology. These are reflected in the MSS variants and the version of Gos. Pet 5:19: "My power, O power, thou hast forsaken me!" (cf. K. Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew*, 1967², 83–7; Henn.-Schn., I, 184). It is felt that the words imply an abandonment by God which is incompatible with belief in his divinity, and a lack of trust on Jesus' part. Nevertheless, Matt. and Mk. did not shirk to record it. The cry expresses a sense of utter desolation, such as Jesus had not even experienced on occasions of temptation, rejection and in Gethsamene. His faithfulness to God's will had led him to the point where that will had to be done without the conscious awareness of God's presence. This was the experience of the Psalmist. And in recording the cry the evangelists may well have seen in it further fulfilment of Ps. 22 (cf. Matt. 27:35; Mk. 15:24; Lk. 23:34; Jn. 19:25 with Ps. 22:18; and Matt. 27:39, 43; Mk. 15:29; Lk. 23:35 with Ps. 22:7 f.; cf. also Heb. 2:12 with Ps. 22:22; see further B. Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic*, 1961, 89–93; H. Gese, "Psalm 22 und das Neue Testament", *ZTK* 65, 1968, 1–22). The poignancy of the parallels and the solemnity of the narrative may have been too great for the evangelists to pause to speak of → fulfilment. Jesus' cry is all the more poignant in view of the taunt (also made to the Psalmist): he trusts in God, let God deliver him. The suggestion that the

cry was an interpretation put into the mouth of Jesus' perhaps in the light of the Ps. (cf. R. Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 1963, 313) raises more problems than it solves, for it is incredible that the church would have invented an utterance which appears to go back on all that Jesus had taught. The cry reveals the anguish felt by Jesus in being utterly rejected by friend and foe alike and in dying the most excruciating death. At the same time we may say with C. E. B. Cranfield that the cry is to be understood in the light of Mk. 14:36 (and par. Matt. 26:39; Lk. 22:42; Jn. 12:27) and the Pauline interpretation of Jesus' death in 2 Cor. 5:21 and Gal. 3:13. "The burden of the world's sin, his complete self-identification with sinners, involved not merely a felt, but a real, abandonment by his Father" (*The Gospel According to Saint Mark*, 1963, 458).

The parallels with Ps. 22 may, however, be pursued even further. G. Dalman has suggested that for the Jews the opening words were recognized as an effective prayer for help in the light of the latter part of the Ps. (*Jesus-Jeshua*, 1929, 206). The Psalmist survives his immediate desolation to praise God in the congregation (v. 22; cf. Heb. 2:12). All the ends of the earth shall remember and turn to the Lord (v. 27). Dominion belongs to the Lord and he rules over the nations. (v. 28). Posterity shall serve him and proclaim his deliverance to a people yet unborn (vv. 30 f.). If the earlier part of the Ps. may be seen as being fulfilled in Jesus' death, the latter may be said to find fulfilment in the revelation of the risen Christ in the great commission to evangelize (Matt. 28:16–20). *C. Brown*

7. *God and the Church.* The community of believers is called the *ekklēsia tou theou* (Acts 20:28; 2 Cor. 1:2; 10:32; 11:16, 22; 15:9; 2 Cor. 1:1; Gal. 1:13; 1 Thess. 2:14; 2 Thess. 1:4; 1 Tim. 3:5, 15; → Church). It consists of those chosen by God and called to be saints (Rom. 1:7; cf. the opening address of most of Paul's epistles) and who have received all the gifts of salvation and grace. They have peace with God (Rom. 5:1), for they have been reconciled through Christ (2 Cor. 5:18). As the beginning of God's new creation (2 Cor. 5:17) they are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus for good works (Eph. 2:10). God works in them both to will and to accomplish (Phil. 2:13), and gives them assurance of the completion of their salvation (Rom. 5:2, Phil. 3:21). At the return of Christ he will give life to their mortal bodies (Rom. 8:11) and a share in his glory and in eternal life.

(b) The church is the → temple of God (1 Cor. 3:16; 2 Cor. 6:16; Eph. 2:21); God's holy building into which all believers are placed as living stones (1 Pet. 2:4); the dwelling of God in the Spirit in which Christians are members of God's household (Eph. 2:19, 21). It is the new people of God (1 Pet. 2:9) which forms the → body of Christ in which believers have a share in the *plērōma*, the fullness of the being of God and Christ (Col. 2:10; Eph. 1:23; → Fullness, art. *plēroō*). The community stands under God's protection. It is hidden in him, for God is on its side (Rom. 8:31). Therefore no power, whatever it may be called, is capable of separating it from God's love.

Paul emphasized strongly that the *ekklēsia* of God consists of Jews and Gentiles. This is because Christ has reconciled Jews and Gentiles to God in one body through the → cross. Whoever receives the word of reconciliation (2 Cor. 5:19) and believes in Christ has free access to the Father (Eph. 2:18). In God's people of the new → covenant racial and national differences are removed.

8. *The Trinity.* The NT does not contain the developed doctrine of the Trinity. "The Bible lacks the express declaration that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are of equal essence and therefore in an equal sense God himself. And the other express declaration is also lacking, that God is God thus and only thus, i.e. as the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. These two express declarations, which go beyond the witness of the Bible, are the twofold content of the Church doctrine of the Trinity" (Karl Barth, *CD*, I, 1, 437). It also lacks such terms as *trinity* (Lat. *trinitas* which was coined by Tertullian, *Against Praxeas*, 3; 11; 12 etc.) and *homoousios* which featured in the Creed of Nicea (325) to denote that Christ was of the same substance as the Father (cf. J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, 1968[4], 113, 233–7). But the NT does contain the fixed, three-part formula of 2 Cor. 13:13 (EVV 14) in which God, the Lord Jesus Christ and the Spirit are mentioned together (cf. 1 Cor. 12:4 ff.). The Trinity of Father, Son and Holy Spirit occurs only in the baptismal formula in Matt. 28:19. The later addition, 1 Jn. 5:8 (in Lat. texts from the 6th cent.), contains the triad, the Father, the Word and the Holy Spirit (cf. E. Stauffer, *TDNT* III 108 f.). An extension of the triadic form in which, however, the important element is "the one God," "the one Lord" and "the one Spirit," appears in Eph. 4:4 ff. Gal. 4:4 ff. does not, strictly speaking, present a formula. It sets out the action of God in salvation history, placing God, Christ and the Holy Spirit in their right relationship: God first sends the Son and then the Spirit of his Son to continue the work of Jesus on earth.

On the other hand, God and Christ especially are closely connected in two-part formulae: "one God, the Father . . . and one Lord, Jesus Christ" (1 Cor. 8:6). "one God . . . and one mediator between God and men" (1 Tim. 2:5). In this connection Matt. 23:8–10 must also be mentioned, where Jesus draws the disciples' attention to the fact that they have one master (himself) and one God in heaven. In all these statements the two facts, that God and Christ belong together and that they are distinct, are equally stressed, with the precedence in every case due to God, the Father, who stands above Christ. (On the formulae see E. Stauffer, *New Testament Theology*, 1955, 235–57, J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, 1972[3], 6–29; V. F. Neufeld, *The Earliest Christian Confessions*, 1963.)

A close relationship exists also between Christ and the Holy → Spirit. Thus Paul can say outright that the Lord is the Spirit (2 Cor. 3:17). In John's Gospel the Holy Spirit (the Paraclete, → Advocate) appears with "certain independence" (E. Stauffer, *TDNT* III 107). But in his work he is bound to the exalted Christ (Jn. 16:14; "He will take what is mine"). Christ and the Holy Spirit are in an interchangeable relationship. But even here there is no strict, dogmatic assertion. Although the Spirit is distinguished from Christ and subordinated to him, it can be said in 1 Jn. 2:1 that Christ is the Paraclete with the Father. All this underlines the point that primitive Christianity did not have an explicit doctrine of the Trinity such as was subsequently elaborated in the creeds of the early church. (For discussions of the Trinity in the NT see L. Hodgson, *The Doctrine of the Trinity*, 1943, 38–84; A. E. J. Rawlinson, ed., *Essays on the Trinity and the Incarnation*, 1933; Karl Barth, *CD*, I, 1, 339–560; G. A. F. Knight, *A Biblical Approach to the Doctrine of the Trinity*, 1953; A. W. Wainwright, *The Trinity in the New Testament*, 1962.)

J. Schneider

9. *Pagan Deities.* It is unlikely that the average Greek and Roman took the old gods and goddesses seriously, but tradition and superstition led people to altars, shrines and images. The multiplicity of altars at Athens moved Paul to describe the Athenians as *deisidaimonesterous* (Acts 17:22), a comparative form compounded from *deidō* (fear) and *daimōn* (a deity or demon). The adj. *deisidaimōn* often means superstitious. But Paul evidently intended it in a more positive sense, i.e. "quite religious" (cf. the noun *deisidaimonia* which can mean superstition, fear or reverence for the divinity in a good sense, and religion [cf. Arndt. 172]).

The main Gk. pantheon, with the Roman equivalents given in brackets, was: Zeus (Jupiter), Hera (Juno), Apollo (Apollo or Phoebus), Ares (Mars), Poseidon (Neptune), Aphrodite (Venus), Hermes (Mercury), Athene (Minerva), Artemis (Diana), Hades or Pluto (Pluto or Orcus).

In 1 Cor. 10:20 Paul equated pagan deities with demons, but in addressing the intelligent Athenians, he quoted with approval Epimenides, Aratus, *Phaenomena* 5, and Cleanthes, *Hymn to Zeus* 4 (cf. F. F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1951, 338 f.; see also above, section 4 (b)). "Yet he is not far from each one of us, for 'In him we live and move and have our being'; as even some of your poets have said, 'For we are indeed his offspring' " (Acts 17:27 f.). The poets are actually praising Zeus, but Paul makes it clear that he treats the quotations as referring to their highest conception of the supreme God, or rather their non-conception, the Unknown God, of whom he proceeded to speak.

The following Greek deities are named in the NT. (i) *Zeus* and *Hermes.* At Lystra, after an outstanding miracle of healing, Barnabas and Paul were treated as heavenly visitants, the dignified Barnabas as Zeus and Paul, the talker, as Hermes (Acts 14:8-18). (ii) *Ares.* At Athens Paul was taken to the Areopagus, or Hill of Ares, where speakers were allowed to hold forth, as at Hyde Park Corner in London, and where the Athenian Council met (Acts 17:19). (iii) *Artemis.* Her temple at Ephesus was one of the wonders of the world, and Paul's successful preaching roused the makers of shrine souvenirs (Acts 19:21–41). The Ephesian Artemis was only loosely identified with Artemis the huntress. Statues and descriptions show that she was the great Mother Goddess. (iv) *Hades.* In classical Gk. the god's name came to stand for his kingdom of the underworld, although it was quite common to use the expression *en Hadou* (gen. instead of dat.), meaning "in the house of Hades." In the NT the word is used of the place or state only (e.g. [*en tō Hadē*] Lk. 16:23; → Hell, art. *hadēs*).

Two Canaanite gods appear in quotations from the OT: Baal (Rom. 11:4; 1 Ki. 19:18) and Moloch (Acts 7:43; Amos 5:26). *J. Stafford Wright*

10. There are several compound words in the NT which indicate an actual or potential link with God. (i) *theosebeia* (1 Tim. 2:10) means reverence for God, piety, religion. *theosebēs* (Jn. 9:31) means God-fearing, devout, a worshipper of God. The vb. *theosebeō*, to worship God, does not occur in the NT but is found in Ep. Diog. 3:1 in early Christian literature. In all these forms the root is from the vb. *sebō*, worship or reverence, plus *theos*, God (→ Godliness, art. *sebomai*). Proselytes were sometimes referred to as *sebomenoi* [*ton theon*] (e.g. Acts 13:43; 18:7). These God-fearers were Gentiles who accepted the Jewish way of life in general, but did

not bind themselves to keep all the ritual details of the → law, in particular → circumcision (→ Conversion, art. *prosēlytos*). (ii) *theostygēs* (Rom. 1:30) is a compound from *stygeō*, to hate, plus *theos*. In cl. Gk. it means God-hated or God forsaken. But in its sole NT occurrence an active meaning appears necessary, i.e. God-hating, haters of God (RSV). (iii) *Theophilos*, Theophilus, is derived from *phileō*, to love. Its meaning is either "dear to God", as generally in cl. Gk., or "lover of God." In the NT it occurs only in Lk. 1:3 and Acts 1:1 as the name of the person for whom Luke writes. It is almost certainly a proper name, perhaps a pseudonym for some well-known person, but it could stand for any Christian reader (for discussion and literature see F. F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1951, 65 f.; E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1971, 136 f.). (iv) *theios* occurs 3 times in the NT. With the art., *to theion* means the Deity (Acts 17:29). As an adj., it means divine and is used with power and nature in 2 Pet. 1:3 f. (v) *theiotēs* (Rom. 1:20) means deity: God's "invisible nature, namely, his eternal power and deity has been clearly perceived in the things that have been made" (see above, 4 (b)). *theotēs*, deity, divinity (Col. 2:9), is a stronger word and is used as an abstract noun for *theos* in connection with the incarnation: "For in him the whole fulness of deity dwells bodily." By contrast the weaker words *to theion* (Acts 17:29) and *theiotēs* (Rom. 1:20) speak of the Gentile awareness of the deity. (See further H. S. Nash, *theiotēs-theotēs*, *JBL* 18, 1899, 1–34; Moulton-Milligan, 286 ff.; and Arndt, 354, 357 ff. for the terms discussed above.) *J. Stafford Wright*

| *Ἐμμανουήλ* | *Ἐμμανουήλ* (*Emmanouēl*), Emmanuel.

OT The name Emmanuel which occurs in Isa. 7:14 and 8:8 means lit. "God [is] with us" (Heb. *'immānû 'ēl*). In the context of the times of Isaiah and King Ahaz the name is given to a child as yet not conceived with the promise that the danger now threatening Israel from Syria and Samaria will pass "before the child knows how to refuse evil and choose the good." Thus, the child and its name is a sign of God's gracious, saving presence among his people. The name can have either a minimum or a maximum significance. It could be a general statement that the birth and naming of the special child will indicate that the good hand of God is upon us. Or it could be a divine name meaning that God's presence with us is to be found in the child. In justification of the latter interpretation is the name of the one whom we may fairly regard as the same child in Isa. 9:6. One of his names here is *'ēl gibbôr* which, in the light of its application to Yahweh himself in 10:21, means Mighty God. (See further E. J. Young, *The Book of Isaiah*, I, 1965, 283–94, 306 f., 335 ff.; O. Kaiser, *Isaiah* 1–12, 1972, 96–106; J. Lindblom, *A Study on the Immanuel Section of Isaiah*, 1958 reprint; J. A. Motyer, "Context and Content in the Interpretation of Isaiah 7:14," *TB* 21, 1970, 118–25.)

NT Matt. 1:23 sees the angel's promise to Joseph of the son conceived in Mary by the Holy Spirit, who is to be called "Jesus, for he will save his people from their sins," as a fulfilment of Isa. 7:14. The quotation corresponds largely with the LXX, though the LXX does not give a translation of the name to indicate its significance. It does not necessarily mean that a virgin birth was prophesied, for

parthenos could be used of others than virgins (e.g. Gen. 34:3), and similarly the Heb. *'almâh* could mean a young woman married or single (Gen. 24:43; Exod. 2:8; Pss. 68:25; Prov. 30:19; Cant. 1:3; 6:8). On the question of the virgin birth see J. Orr, *The Virgin Birth of Christ*, 1907; J. G. Machen, *The Virgin Birth of Christ*, [1930] 1958; T. Boslooper, *The Virgin Birth*, 1962; R. E. Brown, *The Virginal Conception & Bodily Resurrection of Jesus*, 1973. This question rests on the interpretation of verses other than Matt. 1:23. The name Emmanuel is not applied to Jesus elsewhere in the NT. The point of the present passage is to see in the birth of Jesus a saving act of God, comparable with the birth of the first Emmanuel. Both births signify God's presence with his people through a child. But whereas the earlier event in Isaiah's day was regarded at the time as having decisive significance, in the light of the coming of Jesus it proves to be merely the anticipation of the really decisive saving act and presence of God. For Matt.'s concept of fulfilment → Fullness, art. *plēroō*, NT 1 (c). See also on this passage W. C. van Unnik, "Dominus Vobiscum", in A. J. B. Higgins, ed, *New Testament Essays: Studies in Memory of T. W. Manson*, 1959, 270–305.

One may link Matt.'s quotation, written in the light of the disciples' experience of Jesus Christ, with Lk. 1:35, where the unique act of the Holy Spirit means that the child will be "the Son of God." Thus "God with us" is to be taken in a similar way. The child will be God come to earth. The conception by the Holy Spirit draws attention to the role of God in the birth and life of Jesus.

J. Stafford Wright, C. Brown

On God in the OT and in the ancient world:
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Godliness, Piety

When faced with that which is awe-inspiring, sublime, or holy, man always keeps a respectful distance and sometimes is seized with fear. The idea of distance is basic to the *sebomai* group of words. They denote the appropriate attitude to that which merits reverence, ranging from respect for one's fellow-men and the rules of society to reverence in public worship. On the other hand, the *eulabēs* group of words has more the character of caution and circumspection, and with this background came to be used for the normal religious attitude. The adj. *sebomenos*, which became the regular term for non-Jews who attached themselves to the synagogue, is discussed separately under → Conversion (art. *prosēlytos*).

εὐλάβεια

εὐλάβεια (*eulabeia*), fear, awe, piety; εὐλαβής (*eulabēs*), devout; εὐλαβέομαι (*eulabeomai*), to reverence, to be afraid.

CL The *eulabeia* word-group is found in profane Greek from the 3rd or 4th cent. B.C. Originally it denoted caution, circumspection, discretion, and then in later Gk. reverence (cf. R. Bultmann, *TDNT* II 751; Liddell-Scott, 720). The meanings discretion, fear and reverence are found in early Christian literature (Lampe, 567). From the basic meaning of *eulabeia* there evolved the additional idea of fear, dread, anxiety.

OT In the LXX the vb. in particular occurs frequently. The original meaning of *eulabeomai*, to take care, is clearly recognizable in Deut. 2:4; Sir. 18:27; 26:5.

For that reason the word is not used for numinous terror (→ Miracle). The meaning to → fear predominates in the LXX: Exod. 3:6; 1 Sam. 18:15, 29 (chiefly for the Heb. *yārē'* or *gûr*). It is frequently found in combination with *phobeisthai* from which it cannot be sharply distinguished (e.g. in Jer. 5:22; Mal. 3:16). But *eulabeomai* can also stand for the Heb. *ḥāsâh*; the appropriate translation is then to trust, to seek or take refuge, or to honour (Nah. 1:7; Zeph. 3:12 and passim). *eulabeomai* thus approaches the idea of devoutness. The adj. *eulabēs*, devout, godly, is found with the *v.l. eusebēs* in Mic. 7:2; Sir. 11:17; Acts 22:12. The noun *eulabeia* is found in Jos. 22:24 and Wis. 17:8 with the meaning fear; in Prov. 28:14 it means circumspection.

NT 1. *eulabēs* occurs 4 times in the NT and means as in the LXX devout, God-fearing. Thus in Lk. 2:25 Simeon is described as *dikaios kai eulabēs*, righteous and devout. In Acts 2:5 the witnesses from the Jewish diaspora on the day of → Pentecost are described as "devout men", likewise in Acts 8:2 the men who buried Stephen. In Acts 22:12 Ananias who was sent by the Lord to Saul is said to have been *anēr eulabēs* according to the law, i.e. his Jewish piety revealed itself in his keeping of the law.

2. *eulabeia* occurs in the NT only in Heb. 5:7 and 12:28. In Heb. 5:7 the old translations differ in their understanding of the words *eisakoustheis apo tēs eulabeias*. The Old Latin translates *a metu*, i.e. heard (set free) from his fear. The Vulgate rendering, however, is more likely: *pro sua reverentia*, Jesus was heard for his devoutness, i.e. his obedience (v. 8). The raising of Jesus from the dead was God's answer to his Son's supplication in the days of his flesh (cf. Phil. 2:8 ff.). In Heb. 12:28 the understanding of *eulabeia* as fear is suggested by v. 29 (cf. Phil. 2:12, "fear and trembling"); but the rendering "devoutness" is equally possible. The vb. *eulabeisthai* is found in the NT only in Acts 23:10 (*eulabētheis* as an alternative to *phobētheis*, which has the same meaning but is better attested in the MSS; → fear), and in Heb. 11:7, where *eulabētheis* denotes the attitude of → Noah while building the ark; the translation "in the fear of God" would seem to be correct.

W. Mundle

σέβομαι

σέβομαι (*sebomai*), to reverence, shrink back in fear, worship; *σεβάζομαι* (*sebazomai*), show religious reverence, worship; *σέβασμα* (*sebasma*), object of religious reverence, holy thing, sanctuary; *εὐσεβέω* (*eusebeō*), reverence, be devout; *εὐσέβεια* (*eusebeia*), devoutness, piety, fear of God, religion; *εὐσεβής* (*eusebēs*), God-fearing, devout, pious; *θεοσέβεια* (*theosebeia*), fear of God, reverence for God, devoutness; *θεοσεβής* (*theosebēs*), devout, God-fearing; *ἀσέβεια* (*asebeia*), impiety, godlessness; *ἀσεβής* (*asebēs*), godless, impious; *σεμνός* (*semnos*), honourable, worthy of reverence, venerable, holy; *σεμνότης* (*semnotēs*), honourableness, dignity, holiness.

CL 1. The root *seb-* meant originally to step back from someone or something, to maintain a distance. From this spatial meaning, as contexts often gave the reason for maintaining a distance, there developed the metaphorical idea of trepidation ranging from shame, through wonder, to something approaching fear.

This attitude is evoked by that which is sublime and majestic, or by the risk of failure.

The act. *sebō* (post-Homeric) is rare; as a rule the mid. forms *sebomai* or *sebazomai* (from *sebas*) are used. The combination with *eu* (well, which in compounds was used to imply abundance) rarely occurs in the case of the vb. (*eusebeō*); on the other hand the noun *eusebeia* and the adj. *eusebēs* are frequently found. The word *theosebeia*, which in form conveys the more restricted idea of one's attitude towards deities, does not in fact differ essentially either in use or meaning from *eusebeia*. *sebasma* is an object of religious reverence, an idol; in the plur. it often means the cult.

The negative, *asebēs*, *asebeia*, is used to denote an outrage against someone, whereby established laws and ordinances are broken.

semnos and *semnotēs* denote that which is sublime, majestic, holy, evoking reverence. The difference between these words and *sebō* is that they contain a stronger aesthetic element: thus a royal throne, an ornament, or sublime music can be so described. The adj. and the noun often denote the majesty of deity, but sometimes also the solemnity, serious purpose and grandeur of a man.

2. Words deriving from the stem *seb-* are very frequent in Gk., and convey the idea of devoutness and religiousness so characteristic of the Greeks. This devoutness does not consist – as in the Bible – in a committed obedience to a single, personally-conceived God; but rather in a holy trepidation, wonder, or admiration called forth by a majesty in things, men or deities. Accordingly religious homage can be paid to very different objects: one's country, a landscape, dreams, parents, heroes, the dead, etc. Later this basic idea fades, and *sebomai* can assume the meaning to bless or congratulate.

For the Greeks those who are worthy of reverence are above all the members of one's own family (including one's ancestors), the gods and the laws ordained by them. In religious usage there is an easy transition from respect or honour to the reverence of the cult. *eusebeia* is one of the virtues of the man who is righteous and acceptable to the gods.

The negative form *asebeia* likewise has an ethical and religious content. Because of the close connection between the ordinances of the Gk. city state (→ People, art. *polis* CL) and the worship of the gods, the *asebēs* is often named side by side with the *adikos* (→ sin); want of reverence for the gods and neglect of cultic obligations were considered anti-social. In the case of a man who was a misfit in the community, *adikia* was that aspect of his behaviour which was against the ordinances, while *asebeia* described that aspect which was against the gods. *asebeia* refers specifically to the cult of the state in Athenian trials for "impiety" (especially the one against Socrates). In Greece the worship of the gods declined more and more in favour of a philosophical ideal and an ethico-moral attitude. A philosopher could be an atheist (*atheotēs*), and Christians also were described in this way because they did not reverence the old gods (cf. Lampe, 44 f.). Being accused of denying the old gods, however, did not mean they were accused of *asebeia*; for the term *asebēs* was reserved exclusively for the man with no religion and no morals (Liddell-Scott, 255).

OT These ideas rarely appear in the LXX because the basis of OT piety is quite different from that of Hellenism. God the creator lays claim to man's service in thought, word and deed; he requires active obedience, not devout trepidation

to which lip-service is paid just on fixed occasions in cultic homage, or in the sphere of intellectual rhetoric. This active obedience, together with worship, is the characteristic feature of the fear of God (*phobos theou*, → Fear), which is essentially the OT (as opposed to the Gk.) idea of piety. Thus, in the few cases where *eusebeia* and its cognates are used, it usually renders words from the root *yārē'*, to fear. But often they are without Heb. equivalent. For *eusebeia* see Prov. 1:7; 13:11; Isa. 11:2; 33:6; Wis. 10:12; Sir. 49:3; 4 Macc. 5:18, 24, 31, 38; 6:2, 22 etc.; *eusebeō* Dan. LXX Su. 64; 4 Macc. 9:6; 11:5, 8, 23; 18:2; *eusebēs* Jud. 8:31; Job 32:3; Prov. 12:12; 13:19; Eccl. 3:16; Sir. 11:17, 22; 12:2, 4; Isa. 24:16; 26:7; 32:8; 4 Macc. 1:1, 7; 6:31; 7:16; 10:15 etc.; *eusebōs* 4 Macc. 7:21.

Only in the Wisdom literature, in Job and the Apocrypha (esp. 4 Macc.), do *eusebeia* and its related words occur more frequently – an indication of Hel. influence. The same is true of the *semnos* word-group (of which the noun and adv. appear once each, and the vb. not at all): out of 12 occurrences, 3 are in Prov., one is a *v.l.*, and all the rest are in Macc. This adj. describes that which is sublime, holy and thus worthy of God; in contrast with *hagios* (→ holy), therefore, it is the aesthetic element which predominates. For *semnos* see Jdg. 11:35; Prov. 6:8; 8:6; 15:26; 2 Macc. 6:11, 28; 8:15; 4 Macc. 5:36; 7:15; 17:5; for *semnotēs* 2 Macc. 3:12; *semnōs* 4 Macc. 1:17.

In the LXX the negative compound *asebēs* is used synonymously with *adikos*, unrighteous, unjust, and describes both an individual action and the general attitude of men, in departing from God. An injustice among men, particularly in Israel, is at the same time an offence against God and his commandments (cf. CL above). Thus *asebeia* and *adikia* stand very close to *hamartia*, → sin: social order and social justice are inseparable from worship. *asebēs* renders some 16 Heb. expressions and is particularly frequent in Job (e.g. 3:17; 6:19; 8:13, 19f., 22; 40:7[12]); Pss. (e.g. 1:1, 4 ff.; 9:23, 34 [10:2, 13]; 50[51]:13); and especially Prov. (e.g. 1:7, 10, 22, 32; 2:22; 3:25, 33, 35). For *asebeia* see, e.g., Deut. 9:4 f.; 18:22; Ps. 5:10; Prov. 1:19, 31; 11:5 f. The vb. *asebeō* is rather less common than the adj. and the noun (e.g. Deut. 17:13; 18:20; Job 9:20 f.; 10:2 f., 7, 15; 34: 8, 10).

NT 1. In the NT this word-group is rarely found. Apart from the OT quotation in Mk. 7:7 par. Matt. 15:9 (= Isa. 29:13 LXX), *sebomai* occurs only in Acts, usually in its adjectival form as a technical term to denote the Gk. adherents of Jud. (→ Conversion, art. *prosēlytos*). In Acts 17:23 and 2 Thess. 2:4 *sebasma* is the heathen object of worship. *sebazomai* appears only in Rom. 1:25, where it means to show religious reverence. The vb. *eusebeō* (only twice), the adj. *eusebēs* (3 times), the adv. *eusebōs* (twice) and the noun *eusebeia* (15 times) are, apart from 4 instances in Acts, confined to the Pastoral Epistles and 2 Pet. In Acts 25:21, 25 *sebastos* is simply the Greek translation of Augustus – the exalted one; in Acts 27:1 it is used adjectivally to describe a cohort as "imperial", a common designation of certain auxiliary cohorts.

Like *hosios* (→ holy) which frequently stands alongside *dikaios* (→ righteousness), *eusebēs* and *eusebeia* denote a moral attitude in the Gk.-speaking world. Both ideas occur frequently in Hel. Jud. They are almost entirely lacking in the earlier NT literature, though very much in evidence in the Pastoral Epistles. This fact is best explained by supposing that early Christianity used these words at first for

non-Christian piety and that only later did the Pastoral Epistles and 2 Pet. give them Christian content. Exceptions are the negative forms *asebeia*, godlessness (in thought and attitude) and the adj. *asebēs*, which are already found in Paul (Rom.).

2. Whilst *latreuō* (→ serve) is a neutral word for cultic worship, *sebomai* retains the anthropological emphasis of typical Gk. piety, i.e. deference to that which is sublime and exalted. It is very difficult to use such language in relation to God and Christ, because the Christian is in personal union with them, a union in obedience and trust.

In Rom. 1:18 Paul describes pre-Christian man as enslaved by *asebeia* and *adikia* "ungodliness and wickedness" (RSV; → sin), and states that the wrath of God rests upon him for giving divine honours to the creature rather than the creator (Rom. 1:25). He thus pronounces judgment upon all contemporary religious activity, for being wise in its own eyes, it fails to make any contact with the one true God and with his holy purpose either in the realm of worship or in that of interpersonal relationships. Here, as in the LXX, there is no longer a sharp distinction between *asebeia* and *adikia* (but cf. CL), because in the light of Christ's revelation, both are *hamartia* (→ sin). This important term gained ascendancy over *asebeia*, as indeed over all other terms which denote the outworkings of the power of evil.

As in the OT, *hamartōlos* and *asebēs* can stand side by side in Paul to describe the sinner whom Christ makes righteous (cf. Rom. 5:6 with 5:8; Rom. 4:5). The Pastoral Epistles take over this association (1 Tim. 1:9; cf. 1 Pet. 4:18). But here *asebeia* is in particular the antithesis of the much used *eusebeia*. According to Tit. 2:12, → grace leads us to turn away from an irreligious existence in order to live *sōphronōs kai dikaiōs kai eusebōs*, soberly, uprightly and godly. In 2 Tim. 2:16 the false teachers' alienation from God is described as *asebeia*.

3. The word *theosebēs*, which has the ring of Gk. piety about it, is used in Jn. 9:31. The additional thought that piety consists in doing the will of God shows, however, that this statement is firmly rooted in OT-Jewish tradition. In Acts the fear of God is described by the combination of *eusebēs* and *phoboumenos* (10:2): God is revered in that man fears him, i.e. offers him veneration, worship and sacrifice. At the same time the appropriate distance is maintained, because man is a sinner. This also explains the technical term *sebomenos* used in Acts. It denotes those Gentiles who worshipped the God of the Jews without wholly belonging to his people, i.e. without circumcision and minute observance of the law (Acts 13:43, 50; 16:14; 18:7; → Conversion, art. *prosēlytos*). This group of words is naturally used also for Gentile veneration of the gods (cf. Acts 17:23; 19:27).

4. The Pastoral Epistles use the relevant Gk. vocabulary more freely than the other NT writings, the probable reason being that → faith (*pistis*) is here more of a virtue than in Paul's other epistles and now means primarily a Christian attitude to life. Only on that account can the OT phrase *phobos theou* (fear of God) be rendered so consistently by the Hel. *eusebeia*, though to be sure the attitude of the believer – *zēn eusebōs en Christō Iēsou*, "live godly in Christ Jesus" (2 Tim. 3:12; cf. 1 Clem. 1:2) – is based on faith in Christ (1 Tim. 3:16; cf. 6:3), and its secret is the revelation of God in the flesh. The NT devout person now understands himself as a follower of Jesus Christ. Consequently devoutness becomes one in a series of Christian virtues (1 Tim. 6:11; Tit. 1:1; 2:12). Thus *pistis*, faith, here takes on a

special colouring as compared with its use elsewhere in the NT. Good works are definitely included in it (1 Tim. 2:10; 5:4) – not however in the sense of justification by works which was precisely the error for which the false teachers are attacked (1 Tim. 4:7 f.; 6:5 f.; 2 Tim. 3:5). Faith is now seen as something ethical and relating to this world; only once is it defined in relation to its ultimate goal, the coming → kingdom of God (1 Tim. 4:8).

5. The use of the *semnotēs* group (noun 3 times, adj. 4 times) also fits into this framework. In Paul it is used only once (Phil. 4:8), where directions are being given to Christians for the conduct of their everyday lives. Otherwise it occurs almost exclusively in the Pastoral Epistles. *semnotēs* differs from *eusebeia* in that it indicates, without direct reference to God, an ethical and aesthetic outlook resulting in decency and orderliness. Seriousness both of doctrine and of life is expected of the leaders of the church. By ruling their own families well and setting a good example, they are to bring up their children to be obedient and to lead honourable lives (1 Tim. 2:2; 3:4, 8; Tit. 2:2, 7).

6. In Jude and 2 Pet. Christians are described as the righteous who live, like Noah and Lot, in the midst of *asebeis*, ungodly men (Jude 4, 15, 18; 2 Pet. 2:5 f.; 3:7). Here *eusebeia* is seen as the Christian manner of life, which keeps Christ's return constantly in view (2 Pet. 3:11 f.). The Christian who lives in this expectation attains to knowledge and is preserved from temptation (2 Pet. 1:3–8; 2:9).

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(a). R. Bultmann, *eulabēs* etc., *TDNT* II 751–4; W. Foerster, *sebomai* etc., *TDNT* VII 168–96.
(b). W. Foerster, "*eusebeia* in den Pastoralbriefen", *NTS* 5, 1958–9, 213 ff.; J. Jeremias, "Hebr. 5, 7–10", *ZNW* 44, 1952–53, 107 ff.; E. M. Kredel and A. Auer, "Frömmigkeit", *LTK* IV 398 ff.; H. J. Schultz, *Frömmigkeit in einer weltlichen Welt*, 1959; A. Strobel, "Die Psalmengrundlage der Gethsemane-Parallele Hebr. 5, 7 ff.", *ZNW* 45, 1954, 252 ff.

Gold, Silver, Bronze, Iron

χρυσός

χρυσός (*chrysos*), gold; χρυσίον (*chrysion*), a piece of gold, gold coin; χρυσόω (*chrysoō*), adorn with gold; χρυσοῦς (*chrysous*), golden.

CL The Gk. word is a borrowing from the Near East, Heb. *ḥārûṣ*, Assyr. *ḫurāšu*. This may reflect the fact that gold was rare in Greece before Alexander the Great captured Persia's stores of gold, but in Egypt, W. Arabia, in the mountains of Armenia and Persia gold was widely used and the goldsmith's art perfected from the third millennium B.C. Hesiod in *Works and Days* wrote of a golden age and a golden race of men who reflected the glory of the immortals.

OT In the LXX *chrysos* and *chrysion*, which became interchangeable terms, translate six different Heb. words for gold, of which the most common is *zāhāḇ*. These probably indicated differing degrees of purity in the gold which was often mixed with varying percentages of silver (cf. Gen. 2:11 f.). There were three ways of working gold. It could be melted and cast into moulds to form solid figures (Exod. 32:4), beaten into sheets with which objects could be covered (Exod. 25:11), or beaten into a particular shape (Exod. 25:31). Besides the cultic associations of

gold in both the Tabernacle and the → Temple, in countries round about it was made into idols (Exod. 20:23). It was frequently used for jewellery (Gen. 41:42; Jdg. 8:26) and at a comparatively early date it was used for currency (2 Ki. 18:14; 23:33). Since royalty throughout the ages made use of gold for crowns and thrones, cups and drinking bowls (1 Ki. 10:18, 21; Est. 1:7), gold became an appropriate gift for a king (Ps. 72:15). In Daniel's interpretation of Nebuchadrezzar's → dream the Babylonian king is the head of gold (Dan. 2:38). Because gold is indestructible it becomes a symbol for great value and enduring worth (Prov. 8:18 f.).

NT In the NT the danger of covetousness and the association of idolatry colour the thinking of several writers (Acts 17:29; 20:33; 1 Tim. 2:9; Jas. 5:3; 1 Pet. 1:18; Rev. 9:20). On the other hand, gold is presented to the infant Jesus (Matt. 2:11; → Gift; → Incense), and symbolizes lasting value (1 Cor. 3:12) and heaven's perfection (Rev. 21:18, 21). *J. G. Baldwin*

ἀργύριον

ἀργύριον (*argyrion*), silver; *ἄργυρος* (*argyros*), [less frequent] silver; *ἀργυροῦς* (*argyrous*), made of silver.

CL The Gk. word derives from the adj. *argos*, shining, white, and occurs first in Homer. While the word denotes anything silver, it often has the significance of money. In Hesiod the silver age followed the golden and was inferior to it.

OT In LXX *argyrion* translates the Heb. *kesep̄*, which occurs frequently in the OT, often in connection with gold. Silver had been known as early as gold, but it was less plentiful in ancient Babylon and Egypt. It is first mentioned in the Bible as a medium of exchange (Gen. 23:15) and this use predominates in the OT. But it was also used for jewellery (Exod. 3:22; Cant. 1:11) and was sometimes fashioned into an idol (Jdg. 17:3). Mining for silver is mentioned in Job 28:1, and because it was rarely found in pure form, but was most frequently mixed with other metals, it regularly needed refining and so became symbolic of God's refining process in men's hearts (Isa. 1:25; Zech. 13:9; Mal. 3:3).

NT As in the case of gold, silver in the NT is associated with idolatry (Acts 17:29; 19:24; Rev. 9:20). It is corruptible and a potential source of corruption (Matt. 26:15); it is therefore an unworthy goal for living (Jas. 5:3; 1 Pet. 1:18). Indeed the follower of Jesus may be called upon to do without it altogether (Matt. 10:9). *J. G. Baldwin*

χαλκός

χαλκός (*chalkos*), copper, bronze (not brass, AV, RV), a copper coin; *χαλκίον* (*chalkion*), a copper vessel or implement; *χαλκεύς* (*chalkeus*), coppersmith.

CL Since copper was the first metal to be worked in Greece, *chalkos* became the word for metal in general and applied at first also to iron. Later it also included bronze, copper to which a small amount of tin had been added.

OT In the LXX copper (Heb. *nᵉḥōšeṯ*) is first mentioned, together with iron, in connection with Tubal-Cain, who made cutting instruments (Gen. 4:22). This draws attention to an important development in the history of mankind. Copper weapons, mace heads, helmets, axe blades, were developed in the Early Bronze period, and a cache of 450 copper objects, including a socketed axehead of *c.* 3100 found at Nahal Mishmar in the Judean desert in 1961, has pushed back into the fourth millennium the achievement of high technical standards. Bronze probably made its appearance *c.* 2000 B.C., but copper remained in use for objects which did not need to be cast, and both metals became much more common from this time on. A hard cutting edge was achieved on this soft metal by hammering.

The altar of sacrifice in the tabernacle was bronze covered (Exod. 38:2), whereas its carrying rings were cast (38:5), and Solomon imported Hiram from Tyre to oversee the lavish bronze and copper work connected with the Temple (1 Ki. 7:13–47). Copper smelting was carried out as early as 4000 B.C. at Timnah, a mining site about 15 miles north of Elath. It was here that N. Glueck thought (in 1940) he had found King Solomon's mines, but B. Rothenberg has now proved that Egyptians operated these mines in the 14th–12th centuries B.C. In 1974 a network of underground mines and shafts, penetrating for hundreds of yards in all directions and at several levels, was excavated. These mines are at least a thousand years older than the earliest previously explored underground mines. The deepest workings are several hundred feet below the surface and are supplied with ventilation by air channels, roughly the diameter of a thumb, yet very few technical errors were noted. The description of mining in Job 28:1–11 will be illuminated by the new evidence now available.

([F. F. Bruce] In Ezek. 1:4, 27; 8:2 *ḥašmal*, which LXX renders *ēlektron*, electrum, silver-gold alloy, may mean brass [like Accad. *elmešu*]; the imagery of Ezekiel's inaugural vision "will have been suggested to him . . . by . . . the work of a Babylonian brass-founder" [G. R. Driver, "Ezekiel's Inaugural Vision", *VT* 1, 1951, 60–62].)

NT The word occurs only 6 times in the NT meaning copper coin (Matt. 10:9; Mk. 6:8; 12:41), the material from which an idol is made (Rev. 9:20), a commodity of merchandise (Rev. 18:12) and a clanging gong (1 Cor. 13:1), such as was used in various cults and here symbolizing the emptiness of speaking in tongues when devoid of understanding and love. The compound *chalkolibanon* (Rev. 1:15) describes an alloy, the exact nature of which is not known.

J. G. Baldwin

σίδηρος

σίδηρος (*sidēros*), iron; *σιδηροῦς* (*sidērous*), made of iron.

CL The Gk. word meant not only iron but also anything made of iron and a place for selling iron. In Homer's time iron was highly valued and pieces were given as prizes. Hesiod considered the Iron Age in which he lived to be the epitome of human evil. The word is used symbolically by Homer to mean hard, stubborn, merciless.

OT In the LXX the word occurs frequently, translating Heb. *barzel* (Aram. *parzel*). Anatolian armourers were experimenting as early as the third millennium B.C.

with iron blades for swords, and one example from Dorak is dated 2500 B.C. The metallurgy of iron is believed to have been developed by the Hittites during the second millennium B.C. Deuteronomy mentions "the iron furnace" (Deut. 4:20), and it will be interesting to see how old smelting crucibles in the Sinai and Negev regions prove to be. Hittite iron was brought to Palestine by merchants from Tyre and later by the Philistines, who monopolized the blacksmith's art (1 Sam. 13:19, 20). The Canaanites had chariots of iron (i.e. with iron fittings) in the Judges period (Jos. 17:16; Jdg. 1:19; 4:3). By the time of David iron was used for nails (1 Chr. 22:3), though bronze was still being used in large quantities. The OT uses iron as a symbol of strength (Ps. 2:9; Jer. 1:18), endurance and hardness (Job 19:24; Mic. 4:13), and cruelty (Dan. 7:7, 19; Amos 1:3). In Nebuchadrezzar's image (Dan 2) iron with clay represented the last human kingdom before God's kingdom filled the earth.

NT In the NT the word is used in a symbolic sense (Rev. 2:27; 9:9; 12:5; 19:15), and once as an item of merchandise (Rev. 18:12). Rev. 2:27; 12:5; and 19:15 interpret Ps. 2:9 christologically as a picture of Christ reigning in → judgment. The iron sceptre may have been a short-handled battle mace (A. A. Anderson, *The Book of Psalms*, I, 1972, 69). *J. G. Baldwin*

D. R. Bowes, "Bronze", *ZPEB* I 655 f.; "Gold", *ZPEB* II 771 f.; "Iron", *ZPEB* III 307 ff.; "Silver", *ZPEB* V 437 f.; N. Glueck, "Ezion-geber", *BA* 88, 1965, 70–87 (this article revises some of the author's earlier opinions); A. Negev, ed., *Archaeological Encyclopedia of the Holy Land*, 1972, 208–11; B. Rothenberg, *PEQ* 104, 1962, 5–71; S. M. Paul and W. G. Dever, eds., *Biblical Archaeology*, 1973, 193–204; C. Singer, E. J. Holmyard, A. R. Hall and T. I. Williams, eds., *A History of Technology*, I, 1954, 582–88.

Good, Beautiful, Kind

Just as the concept → evil can have different, distinct shades of meaning, the ideas contained in the concept good are expressed in NT Gk. by three word-groups, each with its own separate emphasis. *agathos* is used generally for what is good and useful, especially moral goodness in relation to God who is perfect. *kalos* can be used as a synonym, but in comparison with the ethical and religious emphasis of *agathos*, it stresses more the aesthetic aspect, and stands for beautiful, fine, free from defects. When applied to acts, it means noble, praiseworthy. For Plato the *kalon* is the realization of the *agathon* in the sphere of objects. *chrēstos* expresses the material usefulness of things with regard to their goodness, pleasantness and softness.

ἀγαθός

ἀγαθός (*agathos*), good; ἀγαθοεργέω (*agathoergeō*), do good; ἀγαθοποιέω (*agathopoieō*), do good; ἀγαθοποιός (*agathopoios*), doing good, one who does good; ἀγαθοποιΐα (*agathopoiia*), doing good; ἀγαθωσύνη (*agathōsynē*), goodness, uprightness, generosity.

CL As an adj. in secular Gk. *agathos* means serviceable and good; used in conjunction with a noun it denotes the excellence of the object described. Used as a

noun, *to agathon* and the plur. *ta agatha* mean the good or good things which evoke a state of well-being. They may be material, intellectual, moral or religious, depending on one's ideal for life. It is only *agathos* itself which is used with this wide range of meaning from the time of Homer to Koine Gk. All the other derivatives listed above do not occur until the LXX or the NT. Cl. Gk. used *euergeteō* and other terms in their place.

1. In Gk. philosophy the concept of the good plays a major rôle. For Plato the idea of the good is the all-embracing, highest, and indeed dominant idea or form. For the good is the power which preserves and supports in contrast to evil which spoils and destroys (*Rep.* 608 e). In Plato the idea of the good has a religious colouring (*Rep.* 517 b 7–c 4), but Aristotle applies it as a formal concept to the totality of human relations. In his *Ethics* he defines the goal of all action as the attainment of some form of good (*Eth. Nic.* 1, 1; cf. F. Copleston, *A History of Philosophy*, I, 1946, 160 ff., 177 ff., 332–50; W. Grundmann, *agathos*, *TDNT* I 11 f.).

2. In Hel. thought the ancient humanistic attitude to life was shattered (→ Foreign, art. *xenos*) and the predominant meaning of the concept of good is once again religious. According to the Hermetic writings, the salvation brought about by the deity, i.e. deification, is the good (*Corp. Herm.* 1, 26). Thus the predicate good was reserved for the deity who brings salvation (*to agathon ho theos*, God is the good; 2, 16; cf. 1, 7; 6, 3 f.; 11, 17), for he alone is free from attachment to the material (cf. W. Grundmann, *TDNT* I 12 f.).

As an expounder of Hel. Jud., Philo names *enkrateia* (moderation, *Spec. Leg.* 1, 149), *eusebeia* (fear of God, *Spec. Leg.* 4, 147) and *sophia* (wisdom, *Rer. Div. Her.* 98) as the highest possessions by means of which the soul finds the way to God, the highest good (W. Grundmann, *TDNT* I 13).

OT 1. In the OT the concept of the good is indissolubly linked with personal faith in God. An idea of the good, freed from the concept of God as personal – comparable with the ideas in Gk. and Hel. thought – is inconceivable. The good is always a gift from God and as such is outside the control of man in his own strength (Gen. 3:5). It is presupposed throughout that God is the One who is good, and not just "the good." This realization is further developed within the OT in the course of a deepening of the relationship of the people and of individuals to God (e.g. Pss. 34:10 [MT 34:11]; 84:11 [MT 84:12]; 23:6).

Thus *ṭôḇ* became the regular designation of the goodness of God's character or actions. The LXX translates *ṭôḇ* in this connection almost exclusively by *to agathon*, and thus approaches the Graeco-Hellenistic outlook. It only rarely employs the nearly synonymous → *kalos* (e.g. Gen. 1:18). Thus God, according to the usage of the LXX, becomes man's highest good, and man finally becomes the lord of this good in the sense that he acquires a right to "good" treatment, as long as he regards God as his highest good.

2. That → God is the One who is good is made clear in the OT through his saving dealings with his chosen people, in the giving of the → law (Deut. 30:15; Prov. 28:10), in the historical events of the Exodus from → Egypt and the conquest of Canaan (Exod. 18:9; Num. 10:29 ff.). The Israelite found renewed reason for praising God as the One who is good in the knowledge that everything that comes from him is good, whether it be his work in creation (Gen. 1:18; *ṭôḇ* here also

embraces the aesthetic moment of beauty), his → word (Isa. 39:8), his → spirit (Ps. 143:10), even when appearances seem to say the opposite (Gen. 50:20).

The constant tension between God's → promises and their incomplete → fulfilment was bearable for Israel, because they recognized that God's promises in all their temporal fulfilments always look beyond themselves towards a final, eschatological fulfilment. The good which God has promised to his people will come to its real fulfilment in messianic, eschatological salvation. It is in this sense that texts like Isa. 52:7 and Jer. 32:41 have been interpreted messianically by Israel.

Recognition of the goodness of God could not be taken away from the → remnant even by hard, shattering, historical events like the exile. Nevertheless, Yahweh's goodness, his benevolent action in history, had been temporarily withdrawn from Israel and was deeply concealed. In the Wisdom literature, for example, striking expression is given to the way in which man saw his own limitations without illusion in the presence of the incomprehensible God. He recognizes the uncertainty of all life's values and the vanity of existence (Eccl. 3:12; 5:17), and sees clearly man's inability to achieve good (Eccl. 7:20). But in the last analysis even this scepticism, in which God is withdrawn and man stands alone, could not destroy the knowledge of the goodness of God, of his benevolent activity.

Post-exilic Judaism and Rab. theology also held firmly to the fact that God is good. For Rab. Judaism God's goodness brings salvation. It is revealed in the Law which is good and can be carried out. In carrying out God's law, man can now himself do good and be good (SB III 92 f.; IV 466 ff., 536 ff.). Nevertheless, essential goodness can only be realized in a man's personal relationships with God and with his fellow-men (Mic. 6:8).

3. The Qumran sect by the Dead Sea radicalized this unshaken confidence that good could be achieved into a strict asceticism, and linked it with the command to hate for ever the sons of wickedness. But here too – as consistently throughout the OT – it is the newly emerging songs of praise which are the genuine expressions of the sect's piety. They begin and end with the praise of God and his benevolent actions even in the midst of need and oppression. What stands out is what has been asserted in every period of Israel's history and expressed most completely in the Psalms (e.g. Pss. 16:2; 118:1; cf. 1 Chr. 16:34, 2 Chr. 5:13), namely that God himself is the One who is really and exclusively good. In the language of the LXX, he is the highest good.

NT *agathos* occurs very frequently (107 times) in all the NT writings except Rev. (where *kalos* does not occur either). The compounds formed with *poieō* are rare, and are found almost exclusively in 1 Pet. (apart from 3 occurrences of *agathopoieō* in Lk.). *agathoergeō* occurs only once (1 Tim. 6:18), and *agathōsynē* in 4 places in the Pauline writings.

1. According to the Synoptics, the OT statement about God's essential goodness is radicalized in Jesus' preaching: *oudeis agathos ei mē heis ho theos*, no one is good save God alone (Mk. 10:17 f.; Lk. 18:18 f.; Matt. 19:17). However, this does not prevent a natural application of the predicate "good" to the moral differences between men, who do good as well as evil (Matt. 12:35; 25:21; and par. Lk. 6:45; 19:17), an application which includes within it the goodness of God (Matt. 5:45; 22:10 and often).

But this admission of normal differences and the demand for works of love (Matt. 5:16; 25:31–45, where → *kalos* is used instead of *agathos*) must not be separated from Jesus' preaching as a whole. Jesus calls sinners to repentance. In this connection it is impossible to ignore the call, "Unless your righteousness exceeds that of the scribes and Pharisees, you will never enter the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. 5:20). "You therefore must be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect" (Matt. 5:48).

2. Jn. 5:29 proclaims judgment according to works. But this statement too has to be seen within the context of the whole message (cf. Jn. 10:27–29; 15:5 ff.). It is only in Jesus Christ that man is given a new opportunity of existence. In so far as he receives a share in God's goodness he also can pass on good to others by doing good. According to Jn. 10:11 and 14, Jesus is the good (→ *kalos*) → shepherd who lays down his life and makes available here and now the eternal good of redemption. In these passages *kalos* is used as a synonym for *agathos*. In Jn. 1:46 (in the form of a proverb?) the sceptical question is posed, "Can anything good (*agathon*, i.e. salvation) come out of Nazareth?" ([Ed.] L. Morris points out that the question does not reflect any known opinion of Nazareth; it is most likely to be understood as the utterance of a man who could not conceive of the messiah coming from such an insignificant place. The difference between *agathos* and *kalos* in Jn. appears to be grammatical: *agathos* is used predicatively at 1:46 and 7:12, as a noun at 5:29, while *kalos* is always attributive (*The Gospel according to John*, 1972, 165; cf. G. D. Kilpatrick, *The Bible Translator* 11, 1960, 173 f.).)

3. Paul takes up the message of the Synoptic Gospels. He too acknowledges the relative difference between good and evil men. Within God's sustaining order of things, the civil authorities receive their dignity and task to maintain law and order and punish evildoers (Rom. 13:1–4). The concept *agathopoios*, used only in 1 Pet. 2:14, also belongs in this context: the man who does right will receive praise from the authorities.

But the distinction which is justified among human institutions breaks down before God. The natural man is irretrievably in bondage to the powers of → sin and → death, and has no right to claim the attribute "good" for himself. Even if he is a fanatical observer of the law, which is good, it only works death for him (Rom. 7:18 ff.; cf. 3:20; 6:23; Gal. 3:10 ff.). But through the redemption which has taken place in Christ goodness overflows the believer. "We know that in everything God works for good with those who love him, who are called according to his purpose" (Rom. 8:28 RSV, cf. *v.l.* in RSV mg "in everything he works for good", or "everything works for good"; see M. Black, "The Interpretation of Romans viii 28" in *Neotestamentica et Patristica, Supplements to NovT* 6, Festschrift for O. Cullmann, 1962, 166–72; and *Romans*, 1973, 124; cf. also Rom. 11:32–36).

In Christ the believer is created for good works (Eph. 2:10), and receives a good → conscience (cf. Acts 23:1; 1 Tim. 1:5, 19). This also underlies the urgent exhortations to bear → fruit in good works (Col. 1:10), to seek to do good (1 Thess. 5:15) and to do it to everyone (Rom. 15:2; 16:19; Gal. 6:6, 10). Likewise, in Rom. 15:14 (cf. 2 Thess. 1:11) believers are exhorted to *agathōsynē*, good and fitting behaviour. *agathos* is essentially a quality which a man has (*TDNT* I 16 f., 18).

All honour is due to the one who does good (Rom. 2:7). Paul also maintains the

concept of judgment according to works (2 Cor. 5:10; Gal. 3:10). But comparison with Rom. 8:31–39 is not intended. The gift and the task of the new life are kept in tension, with both aspects fully emphasized. Just as *kalos* can stand for *agathos*, Paul employs *kalopoieō* (2 Thess. 3:13) and *agathoergeō* once (1 Tim. 6:18), as synonymous expressions meaning to do good. *agathoergeō* also occurs once in Acts 14:17, where it refers to God who does good. A striking fact is the marked preference for → *kalos* as opposed to *agathos* in the Pastorals.

4. In the remaining NT writings *agathapoieō*, to do good, is used only in 1 Pet. 2:15, 20; 3:6, 17; 3 Jn. 11; and Lk. 6:9, 33, 35. *agathopoiia*, doing good, is employed only in 1 Pet. 4:19. Such right action is the visible proof that a man has really and gratefully grasped the new opportunity for existence as his own. 1 Pet. 3:16, 21 indicate the good conscience which the believer ought to demonstrate to the pagan.

In contrast, Heb. 9:11 and 10:1 lay their emphasis upon future, eschatological gifts (cf. 1 Pet. 4:19). In this age there is a permanent tension between God, who is good and who gives good gifts, and reality, characterized by sin and death, in which the Christian's life is caught up. It is in this perspective that the promise of Phil. 1:6 stands and has meaning: "He who began a good work in you will bring it to completion at the day of Jesus Christ." Therefore the warning of Gal. 6:9 also holds good: "Let us not grow weary in well-doing, for in due season we shall reap, if we do not lose heart." *E. Beyreuther*

καλός

καλός (*kalos*), good, beautiful, noble; καλοποιέω (*kalopoieō*), do good.

CL 1. *kalos* (cf. Sanskrit *kalya*, healthy, strong, excellent) has as its basic meaning: organically fit, suitable, useful, sound, e.g. a suitable harbour (Homer); a healthy body (Plato); pure, genuine gold (Theognis); an unblemished sacrifice (Xenophon). Aesthetic judgments were very early attached to the concept of the fit and organically sound. *kalos* then also came to mean the aesthetically beautiful. Finally the concept was broadened again and gained the additional sense of morally good (Sophocles, Pindar and others). Thus, in the course of the history of Greek thought, the concept *kalos* achieved an inclusive meaning, linked with *taxis* (order) and *symmetria* (symmetry). In this context *kalos* came to mean "the total state of soundness, health, wholeness and order, whether in external appearance or internal disposition. For the Gk., then, the term applies particularly to the world of the divine" (W. Grundmann, *kalos TDNT* III 537).

2. A Greek ideal for life and education was expressed by the phrase *kalos kai agathos* which showed the aristocracy how it should live. An education based on the arts and exemplary behaviour moulded the nobleman in the ethics of his class. In Homer it is an expression of ancient European aristocratic pride among the leading tribes of Greece. For them inherited position had to be earned afresh by meeting high and inexorable demands. It had to be embraced along with a heroic bearing, self-discipline, and the will to be fair in all dealings between noble and commoner. Thus *kalos* and *agathos* were united in the single concept *kalos kagathos* (cf. W. Grundmann, *TDNT* III 538 f.).

Socrates and Plato raised this chivalrous class-ethic to the position of the general goal of all Gk. educational principles. In their writings the *kalos kagathos* is a man who is respectful and fair, thoughtful and discreet, moderate and capable in the way he conducts his life, a man for whom everything is in order (*Grg.* 470e, 518a–c; *Rep.* 3, 425d).

3. Finally Plato raised the concept *kalos* in the sphere of philosophy and religion to the status of an eternal idea by linking it with the experience of *erōs* (→ love). The unremitting longing and striving of the soul is directed towards the *kalon*. *erōs* is the force which drives men to seek and to recognize the *kalon* in this world (*Symp.* 204, 211 ff.; cf. *Phdr.* 249 ff.). That which links the divine and earthly realms and which gives life meaning and an eternal dimension is the *kalon*. Earthly beauty partakes of the eternal archetype of the beautiful. This religious significance which Plato's doctrine of ideas imparted to the concept *kalos* was retained throughout the development of Hellenistic Christian thought. For Plotinus the *kalon* was what flowed forth, the equivalent of the idea (*Enneads*, 1, 6; cf. 6; 7). Ecstasy, as a glimpse of the eternal beauty, is the highest experience. It is granted only to beautiful souls who grow to maturity on earth through the virtues of self-discipline, fearlessness and freedom from attachment.

For Augustine, too, and for Thomas Aquinas true beauty is at one with the eternally true and good, and is only found with God; everything on earth is merely a reflection of the divine beauty (cf. Augustine, *De Civ.* 19, 3; 22, 19; *De Pulchro*; Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, 1 Q. 5, 4; 1^{a} 2^{ae} Q. 27, 1).

OT The meaning which the Greeks gave to *kalos*, which became decisive for Christian antiquity and via Christendom for the development of thought throughout the western world, scarcely penetrated the world of the OT or the NT. In the LXX *kalos* is used as the translation of *yāpeh* (e.g. Gen. 12:14; 29:17; 39:6; 41:2) and denotes a beautiful external appearance. But *kalos* occurs most frequently beside → *agathos* and → *chrēstos* as a translation of *ṭôḇ*. It means good, not so much in the sense of an ethical evaluation as in that of pleasant, enjoyable, beneficial. *kalos*, as opposed to *agathos*, is what is pleasing to Yahweh, what he likes or what gives him joy, whereas *agathos* suggests more the application of an ethical standard. But it is impossible to draw any clear-cut lines of demarcation for the basic meaning of the Heb. *ṭôḇ*, for it contains both aspects. Only in one place does the use of *kala* give rise to what is probably the expression of an aesthetic judgment (Gen. 1:31). Perhaps one should translate even here *kai idou kala lian* as "and behold [it was] completely successful" (cf. MT: "and behold it was very good"). It means fair or beautiful in, e.g., Gen. 6:6; 12:14; 2 Sam. 11:2; 13:1. Otherwise it is striking that there is no room in the OT for the Greek ideal of beauty as a motive for living and for education. Everything is directed towards the will of God which is expressed in the law. Any ideal of self-perfection is thus excluded. Hence *kalos* is frequently used as a synonym for → *agathos* (cf. Mal 2:17; Mic. 6:8; Isa. 1:17; and also Num. 24:1; Deut. 6:18; 12:28; 2 Chr. 14:2 [MT 14:1]; and later Prov. 3:4). In the story of the fall *kalos* is used in the description of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil (Gen. 2:17; cf. v. 18; 3:5 f., 22). The LXX translates the Heb. *ṭôḇ wārāʿ* by *kalon kai ponēron*, "good and evil" (→ Adam; → Evil; → Knowledge; → Sin).

NT It is striking that in the NT *kalos* is used almost as frequently as *agathos* to denote good, and this happens consistently throughout the NT writings (*agathos* 104 times; *kalos* 99).

1. In the Synoptic Gospels, John the Baptist demanded from those who would enter the fellowship of the → kingdom good → fruit (*karpon kalon*, Matt. 3:10 par. Lk. 3:9). Jesus made the same demand (Matt. 7:17 ff.; 12:33; cf. Lk. 6:43 ff.). The parables speak of good seed (*kalon sperma*), good men (*kaloi*) who are caught in the net (Matt. 13:24, 27, 37, 38), and good ground (*kalē gē*) in which the word flourishes (Matt. 13:23 par. Mk. 4:20 Lk. 8:15). It is in this sense that Jesus calls men to good → works (*kala erga*, Matt. 5:16). Once again *kalos* is used almost synonymously with *agathos*. The fine or good works which Jesus expects are summed up in the maxim of Matt. 25:40, "As you did it to one of the least of these my brethren, you did it to me." They remain connected with the works of love which served as directives for the practice of mercy in Judaism (cf. Isa. 58:6–7, where they are already listed). At the same time the *kala erga* are removed from all thought of striving after reward (cf. Lk. 10:30 ff., the parable of the Good Samaritan; → Reward).

In the story of the anointing at Bethany (Mk. 14:6) Jesus, aware of his imminent passion, placed the deed of love which had been done to him higher than the almsgiving of his disciples. The opportunity for this act – the anticipatory anointing of his body and thus the affirmation by his disciples of his path of suffering – only offered itself in this historical moment.

2. In Jn. Jesus is the good → shepherd (*ho poimēn ho kalos*). Here *kalos* is used to bring into focus his office as shepherd in all its uniqueness, in contrast to contemporary false claims to the office of shepherd and to the shepherd-gods of antiquity (Jn. 10:11, 14). He is the good, the lawful shepherd, because he opposes the wolf at the risk and at the cost of his life. ([Ed.] This may be seen against the OT background of Yahweh as shepherd [Gen. 49:24; Pss. 23; 78:52 f.]. The patriarchs were shepherds. Ungodly kings were denounced as wicked shepherds [1 Ki. 22:17; Jer. 10:21; 23:1 f.]. Ezek. 34:5 f. pictures Israel as a flock without a shepherd and Yahweh as the true shepherd [vv. 11–16]. Cf. C. K. Barrett, *JTS* 48, 1947, 163 f.; R. E. Brown, *The Gospel according to John*, I, 1966, 397 f.)

Jn. 10:31 speaks of Jesus' many good works (*polla erga kala*) in the context of a controversy with the Jews. It is not the works that are in dispute, but his messianic claim, the evidence for which is in these very works.

3. Paul employs *kalos* as a synonym for → *agathos*; it does not convey anything which could not be expressed by *agathos* (cf. Rom. 7:18, 21; 2 Cor. 13:7; Gal. 6:9; 1 Cor. 7:1, 8, 26).

4. On the other hand, the preference for *kalos* in the Pastorals is striking (cf. 1 Tim. 5:10, 25; 6:18; Tit. 2:7, 14; 3:8, 14; 1 Tim. 3:1). Military imagery, in particular, is linked with the concept *kalos* (cf. 1 Tim. 6:12; 2 Tim. 2:3; 1 Tim. 1:18; 2 Tim. 4:7). But in other contexts *kalos* is used remarkably often instead of *agathos* (cf. 1 Tim. 1:8; 3:7; 3:13; 4:6; 6:19; 2 Tim. 1:14; 1 Tim. 4:4). The reason for this usage here is clear. The word was a favourite in popular Hellenistic speech and it expressed a Hellenistic sense of values. It is used here in order to express the more clearly for the second generation of Christians what characterizes discipleship of Christ. In any case, both OT and NT right on into the Catholic Epistles

(Jas. 2:7; 3:13; 4:17; 1 Pet. 2:12; 4:10) demonstrate a use of the term *kalos* which, without undergoing any change of meaning, is freely employed to express Biblical ideas in the context of Gk. language and thought. *E. Beyreuther*

χρηστός

χρηστός (*chrēstos*), mild, pleasant, kind, good; χρηστότης (*chrēstotēs*), goodness, kindness, friendliness; χρηστεύομαι (*chrēsteuomai*), show kindness.

CL *chrēstos* originally denoted usefulness, and hence what appeared useful, good, suitable and proper (e.g. mild wine). This was very soon followed by the broadening of the concept to include moral excellence and perfection, in which inner greatness was linked with genuine goodness of heart. So *chrēstos* meant morally good and honourable, the capacity to show kindness to everyone. Used as a noun, *to chrēston* meant a friendly nature, kindness; in the plur. *ta chrēsta*, kind actions (Herodotus). In the same way the noun, *hē chrēstotēs*, from Euripides on, acquired the meaning of friendliness, kindness, mildness, and was used in inscriptions as a title of honour for rulers and important public figures.

OT 1. In the LXX the Hebrew word *ṭôḇ* in its many shades of meaning is translated by *chrēstos* along with → *agathos* and → *kalos*. There is little contemplation in the OT of the goodness of God in and of itself. On the other hand, his benevolent activity is constantly sung and recognized in hymns of praise. *chrēstos* and *chrēstotēs* are favourite, although not the only, words for expressing the abundance of good which God in his → covenant faithfulness displays to his people and to all men as his creatures. This constant mercy and readiness to help on the part of God is one of the essential themes of the Pss. (e.g. 25:7 f.; 31:19 [MT 31:20]; 65:11 [MT 65:12]). But *chrēstos* also occurs in prophetic texts, especially in Jeremiah (e.g. 40[33]:11; cf. 24:2 f., 5). This picture of the kindness of God grows deeper in the face of the bewildering recognition of the enduring nature of sin. Yet he still remains kind! Nor could the fate of the nation after the exile, with its conviction that God's dealings are incomprehensible, suppress the acknowledgment that Yahweh is kind (cf. 2 Macc. 1:24).

2. The Qumran documents continue the same train of thought. Just as the OT expected the pious, for his part, to show kindness which should reflect the kindness he had received from God, the sect also expected its members to show gracious kindness to one another. The often recurring phrase used to denote this is *'ahªḇaṯ ḥeseḏ*, gracious love (e.g. 1QS 2:24; 5:4, 25; 8:2). Beside mercy (*raḥªmîm*) and patience the Spirit of Light shows "eternal kindness" (*ṭôḇ 'ôlāmîm*, cf. 1QS 4:3). But in unexpected juxtaposition to the demand for gracious kindness towards one another stands the command for "eternal hatred" of the sons of wickedness (1QS 4:17). Here we can see, as it was radicalized in later Judaism, the limitation of the OT command to love or show kindness which was not taken to include unconditional love of one's enemies.

NT In the NT *chrēstos* occurs 7 times; *hē chrēstotēs* 10 times; the former 3 times, the latter exclusively in Paul.

1. *chrēstos* is used of things, as in secular Gk., to denote their goodness (Lk. 5:39, good wine).

2. The concept is used in Lk. to break down the limitation of the OT commandment to love (Lk. 6:35). God's kindness embraces even the ungrateful, and the wicked (obstinate sinners); because it is without limit, it calls for unconditional love for their enemies on the part of Jesus' disciples. Jesus invited those who had become exhausted by legalistic piety to take upon themselves his easy yoke (*ho gar zygos mou chrēstos*, Matt. 11:30). In experiencing his kindness, men are to be like him in showing kindness towards others (v. 29).

3. While *chrēstos* only appears 3 times in the Synoptic Gospels, the Johannine writings and the Catholic epistles do not employ the word at all. But Paul makes striking use of it together with the noun *chrēstotēs* which he prefers.

In his attack on self-righteous Jewish piety he shows that the goodness of God is no cheap grace which is there to be made a convenience of. It should lead to a horror of one's unwillingness to repent so that God's aim of converting men to himself may be achieved (Rom. 2:4).

Especially in his use of the noun *hē chrēstotēs* the apostle makes repeated use of the idea of the incomprehensible kindness of God. He does not desire the death of the sinner but his salvation (Rom. 11:22; Eph. 2:7; Tit. 3:4). His purpose is to show the meaning of kindness in the life of the man whom Christ has grasped. Kindness and gentleness belong to the visible gifts of the Spirit (Gal. 5:22). Love (→ art. *agapē*) shows itself as kindness (1 Cor. 13:4, expressed here by the vb. *chrēsteuetai hē agapē*). For kindness is an unmistakable and essential characteristic of love. Because kindness is one of the chief gifts of the Spirit, it becomes the subject of the exhortation of Col. 3:12: "Put on then, as God's chosen ones, compassion, kindness." As a direct out-working of *agapē*, it is always alive and active, breaking out spontaneously in the life of the man who is led by Christ. This completes the circle from the original kindness of God who created the world and men, separated a people for himself, and remains kind despite sin and wickedness, to the revelation of his incomprehensible kindness in Jesus Christ in the fullness of → time. Here God's saving activity reaches its → goal. In Jesus Christ God's fatherly kindness can be seen as in a mirror. Moreover, the members of the Christian community, the church, have to choose as their path in the world the way of kindness which they must show to all men. At the same time they have to choose it in a world which often betrays little sign of it.

E. Beyreuther

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Gospel, Evangelize, Evangelist

εὐαγγέλιον

εὐαγγέλιον (*euangelion*), good news, gospel; εὐαγγελίζω (*euangelizō*), bring or announce good news, proclaim, preach; mid. εὐαγγελίζομαι (*euangelizomai*), bring good news, proclaim glad tidings, proclaim, preach; εὐαγγελιστής (*euangelistēs*), proclaimer of glad tidings or of the gospel, evangelist.

CL 1. The mid. vb. *euangelizomai* (Aristophanes), *euangelizō*, a form not encountered until later Gk., together with the adjectival noun *euangelion* (Homer) and the noun *euangelos* (Aesch.), are all derived from *angelos*, messenger (probably an Iranian loan-word originally), or the vb. *angellō* (announce; → Angel). *euangelos*, messenger, is one who brings a message of victory or other political or personal news that causes joy. In the Hel. period the word can also mean one who announces oracles. Similarly the vb. *euangelizomai* means to speak as a messenger of gladness, to proclaim good news; and where it is used in a religious sense, to promise. *euangelizomai* also gains a religious meaning when it is used in connection with the appearance of a "divine man", whose approach is announced with joy (e.g. of Apollonius of Tyana in Philostratus, *VA* 1, 28, 3rd cent. A.D.). On the other hand, the vb. is often found with its original sense weakened to make it synonymous with *angellō*, to bear a message, announce.

2. The noun *euangelion* means: (a) the reward received by the messenger of victory (his good news brings relief to the recipients; therefore he is rewarded); (b) the message itself, chiefly a technical term for the message of victory, but also used of political and private messages bringing joy. Such messages are seen as a gift of the gods. When the message has been received, sacrifices are offered to them

out of gratitude but also in order to hold the gods to their gift (cf. the phrase *euangelia thyein*, to celebrate good news by sacrifice, first found in Isocrates). "Behind such sacrifices lies the animist's distrust of his own religious cult: hurry to thank the gods for the message, or else you may miss the good fortune of which it tells" (J. Schniewind, *Euangelion*, 1931, 182).

(c) It is chiefly in connection with oracles (i.e. the promise of some future event) and in the imperial cult that *euangelion* acquires a religious meaning. In the latter sphere news of the divine ruler's birth, coming of age, or enthronement, and also his speeches, decrees and acts are glad tidings which bring long hoped-for fulfilment to the longings of the world for happiness and peace. An instance of this is the decree of the Greeks of the province of Asia *c.* 9 B.C. marking the birthday of Augustus (23 September) the beginning of the civil year: "It is a day which we may justly count as equivalent to the beginning of everything – if not in itself and in its own nature, at any rate in the benefits it brings – inasmuch as it has restored the shape of everything that was failing and turning into misfortune, and has given a new look to the Universe at a time when it would gladly have welcomed destruction if Caesar had not been born to be the common blessing of all men. . . . Whereas the Providence (*pronoia*) which has ordered the whole of our life, showing concern and zeal, has ordained the most perfect consummation for human life by giving to it Augustus, by filling him with virtue for doing the work of a benefactor among men, and by sending in him, as it were, a saviour for us and those who come after us, to make war to cease, to create order everywhere . . . and whereas the birthday of the God [Augustus] was the beginning for the world of the glad tidings [in the Greek the 'Evangel'] that have come to men through him . . . Paulus Fabius Maximus, the proconsul of the province . . . has devised a way of honouring Augustus hitherto unknown to the Greeks, which is, that the reckoning of time for the course of human life should begin with *his* birth" (quoted from E. Barker, *From Alexander to Constantine: Passages and Documents Illustrating the History of Social and Political Ideas 336* B.C.–A.D. *337*, (1956) 1959, 211 f.; cf. W. Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones*, II, No. 458; for other data on background see G. Friedrich, *TDNT* II 721–5). The proclamation of this *euangelion* does not merely herald a new era: it actually brings it about. The proclamation is itself the *euangelion*, since the salvation it proclaims is already present in it.

3. It is not difficult to trace the connection between this religious use of the word *euangelion* in the Hel. world, especially in the imperial cult, and its use in the NT. The latter takes up a term widely used in the Hel. world and loaded with religious concepts, when it speaks of its own *euangelion* or gospel. At the same time the OT roots of the NT concept of *euangelion* must not be ignored.

OT 1. In the Gk. translation of the OT *euangelion* never appears in the sing. form. The plur., used to render the Heb. *bᵉśōrâh*, means reward for good news (2 Sam. 4:10). Occasionally *euangelia*, a form unknown in the NT, also appears for the Heb. *bᵉśōrâh* in the sense of glad tidings (e.g. 2 Sam. 18:20, 22). On the whole, however, the substantival forms are not of particular importance. Of greater significance for the further development of the concept is the fact that the vb. *euangelizomai* – which is likewise not found frequently elsewhere and is limited to a few writings – comes to stand for the Heb. *biśśar*, to announce, tell, publish (e.g.

1 Ki. 1:42; Jer. 20:15). This verb is the term used in the Pss. 40:9[10]; 68:11[12]; 96:2 ff. and Isa. 41:27 and 52:7 to herald Yahweh's universal victory over the world and his kingly rule. With his enthronement (cf. the enthronement psalms, especially Ps. 96) and with his return to Zion (in Isa.) a new era begins. The messenger of good tidings (*m*^{e}*baśśēr*, substantival part., translated by *euangelizomenos* in the LXX) announces this new era of world history and inaugurates it by his mighty word. Peace and salvation have now come; Yahweh has become king (Isa. 52:7; cf. also 40:9); his reign extends over the whole world (Ps. 96:2 ff.). This "'gospel' is effective speech, a powerful saying, a word which brings its own fulfilment. In the mouth of his messengers God himself speaks: he speaks and it is accomplished; he commands and it is done (Ps. 33:6)" (G. Gloege in *Theologie für Nichttheologen*, I, 1963, 100). The act of proclamation is itself the dawn of the new era. Hence it is easy to understand the special significance that attaches to the messenger of the good news. With his arrival on the scene and the delivery of his message, salvation, redemption and peace become a reality. (Cf. on this Isa. 61:1, where the connection between message and mission is particularly prominent; → Apostle.)

2. When the LXX was translated, this concept of the messenger of glad tidings and his powerful, effective word was no longer understood, and the meaning was weakened. The proclamation of the message was separated from the action originally associated directly with it (cf. e.g. Isa. 52:7, where LXX translates: "Your God will be king"). Neither Philo nor Josephus takes up the concept of the messenger of glad tidings as found in Isa. in their use of *euangelion* and *euangelizomai*. They use the words in the normal Hel. sense (cf. *War*, 2, 420; 4, 656; cf. *TDNT* II 725 f.). They do not therefore contribute anything further to our understanding of the NT use of these terms. The same cannot however be said of Rab. Judaism.

3. Rab. Judaism kept alive the concept of the messenger of good tidings. He was variously expected: as an unknown figure, the forerunner of the Messiah, or as the Messiah himself (→ Jesus Christ). The content of his message was already familiar from Isa., and was therefore no longer of primary interest. The important thing about him was rather that the *m*^{e}*baśśēr* is coming, and by his proclamation he will usher in the era of salvation. Everything depends on his appearance and on his act of proclamation (cf. Pes. R. 36 [162a] SB III 9ff.; cf. also 1QM 18:14, where the messenger's self-designation as "messenger of good news" is a clear echo of Isa. 61). Here the same observation may be made that was made concerning OT usage. The eschatological event finds expression in the vb. (*biśśar* means to preach the eschatological message of joy) and in particular the participial noun (*m*^{e}*baśśēr*, the eschatological messenger of joy), but not in the noun. *b*^{e}*śōrâh*, good news. This fact suggests that the NT term *euangelion* is derived from Gk. usage rather than the Heb., or more precisely from the language of the imperial cult. The question cannot be decided with certainty, especially since "The imperial cult and the Bible share the view that accession to the throne, which introduces a new era and brings peace to the world, is a gospel for men" (*TDNT* II 725). The only difference, in fact, is in the content of the *euangelion*.

NT 1. Although the vb. *euangelizomai* and the noun *euangelion* are such important NT terms, the two words are found with varying degrees of frequency in the

various writings of the NT. *euangelizomai* is found only once in Matt. (11:5). In Lk.-Acts, on the other hand, it occurs 25 times, in Paul 21 times (including twice in Eph.), twice in Heb., and 3 times in 1 Pet. In addition *euangelizō* is found twice in Rev. Although the vb. is not found in Mk., the noun occurs there 7 times, and 4 times in Matt. Luke, however, shows a distinctive predilection for the verbal form *euangelizomai*; he uses the noun only twice (Acts 15:7 and 20:24). The noun *euangelion* occurs particularly often in Paul (60 times, including 4 times in Eph., and 4 times in the Pastoral Epistles), and once each in 1 Pet. and Rev. The fact that the Johannine writings (gospel and epistles) know neither the vb. nor the noun is most remarkable. It may perhaps be explained by the characteristic theology underlying them, their so-called present eschatology. It would be a mistake, however, to assume that because certain NT writings do not use the vb. or the noun, the thought expressed by them is therefore completely lacking. In the Johannine writings, for instance, the concept is expressed by terms like *martyreō*, to witness, and *martyria*, → witness.

2. It has been questioned whether Jesus himself used the term *euangelion* (or, to be more precise, its Heb. or Aram. equivalent) as a broad description of his message. Nevertheless, the term is attributed to him in Mk. 1:15; 8:35; 10:29; 13:10; 14:9; [16:15]; Matt. 4:23; 9:35; 24:14; 26:13; cf. also Mk. 1:1, 14). It is possible that Jesus indicated that the words of messianic expectation in Isa. 35 and 61 are fulfilled in his words and actions (cf. Matt. 11:5 f. = Lk. 7:22, Q: *ptōchoi euangelizontai*, the glad tidings go out to the poor; also Lk. 4:18, where Jesus refers to Isa. 61:1). But if so, they are fulfilled in a way which will disappoint (Matt. 11:6) the expectations popularly attached to the messenger of glad tidings in Isa. (i.e. political liberation and the destruction of Israel's enemies). Certainly the answer to the Baptist's question in Matt. 11:5 f. means that the glad tidings awaited since Isa. are now being proclaimed and are already effective.

The really decisive question is not whether Jesus himself used the word *euangelion* but whether it is a word appropriate to the substance of his message. There is no doubt that Jesus saw his message of the coming → kingdom of God (Mk. 1:14) which is already present in his word and action as good news. "Blessed are your eyes, for they see, and your ears, for they hear" (Matt. 13:16). This message of joy is no longer to be separated from the messenger who brings it, and this messenger is Jesus himself (cf. Lk. 11:20; Matt. 5:1 f.; cf. *TDNT* II 728 f.). Moreover, he appears not only as the messenger and author of the message, but at the same time as its subject, the one of whom the message tells. It is therefore quite consistent for the early Christian church to take up the term *euangelion* to describe the message of salvation connected with the coming of Jesus.

3. There is good reason to believe that it was Paul who established the term *euangelion* in the vocabulary of the NT. That is not to say that he was the first to use this word without further qualification for the total content of the message, and to make it synonymous with the name of → Jesus Christ. On the contrary, Paul's frequent use of the word *euangelion* absolutely (at least 23 times without further qualification to describe the content of the message) suggests that he was taking over phraseology already familiar to his readers. The latter knew what the content of the gospel was. It is thus reasonable to suppose that in the early churches this terminology had developed by analogy out of that associated with the "gospel"

of the imperial cult, though also in conscious opposition to the latter. In the sphere of missionary outreach in particular, the message of salvation through Jesus Christ came into conflict with the political, messianic message by reason of its universal claims. It was inevitable that very soon OT statements and ideas, especially from the prophecy of Isa., would become linked with this Hel. terminology, "This could readily happen, not least because the connection between the Hellenistic-Oriental concepts of the redeemer and the ideology of the saviour-king that stands behind deutero-Isaiah was suggested by the subject matter itself" (W. Schneemelcher in Henn. Schn., I, 72).

In Paul *euangelion* has become a central concept of his theology. It means the familiar good news: that God has acted for the salvation (→ redemption) of the world in the incarnation, death and resurrection of Jesus (cf. the development of these ideas in confessional formulae in Rom. 1:1 ff.; 1 Cor. 15:1 ff.). In so far as this event is already promised in the OT, the OT belongs to the gospel. (*epangelia*, → promise, is closely related both linguistically and conceptually to *euangelion*, and it is significant that the conflict of law and gospel appears in Paul's writings in connection with this term.) However, *euangelion*, as used by Paul, does not mean only the content of what is preached, but also the act, process and execution of the proclamation. Content and process of preaching are one. They are not separated in thought (Rom. 1:1), apart from when they are set close alongside each other (1 Cor. 9:14, 18). For in the very act of proclamation its content becomes reality, and brings about the salvation which it contains. "The gospel does not merely bear witness to salvation history; it is itself salvation history" (G. Friedrich, *TDNT* II 731). The action of → proclamation is denoted not only by the vb. *euangelizomai* (as e.g. in 1 Cor. 1:17), but also by *euangelion* used as a noun of action. Thus in 2 Cor. 8:18 *euangelion* means preaching of the gospel. Similarly the gen. in the phrases "gospel of God", or "gospel of Christ", and "of the Son of God" (e.g. Rom. 1:1; 15:16; 1 Cor. 9:12; 2 Cor. 2:12) should be taken as both objective and subjective: Christ or God is both the content and author of the gospel. It is difficult to make a clear distinction here, since Paul sometimes stresses the one aspect and sometimes the other. Wherever it is proclaimed (*euangelizesthai* in 2 Cor. 11:7; Gal. 1:11; *kēryssein* in Gal. 2:2; 1 Thess. 2:9; *katangellein* in 1 Cor. 9:14; *lalein* in 1 Thess. 2:2), this gospel is charged with power. It creates → faith (Rom. 1:16 f.; Phil. 1:27), brings salvation, life (Rom. 1:16; 1 Cor. 15:2) and also → judgment (Rom. 2:16). It reveals God's → righteousness (Rom. 1:17), brings the fulfilment of → hope (Col. 1:5, 23), intervenes in the lives of men, and creates churches. Since this gospel is no invention of man (Gal. 1:11), but rather God or Christ himself speaking through his messengers, the → apostles, the gospel is closely associated with the apostolate (2 Cor. 10–13). (See also Gal. 2:7 f., where *euangelion* in the sense of the proclamation of the message is clearly set out as the purpose and content of the *apostolē* or apostolic mission of both Paul and Peter, to the Gentiles as well as to the Jews.) Just as in Isa. 40:9; 52:7; and Nah. 1:15 the heralds and watchmen on the walls proclaim the coming of God, so the messengers proclaim the gospel (Rom. 10:15). Paul was conscious of having been called to bring the gospel to the Gentiles especially (Rom. 1:1; Gal. 1:16), and so to carry the eschatological event beyond the borders of Israel (Rom. 15:9). His whole activity was *euangelizesthai* (1 Cor. 1:17). As the "partner of the gospel"

(1 Cor. 9:23), therefore, he could speak of "his gospel" (e.g. Rom. 16:25; 2 Cor. 4:3). By this he meant the one gospel which was preached in Jerusalem (Gal. 1:6–9; 2 Cor. 10:13–16) and which has only now broken out of the bounds of the Jewish law, and become the gospel for the Gentiles, freed from the law (Gal. 1:16; 2:7, 8; Rom. 1:15). Paul's opponents, on the other hand, have "another gospel" (Gal. 1:6–10; 2 Cor. 11:4). They make attacks upon Paul. But since apostleship and the preaching of the gospel belong together, every attack on Paul and his apostleship is an attack on the gospel, and vice versa. To preach the gospel is not to commend oneself, but – as if compelled (1 Cor. 9:16) – to commend the Lord (2 Cor. 10:18; 4:5; Gal. 1:10).

4. In the Synoptic Gospels likewise, *euangelion* is the name given to the good news of the saving event in Jesus Christ, as preached in the church. The separate evangelists do, however, have different emphases when it comes to detail. These are conditioned by their respective theological outlooks:

(a) Mark stands very close to the Pauline use of *euangelion*, always using it absolutely except at 1:1 and 1:14. Since it is evident that he uses it in redactional passages, scholars have assumed that he was the one who introduced this word (taking it over perhaps from Paul) into the synoptic tradition. Matt. and Lk. are dependent on him, but modify his ideas. Mk., like Paul, sees Jesus Christ as both content and author of the gospel. Where it is proclaimed, he is present and at work – present to such a degree that what is done for the gospel's sake is done for Jesus' sake as well (Mk. 8:35; 10:29). The content of this gospel is the history of Jesus with its individual events (cf. Mk. 14:5). Mk. does not record them merely out of historical interest, but rather uses the narrative about Jesus in order to express what the gospel is. It is not information about a glorious divine redeemer, but the message of salvation through the suffering Son of man whose hidden glory as → Son of God did not become apparent except to his followers (→ disciple) on the way of the cross. Mk. therefore sets *euangelion* as a kind of title over his whole book (1:1, "The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God"); this means that these stories are not merely reports about Jesus, but an address. They are the good news in which Jesus is proclaimed as the living Lord and in which he himself addresses the readers of the Gospel of Mark, bringing about and strengthening faith (Mk. 1:15).

(b) In contrast with this use of *euangelion* in Mk., Matt. never uses the word without further qualifying it as "the gospel of the kingdom" (4:23; 9:35) or "this gospel" (26:13; cf. also 24:14). In so doing he has shifted the emphasis. In the foreground now is the idea of Jesus as the bringer and proclaimer of the gospel. The content of the gospel is now to be seen chiefly in the → teaching in which Jesus instructs his disciples (4:23; 9:35; 24:14; but in 26:13 "gospel" refers to the passion narrative). But in so far as the church passes on this gospel, Jesus himself is also its content (cf. especially Matt. 24:14; 26:13).

(c) In Luke-Acts the term *euangelion* is found only at Acts 15:7 and 20:24. Possibly this has to do with his particular scheme, according to which the era of Jesus must be distinguished from the era of the church, and so too the preaching of Jesus from that of the apostles. Thus he can describe as *euangelion* the apostolic preaching (Acts 15:7; 20:24), but not the preaching of Jesus. Particularly instructive in this context is the alteration of *euangelion* in Mk. 10:29 to *basileia* in Lk.

18:29. This suggestion is not upset by the fact that Lk. evidently has a special predilection for the vb. *euangelizesthai*. It no longer has the pregnant meaning which it has for Paul, who uses it to embrace the whole work of Jesus, but has almost become a technical term for proclamation. Further evidence in this direction is provided by the fact that it is used interchangeably with other verbs of → proclamation like *kēryssein* (cf. here the Markan version behind Lk. 4:43; 9:6; and also Lk. 4:18), *katangellein* (Acts 13:5, 38; 15:36; 16:17; 17:23; 26:23), *didaskein* (Lk. 20:1, → teach). Moreover, Lk. generally qualifies this oral proclamation by a phrase like "kingdom of God" (4:43; 8:1) or "Jesus" (Acts 5:42; 8:25; 11:20). Thus Lk. can also describe the Baptist's activity as *euangelizesthai* (3:18), although he explicitly stresses that the kingdom of God was not proclaimed until after the Baptist (16:16). *euangelizesthai* thus practically regains here its broader, more general Hel. meaning of proclaiming good news, and is no longer a term with christological overtones.

5. The other NT writings which use *euangelion* or *euangelizomai* on the whole follow the above outline of Paul. They tend to bring out certain aspects of this powerful gospel which is not a human word but the word of God (1 Pet. 1:12). It was entrusted to Paul as a preacher, apostle and teacher (2 Tim. 1:11). Its message of Jesus Christ, risen from the dead, and descended from David (2 Tim. 2:8) is not limited to a single, past event, but is experienced as a word charged with power in the present so that it cannot be fettered by human chains (2 Tim. 2:9). This gospel produces rebirth and new life (1 Pet. 23–25). It brings peace (Eph. 2:17; 6:15), and draws together the near and the far off, the Gentiles and the Jews (Eph. 3:1–9). It gives salvation (Eph. 1:13), and has "brought life and immortality to light" (2 Tim. 1:10).

6. However varied may be the emphasis and development of the term *euangelion* in the NT, the reference is always to the oral proclamation of the message of salvation and never to something fixed in writing, such as a → book or a letter. This is shown not least by the synonyms of *euangelion* and *euangelizomai*: *kēryssein*, *katangellein*, *lalein*, *logos*, etc. This oral message is one, even if Paul speaks of "his" gospel (*euangelion mou*, Rom. 2:16). The NT knows only the gospel; the plur. "the gospels" is a contradiction of its nature (G. Bornkamm, *RGG*[3] II 749).

Nevertheless, from the 2nd cent. onwards reference is made to gospels, meaning the written gospels (cf. Iren., *Haer.* 3, 11, 8; cf. 3, 1, 1; Clem. Alex., *Strom*, 1, 136, 1; cf. Lampe, 555 ff.). This is the outcome of a development which can be traced in its origin back to Mk. Mk. associated the gospel with the stories about Jesus which he had written down, but he did not identify the two. The introductory phrase "The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ" (1:1) clearly does not mean that in what follows he is writing a biography of Jesus (see above 4 (a)). This identification did, however, take place at a later stage as a result of an historicizing tendency which may already be seen in Matt. and Lk. Hence, "gospel" came to be used as a description of a book, and consequently the plural form *ta euangelia* became possible as a collective term for these "reports". This was not yet true in the case of Lk. For in his prologue (1:1–4) he did not employ the term "gospels" for the narratives about Jesus which were evidently in bountiful supply in his day. Instead he used *diēgēsis*, narrative. In the course of the 2nd cent., however, this use of the term for a type of literature without parallel in the NT world became established. At the same time the NT insight was retained. For the four gospels "testify to the

one gospel, to the proclamation of salvation in Jesus Christ" (W. Schneemelcher, Henn. Schn., I, 75). Similarly Luther declared: "The gospel . . . is not in truth that which is written in books and set down in letters, but rather a spoken message and living word, and a voice which sounds out into the world and is publicly proclaimed, that it may be heard everywhere" (*Weimarer Ausgabe* XII, 259).

7. *euangelistēs* is a term for one who proclaims the *euangelion*. This word, which is very rare in non-Christian literature, but common enough in early Christian writings, is found in the NT only at Acts 21:8 (of Philip who had been one of the Seven, Acts 6:5; cf. also 8:5 ff.), Eph. 4:11 (along with apostles, prophets, pastors and teachers), and in 2 Tim. 4:5 (of Timothy). In these three passages the evangelist is distinguished from the apostle. This is especially obvious in the case of the evangelist Philip, whose activity has to be ratified by the apostles Peter and John (Acts 8:14 f.). The term *euangelistēs* is thus clearly intended to refer to people who carry on the work of the apostles who have been directly called by the risen Christ. But it is difficult to decide whether the reference is to an office, or simply to an activity. These evangelists may have been engaged in missionary work (Acts 21:8), or church leadership (2 Tim. 4:5). As a term for the author of a gospel, *euangelistēs* is not found before the time when *euangelion* is used to describe a book and "gospels" are spoken of (cf. Lampe, 559). *U. Becker*

→ Confess, → Law, → Proclaim, → Scripture, → Teach, → Word

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Grace, Spiritual Gifts

χάρις

χάρις (*charis*), grace, gracefulness, graciousness, favour, thanks, gratitude; χάρισμα (*charisma*), gift given out of goodwill; χαρίζομαι (*charizomai*), show favour or kindness, give as a favour, to be gracious to someone, to pardon; χαριτόω (*charitoō*), endue with grace.

CL 1. Words formed from the Gk. root *char* indicate things which produce well-being. They belong to the Indo-European family of words which includes Old High German *ger* (greed); New High German *Geier* (vulture; cf. Eng. *gerfalcon*); Lat. *caritas*; Eng. greedy; cf. *chara* (→ Joy). *charis* (from Homer on) which is not always clearly distinguished in literature from *chara* (from Sappho on) means that which brings wellbeing among men (cf. *charma*), while *chara* (→ Joy) is the individual experience or expression of this wellbeing. From this basic meaning of the noun the individual meanings of *charis* are derived: grace, favour, beauty, thankfulness, gratitude, delight, kindness; expression of favour, good turn, benefit; in the plur. debt of gratitude, gratitude, recompense, thanks (these meanings from Euripides on). The acc. sing. with *echein* means to be grateful; with the addition of *pros tina* it means to have someone's goodwill. Linked with *apodounai*, or *ōphelein*, the acc. sing. means to return thanks or to owe thanks. Indicative of the characteristic use of the noun are: (a) the combinations (without the article) with *eis*, for someone's good, as a favour; *en*, for the benefit of; *pros*, to oblige someone, in kindness, as desired; *syn*, to the satisfaction of; (b) the adverbial use *charin tinos* to someone's advantage, for someone's sake, on account of.

charis designates not only the attitude of the gods but also that of men (e.g. the emperor's dispensations). Like *charma* (cf. Lat. *carmen*, spell, whence charm, French *charme*), *charis* can also designate the physical causes of the benevolent gift, charm, attraction, and in the plur. it can mean amiable characteristics. In mythology personifications of *charis* occur: Charis is the exceedingly beautiful wife of Hephaestus; *hai Charitēs*, the Graces, are the creators and bestowers of charm.

2. The derived noun *charisma*, gracious gift, donation (only from God to men) is found in pre-Christian literature only in one LXX version of Sir. 7:33; 38:30; Ps. 30:20 (Theod.); Philo. *Leg. All.* 3, 78; Sib. 2, 54. In post-Christian secular literature it occurs in Alciphron 3, 17, 4 (2nd cent. A. D.) meaning a benevolently dispensed gift (cf. Arndt, 887).

3. The vb. *charizomai* (common from Homer onwards) does not occur with God as its subject until Aelius Aristides (2nd cent. A.D.), when it means to give graciously. When applied to men's dealing with one another, it means to do something pleasant for someone, to be kind, gracious, or obliging, to oblige or gratify someone (from Diodorus Siculus, 1st cent. B.C.). With the construction *tini pros ti*, it is used in the sense of courting a god's favour by sacrifice; and in the case of a woman, to grant favours, to indulge her passions. *charisamenos* used absolutely means as a favour. In the context of ethics and law it means to grant, remit, forgive, or pardon, with the dat. of the person and the acc. of the thing (since Dionysius of Halicarnassos, 1st cent. B.C.). It is used particularly in the sense of granting someone's life (to a third party), i.e. to set him free to please someone (cf. NT below on Acts 3:14; 25:11, 16; 27:24; Phlm. 22). In the perf. and plupf. pass. the vb. means to be pleasant, agreeable, or desired. The perf. part. has the sense of a noun, pleasantness, agreeableness (cf. the formula *hōs kecharismenoi*, as those who have received a gift).

4. The vb. *charitoō* occurs only in a few LXX and extra-canonical passages (Sir. 18:17; Ps. 17:26 [Sym.]; Aristeas 225 and Test. Jos. 1:6), always with reference to divine blessing. Otherwise it is confined to the NT and late post-Christian secular literature (Libanius, 4th cent.).

OT 1. The LXX uses the word *charis* about 190 times of which only about 75 have a Heb. equivalent. Among the equivalents the noun *ḥēn* (61 times) is the most frequent, mostly in the sense favour, inclination. It rarely means attractiveness, beauty, charm (e.g. Ps. 45:2 [MT 45:3; LXX 44:3]). Occasionally it is used as an adj. (Prov. 1:9; 4:9; 5:19). Other equivalents are *rāṣôn*, what is acceptable (between men, Prov. 10:32), favour which one seeks from God (Prov. 11:27), favour which one obtains from God (Prov. 12:2); *ḥeseḏ* (twice), favour (Est. 2:9, 17, here parallel to *ḥēn*); *raḥam* (twice, plur.; → Mercy, arts. *oiktirmos* and *splanchna*), brotherly feeling (Dan. 1:9), compassion (Gen. 43:14) once each; *ṭôḇ*, a good thing (Prov. 18:22); *gᵉḏûlâh*, sign of honour (Est. 6:3); as a conjunction or preposition *bammeh*, why (2 Chr. 7:21); *biglal*, on account of (variant of 1 Ki. 14:16); *ḥālāq* (Ezek. 12:24), accommodating with smooth flattery (W. Zimmerli, *Ezechiel*, *BKAT* ad loc.).

2. (a) The use of the word *ḥēn* clarifies the meaning of "grace" in history and actions. It denotes the stronger coming to the help of the weaker who stands in need of help by reason of his circumstances or natural weakness. He acts by a voluntary decision, though he is moved by the dependence or the request of the weaker party. A typical expression used to describe such an event from the standpoint of the weak is the formula to find favour in someone's eyes, i.e. to acquire his favour, liking, benevolence, condescension, and understanding. The action itself is what makes the weaker party acceptable: e.g. Jacob to Esau (Gen. 32:5, MT 32:6); Joseph to Potiphar and Pharaoh's men (Gen. 3:4 and 50:4); the Egyptians to Joseph (Gen. 47:25); Ruth to Boaz (Ruth 2:2, 10, 13); a young wife to her husband (here in the negative, Deut. 24:1); Hannah to Eli (1 Sam. 1:18); David to Saul and Jonathan (1 Sam. 16:22; 20:3); Joab to David (2 Sam. 14:22); Esther to the king (Est. 8:5 etc.). This acceptance is desired (Zech. 4:7) or experienced (Eccl. 9:11) as fortune or salvation. Often it can only be understood as the result

of the special intervention of God who supplies grace to the weak (Gen. 39:21; Exod. 3:21; 11:3; 12:36).

(b) *ḥēn* denotes relatively seldom the activity of God. It is used mostly in the sense of his undeserved gift in election. Noah (Gen. 6:8) is singled out of mankind sentenced to destruction (cf. below on Gen. 8:21 f.). The choice of this one individual allows us to recognize mercy in the midst of judgment. Moses, the chosen mediator, was permitted to remind Yahweh of his electing gift (Exod. 33:12, 13a) and therefore request a renewed gift of Yahweh (Exod. 33:13b, 16; cf. Num. 11:1), recognizable as Yahweh's care in history for the → covenant people and renewed on account of the mediator's intercession (Exod. 33:17). David also surrendered himself in moments of crisis to the providence of God (2 Sam. 15:25). Bowing before God, → humility and petition appear here not as necessary preconditions of the merciful gift of God, but as the way open to man. Wisdom literature recognized, in the relationship between man's humility and divine grace, something of the character of a law (Prov. 3:34, taken up in 1 Pet. 5:5). The translation of Zech. 12:10 is disputed: AV "spirit of grace", RSV "spirit of compassion." The passages refer to the eschatological outpouring of the spirit upon men (cf. Joel 2:28 [MT 3:1]) which is described as "a spirit of compassion and supplication" (RSV). The meaning lies somewhere between "sympathy", "commiseration" (Koehler-Baumgartner, 314) and being touched (K. Elliger, *Kleine Propheten*, *ATD* 25, 1967[6] ad loc.). It is followed by *taḥ[a]nûnîm* also from the root *ḥnn* (RSV "supplication"). (See further J. G. Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 1972, 190 ff.)

(c) Even the postponement in history of punishment is a gracious act of God (2 Ki. 13:23, *ḥnn*). Where the concept is not found, the idea frequently is (e.g. 1 Ki. 21:29; 2 Ki. 10:30; 14:26). Various writers on OT theology rightly point out that, over and above the occurrences of the concept of grace, the OT teaches that "every creature lives by the grace of God" (L. Koehler, *Old Testament Theology*, 1957, 124) and that Yahweh's grace "produces everything that furthers life" (G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, I, 1962, 229). The theological ideas of the Yahwist in which the increase of sin is followed by the greater increase of grace must be considered here: deluge followed by the Noahic covenant (esp. Gen. 8:21 f.); the tower of → Babel followed by the Abrahamic covenant for the blessing of all peoples (Gen. 11–12). In Ps. 63:3 (MT 63:4) the OT is already advancing to the "discovery of the spiritual as a reality beyond the frailty of the corporeal" (von Rad, op. cit., I, 403): "Thy steadfast love [Gk. *eleos* → mercy] is better than life."

3. In addition to the established OT concepts, the apocryphal Wisdom Literature speaks of grace as a reward for good works which include benevolence (Sir. 12:1; 17:22; 35:2; 40:17; the pass. is used as a substitute for the divine name), renunciation and self-denial, especially that of the martyr (Wis. 3:14 *tēs pisteōs charis*, the gracious reward of faith for "the eunuch whose hands have done no lawless deeds"; cf. Isa. 56:3 ff.). On the grace of martyrdom, see 4 Macc. 11:12 where the tyrant is said to bestow great favour through enabling the martyr in his suffering to demonstrate his loyalty to the law.

4. In the Qumran texts a distinctive theology of grace is found. It is linked particularly with the concept *ḥeseḏ* and also with *rāṣôn*. *ḥēn* is not mentioned. It is a theology which, within the bounds of covenant grace (1QM 12, 3 etc.; → Mercy,

art. *eleos* OT), expresses in confession and prayer hope for the gift of God reserved for the individual (1QS 11:12 f. ["through his showing favour comes my justification"]; 1QH 2:23, 25; 4:37; 7:27, 35; 9:10 ["I chose judgment upon myself . . . for I wait for your mercy"]; 9:14 ["hope . . . through your mercy"]; 11:31; 16:12). Although the Qumran and Pauline documents stand close to each other in their deep recognition of human sin and the consequent knowledge that God can justify and pardon, a fundamental difference exists. Radical liberation from the → law has not yet taken place (cf. H. Braun, see bibliography; H. Conzelmann, *An Outline Theology of the New Testament*, 1969, 223 ff.). The divine pleasure (*rāṣôn*) works as providence and foreknowledge which make possible knowledge and a change for the good (1QS 11:18; 10:6; 14:13 etc.). Through obedience and sacrifice this good pleasure can be influenced (1QS 9:4 f.; 1QM 2:5).

5. Rab. literature contains more than a one-sided doctrine of justification by works. On the one hand, grace can be procured by human behaviour (cf. SB I 767 f.; II 152). Grace may come about only where works are lacking, for rewards are given only for deeds (2 Esd. 8:31–33, 36; cf. SB III 201 on Rom. 4:4; 268 on Rom. 9:15 = Exod. 33:19; further IV 21 ff. Excursus on the Sermon on the Mount). On the other hand, there is the belief that grace is necessary for every action. Grace initiates and completes even the actions of the elect (Aristeas 195; cf. SB III 618 f.). The divine reward is a reward of grace (cf. SB IV 486 ff. on Matt. 20:1–16). According to SB IV 490, the early synagogue did not hold fast the idea of reward by grace. It even denied that one could recognize election by success in the world. The successful man may be suspected of having already forfeited his future reward.

NT The NT employs the term *charis* 155 times, mostly in the Pauline letters (100 times) especially in 1 and 2 Cor. (10 and 18 times), Rom. (24 times) and Eph. (12 times). In the Catholic Epistles it is found most frequently in 1 Pet. (10 times); it occurs in Heb. (8 times). Acts uses *charis* 17 times, Lk. 8 and Jn. 4; the word is lacking in Matt. and Mk. With the exception of one text in 1 Pet., *charisma* is an exclusively Pauline concept (16 times). *charizesthai* occurs only in Paul (16 times) and Luke (Lk. 3 times; Acts 4 times), likewise *charitoun* (once each).

1. In Jesus' teaching the concept of grace in the sense of the undeserved gift of God evidently did not occur. But the theme of his teaching and his acts as a whole centred on God's condescension to the weak, poor, hopeless, lost (Matt. 11:5, 28 ff.; Mk. 10:26 ff.; Lk. 15). Immeasurable remission of debt (Matt. 18:21–34), gracious reward in the kingdom of God (Matt. 20:1–16), and pardon leading to a new life (Lk. 13:6–8; 7:36–50; 19:9 f.) are central themes in his ministry.

2. (a) In the few places where Lk. introduces the concept of grace into Jesus' words it means reward in the last day, payment for something taken as a matter of course (Lk. 6:32–34; cf. Matt. 5:46; Lk. 17:9), and means almost the opposite to its basic meaning. In Lk. 4:22 the expression "words of grace" seems to include both the astonishing rhetorical force of Jesus' words, his authority (see v. 22c "Is not this Joseph's son?"; cf. Eph. 4:29; Col. 4:6), the boldness of his claims (cf. v. 21 with vv. 18 f.), and also the content of his teaching (Matt. 11:5; cf. above 1 (a)).

Otherwise Lk. uses *charis* in its OT sense to express the favour and the acceptability of Mary or the child Jesus before God (1:30; 2:40) and men (2:52; quoting

1 Sam. 2:26). In the history of doctrine a special significance attaches to the angel's greeting to Mary, "Favoured one!" (*kecharitōmenē* Lk. 1:28; AV, "highly favoured"). This does not exalt Mary in her essential being over the rest of mankind. (The same is true of Stephen, for example, who is full of grace, Acts 6:8.) But Mary is promised as a special favour of God a unique role in the history of God's saving purposes, of being the handmaid of the Lord, and this came about (*genoito*, Lk. 1:38).

(b) In Acts grace is that power which flows from God or from the exalted Christ, and accompanies the activity of the apostles giving success to their mission (Acts 6:8; 11:23; 14:26; 15:40; 18:27). It appears in "the word of grace" which is identical with the → gospel (13:43; 20:24). The Lord himself confirms it (14:3). It is that which enables men to believe (18:27). The word of grace is that which builds up believers (20:32). Even where the sense "favour with men" is present God's initiative is the decisive factor (2:47; 4:33). It occurs exclusively in the sense of human favour only in 24:27; 25:3, 9. The Pauline contrast of law and grace (cf. 4 (a)) is echoed in the Peter's speech which contrasted the unnecessary "yoke" (*zygos*, see Matt. 11:28 ff.) of → circumcision with "the grace of the Lord Jesus" (15:10 f.).

charizesthai is employed in Acts 4 times in the sense of granting someone's life to a third party (3:14; 27:24) and handing over someone (25:11, 16).

3. In Jn. *charis* occurs 4 times in the prologue only, where it is perhaps influenced by Pauline thought. It plays no further part in the Gospel. The antithesis of law and grace (1:17) is typically Pauline (cf. 4 (a)). The evangelist has here, as in 1:14 (cf. Exod. 34:6, "abounding in steadfast love [*ḥeseḏ*] and faithfulness [*ʾemeṯ*]), linked *charis* with one of his favourite concepts, → truth. As in Paul, the event of Christ (here in particular in his earthly life) is identified with grace. As in Eph., Col., and the Pastorals (see below 5 and 6), grace is seen as the essence of his → glory (*doxa*, v. 14); it is poured out in overflowing → fullness (*charin anti charitos*, "grace upon grace," v. 17; cf. v. 14). In the teaching of Jn. as a whole, the gift which the Revealer brings such as "life" and "light" are identified with Jesus Christ himself, and can only be understood as gifts of his grace (→ "I am" sayings).

4. For Paul *charis* is the essence of God's decisive saving act in Jesus Christ, which took place in his sacrificial death, and also of all its consequences in the present and future (Rom. 3:24 ff.). Therefore, the use of *charis* at the beginning and end of the Pauline letters is much more than a mere polite cliché. "Grace" is not just a good wish for salvation; it is qualified as the grace of Christ (cf. 2 Cor. 13:13 [EVV v. 14], where it is linked with the name of Jesus).

(a) The apostle unfolds the reality and power of *charis* in a stubborn conflict with Rab. ideas of justification by works and synergism (see above OT 5; → Law NT 2). This leads him to set up in contrast two antithetical, mutually exclusive series of ideas: grace, gift, the righteousness of God, superabundance, faith, gospel, calling, in grace and hope on the one side; and law, reward, sin, works, accomplishment owed, one's own righteousness, honour, worldly wisdom, futility on the other side. The person and work of the Son made it possible for justice in the judge's pardon not to conflict with grace (Rom. 3:21 ff.; 8:32; Gal. 2:20 f.; Phil. 2:8 ff.). In Christ, therefore, God's grace is given as a precious gift (1 Cor. 1:4). Apart from him there can be no talk of grace (cf. 1 Cor. 1:30 f.; see also Jn. 1:14,

16 f.). But this also means that grace can never become a quality which an individual may possess in his own right, nor may it ever be placed at his disposal.

(b) In the following extracts from his letters Paul uses the series of ideas mentioned above, or aspects of them. *charis* occurs in a central position, or at the climax of the argument. Most often it is defined by means of a contrast.

(i) Rom. 3:21–31: Men are justified by his (God's) grace as a gift (*dōrean*; → Gift, art. *dōron*) through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus (v. 24). Here grace is pardon by the divine judge who reckons to the sinner the → righteousness of Christ.

(ii) Rom. 4:2, 25: The ideas "of grace [*kata charin*]" and "as debt [*kata opheilēma*]", i.e. a reward for work accomplished, are mutually exclusive (v. 4). "That is why it depends on faith, in order that the promises may rest on grace and be guaranteed to all his [Abraham's] descendants – not only to the adherents of the law but also to those who share the faith of Abraham, for he is the father of us all" (v. 16). Only the free gift of God ensures the extension of the saving → promise to all men.

(iii) Rom. 5:15–21 and 6:1: Rom. 5:15 declares that "the free gift [*charisma*] is not like the trespass [*paraptōma*]." Here *charisma* is used in the sense of *charis*. *charisma* is the gift of life, which as "the grace of God and the free gift in the grace of that one man Jesus Christ abounded for many" (v. 15, cf. by contrast v. 20b). But grace is not given to let men go on in → sin (6:1). It does not owe its origin to sin, nor can it be manipulated by men. It is a new reality, a dominion established once and for all by Jesus Christ. Like a mighty lord, it exercises kingly rule (*basileuein*). Its ground is the new → righteousness of Christ, and its → goal is eternal → life (5:21).

(iv) Rom. 6:12–23 carries this thought further. Vv. 14 f. argue that the man who has died with Christ and lives in him (cf. v. 11) no longer lives under the dominion of sin (*hamartia*), but under that of grace. V. 15 takes up the formula and guards against its misunderstanding (as above in 6:1 f.). God's gracious gift (*charisma*) of eternal life has made the power of death as the wages of sin something that belongs to the past which is now done away with (v. 21 ff.).

(v) Rom. 11:5 f.: "God's gracious choice" (*eklogē charitos*) and the life based on → "works" (*ex ergōn*) have nothing in common. Otherwise grace would no longer be pure grace. It would be compromised by the Rab. principle of accomplishment and achievement (see above OT 5).

(vi) 2 Cor. 1:12. To the Jewish desire for control of one's fate through works of law (see (i), (ii), (v)) corresponds the Greek striving for autonomy by means of earthly → wisdom (*sophia sarkikē*). Grace opposes the pride of both as the sole source of power for the apostolic mission (see below) and for the Christian's life (cf. 1 Cor. 1:30 f.).

(vii) In Gal. 2:21 Paul formulates the climax of his theology of grace: "I do not nullify the grace of God; for if justification were through the law [*dia nomou*], then Christ died to no purpose" (here *dōrean* in its negative sense).

(viii) Gal. 5:1–6. Paul accuses the Galatian churches in v. 4 of doing what he repudiated for himself in 2:21, i.e. of wanting by implication to be justified through the law. By doing this he says that they are "severed from Christ" and "fallen

away from grace." They have plunged into the abyss of their own righteousness and thus of bondage.

(c) Apart from the antithetic use of *charis* and law, Paul employs the concept of grace in various other connections. (i) With the exclamation "but thanks be to God" (*charis de tō theō* or *tō de theō charis;* Rom. 6:17; 7:25; 1 Cor. 15:57; 2 Cor. 2:14; 8:16; 9:15) at crucial points in his letters Paul praises the gracious acts of God (Rom. 7:25; cf. 1 Tim. 1:12; 2 Tim. 1:3; and in Heb. 12:28 the phrase *echōmen charin*, "let us be grateful" [RSV]). (ii) When one partakes in that which is by nature good without a load on the conscience, one does it "with thankfulness" (*chariti*) (1 Cor. 10:30). (iii) The spiritual song is understood as thankfulness to God (Col. 3:16). (iv) In 1 Cor. 16:3 and 2 Cor. 8:6, 7, 19, *charis* is the technical term for the gift of gratitude and love (RSV, NEB, "gift") for the collection for the Jerusalem community.

(d) Arising out of the basic act of pardon and legal acquittal (Rom. 8:31 ff.), Paul understands the whole movement of the Christian life from beginning to end as grace (2 Cor. 6:1–9; Rom. 5:2; cf. also Jn. 1:16). It is guaranteed by being anchored in the purpose of God (*prothesis*) (Rom. 8:28). Human weakness, not self-determination, is its sphere of activity (2 Cor. 12:9). The grace of God makes the new man what he is (1 Cor. 15:10). (It might even be said that he remains as dependent on it as the released prisoner is upon the connections, help and tasks offered by the after-care service which make life in freedom possible for him.) This is as true of the apostolic mission in particular (Rom. 1:5; 12:3; 15:5; 1 Cor. 3:10; Gal. 2:9; Phil. 1:7) as it is of the Christian life in general (Rom. 12:3, 6; 1 Cor. 1:4 ff.; 2 Cor. 4:15; 6:1; 8:1; 9:8, 14; Phil. 1:7, grace as the bond of fellowship). The relationship with Christ is frequently expressed by *dia*, through. When grace is said to be "given", or to "overflow" etc., the intention is to acknowledge its reality in human life, and not to imply that it is a thing or an object.

(e) The manifold outworking of the one grace in individual Christians through the one → Spirit is called by Paul *charisma*, a personal endowment with grace. This is the specialized use of *charisma* as distinct from the general (see above on Rom. 5:15 f.; 6:23). In Rom. 12 and 1 Cor. 12 Paul develops the meaning of this special, spiritual endowment for service for the life of the community. It has both inward and outward-looking aspects: prophecy as a gift of proclamation, service, teaching (*didaskalia*), spiritual exhortation (*paraklēsis*), leadership in the congregation, and also beneficence and compassion (→ Mercy; cf. Rom. 12:6–8). In addition Paul has already listed in 1 Cor. 12:9 ff. and 28 ff. → faith, the gift of healing, special authority to distinguish between spirits, speaking in tongues, the interpretation of tongues and, as first in the order of functions, the service of the → apostle (v. 28). It is inconceivable to Paul that there should be any Christian without some gift of grace. At the same time, a single individual may be characterized by more than one gift of grace. Paul himself had, beside his apostleship (2 Cor. 1:11), the gift of celibacy (1 Cor. 7:7) which did not belong of necessity to the apostolate (1 Cor. 9:5). He also had the gift of tongues (1 Cor. 14:18), and no doubt also prophecy, teaching and administration. Capacity for spiritual service is determined by one's present *charisma*. It must not be overstepped through ambition (1 Cor. 12:11–27; Rom. 12:3–5; cf. also 1 Pet. 4:10). On the other hand, Paul encouraged desire (*zēloute*) for the best gifts (1 Cor. 12:31), which can be attained not through

achievements, but only through → prayer and obedience (→ Faith, art. *peithomai*). Rom. 11:29 designates as *charismata* the abiding privileges of Israel in salvation history (cf. 9:4 f.).

(f) The vb. *charizomai*, like the noun, is used chiefly in connection with the decisive, gracious gift of God. Rom. 8:32 speaks of the all-embracing gift of God in the giving of his Son (cf. Jn. 3:16). The Spirit of God leads to the knowledge of what God has bestowed (1 Cor. 2:12). Already in the old → covenant the free gift of God is linked only with the → promise (*epangelia*, Gal. 3:18), and not with the → law. Readiness to suffer for Christ's sake is, like faith, given to the church by grace for Christ's sake. It is expressed in the pass. in Phil. 1:29, to avoid use of the divine → name. By the prayer of the household of Philemon the imprisoned Paul hoped that he would be granted to that church as a guest (pass. as above, Phlm. 22).

The second meaning of the vb. is to forgive (e.g. 2 Cor. 2:7, 10; cf. also Eph. 4:32; Col. 3:13; 2:13). Christians are to forgive each other, since God in Christ (or the Lord) has forgiven them. In 2 Cor. 12:13 the vb. is used almost ironically to mean excuse.

5. In the letter to the Ephesians *charis* occurs in only two places. It is used as indicated above under 4(b) in an antithetical connection: "dead through our trespasses, made alive together with Christ, by grace [*chariti*] you have been saved" (2:5): "by grace . . . through faith . . . the gift of God" in opposition to "not your own doing . . . not because of works, lest any man should boast" (2:8 f.). In contrast to the earlier epistles, however, *charis* is connected in both places not with *dikaioō*, justify (which does not occur in Eph. and Col.), but with *sōzō*, save. The emphasis is thus shifted from forensic justification to effective salvation (cf. R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, 1955, II 176), i.e. from pardon to blessing (Eph. 1:6). Hence grace is connected with *charitoō*, to favour, bless. It looks forward to exaltation (Eph. 1:6 f.; 2:7), though it is still related to "redemption through his blood" (1:7; cf. 2:15; 4:9).

The cognitive aspect of grace which comes to men in the gospel is stressed in Col. 1:6. Grace and → truth belong together (Col. 1:5b; cf. Jn. 1:14). In Eph. 4:7 *charis* is used in the sense of *charisma*: "grace [*charis*] was given to each one of us according to the measure of the gift [*dōrea*] of Christ."

6. In the Pastorals 1 Tim. 1:12 ff. alludes autobiographically to Rom. 5:20b. 2 Tim. 1:9 takes up the connection of the purpose of God and the grace of Christ (cf. Rom. 8:28 with 32), and gives with Tit. 2:11 a doxology of joy over the present → revelation (*phaneroō* or *epiphainō*) of grace. As in Eph., grace and salvation are connected in Tit. 2:11 (*sōtērios*, saving); grace works to train us (*paideuousa*) away from the world and towards eschatological hope. In Tit. 3:7 grace has a double connection. On the one hand, it refers back to the Saviour Jesus Christ who pours out the renewing Holy Spirit (cf. vv. 5 f.). On the other, it is related to justification in the truly Pauline sense (*dikaiōthentes tē ekeinou chariti*, "justified by his grace"). Christ's grace brings about – likewise forensically – the appointment of heirs to future life. Otherwise the Pastorals say nothing more about individual gifts of grace, but only speak of grace for office (so *charis*, 2 Tim. 2:1). *charisma* is passed on through the → laying on of hands (1 Tim. 4:14; 2 Tim. 1:6).

7. Of the remaining NT epistles 1 Pet. and Heb. come nearest to the Pauline understanding of grace.

(a) Like Eph. and Col., 1 Pet. does not specifically link grace and justification. It speaks of the grace of God which is given through Christ (1:10, announced by the prophets), the future revelation of which determines conduct and hope (1:13), and as stewards of which, in its manifold forms (4:10; 5:10), Christians should live. Grace also permits the endurance of undeserved suffering to be understood as approved by God (2:19 f.; cf. also 5:10). In the concluding message the standing of the addressees in grace is confirmed as true (5:12).

(b) Heb. 2:9 understands grace as God's care in salvation history which is made effective in Jesus' substitutionary death. Therefore the throne on which Christ sits to rule is "a throne of grace." Here forgiveness (= grace and compassion, *eleos*; → Mercy) can be received from the one who can sympathize with the weak, for he has identified himself with them as high → priest.

(c) The remaining texts in Heb. are concerned with the problem of cheap grace. In this they may be compared with similar texts in the Catholic Epistles. To abuse the spiritual gift by one's way of life is worse than transgressing the Mosaic law (10:29); grace once abandoned is not to be regained (12:15 ff.). But firmness of heart remains, in spite of all exhortations, a gift of God and not the result of keeping special regulations (13:9). The danger of falling away occurs in Jas. 4:6; the Spirit's offer of gifts outweighs his yearning demands (there follows a quotation from Prov. 3:34; cf. 1 Pet. 5:5, above OT 2). 2 Pet. 3:18 can even paradoxically exhort us to grow in grace, in contrast to falling from our own firm position (cf. Gal. 5:4 with 1 Cor. 12:31). Jude 4 warns against the misuse (*metatithēmi*) of grace to satisfy our passions, a danger which Paul had already repulsed in Rom. 6:1 (cf. above 4 (b) (ii), (iii)).

8. In general the Apostolic Fathers hardened the development in the understanding of grace which can be seen in the later Pauline and Catholic Epistles. Grace is institutionalized as grace for the community and for office. It is an aid for the preservation of correct → teaching and of the ethics of the new law (→ command, cf. R. Bultmann, op. cit., II, 210 f., 216; T. F. Torrance, *The Doctrine of Grace in the Apostolic Fathers*, 1948). *H.-H. Esser*

→ Gift, → Mercy, → Spirit

(a). D. R. Ap-Thomas, "Some Aspects of the Root *ḥnn* in the Old Testament", *JSS* 2, 1957, 128–48; F. Büchsel and J. Herrmann, *hileōs*, *TDNT* III 300–23; G. C. Berkouwer, *The Triumph of Grace in the Theology of Karl Barth*, 1956; R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, I, 1952 (see index); D. Doughty, "The Priority of *CHARIS*", *NTS* 19, 1972–3, 163–80; W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*, I, 1961, II, 1967; O. Eissfeldt, "The Promise of Grace to David in Isaiah 55:1–5", in B. W. Anderson and W. Harrelson, eds., *Israel's Prophetic Heritage*, 1962, 196–207; E. E. Ellis, "Spiritual Gifts in the Pauline Community", *NTS* 20, 1973–4, 128–44; G. Farr, "The Concept of Grace in the Book of Hosea", *ZAW* 70, 1958, 98–107; N. Glueck, *Ḥesed in the Bible*, 1967; E. Jauncey, *The Doctrine of Grace*, 1925; H.-J. Kraus, *Worship in Israel*, 1966; W. F. Lofthouse, "*ḥēn* and *ḥesed* in the Old Testament", *ZAW* 51, 1933, 29–35; H. D. McDonald, "Grace", *ZPEB* II 799–804; J. Moffatt, *Grace in the New Testament*, 1931; R. S. Moxon, *The Doctrine of Sin*, 1925; T. Y. Mullins, "Greeting as a New Testament Form", *JBL* 87, 1968, 418–26; A. Nygren, *Agape and Eros*, 1953²; W. L. Reed, "Some Implications of *ḥēn* for Old Testament Religion", *JBL* 73, 1954, 36–41; J. Schildenberger and G. Trenkler, "Grace", *EBT* I 337–44; C. Ryder Smith, *The Bible Doctrine of Grace*, 1956; N. H. Snaith, *The Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament*, 1944, 94–130; O. J. Thomas, "Irresistible Grace", *Vox Evangelica* 4, 1965, 55–64; T. F. Torrance, *The Doctrine of Grace in the Apostolic Fathers*, 1948; N. P. Williams, *The Grace of God*, 1930.

(b). H. Braun, "Das Erbarmen Gottes über den Gerechten. Zur Theologie der Psalmen Salomos", *ZNW* 43, 1950–51, 1 ff. (reprinted *Gesammelte Studien zum Neuen Testament*, 1967², 8 ff.); and "Röm. 7, 7–25 und das Selbstverständnis des Qumran-Frommen", *ZTK* 56, 1959, 1 ff. (reprinted op. cit., 100 ff.); U. Brockhaus, *Charisma und Amt: Die paulinische Charismenlehre auf dem Hintergrund der frühchristlichen Gemeindefunktionen*, 1972; N. Glueck, *Das Wort ḥeseḏ im alttestamentlichen Sprachgebrauch*, *BZAW* 47, (1927) 1961²; A. von Harnack, *Sanftmut, Huld und Demut*, 1920; J. Haspecker, "Gnade", *LTK* IV 977–80; J. Hempel, *Gott und Mensch im Alten Testament*, 1936²; M. Hengel, *Nachfolge und Charisma*, *BZNW* 34, 1968; N. J. Hein, E. Würthwein, G. Stählin, E. Kähler, and W. Joest, "Gnade", *RGG*³ II 1630 ff.; A. Jepsen, "Gnade und Barmherzigkeit im Alten Testament", *KuD* 7, 1961, 261–71; J. Köberle, *Sünde und Gnade im religiösen Leben des Volkes Israel*, 1905; O. Loew, *Charis*, 1908; E. Lohse, *Märtyrer und Gottesknecht*, 1963²; H. Niederstrasser, *Kerygma und Paideia. Zum Problem der erziehenden Gnade*, 1967; O. Perels, "*charisma* im Neuen Testament", *Fuldaer Hefte*, 15, 1964, 39 ff.; J. Schreiner, *Sion – Jerusalem. Jahwes Königssitz*, 1963; H. J. Stoebe, "Die Bedeutung des Wortes *ḥäsäd* im Alten Testament", *Vetus Testamentum* 7, 1961, 261–71; H. J. Stoebe, W. Kasch and W. Pannenberg, "Gnade", *EKL* I 1604 f.; G. P. Wetter, *Charis*, 1913; R. Winkler, "Die Gnade im Neuen Testament", *ZSTh* 10, 1933, 642–80; J. Wobbe, *Der Charisgedanke bei Paulus*, 1932; J. Ziegler, *Die Liebe Gottes bei den Propheten*, *Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen* 11, 3, 1930.

Greek

Ἕλλην

Ἕλλην (*Hellēn*), a Greek; Ἑλλάς (*Hellas*), Greece; Ἑλληνικός (*Hellēnikos*), Greek; Ἑλληνίς (*Hellēnis*), a Greek woman; Ἑλληνιστής (*Hellēnistēs*), a Hellenist; Ἑλληνιστί (*Hellēnisti*), adv. Greek, in the Greek language.

CL *Hellēn* means a Greek, as opposed to a Barbarian. In Homer the word denotes a Thessalian tribe in the region of Pharsalos. In Herodotus it has become the name for all Greeks. In between are the mythological genealogies which invented a hero, Hellen, son of Deucalion (there is also a tradition that he is a son of Zeus), father of the Doric and Aeolian tribal heroes (as early as Hesiod).

The opposition between Greek and non-Greek was one of culture and not religion. In the period after Alexander the Great, especially in the east, all who had adopted Greek language, culture and way of life were counted as "Greeks", even though they were of a different ethnic origin.

OT 1. In the LXX *Hellēn* is sometimes used for Heb. *yāwān* or *yᵉwānîm* (actually the Ionians; Dan. 8:21; 10:20). The experiences of the Jews under Antiochus IV Epiphanes resulted in the word Greek taking on the additional shade of meaning "hostile to the Jews", as in 2 Macc. 4:36; 11:2; cf. *Hellēnikos* in 4:10, 15; 6:9; 11:24; 13:2. It thus had the overtone of pagan (→ People, art. *ethnos*). In this way *Hellēn*, originally a term of respect, was surrendered to the language of religious contempt, because the Jew began from his belief in the one God, whereas the Greek, in his contempt for the Jews, began from his philosophical culture.

Elsewhere in the LXX *Hellas* occurs in Isa. 66:19; Ezek. 27:13 (in both cases for Heb. *yāwān*; RSV Javan); 1 Macc. 1:1; 8:9; Dan. 11:2 *v.l.*; *Hellēn* for *yāwān* in Joel 3(4):6; Zech. 9:13; Dan. 11:2; for *pᵉlištîm* (Philistines) in Isa. 9:12 (11); and without Heb. equivalent in Joel 2:25 *v.l.*; Dan. 7:6 *v.l.*; 1 Macc. 1:10; 6:2 *v.l.*; 8:18; 3 Macc. 3:8; 4 Macc. 18:20; *Hellēnikos* in Jer. 26 (46):16; 27 (50):16 (in both cases the Heb. is different); 4 Macc. 8:8; Ezek. 4:8 *v.l.*; *Hellēnis* in 2 Macc. 6:8 *v.l.*

2. The world into which Christianity entered was characterized by the pervading influence of Gk. culture, above all in the eastern part of the Roman empire. The conquests of Alexander the Great and his policy of Hellenization, which was continued by his successors, caused the Gk. language and Gk. ways to become the decisive cultural factor. Gk. cities arose everywhere, including Syria and Palestine, bursting the old tribal groupings of the native peoples (which was their professed intention). The upper strata in these cities spoke Gk. which became the language of trade in the eastern part of the Roman empire and which was also widely understood in Palestine. Just how far the process of Hellenization had gone can be seen, for example, in the case of the Jews of Alexandria in Egypt, for whom a Greek translation of the Bible, the LXX (Septuagint → Glossary of Technical Terms) had to be made in the third century B.C. For many of the people no longer understood or spoke their ancestral Hebrew (Aramaic) tongue. The LXX was far from being the only translation. It became the best known, because it was adopted by the Greek-speaking Christians. This in turn led to new translations of the MT into Gk. in opposition to the LXX. (See further S. Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study*, 1968, which contains an extensive bibliography.)

Philo of Alexandria (*c.* 20 B.C.–*c.* A.D. 50) was a Hellenistic philosopher and writer who sought to restate Jewish belief in terms of Gk. philosophy. (For his major writings which were written in Gk see the table of abbreviations.) He developed an allegorical method of interpreting the OT which saw Gk. philosophical ideas embodied in the history and institutions of Israel. In his system he accorded a central place to the Logos (→ Word) as the creative power which orders the world and the intermediary which enables men to know God. (On Philo see H. A. Wolfson, "Philo Judaeus", in *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. P. Edwards, IV, 1967, 151–5; and *Philo: Foundations of Religious Philosophy in Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, I–II, 1962³.) Besides Philo there were numerous other Jewish authors who used Gk. language and thought forms to proclaim and spread as missionaries Jewish belief in God and the → law. Flavius Josephus (*c.* A.D. 37–*c.* 100) wrote his celebrated history of the *Jewish War* (*c.* 77, probably originally in Aramaic) and his *Antiquities of the Jews* (*c.* 94) with a view to gaining Roman sympathies. (See further H. Montefiore, *Josephus and the New Testament*, 1960.)

1 Macc. gives an account of the heavy inroads the Gk. spirit and the Gk. attitude to life had made into the Jerusalem priesthood. There was even a risk of losing fundamental religious tenets, and many were prepared to apostatize from their fathers' faith in God and turn from the → law. This and the violent and clumsy attempts at Hellenization made by Antiochus Epiphanes (d. 163 B.C.) provoked a reaction in the circles loyal to the law, which issued in the Maccabean movement (cf. 2 Macc. 6:1 ff.). Relatively soon, however, the Maccabees themselves became Hellenized. Thus the ranks of pious Jews, loyal to the law, were penetrated by Gk. thought, teaching and myths (including the idea of tradition, the immortality of the soul, and myths of the beyond). Even the Rabbis understood Gk. and were acquainted with Homer. The very numerous Gk. loan-words in the Talmud and Midrash are evidence of the cultural supremacy of Greece, even in the realm of Judaism. A reaction which, however, could not make much headway, showed itself at the beginning of the second cent. A.D., when the learning of Gk. was prohibited. The prohibition was soon afterwards watered down to one against

the learning of Gk. "wisdom" (*Sot.* 9:14; cf. *Sot.* 49b). The Jewish Karaite sect in the ninth cent. A.D. also arose in opposition to Gk. philosophy. In calling Jews back to a study of the Scriptures alone, it was opposing Gk. influences in the Talmud and other bodies of writing.

NT In the NT *Hellas*, Greece, occurs only in Acts 20:2. Of the 26 occurrences of *Hellēn* in the NT, 10 are in Acts and 13 in Paul's letters; it does not appear in the Synoptics. *Hellēnis* is found in Acts 17:12 and Mk. 7:26. It is used to describe the Syrophoenician woman, but it is not absolutely clear what is meant by the double description. It is certain that the woman who probably spoke Gk. was a pagan whom Jesus helped on account of her faith. ([Ed.] W. L. Lane suggests that, "She was a member of the Hellenized citizen class in the Phoenician republic of Tyre, a Gentile by birth and culture. She is designated a Syrophoenician because Phoenica belonged administratively to the province of Syria and was distinguished from Libophoenicia with its centre at Carthage in North Africa" [*The Gospel of Mark, NLC* 1974, 260; cf. Did. Sic. 19, 93; Polyb. 3, 33; Strabo, 17, 3, 9].) *Hellēnikos*, Greek (adj.), occurs only in Rev. 9:11. The name of the angel of the abyss is *en tē Hellēnikē* (supply *glōssē*), i.e. "in the Greek language", Apollyon (→ Destroy, art. *apōleia* NT 4). *Hellēnisti* means in Greek; the title on Jesus' cross was written in Hebrew, Latin and Greek (Jn. 19:20). The officer who rescued Paul from the mob was surprised to discover that Paul understood Gk. (Acts 21:37).

Hellēnistēs (a new formation from the verb *Hellēnizein*) means a man who speaks Gk. and lives as a Gk. (Acts 6:1; 9:29). In Acts 9:29 the word refers to Jews who sought to kill Paul, and in Acts 6:1 it refers to Gk.-speaking Jewish Christians who were strictly orthodox Jewish Christians and not Greeks at all. Paul's later struggle for a gospel free from the law would otherwise be incomprehensible (cf. also Acts 10 f. and 15), and uncircumcised pagans were certainly not accepted into synagogue congregations.

1. In Jn. 7:35 the Jews suggest that Jesus intends going to the Gk. dispersion, to the Jews who lived among the Greeks, and from this base to teach them. In Jn. 12:20 ff. *Hellēnes* refers to Gk.-speaking proselytes (→ Conversion, art. *prosēlytos*) and not pagans, for they wanted to worship in the → Temple. They wanted to see Jesus. This gives rise to a prospect of the mission to the Gentiles for which Jesus' death is a prerequisite. It was Gk.-speaking Jewish Christians who first preached the gospel to the Greeks (Acts 11:20). This was done above all by Paul and his companions (Acts 17:4; 19:10; etc.). Whenever the Jews refused the message, Paul turned to the Greeks. Jews and Greeks lived everywhere side by side, with the result that mixed marriages took place. From one of these came Timothy (Acts 16:1). Paul was accused of taking Greeks into the Temple and thus of defiling it (Acts 21:28). Sometimes the word *Hellēn* can also mean a proselyte (Acts 14:1; 17:4; → Conversion, art. *prosēlytos*).

2. The expression "Jews and Greeks" which occurs especially in Paul's writings can stand for the whole of humanity (1 Cor. 1:24; 10:32; 12:13; Gal. 3:28; Col. 3:11). The Jews are mentioned first as an expression of their privileged place in salvation history. But God is just as much God of the Greeks as of the Jews (Rom. 10:12). Paul was set aside in a special way to exercise his apostolic ministry among the Greeks (Rom. 1:14; Gal. 1:16; 2:9; cf. Eph. 3:6 f.; 1 Tim. 2:7). Not all pagans

were *Hellēnes*, for alongside them Paul refers also to barbarians and Scythians (Rom. 1:14; Col. 3:11). The *Hellēnes* were characterized by their seeking → wisdom (art. *sophia*), which made the cross of Christ seem folly to them (1 Cor. 1:22 f.).

The picture painted by Paul in Rom. 1:18–32 of the Greeks (v. 16) or the heathen (→ People, art. *ethnos*) is a gloomy one. Nevertheless, God directs his message as much to them as to the Jews (Rom. 1:16; 2:9, 3:9). If the Greek does good and fulfils what the law requires, he will receive honour like the Jew (Rom. 2:9 f., 14–16; cf. Jer. 31:33 f.). (On revelation to the Gentiles → God, art. *theos*, NT 4 (b), 9.) As the Greeks were all pagans from the beginning, the concepts pagan and Greek are interchangeable when contrasted with that of the Jew (cf. Rom. 3:29 f. with 1 Cor. 1:22–24). The Greeks figure here as the foremost representatives of the pagan world. The church in Corinth was given the warning not to offend the Jews, the Greeks or the church of God (1 Cor. 10:32). The non-Christian population of Corinth fell into the two first-mentioned groups, alongside which the church now stood as a new people (→ People, art. *laos*).

In this new people of God, the → church, differences of origin are removed. God who in reality had always been the God of the Greeks (Rom. 10:12), though they did not recognize him, has now become consciously and in fact their God, in that they have believed in Jesus Christ and through the Holy Spirit they have been → baptized into one → body (1 Cor. 12:13).

Whoever has been baptized into Jesus Christ is God's child and has put on Christ, whether he is Jew or Greek, and so the man who was born a *Hellēn* now belongs to the offspring of → Abraham (Gal. 3:26–29). Being a Greek or a Jew belongs to the old man, which has to be put away along with all its evil characteristics (Col. 3:11; cf. v. 5–10, 12 f.). *H. Bietenhard*

→ Israel, → People

(a). A. W. Argyle, "The Greek of Luke and Acts", *NTS* 20, 1973–74, 441–45; R. Bultmann, *Primitive Christianity in its contemporary Setting*, 1956; G. Dix, *Jew and Greek: A Study in the Primitive Church*, 1953; C. H. Dodd, *The Bible and the Greeks*, 1935; E. von Dobschütz, "Hellenism", *DAC* I 547 ff.; F. C. Grant, *Roman Hellenism and the New Testament*, 1962; R. H. Gundry "The Language Milieu of First-Century Palestine", *JBL* 83, 1964, 404 f.; W. K. C. Guthrie, *The Greeks and their Gods*, 1954²; E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1971; N. G. L. Hammond, *History of Greece*, 1967²; M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, I–II, 1974; G. H. C. MacGregor and A. C. Purdy, *Jew and Greek: Tutors unto Christ. The Jewish and Hellenistic Background of the New Testament*, 1959²; I. H. Marshall, "Palestinian and Hellenistic Christianity: Some Critical Comments", *NTS* 19, 1972–73, 271–287; C. F. D. Moule, "Once More, Who were the Hellenists?" *ExpT* 70, 1958–59, 100 ff.; S. Safrai, M. Stern, D. Flusser and W. C. van Unnik, eds., *The Jewish People in the First Century: Historical Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life and Institutions*, I, 1974; Schürer (see index); J. N. Sevenster, *Do You Know Greek? How Much Greek Would the First Jewish Christians have Known? Supplements to NovT* 19, 1968; J. B. Skemp, *The Greeks and the Gospel*, 1964; N. Turner, "The Literary Character of New Testament Greek", *NTS* 20, 1973–74, 107–14; S. G. Wilson, *The Gentiles and the Gentile Mission in Luke–Acts*, 1973; H. Windisch, *Hellēn* etc., *TDNT* II 504–16.

(b). A. Bauer, *Vom Griechentum zum Christentum*, 1910; J. Jüthner, *Hellenen und Barbaren*, 1923; J. Kaerst, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*,² I, 1917, II, 1926; W. Nestle, *Griechische Religiosität*, III, 1934, 5 ff.; F. R. Walton, "Griechische Religion", *RGG*³, III 1860 ff.; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Der Glaube der Hellenen*, I–II, (1931–32) 1955².

Grow

auxanō and *pleonazō* both denote increase in quantity or quality. *auxanō* is a word to do with plant-life and originally denoted the natural process of growth into fruition. It is only used in a positive sense in the NT. *pleonazō* is a quantitative word which originally meant to overflow, and thus to exceed. In figurative NT usage the differences are still clearly discernible.

αὐξάνω

αὔξω and αὐξάνω (*auxō*, *auxanō*), grow, cause to grow, increase; αὔξησις (*auxēsis*), growth, increase; ὑπεραυξάνω (*hyperauxanō*), grow abundantly; προκοπή (*prokopē*), progress, advancement, furtherance; προκόπτω (*prokoptō*), go forward, advance, make progress, prosper.

CL The vb. is attested since Pindar, both in the short form *auxō* and in the strengthened form *auxanō*, and means to cause to grow, to cause to increase. Trans. it is used equally for natural growth, such as that of fruits, and for increase and advancement in respect and power. The mid.-pass. can also mean to be exalted, glorified, or praised. The noun *auxēsis* is used from the Pre-Socratics and Hdt. onwards, and means growth; in the phrase *auxēsin poieisthai*, to cause to grow, to grow. *hyperauxanō* is used from Andocides onwards, meaning to grow abundantly, plentifully, or extravagantly. The Lat. *augere* (increase, grow), *augustus* (august, venerable) are cognates. Probably deriving from the same root is Lat. *auxilium* (help).

Our word is particularly used of natural growth. On the same lines is the use of the word for the waxing of the moon and and the sun (Kalendarium of Antiochus [*c.* A.D. 200] on 25 Dec.; cf. E. Norden, *Die Geburt des Kindes*, 1924, 99 ff.; Arndt, 121). No specific philosophical or religious significance stand out in the Gk. world, by contrast with *prokoptō* and *prokopē* which both in Stoic philosophy and in Philo denote ethical advance.

OT In the LXX *auxanō* stands for *pārâh* 11 times in the qal, meaning to be fruitful, plentiful; 8 times in the act. hiph. meaning to make fruitful or plentiful. God is mainly the subject of the process of causing growth (thus Gen. 17:20 of Ishmael; and Gen. 35:11 in the blessing to Jacob who is to become a great nation; cf. Jer. 3:16; 23:3). It is frequently linked with *plēthynō*, to fill, to multiply, and occurs in the original creation ordinance to humanity and subsequently renewed to the Jewish people to be fruitful and multiply (Gen. 1:22, 28; 9:1, 7 to Noah; 17:6 to Abraham). In the parabolic promise of Isa. 61:11 the process of growth is not viewed as something automatic and inevitable. The point of the comparison is the difference between the first state and the last. The surprising thing is that the beginning and and end stages are two completely different states. Where previously there was nothing, God's creative will becomes effective: he creates righteousness and praise. Sir. 43:8 speaks of the waxing of the new moon. Here, too, God is the originator of the growth.

NT 1. In the NT *auxanō* is found 22 times, including 4 times in 1 and 2 Cor., twice in Eph., 3 times in Col., and 7 times in Lk. The noun *auxēsis* occurs only in Eph. 4:16 and Col. 2:19 in connection with the vb.

2. Natural growth is alluded to directly only in Lk. 1:80 and 2:40, where the child Jesus is said to grow in physique (→ Age) and in the → Spirit.

3. (a) *auxanō* features in Mk.'s version of the parable of the sower (Mk. 4:8), the parable of the mustard seed (Matt. 13:32; Lk. 13:19), and the saying about the lilies of the field (Matt. 6:28). According to the synoptic account of Jesus' preaching, the picture of plant-like growth illustrates the coming of the kingdom through the word in the face of all opposition. God is the one who causes to grow that which he himself sows through Jesus, or plants through his servants (cf. also 1 Cor. 3:6 f.; 2 Cor. 9:10).

(b) In the teaching of Paul *auxanō* is significantly lacking in Rom. and Gal. It is not part of the doctrine of justification, but belongs to paraenesis. Only God can cause the church to grow (1 Cor. 3:5–11). Only by remembering its origin which is given in Jesus Christ (1 Cor. 3:11) can the church truly grow (→ Firm, art. *themelios* NT 1). The thought here is not solely of numerical increase, but also of maturity and the consolidation of the community in Christ from which good works naturally grow (2 Cor. 9:6–11).

(c) Eph. 2:20 ff. does not contradict the picture of 1 Cor. 3:11, where the apostles and prophets are said to be the foundation on which the building grows (→ House, art. *oikos, oikodomeō*). For Jesus Christ is described as "the chief cornerstone" (cf. Pss. 118:22; Matt. 21:42; Mk. 12:10 f.; Lk. 20:7; Acts 4:11; 1 Pet. 2:7; → Rock, Stone, Cornerstone, art. *gōnia*). Moreover, the church was by this time uniquely dependent on the witness of the apostles and prophets for the preaching of Christ. Therefore the growth of the community in Eph. derives ultimately from Jesus Christ who at the same time holds the building together (cf. 2:20 f. with 1:5 ff., 10; 2:10; 4:15 f.). Growth does not mean that the gospel calls men into some kind of extra-historical existence. Because Christians are placed in the fellowship of the people of God, they are thereby placed in a historical process which is determined by the promise of the world-wide rule of Christ. The existence together of Jews and Gentiles as children in the presence of the Lord of the church opens up a new dimension for the church as it grows into a single structure. "The growth of the church in personal holiness in Christ is a continuous process. The present tense of *auxein* makes this clear. *auxein* is the mode of the church's being. The church exists as it grows. It is only ever holy in so far as being holy, it becomes holy, and both 'in Christ' " (H. Schlier, *Der Brief an die Epheser*, 1965[5], 144).

(d) The conception of building corresponds with that of the growing → body (Eph. 4:15 f.; Col. 2:19). Some scholars think that both ideas are taken from gnosticism. Eph. 4:15 f. shows the way that this growth is to take place. When truth is spoken in love, and love takes effect, the church grows into Christ, the one → head. According to Col. 1:6, all growth springs from the gospel. As men are moved by the gospel, they grow in knowledge of God (Col. 1:10 f.) and in grace (cf. 2 Pet. 3:18).

4. The NT can also speak of growth in → faith (2 Cor. 10:15; 2 Thess. 1:3; 2 Pet. 3:18 *v.l.*). Faith is conditioned by one's personal circumstances as well as by God's saving acts in history. It is brought about and renewed by the → Word, the living Christ himself. But it undergoes transformation in the life of the Christian. The believer always has his own particular history in relation to his Lord. He lives between the "no longer" and the "not yet" (cf. Phil. 3:12–15; R. Bultmann,

Theology of the New Testament, I, 1952, 322). The decision which leads to → baptism is admittedly taken only once, but faith needs to be constantly renewed (cf. Rom. 14:1; 1 Thess. 3:10). Faith grows out of the obedience of the believer in the fellowship of the Christian community (2 Thess. 1:3; cf. Phil. 1:25 f.). It leads to a more effective → witness in the world (2 Cor. 10:15 f.). Quantitative and qualitative growth are closely connected. The final goal of growth in faith is the day of Christ (Phil. 1:6). Growing faith always works outwards, bringing → fruit and bearing witness (2 Thess. 1:3; 2 Cor. 10:15). A summons to growth in faith can even be given in the imperative (2 Pet. 3:18 *v.l.*).

5. In Acts growth is an important word for the missionary activity of the community (6:7; 12:24; 19:20). Acts 7:17 ("the people grew and multiplied in Egypt") provides a clear reminder of OT salvation history. The promise to Israel (Exod. 1:7) is eschatologically applied to the Christian community (Acts 12:24; cf. also Did. 16:3; 1 Clem. 33:6).

6. The derivation of the expression "He must increase, but I must decrease" is disputed. R. Bultmann traces it back to an astral picture (*The Gospel of John*, 1971, 174). G. Delling rejects this in favour of the ancient linguistic usage of increasing or decreasing in esteem or importance (*TDNT* VIII 519). The emphasis surely lies here on increase in influence and importance. The Baptist points to his Lord and withdraws his own light so that the One to whom he points may be seen.

auxanō is distinguished from the noun *prokopē* (Phil. 1:25; 1 Tim. 4:15) and the vb. *prokoptō* (Lk. 2:52; Rom. 13:12; Gal. 1:14; 2 Tim. 2:16; 3:9, 13) meaning advance, progress, in that in the NT it occurs exclusively in a positive sense. It has thus more positive theological associations. For not every "advance" is also "growth". *W. Günther*

πλεονάζω

πλεονάζω (*pleonazō*), to be or become more or great, to grow, to increase; ὑπερπλεονάζω (*hyperpleonazō*), to be present in great abundance.

CL *pleonazō*, used from Thuc. onwards, is formed from *pleon* (more), the comparative of *polys* (much, many), with the ending *-azein*, and means to be or become (too) much or many. The augmented form *hyperpleonazō*, to be present in excessive quantity, is rare. The developed basic meaning of *pleonazō* appears intrans. as to be or become (too) great, to exceed the correct amount, and thus fig. to be overweening or to become presumptuous. It also means to overflow (of a sea or a river), to augment, to become (too) numerous (e.g. the Jews in Rome), to be present in plentiful abundance (e.g. joys), to be rich in something, to have more than is necessary, to abound in, and, as a commercial term, to have a balance (of cash). Trans. *pleonazō* occurs as to make rich, to increase or multiply, to cause to grow. In ethical contexts (as in Thuc., Dem., Aristot., Stoics) *pleonazō* denotes in a censorious way that which violates the ideal of moderation, reason and natural wholeness.

OT The LXX has *pleonazō* 28 times; of these, 18 render Heb. equivalents, generally *'āḏap̄* to be surplus, and *rāḇâh* to be or become many: e.g. of good (Exod. 16:18,

23), people (1 Chr. 4:27; 5:23; Jer. 30:19), money etc. (2 Chr. 24:11; 31:5; Sir. 35:1), sins (Sir. 23:3).

NT In the NT *pleonazō* occurs 9 times (intrans. 7 times in Paul and 2 Pet. 1:8; trans. in 2 Thess. 1:3); *hyperpleonazō* only in 1 Tim. 1:4. It always expresses in the NT a process of growing, multiplying or increasing. It stands in contrast with *perisseuō* which expresses in an eschatological sense the element of the abundance which far exceeds all measurement and of the fullness which overflows all previously fixed boundaries (→ Fullness, art. *perisseuō*). *pleonazō* renders more the idea of development, the growth process of something: "that grace may abound" (Rom. 6:1); "your faith is growing" (2 Thess. 1:3); "if these things [godliness, love etc.] abound" (2 Pet. 1:8). *perisseuō* exceeds *pleonazō* in expressing superabundant quantity. This emerges in a number of passages, in which both terms stand in the same context.

1. In Rom. 5:20 Paul is formulating the relationship between → law and → grace. Through the → law (art. *nomos*) sin increases (*pleonazō*) to its full extent and exposes the hopelessness of humanity in the face of death. But grace has abounded all the more (*hypereperisseusen*) in the new age. The more hopelessly man entangles himself in increasing sin, the greater is God's liberating act in giving pardon. This view of the relationship between sin and grace obviously led to a misunderstanding in Judaism, which Paul goes into in Rom. 6:1 ff.

It is interesting that Paul here (6:1) now uses *pleonazō* with reference to grace and not, as one might have supposed, *perisseuō*. In this context Paul is concerned with the process of grace becoming greater. It cannot be stimulated by a conscious persistence in sin.

2. 2 Cor. 4:15 also links *charis*, grace, with *pleonazō*. As grace extends (*pleonasasa*) to more and more people, thanksgiving overflows (*perisseusē*) to the glory of God. "Grace makes its way on earth" (G. Klein).

3. In Phil. 4:17 Paul links *pleonazō* with various business terms (*eis logon doseōs kai lēmpseōs*, in settlement of giving and receiving [of a mutual account], v. 15; cf. Arndt, 479; *eis logon hymōn*, credited to your account, v. 17; cf. Arndt, 479). *pleonazō* is also to be understood from this context. With reference to the contribution of the Philippians Paul says: "It is not the gift that I value; what is valuable to me is the interest that is mounting up [*pleonazonta*] in your account" (JB). The use of *perisseuō* in v. 18 ("I have more than enough") shows again the particular thrust of *pleonazō*.

4. Paul prayed that the Lord might grant the Thessalonians to grow (*pleonasai*) and overflow (*perisseusai*) in → love for one another (1 Thess. 3:12). *pleonazein* is thus intensified by *perisseuein*.

5. *pleonazō* occurs in the sense of *perisseuō* in the OT quotation (Exod. 16:18) in 2 Cor. 8:15: "He who gathered much had nothing over", i.e. had no more than was necessary. *W. Bauder, D. Müller*

→ Fruit, → Seed

G. Delling, *pleonazō* etc., *TDNT* VI 263–74; G. Stählin, *prokopē* etc., *TDNT* VI 703–19; and "Fortschritt und Wachstum. Zur Herkunft und Wandlung neutestamentlicher Ausdrucksformen", *Festgabe für J. Lortz*, II, 1957, 13–25.

Guard, Keep, Watch

People only guard things which they think are valuable, whether they are people, prisoners or things. To guard something is to make oneself dependent on what one guards, because it can only be done by sacrificing time and freedom to it. *tēreō* and *phylassō* are verbs which express this watching over and guarding. Both were originally used in the former sense, but were then applied figuratively to preserving the law, commandments and traditions. Anyone who keeps such ordinances thereby allows his life and actions to be determined by them.

τηρέω

τηρέω (*tēreō*), preserve, keep; *τήρησις* (*tērēsis*), observance; *παρατηρέω* (*paratēreō*), watch (closely), observe; *παρατήρησις* (*paratērēsis*), observation.

CL *tēreō* means: (a) have in view, perceive, observe; then (act.) wait for (the right time or opportunity), lie in wait for (a person); (mid) be on the watch, be on one's guard; (b) guard, watch over, preserve (things, persons, and also ethical values, e.g. loyalty, faith, chastity); (c) pay attention to, obey, comply with (teachings, customs, legal demands). The derivative noun *tērēsis* (Thuc. onwards) consequently means: (a) guard, custody, detention; (b) prison; (c) (fig.) observance, obeying, fulfilling (of commands, laws). The compound *paratēreō* (Dem. onwards) is identical with the simple vb. in act. and mid., but the noun *paratērēsis* (first in Polyb.) is used only for the observance of legal demands.

OT 1. In the LXX → *phylassō* is much commoner than *tēreō*, which is found only 38 times – in addition variations in Symm., Theod., Alexandrinus add 6 more cases – of which a good two-thirds come in the translation of the Heb. canonical books, and the remainder in the Apoc. A majority of the passages are in the Wisdom Literature (Prov. has 15), then come the historical books. There is only one example in the prophetic books (Jer. 20:10), interestingly enough in the lit. sense of lying in wait for a person. Like *phylassō*, though not in the same proportion, *tēreō* mainly represents the Heb. *šāmar*, the nuances of which (according to Koehler-Baumgartner, 993 f.) are very much the same as those in the secular meanings of *phylassō* and *tēreō*, and also *nāṣar*. The predominant meaning of *tēreō* in the LXX is that of religious observance with either God's commands (1 Sam. 15:11; Prov. 19:16) or those of Wisdom (Prov. 3:1) as the object. There is an interesting parallelism between *phylassō* and *tēreō* in Prov. 13:3; 16:17; 19:16: he who guards his mouth, his way, keeps the commandment (in each case *phylassō*) preserves or keeps his life (*tēreō*). For Dan. 9:4, where God's covenant loyalty – *tēreō* with *diathēkē* – is made dependent on the obedience of the community → *phylassō*. *tēreō* is also used a few times of the guarding of persons or things, and in Gen. 3:15 of the woman's seed and the serpent.

2. *tērēsis* is found in the LXX only in apocryphal books. In Wis. 6:18, Sir. 32:23 it is used for the result of the love of wisdom or of the commandments. Otherwise it is used for the guarding of persons, or of the city. *paratēreō* is found only 6 times in the LXX, generally with the force of waylay, lie in wait for. *paratērēsis* is found only as a variant reading in Exod. 12:42.

NT 1. There are only 31 instances of *phylassō* in the NT as against the more than 400 in the LXX, but *tēreō* is found 70 times to the LXX's 38. Thus the NT prefers the word less used in the LXX. This is particularly noticeable in John (Gospel, 18 times; Letters, 7 times) and Acts (11 times). It cannot be said with certainty whether this is due to this word's being particularly suited to convey a spiritual meaning.

In the NT it means: (a) guard, keep watch (e.g. Acts 16:23; Matt. 27:36); (b) keep (e.g. Jn. 2:10; 12:7; 2 Pet. 2:4); (c) keep blameless, uninjured (e.g. 1 Thess. 5:23; 1 Cor. 7:37; 1 Tim. 5:22); (d) protect (e.g. Jn. 17:15); (e) hold fast (e.g. Rev. 16:15; Eph. 4:3); (f) hold, follow, e.g. the law (Jas. 2:10), the → sabbath (Jn. 9:16), traditions (Mk. 7:9), the commands of Jesus (Jn. 14:15, 21; 15:10, etc.).

2. Of the 70 occurrences in the NT barely a half are found with the last-mentioned meaning, which is also approximately the case with *phylassō*. It is noteworthy, however, that in contrast to *phylassō*, with few exceptions (e.g. Mk. 7:9; Jn. 9:16; Jas. 2:10), *tēreō* does not have the force of keeping Jewish or Judaizing (Acts 15:5) tradition rejected by the Christians (cf. the polemical use of *paratēreō* in Gal. 4:10 applied to Jewish customs), but that of keeping a new Christian tradition.

This is set out clearly in Christ's final command (Matt. 28:20), where the exalted Christ commands the → church to keep the new righteousness which he had taught, e.g. in the Sermon on the Mount. It is possible that in Matt. 19:17, in his conversation with the rich young man and in contrast to his legalistic righteousness (cf. *phylassō*), and in Matt. 23:3, where he contrasts the Pharisees' teaching and practice, Jesus in demanding the keeping of the commandments meant the better righteousness (Matt. 5:20) and hence the true understanding of the Mosaic Law. If that is so, Matthew consciously uses *tēreō* in contrast to its apparent synonym *phylassō*. The same usage is found in 1 Cor. 7:19, where the keeping (*tērēsis*) of the commandments of God is to be understood in terms of Christian ethics. In the Pastorals (1 Tim. 6:14; 2 Tim. 4:7), however, *tēreō* is used like → *phylassō* of the keeping of the tradition.

In Rev., linked with *logos* (word), *entolē* (command), and *pistis* (faith), *tēreō* has the force of keeping fast a confession, both in facing false doctrine and in meeting a martyr's death (2:26; 3:3, 8, 10; 12:17; 14:12). All the Johannine passages, whether they are concerned with the keeping of the word or commandments by the church or the individual (e.g. Jn. 8:51; 15:10; 1 Jn. 2:3; 3:22), or with God's or Christ's keeping of the church (Jn. 17:11, 15; 1 Jn. 5:18), have to do with remaining in the church or in Christ. There is a special shade of meaning in Jn. 14:15, 21, 23 f. Here in the setting of Christ's farewell discourse love to him, the revealer, is described as personal and immediate relationship to him. Bultmann points out that "keeping his commandments" or his "word" has here an anti-mystical point (*The Gospel of John*, 1971, 613 f.).

The reference of *paratērēsis* (observation) in Lk. 17:20 cannot be established with certainty. Probably the word is used of the observation of apocalyptic signs. There is, however, just the possibility that the keeping of the law is intended.

paratēreō, apart from Gal. 4:10 (see above), is found only with the meaning of lie in wait for (Mk. 3:2 par. Lk. 6:7; 14:1; 20:20; Acts 9:24 – Eng. versions "watch"). *H.-G. Schütz*

φυλάσσω

φυλάσσω (*phylassō*), guard, preserve, keep; φυλακή (*phylakē*), watch, guard, prison; φρουρέω (*phroureō*), guard, keep in custody, preserve.

CL 1. The etymology of *phylassō* has not been established. In the act. it means, intrans.: (a) be sleepless, watch, keep guard, e.g. *nykta phylassō* (Homer), to watch all night; (b) serve as garrison (for or in a city). This leads to the trans. use: guard, provide with a guard, hold in prison; (c) guard, preserve – originally of things, property, persons and then fig. of love, loyalty, respect; (d) watch over, store (in safe keeping); (f) hold in honour (e.g. friendship), obey (an order, oath, law), attend to. In the mid. it has the same force as act. (a), (b), and also means guard for oneself, store, be careful, be on one's guard. In the LXX it has also the force of act. (f).

2. The vb. *phroureō*, compounded of *pro* and *hora-*, to pay attention to something (→ See, art. *horaō*), when used trans. has the same meaning as *phylassō*.

OT In the LXX *phroureō* is found only 4 times, all in apocryphal books, and thus it does not represent any original Heb. word in the text. *phylassō*, on the other hand, is found well over 400 times, and in a number of the Pseudepigrapha, viz. Eth. Enoch, Aristeas, Test. XII, Sib., and in Philo. No distinction in meaning is made between act. and mid. 378 times it translates *šāmar*, guard, watch, keep; 10 times *nāṣar*, follow, obey; and in isolated cases 9 other Heb. verbs. While *phylassō* is found in almost all the books of the LXX, it is found most commonly in the Pent., apart from Gen., and especially in Deut., in 1–2 Ki. (LXX 3 Ki., 4 Ki.), 1–2 Chr., Pss., Prov., Wis., Sir., Ezek. Its commonest use is for the obedience to and keeping of the law, cultic regulations, the word of God in general or of the covenant. The subject of the vb. can be the whole people of Israel, groups within it, or individuals (Exod. 12:24; Lev. 18:4; Deut. 5:1; Ps. 78[77]:10; Prov. 19:16; Ezek. 11:20). It is easy to trace the development of the concept in the OT from the original thought of fulfilling the covenant obligations (positive or negative) to the inter-testamental idea of keeping the law as the way to salvation (cf. Dan. 9:4 and various passages in 1 and 4 Macc., e.g. 1 Macc. 2:53; 8:26, 28; 4 Macc. 5:29; 6:18; 15:10; 18:7). Hence at the end of this development of meaning the covenant loyalty of God is regarded as dependent on the keeping of the law by the community. ([Tr.] This is undoubtedly the general impression created, but does not do justice to all the evidence. Much in the Jewish prayer-book, or a Midrashic saying like, "It was not for their works that the Israelites were delivered from Egypt, or for their father's works, and not by their works that the Red Sea was cloven in sunder, but to make God a name" [C. G. Montefiore and H. Loewe, eds., *A Rabbinic Anthology*, 1938, 92] shows that apparently positive remarks about Israel's keeping of the law have to be interpreted in a wider framework.) The use of *šāmar* in the Qumran literature, above all in the Manual of Discipline and the Damascus Document, shows this tendency predominantly (1 QS 5:2, 9; 8:3; CD 2:18, 21; 3:2 f.; 6:14, 18; 10:14, 16; 16:7; 19:1 f., 9. 28; 20:17, 22; on legalism at Qumran see M. Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins*, 1961, 118–24, 169 ff.). The other meanings of *phylassō* enumerated under CL are also found in the LXX but much more rarely. To be stressed is the usage found especially in the Pss., of God's protecting actions for his people or the pious (cf. Ps. 12:7[8]; 17:8; 145:20).

NT 1. In the NT *phylassō* means: (a) keep watch (Lk. 2:8); (b) guard (e.g. Acts 12:4; 23:35); (c) protect, guard (of God or Christ: Jn. 17:12; 2 Thess. 3:3; 2 Tim. 1:12; 2 Pet. 2:5; Jude 24; or of men: Jn. 12:25); in the mid. or with a reflex. pron., beware of, abstain from (Lk. 12:15; Acts 21:25; 2 Tim. 4:15; 2 Pet. 3:17; 1 Jn. 5:21); (d) observe, hold, e.g. the law (Gal. 6:13), the commandments (Mk. 10:20 par. Matt. 19:20, Lk. 18:21), the words of Jesus (Jn. 12:47), the decisions of the apostles (Acts 16:4).

2. Obey, hold: in each of the first two Gospels the word is used once only: Matt. 19:20; Mk. 10:20. In each case it has the contemporary religious sense of keeping the law (see above OT). Although both here and in Lk. 18:21 there is no direct criticism of Jewish observance of the law, the radical demand made by Jesus on the rich young ruler is indirectly a complete rejection of it.

Paul uses it only in the Jewish sense, but the context can give it a particular nuance. In Rom. 2:26 it is anti-legal; in Gal. 6:13 anti-Judaistic.

The same connotation of keeping the law is found in Acts 7:53, where Stephen in his defence denies that the Jews had ever kept the law, i.e. their conception of how the law should be kept was rejected from the standpoint of primitive Christianity. Acts 21:24 approves of the Jewish observance, because the Jewish Christian also did so. Luke shows Paul in agreement with the Jewish Christian standpoint.

The Jewish legacy to primitive Christianity is found in a much more important form when *phylassō* is used with tradition, the handing on of the Christian message and teaching. In Acts 16:4 Paul and Timothy delivered to the churches of Asia Minor the *dogmata*, decisions (→ Command), of the original apostles, who represented the one, true church. There is a similar concept in the Pastorals (1 Tim. 5:21; 6:20; 2 Tim. 1:14). The future of the church depends on the disciples of the apostles guarding, working out, making real the inheritance from the apostles. Note 2 Tim. 1:12 where the Lord himself guards it. While Protestants are apt to see here elements leading to Catholicism, it is highly probable that in the position portrayed by Luke and the Pastorals this step of stressing tradition was necessary and unavoidable. *phylassō* is found frequently in Luke (2:8; 11:21; 12:15) and Acts (12:4; 23:35) in its lit. meaning. It also has a lit. sense in 2 Tim. 4:15; Jn. 12:25; 2 Pet. 2:5.

In Jn. 12:47 the expression "[not to] keep my words" means quite simply not to believe in me, Jesus, as the Revealer sent by God. Belief and keeping Jesus' words are defined in terms of each other.)

3. Protect, guard: 2 Thess. 3:3 deals with preserving the church's faith: God is the One who guards the church from the evil one (NEB). The basic thought of the passage is eschatological; the concrete background is the threat of a rising false doctrine within the church. The position is similar in Jude 24 and Phil. 4:7 (where *phroureō*, guard [cf. 2 Cor. 11:32], is used as also in 1 Pet. 1:5). The church is commended to the protection of God in its fight against false doctrine. In Jn. 15:21 the church is exhorted to be itself on guard against idols. Jn. 17:11 f. is concerned with the maintenance of the unity of the church and its exclusive relationship to Christ. Here *phylassō* and *tēreō* are used together as synonyms; God, or Christ, is the subject. *phroureō* is used in Gal. 3:23 in a special sense for the role of the law in the history of salvation: "Now before faith came, we were confined [*ephrouroumetha*] under the law, kept under restraint until faith should be revealed" (RSV).

H.-G. Schütz

4. The noun *phylakē* means: (a) guard or watch (of the shepherds over their flocks in Lk. 2:8); (b) the place of guarding or prison; Matt. 5:25 par. Lk. 12:58 as a picture of the place of judgment; Matt. 14:3, 10 par. Mk. 6:17, 27, Lk. 3:20 of John the Baptist; Matt. 18:30 again as a picture of judgment in the parable of the unforgiving servant; Lk. 21:12 in the context of warnings about what will happen to Christ's disciples; Lk. 22:33 of Peter's professed willingness to go to prison; Lk. 23:19, 25 of Barabbas; Acts 5:19, 22, 25 of the imprisonment of Peter; Acts 8:3; 22:4; 26:10 of Saul's (Paul's) erstwhile persecution of believers; Acts 12:4 f., 10 of Peter's escape from prison; Acts 16:23, 24, 27, 37, 40 in the accounts of Paul and Silas at Philippi; 2 Cor. 6:5; 11:23 in Paul's account of how Christ has enabled him to triumph over weakness and calamity; Heb. 11:36 in the list of trials that have been overcome by faith; 1 Pet. 3:19 of "the spirits in prison" identified by B. Reicke as the underworld or place of punishment in → hell (cf. *The Disobedient Spirits and Christian Baptism*, 1946, 116 f.), → also Death, art. *thanatos* NT 2 (b); Rev. 2:10 of the fate of some of the believers at Smyrna who are exhorted to remain faithful unto death so that they may receive the crown of life; Rev. 18:2 of the fallen city of → Babylon which has become the "haunt" (Arndt, 875; RSV) of every unclean spirit and bird; Rev. 20:7 of the place in which → Satan is cast for a period of a thousand years prior to the final tribulation and his ultimate subjection (→ Chiliasm in the *Glossary of Technical Terms*); (c) guard, sentinel (Acts 12:10); (d) watch of the night reflecting the Roman practice of dividing the time between 6 p.m. and 6 a.m. into four periods (Matt. 14:25; Mk. 6:48; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 18, 356), though Matt. 24:43 and Lk. 12:38 may reflect the Heb. and Gk. practice of having only three watches (Arndt, 875; cf. Josephus, *War*, 5, 510). Mk. 13:35 uses the common designations *opse* (late, in the evening), *mesonyktion* (at midnight), *alektorophōnia* (at cock-crow), *prōi* (early, early in the morning), all in the context of the exhortation to watch, "for you do not know when the master of the house will come."

Related words which occur in the NT are: *phylakizō*, imprison (Acts 22:19); *phylaktērion*, lit. a safeguard, means of protection, especially an amulet or phylactery (Matt. 23:5, a small box containing scripture texts bound on the forehead and arm during prayer, cf. Exod. 13:9, 16; Deut. 6:8; 11:18; they were regarded as a mark of devotion to the law and also as a protection against demonic influence [Arndt, 876; but see also D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 1972, 310; and J. Bowman, *Stud. Ev.*, I, 1959, 523 ff., who thinks that prayer-bands were not so-called in the time of Jesus and that the reference is a warning against ostentatious wearing of amulets or charms]; they are mentioned in the context of warnings against Pharisaic concern for merely external righteousness); *phylax*, guard, sentinel (Matt. 27:65D; Acts 5:23; 12:6, 19). *C. Brown*

γρηγορέω

γρηγορέω (*grēgoreō*), watch, be on the alert, be watchful.

OT *grēgoreō* is a late pres. found in Hel. Gk. and is formed from the perf. *egrēgora* of *egeirō* (rouse, stir). In the LXX it stands for *'āmaḏ* (stand) in Neh. 7:3, and for *šāqaḏ* (watch) in Jer. 5:6; 38(31):28; Lam. 1:14; Dan. 9:14 (Theod.). It has no Heb. equivalent in Bar. 2:9; 1 Macc. 12:27; Test. Ben. 10:1; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 11, 47.

NT Followers of Christ are exhorted to be watchful and alert either to dangers or for opportunities in Matt. 24:42; 25:13; 26:41; Mk. 13:35, 37; 14:38; Acts 20:31; 1 Cor. 16:13; Col. 4:2; 1 Thess. 5:6, 10; 1 Pet. 5:8; Rev. 3:2 f.; 16:15. On *nēphō* (be sober) → Drunken, Sober. *C. Brown*

ἀγρυπνέω

ἀγρυπνέω (*agrypneō*), keep oneself awake, be awake, keep watch, guard, care; *ἀγρυπνία* (*agrypnia*), wakefulness.

CL & OT *agrypneō* is found from Theognis onwards, in papyri, Philo and the LXX where it occurs 11 times (chiefly for *šaqaḏ*, watch), e.g. Job 21:32; Pss. 101(102):7; 126(127):1. The noun *agrypnia* occurs in the LXX only in the Apoc. (10 times), e.g. Sir. 34(31):1 f., 20.

NT Jesus charged his disciples to be on the alert (Mk. 13:33; Lk. 21:36). A similar charge is repeated in Eph. 6:18 at the climax of the discourse on the Christian's armour. In Heb. 13:17 obedience to leaders is urged "for they are keeping watch over your souls, as men who will have to give account." The noun occurs only in the plur. in 2 Cor. 6:5 and 11:27 of Paul's "watching" or "sleepless nights" endured for the sake of the church. *C. Brown*
→ Command, → Law, → Teach

(a). Arndt, 13 f., 166, 822 f., 875 f.; G. Bertram, *phylassō* etc., *TDNT* IX 236–44; H. Riesenfeld, *tēreō* etc., *TDNT* VIII 140–51.
(b). G. Eichholz, "Bewahren und Bewähren des Evangeliums", in H. Gollwitzer and T. Traub, eds., *Hören und Handeln. Festschrift für Ernst Wolf zu seinem 60. Geburtstag*, 1962.

Guilt, Cause, Convict, Blame

Whereas → sin is a general word for doing wrong in the sight of God, guilt is a legal and judicial term which implies criminal responsibility in the eyes of a court of law, whether that court is human or divine. This is illustrated by the adj. *enochos*, a legal term used to indicate that a person accused before a court is guilty. *aitia* denotes the ground of the charge. On the other hand, the meaning of the group of words connected with *elenchō* extends well beyond the legal sphere. In the OT and the NT the concept of guilt is personalized and radicalized through its association with Yahweh or the Father of Jesus Christ. → Righteousness; → Forgiveness; → Reconciliation.

αἰτία

αἰτία (*aitia*), ground, cause, reason, charge; *αἴτιος* (*aitios*), responsible, guilty; *αἰτίωμα* (*aitiōma*), charge; *ἀναπολόγητος* (*anapologētos*), inexcusable; *ἀναίτιος* (*anaitios*), innocent; *ἄμεμπτος* (*amemptos*), blameless; *ἀνέγκλητος* (*anenklētos*), blameless, irreproachable.

CL *aitia* means the ground or motive of a thought or action; in a causal sense the origin, occasion, of a thing, event or phenomenon. In Gk. philosophy the word occurs for the first time in accounts of the thought of Anaximander (middle of the

6th century B.C.). From the 5th century onwards (e.g. Aristotle) it becomes the established term for the origin, cause, of natural phenomena (cf. Aristot., *Phys.* 194 b 16; *Met.* 983 a 26; F. Copleston, *A History of Philosophy*, II, 1946, 311–9).

Nevertheless, *aitia* is only seldom used in a good or neutral sense (cf. Liddell-Scott, 44). Usually the word carries the sense of charge, accusation, blame (as in Aesch., Plato), indicating the responsibility and guilt which attaches to an act. Likewise *aitiōma*, a word not found before Acts, but occurring in classical Gk. from Aesch. in the form *aitiama*, means a charge against a wrongdoer. *aitios* means culpable, responsible. The compound adj. *anapologētos* is used in the same context to indicate the hopelessness of a case for the defence at law; it is found in the 2nd century B.C. (e.g. Polyb.), and means without excuse.

OT 1. The LXX uses *aitia* consistently. The word occurs 21 times in addition to 3 translations in secondary MSS. Of these 18 are in the Apocrypha without Heb. equivalent (except for Wis. 17:13); 1–4 Macc. account for 13 instances. Apart from 4 Macc. 1:16, where the philosophical concept of causation dominates, every example of *aitia* in the LXX has to do with some event which belongs to the darker side of life: fighting (2 Macc. 4:42), idolatry (Wis. 14:27), death (Wis. 18:18; 1 Macc. 9:10), sensual pleasure (Susanna 14, Theod.). As in classical Gk., the term is hardly ever used in a good sense, but rather as a technical term in irregular situations or in trials.

2. The other OT examples confirm this. In Gen. 4:13 the Yahwist uses the term *'āwōn*, iniquity, in the cry of Cain: "My punishment [LXX *aitia*] is too great." The culpable act and the punishment as its inevitable consequence are for him causally related (cf. G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, I, 1962, 266). Job 18:14 contains an aphorism on the inescapable destiny of the wicked to be smitten by a fatal disease. Here the LXX translation differs from the Heb. text, using *aitia* in its description of death as a kind of majestic stroke of fate. Finally, Prov. 28:17 concludes that "for reason of [Heb. *'āšûq*] blood-guilt", i.e. murder, a person must go to the grave, wandering in insecurity.

3. *aitios* is found only at 1 Sam. 22:22 (apart from 6 examples in the Apocrypha, where it means having become guilty). Here David declares that he "has occasioned the death" of certain priests. *anapologētos* and *aitiōma* do not occur in the LXX.

NT In the NT this group of words is not frequent: *aitios* and *aitiōma* occur only once each (in Heb. and Acts), *aitia* 20 times (only in the Gospels, Acts and Heb.).

1. Some texts use *aitia* in a purely causal sense (for this reason, therefore), stating the reason why something happens. Thus the woman with an issue of blood gave Jesus the reason why she had touched him (Lk. 8:47). Peter inquired the reason for the visit (Acts 10:21). Timothy's mother and grandmother are a ground for a special reminder (2 Tim. 1:6). Similar uses are found in 2 Tim. 1:12; Tit. 1:4; Heb. 2:11. The noun *aitios* is used in Heb. 5:9 in a positive sense of Christ as the "source" (RSV) of eternal salvation for all who obey him.

2. In a second group of passages *aitia* is found in connection with legal charges and accusations brought against someone. At Matt. 19:3 the Pharisees asked whether → divorce is lawful "for every cause" as though it were the inevitable consequence of such causes, whereas Jesus' answer makes possible a new beginning

for the disordered marriage. In v. 10, however, *aitia* means a case. Possibly there is an allusion here to a concurrent discussion on the connection between marriage and discipleship which presented a choice between a wife and the Lord. Acts 22:24; 23:28; 25:18, 27 refer to the trials of Paul. In each case the passage is concerned to bring to light the ground of the charges brought against Paul, or to show that they cannot be established. Acts 26:7 uses for such unprovable allegations the noun *aitiōma*, charge (here only in the NT). *aition* is used in a similar sense in the story of the disturbance led by Demetrius (Acts 19:40): there is danger that a charge will be laid because of this disorder for which no satisfactory explanation or reason can be given.

3. A third group has to do with the occasion for a death sentence.

(a) The inscription on the cross specified the charge on which Jesus was condemned to death, the "cause" of death (Matt. 27:37; Mk. 15:26). This indicated to the onlooker that the execution was inevitable because of Jesus' claim to kingship. The Gospels, however, testify to a deeper necessity than the immediate human factors, for it sprang from the purpose of God (→ Necessity, art. *dei*). In Acts 13:28 this "cause" of death is mentioned again in a speech of Paul, and described as unjustified in terms of human justice.

(b) In the report of the trial before Pilate into which are interwoven many legal ideas Pilate pronounces his repeated conclusion that he can find no guilt in Jesus deserving death (in Jn. 18:38; 19:4, 6, *aitia;* in Lk. 23:4, 14, 22, *aition*). Hence in the Gospel accounts the demand of the crowd for the death of the innocent one is all the more culpable (→ Cross, art. *stauros*, NT 1). In a similar sense, cf. the use of → *enochos*, guilty. (On the trial of Jesus see E. Bammel, ed., *The Trial of Jesus*, 1970; J. Blinzler, *The Trial of Jesus*, 1959; D. R. Catchpole, *The Trial of Jesus*, 1971.)

(c) Acts 28:18 mentions the charge made against Paul of committing a capital crime. Since, however, there was insufficient ground (*aitia*) for the accusation, the Romans wished to save him from unjust condemnation to death.

4. The words of this group are used in the OT and NT to indicate the responsibility of a man for his action, together with the resultant consequences. The same applies to *anapologētos* which occurs twice in Paul's letter to the Romans and means the state of being without excuse in a legal sense. In the light of eschatology, the ungodly have no possibility of being excused. They stand under God's destroying wrath (→ Anger; Rom. 1:20). No man is able, under any circumstances, to make an excuse to God (Rom. 2:1). Everyone, whether Jew or Gentile, is deservingly subject to death, and therefore, as the argument of Rom. 2 continues, man is totally dependent on God's free → grace and goodness in Jesus Christ. He took our sentence of death on himself and by this means has truly "excused" us. The theological emphasis given to the theme that Christ "must" suffer in this way is a logical counterpart to the ideas associated with this group of words. *F. Thiele*

5. The adj. *anaitios*, innocent, occurs in Acts 16:37 and Matt. 12:5, 7. *amemptos* means blameless, of the Mosaic covenant (Heb. 8:7) and the heart (1 Thess. 3:13), otherwise only of persons (Phil. 3:6 [cf. Gen. 17:1]; 2:15 [cf. Job 1:1]; Lk. 1:7). The adv. *amemptōs* occurs at 1 Thess. 2:10; 3:13 *v.l.*; 5:23. Both adj. and adv. are connected with *memphomai*, find fault with, blame (Mk. 7:2 *v.l.*; Rom. 9:19; Heb. 8:8; cf. Arndt, 44, 503). *anenklētos* means blameless, irreproachable, of Christians

who will be presented blameless by Christ on the day of the Lord (1 Cor. 1:8; cf. Col. 1:22). A blameless life is also required of Christian leaders in the present (1 Tim. 3:10; Tit. 1:6 f.). *C. Brown*

ἐλέγχω

ἐλέγχω (*elenchō*), bring to light, expose, set forth, convict, convince, punish, discipline; *ἔλεγχος* (*elenchos*), proof, evidence, conviction, reproof, correction; *ἐλεγμός* (*elegmos*), conviction, reproof, punishment; *ἔλεγξις* (*elenxis*), conviction, rebuke, reproof.

CL 1. *elenchō* is found from Homer onwards (e.g. *Il.* 9, 552; *Od.* 21, 424), probably originally (like the noun *elenchos*, reproach) in the sense of blame, insult; then in the sense of test, examine, enquire into a matter (cf. *TDNT* II, 473 n. 2). In Plato (*Soph.* 242b; *Grg.* 470c; *Phdr.* 273b, etc.) and Aristotle (*Soph.El.* 170[a] 24; *Eth.Nic.* 1146[a] 23), *elenchō* is used of the logical exposition of the facts of a matter for the purpose of refuting the (usually sophistical) argument of an opponent. Thus the word developed its principal meaning of convince, refute (e.g. Democ., *Frag.* 60, 222; Zeno, *Frag.* 41). In Stoicism the concept was transferred from the intellectual argument to the application of philosophical ethics. Epictetus is concerned with correcting the practical principles of living (*Dissertationes* 1, 26, 17; 2, 1, 32; 2, 14, 20; 2, 26, 4; 3, 9, 13; 3, 23, 33 and often). Philo (*Spec. Leg.* 3, 54; 4, 6, 40 and often) and Josephus (*War* 7, 330, 447 and often) spoke of the correction which men receive from their own consciences, the Logos, the truth, or from God. The idea of correction finally appears again in Hellenistic and Jewish literature in contexts which produce the meaning, to accuse, convict (Appian, *Bella Civilia* 5, 28; Diod. Sic. 13, 90, 4); and *elenchō* acquired a sense which brought it near to *paideuō*, or *paideia*, the basic concept of Gk. education and learning (→ Teach, art. *paideuō*).

2. The noun *elenchos*, current from Pindar onwards, has a similar variety of meanings. It means: (a) proof (Demosthenes 4, 15; Plato, *Grg.* 471e; especially Aristot., *Soph.El.* 1, 165[a] 2); (b) conviction *BGU* 1138, 13; *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta*, 1878, 814; (c) correction, reproof, censure (Philo, *Rev. Div. Her.* 76). The nouns *elegmos* and *elenxis*, common in the LXX and the NT, are found chiefly in the Hellenistic period, and consequently have as a rule the meaning of conviction or correction.

OT In the LXX *elenchō* is used in the great majority of cases to render the hiph. of *yāḵaḥ*: to bring to account, to correct. *elenchos* generally represents the corresponding noun *tôḵaḥaṯ*, rebuke, correction. It is worthy of note that the words of this group are found in this sense mainly in the later books of the OT (Job, Pss., Prov.), and in the Apocrypha (Wis., Sir.). *elegmos* is used in Isa. 37:3 and 50:2 with the meaning of rebuke, reproach, disgrace. At Num. 5:18 f., 23 f., 27 the LXX translates the "water of bitterness" used in the ordeal by the difficult phrase *hydōr tou elegmou*, water of conviction. *elenxis* occurs only at Job 21:4; 23:2, where it renders the Heb. *śîaḥ*, concern, complaint.

1. The historical books occasionally use *elenchō* in secular contexts: because of a dispute about a well, Abraham complained to Abimelech, king of Gerar (Gen. 21:25); in the quarrel between Jacob and Laban, the kinsmen were to judge (Gen.

31:37) etc. In these cases *elenchō* refers to the clarification of a practical point at dispute, not an intellectual question (see above, CL 1).

2. In prophetic proclamation the vb. has a legal character, as is shown from its use alongside the terms righteousness and judgment. The task of the priests to pronounce judgment and give advice is clearly presupposed (Hos. 4:4; Ezek. 3:26; cf. Amos 5:10; Isa. 29:21; Mal. 2:7). In a negative sense, the prophetic message of judgment spoke of reproof (Jer. 2:19) and the day of punishment (Hos. 5:9) which Yahweh will bring upon his rebellious people. Positively, it proclaimed salvation in terms of justice for the poor (Isa. 11:3 f.) and the helpful healing instruction which Yahweh will give to the nations (Isa. 2:4; Mic. 4:3).

3. This group of words comes into its own in the Wisdom Literature, chiefly in the sense of correction and punishment. On the one hand, the Psalmist prays for preservation from divine punishment (Ps. 6:1); on the other the correction which comes from Yahweh, or from just men, is regarded as a help and benefit (Ps. 141:5; Job 5:17). This thought is developed particularly in proverbial wisdom. While the ungodly neither accepts nor deserves correction, the wise man is grateful for it, for he recognizes in it the love of Yahweh (Prov. 9:7 f.; 3:11 f.; 29:15). As may be seen from the repeated parallel use of *elenchō* and *paideuō* (in Prov. 3:12, Aquila and Symmachus replace *elenchei* with *paideuei;* 15:12; Sir. 18:13), or *elenchos* and *paideia* (Prov. 6:23), the use of the words of this group in the Wisdom Literature comes close to the Stoic ideal of education and character training (cf. on this G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, I, 1962, 418–59). The godly man is trained by correction and discipline to follow the right path in life (Prov. 6:23; 5:12 f.; 19:25; Sir. 18:13).

4. On grounds of the exhortation in Lev. 19:17, "You shall reason with your neighbour", correction played an important part in Judaism both as a commandment to love one's neighbour, and as a task which earns merit (Sifra Lev. 19:17; Sanh. 21b; Pes. K. 25, 163 b; cf. SB I 787 ff.). It has a special importance in the Qumran texts. He who observes his brother transgressing the law, must censure him, at first before witnesses (CD 7:2). If this correction achieves nothing, the case must be brought before the whole community which then proceeds to punish the sinner (1QS 3:6).

NT The words of this group are found in the NT in the gospels (especially Jn.), and also in the later epistles (especially the Pastorals). The majority of examples occur in the later writings. Mk. does not use these words and the early example in Paul is at 1 Cor. 14:24.

1. In the Gospel of John, *elenchō* means, as in the prophetic warnings of judgment, to reveal and convict of sin. It is the negative, reverse side of God's saving work of revelation (Jn. 3:20; 16:8; cf. also Eph. 5:13; Jude 15). The thing revealed is expressed by means of *peri* with the gen. (Jn. 8:46, sin; 16:8 ff., sin, righteousness and judgment; cf. Lk. 3:19, an illegitimate marriage; Jude 15, deeds of ungodliness).

2. *elenchō* is found particularly frequently in hortatory passages (e.g. Eph. 5:13). The Pastoral Epistles assign to the leader of the community the task of rebuking church members (1 Tim. 5:20; 2 Tim. 4:2; Tit. 2:15) and of convicting opponents of their error (Tit. 1:9, 13). The corresponding activity is called *elegmos* in 2 Tim.

3:16, and *elenxis* in 2 Pet. 2:16. In this connection mention should also be made of the instructions about church order in Matt. 18:15 ff., where it is said that erring church members should first be told privately of their fault, then in the presence of several witnesses and, if this be fruitless, the matter should be laid before the whole church (cf. the corresponding procedure at Qumran, see above OT, 4).

3. It may be seen from the citation of Prov. 3:11 f. at Heb. 12:5 and Rev. 3:19, that the Hellenistic concept of education (see above CL, 1; OT, 3) has also found its way into the NT. In both cases *elenchō* and *paideuō* are used in parallel.

4. The interpretation of *elenchos* in Heb. 11:1 presents difficulties. Its meaning here can be deduced only from its context in the definition of faith given in this chapter. The sentence falls into two parts. The second half is a parallelism, to be compared with the first part: *elenchos* strengthens *hypostasis*, and *pragmata ou blepomena*, things not seen, explains *elpizomena*, things hoped for. The concepts are unmistakably Hellenistic in character. The purpose of the statement is not so much to encourage subjective assurance of faith, as if faith could give the status of reality to what lies in the future. It is rather to secure a "firm link with objectivity" (O. Michel, *Der Brief an die Hebräer*, *KEK* 13, 1966[12], 373). Accordingly, *elenchos* should be interpreted neither subjectively, as if it denoted absence of doubt, nor in a hortatory sense, as if it meant correction, nor yet in an intellectual sense, meaning evidence. Rather it should be understood in its context in the theology of Heb. in a strictly theological sense, as referring to conviction, about the power of the future world promised by God which is here described in the language of secular Gk. as "things not seen" (on the whole subject see O. Michel, op. cit., 372 ff.; → Faith, art. *pistis* NT 4; → Form, art. *hypostasis* NT 2). Heb. 11:1 would then mean: "But faith is the pledge of things hoped for, the conviction of things we cannot see."

H.-G. Link

ἔνοχος

ἔνοχος (*enochos*), guilty, subject to, liable to, or deserving a thing or penalty; ἐνέχω (*enechō*), hold fast, be subject to.

CL Gk. literature has the adj. *enochos*, derived from *enechō* (Pindar), meaning to hold fast; pass., to be held fast, be subject to (Plato, Xenophon, Isocrates). It is frequently used as a technical legal term: a person is made liable, or subject to a certain penalty under the law. The forum (lawcourt, laws, men or gods) before which he is guilty or liable is usually referred to in the dative (e.g. Xen., *Memorabilia* 1, 2, 64). Frequently *enochos* is also used with the gen. of the crime (Plato, *Laws* 2, 914e) or of the punishment.

OT The LXX has *enochos* 21 times in the same sense as secular Gk. The term is used in the LXX chiefly to refer to a person who is condemned to → death because of an action incurring blood-guilt. *enochos* serves to translate Heb. formulae expressing the death penalty (e.g. Gen. 26:11; Exod. 22:2; Lev. 20:9–27, in cases of sodomy, incest, homosexuality, soothsaying, etc. "their blood be upon them"; Num. 35:27; Deut. 19:10; Jos. 2:19, the blood-oath taken by the spies before Rahab). In Isa. 54:17 (LXX) *enochos* is used of those who incur guilt by engaging in a legal dispute with Israel.

NT The 10 NT examples of *enochos* follow the same pattern.

1. Matt. 5:21 f. Here, in a threefold progression, the respective courts before which a lawbreaker is arraigned are referred to in the dative: *krisis*, local court; *synedrion*, supreme national court; *gehenna*, → hell (the place of punishment is named at once in the acc. instead of the supreme judge). The lesser or greater degree of guilt is reflected in the nature of the court and the severity of the punishment involved (cf. A. Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Matthäus*, 1963⁶, 165–71; and also W. D. Davies, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount*, 1964, 236 ff.; D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 1972, 120 ff.; → Curse, art. *rhaka*; → Wisdom, Folly, art. *mōria*).

2. Jas. 2:10 uses *enochos* of the lawbreaker. Every single sin, however insignificant it may appear to be, makes the doer "totally guilty", and therefore liable to → judgment.

3. It is in accordance with OT usages when, in the Matthean and Marcan accounts of the trial of Jesus, the death sentence is pronounced using the term *enochos*. The high priest regards the evidence of blasphemy (→ Revile) as conclusive in Jesus' case, and declares him "guilty of death" (*enochos thanatou estin*, Matt. 26:66; cf. Mk. 14:64). The two other occurrences of *enochos* likewise have a legal character.

(a) Heb. 2:15 explains the significance of the death of Jesus, which frees those who were "condemned" to be slaves (i.e. of the devil and of death).

(b) 1 Cor. 11:27 concludes that he who takes the bread and wine unworthily becomes "guilty" of the body and blood of the Lord present in them. The Lord gave himself up to death for the sake of the brethren; the opposite action, loveless behaviour towards one's neighbour (cf. Matt. 5:21 f.), results in guilt. Here too the term *enochos* is used of a matter of life and death.

4. Similarly Mk. 3:29 uses *enochos* with a gen. of the penalty; he who blasphemes against the → Holy Spirit will be guilty of an "eternal sin" (→ Revile, art. *blasphēmeō*).

F. Thiele

ἄμεμπτος

ἄμεμπτος (*amemptos*), blameless; ἀμέμπτως (*amemptōs*), blamelessly; μέμφομαι (*memphomai*), find fault; μεμψίμοιρος (*mempsimoiros*), fault-finding; μέμψις (*mempsis*), reason for complaint.

CL The word *amemptos* is used most frequently in secular Gk. in the sense of blameless, without reproach. It may be used of persons (Euripides, Demosthenes) and things (Xenophon, Plutarch), in the latter case suggesting perfection. On occasion *amemptos* was used with the connotation "content", in the sense that one is not characterized by blaming (Xenophon, Cyril). The word occurs in Wis. 10:5, 15; 18:21 in the sense of moral purity.

The vb. *memphomai* means to blame, to find fault with. With the dat. and acc. of the person it may connote the idea of regarding someone as blameworthy (Herodotus).

The adj. *mempsimoiros* is used in secular Gk. to characterize one who was apt to find fault (Isocrates, Lucian), while *mempsis* indicates the ground of, or reason

for, complaint or blame (Aeschylus). It is used in Wis. 13:6 of those who failed to see God behind his created works. "For these men there is but small blame."

OT In the LXX *amemptos* occurs as the translation of several Heb. words meaning clean, pure (*bar*, *zāḵâh*, *zāḵaḵ*, *ḥapō*), perfect, complete (*tām*, *tāmîm*, *ṭāhēr*, *nāqî*), to be righteous (*ṣāḏaq*), and possibly straight, upright (*yāšār*). The adj. *amemptos* occurs in parallelism with *katharos* in Job 11:4 to describe the blamelessness of Job's character. In this instance it stands for the Heb. *bar* (pure). The vb. *zāḵâh* is translated by *amemptos* in Job 15:14 in the LXX. In this verse *amemptos* occurs in parallelism with *dikaios* (righteous). In Job 33:9 the Heb. *ḥapō* is translated by *amemptos* and qualified by the phrase "I have not transgressed." In Job 2:3 it is difficult to ascertain whether *amemptos* stands for *yāšār* or *tām*. In Job 1:8 the Heb. *tām* is translated by *amemptos* in a verse describing Job's blamelessness, and in Job 22:3 it stands for the Heb. *ṣāḏaq* (be righteous). In most instances the word *amemptos* connotes moral purity. It was applied also, however, to the heavenly bodies (Job 15:15; 25:5) and Job's doctrine (Job 11:4). The adv. *amemptōs* occurs in Est. 3:13 in the sense of honourable or well intentioned, with regard to Artaxerxes' efforts to unify his empire.

In Job 33:10 *mempsis* occurs as the translation of the Heb. *tᵉnû'âh* (opposition, or occasion for opposition). It is used in parallelism with the phrase "he counts me as his enemy." The sense is that of reason for complaint. In Job 39:7 the word *mempsis* occurs as the translation of *tᵉšû'âh* (shout). Since it describes the shouts of a driver to the wild donkey, it may connote the idea of scolding, hence censure. In Job 15:15(A); 33:23; and Wis. 13:6 the word connotes the concept of fault or blame.

NT The word *amemptos* occurs in the NT in the sense of moral purity in Lk. 1:6, where it is used in the sense of blamelessness with regard to the commandments of the Lord. In Phil. 3:6 Paul uses the word to describe his standing with regard to the law. The connotation of the word in these instances is that the individual is not guilty of disobedience to the laws of God, hence there is no blameworthiness nor susceptibility to charge as far as the law is concerned.

The word is used in a somewhat similar sense in Phil. 2:15 to describe the moral purity of those believers who do not grumble or question. They are further described as without blemish (*amōmos*). In 1 Thess. 3:13 Paul expresses the desire that the Thessalonian Christians may be "blameless in holiness" at the *parousia* (cf. Matt. 25:34–40; → Present, art. *parousia*). This blamelessness is the result of their abounding in love one for another (v. 12).

The adv. *amemptōs* occurs in 1 Thess. 2:10 and 5:23. In the former verse it describes the activity of Paul among the Thessalonians in regard to there being no cause for censure or blame on his part. In the latter verse Paul uses the word of the effect of the total work of sanctification at the *parousia*.

The verb *memphomai* is attested in Rom. 9:19 and Heb. 8:8 as well as the TR of Mark 7:2. In each instance the basic connotation of blame or find fault obtains.

In the TR of Mark 7:2 the word is used of the reaction of the Pharisees to some of Jesus' disciples who were eating with unwashed hands. The implication is that the Pharisees found the disciples open to blame, because they were guilty of violating the Jewish tradition. (→ Baptism, art. *niptō*; → Hand, art. *cheir*.)

In Rom. 9:19 the word is used by Paul in a rhetorical question that occurs in an exposition of the sovereignty of God: "Why does he yet find fault?" In the light of God's sovereign inexorable purposes one may raise the question of human responsibility. The word *memphomai* clearly connotes "guilt" or blameworthiness in this context for Paul's argument is that God's sovereignty does not free sinful men of fault or guilt before God.

The word *amemptos* is applied to the first covenant in Heb. 8:7 in a negative sense. If the first covenant had been faultless there would have been no need for another.

In Heb. 8:8 *memphomai* occurs with the dative of the person in a sense similar to the above but in contrast to *amemptos* (v. 7). The Sinaitic covenant has been described as not being faultless (*amemptos*). A fault of the old covenant is found in the people to whom it was given (vv. 8, 9) who did not keep it, for "he finds fault [*memphomenos*] with them" (v. 8). The context does not seem to indicate that the intrinsic nature of the commandments was changed, but rather the mode of reception of the covenant (vv. 8–12, quoting Jer. 31:31–34).

The word *memphomai* then connotes the act of blaming or finding fault, i.e. to regard an individual or object as having fault or blame.

The word *mempsimoiros* (lit. finding fault with one's lot [*moira*]) occurs only once in the NT in Jude 16 in the sense of grumbler, malcontent. *T. McComiskey*

→ Cross, → Judgement, → Punishment, → Redemption, → Sin

(a). F. Büchsel, *elenchō* etc., *TDNT* II 473–76; W. Grundmann, *memphomai* etc., *TDNT* IV 571–4; H. Hanse, *echō* etc., *TDNT* II 828 (on *enechō*); R. S. Moxon, *The Doctrine of Sin*, 1922; C. Ryder Smith, *The Bible Doctrine of Sin*, 1953; F. R. Tennant, *The Concept of Sin*, 1912; H. Thielicke, *Theological Ethics*, I, 1968, II, 1969 (see indexes); N. P. Williams, *The Ideas of the Fall and Original Sin*, 1929. On the psychological and pastoral aspects of guilt see D. Belgum, *Guilt: Where Religion and Psychology Meet*, 1963; H. McKeating, *Living with Guilt*, 1970; J. G. McKenzie, *Guilt: Its Meaning and Significance*, 1962; K. Rahner, "Guilt and its Remission: The Borderland between Theology and Psychotherapy", *Theological Investigations*, II, 1963, 265–82; and "Does Traditional Theology Represent Guilt as Innocuous as a Factor in Human Life?", *Theological Investigations*, XIII, 1975, 133–51; P. Tournier, *Guilt and Grace: A Psychological Study*, 1962; A. Uleyn, *The Recognition of Guilt: A Study in Pastoral Psychology*, 1969.

(b). G. Bally, "Schuld und Existenz", *Wege zum Menschen*, 9, 1960, 305 ff.; M. Boss, *Lebensangst, Schuldgefühle und psychotherapeutische Befreiung*, 1965²; M. Buber, "Schuld und Schuldgefühle", in A. Sborowitz, ed., *Der leidende Mensch*, 1960, 106 ff.; G. Condrau, "Angst and Schuld im menschlichen Dasein", *Wege zum Menschen* 3, 1966, 65 ff.; H. Dombois, ed., *Die weltliche Strafe in der evangelischen Theologie*, 1959; P. Guilluy, ed., *La Culpabilité Fondamentale: Péché Originel et Anthropologie Moderne*, 1975; H. Harsch, *Das Schuldproblem in Theologie und Tiefenpsychologie*, 1964; A. Köberle, "Das Schuldproblem in theologischer und tiefenpsychologischer Sicht", in W. Bitter, ed., *Psychotherapie und Seelsorge*, 1952, 154 ff.; K. Koch, "Sünde und Schuld", *RGG*³ VI 476 ff.; F. Leist, "Die Grenzen zwischen Tiefenpsychologie und Seelsorge", in W. Bitter, op. cit., 163 ff.; H. Lindinger, "Die Erfahrung von Schuld und Tod beim heutigen Menschen", *Wege zum Menschen* 4, 1967, 121 ff.; R. Pfisterer, "Die Schuld – Schande oder Chance?", *Wege zum Menschen* 7/8, 1962, 240 ff.; R. Schneider, *Der Mensch vor dem Gericht der Geschichte*, 1946; E. Schweizer, "Schuld und Tod in biblischer Sicht", *ZNW* 27, 1956, 728 ff.; G. Suttinger, "Der schuldiger Täter als psychologisches Problem", *Wege zum Menschen* 7/8, 1962, 225 ff.

H

Hand, Right Hand, Left Hand, Laying on of Hands

The uses of the word *cheir*, hand, are many and various. It can mean fig. side, power, handwriting or army. In Biblical usage particular importance is attached to the use of *cheir* as part for the whole, as a substitute for a person and his activity and dealings. Thus the hand of God stands for his majesty and supreme power in the affairs of men. On the other hand, Jesus and his disciples were delivered into the hands of men. The thought here is of surrender to the power and mercy of their enemies (→ Judgment, art. *paradidōmi*). Related to this use of *cheir* is the notion of the right hand, *dexia* (*cheir*). This expresses a person's power and authority. To sit at the right hand (*en dexia*) signifies the possession of equal → power and dignity (→ Glory, art. *doxa*). Finally, the laying on of hands plays a special part in the NT in commissioning and empowering. This is dealt with in the art. on *epitithēmi tas cheiras*.

δεξιά	δεξιός (*dexios*), right; δεξιά (*dexia*), right hand.

CL *dexios* which is related to Latin *dexter* means right. It is possible that there is a connection with *dechomai*, to receive; *dexios* would then mean acceptable. Attested from Homer on, it means: (a) right (opposite to left); *hē dexia cheir*, the right hand, then the right side in general; (b) skilful (opposite to clumsy); (c) lucky. The plur. *dexiai* can mean contract, because of the handshake which sealed it. The right hand symbolizes power, success, good fortune, loyalty.

This also holds true in the NT. For the right hand in agreement see Gal. 2:9. The angel in the tomb was sitting on the right side (Mk. 16:5; cf. also Jn. 21:6). In the final judgment those who are chosen are summoned to the right hand of the Son of man (Matt. 25:31 ff.).

OT The Heb. *yāmîn* is the only OT equivalent of *dexios*. God's right hand is often spoken of symbolically, especially in the Pss. It provides support (Ps. 18:35, MT 18:36) and victory (Ps. 118:15). It even expresses the omnipresence of God which embraces men everywhere (Ps. 139:10). Benjamin, lit. son of the right hand, is interpreted as son of good fortune (Gen. 35:18). The place at a man's right hand is important as a place of honour (1 Ki. 2:19; Ps. 45:9, MT 45:10; Zech. 3:1).

Ps. 110:1 is particularly significant in the light of its use in the NT. The king of Israel, placed by Yahweh at his right hand, perhaps at his accession to the throne, is honoured as God's co-regent, who by war and victory will overthrow the enemies of Israel, and thus of God. (For discussion of background see A. Weiser, *The Psalms*, 1952, 692–7; A. A. Anderson, *The Book of Psalms*, II, 1972, 768–72.)

NT In the NT Ps. 110:1 plays an important role in connection with statements about the messiah. The verse is quoted or referred to indirectly 19 times, of which 7 are in the Synoptics, 3 in Acts, 3 in Paul, 5 in Heb. and 1 in Pet. It is only here that *dexios* has any theological significance. (It occurs altogether 54 times, most frequently in Matt.)

1. Ps. 110:1 was probably interpreted messianically already in pre-NT times. At all events, Jesus expounded it in this sense in Mk. 12:35 ff. par. Matt. 22:41–6, Lk. 20:41–4. For Rab. Judaism the messiah was God's eschatological, political co-regent who would establish a visible kingdom of God on earth. Jesus clearly rejected the political aspects of messiahship and was guarded in his attitude to the title of Son of David (→ Son). But in the final days of his ministry he alluded to him as if to a third person. ([Ed.] The context in Matt. and Mk. is particularly significant, for Jesus' question to the Pharisees about the Christ immediately follows the lawyer's question to Jesus as to which is the great commandment. The reply that Jesus gave was: "You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind" [Matt. 22:37]. He then added the second great commandment and went on to ask, referring to Ps. 110:1: "How is it then that David, inspired by the Spirit, calls him Lord?" [Matt. 22:37]. The implication is that as well as the → Lord whom men are commanded to serve and worship with their whole being there is another Lord who has the same title and sits at the Lord's right hand. The question is put hypothetically, but it also has bearing on who Jesus is and what is his divinely appointed rôle. The hearers were unable to give an answer. In the verses that follow Jesus went on to pronounce judgment on the scribes and Pharisees whose teaching and practice had caused them to miss the significance of what God is saying and doing.)

At his trial (Mk. 14:62 par. Matt. 26:64, Lk. 22:69), although unarmed and ridiculed, Jesus solemnly declared that he was "the Son of man" who will sit "at the right hand of Power" (Dan. 7:13 combined with Ps. 110:1). With this unheard-of claim he demanded recognition that God exercises his power in a way differing radically from that of the world. God works under and indeed by means of conditions of the greatest human powerlessness. The one who will come in judgment at the right hand of God's throne (→ Power, art. *thronos*) is the → Lamb who was slain (Rev. 5:6).

2. This is the only sense in which the primitive church could speak of Jesus being seated at God's right hand. This is pictured in various ways. Rom. 8:34 lays more emphasis upon the priestly function of the heavenly intercessor. Col. 3:1 stresses the fact that Christ is now hidden in the divine world above. On the other hand, Eph. 1:20 and 1 Pet. 3:22 underline the original meaning of his co-regency. For Heb. especially Jesus' session at God's right hand ("the point in what we are saying" [8:1]) is not the exercise of worldly power but the reign of the One who has offered himself as a sacrifice and has therefore been exalted above all angels (1:3, 13). This sacrifice of himself which has led to his exaltation is the unchangeable source of all the blessings of salvation towards which the tired Christian community must hasten (12:2). However, his session at God's right hand does not yet mean the immediate defeat of all his enemies. This is reserved for the eschatological consummation (10:12; cf. 1 Cor. 15:25).

3. A polemical motive is added in Acts. The proclamation of Jesus' session at

God's right hand (2:34) and his exaltation to that position (2:33; 5:31) becomes a word of judgment upon the Jews and their pride in the Law. The one they killed is the messiah! Stephen saw him standing at God's right hand (7:55 f.), "as if to meet Stephen" (J. A. Bengel, *Gnomon of the New Testament*, 1873, II, 583). That Jesus is standing at God's right hand indicates that he has the role of witness for the defence; he appears before God as a witness on behalf of his own witnesses on earth. The witness stands, the judge sits! *C. Blendinger*

ἀριστερός, εὐώνυμος

ἀριστερός (*aristeros*), left; εὐώνυμος (*euōnymos*), left.

OT The Heb. *śᵉmō'l* (e.g. Gen. 15:15; 24:9) is normally translated by *aristeros*. But *euōnymos* is also used. Significance is attached to which hand Jacob used in blessing in Gen. 48:14. Both the right and left hands are mentioned in Jdg. 16:29 but without any theological significance. But the left is a symbol for folly and ill fortune in Eccles. 10:2.

NT Paul speaks of having "weapons of righteousness for the right hand and the left" (2 Cor. 6:7) in his defence of his ministry. The expression *ex aristerōn* is used by James and John who wanted the chief places for themselves on the right and left hands of Jesus (Mk. 10:37). By contrast Lk. 23:33 mentions the two malefactors crucified on the right and left hand of Jesus. In all these instances *aristeros* has a good or at least neutral sense. *euōnymos* is used in the same contexts in Mk. 10:40 and 15:27; cf. Matt. 20:21, 23; 27:38. It has a neutral sense in Acts 21:3 and Rev. 10:2. But it has a pejorative sense in Matt. 25:33, 41 in the parable of the sheep and the goats which is in keeping with its lit. meaning. For *euōnymos* means lit. of good name or omen, well-named, thus avoiding the ill-omen attaching to the left. It thus became a euphemism for the left (cf. the secular background in Liddell-Scott, 740, 240). *C. Brown*

χείρ

χείρ (*cheir*), hand; πυγμή (*pygmē*), fist; δάκτυλος (*daktylos*), finger.

CL *cheir* is found from Mycenaean Greek (Linear B) on. The hand, the member of the human → body that a man puts to the most active use, serves him both in his work and in defence of himself. His strength and energy are made effective through his hands. Therefore the hand is particularly important.

In secular Gk. the plur. *cheires* and *dynameis* (power(s)) can be used synonymously. But the hand does not stand simply as a symbol of power. When it is linked with a personal name, it stands as a substitute for the person himself in action. *cheir* means handwriting in Hyperides (4th cent. B.C.) and Philodemus (1st cent. B.C.), cf. the related usage in the formula *tē emē cheiri*, with my own hand (1 Cor. 16:21; Gal. 6:11).

OT 1. The OT speaks of a person's activity as the work of his hand. The hand (Heb. *yāḏ*) is a symbol of human → power. Thus, to fall into someone's hand means to come into their power (Gen. 32:11, MT 32:12; Jdg. 2:14; Jer. 27:6 f.). In

2 Sam. 18:18 *cheir* (corresponding to the Heb. *yāḏ*) means a mark or monument (cf. Isa. 56:5). *cheir* is likewise a symbol for divine omnipotence (2 Chr. 20:6; Ps. 89:21 [MT 89:22]). God's hand created heaven and earth and with his hand he controls them (Isa. 48:13). For Israel God's hand means salvation and release; but for their enemies, destruction and ruin (Exod. 7:4; 9:3; 1 Sam. 7:13). The hand of the Lord is used in the same way to express God's righteous punishment (1 Sam. 5:6, 11), but also his loving care (Ezr. 7:6; Job 5:18; Ps. 145:16; Isa. 49:16) and his divine protection (Isa. 51:16).

2. Both in figurative language about God and with reference to men the two hands do not have equal status. By comparison with the left hand a higher value is placed upon the right, because it is the one that is active (Exod. 15:6, 12; Ps. 118:15 f.; Isa. 41:13; cf. Matt. 5:30). There is an extraordinary richness about the use of the hand in sign and figurative language. It serves to express displeasure, passionate excitement (Num. 24:10), but also to express humble supplication (2 Chr. 6:12 f.; Ps. 28:2), joy (Ps. 47:1 [47:2]) and sorrow (Jer. 2:37), scornful malicious joy (Ezek. 6:11), solemn oath (Gen. 14:22; 24:2, 9; 47:29; Ezr. 10:19) and loyal citizenship (Prov. 6:1 ff.; 22:26). The sign on the hand (Exod. 13:9, 16; Deut. 6:8; 11:18) is a permanent and picturesque way of expressing constant remembrance of God's saving acts and of his commandments for his people. To fill someone's hand means to install him to priestly office (Num. 3:3). Washing the hands serves not only to fulfil the commandments concerning purification (Exod. 30:18 ff.), but also to signify an affirmation of innocence and a clear conscience (Deut. 21:6; Ps. 26:6; cf. Job 17:9; Ps. 24:4; Matt. 27:24). This richness of meaning which belongs to the concept hand in the OT lives on into Rab. Judaism and continues in the NT.

NT The word *cheir* occurs 176 times in the NT with a few additional occurrences in variant readings. It appears most frequently in Luke's writings (Lk. 26 times; Acts 45), no doubt because of his preference for OT turns of phrase (especially in Acts).

1. *cheir* is often found, used literally, in the combination *podes kai cheires*, feet and hands (Matt. 18:8; 22:13; Lk. 24:39; Jn. 11:44; Acts 21:11). The phrase *dia cheiros tinos* (also plural), through someone, by someone (e.g. Mk. 6:2; Acts 5:12; 7:25; 11:30) is a Semitism representing the Heb. *bᵉyāḏ*, by, with. Similarly, *eis cheiras* translates Heb. *lîḏê*, to, for. The hands can stand for a person (Acts 17:25). *cheir* is used 25 times in connection with the laying on of hands (→ *epithesis tōn cheirōn*).

2. As in the OT, the hand of the Lord means the embodiment of divine power. It is also applied to Christ in Jn. 3:35; 10:28; 13:3. It works in creation (Acts 7:50; Heb. 1:10) and in God's plan of salvation (Acts 4:28; *cheir* in combination with *boulē*). It expresses his righteous punishment (Acts 13:11; Heb. 10:31), and also the special care (Lk. 1:66), security and protection (Lk. 23:46; Jn. 10:29) which God grants to all those who trust him. God's hand indicates his wonder-working power with which he accompanies the apostolic proclamation of the gospel (Acts 4:30; 11:21) and is represented as operating "by the hand of an → angel" (Acts 7:35). It also indicates God's hidden wisdom with which he leads his people on earth through suffering (1 Pet. 5:6). Hand, finally, can be a periphrasis

for a hostile power, into whose control a man is delivered (esp. Matt. 17:22 par. Mk. 9:31, Lk. 9:44, Matt. 26:45 par. Mk. 14:41; Acts 21:11), but from whose hand he can also be set free (Acts 12:11; 2 Cor. 11:33).

3. *cheir* is frequently used in connection with the verb *ekteinō*, to stretch out. Jesus commanded a sick man to stretch out his hand (Matt. 12:13 par. Mk. 3:5, Lk. 6:10). He stretched out his hand to → heal (Matt. 8:3 par. Mk. 1:41, Lk. 5:13; cf. Acts 4:30). Stretching out the hand can be an orator's gesture (Acts 26:1) and a sign indicating the bystanders (Matt. 12:49). It can happen with hostile intent (Lk. 22:53) or refer indirectly to a disciple's death by crucifixion (Jn. 21:18).

F. Laubach

The Jewish (though not OT) practice of ceremonially washing the hands before meals (Mk. 7:1–4) was condemned by Jesus as an instance of scrupulous observance of an outward ordinance of man, practised at the expense of neglecting the word of God (vv. 6 ff.; cf. Matt. 15:8 ff.; Isa. 29:13) and failure to realize that evil comes from the heart (Mk. 7:14–23; cf. Matt. 15:10–20). Mk. 7:3 contains the word *pygmē* which the RSV deliberately omits on account of the uncertainty of its meaning. Although there are variant readings in some MSS, it is supported by the majority of early MSS. C. E. B. Cranfield suggests that the explanation is to be sought in the Jewish custom of different sorts of ritual washing. Dipping up to the wrist was less serious than plunging up to the wrist. *pygmē* is a dat. form of the noun meaning "fist". The expression in Mk. *pygmē nipsōntai* may refer to the former act, or perhaps to washing with a fistful of water. (Cf. *The Gospel according to Saint Mark*, 1959, 233; and for further suggestions P. R. Weis, "A Note on *pygmē*," *NTS* 3, 1956–7, 233 ff.; → Baptism, Wash, art. *niptō*.) Pilate's act of washing his hands before the crowd (Matt. 27:24) was a public gesture disclaiming responsibility. Although the crowds accepted responsibility for Jesus' blood, the gesture was equally empty, for moral responsibility cannot be disposed of by outward gestures.

The finger (*daktylos* [in the LXX chiefly for *'eṣba'*]) is mentioned in Matt. 23:4; Mk. 7:33; Lk. 11:46; 16:24; Jn. 8:6, 8; 20:25, 27. The expression "finger of God" (Lk. 11:20; cf. Exod. 8:19) is paralleled in Matt. 12:28 by → "Spirit of God." "In all likelihood it is Jesus' own phrase by which he defines his mission in terms of the Exodus . . . as he does elsewhere. See on 6:17–49; 9:10–17). The eschatological presence of the Spirit is the presence of the kingdom. See on 10:1–20" (E. E. Ellis, *The Gospel of Luke*, 1966, 165).

cheirotoneō means to choose (originally elect by raising hands) (2 Cor. 8:19), and appoint (Acts 14:23). *cheiropoiētos*, made by human hands, underlines the distinction between God's action and man's (Mk. 14:58; Acts 7:78; 17:24; Eph. 2:11; Heb. 9:11, 24).

C. Brown

ἐπιτίθημι

ἐπιτίθημι τὰς χεῖρας (*epitithēmi tas cheiras*), to lay hands on; ἐπίθεσις τῶν χειρῶν (*epithesis tōn cheirōn*), laying on of hands.

CL *epithesis* (from Plato on) means: (a) laying on, application (of things); (b) setting upon, attack (only in the LXX, Aristeas, Philo and Josephus). The phrase *epithesis tōn cheirōn*, the laying on of hands, occurs only in Philo and the NT. On the other hand *epitithēmi tēn cheira* or *tas cheiras*, to lay the hand or hands on someone or something, also occurs in Gk. inscriptions and in the LXX.

Miraculous healings, performed by means of the laying on of hands, are attributed in Hel. literature to Asclepius, Zeus and to other gods and wise men (→ Heal, art. *iaomai; TDNT* III, 196 ff.).

OT 1. Even though the substantival combination *epithesis tōn cheirōn* does not occur in the LXX, it probably goes back to the corresponding verbal expression, *epitithēmi tas cheiras* (Heb. *sāmaḵ yāḏayim*) in the LXX which has two basic associations in the LXX. Numerically speaking, by far the more important usage of this verbal expression in the LXX is the one which describes how the sacrificer laid his hand on the head of the sacrificial animal. The meaning of this action is seen most clearly in the ritual for the great Day of Atonement (Lev. 16), where the laying on of hands is not an act of blessing but is believed to be a real transference of guilt to the scapegoat. To drive out the goat meant to drive out sin itself. But in the case of the other forms of sacrifice which from the point of view of the history of religions are less primitive, it is to be observed that sacrifice and laying on of hands coincide (so in almost every chapter in Lev.). For to deny that foreign divinities have any power over the people of Israel meant that they now have to commit to Yahweh their evil and allow him to destroy it.

2. Alongside this, though more rare, is the laying on of hands as an act of blessing (Genesis 48:18). It is no doubt closely related to the ritual of laying on of hands on the occasion of a man's installation in an office (Num. 27:18, 23, and frequently in the Pent.). The laying on of hands means, therefore, if one compares the two very different acts of removal of sin and blessing, that there passes to the one on whom hands are laid the particular quality of the one who performs the act. He passes on his special blessing or burdens the scapegoat with the burden which he himself had carried.

3. The two passages which took on the greatest significance for Rab. Judaism were those which dealt with Moses' appointment of Joshua to be his successor (Num. 27:15 ff.; Deut. 34:9). In the former passage, by means of the laying on of hands Moses invested Joshua with his authority. In the latter he invested him with his spirit of wisdom. Rab. Judaism saw here the obligatory model and the origin of its own ordination practice, which was understood as the handing on of the spirit of Moses from the present teacher to the pupil (*cf. TDNT* VI 962; IX 429; SB I 807; SB II 648–55).

NT In the majority of passages in which it occurs in the NT (altogether 40 times) *epitithēmi* is connected with the laying on of hands. *epithesis tōn cheirōn* only appears 4 times.

1. The verbal expression *epitithēmi tas cheiras* is used predominantly in the NT in connection with miracles of healing (Matt. 9:18; Mk. 5:23; 6:5; 7:32; 8:23; Lk. 13:13; Acts 28:8), performed by Jesus and the apostles as signs that the messianic age had already dawned. The expression also appears in Matt. 19:13, 15 to denote a gesture of blessing the children who were brought to Jesus. As the par. in Mk. 10:16 shows, there is no thought of a magical means of blessing. The gesture of blessing symbolizes, rather, the gracious offer of a share in the kingdom of God made to those who are not of age, i.e. to such as approach God with the attitude of children. (→ Child, art. *pais* NT 2.)

Acts 8:17 ff.; 9:17; 19:6 belong in the context of the → baptism. The Holy → Spirit is given to those who are baptized and have the apostles' hands laid on them. This may be the idea behind 1 Tim. 5:22. But equally the laying on of hands here could be a gesture accompanying the readmission to fellowship of a penitent sinner or heretic. The possibility of "ordination" also cannot be excluded. Two passages take us directly into the sphere of Jewish ordination: Acts 6:6 where the seven Hellenists were appointed to serve in the daily distribution to their section of the community, and Acts 13:3 where Paul and Barnabas are sent out. Here the thought of authorizing and commissioning to a specific work predominates.

2. The substantival expression occurs once in connection with baptism (Acts 8:17 ff.). On another occasion it denotes one of the elementary doctrines of Christ (Heb. 6:2). Twice (1 Tim. 4:14; 2 Tim. 1:6) it denotes the rite by which Timothy was ordained. According to these two passages, Timothy had conferred upon him through the laying on of hands by the elders or Paul the gift of grace for leading the congregation, preaching the word and teaching or refuting false teachers. It is surmised by those who on literary grounds deny the Pauline authorship of the Pastoral Epistles that the church here, which dates from the beginning of the 2nd cent., is using a historical fiction. Its aim was to give apostolic justification to its understanding of ordination (the conferment of grace for office), which has departed from the Pauline understanding of the free working of the Spirit.

3. It is striking that in every passage, where the laying on of hands appears in connection with ordination or sending out for a particular service, it is always carried out by people who at that moment possess different gifts. In Acts 6:6 the laying on of hands is performed by the apostles; in Acts 13:3 by prophets and teachers; in 1 Tim. 4:14 by the elders; and in 2 Tim. 1:6 by Paul. This suggests that the NT does not yet recognize the power of ordination as being restricted to a particular office, e.g. that of the apostles.

Reference must also be made to the close connection between the laying on of hands and intercessory prayer. This indicates that there is no thought of the transfer of a particular quality, necessary for office, from one office-bearer to another involving the idea of succession. The idea that the gifts of grace are at men's disposal is sharply contradicted by Peter's clash with Simon Magus (Acts 8:18 ff.). It is God himself who equips his servants with his gifts and sends them out. This happens through the prayer of the church. The laying on of hands bears witness to the church's conviction that their prayers which are founded on God's promises have been heard. *H.-G. Schütz*

→ Apostle, → Bishop, → Serve

(a). Arndt, 106, 169, 736, 888; H. von Campenhausen, *Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power in the Church of the First Three Centuries*, 1969; J. G. Davies, *He Ascended into Heaven* (Bampton Lectures, 1958), 1958; D. Daube, "The Laying on of Hands" in *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, 1956; B. S. Easton, "Jewish and Early Christian Ordination", *Anglican Theological Review*, 5, 1922–23, 308–19; 6, 1923–24, 285–95; abridged in *Early Christianity: The Purpose of Acts and Other Papers*, 1955, 135–43; A. Ehrhardt, "Jewish and Christian Ordination", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 5, 1954, 125–38; reprinted in *The Framework of the New Testament Stories*, 1964, 132–50; E. Ferguson, "Laying on of Hands: Its Significance in Ordination" *JTS* New Series 26, 1975, 1–12; K. Grayston, "The Significance of the Word Hand in the New Testament", in *Festschrift B. Rigaux*, 1970, 479–87; W. Grundmann, *dexios*, *TDNT* II 37–40; D. M. Hay, *Glory at the Right Hand: Psalm 110 in Early Christianity*, 1973; F. Hahn, *The*

Titles of Jesus in Christology, 1969, especially 129 ff.; J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, 1972[3]; G. W. H. Lampe, *The Seal of the Spirit*, 1951, 223–31; E. Lohse, *cheir* etc., *TDNT* IX 424–38; S. New, "The Name, Baptism, and the Laying on of Hands", in F. J. Foakes-Jackson and K. Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, V, 1933, 121–40; W. D. McHardy, "Mark 7[3] – A Reference to the Old Testament?", *ExpT* 87, 1975–76, 119; J. Newman, *Semikhah*, 1950; J. K. Parratt, "The Laying on of Hands in the New Testament", *ExpT* 80, 1968–69, 210–14; J. J. M. Roberts, "The Hand of Yahweh", *VT* 21, 1971, 244–51; H. Schlier, *daktylos*, *TDNT* II 20 f.; K. L. Schmidt, *pygmē*, *TDNT* III 915 ff.; M. H. Shepherd, Jr., "Hands, Laying on of", *IDB* II 521 f.; H. P. Smith, "The Laying on of Hands", *American Journal of Theology* 17, 1913, 47–62; C. H. Turner, *cheirotonia, cheirothesia, epithesis cheirōn*, *JTS* 24, 1923, 496–504; P. R. Weis, "A Note on *pygmē*", *NTS* 3, 1956–57, 233–36; J. Ysebaert, *Greek Baptismal Terminology*, 1962.
(b). N. Adler, *Taufe und Handauflegung*, 1951; and "Die Handauflegung im Neuen Testament bereits ein Bussritus? Zur Auslegung von 1 Tim. 5, 22", *Neutestamentliche Aufsätze*, Festschrift J. Schmid, 1963, 1 ff.; J. Behm, *Die Handauflegung im Urchristentum*, 1911; J. Coppens, *L'imposition des mains et les rites connexes dans le Nouveau Testament et dans l'Église ancienne*, 1925; J. Daniélou, "La Session à la droite du Père," in *The Gospels Reconsidered: A Selection of Papers read at the International Congress on the Four Gospels in 1957*, 1960, 68–77; J. Galtier, "Imposition des mains", *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, VII, 1972, 1302–1425; E. Lohse, *Die Ordination im Spätjudentum und im Neuen Testament*, 1951; U. Luck, *Hand und Hand Gottes. Ein Beitrag zur Grundlage und Geschichte des biblischen Gottesverständnisses* (dissertation, Münster), 1959; R. Mayer and N. Adler, "Handauflegung", *LTK* IV 1343 ff.; S. Morenz, H. D. Wendland and W. Jannasch, "Handauflegung", *RGG*[3] III 52 ff.; G. Révész, *Die menschliche Hand*, 1944; O. Weinreich, *Antike Heilungswunder*, 1909; A. S. van der Woude, *yāḏ*, *THAT* I 667–74.

Hard, Hardened

σκληρός

σκληρός (*sklēros*, hard, rough; σκληρότης (*sklērotēs*), hardness; σκληρύνω (*sklērynō*), to be, become, hard; σκληροτράχηλος (*sklērotrachēlos*), stiff-necked, obstinate; σκληροκαρδία (*sklērokardia*), hard-heartedness; πωρόω (*pōroō*), harden, become hard; πώρωσις (*pōrōsis*), hardness; παχύνω (*pachynō*), thicken, make insensitive.

The concepts of being or making hard, firm, rigid and thick are expressed in the NT by the word groups *sklēros*, *pōros* (*pēros*) and *pachys*. The meanings converge with the result that substitutions take place in the course of the transmission of the NT text.

CL 1. *sklēros* (in secular Gk. from Hesiod on) means dry, hard, rough. From it is formed the noun *sklērotēs*, hardness. The vb. *sklērynō* was originally a medical term (first attested in Hippocrates). In the active it means to harden; in the passive, to grow hard. *sklērotrachēlos* (attested in Aesop and the LXX) means stiff-necked, stubborn, obdurate.

2. *pōroō* (from Hippocrates on) is derived from *pōros*, tufa or tuff (porous stone), and means to harden, to form a callus (when broken bones heal), and thus to petrify, to become hard. The word is only used figuratively in the NT. The same is true of the verbal noun *pōrōsis*, hardening. In almost every NT passage where *pōroō* and *pōrōsis* occur, *pēroō* and *pērōsis* appear as variants. *pēroō* means to make lame, to maim; and when used of the eyes, to blind. Correspondingly *pērōsis* means maiming, and then shortsightedness, blindness. This root is also used figuratively and in this sense means virtually the same as *pōroō*. As *pēroō*

occurs more frequently in literature, the substitution of the words in the process of copying is easily explained. *pōroō* doubtless represents the original form of the text.

3. *pachynō* is derived from *pachys*, thick, fat (in secular Gk. from Aeschylus on). It originally meant to thicken, to fatten; then by extension to make impervious (to water). Hence figuratively it came to mean to make insensitive, and in the passive, to be insensitive.

OT The most frequent Heb. equivalent for *sklēros* and its derivatives is *qāšâh*. *ḥāzaq* and other vbs. are also used, but these word groups are rare. Hardening, according to the OT understanding, results from the fact that men persist in shutting themselves to God's call and command. A state then arises in which a man is no longer able to hear and in which he is irretrievably enslaved. Alternatively, God makes the hardening final, so that the people affected by it cannot escape from it.

1. In the oldest OT narratives it is always non-Israelites who are hardened. The most important narrative is that of the hardening of Pharaoh (Exod. 4 ff.). After every appeal by Moses and every plague we read, "Still Pharaoh's heart was hardened" (Exod. 7:13, 22; 8:15, etc.). It is God who hardens Pharaoh's heart (in passages attributed to the Elohistic strand). Whole peoples too are hardened by God, e.g. the Canaanites: "For it was the Lord's doing to harden their hearts that they should come against Israel in battle, in order that they should be utterly destroyed, and should receive no mercy" (Jos. 11:20). Non-Israelites were hardened, therefore, only when they came into contact with Israel, for the hardening of the peoples was one of the means God used to fulfil his purpose for Israel.

2. Not until the great prophets is → Israel also seen as a hardened people. This is expressed most strongly in Isa. God's word had come to the priests and prophets in Jerusalem, but they did not want to listen. Hence, God's word became a word of judgment against them, "that they may go, and fall backward, and be broken" (Isa. 28:12 f.). On the occasion of his call Isaiah received the command, "Make the heart of this people fat, and their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes and hear with their ears, and understand with their hearts, and turn and be healed" (Isa. 6:10). God's judgment on his people is not that he no longer speaks to them. Rather his word is still proclaimed with utter clarity. But because the people hitherto have not wanted to listen, from now on they will be unable to. The vineyard which did not want to bear fruit (Isa. 5:1–7) is now unable to, because God has forbidden the clouds to rain on it. God's judgment encompasses the destruction of the people (Isa. 6:11).

3. This contention that it is God himself who mercilessly hardens Israel is an extreme statement. The later prophets do not speak with the same severity. Jeremiah spoke of hardening, but he no longer named God as its cause. For Jeremiah the cause is the obstinacy of the people who give heed to the false prophets, whereas for Isaiah the prophet himself is carrying out God's commission. It is interesting that the LXX softens Isa. 6 by transmitting the command to Isaiah in the indicative: "for the heart of this people is stupefied; and their ears are dull of hearing; and they have shut their eyes, that for a while they may not see with their eyes; and hear with their ears; and understand with their hearts; and return that I may heal them."

The decisive new element is the promise in the later period of God's new → covenant. Then Israel will hear and recognize the Lord (Jer. 31:33 f.), and men will receive a new, no longer a hard, heart and a new spirit (Ezek. 36:26 f.).

4. In the Wisdom Literature the righteous and the godless are constantly contrasted. The latter are characterized in many passages as hardened (Prov. 28:14; 29:1). Here attention is directed more to the guilt occasioned by hardness. Hardening is the continually mounting refusal on the part of man to listen to God's command. It is not, however, inevitable. There is room, therefore, for the appeal, "O that today you would hearken to his voice! Harden not your hearts" (Ps. 95:8). For God's judgment takes place as a result of hardness. No longer is hardness itself a judgment from God as in Isa.

NT All these words are comparatively rare in the NT. They occur throughout the Synoptics (11 out of a total of 26 occurrences), a few times in Acts, in Paul (*pōroō* and its derivatives, and *sklērotēs*), in Heb. (*sklērynō* 4 times) and in Jude and Jas. (*sklēros* once in each).

1. (a) *sklēros* is used in its metaphorical sense of things: *anemōn sklērōn*, strong rough winds (Jas. 3:4); of Jesus' words, *sklēros estin ho logos houtos*, "this is a hard [unacceptable] saying" (Jn. 6:60). God will punish the ungodly because of all the hard things (some MSS add, words) which they have spoken against him (Jude 15 quoting Eth. Enoch. 1:9). It is also used of people: the *kyrios*, the master in the parable of the talents, is described in Matt. 25:24 as *sklēros anthrōpos*, a hard, i.e., hard-hearted man. *sklēros* is used absolutely in Acts 26:14: "It is hard for you [i.e. difficult; *sklēron soi*] to kick against the goad." A few ancient MSS and versions also include this phrase in Acts 9:4.

(b) *sklērotēs* occurs in Rom. 2:5 and describes a human characteristic. By their hard and impenitent hearts the Jews are storing up for themselves the wrath of the coming judgment, on account of their self-righteousness and impenitence.

(c) *sklērynō* is used transitively with a human subject: "Do not harden your hearts" (Heb. 3:8, 15; 4:7). The appeal of Ps. 95:8 is repeated three times; the community must not forfeit God's promise. With "God" as subject the word occurs in Rom. 9:18: "He hardens the heart of whomever he wills." Exod. 4:21 (the hardening of Pharaoh) is doubtless in the background here. God punishes by abandoning people to their sin (cf. Rom. 1:24, 26, 28).

Heb. 3:13 takes up the appeal of v. 8 in the passive, "that none of you may be hardened by the deceitfulness of sin." In Acts 19:9 it is said of the Jews in Ephesus that some of them were "hardened" at Paul's preaching in the synagogue and openly abused his teaching.

(d) *sklērotrachēlos* occurs only in Acts 7:51. In his speech Stephen calls the Jews "stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart and ears," like their fathers always resisting the Holy Spirit, unwilling to listen to God and killing his prophets.

2. (a) *pōroō* is used metaphorically in all five passages where it occurs. In Mk. 6:52 the word is used of the hardening of Jesus' disciples. "Their hearts were hardened," so that they still did not understand who the Lord was (cf. 8:17). In Jn. 12:40 it refers to the Jews again at whose hand Jesus met with rejection. The word occurs in a proof-text (Isa. 6:9 f.; while it does not follow the LXX, it uses

the indicative as in the LXX). The two Pauline passages also refer to the Jews: "the rest [i.e. the non-elect] were hardened" (Rom. 11:7); and "their minds were hardened" (2 Cor. 3:14).

(b) Two passages also apply the verbal noun *pōrōsis* to the Jews. Jesus is grieved at their "hardness of heart" (Mk. 3:5; cf. Mk. 10:5 par. Matt. 19:8, *sklērokardia*). Paul states in Rom. 11:25, "a hardening has come upon Israel." In Eph. 4:18 it is said of the Gentiles, "they are darkened in their understanding, alienated from the life of God because of their hardness of heart."

3. Both passages where *pachynō* occurs (Matt. 13:15; Acts 28:27) quote from Isa. 6:9 f. (here the quotation is used as in the LXX).

4. All these words, including the adj. *sklēros*, are used in an exclusively metaphorical and theological sense and denote the same idea: the reluctance of men to respond to God. In the NT men who do not open themselves to the gospel are described as hardened. The same can be said of Jews and Gentiles, and also of Jesus' disciples who did not understand the → cross to which they were to become witnesses. The prophetic idea that God hardens men is taken over from the OT (e.g. Rom. 11) without for a moment losing sight of man's personal responsibility (Rom. 2:5). Thus in the NT hardening also describes the inability to hear which renders a man liable to judgment. This applies also to the appeals in Heb. These are meaningful only because hardness is broken down with the promise of forgiveness and a new beginning (cf. 8:9 f.). With the gospel God also gives the ability to understand it (cf. however Heb. 6:4 ff.).

God has "given up" men to their sin (Rom. 1:24). But in Christ he gives a new opportunity of hearing through his Spirit; he fulfils the promises of the OT. Over against hardening, the inability to receive the word of God, stands → faith, the obedient reception of the word. The question whether, despite Christ's coming, the Jews will remain hardened, is grappled with by Paul in his exposition of God's plan of salvation in Rom. 9–11. *U. Becker*

→ Determine, → Elect, → Heart, → Lead Astray, → Sin

(a). G. L. Archer, *A Survey of Old Testament Introduction*, 1964, 116; G. C. Berkouwer, *Faith and Perseverance*, 1958; and *Sin*, 1971; B. S. Childs, "The Hardening of Pharaoh", *Exodus*, 1974, 170–75; L. J. Kuyper, "The Hardness of Heart according to Biblical Perspectives", *SJT* 27, 1974, 459–74; I. H. Marshall, *Kept by the Power of God: A Study of Perseverance and Falling Away*, 1969; G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, II, 1965; H. Räisänen, *The Idea of Divine Hardening. A Comparative Study of the Notion of Divine Hardening, Leading Astray, and Inciting to Evil in the Bible and the Qur'an*, Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 25, 1972; K. L. Schmidt and M. A. Schmidt, *sklēros* etc., *TDNT* V 1028–31; E. J. Young, *The Book of Isaiah*, 1965, 253–65.
(b). J. Gnilka, *Das Problem der Verstockung Israels nach den synoptischen Evangelien und der Apostelgeschichte*, 1961; F. Hesse, *Das Verstockungsproblem im Alten Testament. Eine frömmigkeitsgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, *BZAW* 74, 1955; F. Hesse, R. Gyllenberg, J. Moltmann, "Verstockung", *RGG*³ VI 1383 ff.; E. Jenni, "Jesajas Berufung in der neueren Forschung", *ThZ* 15, 1959, 321 ff.; K. L. Schmidt, "Die Verstockung des Menschen durch Gott: Eine lexikologische und biblisch-theologische Studie", *ThZ* 1, 1945, 1–17.

Head

κεφαλή

κεφαλή (*kephalē*), head; ἀνακεφαλαιόομαι (*anakephalaioomai*), sum up, recapitulate.

CL *kephalē*, head, attested from Homer on, is related to the Gothic word *gibla* (Eng. gable) but also to Eng. head. Derivatives from it include *kephalaion*, main point (Heb. 8:1), sum of money (Acts 22:28); *kephalaioō*, sum up, late Gk. strike on the head (Mk. 12:4); late Gk. *kephalis*, little head (Heb. 10:7 "roll" of a book) and *anakephalaioomai* (see below). In secular Gk. *kephalē* means:

1. The head of man or beast, the coping of a wall, the capital of a column etc., the source or mouth of a river, the beginning or end of a month, etc. In Plato the "head of a speech" is its conclusion (→ Goal, art. *telos*).

2. What is decisive, superior. In Gk. anthropology the head takes precedence over all other members; it is, or in it lies, the authoritative principle, the reason (*hēgemonikon*). If the emphasis is upon the idea of origin, *kephalē* takes on some of the meanings of *archē* (→ Beginning). But the head of a community is never referred to as a *kephalē* (*TDNT* III 673).

3. *kephalē* also stands for the life of an individual. As early as Homer it was used in a similar way to *psychē* (→ Soul). Thus, curses which name the head are directed against the whole person and his life.

OT 1. In the LXX *kephalē* most frequently translates the Heb. *rô'š*. Beside *kephalē* numerous other equivalents for *rô'š* are to be found: e.g. frequently *archē* (→ beginning: Ps. 137[136]:6; Isa. 41:4); *prōtotokos* (→ first; 1 Chr. 5:12), *kephalē* has the primary meanings we know from cl. Gk.: the head of a man (Gen. 28:11), of a beast (Gen. 3:16), the top of a mountain (Gen. 8:5) or of a tower (Gen. 11:4) etc.

2. The head is particularly important in the language of gesture. It was shaven in times of grief (Ezek. 7:18). The man who was under a vow did not shave it (Num. 6:5; cf. Acts 18:18). It was covered (2 Sam. 15:30) or strewn with ashes (2 Sam. 13:19) as a sign of penitence.

([Ed.] Prov. 25:21 f. states: "If your enemy is hungry, give him bread to eat; and if he is thirsty, given him water to drink; for you will heap coals of fire on his head, and the LORD will reward you" (RSV). The thought is taken up in Rom. 12:20. After urging believers not to avenge themselves, for "Vengeance is mine, I will repay, says the Lord" (Rom. 12:19; cf. Deut. 32:35; Lev. 19:18), Paul declares: "No, if your enemy is hungry, feed him, if he is thirsty give him drink; for by doing so you will heap burning coals upon his head. Do not be overcome by evil, but overcome evil with good." The imagery behind this thought is debated. It has been suggested that it derives from an Egyptian penitential ritual in which live coals were endured as an act of contrition (S. Morenz, "Feurige Kohlen auf dem Haupt," *TLZ* 78, 1953, 187–92; cf. W. Klassen, "Coals of Fire: Sign of Repentance or Revenge?", *NTS* 9, 1962–3, 337–50). Morenz suggests that while the rite was probably confined to Egypt, the metaphor was more widely used (cf. W. McKane, *Proverbs*, 1970, 592). R. B. Y. Scott also suggests "A form of torture; but to return good for evil will be more effective in overcoming enmity, and so the enemy" (*Proverbs*, 1965, 156). Scott notes similar thoughts in Exod. 23:4 f.; Prov. 20:22; 24:17 f. D. Kidner comments: "The *coals of fire* represent the pangs which are far better felt now as shame than later as punishment (Ps. 140:10). Cf. *Amenemope*, chapter 2:19 ff." (*Proverbs*, 1964, 160, cf. 23). He sees the saying as representing the climax of ideas in Prov. 24:11 f., 17 f., 29. In his use of the text Paul omits the

thought of personal reward for the Christian. His concern is that the life of the believer should be free from all thought of revenge, that the enemy might be convicted (though not necessarily converted – for that is God's work) by kindness, and that the way to overcome evil is not to repay in kind (which only leads to bondage to it) but to repay it with good. The repetition of Deut. 32:35 at Heb. 10:30 suggests that it may have had a firm place in early catechetical teaching (cf. M. J. Dahood, *CBQ* 17, 1955, 19–24). The juxtaposition with Prov. 12:25 represents Paul's gloss on it, and provides an introduction to Paul's teaching on how both Jewish and Gentile believers should regard the governing authorities (13:1).)

3. Via expressions like "per head" (Exod. 16:16, RSV "apiece") and "head by head" (Num. 1:2), the use of *kephalē* in the LXX was extended to cover the life of the individual. The OT sees man in action as a unity, but in each case it singles out that part of him which is significant. In this case it is the head as source of the life-stream. The head can be used as the equivalent of the person and his whole existence (e.g. 2 Ki. 25:27; Ps. 3:3; Ezek. 9:10; 33:4; 1 Sam. 25:39; cf. Acts 18:6; Matt. 27:25). In Isa. 43:4 *kephalē* stands for *nepeš* and denotes the → life of each individual within the people.

4. By comparison with the other nations Israel will be "the head and not the tail" (Deut. 28:13; cf. Isa. 9:14). Thus *kephalē* in the LXX can denote also the head, i.e. the one who occupies a position of superiority in the community (cf. Jdg. 10:18; 1 Ki. 21:12, Codex A). But "this use does not have the further thought that those ruled by the *kephalē* are in the relation to it of a *sōma*" (H. Schlier, *TDNT* III 675). The head of the statue (Dan. 2:31 f.) only represented one kingdom in and of itself, and does not carry any implications about its relation to the body.

5. In Jewish literature *rô'š* is used like *kephalē* in the LXX sometimes in connection with Deut. 28:13 (e.g. Jub. 1:16). The usage does not extend beyond the meanings already mentioned. The head, which the members obey, is a metaphor for unity (Test. Zeb. 9). The word was also used to refer to Adam as the head of created beings (Sl. Enoch 2:22), to the head of those who worship idols (Heb. Enoch 5:6), to the head of the synagogue (the president, Sot. 7:7 f.). This use of *rô'š* is continued without further development in the Qumran texts.

6. Philo's use of *kephalē* was seminal. The *logos* (→ word) is the head of the universe which God has created, its source of life, overlord, ruler. "He stamps the world like a seal, separates species and genera like one who cuts . . . and by means of the heavenly *eikōn* [→ Image] gives them a part in God" (C. Colpe, *RGG*³ V 343; → Knowledge, art. *ginōskō*).

7. In contrast to near-eastern and Orphic mythology which saw the whole cosmos encompassed in the head and body of the highest god (→ Time, art. *aiōn*), Philo represented belief in God as the creator of the cosmos. In certain forms of gnosticism (→ Knowledge), however, the former belief returned and Aion, whose body is the cosmos and from whom as primal man all men take their form, receives the characteristics of the redeemer (*sōtēr*; → Redemption, art. *sōzō*). He has this role in gnostic mythological speculation on the basis of his cosmological rank and not on that of any saving work in history. The gnostic use of *kephalē* very much resembles that of *archē*. Above all *kephalē* serves to denote not only the unity of the

body, but also the controlling influence over it. The post-Christian Odes of Solomon speak of the head concept of the first man in a manner comparable with that in which the NT speaks of Christ. "For they have become my members and I their head. Praise be to You, our Head, Jesus Christ!" (Od. Sol. 17). (On Hellenistic and gnostic evidence see H. Schlier, *TDNT* III 676 ff.)

NT 1. In the NT, where *kephalē* appears 75 times, the word occurs primarily in its basic meaning of the head of a man (Matt. 14:8), of an animal, or of demons (Rev. 17:3). *kephalē* occurs by far the most frequently in Rev. (19 times) where it refers to those human and animal forms who are characterized by the shape or the ornament of their heads. The head bears the tokens of honour and dignity (Rev. 4:4; 19:12; etc.), but also those of shame (Rev. 13:1). In the passion narrative Jesus' head is frequently mentioned (Matt. 27:29 f., 37; Mk. 15:19, 29; Jn. 19:2, 30). The smiting of Jesus' head stands in marked contrast with the anointing of it (Matt. 26:7; Mk. 14:3; Lk. 7:46) and the promise to faithful disciples that not a hair of their head shall perish (Matt. 10:30; Lk. 21:18; cf. 12:7). The head of Jesus is also mentioned in the resurrection narratives (Jn. 20:7, 12). The head of John the Baptist is mentioned in Matt. 14:8, 11 and Mk. 6:24–28. On the phrase *kephalē gōnias*, head of the corner Matt. 21:42 par. Mk. 12:10, Lk. 20:17; cf. Acts 4:11; 1 Pet. 2:7; quoting Ps. 118:22, → Rock.

2. The head is mentioned in the NT also in connection with the customs of fasting and penitence (Matt. 6:17; Acts 18:18; Rev. 18:19). As we know from the LXX the shaking of the head signifies that a claim and its consequences have been rejected (Matt. 27:39). With the phrase, "Your blood be upon your heads!" the departing apostle placed upon the Corinthian Jews the responsibility for the rejection of the messiah (Acts 18:6; cf. on this point Matt. 27:25 which is also evidence that *kephalē* stands for the individual as a whole). The numbering of the hairs of the head (Matt. 10:30) and the saying that "not a hair of your head will perish" (Lk. 21:18) speak of God's promise to preserve those who commit themselves into his hands. In wanting to have his head washed (Jn. 13:9), Peter wanted his whole life to be cleansed. Jesus prohibited swearing by one's head. "Whoever risks his head for something in an oath speaks as if he had power over his own life" (T. Zahn on Matt. 5:36). The rabbis refused to allow anyone to retract an oath by the life of the head (San. 3:2). *K. Munzer*

3. 1 Cor. 11:2–15 contains a discussion of reasons why women should be required to veil the head during public worship. In Judaism women were always veiled in public (cf. J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, 1969, 358 ff.). E. Käsemann claims that Paul is here trying to introduce into the Corinthian church a custom which was foreign to Greek women (*New Testament Questions of Today*, 1969, 210; cf. also SB III 427–34). The customs seem to have varied from place to place (cf. W. Ramsay, *The Cities of Paul*, 1907, 202 ff.; A. Jaubert, "La voile des femmes (I Cor. xi. 2–16)" *NTS* 18, 1971–2, 424 ff.). But Paul's teaching here may have been influenced by the presence of Jews in Corinth who maintained Jewish practices in their synagogue worship and who may well have looked with a critical eye on what was going on in the church. Immediately before the present passage Paul has urged that no offence be given to Jews, the Greeks or to the church (1 Cor. 10:32), and that the church

should follow him in trying to please all men and in being imitators of Christ (1 Cor. 10:33–11:1). The underlying problem was one of freedom in the light of the new and equal standing of the sexes before God. "The Corinthian watch-word 'freedom', which, considered both in itself and in connection with the specific case at issue, seems to be more enlightened than the Pauline reaction to it, suffers from the basic defect of enthusiastic piety; it takes account of freedom exclusively as freedom from burdensome compulsion. The apostle, on the other hand, is concerned here, as always, with the freedom which knows itself to be called to serve and it is just this freedom which he sees threatened where enthusiasm is rattling at the doors of the existing order and proclaiming its allegedly just claims in the name of the Spirit" (E. Käsemann, op. cit., 211). Paul is concerned not only with freedom but with order in society. For him the rôle and relationships of the sexes which are determined by creation are not abolished by salvation. This must be reflected in public worship (cf. A. Jaubert, op. cit., 419 f.). He advances the following arguments for the subordinate role of women and for the veiling of the woman's head which results from it.

(a) The hierarchy of the order: God-Christ-man-woman in which each of the first three members is the head of the following (v. 3). Here head is probably to be understood not as "chief" or "ruler" but as "source" or "origin" (F. F. Bruce, *1 and 2 Corinthians*, 1971, 103; cf. S. Bedale, "The Meaning of *kephalē* in the Pauline Epistles", *JTS* New Series 5, 1954, 211 ff.). The creation narrative of Gen. 2:21 ff. assigns a priority to man (cf. also Eph. 5:22 ff.; Col. 3:18 f.; 1 Tim. 2:11 ff.). But the Christian knows that Christ has a greater priority as the archetypal man (cf. 8:6; 15:46–49; Col. 1:16), and the head of Christ is God (cf. 3:23; 8:6). F. F. Bruce points out that there is a transition from the sense of head in v. 3 to its literal sense in vv. 4–6 and from now on there is an oscillation between the two senses. He also notes that what Paul has in mind here when he speaks of covering the head is a veil which conceals the whole head including the hair. (The present-day Jewish practice of men wearing a hat in the synagogue appears to reverse the practice here.) Paul argues that for a man to pray with his head covered is to dishonour his head (v. 4, cf. v. 7), because it implies that he is abdicating the sovereignty and dignity given to him by the Creator. But for a woman to pray or prophesy with her head unveiled dishonours her head (v. 5), for this is tantamount to a denial of her relation to man in the ordinances of creation. It is just as dishonourable as if her head were shaven which was a commonly accepted sign of dishonour (cf. the case of Bernice in Josephus, *War* 2, 313 f.; M. D. Hooker, "Authority on her head: an examination of 1 Cor. xi. 10", *NTS* 10, 1963–64, 410). Paul's argument at this point has two premises. The one is the propriety of covering the head in the presence of a superior; the other is the constitutional relationship of man and woman which gives a certain priority to the man. Given these two premises the propriety of veiling the woman in worship (which of all times is the most solemn occasion for recognizing the divine ordering of things) logically follows. However, in a situation where the former premise is neither recognized nor understood, the validity of the conclusion no longer has the same weight as it did in Paul's day.

(b) The priority of man in the order of creation in relation to the glory of God (vv. 7–9, 12). The argument is now developed in relation to the concept of → glory. Gen. 1:26 f. states that → man (Heb. *'ādām*; Gk. *anthrōpos*) was made in the

→ image of God, i.e. male and female together. Here Paul speaks only of the male (Gk. *anēr*). Perhaps he is reading Gen. 2:18 ff. in the light of Gen. 1:26 f. On the other hand, he also couples together here the concepts of image and glory in a way which goes beyond the Gen. narratives. "For a man ought not to cover his head, since he is the image and the glory of God; but woman is the glory of man" (v. 7). Elsewhere Paul argues that man has fallen short of the glory of God (Rom. 3:23; cf. 1:21), and that the glory of God is revealed in the gospel in the face of Christ (2 Cor. 4:4 ff.) who restores the image of God in man (Col. 3:10). In addition to the priority of man in the created order and the significance of veiling, Paul here has two further premises which are implied in his conclusion. On the one hand, the glory of God should not be veiled in the presence of God, for this would be a contradiction in terms. Hence, the man should not be veiled. On the other hand, woman is the glory of man (for woman was made for man, cf. v. 9). Hence, the glory of man should be veiled in the presence of God (cf. F. F. Bruce, op. cit., 105 f.). Again it may be said that the practical application drawn from these premises depends upon how far they are understood and recognized in a community.

(c) The reference to the angels (v. 10). Here the Gk. texts says: "That is why the woman ought to have authority [*exousia*] over the head because of the angels." The substitution of "veil" (RSV) is an interpretative gloss which obscures the point. The veil is a sign of the woman's authority. In Christ she has an equal status with men before God. M. D. Hooker (op. cit.) argues that the veil was a sign of this new authority which was denied her in the synagogue. As a woman she may pray or prophesy (v. 5), but she must maintain due regard for her place in the created order. Whereas the man shows his authority by not being veiled, the woman shows hers by wearing a veil. The wearing of the veil manifests both the liberty and the restraint that belongs to the woman in Christ. The liberty (as in all things) derives from freedom in Christ; the restraint (as elsewhere) derives from the ordering of society which has divine sanction.

It seems unlikely that → angels are mentioned here because of possible sexual attraction (cf. Jude 6 and a possible interpretation of Gen. 6:2; Tertullian, *On the Veiling of Virgins* 7). F. F. Bruce sees the appeal to angels as an argument for propriety in gatherings of the people of God because angels are guardians of the created order (op. cit., 106; cf. G. B. Caird, *Principalities and Powers*, 1956, 17–22). In the Qumran texts angels were said to be present at meetings of the congregation (1QSa 2:8 f.; cf. 1 QM 7:6). A. Jaubert, however, claims that there is no support for regarding angels as guardians of order in meetings. She stresses the context of worship here and the rôle of angels in worship elsewhere. For angels are charged with the task of transmitting prayers to God (Rev. 8:3). They are the sign of the divine presence (Ps. 131 LXX). Angels enter communion with the congregation (1 QM 12:8; 1 QH 3:19–23). Therefore no offence should be given them (1QSa 2:5–9; 1 QM 7:6; CD 15:15 ff.; cf. A. Jaubert, op. cit., 427). The major premise of the argument is that one should not give offence, and in this particular case to the angels. The minor premise which is implied is that the veil is a sign of a woman's status and authority in the Christian community. Therefore women should be veiled in worship. Again it may be said that, whilst the guiding principles for Paul's recommendation hold good, the continued application of it depends upon the continued acceptance of all the premises of the argument. In a culture where the

significance of veiling is no longer understood in the same way, the argument no longer has the same force.

(d) The appeal to custom grounded in the natural order (vv. 13–15). Paul shares the view that it is natural for men to have their hair short, though it may be grown longer on occasion in connection with a vow (Acts 18:18; cf. also Epictetus, 1, 16, 9–14 quoted by C. K. Barrett, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1968, 256 f.). The statement that the long hair of the woman is "her pride", "given to her for a covering" (v. 15) does not imply that if she has sufficient hair, she does not need to be veiled. Rather, the veiling of the woman in worship is seen as consonant with nature. The argument cannot be taken to imply scriptural sanction for insisting that man today must have closely cropped hair. What might be regarded as long hair in a male in twentieth-century western society might have passed for short hair in first-century middle-eastern society. On the other hand, unkempt inordinately long hair in a male is generally regarded as degrading (cf. v. 14). Paul's view of the woman's hair as "her pride" may also take up the thought that, just as in the presence of God the glory of man must be veiled (see above (b)), so too must the "pride" of the woman. In each case Paul uses the same word *doxa*. V. 16 concludes the argument by stating that this is the practice recognized by Paul and the other churches. The passage has been cited in support of the contention that women must wear hats in worship today. If this application were valid, the argument would support not the wearing of hats but veiling in the eastern sense. However, the above discussion has shown that its force depends upon the common understanding of certain premises which were valid in the context of Paul's culture. Where these no longer obtain, the conclusions also no longer obtain, even though the motivating principle of maintaining the liberty of the spirit with due regard to the order of nature and society still holds. *C. Brown*

4. In Eph. 4 the head is contrasted with the → body (art. *sōma*): Christ is the head of his body (v. 15). The body is supplied from the head and grows because of it (v. 16). To describe the relationship of the Lord to his people, the → church, Eph. makes use of the concept of the primal man: the church is to grow *eis andra teleion*, into the perfect or complete man (v. 13). In this picture, Christ is the head, and as head he sustains the whole body. Thus, in v. 15 the head determines the relationship of love and truth in the body of Christ, i.e. the fellowship of those who practise truth and through love grow up into him. The relationship of *kephalē* to *sōma* expresses the authority of Christ (cf. Col. 2:10) and the corresponding subordination of the church. It expresses participation and dependence of the body on the head for the gift of life. It also contains "the element of an eschatological orientation of the Church" (H. Schlier, *TDNT* III 680). The head is always the heavenly goal of the body which cannot be attained except in a body sustained by faith and revelation. Eph. 1:21 f. declares that all powers are now subject to Christ who is "the head of all things for the church." The *archē*, the principality which previously was so important, is now one of the many subject to Christ. The application to Christ of *archē* (RSV "beginning") in Col. 1:18 (where he is also said to be "the head of the body, the church") does not contradict this, for here the word stands in polemic juxtaposition to the *archai* (v. 16). (→ Beginning, art. *archē*.)
K. Munzer

5. The rare vb. *anakephalaioomai*, which is found in Aristotle but is more common in late Gk. literature, means to bring something to a *kephalaion*, to sum up, recapitulate. It is found in the OT only in Theod. and the Quinta to Ps. 71:20. It is used in Rom. 13:9 of the individual commandments which are "summed up in this word, 'You shall love your neighbour as yourself.' " In Eph. 1:10 it occurs in the statement of God's "plan for the fullness of time to recapitulate [*anakephalaiōsasthai*] all things in Christ, the things in the heavens and the things upon the earth." The RSV translation "unite" stresses the unity implied in the vb. as does J. B. Lightfoot's comment that it implies "the entire harmony of the universe, which shall no longer contain alien and discordant elements, but of which all the parts shall find their centre and bond of union in Christ" (*Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul*, 1895, 322). The thought of unity has affinity with the use of the vb. in Rom. and is one of the great themes of Eph. (cf. 2:14–22; 4:3 f.). But there may also be the overtone of renewal which is in fact a condition of unity. Christ and his people, both Jew and Gentile, comprise the "one new man" (2:15; cf. 4:13). Moreover, this affects the whole created order. In his body which represents the *plērōma* (→ Fullness), the heavenly domain of his presence, Christ draws all things to himself, and fills all in all (2:22; cf. 1:10). The church is "the centre, the mid-point from which Christ exercises his invisible lordship over the whole whole" (O. Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament*, 1963², 229). The concept of recapitulation (Lat. *recapitulatio;* Gk. *anakephalaiōsis*) features in the thought of Irenaeus (*Haer.* 5, 29, 2) and other church fathers (cf. H. Schlier, *TDNT* III 681 f.; Lampe, 106). *C. Brown*

→ Body, → Church, → Flesh, → Fullness, → Hand

(a). N. Adler, "Head", *EBT* I 355–60; S. Bedale, "The Meaning of *kephalē* in the Pauline Epistles", *JTS* New Series 5, 1954, 211–15; and "The Theology of the Church", in F. L. Cross, ed., *Studies in Ephesians*, 1956, 64–75; R. W. Crabb, *The kephalē Concept in the Pauline Tradition with Special Emphasis on Colossians*, Dissertation, San Francisco Theological Seminary, 1966 (microfilm); O. Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament*, 1959; R. H. Fuller, *The Foundations of New Testament Christology*, 1965; M. D. Hooker, "Authority on her head: an examination of 1 Cor. xi. 10", *NTS* 10, 1963–64, 410 ff.; G. Howard, "The Head/Body Metaphors of Ephesians", *NTS* 20, 1973–74, 350–6; E. Käsemann, "A Primitive Christian Baptismal Liturgy", in *Essays on New Testament Themes*, 1964, 149–68; *New Testament Questions of Today*, 1969, 410–2; E. Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon*, 1971, 52 ff.; J. A. T. Robinson, *The Body: A Study in Pauline Theology*, 1952; H. Schlier, *kephalē, anakephalaioomai*, *TDNT* III 673–82; W. O. Walker, Jr., " 1 Corinthians 11:2–16 and Paul's View Regarding Women", *JBL* 94, 1975, 94–110.

(b). P. Benoit, "Corps, tête et plérôme dans les épîtres de la captivité", *RB* 63, 1956, 5–44; P. Brunner, "Das Hirtenamt und die Frau", *Lutherische Rundschau* 8, 1959; H.-J. Gabathuler, *Jesus Christus, Haupt der Kirche – Haupt der Welt: Der Christushymnus Kolosser 1, 15–20 in der theologischen Forschung der letzten 130 Jahre*, *ATHAnt* 45, 1965; A. Jaubert, "La voile des femmes (I Cor. xi. 2–16)", *NTS* 18, 1971–72, 419–30; H. Lietzmann, *An die Korinther I/II*, revised by W. G. Kümmel, *HNT* 9, 1969⁵; E. Lohmeyer, *Die Briefe an die Kolosser und an Philemon*, *KEK* 9, with supplement by W. Schmauch, 1968¹⁴; H. Schlier, *Christus und die Kirche im Epheserbrief*, 1930.

Heal

When human well-being and good health are impaired, God is actively involved in the work of restoration, and Christians have the responsibility of sharing in this ministry. The idea of bringing about recovery from bodily or mental sickness is

expressed most frequently by *therapeuō* (cf. Eng. "therapy"), and sometimes by *iaomai*. *therapeuō* originally carried the idea of attendance upon superiors, or of cultic service (like *thrēskō*, which has a related root). But significantly this idea is very rare in the NT, where the whole direction and purpose of such service is changed. Anyone or anything healed, i.e. freed from infirmity and sickness, is spoken of as *hygiēs*. *hygiainō*, the related vb., is used for bodily healing only in Lk., where it is synonymous with *therapeuō* and *iaomai*. It appears principally in the Pastoral Epistles in connection with sound → teaching.

θεραπεύω — *θεραπεύω* (*therapeuō*), heal, cure; *θεράπων* (*therapōn*), servant; *θεραπεία* (*therapeia*), service, treatment.

CL & OT In profane Greek *therapeuō* has the meaning to serve, to be in service to (a superior); thus also to serve, in the sense of venerating the gods, i.e. in cultic worship, to care for (e.g. as a doctor), whence finally to cure, usually by medical means.

The LXX frequently uses *therapōn* for the Heb. *'eḇeḏ*, attendant, servant. The use of the vb. seems rather imprecise, even haphazard: twice for *yāšaḇ*, to sit (Est. 2:19; 6:10); once for *'āḇaḏ* (Isa. 54:17); once for *ḥālâh* (piel), to appease (Prov. 19:6); once for *bāqaš* (piel), to seek (Prov. 29:26).

NT With regard to the incidence of *therapeuō* in the NT, it is significant (a) that out of 43 occurrences, no less than 40 are found in the Synoptics and the Acts; (b) that, except in one place (Acts 17:25), *therapeuō* has exclusively the meaning to heal. This means that in the NT *therapeuō* is never used in its profane sense to serve (cf. *therapeia* Lk. 12:42, "household servants"; or *therapōn* Heb. 3:5, "servant"). The cultic usage for the worship of God is found only in Acts 17:25, where Paul concludes from Isa. 42:5 (cf. Acts 17:24 f.) that God as the Creator of the world and the Lord of heaven and earth does not dwell in temples made by man and therefore cannot be "worshipped" in the sacrificial cult (cf. Acts 7:42 f.). ([F.F.B.] The emphasis of Acts 17:25 is better brought out in the NEB rendering: "It is not because he lacks anything that he accepts service [*therapeuetai*] at men's hands.")

1. Only in Lk. 4:23 in the proverb "Physician, heal yourself" and in 8:43 (the woman with the issue of blood "could not be healed by anyone") does *therapeuō* denote healing by ordinary medical means. In the rest of the passages *therapeuō* is used to describe the miraculous healings wrought by Jesus and his disciples.

(a) In the Gospels the work of Jesus is presented in terms of teaching and working → miracles (Matt. 4:23 f.; 9:35; Lk. 6:18 and passim). Healing plays an essential part in Christ's miraculous work, but the latter must be seen in the context of his teaching if it is to be understood aright. This is especially clear in the composition of the Gospel of Matt., where the two great collections of Jesus' → teaching (chs. 5–7) and of his → miracles (chs. 8–9) are enclosed between the two almost identical verses Matt. 4:23 and 9:35 (Jesus "taught in their synagogues and preached the gospel of the kingdom, and healed all manner of sickness and all manner of disease among the people", *therapeuō* being used in both places). This emphasizes Christ's twofold office of teaching and healing (cf. H. J. Held in G. Bornkamm, G. Barth and H. J. Held, *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew*, 1963, 246).

While Jesus again and again heals the sick (Matt. 4:24; 12:15; 14:14; 15:30 and passim), this does not put him into the category of the Hel. *theioi anthrōpoi* (divine men), who in their miraculous acts of healing demonstrated their divine abilities. Rather, the Servant of the Lord is → fulfilling the OT prophecies by his healing miracles (Matt. 8:16, 17; cf. Isa. 53:4). The healings do not prove Jesus to be the Christ, but viewed against their OT background they are seen to be Christ's act of obedience and thus a necessary element in his messianic work. This conviction lies behind the many summaries (Matt. 4:24; Mk. 1:34; 3:10 and passim) which emphasize that all who turn to Jesus find healing – a further echo of the OT (cf. Isa. 53). This is why he has power to heal on the → Sabbath (Matt. 12:10; Mk. 3:2; Lk. 6:7; 13:14). In taking up the cause of the helpless Jesus proves himself to be the → Servant of God (Matt. 8:7; 19:2).

(b) In Mk. 6:5, 6 there is the remarkable statement that in Nazareth Jesus could do no mighty work. It is quite clear from most of the detailed accounts of healing that → faith on the part of those concerned is already present before they are healed by Jesus (cf. Matt. 8:8–10, 13; 9:27 ff.; 15:21 ff.; Lk. 8:43 ff.; cf. Mk. 5:34 and passim). Thus after the disciples' failure to heal the lunatic boy (Matt. 17:16), the father confidently turned to Jesus for help, and his faith was vindicated, for the lad was healed (v. 18). Healing is faith's reward, because faith is confident that even when men have done their utmost and failed, the power of God in Christ is inexhaustible. Thus healing does not initiate faith but assumes it (cf. Mk. 6:5 f.). It is not that faith is the power which effects the miracle; it is rather preparedness for the miracle.

(c) Christ healed men not only of bodily infirmities but also of demon possession (Matt. 8:16; Mk. 1:34; 3:10 f.; Lk. 4:40 f. and passim), here too revealing his messianic claims. Satanic powers are subject to his power and word, and by exercising power over the demons through his word, he is utterly different from the ordinary exorcists of his time. As he casts out → demons, we glimpse the splendour of Christ the King.

(d) Jesus also gave his disciples a share in his healing power (Matt. 10:1, 8; Mk. 6:13; Lk. 9:1, 6). They entered into his work not only in the sense of teaching his doctrine, but in the sense of being empowered for the same messianic works which he himself performed. For this, implicit faith is required (Matt. 17:16 ff.), the faith by which the early church experienced the enabling Christ in its midst (cf. Acts 5:16; 8: 7 and passim). In the healings wrought by the disciples the church was given a token of the active presence of its exalted Lord.

2. To summarize: In the NT the stories of healing are not told in order to "prove" the messiahship of Jesus by demonstrating his power over natural laws. "The miracle does not consist in the breaking of the causal nexus of natural law. This does not come within the purview of the NT. The real miracle is victory in the conflict with forces which struggle for mastery over this cosmos. The NT thus looks into the depths of world occurrence" (H. W. Beyer, *TDNT* III 131). Although the healing miracles, in common with all the miracles in the Gospels, are repeatedly given prominence as outworkings of the Lord's power (cf. Matt. 14:14; 19:2, where *therapeuein* replaces *didaskein*), nevertheless they are not regarded as having any importance in their own right.

F. Graber, D. Müller

ἰάομαι

ἰάομαι (*iaomai*), to cure, to restore; ἴασις (*iasis*), healing; ἴαμα (*iama*), healing; ἰατρός (*iatros*), physician.

CL *iaomai* (from Homer onwards), to cure, restore, is used in the literal sense as a medical term, and also metaphorically and figuratively: to free from an evil, e.g. ignorance (Sallust) or some intellectual shortcoming; to heal psychological illnesses etc. Likewise the nouns *iasis* and *iama*, healing, and *iatros*, physician, are used both literally and metaphorically.

1. The various types of medical treatment throughout human history can be properly understood only when one is acquainted with the ideas which have been held regarding the different causes of sickness (→ weakness), i.e. what has to be fought against in healing. Apart from external injuries, where the cause is obvious, sicknesses are for primitive man not simply physiological phenomena, the causes and nature of which can be investigated, and which can therefore possibly be cured. Originally sicknesses were ascribed to attacks by external forces (by gods, demons, → sin, → guilt, → magical powers such as a → curse, the ban etc.). To bring about a cure a number of methods were employed: exorcisms (to cast out demons); various magical practices (the earliest beginnings of medicine); influences based on suggestion; or prayers and offerings, in an attempt to appease the deity. Both the sickness and its cure, therefore, were believed to arise from the intervention of a superior will, though this is not to say that the origins of rational medical treatment are to be found only in magic and enchantment. As early as the 3rd cent. B.C. the science of medicine reached its first flowering among the ancient Egyptians. But the honour of having set medical science upon an empirical and rational basis belongs above all to the Greeks (cf. F. Büchsel, *TDNT* III 195). Already from Homer we learn of the high esteem enjoyed by physicians in general (cf. *Il.* 2, 514), especially those of Egypt (cf. *Od.* 4, 220–233), though admittedly he had not reached the point of distinguishing clearly between medicine and magic. The oath of Hippocrates (born 460 B.C.) is a remarkable testimony to the fact that, as medicine in Greece came into its own, there gradually arose a specific code of ethics among physicians (for text and literature see F. Büchsel, *TDNT* III 196; C. F. H. Henry, ed., *Baker's Dictionary of Christian Ethics*, 1973, 291).

2. It remains true, however, that in the ancient world no clear line of demarcation can be drawn between rational and magical ideas of reality. In his attempts to cope with life, the man of antiquity came face to face with an immense variety of powers, so complex as to be generally beyond the grasp of our minds, which think exclusively in scientific terms. It follows that the relationship between the origins of medicine as a rational science, and "supernatural" healings attributed to superior powers, is inextricably involved. Thus we constantly find that among different peoples special healing deities were worshipped (in earlier Gk. times e.g. Apollo, later Asclepius; in Egypt e.g. Imhotep; in the Assyrian–Babylonian world Tammuz). Temple-like edifices were built to them and used as healing centres (e.g. the celebrated Asclepieion of Cos or the temple of Epidauros), where priests acted as physicians and ran what can only be described as a healing business. All kinds of offerings were presented, not merely in order to obtain a cure but also as thanksgiving for miraculous cures already obtained. In the ancient world there were numerous accounts of miraculous healing, often embellished to the point of being

grotesque. Anything was possible. We even read of tricks being played on the deity in order to obtain a cure, whereupon the deity would avenge himself with a punitive miracle.

Kings were originally chief priests as well, and as such had the gift of healing (cf. the royal customs which still obtained in the Middle Ages, e.g. Shakespeare's *Macbeth* IV, 3, or Philip the Fair of France: "The King touches you, God heals you"). It is therefore no surprise to read, e.g., that the Emperor Vespasian healed the blind and lame by his touch and with the use of spittle (*TDNT* III 198).

F. Büchsel sums up the situation when he says that "the gods are doctors and saviours both in a cosmic and universal sense and also in an inward sense. The typically Greek thought form of analogy leads here to a particular conception of divine rule in the world. The gods become mediators between Zeus and men, and as such they dispense healing" (*ibid.*).

OT 1. In the LXX *iaomai* stands frequently for the Heb. *rāpā'*, to heal, cure. It is characteristic of faith in Yahweh that he alone is the source of all healing ("I, Yahweh, am your healer", Exod. 15:26; cf. 2 Ki. 5:7). To turn to a physician (let alone another deity) for healing could on occasion be unbelief, distrust of Yahweh, and an offence against the First Commandment (2 Ki. 1; and 2 Chr. 16:12). As sicknesses come from Yahweh himself, he is the only one who can bind up and heal (Job 5:18). For the same reason the OT knows little of the distinction between external ills with an obvious cause (injuries sustained through accident, in war, from animals' bites, etc.), and other ills arising from within (cf. CL above, 1). In every aspect of his life man is dependent on Yahweh alone. This does not mean that demons and other powers have nothing to do with sickness. Rather they are thought of as being in God's service (cf. Exod. 12:23; Hab. 3:5 and passim).

This view of sickness and healing as marks of Yahweh's visitation or of his renewed favour often brings a man – particularly the devout man – into grievous inward conflict (cf. the Book of Job and the Psalms, e.g. Pss. 38; 51; and especially 88). This can lead to rebellion against Yahweh, when the malady is felt to be undeserved (Ps. 73:21; Job 9:17 ff.). And yet the devout man turns in prayer, lamentation and thanks to God alone as the only one who can grant him healing (Ps. 30:3; 103:3; cf. Wis. 16:12).

In spite of this radical attitude to sickness and healing, there are some passages which indicate the use of medical treatment (e.g. 1 Ki. 17:21; 2 Ki. 4:34; 5:13 ff.; 20:7), though the means used here by the prophets are seldom "medical" as we understand the word. These are miraculous cures, carried out in reliance upon the healing power of Yahweh.

In the OT the → priest is not regarded as a healer. His function was restricted to that of a medical officer of health who ascertained that healing had taken place (Lev. 13 f.). The earlier books contain very few references to physicians (cf. Gen. 50:2; Isa. 3:7; Jer. 8:22). These probably go back to Egyptian or later to Greek influences. This situation changed at a much later period (cf. especially Sir. 38). But here too, even though the work of a physician is regarded in a positive light, he is God's servant in the strictest sense. It is God who appoints him and through prayer grants him wisdom for his work (vv. 1 f.; 9–14). An important element in the OT understanding of sickness and healing is the idea that bodily sickness is

very closely connected with sin and is therefore a manifestation of God's wrath against specific transgressions (Ps. 32:1 ff.; 38:3 ff.; 39 f. and passim). Here healing becomes a picture of forgiveness, of God's mercy, of his nearness (Isa. 6:10; Ps. 30:3; 41:5; 103:3 and passim).

2. In Judaism, too, medicine was generally held in considerable suspicion, although we do read of rabbis who were also physicians. Judaism shared the ideas which were widespread in relation to miraculous healings. Incantations, invocations and other practices (e.g. the use of spittle in healing) still play a large part (cf. SB I 627; II 15, 17; IV 527 ff.). With few exceptions, the rabbis themselves do not appear in tradition as miraculous healers. "Most closely related historically to the NT tradition" are perhaps "the old biblical materials (Abraham as a miracle-worker in the apocryphal Genesis 20:21 ff.) and the Rab. miracles stories of the Tannaitic period (e.g. R. Hanina ben Dosa according to Ber. 34b)" (O. Michel *BHHW* II 679; cf. Moore, *Judaism*, I, 177 f.; II, 235 f.).

NT In the NT *iaomai* occurs 26 times, of which 20 are in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts; *iasis* 3 times, all in Lk.; *iatros* 6 times, all in the Synoptic Gospels, except Col. 4:14 [" Luke the beloved physician"]; *iama* 3 times, all in 1 Cor. 12. It is clear from these figures that, apart from *iama*, this word-group occurs chiefly in the Synoptic Gospels and esp. in Lk. (20 times out of a total 38).

1. The use of *iaomai* corresponds in the Gospels and in Acts to that of → *therapeuō*. Hence, the remarks made under *therapeuō* on the theological assessment of healing miracles apply here also. The cures wrought by Jesus and then by his disciples are signs of the incoming → kingdom of God (Lk. 9:2, 11, 42; Acts 10:38 and passim) and are thus the fulfilment of OT prophecy (cf. Isa. 35:3–6; 61:1 f. etc.). "For the Evangelist Jesus is the one upon whom God's Spirit rests, and who brings in the eschatological time of salvation; in his liberating and redeeming work he fulfils God's will, which has already been declared by the prophets . . . in Scripture. A general amnesty for debtors and prisoners, as in the year of release, becomes a picture of the ministry of Jesus" (O. Michel, *BHHW* II 679 f.).

This is not to deny that the NT shares the view of sickness which was common at that time (cf. Lk. 13:11; Acts 12:23 and passim). As we saw under CL and OT, the miraculous cures wrought by Jesus are not without parallels in the extra-biblical world. In the opinion of many scholars the deeds reported of Jesus and his disciples are not always free from embellishments and accretions of later miraculous detail (cf. Mk. 5:1 ff.; Lk. 22:51; Acts 12:23; 5:15 f. and passim; or the heightened account in Mk. 5:21–43 par. Matt. 9:18–26, Lk. 8:40–56; Lk. 7:11 ff.; Jn. 11:1 ff.). But even though the NT records of healing show all the familiar features (e.g. the helplessness of physicians, Mk. 5:26 ff.; the instantaneous nature of the miracle, Lk. 8:47; the patient's ability to carry his own mattress home, Jn. 5:8 ff., etc.), a comparison with the romantically embellished stories found e.g. in the Gospel of Thomas or in the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles reveals a striking fact. The NT accounts are simple and straightforward. They do not aim to glorify some miracle-worker of the ancient world, or even miracles as such. In most cases, the original account of what took place is still very much in mind, and such events are viewed in the light of Christ's message. Farce, magic and sensationalism are absent. The healings wrought by Jesus are determined by his → word and → faith (Matt. 8:8, 13;

15:28; Lk. 7:7 and passim). They are therefore (for all their similarities) fundamentally different from the healings in the rest of the ancient world. Jesus also breaks through the narrow Jewish doctrine of retribution (i.e. that every sickness must be the result of a certain → sin; cf. Jn. 9:2 ff.), without thereby denying the basic connection between sin and sickness (e.g. Jn. 5:13 f.; cf. Jas. 5:16). The focal point of all the healings is not the miracle but the healer himself, whose authoritative preaching has brought in the dawn of the new age (cf. the repeated statement in Lk. that Jesus healed all: Lk. 6:19; Acts 10:38). "In all the Gospels the power of Jesus is described as an obvious fact, self-evident both to his disciples and to his opponents. What then is meant by the express statement that a special power came forth from him (Mk. 5:30 ff.; Lk. 6:19)? This idea, which has close Hellenistic associations, is meant realistically and is clearly connected with a certain view of the Spirit" (O. Michel, op. cit., 680 f.).

Even though our rational thinking finds certain difficulties in regard to healing miracles, we should beware of resting content with merely psychological explanations. With our modern historical approach we are in danger of missing the real force of the language and of the claims which it makes. For as a rule the real point of a miracle is not the miracle itself but what it reveals of Jesus. "In spite of every analogy, the miraculous healings of Jesus thus occupy a unique position in religious history. They are inseparably connected with the uniqueness of Jesus and with His unparalleled sense of mission" (A. Oepke, *TDNT* III 213).

2. In 1 Cor. 12 the word *iama*, healing, occurs 3 times as Paul enumerates the various spiritual gifts. All the apostles were given gifts of healing as well as being commissioned to preach the gospel (*therapeuō* is used in Matt. 10:18; Mk. 6:13; Lk. 9:1; *iaomai* in Lk. 9:2; see also Acts, e.g. 2:43). But Paul here makes it clear that healing can also be carried out by individuals whom God has expressly endowed with a spiritual gift for this purpose. The gift of healing is one function among others, all of which are co-ordinated with one another in the church as the body of Christ.

F. Graber, D. Müller

ὑγιής

ὑγιής (*hygiēs*), healthy, well; ὑγιαίνω (*hygiainō*), make well again, cure.

CL *hygiēs* (from Homer onwards) means: (a) lit. healthy (in body), strong, active, sound; (b) metaphorically of good understanding, sensible, shrewd, sober, of good judgment. Likewise *hygiainō* means to be healthy, to be of sound mind, to be shrewd or sensible. From Aristotle onwards *hygiaine* was often used in the sense of "farewell!"

In Gk. literature (as early as Homer and especially later in Gk. popular philosophy) *hygiēs* or *hygiainō* (frequently in conjunction with *logos*) is commonly used to describe an idea or opinion as judicious, sensible, i.e. "healthy" as opposed to being false or "sick" (cf. e.g. Plato, *Phdr.* 242c; Epictetus 1, 11, 28; 3, 9, 5; Philo, *Abr.* 223; 275).

OT In the LXX *hygiēs* and *hygiainō* (about 50 times) are used only in a direct sense (e.g. Gen. 37:14; Isa. 38:21; cf. Lev. 13:10 ff. for *miḥyâh*, growth of new flesh. Generally *hygiaine* stands for the Heb. *šālôm*, used as in later profane Gk. as a

greeting in the sense, "Peace be to you" (1 Sam. 25:6; 2 Sam. 18:28; 20:9; also Gen. 29:6; 43:27 f.; Exod. 4:18; cf. 2 Macc. 9:19 and passim).

NT Of the 23 passages in which *hygiēs* or *hygiainō* are found in the NT, no less than 12 are in the Gospels and 9 in the Pastoral Epistles. Otherwise the word group is found in the rest of the NT only in Acts 4:10 and 3 Jn. 2.

1. In the Gospels and Acts *hygiēs* and *hygiainō* are used without exception in the literal sense of healthy, well.

(a) Generally the well-being is the result of a healing miracle (→ miracle; cf. *therapeuō* and *iaomai*) wrought by Jesus (Matt. 15:31; 12:13; Lk. 7:10; Jn. 5:9 ff.) or the disciples (Acts 4:10). → Faith occasions the saving act and so the healing. According to Mk. 5:25 ff., this faith was not always free from magical elements, but the word of Jesus, "Go in peace, and be healed [*hygiēs*] of your disease", confirms even this unusual miracle.

In all these passages, however, *hygiēs* and *hygiainō* do not denote merely a physically healthy condition. Anyone healed through meeting Jesus is a person healed in his entire being by the word of the messiah (Jn. 7:23), i.e. also saved from his sin (cf. Lk. 5:21 ff.). In the healing of the lame, the blind and the deaf (Matt. 15:21; cf. Mk. 7:37; 8:23) the promise of God's coming (Isa. 35:4 ff.) was fulfilled. In these passages, therefore, good health is not the result of medical treatment but indicates a more profound healing, i.e. it is a sign that the age of salvation has dawned.

(b) As in the above passages, *hygiainonta* in Lk. 15:27 does not mean merely physical well-being (cf. 15:24). Having returned from this period of alienation and come home to his father's house, the prodigal is re-instated to his original status as son, i.e. he has now become well. In Jesus and his healing word man encounters the Father running to meet him and is restored to full health. Thus when faced with those who object to his mingling with the outcasts of society, Jesus justifies his mission with the aphorism: "Those who are well [*hygiainontes*] have no need of a physician, but those who are sick" (Lk. 5:31). It is quite possible that Jesus is here adopting a popular saying in order to justify his behaviour and to show that he was acting as the messiah (cf. Mk. 2:17, where the word used is *ischyontes*, the strong). When Jesus called the Pharisees and scribes "those who are well", he may not have intended it to be taken ironically. In this case he was not disputing their "good health", though it must now prove itself in a right attitude to the work of God in Christ (cf. Lk. 15:28–32), lest it degenerate into self-righteousness and is destroyed. ([Ed.] On the other hand an ironical meaning is a natural one in view of what is said about the religious leaders elsewhere in Lk. [5:17, 21, 30, 33; 6:2, 7; 7:30, 36; 10:25–29; 11:37–54; 12:1; 13:33; 14:1 ff.; 15:2; 16:14; 17:20 f.; 19:39].)

2. The metaphorical meaning is found in the Pastoral Epistles, where *hygiainō* and *hygiēs* are characteristic terms for "(to be) sound". Thus *hygiainein* (*en*) *tē pistei*, to be sound in the faith (Tit. 1:13; 2:2); *hygiainousa didaskalia*, sound doctrine (1 Tim. 1:10; 2 Tim. 4:3; Tit. 1:9; 2:1); *hygiainontes logoi*, the sound words of Jesus Christ (1 Tim. 6:3; 2 Tim. 1:13; cf. *logos hygiēs*, Tit. 2:8). In this usage the influence of Greek popular philosophy upon the Pastoral Epistles is felt (see above CL). Such a usage is completely absent from the LXX. In the Pastoral

Epistles, however, *hygiainō*, which is nowhere used in the rest of the NT in association with "word" or "doctrine", should not be taken to imply that the message of Christ simply has to be made acceptable to the intellect. Rather, problems such as heresy are to be solved by an appeal to the fixed norms of Pauline doctrine (1 Tim. 1:6 ff.; 6:3; 2 Tim. 4:3 f. and passim; cf. 1 Tim. 1:1 ff.; Tit. 1:1–3 etc.). "The church uses doctrine as such to combat the 'enthusiasm' of the gnostics, and sound doctrine, handed down in its purity, to combat their false doctrine" (W. Schmithals, *RGG*³ V 145). This approach, however, reveals the change which has taken place in the way the message is understood. Whereas in the earlier Pauline epistles the gospel is viewed as something dynamic (cf. his dialectic of wisdom and foolishness), the Pastoral Epistles see it as a fixed body of received doctrine which can be used as a clear-cut standard to counter heresy. ([Ed.] This must not, however, be overstated, for in the same letter which made use of this dialectic Paul could also claim to be handing on the tradition which he received as the basis of faith [1 Cor. 15:8 ff.; cf. 1:18 ff.].) In the Pastoral Epistles false doctrine is opposed not by detailed specific refutation, but with the simple assertion that it does not conform to the doctrinal tradition and so is not "healthy" or "sound". Hence, to be "sound in faith" (Tit. 2:2) means to hold the received apostolic doctrine as normative and binding.

The important place occupied by *hygiainō* and *hygiēs* in the Pastoral Epistles has often figured largely in the debate as to the authorship of these epistles (cf. the excursus on 1 Tim. 1:10 in M. Dibelius and H. Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles* [*Hermeneia*] 1974; and the survey by W. Kasch in *EKL* III, 79 f. On the question of authorship see further C. Spicq, *Les Épîtres Pastorales*, 1947, xxi–ccviii; D. Guthrie, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 1957, 11–53; J. N. D. Kelly, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 1963, 1–36.) *D. Müller*

→ Blind, → Body, → Deaf, Dumb, → Flesh, → Lame, → Leprosy, → Miracle, → Weakness, Sickness, → Work

(a). P. E. Adolph, "Healing, Health", *ZPEB* III 54–58; H. J. Blair, "Spiritual Healing. An Enquiry", *EQ* 30, 1958, 147–51; C. J. Brim, *Medicine in the Bible*, 1936; E. Andrews, "Healing, Gifts of", *IDB* II 548 f.; J. P. Baker, *Salvation and Wholeness*, 1973; H. W. Beyer, *therapeia* etc., *TDNT* III 128–32; T. W. Crafer, *The Healing Miracles in the Book of Acts*, 1939; F. N. Davey, "Healing in the New Testament", in *The Miracles and the Resurrection*, *SPCK Theological Collections* 3, 1964, 50–63; V. Edmunds and G. C. Scorer, *Some Thoughts on Faith Healing*, 1956; H. W. Frost, *Miraculous Healing*, 1951; E. M. B. Green, *The Meaning of Salvation*, 1965, 218–25; J. A. Hardon, "The Miracle Narratives in the Acts of the Apostles", *CBQ* 16, 1954, 303–18; R. K. Harrison, "Medicines of the Bible", *Canadian Association of Medical Students and Internes Journal*, 10, 1, 1951, 17–20; and "Healing, Health", *IDB* II 541–48; K. Heim, *Jesus the Lord*, 1959; H. J. Held, "Matthew as Interpreter of the Miracle Stories", in G. Bornkamm, G. Barth and H. J. Held, *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew*, 1960, 165–299; W. K. Hobart, *The Medical Language of St. Luke*, 1882 (but on this subject see also A. Harnack, *Luke the Physician*, 1907; and H. J. Cadbury, *Style and Literary Method of Luke*, 1920); D. Johnson, *In the Service of Medicine*, 1968; R. A. Lambourne, *Community, Church and Healing*, 1963; M. J. Langford, "The Problem of the Meaning of 'Miracle' ", *Religious Studies* 7, 1971, 43–52; H. van der Loos, *The Miracles of Jesus*, *NovT Supplements* 9, 1965; J. S. McEwen, "The Ministry of Healing", *SJT* 7, 1954, 133–52; H. N. and A. L. Moldenke, *Plants of the Bible*, 1952; F. Mussner, *The Miracles of Jesus: An Introduction*, 1970; H. P. Newsholme, *Health, Disease and Integration*, 1929; G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, I, 272–79; A. Oepke, *TDNT* III 194–215; A. Richardson, *The Miracle Stories of the Gospels*, 1941; A. Schlemmer, *Faith and Medicine*, 1957; A. R. Short, *The Bible and Modern Medicine*, 1953; C. R. Smith, *A Physician Examines the*

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Hear, Obey

The word hear embraces both physical hearing and the apprehension of something with the mind. Similarly, the Gk. vb. *akouō* and the noun *akoē*, as used in the NT, can have both meanings, though originally these words denoted only the former. Various compounds are used to denote apprehension with the mind. *eisakouō* and *epakouō* stress attentive listening, while the emphatic forms *hypakouō* and *hypakoē* (lit. hear beneath) mean to obey and obedience. The linguistic and conceptual relationship between *akouō* and *hypakouō* recurs in Old and Middle Eng. in the use of the same word for both hear and obey. It can still be traced in some modern languages, e.g. Ger. *hören* and *gehorchen*. The former includes the latter, and in some contexts can be substituted for it. Conversely, *parakouō* and *parakoē* (lit. hear beside) denote inattentive hearing, missing, not hearing, and thus disobedience.

ἀκούω

ἀκούω (*akouō*), hear, listen, attend, perceive by hearing; ἀκοή (*akoē*), hearing, the ear, a thing heard, message, teaching, report, rumour; ἀκροατής (*akroatēs*), hearer; εἰσακούω (*eisakouō*), obey, pass. to be heard; ἐπακούω (*epakouō*), listen to, hearken to; ἐπακροάομαι (*epakroaomai*), listen attentively; παρακούω (*parakouō*), fail to hear, take no heed; παρακοή (*parakoē*), disobedience; ἐνωτίζω (*enōtizō*), pay attention to, hear.

CL 1. *akouō* (Homer on) means to hear and refers primarily to the perception of sounds by the sense of hearing. The person or thing heard is in the acc.; the person from whom something is heard is in the gen. or else is indicated by the preps. *apo*, *para* or *ek*. An impersonal obj. can also be in the gen. Hearing, however, covers not only sense perception but also the apprehension and acceptance by the mind of the content of what is heard. This led to differences of linguistic usage which are discussed below in connection with Heb. *šāma'* and which also occur in secular Gk.

The related noun *akoē* (attested from Homer on) means: (a) hearing, the sense of hearing; (b) the act of hearing; (c) the organ of hearing, the ear; (d) the content of hearing, the message.

2. Hearing plays a part in every religion. The general tendency of the Gk. and Hel. world, however, was to stress the seeing of the divinity (cf. W. Michaelis, *horaō*, *TDNT* V 320 f.). It is seldom that one meets in the apocalyptic literature of Hel. mysticism (Apuleius, *Corpus Hermeticum*, 2nd or 3rd cents. A.D.) hearing as a means through which revelation has been received. On the other hand, the idea that the gods hear and listen is not foreign to paganism. We read of the ears of the gods, and the adj. *epēkoos*, listening, answering, is applied to the divinity on many Hel. inscriptions.

OT 1. In the LXX *akouō* or *akoē* stands consistently for Heb. *šāma'*. It shares the shades of meaning of the Heb. vb. Here too the primary meaning is that of sense perception (e.g. the hearing of a trumpet, 2 Sam. 15:10). However, apprehension is immediately involved as soon as one receives a statement, piece of news or message (Gen. 14:14). Apprehension demands acceptance, listening (Gen. 4:23; 23:11), understanding (Gen. 11:7; 42:3), and attention to the thing heard ("Listen to . . ." Gen. 3:17; 23:16; Exod. 24:7). Hence, *šāma'* acquired the meaning of obey. *šāma'* in this sense is often rendered in the LXX by the emphatic compounds *eisakouō*, listen, obey (e.g. Gen. 42:21 f.; Exod. 6:12, 30), *epakouō*, listen (and answer), obey (Jdg. 2:17; cf. 1 Macc. 10:38), and → *hypakouō*, obey. The noun *akoē* (Heb. *šᵉmû'âh* or *šēma'*) denotes the act of hearing (Ps. 17[18]:44), but mostly the content of a message (cf. Exod. 23:1; 1 Sam. 2:24; Isa. 53:1; Jer. 10:22). On God's hearing see 3 below.

2. (a) In biblical revelation hearing has a much greater significance than in the Gk. or Hel. worlds. For God meets man in his word, and man therefore is charged with hearing God's word. This does not exclude God's revelation in the visible sphere; the mental process is not to be separated from the sense perception. Two examples help to clarify this. God revealed himself to Moses in the burning thorn bush (Exod. 3:1 ff.), and in the vision which constituted his call Isaiah saw Yahweh in the temple surrounded by the seraphim singing their praises (Isa. 6:1 ff.). But here, as in other cases of the visible revelation of God's commission, it is connected with the prophetic mission. It takes place through the word, and must be heard and followed. Likewise, the visions which are frequently described in the prophetic writings (e.g. Amos 7–9; Jer. 1:11 ff.) require interpretation. Here too seeing and hearing are a unity. The prominence of hearing in the OT is demonstrated by the frequency of the phrases, *nᵉ'um YHWH* (thus says the Lord) and *wayᵉhî dᵉḇar YHWH* (the word of the Lord came). Readiness to hear on the part of those who receive the revelation is expressed in 1 Sam. 3:10: "Speak, for thy servant hears" (cf. O. Procksch, *legō*, *TDNT* IV 91–100).

(b) Moses, "with whom the Lord used to speak face to face" (Exod. 33:11), lived in the memory of his people as the model bearer of the divine, verbal revelation. The Decalogue (→ Command) was given to Moses according to Exod. 20:1 ff. and Deut. 5:6 ff. Deut. 5:1 is introduced by the solemn "Hear, O Israel". This *šᵉma' yiśrā'ēl* also stands as an urgent warning before the command to love God (Deut. 6:4 ff.). Alongside the warning however, we frequently find the complaint

that Israel has not heard, but has rebelled. God has not given to Israel "a mind to understand, or eyes to see, or ears to hear" (Deut. 29:4).

The prophetic revelation presupposed that the content of God's will was already known (Mic. 6:8). As bearers of the divine revelation, the prophets warned the people, the nations and even heaven and earth to hear God's word which was coming through themselves (Isa. 1:2, 10; Jer. 2:4; 7:2; 9:20 [MT 9:19]; Mic. 1:2). But equally we hear them complaining that Israel had not heard the voice of its God, nor was willing to do so (Hos. 9:17; Jer. 7:13; Ezek. 3:7). Thus the pre-exilic prophets, in particular, became preachers of → judgment. God lets his judgment fall on a people that will not hear; nor is he any longer willing to hear this people (Isa. 1:15; cf. Ezek. 8:18). Part of this judgment was the hardening that Isaiah was to bring upon the people. They were to be unreceptive to God's revelation: "Hear and hear, but do not understand; see and see, but do not perceive" (Isa. 6:9 ff.). In the catastrophes which overtook Israel, culminating in the destruction of Jerusalem and the Babylonian captivity, the post-exilic prophets saw God's judgment on the people for their unwillingness to hear (Zech. 7:8–14). The prayers of confession of the returning exiles (Ezr. 9; Neh. 9) show that a wide circle of the people shared this view.

Thus Israel became the people of the → law who wished to render the obedience they owed to God by the painstaking fulfilment of his will down to the last detail. For this reason the most important part of the tradition was the Torah, the Law, contained in the Five Books of Moses. Here the strongest emphasis is given to the relation between hearing and doing (Exod. 19:5, 8; Deut. 28:1; 30:11–14). As the divinely commissioned bearers of revelation, the prophets stood beside the law at the centre of religious faith. "The law and the prophets" is in the NT a comprehensive description of the OT writings. To hear them is the task of the pious Israelite (cf. Matt. 22:40; Lk. 16:29). The prophetic writings particularly served to feed the messianic hope. In later Judaism, especially in the apocalyptic literature connected with the book of Daniel (2 Esd., Ad. Dan. etc.), the era of messianic salvation was depicted in increasingly glorious colours (→ Jesus Christ). The Qumran texts also illustrate the strength of this hope.

(c) The tendency to listen to the law was strengthened in later Judaism by the rise of the synagogues (→ Church, Synagogue), with their regular → Sabbath worship alongside the sacrificial worship offered in the Jerusalem Temple. The synagogue became the focal point of the Jewish communities beyond the borders of Palestine. The recitation of the Shema (consisting of the extracts Deut. 6:4–9; 11:13–21; Num. 15:37–41) had a fixed place in their worship. In addition the daily recitation of the Shema was for the pious Jew an obligation of faith and witness. In principle any suitably qualified member of the community was entitled to expound the law in the synagogue services. Nevertheless, the formation of the class of scribes (→ Rabbis) is understandable. Their expositions of scripture were originally handed down orally but later from the 2nd cent. A.D. they were fixed in writing in the Mishnah and the Talmud (→ Glossary of Technical Terms). Thus hearing acquired even greater significance in Judaism, especially since in the rabbinic view the time of revelation was over. Only one echo of revelation remained, the *baṯ qôl* (daughter of the voice), which God made use of from time to time, but which possessed no binding doctrinal authority for the rabbis (SB I 125 ff.).

3. Just as men hear God, God hears men. It is in this way that the living God differs from idols which have ears but do not hear (Ps. 115; 135:17 etc.). Later Judaism continued this judgment (Wis. 15:15). So the Psalmists pray, "Incline thy ear to me, hear my words" (Ps. 17:6; cf. 31:2; 86:1 etc.). And in the figurative sense the OT often speaks of the ears of God who hears what men say (Num. 12:2) – the cry for help and also the grumbling of his people (Exod. 3:7; Num. 14:27). Alongside *akouō* the LXX often uses the emphatic *eisakouō* (e.g. Exod. 16:7, 8, 9, 12).

Not only does God hear prayer, he also answers it. This too can be expressed by *šāma'* and *akouō* (Ps. 29:10 LXX). But in these cases we more often find the LXX using the compounds *eisakouō* and *epakouō*. The latter is particularly frequent in the language of prayer and also as a rendering of Heb. *'ānâh*, to answer, grant a request (cf. *eisakouein* for Heb. *'ānâh* [e.g. Ps. 3:4; 19:1, 6, 9 LXX; Isa. 49:8].

enōtizomai, pay attention to, hear, is derived from *ous*, ear. It is a biblical word-formation on the basis of Heb. *he'ᵉzîn* (e.g. Ps. 5:1[2]; 38:12[39:13]), give ear to, from the root *'zn* in the hiph. Thus the OT contains a whole range of statements in which the pious Israelite expressed his certainty that God hears and answers prayer. It is put particularly beautifully in Ps. 94:9: "He who planted the ear, does he not hear?" On the other hand, man's guilt can step between God and man and make God's ear → deaf, so that he does not hear (Isa. 59:1 f.).

NT 1. The NT usage of *akouō* follows essentially that of secular Gk. and the LXX. We find it with the acc. in Matt. 7:24 (hear the word); with gen. in Matt. 2:9 and Mk. 14:64 (hear the king, hear blasphemy); with *apo* in 1 Jn. 1:5; with *ek* in 2 Cor. 12:6 (hear from him or me); with *para* in Jn. 8:40 (hear from God as Creator).

The noun *akoē* denotes: (a) the sense of hearing (1 Cor. 12:17); (b) the act of hearing (2 Pet. 2:8; also Rom. 10:17; Gal. 3:2, 5, *ex akoēs pisteōs*, as the result of hearing in faith, so T. Zahn, J. A. Bengel and A. Schlatter); (c) the ear, especially in the plur. (e.g. Mk. 7:35; Acts 17:20); (d) in Matt. 4:24; 14:1 etc. *akoē* denotes the news (about Jesus). The *logos akoēs* (1 Thess. 2:13; Heb. 4:2) is the word of proclamation, the message. In the quotation from Isa. 53:1 LXX reproduced in Rom. 10:16 *akoē* also means message. Hence the *akoē pisteōs* (Rom. 10:17; Gal. 3:2, 5) is the apostolic message which has faith as its content and is spoken and received as God's word (1 Thess. 2:13). The intensive in the quotation from Isa. 6:9 in Matt. 13:14 is a Hebraism: *akoē akousete*, by hearing you will hear.

Of the compounds, *eisakouō* is used of hearing (obeying) by men, 1 Cor. 14:21 (in dependence on Isa. 28:11; Deut. 1:43; on God's hearing see below, 5). *parakouō* (in secular Gk. from the 5th cent. B.C., rare in the LXX) means in Matt. 5:36 to fail to hear, leave unheeded (cf. Isa. 65:11 LXX). In Matt. 18:17 it means to refuse to hear, to be disobedient. The noun *parakoē*, disobedience, occurs once in Plato, never in the LXX, and otherwise only in post-Christian usage. It refers in Rom. 5:19 to Adam's disobedience to God; in 2 Cor. 10:6 to the Corinthians' disobedience to Paul, and in Heb. 2:2 to human disobedience to the word of God spoken through angels. *enōtizomai* has a similar meaning (cf. above OT 3), and occurs in Acts 2:14 of human hearing (cf. RSV "give ear to"). The rare word *epakroaomai* (from Plato on, not in the LXX) means to listen to (Acts 16:25). The related noun *akroatēs*, listener (from the 5th cent. B.C.; also Isa. 3:3; Sir. 3:29 LXX) occurs in

Rom. 2:13 and Jas. 1:22, 23, 25, where the hearer of the law (or of the word) is contrasted with the doer.

2. (a) The many shades of meaning of *akouō* become apparent when we ask the theological question *how* man hears the NT message. The content of this message is → Jesus Christ, the messiah promised under the old → covenant. To those who believe in him are given the fullness of salvation and a new revelation which surpasses that of the OT. This revelation which has been manifested in him is perceived not just through hearing but with all the senses (Jn. 1:14; 1 Jn. 1:1). Essentially, it is a question of hearing and seeing (→ See, art. *horaō*). Jesus pronounced a blessing on the eyes and ears of those who had become witnesses of the salvation longed for by the pious of former generations (Matt. 13:16 f.; Lk. 10:23 f.). To the disciples sent to him by the imprisoned Baptist Jesus said: "Go and tell John what you hear and see" (Matt. 11:4 par. Lk. 7:22). Alongside his words stand Jesus' mighty acts. On the mount of transfiguration Jesus' disciples saw his hidden glory and heard the voice saying to them: "Listen to him" (Matt. 17:5 par. Mk. 9:7, Lk. 9:35). The shepherds' song of praise in the Christmas story, as well as the confession of the apostles before the Sanhedrin, referred to what they had heard and seen (Lk. 2:20; Acts 4:20).

(b) Not only Jesus' earthly appearance but also the events of Easter and → Pentecost are perceived by hearing and seeing. Paul's crucial vision of Christ (1 Cor. 15:9) is amplified by Acts 22:14, 15. Paul was to be a witness of what he had seen and heard. The gospels tell the same about the other disciples: seeing the risen Christ is bound up with hearing the apostolic commission which Jesus gave to his disciples (Matt. 28:18 ff.; Mk. 16:15; Lk. 24:46 ff.; Jn. 20:21; Acts 1:8). The events of Pentecost whose far-reaching effects in the Christian community we see in 1 Cor. 12–14 were perceived originally through seeing and hearing (Acts 2:33). Paul's revelations and visions, mentioned in 2 Cor. 12:1 ff., are also related to this event. In a trance the apostle heard "things that cannot be told, which man may not utter" (v. 4). Hearing also plays an important part in the visions of Rev. (Rev. 1:10; 5:11, 13 etc.). On the other hand, the mystery of our salvation is unfathomable; what God has prepared for those who love him no eye has seen and no ear heard nor any human heart conceived (1 Cor. 2:9).

(c) The message of Christ is grounded in a crucial revelatory event. The connection with OT revelation is preserved: the gospel has been proclaimed in advance through the prophets in holy scripture (Rom. 1:2). For the receipt of the Christian message faith is required. But faith presupposes hearing, and this in turn rests on preaching (Rom. 10:14 ff.; cf. Ps. 19:4; Deut. 32:21; Isa. 65:1 f.). On the other hand, as Jn. 20:29 implies, seeing is not a necessary condition for faith.

(d) The NT does not distinguish between Jesus' word and that of the → apostles in the sense that "he who hears you hears me" (Lk. 10:16; cf. Matt. 10:40; Jn. 13:20; Gal. 4:14; and also Mk. 9:37; Matt. 18:5; Lk. 9:48). The apostles are fully authorized witnesses of Jesus. The word which Jesus spoke has been reliably handed on by those who heard it (Heb. 2:3). To hear the message is to hear Christ and to hear the word of truth (Eph. 1:13; 4:20 f.) or the word of God (Acts 13:7, 44 etc.). Where this hearing leads to faith, → baptism is the natural consequence (Acts 16:32 f.; 18:8; 19:5).

3. We also find in the NT the OT connection of hearing with doing. In the

Sermon on the Mount Jesus appears as the expounder of the will of God revealed in the law. His word is more than the word which was spoken to the men of old (Matt. 5:21). In his teaching the authority given to him is expressed. It is an authority which marks his essential difference from the scribes (Matt. 7:28 ff.; Mk. 1:22). Therefore, in the parable which concludes the Sermon on the Mount the Lord compares the man who hears and does his word with a man who builds his house on rock (Matt. 7:24 ff.). In Lk. 11:28 Jesus pronounces a blessing on those who hear and keep (*phylassein*, → Guard) his word. Jn. 10:16, 27 refer to the sheep who hear Jesus' voice and follow it. In Rom. 2:13 Paul contrasts the doers of the law with the hearers (*akroatai*). The mere hearers are unbelieving Jews, who do not let the law point them to Christ; the doers, according to the context, are believing pagans who demonstrate that the works of the law are written in their hearts (2:14 f.; cf. Jer. 31:33). Similarly in Jas. 1:22 f. the doers of the word are contrasted with the hearers. For the NT understands → faith not merely as hearing but as obeying (→ *hypakouō*, *hypakoē*). Doing the will of God, therefore, can only come about from this fundamental attitude of obedience.

([Ed.] In Mk. 12:29 f. Jesus cites the *Shema* (Heb. *šᵉma'*, "Hear") or creed of Israel recited daily by the pious Jew which consisted of Deut. 6:4–9; 11:13–21; Num. 15:37–41. The passages themselves declare that the Israelite was to be in daily, constant remembrance of his obligation to love God with his whole being. The words quoted by Jesus are: "Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God, the Lord is one; and you shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind, and with all your strength." The quotation largely follows the LXX, though *ischys* (strength) is substituted for *dynamis* (power) and the Heb. text has *lēḇāḇ* (heart) which is paraphrased in Mk. by two nouns *kardia* (heart) and *dianoia* (mind). Jesus quoted the Shema in response to a question by a scribe: "Which commandment is the first of all?" (Mk. 12:28). Matt. 12:24–37 gives a parallel account of the same incident, though omitting Deut. 6:4. Moreover, in both accounts Jesus immediately added of his own accord a second commandment which was not in the Shema but drawn from Lev. 19:18: "The second is this, 'You shall love your neighbour as yourself.' There is no other commandment greater than these" (Mk. 12:31; cf. Matt. 22:39 which adds "On these two commandments depend all the law and the prophets" [v. 40]). Lk. 10:25–40 also contains a discussion of the two great commandments which also brings together Deut. 6:5 and Lev. 19:18. But there are certain significant differences: the occasion is different; in Matt. and Mk. it is Jesus who brings the two OT passages together in response to the scribes' question, whereas in Lk. it is a lawyer in response to Jesus' question; in Matt. and Mk. the centre of interest is the summary of the law, whereas in Lk. it is the practical outworking of the law expressed in the parable of the Good Samaritan that is the centre of interest. Such considerations have led T. W. Manson, *The Sayings of Jesus*, 1949, 259 f., and C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Gospel according to Saint Mark*, 1959, 376, to conclude that the two accounts are not parallel or doublets but refer to different occasions. On the debate about the great commandment → Command, art. *entolē;* → Large, art. *megas;* → Love.)

4. (a) Hearing the word does not always lead to faith, i.e. to the acceptance of the word of God (Mk. 4:16; Lk. 8:13). Understanding must be added to hearing if the sown seed of the word is to bear fruit (Matt. 13:23; 15:10). The contrary attitude

which does not understand the word heard and will not accept it results eventually in hardening (→ Hard). Therefore we find repeatedly in the NT, especially with respect to the Jewish nation, references to the sentence of hardening pronounced in Isa. 6:9 ff. (cf. Matt. 13:13 ff. par. Mk. 4:12, Lk. 8:10; Jn. 12:40; Acts 28:27; Rom. 11:8). In Jn. the Jews are plainly told that such hearing is in reality no hearing (Jn. 5:37; 8:43). This is what Stephen meant when he described the judges at his trial as "uncircumcised in heart and ears", and their subsequent behaviour bore out the accusation (Acts 7:51, 57). Even Jesus' disciples were not protected against failure to understand and hear (Mk. 8:17 f.). Similarly in Heb. believers are urgently warned, with reference to Ps. 95:8, against becoming hardened (Heb. 3:7–11; 4:3–11).

A contrast to this hardening is presented by the receptivity of those whose ears God has opened (Isa. 50:5) and who keep the word in a pure and good heart (Lk. 8:15). It is only to this kind of hearing that the mystery of the kingdom of God is revealed (Matt. 13:11 par. Mk. 4:11, Lk. 8:10). But although such hearing and understanding are God's gift, human activity is by no means excluded. We see this in the numerous and varied calls for attention: "He who has ears to hear, let him hear" (Matt. 11:15; 13:9 par. Mk. 4:9, Lk. 8:8); "Hear and understand" (Matt. 15:10); "Take heed what you hear" (Mk. 4:24); "He who has an ear, let him hear what the Spirit says to the churches" (Rev. 2:7, 11, 17, 29; 3:6, 13, 22).

(b) Jn. 5:25, 28 deals with hearing at the time of consummation; the dead in their graves will hear the voice of the Son of God, awakening some to the resurrection of life and others to judgment. The raising of Lazarus, whom Jesus called out of his grave with a loud voice (Jn. 11:43), is the anticipation of this final event.

5. Less is said in the NT about God's hearing than in the OT. The ears of God are mentioned twice in references to OT passages: Jas. 5:4, cf. Isa. 5:9; and 1 Pet. 3:12, cf. Ps. 34:16. Rev. 9:20 takes the statement that idols do not hear from the OT. But God hears those who are pious and do his will (Jn. 9:31). Believers may be confident that God hears their prayers when they are in accordance with his will (1 Jn. 5:14). Stephen's speech (Acts 7:34 quoting Exod. 3:7) refers to Israel's being heard in Egypt. *epakouō* occurs in the NT only in the quotation from the LXX of Isa. 49:8 (2 Cor. 6:2). *eisakouō* is used in the NT in the sense of to hear and answer only in the pass. In Lk. 1:13 and Acts 10:31 it refers to the hearing of the prayers of Zechariah and Cornelius. In Matt. 6:7 Jesus criticizes those who like the Gentiles hope to succeed in making their prayers heard by the multiplication of words. Heb. 5:7 deals with the hearing of Jesus' prayers. On several occasions Jesus expressed the certainty that God hears prayer (Matt. 7:7–12; Lk. 11:5–13; Jn. 16:23 f.). Heb. 5:7 f. speaks of the prayers Jesus offered "in the days of his flesh . . . with loud cries and tears" (referring to Gethsemane, cf. Matt. 26:36–46 par. Mk. 14:32–42, Lk. 22:40–46), adding that Jesus "was heard for his godly fear". Heb. sees the answer to these prayers in Jesus' exaltation as "the source of salvation to all who obey him" as high priest after the order of → Melchizedek (vv. 9 f.). This confirms the assurance, expressed in the story of Lazarus, that God always heard and answered Jesus (Jn. 11:41). Correspondingly, Jesus always heard God as his Father, and as mediator passed on the revelation which he had heard from his Father (Jn. 8:26, 40; 15:15). Christ's relationship with his Father has its deepest roots in this mutual hearing. *W. Mundle*

ὑπακούω

ὑπακούω (*hypakouō*), listen, obey; *ὑπακοή* (*hypakoē*), obedience; *ὑπήκοος* (*hypēkoos*), obedient.

CL & OT The vb. *hypakouō*, to listen to, answer, obey (which is derived from *akouō*) was used in secular Gk. from Homer on with the dat. of the person or thing, and also (as in the LXX) with the gen. of the person. The specialized meaning to open (to answer a request for entrance) occurs in Xenophon, Plato and other writers. The noun *hypakoē*, obedience, is rare and appeared late in secular Gk. (6th cent. A.D.). The adj. *hypēkoos*, obedient, is attested from the 5th cent. B.C. The LXX uses *hypakouō* mostly to render Heb. *šāma'*. Obedience is shown to men (Gen. 16:2; 22:18), to wisdom (Sir. 4:15; 24:22), and to God (e.g. Jer. 3:13, 25). In Isa. 50:2; 66:4 *hypakouō* translates Heb. *'ānâh*, answer. In Isa. 65:24 (with the *v.l. ek-*) it denotes God's answer to human crying. The noun *hypakoē* also means an answer (2 Sam. 22:36, the only instance in the LXX). The adj. *hypēkoos*, obedient is used in Deut. 20:11 of subject peoples, and in Prov. 4:3; 13:1 of a son's obedience to his father.

NT 1. In Acts 12:13 *hypakouō* means to open in the sense of "answering the door". Elsewhere the word group (vb. 21 times, noun 15, most frequently in Paul) denotes obedience. The pattern of this obedience is Jesus Christ of whom it is said that he was obedient unto death on the cross (Phil. 2:5, 8). Through his obedience, which stands in contrast to Adam's disobedience, "the many" have been made righteous (Rom. 5:19). Heb. has a similar thought. Through his suffering Jesus learned obedience; thus he has become the source of eternal salvation to those who obey him (5:8 f.). His obedience to his Father does not exclude his being the Lord whom the demonic powers and the forces of nature obey (Mk. 1:27; 4:41 par. Matt. 8:27, Lk. 8:25).

The apostle Paul, on the other hand, sought to bring every thought captive in obedience to Christ; Christ is the highest authority over human reason (2 Cor. 10:5). The obedience we render to Christ is the obedience of faith. As an apostle to whom has been committed the preaching of the glad good news Paul made it his aim to establish this obedience among the nations (Rom. 1:5; 16:26). He has this obedience in view in Rom. 15:18 and 16:19. It includes submission to the apostle through whom Christ speaks (2 Cor. 7:5; 13:3; 10:5 f.; Phlm. 15). It is obedience to the preaching which brings righteousness (Rom. 6:16 f.), and to the truth (1 Pet. 1:22). 1 Pet. 1:2 and 14 also refer to this obedience: Christians are "children of obedience", because this obedience must embrace their whole lives.

2. The use of the noun corresponds to that of the vb. Apart from Phil. 2:8, where it refers to Christ, the adj. *hypēkoos* also occurs in 2 Cor. 2:9 and Acts 7:39. Paul found in the Philippians (Phil. 2:12) the obedient attitude which he had expected from the Corinthians (2 Cor. 2:9). He had to warn the Thessalonians to have nothing to do with those who would not obey the apostolic instructions (2 Thess. 3:14). Besides those who obey the message of faith (Acts 6:7) there are those who refuse to obey the gospel (Rom. 10:16; 2 Thess. 1:8). Beneath all this lies the understanding of faith as an act of obedience. Moreover, obedience to Christ cannot be separated from obedience to his messengers and to the message they proclaim. Such obedience must work itself out in the life of the Christian. Christians are hindered by obeying the sinful passions of the body (Rom. 6:12). From

obedience to the Lord it follows that one must submit willingly to earthly authorities, parents and masters; and these too must of course acknowledge the Lord Christ as the highest authority (Eph. 6:1–9; Col. 3:18–20). As an example and a warning from the OT, Acts 7:39 mentions the Israelites who refused obedience to Moses (Num. 14:3 f.). In contrast, Heb. 11:8 names Abraham as an example of believing obedience (cf. Gen. 12:1–8). *W. Mundle*

→ Command, → Disciple, → Faith, → Law, → See, → Word

(a). D. Bonhoeffer, *The Cost of Discipleship*, 1959⁶; R. Bultmann, *Jesus and the Word*, 1934, 53–75; *Theology of the New Testament*, I, 1952, 314 ff.; D. Daube, *Civil Disobedience in Antiquity*, 1972; C. H. Dodd, *Gospel and Law*, 1951; J. Horst, *ous*, *TDNT* V 543–59; G. Kittel, *akouō*, *TDNT* I 216–25; R. N. Longenecker, "The Obedience of Christ in the Theology of the Early Church", in R. Banks, ed., *Reconciliation and Hope* (Leon Morris *Festschrift*), 1974, 142–52; W. Michaelis, *horaō* *TDNT* V 315–82; P. S. Minear, *The Obedience of Faith*, *SBT* Second Series 19, 1971; H. R. Moehring, "The Verb *akouein* in Acts 9, 7 and 12, 9", *NovT* 3, 1959, 80 ff.; C. F. D. Moule, "Obligation in the Ethic of Paul", in W. R. Farmer, C. F. D. Moule and R. R. Niebuhr, eds., *Christian History and Interpretation: Studies Presented to John Knox*, 1967, 389–406; O. Procksch, *legō*, *TDNT* IV 91 ff.; R. Schnakenburg, *The Moral Teaching of the New Testament*, 1965; A. Stöger, "Obedience", *EBT* II 616–20.
(b). H. von Campenhausen, "Recht und Gehorsam in der ältesten Kirche", *ThBl* 20, 1941, 279 ff.; R. Deichgräber, "Gehorsam und Gehorchen in der Verkündigung Jesu", *ZNW* 52, 1961, 119 ff.; E. von Dobschütz, "Die fünf Sinne im Neuen Testament", *JBL* 48, 1929, 378 ff.; J. Gnilka, "Zur Theologie des Hörens nach den Aussagen des Neuen Testaments", *Bibel und Leben* 2, 1961, 71 ff.; S. Gross, "Der Gehorsam Christi", *Geist und Leben* 29, 1956, 2–11; R. Gyllenberg, "Glaube und Gehorsam", *ZSTh* 4, 1937, 547 ff.; E. Kamlah, "*hypotassesthai* in den neutestamentlichen 'Haustafeln' ", in O. Böcher and K. Haacker, eds., *Verborum Veritas. Festschrift für Gustav Stählin*, 1970, 237–44; J. Kaufmann, *Der Begriff des Hörens im Johannesevangelium*, Dissertation, Gregorian University, Rome, 1969–70; O. Kuss, "Der Begriff des Glaubens im Neuen Testament", *ThG* 27, 1935, 695 ff.; K. Lammerts, *Hören, Sehen und Glauben im Neuen Testament*, 1966; W. Mundle, *Der Glaubensbegriff des Paulus*, 1932, 29 ff.; K. H. Schelkle, *Die Passion Jesu in der Verkündigung des Neuen Testaments*, 1949; A. Schlatter, *Der Glaube im Neuen Testament*, 1927⁴, 611 f.; *Gottes Gerechtigkeit*, 1935, 316 f.

Heart

καρδία

καρδία (*kardia*), heart; καρδιογνώστης (*kardiognōstēs*), knower of hearts; σκληροκαρδία (*sklērokardia*), hardness of heart.

CL *kardia* was used in secular Gk. in literal and metaphorical senses. On the one hand, it denoted the heart as an organ of the body and the centre of physical life (particularly in Aristotle). On the other hand, it was regarded as the seat of the emotions and the source of spiritual life in general. Used in specific senses with reference to nature, it meant the pith of wood and the seed of plants. *kardia* also had the general sense of centre, the innermost part (of men, animals or plants).

Especially in Homer and the tragedians, *kardia* received a considerably extended range of meaning. It not longer indicated merely the centre of the body but also the intellectual and spiritual centre of man as a whole.

(a) *kardia*, the seat of the emotions and feelings, of the instincts and passions. In this context the Greek thought of emotions like joy and sadness, courage and cowardice, strength and fear, love, hatred and anger (Homer, *Il.* 21, 547).

(b) Homer, in particular, brought together the heart and reason without clearly separating thought and feeling. (*Il.* 21, 441). From this point it is only a short step

to seeing the heart as the centre of man's will and as the seat of his power of decision (*Il.* 10, 244).

OT The OT uses *lēḇ* and *lēḇāḇ* for heart. *lēḇ* occurs in the older strata and *lēḇāḇ* does not appear until Isa. The OT also uses heart in the two meanings, lit. and metaphorical. The LXX renders *lēḇ* predominantly by *kardia*, more rarely by *dianoia* (mind) and *psychē* (soul). The nuances of the concept are as clearly recognizable here as in the OT. *kardia* occurs predominantly in a general sense, referring to the whole man.

1. Viewed as a bodily organ, the heart is the seat of strength and of physical life (Ps. 38:10[11]; Isa. 1:5). When the heart is strengthened by food the whole man is revived (Gen. 18:5; Jdg. 19:5; 1 Ki. 21:7).

2. In the metaphorical sense *lēḇ* is the seat of man's spiritual and intellectual life, the inner nature of man. Here the close connection between spiritual and intellectual processes and the functional reactions of the heart's activity is particularly clearly seen. This explains the close contact between the concepts *lēḇ* and *nepeš* (→ Soul) which can even be used interchangeably (cf. Jos. 22:5; 1 Sam. 2:35; Deut. 6:5). In the OT *lēḇ* is also the seat of man's feeling, thinking and willing:

(a) The heart is the seat of the emotions, whether of joy (Deut. 28:47) or pain (Jer. 4:19), of tranquillity (Prov. 14:30) or excitement (Deut. 19:6), etc.

(b) The heart is the seat of the understanding and of knowledge, of rational forces and powers (1 Ki. 3:12; 4:29[MT 5:9]), as well as fantasies and visions (Jer. 14:14). But folly (Prov. 10:20 f.) and evil thoughts also operate in the heart.

(c) The will originates in the heart, also the carefully weighed intention (1 Ki. 8:17) and the decision which is ready to be put into effect (Exod. 36:2).

lēḇ, however, means less an isolated function than the man with all his urges, in short, the person in its totality (Ps. 22:26[27]; 73:26; 84:2[3]). It is "a comprehensive term for the personality as a whole, its inner life, its character. It is the conscious and deliberate spiritual activity of the self-contained human ego" (W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*, II, 1967, 143). Here OT usage contrasts with that of secular Gk., for there the heart, with all its differentiations of meaning, has only one function within the system of spiritual and intellectual processes.

3. Since the idea of responsibility is particularly related to the heart, "that which comes out of the heart is quite distinctively the property of the whole inner man, and therefore makes him, as a consciously acting ego, responsible for it" (W. Eichrodt, op. cit., 144). Since, in the OT, the only corrective to this responsibility of man is to be found in Yahweh, the heart is also the organ through which man, either as godly or as disobedient, meets God's word and acts. It is the seat of awe and worship (1 Sam. 12:24; Jer. 32:40); the heart of the godly inclines in faithfulness to the law of God (Isa. 51:7), that of the ungodly is hardened and far from God (Isa. 29:13). It is in the heart that conversion to God takes place (Ps. 51:10, 17[12, 19]; Joel 2:12).

4. The kidneys (Heb. *kᵉlāyôṯ*; Gk. *nephros*, only in plur.; in the NT only Rev. 2:23, citing Jer. 11:20) are frequently mentioned in close connection with the heart. They are – in the metaphorical sense – the seat of the deepest spiritual emotions and motives (Ps. 7:9[10]; 26:2; Jer. 17:10; 20:12; cf. 1 Sam. 24:5[6];

25:31; *lēḇ*, → conscience), so secret that men cannot fathom them. Only God is able to search and test them.

5. (a) Philo and Josephus use "heart" exclusively as a bodily organ, the central part of physical life, without clearly defining the seat of the inner life. Philo leaves open the question of whether the *hēgemonikon*, the controlling reason, is to be found in the heart or in the brain, though he shows many echoes of OT usage. The metaphorical sense, which predominates in the OT, drops very much into the background, especially in Josephus.

(b) On the other hand, Rab. Judaism – like the OT – can speak of the heart as the centre of life, even of life before God, of the good and evil thoughts that dwell in the heart, but also of the worship of God which the heart offers (prayer; cf. e.g. Sifre Deut. 41). (On Philo, Josephus and Rab. Jud. see J. Behm, *kardia*, *TDNT*, III 609 ff.)

NT The NT use of *kardia* coincides with the OT understanding of the term, just as much as it differs from the Gk. The meaning of heart as the inner life, the centre of the personality and as the place in which God reveals himself to men is even more clearly expressed in the NT than in the OT. In passages where OT would have used heart in the sense of person, NT often uses the personal pronoun (e.g. Matt. 9:3; 16:7; 21:25, 38; 2 Cor. 2:1). Nevertheless *kardia* occurs in 148 passages in the NT: in Paul 52 times; the Synoptics 47; Acts 17; Catholic Epistles 13; Heb. 10; Jn. 6 and Rev. 3 times.

1. (a) *kardia* as the centre of physical life and man's psychological make up. *kardia* occurs relatively seldom in the sense of the bodily organ, the seat of natural life (Lk. 21:34; Acts 14:17; Jas. 5:5). By contrast, it more frequently denotes the seat of intellectual and spiritual life, the inner life in opposition to external appearance (2 Cor. 5:12; 1 Thess. 2:17; cf. 1 Sam. 16:7). The powers of the → spirit, → reason, and → will have their seat in the heart in the same way as the movements of the → soul, the feelings, the passions and the instincts. The heart stands for man's ego. It is simply the person ("the hidden person of the heart", 1 Pet. 3:4).

(b) *kardia* as the centre of spiritual life. The most significant instances of *kardia* in the NT occur in those passages which speak of man's standing before God. The heart is that in man which is addressed by God. It is the seat of doubt and hardness as well as of faith and obedience.

A striking feature of the NT is the essential closeness of *kardia* to the concept *nous*, mind. *nous* can also have the meaning of person, a man's ego. Heart and mind (*noēmata*, lit. thoughts) can be used in parallel (2 Cor. 3:14 f.) or synonymously (Phil. 4:7). In such cases the element of knowledge is more heavily emphasized with *nous* than with *kardia*, where the stress lies more on the emotions and the will (R. Bultmann, *Theology of the NT*, I, 1952, 222). Thus it is the person, the thinking, feeling, willing ego of man, with particular regard to his responsibility to God, that the NT denotes by the use of *kardia*.

2. Sin marks, dominates and spoils not only the physical aspects of natural man, not only his thinking and willing, feeling and striving as individual elements, but also their source, man's innermost being, his heart. But if the heart has been enslaved by sin, the whole man is in bondage. Evil thoughts come from the heart (Mk. 7:21 pár. Matt. 15:19). Shameful desires dwell in the heart (Rom. 1:24).

The heart is disobedient and impenitent (Rom. 2:5; 2 Cor. 3:14 f.), hard and faithless (Heb. 3:12), dull and darkened (Rom. 1:21; Eph. 4:18). Referring to his opponents, Jesus quoted the prophet Isaiah, "Your heart is far from me" (Mk. 7:6; par. Matt. 15:8). Equally he rebuked his disciples for their lack of faith and their hardness of heart (Mk. 16:14; cf. Lk. 24:25, 32). Neither can the Gentiles excuse themselves before God, for they carry in their hearts the knowledge of what is good and right in God's sight (Rom. 2:15; → Covenant, art. *diathēkē;* → God, art. *theos* NT 4(b)).

"The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately corrupt; who can understand it?" Jeremiah's complaint (17:9) voices the view of the NT also. No man can understand his heart, let alone change it. Man without God lives under the power of sin, which has taken up its abode in his heart and from this vantage point enslaves the whole man.

3. God alone can reveal the things hidden in the heart of man (1 Cor. 4:5), examine them (Rom. 8:27) and test them (1 Thess. 2:4). Because corruption stems from the heart it is there that God begins his work of renewal. *kardia* is "the place where God deals with man . . . that part of a man . . . where, in the first instance, the question for or against God is decided" (Gutbrod). Just as the heart is the seat of faithlessness, it is also the seat of faith (Rom. 10:6–10). In Rom. 2:5 the human heart is described as *ametanoētos*, impenitent. Hence "it is apparent that penitence (*metanoia*, change of mind) is a matter of the "heart" (*kardia*) (Bultmann, op. cit., I, 221). Conversion takes place in the heart and is thus a matter of the whole man. God's word does not simply capture the understanding or the emotions, but it pierces the heart (Acts 2:37; 5:33; 7:54).

This conversion of the heart to → faith is not achieved through the will or desire of the human heart (1 Cor. 2:9), but solely because God opens a man's heart (Acts 16:14) and lets his light illumine the heart (2 Cor. 4:6). God bears his witness to man by sending into his heart the Spirit of his Son (2 Cor. 1:22). When this Spirit takes up his dwelling in the heart, man is no longer a slave to sin, but a son and heir of God (Gal 4:6 f.). God pours his love into his heart (Rom. 5:5). Through faith Christ can take up residence in the heart (Eph. 3:17).

4. The heart of man, however, is the place not only where God arouses and creates faith. Here faith proves its reality in obedience and patience (Rom. 6:17; 2 Thess. 3:5). Here the word of God is kept (Lk. 8:15). Here the peace of Christ begins its rule (Col. 3:15). God's grace strengthens and establishes the heart (Heb. 13:9). The NT describes a heart directed unreservedly to God as a "pure heart" (Matt. 5:8; 1 Tim. 1:5). This purity of heart is based solely on the fact that the blood of Christ cleanses it (Heb. 10:22; cf. 1 Jn. 1:7), and Christ dwells in it by faith (Eph. 3:17).

5. Two further related words which occur in the NT must be mentioned here.

(a) *kardiognōstēs* is unknown to secular Gk. and to the LXX, and occurs in the NT only in Acts 1:24 and 15:8 and later in patristic writings. It describes God as the knower of hearts. The fact that God sees, tests and searches the hidden depths of the human heart is commonly stated in both the OT and the NT (1 Sam. 16:7; Jer. 11:20; 17:9 f.; Lk. 16:15; Rom. 8:27; 1 Thess. 2:4, Rev. 2:23, cf. above OT, 3). This belief in the omniscience of God is expressed succinctly by the adj. *kardiognōstēs.*

(b) *sklērokardia*, unknown in secular Gk., occurs in the LXX in Deut. 10:16; Sir. 16:10; Jer. 4:4 (Heb. equivalent *'orlāṯ lēḇāḇ*). Otherwise it is found only in the NT (Mk. 10:5 par. Matt. 10:8; Mk. 16:14; similarly Rom. 2:5) and in patristic writers. Hardness of heart is the closedness of the self-centred man to God, his offer and demands, and also to his fellowmen. The natural man has a stony heart, turned against God and his neighbour, until God's intervention gives him a new, obedient heart (cf. Ezek. 36:26 f.). *T. Sorg*

→ Body, → Hard, → Head, → Man

(a). J. B. Bauer, "Heart", *EBT* I 360–63; C. A. Briggs, "A Study of the Use of *lēḇ* and *lēḇāḇ* in the Old Testament", in *Semitic Studies in Memory of A. Kohut*, 1897, 94–105; R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, I, 1952, 220–27; F. Baumgärtel and J. Behm, *kardia* etc., *TDNT* III 605–14; R. C. Dentan, "Heart", *IDB* II 549 f.; R. Jewett, *Paul's Anthropological Terms*, 1971; A. R. Johnson, *The Vitality of the Individual in the Thought of Ancient Israel*, 1949; L. J. Kuyper, "The Hardness of Heart according to Biblical Perspective", *SJT* 27, 1974, 459–74; J. Pedersen, *Israel*, I–II, 1926, 99 ff.; K. Rahner, *Theological Investigations*, III, 1967, 321–52; D. M. Stanley, " 'From his heart will flow rivers of living water' (Jn. 7:38)", *Cor Jesu*, I, 1959, 507–42; H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the Old Testament*, 1974, 40–58.
(b). J. M. Bover, "Das heilige Herz Jesu im Neuen Testament", *Zeitschrift für Askese und Mystik* 13, 1938, 285–301; G. E. Closen, "Das Herz des Erlösers in den heiligen Schriften des Alten Bundes", *Zeitschrift für Askese und Mystik* 18, 1943, 17–30; J. Doresse, "Le Coeur", *Études Carmélitaines* 29, 1950, 82–97; B. de Gerardon, "Le coeur, la bouche, les mains. Essai sur un schème biblique", *Bible et Vie Chrétienne* 1, 4, 1953, 7–24; A. Guillaumont, "Les sens du noms du coeur dans l'antiquité", *Le Coeur: Études Carmélitaines* 29, 1950, 41–81; P. Joüon, "Locutions hébraïques avec la préposition *'al* devant *lēḇ*, *lēḇāḇ*", *Biblica* 5, 1924, 49–53; M. Koehler, *Le Coeur et les Mains*, 1962; F. H. von Meyenfeldt, *Het Hart (lēḇ, lēḇāḇ) in Het Oude Testament*, 1950; F. Nötscher, *Gotteswege und Menschenwege in der Bibel und in Qumran*, *Bonner Biblische Beiträge* 15, 1958; G. Pidoux, *L'Homme dans l'Ancien Testament*, 1953; H. Rahner, *Cor Salvatoris*, 1954, 19–45; H. Rusche, "Das menschliche Herz nach biblischem Verständnis", *Bibel und Leben* 3, 1962, 201 ff.; N. Schmidt, "Anthropologische Begriffe im Alten Testament", *EvTh* 24, 1964, 374–88; F. Stolz, *lēḇ*, *THAT* I 861–67.

Heaven, Ascend, Above

Man has always contrasted heaven with his earthly environment (→ Earth). To the physical relationship there has also corresponded a metaphysical one. As well as being a spatial term, heaven became a general expression for everything that has power over man, the domain of gods and spirits. The Gk. word *ouranos* includes both aspects, the firmament and the abode of God (cf. the difference between sky and heaven in Eng.). Sometimes it is replaced by the purely formal *anō*, above (in opposition to *katō*, below; → Hell). The vb. *anabainō* is used in a purely technical sense, especially of the ascent to the temple mountain, to the sanctuary, and also of Jesus' exaltation and ascension (→ Height).

ἀναβαίνω ἀναβαίνω (*anabainō*), go up, mount up; καταβαίνω (*katabainō*), descend; μεταβαίνω (*metabainō*), pass over.

CL *anabainō* is found from Homer on. The root-word, *bainō*, which is absent from the NT, means to go, walk (the NT substitutes *erchomai;* → Come). The compound *anabainō* indicates movement towards a destination: to go up, mount up, ascend, grow up. The spatial meaning predominates; one climbs a mountain,

mounts a platform, goes upstairs. If the destination is a holy place, the going up involves performance of some cultic act. A man goes up to the temple (situated on a higher level) to pray; the mystic is promised ascent to the world of the gods, heaven or Olympus (*Mithraic Liturgy* 10, 22).

OT In the LXX *anabainō* most frequently renders *'ālâh* (go up, ascend, climb) and is used particularly of going up to the mountain of God, the sanctuary and Jerusalem (Exod. 34:4; 1 Sam. 1:3; 2 Ki. 19:14). In Gen. 28:12 Jacob's dream pictured a "ladder", or more precisely a ramp or stair-like pavement, which, in accordance with the ancient concept of the world, led up to the gate of heaven. This was the place where intercourse between the earth and the upper divine world took place. God's messengers were going up and down, "fulfilling divine commands or supervising the earth" (G. von Rad, *Genesis*, 1961, 279; → Babylon). In Jon. 2:7 descent into the underworld signifies condemnation and death, and ascent signifies pardon and life.

NT 1. The NT retains the basic spatial sense: to climb a mountain, or go up to Jerusalem for the Passover (Lk. 2:4; 18:10; Jn. 7:8 ff.; Acts 3:1; Gal. 2:1). *anabainō* occasionally denotes the growth of plants (Matt. 13:7; so also occasionally in the LXX, cf. Gen. 41:5), and metaphorically the rise of ideas (Lk. 24:38; 1 Cor. 2:9) and the ascent of prayers to God (Acts 10:4).

2. The specific cultic connotation fades in the Synoptics behind a more general spiritual meaning. When Jesus came up out of the water of the Jordan or climbed a mountain, his ascent was the prelude to some action on the part of God. Thus Jesus received the → Spirit after his baptism, cf. also instances of prayer, teaching, healing and calling (Matt. 3:16 par. Mk. 1:10; Matt. 5:1; 14:23; 15:29; Mk. 3:13; Lk. 9:28).

3. Jn. uses *anabainō* as a fixed expression for the ascent of the Son of man (similarly Acts 2:34; Rom. 10:6 f.; Eph. 4:8). In this sense the vb. is complemented by *katabainō*, descend. Both concepts describe a movement which originates from heaven and is directed towards the earth, and vice versa. The stress is not on some kind of journey to heaven; the decisive element is Jesus' going from and to God. This is naturally expressed in the spatial categories of the ancient world concept. Christ, as the pre-existent Logos (→ Word), bridges the gulf between heaven and earth and becomes man (Jn. 3:13; cf. Prov. 30:4; Jn. 6:33, 38, 41 f.). With his elevation on the cross he ascends "where he was before" (Jn. 6:62). His descent reveals the Father's love; his ascent God's sovereign power. In his descent Jesus is the revealer; in his ascent the perfecter through whom his people receive the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of the Son (Jn. 20:17). In his descent and ascent he bridges the gulf between God and the world, between light and darkness. Some scholars see in this a background of gnostic ideas, but if so they are ignored in the presentation of Jesus as the Word become flesh (Jn. 1:14; → Height, art. *hypsoō*). (On this cf. L. Morris, *The Gospel according to John*, 1971, 222 ff. with R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 1971, ad loc., and *Theology of the New Testament*, I, 1952, 37, 166 ff.)

The → Son stands in a permanent relationship to the → Father, which is described with the help of the vision of the ascending and descending angels (Jn.

1:51; cf. Gen. 28:12). Thus in the earthly presence of the Son of man descent and ascent are repeated, in that his thoughts are derived from the Father and his acts are directed to the Father.

4. (a) *metabainō* (pass over) is used in Jn. to describe the passage from death to life. As Jesus crossed the frontier in his elevation on the cross, so man does in the obedience of faith. The believer passes over into the risen Christ's sphere of life (Jn. 5:24; 13:1; 1 Jn. 3:14).

(b) *katabainō* also denotes the eschatological arrival of the *kyrios* (→ Lord) and the heavenly → Jerusalem (1 Thess. 4:16; Rev. 3:12; 21:2, 10). But already God's good and life-giving gifts are coming down to us, above all his trustworthy word that we should be a kind of first fruits of his creatures (Jas. 1:17 f.). Similarly Jesus is the living bread which has already come to us from God himself and been made a present reality (Jn. 6:50, 58). *B. Siede*

5. The ascent and descent of Christ is referred to in Eph. 4:8 ff. in connection with a discussion of unity and gifts in the church. V. 8 alludes to Ps. 68:18 [LXX 67:19; MT 68:19]: "Therefore it is said, 'When he ascended on high he led a host of captives, and he gave gifts to men' " (RSV). There are, however, certain obvious differences from the Ps. The latter is in the 2nd per. sing. and refers to receiving and not giving gifts: "Thou didst ascend the high mount leading captives in thy train, and receiving gifts among men, even among the rebellious, that the LORD God may dwell there" (RSV). The verse "alludes to the homage before God when, returning from a war, he has occupied his throne to receive the voluntary or enforced gifts of homage rendered to him" (A. Weiser, *The Psalms*, 1962, 488). E. K. Simpson relates it specifically to David's capture of the Jebusite fortress (2 Sam. 5:6 f.) which became his capital, → Jerusalem, and the ascent of the ark there (cf. 2 Sam. 6:15 f.; also Ps. 24). The idea of giving rather than receiving gifts is supported by the Syriac version of the OT (the Peshitta) and the Targum or Aramaic paraphrase of the Pss., where the passage is interpreted of Moses' ascent of Sinai to receive the law. (This may have been influenced by the reference to Sinai in the preceding verse. In later Judaism Pentecost was regarded as the anniversary of the giving of the law.) Eph. 4:8 is probably best regarded not as a direct quotation from the OT as a prophecy of the bestowal of gifts, but as an interpretative gloss on the Ps. explaining what God is doing *now* in contrast with the situation described in the Ps. The introductory words "Therefore it is said" render the Gk. *dio legei*, lit. "therefore ... says", with the subject understood. The same expression occurs again in Eph. 5:14 introducing a quotation which is not to be found in scripture (cf. also Rom. 15:10; 2 Cor. 6:2; Gal. 3:16). It is possible that "scripture" should be supplied as subject as in Rom. 10:11. But as neither Eph. 4:8 nor Eph. 5:14 are verbatim quotations it seems more likely that "God" (or the Spirit) is to be understood as the subject and what follows is what God is now saying to the church. In other words, the Ps. has now to be read in the light of the descent and ascension of Christ which has brought about a reversal of the situation in which the victors received gifts from the vanquished.

The argument goes on to state that the words "he ascended" imply that "he had also descended into the lower parts of the earth" (v. 9). The latter may be taken as either (i) Hades (→ Hell; cf. Acts 2:25–35; cf. Ps. 16:10); (ii) the tomb

(→ Bury); or (iii) the earth, the gen. being a gen. of definition. The ascent is fulfilled in the resurrection and ascension (cf. Phil. 2:8), the ultimate purpose of which is "that he might fill all things" (v. 10; cf. 1:23; Col. 2:9; → Fullness). The gifts that are then enumerated as the result of the ascension might at first sight appear as an anticlimax. They are seen in terms of the gift to the church of apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers (v. 11). But in the context of the argument God's ultimate purpose for mankind is growth in personal maturity in Christ (vv. 12–16, cf. 1 ff.). These gifts are directly related to that growth, for they carry on the ministry of Christ to the church (cf. v. 7).

For further discussion of this passage see F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Ephesians*, 1961, 81 ff.; E. K. Simpson and F. F. Bruce, *The Epistles to the Ephesians and the Colossians*, 1957, 91 f.; B. Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic*, 1961, 52 ff., who sees Eph. 4:8 as an instance of *midrash pesher* deliberately modifying the text; cf. also E. E. Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament*, 1957, 144. *C. Brown*

ἄνω

ἄνω (*anō*), above, upwards, up; ἄνωθεν (*anōthen*), from above; κάτω (*katō*), below, downwards, down.

CL *anō*, lit. above, upwards, earlier in time. It can describe land or mountains in contrast to the sea, or the sky and heaven in comparison with the earth, or even the earth in contrast to the underworld (F. Büchsel, *anō*, *TDNT* I 376; Liddell-Scott, 169).

OT Judaism emphasized strongly the contrast between above and below, i.e. between heaven as God's sphere and the earth as man's. On the other hand, there is a parallelism between what exists above and what exists and happens on earth. Thus, as heaven cannot exist without the twelve constellations, earth cannot exist without the twelve tribes. Similarly God studies the Torah in heaven as men do on earth (SB II 116). In this case, that which is above is prior in time.

Stimulated by Hel. ideas, Philo worked out an extensive speculation on above and below (cf. *Rev. Div. Her.* 70; *Gig.* 22; *Som.* 1, 139). But this did not prove significant either for Jud. or the NT. Philo saw the upper and lower worlds as divided into levels. The lowest level is the material, and on the highest God stands. The sky forms as it were a spiritual material, the transitional level between the upper and lower worlds. (For examples of gnostic cosmology see W. Foerster, *Gnosis: A selection of Gnostic Texts*, I, 1972; II, 1974.)

NT In the NT there are no cosmological speculations which set God and the world in radical opposition, attributing the latter to some other deity. God is the Creator and Lord of the whole world. Nevertheless, there is a contrast in so far as a distinction is drawn between the holy God and the sinful world.

Jesus lifted up his eyes, i.e. towards heaven, where God dwells according to the ancient world concept (Jn. 11:41; cf. Acts 2:19). In contrast to his enemies who are "from below [*katō*]", from this sinful → world, he is "from above [*anō*]" i.e. from God, to whom he will return (Jn. 8:23; cf. 13; cf. L. Morris, *The Gospel according to John*, 1971, 446 f.).

In Gal. 4:25 f. there is a reference to → "Jerusalem above," which is free and is the mother of Christians, in contrast to the present Jerusalem, which, with her children subject to the law, is in slavery.

The "upward call" which Paul presses towards is the call of God in Jesus Christ (Phil. 3:14). Correspondingly Paul encourages his readers to "seek the things that are above". This is more narrowly defined by a reference to the fact that Jesus Christ is seated at the right hand of God (Col. 3:1 f.; → Hand, art. *dexios*). On *anōthen* → Birth, art. *gennaō*. *H. Bietenhard*

οὐρανός

οὐρανός (*ouranos*), heaven; οὐράνιος (*ouranios*), heavenly; ἐπουράνιος (*epouranios*), heavenly; οὐρανόθεν (*uranothen*), from heaven.

CL *ouranos*, heaven, possibly related to an Indo-European root meaning water, rain, means that which moistens or fructifies. The related adj. *ouranios* means what is in heaven, comes from heaven, or appears in the heavens, i.e. heavenly. But it can also mean what is appropriate to a god, i.e. divine, and can even stand for god or the deity. On the other hand, it can mean simply that which belongs to the firmament or sky. *epouranios* means in heaven, belonging to the divine heaven.

1. *ouranos* is found in Gk. from Homer on meaning the vault of heaven, the firmament. Viewed as that which embraces everything, *ouranos* is divine. In pre-Homeric religious myth Uranus (in its Latinized form) derived from the → earth, Ge, which he impregnated in a holy marriage. According to the myth, Uranus was castrated and deposed as a god by Cronus the son of Uranus and Ge. But the image of the god Uranus remained alive until imperial times. In Orphic mythology heaven derived from the upper half of the cosmic egg. According to Homer, the (brazen, iron) heaven rests on pillars which Atlas carries. In heaven dwell the → gods, the immortal *ouranioi* or *epouranioi*, above all Zeus. One also finds in Gk. writing the idea of a heavenly garment.

In the Gk. enlightenment the old mythological concepts dissolved; *ouranos* became simply the firmament, and *ouranios* was applied to phenomena appearing in this firmament. In Plato heaven can be equated with the → all, the cosmos (→ Earth). The starry heavens viewed as the dwelling place of the gods became the starting point for the investigation of existence and absolute knowledge. Hence Plato used *ouranios* to denote what really is and what is truly coming to be. The Stoics understood heaven as the outermost layer of the ether, and then also as the directing world principle. In Gk. the expression "earth and heaven" can denote the whole world. (See further H. Traub, *TDNT* V 498 ff.)

2. In gnostic systems the *ouranioi*, the heavenly ones, have a body and are transitional beings of a supernatural nature. (See further *TDNT* V 501; W. Foerster, op. cit., see indexes.)

OT 1. *The OT concepts of heaven.* (a) In the OT concepts of heaven there are many links with ancient oriental ideas. The underworld (→ Hell, art. *hadēs*), → earth (art. *gē*) and heaven together form the cosmic building. The scant references suggest the picture of the flat disc of the earth, surrounded by the ocean, above which heaven or the firmament forms a vault like an upturned bowl or a hollow

sphere. Above this there is the heavenly ocean (Gen. 1:8; Ps. 148:4–6). According to the ancient oriental view, there are many other heavenly spheres beyond the firmament which is visible from the earth. Such concepts are echoed in the expression "the heaven of heavens" (Deut. 10:14; 1 Ki. 8:27; Ps. 148:4). The OT, however, lacks a single, definitive and comprehensive cosmogony (→ Creation; and cf. A. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis*, 1963²).

The OT understanding of the world is throughout sober and rational, even if there are occasional echoes in poetical language of ancient mythological ideas. Thus heaven is said to have windows (Gen. 7:11; 2 Ki. 7:2) through which the waters restrained by the firmament can pour. Heaven rests on pillars (Job 26:11) or on foundations (2 Sam. 22:8). It is like a pitched → tent (Isa. 40:22; 44:24; Ps. 104:2). It is an unrolled scroll (Isa. 34:4; → Book, art. *biblos*) and can be torn (Isa. 64:1 [MT 63:19]). Together with the earth and the water under it, the heavens make up the universe (cf. Exod. 20:4; Ps. 115:15–17). But there is no word for universe in Heb. It is compared to a → house in which the heavens are like a loft (Ps. 104:3; Amos 9:6). In addition to the firmament, the air above the earth can also be called the heavens (e.g. Gen. 1:26; 6:7; → Demon, Air, art. *aēr*).

(b) Above the firmament there are the storehouses of snow, hail (Job 38:22), wind (Jer. 49:36; Job 37:9; Ps. 135:7), and likewise the waters (Ps. 33:7; Job 38:37) which return to heaven when it has rained (Job 36:27; Isa. 55:10).

(c) In the sense of horizontal expanse it is possible to speak of the four ends of heaven (Jer. 49:36; Zech. 2:6[10]; 6:5; Dan. 7:2). Man cannot ascend to heaven (Deut. 30:12; Prov. 30:4). The attempt to build a tower whose top will reach to heaven is arrogant folly which is punished (Gen. 11:4 ff.; → Babylon).

(d) Heaven is the embodiment of permanence (Deut. 11:21; Ps. 89:29[30]). On the other hand, prophetic preaching also refers to judgment on the heavens (Jer. 4:23–26; Isa. 13:13; 34:4; 50:3; 51:6); God's judgment is a cosmic catastrophe. Isaiah speaks of the creation of a new heaven (Isa. 65:17; 66:22).

(e) The "host of heaven" means the stars (Gen. 2:1; Deut. 4:19; Jdg. 5:20), or supernatural spiritual beings (1 Ki. 22:19; Job 1:6 ff.; → Spirit). This host is under a commander (Jos. 5:14); it has fiery horses (2 Ki. 2:11; 6:17). Under Assyrian influence the host of heaven became the object of worship, a practice against which the prophets protested (e.g. 2 Ki. 17:16; 21:3). In Deut. 4:19 the host of heaven is assigned to the peoples of the world for worship (cf. NEB).

(f) In the OT, however, heaven is never accorded any ruling function. This is shown, for example, in the fact that the stars in the firmament are merely lights which serve to divide up the calendar (Gen. 1:14). They are not, therefore, considered to be gods, or the manifestations or vehicles of gods. The ancient oriental viewpoint has, in this respect, been radically demythologized. Astrological ideas which elsewhere were richly developed in the East appear only on the periphery (Deut. 18:9 ff.; Isa. 47:13; Jer. 10:2).

(g) Ancient oriental concepts also lie behind the correspondence between the heavenly and the earthly, especially in the case of things which have a sacral value. Thus, in the priestly view, the Tabernacle was built following a heavenly model (Exod. 25:9, 40). Ezekiel speaks of a scroll which already pre-existed in heaven (Ezek. 2:9 ff.; cf. Isa. 34:5 on God's sword). The future, i.e. the whole eschatological order of salvation, is prefigured and already exists or has happened in heaven,

so that it precedes the earthly event (Zech. 2 f.). The → "Son of man," as the personification of the eschatological people of God, is already present in heaven (Dan. 7:13 ff.).

2. *Yahweh and heaven.* (a) More important for faith than these cosmological concepts is the statement that Yahweh created the heavens and the earth, i.e. the whole universe (Gen. 1:1; cf. Isa. 42:5; Ps. 33:6). Like the whole creation, the firmament and the heavens praise Yahweh (Ps. 19:1[2]). The heavenly beings praise Yahweh because of his acts, for everything that happens on earth reveals God's glory (Ps. 29:9; → Glory, art. *doxa*).

(b) Many interpret passages like Jdg. 5:4 f., Deut. 33:2 and Hab. 3:3, to mean that in an earlier period Yahweh was conceived as dwelling on Sinai from which he came and intervened in history, while later people believed that Yahweh dwelt on Zion (Amos 1:2; Isa. 8:18). But religious interest did not centre on Yahweh's dwelling, but on the God who deals with Israel and the nations. So apparently contradictory statements can stand side by side. In 1 Ki. 8:12–13 Yahweh is said to dwell in the darkness of the Holy of Holies, i.e. in the → Temple. 1 Ki. 8:27, on the other hand, says that the whole of heaven could not contain him.

(c) As Israel entered into deeper contact with Canaanite religion, it took from the cult of Baal an important expression which it assimilated to its own faith in Yahweh. Yahweh was now described as the God or king of heaven, and this title became in fact very popular (Ezr. 5:11 f.; 6:9 f.; 7:12, 21, 23; Dan. 2:18 f., 28, 37, 44; cf. Gen. 11:5; 24:3; Ps. 29:10). It could now be said that Yahweh, like the Canaanite gods, rides on the clouds (Deut. 33:26; Ps. 68:4[5]; cf. 18:10[11]; Isa. 19:1). As king of heaven, Yahweh had built his palace upon the heavenly ocean (Ps. 104:3). Like the Ugaritic father god, El, Yahweh was imagined as enthroned in heaven, surrounded by heavenly beings and taking → counsel with them (1 Ki. 22:19 ff.; Isa. 6:3 ff.; Job 1:6 ff.; Ps. 82:1; Dan. 7:9 ff.). It is remarkable how forcefully and how freely such originally foreign views could be accepted in Israel and transferred to Yahweh. The gods of the Canaanite pantheon had become Yahweh's servants. So Yahweh is the only God in heaven above and on earth below (Deut. 4:39; 10:14).

(d) This view of Yahweh as enthroned in heaven eventually obliterated completely the old view of the God of Sinai: Yahweh came down from his dwelling above the firmament (Exod. 24:9 ff.) to Sinai (Exod. 19:18). Above all according to the theology of Deut., Yahweh dwells in heaven and speaks from there (Deut. 4:36; 12:5, 11, 21; 26:15; etc.). Only his "Name" (*šēm*;→ Name) dwells on earth, according to this view, and that only in the → Temple in → Jerusalem. Further reflection still is revealed in the statement that all heaven cannot contain Yahweh (1 Ki. 8:27; Ps. 113:5 f.). Neither the visible nor the invisible world could enclose Yahweh, for they were after all both created by him. But in any case he is superior to them and does not allow himself to be confined in any way in them.

(e) Just as Yahweh is in heaven, his → Word which remains eternally has its place in heaven (Ps. 89:2[3]; 119:89). The godly man, praying in his need, complains that Yahweh is hidden (Lam. 3:4), and asks him to rend the heavens and come down (Isa. 64:1 [MT 63:19]). Yahweh who dwells in heaven is invoked in prayer (Deut. 26:15; 1 Ki. 8:30), while the suppliants raise their hands to heaven (Exod. 9:29, 33). The same thing happens at the taking of an oath (Deut. 32:40).

(f) It is possible for Yahweh to take chosen people to himself in heaven (Gen. 5:24; 2 Ki. 2:11; cf. Ps. 73:24). This is a particular favour and honour, for on the OT view heaven is not otherwise the place where the dead or the soul go (cf. → Hell, art. *hadēs*).

3. *The LXX and late Judaism.* (a) With few exceptions, *ouranos* in the LXX (667 times) always occurs as the rendering of *šāmayim*. It is in the plur., 51 times, a usage introduced through the LXX but unknown in secular Gk. It may be explained as translation Gk. (for the Heb. *šāmayim* is plur.) and as a plur. of completeness (above all in the Pss.). In later writings the frequency of the plur. increases considerably, indicating that the ancient oriental conception of several heavens had begun to have an effect (2 Macc. 15:23; 3 Macc. 2:2; Wis. 9:10; Tob. 8:5, etc.).

In Judaism the tendency to avoid the use of God's name became increasingly stronger (cf. Exod. 20:7). In its place substitutes were used, among them "heaven" (1 Macc. 3:18 f.; 4:10 f.; 12:15; Pirke Aboth 1:3, 11). Later even heaven was replaced (e.g. by *māqôm*, place). *ouranios* only occurs 9 times in the LXX, for the God of Israel (1 Esd. 6:15; → Lord, art. *kyrios*), his power (Dan. 4:23; → Might, art. *exousia*), the angels as a heavenly army (4 Macc. 4:11; cf. Lk. 2:13), and the children of God (2 Macc. 7:34). *epouranios* only occurs 7 times in the LXX.

(b) Contact with the intellectual climate of the ancient East resulted in a variety of cosmological speculations in pseudepigraphic and Rab. writings. In them apocalyptists and Rabbis undertake journeys to heaven and give revelations about things on the other side, but no generally binding doctrines about these things were ever arrived at. Some apocalyptic writings know only of one heaven (Eth. Enoch, 4 Esd., Syr.Bar.). Others speak of three heavens (Test. Lev. 2 f., according to the original text), of five heavens (Gr. Bar.). Sl. Enoch, Test. Abr., and Rab. tradition speak of seven heavens. A further result of eastern influence is the doctrine that everything corresponds to an archetype and pattern in heaven, and that all earthly existence and events are prefigured in heaven (→ *anō*). Astronomical instruction is given allegedly as revelations from the → angels (Eth. Enoch 72–82; Jub.). But also we are shown all meteorological phenomena (rain, sun, etc.) coming from heaven, where they are kept in store-houses. Angels are set over both as controllers and supervisors.

(c) In certain writings → Paradise is located in heaven, either in the third (Sl. Enoch 8:1–8; Ass. Mos. 37), or especially in Rab. tradition in the seventh. Even → hell (art. *gehenna*) can be located in heaven. After death the righteous go to heavenly dwelling-places.

There are many traditions about the heavenly Jerusalem. Speculation was particularly concerned with God's throne in heaven (in connection with Ezek. 1 f.; Exod. 24:9–11; 1 Ki. 22:19 ff.; Isa. 6:1 ff.; Dan. 7:9 f.) and with the → angels in heaven, their names, classes and functions. It was believed that God was worshipped in a heavenly cultus, the archangel Michael sacrificed on a heavenly altar, and the heavenly beings sang songs of praise.

Finally, → Satan is also to be found in heaven. In connection with OT traditions he is viewed as the → accuser of men before God (cf. Job 1 f.), and also as an evil power opposed to God. Jewish traditions about the heavenly treasure-houses are important (→ Possessions, art. *thēsauros*). In them are kept, e.g., the good works

of men, and also the heavenly → books and tablets on which are written the fate of earthly beings. Also recorded are the → rewards and punishments that await the last → judgment.

(d) Philo combined Gk. and OT ideas. The *ouranos noētos*, the immaterial heaven of conceptual thinking present only in idea (*Spec.Leg.*, 1, 302; *Op.Mund.* 29; *Decal.* 102), must be distinguished from the *ouranos aisthētos*, the tangible heaven which must not be deified (*Op. Mund.*, 117). The visible heaven depends on both spiritual and earthly things. Heaven actualizes the unity of the whole cosmos. Philo speaks of the heavenly man as *ouranios*, a copy of God (*Op.Mund.*, 82). In so far as every man is a part of him, every man is also an inhabitant of heaven. Correspondingly Philo can talk about heavenly and earthly virtues. (See further H. Traub, *TDNT* V 502 f.)

NT In the NT *ouranos* occurs 272 times; most frequently in Matt. (82 times) especially in the phrase *basileia tōn ouranōn*, the → kingdom of heaven. *ouranos* occurs 34 times in the writings of Luke (of which 26 are in Acts); 18 times each in Mk. and Jn.; 21 times in Paul and 52 in Rev. Apart from Matt., it occurs mostly in the sing. *ouranios* occurs only 9 times, of which 7 are in Matt. in the phrases "your heavenly Father" (5:48; 6:14, 26, 32; 23:9) and "my heavenly Father" (15:13; 18:35). Behind this there lies an Aram. phrase which is translated in other passages (e.g. 18:19) by "my [your] Father in heaven." *epouranios* is found 18 times in the NT, of which 11 are in Paul, 6 in Heb. and one in Jn. In contrast to the very limited use of *ouranios*, *epouranios* is the adj. which was clearly preferred and which later prevailed.

1. *Conceptions of the world.* (a) The NT also presupposes ancient eastern world views. Rev. makes the most statements about heavenly beings and objects, but the interest is not cosmological but theological and soteriological. There is clearly no attempt to give definitive instruction about the geography of heaven as in certain Rab. writings (cf. above OT 3). In this context it is striking that there is never any mention of several heavens but only of one. The only passage in the NT which, in agreement with Rab. teaching, speaks of three heavens is 2 Cor. 12:2–4, but we are not given any more precise information (cf. P. E. Hughes, *Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1962, 432 ff.). As in the OT, the expression "heaven and earth" means the universe (Matt. 5:18, 34 f.; 11:25; 24:35; Lk. 12:56, etc.). Occasionally a reference to the sea is added, giving rise to a tripartite formula (Acts 4:24; 14:15; Rev. 14:7). Since, according to this world picture, heaven is "above" (→ *anō*), people raise their hands or their eyes towards it (Mk. 6:41 par. Matt. 14:18, Lk. 9:16; Mk. 7:34; Lk. 18:13; Jn. 17:1; Acts 1:11; 7:55; Rev. 10:5). The air can also be called heaven (Matt. 6:26; 16:2; 8:20; Mk. 4:32; Lk. 8:5; Acts 10:12; 11:6). In heaven, i.e. the firmament, are set the stars (→ Sun, Moon, Stars) which in eschatological discourse about the parousia fall to the earth (Mk. 13:25 par. Matt. 24:29; Lk. 21:25; Rev. 6:13; 8:10; 9:1; 12:4 → Present, art. *parousia*). Portents are seen in heaven (Rev. 12:1, 3; 15:1; → Miracle, art. *sēmeion*). Jesus refused to perform a miracle from heaven (Mk. 8:11 f. par. Matt. 16:1). On the other hand, the beast (→ Animal), as → Antichrist, performs such miracles (Rev. 13:13).

(b) There are → angels in heaven as messengers and servants of God (Matt. 18:10; Mk. 12:25; 13:32 par. Matt. 24:36; Eph. 3:15; Rev. 12:7; 19:1). They

come from and return to heaven (Matt. 28:2; Lk. 2:15; 22:43; Gal. 1:8). They appear in the visions of John (Rev. 10:1; 18:1 etc.). → Satan is thrown out of heaven so that he may no longer → accuse Jesus' disciples (Lk. 10:18; Jn. 12:31; Rev. 12:12; cf. Isa. 49:13 LXX). At this, heaven and the martyrs in heaven rejoice (Rev. 18:20; 11:12; 7:14). It is at this point that a development begins in cosmological thinking which leads eventually to a fundamental difference between the late Jewish apocalyptic and the Christian views of heaven. Since Satan has been banished from heaven as the consequence of Jesus Christ's saving work, everything dark and evil vanishes from heaven, with the result that it becomes a world of pure light (thus in the post-NT writings which deal with the heavenly realm, e.g. Asc. Isa.). Where evil powers in heaven are mentioned, the reference is primarily to the air or to the firmament (Eph. 2:2; 3:10; 6:12; Acts 7:42). Their sphere of influence, therefore, is entirely this side of God's realm of light.

(c) In agreement with the OT it is stated that God created heaven and earth (Acts 4:24; 14:15; 17:24; Rev. 10:6; 14:7), and that he will re-create them (2 Pet. 3:13; Rev. 21:1). The present heaven is passing away like the earth (Mk. 13:31 par. Matt. 24:35, Lk. 21:32; Heb. 12:26; 2 Pet. 3:7, 10, 12; Rev. 20:11), but Jesus' words remain (Mk. 13:31 par. Matt. 24:35, Lk. 21:33). God is Lord of heaven and earth (Matt. 11:25; Acts 17:24; Matt. 5:34; Acts 7:49; cf. Isa. 66:1).

(d) God is said to dwell "in heaven", but there is never any evidence of reflection on the difficulties inherent in this statement. Occasionally God is referred to by the OT expression "God of heaven" (Rev. 11:13; 16:11). Heaven itself is God's throne (Matt. 5:34), and God's throne is said to be in heaven (Acts 7:49; Heb. 8:1; Rev. 4 f.). It follows from this (in correspondence with Rab. terminology, see above OT 3 (c)) that heaven can be used as a substitute for → God (Matt. 5:10; 6:20; Mk. 11:30; Lk. 10:20; 15:18, 21; Jn. 3:27), especially in Matt. in the expression "the kingdom of heaven" (3:2, 4:17; etc.; → Kingdom).

It is more important theologically that God is called → "Father in heaven" (Matt. 5:16, 45; 6:1, 9; 7:11, 21; 10:32 f.; 12:50): in Christ God turns towards man. Because God is in heaven his revelation takes place from heaven (Matt. 11:27). At Jesus' baptism and at other crises in his earthly ministry God's voice was heard from heaven (Mk. 1:11 par. Matt. 3:17, Lk. 3:22; Jn. 12:28; cf. Heb. 12:25). The seer heard voices from heaven (Rev. 10:4, 8; 11:12; 14:13; 18:4; 21:3), and the Holy → Spirit came down from heaven (Mk. 1:10 par. Matt. 3:16, Lk. 3:21; Acts 2:2; 1 Pet. 1:12). But in the same way God's wrath goes forth from heaven: in the form of the fire of judgment (Lk. 17:29; cf. 9:54; Rev. 20:9), and in general upon all the ungodliness and unrighteousness of men (Rom. 1:18).

(e) According to Acts 14:17, God gives rain and fruitful seasons *ouranothen*, from heaven, implying both the physical and spiritual source. The only other occurrence of the word is in Acts 26:13, where it is used as an alternative to *ek tou ouranou*, from heaven (cf. Acts 9:3; 22:6). In period of drought heaven is considered to have been shut up at God's command (Lk. 4:25; Jas. 5:17 f.; Rev. 11:6).

(f) The NT also speaks of treasures of salvation in heaven. → Rewards (art. *misthos*) are in heaven (Matt. 5:12 par. Lk. 5:23). There is treasure in heaven (Matt. 6:20). The → names of the disciples are recorded in heaven (Lk. 10:20; cf. Heb. 12:23). Their → inheritance is there also (1 Pet. 1:4). Christians have a building (2 Cor. 5:1 f. *oikodomē*; cf. → House) and their citizenship or their home

(Phil. 3:20) in heaven. There is mention of a heavenly → Jerusalem which is the Christians' true home (Gal. 4:26; Heb. 12:22; Rev. 3:12; 21:2; 10), and even of a → temple in heaven (Rev. 11:19; but cf. 21:22).

2. *Christological statements.* (a) The statements about heaven are particularly important when they stand in relation to → Jesus Christ. At his baptism the heavens opened, the Holy → Spirit descended upon him and God the Father acknowledged him (Matt. 3:16 f.; cf. above 1 (d)): the eschatological events began in Jesus and in him God was near. Heaven was open above him because he himself was now the door of heaven and of God's house (Bethel) on earth (Jn. 1:51; cf. Gen. 28:12). Jesus taught his disciples to pray that God's will would be done on earth as in heaven (Matt. 6:10; → Prayer, art. *proseuchomai*). When Jesus gave authority to Peter or to the disciples, their actions were valid in heaven, i.e. with God (Matt. 16:19; 18:19; → Bind; → Open).

Because their guardian angels behold God's face, Jesus taught that little ones come under his special protection (Matt. 18:10; → Large, art. *mikros*). The Dead Sea Scrolls witness to belief in angels sharing in the community's worship (1QSa 2:9 f.) and in their rôle as guardians of the meek and needy (1QH 5:20 ff.; cf. D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 1972, 275). The Jesus of Nazareth who stood before the Sanhedrin will sit at God's right hand (→ Hand, art. *dexios*) and come with the clouds of heaven (Mk. 14:62 par. Matt. 26:64, Lk. 22:69; cf. Ps. 110:1; Dan. 7:13). At the parousia the sign of the Son of man will appear in heaven (Matt. 24:30; → Son, art. *hyios tou anthrōpou*). The Son of man will gather his → elect from one end of heaven to the other (Mk. 13:27 par. Matt. 24:31; cf. Deut. 4:32; Zech. 2:6[10]). All power in heaven and on earth has been given to the Risen One (Matt. 28:18). He is the → Lord (art. *kyrios*) who has been raised to God's throne and to whom everything on earth and in heaven will pay homage (Phil. 2:10). He bestows the Holy Spirit from heaven and displays wonders and signs in heaven (Acts 2:17 f., 32–36). The Christian community is waiting for him to come to judge and to save (Phil. 3:20; 1 Thess. 1:10; 4:16; 2 Thess. 1:7). The disciple's task is to wait for the coming of the Lord, not to look up into heaven (Acts 1:10 f.). Heaven must receive Christ until the parousia (Acts 3:21). As the → Lamb (art. *amnos*) who has been exalted to God's throne, Christ has the power to open the sealed book and thus to set in motion the final phase of the world's history (Rev. 5:3, 5 f.). Therefore the whole of creation praises him (Rev. 5:11 ff.). This means, moreover, that Christ does not belong to the realm of the world, but to the realm of God. As the One who has come from heaven and returned there, Jesus Christ reveals himself as the true → bread (art. *artos*) from heaven, by means of which God bestows eternal life (Jn. 6:31 f., 38, 41 f., 50 f.; cf. Exod. 16:4, 13–15).

(b) As in the OT (Exod. 25:9), the earthly sanctuary in Heb. is a copy of the heavenly one. But as such it is only a shadow and the heavenly sanctuary is the only true and real one. This heavenly sanctuary is still, eschatologically speaking, to come (Heb. 8:5; 9:23 f.). Since Christ has entered the heavenly sanctuary, he has shown himself to be the true High → Priest (8:5). The Christian's calling to → faith is also *epouranios* (3:1; cf. Phil. 3:14). So too are the gifts, the eschatological salvation which Christians have tasted (6:4; 9:28). The homeland of the pilgrim people of God (11:16) and their Jerusalem, viewed as an eschatological → goal, are likewise *epouranios*, heavenly (12:22).

According to Heb., Jesus' exaltation (1:3; 8:1; → Height) signifies the fulfilment of his high priestly office. He has passed through the heavens and has been raised higher than they (4:14; 7:26; 9:11, 23 f.), since he has reached the very throne of God. There he has performed his real, true priestly service (8:1 f.), at the same time fulfilling and surpassing that of the OT. One cannot say in detail what cosmological perspectives underlie this statement. However, it seems clear that God is thought of here as not dwelling in heaven, i.e. not within his creation to which heaven of course belongs, but above or beyond the heavens. This idea is the outcome of reflection, although even here God's transcendence over his creation is still expressed in spatial terms.

(c) Certain special emphases are to be found in Eph. and Col. Christ is not only the agent of → creation (cf. 1 Cor. 8:6): primitive Christianity had no special belief in creation apart from belief in Christ. Christ was before anything created came to be, and he himself was not created (Col. 1:16). Christ is the instrument, the agent and the goal of creation; without him nothing can exist. Special emphasis is laid on the fact that everything, including the heavenly powers, was created "in Christ" and has been reconciled through him (Col. 1:15–23). The very heavenly powers were created solely for Christ (Col. 1:16; cf. 1 Cor. 15:24: Christ will destroy the heavenly powers). Christ is → head over all principalities and powers (cf. Col. 2:20). (On the background ideas see R. P. Martin, *Colossians: The Church's Lord and the Christian's Liberty*, 1972, 4–20.)

It is the exalted Christ who has penetrated all the heavenly spheres and come down to earth. He has broken through the barrier erected by the evil powers which isolated men from God (Eph. 1:10; 4:9; cf. Pss. 67:18[LXX]; 68:18[MT]; Rom. 9:5). Similarly Eph. 1:23 and 4:10 apply to Christ the OT statement that Yahweh fills heaven and earth. This is a consequence of the thought of Eph. 1:10 (cf. Col. 1:16, 20) that every created thing has its goal in Christ and has no independent existence apart from him. → Creation is strictly related to the redeemer and to → redemption. Creation and redemption, therefore, cannot be sundered in the gnostic fashion. Admittedly there are echoes of gnostic thought in the statement that heaven is filled with demonic powers which enslave men (Eph. 1:10–23; Col. 1:16 f.). The passages quoted, however, show equally that everything is understood as referring strictly to Christ (Col. 1:20), and creation is envisaged from the standpoint of redemptive history (Col. 1:16 f.).

Christ's exaltation (Phil. 2:9 f.) is expressed in Eph. 1:10 by means of the image of the primal man with → body and → head. Everything is bound together under Christ as head, whether on earth or in heaven (i.e. all the members of the body, the complete → "all"). There is no other realm but that of Christ. Eph. 3:15 puts it somewhat differently: heaven and earth are realms in which there are races or tribes (cf. Eth. Enoch 69:4; 71:1; 106:5; cf. the Rab. expression "higher families" for the angelic world) whose Father is God.

3. (a) In Jn. the word *ouranos*, heaven, only occurs in the sing. This is an indication that both gnostic and Jewish speculations about the heaven are absent. God's will to save and the salvation effected by Jesus Christ determine the statements about heaven. Jesus comes from heaven and returns there. In principle the Son of man who has come down from heaven has much to say about heaven (*epourania*) and the plans of God concealed there. But such statements would call forth an

even smaller response of faith than those he makes about God's present activity on earth (Jn. 3:12 f., 31 f.).

(b) 1 Cor. 15:40 refers to the bodily form of heavenly beings – whether stars or angelic powers. Christ, the pre-existent, risen and coming One, is the heavenly → man, whose image, i.e. whose bodily form, Christians will receive at the parousia (1 Cor. 15:48 f.). All beings, even the heavenly ones, will bow the knee before the risen and exalted Jesus Christ (Phil. 2:10 f.). God has raised Jesus to his right hand, *en tois epouraniois* (from *ta epourania*, a circumlocution for heaven), i.e. in heaven, and thus blessed Christians with spiritual blessing (Eph. 1:3, 20). For spiritually they have already risen with Christ and been exalted to heaven (Eph. 2:6; cf. Ps. 110:1). The manifold wisdom of God will be made known to the principalities and powers in heaven (Eph. 3:10; the same phrase as above): the saving work of Christ has cosmic significance. According to 2 Tim. 4:18, Christ's kingdom is *epouranios*, i.e. it possesses heavenly authority and glory, and it is therefore superior to every temptation and persecution which the apostle has to suffer. *H. Bietenhard*

→ Angel, → Demon, → Hand, → Height, → Hell, → Kingdom, → Myth, → Satan

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(b). G. Bertram, "Die Himmelfahrt Jesu vom Kreuz", *Festgabe für A. Deissmann*, 1927, 187–217; H. Bietenhard, *Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum*, *WUNT* 2, 1951; H. Diels, "Himmels- und Höllenfahrten von Homer bis Dante", *Neue Jahrbücher des klassischen Altertums*, 50, 1922, 239–52; R. Eisler, *Weltman telund Himmelszelt*, 1910; T. Flügge, *Die Vorstellung über den Himmel im Alten Testament* 1937; G. K. Frank, *Himmelund Hölle*, 1970; H. Gebhardt, "Der Himmel im Neuen Testament", *Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft und kirchliches Leben* 7, 1886, 555–75; H. Grass, *Ostergeschehen und Osterberichte*, 1970⁴; J. Haecke, J. Schmid, J. Ratzinger, *LTK* V 352–58; J. Heller, "Himmelund Möllenfahrt nach Römer 10, 6–7", *EuTh* 5, 1972, 478 ff.; R. Holland, "Zür Typik der Himmelfahrt", *ARW* 23, 1925, 207–220; F. H. Kettler, "Enderwartung und himmlischer Stufenbau im Kirchenbegriff des nachapostolischen Zeitalters", *TLZ* 79, 1954, 358 ff.; A. Klawek, "Der Himmel als Wohnung der Seligen im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter", *Collectanea Theologica*, 13, 1932, 111–24; G. Lohfink, "Der historische Ansatz der Himmelfahrt Christi", *Catholica*, 17, 1963, 44 ff.; E. Lohmeyer, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus*, *KEK* Sonderband, 1962³, 75 ff.; W. Michaelis, "Zur Uberlieferung der Himmelfahrtgeschichte", *ThBl* 4, 1925, 101–109; A. Oepke, "Unser Glaube an die Himmelfahrt Christi", *Luthertum*, 5, 1938, 161–86; G. Schille, "Die Himmelfahrt", *ZNW* 57, 1966, 183 ff.; H. Schlier, *Christus und die Kirche im Epherbrief*, *BHTh* 6, 1930; H. Westphal, "Jahves Wohnstätten", *ZAW* Beiheft 25, 1908, 251–73.

Height, Depth, Exalt

βάθος

βάθος (*bathos*), depth; βαθύς (*bathys*), deep.

CL 1. *bathos* is related linguistically to *bēssa* (Doric *bassa*), valley floor, cleft. There is also a close connection with *abyssos*, bottomless (lit. unfathomable; → Hell).

2. *bathos* expresses distance from the speaker, but not only downwards. It can be horizontal or even upwards. *bathos*, therefore, denotes the extension of a thing in any spatial dimension (cf. *bathos trichōn*, length of hair). In military usage *bathos* indicates the number of men standing behind one another. It is frequently used in conjunction with → *hypsos* to denote the full extent of an object in every dimension. Figuratively, *bathos* expresses: (a) the completeness, intensity, fullness or greatness of an object (especially in conjunction with *hypsos*), or of a human quality (wisdom, understanding, soul); and (b) inscrutability and hiddenness.

The derived adj. *bathys* has the same shades of meaning as the noun. The neut. form used as a noun, *to bathy*, means that which is deep-seated, that which comes from the bottom of the heart.

3. Hel. and especially gnostic religion took up the figurative meaning in speaking of the depth of deity and of → God as depth (Tert., *Adv. Val.* 1; Iren., *Haer.* 1, 21, 2; Hippol., *Haer.* 5, 6, 4; cf. H. Schlier, *TDNT* I 517). This last expression indicates that God was thought of primarily as a-personal and not as "Thou" or "He", as something static and inscrutable and not as the Living One, the Self-Revealing.

OT 1. In the OT (LXX) *bathos* is used chiefly as equivalent of Heb. *m^{e}ṣûlâh*. In its lit. meaning *bathos* is used only of the depth of the sea (Exod. 15:5; Neh. 9:11; Zech. 10:11). In its fig. sense *bathos* always denotes that which is separated from God. *bathos*, therefore, stands for the inner need of the man troubled by guilt and → sin (Ps. 130[129]:1) and for the external need of pressing circumstances (Ps. 69:2,14[68:3,15]). *bathos* expresses the most extreme separation from God (the depths of the sea, Jon. 2:4; Mic. 7:19) in passages where the frontier between literal and figurative meanings is fluid. In Ezek. *bathos* stands for *taḥtî* and thus for the underworld (cf. 26:20; 31:14, 18; 32:18 f., 24). Here, too, *bathos* expresses separation from God. Heb. *ma'^{a}maqqîm*, depths, is also rendered in the LXX *bathos* (Isa. 51:10 etc.), while the adj. *bathys* is used for the words in the *'āmōq* group (cf. Job 11:8; 12:22; Ps. 63[64]:6; Prov. 18:4).

2. It is significant that Heb. *t^{e}hôm* is not rendered *bathos* but *abyssos* (→ Hell). English versions nevertheless translate it by deep (cf. Gen. 1:2; Job 28:14). While *bathos* always contains the idea of separation from God, *abyssos* suggests a final, primeval, terrible and mysterious depth.

3. The Qumran texts speak of the depth of the mysteries of God (1QS 11:19; 1QM 10:11).

NT *bathos* appears 8 times in the NT; the adj. *bathys* 4. The literal sense occurs only in the Synoptics: depth of soil (Matt. 13:5 par. Mk. 4:5), the depth of the sea (Lk. 5:4). *bathys* is used figuratively in 2 Cor. 8:2 (deep poverty) to underline the extremity of the poverty. Elsewhere we find a figurative meaning related, not to the OT, but to Hel. and Rab. usage.

1. Rom. 11:33 and 1 Cor. 2:10 speak of the depth of God or the depth of the knowledge of God. This refers to the unfathomable nature of the ways and judgments of God, as opposed to the mere superficiality of human insight. But it also suggests the richness of the ways and means available to God in the pursuit of his plan of salvation. It is important that God is not reduced here to an impersonal "It". God is not described as the ultimate ground of all being, but as the One who has revealed himself in Jesus Christ in whom are hidden the ultimate mysteries. *bathos* reflects, therefore, the paradox of unveiling and veiling which is Christian → revelation.

2. Similarly, in Eph. 3:18 *bathos* occurs in conjunction with other spatial terms in order to express the comprehensiveness of God's grace and of salvation in Christ. Christian faith should not be satisfied with the fragmentary or the superficial.

3. On the other hand, in Rom. 8:39 *bathos* is linked with *hypsōma* (cf. Isa. 7:11), and clearly describes some kind of power which oppresses mankind. In astrology *bathos* is the part of heaven below the horizon from which the stars rise. Powers emanating from the stars are perhaps intended here. What is theologically decisive, however, is the statement that even the powers (of the stars) of the deep have been defeated by the power of the love of God in Jesus Christ – a statement of great relevance even today.

4. Of the four occurrences of the adj. *bathys* in the NT, only Rev. 2:24 is of theological significance (cf. Lk. 24:1; Jn. 4:11; Acts 20:9). Here the deep things of Satan are referred to, in parallel with the deep things of God. This takes up a slogan from a gnosticizing movement. What is meant is participation in all the ungodliness of this world (in order to "prove" the more effectively the power of grace and of salvation in Christ). To plunge into such depths, however, does not mean control over these powers but surrender to them and the consequent loss of salvation.

J. Blunck

ὕψος

ὕψος (*hypsos*), high; ὑψηλός (*hypsēlos*), high, exalted, proud; ὕψωμα (*hypsōma*), height, the exalted; ὕψιστος (*hypsistos*), highest, most exalted.

CL 1. *hypsos*, attested from Aeschylus on, denotes primarily extension upwards in space, height (only of things, not of people); figuratively (a) the superiority and exaltation of a thing or person over another; (b) unattainability. In the case of people *hypsos* could take the negative sense of → pride. In conjunction with → *bathos*, it denotes the complete dimensions and aspects of an object.

2. The adj. *hypsēlos*, attested from Homer on, was also originally spatial in meaning: high (buildings, plants, position), and was used figuratively in both a positive (sublime) and a negative sense (pompous, high-sounding). Secular Gk. had many compounds of *hypsēlos*, but none came into the NT. Instead, there is a new formation, *hypsēlophroneō*, to think highly (of oneself), to be proud (only 1 Tim. 6:17).

3. *hypsōma* is first attested in late Gk. after the translation of the LXX, meaning height, exaltation, what is exalted. It was always used in figurative senses, e.g. in Plutarch as an astrological term for the closest approach of a star to the zenith (opposite, *tapeinōma*) (Arndt, 858).

OT In the LXX *hypsos* stands for a variety of Heb. words (*qōmâh, mārôm, gāḇah*).

1. (a) It is used literally to denote the height of an object (the dark, Gen. 6:15 [LXX 6:16]; a mountain, 2 Ki. 19:23; Ps. 95 [LXX 94]:4; the Temple, Ezr. 6:3; a tree, Ezek. 31:14).

(b) Used absolutely, *hypsos* often denotes the heavenly realm (→ Heaven), the realm of God, that which is closely related to God (Heb. *mārôm*: Pss. 68:19 [LXX 67:18]; 102:20 [LXX 101:19]; 144[LXX 143]:7; Isa. 40:26; cf. Isa. 7:11; also frequently in the Qumran texts). It is thus the opposite of → *bathos* (that which is separated from God). Thus both *hypsos* and *hypsistos* (e.g. Gen. 14:18 f.; Ps. 17 [18]:13) can be simply a substitute for → God himself. (On *hypsistos* see Arndt, 858.)

(c) In relation to men, *hypsos* in Isa. 2:17 stands for human pride. In 1 Macc. 10:24 it has the sense of encouragement.

2. (a) The adj. *hypsēlos* occurs in the LXX in as great a variety of meanings as in secular Gk. (60 times for Heb. *bāmâh*; 43 times for derivatives of the root *gāḇah*; 31 times for *rûm*; 19 for *nāṭâh*). Used as a noun, it acquired special significance. More emphatic than *hypsos*, it denotes the realm of God (Ps. 93[LXX 92]:4; Lam. 1:13), the place where God dwells (Isa. 33:5, 16; 57:15). The Spirit from on high (Isa. 32:15) is the Spirit of God.

(b) However, in a remarkable reversal of this usage, the word is also used to translate Heb. *bāmôṯ*, the Canaanite shrines and pagan high places (Jer. 19:5; 2 Chr. 14:2; 17:6; Ezek. 6:3).

NT 1. *hypsos* in the spatial sense occurs only in Rev. 21:16 in the description of the measurements of the new Jerusalem. Similarly *hypsēlos* is used literally in Matt. 4:8; 17:1; Mk. 9:2 and Rev. 21:10, 12 of mountains and walls. In these contexts the dimensional aspect is uppermost, but there are symbolic overtones.

2. (a) In accord with OT usage, both words serve to denote the realm of God or his dwelling (Lk. 1:78) to which Jesus is exalted (Eph. 4:8 citing Ps. 68:19, → Heaven, art. *anabainō*; Heb. 1:3; cf. Ps. 110:1) to sit at God's right → hand interceding for men (cf. Heb. 9:24). Even in the figurative meaning the spatial concept – in accordance with the ancient view of the world – still remains in the background (→ Heaven). But it is not primary, for it has been transcended by the non-spatial. This is seen most clearly in Heb. 7:26. *hypsēlos* here acquires the meaning of the wholly other in contrast to what man and the cosmos can conceive.

In gnostic systems the thought is of the place, the sanctuary of God, beyond the heavenly spheres, which are filled with → angels and powers. This may be compared with the Epistle to the Hebrews where the exaltation of Christ is pictured in terms of the Day of Atonement ritual (cf. chs. 9–10 with Lev. 16). Having penetrated these heights, the high-priest Jesus Christ has been installed to exercise his sovereignty. In this exaltation he experiences fulfilment because of his obedience in suffering, which reached its climax in Jesus' sacrifice of himself on the cross (→ *hypsoō*). "But, above all, the doctrine of the sanctifying sacrifice on the cross is fitted into a scheme of thought in which the going up to heaven is the really important event. In the Epistle to the Hebrews this going up to heaven corresponds to the High Priest's going into the Sanctuary. This however cannot be done without a sacrifice. Thus the sacrifice on the cross opens to the new High Priest the way to heaven" (E. Schweizer, *Lordship and Discipleship*, 1960, 72).

(b) Lk. 24:49 speaks of power from on high. Here likewise *hypsos* is a periphrasis for → God and stands on the same footing as Rab. formulae for avoiding the Divine Name. The same is true of *hypsistos*, the Highest (e.g. Lk. 1:32, 35, 76; Acts 7:48). Acts 13:17 also reflects OT ideas (cf. Exod. 6:6). The arm is an expression of the might and power of God. Describing this arm as *hypsēlos*, raised, stretched out, is a vivid way of expressing the idea that God's power is not in repose but in action.

3. (a) In Jas. 1:9 *hypsos* appears in contrast with *tapeinōsis* (→ Humility, art. *tapeinos*), and is therefore best rendered "exaltation" (RSV; cf. "high position", Arndt, 858). The passage refers to the salvation already given and yet still to come in Christ which paradoxically reverses all human relationships and in the faith exalts those who are lowly. The poor man (which in Jas. is a religious term virtually synonymous with Christian) is to hold fast here and now to this eschatological exaltation by faith.

(b) On the other hand, since this exaltation is not something the Christian earns for himself for a quality which he possesses in himself but is Christ's gift to him, he can be commanded not to think of himself as *hypsēlos* (Rom. 11:20) but to associate with the lowly (Rom. 12:16). Since exaltation is the work of God, every personal desire for exaltation is an abomination to him (Lk. 16:15).

4. The NT use of *hypsōma* probably reflects astrological ideas (see CL 3), and hence denotes cosmic powers. Rom. 8:39 and 2 Cor. 10:5 are both concerned with powers directed against God, seeking to intervene between God and man. They are possibly related to the *stoicheia tou kosmou*, the elemental powers of this world, (cf. Col. 2:8, 20). However high and mighty they may seem, they are to be strenuously resisted (2 Cor. 10:5) in the knowledge that not even they can separate the Christian from Christ (Rom. 8:39). *J. Blunck*

ὑψόω

ὑψόω (*hypsoō*), exalt, raise; *ὑπερυψόω* (*hyperhypsoō*), raise above all heights.

CL For etymology → *hypsos*. The idea of exaltation played an important role in the myths which were a part of the religious background of the OT. This is illustrated by the concept of exaltation in the Babylonian creation epic, Enûma Elish (*c.* 1000 B.C.; cf. A. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis*, 1963²; *ANET*, 60–72) which begins "When above the heaven had not (yet) been named". The mythological introduction to the work describes the struggle of the Babylonian god Marduk with the gods of chaos (the sea-dragon, Tiamat, and the primal usurper of divine sovereignty, Kingu). The victorious Marduk created the material world out of the divided halves of Tiamat and men out of the blood of Kingu. He is therefore raised in the assembly of the gods to the position of sovereignty over the world. He then correspondingly raises his earthly representative, Hammurabi, and installs him as ruler over men.

A text from the Egyptian king myth (14th cent. B.C.) which belongs to the coronation liturgy of the god-king, also related how pharaoh Thut-mose III was raised by the sun god Rê himself to the realm of light, and there crowned and installed as the god's son (cf. *ANET*, 373 ff.).

The significance of exaltation is different in the Babylonian myths of Adapa (A. Heidel, op. cit., 147–53; *ANET*, 101 ff.) and Etana (*ANET*, 114 ff.). Adapa was the man who worked his way up to heaven and could not obtain the food of life there. The enterprise foundered on the punitive justice of the gods, who reduce man to the confines appointed to him. In the myth of Etana, Etana tried in vain to reach Ishtar's throne in heaven on the back of an eagle which was under an obligation to him. His aim was to achieve immortality without dying. Both myths involve an attempt at exaltation through man's own efforts, whereas in the Babylonian creation myth and the Egyptian king myth the exaltation is the work of the gods.

OT *hypsoō* occurs 150 times in the LXX, standing 94 times for the Heb. *rûm* and its derivatives, 19 for *gāḇah* and its derivatives (9 out of 13 in Ezek.), 12 each for *gāḏal* and *nāśā'*. *hyperhypsoō* occurs about 50 times, and has a Heb. equivalent in only 4. The basic meaning is exalt (Pss. 18 [LXX 17]:46; 27 [LXX 26]:5, 6; 30 [LXX 29]:1; 34 [LXX 33]:3; 57 [LXX 56]:5, 11; 108 [LXX 107]:5; Exod. 15:2; Ezek. 28:2), be high (Pss. 89 [LXX 88]:13; 61 [LXX 60]:2); then by extension to stretch out (mostly of the hand, Isa. 23:4), to be loud (to raise the voice, Isa. 37:23; 52:8), to grow (Ezek. 31:4, 10), to bring up (Isa. 14:26), to be beautiful (Isa. 4:2; Ps. 89 [LXX 88]:16; EVV exalt, extol), to praise (Pss. 107 [LXX 106]:32; 118 [LXX 117]:28; EVV to exalt, extol). In the OT God alone has the right to exalt (and also to bring low, 1 Sam. 2:7). Man always runs the risk, therefore, of overreaching himself by self-exaltation. Thus in a few passages *hypsoō* acquires the meaning to be proud, haughty, presumptuous, arrogant (Pss. 37 [LXX 36]:20; 131 [LXX 130]:1, 2; Ezek. 28:5).

For the LXX, exaltation no longer has the same meaning as in the Babylonian and Egyptian myths. Nor does it have the same meaning as in the dualistic redemption teaching of Hel. syncretism, where in a mystical and mythological system the concept of exaltation achieved decisive importance (cf. especially the excellent essay by G. Bertram referred to in the bibliography). The following LXX usages are theologically significant.

(a) The exaltation of the righteous, i.e. of all those who in their extreme need through poverty, oppression, or deprivation of rights (→ Humility, art. *praÿs*) seek help from Yahweh alone (cf. Pss. 37 [LXX 36:34]; 89 [LXX 88:17]; 112 [LXX 111:9]). "In so far as it speaks of the exaltation of men, the LXX is concerned with a sociological question which as such is drawn into the light of revelation" (G. Bertram, op. cit., 71). The righteous man who encounters God experiences exaltation in his every-day circumstances lifting his life to a new plane. Thus the righteous man is promised a positive transformation of his present situation through Yahweh's intervention.

(b) The exaltation of God by the individual worshipper or the congregation. Behind this in the background is the liturgy for the festival of the god's enthronement in the Egyptian king myth which is important for the origin of the concept, but is no longer of any real significance. In the LXX the exaltation of God has already become a liturgical formula by which worshippers pay homage to God (e.g. Ps. 99 [LXX 98]:5, 9), and in which they acknowledge their loyalty to Yahweh as cosmic Lord above all other gods (cf. Ps. 97 [LXX 96]:9). Personal piety, however,

also expresses itself by means of this liturgical formula: "magnify the Lord and let us exalt his name" (Ps. 34 [LXX 33]:3). In the OT the exaltation of Yahweh includes the exaltation of his people. The instalment of the earthly ruler in the enthronement Psalm corresponds to it (cf. Bertram, 50; cf. Ps. 148:14).

(c) Self-exaltation, i.e. the exaltation that man seeks to bring about in independence of the God who claims his obedience and provides for his needs (cf. Ps. 75 [LXX 74]:4, 5). By exalting himself and in self-gratification relying on his own strength, man places himself in opposition to God and calls forth Yahweh's humbling intervention (Ps. 75 [LXX 74]:7; Isa. 2:11, 17).

To sum up, the LXX, in so far as it relies on the MT, has taken over the concept of exaltation from the latter's religious environment, but has consistently demythologized it. Exaltation is a means of expressing God's saving activity in the realm of earthly affairs and of testifying to man's gratitude in worship and praise. Negatively it expresses man's disobedient self-assertion.

2. The apocalyptic writings of post-canonical Jewish literature were much more receptive to mythological ideas. Recalling Moses' ascent to the mountain of God, temporary exaltation, understood realistically or ecstatically, became in the apocryphal tradition the vehicle of divine revelations (cf. Eth.Enoch 39:3; 52:1; 89:52; 90:31; 2 Esd. 14:9, 49; Gr.Bar. 2 ff.).

The righteous are promised a place in → heaven at a final exaltation (Dan. 7:22; Syr.Bar. 13:3). Enoch's translation in the books associated with his name, during which he received his revelations close to God, plays a special role in this context. As son of man he is exalted to the highest heaven to the lord of spirits (Eth. Enoch 70 ff.).

The way of the righteous as it is described in Wis. 2: 10–20; 3: 7–10; 4:10 and 5: 1–5 is also particularly worth mentioning. The ungodly do violence to the righteous man because he boasts of knowing God. He is ill-treated and killed so that God may demonstrate whether he is his son. God exalts him, and men do not understand. At the final judgment the righteous will oppose his adversaries to their terror, and will receive the kingdom of glory. "The way of the righteous one depicted here is even in many details the way which Jesus has actually gone" (E. Schweizer, *Lordship and Discipleship*, 1969, 30).

3. Exaltation was understood differently in the mystery religions. Through the mysteries the way to exaltation was revealed to the soul, a way which the redeemer had trodden already. This way lead to a personal exaltation with the rebirth of the devotee. Here too exaltation received soteriological significance: it was the path to redemption which could be anticipated in ecstatic experience (→ Knowledge, art. *ginōskō* CL 2; on this subject see G. Wagner, *Pauline Baptism and the Mystery Religions*, 1967).

NT *hypsoō* occurs 20 times in the NT. It means to make great, as in Paul's speech in Acts 13:17 (the God, who made the people of Israel great in Egypt); to exalt (12 times as a contrast to bring low). The theologically important passages are those in which *hypsoō* denotes the exaltation of Jesus (6 times: Jn. 3:14; 8:28; 12:32, 34; Acts 2:33; 5:31).

1. Behind the sayings on self-abasement and self-exaltation (Matt. 23:12; Lk. 14:11; 18:14) lies the basic form of the two-part OT Jewish *māšāl* (cf. Job 22:29;

Prov. 29:23; Sir. 3:18; and also OT 1 (a)). The righteous, lowly, humble and suffering man is promised exaltation as a → reward. This teaching acquired a new significance in the context of the message of Jesus. Jesus put the whole of human life once more on the basis of obedience towards God (→ Hear). In so far as the Pharisees ascribed respect and honour to themselves, they were denying God the obedience of service. The true disciple must be ready to follow Jesus along the path of humility to suffering (cf. Lk. 14:27), in order selflessly to serve the despised, his neighbour. He is promised exaltation at the resurrection (Lk. 14:13 f.) and the fulfilment at the eschatological judgment of the promises made in the beatitudes (Matt. 5:1–12). This still future exaltation means justification before God in the final judgment on the ground of discipleship. However, the immediate present already takes on a new form for the disciple in anticipation. The man who exalts himself is the man who, having attempted to secure his life, will lose it in God's eschatological judgment (cf. Lk. 17:33; cf. also Lk. 1:52; 10:12, 15 par. Matt. 10:15). In their exhortations, therefore, 1 Pet. 5:6 and Jas. 4:10 warn Christians to submit to God (or to his → hand), in order to share in exaltation in the future → glory.

2. (a) The first christological statements, following the description of the way of the righteous in Israel, clearly see the resurrection and the exaltation of Jesus together. This is particularly plain in Acts 2:33 and 5:31 which describe as exaltation Jesus' resurrection and his installation as Lord (cf. 2:36). As these passages suggest a different emphasis to the Lucan theology of the ascension in Acts 1, we must be dealing here with earlier tradition. According to this tradition, the Easter event was *the* decisive event for salvation, because in it the crucified One was installed as Lord and Christ, i.e. exalted (Acts 2:36). Jesus' exaltation signifies the completion of God's action in his → anointed and at the same time the beginning, continuance and the expected fulfilment of Christ's Lordship over church and world.

(b) The concept of exaltation also occurs in the hymn quoted by Paul in Phil. 2:5–11 (2:9 *hyperhypsōsen*). Jesus' humiliation (vv. 6–8) is contrasted with his exaltation (vv. 9–11). His exaltation is the consequence of his obedience in suffering and consists in his designation as sovereign, not only over the community of believers but over the whole universe. In granting to Jesus the new name of → Lord (*Kyrios*), believers acknowledge in his exaltation Christ's victory, i.e. a transfer of authority over the universe (cf. Col. 1:19, 20). (On Phil. 2:5–11 → Empty, art. *kenos*; → Form, arts. *morphē* and *schēma*.) Similar statements expressed in different language occur frequently in the NT: e.g. Rom. 1:4 "designated [*horisthentos*] Son of God" (→ Determine, art. *horizō*); 1 Tim. 3:16 "taken up [*anelēmphthē*] in glory". In this exaltation (1 Tim. 3:16) "Jesus is 'vindicated'. This is also the oldest comment in which the Easter events constitute the justification of the way of Jesus. They demonstrate that Jesus was 'the Righteous One' " (E. Schweizer, op. cit., 65). Justification resulted in the victorious return to the Father and in the enthronement of the Saviour. "Here even more than in Phil. 2:9–11 it is emphasized that his dominion is so all-embracing that it has welded heaven and earth together again" (E. Schweizer, op. cit., 66).

(c) The concept of exaltation plays an important part in the christology of Jn., where it is used, as frequently in the OT, in parallel with glorification, *doxazō*

(→ Glory, art. *doxa*; e.g. Jn. 17:5 see above OT 1). The idea of exaltation plays a similar part in the christology of Heb., although the word *hypsoō* itself is not used (cf. 2:7 "crowned"; 1:9 "anointed"; 1:13; 10:12; 12:2 "seated at the right hand of God"; 5:5). Jn. takes over the idea of the exaltation of the righteous, as it had already appeared in the LXX but where it had been understood historically in terms of this world, or psychologically. But more particularly Jn. takes over the form of the idea present in Jewish apocryphal writing (Eth.Enoch, 2 Esd., Jub., Syr. Bar). and in Rab. literature, and corrects it. The object of this correction is to show that there is only *one* exaltation, the exaltation of Christ (3:14; 8:28; 12:32, 34). Like *anabainō* (→ Heaven), *hypsoō* is a periphrasis for the return of the revealer from the world to his heavenly home (cf. R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 1971, 152 f.). If, with E. Schweizer, we accept that Jesus saw himself as the → Son of man, in order in this one term to embrace the double nature of his activity as of this world in humiliation and suffering and as exalted in full authority and glory (op. cit., 41), then Jn. uses this idea consistently and already describes the crucifixion as the exaltation of Jesus (Jn. 3:14; 8:28; cf. 12:34). In a unique ambiguity the concept of exaltation is applied both to the physical act of being lifted up on the cross and to the exaltation to new glory, power and honour. This can only be understood on the basis of Jn.'s view of Jesus' death as the ultimate consequence and goal of his obedience. This means that in the eyes of the world, his goal is nothing more than the lifting up on the cross. "Yet they do not suspect that by 'lifting him up' they themselves make him their judge. The double-meaning of 'lifting up' is obvious. They lift Jesus up by crucifying him; but it is precisely through his crucifixion that he is lifted up to his heavenly glory as the Son of Man. At the very moment when they think that they are passing judgment on him he becomes their judge" (Bultmann, op. cit., 350). By contrast, the believer recognizes in Jesus' obedience unto death his complete oneness with the Father, and thus knows that the crucifixion is the return of the Son to glory, and redemption for the believer (Jn. 12:32). The lifting up on the cross, therefore, is the beginning of exaltation into the glory of the Father. The Johannine teaching on exaltation is Jn.'s counterpart to the realistic presentations of the ascension in the synoptics.

(d) The statements about the humiliation of God in Jesus Christ and his exaltation have affinities with views from the OT, from extra-canonical and Rab. Jewish writings and from gnostic thought. In the NT as in the OT exaltation is, however, understood not in terms of myth but of history. Despite the great variety of christological statements and developments in the NT, there is one essential concern which is contained in the concept of the exaltation of Jesus and is preserved in all the NT writings. It is that the crucified is the One whom God has called to life to be Lord of the dead and of the living (Rom. 14:9), who has conquered every power and dominion including sin and death, so that under his Lordship the company of believers may go on its way comforted. *D. Müller*

→ Heaven, → Hand, → Hell

(a). K. Barth, "The Exaltation of the Son of Man", *CD* IV 2, 3–377; G. Bertram, *hypsos* etc. *TDNT* 602–20; O. Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament*, 1959; E. Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon*, *Hermeneia*, 1971; G. H. C. Macgregor, "Principalities and Powers: the Cosmic Background to Paul's Thought", *NTS* 1, 1954-55, 17–28; K. H. Schelkle, "Exaltation", *EBT* I 242 f.; H. Schlier, *bathos*, *TDNT* I 517 f.; E. Schweizer, *Lordship and Discipleship*, 1960; P. H.

Vaughan, *The Meaning of 'bāmâ' in the Old Testament: A Study of Etymological Textual and Archaeological Evidence*, *Society for Old Testament Study Monograph Series 3*, 1974. On passages in the Psalms see the commentaries by A. A. Anderson, I–II (*New Century Bible*, 1972) and A. Weiser (*Old Testament Library*, 1962).
(b). G. Bertram, "Der religionsgeschichtliche Hintergrund der Erhöhung in der LXX", *ZAW* 68, 1956, 57 ff.; H. Bleienstein, "Der erhöhte Christus", *Geist und Leben* 27, 1954, 84–90; J. Daniélou, "La session à la droite du Père", in *The Gospels Reconsidered: A Selection of Papers read at the International Congress on the Four Gospels in 1957*, 1960, 68–77; W. Thüsing, *Die Erhöhung und Verherrlichung Jesu im Johannesevangelium*, *Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen* 21, 1, 1960; A. Vergote, "L'exaltation du Christ en croix selon le quatrième évangile", *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 28, 1952, 5–23.

Hell, Abyss, Hades, Gehenna, Lower Regions

In speaking about the ultimate fate of the dead the Bible makes use of a variety of concepts. In some cases they are simply taken over under outside religious influence, but in others there has been a subsequent characteristic transformation. There is no unified picture of an unambiguously formulated doctrine, and the power of → death must also be seen in the light of the victory of the → cross. *hadēs* is the temporary abode of the dead, to which they are banished. It is not clear whether the rare term *katōteros* stands for the depths of the human world, threatened by death, or the depths of the realm of the dead itself. Judaism is the source of the two terms *abyssos* and *gehenna*. *abyssos* means a particular place of terror which constitutes a refuge for demons; *gehenna* is the eschatological fiery hell to which the ungodly will be eternally condemned at the last → judgment. → Heaven; → Life; → Paradise; → Time.

ἄβυσσος ἄβυσσος (*abyssos*), abyss, pit, underworld.

CL & OT *abyssos* is really an adj., meaning bottomless, unfathomable. Used by itself with the noun *gē* (earth) understood, it means a bottomless place, hence abyss. In late Gk. the word stood for the primal deep, the primal ocean, the realm of the dead, the underworld.

It occurs about 25 times in the LXX, mostly to translate Heb. *t*ehôm*, the primal ocean (Gen. 1:2), deep waters (Ps. 42:7 [LXX 41:7]), the realm of the dead (Ps. 71:20 [LXX 70:20]). Rab. Judaism also maintained the meaning primal flood for *t*ehôm*. However, the word also stands for the interior of the earth, where bodies are found which cause uncleanness. The abyss also came to stand for the prison of fallen spirits (Eth.Enoch 10:4 ff.; 18:11 ff.; Jub. 5:6 ff.).

NT In the NT *abyssos* is the prison for → demons (Lk. 8:31; Rev. 9:1 f.). It is closed, but the smoke of subterranean fires rises from it (Rev. 9:1 f.). It is ruled by a prince – not → Satan (Rev. 9:11). Weird creatures emerge from it (Rev. 9:3 ff.), as does the beast (→ Animal; → Antichrist, Rev. 11:7; 17:8). Satan is bound in it for the thousand years' reign (Rev. 20:1, 3).

Rom. 10:7 f., following the LXX of Ps. 106:26 (MT 107:26), uses the word to describe the realm of the dead. It is impossible for a living man to descend into the *abyssos*. *H. Bietenhard*

ᾅδης

ᾅδης (*hadēs*), Hades, the underworld, the realm of the dead.

CL The etymology of the word *hadēs* is uncertain. It either comes from *idein* (to see) with the negative prefix, *a-*, and so would mean the invisible; or it is connected with *aianēs*, and would have meant originally gloomy, gruesome.

hadēs occurs in Homer (in the form of *Aïdēs*) as the proper name of the god of the underworld (*Il.*, 15, 188), while in the rest of Gk. literature it stands for the underworld as the abode of the dead who lead a shadowy existence in it (cf. Hesiod, *Theog.* 455; Homer, *Od.* 4, 834). After Homer it can mean the grave, death. Only gradually did the Gks. also attach to the concept the ideas of → reward and → punishment. The good and the righteous were rewarded in *hadēs*, the wicked and the godless received a variety of punishments there. In cl. Gk. it is also spelled *Aïdēs* (Ionic), *Aïdas* (Doric).

OT 1. In the LXX *hadēs* occurs more than 100 times, in the majority of instances to translate Heb. *šᵉ'ôl*, the underworld which receives all the dead. It is a land of darkness, in which God is not remembered (Job 10:21 f.; 26:5; Ps. 6:5; 30:9 [LXX 29:9]; 115:17 [LXX 113:25]; Prov. 1:12; 27:20; Isa. 5:14). These concepts cannot be squared exactly with that of the grave of the ancestors, the family burial place, where the dead are to be found. What is decisive is the theological statement that Yahweh does not remember the dead, that they are cut off from him and outside his activity in history (Ps. 88:5, 11[LXX 87:5, 11]). They also stand outside the cult and its influence. In death there is no proclamation or praise (Ps. 88:11 [LXX 87:11]; Isa. 38:18). The dead are unclean and therefore, in sharp contrast with surrounding religions, Israel's dead enjoyed no sacral worship. There was no cult of the dead, and necromancy was expressly forbidden (Deut. 18:11). The exceptional case of 1 Sam. 28:7 ff. and the mention of the raising of a dead boy (2 Ki. 4:32 ff.) suggest that there was no rigid divide between dead and living. But no one in Israel could comfort himself with the hope of one day being reunited with the departed. The shades themselves suffer under their decay (Job 14:21 f.).

On the other hand, *šᵉ'ôl* not only lies on the border of life in the beyond. It also penetrates the circle of the living on every side, through illness, weakness, imprisonment, oppression by enemies and by death. Thus the psalmist in his prayers can say that he has already in a sense been in *šᵉ'ôl*, but has been rescued by Yahweh. It was possible also for Israel to equate with *šᵉ'ôl* the → wilderness, or at least to attribute the qualities of death to it (Jer. 2:6, 31). Wherever the voice of Yahweh is not heard or he abandons a man, there the reality of → death and *šᵉ'ôl* begins (Job 12:24 ff.). Dying, therefore, is not a bio-physical process; it is the disintegration or ending of the life-relationship with Yahweh. Nevertheless, Yahweh's power does not cease at the frontier of the realm of the dead (Amos 9:2; Ps. 139:8 [LXX 138:8]), although he is not concerned about the realm of the dead. "The realm of the dead remained an indefinable third party between Yahweh and his creation" (G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, II, 1965, 350). Only exceptionally did faith (Job 14:13–22) or the poetic imagination (Isa. 14:9 ff.; Ezek. 32:20 ff.) concern themselves with the realm of the dead. There are only isolated hints at hope

beyond death (Job 19:25–27; Ps. 49 [LXX 48]; 73:23 ff. [LXX 72:23 ff.]). So at the frontiers of the OT there appears the hope of → resurrection (→ Death, OT 2; cf. H. H. Rowley, *The Faith of Israel*, 1956, 150–76).

2. In Rab. Judaism, under Persian and Hel. influence, the doctrine of the immortality of the → soul appeared, and this altered the concept of *hadēs*. The earliest attestation of this doctrine is Eth.Enoch 22. This chapter is closely related to Lk. 16:22 ff. (cf. also Eth.Enoch 51:1; 102:5; 103:7; 2 Macc. 6:24): reward and punishment begin, after death, in *hadēs*. According to Josephus (*Ant.* 18, 14; cf. *War* 2, 163; 3, 375; SB IV 1166, 1182 ff.), this was the position of the → Pharisees and the Essenes, in contrast to that of the → Sadducees. A later view states that the souls of the righteous, after death, enter heavenly blessedness, while the souls of the ungodly are punished in *hadēs*. *hadēs* thus lost its role as the resting place of all souls and became a place of punishment for the souls of the ungodly (cf. Eth.Enoch 63:10; Pss.Sol. 14:6 f.; 15:11; Gr. Bar. 4).

Under the influence of the doctrine of the → resurrection *hadēs* lost its role as the eternal resting place of souls and became a preparatory, temporary resting place for souls until the resurrection (cf. Eth.Enoch 51:1; Test.Ben. 10; Sib. 4:178–190; 2 Esd. 5:45). 2 Esd. 7:78–100 attempts to establish a compromise between the doctrines of immortality and of the resurrection. According to this, the souls of the righteous enjoy for a time in the beyond a foretaste of the blessedness which will be theirs after the resurrection. The ungodly, on the other hand, receive a foretaste of the punishment that awaits them after the last judgment. This compromise did not prevail in Judaism.

NT In the NT *hadēs* occurs 10 times, and that only in Matt., Lk., Acts and Rev. In the other writings other terms occur (→ *abyssos;* → *gehenna*).

1. Hades lies within the earth, so that one has to go down to it (Matt. 11:23; Lk. 10:15; cf. Matt. 12:40 *kardia tēs gēs*, the heart of the earth). It is a prison (*phylakē*, 1 Pet. 3:19; Rev. 20:7). Like a city or town it has → gates (Matt. 16:18), and is locked with a key which Christ holds in his hand (Rev. 1:18). The gates "will not close to imprison (in death) those who belong to the messianic community" (D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 1972, 261). On the other hand, Rev. 20:14 seems to indicate that Hades, like → death, may be thought of as a person. At the resurrection Hades must give up its dead again (Rev. 20:13). So it is not an eternal but only a temporary place or state. According to Acts 2:27, 31 and Lk. 16:23, 26, all the dead are in Hades. According to other passages, only the spirits of the ungodly are in Hades (1 Pet. 3:19; Rev. 20:13 f.). According to Rev. 20:4, the martyrs will rise and reign with Christ for a thousand years (→ Number; → Glossary of Technical Terms, art. *Chiliasm*).

2. A NT innovation, by comparison with Judaism, is the fact that Jesus has risen to an eternal life (Heb. 7:16). He has taken the power of death and the devil from them (Heb. 2:14), and is Lord of the dead and of the living (Rom. 14:9). Through faith in Christ ideas are transformed: Hades cannot affect the church (Matt. 16:18 f.; 1 Pet. 3:19 ff.; 4:6; Rev. 1:18). Anyone who dies is united with Christ (Phil. 1:23; 2 Cor. 5:8) – even though naked, i.e. without a body (2 Cor. 5:2 f.) – or is in the heavenly Jerusalem (Heb. 12:22), or under the heavenly altar (Rev. 6:9) like the martyrs, or before God's throne (Rev. 7:9; 14:3). Christ has

preached to the spirits in prison (1 Pet. 3:19 ff.; 4:6). The saving work of Jesus Christ embraces the dead, and nothing is beyond the grace of Christ.

3. The fact that in the NT there is no description of ideas about the beyond must be connected with this emphasis on the all-embracing dominion and grace of Christ. There is no doctrine of the beyond or any geography of the beyond. This is in sharp contrast to certain Rab. Jewish and also Christian writings down to Dante's *Divine Comedy*. Perhaps, however, it was the very silence of the NT about the details of the beyond and of the temporary state which excited the curiosity of the pseudo-pious and led to dissatisfaction with placing one's hope in Christ alone. The idea that the statements of scripture have to be enlarged upon by human imagination indicates a lack of faith. A contributory factor here is the substitution of the Gk. doctrine of the immortality of the soul in place of the NT doctrine of the resurrection of the dead (1 Cor. 15). This comes about in unreflective Christianity which fails to ask whether the belief is grounded in the NT or in pagan Gk. thought.

H. Bietenhard

γέεννα

γέεννα (*gehenna*), Gehenna, hell.

OT The word *gehenna* does not appear in the LXX or Gk. literature. It is the Gk. form of the Aram. *gēhinnām*, which in turn goes back to the Heb. *gē hinnōm*. This originally denoted a valley lying to the south of Jerusalem (today, *Wadi er-Rabâbi*), the valley of the son (or sons) of Hinnom (Jos. 15:8; 18:16; Isa. 31:9; 66:24; Jer. 32:35; 2 Chr. 33:6). (See L. H. Grollenberg, *Atlas of the Bible*, 1957, 96, 114 f., 152.) Child sacrifices were offered in this valley (2 Ki. 16:3; 21:6). Josiah had it desecrated (2 Ki. 23:10). According to Jer. 7:32; 19:6 f., it will be the place of God's judgment.

Jewish apocalyptic assumed that this valley would become, after the final judgment, the hell of fire (Eth.Enoch 90:26 f.; 27:1 ff.; 54:1 ff.; 56:3 f.). Hence the name *gehenna* came to be applied to the eschatological hell of fire in general, even when it was no longer localized at Jerusalem (e.g. 2 Esd. 7:36; Syr.Bar. 59:10; 85:13, Sib. 1:103). In time *gehenna* became simply the place of punishment and so attracted the corresponding ideas about Hades (→ *hadēs*). *gehenna* thus became a temporary place of punishment (until the final judgment). At about the end of the 1st cent. A.D. or the beginning of the 2nd the doctrine of a fiery purgatory arose among the Rabbis. All those in whose cases merit and guilt are equally balanced go to *gehenna*. There they are purified and, if they do penance, inherit paradise. Alongside this we find the concept of an eschatological Gehinnom judgment, limited in time, after the last judgment (SB IV 1022–1118).

NT For the NT *gehenna* was a pre-existent entity (Matt. 25:41), a fiery abyss (Matt. 13:42, 50). It was the place of eschatological punishment after the last judgment, punishment of eternal duration (Matt. 25:41, 46; 23:15, 33). Body and soul are judged in it (Mk. 9:43, 45, 47 f.; Matt. 10:28). It was also to be distinguished from Hades which houses the souls of the dead *before* the last judgment. The same punishment will overtake → Satan and the → demons, the beast (→ Animal) from the abyss, the false → prophet, → death and Hades (Matt. 25:41; 8:29; Rev.

19:20; 20:10, 14f.). In contrast with later Christian writings and ideas, the torments of hell are not described in the NT, "If they are mentioned, it is only to rouse consciences to fear of the wrath of the heavenly Judge" (J. Jeremias, *TDNT* I 658; cf. Matt. 10:28; Lk. 12:5). Neither does the NT contain the idea that Satan is the prince of *gehenna*, to whom sinners are handed over for punishment.

H. Bietenhard

κατώτερος | κατώτερος (*katōteros*), lower.

CL & OT *katōteros* is the comparative of *katō*, under. In the LXX it stands for *taḥtôn* and occurs mostly in the Pss. to denote any area in which life is threatened, or the realm of the dead itself (Pss. 62[63]:9; 85[86]:13; 87[88]:6; 138[139]:15).

NT In the NT the word occurs only in Eph. 4:9 (Christ descended) *eis ta katōtera merē tēs gēs*, "into the lower parts of the earth".

The following questions arise: Is the comparative *katōteros* here used in the sense of the superlative (into the lowest regions of the earth) or of the positive (into the regions of the earth, which lie below; so Radermacher, see bibliography)? Is *gēs* a gen. of apposition? In that case the expression would mean, the lowest parts, namely the earth. If *gēs* is a partitive gen. the expression would mean the lowest parts of the earth. Funk § 167, following F. Büchsel, *TDNT* III 641, takes it to mean the regions under the earth. Does *katōteros* correspond to the expression which occurs in the OT, the lowest (regions) of the earth, which can refer to the earth itself (Ps. 139:15 [LXX 138:15]) and also to Hades, lying under the earth (Ps. 63:9 [LXX 62:9]; Tob. 13:2)? According to a Rab. tradition (attested around A.D. 250 in R. Jehoshua b. Levi), one of the names for Gehinnom (→ *geenna*) was lowest land, lowest earth (Heb. *'ereṣ hattaḥtîṯ*, cf. Erub. 19a; SB IV 1023 f.). Hence the phrase, the lower parts of the earth, could be a rendering of this Heb. expression.

It is possible that Eph. was dependent on an older Jewish exposition of Ps. 68:18 [LXX 67:18]. Moses ascended into heaven to receive the Torah and to transmit it to men (SB III 596). This exposition was then applied to Christ. The ascent of which the Ps. speaks is to be referred to the same person (Christ) who previously descended (→ Heaven, art. *anabainō* for alternative exegesis of Eph. 4:8). Then the question arises whether "he descended" and "the lower parts of the earth" must not refer to the death of Jesus. Jesus' death belongs to his full manhood. Anyone who dies, according to the Jewish view, goes into the realm of the dead; and this realm of the dead lies under the earth (→ *hadēs*). So this passage would not imply an actual battle with Hades which the redeemer had to fight, but only the entering of the dead Jesus into the realm of the dead (F. Büchsel, *TDNT* III 641; → Flesh, NT 2 (a)).

If the view is correct, that Jesus became man in such a way that he took man's final destiny upon himself and had to descend into the realm of the dead, light is thrown on the statement of Eph. 1:20–23. The "all in all" which he fills means the highest → heights and the lowest depth (the realm of the dead). It also means that he has thus received power over all beings, in particular over the spirits.

Other passages in Eph. which deal with Jesus' death speak only of an event on earth (Eph. 5:2, 25). In any case, even if it is the death of Jesus and his related

entering into Hades that the passage has in mind, this latter idea is emphasized. Moreover, no weight at all is attached to the spatial concept. Ultimately it matters little whether the earth itself or regions lying beneath its surface are meant here. What is important is the fact that Christ is the exalted One and conqueror of all powers and dominions, and that as such he gives → gifts to his church. In modern exposition the reference of this passage to the *descensus ad inferos* ("he descended into hell" in the Apostles' Creed) is almost without exception rejected (cf. J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, 1972³, 378–88 for the historical background of the idea). *H. Bietenhard*

→ Death, → Demon, → Fire, → Gate, → Heaven, → Judgment, → Satan

(a). J. S. Bonnell, *Heaven and Hell: A Present-Day Christian Interpretation*, 1956; S. G. F. Brandon, *The Judgment of the Dead: An Historical and Comparative Study of the Idea of a Post-Mortem Judgment in the Major Religions*, 1967; and *Man and his Destiny in the Great Religions*, 1962; H. Buis, *The Doctrine of Eternal Punishment*, 1957; and "Hell", *ZPEB* III 114 ff.; F. Büchsel, *katō* etc, *TDNT* III 640 ff.; R. Bultmann, "Polis and Hades in Sophocles' Antigone", *Essays Philosophical and Theological*, 1953, 22–35; W. Eichrodt, "The Underworld", *Theology of the Old Testament*, II, 1967, 210–28; T. H. Gaster, *Thespis*, 1950; and "Dead, Abode of the", *IDB* I 787 f.; J. Jeremias, *abyssos*, *TDNT* I 9 f.; *geenna*, *TDNT* I 657 f.; *hadēs*, *TDNT* I 146–49; J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, 1972³, 378–88; J. Kürzinger, "Descent into Hell", *EBT* I 202–6; F. Loofs, "Descent to Hades (Christ's)", *ERE* IV 654–63; J. A. MacCulloch, "Descent to Hades (Ethnic)", *ERE* IV 648–54; and *The Harrowing of Hell*, 1930; J. Michl, "Hell", *EBT* I 369 ff.; B. Reicke, *The Disobedient Spirits and Christian Baptism*, 1946; S. S. Smalley, "The Eschatology of Ephesians", *EQ* 28, 1956, 152–7; L. I. J. Stadelmann, *The Hebrew Conception of the World*, 1970; H. Vorgrimler, "Christ's Descent into Hell: Is it Important?", *Concilium*, I 2, 1966, 75–81.
(b). C. Barth, *Die Errettung vom Tode in den individuellen Klage- und Dankliedern des Alten Testaments*, 1947; G. Beer, "Der Biblische Hades", in *Theologische Abhandlungen zu Ehren H. J. Holtzmanns*, 1902; A. Bertholet, *Die israelitischen Vorstellungen vom Zustande nach dem Tode*, 1899; and "Zu den babylonischen und israelitischen Unterweltvorstellungen", *Festschrift Paul Haupt*, 1926, 8–18; H. Bietenhard, *Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum*, 1951; and "Kennt das Neue Testament die Vorstellung vom Fegefeuer?", *ThZ* 3, 1947, 101 ff.; P. Dhorme, "Le séjour des morts chez les Babyloniens et les Hébreux", *RB* 4, 1908, 59–78; E. Ebeling *Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier*, I, 1931; J. Felten, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, II, 1925³, 227–42, 258–63; J. Gnilka and J. Ratzinger, *LTK* V 445–49; G. K. Frank, *Himmel und Hölle*, 1970; F. C. Grant, W. von Soden, H.-J. Kraus, B. Reicke, "Hölle", *RGG*³ III 400 ff.; A. Grillmeier, "Der Gottessohn im Totenreich", *ZTK* 71, 1949, 1–53, 184–203; and in *LTK* V 450–55; J. Kroll, *Gott und Hölle*, 1932; A. Lods, *La Croyance à la Vie Future et le Culte des Morts dans l'Antiquité Israélite*, 1906; G. Quell, *Die Auffassung des Todes in Israel*, 1925; T. Sartory and G. Sartory-Reidick, *In der Hölle brennt kein Feuer*, 1968; SB III 596 f.; IV 2, 1016 ff.; K. Schilder, *Wat is de Hel?*, 1930; F. Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode*, 1892; C. Spicq, "La révelation de l'enfer dans la Sainte Écriture", in G. Bardy *et al.*, *L'Enfer*, 1950, 91–143; K. Tallquist, *Sumerisch-akkadische Namen der Totenwelt* 1934; P. Volz, *Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter*, 1934, 256–72, 309–32.

Herb, Plant, Grass

λάχανον

λάχανον (*lachanon*), herb, vegetable; βοτάνη (*botanē*), plant; ἄνηθον (*anēthon*), dill; ἡδύοσμον (*hēdyosmon*), mint; κύμινον (*kyminon*), cummin; πήγανον (*pēganon*), rue; χόρτος (*chortos*), grass, hay.

CL In secular Gk. *lachanon*, related to *lachainō* (dig), denotes garden herbs and vegetables, as opposed to wild plants (Epicrates, Plato). *botanē*, from *boskō*

(graze), is used of pasture, herbs, weeds. *anēthon* means dill, the plant *Anethum graveolens*, employed in seasoning. *hēdyosmon* is mint (*Mentha viridis*, *M. longifolia*) derived from *hēdys*, sweet, pleasant, and *osmaomai*, smell. *kyminon*, cummin, is the aromatic seed of *Cuminum cyminum*, grown for flavouring dishes; used proverbially of a skinflint prepared to saw the tiny seed in half (Sophron). *pēganon* is rue, the culinary and medicinal herb *Ruta graveolens*. *chortos* means an enclosed feeding space; by extension, pasturage; and so fodder, grass, hay.

OT Four of the above terms appear in the LXX, but with one exception only in the literal sense. (a) *lachanon* as in secular Gk. stands for edible herbs and vegetables. (b) *botanē* translates *dešeʾ* (grass), from a Heb. verb meaning to sprout abundantly (Gen. 1:11; Jer. 14:5); *ʿēśeḇ* (cultivated plants) in Exodus (e.g. 9:22); and *ḥāṣîr* (herbage in general, Job 8:12). (c) *kyminon* transliterates the Heb. *kammōn*, cummin (Isa. 28:25, 27). (d) *chortos* nearly 50 times renders the Heb. *ʿēśeḇ*, seed-bearing annuals springing up after rain: grass, weeds, vegetables, cereals. The character of *chortos* inspires metaphors and similes. Defeated enemies are like down-trodden grass (4 Ki. 19:26); men flourish like sprouting grass (Ps. 71:16) and as suddenly wilt (Ps. 101:4, 11), for human life is transient (Isa. 40:6).

NT 1. *Primary Meanings.* In the NT *lachanon* is consistently used for herbs (Lk. 11:42) and *chortos* for grass (Matt. 14:19) or the early grasslike blades of crops (Matt. 13:26). Jesus deplores the Pharisees' concern for tithing insignificant herbs (*lachanon*) like mint (*hēdyosmon*), rue (*pēganon*), dill (*anēthon*), and cummin (*kyminon*), to the neglect of weightier matters (Matt. 23:23; Lk. 11:42), and in excess of the law's requirements (Deut. 14:22–23).

2. *Extended Meanings.* (a) In Rom 14:2 Paul refers to certain converts from Judaism eating only vegetables (*lachanon*) because their feeble grasp of Christian liberty keeps them from disregarding either Jewish dietary laws or the possibility that shop-meat has been associated with pagan sacrifices. (b) In Heb. 6:7 responsive believers are likened to fertile land heavy with crops (*botanē*). (c) Human life is transitory like *chortos* (grass) (Jas. 1:10, 11; 1 Pet. 1:24, quoting Isa. 40:6, 7). *chortos* (hay), possible but poor building material, illustrates unsatisfactory Christian service (1 Cor. 3:12). God's care over short-lived grass guarantees his far greater concern for human needs (Matt. 6:30). → Fullness, art. *chortazō*.

N. Hillyer

G. Bornkamm, *lachanon*, *TDNT* IV 65 ff.; H. N. and A. L. Moldenke, *Plants of the Bible*, 1952; A. E. Rüthy, *Die Pflanze und ihre Teile*, 1942; W. Walker, *All the Plants of the Bible*, 1957.

Hide, Conceal

Both vbs. dealt with here have the same primary meaning, to hide. But whereas *kalyptō* is used more in the sense of to cover or conceal, the more frequently used vb. *kryptō* means to hide away, make secret. However, the meaning cannot always be precisely distinguished. In theological use they occur in contexts chiefly concerned with man's ability to see and experience, on the one hand, and the will and activity of God, on the other. Often they are used in passages asserting that God will make himself, or what is hidden, open to human experience or sight.

καλύπτω

καλύπτω (*kalyptō*), cover, hide, conceal; ἀνακαλύπτω (*anakalyptō*), uncover, unveil; κατακαλύπτω (*katakalyptō*), cover up, veil; κάλυμμα (*kalymma*), veil, covering.

CL & OT *kalypto*, to conceal, cover (attested from Homer in classical Gk., but rare in Attic prose), is found in later Gk. in both lit. and fig. senses. In the LXX it stands for the Heb. *kissâh* (piel), and is used of the cloud which covered Sinai and of the darkness which covers the earth (Exod. 24:15; Isa. 60:2). In Ps. 32:5 the word is used of concealing; in Ps. 85:2 of God's covering of sin in forgiveness. The word is frequent in Pss. (e.g. 31:5; 43:15; 84:2) and Ezek. (e.g. 7:18; 16:8; 24:7 f.).

anakalyptō, used for Heb. *gālâh*, to disclose, uncover, reveal, is related in meaning to *apokalyptō* (→ Revelation). It is attested in cl. Gk. from the 5th cent. B.C. In the LXX it is used in Job 12:22 of the uncovering of hidden depths shrouded in darkness; in 33:16 of the uncovering of the mind (*nous*) of men. In Isa. 47:3 Babylon, addressed figuratively as a virgin, is threatened with the uncovering of her nakedness (*aischynē*) as a divine punishment, while in Jer. 13:22 Judah is similarly threatened with the lifting of her skirts (a symbol of humiliation).

katakalyptō, to hide, cover up, attested in cl. Gk. from Homer, is found in Exod. 26:34 and Num. 4:5 of the covering of the ark with a curtain. In Isa. 6:2 the seraphim cover their faces and their feet with their wings. In the mid. meaning, to cover oneself, Tamar is said in Gen. 38:15 to have veiled her face, i.e. like a prostitute. The rare verbal adj. *akatakalyptos*, unveiled (Lev. 13:45), occurs in the NT only in 1 Cor. 11:5, 13 (→ Head).

kalymma, veil, covering, attested in cl. Gk. from Homer, is used in Exod. 34:34–35 of the veil worn by Moses to cover his face. In Num. 4:6, 8, 12 etc. the word (along with *katakalymma*) is used of the cloths with which the holy objects like the ark of the covenant, the altar, the altar vessels etc. were kept from being touched or seen. To look at them or touch them could mean death (Num. 4:15, 20).

NT 1. The words of this group are relatively rare in the NT and are found only in Matt., Lk., 1 and 2 Cor. 1 Pet and Jas. (a) In the lit. sense *kalyptō* is found at Matt. 8:24 (the ship is covered by the waves); Lk. 8:16 (no one covers a lamp with a vessel); and Lk. 23:30 (people will say to the hills, "Cover us!").

(b) A fig. use is found in the general statement, "There is nothing covered that will not be revealed" (Matt. 10:26 = Lk. 12:2). Lk.'s version has here the intensified form *synkekalymmenon*, while the parallel tradition in Mk. 4:22 = Lk. 8:17 has → *krypton*. The statement allows of various applications; but in the context it refers here to the commission given by Jesus to his → disciples. The word told to them in secret is to be proclaimed publicly from the rooftops (Matt. 10:27).

2. In 1 Cor. 11:1–6 Paul deals with the question of women's veils. This is the only place in the NT where the mid. *katakalyptesthai* to veil oneself (twice, in vv. 6–7), and the adj. *akatakalyptos*, unveiled (vv. 5, 13), are found. Paul demands that a → woman wear a veil when praying or prophesying in church (vv. 4–5; cf. the women "who prophesied" in Acts 21:9). This requirement is in keeping with the strict Jewish and Oriental sense of what is fitting, according to which it would be unthinkable for a woman to appear in public without a veil (v. 13). The Gk. custom was probably not uniform, but the church in the international city of Corinth was scarcely a purely Greek church. Paul wishes this custom to be observed not only

in Corinth but also in the other churches (v. 16). Because, however, of the variety of circumstances, this was not by any means the case (A. Oepke, *TDNT* III 563). The puzzling thing is the ground for this ruling given in v. 10 (over and above the reference in v. 13 to what is fitting): the women are to have an "authority" on their head. The authority (*exousia*) refers to the head-covering, the veil (Old Latin texts translate it *velamen*); but the odd expression *exousia* is not adequately explained (cf. W. Foerster, *exousia*, *TDNT* II 570 f.). Just as difficult are the words "because of the angels". Are the angels the guardians of the natural order (vv. 8, 9; cf. Gen. 2:21 ff.)? Or is the veil a protection against fallen angels who might wish to lead the women astray? Attempts have been made to find a background for such an interpretation in Gen. 6:1 ff., where it is recorded that the "sons of God" (the reference is to angelic powers) took to wife the daughters of men. Jewish literature of the NT period expanded this story further (Eth.Enoch 6; Syr.Bar. 56; Test.Reub. 5). The brevity of Paul's reference makes it difficult to be certain of the correct interpretation. (For further discussion of this whole passage → Head, NT 3.)

3. (a) The word *kalymma*, covering, is found 4 times in the NT, all in 2 Cor. 3:13–16. Here Paul makes reference to Exod. 34:33–35, where it is recorded that Moses put a veil over his face, because the Israelites feared the divine radiance which came from it (Exod. 34:30; cf. Num. 4:15, 20). Paul disregards the fear motive. He interprets the passage to mean that Moses put on the veil in order that the Israelites might not see the end of the temporary radiance. The passing → glory (*doxa*) of the old covenant is contrasted with the eternal glory of the new (v. 11). This veil remains unlifted, we read in vv. 14 f., up to the present day when the "old covenant" is read. It lies over the minds of the Jews who cannot grasp the true meaning of the old covenant as a pointer to Christ. Just as Moses removed the veil when he went in to God (Exod. 34:34), so will the veil be removed from Israel when they are converted to the Lord, i.e. when they allow themselves to be ruled by the → Spirit (v. 16; cf. v. 17, *ho de kyrios to pneuma estin*, the Lord is the Spirit). (On this whole passage see P. E. Hughes, *Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1962, 107–34; W. C. van Unnik, "With Unveiled Face", *NovT* 6, 1963, 153ff.)

(b) The same context contains in vv. 14 and 18 the only NT instances of the vb. *anakalyptō*. There is no question as to the meaning to unveil, uncover. But the exegesis of v. 14, which says that the veil remains over the reading of the "old covenant", is difficult. The AV translates, "until this day rèmaineth the same vail untaken away"; the RSV, "it remains unlifted, because only through Christ is it taken away" (reading a comma after *menei*, "remains"). P. Bachmann interprets the words *mē anakalyptomenon* as an acc. absolute and translates: "without it being revealed that (*hoti*) it (i.e. the "old covenant" as a way of salvation) has been done away in Christ" (*Der Zweite Brief des Paulus an die Korinther*, 1922³, 168). In any case the thought which Paul wishes to convey is that for Christians the veils have been removed which would prevent them from seeing "the light of the gospel of the glory of Christ" (4:4, 6). This is clear from v.18, where he goes on to give expression to the assurance of Christian faith: "We all, with unveiled [*anakekalymmenō*] face, beholding the glory of the Lord" (cf. H. D. Wendland, *Die Briefe an die Korinther*, *NTD* 7, 1963, 157 ff.). The effect of this beholding is that the beholders

are changed by the Lord, who is the Spirit (v. 17), into the likeness of the one whom they behold (→ See).

In contradiction to the statement of 2 Cor. 3:18 stands the verdict which, according to 2 Cor. 4:3, opponents pass upon the Pauline gospel: the Pauline gospel is "veiled" (*kekalymmenon*). In other words, it is obscure or contradictory. Paul throws back the criticism in his opponents' teeth by saying that it is veiled for those who are perishing, for those who are unable to see the light of the gospel, because they have been blinded by Satan (2 Cor. 4:4). This judgment agrees with the remarks about the unbelieving Jews which have been made in 2 Cor. 3:13.

4. In 1 Pet. 4:8 the readers are exhorted to love on the ground that love covers (*kalyptei*) a multitude of → sins. In Jas. 5:20 the same grounds are given in an exhortation to bring back a sinner from the error of his way (cf. also 1 Clem. 49:5; 2 Clem. 16:4). Probably what we have here is a catch-phrase which had its origin in Prov. 10:12 (Heb. text). The epistles of Clement interpret it in the sense of "justification by works": love wins for him who practises it the forgiveness of his sins. Another interpretation is possible, and more in keeping with the language used. → Love covers up, by means of the → forgiveness which it instils, a multitude of sins in others.

W. Mundle

κρύπτω

κρύπτω (*kryptō*), hide, conceal; ἀποκρύπτω (*apokryptō*), hide; κρυπτός (*kryptos*), hidden, secret; ἀπόκρυφος (*apokryphos*), hidden; κρυφαῖος (*kryphaios*), and κρύφιος (*kryphios*), hidden.

CL 1. *kryptō*, to hide, conceal, fig. to keep secret, is attested in cl. Gk. from Homer. From the Hel. aorist *ekrybēn* (common in the LXX, e.g. Gen. 3:8) is derived the vb. *krybō*, which has the same meaning (found in the NT only in the form *periekryben*, she kept herself hidden [Lk. 1:24]). The derivative *apokryptō* (Homer) has the same meaning. It is not possible to draw an absolute distinction between its range of meaning and that of the similar vb. → *kalyptō*, to hide. The same may be said of the adjectives *kryptos* and *apokryphos*, hidden (Homer and 5th cent. B.C. respectively). The group also includes the adv. *kryphē*, secretly (in the NT at Eph. 5:12 only), and the adj. *kryphaios*, hidden, which is found only in biblical usage (Jer. 23:24; Lam. 3:10; in the NT only at Matt. 6:18, par. to *en tō kryptō*, in secret, vv. 4, 6). The noun *kryptē*, vault, cellar, hidden corner (attested from 3rd cent. B.C.), is found in the NT only at Lk. 11:33.

2. The hiddenness of the deity is not emphasized greatly in Gk. and Hel. religion. Although the Hymn to Isis from Andros (1st cent. B.C.) speaks of the secret (*apokrypha*) symbols of Hermes, and Iamblichus (3rd cent A.D.) mentions *ta krypta*, the hidden things, of the goddess Isis (cf. Arndt, 93, 455; A. Oepke, *kryptō*, *TDNT* III 961–6), the Hel. mystery religions are no exception. The most one can say is that the word *apokryphos*, hidden, plays a great part in books of magic and astrological texts. The biblical doctrine of God, with its awareness of his transcenddence and its emphasis on the unapproachability and hiddenness of God, is largely foreign to Gk. and Hel. religion.

OT 1. In the LXX *kryptō* is found in the lit. sense of to hide (e.g. Gen. 3:8, 10) as well as in the fig. sense of to keep secret (e.g. Gen. 18:17; 1 Sam. 3:17, 18). It represents various Heb. roots with the same basic meaning, e.g. *ḥāḇā'*, to hide,

conceal (Gen. 3:8, 10; 1 Sam. 14:11), *kḥd* (piel), to hide, conceal (1 Sam. 3:17; cf. A. Oepke, *TDNT* III 967). *apokryptō*, to hide, usually has the fig. meaning (Isa. 40:27; Wis. 6:22). The adj. *kryptos* is used in both the lit. and the fig. senses (2 Macc. 1:16; Deut. 29:29). *apokryphos*, hidden, is used in Isa. 45:3, 1 Macc. 1:23 and Dan. 11:43 of secret treasures. The expression *en apokryphō*, in secret, is also found (e.g. Deut. 27:15; Ps. 10:8).

2. (a) The hiddenness and unapproachability of God is depicted impressively in the OT in the story of the call of → Moses. Moses is not allowed to approach the God who has revealed himself to him in the burning bush, but turns his face away (LXX *apestrepsen*); he is afraid of God's face (Exod. 3:6; → God, OT 2). Similarly the people do not dare to approach God at Sinai; Moses alone dares to go forward into the darkness (Exod. 20:21).

The same basic concept is found in later writings. In the secret place of thunder God hears his people's cry of distress (Ps. 81:7). At the consecration of the temple Solomon declared that God wishes to dwell in darkness (1 Ki. 8:12). This also applies in the fig. sense to God's hidden guidance: the painful misfortunes of Israel are regarded as judgments of God in which his comfort remains hidden (Hos. 13:14). The God of Israel is a hidden God, and yet he remains the saviour. He hides his face in wrath, but he returns to his people with everlasting → grace (Isa. 45:15; 54:8). Though Israel's way may be hidden from God, it is not cut off from the comfort of the Lord who gives power and strength to the weary (Isa. 40:27, 29).

(b) God hides himself from men, but man cannot hide from God. God is the Lord who fills heaven and earth (Jer. 23:24). Everywhere man is surrounded by God's presence; God's eye sees even in the darkness, nothing is hid from Him (Ps. 139:7–12, 15; Sir. 39:19). To flee from God, as the case of Jonah shows (Jon. 1:3), is therefore a hopeless quest. Above all, human sin is not hidden from God (Jer. 16:17). There is no gloom or darkness where evildoers can hide themselves (Job 34:22; Sir. 17:15, 20). Sinful man is therefore threatened by God on every side. Before this terrible God he must creep into the earth's recesses (Isa. 2:10). To him God is like a bear lying in wait or a lion in hiding (Lam. 3:10). And so Job complains that God hides his face from him like an enemy (Job 13:24). Similarly the psalmists complain that God hides his face from them and is far from them (Pss. 10:1; 44:24); but man's sin is not hidden from God (Ps. 69:5). The awareness of personal guilt and distance from God finds strong expression in the Pss. All the more urgent, therefore, is the plea made to God by the righteous: "Hide not thy ear from my cry" (Lam. 3:56). Finally, the sighing of the righteous cannot remain hidden from God (Ps. 38:9). He therefore must stand before God with his sin and confess it; if he does not hide it, he can obtain God's forgiveness (Ps. 32:5). He asks this forgiveness also for hidden faults (Ps. 19:12). The psalmists know of the gracious God in whose goodness they may find refuge (Ps. 27:5; 31:19–20). One of the effects of this attitude of faith and trust is the desire to hide God's commandments in one's heart, i.e. to be their guardian (Ps. 119:11, 19).

(c) Thus in the OT expression is given in a variety of ways to the tension between the hiddenness of God and his → revelation. As the hidden God, he reveals what is hidden, the hidden things which concern the future (Dan. 2:22; Sir. 42:19; 48:25). This opens up the way which leads to Jewish apocalyptic which has its beginning in the book of Daniel. God is revealed also in his judgments, as the righteous →

judge who brings to light what is hidden (Eccl. 12:14; 2 Macc. 12:41). Thus he reveals to Abraham the coming judgment on Sodom. Here it is hinted, but not explicitly said, that he is the gracious God whose wrath does not continue for ever (Gen. 18:23–33).

3. In Judaism of the NT period, the apocalyptic literature which continues the tradition of the book of Daniel concerns itself a great deal with the hidden things, especially in so far as they have to do with the future. In the Book of Enoch the "Son of Man" (→ Son, art. *hyios tou anthrōpou*), the "chosen one", will reveal all the treasures of what is hidden, and all secrets of wisdom will proceed from the thoughts of his mouth (Eth.Enoch 46:3; 51:3). The Qumran texts speak of a secret knowledge of the will of God which remains hidden to outsiders and is attainable only by the sect-community by way of the law and the prophets (1QS 4:6; 9:17; 11:6; 1QH 5:25; 8:10 f.). Even in Rab. Judaism the awareness of the hiddenness of God and his mysteries does not totally disappear (SB I 578 f., 659 f.), but it is balanced by the conviction of the pious Jew that the full and valid → revelation of God has been given him in the → law. The Jew, as characterized by Paul, possesses in the law "the embodiment of knowledge and truth" (Rom. 2:20); this fits him to be a guide to the blind and a light to those who are in darkness (cf. Rom. 2:17–20).

NT 1. In the NT *kryptō* occurs 19 times, and *apokryptō* 4 times. In the parallel passages, Matt. 11:25 = Lk. 10:21, Matt. uses *kryptō* and Lk. *apokryptō*. Of the adjectives, *kryptos* occurs 17 times; *apokryphos* 3 times (Mk. 4:22; Lk. 8:17; Col. 2:3); *kryphaios* twice (Matt. 6:18, *v.l. en tō kryptō*). The sayings in Matt. 10:26 and Lk. 12:2 (8:17) are variations of the one in Mk. 4:22, "There is nothing hidden that shall not be made manifest." The parallelism of the sayings indicates that no clear line of distinction can be drawn between the meanings of the words above mentioned, nor indeed between them and the related → *kalyptō* (cf. Lk. 23:30 with Rev. 6:16). The words are often used in their lit. sense: Matt. 13:44 mentions the treasure hidden in a field, while in the parable of the talents the unfaithful servant hides his money in the earth (25:18, 25). Similarly the woman hides the leaven in the flour (Matt. 13:33 *enekrypsen*; cf. Lk. 13:21). In a reference to Exod. 2, Heb. 11:23 records the hiding of the child Moses after his birth.

2. Of theological significance are the sayings which deal with the hiddenness of revelation and of the revelatory work of God. The → revelation which God gives through Jesus to babes remains hidden from the wise and prudent (Matt. 11:25 par. Lk. 10:21). The hiddenness of revelation corresponds to the hiddenness of the → kingdom of heaven. This is the message of the parables of the leaven and of the hidden treasure (Matt. 13:33, 44). Just as the kingdom is hidden, so must the disciples' almsgiving, prayers and fasting, be done in secret; the Father who sees in secret will → reward them. Jesus emphasized this in the face of a type of piety which sought to make a display of itself (Matt. 6:4, 6, 18). The passion predictions of Jesus indicate that for the disciples the divine plan remains for the present hidden; it is not revealed to them until after the resurrection (Lk. 18:34; cf. Mk. 9:32; Lk. 9:45). Similarly it is Jerusalem that failed to recognize the salvation which Jesus desired to bring her: the things that made for her peace remained hidden from her eyes (Lk. 19:42).

The saying in Matt. 10:26 gives rise in v. 27 to the commission to the disciples to spread the message: this is the way in which what has been hidden is to be made known. This is the interpretation that Matthew gives to the purpose of parables: they are intended to express what has been hidden since the foundation of the world (Matt. 13:35, quoting Ps. 78:2). The message is not to be spread by word alone, but also by the works of the disciples. The city set on a hill cannot be hid, and a light is not placed under a bushel or in a hidden corner, but on the lampstand, so that all may see it (Matt. 5:14 ff.; Lk. 11:33).

The Gospel of John says that Joseph of Arimathea was a secret (*kekrymmenos*) disciple (19:38) for fear of the Jews. In contrast to this, Jesus confessed at his trial before the high priest: "I have said nothing secretly" (Jn. 18:20). His task has been to manifest the Father's → name before men (Jn. 17:6). In apparent contradiction to this attitude, Jn. 7:8–10 records that Jesus did not go up to Jerusalem, although his brothers who did not believe in him urged him to do so. It was at the time of the Feast of Tabernacles (7:2 ff.). He did not go to this festival, because his time was not yet fulfilled. He went, but not until later and then secretly (vv. 8, 10). According to Jn. 8:59 he hid from the Jews and left the temple when they tried to stone him. When the Jews decided to put him to death, he no longer went about openly among them, but went into hiding (11:54, *apēlthen*, he went away). The reason for this is given in Jn. 10:17, 18. Men cannot and must not be allowed to take his life from him at their volition; Jesus gave it up on his own resolve, when his hour had come, (Jn. 7:8; 13:1; 17:1). His action was determined by the relationship of love with his heavenly Father with whom he is one (Jn. 10:17, 30). The hiddenness of Jesus serves to expose his lack of dependence upon man, and his majesty and union with God. It does not mean that the revelation of Christ is intended to remain hidden to all, for Jesus is the → light of the world (Jn. 8:12). But it is given only to the disciples (Jn. 17); unbelievers are subject to the judgment of total blindness (9:39).

3. (a) Paul declares that the apostolic message is the hidden wisdom of God which God has ordained from all eternity for our glory (1 Cor. 2:7, *apokekrymmenēn*). It has its origin in divine → revelation (Rom. 16:25; 1 Cor. 2:10; Gal. 1:12). Its content is Christ whom God has made → wisdom for us (1 Cor. 1:30); the Spirit-inspired message brings us knowledge of God (1 Cor. 2:10 f.).

(b) Ephesians and Colossians carry these ideas still further. The message is the secret hidden since the beginning of the world to former generations, but now revealed to the saints (Col. 1:25 ff.), and the holy apostles and prophets (Eph. 3:5 ff.). It proclaims to us the Christ present in Christians and his unsearchable riches (Col. 1:27; Eph. 3:8). In this Christ are hidden all the treasures of wisdom; thus OT language about hidden treasures (see above OT 1) is interpreted as referring to Christ (Col. 2:3). Not only, however, does Christ bestow knowledge; he is also the hidden life of the Christian. Christians are buried with him in → baptism, and raised by faith to a new life. This life is hid with Christ in God (Col. 2:12; 3:3). Therefore they can take no part in the "hidden things of shame" (2 Cor. 4:2), in the works of darkness which take place in secret and yet cannot remain hidden (Eph. 5:12; cf. 1 Tim. 5:25).

(c) In 1 Peter Christian women are called to a life with Christ: their holiness of life is to be evident from the fact that they do not adorn themselves with costly outward finery, but that their adornment is the "hidden person of the heart with the

imperishable jewel of a gentle and quiet spirit" (1 Pet. 3:4). The mark of this hidden person who conducts his or her life with Christ is a life of hope, submission and fear of God (vv. 2, 5, 6).

4. (a) Paul describes the believing Christian in Rom. 2:29 as a "Jew inwardly [*en tō kryptō*]." Through the → Spirit who has been given to Christians in faith and guarantees their status as children of God (Rom. 8:15 ff.; Gal. 4:6), they have received a circumcision of the → heart. This circumcision "made without hands" (Col. 2:11 f.) means that in → baptism they share in Christ's burial and resurrection (cf. Rom. 6:3 ff.). Thus they become members of the true people of God. "For we are the true circumcision, who worship God in spirit, and glory in Christ Jesus, and put no confidence in the flesh", Paul writes to the Philippians (Phil. 3:3). The Jew who is one outwardly (*en tō phanerō*, Rom. 2:28) only relies on the circumcision of the flesh. This circumcision proves that he is a member of the Jewish people, → Israel "according to the flesh" (1 Cor. 10:18). In contrast to this is the "Israel of God" (Gal. 6:16), the church of Christ, to which the Christian may belong as a member of the true people of God, as "a Jew inwardly", even without belonging outwardly to the Jewish people.

(b) Rev. 2:17 speaks of the "hidden manna", the gift of the heavenly world. Manna was the secret food provided by God which Israel received from heaven on her journey through the wilderness (Exod. 16:4; → Bread, art. *manna*). In Jewish expectation (Syr.Bar. 29:8) it was to be given to Israel anew at the end of the ages. This gift will be received by "him who conquers", who retains through all trials his loyalty to God. Ultimately this gift is Christ himself: he is the → bread of God which comes down from heaven (Jn. 6:33 ff.).

(c) From all this it is clear that language about the hiddenness of God and of divine things is connected with the NT's forward look into the future. God is the judge who will bring into judgment the secrets of men (Rom. 2:16), and will bring to light the hidden things of darkness and reveal the purposes of the heart (1 Cor. 4:5), just as the Spirit of God already at work in Christians discloses the secrets of the heart (1 Cor. 14:25).

(d) Revelation takes up OT prophecies (Isa. 2:10 f.; Jer. 4:29; Hos. 10:8) and describes how on the day of judgment the kings and great men of the earth will have to hide in caves and clefts of the rocks: they will cry out to the mountains and rocks, "Fall on us and hide us from the face of God and from the wrath of the Lamb" (Rev. 6:15; cf. Lk. 23:30).

5. The idea of judgment is only one side of NT expectation concerning the future. First and foremost the NT looks forward to the coming Lord: when Christ, the hidden life of Christians, shall appear, then they will appear with him in glory (Col. 3:3 f.). Then that knowledge which is here enjoyed only in part and which cannot lift the veil of God's hiddenness will no longer be obscure. It will no longer be a matter of seeing "in a mirror dimly" (1 Cor. 13:12), but will be turned into sight, face to face. To see the → face of God is here no longer a ground for fear, but the fulfilment of the Christian's joyful hope.

6. (a) The word "apocryphal" has passed into common usage because of the so-called apocryphal literature (→ Glossary of Technical Terms). This consists of secret, hidden writings, which were not read out in church. The way was paved for the appearance of this literature by the fact that in the NT period the authority

of → Scripture, or the Scriptures, was already established, while the question of which writings belonged to the authoritative, "canonical" Scriptures was not yet fully resolved. In 1 Cor. 2:9, for instance, Paul cites a passage which is not to be found in our biblical texts, though it bears some resemblance to Isa. 64:4 (cf. also 65:17). According to some of the early Fathers (Origen on Matt. 27:4; Ambrosiaster on 1 Cor. 2:9; and Jerome on Isa. 64:4), it was in the *Apocalypse of Elijah* which has not come down to us except in a fragment which does not contain the words. It was frequently quoted especially by gnostic writers and was ascribed to Jesus by Act.Pet. 39 and Gos.Thom. 17. In Jude 14 the prophecy of Enoch is mentioned, and a passage is cited from the apocryphal Apocalypse of Enoch (Eth.Enoch 1:9). The mention of Jannes and Jambres, the magicians who opposed Moses (2 Tim. 3:8) likewise presupposes the use of an apocryphal tradition (*TDNT* III 990). In the canonical tradition their names are not mentioned (cf. Exod. 7:10 ff.). Later, from Jerome onwards (*c.* 380 A.D.), the title "Apocrypha" was limited to those books included in the LXX and the Latin Vulgate which was based on it which do not appear in the Heb. canon of the OT. The designation of these books as apocryphal did not however settle finally the question of their canonicity. At the Council of Trent (Session IV, 1546) the Roman Catholic Church pronounced them canonical (cf. H. Denzinger, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, 1957[31], §§ 783 f.). Luther declared them to be "good and useful to read", and with some reservation included them in his translation of the Bible. The Church of England recognized that the Church reads them "for example and instruction of manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine" (Article VI). In the Reformed Churches of the Calvinistic tradition they were generally rejected; but the attitudes of the various churches were not uniform. (See further *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, I–III, 1963–70 [see indexes]; B. M. Metzger, *An Introduction to the Apocrypha* 1969[3]; R. H. Charles, ed., *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, I–II, [1913] 1963.)

It is important to note the distinction between the apocryphal literature and apocalyptic writings, the subject of which is revelations about the events of the last days (→ Glossary of Technical Terms, art. *Apocalyptic*; → Revelation).

(b) In addition to the OT Apocrypha there is a body of NT Apocrypha, consisting of those writings which are related to the NT either by literary form or by date of origin. These include Apocryphal gospels and books of Acts, like the Gospel according to the Hebrews, the Gospel according to the Egyptians, the Gospel of Thomas, the Acts of Peter, Paul, John and Thomas, spurious Epistles like that of Paul to the Laodiceans, books of revelation like the Apocalypse of Peter. (For critical edition see E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher, eds., *New Testament Apocrypha*, I–II, 1963–65.) Recent discoveries at Nag Hammadi in Upper Egypt in 1946 have enriched our knowledge of this literature. These writings which arose particularly in gnostic circles and which are fictional and wildly imaginative in content, were sometimes rejected from the outset by the church, and sometimes after a period of vacillation. (For texts see R. M. Grant, *Gnosticism: An Anthology*, 1961; and W. Foerster, *Gnosis: A Selection of Gnostic Texts*, I, 1972; II, 1974.) To the NT Apocrypha are sometimes (but mistakenly) reckoned the Apostolic Fathers (1 and 2 Clement, the *Shepherd* of Hermas, the *Didache* and other writings [cf. J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, I–V, 1889–90, one-volume ed., 1891

revised; C. C. Richardson, ed., *Early Christian Fathers*, 1953]). These books are close to the NT in time, and to some extent in content. The fact that some of them are to be found in ancient MSS of the Bible indicates that for a time there was uncertainty as to whether they belonged to the NT. *W. Mundle*

→ Knowledge, → Revelation

(a). B. Altaner, *Patrology*, 1960, 47–96; S. Barabas, "Apocrypha, Modern", *ZPEB* I 213 ff.; R. Bultmann, "Adam, where art Thou?", in *Essays Philosophical and Theological*, 1955, 119–32; and "Concerning the Hidden and Revealed God", in *Existence and Faith*, 1964, 25–38; *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, I, ed. P. R. Ackroyd and C. F. Evans, 1970; II, ed. G. W. H. Lampe, 1969; III, ed. S. L. Greenslade, 1963; R. H. Charles, *Religious Developments between the Old and New Testaments*, 1914; R. H. Charles, ed., *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, I–II, (1913) 1963; O. Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament: An Introduction*, 1965, 560–668; M. S. Enslin, "Apocrypha, NT", *IDB* I 166–69; C. T. Fritsch, "Apocrypha", *IDB* I 161–66; E. J. Goodspeed, *Modern Apocrypha*, 1956; R. K. Harrison, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 1970; and "Apocrypha", *ZPEB* I 205–10; E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher, eds., *New Testament Apocrypha*, I–II, 1963–65; M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 1924 and reprints; R. McL. Wilson, "Apocryphal New Testament", *ZPEB* I 210–13; B. M. Metzger, *An Introduction to the Apocrypha*, 1969³; A. Oepke, *kalyptō*, *TDNT* III 556–92; A. Oepke and R. Meyer, *kryptō*, *TDNT* III 957–1000; R. H. Pfeiffer, *History of New Testament Times with an Introduction to the Apocrypha*, 1957; D. S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic 200* B.C.–A.D. *100*, 1964; D. M. Scholer, *Nag Hammadi Bibliography*, 1949, 1969, 1971; C. C. Torrey, *The Apocryphal Literature*, 1945; W. C. van Unnik, "With Unveiled Face", *NovT* 6, 1963, 153 ff.

(b). A. Böhlig and P. Labib, *Koptisch-gnostische Apokalypsen aus Kodex V von Nag Hammadi*, 1963; J. Göttsberger, "Die Hülle des Mose nach Ex. 34 und 2 Kor. 3", *BZ* 16, 1924, 1 ff.; SB III 427 ff.

For works on gnosticism → bibliography under Knowledge.

Hinder, Prevent, Forbid

Hindrances may take a variety of forms. They may be solid and physical (like rocks) or psychological (like lack of insight). We may meet them suddenly all at once or as a continuing impediment. They may affect a particular plan or our whole being. The Gk. vbs. *enkoptō* and *kōlyō* correspond to this variety of meanings. *enkoptō* denotes a temporary (originally military) obstacle. *kōlyō*, on the other hand, generally signifies a human obstacle which frequently affects the whole person, and in the NT specifically the relationship of the individual to God.

ἐγκόπτω

ἐγκόπτω (*enkoptō*), hinder, thwart; ἐγκοπή (*enkopē*), hindering, hindrance; ἐγκοπὴν διδόναι τινί (*enkopēn didonai tini*), hinder something.

CL & OT The vb. *enkoptō*, composed of *en-* (in) and *koptō* (to strike), originally meant to knock in or cut into. The meaning hinder arose out of its military use. During a retreat the road might be cut into (i.e. broken up), in order to delay the pursuing enemy. The noun *enkopē* therefore denoted originally merely a temporary hindrance (cf. *proskomma*, → Offence), and only very late (1st cent. B.C.) a permanent impediment. The vb. is followed by the dat. (in the NT by the acc., by analogy with *kōlyō*). A following infin. is frequently in the gen. (to be translated in the NT almost as a consecutive by "so that"; Funk § 400, 4; cf. Rom. 15:22). The following infin. is frequently accompanied by *mē* or *mē ou*, according to

whether the expression is used positively, negatively or interrogatively, a usage which seems to us pleonastic (Funk § 429; cf. Gal. 5:7). Neither vb. nor noun occurs in the LXX. The vbs. of hindering in the OT do not have the special nuances of *enkoptō*.

NT The noun occurs once, and the vb. 5 times (3 times in Paul and once each in Acts and 1 Pet.). In the NT these words indicate an occurrence which hinders progress in the realm of → faith or in the Christian life, bringing it to a standstill, if not permanently at least for the moment. Such a hindrance is always of a kind that can be overcome.

The → proclamation of the → gospel could thus have been hindered, if Paul had allowed himself to receive money from the churches which came into being as the result of his preaching (1 Cor. 9:12). This hindrance was not of permanent consequence, but in particular cases was nontheless considerable. Therefore, Paul waived his rights (*exousia*) which in themselves could not be contested. Again, Paul's mission in Rome was only delayed by the fact that he had to complete projects which he had begun in other places (Rom. 15:22). Paul wanted to go to Thessalonica, but the visit was repeatedly hindered by → Satan (1 Thess. 2:18). It is no longer possible to determine what hindrances Paul classified as Satan's work. It might have been an illness (2 Cor. 12:7; cf. on this point Phil. 2:25–30) or the machinations of the Jews (1 Thess. 2:15 f.).

In Gal. 5:7 the Christian life is compared to a race, the running of which is hindered by false teachers. The true way of faith has been endangered by sectarian, legalistic, gnostically inclined Jewish Christians (so W. Schmithals and K. Wegenast; see bibliography), because they have perverted the gospel (1:7) and threaten to destroy the unity of the church (4:17).

Insufficient → knowledge (art. *ginōskō*; cf. B. Reicke, see bibliography) can also act as a hindrance to men's prayers (1 Pet. 3:7). The trouble here is that, under the influence of prevailing pagan custom, men have tended to despise their wives instead of recognizing them as partners. The passage has nothing to do with the common prayers of married couples, nor with marriage as a hindrance to prayer. Similar concepts of hindering occur in 1 Cor. 13:1 and 11:20–29 (where the vb. is not used). In the former it is a lack of love which hinders effective preaching, and in the latter a selfish lack of brotherly consideration which prevents the proper celebration of the → Lord's Supper.

The Aram. and Syriac versions and also the misleading ref. to Job 19:2 and Isa. 43:23 (which have *enkopon* and not *enkopēn poiein*) have resulted in the erroneous translation of *enkoptō* as "weary" in Acts 24:4 (KJV, Moffatt). However, the basic meaning of *enkoptō* makes good sense: "In order not to hinder you any further [i.e. by this long speech from carrying out of your administrative duties]" (cf. F. F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1952², 421; E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1971, 653). Burden, delay or detain are also possible translations (G. Stählin, *TDNT* III 855; Arndt, 215). *C. H. Peisker*

κωλύω

κωλύω (*kōlyō*), hamper, hinder, prevent, restrain, forbid.

CL The vb. *kōlyō* is attested from Pindar on. Although its etymology is obscure (possibly from *kolos*, stunted), it originally meant to cut short, and then to hinder, etc. It is used with a separative gen.: *kōlyō tina tinos*, hinder someone in something (cf. Acts 27:43). In the NT the gen. is frequently replaced by *apo* (Funk §180, 1; cf. Lk. 6:29). As in the case of *enkoptō*, a following infin. is often in the gen., in the NT always without *mē* (Funk § 429). There are familiar idioms such as *ti kōlyei*, why not? and *ouden kōlyei*, proceed by all means (so far as I am concerned).

OT The vb. occurs approximately 33 times in the LXX. In 20 of these instances there is no Heb. equivalent, as the passages occur in the Apocrypha. It also occurs in a few Jewish Pseudepigrapha (Gr.Enoch, Aristeas, Test.XII) and in Philo and Josephus. The LXX employs *kōlyō* most frequently to translate Heb. *kālā'* (8 times); it stands also for *māna'* (3 times), and once each for *šûḇ* (hiph.) and *'āzar*. The basic meaning is to hinder (cf. Ezek. 31:15; Job 12:15). It is used mostly in the sense of to restrain, withold. The objects of this action can be people (Gen. 23:6; Num. 11:28; Ps. 119:101) and things (wind, water, Eccl. 8:8; Ezek. 31:15; Job 12:15). The subject may be God (1 Sam. 25:26; Ezek. 31:15) or men (Moses, Num. 11:28; the writer, Pss. 40:10; 119:101).

kōlyō can denote holding back in secular contexts, where a man is the subject and things are prevented, refused, denied or withheld (Gen. 23:6; Test. Sim. 2:12). But it can be used in a religious sense, both with regard to its cause and effect. In this case it is God, one of his servants or the righteous man who does the witholding. Here *kōlyō* refers especially to the relationship of the people or of an individual to God.

NT *kōlyō* occurs 23 times in the NT of which 12 are in Lk. and Acts. Luke's use of the word is significant. Besides a purely secular use in connection with tax evasion (Lk. 23:2), he has also a theological use. In Acts 16:6 Paul is prevented by the Holy Spirit from preaching the gospel in the Roman province of Asia. By this comment Luke intends to demonstrate God's leading along the road towards Europe. Here *kōlyō* is used as a synonym for *enkoptō*.

1. (a) From the point of view of the object, the hindering relates mostly to people: soldiers are prevented from killing Paul (Acts 27:43); children are prevented from coming to Jesus (Mk. 10:14 par. Matt. 19:14, Lk. 18:16); Paul was prevented from going to Rome (Rom. 1:13) and from continuing his mission (1 Thess. 2:16). 1 Cor. 14:39 seems to be an exception, as it refers to speaking in tongues. Even so, people are directly involved.

(b) Such hindrances can stem directly from a person: a Roman centurion (Acts 24:23; 27:43); disciples or a baptizing church (Mk. 10:14 par.); circumstances (Rom. 1:13); or death (Heb. 7:23).

(c) The answer to the question, "What is hindered?" indicates clearly the dominant theological use of the vb. Most frequently it is the preaching of the gospel that is hindered (Acts 16:6; Rom. 1:13; 1 Thess. 2:16; in the widest sense, 1 Cor. 14:39). Since service is also a form of proclamation, Lk. 6:29 (cf. Mk. 14:39; Matt. 26:42) belongs to this context. Comparison of Lk. 11:52 with Matt. 23:13 reveals how the two evangelists interpreted Jesus' condemnation of the experts in the law: "But woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because you shut the kingdom of

heaven against men; for you neither enter yourselves, nor allow those who would enter to go in" (Matt.); "Woe to you lawyers! for you have taken away the key of knowledge; you did not enter yourselves, and you hindered those who were entering" (Lk.). Writing for Gentile readers, Lk. omits the words "kingdom of heaven", and interprets the denunciation in terms of witholding → knowledge.

2. It is striking that both Paul (e.g. Rom. 1:13) and Luke (cf. Acts 16:6) see the ultimate origin of hindrances affecting Christians not in the actions of the people concerned but in God himself (or the → Spirit of God, or Jesus). However, a disciple's own decisions and actions (whether in his dealings with his fellow men, or more particularly in his marriage relationship) clearly affect whether his faith is able to grow and develop, or whether it is constricted and hindered (cf. 1 Cor. 9:4, 7 ff.; 1 Pet. 3:7). The same applies to the church as a whole.

This leads to the question of witholding → baptism. As early as the 1st cent., when enquiries were made whether there were any obstacles in the way of a candidate for baptism, *kōlyō* became the technical term for the refusal of baptism (O. Cullmann, *Baptism in the New Testament*, 1950, 75), and Mk. 10:14 par. Matt. 10:13 ff., Lk. 18:15 ff. were used in argument against scruples over infant baptism (Cullmann, op. cit., 76 ff.; cf. Tertullian, *De baptismo*, 18). This may be due to the use of *kōlyō* in connection with baptism in the NT (Acts 8:36; 10:47; 11:17) and in early Christian baptismal texts (Gos.Eb.; Epiph., *Haer.* 30, 13, 8; Pseudo-Clement, *Homilies* 13, 4, 1; 13, 11, 2). *C. H. Peisker*

(a). K. Aland, *Did the Early Church Baptize Infants?*, 1963; O. Cullmann, *Baptism in the New Testament*, 1950; J. Jeremias, *Infant Baptism in the First Four Centuries*, 1960; and *The Origins of Infant Baptism: A Further Study in Reply to Kurt Aland*, 1963; G. Stählin, *kopetos* etc., *TDNT* III 830–60.

(b). J. Jeremias, "Mc. 10.13–16 Parr. und die Übung der Kindertaufe in der Urkirche", *ZNW* 40, 1941, 243 ff.; B. Rehm, *Die griechisch-christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten vier Jahrhunderte*, 1953; B. Reicke, *Die Gnosis der Männer nach 1 Petrus 3, 7*, *BNZW* 21, 1957², 296 ff.; W. Schmithals, "Die Häretiker in Galatien", *ZNW* 47, 1956, 25 ff.; K. Wegenast, *Das Verständnis der Tradition bei Paulus und in den Deuteropaulinen*, *WMANT* 8, 1962, 36 ff.

Holy, Consecrate, Sanctify, Saints, Devout

The expressions "holy" and "the holy" denoted at the beginning of the history of religion power (*mana*), taboo, and then, generally the sphere of divine power which man felt to be superior and threatening. The opposite of the holy was the profane, the sphere of human life outside the realm of the holy. The roots of religion lie in the efforts to separate the holy by means of cultic and ritual processes from the desecration and contamination caused by the profane. The Greeks used three different word-groups to denote the holy. *hieros*, with its numerous derivatives, denotes the essentially holy, the taboo, the divine power, or what was consecrated to it, e.g. sanctuary, sacrifice, priest. In contrast, *hagios* – the most frequent word-group in the NT – contains an ethical element. The emphasis falls on duty to worship the holy. *hosios* also points in this direction. On the one hand, it indicates divine commandment and providence; on the other, human obligation and morality.

ἅγιος

ἅγιος (*hagios*), holy, sacred; ἁγιάζω (*hagiazō*), make holy, consecrate, sanctify; ἁγιασμός (*hagiasmos*), holiness, consecration, sanctification; ἁγιότης (*hagiotēs*), holiness; ἁγιωσύνη (*hagiōsynē*), holiness; ἁγίασμα (*hagiasma*), sanctuary; ἁγιαστήριον (*hagiastērion*), sanctuary.

CL There is no certain etymology for *hagios*. It is related to *hazomai* (from *hagiomai*) which is not found in the LXX or the NT, meaning to stand in awe of the gods or one's parents, e.g. Apollo (Homer, *Il.* 1, 21), and also to respect, e.g. of Zeus who respects those who stand under the protection of Pallas (Aesch., *Eumenides* 1002). Used metaphorically, it occurs in the expression: "it does not fill me with dread of death" (Eur., *Orestes* 1116). Negatively, it means to be filled with holy anger (Eur., *Frag.* 348). Accordingly, the adj. *hagios* would suggest less the taboo than the holy which was worthy of worship. *hagios* is not found in Homer, Hesiod or the tragedians who use the related *hagnos* (→ Pure) in a sense which corresponds very closely with the OT *qāḏôš*. Its connection with *hagios* is uncertain and perhaps improbable (cf. *TDNT* I 88).

hagios is found from Hdt. on, e.g. the shrine (*hiron*) of Aphrodite is holy (2, 41); an oath is also holy (Aristot., *Mirabilia* 834b 11). People, too, can be described as holy (Aristoph., *Birds* 522; despite *TDNT* I 88). Hellenism used the word as an epithet describing oriental gods (Isis, Serapis, Baal; *TDNT* I 89), whence it was also transferred to Gk. gods.

Beside *hagios* we find *hagizō*, consecrate, from which by extension *hagiazō* is formed. The latter, with its derivatives *hagiasma*, sanctuary, holiness, *hagiasmos*, holiness, *hagiastērion*, sanctuary, occurs chiefly in the LXX. The late nouns *hagiotēs* and *hagiōsynē*, holiness (also chiefly in the LXX), are derived from *hagios*. *hagios* was not particularly frequent in Gk. apart from the LXX. It was doubtless used as the equivalent of Heb. *qāḏôš*, because it expressed, in contrast to → *hieros*, not the holy in and of itself, but the challenge to worship which issues from the holy.

OT In the LXX only *hagiazō*, *hagiasma*, and *hagios* play any part. *hagiasmos* (without a clear Heb. equivalent), *hagiastērion* (4 times [3 times for Heb. *miqdāš*]), *hagiotēs* (only 2 Macc. 15:2) and *hagiōsynē* (5 times) are also found. The word-group serves predominantly to translate Heb. *qāḏôš* and its derivatives. In addition there are the (rare) occurrences of *nāzîr*, Nazirite, to be considered.

The decisive element in the OT concept of the holy, in contrast to the profane (*ḥōl*; cf. *ḥillēl*, defile), is not so much the awesome divine power. Rather, through certain places, objects or occasions men enter into relatively direct contact with the divine power which can be awesome, if men treat it in a profane way (1 Sam. 6:20). The basic idea is not that of separation (though this is favoured by some scholars, cf. N. H. Snaith, *The Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament*, 1944, 24 ff.), but the positive thought of encounter which inevitably demands certain modes of response. Although Heb. worship was particularly concerned with this encounter, the sphere of the holy was wider than the cult. The holy is therefore a pre-ethical term. On the other hand, it is a concept which posits ethical values. This ethic is not the first stage of human morality, but the expression of the holiness of Yahweh in a world of both similar and different sacred practices. For example, sexual intercourse is in no way immoral. But compared with sacred practices, it is a profane act which

therefore makes one impure for coming into contact with the holy (1 Sam. 21:4 ff. [MT 5 ff.]; Exod. 19:15).

1. (a) The word group does not occur frequently in the oldest sources. Yahweh is once called "this holy God" by the Philistines, because they were exposed to great disaster when they did not show proper respect for the ark of the → covenant (1 Sam. 6:19 f.). Although the OT mentions many cultic centres, only twice are places described as holy (Gilgal-Jericho, Jos. 5:15) or as holy ground (Exod. 3:5, the call of Moses; → God, OT 2). 2 Ki. 4:9 takes us out of the sphere of the cultus. The Shunammitess recognized Elisha, the man of God, as holy, i.e. like Samson full of sacred power (Jdg. 13:7; 16:17).

(b) The use of the vb. to make holy, or sanctify, is more uniform in the context of its setting than the noun and the adj. A man sanctified himself, when he had been temporarily excluded from the life of the community by uncleanness (2 Sam. 11:4), or when he came into contact with God (theophany, Exod. 19:10 ff.; holy war, 1 Sam. 21:5 ff.; family sacrifice at which Yahweh was the highest-ranking relative, 1 Sam. 16:5). One could also sanctify people (1 Sam. 7:1, to the priesthood) or things (Jos. 6:19, Jdg. 17:3 etc., silver; 1 Ki. 8:64, the temple forecourt) and thus place them at God's disposal. It is important also to mention that the LXX translates the expression "a Nazirite to God" (Samson, Jdg. 13:7; 15:17) by "a holy one of God." As Num. 6:1 ff. shows, the case of the Nazirite is a special form of consecration.

(c) One can only surmise that the rise of the great royal sanctuaries (Jerusalem, Bethel) occasioned in turn an extension of the use of the word holy. Little is known of this process. 1 Sam. 21:4 mentions holy bread; Jer. 11:15 holy sacrificial flesh. Part of the piety of the Pss. probably belongs here. The Psalmist speaks of Yahweh's holy → temple (Ps. 5:7 [MT 8] and often), of the holy hill (3:4 [MT 5]; 15:1), of holy Zion (2:6), of the holy court (29:2 LXX, RSV "array"), and also of holy heaven (20:6 [MT 7]), or the holy height from which Yahweh hears (102:19 [MT 20]), and correspondingly of his holy throne (47:8 [MT 9]). Yahweh is terrible and holy (99:3). None of the gods is holy as he is, for none casts down the exalted and raises the humble as he does (1 Sam. 2:2).

2. Prophetic polemic was scarcely directed against objects and practices which are described as holy. This is possibly connected with the wider application of the term holy. This is illustrated by the thought expressed in Ps. 24:3 f.: "Who shall stand in his holy place? He who has clean hands and a pure heart, who does not lift up his soul to what is false, and does not swear deceitfully." This suggests that, from the outset, self-consecration in the cult and the holy were never purely ritualistic matters but were concerned with one's way of life.

(a) This is clearly the case in Amos. 2:7 and 4:2. Hos. 11:9 has perhaps a similar message. Yahweh, the Holy One in the midst of his people, is nonetheless not a destroyer or demon, even when the people had been guilty of great profanity. The Holy One intends purification through a devastating catastrophe. His purpose is not destruction, but a new future for Israel. The use of the term is vividly illustrated in Isa. After the thrice-repeated "holy" of the heavenly attendants Isaiah acknowledged himself to be a man of unclean lips, whereupon his guilt was taken away and his sin covered (6:3–7). The passage contains the special Isaianic expression "the Holy One of Israel" which is used particularly in two contexts. (i) Instead

of leaning on the Holy One of Israel, the people have relied on horses and chariots (31:1; cf. 30:15; 10:20). But as the Holy One, Yahweh himself intends to obtain justice in war for his people. (ii) The sinful people, laden with guilt, has despised the Holy One of Israel (1:4; cf. 30:12 f.) and will therefore be smitten by him.

(b) Another aspect of holiness occurs in the Deuteronomic formula "the holy people." In so far as the people are holy to Yahweh, their God (Deut. 7:6; 14:2, 21; 26:19), the formula explains their separation from the practices and cult objects of foreign religions (e.g. 14:21, not eating what dies of itself; 7:5, destroying altars, Asherim, graven images, etc.). As, in the last analysis, it is the whole Torah that distinguishes Israel from the foreign nations, Deut. 26:18 f. declares that through keeping the whole Torah Israel will become a people holy to Yahweh. The underlying thought here finds particularly fine expression in the "Law of Holiness" (Lev. 17–26). Lev. 19 which probably combines groups of laws of different kinds is headed, "You shall be holy for I am holy" (v. 2; cf. also 20:7).

(c) Jeremiah made very little use of the word group. However, Jer. 1:5 is important: Yahweh consecrated Jeremiah from his mother's womb to be a prophet to the nations. The words occur much more frequently in Ezek. Special mention may be made of the phrase to show oneself holy before someone. With the exception of Ezek. 28:22 (judgment on Sidon), it always refers to the house of → Israel (i.e. Judah). The clearest example is Ezek. 36:23. Yahweh's → name has been profaned through the scattering of the people, and the exiles have contributed to its further profanation. But when Yahweh gathers his people from the four corners of the earth, he will manifest himself in them before all the nations as the Holy One, and the nations will acknowledge that he is Yahweh. This means that they will recognize Yahweh as God, even if he were not their own God.

(d) If the manifestation of holiness here means the salvation of Judah, the same idea is plainly expressed in Isa. 40–55 especially in the title "the Holy One of Israel." The Holy One, the Creator of Israel (45:11; cf. 43:15), who will redeem Israel out of slavery like a kinsman (43:14), is at the same time the Creator of the world and the Lord of the nations (40:25). As such he is sufficiently removed from his people to punish them without bias, but he is also sufficiently powerful, after the punishment, to create something utterly new. Therefore nations will run to the Holy One of Israel, because he will glorify Israel (55:5).

3. By far the most extensive occurrences of the word group are to be found in the cultic, ritual texts which many scholars trace back to the exilic and post-exilic periods (Exod. 25–Num. 10; Ezek. 40–48; and parts of 1 and 2 Chr.).

(a) Everything which belongs to the realm of the cultus is holy. There are numerous holy occasions (e.g. the great → feasts, new moons, → sabbaths, year of jubilee). All the objects which serve the cultus are also holy (e.g. → temple, tent and ark, altars and their equipment, → first fruits, anointing oil, → incense). In the ritual of the oath, holy → water is used (Num. 5:17). The temple has holy → money (Exod. 28:2 ff.); the priests have holy garments (Exod. 28:2 ff.); the high priest a breast plate with the inscription "Holy to Yahweh". Sometimes holiness can be thought of almost physically: it is transferred by contact (Exod. 29:37; 30:29) and improper contact can be fatal (Num. 4:15, 20). Similarly uncleanness is also transferable (Hag. 2:11 ff.). As purity is the proper characteristic of everything that is

holy (→ Pure), it is the duty of everyone who takes part in the cultus to be pure (to sanctify oneself). Whoever is unclean must quickly take steps to purify himself. There are also holy people (→ priests, → Levites, Nazirites) and the holy anointing of the Davidic kings (Ps. 89:20 [MT 21]; cf. 1 Sam. 24:6 [MT 7]). A distinction can be drawn between the holy and the holiest. The sense of this distinction, however, is less a gradation of the holiness which derives from God than a gradation of human dealings with the Holy One.

(b) An important factor for understanding this strictly ordered cultic holiness, which for the most part must have been priestly knowledge, is that it received its significance, not from itself, but from a changed awareness in the post-exilic period. This awareness was stamped, on the one hand, by a passionate determination to be obedient, and, on the other, by the experience of catastrophic guilt which demanded the most meticulous care in dealings with the Holy One. This care does not contradict Hos. 6:6 ("I desire steadfast love and not sacrifice"), but is the ancient cultic means of letting the → fear of Yahweh be the beginning of all wisdom.

(c) Three additional details should be noted. (i) Occasionally the term *hagioi*, holy ones, saints, stands for heavenly companions of God (e.g. Dan. 7:21 ff.; in a different sense 7:18). (ii) Only rarely are the members of the holy nation called saints or holy. In a late wisdom Ps. saints are mentioned in parallel to those who fear Yahweh (34:9 [MT 10] → Convert; cf. 16:3, where the context is unfortunately corrupt). In Dan. 7:18 they are those who stand by their God in the war between Yahweh and the world powers, and receive the kingdom. (iii) On only three occasions is Yahweh's → Spirit called holy (Ps. 51:11 [MT 13]; Isa. 63:10 f.). In Isa. 63:10 f. the Spirit referred to is the Spirit whom God put among his people in the exodus but whom Israel has grieved through rebellion.

4. (a) Inter-Testamental Judaism introduced no real innovations into this scheme of holiness, apart from the fact that the Scriptures were now also called holy (1 Macc. 12:9; → Writing). Insignificant as this change might appear, it was nevertheless revolutionary. For from now on the Scriptures were to form the new pivotal point for the system of holiness in Judaism, thereby replacing the → temple. This process was, admittedly, only completed in the Rab. writings with their theory of the Holy Spirit as the Spirit who speaks in the Scriptures (*TDNT* VI 382 f., 385 f.). Hence, the pupils of the scribes (the holy → People) and those who obeyed the Torah were in particular regarded as holy (SB II 691 ff.). Meanwhile, as it was not the system of temple holiness that played the decisive role in every-day life but the exposition of the Torah in terms of wisdom determined by the scribes, holiness focussed more and more upon daily life. Nevertheless, temple holiness which was commanded in the Scriptures and which became a kind of religious rule was not neglected.

(b) An important feature was the slow development of the term "the saints" for the members of the Jerusalem cultic community. 1 Macc. 1:46 is significant: Antiochus' men wanted to profane the sanctuary and the saints, i.e. those who were true to the law and had by their suffering demonstrated that they steadfastly belonged to Yahweh. The same situation of suffering no doubt lies behind Tob. 12:15: the holy ones (angels) present to God the prayers of the saints.

(c) The book of Enoch and the Qumran corpus indicate a further extension of

the term. Eth.Enoch 48:8 f. pronounces judgment on the mighty ones of the earth who will be delivered into the hands of the elect. "As straw in the fire so shall they burn before the face of the holy: As lead in the water shall they sink before the face of the righteous, And no trace of them shall any more be found." The context shows that it is suffering that qualifies the righteous as holy who will be vindicated in due course (cf. v. 7).

(d) In Qumran the community saw itself as the eschatological, priestly community of the saved in which the ordinances of purification which were originally obligatory only for the priests were made binding for all the members. The concept of holiness plays a big part in the Qumran texts especially in expressions of self-designation. The community described itself as "the saints of his people" (e.g. 1QM 6:6), God's "holy people" (1QM 14:12), "men of holiness" (1QS 8:13 etc.), and the "remnant of holiness" (1QS 8:21). It is the eschatological temple, "a House of Holiness for Israel, an Assembly of Supreme Holiness for Aaron" (1QS 8:5 ff.). Its members formed a unity with the heavenly community of → angels who were likewise called "Holy Ones" (cf. 1QS 11:8, 1QH 11:12). Thus there prevailed at Qumran a priestly concept of holiness in which the temple cult was replaced by special ways of obedience to the Torah such as washing, cultic meals, and especially observance of the calendar (1QS 9:3 ff.).

NT When we leave the realm of the OT and enter that of the NT, two facts stand out. First, God is only seldom described as holy (Jn. 17:11; 1 Pet. 1:15 f.; Rev. 4:8; 6:10), and Christ is only once called holy in the same sense as God (Rev. 3:7; cf. 1 Jn. 2:20). The concept of holiness in the NT is determined rather by the Holy → Spirit, the gift of the new age.

Secondly and following from this, the proper sphere of the holy in the NT is not the cultus but the prophetic. The sacred no longer belongs to things, places or rites, but to the manifestations of life produced by the Spirit. But since prophecy did not readily lend itself to the building up of a corporate consciousness, as time went on use was made of the holy priesthood (→ Priest) and the royal priesthood of all the saints. Hence cultic, sacral conceptions of holiness were again extensively taken up in the early church.

1. (a) A number of passages remain entirely within the framework of OT tradition: God's → name is called holy (Lk. 1:49), also his → covenant (Lk. 1:72; cf. 1 Macc. 1:15, 63), his → angels (Mk. 8:38; Lk. 9:26; Acts 10:22; Jude 14; Rev. 14:10), his attendants (Eph. 2:19; Col. 1:12; 1 Thess. 3:13; Rev. 18:20), the → Prophets (Lk. 1:70), and the → Scriptures (Rom. 1:2), especially the → law (Rom. 7:12). Matt. 23:17, 19; 24:15; 27:53 and Lk. 2:23 are concerned entirely with the Jewish cultus.

(b) The synoptic tradition introduces the specifically NT emphasis. Jesus was addressed by the demons as "the Holy One of God" (Mk. 1:24; Lk. 4:34). In the LXX this title occurs only in Jdg. 13:7 and 16:17 and means that the bearer has been filled by the holy. This expression indicates that Jesus was endowed at his → baptism with the Holy → Spirit and was driven into the wilderness for forty days by the Spirit, like one of the ancient prophets or a Nazirite, before he performed his first miracle (Mk. 1:21 ff.). We find probably the same concept in Lk. 1:35: "the child to be born will be called holy, the Son of God." As Samson

was a holy one of God from his mother's womb (Jdg. 13:7), Jesus was holy from his conception, i.e. filled by the Holy Spirit (cf. Mk. 6:20 of John the Baptist).

A somewhat different, but analogous, idea can be recognized in Acts 4:27 (cf. 3:14), where Jesus is called God's "holy servant" (→ Son of God, art. *pais theou*). The inhabitants of Jerusalem have rejected him, as they had always denied and killed the prophets in the past (7:51 f.). In all these cases holy means belonging to God and authorized by God. Hence, resistance to Jesus is equivalent to resistance to God. *H. Seebass*

(c) The first petition of the Lord's Prayer contains the words: "Hallowed be thy name [*hagiasthētō to onoma sou*]" (Matt. 6:9; Lk. 11:2). The vb. appears only here and at Matt. 23:17, 19 in the Synoptic Gospels. "To 'hallow' the name (i.e. the nature of God as known through his self-revelation in history) means, not only to reverence and honour God, but also to glorify him by obedience to his commands, and thus prepare the coming of the Kingdom" (D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 1972, 136). J. Jeremias links the petition with the Kaddish, an ancient Aramaic prayer which formed the conclusion of the synagogue service and which he believes Jesus knew from childhood. Jeremias reconstructs the prayer as follows: "Exalted and hallowed be his great name in the world which he created according to his will. May he let his kingdom rule in your lifetime and in your days and in the lifetime of the whole house of Israel, speedily and so on. And to this say: amen" (*The Prayers of Jesus*, 1967, 98). According to Jeremias, the first two petitions of the Lord's Prayer make entreaty for the revelation of God's eschatological kingdom. "Every accession to power by an earthly ruler is accompanied by homage in words and gestures. So it will be when God enters upon his rule" (ibid.; cf. Rev. 4:8; 11:17; 22:20; cf. 1 Cor. 16:22; Ezek. 36:23). The petitions are a cry from the depths of distress. From a world enslaved by evil, death and Satan, the disciples are to lift their eyes to the Father and cry out for the revelation of his glory, knowing in faith that he will grant it. According to Ernst Lohmeyer, the sanctification prayed for is both positive and negative. "First, it means the abolition of everything in the sensory realm contradictory to God's holiness – for the only one who is holy in his being and his actions is the one who, like the angels in the service of God, matches his actions with his being and his being with his actions. So, secondly, it means the elevation and therefore the consummation of all human and historical being in the holiness of God: 'You must be perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect.' This process of sanctification also leads beyond itself, for its ultimate end is not the sanctification of the world through God, but the sanctification of God through the world. Even the world and mankind are only elements in the process of sanctification in which God sanctifies himself" (*The Lord's Prayer*, 1965, 73; cf. Matt. 5:48; Hab. 2:14; Num. 14:21; Isa. 11:9). *C. Brown*

2. (a) In the Pauline epistles those who name Jesus as their Lord are called *hoi hagioi*, the saints. This was primarily not an ethical expression but a parallel to concepts like "called" (Rom. 1:7; 1 Cor. 1:2; 2 Cor. 1:1), "elect" (Rom. 8:33; Col. 3:12) and "faithful" (Col 1:2). It implies association with the Holy Spirit. Christ is their sanctification as well as their righteousness and redemption (1 Cor. 1:30), and thus the One in whom they become holy to the true God. "You were

washed, you were sanctified, you were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God" (1 Cor. 6:11; cf. 2 Thess. 2:13; 1 Pet. 1:1 f.). From the resurrection on, Jesus is the Christ in the power which operates according to the Spirit of holiness (Rom. 1:4). Holiness is a condition of acceptance at the parousia and of entering upon the inheritance of God's people (Col. 1:12; Acts 20:32; 26:18). In all these cases holiness implies a relationship with God which is expressed not primarily through the cultus but through the fact that believers are "led" by the Holy Spirit (Rom. 8:14). As in the OT, holiness is a pre-ethical term. At the same time, as in the OT, it demands behaviour which rightly responds to the Holy Spirit.

(b) Sanctification is like the growth of fruit which results in eternal life (Rom. 6:19–22; cf. 1 Thess. 4:3–7). Spiritual, rational worship is the offering of oneself as a living, holy sacrifice, acceptable to God (Rom. 12:1). The saints are not simply "nice" and worthy people. They are those who are called, and an essential aspect of sanctification is love for all the saints (Eph. 1:15), standing by them in need (Rom. 12:13), and not profaning the sacred by bringing disputes with fellow-believers before secular authorities, but allowing the saints to judge them (1 Cor. 6:1 f.). In Paul's judgment, a non-Christian marriage partner does not profane the Christian. On the contrary, the non-Christian partner is sanctified by the Christian, just as the children of the marriage are also sanctified (1 Cor. 7:14). Because it is God himself who sanctifies (1 Thess. 5:23), bearing fruit unto sanctification is all the more important (Rom. 6:22; cf. Phil. 2:12–16).

3. (a) Heb. presents a highly specialized aspect of holiness. Christ, as the high priest, is the one who sanctifies his people (13:12; 2:11), and officiates in a sanctuary not made with hands (9:24; 8:2). The division of Israel's earthly sanctuary (*ta hagia*) into Holy Place and Holy of Holies (9:2 f.) shows that ultimate access to the sanctuary has not yet been achieved. But Christ has entered the sanctuary once for all with the gift of his blood and has achieved eternal redemption (9:12; 10:14). His self-offering makes absolute the animal sacrifices of the temple. By the will of God "we have been sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all" (10:10). But Heb. warns us, "since we have confidence to enter the sanctuary" (10:19), not to defile the blood of the covenant, through which each one has been sanctified; "for we know him who said, 'Vengeance is mine, I will repay.' And again, 'The Lord will judge his people' " (10:29 f.; cf. Deut. 32:35 f.). Therefore we are to strive for peace with all men and the holiness without which no one can see God (12:14). Conversely, the holy brethren (3:1) are to recognize the discipline which God applies as a help, for God disciplines in order that we may win a share in his holiness (*hagiotēs*, 12:10; cf. Prov. 3:11 f.).

(b) 1 Pet. is particularly significant in the further development of the concept. To the idea of sanctification by the Spirit (1:2) there is added the blunt warning, "As obedient children, do not be conformed to the passions of your former ignorance, but as he who has called you is holy, be holy yourselves in all your conduct" (1:14 f.; cf. Lev. 19:2). This is continued in 2:5: "and like living stones be yourselves built into a spiritual house, to be a holy priesthood, to offer spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ." Thus the dynamic of the outpouring of the Spirit is here restated in terms of the holy functions of the priesthood.

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(c) Believers are again seen as → priests in Rev. 1:6, 5:10 and 20:6: But Rev. also depicts the future abode of Christians as the holy city, the new → Jerusalem (21:2, 10; 22:19). The most significant feature of Jerusalem was the fact that it contained the → temple, the focal point of meeting between God and man. But in the new Jerusalem there is no temple, "for its temple is the Lord God the Almighty and the Lamb" (21:22). These pictures present both a continuity with the divinely appointed institutions of Israel and a radical break with the historic Israel. It has been argued that to see the church in such institutional terms represents an institutionalizing of the dynamic, charismatic character of the primitive Christian community. In so doing the church was guarding itself against the type of excesses which befell the church at Corinth. But the use of this imagery has a more significant function. On the one hand, its application to the church means that the historic institutions in Israel are now obsolete. On the other hand, the use of the concepts of priest, temple and holy city in this dynamic and spiritual way affords a perspective to the suffering, persecuted church which enables it to see its situation and role in terms of God's purposes.

(d) In the Fourth Gospel the adj. *hagios* is used only of the → Father (Jn. 17:11 in the high priestly prayer of Jesus in the address "Holy Father"), the → Spirit ("this is he who baptizes with the Holy Spirit", 1:33; the → "advocate" or "paraclete", 14:26; "He breathed on them, and said to them, 'Receive the Holy Spirit' ", 20:22), and the → Son (6:69). This latter passage occurs in Jn.'s account of Peter's confession. In Jn. Jesus is not confessed as the Christ (cf. Matt. 16:16; Mk. 8:29; Lk. 9:20) with all its Jewish overtones, but as the "Holy One of God [*ho hagios tou theou*]" (cf. L. Morris, *The Gospel According to John*, 1971, 388 ff.). The expression is rare. It occurs in the NT only in the address of the demoniac at Capernaum (Mk. 1:24; Lk. 4:24; cf. Pss. 16:10; 106:16). Although Jn. was thoroughly aware of Jewish christology (1:39 ff., 49 ff.; 4:25; 10:36; 12:13; 20:31; cf. C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, 1953, 228 ff.; E. M. Sidebottom, *The Christ of the Fourth Gospel*, 1961, 70 f.), he apparently refrains from giving an accepted christological title here. Nevertheless, the fact that he uses the epithet "holy" elsewhere only of the Father and the Spirit sets Jesus with God and not man. The expression "the Holy One" strikingly occurs in the only instance of *hagios* in the Johannine epistles: "But you have been anointed by the Holy One, and you all know" (1 Jn. 2:20). The reference is evidently to the Holy Spirit, but the context closely links this with the Father and the Son (cf. vv. 22 ff.).

The vb. *hagiazō* occurs 4 times in Jn. and is absent from the Johannine epistles. In the first instance it denotes the special consecration of Jesus to do the will and work of the Father, but its goal is that men might also be consecrated to do God's will. As such, it extends the use of the adj. In reply to the Jews who were about to stone him for blasphemy ("because you, being a man, make yourself God", 10:33; cf. Lev. 24:16), Jesus pointed to the extension of the word "God" to men in the OT (10:34; cf. Ps. 82:6) but carefully avoided the title "God" for himself. Instead, he asked: "Do you say of him whom the Father consecrated [*hēgiasen*] and sent into the world, 'You are blaspheming,' because I said, 'I am the Son of God'?" (10:36), and went on to claim to be doing the work of the Father. In the high priestly prayer Jesus prayed: "Sanctify [*hagiason*] them in the truth; thy word is truth. . . . And for their sake I consecrate [*hagiazō*] myself, that they also may be consecrated

[*hēgiasmenoi*] in truth" (17:17, 19). Leon Morris draws attention to the use of *hagiazō* in the LXX for the sanctifying of priests (e.g. Exod. 28:41; 29:1, 21) and sacrifices (e.g. Exod. 28:38; Num. 18:9). "He set Himself apart for the doing of the Father's will, and in this context this must surely mean death. It points us to Calvary and all that Calvary means. This is connected with the disciples in two ways. It is 'for their sakes.' He dies for them, to do for them that which they could not do for themselves. And further it is 'that they themselves also may be sanctified in truth.' He dies with a view to the disciples being sanctified, being set apart for God" (op. cit., 731 f.; cf. also E. C. Hoskyns, *The Fourth Gospel*, ed. F. N. Davey, 1947², 502 ff.). On → truth see Jn. 1:17 and 3:21; cf. L. Morris, op. cit., 293 ff. Doing the will of God is also doing the truth (cf. Ps. 119:142 LXX). To do this, men need to be consecrated, as the context of all these pronouncements in Jn. make clear. *C. Brown*

ἱερός

ἱερός (*hieros*), holy; ἱερατεία (*hierateia*), priestly office or service; ἱερατεύω (*hierateuō*), hold or perform the office of a priest; ἱερουργέω (*hierourgeō*), perform holy service, act as a priest; ἱεράτευμα (*hierateuma*), priesthood; ἱεροπρεπής (*hieroprepēs*), befitting a holy person or thing; ἱεροσυλέω (*hierosyleō*), rob temples; ἱερόθυτος (*hierothytos*), devoted, sacrificed to a divinity; ἱερεύς (*hiereus*), priest; ἀρχιερεύς (*archiereus*), high priest; τὰ ἱερά (*ta hiera*), sacrifice; ἱερωσύνη (*hierōsynē*), priestly office, priesthood; τὸ ἱερόν (*to hieron*), sanctuary, temple.

The words derived from *hieros* not only form a common group philologically, but are also related internally in their meaning. They are therefore treated all together in the CL section. In the OT and NT sections, the reader is referred to the article on Priest for words connected with priesthood.

CL *hieros* is that which is determined, filled or consecrated by divine power. In contrast to → *hagios*, holy, → *hosios*, devout, pious, and *semnos*, revered, august (→ Godliness, art. *sebomai*), all of which contain an ethical element, *hieros* denotes what is holy in and of itself, quite apart from any ethical judgment. It is not used of the gods themselves, but of their activities. The expression *hieron genos athanatōn*, holy race of immortals (Hesiod, *Theog.* 21), reflects the idea that the race of the immortals represents in the universe the realm of the absolutely holy. Thus *hieros* means: (a) what belongs to the sphere of the gods; (b) what has been sanctified by the gods; (c) what has been consecrated to the gods.

1. (a) Among objects described as holy are the head of Zeus (Homer, *Il.* 15, 39) and his bed (Hesiod, *Theog.* 57), the abode of the gods (the snowy regions of Olympus, Aristoph., *Nubes* 270), the scales of Kronos (Homer, *Il.*, 16, 658), the bow of Hercules (Soph., *Phil.* 943), and the chariot of Achilles to whom the son of Kronos had granted divine horses (Homer, *Il.* 17, 464).

(b) The gods sanctified, e.g., the light (Hesiod, *Works* 337), the air, night and day (Homer, *Il.* 8, 66; 11, 194), the earth (Soph., *Phil.* 706), fruitful ground (Aristoph., *Nubes* 282), the rivers and streams poured out by Zeus (Homer, *Od.* 10,

351), the threshing-floor, because it is sacred to Demeter (Homer, *Il.* 5, 499), the fish consecrated to Poseidon (Homer, *Il.* 16, 407), and also cities like Ilium, Pergamum, Thebes, Athens, islands like Euboea and even the Hellespont. Similarly, people are said to be *hieroi*, because they possess a trait which comes from the gods. This is illustrated by phrases like *hieron menos Alkinooio* or *hierē is Tēlemachoio* (Homer, *Od.* 7, 167; 2, 409); Alcinous received his power from Zeus and Telemachus his might from Athene. In Pindar, *Pyth.* 5, 97, kings are called *hieroi*, because they received their sovereignty from the gods. But Democritus said of the poet that he writes through divine afflatus and sacred inspiration, *met' enthousiasmou kai hierou pneumatos* (*Frag.* 18). From the time of Augustus (63 B.C.–A.D. 14) the Roman emperor was addressed by the title *hieros*. Not only his person but everything connected with him came to be counted as *hieros*, because it had been sanctified by the gods, e.g. the *hiera grammata*, the imperial decrees (cf. G. Schrenk, *TDNT* III 225).

2. (a) The thought of consecration to the gods leads into the realm of the cultus which was the decisive general factor in determining the meaning of *hieros*, as a glance at its compounds demonstrates. Even if everything which is called *hieros* does not belong directly to the cultus, it nevertheless remains associated with it. This remains true, when the choruses in the theatre are called *hieroi*, for they convey a divine message (Aristoph., *Ranae* 674, 686), when non-cultic songs consecrated to the gods are *hieroi*, and the circle in which justice is administered is called *hieros* (Homer, *Il.* 18, 504). Again, *hieros* can similarly be used of people, especially of those who have been initiated into the mysteries (cf. Aristoph., *Ranae* 652, *anthrōpos hieros*).

(b) *ta hiera*, lit. the holy things (rarer in the sing.), denotes above all the sacrifice (e.g. Homer, *Il.* 1, 147), and occasionally the sacrificial animal (Homer, *Il.* 2, 420). In post-Homeric times it frequently denoted the omens which accompanied the sacrifice. *ta hiera* was more commonly used for cultic objects (images, vestments, sacred utensils etc.), cultic actions, and for the cultus in general (e.g. Hdt., 1, 172; cf. 3 Macc. 3:21).

(c) *to hieron* has predominantly the meaning of sanctuary, cultic centre. In contrast to *naos*, temple building, and to *temenos*, sacred area (→ Temple), it is a more general term which can denote the temple building, the sacred area, and also the sacred grove as the local cultic centre.

(d) *hierōsynē* is not particularly frequent and means priesthood, in the sense of office, service and living. In contrast, *hierateia* means priestly activity, the office, but this too is not very frequent. The related vb. *hierateuō*, perform the office of a priest, was not used until a later period. The vb. *hierasthai*, to be a priest, is more ancient and both words are derived from it. The related adj. *hieratikos* occurs frequently and generally denotes anything priestly. *hierateuma* is found only in the LXX (→ Priest).

3. *hierourgeō*, perform sacred rites, *hieroprepēs*, befitting the sacred, *hierosyleō*, rob a temple or commit sacrilege, and their derivatives need no further explanation. But further comment is necessary on *hierothytos* and especially *hiereus* and *archiereus*.

(a) *hierothytos* means devoted, offered to a god, sacrificed, and is a specifically cultic term. The plur. *ta hierothyta* means the sacrifice or sacrificial flesh. In a

metaphorical sense it occurs in Pindar, *Frag.* 78, of human sacrificial death as an offering to the gods.

(b) *hiereus* means priest, sacrificer, diviner. In Homer it occurs in par. to *mantis* (*Il.* 1, 62; 62, 221). In so far as the priest is skilled in dealing with the sacred he is also a soothsayer who can give information on things to do with the gods.

A → sacrifice did not necessarily have to be offered by a priest. The head of the family could carry out the family sacrifice, the chief of the tribe the tribal sacrifice, and the magistrate the sacrifice for the city. Isoc. laid down the ideal, *tēn basileian hōsper hierōsynēn pantos andros einai nomizousin*, "they believe that kingship, like priesthood, belongs to every man" (2, 6). But the great and important cultic centres required continuous care and therefore an official priesthood which lived in accordance with temple rather than family tradition. Even if the work of the priests included dealing with many sacred objects, their most obvious and appropriate activity was nevertheless the slaughter of the sacrifices. Hence, *hiereuō*, to sacrifice, has also the meaning of slay and kill (*Il.* 2, 34; Procopius Gazaeus 2, 25).

(c) *archiereus* as a title occurs first in references to non-Gk. high priests (Hdt. 2, 142, of Egyptian high priests of high rank after the king; cf. the Greek titles *hierapolos*, chief priest, *hierarchēs*, president of sacred rites, high priest). Plato used it in connection with his ideal state (*Laws* 12, 947a); the *archiereus* was to stand annually at the head of all the officiating priests.

In the Hel. period under the Seleucids there were official *archiereis* for the satrapies of the day. The chief priests of the great sanctuaries carried the same title. Even under the Ptolemaic kings *archiereis* are sometimes mentioned. Under the Romans the system of the Seleucids was continued. The provincial high priest of the imperial cult was called *archiereus tou Sebastou* (*tōn Sebastōn*). At the head stood the emperor himself as *pontifex maximus*. From Polyb. (3rd–2nd cents. B.C.) on, *archiereus* was translated by the Lat. *pontifex*. Over and above these, the title *archiereus* was also granted to local high priests and to the heads of religious communities, in so far as these were centred on a sanctuary.

OT In the LXX the following words form a unified group, for they all go back to the Heb. *kōhēn*, in form the participle of *kāhan*, to be a priest, serve as priest (its etymology is uncertain and does not add anything to our understanding of the word): *hierateia*, *hierateuō*, *hierateuma*, *hieratikos* (without Heb. equivalent), *hiereus*, *hierourgeō* (without Heb. equivalent), *hierourgia* (without Heb. equivalent), *hierōma* (without Heb. equivalent), *hierōsynē*, *archierasthai* (without Heb. equivalent), *archierateuō* (without Heb. equivalent), *archiereus*, *archierōsynē* (without Heb. equivalent). If one ignores completely peripheral words (e.g. *hierosyleō* and its derivatives in 1 and 2 Macc.; *hierodoulos* in 1 Esd.), these form the overwhelming majority of instances, the only exceptions being *hieros* (6 times for Heb. equivalents) and *hiereia* (2 Ki. 10:20 for Heb. *ʿaṣārâh*, a solemn assembly for Baal).

hieros did not fit the Jewish concept of holiness prevailing at the time of the translation of the LXX, because it meant what is holy in and of itself apart from any ethical element, whereas since the exile only what conformed to the Torah could to the Jewish mind be holy. Even the temple in Jerusalem was not generally called *to hieron* until the strongly Hel. writings of the LXX (also Philo and Josephus; exceptions are 1 Chr. 29:4; cf. 1 Chr. 9:27; 2 Chr. 6:13). The word-group could,

however, be used for the priest and his activities, for this was essentially a matter of the cultus for which, according to the law, no one else could be qualified. For *hiereus*, *hierateia* and *hierateuma* see the discussion under → Priest.

NT 1. In the NT most of the words in the group occur only rarely.

(a) *hierothyton* (only 1 Cor. 10:28) is the meat (→ Flesh) which had been slaughtered in the pagan cult. The fact that some Christians continued to eat it, knowing its origin, caused questions of → conscience at Corinth which Paul sought to resolve by directing the church to the glory of God and concern for others (1 Cor. 10:31 ff.).

(b) *hieroprepēs*, befitting a holy person or thing, worthy of reverence (only Tit. 2:3) corresponds with the "preference for solemn and cultic style" in the Pastorals (*TDNT* III 254). The context suggests that the nearest parallel usage would be one like Plut., *On the Education of Children* 14p. 11c, where it is *hieroprepestaton* to accustom boys to the truth. Thus in Tit. 2:3 the older women in the congregation should be conformed to propriety in their behaviour.

(c) *hieros*, sacred, holy, occurs in 2 Tim. 3:15 in a similarly solemn context of the "sacred writings." Similar formulae are frequent in Philo and Josephus (cf. *TDNT* III 227). Although the word was otherwise not popular, it could perhaps be used more easily of the Scriptures because they possessed a sacred quality all their own. In a comparison (1 Cor. 9:13) Paul uses *ta hiera* in its usual sense of sacred actions.

(d) *hierosylos*, temple robber, one who commits sacrilege. In Acts 19:37 Paul and his companions were defended by the town clerk of Ephesus against the charge of being sacrilegious and blasphemers against pagan temples. Paul was accused of teaching that "gods made with hands are not gods" and thus of undermining both trade and the temple of Artemis (Acts 19:26 f.). The related vb., *hierosyleō*, rob temples (Rom. 2:22), apparently alludes to a problem frequently aired in Rab. discussion. To what extent was it permissible to do business in pagan-temple utensils and property, although they were ritually unclean? Under certain circumstances such dealings were allowed, if they contributed to the damaging of the pagan cult. Paul seems to be rejecting such devious practices (cf. O. Michel, *Der Brief an die Römer*, 1955[10] ad loc.). ([Ed.] The verse may also allude to the practice of some Jews of removing gold and silver idols from shrines for private profit (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 4, 8, 10.)

(e) *hierourgeō*, perform holy service, act as a priest with regard to something. In Rom. 15:16 Paul makes metaphorical use of the language of the cultus; the Gentiles must now offer sacrifice to the true God. A sacrifice can only be acceptable, if it fulfils all the conditions for acceptance. The only true offering is the gospel. Paul has been ordained, therefore, not as priest but as *hierourgōn* of the gospel, in order to give correct instruction in offering sacrifice.

2. *to hieron* and *hiereus/archiereus* occur more frequently. *to hieron* is, almost without exception, a technical term for Herod's temple (exceptions: any sanctuary, 1 Cor. 9:13; the temple of Artemis, Acts 19:27). The most important difference between it and *naos* (→ Temple) is that *to hieron* is never spiritualized. It always means the structure with its walls, gates, porticos, courts and buildings. The pinnacle (Matt. 4:5; Lk. 4:9) of the *hieron*, which never denoted the temple itself, was perhaps the South-East corner of the outer wall, below which the ground fell

away steeply into the Kidron valley. Lk. 3:37 and Mk. 12:4 ff. refer to the court of the women; Acts 3:8 to the court of the men; Mk. 11:15 perhaps to the outermost court, that of the Gentiles. Jn. 10:23 mentions Solomon's portico, one of the great colonnades which surrounded the court of the Gentiles and in which teaching took place (Mk. 11:27–13:1; Matt. 21:23–24:1; Lk. 20:1–21:38; Jn. 5:14; 7:14, 29; 8:20; Acts 3:11; 5:12, 21, 25, 42), and also prayer (Acts 2:46; Lk. 18:10). Three points are of theological importance.

(a) The Gospels make it clear that Jesus was frequently in the temple and that he did not condemn the form of piety which made use of it. According to Mk. 13:1 ff. and par. Matt. 24:1, Lk. 21:5, he announced the destruction of the temple with sorrow. When he drove the money-changers and dealers in animals out of the the court of the Gentiles and forbade anyone to carry merchandise through it (Matt. 22:12 ff.; Mk. 11:15 ff.; Lk. 19:45 ff.), he justified his action by saying that the temple was God's house set apart for prayer but men have made it a den of robbers (cf. Isa. 56:7; Jer. 7:11). It has become a house of trade (Jn. 2:16). Jesus did not seek to free himself from the obligations of the religion of his fathers which was held together by the temple. Nevertheless, he did not hesitate to purify it with the authority of the one who, when the material temple was destroyed, would in three days build the true *naos* (Jn. 2:19; cf. Mk. 14:58; Acts 6:14). The idea of a special holy place is now superfluous.

(b) The earliest Jewish Christians followed Jesus by using the temple for their prayers (Lk. 24:53; Acts 2:46).

(c) The evangelist Luke shows a particular interest in Jesus' devotion to the temple (2:46), and in that of the early Christians and even in that of Paul, the apostle of the Gentiles (Acts 21:26 ff.; 22:17; 24:12, 18, 25:8). He does this to prove that the Christians are the true people of God and have been unjustly accused by the Jews.

3. For *hiereus* and *archiereus* which belong to the same group → Priest.

H. Seebass

ὅσιος

ὅσιος (*hosios*), holy, devout, pious; ὁσιότης (*hosiotēs*), holiness, devoutness, piety; ἀνόσιος (*anosios*), unholy.

CL In Gk. literature the earliest form of word of this group is *hosiē*. It stood for what was in accordance with divine direction and providence. "It is not in accord with divine appointment to contrive evil one against another" (Homer, *Od.* 16, 423). *hosiēs pleon eipein* (Emp. 4, 7) means to say more than is required of one. More particularly *hosios* can mean the obligations laid on men in ritual and ceremonies, e.g. burial rites. The adj. *hosios* (found, like *hosiotēs*, from Plato on) therefore has the general sense of sanctioned or allowed by divine or natural law. *hosios* is seen in perspective when it is compared, on the one hand, with *dikaios* (→ Righteousness). Thus *ta hosia kai dikaia* (Plato, *Politics* 301d) means what is established by human agreement and divine ordinance. On the other hand, it may be compared with → *hieros* which, as a cultic ritual taboo or as what has been sanctified through the sanctuary, stands in contrast with the profane even when it has been consecrated to a god. Thus *kosmein tēn polin kai tois hierois kai tois hosiois* (Isoc., 153b) means to adorn the city with sacred and profane buildings.

Used of people, *hosios* means pious, religious; of actions, pure, clean (Emp., 4, 2, the mouth; Aesch., *Cho.* 378, the hands; cf. 1 Tim. 2:8). To describe the gods, it is used late and very rarely along with *dikaios* (*CIG* 3830).

OT *hosios* is used predominantly to translate Heb. *ḥāsîḏ* (a poetical word, occuring chiefly in the Pss.). *ḥāsîḏ* denotes the man who readily accepts the obligations which arise from the people's relationship to God, "the loyal, the pious one" (Koehler-Baumgartner, 319). It is related to *ḥeseḏ* which denotes the loyal, loving-kindness of Yahweh for Israel within his → covenant (cf. W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*, I, 1961, 232–9). The earliest occurrence (Deut. 33:8) in the blessing of Levi describes the fellowship of the Levites as "thy *ḥāsîḏ*", because Levi has proved loyal when tested by God. But *ḥāsîḏ* occurs most frequently in the plur. and means the congregation gathered for worship (e.g. Ps. 85:8[9]) serving God (Ps. 79:2). "Gather to me my faithful ones [*ḥ^{a}sîḏay*], who made a covenant with me by sacrifice!" (Ps. 50:5). The gentile nations are not *ḥāsîḏ*, and within the people of God the *ḥ^{a}sîḏîm* are contrasted in the liturgical Ps. 15 with those declared guilty. Even in the context of strict observance of the → law, *ḥāsîḏ* can have the sense of trusting. Because Yahweh forgives sins, everyone who is *ḥāsîḏ* towards him prays to him (Ps. 32:6; cf. 52:9 f.[10]). It can also mean that whoever trusts in his integrity (LXX *hosiotēs*) is righteous (Prov. 14:32).

ḥ^{a}sîḏîm as the name of a particular group within Jud. does not occur until the time of the Maccabees (1 Macc. 2:42; 7:13; 2 Macc. 14:6). This group seems to have lived in accordance with apocalyptic tradition and therefore to have observed the law particularly strictly. The absence of the word in the Qumran documents is, however, striking. Clearly it was not a self-designation of the community but a name attached to it by those outside. ([Tr.] There are grounds for thinking that the term dropped out of use, when this group split into two or more parties.)

God is twice described as *hosios*. In Deut. 32:4 it translates *yāšār*, upright; God observes the decrees which he himself has made. In Ps. 145:17 it stands for *ḥāsîḏ*. God supports the fallen, satisfies the hungry and is near to those who pray to him (cf. also Wis. 5:19). God takes *hosiotēs* as an invincible shield (see below on Rev. 15:4). *ta hosia* (Deut. 29:19[18], *šālôm*), are correspondingly, the kindnesses which one expects from God, and in Isa. 55:3 (plur. of *ḥeseḏ*) the successes which David could expect from God (David as a witness to the power of God among the nations).

NT 1. In the NT *hosios* is a rare word (8 occurrences, of which 5 are in quotations; *hosiotēs* twice; *anosios* twice). The most important OT use (*hosioi*, the congregation) does not appear. The members of the Christian community are not *ḥ^{a}sîḏîm*, but chosen ones (*eklektoi*; → Election, art. *eklegomai*) and saints (→ *hagios*). Only in the more strongly Hel. writings is there occasional use of *hosios* (e.g. Lk. 1:75, of Jewish piety) and the negative *anosios* (1 Tim. 1:9, where the law is said to have been laid down for the unholy; cf. 2 Tim. 3:2). Eph. 4:24 mentions *hosiotēs* as one of the qualities of the new man.

2. God is twice called *hosios* in quotations. The hymn of Rev. 15:3, 4 goes back to Ps. 145:17 and its context (God alone is *hosios*). Rev. 16:5 recalls Deut. 32:4; God is equally *dikaios* (just in judgment) and *hosios* (holy in judgment), when he condemns evildoers.

3. The use of *hosios* in Heb. 7:26 is unique. Here the word is used absolutely in the way in which elsewhere it can be used only of God. As high priest (*archiereus*), Christ is completely *hosios*, utterly without sin and utterly pure, so that his offering is sufficient once for all. Acts 2:27 and 13:35 (quoting Ps. 16:10) make a different point. God's promise, not to let his Holy One (*hosios*; cf. Heb. *ḥāsîḏ*) see destruction, was not fulfilled in David. It has only now been fulfilled in Christ. By virtue of the → resurrection Jesus is the true *ḥāsîḏ*, although he was condemned by the religious authorities as a religious criminal. Hence, he is also heir to the kindnesses which David was to expect from God (Acts 13:34, quoting Isa. 55:3), and has been given authority to judge all nations (Acts 17:31). *H. Seebass*

→ Lord, → Priest, → Sacrifice, → Serve, Deacon, Worship, → Temple

(a). E. H. Askwith, *The Christian Conception of Holiness*, 1900; J. G. Davies, "The Concept of Holiness", *London Quarterly Review* 185, 1960, 36–44; W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*, I, 1961; II, 1967 (see index); J. H. Elliott, *The Elect and the Holy, Supplements to NovT* 12, 1966; G. Fohrer, *History of Israelite Religion*, 1973; F. Hauck, *hosios*, *TDNT* V 489–93; O. R. Jones, *The Concept of Holiness*, 1961; L. E. Keck, "The Poor and the Saints in Jewish Christianity and Qumran", *ZNW* 57, 1966, 54 ff.; J. Muilenburg, "Holiness", *IDB* II 616–25; S. Neill, *Christian Holiness*, 1960; M. Noth, "The Holy Ones of the Most High", *The Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies*, 1966, 215–28; R. Otto, *The Idea of the Holy*, 1923; E. Pax, "Holy", *EBT* I 372–75; O. Procksch and K. G. Kuhn, *hagios* etc., *TDNT* I 88–115; G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, I, 1962, 203–7 and 271–79; H. Ringgren, *The Prophetical Conception of Holiness*, 1948; and *Israelite Religion*, 1966; J. C. Ryle, *Holiness*, (1879) 1952; D. S. Shapiro, "The Meaning of Holiness in Judaism", *Tradition* 7, 1, 1965, 46–80; G. Schrenk, *hieros* etc., *TDNT* III 221–32; N. H. Snaith, *The Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament*, 1944, 21–50; N. Walker, "The Origin of the 'Thrice-Holy' ", *NTS* 5, 1958–59, 132 f.; A. S. Wood, "Holiness", *ZPEB* III 173–83.
(b). R. Asting, *Die Heiligkeit im Urchristentum*, 1930; W. W. von Baudissin, *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, II, 1878; H. Bardtke, "Heilig und Profan", *EKL* II 52 ff.; J. Dillersberger, *Das Heilige im Neuen Testament*, 1926; J. Hänel, *Die Religion der Heiligkeit*, 1931; B. Häring, *Das Heilige und das Gute*, 1950; E. Issel, *Der Begriff der Heiligkeit im Neuen Testament*, 1881; K. Koch, "Die Eigenart der priesterschriftlichen Sinaigesetzgebung", *ZTK* 55, 1958, 36 ff.; G. Lanczkowski *et al.*, "Heilig", *RGG*³ III 146 ff.; F. J. Leenhardt, *La Notion de Sainteté dans l'Ancien Testament*, 1929; O. Schilling, *Das Heilige und das Gute im Alten Testament*, 1956.

Hope, Expectation

Of the various terms which express hope or expectancy, the most frequently used and the richest in meaning in NT Gk. are the noun *elpis*, the vb. *elpizō* and their derivatives. Both words denote, on the one hand, the act of hoping, but both include also the idea of the object hoped for. Thus *ta elpizomena* means the good things hoped for, and *elpis* the object of good hope as well as the act of hope. The other words, which are dealt with in a second article, form a group because of their common derivation from the stem *dok-* or *dek-*, to receive, accept, and have an essentially narrower range of meaning. The noun *apokaradokia* denotes a longing, almost impatient expectancy. *prosdokaō* and *prosdokia* imply fearful anticipation of something (catastrophe, war). *prosdechomai*, beside its frequent meaning, to take up, accept, can also mean wait for, expect, and is therefore also treated here.

ἐλπίς

ἐλπίς (*elpis*), expectation, hope; ἐλπίζω (*elpizō*), expect, hope; ἀπελπίζω (*apelpizō*), expect back; προελπίζω (*proelpizō*), hope in advance.

CL *elp-*, the stem of *elpis, elpizō*, was formed from the root **vel* (cf. Lat. *velle*, to wish) by extension with *p* (also retained in Lat. *voluptas*, desire). In secular Gk. *elpis* does not correspond with our word hope, since it is a general word for the anticipation of future events of all kinds, of good (hope) or evil (fear). A synonym of *prosdokia*, expectation, it can be used to denote hope by the addition of adjs. like *agathē, glykeia, hilara* (good, bright, joyful). The vb. *elpizō* means not only hope, but also expect, suppose, think.

Living hope as a fundamental religious attitude was unknown in Gk. culture. Admittedly Theognis said, "As long as you live by honouring the gods, hold on to hope!" and Horace called *fides* (faith, loyalty) the companion of *spes* (hope). But in the final analysis men had to stand without hope before the hostile forces of guilt and death. Sophocles' chorus lamented, "The highest remains, never to be brought to life." Seneca called hope the definition of "an uncertain good". But deification and immortality promised by the mystery religions were human pipe dreams. (For further examples see R. Bultmann, *elpis*, *TDNT* II 518 ff.)

OT 1. *Hope in the Heb. OT.* (a) Heb. has four main vbs. meaning to hope: (i) *qāwâh* (connected with *qāw*, stretched out, plumbline), to be stretched out towards, to long after, wait for (with God as obj. 26 times); (ii) *yāḥal*, to wait, long (for God, 27 times); (iii) *ḥāḵâh*, to wait (for God, 7 times); (iv) *śāḇar*, to wait, hope (for God, 4 times). The four corresponding nouns are not much in evidence (they are used in 9 passages of hope in God). The most common is *tiqwâh* (17 times). Various forms of *beṭaḥ* which has more the meaning of trust and security are also translated by *elpis* in the LXX (see 2 below). Hoping as an act stands in the foreground and occurs in promises and exhortations, but most of all as a confession of assurance, especially in the Pss. The Heb. vbs. of hoping are closely connected with those of trust (→ Faith, art. *pistis*).

(b) Of 146 passages in which vbs. or nouns describe hoping, half do so in a secular sense. In these it is an expectation combined with certainty and tension, directed towards some definite desired object or event still lying in the future. Whether the certainty supporting such an expectation is valid and has an objective basis, or whether it is grounded in a subjective and erroneous assessment is an open question. What characterizes the judgment of this secular hope is the fact that in many passages, despite its personal intensity, it is described as futile. Prov. in particular emphasizes that the fool's hope (i.e. that of the godless) will come to nothing (11:7).

(c) The testimony of the OT to hope in God. This hope is often the subject of the OT even where the terms do not occur. In formal structure it resembles secular hope (see above), but is essentially different in content, basis and effects. In the 73 passages in which the hope of the faithful of Israel is expressed through the vb. or noun Yahweh is named as the object of hope. "To hope in Yahweh", "to wait for Yahweh" are expressions created by the OT writers. Those Babylonians whose prayers have come down to us never called their gods their "Hope". But an Israelite could pray, "Thou, O Lord, art my hope" (Ps. 71:5). Jeremiah spoke of "Thou hope of Israel" (14:8; 17:13). Thus Yahweh was the object, embodiment and guarantor of his people's hope. People wait for his name (Ps. 52:9 RSV mg.), for his word of forgiveness (Ps. 130:5), his arm (Isa. 51:5), his salvation (Gen. 49:18).

In eschatological passages the content of the hope is not expressed in abstract terms but in the form of a vision. For this reason the words of hope seldom occur there (but see Isa. 25:9; 42:4; 51:5; Hab. 2:3). The horizon of hope in the OT stretches far beyond what the majority of witnesses could see in terms of personal hope for their individual lives. It embraces Yahweh's coming in glory, his reign over a new → earth, the → conversion of Israel and the nations, and the new → covenant, based on the → forgiveness of sins. An important element in the maintenance of a pure hope was the struggle of the classical → prophets against false prophets, with their false hope and dreams of salvation. A glance at the prophetic writings and the Pss. shows that Israel, throughout a history so frequently marked by judgment in the shape of different calamities, repeatedly looked to God for the continuation of his gracious dealings with them (cf. Hos. 12:7; Jer. 31:17; Isa. 40:31; Ps. 40:1). Such hope, therefore, was a gift of God (Ps. 62:5, "my hope is from him"; Jer. 29:11, "to give you a future and a hope"). Wherever, humanly speaking, the future seemed a dead end, prophets of judgment like Hosea, Jeremiah and Ezekiel opened up the divine perspective of a new beginning (cf. Hos. 2; Jer. 29:1 ff.; 31:31–34; Ezek. 36;37). In the Pss., where in a lament fearful pleading is followed by statements of joyous hope, form critics explain the latter as "priestly oracles of salvation", promises of salvation from God mediated to the worshipper by a priest.

(d) (i) As a subjective attitude, the hope of faith, like secular hope, is a concrete personal expectation. Despite the "not yet" of the realization of salvation, it looks forward confidently though not without tension. However, Yahweh, for whom it waits, is not like us men. Since he knows, promises and brings to pass what the future holds for his people, hope attains unparalleled assurance in the realm of revelation. Despite everything which at present runs counter to the promise, the one who hopes trusts God for his faithfulness' sake not to disappoint the hope he has awakened through his word (Isa. 8:17; Mic. 7:7; Ps. 42:5).

(ii) Hand in hand with confident anticipation of God's gracious dealing goes submission to the sovereign rule of the Almighty. The time and manner of fulfilment are left to him. Therefore hope and the → fear of God are parallel in many Pss. (e.g. 33:18; 147:11; cf. Prov. 23:17, 18). To the one who fears the Lord a future and hope are promised.

(iii) Through confidence and humility hope becomes a patient, persevering waiting which can endure anxiety.

(iv) Waiting for God does indeed make men "still" but not inactive. It demonstrates the new strength (Isa. 40:31) they have received by the overcoming of temptation and by actions directed towards the hoped for future. During the siege Jeremiah bought a field to bear witness to the word of the Lord that "houses and fields and vineyards shall again be bought in this land" (32:6 ff.).

2. *LXX and Rab. Judaism.* (a) The LXX uses *elpizō* primarily to translate vbs. of trusting: (a) 46 times for *bāṭaḥ*, to feel safe, to rely; (b) 20 times for *ḥāsâh*, to take refuge, to hide; (c) 16 times for *yāḥal*, to wait; (d) only twice for *qāwâh*, to wait anxiously. This last is translated a further 26 times by *hypomenō* (→ Patience), which means to hold out rather than expect. This marked rapprochement with the vbs. of trusting distinguishes LXX usage from that of secular Gk. and prepares the way for the NT understanding of *elpizō*.

(b) The whole of post-OT Judaism is characterized by a variety of eschatological expectations, directed in the first place towards the coming of the messiah and the restoration of the kingdom of Israel. These hopes were often disappointed. Men rose with messianic claims and set the enthusiasm of the people ablaze. But sooner or later all these movements collapsed. This explains the pessimistic streak which accompanied the eschatological expectations of the Rabbis. God's kingdom could only come when Israel was completely obedient to the law. But this gave rise to an element of uncertainty: who could really say what complete obedience was? This made the individual's personal hope uncertain too: who could say that God was really pleased with him? The Pss. Sol., on the other hand, contain the messianic hope, and in the books of the Maccabees the resurrection of the body is attested as a hope. (See further R. Bultmann and K. H. Rengstorf, *TDNT* II 523–30; S. Mowinckel, *He That Cometh*, 1959, 261–450; → Jesus Christ.)

(c) In contrast to this pessimistic view the community of Qumran continued to affirm that there was hope for men and that this hope was founded in God's saving actions. Nevertheless, this hope was only valid for the → elect of God.

(d) In Hel. Judaism the messianic hope retreated behind the idea of the immortality of the → soul (see especially Philo who hoped only for the moral consummation of the individual soul).

NT 1. *Occurrence.* It is a remarkable fact of NT usage that *elpizō* and *elpis* play no great role in the Gospels. Only the vb. appears, once each in Matt. (quotation from the OT, Matt. 12:21 = Isa. 42:4) and Jn. (5:45), and three times in Lk. (6:34; 23:8; 24:21), in the sense of subjective expectation. The main emphasis on hope is found in the Pauline writings (19 out of 31 occurrences of the vb.; 36 out of 51 of the noun), and of these particularly in Rom. (4 and 13 occurrences respectively). Also prominent are the occurrences in the literature indebted to the Pauline tradition: 1 Pet. (2 and 3 times) and Heb. (1 and 5 times). In Acts both vb. and noun (2 and 8 times) are used particularly of the "hope of Israel" which is interpreted as hope in the resurrection.

apelpizō: the suffix *ap-* (*apo*) negatives the meaning of the simple vb., hence *apelpizō* means to cease to hope, to give up hope, to doubt. In the NT it occurs only in Lk. 6:35. Here, however, we have a departure from the meaning that can be demonstrated elsewhere, and the word means, to hope in return: lend, expecting nothing in return (cf. Vulg. *nihil inde sperantes*).

proelpizō: to hope before, only in Eph. 1:12. The "before" means either, if "we" embraces the Jewish Christians: we hoped in Christ before Gentile Christians received faith and hope; or it denotes the messianic hope which the Jews had before Christ's coming.

2. *Meaning.* In the NT the words never indicate a vague or a fearful anticipation, but always the expectation of something good (cf. *prosdokia agathou*). Where the vb. is followed by a prep. (*eis tina*, *epi* and *en tini*), the latter refers to the object on which the hope is set. In many passages *elpis* denotes not the personal attitude but the objective benefit of salvation towards which hope is directed (thus Gal. 5:5; Col. 1:5; Tit. 2:13). Where vb. or noun are used absolutely without further qualification the reference is usually to the eschatological fulfilment (thus Rom. 8:24; 12:12; 15:13; Eph. 2:12 etc.; → Goal, art. *eschatos*).

3. *The revelation of Christ as a new situation.* All the NT witnesses are agreed that through the coming of the promised Christ the situation described in terms of hope in the OT has been fundamentally altered. In the Redeemer the world's day of salvation has broken in as God's great "today". What was previously future has now in him become present for faith: → justification, personal relationship to God as his → child, the indwelling of the Holy → Spirit, the new → people of God comprising believers from → Israel and the nations. The presence of salvation is most strongly emphasized in the realized eschatology of Jn. Therefore the word *elpis* does not occur there. Its absence from Rev. is for a different reason. The thoroughly visionary picture of the end and of the foreground of the parousia replaces the abstract. Because of the new situation the hope of the NT is reshaped as regards both content and basis. However, since the "today" of salvation is only apparent to faith, it acquires a double aspect: to the "now" one has to add "not yet" (1 Jn. 3:2), to the "having" (→ Fellowship, art. *echō*) and "being in Christ" one has to add hope in him and looking for him.

4. *Hope, faith and love.* Hope is such a fundamental part of the Christian position that this can be described as rebirth to a "living hope" (1 Pet. 1:3). In paganism there were, of course, ideas of a metaphysical future, but no hope providing comfort and freedom from the fear of death (Eph. 2:12; 1 Thess. 4:13). The significance of *elpis* is further clarified by the fact that, along with *pistis* (→ Faith) and *agapē* (→ Love), it forms part of the primitive Christian triad (the three fundamental elements of the Christian life, e.g. 1 Thess. 1:3; 1 Cor. 13:13). None of them can exist without the others. There can be no hope without faith in Christ, for hope is rooted in him alone. Faith without hope would, by itself, be empty and futile (1 Cor. 15:14, 17).

5. *The essential features of NT hope are given decisive shape by three factors.*

(a) *Its content.* It is never ego-centric, but always centred on Christ and on God. Its heart is not the blessing of the individual but the universal kingly rule of God, in which he will be "all in all" (1 Cor. 15:28). Resurrection does not mean the resumption of a life *en sarki*, in the → flesh, nor even *kata sarka*, according to the flesh, but the fulfilment of the life received through the new → birth, *en pneumati*, in the → Spirit, *kata pneuma*, according to the Spirit (cf. Rom. 8). For "the last Adam became a life-giving spirit" (1 Cor. 15:45). In the realm of the word *elpis*, its content is defined as: → salvation (1 Thess. 5:8), → righteousness (Gal. 5:5), → resurrection in an incorruptible body (1 Cor. 15:52 ff.; Acts 23:6; 24:15), eternal → life (Tit. 1:2; 3:7), seeing God and being conformed to his likeness (1 Jn. 3:2 f.; → Image), the → glory of God (Rom. 5:2) or simply *doxa* (Col. 1:27; cf. 2 Cor. 3:12, the abiding *doxa* of NT service).

(b) *Its basis.* This does not rest on good works (→ law) but on the gracious work of God in Jesus Christ. He is therefore called "our hope" (1 Tim. 1:1; Col. 1:27, "Christ in you, the hope of glory"). This Christ is no stranger to the community of hope but the One whom they recognize in the gospel as the crucified and risen Lord and whose presence they know through the Spirit. Thus their hope is in the "future of the One who has come" (Kreck). With the gift of his own Son for all God gives the certainty that he will give us everything with him through our transfer into the Christian community (Rom. 8:32). Because Christ has risen as the → "first fruits", we shall also all rise (1 Cor. 15:20 ff.). The Coming One is the Exalted One, whom

God has already set over all things and given to the church as its head (Eph. 1:22).

(c) *Its nature as a gift.* As *elpis agathē* (good hope), hope is a gift of the Father's grace (2 Thess. 2:16) like faith, and is therefore aroused through the message of salvation (Col. 1:23) in which we receive our call. In this *klēsis* (→ Call, art. *kaleō*) the goal of hope in all its riches gives enlightenment (Eph. 1:18), and hope unites those who have been called (Eph. 4:4). Through the power of the Holy Spirit we receive a superabundance of hope (Rom. 15:13), for he is given us as the → first fruits (Rom. 8:23). His indwelling in believers is the guarantee of their resurrection (Rom. 8:11).

6. *The characteristics of hope as a subjective attitude.* One cannot separate hope as a personal attitude from the objective content of hope, since hope is not a theoretical knowledge about a promised future salvation but a function of a living faith.

(a) It is always a confident, sure expectation of divine saving actions. Without shutting its eyes to the needs and judgments in the foreground of the parousia, hope looks at the coming city of God. *pistis* and *elpis* are most closely connected (see NT above, 4). Faith gives "substance" to our hope (Heb. 11:1 NEB) or is the "assurance of things hoped for" (on this verse → Form, art. *hypostasis*). In Rom. 4:18 → Abraham's faith is presented as faith *par' elpida ep' elpidi*, "in hope against hope", i.e. against what human judgment of the future declared to be impossible he set the hope given him through God's promise. Faith and hope have in common the fact that their object is still invisible and unprovable (cf. Rom. 8:24 ff. *ho ou blepomen, elpizomen*, "we hope for what we do not see"). But, like faith, NT hope carries unconditional certainty within itself (see 5(a)–(c)). Therefore, confessions of hope can be introduced by *pisteuomen*, "we believe" (Rom. 6:8), *pepeismai*, "I am sure" (Rom. 8:38), *pepoithōs*, (I am) "certain" (Phil. 1:6). Certain that God's promises of salvation will be realized, the Christian glories in his hope, i.e. he gratefully praises God's grace (Rom. 5:2, *kauchōmetha ep' elpidi*, "we rejoice on the basis of our hope"; cf. Heb. 3:6, *to kauchēma tēs elpidos*, "pride in our hope").

(b) *elpis* and *agapē*. Like faith and hope, *agapē* (→ Love) and hope are also essentially related in the NT. If 1 Cor. 13:7 states that love "hopes all things", Col. 1:4, 5 speaks of "the love which you have for all the saints, because of the hope. . . ." Paul calls the Christians in Thessalonica his "hope and joy" (1 Thess. 2:19), and says in 2 Cor. 1:7, "our hope for you is unshaken". NT hope extends both heart and vision. The church, as it waits for the redemption of the body, even feels solidarity with the whole *ktisis* (→ Creation) as it lies in travail, and hopes for it (Rom. 8:20–23; on this passage see M. Black, *Romans*, 1973, 121 ff.).

(c) NT hope is a patient, disciplined, confident waiting for and expectation of the Lord as our Saviour. To hope is to be set in motion by the goal ahead, awaiting in this movement towards the goal. It demonstrates its living character by the steadfastness with which it waits, by *hypomonē* (→ Patience, art. *hypomenō*), by the patient bearing of the tension between the now, as we walk (for the moment) *dia pisteōs*, by → faith (2 Cor. 5:7), and our future manner of life (cf. Rom. 8:25; 1 Thess. 1:3). This waiting is something active, for it involves overcoming. Although the waiting may be painful, this too is reckoned positively as "travail" which

announces "rebirth" (Matt. 24:8). Therefore those who hope are comforted and confident (2 Cor. 5:8; 2 Thess. 2:16; 1 Thess. 4:18). Hoping is disciplined waiting. Therefore, in 1 Pet. 1:13 the warning, "set your hope fully upon the grace . . .", is preceded by "gird up your minds", i.e. be ready for the onslaught. To this context belongs the fundamental renunciation of all calculations of the future, the humble recognition of the limits set to our knowledge, the submission of our wishes to the demands of the battle for life to which we have been appointed. The goal of our hope calls us to "watch and pray". The man who competes for an earthly → crown makes the necessary sacrifices (1 Cor. 9:25). Hope becomes the motive for personal purity (1 Jn. 3:3), spurs us on to strive for holiness (Heb. 12:14) without which no man can see God. Filled with the longing to return home to his Lord, the apostle seeks his glory in pleasing him (2 Cor. 5:8 f.). Hope requires us to hold fast our confession of it without wavering (Heb. 10:23) and to be ready to give an answer to anyone who asks us to give an account of our hope (1 Pet. 3:15). Finally, however, NT hope is a joyful waiting (Rom. 12:12; → Patience, art. *hypomenō*). It gives courage and strength. It protects the inner man as a helmet protects the head (1 Thess. 5:8). As a ship is safe when at anchor, our life is secured by hope which binds us to Christ, our great High Priest who has entered the sanctuary (Heb. 6:18 f.). *E. Hoffmann*

ἀποκαραδοκία

ἀποκαραδοκία (*apokaradokia*), eager expectation; *ἐκδέχομαι* (*ekdechomai*), expect, wait for; *ἐκδοχή* (*ekdochē*), expectation; *ἀπεκδέχομαι* (*apekdechomai*), wait, wait eagerly; *προσδέχομαι* (*prosdechomai*), receive, welcome; *προσδοκάω* (*prosdokaō*), wait for, look for, expect; *προσδοκία* (*prosdokia*), expectation.

CL & OT While *ekdochē* (Heb. 10:27 f.) and *prosdokia* (Lk. 21:26; Acts 12:11 f.) are only used of fearful anticipation, *apokaradokia* appears twice in Paul in confessions of hope. The word does not occur in pre-Christian Gk., but the use of the simple vb. *karadokeō* (wait for) is widespread in Hel. Gk. It is formed from the noun *to kara*, the head, and *dechomai*, accept. In *apokaradokeō* the prefix *apo-* (according to Bertram) strengthens a negative element. This would make the meaning: to anticipate something longingly but anxiously (cf. the negative effect of *apo-* in *apelpizō*, to doubt; *apoginōskō*, to give up; *apeipon* – aor. of *apolegō*, to forbid, renounce). The compounds of *dechomai* formed with *ek-*, *apo-* and *pros-*, and *prosdokaō*, mostly denote patient waiting for a future goal.

NT 1. In the NT *apokaradokia* only occurs in Rom. 8:19 and Phil. 1:20. Luther translated Rom. 8:19 as "anxious waiting". The Gk. fathers, however, interpreted the noun without any negative tinge as "intense anticipation", "strong and excited expectation". At all events, the emotional force of eschatological expectancy is strongly emphasized here. NEB therefore translates Phil. 1:20 as "I passionately hope". Rom. 8:19 ascribed to the *ktisis*, → creation, a longing for the revelation of the children of God. It is they alone who know that the creation has been subjected to decay *ep' elpidi*, "in hope". Hope, → *elpis*, does not remove the

tension from *apokaradokia*, but frees it from fear and uncertainty. So the two words can stand together (Phil. 1:20) and bear witness to the fact that the power of expectation does not lie in strength of feeling but in the certainty which God has given and which is peculiar to hope.

2. *ekdechomai*, *apekdechomai*, *prosdechomai*. The words formed from the stem *men-* are rare in the NT, occurring once each (*perimenō* Acts 1:4, object: the promise of the Father, i.e. the Holy Spirit) and *anamenō* (1 Thess. 1:10, object: the Son). *hypomenō* means to await only in the LXX, but not in the NT (but cf. *hypomonē* in Rev. 3:10, "the word of patient endurance"; → Patience). The words formed with the roots *dek-* and *dok-*, however, occur frequently in this sense.

(a) *ekdechomai* means await, wait for. In this sense it occurs 6 times, of which three are in secular contexts (Acts 17:16; 1 Cor. 11:33; 16:11), one in a comparison (Jas. 5:7 of the farmer who waits for the fruit of the fields) and two refer to waiting for the *eschata*, the last things (Heb. 10:13; 11:10). Christ, seated at the right → hand of the Father, is waiting for the moment when his enemies will be made his footstool (cf. Ps. 110:1). And → Abraham was waiting for the city with sure foundations (a picture of heaven as a world of blessedness and perfect communion with God).

(b) *apekdechomai* (8 times, of which 6 are in Paul and 1 in Heb. and 1 in 1 Pet.). The word does not occur in the LXX. The prefix *ap/apo* emphasizes the distance between the state of waiting and the time of fulfilment of what is hoped for. Through it the one who is waiting is compelled to persevere. NEB renders the word in Gal. 5:5 "eagerly wait". But generally it is only the context which implies the manner of waiting. In terms of content the expectation is directed towards the returning Lord (Phil. 3:20), who will prove himself to be our "Saviour" as he transforms our bodies, towards our entry into the full riches of sonship through the resurrection of the body (Rom. 8:23), and therefore towards *dikaiosynē*, → righteousness, in the last judgment (Gal. 5:5). Since the human and the non-human creation share equally in the effects of the fall and in salvation, creation's anticipation of freedom from the curse of death is directed ultimately towards the entrance into glory of the children of God (Rom. 8:19). The children of God, aware of the nature of hope (Rom. 8:24), are waiting *di' hypomonēs* (v. 25), in patient endurance of the suffering of the present age.

(c) *prosdechomai* means I accept, but mostly I wait (14 times, of which 7 are in secular contexts). Where it is used of the expectations of faith it denotes (i) the messianic expectation of Israel (Lk. 2:25, 38: Simeon was waiting for the consolation of Israel; Anna spoke to those who were waiting for the salvation of Jerusalem), and (ii) the eschatological goal of salvation (resurrection, Acts 24:15; mercy in the judgment, Jude 21; the incomparable glory that will come with the epiphany, Tit. 2:13).

3. *prosdokaō*, I wait, wait for, look for someone or something, expect, occurs 16 times, of which 5 are in sayings, 2 in 2 Pet. In Matt. 11:3 par. Lk. 7:9 f. it appears in the Baptist's question about the expected messiah. In Matt. 24:50 it is used of Jesus' parousia, which comes unexpectedly. 2 Pet. 3:13 identifies the goal of expectation as "new heavens and a new earth in which righteousness dwells", and v. 12 as the inbreaking of the day of God. Those who wait are at one and the same time the *speudontes*, which some interpret as those who strive (thus C. Maurer

TDNT VI 726) and are zealous (Arndt, 771) some as those who hasten the day through their holy conduct. *E. Hoffmann*

→ Fullness, → Present, → Promise

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House, Build, Manage, Steward

οἶκος

οἶκος (*oikos*), house, dwelling-place; οἰκία (*oikia*), dwelling, house; οἰκέω (*oikeō*), dwell, inhabit; κατοικέω (*katoikeō*), inhabit; κατοικητήριον (*katoikētērion*), dwelling place, habitation; κατοικίζω (*katoikizō*), settle; ἐνοικέω (*enoikeō*), live in, dwell in; οἰκεῖος (*oikeios*), belonging to the house, member of the household.

CL *oikos* is attested as early as Mycenaean Gk. and has been handed down from Homer on. It means both the dwelling place and the structure. *oikia*, from Herodotus on, denotes the dwelling, the house. Originally the two words were differentiated in meaning, in that *oikia* denoted the dwelling place, and *oikos* the whole house, the premises, the family property, and even the inhabitants of the house. This original distinction was maintained in Attic law, where *oikos* meant the inheritance and *oikia* the house itself. Later, particularly after the LXX, the distinctions were not maintained and the words were used synonymously.

In popular speech *oikos* meant any kind of house, but frequently also a particular house and even a temple. In such cases the divine name attached to *oikos* indicated the god to whom the temple was dedicated. But the word was also used in the metaphorical sense. It denoted the family, the property and other similar concepts connected with the house itself.

The vb. *oikeō*, which belongs to *oikos* and *oikia*, occurs frequently in Gk. from Homer on, and also in the LXX. Used intrans. it means to have one's dwelling, dwell; trans. to inhabit, occupy.

OT 1. *oikos* and *oikia* appear very frequently in the LXX chiefly to translate the Heb. *bayiṯ*. Both words denote the building (the house, and also palace or temple). But because Heb., like Gk., has no word for the small social unit which we call the family, *bayiṯ* (and hence LXX *oikos*) acquired, in addition to its original meaning of dwelling place, that of household (those bound together by sharing the same dwelling place), in a broader sense that of family and clan, and even that of the still bigger tribal unit (e.g. the house of Judah). When Ps. 127:1 says that God must build the house if it is to endure, it refers both to the communal lot of those who dwell under one roof, and also to their heirs and descendants (2 Sam. 7:11 f., 16, 18 f., 25–29) who are obliged to give one another unconditional protection (the father's house).

2. Used with God's name, *oikos*, as in secular Gk., means the temple, the sanctuary: *oikos theou* (house of God) or *oikos kyriou* (house of the Lord). Both expressions are common. Beside criticism of the idea that anyone could build God a house (2 Sam. 7:5 f.; 1 Ki. 8:27; Isa. 66:1) we find sincere expressions of joy at the privilege of being able to be in the house of the Lord, especially in the Pss. (e.g. 23:6; 26:8; 27:4; 52:8[10]); 84:4, 10[5, 11]; 92:13[14]; 122:1). To this feeling corresponds the longing for God's house on the part of those who are prevented from being there (cf. Ps. 42:4[5]).

3. It is questionable whether, in the OT, the idea of the "house of God" is transferred from the → temple to the congregation worshipping there, in the same way that a transference of meaning has taken place from "house" (dwelling place) to "family" (community). All the statements about the house of God remain firmly

attached to the earthly sanctuary. The only verse which expressly lies behind the NT understanding of the congregation as the "house of God" (Num. 12:7 = Heb. 3:2, 5) does not refer directly to the temple but to the land in which Yahweh (through his people) has settled and therefore reigns. It is more conceivable that an extended use of "house of David" for the people of God prepared the way for the idea that the community was "God's house" and "God's building" (cf. the promise to rebuild "the booth of David that is fallen" [Amos 9:11; Acts 15:16]).

4. Going beyond the OT we find that in various phrases in the Qumran documents "house" denotes the Qumran community which understood itself as a temple or sanctuary (1QS 5:6; 8:5, 9; 9:6; CD 3:19). On the whole subject → Temple; → Holy; cf. B. Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament*, *Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series* 1, 1965.

NT In the NT, *oikos* and *oikia*, which are virtually used as synonyms, have the same range of meaning as in secular Gk. and in the LXX. Nevertheless, they occur in a number of characteristic phrases peculiar to the NT (see below 4 (b)–(f) and 5). In these *oikos* appears far more frequently.

1. The most frequent use of both *oikos* and *oikia* is in the lit. sense of house (e.g. Matt. 2:11; 7:27–7; 9:7; Mk. 7:30) and in the simple metaphorical sense of family, household (e.g. Matt. 13:57; Mk. 6:4; Jn. 4:53; 1 Cor. 1:16; 16:15; 2 Tim. 1:16; 4:19) (cf. Arndt, 559 f., 562 f.).

2. Passages which use *oikos theou* for the → temple are self-explanatory (Mk. 2:26 par. Matt. 12:4, Lk. 6:4; Matt. 21:13 par. Mk. 11:17, Lk. 19:46 = Isa. 56:7; Jn. 2:16 f.; Lk. 11:51). The only question which one has to ask about Acts 7:46–50 is whether there is here a criticism of Solomon's building of a house (v. 47) in its contrast with David's request to be allowed to make God a tent dwelling (*skēnōma* v. 46; → Tent). The statement, illustrated by the quotation from Isa. 66:1, that "the Most High does not dwell in houses made with hands" (v. 48) has been thought to support such an interpretation, according to which Solomon's building of the temple was a deviation from the true worship of God. (Cf. E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1971, 285 ff. who points out that Judaism did not represent Yahweh as dwelling in the temple but only his name. Nevertheless, Stephen's words would have had a blasphemous ring for Jews.)

3. The passages which speak of "the house of Israel," "the house of Jacob," or "the house of Judah" (Matt. 10:6; 15:24; Acts 2:36; Heb. 8:8, 10 citing Jer. 31:31 ff.; Lk. 1:33; Acts 7:42–43 citing Amos 5:25–27) are linked with the metaphorical sense of house, family, race (cf. also "house of David" Lk. 1:27, 69; 2:4) which they extend in the direction of the people of God. In this they are following the example of the OT, as the frequent references to the OT in these illustrations show.

4. (a) The NT designation of the Christian community as the house of God which is "an integral part of the primitive Christian *kērygma*" (O. Michel, *TDNT* V 126), goes beyond the OT model. This meaning of house may have had several roots. There are the OT concepts of God's proprietary rights over his people (expressed there, admittedly, more through the images of the vine, the vineyard and the plantation, Hos. 10:1; Isa. 5:7; Jer. 2:21; Ps. 80:8 ff.[9 ff.]; cf. 1 Cor. 3:6 ff.), but which apply equally in the case of the house (→ People; → Generation). Gnostic

ideas of a "heavenly building", identical with the heavenly body of the primal man and redeemer may also have exercised an influence if they were earlier than the NT (→ Body; → Head; cf. also O. Michel, *TDNT* V 122 f.). Further, one must take into consideration the fact that the Qumran documents also see the community as a holy house, built on the foundation of truth (1QH 7:8 f.).

(b) In its exposition of Num. 12:7, Heb. 3:1–6 is linked to the OT in its terminology. But it extends the thought. Moses and Christ are contrasted: Moses as "faithful in all God's house as a servant", Christ as the "son" and the "builder" of the house and, as such, superior. Whatever sense "house" may have had in Num. 12:7 (all Israel as God's people or God's "royal household"; so T. J., cf. O. Michel, *Der Brief an die Hebräer*, *KEK* 13, 1966[12], 96), for the writer of Heb. it meant that the Christian community (→ Church) is "God's house," as 3:6b demonstrates. "We are his house, if we hold our confidence and pride in our hope firm to the end" (RSV mg.).

(c) What is important in this connection is not only that God or Christ is regarded as the builder of the house. In contrast to Philo, it is not the individual, the "pure soul" that is seen as God's house, but the Christian community as a whole which is designated as such (cf. O. Michel, *TDNT* V 123–30). Moreover, the passages in which Paul speaks of the body as the temple of the Holy Spirit (1 Cor. 3:16; 6:19) and which are undoubtedly connected with the idea of the house of God, are not to be understood purely individualistically. They deal objectively with the Christian community and the problems which arise from the fellowship.

(d) Eph. 2:19–22 shows that the ideas contained in the terms "house of God" and "temple of God" naturally run into one another. Here, no less than six different derivatives of *oikos* (nevertheless, not *oikos* itself) are used to describe the spiritual reality of the community under the metaphor of the temple and of the building. They are *paroikos* (v. 19, stranger, → Foreign), *oikeios* (v. 19, members of the household; cf. Gal. 6:10), *epoikodomeō* (v. 20, build on; cf. 1 Cor. 3:10, 12, 14; 1 Pet. 2:5 *v.l.*; Acts 20:32 t.r.; Col. 2:7; Jude 20), *oikodomē* (v. 21, building, structure; cf. 4:12, 16, 29; → *oikodomeō* below), *synoikodomeō* (v. 22, build together), and *katoikētērion* (v. 22, dwelling-place; cf. Jer. 9:10; Rev. 18:2). In 1 Pet. 2:4 f. the images again overlap. Christians are exhorted to allow themselves to be built up as spiritual stones into a spiritual house (→ *oikodomeō*), in order to present spiritual sacrifices to God as (and here the picture changes) a spiritual priesthood. When 1 Pet. 4:17 reckons that the judgment will begin with the house of God, the natural assumption is that the Christian community is the house of God. Similarly, 1 Tim. 3:15 expressly identifies "the house of God" with "the church of the living God, the pillar and bulwark of the truth".

(e) Given the figurative use of the terms, it was inevitable that many related concepts and images would be introduced to elucidate the truth concerning the Christian community which is expressed in the phrase "the house of God". There is the idea of the foundation (1 Cor. 3:10–12; Eph. 2:20; 2 Tim. 2:19; → Firm, art. *themelios*), of Christ as the corner stone (Acts 4:11; Eph. 2:20; 1 Pet. 2:4) and Christians as living stones (1 Pet. 2:5; → Rock), of the pillars (1 Tim. 3:15) and above all of the temple (1 Cor. 3:16 f.; 6:19; 2 Cor. 6:16; Eph. 2:21; → Temple), All these passages and concepts, as well as all the derivatives of *oikos*, must be taken into account in one's interpretation.

(f) It is strange, however, that the concept of the house of God remains confined to the idea of a spiritual building and is not extended in the sense of the family, the other metaphorical meaning of *oikos*, which could have been used in the sense of the family of God. Probably the phrase "the house of God" was, through OT thought, too closely linked to the sanctuary for such an extension to be possible.

5. (a) What could be conveyed by the idea of the family of God had, in fact, already come into being in the primitive Christian community through the house churches. The household as a community (the family included the slaves, according to the ancient concept of it) formed the smallest unit and basis of the congregation. The house churches mentioned in the NT (Acts 11:14; 16:15, 31, 34; 18:8; 1 Cor. 1:16; Phlm. 2; 2 Tim. 1:16; 4:19) no doubt came into being through the use of the homes as meeting places. The gospel was preached in them (Acts 5:42; 20:20), and the Lord's supper was celebrated in them (Acts 2:46). The conversion of the head of the house brought the whole family into the congregation and – however it is to be understood – into the faith (Acts 16:31, 34; 18:8; cf. Jn. 4:53 where, as an exception to the rule in this connection, we find *oikia* and not *oikos*).

The NT also speaks of the → baptism of whole households in the same way (1 Cor. 1:16; Acts 16:15; cf. Acts 16:33; perhaps also Acts 18:8). The question whether one may conclude from these indications that the primitive church practised infant baptism is discussed in the articles on Baptism.

(b) The formation of the house churches, which can be explained on the basis of the missionary situation, was of the greatest significance for the spreading of the gospel. With them the early church took over the natural order of life, without falling into idealization of the house churches. The way in which the Gospels take up Micah's prophecy of the end-time (Mic. 7:6 = Matt. 10:35 f. par. Lk. 12:53) indicates that the primitive community had to reckon with the disruption of the family for the sake of the gospel. Those who take this upon themselves are promised "now in this time" new "houses and brothers and sisters and mothers and children" (Mk. 10:29 f. par. Matt. 19:29, Lk. 18:29 f.). The place of the disrupted family is taken by the family of God, the Christian community.

6. In Jesus' word of revelation in Jn. 14:2 the disciples are promised that many dwelling places are ready in the Father's house, into which the disciples will be received when the Lord returns. Rab. and gnostic parallels (cf. also Eth.Enoch 45:3), which suggest the idea of the right to a heavenly dwelling, help to explain the expression *oikia tou patros mou*, "my Father's house". Two factors ought, however, to warn us against an over-hasty mythological localization of the concept: (a) the linking of the promise of a dwelling to the return, and thereby to the fulfilment of the kingdom of God, and (b) the similarity of the expression to the idea of the house of God (*oikos theou* and *naos theou*) and the related thought of the right of sanctuary (cf. A. Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Johannes*, 1930, 292).

7. (a) The vb. *oikeō* occurs in the NT both in the lit. and in the metaphorical sense. 1 Cor. 7:12 f., which deals with the living together of the Christian and non-Christian partners in mixed marriages, belongs to the former category. 1 Tim. 6:16 stands on the borderline between lit. and metaphorical meanings: God "dwells in unapproachable light". Jewish and Hel. ideas (see the whole verse) are combined in this statement of the unutterable beauty of God. In the metaphorical sense *oikeō* is used in describing the inner processes in man (5 passages out of 8): the

phrase "sin . . . dwells in me" (Rom. 7:20; cf. 7:18) depicts the old man, while the truth about the new man is testified to in the sentence, repeated like a confession of faith, "the Spirit of God dwells in you" (Rom. 8:9, 11; 1 Cor. 3:16). *katoikizō* occurs in the same sense in Jas. 4:5.

(b) The compound *katoikeō* occurs more frequently in the NT than *oikeō*. Intrans. it means dwell; trans. inhabit. Beside the widespread use of the word in its lit. meaning, it also is used for the possession of a man by God, by Christ or by ungodly powers. Demons "dwell" in a man (Matt. 12:45 par. Lk. 11:26); but to believers God's purpose is "that Christ may dwell in your hearts through faith" (Eph. 3:17). Col. 2:9 can say of Christ that "in him the whole fullness of deity dwells bodily" (cf. Col. 1:19) and thus express in language which has affinities with gnosticism the complete union between Christ and God (but → Fullness, art. *plēroō*, NT 5 (b)).

The noun *katoikētērion*, dwelling place, home, which has its origins in the LXX, occurs in connection with the great picture of the Christian community as the spiritual building and temple (Eph. 2:19–22).

(c) A further compound, *enoikeō*, dwell in, indwell, is only used in the metaphorical sense in the NT, in fact similarly to *katoikeō*. God himself will dwell among men (2 Cor. 6:16 citing Lev. 26:11 f.), and the Holy Spirit dwells in believers (Rom. 8:11; 2 Tim. 1:14). But the word of Christ (Col. 3:16) and faith (2 Tim. 1:5) may also be said to dwell in men. On the other hand, the same may be said of sin (Rom. 7:17).

(d) The adj. *oikeios* occurs from Hesiod on and means "belonging to the house". In the NT it is only used as a noun meaning member of the household. The lit. meaning appears in 1 Tim. 5:8. In the other two passages it is determined by the understanding of the congregation as the house of God (see above 4). Eph. 2:19 assures the Gentiles that they are no longer strangers (*paroikoi*; → Foreign) but members of the household (*oikeioi* – note the play on words!), accepted into the full fellowship of the house of God, i.e. the Christian community. Gal. 6:10 reminds the Christian of his duty to do good to all, but has him begin specifically with "those who are of the household of faith," the members of the family of God.

J. Goetzmann

οἰκοδομέω *oikodomeō*, build, build up; *oikodomē*, the process of building, a building; *epoikodomeō*, build on something, build further; *synoikodomeō*, build together with.

CL The vb. *oikodomeō*, attested from Hdt. on, means to build, build up, and is used in many ways in the lit. sense, but also in the fig. The noun *oikodomē*, building up, building, occurs frequently in Koine Gk.; it meant originally the process of building.

OT In the LXX *oikodomeō* stands for Heb. *bānâh* and occurs frequently (almost 350 times). It is used in most cases in the lit. sense for the erection of a building. *oikodomē*, on the other hand, occurs very rarely and almost entirely in later writings (17 passages; for Heb. words only 4 times in Chr. and Ezr.).

The metaphorical use of *oikodomeō*, which occurs particularly in Jer., is interesting. To "plant" and to "build" go together; they are God's work and have their opposites in God's → judgment to "break down" and "pluck up" (Jer. 1:10; 24:6). It is God himself who will rebuild Israel (Jer. 31:4; 33:7). He does his work by putting his words in the mouths of the prophets (Jer. 1:9 f.). He leads the peoples into the fellowship of the people of Israel and thus "builds them up" (Jer. 12:14 ff.). This OT use of the concept particularly influenced Paul's usage. A further element in the OT, which became effective in the NT, is the recognition that men cannot build a house for God (Isa. 66:1; → *oikos*).

NT 1. The apocalyptic-messianic use of *oikodomeō* in the gospels (only one passage in Jn.) is linked to this recognition. At the same time it also takes over from the OT the traditional opposition of build and → destroy (*katalyein*). Such usage occurs in Mk. 14:58, and par. Matt. 26:61; Jn. 2:19 ff.; and also Matt. 16:18. Jesus' enigmatic saying, which was used to prove the accusation against him at his trial, speaks of destroying the temple that is made with hands and in three days building another, not made with hands (Mk. 14:58). Jn. 2:19 ff. interprets this in terms of the → resurrection and even alters *oikodomēsō* ("I will build"), which was probably the original word, to the ambiguous *egerō* ("I will raise", v. 19). Since that time Mk. 14:58 has stood in the shadow of this interpretation, although this passage – independent of Jn. 2:19 ff. – can be understood perfectly well as a prophecy of the erection of the new temple, the eschatological community. Moreover the promise to Peter in Matt. 16:18 agrees with such an understanding. Even if the question has to remain open, whether the fut. *oikodomēsō* refers in both passages to the parousia of the Son of Man (cf. Mk. 13:26 f.; → Present) or to the power of Christ's resurrection and of Pentecost to build up the community, there is an ultimate reference to the community (→ Church) as the eschatological "building of God".

2. The usage of Acts is also to be seen against its OT background. Acts 15:16 refers to Amos 9:11 and perhaps to Jer. 12:15 ff. and promises the eschatological restoration of the people of Israel. Acts 9:31 and 20:32 have "a typically ecclesiastical ring" (O. Michel, *TDNT* V 139) without any reference to the action of the messiah.

3. The most important passages for the understanding of the concept occur in Paul's letters, where, moreover, almost all the occurrences of the noun are to be found. However, the verbal use is more important. *oikodomē* has the meaning of a building only in 1 Cor. 3:9 and 2 Cor. 5:1 (see below, 5); otherwise it denotes the process of building and has the same meaning as the vb.

(a) The term describes the apostolic activity (2 Cor. 10:8; 13:10; 12:19) against the background of OT models (cf. Jer. 1:10; 24:6; especially the opposition of "destroy" and "build up"). 1 Cor. 3:5–17 also belongs here. In this passage Paul combines two images, that of planting and that of building, in order to illustrate the process of building the "temple of God" (the Christian community; v. 16) in one great allegory.

(b) Apart from the activity of the apostle, *oikodomeō* is used to describe the growth (→ Grow) and expansion of the community through the Spirit. "*oikodomē* denotes the goal of knowledge, yet also the inner growth of the community and

the content and purpose of its liturgical life and its meetings" (O. Michel, *TDNT* V 141). Therefore, there is one rule which applies to everything which happens within the community: it must serve to build up the community (1 Cor. 14:12, 17, 26; Rom. 14:19; 15:2; 1 Thess. 5:11; Eph. 4:29). Thus the → gifts of → grace and offices are judged according to what they contribute to the building up of the community (1 Cor. 14:3–5; Eph. 4:12). Paul scolds the Corinthians: "Knowledge puffs up, but love builds up" (1 Cor. 8:1). The enthusiasts in Corinth probably had a slogan, "Knowledge builds up," which Paul is here correcting. Similarly in 1 Cor. 10:23 Paul corrects the Corinthian slogan, *panta exestin*, "All things are lawful", by urging people to ask themselves whether their actions are conducive to building up the community.

(c) It is striking that the positive use of the word always refers to the community. Paul uses sharp words (cf. 1 Cor. 14:19) to criticize the man who speaks in a tongue on his own to "edify [*oikodomei*] himself" (1 Cor. 14:4). Edification which is not aimed at serving others is self-centred and pointless.

4. While 1 Cor. 3 mixes the images of planting and building, a further image appears alongside that of building in Eph. 4:12, 16, the image of the → body of Christ. This hints at gnostic ideas and leads to the thought that the building grows (like an organism). The same idea of the building "growing" (the corner stone of which, Jesus Christ has indeed already been put in position; → Rock) appears in Eph. 2:19 ff. (cf. also Ps. 118:22 f.; Matt. 21:42; Mk. 12:10 f.; Lk. 20:17; Acts 4:7; 1 Pet. 2:7). To be built into this growing building, on which God himself is building, means to be put in as a "living stone" (1 Pet. 2:5). All these passages are concerned with the unity and holiness of the temple of God, the Christian community.

5. 2 Cor. 5:1 is the only passage where *oikodomē* is used as an anthropological term in a sense which, at least at first sight, is individualistic. The transient tent of the earthly body is here contrasted with an eternal *oikodomē*, prepared by God, not made with hands.

6. The compounds *synoikodomeō* (build together; pass. be built into [Eph. 2:22]) and *epoikodomeō* (build on something, build further) underline once again by the prepositions used the idea of fellowship which is contained in the concept of "building up". Believers are rooted and grounded in Christ (Col. 2:7). The Christian community is built up together in the co-operation of all the participants (1 Cor. 3:10–4), and in unity with apostles and prophets (Eph. 2:20), to become the one holy community of the Lord.

J. Goetzmann

οἰκονομία

οἰκονομία (*oikonomia*), management, office; οἰκονόμος (*oikonomos*), steward; οἰκονομέω (*oikonomeō*), manage, administer, plan.

CL *oikonomia*, attested from Xen. and Plato on, denoted primarily the management of a household, but was soon extended to the administration of the state (the title of one of Xen.'s books), and finally was used for every kind of activity which results from the holding of an office.

oikonomos (from Aesch. on) was used of people, and has a more concrete meaning. It denotes the house-steward, and then by extension the managers of individual departments within the household, e.g. the porter, the estate manager, the head cook, the accountant, all domestic officials who were mostly recruited from among the slaves. Similarly, *oikonomeō* means to manage as a house-steward, order, regulate.

OT The occurrence of the words in the LXX does not give much help towards understanding the NT concept. *oikonomia* only occurs in Isa. 22:19, 21, and then in the original meaning of administration, office. *oikonomos* appears somewhat more frequently and is likewise used in the technical sense of the word for a court official, chiefly the royal palace governor (*'al habbayiṯ*, e.g. Eliakim in 2 Ki. 18:18, 37; 19:2; Isa. 36:3, 22; 37:2; cf. also 1 Ki. 4:6; 16:9; 18:3; Est. 1:8; 8:9).

NT In the NT, too, the word-group does not appear at all frequently: *oikonomia* occurs 9 times, *oikonomos* 10 times and *oikonomeō* only once (Lk. 16:2). Nevertheless, something like a specific NT usage has been established which has two main different aspects.

1. (a) The words are used in their technical sense to denote the occupation of household and estate managers and their tasks (Lk. 12:42; 16:1 ff.; cf. the use as a title with the name in Rom. 16:23, "Erastus the city treasurer" [cf. H. J. Cadbury, "Erastus of Corinth", *JBL* 50, 1931, 42–58]). Gal. 4:2 also belongs in this category. Here *oikonomos* is used to describe man's age of minority before the sending of Christ, but it also serves within the metaphor as the designation of an occupation, in order to clarify a legal concept: "But he is under guardians [*epitropous*] and trustees [*oikonomous*] until the date set by the father" (RSV). In Lk., the only gospel in which *oikonomos* and *oikonomia* appear, *oikonomos* is used alternately with *doulos*, slave (Lk. 12:42 ff.; cf. par. Matt. 24:45 ff.). Admittedly all the passages in Lk. occur in parables, so one can on this ground speak in a certain sense of a metaphorical use of the words.

([Ed.] Interesting light on the parable in Lk. 16:1–17 has been shed by J. D. M. Derrett, "The Parable of the Unjust Steward", *NTS* 7, 1961, 198–219, reprinted in *Law in the New Testament*, 1970, 48–77. Making extensive use of Jewish laws and customs in the light of later sources, Derrett puts forward a rationale of the parable. The Mosaic Law forbade the taking of interest on loans from fellow Jews [Exod. 22:25; Lev. 25:36; Deut. 23:19 f.]. The Pharisees who had considerable business concerns found ways of evading the intention of the law without transgressing the letter. They argued that the law was concerned with protecting the destitute and not with business enterprises for mutual profit. So long as a man had some of the commodity which he wished to borrow he was not destitute. The bills in the parable preserve the letter of the law by not mentioning interest but only the amount to be repaid in terms of commodities. The steward who was legally entitled to act in his master's name saw an opportunity to make provision for his future needs by ingratiating himself with his master's debtors. He simply cancelled the interest and got the debtors to sign new notes stating the original amount of principal to be repaid. The master was quick to appreciate the shrewdness of the move. For it not only helped to feather the unjust steward's nest, but it also put the master right in the eyes of the law. By forfeiting the illegal exorbitant interest he was at least

conforming to the requirements of the law. In its context the parable is a reminder to the disciples to exercise stewardship of this world's goods [→ Possessions, art. *mamōnas*], so that when mammon fails "they" [i.e. the poor, or possibly even God] may receive them "in the eternal habitations" [v. 9]. The following verses emphasize the point that while wealth is not to be sought for its own sake, wise and diligent stewardship of it in the master's service is important. Faithful stewardship in this determines whether God will entrust to the disciple true riches [vv. 10 f.].)

(b) The position is similar in the rest of the NT. In 1 Cor. 4:1 Paul uses *oikonomos* metaphorically to describe the apostolic task and, just as in the gospels, alongside *doulos*. Also as in the gospels (Lk. 12:42; 16:10 f.; Matt. 25:21 ff.; cf. Lk. 19:17 ff.), 1 Cor. 4:2 names faithfulness as the essential requirement in a steward. In the same way Tit. 1:7 requires that "a bishop, as God's steward, must be blameless." In 1 Pet. 4:10 all the members of the community, as recipients of the gifts of grace, are called "stewards of God's varied grace."

(c) To understand the concepts of *oikonomia* and *oikonomos* one must refer to their roots in the concept of the house, as it is in the NT (→ *oikos*). God's people, God's community, is his house, which he builds up through the work of those he has called to the task, to whom he entrusts the stewardship of the house. They are not to look upon these household affairs as their own; they are merely stewards of the gifts entrusted to them and have to give an account of their stewardship (Lk. 16:2; cf. the parable of the pounds, Lk. 19:11 ff., cf. Matt. 25:14 ff., which must be taken into account in the explanation of the concept, even though *oikonomos* does not appear in them). In addition to the gifts of the Spirit (1 Pet. 4:10) it is above all the → gospel which is thought of as something entrusted to stewards. Thus in 1 Cor. 4:1 Paul introduces himself and his fellow-workers as "servants of Christ and stewards of the mysteries of God." Likewise in 1 Cor. 9:17 Paul calls the preaching of the gospel a "commission" (*oikonomia*) from which he cannot withdraw. Col. 1:25 and Eph. 3:2 perhaps also belong in this category. In these passages the divine office committed to the apostle is under discussion. Admittedly there could be some doubt in both cases whether the meaning here is not "plan of salvation" (see below, 2).

2. The use of the word *oikonomia* moves in a second direction in the sense of God's plan of salvation. This meaning, related to salvation history, could have arisen on the basis of the breadth of meaning of the Gk. word (see above, 1), which can denote the plans and arrangements of the authorities as well as measures through which the help of heavenly powers can be obtained (e.g. in the magical papyri referred to by O. Michel, *TDNT* V 152). In Eph. it is used for God's plan of salvation, which was hidden from eternity in God (Eph. 3:9), and now, in the fullness of time, has been realized in Christ (Eph. 1:10). The soteriological sense of the concept figured alongside other uses in the later patristic literature (e.g. Justin, *Dial.* 30, 3; 45, 4; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1, 10, 3; 4, 33, 7; see Lampe, 940–3).

3. The first and second meanings of the term are nevertheless not completely independent. Because God allows his plan of salvation to be proclaimed through men (1 Cor. 4:1; cf. the use of *mystērion*, → secret, here and in Eph. 3:9), the work of the *oikonomos* is rooted in the divine *oikonomia*. Just as → time has its function in God's plan, a definite period of time is given to the steward, even though he may not himself know how long it is (Lk. 12:46). At the end of it he must render his

account. Thus on the basis of God's plan of salvation → time itself is a gift entrusted to men, to be used (Col. 4:5; Eph. 5:15 f.) and managed responsibly.

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→ Body, → Church, → Priest, → Serve, → Temple, → Tent

(a). S. Aalen, " 'Reign' and 'House' in the Kingdom of God in the Gospels", *NTS* 8, 1961–62, 215–40; K. Aland, *Did the Early Church Baptize Infants?*, 1963; A. Badawy, *Architecture in Ancient Egypt and the Near East*, 1966; J. E. Crouch, *The Origin and Intention of the Colossian Haustafel*, 1972; J. D. M. Derrett, *Law in the New Testament*, 1970, 48–77; N. Hillyer, " 'Spiritual Milk . . . Spiritual House' ", *TB* 20, 1969, 126; J. Jeremias, *Infant Baptism in the First Four Centuries*, 1960; and *The Origins of Infant Baptism: A Further Study in Reply to Kurt Aland*, 1963; O. Michel, *oikos* etc., *TDNT* 119–59; J. Pedersen, *Israel: Its Life and Culture*, I-II, 1926, 46–96; J. Reumann, "*Oikonomia*-Terms in Paul in comparison with Lucan *Heilsgeschichte*", *NTS* 13, 1966–67, 147–67; E. H. Robertson, "The House Church" in *Basileia*, Festschrift for W. Freytag, 1961², 366 ff.; H. G. Stigers, "House", *ZPEB* III 217–21 (discusses structure of houses in the east); R. de Vaux, "Family Institutions", *Ancient Israel*, 1961, 19–61.
(b). H. Brattgard, *Im Haushalt Gottes*, 1964; G. Delling, "Zur Taufe von 'Häusern' im Urchristentum", *NovT* 7, 1965, 285 ff.; E. Friedel, "Der neutestamentliche *oikos*-Begriff in seiner Bedeutung für den Gemeindeaufbau", in *Festschrift* for *M. Mitzenheim*, 1961; H. Galley, "Das 'Haus' im Neuen Testament", *Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung* 15, 1961, 201 ff.; E. Jenni, *bayit THAT* I 307–13; E. Käsemann, *Leib und Leib Christi*, 1933; E. Stauffer, "Zur Kindertaufe in der Urkirche", *Deutsches Pfarrerblatt*, 1949, 152 ff.; A. Strobel, "Der Begriff des Hauses im griechischen und römischen Privatrecht", *ZNW* 56, 1965, 91 ff.; P. Vielhauer, *Oikodomē. Das Bild vom Bau in der christlichen Literatur vom Neuen Testament bis Clemens Alexandrinus*, 1940; P. Weigandt, "Zur sogenannten 'Oikosformel' ", *NovT* 6, 1963, 49 ff.

Humility, Meekness

πραΰς

πραΰς (*praÿs*), gentle, humble, considerate, meek; πραΰτης (*praÿtēs*), gentleness, humility, considerateness, meekness; πραϋπαθία (*praÿpathia*), gentleness; ἐπιεικής (*epieikēs*), mild, yielding, gentle, kind, forbearing; ἐπιείκεια (*epieikeia*), mildness, forbearance, gentleness, graciousness.

CL *praÿs* (from Homer on) is etymologically linked with the Gothic *frÿon* to love, *frionds*, friend, and means friendly, mild, gentle. The noun *praÿtēs* (from Thuc. on) and *praÿpathia*, derived from *praÿpatheia*, means gentle, mild friendliness. The virtually synonymous *epieikēs*, and the noun *epieikeia* are derived either from *eikos*, becoming, decent, or from *eikō*, to yield, give way, and mean (from Homer on) the proper way of life, or (from Thuc. on) forbearance, indulgence, mildness.

Words from the *praÿs* group are used of things (e.g. mild words, soothing medicine, actions and feelings), animals (tame) and people (benevolent). It is a quality shown by friends, while stern harshness may be expected from an enemy.

epieikēs, together with its derivatives, was originally an expression for the balanced, intelligent, decent outlook in contrast to licentiousness. Then it was used for a considerate, thoughtful attitude in legal relationships which was prepared to mitigate the rigours of justice, with its laws and claims, in contrast to the attitude which demands that rights, including one's own, should be upheld at all costs.

Both concepts are opposed to unbridled anger, harshness, brutality and self-expression. They represent character traits of the noble-minded, the wise man who

remains meek in the face of insults, the judge who is lenient in judgment, and the king who is kind in his rule. Hence they appear often in pictures of the ideal ruler and in eulogies on men in high positions.

In Gk. and Hel. philosophy both concepts express social virtues and ideals of high value. Aristot. considered that they were the happy mean between passion and lack of feeling (*TDNT* VI 646).

OT 1. *epieikeia* is found 10 times in the LXX and *epieikēs*, including the adv., 6 times, without any real Heb. equivalent. They are used to describe God's gracious gentleness in his rule (1 Sam. 12:22; Ps. 86:5; Wis. 12:18), and also the actions of a king (2 Macc. 9:27), of a prophet (2 Ki. 6:3), and of the pious (Wis. 2:19).

2. *praÿs*, found 19 times in the LXX, translates *'ānî* (3 times), poor, afflicted, humble; and more generally its later variant *'ānāw*, poor, humble, meek. The fact that the LXX can translate *'ānāw* (21 times in the OT) and *'ānî* (65 times in the OT) also by *penēs* and *ptōchos* (→ Poor) and → *tapeinos* shows that the Heb. terms had a much wider connotation which is not satisfied by any of the LXX renderings. The poor were those in Israel who were without landed property. They were wrongfully restricted, disinherited, and deprived of the fullness which God willed (→ Poor, art. *penēs*, OT 3). Hence they were often the victims of unscrupulous exploitation (Isa. 32:7; Ps. 37:14; Job 24:4). In a general sense *'ānî* denotes the defenceless, those without rights, the oppressed, those who are cheated, exploited and cursed (cf. Pss. 9 and 10).

Yahweh, however, takes the part of the *'ānî* (Exod. 22:21–24; Deut. 24:14 f.), as do the prophets (Isa. 3:14 f.; Amos 2:7; 8:4; Zech. 7:10) and the wisdom literature (Prov. 14:21; 22:22; 31:9, 20). Since Yahweh is the God of those without rights (Pss. 25:9; 149:4; 34:2[3]), he hears and comforts those who find no mercy among their fellow-men (Isa. 29:19; Job 36:15) and will finally reverse all that is not now in their favour (Isa. 26:6; Pss. 37:11; 147:6). Hence *'ānî* and particularly *'ānāw* change their meaning from those who are materially poor, and become the self-chosen religious title of those who in deep need and difficulty humbly seek help from Yahweh alone, or have found it there (e.g. Pss. 40:17[18]; 102[102:1], title; Zeph. 2:3; 3:12; Isa. 41:17; 49:13; 66:2). In the Qumran texts they are used generally of the community members (→ Poor, art. *ptōchos*, OT 5). Hence the word is sometimes used with the meaning meek, humble, modest (Num. 12:3; Eccl. 6:8).

In the messianic passages of the OT God's king is depicted as the helper of all who have been deprived of their rights and of all the needy (Pss. 45:4[5]; 72; Isa. 11:4; 61:1). The term *'ānî* is never applied to God, but in Zech. 9:9 (cf. Num. 12:3; Sir. 45:4) it is a title of honour given to the messiah. As he rides the animal used by the socially insignificant, his way leads to the poor and those deprived of their rights. ([Ed.] Although rulers of Israel had ridden asses at an earlier period in history [Jdg. 5:10; 10:4; 12:14; 2 Sam. 16:2] the horse was the appropriate mount for the mighty [but note the scorn of the war-horse in v. 10; cf. Isa. 2:7; 31:1]. The ass was the appropriate mount for one who comes on a mission of peace [cf. J. G. Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, 1972, 165 f.].)

The sense of *'ānî* is transformed in a number of passages, including Zech. 9:9, which the LXX renders by *praÿs* and thus substitutes for the more passive Heb.

concept a Hel. act. and ethical meaning. A positive lack is transformed into the praiseworthy virtue of "gentleness" or "humility". This is the dominant concept in Sir. 1:27; 4:8; 10:28 etc., and Josephus *Ant.* 19, 7, 3; 3, 6, 7; 5, 2, 12; 6, 1, 2; 7, 6, 1. ([Tr.] However, since the 2nd and 3rd of the Sir. passages are found in the Heb. original with this meaning, it shows that the Hel. concept had influenced Palestinian Heb. by the early 2nd cent. B.C.)

NT The words are found in the NT in Paul, Jas., 1 Pet., Acts (once *epieikeia*) and Matt. (3 times *praÿs*). Clear OT influence is found only in Matt. For the rest, Hel. concepts are dominant. How far NT thought is based on the LXX and its OT background is not clear. Attention may be drawn to two points.

1. Both *praÿtēs* and *epieikeia* are marks of Christ's rule. In contrast to the representatives of a political messianism Jesus repudiated the use of force to bring about the rule of God. His activity on earth is that of the OT king who brings salvation without using force or war (Matt. 11:29; 21:5 = Zech. 9:9). Since, however, Matt. 11:29 has Sem. thinking behind it (cf. Isa. 42:2 f.; 53:1 ff.; Zech. 9:9; cf. *TDNT* V 993, n. 289), *praÿs* here suggests *'ānî*, in the Heb. sense, and so stresses the human humility of the messiah. Luther saw him as a "Beggar-king" who had no means of enforcing his rights and who ultimately had to suffer all manner of injustice. In 2 Cor. 10:1 Paul mentions *praÿtēs* and *epieikeia* as characteristics of Jesus' attitude to men during his life on earth, and holds them out as an example to the church.

2. The words now express an attitude demanded of the Christian, though they are applied also to non-Christians (Acts 24:4, where *epieikeia* is used by the Jewish spokesman Tertullus in addressing the procurator Felix; 1 Pet. 2:18, of masters of slaves). They stand in the lists of virtues as concrete expressions of Christian love (Gal. 5:23; 1 Tim. 6:11; 1 Pet. 3:4) and of "the wisdom from above" (Jas. 3:17). They state the rule for the way in which Christians and non-Christians should live together (Phil. 4:5; Tit. 3:2). They also apply in dealing with Christians who have committed sins (1 Cor. 4:21; Gal. 6:1; 2 Tim. 2:25), and in the midst of enmity and persecution (1 Pet. 3:16). Christians should set an example of this (Jas. 3:13), especially → bishops (1 Tim. 3:3).

([Ed.] *praÿs* occurs in the third Beatitude: "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth" (Matt. 5:5). David Hill suggests that they are the same as the poor (v. 3) and that since the vb. *klēronomeō* appears in Deut. 4:1, 16:20, and Ps. 68:36 (LXX) with reference to possessing the land of Israel, the thought here is of possessing or inheriting the new promised land (*The Gospel of Matthew*, 1972, 111). Just as obedience and righteousness are, for the Deuteronomist, the conditions of entrance into the promised land, so humble obedience to the teaching contained in the Beatitudes is the condition of entering the new land of God's kingdom. The verse takes up the theme of Ps. 37:11. Hill notes that the Ps., the themes of which are close to the whole series of the Beatitudes, was taken by the Qumran sect as a prophecy in process of fulfilment through the establishment of their messianic community (4QpPs37; cf. op. cit., 112). The Beatitude promises that those who are now oppressed and despised and have nothing to call their own (like Israel prior to the conquest of Canaan) will enter the → inheritance of God's rule upon earth. At the same time it is a veiled statement about Jesus himself.)

When the NT advocates *praÿtēs*, it does not imply an attitude dependent solely on the human will. It is a sign of salvation: of "calling" (Eph. 4:2), election (Col. 3:12), and the work of the Holy Spirit (Gal. 5:23). It is not a virtue in the Hel. sense, but a possibility of life and action given by God. It is not an aspect of human temperament. It comes about when men are linked with Christ and are conformed to his → image. *W. Bauder*

ταπεινός

ταπεινός (*tapeinos*), lowly, humble; ταπεινόω (*tapeinoō*), make low, humble; ταπείνωσις (*tapeinōsis*), abasement, humiliation; ταπεινόφρων (*tapeinophrōn*), humble-minded; ταπεινοφροσύνη (*tapeinophrosynē*), lowliness of mind, humility.

CL *tapeinos* was originally used (from Pindar in the 5th cent. B.C. on) with the sense of low-lying. Metaphorical uses were soon developed: (a) low socially, poor, of little social position and influence (Hdt., 5th cent. B.C. onwards), powerless, unimportant; (b) as a result of one's social standing, with slavish outlook, a synonym of not free; (c) despondent, downcast (Thuc., 5th cent. B.C. onwards; cf. Eng. "I'm feeling down"); (d) in Socratic and post-Socratic ethical teaching the word was separated from its social links, but retained a depreciatory connotation. Men should avoid the two extremes of arrogance, provocation and pride (*hybris*), and of grovelling, servile behaviour and base flattery. (e) Occasionally the word is used with a good connotation in individual, social, ethical and religious contexts. Where this is so, it does not mean humble, but unassuming (in Xen.), obedient, conforming one's behaviour to the righteous laws of the gods (Aesch., Plato). In all these uses there remains the memory of the original physical meaning of below, low, in comparison with that which is above or higher.

The vb. *tapeinoō* (from Hippocrates, 5th cent. B.C. onwards) represents in all its varieties of meaning the various shades of meaning of the adj.: to level, humble (socially, politically, economically), harm, make small, make humble, discourage (with fate or life as subject), make one obedient, or self-effacing, make a person obey a regulation (of the reason) (and also the appropriate pass. forms). The reflex. form with *heauton* and the mid. (from Diod.Sic., 1st cent. B.C. onwards used also for mental states) meaning humble oneself, demean oneself, are used normally only in a derogatory sense. Yet Philodemus of Gadara (1st cent. B.C.) demands that those who humbled themselves, should be comforted and lifted up (*TDNT* VIII 4) and Plut. (1st cent. A.D.) mentions the custom of humbling oneself before the gods by covering the head during sacrifice and prayer (*TDNT* VIII 5).

tapeinotēs (Thuc., 5th cent. B.C. onwards) is found only in secular contexts apart from Sir. 13:20. It generally conveys the experience of humiliation, lowliness, and powerlessness, while *tapeinōsis* (from Plato, 5th–4th cents. B.C. onwards) suggests rather the process of humiliation, etc.

The compounds with *phronein*, think, judge, be disposed, are the vb. *tapeinophronein*, the adj. *tapeinophrōn*, and the noun *tapeinophrosynē*. They first occur in secular literature in the 1st and 2nd cents. A.D. (Josephus, Plutarch, Epictetus), always with a depreciatory connotation: e.g. to think poorly, ill; to be ill-disposed, faint-hearted, or weakly; to have a servile mind. The LXX, however, which does

not use the noun, has the vb. (which means be humble, modest) once in Ps. 131(130):2 for the MT quieten the mind, and the adj. once in Prov. 29:23, meaning lowly in spirit in a good sense. The opposite in both passages and in Sir. 13:20 (see above) is → pride, insolence and arrogance.

OT The fundamental difference between the Gk. and the biblical use of these words has already been indicated. In the Gk. world, with its anthropocentric view of man, lowliness is looked on as shameful, to be avoided and overcome by act and thought. In the NT, with its theocentric view of man, the words are used to describe those events that bring a man into a right relationship with God and his fellow-man (cf. *TDNT* VIII 11 f.).

1. *tapeinos* and its cognates are found about 270 times in the LXX, the adj. 66 times, the vb. c. 160 times, and *tapeinōsis* 40 times. For the compounds see above. They represent 7 Heb. roots: by far the most common is *'ānâh* (86 times), to oppress, afflict, humble (→ *praÿs*); *šāpal* (42 times), to become low, be abased; *kāna'* (15 times), be subdued, humbled; *dāḵā'*, *dāḵâh* (13 times), crush, humiliate; *dal*, *dālal* (7 times), low, insignificant, helpless, downcast; *šāḥaḥ* (6 times), bow down, crouch; *yiggâh* (5 times), vex, grieve. *'anāwâh* (derived from *'ānâh*), humility, the attitude of the mind of the one who bends down, occurs only 4 times (Prov. 15:33; 18:12; 22:4; Zeph. 2:3).

2. In its translation of these Heb. concepts the LXX uses the full range of meaning of this word-group and adds a few variants of its own; e.g. to humble a woman in a sexual sense (2 Sam. 13:12; Deut. 21:14; Ezek. 22:10 f.); to rape (Gen. 34:2, etc.); to bow one's soul, i.e. fast (e.g. Lev. 16:29; Isa. 58:3). But above all the words occur in expression of belief in what Yahweh has done. It is God himself by his acts in history who brings down the proud and arrogant, and chooses and rescues the humiliated. This recognition is expressed in a number of ways.

(a) The prophets expressed it in warnings of judgment (cf. Amos 2:6b, 7 with 2:6a, 13 ff.; 8:6 with 8:7 f.; Isa. 2:9, 11, 17; 5:15; 10:33 f.; 14:32, against the Philistines; Zeph. 2:3, Ezek. 21:26[31]) and in promises (Zeph. 3:12; Ezek. 17:24; Isa. 49:13; 53:8 ["In his humiliation his judgment was taken away", LXX]; Isa. 54:11; 66:2b; 26:6).

(b) The historical books see it in events. This is shown in their general theological attitudes and in their corresponding choice of language (Jdg. 4:23; 6:15 ff., choice of Gideon; 1 Sam. 1:11, 16, Hannah's prayer, and 2:7 ff., her song of praise; 7:13; 18:23 ff.; 2 Sam. 22:28, in David's thanksgiving for victory; 1 Chr. 17:10, in the promise given to David, 1 Ki. 8:35 par. 2 Chr. 6:26; cf. Ps. 18:27 ([MT 28; LXX 17:28]). These speeches, prayers and songs have a common characteristic theme.

(c) The Pss. and Lam. repeat it in their certainty expressed in their prayers (e.g. Pss. 10:17 f. [LXX 9:38 f.]; 25:18 [LXX 24:18]; 31:7 [MT 31:8; LXX 30:8]; 34:18 [MT 34:19; LXX 33:19]; 38:8, 22 [MT 38:9, 23; LXX 37:9, 23]; 44:19, 25 f. [MT 44:20, 26 f.; LXX 43:20, 26 f.]; 51:17 [MT 51:19]; 74:21 [LXX 73:21]). There is the frequent parallelism with → poor. In Ps. 82 [LXX 81] the relationship of v. 3 with vv. 5ff. shows that the gods are incapable of giving justice to the lowly, and so God himself must judge (v. 8). Other examples are Pss. 90:3 [LXX 89:3],

where *dakkā'*, meaning crushed matter, dust, is translated by *tapeinōsis*; 102:15–20 [MT 102:16–21; LXX 101:16–21], especially v. 17; 113:5–9 [LXX 112:5–9], a song of praise; 116:10 [LXX 115:1], cf. with v. 1 [LXX 114:1 f.], a hymn of thanks; 119 [LXX 118]; 50, 67, 71, 75, 92, the law of God comforts in lowliness; 107 [LXX 106]; 131:2 [LXX 130:2], 136:23 [LXX 135:23], a hymn of thanks; 138:6 [LXX 137:6], cf. 113:5–9; 142:6 [MT 142:7; LXX 141:7]; Lam. 1:5b, 8b, 12c, 20; 2:5c, 18, 20; 3:32–34 (cf. with vv. 31, 37 f.); Isa. 25:1–5.

(d) Proverbs in the wisdom literature speak of humility as the fruit of experience and as a rule for life: e.g. cf. Job 5:11 with 8:12, 21 (LXX and Vulg. only, not MT); Prov. 3:34 (the LXX is more explicit than the MT); 11:2, cf. v. 1; 15:33 (MT "humility"), par. to "the fear of the Lord" (the LXX has *tapeinos* only in some MSS, but cf. 16:2 where it is lacking in the MT); in 16:19 *tapeinōsis* is par. to *praÿthymos*, gentleness; 18:22; 2:4, the LXX translates humility [MT] by wisdom; cf. also 25:7; 29:23; Eccles. 10:6; Sir. 7:11; 10:15 ff.; 11:12 f.

3. The members of the Qumran sect called themselves the → poor, and in the Community Rule virtuous humility is mentioned along with loving kindness (the opposites of anger and grumbling), truth, right thinking, faithfulness, unity and patience as the great virtue of the community (1QS 2:24; 4:3; 5:3, 25). But this attitude stands alongside a hatred for the ruling sons of darkness (1QS 9:22; 11:1). Humility is the proper attitude before God: "his iniquity shall be expiated by the spirit of uprightness and humility" (1QS 3:8) and man's humility submits to God's chastisement (1QH 17:22); "his flesh . . . is made clean by the humble submission of his soul to all the precepts of God" (1QS 3:8).

4. Apocalyptic literature sees in humility the eschatological attitude to which the promise of the reward and the help of God are addressed (Test.Gad. 5:3; 2 Esd. 8:47–54).

5. For the rabbis, humility also had a high place in the scale of virtues that men should attempt to attain (cf. SB I 191–194). A humble spirit was regarded as the characteristic sign of the Jew (cf. especially the polemic against the pride of the Gentiles, Pirke Aboth 5:21). Jesus' teaching indicates the discrepancy between this high theoretical claim and arrogant Rab. and Pharisaic practice (Matt. 23:1 ff.; Lk. 18:9–14). They were humble among themselves, but they considered ignorance of the → law as due either to sin or to God's disfavour. They equated human effort with God's grace, and so had a faulty concept of God and of themselves.

NT Members of the word-group are found 34 times in the NT: *tapeinos* 8 times, *tapeinoō* 14 times, *tapeinōsis* 4 times, the compound *tapeinophrōn* once, and the noun *tapeinophrosynē* 7 times (only in Acts and the epistles). Their distribution is: Matt. 4 times, Lk. 7 times, Acts twice, Rom. once, 2 Cor. 4 times, Eph. once, Phil., 4 times, Col. 3 times, Jas. 4 times, 1 Pet. 4 times. Thus no members of the word-group are found in Mk., the Johannine writings or epistles other than those mentioned above.

1. In Matt. and Lk. the words are closely linked with the proclamation of the eschatological breaking-in of the kingly rule of God. This is the new element in the frequent use of OT and Jewish texts. Lk. introduces the theme already in the introductory chs. of his Gospel. The mother of Jesus in the *Magnificat* praised the grandeur of God in OT phrases (1 Sam. 1:11; cf. Ps. 113:5–9), "for he has regarded

the low estate of his handmaiden" (Lk. 1:48), where handmaiden, i.e. slave, interprets low estate (cf. v. 38). "He has . . . exalted those of low degree" (Lk. 1:52; cf. 1 Sam. 2:7; Job 5:11; Ps. 75:7[8]; Ezek. 21:26[MT 21:31]). The work of John the Baptist (Lk. 3:1 ff.) is then presented as preparing for the coming of God, and in accordance with the prophecy of Isa. 40:3 ff.: "every mountain and hill shall be brought low" (Lk. 3:5).

He who thus came went the way of humility (Matt. 11:29, see below). He could, therefore, (a) in his warning against desire for status (Lk. 14:11; cf. Mk. 10:15; Matt. 18:4; 1 Pet. 5:5; Prov. 3:34; 25:7), (b) in his controversy with the Pharisees (Lk. 18:14), and (c) in his attack on them and the scribes (Matt. 23:12), promise that he who humbles himself (*tapeinoun heauton*) will be exalted at the last by God. (The passive is used to avoid the mention of God's name.) At the same time he threatened the proud with the last judgment, each time using the same proverb (cf. 1 Sam. 2:7; 2 Sam. 22:28; Ezek. 21:26[31]; Sir. 7:11) but giving it in the eschatological situation a quite new meaning (A. Dihle, *RAC* III 748).

The foundation of this promise, admonition and warning is found in Jesus' own way of life, as he interpreted it in his invitation in Matt. 11:28 ff. He is "meek" (*prayÿs*) and "lowly in heart" (*tapeinos tē kardia*). The two thoughts stand in parallel and show that Jesus was submissive before God, completely dependent on him, and devoted to him, and at the same time humble before men whose servant and helper he had become (Lk. 22:27; Mk. 10:45; Matt. 20:28; cf. W. Grundmann, *TDNT* VIII 20). That is why he can call those who labour and are heavy laden to himself and offer them eschatological rest as they follow him; contrast Sir. 51:23–30 with its call to follow simply the ethical example set by the teacher of the law (cf. A. Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Matthäus*, 1963[6], 386 ff.). "The highest dignity of Jesus and his willingness to accept the cross . . . are one" (J. Schniewind, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus*, *NTD* 8, 1960[9], ad loc.). See also Phil. 2:6 ff. below.

Matt. 18:1–5 with its teaching on humility shows that Jesus' call to discipleship should not be confused with ethical attainment. The demand to humble oneself like the child placed among the disciples does not mean that one should make oneself lower than one actually is. Rather, one should know, like the child, how lowly one really is. Humility is to know how lowly we really are before God. At the same time the use of the word "child" is a reminder of the → Father in → heaven. This kind of humility and lowliness are joy and bliss (J. Schniewind, ad loc.; cf. J. Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus*, 1963[2], 190 f.), for they permit one to share in the royal rule of heaven.

2. (a) The central position of the Saviour's invitation in Matt. corresponds to that of the hymn to Christ in Phil. 2:6–11 in Paul's letters. In the description of Jesus Christ's work from his self-emptying (v. 7 → Empty, art. *kenos*), through his self-humbling (v. 8c gives Paul's decisive addition to the hymn he had taken over), to his exaltation by God, all the main lines of the OT proclamation of God's sovereign control of history come into focus as they find their fulfilment. Here God stands by his word. At the same time the self-humiliation of Jesus Christ inaugurates the new life under his rule (vv. 10 f.). It is the basis of *tapeinophrosynē*, humility (v. 3), willingness to serve, conforming to his example; cf. also v. 5, "have this mind among yourselves . . . ." The meaning of self-humiliation is doubly defined in Jesus Christ. On the one hand, he became obedient unto death, even the uttermost shame

of the cross. On the other hand, he had no other support than the incredible promise of the faithfulness of God (cf. Pss. 22; 25:18; 31:17 [MT 31:8]; 90:3; 119:50, 92, 150; and especially Isa. 53:7–12, cf. H. W. Wolff, *Jesaja 53 im Urchristentum*, 1952³, 98 f.).

(b) Acts 8:35 expounds Isa. 53:7 f., quoted from the LXX, as referring to the humiliation and exaltation of Jesus Christ (cf. H. W. Wolff, op. cit., 90 ff.).

(c) Paul understood his apostolic service to be one of following the Lord, who gave him strength through his own exaltation won through self-humiliation (Phil. 4:12 f.). Hence Paul knew "how to be abased" (*tapeinousthai*). This probably refers to being hungry and in need, suffering want and affliction (cf. 2 Cor. 11:23–29; 12:7–10). It may also include the physical work which, his enemies insinuated, was a penance for some hidden sin, but which Paul defended on the grounds that it enabled him to proclaim the gospel without charge (2 Cor. 11:7) and build up the church by his teaching. (For use of the vb. in the sense of "confess one's guilt" cf. A. Schlatter, op. cit., 545.) Acts faithfully conveys Paul's understanding of his apostolic service in the statement, "serving the Lord with all humility and with tears and with trials" (Acts 20:19). Paul recognized God's action both in humbling him through the failures (2 Cor. 12:21) which were manifest in the continuing strife (v. 20) and immorality (v. 21c) of the Corinthians, and in comforting those who were humbled by strife and inner fears (2 Cor. 7:5 f.; cf. Isa. 49:13). In the midst of the difficulties of his service Paul was supported by the → hope that the coming Lord would transform our body of humiliation (*to sōma tēs tapeinōseōs hēmōn*, Phil. 3:21; "our lowly body" RSV), i.e. our mortal body and make it like his glorious body.

(d) In three passages in Paul's letters words from this group are used with their original derogatory sense, in each case ironically in a polemical context. In 2 Cor. 10:1 Paul quotes the taunt of his opponents that he was so "feeble" (*tapeinos*), when he was "face to face" with them (NEB), but was bold when far away. In Col. 2:18, 23 he warns against the opponents who take pleasure in self-abasement, worship of angels and asceticism, each time using *tapeinophrosynē*.

(e) Paul's exhortation to humility is also rooted in the effective reality of Christ. Rom. 12:16 (cf. v. 1) warns against haughtiness and recommends, "give yourselves to humble tasks" (RSV mg.) or "associate with the lowly" (RSV tx., NEB) – depending on whether *tois tapeinois* is taken as neut. or masc. Similarly Eph. 4:2 (cf. v.1) and Col. 3:12 (cf. v.1) enjoin willingness to serve (in each case *tapeinophrosynē;* RSV; "meekness"; NEB "gentleness") which unites the church and holds it together (see above OT 3, on the community Rule at Qumran). Both passages use *tapeinophrosynē* parallel to *praÿtēs* (→ *praÿs* NT), and the latter speaks of putting on willingness to serve like a garment (cf. below on 1 Pet. 5:5).

3. The exhortations in Jas. and 1 Pet. do not add anything new to the OT and Pauline calls to humility. Jas. 1:9 f. speaks of the socially low, the poor, in contrast to the rich. Those who belonged to them could boast of their exaltation, while the rich, paradoxically, should boast that they were subject to death (*tapeinōsis*, cf. v. 10c). Both statements were made in the light "of the coming transformation of the world" (M. Dibelius, *Der Brief des Jakobus*, *KEK* 15, 1956⁸, ad loc.). Jas. 4:6b, par. 1 Pet. 5:5c, is a quotation from Prov. 3:34 (LXX), which promises God's favour to the humble. Both draw the conclusion (Jas. 4:10 par. 1 Pet. 5:6): "Humble

yourselves before the Lord and he will exalt you" (cf. Gen. 16:9; Sir. 2:17). Since no literary dependence between the two letters can be demonstrated, the similarity points to "a common Christian exhortation" (*TDNT* VIII 19; cf. M. Dibelius, op. cit., 30). 1 Pet. 5:5 contains the metaphor of putting on clothing: "Clothe yourselves, all of you, with humility [*tapeinophrosynē*]" (cf. Jn. 13:4).

4. Gradually the concept of "humility" in the church was reduced from an eschatological expectation and a manner of life consistent with it to a term describing an inclination to penance and fasting, and their practical expression, especially in 1 Clem. and Hermas (cf. *TDNT* VIII 25 f.). *H.-H. Esser*

→ Empty, → Grace, → Love, → Patience, → Poor, → Pride

(a). A. A. Anderson, *The Book of Psalms*, I–II, 1972; G. Bornkamm, "On Understanding the Christ-hymn (Philippians 2:6–11)", *Early Christian Experience*, 1969, 112–22; W. Grundmann, *tapeinos*, *TDNT* VIII 1–26; B. Häring, *The Law of Christ*, I, 1961; II, 1963; F. Hauck, *penēs*, *TDNT* VI 37–40; F. Hauck and E. Bammel, *ptōchos*, *TDNT* VI 865–82; F. Hauck and S. Schulz, *praÿs*, *TDNT* VI 645–51; D. Kidner, *Psalms 1–72*, 1973; and *Psalms 73–150*, *TC*, 1975; R. Leivestad, " 'The Meekness and Gentleness of Christ' II Cor. x. 1", *NTS* 12, 1965–66, 156–64; M. Maher, " 'Take my yoke upon you' (Matt. xi. 29)", *NTS* 22, 1975–76, 97–103; W. Michaelis, *praÿpatheia*, *TDNT* V 939; C. F. D. Moule, "The Manhood of Christ", in S. W. Sykes and J. P. Clayton, eds., *Christ, Faith and History*, 1972, 95–110; H. Preisker, *epieikeia*, *TDNT* II 588 ff.; A. Stöger, "Humility", *EBT* II 385–90; A. Weiser, *The Psalms*, 1962.

(b). A. Dihle, "Demut", *RAC* III 735 ff.; R. A. Gauthier, *Magnanimité, l'Ideal de la Grandeur dans Philosophie païenne et dans la Théologie chrétienne*, 1951; A. Gelin, *Les Pauvres de Jahvé*, 1953; L. Gilen, "Die Demut des Christen nach dem Neuen Testament", *Zeitschrift für Askese und Mystik* 13, 1938, 266 ff.; A. von Harnack, "Sanftmut, Huld und Demut in der alten Kirche", in *Festschrift* for J. Kaftan, 1920, 113–29; E. Kamlah, *Die Form der katalogischen Paränese im Neuen Testament*, *WUNT* 7, 1964; E. Käsemann, *Die Legitimität des Apostels*, 1956; E. Kutsch, *'ānāwâh* (Dissertation, Mainz), 1960; H.-J. Kraus, *Die Psalmen*, I–II, *BKAT* 15, 1972[4]; E. Larsson, *Christus als Vorbild*, 1967; J. Leipoldt, "Vom Kinde in der alten Welt", in *Reich Gottes und Wirklichkeit*, *Festschrift* for E. Sommerlath, 1961, 343 ff.; R. Mehl, "Sanftmut", *RGG*[3] V 1363 f.; G. Mensching, E. Kutsch, A. Benoit, R. Mehl, "Demut", *RGG*[3] I 76–82; R. North, " 'Humilis corde' in luce Psalmorum", *Verbum Domini* 28, 1950, 153–61; S. Rehrl, *Die Wortgruppe zu griechisch tapeinos und das Problem der Demut in der profan-griechischen Literatur im Vergleich zu Septuaginta and Neuen Testament*, 1961; and *Das Problem der Demut in der profanischen Literatur im Vergleich zu LXX und Neuen Testament*, 1961; H. Rosman, "In omni humilitate", *Verbum Domini* 21, 1941, 272–80; O. Schaffner, *Christliche Demut*, 1959; A. Schlatter, *Jesu Dienst*, 1904; F. Sinner, *Die christliche Demut*, 1925; G. Strecker, *Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit*, *FRLANT* 82, 1962, 173 f.; K. Thieme, *Die christliche Demut*, 1906; W. C. van Unnik, "Zur Bedeutung von *tapeinoun tēn psychēn* bei den apostolischen Vätern", *ZNW* 44, 1952–53, 250 ff.; S. Wibbing, *Die Tugend- und Lasterkataloge im Neuen Testament*, *BZNW* 25, 1959; and "Demut", *EKL* I 862 ff.; H. W. Wolff, *Jesaja 53 im Urchristentum*, 1952[3].

Hunger, Thirst, Food, Taste, Eat, Drink

Eating and drinking are basic to human life. In the world of the ancient east, which suffered frequently from famines and droughts, they assume a particular importance. Five different groups of words are examined here. Man's need of sustenance is denoted by the vbs. *peinaō*, to hunger (cf. *limos*, hunger), and *dipsaō*, to thirst. Satisfaction of hunger is denoted by *esthiō*, to eat, and in a specialized sense by *geuomai*, to taste, enjoy. The thing eaten is *brōma*, food. *pinō*, with its numerous derivatives, denotes drinking. As time went on all these words acquired metaphorical significance and were used to express spiritual nourishment or the lack of it.

πεινάω

πεινάω (*peinaō*), hunger; διψάω (*dipsaō*), to thirst; δίψος (*dipsos*), thirst; λιμός (*limos*), hunger, famine.

CL 1. *peinaō* means to hunger; *dipsaō*, to thirst; the corresponding nouns are *limos*, famine and its effect, hunger, and *dipsos*, thirst. The range of meaning of these words is not limited to physical want, but extends to the intellectual and spiritual life (from Plato and Xenophon). They express a passionate longing for something without which one cannot live, e.g. freedom, honour, fame, wealth, praise, enlightenment. This desire is often emphasized by bracketing hunger and thirst together.

2. The ancients attributed famine to the wrath of the gods. Vegetation gods and cults were therefore supposed to guarantee the provision of food (cf. the Canaanite Baals). In the later mystery religions these old fertility gods satisfied men's hunger for enduring eternal → life.

It was the task of rulers (e.g. the pharaohs of Egypt) to protect their subjects against hunger. But every case of hunger and thirst presented an obligation to help whoever was in need.

3. Gk. philosophers generally attempted to educate their adherents to free themselves from enslavement to the needs of the body. Thus the Stoics sought to make themselves independent of all the vicissitudes of life by the practice of asceticism, and the gnostics to free themselves from a sensual attachment to the world through the denial of the body (which belongs to material world, alienated from God), in order to attain to the realm of the spirit.

OT 1. In the LXX *peinaō* mostly translated the Heb. *rā'ēḇ*, to be hungry, but also *'āyēp̄*, to be weary, faint or exhausted, and *yā'ēp̄*, to be weary or faint. *limos* stands consistently for *rā'āḇ*, hunger; *dipsaō* and *dipsos* mostly for formations from the root *ṣāmē'* thirst(y), but also for *ṣiyyâh*, to be dry, and *'ayēp̄*, weary, faint. While *peinaō* and *dipsaō* or *dipsos* each occurs about 50 times in the LXX, *limos* is attested over 100 times. *limos* denotes acute lack of food, famine; *peinaō* stresses long drawn-out hungering.

2. Hunger and thirst are reckoned as the worst forms of lack, and of the two thirst is even more distressing than hunger in the sun-drenched east. Among the causes is failure of the rains with consequent failure of the harvest (1 Ki. 17:1), so that one can even speak of the thirst of the land. Hunger and thirst are also connected with war, wanderings in the desert (Ps. 107:5), idleness (Prov. 19:15), and particularly godlessness (Ps. 34:10; Isa. 65:13; Sir. 40:9). God sends hunger and thirst as a → judgment and as a salutary means of → humbling the godless attitudes of men (Deut. 32:24; 2 Sam. 24:13; Ezek. 5:15 f.; as a punishment in → hell they are not mentioned before 2 Esd. 8:59). In times of famine Israel sought help in more fertile → Egypt (Gen. 12:10; 41:53 ff.; 42:1 ff.). But it was in times of need (e.g. during the wandering in the wilderness, and in the land of Canaan) that Israel learned that God was her real Saviour from need (Exod. 16:3 ff.; 17:3 ff.; cf. 1 Ki. 8:37 ff.). Yahweh takes up the cause of the hungry who belong to the dispossessed → poor (1 Sam. 2:5). While judgment is pronounced on those who are filled, there is the promise of salvation for the hungry (Ps. 107:36 ff.; 146:7; Isa. 65:13). God demands from the devout a corresponding attitude to the poor (Isa.

58:7, 10; Ezek. 18:7, 16), among whom even their enemies must not be overlooked (Prov. 25:21).

3. This word group is occasionally used metaphorically of thirst for God (Ps. 42:2; 63:1; 143:6) and of striving after wisdom (Sir. 51:24). Amos 8:11–13 speaks of a hungering after the word of God alongside an actual famine: God can in the end withhold everything as a punishment. Several passages directed to the Jewish people during the Babylonian exile have particular significance. Though at present discouraged (Isa. 40:27–31) and poor (41:17 f.; 49:9 f.; 55:1), they will be allowed by God to return home. He will transform the arduous route through the desert into an oasis journey (Isa. 41:19; 43:20; 48:21, as at the exodus), and their wasted homeland itself into a "garden of salvation" (Ezek. 34:29; cf. Isa. 35:1, 6 f.). This material well-being includes the idea of spiritual salvation (Isa. 44:3; Jer. 31:12).

4. (a) In Philo Gk. and Jewish elements are mingled together. On the one hand, he encourages moderation and the discipline of the body in order to concentrate on the more important matter of satisfying the soul (*Spec.Leg.* 2, 201). On the other hand, he calls hunger the "most insupportable of all evils" (*Spec.Leg.* 2, 201; cf. *TDNT* VI 14).

(b) In Rab. Judaism hunger and thirst no longer come within the sphere of God's promises, but merely serve as inducements to better keeping of the law (e.g. Pss. Sol. 5:1–12; 10:1–6; 13:7–10). The Rabbis still only understood times of need as punishing or at best purifying, misfortunes which one attempted to counter by good works (cf. SB II 643 f.; IV 536–558).

NT Of the terms discussed *peinaō* occurs most frequently in the NT (about 25 times), chiefly in the synoptics and especially in Matt. Of the 16 occurrences of *dipsaō* in the NT, 9 are in the Johannine writings (Jn. and Rev.). *limos* is used by a variety of authors, but only 12 times in all.

OT and NT take man's physical need very seriously. But it is not only the stomach (→ Belly) but the whole man that needs to be satisfied. External well-being and inner salvation are most closely related. This explains the fact that many NT statements about hunger and thirst show a peculiar ambiguity, making it scarcely possible to distinguish the literal from the metaphorical.

1. The NT also speaks of famines (Lk. 4:25; Acts 7:11). They are among the terrors of the end time (Matt. 24:7 par. Mk. 13:8, Lk. 21:10; Rev. 6:8; 18:8; cf. Syr.Bar. 27:6), and the occasion of special measures of assistance (Acts 11:28). Hunger can move a man to → conversion, where questions about food raise questions about faith (Lk. 15:14, 17).

2. (a) Lk., in particular, depicts Jesus as the advocate of the poor and hungry (Lk. 1:53 = Ps. 107:9; Lk. 6:21), understanding hunger in the broadest sense. Believers should not fear hunger, as if there were no God to help them. The present order of things is questionable. In the future order God will act on behalf of the needy. Therefore, Jesus calls them → blessed already in view of the coming day of God, when he will bestow the → gifts of the time of salvation. For those who can expect nothing from this world, and direct all their hope towards God, there will be no more hunger (Lk. 6:21). There is no promise, however, for those who are

satisfied in this world. On the contrary, they are threatened with the prospect of mourning and weeping (Lk. 6:25). Thus the Lucan Beatitudes and Woes (Lk. 6:21, 25) contrast the present hunger and deprivation of the poor, for whom is the promise of divine help and future salvation, with the future hunger of those who are at present satisfied and rich, for whom there will be condemnation without promise (cf. Lk. 16:19–31, the rich man and poor Lazarus; on this see J. D. M. Derrett, "Dives and Lazarus and the Preceding Sayings", *Law in the New Testament*, 1970, 78–99).

(b) The Beatitude of Matt. 5:6 understands hunger as "hunger and thirst for righteousness." In contrast to the self-righteousness of Jewish legalism "hunger for righteousness" means the felt need and consequent longing for divine righteousness (cf. Matt. 6:10, third petition of the Lord's Prayer, "Thy will be done . . ."). According to Matt., those who hunger are the same as those who believe and long for the kingdom of God (6:33). Their promised filling begins with the coming of Jesus and continues until everything else is theirs as well.

(c) Hunger and thirst in the Johannine writings have a double meaning. Natural thirst (Jn. 4:13) and physical hunger (6:1 ff.) convey the longing for life in general. Jesus seizes upon this longing in order to show that it is only through contact with himself, the life-giver, that it is satisfied (4:14 f.; 6:35, "I am the bread of life"; alluding to Exod. 16:3 ff., 7:37). But what is promised in all the sayings about the satisfaction of hunger and thirst is only fully received in God's new world. Then all the physical and spiritual needs of earth will be ended (Rev. 7:16; 21:6; 22:17 = Isa. 49:10; 55:1; cf. Lk. 1:53; 6:21 par. Matt. 5:6).

3. The description in the gospels of Jesus himself having to suffer hunger and thirst serves to show the Son of God in his humanity. After 40 days of fasting hunger became for Jesus a temptation from the devil to use his authority as Son of God to satisfy his own need through a miracle (Matt. 4:2; Lk. 4:2; cf. Mk. 1:12 f.). Only in obedience to God's word was he able to stand firm, for "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds from the mouth of God" (Matt. 4:4; cf. Lk. 4:4; Deut. 8:3). He cursed the fig-tree which did not satisfy his hunger for fruit (Matt. 21:18 f. par. Mk. 11:12 ff.; → Fruit, art. *sykē*) and thereby demonstrated in parabolic fashion how a curse will fall upon all who do not bear the fruit of → righteousness. On the cross he thirsted though he offered himself as the living water to satisfy all thirst (Jn. 19:28; cf. Ps. 69:21; → Gall).

4. For the sake of their calling the disciples shared Jesus' poverty. Jesus defended their action of plucking ears of corn on the → sabbath (Matt. 12:1–8 par. Mk. 2:23–28, Lk. 6:1–5). Hunger and thirst were also among the deprivations that Paul had to undergo for the crucified Christ, in contrast to the enthusiasts in Corinth who fallaciously believed that they already enjoyed full possession of all the good things of the coming world (1 Cor. 4:8; 2 Cor. 11:27). When they assembled for worship, the latter pitilessly took no notice of the hungry among them (1 Cor. 11:21, 34). Hunger and thirst are not necessarily signs of God's disfavour. They may afflict, but they cannot separate from the love of God (Rom. 8:35). If Paul nevertheless was able to overcome them, he did so not on the basis of asceticism or superior knowledge, but through Christ alone (Phil. 4:12).

5. Hunger and thirst are occasions for the exercise of love. Their satisfaction is reckoned among the works of mercy which are set up as a standard at the judgment

of the world (Matt. 25:35, 37, 42) and which should include one's enemy (Rom. 12:20 = Prov. 25:21 f.; → Head). We have to remember also that in those who hunger and thirst Jesus Christ himself meets us incognito (Matt. 25:37, 42), "disguised in the uniform of misery" (Matthias Claudius; cf. Acts 11:28 ff.).

W. Bauder

βρῶμα

βρῶμα (*brōma*), food; βρῶσις (*brōsis*), eating, consuming, food; βρώσιμος (*brōsimos*), eatable; γάλα (*gala*), milk.

CL *brōma* (from Hippocrates on) and *brōsis* (from Homer on) both mean: (a) what is eaten, food; (b) eating (as a process); rarely, in the metaphorical sense, the food of immortality.

OT In the LXX both words translate almost exclusively the Heb. word group connected with the vb. *'ākal*, to eat. They mostly mean food, and only rarely eating as a process (e.g. Jer. 15:3). *eis brōsin* is a frequent phrase meaning "for food" (of men: Gen. 1:29; 2:9; 3:7; 9:3; etc.; of animals: Gen. 1:30; Jer. 7:33; 19:7; etc.).

God, who has assigned food to both men and beasts (Gen. 1:29 f.; 2:16; 9:3), also looks after his people's food throughout their history (cf. Ps. 78:18, 30; Gen. 41:35 ff.). The food, which God gives, is an expression of the righteousness which he has also given (Jon. 2:23 LXX).

This group of concepts does not occur in the LXX in the metaphorical sense for spiritual or supernatural food (nevertheless Deut. 8:3 points in this direction; → Bread, art. *manna*).

NT *brōma* occurs in the NT 17 times, of which 10 are in Paul: (a) in its literal sense, food (e.g. Matt. 14:15; Mk. 7:19; Rom. 14:15, 20; 1 Cor. 8:8, 13); (b) in the metaphorical sense (e.g. Jn. 4:34; 1 Cor. 3:2; 10:3). *brōsis* (11 times) is used (a) for the act of eating (e.g. Rom. 14:17; 1 Cor. 8:4; 2 Cor. 9:10; Col. 2:16); (b) as the synonym of *brōma* both literally (Heb. 12:16) and metaphorically (Jn. 4:32; 66:27, 55); (c) exceptionally of an insect that consumes (Matt. 6:19).

1. The literal use. In the NT, as in the OT, food is seen as God's gift which should be asked for daily ("give us this day our daily bread"; → Bread, art. *epiousios*) and received thankfully (1 Tim. 4:4). Ascetic and ritual tendencies, which classed certain foods as taboo, are rejected by the NT as false teaching (Col. 2:16 f.; 1 Tim. 4:3 ff.; Heb. 13:9; cf. Heb. 9:10). No food is unclean as such (Mk. 7:18 f.; cf. Acts 10:14 f.), and no food therefore possesses any special significance for our relationship to God (1 God. 8:8; cf. 1 Cor. 6:13). It is not the observance of particular commands or prohibitions concerning food which decides our participation in God's salvation; the → kingdom of God is realized in righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit (Rom. 14:17).

Christians can be commanded to avoid a particular food (meat offered to idols), however, if a brother by eating will be plunged into a conflict of → conscience, because his conscience is still prisoner of the idea that the use of this food is something prohibited and offensive to God (Rom. 14:15, 20; 1 Cor. 8:13). Out of

love for the tempted brother for whom Christ died the Christian who is "strong" in → knowledge must be able to forego a particular food. The possibility of sinning, however, does not lie in the food offered to the idol (1 Cor. 8:4) but in the man himself (cf. 1 Cor. 10:27).

2. *brōma* is used figuratively in contrast to *gala*, milk, in 1 Cor. 3:2. True proclamation of the word is always attuned to the receptivity of the hearer. But since faith involves a process of maturing, the "babe" in the faith cannot yet "digest" the deepest truths of divine wisdom. It is too strong meat for him.

The heavenly food mentioned in 1 Cor. 10:3 is the manna which in a miraculous way kept the people of Israel alive when earthly food was lacking. This food is interpreted typologically with reference to the Lord's Supper (→ art. *pinō* NT 4 (a) below; → Bread, art. *manna*; → Lord's Supper).

Food is also referred to metaphorically in Jn. 4:32. Jesus startlingly described the work that he did in fulfilment of his → Father's commission as the food (*brōsis*; *v.l. brōma*) on which he lived. Jesus' actions, indeed his whole life, constitute a revelation which does not have its origin in himself but which he receives from his Father. His work is none other than the living out of this revelation. Jesus' description of his work (vv. 32, 34) as his food means that he has come "not only *for* this service, but indeed *through* this service" (R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 1971, 195).

brōsis is mentioned three more times in Jn. in connection with feeding on Christ. "Do not labour for the food which perishes, but for the food which endures to eternal life, which the Son of man will give to you; for on him has God the Father set his seal" (Jn. 6:27). "For my flesh is food indeed, and my blood is drink indeed" (Jn. 6:55). Christ himself is now the food. "Jesus *gives* the bread of life in that he *is* the bread of life" (R. Bultmann, op. cit., 227). The man Jesus becomes, as Christ, "the bread which came down from heaven" (Jn. 6:41). To eat this bread is another way of describing what it is to believe in Jesus, "for he who comes to me shall not hunger, and he who believes in me shall never thirst" (Jn. 6:35).

H. Kropatschek

γεύομαι

γεύομαι (*geuomai*), taste, partake of, enjoy, experience.

CL & OT *geuomai* (root *geus, gys;* cf. Lat. *gustare*, Ger. *kosten*, to taste) means to taste, and hence figuratively to partake of, enjoy, and experience. In the OT the word occurs in the figurative sense only in Ps. 34:8 ("Taste and see that the Lord is good"); Job 20:18; and Prov. 31:18. Otherwise it is always used literally (cf. Gen. 25:30; 1 Sam. 14:24 ff.; Jon. 3:7). In the OT the figurative meaning expresses the element of experience. It translates the Heb. *ṭā'am*, taste, perceive.

NT In the NT *geuomai* occurs 15 times (of which 10 are in the Gospels and Acts) and is used as in secular Gk. and in the LXX.

1. Taste is used in a literal sense in (e.g.) Matt. 27:34; Jn. 2:9; Acts 10:10; and Col. 2:21. The Colossian church was distracted by a "philosophy" (Col. 2:8) which "made use of terms which stemmed from Jewish tradition, but which had been transformed in the crucible of syncretism to be subject to the service of 'the

elements of the universe.' It is this service which they are now supposed to express. Since the angelic powers are in charge of the order of the cosmos and the course of the stars, their sacred seasons and times must be observed and the regulations, codified in a list of taboos, must be followed" (E. Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon*, *Hermeneia*, 1971, 116). By setting apart areas of life as controlled by demonic powers, this group at Colossae was in effect calling in question the victory of Christ over the whole world. Col. counters this by asking: "If with Christ you died to the elemental spirits of the universe, why do you live as if you still belonged to the world? Why do you submit to regulations? 'Do not handle, Do not taste, Do not touch' (referring to things which all perish as they are used), according to human precepts and doctrines? These have indeed an appearance of wisdom in promoting rigour of devotion and self-abasement and severity to the body, but they are of no value in checking the indulgence of the flesh" (Col. 2:20–23).

The parable of the great banquet concludes with the pronouncement: "For I tell you, none of those men who were invited shall taste my banquet" (Lk. 14:24). Here Jesus himself is speaking through the master in the parable pronouncing the rejection of those who rejected the invitation to the messianic banquet on account of worldly concerns. The literal sense of "taste" symbolizes participation in the → kingdom of God.

2. The figurative sense. 1 Pet. 2:3 takes up the words of Ps. 34:8, when it says, "For you have tasted the kindness of the Lord." The readers are urged to put away malice, guile, insincerity and slander (2:1) and grow up in a way appropriate to those who have been "born anew" (1:23). "Like newborn babes, long for the pure spiritual milk, that by it you may grow up to salvation" (2:2; → Birth; → Conversion). In view of the connection of the passage with Ps. 34, E. G. Selwyn suggests that its force is best brought out if it is rendered: "if you have responded to the Psalmist's words, 'taste and see that the Lord is good', i.e. if you have taken the initial step of adherence to Christ" (*The First Epistle of St. Peter*, 1946, 157). The word "if [*ei*]" is to be understood in the sense of "seeing that" (RSV "for"; cf. 1:17; Funk §§ 371 f.). Selwyn also suggests that Ps. 34 lies behind the thought of 1 Pet. at numerous points (cf. v. 10 with 1:15 ff.; v. 5 with 1:17 and 2:4; vv. 13–17 quoted verbatim in 3:10 ff.; v. 23 with 1:18, 13; and v. 20 with the epistle passim). He conjectures its use in the church of Asia Minor as part of a catechetical document, a persecution document or a baptismal hymn.

Ps. 34:8 may also be reflected in Heb. 6:4 ff.: "For it is impossible to restore again to repentance those who have once been enlightened, who have tasted the heavenly gift, and have become partakers of the Holy Spirit, and have tasted the goodness of the word of God and the powers of the age to come, if they then commit apostasy, since they crucify the Son of God on their own account and hold him up to contempt." It is not clear whether the author is thinking specifically of the forgiveness of sins, the gift of salvation, the Holy Spirit, or Christ himself. I. H. Marshall thinks it unlikely that the Holy Spirit is meant in view of the following reference to him, and that it is most probable that salvation is in mind (*Kept by the Power of God*, 1969, 137). He suggests that the emphasis in tasting is not that of taking a sip, as Calvin thought. (In Heb. 2:9 Christ tasted death in the sense that he experienced its bitter taste to the full.) The amount consumed is not the point, but the fact of experiencing what is eaten. The Christians to whom this is

addressed have already experienced something of the future age, the world that is to come. If in this experience believers thus receive a foretaste, the passage is an instance of the characteristic tension between the "already" and the "not yet" in the life of the Christian.

On the expression "to taste death" (already present in ancient Jewish literature, cf. SB I 751 ff. on Matt. 16:28) compare 1 Sam. 15:32; Sir. 41:1 (the bitterness of death). The promise of Mk. 9:1 and Lk. 9:27 that some would see the coming of the kingdom (or the Son of man coming in his kingdom, Matt. 16:28) without tasting death, i.e. without dying, is to be explained by the expected nearness of the event. It was an expectation which (Adolf Schlatter suggested) itself experienced "by God's ruling not only fulfilment but also expansion and modification." ([Ed.] However, the passage has also been understood to refer to the transfiguration which in fact took place shortly after, the resurrection, and also to the coming of the Son of man in judgment on Jerusalem [on Matt. 24:34 par. → Generation].)

The statement of Heb. 2:9 that Jesus "tasted death for every one" sees his death as an act of salvation. His condemnation as a sinner does not spare man from physical death, but takes away his fear of death, because through it death's power of eternal destruction was broken (cf. vv. 14 f.). Similarly, Jn. 8:52 contains the promise: "Truly, truly, I say to you, if any one keeps my word, he will never taste death."

E. Tiedtke

ἐσθίω ἐσθίω (*esthiō*), eat.

CL Along with drinking, eating is necessary for the maintenance of physical life (cf. Homer, *Od.*, 2, 305; cf. Lk. 24:41). Eating is pleasant, but indulgence is a vice (cf. Xen., *Mem.* 2, 1, 24 ff.: "You should always be concerned about the pleasure you find in eating and drinking. . . . My friends, she said, call me Eudaimonia [prosperity, good fortune, happiness, personified as a divinity], but those who hate me . . . Kakia [badness, personified]"). Those who seek their pleasure in eating and drinking (cf. *Xen.*, *Mem.* 2, 1, 9), should understand that the gods do not give what is really good and beautiful without effort and diligence (*Xen.*, *Mem.* 2, 1, 28: "If you wish the earth to bear you a rich harvest, you must do the earth service"; cf. Lk. 17:7 f.). Over and above the physical, men have sought to commune with the deity through sacramental meals and foods, and so obtain a share in the divine and immortal powers of life or even in the deity itself. The early Christian writer, Ignatius of Antioch, spoke of "breaking one bread, which is the medicine of immortality and the antidote that we should not die but live for ever in Jesus Christ" (Eph. 20). For this use of food in non-Christian religions see R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 1971, 223 f. On the purely physical level the two extremes are gluttony (cf. Homer, *Od.* 21, 69) and asceticism (cf. Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 11, 23).

OT All food in the OT is understood as the gift of God, whether it is the produce of man or whether it grows naturally (Deut. 14:4). This places man under obligation to God and under his direction (Gen. 3:2 f.). Thus, abstinence from or consumption of certain foods (Lev. 7:23 ff.; cf. the fruit of "the tree of the knowledge

of good and evil", Gen. 2:17) are tests of man's obedience to God. Disobedience (Gen. 3:6) can bring punishment (Gen. 3:17). But in general, the satisfaction of man's need of food is traced to God (Ps. 22:26); not having enough to eat or being unable to eat (Ps. 102:4, 9 f.; cf. Acts 9:9) is seen as a sign of God's anger and punishment (cf. Hos. 4:10). The righteous and the devout do not need to worry about their food (Ps. 127:2; Isa. 3:10; cf. Matt. 6:25), for their relationship with God is in order (Eccl. 9:7). After the meal God should be praised (Deut. 8:10), and not forgotten (Deut. 6:11 f.). Since eating is not something the man should do in isolation but is an expression of relationship with God, one must share one's bread with the hungry (Isa. 58:7; cf. Lk. 16:19 f.). One can eat and drink to God's glory (Exod. 24:11; cf. 1 Cor. 10:31) and make ritual sacrifices of food to him (Lev. 2:3, 6, 9 ff.). In later apocalyptic thought one can eat and drink with God and so be in fellowship with him (cf. Joseph and Aseneth 8:5; 15:4). At the consummation of time those who have been hungry will eat their fill, and manna in abundance will once again fall from above (Syr.Bar. 29:6 ff.). On vegetarian asceticism see Test.Jud. 15:4, where Judah is said not to have tasted wine or meat even in his old age (cf. Rom. 14:21). Isa. 22:13 describes the irresponsible behaviour of those who care for nothing but eating and drinking (cf. Matt. 24:38; Lk. 12:19; 1 Cor. 15:32; Livy 26, 13; Hdt. 2, 193; Diod.Sic. 2, 23; *The Gilgamesh Epic*, *ANET*, 90; the Egyptian proverb, *ANET*, 415; *A Song of the Harper*, *ANET*, 467; see E. J. Young, *A Commentary on Isaiah*, I, 1969, 103).

NT 1. The various traditions about John the Baptist (Mk. 2:18; Matt. 11:18; Mk. 1:6) recount that he fasted and lived abstemiously. Despite Matt. 11:19, it is no longer possible to determine whether the historical Jesus in fact differed from the Baptist on this point, even though the gospels recount how Jesus cultivated table fellowship with others as well as with his disciples (Mk. 14:18). This is seen as an expression of fellowship (Lk. 13:26), and in Luke's theology as an expression of genuine eye-witness testimony (Acts 10:41). He ate with the Pharisees (Lk. 7:36) and with sinners (Mk. 2:16).

The mode of life of the primitive Christian church, however, was by no means ascetic (Mk. 2:19). A feature was the joyful common meals (Acts 2:46; cf. Lk. 15:23; but cf. also 1 Cor. 11:20 ff.). Ritual prohibitions were rejected (Gal. 2:12; Mk. 7:1 ff.). The mistaken conclusion that table fellowship with Jesus guaranteed acceptance in the kingdom of God is countered in Lk. 13:26 ff.; cf. Matt. 7:21 ff.; 25:41; Lk. 6:46. The complaint that Jesus was eating with tax collectors and sinners is met in Mk. 2:16 f. by the statement that Jesus had not come to call the righteous, but sinners (see below under *pinō*, 3 (a)). Table fellowship symbolizes fellowship in general. Even Luke's account of the distant parousia retains the significance of table fellowship in the kingdom of God (Lk. 14:15; 22:30). The stories of the feedings in Mk. 6:34 ff. and 8:1 ff. are part of the → miracle stories which glorify Jesus' power and greatness (par. Matt. 14:13–21, Lk. 9:10–17, Jn. 6:1–13, and Matt. 15:32–39).

2. Eating is discussed in the context of mission in so far as the missionary is entitled to support (1 Cor. 9:14; Matt. 10:10; Lk. 10:7). The command to work belongs among the exhortations to the church; for whoever will not work should not eat (2 Thess. 3:10).

3. Eating and drinking became a particular problem in Corinth. Certain groups there sought to prove their "strength" and "freedom" by deliberate participation in sacrifices to idols (1 Cor. 10:14 ff.). Paul had to point out to them that one can have communion either with God or with idols and demons, but not with both. They are mutually exclusive (1 Cor. 10:20 ff.). There was also the further question whether it was permissible to buy and eat meat that had been sacrificed to idols and was now offered for sale in the market. Paul answered this question in the affirmative (v. 25), but with the proviso that one has to take into account the "weak" (1 Cor. 8:9 ff.; 10:32; cf. Rom. 14 f.). Even the → Lord's Supper gave rise to a crisis in Corinth. For in the absence of the apostle certain irregularities, the precise nature of which are no longer clearly recognizable, endangered the common meal. W. Schmithals suggests that there was an attempt to replace by a secular meal the sacramental meal that had been handed down to them, since a meal which had the Crucified One as its content was considered shocking and, in the light of their new-found strength, nonsense (*Gnosticism in Corinth*, 1971). This resulted in Paul reasserting the death of the Lord in the centre of the feast (1 Cor. 11:26). G. Bornkamm suggests that the Corinthians in no sense wanted to do away with the Lord's Supper, but on the contrary saw it as so highly important that the preceding meal became a matter which one could conduct according to one's own pleasure and for one's own enjoyment (*Early Christian Experience*, 1969, 146 ff.). The abuses in Corinth may also be interpreted as a failure of the church to understand itself at the Lord's Supper as the → body of Christ (cf. 1 Cor. 6:15; 10:16; 11:29; 12:27), because the meal was being profaned as in the description in 1 Cor. 11:21 (cf. 1 Cor. 5:11). In practice it was threatened with replacement by a straightforward meal to satisfy hunger. The expression *to idion deipnon*, "his own meal", denotes a meal utterly separated from Christ – not only from the crucified Christ (cf. *to idion sōma*, "his own body" [1 Cor. 6:18; 7:4]). Perhaps *idion*, own, belonging to the individual, for oneself, belonged to the Corinthians' terminology and referred to the falsely understood strength and freedom (cf. 1 Cor. 7:7). At all events it is not, as is frequently assumed, a question of a private meal of individuals which Paul contrasted with the common celebration of the Lord's Supper, in which all the members of the church, both rich and poor, ought to take part.

4. (a) Another question is raised by Jn. The true → bread (Jn. 6:32) is Jesus himself (vv. 35, 48). Coming to him, i.e. faith in him, ensures eternal life (v. 27), whereas ordinary food has no lasting effect (vv. 49 f.). Verses 51 ff. go beyond what has been said before in that they further define eating, which previously meant faith as eating Jesus' *sarx*, flesh (→ the Lord's Supper).

(b) The eating of the Book of the Revelation (Rev. 10:9; cf. Ezek. 3:1 ff.) means the real appropriation of the revelation, the content of which (cf. ch. 12 ff.) is described as "sweet" (denoting victory) and "bitter" (symbolizing struggle).

(c) In Heb. 13:10 it is not clear whether the altar refers to the Lord's Supper, Jesus' cross, an unrealistic doctrine of the Lord's Supper (cf. O. Michel, *Der Brief an die Hebräer*, KEK 13, 1966[13]), or simply means that every non-Christian sacrificial meal is to be rejected. F. F. Bruce suggests that "altar" here means "sacrifice". It is a case of metonymy, as when we say that someone keeps a "good table", meaning thereby "good food" (*The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 1964, 399 f.).

G. Braumann

πίνω

πίνω (*pinō*), drink; ποτίζω (*potizō*), water, give to drink; ποτήριον (*potērion*), cup; πόμα (*poma*), a drink; πόσις (*posis*), drinking, a drink; πότος (*potos*), drinking, i.e. revelry.

CL 1. *pinō* (Homer onwards) means to drink; the compound *katapinō* (Hesiod, Hdt. on) strengthens the meaning of the simple vb.: to drink up, swallow (e.g. of the earth soaking up water, Plato, *Crit.* 111 D). The related vb. *potizō* (Hippocrates on) has the trans. meaning: to enable someone to drink; to allow to drink, to give to drink, to water (of animals). The noun *hē posis* (Homer on) denotes (a) the act of drinking (Hdt. 1, 172); (b) what is drunk, the drink (Jn. 6:55). *to poma* (Pindar) and *to poton* (Homer on, not in the NT) have the same meaning, drink, while *ho potos* (Xenophon) means drinking together, revelry (in the NT only 1 Pet. 4:3). *potērion* (Alcaeus, Sappho on), finally, is the drinking vessel, the cup or goblet, and plays an important role in the NT texts on the Lord's Supper.

2. Drinking satisfies thirst and refreshes (Nestor to Machaon after they have survived a battle: "Now drink . . ." [Homer, *Il.* 14, 5]). In popular opinion it was considered a pleasure (but he asked him whether he knew the good in order to show him, should he say something about these, that is food and drink, that they can sometimes be evil [Xen., *Mem.* 3, 8, 2]). It can become a passion (Ought one not first to investigate who controls gluttony and the desire for drink? [Xen., *Mem.* 3, 6, 1]). In philosophical discussions a similar view of life runs up against criticism (Will not those who have given themselves up to gluttony and the desire for drink probably enter the species of the ass and similar beasts? [Plato, *Phd.* 81, 2]). But the Greeks were not only familiar with drinking as a means of satisfying a physical thirst or providing a physical pleasure. Over and above this, it had a special place in the mystery religions especially in sacral meals (cf. *TDNT* VI 137 f.). Drinking, above all of water, supplies real, supernatural powers and life-giving knowledge (Eth.Enoch. 22:9; Od.Sol. 6:18: for all recognized one another in the Lord and were redeemed through the eternal immortal water; *Corp.Herm.* 1, 29: and they were fed from the immortal water). *kai doiē soi ho Osiris to psychron hydōr*, "and may Osiris give you the cold water" is a wish often repeated on funerary inscriptions (see E. Rohde, *Psyche*, [1907] II, 391; cf. also R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 1971, 178–87, 302–6; Arndt, 664).

OT In the vast majority of cases (215 times) the LXX translates the qal of *šāṭâh*, to drink, by *pinō*, while *potizō* renders the hiph. of *šāqâh*, to give to drink, water.

1. In view of frequently occurring shortages of → water, thirst (Exod. 17:1 ff. → art. *peinaō*) and drinking (1 Ki. 17:3 f.) are of particular significance in the OT world. The Lord proclaimed his sovereignty and mystery in asking Job: "Who has cleft a channel for the torrents of rain, and a way for the thunderbolt, to bring rain on a land where no man is, on the desert in which there is no man; to satisfy the waste and desolate land, and to make the ground put forth grass?" (Job 38:25 ff.). Rain transforms eastern lands into a "watered garden" (cf. Isa. 55:10), while the lack of it causes almost all vegetation to wither and results in catastrophic famines (1 Ki. 18:2 ff.). Closely connected with the shortage of water is the presence of bad and undrinkable water (Exod. 15:23).

2. The ability to satisfy thirst is attributed to God. "Thou visitest the earth and waterest it, thou greatly enrichest it; the river of God is full of water; thou providest

their grain, for so thou has prepared it" (Ps. 65:9). Drink was not understood as a → gift of creation put at man's disposal once and for all at the creation, but as a gift which is continually received anew from God and is the cause of thanksgiving (Exod. 15:22 ff.; Jdg. 15:18). Correspondingly, thirst which cannot be quenched was understood as God's anger and punishment (Isa. 5:13). When the quenching of thirst is taken for granted, God has been forgotten (Jer. 2:6). In responsibility to him Israel had to handle water carefully (Ezek. 34:18 ff.), and not only because it was felt to be a particular blessing of the cultivated land.

3. Used figuratively, drinking can stand for the way God's gifts and judgments come to men. According to whether it is the cup of his wrath (cf. Jer. 25:15 ff.; Isa. 51:17; Ps. 60:3; 75:8) or his gracious gift (Ps. 116:13; cf. also Isa. 55:1), the drink leads to destruction or to salvation. Equally figuratively, Amos 8:11 speaks of thirst for the word of God which can be quenched only if God wills.

NT The NT speaks of drinking and eating in a variety of connections. Five groups of ideas can be distinguished: 1. practical piety; 2. the attitude of John the Baptist and Jesus; 3. table fellowship; 4. the Lord's Supper; 5. the Johannine water of life.

1. (a) Like eating, drinking is referred to literally. The interesting thing about the use of the word to drink is the way the relationship between a man and his neighbour and a man and God is presented. Eating and drinking, like dress, are relativized (Matt. 6:25 ff., 31 par. Lk. 12:29); life itself is more important. God can be relied on to take care of these matters. Seeking the kingdom of God and his righteousness (Matt. 6:33; cf. Lk. 12:31) should hold a man's interest, and then these questions of daily living, to which eating and drinking belong, settle themselves. There is no eschatological element here, and the argument remains on the level of popular wisdom (cf. SB I 436). One can rest all one's cares on God.

(b) Observance of the distinction between clean and unclean foods belongs to the old → covenant (Acts 10:14; → Animal; → Bird). Peter's vision in which this distinction was abolished symbolizes the abolition of Jewish exclusiveness and the inclusion of the Gentiles in the → people of God.

(c) The materialistic attitude is rejected which looks no further than this life (1 Cor. 15:32; cf. Lk. 12:19; → *esthiō* OT). Those who are given to eating and drinking and fail to recognize this situation and responsibility towards God (Matt. 24:48 ff.; Lk. 12:19), will nevertheless be called to account (Matt. 24:38 ff.; cf. Lk. 17:27 ff.).

2. (a) This underlines the fact that eating and drinking are not to be seen as ends in themselves, or as pleasures for the self-indulgent, but in the light of responsibility to God and men. Paul saw the problem in terms of the church. Although the Christian has complete freedom to eat and drink what he likes (1 Cor. 9:4), he is bound to take account of his neighbour (Rom. 14:21). The question is seen christologically in Matt.: in the poor to whom a drink is given (*potizō*) Christ himself is encountered (Matt. 25:37, 42). Lk. 10:7 gives a practical directive for mission.

(b) The problem is understood eschatologically by John the Baptist. The seriousness of imminent events cast its shadow over the present age (Mk. 1:5 f.). Therefore

John neither ate nor drank (Matt. 11:18 f. par. Lk. 7:34; on John see C. H. H. Scobie, *John the Baptist*, 1964).

(c) The behaviour of the "Son of man" is depicted as a direct contrast to this for he both ate and drank (ibid.). A number of stories refer to the eating and drinking of Jesus and the disciples. Jesus also ate and drank with sinners (Mk. 2:16; cf. Lk. 5:30, 33). A clear eschatological motivation is lacking ([Ed.] unless we see in Jesus' actions his reinterpretation of the messianic banquet). Perhaps Jesus, in contrast to John the Baptist, waited for the imminent events with joy rather than with pessimistic seriousness and for this reason put himself on the side of the sinners.

3. (a) Drinking takes on a deeper significance when, along with eating, it expresses the unity which exists among those who share in a meal. Thus there will be those who will call upon the fact that they have eaten and drunk with Jesus in order to claim a place at his side in eternity (Lk. 13:26). But Jesus will reply that he never knew them (v. 27; cf. Matt. 7:21 ff.; 25:41; Lk. 6:46). For the relationship was merely formal. On the other hand, the disciples are promised that they will eat and drink at Jesus' table (Lk. 22:30). This deeper meaning also lies behind Lk. 5:30: by eating with sinners the disciples, like Jesus, stand on their side. Lk. brings an important qualification by inserting the words "to repentance" (Lk. 5:32; cf. Mk. 2:16 f.). Jesus did not come "to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance."

(b) The request of the sons of Zebedee to sit at Jesus' side in eternity has an apocalyptic-eschatological character (Matt. 20:20; Mk. 10:35–37; cf. Lk. 22:24 ff.), but it is striking that Jesus' answer is in no way apocalyptic or eschatological. It points rather to his death: the cup is understood as the cup of suffering, the → baptism as the baptism of death (Matt. 20:22; Mk. 10:38). The "cup" of suffering is mentioned again in Matt. 26:39; Mk. 14:36; Lk. 22:42; cf. Jn. 18:11. Jesus requested his Father to let the cup of suffering (*potērion*) pass from him. In the OT the cup is a symbol of judgment and retribution (cf. Ps. 75:9; Isa. 51:17 f.; Jer. 25:15 ff.).

4. (a) Drinking is referred to figuratively in 1 Cor. 10:4 (cf. Exod. 17:6; Num. 20:11). Some think that Paul may be alluding in v. 3 f. to the → Lord's Supper as a saving event which is already anticipated pneumatically in the time of Moses (cf. the twice used word *pneumatikos* in v. 4 [lit. "spiritual", "pertaining to the spirit"; →Spirit]). Thus the allusion would be not figurative or parabolic but real and actual. This means therefore that there is a real identity between the ancient and the new saving events and not merely an analogy (E. Käsemann, "The Pauline View of the Lord's Supper", in *Essays on New Testament Themes*, 1964, 113 f.; but cf. R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, I, 1952, 36). However it is not certain how this drinking from Christ is to be understood. W. Heitmüller saw in it an affinity with the mystery cults: "The food and drink are Jesus Christ" (*RGG*[1] I, 40). H. von Soden understood it as the drink which comes from Christ as its source, that is, the drink that Christ gives: "Christ gives the drink, not Christ is the drink" (*Sakrament und Ethik bei Paulus*, 1931, 264).

([Ed.] This division of opinion is reflected among English-speaking scholars. E. E. Ellis writes: "The Old Covenant like the New, had a food and drink in which Christ was [typically] present" [*Paul's Use of the Old Testament*, 1957, 131]. He takes *pneumatikos* in v. 4 to mean "in its typical or prophetic significance", and links this up

with the use of *typoi*, v. 6 ["examples", "types"] and *typikōs*, v. 11 ["typologically", "as an example or warning", Arndt, 837; → Image, art. *typos*]. But A. T. and R. P. C. Hanson both reject the idea of typology in the sense of a similar situation prefiguring Christ in some kind of allegorical way, and say that the rock really was Christ present with his people [A. T. Hanson, *Jesus Christ in the Old Testament*, 1965, 21; R. P. C. Hanson, *Allegory and Event*, 1959, 79 f.].)

(b) The same uncertainty occurs with respect to 1 Cor. 10:16f. V. 16 is no doubt a tradition taken over by Paul (Käsemann, op. cit., 109 ff.), which explained the cup (*potērion*) as a sharing (not fellowship) in the body and blood of Christ. V. 17 is no doubt an expansion of the tradition by Paul. While Käsemann claims that, "In Christ one is at the same time the body of Christ" (*Leib und Leib Christi*, 1933, 168), H. Schlier maintains that "Paul is only saying that this body of the church belongs to Christ, is his possession" (*Christus und die Kirche im Epheserbrief*, 1930, 41).

(c) The same question arises in the words which interpret the Lord's Supper tradition in Paul's account (1 Cor. 11:23–26). Is the eating and drinking of bread and wine identical with sharing in the exalted Christ or only a pointer to the earthly Christ, in so far as his death is the ground of our salvation?

The synoptics connect the Lord's Supper with the Passover meal (Matt. 26:17; Mk. 14:12; Lk. 22:7, 15). This raises the critical question of the original meaning of the Lord's Supper. Is it to be understood against a Hellenistic background and therefore not as a means of realizing the presence of Jesus, instituted by Jesus himself? Or is it to be understood as an interpretation of the death of Jesus in its significance for the salvation of the church? → Lord's Supper; → Feast, art. *pascha*.

5. Jn. 4:10 ff. raises the question of the → water of life (v. 11). Ordinary water quenches the thirst only for the time being (v. 13). (The kingdom of God and eating and drinking are two different things [Rom. 14:17; cf. Col. 2:16].) But the water which Jesus gives bestows eternal life (v. 14). One must therefore come to Jesus (Jn. 7:37; cf. Isa. 55:1), i.e. have faith in him (on the imperative form cf. R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, II, 1955, 23). While the gift here is Jesus himself (cf. also Jn. 6:51 ff.), in Jn. 7:36 it is related to the Spirit as the Spirit of Christ.

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→ Bread, → Fast, → Feast, → Lord's Supper, → Wine

(a). J. Behm, *brōma*, *TDNT* I 642–45; *geuomai*, *TDNT* I 675 ff.; *esthiō*, *TDNT* II 689–95; J. Behm and G. Bertram, *dipsaō* etc., *TDNT* II 226–29; A. C. Bouquet, *Everyday Life in New Testament Times*, 1954, 69–79; R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 1971; L. Goppelt, *peinaō*, *TDNT* VI 12–22; and *pinō*, *TDNT* VI 135–60; D. R. Hall, "St. Paul and Famine Relief: A Study in Galatians 2:10", *ExpT* 82, 1970–71, 309 ff.; E. W. Heaton, *Every Day Life in Old Testament Times*, 1956, 81–115; N. Hillyer, " 'Spiritual Milk . . . Spiritual House' ", *TB* 20, 1969, 126; J. C. Hurd, Jr., *The Origin of 1 Corinthians*, 1965; J. Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, 1966²; J. P. Lewis, "Food", *ZPEB* II 581–87; J. F. Ross, "Food", *IDB* II 304–8; and "Drink", *IDB* I 871 f.; H. Schlier, *gala*, *TDNT* I 645 ff.; W. Schmithals, *Gnosticism in Corinth*, 1971.

(b). E. Bammel and F. Schmidt-Clausing, "Fasten", *RGG*³ II 881 ff.; O. Böcher, "Ass Johannes der Täufer kein Brot (Luk. vii. 33)?", *NTS* 18, 1971–72, 90 ff.; W. Nauck, "Speisevorschriften", *EKL* III 1080 f.; E. Siglmayr and R. Rendtorff, "Speiseverbote", *RGG*³ VI 230 ff.; G. Strecker, *Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit*, 1962.

I

I Am

ἐγὼ εἰμί

ἐγὼ εἰμί (*egō eimi*), I am; ἐγώ (*egō*), I.

CL The *egō eimi* formula does not occur in classical literature, and there are scarcely any relevant parallels in later periods. But the wider context, particularly of the Near East, demands special attention, not because of any direct influence on the NT, but because of similarities of content and form. An emphatic "I"-style can be demonstrated in ancient India: I was Manu and I Sūrya, I am Kaksivat . . . I compel Kutsa, the son of Arjuna; I am Kavi Usanas, look at me! (cf. E. Schweizer, *Egō eimi*, 1965², 16). The Mandaean analogies are particularly interesting: I am the life, that was from of old . . . I am the glory, I am the light (Ginza 207, 34 ff.); I am the first glory (Ginza 592, 26; cf. Schweizer, op. cit., 37, and C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel According to St. John*, 1955, 242). However, the history of the traditions in the Mandaean texts is disputed and Christian influence cannot be excluded. Probably the "I-am" sayings belong to the older strata and not to later interpretation. In terms of content, some scholars hold that the "I-am" statements are not intended to be mere metaphors: vine, light and water are not images or figures of speech, but actual substances understood mythologically (cf. Schweizer, op. cit., 12 ff.).

OT 1. In the OT the Heb. words for "I", *'anî* and *'ānōḵî*, are very common. But statistics are of little consequence in the LXX, since it translates the Heb. equivalents mechanically by *egō*, "regardless of whether it is emphatic or unemphatic, necessary or superfluous in Greek, or used of God or men" (Schweizer, op. cit., 23). As a result, *egō eimi* in the LXX is not an exclusively religious formula.

2. Nevertheless, certain "I"-formulae are noteworthy. The so-called self-presentations are important in this connection, in which Yahweh makes himself known as the promised saving God of the fathers (Gen. 15:7; 17:1; 28:13; 35:11; cf. also the opening of the Decalogue, "I am the Lord your God, who . . ." [Exod. 20:2]; and *egō eimi ho ōn* "I am the existing One" [Exod. 3:14 LXX]). This self-presentation was necessary in the polytheistic world of the ancient orient; it sought to secure the trust of the recipient of the revelation in this one God alone. In terms of content, God is the one who acts in history. In the passages in Ezek. where God is speaking the Heb. phrase recurs: *'anî* YHWH ("I [am] Yahweh"; cf. Ezek. 33:29; 36:36; 37:6, 13; 39:28). In Deut. God's action in history is demonstrated in the dialectic of judgment and salvation, and on this basis obedience and honour are

due to God as the only God (Deut. 32:39 ff.). According to D. Daube, the expression *'anî hû'* ("I [am] he"; cf. Deut. 32:39; Isa. 40:10, 13 etc.) "can hardly signify 'I am this or that', referring back to some previous attribute. In the Old Testament it appears in the sense of 'I am the Absolute' or the like, and this application certainly prepared the ground for the *egō eimi* of the Messianic Presence" (*The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, 1956, 327). The most universal and clearest expression of this power of Yahweh over nature and history is to be found in the passages in Isa., where Yahweh declares: "I am the Lord, who made all things, who stretched out the heavens alone, who spread out the earth" (44:24); "I am the first and the last; besides me there is no god" (44:6; cf. 43:11; 45:5, 22). A similar "I"-style, when God is speaking, occurs in Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature (Eth.Enoch 108:12; Apoc.Abr. 9:3; Jub. 24:22).

3. *egō*, uttered by men, occurs in the first-person speeches of the prophets (e.g. in the Servant Songs, Isa. 48:12; 49:1 ff.; cf. 50:4 ff.; 61:1) and in the wisdom literature (Prov. 8). Later the apocalyptic writers were fond of using the "I"-style, and frequently did so to convey secret revelations (cf. Dan. 7:15, 28; Sl.Enoch 39:2). The Damascus Rule from Qumran also speaks in the style of wisdom: "Hear now, my sons, and I will uncover your eyes that you may see and understand the works of God" (CD 2:14).

NT In the NT *egō* and *egō eimi* differ in significance in Jn., the synoptic tradition, Rev. and Paul.

1. *The "I am" Sayings in Jn. egō eimi* occurs as a fixed formula in the pronouncements in Jn. These "I am" sayings are to be distinguished from those in which Jesus uses the emphatic "I" (cf. Jn. 7:29; 9:39).

(a) The Johannine usage is typified by its formal structure: first there is the "I am" which is followed by a visual picture which can be further qualified by an adj. or a participle. The sentence structure raises the question whether the "I" is the subject or the predicate. If the "I" is the subject, we have to ask what it is that the predicate answers. R. Bultmann distinguishes the following types of "I am" pronouncements (*The Gospel of John*, 1971, 225 f.). (i) The *presentation formula* replies to the question, "Who are you?" (cf. Gen. 17:1; Aristophanes, *Plutus* 78: "I am in fact Plutus"). (ii) The *qualificatory formula* answers the question, "What are you?" (cf. Epictetus, *Dissertationes* 4, 8, 15 f.; Ezek. 28:2, 9). The reply to such a question is "I am such and such . . ." or "I am the sort of man who. . . ." (iii) In the *identification formula* the speaker identifies himself with another person, power or object. Thus the Egyptian god Rê identifies himself with Chepre: "I am he who arose as Chepre" (*Altorientalische Texte*, 1; cf. Jn. 11:25; 14:6). (iv) The *recognition formula* differs from the others in that the "I" is the predicate. It answers the question, "Who is so and so?" with the answer "I am". Bultmann submits that "In the *egō-eimi* statements Jn. 6:35, 41, 48, 51; 8:12; 10:7, 9, 11, 14; 15:1, 5 we clearly have recognition formulae, even if in the source they were perhaps intended as presentation or qualificatory formulae" (op. cit., 226).

(b) A further question is the meaning of the visual picture in the pronouncement. One view is that we are dealing with similes, parables, metaphors or allegories, when Jesus says, "I am the bread of life"; "I am the light of the world"; "I am the good shepherd" etc. Thus Jesus is compared with a shepherd and his followers with

sheep. Another view is that Jesus is in reality the embodiment of the shepherd and his followers the sheep (cf. the Johannine *alēthinos*, true, genuine, real, in Jn. 1:9; 4:23, 37; 6:32; 7:28; 8:16; 15:1; 17:3; 19:35; 1 Jn. 2:8; 5:20). Some exegetes favour this interpretation on the grounds of the religious background material (see above CL), context and detailed exegesis, although parabolic and allegorical elements cannot be excluded. Thus, Jesus would not only be compared with a shepherd; he *is* the shepherd in the fullest sense of the term. He is not only compared with a vine. The vine cannot show who and what Jesus is; rather the true vine is Jesus and no other (Jn. 15:1). Jesus is not only like a door. He is the door; this reality, this divine truth, applies to no one but him.

(c) This interpretation suggests a polemical situation which prompts the question: Against whom are these pronouncements directed? Some scholars think that the Johannine pronouncements arose out of a situation in which various people other than Jesus were designated as the vine, the shepherd etc. These have been identified with gnostic redeemer figures (cf. R. Bultmann, op. cit., 367–70 on the shepherd, and 530 ff. on the vine which he identifies with the mythical tree of life). Thus the Johannine pronouncements would repudiate their claims and declare that the → bread of life, the → light of the world, the door → (Gate), the → shepherd etc. are Jesus alone. ([Ed.] However, the idea of a gnostic background for these pronouncements has been rejected by numerous authorities on Johannine thought. Thus, B. Lindars maintains that the categories of thought in Jn. 15 are moral and not gnostic [*The Gospel of John*, 1972, 487]. R. E. Brown holds that the OT and Judaism supplied the raw material for the teaching about the door, the shepherd and the vine [*The Gospel According to John*, I, 1966, 397 f.; II, 1971, 669–72]. See also L. Morris, *The Gospel According to John*, 1972, ad loc.; and R. Schnackenburg, *The Gospel According to St. John*, I, 1968, 543–57, Excursus VI on "The Gnostic Myth of the Redeemer and the Johannine Christology".)

(d) The sources and traditions behind the "I am" sayings are disputed, and can be further determined only by closer exegesis of the individual passages. For further discussion see C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, 1953; and *Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel*, 1963; the works listed above and the numerous journal articles that they refer to.

(e) Jesus is the → bread of life, in that he is what he gives (Jn. 6:35, 41, 48, 51). This bread of life, i.e. Jesus himself, provides eternal → life (6:47). It comes from → heaven (v. 51), and access to it is through → faith (v. 47). Jesus is the → light of the world (→ Earth, art. *kosmos*), and in following him one has the light of life (the light is defined by means of the gen., Jn. 8:12). The bread of life is identical with the light of life. In contrast to all others Jesus is the door (→ Gate, art. *thyra*); for Jesus gives access to salvation (10:7, 9). The saying about the "good" → shepherd has the same meaning: this real, unique shepherd is Jesus who gives his life for the sheep (→ Lamb, Sheep) and saves them (10:11). He knows his sheep and they know him. This is not in the weakened sense of being aware of, or having a theoretical knowledge of, but in the sense of being intimately related to (vv. 8, 14). Anyone who has questions about the → resurrection should turn to Jesus. For there is no resurrection outside his person; it is personified in him (11:25). Anyone who asks where, what or who is the way, the truth and the life will not only find an explanation in Jesus' teaching; Jesus himself is that which these terms refer to

(14:6). Jesus is the true, heavenly vine; between him and ourselves there exists a real union (15:1, 5).

(f) In the judgment of the present writer, the "I am" sayings are not to be regarded as parabolic pictures designed to illustrate the significance of Jesus, so that one could grasp the intended reality on the basis of the picture. It is rather the reverse. It is Jesus himself who determines the meaning of the picture.

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2. egō *and* egō eimi *in the Remaining NT Writings.* (a) *The Synoptic Gospels.* (i) The account of Jesus' walking on the water (Matt. 14:22–23; Mk. 6:45–52; cf. Jn. 6:15–21) suggests a theophany containing OT and Hel. motifs. The phrase "and he meant to pass by them" (Mk. 6:48c) is reminiscent of Yahweh's passing before Moses on Sinai (Exod. 33:18 ff.) or before Elijah on Horeb (1 Ki. 19:11 ff.). It expresses the "strange sublimity" of God's appearance (E. Lohmeyer, *Das Evangelium des Markus, KEK* 1/2, 1967[17], ad loc.). Meanwhile the disciples in the boat are in a state of panic-stricken fear and think that the suddenly appearing figure is a ghost (Mk. 6:49), a frequent motif in Hel. stories of the sea. Mk. impressively contrasts the disciples' opinion, "It is a ghost", with Jesus' revealing reply, "Take heart, it is I [*egō eimi*]; have no fear" (Mk. 6:50). Only this self-revelation of Jesus convinces them of the reality of the appearance; the unrecognized figure makes himself known as the disciples' trusted helper and master (cf. Lohmeyer, ad loc.).

(ii) Each of the six antitheses of the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5:21–48) distinguishes Jesus' message from what was said to the men of old by the provocative formula *egō de legō hymin*, "but I say to you." This formula, which has no parallel in Rab. teaching (G. Eichholz, *Auslegung der Bergpredigt, BSt* 46, 1965, 70), is not intended to replace OT law by a new law. Rather the "I say to you" marks Jesus as the lawful and true expositor of the Torah. In contrast to the scribes with their abbreviations and casuistic distortions, Jesus goes back to the original meaning of the Torah, to the will of God. By so doing he brings the Torah's demands to bear once more (cf. G. Strecker, *Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit*, 1962, 146). The *egō de legō hymin* is directed in the name of God against contemporary Judaism's misrepresentations of his will. To this extent Matt. understands the antitheses not as a contradiction but as the fulfilment of the original intention of the Torah (Matt. 5:17).

(iii) Similarly, the emphatic *egō* of Jesus in his appeal to the weary and burdened to come to him (Matt. 11:28–30) is directed against the unlawful claims of the rabbinic teachers of the law who burdened men with their innumerable prohibitions. Jesus calls those who labour under the burden of the Pharisaic law to come under his "yoke" which offers rest and refreshment. "Because Christ's law, in contrast to the rules of the Pharisees, leads to rest, it can be called *chrēstos*, good, useful, although according to its content it is harder; and in so far as Jesus' load already gives *anapausis*, rest, it can be called light, although its demands are weightier" (G. Strecker, op. cit., 174; cf. M. Maher, " 'Take my yoke upon you' (Matt. xi. 29)", *NTS* 22, 1975–76, 97–103; → Burden).

(iv) In the synoptic apocalypse Jesus warns against people who will arise in his name and lead many astray by the use of the words *egō eimi* (Matt. 24:5; Mk. 13:6; Lk. 21:8), the "technical formula for the self-revelation of Christ" (*TDNT*

II 353). Here the early Christian church separated itself from those who unlawfully and for dishonest ends claimed the authority of Jesus. On the other hand, at his examination before the Sanhedrin, Jesus answered the High Priest's question, "Are you the Christ?" with the words *egō eimi* (Mk. 14:61 f.). In the early Christian church there was clearly discussion about the identity of the messiah (cf. Jn. 1:20) and Jesus. Jesus answered the question about his messiahship in the affirmative and, according to Mk.'s account (14:64), was promptly condemned to death for blasphemy by the Jewish authorities. (See further D. R. Catchpole, *The Trial of Jesus: A Study in the Gospels and Jewish Historiography from 1770 to the Present Day*, 1971.)

(v) Finally, the risen Christ led his disciples to recognize his identity with the crucified Jesus through the use of the *egō eimi* formula (Lk. 24:39). Seeing his hands and feet and touching him was proof of the reality of the resurrection which overcame the disciples' doubts (vv. 38, 41). In the closing scene of Matt. (28:16–20) the risen Christ announced the power he had received from God ("All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me", v. 18) and, by means of the "I-am" formula, promised his presence with the disciples until the end of the age.

(b) *Revelation.* In Rev. the *egō* of Christ's sayings and the *egō* of the pronouncements of God occur side by side. The reason for this lies in the almost identical positions that the writer attributes to Christ and God vis-à-vis the world, so that sometimes the same *egō*-sayings can appear on the lips of both Christ and God. In Rev. 1:8 God is the subject of the sentence, "I am the Alpha and the Omega, who is and who was and who is to come", while in Rev. 1:17 f. the Son of man speaks, "I am the first and the last, and the living one." Both verses are derived from Isa. 44:6. The first and the last corresponds to the Alpha and the Omega. The most complete identification of Christ and God is expressed at the end of Rev. The subject of the sentence in Rev. 21:6, "I am the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the end," is God; in Rev. 22:13 it is Jesus. (In the latter case the words "the first and the last" are inserted after Alpha and Omega, the first and last letters of the Gk. alphabet.)

(c) *Paul.* Alongside of Paul's autobiographical use of "I" (e.g. Gal. 1:13 ff.) is the *egō* of Rom. 7:7 ff. which raises special problems. Three interpretations may be mentioned. (i) Some scholars see a tension here with the description that Paul gives in Phil. 3:6 of his life under the law as a Jew which he describes as "blameless". The description in Rom. 7 is marked by conflict, strife and failure to keep the law. Hence, they claim that the *egō* here is not autobiographical ([Ed.] although it may be pointed out that the description of Paul's former life as "blameless" in Phil. 3:6 implies no more than what passed for "blameless" among the Jews). (ii) The best known exegesis of Rom. 7 is that of the Reformers which applied the *egō* generally to the life of every Christian and the dialectic of *simul justus et peccator* (i.e. that believer was justified and a sinner at one and the same time). But some think that this overlooks the development of thought from ch. 7 to ch. 8, where Paul makes unambiguously positive statements about the Christian's present life in the Spirit (cf. the *nyni* or *nyn* in Rom. 3:21 and 8:1). ([Ed.] Nevertheless, it may be noted that the conflict described in Rom. 7:21–25 between "the law of God" which the *egō* delights in and serves with the mind and "the law of sin" which the *egō* serves with the flesh is presented in the present tense. Moreover, it may be

asked whether the unbeliever does actually delight in "the law of God" in this way.) (iii) An alternative view is represented by a number of modern exegetes, including G. Bornkamm, H. Conzelmann and W. G. Kümmel. This sees Paul in Rom. 7 as looking back from the Christian's standpoint over the human existence under the law which Christ went through and overcame. In ch. 8 he describes what is now intended for the Christian through the Spirit. It is only to Paul as a believer that the hopeless inner strife and wretchedness of man under the law becomes apparent. Thus, the *egō* of Rom. 7 embraces Paul's own judgment, the standpoint of Judaism under the law and the conflict of the man who wishes to assert himself. ([Ed.] For further discussion see M. Black, *Romans*, 1973, 100–108; G. Bornkamm, "Sin, Law and Death (Romans 7)", *Early Christian Experience*, 1969, 87–104; H. Braun, *Röm. 7, 7–25 und das Selbstverständnis der Qumran Frommen*, 1963; R. Bultmann, "Romans 7 and the Anthropology of Paul", *Existence and Faith*, 1960, 147–57; C. E. B. Cranfield, *Romans*, I, *ICC*, 1975, 340–370; E. Fuchs, "Existentiale Interpretation von Röm. 7, 7–12 und 21–23", *Glaube und Erfahrung*, 1965; H. Jonas, "Philosophical Meditation on the Seventh Chapter of Paul's Epistle to the Romans", in J. M. Robinson, ed., *The Future of Our Religious Past: Essays in Honour of Rudolf Bultmann*, 1971, 333–50; E. Käsemann, *An die Römer*, *HNT* 8a, 1974³, 190–204; K. Kertelge, *ZNW* 62, 1971, 105–14; W. G. Kümmel, "Röm. vii und die Bekehrung des Paulus", *Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* 17, 1929; O. Kuss, *Der Römerbrief*, I, 1963, 462–85; C. L. Mitton, "Romans vii reconsidered" *ExpT* 65, 1953–54, 78 ff., 99 ff., 132 ff.; J. I. Packer, "The Wretched Man in Romans VII", *StudEv* II, 1964, 621–27; O. J. F. Seitz, "Two Spirits in Man: An Essay in Biblical Exegesis", *NTS* 6, 1959–60, 82–95; E. W. Smith, "The Form and Background of Romans 7, 24–25a", *NovT* 13, 1971, 127–35).

H.-G. Link

(a). W. J. P. Boyd, " 'I am Alpha and Omega' (Rev. 1:8; 21:6; 22:13", *StudEv*, II, 1961, 326 ff.; R. E. Brown "EGŌ EIMI – 'I AM", *The Gospel According to John*, I 1966, 532–38; R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 1971, 225 ff.; H. Conzelmann, *An Outline Theology of the New Testament*, 1969, 349–52; D. Daube, "The 'I am' of the Messianic Presence", *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, 1956, 325–29; W. D. Davies, "Matthew 5:17, 18", *Christian Origins and Judaism*, 1962, 31–66; P. B. Horner, *The "I am" of the Fourth Gospel*, 1971; W. Manson, "The EGŌ EIMI of the Messianic Presence in the New Testament", in *Jesus and the Christian*, 1967, 174–83; D. M. Stanley, " 'I Am the Genuine Vine' (John 15:1)", *The Bible Today*, 8, 1963; 484–91; E. Stauffer, *egō*, *TDNT* II 343–62.

(b). H. Becker, *Die Reden des Johannesevangeliums und der Stil der gnostischen Offenbarungsrede*, *FRLANT* 68, 1956; R. Borig, *Der wahre Weinstock*, 1967; C. Colpe, "Traditionsüberschreitende Argumentation zu Aussagen Jesu über sich selbst", in G. Jeremias *et al.*, eds., *Tradition und Glaube, Festgabe K. G. Kuhn*, 1971; G. Eichholz, *Auslegung der Bergpredigt*, BSt Neue Folge 46, 1965, 70 f.; A. Feuillet, "Les *egō eimi* christologiques du Quatrième Évangile", *Recherches de Science Religieuse*, 54, 1966, 5 ff., 213 ff.; A. Hajduk, "*Egō eimi* bei Jesus und seine Messianität", *Communio Viatorum* 6, 1963, 55 ff.; A. Jaubert, "L'Image de la Vigne (Jean 15)", in *Oikonomia* (O. Cullmann Festschrift), 1967, 93–99; E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 1926²; K. Rudolf, *Die Mandäer*, 1960; S. Schulz, *Komposition und Herkunft der Johanneischen Reden*, 1960, 70–131; B. Schwank, " 'Ich bin der Wahre Weinstock' (Joh. 15, 1–17)", *Sein und Sendung* 28, 1963, 244–58; E. Schweizer, *Egō eimi. Die religionsgeschichtliche Herkunft und theologische Bedeutung der johanneischen Bildreden, zugleich ein Beitrag zur Quellenfrage des vierten Evangeliums*, *FRLANT* 56, (1939) 1965²; G. Strecker, *Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit*, 1962; W. Zimmerli, "Ich bin Jahwe", *Gottes Offenbarung*, *ThB* 19, 1963; H. Zimmermann, "Das absolute *egō eimi* als die neutestamentliche Offenbarungsformel", *BZ* 4, 1960, 54–69, 266–76.

Image, Idol, Imprint, Example

The word image suggests a visual or mental representation. It may refer to the object that is seen or to the mental representation of it that the observer forms in his mind. Since the concept is a complex one, it is not surprising that various words are used in Gk. and that these tend to merge and overlap. The terms used are: *charaktēr*, image, mark or stamp, formed by impressing a pattern; *idea*, appearance, in Plato's philosophy the archetypal forms which underly the entities in our material world, in logic the class or kind (the term is important in Gk. philosophy, but is not found in the NT); *eikōn*, replica, likeness, image; *eidōlon*, image, outline, a form which generally lacks substance and does not possess the same degree of reality as *eikōn;* in biblical Gk. it signifies an image of a god, an idol. Other related concepts are *typos*, visible impression, copy, image, form, figure, type (→ Type, Pattern); and *homoiōma*, likeness, image, appearance (→ Like). *apaugasma*, effulgence, radiance, reflection; *hypodeigma*, proof, example, model; and *paradeigmatizō*, expose to public disgrace, make an example of, are also discussed in this article.

εἴδωλον

εἴδωλον (*eidōlon*), image, idol; εἰδωλόθυτον (*eidōlothyton*), meat offered to idols; εἰδωλεῖον (*eidōleion*), temple of an idol; κατείδωλος (*kateidōlos*), full of idols; εἰδωλολάτρης (*eidōlolatrēs*), idolater, worshipper of idols; εἰδωλολατρία (*eidōlolatria*), idolatry, worship of idols.

CL *eidōlon* is used by Homer for the phantoms and shades in Hades (*Il.* 5, 451; *Od.* 4, 796). It can also mean any unsubstantial form, an image reflected in a mirror or water, an image or idea in the mind. Apart from Polybius 31, 3, 13–15, it was not generally used for the images of the gods in cl. Gk. (→ *eikōn*).

OT Although *eidōlon* is used to render some 15 Heb. terms in the LXX, it refers without exception to the images of the heathen gods and the deities represented by them. They include *gillûlîm*, idols (always in a disdainful sense, e.g. Lev. 26:30; Deut. 29:16 [17]; Ezek. 6:4 ff., 13; 36:17 f., 25; 37:23); and *t^{e}rāpîm*, idols (again used disdainfully, perhaps connected with the idea of perishing, Gen. 31:19; 34 f; → Israel, art. *Iakōb*, OT). To express the image of God in man, even where the Heb. word is also applied to an idol, the term → *eikōn* is used. This Hel.-Jewish usage reflects Jewish contempt for heathen polytheism. *eidōleion* and *eidōlion* are also Hel.-Jewish terms and are contemptuous expressions for the temples of heathen idols (Ezr. 1:7 [LXX 1 Esd. 2:10]; Bel 9; 1 Macc. 10:83; 1 Cor. 8:10). Similarly *eidōlothyton* means meat offered to idols (4 Macc. 5:2; cf. 1 Cor. 8:1, 4, 7, 10; 10:19, 28 t.r.; Acts 15:29; 21:25; Rev. 2:14, 20; Did. 6:3).

The prohibition against serving other gods and the prohibition against making *eidōla* are linked already in the Decalogue (Exod. 20:3 f.; Deut. 5:7 f.). The depreciation of images based on this prohibition leaves its traces everywhere in the OT. This does not imply, however, that there is no reality behind the heathen idolatrous worship. Idols are *bdelygmata*, abominations, behind which stand *daimonia* (→ Demon), demonic powers, with which one cannot come into contact without moving God to wrath (Deut. 32:16 f., 21). In 2 Chr. 24:18 the worship of idols is equated with that of the Asherim, i.e. of the powers behind the idols.

Israel often succumbed to the temptation to open the doors to these powers, especially when the rise of the Assyrian and Babylonian empires gave the impression that their gods were more powerful than the God of Israel (Isa. 36:19 f.). Jer. 44:15–19 and Ezek. 8 give graphic and terrible pictures of how widely heathen idol worship had spread in Israel in their day. The prophetic message to Israel was that the misfortune which had overtaken the people was God's punishment for falling away from Yahweh and compromising with the heathen cultus (Isa. 10:11; Jer. 9:13–16; Ezek. 8:17 f.). The call to repentance combined a demand for right behaviour towards one's neighbour (Amos 5:14 f.; Hos. 4:1 ff.; Isa. 1:15 ff.) with the demand to turn away from false gods (Hos. 14:8[9]). The prophets never grew tired of stressing to the people how impotent and vain (*mataios*, → Empty) were the idols (Ezek. 8:10; 1 Chr. 16:26; 2 Chr. 25:15). For they are merely the creation of men's hands which cannot hear or see, or do anything (Hos. 8:4 f.; 13:2; Jer. 14:22; Hab. 2:18 f.; cf. Ezek. 8:10; 2 Chr. 11:15). The sharpest polemic against the cult images in an exilic setting occurs in Isa. 40:18 ff.; 44:9–20; 46:1 f. The making of the idols is described in language that renders them ludicrous; and the power of Yahweh who moulds history is contrasted with them (Isa. 45–48). He will destroy the false gods (Jer. 10:10–15; Ezek. 6:4 ff., 13; Mic. 1:7), and men will throw away their idols on the day of God's judgment (Isa. 2:18 ff.).

This thought also appears in the polemic of late Judaism against idols and polytheism (e.g. Wis. 14:15; the letter of Jeremiah in Bar. 6; and the story of Bel, Ad. Dan. 14). Even though the gods of the heathen are looked on as nonentities, contact with them is regarded as defiling (Ezek. 37:23). Houses defiled by the presence of idols had to be ritually cleansed (1 Macc. 13:47). The thought that demonic powers stand behind heathen idolatry lived in Rab. Judaism (SB III 48–60). Hence the pious Jew was strictly forbidden to eat meat offered to idols (SB III 54, 377 f.).

In the Qumran texts "idol" is used metaphorically for the sins which, as "idols of the heart" (cf. Ezek. 14:4), hinder men in their service of God (Heb. *gillûlîm* in 1QS 2:11, 17; 4:5; 1QM 4:15, 19; 1Q22 1:7; 4Qflor 1:17; CD 20:9; cf. A. R. C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning*, 1966, 134 f.).

NT The NT continues the usage of the LXX. A sign of this is that *hierothyton*, meat offered in sacrifice, found in secular Gk., occurs only in 1 Cor. 10:28 (on the lips of one who may be a pagan), while elsewhere we have *eidōlothyton* (Acts 15:29; 21:25; 1 Cor. 8:1, 4, 7, 10; 10:19; Rev. 2:14, 20). But there are also new word formations not found in the LXX. In Acts 17:16 it is said that Athens was *kateidōlos*. On the analogy of *katadendros*, rich in trees, it is best to translate it "full of idols." Linked with *latreia*, service or worship of God (cf. Rom. 9:4; → Serve) we find the compounds *eidōlolatrēs*, idolater (4 times) and *eidōlolatria*, idolatry (7 times). From the NT these words passed into early Christian literature.

1. The NT continues not merely the vocabulary of the OT but also its condemnation of the worship of false gods. The fact that this word-group is not found in the Gospels indicates that in Palestine the controversy had ceased to be of importance. As soon as the apostolic preaching moved into the non-Jewish, Hellenistic world it immediately revived. Turning to the "living and true God" (1 Thess.

1:9) was impossible without a turning away from idols and pagan worship. Their retention was a sign of lack of repentance (Rev. 9:20).

Paul's arguments in Rom. 1:18–32 are particularly concerned with this controversy. He showed himself a Jew in his stress on the nothingness of the idols, but he recognized the demonic powers behind them to which a man subjects himself when he participates in the heathen cultus. That is why *eidōlolatria* is one of the serious sins against which Christians have repeatedly to be warned (1 Cor. 5:10 f.; 10:7, 14). In the lists of sins it is frequently mentioned, and stands linked with *pharmakeia*, sorcery (→ Magic), and *pleonexia*, → covetousness (cf. Gal. 5:19 ff.; Eph. 5:5; Col. 3:5; Rev. 9:20 f.; 21:8; 22:15). According to Jesus, mammon (→ Possessions) is also a false god (Matt. 6:24).

2. From this basic attitude to idols it followed that Christians were debarred from eating the meat of animals that had been offered in heathen → sacrifice. The NT texts are consistent in this matter. According to Acts, the apostles were unanimous that Gentile Christians should refrain from sacrificial meat, called in this context *alisgēmata*, pollutions (Acts 15:20, 29; 21:25). This prohibition adopted at the apostolic council was justified by a reference to Jewish practice (15:21), as we find also in Paul (1 Cor. 10:32). It presupposes that in this matter Jews and Christians were basically in agreement.

In 1 Cor. 8 and 10 the practical problems that sprang from this basic attitude are examined in detail. In ch. 8 Paul argues with those in Corinth who maintained that the eating of such meat was harmless for they realized that the false gods had no real existence (1 Cor. 8:1–6). Some scholars identify this group with gnostics (cf. W. Schmithals, *Gnosticism in Corinth*, 1971). Presumably the teachers of false doctrine combatted in Rev. argued in the same way (Rev. 2:14, 20). Paul agreed that idols had no real existence (1 Cor. 8:4), but expected that those who realize this would out of love show consideration to those who did not; they must not cause these to eat such meat (1 Cor. 8:9–13).

Paul gives the underlying reasons for his attitude in ch. 10. Basing himself on Deut. 32:17, he explains that demons stand behind the idols. → Fellowship with Christ, which Christians enjoy in the Lord's Supper, excludes communion with these powers. Christians should not challenge the Lord. If they do, they will bring down his judgment on them (1 Cor. 10:7–10, 14–22). Christians were under no obligation to enquire fearfully whether the meat bought in the market (generally near the temple) or served at a meal came from a sacrifice. If, however, it was pointed out that it was sacrificial meat, then, out of regard for the → conscience of the one who pointed it out, Christians ought not to eat it, even if their own → conscience (perhaps on the strength of Ps. 24:1) permitted it (1 Cor. 10:25–30). The OT roots of the NT faith are particularly clearly visible in this consistent condemnation of pagan worship and this attitude to sacrificial meat.

W. Mundle

εἰκών

εἰκών (*eikōn*), image, likeness, form, appearance.

CL *eikōn*, derived from *eoika*, which has a present force, meaning to be similar, like (from the rare *eike*, attested by Homer, meaning it seemed good, it appeared)

means image, copy: (a) a painting, statue, figure on a coin, figure of a god; (b) comparison, simile; (c) image, likeness, semblance, representation. In Gk. thought an image shares in the reality of what it represents. The essence of the thing appears in the image, e.g. the god is himself present and operative in his image (cf. magic and miracles performed through images).

OT *eikōn* is used for 5 different Heb. words including *pesel* (Isa. 40:19 f.), *t^{e}bûnâh* (Hos. 13:2), *d^{e}mût* (Gen. 5:1), and *semel* and *sēmel* (Deut. 4:16; 2 Chr. 33:7), but it occurs chiefly for *ṣelem* (Gen. 1:26 f.; 5:1, 3; 9:6; 1 Sam. 6:11; 2 Ki. 11:18; Pss. 39 [38]:6; 73 [72]:20; Ezek. 7:20; 16:17; 23:14; Dan. 2:31) and *ṣ^{e}lēm* (Dan. 2:31, 34 f.; 3:1–18). It has no Heb. equivalent in Wis. 2:23; 7:26; 13:13, 16; 14:15, 17; 15:5; 17:21; Sir. 17:3.

Already in the early period of belief in Yahweh associated with Moses images were strictly prohibited (Exod. 20:4; Deut. 27:15). For the image was not the full reality and would only confuse Israel's relationship with the true God (Deut. 4:16; 2 Ki. 11:18). Among Israel's neighbours the image of a god served as a means of controlling the god. It was a source of power in the priest's hand in his dealings with the deity (cf. K. H. Bernhardt, *Gott und Bild*, 1956). In the Babylonian exile Israel learnt to mock the making of idols (Isa. 40:19 f.) but also to be terrified by them (Ezek. 7:20; 8:5; 16:17; 23:14). Both lines of thought can be traced in Dan. 2 and 3.

In contrast, Israel's relationship with God is based on his → covenant and → word. Religious images can reveal nothing of his nature (→ *eidōlon*). Only man can be called the image (*ṣelem*) of God (Gen. 1:26 f.; 5:1 ff.; 9:6). The goal and purpose of the image of God in man is dominion over the world. "God set man in the world as a sign of his own authority, in order that man should uphold his – God's – claims as Lord" (G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, I, 1962, 146; cf. Ps. 8:5 f.; Sir. 17:3 f.). The OT knows nothing of man losing this image through the fall. ([Ed.] This question was debated by Karl Barth and Emil Brunner in *Natural Theology*, 1946, where Brunner accused Barth of maintaining that the image was obliterated by sin. Brunner held that the *material* aspect of the image which was bound up with man's original righteousness was in fact lost. But the *formal* aspect, man's rational nature, his capacity for culture, and his humanity, remain, and this provides a basis for natural theology. To this Barth replied that Brunner's argument was irrelevant to establishing a natural theology, for the knowledge of God can only come from God himself and this has nothing to do with man's formal capacities. Subsequently Barth modified his teaching on the divine image, without, however, taking Brunner's point. Referring to the plural subject in Gen. 1:26 ["Let us make man in our image, after our likeness"], Barth observes: "The relationship between the summoning I in God's being and the summoned divine Thou is reflected both in the relationship of God to the man whom he has created, and also in the relationship between the I and the Thou, between male and female, in human existence itself" [*CD* III, 1, 196]. Barth understands the image in terms of the mutual relations between man and woman which in turn reflects the relationship of Yahweh to Israel and Christ to the church [cf. *CD* III 1, 183 ff., 201 ff., 322].)

The idea of the fall marring the image of God is implied in Wis. 2:23 (cf. Wis. 13–15). Rabbinic Judaism did not question the *imago Dei* (image of God) in

principle. But the possibility was considered that through an individual's sin it might be diminished or even lost (cf. G. Kittel, *TDNT* II 392 ff.).

NT In Matt. 22:20; Mk. 12:16; Lk. 20:24, *eikōn* is used of the emperor's image on the denarius. These coins were hated by pious Jews, both because of their implied breach of the second commandment and because it was an image of a foreign ruler. (On this passage see J. D. M. Derrett, "Render unto Caesar . . ." in *Law in the New Testament*, 1970, 313–38; F. F. Bruce, "Render to Caesar", in *The Zealots and Jesus*, ed. C. F. D. Moule and E. Bammel [forthcoming]; → Caesar.)

In Rev. the image of the beast (13:14; → Animal; → Number) is a cultic image (perhaps that of the emperor, or Nero *redivivus* [cf. R. H. Charles, *The Revelation of St. John*, *ICC*, I, 1920, 360]). Worship of it means apostasy. The classical world knew of images of the gods which spoke and moved (Rev. 13:15); cf. Charles, op. cit., 361).

In Heb. 10:1 *eikōn* signifies the true form of the good things to come which has appeared in Christ, in contrast to the law which is a mere shadow of these things. In 2 Cor. 4:4 and Col. 1:15 Christ is said to be the image or likeness of God. There is no difference here between the image and the essence of the invisible God. In Christ we see God (cf. Jn. 14:9). By participating in Christ man has once more gained the image of God (Rom. 8:29) which man was intended to be (1 Cor. 11:7). Christ realized man's destiny to be God's image which was marred through sin. In communion with Christ we are transformed into his image. Paul can speak of this transformation as a present happening (2 Cor. 3:18; Col. 3:10), and also as a yet future, eschatological event (1 Cor. 15:49; Phil. 3:21). "Like all the gifts in which Christians share, the *eikōn* is an *aparchē* [first fruits, → Sacrifice] . . . This means that it now is, and yet that it is still to be" (G. Kittel, *TDNT* II 397).

O. Flender

χαρακτήρ

χαρακτήρ (*charaktēr*), impress, stamp, reproduction, representation, outward appearance, form.

CL & OT *charaktēr* (Aeschylus onwards) is a noun derived from *charassō*, notch, indent, and means one who sharpens, scratches, and later one who writes in stone, wood or metal. Thence it came to mean an embosser and a stamp for making coins, and from this, looking to the result, the embossed stamp made on the coin, character in writing, style. Finally, it came to mean the basic bodily and psychological structure with which one is born, which is unique to the person and which cannot be changed by education or development, though it may be hidden or effaced. Hence, it also means individuality, personal characteristics. In Philo the human soul is called the *charaktēr* of divine power and the Logos is entitled the *charaktēr* of God (cf. *Leg. All.* 3, 95–104; *Ebr.* 133, 137; *Rer. Div. Her.* 38; *Plant.* 18; *Det. Pot. Ins.* 83).

This concept cannot really be found in the OT, though it reminds us slightly of the passages about the *imago Dei*. The word is found in the LXX (e.g. Lev. 13:28), but without a specific theological meaning (for Heb. *ṣāreḇeṯ*, scar).

NT *charaktēr* is found only once in the NT. Christ is the *charaktēr tēs hypostaseōs autou*, "the very stamp of his [God's] nature" (Heb. 1:3 RSV), i.e. the One on

whom God has stamped or imprinted his being. This means that the NT use is entirely different from our modern concept of character which develops itself by a will that seeks to conform to principles. Similarly, when Heb. 5:8 declares that Jesus learnt obedience through what he suffered, there is no thought of our concept of character-formation. It is probably linked with the Son's obedience to the Father tested in temptation (O. Michel, *Der Brief an die Hebräer*, *KEK* 13, 1966[12] ad loc.). The Son possesses the stamp of God's nature just as he is the → *apaugasma tēs doxēs tou theou*, "the effulgence of God's splendour" (NEB). He who sees and recognizes him, sees and knows the Father (Jn. 14:7 ff.); cf. also → *eikōn tou theou*, the image of God.

The context of Heb. 1 makes it clear that the writer's purpose was to stress the glory of the Son who had entered history and the uniqueness of the revelation of God in the unique One. In v. 3 we have probably an early hymn, as in Phil. 2:6 ff. and 1 Tim. 3:16. The Son who controls the beginning and the end (v. 2) stands in a unique relationship (a) to God whose effulgence (→ *apaugasma*) and stamp (*charaktēr*) he is; (b) to the universe which he upholds; and (c) to the church which he has purified from sins. The Epistle is equally concerned with the pre-existent, the historical and the glorified Christ in whom we have our true High → Priest. Commenting on the word *charaktēr*, F. F. Bruce writes: "Just as the image and superscription on a coin exactly correspond to the device on the die, so the Son of God 'bears the very stamp of his nature' (RSV). The Greek word *charaktēr*, occurring only here in the New Testament, expresses this truth even more emphatically than *eikōn*, which is used elsewhere to denote Christ as the 'image' of God (II Cor. 4:4; Col. 1:15). Just as the glory is really in the effulgence, so the substance (Gk. *hypostasis*) of God is really in Christ, who is its impress, its exact representation and embodiment. What God essentially is, is made manifest in Christ. To see Christ is to see what the Father is like" (*Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, *NLC*, 1964, 6). *J. Gess*

| ἀπαύγασμα |

ἀπαύγασμα (*apaugasma*), radiance, effulgence, reflection.

apaugasma may be translated either as effulgence, radiance (in the act. sense) or reflection (in the pass. sense). It derives from *augazō*, to shine forth, or to illuminate (2 Cor. 4:4). *diaugazō* is found in 2 Pet. 1:19 in the first meaning. The cognate noun *augē*, radiance, is rendered at Acts. 20:11 by dawn, or daybreak, i.e. when the sun shines forth.

CL *apaugasma* is found only in Hellenistic writers who use the noun with the meanings noted above. It is not attested before the Wisdom of Solomon, but a Stoic influence on Philo's use of the term has been suspected. Philo says that what God breathed into Adam was "an effulgence" [*apaugasma*] of his blessed, thrice-blessed nature" (*Spec.Leg.* 4, 123; cf. Philo in *Op.Mund.* 146). In *Plant.* 50 (cf. *Mut. Nom.* 181; *Som.* 1, 71, 115, *Migr.Abr.* 71) Philo uses *apaugasma* as a synonym of → *eikōn* and *mimēma* meaning "reflection". The same sense is attested in Plutarch, *Mor.* 83d, 934d. Of special interest for the NT background is the use of cognate terms in the Isis aretalogies, found at Cyme. Isis confesses: *egō en tais tou hēliou*

augais eimi, "I am in the beams of the sun". Isis is also praised as enlightener of the world and an emanation of God.

OT The most significant text is Wis. 7:25 f., where divine wisdom is hailed as "a breath of the power of God, and a pure emanation of the glory of the Almighty . . . she is a reflection of eternal light [*apaugasma . . . estin phōtos aidiou*], a spotless mirror of the working of God, and an image of his goodness [*eikōn tēs agathotētos autou*]." In this setting wisdom is hypostatized as a source of light whose shining forth (*apaugasma*) is understood as "effulgence" or "reflection" (RSV). The former meaning finds support in the view that, since wisdom is praised for her active role in uniting man and God, the sense of "radiance" is better. But most scholars prefer "reflection", though with hesitation.

NT The single text to be considered is Heb. 1:3: *hos ōn apaugasma tēs doxēs kai charaktēr tēs hypostaseōs autou*, where there are several echoes of the Wis. tribute. In Heb. the verse stands in a doxological, possibly hymnic tribute to the cosmic Christ who is described as either the radiance of the divine *doxa* as the sunlight conveys the brightness and intensity of the sun (Kittel: we may compare for this sense, Philo, *Som.* 1, 239), or God's reflection in a way comparable with the thought of Christ as the *eikōn*, "image" or mirror (Wis. 7:26) or the *morphē* (RSV "form") of God (→ Form, arts. *morphē* and *hypostasis*). Either way, the verse is a piece of wisdom christology that interprets Christ as the supreme and final revelation of the Father. On balance, the act. sense of "radiance" is to be chosen in preference to "reflection". *R. P. Martin*

ὑπόδειγμα

ὑπόδειγμα (*hypodeigma*), proof, example, model.

CL The classical form is *paradeigma* (much preferred to *hypodeigma* by Phrynichus, *Eclogae* 4). In Hellenistic Greek *hypodeigma* means an example (with *paradeigma* as a synonym, Plutarch, *Agesilaus*, 15, 4) with a transferred sense of demonstration, sample, pattern or model (→ *typos* is a synonym), in either the good sense of a model to copy or as a warning example of what to avoid.

The main occurrences of the noun are in Polybius, used of examples seen in soldiers (3, 17, 8), in Hannibal's speeches (3, 111, 6) or a rhetorical "proof" in a speech (6, 54, 6). Liddell-Scott (1878) cite inscriptions that have *pros hypodeigma aretēs* ("for example of virtue"), a usage paralleled in Plutarch, *De Marcello*, 20, 1 ("examples of civic virtues").

Philo has an important discussion of the Levitical tabernacle as a model of the divine plan (*Leg.All.* 3, 102) which Moses glimpsed and Bezalel constructed (*Som.* 1, 206; *Vit.Mos.* 2, 76; "the shape of the model" (*ho typos tou paradeigmatos*; see too *Leg.All.* 3, 108).

OT The occurrences of the noun are in Ezek. 42:15 (RSV "temple area", where LXX has the "ground-plan of the house"); Sir. 44:16, Enoch was "an example of repentance": 2 Macc. 6:28, 31, the Maccabean martyrs are a "noble example", as in 4 Macc. 17:23.

NT The usage divides between the two meanings given in the LXX: (a) a "figure" or "copy", a meaning restricted to Heb. 8:5; 9:23. The Levitical furnishings and service function as a "copy" (RSV) of their heavenly counterparts which, for the author, alone have substantial reality; (b) "example" in the twofold way of either issuing a call to imitation, as in Jn. 13:15 and Jas. 5:10; or in the bad sense serving as a warning, as in Heb. 4:11 and 2 Pet. 2:6. *R. P. Martin*

ὑπογραμμός *ὑπογραμμός* (*hypogrammos*), lit. under-writing, outline, copy, example.

The word is late. Philo uses it in the sense of outline, as a near-synonym of *skia*, shadow (frag. 7). The commonest use of the noun (cf. the vb. *hypographō*) is for the faint outlines of letters which were traced over by pupils learning to write, then also of the sets of letters written at the top of a page or other piece of writing material to be copied repeatedly by the learner on the rest of the page (cf. Clem. Alex., *Strom.* 5, 8, 49, 48). It is this sense which is applied metaphorically in 1 Pet. 2:21 to the example left by Christ for his disciples to follow, especially in his patient endurance of undeserved suffering. (→ Scripture, Writing NT 1 (b) (end).)
F. F. Bruce

παραδειγματίζω *παραδειγματίζω* (*paradeigmatizō*), expose to public disgrace, make an example of.

The compound verb is more frequently found than the simple *deigmatizō* to expose, exhibit, make public (Matt. 1:19 *v.l.;* Col. 2:15). The prefix *para-* has an intensive force, so the vb. comes to mean to expose to public disgrace.

CL The vb. is late Gk. In Polybius the chief meanings are to make a public example of someone, such as Aristomachus the tyrant (2, 60, 7), the people of Rhodes (29, 19, 5), or the revolt of the Aravacae (35, 2, 10). See too Plutarch, *Mor.* 520b, in the sense of to make oneself infamous or "a sorry spectacle". In the meaning of example in the good sense, there are several illustrations in the papyri (e.g. *P.Oxy.* II, 237, "following a most illustrious example").

OT The vb. is understood as to "hang publicly" (Num. 25:4 LXX) as a method of execution which involves public exposure. The same meaning is seen in Ezek. 28:17 and Dan. 2:5; and also in 3 Macc. 7:14 (of the apostate Jews who deserve to be put to a shameful death) and in Mordecai's prayer in the Gk. additions to Esther (following 4:17).

NT The only texts to use the verb are Matt. 1:19 (*v.l.* where the stronger verb *paradeigmatizō* is weakly attested) and Heb. 6:6. Rejection of Christ by apostasy means that he is crucified anew and put to open disgrace. Apostates and *lapsi* expose him to public shame in that act of denial. The association of the vb. with *anastauroō* (crucify again) may be a reminiscence of the fate of the leaders of the Jewish apostasy at Baal-peor who were "hung up" before Yahweh (Num. 25:4, see above). *R. P. Martin*

→ Follow, → Form, → Like, Equal, → Mark, Brand, → Type, Pattern

On *eidōlon* and cognates:
Arndt, 220; F. Büchsel, *eidōlon* etc., *TDNT* II 375–80; J. C. Hurd, Jr., *The Origin of I Corinthians*, 1965; Liddell-Scott, 384 f.

On *eikōn*:
(a). K. Barth, *CD* III 1, 182–206; G. C. Berkouwer, *Man: The Image of God*, 1962; D. Cairns, *The Image of God in Man*, 1953; H. von Campenhausen, "The Theological Problem of Images in the Early Church", *Tradition and Life in the Church*, 1968, 171–200; W. Dürig, "Image", *EBT* II 392 ff.; D. J. A. Clines, "The Image of God in Man", Tyndale Old Testament Lecture, 1967, *TB* 19, 1968, 53–103 (contains extensive review of other writers on the subject); W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*, II, 1967, 122–31; F. Horst, "Face to Face. The Biblical Doctrine of the Image of God", *Interpretation* 4, 1950, 259–70; P. K. Jewett, *Man as Male and Female: A Study in Sexual Relationships from a Theological Point of View*, 1975; G. Kittel, G. von Rad, H. Kleinnecht, *eikōn*, *TDNT* II 381–97; A. R. C. Leaney, "Conformed to the Image of His Son" *NTS* 10, 1963–64, 470–79; J. M. Miller, "In the 'Image' and 'Likeness' of God", *JBL* 91, 1972, 289–304; T. W. Overholt, "The Falsehood of Idolatry", *JTS* New Series 16, 1965, 1–12; R. H. Pfeiffer, "Images of Yahweh", *JBL* 45, 1926, 211–22; N. W. Porteous, "Image of God", *IDB* II 682–85; R. Prins, "The Image of God in Adam and the Restoration of Man in Jesus Christ", *SJT* 25, 1972, 32–44; G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, I, 1962, 212–19; J. F. A. Sawyer, "The Meaning of *b*^{e}*ṣelem* *'*^{e}*lōhîm* ('In the Image of God') in Genesis I–II", *JTS* New Series 25, 1974, 418–26; S. G. Wilson, "Image of God", *ExpT* 85, 1973–74, 356–61; H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the Old Testament*, 1974, 159–66.

On the role of images and symbolism in revelation and religious knowledge see E. R. Bevan, *Symbolism and Belief*, 1938; G. Cope, *Symbolism in the Bible and in the Church*, 1959; F. W. Dillistone, ed., *Myth and Symbol*, *SPCK Theological Collections* 7, 1966 (includes papers by P. Tillich, M. Eliade, I. T. Ramsey and others); T. Fawcett, *The Symbolic Language of Religion*, 1970; S. Hook, ed., *Religious Experience and Truth: A Symposium*, 1962; E. L. Mascall, *Words and Images*, 1957; and *Theology and Images*, 1963.
(b). K. H. Bernhardt, *Gott und Bild*, 1956; E. Brunner, "Der Ersterschaffene als Gottes Ebenbild", *EvTh* 11, 1951–52, 298 ff.; W. Dürig, *Imago*, 1952; F. Eltester, *Eikōn im Neuen Testament*, *BZNW* 23, 1958; J. B. Frey, "La Question des Images chez les Juifs à la Lumière des Récentes Découvertes", *Biblica* 15, 1934, 265 ff.; H. Gross, "Die Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen", in *Lex Tua Veritas. Festschrift für Hubert Junker*, ed. H. Gross *et al.*, 1961, 89–100; J. Hempel, *Das Bild in Bibel und Gottesdienst*, 157; P. Humbert, " 'L'*Imago Dei* dans l'Ancien Testament", *Études sur le Récit du Paradis et de la Chute dans la Genèse*, 1940, 153–75; J. Jervell, *Imago Dei. Gen. 1:26 f. im Spätjudentum, in der Gnosis und in den paulinischen Briefen*, *FRLANT* 28, 1960; L. Koehler, "Die Grundstelle der Imago-Dei-Lehre, Gen. 1:26", *ThZ* 4, 1948, 16 ff.; J. Konrad, *Abbild und Ziel der Schöpfung. Untersuchungen zur Exegese von Genesis 1 und 2 in Barths Kirchlicher Dogmatik III, 1*, 1962; E. Larsson, *Christus als Vorbild*, 1962; E. Lohse, "Imago Dei bei Paulus", in *Libertas Christiana* (Festschrift F. Delikat), *Beiträge zu Evangelischer Theologie* 26, 1957; K. L. Schmidt, "*Homo Imago Dei* im Alten Testament und Neuen Testament", *Eranos-Jahrbuch* 15, 1947–48, 154 ff.; H. Schrade, *Der verborgene Gott*, 1949; G. Söhngen, "Die biblische Lehre von der Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen", *Münchener Theologische Zeitschrift* 2, 1951, 42 ff.; J. J. Stamm, "Die Imago-Lehre von Karl Barth und die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft", in *Antwort. Festschrift für Karl Barth*, ed. E. Wolf *et al.*, 1956, 84–98; and *Die Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen im Alten Testament*, 1959; C. Stange, "Das Ebenbild Gottes", *TLZ* 949, 79 ff.; W. Vischer, "Du sollst dir kein Bildnis machen", in *Antwort*, 764–72; T. C. Vriezen, "La Création de l'Homme d'après l'Image de Dieu", *Oudtestamentische Studiën* 2, 1943, 87–103; C. Westermann, "Bild", *BHHW* I 249 ff.; H. Wildberger, "Das Abbild Gottes", *ThZ* 21, 1965, 245–59, 481–501.

On *charaktēr*:
(a). Arndt, 884; J. Geffcken, "Character", *ExpT* 21, 1909–10, 426 f.; Liddell-Scott, 1977; U. Wilckens and G. Kelber, *charaktēr*, *TDNT* IX 418–23; R. Williamson, *Philo and the Epistle to the Hebrews*, *Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des hellenistischen Judentums*, 4, 1970, 74–80.
(b). F. J. Dölger, *Sphragis, Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums* 5, 3/4, 1911; F. W. Eltester, *Eikōn im Neuen Testament*, *BZNW* 23, 1958, 52 ff.; A. Körte, "*CHARAKTĒR*", *Hermes* 64, 1929, 69–86.

On *apaugasma:*
(a). G. Kittel, *augazō, apaugasma, TDNT* I 507 f.; G. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel*, 1972; J. M. Reese, *Hellenistic Influences on the Book of Wisdom*, 1970. Commentaries on *Hebrews* by F. F. Bruce (*NLC*, 1964); H. W. Montefiore (*BNTC*, 1964); J. Héring (1970).
(b). R. Deichgräber, *Gotteshymnus und Christushymnus in der frühen Christenheit*, 1967; F. W. Eltester, *Eikōn im Neuen Testament*, 1958; A. J. Festugière, "L'arétalogie d'Isis de la Korè Kosmu", *Revue Archéologique* 6, 1949, 376–81; J. Jervell, *Imago Dei*, 1960 (on the theological aspects); C. Larcher, *Études sur le Livre de la Sagesse*, 1969; B. L. Mack, *Logos und Sophia. Untersuchungen zur Weisheitstheologie im hellenistischen Judentum*, 1973; P. Roussel, "Un nouvel hymne à Isis", *Revue des Études Grecques* 42, 1929, 137–68; A. Salač, "Hymne isiaque de Kume", *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 51, 1927, 378–83; W. Schencke, *Die Chokma (Sophia) in der jüdischen Hypostasenspekulation*, 1913; C. Spicq, *L'Épître aux Hébreux*, I–II, 1952–53; K. Wengst, *Christologische Formeln und Lieder des Urchristentums*, 1972.

On *hypodeigma*:
Arndt, 851; E. K. Lee, "Words Denoting 'Patterns' in the New Testament", *NTS* 8, 1961–62, 166–73; Liddell-Scott, 1878; H. Schlier, *hypodeigma, TDNT* II 32 f. Commentaries on *Hebrews* by F. F. Bruce (*NLC*, 1964); H. W. Montefiore (*BNTC*, 1964); C. Spicq, I–II (1952–53).

On *paradeigmatizō*:
Arndt, 619; Moulton-Milligan, 481 f.; H. Schlier, *paradeigmatizō, TDNT* II 32. Commentaries on *Hebrews* by F. F. Bruce (*NLC*, 1964); C. Spicq, I–II (1952–53); A. T. Hanson, *Studies in Paul's Technique and Theology*, 1974, 4 ff.; G. E. Mendenhall, *The Tenth Generation*, 1973, 105–121.

Incense, Myrrh

λίβανος

λίβανος (*libanos*), *λιβανωτός* (*libanōtos*), frankincense; *θυμίαμα* (*thymiama*), incense; *θυμιάω* (*thymiaō*), burn incense; *θυμιατήριον* (*thymiatērion*), censer.

CL (a) In secular Gk. *libanos* is the frankincense-tree, *Boswellia carterii*, of India, Arabia, and Somalia; and, by extension, the tree's aromatic gum frankincense, for which the derivative *libanōtos* is also used (Herodotus).

(b) *thymiama* (incense) is the general term for fragrant substances (i) burned with sacrifices or for fumigation purposes, or (ii) used in embalming. The vb. *thymiaō* (from *thyō*, offer in sacrifice) means to burn so as to produce smoke, and more particularly to burn incense or to fumigate. The related noun *thymiatērion* is the censer.

OT (a) Apart from one instance of *libanōtos* (1 Chr. 9:29), the LXX always uses *libanos* for the Heb. *l*^{e}*ḇônâh* (white, the colour of the gum when first solidified). Brittle, glittering, and bitter to the taste, frankincense produced a gratifying if expensive fragrance when burned (Cant. 3:6; 4:6, 14). Besides being an ingredient of the special incense constantly used in OT worship, pure frankincense was burned with showbread (Lev. 24:7) and cereal-offering (Lev. 2:2), but not sin-offerings Lev. 5:11).

(b) *thymiama* (incense) and its verb *thymiaō* occur frequently for the Heb. *q*^{e}*ṭōreṭ* (sweet smoke) and *qiṭṭēr* or *hiqṭîr* (make sacrifices smoke). *thymiatērion* in the LXX always means censer (2 Chr. 26:19; Ezek. 8:11; 4 Macc. 7:11). The holy incense was a special compound reserved for the divine service (Exod. 30:34–35) and used to strict instructions (Lev. 16:12–13; cf. Lev. 10:1–11). Morning and evening the high priest burned incense before the veil of the holy of holies (Exod.

30:7, 8). On the Day of Atonement he entered the holy of holies carrying burning incense, the fumes of which provided an atonement (Heb. *kpr*, cover) for him as he approached the mercy-seat (Lev. 16:12–13; cf. Num. 16:46). Rising incense smoke symbolized praise (Isa. 60:6) and prayer (Ps. 141:2), worship fragrant to God. In the messianic age converted Gentiles will gladly bring abundant incense to the Temple (Isa. 60:6), indicative of their newly begun worship of God.

NT 1. *Primary Meanings.* (a) The frequent part played by incense in Jewish worship is reflected in the many OT references. In the NT, however, *libanos* occurs only twice (Matt. 2:11; Rev. 18:13) and has its literal meaning of frankincense. In Rev. 8:3, 5 *libanōtos* unusually means not frankincense but censer, the vessel for carrying incense.

(b) *thymiaō* (burn incense) occurs only in Lk. 1:9–11, together with the noun *thymiama*. In the second Temple the daily offering of incense devolved upon ordinary priests. One "new to the incense", i.e. one without the privilege before, was chosen by lot (Mishnah *Yoma* 2.4). Zechariah was carrying out this duty for the only time in his life when he had his vision. *thymiatērion* appears once (Heb. 9:4) and is translated not as censer (so always in the LXX) but as altar of incense.

2. *Extended Meanings.* (a) *libanos* (frankincense), brought to the infant Jesus (Matt. 2:11), symbolizes both his divinity and his priestly office of intercession (Heb. 7:25). The bringing of frankincense by Gentiles to the messiah was a Jewish expectation (Isa. 60:6). In Rev. 8:3, 5 the association of one and the same censer (*libanōtos*) with intercession and judgment shows the potency of Christian prayer in fulfilling God's purposes.

(b) Apart from Lk. 1:10, 11 *thymiama* occurs only in Rev. 5:8; 8:3, 4, where incense in the heavenly temple represents the prayers of the saints.

N. Hillyer

σμύρνα

σμύρνα (*smyrna*), myrrh; *μύρον* (*myron*), ointment, perfume.

OT Myrrh is a gum which comes from the *Commiphora myrrha* which grows in Somaliland, Ethiopia and Arabia and which exudes from the trunk and branches giving a pleasant fragrance. The LXX uses *smyrna* to translate the Heb. *mōr* or *môr*. In Exod. 30:23 it is an important ingredient in the anointing oil used in the consecration of the tabernacle and the priests. In Ps. 45(44):8 its fragrance is mentioned in connection with the oil of gladness with which God anoints his chosen king. It is also mentioned in Cant. 3:6; 4:6, 14; 5:1, 5, 13; Sir. 24:15; cf. Est. 2:12.

The word translated as myrrh in Gen. 37:25; 43:11 is the Heb. *lōṭ* (Gk. *staktē*), probably meaning laudanum, as at the time myrrh may not have been introduced. It was an item of trade and was regarded as a worthy gift.

NT *smyrna* was among the gifts brought to the infant Jesus brought by the Gentile Magi (Matt. 2:11). Here and elsewhere outside the Bible it is mentioned together with incense (cf. *TDNT* IV 264; VII 458). The gifts might have been interpreted as a fulfilment of Ps. 72(71):10 f. (cf. SB I 83 f. for rabbinic messianic interpretation of this passage and also Ps. 68:31 f.).

At the burial of Jesus Nicodemus brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes weighing a hundred pounds (Jn. 19:39). The large amount was probably an expression of honour. Jn. 19:40 indicates that the practice was followed of laying the spices (*arōmata*) between the clothes in which the body was wrapped (cf. also Mk. 16:1; Lk. 23:56; 24:1). This attempt to preserve the body of Jesus suggests that none of those involved expected an immediate resurrection.

The passive participle of the vb. *smyrnizō* occurs in Mk. 15:23 in the reference to the "wine mingled with myrrh" which was offered to Jesus by the soldiers prior to the crucifixion. This is often taken to be an anodyne given to condemned prisoners to blunt their consciousness (cf. San. 43a). However, W. Michaelis thinks that this was just a drink given by the soldiers to the exhausted (*TDNT* VII 459). But → Gall, Poison, Wormwood.

The word *myron* is probably best translated as ointment or perfume (cf. Matt. 26:7, 12; Mk. 14:3 ff.; Lk. 7:37 f., 46; 28:56; Jn. 11:2; 12:3, 5; Rev. 18:13).

C. Brown

(a). Arndt, 531, 766; H. F. Beck, "Incense", *IDB* II 697 f.; G. W. van Beek, "Frankincense and Myrrh", *BA* 23, 1960, 70–95; K. Galling, "Incense Altar", *IDB* II 699 f.; M. Haran, "The Use of Incense", *Vetus Testamentum* 10, 1960, 113–29; W. Michaelis, *libanos, libanōtos*, *TDNT* IV 263 f.; and *smyrna* etc., *TDNT* VII 459 ff.; H. N. and A. L. Moldenke, *Plants of the Bible*, 1952; W. E. Shewell-Cooper, "Myrrh", *ZPEB* IV 326; J. A. Thompson, "Incense", *ZPEB* III 274 ff.; L. E. Toombs, "Incense, Dish for", *IDB* II 698 f.; J. C. Trever, "Myrrh", *IDB* III 478 f.
(b). F. Blome, *Die Opfermaterie in Babylonien und Israel*, 1934; M. Löhr, *Das Räucheropfer im Alten Testament*, 1927; I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, I–IV, 1926–34 (see index); A. Schmidt, *Drogen und Drogenhandel im Altertum*, 1924.

Inheritance, Lot, Portion

The idea of inheritance in the Bible is a reminder that God has not intended man to lead an autonomous, isolated, self-sufficient existence. Man's life has an allotted place in the great movement of history. God has given him both gifts and responsibilities to be exercised with regard to others. The Gk. word *klēros*, inheritance, and other words related to it are used to express that which is received from the past. But they also look forward to the future. In its deepest, theological sense the believer's inheritance is something which comes from God himself. In the OT it has a physical dimension in the shape of the promised land. In the NT it is a spiritual inheritance which comes through the → kingdom of God and the promise of eternal → life. Like the → covenant, the concept of inheritance expresses a fundamental relationship between God and man. It depicts God's desire to give his people a secure abode. On the other hand, this group of words by itself does not convey how men may enter into this inheritance. The word *meros*, part, is also included here, because it involves the idea of sharing.

κλῆρος

κλῆρος (*klēros*), inheritance, lot; κληρόω (*klēroō*), cast lots, determine by lot; κληρονομέω (*klēronomeō*), inherit; κληρονομία (*klēronomia*), inheritance; κληρονόμος (*klēronomos*), inheritor, heir; συνκληρονόμος (*synklēronomos*), fellow heir.

CL *klēros* is derived from *klaō*, break. In the first instance it means a lot. Used from Homer on it meant originally the fragment of stone or piece of wood which was used as a lot. Lots were drawn to discover the will of the gods. Since land was divided by lot, probably in the framework of common use of the fields, *klēros* came to mean a share, land received by lot, plot of land, and finally inheritance. The vb. belonging to this is *klēroō*, to draw lots, apportion by lot. *klēronomia* compounded from *klēros* and *nemō*, allot, is first the activity of dividing by lot, then the portion so divided, the inheritance. The *klēronomos* is one who has been given a *klēros*, the inheritor. *synklēronomos* is a fellow heir, and *klēronomeō* means be an heir, inherit.

OT 1. Lots (Heb. *gôrāl*) were drawn in the OT also to discover God's will. The high priest wore the lots, Urim and Thummim, in the breastplate of judgment attached to the ephod (Exod. 28:30; Lev. 8:8). He discovered the will of God by their means (Num. 27:21; Ezr. 2:63; Neh. 7:65). According to the Blessing of Moses (Deut. 33), the discovery of God's will and the teaching of his law (*tôrâh*) belong together (vv. 8, 10). A linguistic link between *tôrâh* and the vb. *yārâh*, to throw, i.e. cast lots to ascertain God's will, has been suggested, but many authorities question this and numerous derivations have been put forward (cf. Koehler-Baumgartner, 403). All heathen and magical oracles and oracular methods were an abomination to Yahweh and were denied to Israel by divine decree (Deut. 18:9–14). Guidance by lots was permitted only when carried out in obedience to God. But even there God could refuse to give an answer (1 Sam. 14:37; 28:6), or forbid the casting of lots (according to some interpretations of Ezek. 24:6; but cf. RV, RSV, NEB). On the other hand, God could reveal himself to the heathen through the casting of lots and other means of divination (Jon. 1:7; Ezek. 21:21 [MT 21:26]). (On the Urim and Thummim see H. L. Ellison, "Urim and Thummim", *ZPEB* V 850 ff.; J. Lindblom, "Lot-Casting in the Old Testament", *Vetus Testamentum* 12, 1962, 164 ff.; I. Mendelsohn, "Urim and Thummim", *IDB* IV 739 ff.; E. Robertson, "The Urim and Thummim; What were they?", *Vetus Testamentum* 14, 1964, 67 ff.; R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, 1961, 350 ff.)

There are numerous examples of the casting of lots in Israel. In Jos. 7:14 and 1 Sam. 14:41 lots were used to discover the one under the ban. Saul was chosen as king by lot (1 Sam. 10:20 f.). In Chr. and Neh. lots were cast for priestly office and to choose who was to live in Jerusalem (cf. 1 Chr. 24:5 f.). In NT times priestly functions in the Temple were fixed by lot and lots continued to be cast over the goats (Lev. 16:8) on the Day of Atonement (SB II 596 f.). Lots could be used in legal actions (Prov. 18:18). Captives and booty could be divided by lot among the victors (Joel 3:3 [MT 4:3]; Obad. 11; Nah. 3:10; Ps. 22:18 [MT 22:19]). Even in a later, more sophisticated period it was recognized that God controlled the lot (Prov. 16:33).

2. Of special significance is the relationship of casting lots and the settlement of the land. Two different conceptions emerge in the OT.

(a) The one is clearly derived from cultic circles. It maintains that the land is Yahweh's inheritance (e.g. 1 Sam. 26:19; Jer. 2:7; Ezek. 38:16; Joel 1:6; Pss. 68:9 [MT 68:10]; 79:1) in which he lives and should be worshipped (Jos. 22:19; Exod. 15:17). The idea that the land is God's property is found generally in the

cultic systems of Israel's neighbours and appears in the Baal cultus. It is, however, very difficult to derive the OT concept from its Canaanite background. "The notion that Yahweh is the true owner of the land can be traced to the very oldest commandments of Yahweh, and was evidently current at a time when syncretism with the features of Canaanite religion had not even begun to appear" (G. von Rad, *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays*, 1966, 88). In the OT the landowner is no mythical deity like Baal linked with the soil, but the God who acts in history, who brought his people out of → Egypt, and chose them from among the other peoples (Deut. 32:8 f.; 1 Ki. 8:51, 53). Hence, we frequently find the statement that not merely the land but also Israel itself is God's heritage (e.g. Deut. 9:26–29; 2 Ki. 21:14; Isa. 19:25; 47:6; Jer. 10:16 = 51:19; Mic. 7:18; Joel 2:17 f.; Pss. 33:12; 74:2). It is also expressed by saying that Israel is God's property (*s*^{e}*ḡullâh*, Exod. 19:5; Deut. 7:6; 14:2; 26:18). Sometimes it is not clear whether Israel or the land is meant, for land and people belong so closely together by God's appointment (cf. 2 Sam. 14:16, cf. Joel 3:2 [MT 4:2]).

(b) However, the other, more historical idea is the predominant conception in the OT. The land is Israel's heritage which had been promised by God already to → Abraham and the patriarchs and was given to Israel through conquest. Under Joshua, Israel took possession of the land from God, conquering it and dividing it by lot (e.g. Num. 26:52–56; Jos. 13:19). The → Levites also had their cities apportioned to them by lot (1 Chr. 6:54–81 [MT 6:39–65]). The conclusion to the division of the land is given by Jos. 21:43 ff. Since the land is God's, God's regulations should control it. Israel is called to keep God's → commandments, in order to live and remain in the land (Deut. 30:15–20; Jos. 22:1–5; cf. Jer. 7:1–7).

The recurring statement that the priests and Levites have "no portion or inheritance with their brothers; the Lord is their inheritance" (Deut. 10:9; 18:1 f.; 12:12; Num. 18:20; Jos. 13:14, cf. Ezek. 44:28) calls for special attention in this context. In the first instance it states a regulation for the Levites' livelihood, giving them a share in the offerings and cultic gifts. Yet through the example of the Levites Israel is to learn that God's people must not seek safety and security through the land but only in the Lord and giver of the land, Yahweh.

The affirmations of faith in the Pss. that God is the comfort and portion of the one who prays contain the same thought (73:25 f.; 142:5 [MT 142:6]; Lam. 3:24). "The Lord is my chosen portion and my cup; thou holdest my lot. The lines have fallen for me in pleasant places; yea, I have a goodly heritage" (Ps. 16:5 f.). In the last analysis, such affirmations of faith go back to the promise to → Abraham to whom God promised not merely descendants and land, but also that he himself would be his shield and exceeding great reward (Gen. 15:1 RV). This promise was fulfilled in the conquest, but was not exhausted by it.

The message of the post-exilic prophets links these two groups of statements, showing that God stands by his promises. Even though the people have been exiled the land and its mountains remain theirs. The Lord will give it anew to his people (Ezek. 36 f.). Once again it will be divided by lot (Ezek. 45:1; 47:13 f.; 48:29; Isa. 49:8). Aliens also will receive their portion (Ezek. 47:22 f.).

The OT statements may have many strata and may frequently interlock, but there is always a link between the conquest and the lot. Moreover, it always testifies to Yahweh's action in history among his people whom he chose and to

whom he gave the land by lot. According to Jos. 13–19, it was divided by lot among the tribes after Israel had conquered it at God's command. After the death of Joshua the allotted land had to be claimed by conquest from the Canaanites (Jdg. 1:3). The land was always seen as a possession and heritage given by God. This explains also the regulations for the sabbatical year and the year of jubilee (Lev. 25) providing for the restoration of property and slaves, for the land is Yahweh's property and is therefore subject to his claims and regulations.

3. The terms used in the OT to express these ideas are *gôrāl*, lot; *yāraš*, to possess; and especially *naḥ^{a}lâh*, possession, inheritance, heritage. The LXX renders *gôrāl* almost always by *klēros*. For *naḥ^{a}lâh* it uses mainly *klēros*, lot, portion, and *klēronomia*, inheritance. *yāraš* and its derivatives are represented by *klēronomeō* inherit, acquire, obtain, come into possession of, *klēros* and *klēronomia*.

For the other Heb. concepts (e.g. *ḥēleq*, portion, share; *s^{e}gullâh*, property; *ḥeḇel*, portion of ground), the LXX uses also *meris*, share, *periousios*, one's own, chosen, especial, *schoinisma*, piece of land measured by a measuring-line, an allotted piece of land. Clearly the concept *naḥ^{a}lâh*, inheritance, best represents the relationship of Israel to the land given it by God, because it gives expression to the element of having received a present, to the inalienable vocation, and above all to the plan and the action in history behind it.

4. What is the difference between *klēros* and *klēronomia*? Sometimes both terms are used interchangeably for *naḥ^{a}lâh* (e.g. Num. 18:23 f.; 32:18 f.; Jos. 17:4; cf. Jdg. 2:9). However, *klēros*, which meant originally lot, stresses more the individual piece of land allotted by lot, whereas *klēronomia* points more to the fact of inheritance with all its connotations already mentioned. *klēros* may be used in the plural, but *klēronomia* is never so used. *klēronomia* has the richer associations in the context of salvation history.

5. In late Judaism *gôrāl* came to be used for the individual's fate in the last day (cf. already Isa. 57:6; Dan. 12:13), more or less in the sense of the heritage of the righteous. The rabbis spoke of inheriting the land (cf. Ps. 37:9, 22, 29), the coming age, future reward, the garden of Eden, and also Gehenna (→ Hell). Here we meet the thought of rewards (SB I 829, 981; IV, 2 1116).

6. In the Qumran writings *gôrāl*, lot, assumes a central position. Here it denotes the fate predestinated by God (1QS 2:17; 1QM 13:9), signifying either that one belongs to God, the sons of light, the spirits of knowledge, etc., or to Belial, the sons of darkness and its spirits. Hence it has the meaning of adherents, party (1QS 2:2, 5; 1QH 3:22, 24 f.; 1QM 1:1, 5, 11; 4:2; 13:2–5). From this comes almost the meaning class, rank (1QS 1:10; 2:23; CD 13:12). "To cast the lot" often means to determine a person's fate or even to judge (1QS 4:26; 1QH 3:22). When the term *naḥ^{a}lâh* is used, it has overtones of double predestination and the eschatological outlook of the Qumran community (1QS 4:15 ff.; 1QH 14:19; 17:15), though sometimes it bears the OT meaning (1QM 10:15; 19:4).

An important concept for the NT background is the belief that the community shared in the lot of the holy ones, i.e. → angels (1QS 11:7 f., 1 QH 3:21 f.; 11:11 f.; 1QSb 4:25 f.). Angels were believed to be present in the camp of the community (1QM 7:6; 12:1 f.; 1QSa 2:8 f.). But the elect on earth could also be called holy ones (e.g. 1QSb 4:23) and similarly the community "the people of the saints of the covenant, instructed in the laws and learned in wisdom . . . who have heard the

voice of Majesty and have seen the Angels of Holiness" (1QM 10:10 f.; cf. Vermes, *Scrolls*, 136 f.). Behind this lies the idea that the earthly community is incorporated into the community of the angels, and has thus obtained the spiritual riches belonging to the angels.

The reception of novices was made dependent on "the decision [lot] of the Council of the Congregation" (1QS 6:16, cf. 18, 21). Though the word "lot" is used, it is doubtful whether casting of lots is really meant, though this is found in CD 13:4 and 1QS 5:3 (cf. A. R. C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning*, 1966, 166 f.). Nor is it clear whether the testing of the novices was believed to reveal how God had determined their lot in heaven. For that could be recognized by a man's behaviour on earth (CD 20:3 f.).

NT *klēros* occurs in 10 passages in the NT.

1. *klēros* in the lit. sense of lot. All four Gospels state that the soldiers cast lots for Jesus' garments at the crucifixion (Matt. 27:35; Mk. 15:24; Lk. 23:34; Jn. 19:24; cf. also Barn. 6:6). Jn. sees it explicitly as a fulfilment of Ps. 22:18 [21:19] ("they divide my garments among them, and for my raiment they cast lots"). It represents the ultimate degradation of a human being. The Psalm is an expression of desolation (on its significance in connection with Jesus' passion → God, art. *theos* NT 6 (d)). But in it the Psalmist recognizes that it is God who is in control and who alone can give help: "But thou, O Lord, be not far off! O thou my help, hasten to my aid" (Ps. 22:19). The Gospel accounts of the passion see God himself behind the events and Jesus as the one who fulfils the descriptions of the Psalmist.

Acts 1:26 records that the final decision as to which of the two candidates, Joseph called Barsabbas, who was surnamed Justus, or Matthias, should fill Judas' place among the twelve → apostles, was determined by lot. Both candidates met the necessary qualifications of being a member of the company who had followed Jesus throughout his earthly ministry and of being a witness of Jesus' resurrection (Acts 1:21 f.). The lots were cast following the prayer: "Lord, who knowest the hearts of all men, show which one of these two thou hast chosen to take the place in this ministry [*diakonia*] and apostleship [*apostolē*] from which Judas turned aside to go to his own place" (Acts 1:24 f.). Earlier Judas is referred to as having been "numbered among us, and was allotted his share [*klēros*] in this ministry [*diakonia*]" (v. 17). Here *klēros* is used in its other main sense. There is a profound sense of divine overruling throughout. The vb. used in Acts 1:26, *edōkan* (lit. "they gave" lots) rather than the expected *ebalon* ("they cast"), has given rise to the suggestion that the matter was put to a vote (cf. F. J. Foakes Jackson and K. Lake, eds., *The Beginnings of Christianity*, I IV, 1933, 15). This seems to be the interpretation of the Western text of Acts. But "to give a lot" is a Heb. idiom (F. F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1952², 80). E. Haenchen points out that in this procedure "The human factor is excluded: it is God who is choosing" (*The Acts of the Apostles*, 1971, 162). On the procedure cf. 1 Sam. 14:41 LXX; 1 Chron. 26:14; Prov. 16:33; SB II 596.

klēroō occurs once in the NT. Lit. it means to appoint by lot. It occurs in Eph. 1:11 in the clause *en hō eklērōthēmen* (lit. "in whom our lot is cast", cf. Arndt, 436). The RV, however, takes the vb. in the sense of 2 below: "in whom we were made a heritage, having been foreordained, according to the purpose of him who worketh

all things after the counsel of his will". *prosklēroō* means allot, assign, and in the pass. to be attached to, join. It is in this latter sense that it is used in Acts 17:4, where it has lost its etymological overtones.

2. *klēros* and *klēronomia* as inheritance. With the meaning share, inheritance, *klēros* is found 4 times in the NT. *klēronomia* is found 14 times; *klēronomos*, heir, 15; *synklēronomos*, fellow heir, 4; *klēronomeō*, inherit, 18 times; and *kataklēronomeō*, give as an inheritance, once. The words occur in the Synoptic Gospels, the Pauline Epistles, 1 Pet., frequently in Heb., and once in Rev. Apart from *klēros* in the sense of lot, the whole group is absent from the Johannine writings. In Lk. 12:13 *klēronomia* has the basic secular sense of inheritance. Elsewhere (and perhaps even here) it has theological overtones influenced by the OT. *kataklēronomeō* occurs in Paul's review at Pisidian Antioch of salvation history in his reference to the seven Canaanite nations whose land God gave Israel as an inheritance (Acts 13:19; cf. Deut. 7:1; Jos. 14:1).

(a) The concept of inheritance has soteriological and eschatological dimensions. It is linked with God's historical saving acts. The idea of possession of the promised land passes beyond its first fulfilment in history to its later historical fulfilment in Christ and beyond that to the future final fulfilment at the end of time. It is in this way that the eschatological tendency found already in the OT is worked out. The essential thought is that of inheriting the promise to which believers are called. According to various different strata of NT witness, the object of this promise, the *naḥ^{a}lâh* in the OT, is the kingdom of God (1 Cor. 6:9; 15:50a; Gal. 5:21; Eph. 5:5; Matt. 25:34; Jas. 2:5). In the Beatitudes, Jesus puts side by side the promise of the kingdom of heaven and that of inheriting the → earth (*gē*; Matt. 5:5; cf. 5:10). By this he indicated that the promised land of the OT is replaced by the all-embracing concept of the → kingdom of God. This kingdom embraces all those promises the fulfilment of which is yet future. This is shown when we look at the other things promised as an inheritance in the NT: eternal life (Matt. 19:29; Lk. 18:18; Tit. 3:7); salvation (Heb. 1:14); the imperishable (order) (1 Cor. 15:50b); an inheritance, imperishable, undefiled, unfading, kept in heaven (1 Pet. 1:4); the → blessing (Heb. 12:17; 1 Pet. 3:9); the → promises (Heb. 6:12; 10:36); or as in Rev. 21:7 "these things" (RV, NEB "all this"). In these statements OT thought is retained and at the same time transformed (Rom. 4:13 ff.; Heb. 6:17; cf. Acts 7:5; 13:19).

(b) This inheritance, however, is not merely future. It can be recognized already now in faith (Eph. 1:18). According to Heb. 11:7, → Noah inherited the righteousness which comes by faith. In Eph. 1:11–14 we are told that "we have been given our share in the heritage" (NEB v. 11; cf. section 1 above) and have the guarantee of this inheritance in the Holy Spirit whom we have received. The first at least of the Beatitudes suggests that the poor in spirit already possess the kingdom of heaven even though its full realization, like that of the remaining Beatitudes, lies in the future (Matt. 5:3; cf. Lk. 6:20; → Poor).

(c) The fact that salvation is future and yet present comes from our being inheritors through Jesus Christ (Eph. 1:11 f.) and his death (Heb. 9:15). He who has come and will come again, has brought us the inheritance. Indeed, he is the inheritance and the kingdom (cf. the OT statements about the heritage of the Levites and the expressions of faith in Pss.). Through him we are fellow-heirs (Rom. 8:17).

The parable of the tenants of the vineyard (Matt. 21:33–41 par. Mk. 12:1–12, Lk. 20:9–19; cf. Isa. 5:1–7) shows Jesus as the heir, and introduces the OT concept of the → remnant. Yahweh has chosen Israel as his people. It is his vineyard and inheritance. He gave it the land, but it had been disobedient. Now there was only a remnant. This remnant, repeatedly referred to by the prophets, is ultimately a single individual, Jesus, the Son. But through him the remnant grows into a great multitude of believers who are fellow-heirs. Thus the rich young ruler should have become an heir with him of eternal life (Matt. 19:16–30, par. Mk. 10:17–31; Lk. 18:18–30).

Alongside the witness of the Synoptics is that of Paul who gives special prominence to the connection between the promise to → Abraham and the church as the heir in Christ. In Rom. 4:13 Paul declares that "through the righteousness of faith" the promise to Abraham that he should inherit the world becomes ours. In the faith that we share in Christ we become heirs. If this depended on the → law and not on Christ, "faith is made void [*kekenōtai*]" (Rom. 4:14 RV). He who is Christ's is Abraham's offspring and so his heir (Gal. 3:29; cf. 4:1, 7; Tit. 3:7).

Heb. develops this testimony. By an oath to Abraham God promised salvation "to the heirs of the promise" (6:17; → Swear). They already have the future inheritance, but only in hope (6:18). They inherit it as did Abraham "through faith and patience" (6:12). The one who has opened the way to this promise is Jesus (6:20). He is the son and heir (1:2, 4). The stress in Heb. is rather different from that in Paul. The future nature of the heritage and the need to hold fast to the promise are more strongly emphasized, but the basic concept is the same. In Heb. 11:7, just as in Paul, faith is seen as believing and acting on the word of God. It is by this that Noah became "an heir of the righteousness which comes by faith" (cf. Rom. 4:3; Gal. 3:6; Gen. 15:6).

Jas. 2:5 echoes the teaching of the Synoptics. It treats the question of the heirs of the kingdom, even though the relationship to Jesus, through whom we become heirs, is not expressed. "Has not God chosen those who are poor in the world to be rich in faith and heirs of the kingdom which he has promised to those who love him?" There is a firm link between → election, → promise and inheritance throughout the NT.

(d) Since Jesus is the heir and also the one who has given himself for us, we cannot have this inheritance except in relation to him. This involves practical obedience (Heb. 11:8), and demands patient endurance (Heb. 6:12). Without it we shall not inherit the kingdom of God (Gal. 5:21; 1 Cor. 15:50a). In his parable of the final judgment (Matt. 25:31–46) Jesus shows how this relationship to him involves love in our dealings with others through whom he comes to us (cf. the parable of the Good Samaritan [Lk. 10:25–37]). Jesus' conversation with the rich young ruler also shows that eternal life can be inherited only in the obedience of faith, by those who follow Jesus (Matt. 19:29; Mk. 10:29; cf. Lk. 18:29).

Because Jesus has appointed us as heirs, we are not merely fellow-heirs with him but also joint heirs with each other (1 Pet. 3:7). This involves our relationship with others (1 Pet. 3:9), as is shown in the two parables mentioned in the previous paragraph and also in the one of the unforgiving servant (Matt. 18:23–35; cf. 6:15). This obedience in faith is neither work to acquire merit (as with the rabbis) nor a burden (as the rich young ruler imagined). It is the concomitant of faith

which is required to possess the salvation of God and his Son (1 Jn. 5:12; 2:23; 2 Jn. 9; → Possessions). Jesus' call to follow him is in itself a gift of eternal life, the kingdom of God and fellowship with him. Col. 3:24 speaks of receiving "the inheritance as your reward." But the passage makes it clear that this is not earned as of right but a gift of God which is still to be appropriated. As Paul puts it in Gal. 3:18: "God gave it to Abraham by a promise."

(e) Finally, the NT makes it clear that the inheritance of the promise is not only for God's chosen people → Israel. Through Christ the Gentiles have become fellow-heirs with them. Paul stresses again and again that in Christ all believers without distinction are children of God and inheritors of the promise (Gal. 3:23–29; cf. 4:30; Rom. 4:13 f.). This sharing in the inheritance by the Gentiles is clearly expressed in Eph., Col. and Acts. In Eph. 3:6 the Gentiles are fellow-heirs in Christ through the gospel. Eph. 1:3–14 contains an exposition of how the church received its inheritance in Christ. He is the ground and instrument of the whole of God's plan of salvation [*oikonomia*, v. 10]. The election of all believers before the foundation of the world is based on him (v. 4). In him they have redemption through his blood (v. 7), standing as sons, and hence a share in the inheritance, to the praise of his grace. The Gentiles share in it; cf. the change of "we" (v. 11 f.) to "you" (v. 13) and the stressed "also", suggesting Paul's identification of himself with the Jewish people and the inclusion of Gentile believers alongside of Jewish believers in the Ephesian church (cf. also Eph. 2:1–3:6).

According to Acts 26:15–18, Paul was commissioned by the risen Lord to open the eyes of the Gentiles, that they may turn from darkness to light that they may receive forgiveness of sins and an inheritance (RSV "place", *klēros* not *klēronomia*) among those who are sanctified by faith in Christ. The language perhaps recalls that of the Qumran community with its idea of the community of the last days sharing with the holy ones (→ angels) in light (cf. Acts 20:32; Eph. 1:18). The "holy ones" in the Qumran texts can, however, also mean the community of the last days, and the term "holy ones" or "saints" (*hagioi*) was applied to the early church (→ Holy). However we understand this, the passage contains the revolutionary thought that the Gentiles obtain a share in this "lot" through faith in Jesus Christ. Col. 1:12 also perhaps contains another reminder of Qumran concepts. The Gentile church in Colossae has a "share in the inheritance [*merida tou klērou*] of the holy ones in light" (cf. 1QS 11:7, 8; but the expression is found already in the LXX, e.g. Deut. 10:9; Num. 18:20; Ps. 15:5, where, however, *klēronomia* stands instead of *klēros*). For the walk in light see Ps. 56:13 (MT 56:14); Isa. 2:5; 60:1 ff. See further E. Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon*, 1951, 35 ff. On *meris* → *meros*.

OT and Qumran phraseology is found also in Acts 8:21, when John and Peter have to deny Simon Magus "part or lot in this word" i.e. the gospel. The expression is here a formula of excommunication (E. Haenchen, op. cit., 305, who notes formal resemblance with Deut. 12:12; 14:27; Ps. 77:37 LXX). In Acts 17:4 the term *prosklēroō* has become so weakened that we may accept RSV rendering, "Some of them . . . joined Paul and Silas"; yet behind this watered down linguistic usage there is the thought that a great many of the devout Greeks and some leading women in Thessalonica had through God obtained a share in the promised heritage and had been placed in it. In 1 Pet. 5:3 the plur. *klēroi* (RSV "your charge") probably means the local church in its several parts or districts (fixed by lot?).

E. G. Selwyn takes it to refer to "spheres of pastoral care" and notes a possible allusion to Deut. 9:29 (*The First Epistle of Peter*, 1947², 231).

(f) We can probably best explain John's omission to use the concept of inheritance by the stress of his witness on the present nature and universality of salvation in Christ rather than on the eschatological fulfilment of salvation history. Since he is battling against the unbelief of the Jews, it is more important for him to stress what the church possesses in Christ than what it is to inherit. Perhaps Rev. 21 summarizes best what the NT has to say about the inheritance: the kingdom of God, the eternal glory without death, suffering and sin, God himself the Father and ourselves his sons through faith in Christ – that is the inheritance, not merely for the individual, but also for the whole church. *J. Eichler*

μέρος

μέρος (*meros*), part, share, portion, lot; μερίς (*meris*), part, portion.

CL From 5th cent. B.C. *meros* is found in secular Gk. with many shades of meaning. It could be said to supersede *moira*, lot, portion, part, share, which though very frequently found from Homer on, came to be confined to the power of the deities to determine fate. Moira was, in fact, the goddess of fate. *meros* means a part, e.g. of the body, a landscape, a territory, especially, in the plur., a locality, or party. Metaphorically it means a share, a concern, a social class; in Koine Gk. also business. It often stands in adverbial phrases with prepositions: *ana meros*, *apo merous*, *ek merous*, *kata meros* (cf. *meros ti*), the meanings of which can no longer be sharply separated with absolute certainty. We find examples of "one after another", "partly", "specially", and "partially" for each of them.

OT In the LXX *meros* represents a number of Heb. words, especially *qāṣeh* and its cognates. Here too it means a part (*ḥ[a]mîšîṯ*, Gen. 47:24). Its commonest use is to express locality: e.g. border (Exod. 16:35; Jos. 18:19 f.), area of land (Jos. 2:18; 1 Sam. 30:14), end, edge (Jos. 13:27; 15:2). When things are being described, *meros* means side (e.g. Exod. 26:26 f.; 32:15). In Prov. 17:2 it is a share in an inheritance, and in 2 Macc. 15:20 a place.

meris also stands for several Heb. nouns, especially *ḥēleq* (e.g. Gen. 14:24; 31:14; Deut. 10:9; 12:12; 18:1, 8; 32:9; Jos. 14:4; 15:13; Pos. 50[49]:18; 73[72]:26; 119[118]:57; 142[141]:5), *ḥelqâh* (e.g. Gen. 33:19; 2 Sam. 2:16; 14:30), *mānâh* (e.g. Exod. 29:26; Lev. 7:33 [23]), and *m[e]nāṯ* (e.g. Neh. 12:44, 47; 13:10).

NT In the NT *meros* means a part of the body, an estate, or dress (Lk. 11:36; 15:12; Jn. 19:23), the side of a boat (Jn. 21:6), a party, e.g. of Pharisees or Sadducees (Acts 23:6, 9). Often it denotes a district or place (Matt. 2:22; 15:21). The meaning of "the lower [or lowest] parts of the earth" (Eph. 4:9) is uncertain. It could mean Jesus' descent among the dead in death (F. Büchsel, *TDNT* III 641), or his coming down to the earth (M. Dibelius, *An die Epheser*, *HNT* 12, 1953³ ad loc.). In spite of Büchsel's impressive argument an element of uncertainty remains.

meros means occupation or trade in Acts 19:27, and case or matter in 2 Cor. 3:10; 9:3. In the story of the feet washing, Jesus says to Peter: "If I do not wash

you, you have no part in me" (NEB, better: "you are not in fellowship with me", Jn. 13:8). This sharing is enjoyed by the Christian, if he is a living member of the body, the church (1 Cor. 12:27; Eph. 4:16; → Body; → Fellowship). One can also have one's share or place with the hypocrites and godless (Matt. 24:51; Lk. 12:46). It depends on which group one is a member of whether one has a share in the first resurrection and the tree of life (Rev. 20:6; 22:19) or in the lake that burns with → fire, the second → death (Rev. 21:8).

meros is used adverbially in the expression *apo merous* (Rom. 11:25) of the "partial hardening" (NEB) that has come upon Israel. This rendering preserves the Gk. better than the RSV: "a hardening has come upon part of Israel" (→ Hard; cf. also O. Glombitza, "Apostolische Sorge. Welche Sorge treibt den Apostel Paulus zu den Sätzen Rom. 11, 25 ff.?", *NovT* 7, 1965, 312–18). *apo merous* means "on some points" (Rom. 15:15), "in part" (2 Cor. 1:14) and "for a while" and "to some degree" (2 Cor. 2:5) (cf. Arndt, 507). The precise shade of meaning is determined by context. *ana meros* means "one after the other" (1 Cor. 14:27). *ek merous* means "individually" (1 Cor. 12:27), and "in part" (1 Cor. 13:9 f., 12), where Paul is stressing the incomplete, fragmentary and transitory character of → knowledge in contrast with → love. When the perfect comes, the imperfect will pass away (1 Cor. 13:10). *en merei* means "with regard to" (Col. 2:16), and *kata meros* (Heb. 9:5) "point by point".

meris means part, in the sense of a district (Acts 16:12) and share or portion in Lk. 10:42; Acts 8:21 (cf. Deut. 12:12); 2 Cor. 6:15 ("What accord has Christ with Belial? Or what has a believer in common with an unbeliever?"); and Col. 1:12 (→ *klēros*, NT 2 (e)). *W. Mundle*

→ Covenant, → Earth, Land, World, → Israel, → Levite

(a). Arndt, 435 f., 506 f.; O. J. Baab, "Inheritance", *IDB* II 701 ff.; E. M. Blaiklock, "Inheritance" *ZPEB* III 277 ff.; A. M. Brown, *The Concept of Inheritance in the Old Testament* (Dissertation, Columbia, New York) 1965; F. Büchsel, *katō*, *TDNT* III 640 ff.; W. D. Davies, *The Gospel and the Land: Early Christianity and Jewish Territorial Doctrine*, 1974; J. Herrmann and W. Foerster, *klēros*, *TDNT* III 758–85; J. D. Hester, "The 'Heir' and *Heilsgeschichte:* A Study of Gal. 4, 1 ff.", in *Oikonomia. Festschrift O. Cullmann*, 1967, 118–25; and *Paul's Concept of Inheritance*, *SJT Occasional Papers*, 9, 1968; M. Noth, *The Laws of the Pentateuch and Other Studies*, 1966; W. Pesch, "Inheritance", *EBT* II 394–98; G. von Rad, *Theology of the Old Testament*, I, 1962, 296–305; and "The Promised Land and Yahweh's Land", in *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays*, 1966, 79–93; J. Schneider, *meros*, *TDNT* IV 594–98.
(b). J. Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie*, 1927³, 392 ff.; P. Diepold, *Israels Land* BWANT 95, 1972; F. Dreyfus, "Le thème de l'héritage dans l'Ancien Testament", *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques* 42, 1958, 3–49; G. Hölscher, *Geschichte der israelitischen und jüdischen Religion*, 1922; G. Lanczkowski, "Los", *RGG*³ IV 451; F. Nötscher, *Biblische Altertumskunde*, 1940, 133 ff.; SB I 829; II 596; III 625; H. H. Schmid, *yāraš*, *THAT* I 778–81.

Israel, Jew, Hebrew, Jacob, Judah

'Ισραήλ | 'Ισραήλ (*Israēl*), Israel; 'Ισραηλίτης (*Israēlitēs*), Israelite; 'Ιουδαῖος (*Ioudaios*), Jew; 'Ιουδαϊκῶς (*Ioudaikōs*), Jewish; 'Εβραῖος (*Hebraios*), Hebrew (noun); 'Εβραϊς (*Hebraïs*), Hebrew (fem. adj.).

OT 1. *Etymology and First Occurrence.* The name Israel (Heb. *yiśrā'ēl*) is formed from the noun *'ēl* (God) and a verbal predicate. An explanation of it is given in

Gen. 32:28 in the context of the story of Jacob (→ *Iakōb*) wrestling with God: "Your name shall no more be called Jacob, but Israel, for you have striven with God and with men, and have prevailed" (cf. Hos. 12:4). Hence, the name has been interpreted to mean *He who strives with God*, the vb. being *śārar*, to rule, or *śārâh*, contend, fight. This interpretation seems to be supported by the story. However, elsewhere *'ēl* is never the object in proper names, but is always the subject. Hence, the interpretation *God strives* has also been put forward. *'ēl* is a generic name for → God in Heb., as contrasted with the proper name Yahweh. (For further discussion of suggested explanations see G. A. Danell, *Studies in the Name Israel in the Old Testament*, 1946, 22–28.)

For the personal history of Israel → *Iakōb*. Israel was used as a personal name (e.g. Gen. 50:2; Exod. 1:1; 1 Chron. 1:34). But it was also used as a tribal and national name: "the sons of Israel" (Lev. 1:2; Jdg. 2:4); "the → house of Israel" (Exod. 40:38; 1 Sam. 7:2; Isa. 46:3), a term specifically applied to the northern kingdom (1 Ki. 12:21; Hos. 5:1; Amos 5:1; Mic. 1:5), but which was also used as a title of honour for the southern kingdom (Isa. 5:7; Jer. 10:1) (cf. Koehler-Baumgartner, 407 f.). The earliest external reference to the Israelites outside the OT occurs in an inscription on a pillar set up by Merneptah, king of Egypt, *c.* 1220 B.C., to celebrate his victories. In it he boasts: "Israel lies desolate; its seed is no more" (cf. D. Winton Thomas, ed., *Documents from Old Testament Times*, 1958, 139, see also plate 8; text also in *ANET*, 376 ff.). In the opinion of C. Virolleaud, Israel occurs as a personal name at Ugarit (*Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit*, V, 1965, 69, 3).

Judah (Heb. *yᵉhûḏâh*) occurs as a geographical term to denote the mountainous desert region south of Jerusalem (Jos. 20:7; 21:11; Jdg. 1:16; Ps. 63:1). The tribe which settled there bore the name of Judah, the son of Jacob and Leah (Gen. 29:35). The precise etymology is uncertain, though Gen. 29:35 suggests a link with *yāḏâh*, praise, in Leah's remark on the birth of her son, "'This time I will praise the Lord'; therefore she called his name Judah." The three first root letters (*yhw*) could contain the divine name. The Heb. words *yᵉhûḏî* and *yᵉhûḏîṯ* (fem.), Judaean, and the Gk. *Ioudaios*, Jewish, Jew and *Ioudaia*, Judea refer particularly to the place of origin.

Hebrew (Heb. *'iḇrî*; Gk. *Hebraios*) is an old word of uncertain meaning. The Hebrews no doubt belong linguistically and in reality to the Habiru people who are frequently mentioned in Babylonian, Ugaritic and Egyptian texts of the mid 2nd cent. Like the Accadian *Khabiru* and the Egyptian root *'pr*, the biblical word is a legal term. It denoted people of equal social standing without regard to their ethnic origins (their personal names derive from a variety of linguistic areas), who, not having a permanent home or possessions, entered the service of the settled population on a contractual basis (servants in Egypt, 1 Sam. 14:21). In closely knit groups, forerunners of the tribes, these nomadic shepherds penetrated the arable land. The native Canaanites perhaps called them the *'ēḇer* people, the "outlanders" (e.g. Gen. 14:13), because they had come from *'ēḇer*, from the (land) beyond, i.e. from the eastern and southern steppes. Hence, the word Hebrew was used by other peoples in the old stories sometimes in a derogatory manner, sometimes by Israel in dealings with foreigners in a self-deprecating manner (Gen. 40:15; 43:32; Exod. 1:15–19; 2:11–13; 3:18, God of the Hebrews; 1 Sam. 4:6, 9; 13:3,

19; 29:3). Certain passages are sometimes taken to imply that the term Hebrew was used for a dependent, economically weak people, a group contrasting with those in Israel who were free (Exod. 21:2; Deut. 15:12; Jer. 34:9, 14).

2. *Israel and Judah in the Course of History.* (a) Early history. After the occupation of the land by the house of Joseph the small band of tribes (the sons of Leah?) expanded into a league of twelve tribes (→ People, art. *phylē*), a cultic, non-political community of those whom the God of Israel had chosen (Jos. 24). Under the pressure exerted by the Philistines, the defence forces of the individual tribes were no longer sufficient. Saul, having been elected king (1 Sam. 9–12), demanded military service, united the tribes politically (at least in the north), and thereby founded a state to which was transferred the name of the sacral twelve tribe league, Israel. This double basis in religion and politics set up at the very outset a tension which was to run through and determine Israel's history.

Israel, the northern state, exercised autonomy in religion and politics for a good 200 years after David's united kingdom was split following the death of Solomon. The God of Israel was worshipped at the sanctuaries of Bethel and Dan. In 733 and 722 Assyria defeated Israel (cf. 2 Ki. 15–17). (Israel was also called Ephraim by the contemporary prophets, e.g. Isa. 7:1–9, after the central region associated with the name of the younger of the two sons of Joseph [Gen. 40:50 ff.]. Ephraim and Manasseh were counted as tribes equal with the tribes descended from the sons of Jacob.) As the result of deportations and the mingling of the remainder of the inhabitants with newly settled people (which had the express intention of producing a cultural and religious syncretism) there arose the Assyrian province of Samaria (→ Samaritan).

Judah, the kingdom which David had created from the southern tribes, survived the northern kingdom by about one and a half centuries, partly no doubt on account of its dynastic basis and its more skilful politics. Under Babylonian overlordship things went much better for Judah than formerly for the northern kingdom under Assyria. Thus under the Persians the division of Judah could be reversed.

The southern kingdom received important theological support. Isaiah, continuing the line of earlier court prophets, glorified the → Davidic dynasty in Zion. By taking over the name Israel for the southern kingdom after the fall of the northern kingdom, he defined theological hopes in accordance with actual political circumstances. The sphere of salvation was narrowed down to the remnant, Judah. At the same time, the state of Judah acquired a new worth through the old name with its traditional associations (cf. Isa. 24–28).

By contrast with this Zionism with its accent on Judah's present, Jeremiah presented a theology of dispersion which was open to God's future. He retained the name Israel for the northern kingdom which had already been destroyed a century ago. Without prejudice to Josiah's attempt to restore the state of Israel (2 Ki. 23), Jeremiah proclaimed that the old Israel was finished. Nevertheless, God would one day recreate from it his people. They would be a community which, as in olden times so now in the end-time, would once again be stateless (cf. 3:11 ff.; 31; 37:7 ff.). On the pattern of the time of → Moses, God would draw up a new → covenant with them, this time writing the commandments in their hearts (Jer. 31:31–34). These hopes for Israel meant, however, that Jeremiah had to announce judgment and destruction for the state of Judah which he loved and for

which he pleaded before God (Jer. 14 ff.). The human and political defences had to fall to make room for God's new creation.

(b) Israel before God in prophetic theology. God's relationship to Israel is expressed in a variety of metaphors: God is → father, → king, saviour (→ Redemption), guardian, refuge, comforter, dew. Correspondingly, Israel is a → son, bride, wife (→ Woman), → possession, vineyard, and → vine. These mostly personal terms indicate a relationship of partnership. God lets his beloved son know both what he does for him and what he requires of him (Deut. 10:12; also Mic. 6:8). Through such instruction, which is a wider concept than either → commandment or → law, Israel became the people that dwelt alone (Num. 23:9). It was distinguished and separated from all other peoples (Deut. 4:5–10). In the holy land of Israel this holy people was to live for the holy God in holiness (Lev. 11:44 f.; 19:2; 20:26; → Holy). Israel's → election was at the same time a commission. Although the least significant of the peoples (Deut. 7:7), Israel still had to be for them a prince and a light, a witness to God by his very existence (Isa. 43:8 ff.). Election meant loneliness, difference, renunciation, readiness to → suffer (Isa. 52:13–53:12), and a heavy → burden.

Israel continually ran the risk of falling back into Canaanite cults, succumbing to the temptations of her environment, and of wanting to be like the other peoples. This meant that the relationship of trust could be damaged from the human side, but not destroyed. For the covenant with Israel remained irrevocable for God's sake. To make this fact certain beyond all doubt, use was made of concepts taken from the realm of law: God will not abandon his legal claim on Israel (Amos 9:1 ff.); nor will he publish a bill of → divorce (Isa. 50:1). Lest his name be blasphemed among the heathen for faithlessness, God remained true to the oath which he swore to the fathers (Ezek. 20:9, 14, 22; Deut. 7:8). Even → judgment is a sign of his faithfulness. Through God's servants the → prophets of Israel (Ezek. 38:17) who intercede to the point of self-immolation (Exod. 32:32; Jer. 30 f.), Israel is warned, and threatened and comforted. But in all this we have only different forms of the same invitation to repentance. God's own faithfulness to the covenant makes it possible for Israel to be purified and the covenant relationship renewed. The hope of the restoration of the whole of Israel does not rest on Israel's righteousness but on God's love to the fathers (Exod. 32:11–14; Deut. 9:5), and his freedom which chose Israel contrary to all expectations (Ezek. 16:59–63).

(c) The struggle for Israel in the post-exilic period. Shortly after the return of the exiles from Babylon the prophets announced a turning point in the coming of salvation (cf. Hag. 2:20–23; Zech. 6:9–15). But three generations later Ezra and Nehemiah saw in these semi-political dreams a danger to Israel's continued existence. The latter left to the Persians the management of political relations and concentrated on the internal building up of the covenant community in Jeremiah's sense on the basis of Holy Scripture. What had hitherto been the privilege of the priests now became a common possession (cf. Neh. 8).

From the time of Alexander the Great (356–323 B.C.) onwards Judaism lived under the influence of the pervading Hel. culture. However, as soon as adaptation to the environment threatened to lead to the abandonment of their particularity, resistance movements arose, principally on religious grounds. The successful Maccabean rebellion which broke out in 168 B.C. led once again, under the

Hasmoneans, to a compromise between self-consciousness and openness to the environment. This is shown by the coins with their bilingual inscriptions.

In the following period, after Pompey had captured Jerusalem and reduced the area (63 B.C.) the half-Jew Herod (37–4 B.C.; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 14, 9, 2), reigned as king by favour of Rome, and procurators exploited and provoked the Jews. The distinction between the Jews and the surrounding nations became progressively sharper, until under the leadership of the Zealots there occurred a series of bloody conflicts with the Romans and the friends of Rome. This is illustrated by the inscriptions on the coins of the period: the revolutionary coinage of the years 66–70 and 132–135, partly overstampings of Roman coins, are inscribed in the old Heb. script as an indication of the return of Israel's original times in the present end-times. The inscriptions are more programmes than descriptions of reality: "Shekel of Israel", "Salvation of Zion", "For the freedom of Jerusalem", "First year of the salvation of Israel", "Second year of the freedom of Israel". The Roman inscription, however, runs: "Judaea capta" ("Conquered Judah"). (On the coins of the period see G. L. Archer, "Coins", *ZPEB* I 901–11; A. Reifenberg, *Ancient Jewish Coins*, 1947²; and *Israel's History in Coins from the Maccabees to the Roman Conquest*, 1953; L. Kadman *et al.*, *The Dating and Meaning of Ancient Jewish Coins*, 1958; E. Stauffer, *Christ and the Caesars*, 1955; → Possessions: Coins in the Bible and Theological Issues.)

After the exterminations of Jews of the dispersion under Trajan (A.D. 98–117) and the failure of the messiah Simon Bar Kokhba ("son of a star", cf. Num. 24:17) in A.D. 132, at the peak of the conflict, not only were those who remained faithful to the instruction to be exterminated, but the name of the people was to be obliterated. Hadrian decreed that Jerusalem should be a Roman colony to be known as *Aelia Capitolina* (after himself and Jupiter) and the land *Syria Palaestina* (Land of the Philistines).

Nevertheless, even under the most difficult conditions, remnant Jewish communities repeatedly migrated back. At first they even managed to maintain a certain cultural standing, as the Palestinian Talmud and the ruins of synagogues bear witness. Their overlords changed: Romans, Arabs, Crusaders, Turks and British came and went. In 1948, under the pressure of the terrible situation of the Jews and with the approval of world public opinion, there arose once again a state with the ancient name of Israel.

NT The inter-Testamental period and the NT era witnessed an intense struggle over the identity of the true Israel in the face of foreign rule, the competing groups within Judaism and the emergence of the church.

1. *Israel and its Environment.* Despite the many strata within it, Judaism was a relatively unified whole compared with the other peoples. As bearers of revelation in the struggle against the heathen even the early Jesus-groups recognized themselves as naturally on the side of Israel, or rather as belonging to Israel. Hence, the rise of the Christian church must be seen against the background of the competing groups within Judaism which were concerned with the identity and destiny of Israel.

(a) Israel's Hel. environment, with its striving for cultural unity, exercised on Judaism, especially in the dispersion, a powerful attraction. In good times it was possible to take over not only the language but also many Hel. manners, so long

as they were not connected with a pagan cult and therefore incompatible with Jewish principles. This openness and recognition of the nations was expressed theologically in the acceptance of the first stages of a messianic humanity among them, "sons of → Noah" (who kept the principal commandments of Gen. 9:4; cf. Acts 15:28 ff.; Sanh. 56a–b) and the pious among the nations (Hullin 92a; Baba Kamma 38a). Through mission which had its theological roots in the universal claim of the one God who desires the salvation of all the nations (cf. the Songs of the Servant of Yahweh in Isa. 41 f. and 49), the tension between Israel and the nations was removed by the anticipation of the reunion expected in the end-time (Pesahim 87b; cf. 1 Cor. 12:13; Gal. 3:28).

Thus post-exilic Judaism became a missionary religion, ready to accept anyone who confessed the one God of Israel (→ One, art. *heis*). Success was great, especially among women who were not → circumcised but only baptized. About one in ten of the inhabitants of the Hel. Mediterranean world was a Jew, not by birth but by belief (cf. Sib. 3, 271; 1 Macc. 15:22 f.; Philo, *Flacc.* 45 f.; *Leg.Gai.* 281–283; Josephus, *War* 2, 19, 2; *Ant.* 14, 7, 2; Acts 2:9–11).

But this very openness, which was what the best among the nations found attractive about Judaism, also gave rise to hatred and persecutions. In times of crisis the position of Jews before the law worsened and enmity led to pogroms (like the persecutions under Trajan, A.D. 115–117). Jews were faced with the choice either of giving up their Jewishness and adopting the pagan gods and the cult of the emperor, or of renouncing the privilege of cultural and political equality. The result was that those who remained faithful to their community withdrew into a kind of ghetto existence, involving a separation that was neither national nor racial but completely religious in character. In order not to further the worship of idols, dealings with pagans were limited or, as in the 18 regulations which were introduced by the Shammaites before the rebellion of A.D. 66 (Shabbath 17a–b), almost completely prevented. As the theology of the Talmud shows, Pharisaism, based on the OT, made the whole of Israel immune to the damaging influences of Hel. anti-Jewish culture and gave it a self-consciousness which supplied the power to survive as a community for thousands of years amid the hatred and persecution of a hostile environment.

(b) The use of the terms relating to the Jews was determined by these conflicts. The word Hebrew (noun and adj.) has the most neutral meaning. It denotes in particular the language and the script, and then also the people who use them. In worship the Bible was read sentence by sentence in the Heb. original and then translated into current Aram. in the form of the Targums. Where it is used without any special significance, Hebrew frequently means the current Aramaic (Josephus *Ant.* 2, 13, 1; cf. also *Hebraïs* the Hebrew [language], Acts 21:40; 22:2; 26:14; *Hebraïsti*, in Hebrew, Jn. 5:2; 19:13, 17, 20; 20:16; Rev. 9:11; 16:16). In place of the ancient Heb. characters square characters were employed (even among the copyists of sacred texts), which developed out of the Aram. state script. The ancient Heb. script, used for the inscriptions on revolutionary coinage, was expressly rejected by Pharisaic teachers. Especially when used by foreigners the word Hebrew can serve to denote the land (Tacitus, *Histories* 5, 5) and its people (Test. Jos. 12:2 f.; 13:3; Jub. 47:5 f.). Since language, education and the structure of theology are largely determined by the fact of belonging to a particular cultural sphere, the word

of differentiation (cf. Acts 6:1) could sometimes in the conflict acquire an apologetic or a polemical tone. Paul emphasized in 2 Cor. 11:22 and Phil. 3:5 his Heb.-speaking origins and affiliations as something positive. In the sayings about Hebrews in the gnostic Gospel of Philip (especially 1 and 46) everything Hebrew is devalued as an obsolete preliminary to true faith.

Judah, Jew, Jewish and Judaism are more terms with a political and sociological colouring. They denote in the first instance membership of the nation (Tacitus, *Histories*, 5, 5), but then also people who turn to Judaism (Dio Cass., 37, 17) and live according to Jewish customs (cf. *Ioudaïkos*, Jewish in Tit. 1:14, of myths; with the adv. *Ioudaïkōs* and vb. *ioudaïzō*, live as a Jew, Gal. 2:14). To this context belongs the noun first coined by the LXX, *Ioudaïsmos*, Judaism, as a way of life and faith (Gal. 1:13 f.; cf. 2 Macc. 2:21; 8:1; 14:38; 4 Macc. 4:26; Arndt, 380). This usage was taken over by the Jews themselves, especially in dealings with foreigners (Elephantine Papyri; 1 Macc. 3:34; 8:23 ff.; Tob. 1:18). But Jew also occurs as a self-designation on the coins of the Hasmonean period, in Philo and Josephus. In the NT it is used of individuals and in the plur. of groups, occurring some 194 times with almost every shade of meaning, of which 79 instances are in Acts, especially from ch. 13 on, 71 in Jn., 24 in Paul, but only 11 in the Synoptic Gospels (see 2 (e) below). Occasionally, especially in exegetical contexts, the word has a respectful sense (Megillah 12b–13a; Midrash Est. 2:5[93a]; Sib. 5, 249). But the word Jew was often used by Gentiles as a contemptuous term of abuse (Midrash Lam. 1:11[55a]). The Gentile world did not understand the peculiarity and necessary separation of the Jewish people (Ad.Est. 13:12 ff. [LXX after 4:17]). Because they could not take part in the Gentile cults and social life, they were regarded as godless, haters of foreigners, and even as haters of men in general (3 Macc. 3:4 ff.; Josephus, *Ap.* 2, 121–124, 145–150; Megillah 13b; Midrash Est. 3:8[95b], a warning against Jews; *BGU* 1079). Alexandrian writers, in particular, spread horrific tales about the history and worship of the Jews which were readily believed and copied (Manetho, Chairemon, Lysimachus, Apion; cf. Josephus, *Ap.* 1, 219–2, 150; Tacitus, *Histories*, 3–5; *Ann.* 2, 85). Contempt for Judaism (Cicero, *Pro Flacco*, 28; Pliny, *Nat.Hist.* 13, 4; Juvenal, *Satires* 14, 96–106) also resulted in hatred which worked itself out in bloody persecution (Philo, *Flacc.* 41–96; *Leg.Gai.* 120–139).

Intensified by such anti-Jewish attitudes on the part of others, Judaism's consciousness of itself as Israel developed. This is the most pregnant of the theological concepts consistently used within the community. It occurs frequently in the NT (68 times), most often in Paul (17 times, of which 11 are in Rom.), then 12 in Matt., 12 in Lk. and 15 in Acts, rarely in Mk. and Jn. (twice and 4 times respectively). *Israēlitēs* occurs 5 times in Acts (always as a form of address; cf. 2:22; 3:12; 5:35; 13:16; 21:28), 3 times in Paul (Rom. 9:4; 11:1; 2 Cor. 11:22) and once in Jn. (1.47). Each time it refers to Jews as members of the people of God. The world was created for Israel's sake (2 Esd. 7:11; Gen. R. 12[8d]). Israel is God's possession (Aboth 6:10) and the first-born (Pss.Sol. 18:4). It owes its special character solely to the gift of instruction (Exod. R. 30[89d]). Even if Israel is despised in this world (Lev. R. 32[122a]), suffering is itself a sign of the love of God (Pss.Sol. 18:4; Midrash Cant. 1:5[87b]) who is with them even in dispersion (Megillah 29a). God stands by his promises (Makkoth 24a–b). He will gather all those who have been

scattered (Eth.Enoch 90:33; Test. Jos. 19 f.; Eighteen Benedictions, especially the 10th request; for text → Prayer, art. *proseuchomai* OT 5). They will possess the land (Matt. 5:5; → Inheritance), and all Israel has a share in the world to come (Sanhedrin 11:1).

2. *The Struggle over Israel within Judaism.* (a) Israel in the Hel. period. Post-exilic Judaism was divided geographically between the homeland and the dispersion. Parallel with this was the cultural division between Hebrews and Hellenists. But there were also Jews of the dispersion who emphasized their connection with the Heb. (or Aram.) language and culture and separated themselves from Jews who were more open towards Hel. culture. There were synagogues of the Hebrews in Rome and Corinth (cf. also Trypho in Justin, *Dial.* 1, 3). On the other hand, there were in Jerusalem Jewish groups who in language and perhaps also in customs were Hellenists (2 Macc. 4:13; Acts 6:1; 9:29).

Those who lived in Israel retained close links with those who lived in the dispersion. Jerusalem was supported materially by the latter in the form of the temple tax (cf. the alms for Jerusalem in 2 Cor. 8 f.), while remaining itself a religious focal point with its pilgrim festivals and regular embassies sent out to Jewish communities. However, there was no common political action, either during the rebellions in Israel or the persecutions in the dispersion.

From the sociological point of view Israel was divided into several classes: priests, Levites, Israelites, proselytes (mostly of equal standing with the Israelites [cf. CD 14:3–6]), subordinate temple slaves and the offspring of illegitimate marriages (Ezr. 8:20; TJ Horayoth 3:5; Yebamoth 8:5). However, because the question of how Israel could continue to exist before God in this period was interpreted in a variety of ways, there arose groups which all maintained that they were the true community (e.g. Sadducees, baptists, apocalyptists, Pharisees, and Zealots). Membership of these groups no longer depended on origin but on the decision of the individual to accept a particular doctrinal opinion. The boundaries of the parties were fluid, and it was possible to transfer from one to another. Thus Josephus tried different groups (*Life* 10 ff.), and disciples of John transferred their allegiance to the Jesus group (Jn. 1:38–40).

These groups were themselves further divided into sub-groups. Thus, within the Pharisees there was a Zealot wing, hostile to foreigners, and a missionary wing friendly towards Rome (the parties of Shammai and Hillel; cf. Shabbath 31a). Similar splits arose also among the followers of Jesus (Gal. 1 f.; 1 Cor. 1:12; 3:4; 2 Cor. 11).

The idea of election, the continued existence of Israel and the formulation of instruction in purity were hammered out in continuous debate over points of doctrine and constant conflict. The passion with which the struggle for Israel's reality was fought is a sign of the vitality of the prophetic spirit in this period.

(b) Polemic. The course of this conflict was bitter. It was of the kind that could only come about among brothers disputing a common heritage. The fight had been going on for a long time according to rules handed down in the different schools before the Jesus movement arose and entered the debate.

The methods of polemic were various. Opponents were denounced in forthright language, as can be seen by the use in the NT of terms like hypocrite (Matt. 23:13; cf. Ass.Mos. 7) and generation of vipers (1QH 3:12–18; Matt. 3:7). Wholesale

appeal was made to history, as when Paul saw the behaviour of the Jews, "who killed . . . the Lord Jesus", as typical of their treatment of the prophets (1 Thess. 2:14 f.). An opponent's positive points could be assertively transformed into negatives (cf. the sons of darkness, 1QS 1:10; 1QM 1:1; the law in Paul, Gal 3:10–13; Rom. 4:13 ff.; the devil and lies instead of God and truth, 1QS 2:4 f.; 1QM 1:1; CD 6:1; 1QH 5:26 f.; 7:12; 1QpHab 10:9 f.; Jn. 8:41–44; Rev. 3:9). Cf. also Paul's interpretation of current Jewish attitudes in the light of the Scriptures in 2 Cor. 3:4–18 and Gal. 4:21–31. Such polemic had the air of prophetic denunciation: Israel is stubborn (CD 1:14 quoting Hos. 4:16) and godless (Test.Lev. 14:4). God has hidden his face from Israel (CD 1:3). In the process Judah, in particular, became a negative concept (CD 4:3; 4:11; 8:3, the princes of Judah have become like those who remove the bounds, quoting Hos. 5:10). This exegesis was also applied to disloyal members of the community (CD 19:26 f.), so that the speakers sound almost like Gentile opponents of Judaism. In line with this, Paul, the missionary to the Gentiles, took up the arguments of the Gentile-Jewish polemic (1 Thess. 2:14–16). We meet the sharpest form of the polemic in the Johannine writings, which in their generalizing usage seem to separate themselves entirely from the Jews.

Jewish writing remains so polemically involved that dangerous misunderstandings are unavoidable, where the different sides are considered in isolation. After the destruction of the temple feelings were so intense that opposing positions were treated as non-existent. Thus the Talmud is almost completely silent about its opponents. The last step is legal separation through the introduction of the petition on heretics into the Eighteen Benedictions: "May the Nazarenes and heretics disappear in a moment; they shall be erased from the book of life and not be written with the faithful" (cf. Berakoth 28b–29a). This legal act of formal exclusion is presupposed in Jn. 9:22 and 12:42.

(c) The remnant and Israel as a whole. The positive side of such polemic was an apologetic presentation of one's own position. Each individual group relied on the fact that it was the separated → remnant of Israel which would lead to the eschatological community of the saved. A sign of this is the frequent use in these contexts of the prep. "out of" (Heb. *min*, "from", in the sense of separation from something; e.g. a plant root to spring from Israel, CD 1:7; raised from Aaron, from Israel, CD 6:2 f.; those few who have departed, CD 8:16, 40). The self-consciousness arising from this separation expresses itself in such self-designations as "the house of truth", "house of holiness", "house of steadfastness" (1QS 5:5 f.; 8:5–9; 9:5; CD 3:19).

It is striking, however, that everyone refrains from simply identifying his group with the eschatological total-Israel. Thus 1 Cor. 10:18 lacks a corresponding "Israel according to the spirit". The nearest approach to this is the "community of the new covenant" (1QpHab 2:3; CD 6:19; 8:21; cf. 1 Cor. 11:25; 2 Cor. 3:6; Lk. 22:20). Even if primarily one's own group is intended, an open attitude towards a future gathered Israel is retained (1QSa 2:12). Separation *from* Israel is election *for* Israel (1QS 5:5 f.; 8:5; 9:5; Test. 8:2). The community of the remnant realizes its commission to call the entire people to repentance. The natural way of belonging to Israel by descent (the child of a Jewish mother is a Jew) enters into tension with being a Jew through obedience (which particularly in the case of men demands a

decision to learn and to fulfil the commandments). This was never devalued but remained a basic tenet. The goal was an eschatological community in a renewed form, as it was already foreshadowed in the present in the groups and as the community at Sinai represented all future communities which are already included in it (Deut. 29:15; cf. Pesahim 10:5). The community of the remnant is a → light for the whole community (Test.Lev. 14:3; cf. Matt. 5:14). For their sakes the whole of Israel will be saved in the end (Test.Sim. 6:2, 5; 7:2; Test.Ben. 10:11; cf. Rom. 11:26; Sanhedrin 11:1). The clearest expression of hope for the whole of Israel occurs in prayers which frequently conclude with a reference to the whole of Israel (Gal. 6:16; Eighteen Benedictions; Berakoth 60b; Shabbath 12b; the *Ahabah* spoken before the *Shema*; and often in the canticle *Yigdal*). The remnant of the elect in the NT also hoped for the salvation and the re-establishment of Israel as one people (Mk. 13:27; Lk. 24:21; Acts 1:6). The expected judgment will be carried out through the twelve disciples, whose → number indicates the totality of Israel (Matt. 19:28; Lk. 22:30).

Out of this belonging together in the hope of Israel on the basis of common Scriptures there resulted a mutual sense of responsibility in every conflict, just as the prophet was the accuser and intercessor at one and the same time and took his people's sufferings on himself. Internal Jewish polemic followed directly from the affirmation of Israel; it sought the realization of the complete Israel.

(d) The Messiah and Israel. All the groups were united in the belief that Israel's hope would be realized in individual figures who would usher in the eschatological salvation. It was in the time of most extreme need that people hoped that God would make himself known to them, and lead them out of their obscurity and ambiguity. All these many attempts at messianic realization found people ready to believe in them, and all ended in apparent catastrophe: from the Teacher of Righteousness at Qumran (Num. 24:17; the star from Jacob applied to the Teacher, CD 7:18 f.), from John and Jesus via the messianic pretenders reported by Josephus (*War* 2, 4, 1–3), to the Zealot leaders (Josephus, *War* 5, 1, 1–2) and Bar Kokhba. Only two groups survived the catastrophe: the → Pharisees, from whose tradition Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai excluded all messianic or Zealot tendencies at Jamnia (A.D. 70); and the Jewish believers in Jesus who stressed their eschatological, messianic beliefs over against the Pharisees. The messianic belief of the earliest stratum of NT tradition can, therefore, be considered representative of a thoroughly Jewish outlook at the time of the second temple.

Each group took and applied key statements from the Jewish scripture to the person who for them represented Israel. This representative is the elect one among the community of the elect, the righteous one among the righteous, the son among the sons, the servant among the servants (Isa. 53), who takes Israel's suffering on himself. The Son of man, the figure of judgment representing the people of Israel in Dan. 7:13 (→ Son of God) was now referred to the messiah. As God constantly speaks to Israel, he also speaks to the Christ. As Israel is enabled in a unique way to hear and to obey, the Christ is also (Jn. 5:19, 36; Matt. 5:17; 11:27). Terms can therefore also be applied to him which in the Heb. Scriptures denoted Israel; e.g. the vineyard, the vine (Jer. 2:21; Ps. 80:8 f.; 2 Esd. 5:23; Jn. 15:1–8), the corner stone (Matt. 21:42; Mk. 12:10 f.; Lk. 20:17; Acts 4:11; Eph. 2:20; 1 Pet. 2:6–8; cf. Ps. 118:22 ff.; → Rock); the dove, metaphor for Israel (Ps. 68:13;

2 Esd. 5:26; → Bird), descends on Jesus at his baptism (Matt. 3:16; Mk. 1:10; Lk. 3:22).

In all the groups history was polemically interpreted. Past history and especially contemporary events were adapted in the manner of a pesher (cf. CD, 1QS, 1QM, and the passion narrative in the NT). The connection of Israel and the messiah runs through the entire NT which is a consistent, urgent, infinitely varied pesher seeking to prove that to be consistent with itself Judaism must recognize Jesus as the messiah (cf. especially Lk. 2:30–32, 38; 24:21, 24, 44; → Jesus Christ). According to Luke, faith in Jesus is nothing but the legitimate extension of Pharisaic belief (Acts 1–5; 28:20, 23). In every apparent antithesis the messiah stands in continuity with Israel as its fulfilment (Matt. 5:17). According to Jn. 1:47, no one is a "true son of Israel" until he has recognized Jesus as Israel's messiah, the fulfilment of ancient promises and the renewal of the old covenant which has never been revoked. In Rev. the conversion of the Jews is presented as the high point of the eschatological victory (7:1–8).

The messiah and Israel stand inseparably together. Whoever does not decide for this elect One opposes him. Whoever refuses to trust him (cf. faith in the Teacher, 1QpHab 8:1–3, with faith in Jesus throughout the NT) has thereby decided against Israel. He has lost his descent from Abraham (Jn. 8:49) and belongs to the synagogue of Satan (Rev. 3:9). He is a son of darkness, a member of the community of Belial (CD 4:13, 16; 8:2; 1QH 4:10–16). Nevertheless, both the one who evinces such trust (even though it should be proved false) and the one who refuses it stand within Judaism.

Israel and its Scriptures are the critical principle by which every messianic pretender must be judged: the messiahs of Qumran were expected from Aaron and Israel (CD 6:2 f.; 1QSa 2:11–21); the messiah Jesus from the patriarchs (Rom. 1:3; 9:5; Matt. 1:1–17 par. Lk. 3:23–38; Matt. 11:2–6; Jn. 5:39; cf. Sanhedrin 93b, 98b; Shabbath 63a). This was the only way in which Israel could protect herself against excess in spirit and prophecy, against the majority of messianic pretenders and against overhasty solutions of the problems of her existence. The witnesses of the NT also knew that the reality of Israel is the touchstone of christology. Therefore they clung passionately to Israel as the basic foundation of the Christ event. Therefore, there emerges from the NT itself the sharpest opposition to any abandonment of Israel (Rom. 9–11; Jn. 4:22). Only in living union with Israel is → Jesus the Christ. Without this historical reality he dissolves into an idea, a gnostic myth, and a docetic speculation. Hence in the case of the messiah Jesus, → baptism and → Lord's Supper are the feasts of Israel. The → cross he bore was a sharing in the suffering of Israel. Although Jewish Christians engaged in the dialogue within Judaism found themselves cut off because of him from their Jewish brethren, the NT demonstrates that Jesus, the Jew and Hebrew, represents Israel completely in his person. He is bound up with Israel from first to last.

(e) Mission. This identification of the bringer of salvation with Israel entails consequent missionary activity among Jews. As Jesus turned exclusively to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, his messengers were to go only into the towns of Israel (Matt. 10:5 f.; 15:24). Paul, the Jewish missionary (1 Cor. 9:20), also demonstrated the priority of Judaism in salvation history (Rom. 1:16) by always going first of all to the Jews (Acts 13:14; 41:1), and always acknowledging that he was a

Jew (2 Cor. 11:22; Phil. 3:5; Acts 22:3). Despite the failures of his Jewish mission he held fast to Israel, his people (cf. Acts 28:20). On the basis of the Jewish Scriptures Paul demonstrates in Rom. 9–11 in a kind of commentary-cum-anthology of OT teaching that it is just Israel's present hardening which is causing the message of Christ to come to the Gentiles who thus acquire a share in Israel's salvation. In the end-time which is imminent the whole of Israel will be saved by God himself (Rom. 11:26). An anticipatory sign of this undiminished faithfulness of God is Jewish Christianity, the faithful remnant of Judaism, represented by Paul himself. The question may be asked whether Paul's removal of the barrier between Israel and the Gentiles did not hasten the division of Israel, even though this was not his intention.

The position of the various NT writers vis-à-vis Judaism is revealed in their use of terms. Thus in Paul Jew is used 24 times, very often in opposition to → Greek, Gentile, and mostly in a positive sense. Israel (17 times) stands for either the historic people or the eschatological whole Israel but significantly not for Paul's own community. In the Synoptics as a whole, Israel stands for the people and also the land (e.g. Matt. 20:1, 21:1). It is used in preference to Jew. Matt. contains the expression "house of Israel" (Matt. 10:6; 15:24 f.; cf. Acts 7:47; Heb. 8:8; 10:2). Jew is used particularly in the phrase "King of the Jews" (Matt. 27:11, 29, 37; cf. 42; Mk. 15:2, 9, 12, 18, 26; Lk. 23:3, 37 f.; Jn. 18:33, 39; 19:3, 19, 21) and almost without exception on the lips of Gentiles with somewhat deprecating overtones (Matt. 2:2; 28:15; Mk. 7:3; Lk. 7:3; 23:51). The use of the word Israel in general clearly maintains the connection with the reality and hope of Israel. In Acts Israel is used more frequently in the account of the Palestinian church (11 out of 15 passages; cf. 28:20 with 1:6; 2:36), while Jew is used more frequently in the narrative of Paul's missionary journeys (68 out of 79 passages). This corresponds to Hel. usage. In Jn. it is clear from the few but fundamental passages where Israel is used (1:49 and 12:13 of Jesus as king; 1:31 as the one to be revealed through John), that the writer is still within the sphere of the whole of Israel, even though his polemic is extremely sharp. This is expressed in the Johannine use of Jew (70 times), which can indeed be used neutrally of the people or the religious community (e.g. 4:9; 18:35) and as in the Synoptics (King of the Jews, 18:33; 19:19 ff.). But mostly it has the effect of expressing aloofness or, especially where it denotes the ruling classes (e.g. 1:19; 7:11; 18:12), sharp rejection. While the Synoptics, especially Matt., distinguish Jesus' opponents according to the groups they belong to, Jn. speaks in a general way of the Jews. In Rev. Jew has a positive sense. But it is not applied to the community which does not believe in Jesus (2:9; 3:9). Israel is the true eschatological people of God (2:14; 7:4; 21:12).

3. *From the Gentile Mission to the Gentile Christian Church.* Only when those to whom the Jewish mission was originally addressed overwhelmingly rejected the offer did the mission to the Gentiles arise (Acts 13:46). The tradition therefore had to be restated to meet the demands of missionary practice among Gentiles. The history of Israel which had been so prominent in addressing the Jews (cf. Acts 2:17–36; 3:22–26; 7:2–53) was dropped from the instruction given, because the people did not have the preparation necessary to understand it. (The revelation on Sinai is not mentioned in any confession of faith.) But despite this reduction, God's encounter with the Gentiles remained rooted in the historical experience of

Israel in the teaching of the Jewish missionaries to the Gentiles. The Jesus-covenant is the extension of the Sinai covenant (cf. Rom. 9–11; 1 Cor. 11:25; 2 Cor. 3:6 ff.; Gal. 4:24 ff.; Heb. 8:8 ff.; 10:16 ff.). In terms of world history the Christ-event became the inclusion of the nations in the Sinai event.

Because of mounting internal tensions and disappointment over the attitude of the dispersion, the position of Jewish Christians in the land of Israel became continually more difficult. Step by step they were transformed from a competing group to the independent opponents of the Pharisees who now represented orthodox Judaism. From A.D. 70 onwards Jewish Christians saw their own way of faith as something distinct from that of the synagogue in the Jewish community. Legal separation from the synagogue (above 2 (b)) meant exclusion from every area of communal life (Tosefta Hullin 2:21 ff.).

The path of Gentile Christianity turned from Judaism and led into Gentile anti-Semitism, which was on the increase after the catastrophe. The prophets' criticism of Israel was misunderstood as anti-Jewish and repeated irresponsibly. Even when the words were kept their meaning was distorted to imply the opposite, and this served to sharpen Gentile hatred of Jews. In place of living and healthy dialogue between the groups there arose what was more like a dogmatizing monologue.

In Clement of Rome (perhaps a Jewish Christian, shortly before A.D. 100) one can still trace a nearness to the world of the Heb. Bible and to Judaism (cf. 1 Clem. 4:13; 8:3; 29:2 f.; 31:2–4; 43; 55:6). But Ignatius of Antioch, a Gentile Christian, writing *c.* A.D. 115, at the time of the persecutions under Trajan, expressed the opinion that a Christian must necessarily be an opponent of Jews (*Mag.* 8; 10:3). Barnabas and Justin, both Gentile Christians, wrote during and after the war against Bar Kokhba. Barnabas uses the word Israel mostly in connection with his exegesis of the Bible against Israel (sometimes historical, often typological, 4:15; 6:7; 8:1–3; 11:1; 12:2, 5; 16:5), but he does not yet dare to take over this word for the → church. Justin, on the other hand, asserts boldly: "We are . . . the true spiritual Israel" (*Dial.* 11, 5; cf. 100, 4; 123, 9). Their own Bible remains obscure to the Jewish people, because they do not listen to the voice of the Lord. Only the church possesses true insight (Barn. 8:7; 10:12; Just., *Dial.* 9, 1; 33, 1 f.). Israel has a greatness beyond time, which has never belonged to the Jews but always to Christians (the contesting of the covenant, Barn. 4:6). The way of Barnabas and Justin became the way of the church. After the council of Nicaea (A.D. 325) it was finally stated that church and synagogue have nothing in common (cf. Eusebius, *Vita Constantini* 3, 18). *R. Mayer*

'Iακώβ | *'Iακώβ* (*Iakōb*), Jacob; *'Iάκωβος* (*Iakōbos*), James; *'Iουδαία* (*Ioudaia*), Judea; *'Iούδας* (*Ioudas*), Judah, Judas, Jude.

OT Jacob was the second son of Isaac and Rebekah and grandson of the patriarch Abraham. He was favoured by his mother, while Isaac was partial to his other son Esau. Early in his life Jacob obtained the birthright due his brother Esau by giving him "a mess of pottage" in return for the birthright. This transfer of birthright is illustrated in the Nuzi material where the rights of primogeniture allowed

for transferal of privilege to another (cf. *ANET*, 219 f.). According to the Deuteronomic legislation, the right of the first-born included a double portion of the paternal estate (Deut. 21:17), and most probably involved leadership of the clan as well (Gen. 27:29).

The subterfuge by which Jacob obtained the blessing of Isaac was initiated and encouraged by Rebekah (Gen. 27:5–17). The blessing (Gen. 27:27–29) apparently was regarded as having the validity that a last will and testament has in contemporary practice. This too is illustrated in the Nuzi material where the last words of a dying father were upheld in litigation before witnesses (*ANET*, 220).

The deception led to Jacob's flight to the home of his uncle Laban. As he stopped for the night at Luz, Jacob had a dream of a ladder reaching to heaven (Gen. 28:10–17). In the → dream the Lord spoke to Jacob reiterating the promise given earlier to Abraham (Gen. 12:7; 13:15, 16; 15:17–21; 17:1–8; 24:7). Not only did the reiteration of the promise include the affirmation that the land would belong to the descendants of the patriarchs (Gen. 28:13), but that they and their descendants would be the vehicle by which God's favour would extend to the Gentiles (28:14).

Jacob's dramatic encounter with the Lord led to his calling the site Bethel (i.e. "house of God") and that site continued to be known as Bethel throughout the OT tradition. Jacob was hired by Laban and in return for seven years of labour he was to receive Laban's daughter Rachel as his wife. Laban however deceived Jacob into marrying his other daughter Leah and Jacob continued to work for seven more years that he might marry Rachel.

Leah became the mother of Jacob's sons Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar and Zebulun.

Rachel, however, did not bear children immediately and, in keeping with the prevailing custom frequently cited in the Nuzi material (*ANET*, 220), gave a concubine, Bilhah, to her husband. Bilhah became the mother of Dan and Naphtali. At length Rachel gave birth to two sons, Joseph and Benjamin. Jacob also had two sons, Gad and Asher, by Zilpah, Leah's maid.

Relations between Jacob and Laban and his family became strained due in part to Jacob's increase in wealth (Gen. 31:1, 2), and a separation was effected by Jacob. On hearing of Jacob's departure Laban pursued him. When he reached Jacob he berated him for several things including the alleged theft of the family gods (Gen. 31:30), which, in reality, Rachel had taken and secreted in the camel's saddle. The possession of the family gods (*t^{e}rāpîm*), according to the Nuzi material, designated the one who had the right to the paternal estate. After a mutual agreement that they would not again interfere with one another Jacob resumed his journey. (On the background of this period see E. A. Speiser, "New Kirkuk Documents Relating to Family Laws", *Annual of American Schools of Oriental Research* 13, 1930, 1–73; C. H. Gordon, "Biblical Customs and the Nuzu Tablets", *BA* 3, 1940, 1–12; and "The Patriarchal Narratives", *JNES* 13, 1954, 56–59.)

In a dramatic event at the river Jabbok Jacob wrestled with a man whom he identified as God (Gen. 32:30). It was during this experience that Jacob's name was changed to Israel (→ *Israēl*). The site of the encounter was named Peniel ("face of God") by Jacob.

As the homeward journey continued, Jacob encountered Esau (Gen. 33:1–4)

whose approach he had heard of earlier (Gen. 32:6). A reconciliation was effected by the two brothers which seems to have been an enduring one.

After an unfortunate experience with the clan of Shechem (Gen. 34), Jacob removed to Bethel but not before he had all the images of foreign deities removed from his household. After the images were buried under an oak at Shechem the Lord appeared to Jacob and the terms of the Abrahamic covenant were again affirmed.

On the journey from Bethel Jacob suffered the loss of his wife Rachel, who died while giving birth to Benjamin. This tragedy was soon followed by the death of his father Isaac (Gen. 35:29) and the banishment of his son Joseph to Egypt (Gen. 37).

Joseph rose to power in Egypt and his wisdom and foresight led to his overseeing the storage of food in Egypt. This propitious act enabled the Egyptians to have provisions while many in the surrounding areas were ravaged by famine. The famine struck Canaan and Jacob sent his sons to Egypt to obtain food. He kept his youngest son Benjamin with him, however. Alleging that they were spies, Joseph required them to bring Benjamin to Egypt to prove their word and, hence, their innocence. After bringing Benjamin to Egypt, Joseph identified himself as their brother and arranged to have Jacob brought to Egypt as well. Jacob lived in Egypt for 17 years. When he was near death he exacted from Joseph the promise that he would bury him in Canaan. He adopted Joseph's sons, Ephraim and Manasseh (Gen. 48: 1–6) and pronounced a → blessing on them as well as his own sons (Gen. 48:8–49:27). Jacob died at the age of 147 years and was buried with his ancestors in the cave of Machpelah (Gen. 50:1–13).

The name Jacob became an eponym for Israel and occurs frequently with that connotation in the OT (Num. 23:7, 10, 23; Psa. 14:7; Isa. 48:20; Amos 3:13 etc.).

The patriarch Jacob is frequently cited in the OT in connection with the acts of God on his behalf. God is frequently described as the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (Exod. 3:6, 15) and the covenant given to the patriarchs is cited in the same connection (2 Ki. 13:23). Malachi assured the people that the love shown by God to Jacob had not been withheld from them with the words, "I have loved Jacob but I have hated Esau" (Mal. 1:2, 3). Typical of the way in which the intertestamental literature maintains the covenantal aspects of the name Jacob is the citation in 2 Macc. 1:2 where it is affirmed that God will remember his covenant with the patriarchs.

Iakōbos (James) is the Hellenized form of *Iakōb*. This form is used frequently by Josephus for the name of the patriarch Jacob.

NT In the NT *Iakōb* denotes both the patriarch Jacob and the father of Joseph (Matt. 1:15, 16). Aside from the citation of the name Jacob in the genealogies of Matt. and Lk. (Matt. 1:2, 15 f.; Lk. 3:34), several allusions are made to events in Jacob's life by the NT writers. In Jn. 4:5, 6, 12 reference is made to a plot of ground that Jacob gave to Joseph which was the site of Jacob's well (Gen. 33:19; 48:22). Stephen in Acts 7 refers to several events in the life of Jacob (vv. 8, 12, 14) and the writer of Hebrews cites Jacob in Heb. 11, specifically in his relationship to the → promise given to → Abraham (v. 9) and as an example of → faith (v. 21). The transfer of the birthright is cited by the writer of Hebrews (12:16, 17) who uses Esau's selling of his birthright as a warning to his readers not to put off repentance.

In Rom. 9:6–13 Paul cites the events surrounding the birth of Jacob and Esau in a passage explicating the fact that God's work of election is not based on works (v. 11). Paul in this passage refers to the purposes expressed in the words spoken by God before the births of Jacob and Esau, "the elder shall serve the younger" (Gen. 25:23). He quotes Mal. 1:2, 3 in this connection as well. Allusion is made to Jacob's dream at Bethel in John 1:51 where Christ transfers the image of the ladder to himself.

"The God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob" is an expression that occurs in the NT as well as the more singular expression, "The God of Jacob". In his defence of his teaching on the resurrection Jesus used the formula "The God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob" to illustrate that God was the God of the living (Matt. 22:32; Mark 12:26; Luke 20:37). The same expression was used by Peter (Acts 3:13) in its specific connection with the patriarchs, "the God of our fathers" in speaking to Jews. The appellation "God of Jacob" in Acts 7:46 is used as an appellation for God and seems to reflect the language of Ps. 132:5.

Jacob is mentioned along with the patriarchs Abraham and Isaac in Matt. 8:11 where their fellowship in heaven is the reward of the people of faith. Jacob is used as an eponym of the Jewish nation in Luke 1:33 and Rom. 11:26 (the latter being a free quotation from Isa. 59:20). *T. McComiskey*

Ἰούδα	*Ἰούδα* (*Iouda*), Judah; *Ἰούδας* (*Ioudas*), Judah, Judas.

OT The word *Iouda* in the NT, LXX and secular Gk. represents the Heb. word *yᵉhûḏâh* (Judah). The meaning of the word is uncertain but probably means "praised" (Gen. 29:35; → *Israēl*, OT 1).

In the OT Judah was the fourth son of Jacob. His mother was Leah. He seems to have held great influence among his brothers as evinced by their acquiescence to his wish that Joseph be sent to Egypt (Gen. 37:26, 27) and by his acting as spokesman for them in Egypt (Gen. 43:3–10; 44:16–34). Judah figures prominently in the blessing of Jacob where he was promised a position of honour among his brothers, as well as the prospect of sovereignty and dominion realized in a future king (Gen. 49:10 RSV).

Several others in the OT also bore the name Judah (Ezr. 3:9; 10:23; Neh. 11:9; 12:8, 36). The name Judah continued to be born by the tribe of which Jacob's son was the progenitor. The tribe does not seem to have distinguished itself greatly in the history of Israel, although it did comprise a vanguard in a strategic encounter with the Canaanites (Jdg. 1:1–7).

The territory occupied by the tribe of Judah consisted mainly of highland country in the area of Canaan westward from the Dead Sea. The territory extended to the Mediterranean Sea and was bounded on the north by the tribal territories of Benjamin and Dan. The Negev formed the southern boundary.

The rôle of the tribe of Judah in the period of the united monarchy seems to have been no different from that of any other tribe. However, when the division of the monarchy occurred the southern kingdom became known as the kingdom of Judah, although elements in the tribe of Benjamin remained loyal to the house of David as well.

The history of the kingdom of Judah was threatened by internal and external difficulties. Not all her kings were wise, but several made positive contributions to her welfare. During the reign of Uzziah (767–739 B.C.) the fortunes of Judah as well as of Israel were greatly enhanced by the quiescence of Assyria on the world scene. This period of affluence, however, was characterized by an internal sickness, for the → covenant stipulations were being violated leading to societal wrongs that the eighth century prophets warned would lead to her downfall. Under Hezekiah (716–686 B.C.) a serious Assyrian incursion came to an end with the withdrawal of the Assyrian forces. While Hezekiah's foreign policy was, at times, unwise (Isa. 30:15) his contribution to the kingdom of Judah was generally commendable.

Following Hezekiah's reign the fortunes of Judah began to suffer again. The burgeoning Assyrian influence in Syro-Palestine ultimately led to the defeat of Judah. Nebuchadnezzar extracted tribute from Judah some time after his rise to power in 605 B.C., but successive attacks ultimately led to the end of Judah as a kingdom in 587 B.C.

NT In Matt. 2:6 *Iouda* occurs in the sense of the territory of Judah in a quotation from Micah 5:2. The reference is to Bethlehem of Judea (Matt. 2:5) which was located in the territory of Judah. In Luke 1:39 *Iouda* occurs in the expression *eis polin Iouda.* Since Luke invariably uses *Ioudaia* for the province it seems more likely that *Iouda* here is a town now unknown.

In Heb. 7:14 reference is made to the descent of Christ from the tribe of Judah, a tribe which had no priestly prerogatives. The point is made that the Levitical priesthood was unable to achieve perfection for its adherents, hence the need for another priest. This represents a change in the law (v. 12), for Christ did not descend from the tribe of Levi which, according to the law, was the tribe from which the priests were to be chosen.

In Heb. 8:8 the house of Judah is cited along with the house of Israel to represent the whole nation. The reference here is to the two kingdoms of the divided monarchy and occurs in a quotation from Jer. 31:31–34 where the new covenant is predicted.

The tribe of Judah is cited in Rev. 5:5; 7:5 as well. In the former, Christ's descent from the tribe of Judah is reflected in the appellation "Lion of the tribe of Judah" (→ Animal). In Rev. 7:5, the tribe of Judah is cited along with other tribes with whom the group numbering "a hundred and forty-four thousand" is associated (→ Number, art. *chilias* NT 4).

Ioudas occurs as the name of several individuals in the NT. (1) The fourth son of Jacob (Matt. 1:2, 3; Luke 3:33, 34). (2) An ancestor of Christ (Luke 3:26). The spelling here however is *Ioda* (Joda RSV). He is the son of Joanan. (3) An ancestor of Christ (Luke 3:30) who was the son of Joseph. (4) Judas, surnamed the Galilean, who participated in an insurrection during a tax census under Quirinius (Acts 5:37). See also Josephus (*Ant.* 18). (5) Judas of Damascus (Acts 9:11) who gave Saul of Tarsus (Paul) lodging after Saul's vision on the road to Damascus. It was there that Ananias was to go to find Saul. (6) Judas, a brother of Jesus (Matt. 13:55; Mark 6:3). This Judas is considered by some to be the same as Jude, the author of the NT epistle. (7) Judas, the son of James, one of the twelve apostles (Luke 6:16; Acts 1:13). He was one of the group who engaged in prayer in an upper room after

the ascension of Christ. (8) Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon, who betrayed Jesus. The meaning of Iscariot is not clear. It may have been a Hellenization of the Heb. "man of Qerioth". He is cited first in the accounts of the choosing of the twelve (Matt. 10:4; Mark. 3:19; Luke 6:16). His betrayal of Jesus (John 13:26–30) was decisively carried out after Jesus said to him, "What you are going to do, do quickly" (RSV). After an unsuccessful effort to atone for his wrong by returning the money paid him for his treachery Matthew records that Judas hanged himself (27:5; → Akeldama; cf. B. Gärtner, *Iscariot, Facet Books*, 1971). (9) Judas Barsabbas was one of the two chosen to accompany Paul and Barnabas to Antioch (Acts 15:22). Judas Barsabbas was chosen along with Silas by the Jerusalem Council to substantiate the council's decision. *T. McComiskey*

→ Abraham, → Babylon, → Egypt, → Election, → Greek, → Jerusalem, → Jesus Christ, → Levite, → People, → Pharisee, → Priest, → Prophet, → Sadducee, → Samaritan, → Temple

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J

Jerusalem

'Ιερουσαλήμ	*'Ιερουσαλήμ* (*Ierousalēm*), and *'Ιεροσόλυμα* (*Hierosolyma*), Jerusalem; *Σιών* (*Siōn*), Zion.

CL *Ierousalēm* and *Siōn* are proper nouns, unknown in early secular Gk. The form *Hierosolyma* was used for the city in the Roman province of Judea and *Hierosolymitēs* for an inhabitant of Jerusalem by Strabo, Dio Cassius and Jewish Hel. writers like Philo and Josephus. Hel. Judaism of the dispersion took advantage of this rendering of the Heb. name to liken it to Gk. *hieros*, holy, in order to distinguish the city as the *hiera polis* of Judaism.

OT 1. The Israelites found Jerusalem as the name of the original Canaanite city-state (cf. Jos. 10:1) and took it over. The etymology has only recently been explained. This Canaanite name means something like "Foundation of Salem", i.e. of a god who, according to Ugaritic texts, embodied the twilight. His sanctuary was in this settlement, which originally was situated on the hill Zion. In later history Jerusalem remained the name of the whole of the expanding settlement. Even after David had seized it, the city retained its name. But it was also called City of David, a term which was later used only of the old city, however. Sometimes, therefore, Zion, Jerusalem and the City of David are synonymous (cf. 2 Sam. 5:6 ff.; 1 Ki. 8:1; 1 Chr. 11:4 ff.; 2 Chr. 5:2).

2. The etymology of the name Zion (Heb. *ṣiyyôn*) cannot be explained with certainty. Some think, on the basis of related Syr. and Arab. roots, that it is possible to discover the meaning barren mountain. A different etymological derivation might give the meaning mountain fortress, stronghold. All that is certain is that it derives from Canaan's pre-Israelite period and represents a description of the terrain, a geographical name. From the earliest times Zion was the name of the south-east hill, site of the original Jebusite fortress and of the ancient Canaanite settlement of Jerusalem (Jos. 10 and the historical reminiscence of Ezek. 16:2 ff.), which are referred to synonymously as early as the second millennium B.C. The name of the city in Jdg. 19:10 f. and 1 Chr. 11:4 is Jebus, derived from the proper noun Jebusite, the name also given to the inhabitants by the Amarna letters (1400–1350 B.C.). But the city never made this name its own, and it did not prevail.

3. (a) In the OT writings *y^{e}rûšālayim* occurs as the name of the city far more frequently than *ṣiyyôn* (660 times and 154 respectively). In the canonical texts the LXX transcribes the Heb. original as *Ierousalēm* (fem.) and in the Apocrypha occasionally as *Hierosolyma* (neut. plur.). While in the canonical texts, in accordance with the Heb. original, the inhabitants are described as *enoikountes Ierousalēm* (Isa. 5:3; Zech. 12:10), as *hyioi Ierousalēm*, sons of Jerusalem (Joel 3:6; cf. Zech.

9:9, *thygater Ierousalēm*, daughter of Jerusalem), we meet in the Apocrypha the new term *Hierosolymitēs* (e.g. Sir. 50:27; 4 Macc. 4:22; 18:25; cf. Mk. 1:5; Jn. 7:25).

(b) As a neutral city, belonging neither to Judah nor Israel and yet lying exactly between the two territories, Jerusalem was an ideal capital for King → David. Since he captured it with an army of mercenaries it remained independent, at the same time King David's private possession (cf. 2 Sam. 5:6–10).

M. Noth, however, sees the bringing of the ark of Yahweh into the temple in Jerusalem (2 Sam. 6) as the decisive act for the further significance of the city (M. Noth, *The Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies*, 1966, 29 ff., 132–44, 250–54). This act gave to the Jerusalem → temple the role of the old amphictyonic central sanctuary, which was to achieve very great importance in Israel's hopes for the future. Only the original transfer of the ark to the Jerusalem temple could explain why Jerusalem, a Canaanite city, with its peculiar independent position as seat of the Davidic dynasty, should become *the* cultic centre of → Israel. Even after the northern kingdom's break with the south, Jerusalem retained its central theological significance for both kingdoms (1 Ki. 12:27, 28). "Even though the sanctuary in Jerusalem became a cultic centre for the tribes on account of the presence of the Ark, this shrine itself became more and more a central holy place, gaining as such an importance of its own" (Noth, op. cit., 142). Yahweh of hosts, who once was enthroned above the ark (2 Sam. 6:2), is now the one "who dwells on Mount Zion" (Isa. 8:18), on the "mountain of the house of the Lord" (Isa. 2:2 f.; Mic. 4:1 f.).

G. Fohrer, on the other hand, disputes the continued influence of amphictyonic ideas (*TDNT* VII 302 ff.). After its transfer the ark no longer played an essential rôle and the recognition of Jerusalem by the Israelites (1 Ki. 12:26 ff.) was a Deuteronomistic construction or to be attributed to the annexation of Israel by Josiah (cf. Jer. 41:5).

Whatever the truth may be, in the early history of Israel Jerusalem, as the royal capital, was the centre of the political kingdom and honoured as such. As temple city of the centralized cult, the city was still a spiritual and religious centre, much visited even after the dissolution of the political unity. The holy city (Isa. 48:2; 52:1) became more and more the focus of theocratic hopes. Historical experiences, but also theological reflection, strengthened and extended the idea of the inviolability and indestructibility of the temple city (cf. Isa. 36 ff.; 2 Ki. 18 ff.; 2 Chr. 32; Jer. 7:4). During the exile, in particular, it was the embodiment of every longing (Ps. 137). From here it was only a short step to join the name of the city with eschatological expectations (Jer. 31:38 ff.). It was expected that Jerusalem would become the focus for the whole world, to which all the Gentiles would stream (Jer. 3:17), and which would then be called "a house of prayer for all peoples" (Isa. 56:7). In all this complex of ideas Jerusalem and Zion are frequently used together.

(c) When the prophets came to speak about the conditions which they themselves could observe in Jerusalem, however, a different picture was revealed. Jerusalem had fallen away from God and become a prostitute. The worship of idols and disregard of God's commandments were rife in the city. The kings and the citizens along with them were going their own political ways, unconcerned about the

will of God (cf. the relevant passages in Isa., Jer., Mic., Ezek.). Hence, the prophets announced to the city the → judgment of God (cf. e.g. Jer. 6:22 ff.; Isa. 32:9 ff.), judgment which could not be prevented because the corrupt people would not turn and repent (Jer. 4:3 f.). Foreign peoples and kings would carry out the judgment, which would result in a cleansed and purified Jerusalem (Isa. 40). It was Yahweh's intention to do good to Jerusalem once again (Zech. 8:15), and at the end of the age the city "shall be holy and strangers shall never again pass through it" (Joel 3:17 [4:17 MT]). The eschatological Jerusalem was always thought of, however, only as an improved, renewed earthly city; never as supernatural and heavenly. Therefore the nations could go on pilgrimage to it and accept a new way of life (Isa. 2:2 ff.), and turn to Yahweh (Jer. 3:17). From Jerusalem streams of blessing would pour out into the world (Ezek. 47:1 ff.). From this sanctified city Yahweh would reign over the whole world (Isa. 24:23). Here would be his throne (Jer. 3:17).

4. (a) The name *Siōn* was at first not used by the Israelites. Only later did prophets and poets take up the name again. In so doing they extended or shifted its meaning. On the one hand, Zion together with Jerusalem could be applied to the whole expanded city, and Zion could be equated with Judah (e.g. Jer. 14:19; Ps. 69:35) and occasionally even with Israel (Isa. 46:13; Ps. 149:2). On the other hand, Zion was no longer reckoned as the south-east hill but included the north-east hill with the temple buildings on it (cf. Ps. 2:6; 20:2). Yahweh is God on Zion (Ps. 99:2; 135:21) and (according to Jer. 8:19) the Lord of hosts dwells on Mount Zion. The inhabitants of Zion (like the inhabitants of other cities) were called sons or daughters of Zion (e.g. 2 Ki. 19:21; Pss. 9:4; 149:2; Isa. 1:8; 3:16 f.; Zech. 9:9).

(b) If one examines the use of this loan-word one finds it particularly frequently where the emphasis is on the cultic location as a sacral focus where the presence of Yahweh is felt. "Going up to Zion" is the same thing as "going to the Lord" (Jer. 31:6). It is in Zion that Yahweh dwells (Ps. 9:11).

5. (a) The use of the names in early Judaism does not differ from that of the OT. Jerusalem/Zion was the beloved city, towards which one turned one's face, in whatever part of the world, during the daily times of prayer. One went there on pilgrimage, whenever possible at the great festivals, and wished to die and be buried there. Huge sums of money flowed to Jerusalem from the dispersion in the form of temple tax, with the help of which the sacrificial ritual was maintained.

(b) Eschatological ideas developed. Alongside the concept that the earthly city would be the scene of Yahweh's victory (2 Esd. 13:25 ff.; Sib. 3:663 ff.) there developed in the apocalyptic literature a belief in the heavenly, pre-existent Jerusalem (Syr.Bar. 4:2 ff.), descending to earth at the end of the age (2 Esd. 10:27, 54; 13:36). According to another conception, it remains in heaven as the place in which the righteous will eventually dwell (Sl.Enoch 55:2). The new Zion/Jerusalem will be of unimaginable beauty (Tob. 13:16 ff.), inhabited by vast multitudes (Sib. 5:251 f.), ruled over by God himself (Sib. 3:787); the focus of this gigantic city is the new temple, to which → gifts are brought (Tob. 13:10 f.).

NT 1. (a) In the NT the name Jerusalem occurs 139 times. As in the LXX we meet in the NT the two forms *Ierousalēm* (76 times) and *Hierosolyma* (63 times). While Matt., Luke (in Lk. and Acts) and Paul in Gal. use both forms, Mk. and Jn. use only the Hel. form, and Paul, on the contrary (in Rom. and 1 Cor.), Heb. and

Rev. use only the transcribed Semitic form. The name is completely absent from the Pastoral and Catholic Epistles.

(b) The name Zion occurs only 7 times in the NT: Rom. 9:33 and 1 Pet. 2.6 (citing Isa. 28:16); Rom. 11:26 (citing Isa. 59:20; cf. Ps. 14:7). In Matt. 21:5 and Jn. 12:15, likewise citing the OT (cf. Zech. 9:9; Isa. 40:9; 62:11), we are dealing with the inhabitants who are addressed as the daughter of Zion. Only Heb. 12:22 and Rev. 14:1 use the name independently.

2. (a) In the Synoptics and Acts Jerusalem frequently denotes simply the place, in order to locate an event (Lk. 13:4), to name the starting point or destination of a journey (Lk. 10:30), or to emphasize the importance of an event because even the inhabitants of the capital have become aware of it (Mk. 1:5; Matt. 4:25; Lk. 6:17).

(b) However, a theologically significant idea is often linked with the use of the geographical name. To the theocratically minded Jew Jerusalem is God's choice as focus of the world. This theocratic conception means that it is not men but Yahweh alone who rules. He exercises his sovereignty through two institutions: the priesthood, or the Zadokite high priest, and the scribes, the Rabbis. Thus, according to Ps. 48:2, Jerusalem is "the city of the great King" (Matt. 5:35), where the temple stands in which the true and only valid sacrificial service can be maintained. Therefore, people go to Jerusalem (Lk. 2:22 ff.), to "the holy city" (Matt. 4:5; 27:53), because it is there that the house of God is situated (cf. Lk. 2:46, 49), which is indissolubly linked to the theocratic institution of the priesthood.

The other theocratic institution, the spiritual authority which knows and expounds the scriptures and therefore the will of God, is also situated in Jerusalem. The priests who supervise the correct performance of the ritual and the scribes who are responsible for the proper observance of the → law, are the representatives of these two establishments. Therefore "scribes from Jerusalem" appear in different parts of Palestine in the fulfilment of their duties (Mk. 3:22; 7:1).

(c) Because Jerusalem has this theocratic significance, it plays a decisive role in the events of the passion. Jesus had to go to Jerusalem in order to fulfil his mission there at the centre of the world of OT Jewish faith (Matt. 16:21; Lk. 9:31). There he confronted the two theocratic institutions: the priests as functionaries of the cult (cf. Lk. 19:45 ff.) and the scribes as keepers of the Mosaic tradition (Matt. 23). Therefore, it was not a matter of no significance where Jesus suffered, died, was buried and rose again. His sacrifice only made sense and was only effective in Jerusalem (Mk. 10:33 f.). But the paradox consists in the fact that the sacrifice was rejected by the theocratic institutions while accepted by God, as the accounts of the resurrection testify (cf. also Mk. 8:31). Hence, Jerusalem is once described as the home of the opponents of Jesus, who are seeking to kill him (Mk. 11:18). From the theological point of view, however, Jerusalem is the setting in which the institutions of the Jewish faith, the cult and the law, are taken up in Jesus' actions (Mk. 11:15–17) and teaching (Mk. 11:18) and are judged by God himself in the crucifixion. "As a place of prayer the temple should reflect the attitude that a man has nothing to achieve or offer to God; consequently it should be open to all men. In this way the whole principle of legalism is fully overcome" (E. Schweizer, *The Good News according to Mark*, 1971, 233).

3. Jerusalem is particularly important in the theology of Luke. "At the beginning (1:5–25) and at the end (24:53) [of Luke's Gospel] there are references to events

which took place in the temple. The promise given to the ancient people of God is fulfilled in the history of Jesus and His Church. The true Israel assembles in the holy place" (E. Lohse, *TDNT* VII 331). Acts goes further in this direction, in that Jerusalem is the place which "links the history of Jesus with the beginning of that of the community, cf. Ac. 10:39; 13:27, 31" (E. Lohse, *TDNT* VII 335). Hence, Jesus' disciples, to whom he had appeared after his resurrection, remained at his express command in Jerusalem (Lk. 24:49, 52), to wait for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit (Acts 1:4; 2:1 ff.). In accordance with their commission they proclaimed the divine events to all peoples beginning from Jerusalem (Lk. 24:47; Acts 5:20 f.). They took over the functions both of the scribes and of the servants of the temple (Lk. 24:53; Acts 2:46; 3:1 ff.; 5:25, 42), by offering praise to God in the temple as the true daily sacrifice. The city remains the focus of the world and the city of God's people. The so-called apostolic council gathered within its walls (Acts 15:1 ff.; 21:18). Emissaries went out from Jerusalem (Acts 8:14; 11:22, 27) and returned there (19:21; 21:15).

4. One must mention, however, another train of thought in the Synoptics which corresponds to the OT prophetic message (see above OT 3 (c)) that Jerusalem is the evil city. It kills the messengers of God (Matt. 23:37 ff. par. Lk. 13:34 ff.). A prophet is nowhere more in danger than in Jerusalem (Lk. 13:33). The city does not recognize what belongs to its peace (Lk. 19:42). Its inhabitants have not wanted to be gathered (Matt. 23:37). Therefore, it comes under judgment (Lk. 19:43 f.) which will be carried out by means of foreign peoples (Lk. 21:20). Jerusalem will be destroyed (Matt. 23:38; Lk. 21:24). Therefore the discerning should weep (Lk. 23:28 ff.). The judgment of Jerusalem begins when the veil in the temple is torn in two (Matt. 27:51 par. Mk. 15:38) and the graves outside the city open (Matt. 27:52 f.). But something new arises from the ruins. Jesus will return to the destroyed city and be greeted with the cry which welcomes the messiah (Matt. 23:39, citing Ps. 118:26).

5. (a) In Jn. Jerusalem is not only the scene of the passion but also the place where Jesus reveals his → glory. Many deeds and miracles take place in the city. Jn. alone records that Jesus quite frequently came from Galilee to Jerusalem (2:13 ff.; 5:1 ff.; 7:10 ff.; 12:12 ff.). Finally, for Jn. Jerusalem is also the place where the change from the old to the new → covenant took place.

(b) Paul was born at Tarsus (Acts 21:39; 22:3), but revisited it after his conversion (Acts 9:30; 11:25). W. C. Van Unnik holds that Jerusalem was the scene of his boyhood and upbringing (*Tarsus or Jerusalem: The City of Paul's Youth*, 1962). For Paul too Jerusalem is the centre of Christendom but in a different sense from the Synoptics and Acts. The gospel went out from Jerusalem (Rom. 15:19), and has brought into being a new unity between Gentiles and Jews, the *ekklēsia* (cf. Eph. 2:14; → Church). Paul emphasizes his agreement with the apostolic council in Jerusalem (Gal. 2:1 ff.). But he does not view this as the highest authority. If he seeks out the apostles (cf. Gal. 1:18–20), it is out of brotherly love and respect; for they preceded him chronologically (Gal. 1:17 f.). But he received his commission and instructions like the others from the Lord himself (Gal. 1:1; 2:2). Because the Gentile Christians have received a share in the spiritual blessings of the original church in Jerusalem, it is natural for Paul that the Jerusalem church should be rendered "service in material blessings" in the form of financial help (Rom. 15:27).

The objection that this "service for Jerusalem" (v. 31) was a kind of tax corresponding to the Jewish temple tax is weakened by the fact that Paul expects only freewill gifts as each individual sees fit (1 Cor. 16:2; 2 Cor. 8:7 f.; 9:7). We must, rather, view this as, on the one hand, the legitimation of the Gentile Christian churches towards Jerusalem and, on the other hand, the external documentation of the interdependence of Gentile Christianity and the original Jerusalem church (cf. also 2 Cor. 8:14 f.; 9:12; → Poor, art. *ptōchos* NT 4(a)). On the place of Jerusalem in Paul's apostolic strategy and eschatological thinking see F. F. Bruce, "Paul and Jerusalem", *TB* 19, 1968, 3–25. Commenting on Rom. 11:26 (cf. Isa. 59:20 f.), "the Deliverer shall come *out of Zion*, and shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob", Bruce writes: "Not only did the gospel first go out into all the world from Jerusalem; Jerusalem (if this reading of Paul's language is correct) would be the scene of its glorious consummation" (op. cit., 25).

(c) In Rev. Jerusalem is described (albeit without mention of the name) as the historical scene of the passion (11:8) and as involved in the events of the end. As the wicked city ("which is allegorically called Sodom and Egypt") it will be "trampled over", while the temple and those who worship in it will be saved (11:1 ff.; cf. Lk. 21:24). In 14:1 the OT name for the temple hill, Mount Zion, is used and it is stated that at the end of the age the prophecy of Joel 2:32 (3:5 MT) will be fulfilled on Mount Zion.

6. Apart from the topographical uses of the name indicated so far, there also occurs in the NT the idea of the heavenly Jerusalem.

(a) In Gal. 4:26 Paul speaks of Jerusalem above (*hē anō Ierousalēm*) which, according to an allegorical interpretation, is the free woman who has given birth to believers (→ Abraham, arts. *Sarra*, *Hagar* and *Isaak*). In Jewish apocalyptic tradition heavenly Jerusalem was the pre-existent place where God's glory was always present. For Paul it was also the place of freedom from the law. This "Jerusalem above" forms a sharp contrast to "present Jerusalem" (*hē nyn Ierousalēm*), the earthly city which, equally on the basis of an allegory, is called the mother of unbelievers (v. 25; → Parable, art. *parabolē* NT 9).

(b) Heb. 12:22 speaks of *Ierousalēm epouranios*, heavenly Jerusalem, within which Mount Zion is situated. "But this place is not just the goal of the pilgrimage of the people of God which has no abiding city on earth (13:14). The community has already come to Zion, the heavenly Jerusalem. The new Jerusalem is the city in which the new *diathēkē* has been made through the blood of Jesus" (E. Lohse, *TDNT* VII 337; → Covenant).

(c) In Rev. 3:12; 21:2 "new Jerusalem" is described as a heavenly city. At the end of the age it will descend from heaven as the bride of the exalted Christ, and receive as its citizens all those who have been marked as conquerors (3:12). This beautiful city (21:2, 10 f.) which has descended to earth is of vast extent (v. 12 f.). But one thing is absent from it: the temple, "for its temple is the Lord God the Almighty and the Lamb" (v. 22). This view forms a contrast with Jewish expectation in which it is the temple which marks the focal point of heavenly Jerusalem.

→ David, → Israel, → Temple, → Solomon *H. Schultz*

(a). Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography*, 1967; M. Avi-Yonah, *Jerusalem*, 1960; E. Bevan, *Jerusalem under the High Priests*, 1924; F. F. Bruce, "Paul and Jerusalem", *TB* 19,

1968, 3–25; M. Burrows, "Jerusalem", *IDB* II 843–66; G. Dalman, *Sacred Sites and Ways: Studies in the Topography of the Gospels*, 1935; L. Gaston, *No Stone on Another: Studies in the Significance of the Fall of Jerusalem in the Synoptic Gospels*, 1970; G. Fohrer and E. Lohse, *Siōn, Ierousalēm* etc. *TDNT* VII 292–338; R. Furneaux, *The Roman Siege of Jerusalem*, 1973; J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, 1969; K. Kenyon, "Excavating Jerusalem", *BA* 27, 1964, 34–52; *Jerusalem: Excavating 3000 Years of History*, 1967; and *Digging up Jerusalem*, 1974; C. Kopp, *The Holy Places of the Gospels*, 1963, 249–417; J. Munck, "Paul and Jerusalem", *Paul and the Salvation of Mankind*, 1959, 182–308; A. Negev, ed., *Archaeological Encyclopedia of the Holy Land*, 1972; M. Noth, "Jerusalem and the Israelite Tradition", *The Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies*, 1966, 132–44; A. Parrot, *The Temple of Jerusalem*, 1957; J. B. Payne, "Jerusalem", *ZPEB* III 459–95; N. W. Porteous, "Jerusalem-Zion: the Growth of a Symbol", *Living the Mystery*, 1967, 93–111; J. M. Roberts, "The Davidic Origin of the Zion Tradition", *JBL* 92, 1973, 329 ff.; J. Simons, *Jerusalem in the Old Testament*, 1952; G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem: The Topography, Economics and History from the Earliest Times to* A.D. *70*, I–II, 1908; A. Stöger, "Jerusalem", *EBT* II 409–19; W. C. van Unnik, *Tarsus or Jerusalem: The City of Paul's Youth*, 1962.
(b). A. Alt, "Jerusalems Aufsteig", *ZDMG* 1925, 1 ff.; R. Bach and W. Schmauch, "Jerusalem", *EKL* II 257 ff.; H. Bardtke, "Der Tempel von Jerusalem", *TLZ* 11, 1972, 801 ff.; E. Fascher, "Jerusalems Untergang in der urchristlichen und altkirchlichen Überlieferung", *TLZ* 89, 1964, 81 ff.; H. Gese, *Vom Sinai zum Zion*, 1974; H. Guthe, "Jerusalem", *RE* VIII 666–93; and *Die griechisch-romischen Städte des Ostjordanlandes*, 1918; J. Jeremias, "Lade und Zion", in H. W. Wolff, ed., *Probleme biblischer Theologie. G. von Rad zum 70. Geburtstag*, 1971; M. Join-Lambert, *Jérusalem Isaraélite, Chrétienne, Musalmane*, 1958; H. Kosmala, "Jerusalem", *BHHW* II 820 ff.; M. Krupp, *Vergesse ich dein Jerusalem*, 1962; E. Lohmeyer, *Galiläa und Jerusalem*, *FRLANT* 52, 1936; F. Maas and J. Weigelt, "Jerusalem", *RGG*³ III 593 ff.; T. Maertens, *Jérusalem cité de Dieu*, 1954; W. Schmauch, *Orte der Offenbarung und der Offenbarungsort im Neuen Testament*, 1956, 81–121; K. L. Schmidt, "Jerusalem als Urbild und Abbild", *Eranos Jahrbuch* 18, 1950, 207–48; J. Schreiner, *Sion-Jerusalem, Jahwes Königssitz. Theologie der heiligen Stadt im Alten Testament*, 1963; E. Stauffer, *Jerusalem und Rom im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, 1957; O. H. Steck, *Friedenvorstellungen im Alten Jerusalem, Psalmen, Jesaja, Deuterojesaja*, 1972; L.-H. Vincent, "Les noms de Jérusalem", *Memnon* 6, 1913, 88–124; L.-H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem Recherches de Topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire*, I *Jérusalem antique*, 1912; II *Jérusalem nouvelle*, 1914–24; L.-H. Vincent and A.-M. Stève, *Jérusalem de l'Ancien Testament*, I, *Archéologie de la Ville*, 1954; II–III *Archéologie du Temple. Évolution historique et monumentale de la Ville*, 1956.

Jesus Christ, Nazarene, Christian

The name Jesus Christ actually consists of a proper name, Jesus, and title, Christ, which are linked in a new and unique way. It is thus a formula which expresses the faith of the earliest Christians in Jesus of Nazareth as their Master and Lord, Saviour-King and the universal Redeemer promised by God to his people Israel. This formula achieved a permanent central significance for all subsequent generations of Christians as an appropriate statement of the object of their faith. In view of this, it is necessary to deal first with the name Jesus and the related historical and theological questions. We shall then turn to the title, Christ, ascribed to Jesus of Nazareth by his disciples, and finally focus on Jesus of Nazareth as the Christ.

Ἰησοῦς	Ἰησοῦς (*Iēsous*), Jesus.

OT *Iēsous* is the Gk. form of the OT Jewish name *Yēšua'*, arrived at by transcribing the Heb. and adding an *-s* to the nom. to facilitate declension. *Yēšua'* (Joshua) seems to have come into general use about the time of the Babylonian exile in place of the older *Yᵉhôšûa'*. The LXX rendered both the ancient and more recent forms

of the name uniformly as *Iēsous*. Joshua the son of Nun, who according to the tradition was Moses' successor and completed his work in the occupation of the promised land by the tribes of Israel, appears under this name (cf. Exod. 17:8–16; 24:13; 32:17; 33:11; Num. 11:27 ff.; 13:8; 14:6–9, 30–38; 27:18; 21 ff.; Deut. 31:3, 7, 8, 14 f., 23; 34:9; and the Book of Joshua. It is the oldest name containing the divine name Yahweh, and means "Yahweh is help" or "Yahweh is salvation" (cf. the vb. *yāša'*, help, save). Joshua also appears in one post-exilic passage in the Heb. OT (Neh. 8:17) as *Yēšua'* the son of Nun, and not as in the older texts, *Y^ehôšûa'*.

Among Palestinian Jews and also among the Jews of the dispersion the name Jesus was fairly widely distributed in the pre-Christian period and in the early part of the Christian era. According to Aristeas 48 f. (2nd cent. B.C.; more exact dating disputed), it was borne by two of the Palestinian scholars who were engaged on the translation of the Heb. Pentateuch into Gk. in Alexandria. We are probably led further back still, chronologically, by Jesus ben Sirach, the author of the Book of Sirach (Ecclesiasticus) in the Apocrypha (cf. Sir. 50:27). The Jewish historian Flavius Josephus, who lived in the 1st cent. A.D. and came from a Palestinian priestly family, names no fewer than 19 bearers of the name Jesus in his voluminous writings in Gk. These come both from the ancient and the recent history of his people and about half were contemporaries of "Jesus the so-called Christ" whom he also mentions (*Ant.* 20, 9, 1). The name also occurs about this time, however, in numerous non-literary Jewish texts, among them inscriptions on graves (at Leontopolis or Tell el-Yehudieh north east of Cairo, *ZNW* 22, 1923, 283) and on ossuaries from the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. Some of these are written in Heb. or Aram., others in Gk. One Aram. example bears the name *Yēšua' bar Y^ehôsēp̄*, Joshua son of Joseph (E. L. Sukenik, *Jüdische Gräber Jerusalems um Christi Geburt*, 1931, 19 f., see also the illustrations).

NT 1. The NT readily fits into this picture which shows the name Jesus widely spread among the Jews at the time of Jesus of Nazareth and his disciples. Thus in Luke's genealogy of Jesus (3:29) it is borne by one of his ancestors, without the fact being noted as anything extraordinary. Col. 4:11 mentions a Jewish Christian Jesus, who according to the custom of the time and perhaps also as a Roman citizen bore a second non-Semitic name, Justus. In the light of what has already been said it is natural that Joshua should also appear in the NT as "Jesus" (Acts 7:45; Heb. 4:8). There are fairly clear indications that even Barabbas, the Zealot between whom and Jesus Pilate asked the people to choose, had Jesus as his first name. The textual tradition of Matt. 27:16 f. makes clear that the connection of the name with this man was felt at a relatively early period to be a difficulty; at least it is suppressed by the majority of MSS, including some ancient and valuable ones. Examples of similar interference with the original text can be seen, or are probable, in a whole range of other NT passages, among them those where the combined tradition no longer shows the name Jesus (cf. alongside Lk. 3:29; Acts 7:45; 13:6; Col. 4:11 especially Mk. 15:7; Phlm. 23 f.; cf. A. Deissmann, in G. K. A. Bell and A. Deissmann, eds., *Mysterium Christi*, 1930, 18 ff.). The motive here is clearly deep reverence for the name Jesus; it is felt that it can be permitted to no one other than Jesus as "the pioneer and perfecter of our faith" (Heb. 12:2). Reverence for the

name Jesus had as its logical outcome – and that very rapidly – the almost general renunciation on the part of Christians of its further secular use. But it is no less significant that by the end of the 1st cent. the name Jesus had become uncommon as a personal name among the Jews too. In its place the OT name *Y^ehôšûa'* reappeared with a wide distribution, accompanied by *Iasōn* as the Gk. equivalent among the Jews of the dispersion among whom, in the course of assimilation, the name had already been taken up for a long time (cf. Aristeas 49; Josephus *Ant.* 12, 10, 6). In the same context belongs the fact that Talmudic Judaism soon accustomed itself, when it was obliged to name Jesus of Nazareth, to referring to him as *Yešû* and not as *Yēšua'*. Although the reason for this may lie in the purely external fact that the Christians referred to their Lord as *Yešû* (giving up the *a'* of the basic Heb. form), it is also an expression, not only of Jewish antipathy, but also of how far this name, among all names, had become unique to the Christians.

2. According to Matt. 1:21 and Lk. 1:31, Jesus' name was determined by heavenly instruction to the father (Matt.) or the mother (Lk.). Matt. in this context also gives an interpretation of the name Jesus. In passing, it describes the future task of Mary's son as to "save his people from their sins." This interpretation is certainly connected with the meaning of the name *Y^ehôšua'* (formed from the divine name and *šua'*, from the root *yš'*) which, as we have shown, has a continuing life in the Gk. *Iēsous*: "Yahweh is our help" or "Yahweh is our helper" (see M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischer Namengebung*, 1928, 154). That the meaning of the name was thoroughly well known at this period is attested by the Alexandrian Jewish exegete and philosopher of religion, Philo, when he interprets Joshua's name as follows: *Iēsous sōtēria kyriou*, Jesus means salvation through the Lord (*Mut.Nom.* 121). Although OT passages like Ps. 31 (30 LXX):8; 130(129 LXX):8 may therefore have influenced the form of Matt.'s words in the narrowing of salvation to the forgiving of the people's sins, their originality is obvious: they attribute to Jesus what was formerly reserved for God. The same understanding of the name Jesus and a corresponding testimony probably lies behind Lk. 2:11, where the → angel of the Lord on the night of Jesus' birth announced him to the shepherds as *sōtēr*, saviour. In this regard one must not overlook the fact that it is particularly in Lk. that witness is borne to Jesus as the saviour of sinners (cf. Lk. 15) and that the angel's message (2:11) no doubt looks back to Lk. 1:76. In both places, each completely independent of the other, we have before us a very early christology, with a similar theological approach to Phil. 2:9. It is clear that as far as they are concerned the name Jesus already contains, in the form of a promise, what is later fulfilled in the title Lord applied to the risen and glorified Jesus of Nazareth for the salvation of all mankind. This is clearly something quite different from Barn. 12:8 ff. with its typological interpretation of certain traits in the biblical picture of Joshua with reference to Jesus of Nazareth, even though it is on the ground that both have the same name in Gk. In the former case we are in the presence of early kerygmatic tradition; in the latter of theological and apologetical reflection. *K. H. Rengstorf*

Ναζαρηνός

Ναζαρηνός (*Nazarēnos*), *Ναζωραῖος* (*Nazōraios*), Nazarene, from Nazareth.

1. Since there were many bearers of the name Jesus it was necessary to distinguish between them by means of some additional name. It is therefore quite within the bounds of the ordinary that Jesus is sometimes denoted in the gospels as the son of Joseph (Lk. 3:23; 4:22; Jn. 1:45; 6:42) or even as the son of Mary (Mk. 6:3). The latter is evidently after the death of Joseph. This form of distinction nevertheless may carry more local colouring. Alongside it and beyond it the designation of Jesus as *Nazarēnos* or *Nazōraios* achieved importance and lasting significance. In the textual tradition the two designations are sometimes mixed. This compels the conclusion that for the writers there was no difference in meaning between them. Nevertheless their juxtaposition requires a few comments.

2. Mk. consistently used *Nazarēnos* (1:24; 10:47 *v.l. Nazōraios*; 14:67; 16:6). Lk. 4:34 no doubt depends on Mk. 1:24 and the Gospel contains *Nazarēnos* at one other point in the material peculiar to itself (24:19 with *v.l.*). Otherwise, especially in Acts, Luke consistently uses *Nazōraios* (Lk. 18:37; Acts 2:22; 3:6; 4:10; 6:14; 22:8; 26:9) and by this procedure expresses the fact that for him the two words mean the same. Matt. (2:23; 26:71) and Jn. (18:5, 7; 19:19, i.e. only in the passion narrative) only have the second form. Apart from the Gospels and Acts, neither word occurs in the NT. As far as their sense is concerned, for Matt. (cf. 2:23 with 21:11), Luke (Acts 10:38) and Jn. (1:45) they clearly mean that the Jesus thus referred to came from Nazareth in Galilee. The geographical connection of the two words with Galilee is supported in different ways by Matt. 26:69; 26:71; and Acts 24:5; 1:11. As a term to denote Christians in Gk. areas (Acts 24:5), *Nazōraios* seems to have disappeared quite early in favour of *Christianos* (Acts 11:26), while it was retained in this sense in Jewish areas and survives today in Heb. *noṣrî* as a designation for one who believes in Jesus. There have been similar sounding terms for Christian elsewhere in the Near East from ancient times on. Nevertheless, they do not necessarily rest on the direct influence of Jewish Christian or even of Jewish tradition, but result from the fact that the Syrian church took over *Nazōraios* from NT Gk. as a loanword into its own language and passed it on to its non-Christian environment.

3. The linguistic connection of both words with the place name *Nazaret*, Nazareth or Nazara (Matt. 4:12; Lk. 4:16) in Matt., Lk. and Jn. has been frequently and strongly contested from M. Lidzbarski on. It is now clear that the thesis that Nazareth the place is a pure invention because a place name was necessary to correspond to *Nazōraios* in the Jesus tradition can no longer be entertained. The name has appeared as *nṣrṯ* initially in a Jewish inscription, probably from a synagogue, in Caesarea, dated from the period after Hadrian, so that there is at last a piece of early Jewish evidence for the existence of the place as a Jewish settlement (M. Avi-Yonah, "A List of Priestly Courses from Caesarea", *Israel Exploration Journal* 12, 1962, 137 ff.). But the philological derivation of *Nazōraios* from Nazareth by H. H. Schaeder, now also supported by Ruth Stiehl, still fails to find unanimous agreement. Recently a new root has been found for the use of *Nazōraios* in a piece of Haggadic theologizing, conceptually thoroughly refined, and connected on the one hand with Isa. 42:6 ff.; 49:6 ff. and on the other with Isa. 11:1. It is thought, to do justice to the facts, that on the one hand the word refers to Christians (they are those who are kept) and on the other to Jesus (he is the *nēṣer*, the "shoot from the stump" of Isa. 11 with all its implications for the future) (B. Gärtner).

Nevertheless, it should be regarded as methodologically questionable to wish to explain *Nazōraios* without reference to *Nazarēnos*. The most likely solution is that we have in both words the same assertion in the form of a derivation from *nṣrt*, the only difference being that in *Nazarēnos* we have a pure Gk. formation, whereas in *Nazōraios* an additional Aram. element is used which expresses belonging (cf. Ruth Stiehl).

But however the problem of the relationship of the two designations to the place name may or may not be resolved, the contexts almost unanimously reveal that both words in the NT have essential undertones of dissociation and at the same time contempt. The best commentary one can refer to is Nathaniel's rhetorical question to Philip, "Can anything good come out of Nazareth?" (Jn. 1:46). At all events, for all the witnesses, Jesus' origins in Nazareth are a sign of his lowliness. Nobody understood this as well or emphasized it as unmistakably as Jn., when in his account the description of Jesus as *Nazōraios* found its place in the inscription for his cross on the initiative of the Roman procurator (19:19). Here finally, so to speak, the reader's attention is once again drawn to the fact that Jesus' origins in a place without status or prestige in the surrounding world formed a glaring contrast to the claim with which he had appeared before them. *K. H. Rengstorf*

Χριστός

Χριστός (*Christos*), Christ; *χρίω* (*chriō*), spread, (in biblical Gk.) anoint; *Μεσσίας* (*Messias*), Messiah.

Christ is derived via the Lat. *Christus* from the Gk. *Christos*, which in the LXX and the NT is the Gk. equivalent of the Aram. *mᵉšîḥā'*. This in turn corresponds to the Heb. *māšîaḥ* and denotes someone who has been ceremonially anointed for an office (→ Anoint). The Gk. transliteration of *mᵉšîḥā'* is *Messias*, which like *Iēsous* is made declinable by the added *-s*. The word messiah, however, occurs only twice in the Gk. NT, only in Jn. 1:41; 4:25. On both occasions it is translated, no doubt by the evangelist himself, as *Christos*. On both occasions it refers to Jesus of Nazareth. The LXX does not use the foreign word but, like the NT (with the exception of the passages mentioned), consistently employs the corresponding Gk. word. The word, therefore, was not first coined by the Christians. In using it the NT authors and their sources were clearly taking over a word and concept which were already available and current in the pre-Christian period. This state of affairs is borne out by, among other things, the OT apocryphal and pseudepigraphal writings.

CL The Gk. word comes from *chriein*, to rub lightly, spread (over something) and requires, apart from its use in the NT, more precise information about what is used. It can be done with oil, as for example with a human body after bathing (as early as Homer), but also with poison, as in the preparation of arrows for battle (also Homer), paint, whitewash (cf. also however Jer. 22:14), or even cosmetics. Basically the word describes a thoroughly secular, everyday process, and has no sacral undertones at all. Naturally this is true for Gk. ears also of the verbal adj. *christos* derived from it. It characterizes an object or a person as rubbed or smeared with whitewash, cosmetics, paint etc., and in given cases anointed. It is anything but an expression of honour. Where it refers to people, it even tends towards the disrespectful. This is certainly the reason why, on the one hand, in non-Christian

circles *Christos*, in its reference to Jesus, was soon confused with the Gk. name *Chrēstos* (pronounced *Christos* with long *i*), and why, on the other hand, the Jewish translator of the Bible, Aquila, thought it right in his Gk. version of the OT to render *māšîaḥ* or *mᵉšîḥā'*, not by *christos* but by *ēleimmenos* from *aleiphein* which, unlike *chriein*, always means to → anoint. In any case, the meaning of the root is an essential condition for *christos*, as used of Jesus of Nazareth, to have been able so disproportionately quickly and so completely to acquire the character of a proper name. Nevertheless, one must not overlook in this connection the fact that the Heb. vb. *māšaḥ*, for which *chriein* is the LXX equivalent, seems to be fundamentally connected with fat or oil in the sense of to grease (with oil) (E. Kutsch, *Salbung als Rechtsakt im Alten Testament und im alten Orient*, *BZAW* 87, 1963, 9 f.).

OT 1. In the OT two office bearers are expressly described as *māšîaḥ* i.e. as anointed (with oil): the high priest as the one responsible for the official cult (→ Priest) and the → king. The reason for this pairing lies in the fact that in both cases the anointing, corresponding to its character as a legal act, is as essential for the conferring of the authority connected with the office as it is for the resulting responsibility before God as the God of Israel. However, only the figure of the king has to be reckoned as messianic in the sense of specific messianic expectation. This is not altered by the fact that in the documents from Qumran (on the basis of Zech. 4:1 ff., 11 ff.) there is once again talk of the coming of two men anointed of the Lord (see further below) and that in the NT picture of Jesus as messiah alongside the kingly features expressly priestly features are not lacking (→ Priest).

2. The expectation is ultimately related to the idea of the kingship and the sovereign kingly rule of God on the basis of the OT revealed faith. The varying judgments on the monarchy in 1 Sam. 8–11 notwithstanding, it is difficult not to come to the conclusion that the institution of the monarchy, when it came to it, binds on the king for the time being a special responsibility for the things of God. This is clear from the censures which the pious historians of the OT passed on individual kings of Israel or Judah, according to whether or not they had ruled and lived consistently with faith in God as the one true God. The crucial factor is no doubt the element of responsibility in the affairs of God on the basis of transferred power. This must be so if, after the Davidic kings to whom must be ascribed considerable significance for the development of the messianic expectation, like Saul before them, a foreigner such as the Persian king Cyrus (Isa. 45:1) can be described as God's anointed, i.e. *māšîaḥ*. He, like them, is one of God's chosen instruments in the pursuit of God's universal aim of the salvation of all people through the people he has made his own possession. Recognition of the divine freedom implied here is all the more essential, as the expectation of a messianic, kingly saviour figure was clearly associated from an early date with the tribe of Judah (Gen. 49:8 ff.).

A far-reaching influence on the development of the idea of the messiah as a historical figure of increasingly supernatural dimensions was the increasingly vivid memory of the magnificent and successful period of → David's rule, the first king from Judah (cf. Isa. 9:2–7 [MT 1–6]; 11:1 ff.; Mic. 5:2–6 [MT 1–5]). Whether and how far we have also to reckon with influence on the expectation from the pre-Davidic priest-kings of → Jerusalem, which David captured and made his capital (2 Sam.

5:6 ff.; 6:1 ff.), cannot be decided with certainty. Nevertheless, it may be acknowledged that there are certain "sacral" elements in the OT picture of the messiah, as in that of later Judaism, which would be best explained on this basis. However this may be, it cannot seriously be doubted that the dominant motif in the idea of the messiah is the kingly one, and that all other motifs are secondary to it.

3. It is all the more important to emphasize this because, with respect to the practice of anointing in Israel in the early period, it is necessary to make careful historical and terminological distinctions. According to recent investigations (especially those of E. Kutsch), although the anointing of the king and the anointing of the high priest (or originally of all the priests?) are similar in form, their life-setting was entirely different. The background of both was ancient oriental custom. Nevertheless, the anointing of the Judaic kings seems to have been (even and precisely when it was performed by representatives of the people; cf. 2 Sam. 2:4 ff.; 5:3) essentially associated with the gift and with the solemn ritual transfer of authority, power and honour (Heb. *kāḇôḏ*; Gk.; *doxa*; → Glory). The anointing gave the one anointed a position of power and the right to exercise it. It also brought him corresponding respect, together with honour and on occasion also wealth. On the other hand, there is much to support the idea that the anointing of the priests was first and foremost a cultic purification with the object of enabling the priests to conduct valid worship.

4. In this context it is worthwhile considering further the description of the Persian king Cyrus as the anointed of God (Isa. 45:1), even though he had clearly not been anointed as king in accordance with (Israelite) Judaic custom. We see here a sublimation of the concept which makes it independent of the external act by transferring the entire weight on to God's appointment of the one designated by the anointing. In this case the anointed one is no more and no less than the one chosen in a special way by God and placed under his command. God's anointed is thus dependent on God as well as integrated into his plan in obedience to his will. This helps to explain why the Judaic kings (contrary to the pattern of ancient sacral monarchies elsewhere) together with the OT Jewish messiah never themselves acquired divine features even in the so-called Enthronement Psalms, such as Pss. 2 and 110. As the Lord's anointed, they remained in their kingship as dependent on God as they were utterly responsible to him (cf. on Saul, 1 Sam. 12:3, 5; 24:6–11; cf. also 9:1 ff. with 15:10 ff.; on David, 2 Sam. 19:22; 23:1; cf. also 1 Sam. 16:1 ff. with 2 Sam. 11–12; on Zedekiah, Lam. 4:20; on Cyrus, see above). On the other hand, it follows from this that at any given moment the king, i.e. the actual reigning monarch of Judah from the house of David, can be introduced in the Pss. as God's anointed without further special explanation (Pss. 18:50; 20:6; 28:8; 84:9; 89:38, 51; 132:10, 17; cf. also 1 Sam. 2:10; Hab. 3:13). However, in this context also belongs the fact that → David (cf. 2 Sam. 3:18; 7:5), and his successors (→ Solomon, 1 Ki. 3:7 ff.; 8:28 ff.; later kings not mentioned by name Ps. 89:39; cf. Pss. 86:2, 4, 16; 143:2), and even a post-exilic claimant like Zerubbabel (Hag. 2:23; cf. Zech. 3:8) are called the → servants of God. This is thoroughly consistent with what has already been said. Son (Ps. 2:7; 89:26 f.) and servant, in so far as they serve to describe the relationship of the anointed one to God, are not mutually exclusive. From God's point of view they belong inseparably together. However, it must be stressed that, because in the text before us it is impossible to

recognize kingly features, it is very difficult to give a precise answer to the question whether or not the Servant Songs (Isa. 43:1 ff.; 49:1 ff.; 50:4 ff.; 52:13 ff.) refer to a kingly figure as messiah. Hence, scholars are less and less inclined to allow an essential connection with the expectation of a future saviour king. They tend to explain them, as far as their original intention is concerned, in other ways (cf. → Son of God, art. *pais theou*). On the other hand, there is a basis for it in the idea of responsibility under the claims of God among his people if even a prophet like Elisha (1 Ki. 19:16; cf. however also Isa. 61:1) can appear in the ranks of the anointed, and if this idea as such persisted until the Christian era (1QM 11:7; CD 2:12 f.).

5. It has been rightly pointed out that the OT exhibits no clear developments of the messianic expectation. All that can be demonstrated is the presence of the expectation as such in the passages already referred to and in others extending via Jer. 23:5 ff. and Ezek. 34:23 f.; 37:24 f. (cf. 17:22 f.) to Haggai and Zechariah. Until this point they exhibit a strange uniformity. (The "branch of David" introduces a kind of golden age, but does it in the latter days, to a certain extent in the form of the establishing of the kingly rule of God.) It is not until the Hel. period that this is overtaken by a sharp materialization of the concept in the direction of the expectation of an eschatological Jewish national ideal ruler figure who would nonetheless transcend national frontiers. It seems that the colours at least in part were taken from the picture of the Maccabees and Hasmoneans and introduced into the older expectation orientated towards the memory of David. We see this most clearly in Pss. Sol. 17:21 ff.; 18:5 ff. Here the specific concept of the messiah also appears in fixed form. Significantly its association with the Davidic tradition did not have the result that the messiah could only be imagined as coming from the line of David. A notorious example of one who was no descendant of David is Simeon ben Kosebah, whom no less a person than the leading Rabbi Akiba greeted as Bar Kokhba, the "star out of Jacob" promised in Num. 24:17 and thus identified him as messiah (*c.* A.D. 132; T. J. Taanith 4:8:68d; 48 ff.; Euseb., *H.E.* 4, 6, 2; on Bar Kokhba see S. Abramsky in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* IV 227–39). His collapse, which severely shook messianism, may nevertheless have contributed to the fact that in Judaism's liturgical texts the hope of a messiah from the line of David has persisted to this day, even if the expectation as such has undergone drastic transformations. The latter, however, lie outside the scope of the present study.

6. However, the expectation of a Davidic messiah represents only one type of messianism in the period between the exile and A.D. 135. Altogether it took a variety of forms. It was influenced not only by → Moses (cf. Deut. 18:15 ff.) and → Elijah (Sir. 48:10; cf. K. H. Rengstorf, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas*, *NTD* 3^{15}, 1972, on Lk. 9:51 ff.) but also in apocalyptic texts and traditions (Eth.Enoch, 2 Esd.) by the idea of a son of man (cf. Dan. 7:13 ff.; → Son of God etc., art. *hyios tou anthrōpou*) as a bringer of salvation who is sometimes also thought of as preexistent. Even the expectation of a messianic high priest is not lacking. The brightness of this hope is reflected very impressively in the texts that have been found by the Dead Sea. It is they which leave no doubt that the messianic hope with which Jesus and the primitive church were faced was anything but unified and unambiguous. This is a fact of great significance for judging correctly what is represented in the NT as messianism.

NT 1. *Christos* in the NT (→ art. *Iēsous*). The decisive feature of the NT against the background of contemporary messianic expectation is summed up in the thesis that the combined NT witness to Jesus of Nazareth, however varied in details, is consciously christological. Wherever the NT is concerned with Jesus, it is concerned with him as Christ, i.e. as Messiah. This includes the fact that, for the whole of the NT, messianism no longer stands under the sign of expectation but under that of fulfilment. Everywhere the Christ event is spoken of in the perfect or past tense. The writings do indeed look into the future as well, sometimes very intensively. But the One who is awaited comes as the One who has already come. He is not someone unknown; he is as well known to those who await him as they are to him (cf. Jn. 10:14).

2. It is significant that the essential unity of the proclamation of Christ with the title messiah is established, objectively as well as subjectively, with the least ambiguity in the witness of John which, however, comes relatively late in the NT. It is attested particularly in Jn. 1:41 and 4:25. In both passages messiah and Christ are expressly equated (cf. OT 2 above). Both passages lead to the conclusion that we must ascribe to Palestinian Jews the fact that in the messiah the central concept in Jewish messianic expectation has become the possession of the developing Hel. church. It has found its way into the language of their worship and preaching, and has established itself there. No doubt the transmission of this faith came about through the transmission of confessional and catechetical summaries of the message about Jesus. These were originally formulated in Aram. or Heb. on the territory of the primitive church. Subsequently they were translated into Gk. as the mission to the Gk. churches extended beyond the boundaries of Palestinian Jewry. The best illustration of the process lies in 1 Cor. 15:1 ff. Here we have the text of the gospel which Paul had transmitted to the Corinthians and which he himself had previously received. Along with everything else we find *Christos* without the article. Despite many hesitations, this reference to the messiah without the def. art. must stem from the usage of contemporary Palestinian Jews (see further 1 Cor. 15:12 ff., 16 f., 20, 23; cf. Gal. 2:20 f.; 3:16; 5:1; 1 Cor. 5:7; Rom. 5:6, 8; 6:4, 9; 8:10, 34; and also 1 Pet. 2:21; 3:18; cf. K. H. Rengstorf, *Die Auferstehung Jesu*, 1967[5], 129 ff.). The influence of the LXX can be eliminated, for almost all that occurs there is the phrase *christos kyriou*, the Lord's, i.e. God's, anointed. Consequently, the Christian faith in Jesus, so far as it is expressed as faith in Christ, has to be traced back to the earliest Palestinian Christianity. In the Gk. churches, therefore, the word *christos*, when linked with Jesus, completed relatively quickly the transition from an adj., which it is essentially, to a proper name. And in the process it retained its traditional reference to Jesus' status. Therefore, wherever it appears, even as part of the name it refers to the majesty of Jesus.

3. The occurrence of *Christos* (without any art.) in the fragment of earlier kerygma taken up by Paul in 1 Cor. 15:3–5 gives us a glimpse of a unique fact. The tradition of the primitive church which may be seen here, certainly one of the oldest fragments of tradition in the whole of the NT, finds no contradiction between Jesus' violent death on the → cross (cf. 1:18 "For the word of the cross . . .") and the name of Christ ascribed to him. This is all the more remarkable, because it seemed natural to the contemporaries of the early Christians that the collapse of a messianic pretender was the decisive proof of the spuriousness of his own claims

and of the hopes centred on him by his followers (cf. Acts 5:36 f. with Mk. 15:29 par. Matt. 27:17 and the later judgment of the "son of the star", Simeon ben Kosebah, as the "son of lies"). We find the same situation as in the fragment quoted in other pre-Pauline passages incorporated by the apostle into his own proclamation, e.g. Rom. 4:25 (where *paredothē* certainly refers to the death of Jesus and not to Judas' betrayal), or Rom. 3:25 (with its reference to Jesus' blood as a sin offering). To mention nothing else, the same line is followed by all four NT evangelists when they take over as part of the kerygma (most clearly in Jn. 18:36 f.; 19:19 ff.) the inscription on the cross (cf. Matt. 27:37; Mk. 15:26; Lk. 23:36). This was intended to expose Jesus as pseudo-king of the Jews, i.e. as pseudo-messiah, but the evangelists make it an involuntary proclamation of Jesus as messiah by his enemies, because that was what God willed. This is expressed in the kerygma with the help of the idea that Jesus, just because he was messiah/Christ, and not despite the fact, had to suffer and die. Thus God expressly determined things in this way with regard to Jesus' messiahship. This is attested by the primitive formula of Lk. 24:26, the predictions of suffering in the synoptic gospels (→ Suffer), the Johannine sayings of Jesus like Jn. 3:14; 12:34, and not least by Jesus' farewell discourse in Jn. (Jn. 14–16; see further below). The clear impression we receive from all these passages is that, when it represented itself as the community of Jesus, the primitive church intended to represent itself simply as the messianic community. For in its preaching of Jesus as messiah it was at the same time interpreting itself messianically in relation to its life, its historical origins and its aims. If at a relatively early date Christians began to consider themselves as the → Israel of God (Gal. 6:16), i.e. the true Israel, as distinct from Israel according to the → flesh (1 Cor. 10:18), the rational and spiritual roots for this lie in the messianism that has just been outlined. The messianism which was already to hand and which was linked with Jesus was, therefore, neither spiritualized nor re-interpreted. Rather, it was taken up and set out on a large scale. Paul attests the same for the Gk. churches when in 1 Cor. 15:25 he leaves the last event before the end in the form of the kingly rule of the Christ/messiah. Naturally further passages in the Synoptic Gospels which in any case were not intended for Jewish readers, form comparisons with Jesus as → king. Examples are the parable of the royal wedding (Matt. 22:1 ff.), the parable of the judgment of the world (Matt. 25:31 ff.: the Son of man is king, vv. 31, 34, 40), and also a saying like Lk. 22:25 f. which explains the particular nature of Jesus' kingship in terms of his disciples' self-sacrifice in the service of others.

The most surprising fact is the part played by Jesus' messiahship in the latest of the four Gospels, Jn. The crucial question throughout the whole book is always that of a correct understanding of Jesus' kingship, beginning with the conversation between Jesus and Nathanael (Jn. 1:47 ff.; but cf. before that 1:19 f., 41, 45) via 6:1 ff. and 12:12 ff. (to mention but two passages) to the dialogue between Pilate and Jesus (18:33 ff.) and that between Pilate and the chief priests (19:21 f.). In the discussion with the Samaritan woman Jesus discloses his messiahship (4:25 f.). One will not be mistaken if one recognizes in the solemn *Iēsous Christos* the confessional formula of John's own church (17:3; cf. 1:17; 20:31; cf. further 1 Jn. 2:22; 4:2; 5:1; 2 Jn. 7). In this formula the second word has lost nothing of its predicative character, and therefore ought really to be written with a small initial letter. Here the primitive christological inheritance is preserved in all its splendour and without

any contraction. Jn. clearly lacks all the traditional illustrative material which characterizes the picture of Christ in Rev. (the lion of the tribe of Judah, 5:5; the shoot of David, 22:16; etc.). But that does not alter the fact that here too at the turn of the century full continuity in christology is maintained with the primitive Palestinian church. This was decisive for the impending attempts at conceptual formulations of the catholic faith in Christ.

4. Naturally the messianic element in the NT faith in Christ and in the NT confession of Christ is inseparable from that event which, in the witness of the NT, is called the → resurrection of Jesus from the dead. Jesus' resurrection is reckoned as his resurrection as Christ/messiah (cf. Acts 2:31 with 1 Cor. 15:4, and also Rom. 1:4). It appears everywhere as something done by God to the crucified and buried Jesus (cf. Acts 2:36) and moreover as his vindication by God himself (cf. Rom. 6:7 ff.; 1 Tim. 3:16). It is fully consistent, therefore, that in Jesus' statements about his suffering, the announcement of his death is always accompanied by that of his resurrection. This is not so much intended to discredit the opponents who refused to believe him and delivered him up to death on the cross as to secure his messiahship, which seemed to be disproved by his death on the cross (cf. Lk. 24:26 with 24:19 ff.). One should not, therefore, underestimate the fact that the resurrection event, however it may be interpreted historically, has its proper place in Jesus' messiahship. The fact that the passage of the gospel into a non-Jewish environment made no difference to this is so significant, because it not only illustrates how a Christian church consisting of former Jews and former Gentiles understood itself, but in general it sheds a great deal of light on that church's relationship to history. In a formal way the church's consciousness of the special nature of its own origins in a historically unique event is here bound into a confession. This involves, however, not only the so-called Jesus of history in his unchangeable historical form. It also expresses a permanent affirmation of the spiritual heritage common to all Christians in "Old Testament" history and revelation, and at the same time decisively renounces all unhistorical religiosity and preaching. What Paul writes in Rom. 9–11 about the relation of the Christian church to Judaism presupposes a confident reliance upon the messiahship of Jesus which God has legitimated just as much as does the expectation of a new heaven and a new earth in Rev. (cf. especially 5:1 ff.; 22:16). This is linked to the risen and exalted Jesus (cf. Rev. 1:5, 18), or the certainty that the coming of the → kingdom of God is linked with Jesus as the Christ (Acts 28:31; Lk. 17:20 f.). To this extent the whole of Christian preaching, which is conceived in principle in the NT as a unity but carried out in detail in a variety of forms, has its source and its centre everywhere in the messiahship of Jesus which God has confirmed.

5. Finally, the formula *Iēsous Christos* leads to the question whether the linking of Jesus' name with the title of messianic dignity and honour was the work of his church, in which it expressed its eschatological faith, or whether in any way Jesus himself was responsible for it. This poses the problem of Jesus' messianic consciousness. Since it cannot be dealt with here in the necessary breadth, some few reflections may all the same lead to the indispensable minimum of conclusions which are demanded.

(a) Since historical criticism began to occupy itself with the NT Gospels and the tradition handled by the evangelists, it has always been maintained that the sources

are not sufficient to confirm the statement that Jesus himself had a messianic consciousness. To support this view scholars today point not only to the kerygmatic character of even the accounts of Jesus' examination before the Sanhedrin with his confession of messiahship, but also to the fact that one of the two main synoptic sources, the so-called sayings source Q contains nothing that attributes messiahship to Jesus, With respect to both reasons, however, one must now recommend caution. On the one hand, even today Q still rests on a working hypothesis. On the other hand, there is still the need to explain how the kerygma by itself arrived at the idea of having Jesus represent himself to the Sanhedrin as the messiah if he and his disciples did not regard him as the messiah during his lifetime. All the same one should reckon with the possibility, on the evidence of the tradition that is available to us, that Jesus himself neither developed a specific messianic programme nor, and this is of the greatest importance, referred to himself in any form as messiah. According to the narrative tradition, he simply permitted people to attribute to him messianic titles like "Son of David" (Mk. 10:47 f. etc.; → Son), without adopting an attitude of agreement or of denial towards them. Furthermore, the picture of Jesus which is reflected in the tradition when critically analysed, leads us to suppose that he conformed to none of the traditional messianic descriptions. Thus he called in question by his person the attachment to himself of the current messianic expectation of a political saviour-king, by his own followers. This appears to extend to the correctness of all contemporary messianic expectations. Even an event like Peter's so-called confession at Caesarea Philippi (Matt. 16:13–23; Mk. 8:27–33; Lk. 9:18–22), accepting its historical reliability, does not take us fundamentally beyond this conclusion. It boils down to the fact that the events connected with his passion and Easter would have been bound to appear quite differently in the tradition, if at any point in time Jesus had given precise information about himself, where his messiahship was concerned. Finally one must add to the picture that has already been drawn the fact that the tradition does not allow Jesus to triumph over death and the grave as the man he was, but, in the case of his resurrection, makes him the object of a mysterious direct action on the part of God. Moreover, the tradition is never in the position to reveal this mystery, nor is it ever inclined to. The result, without abandoning oneself to an exaggerated scepticism with regard to the sources, is a fairly unanimous picture. It is described, very imperfectly and in an unbalanced fashion, by the ambiguous phrase, the messianic secret. Nevertheless, the phrase still points in a direction in which the answer to the question posed at the outset is to be found.

(b) The problem can only be properly understood, i.e. as it was in the tradition and by Jesus himself, when account is taken of the fact that Jesus' whole ministry was deliberately concentrated on his immediate surroundings and within this especially on his disciples. This means that one cannot talk of him apart from them, and in particular that one cannot ask questions about his self-consciousness, whatever form it took, without reference to them. This is all the more necessary in view of the rôle of his disciples in the things "concerning Jesus of Nazareth" (Lk. 24:19), which may not have been a very significant episode but which all the same was an episode. As the quoted passage itself suggests, the category of prophet which has recently been invoked again though with strong qualifications to help define Jesus' self-consciousness (cf. E. Käsemann, "The Problem of the Historical

Jesus", *Essays on New Testament Themes*, 1964, 15–47), would never have sufficed to divest the history of Jesus of its episodic character, if it had stopped at his death. It cannot be mere coincidence that the tradition contains no suggestion that he himself used this category or the idea of his inspiration in connection with his own person, or that he passed it on to his followers. In the mouth of the disciples on the Emmaus road it is just as much the writer's own attempt to understand Jesus as are the other attempts in the tradition (cf. Mk. 6:14 ff. par. Matt. 14:1 f.; Lk. 9:7 f.). For its part, the tradition makes clear that as far as it is concerned the only proper attitude towards Jesus is that which the whole NT calls *pistis*, → faith which involves simple trust. What is really remarkable about Jesus' dealings with his disciples is that he sought right from the beginning and continually thereafter to bring them into this attitude which, because it leads of necessity to a particular kind of behaviour, contradicts any mere theory about him and indeed radically excludes it. The disciples themselves did not finally achieve this attitude or behaviour until after the Easter events. Nevertheless, it must be the person of Jesus and the impression that the disciples received from him which were responsible for the association of this attitude with the use of the category of messiah. But then we can only deal with impressions which they received from the Jesus of history during his lifetime (cf. Lk. 24:32). This must be reckoned to exclude the possibility that the situation created by Easter was appropriate for laying down the foundation of a messianic theory about Jesus. The new situation did not encourage the development of ideas but final personal decisions and corresponding actions. This could only come about if the picture of the risen Jesus and that of the earthly Jesus were not contradictory but mutually interpretative on the ground of their connection with him.

(c) The result, therefore, is that the remaining questions about Jesus' self-consciousness or self-understanding in relation to the category of messiahship must be shown from the tradition itself to be wrongly posed. The only question to ask would be about the traits in the person of Jesus which predisposed his disciples after Easter to see no alternative to formulating their faith in him in the way they did, in the context of the messianic hope of their people as it was expressed in the scriptures and the traditions. The question is all the more important as the preaching of the messiah by its reference to the office of the king of salvation, contained particular elements predisposing it to become the crystallizing point of christology. Nevertheless, this touches on a range of problems which cannot be dealt with here. Enough has been said to show that it was the mystery of the person of Jesus which was responsible for the disciples feeling themselves confronted by the question of the messiah in the earthly Jesus. On the basis of their encounters with the risen Jesus, the disciples finally answered it by the confession that he was the messiah and that in him God has fulfilled his → promise to the house of → David and to → Israel of salvation for the whole of mankind in a manner that is nevertheless only accessible to faith.

(d) Naturally the name Jesus Christ means more to Christianity than the messianic status of a certain Jesus of Nazareth, in whom God fulfilled his promises to the fathers. Every aspect of the salvation which God has intended for and bestowed upon the world is, for the whole of the NT, bound up in Jesus, in so far as he is the Christ. In Jesus as the one who is the Christ "the whole fullness of deity

dwells bodily" (Col. 2:9; → Fullness) for the salvation of all those who put their trust in him and appropriate to themselves the fruit of his death and resurrection (Rom. 4:24 f.). To express this a single title like Messiah or Christ is just not sufficient. Therefore, when the NT kerygma expounds the salvation bound up in Christ, it makes use of other titles of honour which are appropriate to the particular reference. These emphasize in turn the side of his person or of his work on which the particular title depends, like → Son of God, → Lord or also our Lord, Saviour (→ Redemption, art. *sōzō*), mediator (→ Covenant, art. *mesitēs*). Nevertheless, if Christ has been transformed from a title of honour to a part of Jesus' name, this corresponds to the essential feature in his historical appearance which at the same time must be reckoned as the condition of his whole work as mediator of salvation: his obedient submission to God's will as manifested in the process of God's self-revelation in the history of the people of Israel. To this extent Jesus' affirmation of his messiahship, whether or not it was explicitly announced, is for the whole kerygma the presupposition of his path to the cross. It is equally the presupposition of his resurrection and exaltation on God's part. This element in Jesus' messiahship, central for christology, is represented nowhere in the NT as clearly and at the same time as comprehensively as in the christological hymn which Paul introduced into his letter to the Philippians (Phil. 2:5 ff.; → Empty, art. *kenos*). Here he describes Jesus' path via the incarnation, the life of obedience and the death of obedience on the cross to the resurrection and to exaltation at God's side as the path of Christ Jesus, i.e. of that messiah who is identical with Jesus of Nazareth.

K. H. Rengstorf

Χριστιανός — *Χριστιανός* (*Christianos*), Christian.

The identification of the messiah with Jesus of Nazareth brought the disciples the name *Christianoi*. Compared with other names for the followers of Jesus, like disciple or believer, the word is quite rare in the NT. By its whole formation it is a word which defines the one to whom it is applied as belonging to the party of a certain *Christos*, very much as *Hērōdianos* is a technical term for the followers of Herod (Mk. 3:6; 12:13; Matt. 22:16). Its use also presupposes that for the Gk. environment of developing Christianity *christos* had taken on the meaning of a proper name, a process which would have been facilitated by the resemblance to the name *Chrēstos*, pronounced *Christos*. According to Acts 11:26, *Christianos* was first used for Christians in Syrian Antioch. This passage, like the two others in which the word occurs in the NT (Acts 26:28; 1 Pet. 4:16), leads us to suppose that, being applied to Christians by outsiders, it contained an element of ridicule and that in this it did not differ from the description *Nazarēnos* or *Nazōraios* (see above). Like it and like many other names formed in the same way, it soon clearly became a name which those called by it felt honoured to bear. *K. H. Rengstorf*

→ Anoint, → Birth, → Confess, → God, → Present, → Proclamation, → Resurrection, → Son, → Spirit, → War, Revolution

On Jesus and the Quest of the Historical Jesus:
(a). P. Althaus, *The So-Called Kerygma and the Historical Jesus*, 1959; C. C. Anderson, *Critical Quests of Jesus*, 1969; and *The Historical Jesus: A Continuing Quest*, 1972; H. Anderson, *Jesus*

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geschichtlichen Hintergrund christologischer Hoheitstitel", *NTS* 17, 1970–71, 391–425; "Die königlichen Messiastraditionen des Neuen Testaments", *NTS* 20, 1973–74, 1–44; and "Zum Problem der Messianität Jesu", *ZTK* 71, 1974, 1 ff.; O. Betz, "Die Frage nach dem messianischen Bewusstsein Jesu", *NovT* 6, 1963, 20 ff.; J. Blank, *Krisis. Untersuchungen zur johanneischen Christologie und Eschatologie*, 1964; O. Böcher, *Christus Exorcista: Dämonismus und Taufe im Neuen Testament*, 1972; T. Boman, *Die Jesus-Überlieferung im Lichte der neuren Volkskunde*, 1967; C. Burger, *Jesus als Davidsohn*, *FRLANT* 98, 1970; H. Dembowski, "Jesus Christus – Herr der Götter," *EvTh* 29, 1969, 572 ff.; O. Eissfeldt, "Christus", *RAC* II 1250 ff.; E. Fascher, "Christologie oder Theologie? Bemerkungen zu O. Cullmanns *Christologie des Neuen Testaments*", *TLZ* 87, 1962, 882–910; G. Friedrich, "Jesus Christus", *BHHW* II 859 ff.; J. Gnilka, "War Jesus Revolutionär?", *BuL* 12, 1971, 67 ff.; A. Grillmeier and H. Bacht, eds., *Das Konzil von Chalkedon*, I–III, 1951; E. Güttgemanns, "*Christos* in 1. Kor. 15, 3b – Titel oder Eigenname?", *EvTh* 28, 1968, 533 ff.; U. Hedinger, "Christus und die Götter Griechenlands", *EvTh* 30, 1970, 97 ff.; E. Haenchen, "Die frühe Christologie", *ZTK* 63, 1966, 145 ff.; I. Herrmann, *Kyrios und Pneuma*, 1961; B. van Iersel, "*Der Sohn*" *in den synoptischen Jesusworten*, *Supplements to NovT* 3, 1964²; J. Jeremias, "Artikelloses *Christos*. Zur Ursprache von 1. Kor. 15, 3b–5", *ZNW* 57, 1966, 211 ff.; H. Karpp, "Christennamen", *RAC* II 1114 ff., U. Kellermann, *Messias und Gesetz*, *BSt* 61, 1972; H. Kessler, *Die theologische Bedeutung des Todes Jesus*, 1971²; E. Kränkl, *Jesus der Knecht Gottes*, 1972; W. G. Kümmel *et al.*, *Jesus Christus: Das Christusverständnis im Wandel der Zeiten, Eine Ringvorlesung der Theologischen Fakultät der Universität Marburg*, *Marburger theologische Studien* 1, 1963; E. Larsson, *Christus als Vorbild*, 1962; F. M. T. de Liagre Böhl *et al.*, "Messias", *RGG*³ IV 900 ff.; G Lindeskog, "Christuskerygma und Jesustradition", *NovT* 5, 1962, 144–56; E. Lohmeyer, *Gottesknecht und Davidssohn*, *FRLANT* 61, 1953²; R. Maddox, "Methodenfragen in der Menschensohnforschung", *EvTh* 32, 1972, 143 ff.; H. J. Margull, "Tod Jesu und Schmerz Gottes", in *Leben angesichts des Todes. H. Thielicke zum 60. Geburtstag*, 1968; W. Marxsen, *Anfangsprobleme der Christologie*, 1960; C. Maurer, "Das Messiasgeheimnis des Markusevangeliums", *NTS* 14, 1967–68; 515–26; U. B. Müller, *Messias und Menschensohn in jüdischen Apokalypsen und in der Offenbarung Johannes*, *Studien zum Neuen Testament* 6, 1972; F. Neugebauer, "Das Paulinische 'in Christo' ", *NTS* 4, 1957–58, 124–38; and, *Jesus der Menschensohn*, *AzTh* 50, 1972; R. Pesch, *Jesu ureigene Taten? Ein Beitrag zur Wunderfrage*, *Quaestiones Disputatae* 52, 1970; E. Peterson, "Christianus", in *Frühkirche, Judentum und Gnosis*, 1959, 64 ff.; P. Pokorny, "Jesus, Glaube, Christologie", *ThZ* 18, 1962, 268–82; K. H. Rengstorf, *Die Auferstehung Jesu*, 1967⁵, 129 ff.; K. H. Rengstorf and S. von Kortzfleisch, *Kirche und Synagoge*, I, 1968, 23 ff.; M. Rese, *Alttestamentliche Motive in der Christologie des Lukas*, (Dissertation, Bonn) 1965; H. Ristow and K. Matthiae, eds., *Der historische Jesus und der kerygmatische Christus*, 1960; L. Ruppert, *Jesus als der leidende Gerechte?*, 1972; K. L. Schmidt, *Jesus Christus im Zeugnis der Heiligen Schrift und der Kirche*, 1936; W. Schmithals, *Jesus in der Verkündigung der Kirche*, 1972; N. Scholl, *Jesus – nur ein Mensch?* 1971; D. F. Strauss, *Der Christus des Glaubens und Jesus der Geschichte*, (1865) *Texte zur Kirchen- und Theologiegeschichte* 14, 1971; G. Strecker, "Die historische und theologische Problematik der Jesusfrage", *EvTh* 29, 1969, 453 ff.; K. Schubart, *Der historische Jesus und der Christus unseres Glaubens*, 1962; G. Sevenster, W. Pannenberg and P. Althaus, "Christologie", *RGG* I 1745–89; W. Thüsing, *Die Erhöhung und Verherrlichkeit Jesu im Johannes-Evangelium*, 1960; and *Per Christum in Deum*, *NTAbh* 1, 1968²; P. Vielhauer, "Zur Frage der christologischen Hoheitstitel", *TLZ* 8, 1965, 569 ff.; and "Ein Weg zur neutestamentlichen Christologie?", *EvTh* 25, 1965, 24 ff. (reprinted in *Aufsätze zum Neuen Testament*, 1965, 141 ff.); and "Erwägungen zur Christologie des Markusevangeliums" (in *Aufsätze Zum Neuen Testament*, 199 ff.); A. Vögtle, *Messias und Gottesohn*, *Theologische Perspektiven*, 1971; P. G. Wacker, "Christus ohne Kirche?" *ThG* 64, 1974, 1 ff.

Join, Cleave to

κολλάομαι

κολλάομαι (*kollaomai*), join, cleave to, stick to; *προσκολλάομαι* (*proskollaomai*), cleave to, stick to.

CL *kollaomai*, found from Pindar onwards, is a cognate of *kolla*, glue (Hdt. onwards) and means to glue in contrast to nailing, to join together tightly.

Literal examples are gluing a broken pot, to glue inlay work of gold and ivory, to steep barley in water, to close a wound (Galen). It is also used of the penetration of poison into a body (Hippocrates). Metaphorically it occurs in the phrase *kekollētai genos pros ata*, the uniting of humanity in a delusion (Aesch., *Agamemnon* 1566). The compound *proskollaomai* means to stick to.

OT 1. The LXX uses both words predominantly to render Heb. *dāḇaq*, cling, cleave to, and once each for *nāḡa'* (hiph.), *nāḡaš*, *nāṣar*, and *rāḇaṣ*. The basic meaning can be found in Pss. 22:15 (MT 22:16); 137:6; Job 29:10; Lam. 4:4, where the tongue cleaves to the gums for thirst. Similarly it can be said that → leprosy, pestilence or diseases cleave to a person (2 Ki. 5:27; Deut. 28:21, 60).

2. It frequently means to join someone, to cleave to him (e.g. Ruth. 2:8, 21; 2 Sam. 20:2; Pss. 101:3[MT 101:4]; 119:31; Job 41:15; 41:9; 1 Macc. 3:2; 6:21).

3. It also is used of the permanent relationship of man and woman (Gen. 2:24). As is shown by 1 Esd. 4:20 ("A man leaves his own father, who brought him up, and his own country, and cleaves to his wife"), it refers to more than the sexual union of man and wife and extends to the whole relationship. Because Solomon "clung" to foreign wives (1 Ki. 11:2) he came under their religious influence. "The man who consorts [*kollōmenos*] with harlots" (Sir. 19:2) comes under an influence inconsistent with wisdom.

4. The contrast is union with God. "You shall fear the Lord your God; you shall serve him and cleave to him" (Deut. 10:20; cf. 6:13; 2 Ki. 18:6; Sir. 2:3; Jer. 13:11). The stress here is on inner union with God in contrast to the cultic and legal one of the context.

NT *kollaomai* is found in the NT only in the pass. or mid., and follows the usage of the LXX.

1. The basic meaning is found in Lk. 10:11, "The dust . . . that clings [*kollēthenta*] to our feet"; cf. also Rev. 18:5 lit. "her sins cleaved to her [*ekollēthēsan*] high up to heaven" (cf. Jer. 51:9 [LXX 28:9]; contrast *TDNT* III 822).

2. The commonest usage is to join someone, to be near: the prodigal son joined himself to foreign citizens (Lk. 15:15); Philip joined the chariot of the Ethiopian (Acts 8:29); Paul tried to join the church (Acts 9:26); some who had joined Paul came to faith (Acts 17:34); though the people of Jerusalem held the Christians in high honour, no non-Christian ventured to join them (Acts 5:13); it was reprehensible for a Jew to "associate with" (*kollasthai*) anyone of another nation (*allophylos*), i.e. heathens (Acts 10:28), because they did not have the → law.

3. Matt. 19:5 and Eph. 5:31 both quote Gen. 2:24 (→ Marriage; → Divorce).

(a) Matt. 19:5: marriage is indissoluble, because in it two persons become one living being. This refers to the relationship of the partners and not merely the sexual union (contrast *TDNT* III 822).

(b) Eph. 5:31: Christ left his Father to be completely with his bride, the *ekklēsia* (→ Church) and to begin a new life with her (*sarka mian*, one → flesh). Just as in Ezek. 16, the husband here comes as *sōtēr*, saviour (Eph. 5:23). His wife – the new → people of God – is decked with imperishable riches (Eph. 5:26 f.; cf. Ezek. 16:10–13). The marriage relationship is a "great mystery" which reflects the relationship of Christ and the church (Eph. 5:32).

4. The believer's union with God necessitates that he must detest the evil and "hold fast to what is good" (Rom. 12:9). Since with his body he is a member of the → body of Christ, he cannot become one body, a human unity, with a harlot. For "he who is united with the Lord becomes one spirit with him" (1 Cor. 6:17). He should also live in this Spirit, and perfectly imitate the actions and revelation of his Lord. But if he unites himself with a harlot, he will become like her (1 Cor. 6:16). The one who has sexual relations with a harlot is not committing a purely physical act which does not touch the spirit. The whole man reveals himself in all that he does. He who unites himself to a harlot has a common existence with her. There is no purely sexual sin. The spirit of the brothel and the Spirit of Christ mutually exclude one another. *H. Seebass*

→ Disciple, → Discipline, → Divorce, → Marriage

E. Best, *One Body in Christ*, 1955; A. Isaksson, *Marriage and Ministry in the New Temple*, 1965, 18 ff. and *passim*; J. A. T. Robinson, *The Body: A Study in Pauline Theology*, *SBT* 5, 1952; J. P. Sampley, *'And the Two Shall Become One Flesh': A Study of Traditions in Ephesians 5:21–33*, *Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series* 16, 1971; K. L. Schmidt, *kollaō, proskollaō*, *TDNT* III 822 f.

Jonah

'Iωνᾶς

'Iωνᾶς (*Iōnas*), Heb. *yônâh*, Jonah.

The NT references to Jonah are exhausted by those passages in which Jesus alludes to him in the course of certain controversial exchanges with the Pharisees (Matt. 12:38–41; 16:4; Lk. 11:29–32). These references are both general to the career of Jonah, and particular, in that they refer to him as a → sign.

OT The Gk. *sēmeion* is occasionally used in LXX as equivalent to *môp̄ēṯ* (Exod. 11:9, 10), i.e. that which by its remarkable nature excites wonder and attracts attention; occasionally also it translates *nēs*, a banner, i.e. that which catches the eye. But for the most part it translates *'ôṯ*, a sign. It is thus involved in two distinct meanings. On the one hand, a sign (e.g. Deut. 13:1) is something performed in order to persuade people to an immediate response; on the other hand, a sign can be offered (e.g. Exod. 3:12) as a future confirmation of the truth of some present fact. This background is clearly present in the sign element in Jesus' references to Jonah.

Four matters call for brief enquiry in the story of Jonah. First, what was the motive for his flight (Jon. 1:3 ff.)? The majority view is that he was a religious particularist and fled from the possibility of seeing Israel's privileges being shared with the heathen. It ought to be noted, however, that Jewish opinion, as reflected in the Babylonian Talmud which appoints the Book of Jonah to be read in its entirety on the Day of Atonement, thus stressed the repentance of the Ninevites as an example which the people of God were called to follow (Meg. 31a; cf. M. D. Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*, 1974, 187, 334). This was the very point which Jesus sought to make. Rather than thus expose his people, Jonah risked his own life, willing to die on their behalf. It is not unworthy of note that,

in quoting Exod. 34:6, 7 (Jon. 4:2), he omitted the reference to divine strictness of judgment.

Secondly, the book of Jonah records his own comment on his remarkable experience. In his prayer, the fish's belly becomes "the belly of Sheol" (Jon. 2:2; → Hell). While recognizing that Sheol is frequently metaphorical for that which is dark, threatening and likely to end in death, the use of the metaphor here, coupled with the reference to the "pit" (v. 6) must form part of the OT background to Jesus' use of the incident.

Thirdly, we must ask in what terms Jonah preached to Nineveh. All that is recorded (Jon. 3:4) is a proclamation of coming judgment. It was the force of this word, and the recognition of the divine authorization which lay behind it which implemented the response of repentance. As far as is noted, Jonah made no reference to his experience in the fish.

Fourthly, the call to repentance was heeded and God expressed his total satisfaction with this (Jon. 3:10 ff.) It was what he wanted and therefore effectively produced remission.

NT In speaking of the people of his day as "evil and adulterous" (Matt. 12:39; Lk. 11:29 agrees with *ponēra* [evil] but does not add *moichalis* [adulterous]), Jesus undoubtedly intended to set up a parallelism between them and Nineveh (Jon. 1:2): "wicked" in heart and life and "adulterous" physically and spiritually. Their spiritual vacuity is sharply underlined by the Lord in his refusal of the sign which they sought. Matt. 16:1 notes that they wished a "sign from heaven", presumably something unequivocally from God, something which would authenticate Jesus mainly because he himself had no involvement in its performance – a sign of the sort offered in Isa. 7:10. To Jesus (cf. Matt. 11:4) this was rank blindness in the face of his constant performance of his own works before their eyes. In this context he set up a threefold comparison. First, he made an open comparison between himself and Jonah (Matt. 16:4; Lk. 11:30). Especially in the former of these references he left his hearers to their own interpretative devices. In the latter, there is a significant change of tense: "as Jonah became [*egeneto*] . . . the Son of man shall be [*estai*]. . . ." That is to say, reviewing the story of Jonah, they can well see that he was a divinely sent persuader (a sign of the first category above), a watershed, a heaven-sent opportunity which came once and did not return. Even so, there will be that about the Son of man (a sign of the second category) which will, at some later point, make them aware that he too was sent from God and that in him too they reached, for good or ill, a point of no return.

Secondly, Jesus compared Jonah's experience of a three-day sojourn in the fish to his own coming sojourn "in the heart of the earth" (Matt. 12:40). This is largely rejected by commentators (*IDB*, McNeile, Plummer) as a typical Matthaean embellishment, pursuant to his supposed penchant for snatching Bible-fulfilments out of the air. McNeile's criticism that Jesus was not in fact three days in the tomb is more indicative of a weak case than of critical acumen. In the light of our own discussion immediately above, the question is rather to what Jesus was looking forward when he predicted a coming event in the light of which his own status as a Jonah-type sign would be clear. His resurrection from an unequivocal experience of death would be the very "sign from heaven" which once they had faithlessly sought and

would not, even when it happened, be able to recognize – as Jesus full well foresaw (cf. Lk. 16:31). Matthew's record of the comparison between Jonah in a Sheol-like situation and Jesus actually "in the heart of the earth" is distinctly apt.

The third element in the sign-comparison which Jesus made is between Jonah's preaching and its result and his own preaching and its result (Matt. 12:41; Lk. 11:32). The comparison here is *a fortiori*. The ensuing judgment on impenitence will be greater because the one who calls to repentance is greater. In the light of the OT testimony to the status of the prophet, Jesus can here be seen as claiming the honour due to his deity, exactly as in Matt. 23:34. *J. A. Motyer*

→ Fish, → Miracle, → Nineveh, → Number

(a). G. Ch. Aalders, *The Problem of the Book of Jonah*, 1948; L. C. Allen, *The Books of Joel, Obadiah, Jonah and Micah, New International Commentary on the Old Testament*, 1976; R. A. Edwards, *The Sign of Jonah in the Theology of the Evangelists and Q*, *SBT* Second Series 18, 1971; and *A Theology of Q: Eschatology, Prophecy and Wisdom*, 1975; M. D. Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*, 1974; D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 1972; J. Howton, "The Sign of Jonah", *SJT* 15, 1962, 288–304; J. Jeremias, *Iōnas*, *TDNT* 406–10; A. Helmbold, "Jonah, Book of", *ZPEB* III 675–79; A. R. Johnson, "Jonah II 3–10: A Study in Cultic Phantasy", in H. H. Rowley, ed., *Studies in Old Testament Prophecy Presented to Professor Theodore H. Robinson*, 1950, 82–102; O. Linton, "The Demand for a Sign from Heaven (Mark. 8.11–12 and par.)", *StTh* 19, 1965, 112–29; A. H. McNeile, *The Gospel According to St. Matthew*, 1915; C. Moxon, *to sēmeion Iōna*, *ExpT* 22, 190–11, 566 ff.; W. Neil, "Jonah, Book of", *IDB* II 964–67; A. Plummer, *An Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew*, 1909; R. B. Y. Scott, "The Sign of Jonah: An Interpretation", *Interpretation* 24, 1970, 16–25; R. V. G. Tasker, *The Gospel according to St. Matthew*, 1961.

(b). O. Glombitza, "Das Zeichen des Jona (Zum Verständnis von Matthäus 12. 38–42)", *NTS* 8, 1961–62, 359–66.

Joy, Rejoice

There are three main groups of words in the NT which denote human joy and happiness and express its special character. In the case of *chairō* physical comfort and well-being are the basis of joy. Hence the use of the vb. in the good wishes which people express on greeting one another and on parting. They refer to the benefits of health and happiness which, in fact, people wish for themselves. On the other hand, *euphrainō* indicates the subjective feeling of joy, and *agalliaomai* the outward demonstration of joy and pride and the exultation experienced in public worship.

ἀγαλλιάομαι

ἀγαλλιάομαι (*agalliaomai*), exult, rejoice greatly, be overjoyed; ἀγαλλίασις (*agalliasis*), exultation, great joy.

CL *agalliaomai*, exult, shout for joy, rejoice greatly, and the corresponding noun *agalliasis*, exultation, are found only in the LXX, the NT and in Jewish and Christian writers dependent on them. They are later formations from the profane Greek *agallō* and *agallomai* (from Homer onwards) which occur with the following meanings: (a) to adorn, honour, glorify, revere (in Plato and Aristotle); (b) to make a show, boast of something (Herodotus); (c) to enjoy, experience pleasure in something (Homer); (d) to be in raptures (Herodotus). This is the basic human emotion of joy which takes possession of the whole man.

OT 1. In the LXX *agalliaomai* and *agalliasis* occur most frequently as the translation of *gîl* (rejoice, rejoicing) and *rānan* (cry in joy). They indicate the cultic festive joy, which expresses itself publicly over God's acts of salvation in the past and present (e.g. Ps. 32:11), but is not orgiastic as in the Canaanitish cults. The significance of these words soon extended beyond the sphere of public worship. *agalliaomai* came to express both corporate and individual attitudes of thankful joy before God (cf. Pss. 9:14; 16:9; 21:1; 31:7; 35:27; 92:4). This rejoicing not only testifies to past experiences of God's salvation; it also exults in his faithful dealings which are still future (cf. Hab. 3:18) and which the believer sees ensured by Yahweh. The keynote of public worship remains, but the rejoicing embraces even the created universe, the silent witnesses to God's mighty acts such as the heavens, the earth, the mountains, the islands, which all join in the jubilation or are called upon to do so (Pss. 19:5; 89:12; 96:11; and 97 passim). Even God himself joins in (Isa. 65:19). Under the prophets both during and after the exile, Israel's rejoicing in his God, even in wretched situations, broadened out to include anticipatory gratitude for final salvation and messianic joy (Isa. 61). It was in this eschatological direction that the Heb. attitude of thanks and praise reached its profoundest expression (cf. Pss. 96:11 ff.; 97:8; 126:2, 5; Isa. 25:9).

2. Loud, exultant rejoicing over God's acts of salvation in the past, present and the eschatological future continued to be characteristic of Rab. theology and the piety of Rab. Judaism (SB IV 2, 851 f.). The whole aim of the Jew's life was to glorify God. Jubilation thus accompanied "the dramatic history of the Jewish people like the strains of some heavenly choir, and in the liturgy became the dominant element in their religious life" (E. Stauffer, *Jerusalem und Rom*, 1957, 102).

3. In contrast with Rab. Judaism, the Qumran community held that the day of salvation had already begun. In praise and prayer (especially in the Hodayot [1QH] and in the concluding part of the Community Rule [1QS 10:11]) they rejoiced in God who in his mercy had granted them salvation and given them insight into his → secrets.

NT 1. In the NT *agalliaomai* occurs 11 times and *agalliasis* only 5 times (cf. *chairein* which occurs 74 times). The words are used as in the LXX, but with this difference. In the OT exultant rejoicing arises from gratitude and unshakeable trust in the God who has constantly helped and still is helping his people Israel. He will do away with all want and distress in his final act of deliverance at the coming of messiah. In the NT the rejoicing turns to the God who now in Jesus Christ has already inaugurated the eschatological age of salvation and will gloriously complete it on Christ's return.

(a) In the Gospels there is jubilation even before the coming of Jesus. Zechariah sang for joy when the forerunner of the Lord was born (Lk. 1:14), and even the child in Elizabeth's womb shared in the rejoicing (Lk. 1:44). Jesus spoke of devout Israelites who for a short time rejoiced in the light of John the Baptist (Jn. 5:35). In her song of praise Mary rejoiced that she had been granted a place in God's saving purpose (Lk. 1:47), while Jesus himself as the bringer of salvation not only called upon men to rejoice but joined in himself. The Beatitudes conclude with the exhortation: "Rejoice and be glad, for your reward is great in heaven" (Matt. 5:12; cf. Lk. 6:23). Jesus rejoiced in spirit because the time of salvation was at hand.

It was revealed to babes but at the same time, since it also involves judgment, it was hidden from the wise (Lk. 10:21; cf. Matt. 11:25). Even → Abraham (one of "the just men made perfect", Heb. 12:23) rejoiced that he had a part in the day of salvation (Jn. 8:56). The early → church regarded itself as the → elect of the last days because of God's saving work in Jesus Christ. It made Christ's cross, resurrection and future return the basis of its rejoicing, and thus interpreted David's joy christologically (Acts 2:26, where Peter quotes Ps. 16:10). The Philippian jailer rejoiced (*ēgalliasato*) with his whole family because he had come to faith and had been incorporated into the saved community of the last days through → faith and → baptism (Acts 16:34). At the cultic meal of the breaking of bread the early church sang with joy as they anticipated the parousia of the risen Christ. They observed the → Lord's Supper "in exultation [*en agalliasei*]" (Acts 2:47; cf. J. Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, 1966², 254).

(b) Paul does not use the word, but is no stranger to the idea. He expresses it partly through the vb. *kauchasthai*, to → boast.

(c) In the rest of the NT (with the exception of Mk. and Jas.) the word appears sporadically. In Heb. 1:9 God himself is represented as addressing Christ. He → anoints his son with the → oil of gladness [*agalliasis*], i.e. with consecrated oil as used at joyous feasts (cf. Ps. 45:7). In Jude 24 the church bows in praise before him "who is able to keep you from falling and present you without blemish before the presence of his glory with rejoicing [*en agalliasei*]" (cf. Acts 2:46). In 1 Pet. the church is called upon to look away from its sufferings in the last days, for they are insignificant in comparison with the rejoicing which will break forth at the end of time (1 Pet. 1:6, 8; 4:13). In Rev. believers are summoned by a voice at the end of time crying, "Let us rejoice and exult [*chairōmen kai agalliōmen*] and give him the glory (Rev. 19:7). In Matt. 5:12; Lk. 1:14; 1 Pet. 1:8; and 4:13 *chairō* and *agalliaomai* are also used together.

2. *agalliasis*, the festive joy which takes in the past and points to the future, thus becomes the characteristic attitude of the NT church and of the individual Christians in it. Its public worship is full of joy, as at the eschatological banquet (cf. Rev. 19:7–9). Joy is experienced through the salvation achieved by Jesus Christ in the past, personally experienced in the present, and confidently expected in the future. Looked at in this way, the → sufferings of this present time are alleviated. For even while they weigh heavily upon us we have paradoxically good reason to rejoice. Such rejoicing is grounded entirely in the person of Christ. The Lord himself, risen, present and returning, is the basis for all our joy.

E. Beyreuther

εὐφραίνω

εὐφραίνω (*euphrainō*), gladden, cheer (up); εὐφροσύνη (*euphrosynē*), joy, gladness, cheerfulness.

CL The vb. *euphrainō* is found in colloquial Greek from Homer onwards, and means in the active to cheer, to gladden a person; in the middle and passive to make merry. The noun *euphrosynē* (from Homer onwards) means merriment, joy, good cheer. Such joy stems largely from those events and situations which give

rise to communal rejoicing, such as a banquet. Nevertheless, philosophers also use the word for introspective and spiritual joy.

OT In the LXX the word is used far more frequently than → *chairō* and is not sharply distinguished from → *agalliaō*. It chiefly renders words from the stem *śāmaḥ* (rejoice, gladden); and in Isa. more frequently words from *rānan* (cry in joy) and *śîś* (rejoice). Its use is concentrated in certain books of the OT such as Deut., the Deuteronomistic historical works, and particularly the Pss., Lam., Eccl., and Isa. (especially passages attributed to Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah). In addition it is used with remarkable frequency in Sir. The distribution is similar in the case of the noun. The word is clearly the appropriate expression for the united joy expressed at the cultic celebrations or sacrificial feasts. But the OT concept of God (→ God OT) prevents the type of ecstatic orgy, so common in heathenism, where the distinction between human and divine became blurred.

Joy can also be that of the heart of an individual, especially in response to God's help in situations of need (e.g. Ps. 13:5). Finally, *euphrainō* is used alongside *agalliaō* to express the eschatological joy in which even the heavens and the earth participate (Pss. 96:11; 97:1), God also rejoicing with them (Isa. 65:19). Joy is a feature of God's eternal world. At this point it may be observed that festive joy at the great communal feasts – the human enjoyment of eating, drinking and bodily refreshment – becomes a vivid picture of eschatological joy.

For the rest a wide diversity of usage can be found, a fact indicated by numerous Hebrew equivalents: joy as an emotion (e.g. Ps. 16:11); joy in someone or something (2 Sam. 1:26; Eccl. 11:9); joy in God (Neh. 8:10; Ps. 33:21); joy in God's word (Jer. 15:16; Ps. 119:14); joy in the keeping of the commandments (Ps. 119:162); joy in the time of salvation (Isa. 35:10; 52:12).

In the piety of Rab. Judaism joy is still of great importance. Joy in God's law now occupies a large place (cf. Pss. 19, 119). The festivals, especially Passover and the Feast of Tabernacles, are joyous occasions (→ Feast).

Joy characterizes the expected time of salvation. In Qumran, salvation is seen as already present, and there is rejoicing over God's redemptive gifts (cf. 1QM 12:13; 13:12 ff.; 17:7 f.; 1QH 11:23, 30; 18:15; CD 20:33).

Philo's piety is especially marked by *euphrosynē*. Taking festive joy as his starting point, he finds joy merely in seeking God (e.g. *Spec.Leg.* 36). God himself radiates joy by means of the Logos, especially upon all who by their virtues prove themselves worthy. Everything that belongs to God has this same characteristic: wisdom (*sophia*) is full of delight (*chara*), joy (*euphrosynē*) and other good things (*Rer. Div. Her.* 315; cf. R. Bultmann, *TDNT* II 773 f.).

NT In the NT the word *chairō* is clearly preferred as the term for joy (by contrast with its relative infrequency in the LXX). *euphrainō* occurs 14 times, of which no less than 8 are in the Lucan writings (cf. Luke's liking for OT phrases), 3 in Paul and 3 in Rev. *euphrosynē* is found twice only, in Acts. Five out of the total are OT quotations.

1. The words are clearly connected with the rejoicing to be found at a festive banquet, and this indicates the OT origins of their usage. *euphrainō* thus denotes in the NT the joy of the festive company, not the subjective emotion of an individual. In Lk. 12:19; 16:19 it refers to eating, drinking and enjoying oneself – in the latter

instance doubtless in revelry among convivial friends. This is what man without God sees as supremely worthwhile and what material possessions are for. On the other hand, emphasis on the joy wrought by God is a peculiar feature of the Lucan writings (→ *chairō* NT 3). Luke's Gospel is irradiated by joy. Thus in Lk. 15:23, 32 there is an invitation to make merry over the return of the lost son, while according to Lk. 15:29 the elder son enviously desires a similar joyous feast for himself.

Acts 14:17 speaks of joy in the gifts of nature as being God's gifts in creation. Acts 2:26, 28, applying Ps. 16:8–11 to the resurrection, speaks of joy in the presence of God. On the other hand, Acts 7:41 refers to the shameless rejoicing of Israel when worshipping before the golden calf (cf. Exod. 32:4, 6).

2. Paul normally uses the vb. *chairō* (even in the context of 2 Cor. 2:2), but in Rom. 15:10 and Gal. 4:27 he is influenced by OT quotations. In Rom. 15:10 he sees the fulfilment of Deut. 32:43: the reason for rejoicing is that the message of Christ has now come to the Gentiles. Similarly in Gal. 4:27 the call to rejoice is applied to the → Jerusalem that is above, the church of the new → covenant composed of Jews and Gentiles.

3. Likewise in Rev. 12:12 and 18:20 which are based on OT quotations (cf. Isa. 44:23; 49:13; Jer. 51:48; Rev. 11:10 is not so based), it is eschatological rejoicing which is expressed by *euphrainō*. The fact that eschatological joy often appears in the NT under the figure of a joyous feast, and that Jesus himself, when on earth, does not scorn to join in the festivities of the common meal, indicates that the word *euphrainō* is in complete accord with the joyous message of the gospel.

E. Beyreuther

χαίρω

χαίρω (*chairō*), be glad, rejoice; χαρά (*chara*), joy.

CL *chairō*, to be glad, rejoice (related to the Sanskrit *haryati*, to take pleasure in, and the Old High German *geron*, to desire), and *chara*, joy, are attested from Homer onwards. *chairein epi* (also *dia*, *en*, *peri*) means to rejoice over someone or something. The reason for the joy is introduced with *hoti* (that) or appears in a participial form. The pres. imperative frequently occurs in the greeting *chaire* (sing.), *chairete* (plur.), "Hail!" At the opening of a letter in the infin. *chairein*, is often used in which case the vb. *legei* has to be supplied (cf. Funk § 480): "[. . . says] greetings!" The same formula is used in drinking a toast, "Good health!", and at parting, "Farewell!" The phrases *chairein charan megalēn* (be filled with intense joy) and *chara chairein* (rejoice greatly), which occur in the NT, doubtless go back to OT influence (Matt. 2:10; cf. Jon. 4:6; Jn. 3:29; cf. Isa. 66:10). *chara* denotes both the state and the object of the joy.

Also to be noted is the etymological connection with *charis* (grace) which has not always been clearly distinguished in meaning from *chara*.

OT In the LXX *chara* appears only in the later writings (principally Wis. and 1–4 Macc.) and is chiefly a translation of the Hebrew words *śimḥâh*, joy, gladness, and *śāśōn*, joy. It is distinguished from *charis*, which most frequently translates *ḥēn*, grace, favour. For the most part words from the stem *śāmaḥ*, to be glad, also *gîl*, rejoice and *śîś*, to be glad, are rendered by *chairō*.

There is no clear distinction between the usage of *chairō* and that of *euphrainō*,

the Heb. equivalent of which is also predominantly *śāmaḥ*. The two words are often synonymous (Lam. 4:21; Prov. 29:6; Est. 8:17; 9:27 and passim), though Sir. 30:16 does permit a certain differentiation. Basically, *euphrainō* is nearer to → *agalliaomai*, as it also translated in words such as *šîr*, to sing. *chairō* covers both the subjective feeling and the objective cause of joy. Of all the words in this group it thus comes closest to the Heb. *šālôm*, → peace, salvation, and in fact is used to translate this in Isa. 48:22; 57:21 (cf. Tob. 13:14[15] *charēsontai epi tē eirēnē sou* "shall rejoice over thy peace"). The vb. and the noun do not often appear in the context of joy in worship (Ps. 30:11); *agalliaomai* and *euphrainō* are used almost exclusively in such passages.

1. A non-specific use as a greeting occurs particularly in 1–4 Macc. The general meaning to be glad, to be pleased, is found in e.g. Gen. 45:16; Isa. 39:2; cf. 2 Ki. 20:13.

In the OT there is no apology for joy in the good things of life, such as health (Sir. 30:16), wise children (Prov. 23:25), eating and drinking (1 Ki. 3:1; cf. Ps. 104:14 f.), peace in the land (1 Macc. 14:11; → *euphrainō*). But the author of Prov. also warns that joy is transitory and is threatened by the vicissitudes of life: after laughter comes weeping (Prov. 14:13).

2. God is the giver of all joy and of all → blessings (1 Ki. 8:66). He gives his gracious word (1 Ki. 8:56) which far outweighs all transitory blessings. This word comforts and strengthens in times of temptation and distress (Jer. 15:16). It enables men to endure until such time as God turns mourning into joy (Ps. 126:5). The fear of the Lord is thus a source of joy (Sir. 1:12). Consequently *chairō* serves also to describe eschatological joy, rejoicing over ultimate salvation and peace (Joel 2:21, 23; Isa. 66:10, 14; Zech. 10:7; Tob. 13:25 in conjunction with → *agalliaomai*).

3. In Rab. Judaism joy in the → law is emphasized. Reading the Pentateuch is described as the joy of the law (cf. SB IV 154; *TDNT* II 773 f.), or "fullness of joy" (cf. SB II 566 on Jn. 16:24). In Philo divine → wisdom is a source of joy (*Rer. Div. Her.* 315). God alone has pure joy; it is other-worldly, but comes to man in mystic union with him (*Abr.* 201–207; *Spec. Leg.* 2, 54 f.).

4. In Qumran joy (*śimḥâh*) also springs from knowledge of the truth (1QH 11:30), but here it is the knowledge of God's → election and of his → mercy towards his elect. There is a decisive contrast between present sadness in affliction and chastisement (1QH 9:24) and the joy of final victory (1QM 13:12 f.; 14:4; 18:8 and often). A banner in the final battle bears the inscription "Joy of God" (1QM 4:14), and after the victory the sons of light will be translated to glory and everlasting joy (1QH 13:6).

NT In the NT the vb. and noun occur chiefly in the Gospels and Pauline Epistles (the vb. 74 times; the noun 59 times). The writings with the most instances of *chairō* and *chara* are found as follows: 20 times in Lk.; 11 in Acts; 18 in Jn.; 12 in Matt.; 14 in Phil.; 13 in 2 Cor.; 7 in Rom.; and 6 in 1 Thess. It is no accident that the words appear particularly where there is express mention of the eschatological fulfilment in Christ, of being in him, and of hope in him. But it ought not to be overlooked that the whole NT message as the proclamation of God's saving work in Christ is a message of joy (→ Gospel).

1. The general use as a greeting needs only brief mention. *chairein* is used at the beginning of a letter in Acts 15:23; 23:26; Jas. 1:1 (→ Book). In 2 Jn. 10 those addressed are warned to refuse hospitality to teachers of heretical doctrine, so as to avoid all involvement in their evil deeds. In Matt. 28:9 the risen Christ makes himself known to his disciples using the familiar, everyday *chairete*. When in Matt. 26:49; 27:29 par. Mk. 15:18, Jn. 19:3, Jesus is saluted in derision as rabbi or King of the Jews (→ Israel) there is a concealed irony since he is quite unwittingly given the salutation which is his due. In Lk. 1:28, Mary is startled not so much by the *chaire* itself, as by the message which follows it.

2. According to the Synoptic Gospels, the coming of Jesus brings in a time of joy: "Can the wedding guests mourn as long as the bridegroom is with them?" (Matt. 9:15 par. Mk. 2:19, Lk. 5:34; → Fast). The fact that he brings in the eschatological salvation distinguishes him plainly from John the Baptist and the OT prophets: the blind see and the lame walk, lepers are cleansed and the deaf hear, the dead are raised and the poor have the gospel preached to them (Matt. 11:5 par. Lk. 7:22). The effect of his work and preaching is to bring joy (Lk. 19:6). Even when he became an offence and the way of those who tread in his footsteps leads to suffering and persecution, the joyful assurance of salvation should not be lost: "Rejoice and be glad, for your reward is great in heaven!" (Matt. 5:12). Jesus is the coming judge of the whole world. Hence he who remains faithful to Christ's commission and receives the word with no mere ephemeral joy (Matt. 13:20 par. Mk. 4:16, Lk. 8:13), will hear one day the welcoming summons to the joyous banquet of his Lord. On *chara* in the sense of banquet, festive dinner, and its possible use in this sense in Matt. 25:21, 23 see Arndt, 884; SB I 879, 972. On the parable of the great supper see J. Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus*, 1963², 63–69 (cf. Matt. 22:2 f.; Rev. 19:7, 9). When the disciples met the risen Christ, they were seized not only with → fear but also with great joy (Matt. 28:8; cf. Mk. 16:8; Lk. 24:9).

3. (a) Lk.'s Gospel has joy as one of its basic themes. Already in the birth narrative the note is clearly heard. Zechariah is promised joy and gladness; many will rejoice at the birth of John (Lk. 1:14) because of what God is now about to do on behalf of his people (cf. 2:15). When Elizabeth meets the mother of the Saviour (cf. 2:11) the child leaps for joy in her womb (*en agalliasei*, "for joy", 1:44). Jubilant praise of God, in the majestic language of the OT Psalms, is expressed in the *Magnificat* of Mary (*ēgalliasen*, "rejoiced", 1:47) and in the hymn of Zechariah (1:68 ff.). The basis and content of this great joy is the Christmas message that in Jesus God has visited and redeemed his people (1:68), that he has taken care of lost mankind, as he had promised to the fathers (1:55) and to the prophets (1:70), and that he has good will (*eudokia*, 2:14) towards men.

Joy is an important consequence of Jesus' → miracles (13:17). The seventy disciples may share in his power over evil spirits and be filled with joy and pride (10:17), but joy in God's electing love counts for still more: "But rejoice that your names are written in heaven" (10:20; cf. Matt. 7:22 f.). God deals mercifully with the lost; everything depends upon that. There is joy in heaven over one sinner who repents (Lk. 15:7, 10, 23). Indeed, the whole of Lk. 15 with its parables of the lost sheep, the lost coin and the lost son presents Jesus calling upon men to rejoice with him over the lost returning to the Father (15:6, 9, 32).

In contrast with the note of fear and awe which concludes the authentic text of Mk. (16:8), the conclusion of Lk. is remarkable for its amazement and overflowing joy (Lk. 24:11, 41, 52). V. 46 might be regarded as a resumé of Lk.'s entire Gospel. Following upon the age of Jesus comes the age of the church (v. 47), when repentance will be preached in his name. (Here too there is the implication that repentance brings joy!) This is the message which will be carried beyond the boundaries of Israel and preached to all nations.

(b) This process is recorded in the Acts, where there are repeated expressions of joy over the irresistible worldwide expansion of the church. There is first of all the joy of the → apostles in suffering shame and persecution for Christ's sake (5:41; cf. Matt. 5:11 f.). Men experience such joy through the enabling of the Holy → Spirit (13:52; cf. 7:55). Persecution cannot halt the victorious course of the gospel (20:24 *v.l. meta charas* "with joy"). There is joy over the ingathering of the Gentiles (11:23; 13:48; 15:3). When the gospel is preached to the Gentiles and they are baptized, the persons concerned are filled with joy (8:8, 39; 15:31).

4. In the Gospel of John the eschatological term *chara peplēromenē*, perfect joy, fullness of joy (likewise in 1 Jn. 1:4; 2 Jn. 12), is an important feature. It occurs as early as 3:27, where John the Baptist's joy is now full on account of the "bridegroom", the promised revealer of heavenly truth (cf. Matt. 9:14 f. par. Mk. 2:18 f., Lk. 5:33 f.). The eschatological hour has now arrived, in which continuous sowing exists side by side with the harvest time (4:35 f.), and in which Jesus is already accomplishing the work he was given to do (4:34). Abraham in heaven joins in the rejoicing over this day when the harvest begins to be gathered (8:56). The perfect joy which Jesus has, because he is in full communion with the Father (14:20) and does his will (4:34), is to be granted to the disciples also (15:11). This he asks from the Father (17:13), and therefore exhorts his own to abide in him (15:4) and in his love (15:9). His work of love is completed as he lays down his life for his "friends" (15:13); it will only be fully revealed, however, when he goes away from them (16:10). But he does not leave them behind as → orphans (14:18). He prays the Father to send the *paraklētos* (14:16, 26; → Advocate), manifests himself to them as the risen one (14:19; 20:20 "the disciples rejoiced [*echarēsan*]"), and promises them that prayer in his name will be heard (15:7, 16).

The world cannot take away this joy and consolation any more than it can take away the → peace which he gives (14:27; 16:33), for they are grounded in → revelation and do not belong to this world. This is the reason why his disciples are to be separate from the world and are to expect the world's hatred and persecution (15:19; 16:2). But fear is banished because Jesus has overcome the world (16:33; cf. 1 Jn. 1:4). Present sadness will be turned into joy (16:22). This eschatological joy "is not described as a psychic condition of rapture but is defined as the situation in which believers no longer need to ask for anything" (R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 1971, 583).

5. The Pauline Epistles testify to the paradox that Christian joy is to be found only in the midst of sadness, affliction and care. Indeed, this is precisely where it gives proof of its power.

(a) This joy has its source beyond mere earthly, human joy. It is joy *en kyriō*, in the Lord, and therefore outside ourselves. This is why Paul constantly reminds his readers of its existence and exhorts them to manifest it (Phil. 3:1; 4:4, 10; Rom.

12:12; 2 Cor. 6:10). It is the "joy of faith" (Phil. 1:25; Rom. 15:13). It has its basis in the → hope and confidence of → faith, which despite all fightings and fears (2 Cor. 7:5) is certain of justification through Christ (Rom. 8:31 f.) and looks forward to his return as the risen Lord. As the joy of faith, it is also a → fruit of the → Spirit (Gal. 5:22), and is spoken of as joy in the Holy Spirit (Rom. 14:17; 1 Thess. 1:6). It is thus a spiritual gift, and in this respect approximates to the idea of *charis*, → grace. Because faith and its consequent joy do not come from ourselves, Paul can be confident and rejoice even when Christ is preached with base motives. The important thing is that God should do his gracious work and that as many men as possible should share in the gospel (Phil. 1:5 f., 15–18).

(b) In 2 Cor. Paul places joy in direct contrast to *thlipsis*, affliction (→ Persecution, Tribulation), by which he means not only the distress caused by outward trials, but also the sorrow aroused by his apostolic rebukes. He protests to the Corinthians that "we work with you [*synergoi esmen*] for your joy" (2 Cor. 1:24). He wrote as he did not to cause *thlipsis* (2:4) but that his joy, which is joy *en kyriō*, "in the Lord" (13:11; cf. Phil 3:1), might be shared by all (2:3). The lives of the Corinthians are to be ruled not by passive resignation or the worldly grief (*lypē*) which produces death (7:10), but by the joy of a purified faith. Having sharply rebuked them earlier, Paul has regained his confidence in them (7:13), for his admonition has had a salutary effect. Indeed, he almost implies that he has been too severe (7:11). Since his anxiety has been removed by Titus' report (7:16), he now has even stronger grounds for rejoicing.

(c) Paul wrote the Epistle to the Philippians from prison (possibly in Ephesus) and at the time was still uncertain of the outcome of his trial. There is evidence that he felt lonely (2:20 f.), and that faithful preaching of the gospel was in jeopardy (1:15 ff.; 2:21). Once again there was *thlipsis* (4:14; cf. Col. 1:24), occasion for anxiety. Yet there were also grounds for thankfulness and unmitigated joy: thankfulness for the participation of the Philippians in the gospel (1:5), and joy over the continuing proclamation of Christ (1:18). Constrained by the gospel and by Christ himself, Paul exhorts his readers to rejoice together with him (2:17 f.), to cast care behind them (4:16), and to be of one mind in the fellowship of the Spirit (2:1 f.). What if there is occasion for anxiety; what if Paul is soon to meet his death, so long as Christ is magnified in his body (1:20)!

In Phil. joy is thus a continuous "defiant 'Nevertheless' " (K. Barth, *The Epistle to the Philippians*, 1962, 120; cf. Phil. 2:17; 4:4). This "nevertheless" draws its strength not from itself but from untiring prayer which lays every need before God (4:6; cf. 1 Thess. 5:16; Col. 1:11). It takes heart at the spread of the gospel throughout the world (1:5 f.; 1 Thess. 3:9; Col. 2:5) and at the flourishing growth of missionary churches (Phil. 4:10; cf. 1 Thess. 2:20: "For you are our glory and joy"). But above all it is joy in the Lord (Phil. 4:4).

(d) The present period of trial and distress is limited. The Lord is at hand! (Phil. 4:5; cf. 1 Thess. 5:2 f.; 3:3). Hence joy is based primarily on the → hope that after suffering together we shall be glorified together (Rom. 8:17). This joyous and confident waiting for the day of Christ puts our present experience into true perspective. *Gaudium in domino parit veram aequitatem:* "Joy in the Lord brings forth true peace of mind" (J. A. Bengel, quoted by Barth, op. cit., 121). On the one hand, this "gentleness" (Phil. 4:5 RV mg.) gives us leisure from ourselves so

that we can sympathize with others (Rom. 12:15). On the other hand, it reminds us that our present joys and sorrows belong to this life only and are not our final lot (1 Cor. 7:30; 2 Cor. 6:10).

6. This Pauline teaching about joy in affliction and temptation proved its value when the later NT epistles were being written. By this time, the persecution of Christians was already so severe as to threaten the very existence of the church (1 Pet. 4:13; cf. Rom. 8:17). But being robbed of their material goods could not deprive them of their joy (Heb. 10:34). This is well illustrated by the last lines of Luther's hymn *Ein' feste Burg*, inspired by Ps. 46:

> And, though they take our life,
> Goods, honour, children, wife,
> Yet is their profit small;
> These things shall vanish all:
> The city of God remaineth (Carlyle's translation).

For all that, persecution still brought very real distress (Heb. 12:11). Hence believers are urged to exercise patience (Heb. 10:36) and to continue obediently in sound doctrine (Heb. 12:17). Christ has voluntarily given up his own joy and taken upon himself the shame of the cross. Only looking to him can we obtain patience and endurance in temptation (Heb. 12:2; cf. 1 Pet. 1:8 f.).

Jas. 1:2 comes close to teaching Christians to rejoice in martyrdom (cf. Acts 5:41). In the course of the church's history, however, this has often degenerated into virtually seeking martyrdom for its own sake. Jas. 4:9 f. is not to be taken legalistically, as if this were the saving faith of the NT. Such a view is precluded by obedience to the risen Lord. For it would deny the ultimate, once-for-all value of his work on the cross. *E. Beyreuther, G. Finkenrath*

→ Cry, → Lament, → Laugh, → Suffer

(a). W. Beilner, "Joy", *EBT* II 438–42; R. Bultmann, *agalliaomai* etc., *TDNT* I 19 ff.; *euphrainō* etc., *TDNT* II 772–75; and *The Gospel of John*, 1971, 505 ff.; H. Conzelmann and W. Zimmerli, *chairō* etc., *TDNT* IX 359–415; D. W. Harvey, "Rejoice Not, O Israel!" in B. W. Anderson and W. Harrelson, eds., *Israel's Prophetic Heritage*, 1962, 116–27; J. Moltmann, *Theology and Joy*, 1973. (b). M. Ammermann, *Die religiöse Freude in den Schriften des Alten Bundes*, 1942; E. G. Gulin, *Die Freude im Neuen Testament*, I–II, 1932–36; U. Holtzmeister, " 'Gaudete in Domino semper' et 'Beati qui lugent' ", *Verbum Domini* 22, 1942, 257–62; P. Humbert, "*Laetari et exsultare* dans le vocabulaire religieux de l'Ancien Testament", *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses* 22, 1942, 185–214; and *Opuscules d'un Hébraisant*, 1958, 119–45; R. Laurentin, *Structure et Théologie de Luc I–II*, 1964; W. Nauck, "Freude im Leiden", *ZNW* 46, 1955, 68–80; J. Perrier, *La Joie dans l'Évangile de Jésus*, 1962; B. Reicke, *Diakonie, Festfreude und Zelos in Verbindung mit der altchristlichen Agapenfeier*, 1951; H. Rusche, "Die Freude: Ein biblischer Grundbegriff", *BuK* 5, 1964, 141 ff.; E. Schick and A. Auer, "Freude", *LTK* IV 361 ff.; A. B. du Toit, *Der Aspekt der Freude im urchristlichen Abendmahl*, 1965; R. Voeltzel, *Das Lachen des Herrn*, 1961.

Judgment, Judge, Deliver, Judgment Seat

It is sometimes necessary to examine whether human behaviour conforms to certain standards. Such examination, together with the ultimate assessment and, if necessary, condemnation, is expressed in the NT by the extensive word-group connected with *krinō*, to judge. Since *paradidōmi* can mean "to hand over" (for

judgment or punishment) it is also discussed here together with *bēma*, judgment seat, and *katadikazō*, condemn. However, in view of its basic meaning "to transmit" this word-group is further dealt with under → Teach.

κρίμα

κρίμα (*krima*), dispute, decision, verdict, judgment; κρίνω (*krinō*), separate, judge, consider, decide; ἀνακρίνω (*anakrinō*), investigate, examine; κρίσις (*krisis*), decision, crisis; κριτής (*kritēs*), a judge; συγκρίνω (*synkrinō*), compare, interpret; κατάκριμα (*katakrima*), punishment, condemnation; κατακρίνω (*katakrinō*), condemn; κατάκρισις (*katakrisis*), condemnation; καταγινώσκω (*kataginōskō*), condemn.

CL *krima*, judgment, is found once in Aeschylus but does not acquire a clear meaning until quite late (from the LXX onwards). It is formed from *krinō*, to judge, which in its numerous compounds (both nouns and vbs.) had come to occupy a major place in legal terminology. *krinō* did not originate as a legal term, however, nor are its meanings restricted to the legal sphere.

1. (a) From its basic meaning to separate, sift (so in Homer), the word acquired in Gk. literature its own shades of meaning in connection with human value-judgments: to discriminate, divide, distinguish, select, acknowledge, approve, estimate, prefer. At the same time the "assessment" aspect became prominent, so that *krinō* means to judge, pronounce judgment, decide, and also to be of the opinion, to purpose. In the mid. and pass. it means to dispute, debate, or fight.

(b) The compound *synkrinō* reveals a similar process in its meanings to compare, judge, measure. It also means (like *krinō* used in the mid.) to explain, expound, and interpret (dreams).

(c) *anakrinō*, found from Thucydides onwards, expresses the questioning process which leads to a judgment: to examine, cross-examine, interrogate, inquire, and investigate.

(d) The noun *krima*, like the vb., embraces a variety of meanings: decision, verdict, and also controversy, dispute.

(e) In this meaning *krima* is parallel to its derivative *krisis*, which means decision (of a referee), crisis (in battle, sickness, etc.), and also separation, selection, dissension, dispute.

(f) The person making the decision or selection is called *kritēs*: critic, judge, referee (the word is very rare in secular Gk., and in Attic and Ion. Gk. is never used for a lawcourt judge). Derived from this is the substantival adj. *kritikos* (found from Plato onwards), a competent, experienced judge.

2. (a) *krinō* as a technical legal term means to judge, to bring to judgment, or condemn. The judgment, *krima*, can be divine or human, and the judges, *kritai*, authorized office-bearers or unauthorized persons. Divine judicial authority is such that generally judgment and its effect are seen as one, so that *krima* means not only judgment but also condemnation, damnation and punishment.

(b) The compound *katakrinō* has a similar meaning: to condemn. The rare noun *katakrisis* means condemnation. The noun *katakrima*, is first found in the 1st cent. B.C. with the meaning punishment, damnation. Its meaning in the *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri* (ed. 1895) is noteworthy: legal liability in respect of a piece of land.

(c) The word *autokatakritos* is found in Philo and occurs sporadically elsewhere. Formed from the adj. and the prefix *auto*, self, it has no longer a strictly legal but rather a moral character and means self-condemned. Another rare compound is *prokrima* (not found until the 2nd cent. A.D.), a technical legal term for the interim judgment reached en route to the final verdict; then also, morally, prejudice, preconceived idea (which stands in the way of a judicial decision). A moral assessment is also expressed by *kataginōskō*, found from Aeschylus and Herodotus onwards, meaning to condemn, literally to observe something (bad) in someone, to catch in the act, to recognize as guilty, to despise.

OT 1. In the LXX *krinō* is used mainly as a translation of the Heb. words *šāpaṭ*, *dîn* and *rîḇ*. Thus *krinō*, to judge, acquired a meaning which went beyond its general Gk. usage, for *dîn* means not only to judge, but also to punish, wrangle, vindicate, and obtain justice for a person (Gen. 15:14; 2 Sam. 19:9; Gen. 30:6; Deut. 32:36; Ps. 54:3; Jer. 5:28). *rîḇ* means to quarrel, to litigate, to carry on a lawsuit (Gen. 26:21; Jdg. 8:1; 21:22; 1 Sam. 24:16). *šāpaṭ*, which occurs the most frequently, adds still further shades of meaning, so that to judge comes to mean "to rule" (Exod. 2:14; 1 Sam. 8:20; 2 Sam. 15:4, 6). He who judges brings salvation, peace and deliverance, especially to the persecuted and oppressed (cf. Deut. 10:18). "Give the king thy justice, O God, and thy righteousness unto the royal son! May he judge thy people with righteousness, and thy poor with justice" (Ps. 72:1 f.). The judges (LXX *kritai*) who in Jdg. are called "great" are the deliverers, helpers or saviours, raised up by God. They obtain justice for the tribes of Israel in the face of their enemies, annihilate or drive out their oppressors, and so bring salvation, rest and peace to the land (Jdg. 3:9, 15). *krima* can also mean statute (Lev. 18:5; 20:22), and in Jer. 51:10 the Heb. *ṣᵉḏāqâh*, righteousness, is translated by *krima*.

2. In Israel justice was originally dispensed not according to absolute moral standards but with a view to restoring peace within the community concerned, whether the family, the tribe, or the nation. In difficult cases it meant removing the offending member. After the conquest justice was dispensed partly in the context of family and tribe by the heads of families and tribal elders, and partly in the context of the local community by the elders sitting in the gate of a town or village, all full citizens having right to speak (Ruth 4:1 ff.). In Jerusalem officials (called commanders in Deut. 1:15 RSV; princes e.g. Isa. 1:23; Jer. 26) were appointed as judges. Certain officials whose function is not quite clear were called "judges of Israel". According to M. Noth, a list of these is seen in the enumeration of the so-called "minor judges" in Jdg. 10:1–5; 12:7–15 (*The History of Israel*, 1958, 101).

3. In Israel all justice is ascribed to God: Yahweh is Lord and judge (Deut. 1:17). As judge he helps his people (Jdg. 11:27; 2 Sam. 18:31). He never deviates from justice (Ps. 7:12), and will not suffer his honour to be brought into disrepute. Heaven and earth or the peoples of the earth are often called upon to act as a tribunal (Isa. 1:2; Jer. 2:12; Mic. 6:1; Ps. 50:1–6). He judges the nations (Gen. 11:1 ff.; Ps. 67:5; Amos 1:2; Joel 4:2; Mal. 3:2 ff.), especially on the "day of Yahweh", when he will destroy all ungodliness (Isa. 2:12–18; 13:9; Jer. 46:10; Ezek. 30:3 ff.; Zeph. 1:7–18; → Present, art. *hēmera*). He comes to the aid of anyone suffering violence and injustice (Gen. 4:9 ff.). One must submit to his inscrutable judgment (Job). His judgments are just, i.e. they are in harmony with

his faithfulness, whereby he espouses the cause of his chosen people, guides them and ensures their safety. Thus God's judgment is motivated by love, grace and mercy, and its outcome is salvation (Isa. 30:18; Ps. 25:6–9; 33:5; 103:6 ff.; 146:7). "He will vindicate his people and have compassion on his servants" (Deut. 32:36 RSV).

4. In the judgment discourses of the prophets it is God's judgment upon Israel which receives most attention (Amos 5:18; 8 and 9; Hos. 4:1; Mic. 1; Jer. 2:4–9; Isa. 41:1 ff.; 48:1 ff.; 50:1 ff.). Since Israel is the elect nation, it will be judged (Amos 3:1 ff.; Ezek. 20:33–38). Moreover, Yahweh the judge is → king of the universe and uses nations and powers as instruments of his judgment. The key to the message of the major prophets "lies in the light of the fact that, as far as saving history is concerned they see an entirely new day dawning for Israel; they see a new action of God approaching her, which will bring with it heavy punishments but also mysterious acts of preservation. In view of this – so the prophets are convinced – it will no longer be enough to appeal to the old saving appointments, for this new divine saving activity, and it alone, is to decide the question of the existence or non-existence of Israel" (G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, II, 1965, 395; cf. Isa. 5:1 ff.; Hos. 13:5–9; Jer. 31:31 ff.).

5. In the post-exilic period the description of God's judgment acquired certain apocalyptic features. Its character as punishment is emphasized: God's enemies, whether men or supernatural powers, will be dashed to pieces (a host on high, Eth.Enoch 10:6; God and Magog, Sib. 3). The "congregation of wickedness" will be annihilated, while the "sons of light" will attain salvation (cf. 1QS 3 and 4; 1QM 3:9–19 of the Qumran community). The doctrine of retribution led men to regard any calamity as God's judgment upon them for some offence; this in turn had an adverse effect upon their social life, and shook their faith in divine justice. Belief in a further judgment after death (Ps.Sol. 3:1 ff.; Eth.Enoch) offered a way out of this mental anguish, since it meant that the process of exact retribution could be lengthened. Judgment would still fall, even though men might not live to see it. God or the Son of man is the judge of the world at the "last day" (2 Esd. 7; Eth.Enoch).

NT 1. In addition to the metaphors of harvest (→ seed), sifting, and separation (cf. Matt. 13:30 f., 40 f., 49; 24:31, 40 f.; 25:31 ff.) the NT contains a great deal of legal and semi-legal language where *krima*, *krinō* and their derivatives are used with the same complex meanings as are found in Gk. literature and in the LXX.

(a) *krinō* has the following meanings: to distinguish, give preference, approve (Rom. 14:5a to esteem one day as better than another; Rom. 14:5b to approve each day, i.e. esteem all days alike). In addition it means to consider, regard as (Acts 13:46; 16:15; 26:8); to speak or think ill of, to decide, to judge (Matt. 7:1 f; Lk. 7:43; Acts 4:19; 15:19; Rom. 14:3 ff.; 1 Cor. 4:5; 10:15; 29; 2 Cor. 5:14; Col. 2:16). *prokrima* is similarly used ("without prejudice", 1 Tim. 5:21). *krinō* also means to decide, resolve (Acts 3:13 and *passim*; Rom. 14:13; 1 Cor. 2:2; 5:3; 7:37; Tit. 3:12). *synkrinō* means to interpret (1 Cor. 2:13, "interpreting spiritual truths to those who possess the Spirit"), and to compare (2 Cor. 10:12). *anakrinō* occurs with the meaning to inquire (Acts 17:11; 1 Cor. 10:25, 27; 14:24), to examine,

interrogate (Lk. 23:14; Acts 4:9; 12:19; 24:8; 28:18; 1 Cor. 4:3; 9:3), to judge of, to form an estimate of (1 Cor. 2:14).

(b) *krinō* and *krima* are very frequently used in the NT in a strictly judicial sense, *krinō* meaning to judge; in the pass. to bring to trial, condemn, punish; in the mid. to dispute.

Men judge according to the → law (Jn. 18:31; Acts 23:3; 24:6). The apostles and the church judge (1 Cor. 5:12; 1 Cor. 6:2 f.; the world and angels). Paul is put on trial (Acts 23:6). The people cannot come to a right judgment (Lk. 12:57). The wicked servant is punished on the basis of his own statements (Lk. 19:22; → Punishment). People go to law to settle disputes (Matt. 5:40; 1 Cor. 6:6). The noun *krima* is used similarly: the disciples of Jesus should not judge, and with the judgment that a man pronounces on others he himself will be judged (Matt. 7:1 ff.). The Christians in Corinth have disputes (lawsuits) with one another (1 Cor. 6:7). *krisis* is similarly used: judgment by the authorities (Matt. 5:21); judgment passed by one man upon another (Jn. 7:24), or by the angels upon the devil (2 Pet. 2:11; Jude 9). *kritēs* means the authorized (Matt. 5:25; Lk. 12:14, 58; 18:2) and the unauthorized (Jas. 2:4; 4:11) judge, also anyone who brings injustice to light (Matt. 12:27). *autokatakritos* (only in Tit. 3:11) is the man who is self-condemned. *kataginōskō* (1 Jn. 3:20 f.; Gal. 2:11) means to be recognized as guilty and condemned by one's own heart or conduct. Condemnation by men is also expressed by *katakrinō*: the people of → Nineveh will appear at the last judgment with this generation and will condemn it (Matt. 12:41; cf. Heb. 11:7). "Has no one condemned you?" (Jn. 8:10, cf. 11). "In passing judgment upon another you condemn yourself" (Rom. 2:1). "Who is to condemn?" (Rom. 8:34). Jesus is condemned to death (Matt. 20:18; 27:3; Mk. 14:64). The noun *katakrisis* occurs twice: "dispensation of condemnation" (2 Cor. 3:9) and "not to your condemnation" (2 Cor. 7:3). When combined with the genitive, *krima tēs pornēs* means the judgment of the harlot (Rev. 17:1), and *krima thanatou* capital punishment (Lk. 24:20).

LXX influence appears when *krima* means rule: authority to rule is given to the disciples and martyrs (Lk. 22:30; Rev. 20:4); the twelve apostles rule over the twelve tribes (Matt. 19:28); likewise when *krisis* means justice (Matt. 12:18; 23:23; Acts 8:33).

God and Jesus judge (Jn. 5:22, 29 f. and often; Acts 6:10). They are called *kritēs*, judge (2 Tim. 4:8; Heb. 12:23; Jas. 4:12; 5:9; Acts 10:42), and God's word is called *kritikos*, a discerner (Heb. 4:12). When the passive form is used, the reference is similarly to the activity of the divine judge (Rev. 11:8). Christ judges the living and the dead (2 Tim. 4:1; 1 Pet. 4:5 f.), the secrets of men (Rom. 2:16), the world (Acts 17:31), every man according to his works (1 Pet. 1:17; Rev. 20:12 f. cf. 2 Cor. 5:10). The noun *krima* is used in the same way: Jesus has come to bring judgment (Jn. 9:39); God's judgments are unsearchable (Rom. 11:33); his activity as a judge begins with the church (1 Pet. 4:17); future and eternal judgment is in his hands (Acts 24:25; Heb. 6:2). Divine judgment often includes → punishment (Jn. 3:17 f.; Rom. 2:12; 3:6; 1 Cor. 11:13 f.; 2 Thess. 2:12; Heb. 10:30; 13:4; Jas. 5:9). God's condemnation is just (Rom. 2:2 f.; 3:8) and swift (2 Pet. 2:3). The prince of this world is condemned (Jn. 16:11). Divine condemnation, issuing, as the word implies, in damnation, is expressed by *katakrima* (Rom. 5:16, 18; 8:1). Damnation is also expressed by the verb *katakrinō*, which can have God, as well

as men, for its subject: God condemned sin in the flesh (Rom. 8:3). He has turned Sodom and Gomorrah to ashes and condemned them (2 Pet. 2:6). When we are judged, we are chastened so that we may not be condemned along with the world (1 Cor. 11:32); cf. also the passive in Mk. 16:16 and Rom. 14:23. *krisis* is frequently used synonymously with *krima*, judgment: the judgment of God or of Christ (Jn. 5:30; 2 Thess. 1:5); the day (hour) of judgment (Matt. 10:15 and often; 2 Pet. 2:9; 3:7; 1 Jn. 4:17; Jude 6; Rev. 14:7; 1 Tim. 5:24; Heb. 9:27). Divine judgment brings separation (Jn. 3:19) and destruction (Heb. 10:27). He who hears Jesus' word and believes him does not come into judgment (Jn. 5:24). The dead who have done evil will arise to judgment (Jn. 5:29).

2. Just as in the OT all judgment is ascribed to God, so also in the NT all human judgment and punishment stands within the wider context of God's sovereign judgment, a principle expressed with the utmost clarity in Matt. 7:1: "Judge not, that you be not judged". The church of Christ has been entrusted with the task of judging in matters which affect its members (1 Cor. 5:12; 6:2). Human relationships are to be regulated by love, even extending to love of one's enemies, but measured by the standard of God's perfect righteousness, no man remains righteous in God's sight. All men fall under his wrath, and are without excuse (Rom. 1–3). This is the reason why ultimately no man has a right to judge another. Dire warnings are addressed to the unmerciful and the arrogant who are blind to their own lost condition, who are not ready to forgive and to pray for their enemies (Matt. 5:23 ff., 43 ff.; 7:1–5; Lk. 18:9 ff.).

The unsearchableness of God's judgments (Rom. 11:33) means that the doctrine of retribution can no longer be rigidly upheld. The human principle of "tit for tat" has no place in the divine judge's dealings with men (Lk. 6:32; 13:1–5; Jn. 9:2 f.). That God *is* judge, however, is basic to the NT, not merely as regards the frequency with which it is mentioned but also from the point of view of content. It is a doctrine which impinges upon many other major aspects of the NT message (→ Glory; → Righteousness; → Grace; → Lord; → Love; → Reward; → Guilt; → Punishment; → Sin; → Forgiveness; → Reconciliation; → Anger, Wrath). On the other hand, words like "judgment", "to judge", etc., are associated with human legal concepts, and as such are incapable of expressing the unsearchableness of God, particularly when his unsearchable decrees reveal his love. This is the other side of God's character, displayed throughout the NT, but in such a way as to show the unmistakable influence of the OT and of Jewish apocalyptic.

Jesus, like John the Baptist, preached by word and deed the nearness of divine judgment, which stirs men up both to hope and to repentance (Lk. 13:6 ff.) and brings woe upon the unrepentant (Matt. 11:20 ff.; 12:41 f.). The fact of coming judgment means that all men are advancing towards God's final verdict on themselves and their works. Before God nothing is forgotten, whether deed or word. The judgment of God is the great reality of man's life (Matt. 10:28), and the only way of escaping condemnation is to be forgiven.

For Paul and the early church, Jesus is the judge of all the world, as God the Father is. Divine patience still gives men time to repent and believe in Christ who for us has been made "to be sin, who knew no sin, so that in him we might become the righteousness of God" (2 Cor. 5:21; cf. Rom. 3:23 ff.; Gal. 3:13; Col. 2:13 ff.). The judge is the Saviour. Judgment already rests upon unbelievers because they

refuse the Saviour, while believers escape condemnation (Jn. 3:16 ff.; 11:25 f.). They have confidence as they anticipate the day of judgment, and this confidence issues in ethical results here and now. The eschatological tension in the statements about judgment is broken neither by the emphasis in Jn. upon its being present, nor by the emphasis in Rev. upon its being future, though the apocalyptic elements figure differently.

The principles of judgment in the NT are a development of those found in OT prophecy. It is the elect one who is judged, for divine judgment falls upon Christ crucified. Yet this is God's saving work, for in judging Christ, he remains faithful to his elect people and honour, and bound to uphold his covenant. The wrath of God is fully revealed only by the gospel (Rom. 1–3), as the "word of the cross" is preached. Christ "is set for the fall and rising of many" (Lk. 2:34).

W. Schneider

παραδίδωμι

παραδίδωμι (*paradidōmi*), deliver up, give up, hand over.

CL *paradidōmi*, from Pindar onwards, has a wide range of uses and denotes all aspects of deliberate giving or giving over: to deliver up, to give away, to offer, to give up, to hand over, to betray. As a legal term, it means to bring before a court, to deliver up a prisoner (*eis* with the acc. expressing destination and purpose). The person concerned is delivered up e.g. to the dark chaos of doom (magic papyri), to death (papyri) or to discipline (Demetrius of Phaleron). It can cover the handing over of a captive (where this has a minimal effect on the situation of the person concerned), right through to the reprehensible act of betrayal, whereby a free man of good repute, who may well be innocent, is ruined.

In its connection with *paradosis*, tradition, the transmission of doctrine, the vb. is dealt with under → Teach, art. *paradidōmi*.

OT The LXX uses *paradidōmi* about 200 times. Although in the Heb. text 26 different words underlie the Gk. vb., *paradidōmi* stands chiefly (about 150 times) for the Hebrew *nāṯan*, which primarily means to give, but secondarily (with a preposition) to hand over, to deliver. The formula *paradounai eis cheiras tinos*, to deliver into someone's hands, is not found in secular Gk., but in the LXX it is very frequent and is carried over from there into the NT. The formula stems ultimately from the wars of Yahweh. Before a battle began, a priest or a prophet would be asked to consult the oracle, and if all was well, the answer would be: "I (Yahweh) deliver them into your hand, O Israel." If Israel was disobedient, then Yahweh would deliver them into the hands of strange peoples (Jdg. 2:14, plunderers; 6:13, Midianites; Isa. 65:12, the sword; Jer. 32:4, the king of Babylon). In the language of the Deuteronomist the old formula came to mean the total annihilation of all the earlier inhabitants of the land (e.g. Deut. 1:8). From then on it became even more widely used. Its origin accounts for the fact that the subject of the vb. is almost always God, and that in practically every case it implies handing over to ruin, to defeat, to annihilation, to death. In Isa. 43:3 it is said that Yahweh has given Egypt, Ethiopia and Seba as a ransom for Israel, i.e. he has inflicted defeat upon them that he may obtain Israel for himself. An analogy is found in

Isa. 53:5 where Yahweh's Servant is said to have been delivered over to death "for our transgressions" for the deliverance of many. This doubtless means that his own people were guilty of betraying Yahweh's Servant, but his death awoke them out of their sin of rejecting him. (For fuller discussion → Son, art. *pais theou.*)

NT 1. In the NT *paradidōmi* occurs in all 120 times; of these 84 are in the Gospels, 13 in Acts, only 19 altogether in the Pauline Epistles (6 in Rom., 7 in 1 Cor., 3 in Eph., 1 each in 2 Cor., Gal., 1 Tim.), 3 in 1 and 2 Pet., 1 in Jude. It does not occur at all in Heb., Rev., and the Epistles of Jn.

In the NT *paradosis* never occurs in the sense of handing over or betrayal, but only in the sense of the transmission of doctrine (→ Teach, art. *paradosis*).

2. The basic meaning of the vb. in the NT is to deliver up to judgment and death. The statement that John the Baptist was delivered up (*paredothē*, Matt. 4:12) signifies his imprisonment leading to his execution. The adversary delivers to the judge (Matt. 5:25), and the judge to the officer (Lk. 12:58). Jesus' followers will be delivered to the council (Matt. 10:17) and to synagogues (Lk. 21:12), and will be exposed to persecution and oppression (Matt. 24:9). Brother is delivered up by brother to death (Mk. 13:12), cf. also Acts 8:3 and 22:4 (Saul in his persecution of Christians) and Acts 12:4 (the arrest of Peter).

3. Most of the passages in which *paradidōmi* occurs refer, however, to Jesus' announcement of his suffering and to the passion itself (→ Suffer). He is delivered into the hands of men (Matt. 17:22 par. Mk. 9:31, Lk. 9:44), to the high priests and scribes (Matt. 20:18), to the Gentiles (Matt. 20:19 par. Mk. 10:33, Lk. 18:22), to Pilate (Matt. 27:2), to the death sentence (Lk. 24:20) and to crucifixion (Matt. 26:2). Judas, the person who delivers him up, is the betrayer. The frequent use of *paradidōmi* in the NT, particularly in the passion narratives, reflects the fact that it is a technical term used in law and in martyrology. The words of institution of the → Last Supper contain *paradidōmi* only once (1 Cor. 11:23), with reference to Christ's atoning death: *en tē nykti hē paredideto*, "on the night in which he was betrayed [or delivered up]"; cf. the *hyper hymōn* "for you" in v. 24.

4. The vb. is occasionally used for deliverance to something other than a human court of justice: to shameful lusts (Rom. 1:24); the Gentiles give themselves up to unchastity and this in itself is a judgment (Eph. 4:19); Israel was given over to worshipping the host of heaven (Acts 7:42). In 1 Cor. 5:5 and 1 Tim. 1:20 Paul delivers men to Satan (→ Destroy, art. *olethros*). According to Jewish tradition, → Satan was the executor of the divine judgment.

5. Finally *paradidōmi* is found in the context of dying, i.e. of giving up one's life: to give up one's spirit, i.e. to expire (Jn. 19:30); to give up one's life, i.e. to risk one's life (Acts 15:26); the Son of God who gave up himself (Gal. 2:20; cf. Eph. 5:25 and Rom. 8:32).

6. Only in a few passages does *paradidōmi* occur in a context other than that of judgment and death. Thus the fact that divine power is delivered to Jesus is an evidence of his messianic sovereignty (Matt. 11:27; Lk. 10:22; Matt. 28:18; cf. 1 Cor. 15:24). But the devil also asserts that he can grant power to whomsoever he will, since it has been placed at his absolute disposal (Lk. 4:6). In Acts 14:26 Paul and Barnabas in Antioch are commended or committed to the grace of God, i.e. placed under its protective power. *H. Beck*

βῆμα | βῆμα (*bēma*), judgment seat.

CL In secular Gk. *bēma* is used in the sense of step or stride, as in walking (Pindar, Aeschylus). It has also the associative connotation of a pace as a unit of measure. The word is also used as a platform for a public speaker and, in legal contexts, it denotes the place where litigants stood for trial (Demosthenes, Aeschines).

OT In the LXX *bēma* stands for two Heb. words *miḏrāḵ* and *miḡdāl*. The word *miḏrāḵ*, from the root *dāraḵ* (tread), denotes the area covered by placing down the foot, hence a footbreadth. It occurs only in Deut. 2:5 where it is used in the sense of a unit of measure. In this context the Lord affirmed to Moses that he would not allow the people of Israel to take any of the territory belonging to the descendants of Esau, "not so much as for the sole of the foot to tread on." A somewhat similar expression utilizes the word *māqôm* (place) rather than *miḏrāḵ* (Deut. 11:24; Jos. 1:3). In this latter expression the emphasis is more geographical and the concept of space or area is minimized. The word *miḡdāl*, from the root *gāḏal* (grow up, become great) chiefly denotes a tower, but is used in Neh. 8:4 of a wooden platform on which Ezra stood to read from the book of the law. The word is used in the same sense in the parallel passage in 1 Esd. 9:42. In Sir. 19:30 *bēma* occurs in the plur. (but in the *v.l.* S^2 *bēma podos* in the sing.) in the sense of the steps of a man, i.e. his manner of walking which reveals his character. Eth.Enoch 62:3, 5 depicts the Son of man judging the mighty on his throne.

NT In the NT *bēma* occurs once in the sense of step as a unit of measure (Acts 7:5). It is found in the expression *bēma podos* ("a foot's length" RSV), i.e. a small area. The usage is similar to the Heb. expression in Deut. 2:5.

The word is used most frequently in the NT of the platform or dais on which was placed a seat for an official. The *bēma* was the platform from which orations were made (Acts 12:21) as well as the place where civil officials held session to hear certain legal cases and render judgment in such cases (Matt. 27:19; Jn. 19:13; Acts 18:12, 16 f.; 25:6, 10, 17). Thus Jesus was brought before the *bēma* of Pilate (cf. A. N. Sherwin-White, *Roman Society and Roman Law in the New Testament*, 1965^2, 24 ff.), and the Jews at Corinth accused Paul before the tribunal of the Proconsul Gallio who drove them out, but ignored the beating of Sosthenes. The remains of a public rostrum still stand among the ruins of Corinth (cf. O. Broneer, "Corinth: Center of Paul's Missionary Work in Greece", *BA* 14, 1951, 91 f.). Later Paul appeared before the *bēma* of Festus at Caesarea.

The word was twice used by Paul in his letters of the judgment seat. Rom. 14:10 speaks of "the judgment seat of God," and the following verse cites Isa. 45:23 as confirmation that all men will appear before it (cf. also Phil. 2:10 f.). 2 Cor. 5:10 speaks of "the judgment seat of Christ", drawing attention to the fact that Christ will be the judge of all men (cf. Matt. 16:27; 25:31–46). In Rom. 14:10 ff. the emphasis is on the rôle of the litigant before the *bēma*: "So each of us shall give account of himself to God." In 2 Cor. 5:10 the emphasis falls on the judgment rendered: "So that each one may receive good or evil, according to what he has done in the body." Both passages draw attention to the reversal of rôles: Jesus who (like his apostle) appeared before the judgment seat of men and suffered unjust

judgment will one day sit in righteous judgment over unjust men. But Paul reminds his readers that believers are not exempt from this scrutiny and judgment. Even though reconciled (cf. 2 Cor. 5:20 f.) and justified (Rom. 5:1; 8:1), they still have to give account and have their work tested (cf. 1 Cor. 3:13 ff.).

T. McComiskey

καταδικάζω *καταδικάζω* (*katadikazō*), condemn; *καταδίκη* (*katadikē*), condemnation.

CL The vb. *katadikazō* means to condemn, render judgment against, in secular Gk. (Herodotus, Lucian). The noun *katadikē* denotes a legal sentence or judgment brought against someone.

OT *katadikazō* occurs in the LXX as the translation of the vb. *rāša'* and its adj. *rāšā'* as well as the vbs. *'āwaṭ* and *ḥûḇ*.

The vb. *rāša'* (be wicked) has the meaning to condemn as guilty in the hiphil and it is this sense of the word that is reflected in *katadikazō* (Job 34:29; Pss. 36[37]:33; 93[94]:21). The adjectival form *rāšā'* (guilty) occurs in Ps. 108(109):7.

The vb. *'āwaṭ* in the piel has the meaning bend or make crooked and hence, by extension, means to pervert, subvert or falsify. It is used by Amos (8:5) of the falsification of weights in dispensing food. In the LXX this word is translated by *katadikazō* in Lam. 3:36 in the sense of subverting one in a cause.

katadikazō is used to translate the piel form of *ḥûḇ* (qal, be guilty; piel, make guilty) in Dan. 1:10. In this context the word is used with "head" in the sense of to make one's head guilty, i.e. to inculpate one and hence endanger his life.

In the Wisdom of Solomon *katadikazō* occurs 4 times always in the sense of formal condemnation (Wis. 2:20; 11:10; 12:15; 17:11). The noun *katadikē* occurs in Wis. 12:27 of the condemnation that was pronounced on those who do not heed God.

NT *katadikazō* is always used in the NT in the sense of condemn, pass judgment against, find guilty (Matt. 12:7, 37; Lk. 6:37; Jas. 5:6). This is particularly clear in Matt. 12:37 where the word is contrasted with *dikaioō* (justify). In Lk. 6:37 *katadikazō* is used in connection with *krinō* (judge) in which case it seems to connote the formal act of passing judgment rather than the cognitive process by which that judgment is reached (*krinō*). The same concept is evident in the metaphorical usage of the term by James in Jas. 5:6 where the use of the word condemn represents the formal pronouncement of judgment before the execution of the sentence: "You have condemned, you have killed the righteous man." The noun *katadikē* occurs only once in the NT (Acts 25:15) in the sense of a sentence of guilt.

T. McComiskey

→ Death, → Hell, → Life, → Present, → Punishment, → Resurrection, → Reward, → Righteousness, → Satan, → Son of God

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"The Revelation of God's Wrath (Romans 1–3)", and "Sin, Law and Death (Romans 7)", *Early Christian Experience*, 1969, 47–70; 87–104; S. G. F. Brandon, *The Judgment of the Dead: An Historical and Comparative Study of the Idea of a Post-Mortem Judgment in the Major Religions*, 1967; F. Büchsel and V. Hentrich, *krinō* etc., *TDNT* III 921–54; R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, I, 1952, 65–92; II, 33–69; and *The Gospel of John*, 1971, 257 ff., 278 ff.; R. H. Charles, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, in Judaism, and in Christianity, or Hebrew, Jewish and Christian Eschatology*, 1913²; C. E. B. Cranfield, "The Parable of the Unjust Judge and the Eschatology of Luke-Acts", *SJT* 16, 1963, 297–301; H. Cunliffe-Jones, "God's Judgment of the Individual after Death", *London Quarterly Holborn Review* 35, 1967, 116–28; J. D. M. Derrett, *Law in the New Testament*, 1970; W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*, I, 1961, 371–87; II, see index; A. M. Fairhurst, "The Problems Posed by the Severe Sayings Attributed to Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels", *SJT* 23, 1970, 77–91; L. Gaston, *No Stone on Another: Studies in the Significance of the Fall of Jerusalem in the Synoptic Gospels, Supplements to NovT* 23, 1970; H. E. Guillebaud, *The Righteous Judge: A Study of the Biblical Doctrine of Everlasting Punishment*, 1964; E. Käsemann, "Sentences of Holy Law in the New Testament", *New Testament Questions of Today*, 1969, 66–81; L. Koehler, *Hebrew Man*, 1956; J. P. Martin, *The Last Judgment in Protestant Theology from Orthodoxy to Ritschl*, 1963; A. L. Moore, *The Parousia in the New Testament, Supplements to NovT* 13, 1966; L. Morris, *The Biblical Doctrine of Judgment*, 1960; C. F. D. Moule, "The Judgment Theme in the Sacraments", in W. D. Davies and D. Daube, *The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology, In Honour of Charles Harold Dodd*, 1956, 464–81; S. Mowinckel, *He That Cometh*, 1956; M. Noth, *The History of Israel*, 1958, 97–108; W. Pesch, "Judgement", *EBT* II 442–49; G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, I, 1962; II, 1965, see indexes; W. Robinson, "The Judgment of God", *SJT* 4, 1951, 136–47; C. Roetzel, *Judgment in the Community*, 1972; and "The Judgment Form in Paul's Letters", *JBL* 88, 1969, 305–12; R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, 1961, 143–63, 353 ff.; G. Vos, *The Pauline Eschatology*, 1952.

(b). P. Althaus, *Die letzten Dinge*, 1956⁶; J. Blank, *Krisis. Untersuchungen zur johanneischen Christologie und Eschatologie*, 1964; G. Bornkamm, "Der Lohngedanke im Neuen Testament", *Theologie und Verkündigung*, 1947, 7 ff.; and "Das Gottesgericht in der Geschichte", *Studien zur Antike und Christentum*, 1959, 47 ff.; H. Braun, *Gerichtsgedanke und Rechtfertigung bei Paulus*, 1930; E. Dinkler, "Rechtsnahme und Rechtsverzicht. Zum Problem der Ethik bei Paulus", *ZTK* 49, 1951, 167 ff., reprinted in *Signum Crucis*, 1967, 204 ff.; F. Horst, "Recht und Religion im Bereich des Alten Testaments", *EvTh* 16, 1956, 49 ff.; L. Mattern, *Das Verständnis des Gerichtes bei Paulus*, 1966; F. Nötscher, *Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumran-Texte*, 1956; and *Gotteswege und Menschenwege in der Bibel und in Qumran*, 1958; W. Richter, "Zu den 'Richtern Israels' ", *ZAW* 77, 1965, 40 ff.; SB IV, 2, 1119–1212; H. Schuster, "Rechtfertigung und Gericht bei Paulus", *Stat Crux Dum Volvitur Orbis*, 1959, 57 ff.; P. Volz, *Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde*, 1934², 89–97; R. Walker, "Die Heiden und das Gericht. Zur Auslegung von Röm. 2, 12–16", *EvTh* 20, 1960, 302 ff.; O. Weber, *Grundlagen der Dogmatik*, II, 1962, 718 ff.

K

King, Kingdom

βασιλεία

βασιλεύς (*basileus*), ruler, king; βασιλεία (*basileia*), kingship, kingly rule, kingdom; βασιλεύω (*basileuō*), to be king, rule; συμβασιλεύω (*symbasileuō*), share the rule; βασίλειος (*basileios*), royal; βασιλικός (*basilikos*), royal, kingly; βασίλισσα (*basilissa*), queen.

CL 1. The noun *basileus* occurs as early as Linear B, and is originally a general term for a ruler; later more specifically a king.

(a) In Mycenaean Gk. *basileus* does not mean sovereign of a state, but a subordinate prince or leader; the king is here the *anax*, i.e. divine ruler. The title *anax* and the ideas that went with it disappeared with time, and *basileus* took on the meaning of king in this sense (cf. T. B. L. Webster, *From Mycenae to Homer*, 1958).

(b) In Homer *basileus* is used of an hereditary, legitimate ruler, whether his sphere of influence be great or small. Thus Odysseus can be described as a *basileus* in Ithaca. The power of the king, from Homer onwards, is traced back to Zeus, and the king described as "nourished by Zeus [*diotrephēs*]" (cf. Homer, *Il.* 2, 196). Hesiod extols the king's wisdom and competence to judge, and makes him inspired by the Muses (*Theogonia* 886).

(c) After monarchy had given place to the rule of an aristocracy, and then in various Greek cities one of the nobles set himself up as monarch, a new term came into being for those who ruled in this fashion, *tyrannos*, one who has gained the rule by illegitimate means. Nothing derogatory is implied by this term about the way the rule is exercised. Not until the "slaying of the tyrants" (514 B.C. in Athens), and the subsequent glorification of those responsible, Harmodios and Aristogeiton, does the word *tyrannos* take on a negative meaning, and the term *basileus*, which has no longer any more than a marginal place in Greek political life, re-emerge as the title of a just and legal ruler. Plato in particular took this view, with his strong condemnation of the tyrant and his moral upgrading of the *basileus* by the requirement that kings should be philosophers and philosophers kings (*Republic* 5, 473d; *Politicus* 292e; cf. Aristotle, *Politics* 3, 1284a, 13).

(d) The Hellenistic concept of divine kingship is not derived from Plato. The development is adequately explained by the political traditions of the Macedonian monarchy and of the divine kingship of the Achaemenidae, and the overshadowing of both by the personality of Alexander the Great (356–323 B.C.). The special names of the Diadochoi, e.g. "benefactor", *euergetēs*, serve in the process of eliminating rivals, and are to be understood as divine attributes. One of the Diadochoi, Antiochus IV Epiphanes of Syria (*c.* 215–163 B.C.), became as a result of his attempt to force Hellenization on the Jews a symbol of man's opposition to

God (on the erection of an altar to Zeus in the temple at Jerusalem [Mk. 13:14] → Abomination of Desolation).

(e) The Hellenistic idea of divine kingship originating with Alexander the Great was revived again in the Roman emperor cult. It was only by taking over the Hellenistic concept of the incarnation of divinity in the emperor that Augustus (63 B.C.–A.D. 14) was able to comprehend in his own person the imperium as a single whole, a unification for which there was neither national nor cultural precedent. The effect of the confession *kyrios Iēsous*, used by the Christians in proclaiming Jesus as the Lord, was to destroy this vital ideology of the Roman imperium, and the reaction it called forth was the persecution of Christians during the first three centuries (→ Confess). (On ruler worship in the Roman Empire see H. Lietzmann, *The Beginnings of the Christian Church*, 1949², 163 ff.)

2. The abstract noun *basileia* is of later origin than *basileus*, and is attested first in Hdt. 1, 11 (in the Ionic form *basilēiē*).

(a) The original meaning of the term *basileia* is the fact of being king, the position or power of the king, and it is best translated office of king, kingly rule (e.g. Aristotle, *Politics* 3, 1285b, 20).

(b) Besides this meaning there is a second meaning which emphasizes the geographical aspect of *basileia*; for the status of a king is shown by the area over which he reigns. *basileia* assumes therefore the meaning kingdom, signifying the state or area over which a king reigns (*P.Oxy* 1257, 7).

3. The vb. *basileuō* (Homer) means: (a) to be king, to reign (e.g. Homer, *Il.* 2, 203; *Od.* 2, 47); (b) inceptive: to become king, to begin to reign (Hdt. 2, 2). The vb. *symbasileuō* expresses the idea of ruling with (cf. Polyb., 30, 2, 4). The adjectives *basileios* and *basilikos* (Hdt., Aesch.) both express that which appertains to a king: royal. Finally the fem. term for king must be mentioned, *basilissa*, queen. This superseded the Attic forms *basilis* and *basileia*, and is found in the comic poet Alcaeus and in Xenophon, *Oeconomicus* 9, 15, and frequently in later writers (e.g. Philo and Josephus).

OT In the LXX the words of this root are very frequent, mostly as translations of Heb. derivatives of the root *mālaḵ*, to be king, to reign. In contrast to the NT (see below NT introductory paragraph), the term *basileus*, which appears frequently in almost all the books and especially in the historical writings, is far and away the most common. *basileia* occurs comparatively rarely (400 times) and not until Daniel does it begin to have a meaning of its own beside *basileus*. It is also important to observe that the words are used first and foremost for earthly kings and their secular government, and only secondarily of Yahweh's kingship. This means that the concept of Yahweh's kingly rule can only be presented in connection with the Israelite monarchy.

1. (a) From the conquest onwards, all the peoples with whom Israel came in contact had kings. Israel herself did not adopt monarchy as an institution until relatively late. This is all the more surprising in view of the fact that the Edomites, Moabites and Ammonites, who conquered their own territories during the same period as Israel, went over to government by a national monarchy soon after their settlement. The Israelites, on the other hand, continued for two centuries after the conquest of Canaan to function as a sacred confederation of tribes with a central

sanctuary. Israel's initial hesitation to adopt the institution of monarchy is bound up with the concept of the holy war, which Yahweh himself conducts on Israel's behalf (Exod. 14:14; Jos. 23:10; Jdg. 7:22; cf. G. von Rad, *Der heilige Krieg im alten Israel*, 1965⁴, 6 ff., 14 ff.). Yahweh himself is seen as commander-in-chief of the Israelite army, and as the one to whom the land unconditionally belongs.

(b) Israel's constant harassment by the occasional subjection to the Philistines was the surface reason for the introduction of the monarchy. According to the older tradition (1 Sam. 9:1–10:16; 11:1–11, 14 f.), Yahweh himself took the initiative in view of the political extremity of his people, and had Saul the Benjaminite anointed king by Samuel (1 Sam. 9:16). Alongside this positive assessment of the monarchy, there was from the very beginning a rejection of it on the grounds of the theocratic lordship of Yahweh. This view flourished particularly in the northern kingdom. Thus there is a line stretching from Gideon of Manasseh ("I will not rule over you . . . Yahweh will rule over you" [Jdg. 8:23]), through Hosea the last prophet of the northern kingdom with his anti-monarchical tendency (Hos. 3:4; 7:3; 13:10 f.), to the Deuteronomistic account of the setting up of the monarchy in Israel (1 Sam. 8:1–22a; 10:17–27). Here the demand of the people, "Appoint for us a king to govern us like all the nations," received the answer from Yahweh, "They have rejected me from being king over them" (1 Sam. 8:5–7). The juxtaposition of the two accounts, one positive and the other critical, of the introduction of the monarchy (1 Sam. 8–12), makes clear the problem which beset the Israelite monarchy from the outset. On the one hand, it was seen as Yahweh's gift; on the other, as his rival.

(c) Of decisive significance for the Judean monarchy was the religious ratification it received through Nathan's prophetic promise to → David (2 Sam. 7:1–11b, 16). The house of David is here promised everlasting duration (verse 16). Because of this Davidic → covenant, the right of David's hereditary successors to the kingdom of Judah was never called in question. The dynasty was assured of continuance despite all the ups and downs which the throne underwent. By contrast the monarchy of the northern kingdom, after the non-renewal under Jeroboam I of the union with Judah (1 Ki. 12:1 ff.), never achieved the stability of the Davidic dynasty. Here the old ideal of charismatic leadership, as it had been known in Israel's formative period, lived on. According to it, only Yahweh's call fitted anyone for the office of ruler.

Another feature of the theology of kingship in Judah, in contrast to the Egyptian concept of a king who is divine by nature, is the adoption of the ruler as the son of Yahweh. This was celebrated at the festival of enthronement and hymned in the royal Psalms (e.g. Ps. 2:7; 45:7; 110:1). However, the less the kings of Judah in their historical reality measured up to the standards set forth in the theology of kingship, the more strongly did the expectation of an eschatological messianic king develop, who would finally fulfil the prophecy of Nathan and the associated concepts of kingship (Amos 9:11–15; but cf. Gen. 49:8–12). Isaiah in particular, a prophet who had close associations with the theology of kingship, prophesied of a branch of David that would bring in a new era of righteousness and peace (Isa. 11:1–9; 9:2–7; cf. also the messianic prophecies of Mic. 5:2 ff.; Jer. 23:5 f.; Ezek. 17:22 ff.; → Jesus Christ, art. *Christos* OT; → Son of God, art. *hyios Dauid*).

2. The kingship of Yahweh is an aspect of faith found neither in the wisdom

literature, the oral teaching of many of the prophets, nor in a considerable number of historical narratives. It is frequent, on the other hand, in the hymns of the Psalter (the so-called enthronement-Psalms), later prophetic writings including the prophecies to the nations in Jeremiah (e.g. Jer. 46:18; 48:15; 51:57), and in the narrative parts of the book of Daniel. Thus it tends to feature in the later parts of the OT. This suggests that the concept of Yahweh's kingship was not a constitutive element in the original faith of Israel (cf. A. Alt, *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, I, 1968⁴, 348). This is not to say that Israel did not from the first place herself under the rule of Yahweh. On the contrary, faith in the absolute lordship of Yahweh within the tribal confederacy goes back to the days before the formation of a political state (see above 1 (a)).

(a) The earliest example of the title king being used of Yahweh is in the 8th century "My eyes have seen the King, the Lord of hosts" (Isaiah 6:5). It is no coincidence that the title of king for Yahweh appears in the course of a vision which came to Isaiah in the central sanctuary at → Jerusalem. Texts discovered at Ugarit (in Syria) have revealed that in the Syro-Canaanite world there existed the idea of the "God most high" (cf. Gen. 14:18 f.) who bore the title of king (*melek*). The use of *melek* as a title for Yahweh has as its background the Syro-Canaanite world of ideas, and was probably originally drawn from the sacral traditions of the Jebusite city of Jerusalem and transferred to Yahweh there (Isa. 6:5). There is evidence of the existence of the *mōlek* cult (AV Molech, Moloch) among the original inhabitants of pre-Israelite Jerusalem (Lev. 18:21; 2 Ki. 23:10). Yahweh therefore would not have been described as *melek* before the time of the monarchy.

The divine title *melek* brought with it even in the Syro-Canaanite setting, a claim to universal authority which found expression particularly in lordship over the pantheon of gods. This universal claim is also reflected in the OT passages which talk about Yahweh the *melek*. Yahweh's kingship has a cosmic dimension: he is the creator of the world (cf. Pss. 24:1; 93:1; 95:3 ff.); "his kingdom rules over all the earth" (Ps. 47:2); he is the king of the nations (cf. Jer. 10:7; Ps. 47:3; 99:2).

(b) In addition to this concept of Yahweh being king, we find the dynamic concept of Yahweh becoming king. This finds expression especially in the enthronement-Psalms in the cry "Yahweh has become King!" (Pss. 47:8; 93:1; 96:10; 97:1; 99:1). (Note: Eng. versions have "The Lord reigns" for this Heb. perfect.)

The inseparability of the two concepts "Yahweh is king" and "Yahweh has become king" becomes especially evident in the later chapters of Isa. Yahweh is "King of Jacob" or "King of Israel" (Isa. 41:21; 44:6). Put in context of announcing the new exodus, a herald now brings to the city of Jerusalem the message: "Your God reigns" (Isa. 52:7). The enthronement-Psalms do not primarily announce an eschatological event, but a present reality experienced in the cultic ceremony. The proclamation of the reign of Yahweh as an eschatological event is now associated with the historical act of the new exodus. It is not nature and the cycle of the seasons (as in Babylonia), but the historical actions of Yahweh which form the basis of his "enthronement". (On the much-debated theory of an enthronement festival of Yahweh in Israel, cf. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen*, *BKAT* 15, I, § 6 XLIII f.; Excursus on Ps. 24, pp. 201 ff.; → Might, art. *thronos* OT 4).

(c) In the Judaean messianic theology of kingship the lordship of Yahweh is combined with the hoped-for lordship of the messiah. Thus it is the same prophet,

Isaiah of Jerusalem, who was the first to use the royal title for Yahweh and who almost always related it to the currently reigning son of David. Even the messianic prince of the future is for Isaiah no autocrat, but one who is appointed (*śar*, official, vizier) and receives his office from God (Isa. 9:7; 11:1 f.). The rule of the future, messianic son of David is accordingly a delegated exercise of authority, representing the kingly rule of Yahweh.

The anti-monarchical bias of the northern kingdom (1 Sam. 8:7) stands in contrast to this, with a non-messianic eschatology (Hosea). This is also represented by Deutero-Isaiah who proclaimed from exile the kingship of Yahweh (Isa. 41:21; 44:6) and his eschatological enthronement (Isa. 52:7). Finally, in Ezekiel we find side by side the titles of king (Ezek. 37:24) and prince (Ezek. 37:24) for the messianic servant David.

3. The noun *mal^{e}k̲ût* is an early Heb. abstract noun with the meaning kingdom, reign. The reference is to power rather than to locality.

(a) The term *mal^{e}k̲ût* in the OT usually refers in a purely secular sense to political kingdoms (cf. 1 Sam. 20:31; 1 Ki. 2:12; 1 Chr. 12:23; 2 Chr. 11:17; Jer. 49:34; Dan. 9:1).

(b) Although the secular meaning of *mal^{e}k̲ût* is the most common one, there are occasional references to God's rule as his *mal^{e}k̲ût*, kingship, which he is presently exercising (Ps. 103:19; 145:11–13; Dan. 4:3). This is analogous to the use of *melek̲*, king, as an epithet of Yahweh.

(c) In later texts Yahweh's kingship is interpreted in an eschatological sense. The recognition begins to emerge of a kingdom of Yahweh at the end of time which breaks through all national barriers. One day Yahweh will rule over the whole earth. His throne will be in Jerusalem, and all nations will make their pilgrimage to Zion to worship him there (Isa. 24:23; Zech. 14:9; Obad. 21). A characteristic of the eschatological expectation of the later prophets is that Yahweh's *mal^{e}k̲ût* is always presented as immanent (cf. G. von Rad, *TDNT* I 568 ff.).

(d) Finally, in Dan. 7, this immanent eschatology is elevated to a transcendent level, in the concept of the kingdom of the "son of man" (v. 13 f.) and the kingdom of "the saints of the Most High" (v. 27). The son of man (→ Son of God, art. *hyios tou anthrōpou*) is an individual (v. 14) who represents the Most High (v. 27), as the king of Judah represented the people. In other words, when power is committed to the son of man, it is at the same time being given to the saints of the Most High. By these are meant the heavenly beings who surround God (M. Noth *The Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies*, 1966, 215–28; cf. Ps. 89:5–7; Job 15:15; Deut. 33:2; Zech. 14:5). The transfer of power to the son of man, representing the saints of the Most High, takes place within the heavenly realm (v. 12: "with the clouds of heaven there came one like a son of man"), so that the earthly empires symbolized by the four beasts are replaced by the transcendent rule of the saints of the Most High represented by the son of man. In the idea that God has a definite plan for the world (the four empires in succession), and in the dualism of the four world empires seen as the era of the evil one as over against the kingdom of God seen as transcendent, we have already the most important elements of apocalyptic.

4. (a) The expression kingdom of heaven (*mal^{e}k̲ût šāmayim*; Gk. *basileia tōn ouranōn*) owes its origin to the endeavour of Rab. Judaism to find an alternative for the divine name in the phrase *mal^{e}k̲ût YHWH* (kingdom of Yahweh) by using

either *šᵉḵînâh*, glory (Gk. *doxa*) or *šāmayim*, heaven (Gk. *ouranos*). Kingdom of heaven is therefore a term which implies the essential idea that "God rules as King". It is a Jewish expression which is purely theological in its reference.

Since the kingdom of heaven is not evident in this world, it is necessary to decide for or against it by a decision of will. The expression "to take upon oneself the yoke of the kingdom of Yahweh" means to confess allegiance to the one God as King (cf. SB I 173 ff.). The opportunity to accept or reject the kingdom will, however, come to an end when Yahweh reveals himself at the end of time. In the theology of Rab. Judaism the kingdom of God is a purely eschatological concept (K. G. Kuhn *TDNT* I 574).

(b) As happened earlier with the OT eschatology of the northern kingdom (see above 2 (c)), there is a tension in Judaism between the expectation of the messiah, as a nationalistic, Israelite king at the end of time, and the hope of the eschatological revelation of the kingdom of God. In the last days the messiah will come, ascend the throne of Israel, and subject to himself all the nations of the earth (cf. SB IV 968 f.). Not until then will the hitherto hidden kingdom of heaven emerge from the transcendent realm. But there is in Judaism no inner connection between the coming of the national messianic king and the coming of the rule of God. This is further confirmed by the fact that the people of Israel as such receives no mention in statements concerning the kingdom of God. Membership of the nation can no longer be a determining factor, when it is a personal decision before God that is required. Thus proselytes can also take upon themselves the "yoke of the kingdom of God" (SB I 176). It should be noted further that in Rab. literature the term kingdom of heaven is comparatively rare and that it does not carry the same theological significance that it does in the preaching of Jesus. This helps to explain why those Jews who thought along nationalistic lines in terms of a nationalistic kingly messiah were bewildered by Jesus, while in the apocalyptic circles the expectation of the kingdom of God continued to live on. In the Qumran writings there are occasional references to the kingdom of God, but the Essenes had no expectation of its coming.

(c) The Apocryphal writings of the LXX in general follow the OT pattern of thought about the kingdom of God. In some places, however, where there is no Heb. equivalent, we may detect Hellenistic influence. Thus the LXX can identify the *basileia* with the four cardinal virtues (4 Macc. 2:23), and in Wis. 6:20 we read, "The desire for wisdom leads to a kingdom." This shift to an ethical meaning, in keeping with popular philosophy, is completed by Philo (cf. *Migr.Abr.* 97; *Abr.* 261; *Sacr.* 49; *Som.* 2, 244). The actual content of the *basileia* is the rule of the sage, seen as the true king (see above CL 1 (c)). The result of this shift of meaning was that the eschatological character of the term as used in the OT was inevitably lost. "The *basileia* constitutes a chapter in his moral doctrine. The true king is the wise man" (K. L. Schmidt, *TDNT* I 576). Josephus does not speak of *basileus* and *basileia*, but of *hēgemōn*, governor, and *hēgemonia*, direction, administration (cf. A. Schlatter, *Wie sprach Josephus von Gott?*, 1910, 11 f.; for these terms in the NT → Caesar, art. *hēgemōn*).

NT In the NT *basileia* is used more frequently than *basileus* and *basileuō* (cf. above OT introductory paragraph). Taking the words from this root together, we find

that they belong chiefly to the vocabulary of the Synoptic Gospels. In Matt. and Lk.-Acts *basileus*, and to an even greater extent *basileia*, play a positively decisive rôle. The two nouns are used only occasionally in Jn., the Pauline corpus, and the other NT epistles, but they come to the fore again in Rev. The vb. *basileuō*, on the other hand, appears only occasionally in the Synoptic Gospels, though more often in Rev. It has its maximum theological significance in Paul (Rom., 1 Cor.).

1. *basileus in the NT.* The NT follows closely the precedent set by the OT and Judaism in giving to God and Christ alone the full right to the title king. Human kings, by contrast, are generally regarded as of limited importance.

(a) The earthly kings referred to are frequently those who set themselves against God and his Christ: Pharaoh (Acts 7:10; Heb. 11:23, 27); Herod the Great (Matt. 2:1 ff.; Lk. 1:5); Herod Antipas (Matt. 14:8); Herod Agrippa I (Acts 12:1, 20); Herod Agrippa II (Acts 25:13 f. etc.); Aretas (2 Cor. 11:32); and the Roman emperor (1 Tim. 2:2; 1 Pet. 2:13; Rev. 17:9 ff.). These rulers are called "kings of the earth" (Matt. 17:25; Acts 4:26; Rev. 1:5; 6:15); "kings of the Gentiles (Lk. 22:25); or "kings of the whole world" (Rev. 16:14; cf. Ps. 2:2 and 89:27; cf. *TDNT* I 576 f.).

Just as the OT is at variance with oriental views of divine kingship, so the NT is opposed to Hellenistic and Roman ideas of this kind: the earthly king is not an incarnation of the deity, since no one but God or the messiah can occupy such a position. Thus in Rev., in sharp contrast to the presumptuous claims to divinity of Domitian, only God is recognized as king of the nations *basileus tōn ethnōn* (Rev. 15:3 *v.l.*), and only Christ as the king of kings, *basileus basileōn* (Rev. 19:16; 17:14). The OT attitude to the great kings is found again in the NT with regard to the "kings of the east" (Rev. 16:12): the supremacy of God is asserted by making them a rod in his hand, only to destroy them at the last day if they do not submit to him in obedience (Rev. 17:2 ff.; 18:3 ff.; 19:18 ff.; 21:24).

(b) Only → David and → Melchizedek receive a positive assessment, by contrast with the earthly kings mentioned otherwise in the NT: David, because as the king chosen by God (2 Sam. 7) he is the forefather of Jesus Christ (cf. Matt. 1:6; Acts 13:22); Melchizedek, because as the priest-king of Salem (Gen. 14:18) he is the OT type of the high priesthood of Christ (Heb. 7:1 ff.).

(c) Jesus "who was descended from David according to the flesh" (Rom. 1:3; Matt. 1:6) is described in the NT as the messianic King of the Jews (*basileus tōn Ioudaiōn*) or King of Israel (*basileus Israēl*) (→ Israel, art. *Israēl* NT). Son of David, King of the Jews, King of Israel are messianic titles (→ Son of God).

(i) The first thing we notice here is that these titles are used principally in the section of the Gospels portraying the trial before Pilate (Mk. 15; Matt. 27; Lk. 23; Jn. 18 f.), and here exclusively on the lips of the Jewish opponents of Jesus, or of Pilate and his soldiers. *basileus tōn Ioudaiōn* does not appear as a self-designation of Jesus. Thus Jesus was accused by the throng of saying that he was "Christ a king" (Lk. 23:2). Jesus was asked by Pilate, "Are you the king of the Jews?" (Mk. 15:2 par. Matt. 27:11, Lk. 23:3). The people were confronted by Pilate with a decision: "Do you want me to release for you the King of the Jews?" (Mk. 15:9 par. Matt. 27:17; cf. Lk. 23:17). And after the condemnation of Jesus, the soldiers mocked him in the praetorium with the words, "Hail, King of the Jews!" (Mk. 15:18 par. Matt. 27:29). On the cross the inscription of the charge read "The

King of the Jews" (Mk. 15:26 par. Matt. 27:37, Lk. 23:38, Jn. 19:19). Like the soldiers on guard (Lk. 23:37), the rulers of the people mocked as they passed by, "Let the Christ, the King of Israel, come down now from the cross, that we may see and believe" (Mk. 15:32 par. Matt. 27:42, Lk. 23:35).

(ii) If it is true, as the Roman inscription on the cross makes probable, that Jesus was condemned on a charge of claiming to be the messianic king of Israel, and if this claim is never found on the lips of Jesus, we may suppose that the basis of the charge is to be seen and found largely in the way Jesus behaved. (O. Cullmann regards the inscription as "almost irrefutable proof that Jesus in some way made himself the subject of his preaching on the Kingdom of God soon to come" [*Salvation in History*, 1967, 109; cf. *The State in the New Testament*, 1957, 8–49].) At any rate it is unlikely that the Jewish leaders acted out of pure malice in accusing Jesus of being a pretender to the throne, or that Pilate had no other intention in ordering the inscription on the cross than to make mock of Jewish messianism. (On the crucifixion of Jesus → Cross, art. *stauros* NT 1; on the trial of Jesus see D. R. Catchpole, *The Trial of Jesus: A Study in the Gospels and Jewish Historiography from 1770 to the Present Day*, 1971.) Rather we should note that Jesus himself saw his miracles of healing, his casting out of demons, and his preaching of the gospel to the poor as the fulfilment of Isaianic prophecies (Isa. 29:18 f.; 35:5 f.; 61:1 f.), and accordingly as messianic events (Matt. 11:2–6; Lk. 4:16–27). Moreover, his two principal actions during the last days at Jerusalem—the entry into Jerusalem (Matt. 21:1–9; Mk. 11:1–10; Lk. 19:28–38; Jn. 12:12–19) and the cleansing of the temple (Matt. 21:12 f.; Mk. 11:15–19; Lk. 19:47 f.)—make it clear that Jesus knew himself to be the fulfiller of messianic prophecies (cf. Isa. 62:11; Zech. 9:9; 2 Ki. 9:13; Ps. 118:26; and Exod. 30:13; Lev. 1:14; Isa. 56:7; Jer. 7:11 for OT allusions in these narratives).

(iii) It is also demonstrable that Jesus was confronted during his ministry with the question whether he was the messiah, when for instance in connection with the feeding of the five thousand the people wanted "to make him king" (Jn. 6:15). Similarly, in the "old reliable tradition" (W. G. Kümmel, *Promise and Fulfilment*, 1961², 111) John the Baptist's question (Matt. 11:3 par. Lk. 7:19 f.) used a term for the messiah which was not at all common among the Jews, "the coming one [*ho erchomenos*]" (→ Come, art. *erchomai* NT 3), in asking whether Jesus was he. Jesus' answer here is characteristic, in that he did not respond to the question directly with an open declaration of his messiahship. Instead he pointed to the fulfilment of Isaianic prophecies in veiled language that challenged the hearer to make up his mind (Matt. 11:5 par. Lk. 7:22). In view of the lowliness of Jesus the messiah, it is the visible messianic actions which retain more significance for the outsider. The fact that Jesus saw himself to be the king of the Jews and messiah of his people, and yet concealed it in this way, is his "messianic secret" (on the question of Jesus' messianic consciousness → Jesus Christ, art. *Christos* NT 5 and the literature under both *Iēsous* and *Christos*; → also Secret).

The same point is brought out by the short answer of Jesus, recorded by all the evangelists, to Pilate's question, whether he is the King of the Jews: "You say so [*sy legeis*]" (Matt. 27:2; Mk. 15:2; Lk. 23:3). Only once did Jesus openly reveal this messianic secret, and that is in the trial before the Sanhedrin (Matt. 26:57–75; Mk. 14:53–72; Lk. 22:54–71). To the question of the high priest, "Are you the

Christ?" he replied unequivocally with the statement, "I am; and you will see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of Power, and coming with the clouds of heaven" (Mk. 14:62; cf. Matt. 26:64; Lk. 22:69; on the Son of man, → Son of God, art. *hyios tou anthrōpou* NT).

(iv) In the earliest Christian writings outside the Synoptic tradition and John's Gospel, i.e. in Acts and the writings of Paul, there is no mention of "King of Israel" or "King of the Jews". Nevertheless, it can be seen from a passage like Acts 17:7 that Christians in Thessalonica were being denounced by the Jews for confessing allegiance to Jesus as another king (*basilea heteron*). There is a certain irony in the way the Jews accused Christians of opposing the quasi-divine claims of the Roman emperor. However, it is basically true to say that with the application of the messianic title Christ to Jesus, the proclamation of Jesus as king of Israel faded eventually into the background, giving way to a christological, soteriological kerygma which focussed on the → Cross and → resurrection of Jesus (cf. Rom. 4:25; 1 Cor. 15:3 f.). (On the formation of the kerygma see C. H. Dodd, *The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments*, 1936; "The Framework of the Gospel Narrative", *New Testament Studies*, 1953, 1–11; cf. the not altogether convincing critique by D. E. Nineham, "The Order of Events in St. Mark's Gospel – an Examination of Dr. Dodd's Hypothesis" in D. E. Nineham, ed., *Studies in the Gospels: Essays in Memory of R. H. Lightfoot*, 1955, 223–40; → Proclamation.).

(d) In his *Institutes of the Christian Religion* 2, 15 Calvin expounded the three offices of Christ as → prophet, → priest and king, showing how these offices were anticipated by the corresponding figures in the OT and how they are appropriated by believers. The thought of the people of God sharing in kingship goes back to the OT. Exod. 19:6 contains the promise based on the → covenant: "And you shall be to me a kingdom of priests [*basileia hierateuma*] and a holy nation" (cf. Isa. 61:6). This thought is applied to Christian believers in Rev. 1:6 and 5:10 (where *basileia* is used in both cases). In the former passage it refers to believers in the present time; in the latter it is part of the "new song" of the saints before the → lamb.

The same thought occurs in 1 Pet. 2:9: "But you are a chosen race, a royal priesthood [*basileion hierateuma*], a holy nation, God's own people, that you may declare the wonderful deeds of him who called you out of darkness into his marvellous light" (RSV). The word translated here as "royal", *basileion*, can be taken either as a neut. adj. agreeing with *hierateuma* (as in RSV) or as a noun, i.e. group of kings (cf. E. Best, *I Peter*, 1971, 107 f.). Although there is no actual occurrence of the word in this sense, Best holds that its form indicates that such a meaning is possible. Moreover, it accords with the Targumic interpretation of Exod. 19:6 and the Christian tradition of Rev. 5:10, where the glorified saints "shall reign [*basileusousin*] on earth" (cf. Rev. 1:6).

The vb. *basileuō*, reign, is used of the reign of believers in Rom. 5:17 (where it is contrasted with the reign of death, cf. 5:14, 17, 21; cf. also the reign of sin, Rom. 6:12); 1 Cor. 4:8 (here ironically of the lordly behaviour of the Corinthians which, in fact, falls short of true reigning); and Rev. 20:4, 6; 20:5 (of the reign of the saints on earth and in glory). For the idea of reigning expressed in other terms see Eph. 2:6; 2 Tim. 2:12; Jas. 2:5 (cf. the third Beatitude "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth, Matt. 5:5; → Inheritance, art. *klēroō*). For other

instances of *basileuō* see Matt. 2:22; Lk. 1:33; 9:14; 1 Cor. 15:25; 1 Tim. 6:15; Rev. 11:15, 17; 19:6. See further J. H. Elliott, *The Elect and the Holy, Supplements to NovT* 12, 1966; and E. Best, "I Peter 2:4–10, A Reconsideration", *NovT* 11, 1969, 270–93.

(e) *basilissa*, queen, occurs only 4 times in the NT. Matt. and Lk. both record the saying about the queen of the South in the context of the sign of → Jonah. "The queen of the South will arise at the judgment with this generation and condemn it; for she came from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon, and behold, something greater than Solomon is here" (Matt. 12:42 par. Lk. 11:31; cf. 1 Ki. 10:1–10; 2 Chron. 9:1–12; → Solomon). Although Sheba is today identified with Arabia, Josephus connected the Queen of Sheba with Ethiopia (*Ant.* 2, 10, 2; 8, 6, 5 f.). Later Arabic legend made her Solomon's wife, and the Ethiopian royal line claims descent from Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. In the NT she is an example to the Jews of the lengths to which a non-Jew might go in seeking wisdom. All the more reason have the Jews themselves cause to leave their ways, for paradoxically there is in Jesus the Galilean preacher "something greater than Solomon." Acts 8:27 might be regarded as an illustration of a similar response of a non-Jew. The Ethiopian → eunuch is described there as "a minister of Candace the queen of the Ethiopians, in charge of all her treasure, [who] had come to Jerusalem to worship." He too was a seeker. The episode is all the more pointed in the light of the persecution by the Jews which has just scattered the Jerusalem church (Acts 8:1), the eunuch's study of scripture (Isa. 53:7 f.; Acts 8:32 f.), and the fact that he was a eunuch. By contrast Babylon who plays the queen is judged (Rev. 18:7).

2. *The use of basileia in the NT.* (a) General. For the earthly, human king there is a corresponding earthly, human kingdom. In this sense *basileia* means, according to context, the office of king (e.g. Lk. 19:12, 15; Rev. 17:12) and also the area governed, domain (e.g. Matt. 4:8 par. Lk. 4:5; Mk. 6:23; Rev. 16:10). In almost all these passages the earthly kingdoms stand in contrast – though this is often unexpressed – to the *basileia tou theou*, kingdom of God, since they are subject to "the god of this world", the *diabolos*, devil, → Satan (Matt. 4:8). In Matt. 12:26 there is even explicit mention of the *basileia* of the devil. This is particularly true with regard to the Roman Empire, described in Rev. expressly as the beast (Rev. 13:1; → Animal, art. *thērion*).

(b) Kingdom of God. *hē basileia tou theou* is a term of central importance only within the Synoptic tradition. The form of the expression varies: Mk. and Lk. speak of the kingdom of God, while Matt. has kingdom of heaven and kingdom of the Father. Evidence that Mk. and Lk. preserve in *basileia tou theou* the older form used by Jesus himself is provided by two observations. First, both the sayings-source and Mk. have this formula in the places where Matt. speaks of the *basileia tōn ouranōn*, kingdom of heaven (Mk. 1:15; Matt. 4:17; Lk. 6:20 par. Matt. 5:3). Secondly and more important, Matt. itself contains four instances of the older term kingdom of God (12:28; 19:34; 21:31; 21:43). Jesus probably, therefore, spoke exclusively of the *basileia tou theou.* This is not to say that he never used a circumlocution for the divine name. It is exemplified by Matt. 5:4, where the passive *paraklēthēsontai*, "they shall be comforted", means that God will comfort them; and Lk. 16:9, where the plur. "they" i.e. the angels, will receive you into the

eternal habitations means that God will receive you (cf. also Lk. 12:20; 23:31). ([Ed.] The "they" in Lk. 16:9 might, however, also be taken to refer to those benefited by the use of mammon.) Where *basileia* is used alone, without the addition of *tou theou*, it is qualified by its context: *tēn hetoimasmenēn hymin basileian*, "the kingdom prepared for you" (Matt. 25:34; cf. 6:10); God will throw the sons of the kingdom into the outer darkness (Matt. 8:12; cf. Lk. 12:32; 22:29).

(c) The Kingdom of God to come in the future. In order to understand Jesus' proclamation of the Kingdom of God, it is best, in accordance with the apocalyptic, eschatological character of that proclamation, to start with those passages which deal with the coming of the Kingdom of God in the near future. Mk. 1:15 records the theme of Jesus' preaching in a pregnant sentence: "The kingdom of God has come near [*ēngiken hē basileia tou theou*]" (cf. Matt. 3:2; 5:17). The same theme is found in other places: "The kingdom of God is near [*engys estin*]" (Lk. 21:31; → Goal, art. *engys*); it "is coming [*erchetai*]" (Lk. 17:20; → Come, art. *erchomai*, NT 3). Thus Jesus did not preach that there was a kingdom of God to which one must confess allegiance (cf. Rab. Judaism, see above OT 4 (a)), but that the rule of God is coming.

Just as when the fig-tree puts out leaves summer is known to be near, so the events of the present guarantee that God's rule will soon break in on the world (Matt. 24:32 f.; Mk. 13:28 f.; Lk. 21:29 ff.; → Fruit, art. *sykē*). It is to this sudden, unexpected irruption of the kingdom of God that Jesus' parables of the Parousia point: the sudden coming of the flood (Matt. 24:37 ff.; Lk. 17:26 ff.; → Noah), the unexpected entrance of the burglar (Matt. 24:43 f.; Lk. 12:39 f.), the surprise of the doorkeeper and the servant at the homecoming of their master (Matt. 24:45 ff.; cf. Lk. 12:42–6), the sudden arrival of the bridegroom (Matt. 25:1–13). All these are pictures of the sudden irruption of the catastrophe, of the eschatological crisis which is impending a short time ahead: "Truly, there are some standing here who will not taste death before they see the kingdom of God come with power" (Mk. 9:1; cf. Matt. 16:28; Lk. 9:27).

For Jesus the advent of the kingdom was so imminent that he vowed not to "drink of the fruit of the vine until the kingdom of God comes" (Lk. 22:18; cf. Mk. 14:25). The Parousia (→ Present) of the Son of man will take place even before the disciples have finished proclaiming the kingdom of God in Israel (Matt. 10:23). From these references it may be concluded that Jesus proclaimed the imminent advent of the kingdom of God within the lifetime of his hearers' generation (Mk. 9:1; 13:30). (On the interpretation of this → Generation, art. *genea* NT.; → Present).

(d) The Kingdom of God in the present. Although for Jesus the realization of God's rule is still in the future, its urgent proximity already casts its shadow over the present: "If it is by the Spirit of God that I cast out demons, then the kingdom of God has come upon you" (Matt. 12:28; cf. Lk. 11:20). The casting out of → demons reveals that the devil has been bound by one stronger than he (Matt. 12:29; Mk. 3:27; Lk. 11:21). The disarming of → Satan, an event which the Jews expected in the end-time (SB I 167 f.), has taken place (Lk. 10:18); in the works of Jesus the kingdom of God is already a present reality.

To the Pharisees' question, "When is the kingdom of God coming?", Jesus can therefore answer, "The kingdom of God is in the midst of you" (Lk. 17:20 f.; not

as AV "is within you"). (On the prep. *entos* used here see Arndt, 268 f. and the literature there referred to.) Because the kingdom is already present, the friends of the bridegroom cannot fast (Mk. 2:19; cf. Matt. 9:15; Lk. 5:34); and it is the Father's good pleasure, *eudokēsen* (aorist), to give Jesus' disciples (the "little flock") the kingdom (Lk. 12:32). With the appearance of John the Baptist, according to an early logion, the era of the old revelation of God came to an end, and at the same time the new era began. The kingdom of God, already present, is "violently assaulted [*biazetai*]" (Matt. 11:12 f.; cf. Lk. 16:16). "The allusion may be to the opposition of Satan and evil spirits to the Kingdom, or to the violence of Herod Antipas to John; but a more likely explanation is that the reference is either to Zealots who try to bring in the Kingdom by employing force against the Romans or to Jewish antagonists of Jesus who continue to persecute Christians" (D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 1972, 200).

(e) The Kingdom of God and the person of Jesus: an eschatology in process of realization. In comparing the eschatology of Jesus with that of Judaism, it is not sufficient to characterize the former as the ultimate extreme of imminent expectation. Of far more importance is Jesus' claim that the verdict to be passed on men in the final judgment is already determined by the attitude they adopt to himself in the present age. "Every one who acknowledges me before men, I also will acknowledge before my Father who is in heaven" (Matt. 10:32; cf. Lk. 12:8). He who hears the words of Jesus and does them will survive the eschatological crisis. The unrepentant cities, on the other hand, will be condemned, because in spite of the "mighty works" done in them by Jesus (Matt. 11:21 ff.; cf. Lk. 10:13 ff.), they have not repented. Jesus himself will appear as the eschatological judge (Matt. 25:31). He will disown those who merely say "Lord, Lord" (Matt. 7:23; cf. Lk. 13:27), and plead before the Father the cause of those who have confessed him (Matt. 10:32; cf. Lk. 12:8). A man's final destiny is decided by the attitude he adopts to Jesus' word and action (Matt. 7:24–27; cf. Lk. 6:47 ff.), in other words by his attitude to Jesus himself. For this present age, marked as it is by the activity and preaching of Jesus, bears a special relation to the coming day of → judgment. The new and distinctive factor, compared with the Rab. view of the kingdom of God, is not simply that it is coming, but that it is inextricably bound up with the person of Jesus. As W. G. Kümmel puts it, "It is the person of Jesus whose activities provoke the presence of the eschatological consummation and who therefore stands at the centre of his eschatological message" (op. cit., 108). The future rule of God has already in the person of Jesus become a reality in word and deed. The coming, imminent kingdom of God is already present in him. The interpretation of this teaching has led to radically divergent theses in the course of theological discussion. (For a more detailed survey of eschatological interpretation → Present: The Parousia and Eschatology in the NT.)

The school of Ritschl regarded the kingdom of God in the present as an ethical attitude which produces a moral society. Ritschl discarded apocalyptic, eschatological expectation as an outdated relic of Judaism. Johannes Weiss and Albert Schweitzer took the opposing view known as "consistent eschatology" or "thoroughgoing eschatology". They rightly pointed out that Jesus himself linked his message with Jewish apocalyptic by making its central theme the announcement that the end of the world was impending (A. Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*,

(1910) 1954³, see especially ch. 19 on "Thoroughgoing Scepticism and Thoroughgoing Eschatology", 328–95). According to Schweitzer, the distinctively new element in the preaching of Jesus, as compared with apocalyptic, is the nearness of the world catastrophe.

In contrast to this solution offered by "consistent eschatology", a large proportion of scholars in the English-speaking world have, under the influence of C. H. Dodd, completely eliminated "futurist eschatology" from the proclamation, seeing it as a product of re-Judaizing within the Christian community, and speak of a "realized eschatology" in Jesus' preaching. In view of the presumed Aramaic original Dodd translates Mk. 1:15 as "The kingdom of God has come" (*The Parables of the Kingdom*, 1935, 44). He has thus reinstated an important element in Jesus' proclamation of the kingdom of God, as against the views of A. Schweitzer, though he too has over-emphasized one side. Dodd subsequently modified his way of describing his understanding of NT eschatology. He came to speak of "an eschatology that is in process of realization", a view which comes close to that of J. Jeremias (*The Parables of Jesus*, 1963², 230; cf. C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, 1953, 447).

Rudolf Bultmann is in basic agreement with Schweitzer's "consistent eschatology". "There can be no doubt that Jesus like his contemporaries expected a tremendous eschatological drama" (*Jesus and the Word*, 1935, 38). However, Bultmann attempts by means of his existential interpretation to distill from the mythical, apocalyptic future hope of Jesus the real meaning in existential terms. For him the expectation of the end of the world as a future event in time is an expression of the conviction that it is in the present moment that man is faced with a decision. Thus "every hour is the last hour" (op. cit., 52; cf. *History and Eschatology*, [1957] 1962, 154 f.). The true meaning of the eschatological preaching of Jesus concerning the impending kingdom of God lies, according to Bultmann, in the assertion that man is faced with a decision. "The future Kingdom of God, then, is not something which is to come in the course of time, so that to advance its coming one can do something in particular, perhaps through penitential prayers and good works, which become superfluous in the moment of its coming. Rather, the Kingdom of God is a power *which, although it is entirely future, wholly determines the present*" (op. cit., 51).

Against this view it must be maintained that it is not the purpose of Jesus' proclamation of the kingdom of God simply to call men to repentance and face them with a decision. At the centre of Jesus' message is the proclamation of the urgent proximity of God's kingdom, the announcement that God is about to inaugurate his world-wide reign. Repentance and decision are consequences, but not the actual theme of Jesus' proclamation of the impending kingdom (cf. Matt. 3:2; 4:17). The fact that Jesus averted a question which sought an apocalyptic timetable (Lk. 17:20 f.) must not be interpreted as an indication that the announcement of the kingdom of God is concentrated in the existential meaning.

Jesus, therefore, preached the kingdom of God neither solely as a present reality nor exclusively as a future event. Rather, he was aware that the future rule of God was present in his actions and in his person. He spoke, therefore, of the future kingdom, which would suddenly dawn, as already realizing itself in the present. Thus the nature of Jesus' eschatology is probably best described by the expression

"an eschatology in process of realization" (E. Haenchen quoted by J. Jeremias, op. cit., 230). For the connection between the proclamation of the kingdom of God and the Son of man sayings, → Son of God, art. *hyios tou anthrōpou*.

3. *The Kingdom of God in the preaching of Jesus.* (a) As depicted in the preaching of Jesus, the kingdom of God may be characterized as being "opposed to everything present and earthly, to everything here and now. It is thus absolutely miraculous" (K. L. Schmidt, *TDNT* I 584). Man can, therefore, neither hasten the coming of the kingdom of God by doing battle with God's enemies (as the Zealots hoped), nor force it to appear by scrupulous observation of the law (as the Pharisees hoped). He can only await its coming in patience and confidence, as in the parables of the mustard seed (Matt. 13:31 f.; Mk. 4:30 ff.), the leaven (Matt. 13:33), and the seed growing secretly (Mk. 4:26–29).

(b) This kingdom is coming in the form of a cosmic catastrophe (Lk. 17:26; Mk. 13:26; 14:62), ushered in by the appearance of the → Son of man. Jesus thus aligned himself, not with the concept of an earthly, nationalistic messiah, but with the apocalyptic tradition in Judaism with its expectation of the Son of man. At the same time he avoided describing events in detail, although he clearly used apocalyptic imagery (e.g. the heavenly feast in the kingdom of God, Mk. 14:25; Matt. 8:11). Also connected with this toning down of apocalyptic ideas is Jesus' rejection of all attempts to discern signs of the end: "The kingdom of God is not coming with signs to be observed" (Lk. 17:20).

(c) Although Jesus shared with apocalyptic writers a cosmic, universal type of eschatology, in contrast to the political and nationalistic concept of the messiah, he nonetheless upheld the OT doctrine of election (Matt. 10:6) with the associated belief that it is the will of Yahweh to reach the whole world through the nation of → Israel. This is not to say that Israel has a special claim on God's favour. Indeed, Israel is in danger of being put to shame by the heathen on the day of judgment (Matt. 12:42 par. Lk. 11:31). The kingdom will be taken from Israel and given to the Gentiles (Matt. 21:43). God will cast the sons of the kingdom (Israel) into outer darkness (Matt. 8:12; cf. Lk. 13:28). But Jesus promised the Twelve (→ Apostle), as the representatives of the eschatological people of God, the office of judges and rulers in the future kingdom of God (Matt. 19:28; Lk. 22:28 ff.; cf. Mk. 10:35–45).

(d) The facts that the kingdom is the gift of God (Lk. 12:32) and that it is appointed to men (*diatithēmi*) by → covenant (Lk. 22:29) have their counterparts in the teaching that a person can only receive it like a child (Mk. 10:15 par. Lk. 18:17; cf. Matt. 18:3; Jn. 3:3) and that it is something for which one must wait (Mk. 15:43 par. Lk. 23:51). Particularly frequent is the metaphor of entering (*eiserchesthai*) the kingdom of God (Matt. 5:20; 7:21; 18:3; 19:23 f.; 23:13; Jn. 3:5). Entry into the kingdom in the fullest sense lies in the future (Matt. 25:34; Mk. 9:43 ff.). But the presence of the kingdom of God in the person of Jesus faces the individual with a clear-cut decision. The Yes or No nature of this situation is illustrated by the hyperbole of Jesus: "If your right hand causes you to sin, cut it off and throw it away; it is better to lose one of your members than let your whole body go into hell" (Matt. 5:30; cf. 18:8 f.; Mk. 9:43–48). Some have even made themselves → eunuchs for the kingdom's sake (Matt. 19:12). "No one who puts his hand to the plough and looks back is fit for the kingdom of God" (Lk. 9:62). The decision is

not a result of mere enthusiasm; it is to be made after careful previous consideration (Lk. 14:28–32) and in obedience to Jesus' word (Matt. 7:24–27). But when it is made, it involves a readiness for sacrifice which may mean self-denial to the point of being hated by one's own family (Matt. 10:17 ff., 37). Yet the decision is not born of a rigid fanaticism, but against a background of overwhelming joy at the greatness of God's gift (cf. the parables of the hidden treasure and the pearl of great price, Matt. 13:44–46).

(e) The kingdom of God is utterly transcendent and supernatural: it comes from above, from God alone. When God's kingdom comes, the hungry will be filled and the sad will be comforted (cf. the Beatitudes, Matt. 5:3–10; Lk. 6:20 ff.). It demands that men should love their enemies (Matt. 5:38–42; Lk. 6:27 f., 32–36), and they will be as free from care as the birds of the air and the lilies of the field (Matt. 6:25–33; Lk. 12:22–31). Here again it is Jesus himself, in whom alone the future kingdom of God is present, in whose words and deeds that kingdom has already appeared. It has come already, in that Jesus seeks out the company of tax-collectors and sinners, offering them fellowship at table and so promising them forgiveness of their sins. As the king invites to his feast the beggars and homeless (Matt. 22:1–10), as the father's love receives back again the prodigal son (Lk. 15:11–32), as the shepherd goes out after the lost sheep (Lk. 15:4–7), as the woman searches for the lost coin (Lk. 15:8–10), as the master out of the goodness of his heart pays the labourers hired at the last hour the full day's pay (Matt. 20:1–15), so Jesus goes to the poor to give them the promise of forgiveness, "for theirs is the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. 5:3). Only sinners, who know what it is like to have a great burden of → guilt (Lk. 7:41–43), can appreciate the remission of sins through the goodness of God. For "those who are well have no need of a physician, but those who are sick" (Mk. 2:17; cf. Matt. 9:12; Lk. 5:31).

The distinctive feature of Jesus' proclamation of the kingdom of God is not therefore that he brought a new doctrine of the kingdom, or that he revolutionized people's apocalyptic and eschatological expectations, but that he made the kingdom of God inseparable from his own person. The new thing about Jesus's preaching of the kingdom is "He himself, simply his person" (J. Schniewind).

4. *The Kingdom of God and the Kingdom of Christ outside the preaching of Jesus.* (a) The Kingdom of Christ. Jesus himself spoke only of the *basileia tou theou*, the kingdom of God, which he tied up inextricably with his own person. Only in this sense did he declare it to be already present. After the resurrection the church, convinced that he had been exalted to the status of → Lord (*kyrios*, Phil. 2:9–11; Acts 2:36), maintained Jesus' christological emphasis in the preaching of the kingdom, and accordingly went on to speak of the *basileia* of Christ. They thus preserved the christological interpretation which Jesus had given to the kingdom of God, i.e. the inseparable connection between Jesus and the kingdom: only in himself is the kingdom of God present.

Where we read of the *basileia* of Christ we are dealing with the language of the early church. This is shown not only by the fact that the "conception of the Kingdom of Christ is foreign to the oldest stratum of tradition" (J. Jeremias, op. cit., 82), but also by the observation that the majority of texts which speak of the *basileia* of Christ may be recognized as redactional adaptations of an older original. Mk. 9:1 is older than Matt. 16:28; and Mk. 10:37 is older than Matt. 20:21.

basileia tou hyiou tou anthrōpou in Matt. 13:41 is an expression peculiar to Matt. and is found otherwise only at Matt. 16:28. The subordinate clause "that you may eat and drink in my kingdom" in Lk. 22:30 is lacking in the Matthaean parallel, Matt. 19:28.

This redaction of older versions is a legitimate development. Thus according to Jn. 18:36, Jesus says: "My kingdom is not of this world." Likewise 2 Tim. 4:18 speaks of the confidence of being delivered from every kind of evil and of being "saved for his heavenly kingdom [*eis tēn basileian autou epouranion*]" (cf. 2 Tim. 4:1; 2 Pet. 1:11). The inseparable connection between the person of Jesus and the presence of God's kingdom is expressed most clearly of all when Jesus Christ himself becomes an equivalent for "kingdom of God", as is shown by the following comparisons. Whereas Joseph of Arimathea was waiting for "the kingdom of God" (Mk. 15:43), believers are awaiting "their Lord" (Phil. 3:20). Whereas Jesus' message may be summed up as "The kingdom of God is at hand [*ēngiken hē basileia tou theou*]" (Mk. 1:15), James says, "The coming of the Lord is at hand [*hē parousia tou kyriou ēngiken*]" (Jas. 5:8). The disciple forsakes his family for Jesus' sake (*heneken emou*, Mk. 10:29) or for the sake of the kingdom of God (*heneken tēs basileias tou theou*, Lk. 18:29). This present → generation is to see the coming of "the kingdom of God" (Mk. 9:1), or of "the Son of man coming in his kingdom" (Matt. 16:28; cf. also Lk. 21:31 and Mk. 13:29). In Samaria Philip preached "good news about the kingdom of God and the name of Jesus Christ" (Acts 8:12; cf. 28:31).

The phrase "*basileia* of Christ" and the equation of "kingdom of God" with Jesus Christ are thus seen to be the result of the change-over from an implicit to an explicit christology. They make it clear that Jesus' proclamation of the kingdom of God was in no way displaced in the early church by the proclamation of Jesus Christ. The post-resurrection christology, in which Jesus Christ is the centre of the kerygma, is rather the outcome of the realization that the kingdom of God is present only in the person of Jesus Christ, so that one can only properly speak of the kingdom of God by speaking of Jesus Christ. Since the kingdom is bound up with the person of Jesus, the good news which Jesus preached of the dawning of God's kingdom becomes, after Easter, the → gospel of Jesus Christ and the proclamation of his kingdom.

(b) Jesus' proclamation of the kingdom of God and the kerygma outside the synoptic tradition. The kingdom of God, which is the central concept in the preaching of Jesus, has only a peripheral place outside the Synoptic Gospels. In its place we find the christological kerygma of the → cross and → resurrection of Jesus, the expectation of the Parousia and the general resurrection of the dead, and the use of terms such as → life (*zōē*, in Jn.) and → righteousness (*dikaiosynē*, in Paul). Is there a logical sequence from Jesus' preaching of the kingdom to the christological kerygma and the Pauline doctrine of justification?

At this point a survey of the synonyms used in the synoptic tradition for the term *basileia tou theou* is illuminating. Matt. 6:33 says that men are to seek the *basileia* of God and his *dikaiosynē*; in the par. Mk. 9:42–48 we find instead next to one another the expressions *eiselthein eis tēn zōēn*, to enter life (Mk. 9:43, 46; cf. Matt. 7:13) and *eiselthein eis tēn basileian tou theou*, to enter the kingdom of God (Mk. 9:47). Following the question of the rich young man, "What must I do

to inherit eternal life [*zōēn aiōnion*]?" (Mk. 10:17), Jesus remarks in conversation with his disciples "How hard it will be for those who have riches to enter the kingdom of God [*tēn basileian tou theou*]!" The phrase "to inherit eternal life" (Mk. 10:17) has a counterpart in "to inherit the kingdom prepared for you [by God]" (Matt. 25:34). Paul says at Rom. 15:17: "the kingdom of God . . . is righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit [*dikaiosynē kai eirēnē kai chara en pneumati hagiō*]." Likewise in Rev. 12:10 we find *hē sōtēria* (salvation), *hē dynamis* (power) and *hē basileia tou theou* linked together. In place of the request for seats "in your glory [*en tē doxē sou*]" (Mk. 10:37) the par. Matt. 20:21 has a request for seats "in your kingdom [*en tē basileia sou*]". Lk. 21:31 refers to the nearness of God's kingdom, whereas a few verses earlier Jesus declares, "Raise your heads, because your redemption [*apolytrōsis*] is drawing near" (Lk. 21:28).

The Beatitudes (Matt. 5:3–10; cf. Lk. 6:20 ff.) which promise God's salvation to the poor, the parables of the Kingdom which testify to God's mercy towards sinners (Matt. 22:1–10; Lk. 15:11–32; 15:4–7, 8–10), and finally the synonyms for kingdom of God to be found within the synoptic tradition itself (→ Righteousness, → Life, → Redemption, → Glory), all go to demonstrate that the future kingdom of God, already present in the person of Jesus, is God's saving activity towards the individual. This saving activity of God, which is tied to Jesus and mediated by him alone, is likewise at the centre of the kerygma outside the synoptic tradition. Thus John speaks of eternal life (*zōē aiōnios*, Jn. 3:15, 36 etc.), referring to the goal of salvation, while Paul speaks of the righteousness, life or redemption which is given in Christ. In the writings of Paul and John these terms are to be understood with strict reference to christology (cf. "I am the resurrection and the life" [Jn. 11:25; cf. 3:15]; and the Pauline "in Christ", especially in Rom. 6). When in Rom. 4:5 Paul declares that the righteousness of God consists in "justifying the ungodly", he is taking up the central concern of Jesus' preaching of the kingdom, namely the promise of salvation to the poor and the sinners. The futurist eschatology in the preaching of Jesus is likewise retained in the expectation of his Parousia and the general resurrection of the dead. Pauline theology which is a development of christology contains, like the preaching of Jesus, both a present and a future element, since the crucified and risen one is also the one who is to come. By tying salvation to the person of Jesus and by developing christology along the lines of soteriology, pneumatology and eschatology, Paul has maintained a consistent and legitimate extension of Jesus' preaching of the kingdom of God, although he has adapted this to the post-resurrection situation as regards the cross and resurrection.

(c) Kingdom of God and Kingdom of Christ. Evidence that the kingdom of Jesus Christ is in the NT view the same as the kingdom of God is also to be seen in the fact that in parts of the NT outside the synoptic tradition both expressions are found together, sometimes God being named first, and sometimes Christ. Thus it is equally acceptable to speak of "the kingdom of Christ and of God" (Eph. 5:5) and of the world dominion "of our Lord and of his Christ" (Rev. 11:15). The rule of Christ and the rule of God are in other words identical. When the rule of Christ has become established, it is taken up into the rule of God (Rev. 5:10; 2:4, 6; 22:5); at the end of time Christ hands back to the Father the kingdom he has received from him (1 Cor. 15:24–28).

John's prophecy of the saints reigning a thousand years (Rev. 20:1–7) is, from the point of view of historical criticism (*Traditionsgeschichte*), an interpretation of the apocalyptic motif of a messianic kingdom as a period preceding the final realization of the kingdom of God. The doctrine of the millennium represents a coming together of the two parallel kinds of eschatology current in 1st century Judaism: the nationalistic, messianic eschatology, and the cosmic, universal view. The length of this messianic reign as a period preceding the kingdom of God is variously given in Jewish apocalyptic writings. The rule of Christ and the rule of God are not, however, two kingdoms following one another in succession, but one kingdom of Christ which issues finally in the kingdom of God. (On the interpretations of pre-millenarianism, post-millenarianism and amillenarianism → Chiliasm in the *Glossary of Technical Terms*, and → Number, art. *chilias*.) *B. Klappert*
→ Caesar, → Parable, → Present

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Knowledge, Experience, Ignorance

One of the most important marks of man as a rational being is his capacity to order and clarify his impressions of the world that surrounds him and to articulate standards of behaviour. Cognition, practical knowledge and theoretical understanding are attained when the mind reflects on and judges sense experience. Originally both *aisthanomai* and *ginōskō* referred to experiencing an object through the senses. But whereas *aisthēsis* and its cognates expressed physical apprehension

through the senses apart from the intellectual act of interpretation, *ginōskō* and its cognates included from the very first the idea of grasping and understanding the object perceived by the mind. Owing largely though not exclusively to the usage of the LXX, *aisthanomai* came to be confined to perception by the senses. The words of the *ginōskō* group, however, embrace the whole gamut of knowledge from knowing things to knowing persons. When this process results in an item or body of knowledge which may serve as a basis for further thought and action, *oida* (infin. *eidenai*), to know, is used parallel to the perf. of *ginōskō*. Both contain the implication of certainty based on experience. Examples of the use of *oida* are given under *ginōskō*.

The present article is concerned mainly with the activity of knowing. It therefore does not include a comprehensive study of the complexities of gnosticism. On points where the latter touches on theology and Christian conduct see the appropriate key term (e.g. → Lord's Supper, → Heaven, → Body, → Soul).

The article on *agnoeō*, not to know, be ignorant of, deals with the opposite of knowledge, and illustrates the extent to which experience, knowledge, and obedience are linked in biblical thought.

αἴσθησις

αἴσθησις (*aisthēsis*), experience; αἰσθητήριον (*aisthētērion*), organ of sense, faculty.

CL *aisthēsis* means perception by the senses (in contrast to knowledge through rational deduction), experience, sensation; in an ethical context it means judgment, e.g. on the worthlessness of desire (Epict., *Dissertationes* 2, 18, 8). *aisthētērion* is the organ of sense.

OT In the LXX *aisthēsis* is used predominantly in the wisdom literature, especially as a rendering of *da'aṯ*, knowledge, wisdom, with the meaning of true insight. It can frequently include ethical discrimination and decision. *aisthētērion* is the organ where this discrimination is made (cf. Jer. 4:19). This insight stands in contrast to inexperience (Prov. 1:4), lack of → discipline (Prov. 12:1) and folly (Prov. 15:7). The father urges his son "to cry out for insight" (Prov. 2:3) for such → wisdom brings true knowledge of God (Prov. 2:4 ff.). The two are so identified that the opposite can be said, "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge" (Prov. 1:7). Experience of God and experience of the world belong inseparably together.

NT In the NT *aisthēsis* and *aisthētērion* are each used only once.

1. In Phil. 1:9 Paul places discernment (*aisthēsis*) and knowledge (*gnōsis*) side by side as two of love's expressions and functions. Knowledge is directed primarily to God; true discernment is necessary for human relationships, where it must distinguish between good and evil and judge accordingly (cf. especially v. 10).

2. Heb. 5:14 says of "the mature" that they "have their faculties [*aisthētēria*] trained by practice to distinguish good from evil." The concrete organ of sense has here become virtually a habitual ability which must, however, be developed and which enables believers to distinguish between the spirits. It is a spiritual gift which must be developed in practice. *E. Schütz*

γινώσκω

γινώσκω (*ginōskō*), know, come to know, understand, comprehend, perceive, recognize; γνῶσις (*gnōsis*), knowledge; ἐπιγινώσκω (*epiginōskō*), know, understand, recognize; ἐπίγνωσις (*epignōsis*), knowledge, recognition.

CL The original form *gignōskō* is found from Homer on; the shortened form *ginōskō* was Aeolic and Ionic, but appears in common Gk. from Aristotle (384–322 B.C.). They are formed from the root *gno-*, found in Lat. *(g)noscere*, *ignorare*, and Eng. can and know. The nouns *gnōsis* and *gnōmē*, means of knowing, thought, judgment, opinion, are from the same root.

1. In secular Gk. the vb. is used with the following range of meanings.

(a) Basically it means to notice, perceive, or recognize a thing, person, or situation through the senses, particularly the sight. (Seeing and *ginōskō* are linked in Homer, *Od.* 15, 532 and 24, 217.) This leads to an intelligent ordering in the mind of what has been so perceived in the world of experience. Thus the vb. also means experience, learn, get to know: what has been experienced becomes known to the one who has experienced it. This leads to the difference in meaning (which becomes clear in the later linguistic usage) between *ginōskō* and *aisthanomai*, perceive (without necessarily understanding). The noun *gnōsis* (from Heraclitus on) also originally expressed the act of knowing through experience.

(b) Occasionally *ginōskō* means to distinguish, for experience or recognition of a phenomenon among similar or different ones may lead to this (cf. Homer, *Il.* 5, 128, 182).

(c) Familiarity leads to personal acquaintance. Hence *ginōskō* also means to know in a personal way (Heracl., *Frag.* 97), to understand (already in Homer *Od.* 16, 136), to know (Democ., *Frag.* 198; used par. with *oida*), to be acquainted with, to be expert (*gnōstos*, an expert, Plato, *Rep.* 1, 347d), and to judge (Dem. 658, 23). Similarly *gnōsis* is repeatedly found with the meaning knowledge, insight (in Plato and Sophocles), and *gnōmē* with that of insight (Herodotus, Thucydides), reflection (Xen., *Cyr.* 1, 3, 10), will, disposition, and finally judgment, opinion, verdict.

(d) *ginōskō* may be used to express a relationship of trust between persons, i.e. to recognize as friend, love as a friend (Xen., *Cyr.* 1, 4, 27; cf. *gnōstos*, familiar with, from Aesch., *Cho.* 691). It is questionable whether the Hellenistic usage, to know (carnally) i.e. to have sexual relations with, is derived from this. It is possible that the borrowing of a non-Gk. usage lies behind it. It has, however, been pointed out that its root is related to Lat. *gignere*, beget (cf. H. Leisegang, *Die Gnosis*, 1955⁴, 32; → Birth, art. *ginomai*).

(e) Knowledge of situations can be reached by reflecting, judging and investigating, i.e. by logical thought-processes. The inscription at Delphi, *gnōthi sauton*, "Know thyself", is a summons to reflection and self-examination.

(f) Since verdicts in criminal and civil courts were based on a weighing of given facts, they could be expressed by *ginōskō* in the passive, with the meaning to be judged.

(g) The object of knowledge may be a concrete object or an idea in the mind of the thinking subject. Especially in philosophy speculative cognition in this latter sense plays a great part. But even here knowing was regarded in great measure as seeing, "the seeing of the soul [*omma tēs psychēs*]" (cf. Plato *Rep.* 533). This may

be seen from the concrete character of the expressions used for speculation: e.g. *theōreō* look at, observe, contemplate; *skopeō* look into, examine, inspect; and by calling the knowledge so obtained *eidos*, idea (Democritus, Plato; → Image). The goal of philosophical knowledge was seeing – not the seeing of transient and changeable earthly phenomena, but of the lasting and real, which could be seen only by the eyes of the soul. Accordingly in such contexts one should render *ginōskō* by gain insight, perceive (intuitively). The objects of such insight may ultimately belong to the religious sphere (Herach., *Frag.* 5).

With *ginōskō* there is always the implication of grasping the full reality and nature of the object under consideration. It is thus distinguished from mere opinion (*dokeō*; → Think), which may grasp the object half-correctly, inadequately or even falsely. This finds expression in the late phrase attributed, perhaps wrongly, to Apollonius of Tyana *gnōsis theōn, ou doxa*, "Knowledge of the gods, not opinion" (*Epistula* 52).

2. The above indicated uses of *ginōskō* and its derivatives are also found in Hel. Gk. In addition, however, we find a growing use of the terms, based on a fairly loose link with the language of Gk. philosophy. They appear in the widely different systems of thought and conceptual schemes influenced by syncretism which from an early period have been bracketed together under the title of gnosticism (Gk. *gnōsis*). However, the terms gnosis and gnostic were used by only some of these groups to describe themselves (cf. Iren., *Haer.* 1, 11, 1; 1, 26, 3; Pauly-Wissowa, VII 2, 1004 ff.; H. Jonas, *The Gnostic Religion*, 1963², 32 ff.). It lies beyond the scope of the present article to attempt a comprehensive survey of gnostic thought, but certain features of gnosticism may be mentioned.

(a) In Hellenistic culture men adopted a new attitude to the world which involved an *a priori* doubt about the possibility of arriving at the truth about the world and reality along rational lines. Man experiences the world and history more or less as an impenetrable fate which he cannot influence and to which he is handed over like a powerless slave without his consent. He finds the world more a prison than a home. His existence on earth and in history is lived out in a strange land and in misery. Hence, he looks for freedom and escape from the compulsion imposed on him in an alien world. He finds one way of escape in *gnōsis*. In this context it does not mean the mental penetration of things by logical thought as was the case in Gk. philosophy, for it was now widely held that the answer of the universe to rational questions was either silence or lies. The answer of the gnostic was not from within this world, but from the non-cosmic, from outside the universe, from a divine source, diametrically opposed to the cosmic. It came through revelation given in grace to men (cf. Od.Sol. 7:3, 6). The cosmic presupposition of gnosticism was dualism which made an absolute separation between God and the world. The ways and means by which one could acquire knowledge of this other reality were varied, and included sacramentalism, magic, mysticism, semi-philosophical speculation.

(b) By the nature of things *gnōsis* was primarily man's knowledge of himself, of his true nature, which would explain to him his inharmonious relationship with his manner of existence on earth and in history. It would thus show him the way back to → salvation. It was a knowledge of past, present and future. It is the knowledge "who were we? what have we become? where were we? into what have

we been cast? whither are we hastening? from what are we delivered? what is birth? what is rebirth?" (Clement of Alexandria, *Excerpta ex Theodoto*, 1, 78, 2; cf. W. Foerster, *Gnosis*, I, 1972, 230). *gnōsis* included cosmology, cosmogony and theological knowledge only in so far as they might teach man what he is; "man stands in the centre of the gnostics' interest" (G. Quispel, *Gnosis als Weltreligion*, 1951, 29).

(c) The gnostic myth of "the tragic history of the soul" (*TDNT* I 695) which appears in many different forms, attempts to give the answer to the gnostic's question about his own nature. This myth tells of the divine origin of the → soul, which as the result of a primeval fall was exiled and fettered to matter, which is hostile to God, i.e. to the → body. "Man by nature does not belong in any way to this world; his original home is beyond the spheres of the visible universe" (G. Quispel, ibid.). That is why man cannot feel at home in the cosmos, for this cosmos and the God of the soul have nothing in common. Hence, man is plagued by a vague, hopeless longing to leave the world. The less he has been lost to the cosmos, the stronger is the longing. If he has surrendered completely to the cosmos there is no hope of salvation left for him. He perishes along with matter, since there is no "soul-substance" left in him, for this alone is capable of salvation. The process of salvation begins when the hopeless and vague longing is replaced by instruction about the unknown God out there (*agnōstos propatōr* or *patēr*, Epiph., *Haer.* 1, 23, 1; *agnōstos theos*, Iren., *Haer.* 4, 20, 2), the original divinity of the soul, its "fall", the cosmos and its matter which is anti-God, and about the way the soul takes to its divine home. All this is an illumination which comes to man as an external "call" and divine → revelation. If the call is heard by those that belong to it, there is no obstacle to prevent the divine soul from returning to the divinity and being deified (*Corp. Herm.* 1, 26a; 13, 4). Salvation is here and now. The return can be anticipated in the ecstatic state (cf. Iren., *Haer.*, 3, 15, 2). "He who has achieved *gnōsis* is good, and pious, even already divine" (*Corp. Herm.* 10, 9). Though *gnōsis* gives the appearance of being a way to salvation through grace, it is in fact a grandiose attempt at self-salvation, for all that is redeemed and glorified is the soul which is in any case essentially divine. The gnostic is a *physei sōzomenos*, someone saved by nature (Clem.Alex., *Strom.* 2, 3; cf. 4, 13).

(d) All this led to a characteristic gnostic attitude to life which was itself termed *gnōsis* (Iren., *Haer.* 1, 33, 3). It expressed itself in a feeling of superiority over all non-gnostics – in Christian gnosticism, over all mere believers. This may be seen both in their extreme claims, e.g. to be *theon egnōkenai monoi*, the only ones to know God (Clem.Alex., *Strom.* 3, 4, 31), and in their negative ethics, ascetic or antinomian, which were motivated by the gnostic's assurance that his true self was not part of the cosmos. Hence there was no reason why he should obey the claims he attributed to the cosmos. Moral rules were either demands of purely cosmic powers intended to reduce men to slavery (Iren., *Haer.* 1, 23, 3) or purely human values (Iren., *Haer.* 1, 25, 4). Whether by asceticism or libertinism, the gnostic sought to demonstrate his scorn of them and his freedom from all worldly ties.

Gnosticism is, therefore, a general term denoting a manner of life which sprang from a denial of the validity of human existence in history and the cosmos. It found expression for its beliefs in a syncretistic mythology, and expressed itself in the negation of ethics.

OT In the OT, as with the common Gk. attitude, knowledge is derived through the senses; the thing to be known must present itself to the senses and so let itself be known. Hence we find vbs. of hearing (→ Hear) and seeing (→ See) parallel to vbs. of knowing (e.g. Exod. 16:6 f.; Deut. 33:9; 1 Sam. 14:38; Isa. 41:20). It is easy to understand why the LXX rendered *rā'âh*, see (Jdg. 2:7), *ḥāzâh*, see (Isa. 26:11), and *šāma'*, hear (Neh. 4:15[MT 4:9]), by *ginōskō*. The concepts of knowing in Gk. and Heb. thought largely coincide, and for both experience through the senses is fundamental.

1. In the LXX the *ginōskō* word-group is used mainly to render words formed from the Heb. root *yāḏa'* which has a very wide range of meaning. If one starts with the basic meaning (a) to notice, experience, observe (e.g. Gen. 3:7; 41:31; Jdg. 16:20; Eccl. 8:5; Isa. 47:8; Hos. 5:3), then the observing of things like good and bad (2 Sam. 19:35 [MT 19:36]) or right and left (Jon. 4:11) leads to distinguishing between them. Hence, *ginōskō* means (b) to distinguish between. Knowledge passed on by a third party gives the meaning (c) of know by learning (Prov. 30:3). (d) Experience becomes a reality in a relationship based on familiarity with the person or thing known. The use of *yāḏa'* in the wisdom literature is an example of this. It speaks of a knowledge which is empirical and living, obtained by observation of the world and life as the work of God, which in turn leads to an upright life before God (Prov. 2:6; Eccles. 8:17). (e) Knowledge, i.e. familiarity with a thing or situation, can result in technical ability, i.e. to know how to do something (1 Ki. 7:14 [LXX 7:2]; cf. Gen. 25:27; 1 Sam. 16:16, 18; Isa. 47:11). (f) In certain circumstances observation and resultant action (or failure to act) become closely linked. Hence, *ginōskō* also means to concern oneself with, care for, trouble oneself with, or their negatives (e.g. Prov. 27:23; Pss. 1:6, 37:18 [LXX 36:18]; 119:79 [LXX 118:79], and to want to have to do with (or its negative) (e.g. Deut. 33:9). Frequently in theological contexts it is a question of knowledge not properly obtained, leading to lack of interest (e.g. Jer. 8:7; Ps. 95:10[LXX 94:10]; Isa. 1:3). (g) To know can also mean to have sexual relations with (Gen. 4:1; 19:8; cf. 2:23; → Join). (h) To know another person "face to face" means to have a personal and confidential relationship with another person (e.g. Deut. 34:10). The expression has no sexual connotations. When God knows a person (Jer. 1:5) or a people (Amos 3:2) he chooses or → elects him (cf. Num. 16:5 LXX). This knowledge, understood as election, is gracious and loving (see above (f)), but it demands a personal response. (i) The distinctiveness of the OT concept of knowledge is clearly seen in passages which speak of man's knowledge of God, i.e. of his grateful and obedient recognition (see 2 below). "If one asks . . . for the central concept which makes comprehensible the varied uses of the one root, it is to be found in the concept of cognition. All the activities listed are merely variations on this" (H. W. Wolff, "Erkenntnis Gottes im Alten Testament", *EvTh* 15, 1955, 426 f.).

2. Knowledge of God is always linked with God's acts of self-revelation. This is illustrated in the formula, "And you [or they] shall know that I am Yahweh." This is found 54 times in Ezek., and occurs also elsewhere in the OT. It is always linked with the proclamation of some specific act by Yahweh: e.g. Ezek. 6:7, 13, 14; 7:4; 11:10, 11 f.; 12:14 f., 16 (after pronouncement of judgment on Israel); 25:5 (after pronouncement of judgment on Ammon); 28:26; 37:6 (after a promise of salvation); cf. also Exod. 6:7; 7:5, 17; 14:4, 18; 16:6, 12; 29:46; 1 Ki. 20:13,

28; Isa. 45:3, 6 f.; 49:23, 26. In 2 Ki. 5:15 Naaman the Syrian comes to a knowledge of the God of Israel through the healing of his → leprosy. In Sir. 36:4 f. God is asked to reveal himself to the nations, that they too may recognize that there is no other God beside Yahweh (cf. the 4th benediction in the Eighteen Benedictions; for text → Prayer, art. *proseuchomai* OT 5).

It is not only the uniqueness of Yahweh's acts in the past or future that leads to a knowledge of God. The testimony to God's past actions, by which the past is repeatedly made present (Exod. 10:1 f.; 18:8–11), and signs grounded in salvation history (including the → sabbath) are capable of bringing about knowledge of Yahweh (Exod. 31:13; Ezek. 20:12–20). Hence, knowledge of God arises uniquely from the revealing acts of God and the testimony to them. In fact, knowledge of God and knowledge of his acts coincide (Mic. 6:5). Knowledge of God in the OT is not concerned with the speculative question of the being of God, but in the God who, working in → grace and → judgment, has turned to men. To know him means to enter into the personal relationship which he himself makes possible.

Israel's intimate relationship with God required that the nation's conduct should correspond to God's actions. The command "Be still, and know that I am God" (Ps. 46:10[MT 46:11; LXX 45:11]) does not in the first instance mean that the nations attacking Yahweh's city should undergo a purely religious conversion to Yahweh. Rather, they should abandon their rebellion in recognition of Yahweh's rule in history. In the rhetorical questions of Jer. 22:15 f., knowledge of God is clearly interpreted as doing justice and righteousness, particularly to the poor and needy. In Jdg. 2:10 f. not knowing Yahweh and his work done for Israel results in doing evil in the sight of Yahweh. Similarly in Hos. 4:1 f. knowledge of Yahweh is directly related to specific behaviour; lack of faithfulness and disloyalty to the → covenant are bound up with lack of knowledge of God. The result is a breakdown of human relationships. For Hosea too knowledge of God means knowledge of God's saving acts for Israel (13:4, cf. also 4:6; 5:4; 6:6; 8:2). (On Hosea see H. W. Wolff, " 'Wissen um Gott' bei Hosea als Urform von Theologie", *EvTh* 12, 1952–53, 533 ff.; and *Hosea*, *Hermeneia*, 1974.) In the wisdom literature fear of Yahweh and knowledge of God are interchangeable terms (→ Fear, art. *phobos*).

3. Summary. While the Gks. were concerned with detached knowledge and a speculative interest in the metaphysical nature of things, the OT regards knowledge as something which continually arises from personal encounter. When the OT makes statements about → God and → creation, we should not regard them as ontological deductions, but as declarations of faith in response to God's → revelation. For knowledge of God is related to the revelation of God in the historic past and the promised future, in the earthly sphere in which God's creatures have their being. As Israel continually inquired into God's revelation in the past, present and future, he discerned the purposes and demands of God in worship and in conduct.

4. (a) The confrontation between Hellenistic Judaism and polytheism led to the development of a semi-dogmatic concept of the knowledge of God. The knowledge of God meant above all knowing that there was one God, and combatting the claims of heathen deities to be gods (cf. Jud. 2:20; Ep.Jer. passim; cf. Sib. 3:429 f.). The question of the possibility of knowing God was also raised and answered as the Stoics did by stressing the possibility of knowing him through his creation (e.g. Wis. 13:1–9; Syr.Bar 54:17 f.; Philo, *Virt.* 215 f.; Syr.Bar. 54:17 f.). Judaism was

obviously also involved in controversy with the gnostics. Hagigah 2:1 (Mishnah and Tosefta) warns against speculations about what was before the creation, and what will be when the earth passes away (cf. H. Jonas, *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist*, II, 1, 1954, 206; H. Bietenhard, *Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum*, 1951, 53 ff.; SB I 191; III 33, 378). This does not exclude the possibility that a gnostic answer may have been given to the question of the knowability of God, as may be inferred from the expression *phōs gnōseōs*, light of knowledge, occurring a number of times in Test.XII (e.g. Test.Lev. 4:3; 18:3; Test.Ben. 11:2; cf. Philo, *Migr.Abr.* 34 f.; *Som.* 2, 226).

(b) There appear to be some contacts between the OT and the Hel.-gnostic concepts of knowledge because in both knowledge of God comes by revelation. In the latter, however, the place of history is consistently denied, whereas in the former the knowledge of God is inseparably bound up with God's revelation in time and space.

(c) In the inter-testamental period the Qumran texts, in which *yāḏa'* and *da'aṯ* are central ideas, show a remarkable development of the OT concept of knowledge. In a number of passages knowledge stands by itself. It is one of the most important fruits of salvation enjoyed by pious members of the Qumran sect (cf. 1QHab. 11:1; 1QS 10:9, 12; 11:6, 15; 1QH 2:18; 11:24; CD 2:4). God himself is the "God of knowledge" (cf. 1QS 3:15), i.e. the God who possesses all knowledge and from whom alone man can acquire knowledge. An act of predestination is involved (cf. 1QS 4:25; 1QH 1:7; → Foreknowledge). Hence, God's knowledge is not purely intellectual. There are many objects of human knowledge. Of these "the secrets" or "the hidden things" are frequently mentioned (e.g. 1QH 12:13; 1QS 5:11), by which the sect meant the revealed secrets of creation, history and the last days. In this we see the affinity of Qumran teaching with later apocalyptic. God's loyalty is also to be known (cf. 1QH 9:9), as is God's goodness (1QH 14:17), wisdom (1QH 15:12), glory (1QH 15:20) and even God himself (1QH 1:31). Hence, the community could call itself "the knowing ones" (1QH 11:14; 14:15). Alongside this the knowledge of the will of God as revealed in the Torah plays an important part. Upon it depended a man's reception and place in the community (1QS 2:22; cf. 1QS 5:21 ff.). Similar usage occurs in the parallel concepts, *śāḵal*, the root of which means to have insight, and *bîn*, to distinguish, hiph. to understand, and the corresponding nouns. It has been argued that the Qumran texts with their stress on the concept of knowledge betray the influence of gnostic thought on Palestinian Judaism. However, the fundamental differences in cosmology, anthropology, soteriology and ethics must not be overlooked.

NT 1. *Survey of use and meaning in the NT. ginōskō* is found 221 times, of which 82 are in the Johannine literature, 50 in Paul (including the Pastoral Epistles), and 44 in Lk.-Acts; and *epiginōskō* 44 times, of which 12 instances are in Paul (including the Pastorals), and 20 in Lk.-Acts. *gnōsis* and *epignōsis* occur 29 times and 20 times respectively, no less than 38 of them being in Paul (*gnōsis* 23 times; *epignōsis* 15 times). John does not use them at all, possibly deliberately. The verbal adj. *gnōstos* is found 15 times (almost only in Jn. and Lk.); *gnōmē* (predominantly in Paul and Rev.) 9 times.

In a large number of cases we have the general and popular use of the words.

Since Gk. and OT usage are so close, we cannot normally determine the background. A few examples must suffice: to hear of (Mk. 5:43; Jn. 4:1; Phil. 1:12); notice (Matt. 16:8; Mk. 6:33 *epiginōskō*; 13:28 f.); feel (Mk. 5:29 f.); recognize (Matt. 7:16 *epiginōskō*; Lk. 24:16; Jas. 2:20, learn); know (Lk. 12:46 ff.; Jn. 1:48; 21:17 together with *oida*; Rom. 7:15 RSV "understand"); understand (Mk. 5:13 together with *oida*; Lk. 18:34 together with *synienai*; Jn. 13:7 together with *oida*); find out (Jn. 13:35; 15:18; 19:4; 1 Jn. 2:3, 5); distinguish (1 Cor. 14:7), know how to (Matt. 16:3).

The noun *gnōmē* is found almost only in the usual meaning of opinion, judgment. Thus in 1 Cor. 7:25 the opinion of the apostle is clearly distinguished from the "command of the Lord", but it is still authoritative (cf. v. 40). In Rev. 17:13 it occurs in the phrase "of one mind" (cf. 1 Cor. 1:10; Rev. 17:17). In Acts 20:3 Paul *egeneto gnōmēs*, came to the opinion, i.e. decided to return through Macedonia.

2. *The influence of OT usage.* The universal use of the LXX in the primitive church, as in Diaspora Judaism, ensured a linguistic continuity between the OT and the NT documents, or rather between the terms available and their use in the NT *kērygma*. But the standpoint of the NT writers who were in part Gentile Christians speaking to members of the pagan world and the subject matter of their message, the revelation of God in Jesus Christ, modified and gave a new stress to the OT concept of knowledge. Where it expresses a personal relationship between the one who knows and the one known, the NT concept of knowledge is clearly taken from the OT. This applies to sexual relations (Matt. 1:25; Lk. 1:34) and also to where *ginōskō* means have to do with as in Matt. 7:23, "I never knew you", i.e. I never had anything to do with you (cf. Mk. 14:71, where Peter denies his relationship to Jesus, though he uses *oida*). The statement in 2 Cor. 5:21 that Christ "knew no sin" does not mean that he had no intellectual knowledge of sin, but rather that Jesus had no personal truck with sin. It is this that brings out the enormity and irony of the pronouncement: "For our sake he made him to be sin" (→ Sin). Similarly Rom. 7:7 should be paraphrased: "The human I would have had no intimate dealings with sin had it not been for the law" (cf. Rom. 3:20: "since through the law comes knowledge of sin").

ginōskō has also the sense of have to do with, have dealings with, know personally, in 2 Cor. 5:16. The meaning of this verse is the subject of much controversy. *oidamen* ("we know") occurs in the first half and *ginōskō* is used twice in its second half in the forms *egnōkamen* ("we knew") and *ginōskomen* ("we know"). In 2 Cor. 5:11–21 Paul is involved in controversy with opponents who attacked him personally and his claim to be an → apostle. They maintained that he was lacking in visible spiritual qualities which would authenticate his claim to be an apostle, e.g. ecstatic phenomena (v. 13). They probably charged him with being a braggart who commended only himself. Paul is probably referring to this in v. 11 ("we persuade men") and in v. 12 ("we are not commending ourselves"). Part of Paul's defence is the reference to Christ's death "for all", through which "all have died" (vv. 14 f.), including the man with supposed, visible, spiritual qualities. So, says Paul, from now on – ever since the events linked with Christ, which mean a transformation of all values, the turning point of the ages – "we know no one after the flesh", according to his visible demonstration of the Spirit and power.

We must understand this as the consequence of all dying with Christ (v. 14). In order to show how obvious this is, he inserts the statement which should be clear to all, in v. 16 b: "Even though we may have had acquaintance with Christ according to the flesh", i.e. with the visible Christ as he was on earth, "we do not know him as such", i.e. have to do with him as such, but only with the invisible, risen Christ in whose service we stand. Because Christ had died and been raised for all he is the invisible Lord of all, and his lordship is externally inescapable. Hence both the apostle and his claims to apostleship, in common with all else that has died with Christ, are not subject to judgment by external and the normal visible standards. "In Christ" only the new creation is of value. The old, including judgment by outward appearances (*en prosōpō*, v. 12), has passed away and "a new order has already begun" (v. 17 NEB). In the light of this argument, it is clear that Paul in 2 Cor. 5:16 is neither affirming nor denying that he knew the earthly Jesus personally. Equally it has no bearing on the meaning of the historic Jesus for Paul.

(a) We find the influence of the OT most clearly in those contexts where the vb. means to give recognition to. In 1 Cor. 16:18 Paul urges, "Give recognition to [*epiginōskete*] such men", i.e. to colleagues who have shown their devoted service. In 1 Cor. 4:19 Paul tells the Corinthians that, when he comes he will not recognize, i.e. give weight to, the words of the arrogant ("self-important" NEB) or their power. In Matt. 17:12 Jesus speaks of the scribes' failure to recognize John the Baptist as → Elijah come again, which in effect meant that "they did with him whatever they pleased." In the letter to the church in Philadelphia the exalted Jesus promised that Jews would come to the (Gentile?) Christian church and recognize that the Risen One loved them (Rev. 3:9; cf. Rev. 2:23). In so doing he reversed Jewish eschatological hope (cf. E. Lohmeyer, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, *HNT* 16, 1970³ ad loc.).

Phrases such as "know God's decree" (Romans 1:32), "know the law" (Rom. 7:1), "know his will" (Rom. 2:18; Acts 22:14), do not imply a merely theoretical knowledge, but the recognition that it applies to the person individually and demands his obedience. (When Paul in Rom. 2:20 calls the law "the embodiment of knowledge and truth" in his description of the Jew, he implies a clear distinction between existential knowledge and theoretical truth.) The Pharisees' remark that "the crowd who do not know the law are accursed" (Jn. 7:49) reflects a well-attested scorn of rabbinic scholars for the common people (cf. SB II 494–521). It contains the implication that the common people would not have gone after Jesus if they had really known and obeyed the law. But in recording it Jn. sees an unconscious irony in the Pharisees' own failure to see where the law was pointing them (cf. 7:42, 51 with 5:39 f.; 11:49 ff.). 2 Cor. 10:5 contains the juxtaposition of "the knowledge of God" and "to obey Christ." Even where Paul clearly borrows the concept of knowledge held by the (Jewish) Hellenistic popular philosophy, he recasts it. In Rom. 1:28 "The knowledge of God as a question and accessible possibility does not concern him. What concerns him, rather, is the question whether this knowledge is personal (1:28), whether the truth of God remains truth and its power is acknowledged (1:18, 25)" (G. Bornkamm, *Early Christian Experience*, 1969, 56). If such acknowledgment which manifests itself in living obedience is refused, the judgment of God is inevitable. The statement in Rom. 1:21 that those who had known God had become futile in their thinking must have

appeared as a contradiction in terms to Hellenistic thought (→ Empty, art. *mataios*). Their futility is a result of not knowing God (cf. Wis. 13:1; → *agnoeō*). Paul, however, considered that the knowledge of God necessarily included proper glorification and gratitude. Hence, the heathen who rejected God reduced this knowledge to mere intellectual activity, and what they considered wisdom was in fact nothing but folly (Rom. 1:22 f.). The very fact that, though the heathen undoubtedly knew God, they refused him due recognition, is the measure of their lack of excuse (Rom. 1:19 f.; cf. also Jn. 1:10; 1 Cor. 1:21; Gal. 4:8 f.; see further the whole argument of Bornkamm's essay on "The Revelation of God's Wrath (Romans 1–3)" in op. cit., 47–70). Such recognition of God, where it is found, is a → gift of God and not something natural. It is based on his → revelation and therefore remains dependent on revelation (1 Cor. 13:8; 14:6; cf. 2 Cor. 8:7; 2 Pet. 1:5). Other passages are Phil. 1:9; Col. 1:9 f. (which contains a prayer for a growth in love with knowledge or in knowledge of the will of God; cf. Eph. 1:17); 2 Pet. 1:2 (in the prayer for blessing in the introduction); 1 Cor. 1:5; Col. 3:10 (note the pass. vb.); 1 Cor. 2:11, 14. Consequently, this knowledge of God which comes about through the acceptance of salvation in the → forgiveness of sins alone can be nothing other than the gift of God (cf. Lk. 1:7).

Nevertheless, in apparent contradiction to its gift-like charismatic character, knowledge in the NT involves the ready will of the man who receives it. Through disobedience, ingratitude and prevarication he can fail to appropriate it. Hence, the imperatives and exhortations in the NT are calls to grasp the gift and use it aright in the changing circumstances of life (e.g. 1 Cor. 14:27; Eph. 5:5; Jas. 1:3; 5:20; cf. Lk. 10:11; Acts 2:36, where the "house of Israel" is called upon to recognize the crucified Jesus as the messiah in the light of the events of → Pentecost; cf. also the imperative in the parable in Matt. 24:43). 2 Cor. 8:9 ff. involves the outworking of knowledge in practical behaviour. Here the knowledge "of the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that though he was rich, yet for your sake he became poor, so that by his poverty you might become rich" finds expression in the collection for Jerusalem, which Paul was urging. One should not interpret it, as does Lietzmann, to mean simply that Christ is an example of generosity (H. Lietzmann, *An die Korinther*, *HNT* 9, 1969[5] ad loc.). We may also doubt that in 1 Pet 3:7 it is correct to render the appeal to husbands to live with their wives *kata gnōsin* by "considerately" (RSV) or "with understanding" (NEB). It is rather a call to the practical demonstration of the knowledge (of God or of Christ) in the marriage relationship (cf. *TDNT* I 708). Knowledge in the sense of recognition is thus always linked with the practical behaviour of the one who knows and has to do with his way of life (Col. 1:9 f.) which should bring credit to the One known.

(b) We also find typical OT usage in the NT in the case of God's knowledge. This refers to God's loving, electing knowledge of men (cf. 2 Tim. 2:19 quoting Num. 16:5; the passives in 1 Cor. 8:3 [see below]; 1 Cor. 13:12; and Gal. 4:9). Rom. 11:33 should be mentioned in this connection. God's knowledge here includes the whole activity of God, which takes in Gentiles and Jews alike. It is eternally valid for his creatures and triumphs over guilt and disobedience. Rom. 10:2 is a sort of counterpart. Here Paul acknowledges the Jews' zeal for God, but it is not *kata epignōsin*, "in accordance with [real] knowledge" (cf. Arndt, 291). "This does not mean that the Jews lack a deeper insight into the being of God. The knowledge

they lack is the knowledge and recognition of God's ways" (E. Gaugler, *Der Brief an die Römer*, 1959² ad loc.).

(c) There are, however, passages where *ginōskō* implies theological and theoretical knowledge. This overtone cannot be immediately derived from OT usage (see 4 below). Matt. 13:11 and Lk. 9:10 (cf. Mk. 4:11) speak of a hidden knowledge granted only to the → disciples, concerning "the mysteries of the → kingdom of God". This knowledge made them authoritative interpreters of the → parables, which otherwise are hidden from men (→ Explain; → Hide; → Secret). Col. 2:2 contains the phrase *epignōsin tou mystēriou tou theou Christou.* The uncertainty of how the text should be taken is reflected by the *v.l.* which has *theou kai patros kai tou Christou* ("God and Father and of Christ") and by several other variants (cf. E. Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon*, 1971, 82). But the RSV seems to give the most likely rendering: "the knowledge of God's mystery, of Christ". At any rate, it has a certain esoteric colouring. Essentially it involves a knowledge of God, but this knowledge is described as a mystery which is not open to all, but only to the saints to whom God has proclaimed his secret (Col. 1:26).

But even the knowledge of theological truths, e.g. of a particular teaching about baptism, has as its object obedience which expresses itself in life (Rom. 6:6). The express purpose of such knowledge mentioned is that "we might no longer be enslaved to sin."

3. *The use of the word-group in the NT controversy with Gnosticism.* A number of contemporary scholars see evidence of a conflict with gnosticism in a variety of NT passages. ([Ed.] The bibliography at the end of this article gives details of works by Bultmann, Jonas, Schmithals and others who adopt this view, together with works by R. McL. Wilson and E. M. Yamauchi and others who take a more cautious view. In assessing what influence, if any, gnosticism had on the NT several facts need to be borne in mind. The extant sources of gnosticism, like the known leading gnostic teachers, are substantially later than the NT. Certain gnostic ideas appear to be indebted to the NT itself. Moreover, the extant gnostic texts display a wide variety of beliefs which make it impossible to treat gnosticism as if it were a homogeneous belief-system. It would be uncritically simplistic to label someone a "gnostic" simply because he lays claim to *gnōsis* [knowledge] and to attribute to him without further evidence the belief-systems of Valentinus or Basilides. On the other hand, there were those in NT times who vaunted their superior knowledge [1 Cor. 1:18–2:16; 8:1; 13:12 f.; cf. Col. 2:8; 1 Tim. 4:7; 6:20]. It may be that in such passages we should see incipient tendencies which later flowered into gnosticism as we know it. But it would be anachronistic to read into these references ideas for which we have evidence only in the 2nd and 3rd centuries.)

The NT writers frequently found themselves in conflict with travelling preachers who had their own version of the apostolic *kērygma.* Timothy was expressly warned against the "godless chatter" and the "contradictions" of knowledge (*gnōsis*) falsely so called (1 Tim. 6:20). In Rev. 2:24 opponents are mentioned who claimed to have learned "the deep things of Satan". It may well be that the writer has sarcastically and with true critical judgment turned round their claim to have learned "the deep things of God" (E. Lohmeyer, op. cit., 29; E. Lohse, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, *NTD* 11, 1966², 29). There is much in Paul's letters (especially 1 and 2 Cor.; Phil. 3:2 ff.; Col., especially 2:4–23, and perhaps Gal.), and in the

whole Johannine literature and Jude that might be understood against the background of anti-gnostic controversy. Our purpose here is to investigate whether the understanding of knowledge in these NT writers has been influenced by their gnostic opponents, and if so in what measure.

(a) Paul. In his discussion of the use of food offered to idols Paul quoted the claim: "We know that all of us possess knowledge [*gnōsis*]" (1 Cor. 8:1). *gnōsis* is here thought to be used in typically gnostic fashion without the article. Hence, it cannot refer merely to knowledge about such food. The important thing is the possession of *gnōsis*. The deduction was drawn that one may eat food offered to idols without any scruples. The one who has *gnōsis* is the one who knows the true being of God and his own originally divine being (cf. 2 Cor. 13:5, where Paul ironically is aiming his shafts at gnostic self-knowledge). He thus recognizes the non-reality of the universe, its earthly, historical relationships and regulations, and finds no problem in eating food offered to idols (cf. Phil. 3:19a; Rev. 2:20) or in immorality (1 Cor. 6:12–20; Phil. 3:19b.; cf. Rev. 2:20). He considers the question of resurrection irrelevant (1 Cor. 15:12; cf. Phil. 3:10–16). For such a man even the historical, earthly Jesus has no relevance (cf. "Jesus be anathema" [1 Cor. 12:3; → Curse]; "enemies of the cross of Christ" [Phil. 3:18]). Christian gnosticism applied the dualism of spirit and matter to its christology which was, therefore, always docetic. Paul measured this gnostic knowledge with the yard-stick of love: "Knowledge puffs up, but love builds up" (1 Cor. 8:2b.). The gnostic with his knowledge was interested only in himself and his claim to a superior freedom loosed from all earthly ties. Love, on the other hand, is concerned with the building up of the church, i.e. with the salvation of others in the fellowship of Jesus Christ, including the weak (1 Cor. 8:9) who do not possess this knowledge (1 Cor. 8:7), and surely also the outsiders and unbelievers (1 Cor. 14:23).

The knowledge claimed by the Corinthians was thus unacceptable to Paul. "If any one imagines that he knows something, he does not yet know as he ought to know" (1 Cor. 8:2). This may be compared with 1 Cor. 15:34, where Paul says that some people have an *agnōsian . . . theou*, "ignorance of God". In view of this, Paul was compelled to explain what he understood by knowledge. He found it possible to express knowledge only passively, as a being known (cf. Gal. 4:9, where he corrects the thought of an active human knowledge of God by adding "or rather to be known by God"). This being known is not the counterpart of some previous active comprehension of God by man, but rather of loving God (cf. 1 Cor. 8:3). Full and real knowledge of God is rather part of the eschatological → promise and expectation (1 Cor. 13:12). Paul totally rejected the fantastic gnostic anticipation of the *eschaton* (→ Goal, art. *eschatos*), in which being known by God and the perfect knowledge of God by man come together by simply disregarding existence on earth and in the body (cf. 2 Tim. 2:18b). For Paul the whole stress lay on God's having known us before time. Thus the *gnōsthēnai*, being known by God, involves election (cf. G. Bornkamm, op. cit., 186). If there is any human knowledge of God, it is the mediated knowledge of God as he revealed himself in the life and work of Christ. It is the Spirit-given "knowledge of God in the face of Jesus Christ" (2 Cor. 4:6). Before the *eschaton* we can know God only as we know Jesus Christ (Phil. 3:10; cf. Col. 2:2 f.). But Christ is not to be known through theological speculation, but rather as one is met by him and as one

acknowledges him as the Lord (Phil. 3:8). Such acknowledgement is the counterpart to having been known by God. Where it does not exist, it is useless to speak of knowledge; "if any one does not recognize this, he is not recognized" (1 Cor. 14:38). Hence → love for God is the counterpart of having been known by God (1 Cor. 8:3). Love for God, however, takes shape in new obedience to the Lord Jesus Christ and freedom from the lordship of sin (cf. "in growing conformity with his death" [Phil. 3:10 NEB] with Rom. 6:3–3), in fellowship with Christ's sufferings, and in strenuous service in the resurrection power of Christ, while one presses on to the promised resurrection from the dead (Phil. 3;10). True knowledge is the knowledge which God revealed everywhere through the apostolic witness (2 Cor. 2:14). It is not the final fulfilment. At present it is only fragmentary (1 Cor. 13:12), but it looks to fulfilment. As Paul said in Philem. 6, knowledge is *epignōsis pantos agathou, tou en hēmin eis Christon*, "knowledge of all the good that is ours in Christ." The Corinthian gnostics in their pride did not want to know anything of this knowledge. Hence, Paul ironically demanded of them to "acknowledge that what I am writing to you is a command of the Lord" (1 Cor. 14:37). In the light of all this it is clear that Paul's polemics remain essentially within the limits of the OT concept of knowledge. At the same time he amplifies and works out this concept christologically.

(b) John. The terminology of the Johannine statements about knowledge is influenced by the gnostic outlook as is the Johannine vocabulary and thought-world generally. What this means for the theological statements in Jn. will be discussed later. The gnostic influence on the concept of knowledge may be seen, if the statements involving *ginōskō* are detached from their contexts and examined on their own. The very fact that knowledge can represent a mutual and inner fellowship between Jesus and his own, and between Jesus (the Son) and God (the Father) in Jn. 10:14 f., points to a gnostic background. J. Jeremias (*TDNT* VI 496, note 106), argues, however, that this reflects a Semitism and not Hellenistic mysticism, as R. Bultmann maintains in *The Gospel of John*, 1971, 380 ff. The possibility of describing knowledge as → fellowship is based on the personal equality of the one who knows, the messenger of God who mediates the knowledge, and the God who is to be known who is utterly transcendent. A gnostic and dualistic contrast between God and the world is indicated by the statement that the world cannot receive "the Spirit of truth because it neither sees him nor knows him" (Jn. 14:17). The hatred experienced by Jesus and his disciples (Jn. 15:18; cf. 16:2 f.) is to be understood as a result of the irremovable distinction between the divine and the earthly. Similarly the voice of revelation cannot be recognized as such by those who have the devil and not God as → father (Jn. 8:42–47). Conversely the knowledge of God includes knowledge of the One he has sent and becomes co-terminous with eternal life (Jn. 17:3), as with the gnostics. This knowledge which brings salvation is possible only through the call from outside, the coming of the → Son of God who has given understanding (*dianoia*), i.e. the ability to know him who is true (1 Jn. 5:20).

The dependence of Johannine language and the Johannine view of knowledge on the terminology of gnosticism is understandable if one realizes that the recipients of the Christian message and its opponents influenced the form in which it was expressed. John's purpose is to speak to gnostics and therefore he uses their

language. He faces the gnostic on his own ground and combats him with his own weapons. This does not make the gospel a myth or John a gnostic. We should, however, investigate what this may mean for our concept of knowledge.

One might say that John has given the gnostic myth an entirely new orientation. The gnostic understood knowledge as self-knowledge, through which man came to realize that he was a stranger in the universe and also that he was divine. He thus experienced deliverance from the world and history alike. For John, knowledge is of a personal reality that stands over against man. This Other is God mediated by revelation. Since "no one has ever seen God" (Jn. 1:18), there can be no immediate knowledge of God or direct fellowship with God. But God may be known in the One he has sent, his Son (cf. the synoptic parallels Matt. 11:27 and Lk. 10:22). The Son is not, like the saviour in gnosticism, a mythological figure. He bears the historical name Jesus which unambiguously locates him in time and space. He is the Logos (→ Word) who has become → flesh (Jn. 1:14; 1 Jn. 1:1–4). He who sees Jesus sees the Father (Jn. 14:9; 12:45). He who has known him will know the Father also, for he has already known him and seen him (Jn. 14:7). Hence, fellowship with God can come only through fellowship with Jesus, for this fellowship corresponds to Jesus' fellowship with God (Jn. 10:14 f.). On both levels it is expressed by *ginōskō*.

The fellowship between Jesus and those that are his, made effective by mutual knowledge, does not imply, as in gnosticism, the deification of man and his complete removal from the world and history. In Jn., knowledge gains its form from the one God and his revelation in history through historical channels. By sending his Son, God revealed his love to his own (Jn. 17:23; 1 Jn. 4:9 f.) and to the world (Jn. 3:16). The Son loved his own according to the measure of his Father's love to him (Jn. 15:9; 17:26). Therefore, knowledge by the one loved by God and Jesus finds expression in the sphere of history in love: "He who does not love does not know God; for God is love" (1 Jn. 4:8). Just as the Son demonstrated his love for the Father by obedience to God's → command (Jn. 14:31), so he who knows demonstrates his knowledge by keeping God's command (1 Jn. 2:3 ff.), above all that of loving his → brother (1 Jn. 4:7 f.; cf. 2:7–11), and by not sinning (1 Jn. 3:6). Thus *ginōskō* has a double application: it means knowing the love of God shown in the sending of his Son (Jn. 17:8; 1 Jn. 3:16), and the obedience of love based on it which is also described as obedience to the message proclaimed (1 Jn. 4:6). Such knowledge is already eternal → life here and now (Jn. 17:3), because it is a life in history derived from God's historical revelation. In view of all this, John's concept stands out as deliberately and diametrically opposed to that of gnosticism.

The striking equation of → faith and knowledge in the relationship of man to God is also part of the polemic against gnosticism which at the very least depreciated faith in contrast to knowledge. While Jn. 17:3 attributes eternal life to knowledge, Jn. 3:36 attributes it to faith. In the Johannine version of Peter's confession (Jn. 5:69) one might be tempted to see faith as the first step subordinate to knowledge, but in 1 Jn. 4:16 the order is "know and believe."

Gnostic self-satisfaction which is concerned only with one's own salvation is opposed by emphasis on the existence of the church in brotherly love (Jn. 13:35) and unity (Jn. 17:21 ff.). Moreover, the ultimate goal behind this will be reached

only when the world comes to believe that the Son has been sent, and when this revelation becomes known throughout the universe. Such an affirmation is possible only if John does not share the gnostic dualism of cosmos (creation) and salvation. For the gnostic this dualism was insurmountable, because it was decreed by a pre-cosmic fall. According to the gnostic view, the universe was completely and fatally incapable of knowing God and of being redeemed. For John the world remains God's creation (Jn. 1:1 ff.; cf. 1 Jn. 2:14). Not to know, which showed itself in hatred against Jesus and his disciples, is a result of refusing to believe the revelation given (Jn. 8:42 f.) which in turn incurs guilt (cf. E. Käsemann, *Verkündigung und Forschung*, 1946², 192 f.). "If the 'Jews' are unable to understand, it is because they are unable truly to hear. They are prepared to hear only what they already know, even though of course they are interested in deepening and enriching this knowledge; but they are not prepared to hear anything new, and so to surrender all that they knew before, and with it the condition of such knowledge, their own understanding of themselves. They *cannot* hear in this way! To raise the question why they cannot hear would only be to show a lack of understanding that in this sphere being able to do something and willing to do something are one and the same" (R. Bultmann, op. cit., 317). The summons to knowledge and faith thus remains even for the world; God's love for the world in sending his Son which is now presented as something real has opened up a new dimension of reality.

Although Jn.'s vocabulary has clear affinities with gnosticism, his subject matter equally clearly stands much nearer to the concept of knowledge in the OT tradition than the mythical speculations of gnosticism.

4. *Later developments.* (a) In the Pastorals, and to some extent in 2 Pet., *epignōsis* has received a special stamp through the controversy with gnosticism which deviates from the OT usage. In the earlier Pauline Epistles and the Johannine writings church doctrine was still in the course of development in the controversy with gnosticism. In the Pastorals, however, a definite doctrinal tradition is evident, and all entanglement with "godless and silly myths" (1 Tim. 4:7) is forbidden. Hence, gnostic terminology has been in great measure eliminated and replaced by other terms. *gnōsis* is regarded as a technical term for the gnostic heresy (cf. 1 Tim. 6:20) and *epignōsis* takes its place, when it refers to Christian knowledge (1 Tim. 2:4; 2 Tim. 2:25; 2:7; Tit. 1:1). It has, however, quite clearly an intellectual, semi-dogmatic stress. The knowledge of God's truth is of equal importance with experiential profession of the Lord, and finally pushes it into the background. Hence, conversion to the Christian faith can be described almost technically as coming to a knowledge (*epignōsis*) of the truth (1 Tim. 2:4; 2 Tim. 3:7; cf. Heb. 10:26; 1 Tim. 5:3; 2 Tim. 2:25; Tit. 1:1; 2 Pet. 2:21). Examples of this concept of truth may be found in Eth.Enoch 105:2 and Sib. 1:20.

In 2 Pet. *epignōsis* is used in a similar theoretical, technical way in connection with God's call. Knowledge is here of the orthodox tradition, of the catholic doctrinal teaching (2 Pet. 1:2, 3, 8; 2:20) which, as in the Pastorals, must become effective in a corresponding manner of life. It is interesting that *gnōsis* has a good sense in 2 Pet. (cf. 1:5 f.; 3:18). This does not apply to ch. 2, where an anti-gnostic writing (Jude) has been incorporated which uses only *epignōsis* (2:20) and *epiginōskō* (2:21).

(b) The controversies of early Christianity with gnosticism had a decisive

effect on many aspects of the church's teaching and concepts. They partly explain the development of the office of teacher (→ Bishop) by which correct exegesis of Scripture was to be guaranteed, and the fixing of the canon of Scripture so as to exclude heretical writings from the church's use. The drawing up of various creeds finds its place here also. Gnostic influences continued for a long time to show their influence on Church theology (for evidence of gnosticism in the early church see W. Foerster, *Gnosis: A Selection of Gnostic Texts*, I, *Patristic Evidence*, 1972).

E. D. Schmitz

ἀγνοέω

ἀγνοέω (*agnoeō*), not know, be ignorant; ἀγνόημα (*agnoēma*), error; ἄγνοια (*agnoia*), ignorance; ἀγνωσία (*agnōsia*), lack of knowledge; ἄγνωστος (*agnōstos*), unknown.

CL & OT *agnoeō* means not to know and is used against the full background of the Gk. concept of knowledge (→ *ginōskō*). It does not refer merely to something not grasped by the mind, but can also mean make a mistake or be in error. In Dan. 9:15 it is used beside *hamartanō*, to sin. Similarly *agnoēma* (in the NT only in Heb. 9:7) is used not merely for error but also for an offence done in ignorance. *agnoia* similarly refers not only to the fact of not knowing, but can be used in a general sense for ignorance or lack of education. The positive opposites are *gnōsis* (→ *ginōskō*) and *sophia* (→ Wisdom). The Stoics considered ignorance to be the root of all evil, and sometimes identified the two. In the Hellenistic terminology of gnostic dualism *agnōsia* was "lack of the knowledge essential to the salvation of the soul, i.e., the knowledge about God, of the fate of the soul and of true direction for life" (R. Bultmann, *TDNT* I 118). If a man was living without knowledge, it was either because he had not received the revelation or had refused it. Had he received it, it would have freed him from his ignorance of his origin.

In legal settings *agnoia* means ignorance of the law; *kat' agnoian* means unwittingly (e.g. Lev. 22:14). The LXX uses *agnoia* (mostly for Heb. *'āšām*) concretely in the sense of *agnoēma*, also meaning (unintentional) → guilt, offence, error, generally (e.g. Lev. 5:18). *agnōstos*, meaning both unknowable and unknown, is found in the LXX, without Heb. equivalent, and Acts 17:23 (only here in the NT) only in the latter sense.

NT *agnoeō* is found 21 times in NT (15 times in Paul), but *agnoia* only 4 times, *agnōsia* twice, *agnoēma* and *agnōstos* each twice.

1. *agnoeō* occurs in the following senses:

(a) Not to understand in the sense of not being able to grasp (Mk. 9:32 and Lk. 9:45, in each case of a passion prediction by Jesus).

(b) Not to know, not be informed (e.g. 2 Pet. 2:12, where the godless revile in matters they do not know, about which they have not been informed); especially in the phrase *ou thelō hymas agnoein*, "I do not want you to be ignorant", i.e. uninformed (RSV sometimes "I want you to know") (Rom. 1:13; 11:25; 1 Cor. 10:1; 12:1; 2 Cor. 1:8; 1 Thess. 4:13), always with the address "brethren". The implicit double negative is used by Paul to stress that he wishes to end his readers' lack of knowledge by making them share in his knowledge. *agnoeō* is used also in the formula *ē agnoeite*, "or do you not know?" (Rom. 6:3; 7:1, "or" omitted by RSV) with the force of not knowing, or perhaps rather of failing to realize. In both

passages a present knowledge is presupposed which implies a need to respond to the gospel. Almost all the passages cited above deal with a partial recognition of faith in Christ, as the object of *agnoeō*. It never means merely a lack of intellectual knowledge which can be removed by a neutral statement of facts. It is used in the OT sense. This lack of knowledge can be removed only by knowledge intimately linked with an existential recognition and acceptance (cf. *ginōskō* CL and OT).

(c) An ignorance that leads astray. In 1 Tim. 1:13 Paul, looking back on his past, says, "I received mercy because I had acted ignorantly in unbelief." Ignorance is here the trait that marked out his life that had gone astray until his → conversion to the Christian faith which always includes knowledge. The same shade of meaning is found in Heb. 5:2, "ignorant and wayward". OT language is here used, contrasting unknowing, unintentional → sins with deliberate ones. In the context, the meaning of *agnoeō* is expanded from unknowing to undesired, so that it comes to denote the sins for which there is atonement in contrast to those for which there is none.

(d) A failure to know in the sense of a disobedient closing of the mind to the revealing word of God (Acts 13:27; Rom. 10:3). This is not simply a lack of knowledge, but "a false understanding, a false path in knowing and thinking" (O. Michel *Der Brief an die Römer*, *KEK* 4, 1966[13], on Rom. 10:3). Ignorance and disobedience are here used as parallels; ignorance is the guilty turning away from the revelation of God in Jesus Christ. The guilty ignorance of the Jews cannot be conquered by introspection or some kind of self-reformation. It can only be dealt with by God himself as he forgives and reveals himself in the gospel. This is not merely an erring ignorance (see above (c)). It reflects the OT link between knowledge and right conduct (and correspondingly between wilful rejection of knowledge and judgment). (On the consequent hardening of Israel → Hard.)

1 Cor. 14:38 should probably be included in this connection: "If anyone does not recognize [*agnoei*], he is not recognized [*agnoeitai*]." The second half of the verse speaks of God's recognition. For Paul is claiming to speak by "a command of the Lord" (v. 37). Hence, to reject the command is to reject God with the implied corollary that this involves non-recognition by not only Paul but by God himself.

(e) To be unknown. In 2 Cor. 6:9 Paul says that he is "unknown", i.e. to the world, for he is not included among its great ones. On the other hand, he was well known to God and the church. See also Gal. 1:22.

2. (a) In Acts 3:17 *agnoia* is used in the juridical sense of the LXX. The guilt of the Jews is, from the viewpoint of the subject, a sin arising from ignorance. On the other hand, the Stoic-Jewish sense is found in the other cases of its use, among them being some which betray gnostic usage (→ *ginōsko*). Acts 17:30 refers to past heathenism as ignorance (cf. Acts 14:16; Rom. 3:25). The history of mankind is from the point of view of salvation divided into two periods; before and after Christ. The period before the decisive and basic revelation of God in Christ is characterized by the ignorance which prevailed. "The times of ignorance God overlooked, but now he commands all men everywhere to repent."

(b) *agnōstos* in Acts 17:23 means simply unknown in the inscription "To an unknown God" on an altar at Athens. Paul addressed the Athenians as those who had until then honoured the unknown God without knowledge, but whom he was now proclaiming as the revealed One. The unknown God among the gods is in

fact the true and only One. He is the God of the OT and of salvation-history. The mention of ignorance was not intended to justify and excuse men; it was to introduce them to God's saving purposes and to lead them to the joy of repentance. (On the inscription see F. F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1952², 335 f.; and E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1971, 516, 520 ff.; → God, art. *theos* NT 1 (d), 4 (b)). *E. Schütz*

→ God, → Light, → Myth, → Reason, → Revelation, → Secret, → Truth, → Wisdom

On knowledge and experience in general:
(a). G. Bornkamm, "The Revelation of God's Wrath (Romans 1–3)", in *Early Christian Experience*, 1969, 47–70; E. Brunner, *Truth as Encounter: A New Edition, Much Enlarged, of The Divine-Human Encounter*, 1964; R. Bultmann, *agnoeō* etc., *TDNT* I 115–21; and *ginōskō* etc., *TDNT* I 689–719; W. D. Davies, " 'Knowledge' in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Matthew 11:25–30", *HTR* 46, 1953, 113–39, reprinted in *Christian Origins and Judaism*, 1962, 119–44; C. H. Dodd, "Knowledge of God", in *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, 1953, 151–69; G. Delling, *aisthanomai* etc., *TDNT* I 187 f.; E. E. Ellis, " 'Wisdom' and 'Knowledge' in I Corinthians", *TB* 25, 1974, 82–98; B. Gärtner, *The Areopagus Speech and Natural Revelation*, 1955; J. B. Lightfoot, *The Epistles of Paul to the Colossians and to Philemon*, 1879, 137 f.; J. A. Robinson, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians*, 1904, 249 ff.; cf. the comments on Lightfoot and Robinson by R. E. Picirilli, "The Meaning of 'Epignosis' ", *EQ* 47, 1975, 88 ff.; B. Reicke, "Da'at and Gnosis in Intertestamental Literature", in E. E. Ellis and M. Wilcox, eds., *Neotestamentica et Semitica: Studies in Honour of Matthew Black*, 1969, 245–55; N. B. Stonehouse, *Paul before the Areopagus and Other New Testament Studies*, 1957; H. Zimmermann, "Knowledge of God", *EBT* II 472–78.
(b). E. Baumann, "*yāḏa'* und seine Derivate", *ZAW* 28, 1908, 22 ff., 110 ff.; and " 'Wissen um Gott' bei Hosea als Urform der Theologie?", *EvTh* 15, 1955, 416 ff.; G. J. Botterweck, "*Gott erkennen*" *im Sprachgebrauch des Alten Testaments, Bonner Biblische Beiträge* 2, 1951; A. Fridrichsen, "Gnosis: Et Bidrag til Belysning ave den Paulinske Terminologi og Erkjennelsesteori", *Festschrift E. Lahmann*, 1927, 85–109; F. Hesse, *Das Verstockungsproblem im Alten Testament, BZAW* 74, 1955; K. Niederwimmer, *Der Begriff der Freiheit im Neuen Testament*, 1966; E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, (1913) 1971⁵; F. Nötscher, *Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumran-Texte*, 1956, 15–79; R. Prenter, *Connaître Christ*, 1966; E. Prucker, *Gnōsis Theou. Untersuchungen zur Bedeutung eines religiösen Begriffs beim Apostel und bei seiner Umwelt*, 1937; H. Schlier, "Gnosis", in *Handbuch theologischer Grundbegriffe*, I, 1962, 562 ff.; W. Schottroff, *yāḏa'*, *THAT* I 682–701; *Die Ausdrücke für den Begriff des Wissens in der vorplatonischen Philosophie, Philologische Untersuchungen*, 29, 1924; and *Platon, Mit den Augen des Geistes*, 1955; H. W. Wolff, " 'Wissen um Gott' bei Hosea als Urform von Theologie", *EvTh* 12, 1952–53, 533 ff.; and "Erkenntnis Gottes im Alten Testament", *EvTh* 15, 1955, 426 ff.; W. Zimmerli, *Erkenntnis Gottes nach dem Buch Ezechiel, AThANT* 27, 1954.

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(b). U. Bianchi, ed., *Le Origini dello Gnosticismo, Colloquio di Messina 13–18 Aprile 1966, Studies in the History of Religions* (Supplements to *Numen*) 12, 1967; A. Böhlig, *Mysterion und Wahrheit. Gesammelte Beiträge zur spätantiken Religionsgeschichte*, 1968; W. Bousset, "Gnosis", Pauly-Wissowa VII 1502 ff.; and "Gnostiker", ibid., 1534 ff.; L. Cerfaux, "De Saint Paul a l'Évangile de la Verité", *NTS* 5, 1958–59, 103–12; J. Dupont, *Gnosis: La Connaissance Religieuse dans les Épîtres de Saint Paul*, 1949; W. Eltester, ed., *Christentum und Gnosis*, *BZNW* 37, 1969; E. de Faye, *Gnostiques et Gnosticisme*, 1925²; A.-J. Festugière, *La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, I–IV, 1949–54; D. Georgi, *Die Gegner des Paulus im 2. Korintherbrief*, 1964; H. Jonas, *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist*, I, *Die mythologische Gnosis* (1934) 1964³, II, *Von der Mythologie zur mystischen Philosophie*, 1954; J. Krull, *Die Lehre des Hermes Trismegistos, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, 12, 1914; H. Leisegang, *Die Gnosis*, 1955⁴; G. Quispel, *Gnosis als Weltreligion*, 1951; R. Reitzenstein, *Das mandäische Buch des Herrn der Grösse und die Evangelienüberlieferung*, 1919; *Poimandres* (1904) 1966; *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen* 1927; and *Die Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe* (1929) 1967; K. Rudolf, *Die Mandäer*, I–II, 1960–61; K. Rudolf, ed., *Gnosis und Gnostizismus*, 1975; K.-W. Tröger, ed., *Gnosis und Neues Testament. Studien aus Religionswissenschaft und Theologie*, 1973.

L

Lamb, Sheep

In the ancient world sheep together with other small livestock were kept in herds, and for that reason are usually referred to in the plural. The word *probaton*, which is relatively frequent in the NT, was originally a generic term for all four-legged animals, especially tame domestic animals, only later was it restricted to sheep. *amnos* denoted from the outset a young sheep, frequently a one-year-old lamb, especially as used for sacrifice on numerous cultic occasions. In non-sacrificial contexts, the lamb as an animal for slaughter was called *arēn*. The diminutive form *arnion* originally meant lambkin, but later simply a lamb. In a figurative theological context (especially in Matt. and Jn.) Israel and the Christian church are often referred to as sheep (*probata*), and occasionally (in Jn. and 1 Pet.) Jesus is likened to a lamb, *amnos* (in Jn.), *arnion* (in Rev.).

ἀμνός

ἀμνός (*amnos*), lamb; ἀρήν (*arēn*), lamb; ἀρνίον (*arnion*), lamb.

CL *amnos*, found infrequently from Sophocles and Aristophanes onwards, denotes a lamb as distinct from → *probaton*, sheep. In the LXX both *amnos* and *arēn* are used, while *arnion* is no longer felt to be a diminutive, either in the LXX or in the NT.

OT In the OT *amnos* (Hebrew *keḇeś*) is used chiefly in passages classed among the Priestly writings and in Ezek., i.e. in writings of a cultic and sacrificial character. The lamb plays an important role as a sacrificial animal in Israel's public worship. Lambs are presented as burnt offerings and sacrifices (Lev. 9:3, Num. 15:5) to atone for and to cleanse the people as a whole or individual persons (e.g. → lepers, Lev. 14:10) at the sanctuary. According to Exod. 12:5, at the yearly Passover → feast each family consumed a lamb that was without blemish, a male a year old, in memory of the exodus from Egypt. (At the exodus itself the blood of the lamb was smeared upon the door-posts and lintels of Jewish houses [Exod. 12:7, 13, 23].) In his prophecy of the new temple Ezek. mentions lambs as gifts for the → Sabbath-offering and the feast-offering (46:4, 11). Isa. 53:7 is particularly illuminating: the patiently suffering → Servant of the Lord is compared with a lamb being led to the slaughter and remaining dumb before its shearers. Here for the first time a person is spoken of as fulfilling the function of a sacrificial animal. Acts 8:32 cites Isa. 53:7, and sees in the passage a reference to the "good news of Jesus" (Acts 8:35).

NT 1. In the NT Jesus is described 4 times as *amnos* (Jn. 1:29, 36; Acts 8:32; 1 Pet. 1:19). In Jn. 1:29, 36 John the Baptist describes Jesus, whom he has baptized, as *ho amnos tou theou*, "the lamb of God". This is not merely a comparison in which Jesus is said to be *like* a lamb; rather he *is* the lamb of God. Both Acts 8:32 and 1 Pet. 1:19 contain *hōs* (as), but this is not true of Jn. 1:29, 36. J. Jeremias (*TDNT* I 339) suggests that this phrase may have been borrowed from Isa. 53, and also from the Passover lamb idea. He points out that the Aramaic word *ṭalyā'* means both lamb and boy, servant, and says that the meaning "servant" makes the genitive intelligible: Jesus, the servant of God. Then this led eventually to the possible (but most likely not the original) translation *amnos tou theou.*

Interesting and thought-provoking as this is, it is preferable to understand this unusual genitive construction in the light of the relative clause *ho airōn tēn hamartian tou kosmou* ("that takes away the sin of the world") and to link this with Isa. 53: the lamb (of God) bears the sin of the world. (For interpretation of the Servant see H. H. Rowley, *The Servant of the Lord and Other Essays*, 1965².)

If "lamb" stands for "offering", then the Baptist's statement becomes clear. No offerings brought by men can take away the sin of the world. But God himself provides an offering, which does indeed take it away. He gave his only Son and did not spare him (cf. Rom. 8:31–32, probably an echo of Gen. 22). There is a considerable contrast between the Baptist's words in Jn. 1:29 and those in the Synoptic Gospels, where messiah is said to be coming with his fan in his hand, sweeping his threshing floor (Matt. 3:12; Lk. 3:17). Jn. 1:29, however, is to be seen against the background of Jesus' baptism (1:32–34), when he publicly identified himself with sinners and their lot. Once God has delivered up his Son to death the eschatological time of salvation can be said to have begun.

In the NT Jesus is described as a lamb in three different respects: (a) Acts 8:32 stresses his patient suffering; (b) 1 Pet. 1:19 emphasizes the sinlessness and perfection of his sacrifice by the phrase "without blemish and without spot"; (c) Jn. 1:29, 36 describe the atoning power of his death: he bears, i.e. wipes out, the sin of the world (cf. J. Jeremias, *TDNT* I 340).

2. *arēn* occurs once in the NT in Lk. 10:3, where it is said that the disciples will be as defenceless as sheep among wolves (→ Animal).

3. *arnion.* In Jn. 21:15 Christ exhorts Peter: "Feed my lambs [*boske ta arnia mou*]". "The church belongs to Christ, and needs faithful pastoral oversight by his disciple (cf. Augustine: "Feed my sheep as mine and not as yours [*oves meas pasce sicut meas, non sicut tuas*]" (*Tractatus in Ioannis Evangelium* 123). Apart from Jn. 21:15, *arnion* is found exclusively in Rev. (27 times). It is important to note the observation by J. Jeremias (*TDNT* I 340) that by the NT period this word was no longer thought of as a diminutive. There is therefore no biblical basis for referring to Christ as a "lambkin", however endearing the idea may be. The thought is rather that the judge of all the earth is he who died for us, and even as sovereign Lord he still bears the marks of his passion (Rev. 5:6).

arnion occurs 4 times in Rev. 5 (vv. 6, 8, 12 f.), where Christ is seen in this twofold aspect. On the one hand, he is the Lord, the one who opens the seals and who is to be worshipped. On the other hand, he is *esphagmenon arnion* ("a lamb that was slain") having redeemed men of all races to God by his → blood, and made them → kings and → priests (Rev. 5:9, 10). He is both *arnion* and *leōn*, a lion (→

Animal). The eschatological wrath from which kings, rulers, freemen and slaves all wish to hide is *orgē tou arniou*, "the wrath of the Lamb" (Rev. 6:16). In ch. 7 it is said that the blood of the Lamb has cleansing power. The robes of the martyrs were cleansed not by their martyrdom, severe as it was, but solely by the blood of the Lamb. The Lamb is worshipped at the same time as God (7:10). Rev. 19:7, 9 speaks of the marriage of the Lamb, the church being the bride. The 12 apostles are called apostles of the Lamb. God and the Lamb illumine the city of God (21:14, 23).

4. In summary it can be said that *amnos tou theou* denotes God's offering, Christ, whom he destined to bear the sin of the world, while *arnion* emphasizes the fact that he who is eternal Lord is also Christ crucified for us. *J. Gess*

| πρόβατον |

πρόβατον (*probaton*), sheep.

CL In Gk. antiquity the word *probaton* in its widest sense denoted all four-footed animals (especially tame, domestic ones) as opposed to swimming and creeping animals. It is possible that the word derives from the vb. *pro-bainō*, to go before. In mixed herds it was the small livestock (especially the sheep) which, being weaker than the other animals, went ahead of them. At first the word was used only in the plur. (i.e. of a flock or herd), but later the sing. use appeared, meaning specifically a sheep. Aristophanes (*Nubes*, 1203) uses it metaphorically as a term of abuse: anything inferior or stupid (e.g. a simpleton) is likened to a sheep. It can also have a positive sense, however, being used as a metaphor for a person who needs to be guided by someone else (Epictetus, *Dissertationes*, 3, 22, 35).

OT As a translation of Heb. *ṣō'n* (small livestock) *probaton* in the OT means primarily the sheep as a useful and gregarious animal (Gen. 30:38, Isa. 7:21; Amos 7:15), and less as a sacrifice (Lev. 1:2; for this the more frequent word is → *amnos*, Heb. *keḇeś*, the lamb available for sacrifice). *probaton* (almost exclusively in the plur. *probata*) is used metaphorically for "the people" (under the king as *poimēn*, → shepherd; 2 Sam. 24:17), especially God's people (Ps. 74:1, the congregation; 77:20; 78:52). The essential point here is the sheep's need of protection. Without the shepherd's guidance the flock is scattered (Ezek. 34:5, 6); each sheep goes its own way (Isa. 53:6); the sheep wander about and fall victims to the dangers of the wilderness (Ezek. 34:5 f.); they must be guided by a skilful shepherd to the right pastures if they are to survive (Ps. 23). Hence, the people of Israel in the wilderness, and without a leader, are like "sheep which have no shepherd" (Num. 27:17). The individual also, without God's guidance, "goes astray like a lost sheep" (Ps. 119:176). Yahweh himself provides for his scattered flock by appointing shepherds such as the messianic king (Jer. 23:1 ff.; Ezek. 34:23), or → Moses (Ps. 77:20; Isa. 63:11), or by himself acting as the shepherd of his people (Ps. 78:52 f.; 80:1; Isa. 40:11). By repeatedly calling themselves God's sheep, therefore, the people of Israel were acknowledging first that, left to themselves, they were defenceless, and secondly that they were trusting in the guidance of their own good shepherd, Yahweh himself (Ps. 23; 95:7; 100:3).

NT In the NT *probaton* is remarkably frequent in Matt. (11 times) and in Jn (17 times), compared with the other books.

1. From the use which Jesus makes of sheep in his parables and teaching, it is clear that his contemporaries understood very well how utterly lost a sheep was if left to itself without a shepherd's care (Lk. 15:4). They knew that a sheep's great need was loving, unselfish protection (Matt. 12:11; Lk. 15:4), and this basic fact lies behind Christ's use of the metaphor. A sheep without a shepherd is "harassed and helpless" (Matt. 9:36), it "strays" (1 Pet. 2:25) and is "lost" (Matt. 10:6; 15:24). In following OT usage and likening his people to a flock of sheep without a shepherd (Mk. 6:34; cf. Num. 27:17; 1 Ki. 22:17), Jesus draws attention to the fact that they are heading for certain destruction, unless deliverance is forthcoming. In the same way Christians in 1 Pet. are reminded that before their conversion they were "straying like sheep" (1 Pet. 2:25), i.e. hopelessly lost and at the mercy of false shepherds (cf. Ezek. 34:5). But Jesus is "the great shepherd of the sheep" (Heb. 13:20), who is sent first of all to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Matt. 15:24).

2. On the other hand, the term "sheep" is applied in Matt. to the exclusive band of disciples gathered by Jesus. In sending them forth to preach (10:16; cf. *arnas*, lambs, Lk. 10:3), Jesus likens them to defenceless sheep sent by the shepherd into the midst of ferocious wolves, i.e. the church of the last days is under the constant threat of dispersal by its enemies (Matt. 26:31 par. Mk. 14:27). This quotation applies to Jesus and the disciples the prophecy of Zech. 13:7 which reads in the MT: "Strike the shepherd and the flock [*ṣō'n*] will be scattered," and in the LXX "Strike the shepherd and scatter the sheep [*probata*]." It is interpreted christologically in the Gospels, with the implication that Jesus' followers are the true Israel and that it is God who will smite Jesus. The context of Zech. suggests that it is a judgment on the shepherd. The "sheep" who consciously or unconsciously have done the will of God will not be finally separated from the goats until the shepherd himself separates them at the great day of judgment (Matt. 25:32 f.).

3. Whereas in Matt. the thought is more of the flock being gathered from among the lost sheep of the people of Israel (10:6; 15:24), in Jn. *probaton* denotes Christ's elect people, "his own" (10:14). The sheep know the → voice of their shepherd, hear his call and follow him. As the good shepherd, Jesus knows his sheep, calls them, guards them from the wolf and lays down his life for them (Jn. 10:1–11). Whereas in Matt. the relation between shepherd and flock is that of king to the people of God, in Jn. the shepherd is the Son who comes forth from God in order to reveal him, while the flock is the church listening to his voice. When there is "one flock and one shepherd" (Jn. 10:16; cf. 17:20 f.), i.e. when at last Jews and Gentiles are gathered into one church under one Lord, then the purpose of Christ's saving work is achieved.

4. As in the OT, *probaton* hardly ever means a sacrificial animal (only in Jn. 2:14; Acts 8:32; Rom. 8:36), this idea being expressed in the NT mainly by the words → *amnos* and *arnion*, especially as metaphors for Christ in his vicarious suffering and sovereign power. *R. Tuente*

→ Animal, → Servant, → Shepherd

(a). C. K. Barrett, "The Lamb of God", *NTS* 1, 1955–56, 210 ff.; J. B. Bauer, "Lamb of God", *EBT* II 478 f.; J. Blenkinsopp, "The Lamb of God", *Clergy Review*, 50, 1965, 868–72; G. S.

Cansdale, *Animals of Bible Lands*, 1970; C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, 1953, 230–38; J. D'Souza, *The Lamb of God in Johannine Writings*, 1968; G. Florovsky, "The Lamb of God", *SJT* 4, 1951, 13–28; A. T. Hanson, *The Wrath of the Lamb*, 1957; N. Hillyer, " 'The Lamb' in the Apocalypse", *EQ* 39, 1967, 228–36; J. Jeremias, *amnos* etc., *TDNT* I 338–41; E. E. May, *Ecce Agnus Dei: A Philological and Exegetical Approach to John 1:29–36*, 1947; L. Morris, *The Gospel According to John*, 1971, 143 ff.; H. Preisker and S. Schulz, *probaton* etc., *TDNT* VI 689–92; E. M. Sidebottom, *The Christ of the Fourth Gospel in the Light of First Century Thought*, 1961; J. G. S. S. Thomson, "The Shepherd-Ruler Concept in the OT and its Application in the NT", *SJT* 8, 1955, 406–18; W. Tooley, "The Shepherd and the Sheep Image in the Teaching of Jesus", *NovT* 7, 1964–65, 15 ff.; S. Virgulin, "Recent Discussion on the 'Lamb of God' ", *Scripture* 13, 1961, 74–80.
(b.) C. Burchard, "Das Lamm in der Waagschale", *ZNW* 57, 1966, 219 ff.; F. Gryglewicz, "Das Lamm Gottes", *NTS* 13, 1966–67, 133–46; T. Holtz, *Die Christologie der Apokalypse des Johannes*, *TU* 85, 1962; J. Jeremias, "Das Lamm, das aus der Jungfrau hervorging (Test.Jos. 19, 8)", *ZNW* 57, 1966, 216 ff.; K. Koch, "Das Lamm, das Ägypten vernichtet. Ein Fragment aus Jannes und Jambres und sein geschichtlicher Hintergrund", *ZNW* 57, 1966, 79 ff.

Lame, Crippled

These two words are closely related functionally in popular usage. A cripple is generally understood to be someone deprived of the use of a limb or a member of the body, or one who is partially disabled and thus lacks the natural functions of a limb. While a lame person is also disabled, the particular area affected is thought of in terms of the legs. Hence one who is lame moves about with some difficulty, perhaps walking with a limp, and may well experience pain in the process.

κυλλός	κυλλός (*kyllos*), crooked, crippled, maimed.

CL In Greek medical authors *kyllos* was used of crooked or disabled legs, feet and ears, though properly of legs bent outwards by diseases such as rickets or disabled through badly reduced fractures or other forms of surgical accident. This contrasted with the condition described in Hippocrates and some non-medical authors as *blaisos*, in which the legs bent in at the knees (*genu varum*) and the feet splayed out somewhat. The background of *kyllos* was predominantly medical, but occasionally the term was used metaphorically.

OT Being of a rather rare and technical nature, the word *kyllos* did not occur in the LXX or other Gk. versions of the OT or Apocrypha. Similarly there is no single Heb. word for cripple, the closest being the late Heb. adj. *'iṭṭēr*, hampered, impeded (which in biblical Heb. is followed by *yaḏ y^emînô*, "his right hand", and means impeded on the right side, and so "left-handed", Jdg. 3:15; 20:16), and *nāḵeh*, smitten, afflicted, without further specification as to the nature of the disability (2 Sam. 4:4; 9:3; and fig. in Isa. 66:2).

NT *kyllos* is a comparatively rare word in NT usage, occurring 4 times only. In Matt. 15:30 f. the RSV reads "maimed" (NEB "crippled"), following the AV, RV, as also in Matt. 18:8 and Mk. 9:43. The NEB has "maimed" in the latter two references. The Matthean passages do not indicate the type of disability, suggesting that the persons involved may have included the congenitally afflicted as well as

those who had sustained crippling accidents. In Matt. 18:8 and Mk. 9:43 the reference is more specific, describing the voluntary amputation of a hand as a means of forestalling sin from a source which was already jeopardising entry to eternal life. The severing of the hand at the wrist was an ancient oriental method of punishing thieves, and is still practised today in parts of the east. The use of *kyllos* to describe a maimed or crippled hand is a comparatively late development in both the classical and medical authors. *R. K. Harrison*

χωλός

χωλός (*chōlos*), lame, halt, maimed; παραλυτικός (*paralytikos*), paralytic.

CL The classical writers from Homer onwards employed *chōlos* to describe a lame condition in the legs or feet which produced a halting or limping gait. At a later period the word came to be used, like *kyllos*, to designate a deformed or impaired condition of the hand, as in Hippocrates and others. In the Greek papyri it was used in both the literal and metaphorical sense of lameness.

OT The word *chōlos* occurred in the LXX as the equivalent of the Heb. *pissēaḥ*, lame with respect to the feet (as in 2 Sam. 9:13; 19:27). Whether congenital or acquired, this condition disqualified a man from holding office as a → priest in → Israel (Lev. 21:18). This prohibition formed part of the concept of → holiness for the nation, and was especially important for those participating in the sanctuary rituals, of whom a high standard was required. The basic postulate was that whatever approached, or was offered up to, God must be perfect, so that priests had to be free from both ceremonial impurity and physical defects (Lev. 21:1 ff.; Deut. 15:21). In the same way sacrifices must be without blemish (Lev. 22:19 ff.), to symbolize the offering of the very best of human productivity to God. Otherwise punishment would result (cf. Mal. 1:7 ff.). The term *pissēaḥ* is comparatively rare in the OT, occurring only about a dozen times. In Isa. 33:23 and 35:6 the lame are mentioned in connection with the promised future. See also 2 Sam. 5:6, 8 f.; 9:13; 19:27(26); Job 29:15.

NT With the meaning of lame or maimed, *chōlos* occurs 14 times in the NT. In Matt. 11:5; 15:30 f.; 18:8; Mk. 9:45; Lk. 7:22; Acts 3:2; 14:8; Heb. 12:13, the reference is either implicitly or explicitly to impairment of the legs and feet, Acts 3:7 mentioning specifically the feet (*baseis*) and ankles (*sphyra*), two terms which do not occur elsewhere in the NT. Of a more indeterminate nature is the use of *chōlos* in Matt. 21:14; Lk. 14:13, 21; Jn. 5:3 and Acts 8:7. In the NT the lame, maimed or crippled were invariably regarded as among the underprivileged members of society, and therefore as objects of charity, whether of a secular (cf. Lk. 14:13) or Christian (cf. Acts 3:2 ff.) nature.

The adj. used as a noun, *paralytikos*, lame person, paralytic, occurs in Matt. 4:24; 8:6; 9:2, 6; Mk. 2:3–5, 9 f.; Lk. 5:24 *v.l.*; Jn. 5:3 *v.l.* The synonym *paralytos* is found only at Mk. 2:9 *v.l.* *R. K. Harrison*

→ Blind, → Body, → Deaf, → Heal, → Leper, → Weakness

Arndt, 458, 625, 897; Liddell-Scott, 1008 f., 1317, 2014; and bibliography under → Heal.

Lament, Sorrow, Weep, Groan

Laughter and tears, and → joy and sorrow belong together as elements of human emotion. Sorrow may manifest itself in weeping, or other outward demonstrations of grief or remain concealed as inner anguish. In Gk. several verbs are used to express this range of emotions. *klaiō*, weep, cry out, expresses man's immediate and outward reaction to suffering. *koptō* stresses the aspect of public grief, which can manifest itself in various customs such as smiting the breast, cutting oneself, wailing or singing set funeral dirges (cf. also *thrēneō*, wail, sing a lament or dirge; *pentheō*, mourn, lament). *lypeō* covers the widest range from physical pain to inward grief; in general it means in the active to give pain, and in the passive to be grieved. Also examined here are *brychō*, gnash; *pentheō*, mourn; and *stenazō*, groan.

κλαίω

κλαίω (*klaiō*), weep; κλαυθμός (*klauthmos*), weeping.

CL 1. *klaiō*, found from Homer onwards, means intrans. to cry aloud, weep; trans. bewail. In secular Gk. *klaiō* does not express remorse or sorrow, but physical or mental pain which is outwardly visible.

OT In the LXX *klaiō* is used mostly as the translation of *bāḵâh*, weep, cry aloud. It expresses profound grief (1 Sam. 1:7; Lam. 1:16), and also deep sorrow in mourning for the dead (Gen. 50:1). But it may equally express supreme joy, as at the meeting of Jacob and Joseph (Gen. 46:29). The whole personality is involved, as it is in the case of a crying child (Gen. 21:16; Exod. 2:6). A Greek might bewail his personal fate or that of his people, but in the OT the thought is rather that of expressing dependence on God, by addressing one's cries or complaints to him in prayer (e.g. Samson in Jdg. 15:18; 16:28; cf. Isa. 30:19). A further OT feature is the cultic lamentation of the whole people before Yahweh, usually accompanied by a general fast (Jdg. 20:23, 26), such occasions providing the *Sitz im Leben* for such songs of national lamentation as Pss. 74; 79; 80.

The noun *klauthmos* stands most frequently for the Heb. *bᵉḵî*, the nominal form of *bāḵâh* (weep). *bᵉḵî* is the most common word in Heb. for weeping (e.g. Gen. 45:2; Deut. 34:8; Jdg. 2:2; Isa. 15:2 f.). It stands for the participial form of *bāḵâh* in Job 30:31; Isa. 30:19 and Jer. 22:10. In Mic. 7:4 *klauthmos* represents the Heb. *mᵉḇuḵâh* from the root *bôḵ* which basically means to confuse. It is possible that the translators of the LXX understood the word as a derivation of *bāḵâh*.

NT 1. *klaiō* is similarly used in the NT, i.e. to express violent emotion, e.g. at parting (Acts 21:13), when thinking of the enemies of Christ (Phil. 3:18), when facing dying and death (Mk. 5:38; Lk. 7:13, 32; Jn. 11:31, 33; Acts 9:39), or generally when face to face with affliction (Rom. 12:15; 1 Cor. 7:30). On the other hand, tears of joy are not mentioned in the NT.

2. In the third Beatitude of Lk. *hoi klaiontes nyn*, "those that weep now" (6:21), are contrasted with those who are rich and full, who laugh now and of whom all men speak well (6:25 f.). The latter are self-righteous, pharisaical persons, "who need no repentance" (15:7), who think highly of themselves, going through life full of self-assurance and with no sense of guilt. "Those that weep now", on the

other hand, live humbly in complete dependence upon God, since they are conscious of their guilt (Matt. 26:75; Lk. 7:38) and therefore acknowledge that God's assessment of them is just, as did the tax collector in the temple. Christ's promise to them is: "You shall laugh." His disciples' weeping over their guilt and the sufferings of this present time will give way, at the end of time, to the laughter of the children of the kingdom.

3. By contrast, those who laugh now are warned: *penthēsete kai klausete*, "you shall mourn and weep" (Lk. 6:25). Where *klaiō* has a future reference in the NT, it is connected with warnings of disaster: those who now are godless and scornful will be put to shame in the final judgment. To intensify the severity of these statements *klaiō* is sometimes combined with another vb. of mourning: *penthēsete kai klausete* ("you shall mourn and weep", Lk. 6:25; cf. Jas. 4:9); *klausete kai thrēnēsete hymeis* ("you will weep and lament", Jn. 16:20); *klausousin kai kopsontai* ("[they] will weep and wail", Rev. 18:9).

4. In order to avoid lamentation in the future which will be too late, James exhorts his readers to weep now. "Be wretched and mourn and weep. Let your laughter be turned to mourning and your joy to dejection. Humble yourselves before the Lord and he will exalt you" (Jas. 4:9 f.). Perhaps James is recalling the words of Jesus in Lk. 6:25 (cf. C. L. Mitton, *The Epistle of James*, 1966, 162).

5. The noun *klauthmos*, weeping, occurs frequently in the NT in the expression "weeping and gnashing of teeth" (→ *brychō* below). In this instance the word describes the remorse associated with the → judgment, particularly among the Jews who had rejected their opportunity. In Matt. 2:18 *klauthmos* (*v.l. thrēnos*, dirge) is associated with *odyrmos polys* ("loud lamentation") in the quotation from Jer. 31:15 which is seen as being fulfilled in the slaughter of the innocents at Bethlehem (→ Fulfil, art. *plēroō*). *H. Haarbeck*

κόπτω κόπτω (*koptō*), strike; κόπτομαι (*koptomai*), beat the breast; κοπετός (*kopetos*), mourning, lamentation.

CL The word is found in this sense from Homer's *Iliad* onwards. It has a derivative: *kopetos*, lamentation for the dead. *thrēnos* is used similarly in Ion. and Att. in the sense of a lament or dirge, the vb. *thrēneō*, to wail, bewail, being derived from it. There is widespread evidence from antiquity for public mourning and lamentation for the dead. Smiting on the breast and cheeks, loud wailing or dirge-singing were originally intended to drive away the spirits of the dead or to honour the dead. Various mourning customs, some of them violent, extend into the Hellenistic period. Originally carried out on behalf of the dead, they later became increasingly a general expression of grief at death.

OT 1. In the OT there are numerous parallels to the burial customs of the surrounding world. The LXX translates Heb. *sāp̄aḏ*, make lamentation, by *koptomai* (e.g. Gen. 23:2; 1 Ki. 25:1; 28:3; Jer. 16:5 f.).

The Israelites had a variety of customs associated with mourning for the dead (Gen. 23:1–2; 37:34–35; 2 Sam. 3:31–34): cutting oneself, shaving off one's hair, eating mourning bread, drinking from the cup of consolation (Jer. 16:5–7);

calling in mourning women (Jer. 9:16–21); putting on sackcloth (Isa. 15:2–3); removing one's beard (Isa. 7:20); beating one's breast (Nah. 2:7; cf. Jer. 31:19). But the most prominent and abiding feature of mourning was wailing (Isa. 15:2; Jer. 22:18; 34:5; Amos 5:16) and the set funeral dirge (2 Sam. 1:17–27; 3:33 ff.).

2. Mourning for the dead held a special place in the preaching of the prophets. Whilst Lam. bewails and interprets the divine judgment which has already befallen Judah and → Jerusalem, the prophets announced – in the "prophetic perfect" and indeed often in the form of a lament for the dead – a catastrophe which still lies in the future (Mic. 1:8; Jer. 9:10; Amos 5:1–2; 16–17; Ezek. 32:1–16). By doing this they aimed to arouse the people and call them to repentance (Jer. 9:18; Ezek. 19; 27:30–34). But it is characteristic of Israel's faith that again and again even as the message of destruction rings in their ears, it changes into hope in God who will deliver them and turn "mourning into dancing" (Ps. 30:11).

3. In Judaism, heathen mourning practices were forbidden (Lev. 19:28; Deut. 14:1), but it was customary before or at a burial to wail and lament for the dead, to beat the breast and so to fulfil one's loving obligations toward the dead person. On the other hand, it was believed that the dead person could still hear the lamentation and the praise until the stone was rolled before the grave, and that he was comforted by the vehement expressions of sorrow.

4. In the Hellenistic period, attempts were made by the state (with the support of enlightened philosophy) to check the extravagances which had crept into mourning customs. These attempts, however, met with little success. A marked feature of this period was the funeral song, used by men and women, relatives and professional mourners as a cultic lamentation for the dead.

NT In the NT *koptō* occurs only 8 times and then exclusively in the Synoptic Gospels and Rev. *kopetos* is used only once (Acts 8:2). *apokoptō* is found 6 times in different books, while *enkoptō* and *enkopē* are Pauline words (6 times in all; → Hinder). The verbs *thrēneo* and → *pentheō*, which are closely related to *koptō* in meaning, occur 4 times (Matt. 11:17; Lk. 7:32; 23:37; Jn. 16:20) and 10 times respectively, and mainly in the Gospels.

1. Evidence of the existence of Jewish mourning customs in the time of Jesus is given by Jesus' parable of the children lamenting the dead when playing at funerals (Matt. 11:17; Lk. 7:32). The story of Jairus's daughter (Matt. 9:23; Mk. 5:38; Lk. 8:52) shows that following immediately upon a person's death, the lamentation was begun by a great crowd of relatives, neighbours and mourning women. After the death of Lazarus (Jn. 11:17, 30) and four days after the burial, i.e. at the culmination of a seven-day period of mourning, there gathered in Bethany a great crowd of neighbours and acquaintances from Jerusalem, weeping (v. 33) and seeking to console Mary and Martha (vv. 19, 31). Mourning women met Jesus on the way to Golgotha (Lk. 23:27), and in the early Christian church "devout men" came together after the death of Stephen to make "great lamentation" over him (Acts 8:2).

2. What significance attaches to the fact that Jesus wept on the way to the grave of Lazarus (Jn. 11:35)? Do not his tears express his compassion for men, subject as they are to death and all its woe? Does he not "groan in spirit" (vv. 33, 38 AV) because of the faithless and hopeless lamentation for the dead with which he finds

himself surrounded? He has come to take upon himself man's suffering and distress, his abandonment and death, so becoming the conqueror of death. His saving, life-giving work puts an end to lamentation for the dead (Lk. 7:13). How can the Pharisees expect wailing and lamentation of him who is life and who brings life? The cross and resurrection of Jesus manifest his victory over death. There is no place for hopeless lamentation in his presence; to indulge in it is nothing other than doubt and unbelief. Sorrow over death for the Christian does not mean being left to his own resources, but in his very natural grief he is sustained by the hope of the resurrection of the dead.

3. Thus the characteristic of the Christian church is not lamentation for the dead, but the hope of life in Christ Jesus (Rom. 6:23). Since God's gift in Jesus is eternal life, lamentation for the dead belongs to those who are far from God, who are themselves under the sentence of death and who have no hope. The new world of eternal life which we hope for because of Jesus' death and resurrection knows no tears and lamentation, for "death shall be no more, neither shall there be mourning nor crying nor pain any more, for the former things have passed away" (Rev. 21:4). All natural mourning for those who have fallen asleep is now irradiated by the living hope of the resurrection (Rom. 8:17, 18). By faith in the conqueror of death we enter into the truth of Christ's promise: "Your sorrow will turn into joy" (Jn. 16:20). *H. Haarbeck*

λυπέω

λυπέω (*lypeō*), inflict pain; λυπέομαι (*lypeomai*), feel pain, be sad; λύπη (*lypē*), sorrow, pain.

CL In Hellenism *lypē* denotes physical pain and emotional suffering. Joy and sorrow are part and parcel of human life, and already in Gk. tragedy, sorrow (*pathos*) had been recognized as one of life's basic components. Aeschylus saw it as an educative factor (*pathei mathos*, learning from suffering, *Ag.* 177), which is the basis of all Gk. tragedy. Hellenistic philosophy understood sorrow as the antithesis to the joy that is worth striving for (*hēdonē*, pleasure [→ Desire]; *euphrosynē*, cheerfulness, → joy; *eudaimonia*, happiness). The Stoics saw it as man's task to overcome sorrow by means of frugality and impassiveness. Only at a later period, particularly in gnosticism, was a more positive understanding of sorrow attained: through accident, sickness and pain man is refined and brought to salutary repentance.

OT The LXX translates 13 different Hebrew verbs by *lypeō* (some 50 times) to denote physical hardship, pain, sorrow, grief, mourning, fear, displeasure and anger. There is, however, no clear distinction between this word-group and such concepts as *odynē*, pain; *thymoō*, make (become) angry; *orgizō*, to be angry; or such roots as *kako-* (bad) and *ponēro-* (evil). The different Heb. words reveal the amazing ability of oriental man to differentiate between feelings, especially in the case of such basic emotions as sorrow and joy. The emotions concerned are always those of everyday life, and are not subjected to any kind of theoretical analysis.

It is interesting to note that *lypeō* and *lypē* are used principally in the later writings of the OT and in the Apocrypha (especially Dan., Prov., Sir., and 4 Macc.). The only explanation of sorrow and pain given in Gen. 3 is that *lypē* is sent by

God as a result of the fall of man (vv. 16 ff.). This basic interpretation of human life as *en lypē* ("in sorrow") does not stand alone. The wisdom literature speaks of the *lypē* that is present even in joy (Prov. 14:13) and has to be overcome (Sir. 30:21 ff.). When Isaiah (1:5) says that the whole heart of the people is turned *eis lypēn* ("to sorrow"), he means that they are in the worst state imaginable. On the other hand, eschatological salvation is promised as a time without sorrow and sighing (Isa. 35:10; 51:11); the age to come will know nothing but joy and glory (2 Esd. 7:13).

Judaism did not advance beyond a generalized conception of *lypē*, closely tied to morality.

NT In the NT (as in the LXX) there are fewer references to mourning than to the opposite concept of → joy. *lypeō* occurs 21 times, and *lypē* only 14 times, whereas → *chairō* and → *chara* are found 69 and 60 times respectively. The ratio of these words associated with sorrow to those associated with rejoicing is thus roughly 1:4. While Matt. prefers the vb. *lypeō* and Jn. the noun *lypē*, both vb. and noun are used most frequently in 2 Cor., a fact which indicates Paul's profound personal understanding of "godly sorrow".

1. In general in the NT *lypē* denotes physical as well as emotional pain. Jesus experienced fear and dread before his death (Matt. 26:37, 38), and the disciples sorrow in Gethsemane (Lk. 22:45). Paul was "grieved" (perhaps even ill-treated) by a member of the Corinthian church (2 Cor. 2:5). Both in the OT and the NT, the sufferings of this present time are seen as contrary to the purpose of creation; hence the longing to be free of them. In 2 Cor. 2:1 ff. Paul hopes that the Corinthians will cause him no further grief. The OT expectation of salvation is taken over by the NT, future consolation being promised to those who are now sorrowing (Matt. 5:4 has *pentheō*, whereas Lk. has *lypeō*). Rev. looks forward to a new heaven and a new earth from which pain and sorrow will be banished (7:17; 21:4).

2. Paul portrays *lypē* as an essential mark of the Christian life. In 2 Cor. 7:8–11 he contrasts the *kata theon lypē*, godly sorrow, with the *lypē tou kosmou*, the sorrow of the world. While worldly sorrow laments personal disappointment and the transitoriness of life, godly sorrow brings one to see one's own guilt and leads to penitence. "For godly grief produces a repentance that leads to salvation and brings no regret, but worldly grief produces death" (v. 10). Within the framework of his theology of the cross Paul speaks of himself as taking up the → cross of Christ (Gal. 6:14). This lays upon his shoulders the cross of this world's sorrow and pain; hence the catalogues of his sufferings, found in 2 Cor. 4:8 ff. and 11:23 ff. While the non-Christian fears the loss of his own life, the Christian finds new life (2 Cor. 4:11; Phil. 3:10 f.) in being crucified with Christ (Rom. 6:6). This leads to paradox in the experience of the believer. All the normal values relating to life and suffering are reversed (cf. the antitheses of 2 Cor. 6:3–10, especially v. 10: *hōs lypoumenoi, aei de chairontes*, "as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing").

3. That which Paul describes as a present paradox in Christian experience is set out in Jn. 16:20–22 as a temporal sequence. The church at the present time is sad, because of Christ's departure and apparent absence, though for the "world" this is a cause for rejoicing. Jn. shows that the present lot of the church is to endure loneliness and the world's hatred; these, together with the fact that Jesus is no

longer visibly present with her, are some of the reasons for her *lypē*. At the same time, however, the departing Christ promises his church joy at his return; this joy no one will take from her (v. 22). *H. Haarbeck, H.-G. Link*

βρύχω | *βρύχω* (*brychō*), gnash; *βρυγμός* (*brygmos*), gnashing.

CL The vb. *brychō* is used in secular Greek of the act of eating noisily or greedily, as well as the act of gnashing the teeth. It was also used metaphorically in the sense of gnawing or eating away as in the case of a disease (Sophocles). The noun *brygmos* connotes a biting (Nicander) and a gnashing of the teeth (Eupolis). It is used in Sir. 51:3, apparently in the sense of biting, for the writer gives thanks for deliverance from "the gnashings of teeth about to devour me."

OT In the LXX *brychō* occurs in the sense of gnashing the teeth at someone. In each instance it stands for the Heb. *ḥāraq*. This word is used only in the OT poetic literature, where it connotes the act of gnashing the teeth. In every instance the gnashing of the teeth is in demonstration of anger (Job 16:9; Pss. 35:16; 37:12; 112:10), with the possible exception of Lam. 2:16 where it may convey the idea of mocking.

The noun *brygmos* occurs in Prov. 19:12 to translate Heb. *naham*, where it denotes the wrath of a king. *naham* is used of the growling of a lion (Prov. 28:15; Isa. 5:29, 30), and figuratively of groaning (Prov. 5:11; Ezek. 24:23). In Isa. 5:29, 30 the word seems to imply the growl of a lion as it devours its prey. The fem. form of the noun is used figuratively of the roaring of the sea (Isa. 5:30) and the groaning of the heart (Ps. 38:9).

NT In the NT *brychō* is used only once (Acts 7:54) and occurs in an expression describing the angry reaction of those who listened to Stephen's speech. Their reaction was one of rage and "grinding the teeth." The act of grinding the teeth here is clearly expressive of anger.

The noun *brygmos* always occurs in the set expression *ekei estai ho klauthmos kai ho brygmos tōn odontōn* ("there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth"). The expression occurs in Matt. 8:12; 13:42, 50; 22:13; 24:51; 25:30; Luke 13:28, and always describes the condition of the wicked in the future life. The precise meaning of this expression can be derived only from its usage in each context, for there are no precise parallels in secular Gk. and Jewish literature (K. H. Rengstorf, *TDNT* I 642). While it is true that in many instances the usage of *brychō* in the expression "to gnash the teeth" connotes anger, the association of the word with *klauthmos* (weeping), and the figure of torment that accompanies the term in Matt. 13:42, 50 seems to indicate that the gnashing of the teeth is not an indication of rage but of extreme suffering and remorse. *T. McComiskey*

πενθέω | *πενθέω* (*pentheō*), be sad, grieve, mourn; *πένθος* (*penthos*) grief, sadness, mourning.

CL The vb. *pentheō* means to lament or mourn, frequently with the connotation of mourning for someone (Herodotus, Aeschylus). The noun *penthos* is used in

secular Greek in the sense of "mourning" or "sorrow". It is used especially of the external signs of mourning, as when mourning for the dead.

OT In the LXX *pentheō* stands chiefly for the vb. *'āḇal* which means to mourn, and in the majority of cases connotes the act of mourning over realized or impending misfortune. It is frequently used figuratively of inanimate objects such as the earth, the land, or parts of the structure of cities upon which catastrophe has come or is yet to come (cf. Isa. 3:26; 24:4; 33:9; Jer. 4:28; 23:10; Lam. 2:8; Hos. 4:3). A sense of loss frequently pervades the description of catastrophe. It is also used of mourning over the death of an individual (2 Ki. 14:2; 1 Chron. 7:22), of remorse in general (Neh. 8:9), and of the sorrow experienced during the absence of a loved one 2 Ki. 13:27; 19:1).

The vb. *pentheō* also stands for the Hebrew *'āmal* (to be weak, to languish) in Isa. 16:8; 19:8; 24:4, 7; 33:9. The frequent use of *'āmal* in contexts of mourning may indicate that it was used occasionally to describe the psychological and physical effects of mourning. In Gen. 23:2 and 50:3 *pentheō* stands for the Heb. *bāḵâh* (weep), and in Ps. 78(77):63 it is used somewhat dubiously to translate *hālal* (praise).

In Jer. 23:10 *pentheō* occurs as the translation of *nûḏ* (to flutter or quiver, hence also to show the emotion of grief), and in Ezek. 31:15 it occurs as the translation of *qāḏar* (to darken oneself, i.e., mourn). The vb. thus connotes various aspects of sorrow including the outward demonstration of remorse.

The noun *penthos* represents the Heb. *'ēḇel*, the specific meaning of which is akin to the verbal form *'āḇal*, mourning (e.g. Gen. 27:1; 50:10 f.; Amos 5:16; 8:10; Isa. 60:20).

NT The vb. *pentheō* occurs in Matt. 9:15 in the sense of sorrow over the absence of a loved one, and in Mark 16:10 it is used of those who mourned the death of Christ. Paul uses it of the sorrow he may have to experience when he learns that some have not repented of their sins (2 Cor. 12:21).

In the Lucan account of the Beatitudes the word occurs as the antithesis of → laugh (6:25) describing the eventual mourning of those who laugh now. The reference here is to those who are not contrite now and who will later experience the results of their lack of contrition. In the Matthean account of the Beatitudes (5:4) the word *pentheō* is used of sorrow in a general sense.

In Rev. 18:11, 15, 19, the judgment on → Babylon is mourned by those who trafficked with her. The deep sense of loss at the destruction of their source of wealth pervades the description of their reaction.

The term is used by Paul and James in a sense closely paralleling the concept of godly sorrow or repentance. In 1 Cor. 5:2 Paul uses *pentheō* to describe the attitude that should characterize the Corinthian Christians relative to the immorality among them. He describes their present attitude as "arrogant" (*pephysiomenoi*, lit. "puffed up") and indicates that they should rather "mourn" (*epenthēsate*) over the situation. James exhorts sinners to "mourn and weep" as an aspect of their humbling themselves before God. This attitude of mind will lead to God's exalting them (4:8–10).

The noun *penthos* is used by James in a sense similar to his use of the vb., i.e., in the sense of godly sorrow. In Jas. 4:8, 9 he calls on sinners to draw near to God,

cleanse their hands, purify their hearts, be wretched (*talaipōrēsate*), mourn (*penthēsate*) and weep. The section is concluded by the exhortation to humble themselves before the Lord and he will exalt them (→ Humility, → Height, art. *hypsoō*).

In Rev. 18:7 f. *penthos* is used in the sense of sorrow due to catastrophe and loss. In this context it describes the sorrow and mourning to come on → Babylon at her fall. By contrast in Rev. 21:4 it is used in the sense of sorrow in general, the removal of which will lead to the → joy to be experienced by men when the future state is realized in the new → Jerusalem. *T. McComiskey*

στενάζω

στενάζω (*stenazō*), to sigh, groan; στεναγμός (*stenagmos*), sigh, groan, groaning.

CL The vb. *stenazō* is used in secular Greek of sighing or moaning. It occurs transitively in the sense of sighing over or bemoaning. The noun *stenagmos* connotes a sighing or groaning.

OT In the LXX *stenazō* stands for several Hebrew words. It represents the verb *'āḇal* in Isa. 19:8 and is used again for *'ānâh* in the same verse. Both Heb. words connote the general concept of mourning. On several occasions it stands for the niphal of *'ānaḥ* which means chiefly to sigh or groan, connoting the sighing of grief due to physical suffering, loss or distress (Isa. 24:7; Lam. 1:8, 21; Ezek. 21:6 f. [11 f.]).

In Ezek. 26:15 it stands for *'ānaq*, a word which denotes the groaning of the wounded in its two occurrences in the qal (Ezek. 26:15; Jer. 51:52) and which in the niphal connotes sighing as an expression of grief (Ezek. 9:4; 24:17).

Once (Isa. 59:11) *stenazō* represents *hāmâh* (growl, murmur) where it describes the roaring of a bear. It stands for *zā'aq* (cry out) in Job 31:38 where it is used metaphorically to describe the crying out of the land. In Nah. 3:7 it represents *nûḏ* (flutter, show grief) in a context asking who will bemoan → Nineveh. In Job 24:12 *stenazō* represents *'āḡam* (to be grieved) and in Job 30:25 it stands for *šāwa'* (cry out for help).

The noun *stenagmos* represents noun forms of several of the previously cited Hebrew verbs, most frequently *'ᵃnāqâh*. On one occasion, however, it stands for *hērôn* (Gen. 3:17) which means pregnancy. The LXX rendering seems to be a metaphorical use of *stenagmos*. It also represents *nᵉ'āqâh* from *nā'aq* (groan) in Exod. 2:24; 6:5; Jdg. 2:18 where it is used of groaning as a result of physical affliction and distress.

It stands for *nāham* (growl, groan) in Ps. 37:8, where it describes the groaning of the Psalmist in his distress, and for *ṣārâh* (distress) in Jer. 4:31 where it describes the anguish of a woman in travail.

NT The vb. *stenazō* is used in Mark 7:34 in the general sense of sighing as the expression of inward emotion. Paul uses the term exclusively of sighing in the sense of longing for something (Rom. 8:23; 2 Cor. 5:2, 4). In Heb. 13:17, however, *stenazō* stands as the antithesis of "joyfully" (*meta charas*) and hence is a surrogate for "sorrow" in this context.

James uses the vb. with the phrase *kat' allēlōn* to connote the concept of grumbling or complaining "against one another" (5:9).

The noun *stenagmos* is used in two instances in the NT. In Acts 7:34 it is used to describe the groaning of the Israelites in their slavery in → Egypt. In this usage it is reminiscent of the use of *nᵉ'āqâh* in the OT which is used on three of four occasions to describe the groanings of the Israelites while under oppression.

In Rom. 8:26 the word is used in the expression *stenagmois alalētois*, "with sighs too deep for words" (RSV), to refer to the intercession of the Holy → Spirit. There is a progression in the context where Paul moves from the groaning of the creation (v. 22) to the groaning of the Christian. The clear element of a sympathetic relationship of the Holy Spirit to the spirit of the believer (vv. 9, 16) and the reference to the groaning of the believer in the immediately preceding context (v. 23) seem to warrant the view that the groaning is shared by the Holy Spirit and the believer. The groanings of the heart are observed by the one who "searches the hearts of men" (v. 27) but are not expressed audibly. These deep groanings are not lost to the Spirit but utilized in his intercession for the believer. The deep emotive elements in *stenagmos* are to be retained here. It is the groaning of distress or deep emotion. (For further discussion of this passage → Prayer, art. *entynchanō*.)

T. McComiskey

→ Bury, → Cry, → Joy, → Laugh

(a). R. Bultmann, *lypē* etc., *TDNT* IV 313–24; and *penthos* etc., *TDNT* VI 40–43; T. Collins, "The Physiology of Tears in the Old Testament", *CBQ* 33, 1971, 18–38, 185–97; N. K. Gottwald, *Studies in the Book of Lamentations*, *SBT* 14, 1954; F. F. Hvidberg, *Weeping and Laughter in the Old Testament*, 1962; K. H. Rengstorf, *brychō* etc., *TDNT* I 641 ff.; and *klaiō* etc., *TDNT* III 722–26; J. F. Ross, "Job 33:14–30: The Phenomenology of Lament", *JBL* 94, 1975, 38–46; J. Schneider, *stenazō* etc., *TDNT* VII 600–3; G. Stählin, *thrēneō* etc., *TDNT* III 148–55; and *kopetos* etc. *TDNT* III 830–52.
(b). C. Westermann, "Struktur und Geschichte der Klage im Alten Testament", *ZAW* 66, 1954, 44 ff.

Large, Small

The twin concepts, large and small, in Gk. *megas* and *mikros*, are put together here because the two words are always being related to each other, whether in quantitative mathematical comparisons or in qualitative value judgments. The words take on a particular importance in the NT through being used to express qualification or disqualification in the sight of God. The nouns formed from *megas* are also used to express attributes of God.

μέγας

μέγας, μεγάλη, μέγα (*megas, megalē, mega*), large, great; *μεγαλύνω* (*megalynō*), make large, great, magnify; *μεγαλειότης* (*megaleiotēs*), grandeur; *μεγαλωσύνη* (*megalōsynē*), majesty; *μεγαλεῖα* (*megaleia*), mighty deeds.

CL 1. *megas*, great, is the antonym of → *mikros*, small, and occurs from Mycenaean Greek (Linear B) onwards in literature, the papyri and inscriptions. Its use ranges from the measurement of physical shapes and spaces, via qualities, to designations of rank (e.g. in Homer, Aeschylus, Pindar). Used as an epithet of honour, *megas* occurs frequently in the formula of acclamation, *megas theos*,

great god, and in connection with the names of gods. While the superlative, *megistos*, is also attested as early as the *Iliad*, the comparative, *meizōn*, does not occur until Heraclitus. According to the context, the emphasis of *megas* varies in translation: fully grown, important, magnificent, powerful.

2. The derived vb. *megalynō* occurs first in Thucydides. Used transitively it means to make great, and is chosen for figurative use in the sense of to praise, glorify. The two nouns *megaleiotēs*, grandeur, splendour, and *megalōsynē*, majesty, splendour, are not attested in pre-Christian literature. *megaleia*, good and mighty deeds, is the neut. plur. of *megaleios* used as a noun; this adj. is first used by Xenophon and Menander.

OT 1. The LXX employs all five words to translate several Heb. words by far the most numerous of which are those formed from the root *gdl* (great). It is impossible to establish a specific connotation for *megas* (which occurs about 820 times) in different OT writings. The same is true of *megalynō* (93 times), which had just begun to emerge in secular Gk. at the time of the composition of the earliest LXX writings.

2. (a) The fact that *megas* was chosen to translate several Heb. words suggests that at that time the translators were not making great efforts always to find the exactly corresponding Gk. term, but were generalizing. On the other hand, *megas* was not always chosen where *gāḏôl* occurs in the Heb. text (e.g. Gen. 15:14; Isa. 12:6).

(b) In contrast to the wide-ranging use of the adj. the derived nouns have a clear denotation. In addition to two verses in the Apocrypha (1 Esd. 1:5; 4:40), *megaleiotēs* is used in Jer. 33:9 (LXX 40:9) and Dan. 7:27 (where, however, Theodotion has *megalōsynē*) in connection with the fact that God's activity in Israel will extend also to every people of the earth in power and glory. *megalōsynē* occurs in 32 places, of which 11 are in the Apocrypha and 7 in Dan. It is used predominantly in expressions of God's surpassing greatness and power (e.g. 2 Sam. 7:23). God redeemed → Israel for himself (→ Redemption, art. *lytron*), and created a place especially for his people to live in. Similarly in 1 Chr. 17:19 and Ps. 150:2 the thought is of God's creative will and of his lordship over history, and in particular his glorious deeds. There is, therefore, a twofold usage: (a) to describe God's greatness; and (b) to summon men to see and praise God's greatness, i.e. to glorify him (→ Glory).

megaleia has the same almost exclusive reference to Yahweh's mighty acts (e.g. Deut. 11:2; Ps. 106:21 [LXX 105:21]). At times the OT presents Yahweh as greater than all gods (cf. Exod. 18:11; Ps. 77:13 [LXX 76:13]).

NT 1. The *megas* word-group is attested 258 times in the NT. The adj. occurs particularly frequently in Lk. (194 times, and the comparative *meizōn* a further 48 times) and in Acts (64 times), but also 30 times in Matt.; it is also particularly prominent in the later letters (Pastorals, Eph., 2 Pet., Jude, and Heb.), while the group rarely appears in the earlier Pauline writings (e.g. Rom. 9:2; 1 Cor. 12:31; 13:13; 2 Cor. 10:15). Jn. is characterized by the use (13 times) of the comparative *meizōn*, against 5 times for *megas*. But it is in Rev. that the greatest number of occurrences (80) are to be found. The combination small and great, meaning all without distinction, which is typical of Acts but which also occurs in Rev. (e.g.

Acts 8:10; 26:22; Rev. 11:18; 20:12), rests on LXX usage (cf. Gen. 19:11; 1 Sam. 30:2).

(a) *megas* is theologically important in various synoptic sayings of Jesus. These reveal his rejection of the Rab. Jewish striving after piety, as it was then practised in a world strictly divided into great and small, i.e. into people of higher and lower standing. The sayings concern rewards and true greatness in the kingdom of heaven. They cut across the Pharisaic attitude to commandments (Matt. 5:19 f.), warn about the enmity of man (Lk. 6:23), and call for love of one's enemies (Lk. 6:35). Jesus' own attitude is further illustrated by his teaching on the → sabbath which leads to the declaration that "something greater than the temple is here" (Matt. 12:6), namely the order of the → kingdom of God, which is already present in the actions and person of Jesus himself.

(b) The reasons for the 80 instances of *megas* in Rev. are bound up with the literary form in which apocalyptic thought is expressed. *megas* also occurs in the apocalyptic discourses in the Gospels (Matt. 24:21, 24, 31; Mk. 13:2; Lk. 21:11, 23). It is used in the larger-than-life symbolism which characterizes the eschatological dimension of events, e.g. the day (Rev. 6:17), the earthquake (16:18), and the city (18:2, 10, 16, 18 f., 21). Particularly striking is the occurrence (21 times) of *phōnē megalē*, "with a great [i.e. loud] voice". The expression indicates especially the sovereignty of God which drowns all other sounds in the voices of his messengers (e.g. Rev. 1:10; 5:2; 7:2; 10:3; 11:15; 16:1; 21:3; → Angel). The note of divine sovereignty is also heard in the loud voice of the multitude praising him (e.g. Rev. 5:12; 6:10; 7:10; 19:1). The phrase is found also with a similar meaning in the Gospels, where it is used, moreover, both of the cry of Jesus on the cross (Matt. 27:50; Mk. 15:37; Lk. 23:46) and also of the demons' cry of terror (Lk. 4:33; → Word, art. *phōnē*).

2. As a result of the normative usage of the LXX and of inter-Testamental tradition in a Hellenistic environment, all three nouns have a similar meaning. *megaleiotēs* is reserved in the NT for God's majesty, supremacy and splendour (Lk. 9:43; 2 Pet. 1:16; cf. Acts 19:27 where on heathen lips it refers to the great goddess Artemis). *megalōsynē*, which is a synonym for it, occurs in Heb. 1:3; 8:1; Jude 25, as a surrogate and periphrasis for God, expressing his sublime majesty. Apart from the *v.l.* in Lk. 1:49, *megaleia* occurs only in Acts 2:11, where the Jews of the Dispersion visiting Jerusalem express amazement at hearing the followers of Jesus "telling in our own tongues the mighty works of God" (→ Pentecost).

3. In Jn. the comparative *meizōn* appears only in the discourses. It brings into prominence Jesus' claims and the unique effectiveness of his work. In authority he is "greater" than Jacob (→ Israel), → Abraham or other men, for he brings → life (4:12; 8:53; 5:20, 36). His works have been given him by the Father who, however, despite the unity and equality which exist between the two, is "greater" than Jesus himself (10:29; 14:28). The commission with which the Father sends the Son is balanced by the Son's obedience in carrying out his work of love.

4. *megas* takes on special significance in a number of passages which have particular theological importance in that they have no exact parallels in pre- and non-Christian literature. Jesus' teaching thus presents something quite new.

(a) In Matt. 22:36, 38 Jesus is asked a controversial question about the *entolē megalē*, the great commandment (cf. Mk. 12:28 which has "first commandment of

all"). The use of the positive instead of the superlative, i.e. "great" instead of "greatest", is a Semitism (cf. Moulton, *Grammar*, III, 31). Jesus replied by referring to the double commandment to love God and one's neighbour. He thus made an essential organic connection between Deut. 6:5 and Lev. 19:18, which was not commonly made in Jewish legal thought (but cf. Lk. 10:25 ff. and Test. Iss. 5:2, the date of which is disputed; → Command, art. *entolē*). ([Ed.] Some rabbinic teaching tended to emphasize the equal importance of all commandments [Mekilta Exod. 6; Sifre Deut. 12:28; 13:19; 19:11; cf. D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 1972, 306], but there were also tendencies in Judaism to seek a single principle [cf. D. Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, 1956, 247–73].) Similarly, the works that Jesus does and the "greater works" that the disciples will do are to be understood as combining this love for God and love for man. Jesus utterly rejected the casuistical comparison of commandments, and focused his radical demand on love in the form of service which must underlie all works (→ Serve, art. *diakoneō*; → Love, art. *agapē*; → Hear, art. *akouō*).

(b) In the case of the corresponding pericope in Lk., which meets us in a different setting, Jesus' answer is linked directly with the parable of the Good Samaritan (10:25 ff.). This makes clear how, in Jesus' understanding of love, a special standard for reckoning greatness and smallness applies. His own story is the standard example for those who would obey the two-fold "greatest" commandment, who would turn to God in love and, by so doing, also towards their neighbour. (On the parable see W. Monselewski, *Der barmherzige Samariter, Eine auslegungsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu Lukas* 10, 25–37, 1967; J. D. M. Derrett, "The Parable of the Good Samaritan", *Law in the New Testament*, 1970, 208–27.)

(c) Thus, as regards function, the "greatest commandment" goes hand in hand with the definition of greatness and smallness in the kingdom of heaven, as it appears in the passage where the disciples argue about precedence (Matt. 18:1–5; Mk. 9:33–37; Lk. 9:46 ff.). Jesus demonstrated by his action the supremely valid guideline for his disciples. He put a child in their midst and declared, "Whoever receives one such child in my name" (Matt. expands in v. 4: "Whoever humbles himself like this child," i.e. acknowledges his own smallness), whoever in this way offers service to the small, is *ho meizōn*, the greatest in the kingdom of heaven.

(d) In this devaluation and revaluation of worldly orders of precedence the structure of the Christian community, determined by the model of Christ, emerges as one based on service to others. It is essentially a fellowship characterized by service (cf. Lk. 22:26 f., where the greatest is used as a parallel to, indeed as a synonym of the one who serves: also Matt. 20:26; 23:11; Mk. 10:43 f.). The discussions about the greatness or smallness of John the Baptist are to be understood in just the same way (Matt. 11:11; Lk. 7:28). His status, because of what happened in the era of Jesus, is revalued in so far as Jesus, with the ushering-in of the → kingdom of God, performs the greatest work, while the Baptist still belongs to the previous era of expectation (cf. W. Grundmann, *TDNT* IV 534 f.).

F. Thiele

μικρός

μικρός (*mikros*), small, little; ἐλάσσων (*elassōn*), smaller, younger; ἐλάχιστος (*elachistos*), very small, the least; ὀλίγος (*oligos*), little, small, few.

CL The adj. *mikros*, small, is found in Gk. literature from Homer on as the antonym of → *megas*, great. In evaluations and comparisons the two words express a quantitative or qualitative difference which can refer to things, living beings and periods of time. *elassōn* (smaller, younger) is the comparative of *mikros* and *elachistos* (very small, the least) the superlative. A comparative, not found until later, was formed from this, i.e. *elachistoteros*, the very least. *oligos* also occurs in Gk. literature from Homer on. It designates a small quantity, a small number, also a few people or a few days.

OT 1. The LXX uses *mikros*, together with its comparative and superlative, about 190 times to translate a variety of concepts, of which *qāṭān*, *qāṭōn* (small, young) and *m*^{e}*ʿaṭ* (a few) are the most frequent. They are as widely used as in Hel. Greek, e.g. little houses (Amos 6:11), a small light (Gen. 1:16), something almost (lit. by a little) happened (Ps. 73:2 [LXX 72:2]), a younger son, a small boy (1 Sam. 16:11; Isa. 11:6). Sometimes there is the combination "small and great" in the sense of → all (e.g. Deut. 1:17; Ps. 115:13 [LXX 113:21]).

The LXX uses also *oligos* (103 times, of which 51 are in the Apocrypha) as does secular Gk., e.g. a few days (Gen. 29:20), a small number of Israelites (Deut. 4:27), man's short span of life, indicating God's punishment (Job 10:20; Ps. 109:8, LXX 108:8). *oligos* is most frequently used in the LXX to translate the Hebrew *m*^{e}*ʿaṭ*, few, a little.

2. In addition, OT writers use *mikros* and its derivatives to denote humility towards God. Gideon called himself the least in his family, from the weakest clan (Jdg. 6:15). The language of Solomon's prayer after succession to the throne uses the courtly style of ancient oriental kingly formulae: "I am but a little child [*paidarion mikron*]; I do not know how to go out or come in" (1 Ki. 3:7; cf. *RGG*^{3} III 1711). Self-effacement before God on the part of God's elect enjoys his favour (cf. Isa. 60:22).

3. The OT clearly emphasizes that Yahweh is frequently on the side of the very people who have little in the way of possessions (e.g. Ps. 37:16 f. [LXX 36:16 f.]). He often helps by means of small things, e.g. "It is an easy thing for the LORD to help through a few" (1 Sam. 14:6). Such thoughts "express the transvaluation of all values before God and His Kingdom" (H. Seesemann, *TDNT* V 171).

4. The Rabbis often referred to young disciples as "little ones". But they also called them "immature pupils" which carried derogatory undertones in comparison with *megas*, great (cf. SB I 591 f.).

NT 1. In the NT the lines laid down by the OT are continued. Thus *mikros* is used in such expressions as small of stature (Lk. 19:3), of little value (Jn. 2:10), younger in age (Rom. 9:12; 1 Tim. 5:9). The juxtaposition of small and great as a periphrasis in Semitic style for "all" also occurs quite often (e.g. Acts 8:10; Heb. 8:11; Rev. 13:16; 19:5, 18).

oligos (40 times, of which 26 are in the Synoptic and Acts) is similarly used. The reversal of values mentioned above is theologically significant (e.g. Matt. 25:21, 23; Lk. 19:17). God will not treat man's faithfulness in matters of little importance with contempt, but reward it.

2. The Pauline writings contain the word-group relatively rarely. 1 Cor. 5:6 and Gal. 5:9 mention the proverb about the far-reaching effects of a little → leaven.

The adv. *mikron* and the superlative *elachistos* occur in contexts in which Paul speaks of himself, passing judgment or by way of example, in the same self-effacing manner which we have seen in the OT (e.g. 1 Cor. 15:9; 2 Cor. 11:1, 16; Eph. 3:8 with the special form *elachistoteros*, he is "the very least" of all the saints). 1 Tim. 4:8 declares that bodily training is of a little (*oligon*) value.

3. (a) With one exception Jn. uses *mikros* only in a temporal sense, i.e. a little, a little while (13:33; 14:19). The almost pleonastic heaping up of the word in 16:16–19 denotes first of all the time between Jesus' discourse and his coming arrest in Gethsemane "in a little while" and then the short interval until his disciples meet him after his resurrection. The passage focuses on the eschatological tension of the short interval. At the same time an element of → comfort is implied.

(b) Jn. 7:33 and 12:35 are also to be understood in a temporal sense, as is Heb. 10:37 with its reference to a "very, very short time [*mikron hoson hoson*]" (cf. Isa. 26:20 LXX).

4. The Synoptics use *mikros* in one way which differs from the usage of Hellenistic and Jewish literature. Despite their enthusiasm over the innocence of children (→ Child), the latter nevertheless undervalued the "little ones" and "children" (cf. O. Michel, *TDNT* IV 651 f.). Jesus, on the other hand, was specially concerned for their protection. He sharply warned anyone who caused the least of those who believe in him to stumble (Mk. 9:42; Lk. 17:2; → Offence, art. *skandalon*). Conversely, those who do good to the least of these are promised eschatological reward (Matt. 10:42; 25:40, 45).

The implications for the Christian community in Matt. 18:1–6, 10, 14 (cf. Mk. 9:33–34, 37, 42; Lk. 9:46 ff.; 17:1 f.) clearly correspond to the character and ways of God. The kingdom of God is not attained by quarrels over precedence and lust for greatness but by being least, by self-effacing service (→ Humility; → Serve), and poverty (→ Poor) which relies entirely on the sufficiency of God's help.

The sayings about the little grain of mustard seed (Matt. 13:31 f.; Mk. 4:30 ff.; Lk. 13:18 f.), which becomes a great tree, about the little flock (Lk. 12:32) and about John the Baptist being less than the "least in the kingdom of God" (Lk. 7:28) are also to be interpreted from this standpoint. In the Christian community, and therefore before God, the only thing that counts is the renunciation of all the greatness that one has striven after. *F. Thiele*

→ Age, Stature, → Child, → Command, → Disciple, → Poor, → Possessions

a). Arndt, 298 f., 523; W. Grundmann, *megas* etc., *TDNT* IV 529–44; W. G. Kümmel, *Promise and Fulfilment: The Eschatological Message of Jesus*, *SBT* 23, 1961², 92 ff.; O. Michel, *mikros* etc., *TDNT* IV 64859.
(b). O. Bächli, "Die Erwählung des Geringen im Alten Testament", *ThZ* 22, 1966, 285 ff.; O. Michel, " 'Diese Kleinen' – eine Jüngerbezeichnung Jesu", *ThStKr* 108, 1937–38, 401 ff.

Laugh

γελάω

γελάω (*gelaō*), laugh; καταγελάω (*katagelaō*), laugh at, mock; γέλως (*gelōs*), laughter.

CL 1. The word group as a whole was in use in Greek literature from the time of Homer onwards and covered a whole range of meanings from free and joyous laughter to ridicule and scorn. The compound *katagelaō* is an intensification,

meaning either laugh loudly or sneer. The words were not only applied to men but also to the gods. K. H. Rengstorf (*TDNT* I 661) notes that for the Romans and the Greeks merry laughter was a divine characteristic which featured in the theophanies (cf. Virgil, *Eclogues* 4, 60 ff. where laughter following the birth of a child denoted its divine character). "*gelōs* is a mark of deity which also spreads *gelōs* in the world around" (K. H. Rengstorf, ibid.).

2. Three categories of humour and irony in the secular Gk. world are of interest by comparison and contrast with the biblical presentation.

(a) Gk. comedy. The production of a combination of satyric plays and tragedies in connection with the festival of Dionysus continued well into the NT era, and the practice had spread throughout the Gk. world. The plots of the comedies include fantasy and burlesque. The satirical element was very strong. Prominent men in contemporary society were parodied and even mythology and theology are treated with great irreverence. It has been argued, however, that, although the gods were made to appear foolish and cowardly, the reality of their power was consistently assumed. J. Jónsson, using Friedländer's example of Diogenes Laertius, "who says that the Stoic Cleanthes did not care when he was made fun of in a comedy, because the gods themselves, like Dionysus and Hercules, had been able to take a good joke," concludes that the religious humour is to be understood not as laughing at the gods, but rather as taking part in their own joy (*Humour and Irony in the New Testament*, 1965, 35 f.; cf. Diog. Laert. 7, 173; P. Friedländer, "Lachende Götter," *Die Antike* 10, 3, 1934, 223). He also cites Carl Schneider who holds that "at the beginning of the Christian era the optimistic and joyful attitude to life was so common and so deeply rooted in the religious feeling of the people that humour was a natural expression of religion" (op. cit., 35; cf. C. Schneider, *Geschichte des antiken Christentums*, I, 1954, 162 f.).

(b) The dramatic irony of the tragedies. The themes of classical tragedy most often concerned the relation of man to the powers controlling the universe and how these powers determined his destiny. Frequently the audience is given a glimpse behind the scenes and is enabled to foresee the course of events.

(c) Socratic irony. Socrates, as portrayed by Plato, is a teacher of philosophy who employed humour to great effect as a means of education. He played the part of an *eirōn*, one who says less than he thinks (Aristot., *Eth.Nic.* 2, 7, 12) confessing his own ignorance and by means of relentless ironical questions forcing his disciples to abandon their self-confident opinions.

Many scholars have pointed to the connection between Socratic irony and the comedy characteristic of a ridiculous and boastful pretender (*alazōn*, Aristot., *Eth.Nic.* 2, 7, 12) who is humiliated by an *eirōn* in the form of a god, fate, or the facts of life (cf. J. Jónsson, op. cit., 37 f.; P. Friedländer, op. cit., 214; J. Kruuse, *Humorister*, 1945, 53 ff.). One is reminded of the characterization of the "fool" in the Bible (cf. Prov. 12:15; Pss. 14:1; 53:1; Lk. 12:20). D. O. Via points to a similar motif in the early Christian kerygma (cf. 1 Cor. 1:18–31, where the → "wisdom" of the world is brought to nothing by the "foolishness" of God [*Kerygma and Comedy in the New Testament*, 1975, 45 ff.]).

OT 1. The vb. is used in the LXX to translate *śāḥaq* (Job 29:24; Ps. 51[52]:6; Lam. 1:7), *ṣāḥaq* (Gen. 1:17; 18:12 f.; 15), *śāmaḥ* (Job 22:19), and is without

Heb. equivalent in 1 Esd. 4:31; Ezra. 4:17; Job 19:7; Jer. 20:8; Dan. LXX Bel. 18; Dan. Theodotion Bel 7, 19; 4 Macc. 5:28. The noun *gelōs* occurs mostly for the Heb. *śᵉḥōq* and is found in Gen. 21:6; Job 8:21; 17:6; Prov. 10:23; Eccl. 2:2; 7:4(3), 7(6); 10:19; Wis. 5:3; Sir. 19:30; 21:20; 27:13; Amos 7:9; Mic. 1:10; Jer. 20:7; 31(48):26, 39; Lam. 3:14; Ezr. 23:32; 4 Macc. 5:28. K. H. Rengstorf claims that the words are used exclusively for the true or supposed superiority towards another expressed in scorn or laughter (Ps. 80:6; Prov. 1:26; 2 Chron. 30:10; Job 12:4; Eccl. 7:6; cf. *TDNT* I 659). They are never used for righteous or religious → joy. In Gen. 17:17; 18:12; 13:15 the contrast is between laughter and belief. In Prov. 10:23 *gelōs* is the mark of a fool, contrasted with wise conduct. Rengstorf further points out that laughter is rarely attributed to God (Pss. 2:4; 37:13; 59:8; Prov. 1:26) and it only expresses his absolute superiority over the ungodly who will not accept him as God even though they are nothing beside him (*TDNT* I 661).

Certain possible exceptions, however, should be noted. (a) In Gen. 21:6 the laughter here appears to refer to two different things: a God-given joy for Sarah, "God has made laughter for me", and man's scornful scepticism, "everyone who hears will laugh over me." The LXX gives the whole clause a positive meaning by substituting *synchairō* in the second clause. *gelōs* had to be retained in the first half since Sarah is commenting on the aptness of the name Isaac (*yiṣḥāq*) which is a self-reproachful reminder of their unbelief (Gen. 21:3; → Abraham, arts. *Sarra* and *Isaak*). (b) In Job 29:24 the positive meaning of the Heb. – a smile which encourages – is interpreted by the LXX to refer to ridicule. (c) In Ps. 126:2 laughter is associated with the joy of the time of salvation. Rengstorf argues that this again refers to the laughter of triumph over opponents (*TDNT* I 661 f.). But the context does not make this explicit and again the LXX prefers *chara* (→ Joy) to *gelōs*.

It may be concluded therefore that in the OT *śāḥaq* and *ṣāḥaq* are not in general the marks of righteous joy either for God or man and *gelōs* is even less so.

2. Humour and irony in the OT. The above conclusions should not, however, be taken to indicate that the OT is humourless. Scholars have been divided on this question, some regarding humour, i.e. playfulness, as inappropriate to the seriousness of the subjects treated. It must be conceded that the assessment of humour is a highly subjective process. If for example Nebuchadnezzar's madness in Dan. 4 is regarded by some as humorous (W. F. Stinespring, *IDB* II 662), the dividing line between tragedy and comedy is a very narrow one. Jónsson maintains that humour may change according to the state of mind of the person, his attitude towards the object, and his philosophy of life (op. cit., 23).

There is, however, a general consensus of opinion about certain types of humour to be found in the OT.

(a) Lighthearted portrayal of people and situations feature in the narrative passages: e.g. the characterization of Jacob and Esau (Gen. 25:27–34); Jacob meets his match in Laban (Gen. 29:15–30); the early life of Joseph (Gen. 37:1–11), the story of Balaam (Num. 22); Abimelech's death at the hands of a woman (Jdg. 9:50–54); David dressed in armour (1 Sam. 17:38).

(b) Very extensive use of word play. Names are regularly seen to be significant. In Gen. 25:26 "Jacob" suggests "following at the heel" in order to supplant (*'āqaḇ*); hence Gen. 27:36 and Jer. 9:4 (on Jacob → Israel, art. *Iakōb*). The

prophets' words include many bitter puns. "The Lord God showed me . . . a basket of summer fruit [*qayiṣ*] . . . Then the Lord said to me, 'The end [*qēṣ*] has come upon my people Israel' " (Amos 8:1 f.; cf. also e.g. Hos. 8:7; 12:11; Isa. 5:7; Jer. 1:11–12).

(c) Quiet educational humour. This is best illustrated by the book of Proverbs, where the teacher gently teases his disciples and makes the sinner look ridiculous (e.g. 6:9–10; 19:24; 27:15). It is possible to understand Ecclesiastes in this way too (cf. 3:16–22).

(d) Dramatic irony. This is used to good effect in the story of Joseph (Gen. 42:6–45:4), and it is present throughout the book of Job. In so far as the reader is admitted beforehand into the knowledge of God's activity it might even be called divine irony (see below NT 2 (b) on John's Gospel).

(e) Prophetic irony of varying degrees, from mild sarcasm to bitter satire. This is used on the one hand with the intent of recalling God's people to a true awareness of their rebellion against him. It is found in: Samuel's descriptions of kingship (1 Sam. 8:10–18); the ironic words of God himself (Job 40:6 ff.); numerous passages in the latter prophets (e.g. Isa. 1:2–3; 28:9–10; 30:10). On the other hand, ironical scorn and ridicule is hurled at other nations and their gods, who have dared to challenge the God of Israel: Elijah's taunts at the prophets of Baal (1 Ki. 18:27); Isaiah's mockery of idols and those who make them (Isa. 44:9–20); the comical picture of the arrival of the king of Babylon in Sheol (Isa. 14:3–21). When this reaches the point of simple exultation over the weakness and downfall of one's enemies, as in Nahum, there does not appear to be much humour in it, though Rengstorf's conclusions above imply that the verb *gelaō* was primarily used in this context.

3. Rabbinic literature. It was the concern of the Rabbis at all times to maintain the majesty of God. According to Rengstorf, the Rabbis seldom spoke of laughter. *ṣāḥaq* is used for the attitude which is the exact opposite of serious application to Torah. "*ṣāḥaq* is contrasted with a pious sense of dependence on God which is well pleasing to Him. In *ṣāḥaq* there is a rejection of God as the reality which determines all things and an affirmation of man as an autonomous being" (*TDNT* I 659). The four verses noted above where God is said to laugh were assembled by the Rabbis as a surprising phenomenon and there was an attempt by them to show that the vb. in Ps. 2:4 could be taken as a piel: God will make his enemies the objects of mutual derision (Midrash Ps. 2:6).

Again, however, we discover that this has no bearing on the Rabbinic attitude to humour. Jónsson collects together evidence to show how the Talmudic literature makes a wide use of humour (op. cit. 51–89). Humour is employed when dealing with personal relationships, nature, the after life and even the Scriptures. There are humorous pictures of God, and Satan is shown in a ridiculous light. It is not permissible, however, to scoff at or parody Scripture disrespectfully, or use it to express improper ideas. The main characteristics of Rabbinic humour are self-irony and educative humour, but never humour for its own sake. Humour never becomes brutal except where serious heresies are attacked. Jónsson suggests that a knowledge of types of Rabbinic humour can supply us with a guide for recognizing humour in the teachings of Jesus (op. cit., 51 ff.).

NT 1. The incidence of the *gelaō* word-group follows the usage found in the OT rather than secular Gk. usage. In the account of Jairus's daughter *katagelaō* is the scornful, superior laughter of those who ridiculed Jesus, believing that he could do nothing about someone already dead (*kai kategelōn autou*, "and they laughed at him", Matt. 9:24; Mk. 5:40; Lk. 8:53). The story itself illustrates the power of God in Jesus over man's ultimate enemy, → death, and at the same time the emptiness of unbelief which is heightened by the use of this vb. Jesus' act shows him to be in the succession of → Elijah (1 Ki. 17:17–24) and Elisha (2 Ki. 4:17–37). Peter also performed a similar act (Acts 9:36–42). In Jas. 4:9 *gelōs* denotes activity which is inappropriate: "Be wretched and mourn and weep. Let your laughter be turned to mourning and your joy to dejection." For the thought cf. Eccl. 2:2; 7:2–6; Tob. 2:6; Sir. 21:20; 27:13. Above all it seems to reflect that of the Sermon on the Plain: "Blessed are you that weep now, for you shall laugh [*gelasete*]. . . . Woe to you that laugh now [*gelōntes*], for you shall mourn and weep" (Lk. 6:21b, 25b). Here laughter is associated with salvation joy with no thought of triumph over enemies. The parallelism between laugh and mourn is not recorded in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5:6) where the saying refers to mourning (→ Lament). The thought in Lk. may be influenced by Ps. 126:1 f.: "When the Lord restored the fortunes of Zion, we were like those who dream. Then our mouth was filled with laughter [Heb. *śᵉḥôq*; LXX, however, *chara*, joy], and our tongue with shouts of joy; then they said among the nations, 'The Lord has done great things for them.' " The coming age of salvation was to be a time of joy for Israel (Test.Jud. 25); but rabbinic ethics rejected laughter in relation to it, as this was something which only God could give (Midrash Ps. 126:2; Ber. 31a; cf. SB IV, 2, 965 f.; *TDNT* I 662).

2. Humour in the NT. Again it is possible to isolate various categories of humour.

(a) The humour of Jesus in the Synoptics. Jónsson maintains that Jesus combines the rabbinic educational humour with the prophetic irony. "It may depend on our mood whether we hear the stern and threatening voice of the prophet with his sharp irony or the mild traditional humour of the Rabbi" (op. cit., 198). Jesus had a sense of comical features in the situations of daily life: a man who rushes out of the temple leaving his offering behind (Matt. 5:23–24); Matt. 5:40 is comical when it is realized that the traditional way of describing a fully dressed man was to speak of his coat, cloak and shoes! Matt. 24:43 alludes to the idiotic attitude of a man who does not prepare against robbery unless he knows the thief is coming, as a picture of men's lack of readiness for the coming of the Son of man. Matt. 4:19 is perhaps a playful picture. Lk. 7:31 notes the comical inconsistencies of people. Jesus used word play (*aphanizousin . . . phanōsin*, "disfigure . . . may be seen", Matt. 6:16; *Petros . . . petra* "Peter . . . rock", Matt. 16:18; → Rock), exaggeration (the speck and the log, Matt. 7:3; the three measures of meal, Matt. 13:33), and paradox ("who would save his life will lose it, Mk. 8:35; cf. Matt. 16:25; Lk. 9:24; Jn. 12:25 f.). He probably employed contemporary proverbs and humorous rabbinic parables (e.g. the humorous side to the picture of the rich man in Hades, still wishing to use Lazarus as a lackey (Lk. 16:23–37; cf. Talmudic humorous stories about the after-life). The use of the word *apechousin* in Matt. 6:2, 5, 16 virtually amounts to: they have had their salary and been given the receipt (A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 1911, 112; cf. the traditional comic stories about rewards in ML). Jónsson follows H. Clavier in his attempt to classify

the irony of Jesus (op. cit., 177; cf. H. Clavier, "La méthode ironique dans l'enseignement de Jésus" *Études Théologiques et Religieuses*, 1929–30, 61–5), but it is probably not possible to do this in a way which makes any clear distinctions. Jesus' response to the Canaanite woman (Mk. 7:27 par. Matt. 15:26) could have been an ironical quotation of a Jewish saying. Many of the questions Jesus directed at his opponents have an ironical ring (Matt. 9:5 par. Mk. 2:9; Lk. 5:23; Matt. 12:12 par. Mk. 3:4; Lk. 6:9; Matt. 21:25, par. Mk. 11:30, Lk. 20:4). There is irony in the way he takes well known concepts and gives them a different meaning, e.g. Mk. 2:17 where "righteous" means "self-righteous". Clavier suggests that the words of Mk. 4:11–12 are ironical, considering the blindness of the disciples (cf. Mk. 8:17–18; op. cit. 74 ff.). The language of Matt. 23 is comparable with much of the biting irony of the OT prophets.

(b) Divine irony. Jónsson points out that it would be inappropriate to speak of the humorous, i.e. comical, in John's Gospel. However, John's christology which presents so markedly a human Jesus and an eternal Christ in the same person introduces into the Gospel a sort of dualism and hence a special kind of irony. Words and ideas carry two senses at the same time (cf. 1:36; 2:19–22; 4:32; 6:20; 11:50; 12:7); and this enigma is highlighted in the Gospel by the questions which reveal lack of understanding of Jesus' words and deeds (cf. 2:18; 2:20; 3:4; 4:11). Whatever men say or do simply serves the purpose of the divine will. To a certain extent all the evangelists make use of this motif, especially in the Passion narratives (cf. the widespread use the title → king in questions, accusations, taunts and the inscription over the cross). It was probably part of the primitive passion tradition.

(c) Lighthearted portrayal of people and situations in narrative passages (as in OT and Jesus' teaching). This is found both in the Gospels and the book of Acts (cf. the gently humorous description of Zacchaeus in Lk. 19:1–6; Peter's reactions in Jn. 13; the escape from prison, Acts 5:17–32; the unclean food from heaven offered to Peter in Acts 10:9–16; Peter left knocking at the door, Acts 12:12–16; the tribune's misunderstanding, Acts 21:37–40).

(d) The humour of Paul. Paul, the Pharisee, enjoyed scholarly argumentation and there is considerable humour and irony in the tussles he had with his opponents. He posed paradoxical questions (Gal. 2:17; Rom. 3:29; Rom. 6:1; 7:7). He employed humorous illustrations, e.g. the vessel and the potter which also figured in classical and rabbinic literature as well as in the OT (Rom. 9:20–23; cf. Isa. 29:16; 45:9; Jónsson, op. cit., 225); the protest of the different parts of the body (1 Cor. 12:14–26); the instruments out of tune (1 Cor. 14:7 f.). He used word play: *mēden ergazomenous . . . periergazomenous*, "not doing work . . . busybodies" (2 Thess. 3:11; → Busybody). In speaking of the runaway slave Onesimus (whose name *onēsimos* means useful or beneficial), Paul remarks: "Formerly he was useless [*achrēston*] to you, but now he is indeed useful [*euchrēston*] to you and to me" (Phlm. 11; cf. also *onaimēn*, benefit, v. 20). Finally Paul was prepared to speak of himself in humorous terms. He was a nervous and unimpressive speaker: "And I was with you in weakness and in much fear and trembling" (1 Cor. 2:3). He was a laughing-stock in the arena: "For I think that God has exhibited us apostles as last of all, like men sentenced to death; because we have become a spectacle to the world to angels and to men" (1 Cor. 4:9). His boasting turns out to be a list of his sufferings and → weaknesses, or things for which he can claim no credit such as the

gospel and the commission given to him (1 Cor. 9:15–18; 2 Cor. 10:1–13:4; → Boast). Paul's attitude to boasting may be compared with what he says about the *alazōn*, boaster, braggart (Rom. 1:30; 2 Tim. 3:2; cf. Hab. 2:5; Prov. 21:24; see also above CL 2 (c) and G. Delling, *TDNT* I 226 f.).

(e) Several flashes of humour in the other NT books. James' humorous similes: the double-minded man (1:6 ff.); the rudder and the → fire (3:1–6); the idiotic statement, "be warmed and filled" (2:16). In 1 Jn. there is some word play; *antichristos . . . hymeis chrisma echete*, "Antichrist . . . you have an anointing" (1 Jn. 2:18).

3. It would be wrong to give the impression that humour and irony are dominant characteristics of the Bible, but it has been suggested that they are more theologically significant than scholars have usually allowed. At the simplest level the Bible consists of much teaching and exhortation and every good teacher knows that his words must be spiced with humour and irony if they are to rivet attention, especially of those who are reluctant to listen. Irony may be understood as a special branch of humour, and true humour is one aspect of → joy. Jónsson refers to E. F. Carritt's theories that failure provides the food for humour, but only where failure is not a sign of fatal disaster and where there is a sense of inner superiority (op. cit., 17 ff.; cf. E. F. Carritt, *Theory of Beauty*, 1949, 333). This superiority, says H. Höffding, following a similar line of thought (*Den Store Humor*, 1916, 52 ff.), in true humour is not the self-security of arrogance, but the consciousness of being master of the situation, not indifferent to the seriousness of the battle, but assured that nothing of true value can ever be destroyed (Jónsson, op. cit., 16 ff.). If such reasoning is correct, humour is the natural expression of the religious joy represented in the Bible. Jónsson approves with reservations R. Voeltzel's description of the irony of the OT which results from the fact that God, while condemning the mocking which is a sign of rebellion against himself, cannot help seeing the ridiculous and comical in the revolt and fighting of the helpless creatures who intend to frustrate his purposes (op. cit., 13, 48 f.; cf. R. Voeltzel, *Le Rire du Seigneur*, 1955, 103). Similarly Barth, taking a different interpretation of Gen. 17:17 and 18:12, argues that laughter is man's humble reaction to the amazing and ridiculous fact of man being a recipient of God's honour (K. Barth, *CD* III, 4, 665). Jesus came with a joyful message, and though he took the opposition seriously he was profoundly conscious that the victory lay with God. Hence his light-hearted humour (Jónsson, op. cit., 195 f.). Similarly it should be accepted as natural "that humour was a fairly strong sentiment among the first Christians, not in spite of the 'eschatological' situation, but because of it . . . just where we might expect the sense of the tragic humour breaks forth, triumphing, because failure will not be allowed to hinder the work of God" (Jónsson, op. cit., 255).

Certainly irony is written into the basic facts of redemption: God promised a childless man who was "as good as dead" (Heb. 11:12) that he would be father of a nation; he chose not a great and powerful nation to serve his purposes, but a small one which was despised and often at the mercy of its powerful neighbours; the climax of the world's rejection of God – the cross – was in fact the means he used to redeem the world (1 Cor. 2:6–8); hence the Christian knows that he is strongest when most aware of his weakness (2 Cor. 12:10). Biblical theology has irony in its very essence.

Finally, however, we must notice from the above discussions that for the OT and NT *gelaō* is not the appropriate expression of joy or true humour. As with *paizō*, play, make sport, or *empaizō*, ridicule, make fun of, mock, trick, it is associated too closely with idolatry, licentiousness and irreverence. Joy is expressed in such words as *chairō*, rejoice; *agalliaō*, exult, be overjoyed; *euphrainō*, make glad; *orcheomai*, dance; *auleō*, play the flute; *adō*, sing; *psallō*, sing praise (with an instrument). The humour of the Bible is dancing and singing through the spoken and written word. *E. M. Embry*

→ Joy, → Lament, → Pride

(a). G. Bertram, *paizō* etc., *TDNT* I 625–36; M. D. Goldman, "Humour in the Hebrew Bible", *Australian Biblical Review* 2, 1952, nos. 1–2; R. K. Harrison, "Humor", *ZPEB* III 224 ff.; F. F. Hvidberg, *Weeping and Laughter in the Old Testament*, 1962; J. Jónsson, *Humour and Irony in the New Testament, Illuminated by Parallels in Talmud and Midrash*, 1965; K. H. Rengstorf, *gelaō* etc., *TDNT* I 658–62; F. Rosenthal, *Humour in Early Islam*, 1956; J. Reumann, "St. Paul's Use of Irony", *Lutheran Quarterly* 7, 1955, 140–45; W. F. Stinespring, "Humor", *IDB* II 660 ff.; D. O. Via, *Kerygma and Comedy in the New Testament*, 1975 (concerned with comparing the structure of Gk. comedy with that of the kerygma of Paul and Mark than with humour as such); G. Webster, *Laughter in the Bible*, 1960; D. Zuver, *Salvation by Laughter*, 1933.
(b). H. von Campenhausen, "Ein Witz des Apostels Paulus und die Anfänge des christlichen Humors", in *Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolf Bultmann*, *BZNW* 21, (1954) 1957², 189–93; "Christentum und Humor", *ThR* 27, 1961, 65–82; H. Clavier, "La méthode ironique dans l'enseignement de Jesus", *Études Théologiques et Religieuses*, 1929–30; "L'ironie dans l'enseignement de Jésus", *NovT* 1, 1956, 3–20; "L'ironie dans le quatrième Évangile", *Studia Evangelica*, 1959, ed. K. Aland, F. L. Cross, J. Daniélou, H. Riesenfeld, W. C. van Unnik, *TU* 73 261–76; and "Les sens multiples dans le Nouveau Testament", *NovT* 2, 1958, 185–98; P. Friedländer, "Lachende Götter", *Die Antike* 10, 3, 1934; J. Kruuse, *Humorister*, 1945; R. Voeltzel, *Le Rire du Seigneur*, 1955.

Law, Custom, Elements

The social life of man requires structure and commonly recognized rules of conduct. Within this context, the Gk. word with the widest range of meaning is *nomos*, which originally denoted a system for distributing property, based upon collective agreement. Then it acquired the more general sense of a commonly agreed public order, or, in the plur., the laws that regulate life. However, *nomos* or the plur. *nomoi* has a religious basis, being anchored in transcendence and therefore claiming absolute validity, either as authoritative divine commands or as cosmic principles. *ethos*, on the other hand, is usage or custom (unwritten but not therefore any less plain or valid), i.e. that which is normally done. In the NT it also means the custom of the priesthood. *stoicheion* denoted originally the line or rank in which one stands, hence the basic order to which one has to conform. The *stoicheia* are therefore the elements, the basic constituents of the cosmic and the human order.

ἔθος

ἔθος (*ethos*), usage, custom; ἦθος (*ēthos*), custom, way of life.

CL 1. *ethos*, found from Aeschylus onwards, stems from the root *sweth* (cf. Lat. *suetus*, accustomed, customary; Ger. *Sitte*, custom and means tradition, wont, usage, custom. With the prepositions *ex*, *kata*, *dia*, *en* or the instrumental dative it

means "according to [these] principles" or "in the usual way".

2. The related word *ēthos*, since Homer, is a rather more abstract term, not easily distinguishable in English, however, from *ethos*.

OT In the canonical text of the OT neither word has any real Heb. equivalents; nevertheless, in the LXX *ēthos* occurs 7 times and *ethos* 8 times.

1. The Heb. form *k^{e}mišpāṭ* is translated by *ethos* in a few places, including Jdg. 18:7 *v.l.*; 1 Ki. 18:28 *v.l.*: "according to the [popular, Gentile] custom", "after the manner of . . . ." *ethos* is used thus in the sense of popular custom and particularly in connection with → feasts. In the extra-canonical writings the word always refers to a custom traditional within a given class or nation: e.g., giving presents to members of the royal family (1 Macc. 10:89); the custom of the ancestors (2 Macc. 11:25; 4 Macc. 18:5) or of the priests (Dan. Bel. 15 *v.l.*); customs relating to execution (2 Macc. 13:4), or to public worship. Even when a custom is reversed, the resulting custom can come to be ethically and legally binding (4 Macc. 18:5; Wis. 14:16, *hōs nomos*, as a law; → *nomos*).

2. In the LXX *ēthos* ordinarily conveys the idea of basic human motives or attitudes (4 Macc. 1:29; 2:7; 2:21; 5:24), a frame of mind (4 Macc. 13:27); also a manner of life resulting from certain ethical or psychological impulses, e.g., directly from the law (Sir. Prol. 27, *v.l. ennomos*; → *nomos* NT) or from virtue (4 Macc. 13:27 see above); or, negatively, from a general attitude of deceit (Sir. 20:26).

NT In the NT the two words are found 13 times altogether (*ēthos* only once, i.e. 1 Cor. 15:33; *ethos* 3 times in Lk., 7 times in Acts, once in Jn., once in Heb.). The range of meaning extends from religious custom (frequently indistinguishable from popular *mores*) to personal habit, although no hard and fast distinctions can be drawn. Some passages merely give objective information on customs or traditions, while others reflect the clash of early Christian teaching and practice with the way of life found in traditional Judaism and late antiquity. It is helpful to consider these groups separately.

In the narrative sections of the Gospels *ethos* is variously qualified as the custom of the priesthood (Lk. 1:9); the custom relating to the Passover and to the education of sons (Lk. 2:42; when the son reaches puberty at the age of 12, the father has the duty of introducing him to the requirements of God's law by taking him to the three great → feasts); Jewish burial custom (Jn. 19:40); or Christ's personal custom, e.g. of visiting the synagogue (Lk. 4:16, *kata to eiōthos autō*, "as his custom was"; cf. Acts 17:2) or, as a festival pilgrim, of teaching daily in the temple and spending the following night near the Mount of Olives outside the city (Lk. 22:39), a custom with a long tradition behind it, making it easy for Judas and the temple officers to locate him.

The following passages introduce us to early Christian polemic: Acts 15:1, the confrontation between Jewish and Gentile Christians over the necessity of circumcision (note the appeal is to the custom of → Moses [cf. Lev. 12:3], not to that of → Abraham [cf. Gen. 17:10]); previously Stephen (Acts 6:14) and subsequently Paul (Acts 26:3; 28:17) were accused of altering the customs delivered by Moses or the fathers; cf. the charge against Jesus that he wished to annul the law (Mk. 2:23 ff.; 3:2 ff.; 7:14 f.; Matt. 5:18, 21). Paul's opponents accused him of being

the enemy both of the → people and of the law (cf. *nomos* NT) and of endangering both by his sectarian activities (Acts 21:28; 24:5). Paul himself appealed to Roman legal custom (Acts 25:16; cf. A. N. Sherwin-White, "Paul before Felix and Festus", *Roman Society and Roman Law in the New Testament*, 1963, 48–70). An appeal to Roman political and religious law was also made by the Roman slave-owners at Philippi (Acts 16:21) against what they conceived to be Jewish customs and religious propaganda. For Romans were forbidden to become proselytes of the Jewish religion which was a *religio licita*, legally recognized religion, and Philippi was a Roman *colonia* (cf. E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1971, 496; A. N. Sherwin-White, op. cit., 78 f., 177).

Finally, the use of *ēthos* and *ethos* shows something of the internal dangers facing the early Christian church: the church is doomed if it allows itself to be infected by the immoral habits of the surrounding world (*ēthos*, 1 Cor. 15:33). Here Paul cites the saying from the 4th cent. comedy *Thais* by Menander, "Bad company ruins good morals." Heb. 10:25 states that for some people non-attendance at public worship had already become a habit (*ethos*), an attitude of indifference which the church must seek to overcome by spiritual exhortation, pointing out the imminence of the day of judgment. *H.-H. Esser*

νόμος

νόμος (*nomos*), law, norm; *νομικός* (*nomikos*), pertaining to the law, learned in the law, hence legal expert, jurist, lawyer; *νομίμως* (*nomimōs*), conforming to the law, according to rule; *νομοδιδάσκαλος* (*nomodidaskalos*), teacher of the law; *νομοθεσία* (*nomothesia*), lawgiving, legislation; *νομοθετέω* (*nomotheteō*), make laws, legislate, ordain, enact; *νομοθέτης* (*nomothetēs*), lawgiver; *ἀνομία* (*anomia*), lawlessness; *ἄνομος* (*anomos*), lawless, unlawful; *ἔννομος* (*ennomos*), under law, orderly; *παρανομέω* (*paranomeō*), break the law, act contrary to the law.

CL 1. (a) The noun *nomos* is formed from the vb. *nemo*, distribute, deal out, assign, grant, especially in the sense of assigning property, apportioning pasture or agricultural land (cf. *nomē*, pasture). In other words, the reference is to those processes which are essential whenever men live together in a community, whether small or great. Relationships to earthly possessions have to be determined in a legally binding fashion, so that private and communal ownership may become a reality. Thus the basic vb. covers all shades of meaning from merely handing something over for a given period of time, right through to transferring something, once and for all, to the ownership of another person. By means of appropriate prepositions, personal or non-personal objects, and other qualifying phrases, ethical value-judgment can be expressed: to grant equally, exercise fairness, be impartial, also to favour, pass over, reject. The same vb. can also indicate the result of distributing property: to appropriate, own or possess, occupy, utilize; pass. to belong to. The communal aspect can still be seen in the mid.: to distribute (e.g. an inheritance) between one another.

(b) The fig. sense covers the idea of guarding what has been entrusted: to watch over, protect; and also the way the recipient is regarded by the person who distributes: to esteem, regard as, take for, respect.

2. In the same way, the word *nomos* (found in literature from the time of Hesiod, 7th cent. B.C.) originally referred to distributing and what follows from it. It meant that which has been laid down, ordered or assigned; but more particularly the results of this, namely arrangements which become regularized and attain the status of tradition. The word therefore denotes custom, usage, statute, law, especially in the context of distribution of goods, and of law and order.

The legal, ethical and religious meanings of *nomos* are inseparable in antiquity, for all goods were believed to come from the gods, who upheld order in the universe and in relations between men. Hence, the universal conviction, found throughout history, that law is linked to the divine – an idea which has persisted subconsciously even in periods when the purely human aspects of law have been emphasized (see below). The close interrelationship between the worship of the gods, the customs of the time and one's duty to the state was expressed in the charge levelled at Socrates, namely that he failed to reverence the gods officially worshipped (*nomizein*) by the city, or at least that he did not worship them as everyone else did (Plato, *Apol.* 24b; → Godliness, art. *sebomai*).

3. Used in a political context, *nomos* was regarded as the most essential feature of the *polis* or city-state, i.e. the judicial norm, legal custom, the "law of the land." From about the 5th cent. B.C. onwards, the *nomos* was written down as *nomoi* (plur. laws), thereby acquiring the specific meaning of written law, the constitution (of the *polis*), the coercive law of the state, which had to be obeyed upon pain of punishment. This purely political view of *nomos* led to relativization and an increasingly man-centred approach to law. Many Gk. tragedies rest on the fact that one law stands over against another, both claiming validity but mutually incompatible. Hence, men are caught in the toils of such conflict, as in Sophocles' *Antigone*. Indeed, *nomos* is sometimes even disparaged as a human exaggeration, compared with *physis* (→ Nature) or universal law.

4. Philosophy (even that of the Sophists), kept alive the awareness that, since human laws are so fallible, man cannot exist unless he conforms to cosmic, universal law. Only when a man is inwardly in harmony with the universe does he have peace of mind amid the vicissitudes of life (as the Stoics). Whereas the Sophists criticized the idea of absolute validity attaching to *nomos*, Plato and Aristotle each in his own way connected it with the *nous*, the human spirit, and thereby once again with the divine (cf. H. Kleinknecht, *TDNT* IV 1032). The period of late antiquity in the time of the NT suffered from no longer having a *nomos* of binding force throughout the known world. Most of the gnostic systems sought to project earthly law into the higher sphere of the ground of all being. This represented a wistful attempt to regain, by religious means, the lost unity of law itself and of life lived under the law.

OT 1. In the LXX *nomos* occurs about 430 times, of which about 200 are without Heb. equivalents; for the rest, the commonest equivalent is *tôrâh*, with *dāṯ* occurring 16 times and *ḥōq*, *ḥuqqâh* 12 times. In the canonical OT, *nomos* is concentrated most heavily in the Pentateuchal books other than Gen., occurring about 60 times, of which 25 are in Deut. and 20 in Lev. Next come Ezra and Nehemiah, if one counts the apocryphal 1 Esd. (53 times), then the Pss. (40 times, of which 27 are in Ps. 119 (LXX 118). Among the prophets Jer. uses the word most

frequently (15 times). The frequent use of the word in the extra-canonical books (it occurs about 100 times in the Books of the Maccabees and 30 times in Sir.) indicates the importance of law in the Judaistic thought of the last two centuries B.C. Of the derivatives (see NT below) only *anomia* (lawlessness; about 150 times) and *anomos* (lawless; about 50 times) are numerically significant in the LXX.

2. This paragraph deals with those passages in the LXX where *tôrâh* is translated by *nomos*. It is important to note that *tôrâh* frequently does *not* mean "law" in the modern sense of the term. At a time when the Jews saw "law" as the transcript of an eternal norm, and the Greeks likewise thought of *nomos* as having definite content, the predominant use of the latter word must have produced a striking translation.

(a) Originally *tôrâh* (mostly used in the sing.) meant an instruction from God, a command for a given situation. The plur. which also occurs indicates the concreteness and variability of such instructions (cf. Exod. 16:28; 18:16, 20, translated, significantly enough, by *ton nomon*, "the law", in all three places). Instruction for given situations was also given by the prophets (Isa. 1:10; 5:24 and passim; Mic. 4:2; Jer. 6:19), by the priests (Hos. 4:6; Jer. 2:8; Deut. 17:9, 11; Ezek. 7:26) or by a judge (Deut. 17:9, 11 f.). The prophets threatened judgment on those priests and prophets who issued their own instruction without having received it from Yahweh (Jer. 2:8; 8:8; Zeph. 3:4; Ezek. 22:26).

(b) Human counsel given by a teacher of wisdom (Prov. 13:14; 28:4, 7, 9) can also be called *tôrâh* and *nomos*.

(c) Nearer the concept of law are the specific instructions for the different kinds of offering (Lev. 6 and passim); or for a definite priestly procedure (Num. 5:29, when adultery is suspected); or with regard to the Nazirites (Num. 6:13, 21).

(d) Only after the Deuteronomic reform did phrases such as "the law of Yahweh" become widespread, epitomizing the laws in general, and without any further qualification or any enumeration of the individual laws involved (2 Ki. 10:31; Exod. 13:9; Amos 2:4, a Deuteronomic expansion of a Yahwistic basic text; Jer. 8:8 and passim); similarly "the law of God" (Jos. 24:26 and passim), delivered by Moses (Jos. 8:31 [LXX 9:2]; 2 Ki. 23:25 and passim). Deut. is itself called "the book of this law" (Deut. 28:61; cf. 29:20; 30:10; 31:26; cf. G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, I, 1962, 221; Jos. 1:8; 2 Ki. 22:8, 11), and after the Exile the whole Pentateuch is so called (Neh. 8:3). Corresponding to this is the formula "written in the law", found in the post-exilic literature (Neh. 8:14; 10:35 [LXX 34], 37 [LXX 36]; Dan. 9:11; 2 Chr. 23:18 and passim), where the law is seen as a written norm.

(e) The verbs used in connection with *tôrâh* indicate whether the latter is conceived of as oral instruction or as written law. Oral instruction is presupposed by such formulae as: to teach instruction (Exod. 18:20); to hear it (Isa. 42:24); to forget it (Hos. 4:6); to despise it (Isa. 5:24); to violate it (Hos. 8:1). On the other hand, the following phrases indicate written law: to observe, to keep the law (Ps. 119 [LXX 118]:34, 44; Prov. 28:4 and passim); to → walk in the law, i.e. to order one's life by the law (Exod. 16:14; Ps. 78 [LXX 77]:10; 119 [LXX 118]:1; 2 Chr. 6:16 and passim).

3. *ḥōq* denotes: (a) Yahweh's sacrificial requirement, his right to receive sacrifice (Lev. 6:15 [LXX 22]); or (b) the legal system proclaimed in the cult, to which

Israel is bound (Jos. 24:25; cf. A. Alt, *Essays on Old Testament History and Religion*, 1966, 126; G. von Rad, op. cit., I, 30). The fem. *ḥuqqâh* (in the plur. *ḥuqqôṯ*) has the meaning: (a) creation ordinances, laws of nature (Jer. 31[LXX 38]: 36); (b) the ordinance of the passover (Exod. 12:43; Num. 9:3, 14 and passim; [→ Feast, art. *pascha*]); (c) statutes regulating everyday life (Lev. 19:19, 37); (d) sacrificial ordinances (Jer. 44 [LXX 51]:23).

4. The equivalent *dāṯ* occurs only in the late OT writings, always denoting a written law: either (a) the law of God (Ezr. [LXX 2 Esd.] 7:12, 14, 21, 25, 26; Dan. 6:6 [LXX 6:5]; here identical with religion, worship of God); 7:25; Est. 3:8 (plur. interpreted as the laws of the people); or (b) the law or decree of the king (Ezr. 7:26; Est. 1:8, 13, 15, 19, 3:8; 4:16).

5. This survey is sufficient to show that we cannot speak simply of "the law in the OT" as if it expressed a uniform concept, much less of the OT itself as law. Even in the Pentateuch the later generic term *tôrâh* or law is an example of the part standing for the whole (see above 2 (d)). There are essentially three types of "law" to be distinguished:

(a) *Casuistic law*, which was pre-Israelite in origin, and was largely taken over after the conquest from Canaanite legal custom. It has its setting "in the gate", where the law was administered. Large sections of the Book of the Covenant (Exod. 21:1–23:19) contain such lists of laws, each with the characteristic form: "if . . . then. . . ."

(b) *Apodeictic law*, which is of genuine Israelite origin, stemming from the period when the tribes were still mobile, and set out in thematic series of ten or twelve for ease of memorizing: "he that . . . shall surely be put to death" (Exod. 21:12. 15 ff. and passim); or "I am Yahweh . . . thou shalt not . . ." (as in the Decalogue, Exod. 20:2 ff.; → Command). Here the setting is the worshipping community, especially at the feast of the covenant and the feast of the renewal of the covenant; such law "watches over man in his humanity" (G. von Rad, op. cit., I, 195). In the OT, incidentally, the Ten Commandments were never called "law" (ibid.).

(c) *Purely cultic regulations*, to be carried out and expounded by the → priests (see above 2 (c); cf. also Hag. 2:11 [LXX 12]).

The law inherent in such passages is part and parcel of the → covenant. It is the rule of life for those who have been redeemed (see the First Commandment, which is the basis of the other nine). It sets out "the obedience of men who have come of age" (von Rad, op. cit., I, 198; cf. Deut. 30:14). The commandments "were not a law, but an event, with which Jahweh specifically confronted every generation in its own *hic et nunc* [here and now], and to which it had to take up its position" (op. cit., 199). The law thus had a prophetic character. This original view of law changed in the post-exilic period, when the community was considered to be actually *constituted* by the law (Neh. 8). The law came to be viewed as a set of rigid rules, instead of serving the community as an ordinance of salvation. (On the whole subject see G. von Rad, op. cit., I, 187–279 and the various works listed in the bibliography below.)

6. For the Qumran sect's view of law → Command, art. *entolē*, OT 3.

7. (a) In the Judaism of the last two centuries B.C. and at the time of Jesus *nomos* was used in an absolute sense: the law was an absolute in itself and was independent of the covenant. It is fulfilment of the law that determines one's membership of the

people of God. Israel no longer saw her special status as due to Yahweh's living self-revelation in the course of her history, but considered this status to rest upon the obedience of those who were righteous in terms of the law (→ Pharisees). Visible observance of the law was what distinguished the true Israel both from non-Jews and from the godless Jewish masses. In other words, the law had assumed a dominant role as mediator between God and man, and had become personified as an intermediary with a hypostasis of its own. The whole of life could be regulated, and was regulated by the law. In Hellenistic Judaism especially, the law came to stand alongside → wisdom, which had likewise come to be seen as having a hypostasis. In this respect the law had become separated from its original setting, namely the → covenant as given by God. Moreover, it could now be presented as universal law, i.e. as universally valid. This was important in the Hellenistic world, where any system of thought had to be able to compete apologetically with existing philosophies. Furthermore, its universality was extended backwards in time. The patriarchs, it was claimed, already knew it, in fact it antedated the whole of creation. By universalizing the law in this way and detaching it from the covenant, Hellenized Jews were able to give it a rational basis and proclaim it as a superior philosophy (→ Command, art. *dogma* OT). The method they adopted was to allegorize it, which involved cutting it loose from its historical roots.

(b) Similarly, Rabbinic Judaism no longer saw God's self-revelation as tied to the covenant, but rather to the Torah as a covenant ordinance. Thus the Torah came to occupy the place of a "canon within the canon", even before the latter was finally determined; i.e. the Torah became normative over against the other two sections of the OT, namely the Prophets and the Writings. These were held merely to develop what was already germinally present in the Torah. Israel believed that the Torah (identical with the Pentateuch) had been delivered ready-made by God to Moses. God had committed himself to it, but not only so, he is eternally committed to it. Man's life and death hung upon fulfilling its commands, and with it his religious pride and shame (see Lk. 18:9–14). The Torah was regarded as capable of fulfilment. As an aid towards this goal, use was made both of casuistry and of summaries of the law in the form of a few commandments or of one basic commandment. Rabbi Hillel (*c.* 20 B.C.) instructed a proselyte: "What you do not like, do not do to your neighbour. That is the whole Torah, everything else is merely interpretation; go and study it" (Shab. 31a; cf. SB I 460). The dictum states the negative counterpart of the Golden Rule in Matt. 7:12. Rabbi Hillel also claimed that Amos (5:4) and Hab. (2:4) reduced the Torah to one commandment (Mak. 23b–24a; cf. W. Gutbrod, *TDNT* IV 1058 f.). In the Judaism of the time of Christ, the study and fulfilment of the Torah were considered to be the way to righteousness and the way to → life (cf. Lk. 10:28).

NT In the NT the noun *nomos* (191 times) occurs most frequently in Paul: 119 times, predominantly in Rom. (72 times), Gal. (32), 1 Cor. (9). Non-Pauline books where the word occurs fairly frequently are Acts (17 times), Jn. and Heb. (14 each), Jas. (10), Lk. (9), Matt. (8). *nomos* does not occur in Mk., in the Catholic Epistles apart from Jas., or in Rev. Its infrequent appearance in the Synoptic Gospels should not blind us to the fact that Jesus dealt intensively with the whole problem of the law (cf. Mk. 2:23–28; 10:1–12 and passim).

1. The summaries of Christ's work as given in Jn. 1:17 and Eph. 2:14–18 also apply to his own preaching. In all that he said and did, he removed the law from its mediatorial position and opened up immediate access to God (cf. especially the group of parables in Lk. 15; also 18:9–27; Matt. 11:28–30 and many other synoptic passages).

(a) His testimony to the significance of John the Baptist (Matt. 11:7–19) is enhanced to become an indirect testimony to himself (vv. 11–15): the Baptist is → Elijah come again (v. 14), who brings one divine dispensation to an end, and proclaims the arrival of a new one where the kingdom of God comes directly among men (cf. Mal. 4:5; Matt. 17:10–13; Jn. 1:21; Lk. 1:17). Thus the preaching and teaching of the prophets and of the law reaches its → goal (v. 13) and comes to an end. "The prophets and the law" here are regarded to some extent formally as constituent parts of the OT scriptures, but the main reference is to their content as salvation history. The wording here draws attention not only to the precedence accorded to the prophets over the law, but also to the dynamic view of both: they proclaim, preach, prophesy (*prophēteuein*; → Prophecy). The parallel passage in Lk. 16:16 makes a point of inserting these words of Jesus into the whole scheme of salvation history: "law and prophets until John" (note the absence of a vb.). From that point onwards the → kingdom of God is proclaimed directly, like the news of great victory (*euangelizetai*; → Gospel).

Similarly, in the antitheses of the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5:21–48) Jesus put an end to all self-satisfaction at having kept individual commandments of the law (vv. 20, 46). He dealt with them radically by pointing out that at root they require absolute conformity to the requirements of the divine majesty in thought as well as in deed (vv. 20, 48). Thus he made the unprecedented claim that what was said in the law to the men of old (vv. 21, 27, 31, 33, 38, 43) is now made out of date once and for all by himself: "But I say unto you . . . ." (v. 22, 28, 32, 34, 39, 44). In the eyes of those who did not acknowledge him as bringing in God's kingdom or recognize his teaching as being the rule of life for the church of the last days, this claim must have made his condemnation for seeking to abolish the law (v. 17) a foregone conclusion.

(b) Jesus makes it clear at this point, however, that his claim was not levelled against the law (Matt. 5:17–19), but against man's self-righteous attitude to the law (vv. 19–20; cf. Paul in Rom. 7:12). He set himself to fulfil in detail the law's demand for a life of utter obedience to God (v. 17; cf. 3:15), as he had done already from his circumcision onwards, and continued to do until his death on the cross. Even his condemnation was in accordance with established Jewish law (cf. Jn. 19:7). The inviolability of the law (Matt. 5:18; cf. Lk. 16:17) likewise determined Christ's attitude in conversation with the teachers of the law (*nomikoi*), who were specialists in the ethical interpretation of the law, and the theological leaders of the → Pharisees. Jesus shared the view that the law could be summed up in two great commandments (Matt. 22:34–39; cf. Lk. 10:25–28), but he rejected the Pharisees' gradations within the double commandment. (On the two great commandments → Command, art. *entolē*; → Hear, art. *akouō*; → Large, Small, art. *megas*.) Moreover, in his repeated cries of "Woe to you!" (Matt. 23:13–16, 23, 25, 27, 29; cf. Lk. 11:42 ff. 46 f., 52) he condemned their failure to recognize the basic intention of the law, namely → justice, → mercy and → faith (Matt. 23:23).

(c) In the words of Jesus and in the usage of Matt. and Lk. the reference is generally to the whole law as a part of Scripture, without any further delineation of content. (This does not apply, of course, to verbatim quotations from the Torah.) Thus: "the law" (Matt. 5:18; 12:5; Lk. 2:27; 10:26; 16:17); "the law and the prophets" (Matt. 5:17; see above 1 (a)); "the law of the Lord" (Lk. 2:23, 24, 39); "the law of Moses" (Lk. 2:22; cf. also Acts 28:23 ". . . and the prophets"); "Moses and the prophets" (Lk. 24:27). The threefold formula "Moses and the prophets and the psalms" also occurs (Lk. 24:44).

2. Paul, confronted as he was by his own Pharisaic past and by his Jewish and Jewish Christian opponents, developed a theology of the law that is connected historically with the promise and on a personal level with Christ. In doing so, however, he is far from regarding himself as a second teacher of Christianity either in addition to, or in place of Jesus. His teaching remains within the limits previously laid down by Jesus; he merely brings out the basic significance of Christ's work, now completed in the → cross and → resurrection. As Lk. 10:25–37 shows, it is possible to keep the law fully (v. 37) only by being in fellowship with him, listening to his loving voice, and → following him. In the same way, after his resurrection, it is only the man who is "in Christ" who can keep the law, not with any thought of works-righteousness, but rather out of gratitude and in the liberty of one set free to love and obey. Paul also follows Jesus (see above 1 (a)) in denying the absoluteness of the law and the idea that it alone was the way to salvation (see below (a)–(d)). He took this position, however, not because of any emotional complexes arising from his being a converted Pharisee (cf. Phil. 3:5–11), but because he saw the uniqueness and newness of Christ. As the → Apostle to the Gentiles, he has the prophetic insight to realize that without a comprehensive theology of law as a background, the universal claims of the → gospel would lack all justification and credibility (see Rom. and Gal.).

Paul used *nomos* for the Pentateuch (Rom. 3:21b; Gal. 4:21) and for the whole of Scripture (Rom. 3:19, a generic term for the quotations of vv. 10–18, taken from all three parts of Scripture: 1 Cor. 14:21 citing Isa. 28:11 f. and Deut. 28:49), but especially for the Mosaic law, and the Decalogue in particular (Rom. 2:14a; 2:17; 3:28; 7:12; Gal. 5:3) in its demand for unconditional obedience from the Jews. Rom. 2:14b is to be translated "The Gentiles are law to themselves" (RSV), because the implication is that God has given them the law in another way (cf. v. 15). ([Ed.] Karl Barth has argued, however, that this passage refers to Gentile converts who, in fulfilment of the prophecy of the new covenant in Jer. 31:33, have the law "written on their hearts" [cf. *CD* I, 2, 304; II, 2, 242, 604; IV, I, 33, 369, 395; J. B. Souček, "Zur Exegese von Röm. 2:14 ff." in *Antwort. Karl Barth zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. E. Wolf, C. von Kirschbaum, R. Frey, 1956, 99–113].) Paul also uses *nomos* to indicate a part of the law (e.g. marriage law, as it affects the woman, Rom. 7:2b), and in the metaphorical sense, mostly defined by a genitive (e.g. Rom. 3:28, divine commands in the widest sense; Rom. 7:23c, 25b; 8:2; Gal. 6:2, genitive of authorship; Rom. 7:23 a and b, regular principle). Paul often personifies the law: it speaks (Rom. 3:19); it says (Rom. 7:7; 1 Cor. 9:8); it works (Rom. 4:15); it rules (Rom. 7:1). In doing this, he is not subscribing to the idea of law as a hypostasis (see above OT 7), but he means that the law is the mouthpiece of the living God.

Paul views the law against the background of the → cross of Christ. (a) In his death on the cross Jesus upheld the law's condemnation of all men. He became a curse (Gal. 3:13; cf. Deut. 21:23). He was made sin, yet only as the representative for the sins of others (2 Cor. 5:21; cf.: "he was reckoned with the transgressors", *meta anomōn*, Lk. 22:37; Mk. 15:28; both quoting Isa. 53:12). These statements indicate a deliberate, vicarious act by Jesus on our behalf.

(b) At the same time he fulfils all the obedience required by the law (Phil. 2:8). Paul's addition of the words "even death on a cross" in v. 8b to what was probably an already existing hymn stresses Christ's complete oneness with those enslaved under the law. (On this hymn see R. P. Martin, *Carmen Christi: Phil. ii. 5–11 in Recent Interpretation and in the Setting of Early Christian Worship*, 1967; → Empty, art. *kenos*.) Now that he has fulfilled the law, salvation rests not on our meeting certain conditions, but upon the simple fact that the law has now been fulfilled (Rom. 3:31).

(c) Having → faith, the Christian is no longer under the law (1 Cor. 9:20b). He is free to be "as one outside the law [*anomos*] to those outside the law [*anomois*]" (note the play on words in the four-fold use of this adj., v. 21). He is also free to fulfil the law in → love (Rom. 13:10b; Gal. 5:14, 22), to be as one under the law (1 Cor. 9:20) to those under the law, i.e. the Jews. The author and inspirer of such love is the Holy → Spirit of God and of Christ, who translates the Christian from the realm of the law and the → flesh with its resulting → sin and → death (Rom. 8:4; Gal. 5:18, 22).

(d) Since Christ is the end and → goal (*telos*) of the law for believers (Rom. 10:4), Paul can look back from his vantage-point, as it were, and describe the law, both as having no more part to play in salvation, and at the same time as having a valid function apart from Christ (Rom. 5:20 f.; Gal. 3:19–29). The law, which is holy and good (Rom. 7:12), was one of God's gifts to Israel (Rom. 9:4, here *nomothesia* means the giving of the law). It came in (Rom. 5:20), being introduced by God into the history of sinful man (Gal. 3:19) in order to "increase the trespass" (Rom. 5:20; cf. 7:8–13; 1 Cor. 15:56b; → Command, art. *entolē* NT 2 (a)), and in order to "confine" men under law and sin, with no prospect of escape until Christ should come (Gal. 3:22 f.) – a dreadful thought, were it not for God's superabundant grace (Rom. 5:20b) and his gift of sonship (Gal. 3:25 ff.)!

(e) The individual who stands before God "under the law" (*en nomō*, Rom. 2:12b) has to reckon with the following consequences: the law demands entire obedience (Gal. 3:10, quoting Deut. 27:26); only he who *does* the law will live and be justified (Gal. 3:12b, quoting Lev. 18:5; Rom. 2:13b), while he who does not is condemned (Gal. 3:10; Rom. 2:12b). No one is justified before God merely by hearing or knowing the law (Rom. 2:12, 13a). To be justified one needs to be made alive, which is precisely where the law fails (Gal. 3:21; Rom. 7:9 f.); only those who have faith in Christ are made alive (Gal. 3:26 f.). Thus law is linked with → sin, and → faith with → promise. However, the law is not contrary to the promise (Gal. 3:17), rather it has an educational part to play, both within redemptive history and in individual experience, driving men to Christ and to faith in him. The law is a *paidagōgos*, "custodian" (Gal. 3:24, 25; RSV). The word means lit. "boy-leader". The *paidagōgos* was usually a slave whose duty it was to take the pupil to school and supervise his conduct generally (Arndt, 608; → Teach, art.

paideuō). The law produces the startling realization of sin which does not save (Rom. 3:20; 7:7); but it calls forth a cry for help in one's lost condition (Rom. 7:24), a cry which can be answered effectively only by Jesus Christ (Rom. 7:25).

(f) Even the man who sins "without the law", i.e. one before Christ came, or outside the bounds of Christianity, does not conform to the will of God (Rom. 3:23; note the twofold use in Rom. 2:12a of the adv. *anomōs*, found only here in the NT). Outside the law men are judged by God according to whether they have done right (Rom. 2:6 f.), for the Gentiles can know what is good, the work of the law being written in their hearts (v. 15; cf. 1:32). Thus a Jew who does the law is in the same position as a Gentile who does good works (vv. 13, 7), while a Jew who sins under the law is in the same position as all men, whether Jew or Gentile, who do evil (vv. 12b, 9). Whether they live within the Jewish law, or outside, it both groups will meet with the same → judgment, without respect of persons (vv. 11 f., 16), according to their works. Destruction and death await all men (Rom. 3:23, 27; 7:10, 11c, 13), for no one has put into practice his knowledge of what is good (3:23; 7:18 f., 21). All men, therefore, depend for salvation upon the work of Christ which has to be appropriated by faith (Rom. 3:25 f., 29 f.), without the works of the law (v. 28), and also without the participation (*chōris*) of the law (v. 21). The words "But now" introduce a totally new situation.

(g) This indicates the fundamental weakness of the law, namely that its only answer to sin is to forbid it and condemn it. Law cannot overcome sin, because it depends on the co-operation of the → flesh, which is weak (Rom. 8:3). Here "the flesh" means would-be autonomous human nature, incapable of obedience. The law is part of the fabric of this world (→ *stoicheia*), and therefore cannot lead us beyond it. What the law demands can be wrought only by the Spirit on the basis of the work of Christ (v. 4; see above (e)). The law is essentially a letter that kills, while the life of the new covenant is the → Spirit who makes alive (Rom. 7:6; 2 Cor. 3:6).

(h) The commandment to love, which can be fulfilled in the Spirit (see above (c) and (g)), can now be called the "law of Christ" (Gal. 6:2; cf. 1 Cor. 9:21: to be *ennomos* of Christ, to be *under the law* of Christ). It is the Torah of the Lord, which he himself has lived out. Now, on raising men to spiritual life, he can require of them its fulfilment.

(i) Occasionally the law is invoked as a secondary authority, in order to provide scriptural support for Paul's injunctions to the Christian church. In 1 Cor. 9:8 ff. he makes allegorical use of Deut. 25:4 to back up his claim that, as an apostle, he had the right to be materially supported by the church. In 1 Cor. 14:21 he combines quotations from Deut. 28:49 and Isa. 28:11 f. in order to regulate speaking with tongues, and in 1 Cor. 14:34 he refers to Gen. 3:16 to support his command that women be silent in the church, a command which is probably not meant to apply generally, but specifically to speaking with tongues: women are not to push in themselves forward in this matter. Basically, however, the life of the church is controlled not by the principle: "Anything contrary to the law is sin", but rather by "Whatever does not proceed from faith is sin" (Rom. 14:23).

3. In Eph. (which some scholars count as deutero-Pauline) and the Pastoral Epistles there are statements which are in complete accord with Paul's theology of the law, but also some others which show that controversy had now arisen over

the law's function and which *prima facie* uphold the law as a regulative principle.

(a) Eph. 2:15 is fully in line with Paul's doctrine of the law (see above 2 (b) and especially → Command art. *dogma* NT).

(b) In the struggle against (gnostic?) libertinism and asceticism 1 Tim. 1:8 repeats the assertion of Rom. 7:12 that the law is good. But whereas Rom. develops the rôle of the law in provoking and convicting of sin, 1 Tim. 1:9 f. enumerates various categories of sin condemned by the law. Christ has appeared "to deliver us from all lawlessness [*anomia*]" (Tit. 2:14, quoting Ps. 130:8). The law is "a rule of life which is self-evident to the respectable man; the others [the *anomoi*, the lawless] experience it rightly as compulsion" (M. Dibelius, *Die Pastoralbriefe*, ed. H. Conzelmann, *HNT* 13, 1966[4] on 1 Tim. 1:9). The "just" in this verse no longer appears to be a man justified by → faith (cf. Rom. 1:17; Gal. 3:11). In Rom. Paul did not say that the law is good when it is used lawfully (*nomimōs*); for his position regarding the law's absolute holiness, and also regarding the use of the law, see Rom. 7:12 ff. The false teachers of the law (*nomodidaskaloi*, 1 Tim. 1:7) are those who preach antinomianism (as here) and also those who lead the church astray with their ascetic demands (1 Tim. 4:1–3). This passage is thoroughly Pauline in its exhortation to receive God's good gifts of creation in a spirit of faith and thanksgiving, and not to stand aloof from them in the interests of certain ascetic regulations. Like 1 Tim., Tit. 3:9 recommends the avoidance of quarrels about the law (*machas nomikas*). The Gk. background is apparent in the use of *nomikos*, lawyer (Tit. 3:13) and of *nomimōs*, according to the rules of the contest (2 Tim. 2:5). In the apocalyptic section 2 Thess. 2:1–12 the fact that Christ's return has not yet occurred is explained in Jewish apocalyptic fashion as follows: the man of lawlessness (*anthrōpos tēs anomias*, v. 3) or the lawless one (*anomos*, v. 8) must first appear, and the mystery of lawlessness, although already at work, is not yet revealed (v. 7; cf. Matt. 24:12; see A. Oepke, *Die Briefe an die Thessalonicher*, *NTD* 8, 1965[10] ad loc.; L. Morris, *The Epistles of Paul to the Thessalonians*, *NLC*, 1959, 217–32; → Antichrist; → Present: The Parousia Eschatology in the NT).

4. In his logical development of Pauline thought the writer of Heb. sees the law, especially the sacrificial law, as a manifestation of the old → covenant, inferior to and now superseded by the new covenant (8:13; 10:9b). There are extensive passages proving the superiority of the single, once-for-all → sacrifice of Christ, the great High Priest, over the offerings of the OT priests, a sacrifice, moreover, in which he himself is both the offering and the offerer (4:14–5:10; 7:1–10, 18; cf. also the Moses-Christ typology of 3:1–6).

Thus in working out his teaching on inferiority and superiority, the writer puts *nomos* in the negative part of his comparisons: cf. 7:5 with 7:6–8 (→ Melchizedek as a type of Christ, and the contrast "those descendants of Levi who receive the priestly office . . . but this man . . ."); 7:12 with 7:13 ff.; 7:16a with 7:15, 16b, "not according to a legal requirement concerning bodily descent"; 7:19a with 19b, "the law made nothing perfect . . . on the other hand, a better hope"; 7:28a with 7:28b, "the law men appointed in their weakness . . . but the word of the oath . . . appoints a Son"; 8:4 f. with 8:5b and 6, "priests who offer gifts according to the law . . . serve as a copy and shadow. . . . a more excellent ministry . . . a better covenant . . . better promises"; 9:19 ff. with 9:24 ff., the repeated sacrifice of the high priest with the "once for all" sacrifice of Christ; 10:1 with 10:2b, "offered

year after year . . . once cleansed"; 10:8 with 10:9a, 10, offerings made according to the law but not desired . . . the readiness of Christ to do the will of God.

The vb. *nomotheteō*, to give laws (pass., to receive laws) is similarly used to present the same antithesis: the people of the old covenant received the law under the Levitical priesthood (7:11), while Christ is the mediator of a better covenant, legally instituted on the basis of better promises (8:6).

As in Paul, the overcoming of lawlessness (*anomia*) by Christ is the ground on which the new covenant is based: the Son has hated lawlessness (1:9, quoting Ps. 45:7), and the Holy Spirit, speaking through the prophets, promised that one day it would be finally forgiven; that day has now come (10:17, quoting Jer. 31:34). Since the new covenant is now a reality, the writer can state that the law never made anything perfect (7:19; 10:1c), and that the OT sacrifices are finished: "where there is forgiveness, there is no longer any offering for sin" (10:18).

5. In the Gospel of Jn. Christ and the Jews clash vehemently over the question of the law. For Jesus claims personally to reveal God, whereas they represent the rebellious "world". They measure him by the law (7:23, 52; 8:5; 12:34, where passages from the Pss. [110:4] and the Prophets [Isa. 9:7; Ezek. 37:25; Dan. 7:14] are treated as law; 19:7), and he in return measures them by the law. He has an absolute knowledge of it, expounds it and uses it to expose their hypocrisy (7:19; 8:17; 10:34; 15:25; in both of the last named passages Ps. 82:6 and 35:19 are called "law"). These disputes are thought by Bultmann and others to reflect the controversy with Jewish gnosticism on the part of the author and the churches he represents (cf. R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 1971, ad loc.; but → Knowledge, art. *ginōskō*).

The Gospel of Jn. develops the basic thesis (1:17) that, as compared with the law given by → Moses, the → knowledge and → truth revealed in Jesus Christ bring the full revelation of God. (Bultmann, op. cit., 79, points out the similarity here to Pauline thought.) Christ's repeated use of "your law" (8:17; 10:34) and "their law" shows that the Son is not subject to the law. He charged the Jews with appealing to Moses merely in self-justification; not one of them kept the law (7:19; cf. Rom. 2:17–24). When it comes to healing and forgiveness, he cut through the pedantry and complacency with which they treated the law (7:23; 8:5 ff.). The passage about the woman taken in adultery (7:53–8:11), which is a later insertion in the Gospel of Jn. and is missing from the best manuscripts, clearly reveals the tension between Jesus and his opponents who were zealous for the law. He used the law or the "writings" of the OT to support his testimony to himself (8:17; cf. Deut. 19:15; 10:34; cf. Ps. 82:6). The Jews, on the other hand, were prevented from recognizing God's present revelation in Christ, the → scripture being to them nothing but the letter, i.e. rules and regulations (5:39; 12:34; cf. Ps. 110:4; Isa. 9:7; Ezek. 37:25; Dan. 7:14).

The extent to which the handling of the law had become a matter for the specialists and therefore something to be exploited, is shown by the debate in the Sanhedrin after an abortive attempt to arrest Jesus. "The people do not know the law" (7:49), say the Pharisees, while one of their number, Nicodemus, has to point out their own disregard of the law (v. 51). (On the well-attested scorn of rabbinic scholars for the common people of the land see SB II 494–521; → People, art. *ochlos*.)

The last legal debate (before Pilate) over the fate of Jesus demonstrates the utter paradox of his opponents' enslavement to the law. As an occupied people, the Jews were not permitted to carry out the death penalty laid down in Lev. 24:16; and Exod. 20:7 (cf. Jn. 5:18). By demanding that Christ's accusers should judge him according to their own law, Pilate adroitly extracts from them admission of their hatred and also of their impotence (18:31). Only by appealing to their own law, the law of Moses (19:7) can the Jews get their prisoner put to death, albeit by a method which treats their law with contempt. By thus rejecting the revelation of Christ, however, they merely make his willing sacrifice a reality. At the same time the judgment of the law falls not only upon him, but upon them (15:2 ff.), as Jesus has warned them it would (cf. Ps. 69:5; on the condemnation of Jesus as "King of the Jews" → King, art. *basileus*, NT 1 (c)).

6. In 1 Jn. 3 and 4 the equation of sin with lawlessness or transgression of the law (*anomia*) occurs twice. This does not imply some new legal ethic, but combats what many scholars regard as the gnostic heresy of sinlessness (see 1:8, 10; cf. 2 Pet. 2:1 f., 8, a polemic against the type of life characterized by "lawless deeds [*anomois ergois*]"). 1 Jn. distinguishes between "sin unto death" (5:16b) which is apostasy from true faith in Jesus, the Son of God (5:1–12), and "sin not unto death" (5:16a and 17), which can be confessed and forgiven (1:9). He who remains in the true faith acknowledges that he needs forgiveness for his transgressions against the law (*anomia*), and that such forgiveness is available to him. For him everything depends on abiding in Christ (2:1b; 3:6), he then keeps the → commandments and does what is well-pleasing to God (3:22 ff.; cf. W. Marxsen, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 1968, 262 ff.).

7. James uses twice the apparently contradictory phrase "the law of liberty [*nomos eleutherias*]" (1:25; 2:12), both times in connection with his peculiar emphasis on not merely hearing but doing the word (1:22). The addition of the adj. *teleios* (perfect) in 1:25 shows a background of Jewish thought (cf. Ps. 19:7), while the combination "law of liberty" in Gk. has a mainly Stoic origin. The phrase probably comes from the Jewish-Christian diaspora and refers chiefly to those collections of Christ's sayings, such as the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5–7) and the Discourse on the Plain (Lk. 6:20 ff.), which were regarded as the rule of life. Any man putting them into practice was thereby set free from a literal observance of the OT law (see M. Dibelius, *Der Brief des Jakobus*, *KEK* 15, 1964[11], 110–113, 138). On both occasions the reward of blessedness is promised to him who obeys the law of liberty. The preceding context and 2:13 make it clear that deeds of → mercy (art. *eleos* NT 5 (b)) are the chief element in the law of liberty. Jas. also calls this law the "royal law [*nomos basilikos*]" (2:8), which can be summarized in the command to love one's neighbour. ("Royal" need not necessarily refer to Jesus the King; it may equally refer simply to the grandeur of this commandment; see M. Dibelius, op. cit., 32 ff.) He who keeps this commandment is free from the fear of having to keep the whole of the Jewish law by a minute observance of every single commandment (2:10 f.; cf. Gal. 3:10). It is still true, however, that he who rides roughshod over this royal law by showing partiality will finally fall under "judgment without mercy", exactly as if he had not kept the OT law (2:13a). The prohibition of slander and judging (4:11 f.) has its origins both in the OT (Lev. 19:16) and in the NT (Matt. 7:1–5; cf. Rom. 2:2), like many of James' sayings. The

meaning of "law" will then depend on how it is taken, being either an injunction in the OT sense, or alternatively "the law of liberty", a summary of Christ's injunctions (see above). The import remains the same, however. To speak ill of a brother (a fellow church-member) is to speak ill of the law and to sit in judgment upon it. Again, man is meant to be a doer of the law (see above) but the lawgiver (*nomothetēs*) and judge are one, and a man who judges another has ultimately to do with him whose judgment is final (4:12; cf. Rom. 14:4). The twofold use of "one" for the divine name (common in Judaism) with the predicate *ho dynamenos* ("who is able . . .") enables the reader to identify the "lawgiver" as both the Father and the Son. (On the attitude of James and Paul to justification, faith and works → Faith, art. *pistis* NT 4.)

8. Acts gives a vivid picture of the controversies over the law which arose in the early church. On the one hand, there were the Jews and Jewish Christians who remained true to the law, and on the other, Hellenistic Christians who thought in universal terms (see above 3; also E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1971, 100–3, 112 f., 267 f., 362 f., 440–72). With the exception of 15:5 and 23:29 all references to the law are found in discourses which, while not having the nature of purely independent evidence, accord well with the author's historical approach and bring both persons and situations into sharp relief. There is a striking parallel between the accusations and prosecution which the Hellenistic Christian leaders had to face, and the treatment meted out to Jesus. To that extent the disciples are indeed not above their master (Matt. 10:23 ff.).

The charges levelled against them were as follows: speaking against the → temple and the law (6:13, against Stephen, see also v. 11); persuading people to worship God in a way that is "contrary to the law [*para ton nomon*]" (18:13, against Paul in Corinth); teaching "all men everywhere" against the people, the temple and the law (21:28, against Paul in Jerusalem; cf. also 21:21). For similar charges concerning the temple see Matt. 26:61 par. Mk. 14:58; 24:2 par. Mk. 13:2; Jn. 2:19–21; and concerning the law: Matt. 5:17 f.; Rom. 3:31. In the course of his defence, Stephen asserted that the temple is not God's dwelling place (7:48 f.) and went so far as to charge the Jews with not keeping the law (7:53; cf. Rom. 3:19 f.; Jn. 7:19). This so provoked the Jews that he was immediately lynched, being stoned to death before his trial was properly over (7:57 ff.). Paul, on the other hand, when defending himself against his Jewish accusers before Festus, opened his speech with the assertion that he had committed no offence either against the law of the Jews or against the temple (25:8).

This is in line with the policy he had adopted ever since his recent arrival in Jerusalem. Having welcomed him to the city with joy, the Jewish Christians pointed out that they had remained zealous for the law (21:20), and referred to the unfavourable reports about him which were in circulation, the essence of which was that he taught the Jews to forsake → Moses, → circumcision and Jewish custom (→ *ethos* NT). Since his life was in danger, they advised him to show the Jews and Jewish Christians that he was true to the law (*phylassōn ton nomon*, v. 24) by undertaking the discharge of four destitute Nazirites, an act of charity considered particularly pious among the Jews. This advice to Paul, and the fact that they insisted once again that Gentile Christians should observe the so-called apostolic decree (cf. 15:28 f.), show the efforts made by the Jerusalem church

leadership to maintain the utmost loyalty to the Jews and at the same time not to lose contact with Gentile Christianity as promoted by Paul (on 21:15–26 see Haenchen, op. cit., 606–18).

Paul complied with the request of the Jerusalem church and behaved as a devout Jew (21:26), but being recognized again by Jews from Asia Minor, who protested publicly (21:27 f.) against his missionary activities, he was very nearly lynched. Claudius Lysias, the tribune of the occupying forces, permitted him to address the people after his arrest, whereupon Paul emphasized his upbringing in the law (22:3) and also Ananias' loyalty to the law (22:12; cf. his speeches when defending himself before Felix and Agrippa, 24:14; 26:5). The high priest who had him struck on the mouth during interrogation was accused by Paul of violating the law (*paranomein*; see Lev. 19:15a; cf. Jn. 18:22 f.) while administering the law (23:3).

This positive attitude of Paul to the law is explained by his freedom from the law, as set out in 1 Cor. 9:19 ff. (see above 2 (c)). He knew that he was in the service of the gospel, and saw no inconsistency between his present attitude and his insistence, when writing from Corinth to Rome, that in God's purposes of salvation the law has now come to an end (Rom. 10:4; cf. Rom. 11:13 f.). The picture of Paul which emerges from the Acts is of an apostle who, on the one hand, opposed the Jewish Christians in their demand that Gentile converts be obliged to practise circumcision and to keep the law (15:18), but who, on the other hand, delivered the terms of the apostolic decree to the churches (16:4; cf. 15:28 f.), and even had his (half-Jewish, half-Greek) assistant Timothy circumcised out of regard for the Jews (16:3). When preaching in the synagogue at Pisidian Antioch, Paul appeared to present Christ as merely completing the justification left unfinished by the law (13:38). Alternatively, we may see it as Lk.'s intention to delineate in broad terms Paul's preaching of justification as distinguished from the law of Moses (cf. E. Haenchen, op. cit., 412).

It is noteworthy that the Roman authorities tended to reject the charge of total illegality levelled against the preaching of the early Christians and to treat such matters as mere controversies over Jewish law: Gallio (18:15); Claudius Lysias (23:29); cf. Pilate (Jn. 18:31).

9. For the view of Christian faith as a "new law" in the post-apostolic period, see → Commandment, art. *entolē*, NT 4, 5. *H.-H. Esser*

στοιχεῖα

στοιχεῖα (*stoicheia*), elements, rudiments; *στοιχέω* (*stoicheō*), be in line with, hold to; *συστοιχέω* (*systoicheō*), stand in the same line, correspond to, conform to.

CL The root *stichos* or *stoichos* means row, rank, line, especially battle line (since Herodotus, 5th cent. B.C.), but also line of verse (cf. the words distich, acrostic). From this root came the vbs. *stichaomai*, dep. mid., and *stoicheō*, to be in a row or line, to belong to a row, to remain in a line, to march in rank and file (found in literature from the beginning of the 4th cent.); or (metaphorically), to step into line (by giving an undertaking); also the noun *to stoicheion*: especially the gnomon on a sundial, or the shadow on a sundial, the length of the shadow, or metaphorically,

a part of a word (i.e. letter, syllable), component part of the universe (i.e. element), hence original component (i.e. beginning, foundation, etc.). All these meanings are in evidence by the beginning of the 4th cent. B.C. The derivative *systoicheō* (from the 2nd half of the 4th cent.) has an intensive meaning: to be in the same line, to keep in line.

OT In the LXX the noun occurs only in the Apocrypha, and then only 3 times (always plur.). In two places (Wis. 7:17; 19:18) the meaning is "elements of the universe", "matter", and in the other (4 Macc. 12:13) "the substance of human life". The vb. *stoicheō* is found only in Eccl. 11:6, in the sense to succeed, to prosper; the Heb. equivalent *kāšēr* has the further meaning to be fitting (cf. Est. 8:5; see above CL).

NT 1. In the NT the vb. occurs only 5 times (once in Acts and 4 times in Paul). Acts 21:24c gives the clearest sense: "will see that you too are in the ranks as one who keeps the law [*stoicheis kai autos phylassōn ton nomon*]" (G. Delling, *TDNT* VII 668; → *nomos* NT 8). In other words, the reference is to leading a closely regulated life, living according to definite rules. This is also shown by Phil. 3:16: "Only let us hold true to what we have attained [*stoichein*]." This is the earliest and shortest reading; the other readings elaborate on the common standard by which our lives are to be lived, or the need for a common outlook. In Gal. 6:16 Paul uses the word "canon" to describe the rule just given in v. 15, and links it with the vb.: "keep to this rule of life" (RSV: "walk by this rule"). Gal. 5:25b should accordingly be paraphrased: "conduct our lives in conformity with the Spirit" (cf. H. Schlier, "order our lives according to the Spirit," *Der Brief an die Galater*, *KEK* 7, 1951[11], ad loc.). In Rom. 4:12 the idea of constancy in a given direction is provided by the context: "follow in the footsteps of the faith of our father Abraham" (cf. Arndt, 777). The compound *systoicheō* (Gal. 4:25) concludes one of the two lines of descent from → Abraham in vv. 22 ff., that namely of slavery: Hagar belongs to the same line (*systoichei*) as the present → Jerusalem. Sinai, the mountain on which the law was given, is here linked with *stoicheō* just as "law" is in Acts 21:24.

2. The noun is used exclusively in the epistles of the NT (7 times, always in the plur.; 4 times in Paul, once in Heb. and twice in 2 Pet.). The two apocalyptic passages, 2 Pet. 3:10, 12, are the simplest to interpret: the reference to "the elements" (v. 10) means earth, water and air, of which only the first is named explicitly, the last being understood as "the heavens". When the world is consumed these elements will be dissolved or will melt (vv. 10, 12) in the primeval element, fire. The meaning of Heb. 5:12 is also clear, because of the presence of *archē*, → beginning. The linking of these two words in *ta stoicheia tēs archēs*, "first principles" or "rudimentary elements" has a derogatory ring which is further emphasized by the reminder that the readers need milk and not solid food. The recipients of Heb. are not familiar with even the first principles of the faith. The elementary doctrines are further defined in 6:1 ff.

In the case of Gal. 4:3, 9 and Col. 2:8, 20 it is a disputed question whether or not the *stoicheia tou kosmou*, the "elements of the world", are angels, demons, gods, i.e. personified forces as taught by a certain gnostic heresy. Most commentators hold this to be the case (cf. G. Delling, *TDNT* VII 684 ff., footnotes 95–108). But Delling himself takes the passage in Gal. 4 to refer to the Torah with its

statutes and the world of false gods which the readers once served. In Col. the expression refers to religion before and outside Christ. However, the question is relatively unimportant, since the hierarchy of beings taught by gnosticism, while partly syncretistic from the viewpoint of the history of religion, was in fact the product of a philosophico-religious view of the world and of existence (cf. H. Jonas, *The Gnostic Religion*, 1963²; → Knowledge).

The important point is that in Gal. 4:1–11 Paul has nothing positive to say about "the elements of the world"; he knows they have been overcome by Christ the Redeemer. Compared with him they are weak and beggarly (v. 9; → poor, art. *ptōchos* NT 3 (b)) and not the gods (v. 8) the Gentiles believed them to be before conversion. Even the law is reckoned as among the elements of the world (cf. the 1st person plur., vv. 3, 5) and hence is declared null and void. Thus "the elements of the world" cover all the things in which man places his trust apart from the living God revealed in Christ; they become his gods, and he becomes their slave (cf. Luther's exposition of the First Commandment in the *Large Catechism*).

In Col. 2:8, human tradition and "the elements of the world" both come under the heading of "philosophy" which seeks to prey upon men (*sylagōgein*). Such "philosophy", however, has long since been defeated by Christ and has appeared as a captive in his triumphal procession (vv. 10–15; on the Col. heresy cf. G. Bornkamm, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, I, 1958², 139–86; M. D. Hooker, "Were there false teachers in Colossae?" in B. Lindars and S. S. Smalley, eds., *Christ and Spirit in the New Testament. Studies in honour of C. F. D. Moule*, 1973, 315–31). Just as in Gal. 4:3, 5 "the elements of the world" and the law are combined, so in Col. 2:20 "the elements of the world" are disapprovingly linked with "regulations" by the word *dogmatizein* (→ Command, art. *dogma* NT 1 (b) and 3). He who has died with Christ (v. 20) has nothing further to do with them and so is freed from the burdens they would impose on his day-to-day life (vv. 21 ff.; on the new life in Christ, see 3:1). "The worship of the elements of the world is based on the assumption that the problem of life is both ultimate and insoluble. The early Christians, however, believed that they had the answer, and that it lay in the character and work of God" (E. Lohmeyer, Excursus "Elemente der Welt", *Die Briefe an die Philipper, an die Kolosser und an Philemon*, *KEK* 9, 1956¹¹, 103 f.).

H.-H. Esser

→ Command, → Covenant, → Fullness, → Goal, → Gospel, → Israel, → Moses, → Promise, → Prophet, → Righteousness, → Teach, → Work

On law in the OT and in the ancient world:
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Layman

ἰδιώτης

ἰδιώτης (*idiōtēs*), layman, unlettered, uneducated, unskilled.

CL *idiōtēs* (from *idios*, own, personal, private), found in Gk. from Herodotus onwards, means: (a) a private person as opposed to an occupant of a public office (e.g. a ruler), or an individual citizen as opposed to the state or the totality of citizens; (b) a layman as opposed to an expert (e.g., a priest, judge, or philosopher); generally, an unlettered person as opposed to one who has knowledge; (c) an outsider as opposed to one who "belongs".

OT *idiōtēs* occurs in the LXX only in Prov. 6:8b, without a Heb. equivalent. The rabbis borrowed the word from the Gk., in the form of *heḏyôṭ*, and used it similarly for (a) a private person as opposed to the king; (b) a layman as opposed to an expert, particularly an expert in the law, and virtually an equivalent for *'am hā'āreṣ*, the people of the land or common people (cf. T. Taan. 4:12) because of their lack of learning; (c) man as opposed to God.

NT In the NT *idiōtēs*, which occurs only 5 times, is used as in CL (b) and (c) above, but not as in CL (a).

In Acts 4:13 the word is used in the sense of unlettered, uneducated: "When they . . . perceived that they were uneducated [*anthrōpoi agrammatoi*], common men [*idiōtai*], they wondered" (RSV). Likewise 2 Cor. 11:6: "Even if I [Paul] am unskilled in speaking [*idiōtēs tō logō*], I am not in knowledge" (RSV).

The *idiōtai* in 1 Cor. 14:16 are all those who do not possess the gift of tongues and who therefore, not understanding what is said when this gift is exercised, cannot join in the → Amen to the church's thanksgiving. Similarly, in 1 Cor. 14:23,

24, the same word refers to those who are "uninitiated" into speaking in tongues. They are unbelievers (*apistoi*), i.e. non-Christians, who attend Christian meetings from time to time. For their sakes, Paul urges that public worship should be intelligible. The context lends no support to the view (e.g. of Arndt, 371) that these *idiōtai* are those not in full church membership, i.e. proselytes or catechumens.

If *idiōtēs* is translated by "layman", it is important to note that the NT word is not used to distinguish church members from priests or clergy, for such a distinction was not drawn in the NT church. Rather, the word denotes outsiders as distinct from Christians. A distinction between church members and clergy was first made in A.D. 95 by Clement of Rome, who applied to believers the word *laïkos* (from *laos*, people; 1 Clem. 40:5). The original emphasis was simply that all belonged to the *laos*, the → people (cf. H. H. Walz, *RGG*³, IV 204; Lampe, 790, 792). *O. Flender*

Arndt, 371; H. Schlier, *idiōtēs*, *TDNT* III 215 ff.; Lampe, 668; Moulton-Milligan, 299.

Lead Astray, Deceive

πλανάω

πλανάω (*planaō*), lead astray, cause to wander, mislead; πλάνη (*planē*), wandering, delusion, error; πλάνος (*planos*), leading astray, deceitful, deceiver, imposter; ἀποπλανάομαι (*apoplanaomai*), go astray, wander away; (ἐξ-)ἀπατάω ((*ex-*)*apataō*), trick, deceive; ἀπάτη (*apatē*), deception, trickery, deceitfulness; παραλογίζομαι (*paralogizomai*), cheat, deceive, delude.

CL The Gk. root *plan-* has its origin in the Indo-Germanic root **pela-* to spread out. Also related are the French *flâner*, to saunter around (cf. also German *flanieren*), and the Norwegian *flana*, to drive around. The original meaning of *planaō* (Homer) implies movement in space: in the act., to lead astray; in the mid. and pass., to go astray, be led astray. *planē* or *planos* (first found in the tragic poets) means going astray, roaming; *planētēs* is a wanderer.

1. (a) The active form of the vbs. *planaō* and *apoplanaō* is seldom used in its lit. sense. But in a transferred sense the vb. means to lead astray, deceive, by one's behaviour or one's words. This can refer to a person's judgment or to actions in the realm of morals. (*apo-*)*planaomai* means lit., to wander from or roam about. It can be used of men, powers, beasts, rumours, dreams, and even of blood or breath pulsing through the body. It is by no means to be assumed that it always has a negative undertone. In a transferred sense the vb. comes to mean to wander off course, miss the mark, in thought, speech or action. Here again the word carries no implication of guilt. The most that can be said is that it contains a summons to right judgment (cf. → Sin, art. *hamartia* CL).

(b) In classical tragedy man's mistakes are seen as a fate laid upon him by the gods (as in the cases of Oedipus and Prometheus). In Plato the way to right insight leads through error. The gnostics and the mystery cults used the word almost as a technical term for man's entanglement in the world from which he must be released.

(c) Similar meanings characterize the other derivatives of this group of words. *planos* as an adj. (Menander) means inconstant, unsteady, deceiving; as a noun it means deviation wandering about, or imposter. *planē* has the same meaning as

the vb.: vacillation and error are characteristics of human life which are at first stated as facts without further qualification. Thus in Plato *planē* can be used to express digression of thought. The change to a negative sense can only be said to have occurred when *planē* is used of disorder of the parts of the soul which leads to *adikia*, injustice, and *kakia*, evil.

2. *(ex)apataō* and *apatē* are sometimes synonymous in meaning with words from the root *plan-*. The emphasis is, however, somewhat different. The basis for deceit and trickery is here not to be sought in *agnoia*, ignorance, so much as in an *epithymia*, desire. *apatē* accordingly comes to mean pleasure, enjoyment, that which is diverting, the pleasant illusion of the theatre. The noun can be personified and occurs as a woman's name. A negative sense is not at first attached to it, though this develops later.

3. *paralogizomai*, attested from Isocrates, is a negative form of *logizomai*, to calculate, reckon, consider. It connotes deception, cheating by false reasoning.

OT 1. There is no direct Heb. equivalent to the group of words derived from *plan-*. *planaō* most frequently stands for *tā'âh* (qal, to wander about; hiph., to lead astray). The classical meaning of the Gk. word is taken over in the LXX. The spatial sense of the vb. is found where mention is made of leading the → blind astray (Deut. 27:18), and is also the basic concept behind the description of people staggering as a result of drinking wine (cf. Isa. 19:13 f.; 28:7; → Drunken, Sober). The frequent use of the term in combination with *hodos*, way, has its origin in the spatial sense of the term (cf. Isa. 35:8). It corresponds to Israel's way of life, when wandering sheep are used as an illustration of man's existence (cf. Deut. 22:1; Isa. 13:14; 53:6; Ps. 119:176). The fate of the people in the wilderness wanderings is seen in Num. 14:29, 33 as a punishment of God for their disobedience (cf. also Deut. 2:14). The people go astray by ignoring God's commandment and practising idolatry (cf. Deut. 13:6). Those who lead them astray are idols (Amos 2:4), false prophets (Jer. 23:32), and unfaithful kings (2 Chron. 33:9). Even God himself appears in the role of one who leads astray (Job 12:33; Ezek. 14:9; Isa. 63:17). Because Israel's path every now and again leads her astray, turning and salvation are necessary. This basic relationship to God is aptly expressed by the picture of sheep who cannot exist without a → shepherd (→ Lamb, Sheep, art. *probaton*).

2. *apataō* is chiefly used for verbal forms of *pāṭâh*, which in the qal and niphal means to be deceived, be simple; in the piel to deceive, seduce; and in the pual to be led astray. The deception can be used as a human strategem to dupe others (e.g., Samson's in Jdg. 14:15; 16:5). Gen. 3:13 speaks of the serpent's deception in enticing the woman to eat the forbidden fruit. In a vision of Micaiah ben Imlah the personified spirit offers, in Yahweh's royal council, to become a lying spirit and to entice King Ahab and his prophets (1 Ki. 22:21 ff.). On the other hand, there is the Psalmist's testimony: "I sought God . . . and I was not deceived" (Ps. 76:3 LXX).

3. In the inter-Testamental period some important elements are added to the concept of being led astray. The agents are often spirits or powers, especially, for example, the sons of God (Gen. 6:1 ff.) and the *diabolos* (→ Satan; SB I 136 ff.). Apocalyptic literature predicts the *planē* as a precursor of the end of the world, the day of the messiah (SB IV 977 ff.).

4. The Qumran texts speak, on the one hand, of a wandering astray of the children of light which is brought about by evil spirits and impulses (1QS 3:21; CD 2:17; 3:4, 14), and, on the other hand, of men who have appeared as deceivers of the community (CD 20:11; 1QH 2:14, 19; 4:7, 12; 16:20).

NT The active vb. *(apo-)planaō* is used in the NT almost exclusively in an apocalyptic sense (Matt. 24:4 f., 11, 24; Mk. 13:5 f.; Lk. 21:8; Rev. 2:20; 12:9; 13:14; 18:23; 19:20; 20:3, 8, 10) and of false teachers (2 Tim. 3:13; 1 Jn. 1:8; 2:66; 3:7). The nouns also often appear in this context (e.g. 2 Thess. 2:11; 2 Pet. 2:18; 3:17; Jude 11, 13; 1 Jn. 4:6; 2 Jn. 7). The primary, spatial sense is seen most clearly where the picture of sheep is expressly introduced (Matt. 18:12 f.; 1 Pet. 2:25), or in combination with *hodos*, way (2 Pet. 2:15; cf. also Heb. 11:38). It is never, however, spatial and nothing more: there is always a theological meaning associated with its use. The mid. *(apo-)planaomai* is used in the sense of to be wrong, to be led astray, to err (Tit. 3:3; Heb. 3:10 = Ps. 95:10; Heb. 5:2; Jas. 5:19; Matt. 22:29; Mk. 12:24; 1 Tim. 6:10). Similarly the formula, often used by the Stoics (cf. *TDNT* VI 244), *mē planasthe*, means "Do not be deceived", make no mistake" (Gal. 6:7; 1 Cor. 6:9; 15:33; Jas. 1:16). The pure passive sense, to be deceived, is to be found e.g., at Matt. 18:12; Jn. 7:47; 2 Tim. 3:13. The noun *planē* refers to a specific mistake (Matt. 27:64; 2 Pet. 3:17; Jude 11), or to more general confusion, error, lack of discipline and restraint (Rom. 1:27; Eph. 4:14; 1 Jn. 4:6). The nouns *planētēs* and *planēs* occur only in variant readings of Jude 13 in the sense of a wandering star or planet, with which Jude compares the false teachers. The point of the comparison is the apparently irregular movement of the planets which seemed to violate the order of the heavens and which was attributed to the disobedience of the angels controlling them. As punishment the latter were imprisoned for ever in the abyss (Eth.Enoch 18:13–16; 21:1–10; cf. J. N. D. Kelly, *The Epistles of Peter and Jude, BNTC* 1969, 274). *planos* is used both as an adj. (of deceitful spirits, 1 Tim. 4:1); and as a noun, deceiver, imposter (of Jesus in Matt. 27:63; of those who deny that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh, 2 Jn. 7; of Paul and his colleagues, 2 Cor. 6:8).

(ex-)apataō and *apatē* occur in 2 Cor. 11:3 and 1 Tim. 2:14 with reference to Gen. 3; in 2 Thess. 2:3; Eph. 5:6; Col. 2:8 in connection with false teachers; and in Matt. 13:22 par. Mk. 4:19; Rom. 7:11; 2 Thess. 2:10; Heb. 3:13; 2 Pet. 2:13 in the ethical sense of enticement by → sin or to sin.

paralogizomai occurs only at Col. 2:4 and Jas. 1:22, meaning to delude (with beguiling speech) and to deceive oneself (by being merely a hearer and not a doer of the word).

The terms we have considered can be used synonymously as far as their theological meaning is concerned. The differences of meaning in NT usage correspond to the various shades of meaning mentioned in OT above.

1. The picture of sheep that get lost and perish, having no shepherd, is widely used in the OT (cf. Num. 27:17; 1 Ki. 22:17; Ps. 119:176; Isa. 53:6; Ezek. 34; Zech. 13:7). In the NT it is taken up again in various contexts (Matt. 10:6; 12:11 f.; 14:14 par. Mk. 6:34 [= Num. 27:17; 1 Ki. 22:17] Lk. 9:11; Matt. 18:12; Matt. 26:31 par. Mk. 14:27 [= Zech. 13:7]; Lk. 15:4; Jn. 10; 1 Pet. 2:25). *planaō* and its cognates are part of the framework of this picture. Nearly all the

places where these words are used may be interpreted in terms of this background, even when it is not expressly mentioned. Jesus is the → way (*hodos*) and the → truth (*alētheia*) (Jn. 14:6). To be removed from him, the shepherd, means to wander about without guidance or protection and so be in danger of getting lost. The vbs. *planaō* and *apollyō* (→ destroy) are interchangeable in this context (cf. Matt. 18:12 with Lk. 15:4 ff.). Where we read of nations going astray (Rev. 18:23), of those who have wandered from the right way (2 Pet. 2:15; Jas. 5:20), or the people of God going astray (Heb. 3:10 [= Ps. 95:10]; 5:2), there is this underlying image coupled sometimes with the wilderness wanderings of Israel. It is also implicit in the passages where mention is made of false teachers who lead astray (e.g. Matt. 24:4 ff.; Jn. 7:12; 1 Jn. 3:7; Rev. 20:8–10).

2. Life prior to becoming a Christian is described as *planē*, error (Rom. 1:27; Eph. 4:14; Tit. 3:3; 1 Pet. 2:25). This is a time of being without the guidance and support of a Lord and shepherd. It is a time of unbelief and of sin, even though the wandering itself occurred apart from the → law of Moses (cf. Rom. 1:18 ff.).

For the man who is under the law, to go astray is sin (*hamartia*, Rom. 7:11). To wander away from the faith (1 Tim. 6:10) or from the truth (Jas. 5:19 f.), the deception of the heart (Rom. 16:18; Heb. 3:10,13; Jas. 1:26) is both sinful and incurs guilt (cf. also 2 Thess. 2:10).

The story of the → fall is the archetype of deception and disobedience as a result of appetite and desire (2 Cor. 11:3, 1 Tim. 2:14). Here the *apataō* group of words come into their own. Riches are seductive (Matt. 13:22 par. Mk. 4:19; 1 Tim. 6:10), and there are other desires lying in wait to deceive the believer (Rom. 16:18; Eph. 4:22; 2 Pet. 2:13).

In the background are dark powers, such as the spirit of deception (1 Tim. 4:1; 1 Jn. 4:6), the → Antichrist (2 Jn. 7), and ultimately → Satan himself who causes error and confusion (Rev. 12:9; 20:10).

3. The danger for the Christian is of deceiving himself (1 Cor. 3:18; 1 Jn. 1:8) which can lead to falling away from right doctrine. Hence the need for the oft-repeated warning *mē planasthe*, "Do not be deceived" (1 Cor. 6:9; 15:33; Gal. 6:7; Jas. 1:16; cf. also 2 Thess. 2:3). He who is not firmly grounded in the faith is in danger of missing the true → knowledge (→ *ginōskō*), since numerous false teachers threaten the church (1 Thess. 2:3; 2 Thess. 2:3; Eph. 4:14; Col. 2:8; 1 Jn. 2:26; 3:7; 4:6; 2 Tim. 3:13; 2 Pet. 2:18; 3:17). To be led astray by false teaching, in the form of philosophy or empty words, and to be led astray into definite acts of sin, are processes that go hand in hand. On the opposite side is the → truth (Jas. 5:19 f.) which must be held firmly by faith in him who is himself the truth.

4. Jesus is hated and persecuted by the Jews because they see in him the one who leads the people astray (Matt. 27:63; Jn. 7:12, 47). In the eyes of those who do not believe the apostles are imposters (2 Cor. 6:8), although they are servants of the truth. In this struggle to uphold the truth the church is pointed to him who himself experienced the weakness of a man (Heb. 5:2), and who can therefore provide support. Faith in him is the yardstick of truth and error. Seen in this light, the church's opponents turn out to be deceivers who themselves have been deceived, and the → Pharisees are those who really lead the people astray (Matt. 22:29; Mk. 12:24, 27; cf. 2 Tim. 3:13). For the Christian there is no other criterion of truth than Jesus Christ.

5. The final demonstration of the truth lies in the future, in the final revelation of Jesus Christ at his second coming. The era of the church is the era of fighting for the truth. The apostles' testimony is proclaimed to all nations (Matt. 28:18 ff.), but at the same time the powers increasingly bring in confusion and error (Matt. 24:4 f., 11, 24; Mk. 13:5 f.; Lk. 21:8; cf. Rev. 18:23; 20:3, 8). It is against the background of this final climax of the struggle that most of the texts containing the terms we have been considering are to be understood. The end event consists of the coming of the Lord to take home the lost and those who have gone astray, and to make an end of all *planē*, deception (2 Pet. 3; 2 Thess. 2; Rev. 12:9; 13:14).

W. Günther

→ Animal, → Antichrist, → Knowledge, → Lamb, Sheep, → Present, → Prophet, → Shepherd, → Teach, → Tempt, → Walk

(a). W. Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity*, 1972; G. R. Beasley-Murray, *A Commentary on Mark Thirteen*, 1957; H. Braun, *planaō* etc., *TDNT* VI 228–53; R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, II, 1955, 127–42, 203–18; M. D. Hooker, "Were there false teachers at Colossae?", in B. Lindars and S. S. Smalley, eds., *Christ and Spirit in the New Testament. In Honour of Charles Francis Digby Moule*, 1973, 315–32; Liddell-Scott, 181, 1316 f., 1411; A. L. Moore, *The Parousia in the New Testament, Supplements to NovT* 13, 1966; A. Oepke, *apataō* etc. 384 f.; H. Räisänen, *The Idea of Divine Hardening. A Comparative Study of the Notion of Divine Hardening, Leading Astray, and Inciting to Evil, in the Bible and the Qur'an*, Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 25, 1972.
(b). G. Quell, *Wahre und falsche Propheten*, 1952.

Leaven

ζύμη

ζύμη (*zymē*), leaven; *ζυμόω* (*zymoō*), ferment; *ἄζυμος* (*azymos*), unleavened.

CL *zymē* appears in secular Gk. from Aristotle (4th cent. B.C.) to the Tebtunis Papyri (2nd cent. A.D.). *zymoō* first appears in Hippocrates (5th cent. B.C.). Leaven, in fermenting grain, is *not* yeast, but old, sour dough, stored and stimulated as a fermentation agent by adding juices, which was "hidden" (Matt. 13:33 par. Lk. 13:21) in the new dough in order to permeate it and give it lightness. In the Roman state cult the Flamen Dialis was not permitted to come into contact with leaven, because, claimed Plutarch (*Quaestiones Romanae* 109), it weakens, sours and corrupts.

OT 1. *zymē* is used lit. in the LXX and in Josephus in cultic contexts concerned with regulations for feasts and sacrifices (e.g. Exod. 12:15, 19; Deut. 16:3; Josephus, *Ant.* 3, 252 f.). It was not necessarily taboo in Jewish ritual. Leaven was used in the peace and wave offerings (Lev. 7:13), but was forbidden in the cereal offerings consumed by fire (Lev. 2:11; 6:17). In the ritual of the Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread all leaven was cleaned out from every Jewish home annually for the 14 Nisan, and only unleavened bread was eaten from that evening and the seven days following (Exod. 12:14–20), commemorating the hurried flight from Egypt (Exod. 12:34, 39). While this spring-clean was a cult ordinance, it served the hygienic purpose of breaking any chain of infection established by successive use of sour leaven (C. L. Mitton, "Leaven", *ExpT* 84, 1972–73, 339 f.).

2. Figuratively leaven was given different meanings in rabbinic tradition. Rabbi Alexander used it as a metaphor for human restraints on obeying God (I. Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, I, 1917, 52 ff.), whereas Rabbi Chiyya bar Abba described as leaven the Torah with its power to lead Israelites who observe it back to God (SB I 728). Philo also gave it divergent transferred meanings. On the one hand, it symbolized swelling arrogance, indulgence and pretension (*Quaest. in Exod.* 1, 15; 2, 14). On the other hand, it suggested complete (spiritual) nourishment and blissful joy (*Spec.Leg.* 2, 185).

NT 1. *zymē* and *zymoō* appear in the Synoptic Gospels and in Paul. Each instance is in a literary figure: parable, metaphor, proverb and type. The point of the various uses varies from context to context, despite the frequent claim among scholars that in the NT "leaven is used symbolically to symbolize an evil influence which spreads like an infection" (C. L. Mitton, op. cit., 342).

(a) *Parable.* In Matt. 13:33 par. Lk. 13:21 the hidden but persistent expansion of the → kingdom of God – seen in the words and works of Jesus – is compared to leaven hidden in dough until it permeates the whole. H. Odeberg interprets the parable as a warning against evil (*Herren kommer*, 1962, 199–201), and C. L. Mitton as a comparison with the influential power of evil (op. cit., 341). However, the point of the preceding parable of the mustard seed is expansion by something minute (cf. the proverb in 1 Cor. 5:6). The Gospel of Thomas stresses the expansive property of leaven in its use of the parable (B. Gärtner, *The Theology of the Gospels of Thomas*, 1961, 230 f.). The point in Matt. and Lk. appears to be expansion by secret, hidden permeation, not evil influence (B. Gerhardsson, "The Seven Parables in Matthew 13", *NTS* 19, 1972–73, 22 f.). No indication is given of the significance of the dough, whether it is meant to refer to the culture of society or to the territorial *orbis terrarum*.

(b) *Metaphor.* In Mk. 8:15 leaven is an attribute of the Pharisees and of Herod (*v.l.* of the Herodians), of which the disciples are to beware. Matt. 16:11 f., in a warning against Pharisees and Sadducees, interprets the metaphor as "teaching", and Lk. 12:1, in a warning against Pharisees alone, as "hypocrisy". Several scholars (e.g. V. Taylor, *The Gospel According to St. Mark*, 1953, 365) believe that the warning suggests that leaven indicates something evil, but this is not necessarily so (H. Windisch, *TDNT* II 906). If the Pharisees were making a similar claim for the Torah as that made later by Rabbi Chiyya bar Abba (see OT 2, above), then the warning which is not explained in the Marcan version would have been understood without explanation. Further, in this case, Matt. rightly interpreted the metaphor, as did Lk., when writing to a Christian public, since Pharisaic observance of the Torah in the view of Jesus (cf. Matt. 6:2 ff.; 23:13) was no longer a vital faith but a mask.

(c) *Proverb.* In 1 Cor. 5:6 and Gal. 5:9 Paul uses the words, "A little leaven leavens the whole lump." Proverbial in form, but not found outside Paul as a proverb, these words might have been associated in the Christian church with the parable of the leaven. Windisch suggests that Jesus elaborated the point of the proverb in the parable (op. cit., 905). But since the parable is not evidenced prior to the formation of the Gospel tradition outside Paul, it is possible that the parable gave rise to the proverb in the church. For synoptic tradition elsewhere seems to

have influenced material in NT epistles (cf. H. Riesenfeld, *The Gospel Tradition and its Beginnings*, 1957, 15). In 1 Cor. the proverb symbolizes the notion that the continuing presence of a transgressor in the community renders the community guilty of the transgression (v. 1) and in Gal. the imagery refers to the influence of false teachers on the understanding of the congregation.

(d) *Type.* In 1 Cor. 5:7 Paul exhorts the community to "clean out the old leaven." This might be an injunction to expel the offender (v. 13) or to divest themselves of the "boast" of association with the transgression. The grounds for the command are that Christ the Passover (→ lamb) has been sacrificed, that the Christians are "unleavened", and that the festival is to be kept by expelling leaven (malice and evil) and by partaking of unleavened bread (sincerity and truth). This type (*not* allegory, A. T. Hanson, *Studies in Paul's Technique and Theology*, 1974, 112 ff.) recalls the Passover ritual and the Christian identification of Christ with the Passover → lamb (Jn. 19:14, 31; 1 Pet. 1:19). The Jews cast out the leaven before eating the Passover; the believer is to cast out leaven, because the Passover sacrifice has already taken place, whereby he is accepted and made new by God (1 Cor. 6:11). This is a classic example of Pauline ethical teaching in which the acts of God in Christ on behalf of the Christian – expressed in the indicative mood – are the grounds for exhortation to Christ-like living – expressed in the imperative mood – both by renouncing evil and pursuing good as God works within the believer. Other examples are found in Rom. 6; 1 Cor. 6:19 f.; Col. 2:20–4:1.

2. *azymos*, unleavened. Apart from the uses in 1 Cor. 5:7 f. (see above 1 (d)), this word is found elsewhere in the NT in the plur. form *ta azyma*, meaning the Feast of Unleavened Bread. This was originally a harvest festival (Exod. 23:14–17), celebrated in the month Abib. It became part of the Passover ritual, set for 15–21 Nisan, but also dated to begin on 14 Nisan (Josephus, *Ant.* 2, 15, 1; 14, 2, 1), as we find in Mk. 14:12. The Jews regularly equated the Passover with the Feast of Unleavened Bread (Ezek. 45:21; Josephus, *War*, 2, 10), as Lk. 22:1 does.

G. T. D. Angel

→ Bread, → Feast, → Hunger, → Sacrifice

O. T. Allis, "The Parable of the Leaven", *EQ* 19, 1947, 254 ff.; Arndt, 340; J. P. Lewis, "Leaven", *ZPEB* III 901 ff.; Liddell-Scott, 757; C. L. Mitton, "Leaven", *ExpT* 84, 1972–73, 339–42; H. Windisch, *zymē* etc., *TDNT* III 902–6.

Leprosy

Leprosy is an ancient designation of a fairly extensive class of diseases, the principal symptoms of which were of a cutaneous nature. Leprosy appears to have been endemic in various parts of the ancient orient, being described as far back as the third millennium B.C. It was held in abhorrence by the Hebrews partly because of the pathology itself, and partly because it was accompanied by ceremonial defilement which rendered the sufferer unclean. For these reasons the leper, once his condition was properly diagnosed, was banished from society.

λεπρός

λεπρός (*lepros*), leprous, but chiefly used as a noun describing a leper.

CL Classical writers employed the adjective *lepros* to describe anything rough, scabby or scaly. Among ancient Greek leather workers the best straps and reins were supposedly those prepared from roughly textured (*ek leprōn*) skins or hides. In Hippocrates and Dioscorides the adj. was used to describe a leprous person, i.e., someone with a scaly skin affliction such as psoriasis.

OT *lepros* occurs in the LXX in Lev. 13:45; 14:2 f.; 22:4; Num. 5:2 etc. as the equivalent of *ṣārûa'* and *m^eṣōrā'*, participial forms of *ṣāra'*, to become diseased in the skin. If the Heb. is equivalent to the Akkadian *ṣinnītu*, it would describe any kind of skin eruption, of which clinical leprosy (Hansen's disease) would be one form. It should be observed that the instructions given in Lev. 13 to the priests to enable them to detect leprosy also suggested that skin afflictions other than clinical leprosy might be present in individuals, thus furnishing the possibility of differential diagnosis. Perhaps for this and other reasons the term *lepros* was sufficiently flexible in nature to include such common dermatological conditions as *impetigo*, *psoriasis*, *eczema*, *acne vulgaris* and the like, as well as leprosy itself. Specific diagnoses will be considered below in the section on *lepra*.

NT NT writers employed *lepros* as a noun, leper, and in this sense it occurs 9 times only. The cleansing of a leper is referred to in Matt. 11:5; Mk. 1:41 f.; Lk. 7:22; 17:12, as part of the healing ministry of Christ. Lk. 4:27 cited an OT miracle whereby Elisha healed the leprosy of Naaman (2 Kings 5:1 ff.). *lepros* was also used of Simon, formerly a leper, in Matt. 26:6; Mk. 14:3. The word was employed in as broad a sense as its OT counterpart, and the fact that some clinical manifestations called for cleansing, or a priestly declaration of cleanness, implies that the conditions described by *lepros* varied in severity, and doubtless included specific instances of Hansen's disease. *R. K. Harrison*

λέπρα

λέπρα (*lepra*), leprosy.

CL In Herodotus and the medical authors, *lepra* was employed as a description of a cutaneous disease which gave a scaly or uneven texture to the skin. It was associated by Herodotus (1, 138) and Hippocrates with *leukē*, a whitish affliction of the skin, and seems to have been acquired *leucodermia* (*vitiligo*). This is a condition of the skin in which there is an absence of pigment, the result being the presence of irregular pale or white patches. The Greek medical authors also employed another term, *elephas*, or *elephantiasis*, to describe a different and much more serious chronic disorder (*elephantiasis Graecorum*), which was found frequently in Egypt, the symptoms of which corresponded largely to those now associated with clinical leprosy. Curiously enough, only one case of this latter disease has been discovered among Egyptian mummies to date, despite the common association by classical writers of leprosy with Egypt.

OT *lepra* occurs in the LXX as the Gk. equivalent of the Heb. *ṣāra'aṯ*, traditionally rendered by leprosy in the EVV, but by "malignant skin-disease" in NEB. The term *ṣāra'aṯ* described a kind of eruptive condition which could be exhibited

by leather (Lev. 14:55), clothing (Lev. 13:47, 59), and the walls of houses (Lev. 14:44), as well as by human beings. The various forms in which *ṣāra'aṯ* could be manifested were described in detail in Lev. 13 using ancient Heb. technical terms which unfortunately are very difficult for the modern student to comprehend. The situation is not made any easier by such translations of *ṣāra'aṯ* as the NEB "malignant skin-disease". This generalized designation unfortunately leaves no room for the specific diagnosis of clinical leprosy, which Lev. 13 clearly allows.

Preliminary symptoms included a swelling indicative of possible morbid changes (*śᵉ'ēṯ*; LXX *oulē*), a localized tissue-crust on the epidermis (*sappaḥaṯ*; LXX *sēmasia*), and a whitish-red swollen spot (*bahereṯ*; LXX *tēlaugēma*). Since any or all of these could presage clinical leprosy, the sufferer presented himself to the priest for examination. If subcutaneous penetration was exhibited along with a whitening of the small local cuticular hairs, a malignant state was suspected and the patient was declared unclean. But if the skin tissue, while swollen, was not actually inflamed (13:4) and did not indicate subcutaneous changes of a morbid nature or discolouration of local hair, the patient was quarantined for seven days. If on re-examination the swollen area of the whitish spot had not increased in size, a further seven days' quarantine could be followed by a priestly diagnosis of a benign skin condition. But if there was a spreading of the eruption in the skin subsequently, it was diagnosed as leprosy (13:8). A chronic state of leprosy was indicated by depigmented hairs and ulcerated tissue in an area of swollen white skin, this also rendering the sufferer unclean. But if the whole body was covered with patches of depigmented skin (probably acquired *leucodermia*), the individual who manifested this condition was pronounced clean (13:13). The mild type of ulceration found in many cutaneous diseases was also kept under observation, and degenerative changes resulted in a diagnosis of leprosy. Differential diagnosis turned upon the degree of cutaneous penetration of the disease. If the *dermis* and local cutaneous hairs exhibited pathological changes, leprosy was diagnosed. Otherwise the sufferer could be regarded as being afflicted with eczema, vitiligo, acne, psoriasis, or some analogous skin disease. A condition which may have been a keloid, marked by indurated patches of a whitish colour on a larger pinkish or purplish area of skin, was described in Lev. 13:18 ff. Once again, the degree of localization and skin penetration determined the nature of the affliction, which at best is rather obscure. Scalp disease was treated in the same manner as other forms of skin eruptions, so that an itchy condition (NEB "scurf") such as ringworm could be differentiated from more serious cutaneous diseases. *Alopecia* (baldness) did not involve ritual defilement (13:40 f.) unless the pathology characteristic of leprosy was also present. The term *ṣāra'aṯ* was also applied to material damaged by molds or fungi (13:47 ff.), and to the mineral efflorescence on the walls of houses (14:34 ff.).

What was diagnosed as *ṣāra'aṯ* undoubtedly included genuine cases of clinical leprosy, the cause of which was identified by Hansen in 1871 as a minute fungus, *Mycobacterium leprae*, but which is now identified as a bacillus. The developed disease, if allowed to run its full course, may exhibit three forms. The nodular (lepromatous) type produces lumps in the facial tissues and a form of cutaneous induration which results in a characteristic leonine appearance. Degenerative changes also occur in nose and throat membranes. An anaesthetic (tuberculoid) variety attacks the nerves of the skin, producing depigmented areas in which there

is no feeling. The local hair often undergoes morbid changes, blisters and perforating ulcers frequently form on these patches and elsewhere, and it is common for the extremities of the arms and legs to be affected. In such cases necrosis occurs and the diseased part will then be rejected by the body, leaving a well-healed stump (*lepra mutilans*). A third form of leprosy combines the symptoms of the first two kinds in varying degrees, and like them is chronic in nature.

NT In the NT *lepra* occurred 4 times only in passages apparently describing the same incident (Matt. 8:3; Mk. 1:42; Lk. 5:12 f.). Luke noted the advanced nature of the condition (RSV "full of leprosy"; NEB, "covered with leprosy"), but apart from this it is not easy to determine the true nature of the complaint. It may have been acquired *leucodermia*, since the sufferer seems to have been moving in society to some extent, although the possibility of an advanced case of clinical leprosy should not be discounted. In Lk. 17:12 ff. Jesus cures ten lepers (*leproi andres*).

([Ed.] In the parable of the rich man and Lazarus the latter is said to have been "full of sores [*heilkōmenos*]" (Lk. 16:20; cf. Arndt, 251). On this parable see the article by J. D. M. Derrett listed in the bibliography below.)

→ Heal, → Miracle *R. K. Harrison*

S. G. Browne, "Leprosy", *Medicine*, 1972–74, 1549–57; *Leprosy in the Bible*, 1974²; and S. G. Browne, ed., *Leprosy Review*; R. G. Cochrane, *Biblical Leprosy: A Suggested Interpretation*, 1963²; J. D. M. Derrett, "Dives and Lazarus and the Preceding Sayings", *Law in the New Testament*, 1970, 78–99; R. K. Harrison, "Leprosy", *IDB* III 111 ff.; W. Michaelis, *lepra* etc., *TDNT* I 233 f.; J. N. Sanders, "Those whom Jesus Loved", *NTS* 1, 1954–55, 29 ff.

Levite

Λευίτης

Λευί(ς) (*Leui*[*s*]), Levi; Λευίτης (*Leuitēs*), Levite; Λευιτικός (*Leueitikos*), Levitical.

OT A Levite was any descendant of Jacob's third son, Levi (Heb. *lēwî*; Gen. 29:34), but the term is relatively seldom so used in OT. Normally it refers to the male descendants of Levi apart from the priests, the descendants of Aaron, i.e. to those entitled to serve in the sanctuary in a subordinate role. Where the expression "the priests the Levites" (RSV, NEB, "the Levitical priests") is used, its meaning is probably that of genuine priests in contrast to those from other tribes who might arrogate the position to themselves. Deut. 18:1 is not likely to mean, as is so often held, that all Levites were priests, even though a Levite was obviously welcomed when an Aaronic priest was not available (Jdg. 17:13).

In the course of time the Levites diminished in importance, largely for economic reasons. Num. 18:21, 24 gave the whole tithe to the Levites, who were expected to give a tithe of it to the priests (Num. 18:26 ff.). It seems clear, however, that as the priestly clans multiplied, the Levites were increasingly squeezed out of the more important sanctuaries, except from menial posts, especially after Josiah's reformation, and in practice it is improbable that they continued to receive their share of the tithe. As a result comparatively few Levites returned from Babylonia with Zerubbabel and Joshua (cf. Ezr. 2:40 with 2:36–39), and Ezra had great difficulty in persuading any to accompany him (Ezr. 8:15–20).

Nehemiah restored the tithe position (Neh. 10:37 f.), but at an unspecified period the tithes were taken from the Levites in favour of the priests, as is implied by Josephus' language (*Life* 15; *Ant.* 20, 8, 8). This is confirmed by Rab. sources (Hullin 131; Yeb. 86). Their importance was further diminished by their teaching functions being largely taken over by the scribes. In addition, the lower ranks of temple servants, many of them descendants of slaves, gradually obtained the right to call themselves Levites. This helps to explain the rarity of their mention in the NT.

NT 1. Levi is found as a proper name 8 times in NT; viz. the son of Jacob 3 times (Heb. 7:5, 9, Rev. 7:7); two ancestors of Jesus (Lk. 3:24, 29); a son of Alphaeus, presumably Matthew, three times (Mk. 2:14; Lk. 5:27, 29). Since in Jesus' genealogy Levi is presumably a purely personal name with no suggestion of Levitical origin, there are no adequate grounds for supposing that Levi (Matthew) was of the tribe of Levi.

2. Levites are referred to 3 times in NT.

(a) The leading Pharisees in Jerusalem ("the Jews") sent priests and Levites to question John the Baptist (Jn. 1:19). The choice was probably motivated by the fact that the tribe of Levi generally had the divinely given privilege of teaching (Deut. 33:10).

(b) A priest and a Levite are linked in the parable of the Good Samaritan (Lk. 10:31 f.). The suggestion of greater interest or humanity on the Levite's part conveyed by AV in contrast to RV and later translations is due to its use of an inferior text.

(c) Barnabas, a native of Cyprus, was a Levite (Acts 4:36). It is impossible to establish whether he functioned in the Jerusalem temple. The mention of Cyprus may be a preparation for Acts 13:4–12; 15:39, in which case he may have moved to Jerusalem as a young man; he had relations there (cf. Col. 4:10). If, on the other hand, he had been won for Christ on a visit, and his home and property were in Cyprus, then he would probably not have functioned in the temple.

3. Heb. 7:11 uses the term "the Levitical priesthood" as a variant to "the Aaronic priesthood". It stresses that the priests were of the tribe of Levi, unlike the priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek, who was of the tribe of Judah.

→ Melchizedek, → Priest, → Temple, → Tent *H. L. Ellison*

R. Abba, "Priests and Levites", *IDB* III 876–89; R. Brinker, *The Influence of the Sanctuaries in Early Israel*, 1946; A. Edersheim, *The Temple, Its Ministry and Services, as they were at the Time of Jesus Christ*, 1874; A. K. Helmbold, "Levite", *ZPEB* III 912; D. A. Hubbard, "Priests and Levites", *NBD* 1028–34; J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, 1969; Y. Kaufmann, *The Religion of Israel*, 1960, 193–200; H. H. Rowley, "Early Levite History and the Question of the Exodus", *JNES* 3, 1944, 73–78; H. Strathmann, *Leu(e)i* etc., *TDNT* IV 234–39; R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, 1961, 358–71 (see also bibliography 544 f.); G. E. Wright, "The Levites in Deuteronomy", *Vetus Testamentum* 4, 1954, 325–30.

Lie, Hypocrite

In Gk. two different groups of words are used for lying, the antithesis of telling the → truth. *hypokrinō* stems originally from the world of the theatre. In a positive

sense, it refers to the "answering" of the dialogue, and to the exposition and interpretation in the play. In the negative, it is used of an actor who has not identified himself with his rôle. Hence, the meanings of play-acting, disguise, and then hypocrisy (cf. the corresponding nouns *hypokrisis*, hypocrisy and *hypokritēs*, a hypocrite).

pseudomai, to lie, and *pseudos*, a lie, express the opposite of *alētheia*, truth, even more clearly. The great number of compound words derived from the root *pseud-* indicates the extent and the importance of the use of this idea in ancient and in Christian literature.

ὑποκρίνω

ὑποκρίνω (*hypokrino*), answer, pretend, dissimulate; ὑπόκρισις (*hypokrisis*), pretence, hypocrisy; ὑποκριτής (*hypokritēs*), pretender, hypocrite, a godless man; ἀνυπόκριτος (*anhypokritos*), unfeigned, genuine.

CL *hypokrinō* is a compound verb based on *krinō*, judge (→ Judgment). The mid. form *hypokrinomai* is the one generally used. Its original meaning was to give final judgment on a question; but it also came to mean to reply, expound, interpret (e.g. dreams).

In secular Gk. these words have primary reference in the world of the theatre. By *hypokritēs* one should understand either the "answerer" who appeared on stage and turned the self-contained speeches of the chorus into dialogue form; or the "interpreter" (Homer used the word in this sense) who explained the situation to the audience. *hypokrisis* has various shades of meaning: reply, interpretation, play-acting, and then also (via "rôle-playing") appearance, hypocrisy, dissimulation. *anhypokritos* is rarely used in secular literature, and indicates someone who is inexperienced as an actor; and in a metaphorical sense unfeigned, genuine, simple.

OT 1. The LXX translates Heb. *'ānâh* by *hypokrinomai*, reply, in Job 39:32 [40:2]. The vb. occurs only rarely and then in late writings (Sir. 1:29; 35[32]:15; 36[33]:2; 2 Macc. 5:25; 6:21, 24; 4 Macc. 6:15, 17). *hypokritēs* renders Heb. *ḥānēp̄*, someone estranged from God. This word, too, occurs only in Job 34:30; 36:13. *ḥānēp̄* is also translated by *anomos*, lawless, and *asebēs*, godless, in the LXX (→ Law; → Godliness).

The term denotes what elsewhere is graphically described as the man with a "double heart" and "false lips" (Ps. 12:3 f.); he always has God on his lips, but keeps him far from his → heart (Jer. 12:2). Job 36:13 describes the *hypokritēs* as an angry and taciturn man who is too proud to call for help when he needs it. Such a man should not be in a position of authority, because he directs all his efforts to the oppression of his subjects (Job 34:30).

2. There was a rabbinic saying that 90 per cent of all the hypocrisy in the world was to be found in Jerusalem (SB I 718; cf. Jer. 23:15). Hypocrisy was one of the chief sins denounced in Judaism. The → Pharisees were especially condemned, because of their frequent hypocrisy (SB I 388 f., 921 ff.; IV 336 f.).

NT The NT uses these words exclusively in the metaphorical sense of hypocrisy; they occur mainly in the Synoptic Gospels, especially in Matt. The vb. is only

found in Lk. 20:20, of the spies sent by the chief priests to trap Jesus; and in Gal. 2:13 in the compound form *synhypokrinomai* ("And with him the rest of the Jews acted insincerely [*synhypekrithēsan*], so that even Barnabas was carried away by their insincerity [*hypokrisei*]"). The noun *hypokrisis* is used in a variety of contexts; *hypokritēs* is the regular expression for wicked and godless people – the scribes and Pharisees are particularly so described by Jesus. *anhypokritos* is chiefly linked with *agapē* (→ love) and *pistis* (→ faith).

1. The use of the vb. in Lk. 20:20 is close to the meaning to play a rôle, act as if, pretend: they made out that they were honest men (Vulg. *simulare*). Gal. 2:13 has a similar reference: Peter did not remain true to his commission; he was playing a double game, trimming his sails to the wind. Clear knowledge of the right course of action is assumed; but it is the actual situation that gives the decisive judgment on his behaviour, and thus Peter became a hypocrite.

2. Jesus called the attempts of his opponents to catch him out with their crafty questions hypocrisy (*hypokrisis*; cf. Matt. 22:18; Mk. 12:15). It involves a quite deliberate pretence, similar to that of a stage performance. (In passing, it may be noted that the attitude of the early Church to the theatre was overwhelmingly negative.)

Exhortations in the Epistles, in such passages as 1 Tim. 4:2 and 1 Pet. 2:1, put *hypokrisis* alongside lying (→ *pseudomai*) and slander. It is the kind of behaviour that attempts to cover up sin by putting oneself in a favourable light at the expense of truth.

3. The noun *hypokritēs* is found in the Gospels, exclusively on the lips of Jesus. Matt. 15:7 ff. quotes Isa. 29:13 as prophetic of the Pharisees and scribes of Jesus' day: "You hypocrites! Well did Isaiah prophesy of you, when he said: 'This people honours me with their lips, but their heart is far from me; in vain do they worship me, teaching as doctrines the precepts of men' " (cf. Mk. 7:6 f.).

The Pharisees were by no means the only ones to be so addressed. The epithet applies to anyone who rejects the truth about God in Jesus (→ Lead Astray, art. *planaō*). Through his teaching and actions Jesus revealed to men the unhappy state of their delusion and sought to open their eyes to their true situation before God. Hypocrisy is not simply a conscious act of dissimulation, but a perverse → blindness. It is illustrated by the question in the Sermon on the Mount as to how anyone can remove a speck from someone else's eye when he has a log in his own eye (Matt. 7:3 ff.; cf. Lk. 6:41 f.; SB I 446). Anyone who prays in public is doing his religious duty, but Jesus warned against the hypocrisy of praying to be seen by men. They should rather pray in secret and likewise give alms in secret (Matt. 6:5 ff.; cf. 6:2 ff.). Jesus did not condemn the Pharisees because of their serious and pious attitude towards the → law as such. Rather, it was their understanding of righteousness and their ways of evading its demands that he condemned (→ Gift, art. *korban*). Moreover, the fact that the pious Jews did not recognize Jesus as the fulfiller of the law showed how far they were from God (Matt. 15:2 ff. par. Mk. 7:5 ff.).

Pharisees and scribes (→ Writing) were the prime examples of unbelief, being unable to see beyond their own traditionalism and to interpret the signs of the time (Lk. 12:56) because of their reliance on their own piety. Thus they remained outside the coming → kingdom (Matt. 23:1–25:46; Mk. 12:37–40; Lk. 12:41–48;

20:45 ff.). Their characteristic feature is their "objective self-contradiction" (J. Schniewind), or rather their self-deluding blindness (Matt. 23:16 ff.). Outwardly they appeared to be men of God, but in reality they were sinners who were guilty in God's sight because they did everything possible to repel and ward off the salvation which comes in Jesus. That is why Jesus characterized them as *hypokritai* in the series of woes he pronounced on them which are scarcely without parallel in severity (Matt. 23:13 ff.; cf. Lk. 11:42–52).

4. *anhypokritos* is an adj. only found in the Epistles. In 3 of the 6 instances it is used to qualify love, *agapē* (Rom. 12:9; 2 Cor. 6:6), and brotherly love, *philadelphia* (1 Pet. 1:22). Such → love comes from an open and genuine heart without ulterior motives. It does not deliberately put on show. The same is said of faith in two places (1 Tim. 1:5; 2 Tim. 1:5). This adj. expresses the fact that → faith is not affected by considerations of expediency. It grows spontaneously out of the union of the Christian with the living Christ, and, rooted in the heart, it finds its expression in a transparent life. This is also true of the → wisdom that comes from above (Jas. 3:17). *W. Günther*

ψεύδομαι

ψεύδομαι (*pseudomai*), lie, deceive by lying; ψευδής (*pseudēs*), deceitful, mendacious, a liar; ψεῦδος (*pseudos*), a lie; ψεύστης (*pseustēs*), a liar; ἀψευδής (*apseudēs*), guileless, truthful.

CL Though these words occur in Gk. from the time of Homer, the etymology is not clear. The noun *pseudos* means a lie, the antithesis of the → truth, *alētheia* (cf. Plato, *Hippias Minor* 370e). The only part of the vb. used in the NT is the mid. *pseudomai*, lie, or deceive by lying (12 instances). The following derivatives also occur in the NT: (a) *pseudēs*, untruthful, deceitful; and as a noun, liar (3 times); (b) *pseudos*, lie (11 times); (c) *ho pseustēs*, liar (11 times); (d) *apseudēs*, candid (once). Apart from compound words, such as *pseudomartyreō*, give false witness, which also occur in the Synoptics, there are a number of words beginning with *pseud-* (false-) which are found mainly in Pauline and Johannine writings.

OT In the LXX *pseudomai* is primarily used to translate Heb. *kāḥaš*, deny, disclaim, act secretively, deceive, lie. *pseudos* is the equivalent of Heb. *šeqer*, fraud, deception, falsehood.

1. The OT proclaims that God is truthful. He and his word can be trusted (→ Faith, art. *peithomai*; → Truth). When salvation or calamity is prophesied, it is also fulfilled. "God is not a man that he should lie. . . . Has he said and will he not do it? Or has he spoken, and will he not fulfil it?" (Num. 23:19; cf. 1 Sam. 15:29). The God-ness of God is proved by the truth of his word and his faithfulness in → fulfilling it.

2. Man, however, has fallen prey to a lie; he has dissociated himself from God, and does not let him be the Lord who, in truth, he is. The → prophets make the accusation that God's people have fallen prey to a lie. Instead of trusting their Lord, they rely on their own strength and on political alliances. They listen to false prophets (Jer. 5:31; Ezek. 13:19 and after), who flatter them and give them false prophecies of salvation, who preach about "drinking and strong drink" (Mic. 2:11), and who use whitewash over their sins (Ezek. 22:28; → Black, White). Hosea proclaimed

the charge from God, "You have ploughed iniquity, you have reaped injustice, you have eaten the fruit of lies" (10:13). The most serious accusation was that the people have put their faith in idols instead of in God (→ Image, art. *eidōlon*) which the prophets call lies. "Their lies have led them astray" (Amos 2:4). Lies have become their refuge (Isa. 28:15), and they have renounced their God (Isa. 59:13; Jer. 5:12). Lying, in the eyes of the prophets, is not so much an ethical offence as a basic moral attitude, which turns its back on the true God. It therefore falls prey to the delusion of the lie, as it does to the "nothingness" of existence (→ Empty). To put one's trust in a delusory lie instead of in the true God is called by Isaiah a "covenant with death" (28:15). God's judgment falls on all who deny him and preach lies: "Because you have uttered delusions and have seen lies, therefore behold, I am against you, says the LORD GOD" (Ezek. 13:8; cf. Isa. 28:17). Only a remnant will survive God's judgment – those "who do no wrong and who speak no lies" (Zeph. 3:13).

3. As in the prophets, so also in the Pss. those who turn from God are described as liars. "The wicked go astray from the womb, they err from their birth, speaking of lies" (Ps. 58:3). "I said in my alarm, All men are liars" (Ps. 116:11 RV mg.). But the devout man holds firm to God: "Blessed is the man who makes the Lord his trust, and does not turn to the proud, to those who go astray after false gods! [MT *kāzāḇ*, lie; LXX *manias pseudeis*, lying fooleries]" (Ps. 40:4; MT 40:5; LXX 39:5). God makes an end of all liars (Ps. 5:6).

4. In the laws of the OT there is no explicit, general prohibition against lying, but it can plainly be deduced from a whole collection of individual examples where lying is specifically forbidden. Most notably, there is the command not to bear false witness (Exod. 20:16; cf. Prov. 21:28). Such a thing would be particularly reprehensible, because, according to OT law, judgment can be given solely on the basis of the evidence of two → witnesses (cf. Num. 35:30; Deut. 17:6 f.; 19:15 ff.). There are further prohibitions: against perjury (Lev. 19:12; → Deny) and against embezzlement of stolen or lost property (Lev. 6:2 f. [MT 5:21 f.]). Lev. 19:11 relates them: "You shall not steal, nor deal falsely, nor lie to one another."

5. Rabbinic texts likewise declare that God has nothing to do with lies. He "created everything in the world, except for lies, which he did not create . . . men concieved those in their own hearts" (Pes.R. 24 (125b)). In San. 103a four groups of men are named who will not see God: scoffers, hypocrites, liars and slanderers. False evidence given against a neighbour is reckoned by God "as if you were to declare that I had not created the world in six days" (Pes.R. 21 107b). To bear false witness against a neighbour is to bear false witness against God.

6. What could be observed in the OT and in Rab. writings is stated even more emphatically in the Qumran writings. Lies belong on the side of God's adversary and to the powers of darkness. The "ways of the spirit of falsehood" include "wickedness and lies" (1QS 4:9). Lies are the mark of those who belong to the godless just as the members of God's community are always called "sons of truth". Belial (→ Satan) uses lies to lead the godly astray from God; hence several times in CD and 1QpHab a historical opponent of the sect who is mentioned is referred to as the "Liar" or the "Spouter of Lies". But God saves the godly from the "jealousy of the teachers of lies" who "scheme against him a devilish scheme" (1QH 4:10). In the → judgment all lies will be destroyed along with the powers of darkness, and men will

be cleansed from all their terrible delusions: for God will "sprinkle them with the Spirit of Truth as one sprinkles water for purification." But the godly man already confesses: "I will not keep Belial within my heart, and in my mouth shall be heard no folly or deceitful lie" (1QS 10:22).

NT In the NT 15 different words contain the root *pseud-* (false). These are found in nearly all the NT writings, but whereas the Synoptic Gospels make only very sparing use of them, they play an important role in Johannine and Pauline writings. Besides the simple use of vb., noun and adj. (*pseudomai*, lie; *pseudos*, lie; *pseustēs*, liar; *pseudēs*, deceitful), which comprise the major part of the NT instances, there are numerous compound words. These include: *pseudadelphos*, false brother (2 Cor. 11:26; Gal. 2:4; → Brother); *pseudapostolos*, false apostle (2 Cor. 11:13; → Apostle); *pseudodidaskalos*, false teacher (2 Pet. 2:1; → Teach); *pseudologos*, speaking lies (1 Tim. 4:2); *pseudomartyria*, false witness (Matt. 15:19; 26:59); *pseudomartys*, one who gives false witness (Matt. 26:60; 1 Cor. 15:15; → Witness); *pseudoprophētēs*, false prophet (Matt. 7:15; 24:11, 24; Mk. 13:22; Lk. 6:26; Acts 13:6; 2 Pet. 2:1; 1 Jn. 4:1; Rev. 16:13; 19:20; 20:10; → Prophet); and *pseudochristos*, false Christ (Matt. 24:24; Mk. 13:22).

1. (a) The NT takes up the OT witness to the truthfulness and truth of God. Tit. 1:2 speaks of God as the *apseudēs theos*, God who does not lie. God's → truth does not come to light in the unveiling of being in the way that the Greeks understood *alētheia*. Rather, God's truth is to be seen as truthfulness in the way that he keeps faith with his → promises in history. This was the way that Israelites stressed the unchangeable nature of God's decrees. God added the guarantee of an oath to his promise, "so that through two unchangeable things [i.e. the promise and the oath] in which it is impossible that God should prove false, we who have fled for refuge might have strong encouragement to seize the hope set before us" (Heb. 6:18). Since the God who raised Jesus from the dead is the source of truth, Paul could defend himself by claiming in the last resort that God knows that he is not lying (2 Cor. 11:31; Gal. 1:20).

(b) The revelation of God's truth in Jesus Christ lets the other side of the picture come to light – the lies of men. For men have "exchanged the truth about God for a lie and worshipped and served the creature rather than the Creator" (Rom. 1:25). (On this see further G. Bornkamm, "The Revelation of God's Wrath (Romans 1–3)", *Early Christian Experience*, 1969, 47–70.) The revelation of God's wrath against human wickedness (Rom. 1:18–3:20) leads in Rom. 3:4 to the confession: "Let God be true though every man be false, as it is written, 'That thou mayest be justified in thy words, and prevail when thou art judged' " (cf. Ps. 116:1 LXX; Zeph. 3; Ps. 51:4 ff.). "Paul, following the Psalmist, pictures a scene in court, where God and men plead against each other; when this happens God is sure to leave the court in the right" (C. K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, 1957, 63).

2. (a) John's Gospel presents a radical dualism of God and the devil in terms of truth and lie, in a manner similar to that of the Qumran texts, which in their way sharpened the OT outlook. Jn. 8:44 describes the devil as a murderer and a liar. Lying and death stand opposed to the truth and life of the Revealer. Lying, here, does not simply mean telling untruths; it connotes the will which is directed against

God, the hatred of disbelief, and the resulting futility. Bultmann interprets this in existentialist terms. "It is because of this nothingness that the *pseudos* kills, because it robs the man who imagines it is real of his own authenticity" (R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 1971, 321). See also Jn. 8:41–47, where Jesus accuses his opponents of lying. In Jn. *pseudos* is not primarily a moral offence; it connotes the hatred which disbelief feels for the truth of the Revealer. Such lying can quite easily think of itself as the height of piety, and it is this that makes it so terrible. It happens everywhere, where men seek their own glory and put up barriers to resist Christ's revelation.

(b) This thought is expanded in 1 Jn. The lie here is that men "make God a liar", when they maintain that they have not sinned (1:10; cf. 5:10). 1 Jn. is also directed against false teachers who preach lies (cf. Rev. 2:2), denying Jesus as the Christ (1 Jn. 2:22). In the Johannine literature "lie" is used in the widest sense to mean hatred of Christ, and in consequence man's life without God, characterized by delusion and death.

3. (a) The antithesis of truth and lie is not only the determining factor which distinguishes between Jesus' disciples and his enemies. It also operates within the church of Christ in the responses of obedience and disobedience (→ Hear) to the word of truth. As an ethical problem, lying is not on the same level as quarrelsomeness or unchastity. These belong to the imperfect state of man on earth and as such stand in continual need of sanctification (→ Holy). But lying, like loving, is the expression of one of the basic aspects of the human condition which is determined either by the power of lies or by the power of love. "Why has Satan filled your heart to lie to the Holy Spirit?" (Acts 5:3). The sin of Ananias was not that he had witheld his property, for he was entitled to dispose of it as he pleased, but that he had lied to God in professing to have given it all to the church whilst retaining something for himself (Acts 5:4).

(b) In 1 Jn., men's false evaluation of themselves in relation to God (see above 2 (a)) means that any contradiction between the confession of faith (→ Confess) and the life of the members of a congregation involves them in lies. To profess fellowship with Christ is incompatible with a continued → walk in darkness (1:6). To profess knowledge of Christ is incompatible with simultaneous disobedience to his commands (2:4). To profess to love God is incompatible with continuing to hate one's brother (4:20). In such cases both the claims and the life of a Christian become a lie, excluding him from the truth of God. Here, too, it is apparent that for 1 Jn. lying is not only a moral offence, but also the manifestation of existence without God.

(c) The admonitions in Eph. and Col. have individual faults in mind, when their readers are told to throw off falsehood and to speak the truth to each other (Eph. 4:25; Col. 3:9). This command can be made, because the Christian has put off "the old man [*ton palaion anthrōpon*]" (Eph. 4:22; Col. 3:9) and may put on "the new man" [*ton kainon anthropon*]" (Eph. 4:24; cf. Col. 3:10), and is therefore in the position to stop lying. Rev. also understands lying in specific terms: no liar (*pseudēs*) or perpetrator of horrible deeds will enter the new → Jerusalem (21:8; cf. 21:27; 22:15). Those who belong to the Lamb stand opposed to liars: "No lie was found on their lips" (14:5). ([Ed.] But as in Jn. and 1 Jn. there is the overtone that lying and falsehood stand in fundamental opposition to God. Thus the Jews at

Philadelphia are described as "the synogogue of Satan", who claim to be Jews but lie [3:9]. See also the references to the false prophet [*pseudoprophētēs*; 16:13; 19:20; 20:10] who leads men to oppose God and the church and who likewise has no part in the new Jerusalem.)

4. In conclusion, we can say that God is the truthful One who is faithful in history and who fulfills his word and his promises. When he reveals himself in Christ, man's godlessness is unmasked and seen to be the lie that it is. A lie is not simply a single act: it is an attitude of existence which determines the whole of life. Because it resists the one who gives life, it is the deceitful accomplice of → death. Such an existence in the "lie" manifests itself in individual lies which reveal who is in control of men. Man without God is trapped in lies, unable to see through the deception and destined for death. Only where the lie is exposed by the truth of Christ and man comes under the Lordship of Christ and becomes a new man can the counterfeit existence based on deceit and untruth be overcome. This is the basis of the Christian ethical demand to stop telling lies.

→ Lead Astray, → Pharisee, → Truth *U. Becker, H.-G. Link*

(a). W. Beilner, "Hypocrite", *EBT* II 390 ff.; H. Conzelmann, *pseudos* etc., *TDNT* IX 594–603; D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 1972; M. D. Hooker, "Were there false teachers at Colossae?" in B. Lindars and S. S. Smalley, eds., *Christ and Spirit in the New Testament. In Honour of Charles Francis Digby Moule*, 1973, 315–32; T. Overholt, *The Threat of Falsehood: A Study in the Theology of the Book of Jeremiah*, 1970; S. van Tilborg, *The Jewish Leaders in Matthew*, 1972; U. Wilckens, *hypokrinomai* etc., *TDNT* VIII 559–71.

(b). W. Beilner, *Christus und die Pharisäer*, 1959, 227–35; H. D. Betz, *Der Apostel Paulus und die sokratische Tradition. Eine exegetische Untersuchung zu seiner "Apologie" 2 Korinther 10–13*, *BHTh* 45, 1972; G. Bornkamm, "Heuchelei", *RGG*³ III 305 f.; G. F. Else, *Wiener Studien* 72, 1959, 75–107; P. Joüon, "*hypokritēs* dans l'évangile et hébreu hanaf", *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 20, 1930, 312–17; J. Klein, E. Fuchs, G. Gawlick, "Wahrhaftigkeit, Wahrheit", *RGG*³ VI 1511 ff.; M. A. Klopfenstein, *Die Lüge nach dem Alten Testament*, 1964; and *kāḥaš*, *THAT* I 825–28; W. G. Kümmel, "Die Weherufe über die Schriftgelehrten und Pharisäer (Mt. 23, 13–26), Antijudaismus im Neuen Testament?", *Abhandlungen zum christlich-jüdischen Dialog*, II, 1967, 141 f.; L. Lemme, "Heuchelei", *RE* III 21 ff.; A. Lesky, "Hypokrites", *Festschrift U. E. Paoli*, 1964, 469–76; J. Maier, "Weitere Stücke aus dem Nahumkommentar aus der Höhle 4 von Qumran", *Judaica* 18, 1962, 2–5–50; J. Schniewind, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus*, *NTD* 2, 1968¹²; N. H. Søe, "Wahrhaftigkeit", *EKL* III 1716 ff.

Life

The term life denotes the organic functioning of plants, animals and men. Life and → death are the opposite categories basic to all living things; both categories relate to and interpret the other. Human life is unique. It is not merely instinctive but is capable of self-realization and open to formative influences. In Gk. a distinction is made between *zōē* which tends to mean life as a vital, natural force, and *bios* which has a stronger ethical content and means manner of life. It is instructive that the NT takes over the first of these two words to denote that fellowship with God which men enjoy as a specific gift from God himself. For further information on the Gk. and the biblical views → Death.

βίος

βίος (*bios*), life; *βιόω* (*bioō*), live; *βιωτικός* (*biōtikos*), pertaining to life.

CL The noun *bios* (since Homer; derived from the corresponding vb. *bioō* and related to Lat. *vivere*, live, and Eng. "quick") denotes life in its concrete outward manifestations. It is used generally for "lifetime" or "duration of life" (Plato, *Symp.* 181d, 203d; *Leg.* 6, 770a; 7, 802a), and specifically for an individual's way of life, which, however, is seen not as a once-for-all historical event but as a "type" of supertemporal behaviour existing alongside other possible "types" (Plato, *Leg.* 2, 663b; *Rep.* 617d ff.). The Greeks' ethical view of life is expressed with great clarity by Aristotle, who distinguishes between the following ways of life: pleasure-loving (*apolaustikos*); active (*praktikos*) or political (*politikos*); and contemplative (*theōrētikos*) (*Eth.Nic.* 1, 3p 1095b, 14 ff.). Later *bios* acquired the concrete meanings livelihood, trade, wealth (cf. *biōtikos*, pertaining to life, everyday, Polybius 4, 73, 8; Diogenes Laertius 7, 22; Epictetus, *Dissertationes* 1, 26, 3, 7).

OT In the LXX *bios* usually translates *yāmîm*, days, the plural of *yôm*, day, when it renders a Heb. equivalent. Following OT historical thought, the LXX adopts mainly the temporal meaning of *bios*, i.e. the duration of life (cf. the Heb. expression "a man's days"). The word does not occur at all in the Pentateuch or the Prophets, while in Cant. 8:7 it means wealth, and in Prov. 31:14 food.

The meaning of the word is clearest in Job, where it occurs 13 times. Man's life, in all its wretchedness, is likened to forced labour (7:1), a shadow (8:9), vanity (7:16), sorrow (15:20). By contrast, Wisdom promises the godly man length of life (Prov. 3:2), a gift which she holds in her right hand (Prov. 3:16), while the godless are punished with a short fleeting life (Wis. 2:1, 4, 5).

In 4 Macc., Hel. influence replaces the temporal meaning of *bios* with an ethical meaning. Just as Aristotle had applied a variety of adjs. to the noun (see above CL), so 4 Macc. describes it as a way of life which is true to the law (*nomimos*, 5:36; 7:15); upright (*orthos*, 1:15); pleasant (*hēdys*, 8:23); even divine (*theios*, 7:7).

NT Unlike *zōē*, *bios* is surprisingly rare in the NT, occurring only 11 times (*bioō* only once, 1 Pet. 4:2). All three meanings normal in profane Gk. are to be found, but with characteristic shifts of emphasis.

1. *bios* has a clearly temporal meaning (duration of life) only in the Koine version of 1 Pet. 4:3; likewise *bioō* in the previous verse. In 1 Tim. 2:2 and 2 Tim. 2:4 it has the more general sense of (everyday) life, a meaning shared on occasion with *zōē*.

2. The NT uses *bios* mostly (6 times) in the concrete, somewhat external sense which it had acquired in late antiquity: that of wealth, fortune. Mk. 12:44 and Lk. 21:4 speak of the poor widow putting "her whole living" into the treasury, while Lk. 15:12, 30 tells of the prodigal son wasting his living on harlots. Similarly, according to 1 Jn. 3:17, real love shows itself in the concrete act of sharing this world's goods with a brother in need.

3. The specifically Gk. use of *bios* to mean "manner of life" (see above CL) is only hinted at in the NT. "The pride of life" in 1 Jn. 2:16 refers to ostentatious living, and in Lk. 8:14 there is an allusion to "the cares, riches and pleasures of life". In other words, the NT attitude here is purely negative. The reason why this specifically Gk. conception of *bios* is not adopted by the NT is that according to the latter, man does not live his life for himself or to develop his own virtues, but is answerable to God for living in the service of others. *H.-G. Link*

ζωή

ζωή (*zōē*), life; ζάω (*zaō*), live; ζῷον (*zōon*), living creature; ζῳογονέω (*zōogoneō*), procreate, give life to, keep alive; ζῳοποιέω (*zōopoieō*), make alive, give life to.

CL *zaō*, contracted to *zō*, and its corresponding noun *zōē*, are both found from Homer onwards. Somewhat later, during the period of Herodotus and the precursors of Socrates, the noun *zōon* appears, covering men (*logika zōa*, rational creatures) and animals (*aloga zōa*, irrational creatures) as distinct from inanimate objects. Apart from its use in Heb. 13:11 and 2 Pet. 2:12, *zōon* in the NT is confined to Rev. and refers to the four living creatures by the heavenly throne (→ Cherub). The two compound vbs. *zōogoneō* and *zōopoieō* stem from a still later period, that of Aristotle and Theophrastus. Both vbs. refer to the life-processes of nature, usually the procreation of animals and the growth of plants. This is particularly true of *zōogoneō*, which therefore occurs sporadically and only incidentally in the NT. *zōopoieō*, on the other hand, is a more technical word occasionally used in soteriological contexts where there is no reference to natural history.

1. In classical Gk., life refers in the first place to that living quality of → nature which is shared alike by men, animals and plants (for what follows cf. R. Bultmann, *TDNT* II 832–43). For the Greeks, therefore, life belongs to the category of natural science, being characterized by the power of self-movement as distinct from mechanical movement (Plato, *Leg.* 10, 895c ff; *Phaedr.* 245c ff.; Aristotle, *An.* 2, 2 p 412b, 16 f.; p 413a, 22 ff.). The cause of life is considered to be the *psychē* (→ soul), which Diogenes of Apollonia imagined as an ètherial substance (*aēr*), while Xenophanes thought of it as a fluttering breath (*pneuma*) (H. Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, I, 425, 42). Just as *psychē* and *zōē* belong very closely together in Gk. thought, so do *psychē* and *sōma* (→ body) (Plato, *Phaedr.* 105c ff.; Aristotle, *An.* 2, 1p 412b, 7 ff.); natural life is made up of the components soul and body.

Not only each single individual but also the whole universe is thought of as a living organism (*zōon empsychon*, Plato, *Tim.* 30b) or as a world with a soul (*kosmos empsychos*). Even the gods are imagined largely as living creatures (*zōa*) having bipartite natures analogous to the human body and soul (Aristotle, *Metaph.* 11, 7 p 1072b, 28 ff.). Thus Plato distinguishes between living creatures which are *thnēta* (mortal, i.e. men), and *athanata* (immortal, i.e. gods) (*Tim.* 38c ff.).

The Greeks considered a third component to be specific to human life, namely, the → reason, mind, or understanding (*nous*). While the *sōma* and to some extent the *psychē* go to make up natural life, the *nous* is a divine element which enters human life from outside, enhancing it beyond the natural life e.g. of animals and producing a type of existence capable of various alternatives (→ *bios*). This idea is expressed not merely by the variety of dative constructions which can be found with *zaō* (e.g. *patridi* for the fatherland, Demosthenes, *Orationes* 7:17; *patri*, for one's father, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 3, 17, 7), but also by the adjs., advs. and preps. which can be added and which qualify "life" as being good (*agathē*), orderly (*kosmiōs*), reasonable (*kata logon*) or bad (*aischra*) (Plato, *Rep.* 521a; *Leg.* 7, 806e; 3, 944c).

2. Among the Stoics the slogan *kata physin zēn*, to live according to nature, assumed great importance. This phrase, however, does not imply instinctive

existence, but rather life which is virtuous (*kat' aretēn*) or lived according to reason (*kata logon*), and which enables the man who is otherwise "dead" to fulfil the purpose of his existence (*eu zēn*, to live well; cf. Epictetus, *Dissertationes*, 1, 9, 19; 2, 9, 7 f.; 3, 1, 25 f.; 4, 11, 3). The phrase → *bios kata physin*, life according to nature, is also found, in this same sense. Whereas the Greeks of the classical period saw their ideal as active involvement in the public affairs of the *polis*, in the Hellenistic period the Stoics idealized complete withdrawal from the outward bustle of the world, and the cultivation of one's own inner life.

3. While the Stoics distinguished between outward and inward life, neo-Platonism differentiated between life in this world and life beyond this world. According to Plotinus, man indeed possesses natural life, but the life which is perfect (*teleia*) and true (*alēthinē*) is to be found only in the one divine realm of the One (*hen*). The way to this true life leads via abnegation of the body, and cleansing (*katharsis*) from all earthly things, to the moment of sight or vision (*thea*), when man attains the true life and becomes one with it (cf. Plotinus, *Enneads* 1, 4, 3; 6, 7, 31; and often). In other words, life is seen as an upward ascent.

4. Gnosticism, by contrast, saw life as a descent. *zōē*, often associated with *phōs*, light (e.g. *Corp.Herm.* 1, 12), is something essentially divine, a tangible fluid in the divine world, definitely a physical entity, but at the same time something indestructible and possessed of lifegiving power; in a word immortality (*athanasia*; *Corp.Herm.* 1, 28). In the human world this pure divine life is intermingled with matter, being imprisoned in the body. It is not present in its fullness but only in the form of tiny, scattered sparks of life. Hence, one must break free from the prison-house of the body in order to enjoy, at least temporarily, the ecstatic vision (*gnōsis*, → knowledge), i.e. to attain to the unity which exists between the inner sparks of life and the supernatural life of the divine world (*Corp.Herm.* 1, 6). This true life is attained on earth only in fleeting moments of → ecstasy. Its full enjoyment must be reserved for the future, when all the particles of life and light presently scattered within matter reunite in the divine world (*Corp.Herm.* 12, 15:14, 10; and passim).

Thus in the history of Gk. philosophy two trends are visible within this area of thought: first, true life is progressively divorced from concrete, everyday events and transferred to a supernatural, divine world; and secondly, life is increasingly seen as something tangible, "scientific", so that *true* human life manifests itself not so much in the continuum of historical events as in discontinuous moments of ecstatic vision, totally divorced from history.

OT 1. The relevant Heb. vocabulary is as follows: noun, *ḥayyîm*; vb., *ḥāyâh*; adj., *ḥay*. The Israelites in the OT viewed life as something thoroughly natural, vital and pertaining to this world. The Gk. division of life into body, soul and reason was a completely alien concept to them. It is true that in Heb. *nepeš*, soul (e.g. Jos. 10:28), or *bāśār*, flesh, (e.g. Gen. 6:13) can be used in place of *ḥayyîm*. But when this occurs it is an example not of analytical Gk. thought but of the synthetic oriental approach, where the part represents the whole, and where the whole of human life is included but viewed from a given standpoint. In those passages where the life is said to be the → blood (Lev. 17:14 LXX: *hē . . . psychē pasēs sarkos haima autou estin*; cf. Lev. 17:11; Gen. 9:4; Deut. 12:23), this is to be understood not as a scientific statement, but rather as an assumption made against the background of

early oriental ritual (cf. the rite of the Passover in Exod. 12). The aim is to draw attention not so much to a life at man's disposal but rather to the fact that life is not man's to dispose of. The Israelites thought of life not as a natural or scientific phenomenon, but primarily as duration, the days of a man's life which are granted him by Yahweh, the Lord of life (Gen. 25:7; 47:28; Deut. 32:39; → *bios* OT). Long life was considered to be special evidence of the divine → blessing promised to the obedient (Gen. 15:15; 25:8; Deut. 5:16; 30:19; Prov. 3:1 f.; cf. 2 Ki. 20:1 ff.). The power of death, on the other hand, invades human life in the form of sickness, hatred or loneliness (Ps. 18:5 f.; 33:19; 56:13; 116:8; → Death OT). In common with orientals generally, the Israelites were strangers to the Gk. ideal of a life which is aloof and contemplative (*theōrētikos*; cf. *bios* CL). Rather, their ideal was a life of active involvement, a life expressed, e.g. by → hunger and thirst (e.g. Jdg. 15:18 f.), → hatred and → love (e.g. Gen. 24:27), → desires and lusts (e.g. 1 Sam. 1; 2 Sam. 13). To the Israelites, as to orientals in general, the sheer vitality, concreteness and diversity of life were a source of the utmost delight (1 Ki. 3:11 ff.; Prov. 3:16; Job 2:4); life synonymous with health, well-being and success (Mal. 2:5; Prov. 2:19; Ps. 56:13; Eccl. 9:9). An essential feature of life, however, was attendance at the sanctuary. Here the worshipper joined in fellowship with the living in praising Yahweh, the Creator of life, and was even granted the occasional privilege of gazing upon him albeit indirectly (Exod. 33:18 ff.; Ps. 27:4; 65:5; 84:5; 142:7; see below OT, 5). Only in extreme despair was there any thought of death which would put an end to a life that had become intolerable (Jer. 20:14 ff.; Job 3:11 f.; Tob. 3:10).

2. While the Israelites were unanimous in their conviction that Yahweh is to be praised as the author of life (Jer. 17:13; Ps. 36:9; 139:13 ff.), the Yahwist's reflections on the origin of life produce some idiosyncratic statements on related issues not otherwise touched on in the OT. According to Gen. 2:7, Yahweh formed man from the dust of the ground and breathed divine breath into the lifeless body so that he became a living being (*nepeš ḥayyâh*). Here the distinction is not, as the LXX translation *psychē zōsa* (living soul) suggests, between the body and the soul, but rather between the → body and the life. The whole physical, emotional and intellectual life of man stems from God. If he withdraws his breath of life, then man crumbles to dust (Ps. 104:29 f.; Job 34:14 f.; cf. G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, I, 1962, 149; and *Genesis*, 1963², 71–83).

The trials and tribulations common to man – toil and failure, shame and fear, the pains of childbirth – are said by the Yahwist to have been caused by man's primeval fall into sin (Gen. 3). That which the Yahwist sees as divine punishment is not so much death (which before the Exile was accepted as one of the given factors of the human situation; cf. Gen. 2:17; 3:19); rather it is the shortening of the life span (Gen. 6:3), and in particular the various trials of life. These are the discords which mar all human existence, the original harmony of life having been broken (cf. von Rad, *Genesis*, 83–99).

3. The specifically Israelite view of life is expressed most clearly in Deut. At the → feast commemorating the renewal of the → covenant, the worshipping community is confronted by the word of Yahweh with a choice between life and death (Deut. 30:1–20). The obedient are promised blessing, prosperity and life, while the disobedient can expect nothing but curse, adversity and death (Deut. 30:15, 19).

The living power of God's word extends even to man's physical existence: "Man does not live by bread alone, but . . . by everything that proceeds out of the mouth of Yahweh" (Deut. 8:3). Deut. is most insistent that true life comes not from magical rites and ceremonies but from keeping the word of Yahweh. For this word "is no trifle, but it is your life" (Deut. 32:47; cf. Lev. 18:5).

4. In the same way the prophets call Israel back to Yahweh; this is Israel's only chance of life, threatened as he is with imminent disaster (Amos 5:4, 14). Isaiah laments over the scoffers among the people who have entered into a covenant with death (Isa. 28:15). Jeremiah sets the way of life and of death (Jer. 21:8) once more before a faithless Israel, that has forsaken the source of life (Jer. 2:13; 17:13). Ezekiel stresses repeatedly that the righteous man shall live, while the godless man must die (Ezek. 3:18 ff.; 14:20; 18:4, 9, 13, 17, 20 ff.; 33:11; 37:5). Here the gift of natural life becomes an integral part of the → covenant, obedience to which means prosperity and blessing, while the transgressor forfeits his right to live. The accounts of Ezek.'s visions occasionally contain the phrase *rûaḥ haḥayyâh* (LXX *pneuma zōēs*), which is a paraphrase for the creative, life-giving power of God (Ezek. 1:20 f.; 10:17; 37:5, 10).

Jeremiah's distinction between the two ways is taken up in the wisdom literature, where → Wisdom offers to guide men along the pathway to life, while the ways of → folly lead to death (Prov. 2:18 f.; 3:2, 18; 4:4, 10, 22; 5:6; 6:23; 8:35; 9:11, 18 and passim).

5. In the Psalms Yahweh is portrayed as he who gives life and delivers from → death (Ps. 16:11; 27:1; 31:4 f. and passim). With the passage of time, however, godly men increasingly found that their expectations of long life and prosperity were utterly contradicted by their day-to-day experiences. Hence in later Pss. the traditional view of life becomes relative, and true life is seen as arising from fellowship with Yahweh. "Thy loving kindness is better than life" (Ps. 63:3). Life is now viewed metaphorically in terms of spirituality and life-mysticism (G. von Rad, *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays*, 1966, 258 f.) which seeks refuge and finds satisfaction in living fellowship with Yahweh (Ps. 16:5, 9 ff.; 23; 36:8 ff.). Ps. 73 goes a step further. The assurance of Yahweh's nearness, and the sense of security which this brings, give the worshipper a hope beyond death: "My flesh and my heart may fail, but God is . . . my portion for ever" (Ps. 73:26). Faced with the necessity of justifying the ways of God to men, and persuaded of Yahweh's faithfulness to his covenant promises, the OT believer finds himself being led to hope for better things beyond the grave, i.e. his view of life becomes eschatological. "Wholly apart from magic and mythology there grew up a confidence based simply and solely upon the certainty of an irrefragable relationship with God" (G. von Rad, op. cit., 264; cf. Ps. 49:16; Job 19:25 ff.; → Death, art. *thanatos*, OT 2 (e)).

In apocalyptic the hope of a future life, hitherto held by individual psalmists, has become an expectation of future resurrection now held by the whole nation (Isa. 26:19; Dan. 12:2; cf. SB I, 885 f.; D. S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic 200 B.C.–A.D. 100*, 1964, 353–90).

6. The LXX frequently reinterprets the OT view of life in terms of the Gk. *zōē* (cf. LXX Deut. 32:39; Ps. 55:14 [56:13]; 118 [119]; Prov. 16:15; Job 19:25; 33:30).

To a large extent, late Judaism adopted the OT view of life (Meg. 27b; Taan.

20b; Ber. 55a; cf. SB IV 267, 275, 629), but under Hellenistic influence true life was increasingly seen as the gift of eternal life (*zōē aiōnios*), life without end (4 Macc. 7:19; 15:3; 16:25; 17:12; 18:19; and often). Hence, as in the NT, eternal life could be referred to simply as *zōē* (Test.Jud. 25:1) or *zēn* (Pss.Sol. 15:15). From the Maccabean period onwards belief in a hereafter, → resurrection and eternal life was widespread among Jewish theologians (cf. SB III 481 ff.). As in gnosticism, so also in late Judaism *zōē* is frequently found in association with *phōs*, light, and *gnōsis*, knowledge (cf. Hos. 10:12 LXX).

In Hellenistic Judaism belief in the → resurrection of the dead was largely replaced by the doctrine of the immortality of the → soul (Wis. 8:19 f.; Josephus, *War* 7, 8, 7). Earthly life lost significance (Wis. 4:8 f.), or was even regarded as the prison-house of the soul (Philo, *Leg.All.* 2, 57; 3, 21, 151); the act of dying gained ever-increasing significance (4 Macc. 15:12; 2 Macc. 8:21; Josephus, *War* 7, 8, 7), and true life, i.e. life which is *athanatos*, immortal, was transferred to the world beyond (4 Macc. 15:3; Pss.Sol. 3:16; Philo, *Op.Mund.* 155 f.).

On the other hand, the usage found in the Qumran texts is strikingly similar to that of the OT, the only new feature being the rather formal association of life with the blessings of salvation (1QS 3:7; 4:7; 1 QH 2:20, 31; 9:66; 1QM 1:9; 12:3; CD 3:20).

NT References to the important matter of life occur, as one might expect, in all the books of the NT. It is in the theology of Paul and of John that the doctrine of life is most clearly expressed, and it is evident that the NT teaching contains elements which are of OT, late Jewish and also Gk. origin.

1. (a) The OT view of life is recalled most strongly in the Synoptic Gospels. Natural life is regarded as a priceless possession (Mk. 8:37). Jesus is frequently called upon to exercise his power in order that sick or dying men might live (Mk. 5:23, aorist *zēsē*, that she may live; cf. Jn. 4:47 ff.) or even to restore to earthly life those who are already dead (Mk. 5:35 ff.; Lk. 7:11 f.; Jn. 11:1 ff.). As in the OT, temporal categories are used for life (Lk. 1:75; cf. Heb. 7:3; Rom. 7:1 ff.), which is regarded as something dynamic, but at the same time bounded and transient (Acts 17:28; Jas. 4:14). It is no merely natural occurrence, but an event which can succeed or fail (Lk. 15:13, *asōtōs zēn*, to live dissolutely; 2 Tim. 3:12, *eusebōs zēn*, to live a god-fearing life). True life depends on the word of God (Matt. 4:4, quoting Deut. 8:3), while to live away from God is described as being dead (Lk. 15:24, 32). The basic necessities of life, such as food and clothing, are by no means despised; rather they are gratefully received as gifts of the Creator (Matt. 6:25 ff.; Lk. 12:15). God, who can kill and make alive (Matt. 10:28; Rom. 4:17), is the undisputed Creator (Acts 17:25), the Lord (Lk. 12:20; Acts 10:42; Jas. 4:15) and the embodiment of life; he is the living God (Matt. 16:16; 26:63) and the God of the living (Matt. 22:32; Mk. 12:27; Lk. 20:38).

(b) Over against the present life there stands the life to come (Mk. 10:30; 1 Tim. 4:8; "Godliness is of value in every way, as it holds promise for the present life and also for the life to come [*zōēs tēs nyn kai tēs mellousēs*]"). It is described as "eternal life" (*zōē aiōnios*; Matt. 19:16; par. Mk. 10:17, Lk. 18:18; Matt. 25:46; cf. 2 Tim. 1:10, *zōē kai aphtharsia*, life and immortality). One attains this not by reason of the immortality of the soul – this Gk. idea is completely foreign to the

NT – but as a gift from God who raises the dead (Matt. 22:31 f. par. Mk. 12:26 f., Lk. 20:36 f.). The fact that the future life is occasionally referred to by the use of *zōē* alone, i.e. without any qualifying phrase (see above OT 6), indicates that such life is regarded as real and true, the very life of God himself (Matt. 18:18; Mk. 9:43, 45). There is no implication here, however, of the devaluation of earthly life found in later Hellenism. On the contrary, man's relationship to God's will in this present life determines his destiny in the life to come (Matt. 19:16 par. Mk. 10:17, Lk. 18:18; Lk. 10:25). Matt. 7:13 f. (cf. Lk. 13:23 f.) takes up the idea of the two ways found in Deut. 30:19; Jer. 21:8, Wisdom and inter-Testamental literature, Qumran and later Christian writings (cf. Prov. 8:20; 9:6; 12:15; 16:25; 2 Esd. 7:7 ff.; Test.Ash. 1:3, 5; Pirke Aboth 2:12 f.; 1QS 3:20; Did. 1:1; Barn. 18:1; → Walk, art. *hodos*; see also above OT 4). This close relationship between the present and the future life is put most impressively in the parable of the last → judgment (Matt. 25:31 ff.): the disobedient will suffer eternal punishment, while the righteous will enter into eternal life (Matt. 25:46).

2. (a) Paul's view of life is deeply affected by the → resurrection of Christ from the dead (1 Cor. 15:4), which, being an accomplished fact, has proved the power of divine life over death (Rom. 14:9). The apostle sees Christ as the very embodiment of God's living power, conquering death and raising the dead (2 Cor. 13:4). Life means Christ's everlasting life, life from the dead and beyond the grave.

Through his resurrection Christ, the Last → Adam, has become the author of a new life for mankind (Rom. 5:12 ff.; 1 Cor. 15:20 ff.). The life of Christians is not their own life but the life of Christ: Christ lives in them (Gal. 2:20; Phil. 1:21), they live the life of Christ (2 Cor. 4:10). Their life is justified by Christ (Rom. 5:18), and by his life they will be saved (Rom. 5:10). The life of Christ is mediated to Christians neither as a power (as with the gnostics), nor through mystic union, but by the → word of life (Phil. 2:16; cf. 2 Tim. 1:10; Tit. 1:2 f.) and by the creative power of the quickening → Spirit (Rom. 8:2, 6, 10 f.; 1 Cor. 15:45).

(b) The new Spirit-wrought life of believers (Rom. 6:4) does not try to escape from everyday life into Stoic or gnostic indifference and asceticism. Rather, as Paul sees it, the Christian is to serve his fellow-men responsibly, in whatever historical situation he finds himself. Since he no longer lives for himself (Rom. 14:7; 2 Cor. 5:15), but for God (Rom. 6:10 f.) and Christ (Rom. 14:8; 2 Cor. 5:15), his life shows positive, tangible results (Gal. 5:25, 26) as he follows in the footsteps of Christ and takes up Christ's → cross (2 Cor. 4:9 f.). Hence, Paul can make the paradoxical statement: "We are treated . . . as dying, and behold we live" (2 Cor. 6:8 f.), since life comes from and through death. Not living for oneself means having an attitude of love for others (Rom. 13:8–10; 14:11 ff.). It is important to notice the datives and *syn*-constructions which Paul uses with *zaō*, in order to teach that "living for . . ." and "living with . . ." belong to the very structure of life.

(c) In the believer's new life there is a tension between present and future, indicative and imperative (Gal. 5:25). His new life exists already but has not yet been fully manifested (Col. 3:3, 4). Christ's → resurrection is the pledge of our own future resurrection to an eternal life where death and all the imperfections of the present creation will be things of the past (Rom. 8:18 ff.). "For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive" (*zōopoiēthēsontai*, 1 Cor. 15:22; → Adam).

The new life is not confined to historical time, but points forward to eternal life when the last enemy, death, is vanquished (1 Cor. 15:26, 28; Rom. 6:22; Gal. 6:8). Paul depicts the transition from temporal to eternal life in terms of cosmic drama, miraculous transformation and rapture (1 Thess. 4:13–17; 1 Cor. 15:20 ff., 35 ff., 51 ff.). In this he is following apocalyptic tradition, using apocalyptic imagery and symbolism. He does not engage, however, in the speculations of late Judaism, but confines himself to figurative hints concerning the form which the future life will take. It will be a bodily life (1 Cor. 15:35 ff.; 2 Cor. 5:1 ff.; note that the Jews could not conceive of life in a disembodied state; → Body). It will involve seeing → face to face (1 Cor. 13:12; cf. 2 Cor. 5:7), entering into the fullness of → righteousness, → peace and → joy (Rom. 14:17), → glory (*doxa*, 2 Cor. 3:8 f.) or glorification (Rom. 8:17), but above all being with Christ forever (1 Thess. 4:17; 2 Cor. 5:8; Phil. 1:23).

3. (a) Jn. presents the Word as being eternal life even before his incarnation. He has lived eternally with God and for the benefit of men (Jn. 1:4; 1 Jn. 1:1 f.), i.e. he is the source of divine life and power both in the old and in the new creation. In his incarnation he is the revelation of God, but he not only brings eternal life by his word (Jn. 6:68; 10:28; 12:50; 17:2); he himself *is* the true life (1 Jn. 5:20), as his various → "I am" sayings indicate: "I am the bread of life" (Jn. 6:35, 48), "the light of the world (Jn. 8:12), "the resurrection and the life" (Jn. 11:25), "the way, the truth and the life" (Jn. 14:6). The pre-existent Son of the eternal Father is sent into the world to give life to men both by his word and in his own person (Jn. 6:33; 10:10; 1 Jn. 4:9).

(b) The life of God is received by → faith. He who believes in the Son has life (1 Jn. 5:12), eternal life (Jn. 6:40, 47); he has already passed from death to life (Jn. 5:24; 1 Jn. 3:14). The eternal life which is granted to believers expresses itself in love (Jn. 15:9–17) and in joy (Jn. 16:20–24). According to 1 Jn. 3:14, brotherly love is the criterion of true life: "He who does not love remains in death. We know that we have passed out of death into life, because we love the brethren."

(c) Although at many points Jn.'s view of life corresponds to that of the gnostics, he moves in the opposite direction, for whereas the gnostics transferred eternal life to an almost inaccessible world beyond time and space, Jn. brings it right into the present and anchors it firmly to the word, the commandment and the person of Christ (Jn. 17:3). Possessing this eternal life here and now, believers find death and judgment no longer factors to be reckoned with (Jn. 5:24; 11:25), for such life has the seeds of eternity within it (Jn. 4:14; 6:27; 12:25). All that remains for Christ's disciples is to see the divine glory (*theōrōsin tēn doxan*, Jn. 17:24); and their salvation will be complete (cf. R. Bultmann, *TDNT* II 870 f.).

4. Rev. combines the → Son of man tradition with the figure of a slain → lamb: "I am the first and the last, and the living one; I died, and behold I am alive for evermore, and I have the keys of Death and Hades" (Rev. 1:17 f.; cf. 1:13 ff.; 4:9 f.). Whereas the Gospel of Jn., with its Hellenistic background, concentrates wholly on the present life, Rev. goes back to Jewish traditions and concerns itself exclusively with the life to come. In the vision of the new → Jerusalem, the mythical, early oriental pictures of the tree of life and the water of life, familiar from the story of the Garden of Eden (Gen. 2:9–17), reappear as symbols of the fulness of life in the new city of God (Rev. 22:2–14, 19; 21:6; 22:1, 17). The vision of the new

→ heaven and the new earth is the most wide-ranging in its promises: the last enemy, death, will be vanquished (cf. Paul, 1 Cor. 15:26) and our eternal life with God will be utter perfection: "God himself will be with them; he will wipe away every tear from their eyes and death shall be no more, neither shall there be mourning nor crying nor pain any more, for the former things have passed away" (Rev. 21:3 f.). *H.-G. Link*

→ Adam, → Animal, → Birth, → Creation, → Judgment, → Man, → Death, → Resurrection, → Righteousness, → Sin, → Soul, → Time

(a). K. Barth, *CD* III 2, "The Creature"; and *CD* III, 4 "Freedom for Life", 324–64; G. R. Beasley-Murray, "The Contribution of the Book of Revelation to the Christian Belief in Immortality", *SJT* 27, 1974, 76–93; G. Bornkamm, "Baptism and New Life in Paul (Romans 6)", *Early Christian Experience*, 1969, 71–86; S. G. F. Brandon, "Life after Death IV. The After-Life in Ancient Egyptian Faith and Practice", *ExpT* 76, 1964–65, 217–220; F. F. Bruce, "Paul on Immortality", *SJT* 24, 1971, 457–72; R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, I, 1952, 203–10, 345–52; *Primitive Christianity in its Historical Setting*, 1956; *The Gospel of John*, 1971; J. C. Coetzee, "Life in John's Writings and the Qumran Scrolls", *Neotestamentica* 6, 1972, 48–66; C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, 1953, 144–50; W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*, II, 1967, 496–529; A. J. Feldman, *The Concept of Immortality in Judaism Historically Considered*, 1964; D. H. Gard, "The Concept of the Future Life according to the Greek Translator of the Book of Job", *JBL* 73, 1954 137–43; D. Hill, "The Background and Biblical Usage of *zōē* and *zōē aiōnios*", *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings: Studies in the Semantics of Soteriological Terms*, 1967, 82–201; L. Hodgson, "Life after Death II. The Philosophers: Plato and Kant", *ExpT* 76, 1964–65, 107 ff.; S. H. Hooke, "Life after Death V. Israel and the After-Life", *ExpT* 76, 1964–65, 236–39; and "Life after Death VI. The Extra-Canonical Literature", ibid., 273–76; G. E. Ladd, *A Theology of the New Testament*, 1975, 254–69; W. B. J. Martin, "Life after Death III. The Poets – Victorian and Modern", *ExpT* 76, 1964–65, 140–43; H. Miskotte, *When the Gods are Silent*, 1967; C. L. Mitton, "Life after Death VII. The After-Life in the New Testament", *ExpT* 76, 1964–65, 332–37; S. Mowinckel, *He That Cometh*, 1956; J. Pedersen, *Israel: Its Life and Culture*, I–II, 1926, 99–181 (on the soul), 453–96 (on the world of life and death); G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, I, 1962; II, 1965 (see indexes); *Genesis*, 1963²; and " 'Righteousness' and 'Life' in the Cultic Language of the Psalms", *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays*, 1966, 243–66; H. H. Rowley, "The Good Life" and "Death and Beyond", *The Faith of Israel*, 1956, 124–49, 150–76; G. von Rad, G. Bertram, R. Bultmann, *zaō* etc., *TDNT* II 832–75; D. S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic 200 B.C.–A.D. 100*, 1964, 353–90; E. Schmitt, "Life", *EBT* II 499–503; R. Taylor, "The Eschatological Meaning of Life and Death in the Book of Wisdom I–V", *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 42, 1966, 72–137; V. Taylor, "Life after Death I. The Modern Situation", *ExpT* 76, 1964–65, 76–79; R. W. Thomas, "The Meaning of the Terms 'Life' and 'Death' in the Fourth Gospel and in Paul", *SJT* 21, 1968, 199–212; G. Widengren, "Life after Death VIII. Eschatological Ideas in Indian and Iranian Religion", *ExpT* 76, 1964–65, 364–67; H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the Old Testament*, 1974.

(b). C. Barth, "Leben und Tod", *EKL* II 1040 ff.; G. Dautzenberg, *Sein Leben bewahren. Psyche in den Herrenworten der Evangelien, Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament* 14, 1966; F. Delekat, "Tod, Auferstehung, ewiges Leben", *EvTh* 21, 1961, 1 ff.; L. Dürr, *Die Wertung des Lebens im Alten Testament und antiken Orient*, 1926; E. Ebeling, *Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier*, 1931; G. Gerleman, *ḥāyâh*, *THAT* I 549–57; M. L. Henry *et al.*, *Leben angesichts des Todes, Beiträge zum theologischen Problem des Todes. Helmut Thielicke zum 60. Geburtstag*, 1968; A. Hultkranz, "Leben", *RGG*³ IV 248 f.; P. Kleinert, "Zur Idee des Lebens im Alten Testament", *ThStKr* 68, 1895, 693–732; H.-J. Kraus, "Der lebendige Gott", *EvTh* 27, 1967, 169–200; J. Lindblom, *Das ewige Leben*, 1914; O. Michel, "Der Mensch zwischen Tod und Gericht", *Deutsche Theologie* 8, 1941, 10 ff.; F. Mussner, *Zōē. Die Anschauung vom "Leben" im vierten Evangelium unter Berücksichtigung der Johannesbriefe*, 1952; H. Pribnow, *Die johanneische Anschauung vom "Leben"*, 1934; O. Procksch, "Der Lebensgedanke im Alten Testament", *Christentum und Wissenschaft* 4, 1928, 145 ff.; G. Quell, *Die Auffassungen des Todes in Israel*, 1925; G. von Rad, "Alttestamentliche Glaubensaussagen von Leben und Tod", *Allgemeine evangelisch-lutherische Kirchenzeitung* 71, 1938, 826 f.; E. Schmitt, *Leben in den Weisheitsbüchern Job, Sprüche und Jesus Sirach*,

1954; J. N. Sevenster, *Leven en Dood in de Evangelien*, 1952; B. Steffen, "Ewiges Leben", *EKL* I 1217 ff.; H. Thielicke, *Tod und Leben*, 1946; T. C. Vriezen, E. Lohse, D. Georgi, H. Conzelmann, P. Althaus, "Ewiges Leben", *RGG*³ II 799 ff.; W. Zimmerli, " 'Leben' und 'Tod' im Buche des Propheten Ezechiel", *ThZ* 13, 1957, 494–508.

Light, Shine, Lamp

Light always involves the removal of → darkness, a contrast common to all the word-groups dealt with in this article. *phōs* denotes brightness, light itself, or that which radiates light, e.g. a lamp or torch. But since light is essential to all life, light and → life are closely linked, as are → darkness and → death. *phōs*, therefore, has a wide range of associations in figurative language, from the light of life and the soul to salvation or happiness. The vb. *lampō* and its compounds describe the function or effect of the light coming from an object (or, metaphorically, from men, etc.). *phainō* is largely synonymous with *lampō*, but it lays greater stress on the object itself. It therefore means in cl. Gk. to bring to light; in the pass. to become visible, appear; and in the mid. (as most often in the NT) *phainomai* means to let oneself be seen, to appear as something, to have the appearance of. *lychnos* originally meant the same as *lychnia*, i.e. a lampstand for diffusing the beam of the lamp (*lampas*) placed upon it. Later, however, *lychnos* came to be used for the lamp itself, and figuratively for the eye. Like *phōs*, *phengos* means light, but occurs only three times in the NT: twice with reference to the light of the moon (Matt. 24:29; Mk. 13:24; both quoting Isa. 13:10), and once (Lk. 11:33) referring to the light of a lamp.

λάμπω

λάμπω (*lampō*), shine; λαμπάς (*lampas*), torch, lamp; λαμπρός (*lampros*), beaming, bright, shining, radiant, gleaming, beautiful; λαμπρότης (*lamprotēs*), brilliance, splendour, large-heartedness; λαμπρῶς (*lamprōs*), brilliantly, splendidly, sumptuously; ἐκλάμπω (*eklampō*), shine forth; περιλάμπω (*perilampō*), surround with light.

CL 1. *lampō*, found since Homer, especially in Gk. poetry, is generally intrans. and means to shine (rarely trans., to illuminate). In its lit. sense it refers to sources of light such as the sun, lightning, a torch or a lamp, but it is frequently used fig. in reference to men, e.g. eyes flashing with anger, shining faces, radiant beauty. The compound *perilampō* is used trans. in the sense of to surround with light, while *eklampō* (since Aeschylus) is intrans. and means to shine forth, e.g. of the sun. The noun *lampas* (since Aeschylus) means a torch (made of resinous pine-wood) or a lamp (i.e. an oil-vessel with a wick). *lamprotēs*, on the other hand, is abstract, meaning brilliance, or fig. large-heartedness, and is found from Herodotus onwards. Finally, the adj. *lampros* (since Homer) means beaming, gleaming, shining white (cf. *leukos*, white, gleaming), and the adv. *lamprōs* (since Aeschylus) means brilliantly, splendidly, sumptuously.

2. While in its primary sense *lampō* describes the function of light (→ *phōs*), in illuminating → darkness (*skotos*), used metaphorically it can refer to a shining hero striking fear into men's hearts (e.g. Homer, *Il.* 20, 46). Justice and certain virtues are also said to shine forth.

The flaming torch is associated with the Eleusinian deities and with Artemis and

Hecate, i.e. it is a symbol of purification and serves to drive away demonic powers. A further connection with deity is seen when, e.g., a grove is said to light up at the appearance of a god (cf. Hesiod, *Scutum Herculis* 71). Such passages, however, are rare, for on the whole the Gk. concept "does not specifically associate that which shines with the divine" (A. Oepke, *TDNT* IV 18). Only later, under Egyptian and particularly under oriental influence, does a "religion of light" properly so-called, arise within the Hel. world, reaching its full development in gnosticism (→ *phōs*).

OT In the LXX *lampō* and *eklampō* stand for the Heb. equivalents *ṣāḥaḥ* (to shine), *zāhar* (hiph. trans. to illumine, to teach; intrans. to shine) and *nāḡah* (to shine, to light; hiph. to cause to shine).

([T. McComiskey] In the LXX *lampas* represents the Heb. *lappîḏ* which means torch and is so used in Gen. 15:17; Jdg. 7:16, 20; 15:4, 5. It was used frequently in the OT to describe something of brilliant or dazzling appearance. In Ezek. 1:13 the word describes the undulating light in the midst of the four creatures [cf. Dan. 10:6]. In Nahum 2:4[5] the word describes the gleaming of chariots and in Job 41:10[11] the exhalations of Leviathan. In Isa. 62:1 the word describes the visible manifestation of Israel's deliverance among the nations. And in Zech. 12:6 the clans of Judah are likened to a flaming torch that ignites sheaves. The word *lampas* also represents the Aramaic *nebraštā'* [lampstand] in Dan. 5:5. In the LXX *lamprotēs* stands for the Heb. *nō'am* in Psa. 90[89]:17. The word *nō'am* means pleasantness or favour with no intrinsic concept of brightness.)

These words are important theologically since, in certain contexts, they indicate that God manifests himself as light and hence as a source of illumination, though Yahweh himself is rarely found as the subject of one of these vbs. (see 2 Sam. 22:29: "my God lightens my darkness"; cf. Ps. 18:28, where, however, the vb. is *phōtizein*). As a rule his *kāḇôḏ*, the radiance of his glory (→ Glory, art. *doxa*) is represented in terms of man-made or natural luminaries.

Thus flaming torches (*lampades pyros*) indicate the presence of God (Gen. 15:17; Ezek. 1:13); cf. Exod. 19:18; 24:17, where Yahweh is associated with the smoke and → fire on Mount Sinai, and similarly in the Sinai narrative his presence as lawgiver is made known by flashes of lightning (Exod. 20:18). In Zech. 4:1 ff. there is the vision of the seven-branched candlestick with lamps symbolizing the eyes of the Lord which survey the whole earth. Presumably "the ever-burning lamp in the temple is a representation of the *kāḇôḏ*" (S. Aalen, *Die Begriffe "Licht" und "Finsternis" im Alten Testament, im Spätjudentum und im Rabbinismus*, 1951, 75). Certainly the seven-branched lampstand (Exod. 25:31 ff.) is "a symbol of life and light" just as the lamp is "a symbol of happiness and prosperity" (cf. Jer. 25:10; Prov. 31:18; 13:9; Job 29:3), and therefore, to the godly man, they point back to God as the "Lord and source of all these blessings" (S. Aalen, op. cit., 66). Even Job 41:10 ff. fits this context of ideas, for Leviathan pictured as a crocodile spitting out sparks of fire (v. 19) is an impressive illustration of the power and greatness of the Creator.

Hence in the OT lightning, flaming torches and lamps frequently indicate a theophany or otherwise draw attention to the glory of Yahweh. Furthermore, there is often a close connection between flaming torches and divine → judgment (cf. Num. 16:35), an association vividly portrayed in Zech. 12:6, where the princes

of Israel, as instruments of divine justice, are likened to flaming torches ready to consume Israel's enemies (cf. Nah. 2:4). Occasionally the radiance of the divine glory can also be reflected by men acting on behalf of Yahweh. There is no suggestion anywhere, however, of "a passing of the divine substance of light into man" (A. Oepke, *TDNT* IV 22). Nevertheless, the future of the → covenant people is radiant with light and life (cf. Ps. 36:9; Dan. 12:3 Theodotion's Gk. text), while that of the godless is dark (Prov. 4:18, 19). These latter ideas in particular are developed in late Judaism (2 Esd. 7:97; Eth.Enoch 51:5; cf. A. Oepke, *TDNT* IV 23 f.).

NT In the NT *lampō* occurs 7 times, *perilampō* twice, *eklampō* once, *lampas* and *lampros* 9 times each, and *lamprotēs* and *lamprōs* once each. Out of 30 occurrences in all, 9 are in Matt., and 7 in Rev.

1. The words are used in their lit. sense to denote the shining of the sun (Acts 26:13; cf. 2 Cor. 4:6, where as in the OT stress is laid on the creative act of God in causing light to break forth); similarly of lightning (Lk. 17:24; cf. Rev. 8:10) and of a light upon a lampstand (Matt. 5:15 f. par. Lk. 11:33 f.).

Equally lit. is the use of *lampades* (plur. of *lampas*) both for torches (Jn. 18:3 in the account of Jesus' arrest; cf. Rev. 4:5; 8:10) and for (oil-) lamps (Matt. 25:1, 3 f., 7 f.; Acts 20:8).

2. The adj. *lampros* can denote the magnificance of a garment, indicating affluence or luxury (Jas. 2:2 f.; cf. Lk. 23:11; Rev. 19:8). Used without immediate reference to clothing, it pictures the faded splendour of the "harlot of Babylon" (Rev. 18:14), or, adverbially, the luxurious living of the rich man in Lk. 16:19. In these passages the words begin to have metaphorical significance, for true splendour comes only from heaven. Thus Paul, on his way to Damascus, is suddenly surrounded by a light "brighter than the sun" (Acts 26:13: *ouranothen hyper tēn lamprotēta tou hēliou perilampsan me phōs*), and similarly, in Lk. 2:9, the shepherds are surrounded with the radiance of the → angels, who, in the NT generally, appear as shining figures in a blaze of light (Acts 10:30; 12:7; Rev. 15:6; cf. Matt. 28:2 f.; Rev. 18:1).

3. But supremely it was → Jesus Christ himself who was so "transfigured" by divine radiance that his face shone (*elampsen*) like the sun and his garments became white as light (Matt. 17:2; cf. Mk. 9:2 f.; Lk. 9:29). In John's vision of the future he appears as the bright morning star (Rev. 22:16). This and related word-groups are particularly important in John's vision (→ *lychnos*; → *phōs*); cf. the reference to the river of the water of life, "bright as crystal", flowing from the throne of God (Rev. 22:1). As the lightning illuminates the whole sky, so (according to Lk. 17:24) will it be at Christ's parousia. "Then the righteous will shine like the sun in the kingdom of their Father" (Matt. 13:43, quoting Dan. 12:3).

Until that time Christ's disciples have the task of shining like lights on a lampstand (Matt. 5:15 f. → *lychnos*; cf. Rev. 1:12, 20; 2:1), which is made possible only by sharing with Paul in the experience of 2 Cor. 4:6. *H.-C. Hahn*

λύχνος

λύχνος (*lychnos*), lamp, light; λυχνία (*lychnia*), candlestick, lampstand.

CL & OT Already in Homer *lychnos* (root *leuk;* cf. Latin *lux*, light) means light, lamp (cf. Homer, *Od.* 19, 34). At a later period this was almost invariably some form of oil-lamp (*lampas*). The latter was often placed upon a lampstand or candlestick (*lychnia*, since Plutarch) in order to diffuse the beam.

In the Gk. world and among the Israelites, lamp and lampstand were important both as everyday objects (cf. 2 Ki. 4:10), and for the part they played in public worship (cf. especially the seven-branched candlestick in the tabernacle and the temple, e.g. Exod. 25:13 ff.; Heb. 9:2).

NT In the NT *lychnos* occurs 14 times (of which 6 are in the writings of Lk. and 3 in Rev.), and *lychnia* 11 times (of which 7 are in Rev.). The importance of lights and lamps (e.g. for the household, Lk. 15:8) explains why Jesus used them to illustrate his disciples' function in the world: as the lamp on the candlestick lights up the surrounding darkness, so the disciples are to have an illuminating effect upon their environment (Matt. 5:15 ff.; Mk. 4:21; Lk. 8:16; 11:33). The eye is called "the light [*lychnos*] of the body" (Matt. 6:22; Lk. 11:33). "On its health depends whether the blessings of light come to man" (W. Michaelis, *TDNT* IV 326). The ensuing reference to the eye being *haplous*, single or sound, is taken by D. Hill to reflect the Heb. *tām* (Aram. *šᵉlîm*) meaning singleness of purpose, undivided loyalty (*The Gospel of Matthew*, 1972, 142). Hill endorses the gloss of F. V. Filson: " If a man divides his interest and tries to focus on both God and possessions, he has no clear vision, and will live without clear orientation and direction" (*A Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew*, 1960, 100).

While Jesus described himself as light (→ *phōs*), his forerunner John the Baptist is likened to a burning and shining lamp (*ho lychnos ho kaiomenos kai phainōn*, Jn. 5:35). Similarly, two witnesses are compared to two lampstands (Rev. 11:4, cf. Zech. 4:3, 11–14), and the seven churches are symbolized by seven golden lampstands (Rev. 1:12 f., 20; 2:1). The source of the witnesses' and the churches' light is indicated by 2 Pet. 1:19, where the word of prophecy is called "light" in that it looks forward to the glory of Christ. It is clear from Rev. 2:5 that the light of Christian witness can become dull and even go out, and that it can be renewed only by repentance (cf. Heb. 6:4 ff., concerning the apostasy of those who have been enlightened).

Babylon is warned that when she sinks in ruin, "The light of the lamp shall shine in thee no more" (Rev. 18:23; → Babylon). The heavenly → Jerusalem, on the other hand, will be illuminated by the glory of God (Rev. 21:23), which makes all lamps superfluous (Rev. 22:5) for God himself will be the sole light. Until that day, the Christian may be said to live in eschatological tension; he is therefore called to be watchful, as in the vivid metaphors of Lk. 12:35: "Let your loins be girded and your lamps burning". *H.-C. Hahn*

φαίνω

φαίνω (*phainō*), shine; *φαίνομαι* (*phainomai*), mid. shine, appear, become manifest, come into view.

CL & OT Both active and passive forms are found from Homer onwards. The active *phainō* (intrans. only) means to shine (e.g. of the sun, the moon, or a lamp); similarly the passive *phainomai*, which, however, more frequently means to

appear, come into view. In the LXX the mid. occurs almost exclusively, but without any clear Heb. equivalent; usually it translates *'ôr* (hiph.), to let shine and *rā'âh* (niph.), to be seen, appear.

NT 1. In the NT *phainō* occurs 9 times, of which 7 are in the Johannine writings. It generally refers to the light of natural luminaries such as celestial bodies (Phil. 2:15), the sun (Rev. 1:16; 21:23; cf. 8:12) and the moon (Rev. 21:23) (→ Sun, Moon, Stars), but may also refer to the light of a lamp (→ *lychnos*) (Jn. 5:35; 2 Pet. 1:19; Rev. 18:23). In all these passages, however, the light concerned is contrasted with a stronger source of light, e.g. the sun and the moon will be superfluous when the glory of God illumines the heavenly Jerusalem (Rev. 21:23). Only in two places does *phainō* refer to the "true" light itself, i.e. Christ (Jn. 1:5; 1 Jn. 2:8).

2. *phainomai* which occurs 22 times in the NT, of which 17 are in the Synoptic Gospels, is used for the appearing of a star (Matt. 2:7), and also for the appearing of tares among the wheat (Matt. 13:26). It occurs similarly in the birth narratives where → angels appear in → dreams (Matt. 1:20; 21:3, 19), and in other narratives such as those of → Elijah's rumoured appearance (Lk. 9:8) and the appearances of the risen Christ (Mk. 16:9). Similarly, the appearance of certain phenomena will accompany his return (Matt. 24:27, 30). The idea of becoming visible is present in Matt. 9:33 (of Christ's deeds); Jas. 4:14 (of a mist, to which man's brief life is compared); and 1 Pet. 4:18 (of the ungodly at the last → judgment). Matt. 6:5, 16, 18 and 23:27 f. take what men are or do in secret, and contrast this, either positively or negatively, with outward appearances. Paul tells the Corinthians that his primary concern is their well-being, not his own good "showing" before God (2 Cor. 13:7). Mk. 14:64 and Lk. 24:11 refer to the way something "appears" to a person (similarly Rom. 7:13: the true nature of sin being revealed to a person through the law).

Heb. 11:3 is theologically significant. Here the prime cause of "things which are seen" (*blepomena*; → See) is said to be God's creative word. In this way the doctrine of *ex nihilo* → creation is safeguarded against the error of materialism, which would teach that the "aeons" have evolved spontaneously from "things which appear" (*phainomena*). (→ Faith, art. *pistis*; → Form art. *hypostasis*.)

H.-C. Hahn

ἐμφανίζω

ἐμφανίζω (*emphanizō*), reveal, make known; ἐμφανής (*emphanēs*), visible.

CL In secular Gk. *emphanizō* is used basically in the sense of to manifest, exhibit, and passively to become visible. The word also connotes the ideas of making plain (Plato, Sophocles), declaring or explaining (Aristotle). The adj. *emphanēs* connotes the idea of visible, open, manifest.

OT In the LXX *emphanizō* stands once for the Heb. *'āmar* (Est. 2:22). The vb. *'āmar* means to say or tell. Thus, in this context *emphanizō* is used in the sense of declare. The word also stands for the hiphil of *yāḏa'* (know) in Exod. 33:13, where → Moses prays that he may "have made known" to him the ways of God.

The sense here is that of making known or revealing the ways of God. In Isa. 3:9 *emphanizō* occurs as the translation of the negative clause *lō' ḵiḥēḏû* ("they do not hide it"). The context indicates that it is their sin that they fail to hide; the LXX presents the act positively, i.e. they "manifest" or "display" their sin. In Exod. 33:18 *emphanizō* represents the Heb. *rā'âh* (hiph.). The Heb. *rā'âh* is the common word for see, and in the hiphil means to show or exhibit.

emphanes (neut.) represents the niphal of the Heb. *kûn* (establish) in Isa. 2:2 and Mic. 4:1 which describes the exalted position of the mountain of the → house of the Lord over the mountains. *emphanes* here is probably used in the sense of conspicuous or manifest. This connotation is not inherent in the Heb. *kûn* which is used only in the sense of to be firm, establish (cf. Ass. *kânu*, be firm). The LXX seems to be expansive in its translation at this point.

In Isa. 65:1 *emphanēs* represents the niphal of the Heb. *dāraš* (seek). In this context the Lord indicates that he was sought by those who did not ask for him. The LXX understands *dāraš* in the sense of to manifest, perhaps understanding the niphal in its reflexive sense, i.e. "I permitted myself to be known," hence "I manifested myself."

In Exod. 2:14 *emphanēs* stands for the niphal of *yāḏaʿ* (know). In this context Moses becomes aware of the fact that his murder of the Egyptian has become known.

NT In the NT the vb. *emphanizō* occurs in the sense of declare, inform on 5 occasions. In Acts 23:15 the word occurs with the dative *tō chiliarchō*, the military tribune, the commander of a cohort in charge of Paul (cf. Arndt, 890). In Acts 24:1 the word is used in conjunction with the clause *kata tou Paulou* in a legal context referring to the act of informing against or presenting a case against Paul. The word is used in a similar sense in Acts 25:2, 15 with *peri* as the preposition in v. 15. In Acts 23:22 the word is used of the act of imparting information. It describes the act of a young informant who disclosed information to the tribune mentioned above.

In Heb. 11:14 the word *emphanizō* is used in the sense of show or manifest. Those who acknowledge their transience on the earth show or demonstrate by this acknowledgment the fact that they are seeking a homeland.

emphanizō occurs several times in the sense of appear. In Matt. 27:53 it is used of the saints who appeared in Jerusalem at the → resurrection of Christ. In Jn. 14:21 f. it is used of the spiritual presence of Christ with the one who keeps Christ's → commandments. It thus connotes here a manifestation to the spiritual faculties rather than to the senses. In Heb. 9:24 the verb is used of Christ's appearance in the presence of God.

The adj. *emphanēs* is used in the NT on two occasions. In Acts 10:40 it occurs in the sense of manifest in the phrase *edōken auton emphanē genesthai*, "made him manifest" (RSV). The context refers to the post-resurrection appearance of Christ to certain witnesses.

In Rom. 10:20 the word occurs in a quotation from Isa. 65:1: "I have been found by those who did not seek me; I have shown myself [*emphanēs egenomēn*] to those who did not ask for me." As in the LXX rendering of this verse noted above, *emphanēs* represents the niphal of *dāraš*. The quotation, like the preceding one

from Deut. 32:21, illustrates the fulfilment of OT prophecy and the consistency of God in receiving the Gentiles, whereas → Israel, as ever, has remained disobedient, (Rom. 10:21; cf. Isa. 65:2). *T. McComiskey*

φῶς

φῶς (*phōs*), light, brilliance, brightness; φωτίζω (*phōtizō*), light up, illumine, bring to light; φωτισμός (*phōtismos*), illumination, enlightenment; φωτεινός (*phōteinos*), shining, bright, radiant; φωστήρ (*phōstēr*), luminary, brightness; φωσφόρος (*phōsphoros*), bearing light, morning star.

CL 1. In Homer there is frequent use of the noun *to phaos*, later abbreviated, e.g. by the tragedians, to its Att. form *phōs*. Its basic meaning of light, brightness, also covers the following nuances among others: sunlight, daylight, torch, fire (-light), eyesight. Figuratively *phōs* means the light of life, i.e. life itself, which is highly valued as something bright, and as being comparable with salvation, happiness or military triumph. The bringer of such salvation can also be referred to as *phōs*.

The vb. *phōtizō* (since Aristotle), formed from the same stem, is almost always trans., meaning to light up, illumine, bring to light, make visible. Its corresponding noun *phōtismos* denotes brilliance, radiance, or bringing to light, making manifest, revelation. There is also the adj. *phōteinos* (since Xenophon), shining, bright.

A further derivative from *phōs* is *phōstēr* (since Heliodorus), luminary or brightness, and from Euripides onwards the morning star is termed *phōsphoros*.

2. Relatively early in Gk. usage *phōs* (in contrast with *skotos*, → darkness, or *nyx*, night) came to mean the sphere of ethical good, whereas misdeeds are said to take place in darkness. Hence it is the task, e.g., of a judge, to bring hidden things "to light".

Plato's comparison of the idea of the good with sunlight (*Rep.* 507e–509b) is deeply significant for the history of ideas. By entering the sphere of epistemology (→ knowledge), *phōs* became greatly enriched in its range of connotation. A context such as this can stress its illuminating qualities, while another can emphasize its function as a healer, for even in the Gk. world there was a connection between "the notion of sin and the image of darkness, and the notion of a redemption and salvation from evil and the image of the light" (J. Stenzel, *Die Antike*, I, 1925, 256; cf. R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 1971, 42). Light possesses powers essential to true life. Hence "to be in the light" comes to mean simply "to live", whereas to be in Hades (→ Hell) is to be in darkness.

3. In the Gk. as in other religions the metaphor of light has a certain importance. The gods are said to live in a world of brightness, the world from which Prometheus stole → fire. "He kindled the light of fire for mortal men" (K. Kerenyi, *Prometheus*, 72). Torch-races were held as part of the cultic veneration of the gods, and in certain mystery cults the cleansing and refining effect of fire (like that of water) played no small part. But Gk. religion never became a religion of light in the strict sense of the term (cf. A. Oepke, *TDNT* IV 19). Such a religion came into being only in later Hellenism.

Gnosticism (→ Knowledge, art. *ginōskō*) marked the climax of this process. It

saw a basic, essential difference between light and darkness which stood over against each other as hostile powers, each being sovereign within its own sphere. Man, who by nature is in darkness, needs to liberate the elements of light within his own soul, and free them from earthly matter so that they may be re-united with the supernatural world to which they really belong and so attain to true life. Light and → life are inseparably connected; similarly, "in gnosticism light and spirit are considered to be essentially one" (H. Leisegang, *Die Gnosis*, 1955[4], 27). "Light is the matter of the other world which flows on him who is willing to receive it and imports divine powers. Light, life, and later knowledge are interchangeable concepts" (A. Oepke, *TDNT* 20 IV). This gnostic religion of light was carried still further in Manichaeism and Mandaeism.

OT 1. In the OT there are frequent references to light and its effects. Having quoted B. Jacob and A. Dillmann, who respectively describe light as "the sublimest element" and "the finest of all elementary forces", G. von Rad adds his own epithet: "the first-born of creation" (*Genesis*, 1963[2], 49; cf. Gen. 1:3 ff.). He points out that this primeval light has pride of place over all other lights: even the stars are "in no way creators of light, but only mediating bearers of a light that was there without them and before them" (op. cit., 54). The sun, being the brightest star, is assigned to the day (Gen. 1:14 ff.; Sir. 43:2 ff.), and each new day begins with the ushering in of morning light (2 Sam. 23:4). The moon and stars seek to penetrate the darkness of the night at least to some degree (Gen. 1:16; Sir. 43:6 ff.). Surrounded as they were by "a cultural and religious atmosphere that was saturated with all kinds of astrological false belief" (von Rad, ibid.; cf. Wisd. 13:1 f.), the Israelites laid great stress on light having been created, in order to render abortive any attempt to deify it. There is only the one God Yahweh. He creates light and darkness (Gen. 1:3 ff.; Isa. 45:7; Jer. 31:35; Sir. 43:1 ff.), and since he is → Lord also of the darkness, he is able to turn even darkness into light (Ps. 139:11 f.).

(a) In the OT there are frequent references to light as a kind of attribute of God: light is his garment (Ps. 104:2). His nearness and presence are indicated by light (cf. Exod. 13:21 f.; Neh. 9:12; Dan. 2:22, "the light dwells with him"; Hab. 3:4, "his brightness was like the light"; Isa. 60:19 f. in an eschatological context). In particular his countenance is said to be the origin of the light proceeding from him (Ps. 4:6; 44:3; 89:15). S. Aalen comments: "It is probably true to say that throughout the OT light is a feature of God's self-manifestation rather than of his heavenly being" (*RGG*[3] IV 358).

For man the light of Yahweh means salvation, an idea clearly expressed in Ps. 27:1: "The Lord is my light and my salvation; whom shall I fear?" (cf. Job 22:28). The light which comes from God sets the bounds of every man's life, and arises upon all men (cf. Job 25:3; Sir. 42:16). Each man, however, must still turn to the light; in fact, he must look beyond it to its source, and consciously acknowledge the might of the Creator.

The light of the ungodly is worthless. It goes out (Job 18:5 f.), or is taken from them (Job 38:15). They grope in darkness (cf. Job 12:25; Prov. 4:19), and even after death darkness will still surround them (Ps. 49:19), while God will redeem the soul of the righteous "from the power of Sheol" (Ps. 49:15; → Hell).

(b) Even during his earthly life, however, the godly man enjoys the light of the

living (Ps. 112:4, "Light rises in the darkness for the upright"; cf. Job 33:30; Ps. 56:13; Prov. 4:18; 13:9). He enters into an experience of God's saving power when he opens his heart to the light of God's word (Ps. 119:105; cf. Prov. 6:23 and Wis. 7:10, 26, where the → law and → wisdom respectively are referred to as light). Only in the light of God does man see light (Ps. 36:9). Only when enlightened by God does the nature of reality dawn upon him, and that not by any mystical illumination. Rather, having turned to God, he receives, along with the gift of salvation, practical "orientation for his life" (cf. S. Aalen, *Die Begriffe "Licht" und "Finsternis" im Alten Testament, in Spätjudentum und im Rabbinismus*, 1951, 65). His life must be lived in the light, i.e. in concrete obedience to God's → commandments. Just as the "pillar of fire" marked Israel's route at the time of their exodus from Egypt (Exod. 13:21 f.), so the law shows how a man is to walk in the light, i.e. how a godly Israelite ought to live (cf. the exhortation of Isa. 2:5). The prophets in particular lay great stress on the importance of walking in holiness and righteousness. He who walks in the light himself can also become a light for others, i.e. a mediator of the covenant on behalf of all mankind (said of the Servant of the Lord, Isa. 42:6; 49:6; cf. 58:10, acts of mercy are like beams of light). This missionary outlook is marked by a world-wide hope, even in the OT, for the truth of Yahweh will go forth as "a light to the nations" (Isa. 51:4), and they will flock to the light of God (Isa. 60:3).

2. An antithesis found particularly in the OT Wisdom Literature, that of light and darkness as the respective spheres of the God-fearing and the ungodly (e.g. Prov. 4:18 f.), receives radical treatment in the Qumran texts. Within the religious community on the North-West shores of the Dead Sea there developed a dualism of light and darkness, probably under the influence of the Persian religion of light. On earth the "sons of the light" – in this case identified with the members of the Qumran community – are locked in conflict with the "sons of darkness" (1QS 1:9, 18, 24; 2:5, 16, 19; 3:13 and often; cf. the title of 1QM, "War of the Sons of of Light against the Sons of Darkness"; on this see the edition of Y. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness*, 1962).

This confrontation within history corresponds to a similar one in the metaphysical world of spirits. The Prince of Light (1QS 3:20; CD 5:18; 1QM 13:10) is opposed as lord of the world by an Angel of Darkness (1QS 3:20, 21). But there is a causal, indeed almost a predestinarian link between the respective sides in this conflict and the two opposing camps into which mankind is divided: "Those born of the truth spring from a fountain of light, but those born of falsehood spring from a source of darkness. All the children of righteousness are ruled by the Prince of Light and walk in the ways of light; but all the children of falsehood are ruled by the Angel of Darkness and walk in the ways of darkness" (1QS 3:19 ff.; cf. Vermes, *Scrolls*, 76). Nevertheless, the sons of light are still subject to attacks from the Angel of Darkness and his spirits (ibid.) and their situation would be desperate apart from the help of the "God of Israel". He represents the limit of the power of darkness, for in Qumran, just as in the OT, he is regarded as the creator both of the spirits of light and also of those of darkness (1QS 3:26). Dualism extends, therefore, into the transcendent realm of spirits, but it is not carried further to include God himself. Darkness is not his equal, as it is in Mazdaism, for he remains ultimately the Lord and as such the guarantor that the eschatological

hopes of the sons of light will be realized. The latter, of course, must live as those who have been enlightened (cf. 1QS 11:5), continually walking in the ways of light, i.e. in conformity to the Torah and to the rules of their order (cf. 1QS 1:16–2:18; 3:3). Then their way will be bathed in the light of glory yet to come, while all that awaits the ungodly is darkness (cf. 1QS 2:7 f.; 4:6 ff., 12 f., and often; for the antithesis of the way of light and the way of darkness see 1QS 3:20 f.; cf. Sl.Enoch 30:15 A). The dualism between light and darkness is conceived of not so much in material terms as in gnosticism, but rather in ethico-historical terms.

3. Philo used *phōs* particularly with reference to questions of → knowledge. Hence *sophia*, → wisdom, and *epistēmē*, knowledge, are called *phōs dianoias*, the light of knowledge (*Spec.Leg.* 1, 288; *Migr.Abr.* 39 f.), i.e. they cast true light upon the whole question of existence. Under Plato's influence, Philo saw the noetic as playing an important part in a man's appropriation of salvation. But since, like others in the history of religion, he viewed salvation in terms of light, it is easy to see why he used the metaphor of light for epistemological concepts.

The *logos* is light (*Leg.All.* 3, 171 ff.; → Word), similarly the human *nous* or understanding (*Post.C.* 57 f.; → Reason). By describing → conscience as *phōs* (*Deus Imm.* 135; *Jos.* 68), he indicates the connection between knowledge and ethical behaviour, a connection already assumed as self-evident by Plato. Pride of place among the virtues, however, is held not by the philosophical concept of *erōs* (→ Love), but by piety and love towards God. He is the one and only God, dwelling, according to Philo, in a heaven of brightness and light (*Jos.* 145). But God himself is regarded as "the first light", and "the archetype of every other light" (*Som.* 1, 75) – yet another indication of Philo's attempt to combine Hellenistic philosophy with the faith of Israel.

NT In the NT *phōs* occurs 72 times, of which 33 are in the Johannine writings, 14 in the Synoptic Gospels, 13 in Paul and 10 in Acts; *phōtizō* occurs 11 times; *phōtismos* twice (2 Cor. 4:4, 6); *phōteinos* 4 times; *phōstēr* twice (Phil. 2:15; Rev. 21:11); and *phōsphoros* only once (2 Pet. 1:19).

1. (a) The original, literal meaning is found in reference to the light of the sun (Rev. 22:5), which is absent at night (Jn. 11:10), the light of lamps (Lk. 8:16; 11:33; 15:8; Acts 16:29; Rev. 18:23; 22:5) and the warm glow of a fire (Mk. 14:54; Lk. 22:56).

(b) The bright cloud used by God in the transfiguration of his Son (Matt. 17:5) points beyond itself to God, whose appearing is inevitably accompanied by effulgence. The Son, too, is surrounded by radiance: "His face shone like the sun, and his garments became white as light" (Matt. 17:2). Here light is a manifestation of the presence of God; in some other places it indicates the appearing of the exalted Christ (Acts 9:3; 22:6, 9, 11; 26:13), and in yet others the coming of angels as messengers from God himself (Acts 12:7; cf. Matt. 28:2 f.).

The disciples are also described as light or light-bearers (Matt. 5:14, 16; Lk. 12:35; cf. Eph. 5:8; Phil. 2:15), since it is their task to pass on the divine light which they have received. That which they heard from Jesus in secret (i.e. in the intimacy of his closed circle of friends) they are to proclaim fearlessly "in the light" (a stock phrase meaning "in public") (Matt. 10:27; cf. Lk. 12:3). As missionaries of Christ, they are to shine out into the world, not with their own light but with the

very light of heaven itself, for in the NT light is associated with God's dwelling-place (1 Tim. 6:16), or even with God himself (1 Jn. 1:5), whence it streams forth into this world.

2. It is John in particular who portrays Jesus Christ as light breaking in upon the → darkness of the world (→ Earth, art. *kosmos*). Already in the prologue to his Gospel, light and life are linked together, i.e. Christ is the only remedy for men who by nature are in darkness (Jn. 1:4; cf. 8:12). John the Baptist is called a witness to the light, though the difference between him and the light itself is made very clear (Jn. 1:6 ff.; 5:35 f.). "The true light that enlightens every man" came into the world in the person of Jesus Christ (Jn. 1:9). R. Bultmann comments: "He is the *proper, authentic* light, who alone can fulfil the claim to give existence the proper understanding of itself. . . . The exclusiveness of the revelation which occurred in Jesus is further brought out by the relative clause *ho phōtizei*: he and only he is the Revealer for all men" (*The Gospel of John*, 1971, 53; cf. Jn. 3:19; Lk. 2:32, quoting Isa. 42:6; 49:6). The same note of exclusiveness is sounded very clearly in one of Christ's celebrated → "I am" sayings, where he also indicates the consequences for men: "I am the light of the world; he who follows me will not walk in darkness, but will have the light of life" (Jn. 8:12; cf. 9:5; 12:46; → See). " 'The light' designates the nature of Jesus directly. He is not like a light; he *is* 'the light' " (H. Conzelmann, *An Outline Theology of the New Testament*, 1969, 351). R. Bultmann expounds the significance of this light as follows: "By making the world bright, it makes it possible for men to see. But sight is not only significant in that it enables man to orientate himself in respect to objects; sight is at the same time the means whereby man understands himself in his world, the reason he does not 'grope in the dark', but sees his 'way' " (op. cit., 40). Recognizing the way is not sufficient, however. We have to → walk in it, for he who is the light and the way does not want mere admirers, but believing followers. Hence the injunction: "Believe in the light, that you may become sons of light" (Jn. 12:36).

An admonition such as this is necessary because the natural man loves darkness rather than light (Jn. 3:19). This may be compared with 2 Cor. 4:4, where Paul speaks of men blinded by the god of this world "to keep them from seeing the light of the gospel of the glory of Christ who is the likeness of God". This can only be changed by a creative act of God parallel to the original creation of light. "For it is God who said, 'Let light shine out of darkness,' who has shone in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ" (2 Cor. 4:6; cf. Gen. 1:3). And even though it is certainly true that since the coming of Jesus Christ "darkness is passing away" (1 Jn. 2:8), the Christian coming to the light still needs to be urged to keep the commandment of brotherly love (1 Jn. 2:8 ff.). For only "he who loves his brother abides in the light" (1 Jn. 2:10). The prerequisite for doing the → truth – here as elsewhere closely associated with the idea of light – is communion with him who is the light of the world, Jesus Christ. In order to abide in him, the Christian must walk in the light, live for his brethren and constantly seek forgiveness through the power of the → blood of Christ (1 Jn. 1:6 f.).

3. Although using these words less frequently than John, Paul gives them a similar theological content. Light and darkness are as incompatible as → righteousness and lawlessness (→ sin; cf. 2 Cor. 6:14), ideas influenced possibly by Qumran.

The content of light or illumination, however, can only be christological: God has shone in our hearts "to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ" (2 Cor. 4:4, 6 [see above 2]; cf. 2 Tim. 1:10). Through him we share "in the inheritance of the saints in light" (Col. 1:12).

In turn those who once were darkness have become, as believers, "children of light", and are now "light in the Lord" (Eph. 5:8; cf. 1 Thess. 5:5; Lk. 16:8). Such sonship, however, makes ethical demands upon its recipients: "The fruit of light is found in all that is good and right and true" (Eph. 5:9). Thus it is necessary to walk according to the light, and all the more so since Christians bear a missionary responsibility for the world about them, a responsibility which they can only meet by living "as lights in a dark world" (Phil. 2:15; cf. Acts 13:47, quoting Isa. 49:6), even though this may perhaps involve them in conflict (Heb. 10:32).

In this world the Christian lives his life, so to speak, between God and → Satan. The latter can even disguise himself as "an angel of light" (2 Cor. 11:14). Hence Christians must put on "the armour of light" (Rom. 13:12; → Weapon). Only he who has fought a good fight in this armour has no need to fear the day when "the Father of lights" (Jas. 1:17) will bring to light what is hidden (1 Cor. 4:5).

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4. Like the OT and late Judaism, the NT describes the future of the ungodly in terms of eschatological → darkness which symbolizes perdition. Believers, on the other hand, have a → hope which enables them to see the end of time differently. This too can be depicted in terms of light. In the new → Jerusalem there will no longer be sun, moon or created light, "for the glory of God is its light [lit. illuminated it, *ephōtisen autēn*] and its lamp [*lychnos*] is the Lamb. By its light shall the nations walk; and the kings of the earth shall bring their glory to it" (Rev. 21:23 f.; cf. 22:5 which adds that there will be no more night). While the ungodly are excluded (Rev. 21:8, 27; 22:3, 11, 18 f.), there is an echo here of the universal coming to the light by the Gentiles alongside Israel which featured in the eschatological proclamation of Isa. 2:2–5; 24:23; 60:1, 19. Here too the light of Yahweh supersedes created light.

2 Pet. 1:19 contains the admonition: "You would do well to pay attention to this as to a lamp shining in a dark place, until the day dawns and the morning star [*phōsphoros*] rises in your hearts." There are no lexical grounds for interpreting *phōsphoros* (lit. light-bringer) of the → sun. The term was used in cl. Gk. of the morning star, the planet Venus (Liddell-Scott, 1968), which precedes the dawn. For stars as messianic symbols see Num. 24:17: "There shall come a star out of Jacob" (which was applied to Bar Kokhba whose name means "Son of a Star"; → Jesus Christ, art. *Christos*; → Israel; cf. also Test.Lev. 18:3; Test.Jud. 24:1–5; 1QM 11:6 f.; Lk. 1:78; Rev. 22:16). The term *heōsphoros*, bringer of morn, morning star, is likewise attested in cl. Gk. (Liddell-Scott, 752). It occurs in the LXX in a lit. sense in 1 Sam. (Ki.) 30:17; Job 3:9; 11:17; 38:12; 41:9(10); Ps. 110(109):3. But in Isa. 14:12 it is a title applied to the king of → Babylon whose fall Isaiah proclaims. The Heb. here is *hêlēl*, shining star, "Day Star" (RSV). O. Kaiser conjectures a background of Ugaritic mythology (*Isaiah 13–39; A Commentary*, 1974, 38 ff.) which may have had its origin in the fact that as it rises, the morning star grows feebler because of the rays of the sun. The thought of Christ as the morning star in

2 Pet. 1:19 presents a marked contrast with this. The verse gives "a pictorial description of the way in which, at His Coming, Christ will dissipate the doubt and uncertainty by which their hearts are meanwhile beclouded and will fill them with a marvellous illumination" (J. N. D. Kelly, *A Commentary on the Epistles of Peter and of Jude*, 1969, 323, who notes similar expressions in Philo, *Ebr.* 44; *Decal.* 49).

C. Brown

→ Black, White, Red, → Creation, → Darkness, Night, → Present, Day, → See, → Sun, Moon, Stars

(a). K. Barth, "The Light of Life", *CD*, IV, 3, 1, 38–165; R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 1971 (see index); R. Bultmann and D. Lührmann, *phainō* etc., *TDNT* IX 1–10; J. H. Charlesworth, "A Critical Comparison of the Dualism in 1QS 3:13–426 and the 'Dualism' Contained in the Gospel of John", in J. H. Charlesworth, ed., *John and Qumran*, 1972, 76–106; H. Conzelmann, *phōs* etc., *TDNT* IX 310–58; C. H. Dodd, *The Bible and the Greeks*, 1935; and *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, 1953, 201–12; E. R. Goodenough, *By Light Light: The Mystic Gospel of Hellenistic Judaism*, 1935; H. G. May, "The Creation of Light in Gn. 1:3–5", *JBL* 58, 1939, 203–10; W. Michaelis, *lychnos* etc., *TDNT* IV 324–27; A. Oepke, *lampō* etc., *TDNT* IV 16–28; R. Schnackenburg, "Light", *EBT* II 503–9; and *The Gospel according to St John*, I, 1968; D. Tarrant, "Greek Metaphors of Light", *The Classical Quarterly*, 54, 1960, 181–7; D. O. Via, "Darkness, Christ, and the Church in the Fourth Gospel", *SJT* 14, 1961, 172 ff.; Y. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness*, 1962.
(b). S. Aalen, *Die Begriffe "Licht" und "Finsternis" im Alten Testament, im Spätjudentum und im Rabbinismus*, 1951; and "Licht und Finsternis", *RGG*³ IV 357 ff.; H. Bardtke, *Die Handschriftenfunde am Toten Meer*, 1953, 97 ff.; G. Baumbach, *Qumran und das Johannesevangelium*, 1958, 46 ff.; J. C. Bott, "De notione lucis in scriptis s. Ioannis Ap.", *Verbum Domini* 19, 1939, 81–91; R. Bultmann, "Zur Geschichte der Lichtsymbolik im Altertum, *Philologus* 97, 1948, 1 ff. (reprinted in *Exegetica*, 1967, 323 ff.); and "Weihnachten", *Glauben und Verstehen*, III, 1960, 76 ff.; B. Bussmann, *Der Begriff des Lichtes beim heiligen Johannes*, 1967; C. Colpe, "Lichtsymbolik im alten Iran und antiken Judentum", *Studium Generale*, 18, 1965, 116–33; M. Dibelius, "Die Vorstellung vom göttlichen Licht", *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1915, 1496 ff.; J. Dupont, "Jésus-Christ. Lumière du Monde", *Essais sur la christologie de S. Jean*, 1951, 61–105; C. Edlund, *Das Auge der Einfalt*, 1952; K. Galling, "Lampe", *Biblisches Reallexikon*, 1937, 347 ff.; F. Heiler, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion*, 1961, 43 ff.; J. Hempel, "Die Lichtsymbolik im Alten Testament", *Studium Generale* 13, 1960, 352–68; P. Humbert, "La Thème Véterotestamentaire de la lumière", *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie* 99, 1966, 1–6; F. N. Klein, *Die Lichtterminologie bei Philon von Alexandrien und in den hermetischen Schriften*, 1962; G. Molin, *Die Söhne des Lichts. Zeit und Stellung der Handschriften vom Toten Meer*, 1954; F. Nötscher, *Zur Terminologie der Qumran-Texte*, 1956, 76 ff.; E. Percy, *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung der johanneischen Theologie*, 1939, 23–79; H. Preisker, "Jüdische Apokalyptik und hellenistischer Symbolismus im Johannes-Evangelium, dargelegt am Begriff 'Licht' ", *TLZ* 77, 1952, 673–78; M. Saeb, *'ôr*, *THAT* I 84–90; H. Schär, *Erlösungsvorstellungen und ihre psychologischen Aspekte*, 1950; R. Schnackenburg, *Die Johannesbriefe*, 1963²; G. Stählin, "Jesus Christus, das Licht der Welt", *Universitas* (Festschrift A. Stohr), I, 1960, 58–78; H. Sedlmayr, *Der Tod des Lichtes*, 1964, 9 ff.; W. von Soden, "Licht und Finsternis in der sumerischen und babylonisch-assyrischen Religion", *Studium Generale* 13, 1960, 647–53; L. R. Stachowiak, "Die Antithese Licht-Finsternis: ein Thema der paulinischen Paränese", *ThQ* 143, 1963, 385–421; R. von Ungern-Sternberg, "Die Bezeichnungen 'Licht' und 'Finsternis' im Alten Testament", *Deutsches Pfarrerblatt* 65, 1965, 642 ff.; G. P. Wetter, *Phos*, 1915.
For works relating to gnosticism → the bibliography under Knowledge.

Like, Equal

Although it is impossible to make a clear and universally applicable differentiation between the two word-groups, as they are often interchangeable, in general the

isos group indicates more strongly an external, objectively measurable and established likeness and correspondence, while the words connected with *homoios* express more substantial, essential likeness, hence correspondence in particular characteristics, specific or generic likeness. Although the term does not appear in the NT, a note on *homoousios* has been appended to the article on *homoios* in view of the crucial importance of the term in the debates on the person of Christ in the early church. It was opposed by the Arians but included in the Creed of Nicea (325) asserting that Christ was "of the same substance as the Father", and as such passed into the Nicene Creed.

ἴσος

ἴσος (*isos*), equal, corresponding to; ἰσότης (*isotēs*), equality, fairness; ἰσότιμος (*isotimos*), of equal value; ἰσόψυχος (*isopsychos*), of like soul or mind.

CL 1. Already in frequent use in Homer, *isos* and *isotēs* in their earliest stage express a fundamental rule in the sharing of the booty of war. Care had to be taken to ensure not only the equality of quantity but also the equality of value of the objects which were divided up. Hence, *isos* and *isotēs* indicate:

(a) *Numerical and physical equality*, e.g., of number, value (equal interest rates, number of votes, sums of money, dimensions in space or time; water and wine mixed in equal parts, etc.).

(b) By extension, *substantial equality*, e.g., of the copy with its original, of the assertions of witnesses, of the chances in war.

(c) *Political and legal equality*. The concept received a spiritual meaning in Gk. literary and legal life. Gk. democracy in the city states rested on the principle that all citizens possessed equal standing in society and enjoyed equal rights. *isos* and *homoios* were used as standing expressions for these political equalities. Judicial impartiality also rested upon the application of the principle of equality to all parties. Hence, *isos* became the expression for impartial, and came close to meaning the same as *dikaios*, just (→ Righteousness), so that the two concepts could be interchanged. Beyond impartiality in the legal sphere the application of the principle of equality meant particularly that which must be conceded to every citizen, that which is right and fair.

2. The relationship between justice and fairness was differently defined in the individual philosophical schools. In Stoic teaching on virtue, rectitude and fairness stem from the will for justice. In Philo (*Spec.Leg.* 4, 231) it is the other way round: *isotēs mētēr dikaiosynēs*, "fairness is the mother of justice." Finally, the two concepts can become an interchangeable pair: *ison ē dikaion*, "fair or right."

3. (a) Behind the idea of legal equality and fairness lay fundamental philosophical convictions about the essential equality of all men, convictions not yet thought out when we meet them in Homer, but philosophically established in Plato and Aristotle. In the originally rigoristic Stoic ethic the thought of the homogeneity of mankind even led to the levelling out of the natural differences in good or evil thoughts and deeds, with the result that graduations were looked upon as of only little significance and no longer as decisive. Good is good and evil is without distinction evil.

(b) As a principle of order *isotēs* means cosmic harmony, the balancing of all forces. This cosmic principle is reflected in human striving for equality.

(c) This sense of equality, so strongly developed in Gk. intellectual life, led eventually in Hellenism via the veneration of heroes to the doctrine of deification through the application of philosophical ideas to the concept of salvation. Already in Homer's epic, as later in tragedy, the heroes who were believed to possess divine power were spoken of as *daimoni isos*, *isotheos*, *isodaimōn*, godlike, like the gods. Plato showed in philosophy the ideal way: *homoiousthai tō theō kata to dynaton*, "become as far as possible like god" (*Theaet.* 176). Correspondingly, the ideal "divine man" was also to a certain extent equal to god, *isotheos* (cf. Homer, *Il.* 2, 565; *Od.* 1, 324; Plato, *Phdr.* 255a).

OT 1. In the LXX *isos* and *isotēs* are not very frequent. *isos* for the most part translates the comparative particle k^e (thus predominantly, in Job, e.g. 5:14; 10:10) or *'eḥaḏ* in comparative juxtapositions (thus in Ezek. 40:5–9). Of the many compounds formed with *isos*, only *isopsychos* has a Heb. counterpart: k^e*'erkî*, my equal (Ps. 55:13 [MT 55:14]; cf. Deut. 13:6). No others appear until writings of the Hellenistic period and express more strongly Hellenistic ideas, which are connected above all with the political principle of equality: e.g., *isēgoreomai*, to speak with the same freedom (Sir. 13:11); *isomoiros*, having an equal share (2 Macc. 8:30); *isonomeō*, to have equal rights (4 Macc. 5:24); *isopolitēs*, a full citizen with equal rights (3 Macc. 2:30).

2. In the language of wisdom and religion, on the other hand, one can establish characteristic differences from Gk. usage which stand out even more clearly in the case of → *homoios* and its derivatives. The natural, essential equality of all men is seen above all in their transitoriness and frailty, in the suffering of birth and death (Wis. 7:3 6). In contrast to Gk. veneration of heroes and the thought of a deification of man, the fundamental distance between God and his mortal creatures is stressed: no mortal may dare wish to be God's equal (*isotheos*, 2 Macc. 9:12), not even the heavenly beings may be likened to him (*isoō*, Ps. 89:7). "The OT echoes with majestic monotony the question 'Who is like God?' " (G. Stählin, *TDNT* III 352; cf. Isa. 44:7, *tis hōsper egō*, "Who is like me?"; similarly Jer. 10:6; 49:19). For this reason the Satanic suggestion, "You shall be as God!" (Gen. 3:5, LXX *theoi*, "gods") is the fundamental temptation of man and his succumbing to it stands at the beginning of a human history full of suffering (on Gen. 1:26 → *homoios* OT).

3. In Rabbinic Judaism, with all its delight in the law and striving after faithfulness to it, there was the idea that, despite the different standards of fulfilment of the law in this life, in eternity all believers in the messiah would receive equal rewards as a gift of grace (SB I 832 f.). For the messiah will so lead his people that every member, in the presence of his grace, will be equal to all the others (Ps. Sol. 17:41–46).

NT In the NT we find the adj. *isos* 8 times (in all four Gospels, also in Acts, Phil., and Rev.) – this includes the neut. plur. *isa* used as an adv. in Phil. 2:6; *isotēs* 3 times (2 Cor. and Col.); *isotimos* only in 2 Pet. 1:1; *isopsychos* only in Phil. 2:20.

1. In a few passages the use of *isos* remains within the framework of secular Gk., as it is reflected partly in the LXX: it marks equality of size (Lk. 6:34; Rev. 21:16) and conversely at the trial of Jesus the lack of unanimity in the evidence of the

witnesses (Mk. 14:56, 59). In Phil. 2:20 Paul recommends Timothy to the congregation as a fully like-minded (*isopsychos*) and reliable colleague.

2. (a) The equality among Christians, which transcends all national and religious frontiers, with regard to their participation in salvation (→ Fellowship) is experienced as a supernatural act, through one and the same experience of the Spirit, which removes all barriers between Jewish Christians and Gentiles (Acts 11:17; cf. 2 Pet. 1:1, *isotimos*, "of the same kind", lit. "equal in value"). This removal of differences is continued by Jesus' statement on the eschatological equality of Christians. They will receive the same → reward (*misthos*) in heaven as a gift of grace, whether they entered the work in the vineyard early or late (Matt. 20:12).

(b) The existing social inequalities of the members of the congregation, however, are not denied or simply removed. But the fellowship of poor and rich, of masters and slaves, receives new rules and standards, and this through → love as a new regulating principle of life between Christians. Thus masters are exhorted to treat their slaves justly and with fairness (*isotēs*; Col. 4:1). They are no longer a possession subject to their master's caprice, but → brothers in Christ. Brotherly love always cares for the needy as, for example, in the original community in Jerusalem (Acts 2:44 f.; 4:36 f.), so that the differences also between wealthy and poor do not become a cause of distress (→ Fellowship, art. *koinos*).

With these assumptions Paul can appeal to the Corinthians on the ground of their experience of equality as Greeks when he exhorts them as something self-evident to give of their own surplus to meet the lack of the community in Jerusalem, so that there might be an equality (*isotēs*; 2 Cor. 8:13, 14).

This new attitude of brotherly love means being free to love one's → enemy. It surpasses the law of give in order to get, which even sinners practise when they help one another in order "to receive as much again" (Lk. 6:34).

(c) External inequality is not called into question, neither are internal differences within the community. The → gifts (*charismata*) of → grace are various and are variously divided (Matt. 25:14 f.; 1 Cor. 12:28 ff.; Rom. 12:6 ff.; Eph. 4:16; Mk. 4:24; Rom. 12:3). But from the picture of the → body and its members Paul demonstrates their coordination and their equality of value in Christ (1 Cor. 12:12 ff.). The uniting force is love (1 Cor. 13).

The idea of → reward (*misthos*), undergoes a limitation in the NT. It is not the "axle of piety" as it was, so often, in Judaism (cf. Sir. 44:21). If it is still retained, it is chiefly in relation to the last → judgment, which will not leave unbelief and its deeds unpunished. But grace cannot be earned. It is a gift, of which all who receive it are equally unworthy (Rom. 11:32).

The secular forms of equality, "which are determined by earthly law and righteousness, are confronted in the NT by another kind of equality which is established by the love of Christians and by the divine gifts of grace" (G. Stählin, *TDNT* III 348).

3. Two passages speak of Jesus' equality with God.

(a) In Jn. 5:17 Jesus says, "My Father is working still, and I am working." Previously he had broken the → Sabbath commandment, whereupon the Jews taxed him with making himself equal with God. In certain respects they were right to do so, for on their assumptions they could only understand his assertion of equality as a flagrant presumption of independence from God (R. Bultmann, *The*

Gospel of John, 1971, 245; SB II 462 ff.), whereas for Jesus it signified exactly the reverse. As the obedient Son, he revealed the Father, without the greatness of the Father (Jn. 14:28) which was working through him being thereby damaged. The Son is thus equal to the Father in the harmony of their working (5:19 ff.). One can therefore conceive the equality of Jesus with God expressed in Jn. 5:18 as "equality of dignity, will and nature" (*TDNT* III 353).

(b) The hymn to Christ in Phil. 2:6–11 contains the assertion that Jesus "did not count equality with God a thing to be grasped [*ouch harpagmon hēgēsato to einai isa theō*], but emptied himself taking the form of a servant, being born in the likeness [*homoiōmati*] of men" (vv. 6 f.). The numerous complex problems of this passage can only be barely indicated here. First may be noted the contention of E. Käsemann that this statement comes in a "sequence of occurrences in a single event" and therefore does not present "a definition of essence in the manner of a patristic christology" (*Exegetische Versuche und Besinnungen*, I, 1960, 75). Thus it does not permit us to treat it in isolation as a statement of the kind of equality with God possessed by the pre-existent Jesus. The decisive point is the assertion of pre-existence and the consequent existence in the sphere of God. The striking thing, therefore, in the statement of Phil. 2:6 f. is that the Pre-existent One entered without reserve the sphere of man, death and historical existence in all its ambiguity. It is not just a question of exemplary obedience (v. 8), or "model humility" (E. Lohmeyer, *Kyrios Jesus*, [1928] 1941, 42), but objectively of incarnation. The revelation involves renouncing the glory of divine status and living under the conditions of a fully human existence. For discussion of kenotic christology and the interpretation of Phil. 2 → Empty, art. *kenoō*; → Form, arts. *morphē* and *schēma*.

E. Beyreuther

ὅμοιος

ὅμοιος (*homoios*), like, of the same nature, similar; *ὁμοίως* (*homoiōs*), likewise, so, similarly, in the same way; *ὁμοιόω* (*homoioō*), make like, compare; *ὁμοιότης* (*homoiotēs*), likeness, similarity, agreement; *ὁμοίωμα* (*homoiōma*), likeness, image, copy, appearance; *ὁμοίωσις* (*homoiōsis*), likeness, resemblance; *ὁμοιοπαθής* (*homoiopathēs*), with the same nature; *παρόμοιος* (*paromoios*), like, similar; *παρομοιάζω* (*paromoiazo*), be like; *ἀφομοιόω* (*aphomoioō*), make like, similar.

CL 1. The adj. *homoios* is derived from the root, *homos*, which is connected with *hama*, at the same time, together (cf. Lat. *simul*, at the same time, together; *similis*, like), and has been in general use since Homer. Four meanings are to be distinguished:

(a) Of the same kind, like, of the same condition, referring to persons and things. As a mark of such a state of affairs, *homoios* more frequently occurs linked with *isos*, to emphasize expressly similarity of kind. On the other hand, *homoios* and *isos* can even on occasion be interchanged.

(b) Of the same character, hence of the same value, endowed with the same rights (fellow-member of a party, like-minded companion). Thus *hoi homoioi*, the peers, in Sparta and similarly constituted Gk. city states, were the citizens who possessed the same right of access to all offices (Xenophon, *Hellenica* 3, 3, 5).

(c) What is divided equally to all, the *common*, e.g. in possessions or fate (*homoiē moira*, Homer, *Il.* 18, 20).

(d) In geometry *homoios* signifies similar figures in the sense of equal (cf. *TDNT* V 187).

2. The vb. *homoioō* remains within this range which the adj. occupies. From Homer on it is used in this sense trans. to make someone like a person or thing, then to hold in similar regard, to compare; pass. to be like, to resemble.

3. The nouns *homoiotēs*, *homoiōsis* and *homoiōma* are at times virtually synonymous meaning likeness, resemblance.

(a) *homoiotēs* (from the pre-Socratic philosophers onwards) and the rarer *homoiōsis* are very close in meaning. With *homoiotēs* the stress falls on similarity of kind, likeness, correspondence, which, perhaps, has only just been produced or discovered and has not existed from the beginning. *homoiōsis*, making or being like or similar, occurs among the grammarians in the sense of comparison, analogy. It is also used of species (Aristotle, *De Plantis* 2, 6, p. 826b, 32 f.).

(b) *homoiōma* seldom occurs in secular Gk., and means what is like-shaped, likeness, image. The stress here also lies on a correspondence and similarity, in this case with reference to the concrete, individual form. *homoiōma* is moving, therefore, in the direction of *eikōn* (→ Image). But even if Plato sometimes used the two concepts synonymously, there remains a possible distinction in so far as *eikōn* is considered more as an entity in itself, whereas *homoiōma* stresses more the element of comparison. It means what is similar or like, a copy (cf. *TDNT* V 191).

4. *homoiopathēs* means literally suffering the same, then generally of similar disposition. The rare *paromoios* means similar in the sense of almost the same, and therefore presupposes a certain lack of correspondence with the thing copied or compared. *paromoiazō*, to be similar, is only found in the NT (Matt. 23:27). Similarly, *aphomoioō* means to make like, to copy; in the pass. to be or become like.

OT In the LXX *homoios* has predominantly two Heb. equivalents which belong to the realm of simple comparison and, taken by themselves, have no particular significance: *k^{e}mô*, the extension of the comparative particle *k^{e}*, as; and *mîn*, kind, sort, in expressions like of the same kind, the like, e.g. similar types of animal in Lev. 11:14 ff. In contrast the vb. *homoioō* occurs chiefly for *dāmâh*, to be like and the nouns *homoiōsis* and to a lesser extent *homoiōma* for *d^{e}mûṯ*, pattern, shape, likeness. One can recognize here an extensive correspondence with Gk. usage. *homoioō* occurs frequently in the introduction to illustrations and → parables (e.g. Ps. 144:4; Cant. 2:17; 7:8; Sir. 13:1; *dāmâh* in each case). It also features in statements about the incomparability of Yahweh; e.g. "To whom will you compare me?" (Isa. 46:5). In Gen. 34:15, 22 f. *'ôt*, consent to, seems to have been wrongly translated by *homooiō*.

Of the nouns *homoiōma* occurs most frequently (some 40 times including non-canonical LXX writings); more rarely *homoiōsis* (5 times for *d^{e}mûṯ*, 9 times all told), *homoiotēs* only 5 times (once for *mîn*). *homoiōma* stands for *taḇnîṯ*, image (Deut. 4:16 ff.), and *t^{e}mûnâh*, image in connection with the Second Commandment (Exod. 20:4). In Ezek. 1:4 (*'ayin*) and Ezek. 1:5, 16, 22, 26; 2:1 (1:28); 8:2; 10:1,

10, 21 f., 23:15 (*d^emût*) *homoiōma* denotes the mysterious forms that the prophet saw. For Isa. 40:18 *tini homoiōmati hōmoiōsate auton* the best translation is perhaps: "What kind of copy will you make of him?" *homoiotēs* in Gen. 1:11 f. is to be translated kind and in Wis. 4:19 and 4 Macc. 15:4 similarity. In just the same way *pasa homoiōsis* in Ezek. 8:10 (*taḇnît*) means kinds or images (of creeping and four-footed beasts) and in Ezek. 10 similarity. Dan. 10:16 (Theodotion) *hōs homoiōsis hyiou anthrōpou* is best rendered "like the form of a man" (Heb. *ben 'āḏām*, lit. son of man, means man).

In contrast to the incomparability of Yahweh, otherwise so strongly stressed (see also *isos* OT), Gen. 1:26 states that God created man *kat' eikona hēmeteran kai kath' homoiōsin* "in our image and likeness". *eikōn* translates the Heb. *ṣelem* and *homoiōsis* the Heb. *d^emût*. Admittedly man is here accorded a special creaturely worth and even has a special *kāḇôḏ*, glory (Ps. 8:9). But the statement on the image of God has its real point rather "in the purpose for which the image is given to man" (G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, I, 1962, 144). There is no direct explanation of the likeness. The plur. may even be understood as a concealment. The *hēmeteran* (our) may mean nothing more than that man was created "'^e*lōhîm*-like" (cf. Ps. 8:5 [MT 8:6] *m^e'aṭ mē'^elōhîm*, "little less than God"; cf. LXX *brachy ti par' angelous*, "a little less than angels"). In other words, man is God's authorized agent and has his worth only as such (von Rad, op. cit., 146; → Image, art. *eikōn* for other interpretations).

NT The majority of NT occurrences appear, in the case of the adj., adv. and vb., in the Gospels (21 out of 45 occurrences of *homoios*, 19 out of 31 of *homoiōs*, 12 out of 15 of *homoioō*). However, *homoios* occurs 21 times in Rev. On the other hand, the majority of instances of the nouns are in the Pauline writings and Heb. (*homoiōma* 4 times in Rom. and once in Phil. out of a total of 6; *homoiotēs* only twice in Heb.; *homoiōsis* once in Jas.). *homoioō* and *aphomoioō* each occur only once in Heb. (the only occurrence of the latter); and *homoiopathēs* once each in Acts and Jas.

1. Where adj. and vb. (also the single instance of *paromoiazō*, be like, Matt. 23:27) occur in the Gospels, they are found predominantly in the introductory formula to Jesus' → parables, especially in Matt. Lk. prefers the form of the parable without introduction (e.g. Lk. 7:41; 10:30; 12:16). Only Matt. uses (10 times) the formulae: *homoia estin hē basileia tōn ouranōn*, "the kingdom of heaven is like" (13:31, 33, 44, 45, 47; 20:1); *hōmoiōthē hē basileia tōn ouranōn*, "the kingdom of heaven may be compared to" (Matt. 13:24; 18:23; 22:2); and *homoiōthēsetai hē basileia tōn ouranōn* "the kingdom of heaven shall be compared" (Matt. 25:1). Mk. 13:34 (cf. 4:31) simply has *hōs*, as; and Matt. 25:14 *hōsper*, as. The Aramaic underlying these formulations is a terse construction in the dative case using *l^e*. J. Jeremias holds that this should be rendered: "It is the case with . . . as with. . . ." (*The Parables of Jesus*, 1963², 101). The point of comparison, e.g., in Matt. 13:45 is not the merchant but the pearl; in Matt. 22:2 it is not the king but the wedding feast, etc. The construction corresponding to the developed dative beginning occurs, e.g., in Lk. 13:20 f., "To what shall I compare the kingdom of God? Where it is concerned it is as . . .", or more broadly Mk. 4:30 f. (On the whole question see J. Jeremias, op. cit., 100–3; → Parable, art. *parabolē*).

2. In other passages *homoios* is found in very varied connections.

(a) In Matt. 22:39, in the double commandment, love for one's neighbour is placed beside love for God as its necessary counterpart and illustration (*homoia*; → Brother, art. *plēsion*; → Command; → Law; → Love). According to Jn. 8:55, Jesus would be a liar, a denier of the revealing and sending God like his opponents (*homoios hymin pseustēs*, "a liar like you"), if he were to be silent and avoid giving offence (cf. R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 1971, 300 f.).

(b) *homoios* also occurs in connection with the polemic against the worship of false gods in Acts 17:29. The idea that God cannot be depicted struck a chord among educated Gks.; but it was to just such that the speech before the Areopagus sought to present an apology for Christianity as the model of the only true worship of the "unknown god" (v. 23; → God, art. *theos* NT 4 (b)). Rom. 1:23 also belongs to the polemic against the worship of false gods. Through their images the heathen have "exchanged the glory of the immortal God for images resembling [*en homoiōmati eikonos*] mortal man or birds or animals or reptiles" (cf. O. Michel, *Der Brief an die Römer*, *KEK* 4, 1966[13], 60; N. Hyldahl, "A Reminiscence of the Old Testament in Romans i. 23", *NTS* 2, 1955–56, 285–88; G. Bornkamm, "The Revelation of God's Wrath (Romans 1–3)", *Early Christian Experience*, 1969, 47–70; C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Epistle to the Romans*, *ICC*, I, 1975, 119 f.). Thereby the revelation of the true God was negated, the God to whom, according to vv. 19 f., the heathen also had access (→ God, art. *theos* NT 4 (b)).

Acts 14:11 is also concerned with a naive, heathen belief in false gods. Here the crowd thought that their gods, Zeus and Hermes, had taken on human form (*homoiōthentes*) in Barnabas and Paul. The apostles protested, indicating that they too were ordinary men (*homoiopathēs*, of like nature) and mere messengers of the living God (v. 15). *homoiopathēs* occurs otherwise only in Jas. 5:17 → Elijah was like us a mortal man.

(c) 1 Jn. 3:2 expresses the expectation that we shall be like Jesus (*homoioi autō esometha*) at his parousia, and see him as he is (→ Present, art. *parousia*). For the present we are instructed to seek the true knowledge of Christ in his word and this word only allows us a token knowledge of his true being (cf. 1 Cor. 13:12). At the parousia, on the other hand, an unimpaired relationship will be possible, on "the same level of being" (F. Hauck, *NTD* 10, 129 f.). However, the writer does not intend this isolated remark to be a speculative description of future likeness to God. He prefaces it with the observation: "we are God's children now; it does not yet appear what we shall be." And he follows it with an exhortation to purity.

In Rev. 1:13 and 14:14 the "one like a son of man" is to be interpreted within the framework of Son of man christology (→ Son of God, art. *hyios tou anthrōpou*). The "son of man" of Dan. 7:13, the divinely appointed, kingly judge of the world, is the exalted Christ, the coming messiah. On the grammatical construction see Funk §182(4).

(d) *homoios* occurs elsewhere in comparisons, without having any particular stress of its own: in Gal. 5:21 in the phrase "and the like [*kai ta homoia*]"; similarly in Mk. 7:13 "and many such things [*kai paromoia toiauta polla*]"; cf. also, e.g., Rev. 2:18; 4:3, 6, 7 in symbolic comparisons. The same applies in Rev. 9:7 for *homoiōma* which RSV and Arndt (570) render "appearance".

3. *homoiōma* plays an important rôle in the christological statements of Rom.

and Phil. in expressing both the divinity of the Pre-existent One and the humanity of the Incarnate One.

(a) Rom. 5:14 asserts that mankind as a whole, like → Adam, has been subjected to the rule of death, even if it has not sinned in exactly the same way as he (*epi tō homoiōmati*). Adam is the → type of Christ, the Last Adam (cf. 1 Cor. 15:45). What Christ brings about by grace surpasses by far the equivalent effect of the fall of the first man (*pollō mallon*, v. 15; → Fullness, art. *perisseuō*).

(b) Rom. 6:5 presents certain difficulties of exegesis: "For if we have been united [*symphytoi gegonamen*] with him in a death like his [*tō homoiōmati tou thanatou autou*], we shall certainly be united in a resurrection like his [*alla kai tēs anastaseōs esometha*]" (RSV). The interpretation depends on whether one understands *homoiōma* in this verse concretely as a picture, the symbolic representation of something else, or as the actual realization of an event by means of a symbolic representation. If one prefers the second rarer, but here very appropriate alternative, the text would mean: "In the act of baptism the death of Jesus Christ is present, although in a different form from that on Golgotha," and we are "received into the same saving event" (*symphytoi* means lit. "grown together"; O. Michel, op. cit., 154; cf. J. Schneider also *TDNT* V 192–95).

(c) Rom. 8:3 also presents difficulties. "For God has done what the law, weakened by the flesh, could not do: sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh [*en homoiōmati sarkos hamartias*] and for sin [*kai peri hamartias*] he condemned sin in the flesh" (RSV). The difficulties have their origin in the theological problem of grasping conceptually the incarnation, i.e. the paradox of how Christ can be fully God and fully man, and applying it to the justification of the sinner. "Paul wants to emphasize that the power of sin is a cosmic unity, but that it is broken into at one absolutely specific point" (O. Michel, op. cit., 190). By remaining obedient under the form of our bodily existence and bearing its burden Jesus "became in a unique sense a sign of the righteousness of God" (O. Michel, ibid.).

(d) Similarly in Phil. 2:7 the Incarnate One is described as "being born in the likeness of men [*en homoiōmati anthrōpōn genomenos*]" (RSV). He took on human form, and became like man. There are still those who try to interpret this likeness as not real, but merely apparent. J. Schneider, for example, appears to come near to this, when he says that "even as man He remained at the core of His being, what He had been before" (*TDNT* V 197). All interpretations which tend in this direction can hardly avoid the danger of some form of docetism, even when the contrary is asserted. Likewise it seems to us that one cannot, following on v. 5, determine the tenor of Phil. 2:5–11 as ethical (Jesus surrendered his divine nature by a free decision, he voluntarily practised obedience "unto death"). This would result in *homoiōma* being merely the model for the obedience of faith. However, E. Käsemann has shown that the hymn is to be understood eschatologically and soteriologically (*Exegetische Versuche und Besinnungen*, I, 1960, 51 ff.). What has already been said about Rom. 8:3 applies here unequivocally. Christ has in fact taken a historically unique, unambiguously human form. He was in fact delivered to death, the curse of sinful men (cf. Gal. 3:13), although he himself was sinless (cf. Heb. 4:15). Thus at a specific point in time he broke the power of sin and death.

Here, too, the mystery of the saving significance of the incarnation must be

expressed in words which cannot serve as a basis for dogmatic speculations, for this mystery can only be described in terms of paradox.

4. (a) Heb. also uses *homoioō*, *aphomoioō* and *homoiotēs* in connection with christological statements. Christ "had to be made like his brethren in every respect [*kata panta tois adelphois homoiōthēnai*]" (2:17). Hence he was tempted like us "in quite the same way (*kath' homoiotēta*]" (4:15; cf. Arndt, 570). "The becoming like signifies being bound to us in history and humanity, in temptation, suffering and dying" (O. Michel, *Der Brief an die Hebräer*, *KEK* 13, 1966[12], 163). That Christ took flesh and blood and thus was placed in the situation of man before God is seen in the light of theological reflection as a matter of → necessity ("he had to [*ōpheilen*]", 2:17). For only thus can the sentence of death, which hangs over man, be averted (cf. O. Michel, ibid).

(b) In Heb. 7 the Son of God is compared with → Melchizedek in the form of type and antitype. "God is the artist who allows a sign of the first age to correspond with the event of the last" (O. Michel, op. cit., 163). Melchizedek is said to resemble (*aphomoiōmenos*) the Son of God (7:3). His priesthood is not limited in time. No genealogy is given, and his birth and death find no mention in the OT. Hence rabbinical exegesis concluded that he possessed a special being and office (SB III 694 f.). So when, according to Heb. 7:15, Christ is installed in his priestly office "in the likeness [*kata tēn homoiotēta*] of Melchizedek", what is being said is that he has an office not limited in time and a share in the power of indestructible life (v. 16), to which he has opened the way of access (cf. 10:19 ff.) for his brothers (2:17) as their pioneer or originator (12:2; → Begin, art. *archēgos*).

5. The only other verse in which *homoiōsis* occurs (Jas. 3:9) warns against the sins of the tongue (→ Word, art. *glōssa*). The tongue is capable of contradictory opposites: → blessing God and → cursing man who, according to Gen. 1:26, is created in the image (*kath' homoiōsin*) of God. Therefore to curse man is indirectly to curse God. *E. Beyreuther, G. Finkenrath*

6. The term *homoousios* became one of the crucial terms in the history of Christian doctrine in view of its central importance in the Arian controversy. Arius and his followers denied the divinity of Christ. At the Council of Nicea (325) *homoousios* (of the same substance or stuff, of one substance, consubstantial) was inserted into the creed adopted by the council to express the faith of the church. It was reaffirmed by the Council of Constantinople (381). But in the intervening years it was questioned not only by the Arians but by many churchmen who were uneasy about making a term not contained in the Scriptures the test of orthodoxy. It was defended by Athanasius on the grounds that it contains "the sense of the Scriptures" (*Epistola de decretis Nicaenae synodi* 21; cf. Gregory Nazianzen, *Orationes* 31, 23 f.). In particular, Athanasius appealed to the fact that Christ was the offspring (*gennēma*) of the Father (→ Birth, art. *gennaō*). Among the passages he appealed to were Jn. 1:18; 6:46; 8:42; 10:30; 14:10.

Originally *homoousios* had a non-theological generic sense meaning "made of the same stuff", and was applied to physical objects which cannot be composed of identical portions of matter. It was used thus by Eusebius (*Demonstratio evangelica* 1, 10, 13) and Basil the Great (*Adversus Eunomium* 2, 19). Diodore of Tarsus

(*Commentary on Psalms* 54:4) and Chrysostom (*Homiliae* 16, 2 in 1 Tim.) used it in the sense of fellow men.

In a simple theological sense it was quite a common term among gnostic writers, as is shown by orthodox opponents such as Epiphanius (*Haer.* 33, 7, 8), Irenaeus (*Haer.* 1, 15, 1), Hippolytus (*Haer.* 7, 22, 7) and Tertullian (*Adv.Herm.* 44; Lat. *consubstantialis*). They saw it as the nature of the Good to produce or beget objects similar to itself and *homoousios* with itself. Both Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 2, 16; 74, 1) and Origen (*Commentarii in Joannem* 13, 25, 149) argued against those gnostics who said that some men are *homoousios* with the unbegotten nature.

Commenting on Wis. 7:25, where wisdom is said to be "a breath of the power of God, and a clear effluence of the glory of the Almighty", Origen wrote: "Both these illustrations suggest a community of substance between Father and Son. For an effluence would appear to be *homoousios*, i.e. of one substance with, that body of which it is an effluence or vapour" (*Fragmenta in Heb.*; cf. *De prin.* 4, 4, 1).

Prior to the Council of Nicea it seems that *homoousios* simply meant "of one substance" as applied to material objects. When the metaphor was applied to the divine persons, its limitations were clearly recognized. The emperor Constantine who urged the term upon the Council of Nicea emphasized that it was not being used as it would be of physical objects, "nor as if the Son subsisted out of the Father by way of division or any sort of severance" (Eusebius, *Epistula ad Caesarienses* 4). One of the reasons for the term being rejected by Arius and his followers was that they understood it in the material sense only (Arius, *Epistula ad Alexandrum Alexandrinum*). The Creed of Nicea declared that: "We believe . . . in one Lord Jesus Christ . . . begotten, not made, of one substance with the Father [*homoousion tō patri*]." It was intended to be anti-Arian, suggesting, it would seem, nothing more nor less than that the Son shares the same divine nature as the Father.

A. Robertson saw the formula of Nicea as "the work of two concurrent influences, that of the anti-Origenists of the East, especially Marcellus of Ancyra, Eustathius of Antioch, supported by Macarius of 'Aelia', Hellanicus of Tripolis, and Asclepas of Gaza, and that of the Western bishops, especially Hosius of Cordova" (*St. Athanasius: Select Works and Letters*, IV, *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 1892, xvii). He further agreed with Harnack that Constantine was "prompted" by Hosius to insert the phrase *homoousion tō patri* (op. cit., xviii; cf. A. Harnack, *History of Dogma*, IV, reprint 1961, 56). It seems clear that Athanasius was not the author of the term. As F. Loofs observed, Athanasius was moulded by the Creed of Nicea, but did not mould the creed himself (*Leitfaden zum Studium der Dogmengeschichte*, 1906[4], 237–43). The minority party at Nicea, led by Hosius, in all probability saw the term as implying a great deal more than that the Son is God in the same sense as the Father. "For to the Westerns the word implied *identity* (*tautotēs*) as well as equality or unity with the Godhead" (T. H. Bindley and F. W. Green, *The Oecumenical Documents of the Faith*, 1950[4], 24).

The Eastern opponents (the Arians, semi-Arians and Origenists) of the Nicene formula seized upon the rejection of *homoousios* by the Council of Antioch in 268. It was the reasoning of Paul of Samosata (fl. 260–72) which led to this step. Paul had argued that his adoptionist view was the only one possible, on the

grounds that "unless Christ has of man become God, it follows that He is *homoousios* with the Father; and if so, of necessity there are three *ousiai*, one the previous *ousia*, and the other two from it" (Athanasius, *De Synodis* 45). On this material interpretation of the term the Council of Antioch could do nothing but reject it. However, as Athanasius points out, the Council of Nicea "understanding Paul's craft, and reflecting that the word *homoousios* has not this meaning when used of things immaterial, and especially of God" (ibid.), rightly chose to use it.

The opponents of Nicea saw the term as an open door for Sabellianism. The Sabellians of Libyan Pentapolis in their dispute with Dionysius of Alexandria (*c.* 260) had accused the latter of failing to describe the Son as *homoousios* with the Father (Athanasius, *De Sententia Dionysii* 18). When the pro-Nicene Marcellus of Ancyra and his deacon Photinus moved towards Sabellianism, the Arians saw this as confirmation of their contention that the supporters of *homoousios* were implicitly Sabellian and did not believe in the separate identity of the Son. However, Basil the Great (*c.* 370) supported Athanasius in his use of the term, and added that in fact it was a safeguard against Sabellianism, "since a unitary object cannot be *homoousios* with itself; the term implies plurality of *hypostasis*" (*Epistula* 52, 3). The point was also made in 374 by Epiphanius (*Ancoratus* 6, 4).

In the years after Nicea the Arian party gradually gained the upper hand in the East to such an extent that the more moderate Origenists, under Basil of Ancyra, felt compelled to rally (358) around the compromise formula *homoiousios* (of like substance). The statesmanship of Athanasius and Hilary then gradually won them over to *homoousios* (*De Synodis* 41). In 381 at the Council of Constantinople the phrase *homoousion tō patri* was once more accepted into the creed as the orthodox view of the church, and Arianism was rejected. Summing up the dispute, the historian Socrates was to write in the 5th century: "The situation was exactly like a battle by night, for both parties seemed to be in the dark about the grounds on which they were hurling abuse at each other. Those who objected to the word *homoousios* imagined that its adherents were bringing in the doctrine of Sabellius and Montanus. So they called them blasphemers on the ground that they were undermining the personal subsistence of the Son of God. On the other hand, the protagonists of *homoousios* concluded that their opponents were introducing polytheism, and steered clear of them as importers of paganism. . . . Thus, while both affirmed the personality and subsistence of the Son of God, and confessed that there was one God and three hypostases, they were somehow incapable of reaching agreement, and for this reason could not bear to lay down arms" (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, 1, 23).

The question whether the Holy Spirit is *homoousios* with the other two divine persons was considered by Athanasius (*c.* 359). He held that although the Spirit is not directly called God, he is shown as belonging to the Word and the Father, and as sharing one and the same substance (*homoousios*) with them (*Epistulae ad Serapionem*, 1, 27). In 362 at the Council of Alexandria this proposition was accepted (*Tomus ad Antiochenses* 3; 5 f.). Epiphanius writes that the Holy Spirit is "not begotten, not created, not fellow-brother nor brother to the Father, nor forefather nor offspring, but out of the same substance [*homoousios*] of the Father and Son" (*Ancoratus* 7, 7 f.).

"The single Deity of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, under the concept

of equal majesty and of the Holy Trinity" (*Codex Theodosianus* 16, 1, 2, A.D. 380) became the norm of orthodoxy. It was professed by Damasus of Rome in 372 and was accepted by the Council of Antioch in 379. Its acceptance at Constantinople in 381 is seen in the Fifth Canon of the Council and in the Council's Creed.

M. Farmery

→ God, → Image, → Man, → Melchizedek, → Type

On *isos* and *homoios*:
(a). Arndt, 381 f., 570 f.; R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 1971; J. Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus*, 1963²; I. H. Marshall, "The Christ-Hymn in Philippians 2:5–11;" *TB* 19, 1968, 104–27; R. P. Martin, *An Early Christian Confession: Philippians II. 5–11 in Recent Interpretation*, 1960; and *Carmen Christi: Philippians ii. 5–11 in Recent Interpretation and in the Setting of Early Christian Worship*, 1967; C. F. D. Moule, "Further Reflections on Philippians 2:5–11", in W. W. Gasque and R. P. Martin, eds., *Apostolic History and the Gospel, Biblical and Historical Essays presented to F. F. Bruce*, 1970, 264–76; G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, I, 1962; J. Schneider, *homoios* etc., *TDNT* V 186–99; G. Stählin, *isos* etc., *TDNT* III 343–55.
On Athanasius and the Arian controversy see B. Altaner, *Patrology*, 1960; Athanasius, *Select Works and Letters*, IV, ed. A. Robertson, *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 1892; and *Contra Gentiles and De Incarnatione*, ed. and tr. by R. W. Thomson, 1971; T. H. Bindley and F. W. Green, *The Oecumenical Documents of the Faith*, 1950⁴; A. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition: From the Apostolic Age to Chalcedon (451)*, 1975²; A. Harnack, *History of Dogma*, IV, reprint 1961; J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, 1972³; and *Early Christian Doctrines*, 1968⁴; G. L. Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought*, 1936; J. Quasten, *Patrology*, III, 1960; G. C. Stead, "The Platonism of Arius", *JTS* New Series 15, 1964, 16–31; J. Stevenson, *A New Eusebius: Documents Illustrative of the History of the Church to* A.D. *337*, 1957; and *Creeds Councils and Controversies: Documents Illustrative of the History of the Church* A.D. *337–461*, 1966; M. Wiles, "In Defence of Arius", *JTS* New Series 13, 1962, 339–47; and "HOMOOUSIOS HĒMIN", *JTS* New Series 16, 1965, 454–61.
(b). D. Georgi, "Der vorpaulinische Hymnus Phil. 2, 6–11", in E. Dinkler, ed., *Zeit und Geschichte, Dankesgabe an Rudolf Bultmann zum 80. Geburtstag*, 1964, 263 ff.; F. Hauck, *Die Kirchenbriefe, NTD* 10, 1953⁶; E. Käsemann, "Kritische Analyse von Phil. 2, 5–11", *Exegetische Versuche und Besinnungen*, I, 1960, 51 ff.; E. Lohmeyer, *Kyrios Jesus. Eine Untersuchung zu Phil. 2, 5–11, Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, 1927–28, *4. Abhandlung*, 1928, 1961²; O. Michel, *Der Brief an die Römer, KEK* 4, 1966¹³; and *Der Brief an die Hebräer, KEK* 13, 1966¹².

Lord, Master

One of the basic facts of human existence is the power and authority that some people have over others. Gk. has two principal words for lord and master. *despotēs* denotes the lord as owner and master in the spheres of family and public life, where lordship sometimes entails harshness and caprice. *kyrios* which occurs more often means lord, and carries with it overtones of the legality and acknowledged authority of lordship. When a god is called lord, the predominant term is *kyrios*; *despotēs* is used very seldom in this connection. In classical antiquity the lord stood over against the → slave, the servant (*doulos*).

δεσπότης

δεσπότης (*despotēs*), lord, master (of a house), owner; οἰκοδεσπότης (*oikodespotēs*), the master of a house; οἰκοδεσποτέω (*oikodespoteō*), be master of a house, rule one's household.

CL *despotēs* (formed from *domos*, house and **potis* [whence *posis*], lord) means: (a) the master of a house (who usually had absolute authority over his household); (b) master, as opposed to slave; (c) owner; (d) (transferred in the course of political developments from the sphere of the household to that of politics) the ruler, who is characterized by the scope of his power and by his high-handedness, particularly towards subject peoples. Starting from the idea of unlimited possession, *despotēs* often involves harshness and caprice, whereas *kyrios* emphasizes more strongly the idea of the legality with which someone acts.

oikodespotēs, master of a house, a pleonastic compound etymologically speaking, became an astrological technical term in secular Gk.: the planets were *oikodespotai* in particular signs of the Zodiac. In this context *oikodespotēsis* meant the predominance of a planet.

OT *despotēs* occurs only about 60 times in the LXX. Where there is a Heb. original it mostly translates *'ādôn*, lord, master. The word is used less than *kyrios*. This was no doubt because *despotēs* expresses the arbitrary, unlimited exercise of power without any real conditions, which must have been foreign to Israel's concept of God. For Israel had experienced the Lordship of God in his gracious, saving actions in history. Where it is used (especially in later writings) it particularly emphasizes God's omnipotence (cf. Isa. 1:24; 3:1; 10:33; Jer. 4:10; 15:11; Jon. 4:3; Dan. 9:8, 15 ff., 19; Wis. 6:7; 8:3; Sir. 23:1; 31[34]:24; 33[36]:1). The retreat of the term *despotēs* in the face of *kyrios* is theòlogically significant. *oikodespotēs* does not occur in the LXX.

NT 1. In the NT the word occurs 10 times.

(a) God is addressed in prayer 3 times as *despotēs* (Lk. 2:29 in contrast to *doulos*, slave; Acts 4:24; Rev. 6:10 quoting Zech. 1:12 and Ps. 79:5 [LXX 78:5, where the LXX translates *kyrie*]).

(b) *despotēs* is twice used with reference to Christ: 2 Pet. 2:1 (Christ the Master bought us; the background is the metaphor of the redemption of slaves); and Jude 4 which uses the same underlying idea (*despotēs* alongside *kyrios*). In both passages the term is used in opposition to heretical statements. The false teachers deny that Jesus is *despotēs*. K. H. Rengstorf suggests that "*despotēs* is here used rather than *kyrios* to suggest the function of Jesus as the One who commands and exercises influence and power." The false teachers "do not acknowledge Jesus in practice as the One whose will they must take as their guide" (*TDNT* II 49). This interpretation, in the light of the context and of 2 Pet. 2:1, seems more likely than that which sees Jesus here deliberately placed beside God as Almighty.

(c) Used of earthly lords in the sense of owner *despotēs* occurs in 1 Tim. 6:1; Tit. 2:9 (*douloi*, slaves, and *despotai* are contrasted; cf. *douloi* and *kyrioi* in Eph. 6:5; Col. 3:22); and 1 Pet. 2:18 (*oiketai*, servants, and *despotai*). Slaves are exhorted to be obedient to their masters in order that the faith may not be brought into disrepute by their disobedience. It has an essentially metaphorical sense in 2 Tim. 2:21 as master of the house. Anyone who purifies himself from false teaching is a vessel for noble use, consecrated and useful to the *despotēs*. Here Christ is to be understood as the *despotēs*.

2. *oikodespotēs* occurs 12 times in the NT, particularly in Matt. (10:25; 13:52; 24:43; in parables *oikodespotēs* illustrates God's actions by means of the activities

of the master of the house; 13:27; 20:1, 11; 21:33; cf. Lk. 14:21), where it corresponds to Heb. *ba'al habayit*, the owner of a house or land. It is frequently found in connection with *anthrōpos*, man, the master who rules over his household. In Mk. 14:14 the owner of the ass, on which Jesus intends to ride into the city, is called *oikodespotēs*. *oikodespotēs* is used pleonastically in Lk. 22:11. If the *oikodespotēs* had known when the thief was coming, he would have watched (Matt. 24:43). In the parable of Lk. 13:25 ff. Jesus is the *oikodespotēs* who will shut the door on those who come late. Through the metaphor of the *oikodespotēs* Jesus is depicted as the Lord of the → kingdom. In a further word-picture Jesus spoke of himself as the *oikodespotēs* (Matt. 10:24). His opponents have abused him and called him Beelzebul (Matt. 12:24; cf. 9:34; → Satan); how much more will the members of his household (i.e. his → disciples and followers) be exposed to abuse. Here *oikodespotēs* is used in parallel with *didaskalos* and *kyrios* (v. 24 f.) and characterizes the relationship between Jesus and the disciples as imitation of suffering.

oikodespoteō, rule over house and family, occurs only in 1 Tim. 5:14 in directions to younger women to marry and rule their households. *H. Bietenhard*

κύριος

κύριος (*kyrios*), lord, master, owner, Lord; κυρία (*kyria*), lady, mistress; κυριακός (*kyriakos*), belonging to the Lord, the Lord's; κυριότης (*kyriotēs*), lordship, dominion; κυριεύω (*kyrieuō*), be lord, master, rule; κατακυριεύω (*katakyrieuō*), rule over, subjugate, conquer, be master of, lord it over.

CL *kyrios* (attested from Pindar on) adj. having power, authoritative, from *to kyros*, power, might; as a noun, lord, ruler, one who has control (over people things, himself). *kyrios* always contains the idea of legality and authority. *kyrios* is often used beside *despotēs* which means especially an owner (with overtones of high-handedness). Later anyone occupying a superior position was referred to quite generally as *kyrios* and addressed as *kyrie* (fem. *kyria*). From here it penetrated as a loan-word into the Heb. of the Talmud and Midrash, and also into Aram. (cf. e.g. Tg. Job 5:2; Tg. Ps. 53:1) to denote God.

1. In classical Gk. of the early period *kyrios* was not used as a divine title. Although the term was applied to the gods (e.g. Pindar, *Isth.* 5, 53; Plato, *Leg.* 12, 13), there was no general belief in a personal creator god. The gods were not creators and lords of fate, but were like men subject to fate. In effect, gods and men belonged to the same sphere of reality (cf. the beginning of Pindar's *Ode to Alcimidas*). The Gk. of this period did not understand his position as that of a → slave (*doulos*), dependent on a god. Nor did he feel himself in any way personally responsible to the gods. Only in so far as the gods ruled over particular individual spheres in the world could they be called *kyrioi*.

2. In this respect the situation was different in the East. "For the Orientals the gods are the lords of reality. Destiny is in their hands" (W. Foerster, *TDNT* III 1048). The gods created man who, moreover, was personally answerable to them. They could intervene in the life of men to save, punish or judge. They also established justice and law, which they communicated to men, e.g. through the king. Therefore they were called lords.

3. Instances of the use of the title *kyrios* in Hellenistic times with reference to

gods or rulers do not occur until the 1st cent. B.C. (cf. W. Foerster, *TDNT* III 1049). *kyrios basileus*, Lord and King, is found frequently between 64 and 50 B.C. In 12 B.C. the emperor Augustus was called *theos kai kyrios*, God and Lord, in Egypt (*BGU*, 1197, I, 15); in Upper Egypt Queen Candace (cf. Acts 8:27) was called *hē kyria basilissa*, Mistress and Queen. The title *kyrios* was also used of Herod the Great (*c.* 73–4 B.C.), Agrippa I (*c.* 10 B.C.–A.D. 44) and Agrippa II (A.D. 27–*c.* 100). Apart from rulers, high officials could also receive this title, e.g. a Ptolemaic governor. The same was probably true in Syria as in Egypt; not until the 1st cent. B.C. were eastern lords called *kyrios*. Thus we find titles like *kyrios theos*, Lord and Governor. *kyrios* was used of the gods where, in contemporary popular thought and speech, they were referred to as lords. In this case *kyrios* translated the underlying Semitic equivalents (e.g. *'ādôn*, *mārā'*, fem. *rabbaṯ*). These terms always bore a personal suffix (my, our, etc.) and were placed in front of the name of a god. Where *kyrios* was used of a god, the servant (→ Slave, art. *doulos*) who thus used it stood in a personal relationship of responsibility towards the god, who on his part exercised personal authority. When, e.g. Heb. *'ādôn* denoted the lord of power, *kyrios* was the natural Gk. equivalent. Individual gods were worshipped as lords of their cultic communities and of the separate members of the fellowship. The worship of other lords was not excluded, for none of them was visualized or worshipped as universal lord. (See further W. Foerster, *TDNT* II 1049–54.)

4. The Roman emperors Augustus (31 B.C.–A.D. 14) and Tiberius (A.D. 14–37), in accordance with Roman feeling for justice, rejected the eastern form of monarchy and with it all that was bound up in the title *kyrios*. But Caligula (A.D. 37–41) found the title of *kyrios* attractive. From Nero (A.D. 54–68) on, who was described in an inscription as *ho tou pantos kosmou kyrios*, Lord of all the World (*SIG* 814, 31), the title *kyrios* occurs more and more frequently. One of the oldest instances is Acts 25:26. The title *kyrios* was brought into disrepute again by Domitian (A.D. 81–96), who had himself called in official letters *dominus et deus noster*, Our Lord and God (Suetonius, *De Vita Caesarum*, 13, 2). After Domitian's death this title was detested along with his memory (*damnatio memoriae*). Nevertheless, it prevailed again later. In and of itself the title *kyrios* does not call the emperor god; but when he is worshipped as divine, the title Lord also counts as a divine predicate. It was against such a religious claim, which demanded so much of the burdened conscience, that the Christians turned and rejected the totalitarian attitudes of the state. (On the early church and the Roman empire see W. H. C. Frend, *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church: A Study of a Conflict from the Maccabees to Donatus*, 1965; R. M. Grant, *Augustus to Constantine: The Thrust of the Christian Movement into the Roman World*, 1970.)

OT 1. In the LXX *kyrios* occurs over 9,000 times. It is used to translate *'ādôn*, lord, and as such refers 190 times to men. It is used only 15 times for *ba'al*, lord. While *ba'al*, in marriage and property law, denotes the owner of a wife or piece of land (e.g. Hos. 2:18; Jdg. 19:22, 23), *'ādôn* is determined by social factors and means the one who commands, the responsible head of a group (e.g. 1 Sam. 25). Yahweh is rarely called owner (Hos. 2:16 [MT 18]), but more frequently Lord of the community belonging to him (cf. Ps. 123:22).

In addition *kyrios* can stand also for *g^{e}bîr*, commander, or (Aram.) *mārā'*, lord,

or *šallîṭ*, ruler. In the overwhelming majority of cases (some 6156), however, *kyrios* replaces the Heb. proper name of God, the tetragrammaton *YHWH*. The LXX thus strengthened the tendency to avoid the utterance of the name of God, and finally to avoid its use altogether. The substitution of the title *'ᵃḏōnay* for the proper name Yahweh was a result of Israel's development from a national religion in the pre-exilic period to an international one in the period of Alexander (356–323 B.C.). Where originally the exodus was the theological focal point, after the exile the emphasis fell on the creation of the world. Where *kyrios* stands for *'āḏôn* or *'ᵃḏōnay* there has been genuine translation, but where, on the other hand, it stands for Yahweh it is an interpretative circumlocution for all that the Heb. text implied by the use of the divine name: Yahweh is Creator and Lord of the whole universe, of men, Lord of life and death. Above all he is the God of → Israel, his → covenant → people. By choosing *kyrios* for Yahweh the LXX Gk. text also emphasized the idea of legal authority. Because Yahweh saved his people from → Egypt and chose them as his possession, he is the legitimate Lord of Israel. As → Creator of the world he is also its legitimate Lord with unlimited control over it. (For further discussion of the use of the title Lord instead of the name Yahweh → God, art. *theos* OT 2.)

2. Recent textual discoveries cast doubt on the idea that the compilers of the LXX translated the tetragrammaton *YHWH* by *kyrios*. The oldest LXX MSS (fragments) now available to us have the tetragrammaton written in Heb. characters in the Gk. text. This custom was retained by later Jewish translators of the OT in the first centuries A.D. One LXX MS from Qumran even represents the tetragrammaton by *IAŌ*. These instances have given support to the theory that the thorough-going use of *kyrios* for the tetragrammaton in the text of the LXX was primarily the work of Christian scribes (P. E. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza*, 1959², 222; cf. S. Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study*, 1968, 185 f., 271 f.). On the other hand, the Jews would already have replaced the tetragrammaton by *kyrios* in the oral transmission of the Gk. OT text.

3. In post-OT Jewish literature *kyrios* first appears as a term for God in Wis. (27 times, e.g. 1:1, 7, 9; 2:13), then particularly frequently in Philo and Josephus. Philo seems not to have been aware that *kyrios* stood for the tetragrammaton, for he used *theos*, God, to indicate the gracious power of God, while *kyrios*, on the other hand, for him describes God's kingly power (e.g. *Som.* 1, 163). Since the earliest Egyptian and Syrian instances of gods being called *kyrioi*, lords, come from the 1st cent. B.C. the substitution of *kyrios* for the tetragrammaton is no doubt connected with these non-Jewish ascriptions. At about the same time the members of the Qumran sect, in Heb. biblical MSS, were writing *'ᵃḏōnay*, Lord, instead of the tetragrammaton. A few fragments from the caves pick out the tetragrammaton in ancient Heb. script while the rest of the text is written in square characters (on this see J. A. Sanders in D. N. Freedman and J. C. Greenfield, eds., *New Directions in Biblical Archaeology*, 1969, 101–16; and "The Dead Sea Scrolls – A Quarter Century of Study", *BA* 36, 1973, 140; J. P. Siegel, *Hebrew Union College Annual* 42, 1971, 159–72). The non-biblical texts from Qumran make it clear that *'ᵃḏônay* was used particularly as an invocation in prayers, and therefore predominantly in liturgical contexts (1QM 12:8, 18; 1QH passim; 1QSb; 1Q34; 4Q *Diḇrê Hamᵉ'ōrôṯ* [Words of the Luminaries]).

4. In the Aram. scroll of the so-called Genesis Apocryphon (1QGenAp) God is addressed as *māri*, my Lord. Apart from this one instance, this form of address is not found in Aram. In the same text *māri* is used once by a woman addressing her husband. Otherwise Aram. uses *mār*, lord (with personal suffixes) only to address people who have particular authority, especially in the fields of law or education. ([F. F. Bruce]. In 11Q Targum Job *mārē'* is used as the Aram. rendering of Heb. *šadday*, Almighty [Job 34:10, 12]; and in the Aram. Enoch fragments from Cave 4 *mārē'* or *māran* is found as a designation of God [M. Black, "The Christological use of the Old Testament in the New Testament", *NTS* 18, 1971–2, 10].)

NT Of the 717 passages in which *kyrios* occurs in the NT, the majority are to be found in the Lucan writings (210) and in Paul's letters (275). This one-sidedness can be explained by the fact that Luke wrote for, and Paul to, people who lived in areas dominated by Gk. culture and language. On the other hand, the Gospel of Mk., more firmly based in Jewish Christian tradition, uses the *kyrios*-title only 18 times, and these mostly in quotations. The remaining occurrences of *kyrios* are spread over the other NT books: Matt. 80; Jn. 52; Heb. 16; Jas. 14; 1 Pet. 8; 2 Pet. 14; Jude 7; and Rev. 23. The fact that *kyrios* is one of the most frequently used words in the NT is in accordance with its varied use in the LXX.

1. *The secular use of kyrios.* The *kyrios* stands over against the → slave (Matt. 10:24 f.; 18:25, 27; 25:19; Lk. 12:36 f., 46; Eph. 6:5, 9; Col. 3:22). *kyrios* means owner (Mk. 12:9; Lk. 19:33; Matt. 15:27; Gal. 4:1), or employer (Lk. 16:3, 5). The husband faces his wife as *kyrios*, i.e. as superior (1 Pet. 3:6; cf. Gen. 18:12 LXX). A gen. qualifying *kyrios* betrays the influence of Sem. (Palestinian) usage (e.g. Mk. 12:9; Lk. 10:2). *kyrios* used as a form of address can emphasize the power of a superior over an inferior, but it can also be simply politeness (Matt. 18:21 f.; 25:20 ff.; 27:63; Lk. 13:8; Jn. 12:21; 20:15; Acts 16:30). It is also used to address angels (Acts 10:4; Rev. 7:14) and the unknown in the heavenly vision outside Damascus (Acts 9:5; 22:8, 10; 26:15). A twice repeated *kyrios* corresponds to Palestinian usage (Matt. 7:12 f.; 25:11; Lk. 6:46). The use of the nom. with the art. instead of the voc. (Jn. 20:28; Rev. 4:11) is also Sem., as is the addition of a noun in the gen. in place of an adj. (1 Cor. 2:8; 2 Thess. 3:16).

2. *God as the kyrios.* In accordance with the usage of the Hellenistic synagogues God is frequently called *kyrios*, especially in the numerous quotations from the OT in which *kyrios* stands for Yahweh, corresponding to the custom of pronouncing the title *kyrios* instead of the tetragrammaton in public reading (e.g. Rom. 4:8 = Ps. 32:2; 9:28 f. = Isa. 10:22 f.; 10:16 = Isa. 53:1; 11:3 = Lk. 19:10; 11:34 = Isa. 40:13; 14:11 = Isa. 45:23; 15:11 = Ps. 117:1; 1 Cor. 3:20 = Ps. 94:11; 14:21 = Isa. 28:11 f.). *kyrios* frequently denotes God in the Lucan birth narratives (e.g. Lk. 1:32; 2:9). *kyrios* in the gen. accompanying another word corresponds to OT usage: the → hand of the *kyrios* (Lk. 1:66; Acts 11:21); the → angel of the *kyrios* (Matt. 1:20; 2:13; 28:2; Lk. 1:11; 2:9; Acts 5:19; 8:26; 12:7); the → name of the *kyrios* (Jas. 5:10, 14); the → Spirit of the *kyrios* (Acts 5:9; 8:39); the → word of the *kyrios* (Acts 8:25; 12:24; 13:48 f.; 15:35 f.). The formula "says the *kyrios*" (Rom. 12:19 = Deut. 32:35; 2 Cor. 6:17 = Isa. 52:11; Rev. 1:8 cf. Exod. 3:14) also comes from OT. To the OT phrase *kyrios ho theos* the author of Rev. sometimes adds an emphatic, solemn *pantokratōr*, All-Sovereign

(Rev. 1:8; 4:8; 11:17; 16:7; 19:6; 21:22; cf. Arndt, 613 f.). The formula *ho kyrios kai ho theos hēmōn* (Rev. 4:11, cf. Jn. 20:28), our Lord and our God, is reminiscent of the title adopted by Domitian (cf. CL 4). The liturgical formulae of Rev. 11:15; 22:6 are remarkable. Jesus was adopting Jewish forms of speech (*ribbōnô šel 'ôlām*; Aram. *mārē' 'ālᵉmā'*, Lord of the world) when he addressed God the Father as "*kyrios* of heaven and earth" (Matt. 11:25; Lk. 10:21; cf. Heb. 1:2; Sir. 51:1; Tob. 7:18; SB I 607; II 176; III 671 f.). God is the *kyrios* of the (eschatological) harvest (Matt. 9:38; → Seed, Harvest). God is the only ruler, the → King of kings and the *kyrios* of lords (cf. Dan. 2:47), who will cause our *kyrios* Jesus Christ to appear (1 Tim. 6:15). God is the → Creator and as such the Lord of all (Acts 17:24). By addressing and acknowledging God as *kyrios*, the NT expresses particularly his creatorship, his power revealed in history and his just dominion over the universe, and at the same time confesses the continuity of its belief with that of the OT.

3. *Jesus as the kyrios.* (a) The earthly Jesus as *kyrios*. *kyrios* applied to the earthly Jesus is in the first instance a polite form of address, as it is with other people. This no doubt goes back to the title Rabbi (perhaps also to *māri, mārā'*); cf. Mk. 9:5 (*rhabbi*) with Lk. 9:33 (*epistata*, Lord) and Matt. 17:4 (*kyrie*); cf. Jn. 4:14 f.; 5:7; 6:34; 13:6. This form of address also implies recognition of Jesus as a leader, and willingness to obey him (Matt. 7:21; 21:29 ff.; Lk. 6:46). As Son of man (→ Son of God, art. *hyios tou anthrōpou*), Jesus is also *kyrios* of the → Sabbath. He has control over the holy day of God's people (Mk. 2:28 f.). Even after his death and → resurrection the words of the earthly Jesus have unrestricted authority for the Christian community. Paul appealed to words of the *kyrios* which finally decide a question (1 Cor. 7:10; 12:25; 1 Thess. 4:15; cf. Acts 11:16; 20:35).

(b) The exalted Jesus as *kyrios*. The confessional cry used in worship, *kyrios Iēsous*, Jesus (is) Lord, no doubt originated in the pre-Pauline Hellenistic Christian community. This → confession is one of the oldest Christian creeds, if not the oldest. With this call the NT community submitted itself to its Lord, but at the same time it also confessed him as ruler of the world (Rom. 10:9a; 1 Cor. 12:3; Phil. 2:11; cf. the title *kosmokratōr* in Eph. 6:12 used of "the world rulers of this darkness" [cf. Arndt, 446]). God has raised Jesus from the dead and exalted him to the position of universal *kyrios*. Moreover, he has "bestowed on him the name which is above every name" (Phil. 2:9 ff.; cf. Isa. 45:23 f.), i.e. his own → name of Lord and with it the position corresponding to the name. (On Phil. 2:5–11 → Empty, art. *kenoō* NT.) The exalted *kyrios*, Christ, rules over mankind (Rom. 14:9). All → powers and beings in the universe must bow the knee before him. When that happens, God the Father will be worshipped (cf. Eph. 1:20 f.; 1 Pet. 3:22). This is further implied in the fact that Christ is called the ruler over all the kings of the earth, Lord of lords and → King of kings (Rev. 1:5; 17:14; 19:15 f.). In this way Jesus Christ received the same titles of honour as God himself (1 Tim. 6:15; cf. Dan. 2:47). According to contemporary Jewish thought, the different spheres of the world in nature and history were ruled by angelic powers. Since Christ has now been raised to the position of *kyrios*, all powers have been subjected to him and must serve him (Col. 2:6, 10; Eph. 1:20 f.). When Christ has overcome every power (1 Cor. 15:25), he will submit himself to God the Father. Thus Jesus' lordship will have achieved its goal and God will be all in all (1 Cor. 15:28). The

one God and the one *kyrios* Jesus stand in opposition to the many gods and lords of the pagan world (1 Cor. 8:5 f., Eph. 4:5 f.).

Scriptural evidence for the exaltation of Jesus and for his installation as Lord was found in Ps. 110:1 (cf. Matt. 22:44; 26:64; Mk. 12:36; 14:62; 16:19; Lk. 20:42 f.; 22:69; Acts 2:34; 1 Cor. 15:25; Eph. 1:20; Col. 3:1; Heb. 1:3, 13; 10:12 f.; 12:2; cf. B. Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic*, 1961, 45–51, 252 ff.; R. T. France, *Jesus and the Old Testament*, 1971, 100 ff.). The Jewish interpretation of this passage from the Pss. looked forward to the messianic future – the messianic interpretation was for a long time suppressed among the Jews out of opposition to the church – but in the faith of the Christians this hope was transferred to the present. The Lordship of the messiah, Jesus, is a present reality. He is exercising in a hidden way God's authority and Lordship over the world and will bring it to completion in the eschatological future. This faith was articulated in Thomas's confession (Jn. 20:28): *ho kyrios mou kai ho theos mou*, "my Lord and my God". Primitive Christianity saw no infringement of monotheism in the installation of Jesus as Lord, but rather its confirmation (1 Cor. 8:6; Eph. 4:5; Phil. 2:11). It is God who has exalted the Lord Jesus (Acts 2:36) and made him Lord of all things.

([Ed.] Wilhelm Bousset, a leading exponent of the history of religions school, argued that the application of the title *kyrios* to Christ originated with the Gentile church which appropriated it from the surrounding world of syncretistic religion. "It was in this atmosphere that Antiochene Christianity and that of the other primitive Christian Hellenistic communities came into being and had their growth. In this milieu the young Christian religion was shaped as a Christ cultus, and out of this environment then people also appropriated the comprehensive formula *kyrios* for the dominant position of Jesus in worship. No one thought this out, and no theologian created it; people did not read it out of the sacred book of the Old Testament. They would hardly have dared without further ado to make such a direct transferal of this holy name of the almighty God – actually almost a deification of Jesus. Such proceedings take place in the unconscious, in the uncontrollable depths of the group psyche of a community; this is self-evident, it lay as it were in the air, that the first Hellenistic Christian communities gave the title *kyrios* to their cult-hero" [*Kyrios Christos*, 1913, ET 1970, 146 f.] A similar position was adopted by R. Bultmann [*Theology of the New Testament*, I, 1952, 123 ff.; cf. also Bultmann's introduction to *Kyrios Christos*, 7 ff.]. The arguments for and against it are discussed more fully in the works by W. Foerster, G. Dalman, O. Cullmann, E. Schweizer, F. Hahn, R. Longenecker and R. H. Fuller listed in the bibliography below. A telling fact against a purely Hellenistic origin and in favour of a Palestinian is the Aramaic formula *maranatha* [1 Cor. 16:22] which means "Lord come", "Our Lord has come", or as a prophetic perfect "The Lord will come" [→ Present, art. *maranatha*]. The ascription of lordship to Christ in this Aramaic formula indicates that Jesus was already called Lord in Palestinian Christianity at an early date. The synoptic accounts of the discussion of the lordship of David's son imply that this use of the title went back to Jesus himself [Matt. 22:41–46; Mk. 12:35–37; Lk. 20:41:44; cf. Ps. 110[109]:1]. How can David speak of another as Lord if he is his son? The question is presented as a dilemma to the Jewish teachers, without however Jesus being explicitly identified with this "Lord". The contexts of Matt. and Mk. intensify this dilemma by recording it immediately after the question

of the great commandment [Matt. 22:23–40; Mk. 12:28–34; → Command; → Law]. Here the great commandment is defined as loving "the Lord your God [*kyrion ton theon sou*]" with the whole of one's being. Thus in reply to the Jewish teachers' question about the great commandment Jesus declares that this *kyrios* is to be given complete and undivided attention. But then Jesus puts to them the question of this other *kyrios* with its implied claims: "David himself calls him Lord; so how is he his son?" [Mk. 12:37 par. Matt. 22:45, Lk. 20:44]. This challenge marks the climax of Jesus' encounters with the Jewish religious teachers and leaders. Their failure to respond positively to this challenge marked the point of no return.)

As far as we can establish, the NT church did not reflect on the relationship of the exalted Christ to God the Father as did later church doctrinal teaching. One may perhaps say that there is indeed no developed doctrine of the Trinity in the NT, but that the writers, particularly in the later strata, thought in trinitarian forms. (On this → God, art. *theos* NT 8; and → Like, art. *homoios* NT 6 on the term *homoousios*.)

(c) *kyrios* and the Lord's Supper. *kyrios* figures frequently in expressions connected with the → Lord's Supper. There are the phrases which are partly pre-Pauline: "table of the *kyrios*" (1 Cor. 10:21); "the death of the *kyrios*" (1 Cor. 11:26); "the cup of the *kyrios*" (1 Cor. 10:21; 11:27); "provoke the *kyrios* to jealousy" (1 Cor. 10:22); "not to love the *kyrios*" (1 Cor. 16:22); "the Lord's supper" (1 Cor. 11:20), "to be judged by the *kyrios*" (1 Cor. 11:32), "to be guilty of the body and blood of the *kyrios*" (1 Cor. 11:27). These different expressions indicate that the Lord's Supper is the place where the Christian community submits itself in a special way to the saving work of the *kyrios* and receives a share in his body and in his power.

(d) *kyrios* and Spirit. Paul taught the Christian community to distinguish between the man who is speaking in the Holy → Spirit and the one who is not (1 Cor. 12:3). A man can only say "Jesus is Lord" if he is filled with the Holy Spirit (on the background of this → Curse, art. *anathema*; → Confess). Anyone who, by acknowledging his allegiance to Jesus as *kyrios*, belongs to the new → covenant belongs to the sphere of the → Spirit and no longer to that of the old covenant and of the letter. He stands in → freedom: "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom" (2 Cor. 3:17).

(e) *kyrios* in epistolary greetings. In the opening (but not the concluding) greetings of Paul's letters "the [or "our"] Lord Jesus Christ" is frequently mentioned beside God the Father (Rom. 1:7; 1 Cor. 1:3; 2 Cor. 1:3; Gal. 1:3; Phil. 1:2; 2 Thess. 1:2; 1 Tim. 1:2; 2 Tim. 1:2; Phlm. 3). The concluding greeting, with the phrase "the grace of our [or "the"] *kyrios* Jesus Christ be with you [or "with your spirit; with you all"]", continued the pre-Pauline tradition which probably had its ultimate origin in the Lord's Supper (cf. 1 Cor. 16:23; 2 Cor. 13:13; Phlm. 25, and Rev. 22:17–21). The description of God as the Father of Jesus Christ must go back to the Gentile-Christian Hellenistic community (Rom. 15:6; 2 Cor. 1:3; 11:31; cf. 1 Pet. 1:3; Eph. 1:3, 17; Col. 1:3). The formula was introduced into an originally Jewish context (the praise of God). The one *kyrios* Jesus Christ who is contrasted with the many *kyrioi* of the pagan world and who is acknowledged as the agent of creation (1 Cor. 8:6), corresponds to the one God, confessed by Judaism and

preached in the Jewish mission to the Gentiles. Hence, Christian missionaries did not just call men to faith in God the Father but also to faith in the *kyrios* Jesus (Acts 5:14; 18:8; cf. → One, art. *heis*).

4. *The Lordship of the kyrios.* (a) The activity of the Christian community (→ Church) before the *kyrios* Jesus. In every expression of its life the Christian community stands before the *kyrios* who has authority and exercises it over the community (1 Cor. 4:19; 14:36; 16:7). He causes the community to grow (1 Thess. 3:12 f.), bestows authority on the → apostles (2 Cor. 10:8; 13:10) and different ministries on the members of his → body (1 Cor. 3:5; 7:17; 12:5). The *kyrios* gives visions and revelations (2 Cor. 12:1). The whole life of the Christian community is determined by its relationship to the *kyrios* (Rom. 14:8). The body, i.e. the complete earthly existence of the Christian, belongs to the *kyrios* (1 Cor. 6:13). This precludes dealings with prostitutes. The *kyrios* gives to each one the measure of → faith (1 Cor. 3:5; 7:17; Eph. 4:7). He is the *kyrios* of → peace and gives peace (2 Thess. 3:16), → mercy (2 Tim. 1:16) and insight (2 Tim. 2:7). On the basis of faith in the *kyrios* Christ, even the earthly relationships between masters and slaves take on a new aspect. Faithful service of earthly *kyrioi* is service of the *kyrios* of the church (Col. 3:22 ff.; cf. 1 Pet. 2:13).

(b) The formulae "through" (*dia*) and "in" (*en*) the *kyrios*. The formula "through the ["our"] Lord Jesus ["Christ"]", which is probably pre-Pauline, occurs in the most varied contexts: thanksgiving (Rom. 7:25; 1 Cor. 15:57); praise (Rom. 5:11); exhortation (Rom. 15:30; 1 Thess. 4:2). In all these phrases the word *kyrios* is used in order to claim the power of the exalted Lord for the life of the church and of the individual.

The phrase "in the Lord" occurs frequently, particularly in Paul, and means the same as *en Iēsou Christō*: a door was opened for mission (2 Cor. 2:12); Paul affirms and exhorts (Eph. 4:17; 1 Thess. 4:1); is convinced (Rom. 14:14); people are received (Rom. 16:2; Phil. 2:29); the church is to rejoice (Phil. 3:1); it is to stand firm (Phil. 4:1); to work (Rom. 16:21); to greet one another (Rom. 16:22; 1 Cor. 16:19). Christians are to marry in the *kyrios*, i.e. to enter upon a Christian → marriage (1 Cor. 7:39); to be strong (Eph. 6:10); to walk (Col. 2:6); to undertake service (Col. 4:17). Paul was a prisoner "in the Lord" (Eph. 4:1); people are chosen (Rom. 16:13); beloved (Rom. 16:8; 1 Cor. 4:17); their work is not in vain (1 Cor. 15:58); the Christian has eternal life (Rom. 6:23); the church is a light (Eph. 5:8). The whole of life, both in the present and the future, is determined by the fact of Christ which is expressed by this formula: Paul and his churches stand in the presence and under the power of the *kyrios*. (On this question in general see T. Preiss, *Life in Christ*, *SBT* 13, 1954; J. K. S. Reid, *Our Life in Christ*, 1963.)

(c) Statements about the parousia. In his present existence the Christian is separated from the *kyrios* and longs to be with him (2 Cor. 5:6, 8). Christians who are alive at the second coming will, according to Pauline eschatology, be caught up to meet the *kyrios* (1 Thess. 4:17). Just as the present life of the church and of the individual Christian is already determined by the hidden power of the *kyrios*, the NT church looks forward to the future, visible return of Christ and to a final union with the Lord of life and death. For the church believed not only in a present Lord but in a coming Lord. We read of "the day of the *kyrios*" (1 Cor. 1:8; 5:5; 2 Cor. 1:14; 1 Thess. 5:2; 2 Thess. 2:2); of "the revealing [*apokalypsis*]

of the *kyrios*" (1 Cor. 1:7); "the coming [*parousia*]" of our *kyrios*" (2 Thess. 2:1); of the "appearing [*epiphaneia*] of the *kyrios*" (1 Tim. 6:14). Other passages speak of the coming of the *kyrios*, of meeting him, of his nearness and of his heavenly revelation (1 Cor. 4:5; Phil. 4:5; 1 Thess. 6:16 f.; Jas. 5:7 f.). Such statements about the *kyrios* belong with the eschatological prayer of the Aram.-speaking church *maranatha* → Present). When he comes, the exalted One is judge (2 Thess. 1:9; 2:8) and saviour (Phil. 3:20).

5. *Derivatives of kyrios.* (a) *kyria* (fem. of *kyrios*), lady, mistress, owner, mistress of the house. In the NT it occurs only in 2 Jn. 1, 5, where it refers to the church (cf. the change from the 3rd person sing. to the 2nd person plur. in v. 6; according to v. 13 the churches are sisters and their members children, cf. vv. 4, 13). In addressing the church as lady the author is expressing his respect for it and honours it as a work of the *kyrios*.

(b) *kyriakos* (adj. derived from *kyrios*), belonging to the Lord. In secular Gk.: *pros ton kyriakon logon* means at the owner's expense; in the language of administration it means imperial.

In the NT *kyriakē hēmera* means the Lord's day, the day on which the *kyrios* rose from the dead (cf. Matt. 28:1; Acts 20:7; 1 Cor. 16:2), which the church honoured by assembling on it (→ Sabbath). John received his revelation on the Lord's day (Rev. 1:10). The *kyriakon deipnon* (1 Cor. 11:20) is the meal of the *kyrios*, the → Lord's Supper. The expression stands in parallel with *trapeza kyriou*, the Lord's table (1 Cor. 10:21); cf. Isa. 65:11; Philo, *Spec.Leg.* 1, 221. To sit down at the table of the *kyrios* is to receive food from him and through it enter into communion with him. Correspondingly, anyone who takes part in pagan sacrificial meals enters into communion with demons (cf. H.-J. Schoeps, *Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums*, 1949, 192; C. K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1968, 237 f.; → Lord's Supper). The two activities are utterly incompatible.

(c) *kyriotēs*, lordly power or position, dominion. In the NT the word occurs in the plur. with reference to → angelic powers (Col. 1:16; Eph. 1:20 f.). The expression recalls Eth.En. 61:10: "And He will summon all the host of the heavens, and all the holy ones above, and the host of God, the Cherubin, Seraphin and Ophannin, and all the angels of power, and all the angels of principalities, and the Elect One, and the other powers on the earth (and) over the water" (cf. also 1 Cor. 15:24; Rom. 8:38; Eph. 6:12; Arndt, 461 f.; E. Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon*, 1971, 51; G. H. C. Macgregor, "Principalities and Powers: the Cosmic Background of Paul's Thought", *NTS* 1, 1954–55, 17–28). The NT epistles stress that the exalted Christ rules over these dominions. *kyriotēs* occurs in the sing. in Jude 8 and 2 Pet. 2:10, where the thought is not of angels but of God's dominion. False teachers disregard it in the lust of their defiling passions.

(d) *kyrieuō*, be a *kyrios*, act as master; be authorized. In the LXX it occurs more than 50 times, mostly to translate *māšal*, rule. In the NT it occurs 7 times (6 in Paul and one in Luke). The rule of kings over their people is characterized by ambition (Lk. 22:25, *kyrieuousin*), because they misuse their power for selfish ends. Paul uses *kyrieuō* to describe relationships of power. But the disciples are not to seek to be the greatest, but rather to serve like Jesus himself (Lk. 22:26 f.). Because Christ has

risen, → death no longer reigns over him, i.e. no longer has any power over him (Rom. 6:9). Christ died and rose in order that he might reign over the living and the dead (Rom. 14:9). God is the ruler of those who rule (1 Tim. 6:15). Since Christians have been baptized into Jesus' death and have risen with him (Rom. 6:3 f.), sin should not and must not reign over them any longer (Rom. 6:14). For they no longer stand under → law (art. *nomos*), but under → grace, i.e. under the *kyrios* (Christ (Rom. 7:1, 6). Paul does not want to lord it over the faith of the Corinthians but to work with them for their → joy (2 Cor. 1:24). Now that Christ has demonstrated his Lordship over sin and death, Christians should, indeed must, no longer let themselves be dominated by these powers.

(e) *katakyrieuō*, rule over, conquer. The LXX uses the word principally to describe domination by foreigners; it is used of God's dominion only in Jer. 3:14. In the NT the word occurs 4 times. It is a characteristic of Gentile rulers to lord it over the people. The prefix *kata-* clearly has a negative force and implies that the princes exercise their rule to their own advantage and contrary to the interests and well-being of the people (Matt. 20:25; Mk. 10:42). The vb. is also used of the man with an evil spirit who leaped on the seven sons of Sceva and *mastered* them (Acts 19:16) as they attempted to imitate Christian exorcism. The elders are exhorted, on the other hand, not to exercise their office as lording it over the congregation, but as examples to the flock (1 Pet. 5:2 f.). *H. Bietenhard*

→ Confess, → Curse, → God, → Jesus Christ, → Son of God, → Present, → Sabbath, → Spirit

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Lord's Supper

δεῖπνον

δεῖπνον (*deipnon*), a main meal, dinner, supper, banquet; *κυριακὸν δεῖπνον* (*kyriakon deipnon*), Lord's supper; *τράπεζα* (*trapeza*), table; *κλάσις τοῦ ἄρτου* (*klasis tou artou*), breaking of bread.

CL 1. In the ancient religions eating and drinking were mostly formal meals, i.e. acts of public or private fellowship linked with the sacred (*RGG*³ IV 605). Families, clans and religious fellowships received a share in divine power through the common meal, which represented their union with the deity. The origin of the sacred character of the meal is connected with magic concepts, according to which the divine is embodied in material things (animism; similar ideas also in cannibalism, cf. *RGG*³ III 1116). The thought that deity was contained in every plant (Demeter-Kore) led on to the idea that the deity possessed a → life-giving power, which was received directly by those who shared the meal. In short, there was nothing which unites man and man, and man and God, more than eating and drinking (cf. E. O. James, *The Beginnings of Religion*, [1948] 1958, 83–100; F. Bammel, *Das heilige Mahl im Glauben der Völker*, 1950).

2. *deipnon* (from Homer on), in the sense of a cultic meal, was part of the living vocabulary of Hellenistic religion, in which it played an important rôle. The participant believed that he was sitting at the *trapeza tou theou*, the god's table (cf. 1 Cor. 10:21, *trapeza daimoniōn*, "table of demons") and that through the meal he entered into fellowship with the deity. He thus became a partner or sharer *koinōnos* (cf. 1 Cor. 10:20). The Oxyrhynchus Papyri in the 2nd cent. A.D. contain the invitation: "Chairemon invites you to eat [*deipnēsai*] at the table of the Lord Sarapis [*kyriou Sarapidos*]" (*P.Oxy.* 1, 110). Sarapis is here represented as the host and the participants in the cultic meal as his table companions (for further instances of such invitations see *P.Oxy.* 14, 1755; 3, 523; cf. W. Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, 1970, 143 ff.; H. Lietzmann, *An die Korinther I, II*, *HNT* 9, 1949⁴, 49 f.). Josephus

tells of an invitation to the *deipnon* of Anubis in the temple of Isis at Rome (*Ant.* 18, 3, 4). "The underlying thought is that of *communio*, of the union of those who eat with the divinity" (J. Behm, *TDNT* II 35).

OT 1. The meal in the OT. The term *deipnon* does not play a significant rôle in the LXX. Until 4 Macc. 3:9 it occurs only in Dan. and translates Heb. *paṭbaḡ*, delicacies (1:8, 13, 15, 16) and *leḥem*, bread (5:1). The vb. *deipneō* occurs only in Prov. 23:1; Dan. 11:27 and Tob. 7:8; 8:1.

Festivals and sacrifices in the OT are often connected with cultic meals and can be described as eating before the Lord and rejoicing (Deut. 12:7) (→ Feast; → Hunger, art. *esthiō*; → Joy; → Sacrifice). Table-fellowship binds a man to → God and before God (Exod. 18:12; 24:11). A meal often played a part in the conclusion of a secular → covenant (Gen. 26:30; Jos. 9:14 f.), at which Yahweh was present as an unseen guest. It was with a meal that Jacob and Laban sealed their peace treaty (Gen. 31:46, 54), Moses, his father-in-law and the elders their association (Exod. 18:12), Gaal and the Shechemites their conspiracy (Jdg. 9:26–41), and the people their agreement with their elected king (1 Sam. 11:15; 1 Ki. 1:25, 41 ff.; cf. 1 Sam. 9:22 ff.). The covenant between Yahweh and Israel on Sinai was concluded with a cultic meal for the elders with Yahweh (cf. G. Fohrer, *RGG*^{3} IV 607). Such a fellowship-meal not only made the participants brothers one of another, but also of Yahweh (cf. the name Ahijah [Heb. *'ᵃḥîyâh*, *'ᵃḥîyāhû*], "Yahweh is my brother"). Table fellowship meant the granting of → forgiveness (2 Sam. 9:7; 2 Ki. 25:27–30; Josephus, *Ant.* 19, 7:1), protection (Jdg. 19:15 ff.) and → peace (Gen. 43:25 ff.). The breaking of table-fellowship was the most detestable of crimes (Jer. 41:1 f.; Ps. 41:9 [MT 10]; cf. 1QH 5:23 f.; Mk. 14:18).

2. The Passover meal (→ Feast, art. *pascha*) originated in Israel's nomadic period. A one year old lamb or kid (Exod. 12:5) was killed by the head of the household on 14 Nisan at sundown (Exod. 12:6), "between dusk and dark" (NEB). Its blood was smeared on the doorposts, its flesh roasted and eaten by the family during the night of 14–15 Nisan (Exod. 12:8 f.). After Josiah's reform (621 B.C.) the killing of the Passover lambs and the Passover meal took place in Jerusalem (Deut. 16:5–7; 2 Ki. 23:21–23). The Jewish Passover meal in the time of Jesus recalled the sparing of the houses marked with the blood of the Passover lambs and the redemption out of slavery in Egypt. At the same time the Passover meal looked forward to redemption in the future, of which the redemption from Egypt was the pattern (J. Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, 1966^2, 42 f., 56–62). The messiah comes on Passover night. "On this night they were redeemed and they will be redeemed," says an old proverb (Mekilta Exod. 12:42).

3. (a) Table-fellowship. Joining in table-fellowship meant sharing in Yahweh's → blessing. This was signified by the prayer at the beginning and the thanksgiving at the end of the meal. The head of the household took the bread and spoke over it the benediction on behalf of all those present (Ber. 6:1). Then he broke the bread that had been blessed and gave each at the table a piece. In this way every participant in the meal received a share of the benediction. A benediction followed after the meal. The head of the household took a cup of wine, the "cup of blessing" (cf. 1 Cor. 10:16), and pronounced the prayer of thanksgiving on behalf of all present (Ber. 7:3; 46a ff.; 50a). Then everyone drank from the cup of blessing, in

order to receive a part of the benediction pronounced over the wine. The use of wine at an ordinary meal was not obligatory, but a closing benediction was.

(b) The Passover liturgy. Even before the time of Christ the outlines of the liturgy to be followed during the Passover meal had been laid down (Pes. 10:2–7; cf. J. Jeremias, op. cit., 85 f.).

(i) Preliminary course. The head of the household pronounced the prayer of sanctification (*qiddûš*), comprising the benediction for the festival and the first cup (the *qiddûš* cup). The preliminary course (*karpas*), consisting of green herbs, bitter herbs and a sauce of fruit juice was eaten without bread. The meal was brought in but not yet eaten, the second cup was mixed with water and placed on the table, but not yet drunk.

(ii) The Passover liturgy. The Passover service, in which the head of the household explained the special features of the Passover meal (Exod. 12:26) and proclaimed the outline of the story, the *haggāḏâh*; the first part of the Passover Hallel (Pss. 113 f.) was sung and the second cup (*haggāḏâh* cup) was drunk.

(iii) The main meal. The head of the household pronounced a benediction over the unleavened bread, which was distributed and the meal eaten which consisted of the Passover lamb, mazzoth, bitter herbs (Exod. 12:8) and wine (optional). After grace the third cup (cup of blessing) was drunk.

(iv) Conclusion. The second part of the Hallel (Pss. 115–118) was sung and a benediction pronounced over the fourth cup (Hallel cup).

The interpreting of the special features of the Passover meal was a firmly-established part of the Passover ritual. In the Passover service which preceded the meal the Passover lamb, the unleavened bread and the bitter herbs (cf. Exod. 12:8) were explained. Thus an old Aram. formula explaining the mazzoth runs: "Behold, this is the bread of affliction" (G. Dalman, *Jesus-Jeshua*, 1929, 139; cf. Deut. 16:3).

4. The eschatological meal. Isa. 25:6–8 (cf. 65:13) refers to a bountiful feast which Yahweh will provide "for all peoples", when sorrow and death are things of the past. This feast, with the attendant removal of "the veil that is spread over all nations", has been linked closely with the Lord's Supper, especially in its Lucan setting, by P. E. Leonard (*Luke's Account of the Lord's Supper*, dissertation, Manchester, 1976).

5. The common meal at Qumran. The cultic meal at Qumran was the daily main meal of the community. A priest presided and pronounced the benediction over the bread and the wine at the beginning of the meal (1QS 6:4–6). There is a reference in 1QSa 2:17–21 to an eschatological meal with the messiah in which bread is eaten and new wine drunk. There is an analogy here with the Christian celebration of a meal, even if dependence of the one on the other cannot be proved and indeed is improbable. (On the Essene meal see K. G. Kuhn, "The Lord's Supper and the Communal Meal at Qumran", in K. Stendahl, ed., *The Scrolls and the New Testament*, 1958, 65–93; J. Jeremias, op. cit., 31–6.)

NT 1. *The NT sources.* The expression, the Lord's Supper (*kyriakon deipnon*) occurs only in 1 Cor. 11:20. In meaning it is closely related to the phrase the "table of the Lord [*trapeza kyriou*]" (1 Cor. 10:21). Both passages indicate that the term → Lord (art. *kyrios*) is firmly established in the tradition and terminology of the Lord's Supper (1 Cor. 10:22; 11:27, 31 f.). The institution of the Lord's Supper

has been handed down to us in four forms (Mk. 14:22–25; Matt. 26:26–29; Lk. 22:15–20; 1 Cor. 11:23–25). Many scholars are of the opinion that the differing versions of the words of institution represent in each case the liturgical text entrusted to the writer by his own community (cf. J. Jeremias, op. cit., 106–37). The words of institution, in the form in which we have them, therefore, belong to the realm of liturgy and "behind each form is as it were a celebrating congregation for whom it is intended" (G. Bornkamm, *Early Christian Experience*, 1969, 134).

(a) 1 Cor. 11:23–25 is, from the literary point of view, the oldest version, reproducing the form of words current in the Christian community in Antioch, which Paul found there in the mid-forties (Acts 11:26) ([F. F. Bruce] or more probably at Damascus, where he first experienced Christian fellowship in the mid-thirties [Acts 9:19; Gal. 1:17]) and which he traces back to Jesus, as a tradition handed down by the church (1 Cor. 11:23). Matt.'s version is widely considered to be an expanded form of that in Mk., and therefore has no independent value as a source in a discussion of the original form. A number of MSS of Lk. omit vv. 19b, 20 (D, some Old Lat., Old Syr.; on the text see Metzger, 173–77; J. Jeremias, op. cit., 139–59). The majority of scholars regard the so-called "short text" of Lk. (without vv. 19b, 20) as secondary, holding that it arose either on the grounds of discipline (to protect the Lord's Supper from profanation, J. Jeremias, ibid.), or to avoid mentioning the second cup (v. 17, 20; cf. H. Schürmann, *Der Einsetzungsbericht, Lk. 22, 19–20, NTAbh* 20, 4, 1955, 35 ff.). A comparison with Paul and Mk. reveals that the original longer text (Lk. 22:15–20) agrees essentially in vv. 19b, 20 with 1 Cor. 11:24 f., and in v. 19a (as far as *to sōma mou*, "my body") and in the concluding formula of v. 20c (*to hyper hymōn ekchynnomenon*, "which is shed for you") with Mk. 14:22, 24. The text of Lk., therefore, on one hand betrays the influence of the Marcan version, and on the other of a text very closely related to, but older than, that of 1 Cor. 11:23–25. So we are left with Mk. 14:22–25 and 1 Cor. 11:23–25 as the oldest forms of the tradition.

(b) In addition to the four-fold record of the Lord's Supper we must take into consideration: (i) 1 Cor. 10:16, a pre-Pauline commentary on the Lord's Supper; (ii) 1 Cor. 11:26, an explanatory comment by Paul; (iii) 1 Cor. 11:27 f.; 16:20, 22; Rev. 22:17–21, parts (or references to parts) of the introductory liturgy to the primitive Christian celebration of the Lord's Supper; (iv) Acts 2:42, 46; 20:7, 11, accounts of the daily celebration of the Lord's Supper (breaking of bread) in the primitive church; (v) Jn. 6:51–58 with the Johannine version of the saying about the bread: "and the bread which I shall give for the life of the world is my flesh" (6:51c).

2. *The historical roots.* (a) The Lord's Supper in the primitive church was certainly not just the continuation of the disciples' daily table-fellowship with the earthly Jesus. But it is related to the accounts of Jesus' table-fellowship with his disciples, with tax-collectors and sinners (Matt. 9:9–13; Mk. 2:13–17; Lk. 5:27–32), and to the accounts of the feeding of the five thousand (Matt. 14:13–21; Mk. 6:30–44; Lk. 9:10–17; Jn. 6:1–13) and the four thousand (Matt. 15:32–39; Mk. 8:1–10; → Hunger, art. *esthiō*). "By coming to them and eating and drinking with them, Jesus brought them the merciful presence of God, the forgiveness of sins. This fellowship with the friend of tax collectors and sinners keeps the Christian community firm, by . . . renewing for it the consolation of forgiveness" (E. Lohse,

Geschichte des Leidens und Sterbens Jesu Christi, 1964, 57). These meals with tax-collectors and the granting of table-fellowship to the despised (Lk. 15:1 f.; 19:5 f.) are kerygmatic parabolic actions, Jesus' word of forgiveness coming to life in events (J. Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus*, 1963², 227 ff.).

(b) The Lord's Supper in the primitive church, with its eschatological joy at present table-fellowship with the exalted Jesus, is, however, equally related to the table-fellowship of the risen Jesus with his disciples after Easter. According to O. Cullmann, the church's celebration of eschatological meals has real roots in the meals that took place on the occasion of Jesus' appearances after Easter (Acts 10:41; Lk. 24:30 f., 35, 43; Jn. 21:13; cf. *Early Christian Worship*, 1953, 14 ff.; *The Christology of the New Testament*, 1963², 212). Though the connection cannot be denied, it seems that Cullmann has ascribed to the breaking of bread at the Easter appearances too great an influence upon the emergence of the Lord's Supper in the primitive church. For the expression, to break bread (*klaō ton arton* or *klasis tou artou*), occurs only in Lk. 24:30, 35 (cf. also Jn. 21:13), and the appearances of the risen Jesus were, as the NT itself recognizes, unique occurrences and as such were limited to the original witnesses (1 Cor. 15:5 ff.). When the risen Jesus ate and drank with his disciples at his appearances after Easter, he was doing something extraordinary, which could not be repeated in the same manner nor in any way continued.

The table-fellowship of the earthly Jesus and of the risen Christ with his disciples (→ Hunger, art. *pinō*) are accordingly factors which are related to the basic motives behind Jesus' last meal. The regular celebration of the Lord's Supper by the primitive church arose from all these taken together. The Lord's Supper in the church after Easter has a strong eschatological element (cf. Mk. 14:25). Nevertheless, the retrospective look at Jesus' saving death (Mk. 14:22–25) was an essential constituent of the Lord's Supper from the first (P. Vielhauer, *Aufsätze zum Neuen Testament*, 1965, 159 f.).

3. *The original form of the words of institution.* (a) There is a general consensus of agreement on the following points:

(i) Mk. 14:22–25 and 1 Cor. 11:23–25 are the two oldest forms of the words of institution. (ii) One must assume an original Aram. (or Heb.) form, which has not been preserved and which lies behind both of the oldest forms of the text.

In Mk. the saying about the bread runs, "Take; this is my body [*labete, touto estin to sōma mou*]" (14:22); the saying about the cup, "This is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many [*touto estin to haima mou tēs diathēkēs to ekchynnomenon hyper pollōn*]" (14:24). In Paul the saying about the bread runs, "This is my body for you [*touto mou estin to sōma to hyper hymōn*]" (1 Cor. 11:24), and the saying about the cup, "This cup is the new covenant by my blood [*touto to potērion hē kainē diathēkē estin en tō emō haimati*]" (1 Cor. 11:25).

(b) One can deduce from Mk., an original form, "This is my body, this is my shed blood (i.e. my dying) for [the] many" (Mk. 14:22c, 24). K. G. Kuhn ("Über den ursprünglichen Sinn des Abendmahls", *EvTh* 11/12, 1950–51, 513 ff.), E. Lohse (*Märtyrer und Gottesknecht*, 1955², 122 ff.; and op. cit., 54 ff.) and others have rightly decided for this possibility. On the other side, G. Bornkamm (op. cit., 134 ff.), E. Schweizer (see bibliography), and others defend the originality of the Pauline-Lucan words of institution. They maintain that this form has in its narrative

framework the older comment that the cup was not shared until after they had eaten; in Mk. body and blood are complementary terms; the original asymmetry of the Pauline-Lucan version of the sayings about the bread and the cup has been harmonized in the Marcan form on liturgical grounds, and even on grounds of content, for the parallelism of body and blood reveals the questionable idea of the body and blood of Christ as the two parts of the crucified Lord, an idea arising from the elements which represent the body and the blood.

The following 6 objections to this argument have been raised:

(i) Even in the original pre-Marcan form "body" and "blood" (*sōma* and *haima*) do not represent a commonly linked pair of terms (E. Lohse, *Märtyrer und Gottesknecht*, 125). Flesh and blood (*sarx* and *haima*; cf. Heb. 2:14) appear more often as complementary terms. In the pre-Marcan explanatory saying, therefore, we have a pair of terms which are not complementary, either anthropologically or cultically.

(ii) The term → "blood" (14:24) in the pre-Marcan formula must not be isolated and simply made a parallel to → "body" (14:22), because in Mk. 14:24 "my blood shed [*to haima mou to ekchynnomenon*]" taken in the context of the OT and Jewish forms of expression, denoted violent death (E. Lohse, J. Behm, F. Hahn; → Blood).

(iii) In the pre-Marcan form, therefore, it is not body and blood that are related to one another, but the non-parallel phrases, "my body" (the saying about the bread) and "my dying for [the] many" (the saying about the cup). In other words, each part of the pre-Marcan saying is self-contained and can be explained without reference to the parallel phrase.

(iv) It was only due to the inclusion of the words "of the covenant", alluding to Exod. 24:8, that "blood" in Mk. became cultically complementary to "body", and even the participle "shed" only received cultic significance (a combined allusion to the atonement and to the covenant) at this point; whereupon the possibility of misunderstanding in the Marcan saying about the cup was removed in the Pauline-Lucan form by associating the allusion to the atonement with the saying about the bread, so that the idea of the covenant here only qualifies the saying about the cup.

(v) The phrase "shed for [the] many" (Mk. 14:24b) does not represent any expansion of or addition to the Hellenistic phrase "my blood of the covenant" (Mk. 14:24a; cf. W. Marxsen, "Der Ursprung des Abendmahls", *EvTh* 12, 1952–53, 299). For on linguistic grounds Mk. 14:24b is an Aramaism (J. Jeremias, op. cit., 178 ff.; K. G. Kuhn, op. cit., 513 ff.). Moreover, the expression *haima ekchynnesthai* (to shed blood) is analogous to other turns of phrase like "to pour out one's soul" (Isa. 53:12), "to give one's soul" (Mk. 10:45b), which are paraphrases of the idea of dying, sacrifice or violent death (cf. Gen. 4:10 f.; 9:6; Deut. 19:10; 2 Ki. 21:16; Ps. 106:38; Jer. 7:6; Matt. 23:35).

(vi) Therefore the Pauline-Lucan form assumes the Marcan version of the explanatory words and can only be understood as a development of them. Since the phrase in Paul's account "by my blood" (1 Cor. 11:25) does not appear in Jer. 31:31 ff., the formula is not to be understood primarily in terms of Jer.; it receives its significance which speaks of "the blood of the covenant" from Exod. 24:8. In other words, the Pauline form of the words of institution can only be explained on the basis of the older Marcan form of the words of institution, based on Exod.

24:8, and on a process of theological reflection moving from Exod. 24:8 to Jer. 31:31 ff. This is comparable with the development from the Marcan form [14:24] which is orientated towards Exod. 24:8 to that in Matt. [26:29] which reflects Jer. 31:34b.

(c) The originality of the pre-Marcan form follows then from: (i) a wealth of Semitisms (Aramaisms) of which only few recur in Paul; (ii) the considerable asymmetry which results from the pre-Marcan formulations saying about the bread not having any theological interpretation and the reference to the atonement's being attached only to the saying about the cup; (iii) the imbalance of "my body"/"my dying for [the] many"; (iv) the fact that the Pauline-Lucan form can be derived, according to the principles governing the handing down of tradition, from the Marcan, but the reverse process is unthinkable; and finally (v) the fact that the sayings about the bread and the cup, in the pre-Marcan original form, each constitute a complete saying which does not first require the parallel saying in order to be understood. This presupposes, therefore, that the sayings about the bread and the cup were originally separated by a whole meal. One must conclude, therefore, "that in the oral tradition of the earliest times there was a shorter version" (E. Lohse, *Märtyrer und Gottesknecht*, 124) which may be stated: "This is my body, this is my dying for [the] many."

4. *The setting of the words of institution.* The account of the institution, which stems from liturgical tradition, appears in the NT in the setting of the oldest account of the passion, the Passover meal and the liturgy of the primitive church. Therefore, we must investigate the significance of this setting for the understanding of the words of institution.

(a) The Lord's Supper in the setting of the oldest account of the passion.

(i) The striking fact that the Gospel of Jn. does not coincide with the Synoptics until the account of the Passion demonstrates that the passion narrative was a self-contained and very old traditional compilation. Systematic comparison of the Johannine and Synoptic passion narratives reveals that, from Judas's betrayal onwards, Jn. agrees with the Synoptics even in the order of his material, viz. betrayal (Mk. 14:10 f.; Jn. 13:2), prophecy of the betrayal and the meal (Mk. 14:18–25; Jn. 13:1–30). Jn. does not give an account of the Last Supper but has sayings about eating Jesus' flesh and drinking his blood in 6:51 ff., and also describes the arrest (Mk. 14:32 ff.; Jn. 18:2–11). The underlying oldest passion narrative, therefore, began with Judas's betrayal, then recounted the prophecy of the betrayal and the institution of the Lord's Supper and finally depicted the arrest, the trial before the Sanhedrin, the judgment by Pilate, the crucifixion and resurrection (empty tomb). If, at a very early stage, the passion narrative began with the betrayal, the oldest summaries of the passion agree with this (Mk. 9:31; 8:31; 10:33 f.), for they never mention any event of the passion earlier than Judas's betrayal (J. Jeremias op. cit., 89–105; E. Lohse, *Geschichte des Leidens und Sterbens Jesu Christi*, 1964, 23 f.). The oldest account of the passion embraces, therefore, the oldest summary of the passion (Mk. 9:31).

(ii) The theme of the passion summaries (cf. especially Mk. 9:31) and of the passion narrative that embraces them (Mk. 14:10 f., 18, 21, 44; 15:1, 10, 15) which represents the setting of the original form of the Lord's Supper sayings, is, accordingly, the representative delivering up of the Son of man by God. It is accomplished

through Judas's betrayal, Jesus' arrest and his violent death (Mk. 9:31; 14:21; cf. 14:41). In so far as the passion summaries and the oldest passion narrative go back to the primitive Palestinian church, this favours the conclusion that the pre-Marcan original form of the words of institution (and not first the Marcan version) also stood within this oldest passion narrative.

If that is so, the theme of the setting of the pre-Marcan words of institution casts light on their meaning. It is not the two elements representing body and blood that stand at the heart of the pre-Marcan original of the old passion summaries (Mk. 9:31, etc.), and of the oldest passion narrative which embraces them (14:21, cf. 14:41), but the violent death ("my blood shed") of the One given up by God vicariously for the many.

(iii) This conclusion is supported by the agreement of the contents of the Marcan setting and the Pauline introductory formula: "the Lord Jesus [*ho kyrios Iēsous*] on the night when he was delivered up" (1 Cor. 11:23). Comparison with the liturgical introduction to the Pauline outline of the Lord's Supper establishes not only that the nocturnal betrayal by Judas belonged to the passion narrative at an early date (J. Jeremias, op. cit., 94 ff.) and that the Son of man title (Mk. 14:21) corresponds to the Pauline "*kyrios* Jesus" (the call *maranatha* refers to the coming of the Son of man; cf. W. Kramer, *Christ, Lord, Son of God*, 1966, 99–107, 175). It also shows that *paradidomai* (to be delivered up) in the passion narrative is to be understood in the context of the salvation history of God, who "gave up his Son for us all (Rom. 8:32; cf. 4:25). . . . Thus it was not as an expression of a police measure or a villainous deed of men" (G. Bornkamm, op. cit., 132). (On the call → Present, art. *maranatha*.)

This means, however, that the setting of the pre-Marcan words of institution in the Lord's Supper, with its theme of the substitutionary delivering up by God of the Son of man, accomplished through the ungodly actions of men, corresponds exactly to the liturgical introduction to the words of institution in Paul's account of the Lord's Supper and their theme of God's delivering up for us in salvation history of the *kyrios* Jesus.

(b) The Lord's Supper in the setting of the Passover meal. (i) The Synoptic narratives agree that Jesus' Last Supper was a Passover meal (Matt. 26:17 ff.; Mk. 14:12, 14, 16; Lk. 22:7, 11, 12, 15). According to them, Jesus was crucified on the Day of Passover (15 Nisan). Execution on the day of such a high festival was not impossible historically, for in cases of very serious crime execution was to be carried out "at the feast" (Deut. 17:13; 21:21) in the sight of all the people, i.e. on 15 Nisan (H. Conzelmann, *RGG*³ III 626; J. Jeremias, op. cit., 53). According to Jn., when Jesus was accused before Pilate, the Passover lambs had not yet been eaten (Jn. 18:28). Jesus' crucifixion took place on 14 Nisan, the Preparation for the Passover (Jn. 19:14). Nevertheless, the balance of probability seems to lie with the Synoptic presentation (W. Marxsen *EKL* I 4), for Jn. fixes the moment of Jesus' death as the time when the Passover lambs were being slaughtered in the Temple and clearly wants to make his chronology a comment on the meaning of Jesus' death, i.e. Jesus died as the true Passover lamb (Jn. 1:29; 19:36; cf. Exod. 12:46, Num. 9:12; 1 Cor. 5:7). ([Ed.] For discussions of the complex question of the chronological schemes employed by the evangelists see especially the works by Jaubert, Ogg, and Ruckstuhl listed in the bibliography.) Since the Lord's Supper,

celebrated daily or weekly from the beginning, had no reference to the Passover as an annual feast, an original connection of the Passover meal and the Lord's Supper is more likely than a development in the opposite direction (K. G. Kuhn, op. cit., 513 ff.; W. Marxsen, ibid.).

([F. F. Bruce] The chronological question is best solved if the combined Synoptic and Johannine evidence be interpreted as indicating that the official Passover meal was indeed eaten on the Friday evening, as John implies [Jn. 18:28; 19:14], but that Jesus, for his own good reasons, kept the Passover with his disciples the preceding evening, "before the [official] feast of the Passover" [Jn. 13:1]. The official feast was regulated by the temple calendar, but there were groups in Israel which did not accept this calendar. One of these was the Qumran community, which followed the solar calendar of the book of Jubilees, but the view of A. Jaubert [*The Date of the Last Supper*, 1965], that Jesus kept the Passover according to this calendar, has not been adequately established. More probably Jesus did not regulate his observance on this occasion by any current calendar, but since he knew that he would not be alive on the Friday evening, and "earnestly desired to eat this passover" with his disciples before he suffered [Lk. 22:15], he resolved to eat it with them twenty-four hours earlier. Provision was made in the OT for the observance of the Passover on another day than the normal one, in a case of necessity [cf. Num. 9:10 f.; 2 Chr. 30:2 f., 13, 15]; and the Lord of the sabbath was also Lord of the Passover. If the meal was eaten a day earlier than the official date, it must have been eaten without a lamb, since in post-exilic times paschal lambs were slaughtered only by the priests in the temple at the appointed time. But wherever the Passover was commemorated beyond the environs of Jerusalem before A.D. 70, and throughout the whole world since A.D. 70, it has had to be commemorated without the paschal lamb. It is unnecessary to suppose with M. Black [*The Scrolls and Christian Origins*, 1961, 201] that Judas took the "morsel" [Jn. 13:26, 30] to the chief priests as "evidence . . . that an illegal feast had been celebrated".)

(ii) Not merely the setting of the oldest passion narrative suggests that Jesus' last meal took place within the framework of a Passover meal, but also the liturgical words of institution themselves.

The setting in which Jesus held his last Supper was Jerusalem and not Bethany to which he normally went each night (Matt. 21:17 par. Mk. 11:11; Mk. 11:19; Matt. 26:6 par. Mk. 14:3). He did not, therefore, leave the Holy City. It was a rule that the Passover lamb had to be eaten within the city limits of Jerusalem.

Jesus' Last Supper closed with a hymn of praise (Matt. 26:30 par. Mk. 14:26), i.e. with the second half of the Hallel (Pss. 115–118), which was sung at the close of the Passover meal.

The liturgical account of the institution states that Jesus' Last Supper was held during the night (1 Cor. 11:23; Matt. 26:20; Mk. 14:17; cf. Lk. 22:14), whereas the normal main meal took place in the late afternoon. The Passover meal, however, was from the beginning eaten at night, and its celebration was only permitted then. Since the indication of time in 1 Cor. 11:23 (in contrast to the setting in Mk. 14:17, 26) belongs to the old liturgical formula (G. Bornkamm, op. cit., 137 ff.; J. Jeremias, op. cit., 44 ff., 95, n. 5), the liturgical tradition itself supports the idea that Jesus' Last Supper took place within the setting of a Passover meal.

Finally, the words of institution within the supper support the idea that a Passover meal was the setting for Jesus' Last Supper. "The most likely way of understanding the fact that the words of institution were spoken is evidence that Jesus' words were said within the setting of a Passover meal. But the explanation of the elements is part of the Passover service, not of the benediction before or after the meal. Jesus, however, pronounced the words of institution at the distribution of the bread and wine" (E. Lohse, *Märtyrer und Gottesknecht*, 123). But here it must be noted that the analogy between the explanatory words of the Jewish Passover meal and those of Jesus is only formal, and not a material one. The setting of the Jewish Passover gave rise to Jesus' explanatory words but it does not explain them.

(iii) The novel element is the fact that Jesus is not said to have explained the special features of the Passover (the lamb, the unleavened bread and the bitter herbs), but that he *is* said to have explained → bread and → wine as such, i.e. those elements which appeared at every other meal. To this must be added the fact that Jesus' explanatory words were connected with the benediction before and after the meal. The distribution of the blessed bread and wine after the blessing meant giving a share in the blessing pronounced over the bread and the cup. On this basis one can explain, on the one hand, the linking of the words of institution with the blessing before and after the main meal and, on the other hand, the connection of the explanation with the distribution (J. Jeremias, op. cit., 84–88).

(c) The words of institution and parabolic actions. Jesus' explanation of the elements of bread and wine in the Lord's Supper differed finally from the explanation of the special features of the Jewish Passover meal in that the distribution of the bread and wine by Jesus represents a (prophetic) parabolic action (J. Jeremias, op. cit., 204 ff.; 212; W. Marxsen, *EKL* I 5), through which the disciples participated in Jesus' death. Two things are, however, essential to parabolic actions: that they become real events and that their constituent parts are described. The explanation is an established part of OT parabolic actions (cf. Ezek. 5:5 "this is Jerusalem"; Ezek. 12:11 "I am a sign for you"; cf. H. W. Wolff, *Hosea*, *Hermeneia*, 1974; W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*, I, *Hermeneia*, 1976).

(d) The Lord's Supper and the Passover meal. Jesus' Last Supper, therefore, was in all probability a Passover meal. He spoke the words of institution in the setting of his last celebration of the Passover and "clearly referred to many features of the feast, assimilating some and changing others. . . . When, as head of the household, he passed round the bread before the main meal, he accompanied it with a word of explanation, and likewise, later, the cup" (W. Marxsen, *EKL* I 4). The cup referred to was the third cup "after supper" (Lk. 22:20; 1 Cor. 11:25), the "cup of blessing" (1 Cor. 10:16) of the Passover feast. That this is above all explanation, not of actions but of the food, is made clear only by the setting of the Jewish Passover ritual. So if the Synoptic gospels are historically correct in placing the words of institution in the setting of the Passover, this conclusion in no way determines the sense of the words of institution and the significance of the Lord's Supper (K. G. Kuhn).

5. *The Lord's Supper and the liturgy of the primitive church.* The practical setting of the words of institution in the Lord's Supper is the celebration of the meal in the Palestinian and Hellenistic primitive church.

(a) Effects of the liturgical use. The liturgical use of the words of institution

becomes apparent in the explicit command to repeat the act (Lk. 22:19), and its doubling for the sake of liturgical parallelism (1 Cor. 11:24, 25), in the adding of imperatives like "eat", "drink" (Matt. 26:26 f.), in the replacement of the third person "for the many" (Mk. 14:24) by the second person "for you" (Lk. 22:20), which narrows down the universal reference of the saying about the cup (Jesus' substitutionary death for the many) to a formula of distribution, in the avoidance of Aramaisms and Semitisms, which were incomprehensible to Gentile Christians, and not least in the disappearance of the historical features of the Passover meal, which were incompatible with the liturgy of the primitive church and the regular celebration of the Lord's Supper (cf. J. Jeremias, *TDNT* VI 543; → All, Many, art. *polloi*).

(i) In Acts 2:42 a liturgy of primitive Christian worship is described (J. Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, 118 ff.). After teaching, in place of which a letter could be read, and a common meal (*koinōnia*), there followed closely the Lord's Supper (*klasis tou artou*, "breaking of bread"), which was concluded with psalms and prayers (*proseuchai*). The liturgical development is visible in the fact that the sayings over the bread and the cup are no longer, as in the Pauline version (1 Cor. 11:25 "after supper"; cf. Lk. 22:20), separated by a whole meal, but that the meal proper precedes the Lord's Supper which is therefore self-contained (cf. the absence of the phrase "after supper" in Mk. and Matt.). The separation of the meal from the Lord's Supper is also assumed in 1 Cor. 11. It is here that the direct cause of the Corinthian abuses lies.

(ii) Parts of the introductory liturgy to the celebration of the primitive Christian meal are to be found in 1 Cor. 11:26 ff.; 16:20–22; and Rev. 22:17–21. Paul concludes 1 Cor. with a series of liturgical phrases – the invitation to the holy kiss, the anathema against those who do not love the Lord, and the Maranatha (1 Cor. 16:20–22) – which originate in the introductory liturgy to the Lord's Supper which will have followed closely on the reading of the apostle's letter to the assembled congregation and on the holy kiss (1 Cor. 16:20; Rom. 16:16; cf. G. Bornkamm, op. cit., 147 ff.). The anathema at the beginning of the celebration of the meal excluded the unworthy from the Lord's Supper (1 Cor. 16:22a). To strengthen this there followed the Maranatha (1 Cor. 16:22b), which called upon the *kyrios* to be present ("Our Lord, come!"; cf. Rev. 22:20). Even if the church with this call, "Our Lord, come!" was praying for the Lord's eschatological coming, this did not exclude the presence of the exalted Lord at the Lord's Supper, but rather assumed it (P. Vielhauer, *Aufsätze zum Neuen Testament*, 159 f., 175; K. G. Kuhn, *maranatha*, *TDNT* IV 466–73). The *achri hou elthē* ("until he comes") of 1 Cor. 11:26 clearly reflects the Maranatha of the Lord's Supper liturgy (J. Schniewind, *TDNT* I 72 n. 25; G. Bornkamm, op. cit., 148), and probably represents a remodelling of this cry. Similar phrases from the introductory liturgy occur in Rev. 22:17–21 (E. Lohmeyer, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, *HNT* 16, 1970³, ad loc.) and in Did. 10:6, where the use in a Hellenistic tradition of the Aramaic invocation Maranatha confirms its primary eucharistic setting. The holy kiss, the formulae of threat and exclusion and the invocations of the coming and present *kyrios* are thus the essential elements of the introductory liturgy of the Lord's Supper.

(b) Pre-liturgical elements in the tradition of the Lord's Supper. The tradition of the words of institution is not, as it stands, simply a historical account but a

liturgical text, which mentions only the points which are essential for the celebration of the Lord's Supper in the church. Nevertheless, the tradition of the institution of the Lord's Supper implies a pre-liturgical stage in the tradition which could not be fully assimilated into the liturgy itself.

(i) The historically probable information given by the Synoptics, which describes Jesus' Last Supper as a Passover meal, diverges from the rite of the primitive church, for there is not the slightest evidence that the Lord's Supper was ever celebrated as a Passover, only once a year (J. Jeremias, op. cit., 66; W. Marxsen, *EKL* I 4). Rather, the original Passover motifs were removed in the light of the regular celebration of the Lord's Supper. In primitive Christian usage, therefore, there is no ground for a subsequent interpretation of the Lord's Supper as a Passover meal (K. G. Kuhn, *EvTh* 11/12, 1950–51, 522).

(ii) While in Mk. the eschatological perspective is included in the words of institution (14:25), in Lk. it occurs before them (Lk. 22:18) and in Paul an echo of it is heard in his own explanatory phrase, *achri hou elthē* "until he comes" (1 Cor. 11:26), which may also imply an assurance of the fulfilment of this hope (cf. O. Hofius, "Bis dass er kommt," *NTS* 14, 1967–68, 439 ff.). It is no accident that the eschatological perspective (Mk. 14:25) should no longer appear in direct association with the words of institution, either in Lk. or Paul. Since it had moved, as 1 Cor. 16:22; Rev. 22:20; and Did. 10:6 attest, into the introductory liturgy, its continuing position after the words of institution (Mk. 14:25) did not fit very well into the liturgical formulation of the Lord's Supper (G. Bornkamm, op. cit., 151; F. Hahn, *EvTh* 27, 1967, 340). In Did. 10:5 the congregation celebrating the meal prays that God will perfect the church and gather it into the → kingdom; in Did. 10:6 there follow invocations referring to the parousia, and the Maranatha (→ Present, art. *maranatha*). The placing of the eschatological perspective in the Marcan tradition after the words of institution indicates a stage which does not correspond to the liturgy of the Lord's Supper in the primitive church. It should therefore be accepted as original.

(iii) While Mk. and Matt. associate the identification of the traitor with the preliminary course (Matt. 26:20–25; Mk. 14:17–21) in Lk. the prophecy of the betrayal (Lk. 22:21–23) follows on the celebration of the Lord's Supper (Lk. 22:15–20). Here the Lucan order is probably older and indicates a preliturgical stage; placing the identification of the traitor first not only shows theological reflection (the traitor must not participate in the Lord's Supper), but also liturgical influence, i.e. the order in Mk. corresponds to the formulae of threat and exclusion at the beginning of the primitive Christian Lord's Supper (cf. 1 Cor. 11:27; 16:20a; Did. 10:6).

The tradition of the words of institution, therefore, certainly reflects the Lord's Supper liturgy of the primitive church, but it equally points back to a pre-liturgical stage in the tradition.

6. *The principal theological ideas of the Lord's Supper.* A theological interpretation must begin with the original form of the words of institution. From there follows the process of development in the history of the tradition. Finally we must consider the main theological ideas which arise in connection with it.

(a) The original form. (i) To understand the saying about the bread it is important to establish the Aram. equivalent of *sōma* (→ body). J. Jeremias posits behind

the Gk. *sōma/haima* (body/blood) the Aram. *biśrā'/d^{e}mā'* (flesh/blood). His translation is determined by the consideration that "flesh" and "blood" are frequently used as a complementary pair in sacrificial language. Hence, he concludes that, when Jesus spoke of body and blood, he was referring to the flesh and blood of the Passover → lamb and thereby described himself as the true Passover lamb. But since "body and blood" was not a current pair of complementary terms (E. Lohse, *Märtyrer und Gottesknecht*, 124 f.), the original form of the words of institution did not connect "body" and "blood", but "my body" and "my dying for [the] many". Since there is in fact no record that Jesus ever referred to himself as the Passover lamb, the Aram. equivalent for *sōma* should probably be *gupā'* ("body", "self", "I"; cf. J. Behm, *TDNT* III 736; G. Dalman, *Jesus-Jeshua*, 1929, 142; E. Schweizer, *TDNT* VIII 1059). The words spoken at the distribution of the bread, "this is my body" (Mk. 14:22c), mean therefore: This is myself; with this bread I am giving myself. If Jesus, then, explained the distribution of the broken bread with the words "this is myself" (a parabolic action), it means that as the disciples received the bread they received a share in Jesus' surrender of himself.

(ii) This self-surrender of Jesus, already expressed in the words over the bread, was included in the words over the cup, "this is my blood shed for [the] many" (Mk. 14:24b). There are frequent references to the shedding of → blood in the OT (cf. Gen. 9:6 etc.), in Rabbinic Judaism (examples in Dalman, op. cit., 159 f.) and in the NT (cf. Matt. 23:25 etc.), whenever the subject is violent death or the surrender of life. The oldest version of the saying about the cup therefore means that Jesus' blood is shed, i.e. his life is surrendered. "This is my dying for [the] many", therefore, like Mk. 10:45 and 1 Cor. 15:3, interprets the death of Jesus in the context of Isa. 53:11 f. as a substitutionary, atoning death, which includes the universal "[the] many". Jesus' self-surrender (the saying over the bread) is his substitutionary death for the many (the saying over the cup). The fact that the Lord's Supper was a (prophetic) parabolic action has the following consequence. In the distribution of the broken bread and the red wine the reality which they represent occurs and is repeated. The disciples received a share in Jesus' vicarious self-surrender for the many which was accomplished in the surrender of his life.

(iii) The eschatological perspective (Mk. 14:25) gave the Lord's Supper a future reference. As Jesus, by the distribution of the bread and wine, took his disciples into communion with himself and into participation in the universal atoning power of his death, he thereby placed them already within the sphere of the coming of the reign of God (→ Kingdom). In a solemn declaration of his will, in the form of an oath, Jesus promised the consummation of salvation and assured his disciples that this would be his last meal with them before the meal at the consummation. His substitutionary atoning death for the universal "many", in which the disciples participated in the Lord's Supper, also made them participants in the sovereignty of God breaking in among men. When this had been fully realized, Jesus would once again, as head of the household, break the blessed bread for his people and pass round the cup of blessing (J. Jeremias, op. cit., 233 ff.; for the eschatological meal cf. e.g. Isa. 25:6; 65:13; Eth.Enoch 62:14).

(b) The development in the history of the tradition. When we turn to the form the tradition takes in the successive strata of the NT, we get the following picture.

(i) Mark. Since the phrase "my blood of the covenant" (14:24) is supposed to be

impossible in Aram., the Marcan version of these words, "this is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for [the] many" (14:24), has been thought to belong in the realm of Hellenistic Jewish Christianity. But, since the → covenant is mentioned in all the versions of the tradition of the Lord's Supper (Mk., Matt., Paul, Lk.), it must be very early. The words of institution in the Lord's Supper were linked with the concept of the covenant. The self-surrender of Jesus (explicit in the original form) as a substitutionary death for the many now underwent closer definition through the covenant concept. The phrase "blood of the covenant" echoes the words of Exod. 24:8 LXX (cf. Zech. 9:11; Heb. 9:20; 10:29; 13:20), and makes a typological reference to the blood of the covenant sprinkled at Sinai. As the covenant on Sinai was then confirmed with the blood of sacrificial animals, the conclusion of the new covenant is now made effective through the blood of Jesus. Not only was a correspondence intended, however, but also a development. The sacrifice that was offered on Sinai to confirm the covenant long ago had no ultimate, atoning, sin-erasing power (Exod. 24:3–8). The substitutionary death of Christ, on the contrary, is superior to all the sacrifices of the old covenant. His death inaugurates the eschatological order or covenant of salvation (E. Lohse, *Geschichte des Leidens und Sterbens Jesu Christi*, 1964, 56).

(ii) The additions in the version handed down in Matt. may be explained by liturgical practice. They are the invitation "eat" (Matt. 26:26), the re-writing of the Marcan statement, "and they all drank of it" (Mk. 14:23); which comes, remarkably, before the words of institution over the cup, as an imperative (Matt. 26:27b) and the expansion of the conclusion of the words over the cup to "for the forgiveness of sins" (Matt. 26:28b), a formula perhaps originating in the baptismal liturgy (Mk. 1:4; cf. Matt. 3:6; Acts 2:38; J. Jeremias, op. cit., 173; cf. E. Schweizer, *RGG*^{3} I 13). Moreover, the Matthaean form, with the epexegetic addition *eis aphesin hamartiōn*, "for the forgiveness of sins", is also evidence of a theological interpretation developing from Exod. 24:8 to Jer. 31:31–34. The covenant which is brought into effect, like the Sinai covenant, by the blood of Jesus, but which at the same time is superior to the Sinai covenant because of the substitutionary death of Christ (Mk.), is a covenant of the → forgiveness of → sins (Matt.). The fellowship with God established by Jesus' death, in which the coming rule of God dawns, is identical with the forgiveness of sins (Jer. 31:34b). Matt., therefore, gives an interpretation of the order of salvation established in Jesus' death as the gift of the forgiveness of sins. The Lord's Supper is a present expression of that forgiveness.

(iii) The Pauline version reveals a stage of advancing Gk. influence in the avoidance of Semitisms and of liturgical formulation (the command to repeat is doubled; for *anamnēsis* → Remember, art. *mimnēskomai*). In it the statement about atonement was associated with the words over the bread ("this is my body for you"), while the covenant idea qualified only the words over the cup. This covenant is described as the "new" covenant, and is thus understood as the fulfilment of the prophetic promise of the new covenant (Jer. 31:31 ff.). It may be paraphrased: This cup is the new covenant on the basis of my blood (1 Cor. 11:25). When they drink from the cup, those who celebrate the Lord's Supper participate in the new order of salvation, founded by God in Christ's death. The church thus experiences the present validity of the new covenant (Jer. 31:31 ff.), established in the death of the *kyrios* (Exod. 24:8). And when the assembled congregation eats the broken

bread, they receive a share in the Lord who was delivered up to death for them. But here *sōma* (→ Body) is not thought of as substance but means the very person (cf. G. Bornkamm, op. cit., 145).

Paul's own view is most clearly expressed in 1 Cor. 10:17, "Because there is one loaf" (which gives us a share in Christ, who was delivered up to death as our substitute), "we who are many are one body," i.e. the body of Christ as a community. For Paul, Christ delivered up for us, whom we receive in the bread, automatically includes the church as the body of Christ, the church in which we are included through the Lord's Supper. Paul's particular concern, therefore, is the relationship between the Lord's Supper and the church; for him the christological concept of the body implies the ecclesiastical one as well (G. Bornkamm, op. cit., 144).

It is possible that the Corinthian abuses arose, because the Lord's Supper was conceived as granting the individual participant the food of immortality. Hence, its meaning as the basis of the body of Christ, uniting those sharing in it together as its members, was missed. Church-members from the slave class were apt to arrive too late and could therefore no longer take part in the table-fellowship of the meal proper (1 Cor. 11:21); only the sacrament itself remained for them. But if in the celebration of the Lord's Supper the one body of Christ is actualized, any Lord's Supper which does not achieve real table-fellowship (11:20) is exposed as an abuse (G. Bornkamm, op. cit., 122–30, 154 ff.; cf. E. Schweizer, *RGG*³ I 11).

(iv) In comparison with the Marcan form and even with Paul, Lk. reveals clear signs of a developing liturgical influence. In the interests of liturgical parallelism the eschatological perspective was attached to the words over the bread too (note the twofold eschatological utterances, Lk. 22:16, 18), which results in a parallelism between the twofold eschatological utterances (vv. 16, 18) and the words of institution (vv. 19, 20). Its appearance before the words of institution was no doubt determined by the fact that the eschatological theme stood at the centre of the Jewish-Christian Passover Haggadah. This comment is based on the view held by a number of scholars (e.g. B. Lohse, *Das Passahfest der Quartadezimaner*, 1953, 62 f.; J. Jeremias, *TDNT* V 896–904; and op. cit., 122 ff.; F. Hahn, *EvTh* 27, 1967, 352 ff.), that Lk. 22:15–20 mirrors the liturgy of a Jewish-Christian Passover celebration. The latter included vicarious fasting at night for → Israel, the expectation of the Parousia on Passover night and the celebration of the Lord's Supper about 3 a.m. at the end of the period of fasting. It is here also, probably, that we find the setting for the interpretation of Christ as the eschatological Passover lamb (1 Cor. 5:7), which is typologically contrasted with the Passover lambs of the exodus and is the theological reason for the renunciation of the eating of the Passover lamb in the primitive church (cf. Jesus' explanations of his renunciation according to Lk. 22:16, 18).

(v) Jn. is the only Gospel which does not give an account of the Lord's Supper in the context of Jesus' last meal (13:1–30). Jn. 6 refers to eating Christ's flesh and drinking his blood after telling of the feeding of the five thousand (6:51–58). R. Bultmann (*The Gospel of John*, 1971, 209 f., 234–7) and G. Bornkamm (*ZNW* 47, 1956, 161 ff.) consider that vv. 51c–58 are editorial additions by the church to John's Gospel. But E. Ruckstuhl (*Die literarische Einheit des Johannesevangeliums*, 1951, 149, 164, 266), J. Jeremias (*ZNW* 44, 1952–53, 256 f.), E. Schweizer (*Neotestamentica*, 1963, 371 ff.), and L. Goppelt (*TDNT* VIII 236 f.) support the literary

unity of the discourse on the bread and feeding on Christ. However, Jn. 6:51c may be a late version of Jesus' words of institution of the bread: This (bread) is my flesh (*sarx*), (which I give) for the life of the world. If the introduction of the idea of the covenant in Hellenistic Jewish Christianity (Mk. 14:24) resulted in the Church's seeing Jesus' death as an atoning and a covenant sacrifice, in Jn. (6:51 ff.) we now have the first appearance of the pair of terms, *sarx/haima* (flesh/blood), as the logical conclusion of the use of the language of sacrifice. It is thought that Jn. also betrays a later stage of development by speaking of eating (lit. chewing) the flesh and drinking the blood (*ho trōgōn mou tēn sarka kai pinōn mou to haima*, "He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood"). It thus made a close connection between the elements in the meal and the component parts of the person of Christ. However, eating the flesh and drinking the blood must not, according to Jn., be misunderstood in a literal and sacramental sense, for v. 63 clearly shows that Jn. is thinking of the personal presence of Christ spiritually through his word, and his self-offering in word and sacrament through faith (6:35, 47, 54). But then the reference to eating the flesh, etc., is in an anti-docetic setting and is intended to emphasize the "scandal of the full incarnation." "Thus in Jn., so to speak, the Lord's Supper holds fast to Jesus' fleshly form and prevents it . . . evaporating to become a mere idea of Christ" (E. Schweizer, *RGG*³ I 12). For John "eating the flesh" and "drinking the blood" of the Son of man is the continuing sign of participation in his life by faith and to share in it is to continue to acknowledge the full reality of the incarnation of the divine Logos.

([Ed.] It is commonly assumed that Jn. 6 is about the Lord's Supper, even though there is no hint in the text itself to any form of meal, liturgical or otherwise. Notwithstanding, it is repeatedly called a eucharistic discourse, even though there is no reference to the eucharist or to the Last Supper. Yet there is at least a *prima facie* case for saying the reverse. Jn. 6 is not about the Lord's Supper; rather, the Lord's Supper is about what is described in Jn. 6. It concerns that eating and drinking which is belief in Christ (6:35), which is eternal life (6:54), and which in other words is described as abiding in him (6:56). The discourse in Jn. 6 represents these activities as central to faith and to men's relationship with Jesus. They are not confined to a sacramental meal. They belong to the very essence of day-to-day relationships. In presenting this discourse and omitting an account of the institution of the Lord's Supper, Jn. is, in effect, saying that the whole of the Christian life should be characterized by this kind of feeding on Christ and that this is what the sacramental meal of the church is really about. In his account of Jesus' last meal with his disciples Jn. gives prominence to the feet-washing with the reminder, "If I then, your Lord and Teacher, have washed your feet, you also ought to wash one another's feet. . . . Truly, truly, I say to you, he who receives any one whom I send receives me; and he who receives me receives him who sent me" [Jn. 13; 14, 20].)

(c) The principal theological ideas in the words of institution. While the original form of the words of institution in Aram. contained the idea of Jesus' self-offering (Mk. 14:22), his substitutionary death for the many (Mk. 14:24), and the eschatological reference to the coming of the → kingdom of God (14:25) at its centre, in Hellenistic Jewish Christianity (Mk.) the reference to the covenant was added to the words over the cup (Mk. 14:24). Jesus' death is an atoning covenant sacrifice which inaugurates the eschatological era of salvation. Matt. (26:28) interpreted

the fellowship with God set up by the covenant sacrifice as the forgiveness of sins (Jer. 31:34b). In Paul (and Lk.), for the sake of balance, the reference to atonement was transferred from the Marcan words over the cup to those over the bread (1 Cor. 11:24; Lk. 22:19), so that the words over the cup are now qualified by the reference to the covenant based on Jer. 31:31 ff. (1 Cor. 11:25; Lk. 22:20). Paul for his part, in opposition to Corinthian sacramentalism, laid his emphasis on the indissoluble link between the Lord's Supper and the church (Christ delivered up for us constitutes the church as the → body of Christ; 1 Cor. 10:16), while Jn., in an anti-gnostic confrontation, stressed the connection between eating Christ's flesh and drinking his blood and the incarnation.

([F. F. Bruce] That the covenant idea first entered into the transmitted words of institution in the Greek-speaking phase of primitive Christianity is highly improbable. The covenant idea is thoroughly Hebraic, and in any case one should treat with profound scepticism the suggestion that it was impossible to formulate in Aramaic certain expressions, such as "This is my covenant blood" or "This blood of mine is the blood of the covenant".)

The references to the covenant (Mk.) and to forgiveness (Matt.), as well as the ecclesiastical (Paul) and the anti-docetic (Jn.) emphases, embrace and actualize by a process of continuous reinterpretation the essential significance of the event of Jesus' self-offering and of his universal substitutionary death (Mk. 14:24). They underline the following aspects of the Lord's Supper: (i) The proclamation of the substitutionary self-offering of Jesus and the guarantee of the final eschatological banquet (original form). (ii) Participation in God's order of salvation, set up by Jesus' death as a covenant sacrifice (Mk.). (iii) An assurance of the forgiveness of sins (Matt.). (iv) Incorporation into the new covenant and the founding of the Church as the body of Christ (Paul). (v) The proclamation of the incarnation of the Logos, in which the Son's self-offering is accomplished (Jn.). All this is actualized and given in the Lord's Supper only because the risen Christ is present there. And in so far as the crucified and risen *kyrios* offers himself in the meal, the grace conveyed by the Lord's Supper is Jesus Christ. He himself makes his presence real as the Supper is celebrated and thus makes it the *Lord's* Supper. *B. Klappert*

→ Blood, → Body, → Bread, → Feast, → Hunger, → Present

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Love

What we describe as love is differentiated in Gk. by various expressions (for details → *agapaō* CL). *phileō* is the most commonly used word, indicating a general attraction towards a person or thing. In the foreground stands the meaning of love for one's relatives and friends (cf. the typical formation of *philadelphia*, love for a brother; → Brother, art. *adelphos*), but the whole area of fondness is also included with gods, men and things as possible objects. *philia* accordingly, denotes love, friendship, devotion, favour; and *philos* is a relative or friend. By contrast *erōs* is love which desires to have or take possession. *agapaō*, originally meaning to honour or welcome, is in classical Gk. the least specifically defined word; it is frequently used synonymously with *phileō* without any necessarily strict distinction in meaning. In the NT, however, *agapaō* and the noun *agapē* have taken on a particular significance in that they are used to speak of the love of God or the way of life based on it.

ἀγαπάω

ἀγαπάω (*agapaō*), love; ἀγάπη (*agapē*), love; ἀγαπητός (*agapētos*), loved, beloved; ἐράω (*eraō*), love passionately, desire, yearn; ἔρως (*erōs*), passionate love; φιλόστοργος (*philostorgos*), tenderly loving, affectionate; ἄστοργος (*astorgos*), without natural affection.

CL In contradistinction to Eng., extra-biblical Gk. has quite a number of words for love and to love; the most important being → *phileō*, *stergō*, *eraō* and *agapaō*.

1. *phileō* is the most general word for love or regard with affection. The many derivative words show this clearly: e.g., *philos*, a friend; *philēma*, a kiss; and compound words such as *philosophia*, love of knowledge, philosophy (→ wisdom); *philoxenia*, hospitality (→ Foreign, art. *xenos*); and proper names like *Philippos* (lit. lover of horses, horse-lover). *phileō* mainly denotes the attraction of people to one another who are close together both inside and outside the family; it includes concern, care and hospitality, also love for things in the sense of being fond of. Ideas related to *phileo* do not have a clear religious emphasis.

2. The less frequent vb. *stergō* means to love, feel affection, especially of the mutual love of parents and children. It can also be used of the love of a people for their ruler, the love of a tutelary god for the people, and even of dogs for their master. It is less common for the love of husband and wife, and does not occur at all in the NT, apart from the compounds *astorgos* (Rom. 1:31; 2 Tim. 3:3) and *philostorgos* (Rom. 12:10). It is, however, found in some early Christian writings (e.g. 1 Clem. 1:3; Polycarp 4:2).

3. The vb. *eraō* and the noun *erōs*, on the other hand, denote the love between man and woman which embraces longing, craving and desire. The Greeks' delight in bodily beauty and sensual desires found expression here in the Dionysiac approach to, and feeling for, life. Sensual ecstasy leaves moderation and proportion far behind, and the Gk. tragedians (e.g. Soph., *Ant.* 781 ff.) knew the irresistible power of Eros – the god of love bore the same name – which forgot all reason, will and discretion on the way to ecstasy.

There was also a more mystical understanding of *erōs*, whereby the Greeks sought to reach and go beyond normal human limitations in order to attain perfection. As well as the fertility cults with their oriental influences, and their glorification of the generating Eros in nature, there were the mystery religions, whose rites were intended to unite the participant with the godhead. Here spiritual and psychical unity with the god came into the foreground more and more, however much erotic pictures and symbols were used. Plato sought to raise spiritual love above the physical. *erōs* for him was the striving for righteousness, self-possession and wisdom; it is the embodiment of the good, the way to attain immortality (*Symp.* 200, 206; *Phaedr.* 237 ff., 242 ff.). In Aristotle (*Met.* 12, 7p, 1072a, 27 f.) the concept was further developed in this direction, and in Plotinus (A.D. 205–*c.* 269) the mystical aspiration towards spiritual union with the transcendental dominates (*Enneads* 5, 5, 8; 6, 8, 15). In the early Christian era *gnōsis* (→ Knowledge) found its place in this approach, giving its own particular slant to the human desire for self-transcendence.

4. The etymology of *agapaō* and *agapē* is not clear. The vb. *agapaō* appears frequently from Homer onwards in Gk. literature, but the noun *agapē* is only a late Gk. construction. Only one reference has been found outside the Bible, where the goddess Isis is given the title *agapē* (*P.Oxy.* 1380, 109; 2nd cent. A.D.).

agapaō in Gk. is often quite colourless as a word, appearing frequently as an alternative to, or a synonym with, *eraō* and *phileō*, meaning to be fond of, treat respectfully, be pleased with, welcome. When, on rare occasions, it refers to someone favoured by a god (cf. Dio. Chrys., *Orationes* 33, 21), it is clear that, unlike *eraō*, it is not the man's own longing for possessions or worth that is meant, but a generous move by one for the sake of the other. This is expressed above all in the way *agapētos* is used, mostly of a child, but particularly of an only child to whom all the love of his parents is given.

OT In the LXX *agapaō* is used by preference to translate the Heb. vb. *'āhēḇ*. The noun *agapē* finds its origin here, in standing for Heb. *'ahᵃḇâh*. The vb. occurs far more frequently than the noun. *'āhēḇ* can refer to both persons and things, and denotes first men's relationships with each other, and secondly God's relationship with man.

1. (a) Love and hate represent for the Eastern sensibility two of the basic polarized attitudes to life. The phenomenon of love in the OT is experienced as a spontaneous force which drives one to something or someone over against itself. Love means the vital urge of the sexes for one another. The prophets Hosea (3:1; 4:18), Jeremiah (2:25) and Ezekiel (16:37) were not at all ashamed to speak of the sexual side of love. The powerful perception of the differentiation of the sexes and of marital love as an enriching gift does not only derive from the creation stories (Gen. 2:18 ff.), but even more from Cant., which celebrates the strength of passionate love. "Love is strong as death, jealousy is as cruel as the grave. Its flashes are flashes of fire, a most vehement flame" (Cant. 8:6).

(b) But as well as the relationship between the sexes, the blood relationship with father and mother and the spiritual bond between friends can also be love. (It is not possible in Heb. to distinguish between *eraō* and *agapaō*.) Thus, when the love of Jonathan and David for one another is spoken of (1 Sam. 18:1, 3; 20:17), this is expressed in terms of a communal fellowship deeper than love for a woman: "your love for me was wonderful, passing the love of women" (2 Sam. 1:26).

(c) In a further sense, love is understood as lying at the root of social community life: "you shall love your neighbour as yourself" (Lev. 19:18; → Brother, art. *plēsion*; → Command; → Law, art. *nomos*). Love in this context means devotion towards one's neighbour for his sake, accepting him as a brother and letting him come into his own. This aspect is illustrated by the social legislation, which is particularly concerned with the rights of aliens (Lev. 19:34; → Foreign), the → poor (Lev. 25:35) and → orphans.

2. The word love is used less commonly and with greater caution for describing the relationship between God and man. In this respect the OT contrasts with Gk. literature in being far removed from any mystical thinking. In the OT man can never ascend to God; in the Gk. understanding of *erōs* he can. It is because all human thought, feeling, action and worship are a response to a previous movement by God, that the LXX prefers the simpler word *agapē* to the more loaded *erōs*. The completely different direction of thought makes this quite understandable.

(a) At the beginning of the OT stands not only the God who loves, but also the God who elects, and the God who creates facts through direct action in nature and with men – in particular, with his people, with whom he has made a → covenant (Exod. 24). The great deeds of Yahweh are the deeds of his history with his people, such as the Exodus, the gift of the land and the Torah. Righteousness, faithfulness, love and grace are some of the concepts embodied in such actions. The people, in turn, reply with jubilation, praise and obedience.

God's judgment and → grace (*ḥeseḏ*) permeate the whole of the OT. It is not a characteristic of God that is being described; it is always the total activity which is based on his sovereign will. God holds to his covenant, despite → Israel's frequent relapses which draw God's wrath on them. The only ground for this is to be found in his electing grace and love (e.g. Hos. 11:1). Statements concerning this devotion of God to his people reach the level of suffering love, as Isa. 53 predicates of the Servant of God.

(b) It was the → prophets who first ventured to elaborate on the theme of the love of God as the main motif of his electing work. It was an enormity of unique

proportions for Hosea, surrounded by the Canaanite world of sexual fertility-cults and love-feasts, to represent the relationship between Yahweh and his people as that of a deceived husband and a prostitute (→ Marriage). Yet, despite the fact that Israel had broken the covenant, and thus become a whore and an adulteress, Yahweh still wooed back his faithless wife, the godless covenant people, with an inconceivable love (2:19 f.). Israel is not his people (1:9), but will become his people again through Yahweh's patient and winsome wooing (2:23). But, besides using the picture of marriage, Hosea also used the picture of a → father to describe Yahweh's unfathomable love for Israel, whom he loved in → Egypt and drew to himself with bonds of love (11:1 ff.). Israel, however, turned away. So Hosea pictured the struggle, which he saw as going on inside Yahweh himself, as that between the jealous wrath of a deceived father and his glowing love: "How can I give you up, O Ephraim! How can I hand you over, O Israel? . . . My heart recoils within me, my compassion grows warm and tender. I will not execute my fierce anger, I will not again destroy Ephraim; for I am God and not man, the Holy One in your midst, and I will not come to destroy" (11:8 f.). This description by Hosea of the passionate and zealous love of God is unprecedented in its boldness. For, according to Hosea, the God-ness of God does not express itself in destructive power, but in tender and compassionate love, which precedes any responsive human love, and which suffers through the faithlessness of his people (6:4) and does not hand them over to ultimate ruin.

The later prophets took over from Hosea the picture of love and the theme of the beloved, with modifications. Jeremiah spoke of Israel's first love in the wilderness, and its growing cold in Canaan (Jer. 2:1 ff.). But Yahweh's love is everlasting (31:3), and he will help up the degenerate people again (3:6–10; 31:4). In Isa. 54:4–8 it is not the wife who has left her husband, but Yahweh who left his young bride, to whom he now again turns in compassion. "For the Lord has called you like a wife forsaken and grieved in spirit, like a wife of youth when she is cast off, says your God. For a brief moment I forsook you, but with great compassion I will gather you" (54:6 f.). One can even speak of Yahweh's political love which is to be recognized in the return of the exiles from Babylon: "Because you are precious in my eyes, and honoured, and I love you, I give men in return for you, peoples in exchange for your life" (43:4).

(c) Deut., also expresses similar ideas. But whereas in the prophets Yahweh's love is the sole and incredible basis for his future actions in saving his lost people, the allusions to Yahweh's electing love in Deut. always provide the ground for exhorting Israel on its side to love God and to follow his directing. (7:6–11). "You shall love the LORD your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your might" (6:5; → Command; → Law, art. *nomos*). This love for God is realized in obedience to his will as expressed in the covenant, in keeping the law (Exod. 20:6; Deut. 10:12 f.), and in devotion to one's neighbour (Lev. 19:18). There is a nice example of the way human social love is to be founded on the acts of God in the law concerning aliens: "The stranger who sojourns with you shall be to you as the native among you, and you shall love him as yourself; for you were strangers in the land of Egypt: I am the LORD, your God" (Lev. 19:34). Love, here, means dealing with a friend as a friend. Of course, the command to love one's neighbour is not, in the OT, something capable of comprehending the whole

law: love for Yahweh is represented in a whole gamut of instructions and directives.

3. (a) In Hellenistic and Rabbinic Judaism *agapē* became the central concept for describing God's relationship with man and *vice versa*. Despite mystical nuances derived from Greece and the Orient, the word still maintained its basic OT implications. God loves his people through every distress they meet. Proof of his love is the Torah: the believer reciprocates God's love as he obeys the commandments, emulates God's zealous compassion, and remains true to God, even to the point of martyrdom (4 Macc. 13:24; 15:3). Loving one's neighbour is the chief → commandment to the pious Jew. There are even individual examples of commands to help one's enemy, if need be, whether a member of the chosen people or not. There is also the occasional observation that God allows his forgiving love to hold sway well beyond the requirements of justice (SB I 905; 917 f.; III 451, 485; 766, 778).

(b) Essential for an understanding of the NT is the quite different structure of Qumran piety. The community believed that it had been chosen in God's love, but that this only had reference to the children of light. God loves the angel of light and hates all who belong to the company of Belial. There is an often repeated command: "Love everyone whom God elects, hate everyone he hates" (1QS 1:3 f.; contrast Matt. 5:43 ff.). The command to love does indeed play an important rôle, but since God's love is not conceived as having universal application, even love for one's neighbour only has a restricted reference to members of the community. (Cf. E. F. Sutcliffe, "Hatred at Qumran", *Revue de Qumran* 2, 1959–60, 345–55.)

NT 1. (a) In the NT love is one of the central ideas which express the whole content of the Christian faith (cf. Jn. 3:16). God's activity is love, which looks for men's reciprocal love (1 Jn. 4:8, 16).

(b) It is significant that *stergō* only occurs in the NT in Rom. 12:10 in the compound *philostorgos*, loving dearly, in an expression in which Paul emphasizes the need for love in the church by piling up words for love *tē philadelphia eis allēlous philostorgoi*, "devoted to one another in brotherly love" [Arndt, 869], and in Rom. 1:31; 2 Tim. 3:3 in the compound *astorgos*, heartless, inhuman, without natural affection. As an illustration of such lack of natural, family affection, C. E. B. Cranfield cites the practice of exposing unwanted babies and Seneca's justification for drowning weakly or deformed infants (*The Epistle to the Romans*, *ICC*, I, 1975, 132 f.; cf. Seneca, *De Ira* 1, 15). Moreover, *erōs* and *eraō* do not occur at all. As A. Nygren has shown, the reason for this is that the anthropocentric way of thinking which is inevitably bound up with these words does not correspond with the NT approach (*Agape and Eros*, 1953²). *phileō*, on the other hand, does appear commonly, though it also features in compound words. However, it remains in every case a more limited and colourless word. A typical example would be *philadelphia*, love for a friend or brother (2 Pet. 1:7). The main emphasis of *phileō* is on love for people who are closely connected, either by blood or by faith. Jn. 15:19; 11:36; 16:27 use it in the context of the father-child relationship. *agapaō* and *phileō* are used synonymously in Jn. 3:35 and 5:20 (cf. 16:27) of the Father's love for the Son, and in Jn. 21:15 ff., when Jesus asked Peter whether he loved him and in Peter's reply. ([F. F. Bruce] The attempts of B. F. Westcott and others to find significance in the variation between the two verbs in Jn. 21:15 ff. have now

generally been abandoned – the more so because opposite and mutually inconsistent conclusions have been drawn from the variation [as by Westcott on the one hand, and R. C. Trench on the other]. The variation is a feature of Johannine style: in the same three verses two different words are also used for "know", two for "feed" [or "tend"] and two for "sheep" [or "lambs"].) In 1 Cor. 16:22 *phileō* is clearly used of love for the Lord Jesus: "If anyone has no love for the Lord, let him be accursed. Our Lord, come!" (→ Present, art. *maranatha*).

(c) By contrast, *agapē* and *agapaō* are used in nearly every case in the NT to speak of God's relationship with man – not unexpectedly, in view of the OT usage. Where *agapē* is obviously directed towards things (Lk. 11:43), the very use of the vb. *agapaō* is intended to make it plain that here love is directed to the wrong ends, i.e. not towards God. Thus the vb. is used of misdirected love in Jn. 3:19 (love of *skotos*, darkness), Jn. 12:43 (love of *doxa tōn anthrōpōn*, the glory of men), and 2 Tim. 4:10 (love of the *nyn aiōn*, the present age). But in the case of the noun *agapē* there is no corresponding negative usage in the NT. It is always in the sense of *hē agapē tou theou*, the love of God, either subjective gen. (i.e. God's love of men) or the objective gen. (i.e. men's love of God), or referring to the divine love for other men which the presence of God evokes. This brings *agapē* very close to concepts like *pistis*, → faith, *dikaiosynē*, → righteousness and, *charis* → grace, which all have a single point of origin in God alone.

2. (a) In the Synoptic tradition the main emphasis falls on the preaching of the → kingdom of God and of the new way of life which breaks in with Jesus himself. God sends his beloved Son (in Matt. and Mk. *ho agapētos*), to whom to listen is to be saved (Mk. 1:11 par. Matt. 3:17; cf. Lk. 3:22; Mk. 9:7 par., Matt. 17:5; cf. Lk. 9:35; cf. Ps. 2:7; Isa. 42:1; Gen. 22:1 ff.). Lk. has *agapētos* as *v.l.* and in the parable in Lk. 20:13 as does Mk. 12:6 (but not Matt. 21:38). *agapētos* also figures in the christological interpretation of Isa. 42:1 in Matt. 12:18. However, *agapē* is scarcely ever used to express the motive behind this. Instead other words, pictures and parables take its place (e.g. *oiktirmōn*, merciful, compassionate, Lk. 6:36; *eleos*, mercy, compassion, pity, Lk. 1:50 ff.; *eleeō*, have mercy or pity, Matt. 18:33). Jesus' activity among men thus reveals the mercy and love of God: Jesus himself is the one who truly loves, and takes to himself the poor, the sick and sinners.

The word *agapē* is not found in the passion narrative either. But the underlying thought of mercy and love as the way God intends to redeem lies clearly in the background. It may be seen in the *hyper pollōn* ("for many") in the account of the → Last Supper (Mk. 14:24; Matt. 26:28; cf. also Mk. 10:45) and the *paradidonai* ("betray", "hand over") of Jesus to death (Matt. 26:45; Mk. 14:41).

The Sermon on the Mount is best understood when the Beatitudes are seen in the first instance as statements by Jesus about himself (Matt. 5:3–11; cf. Lk. 6:20 ff.; → Blessing art. *makarios*). Jesus is the first to keep the radical demands of discipleship and so fulfil the law. The command to love one's enemies (Matt. 5:44; cf. Lk. 6:27), the word of forgiveness from the → cross (Lk. 23:34), and the promise to the robber (Lk. 23:43) all fit into the same pattern.

(b) In the Synoptics love for God is based on the two → commandments (Matt. 22:34–40 par. Mk. 12:28–34; cf. Lk. 10:25–28). Here too, through God's mercy, grows the new reality of love which is revealed in Jesus' ministry. His followers

enter and share this, and so fulfil the demands of the Sermon on the Mount. Discipleship (→ Disciple), however, also involves → suffering: and when a disciple does suffer he is recognized by God (Matt. 10:37 ff.; 25:31 ff.; Lk. 6:22 ff.). This demand indicates the hardship love has to face; it can only succeed in this world by way of suffering. If love cost God what was most dear to him, the same will certainly apply to a disciple.

(c) This approach provides a different interpretation for loving one's neighbour or one's brother, one unknown either to rabbis or Greeks. It is God's love, creating the new realities amongst mankind, which is itself the basis and motivation for love between people. The commands to love can again be cited here. The combination of Deut. 6:5 and Lev. 19:18 appears only in Mk. 12:28 par. (on this → Command; → Brother; art. *plēsion*; → Law, art. *nomos*). The second half, love for one's neighbour, is also quoted in Rom. 13:9; Gal. 5:14; Jas. 2:8. The two commands were also stressed by the rabbis: Rabbi Akiba calls the command to love one's neighbour a basic principle of the Torah, embracing all others (cf. SB I 900–8 on Matt. 22:36 ff.). But the summation and substantiation of the command in the love of God is a peculiarly NT insight. Further, Jesus decisively stepped over the boundaries of Jewish tradition in the radical command to love one's enemies (Matt. 5:43–48 par. Lk. 6:27 f., 32–36). It is true that a general love for people, even for all creatures, had already been accepted as axiomatic. But the radical and laconic nature of the sentence – enemies are to be loved – is quite foreign to Rabbinic teaching (cf. SB I 553–68). Jesus, the Son of God, loves those who crucify him; in fact he died for them. Jesus' interpretation of this command in the parable of the Good Samaritan implicitly extends love to include everybody (Lk. 10:37; cf. 7:47).

3. (a) Paul stands entirely in the line of OT tradition when he speaks of the love of God. *agapē* is for him electing love, as is indicated by his use of *agapētos*, "the chosen one". This adjective is commonly used by Paul, but is entirely lacking in Jn., as is also the vb. *kaleō* (→ call). Rom. 9:13 ff. and 11:28 show in particular how Paul's thought links up with the Israelite election-tradition. The *klētoi* ("called") are the *agapētoi* ("beloved") (Rom. 1:7; Col. 3:12). As in the OT the motive for the election is God's love, which can also be rendered by *eleos* or *eleeō* (→ Mercy). (The LXX translates the root *rḥm* sometimes by *eleeō*, sometimes by *agapaō*.) This love becomes a revealing activity in Jesus Christ's saving work (Rom. 5:8; 8:35 ff.). The circle of → guilt, wrath (→ Anger) and → judgment is broken through, for in Jesus Christ God appears as love. Indeed this love comes to be predicated of Jesus Christ himself (e.g. Gal. 2:20; 2 Thess. 2:13; Eph. 5:2). The contrasting concept in Paul is *orgē*, wrath (→ Anger). Men under the law find themselves on a direct road leading to the wrathful judgment of God; from this destiny God in his electing love rescues those who believe (1 Thess. 1:10). Now if God's action can be defined as love (in 2 Cor. 13:11, 13 God and his love are used synonymously), then the great love song of 1 Cor. 13 can be understood not merely as a chapter of ethics, but as a description of all God's activity. In place of the word "love" we can put the name of Jesus Christ (cf. K. Barth, *CD* I 2, 379). This does not mean that God becomes the "good Lord" who lets anything pass; for there is still the possibility of disbelief and there is still the judgment to come. But God's righteousness is realized in the fact that the beloved Son stands in the place of the unrighteous (cf. 2 Cor. 5:18 ff.).

The electing love of God is also in the background of Eph. 5:22 ff., where the relationship between man and wife is compared with the love of Christ for the church. There are two points of contact here. On the one hand, there is the election of → Israel (cf. Rom. 9); the church is the called-out body, the new Israel which has come to faith in Christ. On the other hand, there is the OT picture of marriage dating from the time of Hosea with the implication of a relationship of fidelity and covenant love. What is true for the Christian community is true also for the individual, and is also true for marriage. God's love is able to overcome every kind of difficulty and infidelity. Electing love is at the same time compassionate and forgiving love.

Certainty of salvation consists in knowing that God's loving activity, of which the resurrection is the final seal, is stronger than any other power including even → death (Rom. 8:37 ff.; 1 Cor. 15:55 ff.). The → resurrection is the crowning act of God's love. In it is displayed the victory over these forces (cf. 2 Cor. 5:19 ff.; on *katallagē* → Reconciliation).

(b) A believer is a sinner who is loved by God. When he realizes this, he enters the sphere of God's love. He himself becomes loving. Hence, also in Paul love for God and love for one's neighbour derive from God's own love.

It is this love of God, poured into our hearts by the Spirit, that moves believers (Rom. 5:5; 15:30). Man's response to God's saving act is described by Paul mostly as *pistis* (→ faith) or *gnōsis* (→ knowledge), but also frequently as *agapē* (cf. Eph. 3:19; 1 Cor. 8:3). Through the Spirit, knowing God and being known by him become the same thing. The same applies to being loved by, and loving, God (Gal. 4:9). Those who are known by God know him. Similarly, with *agapē*, the faith which knows that it is loved (Rom. 8:37) is active in love (Gal. 5:6; 1 Thess. 3:6). Thus love can be said to be the fruit of the Spirit (Gal. 5:22); faith and love in fact are often mentioned side by side (e.g. 1 Thess. 1:3; 3:6; 5:8; Eph. 6:23; 1 Tim. 1:14).

The formula *en Christō*, "in Christ", speaks of the existence of the believer in the sphere of the love of God. When I am "in Christ" or Christ is "in me", this love has taken hold of me and is making me, a believing person, into a loving person (cf. Gal. 2:20; 1 Tim. 1:14). As someone who loves, a believer is a new → creation (*kainē ktisis*, 2 Cor. 5:17) who finds his origin in the love of Christ (cf. 2 Cor. 5:14 with v. 17).

(c) Paul, therefore, characterizes love for one's neighbour as love for one's → brother in the faith (Gal. 5:6). 1 Cor. 13 summarizes everything to be said here. There *agapē* is always both God's love and man's love. Love stands over every power and authority introducing and encircling the whole. ([Ed.] In a study of the phrase *ta tria tauta*, "these three things", and *meizōn de toutōn hē agapē*, "but [the] greatest of these [is] love", R. P. Martin asks: "May it not be, then, that this tremendous chapter ends on the note of an unexpected climax, as though Paul were saying, Excellent as are the features of this well-known triad, with love the still outstanding trait, there is something greater still, the love of God expressed in Jesus Christ our Lord?" ["A suggested Exegesis of 1 Corinthians 13:13", *ExpT* 82, 1970–71, 120].) *prophēteia*, prophecy, and *pistis*, faith (v. 2), *elpis*, hope (v. 7), and *gnōsis*, knowledge (v. 8), are subordinated to it not, however, as gradations of lessening importance, but as component parts of that one powerful force which

permeates and animates everything. In the context of 1 Cor. love is the greatest of the gifts of the Spirit, however readily Paul puts *pneuma* → Spirit and *agapē* side by side elsewhere (Gal. 5:13–22; 1 Cor. 14:1). 1 Cor. also makes it clear that love is the force which holds a Christian community together and builds it up. Without love, no → fellowship or shared life is possible (1 Cor. 14:1; 16:14; Eph. 1:15; 3:17 ff.). The *sōma Christou*, body of Christ, is built up by love (1 Cor. 8:1; 2 Thess. 1:3; Phil. 2:1 f.; Eph. 4:16; Col. 2:2). When Paul offers the church the example of his own love he is calling them back again to their fellowship in the love of God (2 Cor. 2:4; 8:7).

Paul also takes up the command of the OT and of Jesus to love (Rom. 13:8 ff.; Gal. 5:14), thus setting *agapē* alongside *pistis*, and over against the *nomos* (→ Law). The law has been fulfilled, because Jesus is love, and has died for sinners Insofar, therefore, as Christians love one another they too fulfil the law, not in the sense that they attain any perfection, but that they are now living in God's new reality through the strengthening power of → forgiveness. *agapē* is a reflection of what is still to come (1 Cor. 13:9, 12, 13).

4. (a) In John, God's nature and activity are illustrated with particular clarity by his use of *agapē*. That partly arises from the fact that *agapē* is used here more frequently than in Paul in its absolute form – i.e. as a noun with no gen., or as a vb. with no object. Parallel ideas such as *dikaiosynē* (righteousness), *charis* (grace) and *eleos* (mercy) recede somewhat in favour of *agapē*. John can thus speak of pre-existent love in the same way that he speaks in Jn. 1:1 ff. of the pre-existent *logos* (→ Word; cf. Jn. 3:35; 10:17; 15:9; 17:23 ff.). God is essentially love (1 Jn. 4:8), and his purpose right from the beginning has been one of love. The love of the Father for the Son is therefore the archetype of all love. This fact is made visible in the sending and self-sacrifice of the Son (Jn. 3:16; 1 Jn. 3:1, 16). For men to "see" and "know" this love is to be saved. God's primary purpose for the world is his compassionate and forgiving love which asserts itself despite the world's inimical rejection of it. In God's *agapē* his → glory (*doxa*) is simultaneously revealed. Love's triumph is seen in the *doxasthēnai* of Jesus, i.e. his glorification: his death which here includes his return to the Father (Jn. 12:16, 23 ff.). The believer, taken up into this victory, receives *zōē*, life (cf. 1 Jn. 4:9; Jn. 3:36; 11:25 ff.).

(b) If Paul's word for describing the way men turn to God is *pistis*, John's is *agapē*. The relationship between Father and Son is one of love (Jn. 14:31). In this relationship of love believers are included (Jn. 14:21 ff.; 17:26; 15:9 f.). They are to love Father and Son with an equal love (Jn. 8:42; 14:21 ff.; 1 Jn. 4:16, 20). The continual oscillation between the subject and object of love in John shows that the Father, the Son, and the believers are all united in the one reality of divine love: the alternative to which is death (1 Jn. 3:14 ff.; 4:7 f.). The typical Johannine phrase *menein en*, remain in, can refer equally to Jesus or to love (Jn. 15:4 ff.; 1 Jn. 4:12 ff.).

(c) In John, mutual love is grounded even more clearly than in Paul in the love of God (Jn. 13:34; 1 Jn. 4:21). Love is a sign and a proof of faith (1 Jn. 3:10; 4:7 ff.). Love of one's brother derives from God's love; and without love for one's brother, there can be no relationship with God.

John, in turn, takes up the command to love (Jn. 13:34; 15:12, 17; 2 Jn. 5). To love is to keep the law (Jn. 14:23 f.).

5. (a) Finally, love found expression for itself in early Christian circles by way of the kiss of fellowship, which was a regular part of the worship of the congregation (e.g. Rom. 16:16 "with a holy kiss [*en philēmati hagiō*]"). In 1 Pet. 5:14 it is called the "kiss of love [*en philēmati agapēs*]"; but practically no details of this rite are known (→ *phileō* NT 3).

(b) *agapē* is also the word used for one of the early Christian ceremonies which we only know about by way of allusion. 1 Cor. 11 shows that the actual celebration of the Lord's Supper was linked with a normal meal. Later the "love feast" (*agapē*) became separated from the → Lord's Supper itself, and celebrated in its own right (cf. Jude 12; perhaps also 2 Pet. 2:13; Ign., *Smy.* 8:2; Clem.Alex., *Paedogogus* 2, 1; cf. Lampe, 8). The difference seems to be that whereas the centre both of a service of preaching and of the Lord's Supper was the joyous declaration of faith, the common meal had its central significance in celebrating and displaying the especial → fellowship which they shared in their *agapē*. It also seems certain that this service provided an opportunity for congregations to give practical expression to their love in generous social action (cf. Acts 6:1 ff.).

(c) Evidence that the new community based on *agapē* understood itself as the family of God is provided by the variety of names used for brothers and sisters in the early church (→ Brother, art. *adelphos*). *W. Günther, H.-G. Link*

φιλέω

φιλέω (*phileō*), be fond of, love; φίλος (*philos*), a relative, friend; φιλία (*philia*), friendship, love; καταφιλέω (*kataphileō*), to kiss; φίλημα (*philēma*), a kiss; φιλαδελφία (*philadelphia*), brotherly love; φιλανθρωπία (*philanthrōpia*), love for mankind, hospitality.

CL *phileō* is the regular word from Homer onwards for to show affection, love, hospitality, etc. It can also be used with less precision and colour to mean: be accustomed to, be in the habit of; and then, when joined with other vbs. to do something gladly, customarily, generally. It is also commonly used with more specific meanings. There is a very large number of words compounded from *phil-* e.g. *philoxenia*, hospitality (cf. Liddell-Scott, 1935–42). *philos*, attested in Mycenaean Gk., and originally meaning dear, expensive, valuable, became the ordinary expression for a friend or relative; *philē* similarly means a female friend. *philia* is a later abstraction meaning friendship, love, devotion, favour; *philēma* is a love token, a kiss.

OT In the LXX we are presented with a completely different picture. *phileō* occurs rarely, whereas the vb. *agapaō*, and the noun *agapē* (otherwise almost entirely unknown in Gk.) are everywhere to be found. It is not possible to say whether they are used according to set rules, for *phileō* (30 times), like *agapaō* (*c.* 263 times), generally translates Heb. *'āhēḇ* (e.g. Gen. 27:4 ff.; 37:4[cf. 37:3]; Isa. 56:10, Prov. 8:17[cf. 8:21]). Whereas Heb. has a whole range of different words to express the contrary concept of the hate (but the LXX has only the one word *miseō* (→ Enemy, art. *miseō*), it has virtually only the one root form *'āhēḇ* at its disposal for the range of feelings associated with love. Gk., on the other hand, has several roots and derived words to express the various nuances of love. *philia* (38 times), generally translating *'ahēḇ*, *'ahªḇâh*, is comparatively rare, though *philos* (*c.* 181

times), generally translating *rēa'*, though often without Heb. equivalent, is more common in the LXX. As an alternative *plēsion*, neighbour, mainly used to indicate relatives or friends (*c.* 221 times, often for *rēa'*), and occasionally *hetairos*, friend (*c.* 27 times), are used (→ Brother arts. *ho plēsion* and *hetairos*).

NT In the NT the vb. *phileō* occurs in Matt. (5 times) and Jn. (13 times); elsewhere there are only individual instances (7 in all). The distinction from → *agapaō* is not strictly adhered to. The nouns *philos* or *philē* are used for friends, and also for people bound together in → faith; as an adjective *philos* is not found at all. *philēma* is a kiss, and in the Epistles a Christian form of greeting, the "holy kiss". The noun *philia* only appears in the NT in Jas. 4:4.

1. (a) A typical example for the original meaning of *phileō* can be seen in Matt. 6:5: the hypocrites love to pray at street corners. Matt. 23:6 and Lk. 20:46 are similar cases. The use of *agapaō* in Lk. 11:43, and Lk. 20:46 in a similar context, is an exception, showing how the difference in meaning is not always maintained. Matt. 10:37 is another typical example, love here deriving from family connections: "He who loves [*ho philōn*] father or mother more than me is not worthy of me; and he who loves [*ho philōn*] son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me." We have here, incidentally, a statement which has a theological importance in indicating the transition to a theological meaning of the word; for the phraseology, introducing the comparison, points implicitly to a love for Jesus, which is elsewhere described as *agapē*, the gift of God's rule. The starting-point of the statement, however, remains the natural love shared between relatives. But, clearly, when the → kingdom of God breaks in, even the usual family ties and links of friendship may be dissolved for the benefit of the new fellowship of the family of God (→ Brother, art. *adelphos*).

(b) Jn. characterizes love according to whether the → world is viewed as God's creation, or as the sphere of enmity towards God. Where the world is viewed as God's creation, natural creaturely love has its legitimate place. Thus Jn. 11:3, 36 speak of Jesus' bond of friendship with Lazarus. But Jn. also sees the *kosmos* as the sphere of darkness which opposes God. Viewed thus, love in or for the *kosmos* is the same as hatred for God's revelation (15:19; cf. Jas. 4:4). 1 Jn. 2:15 is directed against such people: "do not love the world, or anything in it," i.e. "do not love God-lessness." But since God loves the creation which hates him, in order to save it (3:16), the other imperative also holds: "He gave us this command: whoever loves God must love his brother too." Love for one's brothers as God's creations makes concrete one's love for the world, which is also the creation of God.

The scene with Peter in Jn. 21:15 ff. makes it clear that *phileō* and *agapaō* cannot always be neatly distinguished. Verses 15, 16 distinguish the *agapaō* in Jesus' mouth from the *phileō* in Peter's, but in v. 17 this distinction ceases. Nor is it possible to draw any particular exegetical consequences from this scene. Jn. 5:20 and 16:27 are the only places where *phileō* is predicated of God. Both times it is God the Father who is spoken of, since relationships between people become pictures of relationships within the divine being.

(c) There is a single, yet important, Pauline example of the use of *phileō*, in 1 Cor. 16:22. Love for the *kyrios*, → Lord, is the condition of salvation. The whole history of the word would have led one to expect *agapaō*. Again the impossibility

of rigid distinctions is clear. As to content, clearly the meaning is that of *agapē* elsewhere. Tit. 3:15, too, can only be correctly understood when it is born in mind that through God's love in the revelation of the Son, human love understood as love in faith requires a new interpretation (cf. on this the varying translation of Prov. 3:11 in Heb. 12:6 [*agapaō*] and Rev. 3:19 [*phileō*]). For *phileō*, meaning to kiss (Mk. 14:14), see below 3, on *philēma*.

2. *philos* is also in the NT a friend to whom one is under a basic obligation (cf. Lk. 7:6; 11:5 f.; 14:10, 12; 15:6, 9, 29; 23:12; Jn. 11:11; Acts 10:24; 19:31; 27:3). Relatives (*syngeneis*) and friends are often mentioned alongside each other. But neither in Gk. nor in Jewish tradition can any firm distinction be upheld; and when *philoi*, friends, are sometimes mentioned, relatives are clearly often to be included. *philos* is also used, as in Lk. 16:9, for people linked by some inclination or relationship; Jesus here advises people to win friends for themselves by giving away their worldly wealth (→ Possessions, art. *mamōnas*). The same point is made when Pilate is threatened in Jn. 19:12 with losing his honorary title of "friend of Caesar" (*philos tou kaisaros*; Lat. *amicus Caesaris*). By way of contrast, *philos* can be used to express God's love for the godless. In Matt. 11:19 and Lk. 7:34 Jesus is called the "friend of sinners and tax-collectors." He loves them, though they are enemies, just as God loves the world which hates him. That is also what is meant when Jesus addressed his disciples as "friends" (Lk. 12:4; Jn. 15:14 f.). They come to him as sinners, and become his friends through his sacrificial love. (Jn. 15:13). So now, instead of the love and friendship they enjoyed while belonging to the world (Jas. 4:4), they belong to the new fellowship of the kingdom of God, or the family of God, in which they are brothers and friends of Jesus and children of the Father (Lk. 21:16; cf. also Jas. 2:23, where → Abraham because of his faith is called a *philos theou*). Brothers and sisters in faith can therefore be greeted as *philoi* (3 Jn. 15). For Jn. 3:29 *philos tou nymphiou*, "friend of the bridegroom", → Marriage, art. *nymphē*.

3. *philēma* is a kiss. For the vb. *phileō* and *kataphileō* are both used in the NT. The kiss was a common courtesy greeting amongst the Rabbis; and Judas' kiss was of this nature (Matt. 26:48 f.; Mk. 14:44 f.; Lk. 22:47). He addresses Jesus honorifically as Rabbi. Again, in the story of the woman who was a sinner (Lk. 7:36 ff.), the kiss was a sign of respect for Jesus. Whether at the same time there is a hint or reference to the Jewish kiss of farewell depends on the decisions one reaches in comparing this scene with the anointing in Bethany (Matt. 26:6 ff.; Mk. 14:3 ff.).

The kiss in the ancient world was both a friendly sign of greeting and an emotional token of farewell (cf. Lk. 15:20; Acts 20:37 where *kataphileō* is used). In the early Christian congregations it became a *philēma hagion*, a holy kiss. Those who have been incorporated into the fellowship of the love of God are *hagioi* (→ Holy, art. *hagios*) in being children of God, and can greet one another as such (Rom. 16:16; 1 Cor. 16:20; 2 Cor. 13:12; 1 Thess. 5:26; 1 Pet. 5:14 *philēma agapēs*, kiss of love).

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4. The following compounds occur in the NT: *philagathos*, loving what is good (1 Tim. 1:8); *philadelphia*, brotherly love, love of a brother or sister (Rom. 12:10; 1 Thess. 4:9; Heb. 13:1; 1 Pet. 1:22; 2 Pet. 1:7); *philadelphos*, loving one's brother or sister (1 Pet. 3:8); *philandros*, loving one's husband (Tit. 2:4); *philanthrōpia*,

love for mankind (Tit. 3:4), hospitality (Acts 28:2); *philanthrōpōs*, benevolently, kindly (Acts 27:3); *philargyria*, love of money, avarice (1 Tim. 6:10); *philargyros*, fond of money, avaricious (Lk. 16:14; 2 Tim. 3:2); *philautos*, loving oneself, selfish (2 Tim. 3:2); *philēdonos*, loving pleasure (2 Tim. 3:4); *philotheos*, loving God, devout, in a play on words with *philēdonos* (2 Tim. 3:4); *philon(e)ikia*, dispute (Lk. 22:24); *philon(e)ikos*, quarrelsome (1 Cor. 11:16); *philoxenia*, hospitality (Rom. 12:13; Heb. 13:2); *philoxenos*, hospitable (1 Tim. 3:2; Tit. 1:8; 1 Pet. 4:9); *philoprōteuō*, wish to be the first (3 Jn. 9); *philosophia*, philosophy (Col. 2:8); *philosophos*, philosopher (Acts 17:18); *philostorgos*, loving dearly (Rom. 12:10); *philoteknos*, loving one's children (Tit. 2:4); *philotimeomai*, consider as an honour, aspire (Rom. 15:20; 2 Cor. 5:9; 1 Thess. 4:11); *philophronōs*, in a friendly manner (Acts 28:7); *philophrōn*, well-disposed, friendly (1 Pet. 3:8 TR).

In addition there are the following names: *Philadelph(e)ia*, Philadelphia, the city in Lydia in Asia Minor mentioned in the sixth letter of Rev. (1:11; 3:7) and in the letter of Ignatius to the Philadelphians, founded by Attalus II Philadelphus (159–138 B.C.); *Philēmon*, Philemon, a Christian probably at Colossae whose runaway slave, Onesimus, was won for Christianity by Paul and was sent back to Philemon with the letter that bears his name urging clemency; *Philētos*, Philetus, who is mentioned with Hymenaeus (2 Tim. 2:17) as teaching that the resurrection is already past (v. 18); *Philippēsios*, Philippian (Phil. 4:15); *Philippoi*, Philippi, city of Macedonia, founded on the site of Crenides by Philip II of Macedon in 356, the first European city to hear Christian missionaries, Paul and Silas (Acts 16:12); it is also mentioned in Acts 20:6; Phil. 1:1; 1 Thess. 2:2; *Philippos*, Philip (lit. fond of horses, horse-lover); (i) Philip Herod I, son of Herod the Great and the younger Mariamne (Matt. 14:33; Mk. 6:17) whose wife left him for his half-brother, Herod Antipas, who beheaded John the Baptist; (ii) Philip Herod II, son of Herod the Great and Cleopatra of Jerusalem, the Tetrarch (Matt. 16:13; Mk. 8:27; Lk. 3:1); (iii) Philip the disciple and apostle (Matt. 10:3; Mk. 3:18; Lk. 6:14; Jn. 1:44–47, 49; 6:5, 7; 12:21 f.; 14:8 f.; Acts 1:13); (iv) Philip, one of the Seven and later the evangelist (Acts 6:5; 8:5–40; 21:8); *Philologos*, Philologus (lit. lover of learning), a recipient of greetings in Rom. 16:15, possibly the leader of a house church (cf. vv. 5, 10 f.). *C. Brown*

→ Anger, → Brother, → Command, → Gift, → Grace, → Hope, → Law, → Mercy, → Samaritan

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M

Magic, Sorcery, Magi

μαγεία

περίεργος (*periergos*), meddlesome, curious, belonging to magic; μαγεία (*mageia*), magic; μαγεύω (*mageuō*), practise magic; μάγος (*magos*), magus, magician; φαρμακεία (*pharmakeia*), magic, sorcery; φαρμακεύς (*pharmakeus*), mixer of potions, magician; φάρμακον (*pharmakon*), poison, magic potion, charm, medicine, remedy, drug; φάρμακος (*pharmakos*), poisoner, magician; γόης (*goēs*), sorcerer, juggler; πύθων (*pythōn*), the Python, spirit of divination; βασκαίνω (*baskainō*), bewitch; φάντασμα (*phantasma*), apparition, ghost.

CL 1. Evidence of magic dating from palaeolithic culture has been found in cave art depicting animals stuck with darts with a view to causing the same thing to happen in a future hunt, and in the covering of corpses with red pigment (suggesting blood, the life-substance) in order to restore them to life. The dividing line between magic and religion is often indistinct. Sir James Frazer suggested that religion was characterized by conciliation of superhuman powers, whereas magic is concerned with the control by man of the forces of nature (*The Golden Bough*, abridged edition 1957, I, 67 ff.). Even where magic deals with spirits as personal agents, it treats them as inanimate in the sense that they can be constrained and forced in an impersonal way rather than conciliating or propitiating them as in a religion. The distinction is often drawn between white and black magic. The former is held to be benevolent in intention (e.g. rain making), whereas the latter is malevolent causing loss of health, property, destruction and death. Magic may co-exist alongside a primitive knowledge of the laws of the natural world; it is invoked to deal with what cannot be controlled by known natural means.

2. Common features of magic are: (i) the spell, the utterance of words according to a set formula, without which control over the desired power is impossible; (ii) the rite, or set of actions designed to convey the spell to the object concerned, involving imitation of the desired action or the use of similar substances; and (iii) the condition of the performer who must not breach any of the relevant taboos and must be in the requisite emotional state to perform the prescribed actions.

3. Magic is known in Homer, but is doubtless much older. In *Od.* 19, 457 an incantation can stop the flow of blood from the wounded Odysseus. Circe has potions, salves and a magic wand, and is able to teach Odysseus to summon the shades from the nether world. Magic abounds in Gk. mythology. Among those accredited with supernatural powers were the Telchines, smiths who lived on the island of Rhodes who had the evil eye and who bear a resemblance to the dwarfs and gnomes of north European mythology, the Curetes of Crete who protected the

infant Zeus, and the Idaean Dactyls who were likewise dwarfs and who were masters of medicine and music. The most renowned enchantress of antiquity was Medea who also had the evil eye and was the prototype of the jilted witch of later literature (*OCD*, 637). Both Gk. and Lat. poets and dramatists give pictures of magic and witchcraft. The growth in knowledge and progress of Gk. civilization led to the suppression of magic. Nevertheless, as secularization increased in the higher social levels during the fourth cent. B.C., there was a renewed outburst of interest in magic in the lower levels.

4. Numerous forms of magic are attested in the Graeco-Roman world. To bring about the death of a person, one could make an image of that person and destroy it or pierce it. Plato believed that men could not be prevented from believing in such homoeopathic magic, or incantations and magic knots, and therefore urged punishment by law including the death penalty (*Leg.* 933b; cf. also Theocritus 2; Virgil, *Eclogues* 8; Ovid, *Heroides* 6, 91 for such practices). Contagious magic, destroying something belonging to the victim, is exemplified in Theocritus 2, 53 ff. and Virgil, *Aeneid* 4, 494 ff. The attempt to transfer by magic a disease from a person to an animal is described by the Elder Pliny in his account of whispering into the ear of an ass, "A scorpion has stung me" (*Naturalis Historia* 28, 155). Belief in the apotropaic efficacy of rings, crowns and amulets and numerous medical charms was widespread. Evocation of the spirits of the dead occurs as early as Homer, *Od.* 11, and necromancers were a recognized class of magician.

OT 1. The employment of magic not only by men but also by gods is well attested in Sumero-Akkadian and Canaanite religious literature. Behind it lies the belief that no single power has ultimate control over the universe. In order to secure the desired stability and well-being of the world, the gods must also resort to the powers which they themselves do not possess. In the Babylonian Creation Epic (*Enûma Eliš*) the hero of the younger gods, Ea-Enki is called the Lord of Incantation and is regarded as the god of magic par excellence. In his struggle against the primeval gods Tiamat and Apsu, Ea-Enki killed the latter with the aid of a spell (Tablet I, 60–70; *ANET* 61; A. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis*, [1951²] 1963, 20; cf. H. Ringgren, *Religions of the Ancient Near East*, 1973, 69 ff.). Ea's son, Marduk, employed magic in his fight against the monsters created by Tiamat to avenge Apsu, holding a red talisman between his lips (Tablet IV, 61; *ANET*, 66; A. Heidel, op. cit., 39). Tiamat also recited a charm and kept casting a spell (Tables IV, 91; *ANET*, 67; A. Heidel, op. cit., 40). But Marduk, the better magician, proved victorious. Compared with this account of creation, the absence of magic in the Genesis creation narratives is all the more striking.

In the Akkadian Myth of Zu the vitality of the gods appears to depend on a talisman carried by their chief (*ANET*, 111 ff.). The bird-god Zu stole the Tablets of Destinies and usurped the authority of the gods until vanquished by one of the benign deities. The gods themselves wear amulets to protect themselves and ensure victory. Similarly, in the *Descent of Ishtar to the Nether World* (*ANET*, 106–9) Ishtar wore charms.

2. In the case of Canaanite religion the use of magic in healing is illustrated by the Legend of King Keret who is healed by the magic of El (*ANET*, 148), and in fertility by the story of how the goddess Anath avenged the death of her brother

at the hands of Mot by slaying Mot, the god of sterility, and scattering his ashes (*ANET* 140). However, human beings also were regarded as being endowed with magical powers and the capacity to tell omens (*ANET*, 153).

3. For evidence of magic in Egypt see *ANET*, 325 ff.; K. Preisendanz, ed., *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, I-III, 1928–42; A. H. Gardiner, *ERE* VIII 262–69. Magic was under the protection of the leading god, Thoth and Isis, and was learned in the temple schools. It was a particular province of the priests. The charms included charms against snakes.

4. The reality of occult powers is recognized in the OT, but the Israelites were consistently forbidden to become embroiled in any form of magic. The law of Deut. 18:10–14 observes the various practices of the surrounding peoples, but prohibits them categorically: "There shall not be found among you any one who burns his son or his daughter as an offering, any one who practises divination, a soothsayer, or an augur, or a sorcerer, or a charmer, or a medium, or a wizard, or a necromancer. For whoever does these things is an abomination to the Lord; and because of these abominable practices the Lord your God is driving them out before you. You shall be blameless before the Lord your God. For these nations, which you are about to dispossess, give heed to soothsayers and to diviners; but as for you, the Lord your God has not allowed you to do so." The key terms here are: *qōsēm qᵉsāmîm* (Heb.), *manteuomenos manteian* (Gk.), one who practises divination (cf. Num. 22:7; 23:23; Jos. 13:22; 1 Sam. 6:2; 15:23; 28:8; 2 Ki. 17:17; Isa. 3:2; 44:25; Jer. 14:14; Ezek. 13:6, 9, 23; 21:26 ff.; Mic. 3:6 f., 11; Zech. 10:2); *mᵉʿônēn* (Heb.), *klēdonizomenos* (Gk.), soothsayer (the Heb. means one who causes to appear, raises spirits, practises soothsaying; cf. Lev. 19:26; Jdg. 9:37; 2 Ki. 21:6; Isa. 2:6; 57:3; Jer. 27:9; Mic. 5:11; 2 Chron. 33:6); *mᵉnaḥēš* (Heb.), *oiōnizomenos* (Gk.), an augur, one who looks for an omen (cf. Gen. 44:5, 15; Lev. 19:26; 2 Ki. 17:17; 21:6; 2 Chron. 33:6; with Gen. 30:27; Num. 23:23; 24:1; 1 Ki. 20:33); *mᵉkaššēp* (Heb.), *pharmakos* (Gk.), sorcerer (cf. Exod. 7:11; 22:17; Mal. 3:5; Dan. 2:2; 2 Chron. 33:6; with 2 Ki. 9:22; Isa. 47:9, 12; Mic. 5:11; Nah. 3:4); *ḥōbēr ḥābēr* (Heb.), *epaeidōn epaidēn* (Gk.), a charmer, one who binds spells (cf. Ps. 58:6; Isa. 47:9, 12); *šōʾēl ʾôḇ* (Heb.), *engastrimythos* (Gk.), a medium (cf. Lev. 19:31; 20:6, 27; 1 Sam. 28:3, 7 f., 9; 2 Ki. 21:6; 23:24; 1 Chron. 10:13; 2 Chron. 33:6; Isa. 8:19; 19:3; 29:4); *yiddʿônî* (Heb.), *teratoskopos* (Gk.), wizard, familiar spirit, soothsayer (Lev. 19:31; 20:6, 27; 1 Sam. 28:3, 9; 2 Ki. 21:6; 23:24; Isa. 8:19; 19:3; 2 Chron. 33:6); *dōrēš ʾel hammēṯîm* (Heb.), *eperōtōn tous nekrous* (Gk.), necromancer, lit. one who enquires of the dead (*dāraš* is the normal Heb. vb. for enquire; it is used in connection with spirits and deities in Isa. 8:19; 11:10; 19:3; an instance of necromancy is given in the story of Saul's visit to the medium [Heb. *ʾēšeṯ baʿᵃlaṯ-ʾôḇ*; Gk. *gynē engastrimythos*, 1 Sam. 28:7] at Endor). The story of the raising of the spirit of Samuel by the medium at Endor casts no doubt on the reality of what happened, but clearly condemns the venture.

A number of other terms are found elsewhere in the OT. The Heb. vb. *lāḥaš* means to whisper and is used in connection with charms (cf. the piel participle form *mᵉlaḥᵃšîm* in Ps. 58:6 with 2 Sam. 12:19; Ps. 41:8). The noun *laḥaš* means whispering, serpent-charming, "charms" (RSV, Isa. 3:3; cf. Jer. 8:17; Eccl. 10:11). The Gk. word in Isa. 3:3 is *akroatēs*. The expert in charms figures among those who were currently held in esteem in Israel and who held sway over the people in

Isaiah's day; in the name of the Lord the prophet announced their removal. The same applies to the *ḥ*^{a}*ḵam ḥ*^{a}*rāšîm*, "the skilful magician" which is only found in Isa. 3:3. The LXX removes the magical element from both these terms by rendering them *sophon architektona kai syneton akroatēn* ("skilful architect and intelligent scholar"). But the magical element in *ḥereš* can be seen in Aramaic and Syriac parallels, and may be traced back to Ugaritic as an old West Semitic word (cf. I. Mendelsohn, "Magic", *IDB* III 225). Isa. 47:13 mentions *hōḇrê šāmayim* (LXX *astrologoi tou ouranou*) "those who divide the heavens" and *haḥozîm bakkôḵāḇîm* (LXX *hoi horōntes tous asteras*) "those who gaze at the stars", a scornful reference to the influence of Babylonian astrology. Astrology was also practised in Egypt, but there are relatively few references to it in the OT (cf. Jer. 10:2 with Dan. 2:27; 4:7 [4:4]; 5:7, 11). The *ḥarṭōm* (plur. *ḥarṭummîm*) were soothsayer priests. Egyptian ones are mentioned in Gen. 41:8, 24 (LXX *exēgētēs*; → Explain, art. *exēgeomai*); Exod. 7:11, 22; 8:3, 14 f.; 9:11 (the LXX uses *pharmakos* for *ḥarṭōm*, though it also uses the word for other Heb. words). Babylonian ones are mentioned in Dan. 1:20; 2:2. Dan. 1:20 and 2:20 also mention *'aššāpîm*, conjurors, enchanters who were likewise summoned to retell and interpret the → dreams of Nebuchadnezzar. But the task proved beyond them, and it was Daniel who was able to declare the king's dreams. Isa. 19:3 contains the unique word *'iṭṭîm*, in the plur., for the shades or ghosts of a dead person. I. Mendelsohn maintains that the various forms of magic not mentioned in the law of Deut. 18:10 f. represent Egyptian and Babylonian practice and that *ḥ*^{a}*rāšîm* and *kiššēp* and its cognates (Exod. 7:11; 22:17; Deut. 18:10; Mal. 5:5; Dan. 2:2; 2 Chron. 33:6) were the Heb. generic names for magic in all its aspects (*IDB* III 224 f.; cf. Exod. 22:18; 2 Ki. 9:22; Nah. 3:4).

The practice of sorcery is mentioned in the Code of Hammurabi who belonged to the Old Babylonian Amorite Dynasty and who ruled from 1728 to 1686 B.C., though the copy of the Code preserved on a stele is sometime later. Paragraph 2 of the Code specified the death penalty for those guilty of sorcery and equally those who make false accusations of sorcery (*ANET*, 166). The test in both cases was to cast the person accused into the Euphrates. If he survived it was to be taken as a divine vindication of innocence. The Middle Assyrian laws preserved on clay tablets also laid down the death penalty for those guilty of making magical preparations (§47; cf. *ANET*, 184). The king himself was to investigate cases and false accusations. The OT saw magic as a potential rival to the worship of Yahweh and a threat to the well-being of the people. It was forbidden by law and those who practised it were to be put to death (Exod. 22:18 [MT 22:17]; Lev. 19:26, 31; 20:6, 27; cf. Mic. 5:12). As the passage already quoted from Deut. 18:10–14 shows, magical practices were ranked with human sacrifice as evil and an abomination to the Lord (cf. also 2 Ki. 17:17; 2 Chron. 33:6). It was denounced by the prophets as lies and deception (Isa. 44:25; 57:3; Jer. 27:9 f.; Ezek. 22:28; Zech. 10:2; Mal. 3:5). Jezebel was condemned as a sorceress (2 Ki. 9:22), and Manasseh's apostate practices included various forms of magic, soothsaying and human sacrifice (2 Ki. 21:3–6). His grandson Josiah, however, "put away the mediums and the wizards and the teraphim and the idols and all the abominations that were seen in the land of Judah and Jerusalem, that he might establish the words of the law which were written in the book that Hilkiah the priest found in the house of the Lord" (2 Ki. 23:24).

6. The most significant evidence of magic in the Hellenistic world is to be found in the papyri from Egypt which date from the 3rd and 4th cents. A.D. The most important of these have been edited by Karl Preisendanz (see bibliography; see also table of abbreviations for other papyri). Early important references to magic include the *Apology* of Apuleius, written in the middle of the 2nd cent. A.D., *De Mysteriis* by Iamblichus (early 4th cent. A.D.), the Elder Pliny (died A.D. 79), *Naturalis Historia*, which contains numerous magical recipes and exorcisms, and the writings of Lucian of Samosata (born *c.* A.D. 120). In addition numerous cursing tablets, inscriptions often on thin sheets of lead known as *tabellae defixionum*, amulets, and ostraca have been found, The papyri often refer to laurel wreaths, earthen altars, white garments, all of which have naturally perished, and also to tables, discs, dishes, lamps and stands some of which have survived. For a survey of data, literature and practices see J. M. Hull, *Hellenistic Magic and the Synoptic Tradition*, *SBT* Second Series 28, 1974, 5–44. Magic in the Hellenistic world was a fusion of the Gk. spirit with Egyptian influences. Among them were the belief that magic words gained additional power if written on a gem; belief in monstrous beings, half animal and half human; the belief that whilst magic allows man to control the gods, it is at the same time a gift and revelation of the gods to men; and such figures as Seth, Thoth and Osiris. On the other hand, there was also a Persian influence which included the idea of magic as a defence against evil spirits rather than as a means of manipulating the high gods. Magical practices were also rife in Judaism. Justin Martyr testifies to the use of the → name of God in exorcism (*Dial.* 85, 3), and the use of *Ia*, *Iaō* (and numerous variants), Sabaoth, Adonai and Yahweh is common in the magical papyri. Apart from the divine names, that of → Moses appears alongside that of Thoth and Zoroaster, and → Solomon was highly important. The Heb. language itself, as a sacred language, had a special use. Angels and demons figured particularly in Jewish magic.

The normal magical ceremony consisted of two parts: the invocation (*klēsis* or *epiklēsis*) and the ritual (*praxis*). Hull (op. cit., 42 f.) lists six features of the invocation: (i) The invocation proper beginning "I call upon you, I summon you, come to me, help me . . . "; (ii) The utterance of the name of the god (though this is often omitted from the papyri to guard the secret or allow the magician to insert the name of his choice); (iii) Epithets describing the god; (iv) Descriptions of the god to increase his benevolence; (v) Remembrances of similar acts performed by the god, sometimes using substances associated with the act; (vi) The request itself. The subsequent ritual could take various forms involving the use of amulets, sacrifices, the mixing of special substances and potions, libations, and secret writing. Elaborate ceremonies could take several days. *C. Brown*

NT Magic is the technique of manipulating supernatural or supernormal forces to attain one's own ends. It may be a means of bending spirits of various grades to carry out one's wishes, or of developing psychic powers so that one can project an inner force on to some person or situation. There have always been fake magicians, or conjurers in the modern sense of the word, but even the English word "conjurer" up to the time of Shakespeare had the magical sense of one who bound spirits or people by invocation. In the light of Acts 19:18, 19 we may assume that in NT times this was the only sort of magic that interested people. The books that

were burnt were books of *perierga*. The word has the root idea of being concerned with other people's business, and is translated → "busybodies" in 1 Tim. 5:13, but in Acts 19:18, 19 it has the specific sense of interfering with other people through magical arts. Thus, while magicians may well have helped out their claims by trickery, they were primarily concerned with the realm of the psychic and the occult.

1. The following magicians are named in the NT: (a) Simon, commonly referred to as Simon Magus (Acts 8:19–24). He practised spectacular magic in Samaria, but professed conversion in response to Philip's preaching. He was astounded by the manifestations of the Holy Spirit that followed the laying on of hands by Peter and John, and, being still under the influence of his old ideas, he assumed that the apostles had some secret technique that he might use as a Christian magician. For this he was roundly rebuked by Peter.

Early Christian writers speak of him as a heretic of gnostic type, and founder of the Simonians (e.g. Justin, *Apol.* I, 26; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1, 16). The Acts of Peter 4, 6, 9, 11–18, 23, 31 describe among other things his levitation in flight over Rome, and his being brought down through the prayers of Peter (cf. Henn. Schn. II 282 ff., 286, 292, 293–301, 306, 314 f.; cf. also the Acts of Paul, Henn.Schn. II 374).

(b) Bar-Jesus, or Elymas (Acts 13:4–12). A magician on Cyprus in the employ of Sergius Paulus, the proconsul. He resisted Paul and Barnabas, but was struck down with temporary blindness. In Acts 13:8 the name Elymas is not intended as a translation of Bar-Jesus, but as an equivalent of magician (cf. RSV), probably connected with the Arabic *'alîm*, wise, magician. (On his name see Arndt, 253, 758 f.; F. F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1952², 256 f.; E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1971, 398 f.)

(c) Jannes and Jambres are named in 2 Tim. 3:8 as two of the Egyptian magicians who opposed Moses. They are not named in Exodus, but in one form of another they occur in Jewish writings (cf. Schürer III 402 ff.; Arndt, 368). Thus the Babylonian Talmud writes of Yohane and Mamre (Menahoth 85a). Some Lat. and Gk. MSS have Mambres in 2 Tim. 3:8. Pliny speaks of Jannes and → Moses as magicians in Pharaoh's court (*Nat.Hist.* 30, 1 11).

2. The following descriptive words are found in the NT.

(a) *perierga*, "magic arts" (Acts 19:19 RSV). Here the reference is to the voluntary burning of books by those who had previously practised magic arts at Ephesus. The act is seen as testimony to the growth and power of the word of the Lord (19:20) especially as the value of the books was put at fifty thousand pieces of silver. On this word in other contexts → Busybody.

(b) *magos*, magus, magician; *mageia*, magic; *mageuō*, practise magic. According to Herodotus (1, 101; cf. 1, 132), the Magians were originally Medians who became priests under the Persian empire. Like the Chaldeans of Dan. 1:4 and 2:2 ff., they merged their racial identity in their profession, and their name was applied to any practitioner such as Bar-Jesus (Acts 13:6, 8; see above 1 (b)). They are referred to in Josephus, *Ant.* 10, 216; 20, 142. The term is used of the Magi who came from the East at the birth of Jesus (Matt. 2:1–16).

D. Hill regards the account of the visit of the Magi as a piece of haggadic poetry (*The Gospel of Matthew*, 1972, 82 f.). He takes the star not as a literal star, but as a messianic interpretation of Num. 24:17: "a star shall come forth [*anatelei astron*]

out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel." In the OT this passage forms part of an oracle of Balaam to Balak, king of Moab, who attempted to bar the way of the people of Israel as they journeyed from Egypt. The messianic interpretation is attested in the Qumran literature (CD 7:19 f.; 1QM 11:6; 1QSb 5:27; 4Qtest 12 f.) and in the Pseudepigrapha (Test.Lev. 18:3 f.; Test. Jud. 24:1). It was also applied to Bar Kokhba whose name means "Son of a Star" (→ Israel OT 2 (c); → Jesus Christ, art. *christos* OT 5), and the text appears to underlie a Christian testimonium (cf. Rev. 22:16; 2 Pet. 1:19; Justin, *Dial.* 106, 4; 126, 1; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3, 9, 2). The LXX version of Num. 24:7 already bears traces of messianic interpretation. The difficult Heb. text ("Water shall flow from his buckets") is replaced by "A man shall come forth from his seed." This makes it possible to refer the next verse ("God brings him out of Egypt") to the messiah rather than to Israel. A midrashic interpretation of the visit of the magi is also offered by M. D. Goulder who sees various other motifs such as the coming of the Gentiles, the gifts and the name of Joseph as contributing to the story (*Midrash and Lection in Matthew*, 1974, 236 ff.).

On the other hand, the story has usually been taken to refer to an actual celestial phenomenon. Kepler suggested that the star was a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in the constellation Pisces in 7 B.C. For a discussion of views concerning the star see B. Ramm, *The Christian View of Science and Scripture*, 1955, 112–18; H. Montefiore, *Josephus and the New Testament*, 1962, 8–14; → also Sun, Moon, Stars for the theological significance of heavenly bodies. The magi were clearly not crude practitioners of the occult arts, nor were they ordinary astrologers. They believed that God showed signs in heaven and that a certain heavenly body, whether planet, star, comet, or supernova, indicated from its appearance and position that God had fulfilled the royal promise, of which they had doubtless heard from Jews in the East (cf. E. Stauffer, *Jesus and His Story*, 1960, 36 ff.).

The noun *mageia* and the vb. *mageuō* are found in Acts 8:11 and 9 respectively of the magic of Simon Magus (see above 1 (a)).

(c) *pharmakos*, magician (Rev. 22:15); *pharmakeus*, mixer of potions, magician (Rev. 21:8); *pharmakeia*, magic, sorcery (Gal. 5:20; Rev. 9:21; 18:23). The basic word *pharmakon* does not occur in the NT, but its meaning of medicine, magic potion, poison gives the underlying idea of the words. Potions include poisons, but there has always been a magical tradition of herbs gathered and prepared for spells, and also for encouraging the presence of spirits at magical ceremonies (cf. possibly the final sentence of Ezek. 8:17: "They put the branch to their nose"). Sorcery is classed among the works of the → flesh in Gal. 5:20.

(d) *goēs*, sorcerer, juggler, occurs only in 2 Tim. 3:13. In cl. Gk. it may mean a magician, probably from the root seen in *goaō*, wail. A wizard might chant his spells. In 2 Tim. 3:13 magicians may be the correct translation in view of Jannes and Jambres in v. 8 (see above 1 (c)). Cl. Gk. also knows the meaning of imposter, since spellbinders could make false claims for their powers, and RSV prefers this translation in 2 Tim. 3:13 in the light of the closing words of the verse.

(e) The word *pythōn* is connected with the Delphic oracle, Delphi being the place where Apollo slew the mighty serpent Python that guarded the oracle (Strabo, 9, 3, 12). Later on *pythōn* came to designate a spirit of divination and also a ventriloquist who was thought to have such a spirit inside his or her belly. In Acts 16:16 a girl at

Philippi had a Python spirit (*pneuma pythōna*), the two words being in apposition. She probably had second sight fostered by a possessing spirit. Such second sight was characteristic of the priestesses of the Delphic oracle. The spirit in the girl was forced to admit the truth of the gospel, just as other spirits confessed Jesus Christ during his earthly ministry (e.g. Mk. 1:24; Lk. 4:34; Matt. 8:29), but neither Jesus nor Paul accepted testimony from this source, and they cast out the spirits. (On the term *pythōn* see further Arndt, 736; F. F. Bruce, op. cit., 315; E. Haenchen, op. cit., 495; W. Foerster, *pythōn*, *TDNT* VI 917–20.)

(f) *baskainō* is possibly related to Eng. fascinate via the Latin (cf. *fascino*, bewitch, charm). The meaning is to cast a spell by what is called the evil eye. Paul uses the word of the deceived Galatians in Gal. 3:1 ("Who has bewitched you . . . ?"). The effect of the spell, if the evil eye is detected at the time, could be averted by spitting, and some hold that this was in Paul's mind in his use of *ekptyō* in Gal. 4:14 (lit., spit out; RSV "despise").

3. The heresy in Col. 2. Whatever heresy Paul has in mind in this chapter, much of what he says is applicable to practitioners of the occult. Paul's theme is the absolute supremacy and sufficiency of Christ. If the Christian is linked to him, he shares in his supremacy over the spirit world, good and bad, and, to say the least, he is foolish to think he can gain more power through intermediate spirit beings. Thus vv. 8 and 20 speak of the Christian's deliverance from the elemental spirits of the universe, according to the probable translation of *ta stoicheia tou kosmou*. In v. 15 there is the conquest of principalities and powers (cf. Eph. 6:12) and in v. 18 the worship (service) of angels, and also induced visions. Finally the strange vs. 21–23 could describe the rigorous ritual of the magician to produce and safeguard his contacts with the spirits (cf. self-abasement, v. 18).

4. Mediumship and spiritualism. Mediumship is of a different order from manipulative magic and sorcery, but, inasmuch as it is an attempt to communicate with the departed, there is no relaxation in the NT of the OT ban (e.g. Lev. 19:31; Deut. 18:10, 11; 1 Chr. 10:13, 14; Isa. 8:19, 20). The argument is not simply from silence but from significant silence. Thus, when Paul speaks of the departed, he assures the Christians that they will meet their loved ones again, inasmuch as they are both "in Christ". He does not suggest that Christian mediums can put the bereaved in touch with those who have passed on, and thus give assurance that they have not perished (1 Thess. 4:13–18; 1 Cor. 15:17–19), whereas many spiritualists assert that NT → prophets were mediums.

The NT shows that God may allow a departed spirit to return for purposes of his own. → Moses and → Elijah returned on the Mount of Transfiguration to reassert the testimony of the law and the prophets to the sacrifice of Christ on the cross (Matt. 17:3; Mk. 9:4; Lk. 9:30 f.). There are two other references to spirits or ghosts. When Jesus walked on the water, the disciples thought they were seeing a *phantasma* (Matt. 14:26; Mk. 6:49). The word is a general one to describe an apparition. The more important reference is Lk. 24:37–41, where Jesus appeared to his disciples after his → resurrection. Some thought he was a *pneuma*, a → spirit or ghost. Jesus did not deny the existence of ghosts, but showed that his resurrection body was of a different order altogether from a spirit form. This is further testimony to the difference between his resurrection and his spiritual survival.

J. Stafford Wright

5. In *Hellenistic Magic and the Synoptic Tradition*, *SBT* Second Series 28, 1974, J. M. Hull provides a survey of magical ideas and practices in the Hellenistic world. He then examines the question whether Jesus had anything in common with this background in the light of traditions in the early centuries that Jesus was a magician (cf. the third-century gnostic *Pistis Sophia* ch. 102, §§ 255, 258; ch. 130, §§ 332–35; Acts of Pilate 2:1; *Clementine Recognitions* 1, 42; Act.Thom. 20; Act. Paul 15; *Pseudo-Clementines*, Homily 7, 9; Origen, *Contra Celsum* 1, 38 and 60; Tertullian, *On Idolatry* 9; the Koran 5, 113). The author sees some affinities between Mk.'s presentation of Jesus' healing work and the magical beliefs of the surrounding world. This was a decisive factor in the way Jesus appears in Mk. as a liberator from the powers of evil. Similarly in Lk. and Acts the greater power of Christ is stressed. Matthew, on the other hand, sought to avoid giving the impression of any connection between Jesus and magic. However, Hull does not think that Jesus thought of himself as a magician. A difficulty attending the thesis that Mk. and other NT writers thought of Jesus as a "Master-Magician" is the presumption that the → miracles of Jesus were works of magic. The evidence for magical practices in the gospels is slim. Jesus used saliva in healing the deaf-mute in Mk. 7:32 ff. and the blind man in Mk. 8:23. The word *ephphatha* which represents *'eṯpattaḥ* or the contracted *'eppattaḥ* is not a meaningless word like *abracadabra*, and Mk. himself provides a translation which is contrary to magical practice. It is derived from the vb. *p^{e}ṯaḥ* and means "be opened" or "be released" (cf. SB II 17 f. for its use in connection with blindness). The idea is that of the whole person being opened. V. Taylor compares it to "verbal encouragement" as in modern psychotherapy (*The Gospel according to St. Mark*, 1952, 354; cf. E. R. Micklem, *Miracles and the New Psychology*, 1922, 119). But C. E. B. Cranfield prefers to see it as "the command that shatters the fetters by which Satan has held his victim bound" (*The Gospel according to Saint Mark*, 1959, 252). The accounts of the healing of the woman with the issue of blood (Matt. 9:20 ff.; Mk. 5:25–34; Lk. 9:34–8) do not significantly differ in any way which demonstrates that any one of the evangelists is more interested in magic than the others. The woman herself has a faith which might seem to border upon superstition, in that she believed that she would be healed if only she could touch the clothes of Jesus. But this must be seen against the background that her unclean condition prevented her from coming openly to him. All three evangelists avoid any support for connecting the healing with magic in giving Jesus' reply, "Your faith has saved you [*hē pistis sou sesōken se*]." Whereas magicians used names in connection with spells, the way that the → name of Jesus is used in healing and casting out evil spirits stands out in marked contrast. Neither Jesus nor the apostles used secret rituals or esoteric signs to gain control over supernatural powers. Still less is there any trace of trying to coerce a reluctant God to further one's own ends. Although the imputation was made that Jesus cast out demons in the name of Beelzebul, the self-contradictory nature of the charge is at once evident in the light of the exorcisms that Jesus performed (Matt. 12:25–37; Mk. 3:23–30; Lk. 11:17–23; → Satan). For Jesus the control over evil spirits was not an end in itself. He told his followers: "Nevertheless, do not rejoice in this, that the spirits are subject to you; but rejoice that your names are written in heaven" (Lk. 10:20). (The unauthentic longer ending of Mk. gives rather greater prominence to such powers than the authentic gospel texts, cf. Mk. 16:17 f. Even so, the

emphasis is one of implied contrast between the power of Jesus and other powers.) Finally, the Lord's Prayer and other prayers of Jesus have a completely different orientation from magic. The latter is concerned with the control of the supernatural by techniques to further one's own ends. Jesus' concern was to do the will of the Father and to teach men to submit their whole lives to that will (Matt. 6:9–15 par. Lk. 11:2–4; cf. Matt. 26:36–46 par. Mk. 14:32–42, Lk. 22:40–46; Jn. 4:34; 5:30). *C. Brown*

→ Angel, → Bless, → Curse, → Demon, → Dream, → Heal, → Miracle, → Satan, → Spirit

The following bibliography contains references to a number of works dealing with magic outside the Bible and the ancient world. This is for the purpose of comparing magical practices.

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Man

The basic concept behind the Gk. word *anthrōpos* is that of generic man (as opposed to gods or animals), the human race, mankind (cf. the derived word, *anthropology*, the theory or science of man). In this general sense men and women, old men and children can all be subsumed under the one overall heading (cf. Ger. *man*, Eng. "one"). *anthrōpos*, within the genus man, also refers some specifically to men, occasionally also to attendants or → slaves, as distinct from their → Lord (*kyrios*). When *anthrōpos* refers to a particular man, its meaning impinges on that of the word *anēr*, denoting a man as opposed to a → woman, whether he be husband, bridegroom, warrior, hero (similarly *arsēn*, male). The fact that *anēr* can take on the more general meaning of mankind, whereas no such similar usage is attested for woman (*gynē*) is linked up with the ancient identification of man and mankind.

ἀνήρ

ἀνήρ (*anēr*), a man; ἀνδρίζομαι (*andrizomai*), behave in a manly way.

CL *anēr*, attested from Mycenaean Gk. onwards, is found in secular Gk. from Homer in all the meanings which are also known in the LXX and the NT: (a) a man, as contrasted with → woman (Plato, *Gorgias* 514e; (b) husband (Homer, *Od.* 6, 182 ff.); also bridegroom (cf. SB II 393 ff.); (c) adult (Xen., *Cyr.* 8, 7, 6) and warrior; (d) manliness (Aristoph., *Achilles* 77 ff.); also gentleman, hero; (e) man, as genus (Homer, *Il.* 1, 544; → *anthrōpos*).

OT There are several Heb. words used in the OT which approximate to these various meanings which the LXX often simply translates by *anēr*. The main ones are *'îš*, man; *'enôš*, men, people; *ba'al*, lord, husband, head of a household; *gibbôr*, hero, warrior; *zāqēn*, elder; *nāśî'*, prince; *'āḏôn*, lord. The man is lord of the wife (Gen. 3:16; 18:12). He alone is competent in legal and cultic proceedings (Exod. 23:17; 34:23; 1 Sam. 1:3 f.). But alongside this typically oriental and patriarchal way of life, one can find allusions to men's responsibilities to women, above all in writings such as Deut. 20:7; 21:14; 22:13 ff.; 24:5, and occasionally also in later Judaism (cf. e.g., B. Yeb. 62b; cf. SB III 610a; → Woman, art. *gynē* OT).

NT 1. *anēr* occurs in the NT, with meanings mentioned as under CL, as follows:

(a) Matt. 14:21; 1 Cor. 11:13 ff. (→ *arsēn* is sometimes used instead of *anēr*, linking up with the OT; cf. Matt. 19:4 par. Mk. 10:6 and Rom. 1:26 ff. with Gen. 1:27). *anēr* is used without emphasis in Acts 3:14; 10:28, and as a typical form of address in Acts 15:7, 13 and passim; (b) Mk. 10:2, 12; cf. Matt. 19:3, 9; Rom. 7:2 f.; Eph. 5:22 ff.; Tit. 1:6; of a betrothed person (cf. Matt. 1:19; 2 Cor. 11:2; Rev. 21:2 with Deut. 22:23); (c) 1 Cor. 13:11; cf. Jas. 3:2; (d) including maturity and dignity (Lk. 23:59; Acts 6:3, 5); (e) Lk. 5:8; Jas. 1:20 (modelled on Gk. and also OT usage).

anēr occurs most frequently in Lk. and Paul. Paul often uses *anēr* to distinguish man from *gynē* (e.g. in 1 Cor. 7:1–16). Lk. uses *anēr* usually in the more general meaning of → *anthrōpos* (as in Lk. 11:31; 19:7; Acts 2:5 and passim).

2. The organization and leadership of the Christian community in the NT (→ Church) was largely male-orientated, just as Jesus' circle of the Twelve comprised only men (but cf. → Woman, art. *gynē* NT). But the man did not receive his special position because of his natural fitness for the cult. This much came rather from Christ, by whom he was honoured and whom he was called upon to reflect (1 Cor. 11:7). In the sequence God–Christ–man–woman (1 Cor. 11:3 ff.), each one is the → "head" of the following, and, conversely, each member is the reflected splendour (*doxa* → glory) of the preceding one. This qualification of the man, however, no longer indicates preferential status but man's special task and responsibility, just as the woman has hers. For before God, according to Gal. 3:28 (cf. 1 Pet. 4:7), man and woman are, in the last analysis, on the same level. This establishment of the equality of the sexes before God which does not imply any levelling-out of their human differences – is something new and worthy of note in Christianity. It throws into sharp relief the distinction between the Christian view and the otherwise widespread contempt for women in the ancient world.

When Christ and man are put in parallel in Eph. 5:25 and 28 (cf. also Col. 3:19; 1 Pet. 3:7), the point of comparison is the responsibility of the man to love his wife in the same way as Christ loves his church, i.e. with a life of total, selfless, self-sacrificial devotion, comparable with that of Christ for the church. The exhortation *andrizesthe*, lit. "be men" (RSV "be courageous") is a summons like that to "be alert [*grēgoreite*]" and to "stand firm in faith [*stēkete en tē pistei*]" (1 Cor. 16:13; cf. 2 Sam. 10:12 LXX; Pss. 26[27]:14; 30:25 [31:24]; Josephus, *War* 6, 50). It is a powerful form of demand aimed at the whole community: their ultimate goal should be to become "a perfect man [*andra teleion*]" (Eph. 4:13 AV).

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3. *anēr* is used in the sense of husband in the phrase "husband of one wife [*mias gynaikos anēr*]" which occurs in the Pastoral Epistles as one of the qualifications stipulated for bishops (1 Tim. 3:2), deacons (1 Tim. 3:12) and elders (Tit. 1:6). The latter were evidently the same as bishops (→ Bishop, Presbyter, Elder). Roman Catholic exegesis tends to take the phrase to mean that the office holder may be married, but anyone who has remarried after the death of his first wife or who has remarried after divorce (in the case of a pagan convert) is automatically excluded (cf. C. Spicq, *Les Épîtres Pastorales*, 1947, 78f. who quotes extensively from patristic sources). A similar view is evidently adopted by the RSV which

translates the phrase "married only once." Whilst such an interpretation may be consonant with later developments in the church, the literal interpretation of the text, i.e. that the man should not have more than one wife who is alive, seems to fit the first-century situation better. On the one hand, it would exclude polygamy which did occur in the first century (→ Marriage, art. *gameō* OT 7) and in this respect would meet the OT norms for marriage. On the other hand, it would also exclude divorcees who had remarried, since the first wife is still regarded as the wife despite the divorce (cf. Mk. 10:11; Lk. 16:18b; → Divorce). The converse of this phrase occurs in 1 Tim. 5:9 in the case of the enrolment of widows who must be "the wife of one man [*henos andros gynē*]." To exclude widows who had been "married more than once" (RSV) would seem unjust, especially in cases of levirate marriage (→ Marriage, art. *gameō* OT 4, 7). But the ruling is understandable, if the woman has not been involved in divorce or a polygamous marriage. It should be remembered that the passage is not concerned about welfare in general and the Christian's attitude to anyone in need, but with those *within* the church who have a claim on church resources. Elsewhere Paul advised remarriage in case of need (1 Cor. 7:8 f., 39 f.). *C. Brown*

ἄνθρωπος

ἄνθρωπος (*anthrōpos*), man; ἀνθρώπινος (*anthrōpinos*), human.

CL *anthrōpos*, attested from Mycenaean times, means a human being, and also a man. The fem. equivalent is → woman, often in a contemptuous sense. The etymology is disputed, though it may be a compound of *anēr* and *ōps*, i.e. man's face. The adj. *anthrōpinos* is a derivative word meaning human, belonging to humanity. It is used from pre-Socratic writers and Hdt. onwards.

In secular Gk. *anthrōpos* means man, as opposed to beasts, or also to gods (in Homer). In a contemptuous sense, it means a slave (used also as fem. by Hdt. and others). There is also a voc. usage, originally employed for slaves (Hdt.), with undertones of reproachfulness: "Man!" (Plato). *anthrōpos*, as a general designation, is often rendered by "one".

OT 1. The Heb. words corresponding to *anthrōpos* are *'ādām*, *'îš* or *'enôš*. *'ādām* is used to designate his nature, as contrasted with God in 1 Sam. 15:29, and with animals in Gen. 1:26. In its generic use it includes both man and woman (cf. Gen. 2:7 ff., 18 ff.; → *anēr*; → Woman, art. *gynē*). It is also the word for → Adam. *'îš* occurs, e.g., in Gen. 2:24. *'enôš* often signifies the aspect of weakness, mortality (cf. Ps. 8:5).

In both accounts of creation (Gen. 1:1 ff.; 2:4b ff.) the creation of man is the high-point. In Gen. 1 he is the crowning culmination; in Gen. 2 he is the mid-point of the creation. His humanity resides in the life he has been given (2:7b) in his correspondence to God (1:27a). He is deemed worthy to be spoken to by God and to be given a task (2:16 f.; 1:28). Through disobedience he falls victim to death. *'ādām*, a word connected with *'adāmâh*, earth, now no longer simply alludes to his creatureliness (2:7) but also to his transitoriness (3:19).

2. The OT is not acquainted with anything corresponding to the Gk. division of man into two or three parts, consisting of *nous*, *psychē*, and *sōma* (mind, soul,

and body). The following concepts indicate, in rough outline comparison, different aspects of man, always seen as a whole. They do not represent different parts.

(a) → Flesh (Heb. *bāśār*) often indicating man's transitoriness (Ps. 78:39). (b) → Spirit (Heb. *rûaḥ*) man as a living being (Ps. 146:4), as a person (Ezek. 11:19; spirit and heart are mentioned in reference to man in relation to God). (c) → Soul (Heb. *nepeš*) man as life bound up with his body (1 Sam. 19:11b), as an individual (Deut. 24:7a; Ezek. 13:18 f.). The soul is neither pre-existent nor immortal, for it is the whole man (Gen. 2:7). (d) → Heart (Heb. *lēḇ*, *lēḇāḇ*) the essential, inner man, as opposed to his outward appearance (Job 12:3; 1 Sam. 16:7b). Due to the translation of the LXX, Gk. currents of thought became bound up with these concepts, and gained ground in Judaism, as the NT picture shows.

3. A pessimistic conception of man is found in a section of the wisdom literature (e.g. Eccl. and Job 14) which is radicalized in the Qumran texts. The utter vanity, transitoriness and sinfulness of man is presented in a wide variety of formulations. According to the Catechism of the Community Rule (IQS 3:13–4:26), men fall into two groups: the "Sons of Light" who are ruled by the spirit of truth (→ Light) and the "Sons of Darkness", who are both fighting simultaneously for the domination of man's heart. This accounts for the sins even of the pious.

Another branch of Judaism reveals the development to a body-soul dualism (4 Macc. 2:21 f.), which in Hellenistic Judaism led to an attitude of loathing for the body (2 Esd. 7:88, 100). According to Josephus, there was widespread belief that → redemption is the liberation of the → soul from the → body (*War* 2, 8; 7, 8; *Ant.* 18, 1; → Soul, art. *psychē* OT 2). The → image of God in man is restricted to the *nous*, his → mind and → reason.

4. This dualistic view of man in the Hellenistic world is found above all in gnosticism (cf. Corp.Herm. 1, 15, 18, 21), which certain sections of the NT endeavour to combat (e.g. John). The thought of man's being related to God derives from the Stoics, and this is taken up in Acts 17:28 f. (→ God, art. *theos* NT 4 (b)).

NT In the NT, as in the OT, the question about man is essentially that concerning his → sin and → redemption. Abstract definitions find no place here. Man differs from → animals and plants (Matt. 4:19; 12:12; 1 Cor. 15:39; Rev. 9:4), from → angels (1 Cor. 4:9; 13:1), from Christ (Gal. 1:12; Eph. 6:7), and from God (Matt. 7:11; 10:32 f.; Mk. 10:9; Jn. 10:33; Acts 5:29; Phil. 2:7). *anthrōpos* is used in order to belittle in Jas. 1:7; with reference to Jesus in Matt. 26:74 par. Mk. 14:71 and Jn. 19:5. Jesus is called *anthrōpos* in respect of his true humanity in Phil. 2:7 and 1 Tim. 2:5. Jesus' own self-designation was *ho hyios tou anthrōpou*, (→ Son of God; → Child). *kata anthrōpous* and *kata anthrōpon*, lit. according to men, in a human fashion, are used as common synonymous phrases for *anthrōpinos*, human (cf. Rom. 3:5; 1 Cor. 3:3; 15:32; 1 Pet. 4:6; and Rom. 6:19; 1 Cor. 10:13). If *anthrōpos* is defined as to sex, it can be used, as in secular Gk., synonymously with → *anēr*, a man (see Matt. 11:8; 19:5; 1 Cor. 7:1).

The NT is not interested in an isolated self-contained anthropology any more than the OT. Statements about man are always partly theological pronouncements. He always appears as man vis-à-vis God: in his creatureliness (as distinct from other creatures and from God), in being addressed and chosen by God, in his transitoriness and disobedience, and as subject to the wrath and grace of God.

The unity and equality of mankind are not postulates of abstract ideas: they are realized in the Christian community (Gal. 3:28; Rom. 10:12; cf. 3:22, 29; Jas. 2:1 ff.). Through Christ the "one new man [*hena kainon anthrōpon*]" (Eph. 2:15 AV) comes into being. At the same time new differentiations come to light through God's electing activity in Christ (Matt. 20:16) and through the variety of the → gifts of the Spirit in the church (1 Cor. 12).

1. *The Synoptics.* Man as a creature owes God obedience and service without any prior claim to reward (Lk. 17:17 ff.). Jesus' universal call to repentance assumes that all are sinners (Mk. 1:15; Matt. 6:12; cf. 5:45; 9:13; Lk. 15:7; → Sin, art. *hamartia*). At the same time, there are the statements concerning the great value God puts on a man (Matt. 6:26b; 10:29 f.), even as a sinner (Lk. 15). His vocation is to be a son of the → Father and to be perfect like him (Matt. 5:45, 48). Lk. 2:14 speaks in Semitic fashion of *anthrōpoi eudokias*. This does not mean, as the Vulg. translates, men of good will (Lat. *hominibus bonae voluntatis*). Rather, the gen. expresses a possessional relationship: men as the possession of the divine favour (cf. Lk. 3:22; 1QH 4:32 f.; 11:9). What is thus meant is "the elect Messianic community of salvation" (Jeremias, *TDNT* 1 365; cf. J. Jeremias, "*Anthrōpoi eudokias*", *ZNW* 28, 1929, 13–20; E. Vogt, " 'Peace Among Men of God's Good Pleasure' Lk. 2:14", in K. Stendahl, ed., *The Scrolls and the New Testament*, 1958, 114–17).

2. *Paul.* The old man without Christ (*palaios anthrōpos*), the unconverted man, is either devoted to the law (Rom. 2:17 ff.) or in rebellion against it (Rom. 1:18 ff.); he perverts his knowledge of God, and in so doing becomes himself perverted (Rom. 1:21 ff.). In either case he is unfree and culpable. Alongside statements about man's responsibility stand those about his incapability (cf. his inexcusability in Rom. 2:1 with his inability to do good in 7:18 f.). This is a tension which Paul sees removed only in God and overcome in Christ (Phil. 2:12b, 13). Through Christ, the new man (*kainos anthrōpos*) and the last → Adam (Rom. 5:9 ff.; 1 Cor. 15:21 f., 45 ff.), man becomes free. He himself becomes a new creation (2 Cor. 5:17; cf. Eph. 4:22 ff.; Col. 3:1–4:6). Baptism signifies the death of the old man with Christ (Rom. 6:6). Through incorporation into the → body of Christ man is born as a new man (→ Birth, art. *palingenesia*). To the new man is directed the imperative to be what Christ has made him (Eph. 4:22 ff.; Rom. 6:6 ff.; Col. 3:9 ff.). It is not in man's natural capacities to become this; it comes about through being renewed in Christ and in living out this new life. Rom. 8:1–17 depicts this in terms of being led by the Spirit. Rom. 7:14 ff. sees man as what the Reformers called *simul iustus et peccator* (at once just and a sinner). Paul distinguishes further between the inner and outer man, *esō kai exō anthrōpos* (2 Cor. 4:16), that is, between his essential being, often expressed in terms of the *kardia* (→ heart), and his outward appearance.

In addition, these are the most important anthropological concepts found in Paul (cf. with this OT 2). (a) *sōma*, → body, not only the physical body but the whole person, the self, "I" (see Phil. 1:20; and, for the double significance, cf. 1 Cor. 15:44 with Phil. 3:21). The body is not despised (1 Cor. 15:35 ff.; 6:19). (b) *sarx*, → flesh occasionally synonymous with *sōma*, speaks of the transience of man (2 Cor. 4:10 f.). It furthermore signifies his sinfulness (Rom. 8:1 ff.; 1 Cor. 15:50), but in the realm, not so much of nature as of history (→ Adam) and →

guilt. (c) *psychē*, → soul, man as a living being, a person (2 Cor. 12:15). 1 Cor. 15:44 relates its existence to this life as contrasted with the next: "It is sown a physical body [*sōma psychikon*], it is raised a spiritual body [*sōma pneumatikon*]" (RSV). (d) *pneuma*, → spirit. In certain passages its meaning overlaps with that of *sōma* and *psychē* and refers to the inner self. It bears a certain resemblance to the modern concept of self-consciousness (cf. Rom. 8:16 where the Spirit is said to bear witness with our spirit that we are children of God, in that we cry to him as Father). (e) From Gk. thought, and found primarily in Paul, are: *nous*, → mind (→ Reason) which focusses attention on man as a conscious, rational being; and *syneidēsis*, → conscience. Rom. 2:15 refers to the conscience of the Gentiles and its rôle in their knowledge of God.

3. *John.* Johannine statements view man as prey to the *kosmos*, the world in opposition to God, and therefore missing his real self (→ Lie, art. *pseudomai* on Jn. 8:41–7; 1 Jn. 1:10; 2:22; 5:10; Rev. 2:2). The coming of Jesus confronts man with a decision. In contrast with gnostic dualism Jn. presents a dualism of decision which in Jn. 3:3 ff. is linked with being born again (→ Birth). This decision demonstrates "whence" the man comes – whether he is "of the world" or "from God" (cf. Jn. 8:47 and 1 Jn. 4:5 with e.g. Jn. 5:24 alongside the call to decision of Jn. 6:44, 65, 12:32). But, equally, there is no depreciation of matter here (Jn. 1:14). On the contrary, the whole man is made free through Jesus (Jn. 8:31 ff.), and thus gains life (5:24; 11:25 f.). *H. Vorländer*

4. *The NT and Modern Psychology.* Biblical psychology is practical rather than scientific, but is understandable in its context. Thus, since strong emotion frequently affects the lower parts of the body from the solar plexus downwards, the bowels (→ Mercy, art. *splanchna*) is the term used where we today, in equally popular terms, would speak of the heart (e.g. 2 Cor. 6:12; 7:15; Phil. 1:8; Phlm. 7, 12). At the opposite extreme *nous* is the mind, intellect, or understanding (e.g. Rom. 12:2; 1 Cor. 14:19; → Reason, art. *nous*). *kardia* (heart) stands somewhere between the two, being sometimes emotional, though less warm than *splanchna* (e.g. Rom. 1:24; Jas. 3:14), and sometimes representing the inner set of the life-pattern, including volition (e.g. 2 Cor. 4:6; 9:7; Eph. 4:18).

Thus the NT seizes on commonsense descriptive terms to describe centres of emotion, feeling, volition, life-pattern, and comprehension. One may class these aspects of the personal *psychē* (variously → soul, animal life, person), but the Bible is concerned, not with theory, but with bringing every single part of the person into an effective whole through the Holy Spirit giving continuous life to the human *pneuma*, → spirit. (e.g. Jn. 3:6; 1 Cor. 2:10–16). The usage of all these words is discussed in detail under separate entries.

Man is seen as a whole being, and whatever touches one part affects the whole. The NT would agree with the modern term psychosomatic, but would want to turn the word into pneumatopsychosomatic.

To write in detail about modern schools of psychology lies outside the scope of this lexicon, but one can distinguish certain general aspects of psychological thinking that are likely to continue in one form or another, regardless of the prevailing fashions in psychology. The NT would have no quarrel with the investigations of academic and laboratory psychology, which explore the functions of the

brain, nervous system, glands, and the animal responses of the human body. It is worth noting that the function of the brain as the organ of thought was an occasional hypothesis and not an accepted fact in the ancient world. Thus, while Plato in the *Timaeus* 69–72 made it the centre of the rational soul, Aristotle treated it as a cooler of the blood (*Part.An.* 2, 7). It is interesting that Ephesians makes Christ the head and ruler of the body (4:15, 16).

The Bible would, however, cross swords with some modern conclusions that the bodily responses that psychology can investigate are a total explanation of man, i.e. that man is wholly body, and consequently cannot survive death. One need not postulate what has been called "the ghost in the machine" (cf. G. Ryle, *The Concept of Mind*, 1949) if one sees man as a personality who responds to the world of time and sense through the body and brain, and at the same time responds to mental, aesthetic, and spiritual concepts, which are real, even though they are beyond the reach of the physical sciences. The death of the body temporarily shuts off one dimension until the resurrection, but does not destroy the whole person (cf. 1 Thess. 5:23).

Psychologists of the behaviourist schools interpret man as no more than a complicated build-up of conditioned reflexes. As has often been pointed out, if this theory is true, it cannot be true, since truth would have no meaning. One psychologist would be conditioned to certain conclusions, another to other conclusions. Obviously the NT does not deny the build-up of patterns of life through conditioning. Conditioning may produce hardness of heart (e.g. Mk. 3:5; Heb. 3:13) or reactions of self-interest (e.g. Acts 19:25–27). The renewal of the personal responses through the Holy Spirit is a form of conditioning, so that one intelligently and gladly reacts to the will of God (e.g. Rom. 12:1, 2). In other words, God has made man capable of building up a pattern of life which becomes, as we say, second nature to him.

Where the NT differs from behaviourist psychology is over the actual reality of the work of the Spirit, and the God-given ability of man to respond deliberately to the call of Jesus Christ. A psychologist takes a Christian conversion, and accounts for it after it has happened in terms of natural responses arising from such states as fear and inner stress. The NT would not deny such stresses, including guilt, but gives primacy to the Holy Spirit breaking in and supplying the dynamics of new life. The ensuing knowledge of God in and through Jesus Christ is objectively real. Certainly conditioning techniques, as at a highly emotional meeting, may produce a temporary conversion or an outburst of strange manifestations, but a truly Christian experience leads the person on afterwards in a proper walk with Christ after the NT pattern.

Other forms of psychology pay more regard to an inner world of man, postulating a realm of the unconscious, which stores up early memories and experiences, and often real or imagined occasions of guilt. These under repression may break out in disguise, and produce abnormal feelings, attitudes, and reactions. Jungian psychologists see the unconscious also as the sphere of positive dynamic drives.

This reminds us of the NT teaching of the fallenness of man, with the heart as the storage place of the host of evils that emerge in the life (e.g. Matt. 15:18, 19). A non-Christian psychologist may uncover the originating cause of some trouble,

such as rivalry with one's father in infancy, and thus bring the patient to terms with himself and society. But full adjustment, as the NT sees it, involves cleansing from all sin, known and unknown, and a new relationship to God in and through Jesus Christ, and this is not given by a psychologist as psychologist.

One further school emphasizes the need for life to make sense, with purposelessness as a cause of breakdown. The NT entirely agrees, as witness Paul's words about the goal of his life in Phil. 3:12–16, and the wisdom of the gospel in 1 Cor. 2:6–13.

There is nothing in NT teaching which runs counter to sound psychological practice, but the NT has the necessary overplus of God-relationship as needed for full maturity of man in himself and in relation to his fellows in the church and in society.

J. Stafford Wright

ἄρσην

ἄρσην (*arsēn*), male; θῆλυς (*thēlys*), female; ἀρσενοκοίτης (*arsenokoitēs*), male homosexual, pederast, sodomite.

CL *arsēn* occurs in cl. Gk. from Homer onwards, sometimes in the Attic form *arrēn* (often in papyri, and also Philo, Josephus and Rom. 1:27 *v.l.*). (On the form see Funk § 34 (2); Moulton, *Grammar*, II, 103.) It means male as opposed to female, *thēlys* (cf. Plato, *Leg.* 2, 9 p. 665c; K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, I, 1928, 15, 18). *thēlys* is also found from Homer onwards as an adj. meaning female, but also with the art. meaning woman (e.g. Hdt. 3, 109; Xen., *Mem.* 2, 1, 4). On the phrase *arsēn kai thēlys*, male and female, cf. Plato, *Rep.* 454d; Aristot., *Met.* 988a 5.

OT *arsēn* occurs some 54 times in the LXX canonical and uncanonical writings, chiefly for the Heb. *zāḵār*. It appears in the phrase *arsen kai thēly*, male and female, in Gen. 1:27 (Heb. *zāḵār ûnᵉqēḇâh*) of the creation of male and female in the → image of God (cf. also Gen. 5:2; 6:19 f.; 7:2 f., 9, 15 f.; Lev. 3:1, 6; 12:7, referring not only to man and woman but to the male and female of animal species in the flood story and in sacrifice). The male is referred to on his own in Gen. 17:14, 23 (the institution of male → circumcision as the → covenant sign); Exod. 1:16 ff., 22; 2:2 (Pharaoh's attempt to exterminate the Israelites by destroying male infants); Exod. 12:5 (the Passover → lamb had to be a male without blemish); and Lev. 1:3, 10; 4:23; 22:19; Mal. 1:14 (in connection with sacrifice); Lev. 6:12(29), 37(7:6) (of priests); Lev. 18:22; 20:13 (in condemnation of homosexual practices); Lev. 27:3, 5 ff. (in the valuation of the people); Num. 1:3(2); 3:40 (in the census of the people); Num. 31:17 f.; Jos. 17:2; Jdg. 21:11 f. (in historical narratives); Job 3:3; Isa. 26:14; 66:7; Jer. 20:15; 37(30):6; Sir. 33:26 (23); 2 Macc. 7:21; 4 Macc. 15:30 (of males generally). The references to the male and female correspond to those to man and woman generally in the OT. On the one hand, there is the recognition in Gen. of the divinely instituted parity in that man and woman together constitute the image of God, and their complementary roles in the transmission of life in both the human and the animal realm. On the other hand, there are certain rôles (e.g. in receiving the covenant sign, in the priesthood, and in certain → sacrifices) that only the male may fill.

NT 1. The creative act in Gen. 1:27 is referred to in Matt. 19:4 par. Mk. 10:6 in connection with → divorce. Jesus' reply to the Pharisees takes it as the major premise for his teaching on → marriage: "from the beginning he created them male and female." This leads to the minor premise quoted from Gen. 2:24: "for this reason a man shall leave his father and mother [Matt. also gives "and shall cleave to his wife"] and the two shall be one flesh" (Matt. 19:5; Mk. 10:7 f.). The conclusion is drawn: "So they are no longer two but one flesh. What therefore God put together, let not man put asunder" (Matt. 19:6; Mk. 10:8 f.). Gen. 1:27 is also referred to in 1 Clem. 33:5 and 2 Clem. 14:2.

2. Lk. 2:23 tells how Jesus' parents offered the sacrifice prescribed for males by Exod. 13:2, 12 at his birth (→ Bird).

3. Paul's use of *arsēn* is interesting in that it exhibits a tension between the creation ordinances and their abolition in the gospel age. By contrast the ungodly have abolished the creation ordinances for sexual relations in a way which can only bring judgment.

(a) In Rom. 1:27 *arsēn* (*v.l. arrēn*) is used 3 times which RSV translates by "men": "and the men likewise gave up natural relations with women and were consumed with passion for one another, men committing shameless acts with men and receiving in their own persons the due penalty for their error." In this passage sexual perversion is seen as a result of (and to that extent as a judgment on) man's sin in worshipping the creature rather than the creator. Because he has put something else in the place which can only properly belong to God, man's natural relationships have become perverted. Josephus also pointed out that unnatural relations between males was punishable by death (*Ap.* 1, 199; cf. Lev. 20:13; 18:22, 29). On Rom. 1 generally, see G. Bornkamm, "The Revelation of God's Wrath (Romans 1–3)", *Early Christian Experience*, 1969, 47–70. Paul uses the noun *arsenokoitēs*, a male homosexual, pederast, sodomite (→ Marriage, art. *koitē*), as one who is excluded from the kingdom (1 Cor. 6:9) and condemned by the law (1 Tim. 1:10; cf. Gen. 19; Lev. 18:22, 29; 20:13; Deut. 23:17; → Punishment).

(b) On the other hand, Gal. 3:28 asserts that "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus." This, however, is not a call to abolish all earthly relationships. Rather, it puts these relationships in the perspective of salvation history. As Paul goes on to say, "And if you are Christ's then you are Abraham's offspring, heirs according to promise" (Gal. 3:29; cf. also Rom. 10:2). All who are in Christ have the same status before God; but they do not necessarily have the same function. In the context of the → circumcision question in Gal., the assertion is doubly relevant. For women could not be recipients of the sign which Judaizers were insisting as a prerequisite for full salvation. There may also be an underlying Adam-typology in the passage. Some rabbis asserted that Adam was originally androgynous (cf. J. Bligh, *Galatians: A Discussion of St Paul's Epistle*, 1969, 326).

4. Rev. 12:5, 13 takes up the imagery of Isa. 66:7 and Ps. 2:9 in the vision of the → dragon's attack on the woman with the male child: "she brought forth a male child, one who is to rule all the nations with a rod of iron, but her child was caught up to God and to his throne. . . . And when the dragon saw that he had been thrown down to the earth, he pursued the woman who had borne the male child." Whereas the child is here clearly Christ, the woman, in the light of the following

verses, represents the mother of Jesus and also the church whose other "offspring" are now pursued by the dragon. *C. Brown*

→ Adam, → Blood, → Body, → Brother, → Child, → Earth, → Father, → Flesh, → Hand, → Head, → Heart, → Image, → Life, → Marriage, → Son, → Soul, → Spirit, → Woman

(a). J. Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language*, 1961; and "Man and Nature – the Ecological Controversy and the Old Testament", *BJRL* 55, 1972–73, 9 ff.; C. K. Barrett, *From First Adam to Last*, 1962; K. Barth, *Christ and Adam: Man and Humanity in Romans 5*, *SJT Occasional Papers 5*, 1962; and *CD* III, 2 *The Doctrine of Creation* (volume dealing with man); G. C. Berkouwer, *Man: The Image of God*, 1962; T. Boman, *Hebrew Thought Compared with Greek*, 1960; N. P. Bratsiotis, *'iš*, *TDOT* I 222–35; E. Brunner, *Man in Revolt: A Christian Anthropology*, 1939; and *The Christian Doctrine of Creation and Redemption, Dogmatics* II, 1952; R. Bultmann, "Romans 7 and the Anthropology of Paul", and "Man between the Times according to the New Testament", *Existence and Faith*, (1961) 1964, 173–85, and 293–315; "The Understanding of Man and the World in the New Testament and in the Greek World", and "Adam where art Thou?" *Essays Philosophical and Theological*, 1955, 67–89, and 119–32; D. Burkhard, ed., *Man before God: Toward a Theology of Man*, 1966; E. de Witt Burton, *Spirit, Soul and Flesh*, 1918; S. Cave, *The Christian Estimate of Man*, 1944; W. Eichrodt, *Man in the Old Testament*, *SBT* 4, 1951; and *Theology of the Old Testament*, II, 1967, 118–50, 231–495; J. de Fraine, *Adam and the Family of Man*, 1965; R. H. Gundry, *Sōma in Biblical Theology with Emphasis on Pauline Anthropology*, *Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series* 29, 1976; D. Jenkins, *The Glory of Man*, Bampton Lectures for 1966, 1967; J. Jeremias, *Adam*, *TDNT* I 141 ff.; *anthrōpos*, *TDNT* I 364–67; P. K. Jewett, *Man as Male and Female*, 1975; R. Jewett, *Paul's Anthropological Terms: A Study of the Use in Conflict Settings*, *Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentumsund des Urchristentums*, 10, 1971; A. R. Johnson, *The Vitality of the Individual in the Thought of Ancient Israel*, 1964²; R. Koch and A. Deissler, "Man", *EBT* 542–51; L. Köhler, *Hebrew Man*, (1956) 1973; W. G. Kümmel, *Man in the New Testament*, 1963; J. Laidlaw, *The Bible Doctrine of Man*, 1895; R. Laurin, "The Concept of Man as a Soul", *ExpT* 72, 1960–61, 131–134; A. R. C. Leaney, "The Doctrine of Man in 1 Corinthians", *SJT* 15, 1962, 394–99; F. Maas, *'ādām*, *TDOT* I 75–87; S. V. McCasland, " 'The Image of God' according to St. Paul", *JBL* 69, 1950, 85–100; H. D. McDonald, *I and He*, 1966; E. L. Mascall, *The Importance of Being Human: Some Aspects of the Christian Doctrine of Man*, 1959; J. Moltmann, *Man: Christian Anthropology in the Conflicts of rhe present*, 1974; D. W. Mork, *The Biblical Meaning of Man*, 1967; C. F. D. Moule, *Man and his Nature in the New Testament: Some Reflections on Biblical Ecology*, (1964) 1967; R. Niebuhr, *The Nature and Destiny of Man: A Christian Interpretation*, I–II, 1941–43; A. Oepke, *anēr*, *andrizomai*, *TDNT* I 360–63; W. Pannenberg, *What is Man? Contemporary Anthropology in Theological Perspective*, 1970; H. W. Robinson, *The Christian Doctrine of Man*, (1911) 1926³; H. H. Rowley, "The Nature and Need of Man", *The Faith of Israel: Aspects of Old Testament Thought*, 1956, 74–98; E. C. Rust, *Nature and Man in Biblical Thought*, 1953; R. P. Shedd, *Man in Community*, 1958; R. L. Shinn, *Man: The New Humanism*, *New Directions in Theology Today*, 6, 1968; C. R. Smith, *The Bible Doctrine of Man*, 1951; W. D. Stacey, *The Pauline View of Man*, 1958; G. E. Whitlock, "The Structure of Personality in Hebrew Psychology: The Implication of the Hebrew View of Man for Psychology", *Interpretation*, 14, 1960, 3–13; H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the Old Testament*, 1974; G. E. Wright, *The Biblical Doctrine of Man in Society*, *Ecumenical Biblical Studies* 2, 1954; J. S. Wright, *What is Man? A Christian Assessment of the Powers and Functions of Human Personality*, 1955, revised edition re-issued under the title *Mind, Man and the Spirits*, 1967; W. Zimmerli, *Man and his Hope in the Old Testament*, *SBT* Second Series 20, 1971.

(b). L. Adler, *Der Mensch in der Sicht der Bibel*, 1965; P. Althaus, *Paulus und Luther über den Menschen*, 1963⁴; E. Brandenburger, *Adam und Christus*, *WMANT* 7, 1962; N. P. Bratsiotis, *bāśār*, *TWAT* I 850–67; F. Delitzsch, *System der biblischen Psychologie*, 1861²; A.-M. Dubarle, "La condition humaine dans l'Ancien Testament", *RB* 63, 1956, 321 ff.; A. Flitner, ed., *Wege zur pädagogischen Anthropologie*, 1963; K. Galling, *Das Bild vom Menschen in biblischer Sicht*, 1947; G. Gerlemann, *bāśār*, *THAT* I 376–79; W. Gutbrod, *Die paulinische Anthropologie*, 1934; M. Hengel, "Was ist der Mensch?" in H. W. Wolff, ed., *Probleme biblischer Theologie. Gerhard von Rad zum 70. Geburtstag*, 1971, 116–35; E. Jüngel, "Grenzen des Menschseins", in H. W. Wolff, ed., op. cit., 199–205; E. Käsemann, *Leib und Leib Christi*, 1933; J. Kühlewein, *'iš*, *THAT* I 130–38;

J. Jervell, *Imago Dei*, *FRLANT* 58, 1960; W. D. Marsch, "Christliche Anthropologie und biologische Zukunft des Menschen", *Past. Theologie* 58, 1969, 91 ff.; H. Mehl-Koehnlein, *L'Homme selon l'Apôtre Paul*, 1951; H. Mynarek, *Der Mensch, das Wesen der Zukunft*, 1968; E. Otto, "Der Mensch als Geschöpf und Bild Gottes in Ägypten", in H. W. Wolff, ed., op. cit., 335–48; H. van Oyen, "Verantwortung und Norm in Hinblick auf die Situationsethik", *ThZ* 25, 1969, 91 ff.; G. Pidoux, *L'Homme dans l'Ancien Testament*, 1953; G. von Rad, H. Schlier, E. Wolf, *Der alte und der neue Mensch. Aufsätze zur theologischen Anthropologie*, *BEvTh* 8, 1942; C. H. Ratschow, A. S. Kapelrud, N. A. Dahl, "Mensch", *RGG*³ IV 860 ff.; L. Scheffczyk, ed., *Der Mensch als Bild Gottes*, *Wege der Forschung* 124, 1969; K. H. Schelkle, *Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, I, 1968, 91 ff.; J. N. Sevenster, "Die Anthropologie des Neuen Testaments", *Anthropologie Religieuse*, *Numen* Supplements 2, 1955, 166–77; F. J. Stendebach, *Der Mensch, wie ihn Israel vor 3000 Jahren sah*, 1972; H. J. Stoebe, H. J. Wachs, W. Trillhaas, H. Plessner, "Anthropologie", *EKL* I 131 ff.; W. Zimmerli, *Das Menschenbild des Alten Testaments*, *ThEH* Neue Folge 14, 1949.

Mark, Brand

στίγμα

στίγμα (*stigma*), mark, brand.

CL *stigma* is related to the vb. *stizō*, to prick, to mark with a pointed instrument, and when applied to the flesh of men and animals, to brand, to tattoo.

Several well-defined areas of application are seen, as *stigmata* were used to mark cattle and other animals as a protection against theft. Horses were so branded as a mark of ownership (Aristophanes, *Knights* 602; *Clouds* 122, 1298: all referring to sigma-brand). When *stigmata* were applied to the human body, this denoted a sign of disgrace, suitable for deserters (Herodotus, 7, 233, 2: "branded with the king's marks"). Criminals were marked as a punishment (Plato, *Laws* 9, 854d) and especially slaves suffered this penalty if they ran away and were caught (Aristophanes, *Birds* 760; *Lysistrata* 331) or broke the law in some other way (Diogenes Laertius, 4, 7, 46). The slave was called *stigmatias*, branded desperado, if he received this penalty (Xenophon, *Hellenica* 5, 3, 24) and it is suggested that the letters used as a brand on his hands or face were *F(UG)* for *fugitivus* or *FUR* for thief. In the imperial period the branding of slaves as a mark of ownership was practised. The mark was usually placed on the forehead, whereas soldiers who enlisted in the Roman army received a tattoo mark, in the shape of the abbreviated name of the emperor, on their hand (Aetius Amidenus, *Libri Medicinales* 8, 12).

Stigmata were also applied as sign of religious devotion to the gods (Herodotus 2, 113, *stigmata hiera*, sacred marks; Lucian, *Syr. Dea* 59 "bearing stigmata" in honour of the goddess).

OT The LXX has *stigmata* (used in the plur.) only once in the non-significant passage of Cant. 1:11, "ornaments [pointed pieces of jewelry] of gold." Nonetheless, the idea behind the word is present in the OT in the several instances where slaves were marked as a badge of ownership (Exod. 21:6; Deut. 15:16 f.); where Cain is given a sign of Yahweh's preservation of his life by a mark (Gen. 4:15); where the remnant of Israelite faithful are marked with the Heb. letter Tau as a pledge of their safety against the day of judgment (Ezek. 9:4; the letter Tau in ancient script was a cross, a feature giving rise to later Christian speculation); and especially where Yahweh's people are bidden to inscribe his name on their hands as a promise of fidelity (Isa. 44:5).

Real stigmata were expressly forbidden in Israel according to the rubric of Lev. 19:28. Only in her apostate days did Israel borrow this practice from the Gentile nations (Jer. 16:6; 41:5; cf. Jer. 47:5; 48:37). True Yahwism is thus differentiated from the fertility-cult practices of the nations in Canaan (1 Ki. 18:28). But 1 Ki. 20:41 may be an exception if the prophet had Yahweh's "mark" on his forehead.

In the inter-testamental period Jews were branded by their captors (Ps.Sol. 2:6) and slaves were branded to prevent their escape (T.Mak. 4:15). The Hellenistic persecution of the Jews took the form of the forcible imposition of pagan symbols, and Philo, *Spec.Leg.* 1, 58, regards the willing acceptance of a brand "with a red-hot iron" as a hallmark of apostasy. Circumcision was commonly regarded as the effective antidote to the desire to be tattooed, since the loyal Jew had this badge of his membership of the elect race and needed no other religious marking. Marks on bodies (in a figurative sense) and on grave sites in a literal fashion suggest a protective claim to belong to Yahweh (see the use made of Ezek. 9:4 in the Damascus Rule 9:10–12 of those who seek relief from the eschatological terror by the possession of this sign, and in Ps.Sol. 15:6–9). The sign of the cross on Jewish tombs and ossuaries is a development of Ezek. 9:4.

NT The single occurrence of the noun is in Gal. 6:17. Various possibilities of meaning are: that Paul asserts by this reference his claim to ownership by the Lord Jesus whose slave (*doulos*) he is; that he carries a badge of protection that none of his enemies in Galatia can ignore with impunity. The Galatians would be familiar with this idea of a religious teacher being under the care of the gods and so immune from attack; that the *stigmata* are the Christian counterpart to Jewish circumcision and are a sign of eschatological fulfilment marking out the new Israel (Gal. 6:16) as the true circumcision as in Phil. 3:3. On this verse Dibelius comments: "The thought is not that of a bodily mark but of the church's consciousness of being the new people of God". See too Rom. 2:25–29 and Col. 2:11–13.

The stigmata are not to be seen as symbols however (such as Paul's having tattooed the sign of the cross or the name of Jesus on his flesh). Rather they are scars and wounds received in his missionary service on behalf of the Gentile churches as the eschatological apostle (Col. 1:24; Eph. 3:1, 13).

Marking of God's people in Rev. 7:2 f.; 9:4; 14:1; 22:4 with seals is a metaphorical usage (→ *charagma*). *R. P. Martin*

| χάραγμα |

χάραγμα (*charagma*), mark, stamp, graven object.

CL The underlying vb. *charassō*, to cut to a point, then to inscribe, which is the meaning in Sir. 50:27 and in one version of Ezek. 4:1 (LXX) where it translates the MT *ḥqq*. The noun means a mark, a sign caused by engraving, etching, or branding.

The vb. *charassō* means to cut to a point, to sharpen, in Hesiod, *Works and Days* 387, 573 ("whet the sickle"). The later technical sense of inscribing on wood, stone, brass is attested. Then, in a specialized meaning, it describes the casting of a die, and so the minting of coins. In the Hellenistic papyri anything written down on writing material is *dia charagmatōn*. This phrase in *P. Lond.* 5, 1658, 8 seems to

mean "I pray for your health in this letter" (so Ghedini, referred to in Moulton-Milligan). Ownership of property is secured by the brand-mark (*charagma*). Documents are validated as true by the imposition of a stamp or seal (*charagma*). Imperial decrees are shown to be genuine by the same token. Currency carries the impress (*charagma*) as a sign of its genuineness, so Plutarch, *Agesilaus*, 15:6; *De Lysandro* 16:2; and *P.Oxy.* 1, 144, 6: "gold in stamped money", i.e. in coins (*chrysou en obryzō charagmati*).

OT *charagma* does not appear in LXX but the vb. *charassō* occurs in the texts noted above. In 3 Macc. 2:29 *charagma* is used for Jewish markings with pagan cult symbols. Cf. Ps.Sol. 15:8–10 where the righteous who are loyal to Israel's heritage are "marked" for God.

NT In Rev. 13:11–18 there is an apparent reference to the imperial priesthood under the figure of the second beast. It requires that universal recognition and homage be given to the "first beast" (the imperial line). The image of the emperor is made to speak (v. 15). The counterpart to this claim to divinity is that all trading is possible only as men have the "mark" (*charagma*) of the first beast on their right hand or forehead. That "mark" is identified with the beast's → name or → number (v. 18). Contrast Rev. 7:3 ff. where a similar "mark" denotes divine protection. In 13:16 ff. it signifies the "protection" of Satan.

This stigmatization was common in the ancient world (→ *stigma*), denoting ownership and preservation. Repeatedly in the Apocalypse the *charagma tou thēriou*, mark of the beast, denotes subservience to anti-Christian powers (14:9; 20:4; cf. 13:17; 14:11; 16:2; 19:20). This situation is matched by a "sign" from God (7:1–8) and wrath is threatened to all who bear the first mark (14:9, 11). Those who do not wear the satanic mark are promised the right to judge the evil powers (20:4).

In Acts 17:19 *charagma* is used in the sense of handiwork, creation, produced by the artist or craftsman.

R. P. Martin

καυστηριάζω

καυστηριάζω (*kaustēriazō*), mark by a branding iron, brand.

CL Cognate nouns are *kaustērion* (*P.Lond.* 2, 391, 7 ff.) meaning kiln and *kautērion*, branding iron. The vb. means to burn with hot iron, to brand.

Branding iron (*kautērion*) is possibly attested in Euripides, *Fr.* 815 (conj.), while the vb. is found in Strabo, *Geog.* 5, 1, 9: "a great herd of unbranded [*akautēriastōn*] horses", and in a possible reading in *BGU*, III, 952, 4 (Wilcken's reconstructed text is: [*kaustēria*]*zousi tēn gypson*).

OT The LXX does not have the vb., but 4 Macc. 15:22 has *kautērion* in the sense of branding iron.

NT The sole NT occurrence is 1 Tim. 4:2. False teachers have their conscience "branded [*kekaustēriasmenōn*]". The brand mark is the sign of ownership (→ *stigma*), and the condition of these heretics is probably that of men who are

possessed by Satan and demonic forces. Alternatively it means that their conscience is "cauterized", or "seared" (RSV), i.e. made insensible to moral distinctions.
→ Cross, → Image *R. P. Martin*

On *stigma*:
(a). Arndt, 776; O. Betz, *stigma*, *TDNT* VII 657–64; M. Black, "The Chi-Rho Sign – Christogram and/or Staurogram?" in W. W. Gasque and R. P. Martin, eds., *Apostolic History and the Gospel, Biblical and Historical Essays Presented to F. F. Bruce*, 1970, 319–27; T. W. Crafer, "The Stoning of St. Paul", *The Expositor*, 8th Series 6, 1913, 375–84; A. Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, 1909, 349 ff.; E. Dinkler, "Comments on the History of the Symbol of the Cross", *Journal for Theology and the Church* 1, 1965, 124–45; J. H. Moulton, "The Marks of Jesus", *ExpT* 21, 1909–10, 283 f.; Moulton-Milligan, 590; W. M. Ramsay, *A Historical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*, 1900, 472 ff.
(b). F.-J. Dölger, *Sphragis*, 1911, 39 ff.; and "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Kreuzzeichens", *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 1958–61; A. Oepke, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater, Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament*, 1964², 163–66; O. Schmitz, *Die Christus-Gemeinschaft des Paulus im Lichte seines Genitivusgebrauchs*, 1924, 185–94.

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(a). A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 1927, 341; and *Bible Studies*, 1909, 240–47; Moulton-Milligan, 683; U. Wilckens, *charagma*, *TDNT* IX, 416 f. Commentaries on *Revelation* by R. H. Charles, I–II, *ICC*, 1920; and G. R. Beasley-Murray, *New Century Bible*, 1974.
(b). E. Lohmeyer, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, *HNT* 16, 1926, 1970³; and E. Lohse, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, *NTD* 11, 1960, on Rev. 13:8; E. Stauffer, "666", in *Coniectanea Neotestamentica* 11, 1947, 237 ff.

On *kaustēriazō*:
(a). Moulton-Milligan, 339; J. Schneider, *kaustēriazomai*, *TDNT* III 644 f. Commentaries on the Pastoral Epistles by M. Dibelius and H. Conzelmann, *Hermeneia*, 1973; B. S. Easton, 1947; E. K. Simpson, 1954; J. N. D. Kelly, *Harper-BNTC*, 1963.
(b). SB III 579; C. Spicq, *Les Épîtres Pastorales*, 1969⁴.

Marriage, Adultery, Bride, Bridegroom

γαμέω

γαμέω (*gameō*), marry; γάμος (*gamos*), wedding; γαμίζω (*gamizō*), give in marriage; γαμίσκω (*gamiskō*), give in marriage.

CL *gameō* is derived from the root *gam-* or *gem-*, to fit together, pair. The root is possibly related to *gennaō*, beget, bring forth. The noun *gamos* means wedding, marriage, consummation of marriage, whether regarded as temporary or permanent, the wedding feast. The vb. *gameō* means to marry, celebrate a wedding, have sexual relations. *gamizō* and *gamiskō* are later forms meaning give in marriage, i.e. a daughter.

Even though we may find numerous traces of polygamy and polyandry in the Gk. myths, monogamy predominated in the Gk. world in the historical period. Morality within marriage was strict. The Homeric hero had one wife, who was faithful and inviolable, a good manager of the home and mother. Gk. marriage was monogamous. On the other hand, the man had great freedom. He could have concubines or have relations with harlots (→ Discipline, art. *porneuō* CL). Adultery in the Gk. states and under Roman law was severely punished, especially in the case of the woman (cf. *OCD* 10 f., 649 f.).

In the Hellenistic period marriage morals had become generally looser. There

was much prostitution in the towns, especially in the ports, above all in Corinth. The oriental cults had introduced sacred prostitution. Sexual relationships with the priestesses became part of the cultus and granted a sharing in the divine, and were referred to by the term *hieros gamos*, sacred marriage.

OT 1. The terms *gameō* and *gamos* are only seldom found in the LXX. *gamos* (Heb. *mišteh*) occurs in the canonical books only at Gen. 29:22; Est. 2:18; 9:22. The OT law contains no prescribed form of marriage ceremony. In spite of this, marriage is in fact of great importance. Both in primeval history and in that of the patriarchs the history of tribes and people is narrated as family histories. In the genealogies (e.g. Gen. 5) marriage and the begetting of children (especially males) are the most important features of the lives mentioned. Even though from → Abraham down to the kings there is evidence for polygamy (e.g. Gen. 16:1 ff.; 25:6; 29:21–30; 1 Sam. 18:27; 25:42 f.; 2 Sam. 3:2–5), monogamy occupies the central position, especially in those passages that are important for our understanding of marriage. It is presupposed in Gen. 1:26 ff. and 2:18–24. The royal law in Deut. also demands of the king that "he shall not multiply wives for himself, lest his heart turn away" (Deut. 17:17; cf. 1 Ki. 11:1–11).

In the OT marriage is clearly regarded from the husband's standpoint and serves above all for the begetting of offspring (cf. Gen. 1:28). In order to achieve this end a man might take another wife (cf. Gen. 16:1 ff., → Abraham; levirate marriage, Deut. 25:5–10, but note Lev. 20:21; → 5 below). At the same time the wife is loved and taken seriously as a partner (Gen. 2:23 f.). She is a partner in a sexual and personal sense (Gen. 1:27 f.) and in the second creation narrative she is described as a "helper" (Heb. *'ēzer*; LXX *boēthos*) (Gen. 2:18b). The partnership continues in the fall and in the problems of sexuality created by it (Gen. 3).

2. Adultery was severely punished in the OT (Deut. 22:22–27; Exod. 20:14; Lev. 18:20; 20:10; Deut. 5:18). Even adultery committed unwittingly is hateful to God (Gen. 20:3–7). Adultery was also understood as a feature of paganism; God's people were to be fundamentally different in sexual practices and marriage (cf. 1 Cor. 6:12–20; 5:9–12). This prepares us for the prophetic picture of marriage for man's relationship to God (see below 3).

Originally → divorce depended solely on the man (cf. Deut. 24:1–4; Jer. 3:8), but later it became possible also for the woman (Elephantine). The many laws about the various sexual offences show how the elemental power of sexuality, which threatens the family and society, should be restrained and directed into the channels willed by God. Especially in the later period concern was felt with the problem of mixed marriages with foreigners which were forbidden (Deut. 7:3 f.; 20:16 ff.; 21:10 ff.; Ezr. 9 f.), though earlier cases of such marriages are exemplified (Gen. 41:45, Joseph; Exod. 2:21; Num. 12:1, Moses; Jdg. 14:1; 2 Sam. 11:3). Heathen marriages undermined allegiance to Yahweh especially in the case of Solomon (1 Ki. 11:1–11).

3. If adultery was a violation of the divine law and so also an offence against the → covenant, participation in the Canaanite fertility rites was an offence against both marriage and God. Hosea was the first to express the people's apostasy as harlotry and a breach of the marriage bond between God and Israel, and he did it more clearly than any other (Hos. 1 ff.; cf. Jer. 2:2, 10, 25; 3:1–25; Ezek. 16, 23; Isa.

50:1). His own act in marrying a harlot at the divine behest (Hos. 1:2) was symbolic of Yahweh's relationship with Israel. It is mercy, stretching far beyond all law, which causes God not to annihilate or cast off his people, as the law of marriage demanded, but to turn to them again in spite of all their disloyalty and even to promise them a new covenant. *W. Günther*

4. The law contained certain forbidden degrees of marriage and sexual intercourse (Lev. 18:6–18). The Israelite was forbidden "to uncover the nakedness" of his mother, stepmother, sister or half-sister, grand-daughter, daughter of a stepmother, aunt, daughter-in-law, brother's wife (unless she died childless, see levirate marriage, below 5), a woman and her daughter, a woman and her granddaughter, two sisters at the same time, or mother-in-law. Intercourse during menstruation was forbidden, as was adultery generally, homosexual practices and defilement with animals (Lev. 18:19–33). Certain of these offences were punishable by death (Deut. 27:20–23), whereas in other instances there is the warning that the offending parties shall bear their iniquity and die childless (Lev. 12:12–18; 20:19 ff.; but cf. also the story of Tamar, the daughter-in-law of Judah, who bore twins to him, Gen. 38).

In addition, certain prohibitions were attached to the priesthood. The high-priest was permitted to marry only a virgin selected from his own people (Lev. 21:13 f.), and priests were forbidden to marry prostitutes and divorced women (21:7). Num. 36:5–9 contains a prohibition against an heiress marrying outside her own tribe (cf. Tob. 7:10).

A man who falsely accused his bride of not being a virgin could be fined a hundred shekels, whipped, and compelled to take her as his wife (Deut. 22:13–19). But if his accusation proved true, the woman was to be stoned to death (Deut. 22:20 f.). A man who raped a virgin who was already betrothed (in open country where she could not summon help) was liable to the death penalty (Deut. 22:25 ff.). But in the case of a woman who was not betrothed, the man was to take her as his wife and pay the girl's father the sum of fifty shekels (Deut. 22:28 f.).

5. The so-called levirate marriage (from the Lat. *levir*, brother-in-law) refers to the marriage of a man with his deceased brother's widow in the event of his dying childless. The widow was not to remarry outside the family and the unmarried brother was to perform the duties of a husband to her to raise up children to the deceased, in order to perpetuate his name in Israel. If the man refused, the woman was entitled to subject him to public disgrace before the elders (Deut. 25:5–10). The practice was not peculiar to the Jews in their early history. It has been found among numerous Eastern peoples, particularly in Arabia and the Caucasus. The OT contains two instances of the practice. In the patriarchal period Onan deliberately spilled his semen on the ground, lest the offspring should be counted as his brother's. His own subsequent death was pronounced a divine judgment on him (Gen. 38:8 ff.). The book of Ruth tells the story of Ruth offering herself to Boaz, believing him to be the nearest kinsman to her deceased husband. However, Boaz at first declined on the grounds that there was a nearer kinsman. Only when the latter refused did Boaz take Ruth to wife (Ruth. 4:1–13). (On Ruth see further H. H. Rowley, "The Marriage of Ruth", in *The Servant of the Lord and Other Essays on the Old Testament*, 1965², 169–94; D. A. Leggett, *The Levirate and*

Goel Institutions in the Old Testament with Special Attention to the Book of Ruth, 1974; S. B. Parker, "The Marriage Blessing in Israelite and Ugaritic Literature", *JBL* 95, 1976, 23–30).

The practice of levirate marriage seems to be presupposed in the question of the Sadducees concerning the marital status in the resurrection of a woman who had married seven brothers each dying childless (Matt. 22:22–33; Mk. 12:18–27; Lk. 20:27–38). Jesus' reply rebuked the Sadducees for not knowing the scriptures or the power of God. For in the resurrection the present marital relationships with their physical ties are transcended and the dead raised are like the angels (*hōs angeloi*, Matt. 22:30, Mk. 12:25; *isangeloi*†, Lk. 20:36). Nevertheless, they live because God is the God of the living (Matt. 22:32; Mk. 12:27; Lk. 20:38; cf. Exod. 3:6).

6. No restrictions on the age of marriage are given in the OT, though early marriage is sometimes spoken of with approval (Prov. 2:17; 5:18; Isa. 62:5). In the patriarchal age it was considered the duty of the bridegroom's father to secure a bride for his son (Gen. 24:3; 38:6; Exod. 2:21; but cf. Gen. 21:21 when this fell to the mother). The selection of the bride was followed by formal betrothal, confirmed by oaths and a dowry (Heb. *mōhar*, Gen. 34:12; Exod. 22:16; 1 Sam. 18:25). The OT law contained no formal marriage ceremony. Gen. 29:22, 27 suggests that the custom at the time of Jacob was for a feast to be given by the bride's father at which the bride was given to the groom. The union was then consummated. The feast could last as long as seven and even fourteen days (cf. Jdg. 14:12; Tob. 8:19). The fact that Jacob was permitted after seven days to take Laban's other daughter, Rachel, in addition to Leah, suggests that polygamy was openly countenanced. Certain passages suggest a ratification by oath (Prov. 2:17; Ezek. 16:8; Mal. 2:14) and that a blessing was pronounced (Gen. 24:60; Ruth. 4:11 f.). The OT expression "to take a wife" seems to express the literal truth of what happened (Num. 12:1; 1 Chron. 2:21; cf. the action of Ruth in approaching Boaz, Ruth 3:6 ff.). The action was normally expressed in the ceremonial taking of the bride from her father's house to that of the bridegroom or his father. The practice of companions attending the groom (Jdg. 14:11) seems to have continued in the NT period (Matt. 19:15). He was preceded by singers or musicians (Gen. 31:27; Jer. 7:34; 16:9; 1 Macc. 9:39) and accompanied by torch-bearers or lamp-bearers (2 Esd. 10:2; Jer. 25:10; Matt. 25:7; Rev. 18:23). The bride awaited the groom with her maidens who conducted the whole party back to his own home (Matt. 25:6; Cant. 3:11). In NT times and no doubt earlier friends and neighbours participated in the feast that then took place (Matt. 22:1–10; Lk. 14:8; Jn. 2:2). A newly betrothed man was exempt from military service for a year lest he be killed in battle (Deut. 20:7). Similarly, the newly married man was exempt from military service and any public business that might take him away from his wife for a whole year (Deut. 24:5).

7. There is evidence of the practice of polygamy in Palestinian Judaism in NT times (cf. J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus: An Investigation into Economic and Social Conditions during the New Testament Period*, 1969, 90, 93, 369f.). Herod the Great (37–4 B.C.) had ten wives (Josephus, *Ant.* 17, 19f.; *War* 1,562) and a considerable harem (*War* 1,511). Polygamy and concubinage among the aristocracy is attested by Josephus, *Ant.* 12, 186ff.; 13, 380; *War* 1, 97. The continued

practice of levirate marriage (Yeb. 15b) evidently led to polygamy, which was countenanced by the school of Shammai but not by that of Hillel. For detailed evidence of polygamy see J. Leipold, *Jesus und die Frauen*, 1921, 44–49. The practice of taking a second wife, if there was dissension with the first, was evidently often due to the high price fixed in the marriage contract which made divorce prohibitive (Yeb. 63b). According to the investigations of H. Grandqvist, in the village of Aretas near Bethlehem twelve out of 112 married men had more than one wife (*Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village*, II, 1935, 205).

8. According to Philo, the Essenes condemned marriage (*Hypothetica* 11, 14). Josephus reported that they disdained marriage, although one order of Essenes allowed it so as to propagate the race (*War* 2, 8, 2 and 13). The Community Rule (1 QS) is curiously silent on the subject, but the Messianic Rule permits sexual relations, i.e. marriage, on reaching maturity, i.e. the age of twenty (1QSa 1:6–11). M. Black sees in the Essene attitude an underlying tendency to regard all sexual functions and relations as unclean (*The Scrolls and Christian Origins: Studies in the Jewish Background of the New Testament*, 1961, 29). Total renunciation meant complete holiness, especially in a priestly sect. It may also be connected with the idea of the consecration of the warrior in the holy war (cf. The War Scroll, 1QM), the protest against the corrupt temple priesthood (cf. CD 8:8–18) and the Pharisaic permission of divorce (op. cit., 29–32; cf. also A. R. C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning*, 1966, 31ff., 170f., 211). *C. Brown*

NT 1. The use of this word-group in the NT can hardly be distinguished from that in secular Gk. On principle the words are not used in the NT for extra-marital relationships. In Matt. 22:11 f. the gen. *gamou* is used for the adj. in the expression *endyma gamou*, wedding garment.

For the OT, Palestinian rabbinism and for Gk. Hellenistic civilization marriage and married life are self-evident institutions, and so they are taken for granted in the NT. Hence, the verb (e.g. Mk. 6:17; Lk. 14:20), and the noun (Jn. 2:1 f.) are used without any theological connotation.

The NT deals with questions concerning the relationship of men and woman far more frequently than the use of this word-group might suggest (→ Woman; → Divorce; → Discipline, art. *porneuō*; → Join, Cleave to; and below → art. *nymphē*). Sexual offences are fundamental offences against marriage. The fact that they are repeatedly mentioned in lists of sins shows that they are especially signs that sin is dependence on the *sarx* (→ Flesh).

2. Marriage as an institution is clearly presupposed in the NT. It is not based on human regulations but on God's commandment. This is shown by the frequent references to the creation story (Gen. 1:27; 2:24; cf. Mk. 10:6 f.; Matt. 19:4 f.; 1 Cor. 6:16; Eph. 5:31). It always refers to the shared life of a man with a woman. Though the NT also essentially looks on marriage from the man's standpoint (as the *kephalē*, head, 1 Cor. 11:3; Eph. 5:23), the Gk. and the OT traditions are so transcended that the man's special rights fall away, and throughout the NT the shared life of husband and wife stands in the foreground (cf. 1 Cor. 7:3; Eph. 5:21–33; Col. 3:18 f.). The NT attacks both → divorce and sexual impurity (→ Discipline). In one place there is also an attack on false teachers who in fanatical exaggeration forbade marriage (1 Tim. 4:3). An unbroken marriage is assumed

as something self-evident for the Christian (Matt. 5:27–31; 19:9; Mk. 10:11 f.; Lk. 16:18; 1 Cor. 7:10–16; 1 Thess. 4:4; 1 Tim. 3:2, 12; Heb. 13:4).

3. In the Sermon on the Mount Jesus speaks about the seventh commandment (Matt. 5:27 f.; cf. Exod. 20:14; Deut. 5:18). In the dawning kingdom of God adultery is a sin which shows that one's heart is attached to man, not to God. In God's sight the lustful eye and the desiring thought are reckoned as the completed act. The pericope concerning the woman taken in adultery is not in the oldest manuscripts of Jn. (Jn. 7:53–8:11), but nevertheless belongs to an early tradition. It shows Jesus, the Judge, as the Saviour who is prepared to forgive this sin also. Thereby he showed himself to be the sovereign Lord of Creation, of its order and of the Law. On this passage see also J. D. M. Derrett, "The Woman Taken in Adultery", *Law in the New Testament*, 1970, 156–88.

In the same context (Matt. 5:31 f.) Jesus speaks also of → divorce. In the law Deut. 24:1 in principle permits divorce, but there was controversy among the rabbis as to the grounds which justified it (Matt. 19:3; cf. SB I 303 ff.; II 23 f.). Jesus, however, met this permission in principle with a radical prohibition (Mk. 10:2–2). Only in Matt. 5:32 and 19:9 is divorce permitted on the grounds of *porneia*, unchastity (→ Discipline, art. *porneuō*). The question of divorce occupies a relatively important place in the NT (Mk. 10:2–12; Matt. 19:3–9; Lk. 16:18; 1 Cor. 7:10 f.). The fundamental rejection of divorce is based on God's command and order (Matt. 19:5 f.). (For further discussion → Divorce.)

4. Facing the question of the Sadducees concerning the status in the resurrection of a wife who had had more than one husband (Matt. 22:23–33; Mk. 12:18–27, Lk. 20:27–38) Jesus pointed to God and the dawning kingdom, where the problem raised by the scribes would lose all relevance, for marriage as an institution would then no longer exist. Jesus' statements are always to be understood in the light of the fact that the new age was dawning in his person (cf. Matt. 24:38; Lk. 17:26). In other words, passages like Matt. 19:9–12 do not simply proclaim the end of the OT marriage law. It is rather a question of the correct interpretation of this law and grasping God's will for this eschatological age. Jesus was in the perspective of Matthew, as it were, the second Moses, the law-giver of the eschatological era. The question concerning → eunuchs (Matt. 19:12) is also to be understood eschatologically. The exigencies of the times call for celibacy from those who have the gift. Those who had received it could voluntarily renounce marriage, for such a step was seen as necessary for the service of God (*dia tēn basileian*, for the sake of the kingdom of heaven). John the Baptist, and later Paul, remained unmarried. They show symbolically that marriage is only something provisional in the light of the coming kingdom (cf. 1 Cor. 7:1–9, 26–29).

5. Both in the OT and among Jesus' contemporaries a wedding was the occasion for a festive meal. Hence *gamos* can also mean the wedding feast; such a feast is described in Jn. 2:1–11. In Matt. 22:1–14 Jesus uses a royal wedding feast as a parable. As background for it we have the parallelism of God and the king, the concept of the eschatological feast (cf. Isa. 25:6), the Rab. picture of the marriage feast of the messiah with his people (SB I 517), the exposition of Cant. as expressing the love between Yahweh and his people, and the prophetic picture of marriage to represent the relationship between Yahweh and Israel given from Hosea on. Earthly marriage is to be superseded by the eschatological union of God with his

people. As the messiah Jesus is the true bridegroom (→ art. *nymphē*). The decisive factor is sharing his feast (Matt. 25:1–13; cf. Lk. 12:36–40). The record of the institution of the → Lord's Supper (especially Matt. 26:29; Lk. 22:30) links the messianic meal with the explanation of the death of Jesus. The marriage feast of the → Lamb (Rev. 19:7 ff.) means the final union of the triumphant Christ with his own.

6. (a) Arising out of certain happenings in the Corinthian church Paul deals in 1 Cor. 5 ff. with various questions concerning marriage. He starts with a warning against all kinds of unchastity, and then deals with marriage itself. He appeals to the word of Jesus and rejects divorce (1 Cor. 7:10; cf. Mk. 10:9 ff. par. Matt. 19:6–9; Lk. 16:18). Paul looks on marriage as secondary when compared to faith. He goes so far as to recommend celibacy as a special gift in the light of the near end (7:1, 7; cf. Matt. 19:12). Marriage, like all worldly activity, stands under the *hōs mē*, as if not (7:29 ff.); those who have should live as if they had not. This is the standpoint from which the question of mixed marriages with unbelievers is handled (7:12–16). The unbelieving partner is to decide whether it is to continue. The Christian partner, on the other hand, should be prepared to let it continue, i.e. only the heathen partner has freedom of choice. The consecration of such a mixed marriage by the believing partner is to be understood as a very real power, for here grace is stronger than the unbelief of the heathen partner. It is the means of bringing the children within the covenant relationship, for otherwise they would be unclean. It may also result in the salvation of the unbelieving partner.

The meaning of 1 Cor. 7:36 ff. is not absolutely clear. We do not know whether it refers to a couple living together ascetically in so-called spiritual marriage, to whom Paul is giving permission later to enter into full physical union, or to a father (or a guardian or master) who did not wish to offend against custom or Rab. command by not marrying off his daughter (ward, slave-girl) at the usual age (cf. A. Robertson and A. Plummer, *The First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians*, *ICC*, 1911, 159; SB III 376 f.). The use of the verb *gamizō*, give in marriage, in v. 38 makes the second interpretation more probable. *gamizō*, a synonym of *gamiskō*, is found in the NT only in Matt. 22:30; 24:38; Mk. 12:25; Lk. 17:27; 20:20:34 f.; 1 Cor. 7:38. Except in the last passage it clearly means to give in marriage. It is a term that is normally applied only to the father, guardian or owner who gives a girl under his control in marriage to another man. The interpretation that we are here dealing with a spiritual marriage can be held only if one assumes that *gamizō* here is equivalent to *gameō* (cf. Arndt). AV, RV, Weymouth, Knox, JB, NEB mg all take *gamizō* as give in marriage; Moffatt, Phillips, RSV, NEB tx take it as equivalent to *gameo*. → *hyperakmos* below. On the interpretation of 1 Tim. 3:2, 12 and Tit. 1:6 → Man, art. *anēr* NT 3.

(b) Paul also saw marriage as a picture of man's relationship to God. In Rom. 9:25 f. he quotes Hos. 2:23 alluding to the names of Hosea's children *lō' ruḥāmâh* (Not Pitied) and *lō' 'ammî* (Not my People) (cf. Hos. 1:6 ff.). For despite these names Yahweh will nevertheless have pity on his people and restore them. Paul sees in this promise grounds for the inclusion of Gentiles in the people of God. He uses the picture of marriage in 2 Cor. 11:2 to warn against apostasy. It is reversed in Eph. 5:22 ff. Because Christ is the bridegroom of the church, marriage should be held holy. In Eph. 5:32 the marriage relationship is described as a *mystērion*,

which is symbolic of the relationship of Christ to the church. It is all the more reason why husbands and wives should love one another. The picture of marriage lies also behind the expression "adulterous generation" (Matt. 12:39; 16:4; Mk. 8:38). It is possible that these passages are referring to the factual moral conditions among the people, but the context and OT linguistic usage suggest that Jesus was alluding to the people's attitude to God (→ Generation). "The woman Jezebel" (Rev. 2:20 ff.) and "the great harlot" (Rev. 17:1) are pictures of the great apostasy from God, the great Husband and Lord. The former alludes to the wife of King Ahab who served Baal and sought the life of → Elijah (1 Ki. 16:31; 18:4, 13; 19:1 f.; 21:5–25; 2 Ki. 9:7–37). The church at Thyatira is warned against tolerating the woman Jezebel (i.e. those who practice and teach things characterized by her name). The great harlot is identified as → Babylon (17:5) who typifies the world. *W. Günther*

μοιχεύω *μοιχεύω* (*moicheuō*), commit adultery; *μοιχεία* (*moicheia*), adultery; *μοιχός* (*moichos*), adulterer; *μοιχαλίς* (*moichalis*), adulteress, prostitute.

CL *moicheuō* and its Doric counterpart *moichaō* mean to commit adultery (with acc.). Sometimes they are used more generally, seduce a woman, violate; hence in mid. let oneself be seduced, in pass. be seduced to adultery. The derivatives include *moicheia*, adultery, harlotry (cf. *porneia* → Discipline); *moichos*, Adulterer; *moichalis*, first an adj. meaning adulterous, and, secondly, a noun meaning adulteress, harlot.

Adultery was punishable already in the old law codes going back to the second millennium B.C., e.g. the Lipit-Ishtar Code, the Code of Hammurabi, the old Ass. laws (cf. *ANET*, 159 ff., 163–88). Every form of sexual relationship outside marriage was forbidden to the wife, for she was the real guarantor of the integrity of the family and clan, and by adultery she broke her own marriage and she destroyed the integrity of the whole clan. A man on the contrary committed adultery only by sexual relationships with a married woman, i.e. when breaking into another's arrangement. At the same time traces of older concepts behind these legal views from different cultures may be detected: (a) adultery with a married woman involves an offence against property, i.e. the invasion of the area of another's possessions, and (b) the woman committing adultery opens the clan to the influence of evil powers. The punishment of adultery by death, ill-treatment or the payment of an expiatory fine was normally left to the private initiative of the wronged husband or of his clan.

OT 1. The LXX uses the Gk. word-group for Heb. *nā'ap̄* and its derivatives. There adultery, as in other societies, covered (i) every extra-marital sexual relationship by a married woman; (ii) the extra-marital sexual relationship of a man with a married or engaged woman (Gen. 16:1–4; 30:1–4; 38:15 f.; Lev. 19:20 ff.; Deut. 22:28 f. are examples of extra-marital sexual relationships by a man). Adultery was punishable by death, normally by stoning (but cf. Gen. 38:24), of both parties (Lev. 20:10; Deut. 22:22 ff.; Ezek. 16:40; cf. Jn. 8:5). In contrast to usage outside Israel (see above CL) adultery was a matter of public concern, since it offended not only against the foundations and personal rights of marriage and

family but also against the law of God (Exod. 20:14) and so threatened the basis of the people's existence (Deut. 22:22b). Hence, the punishment had to be inflicted by the community. If a woman was suspected of adultery a test of guilt or innocence was prescribed (Num. 5:11–31) to be carried out by the priests who required her to take an oath of innocence and drink the water containing the ashes of a cereal offering.

2. In Hosea's life and message marriage and adultery are used allegorically for the relationship between Yahweh and his people (→ *gameō* OT 2, NT 6 (b)). The actual reason for the use of this picture may well have been the introduction of Canaanite wedding and fertility rites into Israel's life (4:12 ff.; 9:1 ff.). When Israel separated from Yahweh and sacrificed to strange gods, the nation acted as an adulteress who leaves her husband and plays the harlot with other men (2:2 ff. [MT 2:4 ff.]). God would severely punish this adultery (5:7 ff.), but this would not have as its purpose the complete destruction of the adulteress but her repentance (3:5). This picture was later taken up by Jeremiah (cf. Jer. 2:2; 3:1–10; 5:7; 13:22, 26) and by Ezekiel during the exile (cf. Ezek. 16:1–63; 23:37–45).

3. The very serious warnings against adultery in the wisdom literature (cf. Prov. 6:20–35; cf. Sir. 25:2) show a weakening of strict marriage morality in the course of Israel's history (cf. especially Prov. 6:35, which suggests compensation by money payment, and Mal. 2:14 ff.). It is the mark of the fool to be led astray by the harlot. His action will bring not only disgrace but also ruin and judgment (cf. also Prov. 2:16 ff.; 7:5–27; 30:20). The serious social consequences of adultery were also a cause for concern.

4. There are also stern warnings in Test. XII (Test.Jos. 4:6 ff.; 5:1), Philo (*Decal.* 121 f., 124, 126, 129, 131), the Mishnah (especially the Tractate Sotah [The Adulteress]), and the Talmud (see further *TDNT* IV 731 f.). In Roman times the death penalty was no longer exacted (cf. A. N. Sherwin-White, *Roman Society and Roman Law in the New Testament*, 1965², 40 f.; *TDNT* IV 732 f.).

NT The word-group is used in the NT with the same meaning, both direct and metaphorical, as in secular Gk. sometimes quoting Exod. 20:14 (Deut. 5:18), e.g. Matt. 19:18 f.; Mk. 10:19; Lk. 18:20; Jas. 2:11; Rom. 13:9.

1. At the same time the NT's understanding of marriage and hence of adultery is carried forward to a position known neither to secular Gk. nor the OT. (a) Adultery in the man is unreservedly measured by the same standards as in the woman (Matt. 5:32; Mk. 10:11 f.; Lk. 16:18). (b) The desire, i.e. the willingness to commit the act, is equivalent to adultery itself (Matt. 5:27 f.). (c) Since the NT considers marriage by its nature to be indissoluble (Mk. 10:8), remarriage following divorce permitted by the OT on the grounds of the hardness of men's hearts enters the realm of adultery (Matt. 5:31 f.; 19:9). Admittedly, marriage in Matt. 5 is considered from the standpoint of the wife and its breach is judged accordingly (cf. Rom. 7:3 with CL and OT 1 above). In Matt. 19:9, however, Jesus applies the statement also to the man who divorces his wife, marries again, and so commits adultery. In both passages, in contrast to Mk. 10:11 f., Lk. 16:18, Matt. recognizes an exception on the grounds of *porneia* that permits divorce (→ Discipline, art. *porneuō*; → Divorce). (d) Adultery is incompatible with the hope of life in the kingdom of God (1 Cor. 6:9 f), and is under God's judgment (Heb. 13:4). It is therefore

characteristic that a destructive libertinism (2 Pet. 2:14) goes hand in hand with doubts about the return of Christ and the judgment to follow (2 Pet. 3:3–7).

2. Jesus' severe condemnation of adultery does not exclude God's mercy to the repentant sinner, whose conversion he desires (Matt. 21:13 f.; Lk. 18:9–14; cf. 1 Cor. 6:9 ff.). The adulteress, who had earned the death-penalty, had her guilt forgiven while the apparently guiltless multitude had a mirror held up to their hypocritical self-righteousness (Jn. 8:3–11). At the same time the impenitent perverts are excluded from the kingdom (1 Tim. 1:10; Heb. 13:4; Rev. 21:8; 22:15).

3. The theme of adultery is used in the NT in a metaphorical sense as in OT prophecy (cf. Jas. 4:4), where adulterers (*moichalides*; RSV "unfaithful creatures!") are lovers of the world. Similarly Israel is called "an evil and adulterous generation [*genea ponēra kai moichalis*]" as it is typified by its religious representatives; → Pharisees and scribes (Matt. 12:39), → Sadducees (Matt. 16:4). Although some expositors see in the phrase a judgment on the factual, moral situation, a metaphorical explanation is probable. This contemporary → generation, a people shown to be disloyal to God by its rejection of Jesus (cf. Mk. 8:38), is characterized by its desire for a → sign when there is already proof enough of God's love present in Jesus. *H. Reisser*

νύμφη

νύμφη (*nymphē*), bride; *νυμφίος* (*nymphios*), bridegroom; *νυμφών* (*nymphōn*), wedding hall, bride chamber.

CL *nymphē* is found already in Mycenaean Gk. (linear B) and is linked with Lat. *nurus*. It means the bride or betrothed. The use of the term is not restricted to the context of the wedding ceremony. It can be equally applied to a virgin, a young woman and a young wife. Similarly *nymphios* means both the bridegroom, the betrothed and the young husband. *nymphē* is also a term used for feminine deities of lower rank (→ Woman).

In Hellenism, especially in the gnostic systems, the picture of bridegroom and bride is used for the relationship of the *sōtēr*, saviour, to men, and is taken into the concept of *hieros gamos*, sacred marriage. This prepared the way for religious eroticism, which even today prefers to use the allegory of engagement and marriage to express the mystical relationship of the individual soul to the deity (→ art. *gameō*).

OT The later NT linguistic usage is primarily determined by the earlier Jewish customs and ideas. In the OT there are incidental references to the customs that preceded the wedding (e.g. Gen. 24:59 ff.; Jos. 15:18 f.; Jdg. 14; Isa. 61:10; Cant.). A girl was capable of marriage at twelve, a young man at fifteen. While their personal choice probably played a part, an agreement made between their families was essential. Because Heb. *kallâh* covers both, the LXX uses *nymphē* also for daughter-in-law (cf. Gen. 11:31; 38:11; Ruth 1:6).

In the foreground of the OT passages mentioning bride and bridegroom stands the joy that they have in one another. This finds its finest expression in Cant. (cf. also Ps. 45; Isa. 61:10; 62:5; Jer. 7:34; 16:9). This joy is applied metaphorically to the relationship between Yahweh and Israel, and especially to the worship in

which the congregation rejoiced in Yahweh as the eternal king and founder of the kingdom of peace in Zion (Ps. 45; Isa. 60:1 ff.). This picture corresponds to the title of Israel as bride of Yahweh (Jer. 2:2; Isa. 49:18; 62:5).

Late Jud. continued this fig. usage. Cant. was recognized as canonical, because it was interpreted as an allegory of the relationship of Yahweh to Israel. The expected salvation was described as a marriage, i.e. as the final and complete union of God with his people (SB I 517).

NT *nymphē* is used almost exclusively as a metaphor in the NT. In Matt. 10:35 and Lk. 12:53 it means, conformably with Jewish usage, daughter-in-law. The bride can also be called *gynē* (→ Woman), because by Jewish laws of marriage the engaged woman was already regarded as wife. This usage is found in Matt. 1:20, 24; Rev. 19:7; 21:9 (cf. SB II 393 ff.). *nymphios* in the NT is bridegroom, literally and metaphorically (Jn. 2:9; 3:29; Matt. 25:1, 6; Rev. 18:23). The *hyioi tou nymphōnos*, the "children of the bride chamber" (AV) were the relations and friends; "the bridegroom's friends" (NEB) is preferable to "the wedding guests" (RSV). They were indispensable for the carrying through of the festive ceremonial (Matt. 9:15; Mk. 2:19 f.; Lk. 5:34; cf. Jn. 3:29; cf. SB I 500–18; F. W. Lewis, "Who were the Sons of the Bride-Chamber? (Mark ii. 18–22)", *ExpT* 24, 1912–13, 285).

1. The wedding period is, as in the OT, a time of joy, especially of anticipation of joy. These ideas in the NT are part of the eschatological imagery (→ *gameō*). In Matt. 9:15 par. Mk. 2:19 f. and Lk. 5:35 Jesus → rejects the need to → fast at the present time. The time of the messiah's presence was commonly compared to a wedding (Isa. 62:5). The implication is that with Jesus the messianic age has dawned. The disciples were filled with joy because Jesus was with them. The parable of the ten virgins (Matt. 25:1–13) belongs also in this setting, though it is also a parable of judgment, stressing the need for being awake and waiting. The OT parallelism bride and bridegroom, symbolizing Israel and Yahweh, is here applied to the church and Jesus (cf. SB I 501–18; 898; IV 432 f.).

2. In Jn. 3:29 f. the relationship of the Baptist to Jesus is described as that of the bridegroom's "friend", *ho philos tou nymphiou*, whose part was that of the best man. The final age first begins with Jesus, but the "friend" prepared the way for him and has no greater joy than in seeing the wedding come to pass, i.e. the dawn of reconciliation and of the kingdom in Christ. On *philos* → love, art. *phileō* NT 2.

3. The picture of the bridegroom and bride applies to Christ and the church in 2 Cor. 11:2. Paul describes himself as the one who presented them to Christ "as a pure bride to her one husband" (here *parthenos* means virgin, i.e. bride; → Woman). But he fears lest they be led astray from pure devotion, just as Eve was led astray (11:3). The picture of marriage is applied to Christ and the church in Eph. 5:22–32 (→ *gameō*).

4. In the last chs. of Rev., which describe the final consummation, we find the picture of the church-bride waiting for her heavenly bridegroom, here called the → Lamb of God. Joy once again stands in the foreground (19:7, 9). The church rejoices and adorns herself so as to welcome Christ as her Lord (21:2, 9 ff.). She is the heavenly → Jerusalem, the eschatological church, who in longing like that of a bride looks for the final fulfilment of her existence and calls out "Come, Lord Jesus!" (22:17, 20). *W. Günther*

κοίτη | κοίτη (*koitē*), bed, marriage bed, intercourse.

CL In secular Gk. *koitē*, besides its common meaning bed, connotes the marriage bed (Aeschylus, Sophocles). It was used also of the den of an animal or the nest of a bird as well as of a box or basket.

OT In Wis. 3:13 the word is used in the phrase *hētis ouk egnō koitēn en paraptōmati* ("who has not known intercourse in transgression") to describe an illicit union. In Wis. 3:16 *koitē* occurs in combination with *sperma* in a sense similar to the use of *šiḵbaṯ-zera'* (lit. discharge of seed) in Heb. where the connotation is that of coitus (Lev. 15:18; 18:20; 19:20; Num. 5:13; cf. Lev. 15:16 f., 32; 22:4; see further below). The Greek expression is modified by *paranomou* (unlawful) to connote the concept of illicit sexual congress. In Sir. 23:18 *v.l.* the word *koitē* occurs in the phrase *pornos parabainōn apo tēs koitēs autou* to describe "a fornicator who strays from his marriage bed."

In the LXX *koitē* stands for a number of Heb. words, most frequently forms of the verb *šāḵaḇ*, lie down. It represents the noun *miškāḇ* on numerous occasions with the basic meaning of bed, as the place of sleep or rest (e.g. 2 Sam. 11:13; 1 Ki. 1:47; Mic. 2:1). In Exod. 10:23 *koitē* represents the Heb. *taḥaṯ*, place, in the context of the plague of darkness on Egypt. The expression is probably used more generally in the Heb. than the LXX allows, for the word *taḥaṯ* may denote a place of sitting as well as lying. In Daniel the word *miškāḇ* is represented by *koitē* in the LXX and, in each instance, refers to the bed as a place of rest. In Isa. 56:10 *koitē* is used in the sense of rest in the phrase *enypniazomenoi koitēn*, dreaming of rest.

The word *koitē* stands for several Heb. words that connote the home of an animal such as the Heb. *rēḇeṣ* (Jer. 50:6) which means sheepfold. The word also represents the verbal form *rāḇaṣ* in the phrase *koitēn poimniōn*, fold of flocks, in Isa. 17:2. In Isa. 11:8 *koitē* stands for the Heb. *m^e'ûrâh* which connotes the den of a snake, and in Mic. 2:12 it represents the Heb. *dōḇer*, pasture. The noun *mā'ôn*, lair, is represented by *koitē* in Jer. 10:22. And the noun *m^e'ōnâh*, dwelling, lair, is represented by *koitē* in Job 37:8; 38:40. The word *koitē* is used of the sick bed in the LXX as in Ex. 21:18 where it represents the Heb. *miškāḇ*. See also Job 33:19; Psa. 40(41):3.

In the LXX *koitē* also stands for the Heb. *š^eḵāḇâh*. The Heb. word can connote the idea of layer or deposit as in a layer of dew (Exod. 16:13, 14) as well as the act of lying. The word occurs in the latter sense in the phrase *šiḵbaṯ-zera'* (lit. "a laying of seed"), a technical term in the Levitical legislation used to refer to the emission of semen. In Lev. 15:18 the expression *šiḵbaṯ-zera'* occurs as the cognate accusative of *šāḵaḇ*, lie, in a section describing the means of cleansing in the case of sexual defilement. Literally the statement says "If a man should lie with a woman 'a laying of semen,' " and thus describes the act of "laying" in the sense of completion of coition. A similar usage of the expression occurs in Lev. 19:20; Num. 5:13. The word *š^eḵāḇâh* seems to have another connotation in the same expression, however, for it is used in Lev. 15:16, 17 of emission of semen apart from coitus in which instance the word seems to be used in the sense of "deposit," hence emission. The concluding statement to this legislative section (Lev. 15:32) uses the phrase *šiḵbaṯ-zera'* to cover both instances of emission. The expression is used similarly in Lev. 22:4.

The word *miškaḇ* is represented by *koitē* in the LXX in a number of instances where the connotation is that of bed in the sense of a place of rest but with associative sexual implications deriving from Levitical regulations relating to various forms of sexual impurity (Lev. 15:21, 23, 24, 26). In Prov. 7:17 the word is used of the harlot's bed thus connoting in an implicit sense sexual intercourse. It is used similarly in Isa. 57:7 where the prophet berates the people for setting their beds on the mountains. The reference is to idolatry and hence is used also here in the sense of spiritual fornication.

Frequently the word *koitē* reflects a distinctly metaphorical use of the Heb. *miškāḇ* as a surrogate for sexual congress as in Lev. 18:22; 20:13, where the word occurs in the plural construct state with *'iššâh*, woman. In Num. 31:17, 18, 35 and Jdg. 21:11, 12 *koitē* is used in a similar fashion in the expression *yāḏa' miškaḇ zāḵār*, to know the bed of a male. The Heb. *šᵉḵōḇeṯ* is translated by *koitē* and also connotes the concept of copulation. It always occurs in construction with *nāṯan*, give. This expression occurs in Lev. 18:20, 23; Num. 5:20. In each instance the term connotes illicit sexual relationships.

The word *koitē* also represents Heb. words connoting the marriage bed as Gen. 49:4 where *miškāḇ* is used, and 1 Chron. 5:1 where the Heb. word is *yāṣûa'*, a poetic word for bed.

NT In the NT *koitē* occurs on 4 occasions. In Lk. 11:7 it is used in the sense of bed as a place of rest. In this context, an individual in Jesus' parable protests that he cannot help someone who has solicited aid because he is in bed.

In Rom. 9:10 the word occurs in the expression *koitēn echousa*, and is a euphemism for coitus, and, by expansion, conception and pregnancy. In this sense it is similar to the use of *miškāḇ* as a surrogate for coition, but no clear instance exists in Heb. where the word may connote the result of coition, i.e., conception. The theological point of the passage is that Rebekah conceived children "by one man, our forefather Isaac." Yet before either of these male twins had done anything good or bad God in his divine sovereignty had decreed that "the elder shall serve the younger" (Rom. 9:12; cf. Gen. 25:23). The argument forms an important part of Paul's case demonstrating to Jewish readers the consistency of divine sovereignty in the inclusion of the Gentiles in the people of God.

The word *koitē* is used in the plur. in Rom. 13:13 in the sense of illicit sexual union. In this context the word is accompanied by such terms as revelling (*kōmos*), → drunkenness (*methē*), and licentiousness (*aselgeia*), all of which are also in the plur. Believers are warned to avoid them, together with quarreling (*eris*) and jealousy (*zēlos*), "but to put on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make no provision for the flesh to gratify its desires" (Rom. 13:14).

In Heb. 13:4 the word occurs in the sense of "marriage bed" as it does in the OT. In this context the writer affirms that the marriage relationship is an honourable one, and at the same time it is to be kept honourable. *T. McComiskey*

ὑπέρακμος

ὑπέρακμος (*hyperakmos*), past the peak, overripe, begin to fade; or, overwhelmingly strong, overpassionate.

CL & OT The word is formed from the prep. *hyper*, for, beyond, and the noun *akmē*, peak, which is used in the sense of the peak or high point in human

development in Plato, *Rep.* 5 p. 640e and Philo, *Leg.All.* 1, 10. Diod.S. 32, 11, 1 speaks of the *akmē tēs hēlikias* of a woman (on *hēlikia* → Age, Stature) and also uses it of a virgin (Frag. 34, 35, 2, 39). Diog.L. 5, 65 tells of the pity felt for a father of a virgin who because of the smallness of her dowry goes beyond the prime of her age (*ektrechousa ton akmaion tēs hēlikias kairon*). J. M. Ford links the word with the Mishnaic Heb. *bôgereṯ*, lit. "wrinkled", but in this kind of context "past her girlhood" or "at the age when levirate marriage is incumbent on her" ("The Rabbinic Background of St. Paul's Use of *hyperakmos*", *Journal of Jewish Studies* 18, 1966, 89 ff.). On the other hand, cognate words have been found in relation to human desires: *akmaia epithymia* (*Pseudo-Clementines*, Homily p. 8, 17 Lag.; *akmazō*, Syntipas p. 10, 14).

NT The word occurs only at 1 Cor. 7:36. Two opposing lines of interpretation have been put forward. On the one hand, the subject of the verse has traditionally been taken to refer to the father of a virgin daughter. In this case, the interpretation would be: "If anyone [i.e. any father] thinks that he is not behaving properly to his virgin [*parthenon*; sc. daughter], and if she be beyond age [*ean ē hyperakmos*], and it has to be, let him do as he wishes; he does not sin – let them marry [*gameitōsan*]." This is further supported by the use of *gamizō* twice in v. 38 which normally means to give in marriage. Thus: "So that he who gives in marriage [*ho gamizōn*] his virgin does well; and he who does not give in marriage [*ho mē gamizōn*] does better." On *parthenos* in these verses → Woman, art. *parthenos*.

On the other hand, there is the interpretation which takes the subject of these verse to be the man who has some kind of liaison with the *parthenos*. This is not explicitly defined. It may imply a betrothal where marriage has been put off on the grounds of the spiritual considerations that Paul is urging in this passage. Some interpreters take this to refer to a spiritual marriage which has not been consummated physically. But evidence for such marriages is considerably later than the NT period, and the use of *gamizō* in v. 38 would hardly seem appropriate, if this were the case. In this case the interpretation of the verse would be: "If anyone thinks that he is not behaving properly to his virgin, and he be overpassionate [*hyperakmos*], and it has to be, let him do as he wishes, he does not sin – let them marry. But he who is firmly established in his heart, having no necessity, has power over his own will, and has judged this in his heart to keep her as his virgin, he will do well. So that he who marries his own virgin does well, and he who does not marry does better" (vv. 36 ff.). This interpretation involves no change of subject in v. 36, and offers a thoroughly realistic assessment of the situation. Moreover, there are exceptions to the general rule that *gamizō* means to give in marriage (cf. Moulton-Milligan, 121).

In view of this last point, it would also be possible to take the subject of this verse to be the man and still refer *hyperakmos* to the virgin, i.e. the man should go ahead and marry her on the grounds of her age.

In the last analysis, one cannot rule out any of these interpretations as impossible. However, the general tenor of Paul's recommendations remains clear. It is not a sin to marry; out of personal humanitarian considerations it may be right to do so. On the other hand, times make celibacy preferable. *C. Brown*

→ Child, → Discipline, → Divorce, → Father, → Son, → Woman

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Melchizedek, Salem

Μελχισεδέκ

Μελχισεδέκ (*Melchisedek*), Melchizedek, ancient Canaanite king of Salem (→ *Salēm*).

OT Melchizedek (Heb. *malkî-ṣeḏeq*, "king of righteousness", "my king is righteous") is a proper name of Canaanite origin closely akin to Adonizedek (Jos. 10:1). Melchizedek emerges without warning in the primitive history (Gen. 14:18–20) following Abram's rout of the forces of Chedorlaomer. Melchizedek is introduced as "king of Salem" (→ *Salēm*), presumably monarch of Jerusalem, which is situated not far from the Valley of Shaveh, or the King's Valley (cf. 2 Sam. 18:18). As an expression of Near Eastern hospitality, Melchizedek supplies bread and wine for the physical refreshment of Abram and his victorious warriors. The Genesis narrative concludes with the remarkable observation that the Canaanite blessed Abram and received a tenth of the spoils of battle from him, Abram thereby acknowledging the prominence of Melchizedek's priesthood.

The only other mention of Melchizedek in the OT occurs in Ps. 110:4, where the Lord (*Yahweh*) addresses David's Lord (*'āḏôn*) with the acclamation: "You are a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek." Ps. 110:4 thus intimates that the priest-king of messianic expectation would be installed in a new non-Aaronic sacerdotal order patterned after that of Melchizedek of old. In both the pre-Christian and early Christian eras the Psalm-text was interpreted by the Jews in a messianic sense. Strack-Billerbeck argues that the disappearance of the messianic interpretation of the Psalm between *c.* A.D. 50 and 250 was due to heightened tensions between the expanding church and the Synagogue (SB IV 452 f.). By substituting a non-messianic interpretation for Ps. 110, the Rabbinate sought to undermine the church's appeal to this text in its teaching and preaching.

Philo clothes the OT figure of Melchizedek in the garb of Platonic philosophy. Here Melchizedek is presented as an incarnation of the Logos (→ word), the ideal form (*idea*) of the creation, which spans the chasm between God and nature. The "righteous king" and the "king of peace" (*Leg.All.* 3, 79) learned the traditions of his priesthood from none save himself (*De Congr.* 99). Philo's extreme allegorization of Gen. 14:18–20 reduces the historical features of the OT text to timeless philosophical principles. Melchizedek is royal Mind (*nous*) who, unlike despotic kings, decrees pleasing laws and who "offers to the soul food of joy and gladness" (*Leg.All.* 3, 81). He is priestly Reason (*logos*) who with the gift of wine releases the soul from earthly contemplation and intoxicates it with esoteric heavenly virtues. Thus through his offering of bread and wine Melchizedek mediates

the soul's direct access to God. Abraham's presentation of the tithe is similarly spiritualized: "he gave him a tenth of all [Gen. 14:20]; from the things of sense [*aisthēsis*], right use of sense; from the things of speech [*logos*], good speaking; from the things of thought [*nous*], good thinking" (*Congr.* 99).

In pre-Christian Samaritan tradition Melchizedek figured prominently in the establishment of the sanctuary of the sect, apparently as its first priest. Not only is Salem (→ *Salēm*) identified with Shechem, but Mt. Gerizim (Gk. *oros hypsistou*, "mountain of the highest God") is named after Melchizedek, the "priest of God most high."

Josephus accepts the historicity of the Gen. 14:18–20 pericope and characterizes Melchizedek as "a potent man among the Canaanites . . . the first priest of God" (*War* 6, 10, 1).

Melchizedek occupies a prominent place in the 11Q Melchizedek Qumran scroll, which quotes Ps. 82:1, 2 and transfers its meaning to Melchizedek: "as it is written concerning him in the hymns of David who says: 'the heavenly one [*'elōhîm*, sing.] standeth in the congregation of God; among the heavenly ones [*'elōhîm*, plur.] he judgeth.'" Melchizedek is thus depicted in the scroll as a paramount heavenly angel standing in the tribunal of God, who preserves the faithful and executes eschatological judgment upon the perverse spirits.

Rabbinic Judaism traditionally identified Melchizedek with Shem, the most pious of Noah's sons. According to R. Ishmael, the priesthood was taken from Melchizedek and transferred to Abraham because the Salemite addressed the patriarch before God (Ned. 32b; Sanh. 108b). Elsewhere in late Jewish literature Melchizedek was variously interpreted as an incarnate angel who performed priestly functions, as the archangel Michael, or as an idealized high priest of the messianic age (*kōhēn-ṣeḏeq*) who emerges alongside the messiah.

NT Only the author of Hebrews in the NT took interest in the enigmatic figure of Melchizedek. The idea of the Melchizedekian priesthood of Christ is introduced in Heb. 5:6, 10, but full explication of the concept is interrupted by a paraenetic digression (5:11–6:19) necessitated by the dullness and immaturity of the readers. Ch. 7 is devoted to a detailed development of the novel concept of priesthood "after the order of Melchizedek" (7:1–10), and its application to the high priest of the new covenant (7:11–28).

In 7:1, 2a the writer presents a selective recitation of Gen. 14:18–20 (conspicuously omitting reference to the bread and wine, which Roman Catholic theology regards as a type of the Eucharist), followed in 7:2b, 3 by a skilful reinterpretation of the Genesis text in the light of Ps. 110:4. Via a subtle typological exegesis the writer establishes Melchizedek as a fitting model of the radical non-legal priesthood embodied by Jesus (7:1–3). (a) 7:1 – The Salemite priest-king as a harbinger of the one who would unite in his person the dual honours of royalty and priesthood. (b) 7:2b – Etymological exegesis of Melchizedek's name ("king of righteousness") and title ("king of peace") points to the messiah whose person and ministry is characterized by righteousness (Isa. 32:1; Jer. 23:5, 6; 33:15 f.; Mal. 4:2; 1 Cor. 1:30) and peace (1 Chron. 22:9; Zech. 9:10; Eph. 2:14 f.). "Both graces perfectly meet in Christ" (B. F. Westcott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 1892, 172). (c) 7:3a – Melchizedek exercised a priesthood entirely independent of priestly pedigree.

"The parents, ancestors, children, and posterity of Melchizedec are not descended from Levi, as it had to be in the case of the Levites (ver. 6), and they are not even mentioned by Moses" (J. A. Bengel, *Gnomon of the New Testament*, IV, 1857, 403). Herewith the priesthood of Melchizedek violated the conditions of Aaronic order, which stipulated paternal descent from Aaron (Exod. 28:1; Num. 3:10; 18:1) and maternal descent from a pure Israelite (Lev. 21:7, 13 f.; Ezek. 44:22). Melchizedek thus adumbrates the messianic high priest who was descended from the non-sacerdotal tribe of Judah. (d) 7:3b – The OT figure of Melchizedek was symbolically what Christ is in reality: a ministrant who suddenly emerged from the distant reaches of eternity and who later vanished into its depths equally as mysteriously. The notion of eternity, deduced from absence of recorded birth and decease, is understood in the light of the Jewish axiom: "quod non in Thora non in mundo [What is not in the Torah is not in the world]" (SB III 694). (e) 7:3c – Melchizedek exercises a priesthood of uninterrupted duration, since he neither succeeded another nor was he himself succeeded in office.

Having sketched Melchizedek's similarity to Christ, the writer argues his dissimilarity to → Abraham (and hence to the → Levites), thereby demonstrating Christ's superiority to the antiquated legal order (7:4–10): (a) 7:5, 6a – Melchizedek received the tithes from Abraham; (b) 7:6b, 7 – The Gentile bestowed the blessing upon the patriarch; and (c) 7:8 – Melchizedek "lives on" in Scripture unlike the Levitical priests who succumbed to death.

The remainder of the chapter (7:11–28) delineates the merits of Christ as Melchizedekian priest and high priest. Expounding the implications of the Davidic Psalm-text, the writer demonstrates that the high priest of the new covenant is vastly superior to the ministrants of the old annulled order. As high priest *for ever* "after the order of Melchizedek", Christ's priesthood is indissoluble (7:16), inviolable (7:24), efficacious (7:25) and perfect (7:28). The one foreshadowed in the distant past by the fleeting figure of Melchizedek is the great high priest *par excellence*.

B. A. Demarest

Σαλήμ	*Σαλήμ* (*Salēm*), Salem, seat of Melchizedek's rule.

OT 1. Salem, Greek form of an ancient Palestinian city, is associated by most authorities from earliest times with Jerusalem. A less convincing proposal identifies Salem with Salim (Gk. *Saleim*), a town eight miles south of Scythopolis in the region where John baptized (Jn. 3:23). Philo, working an etymological exegesis similar to the writer of Hebrews, hails the monarch of Salem as "king of peace" (*Leg.All.* 3, 79).

2. *Proper noun.* As a place name *šālēm* occurs only twice in the OT: (a) in Gen. 14:18; and (b) in Ps. 76:3 where it is most likely a poetic abbreviation of → Jerusalem (Heb. *yᵉrûšālayim*, "possession of peace" or "foundation of peace"). In the mind of the Psalmist Salem, the dwelling place of God, is pre-eminently a place of peace. Josephus reflects the Jewish tradition that the ancient Canaanite settlement known as Salem was later renamed Jerusalem by the priest-king Melchizedek.

3. *Adjectival form. šālēm*, a common OT cognate of *šālôm* ("wholeness", "peace") bears the meaning peaceful in the MT in the sense of a → covenant of peace between men (Gen. 34:21). More frequently, it signifies perfect, blameless (i.e. at peace with) as a description of man's spiritual relation to God (1 Ki. 8:61; 11:4; 15:3; 2 Chron. 16:9).

NT In the NT *Salēm* occurs only in the Epistle to Hebrews (7:1, 2). After identifying Melchizedek as "king of Salem" on the strength of Gen. 14:18 the writer, in similar manner to Philo, hastens to unfold the deeper spiritual meaning implicit in Melchizedek's royal title. To the eyes of faith the "king of Salem" is "king of peace" (→ Peace, art. *eirēnē*). Hebrews reflects little interest in the geographical location of Salem. The paramount interest is to deduce from the etymology of Salem a principal characteristic (i.e. peace) of the reign of the end-time priest-king.
→ Abraham, → Jerusalem, → Priest, → Sacrifice *B. A. Demarest*

(a). B. A. Barrois, "Salem", *IDB* IV 1966; B. Demarest, *A History of the Interpretation of Hebrews 7, from the Reformation to the Present, Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Exegese* 19, 1976); J. A. Fitzmyer, "Further Light on Melchizedek from Qumran Cave 11", *JBL* 86, 1967, 25–41 (reprinted in *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament*, 1971, 245–67); and " 'Now this Melchizedek . . .' (Heb. 7:1)", op. cit., 221–44; J. G. Gammie, "Loci of the Melchizedek Tradition of Genesis 14:18–20", *JBL* 90, 1971, 385–96; F. L. Horton, *The Melchizedek Tradition: A Critical Examination of the Sources to the Fifth Century A.D. and in the Epistle to the Hebrews, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series* 30, 1976; O. Michel, *Melchisedek*, *TDNT* IV 568–71; J. J. Petuchowski, "The Controversial Figure of Melchizedek", *Hebrew Union College Annual* 28, 1957, 127–36; H. H. Rowley, "Melchizedek and Zadok", in W. Baumgartner ed., *Festschrift für A. Bartholet*, 1950, 461 ff.; R. Williamson, *Philo and the Epistle to the Hebrews*, 1970; A. S. van der Woude and M. de Jonge, "11Q Melchizedek and the New Testament", *NTS* 12, 1965–66, 310–26; Y. Yadin, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Epistle to the Hebrews", *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 4, 1958, 36–55.
(b). G. Bardy, "Melchisédech dans la tradition patristique", *RB* 35, 1926, 496–509, and 36, 1927, 24–45; J. Calvin, "Trois sermons sur l'histoire de Melchisédec", *Corpus Reformatorum*, LI, 641–82; M. Friedländer, "Melchisédec et l'Épître aux Hébreux", *Revue des Études Juives* 5, 1882, 188 ff.; F. J. Jerome, *Das geschichtliche Melchisedek-Bild und seine Bedeutung im Hebräerbrief*, 1920; H. E. del Medico, "Melchisedek", *ZAW* 69, 1957, 160–70; G. Schille, "Erwägungen zur Hohepriesterlehre des Hebräerbriefs", *ZNW* 46, 1955, 81–109; C. Spicq, "L'Origine Johannique de la Conception du Christ-Prêtre, dans l'Épître aux Hébreux", *Festschrift* M. Goguel, 1950, 258–69; and *L'Épître aux Hébreux*, I–II, 1952–53; H. Stork, *Die Sogenannten Melchisedekianer, Forschungen zur Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons* 8/2, 1928; G. Wuttke, *Melchisedech der Priesterkönig von Salem. Eine Studie zur Geschichte der Exegese*, *BZNW* 5, 1927.

Mercy, Compassion

This article brings together three different Gk. words, *eleos*, *oiktirmos* and *splanchna*. In their original use *eleos* refers to the feeling of pity, *oiktirmos*, and especially its root *oiktos*, to the exclamation of pity at the sight of another's ill-fortune, and *splanchna* to the seat of the emotions, the inward parts or what today would be called the heart. The corresponding verbs in the active express these feelings shown in the sense of to help, feel pity, show mercy; where they are used in the passive, they express the experience of these emotions.

ἔλεος

ἔλεος (*eleos*), compassion, mercy, pity; ἐλεέω (*eleeō*), feel compassion, show mercy or pity; ἐλεήμων (*eleēmōn*), merciful, compassionate; ἐλεεινός (*eleeinos*), pitiful; ἐλεημοσύνη (*eleēmosynē*), charity, alms; ἀνέλεος (*aneleos*), without pity; ἀνελεήμων (*aneleēmōn*), merciless.

CL *eleos* (masc. but normally neut. in the LXX and the NT) is found from Homer onwards. It is "the emotion roused by contact with an affliction which comes undeservedly on someone else" (R. Bultmann, *TDNT* II 477), viz. compassion, pity, mercy. These feelings are the reverse of envy at another's good fortune. There is also an element of fear that one might have to suffer in the same way. Aristotle in his *Poetics* stated that tragedy aroused pity and terror and these caused *katharsis*, purging. From Plutarch onwards we find the expressions *eleon echō*, to find mercy, and *kat' eleon*, out of compassion. *eleos* was used as a technical term for the end of the speech for the defence, in which the accused tried to awaken the compassion of the judges. In Plato's *Apology* Socrates refused to conform to the pattern (23 f., 34b–35d).

aneleos, an attributive compound showing mutation (Funk § 120:2), meaning unmerciful, without compassion, is found only in the NT, and replaces the Homeric *nēlees*, and Att. *anēleēs* (found in the LXX but not the NT). *aneleēmōn* has the same adjectival meaning; it is found from Antiphon (480–411 B.C.) onwards as an adv. It is the privative form of *eleēmōn* (Homer onwards), compassionate, merciful. *eleeinos* (Homer onwards, but not in the LXX) is mainly used of a person's passive condition as causing compassion, hence pitiable, distressing.

The vb. *eleeō* (Homer onwards) means to have compassion, be sorry for, show compassion, be merciful. The Koine form *eleaō* is found twice in the LXX, 3 times in the NT. The cry *eleēson*, have mercy, was addressed to the gods. With or without *logois* (with words) the vb. also means deplore, sympathize with. In the pass. it means to find mercy (in the NT also *eleos lambanō*). The derived noun *eleēmosynē* (Callimachus of Alexandria, *c.* 250 B.C., onwards) was originally the same as *eleos* but was then applied to the act of kindness following compassion. It then obtained the specialized meaning of a contribution for or gift to the poor (cf. our alms); it finds its earliest use in the LXX (Dan. 4:27) and in profane writings in Diog. Laert. (3rd cent. A.D.).

OT 1. *eleos* and its derivatives are found nearly 400 times in the LXX. It normally represents *ḥeseḏ*; only 6 times *raḥᵃmîm*. The vb. normally represents *ḥānan* (→ Grace), but also *rāḥam*; *eleēmosynē* renders *ṣᵉḏāqâh*.

2. These Heb. concepts betray a completely different background of thought from the predominantly psychological one in Gk. They are based on legal concepts. Hence, we have to interpret the LXX translation from the standpoint of the Heb. original, and not the other way round. Philo is the first Jewish writer in whom a penetration of the Gk. concepts is observable in our word-group.

(a) *ḥeseḏ* means proper covenant behaviour, the solidarity which the partners in the covenant owe one another (→ Covenant). The covenant may be between equals, or it may be made by one who is stronger than his partner in it. In either case it may result in one giving help to the other in his need. So the connotations of *eleos* meaning *ḥeseḏ* may stretch from loyalty to a covenant to kindliness, mercy, pity. This is especially the case when it is linked with *oiktirmos* meaning *raḥᵃmîm*

(e.g. Isa. 63:7b; Hos. 2:21[MT 2:19]; Zech. 7:9; Pss. 25:6[LXX 24:6]; 40:11 [MT 40:12; LXX 39:12]; 51:1[MT 51:3; LXX 50:3]; 69:16[MT 69:17; LXX 68:17]). Because of Yahweh's superiority as the partner in the covenant who remains faithful, his *eleos* was understood for the most part as a gracious gift. He promised it at the making of the covenant, and he constantly renewed it. Hence Israel might request *eleos* from him including the mercy of forgiveness, when it had broken the covenant (e.g. Exod. 34:9; Num. 14:19; Jer. 3:12). When God acts like this and also when man acts similarly the stress is not on the basic attitude in *eleos* but on its manifestation in acts.

(b) *ṣᵉḏāqâh* is normally rendered by *dikaiosynē* (→ Righteousness). But "since the judgment in which God's *ṣᵉḏāqâh* is active will be in favour of His people . . . we can understand the rendering *eleēmosynē*" (R. Bultmann, *TDNT* II 486; cf. e.g. Isa. 1:27). Just as Yahweh enforces his covenant law mercifully, so *eleēmosynē* may also be used for human kindness, charity and even alms (though this last is found only in late Jud.) when these conform to the pattern of this law.

3. The linguistic usage of late Palestinian Judaism is that of the OT. *ḥesed* is very common in the Qumran texts: the Essene community used it to praise the loyalty of God to the covenant which they had experienced in the establishment of the new, eschatological covenant. See 1QS 1:8, 22; 2:1, 4, 24; 4:4 f.; 5:4, 25; 8:2; 10:4, 16, 26; 11:12 f.; 1QM 12:3; 14:4, 8 f.; 18:11; 1QH 1:32; 2:23, 25; 4:37; 5:22; 6:9; 7:18, 20, 27, 35; 9:7, 10, 14; 10:14, 16; 11:5, 17 f., 28, 30 f.; 12:14, 21; 13:5; 16:9, 12, 16; CD 13:18; 19:1; 20:21.

NT 1. *eleos* and its derivatives are found 78 times in the NT, mainly in the Pauline writings (26 times) and Luke-Acts (20 times with preference for *eleos* itself). It is found 15 times in Matt. Only in Jn., Phil., 1–2 Thess. is the group completely absent.

2. *Synoptic Gospels.* In the Synoptics *eleeō* is found mainly in the narratives. Exceptions are Matt. 5:7; 18:33; Lk. 10:37; 16:24. The opposite is true of *eleos*, which, with the exception of Lk. 1:58, is used only in reports of speech.

(a) The vb. marks that breaking in of the divine mercy into the reality of human misery which took place in the person of Jesus of Nazareth with his work of freeing and healing which demonstrated his authority. Jesus answered the cry for help "Have mercy on me" (Mk. 10:47, 48 par. Matt. 9:27; 15:22; 17:15; Lk. 17:13) from the sick or the relatives of the demon-possessed (Matt. 15:22; 17:15) by healing. On one occasion (Mk. 5:19) he commanded a man from whom he had driven out demons to tell those at home how the Lord (here in the OT sense of "God") had had mercy on him. Normally on these occasions Jesus was addressed by the messianic title → "Son of David" (→ Son); once we find *epistata* (Lk. 17:13), Master (lit. "foreman"). (*epistata* also occurs in Lk. 5:5; 8:24, 45; 9:33, 49; see Arndt, 300.) Matt. adds the post-resurrection title of *kyrios* (→ Lord), or uses it to replace the presumably historical address of "Teacher" (*didaskale*, cf. Matt. 17:15 with Mk. 9:17, Lk. 9:38). This makes the cry, "Lord, have mercy", a confession of faith in the divine authority of Jesus.

(b) Mercy from man to man is expressed by *eleeō* or *eleēmōn* only twice in the teaching in Matt. (5:7; 18:33), and once in the material peculiar to Lk. (16:24), but in each case the motivation is clearly God's mercy. In Matt. 5:7 the merciful

(*eleēmōn*) are promised God's mercy – the vb. is pass. to avoid using the name of God. In the parable of the unforgiving servant (Matt. 18:23–35) the demand for mercy (v. 33) is based on the limitless compassion of his lord (vv. 35, 27; → *splanchna*). The rich man, who had been merciless during his life, calls in his suffering on → Abraham, exalted to fellowship with God, with the same words for mercy as are otherwise used only in calling on God (Lk. 16:24).

(c) In the rest of the teaching in Matt. and Lk. we find only *eleos*. A reference, often direct, to the OT is noticeable. In his controversies with the → Pharisees Jesus bore witness to the sovereign mercy of God, which seeks a response not in ritual detail but in solidarity through action with the lowly (→ Poor) and hungry (→ Hunger) (Matt. 9:13; 12:7; cf. 1 Sam. 15:22; Hos. 6:6). In his "woes" he also levelled against them the charge that in their interpretation of the → law they had shifted the main stress from "justice and mercy and faithfulness" to a more casuistic formalism (Matt. 23:23; cf. also Lk. 10:37 where the showing of mercy is demanded as the moral of the parable of the good → Samaritan). In the prologue to his Gospel Lk. announced its main theme in the two great psalms of praise (Lk. 1:46–55, 68–79); that the covenant loyalty of God, promised in the OT and shown in action in the history of Israel, would reach its climax in the gracious self-humiliation of God to the humble (→ Poor) in the event of Christ (1:50, 54, 72, 78); v. 78 speaks of the → *splanchna eleous*, the "merciful heart", of our God. Note the many OT quotations in these psalms (cf. Lk. 1:46 with 1 Sam. 2:1–10; Lk. 1:48 with Pss. 113:5 ff.; 11:4; Lk. 1:50 with Ps. 103:13, 17; Lk. 1:51 with 2 Sam. 22:28; Lk. 1:52 with Ps. 147:6; Job 12:19; 5:11; 1 Sam. 2:7; Ezek. 21:31; Lk. 1:53 with Pss. 34:11; 107:9; 2 Sam. 2:5; Lk. 1:54 with Isa. 41:8; Ps. 98:3; Lk. 1:55 with Mic. 7:20; Gen. 17:17; 18:18; 22:17; Lk. 1:68 with Pss. 41:14; 72:18; 89:53; 106:48; Lk. 1:69 with 1 Sam. 2:10; Pss. 18:3; 132:17; Lk. 1:71 with Ps. 106:10; Lk. 1:72 with Pss. 105:8; 106:45; Lev. 26:42; Gen. 17:7; 22:16; Mic. 7:20; Lk. 1:74 with Ps. 97:10; Lk. 1:76 with Mal. 3:1; 4:5; Lk. 1:77 with Jer. 31:34; Num. 24:17; Isa. 60:1 f.; Lk. 1:79 with Isa 9:1 f.; 42:7). The thought of these two psalms in Lk. is saturated with OT ideas of judgment and mercy. (On the first two chapters of Lk. see further R. Laurentin, *Structure et Théologie de Luc I–II*, 1964.)

3. *eleēmosynē, as alms charity*. Matt. reports only Jesus' criticism of the attempt to obtain public praise and acknowledgment in the giving of alms (→ Poor NT) (Matt. 6:1–4), but Lk. has the definite teaching: alms instead of ritual purity (Lk. 11:41, in an argument with the Pharisees), and lays down as a rule for the disciples and the church the giving away of one's possessions to the poor (Lk. 12:33). In Acts Tabitha (9:36) and Cornelius (10:2) are singled out for their charity and as recipients of singular blessing. The former was perhaps a Hellenistic Jewess (her name is explained as Dorcas or Gazelle) and was a resident of Joppa. She fell sick and died (Acts 9:37), but was restored through Peter. Cornelius was a centurion of the Italian Cohort at Caesarea and was "a devout man who feared God *eusebēs kai phoboumenos ton theon*" (on the significance of these terms → Conversion). God honoured him by receiving his prayers and accepting his alms (10:4, 31), and bestowing on him the Holy Spirit (10:44 ff.). Whereupon he was the first Gentile to be received into the church (10:47 f.). This also took place at Joppa. In his defence before Felix in Acts Paul mentioned the bringing of alms for his

people as the purpose of his last journey to Jerusalem (24:17). By using the term "doing alms" (*eleēmosynas poieō*, Heb. *'āśâh ṣ^{e}dāqâh*), a Semitic expression, he stressed his active responsibility. In Acts 3:1–8 Peter by his healing of the lame man symbolically ended the time of begging and imperfect mercy by the full mercy brought in the name of Jesus Christ (3:6).

4. *Paul.* Paul wished to be regarded as one who had received mercy (*ēleēthēn*) that he might become an → apostle (1 Tim. 1:13, 16), and who by the Lord's mercy (*ēleēmenos*) had been made trustworthy (1 Cor. 7:25). In view of the wide-scale rejection of the gospel by → Israel, he strove in Rom. to make clear that God's free mercy did not contradict his covenant loyalty (Rom. 9:15, 16, 18; v. 15 is a quotation of Exod. 33:19). God's plan of salvation, now for the Gentiles (Rom. 9:23 f.; 11:30; 15:9), then for the Jews (11:31), and so both for Jews and Gentiles (Rom. 11:32) is based on his mercy. The salvation of those made alive for faith and renewal in the Holy Spirit is based on this mercy, not on good works (Eph. 2:4–9; Tit. 3:5). Hence they are admonished to pass on the mercy they have experienced (2 Cor. 4:1; Rom. 12:1, *oktirmos*, plur.) cheerfully (Rom. 12:8), so that mercy becomes one of the signs by which a disciple can be known; cf. "full of mercy [*mestē eleous*]" in the list of virtues in Jas. 3:17, while "unmerciful [*aneleēmonas*]" (RV, RSV "ruthless"; NEB "without pity") is the lowest rung in the downward ladder of Rom. 1:29–32 and so the completest negation of the knowledge of God.

Paul and other NT writers (2 Jn. 3; Jude 2), in their confidence in God's gracious giving can greet their readers at the beginning (1 Tim. 1:2; 2 Tim. 1:2; Tit. 1:4, some MSS) or end (Gal. 6:16) of their letters with a prayer for the mercy of God and of Jesus Christ – mostly combined with → "grace" and → "peace". In so doing they took over Jewish greeting forms and expanded them. The mercy of God can heal, e.g., Epaphras (Phil. 2:27); it is a present gift for the "household" (2 Tim. 1:16); and the final, future gift ensuring salvation (2 Tim. 1:18). Paul proclaimed the Christian hope of a future resurrection of an imperishable body by contradicting the sectarian group in Corinth which affirmed that the bodily resurrection was already past; he describes those who confine this hope to this life as "most to be pitied [*eleeinoteroi*]" (1 Cor. 15:19).

5. *Other NT Writings.* (a) 1 Pet. begins by praising the mercy of God (1:3), by which Christians "have been born anew to a living hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead" (cf. Eph. 2:4; 1 Cor. 15:19; see above). Just like Paul in Rom. 9:25 f., he praises the enlargement of God's mercy to take in the Gentiles (2:10) by using Hosea's words (Hos. 2:23[MT 2:25]).

(b) James impressed on an indolent church that mercy shown here on earth has its bearing on the final → judgment, and that "judgment without mercy" (*aneleos*, only here in the NT) awaits the one who has shown no mercy (2:13; cf. Lk. 16:24 f.; Matt. 18:33 f.; 25:40, 45).

(c) Jude, after mentioning the love of God which they have experienced and their expectation of a final merciful judgment by Jesus Christ, urges his readers to exercise a discriminating mercy to those around them (vv. 21–23; the force of v. 23a is uncertain).

(d) Rev. 3:17, just like 1 Cor. 15:19, convicts a church, that of Laodicea, of its pitiable (*eleeinos*) condition in spite of its earthly riches, and places it under the judgment of Christ, which alone is valid. (On the church at Laodicea → Cold, art. *chliaros*.)

(e) Heb. uses the type of the high priest in the OT and his functions on the great Day of Atonement (Lev. 16) to show the solidarity of Christ, who is greater than any high priest, with his brethren, which guarantees a merciful and boundless understanding (2:17; cf. 4:15), and so gives the despairing church confidence to draw near the throne of grace to find mercy (4:16). *H.-H. Esser*

οἰκτιρμός

οἰκτιρμός (*oiktirmos*), compassion, pity; *οἰκτίρω* (*oiktirō*), have compassion, show pity or mercy; *οἰκτίρμων* (*oiktirmōn*), compassionate.

CL The root word *ho oiktos* (Aesch. and Soph. onwards) means the lamenting or regretting of a person's misfortune or death, then metaphorically sympathy, pity. *ho oiktirmos* (Pindar onwards) was originally a poetic form of *oiktos*. The derivative *oiktirmōn*, compassionate (Gorgias, 5th cent. B.C., onwards), is seldom found; *oiktros*, lamenting, and lamentable, is commoner. The vb. *oiktirō*, also *oiktizō*, (Homer onwards) means to have compassion, to pity, in the sense both of mere feeling and of active merciful action; it is often a synonym of *eleeō* (→ *eleos*).

OT The words of this group are found about 80 times in the LXX, both the noun and the vb. appearing *c.* 30 times each; they are used with the same meaning as in secular Gk. The Heb. equivalents are mostly derivatives of the root *rḥm*, have compassion, but also of the root *ḥnn*, be gracious, all of which could have equally well been translated by → *eleos* and its derivatives. They are found most frequently in the Pss. Because of the Heb. plur. form *raḥᵃmîm*, *oiktirmos* occurs always in the plur. (2 Sam. 24:14; Isa. 63:15; Pss. 25:6 [LXX 24:6]; 40:11[MT 40:12; LXX 39:12]; 51:1 [MT 51:3; LXX 50:3]; cf. Funk § 142).

NT 1. In the NT the noun occurs 4 times in Paul, once in Heb.; the vb. twice in Paul, the adj. twice in Lk. and once in Jas.

2. Since God is "the Father of mercies" (for the use of plur. see OT above) and as such shows mercy to men (2 Cor. 1:3), Paul can use "the mercies of God" (Rom. 12:1) as the bridge between doctrine and exhortation in Rom. Just as the phrase sums up God's saving acts and plan of salvation previously outlined in Rom. 11, so also God's mercies are the presupposition – the grounds of the "therefore" (12:1) – for the Christian life. Because of them heartfelt sympathy (Phil. 2:1, *splanchna kai oiktirmoi*) which creates unity of spirit must be expected from Christians; they are to put on heartfelt sympathy (Col. 3:12, *splanchna oiktirmōn*). Heb. 10:28 f. points out that the punishment of the man who has "outraged the Spirit of grace" and "has spurned the Son of God" will be even less merciful than that meted out to the violater of the law of Moses.

3. The vb. is found only in Rom. 9:15, a quotation of Exod. 33:19, where it is in parallelism to *eleeō* (→ *eleos* NT 4), with the sense of have compassion.

4. The adj. is found in Jas. 5:11, quoting Pss. 103:8 (LXX 102:8); 111:4 (LXX 110:4) together with *polysplanchnos*, merciful (→ *splanchna* NT); it expresses a quality of God. In the Sermon on the Plain (Lk. 6:20–49) Jesus calls for merciful behaviour (v. 36), putting God's merciful attitude as the measure of human action. *H.-H. Esser*

σπλάγχνα

σπλάγχνα (*splanchna*), inward parts, entrails, hence as the seat of emotion, the heart, love; σπλαγχνίζομαι (*splanchnizomai*), have pity, show mercy, feel sympathy; πολύσπλαγχνος (*polysplanchnos*), sympathetic, compassionate; εὔσπλαγχνος (*eusplanchnos*), tenderhearted, compassionate.

CL *to splanchnon* (Homer onwards), used almost entirely in the plur., originally meant the inward parts, or entrails (of the sacrificial animal), especially the more valuable parts, the heart, lungs, liver, but also the spleen and the kidneys. Since immediately after the killing of the animal they were removed, roasted and eaten as the first part of the sacrificial meal, the word came to mean the sacrificial meal itself. From Aesch. (5th cent. B.C.) onwards we find *splanchna* used also for the human entrails, especially for the male sexual organs and the womb, as the site of the powers of conception and birth; hence children were sometimes called *splanchna*, and *ek splanchnōn* means from one's own flesh and blood. Since the intestines were regarded as the site of the natural passions, e.g. anger, fretful desires, love, the word came to have the fig. meaning of heart (as the organ of feelings and emotions), or the sense of premonition; finally it meant even affection and love. Hence in the sing. (Soph. – 5th cent. B.C. – onwards) it means pity, compassion, love. The oldest form of the vb. is *splanchneuō*, eat the entrails, prophesy from the entrails. The later form *splanchnizomai* is found only once in secular Gk., in a 4th cent. B.C. inscription from Cos, with the same meaning. The metaphorical meaning have mercy on, feel pity, is found only in the writings of Judaism and the NT.

OT The LXX has the noun 15 times, the vb. twice. Only twice does the noun translate Heb. words. In Prov. 12:10 it represents *raḥ^{a}mîm* (→ *eleos* OT and *oiktirmos* OT) mercy, and in Prov. 26:22 *beṭen*, inner parts, belly, The remaining cases are in books like 2 Macc. and 4 Macc. with no Heb. original. We find the meanings intestines (2 Macc. 9:5; 4 Macc. 5:30; 10:8), mother-love (4 Macc. 15:22, 29), heart (2 Macc. 9:6).

Test. XII is the first book to contain the predominant meaning merciful, show mercy, in the frequent use of both noun and vb. They represent *raḥ^{a}mîm* and *rḥm* and form the preparation for the NT use (cf. Test.Zeb. 7:3; 8:2, 6 with 1QS 1:21; 2:1; cf. H. Köster, *TDNT* VII 552).

NT 1. Apart from its use with → *eleos* (NT 2 (c)) in Lk. 1:78 *splanchna* and its adjectival derivatives are not found in the Synoptics, but the vb. is found only in them.

2. There the vb. *splanchnizomai* is used (a) of the attitude of Jesus, (b) of the actions of key persons at the turning points of three parables.

(a) The meaning goes beyond the lit. one of "his heart contracted convulsively" at the sight of crying human need and characterizes the messianic compassion of Jesus (cf. H. Köster, *TDNT* VII 554); the cases are a → leper with his petition (Mk. 1:41), the people like sheep without a shepherd (Mk. 6:34; Matt. 14:14; cf. also Mk. 8:2; Matt. 15:32: "I have compassion" in direct speech), the sight of the harassed and exhausted crowd shortly before the sending out of the Twelve (Matt. 9:36), two blind men who besought him (Matt. 20:34), and the widow at

Nain mourning her only son (Lk. 7:13). In Mk. 9:22 it is used in the petition for the driving out of a demon (→ *eleos* NT 2 (a) on Matt. 17:15).

(b) In the two parables, Matt. 18:23–35, the unforgiving servant (→ *eleos* NT 2 (b)), and Lk. 15:11–32, the prodigal son, *splanchnizomai* expresses the strongest feeling of a merciful (Matt. 18:27) or loving (Lk. 15:20) reaction which forms the turning point of the story. In contrast to both these cases we have the strongest expression of righteous rejection (→ Anger) in Matt. 18:34 and Lk. 15:28 (cf. *TDNT* VII 554). In both parables *splanchnizomai* makes the unbounded mercy of God visible; in the former we see also his deadly and decisive anger against the one who having experienced mercy denies the fact by being unmerciful himself. In the parable of the good Samaritan (Lk. 10:30–37) *splanchnizomai* in v. 33 expresses the attitude of complete willingness to use all means, time, strength, and life, for saving at the crucial moment. It contrasts with the passing by on the other side (vv. 31, 32). Since seeing and being prepared to help are one, it sets in motion as with Jesus himself, a whole chain of events which together are called *eleos* (v. 37a). Humanity and neighbourliness are not qualities but action (v. 37 f.).

3. In Paul the noun refers to the whole man, viz. in his capacity to love or as one who loves (cf. Köster, *TDNT* VII 555 f.). Hence, it could be replaced by his name or the corresponding personal pron. The frequent translation "heart" is suitable, if we understand heart as the centre of loving action. In 2 Cor. 6:12 Paul accuses his readers of giving their ability to love him only limited space, while in 7:15 he says of Titus that his heart goes out to them. In Phil. 1:8 the use of the qualifying "Christ" indicates that Christ is the source of the love that embraces and lays claim to the apostle's whole personality. In Phlm. 7 and 20 the refreshing of *ta splanchna* of the saints and of Paul (RSV heart), means the refreshing of the whole person; there would be no change in meaning if it were either omitted (cf. NEB), or rendered "altogether", except that it draws attention to the conscious joy that Philemon has given. In v. 12 it could be rendered "as a piece of me" (cf. NEB, Phillips), or as "as though I myself were coming." That the word is used three times in this short letter shows Paul's inner participation, his personal concern in this matter. For Phil. 2:1, Col. 3:12 → *oiktirmos* NT 2.

4. In Acts 1:18 the bowels in the physical sense are meant. 1 Jn. 3:17 means the heart as the source of action that helps and relieves need.

5. For *polysplanchnos* (Jas. 5:11) → *oiktirmos* NT 4. *eusplanchnos*, tenderhearted, is found in lists of Christian virtues in Eph. 4:32 and 1 Pet. 3:8.

→ Brother, → Heart, → Love, → Man, → Righteousness *H.-H. Esser*

(a). R. Bultmann, *eleos* etc., *TDNT* II 477–87; and *oiktirō* etc., *TDNT* V 159 ff.; J. D. M. Derrett, "The Parable of the Good Samaritan", in *Law in the New Testament*, 1970, 208–27; R. Jewett, *Paul's Anthropological Terms: A Study of their Use in Conflict Settings*, 1971; A. R. Johnson, "*ḥeseḏ* and *ḥāsîḏ*", in N. A. Dahl and A. S. Kapelrud, eds., *Interpretationes ad Vetus Testamentum pertinentes Sigmundo Mowinckel Septuagenario missae*, 1955, 100 ff.; E. Käsemann, "Worship and Everyday Life: A Note on Romans 12", in *New Testament Questions of Today*, 1969, 188–95; H. Köster, *splanchnon* etc., *TDNT* VII 548–59; W. F. Lofthouse, "*ḥēn* and *ḥesed* in the Old Testament", *ZAW* Neue Folge 10, 1933, 29–35; N. H. Snaith, *The Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament*, 1944, 94–130; H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the Old Testament*, 1974, 63–66.

(b). F. Asensio, *Misericordia et Veritas*, 1949; J. Begrich, "*bᵉrîṯ*. Ein Beitrag zur Erfassung einer alttestamentlichen Denkform", *ZAW* 60, 1944, 1–11 (*Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament*, ed. W. Zimmerli, 1964, 55–66); G. Braumann, "Jesu Erbarmen nach Matthäus", *ThZ* 19, 1963, 305 ff.; G. Delling, "Das Gleichnis vom gottlosen Richter", *ZNW* 51, 1962, 1 ff.; G. Eichholz,

Jesus Christus und der Nächste, *BSt* 9, 1951; and *Einführung in die Gleichnisse*, *BSt* 37, 1963, 78 ff.; N. Glueck, *Das Wort ḥeseḏ im alttestamentlichen Sprachgebrauch*, *BZAW* 47, 1927; L. Gulkowitsch, *Die Entwicklung des Begriffes ḥāsīḏ im Alten Testament*, 1934; H. Gollwitzer, *Das Gleichnis vom barmherzigen Samariter*, *BSt* 34, 1962; G. Harder, *Paulus und das Gebet*, 1936, 88 f.; E. Kamlah, *Die Form der katalogischen Paränese im Neuen Testament*, *WUNT* 7, 1964; W. Monselewski, *Der Barmherzige Samariter*, 1967; L. Schmidt, *Die Ethik der alten Griechen*, II, 1882, 290–94; E. Sjøberg, *Gott und die Sünder im palästinensischen Judentum*, *BWANT* 4, 1939; H. J. Stoebe, "Die Bedeutung des Wortes ḥeseḏ im Alten Testament", *VT* 2, 1952, 244 ff.; S. Wibbing, *Die Tugend- und Lasterkataloge im Neuen Testament*, *BZNW* 25, 1959.

Might, Authority, Throne

The word *dynamis* suggests the inherent capacity of someone or something to carry something out, whether it be physical, spiritual, military or political. It also denotes the largely spontaneous expression of such *dynamis*. *exousia*, on the other hand, is used only with reference to people. It indicates the power to act which given as of right to anyone by virtue of the position he holds. Such authority exists, quite independently of whether it can be exercised in given circumstances. *thronos*, throne, is also relevant in this context. Originally it meant the seat of government, and then, equally, someone who was in such a position of authority or strength. The words *bia*, *ischys*, *keras* and *kratos* are discussed under → Strength.

δύναμις

δύναμις (*dynamis*), power, might, strength, force, ability, capability, deed of power, resources; δύναμαι (*dynamai*), to be strong enough to, be able to; δυνάστης (*dynastēs*), a ruler, sovereign; δυναμόω (*dynamoō*), strengthen; ἐνδυναμόω (*endynamoō*), strengthen; δυνατός (*dynatos*), powerful, strong, mighty, able; δυνατέω (*dynateō*), be strong, able, strong enough; ἀδύνατος (*adynatos*), powerless, impotent.

CL 1. *dynamis*, from the stem *dyna-*, means power, strength, might; cf. also the vb. *dynamai*, be able, have the strength to, and the noun *dynastēs*, a ruler (since Soph.); further, the later vbs. *dynamoō* and *endynamoō*, strengthen, and finally the adj. *dynatos*, strong, mighty, and the vb. derived from it which is only attested in the NT, *dynateō*, be strong, have the strength to.

2. *dynamis*, frequently found from Homer onwards, means ability to achieve, physical strength; and then troops, fighting forces, and political power. Where Gk. philosophy and medicine reflect on the nature of man, the concept appears in its original sense of the strength or ability to live and to act which is dependent on physical strength and spiritual faculties.

dynamis figures in the realm of nature, e.g. in the power of heat and cold, and the healing power of plants and elements. In Hellenistic times the word took on metaphysical connotations. Posidonius saw the principle of being in an elementary force (cf. K. Reinhardt, *Poseidonius*, 1921; *Kosmos und Sympathie*, 1926). The Stoics equated the all-pervading creative-force with God (Alexander of Aphrodisiensis, 2, 308, 35 ff.; cf. J. von Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, I–IV, 1921–4). The gnostics honoured God as the Almighty, and hoped for men's redemption through their incorporation into the heavenly powers (*Corp.Herm.*, *Poimandres*, I, 26). Men tried, above all through → magic, to obtain a share in the supranatural powers

(Iamblichus, *De Mysteriis* 2, 1); sick people looked for healing through a demonstration of the power of the god Asclepius (*P.Oxy.* XI, 1381, 206 ff.).

OT 1. In the LXX *dynamis*, as a rule, is used to translate the Heb. *ḥayil* (138 times) or *ṣābā'* (113 times), and generally means military forces. It can also stand for *gᵉḇûrâh* (power e.g. of a ruler), as in Jdg. 5:31;5:21, or for *'ôz* (e.g. Ps. 68 [67]:28). The plur. *ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ* often refers to the heavenly hosts (Ps. 102[103]:21); God is "Yahweh Sabaoth", i.e. the Lord of the heavenly hosts (Ps. 45[46]:7, 11; 47[48]:8; → God, art. *theos* OT 2). The personal God now becomes the subject of the transcendent powers; autonomous powers of nature and magic are pushed into the background. God's might is primarly revealed on the level of history, and to a particular people. The proof of God's power, so fundamental for Israel, was the miraculous deliverance at the Red Sea (Exod. 15:6, 13; Deut. 3:24; 9:26, 29). The subsequent theological struggle with Canaanite religion led to the introduction of → nature into the field of God's activity and power; the most comprehensive demonstration of God's power is then seen to be the creation of the world (Jer. 34[27]:5; 39[32]:17). On the basis of the nation's experience, individuals can also praise God as their refuge and strength (Ps. 45[46]:1; Sam. 22:32 ff.). God's power, at work in the believer, is the → Spirit (Mic. 3:8). God is Spirit, not flesh: he far transcends the whole creation (Isa. 31:3 f.). It is not, however, *dynamis*, but *ischys* (→ Strength) that is mostly used as a translation for Heb. *kôaḥ* and *'ōz* in the LXX: Israel did not only potentially, but actually experience the manifestation of God's power.

2. Jewish apocalyptic lived in the expectation of the judgment of the world in the near future by God, hoping to see a display of the might of which Israel, as a nation, currently experienced so little. *kôᵃḥ* and *'ôz* are used less, and *gᵉḇûrâh* comes into the foreground: this represents the power of God at work in the last days. The writings from Qumran foresee the triumph of God's might in the war of the Children of Light against the Children of Darkness. The end of the age brings the conclusive and world-embracing demonstration of God's mighty deeds (*gᵉḇûrôṯ*), previously experienced by Israel alone (1QM 11:1–12:5). In this, God's power is expressed through the action both of human fighters and of the "mighty ones" (*gibbôrîm*), i.e. the angels. But God himself can also engage in battle as a mighty hero (*gibbôr*), and give the cosmic struggle its decisive turn (1QM 12:9; 1QH 6:30). The world war thus becomes a world-judgment, above all ending the rule of the devil (cf. Ass.Mos. 10:1; Test.Dan. 5:13–6:4). According to popular expectation, the messiah, too, will be a victorious warrior, and will be the instrument of God's final demonstration of power (Pss. Sol. 17:24, 42 f., 51). The Teacher of the Qumran community already knows the experience of God's might (1QH 4:23), through the Holy Spirit, who dwells in him as the gift of God, and as a promise of the eschatological fulfilment (1QH 7:6 f.; cf. 1QS 3:20–22). The Teacher sees his task as that of making known God's mighty deeds to all the living (1QH 4:28 f.).

The strong feeling that it was God's might that was his essential characteristic also illuminates the fact that, in Rabbinic writings, *gᵉḇûrâh* serves as a circumlocution for the name of God; but it is never used of the forces of the devil and his demons who oppose God. In the apocalyptic writings, the natural phenomena between heaven and earth are called powers or powers of heaven (Eth.Enoch

40:9; 61:10; 82:8; 91:16). These were placed by God under the rule of → angels (Jub. 2:2 f.). Wisdom can be described as a mirror of the power of God (Wis. 7:25 f.); and even the Torah is called "my power" by God (Mek.Exod. 3:1 on 15:2), doubtless because it is the instrument of creation and the power or order in the cosmos (cf. Ab.R.N. 3:14).

NT In the NT *dynamis* is found 118 times, and relatively frequently in the Pauline writings except in 1 Tim., Tit., Philemon; there is no use of the noun in any of the Johannine writings, nor in Jas. or Jude. *dynamoō* and *dynateō* only occur rarely in Paul, but the vb. *dynamai*, to be able (expressing possibility or capability), occurs as well in all those writings where the noun is not found, except for Tit. and Phil.

1. *The Synoptic Gospels and Acts.* Here *dynamis* denotes the power of God, the heavenly powers (in the plur.), miraculous power (in the plur., mighty deeds, miracles) and the power which brings salvation to completion.

(a) God is the Mighty One (Lk. 1:48); and, according to Mk. 14:62, Jesus himself used the reverential circumlocution of "the power" for the name of God. All his work is supported by the knowledge of the almighty power of God: with God all things are possible (Matt. 19:26 par. Mk. 10:27, Lk. 18:27; Mk. 14:35). At the end, his power is declared pre-eminently in the resurrection of the dead (Mk. 12:24).

(b) The NT also speaks of "powers", i.e. cosmic powers between heaven and earth that can appear in person (Mk. 13:25; cf. Rom. 8:38; Eph. 1:21; 1 Pet. 3:22). Significantly, superhuman representatives of evil are also credited with having power, but it is always pointed out, either that their power has already been broken, or that it will shortly be abolished (cf. Matt. 12:29 par. Mk. 3:27, Lk. 11:22; Lk. 10:19; 1 Cor. 15:24; 2 Thess. 2:9; Rev. 13:2; 17:13 f.; → Angel). It is characteristic for the NT and fundamental for its proclamation of "good news", that through and in Christ, those things have taken place to which both the OT and Judaism looked forward, God's demonstration of power in the last days, and his triumph over the climactic rise of evil.

(c) Christ was powerful in speech and action (Lk. 24:19). His → miracles are called *dynameis* (cf. Heb. *g^{e}ḇûrôṯ*; i.e. "mighty deeds"), because in them God's rule on earth begins to have a powerful effect, and the fight against the devil is carried out on the level of human existence (Matt. 12:22–30; Mk. 6:2, 5; Lk. 19:37; Acts 10:58). Jesus is the "mightier one" who, as God's representative, subdues the strong man, i.e. the devil (cf. Mk. 1:8 with 3:22–30). Jesus' miracles are worked by a power within himself (Mk. 5:30 par. Lk. 5:17; Mk. 6:14). Lk. links this God-given power with the Holy → Spirit in Lk. 1:35; 4:14; Acts 1:8; 10:38. The miracles, therefore, are regarded as evidence from God that Jesus is the messiah, the One anointed with the Spirit (Acts 2:22; 10:38). The exaltation of the messiah further makes him the mediator of God's saving might. For it is by the power of the Spirit, bestowed on them by Jesus, that his servants perform mighty acts (Acts 4:7; 6:8; 8:13; 19:11). The apostles' authoritative preaching (Acts 4:33; cf. 6:8–10) is seen as proof of a supernatural power.

(d) All these proofs of the Spirit and of power, of course, are only recognized as such where there is → faith. They cannot take place in an area of unbelief

(Mk. 6:5). But the final demonstration of Christ's power will be both public and irresistible. This will be at the time of his return (Matt. 24:32 par. Mk. 13:28, Lk. 21:29), when the → kingdom of God will be consummated "in power [*en dynamei*]" (Mk. 9:1), or "with power [*meta dynameōs*]" (Matt. 24:30 par. Mk. 13:26, Lk. 21:27). In this "latter-day" demonstration of God's power the believer already now has a share, which is why no limits are put to his actions, since all things are possible for him (Mk. 9:23).

2. *John's Gospel and Revelation.* (a) In the Gospel of Jn. the word *dynamis* does not occur, because here the messianic activity of Jesus is based on the sending of the Son, and on the unity of will of both Father and Son. The Son can do nothing without the Father (5:19, 30, *dynatai*); his miracles are signs which reveal the divine power of Jesus (see 3:2; 9:16; 10:21 – always *dynatai*). Conversely, the inability of men to believe in Jesus and to enter the sphere of God's reality is due to their being imprisoned in the world of darkness (3:3; 8:43; 14:17, *ou dynatai*). Only → election (6:44) and rebirth (3:5) secure their release.

(b) Rev. sees the saints in a vision praising Christ who, by his enthronement in heaven, has crowned his redeeming work on earth. Admittedly it is God who is worshipped in the hymn of praise, for his honour and might (*dynamis*) and power (Rev. 4:11; 7:12; 19:1), but the exalted Christ is also worthy to receive such soverign power, and that on the grounds of his sacrificial death (5:13; 12:10). For it was through Christ that God broke the power of evil rulers of the world (13:2); Christ made possible the victorious culmination of God's sovereign rule (11:17; 12:10; → Kingdom). In John's vision, the night-visions of the Son of Man are given a christological interpretation (cf. Rev. 13:1–14 with Dan. 7), and polemically contrasted with Roman world-domination and the Caesar-cult.

3. *Paul.* Paul lays a greater emphasis on the present experience of the revelation of God's might, which he understands primarily in terms of the power which raises the dead in the last days, and the new creativity of the Holy Spirit. This power of God which is at work in the last days was perceptible in Christ, the Risen One; and now Christ, the Exalted One, is the bearer and mediator of this same power. Admittedly God's invisible power can be deduced from the works of → creation (cf. Rom. 1:20). But it is the raising of Jesus from the dead that represents the central eschatological proof of God's might (cf. Rom. 1:4; 1 Cor. 5:14; 2 Cor. 13:4; Phil. 3:10; also Heb. 11:19). With the resurrection goes the exaltation (Eph. 1:20 f.), whereby Christ becomes the "power of God" (1 Cor. 1:24), i.e. the constantly available source of the power of God for his church. Paul in fact uses the vb. *endynamoō*, to strengthen, to describe this work of the exalted Christ in the lives of individual believers in Phil. 4:13 (also Eph. 6:10; 1 Tim. 1:12; 2 Tim. 4:17; and 2:1). In Christ's mediating work there is a double revelation of God's eschatological power: the → Word which brings salvation and the Holy → Spirit who creates and makes new.

(a) The gospel is effective as the power of God which brings salvation, partly because the preacher speaks in the power of Christ (2 Tim. 1:8 f.; 4:17), but above all because, as the Word of God, it grants salvation to all men (Rom. 1:16; 1 Cor. 1:18). It announces the → love of the God whom men fear as the condemning judge of the world, which was visibly proved on the → cross, where Christ died for us, while we were still sinners (Rom. 5:8). As the good news of reconciliation,

the gospel itself becomes the power which creates freedom and salvation, when it is recognized and accepted as such in → faith (see Rom. 1:16). The believer sees, through the gospel, that the promises which were given in the OT have now come into force; and he discovers the previously-announced gospel of God in OT prophecy (Rom. 1:2).

(b) The natural man does not have the power to please God or to fulfil the → law. (cf. Rom. 8:7 f.; Gal. 3:21). In his weakness he even experiences the law to be a power which misleads him into → sin (cf. 1 Cor. 15:56). The believer, on the other hand, like his Risen Lord, lives in the power of God and of Christ (2 Cor. 6:7; 13:3 f.; also Eph. 1:19). It is not obedience to the law (contrast CD 16:4 f.), but the love of Christ, manifest in power, which protects him from all the cosmic powers (Rom. 8:38 f.). The kingdom of God is experienced in power, in sharp contrast to mere words (1 Cor. 4:19 f.) and merely exterior piety (2 Tim. 3:4). Because it is intended for the glorification of Christians, there is a close link between the power of God and → glory (*doxa*; cf. Rom. 1:4 with 6:4). Paul also connects the power of God with the Holy Spirit. He is the power of the → resurrection and of the life in the new aeon, and the power which works signs and wonders (Rom. 15:19; 1 Cor. 12:10; 28; Gal. 3:5), which also vindicate Paul's apostleship (2 Cor. 12:12). *dynamis* therefore denotes here the → Spirit insofar as he is revealed in the mighty works of those gifted with the Spirit (*pneumatikos*, cf. 1 Cor. 2:13, 15; 3:1; 14:37; Gal. 6:1).

(c) It is the Spirit, who, as the power of Christ, realizes the authority of the heavenly Lord in the earthly community. It is he who, to use E. Käsemann's phrase, is *Christus praesens*. ([Ed.] This is shown, for example, in the way that Paul describes the Christian life sometimes in terms of a relationship with Christ [e.g. Rom. 5:1; 1 Cor. 1:30; 2 Cor. 5:19 ff.; Gal. 2:20 f.; 4:6 ff.; Phil. 2:21; 3:8 ff.] and sometimes as a relationship with the Spirit [e.g. Rom. 8:11, 14 ff.; 1 Cor. 2:4, 12 f.; 2 Cor. 3:6; 5:5; Gal. 4:6]. Paul is describing the same basic experience, but in the one case he is approaching it from the standpoint of Christ and in the other case from that of the Spirit through whom Christ is made present to the believer. The two thoughts are brought together in, e.g., Eph. 2:18; Phil. 1:19, cf. 26.) The Spirit has power to purify and judge the church (1 Cor. 5:4). He strengthens it and trains it in patience, so that its members are kept in faith till the day of judgment (1 Pet. 1:5; cf. Col. 1:11; Eph. 3:16 f.; 2 Thess. 1:11 f.). Since the Spirit is the representative of the exalted Lord, he cannot be manipulated like the power of → magic in the hands of a magician (cf. Acts 8:18–20). Nor is he simply an extra addition to men's physical and spiritual powers. On the contrary, his supernatural origin and his characteristic as the power of God is proved by the fact that it is in weak men that he is powerful (2 Cor. 12:9 f.; cf. 1 Cor. 1:26–29; 2 Cor. 4:7; 6:4–10). For Paul, God is truly revealed as God where from a human standpoint there is nothing to hope for. God gives life to the dead, and calls into existence non-existent things (Rom. 4:17). That is why, from the human point of view, God chose weak and unworthy things to be the objects of his demonstrations of might (1 Cor. 1:27): the insignificant Israelites; Paul, the persecutor of Christians; and the social nonentities of Corinth.

However, the greatest proof of this law of divine action and the justification of the despised Christian way of life is to be found in the → cross. Christ died on

the cross in weakness having renounced all personal claims to power, and now he lives by the power of God (2 Cor. 13:4). Exactly the same is true of the Christian: he is weak, but that is the very reason why God's power equips him for life with Christ. Accordingly, God's work in the life of a Christian is always contrary to human expectations. Paul, in prison, is able to say that he can do all things through the one who makes him strong (Phil. 4:13). The strong in Christ, for their part, are to regard themselves as under obligation to serve their weaker brothers. Thus they will avoid the danger of forgetting that the strength they have is not their own, but given them by Christ, and of misusing it for their own ends (Rom. 15:1). It is questionable whether Paul's opponents in 2 Cor. thought of Jesus and themselves analogously with the Hellenistic "divine man [*theios anēr*]", and so performed all kinds of powerful deeds by virtue of the *dynamis* of Christ always in them, as Dieter Georgi and others have suggested (cf. D. Georgi, *Die Gegner des Paulus im 2 Korintherbrief*, 1964, with the discussion of C. K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1973, 102 ff.).

(d) By the power of God, the Christian is assured of future perfection. The present inner transformation, which has already begun, will be followed by the visible and total transformation of the body for eternal life. This will take place when the Christian is himself raised from the dead by the same power of God which raised his Lord (1 Cor. 6:14; cf. 2 Cor. 4:14). Christ will then change him, by his power, and so transfigure his lowly earthly body that it will be like his own glorified body (Phil. 3:21). On this account, the Christian hope is based on the resurrection, and is concerned to know the power which was made visible when Christ was raised from the dead (Phil. 3:10; cf. 1 Cor. 4:19 f.).

4. The adj. *adynatos*, powerless, impotent, is used of the lame man at Lystra, crippled from birth (Acts 14:6) who was healed in response to Paul's command to stand on his feet. It denotes what is impossible with men (Matt. 19:26; Mk. 10:27; Lk. 18:27), but which is not with God. In Rom. 15:1 it is used as a noun in the contrast: "We who are strong [*hēmeis hoi dynatoi*] ought to bear with the failings of the weak [*tōn adynatōn*], and not to please ourselves." In Heb. 6:4 *adynatos* denotes the impossibility of restoring those who commit apostasy, which stands in contrast to the impossibility of God proving false (6:18). In Heb. 10:4 it occurs in the assertion that it is impossible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sin. This too stands in contrast with the fact that without faith it is impossible to please God (11:6). *O. Betz*

ἐξουσία

ἐξουσία (*exousia*), freedom of choice, right, power, authority, ruling power, a bearer of authority; ἐξουσιάζω (*exousiazō*), have the right or power, exercise authority; κατεξουσιάζω (*katexousiazo*), exercise authority over, misuse official authority, tyrannize; ἔξεστι (*exesti*), 3rd person sing. of the unused vb. ἔξειμι (*exeimi*) which is used impersonally in the sense: it is permitted, it is possible, proper, or even lawful.

CL *exousia* (derived from *exesti*, it is possible, permitted, allowed) denotes unrestricted possibility or freedom of action; and then power, authority, right of action. From the noun comes *exousiazō*, to exercise one's rights, have full

power of authority; and *katexousiazō*, a word scarcely attested in secular Gk., meaning exercise, or misuse, of the authority of one's office.

1. By contrast with → *dynamis*, where any potential strength is based on inherent physical, spiritual or natural powers, and is exhibited in spontaneous actions, powerful deeds and natural phenomena, *exousia* denotes the power which may be displayed in the areas of legal, political, social or moral affairs (Plato, *Definitiones* 415b). For instance, it is always linked with a particular position or mandate; so that it refers to the right of a king, a father or a tenant to dispose as he wishes (*P.Oxy.* II, 237); or the authorization of officials or messengers (Diod.Sic. 13, 36, 2; 14, 81, 6); but also the moral freedom of people to allow or to do something (Plato, *Definitiones* 412d). The word is thus used only of people; it cannot be applied to natural forces.

2. *exousia* is often (a) official power (cf. Lat. *potestas*) which does not necessarily require enforcement; it can simply rest, or just stand in contradiction to the existing power-structures. *exousia* can be delegated. Hence, where it is illegally seized or unsurped, it can mean (b) despotic rule. These legal applications of the word *exousia* explain the further derived meanings, (c) the office appropriate for the authority; and in the plur. (d) office-holders and "the authorities".

OT 1. In the LXX *exousia* occurs much less commonly than *dynamis* (50 as against *c.* 400 times), and the vb. is also rare. *exousia* only rarely translates a Heb. word, such as *memšālâh*, dominion, kingdom (2 Ki. 20:13; Isa. 39:2). It is found more commonly in the Gk. books of the Apocrypha, already used with its (for the Rabbis) significant reference to the law, and with the meaning of permission to do something (Tob. 2:13 S). The book of Daniel is important as background material for the NT use of the word, where *exousia*, both in the LXX and in the translation of Theodotion, is used as the Gk. equivalent for Aram. *šoltānā'*, dominion, power, with reference even to the whole world. The authority of the human world-rulers originates from the supernatural realm; it is delegated by God, the Lord of history. He whose rule is eternal (Dan. 4:31) installs and removes kings (2:21), and can take their dominion away from them all (7:12). The unsatisfactory and provisional nature of human government is grounded, in Dan. 7, in the origin of the world-powers in the dominion of Chaos, opposed to God, and in their denial of their divine commission. Therefore, at the end of the times, and when human rule has reached its lowest point, the "Son of Man" (i.e. man) is enthroned to symbolize the rule of God's mercies, and for that very reason, of true humanity. He is invested with might, glory and sovereign authority to rule all nations. His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which never passes away (7:14). The "Son of Man", according to Dan. 7:27, means "the people of the saints of the Most High", the true Israel of the last days. They shall receive kingly power, and all sovereignties must obey them. In the Similitudes of Eth.Enoch and in 2 Esd., the night-vision of Dan. 7 undergoes further exegetical development and the "Son of Man" is equated with the final judge of the world or with the messiah (→ Son of God, art. *hyios tou anthrōpou*).

2. *Josephus and Philo.* Both these writers follow the general Gk. usage, but stress the aspect of authoritative, ruling power. Thus, in Josephus *exousia* means the governmental power of kings (*Life* 112; *Ant.* 14, 302); in *Life* 72 the delegated

power of a ruler or officials (*Life* 72), or permission (*Ant.* 20, 193). It is also a basic premise for Josephus that the power of the world's governments is not gained without God (*War* 2, 140), and that no-one can escape from the power of God (*Ant.* 5, 109). *exousia*, used concretely in the plur., means the authorities (*War* 2, 350). Freedom of action, in the area of obedience to the Torah, can also be described as *exousia* (*Ant.* 4, 24). Philo follows secular Gk. usage. *exousia* denotes the absolute power of the king (*Leg.Gai.* 26, 54, 190), governor (*Op.Mund.* 17), people (*Jos.* 67), and God (*De Cherubim* 27; *Leg.All.* 1, 95; *Sacr.* 60).

3. *Rabbinic Usage.* The range of meaning of *exousia* in the NT is particularly influenced by the use of a word, not found in the OT, but of importance in the teaching in the Rab. schools, the Heb. *rāšûṯ*, ruling power, government; and *r^{e}šûṯ* (Aram. *r^{e}šûṯā'*), power of attorney, power to act, freedom to do something.

(a) *rāšûṯ* denotes worldly government as a whole, especially the Roman empire, which was regarded with distant suspicion (Aboth 1: 10; 2: 3). Worldly rule, here below, was distinguished from the heavenly rule above (T. J. San. 6, 23d), but God's own authority was not directly designated as *rāšûṯ*, probably because it is underived. In addition, the Rabbis were fighting the doctrine of the two powers to which dualistic and gnostic thinkers and exegetes attributed the creation of the world (Gen.R. 1:10; cf. B. San. 38a and B. Hag. 15a). Such views were rightly condemned as heretical, for they endangered Jewish monotheism.

(b) *rāšûṯ* denotes (i) authoritative power of action, competency within particular social groupings, e.g. among members of a family (Ned. 10:2–4), the rights of a house-owner (Bab.K. 5:3), and then the power of attorney linked with a particular commission, such as that of an ambassador (Kidd. 4:9). (ii) In a juridical sense, the word is used for the right to teach (B.San. 5a), to inherit (Ket. 9:5), to marry (Yeb. 4:11). All power is delegated by God. He even gives the destroying angels authority to carry out their pernicious work (B.Pes. 112b; cf. Mek. Exod. 4 on 19:21. (iii) *rāšûṯ* means, finally, freedom of action, in the God-given order of the Torah: it refers to what is allowed, as opposed to the commandments and the halachic duties (Baba Kamma 3:5; B.Hull. 106a; B.Ber. 27b). R. Akiba taught the paradoxically juxtaposed doctrines of the divine foreknowledge of all events and freedom of human action (Aboth 3:15 f.).

4. *Qumran.* The idea of *rāšûṯ* does not appear in these writings, but it is important to see in them the appointed presence of the dominion of the devil and of the power of darkness (1QS 1:18, 23 f.; 2:19; 3:23; 1QM 13:5 f.; 14:9; 17:5 f.). These will be destroyed at the end by the kingdom of the Archangel Michael (→ Angel, art. *Michaēl*), and by the Israel he represents (1QM 18:7 f.). The word *memšālâh*, used in these references for kingdom or dominion, corresponds with the Gk. *exousia*, which itself translates *memšālâh* in the LXX from time to time. In Test.Lev. 3:8 the heavenly powers are called *exousiai* (cf. Eth.Enoch 61:10). This plur. usage has the same meaning as *dynameis*. As with the similarly used *archai*, powers (→ Beginning), this word will have been influenced by Heb. *r^{e}šûyôṯ* powers.

NT In the NT *exousia* appears 108 times, most frequently in Rev., Lk., and 1 Cor.

It is used in a secular sense, meaning the power to give orders (Matt. 8:9 par. Lk. 7:8; Lk. 19:17; 20:20); in a concrete sense, meaning jurisdiction (Lk. 23:7); and in the plur., meaning officials, authorities (Lk. 12:11; Tit. 3:1). In Rom. 13:1,

the "powers that be [*exousiais hyperechousais*]", as the "authorities [*archontes*]" in v. 3, should be understood as state officials, not (as some suggest) as angelic powers. See further M. Black, *Romans, New Century Bible*, 1973, 158 ff., who notes the following recent studies on the question: O. Cullmann, "Zur neuesten Diskussion über die *Exousiai* in Röm. 13, 1", *ThZ* 10, 1954, 321 ff.; and *The State in the New Testament*, 1957; C. D. Morrison, *The Powers that Be: Earthly Rulers and Demonic Powers in Romans 13.1–7*, SBT 29, 1960; E. Wolf, "Politischer Gottesdienst", *Festschrift K. O. Schmidt*, 1961, 51–63; V. Zsifkovits, *Der Staatsgedanke nach Paulus in Rom. 13*, 1964; H. von Campenhausen, "Zur Auslegung von Röm. 13. Die dämonistische Deutung des Exousia-Begriffs", *Aus der Frühzeit des Christentums*, 1963, 81 ff.; E. Käsemann, "Principles of the Interpretation of Romans 13", in *New Testament Questions of Today*, 1969, 196–216; C. E. B. Cranfield, "Some Observations on Rom. 13:1–7", *NTS* 6, 1959–60, 241–49; A. Strobel, "Zum Verständnis von Röm. 13", *ZNW* 47, 1956, 67–93; O. Michel, "Das Problem des Staates in neutestamentlicher Sicht", *TLZ* 83, 1958, 161–66; E. Bammel, "Ein Beitrag zur paulinischen Staatsanschauung", *TLZ* 85, 1960, 837–40; G. Delling, *Röm. 13.1–7 innerhalb der Briefe des Neuen Testaments*, 1962.

It is characteristic for the NT that *exousia* and *dynamis* are both related to the work of Christ, the consequent new ordering of cosmic power-structures and the empowering of believers. Both words are brought together in Lk. 9:1. *exousia* is not attributed to the gift of the Spirit; whereas Jesus' *dynamis* has its foundation in his being anointed, his *exousia* is founded on his being sent. *exousia* is that power, authority and freedom of action which belongs: (1) to God himself; (2) to a commission in the last days; and (3) to a Christian in his eschatological existence.

1. *God's exousia.* (a) God's eschatological authority is linked with his rôle as disposer of world history, and as → judge of the world. By his own authority, he has fixed the dates and times of the end, and has the termination of history in his control (Acts 1:7). He has the power to consign men to eternal ruin (Lk. 12:5). Existential consciousness of the absolute freedom of God finds its expression in his predestination: Paul compares God with a potter, who can do what he likes with the clay (Rom. 9:21; cf. Isa. 29:16; 45:9; Jer. 18:6; Wis. 15:7; Sir. 36[33]:12 f.; → Determine; → Election).

(b) God can delegate eschatological authority, for instance, to the angel who punishes at the judgment (Rev. 6:8); and other creatures can be involved (Rev. 9:3, 10, 19). By way of contrast, the heavenly powers (*exousiai*) are scarcely taken into consideration in this eschatological event. They are generally mentioned along with the *archai*, and have the same significance as the *dynameis* (Eph. 1:21; 3:10; Col. 1:16; 2:10 → Beginning). Christ's exaltation means that they have been subjected to him (Eph. 1:21; 1 Pet. 3:22). But the opposition has not yet all been broken: this means that the messiah's rule must continue for the time being (1 Cor. 15:24). The natural man, as the Qumran writings also saw, stands under the domination of → darkness and the lordship of the devil (Col. 1:13; Acts 16:18). In opposition to that stands the realm of → light, the kingdom of the Son, and God himself (ibid.). In comparison with the Qumran writings, the devil (→ Satan) appears, in fact, to have increased power: he is called the "prince [or ruler] of this world [*ho archōn tou kosmou toutou*]" (Jn. 12:31; 14:30; 16:11), even "the god of this world [*ho theos tou aiōnos toutou*]" (2 Cor. 4:4; → Time, art. *aiōn*). The devil,

like God, can delegate his rule over the world to others, e.g., the → Antichrist (cf. Rev. 13:2, 4, 12). He even tempted Jesus with such an offer (Lk. 4:6). But dualism is avoided, because even the devil's power is allotted him by God (ibid.); his activity fits into God's plan and is therefore limited (Lk. 22:53). Statements about the power of the devil are not to be assigned a place in a pessimistic view of the world, but in the Good News of the redemptive work of Christ. It is precisely where Jesus speaks of the devil as the "prince of this world" that he announces his downfall.

2. *The exousia of Jesus.* (a) The work of the earthly Jesus announces that the devil (→ Satan) and the → demons have been deprived of their power: the One who is sent by God has the authority to destroy the works of the devil and to snatch men from his rule. Exorcism is therefore attributed to the authority of Jesus (Lk. 4:36), which he can also pass on to the disciples he sends out (Matt. 10:1 par. Mk. 3:15, Lk. 9:1; Mk. 6:7; Lk. 10:19). Jesus acted with God's authority when he forgave a man his sins and confirmed the power of his word by a healing miracle (Matt. 9:2–8 par. Mk. 2:3–12, Lk. 5:18–26; cf. Ps. 103:3). Jesus' eschatological commission, his purpose of saving God's children, brought him into collision with the → law as the → Pharisees understood it. Jesus rejected the literalistic understanding of the letter of the law according to Rab. Halachah which stood in the way of God's saving will (Matt. 12:10, 12; Mk. 3:4; Lk. 14:3; Jn. 5:10). Jesus' authority could be seen in this → teaching, which provoked astonishment (Mk. 1:22, 27; Matt. 7:29; Lk. 4:32), because he did not teach like the scribes. The latter were guided by their teaching tradition (Matt. 7:29), whereas Jesus, the anointed One, not only received his words from the mouth of God, like Moses and the prophets, but spoke with the unique authority of the → Son who alone knows the → Father and who alone can reveal him (Matt. 11:27; Lk. 10:22; cf. also Matt. 28:18; Jn. 3:35; 13:3; 10:15; 17:25). The cleansing of the → Temple (Matt. 21:12 f.; Mk. 11:11–17; Lk. 19:45 f.; Jn. 2:13–17; Exod. 30:13; Lev. 1:14; Isa. 56:7; Jer. 7:11) also presupposes a consciousness of messianic authority.

(b) In John's Gospel Jesus' plenitentiary authority is based on the fact that he is the Son and that he is sent (cf. e.g. Jn. 17:2); he has also been given the authority of the judge at the end of time (Jn. 5:27). But in the Johannine writings, as the Synoptics, Jesus seeks to save men rather than judge them. His power is not forcible domination, but absolute freedom to be a servant to the world. He has the *exousia* to give his life and to take it again (Jn. 10:18). Jesus' sacrifice opens the way for believers to the Father (Jn. 3:16; 14:6). Those who receive him and believe in his name are given *exousia* to become → children of God (Jn. 1:12).

(c) This representation of Jesus' authority in the Fourth Gospel anticipates the resurrection. For with his exaltation, which followed on from Easter (→ Height), Jesus received from God all power in heaven and on earth (Matt. 28:18). This fulfilled Daniel's vision of the enthronement and granting of power to the Son of Man (cf. Dan. 7:14). But now in place of the collective "saints of the Most Hi⁻h", stands Christ. Further, God's power is not realized by violently subjugating the nations, but by the spread of the → gospel, winning the world to faith in Christ. Hence it is the church, not the sovereign rule of → Israel, which outwardly expresses the reign of the messiah on earth (Acts 1:6–8). For the cross and the exaltation of Christ signify the disarming of the evil one, the judgment and the turning-point of

the ages. This must be preached as Good News to all the world. The exalted Lord therefore sends out his messengers and empowers them for their service in the gospel (Matt. 28:18–20). Analogous with Jesus' earthly ministry, and in accord with the contents of the Easter message, the → apostles of Christ received power to confer the Holy Spirit (Acts 8:19; 19:6; but cf. 2:38; 10:44–48), and to build up rather than to destroy (2 Cor. 10:8; 13:10). Because of his spiritual ministry as a servant in the church, an apostle has the right to have his physical needs looked after by the church (1 Cor. 9:4–6; 2 Thess. 3:9). *exousia* in these passages means a right or prerogative.

3. *The exousia of believers.* The authority of a Christian believer is founded on the rule of Christ and on the disarming of all powers. It implies both → freedom and service. As Luther put it in *The Freedom of a Christian* (1520): "A Christian is a perfectly free lord of all, subject to none. A Christian is a perfectly dutiful servant of all, subject to all" (*Luther's Works*, ed. H. T. Lehmann, XXXI, 1957, 344). He is free to do anything (1 Cor. 6:12; 10:23; *exestin*); this assertion which was made initially by the sectarian enthusiasts at Corinth, was taken up by Paul who acknowledged it to be correct. The believer has full freedom of action, because the law, as a prohibitive barrier, has been broken down through Christ's redeeming and saving act, and because he has received the gift of the Spirit of freedom. He has the freedom and the power to dispose everything as he will, because, now that Christ has been exalted, nothing is any longer under the rule of the powers. In practice, however, this theoretically unrestricted freedom is governed by consideration of what is helpful to other individual Christians and the congregation as a whole, in view of the fact that the complete redemption is still to come (1 Cor. 6:12; 10:13). Since God's eschatological work has not yet been consummated either in individual Christians or in the structures of the world, it is important that people should be sensible, and take into account both their own Christian lives, still bound to "the flesh of the old Adam", and also the → conscience of weaker brothers (1 Cor. 10:28, 31 ff.), and not plunge into unbridled freedom, as if the resurrection of believers had already taken place! It is just such an unrestrained use of one's freedom which could precipitate a Christian into a new servitude. Hence he is not to let anything be his master. " 'All things are lawful [*exestin*] for me', but not all things are helpful. 'All things are lawful [*exestin*] for me', but I will not be enslaved [*exousiasthēsomai*] by anything" (1 Cor. 6:12). " 'All things are lawful [*exestin*]', but not all things are helpful. 'All things are lawful [*exestin*]', but not all things build up. Let no one seek his own good, but the good of his neighbour" (1 Cor. 10:23 f.). The quotations within these quotations are probably the slogans of the libertines at Corinth. Paul counters them by admitting their truth, but by showing that it is not the whole truth. *O. Betz*

| θρόνος |

θρόνος (*thronos*), throne, seat.

CL 1. *thronos* comes from the Indo-Germanic root **dhere-*, to hold, and is related to the Lat. *firmus* (firm, steadfast, powerful) and Ger. *dingen* (to secure). In Homer, it means a chair with an attached foot-stool (*thrēnos*; cf. Homer *Od.* 19,

57); later mainly with a high back-rest and arm-rests. The word, used originally without any particular symbolic force, was very widely used, by contrast with the Lat. *thronos*, first used by Suetonius and referring only to the seat of a god (cf. *Octavius Augustus Caesar* 70). The Gk. word only took on this meaning later in its history. It could also be used metaphorically, as in the plur. *thronoi*, for power (cf. Aesch., *Prometheus* 228; and cf. Col. 1:16 of angelic powers). To be seated on the throne (*kathēmai*, set oneself, sit) is a sign of regal or divine majesty (cf. Homer, *Il.* 4, 1; *Od.* 13, 264; → Sit).

2. In the Gk. world, from Mycenaean times, the seat of the master of the house was a seat of honour – a conception taken over via Crete from the Orient. But it is also offered to guests and bards: it does not indicate a superior position in the oriental sense. In bas-reliefs the dead are given such a chair; in epic poetry the gods (Aesch., *Eumenides* 229), and especially Zeus (Homer, *Il.* 8, 436–442), are so honoured, and represented in sculpture. This can hardly be called a throne-cult. Representations of an empty divine throne are rare and late.

OT 1. The royal throne, in the strict sense, derives from the Orient. Sitting on the throne denotes the unique exaltation of the absolute ruler, his total superiority over against those who are subject to him. It is the sole right of the ruler to sit (*kathēmai*) on the throne; the suppliant or servant stands before him – (cf. the Hammurabi Stele; see illustration in L. H. Grollenberg, *Atlas of the Bible*, 1957, plates 79–81 on p. 31). Only when the king sits on the throne does he finally take his power. The magnificent ornamentation indicates his divine dignity; at the side of the throne, to right and left, stand attendant heavenly beings, → cherubim, winged creatures with human heads or lions, as pictorial symbols of ruling power (cf. 1 Ki. 10:18 ff.). Characteristic for oriental thought is the mutual interplay of ideas of regal and divine power, something which was foreign to Greece until the time of Alexander the Great (356–323 B.C.). The earthly ruler was honoured as the "Son", or even (as in Egypt) as the incarnation of the divine. The nature of their kingship was similarly represented.

2. In the first instance the OT reflects, as one would expect, the world of oriental throne symbolism. Since the institution of the monarchy the throne (Heb. *kissē'*) was the sole prerogative of the ruler (Gen. 41:40), his relatives (1 Ki. 2:19) or representatives (Neh. 3:7). Since the → king was originally also the → judge, the throne was both a visible symbol of regal power (2 Sam. 3:9; 14:9) and of justice (Ps. 122:5). The throne was thus a constant factor, over against the changing bearers of power. In this way, Nathan's promise of the permanence of the Davidic rule (2 Sam. 7:13) was linked with the throne (cf. also 1 Chr. 28:5; 29:23). This formed the primary link with the later hope of the everlasting throne of the messiah. But, in Judaism it was not identical with the throne of God (see below OT 5).

3. Naturally in the OT the throne represents God's power and righteousness. This can never be simply identified with the king's power, however much the oriental court style was taken over. The Israelite king stood in an adoptive relationship with Yahweh (Ps. 2:7). Yahweh's throne is variously described and located in the OT. Jeremiah specified Jerusalem, on the one hand (3:17), and Israel, on the other (14:21, *thronos doxēs* "throne of glory" is more a metaphorical sense). Ezekiel, in his great vision of the future, saw the new → temple as the abode of

the divine throne (43:7); while in Isa. 66:1 heaven is said to be Yahweh's throne (cf. Isa. 6:1; 14:13).

The special nature of the divine kingship is seen in the awesome throne-vision of Isaiah (6:1–13; cf. also 1 Ki. 22:19), but most clearly in Ezekiel (1:4–28). Here Yahweh's kingly power is seen under the symbolism of transcendent creatures, representing the world-rule of their Lord. They each have four faces, representing God's omnipresence, and face the world, while above their out-spread wings "glittering like an awe-inspiring crystal" (1:22) stands the vault of heaven which, according to the account of creation in Gen. 1:6 f., keeps the destroying floods away from the creation. It is above this world, that is to say, entirely and inaccessibly out of men's reach, that God's throne is seen, surrounded by an unearthly brightness. Here is a pictorial, rather than a conceptual description, both of the sheer transcendence of God, and of his omnipresence in the world.

The throne of the "Ancient of days" in Dan. 7:9 probably has a similar significance (cf. Ps. 97:2; Eth.En. 14:18 f.) The other thrones mentioned, which have given rise to much debate, are probably for the assessors or the jury in the court proceedings. It is not certain who these would originally be. Later interpretation makes them the elect saints (cf. Matt. 19:28; 1 Cor. 6:2; Rev. 20:4). See further H. H. Rowley, *Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires in the Book of Daniel*, 1935; J. A. Emerton. "The Origin of the Son of Man Imagery", *JTS* New Series 9, 1958, 225–42; N. W. Porteous, *Daniel: A Commentary*, 1965, 107 ff.

4. The hidden dynamic of this throne-theology is revealed by the rite of Yahweh's ceremonial enthronement, which is reflected in the evidence, e.g., of Pss. 24; 93; 96–99. Yahweh's kingship is not an inactive representation, but a fight that has just been won. This is particularly clear in Ps. 93; but the fight-motif comes again in Pss. 46 and 89:7 ff. According to S. Mowinckel, "The [enthronement] festival celebrates Yahweh as the creator of the world, as king and ruler of the world, in his victory over the dragon, the flood and all his enemies" (*Religion und Kultus*, 1953, 76). In this ritual, which was part of the New Year Festival, the Ark of the Covenant is thought to have represented the unoccupied throne of God: Yahweh is pictured as present, though invisible, "enthroned on the cherubim" (Ps. 99:1), which were on both sides of the flat surface of the ark. The Ark was "the earthly counterpart of the heavenly throne" (W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament* II, 1967, 193). For further discussion of kingship and the enthronement Psalms → Myth, art. *mythos* OT; → King, Kingdom, art. *basileia* OT; and the following literature: G. Fohrer, *History of Israelite Religion*, 1973, 139–50; J. de Fraine, *L'Aspect religieux de la Royauté Israelite*, 1954; H. Ringgren, *The Messiah in the Old Testament*, 1956; and *Israelite Religion*, 1966, 220–38; I. Engnell, *Studies in Divine Kingship*, 1943; G. Widengren, *Sakrales Königtum*, 1955; A. R. Johnson, *Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel*, 1955; G. W. Ahlström, *Psalm* 89, 1959; S. H. Hooke, ed., *Myth, Ritual and Kingship*, 1958; S. Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship*, I–II 1962; and *He That Cometh* 1954; A. A. Anderson, *The Book of Psalms*, I–II, 1972; and literature in the bibliography under → King.

5. Late Judaism, in connection with Ps. 93, counted the throne of Yahweh as one of the "pre-cosmic works of God" (O. Schmitz, *TDNT* III 163). Yahweh's throne is described in detail in Eth.Enoch 14:18 ff. and Sl.Enoch 2–20; but a messiah sitting on this throne is only mentioned in Eth.Enoch 51:3; 55:4; 62:2, 3,

5 ff. This would have been a profanation for Judaism, which regarded the messiah as a man. In Eth.Enoch, the messiah, who is here a heavenly figure, administers justice before the throne of God (45:3).

6. 11QMelchizedek refers to → Melchizedek taking his seat on high as head of the heavenly court in response to Ps. 7:7b (cf. RSV). There are also references to the throne of the coming son of David in 4Q161 (pesher on Isa. 11:1 ff.) and 4Q174 (pesher on 2 Sam. 7:14).

NT 1. The NT adds little to these OT conceptions. It takes them over quite naturally and without emphasis, except for Rev., where the throne plays a dominant role. The word occurs there 41 times, over against 14 instances in the rest of the NT. In Matt. 5:34, Jesus speaks of → heaven as God's throne and for that reason forbids men to swear by it. The promise to Nathan is alluded to in Lk. 1:32, with extended reference to the messianic throne (2 Sam. 7:12, 16; cf. also Acts 3:20 f.). Genitive phrases, modelled on LXX usage, are found, such as "throne of glory" (Matt. 19:28; 25:31; cf. 1 Sam. 2:8) and "throne of grace" (Heb. 4:16). The latter is the antitype to the "mercy seat [*hilastērion*]" in the earthly sanctuary (Heb. 9:5; cf. F. F. Bruce, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, *NLC*, 1964, 86; → Reconciliation, art. *hilaskomai*).

2. A striking point in the NT is that the → Son of man sits on the divine throne of judgment. It is not the conception as such that is new (see above OT 5) but the claim of a historical man to be this eschatological judge. Matt. 19:28 even promises such ruling authority to the twelve apostles, as co-judges over Israel (→ Disciple, art. *akoloutheō*). In Matt. 25:31 ff. the Son of man judges the world from his throne of glory entirely on his own. That is the provocative claim of Jesus. There is a pictorial tension between these statements and those (following Ps. 110:1) which view the messiah "sitting at the right hand of God" (→ Hand, art. *dexios*); but there is no material contradiction.

3. (a) In Heb. the phrase "the throne of grace [*thronos tēs charitos*]" (4:16) appears, in implicit antithesis to the usual Rab. concept of two divine thrones – that of justice, and that of grace. In exhortation to stand fast to our confession, Heb. 4:15 f. declares: "For we have not a high priest who is unable to sympathize with our weaknesses, but one who in every respect has been tempted as we are, yet without sinning. Let us then with confidence draw near to the throne of grace, that we may receive mercy and find grace to help in time of need."

(b) In what is widely considered to be a baptismal hymn, Col. 1:15–20, *thronoi* are mentioned along with sovereignties (*kyriotētes*), powers (*archai*) and authorities (*exousiai*). This list, dependent on Sl.Enoch 20 and Test.Lev. 3, is dealing with the various groups of angels, who belong to the council of the heavenly throne (cf. 1 Ki. 22:19). The designation *thronoi* could derive from the fact that thrones stand at the disposal of this group of angels (cf. Rev. 4:4; and *TDNT* III 16 f.). Within the compass of the hymn, this enumeration declares that Christ's creative power does not only embrace what is visible, the earth, but also what is invisible – the world of angels. See further E. Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon*, *Hermeneia*, 1971, 51 ff.

4. (a) The picture of the throne in Rev. is based particularly on Ezek., and is further developed especially in ch. 4. The throne signifies again the transcendent

majesty of God. The "crystal sea" of v. 6 is not the sea of nations, but the vault of heaven, as it is in Ezek. 1. The twenty-four elders on their thrones are new (v. 4); they are the heads of the heavenly court-council. They represent the old and new Israel, consisting of the heads of the twelve tribes together with the twelve apostles. Their function is like that of the heavenly beings. They constantly adore "him who is seated on the throne" (v. 10) before whom they fall down and cry: "Worthy art thou, our Lord and God, to receive glory and honour and power, for thou didst create all things, and by thy will they existed and were created" (4:11).

(b) A new factor appears for the first time in Rev. 5:6 ff. "In the middle of the throne [*en mesō tou thronou*]" (not "between", as RSV and some translations render it), that is, right in the centre, as the divine judgment of the world begins, appears the One who is to carry it out, "the Lamb that was slain". Christ, in highest glory, is here pictured in terms of complete defencelessness. Nowhere is the paradox of the NT revelation of Christ shown so clearly as here. God's power is, from the human point of view, total powerlessness. Christ carries out the judgment in, and as, a self-sacrifice. The One who sits on the throne was man. He turned power into service and brotherhood. To him, at the end of time, the whole creation pays its homage (Rev. 5:13).

(c) Alongside this Christian conception of the throne as seen by faith, appears in Rev. (and similarly in 2 Thess. 3:4) the opposing throne of the → Antichrist, who, on his side, proclaims his power and demands submission (13:4 ff.). This throne, too, speaks of dominion – not of the → Lamb, but of the → Dragon (12:2). But his dominion succumbs to the wrathful judgment of the Lamb (16:10). Contrary to all appearances, it cannot last. The throne of the Lamb is ultimately triumphant. From it flows the river of the water of life in the new → Jerusalem (22:1).

C. Blendinger

→ Angel (see especially the bibliography for further literature), → Beginning, → Caesar, → Demon, → King, → Spirit, → Strength

(a). W. Beilner, "Authority", *EBT* I 52–55; M. Bouttier, *Christianity according to Paul*, *SBT* 49, 1966, 66 ff.; G. B. Caird, *Principalities and Powers*, 1956; H. von Campenhausen, "The Problem of Order in Early Christianity and the Ancient Church", in *Tradition and Life in the Church*, 1968, 123–40; and *Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power in the Church of the First Three Centuries*, 1969; O. Cullmann, *The State in the New Testament*, 1957; D. Daube, "*exousia* in Mark 1, 22 and 27", *JTS* 39, 1938, 45–59; W. Foerster, *exousia* etc., *TDNT* II 562–75; B. Gerhardsson, *Memory and Manuscript: Oral Tradition and Written Transmission in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity*, *Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis* 22, 1961; W. Grundmann, *dynamai* etc., *TDNT* II 284–317; A. T. Hanson, "The Conquest of the Powers", in *Studies in Paul's Technique and Theology*, 1974, 1–12; J. Jervell, "The Twelve on Israel's Thrones: Luke's Understanding of the Apostolate", in *Luke and the People of God*, 1972, 75–112; E. Käsemann, "Principles of the Interpretation of Romans 13", in *New Testament Questions of Today*, 1969, 196–216; H. Kleinknecht, G. von Rad, K. G. Kuhn, K. L. Schmidt, *basileus* etc., *TDNT* I 564–93; J. Michl, "Principalities and Powers", *EBT* II 712–16; C. D. Morrison, *The Powers that Be: Earthly Rulers and Demonic Powers in Romans 13.1–7*, *SBT* 29, 1960; R. Murray, "Authority and the Spirit in the New Testament", in J. Dalrymple *et al.*, *Authority in a Changing Church*, 1968; C. H. Powell, *The Biblical Concept of Power*, 1963; O. Schmitz, *thronos*, *TDNT* III 160–67; H. Schlier, *Principalities and Powers in the New Tesatment*, 1961; C. Schneider, *kathēmai* etc. *TDNT* I 440–54; W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*, I, *Hermeneia*, 1976.

(b). E. Bammel, "Ein Beitrag zur paulinischen Staatsanschauung", *TLZ* 85, 1960, 837–40; H. Bardtke and H. D. Wendland, "Macht", *EKL* II 1205 ff.; L. Bieler, *Theios anēr. Das Bild des "göttlichen Menschen" in Spätantike und Frühchristentum*, I–II, 1935–36; and "*dynamis* und

exousia", *Wiener Studien* 55, 1935, 182–90; H. von Campenhausen, "Zur Auslegung von Röm. 13. Die dämonistische Deutung des Exousia-Begriffs", in *Aus der Frühzeit des Christentums*, 1963, 81 ff. (reprinted from memorial volume for A. Bertholet, 1950, 97 ff.); O. Cullmann, "Zur neuesten Diskussion über die *Exousiai* in Röm. 13.1", *ThZ* 10, 1954, 321 ff.; G. Delling, *Röm. 13, 1–7 innerhalb der Briefe des Neuen Testaments*, 1962; M. Dibelius, *Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus*, 1909; W. Eichrodt, *Der Prophet Hesekiel*, *ATD* 22, 1965²; L. Goppelt, "Der Staat in der Sicht des Neuen Testaments", *Christologie und Ethik*, 1968, 190 ff.; W. Grundmann, *Der Begriff der Kraft in der neutestamentlichen Gedankenwelt*, 1932; K. Hartenstein, *Der wiederkommende Herr*, 1954³, 82 ff.; O. Michel, "Das Problem des Staates in neutestamentlicher Sicht", *TLZ* 83, 1958, 161–66; F. Neugebauer, "Zur Auslegung von Röm. 13, 1–7", *KuD* 8, 1962, 151 ff.; E. Schweizer, *Die Herrschaft Christi und der Staat im Neuen Testament*, *BEvTh* 11, 1949; O. Schmitz, "Der Begriff *dynamis* bei Paulus", *Festschrift für A. Deissmann*, 1927, 139 ff.; J. Schniewind, "Die Archonten dieses Aeons, 1 Kor. 2.6–8", in *Nachgelassene Reden und Aufsätze*, ed. E. Kähler, 1952, 104–9; N. Söderblom, D. Georgi, K. E. Løgstrup, R. Dahrendorf, "Macht", *RGG*³ IV 564 ff.; A. Strobel, "Zum Verständnis von Röm. 13", *ZNW* 47, 1956, 67 ff.; R. Walker, *Studie zu Röm. 13, 1–7*, *ThEH* Neue Folge 132, 1966; V. Zsifkovitis, *Der Staatsgedanke nach Paulus in Röm. 13, 1–7*, 1964.

Mind

φρόνησις

φρονέω (*phroneō*), think, judge, give one's mind to, set one's mind on, be minded; φρόνημα (*phronēma*), way of thinking, mentality; φρόνησις (*phronēsis*), way of thinking, frame of mind, intelligence, good sense; φρόνιμος (*phronimos*), intelligent, discerning, sensible, thoughtful, prudent.

CL Words derived from the stem *phren-* occur frequently in classical Gk. literature, the vb. *phroneō* from Homer onwards, the nouns *phronēma* and *phronēsis* from Aeschylus and Sophocles respectively, and the adj. *phronimos* likewise from Sophocles. The words are found most often in their ordinary meanings as above, although *phronēsis* frequently has the fuller sense of discernment, judicious insight, particularly in Plato and Aristotle. Similarly *phronimos* means intelligent, discerning, judicious.

OT All the words appear in the Gk. translations of the OT. The Heb. equivalents are *ḥāḵam* and *bîn* with their respective derivatives, the second occurring slightly more often than the first. Various meanings are possible, e.g., in Job 5:13 *phronēsis* stands for cunning, craftiness, *phronimos* having the corresponding adj. sense in Gen. 3:1. In one place *phronēsis* means a peasant's knowledge of his job (*da'aṯ*) (Prov. 24:5), and on two occasions in Theodotion's translation of Dan. it means intellectual acuteness, either in the interpretation of dreams (5:12) or as a qualification for training in the palace of the Persian king (1:4). The words occur predominantly, however, (especially as nouns and adjs.) in the OT Wisdom Literature, where the prevailing meaning is that of discernment. Both noun and adj. are regularly used with reference to men, though *phronēsis* occasionally denotes the creative understanding of God (e.g. Isa. 40:28; Jer. 10:12; Prov. 3:19, in these last two passages the word being used in parallel with *sophia*, wisdom). In the LXX, therefore, one can detect a tendency to fill out the meaning of these words in accordance with the OT doctrine of → wisdom (art. *sophia* OT).

NT 1. The tendency found in the LXX hardly continues into the NT, one possible reason being the NT's predominant use of the vb. as opposed to the nouns and

adj. *phroneō* occurs 26 times, of which no less than 23 are in Paul, while *phronēma* is found only 4 times (all in Rom. 8), *phronēsis* twice and *phronimos* or the adv. *phronimōs* 15 times altogether. The point is that, unlike *phronēma* and *phronēsis*, the vb. tends to retain its ordinary meaning; it is, so to speak, more neutral and requires a context to indicate its true sense. This can be seen in passages where *phroneō* means to think, judge (e.g. Acts 28:22; 1 Cor. 13:11; Phil. 1:7; 4:10), where the reference is not so much to the process of thinking in itself, but rather to the content of what is thought.

This is even clearer in those places where *phroneō*, for the most part used absolutely, acquires its proper meaning only from its immediate grammatical context, e.g. from its use with the prefix *hyper-*, think more highly (Rom. 12:3), or with some characteristic word like *sōs* (as in *sōphronein* also in Rom. 12:13, "to think with sober judgment), *tapeinos* (cf. the compound *tapeinophrosynē*, Phil 2:3; → humility, art. *tapeinos*), or the object *ta hypsēla* lit. "do not think high things", i.e. "do not become proud" (Rom. 11:20 RSV; cf. 12:16). These words, some of which form compounds with *phroneō* (e.g. *hyperphroneō*, *sōphroneō*, Rom. 12:3), all indicate direction ("upwards" or "downwards") and impart to *phroneō* its specific meaning in a given context. Paul's whole use of language in Rom. 12:3 indicates how deeply a person's thoughts are affected by their object and their direction.

2. It follows that, although the vb. as such has no particular content, there can nevertheless be no such thing as neutral thinking. Man is always aiming at something. Striving and endeavour are part of his nature. He must seek to possess, and he must be committed. This is the idea behind *phronēma*, which occurs only in Rom. 8 and which is well translated by "setting the mind on" (cf. RSV). In the context of this chapter, which describes the new life in Christ as a life in the Spirit of God, Paul testifies that a man's mind is set on certain things, and that what these are depends on whether he is in → "the flesh" or in → "the Spirit". Thus, those who live according to the flesh (*hoi kata sarka ontes*, Rom. 8:5) set their minds on the things of the flesh, i.e. their thinking and striving are directed, as is the whole of their life, towards those things which are "merely human, the earthly-transitory" (R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, I, 1952, 238). On the other hand, those who are living in the → Spirit of God (*hoi de kata pneuma ontes*) (Rom. 8:5) endeavour to live in the light of the promised gift of the Holy Spirit and under his control. To them that are thus minded there is a promise of "life and peace" (Rom. 8:6). But to set one's mind on the flesh means death, not only because there is an inevitable connection between the two (cf. Rom. 5:21; 6:23), but also because fleshly-mindedness is rebellion against God, and must be, since it cannot submit to his → law (Rom. 8:7). This passage makes it abundantly clear that the way one thinks is intimately related to the way one lives, whether in Christ, in the Spirit and by faith, or alternatively in the flesh, in sin and in spiritual death. A man's thinking and striving cannot be seen in isolation from the overall direction of his life; the latter will be reflected in the aims which he sets himself.

This close inter-relationship between life and thought is echoed by the wide range of meanings attaching to *phroneō*. It expresses not merely an activity of the intellect, but also a movement of the will; it is both interest and decision at the same time. Hence the meaning can actually extend to the idea of "taking sides"

with someone or something. There is just a hint of this in Rom. 8:5, while the idea is uppermost in Mk. 8:33 (par. Matt. 16:23). Peter is reproved by Jesus because his thought and will are taking the side not of the things of God but of the things of man (which are opposed to God). It is God's will that Jesus should be offered as a sacrifice, and by opposing the divine will Peter is furthering the cause of God's enemies, indeed he is on the side of the adversary himself (hence the sharp rebuke "Get behind me, Satan!").

3. But what should a Christian strive towards? What should be his aim? What kind of thinking is fitting for him (cf. Rom. 12:3)? The answer which seems most obvious to the natural man, namely that a man should strive for high ideals, is at first sight attractive to the Christian too. After all, God has given him gifts which, as a Christian, he could seek to perfect and use for exalted purposes. But this striving after "high things" can lead to jealousy, disappointment and schisms in the church, as is shown by the example of Corinth. Hence the apostle exhorts his readers to think with sober judgment according to the "measure of faith [*metron pisteōs*]" (Rom. 12:3), for "whatever does not proceed from faith is sin" (Rom. 14:23), and faith, i.e. their new life in Christ, will direct their thinking aright, keep it within proper limits and save it from pride.

The warning that a man who sets his mind on "high things" runs the risk of becoming arrogant is also found in Rom. 11:20, where *hypsēla phronein* clearly means to cherish proud thoughts, to be haughty. In Rom. 12:16 Paul warns: "Do not be haughty, but give yourselves to humble tasks" (or "associate with the lowly", as RSV, depending on whether *tois tapeinois* is taken as neut. or masc.). For those who consider themselves clever (*phronimoi par' heautois*, Rom. 12:16b, adapting Prov. 3:7) are under God's judgment: "God opposes the proud, but gives grace to the humble" (1 Pet. 5:5, quoting Prov. 3:34; see below 6 (b)). Whether Paul is warning "charismatic" believers to beware of spiritual pride (as presumably he is in Rom. 12:16), or censuring Gentile Christians for arrogance towards the Jews (as in Rom. 11:20), the message to Christians is clear: they are to aim not higher but lower, in order to identify with the lowly and the humble, and are to strive towards the unity of the church, which is endangered by the arrogance of individuals or of whole groups.

4. Moreover, as so often in Paul, a Christian's aims are closely intertwined with the motives underlying them. The apostle frequently issues exhortations along these lines; e.g. at least 6 times his readers are commanded to "be of the same mind" (*to auto phronein*, think the same, Rom. 12:16; 15:5; 2 Cor. 13:11; Phil. 2:2; 4:2; *to hen phronein*, lit. "think the one", i.e. be "of one mind", Phil. 2:2 RSV; similarly *ouden allo phronein*, lit. "think no other", cf. RSV "take no other view", Gal. 5:10; cf. Phil. 3:15). Such exhortations, which are frequently linked with warnings against arrogance (e.g. Rom. 12:16; 15:5; implicitly in Rom. 11:20; Phil. 3:15), do not spring simply from a pragmatic outlook which on purely practical grounds puts church unity above all else. Paul argues back to the fact of Christ, since he it is upon whom the church is built and by whom it is sustained. A very good example of this occurs in the introductory verses to the "Christ-hymn" of Phil. 2:6–11. There is a lavish use of language in v. 2 to impress upon church members the need for being "of one mind", then the motivation given in v. 5 ff. is that Christians are in Christ, and are so by virtue of his life of self-abasement.

The translation and hence the interpretation of Phil. 2:5 is disputed; at first sight the AV may appear convincing: "Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus." In that case, Christ's self-abasement would be the model for a similar attitude on the part of church members. The question is, however, whether *en Christō Iēsou* ought not to be regarded as a formula, as so often in Paul, for the individual believer's relationship to Christ: "Have the same thoughts among yourselves as you have in your communion with Christ Jesus" (Arndt, 874; cf. C. H. Dodd, *The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments*, 1944², 64). If this is so, then the call to unity would be based upon the fact that the → church possesses new life under the → lordship of Christ (cf. vv. 10 f.), new life which springs from his life of self-abasement. This interpretation is supported by Phil. 4:2, where church members are required to be "of the same mind in the Lord [*to auto phronein en kyriō*]". Here the phrase "in the Lord" is presumably a formula for the believer's new life in Christ (cf. Arndt, 259; → Body). Among other passages where the apostle calls for a harmonious attitude of mind, his prayer in Rom. 15:5 is noteworthy for the grounds on which he bases it: he prays that God may grant to the church *to auto phronein kata Christon Iēsoun*, lit. "to think the same according to Christ Jesus." This means both "according to the pattern of Jesus Christ" ("for Christ did not please himself") (v. 3), and also "according to the Spirit of Christ." In other words, God has given to men the opportunity of achieving unity and harmony in Christ. This would then be one of those passages supporting the statement that in the NT, and particularly in Paul, attitude of mind is closely connected with spiritual status: the believer's new standing in Christ both creates and demands a new mentality, which comes to concrete expression in the unity of the church.

5. Similar considerations underlie Paul's injunction in Col. 3:2: "Set your minds on things that are above, not on things that are on earth". Here *ta anō* (→ heaven) refers not to anything humanly exalted but to that heavenly sphere where the exalted Christ exercises his lordship (cf. Col. 3:1). He frees his people from all that would hold them down; contrast Phil. 3:19, where Paul accuses his opponents of having their "minds set on earthly things [*ta epigeia phronountes*]" and of making a god out of their → "belly".

6. The adj. *phronimos* occurs 9 times in the Gospels and 5 times in Paul. The adv. *phronimōs* occurs only at Lk. 16:8.

(a) In the Gospels the words are confined to parables or figurative language, and refer to that wise, judicious behaviour which should characterize those in the kingdom of God. The examples are taken from everyday life, though occasionally they are significantly exaggerated: the wise man builds his house on the rock (Matt. 7:24); the five wise virgins have a supply of oil (Matt. 25:1 ff.); a wise and faithful steward watches and is ready at the coming of his master (Matt. 24:45; par. Lk. 12:42); the unrighteous steward acts wisely, for "the sons of this world are wiser in their own generation than the sons of light" (Lk. 16:8; on this parable see J. D. M. Derrett, "The Parable of the Unjust Steward", *Law in the New Testament*, 1970, 48–77; → Possessions); and in Matt. 10:16 the wisdom of serpents is held up as an example to Christ's disciples. It has to be said, however, that the wisdom which is presented to the disciples as being in keeping with the kingdom of God is not just ordinary human common sense. Rather, the fact that *phronimos* is contrasted with *mōros*, foolish (→ Wisdom, Folly, art. *mōria*), in the first two parables

mentioned above (Matt. 7:26; 25:2 f., 8), shows that here the OT idea of wisdom is involved: the wise man is he who does the will of the Lord (Matt. 7:24); the foolish man is he who refuses obedience. Hence the idea behind *phronimos* in the Gospels may be summarized thus: the believer's wisdom lies in his obedience.

(b) The Pauline passages clearly arise from the slogan which seems to have been in circulation among the "charismatic" Corinthians: *hēmeis de phronimoi*, "But we are intelligent [or discerning]", a claim which Paul controverts in 1 Cor. 4:10; cf.10:15; 2 Cor. 11:19. The wisdom claimed by such people was a purely human wisdom, which because of their arrogance jeopardized the unity of the church (see above NT 3, 4). Therefore, Paul counters it both with a reference to his own suffering as an apostle (not without a touch of irony, e.g. 1 Cor. 4:10; 2 Cor. 11:19) and with the warning, supported by the OT, that the man who regards himself as wise falls under the judgment of God (Rom. 11:25; 12:16). → Cross; → Wisdom, Folly.

7. Of all the words under discussion, *phronēsis* comes nearest to the OT concept of wisdom (see above OT; → Wisdom, art. *sophia*). In Eph. 1:9, where it stands beside *sophia*, it means discernment, insight. In Lk. 1:17 it could mean simply mental attitude, mentality, but the fact that it occurs in the combination *phronēsis dikaiōn* and in a context strongly reminiscent of the OT, suggests that the correct translation is "the wisdom of the just". Such wisdom, however, is not merely rational discernment, but is the result of God's people being turned to the obedience of faith, in accordance with OT prophecy. *J. Goetzmann*

→ Empty (for discussion and literature on Phil. 2), → Head, → Heart, → Humility, → Knowledge, → Reason, → Think, → Wisdom

(a). G. Bertram, *mōros* etc. *TDNT* IV 832–47 and *phrēn* etc., *TDNT* IX 220–35; G. Bornkamm, "Faith and Reason in Paul", and "On Understanding the Christ-hymn (Philippians 2.6–11)", in *Early Christian Experience*, 1969, 29–46, 112–22; R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, I, 1952, 214; G. Fohrer and H. Wilckens, *sophia* etc., *TDNT* VII 465–528; W. Grundmann, *tapeinos* etc., *TDNT* VIII 1–26; R. P. Martin, *Carmen Christi: Philippians ii.5–11 in Recent Interpretation and in the Setting of Early Christian Worship*, *Society for New Testament Study Monograph Series*, 4, 1967; C. F. D. Moule, "Further Reflections on Philippians 2:5–11; in W. W. Gasque and R. P. Martin, eds., *Apostolic History and the Gospel, Biblical and Historical Essays presented to F. F. Bruce*, 1970, 264–76; J. T. Sanders, *The New Testament Christological Hymns*, *Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series* 15, 1971, 58–74; E. Schweizer, *Lordship and Discipleship*, *SBT* 28, 1960.

(b). G. Braumann, *Vorpaulinische christliche Taufverkündigung bei Paulus*, 1962, 56 ff.; A. Feuillet, "L'hymne christologique de l'épître aux Philippiens", *RB* 72, 1965, 352 ff., 481 ff.; E. Fuchs, *Die Freiheit des Glaubens*, 1949; D. Georgi, "Der vorpaulinische Hymnus Phil. 2,6–11", in E. Dinkler and H. Thyen, eds., *Zeit und Geschichte. Dankesgabe an Rudolf Bultmann zum 80. Geburtstag*, 1964, 263 ff.; J. Jeremias, "Zur Gedankenführung in den paulinischen Briefen", in *Studia Paulina in Honorem J. de Zwaan*, 1953, 146 ff. (reprinted in *Abba*, 1966, 269 ff.); E. Käsemann "Kritische Analyse von Phil. 2, 5–11", in *Exegetische Versuche und Besinnungen*, I, 1960, 51 ff.; E. Lohmeyer, *Kyrios Jesus. Eine Untersuchung zu Phil. 2, 5–11*, (1928) 1961; *Das Evangelium des Markus*, *KEK* 1/2, 1967[17]; and *Der Brief an die Philipper*, *KEK* 9/1 (1930) revised by W. Schmauch, 1953[9]; K. H. Rengstorf, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas*, *NTD* 3, 1952[6]; J. Schniewind, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, *NTD* 1, 1949[5]; and *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus*, *NTD* 2, 1968[12]; G. Strecker, "Redaktion und Tradition im Christus-Hymnus Phil. 2, 6–11", *ZNW* 55, 1964, 63–78.

Miracle, Wonder, Sign

Etymologically the words miracle and wonder refer to the astonishment and

amazement, created by an unusual or inexplicable event. In a religious context such an event is traced back to transcendent divine influence, but the unusual need not necessarily contradict the normal laws of nature. However, Christian faith has from the first attempted to understand and to interpret the happenings which have been experienced. The astonishment and amazement felt when confronted by such a spectacle or such an impression is rendered by the word-group *thaumazō*. *teras* is a specifically religious concept stemming perhaps from mantology and → magic, and throwing into relief the aspect of the extraordinary, and originally also the aspect of terror in a miraculous sign. By contrast, the originally non-religious word *sēmeion* stresses more the functional aspect of an event as a sign which draws attention (in the first instance visually) to the significance of an event. Only when this condition is fulfilled can we properly speak of miracles. This aspect is one which is frequently stressed when *sēmeion* is combined with *teras*. The investigation of the historicity of miracles lies outside the scope of this work, but details of studies dealing with this aspect of the subject are given in the bibliography.

θαῦμα

θαυμάζω (*thaumazō*), be astonished, wonder at, be surprised; *θαῦμα* (*thauma*), object of wonder, wonder, marvel, miracle; *θαυμάσιος* (*thaumasios*), wonderful, remarkable; *θαυμαστός* (*thaumastos*), wonderful, marvellous, astonishing; *ἐκθαυμάζω* (*ekthaumazō*), be greatly amazed; *θαμβέω* (*thambeō*), be astounded, amazed; *ἐκθαμβέω* (*ekthambeō*), be amazed, alarmed; *ἔκθαμβος* (*ekthambos*), utterly astonished; *θάμβος* (*thambos*), astonishment, fear; *θορυβέω* (*thorybeō*), throw into disorder, pass. be troubled, distressed; *θόρυβος* (*thorybos*), commotion, uproar, turmoil; *θορυβάζω* (*thorybazō*), cause trouble, pass. be troubled, distressed.

CL 1. The word-group associated with *thauma* and *thaumazō* is found in Gk. from the 8th and 7th cents., to designate that which by its appearance arouses astonishment and amazement. The root is cognate with *theaomai*, to look at. The reason for the amazement is expressed by the acc. in the trans. use of *thaumazō*, and with prepositions (*dia*, *en*, *peri*) in the intrans. use.

apothaumazō (Sir. 11:13) and *ekthaumazō* (Sir. 27:23), to be greatly amazed, are intensive compounds. The adjs. *thaumastos* and *thaumasios* take on particular nuances in Biblical usage.

2. Synonymous with these is the word-group associated with *thambos* (Hom. onwards), astonishment, dread (the latter meaning especially in LXX usage, cf. Ezek. 7:18); and *thambeō*, frighten, be frightened (trans., 2 Sam. 22:5; intrans. and pass., Wis. 17:13). The compound *ekthambeō*, terrify (Sir. 30:9), and the adj. *ekthambos*, terrifying, terrified (Dan. 7:7 Theodotion) are also intensive. Synonymous, too, is the group *thorybos*, commotion, uproar (Prov. 1:27); *thorybeō*, to throw into disorder (Wis. 18:19), is used from the 6th and 5th cents. B.C. onwards. Both word-groups are rare in biblical Gk. → Ecstasy; → Godliness; → Fear.

Examples of *thaumazō* as the human reaction to the working of a deity in the revelation of its divine power can be seen extensively in the history of Gk. religion, and are already to be found in the Homeric epics (e.g. *Od.* 1, 323; *Il.* 3, 398). From Hellenistic times mention may be made of Aelius Aristides (2nd cent. A.D.), the orator and devout worshipper of Asclepius, who in his writings alludes

to the marvellous (*thaumastas*) and powerful deeds of the god (G. Bertram, *TDNT* III 28). These examples, of course, only give us a very slight idea of the significance which *thaumazō* came to have in biblical writings.

OT In the LXX *thauma* appears only 4 times; 3 times in the phrase *thauma echein* (= *thaumazō*), Job 17:8; 18:20; 21:5 (*v.l. thaumasate*); and also Job 20:8 as *v.l.* for *phasma*, vision (Heb. *ḥezyôn*). The vb. *thaumazō* occurs chiefly in Job, Isa., and Sir. *thaumazō* is often combined with *prosōpon*, face; it means (like the Heb. *nāśā' pānîm*) to lift up the countenance, show favour towards, be partial towards (Prov. 18:5; Job 13:10); in Deut. 10:17 and 2 Chr. 19:7 it is expressly denied that God as judge is partisan. In a more general sense it denotes a friendly disposition which readily grants requests (e.g. Gen. 19:21, of God), a taking into consideration (Deut. 28:50) and a being highly favoured (2 Ki. 5:1, pass.). In this kind of usage, for which examples could be multiplied, the essential point is that the element of fear is not included in *thaumazō*. It is different where *thaumazō* comes to stand for the Heb. equivalent *šāmam*, be petrified with fear (Lev. 26:32; Job 17:8; 21:5; Dan. 8:27 Theodotion, or *tāmâh*, be astounded, horror-stricken (Ps. 48:6; Jer. 4:9; Heb. 1:5). The latter passages, in particular, show how the idea of astonishment passes over to that of horror. The human reaction to God's activity, which is here depicted for us, is an astonishment mingled with fear and horror. One can see the range of the word *thaumazō* in a comparison of Job 21:5 and 42:11 in the LXX text; the sight of Job suffering and stricken by God arouses a terrified astonishment (21:5), but astonishment is also caused by the marvellous help which he receives from God (42:11).

The adjs. *thaumastos* and *thaumasios* are found chiefly in the Pss. and Sir. The Heb. equivalent for *thaumastos* is often *nôrā'*, terrible: Daniel prays to the great and marvellous, i.e. fear-inspiring, God (Dan. 9:4 Theodotion). Many similar examples are found in the Pss.: God is marvellous, i.e. awe-inspiring amongst his holy ones (Ps. 68[67]:36); he is marvellous in the execution of his decrees (Ps. 45[44]:5). *thaumastos* stands chiefly for words formed from Heb. *niplā'ôṯ* (cf. the vb. *pālā'*, to be extra-ordinary, or marvellous): in Ps. 106[105]:22 where the marvellous and terrible acts of God (in "the land of Ham" and at the Red Sea) are compared; and in Ps. 118[117]:23 where that event is described as marvellous which in the NT is applied to Christ: the stone which the builders rejected has become the cornerstone (cf. Matt. 21:42; Mk. 12:10 f.; Lk. 20:17; Acts 4:11; 1 Pet. 2:7). With the adj. *thaumasios* the Heb. equivalents are again words formed from *pālā'* (occasionally occurring with *thaumastos*). *thaumasia* is the regular designation for the marvellous acts of God, which it is one of the Psalmists' basic concerns to proclaim and praise. These marvellous acts embrace all God's activity in creation and history (cf. Pss. 9:2; 26[25]:7; 71[70]:17; 86[85]:10). The praise of the Psalmists is continued in the book of Jesus Sirach, Ecclesiasticus (cf. Sir. 18:6; 38:6; 42:17; 48:14). Even the stars, the sun and the moon are included in this paean of praise (Sir. 43:2, 8).

In later Judaism the hymn-roll, or Hodayot, of the Dead Sea Scrolls took up the praise of the marvellous acts of God (cf. 1QH 1:30, 33; 3:23; 4:28, 29; 6:11).

NT 1. In the NT the noun *thauma* is found only twice; once in the phrase *ou thauma*, "it is no wonder" (2 Cor. 11:14), which is borrowed from Hellenistic

diatribe (H. Windisch, *KEK* 9, 1924, ad loc.); then in the formulation in Rev. 17:6 *ethaumasa . . . thauma mega*, "I was greatly astonished". *thaumasios* is found only in Matt. 21:15 for the miraculous deeds of Jesus. The adj. *thaumastos* occurs 7 times: twice (Matt. 21:42; Mk. 12:11) in the quotation of Ps. 118:23 concerning the corner stone which the builders rejected, which is applied to Jesus (cf. above OT; → Rock, Stone, Corner Stone). In 1 Pet. 2:9 the light to which God has called Christians is called *thaumaston*, and its relationship to the divine sphere thus stated (Ps. 68:36, see above OT). In Jn. 9:30 the man healed by Jesus describes as "astonishing", "a marvel" (RSV), the attitude of the Jews who refuse to acknowledge where Jesus has come from. For Rev. 15:1, 3 see below, 6.

thaumazō is the word that occurs most frequently (42 times). In the Synoptic Gospels 25 certain examples are found (including the variant *exethaumazon* in Mk. 12:17), of which 13 are in Lk. Jn. offers 6 instances. The word comes 5 times in Acts, 4 times in the NT letters, and the same number of times in Rev.

The word-group containing *thambos* (astonishment, fear, Lk. 4:36; 5:9; Acts 3:10), *thambeō* (be astounded, Mk. 1:27; 10:24, 32; Acts 3:11 D; 9:6 TR), *ekthambos* (utterly astonished, Acts 3:11), and *ekthambeō* (be amazed, alarmed, Mk. 9:15; 14:33; 16:5 f.) is comparatively rare in the NT. There is a similar number of instances of *thorybos*, noise, clamour, turmoil (Matt. 26:5; 27:24; Mk. 5:38; 14:2; Acts 20:1; 21:34; 24:18), and *thorybeō*, throw into disorder (Acts 17:5; 21:13 D), pass. be troubled, distressed, in disorder (Matt. 9:23; Mk. 5:39). Matt. 26:5; 27:24 and Mk. 14:2 are concerned with disturbances in the nation which could arise from action taken against Jesus, and of which the chief priests and Pilate are afraid. Matt. 9:23 and Mk. 5:38 f. report of the din in the house of Jairus which followed the death of his little girl. According to Acts 17:5, the Jews in Thessalonica threw the town into an uproar in order to disrupt Paul's missionary work. In Acts 20:1 *thorybos* denoted the silversmiths' riot in Ephesus (Acts 19:23 ff.), and in 21:34 the riot amongst the people of Jerusalem (Acts 21:30 ff.) which led to Paul's imprisonment. The vb. and noun are also used in a similar sense in Acts 20:10 and 24:18.

2. In the Synoptic accounts *thaumazō* describes the impression which men get of Jesus' healing activity and miraculous power, such as in the case of the healing of the Gerasene demoniac (Mk. 5:20), the cursing of the fig-tree (Matt. 26:20; → Fruit, art. *sykē*), and the healing of a dumb demoniac (Matt. 9:33; Lk. 11:14). In Matt. the impression is put into words: "such a thing has never before been seen in Israel!" In the transmission of the story of the storm on the sea it is noticeable how closely astonishment and → fear belong together: Matt. speaks of astonishment (8:27), Mk. of being afraid (4:41), and Lk. combines both (8:25). Terror and astonishment are similarly juxtaposed in Lk. 9:43. The reaction of astonishment to Jesus' miraculous deeds is mentioned in a summarizing account in Matt. 15:31; the Marcan par. 7:37 speaks of terror.

If *thaumazō* includes an element of fear, Lk. 11:38 perhaps constitutes an exception. This speaks of the → Pharisees' amazement at Jesus' disregard for the Jewish purificatory prescriptions. Otherwise, however, *thaumazō* and *thambeō* or *ekplēssesthai* are closely related in the Gospels. *ekplēssesthai* is also related to the word of Jesus: "They took fright at his teaching" (Matt. 7:29 par. Mk. 1:22, Lk. 4:32; Matt. 19:25, par. Mk. 10:26; Mk. 11:18; Matt. 22:33), rendering impossible

any clear division between his acts and teaching (cf. Mk. 1:27). Jesus speaks as one who abolishes all otherwise valid criteria. Both Mk. and Lk. use *thambeisthai* or *thambos* (Mk. 1:27; Lk. 4:36; cf. *thambos* in Lk. 5:9, the account of the miraculous catch of fish).

Jesus' appearance in Nazareth seems to be depicted rather differently by Lk.: "All spoke well of him and wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth" (Lk. 4:22a). But this did not stop the same people from trying to kill Jesus (4:29). Mk. reports only briefly the astonished alarm (6:2), which is the effect of Jesus' sovereign majesty. According to Mk. 9:15, even the sight of Jesus was enough to produce *ekthambeisthai*. On the way to Jerusalem Jesus' followers were filled with fear and astonishment (10:32). Hence, it must be asked whether the amazement to which Jesus' discussion with the → Pharisees gave rise, when they questioned him concerning the tax for the emperor, may not have contained an element of fear (Matt. 22:22 par. Mk. 12:17, Lk. 20:26). Such amazement, of course, in no way presupposes faith, though it may well presuppose an inkling of the presence of divine authority. Do the evangelists also postulate such a premonition on the part of Pilate, of whom they record that he was amazed that Jesus did not defend himself against his accusers (Matt. 27:14; Mk. 15:5), or that he was astounded by Jesus' speedy death (Mk. 15:44)?

There are two reports of Jesus' being surprised: at the faith of the centurion at Capernaum (Matt. 8:10; Lk. 7:9) and at the unbelief of the people in Nazareth (Mk. 6:6). A case of Jesus' *ekthambeisthai*, being frightened, is transmitted to us in the scene in Gethsemane (Mk. 14:33).

In Luke's infancy narrative (chs. 1 and 2) a *thaumazein* is spoken of 4 times. Zechariah's long delay in the temple, together with his loss of speech, caused the people surprise (1:21 f.); they took it as an indication that something extraordinary had happened, and that he had seen a vision. The same is true of the → name given to John the Baptist which his father could not utter and which evoked astonishment from the people (1:63). The Christmas message of the shepherds aroused amazement (2:18), as did the encounter of Jesus' parents with Simeon, and his words in the temple (2:33). The whole event has an air about it which caused men to marvel. The Lucan Easter narrative uses the word in two places. In Lk. 24:12 Peter ran to Jesus' grave in response to the message of the women and found it empty. Whereupon he returned home, amazed at what had happened. (The verse is absent from important textual witnesses, and its originality is admittedly not guaranteed. It is, however, supported by Metzger, 184.) Lk. depicts in 24:41 how the disciples were unable to believe for joy and astonishment, when Jesus appeared to them. The fact that the sight of the risen Lord aroused fear has already been stated in v. 37 (cf. the hint in Jn. 21:12). But the Easter joy was not mitigated by it (Matt. 28:8; Lk. 24:41; Jn. 20:20). The appearance of the → angels at the grave was also frightening (*ekthambeisthai* twice in Mk. 16:5, 6; cf. also Matt. 28:3, 5).

3. In the Fourth Gospel *thaumazein* is rarely used to denote human reaction to Jesus' attitudes and behaviour. In reply to the expressed amazement that Jesus possesses knowledge of scripture without having received instruction in it (7:15), he replied (7:16) by pointing out that his teaching comes from the Father who has sent him. In 7:21 Jesus drew the attention of the Jews to the fact that they are surprised (*thaumazete*) and annoyed by a work which he has performed on the

→ Sabbath (7:23), whereas for the sake of circumcision they would regularly break the Sabbath. Jesus' → works will inevitably provoke astonishment, "For the Father loves the Son, and shows him all that he himself is doing; and greater works than these will he show him, that you may marvel" (5:20). To Nicodemus Jesus directed the challenge *mē thaumasēs*: "do not be surprised!" (3:7 JB; cf. Eccl. 5:7). Nicodemus is not to take offence at the initially unintelligible language concerning the new → birth (art. *palingenesia*), about which he can only ask: "How can that be possible?" (v. 9 JB): he is to open his heart to it in faith. The formula *mē thaumasēs* is also found in 5:28 f. (the listeners are not to be surprised at Jesus' language about the → resurrection of the dead to → life and to → judgment, with which they must come to terms), and 1 Jn. 3:13 (here it is the hatred of the world, which Christians are not to be surprised at when they meet it, because it is the offence with which they will have to be able to cope).

4. According to Acts 2:7, when the Spirit was poured out, the assembled crowd of Jews were bewildered with astonishment. Terrified astonishment is the reaction of the people to the healing of the lame man (*thambos kai ekstasis*, "wonder and amazement", 3:10; cf. v. 12 *ti thaumazete*, "why do you wonder?"). For the high priests the object of astonishment is the boldness of Peter and John and the fact that they were "uneducated, common men" (4:13). Elsewhere the term occurs in Acts when OT stories are related (7:31; cf. Dan. 8:27) or quoted (13:41; cf. Hab. 1:5). The question may be asked whether the relative frequency of the word *thaumazō* in the Lucan writings is connected with the proximity of his style to the language of the LXX.

5. From among the NT epistles (apart from 2 Cor. 11:14, cf. above 1) two Pauline passages require mention. In Gal. 1:6 the apostle expresses his amazement that the Galatians have so quickly allowed themselves to be won over to another → gospel; this leads into Paul's debate concerning the Galatian teachers of false doctrine. 2 Thess. 1:10 uses *thaumazō* in an eschatological context: the Lord will come in order to be glorified among his saints (Ps. 68[67]:36) and to be marvelled at among those who believe in him (the pass. *thaumasthēnai* is not rare in the LXX [cf. 2 Ki. 5:1; Isa. 61:6]). In Jude 16 the language is Jewish-Christian, expressing in the manner of the LXX the partiality shown to people (*thaumazontes prosōpa*). On 1 Jn. 3:13 cf. NT 3, above.

6. In Rev. *thaumazō* occurs 4 times in 13:3 and 17:6 ff. Rev. 13:1 ff. reports that at the emergence of the beast (→ Animal, art. *thērion*) from the sea, the embodiment of the anti-Christian power, "the whole earth had followed the beast with astonishment" (v. 3). This astonishment leads to adoration of the beast and of the power behind him, the → dragon. The astonishment in 17:8 also refers to this adoration. The model for the apocalyptic picture was the cult of the Roman Caesars. The astonishment of the seer in 17:7 is different; this concerns the mystery of → "Babylon the great", which is → drunk with the → blood of the saints and of the witnesses of Jesus (vv. 5, 6). Further, Rev. 15:1 speaks of a great and marvellous (*thaumaston*) sign (→ *sēmeion*). The seer sees seven angels bringing the seven final plagues in which the divine judgment of wrath is consummated. But before this event of terror comes to pass, the seer catches a glimpse of the multitude who have conquered and who sing the song of → Moses and the → Lamb (15:2). In this song there resounds the song of praise of the great and

marvellous (*thaumasta*) works of God (→ Work; → Earth), which the devout men of the old covenant praised (15:3). *W. Mundle*

σημεῖον | σημεῖον (*sēmeion*), sign, wonder, miracle.

CL *sēmeion*, attested from Aesch. and Hdt. onwards, is a derivation from *sēma*, sign, a word common in early Gk. epic and synonymous with *sēmeion*, but one whose etymology has not yet been satisfactorily clarified. The word does not originally come from the sphere of religion, but it takes on theological colouring in appropriate contexts.

1. The basic meaning of *sēmeion* is a sign (as a rule, visually perceived, but occasionally also heard) by which one recognizes a particular person or thing, a confirmatory, corroborative, authenticating mark or token. Of the variety of nuances in meaning (see K. H. Rengstorf, *TDNT* VII 204–7) mention may be made of the foretoken or omen, which announced coming events. As distinct from → *teras*, *sēmeion* and its older form *sēma* do not necessarily have the character of the miraculous. Also – and again differently from *teras* – "its reference is to disclosure as the indispensable presupposition of all knowledge" (*TDNT* VII 204), without requiring explanation or interpretation.

2. When a *sēmeion* does have the character of the marvellous, the word acquires the meaning of "miraculous sign". It can then denote in general a miracle worked by the divinity or a miracle-worker which contradicts the natural course of things. This meaning is also found in the phrase *sēmeia kai terata*, "signs and wonders", first attested in Polyb. 3, 112, 18 in the 2nd cent. B.C.

OT 1. In the LXX *sēmeion* is predominantly a translation of the Heb. word *'ôṯ*, and, like it, means: (a) sign, mark, token; (b) miraculous sign, miracle.

(a) Whether directly or by authorized men, whether unrequested (e.g. 1 Sam. 10:1 ff.) or in answer to prayer (e.g. Jdg. 6:17, 36 f.), Yahweh grants and works signs, which accompany his word and vouch for its validity and reliability. Thus the sign of Cain (Gen. 4:15) vouches for the promise of divine protection, the blood on the houses of the Israelites (Exod. 12:13) vouches for the promised exemption. As the rainbow guarantees God's → covenant promise (Gen. 9:8 ff.), so → circumcision (Gen. 17:11) and → Sabbath (Exod. 31:13, 17) are also "signs of the covenant", which express and seal the particular relationship between Yahweh and Israel. Signs which reinforce the promise of the saving presence of Yahweh are spoken of in Exod. 3:12; Jdg. 6:16 ff., 36 ff.; 1 Sam. 10:1 ff.; and Isa. 7:10 ff. Yahweh's messengers can authenticate their mission and message by signs performed (Exod. 4:1 ff.) or predicted (1 Sam. 10:1 ff.; 1 Ki. 13:1 ff.; 2 Ki. 19:29). The symbolic actions of the prophets are a way of making visible the word of God (1 Ki. 11:29 ff.; Isa. 8:1 ff.; 20:1 ff.; Jer. 19:1 ff.; 27:1 ff.; 32:6 ff.; Ezek. 4–5; 24:15 ff.; Hos. 1–3). They are not simply pictorial illustrations of the oral proclamation, but, like the prophetic word itself (cf. Isa. 55:10 f.), tokens of the power which shapes history. The prior representation of that which is coming sets the realization of the thing designated creatively in motion. "The prophetic symbolic act is simply an intensified form of prophetic speech" (G. von Rad,

Old Testament Theology, II, 1965, 96). Even the prophet, as a witness of the message, can himself become a "sign" (Isa. 8:18; Ezek. 12:3 ff., 17 ff.; 21:11 f.; 24:24, 27).

(b) Alongside such signs, which are either quite ordinary incidents or ones where the aspect of the marvellous does not lie in the sign itself but in the prophetic prediction (e.g. 1 Sam. 10:1 ff.; and the announcement in Isa. 7:14 ff. that the child will be a son, → God, art. *Emmanouēl*), there are others which possess a thoroughly miraculous character. In this category belong the signs worked by Moses, for example (Exod. 4; 7–12; 14; 17; Deut. 34:11) and those granted to Gideon (Jdg. 6) and Hezekiah (2 Ki. 20:8 ff.; cf. Isa. 38:7 ff.). In the sense of a miraculous sign *'ôṯ* and *sēmeion* are closely linked with *môp̄ēṯ* and *teras*. The phrase *'ōṯôṯ ûmôp̄ᵉṯîm = sēmeia kai terata*, signs and wonders (where the original distinction between the two terms can no longer be felt), is found primarily in those texts which describe the time of Moses as a time of Yahweh's marvellous action in history (Exod. 7:3; cf. Deut. 4:34; 6:22; 7:19; 29:2; Jer. 32:20 f.; Ps. 78[77]:43; 105[104]:27; 135[134]:9; Neh. 9:10; also Bar. 2:11; Wis. 10:16). Moreover, there are numerous miracles witnessed to in the OT, which God works directly or through charismatic figures (e.g. Gen. 17:17; 18:11; Jos. 3; 6; 10; 1 Ki. 17 f.; 2 Ki. 6 f.). Such signs are considered to be extraordinary occurrences, but not unnatural, since the OT does not know of a natural law as an independent entity on a level with Yahweh. Every event goes back to God, nothing is impossible for him (Gen. 18:14). All signs are pointers to Yahweh himself, a revelation of his → might, and → glory. In them → Israel – indeed, all the nations of the world – are to encounter Yahweh and to recognize that he alone is God (cf. Deut. 4:35; 1 Ki. 18:36 ff.; Ps. 86[85]:10). Since the ultimate goal of signs is the universal glorification of the divine → name (Ps. 72[71]:18 f.), unbelief and disobedience in the face of the demonstrative experience of signs are regarded as the expression of an utterly incomprehensible hardness of heart (Num. 14:11, 22; Ps. 78[77]; 95[94]:8 ff.). *O. Hofius*

(c) In point of fact, miraculous signs are not uniformly distributed throughout the OT. They are largely grouped in three main periods, each of which was marked by a life-and-death struggle for the people of God and which put Yahweh's saving power and will to the proof. These periods were: (i) The redemption of the people of God from → Egypt and their establishment in Canaan; (ii) the conflict with pagan religion under → Elijah and Elisha; (iii) the time of Daniel during the exile when the supremacy of Yahweh and the faithfulness of Daniel and his companions were vindicated. The common feature of these periods is the extremity of the people of God which is answered by Yahweh's action in abnormal events which are in themselves saving acts and at the same time pointers to an even greater salvation. The same could be said for the fourth period of miraculous signs, the coming of Jesus and the gospel age.

Outside these periods miracles are rare. Possible instances are the so-called translation of Enoch (Gen. 5:24; cf. Heb. 11:5) and the birth of Isaac to → Abraham and Sarah despite their advanced age (Gen. 21:1 ff.). With regard to Enoch, the Bible itself does not engage in the speculations of Wis. 4:10 ff. and various books of Enoch. The text need imply no more than that he was taken to the direct presence of God at the end of his life. (On Enoch in intertestamental literature see

F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, *NLC* 1964, 286–89; *ODCC*, 459 f.) The prolonged childlessness of Abraham and Sarah may have been due to the fact that Sarah was Abraham's step-sister (Gen. 20:12). The birth of Isaac was miraculous in the sense that it was deemed beyond the normal course of nature.

Many of the other miraculous events in the OT did not involve suspension of natural causes. The locusts which plagued Egypt were blown there by a strong east wind and were blown away by a strong west wind (Exod. 10:13, 19). The arrival of the quails coincided with the spring migration (Exod. 16:13). On the manna which may have attracted the quails → Bread, art. *manna*. The parting of the Red Sea was caused by "a strong east wind" blowing all night (Exod. 14:21). In such instances the event is a providential ordering of natural causes for the benefit of the people of God. Similarly, the fire falling on the sacrifice of Elijah on Mount Carmel (1 Ki. 18:38) was probably a thunderbolt. In the cases of the healing of Naaman (2 Ki. 5) and the restoration to life of children (1 Ki. 17:17–24; 2 Ki. 4:18–37) we have instances of paranormal healings beyond normal medical explanation. The long day in Joshua 10 may well be a poetic description of the invigoration of Joshua's soldiers. Alternatively it has been explained as an abnormal refraction of the rays of the sun and moon and as a supernaturally induced thunderstorm giving the men relief from the burning heat (cf. B. Ramm, *The Christian View of Science and Scripture*, 1955, 107–10). The sun dial of Ahaz (Isa. 38; 2 Ki. 20) was probably a series of steps (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 10, 2, 1). The return of the shadow ten degrees may have been due to the Shekinah Glory which lighted up the steps (A. S. D. Maunder, "The Shadow Returning on the Dial of Ahaz", *Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute* 64, 1932, 83–92; for further discussion see B. Ramm, op. cit., 110 ff.). In the case of 2 Ki. 6:5 ff., John Gray comments, "The factual basis of the 'miracle' of the floating axe-head may be that Elisha with a long pole or stick probed about the spot indicated (an important point in the text) until he succeeded either in inserting the stick into the socket, or, having located the hard object on the muddy bottom, moved it until the man was able to recover it" (*I & II Kings*, 1964, 460). It may be noted that the text itself does not call the event a miracle or even a sign. Nevertheless, the event was evidently remembered as indicative of Yahweh's providential help.

The view that one takes of Daniel in the fiery furnace and the lions' den (Dn. 3 and 6) will depend on the view that one takes of the Book of Daniel as a whole. Many scholars place the book in the Maccabean period and see it as a work written to encourage pious Jews to withstand the attacks on their religion by Antiochus Epiphanes. The stories then might have a didactic value, but little basis in historical reality. Alternatively, they might be a figurative, stylized way of describing some historical event. On the other hand, the book itself is set in the exilic period. The furnace may be thought of as the kilns of the period used for baking bricks or smelting metals (cf. K. A. Kitchen, "Brick-Kiln", *NBD*, 168; T. C. Mitchell, "Furnace", *NBD*, 443; J. B. Alexander, "New Light on the Fiery Furnace", *JBL* 69, 1950, 375 f.). A sudden gust of flame or explosion killed the men who brought Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego down to where the kilns were (Dn. 3:22), but the latter survived their ordeal possibly protected by their clothing mentioned in the narrative. In the case of the lions, a spiritual presence inhibited the lions from attacking Daniel (Dn. 6:22). For various interpretations of the Book of Daniel

see J. A. Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel, ICC*, 1927; E. W. Heaton, *The Book of Daniel*, 1956; N. Porteous, *Daniel: A Commentary*, 1965; E. J. Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel: A Commentary*, 1949; and the specialist literature referred to in these books. *C. Brown*

2. According to Exod. 7 f., the Egyptian magicians had the power to perform miracles by secret magical arts, but they are inferior to the miracles of Yahweh (→ Magic). In Deut. 13:2 ff. the false prophet who wishes to seduce Israel to apostasy from Yahweh is attributed the power to perform signs and wonders. These are recognized to be opposed to God in that the word that they are intended to authenticate brings separation from him instead of binding one to him. Hence even though a prophet may perform such signs, he is to be tested by his teaching. If his teaching would lead to other gods, he is to be rejected.

3. The meaning of the apocalyptic sign of the end, portent, which → *teras* has in Joel 2:30 (LXX 3:3), is not attested for *sēmeion* in the LXX, but it is found in 2 Esd. 4:51 f.; 6:11 f.; 8:63, where the Lat. *signum* goes back to the Gk. *sēmeion*. In Sib. 3:796 ff. the older *sēma* is used. The signs of the end are partly concerned with horrible and frightening portents, which indicate that the last days are dawning. In so far as these portents are convulsions of a cosmic nature, they announce the transformation of the world – the dissolution of the old → creation and the reconstitution of the whole of → nature. On the interpretation of the cosmic language of Joel in the NT and the cosmic language of prophecy → Generation, art. *genea* NT 4; → Pentecost; → Fullness, art. *plēroō* NT 1.

4. In Rabbinic literature, where *'ôṯ* (and more rarely *sîmān* = *sēmeion*) has the meaning, amongst others, of miraculous sign or miracle, God's miracles, the miraculous working of great men of God and of the Rabbis, and also miracles of the messianic age are frequently spoken of (see the index in SB IV 1277). According to the Rabbinic conception, a prophet has to prove his identity by means of signs and wonders (cf. SB I 726 ff.; II 480; cf. Matt. 16:1; Jn. 6:30; and also Jn. 3:2). Miracles are equally regarded as divine confirmatory signs for the proclamation of a Rabbi (SB I 127; IV 318 f.).

NT *sēmeion* is found 77 times in the NT, predominantly in the Gospels (48 times) and Acts (13 times), but also in Paul (8 times), Heb. (once) and Rev. (7 times). In the other literature the term is entirely lacking. The linguistic usage of the LXX is adopted: *sēmeion* means: (1) sign, mark (Matt. 26:48; 2 Thess. 3:17), token (Lk. 2:12); (2) miraculous sign, miracle (Jn. 2:11; 18, 23 *et passim*; Acts 4:16, 22; 8:6; 1 Cor. 1:22). The phrase *sēmeia kai terata*, signs and wonders, occurs many times (Matt. 24:24 par. Mk. 13:22; Jn. 4:48; Acts 2:19 [Joel 2:30], 22, 43 [cf. 5:12; 14:3]; 4:30; 6:8; 7:36; 15:12; Rom. 15:19; 2 Cor. 12:12; 2 Thess. 2:9; Heb. 2:4). The apocalyptic meaning of sign of the end (see above OT 3) is found, e.g., in Mk. 13:4; Matt. 24:3; Lk. 21:11, 15 f.

1. It is the OT conception of the → prophet as Yahweh's sign that underlies Jesus' being the God-given sign (Lk. 2:34), by which the rise or fall, the salvation or ruin of every man is decided. In this connection we also have Jesus' rejection of the demand for signs (Matt. 16:1 par. Mk. 8:11, Lk. 11:16), which is linked in Matt. 12:38 ff.; 16:1 ff., Lk. 11:16, 29 ff. with the mention – although its interpretation is disputed (cf. *TDNT* III 406–10) – of the sign of → Jonah. Jesus unmasks

the demand for signs as a subterfuge concealing a refusal to repent. Anyone who does not believe the final word of God going forth in him will not be brought to repentance even by miracles (cf. Lk. 16:27 ff.). The only sign which God will give to the unrepentant → generation is God's representative who will be shown to be such by his deliverance from death. As once Jonah came back from the dead, so at his parousia (→ Present, art. *parousia*) the Son of man will come in → judgment (cf. Matt. 24:30; → Son, art. *hyios tou anthrōpou*). The parabolic actions of Jesus which betoken the dawn of the age of salvation (e.g. Mk. 2:18 ff.; 3:13 ff.; Matt. 2:1 ff., 12 ff.) are to be compared with the prophetic symbolic actions of the OT. Thus, Jesus' table-fellowship with sinners (Lk. 5:29 f.; Matt. 9:9–13; Mk. 2:13–17; 15:1 ff., 19:7) is a prophetic sign, a valid anticipation of the acquittal of the final judgment, and a practical illustration in advance of the messianic meal in the age of salvation.

2. Alongside the miracles performed by God himself (e.g. Acts 5:19; 12:3 ff.; 16:25 ff.) one can also distinguish in the NT: (a) the miracles of Jesus; (b) the miracles of his witnesses; and (c) the miraculous power of elements hostile to God.

(a) The Gospels record numerous healing miracles of Jesus (e.g. the healing of those possessed by evil spirits, → lepers, → blind → lame, → deaf-mutes (→ Demon; → Heal), three instances of people being raised from the dead (Jairus' daughter, Matt. 9:18–26; Mk. 5:21–43; Lk. 8:40–56; the widow of Nain's son, Lk. 7:11–17; and Lazarus, Jn. 11; cf. the raisings in 1 Ki. 17:17–24; 2 Ki. 4:32–37), and eight so-called nature miracles (the stilling of the storm, Matt. 8:18, 23–37, Mk. 4:35–41, Lk. 8:22–25; the feeding of the five thousand, Matt. 14:13–21, Mk. 6:32–14; Lk. 9:11–17; Jn. 6:5–13; the feeding of the four thousand, Matt. 15:32–39, Mk. 8:1–10; the walking on the water, Matt. 14:22–33, Mk. 6:45–52, Jn. 6:15–21; the cursing of the fig tree, Matt. 21:18 f., Mk. 8:12 ff., cf. Lk. 13:6–9 (→ Fruit, art. *sykē*); the coin in the fish's mouth, Matt. 17:24–27; the draught of fishes, Lk. 5:1–11; cf. Jn. 21:1–19; and the water into wine, Jn. 2:1 ff.). Critical sifting of this material has led some scholars to conclude that some of these narratives contain reduplication (e.g. the feeding of the four and five thousand, cf. J. Jeremias, *New Testament Theology*, I, 1971, 86 ff.). But it also confirms the presentation of the Synoptic Gospels, where the essential characteristic of the effective work of Jesus is seen in the combination of proclamation and healing work (cf. Mk. 1:38 f.; Matt. 4:23; 9:35; Lk. 9:11; cf. also Jesus' testimony to himself in Lk. 13:32, and the juxtaposition of seeing and hearing in the *logion* Matt. 13:16 f. par. Lk. 10:23 f. [cf. Jn. 8:56; Heb. 11:13; 1 Pet. 1:10 ff.; Isa. 6:9 f.]).

There also exist accounts of miracles of Jewish and pagan miracle-workers of antiquity (on this see C. F. D. Moule, ed., *Miracles: Cambridge Studies in their Philosophy and History*, 1965; H. van der Loos, *The Miracles of Jesus*, 1965, 139–50). A comparison of these accounts with those of the Gospels shows that the NT miracle traditions have adopted certain narrative forms and motifs from their *milieu*, but also draws attention to the particularities of the Gospel witness. With Jesus → magic, conjuration, cursing of people and spells are all absent. He performed miracles by his authoritative → word, to which can be added a gesture (e.g. Mk. 1:31, 41; 5:41; Matt. 9:29). Jesus carried out no miracles of punishment (cf. Lk. 9:51 ff. with 2 Ki. 1:10 ff.). He declined to perform miracles in order to rescue himself (Matt. 4:1 ff. par. Lk. 4:1–4; 26:51 ff.; 27:39 ff. par. Mk. 15:29 ff.; Lk.

23:35), and rejected demonstrations of power designed to prove his divine sending (Matt. 4:5 ff. par. Lk. 4:9–12; Matt. 16:1–4 par. Mk. 8:11 f.; Lk. 11:29). Jesus forbade those whom he had healed to relate his miracles to others (e.g. Matt. 8:30; Mk. 5:43; 7:36; Lk. 8:56); in the case of the healed lepers the man was to show himself "to the priest, and offer what Moses commanded, for a proof to the people" (Mk. 1:44; cf. Lev. 13:49; 14:2–22; Matt. 8:2–4; Lk. 5:12–16; this suggests that Jesus was not only fulfilling the law but directing his work in the first instance to the priests). It is not personal gain but thanks to God that Jesus looked for in men who have known his miraculous help (Lk. 17:11 ff.). By and large the accounts pay little attention to the miraculous process as such; they concentrate on the encounter of Jesus with the whole man in his physical and spiritual needs. The case of the Gadarene swine (Matt. 8:28–34; Mk. 5:1–17; Lk. 8:26–37) illustrates not only something of the nature of demon possession but also the preference of the people of those parts for their swine (in any case unclean → animals) to the healing presence of Jesus. In Matt. 9:2–8 par. Mk. 2:3–12, Lk. 5:18–26 → forgiveness of sins is linked with the healing. Healing becomes a turning point in the life of the healed person (cf. Matt. 9:32; 20:34; Mk. 5:18 ff.; 10:52; Lk. 18:43). Anyone who experiences a miracle of Jesus is thereby placed on the road of → discipleship, in the same way that miracles in general are related to → faith. Only faith, i.e. trust in the power of Jesus which transcends all human possibilities, can receive miracles (Mk. 2:5; 5:34; 7:29; 9:23 f.; Matt. 8:10; 9:28 f.; cf. Jn. 4:50; 11:40); unbelief is denied miracles (Matt. 13:53–58; Mk. 6:1–6; cf. Lk. 4:16–30). It is noteworthy that Jesus' miracles presuppose → faith, they do not first create it. Miracles are not proofs which silence all opposition: if the believer sees God at work, the verdict of his opponents is that Jesus is in league with → Satan (Matt. 12:24; Mk. 3:22; Lk. 11:15).

What finally and radically distinguishes Jesus' miracles from those of Jewish and Hellenistic narratives is their eschatological reference. As Matt. 11:2 ff. par. Lk. 7:18 ff. and Lk. 11:20 clearly show, they are signs of God's kingly rule, the dawn of which Jesus announced in his → proclamation (Matt. 4:23; 9:35; Mk. 1:39; 6:6; Lk. 4:14 f., 44). Jesus' words and works are the beginning of the age of salvation, and the miracles are a foreshadowing and a promise of the coming universal redemption. Ultimately, it is in this eschatological context that the accounts of Jesus' miracles are to be read. Thus, the casting out of demons signals God's invasion into the realm of Satan and its final annihilation (Matt. 12:29 par. Mk. 3:27, Lk. 11:21 f., cf. Isa. 49:24 f.; Lk. 10:18; Jn. 12:31; Rev. 20:1 ff., 10); the raising of the dead announces that death will be forever done away with (1 Cor. 15:26; Rev. 21:4; cf. Isa. 25:8); the healing of the sick bears witness to the cessation of all suffering (Rev. 21:4); the miraculous provisions of food are foretokens of the end of all physical need (Rev. 7:16 f.); the stilling of the storm points forward to complete victory over the powers of chaos which threaten the earth (Rev. 21:1). "When the biblical miracle stories excite serious and relevant wonderment, they intend to do this as *signals* of something fundamentally new, not as a violation of the natural order which is generally known and acknowledged. . . . Though these changes were isolated and temporary, they were nevertheless radically *helpful* and saving. What took place were promises and intimations, anticipations of a redeemed nature, of a state of freedom, of a kind of life in which there

will be no more sorrow, tears, and crying, and where death as the last enemy will be no more" (Karl Barth, *Evangelical Theology: An Introduction*, 1963, 68 f.).

The eschatological reference of Jesus' miracles is also expressed in its particular way by John's Gospel. For a redaction-critical approach see R. T. Fortna, *The Gospel of Signs: A Reconstruction of the Narrative Source Underlying the Fourth Gospel*, 1970. The Gospel itself stresses the historical reality of the events. At the same time the miracles are understood as signs pointing beyond themselves to the One who performs them. They prove Jesus' identity as the Christ of God (20:30), who brings the fullness of eschatological salvation (2:1 ff.; wine is already a symbol of the age of salvation in the OT, cf. Isa. 25:6; → Vine), and offers the → bread of life (6:1 ff.), grants resurrection and eternal life (11:1 ff.; cf. also 4:47 ff.; 5:1 ff.) and drives out darkness (9:1 ff.). In the miracles Jesus reveals his → glory (2:11; 11:4), which is the glory of God himself (1:14). Admittedly, the miracles have this power of statement only for those whose eyes God himself opens (12:37 ff.; cf. Isa. 6:1, 10; 53:1), so that in faith they become aware of the glory of Jesus (2:11; 11:40). Unenlightened men, by contrast, react to Jesus' miracles with sham faith (2:23 ff.) or unbelief (12:37–43; cf. Isa. 53:1; 6:1, 10).

The NT witnesses agree that the uniqueness of Jesus is also expressed in the miracles – his compassionate love as well as his divine authority (cf. also Acts 10:38). "He has done all things well" (Mk. 7:37). In him God himself "has visited his people" (Lk. 7:16). This is the pledge and promise of the consummation of salvation described in Rev. 21:1 ff.

(b) According to the witness of the Synoptic Gospels, Jesus sent out his disciples to preach and to perform miracles (Matt. 10:7 f.; Mk. 3:14 f.; Lk. 9:1 f.; 10:9; cf. Mk. 6:7 ff.; Lk. 9:6). The same is reported in the longer ending of Mk. (16:9–20) concerning the sending-out of the disciples by the Risen Christ (v. 15 ff.; on the various versions of the ending of Mk. see Metzger, 122–26; W. R. Farmer, *The Last Twelve Verses of Mark*, 1974).

Similarly, Acts mentions many times the correlation of apostolic proclamation and apostolic miracle-working (2:2 f.; 4:29 f.; cf. 3:1 ff.; 4:16, 22; 5:12; 6:8; 8:6 ff.; 9:32 ff.; 15:12; 20:7 ff.). The miracles are co-ordinated with the preaching – they are "accompanying signs", by which Christ confirms the word of the witnesses (Acts 14:3; cf. Mk. 16:20). As in the authoritative word (Acts 6:10) so in the signs is manifested the power of the Holy Spirit promised to the disciples (Acts 1:8).

For Paul, too, "word and deed", preaching and signs belong together; in both Christ is at work in the power of the Spirit (Rom. 15:18 f.). Signs and wonders accompany the proclamation which takes place "in demonstration of the Spirit and power" (1 Cor. 2:4; cf. 1 Thess. 1:5). They are marks of the divine legitimation and authority of the apostolic office and work (2 Cor. 12:12; cf. Rom. 15:18 f.). To the hearers of the preaching also the Holy Spirit mediates miraculous powers (Gal. 3:5). That is why alongside the gifts of proclamation the charisma of healing and the power to perform miracles belong to the living gifts of the Spirit in the church (1 Cor. 12:8 ff., 28; cf. Jas. 5:14 f.).

Finally, Hebrews also bears witness that God confirms the preaching of salvation, which proclaims the dawn of the age of salvation, by signs and wonders (2:3 ff.), which, as "powers of the world to come" (6:5), foreshadow the completion of

salvation. Kerygma and charisma, preaching and miracles thus belong essentially together, according to the NT. In both Jesus Christ proves himself to be the living Lord, present in his church in the Holy Spirit.

(c) As the OT, so also the NT reckons with signs and wonders worked by false prophets and pseudo-messianic figures (Mk. 13:22; Matt. 24:24; Rev. 13:11 ff.; 16:14; 19:20) by whom men will be seduced into apostasy from God. The → Antichrist is also expected to perform signs and wonders "in the power of Satan" (2 Thess. 2:3 ff.). *O. Hofius*

τέρας

τέρας (*teras*), miraculous sign, prodigy, portent, omen, wonder.

CL *teras* is attested in literature from Hom. onwards, though its etymology is obscure.

It denotes terrible appearances which elicit fright and horror, and which contradict the ordered unity of nature. This gave rise to the meaning of *teras* as a miraculous sign, or portent. The word already has the meaning of a sign from the gods in Hom., especially in the sense of some uncanny foretoken or omen requiring interpretation by a seer; this could reveal links with earlier ideas of popular religion. See further K. H. Rengstorf, *TDNT* VIII 113–17.

OT In the LXX *teras* is chiefly the rendering of Heb. *môpēt*, token, sign, miracle.

Its meaning is determined by this, and is thus essentially different from the secular Gk. usage. It is true that the character of the unusual also belongs to the word in the OT, but this is "based on the biblical concept of God as the Creator and Lord of all events and thus transferred from the sphere of the marvellous and unnatural", and also "demarcated from the world of myth" (K. H. Rengstorf, *TDNT* VIII 119). Essential for *môpēt* and *teras* is always the reference to the self-revelation of Yahweh. The word thus designates a → prophet who is made a sign (Isa. 8:18; 20:3; Ezek. 12:6, 11; 24:24, 27), and further, a man who becomes a manifestation of the wrath of God and a sign of horror (Ps. 71:7; cf. 31:12; cf. also 1QH 13:16; 15:20). An event which announces future judgment can also be called a sign of horror (1 Ki. 13:3, 5). In apocalyptic contexts *teras* in Joel 3:3 (LXX 2:30) is a baneful "sign of the end" (→ *sēmeion*, OT 3). Finally, the word can denote miracles in general (Exod. 7:9; 11:9; 2 Chr. 32:31, especially when linked with → *sēmeion*; cf. 2 Chr. 32:24).

NT In the NT *teras* occurs 16 times (9 in Acts), exclusively in the plur. and only in combination with → *sēmeion* (q.v. for individual details). *O. Hofius*

→ Blind, → Bread, → Deaf, → Heal, → Hunger, → Lame, → Leprosy, → Resurrection, → See, → Wine

(a). P. J. Achtemeier, "Toward the Isolation of Pre-Markan Miracle Catenae", *JBL* 89, 1970, 265–91; and "The Origin and Function of the Pre-Marcan Miracle Catenae", *JBL* 91, 1972, 198–221; G. Bertram, *thambos* etc., *TDNT* III 4–7; and *thauma* etc., *TDNT* III 27–42; G. H. Boobyer, "The Miracles of the Loaves and the Gentiles in St. Mark's Gospel", *SJT* 6, 1953, 77–87; and "The Eucharistic Interpretation of the Miracles and the Loaves in St. Mark's Gospel", *JTS* New Series 3, 1952, 161–171; C. Brown, "History and the Believer", in C. Brown, ed., *History, Criticism and Faith*, 1976; R. E. Brown, "Signs and Works", *The Gospel according to John* ,I, 1967, 525–32; "The Gospel Miracles", *New Testament Essays*, 1965, 168–91; and *The Virginal Conception*

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Moses

Μωϋσῆς	*Μωϋσῆς* (*Mōÿsēs*), Moses.

OT 1. The Gk. form of the name (from the LXX on) probably originates from Egyptian sources. The first syllable (*Mōÿ-*) renders a Coptic, not a Heb. *ō*-sound (Pauly-Wissowa, XVI, 1, 360). The Heb. *mōšeh* is prob. to be derived from old Egyptian *ms(y)*, with the meaning "son" (cf. Thutmosis, Son of Thoth). Moses is a short form of the name without the element of the name of the god (cf. S. Herrmann, "Mose", *EvTh* 28, 1968, 303 f.).

2. The following reconstruction represents a cross-section of scholarly opinion. The older OT tradition characterizes Moses as the charismatic leader of a nomadic group of people which had been thrown together from various elements, and which had been condemned to forced labour in the towns of Pithom and Ra'amses (Exod. 1:11). Through Moses' contacts with the nomadic Midianites (2:15 f.; 3:1–4:20), this group of Hebrews eventually fled from → Egypt (14:5). The destruction in the sea of a troop of Egyptian war-chariots which had been sent out to pursue them led to the call of this group of nomads by the God Yahweh, whose action the prophetess Miriam had seen in the event (15:20 f.). For the duration of a generation this group appears to have continued to live in the desert, before it decided to emigrate into another cultural territory. During this period of time it had its central shrine at Sinai; but, in addition, visited the shrines of the Mountain of God and of Massah-Meribah (Kadesh). Moses stands here on a level with the patriarchs, even though he had to lead a presumably numerically stronger group.

Before the exile, Mosaic tradition appears to have played a rôle only in the northern kingdom; it gained its fundamental significance through the association of Moses with the giving of the religious legislation in the Book of the Covenant (Exod. 20:22–23:20), linking on with the ancient note in Exod. 32:16. With the increasing significance of divine justice went a growth in the significance of Moses. He appears in the Deuteronomic law-code as the great law-giver, who shows

Israel the way of life and death. These traditions became important in the post-exilic restoration under Ezra, where the law was expounded as the essential basis of Judah's existence. Thus Moses was revered as the central Revealer of Israel. The Prophets, who mention Moses only rarely and in insignificant contexts (such as Jer. 15:1; Mic. 6:4; Isa. 65:1; Hos. 12:14), now become messengers of God's demand for obedience, as the Deuteronomistic history shows. *H. Seebass*

3. Although the above account represents a marked advance upon the position once held that Moses could not be regarded as a historical figure, the Bible itself represents the life of Moses in much greater detail. In Stephen's speech in Acts his life was divided into three periods of forty years spent respectively in Egypt, Arabia and finally in leading Israel through the wilderness (Acts 7:23, 30, 36).

The Book of Exodus sets the birth of Moses in the context of the history of the descendants of Joseph who remained in Egypt after his death. Whereas they had once been favoured on his account, there arose "a new king over Egypt, who did not know Joseph" (Exod. 1:8), and fearing the growth of the Israelites subjected them to slavery, setting them to work on the store cities of Pithom and Ra'amses (Exod. 1:11). At the time of his birth there was a decree commanding the slaying of all male Israelites at birth (Exod. 1:16, 22). However, Moses who was born into a Levite family (Exod. 2:1) was saved by being hidden in a basket among the reeds along the bank of the Nile, being adopted by Pharaoh's daughter (Exod. 2:1–10). His name is explained in v. 10 from the vb. *māšâh*, draw out (cf. Jos. 8:6; 2 Sam. 22:17), "for she said 'Because I drew him out of the water.'" His own mother served as his nurse.

As a young man, he killed an Egyptian who was beating a fellow Israelite, and was forced to flee for his life (Exod. 2:11–15). He fled to the land of Midian in the Arabian Peninsula, where he adopted the nomadic way of life, marrying Zipporah, the daughter of Reuel or Jethro (cf. Exod. 2:18 with 3:1), a priest of Midian, who bore him a son, Gershom (Exod. 2:16–22). The latter's name is explained from the noun *gēr*, sojourner, "for he said, 'I have been a sojourner in a foreign land' " (2:22). Moses was summoned from his nomadic existence by Yahweh who had heard the groaning of his people in → Egypt (Exod. 2:23 ff.). He revealed himself to Moses in the theophany of the burning bush at Horeb, "the mountain of God", declaring his name (→ God, art. *theos*, OT 2) and commissioning him to lead his people out of Egypt to the land of the Canaanites, Hittites, Amorites, Perizzites, Hivites and Jebusites, "a land flowing with milk and honey" (Exod. 3:1–22). Initially Moses was to ask Pharaoh to let the people go three days' journey into the wilderness to sacrifice to Yahweh. When Moses hesitated to assume this daunting task, he was given signs (Exod. 4:1–9) and permitted to let Aaron, his brother, be his spokesman (Exod. 4:10–17). Moses then took his wife and son whom he had omitted to → circumcise, though this was rectified by his wife (Exod. 2:18–26), and joined Aaron. Together they delivered Yahweh's call to the people of Israel who responded in faith (Exod. 2:27–31).

Together Moses and Aaron confronted Pharaoh with the request to let the people go three days' journey into the wilderness to sacrifice to Yahweh. In response Pharaoh redoubled the burdens of the Israelites (Exod. 5:1–23). In despair Moses reproached Yahweh for this impossible task but received the renewed promise of

Yahweh's help (Exod. 6:1–7:7). At the time Moses was eighty and Aaron eighty-three years old (Exod. 7:7). Then followed the contest between Moses and Pharaoh in which the ten great plagues were sent on Egypt: the Nile was turned to "blood" (Exod. 7:19–25), i.e. blood colour caused by some chemical pollution which doubtless led to other plagues; the plague of frogs (Exod. 8:1–14); that of lice (Exod. 8:16–19; RSV "gnats"); that of flies (Exod. 8:20–32); that of the cattle (Exod. 9:1–7); that of boils (Exod. 9:8–12); that of hail (Exod. 9:13–35); that of the locusts (Exod. 10:1–20); that of darkness (Exod. 10:21–29); and the slaying of the firstborn (Exod. 11:1–12:30); though Israelite families were spared as they celebrated the Passover for the first time (Exod. 12:1–28). (On the plagues see K. A. Kitchen, "Plagues of Egypt", *NBD*, 1001 ff.; W. White, "Plagues of Egypt", *ZPEB* IV 804–7.) At this point Pharaoh relented and the exodus commenced (Exod. 12:31 ff.).

According to Exod. 13:17 f., the route taken avoided a possible clash with the Philistines lest the Israelites should be daunted and turn back. God "led the people round by the way of the wilderness of the Red Sea", carrying the bones of Joseph with them (v. 19). They were guided by a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night. (On the route of the exodus see K. A. Kitchen, "Exodus", *NBD* 402 ff.; C. De Wit, *The Date and Route of the Exodus*, 1960; and G. I. Davies, "The Wilderness Itineraries", *TB* 25, 1974, 48–81. On the NT interpretation see R. E. Nixon, *The Exodus in the New Testament*, 1963.) Places mentioned along the route are: Marah, where the bitter waters were sweetened (Exod. 15:23); Elim, where there were twelve wells of water and seventy palm trees (Exod. 15:27); the wilderness of Sin, where the people grumbled for want of food and were supplied with quails (→ Bird) and manna (→ Bread) (Exod. 16); and Rephidim, where the smitten rock of Horeb gave water (Exod. 17:1–7). At Rephidim they were attacked by the Amalekites and defeated them through the intercession of Moses whose arms were upheld by Aaron and Hur (Exod. 17:8–16). Thereafter Moses was joined by Jethro who brought with him Zipporah, Gershom and his other son, Eliezer (from *'elî*, my God, and *'ēzer*, help, "for he said, 'The God of my father was my help, and delivered me from the sword of Pharaoh' ", 18:4). At Jethro's suggestion Moses appointed rulers of thousands, hundreds, fifties and tens to assist in judging the people (Exod. 18:24 ff.).

After Rephidim Israel encamped before Mount Sinai where Moses and the people prepared to receive a fresh revelation (Exod. 19:1–13). Here he received the Ten Commandments (Exod. 19:14–20:17; → Command). After reading to the people the laws of the community (Exod. 21:1–23:33), Moses renewed the → covenant between Yahweh and Israel (Exod. 24). Details of the tabernacle and its contents were given to Moses by God (Exod. 25–31; → Tent). While Moses was with Yahweh on Mount Sinai the people turned back to the worship of the gods, symbolized in the golden calf made by Aaron which Moses destroyed on his return (Exod. 32). Moses' indignation led him to break the tables of the law which he had made (Exod. 32:19). The → glory of Yahweh was revealed to Moses, although he was not allowed to see Yahweh's face directly (Exod. 33:12–23). The tables of the law were renewed (Exod. 34:1–4), and the covenant further renewed (Exod. 34:10–27). After this forty day sojourn on the Mount Moses returned with the tables, his shining face covered by a veil (Exod. 34:28–35). The remainder

of the book of Exodus tells how Moses superintended the erection of the tabernacle (chs. 35–40).

Leviticus (1:1) names Moses as the one to whom Yahweh gave the numerous statutes for cultic → sacrifice (chs. 1–7), and for the consecration of Aaron and his sons for the priesthood (chs. 8–9). Judgment fell on Nadab and Abihu for offering unholy → fire before Yahweh (Lev. 10). Lev. 11–27 contains numerous regulations governing religious and daily life. Each chapter begins: "And the LORD said to Moses", some adding "and Aaron", especially those concerning cultic matters.

The Book of Numbers represents Yahweh's continuing dealings with Israel through Moses. In ch. 1 Moses is charged with numbering the people. Ch. 2 gives their camping and marching order. Through Moses the → Levites are assigned their particular tasks (chs. 3 and 4). Through Moses directions are given concerning unclean persons, trespass, Nazirites etc. (chs. 5 and 6). Num. 7 describes how Moses received dedicatory gifts from the leaders of the tribes. It was Moses who consecrated the Levites (Num. 8). Num. 9:1–10:10 describes the preparations for the onward journey which recommences with Num. 10:11. Features of the journey narrative in Num. are: the fire at Taberah which was quenched at Moses' intercession (Num. 11:1–3); the appointment of seventy elders to assist Moses (Num. 11:10–30); the sedition of Miriam and Aaron on account of Moses' Cushite wife (Num. 12:1–16); the mission of the spies (Num. 13–14); the rebellion of Korah, Dathan and Abiram (Num. 16); the sprouting of Aaron's rod (Num. 17); the smiting of the rock at Meribah which yielded water at a time of drought (Num. 20:1–14); the deaths of Miriam (Num. 20:1) and Aaron (Num. 20:22–29); the plague of the serpents (Num. 21; → Dragon, art. *ophis*); the abortive attempt of Balak to make Balaam → curse Israel (Num. 22–24); the worship of the Baal of Peor and the sexual relations of the people with the Midianites (Num. 25); the census (Num. 26); the appointment of Joshua as Moses' successor (Num. 27); the command to make war on the Midianites (Num. 31); the assignment of the inheritance to the Reubenites and Gadites (Num. 32); the description of the stages of the journey and arrangements for the allocation of the promised land (Num. 33–36). Interspersed with this narrative are further cultic regulations.

Deuteronomy contains a resumé of the journey and various statutes from the perspective of Moses (Deut. 1:1; cf. 31:24). It is presented as Moses' farewell address and concludes with his blessing (Deut. 33). Moses was permitted to see the promised land from Mount Pisgah, but not to enter it (Deut. 34) on account of his sin at Meribah (Num. 20:12). Deut. 18:15 contains the promise: "The Lord your God will raise up for you a prophet like me from among you, from your brethren – him you shall heed." In the NT this was given a christological interpretation (Acts 3:22 f.; 7:37; on the subsequent Jewish interpretation of Deut. 18:15 in both a messianic and a non-messianic sense see J. Jeremias, *Mōÿsēs*, *TDNT* IV 857 ff.). Deut. itself concludes with the declaration: "And there has not arisen a prophet since in Israel like Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face, none like him for the signs and the wonders which the Lord sent him to do. . . ." (Deut. 34:10 f.).

The authorship of the Pentateuch was traditionally ascribed to Moses, except of course the account of his death. The following passages are explicitly ascribed to him: the historical and legal narrative of Deut. 1:1–31:23; the song of Moses

(Deut. 32:1–43); the blessing of Moses (Deut. 33:1–29); and Ps. 90. After the defeat of the Amalekites Moses was commanded to write a memorial in a book that God would blot out all remembrance of them under heaven (Exod. 17:14). Exod. 24:4 reports that "Moses wrote all the words of the Lord." He delivered the Ten Commandments (Exod. 20:1–17; cf. Deut. 5:5–21). Exod. 24:7 refers to the "Book of the Covenant" which Moses read to the people. According to Num. 33:2, Moses wrote down all the camp sites by divine command. According to Deut. 31:9, "Moses wrote this law, and gave it to the priests the sons of Levi, who carried the ark of the covenant of the Lord, and to all the elders of Israel" (cf. 31:24 ff.). It was to be read to all Israel every seven years (Deut. 31:11). In addition, Moses commanded the law to be written on stones to be set up on Mount Ebal by the Israelites when they had passed over the Jordan (Deut. 27:2–8; cf. Jos. 8:30–35). Various warnings are given against not keeping "all the words of the law written in this book" (Deut. 28:58; cf. 28:61; 29:19 f., 26; 30:10). Genesis, however, contains no reference to Moses as its author.

The remaining reference to Moses in the OT occur chiefly in Jos. (1:1–17; 3:7; 4:10 ff.; 8:31–35; 9:24; 11:12–23; 12:6; 13:8–33; 14:2–11; 17:4; 18:7; 20:2; 21:2, 8; 22:2–9; 23:6; 24:5). He figures occasionally in other historical books (Jdg. 1:16, 20; 3:4; 4:11; 1 Sam. 12:6, 8; 1 Ki. 2:3; 8:9, 53, 56; 2 Ki. 14:6; 18:4, 6, 12; 21:8; 23:25; 1 Chron. 6:3, 49; 15:15; 21:29; 22:13; 23:13 ff.; 2 Chron. 1:3; 5:10; 8:13; 23:18; 24:6, 9; 25:4; 30:16; 33:8; 34:14; 35:6, 12; Ezra. 3:2; 6:18; 7:6; Neh. 1:7 f.; 8:1, 14; 9:14; 10:29; 13:1. Outside the historical books the name of Moses is mentioned in Pss. 77:20; 90 (title); 99:6; 103:7; 105:26; 106:16, 23, 32; Isa. 63:11 f.; Jer. 15:1; Dan. 9:11, 13; Mic. 6:4; and Mal. 4:4. Many of these passages, especially in the historical books, refer to what Yahweh has said or commanded through Moses. *C. Brown*

4. In the Hellenistic world, information about Moses is found almost without exception in anti-Jewish utterances. As the Jews in general, so Moses was reckoned as an Egyptian (a priest from Heliopolis). He was regarded as law-giver, organizer of the nation (the twelve tribes), and founder of the Jewish state, its capital and temple. Since, in Judaism outside Jerusalem, there was no longer any sacrificial cult, Jews were regarded now as *atheoi*, those who did not give the gods their due respect, and as demon-worshippers. Moses was viewed as the scorner of every cult, or as a magician and a deceiver – his name was often used in magical formulas. Hecataeus and Posidonius alone spoke of Moses in terms of admiration. Hecataeus praised Moses for having venerated heaven as God without any images; and Posidonius relates that, though Moses had been an Egyptian priest, he left Egypt voluntarily, because their anthropomorphic and theriomorphic concepts of divinity did not correspond with his. He founded a society originally free from law (the Jewish Law provided a major stumbling-block for the whole Hellenistic world) and worshipped "what we collectively call heaven, the universe and nature" (I. Heinemann, "Moses", Pauly-Wissowa, XVI, 1, 361 ff.). See further W. A. Meeks, *The Prophet-King: Moses Traditions and the Johannine Christology*, *Supplements to NovT* 14, 1967.

5. Hellenistic Judaism produced its apologies in reply. Following the Gk. scientific method, they concluded that agreement implied original borrowing; and

so, since the Hellenistic world regarded Egyptian culture as the most ancient, the apologists attributed this to the patriarchs, and also extolled Moses as the discoverer of writing (cf. Eusebius, *Praep.Ev.* 9, 27). The rise and growth of the so-called Moses-romance is important. According to this, Egyptian magicians prophesied to Pharaoh the birth of a man who would save the Jews and defeat the Egyptians. For this reason he ordered all the children to be killed. But a childless daughter of Pharaoh rescued Moses and gave him an Egyptian name (Pauly-Wissowa XVI, 1, 367 ff.).

6. Throughout Palestinian Judaism Moses was the revealer without equal. For the Rabbis, the prophets were simply the bearers of the oral tradition which Moses received at Sinai. Their successors were the scribes (*TDNT* VI 817 ff.; cf. Matt. 23:2). Moses and his age were counted as the pattern of the messianic age, in accordance with the conception of the second exodus as marking the inauguration of salvation. As Moses suffered, so also the redeemer will suffer. According to R. Akiba, the messiah would hunger and thirst forty years in the wilderness. Before manifesting himself he would sojourn in Rome, the city of the enemies, as Moses sojourned in Egypt, and return from there like Moses' wife and sons (Exod. 4:20) (cf. *TDNT* IV 860 f.; SB III 824 ff.). In Qumran Moses is also often named and celebrated as a law-giver of Israel (e.g. 1QS 1:3; 5:8; 8:15, 22; 1QM 10:6; 1QH 17:12; 1Q22 1:1, 11; 2:5, 11; 4:3; 4Qflor 2:3; 4Qtest 1; 6QD 3:4; CD 5:8, 18, 21; 8:14; 15:2, 9, 12; 16:2, 5; 19:26; cf. W. A. Meeks, op. cit.).

NT In the NT Moses is the most frequently-mentioned OT figure. Jesus shook the foundations of contemporary Judaism by coming forward as a revealer like Moses, not as his interpreter, as the OT prophets had been, but distinct from him, preaching and living in the name of the final arrival of the → kingdom of God. The NT tradition presents the relationship between Moses and Christ in differing ways.

1. *Mark.* Moses is recognized as law-giver (1:44). His law establishes the resurrection of the dead, as against the Sadducees (12:19, 26); and establishes the commandment of Exod. 20:12, as against scribal tradition (Mk. 7:10 f.; in v. 14 f. Jesus reveals his new authority). At the transfiguration, → Elijah and Moses appear; they both suffered (as Jesus does now) under the hatred of their own people (9:4 f.), on account of their commission. Peter misunderstands the heavenly appearance, thinking that it is an earthly one, and that the new period in the wilderness has begun, since the three eschatological figures of Moses, Elijah and the messiah are here united (see Jn. 1:21, 25; cf. CD 9:11; 4Qtest. 5 ff.).

2. *Matthew* sees a close correspondence between Jesus and Moses. On the birth narrative (2:1–23) cf. the details and the shape of the Moses-tradition (see above OT 2), and the reference to → Egypt as the place to which they fled (cf. Matt. 2:20 with Exod. 4:19; and 1:15 with Hos. 11:1; → Fullness, art. *plēroō*). Jesus stayed in the wilderness for forty days without food and drink, as did Moses on Sinai (4:1 f.; cf. Exod. 34:28). Above all, Jesus is the new law-giver (cf. 5:1 with law given from Sinai, Exod. 19 and 20), who, like Moses, dispenses → blessing (5:3 ff.) and → curse (23:13 ff.). The Mosaic teaching-office of the scribes is recognized (23:2 f.), but at the same time superseded in that, under the guidance of Jesus, one is to display a better righteousness than the → Pharisees (5:17–20). (See further

the discussion of Jesus in relation to the Pentateuch, the exodus and Moses in W. D. Davies, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount*, 1964, 14–108.)

3. *Luke* sees Jesus' connection with Moses as given in the function of the prophet. Acts 3:22 and 7:37 quote Deut. 18:15 cf. 18: "a prophet like me [Moses]". As Moses was mighty both in word and deed (7:22), so Jesus was a mighty → prophet before God and the people (Lk. 24:19; cf. 7:16; 4:24; 13:33). Like Moses, Jesus gives chosen men a share in his power and Spirit (10:1, 17 ff.), the seventy (or seventy-two; on the *v.l.* see Metzger, 150 f.), and later, above and beyond Moses, to the whole church. As Moses suffered (Acts 7:25 ff.), and as the people disowned him, even though God had sent him as a ruler and redeemer (7:35), so Jesus had to be consigned to death, according to Moses and the prophets, by the chief priests and scribes, and be raised by God to be ruler (Lk. 24:27, 44; cf. Acts 26:22; 28:23). Whoever, therefore, does not listen to Moses and the prophets will also not believe the resurrected One (Lk. 16:29–31). It is not true that Stephen (Acts 6:11 ff.) and Paul (21:20 ff.; cf. also 18:18; 21:24 ff.) preached a regression from the "customs" of Moses: freedom from the requirement of circumcision was demanded by Paul, with Peter's concurrence, only for the non-Jews (15:1–21; cf. 16:3). But the righteousness of faith, which Jesus gives as a gift, Moses' law could not bring (13:38).

4. *Paul* places Moses and Christ in antithesis to one another. As law-giver (Rom. 5:14; 1 Cor. 9:9), Moses gives only the letter (*gramma*) – the man who fulfills the righteousness of the law will live (Rom. 10:5). It is in this way that Paul expresses Moses' "dispensation of death"; it possesses only a fading glory (2 Cor. 3:7; cf. Gal. 3:17 ff.). By way of contrast, the "dispensation of the righteousness which leads to faith" (2 Cor. 2:9) possesses the → Spirit (*pneuma*) and a permanent glory (eisegesis of Exod. 34:29 ff.). The "dispensations" represent synagogue and → church. To this day the Jews have a "veil over the heart" when "Moses" is read (v. 15). But the new Israel beholds the glory of the Lord "with unveiled face" and is transformed from one degree of glory to another. All this comes from the Lord who is the Spirit (3:17 f.). If Israel would open his heart to the Lord, the veil would disappear (v. 16), and Moses would be recognized as a witness to the righteousness of God. God chooses solely on the basis of his promise, not on the basis of human zeal (Rom. 9:15 f.); the calling of the Gentiles shows that Israel's law creates no privilege in God's sight (10:19). Baptism into Moses (a formation built on the analogy of "baptism into Jesus") was a promise, not a natural law. Those baptized did indeed receive the gifts of the Spirit, but since they did not remain within the promise, they perished (1 Cor. 10:2–5).

5. *John* stands starkly opposed to Judaism. The teaching of Jesus which interprets the Scriptures comes directly from God, not from their own study (7:15 f.). Anyone who wants to do God's will – the first commandment, not the individual commandments! – will know whether the teaching is from God (v. 17). But none of the Jews keep the law, for they base their lives on its letter and not, as the law itself demands, on God and his revealer (v. 19). Moses' law, as such, is surpassed by Jesus (1:17). Nevertheless, it accuses the Jews before God, because it witnesses (5:39, 45 ff.) to the revealer who will be like Moses (Deut. 18:15, 18). The people rightly recognize that Jesus is the promised prophet (6:14), but in trying to make him king they fail to understand that his kingdom is not of this world (18:36). The

leaders of the people call themselves Moses' disciples (9:28), but in untruth. For the new revealer has come (1:17), and he is the true bread of life; those who ate the bread Moses gave them died (6:32–35, 48–51). Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness to preserve people's earthly lives; but when Jesus is "lifted up", everyone who believes in him will have eternal life (3:14 ff.; → Dragon, art. *ophis*).

6. *Hebrews* stresses that the pattern given by Moses has been surpassed and fulfilled in Christ. Jesus' faithfulness is greater than Moses', because he, as the Son, came from God's high heaven, and is not only, like Moses, a servant in God's house (3:2 ff.). Jesus is the High Priest in the heavenly sanctuary, which Moses once saw and of which he tried to build the earthly copy (8:5). The church of Christ is not led to Sinai which terrified Moses with its fire and smoke, lightning and thunder (12:18 f.): it can approach with confidence. Even it must not refuse him who is speaking (12:25) for judgment awaits those who spurn God. Moses is pictured in 11:23 ff. as a pattern for faith, even in suffering. In 3:16 he is recalled as the leader out of Egypt; and in 7:14 and the law-giver.

7. There are three further isolated references in the NT. In Rev. 15:3 the passing through the sea is a pattern for the deliverance of the saints from suffering in the last days. The fragment of Jude 9 is based on later traditions preserved in the apocryphal Assumption of Moses and various fathers which said that Satan fought with Michael when over the body of Moses (cf. E. M. B. Green, *The Second Epistle General of Peter and the General Epistle of Jude* , 1968, 169 f.; J. N. D. Kelly, *A Commentary on the Epistles of Peter and Jude*, 1969, 264 f.; cf. also *TDNT* IV 854 f.). In 2 Tim. 3:8, Jannes and Jambres were the Egyptian magicians, according to the Moses-romance, who imitated the miracle of turning a staff into a serpent (see SB I 660 ff.). Their names are not mentioned in the account of Exod. 7:11 (cf. C. Spicq, *Les Epîtres Pastorales*, 1947, 370 ff.). *H. Seebass*

→ Command, → Egypt, → Israel, → Law, → People, → Wilderness

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Myth

μῦθος | μῦθος (*mythos*), myth, story.

CL In Homer *mythos* is used of any kind of speech (e.g. *mythoisi kekasthai*, *Od.* 7, 157, means to be skilled in speech) and sometimes even of unspoken thought, a plan conceived in the mind (e.g. *echet' en phresi mython*, *Od.* 15, 445, "you have a plan in your mind"). More particularly it is used of a story, whether true or false (*all' age moi tou paidos agauou mython enispes*, *Od.* 11, 92, "come, tell me the news of that noble son of mine"). In this usage there is no distinction between *mythos* and *logos* (→ Word); cf. Aeschylus, *Persae* 713, *akousei mython en brachei logō*, "you will hear a story in brief utterance [in few words]." But as early as Pindar a distinction appears between *mythos*, fiction, and *logos*, factual narrative: "popular report which exceeds the true account [*logos*]" tends to consist of "tales [*mythoi*] decked out with variegated lies" which "lead people astray" (*Ol.* 1, 28 f.), and even Homer's lore "deceives people, leading them astray with tales [*mythoi*]" (*Nem.* 7, 23).

Thucydides mentions the story-telling propensity (*to mythōdes*) of the chroniclers (*logographoi*) who preceded him, whose aim was "to please the ear rather than to speak the truth"; by contrast, he allowed that readers might be put off by the lack of this feature (*to mē mythōdes*) in his own work, but claimed that his aim was to provide an everlasting possession rather than a passing pleasure (*History* 1, 21 f.). Among those predecessors he may have had in mind Herodotus, who believed that a good story was worth recording, whether it was credible or incredible, like the "silly fable [*euēthēs mythos*]" which, he says, the Greeks tell about Heracles's adventures in Egypt (*Hist.* 2, 45).

The *mythos* plays a special part in Plato's exposition of truth. When philosophical debate leads him so far on his quest but cannot proceed further, the poet in Plato takes over and expresses in the form of an imaginative story or parable the insight which is the goal of his quest. His mythopoeic workmanship is indebted to the myths of epic poetry and to those of Orphism and the Eleusinian mysteries, but the Platonic myth has a quality of its own. Examples are the two myths of Eros (*Symp.* 189c–193d; 202d–212a), and those of creation (*Tim.* 29d–92b), of the world to come (*Gorgias* 523a–524a) and of the judgment of the dead (*Rep.* 10, 614a–621d).

The word *mythos* was a technical term in classical Greek for the plot of a tragedy or comedy (Aristotle, *Poetics* 1449 b 5; 1450 a 4; 1451 a 16). This usage probably goes back to the time when these art-forms were wholly religious: the *mythos* or

hieros logos was a sacred story involving the gods, and the *drama* (from *draō*, do, act) was the ritual enactment of the story, each being necessary to the other and to the whole production.

OT This last use of *mythos* in classical Greek has been thought to be applicable to the world of the OT. The vocabulary of Greek dramatic tradition has been taken over in the 20th century by the "myth and ritual" school of Near Eastern religious history ("school" being used here in a very imprecise sense). T. H. Gaster, for example, has explained the religious texts from Ugarit as the *mythoi* of seasonal rites of "emptying" and "filling" which he tries to reconstruct (*Thespis*, 1950). Some scholars have postulated a ritual pattern over a great area of the ancient Near East, exemplified in the *Akitu* or New Year festival in Babylon and in a reconstructed festival of the enthronement of Yahweh at the autumnal Feast of Tabernacles in Israel. In this pattern the myth of the dying and rising god (representing originally such phenomena as the annual withering and revival of vegetation) figured prominently; in the ritual his place was supposedly taken by the king, worsted in ritual combat, dethroned and humiliated, but subsequently restored to life and power. The king might be regarded as the embodiment of the god (divine kingship) or as his mediatorial representative among the people (sacral kingship). References to the king in the Psalms have been freely interpreted in terms of this hypothesis (e.g. in Ps. 89:38–45 he is ritually vanquished and banished to the underworld; in Ps. 18 he returns thanks for his deliverance from the power of death; in Pss. 2 and 110 he is reinstated on his throne). That the *kingship* of Yahweh was festally celebrated in Israel is certain: "God has gone up with a shout; Yahweh with the sound of a trumpet" (Ps. 47:5) points to some action suitable to the words. But it is much more likely that in such a celebration the sacred ark, not the king, represented the divine presence.

In a more general way, the narrative of Exod. 1–15 has been viewed as the "story" accompanying and explaining the annual passover meal (cf. J. Pedersen, *Israel* III–IV, 1940, 726); but if so, the story is not a seasonal myth but the record of a deliverance accomplished once in Israel's national history and annually commemorated thereafter, so that successive generations might "re-live" the event. (We may compare the reading or recitation of part of the passion narrative in the course of the holy communion; that is the story which explains the commemorative action.)

In LXX *mythos* appears very seldom, and never in books translated from the Hebrew Bible. In Sir. 20:19 (in a section for which no Heb. text is extant) an ungracious man is compared to "a story told at the wrong time [*mythos akairos*], which is continually on the lips of the ignorant." In Bar. 3:23 "the story-tellers [*mythologoi*] and the seekers for understanding have not learned the way to wisdom". In both these places the word has its most general sense of "story". In Wis. 17:4(A) *mythos* appears as a meaningless scribal error for *mychos*, inner chamber ("not even the inner chamber that held them protected them from fear").

NT In NT *mythos* is found only in the Pastoral Epistles and 2 Peter, and always in a disparaging sense. Timothy is told to forbid "certain persons" at Ephesus to "occupy themselves with myths and endless genealogies which promote speculations" (1 Tim. 1:4). Irenaeus (*Haer.* 1, praef.), followed by Tertullian (*De praescr.*

7; 33; *Adv.Val.* 3) supposed this to be a reference to the cosmological genealogies of Valentinianism. The context of the Pastorals, however, suggests a Jewish element in these myths; cf. the injunction to "avoid stupid controversies, genealogies, dissensions, and quarrels over the law" (Tit. 3:9). Perhaps a mixture of Jewish and incipient gnostic speculation is indicated, as in the mythical Ophite genealogies mentioned by Irenaeus (*Haer.* 1, 30, 9). The "profane and old wives' fables" (*mythoi*) of 1 Tim. 4:7 (so AV; RSV has the less colourful "godless and silly myths") are probably of the same sort (cf. Plato, *Rep.* 1, 350c, *tais grausi tais tous mythous legousais*, "the old women who tell fables"), as are the "myths" into which hearers with "itching ears" are led astray by false teachers (2 Tim. 4:4) or the "Jewish myths" to which the Cretan Christians must be admonished to turn a deaf ear (Tit. 3:14). These myths are set in contrast to "the truth"; they are subversive of sound faith. The gospel belongs to quite a different category: it is a record of fact, for "we did not follow cleverly devised myths when we made known to you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, but we were eyewitnesses . . ." (2 Pet. 1:16).

A new aspect of myth in relation to NT story was opened up with the launching in 1941 of the "demythologizing programme" specially associated with the name of R. Bultmann (see bibliography). Bultmann's thesis, in brief, is that if the gospel is to make its proper impact today, it must be freed from those features which belong to the world-view of the culture in which it was first preached and presented in terms which will expose the hearers immediately to its challenge and its "offence". These dispensable features include not only the three-decker universe but the concept of our world as open to invasion by transcendent powers – including such credal elements as the pre-existent Christ, his being sent into this world by the Father, his historical resurrection, and the personal activity of the Holy Spirit. Such demythologizing, Bultmann believes, is a necessary continuation of the work of the Reformers: security based on good works and security based on objectifying knowledge are alike inimical to the gospel of justification by faith alone. Demythologizing is naturally a negative process, and to list the negative features of Bultmann's programme may give a distorted impression of his intention, which must be seen from the perspective of his theology as a whole.

One form of demythologizing was practised by the NT writers themselves. When Paul demoted the "principalities and powers" which dominated the lives of men and women without Christ to the status of "weak and beggarly elemental spirits" (Gal. 4:9), conquered and bound by Christ who liberates their former captives (Col. 2:15), he was in effect demythologizing them; we may compare the reinterpretation of the traditional Antichrist in 1 John 2:18 in terms of the false teachers of John's day.

Many of the NT elements designated mythological by the demythologizing school are related by it to a redeemer-myth held to have originated in Iranian religion (in which the part of the redeemer was taken by Gayomart, the primal man) and to have been taken over by gnosticism. In its developed form, this gnostic myth portrays a heavenly essence which falls from the upper realm of light into the lower world of material darkness where it is imprisoned in a multitude of earthly bodies. To liberate it from its imprisonment a saviour comes from the realm of light, who accomplishes his mission by the impartation of true → knowledge

(*gnōsis*). By the acceptance of this true knowledge from one who is both redeemer and revealer, the pure essence attains release from the bonds of matter and re-ascends to its proper abode.

This gnostic myth appears in its most lucid form in the Mandaean literature, which, however, is several centuries later than the NT documents. Even the Iranian redeemer-myth presumed to lie behind it is not attested until the 7th century A.D. and later. It is doubtful, indeed, if the primal man of the Iranian tradition and the concept of the redeemer-revealer were ever brought together in the characteristic gnostic myth except under the influence of the gospel. It is certainly very difficult to find evidence of the gnostic myth in the apostolic age, let alone in pre-Christian times. The most that can be said of the doctrinal deviations attacked in Colossians and 1 John is that they reflect incipient forms of gnosticism.

But forms of the gnostic myth have been recognized not only in deviations attacked in the NT but even more plainly in positive expositions of the gospel. R. Bultmann, who already accepted R. Reitzenstein's case for the pre-Christian dating of the Iranian redeemer-myth, published in 1925 an epoch-making article "Die Bedeutung der neuerschlossenen mandäischen und manichäischen Quellen für das Verständnis des Johannesevangeliums", *ZNW* 24, 100–146, in which he argued for an affinity between the discourses of the Gospel of John and the Mandaean redeemer-myth – an affinity which could be explained only if the Mandaean texts were primary and the Johannine discourses derivative. This thesis was later elaborated in Bultmann's magisterial commentary on *The Gospel of John* (1st edition, 1941; E. T. 1971).

Again, H. Schlier, formerly a disciple of Bultmann, maintained in *Christus und die Kirche im Epheserbrief* (1930) that the Letter to the Ephesians derived some of its dominant motifs from the world of gnostic thought, such as the redeemer's ascent to heaven, the heavenly wall (Eph. 2:14), the heavenly man, the church as the → body of Christ, the body of Christ as a heavenly building, and the heavenly bridal union. (It is a measure of Schlier's departure from the school in which he was brought up that by 1965, in the 5th edition of his commentary, *Der Brief an die Epheser*, he was able to combine this position with an acceptance of Pauline authorship.) But, as has been said, until more positive evidence of the pre-Christian date of this elaborate myth is forthcoming than hypothetical reconstructions from late Mandaean texts can supply, theses like Bultmann's and Schlier's cannot be regarded as having adequate foundation.

Quite different is the approach of C. Williams, C. S. Lewis and others, who have maintained that in Christianity the ancient myths have come true, that when God became Man, as Lewis put it, "Myth became Fact", so that the aspirations and insights of the human soul which have from ancient times found mythological expression have been given a satisfying answer in the historical events of the gospel.

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N

Name

ὄνομα

ὄνομα (*onoma*), name; ὀνομάζω (*onomazō*), to call, name; ἐπονομάζω (*eponomazō*), call by a name, give a surname; ψευδώνυμος (*pseudōnymos*), bearing a false name.

CL *onoma*, from the Indo-Germanic *(*e*)*nomn*- (cf. Lat. *nomen*), means name.

Derived from the noun are two vbs.: (1) *onomazō*, name, specify, designate, tell, express, indicate, assent, promise; and (2) *eponomazō*, apply a word as a name, denominate, give a second name or surname, nickname. *pseudōnymos*, formed from the addition of *pseud*-, false, means bearing a false name; or falsely, incorrectly, inappropriately named.

1. In the faith and thought of virtually every nation the name is inextricably bound up with the person, whether of a man, a god, or a demon. Anyone who knows the name of a being can exert power over it. In → magic the potential energy which resides in the name can be translated into effective power if the name is mentioned or used in an oath (details in K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, I–III, 1928–42; see also *TDNT* V 250 ff.).

In the Gk. thought of the 5th and 6th cents. B.C. the question arose of the relationship between the name and the thing or being so named. Among the Sophists, the prevalent opinion was that the name did not belong to things by nature. In the *Cratylus* Plato was concerned with problems of linguistic philosophy: in what relationship do words and things, concepts and thought stand to one another? For Plato, words are phonetic symbols, which receive their meaning through custom, general agreement and thought, and are thus of little relevance for true knowledge. The Stoics declared that speech originated by physical necessity (*physei*) in the → soul of man, and that words represented things in accordance with their nature; as regarded content, the spoken word, the concept and the object itself were all alike (*TDNT* V 248). This opinion was very widely held later on.

The discussions of the names of the gods were important for the relationship between language and its object. Hesiod had already tried to find the key to the nature of the gods from the etymology of their names. The names of the gods were viewed as "verbal cult-pictures" (Democritus, Frag. 142, in Diels-Kranz[5] I, 170, 9). The aspect of the terrible and unapproachable was thus appropriate for them (Plato, *Philebus* 12c; *Cratylus* 403a). Others, such as Menander and Aristides, represent the view-point that the higher a god stood, the more names he had. Alternatively, the Stoics attempted to overcome polytheism by transferring all the many names to one god, Zeus: here, the plurality of names expressed fullness of being. But the many names of the god of the universe can be transmuted into

namelessness, in that no name does justice to the fullness of the godhead. This line of thought has continued right up to modern times (cf. Goethe's *Faust*, "Who may name him?"). The magical phrases and formulae found on the papyri of late antiquity reveal the belief in the power and effectiveness of the names of gods and demons.

OT The Heb. *šēm* appears some 770 times in the OT, the Gk. *onoma* in over 1000 references in the LXX.

1. The Israelites were also well aware of the significance of personal and proper names. The best-known example is that of Nabal, who is a fool, as his name suggests (1 Sam. 25:25). In this context belong also the numerous (national) etymological interpretations which are offered where people and places are given names: Eve, "the mother of all living" (Gen. 3:20; → Adam, art. *Heua*); Cain, "I have gotten a man with the help of the Lord", cf. *qānâh*, get (Gen. 4:1); Babel, "because the Lord confused the language of all the earth", cf. *bālal*, confuse (Gen. 11:9; → Babylon). The name Isaac is a reminder of his parents' laughter (Gen. 17:17; 18:12; → Abraham, art. *Isaak*); Jacob holds the heel (Gen. 29:31 ff. → Israel, art. *Iakōb*). To give a name is, in addition, to exercise lordship and dominion: cf. that of Adam over the animals in Gen. 2:19 f.; over a town in 2 Sam. 12:28; and over a land in Ps. 49:11. Women long to take the name of a man, and so to become his possession and enjoy his protection (Isa. 4:1). As the one who gives names to the stars, Yahweh is their Creator and Lord (Ps. 147:4); in the same way he calls → Israel by name and makes him his possession (Isa. 43:1; 63:19). Absalom, who has no son to perpetuate his name, erects a monument as a memorial to his name (2 Sam. 18:18).

Changes of name also testify to their significance (Gen. 41:45; 2 Ki. 23:34). Even Yahweh can undertake to change someone's name, when he gives his chosen ones a new importance in their own situation or for the future. Thus Abram becomes → Abraham, the father of many nations (Gen. 17:5); Jacob becomes → Israel, because he has fought with God (Gen. 32:28). Abraham's name, and also the names of Ephraim and Manasseh, have an importance over and above the actual bearers of the name (Gen. 48:20). Jerusalem receives a new name in the last days (Isa. 62:2); Isaiah gives his children symbolic names (Isa. 7:3; 8:3); and the names of the bearers of salvation are a guarantee of Yahweh's grace (Isa. 7:14; Zech. 6:12).

2. Of primary significance is the name of Yahweh, which he himself made known in his revelation (Gen. 17:1; Exod. 3:14; 6:2; → God, art. *theos* OT 2). One of the most fundamental and essential features of the biblical revelation is the fact that God is not without a name: he has a personal name, by which he can, and is to be, invoked. When appeal is made to Yahweh, he comes near and makes his promise true: "in every place where I cause my name to be remembered I will come to you and bless you" (Exod. 20:24; cf. Num. 6:24 ff.; → Remember). Priests and Levites, and even the king, → bless in the name of Yahweh (Num. 6:27; Deut. 10:8; 2 Sam. 6:18). The name of Yahweh, indeed, is such a powerful expression of his personal rule and activity that it can be used as an alternative way of speaking of Yahweh himself (Lev. 18:21; Ps. 7:17; Amos 2:7; Mic. 5:4). It is the side of Yahweh which is turned towards men, in which Yahweh reveals

himself. His historical dealings with men in the past (Exod. 3:6, 13, 15), present (Exod. 20:7) and future (Ezek. 25:17; 34:50 *et al.*) are inextricably bound up with his name. Misuse of this name in → magic or in false oaths (for oaths were accompanied by mention of Yahweh's name; → Swear) is forbidden (Exod. 20:7), for the name of Yahweh is a gift of the revelation which is not at man's disposal (Gen. 17:1; Exod. 3:14; 6:2). The name of Yahweh is committed in trust to Israel: the heathen do not know it (Ps. 79:6). Israel has the task of hallowing it. This takes place in the cult, at sacrifice, in prayer, in blessing and cursing, and also in the holy → war (Ps. 29:8), in other words, in serving Yahweh, and him alone, and in obeying his commands. To take part in the cult-worship of another god therefore involves profanation of the name of Yahweh (Lev. 19:21). The invocation of his name over → Jerusalem (Jer. 25:29), over the → temple (Jer. 7:10) and over the ark (2 Sam. 6:2), consecrating them and associating them with him, is the sole basis of that sanctity (→ Holy).

3. Deut. gives the following answer to the question as to how Israel can have dealings with Yahweh: Yahweh himself dwells in heaven, but he chooses on earth a place where he causes his "name" to dwell (Deut. 12:11; 14:23; cf. 2 Sam. 7:13; 1 Ki. 3:2; 5:17). In that his name dwells in the → temple, Yahweh's presence is itself guaranteed; but only in such a way that even if the temple is profaned, Yahweh's transcendence remains preserved (cf. 1 Ki. 8:13, where Yahweh dwells in thick darkness with 1 Ki. 8:14 ff., where Yahweh's name dwells in the temple). Yahweh's name, like Yahweh himself, remains sovereign.

4. As a result of this, Yahweh's name assumes a powerful and independent existence of its own, although it is naturally still very closely linked with Yahweh himself. Through its mighty sway, the godly experience Yahweh's protection and help (cf. Prov. 18:10; Mal. 1:11; Ps. 54:6). His name almost becomes a hypostasis of Yahweh himself (cf. Pss. 54:1; 89:24; 118:10 ff.). It occupies the place taken in other religions by the cultic image (cf. G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, I, 1962, 183 f.).

5. In later times Yahweh's name is frequently used in the sense of the "praise" or "glory" of Yahweh (Isa. 26:8; 55:13; Ps. 41:10). Turns of expression, such as "for the sake of Yahweh's name" or "Yahweh is his name" (Exod. 15:3; Isa. 51:15; Jer. 10:16; Amos 4:13; Ps. 23:3), point in the same direction, indicating Yahweh's claim to sovereign authority and glory in the world and amongst those nations to whom Israel makes it known (Isa. 12:4; Ps. 105:1–3). "Indeed in the end Jahweh is to be revealed to the world in such a way that all worship of idols vanishes away, and every knee will bow to his name alone (Zech. XIV. 9; Isa. XLV. 23)" (von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, I, 185).

6. (a) The expression "in the name" (Heb. *bᵉšēm*) occurs very frequently in the OT. Linked with the names of places or people it can mean by name (Jos. 21:9), after the name of (Jdg. 18:29), in the name (1 Ki. 21:8; Est. 3:12), on behalf of (1 Sam. 25:9).

(b) But the phrase appears most often in association with the name of Yahweh, with the primary meaning of calling upon, invoking Yahweh by his name, that is, worshipping him in the cult (cf. Gen. 4:26, 12:8). The formula is also used in order to → swear, to bless (→ Blessing) and to → curse, since by the use of the expression, Yahweh's might is called upon to interpose (Deut. 5:13; 10:8; 2 Sam.

6:18; 2 Ki. 2:24). It means further "on behalf of" Yahweh (Ex. 5:22 f.; Deut. 18:18 ff.). The appeal of false prophets to Yahweh is illegitimate, for they have received neither their commission nor their words from him (Deut. 18:20; Jer. 14:14 f.; 23:25; 29:9),

7. Philo, speaking in connection with Exod. 3:14 (LXX), and influenced by Stoic philosophy, says that God is the Existent One; being belongs to him alone as of right. But this cannot be uttered, and so God's real name never reaches men. God says to Moses, "For me, to whom alone belongs Being as of right, there is absolutely no name which fits my nature" (*Vit.Mos.* 1, 75). To men came only the name *kyrios ho theos*, the Lord God (*Mut.Nom.* 11 f.). Men can invoke God only with the relative name of "the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob" (*Abr.* 51). For Philo, in total opposition to the OT, God has no personal name. The words *theos* God, and *kyrios*, Lord, according to Philo merely indicate powers in God: "Lord" the power of lordship and "God" the power of grace. Philo's opinion that the power of Being has many names is also Stoic (*Som.* 2, 354). But one must still hallow even the purely relative names of God, which do not designate his essential Being; one must beware of misusing, of blaspheming these names, and of using awful and terrible names (*Spec.Leg.* 4, 40; 2, 8; *Decal.* 93 f.).

8. It is possible that Josephus, who was a priest, could have known the Heb. name Yahweh, but he never uses it. He does not even use the Gk. *kyrios*, Lord, which was used in Hellenistic Judaism to translate Yahweh. This shows the extent to which, already in Josephus, fear of uttering the name of God had gone. Instead, he uses *onoma*, and has a predilection for *prosēgoria*, address, appellation, title, even where Yahweh's name is under consideration. Thus he writes that on the headband of the High Priest the *prosēgoria*, address, appellation, of God is engraved (*Ant.* 3, 7, 6; cf. Exod. 38:36 f.). In another place he speaks in the same context of the *onoma* of God, to which Alexander the Great rendered worship (*Ant.* 11, 8, 5). This oscillation between the two words can also be seen in his rendering of Exod. 3, where he adds that he is not allowed to say anything at all about the name (*Ant.* 2, 12, 4 f.). According to Josephus, the name of God does not dwell in the temple either, but only a portion of God's spirit (*Ant.* 8, 4, 3). Israel's temple is the *epōnymon* of God, i.e. it bears God's name, like coins which are thus shown to belong to him, and like heathen temples which bear the names of their gods (*Ant.* 16, 2, 3; 4, 8, 10). It does not necessarily mean that it was the name of Yahweh when it says that they called on "the awful name of God" (*War* 5, 10, 3).

9. The Qumran writings follow exactly the same paths as the OT, as far as the use of the name of God is concerned. Names figure largely in the War Scroll (cf. 1QM 2:6; 3:4, 13 ff.; 4:1–13; 5:1 ff.; 11:2 f., 12:2; 13:7; 14:4, 8, 12; 18:6, 8) and the Hymns (cf. 1QH 1:30; 2:30; 3:23; 9:38; 11:6, 25; 12:3; 17:20; 18:8). According to Josephus (*War* 2, 8, 7), the Essenes had to swear, amongst other things, to keep the names of the angels secret.

10. Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. The account in Gen. 6 of the fall of the angels occupied people's imagination. In Eth.Enoch 6:7 it took the form that the names of the "leaders of tens" (i.e. → angels) were given names. Heb. Enoch is largely an angelology, a tract in which the names of innumerable angels are communicated. In 2 Esd. 7:132–139 seven names of God are mentioned: he is the

Compassionate, the Gracious, the Forbearing, the Generous, the Merciful, the Noble, the Forgiving. The remarkable thought appears in Eth.Enoch 69:13–21 that the name of God, by which men swear, is itself the oath, and that that is how the creation was called into being. The name of the Son of man (and thus his person?) is pre-existent (Eth.Enoch 46:7 f.).

11. (a) Among the Rabbis the name is important in the teaching of tradition. One may only pass on a doctrine or tradition if one names (*b*^{e}*šēm*, in the name) the authority from whom one has received it (Aboth 6:6). With reference to the NT, the expression *l*^{e}*šēm*, "into" the name, is also significant. On the one hand, it is used in a final sense, with the intention that something shall happen. A man may make an offering *l*^{e}*šēm haššēm*, "for the name of the name" (i.e. for Yahweh), i.e. one offers a sacrifice to Yahweh. A freed slave takes a ritual dip in the bath "to the name of the free man", in order to become a free man. A proselyte is circumcised "to the name of the proselyte" to become a Jew. On the other hand, the expression is used in a causal sense: e.g. *l*^{e}*šēm šāmayim*, "on account of the name of heaven", i.e. for God's sake (cf. Matt. 10:41; Mk. 9:42).

(b) The name of Yahweh is avoided if at all possible (cf. Josephus), to avoid infringing the third commandment (Exod. 20:7; → Lord, art. *kyrios*). According to one old story, after the death of Simon the Just (*c.* 200 B.C.) the priests discontinued uttering Yahweh's name in blessings (T.Sot. 13, 8). In the temple cult Yahweh's name was still used in the High Priest's blessing on the Day of Atonement; but in scriptural quotations the word Yahweh came to be replaced by *šēm*, name, in the teaching schools. So the tetragrammaton YHWH ceased to be used and its pronunciation was forgotten. The consequence was that the name of God became a secret name which was used as a means of magical power, particularly in the piety of the lower strata of society. In addition to the existent name of God composed of four letters, other such names were known, consisting of 13, 43 or even 72 letters.

NT In the NT *onoma* occurs 228 times, most commonly relatively in Lk. (34 times in the Gospel; 60 times in Acts) and Rev. (37 times). *eponomazō*, commonly used in ancient writings, is found only once in the NT (Rom. 2:17), *pseudōnymos* only in 1 Tim. 6:20. *onoma* in the NT also means reputation (Mk. 6:14; Rev. 3:1) and person (Acts 1:15; Rev. 3:4; 11:13).

1. *Names of men and other beings.* The names of the Twelve Apostles on the foundation-stones of the new → Jerusalem (Rev. 21:14), and the names of the twelve tribes of Israel on its gates (Rev. 21:12) proclaim the final unity of the old and the new people of God. Jesus proves himself to be the Good → Shepherd by calling his sheep by name and knowing them personally (Jn. 10:3). In giving his → disciples new names, he draws them in a special way into his service (Matt. 10:2 ff.; Mk. 3:16 ff.; Lk. 6:14 ff.). On the name of Peter → Rock, art. *petros*. Mk. 3:17 mentions "James the son of Zebedee and John the brother of James, whom he surnamed Boanerges [*Boanērges*], that is, sons of thunder." Some MSS apply the name Boanerges to all the twelve, but this is too weakly attested to be likely. The word is probably an attempt to transliterate an Aramaic or Heb. phrase. *Boanē-* evidently represents *b*^{e}*nê* (sons of). The ending *-rges* is not the ordinary word for thunder, but it may represent Heb. *rōgez* (agitation, excitement, raging;

cf. Job 37:2 of thunder); Aram. *rᵉgāz* (anger); or Heb. *regeš* (throng; cf. Ps. 55:14[15]; in later Heb. commotion, vibration; cf. Aram. *rigšā'*, noise). The Arabic word related to *regeš* means thunder. Although J. Rendel Harris suggested that the reference was to their being twins (*Expositor* 7, Series 3, 1907, 146 ff.; *ExpT* 36, 1934–25, 139), the more likely explanation is to be found in the outbursts that are related in Mk. 9:38 and Lk. 9:54. As Peter's name means rock and thus contains a promise, perhaps there is also the implied promise that their witness will be as mighty as thunder (C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Gospel according to Saint Mark*, 1959, 131). The fact that the names of the disciples are written in heaven (Lk. 10:21) means that they belong to God and to his kingdom (Rev. 3:5). The new name which the victor receives expresses his inalienable fellowship with Christ himself (Rev. 2:17).

Evil spirits have names, too, which predicate something of their nature or power (Mk. 5:9). Thus, the "beast" in Rev. 13:1 (→ Animal, art. *thērion*; → Antichrist) bears blasphemous names, i.e. he is given names and honorific titles which belong to God or Christ alone. His name is contained in a → number (Rev. 13:17 ff.), and his adherents also bear it (Rev. 13:17; 15:2). The name of the "great harlot" (Rev. 17:1, cf. v. 3), "Babylon the great, mother of harlots and of earth's abominations" (Rev. 17:5), stands in contrast to the woman of Rev. 12 who bears the male child and who is the mother of all the faithful (cf. 12:4 f. with v. 17).

2. *The name of God.* God's name belongs with his → revelation: God as person turns to the person of man. God reveals himself as the loving Father, in glorifying his name in Jesus' saving work (Jn. 17:12, 26). It accords with this that Jesus, and he alone, reveals the name of God as the name of the Father to men (Jn. 17:6). In Jn. 12:28 → "Father", "glorify" (→ Glory) and "name" are closely bound together. That the disciples are "kept in the name of God" indicates that they live in the sphere of an effective power, which protects them from ruin and unites them with each other (Jn. 17:11 f.). The goal of the proclamation of the name of God as Father is that the love of the Father for the Son is also to be found in believers (Jn. 17:26). In these affirmations of John's Gospel, and above all in those of the High Priestly Prayer of Jesus (ch. 17), we have the christological interpretation of the OT affirmations concerning the name of Yahweh. The Fourth Gospel thus picks up and follows through the lines of the ancient biblical tradition, that God's revelation is bound to a personal name – to → Jesus Christ (cf. on this Matt. 11:27 and 28:18 with Jn. 3:35; 5:20; 13:3; 7:29; 10:15; 17:25).

Jesus thus acts in the name of, and on behalf of, God in fulfilment of his will and as proof of his sonship (Mk. 11:19 f.; Jn. 10:24 f.). At his parousia he will come "in the name of the Lord" (Matt. 23:39). When the name of God is conjoined with that of the Son and of the Holy Spirit it assumes the character of completeness and fullness (Matt. 28:19); this is trinitarian thought, even if a precise trinitarian formula is lacking (on this → God, art. *theos* NT 8). The first request of the Lord's Prayer concerns the hallowing of God's name (Matt. 6:9; cf. Isa. 29:23; Ezek. 36:23; → Holy, art. *hagios* NT 1 (c)). In the → kingdom of God, God's name is no longer profaned through sin. God is asked in prayer to further the hallowing of his name himself, and to bring in his kingdom. A man who despises God's will and commands, or a Christian slave who is disobedient to his master is, in effect, slandering God's name (Rom. 2:24; 1 Tim. 6:1). The beast in

Rev. 13:6 also reviles the name of God and his dwelling, as do those who suffer under the plagues of the last days (Rev. 16:9).

3. *The name of Jesus.* (a) The significance of Jesus' life and activity is evident in his name (Matt. 1:21; → Jesus art. *Iēsous*; on Emmanuel in Matt. 1:23 → God, art. *Emmanouēl*). He bears the sublime name of → Son (Heb. 1:4 f.). His name is "the Word of God" (Rev. 19:13; cf. Jn. 1:1). God's name of → Lord also becomes his name (Phil. 2:9 f.; Rev. 19:16). Above and beyond this, he bears a name which he alone knows (Rev. 19:12), "and the name by which he is called is The Word of God" (Rev. 19:13). The name "Jesus" can be replaced simply by "the name" (Acts 5:41; 3 Jn. 7; cf. the Jewish replacement of Yahweh by *šēm*). The whole content of the saving truth revealed in Jesus is comprised in his name (Acts 4:12; 1 Cor. 6:11). Belief in the name of the Son, i.e. belief in Jesus' messianic mission (Jn. 3:18), is God's command (1 Jn. 3:23; 5:13). Anyone who believes in his name receives → forgiveness of sins (Acts 10:43; 1 Jn. 2:12), has eternal → life (Jn. 20:21; 1 Jn. 5:13) and escapes the judgment (Jn. 3:18). A Christian's whole life is dominated by the name of Jesus (Col. 3:17), whose glorification is the goal of faith (2 Thess. 1:12).

The name of Jesus is the basis of the → proclamation to all nations (Acts 8:12; 9:16; Rom. 1:5). Because of the preaching of Jesus and his work, the authorities at Jerusalem forbad the apostles to preach "on the basis of this name [*epi tō onomati toutō*]" (Acts 5:17 f.; 5:28, 40). Faith and proclamation include confession of the name (Rev. 2:13; 3:8) and readiness to suffer for his name's sake (Matt. 10:22; 24:9). Faith and faithfulness to Jesus is the same as holding fast to his name (Rev. 2:13; 3:8). The name of Christ contains the implication of glory, and 1 Pet. 4:14 declares: "If you are reproached for the name of Christ you are blessed, because the spirit of glory and of God rests upon you" (cf. Isa. 11:2). Whoever calls on the name of the Lord belongs to the church (Acts 9:14; 1 Cor. 1:2) and is saved (Acts 2:17–21; Rom. 10:13; cf. Joel 2:32). Christians were so called because of this name (Acts 11:26; cf. 26:18; 1 Pet. 4:16). It is the "honourable name" which is given to the followers of Christ (Jas. 2:7). One of the gifts of final perfection is that the victors will bear the name of the → Lamb (Rev. 3:12; 14:1; 22:4).

(b) The formula "in the name of Jesus". God gives the Holy Spirit in the name of Jesus (Jn. 14:26). Thanks are given in that name (Eph. 5:20). The nations place their hope in it (Matt. 12:21; cf. Isa. 42:4). And in his name the congregation prays (Jn. 14:13 f.; 15:16) – that is, according to his will and instruction, in order that the commission may be fulfilled, which Jesus gave to his own. This is the reason why their prayers are heard. Since the disciples are sent out by Jesus they are able to act on behalf of him and in his power, performing miracles and acts of compassion (Lk. 10:17; Mk. 8:38 f.). After Easter, the name of Jesus continues to maintain its power (Acts 3:6; 14:10). Name and "power" (→ Might, art. *dynamis*) are used parallel to one another (Acts 4:7; 16:18). Jesus himself gives help and is present in his name (Acts 9:34), but not when unbelievers attempt to misuse it in magical exorcisms (Acts 19:13–16; → Magic). Such statements show that the OT manner of speaking of the name of Yahweh has been transferred to Jesus and his name. Because he was called by Jesus, Paul was able to admonish (2 Thess. 3:6; *dia*, by or through him, 1 Cor. 1:10), and give judgment "in the name of Jesus", as one commissioned and authorized by him (1 Cor. 5:4; 2 Thess. 3:6).

(c) Baptism "in the name of Jesus". The baptismal formula *eis to onoma*, "in [to] the name", corresponds with the final sense of the expression from the Rab. schools *l^ešēm* (see above OT 6). The literal meaning is that, → baptism symbolically assigns the person baptized to Christ for forgiveness of sins (Acts 8:16; 19:15; 1 Cor. 1:13, 15; cf. Matt. 28:19). The same meaning can be intended where baptism *epi*, to, or *en*, in the name, is spoken of (cf. Acts 2:38; 10:48 with LXX Jos. 9:9; 2 Sam. 22:50; Sir. 47:13; where the original Heb. text has *l^ešēm*, which would normally be translated *eis*, to: but LXX renders *en* or *epi*). The fullness of Christ's saving work is contained in his name (as Yahweh's saving work was in his) and is present in the church. This is symbolized by the individual's baptism, since he has been caught up into Jesus' death and resurrection (Rom. 6:1–11; Col. 2:12; cf. 2 Cor. 4:10).

4. The vb. *onomazō*, derived from the noun, occurs in the NT only 9 times. The name and service of an → apostle are traced back to Jesus (Lk. 6:13). A man who bears the name of brother, but lives unworthily of it, is to be denied fellowship (1 Cor. 5:11). The congregation is so detached from sin that it is not even to be named in it, i.e. it is not even to be spoken about (Eph. 5:3; cf. 2 Tim. 2:19). God names every family in heaven and on earth and so is the Father of all (Eph. 3:15; on this passage see 6 below). *eponomazō*, name after, give a nickname, give a second name, occurs in the NT only at Rom. 2:17: "If you call yourself [*eponomazē*] a Jew". Here Jew is a title of honour, the heir to the legacy described in vv. 17–20. Paul attacks the inconsistency of claiming to be a Jew and at the same time countenancing sin. The Jews stand under the divine judgment like the Gentiles. The vb. is also found in the *v.l.* of Lk. 6:14D.

5. *pseudōnymos* is attested from Aesch. and means bearing a false name. In the NT it occurs only at 1 Tim. 6:20: "Avoid godless chatter and contradictions of what is falsely called knowledge [*tēs pseudōnymou gnōseōs*]." Paul here warns against a movement which gives the lie to its name and leads from faith into error (cf. v. 21). *H. Bietenhard*

6. Eph. 3:14 f. probably means that God is "the Father [*patēr*] from whom every fatherhood [*patria*] in heaven and on earth is named", the paronomasia being deliberate: "every *patria* is so named after the *patēr*" (G. Schrenk, *patria*, *TDNT* V 1017). God is the archetypal Father; all other fatherhood is a more or less imperfect copy of his perfect fatherhood. M. Barth, in a full comment on this passage, mentions this among four possible interpretations, but concludes that, because of the lack of evidence for *patria* in the sense of an "abstract 'fatherhood' " as early as this, "this beautiful exposition can at best be considered a homiletical corollary to 3:15" (*Ephesians 1–3*, *Anchor Bible*, 1974, 379–384). But this "unique sense" (Arndt, 642) of *patria* is not abstract; it is not far removed from its classical sense of "lineage" (cf. Moulton-Milligan, 498). According to Clem.Alex., in what seems to be a reference to this passage, *epi ton poiētēn ton theon pasa anatrechei patria*, "every lineage [or fatherhood] runs back to God the maker" (*Strom.* 6, 7). See the excellent treatment by H. Schlier, who argues that God is here called the Father of all fatherhood, as he is called the creator of all things in v. 9, in order to emphasize, against gnostic misrepresentations, that he is Father not only as redeemer but also as creator – creator of angelic *patriai* in heaven (cf. Eth.En.

69:2 f.) as well as of human *patriai* on earth (*Der Brief an die Epheser*, 1957, 167 f.). He mentions the earlier statement of this interpretation by G. Estius, *In omnes D. Pauli epistolas . . . commentarii*, 1858–59, *ad loc.* *F. F. Bruce*

→ God, → Jesus Christ, → Magic

(a). R. Abba, "Name", *IDB* III 500–8; J. Barr, "The Symbolism of Names in the Old Testament", *BJRL* 52, 1969–70, 11–29; J. B. Bauer, "Name", *EBT* II 611 ff.; H. Bietenhard, *onoma* etc., *TDNT* V 242–83; B. S. Childs, *Memory and Tradition in Israel*, *SBT* 37, 9–30; O. Eissfeldt, "Renaming in the Old Testament", in P. R. Ackroyd and B. Lindars, eds., *Words and Meanings: Essays Presented to David Winton Thomas*, 1968, 69–80; G. B. Gray, *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names*, 1896; and "Name", *HDB* III 478–85; G. Foucart, D. S. Margoliouth, A. T. Clay, J. D. Ball, J. Moffatt, G. B. Gray, L. H. Gray, T. Harada, I. Abrahams, C. J. Billson, S. H. Langdon, E. W. Brooks, "Names", *ERE* IX 130–78; L. Hartman, "Into the Name of Jesus", *NTS* 20, 1973–74, 432–40; W. C. Kaiser, Jr., "Name", and "Names, Proper", *ZPEB* IV 360–70; A. F. Key, "The Giving of Proper Names in the Old Testament", *JBL* 83, 1964, 55–9; H. Kosmala, "In My Name", *Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute*, 5, 1966–67, 87 ff.; G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in its Essence and Manifestation*, 1964² (see index); J. A. MacCulloch, "Nameless Gods", *ERE* IX 178–81; J. A. Motyer, *The Revelation of the Divine Name*, 1959; J. Pedersen, *Israel: Its Life and Culture*, I–II, 1926, 245–59; G. von Rad, "Deuteronomy's 'Name' Theology and the Priestly Document's 'Kabod' Theology", *Studies in Deuteronomy*, *SBT* 9, 1953, 37–44; and *Old Testament Theology*, I, 1962, 197–87; H. H. Rowley, *Dictionary of Bible Personal Names*, 1968.
(b). A. M. Besnard, *Le Mystère du Nom*, 1962; H. Bietenhard, "Der Name Gottes in der Bibel", in *Das Wort Sie Sollen Stehen Lassen*, Schädelin Festschrift, 1950; H. A. Brongers, "Die Wendung *b*ᵉ*sem* YHWH im Alten Testament", *ZAW* 77, 1965, 1 ff.; G. Delling, *Die Zueignung des Heils in der Taufe. Eine Untersuchung zum neutestamentlichen "Taufen auf den Namen"*, 1961; F. Dumermuth, "Zur deuteronomistischen Kulttheologie und ihren Voraussetzungen", *ZAW* 70, 1958, 59–98; O. Eissfeldt, "Jahwename und Zauberwesen", *Kleine Schriften*, II, 1963; J. Fichtner, "Name", *EKL* II 1499 ff.; O. Grether, *Name und Wort Gottes im Alten Testament*, *BZAW* 64, 1934; M. von Grünwald, *Die Eigennamen im Alten Testament*, 1895; W. Heitmüller, *Im Namen Jesu*, 1903; S. Herrmann, "Der altestamentliche Gottesname", *EvTh* 26, 1966, 281 ff.; B. Jacob, *Im Namen Gottes*, 1903; Mandelkern, II, 1349–1539 (for list of OT proper names); E. Nestle, *Die israelitischen Eigennamen nach ihrer religionsgeschichtlichen Bedeutung*, 1976; M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personnamen*, 1928; W. Philipp, "Name Gottes", *RGG*³ IV 1298 ff.; C. A. Schmitz, K. Baltzer, B. Reicke, "Namenglaube", *RGG*³ IV 1301 ff.; J. J. Stamm, "Namengebung im Alten Testament", *RGG*³ IV 1300 f.; R. de Vaux, "Le lieu que Yahvé a choisi pour y etablir son nom", in *Das ferne und nahe Wort*, Festschrift L. Rost, *BZAW* 105, 1967, 219–29.

Nature

φύσις

φύσις (*physis*), nature, condition, kind, φυσικός (*physikos*), natural.

CL *physis* is a word from the Gk. world of ideas. Attested since Homer, it became a key concept among the Pre-Socratic philosophers in considering the nature of the world, and similarly the Sophists in the question of the foundation and basis of law.

The noun *physis* comes from the vb. *phyō*, to grow (trans. and intrans.), which is attested as early as Mycenaean Gk. Its root is connected with Lat. *fu-* and with Ger. *bauen* (build). The root *phy-* indicated being or presence.

1. *physis* denotes source, commencement, origin, descent (e.g. Hdt. 7, 134), and also the lineage of adults or of children (Aristot., *Met.* 1014ᵇ16; e.g. *kata physin hyion*, "his son in the line of descent", Polyb., 3, 12, 3). Aristotle (*Met.*

1014^b 22) regards it as the primal substance compounded from the elements. (On Aristotle see J. C. Owens, "Matter and Predication in Aristotle", in J. M. E. Moravcik, ed., *Aristotle: A Collection of Critical Essays*, 1968, 191–214.)

2. From the basic understanding of presence and existence due to growth, *physis* denotes the natural condition, quality or state (e.g. of the air, of blood, or the physical features of a land, Hdt. 2, 7); outward form and appearance (Hdt. 8:38); and stamp or character, e.g. of Solon who was *philodēmos tēn physin*, "patriotically minded" (Aristoph., *Nubes* 1187). The sexes (Diod.Sic., 16, 26, 6; Plato, *Leg.* 944d, 770d), the sex organs and characteristics (Diod.Sic., 32, 10, 7; Hippocrates, *Gynaikeia* 2, 143) can also be designated by *physis*. When set alongside *ethos*, custom, and *logos*, reason, it means (human) nature (Aristot., *Pol.* 1332^a 40) or the imperishable – and perishable – nature of existence of the gods (Diod.Sic., 3, 9, 1). *ta prōta kata physin*, " the first according to nature", is Zeno's description of the mental and spiritual endowment of man. One can read of the *koinē physis*, the common moral nature of all human beings (Chrysippus in Plut., *De Stoicorum Repugnantiis* 9, p. 1035c). The famous quotation from Aristot. accords with this: Man is, by virtue of his natural make-up, "a political creature [*politikon zōon*]" (Aristot., *Pol.* 1253^a 3). *physis* can be used both for the bodily physique of individuals, and for the institutions and constitutions of states (Isoc. 12, 134).

3. *physis* can further denote the → creation, the world of nature, e.g. the creatures who live in the sea (Soph., *Antigone* 345), and also the individual genera and species within nature (Plato, *Rep.* 429d).

4. *physis* is also the efficacious generative power, the charm which causes plants to appear and (e.g.) hair to grow (Hippocrates, *Peri physios paidiou* 20). *physis*, as power, and *hexis*, as bodily constitution, are thus placed alongside each other (Hippocrates, *Peri diaitēs oxeōn* [*notha*] 43). This nature is endowed with reason and determined by its end; it produces nothing without purpose or in vain (Aristot, *Cael.* 291^a33). Aristotle mentions nature and God in the same breath (ibid., 271^b33), distinguishing nature (*physis*) both from *tychē*, fate, *to automaton*, that which takes place of its own accord, and *technē*, skill (*Met.* 1070^a8). Aristotle, in fact, developed a complete theory of natural things, of the *physeion*. For Ionic philosophy, nature is the growth of plants and animals, both as phenomenon in itself, and as the power of growth.

5. *physis* also stands for the regular order of nature. The unity formulated in the law is contrasted with what has come about or grown in nature. (Antiphon Sophista, 44, A, I, 32). In the natural order of things, all men have come to be in a similar way, despite all the differences between Gks. and barbarians (Antiphon Sophista, 44, B, II, 10). By means of hair, nature distinguishes in its own way between the sexes (Epict., *Dissertationes* 1, 16, 10). Nature has powers and elements (*Corp.Herm.* 1, 8). Nature is self-sufficient and strong, as compared with *tychē*, fate, which is unstable (Democritus, 176). Men's lives are determined by the twin forces of nature and laws (Dem., 25, 15). This order fixes the natural end of life (Plut., *Vit., Comparatio Demosthenis et Ciceronis*). Nature, fate and necessity are thus in control of one's existence (Philodemus, *De Pietate* 12).

Among the Stoics, *physis* became a god of the universe, as in the famous quotation from Marcus Aurelius, *ō physis, ek sou panta, en soi panta, eis se panta*, "O Nature, from you comes everything, in you is everything, to you goes everything"

(4, 23). Of importance for the Stoic ethos is the assertion of Chrysippus (*SVF* III, 5) that one should *akolouthōs tē physei zēn* "live by following [by keeping close to] nature." The distinction between nature and law as two different entities by which one's life is determined was sharply perceived at an early date in Gk. thought. Reference may be made to the Archelaus-fragment (Diels-Kranz, II, 45, 6): *kai to dikaion einai kai to aischron ou physei, alla nomō*, "Justice and disgrace exist not by nature but by law," i.e. it falls into the sphere of law, not of nature. Nature is here conceived of as that which is in harmony, good in itself and resting, and thus distinguished from the field of morals and ethics.

OT 1. There is no Heb. equivalent in the OT for *physis*. The Hebrews lacked the Greek conception of nature. This is connected both with the fact that all existing things are referred to the → creation or to the Creator God, and also with the stronger historical thought of the OT. In the LXX *physis* occurs only in Wis. (three times) and in 3 and 4 Macc.

(a) It is used in the sense of endowment and character (alongside virtue and communal living, 4 Macc. 13:27); it can indicate a quality, such as the power of love for one's children (4 Macc. 16:3), and also for instance (with reference to material objects) the fire-extinguishing property of water (Wis. 19:20b). *physei*, by nature, fundamentally, all men are foolish (Wis. 13:1).

(b) 4 Macc. 5:25 speaks of the law being adapted to our nature: "for believing our Law to be given by God, we know also that the Creator of the world, as a Lawgiver, feels for us according to our nature. He has commanded us to eat the things that will be convenient for our souls, and he has forbidden us to eat meats that would be contrary."

(c) In 4 Macc. 15:25, where *physis* stands alongside *genesis*, creation, and *philoteknia*, filial love, it denotes the regular order of nature. In 3 Macc. 3:29 it means created beings, the whole world of creation, including man. In 4 Macc. 1:20, linked with *physeis pathōn*, growths of instinct, human characteristics are in mind. But in Wis. 7:20 it refers to species of living beings. Nature is also spoken of as seen as a dispenser of good things: "Truly it is folly not to enjoy innocent pleasures, and it is wrong to reject Nature's favours" (4 Macc. 5:8).

2. Philo was probably the first to take over the word consciously. But at the same time he modified it, in order to utilize it to expound the Jewish faith in its strength and breadth.

(a) It goes without saying that for Philo God stands in the foreground. *physis* is now no longer itself the origin or the creative power; it is an agent of the divine activity. God has bound bodies into a context, that of nature (in this case, vital energy), and that of the → soul and man's rational soul (*Deus Imm.* 35). This vital energy consists of powers which vary and increase (ibid. 37). The soul is a vital energy which has assumed to itself conceptional potential and motion (*Leg.All.*, 2, 23).

(b) This *physis* which belongs to God is that which brings forth, e.g. all men (*Decal.* 41). It is immortal (*Sacr.* 100). It teaches the division of time into day and night, waking and sleeping, and it creates space, which remains confined to three dimensions (*Decal.* 25). It reveals man to be the one who disposes over plants and

animals; it has given man speech (*Spec.Leg.* 2, 6; *Rer.Div.Her.* 302) and sexual relations (*Abr.* 248).

Philo, in fact, ascribes to *physis* much of what, from the OT point of view, is the → work of God. Nature, like wisdom, according to Philo, is a power which participates in God's work of creation. For Philo, nature is God, *tris makaria physis*, "thrice-blessed nature" (*Spec.Leg.* 4, 123; cf. *Abr.* 87), but the converse is not true. God himself stands outside material nature (*Migr.Abr.* 192) in so far as nature is understood as the totality of natural phenomena and forces.

(c) Philo interprets the regular order of nature in the same way. He can describe the *nomos*, the → law, as the *orthos physeōs logos*, "the true word of nature" (*Omn.Prob.Lib.* 62), because the law follows nature (*Virt.* 18), and because the prescriptions of the law are in agreement with nature (*Virt.* 5). They are themselves sealed with nature's own seals (*Vit.Mos.* 2, 14). That is why one must follow nature and its developments (*Spec.Leg.* 2, 42; similarly *Omn.Prob.Lib.* 160). Nature ratifies the law: this is the sole foundation on which the world is built.

(d) *physis* is used to designate the being and natural condition of things, e.g. of the elements (*Som.* 1, 33). It can also refer to the being of God (*Plant.* 91), or the (twofold) properties of light (*Abr.* 157).

(e) *physis* in either the masc. or the fem. (*Spec.Leg.* 2, 27) can denote the nature of man, which is compounded from mortal and immortal elements (*Praem.* 13). Philo regards nature as capable of receiving virtue (*Post.C.* 150); conscience makes use of it, because it hates evil and loves good (*Decal.* 87). To nature belong godliness and love of mankind (*Abr.* 208). Philo thus likes to link *physis* with *askēsis* and *mathēsis*, practice and learning (*Som.* 1, 1967; *Praem.* 65).

(f) The formula "by nature", "contrary to nature", "according to nature" is found very frequently. The body is by nature (*physei*, or *ek physeōs*) firm (*Op. Mund.* 36). A regulation can be in accordance with nature (*kata physin*, *Aet. Mund.* 34). Things can be compelled to come together contrary to nature (*para physin*, *Aet.Mund.* 28).

(g) Finally, *physis* denotes the world of creation, including the high and pure (*Leg.All.* 3, 162), the mortal and the immortal (*Decal.* 101), the earthly and the perishable (*Leg.All.* 2, 89), the divine and the human (*Spec.Leg.* 2, 225), the rational and the irrational (*Fug.* 72).

3. Josephus has similarly taken over and adopted in large measure this Gk. concept to his Jewish outlook. *physis* in Josephus stands for:

(a) The condition and characteristics of animals and humans (*War* 2, 8, 1), and of natural self-love (*Ant*, 5, 5, 4; 5, 6, 3). It is almost synonymous with character. Josephus can speak of *physis* which is *chrēstē*, *dikaia*, *eusebēs*, a nature which is good, righteous and religious (*Ant.* 9, 13, 1). The opposite is an unjust, evil disposition (*Ant.* 10, 5, 2). It can also denote the being of God (*Ant.* cf. Preface with 4, 8, 26; 8, 13, 5; 10, 8, 3; *Ap.* 1, 224) or of all things, *tōn holōn physis* (*Ant.* Preface; 3, 6, 4), or of the elements (*Ant.* 3, 7, 7).

(b) Natural qualities. Thus suicide is foreign to the common nature of all living beings (*War* 3, 8, 5). It can also mean the natural situation of a place (e.g. of the citadel of Alexander Janneus, *War* 7, 6, 2), and bodily physique (*Ant.* 6, 9, 1).

(c) The regular order of nature and its laws (*War* 3, 8, 5), juxtaposition of divine and natural law (*Ant.* 4, 8, 48).

(d) Nature as a whole (*Ant.* 1, 3, 2), the whole created world (*War* 7, 5, 5), natural instincts (*Ant.* 7, 7, 1). Thus a person can be active by nature (*War* 1, 10, 5), or naturally freedom-loving (*War* 4, 4, 3). A place can lack a natural harbour (*War* 3, 9, 3). On the other hand, sexual deviations are *para physin*, contrary to nature (*Ap.* 273, 275).

NT The majority of instances of *physis* in the NT is to be found in Paul or more precisely in Romans (7 times; also 2 instances of the adj. *physikos*); the word occurs otherwise only in isolated passages: in 1 Cor., Gal., Eph., Jas. and 2 Pet. It is found with the following shades of meaning which correspond to the previous usage of the word.

1. The use of the word in Gal. 2:15, *physei Ioudaioi*, "Jews by birth", is like that of Philo and Josephus, meaning descent, extraction. Rom. 2:27 corresponds with this: *hē ek physeōs akrobystia*, lit. "the uncircumcision by nature", i.e. those who remain physically uncircumcised from birth: the line of descent is the reason why someone has not received circumcision. But Paul also says that such a man fulfils the law and so performs God's will (by nature?) without belonging to → Israel. (On the interpretation of this passage → see further 2 below.)

God will not spare the wild olive shoot (the Gentile Christians) if he did not spare the branches which belonged to the rich → olive tree *kata physin*, by nature, in the natural way (Rom. 11:21). This use of *physis* is found once more in the same parable: the wild olive shoot is cut from the wild olive tree to which it belongs *kata physin*, by nature, and grafted *para physin*, contrary to nature, into the cultivated olive tree. Paul's argument *a minore ad maius* concludes: how much more can the olive branches which belong to the rich olive tree by nature be grafted back (again) into their own olive tree (Rom. 11:24). Paul is here following Hellenistic linguistic usage, such as we met in Philo and Josephus, with reference to the distinction between Jews and non-Jews. The heathen are, as sinners and as transgressors of the first commandment by nature, by descent (*physei*) children of wrath (Eph. 2:3; cf. Wis. 13:1). But this situation is ended by the → grace of Christ in the lives of those whom God has made alive (Eph. 2:5–10).

2. *physis* stands further for the regular order of nature, which determines the distinction between the sexes. God has given up the idolaters, so that they have exchanged natural (*physikēn*) sexual intercourse between man and woman for unnatural (*para physin*, Rom. 1:26). But there are heathen who do not have the Torah but who do what the law demands *physei*, by nature, in so far as they live in accordance with their own nature. It is not as if they read off the law from the natural order – rather this reveals itself in them to be a power which brings its own realization, as their lives and actions show; their deeds prove the law of morality to be at work in their lives. As those who fulfil the law, they become a law to themselves (Rom. 2:27), they fulfil the law which they themselves are by nature under the protection of the natural order. We are dealing here (see above OT 2 (c)) with the typically Stoic thought of the moral law founded in nature, which was taken over by Judaism and applied to the Torah. In this way the Mosaic law becomes the universal perfect expression of the moral law founded in nature (H. Lietzmann, *HNT* 8, excursus on Rom. 2:14–16). Law and universe are in common agreement and harmony (cf. Philo, *Op.Mund.* 3, *Abr.* 5). ([Ed.] For an alternative

interpretation of this passage which sees it as a description of what actually has come to pass among Gentile believers in fulfilment of the promise of the new covenant [Jer. 31:31 ff.] → God, art. *theos*, NT 4 (b).)

Paul's prescription concerning coiffure is thus not based only on the scriptures, nor solely on Haggadah, but also on Stoic thought: nature teaches that it is degrading for a man, but a source of pride for a woman, to have long hair (1 Cor. 11:14; → Head).

3. The word occurs in 2 Pet. which can even speak of believers as partakers of the divine nature: "by which he has granted to us his precious and very great promises, that through these you may escape from the corruption that is in the world because of passion, and become partakers of the divine nature [*theias koinōnoi physeōs*]" (2 Pet. 1:4). This is seen as a result of the → "knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ" (1:8; cf. v. 3) and → "election" (1:10). The thought is evidently not that of a metamorphosis into quasi-deity, for the results of this participation are expressed in positive human qualities. It is rather that to be truly human one needs an enabling which comes from God himself. The teaching is comparable with Paul's teaching on the → new → creation and the teaching in John on being born again (→ Birth, art. *gennaō*). As with being born again in Jn. 3:3, 5, participation in the divine nature and its outworking in life are prerequisite for "entrance into the eternal kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ" (2 Pet. 1:11). In contrast to the divine nature stands the use of the adj. *physikos* which is applied to man in his natural state. The result is the diametrical opposite in both quality of life and outcome: "But these, like irrational animals, creatures of instinct, born to be caught and killed [*aloga zōa gegennēmena physika eis halōsin kai phthoran*], reviling in matters of which they are ignorant, will be destroyed in the same destruction with them" (2 Pet. 2:12). The corresponding adv. occurs only once in the NT in a passage which may be dependent on the latter passage: "But these men revile whatever they do not understand, and by those things that they know by instinct [*physikōs*] as irrational animals do, they are destroyed" (Jude 10). The thought of 2 Pet. 1:4 may be compared with the formulation of Athanasius: "For he became man that we might become divine [*autos gar enēnthrōpēsen, hina hēmeis theopoiēthōmen*]" (*De Incarnatione* 54, which was written some time before A.D. 323). Here the thought is not that man is transformed into the deity, but that man is enabled to share in immortality through the incarnation of the Word of God.

4. Jas. 3:7 twice uses *physis* in the correct Gk. sense of "kind": "for every kind of beast [*pasa gar physis thēriōn*] and bird, of reptile and sea creature, can be tamed and has been tamed by humankind [*tē physei tē anthrōpinē*]." The thought again corresponds with the conception of a regular order of nature. The point of the allusion is to emphasize by contrast the fact that "no human being can tame the tongue – a restless evil, full of deadly poison" (v. 8).

5. *physis*, then, is a typically Gk. and, in particular, a Stoic, concept. It was taken up by Hellenistic Judaism and thus also found a place in Christian thought. It was used mainly by Paul, though it never became a major theological concept. His use of it points in two apparently opposing directions. On the one hand, it emphasizes the gap between Jews and non-Jews. On the other hand, it indicates what they have in common, and in this sense the Stoic usage is particularly marked. *G. Harder*

→ Adam, → Animal, → Bird, → Creation, → Fish, → Fruit, → Man, → Seed, Harvest

(a). A. J. L. Adams, "The Law of Nature in Greco-Roman Thought", *Journal of Religion* 25, 1945, 97–118; H. H. Barnette, "Towards an Ecological Ethic", *Review and Expositor* 69, 1972, 23–35; J. Barr, "Man and Nature – The Ecological Controversy and the Old Testament", *BJRL* 55, 1972, 9–32; J. W. Beardslee, *The Use of PHYSIS in Fifth-Century Greek Literature*, Dissertation, Chicago, 1918; G. Bornkamm, "The Revelation of God's Wrath (Romans 1–3)", *Early Christian Experience*, 1969, 47–70; R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of Nature*, 1945; C. H. Dodd, "Natural Law in the New Testament", *New Testament Studies*, 1953, 129–42; P. Evdokimov, "Nature", *SJT* 18, 1965, 1–22; B. Gärtner, *The Areopagus Speech and Natural Revelation*, *Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis* 21, 1955, 73–116; E. R. Goodenough, *By Light Light*, 1935; R. M. Grant, *Miracle and Natural Law in Graeco-Roman and Early Christian Thought*, 1952; W. A. Heidel, "*Peri physeōs*. A Study of the Conception of Nature among the Pre-Socratics", *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 45, 1910, 77–133; R. W. Hepburn, "Nature, Philosophical Ideas, of", in P. Edwards, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 1967, V, 454–58; H. Köster, "NOMOS PHYSEOS. The Concept of Natural Law in Greek Thought", in Festschrift for E. R. Goodenough, 1968, 521–41; and *physis* etc., *TDNT* IX 251–77; A. Lovejoy, "The Meaning of *Physis* in the Greek Physiologers", *The Philosophical Review*, 18, 1909, 369–83; and *The Great Chain of Being*, 1936; H. E. W. Montefiore, ed., *Man and Nature*, 1975; C. F. D. Moule, *Man and his Nature in the New Testament*, 1964; E. C. Rust, *Nature and Man in Biblical Thought*, 1953; and "Nature and Man in Theological Perspective", *Review and Expositor* 69, 1972, 11–22; S. Sambursky, *Physics of the Stoics*, 1959; N. B. Stonehouse, *The Areopagus Address*, 1949 (reprinted in *Paul before the Areopagus and Other New Testament Studies*, 1957, 1–40).
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Necessity, Must, Obligation

The Gk. approach to life was largely shaped by the consciousness of a necessity in existence and events which is subject to the laws and norms of fate. The impersonal verb-form *dei* (it is necessary) is the most comprehensive expression for this life. It reflects the sense of a determining constraint, no matter whether it was exerted by magic or laws, by men or by gods. The general concept which expresses this feeling of having been consigned to fate (a situation which not only embraces human existence, but, in personifying a universal principle, also dominates the lives of the gods themselves) is *anankē*. By contrast with the words which are associated with fate and nature the vb. *opheilō* originally belonged to the legal

sphere; it expressed initially one's legal and economic, and then later one's moral, duties and responsibilities to the gods and to men, or to their sacrosanct regulations. Whereas *opheilō* also expresses human and ethical responsibility in the NT, the typically Gk. concepts of *dei* and *anankē* could only be taken over with some modification which personalized and re-interpreted them so that they express the will of God.

ἀνάγκη

ἀνάγκη (*anankē*), compulsion; *ἀναγκαῖος* (*anankaios*), necessary; *ἀναγκάζω* (*anankazō*), compel, force; *ἀναγκαστῶς* (*anankastōs*), by compulsion.

CL All words based on the word-stem *anank-* (from *an* [*ank*] with reduplication) denote in varying gradations every form of outward or inward pressure which is exerted on men.

For the Greeks *anankē* was the power which determined all reality, the principle which dominated the universe. At various times men ascribed a divine character to it; Plato (*Leg.* 818c) in fact ranked it higher than the gods. Man is under a constraint because of his natural being; the final limitation of his existence by death is also part of this compulsion (cf. W. Grundmann, *TDNT* I 344 f.).

OT In the OT the naturalist outlook of the Gk. world is replaced by a historical one. *anankē* translates several Heb. words which denote the afflictions and distresses of illness, persecution, enmity etc. which were often taken by Israelites to indicate God's alienation from them. They include *ṣar* (Job 7:11; 15:24; 36:19) and *ṣārâh* (Job 5:19; 27:9; 31[30]:7; Prov. 17:17) both meaning distress; *māṣôq* (1 Ki. 22:2; Ps. 119[118]:143) and *mᵉṣûqâh* (Pss. 25[24]:17; 107[106]:6, 13, 19, 28; Zeph. 1:15), meaning stress, distress. In the last resort, it is Yahweh alone who can save men from *anankē* (Ps. 25[24]:17), and even lead a person into it (Job 20:22; cf. Jer. 9:[15]14, *laʿᵃnâh*; 15:4 *zᵉwāʿâh* or *zaʿᵃwâh*). He will raise up the great *anankē* on the day of his wrath (Zeph. 1:15), a conception which had powerful effect on the thought of post-exilic Judaism. *anankē* occurs without Heb. equivalent in Tob. 3:6; 4:9; Ep.Jer. 37; 2 Macc. 6:7; 15:2; 3 Macc. 1:16; 4:9; 5:6; 4 Macc. 3:17; 5:13, 16, 37; 6:9, 24; 8:14; 22, 24; 9:6.

NT In the NT the noun *anankē* occurs 17 times, the adj. *anankaios* 8 times and the vb. *anankazō* 9 times. All are predominantly part of the Pauline vocabulary. The vb. *anankazō* in the NT serves in both act. and pass. to describe a compulsion or a being compelled which does not rest on the use of outward force (Matt. 14:22; Acts 28:19; Gal. 2:3). Lk. 14:23 is undoubtedly not thinking of the use of force. The adj. *anankaios* refers once to close friends in the sense of those to whom one is bound (*anankaious philous*, "close friends", Acts 10:24 RSV), but is otherwise used predicatively meaning necessary. In Acts 13:46 this necessity is to be understood analogously to the Lucan *dei* (Lk. 24:7, 26; Acts 1:16; 21; → *dei* NT 2) as an exposition of the concept of salvation-history which is sustained by a belief in the providence of God governing the processes and events of history. The noun *anankē* can be used in everyday language in place of the vb. to denote compulsion: *kai echō anankēn exelthōn idein*, "and I must go out and see it" (Lk. 14:18; cf. 1 Cor. 7:37). In Phlm. 14 and 2 Cor. 9:7 constraint is contrasted with free will. The law involves all kinds of legal necessities (Heb. 7:12; 9:16, 23), of which one (the daily

sacrifice which the High Priest offers for himself and the people) is no longer necessary for Christ on account of his one unique sacrifice (Heb. 9:25 f.).

The thought of providence in the history of salvation (→ *dei*) is found in passages such as Matt. 18:7 ("it is necessary that temptations come [*anankē gar elthein ta skandala*]"); Rom. 13:5 ("one must be subject [*dio anankē hypotassesthai*]"); and 1 Cor. 9:16 ("necessity [*anankē*] is laid on me"). Without being confined to any particular phase of salvation-history, *anankē* is used finally almost as an alternative to *thlipsis* (→ Persecution art. *thlipsis*) and to describe the tribulations which continually recur and break in upon believers from outside (1 Cor. 7:26; 2 Cor. 6:4; 12:10; 1 Thess. 3:7). It is against this background that Lk. 21:23 is to be understood: "For great distress [*anankē*] shall be upon the earth." Lk. omits the relative clause of Mk. 13:19 which in fact uses *thlipsis*. *anankē* here does not mark the end of the aeon, only that of → Jerusalem (Lk. 21:20), and with this the times of salvation for the Gentiles begin (Lk. 21:24). *R. Morgenthaler*

δεῖ

δεῖ (*dei*), it is necessary, one must; μοῖρα (*moira*), fate.

CL *dei* (attested since Homer) and *deon estin*, it is necessary, one must, both denote a compulsion of some undefined sort. Since the impersonal verb-form does not name the originator of the compulsion, the precise meaning is dependent on the context and on whatever force the necessity evokes. In Gk. thought the coercive power can be someone's will (Polyb., 7, 5, 2), the state laws (Xen., *Mem.* 1, 2, 42) or a spell (K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, I, 4, 2255 ff.). But by far the most powerful and comprehensive force is Fate (*moira*) which determines the necessities of human, historical and cosmic life (Appian, *Libykē* 122, 578: Carthage just had to be conquered; cf. *Corp.Herm.*, 11, 6a: everything always has to happen in every place; → *anankē*). Even the gods are subject to *moira*. This led, notably in the later stages of Hellenism, to an anxiety-filled and fatalistic approach to life.

OT The Heb. OT does not have any word corresponding to the Gk. *dei*. The reason for this is that the Gk. conception of a necessity which works in the manner of fate is foreign to Israel. The OT picture of God is a complete contrast, conceiving him as a personal will powerfully active in history, who claims for himself the lives of individual men. Through the introduction of the notion of *dei* into the LXX the OT understanding of God was influenced by Hellenism, but on the other hand, *dei* was itself transformed by the underlying OT idea of the necessity of the divine will. Alongside its non-theological usage (e.g. 2 Ki. 4:13 f.) the word is found particularly in the context of the law and of apocalyptic expectation. In Lev. 5:17 LXX the cultic prohibitions are called *entolai kyriou, hōn ou dei poiein*, "commands of the Lord concerning those things which one must not do." The impersonal formulation makes it possible for the personal claims of Yahweh's will – the Heb. text uses the 2nd person form – to retreat into the background (cf. Prov. 22:14a). *dei* in the LXX most commonly renders the Heb. infin. (construct) and prep., "in order to". In this way originally final or future statements receive a slightly deterministic re-interpretation. This happens, for example, in the apocalyptic texts of

Dan. (e.g. 2:28: God has revealed what must take place [LXX:*dei*]), whereas the Aram. text reads "what will take place" (cf. 2:29). Another good example is 2:45 where the LXX rightly translates *ta esomena*, "the things that shall be", whereas Theodotion writes *ha dei genesthai*, "the things that must happen."

NT In the NT the Hel. Gk. *dei* and *deon estin* are used with surprising frequency (102 times), in the main in the Gospels, and especially in Lk. (44 times). But the words are freed from their traditional Gk. associations even more decisively than in the LXX. By being connected with God's saving work they are charged with new meaning. The concept of *dei* plays a distinct rôle in three contextual areas: (1) eschatological – apocalyptic expectation; (2) the salvation history interpretation of the way of Jesus; and (3) the context of the Christian life.

1. *Apocalyptic contexts. dei* as an apocalyptic term refers to the future cosmic drama which will inevitably break in upon the world. But it is not a matter of some unalterable fate. Rather, it is a necessity determined by the divine will. In the so-called eschatological discourses war, hunger and a time of great distress are announced: this must all take place (*dei genesthai*) (Mk. 13:7 par. Matt. 24:6, Lk. 21:9; cf. the *dei genesthai* of Dan. 2:28) as must the universal preaching of the → gospel (Matt. 24:14 par. Mk. 13:10) before the end comes (→ Goal).

The beginning of Rev. (1:1) is also based on Dan. 2:28: "The revelation of Jesus Christ which God gave him to show to his servants what must soon take place" (cf. 4:1; 22:6). With this "must" of → judgment and salvation belong the individual acts of the final apocalyptic drama: the enemies of God's witnesses must be killed (11:5), the monster of the last days (the seventh emperor) must remain a little while (17:10), and → Satan must be loosed for a little while (20:3), before the ultimate victory of the → Lamb (22:3).

Paul too is aware of eschatological necessity, such as the final judgment (2 Cor. 5:10), the transformation at the general → resurrection of the dead (1 Cor. 15:52 f.) and the reign of Christ "until he [God] has put all his enemies under his feet" (1 Cor. 15:25; cf. Ps. 110:1 and the whole eschatological context vv. 23–28).

2. *Jesus' life and way as salvation history.* Through his use of *dei* Lk. expresses in numerous ways the fact that Jesus' way was not the result of chance or accident, but that the saving will of God has made history in the life of Jesus into salvation history. A divine necessity expressed by *dei* requires that the twelve years old Jesus must be in his Father's house (Lk. 2:49). In his interpretation of the law Jesus' *dei* conflicts with the *dei* of the Rabbis (Lk. 13:14, 16, the healing on the → Sabbath day). Justice and love are the divine *dei* of the Torah (11:42). Jesus' preaching is directed by the divine will (4:43; 13:33). So too his road to suffering is expressly designated as a divine "must" (9:22; 17:25). It is Lk.'s underlying concern not to depict Jesus' death as the tragic failure of a prophet but to present the death and resurrection of Jesus as necessary saving acts of God; "Was it not necessary that the Christ should suffer these things and enter into his glory?" (24:26; cf. 24:7; Acts 3:21). The Scriptures must be fulfilled (24:44). The will of God manifested and recorded in the OT attained in Christ its complete fulfilment and exposition; this is what Lk. intends to say through his use of the divine *dei* of the way of Jesus.

In the other Gospels *dei* refers primarily the death of Jesus as a divine necessity (Mk. 8:31; Matt. 16:21; Jn. 3:14). Matt. and Jn., like Lk., understand it as a

necessary fulfilment of the Scriptures (Matt. 26:54; Jn. 20:9). "The whole will of God for Christ and for man is comprehended in this *dei* as Luke conceives it" (W. Grundmann, *TDNT* II 23).

3. *dei* in the life of the Christian. The divine *dei* covers not only the past history of Jesus and future eschatological events; it also embraces the present life of Christians. Especially in Acts are men implicated in God's saving activity. Paul is not the only one to be led in the plan of God from the days of his conversion to his journey to Rome (Acts 9:6, 16; 19:21; 23:11; 27:24). God's saving will applies to all men. "There is no other name under heaven given among men by which we must be saved" (Acts 4:12).

Jn. 3:7 designates regeneration as a divine "must" for men (→ Birth). Not only the way to salvation, but the Christian life itself is subordinated to the will of God *dei* is found, finally, in the paraenetical material of the NT: in the exhortation to persistent prayer (Lk. 18:1; Jn. 4:24; Rom. 8:26), to conduct that is pleasing to God (1 Thess. 4:1), to discipleship (2 Thess. 3:7) and to peaceableness (2 Tim. 2:24). *E. Tiedtke, H.-G. Link*

ὀφείλω

ὀφείλω (*opheilō*), owe, be indebted to; *ὀφείλημα* (*opheilēma*), what is owed, a debt; *ὀφειλέτης* (*opheiletēs*), debtor; *ὄφελον* (*ophelon*), O that, would that, if only; *ὀφειλή* (*opheilē*), obligation.

CL 1. The word-group formed from the stem *opheil-* belongs originally to the sphere of law. *opheilō*, attested since Mycenaean Gk., means: (a) when linked with an obj., to owe someone something, e.g. money, a loan (cf. Egyptian sources in *BGU* III, 846, 16; IV, 1149, 35); and (b) with an infin., to owe in the sense of being indebted (Plato, *Leg.* 4, 717b). An *opheiletēs* is (a) a debtor (Plato, *Leg.* 5, 736d); (b) someone who is under an obligation to achieve something (not found in this sense in the LXX). *opheilē* (rare, and not in the LXX) and the more common *opheilēma* (in the LXX only in Deut. 24:10; 1 Macc. 15:8) denote a debt, particularly of a financial nature, *ophelon*, originally an aorist participle of *opheilō* with the addition of *estin* (is), became the set expression for the optative "O, that", "would that", "if only" (cf. Epict., *Dissertationes* 2, 22, 12).

2. Alongside financial there are also moral obligations in respect of people or of state laws. Thus a culprit is often punished by being required to pay compensation to the injured party (Plato, *Cra.* 400c: until he has made the necessary payments). Infringement of divine regulations and thanks which must be rendered in return for benefactions of the gods also make men debtors, in requiring from them some cultic penance or act. Thus in Plato, *Phaedo* 118, the dying Socrates says: "We owe Asclepius [the god of healing] a cock." Correlates and formations from *opheilō* thus contain both the negative component of debt and the positive one of obligation.

OT 1. In the LXX *opheilō* occurs with striking rarity (12 times in the OT; 10 in the Apocrypha). It is used either in the optative formula *ophelon*, which commonly renders the Heb. particle *lû* or *lū'* (Num. 14:2; 20:3), or in connection with the law of debt, as the equivalent of Heb. *nāšā'*, lend (what is lent becomes what is owed, Isa. 24:2) and *ḥôḇ*, a debt (Ezek. 18:7). In Deut. 15:2 loans are regulated

in such a way that it was characteristic for sacral law in Israel, as distinct from other nations of the ancient world, that monetary debts were not permanently enforced for life. Every seven years they were to be remitted by the creditor (Heb. *šᵉmiṭṭâh*, Deut. 15:1 f., 9; 31:10; LXX *aphesis*, remission of debt). The stipulation concerning pledges in Deut. 24:10 (*opheilēma*) has a pronounced humanitarian character (cf. 1 Macc. 10:43; 13:39, remission of state taxes).

2. The OT does not make use of the concept of legal debt in order to depict obligation to Yahweh. This was due to the fact that man's relationship with God in the OT was not yet conceived as a business agreement between business partners, but as obedience to the will of Yahweh (→ *dei*).

The situation is different in later Judaism, where *opheilō* renders the late Heb. word *ḥôḇ*, which means: (a) to come off badly (from what is demanded of one), i.e. to be guilty, liable to punishment; and (b) (positively) to be indebted. *opheilēma* translates *ḥôḇ* or *ḥôḇâh*, which now comes to refer to arrears in payment, a debt, obligation, and to sin. Sin is plainly no longer now conceived of as intrinsic disobedience, but as an outstanding debt, forwhich one can compensate by appropriate accomplishments (cf. SB I 421, 800; IV 11, 14). The Qumran texts, significantly, do not reveal a knowledge of this kind of language.

NT In the NT *opheilō* is found linked with the dat. of persons and objects in the acc. (commonly in Matt. and Lk.), and still more often with the infin. (chiefly in Paul and in other epistles). The word-group is lacking in Mk., the Catholic Epistles (except 1 and 3 Jn.) and Rev. *opheilō* is used in the main in two particular sets of contexts: (1) to designate men's relationship with God (in the Gospels, especially in Matt.); (2) as a paraenetical concept (in the epistles, especially in Paul).

1. From a formal point of view Jesus spoke of men as debtors to God, just as Judaism did. The difference lies in the fact that, unlike Judaism, Jesus took the business relationship to be not the reality, but a parable of men's relationship to God. Consequently the concept of debt (*opheilēma*) is linked by Jesus not with achievements or demands concerning payments of arrears, but with → forgiveness (*aphesis*).

(a) Both these differences are made clear in the parable of the unmerciful servant (Matt. 18:23–35). The picture of the creditor (*daneistēs*) and the debtor (*opheiletēs*) reveals men's dependence on and responsibility to God, who (as Matt. emphasizes again and again) will settle accounts with his servants (Matt. 18:23). The fantastically high sum of money that is stated to be owed (10,000 talents, i.e. about $10,000,000 expresses the nature of the debt: it cannot be paid. Every attempt to repay the debt, even at the expense of the lives of the debtor and of his family, is from the outset an illusion. Only through the compassion of the creditor can the debt be remitted (cf. the context with Deut. 15:2). On the other hand, the parable reveals men's responsibility ("should not [*ouk edei*] you have had mercy" v. 33; → *dei*). By virtue of the great debt that has been remitted by God, men ought to forgive one another the laughably small debts which by comparison their "fellow-servants" owe them, instead of insisting on their legal rights. In v. 28 the 100 denarii is 0.00001% of the 10,000 talents! (On this parable see J. D. M. Derrett, "The Parable of the Unmerciful Servant", *Law in the New Testament*, 1970, 32–47.)

(b) A certain parallel is offered in the parable of the two debtors, which Lk. has woven into the narrative of the sinful woman (Lk. 7:41–43), in order to point out the connection between the greater or lesser degree of love and the greater or lesser degree of debt forgiven. Compare also the falsification of debts in the parable of the unjust steward (Lk. 16:5–7). (See further J. D. M. Derrett, op. cit., 48–77.)

(c) Only in Matt. 6:12 does *opheilēma* correspond to the Rab. *ḥôḇ*, meaning debt (elsewhere in the NT replaced by *hamartia;* → Sin). The fifth request of the Lord's Prayer stresses the correspondence between divine forgiveness of debts and human readiness to → forgive. Human forgiveness is neither a pre-condition for God's forgiveness, nor can it make any claim to it; rather, it is an echo and a command of the forgiveness received (cf. the paraenetic expansion in 6:14 ff.). "The aorist of Mt. (*aphēkamen*) expresses the seriousness of the desire for reconciliation by the completed act, whereas the present of Lk. (*aphiomen*) expresses it by the constant readiness to forgive" (F. Hauck, *TDNT* V 563; cf. Matt. 6:12 with Lk. 11:4).

2. If *opheilō* in the Gospels has the primarily negative meaning of being in debt, in the Epistles it predominantly denotes the positive sense of responsibility which arises out of one's belonging to Christ. In Rom. 13:8 Paul uses the double meaning of *opheilō* to exhort his readers to the → love which is at the same time a task and a debt to one's neighbour which can never be paid. In Rom. 15:1 ff. the connection between ethical obligation and the foundation work of Christ becomes particularly clear: "We who are strong ought [*opheilomen*] to bear with the failings of the weak, and not to please ourselves. . . . For Christ did not please himself." 1 Cor. 11:7 and 10 speak of the duty of discipline in the congregation (→ Head); 2 Thess. 1:3 and 2:13 of the duty of gratitude for the spiritual growth of the congregations; 2 Cor. 12:14 of responsible parenthood; 1 Jn. 3:16 of the sacrifice of one's life; and 2 Cor. 4:11 of mutual brotherly love. 1 Jn. 2:6 summarizes the individual exhortations, "He who says he abides in him ought [*opheilei*] to walk in the same way in which he walked." Heb. uses *opheilō* (2:17; 5:3) in parallel to *dei* and → *prepei*, in order to underline the divine purpose in what befell Christ in the divine work of salvation.

3. The optative particle *ophelon* is found only in Paul (1 Cor. 4:8; 2 Cor. 11:1; Gal. 5:12) and in Rev. (3:15). *opheilē* denotes monetary debt in Matt. 18:32, civil dues in Rom. 13:7, and the command to marital sexual intercourse in 1 Cor. 7:3. *opheiletēs* is a debtor (Matt. 6:12), and one who is under obligation (e.g. Paul in Rom. 1:14) to world mission. In Gal. 5:3 it expresses the obligation to keep the whole law if one practises → circumcision. By contrast, Rom. 8:12 speaks of believers who "are debtors, not to the flesh, to live according to the flesh," and Rom. 15:27 of the debt in Christian giving. *E. Tiedtke, H.-G. Link*

πρέπω

πρέπω (*prepō*), be fitting, seemly or suitable.

CL & OT *prepō* is found in cl. Gk. from Homer onwards most frequently in the impersonal forms *eprepen*, it was fitting, and *prepei*, it is fitting. Whereas *dei* and *opheilō* express necessity and obligation, *prepō* expresses that which is proper and appropriate. It is found in the LXX in Pss. 33(32):1 (for *nā'weh*); 65(64):1 (for

dûmiyyâh); and 93(92):5 (for *nā'âh* in the piel). In post-canonical literature it is found without Heb. equivalent in Sir. 33:28 (30:27); 32(35):3; 1 Macc. 12:11; 3 Macc. 3:20, 25; 7:13, 19. It occurs also in several variant translations of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion.

NT In the Gospels it occurs only in Matt. 3:15 in Jesus' reply to the protestations of John the Baptist at Jesus' desire to be baptized: "Let it be so now; for thus it is fitting [*prepon estin*] to fulfil all righteousness" (→ Baptism; → Fullness, art. *plēroō*; → Righteousness). In discussing the question of the veiling of women in worship, Paul asks: "Judge for yourselves, is it proper [*prepon estin*] for a woman to pray to God with her head uncovered?" (1 Cor. 11:13; → Head). In the paraenetical passage Eph. 4:3 asserts: "But immorality and all impurity or covetousness must not even be named among you, as is fitting among saints [*kathōs prepei hagiois*]." The Pastoral Epistles give direction for appropriate conduct for women and the Christian teacher. The women should adorn themselves "by good deeds, as befits [*ho prepei*] women who profess religion" (1 Tim. 2:10). Titus is urged to "teach what befits [*ha prepei*] sound doctrine" (Tit. 2:1). Finally, Heb. makes two observations on the appropriateness of the way Jesus acted. "For it was fitting [*eprepen*] that he, for whom and by whom all things exist, in bringing many sons to glory, should make the pioneer of their salvation perfect through suffering" (Heb. 2:10). "For it was fitting [*eprepen*] that we should have such a high priest. holy, blameless, unstained, separated from sinners, exalted above the heavens" (Heb. 7:26). The former passage is concerned to show the identity of Christ with men; the latter with the difference between him and sinful men. The common factor of all these instances of the word is the absence of external constraint and absolute necessity. In each case the person concerned could have acted otherwise. On the other hand, righteousness and the exigencies of the situation make the conduct specified not only appropriate but imperative. *C. Brown*

(a). W. Grundmann, *anankazō* etc., *TDNT* I 344–47; and *dei* etc., *TDNT* II 21–25; F. Hauck, *opheilō* etc., *TDNT* V 559–66; E. Käsemann, "A Pauline Version of the 'Amor Fati' ", in *New Testament Questions of Today*, 1969, 217–35.

(b). E. Fascher, "Theologische Beobachtungen zu *dei*", in *Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolf Bultmann, BZNW* 21, 1954, 228 ff.; M. Pohlenz, *To prepon, Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1933, 53–92; H. Preisker, "Mensch und Schicksal in der römischen Stoa und im Neuen Testament", *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 25, 1949, 274 ff.

New

New and old are correlative and contrary ideas. In temporal terms that which is *neos*, new, young and previously non-existent stands over against that which was at the → beginning (*archē*). *palaios* (→ Old, art. *palai*), old (with the negative overtone of obsolete, worthless, and unserviceable), is materially distinguished from *kainos*, new in the qualitative sense of something previously unknown, unprecedented, marvellous. In the course of time the differences of meaning between *neos* and *kainos* became blurred, even to the point of occasional synonymity. But the NT has significantly used *kainos* with its more qualitative sense in order to give expression

to the fundamentally new character of the advent of Christ. The qualitative difference between old and new comes to light most clearly in the NT contrast between the old (→ Old, art. *palai*, NT 2 (b)) and the new man (→ art. *kainos* NT 2 (c)).

καινός

καινός (*kainos*), new; καινότης (*kainotēs*), newness; καινίζω (*kainizō*), renew; καινόω (*kainoō*), make new; ἐγκαινίζω (*enkainizō*), make new, consecrate; ἀνακαινόω (*anakainoō*), renew; ἀνακαίνωσις (*anakainōsis*), renewal.

CL *kainos* is derived from the root *qen*, turn out fresh (cf. Lat. *recens*), and denotes that which is new in its own way. Derivations include: *kainotēs*, newness; *anakainōsis*, renewal (first used in Koine Gk.); *kainizō* (also *enkainizō* and *anakainizō*), renew; and *kainoō* (also *anakainoō*), use for the first time, to make new.

In secular usage *kainos* denotes that which is qualitatively new as compared with what has existed until now, that which is better than the old, whereas → *neos* is used temporally for that which has not yet been, that which has just made its appearance. But the longer these words were used, the less strictly was the conceptual differentiation maintained.

OT 1. The LXX usually translates Heb. *ḥāḏāš* by *kainos*, indicating in daily secular usage something new, something previously not there (e.g. Exod. 1:8, a new king; Deut. 20:5, a new house; Jos. 9:13, new wine-skins; 1 Ki. 11:29, a new cloak).

2. *kainos* finds its theological place chiefly in the eschatological message of the prophets, who bring into question Israel's previous experience of salvation in history and announce a new and saving divine activity in the future. This new move of Yahweh's consists, according to Jeremiah, in the establishment of a new → covenant (Jer. 31 [LXX 38]: 31 ff.: *diathēkē kainē*), in contrast to the covenant at Sinai, in which Yahweh will put his will in Israel's heart, in order to bring about a new obedience among his people. Ezekiel makes a very similar promise of a new → Spirit and a new → heart, which Yahweh will create within man himself (Ezek. 11:19; 18:31; 36:26). Isa. 43:18 f. (NEB) presents the programmatic and antithetical formulation of "Cease to dwell on days gone by and to brood over past history. Here and now I will do a new thing" (cf. Isa. 42:9; 48:6). He understands Yahweh's new activity in leading Israel back out of the Babylonian exile as new → creation which will embrace the nation and the whole created order (Isa. 43:16–21). Isa. 65:17 f. proclaims the creation of a new → heaven and a new → earth (Isa. 65:17 f.). The "new thing" which is awaited and promised in the eschatological proclamation of the prophets as Yahweh's future act reaches from the inner parts of man himself right to the universal dimensions of a new world. The Israelite covenant community responds to both the experienced and expected saving deeds of Yahweh in the new song which is sung aloud in the Psalms (33:3; 40:3; 144:9; 149:1 ff.).

NT 1. (a) The NT also follows the secular usage of *kainos*. It occurs in the sense of unused (Matt. 9:17; 27:60; Mk. 2:21; Lk. 5:36; Jn. 19:41), unfamiliar, interesting (Mk. 1:27; Acts 17:19, 21) and novel (Matt. 13:52; 2 Jn. 5).

(b) But everything in the NT which is connected with Jesus' saving work is also

characterized as new; a new → covenant (Matt. 26:28; Lk. 22:20; 1 Cor. 11:25; 2 Cor. 3:6; Heb. 8:8, 13; 9:15), a new → commandment (Jn. 13:34; 1 Jn. 2:7, 8), a new → creation (2 Cor. 5:17; Gal. 6:15), the new existence of → life in the → Spirit (*kainotēs*, newness, Rom. 6:4; 7:6), the new → man (Eph. 2:15; 4:24; cf. *anakainoō*, renew, 2 Cor. 4:16; Col. 3:10), a new → heaven and a new → earth (2 Pet. 3:13; Rev. 21:1), a new → name (Rev. 2:17; 3:12), the new → Jerusalem (Rev. 3:12; 21:2), a new → song (Rev. 5:9; 14:3).

2. Leaving secular usage aside, the following features emerge from an investigation of theological usage.

(a) Most important is the use of *kainos* with *diathēkē* (→ covenant), in both the Synoptic and Pauline traditions of the Last Supper, in the words spoken over the cup: "This cup is the new covenant [*kainē diathēkē*] in my blood" (1 Cor. 11:25; cf. Lk. 22:20). In Mk. 14:24 and Matt. 26:28 only the Koine-texts have added *kainē* to *diathēkē* (→ Lord's Supper). The words signify that the → blood, or the → death, of Jesus is the basis of the new covenant. This is an evident link with the promise of Jer. 31:31 ff. Heb. develops the theme of the new covenant further, contrasting the imperfect old covenant of Sinai with the perfect new one (Heb. 8:6, 7). The quotation from Jeremiah 31:31–34 is explained thus: "In speaking of a new [*kainēn*] covenant he treats the first as obsolete [*pepalaiōken tēn prōtēn*]" (Heb. 8:13). Again and again the statements of Heb. circle around the newness of this covenant (9:15), which can also be called the second (8:7), a better (8:6) or an eternal covenant (13:20). Through Jesus' death and mediating work "those who are called" are in him to "receive the promised eternal inheritance" (9:15).

Paul interprets the new covenant as a covenant of the Spirit in opposition to the old covenant with its written code (2 Cor. 3:6). "We serve in the newness [*kainotēti*] of the Spirit and not in the oldness [*palaiotēti*] of the letter" (Rom. 7:6).

(b) The Synoptics use *kainos* from time to time with the same meaning as *neos* in order to distinguish the new which is an integral part of the appearance of Jesus from the old already in existence, as, for instance, in the parables of new wine in old wine-skins and new patches on an old garment, where *neos* and *kainos* are used synonymously (Mk. 2:21 f.). It is the same when Mk. 1:27 depicts the alarming impression which Jesus' teaching created with the words "a new teaching full of authority [*didachē kainē kat' exousian*]." The nature of the newness is characterized by its contrast with the casuistic Rabbinic method of teaching (Mk. 1:22), by its authoritativeness, and by its power to effect what it says (as the context of the healing of the spirit-possessed man shows).

(c) Paul, in Gal. 6:15, designates God's saving act in the cross of Christ as a new creation (*kainē ktisis*; cf. v. 14), and sets it in opposition to the legalistic way of salvation advocated by those who said that God must be honoured by fulfilling his law which meant that → circumcision was obligatory for all male believers. For Paul God's saving act is something fundamentally new. The new creation of God embraces not only humanity (1 Cor. 8:6) but the whole creation (Rom. 8:18 ff.; cf. Isa. 43:18 ff.).

In 2 Corinthians 5:17 Paul declares: "Therefore, if anyone is in Christ, he is a new creation. The old has passed away, behold the new has come [*hōste ei tis en Christō, kainē ktisis. ta archaia parēlthen, idou gegonen kaina*]" (RSV). Although

the word *ktisis* here can mean creature (cf. RSV mg), it more frequently means → creation. It may also be noted that the words "he is" are absent from the Gk. which has no vb. at this point. C. K. Barrett translates the verse: "A further consequence is that if anyone is in Christ, there is a new act of creation: all old things have gone, behold new things have come into being" (*The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, *BNTC*, 1973, 162). Barrett links the verse with vv. 14 f. and sees vv. 16 and 17 as parallel, being negative and positive statements of the same truth (op. cit., 173). He regards the phrase "in Christ" not as mystical but as eschatological, "a transference by faith in Christ, who experienced the messianic affliction and was raised from the dead as the firstfruits of the resurrection, from the present age into the age to come." As such it is "a new act of creation", analogous to the original creative act by which the world came into being. *ktisis*, therefore, refers not to the believer in the first instance, but to the creative act of God. Its meaning is essentially the same as that in Gal. 6:15, and it takes up Paul's earlier thought of God's new creative act in Christ in 2 Cor. 4:6: "For it is the God who said, 'Let light shine out of darkness,' who has shone in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ" (cf. Gen. 1:3).

Barrett points out that the idea of parallels between God's original creation and final act of redemption was familiar in Judaism (ibid.). These parallels go back at least as far as Isa. 51:9 ff. and 54:9 f., and the same book contrasts the old and the new as Paul does here (Isa. 42:9; 43:18 f.). On the rabbinic discussion of new creation (*b^{e}riyyâh ḥ^{a}dâšâh*) see further W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, 1955^{2}, 119 f.; SB II 421 ff.; III 519; E. Sjöberg, "Wiedergeburt und Neuschöpfung in palästinischen Judentum", *StTh* 4, 1950, 44–85; → Baptism, art. *baptizō* OT 3. Thus Rabbi Simon (fl. A.D. 280) said that not everyone who wishes to say a Psalm may do so; rather it is certain of anyone to whom a miracle has occurred and said a Psalm, that his sins have been forgiven and he has become as a new creature (Midrash Ps. 18 §6 (69^{a}). Barrett sees a basic difference between Paul and rabbinic thought on the new creation. For the rabbis the emphasis falls on the new creature, whereas Paul is concerned with the new act of creation. He thinks it unlikely that Paul was borrowing a rabbinic expression, and in any case it cannot be demonstrated that the expression was current in Paul's day. He also finds unconvincing the attempts to relate Paul's thought to that at Qumran. Nor is there any concrete evidence for thinking that Paul is drawing on a baptismal tradition here.

In Gal. 4:5 Paul expresses this new reality in terms of adoption. This is not a matter of gaining some new psychological or ethical quality, or of making a new resolution. It entails a daily process of renewal: "Though our outer nature [*ho exō hēmōn anthrōpos*, lit. our outer man] is wasting away, our inner nature is being renewed [*anakainoutai*] day by day." This takes place through the creative and recreative power of the Spirit given by Christ "in the newness of the Spirit [*en kainotēti pneumatos*]" (Rom. 7:6; cf. Tit. 3:5).

The existence of the new creature involves a new way of life. Since the new life does not exist on or derive from the natural plane, it is hidden with Christ in God (Col. 3:3). Those who enter upon it need the apostolic exhortation to hold fast to their new life and to put on the new man: "Now that you have discarded the old nature with its deeds and have put on the new nature, which is being constantly renewed [*anakainoumenon*] in the image of its Creator and brought to

know God . . . put on the garments that suit God's chosen people" (Col. 3:9, 10, 12 NEB; cf. Eph. 4:23 f.; Rom. 12:2). The imperative does not invalidate the indicative; rather, the concealment of the existence of the new creation is itself the basis for the energetic imperative to the new way of life (cf. Gal. 5:25). It is in the dialectic of indicative and imperative, gospel and law, gift and task, that, according to Paul, the new life of the Christian moves. It is lived in the unavoidable tension between dedication to the existence of the new creation and appropriation of the new man (cf. G. Bornkamm, "Baptism and New Life in Paul (Romans 6)", *Early Christian Experience*, 1969, 71–86).

The vb. *anakainoō*, renew, occurs in the NT only in Paul in the two passages already noted (2 Cor. 4:16; Col. 3:10). In both cases it is in the passive. The corresponding noun *anakainōsis*, renewal, is not known outside Christian literature and is found only twice in the NT. In Rom. 12:2 believers are exhorted to let this renewal affect their social attitudes: "Do not be conformed [*syschēmatizesthe*] to this world but be transformed by the renewal [*metamorphousthe tē anakainōsei*] of your mind, that you may prove what is the will of God, what is good and acceptable and perfect" (→ Form, arts. *schēma* and *morphē*). Tit. 3:5 sees salvation grounded in renewal: "he saved us, not because of deeds done by us in righteousness, but in virtue of his own mercy, by the washing of regeneration and renewal in the Holy Spirit [*anakainōseōs pneumatos hagiou*]" (→ Birth, art. *palingenesia*).

(d) John's Gospel speaks of the new → commandment, *kainē entolē*, of brotherly love. "I give you a new commandment: love one another; as I have loved you, so you are to love one another" (13:34 NEB). The commandment is new for the reason Jesus was the first to reveal fully what → love means (cf. 15:13; 1:17). Here, too, the imperative to love is grounded in the indicative of the love of Jesus. Because the Christian community has experienced the reality of the self-sacrificial love of Jesus it is freed and summoned at the same time, to transform concern for self into concern for others (cf. R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 1971, 525). It is not a question of an ethical principle, but of becoming new in love by virtue of the new love of Christ.

In 1 John the point at issue is also that of brotherly love (2:7 ff.). The commandment is called, strikingly, old and new at once (2:7 f.; cf. 2 Jn. 5). The exposition is obviously directed against the schismatic desire for innovation. By "old" one should understand the beginning of the Christian life: "the old commandment is the word which you have heard" (2:7). As to content, it is simply the new love for one's brothers that is meant though the christological foundation of Jn's Gospel is not explicitly expounded (2:8–11).

(e) The vb. *enkainizō* occurs only in Heb. Arndt (214) suggests that its meaning in Heb. 10:20 is "open a way" (cf. 1 Sam. 11:14; 1 Clem. 18:10; Ps. 51:10 [50:12]). Thus believers have confidence to enter the sanctuary "by the new and living way which he opened for us [*enekainisen*] through the curtain, that is, through his flesh" (RSV). On the other hand, the meaning of inaugurate, dedicate is suggested for Heb. 9:18. RSV has "ratified": "Hence even the first covenant was not ratified [*enkekainistai*] without blood" (RSV; cf. Deut. 20:5; 1 Ki. 8:63; 2 Chr. 7:5; *IG* XII 5, 712, 58).

(f) *kainos* plays an important role in the visions of Revelation. Those who are victorious over their earthly temptations will receive a white stone with a new name

(2:17; cf. 13:12). The white stone (*psēphon leukēn*) may have been the white stone used by jurors to signify acquittal (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 15, 41); a token entitling one to free entertainment at royal assemblies (Xiphilin., *Epit.Dion.*, p. 228), hence that which admitted one to the heavenly feast; the precious stones which in rabbinic tradition fell with the manna (Yoma 8); the precious stones on the breastplate of the high priest (Exod. 35:27; 39; cf. 28:28 f.); the white stone regarded as a mark of felicity (cf. Pliny, *Ep.* 6, 11, 3); or a combination of several of these images (cf. R. H. Charles, *The Revelation of St. John*, *ICC*, I, 1920, 66). The new name would not be that of the bearer, but the one giving authority to the bearer. The context of the vision of Rev. 1 suggests that the new name is that of Christ as Lord (cf. 1:8, 10, 12–20; with Phil. 2:11). For he is the one who has conquered and has assumed Lordship (cf. 2:17a with 5:5 ff.; 22:13, 20). It is he that makes the new reality possible. The heavenly community of the redeemed will strike up a new song in honour of the Lamb who was slain (5:9; 14:3). When the great and final apocalyptic battle has been fought out against Satan, and all the enemies of the Lamb have been defeated, the new → Jerusalem will arise (21:2), and a new heaven and a new earth will be created (21:1; cf. 2 Pet. 3:13). Then there will be no tears, suffering, pain or → death (21:4). In accordance with the expectations of the new in the OT the new element which entered the world with Jesus Christ stretches from the realization of the new man right to the universal hope of a new heaven and a new earth. The One who sits on the throne of the new Jerusalem says: "Behold, I make all things new" (Rev. 21:5).

H. Haarbeck, H.-G. Link, C. Brown

νέος

νέος (*neos*), new, young, fresh; νεότης (*neotēs*), youth; νεώτερος (*neōteros*), younger, a younger person; νεόφυτος (*neophytos*), newly planted; ἀνανεόω (*ananeoō*), renew.

CL *neos*, from the Indo-Germanic **neuos*, derived from the adv. *nu*, now, has the temporal sense of belonging to the present moment, and so new, not previously existent, just now appearing, in short: new, young.

1. Secular Gk. uses *neos* as an adj. (attested since Mycenaean Gk.) for things, generally in a temporal sense, new, fresh (cf. Hdt. 5, 19, 2, *neōtera prēgmata*, revolution); and in a fig. sense, occasionally of persons with some recently gained honour or position (cf. Aesch., *PV* 955, 960, *hoi neoi theoi*, the new gods). *neos* is most commonly used, chiefly in the comparative, to designate the age-range of youths from 20 to 30 years old as distinct from the *presbyteroi* or *gerontes*, but also now and again as a noun to denote an inexperienced person, a novice. There is no strict differentiation between *neos* and the generally synonymously used adjs. → *kainos* and *prosphatos* (originally a sacrificial term; *pros* and *phatos* [a verbal adj. cognate with *phonos*, slaughter], just slaughtered, and therefore fresh).

2. The Hellenistic and Roman world was fond of linking *neos* with the name of some god such as Asclepius or Dionysus in their emperor-cults. The ruler, revered as God, was to be celebrated as the visible representation of the divinity. In gnostic and Manichaean religious language one could also speak of the new,

i.e. the redeemed man. But this betrays a dependence on early Christianity (cf. Hippol., *Haer.* 6, 35, 4; J. Behm, *TDNT* IV 897).

OT 1. The LXX uses *neos* chiefly in the comparative form *neōteros* with the meaning of younger, a younger person. *neōteros* is so used for the following Heb. words: *ṣā'îr*, young(er), small(er) (e.g. Gen. 19:31, 34 f., 39); *qāṭān* and *qāṭōn*, small, young(er), youngest (36 times altogether; e.g. Gen. 9:24; 42:13, 15, 20, 34; Gen. 43 and 44 passim); *na'ar*, young man (e.g. Jdg. 8:20; 2 Chr. 13:7; Job 24:5); *yeleḏ*, child (2 Chr. 10:14). In Num. 28:16 the LXX renders *bikkûrîm*, first-fruits, by *ta nea* (the new things) and translates Abib (*'āḇîḇ*), the month of the ripening of the corn, as the month of the first-fruits (*mēn tōn neōn*; Exod. 13:4; 23:15; 34:18; Lev. 2:14; Deut. 16:1). *neos* is used to translate *ḥāḏāš*, new, only 4 times (Lev. 23:16; 26:10; Num. 28:26; Cant. 7:13[14]); otherwise the regular equivalent is *kainos*.

2. In the Apocrypha and inter-testamental literature *neos* comes increasingly to denote youthful inexperience, immaturity and susceptibility (cf. Tob. 1:4; Sir. 9:10; 42:8; 1 Macc. 6:17; 11:54, 57; 13:31; 4 Macc. 2:3; 6:19).

NT 1. The instances of *neos* in the NT, though not so frequent as those of → *kainos*, are scattered in numerous writings. *neos* occurs 7 times in Lk., twice each in Matt. and Mk., once in Jn., 8 times in Paul (6 of them in the Pastorals), and once each in Heb. Jas. and Acts. With *neos* the temporal aspect is dominant, marking out the present moment as compared with a former: new dough (1 Cor. 5:7), freshly prepared and not yet blended with → leaven; new wine, fresh wine, still fermenting (Matt. 9:17, par. Mk. 2:22, Lk. 5:38); a new man, God's new creation (Col. 3:9 f.) the new covenant, God's new design as contrasted with the old covenant broken by men (Heb. 12:24). *neos*, when meaning young (Tit. 2:4), is mainly used in the comparative in the NT (Lk. 15:12; Acts 5:6; Jn. 21:18; 1 Tim. 5:1 f.; Tit. 2:6; 1 Pet. 5:5); *neotēs* accordingly means youth (Mk. 10:20; Lk. 18:21; Acts 26:4; 1 Tim. 4:12). In Lk. 22:26 *ho neōteros* means the youngest. The vb. *ananeoomai* occurs only in Eph. 4:23 where it signifies the "being renewed" of the inner nature, as does *anakainoomai* in Col. 3:10 (see below 5, and *kainos* NT 2 (c)). Heb. 10:20 speaks of the new (*prosphatos*, newly consecrated) way to the sanctuary of God which Christ has first already travelled through his suffering, death and resurrection and which he has thus inaugurated (*enekainisen*) and made accessible to us (→ *kainos*, NT 2 (e)).

2. *neos* in the NT thus characterizes the new thing which Jesus has brought to men both as gift and as task, the new salvation and life which commences at his coming and is completed at his return. *neos* therefore stands in necessary opposition to that which was *palai*, earlier on, of old (Heb. 1:1), that which is *palaios* (→ Old). The *palaios anthrōpos*, the old man, is the autonomous man under sin (Rom. 7:6) which is laid aside (Eph. 4:22) and must be purified from the *palaia zymē*, the old → leaven of unregenerate ways. God himself has declared that the earlier worship which had become so superficial is obsolete. He has abrogated it (*palaioō*, Heb. 8:13), and his will is that believers serve him, not *en palaiotēti grammatos* (Rom. 7:6), in the old and worthless worship of the letter, the written code, but *en kainotēti pneumatos*, in the renewal, in the newness of the Spirit.

3. By contrast with *palaios*, old, both *neos* and → *kainos* denote the new salvation which Christ has brought, and the new life of faith in him. The picture of new wine and old wine-skins (Matt. 9:17; Mk. 2:22; Lk. 5:38) makes a sharp distinction between the new (the person and preaching of Jesus) and the old (Judaism and John the Baptist's followers). Jesus calls for a clean break between old and new, since both could only be linked together with resultant mutual disadvantages. The parable is to be understood against the background of the incompatible opposition in which Jesus stands to everything that has gone before. The new wine at the wedding feast at Cana also shows that the new is better than the old (Jn. 2:1–11), even though the words new and old are not used in the account.

4. The picture of the congregation as new dough (*neon phyrama*) which is separated from the → leaven of "malice and evil" takes the thought a step further (1 Cor. 5:7). Just as the old leaven has to be cleansed out annually at the Passover (Deut. 16:3 f.) and a fresh start made, so nothing of the old life should be allowed to corrupt the new. In context Paul is talking about → boasting which ill befits the Corinthians in view of their recent case of gross immorality (1 Cor. 5:1–6). He goes on to urge the Corinthians to celebrate the festival "with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth" (5:8). For the church has entered a new era, a new Passover time, "For Christ, our paschal lamb, has been sacrificed" (5:7).

5. The vb. *ananeoō* occurs in the NT only at Eph. 4:23, where it is best taken as a passive: "and be renewed [*ananeousthai*] in the spirit of your minds." The following v. adds: "and put on the new nature [*ton kainon anthrōpon*], created after the likeness of God in true righteousness and holiness" (→ *kainos*).

6. Even though the word-groups *neos* and *kainos* are largely used synonymously, the observation may still be made that *neos* tends to stress the reality of salvation in the present, whereas *kainos* emphasizes more strongly the character of eschatological fulfilment. *H. Haarbeck*

→ Old

(a). J. Behm, *kainos* etc., *TDNT* III 447–54; and *neos* etc., *TDNT* IV 896–901; G. Bornkamm, "Baptism and New Life in Paul (Romans 6)", *Early Christian Experience*, 1969, 71–86; R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 1971, 526 f.; R. A. Harrisville, "The Concept of Newness in the New Testament", *JBL* 74, 1955, 69–79.
(b). G. Harbsmeier, " 'Alt' und 'Neu' in der Verkündigung", *EvTh* 27, 1967, 286 ff.; F. Hahn, "Die Bildworte vom neuen Flicken und vom alten Wein", *EvTh* 31, 1971, 357 ff.; A. von Harnack, "Die Terminologie der Wiedergeburt und verwandter Erlebnisse in der ältesten Kirche", *TU* 42, 1918, 101 ff., 135 ff.; W. Nagel, "Neuer Wein in alten Schläuchen (Mt. 9, 17)", *Vigiliae Christianae* 14, 1960, 1 ff.; P. Stuhlmacher, *Gerechtigkeit Gottes bei Paulus*, *FRLANT* 87, 1966², 213 ff.

Nicolaitan

Νικολαΐτης | *Νικολαΐτης* (*Nikolaitēs*), Nicolaitan; cf. *Νικόλαος* (*Nikolaos*), Nicolas.

1. Member of a sect of primitive Christian times, apparently formed from the personal name Nicolas or Nicolaus. The term occurs in the NT only at Rev. 2:6 and 2:15, in the epistles to the churches in Ephesus and in Pergamum. The first

passage commends the church's rejection of them without specifying the nature of their teaching. It is an open question whether they are to be identified with the "false apostles" of v. 2. The more explicit context of Rev. 2:15 must be the basis for any interpretation of the tenets of the group. There they are equated in some sense with Balaam, who taught Israel "to eat things sacrificed to idols, and to commit fornication" (cf. Num. 25:1–3; 31:16). The same sins are also ascribed to the teaching of "Jezebel" at Thyatira (Rev. 2:20), but she is never called a Nicolaitan, though the trend of her influence is represented as similar. Both passages, as far as we may judge from them, seem to concern errors of practice rather than of speculative doctrine, though the phrase "they have not known the depths of Satan" (2:24) suggests the possibility of some kind of gnostic background for the Jezebel teaching.

2. The value of the later references to Nicolaitans is debatable. Irenaeus (*Haer.* 1, 26, 3) makes them the followers of Nicolas the deacon of Acts 6:5, but adds nothing which might not possibly be explained as inference from Rev. In *Haer.*, 3, 11, 7, he treats them as the earliest exponents of the error of Cerinthus and ascribes to them a gnostic cosmology. This might however be an inference from a tradition connecting John's opponents with the "*gnōsis* falsely so-called" (1 Tim. 6:20), to which Irenaeus here appears to refer. These tenets *might* then merely have been read back from subsequent developments.

Others condemn the Nicolaitans as teaching hedonism and immorality (Clem. Alex., *Strom.* 2, 20; *Apost.Const.* 6, 8, 2; Ignatius (long recension) *Trall.* 11; *Philad.* 6; Tertullian, *Adv.Marc.* 1, 29; *De Pudic.* 19), following Rev. without otherwise specifying their doctrines. In Tertullian, *Praescr.Haer.* 33, and Hippolytus, *Haer.*, 736, they are associated or compared with gnostic groups, but neither passage is explicit.

3. It is sufficiently clear from the primary references that Nicolaitanism was a libertarian or antinomian movement, whatever else it may have been or become also. The most promising key to a more precise interpretation is the parallel with Balaam in Rev. 2:14–15. Balaam's evil counsel is never explicitly recorded in the OT, but the inference from comparison of Num. 31:16 with Num. 25:1–2 is that he was responsible for contriving the sin of Israel with the daughters of Moab, an incident which became much elaborated in Jewish tradition by the first century A.D. (cf. Philo, *Vit. Mos.*, 1, 54, 295 ff.; Joephus, *Ant.*, 4, 6; 6, 126 ff.).

C. A. Heumann in 1712 first proposed that an etymological play was intended on the names "Balaam" and "Nicolas", both being taken to mean "lord" (Heb. *ba'al*) or "destroyer" (Heb. *bāla'*) "of the people". The artificiality of this etymology is not necessarily decisive against it: the question is whether it was current in antiquity. It is very probably no more than a modern fancy. Yet Balaam is unexpectedly prominent in Jewish tradition. He was a type of lawless wickedness, the antagonist of → Moses the law-giver. And in the NT Jude 11 and 2 Pet. 2:15 refer to controversies involving his name. There is some reason to think that a polemical use of the name was already current in the milieu of the Asian churches (cf. the messianic use of Balaam's prophecy in Num. 24:17, echoed in Rev. 2:26–28). Jewish sources sometimes associated Balaam with Jesus as a representative opponent of the Torah (R. T. Herford, *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash*, [1903] 1972, 63 ff.). The point of the objection may have been that the followers of

Jesus opposed faith to law and therefore appeared to sanction an antinomianism which gave licence to immorality. Paul was ever conscious that his gospel was open to this perversion, but refused to countenance it (cf. e.g. Rom. 6:1).

Balaam's advocacy of eating idol-offerings and of fornication brings us also to the terms of the Apostolic Decree of Acts 15:20, 29, which echo Num. 25:1–2. The Acts represents Paul, to whom antinomians might appeal, as having assented to these terms.

In Rev. John rejects the application of the term "Balaam" to Christians as such, while turning the word against a perversion to which the gospel of faith apart from works was open.

4. It is not clear whether the Nicolaitans are necessarily to be seen as gnostics, as Harnack formerly argued. But changing conditions might bring new arguments to the fore, and those who once appealed to Pauline teaching might later use such new fashions of thought as suited their end. Nor can we judge the vexed question whether the Nicolaitans are to be connected with the antinomians of Jude and 2 Pet.

The churches of Asia were, I suggest, under severe pressures under Domitian and could secure their position only by accommodation either to Judaism or to the dictates of pagan society. The Nicolaitans (and Jezebel) are mentioned in connection with those three cities where we have reason to think the pagan compromise was most insistent. The temptation to idolatry at Thyatira may plausibly be connected with the strength of the pagan trade-guilds in that city: the Christian who valued his livelihood was under pressure to participate in the idolatrous feasts of his guild. At Ephesus there was the power of the Artemis cult. Pergamum was the provincial centre of the imperial cult, and a new rigour of enforcement of that cult by Domitian faced the church with an acute dilemma. Safety might be assured only by what John saw as amounting to apostasy. The Nicolaitans and their kind were plausible advocates of the pagan compromise (cf. further C. J. Hemer in *PEQ.* 105, 1973, 6–12, and literature there cited). *C. J. Hemer*

(a). G. R. Beasley-Murray, *The Book of Revelation, New Century Bible*, 1974, 85–91; H. Cowan, "Nicolaitans", *HDB* III 547 f.; E. S. Fiorenza, "Apocalyptic and Gnosis in the Book of Revelation and Paul", *JBL* 92, 1973, 565–81; A. von Harnack, "The Sect of the Nicolaitans and Nicolaus, the Deacon of Jerusalem", *Journal of Religion* 3, 1923, 413–22; C. J. Hemer, *A Study of the Letters to the Seven Churches with Special Reference to their Social Background*, Dissertation, Manchester, 1969, 191–206; R. W. Moss, "Nicolaitans", *ERE* IX 363–66; W. M. Ramsay, *The Letters to the Seven Churches*, 1904, 299–302, and 335–53.
(b). N. Brox, "Nikolaos und Nikolaiten", *Vigiliae Christianae* 19, 1965, 23–30; M. Goguel, "Les Nicolaïtes", *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 115, 1937, 5–36.

Nineveh

Νινευή

Νινευή (*Nineuē*), less common: *Νινευί* (*Nineui*), Nineveh; *Νινευίτης* (*Nineuitēs*), Ninevite.

CL Nineveh (Gk. *Ninos, Ninus*) is cited copiously in the classical Gk. historians.

Xenophon refers to the city of Mespila (*Anab.* 3, 4, 10) observing that it was once inhabited by the Medes. Mespila is modern Mosul, the city opposite Nineveh on the west bank of the Tigris. Nineveh is cited by Herodotus on a number

of occasions and Dio (*Roman History*) cites it in a description of the Roman incursion into Assyria. Diodorus and Strabo make mention of the city as well. Josephus makes numerous references to the city (e.g. *Ant.* 9, 10, 21; 9, 11, 3) attributing its founding to Assyras.

OT The references to Nineveh in the LXX (cf. Gen. 10:11 f.; Isa. 37:37; Jon. 1:2; Zeph. 2:13) are similar to the references in the Heb. OT. The Heb. form *nînᵉwēh* denotes both the district (Ass. *ninua[ki]*) and the metropolis (*[āl]-ninua*).

Nineveh is mentioned 17 times in the OT. According to Gen. 10:11, 12, the city was founded by Nimrod and, in 2 Ki. 19:36, Sennacherib is described as returning to his royal residence at Nineveh after his failure to conquer Jerusalem (cf. also 2 Ki. 18:15). A parallel reference occurs in Isa. 37:37.

The city figures prominently in the prophecy of → Jonah (1:2; 3:2, 3,4, 5, 6, 7; 4:11) where its wickedness is described as the cause for its threatened destruction. The three days' journey required to cross it (Jon. 3:3) possibly refers to the administrative district of Nineveh (Hatra-Khorsabad-Nimrud). The preaching of the prophet Jonah led to repentance on the part of the citizens of that city which averted the impending catastrophe (Jon. 3:10).

The city of Nineveh also figures prominently in the prophecy of Nahum. The book of Nahum is a prophetic oracle dealing solely with the destruction of Nineveh (cf. Nah. 1:1; 3:7). The reference to the opening of the river gates (Nah. 2:6) may picture the inundation of part of the city effected by a coalition of Medes, Babylonians and Scythians who conquered Nineveh.

Nineveh is cited in the prophecy of Zephaniah (2:13) where its destruction is mentioned along with the destruction of other peoples in an oracle depicting God's → judgment on Israel's enemies and Israel's eventual vindication.

Nineveh is mentioned in cuneiform sources from the reigns of Gudea (2200 B.C.) and Hammurabi (*c.* 1750 B.C.). Extensive archaeological excavation at the site of ancient Nineveh has revealed occupation from prehistoric times. In the reigns of Shamshi-Adad I (*c.* 1800 B.C.) and Hammurabi the city's importance as the site of the temple of Ishtar was maintained in the restoration and beautification of the temple. With the restoration of Assyria's fortunes under Shalmaneser I (*c.* 1260 B.C.) Nineveh gained in importance and became one of the royal residences.

Perhaps the Assyrian king who made the greatest contribution to the greatness of Nineveh was Sennacherib who rebuilt the defences of the city and constructed a system of dams and canals. A number of buildings and parks were constructed during his reign as well (704–681 B.C.).

Several important cultural contributions were made by Ashurbanipal (669–627 B.C.). Bas-reliefs from this time witness to the high degree of skill achieved by the artists who were encouraged by Ashurbanipal's love for the arts.

With the death of Ashurbanipal there began the events which led to the decline of the Assyrian empire and the demise of Nineveh. The alliance of Babylonians, Medes and Scythians was able to effect the fall of Nineveh in 612 B.C. after a siege of several months. Thereafter Nineveh became a symbol of Assyria's utter collapse.

Archaeological excavations have been carried on extensively at the site of ancient Nineveh beginning with the work of Austen Layard in 1847. The present site of Nineveh is marked by two mounds, Tell Quyunjiq ("hill of many sheep"), a name

reminiscent of Zephaniah's prophecy concerning Nineveh (Zeph. 2:14), and Tell Nebi Yunus ("hill of the prophet Jonah") which is still covered by a village.

As the chief city of Assyria Nineveh was the crystallization of the culture and power of that kingdom. As such, it represented to the OT prophets the seat of the cruelty and oppression that the Assyrian empire had brought to bear on Israel.

T. McComiskey

NT Nineveh is referred to in the Matthaean and Lucan versions of the saying concerning the sign of the prophet → Jonah. "The men of Nineveh will arise at the judgment with this generation to condemn it; for they repented at the preaching of Jonah, and behold, something greater than Jonah is here" (Matt. 12:41 par. Lk. 11:32). The wording is identical, but whereas Matt. 12:42 goes on to cite a similar instance of the pagan "queen of the South" (the queen of Sheba, 1 Ki. 10:1–13) coming from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon, Lk. inverts the two illustrations. The point of both stories is to contrast the responsiveness of outsiders with the chosen people which Jesus calls "this generation". For not content with what Jesus has already said and done, they still sought a sign (cf. also Matt. 16:1; 1 Cor. 1:22). Jesus replies that "An evil and adulterous generation seeks for a sign; but no sign shall be given to it except the sign of the prophet Jonah. For as Jonah was three days and three nights in the belly of the whale, so will the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth" (Matt. 12:39 f.; cf. Lk. 11:29). The reply was enigmatic, for it was, as one might expect, not the → generation that was judged but the prophet. In the first instance the sign indicates the rejection of the prophet (cf. Jon. 1:4, 10, 12, 15). But it also indicates that death will not be the end of the Son of man, and that his vindication will soon come. Then follows the reference to the citizens of Nineveh who responded to the preaching of Jonah when the prophet proclaimed that the Lord intended to overthrow the city because of its wickedness (cf. Jon. 3:1–10). The allusion invites a similar response, so that judgment may be averted. This is underlined by the implicit contrast between the hearers of Jesus who were not pagans (like the people of Nineveh) but members of the people of God, and by the explicit contrast between Jonah and Jesus. The expression "and behold, something greater than Jonah is here" invites the hearers to think for themselves as to who Jesus is and what was his relation to the kingdom of God which he proclaimed (cf. Matt. 16:13 ff.; Mk. 8:27 ff.; Lk. 9:18 ff.).

Lk.'s account omits the reference to the three days and nights. It focuses entirely on the response of the Ninevites: "For as Jonah became a sign to the men of Nineveh, so will the Son of man be to this generation" (Lk. 11:30). The implication is that Jonah preached to the Ninevites as one who had come from the dead.

M. Black suggests that the vb. *anastēnai . . . meta* (arise with) represents a well-attested Semitism meaning dispute, and that the words *en tē krisei* were added in the Gk. to make the Aramaic idiom intelligible (*An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, 1967², 134).

C. Brown

→ Jonah, → Judgment, → Resurrection

A. H. Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, I–II, 1849; and *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, 1853; A. Parrot, *Nineveh and the Old Testament*, 1955; G. Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, 1875; E. A. Speiser, "Nineveh", *IDB* III 551 ff.; R. C. Thompson and R. W. Hutchinson, *A*

Century of Exploration at Nineveh, 1929; R. C. Thompson, "The Buildings on Quyunjiq, the larger mound of Nineveh", *Iraq* 1, 1934, 95–104; R. C. Thompson and R. W. Hutchinson, "The site of the palace of Ashurnasirpal at Nineveh", *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 18, 1931, 79; "The British Museum Excavations on the Temple of Ishtar at Nineveh", ibid. 19, 1932, 55–116; R. C. Thompson and M. E. L. Mallowan, "The British Museum Excavations at Nineveh, 1931, 1932", *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* 20, 1933, 71–120; D. J. Wiseman, "Nineveh", *NBD* 888 ff.; and "Nineveh", *ZPEB* IV 440–44.

Noah

Νωέ	*Νωέ* (*Nōe*), Heb. *nōaḥ*, Noah.

OT 1. Noah (Heb. *nōaḥ*, probably cognate with *nûaḥ*, "rest") was the tenth in line of descent from Adam (Gen. 5:28 f.) and figures as the hero of the flood narrative (Gen. 6:11–9:19), as an outstandingly righteous man (Gen. 6:9, 7:1; Ezek. 14:14, 20) who "found favour in Yahweh's eyes" (Gen. 6:8), and as the first man to plant a vineyard (Gen. 9:20) – which was apparently the fulfilment of his father Lamech's prophecy at his birth: "Out of the ground which Yahweh has cursed this one shall bring us relief [*y*^{e}*naḥ*^{a}*mēnû*] from our work and from the toil of our hands" (Gen. 5:29). With his wife, his three sons and their wives, he survived the flood in the ark which he constructed at God's command, and became the ancestor of the new, post-diluvial world.

He is mentioned in Ezek. 14:14, 20, where God affirms that, if Noah lived in Jerusalem in the period preceding its destruction by the Babylonians, his righteousness would avail to deliver himself alone (not even, presumably, the seven members of his family who were delivered with him at the time of the flood). On a more cheerful note, on the eve of the return from the Babylonian exile Jerusalem is assured that Yahweh's steadfast love to her will be as irrevocable as his covenant with the human race in "the days of Noah" (Isa. 54:9 f.; cf. Gen. 9:8–17).

2. The Jewish wisdom writers found in Noah an example of true wisdom. Because he "was found perfect and righteous", says Ben Sira, "a remnant was left to the earth when the flood came" (Sir. 44:17 f.). "When the earth was flooded", says the author of Wisdom, "wisdom saved it again, steering the righteous man in a cheap structure of wood" (Wis. 10:4). Philo notes that Noah is "the first man recorded as righteous in the sacred scriptures" (*Congr.* 90) and gives "righteousness" alongside "rest" as the meaning of his name (*Abr.* 27). He praises him as a victorious athlete, who won his citation because "he had been well-pleasing to God" (*Abr.* 35; cf. Gen. 6:9 LXX).

3. The Ethiopic Enoch incorporates parts of one or more Noah apocalypses (6–11; 54:7–55:2; 60; 65:1–69:25; 106; 107). Most of these are concerned with the fall of the angels, the ensuing → judgment of the flood and the age of blessing to follow. One of them, however (106:1–19), describes the new-born Noah as a wonder-child: Lamech suspects that he may be the son of an intrusive angel, and consults his father Methuselah, who in turn goes to "the ends of the earth" to consult *his* father Enoch. Enoch confirms that Noah is indeed Lamech's son, and that God will do "a new thing on the earth" in his day. Essentially the same story

appears in the Genesis apocryphon from Qumran (1Q GenApoc. 2) and in fragments from Cave 4, one of which even gives the baby's weight (J. T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea*, 1959, *SBT* 26, 35).

NT 1. In the teaching of Jesus the flood of Noah's day is recalled, like the destruction of Sodom and the neighbouring cities, as a pattern of the judgment that will overtake the world at the coming of the Son of man, especially in its swiftness and suddenness (Lk. 17:26 f.; cf. Matt. 24:37–39).

2. In Heb. 11:7 Noah's faith is emphasized; the quality of his faith was manifested by his prompt obedience to the divine admonition (cf. Gen. 6:22). Thus he "condemned the world" (i.e. exposed the perversity of those who refused to believe God) and (like Abraham at a later date) was justified by faith.

3. In 1 Pet. 3:19 ff. there is a reference to the spirits imprisoned because of their disobedience "when God's patience waited in the days of Noah, during the building of the ark, in which a few, that is, eight persons were saved through water." To these spirits Christ is said to have made proclamation – proclamation, it may be inferred, of his triumph which finally sealed their doom. The relevance of the flood narrative to the life-setting of 1 Peter lies in its providing an OT counterpart to Christian → baptism which the readers of the letter were "now" receiving (v. 21).

4. In 2 Pet. 2:4 f. the preservation of Noah, "with seven other persons", is set in antithesis to the imprisonment in Tartarus of the rebel angels until the last judgment (cf. Jude 6) – a guarantee of God's power to preserve the godly and punish the wicked. Noah is here called "a herald [*kēryx*] of righteousness"; cf. Jos., *Ant.* 1, 74; Sib.Or. 1:125 ff.; 1 Clem. 7:6; 9:4, and Gen. R. 30:7 (on Gen. 6:9) which says that "God had a herald [*kārôz*] in the generation of the flood." In 2 Pet. 3:5–7 the destruction by water of "the world that then existed" is viewed as a harbinger of the destruction of the present world by fire.

5. The absence of any mention of Noah in the Pauline letters is noteworthy. Although he was the second father of the human race, he is not treated as a typical figure like Adam (Rom. 5:12 ff.). Neither does Paul make any reference to the "Noachian decrees" – the injunctions of Gen. 9:1–7 which were held in rabbinical teaching to be binding on all Noah's descendants, Gentiles as well as Jews. According to the oldest forms of this teaching, six of the seven "Noachian decrees" had already been enjoined on Adam; only the seventh (the prohibition of eating flesh with the blood in it) was given for the first time to Noah (SB III 36). Paul regarded the ungodliness of the pagan world (Rom. 1:18 ff.) as disobedience to God's *creation* ordinances.

The "Noachian decrees" may be reflected in the apostolic ruling of Acts 15:20, 29; 21:25, especially in the Western text, where the original wording, with its emphasis on food restrictions, has been given the form of a mainly ethical requirement that Gentile converts to Christianity should abstain from idolatry, fornication and → "blood" (it being left uncertain whether this means eating with the blood or shedding human blood). *F. F. Bruce*

(a). C. K. Barrett, *From First Adam to Last*, 1962, 23–26, 30; A. Heidel, *The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels*, 1946; W. G. Lambert and A. R. Millard, *Atrahasīs: The Babylonian Story of the Flood*, 1969; B. Reicke, *The Disobedient Spirits and Christian Baptism*, 1946; E. Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ* II, ii, 318 f.; S. S. Schwarzschild and S.

Berman, "Noachide Laws", *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 1972, II, 1189–1191; D. Young, E. Hallevy, *et al.*, "Noah", *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 1972, XII, 1191–1198.
(b). G. Fohrer, "Noah", *RGG*³ III 1501 f.; G. Strecker, "Noachidische Gebote", *RGG*³ III, 1500 f.

Number

ἀριθμός	ἀριθμός (*arithmos*), number.

CL *arithmos*, is derived from a root **ar*, to fit; cf. *ara*, fitting; *harmonia*, construction; *arthmos*, connection, friendship; Lat. *ars*, art.

1. *arithmos* denotes in general Gk. usage (a) that which has been brought together, a quantity, total, number, extent, amount (e.g. *chrysiou*, of gold, Xen., *Cyr.* 8, 2, 16). But it can also mean (b) the assessment of numbers, i.e. count, muster (Hdt., 8, 7), and then a troop, a military unit (*CIG*, V, 187). Anyone who (c) is included in the count is a man of distinction or reputation (Homer, *Od.* 11,449; Eur., Frag. 519). Conversely *en oudeni arithmō einai* (to be in no number) is to be ignored, disregarded. Where *arithmos* is understood as quantity as opposed to quality it can be (d) the virtual embodiment of that which is worthless, futile, empty (cf. *arithmos logōn*, empty words, Soph., *OC* 382). Occasionally (e) *arithmos* has the sense of code, cipher.

2. In the popular and religious and philosophical thought of Hellenism *gematria* (the process of encoding a word by adding together the numerical value of its component letters) gained great significance. The decoding of a gematrical number was only possible for the initiated, since the sum itself is ambiguous. The scribbling found on a wall in Pompeii (before A.D. 79) which runs: "I love her whose number is 545" might be called a kind of gematrical frivolity. The combination of three words with the numerical value 284 (*Gaios – hagios – agathos*, found by adding together the value of the individual letters) in a Roman inscription is even more odd. *Gaios* (numerical value: 3 + 1 + 10 + 70 + 200) is at the same time to be called a *hagios* (pure; numerical value: 1 + 3 + 10 + 70 + 200) and an *agathos* (good, fine; numerical value: 1 + 3 + 1 + 9 + 70 + 200) man. The words are interchangeable from the point of view of gematria, because they are of equal value. The "number of the year" *Abrasax*, 365, mentioned in the Leiden magical papyrus, betrays the stamp of a speculative gematria, which arbitrarily replaces the number of days in a year by a meaningless – but therefore all the more mysterious – word; the word *Abrasax* retains its mysterious character in later gnostic texts.

OT 1. The LXX renders several Heb. and Aram. terms by *arithmos*, most commonly *mispār*, number, corresponding as a rule with the general Gk. meaning (a) (above CL) e.g. Gen. 34:30; Exod. 16:16. *arithmos* has the same sense when translating *middâh*, measure (Ps. 38[39]:5); *rō'š*, (lit. head) sum, total (Num. 1:49); *miḵsâh*, number, amount (Exod.12:4; cf. Lev. 27:23); and Aram. *minyān*, number (Ezr. 6:17); and when rendering *bim^{e}ṭē m^{e}'âṭ*, with few people, in small numbers (Deut. 26:5); *'ēn mispār* or *'ēn qēṣeh*, without end, i.e. innumerable (Gen. 41:49; Isa. 2:7); and *'āṣ^{e}mû missappēr*, to be exceedingly numerous (Ps. 40:5 [39:6]). The meaning CL 1 (b) occurs (*inter alia*) in 1 Chr. 7:5 (*yāḥaś* in hithp.), enroll by

genealogy (in the family register); Isa. 34:2 (*ṣāḇā'*, host); 2 Chr. 17:14 (*p^equddâh*, muster, enumeration). Meanings CL 1 (c)–(e) are not attested in the OT.

2. In Rabbinic and Jewish Hellenistic literature, however, as well as the meanings 1 (a) and 1 (b) (e.g. 2 Macc. 8:16; 3 Macc. 5:2), gematria is also found as an exegetical method and for coding, without *arithmos* always occurring specifically or the gematrical process being identified as such. Tg.O., for example, replaces the information in Num. 12:1 that → Moses took a "Cushite" (heathen) wife by the information that the woman was "lovely to look at"; both produce the numerical value 736. (For a further succession of gematriae cf. Sib. 5:12 ff.)

NT 1. The NT links up with the LXX linguistic usage in that it generally only has the meanings CL 1 (a) 1 (b) for the word *arithmos*, which in any case only occurs 18 times (including 10 passages in Rev., and 4 in Acts). Meaning 1 (a) without concrete numerical details is found in Rom. 9:27; Rev. 20:8 (quotation of Isa. 10:22, though not the LXX); and with numerical details in (e.g.) Jn. 6:10; Acts 4:4, Rev. 5:11; 7:4. Meaning 1 (b), in the writer's opinion, appears in Lk. 22:3 (company). No usage of CL 1(c) and 1 (d) can be detected, although in Rev. 13:17 f. there is found the formulation "the name of the beast or the number of his name", an express summons to calculate "the number of the beast" which is "the number of a man". The number itself is given as 666, or according to other less significant MSS 616 (probably not original). This is thus an instance of 1 (e) (cf. also 15:2).

2. Rev. 13:17 f. is the sole place where the word *arithmos* assumes exegetical importance in the NT. Doubtless the matter in hand here is a functional gematria, which on obvious grounds puts into code the name of the person intended. The context speaks pictorially of a "beast" (→ Animal, art. *thērion*), which in church and exegetical tradition has been customarily and probably pertinently interpreted of the → Antichrist. "The number of the beast", which is stated to be "the number of a man", shows that behind the beast and the number there is concealed a human figure known to the hearers and readers of the text of that time. This excludes all attempts to decode the number which do not relate to a human figure. (In passing it may be noted that the text does not make it explicit whether one is to employ the Gk. or Heb. alphabet for the interpretation of the number 666, though the text itself is in Gk.)

Of the many attempts at interpretation the consonantal Heb. script for "Caesar Nero" (*qsr nrwn* = 100 + 60 + 200 + 50 + 200 + 6 + 50 = 666), for example, has some probability. This solution is all the more attractive in that, combined with 17:11 ("the beast which was and is not"), it could refer to the legend of *Nero redivivus*, so that the Antichrist would thus be painted in the colours of the hated Nero. The fact that the story of *Nero redivivus* is also known from Judaic apocalyptic literature (cf. e.g. Sib. 5:138 ff.) would support this. But no definite interpretation of Rev. 13:17 f. can be given; E. Stauffer interprets it of Domitian in "666", *Coniectanea Neotestamentica* 11, 1947, p. 237 ff. The same applies to the number of 153 fish in Jn. 21:11 which may also be regarded as a cipher. (See further W. Bousset, *Die Offenbarung Johannis*, *KEK* 16, [1906] 1966, 368–79; J. Behm, *Die Offenbarung Johannis* 1920, I, 364–68; *NTD* 11, 1949, 79 ff.; R. H. Charles, *The Revelation of St. John*, *ICC*, II, 70 f., 76–87; G. B. Caird, *The Revelation of St John the Divine*, *BNTC*, 1966, 174 ff., 216 ff.)

As the process of gematria has already shown, numbers in the ancient world do not merely indicate quantities but also qualities. Some numbers, in addition to their quantitive meaning, also possess an almost fixed inner symbolic meaning. This is especially true of the numbers four, seven and twelve, which are found in the NT with a striking cumulative frequency. *E. D. Schmitz*

Care must be taken not to attribute theological significance to the use of particular numbers where it is arguable that no such significance was intended. Many cases are better treated as literal or rhetorical or as round-number approximations where these explanations seem natural and sufficient. Thus the particular frequency of multiples of five and ten is in part a natural consequence of the use of decimal reckoning. So too the prevalence of reference to the third, sixth and ninth hours stems from the duodecimal pattern of the day.

Some cases are less obvious. In Matt. 1 the genealogy of Jesus is schematized into sequences of fourteen, which is double seven. The enumeration here is selective and cannot be treated as being exhaustive. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the generations listed have been chosen with a purpose. The question remains how far that purpose was theologically significant rather than merely rhetorical or mnemonic.

The total of 153 fish in Jn. 21:11 is another debatable instance. There is ancient precedent for symbolic interpretation here (Jerome, *Comm.Ezek.* 14 *ad* Ezek. 47:6 ff. [*MPL* XXV, 474C]; Augustine, *Tract. in Ioh.* 122, 8). Modern scholars have explained the figure by gematria (J. A. Emerton and P. R. Ackroyd), or as a "triangular" number, following Augustine (F. H. Colson and R. M. Grant; see bibliography). The present writer prefers to follow J. H. Bernard (*The Gospel according to St. John, ICC*, I, 1928, lxxxvii, 699 f. *ad loc.*) and L. Morris (*The Gospel according to John*, NLC 1971, 867 *ad loc.*) in taking the number literally. For the practice of counting a catch for sharing among the participating fisherman see E. F. F. Bishop, " 'A fire of coals with fish laid thereon, and Bread' ", *ExpT* 50, 1938–9, 265). John elsewhere gives precise numbers where it would be superfluous to look for a symbolical meaning (46 in 2:20; 38 in 5:5), and his constant emphasis is on witness, not on esoteric *gnōsis*. See further Bernard's careful consideration of "allegorical method" in the interpretation of John (op. cit., I, lxxxiii–xc). This prompts caution, and his conclusions inform and control his treatment of numerical details. It is indeed noteworthy that the number seven, so often symbolic elsewhere, never appears in the Fourth Gospel.

There is however no doubt that numbers are often used symbolically in the Rev. Yet even here it is sometimes needful to ask whether the symbolic explanation is sufficient, or excludes the literal. It is surely significant in the context of this book that there were *seven* churches of Asia. Yet the enumeration is of a named group, whose choice seems to have been dictated by geographical particularities, and which may indeed have functioned regularly as the most efficient centres of communication for the churches of the province (W. M. Ramsay, *Letters to the Seven Churches*, 1904, 171–196).

There is then, I submit, need for discriminating appraisal of complex possibilities in the study of particular numerical usages. OT, apocalyptic, Philonic and other

parallels may need consideration, but are not necessarily determinative. There are notably diverse backgrounds of thought within the NT writings themselves. And their earliest surviving interpreters were not necessarily in line with the writers' own meaning.

The following notes on some additional numbers must be highly selective. They will inevitably focus on symbolic or otherwise significant numerals, but some cases are exegetically important for other reasons. *C. J. Hemer*

δύο

δύο (*dyo*), two.

1. The word *dyo* occurs some 135 times in the NT, but there are few of real importance. Two is the smallest expression of plurality, and naturally points to alternatives or contrasts (cf. Matt. 6:24; 21:28; 24:40–41). Emissaries are often represented as acting and travelling in pairs (cf. Mk. 6:7; Matt. 11:2; 21:1). "Two or three" is a frequent approximation for a very few. None of these obvious usages need delay us.

2. In Jn. 8:17 we read that "the testimony of two men is true": Jesus himself and the Father are the two who bear witness to him. There is evident reference here to the Jewish law of evidence deriving from Num. 35:30; Deut. 17:6; 19:15. False witnesses are suborned in pairs (1 Ki. 21:10; Matt. 26:60). There are several NT references to the need for two or three witnesses (Matt. 18:16; 2 Cor. 13:1; 1 Tim. 5:19; Heb. 10:28). Perhaps the motif may reasonably be traced elsewhere in the gospel events (Matt. 17:1 par. Mk. 9:2, Lk. 9:28; Matt. 26:37 par. Mk. 14:33; Lk. 24:13; Jn. 1:35 ff.).

3. The only significant usage of the simple numeral two in Rev. seems to be at 11:4–11. Again the theme is witness. The imagery goes back to that of Zech. 4:2–3, 11–14. Here, however, the two witnesses have powers corresponding to those of → Moses and → Elijah (Rev. 11:6), who are not named, but represent the testimony respectively of the Law and the Prophets (cf. again the Transfiguration narratives. → also on "three and a half" below).

4. In Rev. 1:16 a sharp, two-edged sword (*rhomphaia distomos*) proceeds from the mouth of the risen Christ. The elements of the concept are repeated in the letter to Pergamum in 2:12 and 16. Again the language recalls the OT (Isa. 11:4; 49:2), but is applied to the need of the Pergamene Christian who faced judicial execution by the Roman authority. *rhomphaia* was typically the foreigner's sword. Its double edge describes the Roman weapon, and the Roman proconsul wielded the "power of the sword" (*ius gladii*). But here it is Christ who holds the ultimate executive and judicial authority. The sword is associated with the "word of God" (Rev. 19:13; 15; Heb. 4:12; Eph. 6:17). *C. J. Hemer*

τρεῖς

τρεῖς, τρία (*treis, tria*), three; τρίς (*tris*), three times.

1. This number and its derivatives are very common throughout the biblical literature, but great caution is called for in evaluating significant usages. Three is a very common and natural rhetorical number, and threefold repetition or grouping

occurs often where the number itself is not mentioned. Many repetitive narratives and parables have three elements. Many basic concepts are readily formalized on a tripartite pattern: beginning, middle, end; past, present, future; body, soul, spirit. Diverse examples are numerous: there are three enduring gifts in 1 Cor. 13:13, three witnesses in 1 Jn. 5:8, threefold titles of Christ and of God in Rev. 1:4 and 4:8.

2. A period of three days is very commonly mentioned in the OT. It is often the length of a journey or of an interlude before a crisis (cf. Gen. 30:36; 40:12 ff.; Exod. 3:18). Note the easy transition to the phrase "the third day" (e.g. 40:20; → *tritos* below), and to the fuller expression "three days and three nights" (1 Sam. 30:12; Jon. 1:17). As the ancients reckoned inclusively, this might denote a period considerably shorter than seventy-two hours.

We should not attach too much importance to these phrases in their OT context, but some of them are taken up significantly in the NT with reference to the death and resurrection of Jesus. This is particularly striking in the allusion to Jonah (Matt. 12:40), a figure elsewhere prominent in the Gospels (Matt. 16:4; Lk. 11:29–32). See also Matt. 26:61; 27:40, 63; Mk. 8:31; 14:58; 15:29; Jn. 2:19–20.

3. Although three has widely been thought a sacred number, specifically religious uses of it in the Bible seem to be relatively few. In the OT it is frequent in cultic contexts (e.g. Exod. 23:14, 17). In the Rev. it is not so noteworthy as might have been expected. In the structural pattern the characteristic seven sometimes divides into four and three (Rev. 8:13 and implicitly elsewhere), and the twelve is composed of four threes (Rev. 21:13). There is, however, no reason to think that religious symbolism there attaches to three itself.

Yet the number three assumes peculiar importance indirectly in connection with the concept of the Trinity. There are threefold formulae listing the Persons in such passages as Matt. 28:19; Jn. 14:26; 15:26; 2 Cor. 13:13; 1 Pet. 1:2 (→ God, art. *theos* NT 8). There seems to be no precursor of this idea in any significant usage of the numerical concept in the OT, nor may it reasonably be connected with the occurrence of triads of deities in ancient Near Eastern paganism.

C. J. Hemer

τρίτος — τρίτος (*tritos*), third.

1. The ordinal *tritos* occurs 72 times in the Rev., more often than any other ordinal, and much more than the cardinal *treis*. In 14 of these cases it represents the fraction $\frac{1}{3}$, referring to disasters in which a "third" part is destroyed. This idea in Rev. 8 and elsewhere may be compared with Ezek. 5:2, 12. Rev. 12:4 is problematic: see Dan. 8:10, where however the fraction is not mentioned. For discussion of suggested parallels see R. H. Charles, *Revelation*, *ICC*, I, 1920, 310–314, 319. Cf. also Baba Metzia 59^{b}.

2. The characteristic uses of *tritos* in the Gospels and elsewhere are quite different. Of 53 occurrences outside the Rev., 13 refer to the resurrection of Christ "on the third day". This was evidently a characteristic motif of primitive Christian preaching (Acts 10:40; 1 Cor. 15:4). The scripture to which the latter passage refers is evidently Hos. 6:2, which speaks in context of the restoration of the

apostate kingdom of Israel. Compare the parallel usages of "three days" above, and also the enigmatic expression in Lk. 13:32.

3. 2 Cor. 12:2 speaks of "the third heaven". Some have seen allusion here to a Jewish conception of seven heavens (Test. Lev. 2, 3; Sl. Enoch 3–21). This explanation is questionable: Paul would seem to imply that he was carried to the highest heaven, not to a lower place in a hierarchy of heavens. Nor is it clear that the largely Gentile Corinthians would have understood this kind of Jewish speculation. "Paradise", however, mentioned in 2 Cor. 12:4, was linked with the "third heaven" of the series (→ Heaven; → Paradise). *C. J. Hemer*

ἐνιαυτοὺς τρεῖς καὶ μῆνας ἕξ | ἐνιαυτοὺς τρεῖς καὶ μῆνας ἕξ (*eniautous treis kai mēnas hex*), three years and six months, three and a half years.

This number is curiously prominent under various guises both in Dan. and in Rev., and seems to denote an interval of calamity and suffering pending God's deliverance. It is the half of seven. It is also "a time and times and the dividing of time", or $1 + 2 + \frac{1}{2}$ (Dan. 7:25; Rev. 12:7). Historically the three-and-a-half-year period may have been associated with the length of Antiochus Epiphanes' possession of Jerusalem, which Josephus reckons thus (*War* 1, 7, 19). Lk. 4:25 and Jas. 5:17 treat the drought and famine of 1 Kings 17:1 as lasting three and a half years, a detail absent from the OT text (cf. however "the third year" in 1 Ki. 18:1). It seems clear that the three-and-a-half-year period was significant in apocalyptic tradition (cf. G. H. Box on 4 Ezra 5:4 in Charles, *Pseudepigrapha*, 569). In Rev. the forty-two months of Gentile or bestial domination (Rev. 11:2; 13:5) and the 1260 days of God's providing (11:3; 12:6; cf. 1 Kings 17:4) are equivalents of it (cf. again the different and varying resolutions of the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years in Dan. 8:14; 12:11, 12). At Rev. 11:9, 11 the interval shifts to three-and-a-half days before the rising of the witnesses. Note the fluidity of the use of OT allusion and of symbolism here, as in the successive links of different symbols with the Elijah motif (→ *dyo* above). See further for "$3\frac{1}{2}$" H. Burgmann in *Revue de Qumran* 8, 1972, 65–73.

C. J. Hemer

τέσσαρες | τέσσαρες (*tessares*), four.

CL The symbolic significance of the number four (*tessares*) is derived from the four points of the compass and the four directions of the wind (whereby the earth is pictured as a four-cornered disc), and also from the four seasons and the corresponding constellations. In Babylonian mythology the four signs of the Zodiac, Taurus, Leo, Scorpio and Aquarius, appear as powerful figures which support the firmament of heaven by its four corners, or as the four beasts of burden of the four-wheeled heavenly chariot. The number four thus symbolizes the totality of earth and universe.

OT The OT makes use of the number four in this traditional sense, but without taking over the mythical connotations (Ezek. 1:4 ff.; 15 ff.). Thus, in accord

with ancient geography, four streams of Paradise encircle the four quarters of the globe (Gen. 2:10 ff.). In Zech. 1:18 ff. the four horns represent four empires, the four smiths Yahweh's omnipotence which stands ranged against them; in Zech. 6:5 the "four chariots driving out from 'the Lord of the whole earth' . . . [express] Yahweh's omnipotence, effective in all directions" (W. Zimmerli, *Ezechiel*, *BKAT* 13, 53). The four winds or corners of the earth are mentioned (e.g.) in Isa. 11:12 and Jer. 49:36. In Judaism, and particularly in apocalyptic, the mythology of the number four is again powerful (e.g. Eth.Enoch 18:2; 77:1 ff.; 82:11 ff.; but also R. Johanan ben Zakkai and his school). A multiple of four also occurs as a round figure for a limited totality, such as a generation, a man's age; e.g. 40 (*tessarakonta*) years (Gen. 25:20 etc.); 400 years, i.e. 10 generations (Gen. 15:13); 40 days (Gen. 7:4 ff.; Ezek. 24:18 etc.), where the rough period of a month possibly played a rôle.

NT In the NT the number four occurs in the purely numerical sense, e.g. Mk. 2:3; Jn. 11:17; 19:23 where the division of Jesus' clothes into four presupposes four watches or squads of soldiers (*tetradion*, cf. Philo, *Flacc.* 111; Acts 12:4); Acts 21:9, 23; 27:29. In Peter's vision of the great sheet with four corners containing clean and unclean → animals denoting God's acceptance of the Gentiles the imagery may suggest the four corners (Acts 10:11; 11:5) of the vault of heaven. The four horns of the altar are mentioned in Rev. 9:13 (cf. Exod. 30:1–3; → Sacrifice, art. *thyō*). But in addition, especially in apocalyptic texts, the number four occurs with a symbolic meaning. All these passages reflect the imagery of their original background, but the latter is no longer literally decisive for the meaning of the text: thus the idea of gathering the elect from the four winds (Matt. 24:31 par. Mk. 13:27) is comparable with saying from all quarters. In Rev. 4:6, 7, 8, 9; 5:6, 8, 11, 14; 6:1, 3, 5, 6, 7; 7:11; 14:3; 15:7; 19:4; cf. Ezek. 1:5–22, the imagery of the ancient world is formally adopted but with a transformed significance. The four beings (*tessara zōa*), originally figures of the Zodiac supporting the vault of heaven, become (by analogy with Isa. 6:2 f.) beings who praise God's holiness by day and by night (→ Cherub). The four angels at the "four corners of the earth" who hold the winds (Rev. 7:1) and later let them go (Rev. 9:14 f.) are creatures who serve God. Rev. 20:8 makes use of the ancient geographical idea of the four-cornered disc of the earth, in the middle of which lies the holy city. In this context the expression means no more than that the nations approach the holy city for the final → war at the end "from all sides" or "from every quarter".

In addition, the number 40 (*tessarakonta*) e.g. Matt. 4:2 par. occurs in Lk. 4:2; Mk. 1:13; Acts 1:3; 23:12, 21 in OT quotations and allusions, as does 400 (*tetrakosioi*) (Acts 5:36; 7:6; 13:20; Gal. 3:17) more frequently as round figures, but also in connection with specific numbers. *E. D. Schmitz*

| πέντε |

πέντε (*pente*), five.

Five is common and natural as a round number wherever the decimal system is in use. Such usages as in Matt. 25:20; Lk. 12:52; 14:19; 16:28 call for no further comment. There is no clear evidence that this number should be given any symbolic

meaning in the NT. The "five months" of Rev. 9:5, 10 are just a limited period of chastisement. It is an attractive conjecture that the figure is reminiscent of the actual life cycle of the locust (R. H. Charles, *Revelation*, I, *ICC*, 243). This concrete touch has no precedent in Joel. *C. J. Hemer*

ἑπτά

ἑπτά (*hepta*), seven; ἑπτάκις (heptakis), seven times.

CL The qualitative significance attaching to the number seven (*hepta*) throughout the whole history of religions can be explained from the original amazement felt at the regularity of the passage of time in seven-day periods consonant with the four phases of the moon, and secondarily from other astronomical observations. Since for primitive man there is no linear time-sequence, and he could only apprehend time as a period, seven became the symbol of the fulfilled and perfectly completed period. In Babylonian the number seven (*kissatu*) is synonymous with fullness, totality; correspondingly Heb. *šᵉḇaʿ*, seven, denotes fullness (Prov. 3:10, where "with plenty" RSV translates the Heb. for "seven"). Seven is the symbol of perfection. Philosophical speculations concerning the meaning of the number seven are known from Greece (Solon, Pseudo-Hippocrates), which Philo took up (e.g. *Op.Mund.* 90 ff.). In other respects Judaism up till the time of the NT followed OT usage.

OT The OT adopted the symbolic imagery content of the number seven in numerous ways: the completion of → creation in seven days (Gen. 1:1 ff.); seven-day feasts are fulfilled times (Lev. 23:6, 34); sprinkling of blood, seven times repeated (*heptakis*), brought Israel complete purification (Lev. 16:14, 19); Yahweh promised Cain sevenfold, i.e. comprehensive, vengeance (Gen. 4:15); Yahweh sees everything with seven eyes (Zech. 4:10); one of the marks of the fulfilment of the age of salvation is a sevenfold increase in the sun's illuminating power (Isa. 30:26); a man's full life-span is 10 × 7 years (Ps. 90:10; Isa. 23:15); a multiple of seven chiefly stands for a round figure, comprising the whole (Gen. 46:27; Jdg. 20:16; cf. also the seven Jewish brothers in 4 Macc. 8 ff. – their mother is called "mother of the nation" in 15:29); in proverbs seven can virtually signify all (Prov. 26:16). According to Jewish conceptions, a total of seventy nations live on the earth (Eth. Enoch 89:59 f.), an idea which is based on the table of the nations in Gen. 10, where 70 (LXX:72) nations are enumerated, and which was also determinative of the name "Septuagint", the translation of the OT into Gk. for the "70" nations of the world (cf. Aristeas with the legend of the origin of the LXX). Lk. 10:1 ff. should also be understood against the background of the idea of the 70 nations of the earth: the sending of the 70 disciples is aimed at the nations of the world.

The number seven is also encountered as a stylistic principle of arrangement, both in Rab. and in apocalyptic literature. (On the significance of seven in ancient thought see K. H. Rengstorf, *TDNT* II 627 ff.) For discussion of the cosmic week and the millennium → *chilias*.

NT 1. In the NT epistles the number seven occurs only with background reference to the OT: Rom. 11:4 (cf. 1 Ki. 19:18); Heb. 4:4 (cf. Gen. 2:2); 11:30 (cf.

Jos. 6:1 ff.). In Rom. 11:4 Paul adduces from 1 Ki. 19:18 that in his time there is already a Christian remnant of Israel, which represents the full total of Israel as dawn heralds the day (Rom. 11:16). In Mk. 12:18 ff. the → Sadducees imagine a case where a woman contracts a levirate marriage (Deut. 25:5 ff.) six times over. They wish to indicate by taking this example of a marriage, seven times repeated, that every case of levirate marriage, which was an institution by divine commandment, reduces the resurrection to an absurdity (→ Marriage, OT 5).

2. Someone possessed by seven *pneumata*, spirits (Matt. 12:43 ff. par. Lk. 11:26), or by seven *daimonia*, demons (Lk. 8:2), is totally possessed. In Matt. 18:21 Peter inquires concerning the limits of forgiveness: "As many as seven times?" There the seven has numerical significance. But Jesus replies that forgiveness has to take place "seventy times seven times", i.e. totally and without limit (cf. Lk. 17:4). For Lk. 10:1 ff., where the number suggests a mission to the nations, see above OT and below → *hebdomēkonta*.

3. Despite all the individual differences, the genealogical trees of Jesus in Matt. and Lk. are both orientated around the number seven. Matt. 1:17 f. has three groups of fourteen → generations: from → Abraham to → David, from David to the deportation to Babylon, and from then to Christ ($3 \times 14 = 3 \times 2 \times 7$). Lk. 3:23 ff. cites seventy-seven ancestors of Jesus: from Adam to Abraham (3×7), from Isaac to David (2×7), from Nathan to Shealtiel, i.e. the end of the Exile (3×7), from Zerubbabel to Jesus (3×7). Both evangelists are obviously interested in the fulfilment of history in the person of Jesus Christ; of salvation-history (Matt.) and world-history (Lk.). In other respects Matt. shows a particular predilection for the number seven as a scheme for the arrangement of his gospel (e.g. ch. 13; 23:13 ff.). It is the stylistic expression of his theology of fulfilment.

4. Rev. uses the number seven most frequently of all the NT writings. It is directed to seven churches of proconsular Asia, i.e. all churches (1:4, 11; 2 f.). Then there are seven spirits (1:4; 4:5; 5:6), seven seals (5:1), the → Lamb with seven horns and eyes (5:6), seven angels with seven trumpets (8:2–40:1), seven thunders (10:4 ff.). The number seven here denotes in general the final eschatological appearance of God, encompassing everything and setting everything in motion, on behalf of his church. Correspondingly, on the side opposed to God, there is a final action which is well-nigh able to withstand the power of God (e.g. the Dragon with seven crowned heads 12:3 etc.).

([Ed.] The number seven plays an important part in the structure of Rev. The book consists of seven series of visions, each in turn consisting of seven items. Moreover, the seven visions appear to correspond to the seven days of the creation story in Gen. 1. Whereas the Gen. story deals with the physical creation, Rev. deals with physical world in the light of the new creation from a christological standpoint. The broad outline is as follows: Day 1, the theme of light: Christ as the light amid the seven churches as lampstands in a dark world [Rev. 1–3]; Day 2, the firmament: world history from the perspective of heaven, the seven seals revealing what will come to pass [Rev. 4:1–8:2]; Day 3, the land, sea and vegetation: the future of the physical world revealed through the vision of the seven trumpets [Rev. 8:3–11:18]; Day 4, the sun, moon and stars: the seven things seen [Rev. 11:19–16:1]; Day 5, life and death from the waters: the seven bowls [Rev. 15:2–18:24]; Day 6, man: the seven last things seen taking up the theme of Adam and Eve in

terms of the corruption of man by the great harlot and the judgment on Satan and death leading to a vision of a new heaven and earth, the restoration of what was lost through the fall [Rev. 19:1–21:8]; Day 7, the eternal sabbath: depicted in terms of the new Jerusalem [Rev. 21:9–22:21]. The seven series of visions appear not to be consecutive series of events, each one starting where the last leaves off, but a series of visions of world history from the ascension of Christ to the consummation, looking at the world from different standpoints and gradually building up to the end of history and the new creation.)

5. Seven appears as a round summary number in Acts 20:6; 21:4; 28:14 and possibly also in Matt. 15:34, 36, 37; 16:10; Mk. 8:5, 8, 20 (cf. A. Farrer, *St Matthew and St Mark*, 1954, 57–80). *E. D. Schmitz*

ὀκτώ ὀκτώ (*oktō*), eight.

"Eight", like "six" in Lk. 13:14 and even "five" in Rev. 17:10, is occasionally involved in the significance attached to "seven", but is rarely important in itself. Thus "eight days" is just inclusive reckoning for a "week" (Lk. 9:28; Jn. 20:26). The Jewish male child was circumcised on the eighth day (cf. Gen. 17:12; Lev. 12:3; Lk. 1:59; 2:21; Phil. 3:5).

A difficulty is raised by two much debated passages, 1 Pet. 3:20 and 2 Pet. 2:5. In the latter case "Noah the eighth" is to be explained from the Greek idiom *ogdoos autos*, to give the sense "Noah and seven others". The parallel is then with 1 Pet. 3:20, not with Jude 14, and the two passages may be considered as having a similar reference. The emphasis is upon the fewness of those saved, an enumeration of → Noah's family. The concepts of 1 Pet. 3:20 were already the subject of allegoric interpretation in Justin, *Dial*, 138, 1, where the eight persons stand for the eighth day of resurrection and salvation. See further J. N. D. Kelly, *The Epistles of Jude and of Peter*, *BNTC*, 1969, 158 ff. It may, however, be doubted whether this was the original writer's intention or whether it represents a later and rather artificial elaboration of his typology. There is no parallel for later uses of the "eighth day" idea within the NT writings. Cf., however, Ep.Barn. 15:8–9.

C. J. Hemer

δέκα δέκα (*deka*), ten; δέκατος (*dekatos*), tenth; ἡ δεκάτη (*hē dekatē*), [the] tithe; δεκατόω (*dekatoō*), to tithe.

1. Ten, as the decimal base, is naturally very common, especially in round numbers and approximations, and in its large multiples (1 Cor. 4:15; 14:19; Rev. 5:11; etc.). The most noteworthy usages are contained in Rev.

2. The "ten days" of Rev. 2:10 are usually said to denote a typically short, or alternatively a typically prolonged but limited, period of tribulation. The phrase is commonly referred back to Dan. 1:12 ff. But it is not clear whether this allusion would have been readily perceived in Smyrna unless mediated through some more specific tradition, for the imagery of the letters is often concrete and pointed. No firm solution, however, can be offered on these lines. An interesting apocalyptic parallel might be seen in the ten generations of Sib. 4:45–87, which is probably

close to Rev. in time and place. The phrase is differently paralleled in the reference to "five days" (*hēmerōn pente*) in an inscription of Smyrna, published by L. Robert (*Hellenica* V, 81–82), where the context is explained as gladiatorial. The present writer plans to discuss the problem further elsewhere.

3. Rev. refers to a dragon and a beast with seven heads and ten horns (Rev. 12:3; 13:1; 17:3, 7, 12, 16; → Animal, art. *thērion*). The beast has ten royal diadems on its horns (13:1), and the horns represent kings (17:12). The image is evidently derived from Dan. 7:24, where the horns stand for ten kings of the fourth world kingdom. But here it is differently used and the application is debated. The emperors are linked with the seven heads: the horns are eschatological beings rather than identifiable rulers. The number here may fairly be regarded as standing for the universal extension of their ephemeral power.

4. A special usage is the "tenth part" or "tithe". The substantival form *dekatē* is found in the secular papyri (e.g. *P.Hibeh* I, 115, 1): the verb (*apo*)*dekatoō* alludes to the specifically Jewish practice. The OT law enjoined the payment of one tenth for the support of the Levite (Num. 18:21 ff.). On tithing in the OT see further Gen. 28:22; 1 Sam. 8:15, 17; Lev. 27:30–33; Num. 18:20–32; Deut. 12:6–19; 14:22–27; 26:1–15; Neh. 10:37 f.; 12:44; 13:5, 12; 2 Chr. 31:5–12; Amos 4:4; Mal. 3:8, 10; → First; → Gift; → Sacrifice. The → Pharisees had made of this a legalistic burden (Luke 11:42; 18:12; → Herb).

The idea of the tithe is taken up in the argument of Heb. 7, which refers to Gen. 14:20. The → Levites who received the tithe prescribed by the law were the descendants of → Abraham: yet Abraham himself had given a tenth to → Melchizedek, as the lesser to the greater. How much greater then was the priesthood to which Abraham yielded place than that which his descendants exercised towards others under the law. *C. J. Hemer*

δεκάτη

δεκάτη (*dekatē*), a tenth part, tithe; *δεκατόω* (*dekatoō*), receive tithes, (pass.) pay tithes; *ἀποδεκατόω* (*apodekatoō*), give a tenth part, collect a tithe; *ἀποδεκατεύω* (*apodekateuō*), give one tenth, pay a tithe.

CL Instances of the vb. *dekatoō* appear to be lacking in secular Gk. and the papyri. It was probably coined to match the technical religious term *dekatē*, "tithe" (Moulton-Milligan, 140) that outside Jewish circles denoted (in particular) the tenth part of the spoils of battle that the Greeks regularly dedicated to some god (e.g. Xen., *Anab.* 5, 3, 4). *apodekatoō* and *apodekateuō* also seem to be terms found only in biblical Greek.

OT The verbs *apodekatoō* (6 uses in the LXX) and *dekatoō* (only in Neh. 10:37, LXX) both render Heb. *'āśar* (piel, hiph., "pay tithes", "receive tithes"), while *dekatē* renders *ma'ᵃśēr* ("tithe") 9 times. The Hebrews were obligated to tithe their cereal and fruit crops and their livestock (Lev. 27:30–33), paying their tithes to the → Levites (Num. 18:20–24) or later to the descendants of Levi who served as priests (cf. Heb. 7:5). Payment was made in → Jerusalem (Deut. 12:5–6, 11, 17–18) or each third year in their home communities (Deut. 14:28–29; 26:12). Moreover, the Levites themselves were required to give one tenth of this tithe to the priests (Num. 18:26, 28; Neh. 10:38–39).

NT 1. *Gospels.* It is in connection with the → Pharisees that the 3 NT uses of the compound verbs occur. The self-righteous Pharisee of Jesus' parable (Lk. 18:9–14) seems to be claiming that by tithing all types of income (*apodekateuō panta*) he had gone beyond the law and so had put God in his debt. Perhaps the classic example of Pharisaic zeal and fastidiousness about tithing – to the neglect of "the weightier demands of the law" such as justice, mercy and fidelity – was their care to tithe (*apodekatoute*) even common garden plants that were used as condiments or as medicinal → herbs (Matt. 23:23; Lk. 11:42) although this may not have been required by the law (Deut. 14:22–23; Lev. 27:30–32).

2. *Hebrews.* Seven of the NT uses of *dekatē* and its verbal equivalents are found in Heb. 7:1–10. First (in vv. 1–2a) the author repeats the OT account (Gen. 14:17–20) of the priest-king → Melchizedek who met → Abraham returning from the slaughter of the Elamite king Chedorlaomer and three other rulers, blessed him and then received from him a tenth part (*dekatēn*, v. 2) of everything (= "the spoils of war", v. 4). Then follows (v. 2b) an explanation of the etymological meaning of Melchizedek's name and his title ("king of Salem"), and the observation that since scripture contains no record of his parentage, genealogy, birth or death, he resembles the → Son of God in remaining a → priest "for ever" (v. 3).

In vv. 4–10 the author establishes the superiority of the priesthood of Melchizedek to the levitical priesthood on three grounds. (1) Although not a Levite, Melchizedek received tithes (*dedekatōken*, v. 6) from Abraham, the ancestor of the Levites, and himself blessed Abraham who had already received the promises (vv. 4–7). (2) In Israelite law mortal men belonging to the levitical priesthood received tithes (*dekatas*). However, in the scriptural record, Melchizedek, to whom Abraham gave tithes, is never said to have forfeited his priesthood by death (v. 8; cf. v. 3). (3) Through the act of his ancester Abraham, Levi himself can in one sense be said to have paid tithes (*dedekatōtai*) to Melchizedek (vv. 9–10).

3. *The NT and tithing.* Is tithing an obligation under the new covenant? The NT writers maintain an eloquent silence on the matter (note especially 1 Cor. 9:13), choosing rather to emphasize: (1) the need for spontaneous generosity (Lk. 21:4; Acts 11:28–30; 2 Cor. 8:1–3, 7; 9:5–10; Eph. 4:28; 1 Tim. 6:18; Heb. 13:16; Jas. 2:15–16) in response to God's limitless giving (2 Cor. 8:8–9; 9:15; 1 Jn. 3:17); (2) the need for individual decision (1 Cor. 16:2; 2 Cor. 9:7; cf. Acts 11:29) apart from external pressure (2 Cor. 8:8; 9:5, 7); (3) the blessedness of giving (Acts 20:35); and (4) the consequence of giving as being the glory of God or Christ (2 Cor. 8:19; 9:12–13).

See further F. F. Bruce, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, *NLC*, 1964, 133 ff.; J. A. MacCulloch, "Tithes", *ERE*, XII 347 ff.; O. Michel, *Melchisedek*, *TDNT* IV 568 ff.; M. E. Tate, "Tithing: Legalism or Benchmark?", *Review and Expositor* 70, 1973, 153 ff.; L. Vischer, *Tithing in the Early Church*, 1966.

M. J. Harris

δώδεκα

δώδεκα (*dōdeka*), twelve.

CL The number twelve (*dōdeka*) gets its symbolic meaning from the twelve months; it is thus also originally an astronomical number.

OT "In the Bible one can no longer trace any memory of this. Rather, the use of the number twelve is founded almost exclusively on the number of the tribes of Israel" (*RE*³ XXI 606). The number twelve (e.g. Num. 1:4–49; 10:15–27; 13:2–15; 26:4–63; 34:13–28) again most probably goes back to the ancient Israelite amphictyony. M. Noth holds that care of the cult was shared by the twelve tribes, the responsibility for the upkeep of the common sanctuary alternating monthly between the tribes (M. Noth, *The History of Israel*, 1958, 87 ff.). Even after the dissolution of this institution the OT people of God continued to understand itself as the twelve tribes of the people of → Israel (cf. Gen. 49; Jos. 19:1–22:21; 2 Chron. 6:60–80; cf. Acts 7:8). The number twelve in Holy Scripture primarily denotes the people of God in its totality. It is only in Jewish apocalyptic that an occasional astral-theological usage of the number twelve turns up (cf. e.g. Eth.Enoch 76:1 ff.; 82:11), without the concept of the twelve tribes of the people of God being lost, however.

NT The thought of the twelve tribes as the people of God is still alive in the NT, not only as historical reminiscence (Acts 7:8), but also when Paul, before Agrippa, counts himself as a member of the twelve tribes (*dōdekaphylon*), and appeals to the promises made to them, which apply to him (Acts 26:7; cf. also Phil. 3:5). The circle of "the twelve" (Matt. 10:1 par. Mk. 6:7, Lk. 9:1; Matt. 10:2 par. Mk. 3:14, 16, Lk. 6:13, Jn. 6:70; Matt. 10:5; 11:1; 19:28 par. Lk. 22:30; Matt. 20:17, par. Mk. 10:32, cf. 9:35; Lk. 18:31; Matt. 26:14 par. Mk. 14:10, 20, 43, Lk. 22:3, 47, Jn. 6:71; Matt. 26:20 par. Mk. 14:17; Mk. 4:10; 11:11; Lk. 8:1; 9:12; Jn. 6:67; 20:24; Acts 6:2; 1 Cor. 15:5) is to be seen against this background of the twelve tribes, since it owes its existence to a particular calling by the earthly Jesus. On the Twelve and other followers of Jesus → Disciple (art. *mathētēs*); → Apostle (art. *apostolos*). "The number twelve symbolizes the tribes of Israel (Mt. xix 28; Lk. xxii. 30)" (G. Bornkamm, *Jesus of Nazareth*, 1960, 150). "The twelve do not only point back to the historical twelve tribes of the people of Israel, but also forwards to the eschatological" (N. A. Dahl, *Das Volk Gottes*, 1941, 158). In view of the fact the → kingdom of God has just come upon them, their commission (Mk. 3:14 f.) points them primarily to the lost sheep of the old twelve tribes of the → house of Israel (Matt. 10:6; 15:24), although they also have a representative function in the post-Easter church. The NT people of God can be addressed in Jas. 1:1 as "the twelve tribes in the diaspora" of the world (cf. 1 Pet. 1:1), whereby not only is a dignified title of the OT people of God taken over, but a continuity of salvation–history is also maintained.

There is an echo of the astral–religious significance of the number twelve in Rev. 12:1 in the vision of a woman clothed with the sun, wearing a crown with twelve stars on her head. But the → woman is here only the symbol of the daughter of Zion, and the twelve stars of the crown signify the twelve tribes, the OT people of God, from whom the messiah comes and to whom also belong those who confess the name of Jesus (v. 17). Correspondingly the NT people of God, composed of Jews and Gentiles, is described in 7:4 ff. in the $12 \times 12{,}000 = 144{,}000$ who are sealed (→ Seal, NT 3 (c)) from the tribes of Israel; cf. also 14:3. Thus the number 144,000 does not denote a numerical limitation of those who are sealed; it symbolizes the final perfection of the people of God (cf. also 7:9). In this respect when John sees them, as opposed to hearing the number of the sealed, they are "a great

multitude which no man can number, from all tribes, peoples and tongues" (cf. Rev. 7:9 with 7:4).

The number twelve in the description of the new Jerusalem (21:12 ff.) is used as an expression of its glory, which is sufficient for the eschatological people of God – "the one people of God in the city of God" (*TDNT* II 323). In other respects twelve is also used in its numerical sense and as a round figure (Matt. 9:20 par. Mk. 5:25, Lk. 8:43; Mk. 5:42 par. Lk. 8:42; Mk. 8:19; Lk. 2:42; Acts 19:7; 24:11). *E. D. Schmitz*

τεσσεράκοντα τεσσεράκοντα (*tesserakonta*), forty.

Periods of forty days occur repeatedly in the OT (Gen. 7:4; 8:6; Exod. 24:18; etc.). Forty years was the duration of Israel's wanderings in the wilderness (Exod. 16:35; etc.). There seems to be no explicit biblical evidence for the frequent suggestion that forty years was the regular round number reckoning of a generation, though the idea is very plausible (cf. G. F. Moore, *Judges*, *ICC*, 1898², xxxviii). The figure is constantly associated with long periods of human endurance and with the duration of successive developments of God's redemptive acts. So Jesus was forty days in the wilderness (Matt. 4:2; Mk. 1:13; Lk. 4:2), and remained with his disciples forty days after the resurrection (Acts 1:3). There is a partial parallel in apocalyptic, where forty days is the proper period for a term of instruction (2 Bar. 76:4; cf. 4 Ezra 14:23). Again, at Qumran, the war of the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness was to last forty years in all (1QM 2:6; etc.), and in Sanhedrin 99a Eliezer ben Hyrcanus infers from Ps. 95:10 that the times of the messiah should last forty years.

There are several references in Acts and Hebrews to the forty-year period of Israel in the wilderness, and it seems to have been a theme of early Christian preaching (Acts 7:36, 42; 13:18; Heb. 3:9, 17; cf. Acts 7:23, 30; 13:21). The significance of the parallel is not spelled out, but it has been suggested that Heb. envisages another forty-year period of probation for Israel between the death of Jesus and the disaster he foretold (F. F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, *NLC*, 1964, xliv, 65 n.).

The uncompounded numeral forty does not appear in the Johannine literature or in Rev.

For the Jewish scrupulosity in not exceeding the maximum of forty stripes (Deut. 25:3; 2 Cor. 11:24) see Makkoth 22a-b, and for first-century practice cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 4, 8, 21 (238); 4, 8 23 (248). *C. J. Hemer*

ἑβδομήκοντα ἑβδομήκοντα (*hebdomēkonta*), seventy.

This number is often significant in the OT. The captivity of Judah in Babylon was to last seventy years (Jer. 25:11), and in Dan. seventy weeks are appointed as the period in which messianic redemption would be accomplished (Dan. 9:24). Seventy elders were appointed to assist Moses (Num. 11:16). And in apocalyptic there are the seventy (? angelic) shepherds of Eth.En. 89:59 ff.

Only two NT passages call for brief comment. Jesus commends forgiveness

until "seventy times seven" (or ? "seventy-seven times"), that is, without limit. Contrast Gen. 4:24: unlimited vengeance has given place to unlimited forgiveness.

In Lk. 10:1 Jesus sends out seventy (or seventy-two) disciples. The textual evidence for or against *dyo* is finely balanced. In either case symbolic meaning has been attached to the figure. It is pointed out that the nations enumerated in Gen. 10 total seventy in the Hebrew, but seventy-two in the LXX. Again Josephus (*Ant.* 12, 2, 5) follows the tradition in the Letter of Aristeas which lists the LXX translators as seventy-two in number (*Aristeas* 47–50; 6 times 12 tribes), but goes on to call them "seventy" (*Ant.* 12, 2, 7). (See further B. M. Metzger, "Seventy or Seventy-Two Disciples?" *Historical and Literary Studies, Pagan, Jewish and Christian, New Testament Tools and Studies* VIII 1968, 67–76.)

Other large numbers. The NT does not present here the special difficulties of the OT. Some large numbers just express indefinite multitude (1 Cor. 4:15; Rev. 5:11). Those which are plainly symbolic are mostly large multiples of four, seven or twelve.

For the "thousand years" of Rev. 20:1–7 → *chilias*. The Epistle of Barnabas 15:4–5 expounds Gen. 2:2 with Ps. 90:4 in terms of a "cosmic week", a 6000-year scheme of history being followed by a millennial "cosmic sabbath" (see E. Lohse, *TDNT* IX 470 f.).

The 1600 furlongs of Rev. 14:20 are problematic. The figure may be explained as 400 times 4, or, indeed, as forty squared, but it is not clear why this amount is chosen. There is no force in the suggestion that this was the length of Palestine, and A. M. Farrer (*Revelation*, 168) is excessively over-subtle.

The array of examples considered in the above articles will serve to point the caution offered at the outset. The exegetical significance of numbers is very diverse. They may be approximate, rhetorical, schematic, proverbial or symbolic, and such explanations may or may not exclude the literal. Each case needs to be taken individually on its merits in its total context, with reference to the genre to which the passage belongs. Straightforward principles of exegesis often, I think, oblige us to take literally what has been too readily spiritualized, especially where ancient allegorical interests have offered precedent. But the world of the NT itself was complex in its intellectual heritage. There is a real danger of over-interpretation. And some numbers are a subordinate element in a complex concept: we should not look for a special numerical symbolism in a cat's "nine lives" or in a "nine days' wonder". The choice of "nine" in these phrases may be explicable, but is virtually arbitrary.

The ancients, it is true, sometimes endowed numbers with a conceptual vitality which seems forced and foreign to us. But often they did not. If the Fourth Evangelist never uses seven or forty, we may well hesitate to seek mathematical properties in his other, ostensibly precise and irregularly factual, numbers.

C. J. Hemer

χιλιάς χιλιάς (*chilias*), a thousand; χίλιοι (*chilioi*), a thousand.

CL & OT 1. The noun *chilias* is found from Hdt. and Aesch. onwards and the adj. *chilioi* from Homer. Both forms are found in the LXX, though *chilias* (which

occurs some 250 times) is much more frequent and is particularly common in Num. and the historical books. It represents the Heb. *'elep̄*.

2. *'elep̄* occurs in the numbers giving the sizes of the tribes (e.g. Num. 1:23–46; 2:4–32; 1 Chr. 7:2–40), but it also refers to the numerical part of a tribe (1 Sam. 10:19; Jdg. 6:15), alternating with *mišpāḥâh* (1 Sam. 10:21). The *'alᵉpê yiśrā'ēl*, the clans or tribes of Israel, are mentioned in Num. 1:16; 10:4, 36; Jos. 22:21, 30; cf. Ps. 68:18; 1 Sam. 23:23; Isa. 60:22; Zech. 9:7; 12:5 f. The historical books display an interest in the thousands involved in battles (e.g. Jdg. 1:4; 3:29; 4:6–14; 20:2–46; 1 Sam. 4:2, 10; 6:19; 2 Sam. 10:6, 18; 24:9, 15; 1 Chr. 12:20–37; but cf. Amos 5:3 which asserts Yahweh's power to decimate the mighty). There is also an interest in the numbers involved in building the temple (1 Ki. 5:11–16 [25–30]; 2 Chr. 2:2–18 [1–17]). There is, however, a strong case for thinking that in many contexts *'elep̄* does not literally mean a thousand but is a term for a considerably smaller unit or perhaps meant *'allûp̄*, captain of a band; this would make feasible the apparently large numbers in OT records (cf. J. W. Wenham, "Large Numbers in the Old Testament", *TB* 18, 1967, 19–53). Ezek. is concerned with the measurement and proportions of the land, representing the perfect ordering of the people of God (Ezek. 45:1–6; 48:8–35).

3. The plur. *chiliades* is often used for very large numbers which cannot be reckoned. Yahweh shows steadfast love to thousands of those who love him and keep his commandments (Exod. 20:6; cf. 34:7; Deut. 5:10; 7:9; Jer. 39[32]:18). His power is described in terms of "mighty chariotry, twice ten thousand, thousands upon thousands" (Ps. 68[67]:18). "A day in thy courts is better than a thousand elsewhere. I would rather be a doorkeeper in the house of my God than dwell in the tents of wickedness" (Ps. 84[83]:10). The hosts of God's servants cannot be counted (Dan. 7:10). The greatness of Yahweh is also expressed in Ps. 90[89]:4: "For a thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday when it is past, or as a watch in the night." What to man seems a great age is as a moment to Yahweh. To someone asleep the four-hour night watch is as nothing. To Yahweh such a span of time (to which even Methuselah and the other ancestral figures mentioned in Gen. 5 did not attain; cf. also Jub. 4:20) is as nothing. A similar thought is expressed in Sir. 18:10, and it is taken up by 2 Pet. 3:8 in arguing that God's time-scale is not to be judged by man's, and hence that man should not presume upon the apparent delay in judgment.

4. Various multiples of a thousand occur in Gen. 24:60; Exod. 12:37; 32:28; 38:26; Num. 3:43; Jdg. 8:10; 12:6.

5. In the inter-testamental literature innumerable hosts figure in the apocalyptic writings of Eth.En. 14:22; 40:1. The notion of thousands features in eschatological expectation: the thousands of children of the righteous (Eth.En. 10:17); superabundance of wine (Eth.En. 10:19; Syr.Bar. 29:5). The number features in speculations about the duration of the world and the new aeon. These included the idea of a cosmic week of seven millennia followed in some instances by a new era, an eighth millennium (Test.Abr. 7 [2nd cent. A.D.]; Pseudo-Philo, *Antiquitates* 28, 2; Sl.Enoch 33:1; 33:4; cf. E. Lohse, *TDNT* IX 468). Other writings saw the seventh epoch as the final one (Sanh. 97 a–b Bar.; cf. E. Lohse, ibid., who notes that Samaritan eschatology taught that the world would last 6,000 years). The length of the messianic age varied from 1,000 years to 7,000 years. Although the idea of a

thousand-year messianic age is found only from the 1st cent. A.D., Lohse thinks it likely to derive from an older tradition (ibid.; cf. SB III 827; Test.Isaac 8:20).

6. The number 1,000 features in the military structure of the Qumran community (1QS 2:21 f.; CD 13:1 f. [15:4]; cf. 1QM 12:4). Each thousand had its commander to lead it into battle (1QM 4:2; 1QSa 1:14, 29). (See further Y. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness*, 1962, 49–53, 59 ff.) The community believed that those who kept God's commandments would live for a thousand generations (CD 7:6 [8:21]; 19:1 f. [8:21 f.]; 20:22 [9:45]; cf. Deut. 7:9).

NT 1. Various multiples of a thousand occur in the NT. *dischilioi*, two thousand, was the approximate number of the Gerasene swine (Mk. 5:13). About three thousand (*trischilioi*) souls were added to the church at → Pentecost (Acts 2:41). About five thousand men (*hōs chiliades pente*) heard and believed the word (Acts 4:4). The same number were fed by Jesus (*pentakischilioi andres*) were fed by Jesus (Matt. 14:21; Mk. 6:44; 8:19; Lk. 9:14; Jn. 16:10). (On the possible symbolism in these narratives see G. H. Boobyer, "The Miracles of the Loaves and the Gentiles in St. Mark's Gospel", *SJT* 6, 1953, 77–87; A. Farrer, *St Matthew and St Mark*, 1954, 57–80.) In Matt. 15:38 and Mk. 8:9, 20 four thousand (*tetrakischilioi*) were fed. Acts 21:38 mentions the revolt of the Egyptian who led *tetrakischilious*, four thousand, men. In dealing with the question whether God has rejected Israel for good, Paul recalls the remnant of seven thousand men who did not bow the knee to Baal (Rom. 11:4; 1 Ki. 19:18). But the instance is at the same time a reminder that it is God who preserves the remnant, and therefore those who are saved are "chosen by grace" (Rom. 11:5). The alternative would be salvation by works (Rom. 11:6). In 1 Cor. 10:8 Paul recalls how twenty-three thousand of the wilderness generation fell in a single day through idolatry (cf. Num. 25:1–18). The military sense of a thousand is perhaps present in Jesus' question whether a king does not first take counsel whether he is able to meet with ten thousand (*deka chiliasin*) his adversary who comes against him with twenty thousand (*meta eikosi chiliadōn*) (Lk. 14:31). The question culminates a series of illustrations on counting the cost of discipleship. Confronted by overwhelming odds, the king with only ten thousand sends an embassy and asks for peace. The illustration implies not only the need to count the cost but also the impossibility of finding an alternative way out (cf. the instructions to the Israelites in making war in Deut. 20:10–20).

2. *chiliarchos* is found in cl. Gk. from Aesch. onwards for a leader of a thousand soldiers. It became a loanword in rabbinic writings, and was used in Roman times of the *tribunus militum*, the military tribune, the commander of a cohort which consisted of about 600 men (cf. Polyb. 1, 23, 1; 6, 19, 1; Josephus, *Ant.* 17, 9, 3). In this sense it is found in Jn. 18:12; Acts 21:31 ff., 37; 22:24, 26–29; 23:10, 15, 17 ff., 22; 24:7 *v.l.*, 22; 25:23. It is used of a high ranking officer generally in Mk. 6:21; Rev. 6:15; 19:18 (in the last two passages as objects of judgment).

3. *chilioi* occurs twice in 2 Pet. 3:8 with reference to Ps. 90:4 (see above OT 3) where the readers are urged: "But do not ignore this one fact, beloved, that with the Lord one day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day." The context is concerned with man's indifference and sin in the light of the apparent postponement of the day of the Lord. The Psalmist had declared that "a thousand

years in thy sight are but as yesterday when it is past." 2 Pet. takes the thought a step further and draws the corollary that "with the Lord one day is as a thousand years." This may represent a combination of Gk. and Heb. thinking, asserting that God is not bound by the time-scale of the physical world. The reason for the delay of the day of the Lord is God's forbearance "not wishing that any should perish, but that all should reach repentance" (2 Pet. 2:9).

4. The remaining 9 instances of *chilioi* are all found in Rev. (11:3; 12:6; 14:20; 20:2–7). In addition *chilias* is found in Rev. 19 times (5:11; 7:4–8; 11:13; 14:1, 3; 21:16). These instances represent an apocalyptic interpretation of OT themes. Rev. 5:11 takes up the picture in Dan. 7:10 of the heavenly hosts "numbering myriads of myriads and thousands of thousands" praising God. But the picture is given a christological interpretation, for the object of their praise is the → Lamb (Rev. 5:12 ff.). Rev. 7:4 gives the number of the sealed as "a hundred and forty-four thousand sealed, out of every tribe of the sons of Israel" (→ Seal). Verses 5–8 enumerate the tribes by name, specifying twelve thousand out of each tribe. The number symbolizes the final perfection of the people of God, based on the concept of the twelve tribes of Israel (→ *dōdeka*) and asserting the historical continuity with Israel. It is worth noting that when John hears the number he hears these round numbers which consist of members of the twelve tribes. But when he looks, the numbers are replaced by a countless host consisting of all peoples: "After this I looked, and behold, a great multitude which no man could number, from every nation, from all tribes and peoples and tongues, standing before the throne and before the Lamb, clothed in white robes, with palm branches in their hands" (Rev. 7:9). The hundred and forty-four thousand are mentioned again in Rev. 14:1, 3.

Rev. 11:3 and 12:6 mention a period of "one thousand two hundred and sixty days". This corresponds to the forty-two months of Rev. 11:2; 13:5 and the time, times and half a time of Rev. 12:14. In Rev. 11:3 it is the period of prophecy and in Rev. 12:6 it is the period of persecution. Both passages refer to the same period, the age of the church which is one of prophetic witness and at the same time one of persecution. In the light of eternity it is a comparatively short period, although when expressed in terms of days it may seem lengthy. In the background stands Dan. 7:25; 12:7 (→ *eniatous treis kai mēnas hex*), a period which is half of seven, the perfect number, comprising of severe affliction which continues until God accomplishes the end of all things. This affliction is described in Rev. 11:7 ff.; cf. 12:2–6. It will culminate in the judgment of civilization (Rev. 11:3). The seven thousand who perish in the earthquake represent the complete judgment on godless, secular society; the rest who were terrified and give glory to God represent those who respond to the witness and God's judgments.

Rev. 14:20 depicts judgment on the civilized world in terms of the sack of a city: "and the wine press was trodden outside the city, and blood flowed from the wine press, as high as a horse's bridle, for one thousand six hundred stadia." The distance is approximately two hundred miles. The number is a square number, comparable with the hundred and forty-four thousand and the dimensions of the → Jerusalem (cf. Rev. 7:4; 14:1; 21:16). It suggests the area of the four parts of the earth, i.e. the whole earth; the passage refers to the last judgment (cf. Rev. 19:11–21). By contrast, the area of the holy city, the new Jerusalem, is also square, again indicating completeness: "The city lies foursquare, its length the same as its

breadth; and he measured the city with his rod, twelve thousand stadia; its length and breadth and height are equal" (Rev. 12:16). The number twelve goes back in this case to the twelve tribes and the twelve thousand from each tribe. The completeness of the new Jerusalem corresponds to the completeness of the people of God.

Rev. 20:2–7 contains 6 references to a period of a thousand years: "Then I saw an angel coming down from heaven, holding in his hand the key of the bottomless pit and a great chain. And he seized the dragon, that ancient serpent, who is the Devil and Satan, and bound him for a thousand years, and threw him into the pit, and shut it and sealed it over him, that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years were ended. After that he must be loosed for a little while. Then I saw thrones, and seated on them were those to whom judgment was committed. Also I saw the souls of those who had been beheaded for their testimony to Jesus and for the word of God, and who had not worshiped the beast or its image and had not received its mark on their foreheads or their hands. They came to life again, and reigned with Christ a thousand years. The rest of the dead did not come to life again until the thousand years were ended. This is the first resurrection. Blessed and holy is he who shares in the first resurrection! Over such the second death has no power, but they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and they shall reign with him a thousand years. And when the thousand years are ended, Satan will be loosed from his prison." After this follows the final conflict, the casting of the devil, the beast and the false prophet into the lake of fire and brimstone, together with Death and Hades after the last judgment (Rev. 20:8–15).

The passage has given rise to the concept of the millennium (from Lat. *mille*, a thousand, and *annus*, year), a thousand year age of restoration in which evil is banished, and to chiliasm (deriving from the Gk. word for a thousand). The idea of a messianic kingdom, preceding the end and the coming reign of God is attested in Eth.En. 91:12 f.; 93:1–14; Sib. 3, 652–660; 2 Esd. 7:28 f.; Syr.Bar. 29:3; 30:1–5; 40:3 (cf. above OT 5). It extends the older idea of a Davidic king restoring the monarchy by combining it with that of universal judgment, resurrection and the new aeon. According to 2 Esd. 7:28 f., the messiah would reign for four hundred years before dying and the last judgment. The number 1000 is probably connected with the idea of the cosmic week and Ps. 90:4 (see above OT 3, 5). In the early church belief in some form of a literal millennium is attested by Barn. 15:3–9; Papias (cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 5, 33, 4); Irenaeus, *Haer.* 5, 32–36; Justin, *Dial.* 81; the Christian additions to the *Testament of Isaac* (8:11 and 19 f.; 10:11 f.); Tertullian, *Adv.Marc.* 3, 24; 4, 31; the gnostic Cerinthus (cf. Eusebius, *Hist.Eccl.* 3, 28). It was attacked by Origen (*De prin.* 2, 11, 2) and rejected by Augustine (*De civ.* 20, 7). (For a discussion of these and other views in the early centuries see H. Bietenhard, "The Millennial Hope in the Early Church", *SJT* 6, 1953, 12–30.) In addition to apocalyptic ideas, Rev. 20 draws on Ezek. 36–48 with its visions of the resurrection of Israel, the conflict with Gog and Magog and the promise of a new Jerusalem.

In modern times three main schools of thought have emerged concerning the interpretation of Rev. 20. The Premillenarians treat the passage as future prophecy in which the second coming of Christ will precede the millennium. Satan will be bound for a thousand years, the martyred dead will be raised, and Christ will reign as King of kings and Lord of lords from Jerusalem. The millennium will end with

the final rebellion of Satan, but this will itself be soon put down. The resurrection and judgment of the wicked dead will precede the creation of the new heaven and earth. (For statements of this position see N. West, ed., *Premillennial Essays of the Prophetic Conference Held in the Church of Holy Trinity*, 1879; N. West, *The Thousand Years in Both Testaments*, 1880; W. E. Blackstone, *Jesus is Coming*, 1917; D. H. Kromminga, *The Millennium in the Church*, 1945 and *The Millennium: Its Nature Function and Relation to the Consummation of the World*, 1948; C. L. Feinberg, *Premillennialism or Amillennialism?*, 1954².) Postmillenarians see the second coming of Christ and the events of Rev. 20 as coming in the last thousand years of the present age (cf. D. Brown, *Christ's Second Coming: Will it be Premillennial?*, 1919; J. H. Snowden, *The Coming of the Lord: Will it be Premillennial?*, 1919; L. Boettner, *The Millennium*, 1957). Amillennialists, on the other hand, see the whole passage as an essentially symbolic description of the present age in which Satan is already bound and the dead in Christ are already reigning with him (cf. F. E. Hamilton, *The Basis of Millennial Faith*, 1942; G. L. Murray, *Millennial Studies: A Search for Truth*, 1948; W. J. Grier, *The Momentous Event*, 1945; W. Hendriksen, *More than Conquerors*, 1947, 221 ff.).

The interpretation of Rev. 20 depends partly on how this particular vision is seen in relation to the general structure of the book. Those who see the different visions in Rev. as visions of successive events will be inclined to see this vision as the last of a series, referring to a unique event immediately prior to the creation of a new heaven and a new earth. On the other hand, there is a very strong case for seeing the whole book as structured into seven series of visions, corresponding to the seven days of the creation story in Gen. 1, each of which looks at the church in the gospel age. The visions are thus seven sets of parallel visions of the church and its tribulations between the two advents of Christ (→ *hepta* NT 4). On this view the period of a thousand years refers to the present era culminating in a final outburst of Satanic activity prior to the final destruction of all the evils that afflict man.

According to this interpretation, the vision of the binding of Satan has its roots in the saying of Jesus about the binding of the strong man who first has to be bound before his goods may be plundered (Matt. 12:29 par. Mk. 3:27; cf. Augustine, *De civ.* 20, 7). The activity of Jesus is itself evidence of the binding of Satan. It is further defined in Rev. 20:3: "that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years were ended." This would then refer to the spread of the gospel among the Gentile nations which previously had been deceived by Satan. There is a sense in which Satan has fallen in power already, and this is evidenced by the power of the disciples over demons (Lk. 10:17 f.; cf. Col. 2:15). The event of Rev. 20:1–3 has already been described from another standpoint in Rev. 12:9 ff., and may also reflect the saying in Jn. 12:31. The first resurrection refers to the reign of the saints with Christ now (cf. 4:2–10; 5:6–13; 7:9–17; 8:3; 12:5; 14:3, 5; 19:4 f.; 22:1, 3). The thought may reflect Jn. 5:24 (cf. Jn. 3:18; Col. 3:1). Such a scheme of interpretation is in harmony with that of Jesus and Paul, neither of whom speak of a period of a thousand years and into whose teaching such a period could not easily be inserted (Matt. 24:4–36 par. Mk. 13:5–37, Lk. 21:8–36; cf. 1 Cor. 15:20–28; 1 Thess. 5:1 ff.; 2 Thess. 2:1–12). Moreover, neither Jesus nor Paul (nor, for that matter, John in Rev.) speaks of two second comings of Christ: one before the millennium and one subsequent to it. It would, therefore, seem best to recognize

the symbolic character of the apocalyptic language of Rev. 20 and see in the passage an eschatology which is already in process of realization. *C. Brown*

→ First, Firstborn, → Goal, → King, Kingdom, → One, Once, Only, → Pentecost, → Present, → Time

On numbers in general:
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O

Offence, Scandal, Stumbling Block

Two groups of words are here linked: the key nouns are *proskomma* and *skandalon*. Originally their meanings were different. Already in the LXX, however, each had taken on the special force of the other. It was in the LXX that both groups first became closely related to human life; both in denotation and connotation the Gk. words were modified by the OT and Judaism.

πρόσκομμα

πρόσκομμα (*proskomma*), stumbling, offence, obstacle; *προσκοπή* (*proskopē*), an occasion for taking offence or making a false step; *προσκόπτω* (*proskoptō*), strike, beat against, stumble, be offended; *ἀπρόσκοπος* (*aproskopos*), without offence, giving no offence, blameless.

CL The vb. *proskoptō* (from Aristoph. onwards), derived from *koptō*, smite, strike, beat, knock (from Homer onwards), means trans. to strike or knock against; intrans. to knock oneself against, trip, or fall. Metaphorically it means both to give and to take offence. *proskomma* (not found earlier than the LXX) means the cause, the process and the results of the offence, and so an obstacle, offence, fall, damage, destruction. *proskopē* (from Polyb. onwards) – in the NT only in 2 Cor. 6:3 – means the offence, the dislike which causes one to take offence, the cause and reason for taking offence. The verbal adj. *aproskopos*, without offence, is seldom found in secular literature; it means both giving no offence, unobjectionable, blameless, and taking no offence, unhurt.

OT 1. Though this group of words is found in secular Gk., it first obtained a theologically relevant meaning in biblical usage. In the LXX it is used predominantly for the Heb. words *môqēš*, a trap or snare, *kāšal*, to fall or cause to fall, and also for *nāḡap̄*, to hit, push; but these are also frequently rendered by → *skandalon, skandalizō*.

Sin causes a fall. Though the God of Israel guards a man from tripping and falling (Ps. 91:11 f.) and bears the title of the Rock of Israel's strength and salvation (Isa. 17:10; Deut. 32:15), he can become "a stone of offence" (Isa. 8:14) for the apostate, godless man who does not fear him, so that he falls and perishes (→ Rock). The God of Israel is faithful, but he humbles those who do not reverence him as the Holy One and fear him (cf. Ps. 18[17]:26). The cause of the → falling is to be found in the sin and apostasy of the godless. Hence the people are warned against the worship of heathen gods and fellowship with the heathen inhabitants of the land, which would be a snare to them (Exod. 23:33; 34:12).

2. The OT usage lived on in late Judaism. *kāšal* and the noun *miḵšôl* are found

very frequently in the Qumran texts (cf. 1QS 2:12, 17; *TDNT* VI 749, 751; → *skandalon*).

NT In the NT *proskomma* occurs 4 times in Rom. and once each in 1 Cor. and 1 Pet.; *proskoptō* twice each in Matt., Jn. and Rom., and once each in Lk. and 1 Pet.; *proskopē* only in 2 Cor.; and *aproskopos* once each in Acts, 1 Cor. and Phil. Usage follows the OT and has in the background the picture of tripping over a stone and falling. The following 4 uses may be distinguished.

1. Christ remains obedient to God and true to his task. Hence neither Satan, who alluding to Ps. 91:11 f. says that Jesus as God's Son will not strike (*proskopsēs*) his foot against a stone (Matt. 4:6; Lk. 4:11), nor the threat of death by the Jews in Jerusalem (Jn. 11:7–10: the only example of the root in the Johannine writings) could cause him to fall and make his messianic mission vain. In the temptation narratives the sense of *proskoptō* is the lit. one of strike. In Jn. 11:9 f. the vb. is used in the sense of stumble in the contrast: "Are there not twelve hours in the day? If any one walks in the day, he does not stumble [*proskoptei*], because he sees the light of this world. But if any one walks in the night, he stumbles [*proskoptei*], because the light is not in him." The reply is given in response to the warning that the Jews were planning to stone him, and that Jesus therefore should not visit the sick Lazarus. "It is a parable of crisis, in which Jesus seeks to impress on his hearers the necessity of taking prompt action before the judgment falls. It is possible, but by no means certain, that *stumble* is an allusion to the 'rock of stumbling' in Isa. 8:14, alluded to several times in early Christian literature (cf. Rom. 9:32; 1 Cor. 1:23; 1 Pet. 2:6–8)" (B. Lindars, *The Gospel of John*, *New Century Bible*, 1972, 390). The parable is similar to that in Matt. 6:22 f. par. Lk. 11:34 ff.; cf. also Gos.Thom. 24.

2. Christ is both the stone which serves as a foundation (→ Firm, art. *themelios*) for the church and the stone over which one can fall, the stumbling stone (Rom. 9:33; 1 Pet. 2:8; referring to Isa. 8:14; 28:16; Ps. 118:22; → Rock). This explains why men, e.g. many Jews, do not come to salvation. Where Jesus and his message are refused, man finds his eternal destruction (cf. also Lk. 2:34). Lk.'s version of the saying about the corner stone presses the picture even further: "Every one who falls on that stone will be broken to pieces; but when it falls on any one it will crush him" (Lk. 20:18). This combines the saying about the corner stone (Ps. 118:20; Isa. 28:16; cf. Lk. 20:17; Matt. 21:42; Mk. 12:10; Acts 4:11; 1 Pet. 2:7) with Isa. 8:14 f. which declares: "And he [Yahweh] will become a sanctuary, and a stone of offence, and a rock of stumbling to both houses of Israel, a trap and a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem. And many shall stumble thereon; they shall fall and be broken; they shall be snared and be taken." But what was said of Yahweh by Isaiah is said of Jesus in Lk. (cf. Rom. 9:33; 10:11; 1 Pet. 2:4 ff.). According to Lk. 20:18, man will be broken by Christ in any case. He will be either broken on him now, as Christ shatters his preconceived plans for his life, or he will be broken by him in judgment.

3. Whether the disciple of Christ may cause offence to others is another matter. Paul expressly forbids the strong to cause the weak to stumble and to hurt their → conscience (Rom. 14:13, 21; 1 Cor. 8:9). Their freedom, though justified in itself, must not cause others to → fall. This is the law of love. He who hurts the → conscience of another creates an obstacle for the gospel (cf. 1 Cor. 9:12 f., 19 f.).

Paul enlarges the circle still further, when he says "Give no offence [*aproskopoi . . . ginesthe*] to Jews or to Greeks or to the church of God" (1 Cor. 10:32).

([Ed.] The ET "stumbling-block" was first introduced by William Tyndale in his translation of Rom. 14:13: "That no man putt a stomblinge blocke or an occasion to faule [*proskomma ē skandalon*]" (1526). Later translators preferred to use it for *skandalon*. The phrase "to stumble at a block", i.e. a tree stump, is exemplified in Capgrave's *Life of St. Gilbert* 43, 123: "Sche stombeled at a blok which was hid with straw and thus fel sodeynly." After Tyndale the expression was used in the senses of an occasion for moral stumbling, an occasion for falling into calamity, an obstacle to belief, understanding, progress, and more rarely and late lit. of a kind of threshold or object sticking up in a road.)

4. The day of Christ makes it particularly imperative that the Christian should be without offence. Paul prays for the Christians in Philippi that they "may be pure and blameless [*aproskopoi*] for the day of Christ" (Phil. 1:10). Paul is not referring only to external and ethical behaviour but also to the nature of a man's relationship to Christ (v. 9). His prayer is also a warning to the church. In his defence before Felix Paul rebutted the accusations of Tertullus, declaring that "I always take pains to have a clear conscience [*aproskopon syneidēsin*] toward God and toward men" (Acts 24:16), i.e. a conscience which has remained undefiled by sin.

J. Guhrt

σκάνδαλον | *σκάνδαλον* (*skandalon*), offence; *σκανδαλίζω* (*skandalizō*), give offence, lead astray.

CL The noun *skandalon*, from a root meaning jump up, snap shut, was originally the piece of wood that kept open a trap for animals. Outside the Bible it is not used metaphorically, though its derivative *skandalēthron* (e.g. a trap set through questions) is so used. No non-biblical example of *skandalizō* has been found. The Eng. word scandal is derived from the noun via the Lat. *scandalum*.

OT 1. Both words have been shaped by biblical language; the secular Gk. usage is alien to biblical usage. The LXX uses them mainly to translate Heb. *môqēš*, bait or lure (cf. Amos 3:5), fig. a snare to destroy a person (cf. Ps. 141:9[140:8]; 1 Sam. 18:21) or to cause him to sin (cf. Jos. 23:13; Jdg. 2:3; 8:27; Ps. 106[105]:36) and *miḵšôl*, obstacle in the way of the blind (Lev. 19:14), fig. a cause of misfortune (Ps. 119[118]:165) or of troubled conscience (1 Sam. 25:31). *skandalizō* occurs in Dan. 11:41 LXX for niph. of *kāšal* and without Heb. equivalent in Sir. 9:5; 23:8; 35(32):15.

2. *skandalon* and *skandalizō* are not found in Philo, Josephus, Aristeas or Hellenistic Jewish literature (*TDNT* VII 343), but they occur in the OT translations of Aquila, and to a lesser extent Symmachus and Theodotion (*skandalon* only). However, the metaphorical meanings were clearly understood in the NT period, and they feature in the Qumran community with its conscious separation of the righteous and godless and its more legalistic religion. The words *kāšal* (to stumble; hiph. to cause to stumble; e.g. 1QS 3:24; 11:12; 1QM 14:5; 1QH 5:28, 36; 8:36; 16:5; 17:23) and *miḵšōl* (offence; e.g. 1QS 2:12, 17; 4:15; 8:35; 9:21, 27; 10:18; 16:15; 17:4) occur frequently in the Qumran literature. All the spirits allotted

to the Angel of Darkness "seek the overthrow of the sons of light" (1QS 3:24). On the other hand, there is no cause for offence in God's words. Hence, the word-group becomes a metaphorical expression for sinning, leading to sin, and sin.

NT The NT usage has been fixed essentially by the OT. It is often based directly on OT passages (e.g. Matt. 13:41 on Zeph. 1:3; Matt. 24:10 on Dan. 11:41 [cf. RV and Heb.]; Rom. 9:33 and 1 Pet. 2:8 on Isa. 8:14). Both the noun and the vb. are used frequently in Matt.; they are not so common in Lk. with its less Jewish background. However, the same thought is often expressed in other words (e.g. cf. Lk. 8:13 with Matt. 13:21). Though the word *skandalon* is not used, the thought is found in Lk. 2:34: "Behold, this child is set for the fall and rising of many in Israel, and for a sign that is spoken against." *skandalizō* occurs 14 times in Matt., 8 times in Mk., twice in Lk., Jn. and 1 Cor., and once in 2 Cor. *skandalon* occurs 5 times in Rom., once in Lk., 4 times in Rom. and once each in 1 Cor. and Gal.

The original conception of a bait or trap is found only in Rom. 11:9 ("pitfall", RSV; quoting Ps. 69:22 [68:23]). Otherwise *skandalon* is used rather with the thought of a stone or obstacle in the way, over which one can trip and fall. It occurs as a synonym of → *proskomma* (cf. Rom. 9:33; 1 Pet. 2:3). When the sense is to cause people to sin, the connotation of "trap" is still present (cf. Rev. 2:14).

1. If we omit Rom. 11:9, the following meanings are to be found.

(a) The noun means a temptation to sin, an enticement to apostasy and unbelief (e.g. Matt. 18:7; Rev. 2:14; Rom. 14:13; 16:17 ["difficulties" RSV]; of persons, Matt. 13:41; 16:23; Rom. 9:33; 1 Pet. 2:8). It is then used as that which causes offence or scandal, or divisions, or hinders faith (e.g. 1 Jn. 2:10; 1 Cor. 1:23; Gal. 5:11; Matt. 13:41).

(b) Correspondingly the vb. means to lead into sin, to give offence (e.g. Matt. 5:29 f.; 18:6; 1 Cor. 8:13 [in each case cf. RV with RSV]) In the passive it means to take offence, fall away, be misled (e.g. Matt. 13:21; 24:10; Jn. 16:1; 2 Cor. 11:29), to take offence at Jesus (e.g. Matt. 11:6; 13:57; 26:31, 33). It can further mean to offend, provoke, allow to go astray, raise dissensions (e.g. Matt. 17:27; Jn. 6:61; passively in Matt. 15:12 and perhaps 2 Cor. 11:29).

2. (a) The NT stresses that Jesus constantly becomes an offence. The expression *skandalizesthai en tini*, be repelled by, take offence at, is always used of him. The disciples took offence (RSV "fall away") at his → sufferings (Matt. 26:31), because such suffering was incompatible with their preconceptions. Other instances of this expression occur at Matt. 11:6; 13:57; 26:31, 33; Mk. 6:3; Lk. 7:23. When Peter took offence in Matt. 16:22, his protestation was rejected by Jesus as a Satanic suggestion. Jesus became an offence for John the Baptist (Matt. 11:6; Lk. 7:23), because John had expected him to reveal himself as messiah in a different way. The → Pharisees took offence at Jesus' teaching (Matt. 15:12), because it contradicted their concept of the law, and of man's co-operation with God's grace. How deep-rooted their offence was may be seen from Jesus' comparison of them with weeds to be rooted up (Matt. 15:13; cf. 13:24–30).

(b) The basis of the offence caused by Jesus is the → cross (1 Cor. 1:23), which nullifies all human wisdom, and excludes all human co-operation in salvation (cf. Gal. 5:11 with reference to circumcision). For the preaching of Christ crucified is a *skandalon* to the Jews (in view of their rejection of him, his death on a tree which

was self-evidently a sign of God's curse [Gal. 3:13; cf. Deut. 21:23], and its implications for the law including the practice of circumcision) and *mōria*, foolishness, to the Gentiles. This infuriating offence must remain, otherwise the gospel will cease to be the message of salvation.

(c) The foundation of the offence caused by Christ is God's decree. The quotation, "Behold, I am laying in Zion a stone that will make men stumble, a rock that will make them fall" (Rom. 9:33, a conflated quotation from Isa. 8:14 and 28:16) is interpreted in the NT, e.g., 1 Pet. 2:8 ("A stone that will make men stumble, a rock that will make them fall") as referring to Christ. This passage explains why the Jews are excluded at first from salvation, but not for ever (Rom.) and why in general unbelief rejects Jesus (1 Pet.). In the offence we see an aspect of God's → election (cf. 1 Pet. 2:8, "as they were destined to do"; and also Lk. 2:34).

Jesus and his → gospel become the cause of sin only when unbelief rejects the salvation which he brings, because as he presented it, it did not correspond with man's expectations. While he who believes in him will not be put to shame (Rom. 9:33b; 1 Pet. 2:66), he who does not believe, stumbles at him (1 Pet. 2:8). It is man's blindness that makes Jesus an occasion for destruction. That is true of the Pharisees (Matt. 15:14), and of the man who walks in darkness because he does not love his brother (1 Jn. 2:11). But he who loves his brother finds no cause for stumbling (1 Jn. 2:10). Many disciples found Jesus saying about his body's being life-giving food "a hard saying", and so took offence and drew back (Jn. 6:60 f., 66). Such behaviour made the disciples guilty, for they saw no more than flesh in Jesus ("the flesh is of no avail", Jn. 6:63).

In his eschatological discourse Jesus speaks especially of the offences of the last days. Many will not bear the tribulations that will come over the church; they will fall away and deny their Lord (Matt. 24:10). This will reveal the identity of true believers. Matt. 13:41 is also to be understood eschatologically. "The Son of man will send his angels, and they will gather out of his kingdom all causes of sin [*panta ta skandala*] and all evildoers [*tous poiountes tēn anomian*]." "All things that cause stumbling" (RV), "all causes of sin" (RSV) are the persons called "the sons of the evil one" (v. 38) who do unrighteousness. Then they will be separated from the kingdom and the righteous; at the present time they are active in their midst.

We can see the true character of offences only from an eschatological viewpoint. They lead to destruction and exclusion from Christ's kingdom. The fact that judgment has not already fallen on them is not a sign that God condones them but that the time of judgment is not yet ripe.

In his farewell discourse Jesus declares: "I have said all this to you to keep you from falling away [*hina mē skandalisthēte*]" (Jn. 16:1). He refers here especially to the promise of the → advocate, paraclete or helper (Jn. 15:18–27), but also to his preaching as a whole (cf. Jn. 6:63).

3. While there is an offence of the gospel, which must not be removed, there is a human offence which must be avoided. Such offences are inevitable (Matt. 18:7b; Lk. 17:1). They belong to the world and make it ripe for condemnation, but woe to the man through whom they come. This is particularly true of those that offend the "little ones" who believe in Jesus (Matt. 18:6 par. Mk. 9:48; cf. Lk. 17:1; → Large, Small, art. *mikros*). Jesus was probably thinking not only of → children, but

of all those who need special help from the church because of their defencelessness when they face the great and strong (→ Weakness). It is easy to give these weak and helpless ones who turn to Jesus an occasion for straying away from Jesus. He who does this is subject to judgment. That is why the strong are exhorted not to cause the weak to stumble (Rom. 14:13, 21; 1 Cor. 8:13), for it destroys the work of God (Rom. 14:20).

We must also beware of falling ourselves by separating ourselves from God by act (Matt. 5:30) or look (Matt. 5:29; → See, art. *ophthalmos*). The cutting off of part of the body is not to be taken literally: those inclinations are to be rooted out which could become fatal to a man as he meets the world around him (Matt. 5:29 f.; cf. 18:8 f.; Mk. 9:43–48; → Hand, art. *cheir*; on Matt. 19:12 → Eunuch). One should also beware of the offences caused by a false doctrine, and avoid those who create them (Rom. 16:17). *J. Guhrt*

→ Child, → Cross, → Fall, → Hard, → Rock, → Sin

(a). A. Carr, "The Use of *skandalon* and *skandalizein* in the New Testament", *The Expositor* Fifth Series 8, 1898, 344–51; and *Horae Biblicae*, 1903, 58–68; K. Fullerton, "The Stone Foundation", *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 37, 1920–21, 1–50; R. A. Knox, *Trials of a Translator*, 1949, 66–73; T. W. Lewis, " '. . . And if he shrinks back' (Heb. x. 38b)", *NTS* 22, 1975–76, 88–94; I. H. Marshall, *Kept by the Power of God: A Study of Perseverance and Falling Away*, 1969; J. H. Moulton, *skandalon*, *ExpT* 26, 1914–15, 331 f.; J. Moffatt, "Jesus upon 'Stumbling-blocks' ", *ExpT* 26, 1914–15, 407 ff.; G. Stählin, *proskoptō* etc., *TDNT* VI 745–58; and *skandalon* etc., *TDNT* VII 339–58.
(b). E. Fuchs, "Das entymthologisierte Glaubensärgernis", *Zum hermeneutischen Problem in der Theologie*, 1959, 230–36; A. Humbert, "Essai d'une théologie du scandale dans les synoptiques", *Biblica* 35, 1954, 1–28; J. Lindblom, *Skandalon. Eine lexikalisch-exegetische Untersuchung, Uppsala Univ. Årsskrift*, 1921; and "Zum Begriff 'Anstoss' im Neuen Testament", *Strena Philologica Upsaliensis*, Festschrift Per Persson, 1922, 1–6; K. Müller, *Anstoss und Gericht. Eine Studie zum jüdischen Hintergrund des paulinischen Skandalon-Begriffs, Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament* 19, 1968; K. Schilder, "Over het 'Skandalon' ", *Gereformeerd theologisch Tijdschrift* 32, 1931, 50–67, 97–130; O. Schmitz, *Vom Wesen des Ärgernisses*, 1925²; R. Schnackenburg, "Vom Ärgerniss des Kreuzes", *Geist und Leben* 30, 1957, 90 ff.; G. Stählin, *Skandalon. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte eines biblischen Begriffes*, 1930.

Oil, Olive, Gethsemane

ἔλαιον

ἔλαιον (*elaion*), (olive-) oil; ἐλαία (*elaia*), olive tree, olive (fruit); ἐλαιών (*elaiōn*), olive-orchard; ἀγριέλαιος (*agrielaios*), wild-olive; καλλιέλαιος (*kallielaios*), cultivated olive; Γεθσημανί (*Gethsēmani*), Gethsemane, transliteration of Aram. *gaṯ šᵉmānê*, oil press.

CL *elaion* properly refers to the oil of the olive, which was by far the commonest form of oil in use in the ancient world, though it was occasionlly used for other oily substances. Olive oil was a regular part of the diet of most Mediterranean peoples. It was also used as fuel for lamps, and for medicinal purposes. An important use in Greece was for anointing the body after bathing and before wrestling and other sports. It features in Pliny, *Nat.Hist.* 15.

OT In the LXX *elaion* normally translates Heb. *šemen*, occasionally Heb. *yiṣhār*. The oil was normally that of the olive, though *šemen* can also denote a fragrant ointment compounded from various spices with olive oil as its base. Oil was one of

the basic agricultural products of Palestine, and was a staple element in the diet (1 Ki. 17:12–16; cf. the common formula "the corn, the wine and the oil", e.g. Deut. 7:13; 11:14; 12:17; 14:23; 18:4, 51; 2 Chr. 31:5; 32:28; Hos. 2:8, 22; Joel 2:19–24; Hag. 1:11). It was also used cosmetically (2 Sam. 14:2; Ps. 104:15; Prov. 27:9; cf. Deut. 28:40), particularly at banquets (Amos 6:6; cf. Ps. 23:5), and so is sometimes a symbol for joy (Ps. 45:7; Isa. 61:3). A fragrant oil was used to anoint the priests. Anointing with oil became a symbol of investing with authority, whether as → priest (Exod. 29:7; 40:15; Lev. 8:12, 30; 10:7; 21:10 ff.), → king (1 Sam. 10:1; 16:1, 13; 1 Ki. 1:33; 2 Ki. 9:3, 6; 11:12), or (on at least one occasion) → prophet (1 Ki. 19:16). Oil was used in the consecration of the tabernacle and its vessels (Exod. 40:9; Lev. 8:10; cf. Jacob's anointing of the stone at Bethel, Gen. 28:18; 35:14). In the temple ritual it was mixed with the cereal offerings and in ritual anointing (Exod. 25:6; 27:20; 29:2, 7, 21, 40; 30:24 f., 31; 31:11; 35:8, 14 f., 28; 37:29, 37 f.; 39:38; Lev. 2:1–16; 5:11; 6:15, 21; 7:10 ff.; 8:2; 9:4; 14:10–29; Num. 4:9, 16; 5:15; 6:15; 7:13–79; 8:18; 11:8; 15:4–9; 28:5–18; 29:3–14; 35:25). It also provided fuel for the lamps (Exod. 27:20; Lev. 24:2). (For fuller details and discussion → Anoint, art. *chriō*; → Sacrifice; → Temple.) In the teaching of the prophets oil figures chiefly in Ezekiel (16:9, 13, 18 f.; 23:41; 27:17; 32:14; 45:14, 24 f.; 46:5, 7, 11;46:14 f.), but references to oil are occasionally found in other prophetic writings (Isa. 41:19; 61:3; Jer. 31:12; 40:10; 41:8; Hos. 2:5, 8, 22; 12:1; Joel 1:10; 2:19, 24; Mic. 6:7, 15; Hag. 1:11; 2:12). Oil is mentioned in Pss. 23:5; 45:7; 55:21; 89:20; 92:10; 109:18; 141:5; and Prov. 5:3; 21:17; 21:20.

elaia and *elaiōn* translate Heb. *zayiṯ*, used both for the olive tree and its produce. The olive-tree matures slowly, so that to grow olives and enjoy their fruit was a common picture of a settled and prosperous condition. The fruitfulness of the olive makes it a suitable metaphor for those who enjoy God's blessing (Pss. 52:8; 128:3), particularly Israel (Jer. 11:16; Hos. 14:6; Hab. 3:17).

NT 1. Most of the practical uses of the olive and its oil mentioned in the OT reappear in the NT. Jas. 3:12 mentions the olive (*elaia*, for the fruit of the tree) as a crop, and its oil as an item of commerce appears in Matt. 25:9; Lk. 16:6; Rev. 18:13. Its use as fuel for lamps is attested in Matt. 25:3 ff.

The injunction in Rev. 6:6 to spare the oil and the wine even though there is to be a famine of corn, is probably an echo of the standard OT formula, "the corn, the wine and the oil", the three major agricultural products: only one-third of the produce is to be affected, and the rest spared, as in the following vision ("a fourth of the earth", verse 8) and in the plagues introduced by the seven trumpets in chapters 8–9. It may also be significant that while corn is an annual crop, olives and vines would take much longer to recover from devastation; it is, therefore, a temporary period of famine, not total destruction. This point is reinforced by the highly inflated price of wheat and barley which was a necessity more basic than oil and wine. A quart of wheat was generally regarded as the amount of food that a working man would eat in a day, and a denarius was a day's wage for a labourer (Matt. 20:2–13; cf. Mk. 6:37; Jn. 6:7). Thus an entire day's wages would be spent on wheat alone. A family could survive if they bought barley which was inferior. The prices here are eleven to fifteen times those cited by Cicero for wheat sold in

Sicily (*In Verrem* 3, 81; cf. R. H. Charles, *Revelation, ICC*, I, 1920, 166 f.). The wealthy could afford to be self-indulgent, but the rest will experience very hard times. For similar statements in rabbinic writings about the days prior to the messiah's coming see Sotah 49a and Sanhedrin 97a (cf. G. R. Beasley-Murray, *The Book of Revelation, New Century Bible*, 1974, 133).

2. Matt. 6:17 suggests that the cosmetic use of oil was still normal in Palestine. In Lk. 7:46 it is expected that the host would anoint his guest at a banquet; the Pharisee's neglect of this simple courtesy is contrasted with the woman's lavish use of the much more expensive *myron*, oil of myrrh.

The use of anointing with oil as a symbol of joy and honour in Ps. 45:7 is taken up in Heb. 1:9 with reference to Christ, no doubt with the thought of his "anointing" for his messianic task (for which see Lk. 4:18; Acts 4:27; 10:38).

3. The medicinal use of oil on an open wound (cf. Isa. 1:6) is seen in Lk. 10:34, and is in line with widespread current practice. The NT also mentions the practice of anointing with oil in miraculous healing (Mk. 6:13; Jas. 5:14 only); here its effect is not so much medicinal as symbolic, probably as a symbol of the protection and blessing of God on the patient (→ Anoint, *aleiphō*).

4. The olive-tree is twice used as a symbol in the NT. In Rev. 11:4 the two witnesses of God are described as "the two olive trees and the two lampstands which stand before the Lord of the earth." This is an allusion to Zech. 4:2–14, where the two olive trees whose oil feeds the lampstand represent "the two anointed who stand by the Lord of the whole earth", normally taken to be Zerubbabel and Joshua, whose combined leadership was the channel of God's power to enable Israel to live up to its calling. The two witnesses represent the faithful witness of the church, particularly the Christian martyrs, and the point of the allusion to Zechariah's vision is that their faithful witness, in the power of the Spirit (cf. Zech. 4:6), is the channel of God's power to fulfil his purpose in a hostile world. (See further J. G. Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, TC*, 1972, 118 ff.; R. H. Charles, op. cit., 282 ff.)

In Paul's famous allegory in Rom. 11:17–24 the olive tree represents the people of God. The cultivated olive (*kallielaios*) is Israel, from which some of the branches were broken (many Jews rejected Christ, and so lost their place as God's people), while shoots of wild-olive (*agrielaios*) were grafted in their place (the inclusion of Gentiles in the people of God). Eventually, however, God is able to graft the natural branches back into their own stock (Jews who "do not persist in their unbelief" will be restored, and so "all Israel will be saved"). The stock remains the same; it is only in the branches that changes occur. So Israel, the people of God, is a continuous entity (cf. the OT use of the olive as a symbol for Israel), but its membership is subject both to the exclusion of native Israelites and the inclusion of the alien stock of Gentile believers. (The *agrielaios* is not an uncultivated specimen of the *kallielaios*, but a different species, probably the oleaster.)

Many commentators assume that Paul's theology is better than his knowledge of horticulture. But, while modern agriculturalists would look askance at the attempt to graft the oleaster on to the olive, this is independently attested in ancient time as a device to rejuvenate an unproductive olive (cf. W. M. Ramsay, *Pauline and Other Studies*, 1906, 219–50). Philo applied a similar figure of speech to Israelites and proselytes (*Exsec.* 6; cf. O. Michel, *Der Brief an die Römer, KEK* 4, 1966[13], 275 ff.;

SB III 291). Where Paul does, quite consciously, go beyond nature is in the belief that after branches have been cut off, "God has the power to graft them in again." This is the miracle of God's grace. (See further M. M. Bourke, *A Study of the Metaphor of the Olive Tree in Romans 11*, 1947.)

5. The Mount of Olives (or Olivet, from Lat. *olivetum*, olive-orchard) is the ridge on the east side of Jerusalem, across the Kidron valley, on which olive-orchards still grow. It must be crossed by a traveller entering Jerusalem from the east, and so is mentioned in the accounts of Jesus' triumphal entry into Jerusalem (Matt. 21:1 par. Mk. 11:1, Lk. 19:28). Its commanding view of the temple area accounts for Jesus' lament there over Jerusalem's impenitence (Lk. 19:29–44), and his teaching there on the approaching ruin of the temple (Matt. 24:1–3 par. Mk. 13:1–4, Lk. 21:5–7). Somewhere on this ridge Jesus and his disciples spent the nights of his last week (Lk. 21:37), probably in the estate known as *Gethsemane* ("oil-press", so presumably an olive-orchard) to which they went after the last supper (Mk. 14:26, 32), and which was their regular rendezvous (Jn. 18:1–2). Gethsemane was the scene of Jesus' final commitment to his redemptive suffering, and of his arrest. It was also on the Mount of Olives that Jesus' ascension to heaven took place (Lk. 24:50–51; Acts 1:12); Acts 1:11, taken with Zech. 14:4, has led to the conclusion that it will also be the scene of his return.

→ Anoint, → Incense, → Light, → Sacrifice, → Temple *R. T. France*

(a). G. A. Barrois, "Olives, Mount of", *IDB* III 596–99; M. M. Bourke, *A Study of the Metaphor of the Olive Tree in Romans 11*, 1947; R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology*, III, 1955, 101–4; A. T. Hanson, "Christ the First Fruits, Christ the Tree", *Studies in Paul's Technique and Theology*, 1974, 104–25; F. B. Huey, Jr., "Oil", *ZPEB* IV 513 ff.; J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus* 1969, 6 f., 55; C. Kopp, *The Holy Places of the Gospels*, 1963, 335–50; H. N. and A. L. Moldenke, *Plants of the Bible*, 1952, 97 ff., 157–60; W. M. Ramsay, *Pauline and Other Studies*, 1906, 219–50; J. F. Ross, "Oil", *IDB* III 592 f.; W. E. Shewell-Cooper, "Oil Tree", *ZPEB* III 515; and "Olive, Olive Tree", *ZPEB* III 528; H. Schlier, *aleiphō* etc., *TDNT* I 229–32; and *elaion* etc., *TDNT* II 470–73; J. C. Trever, "Oil Tree", *IDB* III 593; and "Olive Tree", *IDB* III 596.
(b). G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, IV, 1935, 153–290; I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, II, 1924, 286–95.

Old

πάλαι

πάλαι (*palai*), formerly, earlier; παλαιός (*palaios*), old; παλαιότης (*palaiotēs*), age, obsoleteness; παλαιόω (*palaioō*), grow old, make or treat as old.

CL *palai* (from Homer onwards), Aeolic *pēlyi*, belongs etymologically to the word-group associated with *tēle*. The original meaning of distant, far away, focuses on the earlier or past in contrast with the present (cf. *telos*, the end). *palaios* (also from Homer onwards) is commonly used in secular Gk. meaning old: (a) positively as existing for a long time and hence venerable; (b) negatively as obsolete, worn out, and hence worthless, unusable (cf. Soph., *Oedipus Rex* 290, etc.). Often *archaios*, original, venerable, is used in the same sense, but almost always positively. *palaioō* (from Plato onwards) is found only in the pass. in secular Gk.

OT In the LXX *palaios* has mostly the meaning of old, last year's, antiquated (cf. Lev. 25:22). It formally translates the Heb. *yāšān*, old, last year's. *palaioō*

translates in the LXX (a) *'āṭēq* (trans.) cause to pass away (cf. Job. 9:5), and (intrans.) pass away, fall into decay (cf. Job 14:18), reach old age (cf. Job. 21:7); and (b) *balâh* be worn out (cf. Deut. 8:4; 29:5; Jos. 9:5, 13; Neh. 9:21). In this latter sense *palaioō* is used metaphorically in the exilic and post-exilic writings of the OT for the growing old and transience of man's life and work, and also of heaven and earth (cf. Ps. 32:3; Isa. 50:9; Job 13:28). By giving mankind and the whole creation over to decay and corruption God passes judgment on the sin and fall of mankind (Isa. 51:6; Ps. 102[101]:26).

NT 1. In the NT *palai* points to something which lies in the recent or remote past: e.g., God spoke "of old" (Heb. 1:1); they would have repented "long ago" (Matt. 11:21 par. Lk. 10:13; Jude 4); "old" sins (2 Pet. 1:9); if he were "already" dead (Mk. 15:44); "all along" (2 Cor. 12:19).

2. In *palaios* and *palaiotēs* the old, obsolete past stands in contrast with the completely new (→ New, arts. *kainos*, *neos*). The salvation of God in Jesus Christ has already broken into this age and made it obsolete together with its institutions and practices (2 Cor. 5:17; cf. Mk. 2:21 f. on fasting; Rom. 7:6 on the law; 1 Cor. 5:7 on sin). The final fulfilment is still awaited. With the coming again of the Lord this age will be brought to an end and world-history completed (2 Pet. 3:13; → Present).

(a) The parabolic words of Matt. 9:16 f. par. Mk. 2:21 f., Lk. 5:56 f. are probably to be understood in this context, though we cannot be completely sure. Probably they were originally independent, everyday sayings which Jesus used to show that the age of the old world had passed and that the age of salvation had begun. The old, obsolete, world-age is compared with an old garment (v. 21) and with old wine (v. 22). A garment (→ Clothe, art. *himation*) and → wine were traditional symbols of the cosmos or the age of salvation. In the synoptic context the passage could also mean that the new excludes the old; the new age of salvation demands a new manner of life which cannot be inserted in the old customs, such as fasting and mourning. The old is fulfilled in the new (cf. Matt. 5:17) or, in the case of the natural man, conquered.

The proverb of Lk. 5:39 in this context is evidently ironical: "And no one after drinking old wine desires new; for he says, 'The old is good'" (some MSS read "better"; on the word there → Good, art. *chrēstos*). It implies that men (in the context those who cling to the Jewish traditions) are incorrigibly attached to the old familiar ways.

In Matt. 13:52 Jesus says: "Therefore every scribe who has been trained for the kingdom of heaven [*pas grammateus mathēteutheis tē basileia tōn ouranōn*] is like a householder [*oikodespotē*] who brings out of his treasure what is old and new [*kaina kai palaia*]." Here the scribe is seen as a steward (→ House, art. *oikonomia*) who knows both the old, the message of the OT scriptures, and also their fulfilment in the radically new, the message and person of Jesus. The saying stands at the conclusion of Matt.'s account of the parables of the sower, the mustard → seed, the → leaven, the tares, the treasure hidden in a field, the pearl of great price and the fish net. The mention of the householder and the kingdom links up with previous themes. The picture of the → disciple as a scribe is a particularly Matthaean perspective (cf. 23:34; → Scripture). Some scholars see in this an element of Matt.'s

Jewishness. At any rate, the disciple in Matt. does what the scribe should be doing, i.e. expound the scriptures as they are fulfilled by Jesus (Matt. 5:17 f.). This is, moreover, what Matt.'s Gospel itself seeks to do (e.g. Matt. 1:22 f., cf. Isa. 7:14; Matt. 2:5 f., cf. Mic. 5:2; Matt. 2:15, cf. Hos. 11:1, Exod. 4:22; Matt. 2:17 f., cf. Jer. 31:15; Matt. 2:23, cf. Isa. 11:1; Matt. 3:3, cf. Isa. 40:3; Matt. 3:15; → Fullness, art. *plēroō*; cf. also R. H. Gundry, *The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew*, *Supplements to NovT* 18, 1967; R. T. France, *Jesus and the Old Testament*, 1971; K. Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew*, 1968²). There may be a play on words between the name of Matthew (*Matthaios*) and the words "who has been trained" (lit. "become a disciple", *mathēteutheis*) which would further support the view that Matt.'s Gospel exemplifies the dictum here. The scribe was not simply the copyist of the scriptures in post-exilic Judaism; he was the authorized teacher and theologian who interpreted the law (cf. D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew*, *New Century Bible*, 1972, 240). But it should be noted in this saying that the "scribe" in question is not in the first instance trained in the law. He is trained in the → kingdom and thus is able to bring out old and new from his treasure. In this respect he stands in contrast with those scribes who were trained in "the tradition of the elders" (Matt. 15:1–20 par. Mk. 7:1–23) who for the sake of human tradition make void the word of God (Matt. 15:6; cf. also Matt. 23:1–39). Like Jesus himself, the scribe trained in the kingdom of heaven is able to bring out the true treasure from the law and the prophets.

(b) In Paul and Hebrews the opposition between old and new is to be understood in the same way as in the Synoptics. Baptism represents the death of the old man and the birth of the new. In the picture of the old and new man we have no doubt part of the primitive Christian baptismal exhortation (Rom. 6:6; Col. 3:9; Eph. 4:22 → Baptism; → Body; → Clothe; → Destroy; → Man). The "old" means everything connected with the fall of man and with his subjection to the distress and death of a transitory life, separated from God. In this concept we can hear deep undertones of God's wrath and the wages of sin. At the same time we are pointed to the completely new, to that healing and salvation which are given to man when he is crucified with Christ and raised with him (Rom. 6:3 ff.).

palaiotēs, age, obsoleteness, what is outdated, occurs only at Rom. 7:6, where Paul emphasizes the incompatibility of the old and the new as ways of salvation and life: we serve in the newness of Spirit and not in the oldness of letter (*en kainotēti pneumatos kai ou palaiotēti grammatos*). Paul has been appealing to the analogy of divorce: a woman is bound to her husband by the law as long as he lives. She is only free to marry someone else if the husband dies. The law is powerless to do anything else. Paul then modifies the picture. By dying to the law "through the body of Christ" (Rom. 7:4), the believer is "discharged from the law, dead to that which held us captive" (7:6a). But if we are dead to the law, we are free to serve in the Spirit. The law is thus dead in that it cannot give life but can only condemn (cf. 7:10 ff.). Life comes as something → new apart from the law and thus makes the letter of the law old (in that it came first) and obsolete (in that it is superseded by the Spirit of Christ) (cf. Rom. 7:6 with 8:5–11; and 2 Cor. 3:6). (On the place of the law in Paul's thought → Law art. *nomos* NT 2; → Goal, art. *telos* NT 1; → I Am, art. *egō eimi* NT 2 (c).)

Because Jesus is the new man, and he who believes in him is also born again to a

new → life, the old life, alienated from God, is dead. It is without power or rights, and so it must daily be given over to → death. In 1 Cor. 5:7 f. Paul alludes to an OT commandment (cf. Exod. 12:19; 13:7; Deut. 16:3 f.). Just as the last remnants of the → old leaven must be eliminated before the Passover (→ Feast, art. *pascha*) so the evil and crookedness of the old life, the old leaven of sin and disobedience, must be cleared out to make room for the new life of sincerity and obedience (1 Cor. 5:6–8). Jesus' message and work bring the new which is promised in the OT and fulfils the old, or deprives it of power. The old life of legality cannot, therefore, be reconciled with faith in Jesus Christ (Rom. 7:6).

Heb. 8:13 takes up the promise of the new → covenant of Jer. 31:31–35: "In speaking of a new covenant he treats the first as obsolete [*pepalaiōken*]. And what is becoming obsolete [*palaioumenon*] and growing old [*gēraskon*] is ready to vanish away." This is entirely God's work. Seeing that God in Christ makes a new covenant, the old covenant of the law has become obsolete. In Christ the first can be regarded only as old and fulfilled (2 Cor. 3:14). Indeed, it may be said that the NT speaks of the old only from the standpoint of the new and for the sake of the new.

3. *palaios* is used in quite another sense only in 1 Jn. 2:7. The writer of the letter is not communicating a new commandment to his readers, but the old commandment which they had known from their conversion, "from the beginning". In the context of 2:1–6 "*old* refers to the primitive Christian tradition and not to Lev. 19:18" (H. Windisch, *Die katholischen Briefe*, *HNT* 15, 1951³, *ad loc.*).

→ Age, → Covenant, → Law, → New *H. Haarbeck*

(a). H. Seesemann, *palai* etc., *TDNT* V 717–20.
(b). R. Bultmann, *Der alte und neue Mensch in der Theologie des Paulus* (reprint of three older articles), 1964; F. Hahn, "Die Bildworte vom neuen Flicken und vom alten Wein", *EvTh* 31, 1971, 357 ff.

One, Once, Only

The NT uses three different sets of terms to express that someone or something is unique or occurs only once. Their theological interest lies in the passages where they are used in connection with God or Christ. In general terms *monos* thus has a polemical connotation, in the contrast with other gods, saviours and religions. *heis* is used to confess the oneness and uniqueness of God. *hapax* and *ephapax* stress the once-and-for-all nature of God's actions in history, especially in Jesus.

ἅπαξ

ἅπαξ (*hapax*), once; ἐφάπαξ (*ephapax*), once for all.

CL *hapax* is compounded of *ha-* (= *heis* in compounds) and *pax* (from *pēgnymi*, make firm, bring together; cf. *pagos* for anything that is firmly and surely brought together). Its fundamental meaning therefore includes numerical singularity and completeness which needs no additions.

OT In the LXX *hapax* renders Heb. *'eḥād* (masc.), *'aḥaṯ* (fem.), one (e.g. Exod. 30:10; Ps. 62[61]:11; and *pa'am*, a beat, footfall, time (e.g. Neh. 13:20; Ezr. 23:20 LXX). The two Heb. words come together at Jos. 6:3, 14, meaning once, and

Isa. 66:8, meaning at once. The rabbis interpreted *'aḥaṭ* in Hag. 2:6 ("For thus says the Lord of hosts: Once again, in a little while, I will shake the heavens and the earth and the sea and the dry land") as only once more, implying the need for special readiness and watching in view of the coming of messianic kingdom (SB III 750).

NT 1. *hapax* is found only 14 times in the NT: 3 times in Paul and 8 in Heb., once in 1 Pet., and twice in Jude. It means once in contrast to twice, thrice, etc. (2 Cor. 11:25; Phil. 4:16; Heb. 9:7), and once in the sense of an event that cannot be repeated. It is so used of the sacrificial death of Christ (Heb. 9:26 ff.; 1 Pet. 3:18) and negatively of OT sacrifice (Heb. 10:2), of God's saving activity (Jude 3 and 5) and judgment (Heb. 12:26 = Hag. 2:6). With the once-for-all-ness and finality of Jesus' saving work the NT writers contrast the once-for-all-ness and finality of human reaction, either in faith or in unbelief. Those who have once found mercy cannot be restored to repentance if they → fall away (*parapesontas*) (Heb. 6:4 ff.), just as those whom God brought out of Egypt were destroyed because of their unbelief (Jude 5).

The derivative *ephapax* is not found in pre-Christian writings. In 1 Cor. 15:6 it means "at one time", i.e. together, as opposed to separately. In the other 4 cases where it is used (Rom. 6:10; Heb. 7:27; 9:12; 10:10) it means once for all and is used of the sacrificial death of Christ.

2. The theological importance of both terms lies in the fact that they stress the historical nature of God's revelation. Just as God revealed himself to Israel in history, when he brought him out of → Egypt, so he revealed himself to his covenant people, once, unrepeatably and finally in Christ. This is of decisive importance in confrontation with those religions where salvation is an ideal concept based on the mere idea of deity and divorced from history (as in gnosticism).

In contrast to the situation of the OT covenant people Heb. argues that, since the sacrificial death of Jesus once for all, we are now in the end time (*ephapax*, Heb. 10:10; *heis*, Heb. 10:12, 14). The contrast is drawn between the single, complete act of Christ and the repeated sacrifices of the old covenant which are seen to have been temporary and imperfect from the very fact that they had to be repeated every year. Otherwise those that brought these sacrifices and worshipped God through them would have ceased to bring them. They would have been once purified and would have had no more consciousness of sin (Heb. 10:2) As mere → shadows (*skia*) of the future and perfect sacrifice, of Christ, they served merely to bring sins to mind (Heb. 10:3, *anamnēsis hamartiōn*) and so to point to the One to come.

This indicates that the very nature and purpose of the OT sacrificial system were not to purify finally and once for all but to point to the final sacrifice and purification and hence to require repetition (Heb. 10:2 f.). The one true and finally valid sacrifice is Jesus, who is both the sacrifice and high priest in one. Just as man finally dies and faces the judgment, so Jesus' giving himself in death to put away sins is once for all and final (Heb. 9:26 ff.). It is this that distinguishes the activity of the Son made perfect for ever (Heb. 7:27 f.) from that of the earthly high priest with his temporal sacrifice, with its limited validity, offered daily for himself and the people.

The author of Heb. sees the death of Christ as the once-and-for-all sacrifice and

the resurrection and ascension of Christ in terms of the high priest entering the Holy Place on the day of atonement (Heb. 9:12; 10:12; cf. Lev. 16). Only the high priest was permitted to do this, which he did only once a year. Having offered sacrifice, he entered the Holy Place taking with him the blood of the sacrifice on behalf of the entire people of God. Christ has entered the immediate presence of God through his heavenly exaltation by his own blood to represent his people before God and obtain for them eternal salvation (cf. Heb. 9:14 with 10:19–25). This is the basis of the Christian faith and Christian way of life.

In Rom. 6:10 Paul writes: "The death he died he died to sin, once for all [*ephapax*], but the life he lives he lives to God." The statement comes at the climax of a discussion of the problem of antinomianism. If men are saved by "the free gift in the grace of that one man Jesus Christ" (Rom. 5:15) which abounds for many and not because of anything that they do to deserve it, then why not go on sinning that grace may abound (Rom. 6:1)? Paul replies that baptism implies baptism into Christ's death (Rom. 6:3), and that just as he was raised by the glory of the Father, we too should walk in the newness of life (Rom. 6:4). The whole purpose of his death was to free men from the enslavement of sin (Rom. 6:5–9). This he has done once for all; and now he lives to God (Rom. 6:10). "So you also must consider yourselves dead to sin and alive to God in Christ Jesus" (Rom. 6:11). Since the crucified Christ is eternally exalted, "the act of Golgotha is the decisive turning point in history" (G. Schrenk, "Die Geschichtsauffassung des Paulus auf dem Hintergrund seines Zeitalters", *Jahrbücher der Theologischen Schule Bethel*, 3, 1932, 68).

The finality and unrepeatability of the historic act of salvation is paralleled by the finality of personal salvation. If it is frittered away, it is also unrepeatable. "For it is impossible to restore again to repentance those who have once [*hapax*] been enlightened, who have tasted the heavenly gift, and have become partakers of the Holy Spirit, and have tasted the goodness of the word of God and the powers of the age to come, if they then commit apostasy, since they crucify the Son of God on their own account and hold him up to contempt" (Heb. 6:4 ff.). The theme of apostasy is a recurring one in Heb. which issues repeated warnings against it (cf. Heb. 3:1–4:16; 6:1–20; 10:26–39; 12:1–29; 13:1 ff., 20 ff.). On the four things mentioned here (been enlightened, tasted the heavenly gift, partaken of the Holy Spirit, tasted the goodness of the word of God and the mighty works of the age to come) see F. F. Bruce, *Epistle to the Hebrews*, *NLC*, 1964, 118-24; I. H. Marshall, *Kept by the Power of God: A Study of Perseverance and Falling Away*, 1969, 136 ff.

Jude 3 urges its readers "to contend for the faith which was once for all [*hapax*] delivered to the saints." "Clearly *the faith* is not the believing man's response to Christ (the *fides qua creditur*), but is to be concretely understood as the *fides quae creditur*, i.e. the message or body of saving beliefs accepted as orthodox in the Church" (J. N. D. Kelly, *The Epistles of Peter and Jude*, *BNTC* 1969, 247; cf. also v. 20). The source of this teaching is ultimately God himself, but it is mediated by the apostles and other human agents (cf. Jude 17 with Lk. 1:2; Acts 16:4; Rom. 6:17; 1 Cor. 11:2; 2 Thess. 2:15; 3:6; 2 Tim. 2:1 f.). The emphasis on a body of truth in opposition to heretical doctrines is more pronounced in later NT writings such as the Pastoral Epistles (cf. 1 Tim. 1:3; 4:6; 2 Tim. 2:2; 4:3 f.; Tit. 1:9). But as Kelly points out, "the idea of tradition, of the gospel as an authoritative

message committed to and handed down in the Church, was integral to Christianity from the start" (op. cit., 248; cf. Rom. 10:8; 16:17; 1 Cor. 11:2, 23; 15:1–3; Gal. 1:23; 6:10; → Teach, art. *paradidōmi*). Jude 5 goes on to remind the readers that they "were once fully informed [*eidotas hapax panta*]" of the fact that "he who saved a people out of the land of Egypt, afterward destroyed those who did not believe." "Here as in 3b, we have a sharper insistence that the apostolic faith is a complete whole which has been definitely given to men and cannot be altered" (Kelly, op. cit., 254). The warning against apostasy has the same point as that in Heb. The repeated illustration in Heb. 3 and 4 and its use in 1 Cor. 10:1–5 together with the way that it is introduced here suggests that it formed part of common Christian instruction. (On the exodus theme in Christian thought see B. S. Childs, *Exodus: A Commentary*, 1974, 230–39; A. T. Hanson, *Jesus Christ in the Old Testament*, 1965, 10–25, 48–65; and *Studies in Paul's Technique and Theology*, 1974; R. E. Nixon, *The Exodus in the New Testament*, 1963.) *K.-H. Bartels*

εἷς

εἷς (*heis*), one; ἑνότης (*henotēs*), unity.

CL The masc. form *heis* derives from Indo-European **sem-s* (cf. *homos*, → Like); the fem. form *mia* from **sm-ia*; and the neut. *hen* from **sem* (cf. Liddell-Scott, 492).

In pre-Socratic nature philosophy *to hen*, the one, refers to the ultimate unity of being, eternity, that which has not become, the non-transient, underived, simple being (the Eleatic school). Parmenides described being as a sphere, perfect in itself and uniform, and this unique, uniform world-body is at the same time the world-concept, simple and excluding all peculiarities. (On Pre-Socratic thought see W. K. C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy*, I, *The Earlier Presocratics and Pythogoreans*, 1962; II, *The Presocratic Tradition from Parmenides to Democritus*, 1965; and more briefly "Pre-Socratic Philosophy" in P. Edwards, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, VI, 1967, 441–46.)

The Sophists applied these fundamental concepts to ethics. Since all being is absolutely identical, every value judgment becomes impossible. Socrates opposed these doctrines, and posited an abiding unity which would be recognized by all over against the change and multplicity of opinions. The basis for such universally recognized demands is universally valid concepts (cf. W. K. C. Guthrie, *Socrates*, 1971; I. G. Kidd, "Socrates", *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, VII, 480–86). Plato taught a world of ideas in which reality increases until it reaches its peak on the highest incorporeal idea of the One as the good, divine, world-intellect. The many, the physical, and the lower are clearly differentiated from it (on Plato see A. E. Taylor, *Plato*, 1926; and G. Ryle, "Plato", *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, VII, 314–33). For the Stoics, however, all existence is ultimately a unity. The divine penetrates everything and manifests itself in diversity, creating order and furnishing a unitary law. All that happens is necessary by the nature of things. The rational is that which is in unison with nature as a whole regarded as divine. The soul of man is by its nature one with the world-soul (on Stoicism see P. P. Hallie, "Stoicism", *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, VIII, 19–22).

In gnosticism the divine world of life, light, spirit is originally and remains by

nature one. In a pre-cosmic catastrophe pieces of it were broken off and handed over to the evil, the dark, and the many (creation of the world). The goal of the cosmic drama is the collecting and returning of all the scattered fragments of the spiritual and divine into the unity of God. The marks of the divine, true and good are unity, calm, peace; those of the evil, worldly and physical are manifoldness, scattering, lack of peace. (For literature on gnosticism → Knowledge.)

OT 1. The OT terms are *'eḥāḏ* (masc.) and *'aḥaṯ* (fem.) meaning: (a) one (Gen. 1:9); (b) the first (Gen. 8:5), especially in summaries (e.g. Gen. 2:11); (c) the one . . . the other (Exod. 18:3); (d) one after the other (Isa. 27:12); (e) one with another (Ezek. 33:30); (f) one to another (Job 41:16[8]); (g) any one (Gen. 26:10); (h) one and the same (Gen. 27:45); (i) one alone, the only one (Isa. 51:2) (→ *monos*). The plur. is *'ᵃḥāḏîm*, some, a few (Gen. 27:44).

The unity of God is particularly stressed in Deut. 6:4. The MT has "Hear O Israel: *YHWH 'ᵉlōhēnû YHWH 'eḥāḏ* [lit. Yahweh our God Yahweh one]." This has been variously translated: "The LORD is our God is one LORD" (RSV), "the LORD our God, the LORD is one", "the LORD is our God, the LORD is one", "the LORD is our God, the LORD alone" (all RSV mg.), "the LORD is our God, one LORD" (NEB). LXX has "[The] LORD our God is one LORD [*Kyrios ho theos hēmōn heis estin*]." Thus the RSV follows the LXX rendering of the Heb. (For discussion of the declaration see G. Quell, *TDNT* III 1079 ff.; and for the passage in general → Command; → God, art. *theos* OT; → Hear; → Love.)

In the older strata of the OT Israel still spoke of the existence of other gods (e.g. 1 Sam. 26:19 [ironic]; Exod. 15:11). Explicit monotheism became increasingly dominant from the 7th cent. B.C. (e.g. 1 Ki. 8:60; Jer. 2:11; and especially in Isa. 41:29; 43:10; 44:8). But the unique reality of God was firmly anchored in the faith of Israel from the first. This forms the basis for the call to unity among the people (Mal. 2:10). The words of Deut. 6:4 f. form the *šᵉma'*, i.e. the daily confessions by Jews of the unity of God, the basic creed of Jud., by which its separates itself from all paganism and idolatry (cf. the martyrdom of R. Akiba who died with a long drawn out *'eḥāḏ* on his lips; Ber. 61b; T. J. Ber. 2:4a: 61; cf. SB I 224).

2. The unambiguous monotheistic character of later Judaism may be seen in the fact that "the One" became a surrogate for God (cf. SB II 28 on Mk. 12:29).

NT 1. *Survey of the use of heis in the NT.* (a) As a simple numeral. (i) One (Matt. 5:41; Jn. 9:25). We find the same stress on one as in Judaism (e.g. Matt. 26:14; 5:18; Jas. 2:10; cf. also Matt. 23:15). One thing can be decisive (Mk. 10:21; cf. Matt. 19:21; Lk. 18:22); the plagues of judgment come on one day (Rev. 18:8); there is one sacrifice of Christ (Heb. 10:12, 14; → *hapax*). This means that *heis* comes to stand parallel to *monos* (e.g. Mk. 2:7 [*heis*]; Lk. 5:21 [*monos*]). The one, only, last son has a particularly high rank (Matt. 21:37; Mk. 12:6; Lk. 20:13). The one who repents is more valuable than the ninety-nine who do not need to repent (Lk. 15:7). God's will finds its climax in one decisive word and command (Gal. 5:14). (ii) The one . . . the other (Matt. 24:40 f.; 6:24). (iii) Each (Matt. 26:22 [RSV and NEB do not distinguish this usage from that in Mk. 14:19, see (iv)]; 1 Cor. 12:18 f.). (iv) One after the other (Mk. 14:19). (v) The first (Matt. 28:1); → First, art. *prōtos*. (vi) One and only (Mk. 2:7; cf. Lk. 5:21; → *monos*); this can be explained by Heb. usage.

(b) The one God and Father. The Shema (Deut. 6:4; see OT 1 above) is quoted in Mk. 12:29, cf. v. 32. Jas. 4:12 declares that "there is one lawgiver and judge." In warning against the temptation to exalt oneself to positions which only God can occupy Matt. records the words: "But you are not to be called rabbi, for you have one teacher, and you are all brethren. And call no man your father on earth, for you have one Father, who is in heaven. Neither be called masters, for you have one master, the Christ" (Matt. 23:8 ff.). The uniqueness of God is asserted over against idols in the controversy over eating meat offered to idols (1 Cor. 8:4 ff.). This means that there is but "one God, the Father, from whom are all things and for whom we exist, and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things and through whom we exist" (v. 6). Therefore, idols have "no real existence" (v. 4). Nevertheless, on grounds of love and expediency Paul urges the Corinthians not to eat meat that has been first offered to idols. Eph. 4:3 urges unity and peace in the church on the grounds of the unity of God: "There is one body and one Spirit, just as you were called in one hope that belongs to your call, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of us all, who is above all and through all and in all" (Eph. 4:4 ff.). 1 Tim. 2:5 is a parenthetical reminder that all men have to do with the same God: "For there is one God, and one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus." He it is "who desires all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth" (v. 4). Therefore, it is appropriate to pray for all men, including kings and those in positions of authority. There is a unity of mankind which derives from man's common origin at the hands of "the God who made the world and everything in it" (Acts 17:24): "And he made from one every nation of men to live on all the face of the earth, having determined allotted periods and the boundaries of their habitation" (v. 26). There is one abiding will of God (Matt. 5:17 f.), and in conformity with the will of this one God there is one church composed of Jews and Gentiles. One of the main themes of the Epistle to the Romans is to demonstrate the continuity of the divine purposes revealed in the OT in the light of the work of Christ and the inclusion of the Gentiles: "Or is God the God of Jews only? Is he not the God of Gentiles also? Yes, of Gentiles also, since God is one, and he will justify the circumcised on the ground of their faith and the uncircumcised because of their faith" (Rom. 3:29 f.).

(c) The one God in the one Lord Jesus Christ. Jesus is the one exclusive teacher, Lord and mediator (Matt. 28:8, 10; 1 Cor. 8:6; Eph. 4:5; 1 Tim. 2:5). He is the One who stands before the Father on behalf of all (Jn. 11:50; 2 Cor. 5:14). Adam, the disobedient one, brought death; Jesus, the obedient One, brought life (Rom. 5:12 ff.; cf. 1 Cor. 15:22; → Adam). He is one with God the → Father (Jn. 10:30; 17:11, 21 ff.). He is the one Lord, with one → faith and → baptism (Eph. 4:5), the one → shepherd with one flock (Jn. 10:14 ff.).

(d) The One God in the one Spirit of Christ. Paul bases his teaching on the multiplicity of gifts in the church and the necessity of order and harmony in their use on the unity of the Spirit who is the giver of the gifts (1 Cor. 12:9, 11, 13). Jews and Gentiles are no longer alien in Christ, "for through him we both have access in one Spirit to the Father" (Eph. 2:18). There should be unity in the church because "there is one body and one Spirit, just as you were called to the one hope that belongs to your call" (Eph. 4:4). The word *henotēs*, unity, occurs only in Eph. expressing the unity of the church in maturity which is based on the divine

unity: "eager to maintain the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace" (4:3); "until we all attain to the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, to mature manhood, to the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ" (4:13).

(e) The one church of the one Lord. (i) There is a unity of believers with their Lord. There is also a unity of man and woman which comes about through sexual intercourse. For this reason the believer should not join himself to a prostitute (1 Cor. 6:16; cf. Gen. 2:24; Matt. 19:5; Mk. 10:8; Eph. 5:31; → Discipline, art. *porneuō*; → Flesh; → Marriage). The believer's union with Christ is not a physical one but a spiritual one: "But he who is united with the Lord becomes one spirit with him" (1 Cor. 6:17; cf. the marriage analogy of Christ and the church in Eph. 5:28–33; Rev. 21:2; and the images of the → body and → head).

(ii) In Heb. 2:11 "out of one" (*ex henos*; RSV "one origin"; NEB "of one stock") points to the closest possible unity of believers with Jesus, which is here uniquely expressed in terms of "brothers" in the quotation in v. 12 from Ps. 22:22. There is also a unity of believers in the body of Christ (1 Cor. 12:12 f.; Gal. 2:28; Col. 3:15) through and in the Holy Spirit (Eph. 4:4). The unity of the Lord and his lordship causes the wall of partition between Jews and Gentiles, which was broken down at the cross, to be abolished for good and all, for now there exists only the one, new people of God in Christ (Eph. 2:13–16; Jn. 11:52; 17:23; 17:11, 21). This is a particular emphasis in Jn. Those who are made one have a common life (1 Cor. 12:26; Gal. 6:2; Acts 4:32; Phil. 2:2; Rom. 15:6). Conversely those who are in rebellion against God are one (Rev. 17:13).

2. *The Theological meaning of heis in the NT.* Unity in the NT is always seen from the standpoint of Christ: "there is salvation in no one else, for there is no other name under heaven given among men by which we must be saved" (Acts 4:12). In Gk. and Roman philosophy the unity of God and the world is demanded by educated reason. In the OT the unity of God is a confession derived from experience of God's unique reality. The decisive advance in the NT, caused by God himself, is the basing of the unity and uniqueness of God on the unique revelation through and in the one man Jesus Christ, the Revealer and Lord (Matt. 23:8 ff.; 1 Cor. 8:4 ff.; Eph. 4:1–16; 1 Tim. 2:5 f.).

That is why Paul, after saying in 1 Cor. 8:4 that there are no real idols in the world and that there is no God but One, can recognize in the following sentence that there are in fact many gods and lords. But (and this is the justification for the original statement) these gods have no reality and are therefore only "so-called gods". They have no claim to lordship over us. If we ask why Paul used the term God in this dialectic way, the answer seems to be: the true unity and uniqueness, and hence the reality, of the one God comes from the fact that for us, i.e. for our gain, there is one Lord Jesus Christ (v. 6). We should not take v. 6 as consisting of two parallel statements simply joined by *kai* (and). Rather we must interpret *kai* as meaning: just in the way and with the reality in which we have one Lord Jesus Christ.

This is expressed particularly clearly in Jn. Jn. 10:30 should not be interpreted to mean that the oneness of Jesus with the Father consists of the joining of two persons or beings who were formerly separated. We must understand it in the light of Jn. 14:9: "He who has seen me has seen the Father." In a Christian sense no one can speak of God unless he is speaking concretely of Jesus. Statements like Jas. 4:12

obtain a living meaning only in the light of Jesus. Indeed, the unity of the Spirit is based on Jesus (1 Cor. 13; Eph. 4), not on a unity of outlook based on human enthusiasm.

The "one man Jesus Christ" (Rom. 5:15) is decisive for the salvation of "the many." He died for all the one decisive death (Jn. 11:50, 52; 2 Cor. 5:14; → *hapax* NT). The obedient death of the one is interpreted by the "much more" of Rom. 5:17. The one man Adam became a curse for humanity, "because all men sinned" (Rom. 5:12); in contrast the one man Jesus Christ brought righteousness and life for all (Rom. 5:17).

Rom. 5:12–20 contrasts the rôles of Christ and → Adam as the respective heads of saved and fallen humanity. Sin came into the world "through one man and death through sin, and so death spread to all men because all men sinned" (Rom. 5:12). "But the free gift is not like the trespass. For if many died through one man's trespass, much more have the grace of God and the free gift in the grace of that one man Jesus Christ abounded for the many. And the free gift is not like the effect of that one man's sin. For the judgment following one trespass brought condemnation, but the free gift following many trespasses brings justification. If, because of one man's trespass, death reigned through that one man, much more will those who receive the abundance of grace and the free gift of righteousness reign in life through the one man Jesus Christ" (Rom. 5:15 ff.; cf. also Jn. 11:50, 52; 2 Cor. 5:14).

The foundation and continuity of the church's unity are grounded in him as the one shepherd of the one flock (Jn. 10:14 ff.). Paul expresses this fact through his picture of the one → body, in which the members are linked and are mutually dependent, a picture used also by the Stoics. The several members cannot live in diversity without the one → head (1 Cor. 12). The counterpart to this in the high priestly prayer in Jn. 17 is the concept of mutual indwelling: Jesus prayed "that they may all be one; even as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be in us, so that the world may believe that thou hast sent me" (Jn. 17:21).

K.-H. Bartels

μόνος — μόνος (*monos*), alone, only; μονογενής (*monogenēs*), only (preferable to "only begotten").

CL *monos*, Ionic *mounos*, Doric *mōnos* from Homer on, means only, lonely, alone; *sou monos*, without you; *monos pantōn anthrōpōn*, (he had) no other of all men. In an extended sense it means unique. The adv. *monōs* or *monon* (neut.) means only, solely. The LXX and the NT do not preserve the variety of usage which existed in cultured Gk. The use of the adj. and adv. run into one another, and the adv. *monōs* is not found, nor the use with the gen. On the other hand, the form *kata monas*, alone, does occur. All this shows that *monos* is used in the NT as in Koine Gk.

OT The LXX uses *monos* mostly for *l*^{e}*baḏ* or (*l*^{e}) *bāḏāḏ* (78 times as against 14 for the other Heb. terms), derived from *baḏ*, that which has been separated. Its basic meaning is in separation from, or in solitude from. Thus in Exod. 30:34 *baḏ b*^{e}*baḏ yihyeh* (RSV "of each shall there be an equal part") means that the various spices must be taken separately without contact with each other, and only then be mixed to form → incense (v. 35). To be alone does not imply peace but a troubled

mind and restlessness. The bad connotation cannot be missed and comes out clearly in a passage like Isa. 49:21 and Jer. 15:17, where the prophet, bent down by God's hand, and cut off from human contact with the other members of his people, sits alone. This sense is also found in Gen. 2:18. God says that it is not good for the man to be alone; "I will make a helper fit for him."

monos is frequently used for God's uniqueness; e.g. Deut. 32:12 (as leader of the people); Job 9:8 (as Creator). It occurs in the confessional statements in 2 Ki. 19:15, 19; Isa. 37:16. It is frequently found in Pss. (4:8; 33[32]:15; 51[50]:4; 71[70]:16; 72[71]:18; 77[76]:14; 83[82]:18; 86[85]:10; 136[135]:4, 7; 141[140]:10; 148:13). Hence it is often used in statements about the exclusive worship of the one God: e.g. Exod. 22:20(19); Deut. 6:13 (*v.l.* in LXX); Ps. 71(70):16. Ezek. 14:16 shows that the righteous alone will be delivered. Exod. 24:2 uses *monos* to stress → Moses' uniqueness. Occasionally, as in secular Gk., *monos* is intensified. Thus in 1 Ki. 19:10, 14, where → Elijah, persecuted by Jezebel, says in his despondency that he has survived *monōtatos*, utterly alone, as prophet of the Lord. The despair of this extreme solitude stands in contrast to the superior strength and numbers of the worshippers of Baal which had remained intact in spite of God's judgment in 1 Ki. 18.

NT 1. *monos* is found 46 times in the NT and *monon* 66 times. They are found most frequently in Paul (13 and 36 times) and John (9 and 5 times), while neither is found in 2 Pet., Tit. or Phlm. The adj. is used in connection with vbs. like *eimi* (be), *heuriskō* (find), *kataleipō* (leave), and absolutely with nouns and prons. The neut. *monon* is used as an adv. It means: (a) only, alone (Matt. 9:21; 1 Cor. 15:19; Lk. 24:12; Matt. 5:47); not only but also (Matt. 21:21); not only but much more (Phil. 2:12); and in the limiting sense of not yet but only (Acts 8:16); (b) alone, without others, unaccompanied (Matt. 17:8 par. Mk. 9:8; Jn. 8:16; Rom. 11:3); *kata monas*, alone by oneself (Mk. 4:10; Lk. 9:18); single (Jn. 12:24); alone without help (Lk. 10:40), alone with, face to face (Matt. 18:15); (e) with noun or pron. it means only in the sense of exclusively (e.g. Matt. 12:4; Lk. 5:21 → *heis*, NT 1; Rom. 16:27; 1 Tim. 1:17; 6:15 f.; Heb. 9:7; Gal. 6:4; Rev. 15:4); (d) one and only (Jn. 5:44; 17:3; Jude 4, 25).

2. *monos* becomes theologically significant when it is used in the confession of the one and only God, especially in doxologies (Rom. 16:27; 1 Tim. 1:17; 6:15 f.; Jn. 5:44). Rom. 16:25 ff. refers to God's command "to bring about the obedience of faith" among the nations, and 1 Tim. 6:12–16 calls on Timothy to keep the confession – the context shows the polemical background of the confession – of the one God. It is significant that the confession of the one holy God in Rev. 15:4 is found in the song of praise of the martyrs who "had conquered the beast." Similarly in Jn. 17:3, *monos* is linked with *alēthinos*, true, in contrast to the deceptive appearance (*pseudos*) of all alleged gods and revealers, and in Jn. 5:44 it stands in contrast to the false *doxa* (→ glory) of the world, which does not seek the true *doxa* of the one and only God (cf. R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 1971, 271, n. 3; E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, 1913, 245 n. 1).

monos is sometimes used to stress the uniqueness of God in polemical contexts. Thus Jesus, the Revealer and Son of God, is declared to be *monogenēs* (see 4 below). There is a dialectic use of *monos* in relation to Jesus. On the one hand, already the

earthly Jesus in not "alone" in human terms even if all forsake him, for the Father is with him (Jn. 8:16, 29; 16:32). On the other hand, in Jude 4 the uniqueness of God can be applied without qualification to Jesus (cf. Rom. 9:5 (RSV mg., NEB mg.); Jn. 20:28; Tit. 2:13). On Rom. 9:5 → God, art. *theos* NT 6(a).

4. *monogenēs*, the only begotten, or only, is found as a christological title only in Jn. Matt. and Mk. use *agapētos*, beloved (Matt. 3:17 par. Mk. 1:11; Matt. 17:5 par. Mk. 9:7). Paul has *ho heautou hyios* (Rom. 8:3), *ho idios hyios* (Rom. 8:32), his own Son, or *ho prōtotokos*, the first-born (Rom. 8:29). *monogenēs* is used to mark out Jesus uniquely above all earthly and heavenly beings; in its use the present soteriological meaning is more strongly stressed than that of origin (Jn. 1:14, 18; 3:16, 18; 1 Jn. 4:9). RSV and NEB render *monogenēs* as "only". This meaning is supported by R. E. Brown, *The Gospel according to John, Anchor Bible*, I, 1966, 13 f., and D. Moody, "God's Only Son: The Translation of John 3:16 in the Revised Standard Version", *JBL* 72, 1953, 213–19. Lit. it means "of a single kind", and could even be used in this sense of the Phoenix (1 Clem. 25:2). It is only distantly related to *gennaō*, beget. The idea of "only begotten" goes back to Jerome who used *unigenitus* in the Vulg. to counter the Arian claim that Jesus was not begotten but made. *monogenēs* reflects the Heb. *yāḥîḏ* of Isaac (Gen. 22:2, 12, 16) of whom it is used in Heb. 11:16. The meaning of *monogenēs* "is centred in the Personal existence of the Son, and not in the Generation of the Son" (B. F. Westcott, *The Epistles of St John*, [1883] 1966, 170). Jesus as *monogenēs* is the One who can say "I and the Father are one [*hen esmen*]" (Jn. 10:30). Included in the uniqueness of God, Jesus does not disappear in history and the historical, but stands over them as Lord. *K.-H. Bartels*

→ First, → God, → Number

(a). E. Best, *One Body in Christ*, 1955; F. Büchsel, *monogenēs*, *TDNT* IV 737–41; S. Hanson, *The Unity of the Church in the New Testament: Colossians and Ephesians, Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis* 14, 1946; H. Jonas, *The Gnostic Religion* 1963; E. Käsemann, *The Testament of Jesus: A Study of the Gospel of John in the Light of Chapter 17*, 1968; G. A. F. Knight, "The Lord is One", *ExpT* 79, 1967–68, 8 ff.; D. Moody, "God's Only Son: The Translation of John 3:16 in the Revised Standard Version", *JBL* 72, 1953, 213–19; C. A. Labuschagne, *The Incomparability of Yahweh in the Old Testament*, 1966; N. Lohfink and J. Bergman, *'ehād*, *TDOT* 1 193–201; T. E. Pollard, " 'That They All May Be One' (John xvii, 21) – and the Unity of the Church", *ExpT* 70, 1958–59, 149 f.; J. F. Randall, *The Theme of Unity in John XVII: 20–23*, Dissertation Louvain, 1962; H. H. Rowley, "Moses and Monotheism", *ZAW* 28, 1957, –21 (reprinted in *From Moses to Qumran: Studies in the Old Testament*, 1963, 35–63); W. Stählin, *hapax, ephapax*, *TDNT* I 381–84; E. Stauffer, *heis*, *TDNT* II 434–42; and 'The Creeds of the Primitive Church", *New Testament Theology*, 1955, 235–57, see especially "Monotheistic Formulae", 242 ff.; E. L. Wenger, "That They All May Be One", *ExpT* 70, 1958–59, 333; B. F. Westcott, *The Epistles of St. John*, (1883) revised edition with introduction by F. F. Bruce, 1966, 169–72.

(b). J.-L. d'Aragon, "La Notion Johannique de l'Unité", *Sciences Ecclésiastiques* II, 1959, 111–19; G. Delling, "Monos Theos", *TLZ*, 1952, 469 ff.; E. L. Dietrich, "Gott", *RGG*³ II 1713 ff.; E. Fascher, "Gott und die Götter", *TLZ*, 1956, 279 ff.; H. Jonas, *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist*, I, 1934; II, 1, 1954; O. Kern, *Orphicorum Fragmenta*, 1922; E. Käsemann, *Das wandernde Gottesvolk*, *FRLANT* Neue Folge 37, 1959³; F. Klinke, *Der Monismus*, 1911; E. Peterson, *Heis Theos*, 1926; G. Sauer, *'eḥād*, *THAT* I 104–7; K. Schelkle, "Das Gottesbild des Neuen Testaments: Gott der Eine", *BuK* 15, 1960, 12 ff.; H. Schlier, *Der Brief an die Epheser*, 1965⁵; G. Schrenk, "Die Geschichtsanschauung des Paulus auf dem Hintergrund seines Zeitalters", *Jahrbücher der Theologischen Schule Bethel* 3, 1932, 59 ff.; W. Stählin, *Allein. Recht und Gefahr einer polemischen Formel*, 1950; W. Thüsing, *Herrlichkeit und Einheit. Eine Auslegung des hohepriesterlichen Gebets Jesu (Joh. 17)*, 1962.

Open, Close, Key

ἀνοίγω

ἀνοίγω (*anoigō*), open; ἄνοιξις (*anoixis*), opening; διανοίγω (*dianoigō*), open, explain.

CL Since Homer (*Il.* 14, 169; 24, 455) *anoignymi* occurs together with *anoigō* meaning to open, remove that which obstructs, though not at first in the pres. tense. The pres. of *anoigō* is first found in Pindar, and of *anoignymi* in Lysias. The *-mi*-forms are the more original ones. Figuratively it can mean to reach the high seas; *thalattan* is to be supplied. In the NT the original form is replaced by the adjunct form without exception. This is in line with the decline of vbs. in *-mi* in Koine (Funk §§ 92, 101). The vb. can be used trans. (to open a door, a place, an object, a part of the body) and intrans. (to open; partly in the pass. sense of to be opened).

OT In the LXX *anoigō* is used predominantly (106 times) as the equivalent for the Heb. vb. *pāṯaḥ*; 10 times for *pāqaḥ*, both meaning open; 6 times for *pāṣâh*, unlock, open up; and in isolated passages for further Heb. vbs. *pāṣâh*, as a rule followed by *peh* as obj., means to open the mouth (in order to swallow, Ezek. 2:8). *pāqaḥ* is used exclusively for opening one's eyes and ears (e.g. Gen. 21:19; Isa. 35:5; 37:17). With *pāṯaḥ* the object can be a container (a bag, a box, a vessel, a grave; e.g. Exod. 21:33; Jdg. 4:19; Ps. 5:9), a window or a door (1 Sam. 3:15; 2 Ki. 13:17; Isa. 22:22; 26:2), or a book (Neh. 8:5). If the act of opening is related to men, it is usually God who is the subject; objects include the womb (Gen. 29:31); the mouth (Exod. 4:12, 15; Num. 22:28; cf. Ps. 81:10); the eye (Gen. 21:19; Isa. 35:5; 42:7); the ear (Isa. 50:5); the hand (Ps. 145:16). It is a striking fact that *pāṯaḥ* is not found in passages attributed to the Priestly Code. Gen. 7:11a is widely regarded as P; but 7:11b "and windows of heaven were opened" is thought not to be P. Num. 19:15 is thought to be a quotation taken over by P. The absence of the word has been explained on the basis of the theology of the Priestly Code, which saw God as so transcendent that access to him was possible only through the priest and the cult. To use *pāṯaḥ* would contradict such a transcendent view of God; for *pāṯaḥ* presupposes a view of God in which God intervenes, not indirectly, but directly in, e.g., opening a man's mouth.

NT In the NT the vb. *anoigō* is found 78 times, particularly often in the Johannine literature (27 times in Rev.; 11 times in the Gospel). It is less frequently found in Matt. (11 times) and Lk. (16 times in Acts; 7 times in the Gospel). It occurs only 5 times in Paul (Rom. 3:13; 1 Cor. 16:9; 2 Cor. 2:12; 6:11; Col. 4:3) and in Mk. only at 7:35. Following the LXX pattern the vb. is chiefly trans., and only rarely intrans. (Jn. 1:51; 1 Cor. 16:9; 2 Cor. 6:11). The sole occurrence of *anoixis* (Eph. 6:19) has a trans. meaning in Paul's request for prayer "that utterance may be given me in opening my mouth [*en anoixei tou stomatos mou*] boldly to proclaim the mystery of the gospel."

Objects include (as in the LXX) the mouth (Matt. 5:2; 6:8 D; Lk. 1:64; Acts 8:35; 10:34; 18:14), the eye (Matt. 9:30; 20:33; Lk. 24:31; Jn. 9:10, 14, 17, 21, 26, 30, 32; 10:21; Acts 9:8, 40; 26:18), the ear (Mk. 7:35), a door (Acts 5:19; 12:10, 14; 14:27; 1 Cor. 16:9; 2 Cor. 2:12; Rev. 3:20), a place (Matt. 3:16) or an object like a scroll (Rev. 5:2 ff.). If we leave aside consideration of those passages

where "to open the mouth" means to begin to speak (e.g. Matt. 5:2; 13:35; Acts 8:35; 10:34), which make use of a Semitic idiom (cf. Job 3:1; 33:2; Dan. 10:16), the vb. is used with a predominantly theological sense: It is God himself who opens.

1. In the writings of Paul *anoigō* occurs in the quotation from Ps. 5:9 in Rom. 3:13a in the catena of quotations demonstrating the fact that the Jews are guilty sinners, even though they have the law: "Their throat is an open grave [*taphos aneōgmenos*], they use their tongues to deceive." In 2 Cor. 6:11 Paul writes: "Our mouth is open to you [*to stoma hēmōn aneōgen pros hymas*], Corinthians; our heart is wide." C. K. Barrett paraphrases this as "I have let my tongue run away with me", i.e. "I have spoken to you in complete freedom" (cf. 7:4; *A Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, BNTC*, 1973, 191). Barrett sees here a Gk. idiom (cf. Aesch., *PV* 609 ff. with Ezek. 16:63; 29:21; Eph. 6:19). The following clause means that Paul has kept no secrets back from the Corinthians. There not only is room for them in his heart; he positively yearns for them. Apart from these instances, it is God himself who opens. The picture of God opening a door for Paul refers to the possibility of fruitful and effective missionary work. Form-criticism has shown that the expression is a technical term in the vocabulary of mission (1 Cor. 16:9; 2 Cor. 2:12; Col. 4:3; Acts 14:27; Rev. 3:8; cf. J. Jeremias, *TDNT* III 174). But it is characteristic of Paul that he never uses *anoigō* with Jesus Christ as subject.

2. Rev. 3:20 speaks of man opening the door to Christ: "Behold, I stand at the door and knock; if any one hears my voice and opens the door, I will come in to him and eat with him, and he with me." The underlying idea is the kingdom of God seen as a feast (Isa. 25:6 ff.; Matt. 8:11; 22:1–14; Mk. 13:29; 14:25; Lk. 12:34 ff.; 22:28 ff.; but cf. the idea of the judge standing at the doors in Jas. 5:9). There are also the promises of feeding on Christ himself (Jn. 6:35 ff., 53 ff.) and dwelling with him (Jn. 14:2 f., 23). The context of Rev. 3:20 is the letter addressed to the lukewarm church at Laodicea (→ Cold, Hot, Lukewarm). As such it is addressed to the church, but the singular subject of the verse invites an individual response.

Elsewhere in the Johannine writings God is the one who opens. It is God who opens → heaven (Jn. 1:51; Rev. 19:11), the → temple (Rev. 11:19), and the holy → tent of heaven (Rev. 15:5). It is on his authority that an angel opens the abyss of the underworld (Rev. 9:2). But the exalted Lord has the authority which belongs to God to open the way of access to God. The letter to the church at Philadelphia begins: "And to the angel of the church in Philadelphia write: 'The words of the holy one, the true one, who has the key of David, who opens and no one shall shut, who shuts and no one opens. "I know your works. Behold, I have set before you an open door, which no one is able to shut. . . ." ' " (Rev. 3:7 f.). The metaphor of the open door is not the technical term of the language of mission (see 1 above). The key of David (→ *kleis*) recalls the promise to Eliakim (Isa. 22:22) who was given authority to open and none shall shut and to shut and none shall open. Here it is construed as access to God and eternal life, as in Rev. 1:18: "I died, and behold I am alive for evermore, and I have the keys of Death and Hades" (cf. also Matt. 16:19). It is the exalted Lord, the Lamb that had been slain and who has ascended to the throne, who alone is worthy to open the scroll with the seven seals which contains the record of God's plan in history in the last days with all the profusion of eschatological events (Rev. 5:2–9). The earthly Jesus is

here seen as equal with God. The Fourth Gospel contains a counterpart to this in the fact that Jesus opens the eyes of the blind which is something which God alone can do (Jn. 9:10, 14, 17, 21, 26, 30, 32; 10:21). He is also the → shepherd to whom "the gatekeeper opens; the sheep hear his voice, and he calls his own sheep by name and leads them out" (Jn. 10:3).

3. Matt. 2:11 speaks of the magi opening their treasures (→ Magic; → Gold; → Incense). Matt. also records Jesus opening the eyes of the blind (Matt. 9:3; 20:33; cf. Mk. 7:35). As in Jn., opening in Matt. is implicitly or explicitly the act of God. It is God who opens the heavens at the baptism of Jesus (Matt. 3:16) symbolizing the favour and openness of God to him and confirming the action (cf. Jn. 1:51 noted above). To those who knock the kingdom of heaven will be opened (Matt. 7:7; cf. 7:13 f.). But to those who do not come at the hour of opportunity it will not be opened (Matt. 25:11). Here it is the eschatological Lord who is speaking and who thus has the authority of God himself to open and shut. Matt. 27:52 refers to the opening of the tombs and the raising of the dead at the moment of the death of Jesus (→ Resurrection). On the coin in the fish's mouth (Matt. 17:27) → Tax.

4. In the writings of Lk. *anoigō* is particularly associated with Lk.'s concept of time (on the subject of time in Lk. → Present, art. *The Parousia and Eschatology in the NT*, 2(b).) There is an appropriate time for the devil (Lk. 4:13). But there is also an appropriate time for the opening of Zechariah's mouth (Lk. 1:64) and the opening of heaven after the baptism of Jesus (Lk. 3:21; cf. Matt. 3:16 above). The public ministry of Jesus, and with it the centre of time, begins when Jesus enters the synagogue at Nazareth and opens (Lk. 4:17) the book of the prophet Isaiah and reads from Isa. 61:1 f. thus identifying himself with the one on whom the Spirit of the Lord rests. As befitting the one on whom the Spirit rests, he is the one who opens (Lk. 13:25) and the one to whom the servants must be ready to open (Lk. 12:36). The sayings about asking, knocking and opening (Lk. 11:9 f.) are rounded off in Lk. by the promise of the Spirit: "If you then, who are evil, know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more will the heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to those who ask him?" (Lk. 11:13). This suggests that Luke understood the sayings as having particular reference to the gift of the Spirit. He follows it with the account of the Beelzebul controversy concerning the power and authority by which Jesus acted (Lk. 11:14–26). The references in Lk. suggest that the time to open and the authority to open ultimately rest with God.

Acts 8:35; 10:34 and 18:14 use the idiom of opening the mouth. Acts 8:32 quotes Isa. 53:7: "As a sheep led to the slaughter or a lamb before its shearer is dumb, so he opens not his mouth." This is interpreted christologically by Philip to the Ethiopian eunuch. Acts 9:8, 40 refer to the opening of the eyes physically (in each case after an affliction). But Acts 26:18 uses the metaphor spiritually in its account of Paul's commission to the Gentiles: "to open their eyes, that, they may turn from darkness to light and from the power of Satan to God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins and a place amongst those who are sanctified by faith in me." The words recall the mission of the servant (Isa. 42:6, 17), and in the light of Lk. 4:17 constitute an extension of Jesus' own mission. Peter's vision of the great sheet containing both clean and unclean animals signifying God's inclusion of the Gentiles in his people descends from heaven. The fact that heaven is opened

in order to let down the sheet (Acts 10:11) signifies the divine origin and authority of the vision. Several passages refer to the opening of doors. In Acts 5:19; 12:10 and 16:26 f. the doors are prison doors which are opened by divine agency. This contrasts with the doors closed by men, either to imprison the apostles (Acts 5:23) or which are kept closed by the church in incredulity (Acts 12:14, 16). Just as God opens prison doors, he also opens "the door of faith". Paul summed up his first missionary journey by telling the church at Antioch "all that God had done with them, and how he had opened a door of faith to the Gentiles" (Acts 14:27; on this expression see 1 above).

5. The vb. *dianoigō* occurs in the expression "every male that opens the womb [i.e. every first-born male] shall be called holy to the Lord" (Lk. 2:23; cf. Exod. 13:2, 12). The passage refers to the presentation of the infant Jesus in the temple and the sacrifices that were offered for him (→ Bird art. *peteinon* OT; → First, art. *prōtotokos* CL & OT 1). It is used again in the vision of Stephen just before his martyrdom when he saw "the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing at the right hand of God" (Acts 7:56). As with the other references to the opening of heaven, it signifies God's acceptance and blessing of the one who sees the heaven opened, and is a divine confirmation of the rightness of his actions.

dianoichthēti, "Be opened", is given as a translation of *ephphatha* (Mk. 7:34; cf. v. 35) in the healing of the deaf and dumb man. This Aram. word represents *'eṯpattaḥ*, or the contracted *'eppattaḥ*, from the vb. *pᵉṯaḥ* (cf. C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Gospel according to Saint Mark*, 1959, 252; SB II 17 f. for examples in connection with the curing of blindness). It is not a meaningless magical formula like abracadabra but an intelligible performative utterance (→ Magic, art. *mageia* NT 5).

In Lk. 24:31 f. it is used of the eyes in the sense of the understanding (cf. Gen. 3:5, 7; 2 Ki. 6:17) in the self-disclosure of the Risen Christ to the disciples at Emmaus. In v. 31 the reference is to recognizing the stranger as Christ. Upon recognition he vanishes from physical sight. In v. 32 the same word refers to the understanding of the significance of the scriptures in relation to Jesus as the Christ. It is also used of Paul's missionary work among the Jews at Thessalonica: "explaining [*dianoigōn*] and proving that it was necessary for the Christ to suffer and to rise from the dead, and saying, 'This Jesus, whom I proclaim to you, is the Christ' " (Acts 17:3). In each of these three instances of Lk.'s use of the word men require help in order to see Christ. Both the understanding and the scriptures require opening. (→ Explain, art. *hermēneuō* NT 2.) *C. H. Peisker, C. Brown*

κλείς κλείς (*kleis*), a key; κλείω (*kleiō*), to close, shut.

CL The noun *kleis*, which is cognate with Lat. *clavis* (key), is used since Homer for a key. *kleiō*, similarly used since Homer, means to close, or shut. In addition to lit. usage, *kleis* was used as early as the seventh cent. B.C. in connection with → heaven and the underworld depicted as a house. Certain powers, demi-gods or divinities, had control over the keys to heaven (e.g. Dike) or to the underworld (e.g. Pluto, Persephone). The imagery of the key extended also into everyday life. Thus Pindar (*Pyth.* 8, 4) could speak of rest as the most important key to deliberation and to wars, i.e. rest is the chief prerequisite for reaching the right decision.

OT In the LXX *kleis* occurs only 5 times (3 times as equivalent for Heb. *maptēaḥ*). This was the key to the great wooden doors, which possibly consisted of one long piece of wood with various long iron spikes fixed on to it, and which as a rule was so big that it could not fit in the pocket, but had to be carried on the belt or even on the shoulder (Isa. 22:22). With this key one could turn backwards and forwards the bolt of the door from the outside. One of the particular offices of the Levites was to administer the keys to the rooms and store-rooms of the temple (1 Chr. 9:27). The announcement in Isa. 22:22 of the installation into office of Eliakim, giving him the power of the keys to the house of David, had originally no messianic reference. In later rabbinic thought it was interpreted as conferring teaching authority (Sanhedrin 38a; Gittin 88a; see further SB I 741). In Rev. 3:7 it was interpreted typologically and christologically (→ *anoigō* NT 2; see also below 4). *kleis* also occurs in Jdg. 3:25, in Job 31:22 (for *šiḵmâh*), and without Heb. equivalent in Ad.Dan. Bel 12.

The vb. *kleiō* occurs in Gen. 7:16; Jos. 2:5, 7; Jdg. 9:51; 1 Sam. 23:20; 2 Chr. 28:24; Neh. 6:10; 13:19; Job 12:14; Eccl. 12:4; Isa. 22:22; 24:10; 60:11; Ezek. 44:1 f.; 46:1 f. (for *sāḡar*, shut, close); in Neh. 7:3 (for *gûp̄*, shut); in Cant. 4:12 (for *nā'al*, bar, of a garden gate); and without Heb. equivalent in Jdg. 20:42; Sir. 30:18; 42:6; Ad.Dan. Bel 12; and several variant translations of various passages.

NT The words occur comparatively rarely in the NT. *kleis* occurs 6 times (once each in Matt. and Lk.; and 4 times in Rev.), and is used only figuratively. *kleiō* occurs 16 times (3 times in Matt.; twice each in Lk., Jn. and Acts; once in 1 Jn., and 6 times in Rev.). It is used lit. of closed, shut or locked doors in Matt. 6:6; 25:10; Lk. 11:7; Jn. 20:19, 26; Acts 5:23; 21:30, although Matt. 25:10 and Lk. 11:7 figure in parables (in the former instance illustrating that the time of opportunity is past, and in the latter illustrating the importance of importunity in prayer). Elsewhere the use of both the noun and the vb. is fig.

1. Lk. 4:25 refers to the time of → Elijah, "when the heaven was shut up three years and six months, when there came a great famine over all the land" (cf. 1 Ki. 17:1–18:1; Jas. 5:17 f.). The point alludes to the fact that Elijah was sent not to all the widows in Israel at the time of Elijah, but only to the widow of Zarephath. The implication is that Jesus of Nazareth will pass over a rebellious Israel in favour of the Gentiles.

2. Lk. 11:52 records the accusation: "Woe to you lawyers! for you have taken away the key of knowledge; you did not enter yourselves, and you hindered those who were entering." Whereas the saying in Lk. refers specifically to knowledge, the saying in Matt. 23:13 refers to the kingdom: "But woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because you shut the kingdom of heaven against men; for you neither enter yourselves, nor allow those who would enter to go in." J. Jeremias cites Rabbah bar Huna (*c.* A.D. 300): "He who has knowledge of the Torah but no fear of God is like the treasurer to whom one gave the key of the inner rooms without giving him the outer. How can he enter?" (Shabbath 31ab; cf. *TDNT* III 747). In Lk. the saying comes at the conclusion of Jesus' denunciation of the religious for their hypocrisy, their misguided and perverse legalism, and their persecution of the prophets sent by God. The same points occur in Matt. only in considerably greater detail, and the saying introduces the specific accusations. The

difference in the presentation of the saying has been put down to oral tradition (cf. D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew, New Century Bible*, 1972, 311), and the possibility that Jesus made the denunciation more than once and in different forms (Lk. speaks of the key, whereas Matt. uses the vb.) in the course of his condemnation of the religious teachers of his day. Alternatively, the two versions may be interpretative translations: Lk.'s version with its reference to knowledge being addressed to a Gentile readership; whereas Matt.'s is more specifically Jewish in his concern for the kingdom and for the details of the condemnation of contemporary Jewish practices.

3. Matt.'s account of Peter's confession culminates in the promise: "And I tell you, you are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church, and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it. I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven" (RSV mg.). The authenticity of this passage has been questioned by many scholars. G. Bornkamm sums up their attitude to these words when he observes: "This is not only because they have no parallel in the other Gospels, and because this is the only place in the whole synoptic tradition where the word '*ekklesia*' appears in the sense of the church as a whole. (Only in Mt. xviii. 17 do we come across the word '*ekklesia*' again, in connection with Church regulations, but used here in the sense of an assembly of the Church.) But the authenticity of the passage in Matthew xvi is questioned chiefly because it is not easily compatible with Jesus' proclamation of the imminent coming of the kingdom of God" (*Jesus of Nazareth*, 1960, 187). For further discussion questioning the authenticity of the passage see the writings of H. Braun, R. Bultmann, H. Conzelmann, W. G. Kümmel listed below in the bibliography.

Among the writers who have defended the authenticity of the passage are O. Betz, O. Cullmann, J. Jeremias and A. Oepke (see also the bibliography). Cullmann gives a history of the interpretation of the saying (*Peter: Disciple – Apostle – Martyr. A Historical and Theological Study*, 1962², 164–76). He himself locates it in the passion period in a setting similar to Lk. 22:31 ff., but stresses that his interpretation does not stand or fall with his view of the setting (op. cit., 176–91). Cullmann argues that the comparative infrequency of the word *ekklēsia* is indecisive, "*for it does not designate anything like a Christian creation*, but belongs to the Jewish sphere. . . . We must start with the meaning 'people of God' when we ask the question whether or not Jesus can have spoken of the Church" (op. cit., 194 f.; → Church, art. *ekklēsia* for the OT concept supporting Cullmann's claim). Moreover, Jewish messianic expectation is inconceivable without a messianic community (op. cit., 195; cf. Eth.Enoch 38:1; 53:6; 62:8; 83:8; 84:5; Dan. 7:9–28). "If he considered himself to be the Danielic Son of Man (Mark. 14:62 and parallels), he also knew that according to Daniel 7:18 the Son of Man represents the 'people of the saints' " (op. cit., 196). The new element in the situation is the reconstitution of the people of God in view of his special messianic deed, the suffering of the servant of God. As Cullmann observes, the argument is bound up with Jesus' messianic consciousness, and it is not surprising that Bultmann who denies this also denies the authenticity of the passage. A further factor is the fact that Jesus now no longer views the messianic community as identical with the Jewish nation. The fact that he speaks of *his ekklēsia* does not contradict the fact that its building is the work of God.

With regard to the question of whether Jesus could have envisaged a future church in view of his teaching on the imminence of the kingdom, Cullmann points out that the alternative of a present or future messianic community presents a false perspective (op. cit., 199 f.). The Jewish idea of the people of God cannot be forced into this alternative. It is not a case of the early church developing the promised kingdom into an institutional church. "Rather, the fulfilment in the person of Jesus leads directly to the fulfilment in the Church, and the fulfilment in the Church points back in turn to the fulfilment in the person of Jesus. Therefore it is not merely possible that Jesus also sees the people of God already beginning to be constituted in his day; we would almost have to postulate this even if we had no clear texts to prove it. A direct contradiction between the future Kingdom of God and the already realized people of God is only a construction built on the basis of modern thinking" (op. cit., 201). The choice of the twelve disciples reflecting the twelve tribes of Israel is closely bound up with the reconstitution of the people of God. The band of disciples anticipates the messianic community which is constituted by the death of the Christ. But even though the Christ dies the → gates of death will not prevail against it.

Cullmann sees this concept of the church as the messianic community further supported by the saying about raising up the temple which also refers to the time after the death of Jesus (Matt. 26:61; Mk. 14:58; cf. Jn. 2:19) which involves the messianic community (cf. 1 Pet. 2:5 ff.; op. cit., 204 f.). A future community is also implied by the → Lord's Supper, and such passages as Mk. 2:18 ff.; 14:28, 62 imply that Jesus envisaged a time when his followers would continue after his death (op. cit., 206 f.).

For discussion of the significance of the name Peter (*petros*) and the meaning of the rock (*petra*) → Rock. The metaphor of building on the rock implies a → house (comparable with the house of Israel) or a → temple. "In Matthew 16:19 it is presupposed that Christ is the master of the house, who has the keys to the Kingdom of Heaven, with which to open to those who come in. Just as in Isaiah 22:22 the Lord lays the keys of the house of David on the shoulders of the servant Eliakim, so Jesus commits to Peter the keys of his house, the Kingdom of Heaven, and thereby installs him as administrator of the house" (op. cit., 209 f.; cf. the illustration of the steward in Mk. 13:34; Lk. 12:42; 16:1 ff.; 1 Cor. 4:1; 1 Pet. 4:10). Peter is given the task of leading the people of God into the resurrection kingdom. In this he stands in contrast with the Pharisees who purportedly had the key to the kingdom but who did not use it to enter and even prevented others from entering (cf. Matt. 23:13; see 2 above). Whereas they compassed land and sea to make proselytes (Matt. 23:15), Peter also has a mission to carry out by his preaching to give men access to the kingdom. His rôle in this capacity is described in Acts, particularly in opening the kingdom to Jewish believers at → Pentecost (Acts 2) and to Gentile believers at Caesarea (Acts 10).

The words bind (*deō*) and loose (*lyō*) represent the Aram. *'asar* and *šerā'* (Heb. *'āsar* and *hittîr*). They have been interpreted as meaning prohibit and permit, i.e. establish rules (G. Dalman, *The Words of Jesus*, 1909, 214), and put under the ban and acquit (A. Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Matthäus*, 1963⁶, 511 f.; J. Schniewind, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus*, *NTD* 2, 1968¹², ad loc.). Cullmann favours the latter interpretation in view of the connection with the forgiveness of sins and

entry into the kingdom, though he would not exclude the other interpretation which is equally well attested in rabbinic texts (op. cit., 211; cf. SB I 738). The power to teach and discipline cannot be sharply separated (→ Bind). As the disciples had already shared in the work of Christ in his earthly ministry (cf. Matt. 9:35–10:42; Mk. 6:7–13; Lk. 9:1–6; 10:1–24), so now they are to share in the highest office of the forgiveness of sins. However, the idea of binding may also refer back to the picture of the binding of the strong man (i.e. Satan) who must first be bound (the same vb. *deō*) before his goods (i.e. those enthralled by him) may be plundered (Matt. 12:29 par. Mk. 3:27; cf. Lk. 8:21 which does not use the word). Thus Peter would be promised the power that Christ had to bind the powers of evil and to liberate men, and this would hold good not only on earth but also in heaven. Not even death, the power of Hades (→ Gate; → Hell) can thwart it. In the first instance the reference to Hades may be to the death of Christ, i.e. not even the impending death will thwart the messianic community, the church (cf. vv. 21 ff.). Likewise, the power of death will not prevail over the messianic community itself (cf. vv. 24–27).

The passages may be linked with similar promises in Matt. and Jn. which, however, are not specifically related to Peter: "Truly, I say to you, whatever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatever you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven" (Matt. 18:18); "If you forgive the sins of any, they are forgiven; if you retain the sins of any, they are retained" (Jn. 20:23). The passage in Matt. is set in the context of procedure in the church in dealing with problems of discipline caused by one brother sinning against another. The passage in Jn. constitutes the climax of the post-resurrection appearances, and is tantamount to Christ's commission to the church (cf. v. 21). E. Käsemann (see bibliography) has suggested that the mention of Peter in Matt. 16 represents the tendency of a Petrine faction, whereas the omission of his name in the other two passages shows that he did not enjoy special pre-eminence. It might also be argued that Matt. was simply making use of the paraenetical material at his disposal. Cullmann, however, sees the mention of Peter in Matt. 16:17 ff. and his omission from the other passages as fully compatible with what is known of him elsewhere as spokesman and leader in his foundational rôle in the church but as sharing in the binding and loosing with the other disciples (op. cit., 211 f.). (→ Rock for discussion of Peter's rôle in the early church.)

4. 1 Jn. 3:17 uses the vb. metaphorically: "But if any one has the world's goods and sees his brother in need, yet closes his heart against him, how does God's love abide in him?" The phrase *kleisē ta splanchna* appears to be unique; but cf. Ps. 77:9 (76:10): Has God "in his anger shut up his compassion [*synexei tous oiktirmous autou*]?"

5. Access to the eschatological Kingdom of God is also the concern of those apocalyptic passages where the key of David is spoken of (Rev. 3:7 f.). The apocalyptic writer interprets Isa. 22:22 messianically of Christ (such an interpretation is lacking in Judaism): As Eliakim received the key to the house of David, and was given the authority to decide over admission to the house of David, so Christ, as the promised descendant of David, holds the perfect key in his hand to decide over admission and exclusion to the future regal city of God. As the crucified and Risen One, he has the keys to the world of the dead (Rev. 1:18), so that → death has lost

its final terror for the believer. Possessing the keys to the abyss (Rev. 20:1), he is the Lord who governs the spirits of the underworld (20:3). (On this passage → Number, art. *chilias*.) *D. Müller, C. Brown*

→ Apostle, → Bind, → Church, → Gate, → Heaven, → Hell, → Kingdom, → Rock

(a). J. B. Bauer, "Binding and Loosing", *EBT* I 67; G. R. Beasley-Murray, *The Book of Revelation, New Century Bible*, 1974; G. Bornkamm, *Jesus of Nazareth*, 1960; R. E. Brown, K. P. Donfried and J. Reumann, eds., *Peter in the New Testament*, 1973; F. Büchsel, *deō* etc., *TDNT* II 60 f.; H. von Campenhausen, *Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power in the First Three Centuries of the Church*, 1969; R. H. Charles, *Commentary on the Revelation of St. John, ICC*, I–II, 1920; O. Cullmann, *Peter: Disciple – Apostle – Martyr. A Historical and Theological Study*, 1962²; G. Dalman, *The Words of Jesus*, 1909; D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew, New Century Bible*, 1972, 258–64; J. Jeremias, *kleis*, *TDNT* III 744–53; and *thyra*, *TDNT* III 173–80; O. Karrer, *Peter and the Church: An Examination of Cullmann's Thesis*, 1963; E. Käsemann, "Ministry and Community in the New Testament", *Essays on New Testament Themes, SBT* 41, 1964, 63–94; "Sentences of Holy Law in the New Testament", and "The Beginnings of Christian Theology", *New Testament Questions of Today*, 1969, 66–81, and 82–107; K. L. Schmidt, *ekklēsia*, *TDNT* III 518–26.

(b). R. Baumann, *Fels der Welt*, 1956; O. Betz, "Felsenmann und Felsengemeinde", *ZNW* 48, 1957, 49 ff.; H. Braun, *Qumran und das Neue Testament*, I, 1966, 30 ff.; and *Spätjüdisch-häretischer und frühchristlicher Radikalismus*, I–II, *BHTh* 24, 1928²; R. Bultmann, "Die Frage nach der Echtheit von Mt. 16, 17–19", *ThBl* 20, 1941, 265 ff. (reprinted in *Exegetica*, 1967, 255 ff.); G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, VII, 53 ff.; F. Kattenbusch, "Der Quellort der Kirchenidee", *Festgabe für Adolf von Harnack*, 1921, 160 ff.; and "Der Spruch über Petrus und die Kirche bei Mt.", *ThSt Kr* 94, 1922, 96 ff.; W. G. Kümmel, *Kirchenbegriff und Geschichtsbewusstsein in der Urgemeinde und bei Jesus*, 1968², 20 ff.; and "Jesus und die Anfänge der Kirche", *StTh* 7, 1953, 1–27 (reprinted in *Heilsgeschehen und Geschichte*, 1965, 289–309); G. Lambert, "Lier – Délier", *Vivre et Penser* 3, 1943–44, 91–103; H. Lehmann, "Du bist Petrus", *EvTh* 13, 1953–54, 44 ff.; O. Linton, *Das Problem der Urkirche in der neueren Forschung*, 1932, 157 ff.; O. Michel, *RAC* II 374–80; F. Obrist, *Echtheitsfragen und Deutungen der Primatstelle Mt. 16, 18 f. in der deutschen protestantischen Theologie der letzten 30 Jahre, NTAbh* 16, 3/4, 1961; A. Oepke, "Der Herrenspruch über die Kirche Mt. 16, 17–19 in der neuesten Forschung", *StTh* 2, 1948–50, 110 ff.; SB I 738 ff.; A. Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Matthäus*, 1963⁶; K. L. Schmidt, "Die Kirche des Urchristentums", Festgabe für A. Deissmann, 1927, 258 ff.; A. Schönherr,' 'Schlüsselgewalt" *EKL* III 813 ff.; H. Thyen, "Schlüsselgewalt", *RGG*³ V 1449 ff.; A. Vögtle, "Messiasbekenntniss und Petrusverheissung", *BZ* Neue Folge 1, 1957, 252 ff.; 2, 1958, 85 ff.; and "Jesus und die Kirche", in *Begegnung der Kirche, Festschrift für O. Karrer*, 1959, 54 ff.; "Der Einzelne und die Gemeinschaft in der Stufenfolge der Christusoffenbarung", in *Sentire Ecclesiam, Festschrift für H. Rahner*, 1961, 53 ff.; H. Windisch, "Urchristentum", *ThR* 5, 1933, 251 ff.

Openness, Frankness, Boldness

παρρησία

παρρησία (*parrhēsia*), openness, confidence, boldness, frankness; παρρησιάζομαι (*parrhēsiazomai*), speak out, speak openly, speak boldly.

CL 1. The meaning of *parrhēsia* corresponds to its etymology (*pan*, all, *rhēsis*, speech, word, and *erō*, say, speak, from the root **wer-*; cf. Lat. *verbum*, the Ger. *Wort* and the Eng. *word*): freedom to say all. Since in practice this freedom of speech encountered opposition from time to time, *parrhēsia* acquired the further meaning of fearlessness, frankness. A negative overtone is also perceptible in some instances where freedom of speech has been misused to the point of bluntness and

shamelessness. In an extended sense *parrhēsia* can mean confidence and joyfulness. The corresponding vb. *parrhēsiazomai* means to speak openly or boldly, and to have confidence.

2. The word group which is first found in Euripides and Aristophanes belonged originally to the sphere of politics. It signifies the democratic right of a full citizen of a Greek city-state (but not that of a → slave or foreigner; → Foreign): in the public assembly of the people one may speak out freely one's opinion (cf. Polyb., 2, 38, 6). This right is the characteristic of a democracy, but there is the danger of misuse, as Plato shows (*Rep.* 8, 557b). *parrhēsia* played an important rôle in private affairs, where in the context of teaching on *philia* (love) it denoted the openness with which one met a friend (cf. Aristot., *Eth.Nic.* 9, 2). In the course of history a more moral concept evolved out of the originally political one which was of central importance in Cynic philosophy as the correlative to *eleutheria*, → freedom (H. Schlier, *TDNT* V 874). Here *parrhēsia* is no longer a civil right but the mark of someone who is morally free and who does not shun public attention.

OT 1. In the LXX the word-group occurs only rarely (the noun 12 times; the vb. 6 times). In contrast with secular Gk. the concept is used both of God and man who stands over against God. It is used of God in Ps. 94:1 (LXX 93:1) where *eparrhēsiasato* (lit. "spoke freely") translates the Heb. *hôpîa'*, "thou God of vengeance shine forth" (RSV; from the Heb. vb. *yāpa'*, shine forth). (The Heb. word is used in connection with theophanies [Deut. 33:2; Pss. 50:2; 80:2; Job 10:3, 22; cf. H. Schlier, *TDNT* V 877].) In Ps. 94 God is called upon to come forth as the avenger and requite the ungodly of their wickedness. A link between such a manifestation of God (cf. Ps. 11:6 LXX) and divine utterance is given in Prov. 1:20 f., where "Wisdom cries aloud in the street; in the markets she raises her voice; on the top of the walls she cries out; at the entrance of the gates she speaks." The LXX renders the second clause *en de plateiais parrhēsian agei*, "and in the broad places of a city she acts with confidence" (1:20).

parrhēsia occurs in Job 27:10: "Or when trouble comes upon him, has he any confidence before him [*mē echei tina parrhēsian enanti autou*]?" The vb. features in Job 22:26: "Then you shall have confidence before the Lord, and look upon to heaven with cheerfulness [*eita parrhēsiasthēsē enanti kyriou anablepsas eis ton ouranon hilarōs*]". In Job 27:10 there is no Heb. equivalent noun. In Job 22:26 the Heb. vb. is *'ānaḡ*, to take delight in, which is used to describe the happy relationship of man with God that the righteous will have even in judgment (Wis. 5:1). For other uses of *'ānaḡ* see Deut. 28:56; Ps. 34:4, 11; Isa. 55:2; 57:4; 58:14; 66:11.

The remaining instances of *parrhēsia* occur at Lev. 26:13 (for the unique word *qôm^{e}miyyûṯ*, adv. upright); Est. 8:13; Prov. 10:10; 13:5; Wis. 5:1; Sir. 25:25; 1 Macc. 4:18; 3 Macc. 4:1; 7:12; 4 Macc. 10:5 (all without Heb. equivalent). The remaining instances of *parrhēsiazomai* occur at Ps. 12(11):5; Prov. 20:9; Cant. 8:10; Sir. 6:11 (all without Heb. equivalent).

2. The Gk. understanding of *parrhēsia* was taken over in the literature of Hellenistic Judaism (cf. *TDNT* V 875–79). But there are traces of OT influence, when, for instance, a good → conscience which no godless person can have is mentioned as a prerequisite for *parrhēsia*. The word is used to describe a man's attitude in prayer

(cf. Philo, *Rev.Div.Her.* 5–29) and the confidence of the righteous in the end-time (cf. 2 Esd. 7:98 ff.).

NT *parrhēsia* occurs 31 times in the NT (13 times in the Johannine writings; 8 times in Paul; 5 times in Acts; and 4 times in Heb.; and once in Mk.). The vb. *parrhēsiazomai* is found 9 times (7 times in Acts; and twice in Paul). The two words vary in meaning from virtually the equivalent of *eleutheria*, freedom, to *elpis*, hope.

1. In Jn. *parrhēsia* is used in the dat. in the unique sense of openly, in public: "And here he is, speaking openly, and they say nothing to him!" (Jn. 7:26; cf. 11:54; 18:20; cf. also Mk. 8:32). In each of these passages in Jn. it refers to Jesus' boldness in teaching in public. It is a rather different sense from that of his brothers who urged Jesus to do something in public in order to convince them (Jn. 7:4). In the case of Jesus *parrhēsia* does not mean, "as it originally did in Greek, the right or courage to appear in public, freedom of speech, openness . . . but as is common later, it refers to actions performed in public" (R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 1971, 291). By contrast Jn. 7:13 reports that no one spoke of Jesus openly for fear of the Jews. In Jn. 10:24; 11:14; 16:25, 29 it has the rather different sense of "plainly".

When Jesus spoke openly in public, this can also mean that he spoke unambiguously and plainly; not only in allusions (Jn. 11:14; cf. 10:24 f.) or in veiled parables (cf. Jn. 16:29). But Jesus spoke so freely only for believers (Jn. 16:25, 29). To the world he spoke in → parables (art. *paroimia*), which could not be understood without faith. Hence, there is a tension between *parrhēsia* and *paroimia* which corresponds to the Johannine dualism of life and death, truth and the lie etc. which demands a decision and which can only be resolved in faith.

2. Corresponding to the *parrhēsia* of Jesus, there is the open and authoritative testimony of the apostles. Again and again Acts reports how fearlessly Peter, Paul and others stood before the Jews or the Gentiles and proclaimed the works of God. The noun is used in Acts 2:29; 4:13; 29, 31; 28:31; and the vb. in Acts 9:27 f.; 13:46; 14:3; 18:26; 19:8; 26:26. This boldness which provokes astonishment (4:13), division (14:3 f.) and persecution (9:27) is not something that man has under his own control. It is the fruit of the Holy Spirit (4:31) that has to be sought again and again (4:29).

3. This is the view of the *parrhēsia* of the witness taken by Paul and John. It characterizes effective preaching of the mysteries of God (Eph. 6:19), and the honouring of Christ in life and death (Phil. 1:20). Since perseverence, perhaps in prison, is demanded of the disciple (cf. Eph. 6:20), *parrhēsia* has here also the sense of boldness and courage (1 Thess. 2:2). Such courage is not a human quality; it comes from God (1 Thess. 2:2) and Christ (Phlm. 8).

We should approach the future not in fear of judgment but in full confidence, openness to God and in the hope of the fullness of the glory of God (cf. 2 Cor. 3:11 f.). Therefore, we should abide in Christ (1 Jn. 2:28; Heb. 3:6; 10:35), who has already triumphed over the principalities and powers in public (*en parrhēsia*, Col. 2:15), and made possible access into the holiest (Heb. 10:18; cf. 4:16). He who perseveres in faith, holds to Christ in love (cf. 1 Jn. 4:17; cf. also the emphasis laid on *parrhēsia* gained through faithful service, 1 Tim. 3:13), and who is not condemned by his own heart (1 Jn. 3:21) will have confidence in prayer (1 Jn.

5:14). He will also "have confidence and not shrink from him in shame at his coming" (1 Jn. 2:28). Thus *parrhēsia* contains the ideas of "trust in God, certainty of salvation, the conquest of the consciousness of sin, sanction and power to pray, and expectation of the future" (O. Michel, *Der Brief an die Hebräer*, *KEK* 13, 1966[12], 98). *H.-C. Hahn*

(a). Arndt, 635 f.; Liddell-Scott, 1344; M. Radin, "Freedom of Speech in Ancient Athens", *The American Journal of Philosophy* 4, 1927, 215–220; H. Schlier, *parrhēsia, parrhēsiazomai*, *TDNT* V 871–86; W. C. van Unnik, "The Christian's Freedom of Speech", *BJRL* 44, 1961–62, 466 ff.
(b). E. Busch, J. Fangmeier, M. Geiger, eds., *Parrhēsia. Karl Barth zum achtzigsten Geburtstag am 10. Mai 1966*, 1966 (It should be noted that this is not a study of the concept as such, but essays on a wide variety of themes concerning Christian attitudes to contemporary theological and other questions.); P. Joüon, "Divers sens de *parrhēsia* dans le Nouveau Testament", *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 30, 1940, 239 ff.; E. Peterson, "Zur Bedeutungsgeschichte von *parrhēsia*", *Festschrift für R. Seeberg*, I, 1929, 283–97; W. C. van Unnik, *De semitische Achtergrond van parrhēsia in het Nieuwe Testament*, 1962.

Orphan

ὀρφανός	ὀρφανός (*orphanos*), orphan.

CL In secular Gk. *orphanos* is used from Homer onwards as an adj. meaning without parents, fatherless or more generally, bereaved, bereft of; and as a noun, orphan. Careful provision was made in ancient Greece for orphan children. A guardian, usually a near relative, was appointed who was responsible for the orphan's maintenance and education. Any assets the child inherited were strictly protected until he came of age. Orphans were exempted from the regular taxes. The state undertook the maintenance of the children of soldiers killed in war (Demosthenes). *orphanos* is used figuratively of disciples left without a master (e.g. Plato, *Phaedo* 116a).

OT In the LXX *orphanos* translates *yāṯôm*. In the OT the plight of the orphan, whether or not his mother has died (cf. Job 24:9), is that he has lost his father. Without the father "the father's house", the primary unit of family life, ceases to be and the remaining members of the household become vulnerable individuals whose existence is both anomalous and tragic. Thus in many texts the reference is to orphans and widows together (e.g. Deut. 10:18; Ps. 146:9). Because the orphans are so helpless – all they can do is to "wander about and beg" (Ps. 109:9, 10) – there can be nothing more wicked than to exploit or ill-use them (Deut. 27:19; Job 6:27; 22:9; 24:3, 9; Ps. 1:23; 10:2; Jer. 5:28; Ezek. 22:7). The law codes of the OT demand that the rights of orphans be upheld and their needs met. Orphans are to have a share in the special tithe (Deut. 14:28, 29; 26:12–15) and are to be included in the annual feasts (Deut. 16:11, 14). The sheaves, the olives, and the grapes which remain after the harvest are to be left for "the sojourner, the orphan, and the widow" (Deut. 24:17–22). The repentance and moral renewal called for by the prophets must include care for orphans (Isa. 1:17; Jer. 7:6; 22:3; Zech. 7:10).

Behind this insistence on provision for orphans lies the conviction that it is ultimately Yahweh himself who "executes justice for the fatherless" (Deut. 10:18;

cf. Exod. 22:22–24; Prov. 23:10–11; Ps. 146:9; Hos. 14:3). Yahweh himself is "father of the fatherless" (Ps. 68:5; cf. Ps. 10:14).

Concern for orphans is urged upon the group to which the Zadokite Documents are addressed (CD 6:17; 14:14). One of the non-biblical psalms of the Qumran community gives praise to the Lord who has not "forsaken the orphan" (1QH 5:20). *yāṯôm* is here used figuratively to designate the member of the community, persecuted by the ungodly but under the care of God. The image of the orphan as a collective symbol of the people of God is used by Philo. "The whole Jewish race is in the position of an orphan. . . . Nevertheless the orphan-like desolate state of his people is always an object of pity and compassion to the Ruler of the Universe" (*Spec.Leg.* 4, 176–179).

Later Judaism continued to safeguard the rights of orphans, to legislate for their welfare, and to regard the care of them as meritorious. Until an orphan boy or girl marries he or she is to be maintained from the charity funds (Ket. 67a, b). Deserving of special praise and reward is the one who cares for the orphan in his home; "Whoever brings up an orphan in his own home, scripture ascribes it to him as though he had begotten him" (San. 19b; cf. Ket. 50a). A late Midrash can speak of the care of orphans as one of the "gates of the Lord" through which the righteous enter the future world (Midrash Ps. 118:19).

NT *orphanos* occurs twice in the NT. (A few MSS at Mk. 12:40 add "and orphans" to "the houses of widows", but this reading must be taken as secondary.)

1. Jas. 1:27. James enjoins practical concern for those least able to help themselves, "orphans and widows". He follows the OT in mentioning the two groups together, more fundamentally in insisting that claims to be religious are futile unless the one who makes them exercises justice and compassion (cf. especially Jer. 7).

2. Jn. 14:18. "I will not leave you orphaned" (or "[as] orphans"). This is the one instance in the Bible of the figurative use of *orphanos*. It recalls the use of the term in secular Gk. to describe the feelings of disciples bereft of their teacher. But the image draws its force from the OT estimate of the family as primarily "the father's house", a household living a single corporate life whose centre and source is the father. With the father's death his house is no more and thus the desolation of the orphan is the loss of all by which he lives. The relationship of Jesus to his disciples is presented here as that of a father to his children (cf. Jn. 13:3). His death will make them "orphans". There can be no more powerful symbol of the measure of their loss. But they will not be left in this pitiable situation. He will come to them. The metaphor of *orphanos* implies that this promise is to be fulfilled at the resurrection (rather than at the coming of the Spirit or the Parousia) for "orphans", unless intervention is swift, have small hope of survival. Easter ends the disciples' bereavement. "The very word which describes their sorrow confirms their sonship" (B. F. Westcott, *The Gospel according to St. John*, 1881, 206). *J. Pridmore*

(a). H. Kirschenbaum, "Orphan", in C. Roth and G. Wigoder, eds., *Encyclopaedia Judaica* XII 1478 f.; H. Seesemann, *orphanos*, *TDNT* V 486 ff.

(b). M. Cohn, "Jüdisches Waisenrecht", *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft* 37, 1920, 417–45; M. Grünwald, "Jüdische Waisenfürsorge in alter und neuer Zeit", *Mitteilungen zur jüdischen Volkskunde* 23, 1922, 3–29; F. Windberg, *orphanos*, Pauly-Wissowa XVIII, 1, 1197–1200.

Other

ἄλλος, ἕτερος

ἄλλος (*allos*), other; ἄλλως (*allōs*), otherwise; ἀλλότριος (*allotrios*), belonging to another, strange, alien, hostile; ἀλλογενής (*allogenēs*), foreign; ἀλλόφυλος (*allophylos*), foreign; ἕτερος (*heteros*), other; ἑτέρως (*heterōs*), differently; ἑτερόγλωσσος (*heteroglōssos*), speaking another tongue; ἑτεροζυγέω (*heterozygeō*), be unequally yoked, be mismated.

CL In secular Gk. *heteros* and *allos* have essentially the same meaning, other. When they are used as noun or adj., they introduce a new person, thing or group. Originally *heteros* was a dual pron. and presupposed pairs of individuals or groups. Hence *hoi heteroi* can mean the other group. It is entirely lacking in modern Gk.

OT In the LXX *allos* refers to that already mentioned in contrast to others and can even render a demonstrative pron., e.g. the Heb. *'ēlleh*, that. *heteros* had a personal connotation and was used to translate words like *'îš*, *rēa'*, *'āḥ* (man, neighbour, brother). *allos* is used about 100 times; *heteros* about 150.

NT This distinction is found relatively seldom in the NT, where it is striking that the use of *heteros* (98 times in all) relative to *allos* (155 times in all) decreases in the later books. In Jn. (except 16:12), 1 and 2 Cor., Tit., 1 and 2 Pet., 1, 2, 3 Jn. and Rev., but also in 1 and 2 Thess. and Mk. (except 16:12, see below) *heteros* is lacking. Luke (both Gospel and Acts) prefers *heteros*. The polemic factor is one of the reasons why *allos* is found so frequently in 1 and 2 Cor.

1. The following details of usage may be noted.

(a) Both words are used to denote another person, thing or group; e.g. *allos* (Matt. 5:39; 12:13; Jn. 5:32); *heteros* (Lk. 5:7; 23:40). Hence *tē hetera* can mean the next day (Acts 20:15; 27:3).

(b) The same use is found in the plur. (e.g. Matt. 20:3, 6; Lk. 10:1; Jn. 7:12; 9:16; Acts 2:13).

(c) In enumerations (Matt. 13:5, 7 f.: Lk. 8:6 ff.) and in contrasts (Heb. 11:35 f.) *heteros* and *allos* are often used alternately. In enumerations *heteros* can become a definite numeral, e.g. in Lk. 19:16, 18, 20 it has the force of "the third" (RSV "another").

(d) Used as a noun *ho heteros* has the force of the neighbour that God has put in my way (1 Cor. 10:24; Rom. 2:1; 13:8; Gal. 6:4).

2. These words become important theologically when they express a more or less qualitative difference, external or internal (Mk. 12:32; 2 Cor. 1:12; 1 Cor. 3:11).

Jesus appeared to his disciples after his resurrection in another → form (Mk. 16:12), so that they did not recognize him (cf. Lk. 24:16; Jn. 20:15). At the transfiguration Jesus' appearance was similarly changed (Lk. 9:29); in this manifestation Jesus was revealed as the Son of man. The new can only be compared to the resurrection body in 1 Cor. 15:39 ff. in an argument against the denial of the → resurrection. Matt. 11:3 implies a question whether the messiah must be of another kind than Jesus.

The interpretation of Acts 2:4 ("And they were all filled with the Holy Spirit and began to speak in other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance") raises the question of whether the gift of tongues at → Pentecost was a form of ecstatic utterance or whether the disciples on whom the Spirit came were in fact speaking

other languages which they presumably did not know before. The mistaken presumption of some of the onlookers that they were "filled with new wine" (v. 13) suggests that this was ecstatic speaking in tongues as in Acts 10:46; 19:6; 1 Cor. 12:10, 30; 14:1–4. On the other hand, others among the crowd who were Jews and proselytes visiting Jerusalem from various parts of the Roman empire asked in amazement: "Are not all these who are speaking Galileans? And how is it that we hear, each of us in his own native language? . . . we hear them telling in our own tongues the mighty works of God" (Acts 2:7 f., 11). The story of Pentecost is a preparation for the apostles' missionary preaching and pictures the outpouring of the Spirit in a twofold manner: the speaking in tongues as a sign of the outpouring of the Spirit as prophesied by Joel 2:25–28 (cf. Acts 2:17–21) showing the last days spoken of by the prophet had now come; and the proclamation of the word of God. At Pentecost it was proclaimed to Jews and proselytes in Jerusalem. The event marks the beginning of the fulfilment of Acts 1:8 ("But you shall receive power when the Holy Spirit has come upon you; and you shall be my witnesses in Jerusalem and in all Judea and Samaria and to the end of the earth"), and forms the transition to Peter's missionary preaching.

([Ed.] For further discussion of the phenomenon → Pentecost; → Word. It may well have been that among the hundred and twenty or so followers [Acts 1:15] there were those who already knew something of the languages mentioned, and for whom therefore the gift was primarily an enabling to proclaim "the mighty works of God" [2:13]. The assumption that all the followers of Jesus were Galileans [2:7] was made by the onlookers. Whilst it may have been true that the core of Jesus' following came from Galilee, the followers may have included others like Simon of Cyrene [Matt. 27:32; Mk. 15:21; Lk. 23:26] and possibly Lucius of Cyrene [Acts 13:1] who may have been among those who spoke to those who came from "the parts of Libya belonging to Cyrene" [Acts 2:10]. Similarly Acts 11:20 mentions "men of Cyprus and Cyrene" who preached the Lord Jesus and who might have belonged to the original band at Jerusalem. There were various synagogues in the city which catered for the needs of those who came from the dispersion [cf. Acts 6:9], and the population of Jerusalem evidently included a large number of Hellenists [Acts 6:1 ff.]. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that some of these already belonged to the followers of Jesus before Pentecost.)

1 Cor. 14:21 uses the compound *heteroglōssos*, speaking another tongue, speaking a foreign language. The word is found in Polyb., 23, 13, 2; Strabo, 8, 1, 2; Philo, *Conf.Ling.* 8; and Aquila's translation of Ps. 113:1; Isa. 33:19. In dealing with the question of speaking in tongues, Paul argued: "Brethren, do not be children in your thinking; be babes in evil, but in thinking be mature. In the law it is written, 'By men of strange tongues and by the lips of foreigners [*en heteroglōssois kai en cheilesin heterōn*] I will speak to this people, and even then they will not listen to me, says the Lord.' Thus, tongues are a sign not for believers but for unbelievers, while prophecy is not for unbelievers but for believers." Paul is here quoting Isa. 28:11 f. perhaps in a version known also to Aquila (Origen, *Philocalia* 9, 2; cf. C. K. Barrett, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, *BNTC*, 1968, 322). In the prophecy Yahweh is threatening his people, who have failed to respond to his word delivered to them in their own language by Isaiah, with the foreign speech of the Assyrian invader. It is thus a judgment on the people of God to have such a

thing inflicted on them. This is underlined by the unintelligibility of the other tongue. To be thus addressed is a sign that God is treating one as an unbeliever (cf. 1 Cor. 14:22). Such a sign may be compared with the sign of the naked prophet in Isa. 20:3 which signified the impending catastrophe and servitude of the people. In 1 Cor. 14 Paul draws an analogy between the event of Isaiah's day and the enthusiasm for glossolalia in the Corinthian church. To speak in another tongue is ineffective for building up the church and promoting faith. Indeed, it might even be regarded as a judgment on the community. Whereas prophecy can edify the believing congregation, since it is intelligible, speaking in tongues cannot. For only what is intelligible can edify others; at best only the one who speaks in tongues is edified in the case of glossolalia (cf. vv. 2–19). An utterance in another tongue can only serve to harden the unbeliever, because it communicates nothing to him, and does not show him how to be reconciled with God. The unbeliever may even conclude that the practitioners of glossolalia are mad; but if he hears prophecy he may well be convicted (vv. 23 f.).

In 2 Cor. 11:4 and Gal. 1:6 ff. Paul stresses the uniqueness of the salvation offered by his gospel. Another → gospel would not be the gospel, any more than another spirit can be the Holy Spirit (cf. J. B. Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*, 1870,[10] 1876, 76; W. M. Ramsay, *A Historical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*, 1899, 260 ff.). The other gospel referred to in Gal. which is in fact no gospel is the teaching of the Judaizers which insisted on → circumcision for Gentile converts, so that they would meet the requirements of the old → covenant. Paul sees that such a demand involves a matter of principle concerning the ground of salvation. To attempt to fulfil the demands of the law in this way would be to put forward a righteous act by man as a basis for salvation. The whole theme of Gal. treats the issues involved which confront men with the choice of the free grace of God in Christ or salvation by human endeavour. The "gospel" of this latter alternative is anathema to Paul (Gal. 1:8; → Curse, art. *anathema*).

In Rom. 7:23 the other → law, i.e. the carnal egoistic urge, as a tool of the law of sin fights against the good law of God, which the mind agrees with (cf. v. 25). (On this passage → I Am, art. *egō eimi* NT 2 (c).)

Phil. 3:15 contains the sole NT instance of the adv. *heterōs*, differently, otherwise. In all probability Paul is arguing against enthusiasts who claimed perfection for themselves and special revelations. Paul takes up the slogan of perfection and applies it to Christians. The perfect (*teleioi*; RSV "mature"; → Goal, art. *telos*) are, in fact, those who know that they are imperfect and are aware of the need to press on to what lies ahead, forgetting what lies behind (vv. 12 f.). They know that they have not yet reached their goal and do not yet possess "the prize of the upward call of God in Christ Jesus" (v. 14). They will await transformation (v. 21). The practical conclusion is given in v. 15; "Let those of us who are mature be thus minded; and if in anything you are otherwise minded, God will reveal that to you." The last point is evidently directed at the claim to special revelations. Paul is confident that by being realistic and patient, they will grow in insight. (See further J. B. Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians*, 1868, 153.)

3. In addition to *heteroglōssos* there is the compound *heterozygeō*, be unevenly yoked, and several compounds with *allos* in the NT. 2 Cor. 6:14 refers to the practice of yoking together animals of different species, e.g. an ox and a donkey,

in order to draw burdens. Such practices were forbidden by the law which banned the use of oxen and asses ploughing together (Deut. 22:10; cf. also the practices mentioned in Lev. 19:19; Philo, *Spec.Leg.* 4, 203; Josephus, *Ant.* 4, 228). In 2 Cor. 6:14 Paul applies the idea to relationship of believers with unbelievers: "Do not be unevenly yoked together with unbelievers. For what partnership have righteousness and iniquity? Or what fellowship has light with darkness?" The argument goes on to refer specifically to idol worship, and compares the people of God with the → temple and therefore urges moral purity and separation from the corrupt practices of paganism. The RSV translation "Do not be mismated" reflects the injunction of Lev. 19:19 not to let cattle breed with a different kind, where the LXX uses the corresponding adj.

allotrios means what belongs to another, therefore strange, alien, unsuitable, hostile (→ Foreign, art. *allotrios*). It normally renders the Heb. *nokrî*, but also sometimes *zār*. It is found in Matt. 17:25; Lk. 16:12; Jn. 10:5; Acts 7:6; Rom. 14:4; 15:20; 2 Cor. 10:15 f.; 1 Tim. 5:22; Heb. 9:25; 11:34. Only in the latter passage does it mean hostile, and it is never used in the sense of alien to God. The vb. *apallotrioō*, estrange, alienate, occurs only in the prison epistles (Col. 1:21; Eph. 2:12; 4:18) in the perf. pass. part., where men are said to be alienated from God. It is the state that they are in prior to reconciliation, and is parallel to being an → enemy (*echthros*) of God and a stranger (*xenos*; → Foreign).

allogenēs, foreign, is found only in Jewish and Christian literature. It is used for *zār* (e.g.. Exod. 29:33; Num. 16:40 [17:5]; Lev. 22:10) and for various other words. It is found only in the NT of the grateful → Samaritan (Lk. 17:18). *allophylos*, foreign, Gentile, heathen, is found in Isa. 61:5; 2:6; 1 Sam. 13:3; Ps. 108:10 for various Heb. terms, but in the overwhelming majority of its LXX occurrences it renders "Philistines". In Acts 10:28 it denotes the Gentiles from the Jewish standpoint. The obscure word *allotriepiskopos* (1 Pet. 4:15) has been variously interpreted as a concealer of stolen goods, a spy or informer, one who meddles in things that do not concern him, a revolutionist (details in Arndt, 39 f.).

→ Foreign *F. Selter, C. Brown*

Arndt, 39 f., 314 f.; H. W. Beyer, *heteros*, *TDNT* II 702 ff.; F. Büchsel, *allos* etc., *TDNT* I 264–67; Moulton-Milligan, 23, 257.

P

Parable, Allegory, Proverb

It has been estimated that roughly one third of the recorded teaching of Jesus consists of parables and parabolic statements, and that there are some forty of the former and twenty of the latter (A. M. Hunter, *Interpreting the Parables*, 1960, 10 ff.; for a list see below, NT 5). In its broadest sense a parable is a form of speech used to illustrate and persuade by the help of a picture. In ancient writing, including the Bible, the use of figurative speech was widespread in giving concrete, pictorial and challenging expression to religious ideas for which there were no corresponding abstract concepts. Figurative speech is still part and parcel of every day life. On a philosophical and theoretical level religious language is interpreted in terms of abstractions and concepts relative to a contemporary world view. But this is merely to translate one set of thought forms from one conceptual scheme into those of another. In so doing care must be taken to avoid losing the original content of the picture and also the challenge which was an essential feature of the language. In discussing the character of the parable, scholars distinguish the parable proper from figurative language in general, metaphors, similes and similitudes, parabolic stories, illustrative stories, and allegories. These seven categories are all linked to *parabolē*. The proverb (*paroimia*) also has a didactic religious function and is therefore treated in this article.

παραβολή (*parabolē*), type, figure, parable; παραβάλλω (*paraballō*), throw alongside, compare; αἴνιγμα (*ainigma*), riddle, indistinct image; ἀλληγορέω (*allēgoreo*), speak allegorically.

CL *parabolē*, from Plato and Isocrates on, is to be derived from *paraballō* (*para*, alongside; *ballō*, throw, bring, place) to place alongside, hold beside, throw to, compare (Plato, *Gorgias* 475e; Isocrates, 9, 34). It means: (a) holding beside, comparison (Plato, *Philebus* 33b; Isocrates, 12, 227); (b) placing beside, meeting, conjunction (as a technical term in astronomy); (c) venture; (d) parabola in conic section (as a technical term in mathematics).

1. In rhetoric the word, on the basis of its first meaning, became the technical term for a specific form of speech, which is distinguished from others. Classical rhetoric made us of the following figures of speech: (a) the image (*eikōn*); (b) the metaphor (*metaphora*); (c) the comparison (*homoiōsis*); (d) the parable (*parabolē*); (e) the illustrative story (*paradeigma*); and (f) the allegory (*allēgoria*).

According to Aristotle, the similitude and the pure parable serve as an introductory means of proof (*Rhet.* 2, 20). Through the comparison of the known with

the unknown, in which the listener himself has to find the similarity (the *tertium comparationis* is not in general named, in order to set in motion the listener's thought processes of grasping, comparing and considering), the point of the analogy is reached (cf. also Plato, *Leg.* 6, 758a; *Phaed*, 82e; 85e; 87b; *Apol.* 30e; and the Stoic-Cynic diatribes, e.g. Epict., *Dissertationes* 1, 24, 19 f.; 2, 14, 21 f.; 4, 7, 22 f.). The Homeric parables, on the other hand, often aim merely to illustrate or have a purely poetic function (189 pure parables occur in the *Iliad.*; 39 in the *Odyssey*). What characterizes all these comparisons and pure parables is the fact that their imagery is drawn mostly from life, the reality which is accessible to everyone.

2. In rhetoric allegory is clearly distinguished from these forms, although Quintilian (*Oratoria* 8, 6, 48) comes near to recommending mixed forms. The noun *allēgoria* (*alla agoreuō*, say something different) is found in Cicero (*Orationes* 27, 94), but the vb. not until Philo (*De Cherubim* 25; *Som.* 2, 31; *Vit.Cont.* 28), Josephus (*Ant.* Preface 24) and later in Athenaeus (2, 69c). This relatively late occurrence makes it probable that it originated in Hellenistic times, possibly in the Stoic-Cynic diatribe. The vb. means: (a) to speak allegorically; (b) to allegorize. Allegorizing has always played an important rôle where sacred writings are concerned. When they became antiquated, a new, contemporary content was injected into them by means of allegorical explanations and their canonical authority was preserved. Thus allegorization is "a late, almost decadent, literary form. It presupposes a stage of development which has already, essentially, had its day. But, although it has been left behind, people try to salvage something from it" (C. H. Peisker, "Das Alte Testament – Gabe und Aufgabe" in *Kleine Predigttypologie*, II, 1965, 17). (On allegory in Hellenistic and early Christian thought see R. P. C. Hanson, *Allegory and Event: A Study of the Sources and Significance of Origen's Interpretation of Scripture*, 1959.)

3. The riddle has nothing to do with literary forms in general or with allegory in particular, although to an uninitiated listener allegory remains enigmatic. The *ainigma*, dark saying, puzzling saying, riddle, is found from Pindar and Aeschylus (*PV* 613) on. It is the opposite of *haplous logos*, a plain, straightforward or simple word, and is related in origin (as in Eng. and Heb.) with the vb. read (Old Eng. *rede*, to take counsel, advise, commend; cf. *paraineō*, exhort, recommend, advise; *aineō*, praise, approve, recommend). The riddle likes to use the literary form of metaphor, but it is to be understood rather as a wise saying. The riddle was considered, therefore, as a touchstone of wisdom. The riddle really belongs to oracular and prophetic speech (→ Prophet CL). Thus the sayings of the Sibyl, for example, could be enigmatic (Sib. 3, 811 f.; cf. Sophocles, OT 1525; Euripides, *Phoen.* 1688, etc.).

OT In the LXX *parabolē* is always the equivalent of the noun *māšāl* or the vb. *māšal* (*paraphora* or *periphora* should be read in Eccl. 2:12). *māšāl* means: (a) a saying containing a comparison or taunt; (b) a wise saying, the instruction by wisdom; (c) the parabolic form (see NT 1 (a)–(g)). The vb. correspondingly means to speak or tell a *māšāl*.

The vb. meant originally to be similar, like. Therefore, the noun would originally have had the meaning of comparison, making like. In its long history, which passed

from (1) popular speech to (2) the language of wisdom and later (3) to prophetic speech, it acquired a very broad semantic field. This was taken over, with its sharply differentiated contents, by the LXX, the Rabbis and, subsequently, the NT. It is always used, however, unambiguously as a technical term for one or other particular types or forms but not as a "general concept in which the individual genera (i.e. types and forms) are comprehended" (O. Eissfeldt, *Der Maschal im Alten Testament*, *BZAW* 24, 1913, 33).

1. Thus *māšāl* in popular speech first means a proverb (→ *paroimia*), which may often contain a comparison (Ezek. 18:2; 1 Sam. 10:12; 24:14). If the saying or comparison is about a person and makes fun of or disparages him as a bad example, *māšāl* means a taunt (Hab. 2:6; Isa. 14:4).

2. Later *māšāl* became a technical term among the wise and means a wise saying, rich in comparisons (→ *paroimia* OT; cf. Prov. 26:7, 9) and the instruction of the wise. Prov. and the collections contained in it carry this superscription *paroimia*, 1:1; *paideia*, 10:1; 25:1 which RSV translates as "proverbs". Like the oriental, the wise man in the OT loves the enigmatic, dark saying. Hence, in this context *māšāl* approaches *ḥîḏâh*, riddle, in meaning for which it can even be used as a synonym (Prov. 1:6).

The LXX translates *ḥîḏâh* appropriately and correctly by *ainigma*, i.e. (a) riddle; (b) dark saying. The former (1 Ki. 10:1; 2 Chr. 9:1; Ps. 49:4 [48:5, Aquila]) is part of the cult of wisdom at Solomon's court and has its place in the Wisdom Literature (Prov. 1:6; 30:7–30). The only OT riddle given word for word is in Jdg. 14:12–20 (*ḥîḏâh* translated in the LXX by *problēma*), the solution of which is another riddle (14:18). The key-word is "love". The dark saying requires explanatory interpretation. It occurs in oracular speech (e.g. Balaam, Num. 23:7–18; 24:3, 15, 20–23), and in prophecy. God speaks to men – but not to → Moses – in dark speech (Num. 12:8), and prophetic speech also is enigmatic (Ezek. 17:2, Symmachus).

3. In the realm of prophecy (→ Prophet) *māšāl* has its place. On the one hand, it occurs as proverb and taunt (see above 1). On the other hand, it enters through the fact that, although the word is not present, the object it designates is, and most of the parabolic forms occur (see below NT 1 (a)–(g)). The later we come, the more the developed forms (see below NT 1 (d)–(g)) come into the foreground to clarify, strengthen and lend more urgency to the prophetic message. Allegory, too, aims at urgency, but goes about it another way, i.e. through a certain veiling of the truth it seeks to attract the attention of the listener (cf. Ezek.). Later, allegorical visions occur (→ Prophet OT; Zech.; Dan. 2; 4; 7; 8; Eth.Enoch 85–90; 2 Esd. 9:26–13:56). The symbolic actions of the prophets, whose meaning is called *māšāl*, stand in close relationship to the prophetic parables (→ Prophet OT). In Rab. writings *māšāl* and *maṭlā'* (parable, riddle, comparison) include the whole breadth of meaning which had grown up in the course of time. Although pure parables predominate ("Let me tell you a parable: with what is the thing to be compared?"), the later one comes, the more allegories are found (cf. F. Hauck, *TDNT* V 750 f.). In Hellenistic Judaism they become an affectation. Against the background of many Rab. parables, those of Jesus display "a definite personal character, a unique clarity and simplicity, a matchless mastery of construction" (J. Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus*, 1963², 12).

In striking contrast with this, *māšāl* is to be found nowhere in the Qumran literature (the vb. only as a different root, to rule), although in the hymns (1QH) many more or less developed series of metaphors and similes occur.

NT In the NT *parabolē* occurs only in the Synoptic Gospels (48 times) and in Heb. (twice); *ainigma* only in 1 Cor. 13:12 (indistinct, enigmatic image); and *allēgoreō* only in Gal. 4:24 (to speak allegorically). The noun *allēgoria* does not occur in the NT. *parabolē* in the NT has the following meanings.

1. In Heb. the ritual of the tabernacle is seen as a *parabolē* (RSV "symbolic") of the time of salvation (9:9), and the restoration of Isaac as a picture of the resurrection ("hence, figuratively speaking [*kai en parabolē*] he did receive him back", 11:19). In Matt. 15:15 par. Mk. 7:17 it means a saying, and in Lk. 4:23 a proverb. In all other occurrences in the NT it has the meaning of parable in one or other of its various senses:

(a) In *figurative sayings* image and reality are placed together without a comparative adv. (as), in order that the image (the known) may elucidate the reality (the unknown), e.g. "You are the light of the world" (Matt. 5:14; cf. 25:14; Mk. 2:17, 19; and in the OT Amos 3:8; 6:12; Isa. 40:7; Jer. 12:5; Prov. 6:27–29). In such figurative sayings it often happened that the image was separated from the reality it referred to (though from time to time the latter was often expressed in the context), and was handed on in isolation. In isolation it became detached from its original context, and thus its original point became lost from view. Thus Mk. 9:49 ("For every one will be salted with fire") does not become more intelligible with the secondary addition in the TR ("and every sacrifice will be salted with salt" RSV mg.). The words appear to have been added at an early stage by a scribe who detected a clue to its meaning in Lev. 2:13 (cf. Ezek. 43:24; Exod. 30:5), and other variants were variants of this (cf. Metzger, 102 f.; C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Gospel according to Saint Mark*, 1959, 314 ff.). (On this passage → Fire, art. *pyr*; → Salt.) Similarly Matt. 7:6; 24:28 par. Lk. 17:37 do not indicate the original point of comparison. (On these sayings → Animal; → Bird.) In such instances the saying takes on the character of a metaphor (see below).

(b) The *metaphor* is a figurative expression in which a name or descriptive term is applied to some object to which it is not literally and properly applicable. It often involves the transference of the concrete to the abstract: e.g. "He is the head of the family", or "the spring of life" (cf. further Matt. 7:13 f.; 9:37 f.; 15:13; 1 Cor. 9:9; cf. Isa. 5:1–7, which pictures Israel as a bride and a vineyard, with Matt. 21:33–46; Mk. 12:1–12; and Lk. 20:9–19).

Metaphor places the image not beside the reality, as in the figurative saying, but instead of the reality. One has to know beforehand what reality lies behind the metaphor, or it remains unintelligible. Thus all metaphorical speech rests on convention.

(c) The *simile* is a sentence in which reality and image are placed beside one another by means of a comparative adv. In this case there is only one principal point of comparison: e.g. "Her hair [the reality] is as fair as straw [the image]" (cf. further Matt. 10:16; Lk. 11:44; cf. Prov. 11:22; 25:11–13; 26:1 ff.; Isa. 16:2; Hos. 2:1–5; 6:9; Ps. 127:4).

Similes occur only rarely. For the most part it will have already passed over into a figurative saying and then become metaphorically coloured in the tradition. The image in a simile is taken from the reality which is accessible to everyone.

(d) The pure *parable* is a story which has developed out of a simile or a figurative saying. Two things, events or situations (image and reality), which are similar, are compared, so that the known may elucidate the unknown. The image depicts a typical event or circumstance. It "is taken from the reality which is accessible to everyone, and points to things which happen every day, to situations, the existence of which the least willing must acknowledge" (A. Jülicher, *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu*, I, 1899², 93). There is only one principal point of comparison. For example: "The kingdom of heaven is like leaven . . . " (Matt. 13:33; cf. Lk. 13:20; → Leaven; cf. Matt. 13:31 f.; Lk. 14:28–33; 15:4–10; 17:7–10; Isa. 28:23–25; Jer. 18:1–6).

"The parable anticipates all opposition, in that it speaks only of what is undoubted . . . [It] operates with 'no one', 'none,' 'everyone', 'whenever', 'as often as', etc., and seeks to overwhelm the hearer by the weight of its 'at all' " (A. Jülicher, op. cit., I, 97).

(e) *The parabolic story* differs from the pure parable only in that its picture, which is a fictional story, is recounted as if it had once happened. "It places before us not what everyone does, what cannot be otherwise, but what someone once did, without asking whether others would act in the same way" (A. Jülicher, op. cit., I, 93). Thus, the parabolic story of the unjust judge begins: "In a certain city there was a judge . . ." (Lk. 18:2 ff.; cf. Lk. 11:5–8; 14:16–24; 2 Sam. 12:1–4. "The parabolic story replaces by its vividness the advantage that the parable has through the authority of the generally known and acknowledged. Indeed, the parabolic story stands higher, being more subtle and revealing is point less. . . . The parabolic story . . . requests, 'Hearer, let me tell you just one story, if it does not convince you, I will be quiet' " (A. Jülicher, op. cit., I, 97 f.).

(f) The *illustrative story* is a freely invented story which gives an example, a model case, which has to be generalized by the hearer. Thus the story of the good → Samaritan ends with Jesus saying: "Go and do likewise!" (Lk. 10:37). Conversely, the illustrative story of the Pharisee and the tax collector in the temple ends with a warning about those who are like the Pharisee (Lk. 18:10–14; cf. Lk. 10:30–37; 12:16–21; 16:19–31; 2 Sam. 14:5–7). It is noteworthy that the NT illustrative stories only occur in Lk.

(g) *Allegory* is a freely invented story, which says something other than it appears to say on the surface by heaping metaphor on metaphor. It is a continuous metaphor, e.g. "The kingdom of heaven may be compared to a king who gave a marriage feast for his son . . ." (Matt. 22:2–10; cf. Jn. 10:15; Rom. 11:17–24; 1 Cor. 3:10–13; Ezek. 16; 17; 19; 23; 31; 34; Ps. 80:8–19).

"Allegory seeks to present truth to our minds in a more expressive form by painting it in a series of pictures, which indicate but at the same time conceal the intended truth" (H. Weinel, *Die Gleichnisse Jesu*, 1929⁵, 2). Like metaphor, allegory rests on convention. It is only intelligible when the metaphors are known, for they have to be translated step by step, and when the matter that they depict is known. It is a literary form intelligible only to the initiated, the function of which is not to make facts known but to appraise known facts. Ezek. 17:12–21 offers a model exposition. Allegories of this kind occur in the NT but they are designated as

parabolē and not as *allēgoria* (Matt. 22:1). (For further discussion of allegory and its possible use in the NT see 9 below.)

2. In section 1 an attempt was made to distinguish various forms. But it must be remembered that parables spring from living speech, and therefore most often appear in mixed forms. At the same time the following further laws or rules may be noted.

(a) The parable as drama. In pure parable and the related forms a distinction may be drawn between the image and the reality. Understanding comes at the point where the two halves intersect, the point of comparison. In the developed forms the picture part of the parable is not static but presents a drama to the hearer which can be divided into scenes. In view of this one may speak of the dramatic half of the parable (cf. G. Eichholz, *Einführung in die Gleichnisse*, *BSt* 37, 1963).

(b) The law of conciseness requires that the dramatic half be told concisely and simply. Irrelevant emotions and motives are not disclosed. There never appear more than three characters or groups of characters (the law of three), and there are never more than two actors in one scene (the law of two on the stage). If the conclusion is unimportant or self-evident, it may be omitted.

(c) The law of unity of action demands that only one plot should be developed in the drama, never two or more on parallel lines. To this end the drama is recounted from only one point of view. ([Ed.] This point was stressed by Jülicher and those who followed him, but many scholars feel that this rule can no longer be adhered to pedantically.)

(d) For the expositor the law that the stress comes at the end is important.

(e) The law of listener-relatedness states that the material for the drama is taken from the world of the hearer and reflects his experiences and thoughts. The parables are also spoken directly to the hearer. Thus the question-parables are one single, big question, which compels the listener to reply. To this end he is drawn into the parable, in so far as he finds himself portrayed in the main character and thereby not only moved but caught (cf. H. Greeven, "Wer unter euch . . . ?", *Wort und Dienst*, Neue Folge 3, 1952, 86–101; G. V. Jones, *The Art and Truth of the Parables: A Study in their Literary Form and Modern Interpretation*, 1964; and A. C. Thiselton, "The Parables as Language-Event: Some Comments on Fuchs's Hermeneutics in the Light of Linguistic Philosophy", *SJT* 23, 1970, 437–68).

3. Besides the formal laws there is the question of the effects of tradition. In *The Parables of Jesus*, 1963², J. Jeremias discusses in detail the transmission of the parables. He considers that many of them acquired new addressees in the course of being handed on, and that sometimes parables directed to outsiders came to be seen as applicable to disciples (op. cit., 96–114). In the case of the parable of the sower (Matt. 13:1–9 par. Mk. 4:1–9, Lk. 8:4–8) there is considerable debate whether the explanation (Matt. 13:18–23 par. Mk. 4:13–20, Lk. 8:11–15) was a later addition by the early church. J. Jeremias argues for this (op. cit., 77 ff.), but against this see C. F. D. Moule, *The Birth of the New Testament*, 1962, 149 ff. (On this parable see also D. Wenham, "The Synoptic Problem Revisited: Some New Suggestions about the Composition of Mark 4:1–34", *TB* 23, 1972, 3–38.) Jeremias argues that the tendency to allegorization is due to the influence of tradition (op. cit., 66–89), and G. Eichholz argues that the evangelists' freedom in handling the tradition "is paradoxically to be understood as an attempt at obedience; it springs

from the very fact that they are bound to the word handed down" (op. cit., 40). On the other hand, I. H. Marshall observes that "the admission of freedom in handling the sayings of Jesus does not of itself permit us to postulate that the early Church felt free to attribute later sayings to Jesus Himself. There is clearly a difference between handing down sayings with alterations and enlarging the corpus with new sayings" (*Eschatology and the Parables*, 1963, 14). Jeremias himself maintains that "in dealing with the parables we are dealing with a particularly trustworthy tradition, and are brought into immediate relation with Jesus" (op. cit., 12).

4. The message of the parables cannot be reduced to a single theme; each one must be examined individually. In general one can say that the parables are "shot through with the same Christological significance as the miracle narratives" (E. Hoskyns and F. N. Davey, *The Riddle of the New Testament*, 1947[3], 134). They are primarily eschatological (cf. C. H. Dodd, op. cit.; I. H. Marshall, op. cit.) and contain two groups of themes, the → kingdom of God and repentance (→ Conversion). (On the question of eschatology → Kingdom; → Present; → Time.) The parables of growth belong to the first group (Matt. 13; Mk. 4; Lk. 8; 13:18–21) as do the parables which speak of God and his activity (Matt. 20:1–16; 25:14–30; Lk. 15:11–32). The second group enjoins the urgency of repentance (Lk. 12:16–20; 13:6–9) which demands decisive (Lk. 16:1–8), radical (Matt. 13:44–46) and watchful action (Matt. 24:42–25:13), because the kingdom is near. The parables which speak of action towards one's neighbour (→ Brother; → Samaritan) also belong to this group (Matt. 18:23–35; Lk. 10:30–37). Much light on the meaning of particular parables has been shed by J. D. M. Derrett in his studies of their teaching against the background of rabbinic law *Law and the New Testament*, 1971. For further discussion of individual parables see the articles relative to key words in them and the literature noted in the bibliographies below. *C. H. Peisker*

5. The following is a table of parables and parabolic sayings, set out according to the general context given in the Gospels. It should be borne in mind that there is a measure of scholarly disagreement as to what properly constitutes a parable or parabolic saying. It should also be noted that some parables and sayings are set in different contexts by different Gospels, and that there are variations and similar themes. This should be taken into account in any detailed study.

The Sermon on the Mount (Matt.)
The salt of the earth (Matt. 5:13; Mk. 9:49 f.; Lk. 14:34 f.)
The light of the world (Matt. 5:14 ff.; Mk. 4:21; Lk. 8:16; cf. 11:33; Jn. 8:12)
On treasures (Matt. 6:19 ff.; Lk. 12:33 f.; cf. 16:9)
The sound eye (Matt. 6:22 f.; Lk. 11:34 ff.)
The birds of the air and the lilies of the field (Matt. 6:26 ff.; Lk. 12:24–28)
On serving two masters (Matt. 6:24; Lk. 16:13)
The speck in the eye (Matt. 7:3, 5; Lk. 6:41 f.)
On profaning the holy (Matt. 7:6)
The two ways (Matt. 7:13 f.; Lk. 13:23 f.)
The wolves in sheep's clothing and "By their fruits . . ." (Matt. 7:15–20; cf. 3:10; 12:33 ff.; Lk. 6:43 ff.; 3:9)
The house built on the rock (Matt. 7:24–27; Lk. 6:47 ff.)

Galilaean Ministry
The harvest is great (Matt. 9:35–38; cf. 4:23; 14:14; Mk. 6:6, 34; Lk. 8:1; 10:2; Jn. 4:35)
The two debtors (Lk. 7:41 ff.)
The sign of Jonah (Matt. 12:38–42; 16:1–4; Mk. 8:11 f.; Lk. 11:16, 19–32; Jn. 6:30)
The parable of the sower (Matt. 13:1–9; Mk. 4:1–9; Lk. 8:4–8; cf. 5:1–3)
The reason for speaking in parables (Matt. 13:10–17; Mk. 4:10 ff., 25; Lk. 8:9 f., 18; Jn. 9:39)
The interpretation of the parable of the sower (Matt. 13:18–23; Mk. 4:13–20; Lk. 8:11–15)
He who has ears to hear, let him hear (Matt. 11:15; 13:9, 43; Mk. 4:9, 23; Lk. 8:8; 14:35)
The seed growing secretly (Mk. 4:26–29)
The wheat and the tares (Matt. 13:24–30)
The mustard seed (Matt. 13:31 f.; Mk. 4:30 ff.; Lk. 13:18 f.)
The leaven (Matt. 13:33; Lk. 13:20 f.)
Jesus' use of parables (Matt. 13:34 f.; Mk. 4:33 f.)
The interpretation of the parable of the tares (Matt. 13:36–43)
The hidden treasure and the pearl of great price (Matt. 13:44 ff.)
The fish net (Matt. 13:47–50)
Treasures old and new (Matt. 13:51 f.)
Jesus' true kindred (Matt. 12:46–50; cf. 7:21; Mk. 3:20 f., 31–35; Lk. 8:19 ff.; Jn. 15:14)
The unforgiving servant (Matt. 18:23–35)

On the Way to Jerusalem (*Lk.*)
The Good Samaritan (Lk. 10:29–37)
The friend at midnight (Lk. 11:5–8)
Light (Lk. 11:33; cf. 8:16; Matt. 5:15; Mk. 4:21)
The sound eye (Lk. 11:34 ff.; Matt. 6:22 f.)
The rich fool (Lk. 12:16–21)
On treasures (Lk. 12:33 f.; cf. above under *The Sermon on the Mount*)
The barren fig tree (Lk. 13:1–9; cf. Matt. 21:18 f.; Mk. 11:12 ff.)
The mustard seed (Lk. 13:18 f.; Matt. 13:31 f.; Mk. 4:30 ff.)
The leaven (Lk. 13:20 f.; Matt. 13:33)
The great supper (Lk. 14:15–24; Matt. 22:1–14)
Counting the cost of building a tower and going to war (Lk. 14:28–33)
Salt (Lk. 14:34 f.; Matt. 5:13; Mk. 9:49 f.)
The lost sheep (Lk. 15:1–7)
The lost coin (Lk. 15:8 ff.)
The lost (prodigal) son (Lk. 15:11–32)
The unjust steward (Lk. 16:1–9)
On serving two masters (Lk. 16:13; Matt. 6:24)
The rich man and Lazarus (Lk. 16:19–31)
On being unprofitable servants (Lk. 17:7–10)
The unjust judge (Lk. 18:1–8)
The Pharisee and the publican (Lk. 18:9–14)

Ministry in Judea
On riches (Matt. 19:23–30; Mk. 10:23–31; Lk. 18:24–30)

The labourers in the vineyard (Matt. 20:1–16)
The pounds (Lk. 19:11–27; cf. Matt. 25:14–40; Mk. 13:34)

Final Ministry in Jerusalem
The two sons (Matt. 21:28–32)
The wicked husbandmen (Matt. 21:33–46; Mk. 12:1–12; Lk. 20:9–19)
The great supper (Matt. 22:1–14)
The widow's mite (Mk. 12:41–44; Lk. 21:1–4)
The fig tree (Matt. 24:32–36; Mk. 13:28–32; Lk. 21:29–33)
The exhortation to watch (Mk. 13:33–37; cf. Matt. 25:13 ff.; Lk. 19:19 f.; 21:34 ff.)
The flood, watching and the thief in the night (Matt. 24:37–44; Lk. 17:26–36; 12:39 f.; cf. Mk. 13:35)
The good and wicked servants (Matt. 24:45–51; cf. 25:21; Lk. 12:41–46; cf. 19:17)
The ten virgins (Matt. 25:1–13; cf. Mk. 13:33–37; Lk. 12:35–38; 13:25–28)
The talents (Matt. 25:14–30; cf. Mk. 13:34; Lk. 19:11–27)
The sheep and the goats (Matt. 25:31–46)

The Discourses in Jn.
The teaching of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel is contained in discourses and dialogues which nevertheless use parabolic imagery.
The new birth (Jn. 3:1–36)
The water of life (Jn. 4:1–42)
The son (Jn. 5:19–47)
The bread of life (Jn. 6:22–66)
The life-giving Spirit (Jn. 7:1–52)
The light of the world (Jn. 8:12–59)
The good shepherd (Jn. 10:1–42)
The farewell discourses (Jn. 13:1–17:26), including the sayings about the father's house (14:2 ff.), the way (14:6), the vine (15:1–16), and the pains of childbirth (16:2 ff.)
(C. H. Dodd has noted various parabolic forms in Jn. which he believes go back to an early tradition and which preserve valuable elements which the Synoptic evangelists omitted: the grain of wheat [12:24]; the pains of childbirth [16:21]; the benighted traveller [11:9 f.]; the slave and the son [8:35]; the shepherd, the thief and the doorkeeper [10:1–5]; the bridegroom and the bridegroom's friend [3:29] [*Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel*, 1963, 366–87].)

6. A number of parables are contained in the Gospel of Thomas, a 4th-century Coptic MS found at Nag Hammadi in Egypt around 1945. The work is not a Gospel in the canonical sense, but a collection of 114 sayings attributed to Jesus. In its present form the work appears to date from the 4th century, containing a translation of a 2nd century Gk. MS. Some of the parables are substantially the same as those contained in the canonical Gospels: the sower (No. 8), the mustard seed (No. 20), the speck in the eye (No. 27), the rich fool (No. 64), the vineyard (No. 66), and the great supper (No. 65). There is a parable of a fish net which seems to make a point similar to the parables of the hidden treasure and the pearl of great price. "And he said: Man is like a wise fisherman, who cast his net in the sea and drew it out of the sea when it was full of little fishes. Among

them the wise fisherman found a large good fish. He cast all the little fishes into the sea. He selected the large fish without difficulty. He who has ears to hear, let him hear" (No. 7; quoted from the translation by W. R. Schoedel in R. M. Grant and D. N. Freedman, *The Secret Sayings of Jesus*, 1960, 120 f.).

Some of the sayings appear to have a gnostic thrust, e.g. the latter part of No. 25: "He who has ears, let him hear! There is a light within a light-man and it illuminates the whole world; if it does not illuminate it, [it is] darkness" (op. cit., 138). The gnostic is the one who has the illumination. Similarly, the parable of the lost sheep is changed to make the sheep (i.e. the gnostic who is more important than the rest) the motive: "Jesus said: The kingdom is like a shepherd who had a hundred sheep. One of them, the largest, lost his way. He left the ninety-nine and sought the one until he found it. After he had toiled, he said to the sheep, I love you more than the ninety-nine" (No. 104, op. cit., 181).

Some of the sayings are not found in the canonical Gospels but are found in the early fathers. "Jesus said: He who is near me is near the fire, and he who is far from me is far from the kingdom" (No. 82, op. cit., 170; cf. Origen, *MPG* 13, 531 D-32A; Didymus of Alexandria, *MPG* 39, 1488D). But other sayings are hitherto unknown. "Jesus said: The kingdom of the Father is like a woman who carries a vessel full of meal and goes a long way. The handle of the vessel broke; the meal flowed out behind her on the way. She did not notice it, she did not know how to work. When she reached the house, she set the vessel down and found it empty" (No. 94, op. cit. 176). Here the point seems to be the error of imagining that one has saving knowledge, when one has lost it. "Jesus said: The kingdom of the Father is like a man who wanted to kill a great man. He drew the sword in his house and ran it through the wall, in order to know whether his hand was strong enough. Then he killed the great man" (No. 95, op. cit., 177). This parable which appears to reflect Zealot aspirations may be compared with the canonical parables which urge the need to count the cost (cf. Lk. 14:28–32).

For further discussion of Gos.Thom. see F. F. Bruce, *ZPEB* IV 595 f.; and *Jesus and Christian Origins Outside the New Testament*, 1974, 82–158; B. Gärtner, *The Theology of the Gospel of Thomas*, 1961; E. Haenchen, *Die Botschaft des Thomas-Evangliums*, 1965; A. J. B. Higgins, "Non-Gnostic Sayings in the Gospel of Thomas", *NovT* 4, 1960, 292–306; H. W. Montefiore, "A Comparison of the Parables of the Gospel according to Thomas and the Synoptic Evangelists", *NTS* 7, 1960–61, 220–48 (reprinted in H. W. Montefiore and H. E. W. Turner, *Thomas and the Evangelists*, 1962); H.-G. Puech, in Henn. Schn., I, 278–307; R. McL. Wilson, *Studies in the Gospel of Thomas*, 1960; and "Thomas, Gospel of", *ZPEB* V 735 f.

7. It is sometimes suggested that Jesus intended his parables to be clearly understood by all, but that Mk.'s conception of the messianic secret led Mk. to present them as deliberately concealing the truth from outsiders and the uninitiated. Thus Mk. 4:10 ff. declares: "And when he was alone, those who were about him with the twelve asked him concerning the parables. And he said to them, 'To you has been given the secret of the kingdom of God, but for those outside everything is in parables; so that they may indeed see but not perceive, and may indeed hear but not understand; lest they should turn again, and be forgiven.' " The same thought is substantially repeated in the parallel passages in Matt. 13:10–15 which quotes from

Isaiah's commission (Isa. 6:9 f.) and Lk. 8:9 f. There is a similar explanation of the unbelief of the Jews in Jn. 12:40 (quoting Isa. 6:10), and Isa. is also quoted in Acts 28:26 f. Whereas Matt. quotes the LXX, Mk. agrees with the Targum of Isa. and the Peshitta. Similarly Mk. concludes his account of the growth parables with the words: "With many such parables he spoke the word to them, as they were able to hear it; he did not speak to them without a parable, but privately to his own disciples he explained everything" (Mk. 4:33 f.; cf. Matt. 13:34 f. which cites Ps. 78:2 seeing in Jesus' teaching fulfilment of the saying: "I will open my mouth in parables, I will utter what has been hidden since the foundation of the world").

The idea that Mk. invented the messianic secret was argued by W. Wrede in *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien*, 1901 (ET *The Messianic Secret*, 1971), and has exerted considerable influence on German scholarship. It has, however, been contested on the grounds that the theme of secrecy and the avoidance of publicity was intrinsic to the whole mission of Jesus (cf. J. D. G. Dunn, "The Messianic Secret in Mark", *TB* 21, 1970, 92–117; → Secret). Moreover, Jesus' teaching never handed out truth as it were on a plate. For the truth about God and man cannot be learnt directly as if it were a series of mere facts which involved no personal commitment. The parables are language-events which challenge a personal response. They constitute disclosure situations in which the listener becomes aware of his relationship with God through identifying himself with the people in the parable. In this sense the parabolic method is integral to Jesus' entire mission.

Jeremias agrees with T. W. Manson in seeing that the use in Mk. 4:12 of the Targum of Isa. 6:10 which was commonly used in the synagogue "creates a strong presumption in favour of its authenticity" (op. cit., 15; cf. T. W. Manson, *The Teaching of Jesus*, 1935², 77). He further holds that the word parable in this context means a riddle (op. cit., 16), and thus Mk. 4:11b must be translated: " 'But to those who are without all things are imparted in riddles,' i.e. they remain obscure for them" (op. cit., 16 f.). The conjunction *hina* (so that) reflects not only the purpose of Jesus but that of God, "in fact it almost amounts to an abbreviation of *hina plerōthē*, and is therefore to be translated 'in order that'; 'in the case of divine decisions purpose and fulfilment are identical' " (op. cit., 17; cf. Arndt, 378). The conjunction *mēpote* (lest) is taken by Jeremias to mean "unless", reflecting the Targum and contemporary rabbinic exegesis. The statement thus would mean: "To you has God given the secret of the Kingdom of God; but to those who are without everything is obscure, in order that they (as it is written) may 'see and yet not see, may hear and yet not understand, unless they turn and God will forgive them' " (ibid.). In view of this general statement about the way God works, Jeremias maintains that the logion is not concerned with the parables of Jesus but with his preaching in general. (For further discussion see C. E. B. Cranfield, op. cit., 152–58; and G. V. Jones, op. cit., 225–30, who gives a review of interpretations of this passage.)

8. Apart from the use of the word *parabolē* and the numerous instances of verbal parables in the Gospels, one may also speak of the parabolic actions of Jesus. Just as OT prophets sometimes performed symbolic acts which were in themselves a message from Yahweh to those with eyes to see it, so Jesus' actions may be construed as unspoken parables. Instances of such actions by the OT prophets include

Hosea's marriage with the harlot Gomer (Hos. 1:2 ff.), Isaiah's nakedness (Isa. 20:2 ff.), Jeremiah's hiding of the waistcloth by the Euphrates (Jer. 13:1–11), his breaking of the earthen flask (Jer. 19), and purchase of a field (Jer. 32:7 ff.). Likewise, false prophets could perform symbolic acts, like the iron horns made by Zedekiah to persuade Jehoshaphat to fight at Ramoth-gilead (1 Ki. 22:11; 2 Chr. 18:10). In performing parabolic acts Jesus stood in the tradition of the OT prophets. But the acts which he performed "show that Jesus not only proclaimed the message of the parables, but that he lived it and embodied it in his own person. 'Jesus not only utters the message of the Kingdom of God, he himself is the message' " (J. Jeremias, op. cit., 229, quoting C. Maurer, *Judaica*, 4, 1948, 147).

Jesus' parabolic actions include his reception of outcasts (Lk. 15:1 f.; 19:5 f.) which corresponds to the parable of the great supper. He included them in his circle of disciples as the new Israel of God (Matt. 9:9 par. Mk. 2:14, Lk. 5:27). The Last Supper was itself a symbolic act (→ Lord's Supper), as were the healings (→ Heal; → Blind), the rejection of → fasting (Matt. 9:14–17 par. Mk. 2:18–22; Lk. 5:33–39), and the plucking of grain on the → sabbath (Matt. 12:1–8 par. Mk. 2:23–28; Lk. 6:1–5). The new age and the new Israel were signified by the bestowal of a → new → name on Peter, linking the → rock with the building of the eschatological → temple. The → number of the twelve disciples, recalling that of the twelve tribes of Israel, also signifies the new Israel, while the seventy disciples recalls the seventy elders of Israel (Lk. 10:1–12; cf. Exod. 24:1; Num. 11:16; and perhaps Exod. 15:27). Jesus' entry into Jerusalem (Matt. 21:1–9 par. Mk. 11:1–10, Lk. 19:28–40) and the cleansing of the temple (Matt. 21:12 f. par. Mk. 11:15ff., Lk. 19:45 f.; cf. Jn. 2:13–17) belong together, signifying Jesus' claims to lordship over Jerusalem, the temple and Israel. His mode of entry symbolized both kingship and humility (cf. Zech. 9:9; → Animal). His washing of the disciples' feet (Jn. 13:1 ff.) enacts the loving humility of the one who alone can make clean. Perhaps the weeping over Jerusalem has also a prophetic dimension (Matt. 23:37 ff. par. Lk. 13:34 f.). Jeremias sees a link between Jesus' action in writing in the sand in the *pericope* on the woman taken in adultery (Jn. 7:53 ff.) and Jer. 17:13 (op. cit., 228). The cursing of the fig tree (Matt. 21:18 f. par. Mk. 11:12 ff.; → Fruit, art. *sykē*) is a parabolic act of judgment on a nation which has failed to bear fruit.

9. The concept of allegory discussed above in 1 (g) differs somewhat from the allegorical method of interpreting Scripture, as it is often understood. According to the latter, Scripture should be interpreted to find hidden, spiritual meanings which are often quite different from the apparently intended or historical ones. This technique is found in pre-Christian literature, and was practised by Philo (*c.* 20 B.C. – *c.* A.D. 50) to interpret the Jewish law in terms of the Hellenistic philosophy of his day. It was taken over by the Christian Platonist theologians of Alexandria, Clement and Origen. The latter sought to follow a threefold method of interpretation, seeing in most passages a literal, moral and a spiritual meaning. Thus the story of the blind men at Jericho is not only literally true. According to the moral meaning, our eyes must be likewise opened by the Word of God and we must come out of our Jericho. According to the spiritual meaning, the two beggars represent Israel and Judah, whilst Jericho is the world (Matt. 20:29–34; cf. Origen, *De prin.* 4, 2. 45; *Commentary on Matthew* 16:9–11; 16:23; cf. R. P. C. Hanson, op.

cit., 235 f.). Similarly, Augustine saw a hidden significance in every aspect of the parable of the Good Samaritan: the man was Adam; Jerusalem, the heavenly city from whose blessedness Adam fell; Jericho, man's mortality; the thieves, the devil and his angels; the stripping of the clothes, man's former immortality; the priest and Levite, the priesthood and ministry of the OT which are ineffective to bring salvation; the Samaritan, the Lord Jesus Christ; the oil, the comfort of good hope; the wine, the exhortation to work with a fervent spirit; the beast, the flesh; the inn, the church; the morrow, the period after the resurrection; the innkeeper, the apostle Paul; the supererogatory payment, either the council of celibacy or Paul's desire not to burden the church with the cost of his upkeep (*Quaestiones Evangeliorum*, 2, 19; cf. C. H. Dodd, *The Parables of the Kingdom*, 1936³, 11 f.).

In these instances of allegorical interpretation it is clear that these spiritual meanings are read into a story in a way alien to the original intention of the story. It is also apparent that allegory in this sense is used in a sense different from that in 1 (g) above, where the original story is itself a continuous metaphor which already includes in itself the intention of having more than one point. The question arises, however, whether allegory in the sense of Origen and Augustine occurs in the NT. In 1 Cor. 9:9 Paul appeals to Deut. 25:4 in support of his contention that apostles have the right to be kept by the church: "For it is written in the law of Moses, 'You shall not muzzle an ox when it is treading out the grain.' Is it for oxen that God is concerned? Does he not speak entirely for our sake? It was written for our sake, because the plowman should plow in hope and the thresher should thresh in hope of a share in the flock" (cf. also 1 Tim. 5:18). It would seem that in his handling of the OT Paul follows a method of interpretation exemplified at Qumran of "quotation exposition, a *midrash pesher* which drew from the text the meaning originally planted there by the Holy Spirit and expressed that meaning in the most appropriate words and phrases known to him" (E. E. Ellis, "A Note on Pauline Hermeneutics", *NTS* 2, 1955–56, 131 f.). But it should be noted that in this instance there is a common principle underlying the original OT pronouncement and the application which Paul draws, and which can be formulated in terms of principle: those who labour on anything (whether man or beast) have the right to sustenance in view of the fruits of their labour. This applies to the quotation from Deut. 25:4 and to all the other illustrations that Paul adduces in support of the point.

This method of interpretation applies to other instances of alleged allegorical exegesis in Paul: 1 Cor. 5:6 ff. (→ Leaven; → Feast); 1 Cor. 10:4 (→ Eat, art. *pinō*; → Rock); Gal. 3:16 (→ Abraham); Gal. 4:21–31 (→ Abraham, art. *Hagar*; → Jerusalem). The vb. *allēgoreō* occurs only at Gal. 4:24 in a participial form which is perhaps best rendered: "which things are allegorical [*hatina estin allēgoroumena*]: for these women are two covenants. One is from Mount Sinai, bearing [children] for slavery; she is Hagar." Paul goes on to compare Mount Sinai with the present Jerusalem, symbolizing bondage to the law, which contrasts with the Jerusalem which is above which is free and is "our mother" (Gal. 4:26). In discussing whether this passage should be regarded as an allegory or a type, A. T. Hanson draws the following distinction: "An allegory is an explanation of the text that replaces the literal sense and has a purely arbitrary connection with it. In an allegory each detail corresponds to some idea or person in the complex which

it expresses. A type is a pattern or set of circumstances which reproduces beforehand that set of circumstances of which it is a type" (*Studies in Paul's Technique and Theology*, 1974, 94). He goes on to restate Paul's contrast in the following basic terms:

"Hagar the slave bears a son who persecutes the son of Sarah, the free woman. She and her son are cast out by divine command."	"The unbelieving Jews, enslaved to the Torah, persecute believing Christians, who are free in Christ. The unbelieving Jews are rejected by God."

Hanson concludes that the "allegory" is "really an elaborate piece of typology" (op. cit., 95). It may be added that Paul's use of the vb. *allēgoreō* should in any case not be interpreted in the light of later usage which was bound up with philosophical ideas alien to Paul. (On Paul's exegesis see further E. E. Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament*, 1955; A. T. Hanson, *Jesus Christ in the Old Testament*, 1965; and "Paul's Interpretation of Scripture", "Paul's Technique of Interpretation", and "Paul as Exegete and Theologian", in *Studies in Paul's Technique and Theology*, 1974, 136–68, 169–200, 201–224.)

10. The riddle or dark saying (*ainigma*) is not a NT literary form. The word occurs in Philo, Josephus (*Ap.* 1, 114 f.), and Sib. 3, 812, but only at 1 Cor. 13:12 in the NT. In the context Paul is contrasting → knowledge with faith, hope and love (v. 13), and points out that *blepomen gar arti di' esoptrou en ainigmati* (lit. "For now we look through a glass in a riddle"). Looking glasses were made at Corinth, and the fact that they do not give a direct vision of reality underlines Paul's point about the limitations of knowledge. The preposition *dia* (through) is to be explained by the fact that the image in the mirror appears to lie on the further side (C. K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, *BNTC*, 1968, 307), and perhaps also by the fact that it is through the medium of phenomena that we apprehend reality. Barrett also points out that the image of the mirror was used by Philo to suggest that man can have a clear and full knowledge of God (*Abr.*, 153), and that the number seven provides a mirror reflecting the way that God orders the universe (*Decal.* 105). 2 Cor. 3:18 uses the ptc. *katoptrizontes*, "beholding as in a mirror". With regard to the phrase *en ainigmati*, Barrett thinks that it reflects Num. 12:8, where God says that he will speak to Moses face to face (v. 12) and not *di' ainigmatōn*, "through riddles", i.e. obscurely. But the expression would be understandable to members of the Corinthian church not versed in the OT. Apollo was known for delivering obscure riddles (cf. the complaint of the chorus of Cassandra that she spoke in riddles [*ex ainigmatōn*], Aesch., *Ag.* 1112). For Paul what we apprehend in the present life is like a riddle. It is obscure and enigmatic. It contrasts with knowledge in the future state, when we shall see face to face and know even as we are already known (cf. Matt. 5:8). *C. Brown*

παροιμία *παροιμία* (*paroimia*), proverb, wise saying; dark saying, riddle.

CL The noun *paroimia* occurs from Aeschylus, *Ag.* 264 on; cf. Sophocles, *Aj.* 664; Plato, *Rep.* 1, 329). Etymologically it is derived from *para*, along, and *oimē*

path, way, the plot of a story or song, saga, song. The *paroimia* "states an experienced truth of popular wisdom in a short and pointed form" (F. Hauck, *TDNT* V 854). As such, it expresses general timeless truth. Its popular and traditional form distinguish it from the aphorism and the maxim (*gnōmē*; → Knowledge, art. *ginōskō*). But in Aristotle, *Rhet.* 2, 21, 1395, 17, the borderline is fluid. The lack of framework distinguishes it from the apophthegm (a saying set in a particular setting). Aristotle counted it with metaphor because of its vivid imagery (Rhet. 2, 11, 1413, 14). Others, because of the frequent references to animals and plants, with fable (Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 5, 11, 21). Collections of proverbs were made by Aristotle, Clearchus, Zenobius and Diogenian.

OT In the LXX *paroimia* only occurs 7 times, including the title of the Book of Proverbs (1:1; 25:1 cf. also 26:7) and in Sir. (6:35; 8:8; 18:29; 39:3; 47:17). In Prov. 1:1; 25:1 it translates Heb. *māšāl*; elsewhere it occurs in the non-canonical Sir. and occasionally translates *māšāl*. It is also found in variant translations in other books. In Prov. and Sir. it is virtually a technical term for instruction by the wise (→ *parabolē* OT 2). In Philo (*Abr.* 235; *Vit. Mos.* 1, 156; 2, 29) it occurs with the meaning proverb. Proverbs were very popular among the Rabbis. They were introduced by such clauses as, "Thus people say . . ." and "It is said in the proverb. . . ."

NT 1. The logia of Jesus are often designated in their entirety as sayings. The Gospel of Thomas, P. Oxy. 1, 654 f., 840, and the hypothetical collection of logia (Q) thought to be behind Matt. and Lk. are collections of sayings. Sayings in the sense of the instruction of the wise are to be found among the logia of Jesus (e.g. Mk. 9:50 par. Lk. 14:34; cf. Matt. 5:13; Matt. 5:15 par. Lk. 11:33; 6:19 par. Lk. 12:33; Matt. 6:22 f. par. Lk. 11:34 f.). But they also occur in the epistles (e.g. Rom. 12:20 quoting Prov. 25:21 f.; Heb. 12:5 f. quoting Prov. 3:11 f; Jas. 4:6 quoting Prov. 3:34; 2 Pet. 2:22 quoting Prov. 26:11; 1 Cor. 15:33 with a quotation from Menander's lost comedy *Thais*, "Bad company ruins good morals" [cf. C. K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, *BNTC*, 1968, 367]). In the logia of Jesus we find also proverbs which may be taken from Rab. teaching (e.g. Matt. 9:13 par. Mk. 2:17, Lk. 5:31; 4:22 par. Lk. 18:17; Matt. 13:57 par. Mk. 6:4; Matt. 6:21 par. Lk. 13:34; Matt. 6:34; Matt. 7:4 par. Lk. 6:42; Matt. 7:18 par. Lk. 6:43; Matt. 15:14 par. Lk. 6:39; Matt. 24:28 par. Lk. 17:37; Lk. 4:23). It may be that these are sometimes new creations by Jesus, which later became proverbs. In the epistles proverbs occur (e.g. Jas. 3:5, 12). In 2 Pet. 2:22 there is a wise saying and a proverb. Both are intended to demonstrate the contemptible conduct of false teachers.

It is striking that, although sayings that can be classified as proverbs occur in many places in the NT, only in few places (Jn. 10:6; 16:25, 29; 2 Pet. 2:22) are proverbs and sayings designated by the word *paroimia*. The instances in Jn. occupy an exceptional position.

2. It is only in Jn., in fact, that *paroimia* occurs (10:6; 16:25, 29) in the sense of dark saying, or riddle. This meaning comes about because of the Heb. equivalent *māšāl* and the consequent approximation to → *parabolē*. In retrospect Jesus' discourse on the → shepherd (10:6) and, indeed, his discourses in general (16:25)

are characterized as dark sayings. The dark saying is contrasted with the later, clear revelatory saying (16:25, 29). This can be understood chronologically; the earthly Jesus spoke in riddles, the exalted Jesus speaks openly. But this interpretation contains some difficulties. One cannot really characterize Jesus' words in Jn. as intellectually difficult to understand, nor can one distinguish between dark and clear sayings. Dark here probably does not mean intellectually difficult. The darkness of the words does not reside in the words but in the hearer. Therefore the words are dark and clear simultaneously. The words remain dark so long as the hearer tries to understand them intellectually. "It is possible to understand the words of Jesus only in the reality of the believing existence. Before that they are incomprehensible – not in the sense of being difficult to grasp intellectually, but because intellectual comprehension is not enough. It is precisely this that the disciples must realize, namely that the commitment of one's whole existence is required to understand these words. They will be comprehensible in the new (i.e. eschatological) existence: *erchetai hōra hote ktl.* ['the hour comes when etc.']: only then will Jesus speak to them *parrhēsia* [openly]" (R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 1971, 587). *C. H. Peisker*

→ Kingdom, → Secret, → Teach, → Wisdom, → Word

On parable:
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Paradise

παράδεισος — παράδεισος (*paradeisos*), garden, park, paradise.

CL 1. *paradeisos* is a loan-word from the Middle Iranian *pardez* (Avestan *pairidaêza*, an encircling wall, circular enclosure, garden), and means a garden, park or

paradise. Xen. uses the word of the public gardens of the Persian kings and nobles (*Anab.* 1, 2, 7; 2, 4, 14; *Cyr.* 1, 3, 14; *Hell.* 4, 1, 15).

2. Myths from many nations speak of a land or a place of blessedness in primeval times or (in the present) on the edge of the known world, where gods live and whither heroes or particularly distinguished mortals were carried away or went after death. Within the world of the OT there were the paradise myths of the Mesopotamian or Iranian culture, and also the conceptions of the Phoenicians (cf. Ezek. 28:13 ff.). In Greece people were aquainted with the picture of the Elysian fields and the Isles of the Blessed.

OT In the LXX the word is found 47 times, predominantly as trans. of Heb. *gan* or *gannâh*, a garden. Of these passages 13 belong to Gen. 2 and 3, 4 to Ezek., and 3 to Isa. In each case the reference is to the garden of God, either as the Yahwistic narrative describes it or as it is expected to be again. In Neh. 2:8; Eccl. 2:5; Cant. 4:13 *paradeisos* is a translation of the loan-word *pardēs* deriving from the Iranian, meaning orchard, forest. In Isa. 51:3 it renders Heb. *'ēḏen*.

1. A continuous or coherent paradise-myth cannot be established in the OT. At least, as far as anything of the sort was also known in Israel, it was excluded under the influence of Yahwistic faith, except for a few individual motifs which appear sporadically here and there – the tree of life, the tree of knowledge, the water of life (Gen. 2 and 3; 13:10; Ezek. 28:13 ff.; 31:8 f.; Job 15:7 f.). It is significant that there is no unified answer to the question of place. According to Gen. 2:8, paradise, at the beginning of the creation, lay in the East; according to Gen. 2:10–14, it was possibly in the North. It is conceived of as a lovely orchard in which the tree of → life and the tree of → knowledge stood. Here God walked, and has handed over the garden to men for cultivation. In consequence of the first → sin the first humans were driven out of it. Return to it is impossible since the → cherub stands in front of it guarding all access.

2. In later Judaism there were many varied speculations about the paradise of Gen. 2 and 3. It was assumed that it was created before time, or on the third day of creation, and that in consequence of Adam's sin it was removed and hidden either at the extreme edges of the earth, on a high mountain or in heaven. It is located in the third → heaven (Ap. Mos. 37:5 and Sl.Enoch 8:1).

With the infiltration of the Gk. doctrine of the immortality of the soul paradise becomes the dwelling-place of the righteous during the intermediate state. In time, pious imagination increasingly embellished the conception of paradise. It had walls and gates and angels to watch over it. Light shone on the righteous. The tree of life was there, and fragrant streams flowed through it.

In the renewed creation paradise will again emerge from its concealment. God or the messiah will bring it, as the dwelling-place of the righteous and blessed, to the renewed earth, to Palestine, in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. Taught by God himself, the righteous will study the Torah in paradise, and God will prepare for them the messianic meal. Above all, they may then enjoy the → fruit of the tree of life.

NT 1. In the NT the word only occurs in 3 places.

(a) In Lk. 23:43 it is no doubt dependent on contemporary Jewish conceptions, and refers to the at present hidden and intermediate abode of the righteous. Jesus

promises the robber fellowship with him already "today" in paradise, and thus allows him to share in forgiveness and blessedness. The intermediate state thus becomes essentially fellowship with Christ (cf. Acts. 7:58; 2 Cor. 5:8; Phil. 1:23). It may be noted, however, that E. E. Ellis offers a somewhat different interpretation. According to the late Jewish writing Test.Lev. 18:10, the messiah was expected to "open the gates of paradise". "Luke declares that in his death and resurrection Jesus opened the gates of Paradise and was exalted there with his 'body' " (*The Gospel of Luke, New Century Bible*, 1966, 269; cf. the same author's "Present and Future Eschatology in Luke", *NTS* 12, 1965–66, 27–41).

(b) In 2 Cor. 12:4 Paul speaks of an experience of the → Spirit in which he was caught up into paradise (at present hidden), and there heard words "which man may not utter." The statement is parallel to what he says in v. 2; "I know a man in Christ who fourteen years ago was caught up to the third heaven – whether in the body or out of the body I do not know, God knows." The context concerns the → boasts of the Corinthians. Paul counters this by saying: "If I must boast, I will boast of the things that show my weakness" (2 Cor. 11:30). He then relates (in the third person) this experience and declares: "On behalf of this man I will boast, but on my own behalf I will not boast, except of my weaknesses" (12:5). He concludes the argument by telling of his thorn in the flesh which God gave him to prevent him from being too elated (→ Fruit, art. *skolops*). Despite his persistent prayer for its removal, God did not remove it, but said to him: "My grace is sufficient for you, for my power is made perfect in weakness." From this Paul draws the conclusion: "I will all the more gladly boast of my weaknesses, that the power of Christ may rest upon me. For the sake of Christ, then, I am content with weaknesses, insults, hardships, persecutions, and calamities; for when I am weak, then I am strong" (12:9 f.).

For a full discussion of what Paul meant by "the third heaven" and paradise see C. K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, BNTC*, 1973, 308 ff. The reference to the experience fourteen years previously underlines the fact that Paul had such an experience long before the foundation of the Corinthian church. Barrett does not think that it refers to the Damascus road experience, for Paul did not regard this as a vision. To Philo contact with heaven meant being out of the body, and he held that Moses had such an experience (*Som.* 1, 36; cf. Josephus, *War* 7, 349). Paul's insistence that he does not know whether it was in or out of the body contrasts with current and gnostic views of spirituality. "The experience described in our passage may be thought of as an anticipation of the final transference of believers to heaven, or Paradise" (op. cit., 309). Barrett sees here affinities between mysticism and apocalyptic, for apocalyptists describe the future on the basis of insight granted them in the present into what is already in heaven (ibid.; cf. C. K. Barrett, "New Testament Eschatology", *SJT* 6, 1953, 138 f.). He notes parallels in various fields. Eth.Enoch 39:3 f.; 52:1; Sl.Enoch 7; 8, 11; 18; 3 Bar. 2:2 describe visits to numerous heavens. In rabbinic writing Hagigah 14b mentions four men who entered paradise. But already in Plato's *Republic* the Myth of Er tell show the soul of Er who had been slain in battle visits the place of judgment and returns with a report to the rest of mankind (10, 614–21). Philo speaks of ecstatic experiences both as the descent of a divine influence coming upon him (*Migr.Abr.* 34 f.) and as a heavenly ascent (*Spec.Leg.* 3, 1 f.).

Ancient cosmology pictured three, five, seven, ten and various numbers of heavens, though three was a commonly accepted number (SB III 531 ff.). Paul's use of either this term or that of paradise gives no clear indication of his cosmological views. He may be doing no more than using a commonly accepted image to suggest what by his own account is ineffable (cf. v. 4), though possibly the number three may imply perfection (→ Number, art. *treis*). Sl.Enoch 8 placed the third heaven in paradise, and Apc.Mos. 37:5 pictures God commanding Michael to lift Adam up into paradise, the third heaven, and leave him there until the day of judgment.

The idea of hearing unutterable (*arrhēta*) words is found in the mystery religions (cf. Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 11, 23). But Barrett thinks that Paul was not dependent on them here (op. cit., 311). Such language is found in Philo (*Leg.All.* 2, 57; *Det.Pot.Ins.* 175), and the notion of secret revelation was also current in rabbinic Judaism (J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, 1969, 237–41). The idea of a sealed revelation is found already in the OT (Isa. 8:16; Dan. 12:4; cf. Sl.Enoch 17; Rev. 14:3). In all this Paul is using contemporary images of the transcendent world to describe an ecstatic experience which he himself has had and which was evidently far more impressive than anything of which his opponents could boast. But this was something for his own private, personal edification, which would not have come out but for the boasting at Corinth. What the Christian should boast of is his weaknesses, that God may be glorified.

(c) In Rev. 2:7 the Spirit promises to the church of Ephesus: "To him who conquers I will grant to eat of the tree of life, which is in the paradise of God." The passage may be compared with Test.Lev. 18:11; Eth.Enoch 24:4; 25:4 f. which suggests that as early as the 2nd century B.C. the tree of life was thought of in connection with the temple at Jerusalem (cf. R. H. Charles, *The Revelation of St. John, ICC*, I, 1920, 54 f.). The thought takes up that of Gen. 3, where after eating of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, man is barred from the tree of life. Those who overcome the trials and temptations of this world (in particular the opposition of the → Nicolaitans) are promised not only restoration of what → Adam lost but access to life in a way which Adam never had. Rev. 22:1 f., 14 gives a final vision of the tree of life in its final vision of paradise (though it does not use the word) in terms of the new → Jerusalem: "Then he showed me the river of the water of life, bright as crystal, flowing from the throne of God and of the Lamb through the middle of the street of the city; also on either side of the river, the tree of life with its twelve kinds of fruit, yielding its fruit each month; and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations. . . . Blessed are those who wash their robes, that they may have the right to the tree of life and that they may enter the city by the gates."

2. In the further course of church history many extra-biblical motifs, pictures and ideas were absorbed into the conception of paradise, in order to paint the state of the blessed after death in bright colours. The point of contrast, on the one hand, was Jesus' word to the robber (Lk. 23:42), which was generalized and referred to every believer, although beyond the promised fellowship with Christ (see above 1) there is virtually no biblical motivation, least of all in the detailed descriptions of paradise. The speculations in the church concerning paradise and the conceptions of popular piety are also linked with the fact that the doctrine of the immortality

of the soul came in to take the place of NT eschatology with its hope of the → resurrection of the dead and the new creation (Rev. 21 f.), so that the soul receives judgment after death and attains to paradise now thought of as other-worldly, whereas sinners go to → hell. In this, the statements of Rev. 21 f. are also used to describe → heaven and paradise. *H. Bietenhard, C. Brown*

→ Adam, → Ecstasy, → Fall, → Heaven, → Hell

(a). C. K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, *BNTC*, 1973, 308 ff.; E. E. Ellis, *The Gospel of Luke*, *New Century Bible*, 1966, 268 f.; and "Present and Future Eschatology in Luke", *NTS* 12, 1965–66, 27–41; L. F. Hartmann, "Sin in Paradise", *CBQ* 20, 1958, 26–40; F. Hvidberg, "The Canaanite Background of Genesis I–III", *VT* 10, 1960, 285–94; J. Jeremias, *paradeisos*, *TDNT* V 765–73; I. Lewy, "The Two Strata in the Eden Story", *Hebrew Union College Annual* 27, 1956, 93–99; H. K. McArthur, "Paradise", *IDB* III 655 f.; J. Scharbert and J. Michl, "Paradise", *EBT* II 629–33.

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Patience, Steadfastness, Endurance

All the words dealt with under this heading refer to man's endurance when faced with the adversities of life, whether his reaction be one of passive submission or of courageous resistance. *makrothymia* almost always expresses the idea of passivity, while *kartereō* rarely does so. Being strictly military terms, the various words are readily used as metaphors in connection with the battles of life. The word with the widest range of meaning is *anechomai*, which originally meant to hold up, lift up, then, intrans., to cease, and mid., to hold oneself erect, to endure. *kartereō* means to be strong, steadfast, also to do something persistently in the face of opposition; in Gk. ethics it is a technical term for the upright bearing of the wise man. On the other hand, *makrothymia*, which is rare in Gk., denotes resigned submission to a situation which is to all intents and purposes irremediable. In theology, however, the word acquires a more positive meaning: the *makrothymia* of God is his long-suffering or forbearance, standing between the extremes of wrath and grace. *hypomenō* means in the first instance to remain behind, to await. It acquired then the more active sense of overcoming difficulties: to persevere, stand firm, stand one's ground.

ἀνέχομαι

ἀνέχομαι (*anechomai*), bear, endure; ἀνοχή (*anochē*), delay, limited period, restraint, forbearance; ἀνεκτός (*anektos*), bearable, tolerable, endurable.

CL The vb. *anechomai* is also used in the act. in profane Gk., the prefix *ana-* giving it a wide range of meanings: with an object to hold up, to honour, to hold back; without an object, to stand out, but also to cease, to persevere, endure. It governs both the acc. and the gen. In the NT the vb. occurs only in the mid., meaning to hold out, endure. This is the form which also predominates in other literature. The Stoics had the motto *anechou kai apechou*, "Bear with and bear without" (Aulus Gellius 17, 19).

OT In the LXX the vb. translates several Heb. roots, all of which express the idea of restraining some action or emotion. But often the pressure building up behind it eventually causes it to burst forth with dire results. Such statements can refer to men (Gen. 45:1; Job 6:10), or to God (Isa. 1:13; 42:14). There is a tendency, however, to portray God as exercising the restraint, and man as giving way to the vehement reaction: man cries out in anguish at the silence and inaction of God (Isa. 63:15; 64:12). The remaining instances of the vb. occur at 1 Ki. 12:24; Job 6:26; Amos 4:7; Hag. 1:10; Isa. 46:4; Sir. 48:3; 2 Macc. 9:12; 3 Macc. 1:22; 4 Macc. 1:35; 13:27. The noun *anochē* occurs in the LXX only once (1 Macc. 12:25), and then in the purely temporal sense of "delay".

NT 1. In the NT *anechomai* occurs 15 times, mainly in Paul (10 times), but with little consistency of usage. Its meaning is difficult to determine because of its frequent occurrence in passages from an earlier tradition and also in formal phrases. In Col. 3:13 its proximity to the catalogue of five virtues is significant, but the pres. part is intended to qualify the final item in the list just enumerated, namely → *makrothymia* (E. Lohmeyer, *KEK* 9, ad loc.). "Put on then, as God's chosen ones, holy and beloved, compassion, kindness, lowliness, meekness and patience, forbearing one another [*makrothymian, anechomenoi allēlōn*]. . . ." The personal object, however, indicates a characteristic aspect of NT usage. When forbearance is exercised, virtue is no longer self-centred; an essential part of the Christian calling is the service of others. Another important point arising from the use of *allēlōn* (one another) is the reciprocal nature of forbearance, explicitly stated in the verse though clearly implied elsewhere. Eph. 4:2 makes a similar point: as the prisoner of the Lord, Paul urges his readers to walk worthily of their calling "with all lowliness and meekness, with patience, forbearing one another in love [*anechomenoi allēlōn en agapē*]"..

In love there is mutual forbearance, hence Paul's plea to the Corinthians: "Do bear with me [*alla kai anechesthe mou*]!" (2 Cor. 11:1b, cf. 1a). He comes to them as weak, and insignificant in presence without any of the outward marks of apostolic authority borne by the "super-apostles" (11:5). But he *is* an → apostle and, as such, a bearer of the truth of Christ; Christ bears the Corinthians in his love, therefore they should bear with him. The strong theological content of mutual forbearance becomes apparent here. In suffering the one sent to them, the bearers "suffer" or receive the one who has sent him. When they are admonished or instructed, they accept the message as from its divine source, from the God who is

full of longsuffering towards them (cf. Job 13:22; 2 Tim. 4:3). There is a play on the vb. throughout the chapter in the contrast drawn with the way that they bear false teachers: "For if some one comes and preaches another Jesus than the one we preached, or if you receive a different spirit from the one you received, or if you accept a different gospel from the one you accepted, you submit to it readily enough [*kalōs anechesthe*]" (11:4). "For you gladly bear with fools [*hēdeōs gar anechesthe tōn aphronōn*], being wise yourselves! For you bear it [*anechesthe*] if a man makes slaves of you, or preys upon you, or takes advantage of you, or puts on airs, or strikes you in the face" (11:19 f.). (For further discussion see C. K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, *BNTC*, 1973, 270–92.)

anechometha in 1 Cor. 4:12 should be construed as having a personal object, by analogy with the surrounding vbs. ("we bless" and "we speak peace"). In other words, Paul does not simply "endure" when persecuted: he is longsuffering towards his persecutors. There may be no clear evidence of a reference here to Matt. 25:35, but certainly Paul's words are very reminiscent of this parable.

In Acts 18:14 the vb. is used as a technical term for receiving an accusation in the pronouncement of Gallio, the proconsul of Achaia: "If it had been a question of crime or grave misdemeanour, I should, of course, have given you Jews a patient hearing [*kata logon an aneschomēn hymōn*]" (NEB).

The only occurrence of the vb. in the Synoptic Gospels is in the question of Jesus: "O faithless and perverse generation, how long am I to be with you? How long am I to bear with you [*anexomai hymōn*]?" (Matt. 17:17 par. Mk. 9:19, Lk. 9:41). The occasion, as Mk. brings it out, is the disciples' failure to cast out the dumb spirit which was afflicting an epileptic boy. "These words express, not disgust with the people, but the prophetic exasperation of Jesus at the blindness of those who refuse to accept the presence and power of God. A similar idea finds expression in Jn. 14:9" (D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew*, *New Century Bible*, 1972, 270; → Generation; cf. Deut. 32:5 LXX).

In 2 Thess. 1:4 the reference is to enduring afflictions: "Therefore we ourselves boast of you in the churches of God for your steadfastness and faith in all your persecutions and in the afflictions which you are enduring [*tais thlipsesin hais anechesthe*]". On the other hand, in Heb. and 2 Tim. the reference is to Christian teaching and exhortation. In the former case the appeal is to the bearing with the word of exhortation contained in the letter (*anechesthe tou logou tēs paraklēseōs*, Heb. 13:22). In the latter case the allusion is to the fickleness of those who cannot bear sound teaching: "For the time is coming when people will not endure sound teaching [*hote tēs hygiainousēs didaskalias ouk anexontai*], but having itching ears they will accumulate for themselves teachers to suit their own likings" (2 Tim. 4:3).

2. The noun *anochē* occurs only in Rom. 2:4 and 3:25, where in both cases it refers to the forbearance of God. The religious Jew is reminded that he is not exempt from judgment just because he is a member of God's chosen people (Rom. 2:3). "Or do you presume upon the riches of his kindness and forbearance and patience [*tēs chrēstotētos autou kai tēs anochēs kai tēs makrothymias*]? Do you not know that God's kindness is meant to lead you to repentance?" (Rom. 2:4). Later on Paul explains how the age of forbearance is related to the cross of Christ, "whom God put forth as an expiation [or propitiation, *hilastērion*] by his blood to be received by faith. This was to show God's righteousness, because in his divine

forbearance [*en tē anochē tou theou*] he had passed over former sins [*dia tēn paresin tōn progegonotōn hamartēmatōn*]" (Rom. 3:25). "God had passed over (the original word means 'connived at', 'ignored') past sins, not forgiven them, but this he had done only in his long-suffering forbearance. In the long run, a righteous God could not 'connive at' iniquity; and the full weight of his righteous anger bore down upon Christ" (M. Black, *Romans*, *New Century Bible*, 1973, 70). God restrained his wrath until he openly displayed his righteousness in Christ and brought to an end the period of the law.

Apart from the fact that in the NT *anochē* is used only of God, there is no clear-cut distinction between *anochē* and *makrothymia*, However, certain nuances may be detected. *makrothymia* is undoubtedly less active and vigorous, and may be equally well translated as patience. Furthermore, it has stronger eschatological overtones, looking forward to God's final judgment, whereas *anochē* denotes the period of God's gracious forbearance with particular reference in Rom. to Israel and the period up to the cross of Christ.

3. The adj. *anektos*, bearable, tolerable, occurs in the comparative form in Jesus' pronouncement on the Jewish cities which had rejected him. It will be more tolerable (*anektoteron*) for Tyre and Sidon (Matt. 11:22; Lk. 10:14) and Sodom and Gomorrah (Matt. 10:15; 11:24; cf. Mk. 6:11 TR; Lk. 10:12) in the day of judgment. The examples are instances of heathen cities on which judgment had fallen (Sodom and Gomorrah, Gen. 19; cf. Isa. 1:9; Jub. 36:10; Lk. 17:29; Rom. 9:29; 2 Pet. 2:6; Jude 7), or on which it had been pronounced (Tyre and Sidon, Isa. 23; Ezek. 26:28; Joel 3:4; Amos 1:9 f.; Zech. 9:2 ff.). There is a certain deliberate paradox in these pronouncements in that these places were notorious centres of wickedness in the OT, whereas the places in Galilee on which Jesus pronounces judgment were relatively insignificant. Moreover, there is the implicit claim that Jesus' appearance is more crucial than any of the prophetic pronouncements and therefore that the guilt of rejection is all the greater.

U. Falkenroth, C. Brown

καρτερέω

καρτερέω (*kartereō*), be strong, steadfast, persevere; προσκαρτερέω (*proskartereō*), persevere with, persist in; προσκαρτέρησις (*proskarterēsis*), persistence, steadfastness, perseverance.

CL & OT *kartereō*, from *kratos*, → strength, meaning to remain strong, steadfast, to endure, is found in profane Gk. from the 4th century B.C. and has the same sense in the LXX (cf. Job 2:9 translating Heb. *ḥāzaq*, hiph., to persist in; Sir. 2:2; 12:15). In Isa. 42:14 it translates *pā'âh*, groan. Elsewhere it is without equivalent. The word is used in 4 Macc. 9:9, 28 and passim of the patient endurance of Jewish martyrs (cf. 10:1 f.; 13:11; 14:9). The compound *proskartereō* (with *en* or the dat.) has the same basic meaning, but gives greater emphasis to the time element: to hold out, to persist, persevere with a person, persist in an opinion or activity. In Num. 13:20(21) the vb. means to persevere; in Tob. 5:8 (Symmachus) to expect; while in Sus. 6 (Theodotion) it refers to a prolonged stay. Outside the NT the noun *proskarterēsis* is found once in Philodemus (1st cent. B.C.) and twice in inscriptions of the Jewish diaspora (Panticapaeum on the Black Sea).

NT 1. In the NT *kartereō* is found only in Heb. 11:27, describing the faith of → Moses. According to Heb. 11:1, 3, → faith is a persuasion wrought by God (F. Büchsel, *TDNT* II 476) of invisible things. Thus Moses is said to have endured as seeing him who is invisible [*ton gar aoraton hōs horōn ekarterēsen*]. The kind of endurance, which clings tenaciously and expectantly to the invisible God, makes possible that attitude of faith exemplified by Moses, whom Christian readers are to emulate (v. 24–28). (→ Faith, art. *pistis*; → Form, art. *hypostasis*; → Guilt, Cause, Convict, art. *elenchō*). G. H. Whitaker offers an alternative interpretation in view of the meaning that the vb. sometimes has in Plutarch (1, 99; 2, 681; 1, 996), i.e. maintain a fixed unmoved gaze. Thus the verse would mean that Moses kept his eyes on the invisible as one who saw ("Hebrews xi. 27", *ExpT* 27, 1915–16, 186).

2. The vb. *proskartereō* is found more frequently (10 times) and especially in Acts. (a) It is sometimes used in a non-religious sense to indicate duration. Thus in Mk. 3:9 Jesus tells his disciples to keep a boat constantly ready for him. Acts 8:13 and 10:7 refer to a prolonged or continuous stay with a person: after his baptism Simon Magus resided with Philip; and soldiers are on the permanent staff of the centurion Cornelius. In Rom. 13:6 Paul says that, as servants of God, rulers are constantly engaged in their duties.

(b) Constancy and perseverance are particularly important in the Christian life. Enduring faith as described in Heb. 11:27 has to be complemented by constancy in → prayer, hence the apostle's earnest exhortations to Christians in Rom. 12:12; Col. 4:2, echoing Christ's teaching in Lk. 11:1–13; 18:1–8. Acts also uses the word *proskartereō* to denote the spiritual attitude of the early church. The small flock of disciples offered continuous prayer with one accord before → Pentecost, in preparation for the promised filling of the Spirit (Acts 1:14). Similarly after Pentecost "they devoted themselves to the apostles' teaching and fellowship, to the breaking of bread and the prayers" (Acts 2:42). In the early church the experience of Pentecost produced Christians of great constancy and purpose. Immediately after Pentecost they continued with one accord in the temple (Acts 2:46). The → apostles saw it as their function to devote themselves (*proskarterēsomen*) to the ministry of the word and to prayer (Acts 6:4).

3. In the NT the noun *proskarterēsis* is found only in Eph. 6:18. Here too Christians are encouraged to persevere in prayer and supplication; this supplication is to be made in the Holy Spirit and is to include the apostle (see also Col. 4:2 f.). "To that end keep alert with all perseverance [*en pasē proskarterēsei*], making supplication with all the saints, and also for me" (vv. 18 f.). With these solemn words the apostolic injunction receives the emphasis which its importance demands.

W. Mundle

μακροθυμία

μακροθυμία (*makrothymia*), patience, longsuffering; μακρόθυμος (*makrothymos*), longsuffering; μακροθυμέω (*makrothymeō*), be patient, longsuffering.

CL The word *makrothymia*, unlike other compounds of *thymos* (→ anger, wrath), appears late in Gk. (from Menander onwards), but is extremely rare. It denotes

a purely and typically human virtue: the prolonged restraint of *thymos,* of anger or agitation, i.e. patience, longsuffering (contrast *oxythymia,* sudden anger). For whereas the gods know nothing of affliction, man has to bear his lot in patience. There is always an element of resignation in the word, even when it describes the kind of desperate endurance which one can only admire. Positively it expresses persistence, or an unswerving willingness to await events rather than trying to force them. Although perseverance and persistence were familiar to the Stoics, and were, in fact, highly valued by them, *makrothymia* does not figure in their vocabulary. This was possibly because of the widespread though erroneous belief that its basic idea was one of passive resignation. It must be said that in ancient Greece *makrothymia* is concerned primarily with the moulding of a man's own character; it is not a virtue exercised towards one's fellows.

OT Although in profane Gk. *makrothymia* is used in a psychological sense, this usage in the LXX is confined to the wisdom literature. On the other hand, the adj. *makrothymos* frequently denotes an attribute of Yahweh. The anthropomorphic Heb. phrase *'erek 'appayim* (slow to anger) is often rendered by *makrothymia* or *makrothymos* (e.g. in Num. 14:18; Ps. 86:15; 103:8; Joel 2:13; Nah. 1:3). These words are, therefore, inseparably linked with the idea of restrained wrath, forbearance being exercised for a limited period only. The Israelites made frequent reference to God's forbearance (e.g. Exod. 34:6) and even appealed to it when conscious of guilt (Wis. 15:1 ff.). They knew that, being a God of forbearance, Yahweh was ready to bestow grace upon his people. But at the same time the godly Israelite was aware of the tension between grace and wrath: it is possible to exhaust God's patience and cause his anger to burst forth (Ps. 7:12 ff.). Even the obedient man sometimes found it hard to acquiesce in God's forbearance (Jer. 15:15; Jon. 4:2), but patience increasingly became a virtue required of the wise (Prov. 19:11; Sir. 29:1 ff.), and was given prominence in the wisdom literature over against other human qualities (Prov. 14:29; 16:32; 25:15). The meaning of *makrothymia* tended to degenerate into mere leniency, a tendency opposed by the rabbis in their discussions of the word. They considered that God's purpose in exercising forbearance was to lead men to amendment and repentance (J. Horst, *TDNT* IV 379).

NT In the NT forbearance is a characteristic both of God and of the man who is united with Jesus Christ. The noun is used only in the epistles; none of the words occurs in the writings of John. The subject is treated thematically in Heb. 6:9–15; Jas. 5:7–11; and to some extent in 2 Pet. 3:4 ff. *makrothymia* usually takes the prep. *epi*, but *pros*, *eis* and *dia* are also found.

1. The connection between divine and human patience is made clear in the parable of the unforgiving servant in Matt. 18:21–35 (note the use of the vb., *makrothymeō*, have patience, vv. 26, 29, not the noun). This parable may almost be said to sum up the whole NT teaching on the matter. The parable immediately follows instructions on what to do if a brother sins against one (Matt. 18:15–20) and Jesus' injunction to Peter to be willing to forgive not only seven times (which exceeded the common rabbinic maximum of four times and the three occasions just mentioned in the instructions of Jesus). The follower of Jesus should be willing to forgive seventy times seven, i.e. a virtually unlimited number of times. The

number recalls the words of Gen. 4:24 concerning vengeance: "If Cain is avenged sevenfold, truly Lamech seventy-sevenfold". The parable of the unforgiving servant illustrates the divine attitude to forgiveness and to our dealings with our fellow men. The first servant owed the king ten thousand talents (18:24), or something like a billion pounds, a sum which he could not possibly repay. He asks the king to have patience (*makrothymēson*) and he will repay everything (18:26). But the king does actually more; he remits the whole amount. But the servant then demands the repayment of a hundred denarii (perhaps four or five pounds; a denarius is a labourer's daily wage in Matt. 20:2 ff.) from a fellow servant. He even puts him in prison until he should repay the debt, despite the man's pleas to have patience (again *makrothymēson*, v. 29). On learning the true facts of the case, the king has the first servant put in prison "till he should pay all his debt" (v. 34). The parable concludes with the pronouncement. "So also my heavenly Father will do to every one of you, if you do not forgive your brother from your heart" (v. 35). It recalls the Lord's Prayer: Forgive us our debts just as we forgive our debtors (Matt. 6:14 f.). "The duty of the servant to forgive is not dependent on ordinary human feelings, but is linked directly to the attitude shown to him: 'as (or because) I had mercy . . . so must you.' This, in a sense, is the real point of the story and the key to the obvious allegorization: the unforgiving will be excluded from God's mercy (verse 35); and those who receive God's pardon must show the same forgiving attitude to others" (D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew*, *New Century Bible*, 1972, 278). (For detailed discussion of the parable in the light of its legal content and rabbinic parables about debts see J. D. M. Derrett, "The Parable of the Unmerciful Servant", in *Law in the New Testament*, 1970, 32–47.)

2. A contrast is drawn between a debt so enormous as to defy repayment, and one which could easily be met out of normal income. This is a vivid way of expressing the incomparable greatness of God's longsuffering. At the same time longsuffering makes possible our entry into newness of life. Similarly in Rom. 2:4 Paul reminds us that God's forbearance leads us to *metanoia*, repentance, by which he means the obedience of the man who has been delivered from the power of sin. In Rom. 2:4, as elsewhere, the background is that of God's righteous anger, but his patience, being linked with kindness (*chrēstotēs*), asumes the character of benevolence (→ Good). If this longsuffering were to be regarded merely as an opportunity given to men for self-improvement and amendment of life, then his wrath would be rendered innocuous. Paul puts the matter clearly in Rom. 9:22: in his patience God suffers those who are appointed to wrath, in order to display his power and mercy in the salvation of the elect (cf. 1 Pet. 3:20). 1 Tim. 1:16 speaks of the patience of Christ (cf. 2 Pet. 3:15), but likewise stresses its revelatory character: "But I received mercy, for this reason, that in me, as the foremost, Jesus Christ might display his perfect patience [*hapasan makrothymian*] for an example to those who were to believe in him for eternal life." Paul is a living example of divine patience, a proof of God's mercy to sinners, and thus Timothy should follow his example of patience (2 Tim. 3:10; 4:2).

3. In the parable of Matt. 18 human patience is shown to be related to (and dependent on) divine patience. God in his longsuffering holds open the door to newness of life, but such new life in the believer is proved genuine by the fact that he practises → forgiveness. Thus *makrothymia* comes into its own in the NT list

of virtues. Paul incorporates these lists in his practical exhortations: the virtues referred to are "the fruit of the Spirit" (Gal. 5:22; cf. Col. 1:11; 1 Thess. 5:14; 2 Tim. 3:10) or our "walk in the Spirit" (Eph. 4:2; Col. 3:12). In the light of Matt. 18, however, one cannot regard these as special "charismatic virtues" (cf. H. Schlier, *Der Brief an die Galater*, *KEK* 7, 1962[12], ad loc.). They are charismatic in the sense that they are gifts of the Spirit, but they are not in any sense abnormal for the Christian. Rather, they express the way a man behaves who through the forbearance of God has received grace and forgiveness (2 Cor. 6:1 ff.). The fact that *chrēstotēs* and *praÿtēs* (→ Humility, art. *praÿs*) are regularly found in the context indicates that *makrothymia* in the NT is not what Gk. humanism held it to be, namely a virtuous attitude cultivated exclusively in one's own interests. Rather, it is something active which makes a man always prepared to meet his neighbour halfway and to share his life with him. In other words, human patience or forbearance in this sense is not a character trait but a way of life. Indeed, it is the primary expression of → love, for "love is patient [*makrothymei*] and kind; love is not jealous or boastful" (1 Cor. 13:4).

4. There is, however, another aspect of patience which is required of believers as they await "the coming of the Lord" (Jas. 5:7). Jas. 5:7–11 links together the two aspects, namely that extended to our fellow-men and that which is needed to cope with all the trials and tribulations of this world until the parousia. Therefore, James exhorts his readers to be patient (Jas. 5:7 f., 10). They are to establish their hearts, for the coming of the Lord is at hand (5:8). They are not to grumble at each other, for the judge is standing at the doors (5:9). They are to follow the example of the suffering and patience of the prophets (5:10) and be steadfast like Job (5:11; cf. Job 1:21 f.; 2:10), remembering that the Lord is compassionate and merciful (5:11; cf. Pss. 10:38; 111:4).

5. Patience is an aspect of faith and hope which was exhibited by Abraham and which will likewise enable the believer to inherit the promises of God. This aspect of patience is developed by Heb.: "And we desire each one of you to show the same earnestness in realizing the full assurance of hope until the end, so that you may not be sluggish, but imitators of those who through faith and patience inherit the promises" (Heb. 6:11 f.). "And thus Abraham, having patiently endured, obtained the promise" (Heb. 6:15; cf. Gen. 22:16 f.).

6. 2 Pet. 3 discusses the apparent delay in the parousia. This is not to be taken as indefinite postponement but as a sign of God's patience to give men full opportunity to repent. "The Lord is not slow about his promise as some count slowness, but is forbearing towards you [*makrothymei eis hymas*], not wishing that any should perish, but that all should reach repentance" (2 Pet. 3:9). The remark is directed specifically at the readers ("you"). 2 Pet. 3:15 relates this to Paul's teaching: "And count the forbearance [*makrothymian*] of our Lord as salvation. So also our beloved brother Paul wrote to you according to the wisdom given him" (cf. above 2; → *anochē* NT 2).

7. The interpretation of Lk. 18:7 has been the subject of considerable discussion. The verse follows the parable of the unjust judge (Lk. 18:1–6), which was told to teach the disciples "that they ought always to pray and not lose heart" (18:1). In the parable the widow finally gets the judge to vindicate her because of her constant petitioning. Similarly, Jesus asks: "And will not God vindicate his elect, who cry to

him day and night? *kai makrothymei ep' autois*?" The RSV translates this as "Will he delay long over them?" This, however, does not bring out the meaning of the vb. E. E. Ellis notes four possible alternative interpretations (*The Gospel of Luke, New Century Bible*, 1966, 214). (i) "Will not God . . . be patient with their complaint?" Ellis himself favours this, seeing a parallel use in Matt. 18:26. It may be added that the same preposition *epi* is used in both cases. Thus, whereas the unjust judge vindicated the woman lest "she will wear me out by her continual coming" (18:5), *a fortiori* God who is both loving and good will be patient with his people and their cries. This fits the context of the parable and seems preferable to the remaining alternatives. (ii) ". . . and be patient with the wicked" (cf. W. Grundmann, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas, Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament*, 1, 1959, ad loc.; cf. 2 Pet. 3:9 f.). (iii) ". . . and he is longsuffering over them" (RV; cf. Rev. 6:11). (iv) ". . . or can he just endure their plight" (cf. H. Ljungvik, "Zur Erklärung einer Lukas-Stelle (Luk. xviii. 7)", *NTS* 10, 1964–65, 293).

U. Falkenroth, C. Brown

ὑπομένω

ὑπομένω (*hypomenō*), be patient, persevere, endure, be steadfast; ὑπομονή (*hypomonē*), patience, steadfastness, endurance.

CL The vb. *hypomenō*, found since the time of Homer, is formed from the prep. *hypo* and *menō*, remain, stay. It means to remain behind, stand one's ground, survive, remain steadfast, persevere and also to wait, and (trans.) await. It is used frequently in military contexts and at first is ethically neutral. From the time of Plato the noun *hypomonē* also came into use, and from then on both words imply value judgments in both a positive and a negative sense. Positively, steadfastness, constancy and perseverance are among the noblest of manly virtues, equally esteemed in the ethical systems of Plato and Aristotle. A proud Greek freeman endures burdens, difficulties or dangers, without any thought of tangible or moral reward but solely for the sake of his honour. But negatively, there is the dishonourable attitude of mere passive resignation in the face of degradation, abuse, ostracism, slavery or tyranny, whether from fear, weakness or indolence (cf. F. Hauck, *TDNT*, IV 581 ff.).

OT The LXX uses the vb. predominantly in the sense of wait and await, as a rendering of the Heb. vb. *qāwâh*, await, and also hope; *yāḥal*, wait; *ḥaḵâh*, wait patiently; and other vbs. but which are less theologically significant. This personal expectation seems to be grounded in the → covenant relationship for often it is Israel as a nation that is called to wait upon God, while God himself, who rules over all nations, is called specifically "the Hope of Israel" (Jer. 14:8; 17:13; Ps. 52:9; 130:5 ff.). Ultimately Israel's hopes and longings were directed towards the fulfilment of the covenant promise (Ps. 36:10; 34). Israel's endurance has none of the resigned attitude of a slave but reaches out towards God and draws his strength from him as the object of all his hopes (Isa. 40:13). Thus *hypomonē* expresses the attitude of the man living in the light of "the last days" (→ Goal, art. *eschatos*) (Hab. 2:3; Zeph. 3:18; Dan. 12:12), and is later used in this sense in the Synoptic Gospels.

Job and some other later biblical writers also use the word in its Gk. sense of being steadfast, holding one's ground, persevering in distress (Job 6:10; Sir. 22:18), or with some definite object in view. This usage runs through the literature of later Judaism (especially 4 Macc.) and is eventually taken upon in the NT by Paul.

hypomenō is used for *qāwâh* at Job 3:9; 17:13; Pss. 25(24):3, 5, 21; 27(26):14; 37(36):9, 34; 40(39):1; 52(51):9; 56(55):6; 69(68):6, 20; 119(118):95; 130(129):5; Prov. 20:22; Isa. 25:9; 40:31; 49:23; 51:5; 60:9; Jer. 14:19, 22; Lam. 3:25. The corresponding noun *hypomonē* stands for nouns formed from the same root: *miqweh*, hope (1 Chr. 29:15; 2 Esd. 10:2; Jer. 14:8; 17:13); *tiqwâh* expectation, hope (Job 14:19; Pss. 9:18; 62[61]:5; 71[70]:5); for *qāwâh* (Ps. 39[38]:7); and without Heb. equivalent at Sir. 2:14; 16:13; 17:24; 38:27; 41:2; 4 Macc. 1:11; 7:9; 9:8, 30; 15:30; 17:4, 12, 17, 23. *hypomenō* stands for *yāḥal* at Jdg. 3:25; 2 Ki. 6:33; Job 6:11; 14:14; 32:16; Mic. 7:7; Lam. 3:21, 24; for *ḥāḵâh* at Job 32:4; Pss. 33(32):20; 106(105):13; Hab. 2:3; Zeph. 3:8; Isa. 64:3(4); Lam. 3:26; Dan. 12:12; for *ṭāman*, hide, at Job 20:26; for *yāšaḇ*, tarry, at Num. 22:19; for *kûl*, contain, endure, at Mal. 3:2; for *māhaḥ* linger, tarry, at Exod. 12:39; and *qûm* stand up, endure, at Job 8:15. It is without Heb. equivalent at Jos. 19:47; Ez. 2:19; Tob. 5:7; Job 7:3; 9:4; 15:31; 22:21; 33:5; 41:3(2); Pss. 142(141):7; 145(144):9; Wis. 16:22; 17:5; Sir. 16:22; 22:18; 36:18(21); 51:8; Zech. 6:14; Isa. 64:4(5); 2 Macc. 6:20; 4 Macc. 5:23; 6:9; 7:22; 9:6, 22; 13:12; 15:31 f.; 16:1, 8, 17, 19, 21; 17:7, 10.

NT 1. In the Synoptic Gospels the vb. occurs in the lit. sense of staying (of the boy Jesus remaining in Jerusalem, Lk. 2:43), and in Jesus' teaching where endurance is a prerequisite of salvation. "But he who endures to the end will be saved [*ho de hypomeinas eis telos houtos sōthēsetai*]" (Matt. 24:13 par. Mk. 13:13). The parallel in Lk. is worded differently, using the vb. instead of the noun: "By your endurance you will gain your lives [or souls] [*en tē hypomonē hymōn ktēsesthe tas psychas hymōn*]" (Lk. 21:19). The context is the eschatological discourse of Jesus, where the disciples have just been warned of numerous trials including being hated by all for the name of Jesus (Matt. 24:9; Mk. 13:13a; Lk. 21:17). The severity of the situation calls for endurance. Matt. 24:10 ff. mentions that many will fall away, and betray and hate one another. Many will be led astray by false prophets, and because of the proliferation of wickedness, "most men's love will grow cold." D. Hill suggests that the phrase *eis telos* means "finally", "without breaking down", rather than "to the end" (op. cit., 321). The use of the noun in Lk. recalls the parable of the sower: "And as for that in the good soil, they are those who, hearing the word, hold it fast in an honest and good heart, and bring forth fruit with patience [*en hypomonē*]" (Lk. 8:15; cf. Matt. 13:23; Mk. 4:20). But only Lk.'s version of the parable mentions *hypomonē*, whereas Matt. and Mk. mention the superabundance of the yield which Lk. omits. This may be due to the Gentile orientation of his Gospel. Whereas the parable mentions cares, riches and pleasure which may prevent fruit from growing, the eschatological discourse has in mind trials and tribulations. But in both cases patient endurance is the prerequisite: in the one case for salvation, in the other case for bearing the fruit of the word.

The warning about endurance is also given in identical words in Matt. 10:22 in the context of the mission charge to the twelve. Here too there is the warning about

being hated by all, and there are eschatological overtones. The blessedness of those who endure recalls Dan. 12:12: "Blessed is he who waits and comes to the thousand three hundred and thirty-five days."

2. Paul. (a) Both the noun and the vb. figure in the argument of Rom. *hypomonē* is a quality required of men if their lives are to be pleasing to God: "to those who by patience [*kath' hypomonēn*] in well-doing seek for glory and honour and immortality, he will give eternal life" (Rom. 2:7). Both the active sense of "steady persistence in well-doing" (NEB) and the passive sense of patient endurance under difficulties are possible here (cf. M. Black, *Romans*, *New Century Bible*, 1973, 55 f.). In Rom. 5 Paul shows how the justified believer can turn even suffering to good account. He not only rejoices in the "hope of sharing the glory of God" (5:2). "More than that, we rejoice in our sufferings [*thlipsesin*], knowing that suffering [*thlipsis*] produces endurance [*hypomonēn*], and endurance [*hypomonē*] produces character, and character produces hope, and hope does not disappoint us, because God's love has been poured into our hearts through the Holy Spirit which has been given to us" (5:3 ff.; → Persecution, art. *thlipsis*). In Rom. 8:25 hope is characterized as waiting for what we do not see with patience (cf. the use of the vb. in v. 24 *v.l.*). The context here is the travail of the created order "as we wait for adoption as sons, the redemption of our bodies" (8:23). "For in this hope we were saved. Now hope that is seen is not hope. For who hopes for what he sees? But if we hope for what we do not see, we wait for it with patience [*di' hypomonēs apekdechometha*]" (8:25). Finally, the concept occurs again in the practical exhortations at the end of Rom. "Rejoice in our hope, be patient in tribulation [*en thlipsei hypomenontes*], be constant in prayer" (Rom. 12:12 f.; cf. the connection between *hypomonē* and *thlipsis* here with 5:3; → Persecution). The purpose of the scriptures is to promote *hypomonē* which moreover reflects the very character of God. "For whatever was written in former days was written for our instruction, that by steadfastness and encouragement of the scriptures [*dia tēs hypomonēs kai dia tēs paraklēseōs tōn graphōn*] we might have hope. May the God of steadfastness and encouragement [*ho de theos tēs hypomonēs kai tēs paraklēseōs*] grant you to live in such harmony with one another, in accord with Christ Jesus, that together you may with one voice glorify the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ" (15:3–6; note the reiteration of the themes of Rom. 2:7 and 5:3 ff.).

(b) Whereas *hypomonē* is a characteristic of hope in Rom. it is seen as a characteristic of love in 1 Cor.: "Love bears all things believes all things, hopes all things, endures all things [*panta hypomenei*]" (1 Cor. 13:7). In 2 Cor. Paul develops the theme of endurance, especially in the service of Christ for the church. "If we are afflicted, it is for your comfort and salvation; and if we are comforted, it is for your comfort, which you experience, when you patiently endure the same sufferings that we suffer" (2 Cor. 1:6). 2 Cor. 6:4 and 12:12 allude to Paul's own apostolic endurance.

(c) Endurance and patience are qualities for which Paul prays particularly in the Colossian Christians: "May you be strengthened with all power, according to his glorious might, for all endurance and patience [*eis pasan hypomonēn kai makrothymian*] with joy" (Col. 1:11). In 1 Thess. 1:3 the "steadfastness of hope [*hypomonēs tēs elpidos*]" of the Thessalonians is a cause for particular thanksgiving, and and in 2 Thess. 1:4 Paul writes of how he boasts of their steadfastness and hope

in the churches of God. In 2 Thess. 3:5 Paul prays: "May the Lord direct your hearts to the love of God and to the steadfastness of Christ [*eis tēn hypomonēn tou Christou*]" (cf. Heb. 12:2 f.). "The Thessalonians are being reminded of the constancy exhibited by their Master, which forms the pattern on which they should model themselves" (L. Morris, *The First and Second Epistles to the Thessalonians, NLC*, 1959, 250).

(d) In the Pastoral Epistles steadfastness is mentioned as a quality required of Christian workers (1 Tim. 6:11; 2 Tim. 3:10) and older men (Tit. 2:2). It is necessary to endure all things for the sake of the elect (2 Tim. 2:10). Moreover, endurance is a precondition of reigning (2 Tim. 2:12) as in the saying quoted possibly from a liturgical or baptismal hymn: "The saying is sure: If we have died with him, we shall also live with him; if we endure, we shall also reign with him; if we deny him, he also will deny us; if we are faithless, he remains faithful – for he cannot deny himself" (2 Tim. 2:11 ff.).

3. The theme of perseverance and falling away is one of the central themes of Heb. (cf. the quotation of Ps. 95:7–11 in Heb. 3:7–11, 15 and 4:3–11; and the argument of ch. 12). Both the vb. (Heb. 10:32; 12:2 f., 7) and the noun (Heb. 10:36; 12:1) figure in the exhortations to perseverance. It stands in contrast with *hypostolē*, shrinking back (Heb. 10:39). Continued endurance is urged in the light of past endurance which included the loss of earthly goods (Heb. 10:32, cf. 34), the need of endurance to "do the will of God and receive what is promised" (Heb. 10:36), the fact that discipline is evidence of sonship (Heb. 12:7), and the example of Jesus himself "who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross, despising the shame, and is seated at the right hand of the throne of God" (Heb. 12:2; cf. v. 1; and 2 Thess. 3:5). "Consider him who endured from sinners such hostility against himself that you may not grow weary or faint-hearted" (Heb. 12:3).

4. The noun (Jas. 1:3 f.; 5:11) and the vb. (Jas. 1:12; 5:11) both feature in the Epistle of James. The rôle of steadfastness in producing Christian character in Jas. 1:3 f. may be compared with Paul's argument in Rom. 5:3 ff. and 2 Pet. 1:6. Endurance is necessary to receive the crown of life (Jas. 1:12; cf. Rom. 2:7; 8:25). Jas. 5:11 holds up the example of Job (cf. Job 1:21 f.; 2:10).

5. 1 Pet. 2:20 contrasts suffering for the sake of Christ with endurance of punishment rightly inflicted for a crime. There is no credit in the latter kind of enduring, and believers are warned not to render themselves liable for such punishment. In particular, the context suggests that some Christians thought themselves exempt from obedience to the state (1 Pet. 2:13–18), whilst some Christian slaves believed that they were no longer under obligation to their earthly masters. The argument of the second half of 1 Pet. 2 is that such earthly obligations still hold good, as they are appointed by God. Moreover, in submitting without reviling believers have the example of Christ before them (2:21–25). In 2 Pet. 1:6 *hypomonē* is twice mentioned in a list of virtues in a way which recalls Rom. 5:3 ff. and Jas. 1:3 f.

6. In Rev. patient endurance is the lot of John himself in his exile on Patmos "on account of the word of God and the testimony of Jesus" (Rev. 1:9). The churches of Ephesus and Thyatira were commended by the Spirit for their patient endurance (Rev. 2:2 f., 19). Similarly, the church at Philadelphia is encouraged: "Because you have kept my word of patient endurance, I will keep you from the hour of trial which is coming on the whole world, to try those who dwell upon the

earth" (Rev. 3:10). The conflict with the beast (→ Animal, art. *thērion*) gives rise to the exhortations: "Here is a call for the endurance and faith of the saints" (Rev. 13:10); "Here is a call for the endurance of the saints, those who keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus" (Rev. 14:12).

U. Falkenroth, C. Brown

→ Faith, → Hope, → Persecution, → Suffer, → Tempt

(a). G. Bornkamm, "The Revelation of God's Wrath (Romans 1–3)", in *Early Christian Experience*, 1969, 47–70; F. Büchsel, *elenchō* etc., *TDNT* II 473–76; A. Carr, "The Patience of Job", *The Expositor*, Eighth Series, 6, 1913, 511–17; W. Grundmann, *kartereō* etc., *TDNT* III 617–20; F. Hauck, *hypomenō, hypomonē*, *TDNT* IV 581–88; J. Horst, *makrothymia* etc., *TDNT* IV 374–87; J. Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus*, 1963²; I. H. Marshall, *Kept by the Power of God: A Study of Perseverance and Falling Away*, 1969; W. Meikle, "The Vocabulary of Patience in the Old Testament", *The Expositor*, Eighth Series, 19, 1920, 219–25; and "The Vocabulary of Patience in the New Testament", ibid., 304–13; H. Schlier, *anechō* etc., *TDNT* I 359 f.; W. Zimmerli, *Man and his Hope in the Old Testament*, *SBT* Second Series 20, 1971.
(b). A. M. Festugière, "*hypomonē* dans la Tradition Grecque", *Recherches de Science Religieuse* 30, 1931, 477–86; E. Käsemann, "Zum Verständnis von Rom. 3, 24–26", *ZNW* 43, 1950–51, 150 ff. (reprinted in *Exegetische Versuche und Besinnungen*, I, 1960, 96 ff.); and *Das wandernde Gottesvolk. Eine Untersuchung zum Hebräerbrief*, 1957², 19 ff.; H. Riesenfeld, "Zu *makrothymein* (Lk. 18, 7)", in *Neutestamentliche Aufsätze, Festschrift für J. Schmid*, 1963, 214 ff.; C. Spicq, "Patientia", *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques* 19, 1930, 95–106; K. Wennemer, "Die Geduld in neutestamentlicher Sicht", *Geist und Leben* 36, 1963, 36 ff.; S. Wibbing, *Die Tugend- und Lasterkataloge im Neuen Testament und ihre Traditionsgeschichte unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Qumran-Texte*, *BZNW* 25, 1959.

Peace

εἰρήνη

εἰρήνη (*eirēnē*), peace; εἰρηνεύω (*eirēneuō*), live in peace, have peace, keep peace; εἰρηνικός (*eirēnikos*), peaceable, peaceful; εἰρηνοποιός (*eirēnopoios*), peacemaker; εἰρηνοποιέω (*eirēnopoieō*), make peace.

CL 1. *eirēnē*, peace (from Homer onwards, also in inscriptions and papyri, etymology uncertain), denotes in profane Gk. the antithesis to war, or the condition resulting from a cessation of war. Peace is the state of law and order which gives rise to the blessings of prosperity.

2. In Plato and Epictetus *eirēnē* can also denote peaceful conduct, though peaceableness towards others is generally rendered by *philia* (→ love, friendship) or *homonoia* (unity, concord); and a peaceful frame of mind by *galēnē* (calm). Not until the Stoics (Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius) does peace occur in the sense of spiritual peace. But even so, the word is not common in their writings, and *galēnē* is more frequent in Marcus Aurelius (W. Foerster, *TDNT* II 401). *eirēneuō* (since Plato, used also in mid.), means to live in peace, to have peace, though in late writers it can occasionally mean to bring about peace (LXX 1 Macc. 6:60; Josephus *War* 2, 367; Dio Cass. 77, 12, 1; Did. 4, 3; Barn. 19, 12). *eirēnikos*, peaceful, embraces everything relating to peace (cf. *polemikos*, bellicose, warlike). The compounds *eirēnopoieō*, to make peace, establish peace (from the LXX onwards) and *eirēnopoios*, peacemaker, when found in profane Gk., can very infrequently

bear the sense of political pacification by force of arms (e.g. by the Roman emperor) (cf. Lat. *pacare*, pacify, subdue).

OT 1. (a) In the LXX *eirēnē* is almost invariably used to translate the Heb. *šālôm* which occurs more than 250 times in the OT. (Exceptions to this are largely phrases connected with coming and going, and with greetings, e.g. Gen. 26:31; 43:23; but also Jer. 20:10; Isa. 48:22; 57:21; where *sōtēria*, *chairein*, etc. are used.) The well-being that comes from God is, however, regularly expressed by *eirēnē* (G. von Rad, *TDNT* II 402 f.). In some 15 passages *eirēnē* corresponds to various other Heb. words which embrace the general area of meaning of rest, safety, freedom from care and trustfulness: *šāqaṭ*, have rest from (1 Chr. 4:40); *beṭaḥ*, trust, security (Job 11:18; Prov. 3:23; Isa. 14:30; Ezek. 34:27; 38:8, 11, 14; 39:6, 26); *hālaḵ*, walk (2 Sam. 3:24); *leqaḥ*, understanding (Isa. 29:24); *ṣaḥ*, clear (Isa. 32:4); *šalwâh*, ease (Prov. 17:1). It is clear that some of these passages use *eirēnē* to give an interpretative gloss on the original Heb.

Unlike the Gk. *eirēnē*, the Heb. *šālôm* is the opposite not so much of war as of any disturbance in the communal well-being of the nation, a disturbance which, of course, may in certain circumstances make it necessary to go to war (cf. 2 Sam. 11:7). Hence in the LXX *eirēnē* too acquires the sense of general well-being, the source and giver of which is Yahweh alone. Indeed, the Heb. text of Jdg. 6:24 which gives the name of the place of Gideon's altar means: Yahweh is peace (cf. RV "Jehovah-shalom"). *šālôm* includes everything given by God in all areas of life (*TDNT* II 402). *eirēnē*, therefore, coming as it does from God, approximates closely to the idea of salvation (*sōtēria*; → Redemption; cf. Ps. 84:11). When God withdraws his peace, mourning must inevitably take its place (Jer. 16:5).

(b) Throughout the Heb. OT, *šālôm* covers well-being in the widest sense of the word (Jdg. 19:20); prosperity (Ps. 73:3), even in reference to the godless; bodily health (Isa. 57:18; Ps. 38:3); contentedness, on departure (Gen. 26:29), on going to sleep (Ps. 4:8), and at death (Gen. 15:15 etc.); good relations between nations and men (1 Ki. 5:26; Jdg. 4:17; 1 Chr. 12:17, 18); salvation (Isa. 43:7; Jer. 29:11; cf. Jer. 14:13). Participation in this peace means sharing in the gifts of salvation which are involved, while expulsion from it means the end of prosperity (Lam. 3:17). *šālôm* has a social dimension, being bound up with the political aspirations of Israel, and has a public significance far beyond the purely personal. Evidence of this is found in the close association of *šālôm* with *ṣᵉḏāqâh* (→ Righteousness; cf. Isa. 48:18; Ps. 85:10); with the concrete ideas of → law and → judgment (*mišpāṭ*; Zech. 8:16); and even with public officials (Heb. *pᵉquddâh*, oversight, care; LXX *archontas* and *episkopous*, rulers and overseers; Isa. 60:17; → Beginning; → Bishop).

(c) The concept of peace is found at the climax of the blessing in Num. 6:24 ff., where it sums up all the other blessings and where it is closely associated with the presence of Yahweh. The blessing is attributed to Moses who is commanded by Yahweh to transmit this blessing to Aaron and his sons as the form of blessing with which they are to bless Israel (Num. 6:22 f.). "The LORD bless you and keep you: The LORD make his face to shine upon you, and be gracious to you: The LORD lift up his countenance upon you and give you peace" (Num. 6:24 ff.). The following verse adds: "So shall they put my name upon the people of Israel, and I will

bless them" (6:27). J. I. Durham comments: "*šālôm* is the gift of God, and can be received only in his PRESENCE. But the use of *šālôm* in the blessing also lends credence to the view that *šālôm* serves as a cultic term and possesses a meaning far more comprehensive than the one usually given to it in the translations and by many commentators. For *šālôm* in Num. 6:24–26 is intended as a description of the man who is blessed (*bārak*), guarded (*šāmar*) and treated graciously (*ḥānan*) by God; the man who is doubly in God's PRESENCE; the man who is 'fulfilled', and so 'complete'. Indeed has such a man answered the New Testament commandment which is attributed to our Lord: *esesthe oun hymeis teleioi hōs ho pater hymōn ho ouranios teleios estin* ['You, therefore, must be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect', Matt. 5:48]" ("*šālôm* and the Presence of God", in J. I. Durham and J. R. Porter, eds., *Proclamation and Presence: Old Testament Essays in Honour of Gwynne Henton Davies*, 1970, 292 f.).

Durham also draws attention to the fact that the LXX uses the adj. *teleios*, perfect, to render the adjs. from stems *šlm* and *tmm*, complete (1 Ki. 8:61; 11:4; 15:3, 14; 1 Chr. 28:9; Deut. 18:13; Jer. 13:19; Exod. 12:5; cf. G. Barth in G. Bornkamm, G. Barth and H. J. Held, *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew*, 1963, 98; and Hatch-Redpath, 1342 f. for other cognates of both the Gk. and the Heb. words). Thus *teleios* renders one aspect of *šālôm* not immediately apparent in *eirēnē*.

Durham contends that "*šālôm* is often indicative, in Old Testament usage, of a comprehensive kind of fulfilment or completion, indeed of a perfection in life and spirit which quite transcends any success which man alone, even under the best of circumstances, is able to attain" (op. cit., 280; cf. e.g. Gen. 15:15; 29:6; 37:14; 43:27 f.; Exod. 18:7, 23; Num. 25:12; Deut. 23:6[7]; Jdg. 18:15; 1 Sam. 17:18; 22; 20:7; 25:6; 2 Sam. 11:7; 18:28 f.; 1 Ki. 22:27 f.; 2 Ki. 22:20; Isa. 45:7; 48:18; 53:5; 54:10, 13; 57:2, 19; 59:8; 60:17; 66:12; Mal. 2:5 f.). In particular, this is illustrated by the promise of Yahweh that Josiah will be gathered to his fathers not "in peace" (so RSV) which was manifestly not the case, but "in success", i.e. having achieved his calling (2 Ki. 22:20; cf. op. cit., 279).

šālôm is ultimately the gift of Yahweh (Gen. 28:21; 41:16; Lev. 26:6; Jdg. 18:6; 1 Chr. 22:9; cf. 12:19; 23:25). This is a particular theme of the prophets who are concerned with the proclamation of peace (Isa. 9:5 f.; 26:6, 12; 45:7; 48:18, 22; 52:7; 54:10, 13; 53:5; 55:12; 57:2, 19, 22; 60:17; 66:12; Jer. 14:13; Jer. 6:13; 8:11, 15; 14:13; 23:17; 28:9; 29:11; 33:6, 9; Ezek. 34:25; 37:26; Mic. 5:5[4]; Nah. 2:1[1:15]; Hag. 2:9; Zech. 6:13; 8:10 ff.; 9:10; Mal. 2:5 f.). Jeremiah, in particular, proclaimed that Yahweh also withdraws his *šālôm* in judgment (Jer. 12:12; 14:19; 16:5; 25:37). The theme of Yahweh as the giver of peace figures prominently in the Psalms (Pss. 4:8; 29[28]:10 f.; 34:15[33:14]; 35[34]:27; 37[36]:11; 55[54]:18; 73[72]:3; 85[84]:8; 119[118]:165; 122[121]:6 ff.; 125[124]:5; 147:14). It also occurs in Prov. 3:2, 17, 23 and Job 5:24; 15:21; 25:2. Whereas all the passages which see *šālôm* as a gift of Yahweh imply a presence of Yahweh, a number of passages relate Yahweh's presence to the cult (Gen. 28:10–22; Num. 6:23 f.; Jdg. 18:6; Pss. 4:8 29[28]:10 ff.; 2 Sam. 15:24 ff.).

(d) After the conquest and fall of Jerusalem (597 and 587 B.C.) the promise of peace became central to the message of the prophets, especially Deutero-Isaiah. With the destruction of Jerusalem the false prophets of salvation (Jer. 6:14; 8:11;

Ezek. 13:10, 16) were utterly discredited. In Deutero-Isaiah the divine covenant of peace (Isa. 54:10) comes to be viewed eschatologically: righteousness, splendour, salvation and glory (Isa. 62:1, 2) are all expected to be manifest at the end. The created world, which at present is under God's righteous judgment for its sin, and is in conflict with itself, will again be made whole (Isa. 11:6–9; 29:17–24; 62:1–9), when God creates new heavens and a new earth (Isa. 65:17–19; cf. Rev. 21:1–4). The message concerning the renewal of the covenant of peace blossoms into the promise of the universal and everlasting peace, and the coming of the day of salvation is frequently linked with the Prince of peace (Isa. 9:5, 6), who as God's anointed (Isa. 61:1, 2) is the bringer and founder of the kingdom of peace.

2. (a) In Rab. literature it is the *šālôm* of Yahweh which underlies the whole concept of peace (see above 1 (b)), but it undergoes an enlargement both in the God-man relationship and on the purely human plane. The phrase for "to greet", *šā'al b^{e}šālôm*, meaning to ask after (someone's) peace, i.e. to wish it for someone, turns the act of greeting into something approaching an act of blessing. *šālôm* and *b^{e}rāḵâh* (blessing) begin to correspond (*TDNT* II 409). *šālôm* becomes the very essence of that salvation expected by the Jews. It is necessary to pursue such peace (Rabbi Hillel, Aboth 1: 12; cf. SB I 217), and to establish peace among men. Among the rabbis the rôle of the peacemaker is similar to that in the NT, and at this point Rab. Judaism approaches the "new commandment" of the NT (→ Command, art. *entolē*). The motive-force, however, is not so much positive love for one's neighbour, as the desire to get rid of all that would hinder *šālôm*. What holds good on the purely human level also applies to the relationship between man and God. Peace thus gains a new dimension, with greater importance being attached both to what man does and to what he leaves undone.

(b) Similarly in the Pseudepigrapha, *eirēnē* implies salvation, which certainly includes the cessation of war, but goes beyond this. In the Test. XII peace means the withholding of judgment, i.e. sparing the offender out of compassion, or at least deferring his punishment. While Josephus follows the OT Rab. line completely (*Ant.* 1, 179; 11, 216; 8, 405; *War* 2, 135), in Philo the concept of peace becomes introverted and signifies peace of mind (*Som.* 2, 253; *Ebr.* 97), though this is not divorced from the external and objectively verifiable state of peace. Under the influence of Gk. philosophy, Philo also regards inward peace as being victory over temptation and lust (Jos. 57). Eth.Enoch 52:11 declares: "Blessed is he who brings peace and love."

(c) In its separation from apostate Israel (1QS 8:4–9; CD 1:4 and passim) the Qumran community considered itself to be the eschatological community of the saved; its members have already entered into the enjoyment of eschatological peace. There are references to eternal peace (1QS 2:4), the superabundance of peace (1QS 4:7), peace without end (1QH 7:15), lasting peace (1QH 15:16) and peace without limit (1QH 18:30). Yet the community is still in the midst of conflict (Belial against Israel and Michael, CD 4:13 and passim; the sons of light, 1QM 1:11, against the sons of darkness, 1QM 1:9 f.). The coming of peace is bound up with visitation (1QH 1:17); salvation is confirmed only after its recipients have been tried in the furnace of fire (1QM 17:1). God has already engraved the covenant of peace (= salvation) for all eternity with the stylus of life (1QM 12:3). Such peace no longer meets with rejection (1QH 9:11), being a present refuge

replete with the blessings of salvation (1QH 9:33); peace is identical with salvation (→ Redemption, art. *sōzō*) and with happiness. "The peace of God" (1QM 3:5; 4:14) and "the joy of God" (→ Joy, art. *agalliaomai*) are the watchwords of God's people upon their safe arrival home (1QM 3:11).

NT *eirēnē* is found 91 times in the NT, 24 of which are in the Gospels. The 4 occurrences in Matt. are confined to the discourse in ch. 10, where Jesus sends out his twelve disciples (vv. 13, 34); Mk. uses it once (as a valedictory formula, 5:34), and Lk. 13 times. Christ's farewell discourses in Jn. (chs. 14–16; also ch. 20) contain the word 5 times, in each case denoting Christ's gift to his disciples (Jn. 14:27; 16:33; 20:19, 21, 26). Occurrences in the rest of the NT are as follows: 7 in Acts; 43 in the Pauline epistles (including 10 in Rom. and 8 in Eph.); 11 in the Pastoral Epistles, 4 in Heb. and 2 in Rev. On 12 occasions → grace (*charis*) and peace are mentioned together as coming from God the Father (*apo theou patros*). The vb. *eirēneuō* appears 3 times in Paul; *eirēnopoios* once in Matt. 5:9; and *eirēnikos* only in Heb. 12:11 and Jas. 3:17. The form predominating in the NT, therefore, is *eirēnē* itself, always rendered in the Vulg. by *pax*, except for 1 Pet. 5:14, where *gratia* is used.

1. It is not possible to trace any development of the idea of *eirēnē* within the NT. Both in form and content it stands firmly in the LXX and Heb. OT tradition, though in addition the meanings set out under CL continue to make their influence felt. Thus, as in CL 1, peace is the opposite of war (Lk. 14:32, an Aramaism; Acts 12:20). In Lk. 11:21 and Acts 24:2 it denotes external security. OT influence is more apparent in 1 Cor. 14:33, where peace is the opposite of disorder in the church. Similarly it is used for harmony among men (Acts 7:26; Gal. 5:22; Eph. 4:3; Jas. 3:18; negatively in Matt. 10:34), and for messianic salvation (Lk. 1:79; 2:14; 19:42). Hence the word can describe both the content and the goal of all Christian preaching, the message itself being called "the gospel of peace" (Eph. 6:15; cf. Acts 10:36; Eph. 2:17). In other words, the biblical concept of peace (from *šālôm*) is primarily that of wholeness. This divinely-wrought reality exercises a mighty influence in the present world, though it still awaits final fulfilment. Soteriologically, peace is grounded in God's work of → redemption. Eschatologically it is a sign of God's new creation which has already begun. Teleologically it will be fully realized when the work of new creation is complete. Only in a secondary sense does peace describe human and divine-human relationships, in which case it refers to a psychological state consequent upon sharing in the all-embracing peace of God. On Lk. 2:14 → Please, art. *eudokeō* NT 3(c).

2. (a) As opposed to *akatastasia*, disorder, peace is an order established by God as the God of peace (1 Cor. 14:33; cf. also Rom. 15:33; 16:20; Phil. 4:9; 1 Thess. 5:23; Heb. 13:20). The wide-ranging scope of salvation is shown by the fact that peace is linked with → love (*agapē*) in 2 Cor. 13:11; with → grace (*charis*) especially in the introductions to the epistles (Rom. 1:7; 1 Cor. 1:3; 2 Cor. 1:2; Gal. 1:3; Eph. 1:2; Phil. 1:2; Col. 1:2; 1 Thess. 1:1; 2 Thess. 1:2; 1 Tim. 1:2; 2 Tim. 1:2; Tit. 1:4; Phlm. 3; 1 Pet. 1:2; 2 Pet. 1:2; 2 Jn. 3; Jude 2; Rev. 1:4). It also features in closing salutations (Rom. 15:33; 16:20; 1 Cor. 16:11; 2 Cor. 13:11; Gal. 6:16; Eph. 6:23, cf. 15; Phil. 4:7, 9; 1 Thess. 5:23; 2 Thess. 3:16; Heb. 13:20; 1 Pet. 5:14; 2 Pet. 3:14; 3 Jn. 15). It is linked with → life (*zōē*) in

Rom. 8:6, where it is contrasted with → death (*thanatos*). Similarly in Jn. 16:33 there is an antithesis between peace and tribulation (*thlipsis*; → Persecution). Peace comes from him who is, who was, and who is to come (Rev. 1:4; cf. Heb. 7:2, a reference to → Melchizedek as a type of the king of peace, *basileus eirēnēs*). The Gospel of Jn. insists that this peace differs not only quantitatively but also qualitatively from that of the world (Jn. 16:33) in that it is given by Christ himself. Peace in heaven and → glory (*doxa*) in the highest (Lk. 19:38) also form part of the expected salvation. Peace, if it is to exist at all, must be all-embracing.

(b) Christ is the mediator of peace. He brings in the kingdom of God and is the bearer of reconciliation (Rom. 5:1; Col. 1:20; Lk. 2:14 and 1:79, referring to the birth of Jesus and John respectively). (On Lk. 2:14 → Man, art. *anthrōpos* NT 1; → Please, art. *eudokeō* NT 3 (c).) Indeed, he himself is peace (Eph. 2:14–18), as is Yahweh in the OT. While the Gospel of Jn. stresses Christ's gift of peace to his disciples (Jn. 14:27), Christ's missionary discourses make the point that his commissioned followers are to pass it on to others. If it is refused by those to whom it is offered, then it returns to the disciples (Lk. 10:5 f.; Matt. 10:13). The salutation in profane Gk. *chairein kai eirēnē* (much used at the beginning of letters) is deepened in the greetings of the Pauline epistles (→ Book, art. *epistolē* NT).

Thus in the NT *eirēnē* is described as the peace of Christ (Col. 3:15) and as the gift of the Father and the Son (Rom. 1:7; 1 Cor. 1:3 and passim). It is both obtained and maintained through communion with Christ (Jn. 16:33; Phil. 4:7; 1 Pet. 5:14). The whole process of believers' sanctification, preservation and perfecting (1 Thess. 5:23; Heb. 13:20) serves to deepen their participation in the peace of God, and → Satan, who is constantly trying to hinder this work, will be crushed by God himself (Rom. 16:20). Peace may, however, go unrecognized (Lk. 19:42); it may be forgotten and obscured (Rom. 3:12, 17), or refused (Lk. 10:5 f.; Matt. 10:13). In Heb. 13:20, the phrase *en panti agathō* may be translated "in every good work", or "in all that is good". Therefore, it can have either a moral and ethical meaning, or it can refer to believers' well-being in the broadest sense of the term. Similarly, in 2 Thess. 3:16 the phrase *dia pantos en panti tropō*, everywhere and in all ways, may include all the benefits of peace (well-being, health, happiness, harmony). But if there is a conflict between these benefits and the peace of God itself, then they must be surrendered, or else there will be disharmony instead of peace (Lk. 12:51 ff.). There is no room for false peace. By its very nature peace is grounded in the righteousness and wholeness which God gives to man for the sake of Christ and his merits (*LTK* IV 367).

3. Peace, in the sense of wholeness both for men and the world (2 Cor. 5:17; Gal. 6:15), brings a newness to human relationships. Hence the injunction: Be at peace with one another (Mk. 9:50; cf. 2 Cor. 13:11, in association with *to auto phroneite*, be of one → mind) and with all men wherever possible (see above NT 2 (b)) and so far as it depends upon you (Rom. 12:18). The kingdom of God is righteousness and peace (Rom. 14:17) in the sense of establishing righteous harmony among men. The church is upbuilt in peace, and in the → joy of the Holy Spirit (Rom. 14:17, 19). The peace to which the church is called (1 Cor. 7:15) is the gift of God (see above 2 (b); 1 Pet. 1:2; Jude 2), who fills men with it (Rom. 15:13). It is God who causes it to rule in the heart of men and so reign in the Christian community (Col. 3:15), and manifest itself as the → fruit of the Spirit

(Gal. 5:22). God in Christ has come preaching peace (*euangelizomenos eirēnēn*, Acts 10:36, quoting Isa. 52:7; cf. also Eph. 2:17; → Gospel).

2 Tim. 2:22 and Heb. 12:14 emphasize that peace in the sense of concord and harmony is to be pursued not only in the church but among men generally, so far as is possible (*TDNT* II 416 f.; cf. Eph. 4:3; 1 Pet. 3:11 quoting Ps. 34:15; Jas. 3:18). Matt. 5:9 states the beatitude: "Blessed are the peacemakers [*eirēnopoioi*], for they shall be called sons of God." The word *eirēnopoios* is an adj. meaning making peace, used only here in the NT as a noun, peacemaker. It is rare in secular Gk. (e.g. Xen., 6, 3, 4; Cornutus 16 p. 23, 2; Dio Cass., 44, 49, 2; 72, 15, 5; Plut., *Mor.* 279b; Pollux, 152; Philo, *Spec.Leg.* 2, 192), where it is applied in particular to emperors. But in the context of Matt. it is more likely to have a Heb. background, suggesting what to the Jewish hearer would be implied by *šālôm*. It may also be related to the saying in Matt. 5:48: "You, therefore, must be perfect [*teleioi*], as your heavenly Father is perfect." With regard to this concept, G. Barth comments: "Matthew does not use *teleios* in the Greek sense of the perfect ethical personality, but in the Old Testament sense of the wholeness of consecration to God, as the close relationship with the use of *tāmîm* in 1QS shows. That discipleship itself is 'perfection' and not merely the way to it follows above all from the fact that the necessity of imitation in suffering is not grounded primarily on a goal envisaged in the future but on belonging to the suffering Son of man" (op. cit., 101; cf. 1 QS 1:8 f.; 2:3; 4:22; 5:24; 8:1, 9, 18, 20; 9:2, 5 f., 8 f., 19; 11:11, 17; see above OT 1 (c)). The disciple who is perfect in the sense of bringing the wholeness which comes from God alone and which is intimately bound up with his presence is one who brings peace in the fullest sense of the term *šālôm*. As such, he is a son of God fulfilling the destiny and title of Israel (cf. Deut. 14:1; Hos. 1:10; Ps.Sol. 17:30; Wis. 2:13, 18). "The peacemakers are the true Israel and acknowledged by God as his children" (T. W. Manson, *The Sayings of Jesus*, 1947, 151).

4. The adj. *eirēnikos* occurs only at Heb. 12:11 and Jas. 3:17. In Heb. "the peaceful fruit of righteousness" is said to spring from → discipline (→ also Patience, art. *hypomonē*). This leads on to the exhortation to "Strive for peace with all men, and for the holiness without which no one will see the Lord" (Heb. 12:14), which is followed by the example of the "immoral and irreligious" Esau (Heb. 12:16; cf. Gen. 25:29–34). Esau's action in trading his birthright shows a failure to seek peace and holiness, by allowing a "root of bitterness" to spring up (Heb. 12:15; cf. Deut. 29:18 LXX). In Jas. 3:17 *eirēnikos* is also associated with fruit, but here in particular with wisdom. "But the wisdom from above is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, open to reason, full of mercy and good fruits, without uncertainty or insincerity."

5. The vb. *eirēnopoieō* is found only at Col. 1:20 where it refers to the cosmic scope of the reconciling death of Christ: "For in him all the fullness of God was pleased to dwell, and through him to reconcile to himself all things, whether on earth or in heaven, making peace [*eirēnopoiēsas*] by the blood of the cross." The verse is possibly part of a quotation from an early Christian hymn (cf. E. Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon*, *Hermeneia*, 1971, 59). The vb. occurs in Prov. 10:10 and Isa. 27:5. On the idea of cosmic reconciliation see Asc.Isa. 11:23 and Lohse, op. cit., 60 f.; also → Blood; → Reconciliation; → Fullness. The aor. of the Gk.

here is better translated as "having made peace", since it refers to the historic event of the → cross (cf. Col. 2:13 ff.).

6. In at least one passage (Rom. 15:13) peace is to be understood as a power which, together with → joy, can pervade the whole person: "May the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing, so that by the power of the Holy Spirit you may abound in hope" (Rom. 15:13; → Hope; → Fullness, art. *plēroō*). This peace is neither the Stoic's withdrawal from the world nor a pious flight into spirituality and mystical contemplation. It is the joyful assurance of sharing already the peace of God as one goes through life and looks to eternity.

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(a). J. I. Durham, "*šālôm* and the Presence of God", in J. I. Durham and J. R. Porter, eds., *Proclamation and Presence: Old Testament Essays in Honour of Gwynne Henton Davies*, 1970, 272–92; W. Foerster and G. von Rad, *eirēnē* etc., *TDNT* II 400–20; H. Gross, "Peace", *EBT* II 648–51; J. Pedersen, *Israel: Its Life and Culture*, I–II, 1926, 263–335; E. Stauffer, *New Testament Theology*, 1955, 143–46.
(b). K. Bernhardt, ed., *Schalom. Studien zum Glaube und Geschichte Israels. A. Jepsen Zum 70. Geburtstag*, *AzTh* 46, 1971; E. Biser, *Wege des Friedens*, 1961; H. Braun, *Qumran und des Neue Testament*, 1966; W. Caspari, *Vorstellung und Wort "Friede" im Alten Testament*, 1910; J. Comblin, *Theologie des Friedens*, 1963; W. Eichrodt, *Die Hoffnung des ewigen Friedens im Alten Israel*, 1920; H. Gross, *Die Idee des ewigen und allgemeinen Friedens im Alten Orient und im Alten Testament*, 1956; W. S. Leeuwen, *Eirenē in het NT*, 1940; W. Nestle, *Der Friedensgedanke in der antiken Welt*, *Philologus* Supplement 31, 1938; N. Peters, *Weltfriede und Propheten*, 1917; A. Pujol, "De Salutione Apostolorum 'Gratia vobis et pax' ", *Verbum Domini* 12, 1932, 38–42, 76–82; F. Sauer, *Die Friedensbotschaft der Bibel*, 1954; E. Schlick and E. Biser, "Friede I", *LTK* IV 266 ff.; J. J. Stamm and H. Bietenhard, *Der Weltfriede im Alten und Neuen Testament*, 1959; O. H. Steck, *Friedensvorstellungen im Alten Jerusalem, Psalmen, Jesaja, Deuterojesaja*, 1972; E. Vogt, "Pax hominibus bonae voluntatis", *Biblica* 34, 1953, 427 ff.; H. W. Wolff, *Friede ohne Ende. Eine Auslegung von Jes. 7, 1–7 und 9, 1–6*, *BSt* 35, 1962; J. Zingerle," Die Weissagungen des Propheten Jesaias (11, 6–8) vom messianischen Friedensreich", *ZKT* 4, 1880, 651–61.

Pentecost, Feast of

πεντηκοστή πεντηκοστή (*pentēkostē*), Pentecost.

OT 1. *pentēcostē* is a fem. noun formed from the numeral *pentēkostos*, fiftieth, which is found in cl. Gk. from Plato onwards. In inscriptions and ostraca *hē pentēkostē* (*meris*) is a technical term meaning "the fiftieth (part)", i.e. 2%. But in Jewish and Christian literature the word stands for *hē pentēkostē hēmera*, the fiftieth day, referring to the festival celebrated on the fiftieth day after Passover (Tob. 2:1; 2 Macc. 12:32; Philo, *Decal.* 160; *Spec.Leg.* 2, 176; Josephus, *Ant.* 3, 252; 13, 252; 14, 337; 17, 254; *War* 1, 253; 2, 42; 6, 299; → Feast, art. *pascha*). In Deut. 16:10 it is the *ḥag šāḇu'ôṯ*, the feast of weeks (in rabbinic writings the *ḥag ḥ^{a}mîššîm yôm*, the feast of fifty days).

Pentecost was the second great feast of the Jewish year, a harvest festival, when the first-fruits of the wheat harvest were presented to Yahweh. It was celebrated seven weeks after the beginning of the barley harvest (hence "Feast of Weeks"), 50 days after the Passover (hence "Pentecost"). For accounts see Exod. 23:16; 34:22; Lev. 23:15–21; Num. 28:26–31; Deut. 16:9–12; Philo, *Spec.Leg.* 2, 176–88; Josephus, *Ant.* 3, 252 ff.

2. Jewish thinking about Pentecost developed during the period before and after Jesus.

(a) Pentecost has become the feast of covenant renewal in Jub. 6:17–21 (*c.* 100 B.C.) and probably also in the Qumran community (J. T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea*, *SBT* 26, 1959, 117; cf. 1QS 1:16–2:18), an association already implied in 2 Chr. 15:10–12 (cf. G. Kretschmar, "Himmelfahrt und Pfingsten", *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 66, 1954–55, 226 ff.). This almost certainly meant a link between Pentecost and the covenant of Sinai in particular: both Ex. 19:1 and 2 Chr. 15:10 specify "the third month" (the month during which Pentecost was celebrated), and the same link was made by the Samaritans (J. T. Milik, ibid.).

(b) In Philo the Sinai traditions are themselves developed. The heavenly voice at Sinai (Exod. 19:16–19) "sounded forth like the breath [*pneuma*] through a trumpet"; "the flame became articulate speech in the language familiar to the audience" (*Decal.* 33, 46). However, Philo did not associate the Sinai revelation with Pentecost.

(c) In rabbinic Judaism these two developments eventually came together. The association of Pentecost with the giving of the law becomes explicit (*Pes.* 68b) and the words of R. Johanan are frequently quoted (in various forms), that the (one) voice (at Sinai) divided into (seven voices and these into) seventy languages (so that all the nations heard in their own language) (cf. SB II 604 f.). The link between Pentecost and Sinai is not documented before the second century A.D. (SB II 601) and R. Johanan (died in A.D. 279).

NT 1. *The Authenticity of the Pentecost Narrative.* In Acts 2:1 Luke dates the giving of the → Spirit at Pentecost. Has Luke's account of the first Christian Pentecost been influenced by these Jewish traditions? Some scholars believe that such traditions play a primary rôle in shaping the narrative of Acts 2:1–13 (cf. E. Zeller, *The Contents and Origin of the Acts of the Apostles Critically Examined*, 1875, 202 ff.; A. Loisy, *Les Actes des Apôtres*, 1920, 184–95; E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1971, 166–89). However, the thesis cannot be sustained.

(a) Only one of the developments outlined above was already well established in pre-Christian Judaism – that is, Pentecost as the feast of covenant renewal (see above 2 (a)). But had Pentecost also become specifically the feast which celebrated the law-giving at Sinai? The answer is probably, Yes. The association was inevitable from the time that festivals became also celebrations of Israel's history (Passover, cf. Exod. 12:12 f., 17, 23–7, 39; Tabernacles, Lev. 23:43). The dating of the Sinai revelation to the third month (six to ten weeks after the Passover) must clearly have suggested the association. The giving of the law at Sinai was the most important of the covenants. And the custom of reading Exod. 19 at the Feast of Pentecost was probably already established in the century before Christ (cf. A. R. C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning*, 1966, 97 f.; J. C. Kirby, *Ephesians, Baptism and Pentecost*, 1968, 90–93).

(b) The Acts 2 tradition is significantly different from the rabbinic legends of Sinai (one heavenly voice from the mountain, proclaiming the law, in seventy languages; many human voices, inspired by the Spirit to praise God, in many languages). The earlier the legend the greater the differences from Acts 2. Philo's

treatment of Exod. 19 appears to be nothing more than his own (typical) exposition of a biblical narrative (contrast Heb. 12:19), and the possible point of contact with Acts 2 are minimal.

(c) The rabbis' failure or refusal to recognize a link between Pentecost and Sinai (prior to 2nd century A.D.) is not decisive against the view that the link was already established before Christ. Their silence may simply reflect their low regard for Pentecost (it is the only feast to which no tractate is devoted in the Mishnah and Talmud), which in turn may be due to a reaction on their part against the high esteem accorded to Pentecost in the "heterodox Judaism" of the Essenes and Samaritans (see above 2 (a)). Similarly the Therapeutae regarded Pentecost as the chief feast of the year (Philo, *Vit.Cont.* 65 f.), a view Philo may well have shared (*Spec.Leg.* 2, 176 ff.). The Pharisees were also in dispute with the Sadducees on the dating of Pentecost (Menahoth 10:3).

We may conclude therefore that while Luke was probably aware of an already established association between Pentecost and the law giving at Sinai, there is no evidence that this or the more developed Sinai legends present in later rabbinic writings influenced his narrative in Acts 2. Consequently there is no evidence that the dating of the outpouring of the Spirit to Pentecost is due to Lucan redaction. On the contrary, the excitement of the next pilgrim feast day would be a very likely occasion for the first communal experience of Spirit following Jesus' resurrection. It is quite likely then that the Pentecost dating belongs to the original tradition underlying Acts 2 (cf. J. D. G. Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 1975, 139–42).

2. *Significance of Pentecost for the earliest Christians.* (a) Pentecost means first and foremost the outpouring of the Spirit promised by God for the end-time. Charismatic and ecstatic manifestations attributed to God's Spirit were as distinctive and significant a feature of earliest Palestinian Christianity as of later Hellenistic Christianity (cf. e.g. Matt. 3:11 par. Mk. 1:8, Lk. 3:16; Jn. 7:38 f.; Acts 2:38; 6:3 ff.; 8:14–7; 10:44–8; 18–25; 19:1–7; Rom. 8:9, 14 f.; 1 Cor. 12:13; Eph. 4:8; Heb. 2:4; 6:5). In particular, Pentecost was seen as the fulfilment of Joel 2:28; "in the last days" (Acts 2:17) is hardly typical of Lucan eschatology and is therefore probably primitive; and the language of Joel 2:28 ("pour out") has stamped itself on early Christian talk of the Spirit (Acts 2:17 f., 33; 10:45; Rom. 5:5; Tit. 3:6). Acts 20:16 may even indicate that the Jerusalem church observed Pentecost as the anniversary of the Spirit's outpouring (cf. 1 Cor. 16:18; G. Kretschmar, op. cit., 247–53), though the thesis that Eph. is constructed on the basis of a Pentecostal renewal of the covenant baptismal liturgy (cf. J. C. Kirby, op. cit.) is built on too flimsy a foundation. That the first Christian Pentecost was an ecstatic experience involving vision (sound like wind, tongues as of fire) and glossolalia is clearly indicated by the tradition in Acts 2:1–13. In addition, the impression that the glossolalia included recognizable languages may well stem from those whose conversion to the new sect dated from that occasion (cf. similar claims in modern Pentecostalism; J. D. G. Dunn, op. cit., 146–52; → Other, art. *allos, heteros*.NT 2; → Word, art. *glōssa*).

(b) This first Pentecost resulted in an enthusiastic community, bound together by common loyalty to the risen and soon coming Jesus and by their common experience of Spirit (Acts 3:19 f.) – the resurrection of Jesus and the gift of Spirit both constituting the beginning of the end-time harvest of final resurrection (Rom.

8:23; 1 Cor. 15:20, 23). Otherwise hardly distinct from the rest of Judaism, they doubtless regarded themselves as constituting eschatological Israel (cf. Matt. 16:18 f.; 19:28; Acts 1:6, 21 f.; J. D. G. Dunn, op. cit., 158–63). The Spirit was experienced primarily as the prophetic Spirit, in accordance with Jewish expectation (thus explicitly, Joel 2:28). This was seen as the privilege of all and not the prerogative of a few (Acts 2:17 f., 38 f.). The already established link between Pentecost, covenant renewal and the giving of the law probably prompted the first believers to interpret their experience of Spirit as the fulfilment of the promise of a new → covenant, as the → law written in their hearts (Deut. 30:6; Jer. 31:31–4; Ezek. 36:26 f.; 37:14; cf. Acts 2:38 f.; 3:25; 1 Cor. 11:25; Heb. 10:15 f., 29). But the implications of this insight for continuing faith and conduct were not recognized and elaborated until Paul (Rom. 2:28 f.; 7:6; 2 Cor. 3; Gal. 3:1–4:7; Phil. 3:3; Col. 2:11; 1 Thess. 4:8).

(c) The outpouring of the Spirit was probably attributed to the exalted Jesus from early on, as is implied by the tradition of the Baptist's predictions (Matt. 3:11 par. Lk. 3:16; cf. Acts 1:5; 11:16) and by Acts 2:33 (cf. 16:6 f.), perhaps also by Rom. 8:15 f.; Gal. 4:6; and the "faithful saying" of Tit. 3:5–7. But the relation between the exalted Jesus and the Spirit does not appear to have been the subject of much reflection prior to Paul and John. The suggestion that the Acts 2 narrative stems from a variant tradition of the resurrection appearance to "more than five hundred brethren" (E. von Dobschütz, *Ostern und Pfingsten*, 1903, 31–43) can hardly be sustained; the two traditions have no real point of contact. On the other hand, it is probable that most of the resurrection appearances listed by Paul in 1 Cor. 15:5–8 took place *after* Pentecost (J. D. G. Dunn, op. cit., 142–6).

3. *Significance of Pentecost for Luke.* (a) In his narrative Luke emphasizes some of the above points. It is important for Luke that Pentecost is the fulfilment of the divine promise (Lk. 24:49; Acts 1:4; 2:33, 38 f.; cf. 2:1; see E. Lohse "Die Bedeutung des Pfingstberichtes im Rahmen des lukanischen Geschichtswerkes," *EvTh* 13, 1953, 422–36). Thus it is also the fulfilment of covenant promise (2:39; 3:25; 13:23, 32; 26:6), emphasizing the rôle of Pentecost as the institution of the new → covenant. So too his description of events before and after Pentecost underlines that for Luke Pentecost is the birthday of the church (2:38, 41, 42, 43–7). And for Luke the Spirit of Pentecost is pre-eminently the prophetic Spirit, the inspirer of speech (Acts 2:4, 18 – note the addition of "and they shall prophesy"; 4:8, 31; 6:10; 10:46; 13:9; 19:6; → Prophet).

(b) Luke presents Pentecost as the beginning of world mission. The implementation of the programme of Acts 1:8 awaits Pentecost. Those who bear witness to the effects of the Spirit's outpouring and hear the gospel proclaimed by Peter represent "every nation under heaven" (2:5), while the appended list of nationalities embraces a wide sweep of the eastern Mediterranean, though with some odd omissions (2:9–11). The glossolalia is explicitly identified as the languages spoken by these foreign Jews (2:4, 6, 8, 11; cf. 1 Cor. 13:1; but contrast 1 Cor. 14:2; → Other, art. *allos, heteros* NT 2; → Word, art. *glōssa*). Finally, Peter's sermon ends with an open invitation and offer of the promised Spirit to "all that are far off" (2:39).

(c) Luke plays down the eschatological dimension of Pentecost-engendered enthusiasm. Whereas for the earliest Christians Pentecost was seen as the precursor of the end (see above 2 (b)), Luke strives to present Pentecost as the beginning of a

whole new epoch of salvation-history. This motif is already implicit in the fact that Pentecost begins a second volume rather than rounding off the first (cf. Acts 1:1 ff. with Luke 1:1–4). But it becomes most explicit in the sharp distinction that Luke draws between the epoch of Jesus, ended by resurrection appearances and ascension, and Pentecost, the beginning of the epoch of the Spirit. The two are clearly separated by the ten day "interregnum" when neither risen Jesus nor inspiring Spirit are in evidence and the election of Matthias has to revert to the old epoch's use of lots (Acts 1:26). The "last days" of the Spirit (Acts 2:17) seem to stretch over Luke's horizon (see J. D. G. Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit*, *SBT* Second Series 15, 1970, 44 ff.).

4. *Significance of Pentecost for the Fourth Gospel.* Jn. 20:22 may properly be called "the Johannine Pentecost", though not because John is contesting the Lucan dating of the outpouring of the Spirit, but rather because he wishes to bring out other aspects of theological significance (J. D. G. Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit*, 173–82).

(a) In particular John wishes to emphasize that the gift of the Spirit is not to be separated from the event of Jesus' death, resurrection and ascension; it is the immediate and direct result and consequence of Jesus' "glorification" and "ascending" (6:62 f.; 19:30; cf. 3:3 with 3:13, and 19:34 with 7:38 f.).

(b) So too John wishes to affirm the immediate *continuity* between Jesus and the Spirit (contrast Luke, see above 3 (c)). The Spirit is the *other* Paraclete (14:16 f.) whose coming fulfils Jesus' promise to return and dwell in his disciples (14:18–24; → Advocate). The Spirit given by the ascended Jesus constitutes the body and blood of Jesus, that is, gives the believer share in the life of the risen, glorified Christ (6:62 f.; 4:14).

(c) John brings out the epochal significance of the Pentecostal Spirit even more clearly than Luke by his use of the word *enephysēsen* ("breathed") in 20:22. Clearly echoing the use of the same word in Gen. 2:7, Ezek. 37:9 and Wisd. 15:11, John thereby presents the act of Jesus as a new creation.

(d) Finally, the earlier emphasis on mission is retained by bracketing 20:22 with vv. 21 and 23; → forgiveness or retention of sins is a charismatic authority and part of Pentecostal mission; "the disciples" thereby commissioned are not "the twelve" or "the apostles" (never in John) but those gathered round Jesus during his passion (including women) who represent all who believe in Jesus (7:37 ff.).
→ Feast, → Gift, → Pour, → Spirit *J. D. G. Dunn*

(a). H. R. Boer, *Pentecost and Missions*, 1961; J. D. G. Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit: A Re-examination of the New Testament Teaching on the Gift of the Spirit in relation to Pentecostalism today*, *SBT* Second Series 15, 1970, 38–54, 173–82; and *Jesus and the Spirit: A Study of the Religious Charismatic Experience of Jesus and the First Christians as Reflected in the New Testament*, 1975, 135–56 (see also the bibliography, 457–75); S. M. Gilmour, "Easter and Pentecost", *JBL* 81, 1962, 62–6; J. H. E. Hull, *The Holy Spirit in the Acts of the Apostles*, 1967, 49–86; J. C. Kirby, *Ephesians, Baptism and Pentecost: An Inquiry into the Structure and Purpose of the Epistle to the Ephesians*, 1968; K. Lake, "The Gift of the Spirit on the Day of Pentecost", in F. J. Foakes Jackson and K. Lake, eds., *The Beginnings of Christianity: The Acts of the Apostles*, V, 1933, 111–21; C. S. Mann, "Pentecost in Acts" in J. Munck, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Anchor Bible, 1967, 271–75; B. M. Metzger, "Ancient Astrological Geography and Acts 2:9–11", in W. W. Gasque and R. P. Martin, eds., *Apostolic History and the Gospel: Biblical and Historical Essays Presented to F. F. Bruce*, 1970, 123–33; C. A. A. Scott. "What Happened at Pentecost", in B. H.

Streeter, ed., *The Spirit*, 1919, 117–57; C. F. Sleeper, "Pentecost and Resurrection", *JBL* 84, 1965, 189–99; H. J. Wotherspoon, *What Happened at Pentecost?*, 1937.
(b). N. Adler, *Das erste christliche Pfingstfest*, 1938; A. Cassien, *La Pentecôte Johannique*, 1939; E. von Dobschütz, *Ostern und Pfingsten*, 1903; J. Dupont, "La première Pentecôte chrétienne (Act. 2.1–11)", *Études sur les Actes des Apôtres*, 1967, 481–502; K. Haacker, "Das Pfingstwunder als exegetisches Problem", in O. Böcher und K. Haacker, eds., *Verborum Veritas. Festschrift für Gustav Stählin*, 1970, 125–32; J. Kremer, *Pfingstbericht und Pfingstgeschehen*, *Stuttgarter Bibelstudien* 63–64, 1973; G. Kretschmar, "Himmelfahrt und Pfingsten", *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 66, 1954–55, 209–53; E. Lohse, "Die Bedeutung des Pfingstberichtes im Rahmen des lukanischen Geschichtswerkes", *EvTh* 13, 1953, 422–36; and *pentēkostē*, *TDNT* VI 44–53; K. L. Schmidt, *Die Pfingsterzählung und das Pfingstereignis*, 1919.

People, Nation, Gentiles, Crowd, City

The term people signifies a group of human beings who belong closely together because of a common history and a common country. In Gk. this concept is expressed most comprehensively and most frequently by the word *ethnos*. *laos*, on the other hand, is a term originating in the military sphere, and retains an archaic, political connotation. *dēmos* connotes the public nature of the people's assembly, while *ochlos* is the word for the crowd, the mass, the populace. *polis* has a definitely political character, signifying a community which lives together under a legal constitution, the city state.

The LXX and the NT have reserved for the old or new people of God the rarely used and not so precisely defined term *laos*, while other (pagan) peoples are generally called *ethnikoi* or *ethnē* (plur.). It may well be significant that the chief concept of Gk. political understanding, the *polis*, has only a peripheral place in the NT.

δῆμος

δῆμος (*dēmos*), people, populace, crowd, popular assembly; ἐκδημέω (*ekdēmeō*), leave one's country, emigrate, take a long journey; ἐνδημέω (*endēmeō*), be at home; παρεπίδημος (*parepidēmos*), foreigner, sojourner, stranger; δημόσιος (*dēmosios*), public.

CL 1. *dēmos* is derived from the root *dai-*, divide, and means originally, divided land, then district, province, subdivision of a people. But chiefly it means the people, popular assembly, commons, population. The word is used to refer to the people in contrast to the king, the nobility, or the men of power and landowners. In this kind of context it can have a derogatory sense. "But it can also have a proud ring, as in Athens, where it is used for the free, self-governing citizens" (W. Grundmann, *TDNT* II 63). In the Hellenistic period the term appears to have diminished in importance. This is connected with the general cultural development. Against the imperialism and expansionism of the Hellenistic and Roman empires, *dēmos*, like → *polis*, fell into the background.

2. Derived from *dēmos* are the vbs. *endēmeō*, to be in the homeland, at home, in the country, and *ekdēmeō* (from *ekdēmos*), to go abroad, go out of the country, travel. The latter is attested in Plato (*Leg.* 9, 864e; 12, 952d) and Hdt. (1, 30). *endēmeo* is not common until later (Plutarch, *De Genio Socratis* 6). A late form is *parepidēmos* (Polybius, 32, 6, 4), signifying a person who lives with another people in their lands. (For further examples see *TDNT* II 63 f.)

OT In the LXX the word *dēmos* is found about 100 times, chiefly to translate *mišpāḥâh*, family, clan, i.e. a smaller grouping within the whole people or tribe. *dēmos* is used about 50 times in Num. 3–4 and 26, and frequently also in Jos. (especially chapter 21). Other places where it is found are Jdg., Dan., 1 and 2 Macc. The word is not used in the prophets. In Jdg. 13:2 the tribe of Dan is called a *mišpāḥâh*, and the LXX consistently translates this by *dēmos*. In Dan. 8:24; 9:16 *dēmos* translates *'am*, people. In 1 and 2 Macc. there are a number of references to the *dēmos tōn Ioudaiōn*, people of the Jews (1 Macc. 8:29; 12:6; 14:20–25; 15:17; 2 Macc. 11:34), a manner of description which in these writings can also be used of other peoples. The compounds are not found in the LXX, except for *parepidēmos* in Gen. 23:4 and Ps. 39:12 for Heb. *tôšāḇ*, sojourner.

NT 1. In the NT *dēmos* appears just 4 times in Acts. In Acts 12:22 it refers to the pagan people who were present at the audience which Agrippa I gave to the representatives of Tyre and Sidon, and who flattered him in a blasphemous fashion. In Acts 17:5 it is uncertain whether the popular assembly is meant (W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, 1903[7], 228), before which the apostles are to be brought in Thessalonica, or simply the throng of people who are present (E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1971, 507). In Acts 19:30, 33, it is clearly the crowd that is meant, and not an assembly called according to the legal provisions, as v. 39 demonstrates; *dēmos* is parallel to → *ochlos* (v. 33).

2. *ekdēmeō*, to be out of the country, abroad, and *endēmeō*, to be in the homeland, at home, in the land, are found in the NT only in 2 Cor. 5:6–9, where each is used three times.

Paul longs for the fulfilment of Christ's work and his parousia (2 Cor. 4:18; 5:10), when according to 1 Cor. 15:43 f., 48–53 he will receive a new → body. Now he contrasts here two realms of existence, or kinds of life, with one another: the this-worldly, present, earthly life, and the other-worldly, future, heavenly. In the present time he, like all men, has an earthly body: *endēmountes en tō sōmati*, "we are at home in the body." That means, however, at the same time that he is not living with Christ, in the other-worldly, heavenly sphere of existence. He is thus "away from the Lord [*ekdēmountes apo tou kyriou*]"; he is as it were abroad, not among his own *dēmos* to which he belongs. The clear and visible evidence of this is the earthly body in which he lives. Only in faith, which is a gift of God, a guarantee (2 Cor. 5:5) of the world to come, can the gap between this world and that – or the present and the future – be bridged, and even then not visibly (v. 7). For this reason there grows out of faith the desire and longing to be with Christ and to enjoy full fellowship with him. This is possible only when one leaves this body, when one goes away from the body (*ekdēmēsai ek tou sōmatos*) and comes to Christ, to be at home with the Lord (*endēmēsai pros ton kyrion*, v. 8). Then the Christian will live in full fellowship with the Lord. The present is therefore marked by the combination of "not yet" and "but already": the Christian is not yet perfect, not yet with Christ, but he lives by faith in the certain hope that the consummation will come, when he will be united with Christ. Always, however, whether in the future when at home with the Lord (*eite endēmountes*) or in the present earthly life, away from home (*eite ekdēmountes*), Paul strives to be pleasing to Christ (v. 9). From a stylistic point of view it is interesting to note how Paul plays throughout

this passage on the vbs. *endēmeō* and *ekdēmeō* and their reference to the present and future.

3. *apodēmeō*, to go out of the country, to travel, is found 6 times in the NT, all in synoptic parables. Matt. 21:33 par. Mk. 12:1, Lk. 20:9 tell of a man (Matt. calls him a householder, *oikodespotēs*) who let out his vineyard to tenants and went out of the country (on this parable see J. D. M. Derrett, *Law in the New Testament*, 1970, 286–312). In the parable of the talents the man who is about to go out of the country (*apodēmōn*) gives his property to his servants to manage (Matt. 25:14), and goes away (*apedēmēsen*, v. 15) (on the parable see J. D. M. Derrett, op. cit., 17–31). In the parable of the prodigal son the younger son took his share of the inheritance and made a journey (*apedēmēsen*, Lk. 15:13) into a far country. In the parables of the wicked husbandmen and the talents *apodēmeō* represents God's absence and the fact that he has given his people an autonomy and responsibility of which they shall have to give account. In the parable of the prodigal son it represents the action of the son is going away from God. In the context of Lk. 15:1 it characterizes the kind of life led by the "tax collectors and sinners" who "were all drawing near to hear him."

4. The word *parepidēmos*, foreigner, sojourner, which is derived from *parepidēmeō*, to stay for a short time in a strange place, occurs 3 times in the NT (1 Pet. 1:1; 2:11, Heb. 11:13; → Foreign, art. *parepidēmos*).

5. *dēmosios* means public, i.e. belonging to the state (Acts 5:18). In the dat. form *dēmosia* it is used as an adv., publicly (Acts 16:37; 18:28; 20:20).

H. Bietenhard

ἔθνος

ἔθνος (*ethnos*), nation, people, heathen, pagans, Gentiles; ἐθνικός (*ethnikos*), heathen, Gentile; ἐθνικῶς (*ethnikōs*), like the Gentiles.

CL *ethnos*, derived from *ethos*, custom, habit, means a group which is held together by customs, a clan; then, crowd, company, people. The word came to be used in the derogatory sense of common people. *ethnos* is especially used to mean foreigners, in contrast to the → Greek who is a Hellene (Aristotle, *Pol.* 1324b, 10). This gives *ethnos* a derogatory undertone, which approaches *barbaros*, non-Greek, barbarian. Later *ethnos* was used to describe subject peoples.

OT 1. *ethnos* appears in the LXX about 1000 times (mostly in plur.), and in the overwhelming majority of cases it stands for the Heb. *gôy* and the plur. *gôyim*, though in something over 130 cases for *'am* (→ *laos*). The various other Heb. words which are translated *ethnos* are by comparison unimportant. Where mention is made of many peoples, particularly when they are non-Israelite, the plur. *'ammîm* is also translated *ethnē*, not *laoi* (Exod. 19:5 f.). There is thus a contrast between *'am* or → *laos*, i.e. Israel as the chosen people, and *gôyim* or *ethnē*, the Gentiles. The Eng. Gentile derives from the Lat. *gens*, nation, which was used in the Vulg., and means of or pertaining to any or all the nations other than the Jewish nation. *ethnē* appears relatively seldom in Exod., Lev., Num., Jos., and Chr., and much more frequently in Gen., Deut., Pss., and the prophets.

2. Israel is the people for God's own possession (Exod. 19:5), while the rest of mankind outside → Israel are called the *ethnē*, the nations (Deut. 4:27; 18:9). A typical passage is Exod. 33:13, where *ethnos* is the multitude which by Yahweh's grace becomes his people (→ *laos*). The contrast is just as stark in Deut. 7:6. Yahweh has separated the *ethnē* over the earth and fixed their bounds according to the number of the angels of God (*angelōn theou*, LXX, followed in RSV and confirmed by a Hebrew fragment of Deut. 32 from Qumran; but the MT has *bᵉnê yiśrā'ēl*, sons of Israel). But Jacob as Yahweh's portion has become the *laos* of God (Deut. 32:8 f. LXX). On the other hand, Yahweh is certainly seen as King over the nations (Jer. 10:7). This is the point behind Gen. 10, where the thought is not of a uniform humanity sprung from the earliest patriarchs, but of "a group of nations divided according to clans and differing in language, custom and situation" (G. Bertram, *TDNT* II 367).

The Gentiles are first Israel's neighbours, some of whom live in Palestine itself (Jdg. 3:1). They entice Israel into idolatry, and so to → fall away from Yahweh. Thus we often read of the "abominations of the Gentiles" (e.g. 1 Ki. 14:24; 2 Ki. 16:3). In the face of Israel's sin, the nations can often become the means and instruments of God's wrath and judgment (Hos. 8:10; Amos 9:9). But if they over-reach themselves and go beyond the commission given them by Yahweh, they incur judgment themselves (Isa. 8:9; 10:5). The break-up of the state is a punishment for the falling away of the people into heathen practices (1 Ki. 11:1 ff.; 2 Ki. 17:7–23). On the other hand, the Gentile Cyrus can be called God's anointed and become the saviour of Israel (Isa. 45:1 ff.). A universalizing tendency in the LXX may be detected in the fact that in Dan. 9:6 LXX the prophets are said to have reached to every people on earth. Over against the world empires there stands the kingdom of God (Dan. 4:34). In the end time the nations will come to Mount Zion and there share in salvation (cf. Isa. 2:2–4; 25:6–8; Mic. 4:1–3; Zech. 8:20–23). The nations await the messiah (Gen. 49:10 LXX). Thus the negative evaluation of the Gentile world is, in the last analysis, not lasting and permanent. Even in the present the name of Yahweh is to be glorified among all the Gentiles (Ps. 18:49; 46:10). Dan., Est. and Macc. tell of the troubles of the righteous under the domination of the Gentiles.

3. (a) Judaism. In Jub. 10:22 the origin of the nations is traced to human sin (cf. Gen. 11), whereas in 2 Esd. 3:7, 12 they are said to have arisen naturally (though after the fall), because God gave man the blessing of fertility.

(b) In the view of Rabbinic Judaism, the non-Israelite *gôy* is a stranger to God and far from him, counting for nothing. The Gentiles are themselves to blame for this state of affairs: they too were offered the Torah, but rejected God's instruction. They are, therefore, condemned to the judgment of → hell, without hope of salvation, and have no part in the world to come. Only in very exceptional cases is a share in the perfect world to come promised to pious Gentiles. The basic conception is formulated in this way: "Rabbi Simeon ben Yochai said: God spake to the Israelites: I am God over all men who come into the world, but my name I have joined only to you; I am called not the God of the nations of the world, but the God of Israel" (Exod. R. 29, 88d; cf. SB III 185). In the other words, God is the creator of all, but he loves Israel alone.

As individuals, Gentiles have been given up to every possible vice (idolatry,

immorality). In Jewish eyes the Gentiles were unclean: they themselves, their wives and children, their houses and lands (SB I 540, 571; II 838; IV 374 f.). If in an exceptional instance they do something good, God rewards them at once, in in order to avoid having to reward them in the world to come. The punishment for their sins is delayed by God until the measure is full; then judgment falls upon them. In contrast to Israel, the Gentile world has no eternal existence. The great turning-point will be the messianic age: then the nations who have made Israel their subjects (especially Rome!) will be destroyed by the messiah and finish up in hell. Other nations who have had no contact with Israel will be subjected to the messiah who will thus become ruler of the world. As far as religion is concerned, in the view of one universalistic school of thought, the Gentiles will then be given access to the blessings of Israel's salvation. The messiah is the → light of the Gentiles, who will flock around him; he will save all Gentiles who call on God, and many of them will join themselves to Israel as proselytes.

The political catastrophes of the years A.D. 66–70 and 132–135 created great bitterness among the Jews. The view arose that in the messianic age there would be no more proselytes. Only a person who joins himself to Israel during the time of his sufferings can be a proselyte. Nevertheless, the messiah will lay upon the nations thirty commandments, in order that they may become as much like Israel as possible. But they remain Gentiles, and in the final onslaught of the nations (Gog and Magog) they will join in the attack upon Israel (SB III 120 f., 139–42, 144–55).

(c) Jewish missionary activity and proselytism. In the pre-Christian era and up to A.D. 70 the Jews, particularly the Hellenistic Jews, carried out a strong propaganda and missionary activity or, to be more precise, proselytism (cf. Philo, *Vit.Mos.* 2, 4, 7). Matt. 23:15 indicates that this was also true of the Palestinian Jews. Josephus (cf. *Ap.* 2, 10, 36), Seneca, Dio Cassius and others bear witness to the great success of this propaganda (cf. also the many half or full proselytes whom Paul met, according to Acts, in the Jewish Diaspora; → Conversion, art. *prosēlytos*). A spectacular conversion was that of the royal house of Adiabene (in northern Iraq) to Judaism around A.D. 44 (Josephus, *Ant.* 20, 2, 4), which was won over by a Palestinian Jew by the name of Eleazar. The number of Jews in the Roman Empire was as a result of this propaganda disproportionately high, viz. some 6–8% of the population.

The position changed after A.D. 70 and A.D. 135, and from then onwards the making of proselytes declined greatly. Those who wanted to become proselytes had to come of their own initiative, though they were received in a friendly manner. An added difficulty arose in A.D. 135, when the emperor Hadrian forbade people to become Jews. It was at this point that the Christians got their great opportunity, for their Jewish rivals were disqualified. Even so, the church was not always clearly distinguished from Judaism (cf. W. H. C. Frend, *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church*, 1965, 225–8).

(d) Qumran. The linguistic usage of the Qumran writings is not completely consistent. Usually the nations are called *gôy* or *gôyim*, but occasionally also *'am*, *'ammîm*. In each case the context in which the word is used must be studied with care. The attitude to Gentiles is completely negative. The Gentile nations are idol-worshippers, without God (1QpHab 12:13; 13:3 f.) and enemies of God (1QM 12:11). God commits the judgment of all nations into the hands of his chosen ones

(1QpHab 5:4). The War Scroll depicts a great forty-years war in the end time which is directed against all Gentile nations, and in which they will be destroyed (1QM 1:1–7; 2:10–15 and passim). In this way the nations will reap the reward of their wickedness (1QM 6:6). Emphasis is given to the fact that it will be the Qumran people themselves, the "sons of light", who will carry out this work of punishment and destruction (1QM 11:8 f.; 14:7). No foreigner or stranger will enter the eschatological temple (1Qflor 1:4); but the riches of the nations will be brought in through the gates of Jerusalem (1QM 12:14; 19:6; cf. Isa. 60:3, 5 and in the NT Rev. 21:24).

For the present comfort may be taken from the knowledge that God will not allow his people (*'am*) to be destroyed by the hand of the nations (*gôyim*, 1QpHab 5:3). A somewhat different note is struck in 1QH 6:12 f.: "All the nations [*gôyim*] shall acknowledge Thy Truth, and all the peoples [*l^e'ummîm*] Thy glory. For Thou wilt bring Thy glorious [salvation] to all the men of Thy Council, to those who share a common lot with the Angels of the Face."

NT In the NT *ethnos* occurs 162 times, including 43 in Acts and 54 in the Pauline letters. It is used about 40 times in quotations from the OT. The *ethnē* mean all peoples, as is often made clear by the epithet *panta*, all (cf. Matt. 24:9; 28:19; Mk. 11:17; Lk. 21:24; Rom. 15:11).

1. (a) Even the Jewish people can be called *ethnos* (in 14 places, e.g. Lk. 7:5; 23:2; Acts 10:22). In the NT it no longer has as matter of course the meaning which overwhelmingly predominates in the OT, i.e. → *laos*. The context or qualifying phrases makes it clear in each of these cases that the reference is to Jews. In other places, however, (e.g. Acts 26:23) a clear distinction is drawn between → *laos*, the people of → Israel, and the *ethnē* or Gentiles. John's Gospel in particular calls Israel *ethnos*, because he sets himself against faith in Jesus Christ (Jn. 11:48, 50 ff.; 18:35).

(b) *ethnē* clearly refers to Gentiles in Matt. 4:15 (cf. Isa. 8:23); 20:25; Lk. 21:24; Acts 4:25 (cf. Ps. 2:1 f.); 7:7; 13:19; Rom. 1:5; Gal. 3:8 (the reference to Abraham makes it clear that Gentile nations are meant); Rev. 10:11; 14:8; 15:3 f.

2. In about 100 instances *ethnos* is used in contrast to Jews and Christians. The disciples of Jesus are told to pray differently from the *ethnē* (Matt. 6:32), and not to be anxious like them (Lk. 12:30). Gentiles are mentioned alongside → Samaritans (Matt. 10:5). Jesus teaches the future salvation of the Gentiles, although he was sent only to the Jews (Matt. 8:10 f.; 15:24). In the judgment which will come upon → Jerusalem the Gentiles will tread it down until the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled (Lk. 21:24). One of the horrors of the end-time will be the rising of nation against nation (Matt. 24:7 par. Mk. 13:8, Lk. 21:10).

3. The distinction between Jews and Gentiles is spoken of chiefly in Acts and the epistles, i.e. in the missionary documents of the NT. God is not the God of the Jews only, but also of the Gentiles (Rom. 3:29; Rev. 15:3), but the Gentiles do not know God (1 Thess. 4:5) and are led astray to idols (1 Cor. 12:2). They do not know the → law of God and do not keep it (Gal. 2:15); they live in the futility of their minds (Acts 14:16; Eph. 4:17). Although the word *ethnos* is not used, the Gentiles are meant in Rom. 1:18–32, where Paul speaks of men who do not know

God, have fallen into idolatry, and have therefore been given up by God to all kinds of evil. Nevertheless, there are *ethnē* who fulfil the requirements of the law (Rom. 2:14 f.; → God, art. *theos* NT 4 (b)). The Gentiles begin life outside the → call of God and outside the salvation of God's people (Eph. 2:11 f.). Jews and Gentiles are alike in rejecting the cross (1 Cor. 1:23).

4. Occasionally Paul can call Gentile Christians simply *ethnē* (Rom. 11:13; Gal. 2:12; cf. also Eph. 3:1), although the *ethnē* usually stand in contrast to the Christians (1 Cor. 5:1; 12:2; 1 Pet. 2:12).

5. (a) There is a soteriological distinction and contrast between Jews and Gentiles: Israel is the people whom God has appointed for his own → possession and his service. The Gentiles are outside this unique relationship. By God's own act, however, the difference has been overcome: the messiah has come in the person of Jesus, and now even those born Gentiles have a share in God's → covenant and salvation. (This is in keeping with universalistic thinking in contemporary Judaism.) Thus Peter discovers that the God-fearing Gentile is acceptable to God, so that the Holy → Spirit can come upon him, and Gentiles accept the gospel (Acts 10:35, 45; 11:1, 18; cf. Eph. 2:11 f., 17–22). In 1 Thess. 4:13; 5:6; Eph. 2:3 (cf. Rev. 9:20) *hoi loipoi*, "the rest", is practically a synonym for *ta ethnē*, "the Gentiles" (cf. F. M. Chase, *The Syro-Latin Text of the Gospels*, 1895, 93; M. Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, 1967³, 176).

(b) Paul is in a special way the apostle of the Gentiles, in the face of opposition from the Jews (1 Thess. 2:16). To him has been entrusted the mystery (→ Secret) that the Gentiles are called to Jesus Christ apart from the law (Gal. 1:16; 2:7–9; Rom. 1:5; cf. Eph. 3:1–13). This is not to say that Paul in any way denies the prior claim of the Jews. Rather, he strongly emphasizes it. Israel is and remains God's people, and therefore is in possession of all the gifts and titles which mark it out as different (Rom. 9:4 f.). The relationship of Jews to Gentiles is given fundamental treatment in Rom. 9–11 (cf. also Eph. 2 f.). The Gentiles who have come to faith in Jesus Christ have been grafted into the rich olive tree (Rom. 11:17; → Oil, art. *elaion*), and are supported by it. Hence, there can be no division between Christians and Gentiles. The Pauline churches consist both of born Jews and born Gentiles, and both belong to the people of God by faith in Jesus Christ. They are children of of Abraham by virtue of their faith (Rom. 4:16 f., cf. Gen. 17:5; Gal. 3:7, cf. Gen. 12:3; Gal. 3:13 f., 26–29). Gentiles, who have not pursued righteousness, have become recipients of the righteousness which comes by faith (Rom. 9:30). Salvation has come to them through the fall and unbelief of Israel (Rom. 11:11), and the failure of the Jews has meant riches for the Gentiles (Rom. 11:12). As the apostle to the Gentiles, Paul is seeking to save as many of the Gentiles as possible, in order ultimately to win the Jews for the gospel (Rom. 11:13 f.; cf. 10:19 where Deut. 32:21 is cited). When the full number of the Gentiles has come in, Israel too will turn to Christ (Rom. 11:11 f., 25). The Gentiles are no longer strangers (→ Foreign, art. *xenos*) and sojourners (→ Foreign, art. *parepidēmos*), but fellow citizens (*sympolitai*) and members (*oikeioi*) of the household of God (Eph. 2:19).

(c) Evidence of the priority of the Jews is apparent in the record of Acts, where Paul preaches to the Gentiles only after the Jews have rejected the gospel (Acts 13:46; 18:6; 19:9). The question of the mission to the Gentiles, as carried out by

Paul, is discussed and settled at the so-called Council of Jerusalem (Acts 15). The Jews accuse Paul of teaching the Jews of the Diaspora (those who live among the *ethnē*) to forsake Moses (Acts 21:21).

6. According to Revelation, Christ has ransomed a church for himself out of every nation, and has made them his → kingdom and → priests (Rev. 5:9 f., following Exod. 19:6). Along with the chosen of Israel is an innumerable multitude from the Gentiles (Rev. 7:9). The exalted Christ will rule the nations with a rod of iron (Rev. 12:5; → Crown, art. *rhabdos*; → Gold, art. *sidēros*), and also gives authority to "him who conquers" to do so (Rev. 2:26 f.). He will smite them with the sword in his mouth (Rev. 19:15). In the time of the two witnesses, the temple court is given over to the Gentiles (Rev. 11:2). All nations will see the dead bodies of the two witnesses (Rev. 11:9). The beast has authority over all nations and peoples, whose name is not written in the book of life (Rev. 13:7 f.; → Animal). The eternal gospel will be preached to all nations (Rev. 14:6). As for the harlot → Babylon, all nations have drunk "the wine of her impure passion" and have been deceived by her sorcery (Rev. 14:8; 18:3, 23). In the judgments of God, the cities of the Gentiles will fall (Rev. 16:19). During the millennium Satan is unable to deceive the nations (Rev. 20:3; → Number, art. *chilias*), but does so again as soon as he is freed (Rev. 20:8). In God's new world the *ethnē* walk in the light of the new → Jerusalem, and bring their treasures into the new city (Rev. 21:24, 26).

7. *ethnikos* (adv. *ethnikōs*) means national, foreign, like a Gentile; and as a noun, Gentile. The word does not occur in the LXX; the adj. appears only 5 times times in the NT, and the adv. once. The Gentile salutes only his brothers; if any of Jesus' disciples behave in the same way, he makes himself like an *ethnikos* (Matt. 5:47). In prayer the disciple is not to heap up empty phrases (*battalogeō*) like the Gentiles (Matt. 6:7). M. Black suggests Gentiles here might represent an Aramaic phrase meaning "the rest of men", i.e. those who were not Jesus' disciples (cf. the Bezan text of Lk. 11:2; M. Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, 1967³, 176 ff.). He who refuses to listen to a rebuke by the church thereby cuts himself off and joins the Gentiles and unrepentant tax-collectors (Matt. 18:17; → Bind; → Open). In Antioch Peter had eaten with Gentile Christians and so transgressed the Jewish ritual regulations, thus living *ethnikōs*, like the Gentiles; Paul argues that he therefore can no longer force the Gentile Christians to observe the law (Gal. 2:14). For membership of the Jewish people, determined by the law, has now been superseded by the fellowship of faith in Christ, which unites Jewish and Gentile Christians. *H. Bietenhard*

λαός

λαός (*laos*), people.

CL *laos* (etymology of *laos* is uncertain; perhaps a foreign word) is a Doric and Aeolic form (Ionic *lēos*; Attic *leōs*). In Homer it means a number of men, a crowd (e.g. *Il.* 18, 497 ff.; 24, 665), and more specifically an army, a military company, men at arms, troops (e.g. *Il.* 1, 226; 9, 424; 10, 14). At a later period this meaning disappeared, and the word meant the common people, folk, population; in the plur., the multitude of individuals out of whom the people is made up (cf.

→ Church, art. *ekklēsia*; *qāhāl* in the OT). In addition to epic poetry (e.g. *Od.* 3, 214), the word is found in Hdt. (e.g. 8, 136), Pindar (e.g. *Pythian Odes* 9, 54 f.), the tragedians (e.g. Aesch. *Persae* 770) and Aristophanes (e.g. *Ranae* 676). But it is almost entirely lacking in Attic prose. It retains an archaic and solemn, poetic tone (even in Josephus, *Ant.* 4, 114).

OT 1. In the LXX the word occurs about 2,000 times, with a new meaning which brought it renewed life. The plur. (not quite 140 times) always means nations, and so is synonymous with → *ethnē* (cf. Ezek. 23:24, → *ochlos laōn*, a host of peoples, with Ezek. 31:12; *laoi tōn ethnōn*, the individual nations of the Gentile world, Ez. 9:11 LXX). In this expression *laos* could be interpreted as a group deliberately formed, and *ethnos* as a natural grouping bound by clan ties and a common descent.

laos often means the people, in contrast to the ruler or ruling class (cf. Gen. 41:40; 47:21; Exod. 1:22; Jer. 23:34), such as the inhabitants of a city (Gen. 19:4), the members of a tribe (Gen. 49:16), the people who accompanied Esau and the servants of Jacob (Gen. 33:15; 32:8; 35:6). Even the dead belong to it (Gen. 25:8; 49:33). These passages are not, however, typical for the LXX usage of the word.

2. To the translators of the LXX the term *laos*, derived from the language of high style and ceremony, and infrequently used in the Gk. of their time, seemed ideally suited for expressing the special relationship of → Israel to Yahweh. *laos* serves in the overwhelming majority of cases as a translation of the Heb. *'am* and means Israel as the chosen people of God, just as, on the other hand, the Heb. *gôy* is used particularly for the Gentiles (*ethnē*).

About 10 times Israel is called the "people of Yahweh". In another 300 cases we find forms with a pronominal suffix (e.g. *'ammî*, "my people"), where the suffix refers to Yahweh. On about 200 occasions Yahweh is called the "God of Israel"; again we must add more than 600 examples with a suffix referring to Israel. In the oldest passage we know in the OT where the expression *'am YHWH*, "people of Yahweh", occurs it means the army, the levy of the people, as they march down to battle (Jdg. 5:11, 13). This meaning of the word is still found at a later period (2 Sam. 1:12). Corresponding to it – even before the Song of Deborah – is the expression "Yahweh, God of Israel" (Gen. 33:20; Jos. 8:30; 24:23; cf. Jdg. 5:3, 5; and likewise in the mouth of the people, "Yahweh our God", or in the mouth of Yahweh, "I am Yahweh your God").

3. (a) The tribes which came into Palestine from Egypt brought to Shechem, where the so-called "Leah tribes" had already settled, not only the worship of the God Yahweh, but also the phrase "people of Yahweh". When the two groups of tribes joined one another, the covenant formula was adopted: "Yahweh the God of Israel – Israel his people". Jos. 24:17 f. contains the statement, "Yahweh is our God" (cf. Exod. 24:9 f.); yet the specific pronouncement that Israel is Yahweh's people is still lacking. Admittedly, in the story of the call of → Moses, Yahweh says of Israel, "My people" (Exod. 3:7), "My people Israel" (Exod. 3:10; cf. the word to Pharaoh, Exod. 5:1; 7:16). Moses also speaks in the same way to Yahweh, calling Israel "Thy people" (Exod. 5:23). It is now, however, until the formation of the state that the identification of Israel with the people of Yahweh is clearly made

(1 Sam. 9:16 f.; 10:1). Yahweh's people is now no longer an army brought together by the call to battle, but all Israel, and that permanently. To be "prince" or "king" over Yahweh's people" is the honorific title of the kings (cf. 1 Sam. 13:14; 15:1; 2 Sam. 5:2; 1 Ki. 14:7).

The phrase "Yahweh, God of Israel" is of great importance, and is used particularly in formal speech: in swearing an oath (Jos. 9:18 f.), in prayer (Jdg. 21:3; 1 Sam. 23:10 f.; Ps. 69:6), in praising God (1 Ki. 1:48), or to introduce divine utterances (cf. Jos. 7:13; 1 Sam. 2:30; 1 Ki. 11:31; and often).

(b) In the prophetic crisis, when the relationship between Yahweh and the people has been broken (Isa. 1:3; 5:25), Yahweh turned in words of judgment and threats "against my people Israel" (Amos 7:8, 15; 8:2). To fall away and follow Baal is all the more serious to Yahweh, because for him Israel is "my people" (Hos. 4:6 ff.). The exhortation addressed to them is, therefore, "Return to your God" (Hos. 12:6). Hosea's third child is called *lō'-'ammî*, "not my people", and the reason given by Yahweh is "You are not my people, and I am not your God" (Hos. 1:9). For Israel has behaved as if she were not Yahweh's people. In contrast to this comes the eschatological promise, "You are my people" (Hos. 2:23); i.e. when Yahweh again turns to Israel, he will again become "My people".

(c) The important mutual declaration between Yahweh and Israel in Deut. 26:16–19, which was possibly pronounced at the → covenant ceremony which took place under king Josiah (cf. 2 Ki. 23:1–3), and which was traced back to → Moses (Exod. 24:7 f.; cf. 20:2; 6:7; Lev. 26:12), became, as the covenant formula, the gateway into the history of Israel. It thus acquired permanent authority and relevance. In the style of an adoption ceremony Yahweh declares both that Israel is to be his people, and that he will be Israel's God. Thus originated the formula which was traced back into the time of Moses: "I will be their God, and they shall be my people" (Jer. 7:23; 11:4). A similar formula is found in the post-exilic writings, as a prophecy for the future: "I will be your God, and you shall be my people" (cf. Jer. 24:7; 30:22; 32:38; Ezek. 11:20; 14:11; Zech. 8:8). The priestly literature also knows the statement that Yahweh will be Israel's God (cf. Gen. 17:7 f.; Exod. 29:45; Lev. 11:45). The *Sitz im Leben* of the covenant formula may have been priestly instruction or prophetic proclamation.

(d) It is regarded among the people as an established fact that Yahweh is Israel's God. Thus there often appears with the divine name the additional phrase "your God". In the same way *'am*, people, is further defined as "people of his possession" (e.g. Deut. 4:20; 7:6), "holy people" (e.g. Deut. 7:6; 14:2). The theme of Deuteronomy is the people of God; the covenant formula is embedded in instruction for the keeping of the law (cf. Deut. 26:12–19). God's gracious approach to the people remains, however, the starting point (cf. Jer. 11:3 ff.). It appears again projected into the future in the promise of the "new covenant" (Jer. 31:31–33; cf. 24:7; 32:38–40; Ezek. 36:26 ff.). The promise of the prophets can also go out beyond the borders of Israel and embrace the Gentile world (Zech. 2:11 f.; 14:16).

4. What makes Israel the *laos* is Yahweh's → election and → grace, and not mere national, natural and historical factors. This grace must be repeatedly confirmed by faithfulness and obedience. From an earthly, human point of view, unfaithfulness on the part of the people makes him lose everything that makes him the people. He then becomes a people like all the others, and indeed worse off than

they (Deut. 28:58–64). But because Yahweh keeps faith with his people despite all its apostasy and all unfaithfulness, Israel remains the people of God. He lives as such not through any achievement of his own, but because of Yahweh's faithfulness towards him. The character of Israel is thus determined not by himself, his origin or history, but solely by the fact that Yahweh keeps faith with him.

5. Judaism. (a) Philo used *laos* and *leōs*, especially in his writings on the Pentateuch, but the specific, historical meaning of the word is lost amid his speculations (cf. *Sacr.* 6 f.). He interprets the "chosen people" (Deut. 7:7) as individual wise men also constitute the head of humanity (*Praem.* 123, 125). In Josephus' *Antiquities* the influence of LXX usage may be seen in his use of the word *laos* for Israel, though occasionally he also uses it for other nations, e.g. Egypt (*Ant.* 2, 301). In *War* and *Ap.* Josephus also uses → *ethnos* and → *dēmos* indiscriminately.

(b) In the Rabbinic literature and the Pseudepigrapha it is part of the foundation of all faith that Israel is God's chosen people. Israel is God's possession, his portion, and his lot.

Israel's special relationship to his God is expressed in metaphors taken from family life: Israel is Yahweh's → firstborn son (2 Esd. 6:58), the Israelites are God's brothers and kinsmen (SB III 263 f., 682), royal children (Shabbath 14:4). Even the poorest among them are children of Abraham (SB IV 714). As a special token of Yahweh's love it has been revealed to them that they are children of God (Aboth 3:14), and only they are called God's children (2 Esd. 6:58). Israel is also called the bride, the betrothed, the spouse of God (SB III 822 f.). What is expressed in this terminology is not an ethical relationship but an inborn one.

Alongside these ideas there is that of friendship between Yahweh and Israel (Tanh. 20). As in the OT, Israel is the "holy people", because he has the Torah and does not worship idols (Sifra Lev. 20:7). The world was created for Israel's sake, and without Israel it cannot continue in existence (2 Esd. 6:55 ff.; SB I 833; III 140, 248). Israel is the "righteous one" whom the rest of the world has to thank for its life: were it not for Israel, God would have destroyed the world long since. The present time with its gifts is of little importance in comparison with the coming messianic time. Then the people will receive all God's gifts in their fullness, and dominion over the world, and the people of the world – in so far as they still exist at all – will be his servants. The thought finds expression in the saying in the Mishnah, "All Israelites have a share in the world to come" (Sanhedrin 10:1). The only exceptions are serious sinners and the evil generations mentioned in the scriptures (SB III 293).

(c) In the writings of the Qumran community *'am* often means Israel. He is the people chosen from all peoples (1QM 10:9), with whom God has made an eternal covenant (1QM 13:7), and whom he has redeemed to be a people for ever (1QM 13:9). He is the people of God's redemption (1QM 14:5) whom he will not allow to be destroyed by other nations (1QpHab 5:3). The wicked among God's people he will destroy (1QpHab 5:5). Among the people there is, however, a "remnant" (1QH 6:8), the "saints of his people" (1QM 6:6).

The Qumran community thus described itself as the *'am*, the people (1QM 1:12), the "people of the saints of the covenant" (1QM 10:10), as the "elect of the holy people" (1QM 12:1). They called themselves the "assembly of the people" (CD 19:35). The "people" is the army in the final conflict (1QM 9:1; 10:2), or a

particular company within this army (1QM 8:9; 16:7). In the hierarchy of the Qumran community the "people" has the third place following the priests and Levites (1QS 2:21; 6:9).

In numerous other places *'am* and *'ammîm* mean the nations, the Gentiles. God is praised as the creator who has brought about the division of the nations (1QM 10:14). A sword is coming over all nations (1QM 16:1), so that they will be shattered (1QH 4:26). Their heroes will be brought low by God (1QM 11:13), and their princes will be thrust down (1QSb 3:28; 5:27).

NT 1. *laos* occurs 141 times in the NT, 84 being in Luke alone (Gospel and Acts) and 14 in Matt., 12 in Paul, 13 in Heb., 9 in Rev. It is probable that the language and concepts of the LXX are here exerting an influence, though *laos* often follows a previous reference to → *ochlos* and carries the same meaning (e.g. Lk. 7:24, 29; 8:42, 47; cf. also Matt. 27:25 f.; Mk. 14:2), or stands instead of *ochlos* in a parallel passage (e.g. Lk. 19:48, cf. Mk. 11:18; Lk. 20:45, cf. Matt. 23:1). When used on its own, *laos* can mean also crowd, the common people (e.g. Lk. 1:10; 7:1; 20:1, 9; Acts 2:47). Many of these passages, however, refer to the activity of John the Baptist, Jesus or the apostles, whose ministry was practically restricted to Israel (cf. Matt. 4:23; 26:5; 27:64), and Israel is after all the *laos* and not an → *ethnos* (an exception being Jn. 11:50, where both words are used).

The plur. *laoi* is parallel to *ethnē* in Lk. 2:31 f. (cf. Isa. 40:5 f.; 42:6); Rom. 15:11 (cf. Ps. 117:1); Rev. 10:11 (cf. Dan. 3:4). The great multitude (→ *ochlos*) standing before the → Lamb comes from every → *ethnos* and *laos* (Rev. 7:9; 11:9; 17:15), and is intended to mean the whole of humanity.

A hyperbolic *pas*, → all, often precedes *laos* (e.g. Lk. 3:21; 7:29; Acts. 3:9; 5:34). We also read of the *plēthos tou laou*, lit. fullness of the people (Lk. 1:10; 6:17; Acts 21:36), which may be variously translated as the great multitude, the whole crowd. As in the LXX, *laos* can mean the people in contrast to the ruling classes (Lk. 22:2; 23:5; Acts 6:12), or in a cultic setting the broad mass of the people as opposed to the priest (Heb. 5:3; 7:27), or again, the ordinary people as opposed to the few witnesses of the resurrection (Acts. 10:41; 13:31).

2. In keeping with the LXX, → Israel is described as the *laos* (the *laos Israēl*, "people of Israel", e.g. Acts 4:10; 13:17; *houtos ho laos*, "this people", in OT quotations at Matt. 13:15 [cf. Isa. 6:10]; 15:8 [cf. Isa. 29:13]; Acts 28:26 f. [cf. Isa. 6:9 f.]). The idea is also alluded to when the high priests, scribes and elders or leaders of the *laos* are spoken of (e.g. Matt. 2:4; 21:23; Lk. 19:47; Acts 4:9); when it is said that Jesus will save his people from their sins (Matt. 1:21; → God, art. *Emmanouēl*; cf. Lk. 1:68, 77; 2:10, 32), or that God has visited his *laos* by sending his prophet Jesus (Lk. 7:16; 24:19), or that he will not reject his *laos*, Israel (Rom. 11:1 f.; cf. Ps. 94:14). Even an individual synagogue can be called *laos* (Acts 13:15); it is God's people in a particular place (→ Church, Synagogue). The same line of thought is present when Israel as the *laos* is set over against the Gentiles as *ethnē* (Acts 4:25 ff.; cf. LXX Deut. 32:43; Ps. 2:1; cf. also 26:23; Rom. 15:10). Pilate is here identified with the *ethnē*, and Herod and Israel with the *laoi*. Frequently qualifying phrases or the context show that *laos* means Israel, e.g. in the use of the word as parallel for "Jews" in Acts 12:4; in a list along with "law" and "temple" in Acts 21:28, or "customs of the fathers" in Acts 28:17;

in the comment that the God-fearing Gentile Cornelius had done much good to the *laos* (Acts 10:2).

3. Finally the honoured title of Israel, that of being God's *laos*, is transferred to the Christian → church. God has taken from the *ethnē* a *laos* for his → name (Acts 15:14). He has called a church from the Jews and the Gentiles (Rom. 9:24; Hos. 1:10). This church (even as a local church, cf. Acts 18:10) is the → temple and *laos* of God (2 Cor. 6:14 ff.; the quotations from Lev. 26:12 and Ezek. 37:27 refer in the original setting to Israel, but are here applied to the Christian church). The description of Israel as the *laos periousios*, people of his possession (Exod. 19:5 f.; 23:22; Deut. 7:6; 14:2; → Possessions), is likewise claimed for the Christian church (Tit. 2:14; cf. 1 Pet. 2:9).

In Heb., especially, the statements of the OT cultus, seen as types of Christ, are transferred to the church. The Son of God became man to atone for the sins of the *laos* (Heb. 2:17), which he sanctified with his blood (Heb. 13:12). The church is the *laos* for whom a → Sabbath rest remains (Heb. 4:9), and it is to the church that the warning of Ps. 135:14 applies (Heb. 10:30). Similarly in Rev. 18:4 (cf. Jer. 51:45) and 21:3 (cf. Zech. 2:10; Ezek. 37:27) OT passages are applied to the church as the new people of God. This means that by faith in Jesus Christ as the *kyrios*, → Lord, the church becomes the *laos theou*, people of God, irrespective of the national background of its members (Gal. 3:26 ff.; 1 Cor. 12:13; Col. 3:11). That is not, of course, to say that in the NT the church has simply taken the place of Israel as the people of God, as if Israel had lost the priority given to her by God. This is perhaps the major problem that Paul wrestles with in Rom. His conclusion is that Israel is and remains God's people, and has not been rejected by God (cf. Rom. 9–11, especially, Rom. 9:4 f.; 11:1 f.). "A hardening has come upon part of Israel, until the full number of the Gentiles come in, and so all Israel will be saved. . . . For God has consigned all men to disobedience, that he may have mercy upon all" (Rom. 11:25 f., 32; cf. also chs. 1–4). *H. Bietenhard*

ὄχλος

ὄχλος (*ochlos*), (throng of) people, crowd, mob.

CL *ochlos* (derivation uncertain, attested since Pindar), means a crowd, throng; the public, in contrast to individual people, and particularly in contrast to the nobility or people of rank, "*ochlos* is often the 'leaderless and rudderless mob,' the 'politically and culturally insignificant mass' " (R. Meyer, *TDNT* V 583; cf. Plato, *Leg.* 2, 670b). In the military world the word means a company, troop, army. But it can also mean people. When the thought of size is uppermost it can mean a great crowd.

OT In the LXX *ochlos* occurs about 60 times, chiefly in later books as a translation of several words including *hāmôn*, crowd (1 Ki. 20[21]:13; 2 Chr. 20:15; Dan. 11:11 LXX; 10:6; 11:10–13 Theodotion); *ḥayil*, army; *'am*, people (Num. 20:20; Jer. 48[31]:42; 38[45]:1); *qāhāl*, assembly (Jer. 31[38]:8; Ezek. 16:40; 17:17; 23:24, 46 f.); *rabbîm*, many (2 Esd. 3:12). In Dan. 3:4 it means people; in Dan. 10:6 (Theodotion) an unruly crowd; in Jer. 31:8 an assembled company of the people. The congregation of the people (*qāhāl*) which is to stone the adulteress

becomes the *ochlos* in Gk. (Lev. 24:16). In other passages it means the camp-followers (Jud. 7:18; 1 Macc. 9:35), those unable to march; or, the army, mercenaries (1 Macc. 1:17; 20, 29; 2 Macc. 14:23, 43, 45 f.; 3 Macc. 2:7). In Ezek. 23:24 it is used as a term of quantity: *ochlos laōn*, a host of peoples; cf. the *ochloi ethnōn*, hosts of nations, in Wis. 6:2. In Bel 30 *ochlos* means the population of the land in contrast to the Jews.

The term was carried over as a loan-word into the Middle Heb. of the Rab. writings. There it can mean a crowd either of Jews or of Gentiles, or also military bodies of men (in the sense of troop, retinue, bands).

NT In the NT *ochlos* occurs 174 times. Of these 4 are in Rev., and all the others in the Gospels and Acts. In Mk. 14:43 the word means the armed crowd at the arrest of Jesus, but usually an unorganized crowd of people not formed or characterized by any particular background or custom. There are the people who come to hear John the Baptist (Lk. 3:7, 10) or Jesus, or who expect to be healed by him (e.g. Matt. 4:25; 5:1). It is especially to these people, who have nothing particular to offer, that Jesus directs his teaching and his compassion (Matt. 9:33), and his provision of food (Matt. 14:19; Lk. 9:16; Jn. 6:5). The contrast to these is provided by the ruling classes, the → Pharisees and scribes, who despised the *ochlos* as the ignorant masses who did not keep the law. To them the masses were accursed (Jn. 7:31, 48 f.; cf. → *ethnos*, *'am-hā'āreṣ*). In Jn. 7:49 *ochlos* doubtless refers to the term *'am hā'āreṣ*, people of the land. In the pre-exilic age the people of the land denoted full citizens who were liable to military service. But in the post-exilic age it denoted the foreign or mixed population, as distinct from the returned exiles. It became a term of abuse, connoting ignorance of and lax attitude towards the law (cf. R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 1971, 310 f.). Hence, the religious leaders with their strict attitude to the law regarded them as accursed. Jesus and later Paul were accused of leading the *ochlos* astray (Jn. 7:12; Acts 19:26). The *ochlos* was divided, however, in its opinion of Jesus (Jn. 7:43).

Herod Antipas hesitated to kill John the Baptist because he feared the *ochlos* (Matt. 14:5). The ruling class similarly fear the *ochlos* and do not dare to lay hands on Jesus (Matt. 21:26, 46); but they stir up the *ochlos* against Jesus (Matt. 27:20). Pilate acted under pressure from the populace (Mk. 15:15). Jesus told parables to the *ochlos* (Matt. 13:34). He had a whole *ochlos* of disciples (Lk. 6:17; cf. Acts 1:15). A great *ochlos* went to Bethany to see Jesus and Lazarus (Jn. 12:9). Before the throne of God and of the Lamb there stands an innumerable *ochlos* (Rev. 7:9); and in Rev. 17:15 nations are meant. *H. Bietenhard*

πόλις

πόλις (*polis*), city, city-state; *πολίτης* (*politēs*), citizen; *πολιτεύομαι* (*politeuomai*), be a citizen, take part in government, live, conduct one's life; *πολιτεία* (*politeia*), rights of a citizen, commonwealth, state; *πολίτευμα* (*politeuma*), commonwealth, state, colony, citizenship; *πολιτάρχης* (*politarchēs*), politarch, civic magistrate.

CL 1. The word *polis*, attested probably from Mycenaean Gk., is perhaps derived from an Indo-Germanic root meaning to fill. This may suggest the *polis* as a filled-in wall which served as a fortress and refuge. As early as Homer *ptolis* and

its lengthened form *ptoliethron* meant a city, state, and *politēs* a citizen. *politeuomai* means to be a citizen, live as a citizen, to administer the state, and conduct public affairs. The abstract noun *politeia* means citizen's rights, life of a citizen, his part in the life of the state, the condition or way of life of citizenship, and also civil policy, constitution, the state. The closely related noun *politeuma* had originally the same meaning. It was then used for individual political acts, measures or intrigues; in Aristotle for government, constitution, and also acts or branches of public administration. Later still the word meant political commonwealth, the state generally, and less frequently, citizens' rights. In the Hellenistic period colonies abroad with established political constitutions are also so described.

2. The development of the city-state in Greece is an historically logical and yet typically Gk. phenomenon. The rule of warrior kings which had been carried over from the period of the great migrations held the people together in only a very loose fashion, since it became effective only in times of war. Hence, there arose an increasing desire for concentration of the political will, not indeed to cover the Greeks as a whole, but individual, overseeable territories or districts. In the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. a large number of settlements came into being, mostly in dependence upon those already in existence. The concentration of political life and the multiplication of tasks within the new framework enabled the nobility, as the assistants of the king, to strengthen their own power and finally to supplant the monarchy. In the period which followed the city-state or *polis* became the most typical expression of Gk. culture and was regarded as the most important thing in life, to which the free citizen gave his total allegiance, and in the administration and government of which he had a part. The citizen embodied the state; citizenship was identified in terms of the city-state. The political order, defined by laws, was upheld by religious consecration. Religion was an essential part of the *polis*. The formation of city-states as an independent expression of political will, subject to no one, certainly hindered the unification of larger areas of the Gk. mainland. But even in its perversion, when rule was handed over to the mob in the Athens of the Peloponnesian War, one can see clearly how fruitful the idea of the unification of an overseeable number of free citizens had been. With the rise of the Macedonians and the spread of their blanket super-state (and later that of the Roman empire), the ancient *polis* came to an end.

OT 1. In the LXX *polis* occurs about 1,600 times, chiefly to translate *'îr*, city (e.g. Gen. 4:17; 10:11 f.; 11:4 f., 8), in Deut. also *še'ārîm*, gates (e.g. 12:15–21; 20:10 ff.), occasionally *qiryâh*, city (e.g. Jos. 14:15; 15:9, 13, 15 f.). In Israel the city has a different function from that of the *polis* in Greece. Israel's constitution is fundamentally a tribal one (→ Tribe). This distinguishes him also from the Canaanite city-states with their monarchy. In the OT, therefore, every fortified height can be called a "city". A memory of the impression which the fortified cities of Canaan made on the immigrating Israelites is probably retained in Num. 13.29 Moreover, it must have taken a long while following the conquest before the established cities could be overcome and occupied (cf. Jdg. 1:27 ff.; 3:1–5). Jerusalem was not conquered until David's time (2 Sam. 5:6 ff.). The city afforded its inhabitants protection against enemies and enabled them to withstand attackers. Very often cities are spoken of, when it is their inhabitants that are meant. Thus

the city was to a considerable extent, as in Greece, a community of persons (cf. 1 Sam. 4:13; 2 Sam. 15:14; Est. 3:15; Isa. 40:9).

2. Of particular importance as a city is → Jerusalem. It is referred to simply as the city (Ezek. 7:23). Yahweh has chosen it (2 Chr. 6:38), to make his → name dwell there (cf. Deut. 12:5; 14:23), and that prayers and sacrifices may be offered there. Jerusalem is the "city of God" (cf. Pss. 46:4; 48:1, 8; 87:3), the "city of the great king" (Ps. 48:2; cf. Matt. 5:35), the "holy city" (cf. Isa. 48:2; 52:1). When its citizens did not live up to the character with which God had thus invested it, the prophet called them to repentance (Ezek. 22:2–4). In latter days a new Jerusalem, more in keeping with its original calling, was expected (Isa. 1:26; 32:28; Jer. 31:38; Joel 3:17).

These hopes of the renewal of Jerusalem were kept alive in Judaism (Sir. 36:12 f.; cf. the 14th of the Eighteen Benedictions, for text → Prayer, art. *proseuchomai*, OT 6). The future Jerusalem is expected to come down from heaven, where it has been kept from the beginning (cf. 2 Esd. 7:26; 8:52).

3. The derived nouns are found almost exclusively in the Books of Maccabees. (a) *politēs* occurs 10 times in 2 and 3 Macc., and 7 times in the OT besides, where it mostly translates the Heb. *rēa'*, one's neighbour of one's own people (Prov. 11:9, 12; 24:28[43]; Jer. 29[36]:23; 31[38]:34; → Brother, Neighbour). In the sense of citizen, the word is found only at 2 Macc. 9:19 and 3 Macc. 1:22. Other instances are Gen. 23:11; Num. 4:18; Zech. 13:7; 2 Macc. 4:5, 50; 5:6, 8, 23; 14:8; 15:30.

(b) *politeia* (9 times in 2–4 Macc.) usually means devout way of life (2 Macc. 8:17; 4 Macc. 17:19); in 3 Macc. 3:21, 23, citizens' rights. Other instances are 2 Macc. 4:11; 6:23; 13:14; 4 Macc. 3:20; 8:7.

(c) *politeuomai* always means to walk (Est. 8:12; 2 Macc. 6:1; 11:25; 3 Macc. 3:4; 4 Macc. 2:8, 23; 4:23; 5:16). *politeuma* occurs only at 2 Macc. 12:7, where it means community.

NT In the NT *polis* is found 161 times, being especially frequent in Luke (39 times), Acts (42 times), Matt. (26 times), and Rev. (27 times); rarely in Paul (4 times), and only 8 times each in Mk. and Jn. It never means state, but always city, in the sense of an enclosed settlement or its inhabitants (Matt. 8:34; 21:10; Mk. 1:33). The distinction between it and *kōmē*, village, often disappears (cf. Matt. 11:20 with Mk. 8:23; Lk. 2:4 with Jn. 7:42).

It is in keeping with OT and Jewish usage when Jerusalem is called the "holy city" (Matt. 4:5; 27:53; Rev. 11:2). This city kills the → prophets (Matt. 23:37) and also kills Jesus (Rev. 11:8; cf. Lk. 13:33). Her downfall is certain (Matt. 24:2 ff. par. Mk. 13:2 ff.; Lk. 21:6 ff.).

1. Over against the present Jerusalem there stands the Jerusalem above, the free Jerusalem, the mother of Christians (Gal. 4:25 f.; → Parable, art. *parabolē* NT for discussion of allegory and typology here). Heb. in particular contrasts the present and the future Jerusalem. Even the patriarchs knew of this new city and set their hope upon it. Compared with it all earthly cities are mere temporary tent-camps. For the sake of this coming city the patriarchs regarded themselves as strangers (→ Foreign, art. *xenos*) and sojourners (→ Foreign, art. *parepidēmos*). This city is Mount Zion and "the city of the living God" (Heb. 11:10, 16; 12:22 ff.).

It awaits the Christians who have here no continuing city (Heb. 13:14; cf. Rev. 3:12; 22:4). The earthly Jerusalem is only a copy and a shadow (Heb. 8:5; 10:1) or a symbol (Heb. 9:9) of the city which is to come, and which is already present in heaven. In this new city those who conquer in times of persecution have citizens' rights (Rev. 3:12). The new Jerusalem will come down upon the new earth (Rev. 21:2, 10 ff.).

2. *politēs*, citizen, occurs only 4 times in the NT, and has no political emphasis except in Acts 21:39, where Paul says that he is a citizen of Tarsus. Jerome claims that Paul came to Tarsus with his parents as prisoners of war from Gischala in Galilee (*De viris illustribus*, 5). Alternatively his parents may have come from Gischala, and Paul himself may have been born at Tarsus, where his father, liberated, may have become a Roman citizen (cf. E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1971, 620; → also Jerusalem NT 5 (b)). The other instances of *politēs* occur at Lk. 15:15; 19:14; Heb. 8:11 quoting Jer. 31:34.

3. *sympolitēs*, fellow citizen, occurs at Eph. 2:19 and indicates that Gentile Christians share through Christ in the calling of Israel, the people of God, as fellow-citizens.

4. *politeia* in Acts 22:28 means the Roman citizenship of Paul. In Eph. 2:12 it means the privileged position of Israel in salvation history, to which Gentile Christians now have access by faith in Jesus Christ.

5. *politeuma* occurs only at Phil. 3:20 where Paul contrasts the Christian life-style with that of the "enemies of the cross of Christ" (3:18): "But our commonwealth [*politeuma*] is in heaven, and from it we await a Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ" (RSV). The older translation "citizenship" (RV) stresses the status of the believers, whereas "conversation" (AV), i.e. way of life, has affinities with the vb. *politeuomai* (see 6). M. Dibelius suggests "colony" (*An die Thessalonicher, I, II; An die Philipper*, *HNT*, 1937, ad. loc.) But the meaning is more likely to be that of "capital or native city, which keeps the citizens on its registers" (cf. E. Stauffer, *New Testament Theology*, 1955, 296 f.). The second half of the verse requires a place to be meant here, in order to make sense of the remark "and from it we await". Moreover, "the background of the word, in this context, is the situation of the readers who live in a city which was a Roman military colony directly related to the capital city of Rome" (R. P. Martin, *The Epistle of Paul to the Philippians*, *TC*, 1959, 160 f.). As Roman subjects, the Philippian Christians owed an allegiance to the far off capital city of Rome. At the same time, they had "another king, one Jesus" (Acts 17:7). Hence, on earth they are resident aliens who dwell temporarily in a foreign country but who have their capital and homeland elsewhere (cf. 1 Pet. 1:1; 2:11; Jas. 1:1; Heb. 11:13; Ep.Diog. 5).

6. *politeuomai* is found only at Acts 23:1 and Phil. 1:27, where (as in the usage of Hellenistic Judaism) it means to walk, in a way in keeping with the faith.

7. *politarchēs* means a civic magistrate, a politarch. In Macedonian cities and occasionally elsewhere a number of politarchs formed the city council. There were five or six in Thessalonica before whom the Jews dragged Jason (Acts 17:6, 8), accusing him of harbouring "these men who have turned the world upside down" and "acting against the decrees of Caesar". The politarchs dismissed the charge thereby putting the Jews in a bad light and the Christians and authorities in a good one (cf. Arndt, 692; E. D. Burton, "The Politarchs in Macedonia and Elsewhere",

American Journal of Theology, 2, 1898, 598–632). *H. Bietenhard*

→ Brother, → Church, → Foreign, → Greek, → Israel, → Samaritan, → Tribe

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Persecution, Tribulation, Affliction

διώκω

διώκω (*diōkō*), run after, pursue, persecute; ἐκδιώκω (*ekdiōkō*), drive away, persecute severely; καταδιώκω (*katadiōkō*), search for, hunt for; διωγμός (*diōgmos*), persecution.

CL *diōkō* is perhaps connected with the Homeric *diemai*, flee. It means lit. to chase, pursue, run after, drive away, and fig. to pursue something zealously, try to achieve something, try to obtain, prosecute.

OT 1. In the LXX *diōkō*, along with *ekdiōkō* and *katadiōkō*, is used primarily of pursuit by hostile soldiers (Exod. 15:9), or by anyone whose intentions are hostile (Gen. 31:23). It translates a number of Heb. vbs., but chiefly *rāḏap̄*, pursue;

the other vbs. occur only in isolated instances. This gives rise to the usage which is characteristic of the Pss. of individual lamentation (e.g. Pss. 7:1, 5[2, 6]; 31[30]:15 35[34]:3; cf. also Jer. 15:15; 20:11), where persecution and persecutors refer to the circumstances and persons that cause the psalmist to suffer, without there necessarily being active persecution in the narrower specific sense.

2. The OT also contains exhortations to strive for a goal. In normal Gk. settings it will be the good, the beautiful, or virtue that is to be pursued. In the LXX it is relationships, e.g. social righteousness (Deut. 16:20; cf. also Josephus, *Ant.* 6, 12, 7), peace (Ps. 34[33]:14), and righteousness in the sense of true honouring of God (Prov. 15:9), that are to be followed. The corresponding NT usage has its roots here.

NT Summary of NT use. (a) The commonest meaning is to persecute, or be persecuted (some 30 times, especially in the Gospels, Acts, Paul, Rev.). The noun *diōgmos* refers only to persecution. In 1 Thess. 2:15 the compound *ekdiōkō* also means to persecute (RSV, NEB drive out). (b) The fig. use is found only in the Epistles, always with a positive meaning; the use in Phil. 3:12, 14 belongs here (cf. also *zēteō*, → Seek, and *zēloō*, → Zeal). (c) *diōkō* (Lk. 17:23) and *katadiōkō* (Mk. 1:36) mean to run after, follow, in the passages referred to.

1. Persecution: (a) God's messengers in particular meet persecution. This was already the experience of the → prophets (Matt. 5:12; Acts 7:52), and will equally be that of Jesus' → disciples (Matt. 5:11 f., 44; 10:23), the more so as they are followers of the Lord, who had to suffer persecution himself (Jn. 5:16). This connection is clearly expressed in Jn. 15:20: "If they persecuted me, they will persecute you." Paul, once the persecutor of the church (1 Cor. 15:9; Gal. 1:13; 23; Phil. 3:6; 1 Tim. 1:13), experienced persecution himself, once the glorified Lord had made him his messenger (Gal. 5:11; 2 Tim. 3:11). In 2 Tim. 3:12 he expresses the view that being a Christian will always be linked with persecution (→ Suffer).

(b) The message is persecuted in the Christian (Acts 22:4, the "way", the course steered by faith), or Christ himself (Acts 9:4 f.; 22:7 f;. 26:14 f.). According to Jn. 15:18 ff., persecution is caused by the world's hatred of God and his revelation in Christ (cf. also Matt. 10:22; Mk. 13:13; Lk. 21:17; Rev. 12:13). Paul sees behind it the contrast between → flesh and → spirit; the hostility of the natural man against God and so also against the man led by God's Spirit (Gal. 4:29).

(c) Hence persecution may be a sign that one is on God's side. Thus Jesus calls those blessed "who are persecuted for righteous's sake" (Matt. 5:10 ff.; → Blessing).

(d) There is the danger of corrupting the message in order to avoid persecution (Gal. 6:12). Christians are specially challenged to maintain their faith during persecution. They are to meet the hatred of their persecutors by a word of blessing (Rom. 12:14; cf. especially Matt. 5:44).

(e) But it is especially in persecution that Christians experience the help, strength and saving power of Christ (2 Cor. 4:7 ff.; 12:10; Rom. 8:35–39). In persecution Paul set an apostolic example by enduring it patiently (1 Cor. 4:12). It is a special reason for giving God thanks, when persecution is endured with faith (2 Thess. 1:3 f.).

2. Pursuit of Christian objectives. The metaphorical meaning of the word shows more strongly than *zēteō*, seek, that there are certain things which the

Christian must strive after, such as hospitality (Rom. 12:13), mutual peace (Rom. 14:19; 1 Pet. 3:11; Heb. 12:14), holiness, love (1 Cor. 14:1), doing good (1 Thess. 5:15), and righteousness (1 Tim. 6:11; 2 Tim. 2:22). These are lasting objectives in the life of faith, which has as its goal the attaining of the → resurrection from the dead. Paul sees the Christian life as ultimately directed to this goal. He presses on to it like the runner set on winning the victor's prize (Phil. 3:12 ff.), although he knows that "it depends not upon man's will or exertion, but upon God's mercy" (Rom. 9:16; cf. v. 30 f.). *G. Ebel*

θλῖψις

θλῖψις (*thlipsis*), oppression, affliction, tribulation; *θλίβω* (*thlibō*), press upon, oppress, afflict; *στενοχωρία* (*stenochōria*), straits, distress, affliction, difficulty; *στενοχωρέω* (*stenochōreō*), crowd, cramp, confine, oppress.

CL The verb *thlibō* (Aristophanes onwards; from the root *thlaō*, crush, squash) means press, squeeze, crush, This lit. meaning is found in Mk. 3:9; "lest they should crush him." The perf. part. pass. has the meaning of narrow, strait (cf. Matt. 7:13, of the way to life; → Gate). The fig. use is very common, both in the sense of oppress (external) and of grieve, vex (internal). Epictetus speaks of the pressures of life (*ta thliboṇta*) which the true Stoic must and can overcome (*Dissertationes*, 4, 1, 45; cf. 1, 25, 17 and 28; 2, 27, 2 f.; 3, 13, 8).

The noun *thlipsis*, oppression, distress, affliction, is linked with the vb. It is occasionally found coupled with *stenochōria* (derived from *stenos*, or *steinos*, narrow, and *chōria*, space, place), which from Thucydides onwards is used to express a narrow place, and hence being pressed by inner and outer difficulties. The corresponding vb. *stenochōreō* is found in its semi-lit. sense in 2 Cor. 6:12; "you are not restricted [*stenochōreisthe*] by us."

OT In the LXX *thlipsis* is used to render a number of Heb. terms, especially *ṣārar*, *ṣar*, *lāḥaṣ*, *laḥaṣ*. These Heb. words denote need, distress, and various afflictions depending on the context, e.g. war, exile and personal hostility. Here too it is found a number of times linked with *stenochōria* (e.g. Deut. 28:53, 55, 57; Isa. 8:22; 30:6; Est. 1:1 [LXX, but not MT]), as well as with other terms expressive of fear and pain, in many cases the meaning being almost synonymous. The *thlipsis* of the LXX is often the oppression which belongs of necessity to the history of Israel and which was regarded by the faithful as part of salvation history. There is a connection between oppression (Exod. 3:9) and deliverance (Exod. 3:10). Even when the oppression is a punishment, its purpose is deliverance (Neh. 9:27; Hos. 5:14–6:2). The eschatological nature of the oppression is often stressed (cf. Zech. 1:15; Hab. 3:16). Dan 12:1 even speaks of "a time of trouble, such as never has been since there was a nation" until the writer's own time. But here also deliverance from trouble is mentioned, and this expresses the faith and hope of the faithful in Israel. "Many are the afflictions of the righteous; but the Lord delivers him out of them all" (Ps. 34:19; cf. Ps. 37:39). This was the unshakeable conviction of the faithful, who were able to pray, "Thou who has made me see many sore troubles wilt revive me again" (Ps. 71:20).

Judaism also knew of the troubles of the people which it expected in the end-time and described in detail in the apocalypses (Eth.Enoch., 2 Esd., Syr.Bar.). The Qumran texts accommodate themselves to this picture. They speak of the last great tribulation (1QM 1:12; 15:1) and of the personal trials of the writer of the Hymns (1QH 5:12; 9:28; 15:16).

NT *thlipsis* is used 45 times in the NT, *thlibō* 10 times, always fig. apart from Mk. 3:9 and Matt. 7:13 (see above CL). The RV and RSV translate *thlipsis* about equally by affliction and tribulation, though the RSV especially also uses other renderings. *stenochōria* is found 4 times (Rom. 2:9; 8:35; 2 Cor. 6:4; 12:10), and *stenochōreō* twice (2 Cor. 4:8; 6:12). The usage in the NT is clearly the same as in the OT. The following cases are of importance.

1. *thlipsis* has an eschatological significance for the church. This may be seen by the quotation in Matt. 24:21 and Mk. 13:19 of Dan. 12:1 (see above OT). The tribulation stands in the closest connection with the → Son of man (Matt. 24:30) of Dan. 7:13 and the birth-pangs of the messiah (Matt. 24:8; → Jesus Christ, art. *Christos*; cf. SB I 950). This tribulation belongs to the period of catastrophes before the final salvation, and it is characterized by leading astray, hate, political strife and catastrophes of nature. It is all necessary, "for this must take place" (Matt. 24:6; → Necessity). The background of this "must" may be found in Dan. 2:28 f., 45. The same thought is to be found in Rev., not merely in Rev. 2:22 and 7:14 (cf. 3:10), where the great tribulation is referred to, but also in 1:9, where tribulation is once again linked with Dan. 7:13 (cf. v. 7), and Dan. 2:28 (cf. v. 1, "what must soon take place").

2. A second element is expressed by the phrase *thlipseis tou Christou*, the afflictions of Christ. The OT statement, "Many are the afflictions of the righteous" (Ps. 34:19), is particularly applicable to the truly righteous One (Acts 3:14 f.), and so it is possible to speak of "the afflictions of Christ" (Col. 1:24, only here). It is not only a question of the afflictions left over for the church, but also of the afflictions which the Lord suffered in his unique → suffering (Col. 1:20, 22), with which the church knows itself to be linked in its own affliction. Passages like 2 Cor. 1:5 (cf. vv. 4, 6); 4:10 (cf. v. 8) allow us to infer that the thought of such afflictions was implicit in the proclamation of the passion of Christ. Both they and the whole of Christ's passion are under the divine "must" (*dei*; cf. W. Grundmann, *TDNT* II 22 ff.).

3. Only in the light of the two preceding concepts can we properly understand the third concept which is contained in statements about the afflictions of believers.

(a) Believers are implicitly included in the eschatological *thlipsis*. They are exposed to the tribulations (Matt. 24:9), especially hatred, betrayal and death. It is above all the time of leading astray (cf. Matt. 24:4 f., 11, 24; → Lead Astray), the time of testing (cf. *peirasmos* in Lk. 8:13, where the par. Matt. 13:21, Mk. 4:17 have *thlipsis* and *diōgmos*; → Tempt).

(b) Col. 1:24 (see above 2) makes it clear that Christians experience these afflictions in solidarity with Christ's passion. This is a familiar thought, especially in Paul. All distress and affliction suffered by Christians, which are caused by the pressure of the world on them, must always be understood in the light of this solidarity. Only so can they be rightly explained and endured (cf. 2 Cor. 1:5 with 1:4, 6; cf. 4:10 f. with 4:8; cf. Phil. 3:10; 1 Pet. 4:13). Precisely for this reason

tribulation and all other distress cannot separate us from Christ (Rom. 8:35). Because we are suffering with him in these distresses we shall be glorified together with him (Rom. 8:17; cf. 8:37; cf. 1 Thess. 1:6, following Christ in affliction).

(c) The *thlipsis* does not come unexpectedly to the believer. Its connection with the eschatological and christological tribulation discussed above, both of which depend on the divine "must", makes it *a priori* probable that the tribulations of Christians are also conditioned by this "must". Moreover, this is stated several times in the NT. Jn. 16:33 says, "in the world you have tribulation". "Through many tribulations we must enter the kingdom of God" (Acts 14:22) was the reason why Paul and Barnabas exhorted the disciples to continue in the faith. It is perhaps most clearly expressed in 1 Thess. 3:3, where Paul writes that he had sent Timothy to exhort the church, "that no one be moved by these afflictions; you yourselves know that this is to be our lot [*eis touto keimetha*]" (cf. the *eis touto keimetha* with *eis touto gar eklēthēte*, "for to this you were called", 1 Pet. 2:21). The apostle Paul had expected nothing else for his own life (1 Thess. 3:4; cf. Acts 20:23), and had experienced it in full measure in his missionary work (2 Cor. 1:4, 6, 8; 2:4; 4:8, 17; 6:4–10; 7:4 f.; 11:16–12:10; Eph. 3:13; Phil. 1:17; 4:14; 1 Thess. 3:4, 7). But it caused him → joy, not grief: "We rejoice in our sufferings, knowing that suffering produces endurance" (Rom. 5:3; cf. Jas. 1:2 f.; → Patience, art. *hypomonē*).

(d) As a result the tribulation is already a reality in the NT situation. The church in Jerusalem had experienced it (Acts 11:19), and it became a reality for other churches, in Corinth (2 Cor. 1:4), Thessalonica (1 Thess. 1:6; 3:3) and Macedonia generally (2 Cor. 8:2). But these afflictions are determined, so far as believers are concerned, by their goal in God's plan of salvation. They are therefore never purposeless, but produce → hope (Rom. 5:3 ff.). Just as a woman, who has given birth to a child, no longer remembers the anguish in her joy (Jn. 16:21), so believers have sorrow (Jn. 16:22) and tribulation (Jn. 16:33). But Jesus' "be of good cheer" is no empty phrase, because he knows the righteousness of God which repays with affliction those who cause affliction, and grants → rest to the afflicted as compensation (2 Thess. 1:6 f.). *R. Schippers*

→ Abomination of Desolation, → Animal, art. *thērion*, → Antichrist, → Fruit, art. *skolops*, → Judgment, → Number, art. *chilias* (on the idea of a millennium), → Patience, → Present, → Satan, → Serve, → Suffer, → Time, → War, → Weakness, → Witness

(a). G. R. Beasley-Murray, *Jesus and the Future: An Examination of the Eschatological Discourse, Mark 13, with Special Reference to the Little Apocalypse Theory*, 1954; and *A Commentary on Mark Thirteen*, 1957; W. Beilner, "Persecution", *EBT* II 667 ff.; S. G. F. Brandon, *The Fall of Jerusalem and the Christian Church*, 1951; S. Brown *Apostasy and Perseverence in the Gospel of Luke*, 1959; W. H. C. Frend, *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church: A Study of Conflict from the Maccabees to Donatus*, 1965; L. Gaston, *No Stone on Another: Studies in the Significance of the Fall of Jerusalem in the Synoptic Gospels, Supplements to NovT* 23, 1970; D. R. A. Hare, *The Theme of Jewish Persecution of Christians in the Gospel according to St Mathew*, 1967; I. H. Marshall, *Kept by the Power of God: A Study of Perseverance and Falling Away*, 1969; A. Oepke, *diōkō*, *TDNT* II 229 f.; H. Schlier, *thlibō* etc., *TDNT* III 139–48.

(b). N. Brox, *Zeuge und Märtyrer*, 1961; E. Güttgemanns, *Der leidende Apostel und sein Herr*, 1966; E. Lohse, *Märtyrer und Gottesknecht*, *FRLANT* 64, 1955; and *Geschichte des Leidens und Sterbens Jesu Christi*, 1964; W. Nauck, "Freude im Leiden. Zum Problem einer urchristlichen Verfolgungstradition", *ZNW* 46, 1955, 68–80; J. Schneider, *Die Passionsmystik des Paulus*, 1929; A. Steubing, *Der paulinischer Begriff Christusleiden*, 1905; W. Wichmann, *Die Leidenstheologie*, 1930.

Pharisee

Φαρισαῖος	(*Pharisaios*), Pharisee.

OT *Pharisaioi* is the Hellenized form of the Aram. word *pᵉrîšayyā'* (Heb. *pārûš*; from *pāraš*, to divide, separate), and means "the separated ones". It denotes the representatives of an influential religious group in Judaism. The designation is only attested in Hellenistic Judaism up till the time of the NT, but not at all in the LXX. Rabbinic literature provides the first attestation of the word in the Aramaic-speaking world, although it is frequently found in a negative sense. The word was used in the Gk. form by Josephus and in the NT. The date of the appearance of the designation can no longer be precisely fixed. The first occurrences are from the time of Hyrcanus I (*c.* 135 B.C.). From the 1st cent. B.C. (under the reign of Alexandra [76–67 B.C.]) onwards, however, the Pharisees were in the public esteem, the most respected and thus the leading group of Judaism.

1. Josephus, himself a Pharisee, came to speak of the movement in differing ways in his writings. Perhaps in order to please his Hellenistic readers he called them one of the many Jewish "philosophies", alongside the Essenes, → Sadducees and the "fourth philosophy" (cf. *War* 2, 8, 2–14; *Ant.* 18, 1, 3–6). But much remains unclarified for us in Josephus' writings, including the meaning of the name. Since the representatives of this group never called themselves by this name but spoke of themselves rather as the *ḥᵃḇērîm*, the comrades of a *ḥᵃḇûrâh*, a society, the question arises as to whether the designation *Pharisaioi* is not perhaps a nick-name which the opponents gave to the exponents of that piety. The name implies separation, but it is not clear from what they were separated. Basically, three positions are held.

(a) One view is that it is a group of the *Hasidaioi* Hasidim (Heb. *ḥᵃsîḏîm*), the pious, separated from Judas Maccabaeus (cf. 1 Macc. 2:42; 7:13; 2 Macc. 14:6). Although they originally fought alongside the Maccabees against the Seleucids, they later brought about the separation which this name gave them, as a protest against the Hasmonaeans' claims to political domination.

(b) The Pharisees originated out of the group of the *ḥᵃḇērîm* ("confederates"), which separated itself *c.* 135 B.C. from the rest of the people who did not keep the → law, in order to follow exactly the individual prescriptions of the law. The name thus goes back to the separation of a group of pious people true to the law from a lawless – and thus godless – people.

(c) The name is a pun on the "separation", i.e. the distinction between the individual prescriptions of the law. "The law was the centre of their thought and practical life and, in continually renewed applications and metaphors, was lauded as Israel's most precious and sacred garment" (H. Lietzmann, *The Beginnings of the Christian Church*, 1953³, 30).

There is much to be said for the view that the group received their name through understanding themselves as the fellowship which embodied the true → Israel and distancing themselves from the rest of the nation (position (b)).

2. Essential to Pharisaism was the fact that it tried "by obedience to the Law . . . to represent the pure community, the true people of God preparing itself

for the coming of the messiah" (E. Lohse, *EKL* III 181). Their views were sketched by Josephus (*War* 2, 8; cf. also Pss.Sol. *c.* 60 B.C. which is Pharisaic in outlook). Characteristic of their outlook are the following points.

(a) The legal prescriptions of Scripture were observed with minute attention to detail (e.g. tithing all goods, attending to all the purificatory regulations, all the sacred times laid down by God and the cultic actions). It is significant that the Halachah, the body of legal decisions which interpreted the law, was reckoned to be equally as binding as the biblical tradition. This is illustrated by Shammai's reply to the question, "How many Toroth do you have?": "Two; the written Torah and the oral Torah" (Shabbath 31a). Josephus reports "that the Pharisees have delivered to the people a great many observances by succession from their fathers, which are not written in the laws of Moses; and for that reason the Sadducees reject them, and say, that we are to esteem those observances to be obligatory which are in the written word, but are not to observe what are derived from the tradition of our forefathers. And concerning these things it is that great disputes and differences have risen among them, while the Sadducees are able to persuade none but the rich, and have not the populace obsequious to them, but the Pharisees have the multitude on their side" (*Ant.* 13, 10, 6). The Pharisaic experts in the Scripture, the "Scribes", gave a binding interpretation to the laws by way of casuistic exegesis. This casuistry led in part to highly rarified controversial debates and decisions between individual scholars. Thus food could not be cooked on the → Sabbath. But whereas the School of Shammai permitted water to be set on a stove which had been previously heated, the School of Hillel permitted both hot water and cooked food to be placed on it (Sabbath 3:1). Whereas fish might not be caught from a vivarium on a festival day or have food given to them, wild animals and birds could be so treated. "This is the general rule: What must still be hunted is forbidden, but what needs not to be hunted is permitted" (Yom Tob 3:1). Practically every area of human life came to be included and regulated by an abundance of individual prescriptions. The Pharisees, however, did not wish to destroy the law. Rather, they "sought by their interpretations to make the law fit the new environs, believing as they did that God had provided for every circumstance that could arise. In this they had no idea that they were introducing new notes, although of course they were; they were simply discovering old truth" (M. S. Enslin, *Christian Beginnings*, 1938, 115). The Pharisees set the people a good example in keeping the law, in that they themselves in addition adhered to the strict purificatory rites which were otherwise only binding for priests.

(b) By contrast with the Essenes, who emphasized the complete helplessness of the human will over against God, and the Sadducees, who stressed the unlimited freedom of the will, the Pharisees held firm to a conditional freedom of human will. Man may well not be able to frustrate the will of God, but within the frame of the divine plan he is able to do good or evil (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 18, 1, 3; cf. Pss. Sol. 5:6).

(c) The Pharisees took over the partly Persian and Hellenistic conceptions of the → resurrection (cf. Sanhedrin 10:1; Sotah 9:15), of a → judgment after death and of supramundane beings (all of which had made large inroads into Judaism), including very pronounced conceptions of → angels, the Devil (→ Satan) and intermediary beings. Whereas the Pharisees believed that they could read these

doctrines out of the sacred writings, the Sadducees rejected the ideas as being irreconcileable with the Holy Scriptures (cf. Acts 23:8).

(d) From the downfall of the Hasmonaeans the Pharisees, by contrast with the Zealots, strictly renounced all use of force. God himself, through his intervention, will give the decisive turn and liberate his people.

(e) The Pharisees awaited the messiah (→ Jesus Christ, art. *Christos*), whereas the Sadducees did not (cf. Pss.Sol. 17:23–18:9).

In that Pharisaism was sufficiently flexible to adjust itself to the conditions of a changed way of life, it had become the most spiritually formative power in Judaism at the time of Jesus. But with its preoccupation with the fulfilment of the laws, Pharisaism was in fact an intensely narrow and rigid formalism.

NT In the NT the Pharisees are only named in the four Gospels (Matt. 27 times; Mk. 12 times; Lk. 27 times; Jn. 19 times), Acts (9 times), and once in Paul (Phil. 3:5), where Paul himself admits to having been "as to the law a Pharisee".

In Pharisaism Jesus met → Israel as it strove for true → faith and obedience (→ Hear, art. *akouō*) to God, but which had become totally hardened in formalism and thus barred itself from precisely that for which it was searching – to please God. Jesus and the Pharisees are consequently depicted in Matt., Mk. and Jn. (with the exception of Nicodemus) as embittered opponents (cf. Mk. 3:6; 12:13; Matt. 12:14; the woes of Jesus in Matt. 23; Jn. 3:1, 4, 9; 7:50; 11:46 f., 57; 19:39).

1. It is a striking fact that Lk. does not generally represent the Pharisees as inimical to Jesus. According to Lk., Jesus was a guest of distinguished Pharisees and ate food at table with them (Lk. 7:36 f.; 11:37; 14:1). Lk. 13:31 even reports that Pharisees warned Jesus of Herod's attempts on his life. Pharisees were members of the Christian community (Acts 15:5). It may be that the strained relationship with Jesus subsequently became milder towards the church (cf. Acts 5:34; 15:5; 23:9). It is quite conceivable that Lk. slightly corrects the picture of the Pharisees in his Gospel on the basis of the experiences of the first churches. The particular Lucan material where Jesus is a guest of Pharisees, however, leads up to confrontation in which Jesus makes certain pronouncements. The historicity of Lk.'s account has been questioned on the grounds that the Pharisees would scarcely have invited a wandering preacher to a meal when he violated their purificatory regulations so blatantly (Lk. 11:38). It has also been asked why a man who is deemed worthy of being invited to table should be denied all the customary courtesies of the kiss, the anointing, and the foot-washing (Lk. 7:44 f). To this the answer may be that individual Pharisees (like Nicodemus in Jn. 3) were attracted to Jesus, but that their background prevented them from extending the formal rites of fellowship and acceptance to one who stood outside their number and was so critical of their understanding of righteousness.

2. (a) The equation of oral tradition with the OT law led to serious divergences. The nature of the difference is made clear only in the light of the two opposing understandings of God. For the Pharisees, God is primarily one who makes demands; for Jesus he is gracious and compassionate. The Pharisee does not, of course, deny God's goodness and love, but for him these were expressed in the gift of the Torah and in the possibility of fulfilling what is there demanded (cf. Aboth 3:14 ff.). Adherence to the oral tradition, with its rules for interpreting the

law, was seen by the Pharisee as the way to the fulfilment of the Torah (cf. Mk. 7:3, 5; Matt. 12:2 ff.; 15:1 ff.). The individual prescriptions are here on a par with one another. By contrast, in Matt. 12:7 Jesus cites Hos. 6:6 ("I desire mercy and not sacrifice"), and thereby grounds the entire interpretation of the law in the → command of → love (cf. Matt. 22:34–40; Mk. 12:28–34; Lk. 10:25–28). Since God himself is the Loving One, all other commands are fulfilled in loving one's neighbour (cf. Jn. 8:3–11). Jesus' elevation of the double command of love (Matt. 22:34–40) to the level of a norm of interpretation and his rejection of the binding nature of the oral tradition (cf. Lk. 11:38–42) led him into conflict with Pharisaic casuistry (Matt. 15:1–20 par. Mk. 7:1–23; cf. Isa. 29:13; Lk. 6:7; 13:3–6; → Hand; → Gift, art. *korban*).

(b) Jesus repudiated the exclusion by the Pharisees of the uneducated and notorious sinners (cf. Matt. 9:11; Mk. 2:16; Lk. 5:30) as lack of love. The Pharisees were ostensibly concerned about the judgment of God, forgiveness, and about the holy nation of Israel, but their attitude was the negative one of separation and concern for the minutiae of the law. But Jesus sought to heal the injuries of his people by bringing God's love to the helpless and sick (cf. Matt. 9:12 ff.; Mk. 2:17). The Pharisees ostensibly took God's commands seriously, but their preoccupation with fulfilling the commands exactly became an end in itself which prevented them from entering the kingdom of God themselves and also from letting others enter it (Matt. 23:1–36; → Open).

(c) This segregation essentially led the Pharisees into a conflict between what the Torah demanded and what they actually performed (see the Woes in Matt. 23). The casuistic exegesis of the law with the consequent dissociation from everything impure led them to a distinctly merit-based system of thought in which lay a disastrous self-deception (→ Reward, art. *misthos*). The Pharisees drew on themselves the accusation of hypocrisy with regard to men (→ Lie, art. *hypokrinō*) and → pride in relation to God (cf. Matt. 6:5, 16; 23:13, 15, 23, 25, 27 ff.; Lk. 19:10 ff.).

Their understanding of God and their resultant understanding of the law made the Pharisees blind to the true offer and claim of God meeting them in Jesus (cf. Matt. 23:26; Mk. 9:40). The tragedy was that the Pharisees earnestly sought God, but, because a particular picture of God had hardened in their tradition, they decided against Jesus (cf. Matt. 12:14 par. Mk. 3:6; cf. Lk. 6:11) and thus against God (cf. Matt. 12:24–32; Lk. 11:43–54). Thus the Pharisee became in the NT the type of an attitude which is by no means confined to Judaism. *D. Müller*

→ Command, → Gift, art. *korban*, → Hand, → Herb, → Law, → Levite, → Lie, Hypocrite, → Open, → Priest, → Sadducee, → Tax, → Tithe

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Please

ἀρέσκω

ἀρέσκω (*areskō*), strive to please, accommodate, please; ἀρεστός (*arestos*), pleasing; ἀρεσκεία (*areskeia*), the desire to please; εὐάρεστος (*euarestos*), acceptable, pleasing; εὐαρεστέω (*euaresteō*),

please (someone), take pleasure in; *ἀνθρωπάρεσκος* (*anthrōpareskos*), one who tries to please men, a man-pleaser.

CL *areskō* comes from a root *ar-*, to fit (from which also comes *aretē*, virtue), and is originally cognate with Lat. *arma*, weapons, and *ars*, art. Attested from Homer onwards, it denotes the pleasure which men or the gods derive from something. From it are derived the adjs. *arestos*, pleasant, and *euarestos*, pleasing, content (often attested in inscriptions). The noun *areskeia*, pleasure, grace, is attested from Aristotle onwards. Formations peculiar to the LXX are *euaresteō*, find pleasure, be content, and *anthrōpareskos*, someone who seeks to please men (only in LXX Ps. 53:5[52:6] as a mistranslation of *ḥōnāḵ*, "he who encamps against you", perhaps through confusion with *ḥēn*, grace). It is later found in Pss.Sol. 4:7, 8, 19.

OT 1. In the LXX the vb. occurs some 60 times, the adj. *arestos* 33 times, as a translation of good, be good; right, be right, often with "in the eyes of" added, following the underlying Heb. text. In Dan. (e.g. 3:22) it translates *šᵉpar*, be beautiful, please (well). It occurs in the expressions "It pleases God . . ." (Num. 23:27), and "the offering of Judah and Jerusalem will be pleasing to God" (Mal. 3:4). A word may be said to please someone, i.e. it meets with his approval, e.g. the king and the assembly (2 Chr. 30:4), the king and his commanders (1 Macc. 6:60).

areskeia is only found in Prov. 31:30 as a translation of *ḥēn*, grace, favour; *euarestos* only in Wis. 4:10; 9:10. The vb. *euaresteō*, to please, to take pleasure in, however, occurs 14 times, generally as translation of Heb. *hālaḵ* (in the hith.) to walk (with God) (Gen. 5:22, 24; 6:9; 17:1; 24:40; 39:4; 48:15; Exod. 21:8; Jdg. 10:16; Pss. 26[25]:3; 35[34]:14; 56[55]:13; 116[114]:9; Sir. 44:16). Gen. 5:24 is noteworthy here. In the Heb. text attention is directed to the deed of man, expressed by a vb. of action ("Enoch walked with God"), whereas the LXX stresses God's judgment ("Enoch pleased God").

2. In Josephus *areskō* is found equally of God (it pleased God to make David king, *Ant.* 6, 8, 1) as of men (King Hyrcanus will do everything that pleases God, *Ant.* 13, 10, 5).

NT 1. In the NT *areskō* is found 17 times, of which 14 instances are in Paul and the remaining three are in Matt., Mk. and Acts. The sole instance of *areskeia* is also in Paul. In general *areskō* denotes a definite attitude.

1. Paul's use of the vb. three times in Rom. 15:1–3 is noteworthy. Paul charges the self-styled "strong" Christian with being concerned to please himself, i.e. in the last analysis being self-centred (v. 1). The phrase *heautois areskein* "denotes the inversion of human existence and evasion of God" (O. Michel, *Der Brief an die Römer*, *KEK* 4, 1966[13], 354, n. 4). This attitude of unrestrained self-trust is met by Paul with the rejoinder that each person should please his neighbour for his good, to build him up (v. 2). This does not mean seeking to please men in the sense of an attitude which looks for approbation and recognition from others (cf. Eph. 6:6), but enacting the will of God in the form of love for one's neighbour, in the case of the weak → brother. The basic direction of Christian conduct, which Paul appeals to by *areskō*, is grounded in the attitude of Christ himself (v. 3), who did not live to

please himself, *ouch heautō ēresen.* Rather, he assumed the attitude of the OT servant of God (Ps. 69:9) who submitted himself in obedience towards God.

areskō in Paul is, therefore, a term which characterizes man in both a false or a valid attitude to life. The apostle knows this from his own experience. Through his conversion he has been freed from concern for the favour of men, for he stands under the command of the Lord. He, therefore, wishes to live to please God and Christ. Paul does not preach in order to please men, but God (1 Thess. 2:4). Aligning himself with Christ and the goal set by Christ of saving all, Paul seeks to live with the intention of pleasing Jews and Greeks alike; i.e. he lives for the benefit of the many, that they may be saved (1 Cor. 10:33). The same thought lies behind other passages where the vb. is not used, e.g. Rom. 12:17 f. and 1 Cor. 9:22 (on this see H. L. Ellison, "Paul and the Law – 'All Things to All Men' ", in W. W. Gasque and R. P. Martin, eds., *Apostolic History and the Gospel*, 1970, 195–202). The Christian congregation must also see how they can please God (1 Thess. 4:1).

2 Tim. 2:4 adopts the picture of the soldier used elsewhere in Hellenistic moral teaching (cf. 1 Cor. 9:7; Phil. 2:25; Phlm. 2). The soldier on active service does not get himself involved in civilian life, but aims to please his commanding officer. It is thus impressed upon the reader that he is not to let himself be diverted from his work for Christ by concern about his earthly welfare. Similarly, the unmarried man who is not tied by marital considerations can direct all his energy to gaining Christ's approbation and recognition (1 Cor. 7:32). On the other hand, "those that are in the flesh [*hoi de en sarki ontes*] cannot please God" (Rom. 8:8). Here → flesh signifies a self-centred existence guided by human considerations. It is the antithesis of being led by the → Spirit (cf. Rom. 8:4 f., 9, 11, 13, 16). It is defined in terms of having the mind set on the flesh, being hostile to God, and not submitting to God's law (Rom. 8:7). Its end is death (Rom. 8:6, 13). The Jews who put Jesus and the prophets to death "displease God and oppose all men" (1 Thess. 2:15).

2. The adj. *arestos*, pleasing, occurs 4 times in the NT. In Acts 12:3 the execution of James is said to have been pleasing to the Jews. Elsewhere it is God who is the object of the pleasing. The expression *ouk areston estin*, it is not right (i.e. before God) (Acts 6:2) reflects LXX-Gk. usage. According to Jn. 8:29, Jesus always did what was pleasing to God, i.e. what was consonant with God's will. *arestos* underlines once more the unity between the sent and the sender. Because Christians keep God's commandments and do what pleases him, they receive from him in → prayer whatever they ask (1 Jn. 3:22).

3. The vb. *euaresteō*, please (3 times in Heb.), and the adj. *euarestos*, pleasing, (8 times in Paul and once in Heb.) also have God or Christ as their object, apart from one exception (Tit. 2:9). Indirectly, even Tit. 2:9 does not deviate from this: slaves are exhorted to be *euarestoi* to their masters, and so live to their satisfaction, in order, as members of the church community, to give God glory by their conduct and to please him (cf. Eph. 6:6). Children are exhorted to be obedient to their parents, because that is pleasing to the Lord (Col. 3:20). Paul thanks the Philippians for their gift, which is a → sacrifice pleasing to God (Phil. 4:18). The Christians in Rome are exhorted to offer their "living bodies as a holy sacrifice, truly pleasing to God" (Rom. 12:1 f. JB; cf. Eph. 5:10). The Christian's whole existence is offered to God (cf. 2 Cor. 5:9). Anyone who serves (→ Serve; → Slave, art.

douleuō) Christ in righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy → Spirit pleases God and is acknowledged by him (Rom. 14:18). Therefore, we must pray that God may work in us through Christ that which is pleasing in his sight (Heb. 13:21).

Heb. 11:5 f. takes up Gen. 5:24 LXX. It is inferred from the fact that Enoch pleased God (*euarestēkenai*) that he was a believer; for without → faith one cannot please God. (On Enoch see Jude 14 f.; Eth.Enoch 1:9; 71:14; Sir. 44:16; Jub. 4:17; 10:17; Wis. 4:10 ff. [cf. F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, *NLC* 1964, 286–90). In the Christian life charity and acts of love are a "sacrifice" in which God takes pleasure (Heb. 13:16).

4. *areskeia* only occurs in Col. 1:10. Paul prays that the Colossians may be filled with the knowledge of God's will, so that they may walk worthily of the Lord and always please him.

5. *anthrōpareskos* is encountered only in the rule to → slaves (Eph. 6:6; Col. 3:22; cf. also 2 Clem. 13:1). Slaves are to obey their masters not in an adulatory fashion, to please men, but in the fear of the Lord.

6. The words of this group are predominantly used in the NT to denote pleasure in the sight of God or Christ which derives from a definite attitude. Even where recognition from the side of men is meant, the gaze generally goes beyond men to God whose pleasure should be sought. *H. Bietenhard*

εὐδοκέω

εὐδοκέω (*eudokeō*), be well pleased, regard favourably, take delight in; εὐδοκία (*eudokia*), good will, good pleasure, favour, wish, desire.

CL The vb. *eudokeō* is a colloquial term from Hellenistic times (attested from the 3rd cent. B.C.). It is thought to be derived from the hypothetical *eudokos*, formed from *eu*, good, and *dechomai*, to accept. In cl. Gk. it means to be well pleased or content, to consent, approve; in the pass. to be favoured, i.e. prosper; to find favour with. From the vb. the LXX has also formed the noun *eudokia*, whereas cl. Gk. uses the noun *eudokēsis*, satisfaction, approval, consent. The goal of the Epicurean philosophy of life is the *eudokoumenē zōē*, the life with which one is content (Philodemus Philosophus, *De Morte* 30, 42; cf. G. Schrenk, *TDNT* II 740).

OT 1. (a) In the LXX *eudokeō* occurs some 60 times. Where there is an underlying Heb. text, it generally trans. *rāṣâh*, to take pleasure in, like, enjoy, decide upon, elect, and denotes a passionate and positive volition. The godly man rejoices over the sanctuary (1 Chr. 29:3; Ps. 102[101]:15), and in the works of truth (1 Esd. 4:39). One decides for Alexander Balas (1 Macc. 10:47), elects Simon as leader (1 Macc. 14:41). One is lenient and indulgent (2 Chr. 10:7; Sir. 18:31). With a negative it means to spurn (Hab. 2:4).

Yahweh takes pleasure in his people (Ps. 44[43]:4; 149:4), in a pious man (2 Sam. 22:20), in those who fear him (Ps. 147[146]:11). A man prays that it may please Yahweh to deliver him (Ps. 40[39]:13). On the other hand, Yahweh has no pleasure in the calf (i.e. the strength) of a man's leg (Ps. 147[146]:10), nor in anyone who does evil (Mal. 2:17). A penitent mind is more pleasing to Yahweh than a → sacrifice (Ps. 51:16 ff.[50:18 ff.]; Jer. 14:12).

(b) The noun *eudokia* occurs 25 times (only in Pss., Cant., 1 Chr., Sir.). In 8 places it is a translation of Heb. *rāṣôn* (56 times in MT), good-pleasure, grace, the will of God (40 times in MT). *eudokia* can denote the will or pleasure of man (cf. Ps. 141[140]:5; Sir. 8:14; 9:12), but also the divine good-pleasure, God's grace and blessing (Ps. 5:13; 51:19[50:21]; 89[88]:17; Ps.Sol. 8:22). Sir., in particular, displays the tendency to use *eudokia* to render Heb. *rāṣôn*, in order to describe God's good pleasure, his gracious will, activity and election (e.g. Sir. 1:27; 11:17; 15:15 *et al.*). *eudokia* denotes the divine purpose or determination in, e.g. Sir. 33:13; 36:13; 39:18.

2. The linguistic usage of Judaism corresponds with that of the OT. In the formula "to do God's good pleasure" which occurs frequently among the Rabbis, the Heb. *rāṣôn* denotes God's will. The expression "well-pleasing in God's sight", stemming from courtly language, is also common. In prayer the formula "May it be pleasing in thy sight", i.e. may it be thy will, is used. This corresponds exactly with the expression used by Jesus in Matt. 11:26: *eudokia egeneto emprosthen sou*, "it was well-pleasing in your sight" (cf. Matt. 18:14; Lk. 10:21; 12:32; Ber. 7d; Targ. Cant. 7:14; Tg.O.Gen. 28:17; Num. 14:8; G. Dalman, *The Words of Jesus*, 1902, 211). But the expression can also denote human good pleasure.

3. The Dead Sea Scrolls speak of "all the sons of his [or your, i.e. God's] good pleasure" (1QH 4:33; 11:9), or of "the elect of [the divine] good pleasure" (1QS 8:6). *rāṣôn* in the sense of will likewise occurs frequently (1QH 10:2, 6, 9; 14:13; 16:10; 4QpPs 37:2, 5). Parallel expressions are "the elect of heaven" (1QM 12:5), and "the elect of righteousness" (1QH 2:13). "Good-pleasure is a term of electing and predestinarian thought" (J. Maier, *Die Texte vom Toten Meer*, II, 1960, 105). It is thus not a matter of the good will of men, but of the men whom God has elected – specifically, the members of the Qumran community.

NT 1. *eudokeō* is found 21 times in the NT, including 11 times in Paul and 3 times each in Matt. and Heb., but never in the Johannine writings. *eudokia* occurs 9 times, including 6 times in Paul, twice in Lk. The vb. is used of human beings in 7 places, the noun in two.

2. In a number of passages it is man who is the subject. Thus, the congregations of Macedonia decided to make a collection for the parent community of Jerusalem (Rom. 15:26 ff.). Paul considered it preferable to be away from the body and be at home with the Lord (2 Cor. 5:8; → Flesh; → Body, art. *sōma*). He took pleasure in his → weakness for the sake of Christ (2 Cor. 12:10). He was ready to share not only the gospel with the church at Thessalonica but his own self (1 Thess. 2:8). He decided to stay behind in Athens alone (1 Thess. 3:1). All those who have found pleasure in unrighteousness will be judged (2 Thess. 2:12). In Rom. 10:1 Paul says that it is his heart's wish and his prayer that the Jews may be saved, i.e. that they may come to faith in Jesus. During Paul's time in prison, some people preached Christ out of jealousy and rivalry, but others because they were well-disposed towards Paul (Phil. 1:15).

3. (a) In all other passages it is God's purpose, resolve and choice that is spoken of. God has no pleasure in (*ouk eudokēsas*) sacrifice (Heb. 10:6, 8; cf. Ps. 40:6 ff.), and those who shrink back (Heb. 10:38; cf. Hab. 2:4). But Christ does the will of God as the One who offers himself as a sacrifice and so gains God's good pleasure.

It is God's purpose to give the kingdom to the little flock (Lk. 12:32). God decided to reveal Jesus Christ to Paul (Gal. 1:15), and to save believers by the folly of the preaching of the → cross (1 Cor. 1:21; → Redemption, art. *sōzō*). God had no pleasure in the majority of the Israelites in the → wilderness period, and he repudiated them (1 Cor. 10:5). God has decided that all the → fullness of the Godhead should dwell in Christ (Col. 1:19).

(b) At the baptism of Jesus God's voice sounded out from heaven: "This is my beloved Son, with whom I am well pleased" (Matt. 3:17 par. Mk. 1:11; but cf. Lk. 3:22; cf. Ps. 2:7; Isa. 42:1; Gen. 22:2; 2 Pet. 1:17). According to Matt. 17:5, this voice resounded with the same words at Jesus' transfiguration (cf. Matt. 12:18). Here, too, it is a case of God's choice and determination, by which he has installed Jesus as messiah. *eudokia* in Matt. 11:26 describes the transcendent purpose of God (see above OT 2).

(c) The best-known place in the NT where *eudokia* occurs is Lk. 2:14. One should here retain the reading *en anthrōpois eudokias* as the original. The expression corresponds with the phrases adduced above from the Dead Sea Scrolls (see above OT 3). The phrase refers to the men of God's good pleasure whom God has elected in order to bring them his salvation, Christ. The song of the angels proclaims a divine event and activity: God has sent the Christ to earth. For this he is glorified in heaven; the effect on earth is peace. In the birth of the Christ → peace, i.e. eschatological fulfilment, the kingdom of God, begins on earth. We are not, therefore, dealing here with the good will of men, as if they somehow approved of or contributed to this event. However much men are affected as recipients of salvation, the angels' announcement was not directed at those who were at the time well-intentioned. The "men of good will" ought to disappear entirely from Bible translations and Christmas meditations! Rather, we are dealing with God's sovereign and gracious will, which elects for itself a people for salvation and sanctification (→ Man, art. *anthrōpos* NT 1; cf. E. Vogt, " 'Peace Among Men of God's good Pleasure' Lk. 2:14", in K. Stendahl, ed., *The Scrolls and the New Testament*, 1958, 114–7). J. C. O'Neill wishes to support the translation "Glory be to God on high, and in earth peace, good will towards men", but his case involves an emendation of the text which treats "peace" as an early gloss on *eudokia* ("Glory to God in the Highest, And on Earth?", in J. R. McKay and J. F. Miller, eds., *Biblical Studies: Essays in Honour of William Barclay*, 1976, 172–77).

(d) In the hortatory passage Phil. 2:13 f. Paul summons the congregation to work out their salvation in fear and trembling, because God is at work in them, "inspiring both the will and the deed, for his own chosen purpose [*hyper tēs eudokias*]." This is probably the best translation, for God has chosen the believers and continues to work in them, so that his elective purpose also reaches its goal. The passage brings together the sovereignty of God and the responsibility of man. In Eph. 1:5, 9, 11 *eudokia* is synonymous with *thelēma* or *boulē*, → will, and *prothesis*, design, plan, purpose (→ Foreknowledge). Believers have a place in God's eternal will and election which have salvation as their goal. God's free grace is the central point of the statements. The concise formulation in the prayer of 2 Thess. 1:11 *plērōsē pasan eudokian agathōsynēs* (lit. "fulfil all good will for goodness") probably also means God's elective purpose directed towards the conduct of Christians. Paul therefore prays at the same time that God's will may be done and

reach its goal. But it is also possible to understand it as referring to the will of men: "may fulfil every good resolve" (RSV). *H. Bietenhard*

(a). W. Foerster, *areskō* etc., *TDNT* I 455 ff.; G. Schrenk, *eudokeō* etc., *TDNT* II 738–51; E. Vogt, " 'Peace Among Men of God's Good Pleasure' Lk. 2:14", in K. Stendahl, ed., *The Scrolls and the New Testament*, 1958, 114–17.
(b). C. H. Hunzinger, "Neues Licht auf Lk. 2, 14 *anthrōpoi eudokias*", *ZNW* 44, 1952–53, 85 ff.; J. Jeremias, "*Anthrōpoi eudokias*", *ZNW* 28, 1929, 13–20; H. Schürmann, *Das Lukasevangelium, Theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament*, 3, 1, 1970, 113 ff.

Poor

πένης	πένης (*penēs*), poor; πενιχρός (*penichros*), poor.

CL Through its root *penēs* is linked with *ponos*, → burden, trouble. From Xen. onwards it refers to the man who cannot live from his property, but has to work with his hands. Hence the *penēs* is not like the → *ptōchos*, who is poor enough to be a beggar and needs help. He is only relatively poor; the opposite of *penēs* is *plousios*, wealthy (→ Possessions). The term includes the handworker and small peasant, who, subsequent to Solon's legislation, were the main supporters of the Athenian democracy.

For a long time security through property was considered to be the best guarantee of a virtuous life, while *penia*, poverty, was considered to be the root of moral offences, a view found as late as Plato (*Laws*, 11, 919b). Not later than the time of Socrates this concept was realized to be inadequate, for experience shows that it may in fact be *penia* that creates the will for culture (cf. Diogenes quoted by Stob. *Ecl.* 5, 783), and so may lead to virtue, which is the true ideal in life. By the art of self-sufficiency (*autarkeia*; cf. Epict., *Dissertationes* 4, 6, 3 ff.; → Suffice) a life in poverty can be rich and free (Plut., *De Vitando Aere Alieno* 3; 6; *De Virtute et Vitio* 4). No religious value was attributed to poverty.

OT 1. In the LXX *penēs* is used some 50 times, and its synonym *penichros* 3 times. It is used only 6 times for *rāš* (2 Sam. 12:1, 3, 4; Eccl. 4:14; 5:7; Ps. 82[81]:3), which is nearest to the basic meaning of the Gk., although *rāš* is found 21 times in all. Normally *penēs* is used for the economically and legally oppressed. It is used 29 times for *'eḇyôn*: 15 times in the Pss. (e.g. 72:4, 13; 86:1; 109:31), and even more clearly in Amos 2:6; 4:1; 5:12; 8:4, 6; Ezek. 18: 12. It is used 12 times for *'ānî* (e.g. Ps. 9:12, 18; 72:12; Deut. 24:14 f.), and 9 times for *dal* (e.g. 1 Sam. 2:8). Since these words are also rendered by → *ptōchos*, which is preferred for *'anî* and *dal* and which is also used 11 times for *'eḇyôn*, it is clear that the definite difference that existed in Gk. life between the one who needs alms (*ptōchos*) and the one who is forced into manual work or who has limited means (*penēs*) has been obscured. Even if this development may in part be due to the relative similarity of meaning in the Heb. equivalents, its deeper reason will have to be sought in the Israelite concept of property and social order. In the long run poverty could be created almost only by unrighteousness, i.e. the failure of the community and disobedience to God. *penichros* occurs at Exod. 22:24 (*'ānî*); Prov. 28:15; 29:7 (*dal*).

2. There follow two lines of semantic development. Hellenized Judaism clearly tends to follow the normal Gk. meaning of *penēs*: e.g. *ptōchos* is not to be found in Philo, who in contrast to the LXX even translates *'ānî* in Lev. 19:10 and 23:22 by *penēs* instead of *ptōchos* (*Virt.* 90). By so doing he employs the less offensive, politer term for poor, and thus makes the Bible more suitable for Gk. ears, but in so doing deprives it of an important stress.

NT In contrast, the NT, following OT thought but not the LXX's choice of words, has clearly decided on → *ptōchos*, so as to show not merely a man's standing in society but especially his standing before God, for he has nothing to bring him. *penēs* occurs only in 2 Cor. 9:9 in a quotation from Ps. 112:9 ("He scatters abroad, he gives to the poor; his righteousness endures for ever"), even though the reference shows that the Heb. *'ebyôn* must refer to those needing help. *penichros* is found only in Lk. 21:2, of the widow at the temple treasury, who was visibly poor. The par. in Mk. 12:42 uses *ptōchos*. *L. Coenen*

πτωχός

πτωχός (*ptōchos*), poor; πτωχεύω (*ptōcheuō*), be poor, beg; πτωχεία (*ptōcheia*), poverty.

CL 1. *ptōchos* (Homer onwards) belongs to the root *ptē*, crouched together (cf. *ptēssō*, be afraid; *ptōssō*, duck in fear; *ptōx*, timid). It signifies utter dependence on society. As an adj. it means begging, dependent on the help of strangers, poor as a beggar, poor. Commoner still is its use as a noun meaning beggar. It stands in contrast to *plousios*, rich, owning property. Secular Gk. has the metaphorical meanings of meagre, inadequate, scanty, unable, conceding something (first attested in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, flourished 30–10 B.C.). Its most important derivatives are: *ptōcheuō*, beg, live the life of a beggar, be destitute; *ptōcheia*, activity of a beggar, begging, destitution, poverty.

2. In early Gk. thought poverty was not considered to have religious value. It did not give a man any special standing before the gods, nor did it place him under their special protection. Charity, especially to those impoverished by the blows of fate, was considered a virtue when exercised by the propertied classes, because it was useful to society, but it was not regarded as a religious or ethical act. There was no public care for the poor. In later Gk. philosophy poverty was regarded by some as a favourable precondition for virtue. The highest goal of life was to live virtuously in all material conditions including poverty.

OT 1. In the LXX *ptōchos* (some 100 times) is used for the following five Heb. words. In the first four it is virtually synonymous with → *penēs*.

(a) *'ānî* (37 times), oppressed, poor, humble, lowly (e.g. Lev. 19:10; 2 Sam. 22:28; Job 29:12; Pss. 10:9[9:30]; 12[11]:5; Isa. 3:14 f.). Koehler-Baumgartner connect it with *'ānâh*, afflict, oppress, humble (719 ff.). Where economic dependence is implied, the terms under (b) and (c) may be linked with it. Where there is no specific mention of an oppressor, the word becomes generally synonymous with the socially poor, with those without land. That such poverty had been caused by disinheritance or unlawful injury and not by the person's own fault is shown by its being contrasted with violence, not riches. It is, therefore, understandable that

Yahweh, the Judge of Israel, protects these poor (see below 2 and 3) and they place their sole trust and hope in this (→ Humility, art. *praÿs* OT).

(b) *dal*, low, weak, poor, thin (22 times), especially in Amos (2:7; 4:1; 5:11; 8:4, 6), Pss. (e.g. 72[71]:13; 82[81]:3; 113[112]:1) and Prov. (e.g. 19:4[1], 17; 28:3, 8, 15). *dal* means physically weak, and is then used of the position of the lowest social classes, of the peasants as poor, needy, unimportant.

(c) *'eḇyôn*, in want, needy, poor (11 times). This is nearest to the conventional meaning of *ptōchos* and means one seeking alms, a beggar. It is then used generally for the very poor and homeless. The linked *'ānî w^e'eḇyôn*, poor and needy, especially in the Pss., connotes the attitude of one praying to God (7 times, e.g. Ps. 35[34]:10; 86[85]:1; LXX *ptōchos kai penēs*). The one who prays belongs to God and so comes before him in entreaty.

(d) *rāš*, in want, poor (11 times). This is used purely in a social and economic sense, poor, needy, in want. It is sometimes translated by → *penēs* (cf. 2 Sam. 12:3). It is a favourite word in the wisdom literature; in Prov. it is used especially as a contrast to rich (e.g. 13:8; 14:20; cf. also 17:5; 19:7, 22; 22:2, 7; 28:6, 27).

(e) In the latest OT writings *miskēn*, a term still used by the Oriental beggars for themselves, is used in Eccl. 4:13, 9:15 f. for the dependent, the socially lower (cf. Exod. 1:11: lit. "the cities of base service"); it takes the place of *'ānî* after it had received its weakened meaning of poor. Only in Sir. 30:14 is it translated by *ptōchos*. Its derivative *miskēnuṯ* (Deut. 8:9) is rendered by *ptōcheia*, poverty.

In the light of the Heb. terms it translates, *ptōchos* in the LXX has widened its meaning, especially in the social, economic and religious spheres.

2. Because Israel's land is Yahweh's land, there may be no continuing poverty among his people. Hence the Book of the Covenant (Exod. 20:22–23:19) lays down the following programme, which in principle was always valid in Israel, even if it was seldom carried out:

(a) The Israelite who as a result of economic need had to sell himself in payment of debt was to be freed in the sabbatical year (Exod. 21:2).

(b) In the sabbatical year, when the ground was allowed to lie fallow, its produce belonged to the poor (Exod. 23:10 f.).

(c) It was forbidden to exploit or oppress the poor (Exod. 22:22–27).

(d) The law may not be perverted against the poor (Exod. 23:6 ff.). Yahweh himself proclaimed himself the protector of the poor (Exod. 22:27b), and reminded Israel of how he freed from Egypt, thus ending his position of dependence there (Exod. 22:21; 23:9).

3. Under the monarchy the economy changed from one of barter to one using money, and many of the farmers became financially dependent on townsmen. This impoverishment of a wide stratum of the population was felt not merely as a major social problem but also as a religious one, for it involved a breach of the divine law. The eighth-century prophets especially attacked this social injustice in the name of Yahweh, and in particular the oppression of the farmers and the poor, threatening with the judgment of God the rich who were responsible (e.g. Amos 2:7; 4:1; 5:11; 8:4; Isa. 3:14 f.; 5:8 f.; 10:2; Mic. 2:2; 3:2 ff.).

Only in the setting of this historical situation can we understand the meaning in the Psalms of "poor", "needy". The poor man is the one who suffers injustice; he is poor because others have despised God's law. He therefore turns, helpless

and humble, to God in prayer, not only for his own need, but also in the consciousness that ultimately it is a question of God's glory. Through the self-identification, generation after generation, of those who prayed with the poor in psalms of individual lamentation and thanksgiving (e.g. Pss. 25:16; 40:17(MT 40:18); 69:29(MT 69:30); 86:1; 109:22) there gradually developed the specific connotation of "poor" as meaning all those who turn to God in great need and seek his help. God is praised as the protector of the poor (e.g. Pss. 72:2, 4, 12 ff.; 132:15), who procures justice for them against their oppressors (Pss. 9; 10; 35; 74; 140).

Deuteronomy offers a plan of social reformation, based on legislation of the wilderness period. It has its own rules for the protection of the poor (e.g. Deut. 15:1–18; 24:14–22). However, the word *ptōchos* does not appear, for → "brother" is used as a technical term for one's impoverished fellow-citizen.

Ezekiel in exile saw the coming destruction of the rump-kingdom of Judah as Yahweh's punishment for their oppression of the poor and needy (Ezek. 22:29).

The misery of the exile led temporarily to the use of "poor" and "needy" as collective terms for the people. They are found in a number of hopeful eschatological promises about the future of the people (e.g. Isa. 29:19; 41:17; 49:13; 51:21 ff.; 54:11 ff.; 61:1–4).

The many reflections and varying pronouncements of the wisdom literature on the poor are much less religious in tone. They vary from explanations of poverty as the fault of those who suffer it (e.g. Prov. 6:6–11; 23:21), and warnings against it (Sir. 40:28), to the praise of the poor and a call to improve their lot (Sir. 10:30; Prov. 14:31).

4. All the main lines of OT thought occur again in Rabbinic Judaism, both concerning material poverty and its alleviation and its spiritualization and religious classification. The following points should be noted:

(a) The ritual practice of great voluntary acts of charity throughout Palestine and the Diaspora. The groups of the Pharisees, Essenes and the Hellenistic Jews of Jerusalem had their special forms of charitable work, e.g. feeding the poor, clothing the naked (cf. SB IV 536–558 on private charity in early Judaism).

(b) There was an excellent organization of care for the poor in the synagogue communities which went as far as founding hospices. This was the more remarkable as there is no trace of a programme of social equality in it. It was rooted in the ethical commandments of the OT and was made possible by the temple → tax, and after the destruction of Jerusalem by the weekly public alms (→ Serve, art. *diakoneō* OT 2; cf. Taanith 24a). In fact, fairly clear norms were laid down for the contributions expected from synagogue members; they can be traced back with certainty to the period before the destruction of the temple. The poor were expected to contribute (Shekalim 1:7; 2:5) to demonstrate their religious equality (SB II 46), though they were the first to profit from individual and synagogue care for the poor. Priests and Levites without estates, foreigners, widows and orphans could expect to receive the tithes for the poor to be paid at the end of every third year (cf. Deut. 14:29; 26:12). These continued to be collected and gained greater importance after the destruction of Jerusalem.

5. Considerable variations of opinion are to be found in the spiritual judgments on poverty.

(a) Especially the Psalms of Solomon among the pseudepigraphic writings

reserve the term "poor" for those who have experienced divine acts of deliverance and are hence identical with the righteous (cf. Pss.Sol. 5:2, 11; 10:6; 15:1; 18:2). Heavy material burdens and martyrdom are generally included.

(b) The community of the "poor" in Qumran made renunciation of private property a rule of the order, and built up a well-organized community life in expectation of eschatological salvation. 1QpHab. 12:3, 6, 10; 4QpPs. 37; 2:10 show that they had chosen the term "poor" for themselves. The Hymns (1QM) frequently use the phrase "poor and needy". In their writings they attacked the priests who exploited the poor. (See further E. Bammel, *TDNT* VI 896–99; → Possessions, art. *ploutos* OT 3.)

(c) The dominant Rabbinic theology ultimately denied that poverty had any theological value. Occasionally it even saw the cause of poverty in lack of knowledge of the Torah, the one real poverty (cf. Nedarim 41a; and in contrast the first beatitude in Matt., see below NT 2 (b)). This led to a feeling of moral superiority over the poor. In striking contrast to this a form of popular eschatology clung to the belief "that the poor . . . are the primary objects of the divine mercy" (*TDNT* VI 902; cf. Exod.R. 31, 13 on 22:24). Such belief fostered the danger of idealizing poverty.

NT 1. *ptōchos* occurs 34 times in the NT, mostly in the Gospels (24 times; of these 10 times in Lk., 6 times in material peculiar to him); *ptōcheia*, poverty, 3 times; *ptōcheuō*, be poor, only in 2 Cor. 8:9.

1. The Gospels. (a) *ptōchos* occurs in its lit. sense in the Synoptic Gospels. Jesus told the rich man who wanted to inherit eternal life, "Sell what you have, and give to the poor" (Mk. 10:21; cf. Lk. 18:22). Matt. 19:21 qualifies the saying by inserting the condition, "If you will be perfect." In Mk. 12:41–44 par. Lk. 21:1–4 Jesus says that the apparently negligible gift of the poor woman, entitled to support, is far greater than those of the rich. Only in the events leading up to the Passion does Jesus in Mk. 14:7, Matt. 26:11, Jn. 12:8 say that almsgiving has to take second place, when it is a question of a last opportunity for an extravagant act of love to one destined to death (Matt. 26:11; Mk. 14:7; Jn. 12:8).

(b) Jesus speaks of the poor in Matt. 11:5 and in the first beatitude (Matt. 5:3; Lk. 6:20). The question of the original form is disputed, as is the question whether the saying was taken from Jewish tradition. There is much to be said for the view that the shorter Lucan form ("Blessed are you poor, for yours is the kingdom of God") is original, though not the use of the second person (cf. Matt. 5:3: "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven"). Matt. gives an interpretative paraphrase which brings out the Heb. meaning.

Neither passage uses "poor" in the general social meaning. The enlarged form in Matt., "the poor in spirit [*hoi ptōchoi tō pneumati*]", brings out the OT and Jewish background of those who in affliction have confidence only in God (cf. Pss. 69[68]: 28 f., 32 f.; 37[36]:14; 40[39]:18; Isa. 61:1; Pss.Sol. 10:7; 1QM 14:7; 1QS 4:3; cf. D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 1972, 110 f.; and *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings*, 1967, 234, 251). In Lk. the beatitudes are essentially confined to poverty, the poor, those who weep, the hungry, the hated, and are followed by woes over the rich (Lk. 6:24 ff.). By using the 2nd person plur., Lk. indicates that the poverty of the beatitudes is that caused by → discipleship. For he who believes in the Son

finds all the → promises of God for the poor and suffering, miserable and humble (e.g. Isa. 57:15; 61:1), for those who weep (Ps. 126:5 f.) and are hungry (Isa. 49:10; Ezek. 34:29) fulfilled in him. In the same way Jesus is proclaimed in Matt. 11:5 par. Lk. 7:22 (a quotation from Isa. 61:1) as the fulfiller of the longing of the OT for salvation. His acts find their culmination in the proclamation of the gospel to the poor. (→ Blessing, art. *makarios*.)

(c) Luke records this quotation from Isa. 61:1 at the beginning of Jesus' ministry as a programme (Lk. 4:18). It occurs in the words that Jesus read in the synagogue at Nazareth. In Lk. this dominant theme of poverty is linked with a sharp attack on the rich (Lk. 6:24 ff.; → Possessions). According to Lk., Jesus told the man who had invited him to a meal (Lk. 14:12 ff.) to invite the poor and others from whom no repayment could be expected, and promised him an eschatological reward for so doing. Similarly the poor are the first substitute guests at the great banquet (Lk. 14:21).

Lazarus (lit. "God helps") is the type of the poor whom God receives (Lk. 16:20, 22), and the anonymous rich man who failed in his duty to him is the type of those condemned by God (cf. Lk. 12:13–21; see further J. D. M. Derrett, "Dives and Lazarus and the Preceding Sayings", in *Law in the New Testament*, 1970, 78–99). When Zacchaeus gave the half of his goods to the poor after his conversion (Lk. 19:8) his gratitude showed itself in concern for the poor (cf. Derrett, "The Anointing at Bethany and the Story of Zacchaeus", op. cit., 266–85).

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(d) The Synoptic Gospels, in particular, depict Jesus' way of life as one of self-chosen poverty. This is highlighted by the reply that he gave to a would-be disciple: "Foxes have holes, and birds of the air have nests; but the Son of man has nowhere to lay his head" (Matt. 8:20 par. Lk. 9:58). The → disciples left all in order to follow him (Matt. 4:18–22 par. Mk. 1:16–20, Lk. 5:1–11; Jn. 1:35–51; cf. also Lk. 13:33). The sale of his → possessions and a life of discipleship in poverty were demanded of the rich young ruler as the precondition of eternal life (Matt. 19:16–22; Lk. 18:18–24). On the missions on which the disciples were sent they were to go without possessions or provisions (Matt. 10:1–16; Lk. 9:1–6; 10:1–12; → Bag, art. *pēra*). In this way of life there was in fact a double separation: from possessions and from family ties (Matt. 10:37 ff.; Lk. 14:25–33). The life-style which Jesus adopted for himself and called his disciples to adopt was one which exemplified the Sermon on the Mount, especially the Beatitudes. But the particular emphasis on poverty characterized by lack of possessions and cutting loose from family ties suggests that Jesus identified himself with the poor in the Beatitude. His whole way of life was thus a conscious identification with the poor and the OT concept of poverty. In itself this was an act of loving compassion. At the same time it was a life which deliberately chose to cast itself on the care of the Father. But in doing so, Jesus was also putting to the test the people of Israel. By being confronted by Jesus in this way the responsiveness of Israel faced its supreme test. (→ Possessions and the various sayings and parables of Jesus examined under the various key words.)

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2. James strongly attacks the attitude of the rich both in public and in church services (2:2 f., 6 f.) and demands equal esteem for the poor. He bases his position

on the facts that God "has chosen those who are poor in the world" (2:5), and that mercy towards men on earth will be the criterion in the final judgment (2:13; cf. Matt. 25:31–46).

3. In the letters to the churches of Smyrna in Rev. 2:9 and Laodicea in Rev. 3:17 (→ Cold, art. *psychros* NT) the contrast between poor and rich shows the difference between men's estimate and that of the glorified Lord (1:9 ff.). Rev. 13:16 describes how all social and economic classes, rich and poor alike, are captured by the hypnotic power of the beast from the abyss (→ Animal, art. *thērion*). *H.-H. Esser*

4. Paul made only occasional use of the concept, although he was deeply concerned for the poor.

(a) The poor are mentioned in the lit. sense in connection with the collection for the church in Jerusalem. "The poor of Jerusalem" was perhaps a name which they had acquired (cf. Rom. 15:26, where "of the saints" is added; cf. also Gal. 2:10). In Rom. 15:26 Paul speaks of the "some contribution" (RSV, lit. → "some fellowship", *koinōnian tina*) which the churches of Macedonia and Achaia were making. "They were pleased to do it, and indeed they are in debt to them, for if the Gentiles have come to share in their spiritual blessings, they ought also to be of service to them in material blessings" (Rom. 15:27). Paul himself was going to Jerusalem with it *diakonōn tois hagiois* (lit. "serving the saints"), prior to going to Spain (Rom. 15:25; cf. vv. 24, 28; 1:10 ff.; Acts 19:21), although he was aware of the personal risk because of Jewish antagonism in Judea (v. 31). In 1 Cor. 16:1–4 Paul gives various recommendations about the collection, suggesting (as he did to the churches of Galatia, v. 1), that they put something aside on the first day of the week (v. 2), and proposing on his arrival "to send those whom you accredit by letter to carry your gift to Jerusalem" (v. 3), and, if it seems advisible, to go himself as well (v. 4).

It would seem that the Corinthians did not follow these instructions, for Paul returns to the question in 2 Cor. 8 and 9, which some scholars hold to be separate letters which were subsequently incorporated into 2 Cor. Evidently a year had elapsed and the collection was not much further advanced (2 Cor. 8:10). Paul, therefore, sent Titus to complete the work (vv. 6, 15 f., 23; cf. 9:5) together with two men perhaps appointed by the Jerusalem church (vv. 18 f., 22 f.; cf. 9:5). Possibly the men referred to here were the same as those appointed by the council at Jerusalem to communicate its decisions (Acts 15:20). Paul writes "not as a command, but to prove by the earnestness of others that your love also is genuine" (v. 8). Moreover, he sets before them the example of Christ: "For you know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that though he was rich, yet for your sake he became poor, so that by his poverty you might become rich [*hoti di' hymas eptōcheusen plousios ōn, hina hymeis tē ekeinou ptōcheia ploutēsēte*]" (v. 9; on this verse see below (c)).

In 2 Cor. 9:1–4 Paul expresses the hope that his boasting about the Corinthians to the churches of Macedonia and Achaia will not prove vain in view of the possibility of a meagre response. He has sent on the brethren "to arrange in advance this gift you have promised, so that it may be ready not as an exaction but as a willing gift" (v. 5). He reminds them that "he who sows sparingly will also reap

sparingly, and he who sows bountifully will also reap bountifully. Each one must do as he has made up his mind, not reluctantly or under compulsion, for God loves a cheerful giver" (vv. 6 f.; cf. Prov. 22:8 LXX). This is further reinforced by a quotation from Ps. 112:9 (v. 9). Paul sees the response to the needs of the poor as a free expression of obedience and gratitude: "Under the test of this service, you [*v.l.* they] will glorify God by your obedience in acknowledging the gospel of Christ, and by the generosity of your contribution for them and for all others; while they long for you and pray for you, because of the surpassing grace of God in you. Thanks be to God for his inexpressible gift!" (vv. 13 ff.).

Elsewhere, the poor are mentioned in Gal. 2:10, where Paul recalls his meeting with the "pillars" of the Jerusalem church, at which he was given the right hand of fellowship to go to the Gentiles, whilst they would go to the circumcision, i.e. the Jews, "only they would have us remember the poor, which very thing I was eager to do." The need of material relief at Jerusalem is evident from the story of the appointment of the seven to serve in the daily distribution (Acts 6:1 ff.). The situation was no doubt aggravated for the church by Jewish hostility (cf. Acts 4:1 ff.; 5:17 ff.; 6:12 ff.; 7:54 ff.; 9:1 f.; 12:1 ff.). Acts 11:27 ff. reports how the Christian prophet Agabus came from Jerusalem to Antioch and foretold the great famine which took place under the emperor Claudius. Several famines are known from other sources to have taken place about this time (Josephus, *Ant.* 3, 15, 3; 20, 2, 5; 20, 5, 2; Dio Cassius, 60, 11; Eusebius, *Chron.Canon*; Tacitus, *Ann.* 12, 43; Orosius, 7, 6, 17; cf. F. F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1952², 239 f.). Acts 11:29 f. records the response of the church at Antioch: "And the disciples determined, every one according to his ability, to send relief to the brethren who lived in Judea; and they did so, sending it to the elders by the hand of Barnabas and Saul" (cf. 12:25).

For a reconstruction of the events and an interpretation of their significance see K. F. Nickle, *The Collection: A Study in Paul's Strategy*, *SBT* 48, 1966. Nickle holds that the prototype of Paul's collection was the famine relief sent from Antioch. Paul's collection began as an act of charity, instigated at the Jerusalem meeting described in Gal. But as the tensions increased between the Gentile mission led by Paul with its more liberal attitude to the law and those at Jerusalem who clung to Jewish practices, the collection took on a theological significance for Paul. It was a means of reconciliation which bore fruit in the decisions of the Jerusalem council. Although there were Jewish analogies in the temple → tax, the collection took on a christological and soteriological significance. It was not only an act of charity among fellow believers, motivated by the love of Christ; it was also an expression of the solidarity of the Christian fellowship, showing that God had also called the Gentiles to faith. It was, moreover, "an eschatological pilgrimage of the Gentile Christians to Jerusalem by which the Jews were to be confronted with the undeniable reality of the divine gift of saving grace to the Gentiles and thereby be themselves moved through jealousy to finally accept the gospel" (op. cit., 142). This latter point helps to explain the seriousness with which Paul regarded the collection, and lends credence to the account of the trip in Acts 19:21–21:16 which Paul insisted on completing despite the dangers (Acts 20:3, 23; 21:4, 10 ff.). Acts rightly depicts the visit to Jerusalem "as the culmination and embodiment of Paul's entire apostleship" (op. cit., 143; cf. Acts 20:24). As an act of charity and means

of promoting unity between the two wings of the church, the collection produced tangible results. But it failed to provoke the unbelieving Jews to turn to Christ. Indeed, "the project not only supplied the *coup de grâce* to the faltering mission to the Jews, but also resulted in the frustration of Paul's plans for his future missionary activity and required him to reorient his apostleship to that field of limited labour available to him as a Roman prisoner" (op. cit., 155 f.). Although in the providence of God the collection was not instrumental in bringing about a widespread conversion of the Jews, it was nevertheless immensely fruitful in uniting the church and in formulating principles of Christian giving.

(b) The theme of poverty is further developed in relation to the apostles who among other things are described by Paul "as poor, yet making many rich" (2 Cor. 6:10). The paradoxical nature of the apostolic ministry follows the pattern set by Christ (see below (c)) who is himself the ground and pattern for all Christian life and giving.

(c) Paul uses the vb. only in 2 Cor. 8:9 where he applies it to Christ (see above (a)). *eptōcheusen*, "he became poor" is the ingressive aor. (Funk § 331). The passage implies the pre-existence of Christ, though it does not define the manner of Christ's becoming poor in the way that Phil. 2:6 ff. speaks of the self-emptying of Christ (→ Empty, art. *kenos* NT 3). For other descriptions of the incarnation cf. Rom. 15:3 (where Paul grounds Christian conduct on the pattern of Christ who "did not please himself"; cf. Ps. 69:9) and Gal. 4:4 f. (where Paul describes Christ as "born of woman, born under the law, to redeem those who were under the law, so that we might receive adoption as sons"). In each case the description of the manner of Christ's coming brings out the practical application that Paul wishes to make to his readers. Here Christ's becoming poor is the paradoxical ground of the true riches of the believer. It is also the ground and example for Christian giving. The richness of the Corinthians in terms of spiritual gifts is alluded to at the beginning of 1 Cor. (1:5). But Paul can also speak ironically of their being rich (1 Cor. 4:8) in view of their spiritual conceit.

(d) The cosmic spirits (*stoicheia*) worshipped by the heathen, including formerly the Galatian believers, are called "weak and beggarly [*asthenē kai ptōcha*]" (Gal. 4:9; cf. 4:3). The word translated "beggarly" here is in fact the same word which was used at Gal. 2:10 for the poor. In other words, the *stoicheia* have nothing at all to offer – but enslavement. But by listening to the Judaizers with their insistence upon the necessity of → circumcision for salvation and the observance of "months, and seasons, and years" (4:10), the Galatian Christians are themselves in danger of returning to their former enslavement, when through Christ and the Spirit they could live as sons and heirs of God himself (4:1–7). On the *stoicheia* (cf. Col. 2:8, 20) → Law, art. *stoicheia*. *C. Brown*

→ Gift, → Humility, → Possessions, → Slave

(a). H. von Campenhausen, "Early Christian Asceticism", in *Tradition and Life in the Church* 1968, 90–122; A. Cronbach, "The Social Ideas of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha", *Hebrew Union College Annual* 18, 1944, 119–56; J. D. M. Derrett, *Law in the New Testament*, 1970; A. Gelin, *The Poor of Yahweh*, 1964; F. Hauck, *penēs* etc., *TDNT* VI 37–40; F. Hauck and E. Bammel, *ptōchos*, etc., *TDNT* VI 885–915; M. Hengel, *Property and Riches in the Early Church : Aspects of a Social History of Early Christianity*, 1974; and *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine in the Early Hellenistic Period*, I–II, 1974; J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus: An Investigation into Economic and Social Conditions during the New Testament Period*, 1969,

109–119; M. Katz, "Protection of the Weak in the Talmud", *Columbia University Oriental Studies*, 24, 1925, 72–82; L. E. Keck, "The Poor among the Saints in the New Testament", *ZNW* 56, 1965, 100–29; and "The Poor and the Saints in Jewish Christianity and Qumran", *ZNW* 57, 1966, 54ff.; K. F. Nickle, *The Collection: A Study in Paul's Strategy*, *SBT* 48, 1966; M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, I–III, 1941; and *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, ed. P. M. Fraser, 1957²; M. Stenzel, "Poverty", *EBT* II 671 f.; R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions*, 1961; H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the Old Testament*, 1974.

(b). W. W. Graf Baudissin, "Die alttestamentliche Religion und die Armen", *Preussische Jahrbücher* 149, 1912, 193–231; H. Birkeland, *'Ānî und 'Ānāw in den Psalmen*, 1933; and *Die Feinde des Individuums in der israelitischen Psalmentliteratur*, 1933; H. Bolkestein, *Wohltätigkeit und Armenpflege im vorchristlichen Altertum*, 1939; K. Bornhäuser, *Der Christ und seine Habe nach dem Neuen Testament*, 1936; H. Bruppacher, *Die Beurteilung der Armut im Alten Testament*, 1924; A. Causse, *Les "Pauvres" d'Israel*, 1922; H.-J. Degenhardt, *Lukas, Evangelist der Armen. Besitz und Besitzverzicht in der lukanischen Schriften*, 1965; M. Dibelius, "Die soziale Motiv im Neuen Testament", in *Botschaft und Geschichte, I*, 1953, 178–203; M. von Dmitrewski, *Die christliche freiwillige Armut vom Ursprung der Kirche bis 12. Jahrhundert*, 1913; H. Donner, "Die soziale Botschaft der Propheten im Lichte der Gesellschaftsordnung in Israel", *Oriens Antiquus* 2, 1963, 229–45; J. Dupont, *Les Béatitudes*, 1954, 184–244; M. Fendler, "Zur Sozialkritik des Amos", *EvTh* 33, 1973, 32–53; P. Gauthier, *Die Armen, Jesus und die Kirche*, 1965; D. Georgi, *Die Geschichte der Kollekte des Paulus für Jerusalem*, *ThF* 38, 1965; H. Greeven, *Die Hauptprobleme der Sozialethik in der neuren Stoa und im Urchristentum*, 1935; F. Hauck, *Die Stellung des Urchristentums zu Arbeit und Geld*, 1921; P. Humbert, "Le Mot *biblique* ' *'ebyôn*' ", *Revue d'Historie et de Philosophie Religieuses* 32, 1952, 1–6; R. Kittel, "Armengesetzgebung bei den Hebräern", *RE* 2, 60–63; R. Koch, "Die Wertung des Reichtums im Lukasevangelium", *Biblica*, 38, 1957, 151–69; H. Kreissig, *Die sozialen Zusammenhänge des judäischen Krieges, Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur der Antike* 1, 1970; W. G. Kümmel, "Der Begriff des Eigentums im Neuen Testament", in *Heilsgeschehen und Geschichte*, 1965, 271–77; A. Kuschke, "Arm und Reich im Alten Testament, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der nachexilischen Zeit", *ZAW* 57, 1939, 31–57; E. Kutsch, L. Hardick and F. Lau, "Armut", *RGG*³ I 622–28; J. Leipoldt, "Jesus und die Armen", *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift* 28, 1917, 784–810; and *Der soziale Gedanke der urchristlichen Kirche*, 1952; I. Loeb, *La Littérature des Pauvres dans la Bible*, 1892; E. Lohmeyer *Soziale Fragen im Urchristentum*, 1921; N. Peters, *Die soziale Fürsorge im Alten Testament*, 1936; P. A. Munch, "Einige Bemerkungen zu *"niyyîm* und den *r"šā'îm* in den Psalmen", *Le Monde Orientale* 30, 1936, 13–26; W. Nowack, *Die sozialen Probleme Israel und deren Bedeutung für die religiöse Entwicklung dieses Volkes*, 1982; A. Rahlfs, *'ānî und 'ānāw in den Psalmen*, 1892; SB I 818–26; II 643–47; IV 741, 503, 524 ff.; P. Régamez, *La Pauvreté*, 1941; M. Vansteenkiste, "L'ani et l'anaw dans l'Ancien Testament", *Divus Thomas* 59, 1956, 3–19.

Possessions, Treasure, Mammon, Wealth, Money

Possessions in some form or other are necessary to life. Gk. uses *chrēma*, *ktēma* and *hyparxis* as general words for property and possessions. In the NT at least *peripoiēsis*, that which is one's own, has to be distinguished from them, because it is used in non-material contexts. Accumulated wealth may be denoted by *ploutos*, riches, and *thēsauros*, treasure. Material wealth can also be personified as a demonic power, Mammon (*mamōnas*).

θησαυρός

θησαυρός (*thēsauros*), place where something is kept, treasure box, chest, storehouse, storeroom, treasure; θησαυρίζω (*thēsaurizō*), store up, gather, save up, reserve.

CL *thēsauros* is found from Hesiod onwards. Its etymology is uncertain, and it is probably a technical loan-word. It means: (a) a treasure chamber, a storage

room, granary, strong-box; (b) treasure. Even at a very early period temples were built with treasure chambers, where gifts and taxes in kind and money could be stored. The practice appears to have spread from Egypt to Greece. Collecting boxes were also known (cf. 2 Ki. 12:10). *thēsaurizō* is used similarly in the sense of storing up treasure, or putting it in safe keeping.

Mandaean gnostic literature made use of the concepts of the treasure-house and the treasure of life and light from which the soul takes its rise, and to which it may return after it has experienced salvation (cf. W. Foerster, *Gnosis: A Selection of Gnostic Texts*, II, 1974, 190, 201 f., 210, 216, 223, 225, 233, 235, 239, 263, 287).

OT 1. The corresponding OT term is *'ôṣār*. It occurs lit. in Amos 8:5. The "treasury of [the house of] Yahweh" is mentioned in Jos. 6:19, 24 in connection with the holy war and the ban (cf. 1 Ki. 7:5; 14:26); in 1 Ki. 14:26 and 15:18 "the treasures of the king's house" are also mentioned. Later, besides the common usage (Prov. 10:2), we find the concept of heavenly treasuries (Jer. 50:25 [27:25], RSV "armoury"; 15:16; Job 38:22, RSV "storehouses") in which are stored up God's weapons of wrath, and also wind, snow and hail (cf. Eth.Enoch 17:3; Philo, *Rer. Div.Her.* 76; *Fug.* 79; *Leg.All.* 3, 105). The → fear of Yahweh is Zion's treasure (Isa. 33:6). The thought, which sounds like a maxim from wisdom teaching, may be compared with Ps. 74:12; Prov. 1:4; 15:6; Eccl. 1:16; 2:21; Isa. 47:10. The verse "gives an assurance that God will not only annihilate the destroyer in the end but will also henceforth grant his people a blessed future sustained by their fear of God. The dramatic expectation of spoil is surpassed by that of a life in righteousness and the fear of Yahweh in the new Jerusalem. The intrinsic connection between the two can be seen from a study of 11:1 ff." (O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–39*, 1974, 344). In Isa. 45:3 "the treasures of darkness" (i.e. treasures that are hidden away) which God will give Cyrus will give him a true knowledge of Yahweh, the God of Israel. The mention of treasure may be an allusion to the fabulous wealth of Sardis which was captured by Cyrus in 546 B.C. (cf. R. N. Whybray, *Isaiah 40–66*, *New Century Bible*, 1975, 105 f.). This would then be a contrast between earthly treasure for which men labour and fight and the treasure which Yahweh alone gives. Men should search for the fear of the Lord and the → knowledge of God as they do for buried treasures (Prov. 2:4 f.).

2. In later Judaism good works, e.g. alms giving, are a treasure which is stored up as a reward in the world to come, while the interest is enjoyed in this world as well (cf. Tob. 4:8 ff.; 2 Esd. 6:5 ff.; 7:77; Tosefta Peah 4:18; SB I 430). "All that Israel lays up in the form of fulfilments of the Law and good works, it lays up for its Father in heaven" (Deut. R. 1 on Deut. 1:1; cf. F. Hauck, *TDNT* III 137; SB I 431). The rabbis sometimes spoke of the treasure from which the scribe draws and of the treasure house of eternal life, i.e. the place where the souls of the dead are stored up, or the "bundle" in which they are "bound" (cf. 1 Sam. 15:29; F. Hauck, ibid.; SB II 268; III 803).

NT The NT continues both the ancient meaning of *thēsauros* and its usage in OT and Rabbinic literature. It occurs twice in Paul (2 Cor. 4:7; Col. 2:3), once in Heb. 11:26 and 16 times in the Synoptic Gospels, mainly in the words of Jesus. The vb. *thēsaurizō* occurs 8 times (twice in Matt.; once in Lk.; 3 times in Paul; and once each in Jas. and 2 Pet.). The concept frequently involves the paradoxical

transformation of earthly values. What is treasured by men is of no enduring worth in God's sight, and real treasure involves earthly poverty.

1. (a) In Matt. 2:11 the *thēsaurous* which the Magi opened in bringing their gifts to the infant Jesus were their treasure chests (→ Magic, art. *mageia* NT 2 (b); → Gold; → Incense). In Matt. 12:35 par. Lk. 6:45 the → heart is compared with a "good treasure" out of which a good man brings forth good. Here the picture is either that of a storehouse or a treasure chest. In either case the point is that → good can only come out of a good heart. As such, the words constitute a warning against the hypocrisy of appearing to speak good, whereas in fact one intends evil (→ Lie). In Matt. the illustration follows the warning against blasphemy against the → Spirit and precedes the sayings about the sign of → Jonah and the men of → Nineveh. In Lk. it is included in the sayings of the Sermon on the Plain.

(b) In Matt.'s account of the Sermon on the Mount Jesus says to his disciples: "Do not lay up [*thēsaurizete*] for yourselves treasures [*thēsaurous*] on earth, where moth and rust consume and where thieves break in and steal, but lay up [*thēsaurizete*] for yourselves treasures [*thēsaurous*] in heaven, where neither moth nor rust consumes and where thieves do not break in and steal. For where your treasure [*thēsauros*] is, there will your heart be also" (Matt. 6:19 ff.). Lk. gives the saying in a different context together with other sayings which in Matt. occur in the Sermon on the Mount which are prefaced by the general formula: "And he said to the disciples . . ." (Lk. 12:22). In Lk.'s version it reads: "Sell your possessions, and give alms; provide yourselves with purses that do not grow old, with treasure in the heavens that does not fail, where no thief approaches and no moth destroys. For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also" (Lk. 12:33 f.). "The parallelism and tautology of Mt. are Hebraic, and probably nearer to the original. He gives a genuine picture of Oriental wealth, garments etc. stored in barbaric abundance, too numerous for use" (A. H. McNeile, *The Gospel according to St. Matthew*, 1915, 83). On the alliteration and paronomasia of the Heb. poetic form here see M. Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, 1967³, 160. The word translated here as "rust" is *brōsis* which generally means eating (cf. 1 Cor. 8:4; 2 Cor. 9:10). It is used in cl. Gk. for the decay of teeth (Galen 6, 422; cf. Arndt, 147). In Matt. it is widely assumed to denote some form of corrosion or rust, although the latter is more commonly denoted by *ios* (→ Gall). It might also refer to an insect parallel to the moth (*sēs*); in Mal. 3:11 LXX it appears to refer to the grasshopper or locust. McNeile thinks that the term refers to the devouring by mice and other vermin of wealth stored in barns (op. cit., 84). The vb. *aphanizō* which the RSV here translates by "consume" means lit. to render invisible or unrecognizable. It occurs in Matt. 6:16 in the sense of "disfigure". But it can also mean to destroy and in the passive to perish. The vb. *diorussō* which describes the action of the thieves means to dig through, i.e. the sun-dried brick walls of the house. It is used again in the passive in Matt. 24:43 and Lk. 12:39.

"The idea of 'treasures in heaven' (i.e. what wins divine approval and reward in the coming Kingdom) is thoroughly Jewish; cf. M. Peah i. 1; Test.Levi 13.5; Ps.Sol. 9.9" (D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew*, *New Century Bible*, 1972, 142). The nature of this treasure is not more precisely defined, although the following sayings in Matt. warn against double-mindedness, trying to serve God and mammon (→ *mamōnas*), anxiety about food and clothing, culminating in the injunction:

"But seek first his kingdom and his righteousness, and all these things shall be yours as well" (Matt. 6:33). To this is added the warning against anxiety: "Therefore do not be anxious about tomorrow, for tomorrow will be anxious for itself. Let the day's own trouble be sufficient for the day" (Matt. 6:34; → Care). But perhaps the saying, at least in the case of Lk., may be related to the parable of the unjust steward and the succeeding sayings (Lk. 16:1–14) which also contain references to mammon. (On the interpretation of the parable → House, art. *oikonomia*, NT 1 (a).) The point of the parable and the sayings is to teach wise stewardship of worldly goods so that, when their use is past, there will nevertheless be an enduring benefit both for those who have benefited from such wise stewardship and for those who have exercised it. In particular, Lk. 16:9 states: "And I tell you, make friends for yourselves by means of unrighteous mammon, so that when it fails they may receive you into the eternal habitations." In this verse "they" may refer to those who have benefited from the wise and generous use of "mammon", or it may be a Hebraism referring to God without actually mentioning his name, or it may refer to God and his angels (cf. E. E. Ellis, *The Gospel of Luke*, *New Century Bible*, 1966, 201 f.). In any case, what is worth possessing is not material things which perish but personal acceptance by God and by those who have benefited from one's use of material things (cf. Lk. 16:9a). Lk. 12:33 with its injunction to sell one's possessions and give alms appears to be making a similar point. Matt. does not give the parable of the unjust steward or relate the saying about treasure to the injunction to sell one's possessions, but the saying is followed shortly by the warning that one cannot serve God and mammon (Matt. 6:24). Clearly the paradox involves a contrast between worldly possessions and spiritual good. But in view of its proximity to the Lord's Prayer (Matt. 6:9–13) and the saying about the kingdom in Matt. 6:33, Matt. understood the treasure primarily in terms of the → kingdom of heaven (cf. Matt. 13:44). On man's side this is understood in terms of doing the will of God; on God's side it is God's reign and gracious provision for his children. But here again the treasure is not some form of accumulated spiritual capital, it is the realization of a gracious personal relationship with the Father and with one's fellow men in the kingdom of God. For the kingdom of God is not concerned simply with one's private personal relationship with God but with man's relationship to God as it is embodied in his relationships with his fellow men.

Justin Martyr has a saying comparable with Matt. 6:21 and Lk. 12:34: "Where his treasure is, there also is the mind of man" (*Apol. I*, 15). "Each individual sets his heart on what he counts important, and this allegiance determines the direction and content of his life" (D. Hill, op. cit., 142). In the context of the Sermon on the Mount and in particular of Matt. 6, the treasure in Matt. is to be understood in terms of the kingdom of heaven, and how it affects the disciples' attitude to material possessions. Lk. 12 specifically contrasts the treasure with material possessions, but it too sets the saying in the context of the kingdom which is God's gift: "Fear not, little flock, for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom" (Lk. 12:32).

(c) The teaching about treasure is further exemplified by the story of the rich young ruler who was told by Jesus: "If you would be perfect, go, sell what you possess and give to the poor, and you will have treasure in heaven; and come,

follow me" (Matt. 19:21 par. Mk. 10:21, Lk. 18:22). But this saying makes explicit a point which is implicit in the background of the earlier sayings. Not only is the treasure, as in Judaism, seen in the light of the coming end-time; it is also connected with following Jesus.

(d) In Matt. 13:44 the kingdom is compared with a treasure: "The kingdom of heaven is like treasure hidden in a field, which a man found and covered up; then in his joy he goes and sells all that he has and buys that field." J. Jeremias draws attention to the joy that the kingdom brings and the demands that it makes. "The effect of the joyful news is overpowering; it fills the heart with gladness; it makes life's whole aim the consummation of the divine community and produces the most whole-hearted self-sacrifice" (*The Parables of Jesus*, 1963², 201). For a detailed examination of the parable against the background of rabbinic concepts of ownership in such cases see J. D. M. Derrett, "The Treasure in the Field", in *Law in the New Testament*, 1970, 1–16. According to rabbinic teaching, if a workman lifted a treasure in the course of his work, the find would belong to the master. But in the parable the man does not actually lift it until he is the actual owner of the field. It may be pointed out that the man gets the treasure free, though the field costs all that he has. Moreover, he is prepared to go to any lengths permitted by the law to obtain it. Derrett compares the parable with that of the pearl of great price which immediately follows it (Matt. 13:45 f.). The man who found the treasure came upon it without seeking it, although his purchase of the field meant a complete reorientation of his life. The merchant, however, was one who devoted his life to the search for pearls. Derrett sees a parallel in the rabbinical saying: "One wins eternal life after a struggle of years, another *finds* it in one hour" (Abodah Zarah 17a; cf. also Philo, *Deus Imm.* 20, 91; op. cit., 15). But Derrett also sees in the parable a further twist. He sees the whole of Matt. 13:36–51 as "an elaborate little sermon based on Mal iii. 16–iv. 3" (ibid.; → *peripoieomai*). "Just as a man treasures a chance find or something he is looking for for years, so God will treasure his servants. If an ordinary man will take such pains over a find of bullion or a pearl, how much the more will God gloat, as it were, over those who have served him faithfully" (ibid.). There may well be the further idea that this treasure had to be purchased at a great price – in fact, all he had and held dear.

(e) The parable of the rich fool (Lk. 12:16–21) presents the converse of Jesus' positive teaching about treasure. It paints a picture of a man who did, in fact, store up earthly possessions. "But God said to him, 'Fool! This night your soul is required of you; and the things you have prepared, whose will they be?' So is he who lays up treasure for himself [*ho thēsaurizōn heautō*], and is not rich towards God" (Lk. 12:20 f.). Lk. presents the parable in conjunction with Jesus' refusal to intervene in a family feud over possessions. In response to a request to insist upon a brother dividing his inheritance Jesus replied: " 'Man, who made me a judge or divider over you?' And he said to them, 'Take heed, and beware of all covetousness; for a man's life does not consist in the abundance of his possessions [*hyparchontōn*]' " (Lk. 12:14 f.). Lk. then takes the opportunity to present Jesus' teaching on anxiety about food and clothing, and on treasure, as discussed above.

(f) The theme of treasure is a recurrent one in Matt. and Lk. Although numerically speaking the incidence of occurrences is not great (the noun 9 times in Matt. and 4 times in Lk.; the vb. twice in Matt. and once in Lk.; cf. the noun once in

Mk.), the concept occurs at significant points in connection with man's fundamental relationship with God and his fellow men. *thēsauros* in the sense of treasure chest occurs in Matt. 13:52 at the conclusion of Matt.'s account of the parables of the sower, the wheat and the tares, the mustard seed, the leaven, the treasure, the pearl of great price and the fish net. In response to the disciples' affirmation that they have understood, Jesus said: "Therefore every scribe who has been trained for the kingdom of heaven is like a householder who brings out of his treasure what is new and what is old." The contents of the treasure chest is not simply the teaching as such but the teaching as the occasion for appropriating the kingdom. On this verse → Old, art. *palai* NT 2 (a); → Scribe, art. *grammateus*.

2. (a) Paul uses the vb. *thēsaurizō* in the sense of store up in his instructions to the Corinthians about the collection for the poor of Jerusalem (1 Cor. 16:2; → Poor, art. *ptōchos* NT 4 (a)). Similarly he uses it again in 2 Cor. 12:14 where he declares that "children ought not to lay up [*thēsaurizein*] for their parents, but parents for their children." In this context Paul is speaking of his forthcoming visit and his determination not to be a burden to them. For he regards himself as their father (cf. 1 Cor. 4:15), and hence he is under obligation to support them and not vice versa.

(b) In Rom. 2:5 the vb. is used figuratively in addressing the Jew who "by your hard and impenitent heart are storing up [*thēsaurizeis*] wrath for yourself on the day of wrath when God's righteous judgment will be revealed." There is an ironic contrast here, on the one hand, with "the riches [*ploutou*]" of God's kindness, forbearance and patience (v. 4) on which the Jew is in fact presuming, and, on the other hand, with the Jewish conception of treasure stored up in the world to come as a reward for good works (see above, OT 2). (→ Anger, art. *orgē*, NT 2.)

(c) By contrast the noun is twice used in the Pauline letters, each time with a christological connotation. In 2 Cor. 4:7 Paul compares the treasure of God's gift in Christ to the believer with the bodily existence of those who receive it: "But we have this treasure in earthen vessels, to show that the transcendent power belongs to God and not to us." The treasure has been previously defined in the preceding verse in a manner recalling the creation of light: "For it is the God who said, 'Let light shine out of darkness,' who has shone in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ" (2 Cor. 4:6; cf. Gen. 1:3; Ps. 112:4; on this passage see C. K. Barrett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, *BNTC*, 1973, 134 ff.). The treasure is thus revealed, but at the same time there is a sense in which it is hidden. It is hidden by the vessel that contains it and the outward circumstances of the believer's life which presents a paradox with the inner reality.

Col. 2:3 also speaks of treasure christologically: "in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge." As in 2 Cor. 4, the treasure is linked with revelation and knowledge (cf. Col. 2:2). But the hiddenness refers to Christ who, though it might not appear so to earthly sight, is nevertheless "the image of the invisible God" in whom all things were created, and in whom "all the fullness of God was pleased to dwell" (Col. 1:15, 19). Moreover, he is now with God with whom the life of believers is also hidden (Col. 3:3). The image in Col. 2:3 "is that of a hidden treasure for which there are hints which entice the searcher to wager everything on finding it. Thus this sentence implies challenge to search out the

only place where the treasures of wisdom and knowledge are to be found. Jewish apocalyptic often speaks of a hidden treasure in order to create interest in its invitations to right knowledge, since under the guise of the mystery lies the gift which God through revelation has allotted to the elect" (E. Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon, Hermeneia*, 1971, 82: cf. Eth.Enoch 46:3 "This is the Son of Man who has righteousness, with whom dwells righteousness, and who reveals all the treasures of that which is hidden"). Despite certain similarities, Lohse rejects the suggestion that the verse contains allusions to Isa. 45:3; Sir. 1:25; Prov. 2:3 f. (→ Hide, art. *kryptō*; → Secret, art. *mystērion*.)

3. The precise meaning of Heb. 11:26 is the subject of considerable discussion (cf. C. Spicq, *L'Épître aux Hébreux*, II, 1953³, 358 f.; F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews, NLC*, 1964, 320 f.). It is commonly given a christological interpretation, as if Moses had a vision or experience of Christ comparable with that of Paul in Phil. 3:7 which caused him to prefer Christ to the treasures of Egypt. Thus RSV translates the verse: "He considered abuse suffered for the Christ greater wealth than the treasures of Egypt, for he looked to the reward [*meizona plouton hēgēsamenos tōn Aigyptou thēsaurōn ton oneidismon tou Christou, apeblepen gar eis tēn misthapodosian*]." However, F. F. Bruce questions whether there is a veiled reference here to the belief that Jesus, long before the incarnation, accompanied the Israelites through the wilderness. Certainly the OT narratives of → Moses and the exodus from → Egypt give no hint of such a belief. The NEB offers an alternative rendering which does perhaps more justice to the Gk. and the OT background: "He considered the stigma that rests on God's Anointed." For here *tou Christou* suggests a title which, in fact, means "the Anointed" (→ Jesus Christ, art. *Christos*). Moreover, the verse appears to take up the thought and phraseology of Ps. 89:50 f. (88:51 f.): "Remember, O Lord, the reproach [*oneidismou*] of thy servants . . . wherewith thy enemies have reproached [*ōneidisan*], O Lord, wherewith they have reproached thy Anointed by way of recompense [*hou ōneidisan to antallagma tou christou sou*]." Cf. also Ps. 69:9 (68:10) which Paul applies to Christ in Rom. 15:3: "The reproaches of those who reproached thee fell on me [*hoi oneidismoi tōn oneidizontōn se epepesan ep' eme*]"; and Ps. 105:15: "Touch not my anointed ones." In the first instance it is the people of God that is God's anointed. What Moses preferred to the treasures of Egypt was the lot of the people of God, as God's anointed, for he believed God's promises to them (cf. Heb. 11:27). Thus here → Israel is God's son, as God through Moses reminded Pharaoh when he demanded their release: "Israel is my son, my firstborn" (Exod. 4:22). And it was with the lot of Israel that Moses identified himself. This interpretation has the further advantage of being compatible with all the other instances of faith in Heb. 11 drawn from OT history. For none of these are given a specific christological interpretation. They are all related to the OT and Jewish background. The reproach, abuse, or stigma which was the lot of the people of Israel thus anticipates the reproach which is the lot of those who follow Christ. The same act of faith is required to prefer suffering in the light of the promises of God to material gain. As such the one is a type of the other. If we are to read *tou Christou* as a reference to Jesus as "the Christ", it is as a kind of shorthand in which the type and the antitype coalesce.

Spicq suggests that the *thēsaurōn* in Heb. 11:26 may refer to granaries (cf.

Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library, II, 1915, 231, 8, dated *c.* A.D. 40) or to stores of wine (cf. G. Vitelli and D. Comparetti, *Papiri Fiorentini*, 1906–15, I, 194, 6; *P.Oxy.* I, 101, 20; *P.Teb.* I, 6, 27; P. Mitteis and U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, I, 1912, 1, 376; A. Calderini, THĒSAUROI. *Ricerche di Topografia e di Storia della Publica Amministrazione nell' Egitto Greco-Romano*, 1924, IV, 3). Spicq further suggests that the use of the word in Heb. in this sense may provide a novel attestation of the Alexandrian background of the author of Heb., underlining the contrast between the abundance of agricultural products in Egypt and the chronic famines in Palestine. It would certainly lend point to the complaints of the Israelites about the lack of food and drink during the exodus wanderings (cf. Exod. 15:24; 16:2 f.; Num. 11:4 ff.).

4. Jas. 5:3 appears to take up the thought about treasure expressed in the teaching of Jesus: "Your gold and silver have rusted, and their rust will be evidence against you and will eat your flesh like fire. You have laid up treasure [*ethēsaurisate*] for the last days" (see above, 1; → Gall; → Gold). It spells out the judgment which awaits those who are preoccupied with earthly treasure. There is an irony here. For while the people concerned thought that they were storing up treasure, they were, in fact, storing up judgment (cf. Rom. 2:5).

5. 2 Pet. 3:5 takes further the idea of storing up judgment. Whereas Jesus and Paul speak of individuals storing up treasure or wrath in the age to come, 2 Pet. applies the idea to the whole world order: "But by the same word the heavens and earth that now exist have been stored up for fire [*tethēsaurismenoi eisin pyri*], being kept until the day of judgment and destruction of ungodly men." J. N. D. Kelly observes that, "The idea that the world will be finally annihilated by fire appears only in 2 Peter in the NT, and is indeed in its fully developed form not Biblical at all: in the OT passages sometimes cited to prove the contrary (e.g. Is. xxx. 30; lxvi. 15 f.; Nah. i. 6; Zeph. i. 18; iii. 8) fire is rather the instrument of God's wrath to destroy His enemies (e.g. Ps. xcvii. 4)" (*The Epistles of Peter and of Jude*, *BNTC* 1969, 360). There are, however, the biblical ideas of → judgment, the new → creation, regeneration (→ Birth, art. *palingenesia*), and the new → heaven and → earth. Kelly sees the idea of the annihilation of the world by fire taking shape in Jewish apocalyptic (e.g. Sib. 2:187–213; 3:83–92; 4:171–182; 5:155–161; Eth.Enoch 1:6–9; 52:6; 2 Esd. 13:10 f.). It was held at Qumran (1QH 3:29–36). It is found occasionally in early Christian literature (e.g. Eth.Apc.Pet. 5; Hermas, *Vis.* 4, 3, 3; Origen, *Contra Cels.* 4, 11–13). Kelly further observes that "There are obvious similarities, but equally marked differences (cf. esp. the alternate destruction and renewals of the world presupposed by the latter), between this teaching and the Stoic doctrine of *ekpurōsis* (e.g. Justin, *I Apol.* xx; Seneca, *Quaest.nat.* iii. 29; Diogenes Laertius, *Vit.phil.* vii. 134; Plutarch, *Mor.* 1067a), i.e. that the universe is periodically consumed by fire, and both were deeply influenced far back by Iranian conceptions and imagery" (op. cit., 361; cf. F. Lang, *pyr* etc., *TDNT* VI 928–52; → Fire).

J. Eichler, C. Brown

μαμωνᾶς

μαμωνᾶς (*mamōnas*), Mammon, wealth, property.

The Gk. word *mamōnas* is first found in the NT. It renders the emphatic state *māmônā'* of the Aram. *māmôn*. A number of etymologies have been suggested

(cf. E. Nestle, "Mammon", *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, 2914 f.; F. Hauck, *mamōnas*, *TDNT* IV 388; SB I 434; A. M. Honeyman, "The Etymology of Mammon", *Archivum Linguisticum* 4, 1952, 60–65). Hauck prefers to link it with the vb. *'āman* as "that in which one trusts", but Nestle suggests that it might also mean what is entrusted to man, or that which supports and nourishes men. The Syriac lexicographers favoured the latter view. In Lk. 16:11 there is an apparent play on words with this root: "If then you have not been faithful [*pistoi*] in the unrighteous mammon, who will entrust [*pisteusei*] to you the true [*alēthinon*] riches?" The three Gk. words *pistoi*, *pisteusei* and *alēthinon* all appear to translate words from the same root *'mn* from which mammon appears to be formed. This root is also found in → Amen.

The word is found in the Mishnah (Aboth 2:12) and the Damascus document (cf. Arndt, 491). In the Babylonian Talmud it is found with the sense of profit or money (Berakoth 61b; cf. M. Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, 1967³, 139). Black also draws attention to its use in the Palestinian Pentateuch Targum to Gen. 34:23 (C) to render Heb. *miqneh*, cattle, which constituted the wealth of the Hebrew farmer, and to its frequent occurrence in the Palestinian Talmud (e.g. Nazir 5:4:54b:12; Sanhedrin 8:8:26c:20 f.). In rabbinic writing it means not merely money in the strict sense but a man's possessions, everything that has value equivalent to money, and even all that he possesses apart from his body and life. In itself the word may be neutral, but it acquired in negative contexts the connotation of possessions dishonestly gained and wealth dishonestly used, as in bribery.

The word occurs three times in the sayings appended to the parable of the unjust steward (Lk. 16:1–8). At the end of the parable "the master [*ho kyrios*]" (the master in the parable, or perhaps Jesus or God) commended the dishonest steward for his prudence, for the sons of this world are wiser towards their generation than the sons of light (Lk. 16:8). The parable is addressed to the disciples teaching them prudence in handling this world's goods (on the exegesis of the parable → House, art. *oikonomia*, NT 1 (a); cf. J. D. M. Derrett, "The Parable of the Unjust Steward", in *Law in the New Testament*, 1970, 48–77). In particular, they are to use the goods of this world in a way which is righteous and which will benefit others. For the steward's action in remitting various debts owed to his master achieved a double object. On the one hand, the master had been charging exorbitant interest which was forbidden by the law and the steward was actually putting his master right in the eyes of the law. On the other hand, he was doing himself a favour by ingratiating himself with his master's debtors. Lk. 16:9 adds: "And I tell you, make friends for yourselves by means of unrighteous mammon, so that when it fails they may receive you into the eternal habitations." The injunction is not to befriend mammon but to use mammon for the benefit of others. In this verse "they" may refer to those who have benefited from such use of mammon, or it may be a Hebraism referring to God without actually mentioning his name, or it may refer to God and his angels. The point is that mammon itself does not endure, but it may be used to achieve something which is enduring. Mammon itself is material, but its use has personal dimensions. The pun in Lk. 16:11 has already been noted. The verse contrasts the relatively minor value of material things with the true riches which exist on a higher and personal plain: "If then you have not been faithful in the

unrighteous mammon, who will entrust to you the true riches?" Stewardship of material possessions is thus a probationary test for further stewardship (cf. the parables of the pounds [Lk. 19:11–27] and the talents [Matt. 25:14–30]). The following verse implies that mammon is not something which one actually possesses but is, in fact, "another's". The disciple has to prove his faithful and wise stewardship of this before he may be entrusted with what is his own. The disciple as a steward is not yet his own master (cf. Lk. 17:7–10). But neither should he be the servant of mammon. For mammon, now personified in v. 13, inevitably becomes the master if a man tries to make himself its master by acquiring it for its own sake. Men are confronted by the stark choice: "No servant can serve two masters; for either he will hate the one and love the other, or he will be devoted to the one and despise the other. You cannot serve God and mammon."

The only other passage in which mammon is mentioned is Matt. 6:24 which is verbally identical with Lk. 16:13 but which lacks the accompanying sayings. The saying about the two masters is found in Gos.Thom. 47 but without reference to mammon. Mammon is mentioned in 2 Clem. 6:1. *C. Brown*

περιποιέομαι

περιποιέομαι (*peripoieomai*), save or preserve for oneself, acquire, get something for oneself, get possession of; περιποίησις (*peripoiēsis*), gaining, obtaining, acquisition, a possession, property; περιούσιος (*periousios*), chosen, especial; τὰ ἴδια (*ta idia*), one's own, possessions, property.

CL *peripoieomai*, the mid. of the less frequent *peripoieō*, used from Hdt. onwards, means to cause to remain over and above, to save up, lay by, procure, keep, save for oneself. The cognate noun *peripoiēsis* means keeping safe, preservation, gaining possession of, acquisition, procuring. *periousios* means having more than enough, rich, wealthy.

OT The Heb. *s*^{e}*gullâh*, property, treasure, is used of David's treasure (1 Chr. 29:3), the treasure of kings (Eccl. 2:8), and Israel as God's special possession (Exod. 19:5; Deut. 7:6; Ps. 134:4; Mal. 3:17). It is rendered by *peripoiēsis* only at Mal. 3:17. *periousios* is used of God's chosen people at Exod. 19:5; Deut. 7:6; 14:2; 26:18; and Exod. 23:22 (a free translation). *periousiasmos*, private possession, is used in the LXX translation in Ps. 135(134):4. The idea behind *periousios* is not just that of Israel as God's property but that of his "rich possession" (H. Preisker, *TDNT* IV 57). On the idea of Israel as God's *s*^{e}*gullâh* see J. D. M. Derrett, *Law in the New Testament*, 1970, 15 f. Derrett sees Mal. 3:16–4:3 reflected in Matt. 13:36–51 (→ *thēsauros*, NT 1 (d)).

NT 1. In the NT *peripoieomai* (3 times) and *peripoiēsis* (5 times) are preferred to *periousios* which occurs only once. The idea of salvation stands in the background. The vb. occurs at Lk. 17:33 ("Whoever seeks to gain [*peripoiēsasthai*] his life will lose it, but whoever loses his life will preserve it"; → Soul, art. *psychē*); Acts 20:28 ("Take heed to yourselves and to all the flock, in which the Holy Spirit has made you guardians, to feed the church of the Lord which he obtained [*peripoiēsato*] with his own blood"); 1 Tim. 3:13 ("for those who serve well as deacons

gain [*peripoiountai*] good standing for themselves and also great confidence in the faith which is in Christ Jesus"). The noun occurs in the following passages. In Eph. 1:14 the → Spirit is said to be "the guarantee of our inheritance until we acquire possession of it [*eis apolytrōsin tēs peripoiēseōs*]." In 1 Thess. 5:9 Paul assures his readers: "For God has not destined us for wrath, but to obtain salvation [*eis peripoiēsin sōtērias*] through our Lord Jesus Christ." In 2 Thess. 2:14 this is described in terms of → glory: "To this he called you through our gospel, so that you may obtain the glory [*eis peripoiēsin doxēs*] of our Lord Jesus Christ." Heb. 10:39 may reflect something of the thought of Lk. 17:33: "But we are not of those who shrink back and are destroyed, but of those who have faith and keep their souls [*eis peripoiēsin psychēs*]." Finally, 1 Pet. 2:9 takes up the thought of Exod. 19:5, cf. Deut. 14:2: "But you are a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people for his possession [*ethnos hagion laos, eis peripoiēsin*], that you may declare the wonderful deeds of him who called you out of darkness into his marvellous light."

2. *periousios* is found only in Tit. 2:14 in a verse which summarizes the work of Christ "who gave himself for us to redeem us from all iniquity and to purify for himself a people of his own [*laon periousion*] who are zealous for good deeds." The idea of God's treasured people again takes up the Heb. idea of the *'am s^{e}ḡullâh* (cf. Exod. 19:5; Deut. 14:2), but, as in 1 Pet. 2:9, it is not → Israel which is so described but the → church. Whereas 1 Pet. focuses on the priestly rôle of the people in declaring God's wonderful deeds, Tit. 2:14 draws attention to the kind of deeds which the people of God should be zealous to perform. The verse comes, in fact, at the climax of a survey of how the gospel should affect different people in their different situations.

3. The adj. *idios* means own and is widely used in a variety of contexts in various senses (cf. Arndt, 370), e.g. according to his own capability (Matt. 25:15); each one will receive his own wages according to his own labour (1 Cor. 3:8); one's own (private) interpretation (2 Pet. 1:20); his (own) sheep (Jn. 10:3 f.); each in his own turn (1 Cor. 15:23); with our own hands (1 Cor. 4:12); and as an adv. *idia* meaning by oneself, privately (1 Cor. 12:11; Matt. 14:13, 23). *idios* occurs some 113 times in the NT.

The neut. plur. *ta idia* meaning one's home is attested in secular Gk. (e.g. Polyb., 2, 57, 5; 3, 99, 4; P.Oxy. 4; further examples in Arndt 370) and the LXX (Est. 5:10; 6:12; 1 Esd. 6:31 [= 2 Esd. 6:11]; 3 Macc. 6:27, 37; 7:8; cf. also Josephus, *War*, 1,666; 4, 528). In the NT it appears to mean home in Jn. 16:32 (on this verse see E. Fascher, "Johannes 16, 32", *ZNW* 39, 1940, 171–230); 19:27; Acts 5:18D; 14:18 *v.l.*; 21:6. The RSV takes it in this sense in its rendering of Jn. 1:11: "He came to his own home, and his own people received him not [*eis ta idia ēlthen, kai hoi idioi auton ou parelabon*]" (cf. E. J. Goodspeed, *Problems of New Testament Translation*, 1945, 87 f., 94 ff.; and F. Field, *Notes on the Translation of the New Testament*, 1899, 84). It may be noted in the RSV that "home" and "people" are interpretations which try to bring out the significance of the neut. plur. in the former case and the masc., plur. in the latter. R. Bultmann disputes this interpretation (*The Gospel of John: A Commentary*, 1971, 56). He claims that *ta idia* here must mean property or possession (as e.g. *P.Oxy.* 489, 4; 490, 3; 491; 3; 492, 4). The *idioi* are "his own", those who belong to him as their creator (cf. Od.Sol. 7:12; and

Bultmann, op. cit., 44). He also sees here a background of gnostic dualism, according to which *idion* means that which shares in a common nature (cf. 8:44; 10:3 f.; 13:1; 15:19; Corp.Herm. 1, 31; Iren., *Haer.* 1, 21, 5; Hippol., *Haer.* 5, 6, 7 etc.; Act.Thom. 124, p. 233, 14; Od.Sol. 26:1). Bultmann rejects the suggestion that *ta idia* might mean the Jewish people or Israel as God's own people (cf. Exod. 19:5; Deut. 7:6; 14:2; 26:18; Ps. 135:4). For the context of the Prologue of Jn. is that of the *kosmos*, the world, and *anthrōpoi*, men. It is thus a claim that he possessed the whole universe from the beginning (cf. 1:1 ff.). Moreover, the normal expression for the *'am s^{e}gullâh* is not *idios* but *periousios*. Bultmann sees parallels with → wisdom which possesses the earth and sea (Ecclus. 24:6; cf. Prov. 1:24–31; Bar. 3:12 f.; Eth.Enoch 42:1 f. where there is a parallel to *ou parelabon*). The distinction between the neut. plur. and the masc. plur. belongs to the Gk.; in Aram. both would have been *dîlêh*.

Lk. 18:28 also may be translated as homes or possessions: "And Peter said, 'Lo, we have left our homes [*ta idia*] and followed you' " (RSV). The par. in Matt. 19:27 and Mk. 10:28 have *panta*, all. To this Jesus gives the reply: "Truly, I say to you, there is no man who has left house or wife or brothers or parents or children, for the sake of the kingdom of God, who will not receive manifold more in this time, and in the age to come eternal life" (Lk. 18:29 f.; cf. the further details including persecutions in Mk. 10:30). The saying follows the story of the rich young ruler who declined to sell all that he had to give to the poor and follow Jesus.

4. The use of three different concepts in the NT for property, quite apart from concrete possessions, mirrors the riches of that which has been revealed through the redemptive act of Jesus. He came into that which had been his own from the beginning. He won his right to his people by his suffering and death, and this people has been requisitioned by him, that it may → serve him in complete surrender and bear witness to him until his return. *E. Beyreuther*

πλοῦτος

πλοῦτος (*ploutos*), wealth, riches; πλούσιος (*plousios*), rich, a rich man; πλουσίως (*plousiōs*), richly; πλουτέω (*plouteō*), be rich, become rich; πλουτίζω (*ploutizō*), make rich.

CL 1. The word-group associated with *ploutos* is related to *polys*, much, and means initially abundance of earthly possessions of every kind. Later its meaning divided in two directions. In the one it meant riches in a technical and material sense. In the other it was more general, and occurs with a qualifying word, generally in the gen., e.g. riches of wisdom, honour, mercy, etc. All the words in this group can bear this double meaning: *plouteō*, be or become rich; *ploutizō*, make rich; *ploutos*, possession of many goods, super-abundance of something, riches; and *plousios*, as an adj, wealthy, rich and as a noun a rich man.

2. In Homer external wealth and virtue are not separated (cf. *Il.* 1, 171; 16, 596; 24, 536, 546; *Od.* 24, 486). Rich is a comprehensive term for a fortunate life blessed by the gods. Plato and Aristotle in particular judge riches by their effect on society. If they do not serve the community (*polis*), they are to be rejected. In Aristotle wealth is always material and is something that can be used wrongly or rightly (*Pol.* 1, 9, p. 1256b–1258a, 8; 2, 9, p. 1269a, 34 f.). But Plato distinguishes

material riches from true riches which consist of wisdom, virtue and culture (*Rep.* 7, 521a; 8, 547b; *Phdr.* 279c; cf. F. Hauck and W. Kasch, *TDNT* VI 322). The Cynics completely despised material possessions because they brought commitments and anxieties with them (cf. Stob., *Ecl.* 5, 782, 18; 5, 785, 15 ff.; 5, 766, 12; 5, 806, 17 ff.; see further *TDNT* VI 322). The Stoics considered that the chief danger of riches lay in their creation of a feeling of false security, but they also recognized their value because of the opportunities of developing the personality which they offered (Seneca, *De Vita Beata* 22, 1; cf. *TDNT* VI 323). Basically riches were not to be rejected, for (a) in Gk. culture riches did not have the sociologically divisive influence that they have had in other cultures, and (b) the idea never appeared that they could be given up for the benefit of the poor.

OT 1. Riches in the older parts of OT are seen as having positive value. They consisted mainly of flocks and herds, children and slaves (e.g. Gen. 13:2; 30:43) and were a gift of God. In the nomadic or semi-nomadic period riches presented no problem, for there were no blatant differences between rich and poor. At the conquest of Canaan Yahweh gave everyone his share. Since the land belonged to God, God extended his protection to the individual's property (cf. the laws in the Book of the Covenant, Exod. 20:22–23:19, which were later expanded in those of Deut.).

Under the monarchy there was the development of royal cities and courts. With the growth of commerce and trade a major social differentiation developed. There was a small upper class of the rich and influential, who, as may be seen from the prophets (Amos 2:6 ff.; 5:10 ff.; Isa. 5:8 ff.; Mic. 2:1 f.; Jer. 5:26 ff.; 34:8–11), destroyed the people of God by injustice and violence and so brought deserved judgment on the whole people.

In the wisdom literature, where our word-group is most frequent, we often find unaffected praise of riches (e.g. Prov. 10:4, 15). But there are references to their relative value (e.g. Ps. 49:16; Prov. 22:1), and their power to lead men astray (e.g. Ps. 49:6; 52:7). At the same time we find in Job and the Pss. the problem of vindicating the divine rule (especially Job 21; Pss. 37; 49; 73).

2. *plousios* normally translates the Heb. *'āšīr*, wealthy, rich (Ruth 3:10; 2 Sam. 12:1 f., 4; Job 27:19; Pss. 45[44]:12; 49[48]:2; Prov. 10:15; 14:20; 18:11; 22:2, 7, 16; cf. 23:4; 28:6, 11; Eccl. 10:6, 20; Isa. 53:9; Jer. 9:22[23]). It translates a variety of other words in Gen. 13:2; Ps. 34[33]:10; Isa. 32:9, 13; 33:20; and is without Heb. equivalent in 1 Sam. 2:10; Ezra 3:19, 21; Est. 1:20; Ps. 10:8[9:29]; Prov. 12:22; Wis. 8:5; Sir. 8:2; 10:22, 30; 13:2 f., 18–23; 25:2; 26:4; 30:14; 31[34]:3, 8; 44:6; Jer. 24:1; Ad.Dan. 4; 1 Macc. 6:2. Similarly the corresponding vbs. normally translate formations from the root *'šr*: *plouteō* (Exod. 30:15; Ps. 49[48]:16; Eccl. 5:11; Hos. 12:9[8]; Zech. 11:5; Jer. 5:27; Ezek. 27:33; Dan. 11:2; but not Gen. 30:43; Prov. 28:22; 31:28; Sir. 11:18, 21); and *ploutizō* (Gen. 14:23; 1 Sam. 2:7; 17:25; Job 15:29; Ps. 65[64]:9; Prov. 10:4, 22; 13:7; Ezek. 27:33; but there is no Heb. equivalent for Wis. 10:11; Sir. 11:21; 19:1; 2 Macc. 7:24). The noun *ploutos* mostly translates the Heb. *'ōšer*, riches (Gen. 31:16; 1 Sam. 17:25; 1 Ki. 3:11, 13; 10:23; 1 Chr. 29:12, 28; 2 Chr. 1:11 f.; 9:22; 17:5; 18:1; 32:37; Est. 1:4; 5:11; Pss. 49[48]:6; 112[111]:3; Prov. 3:16; 8:18; 11:16, 28; 13:8; 22:1, 4; 30:8[24:31]; Eccl. 4:8; 5:12, 18; 6:2; 9:11; Jer. 6:22[23]; 17:11;

Dan. 11:2). Cognate Heb. words occur in Prov. 21:17 and Mic. 6:12. Some eight other Heb. words occur in other passages, the most common of these being *ḥayil*, capacity, power, wealth (Job 20:15, 18[?]; 21:7; 31:25; Pss. 49[48]:10; 52[51]:7; 62[61]:10; 73[75]:12; 76[75]:5; Prov. 13:22; 31:3[24:71]; 31:29; Isa. 60:5). The Book of Isa. prefers *hāmôn*, which can mean commotion, crowd as well as abundance, wealth (Isa. 16:14; 29:5, 7 f.; 32:14; 60:5; but with other words in 30:6; 61:6; and no Heb. equivalent in 24:8; 29:2; 32:18; 60:16). Other words occur in Deut. 33:19 (*šepa'*, abundance); Est. 1:4; 5:11; Ps. 119(118):14; Prov. 13:7; 19:4(1); 24:4; 28:8; 29:3; Ezek. 26:12. There is no Heb. equivalent in 1 Sam. 2:10; Est. 10:10; Job 27:18; Ps. 37(36):3; Prov. 31:14; Wis. 5:8; 6:14; 7:8, 11, 13; 8:5, 18; Sir. 18:25; 21:4; 24:17; 28:10; 1 Macc. 4:23; 6:1.

3. At the end of the Inter-Testamental period these concepts are again to be found. The members of the Qumran community adopted → "the poor" as a title of honour. They practised community of possessions (cf. Josephus, *War* 2, 8, 3; 1QS 1:12; 5:2; 6:17, 19; 7:6). For discussion see M. Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins*, 1961, 32–39. Black describes the community as "organized as a kind of welfare state", adding that "It was also a hierocratic community: all its affairs, affecting the disposition of property no less than its purely 'spiritual' concerns, came within the jurisdiction of the priests" (op. cit., 37; cf. 1QS 5:2, 22). For Enoch the end will in any case bring with it a complete reversal of all earthly possession and fortune (Eth.Enoch 96:4; 100:6; 103:4 f.; cf. Syr.Bar. 29:6; 51:12–52; 2 Esd. 7). When the Qumran texts speak of God's → grace or → mercy they may also add in parallelism "multitude" (*rōḇ*) and "riches" (*hāmôn*) (cf. 1QM 4:32; 6:9; 7:27; 9:34; 10:24). Among the Pharisees only the righteousness derived from keeping the law had real value, but riches enabled one to do good works, carrying with them corresponding obligations (*TDNT* VI 325 f.; SB I 818, 822, 826 ff.; III 655 ff.; IV 490–500, 536–610). On the other hand, all circles where eschatological hopes were earthly or nationalistic had a high opinion of riches.

NT 1. The word-group does not appear in Jn., Acts, 1 and 2 Thess., Tit., Phlm., 1–3 Jn., Jude. *ploutos* is found in the Gospels only in Matt. 13:22 par. Mk. 4:19, Lk. 8:14, where it means, as in 1 Tim. 6:17, Jas. 5:2, Rev. 18:17, wealth in terms of earthly goods. The word is linked with God (Rom. 9:23), Christ (Eph. 3:8) and churches (2 Cor. 8:2). *plousios*, as adj. or noun, in sing. or plur., is used to describe persons rich in this world's goods (Matt. 19:23 f., par. Mk. 10:25, Lk. 18:25; Matt. 27:57; Mk. 12:41; Lk. 6:24; 12:16; 14:12; 16:1, 19, 21 f.; 18:23; 19:2; 21:1; 1 Tim. 6:17; Jas. 1:10 f.; 2:6; Rev. 3:17; 13:16). Followed by the dat., it expresses the riches of God (Eph. 2:4) or of the Christian (Jas. 2:5). In 2 Cor. 8:9 and Rev. 2:9 it means those rich in spiritual possessions. The vb. *plouteō* is used absolutely in Lk. 1:53; 1 Tim. 6:9; Rev. 18:15 in the reference to earthly possessions; and in 1 Cor. 4:8; 2 Cor. 8:9; Rev. 3:17 f. of spiritual possessions. Lk. 12:21 and 1 Tim. 6:17 refer to those works which have value with God. Rom. 10:12 indicates that God's riches are available for all. *ploutizō* means make rich, enrich. God makes the church rich in all things (1 Cor. 1:5); the Christian passes on those riches given by God so as to make others rich as well (2 Cor. 6:10; 9:11). The adv. *plousiōs* occurs only at Col. 3:16 ("let the word of Christ dwell in you richly"); 1 Tim. 6:17 (of "God who richly furnishes us with everything to

enjoy;" contrasted with "the rich in this world"); Tit. 3:6 (of the Holy Spirit poured out richly); and 2 Pet. 1:11 (of the entrance to the kingdom richly provided). It thus occurs only in the epistles and always in a spiritual sense of God's rich grace.

2. Theological significance. (a) Matt. stresses throughout the dangers inherent in riches that may hinder the → kingdom of God, but it does not regard them as basically Satanic (cf. Matt. 27:57). In other words, Matt. exhibits no ascetic rejection of possessions and riches. If Jesus attacks mercilessly attachment to earthly possessions (Matt. 13:22; 19:23 f.), his denunciation applies to riches in exactly the same way as it does to every human self-contrived security and obsession which make it impossible for men to see the kingdom of God. The seed is choked by care and "the false glamour" (NEB) of riches (*he apatē tou ploutou*, Matt. 13:22; cf. Mk. 4:19; Lk. 8:14). → Care is a characteristic of this age (Matt. 6:25–32), and every kind of riches is deceitful when it so appeals to men that they are hindered from hearing the message of the kingdom of heaven. In contrast poverty in the Beatitudes means being open for the kingdom of God (→ Poor, art. *ptōchos* NT 1 (b)). We find the same in Matt. 19:23 f., where "hard" is explained by Jesus' answer in v. 26. The very reaction of the disciples in v. 25 shows that more is meant by "rich" than economic standing; they realized that they were being included among them. In other words riches are a characteristic of the man of this world. Hence we must not weaken the force of "the eye of a needle" (19:24; → Animal, *Animals in the NT*). In all this teaching Jesus entertains no possibility of man attaining the kingdom of God, i.e. life, as he stands. The new righteousness, which carries life within it, comes alone from the power and might of God. Man must receive it in repentance and faith. In other words, Jesus' view of riches cannot be separated from the crucial hour of decision which had come through him for the people of Israel.

(b) In Mark the judgment on riches is perhaps expressed somewhat more mildly. By speaking of "awakening desires" (cf. "delight", Mk. 4:19) the danger is seen in terms of a subjective threat to the individual psyche (E. Lohmeyer, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, *KEK* 1/2, 1967[17], ad loc.). Riches encourage confidence in themselves and so become a great obstacle on the way to the kingdom of God (Mk. 10:23 ff.).

(c) Lk. mentions riches only in Lk. 8:14; otherwise he speaks of the rich and being rich. The rich landowner (12:16–20; → *thēsauros*, NT 1 (e)) is a type of rich men in general, if they have forgotten that God is the giver of what they have and therefore put their confidence in it, or who give themselves up to unrestrained enjoyment of it and so miss God's purpose for their life (16:19–31). The → Pharisees scoffed at Jesus' warning against mammon (Lk. 16:14; → *mamōnas*), because they were lovers of money (*philargyroi*; cf. 1 Tim. 6:10; 2 Tim. 3:2; → *thēsauros*, NT 1 (b)). The general verdict and the context of the passages in which Lk. deals with the rich suggest the possibility that the term is used for the enemies of Jesus, or that they are collectively identified by that name. Hence, there is a complete rejection of the rich. The kingdom of God brings with it the reversal of all earthly relationships (Lk. 1:53; 16:25; 6:24 ff.). Those who rejected Jesus and his message, because they were enslaved by the present age and its deceitful riches, and allowed their thoughts and imagination to be completely governed by what appeared to be

the case at that moment, lost the future in their attempt to secure the present. Being delivered up to the deceptive power of possessions means destruction. Salvation comes to those who are liberated by the → gospel, and know that their riches lie in the future which is even now dawning. The reversal of all earthly values, which will become evident at the end of the age, will prove that only those riches that have been stored up with God have lasting value and bring salvation to man (16:9). Zacchaeus's behaviour (19:8) and the admonition of 14:12 ff. are models for this.

(d) The selfish rich are completely rejected in Jas. The judgment of the OT prophets is echoed and the rich are depicted as the unrighteous (2:6; 5:1–6) who can only expect calamity in the coming transformation of the world (5:1–6; 1:10 f.; cf. Isa. 40:6 ff.). In contrast it is the → poor, the rich in faith, that have been chosen (2:5).

(e) Paul is not interested in the material understanding of the term riches. He gives it a deeper and new meaning by applying it to God, Christ and the church. Fullness marks out God, the only truly rich One, e.g. in → glory (Rom. 9:23; Eph. 3:16) and → grace (Eph. 2:7; 1:7). The church shares in these riches (1 Cor. 1:5; Eph. 1:7, 18). To be rich is an eschatological gift unconnected with material possessions. Though the apostle is himself → poor, he makes many rich by his preaching (2 Cor. 6:10). Seeing that Christ could make us rich only by emptying himself (2 Cor. 8:9; cf. Phil. 2:5–11; → Empty, art. *kenos*, NT 3; → Poor, art. *ptōchos*, NT 4), the Christian's pathway through the world is one of self-emptying and helping the brethren (2 Cor. 8:2; 9:10 ff.). Israel's rejection of Christ means riches for the Gentiles, for the message of salvation is now directed to them (Rom. 11:12). (On the soteriological significance of the collection for the Jerusalem church → Poor, art. *ptōchos*, NT 4 (a).) The eschatological nature of these riches is missed, if they are used as the justification for self-praise (→ Boast) and for self-confidence within the church (1 Cor. 4:8).

(f) In 1 Tim. earthly riches are not rejected, but the rich are warned against putting their confidence in that which is transient, and are called on instead to become rich in good works by a right use of their possessions (1 Tim. 6:17 ff.). Heb. 11:26 has a Pauline flavour: transient abuse became riches for Moses as he looked to the future reward, and his sufferings for the people became a typical anticipation of the sufferings of Christ (→ *thēsauros*, NT 3). Rev. contains a double message: (1) The rich cannot stand before the wrath of the → Lamb (6:15 f.), and those who have been enriched by → Babylon fall together with it (18:3, 15, 17, 19). (2) The church in Smyrna, though, or just because, it is persecuted for the sake of the faith, is truly rich (2:9). Laodicea, on the other hand, is poor, because it thinks itself spiritually rich (→ Cold, Hot, Lukewarm). It is called on to become rich by turning to the Lord (3:17 f.). Riches are mentioned in 5:12 in the praise offered to the Lamb.

3. In the story of the rich young ruler (Matt. 19:16–22 par. Mk. 10:17–22, Lk 18:18–23) *plousios* and → *chrēma*, or *ktēma*, are used as synonymous concepts. *chrēma*, *ktēma* and *hyparxis* mean only money, or goods and chattels which can be turned into money.

There is a close connection between → *mamōnas tēs adikias*, unrighteous mammon (Lk. 16:9, 11), and *hē apatē tou ploutou*, the deceitfulness of (RSV "delight

in") riches (Matt. 13:22; Mk. 4:19), but *mamōnas* suggests wealth and property which constitute a man's capital, and we must remain free of its enticements.

pleonekteō, *pleonektēs* and *pleonexia* all express a drive to gain at the expense of others. The use of *plouteō* and *philargyria*, avarice, love of money, in 1 Tim. 6:9 f. reminds us of the mention of *pleonexia* in the lists of vices (→ Avarice).

F. Selter

χρῆμα

χρῆμα (*chrēma*), property, wealth, means, money; κτῆμα (*ktēma*), property, possessions, especially in later usage landed property; ὕπαρξις (*hyparxis*), property; τὰ ὑπάρχοντα (*ta hyparchonta*), what belongs to someone, property, goods, possessions; βίος (*bios*), life, means of subsistence, property; οὐσία (*ousia*), substance, property.

CL *chrēma*, derived from *chrē*, it is necessary, stands for what is necessary, a thing, or event, then goods and chattels, riches. It is found from Homer onwards, mostly in the plur. When it is found in the sing. it normally means quantity of, also money. *ktēma*, derived from *ktaomai*, means that which has been gained. It is used (also Homer onwards) for possessions of every kind, but from the 4th cent. B.C. it is confined to landed property. From Aristotle onwards *hyparxis* is found with the meaning of existence and generally of property, riches.

OT In the LXX the words are used to render a wide range of Heb. terms. *chrēma* in Job 27:17 and 2 Chr. 1:11 f. is used to mean money (in the latter together with *ploutos*). In Dan. 11:24, 28 it is the rich booty taken in war, and in 11:13 baggage train of an army. *ktēma* in Job 20:29 has the general meaning of possessions, heritage (RSV), lot (NEB). In Prov. 8:18; 12:27 it is riches as a reward for → wisdom and hard work. *ta hyparchonta* is found in Prov. 6:31; Gen. 13:6; 31:18; 36:6 f.; 45:20; 47:18; Eccles. 5:19; 6:2, with the general meaning of what one has, riches, possessions. Both words interchange frequently with → *ploutos* or *argyros*, (silver, money; → Gold art. *argyrion*). In general no hesitation is shown in regarding the riches mentioned as good and a blessing from God (Prov. 8:21; Eccles. 5:19; 6:2; 2 Chr. 1:12). With *hyparxis*, however, as with → *ploutos*, there is found, especially in Prov., a critical outlook on wealth, or the dangers bound up with it (cf. Job). Possessions are not the highest good. They are trivial compared with honour (Prov. 6:35), but they deceive a man into seeking protection and security in them (Prov. 18:10 f.; cf. also 11:28; 28:6, 11; Sir. 11:18 f.; 27:1 ff.; 31:3, 5 f.).

NT With the exception of Mk. 10:23 and Lk. 18:24 (par. Matt. 19:23 has *plousios*), *chrēma* is found only in Acts 8:18, 20 and 24:26 and should be translated money. The sing. is found only in Acts 4:37. The sing. of *ktēma* is found only in Acts 5:1, where it is used interchangeably with *chōrion* (vv. 3, 8), and means a piece of land. *ktēmata* (plur.) are the estates (Mk. 10:22 and par. Matt. 19:22; Lk. 18:23 has *plousios*) which in Acts 2:45 are distinguished from other possessions ("property and possessions" NEB); cf. also Acts 5:1. In the NT the plur. part. *hyparchonta* is commoner that the noun *hyparxis* (used only in Acts 2:45 and Heb. 10:34, par. to *hyparchonta*). It is found in Matt. 19:21; 24:17; 25:14; 1 Cor. 13:3; Heb. 10:34 and in the Lucan writings (Lk. 8:3; 11:21; 12:15, 33, 44; 14:33; 16:1; 19:8; Acts 4:32). It means lit. the things that belong (to someone), and thus possessions in general.

Occasionally other terms which have their primary reference elsewhere are also used to denote possessions. Thus *bios*, which otherwise means life (e.g. Lk. 8:14; 1 Tim. 2:2; 2 Tim. 2:4) and even conduct (e.g. Wis. 4:9; 5:4; 4 Macc. 1:15; 7:7; 8:8), can also mean one's means of subsistence and thus property, one's worldly goods (Mk. 12:44 par. Lk. 21:4; Lk. 8:43; 15:12, 30; 1 Jn. 2:16; 3:17). These meanings are also borne out in secular Gk. *ousia*, substance, which is connected with the vb. to be, has the sense of property, wealth in its sole NT occurrence (Lk. 15:12 f.; cf. Tob. 14:13; 3 Macc. 3:28). Again this meaning is attested in secular Gk. Various circumlocutions are also found in the NT: *hosa echeis*, what you have (Mk. 10:21 par. Lk. 18:22; Mk. 12:44; Matt. 13:44, 46; 18:25); *ta idia*, one's own (Lk. 18:28; cf. also Jn. 1:11); *idion einai*, to be one's own, in the description of the communal sharing in the Jerusalem church ("Now the company of those who believed were of one heart and soul, and no one said that any of the things which he possessed was his own, but they had everything in common," Acts 4:32); *to emon*, mine, *to son*, yours, *to hēmeteron*, ours (Matt. 25:27; Lk. 15:31; Matt. 20:14; 25:25; Lk. 6:30; 16:12); *ta par' autēs panta*, all she had (which the woman with the issue of blood had vainly spent on physicians, Mk. 5:26); *ek tou echein*, out of what you have (2 Cor. 8:11; → Poor, art. *ptōchos*, NT 4 (a), (c)); *echeis polla agatha keimena*, you have many good things laid up (Lk. 12:19); *tous mē echontas*, those who do not have (anything) (1 Cor. 11:22).

2. A number of passages are of particular theological importance. Jesus demanded from the rich young ruler a complete renunciation of his possessions for the sake of the kingdom of God (→ *ploutos*). He was told: "sell what you possess [*pōlēson sou ta hyparchonta*]" (Matt. 19:21; "sell whatever you have [*hosa echeis pōlēson*]" Mk. 10:21; Lk. 18:22 adds "all [*panta*]") "and give to the → poor". His riches, however, prevented him from following Jesus' call, for he had *ktēmata polla*, many estates (Matt. 19:22; Mk. 10:22; Lk. 18:23 says that he was "very rich [*plousios sphodra*]"). The fetters of possessions are so strong (→ *mamōnas*) that a rich man can only with difficulty enter the kingdom of God. But when they are rightly used, goods and chattels can be employed for good works, as in the cases of the women who "provided for" Jesus and his disciples (Lk. 8:3), and Zacchaeus (Lk. 19:8; cf. also Lk. 12:33). Luke's extremely critical attitude towards wealth is shown by his being the only evangelist to give the parable of the rich land owner (12:16–21; → *thēsauros*, NT 1 (e)) and that on the rich man and Lazarus (16:19–31). Covetousness (12:15) seeks security in life from material possessions and so leads a man to destruction (*pleonexia*; → Avarice). The NT judges it to be one of the worst vices in a man freed by God. On the links between the rich man and Lazarus and the unjust steward see J. D. M. Derrett, "Dives and Lazarus and the Preceding Sayings" (op. cit., 78–99). "Failure to deal righteously with *mammon* leads to 'Hell' " (op. cit., 90), even though the man was merely passive in his wrongdoing, neglecting the poor.

Probably partially motivated by Jesus' extreme demand (Lk. 12:33), but above all by the expectation of the imminent parousia (→ Present), individual members of the primitive church in Jerusalem renounced their right to private property (Acts 4:32, *hyparchonta;* 2:45, *ktēmata kai hyparxeis*), sold it when there was need (Acts 2:45), and gave the money to the apostles to be distributed (Acts 4:36 f.; 5:1 f.). Ananias and Sapphira were judged not because they had kept back the

proceeds of the property that they had sold, but because they had lied to the Holy Spirit in pretending to give all to the church (Acts 5:3). What the sin of Achan (Jos. 7) was in the OT, theirs was in the NT. On the distribution to the → poor (Acts 6:1–7) → Serve, art. *diakoneō*. Mary, the mother of John Mark, allowed her house to be used as a meeting place (Acts 12:12), but seems to have retained possession of it. Elsewhere other churches do not seem to have adopted the community of goods of the Jerusalem church. (See further M. Hengel, *Property and Riches in the Early Church*, 1974, 31–34.)

Simon Magus' idea that he could buy the wonder-working power of the Holy Spirit was completely mistaken (Acts 8:18, 29; → Magic, art. *mageia*, NT 1 (a)).

In 1 Cor. 13:3 Paul uses love as the only valid criterion for evaluating good actions for our fellow men involving possessions. If one's willingness to give away one's possessions to the poor is not an expression of love, the giver has no gain from the action.

In the course of an exhortation to perseverance Heb. 10:34 reminds its readers that "you joyfully accepted the plundering of your property [*tēn harpagēn tōn hyparchontōn hymōn*], since you knew that you yourselves had a better possession and an abiding one [*kreittona hyparxin kai menousan*]." This is perhaps a reference to the expulsion of Jews from Rome by the emperor Claudius in A.D. 49. Among them were Priscilla and Aquila (cf. Acts 18:2) and doubtless other Christian Jews who would have suffered eviction and looting (cf. F. F. Bruce, "Christianity under Claudius", *BJRL* 44, 1961–62, 309 ff.; and *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, *NLC*, 1964, 268 f.). The allusion to possessions is further illustrated in the following chapter by the example of those like → Abraham who "desire a better country, that is, a heavenly one" (Heb. 11:16) and → Moses who preferred reproach suffered for the sake of the Anointed to the treasures of Egypt (→ *thēsauros*, NT 3). It contrasts with the attitude of Esau who forfeited his birthright for immediate material well-being (Heb. 12:15 ff.; cf. Gen. 25:29–34; 27:30–40; Deut. 29:18 LXX).

F. Selter

Coins in the Bible and Theological Issues

OT Although the earlier narratives of the OT contain occasional references to the use of "money" in commercial transactions (as when Abraham purchased the cave of Machpelah for the burial of Sarah, Gen. 23), the invention of coined money was deferred until the 7th cent. B.C. It was evidently in Lydia (Asia Minor) that the first coins were struck, at first in electrum, then later in gold and silver (bearing on the obverse the forepart of a lion facing the forepart of a bull, apparently in combat with each other). Very soon thereafter the Greek island of Aegina began the first minting of silver coinage, somewhat ovoid in shape, and bearing on the obverse the figure of a sea-tortoise. During the 6th cent. the coinage of the Athenians (with the head of Athena in profile, looking to the right, on the obverse) became current in the coastal regions of the Near East, including Phoenicia and Palestine; it was also the first coinage to contain a reverse type (in this case an owl, facing, with a sprig of olive in the upper left, and the three Greek letters, alpha, theta, and long epsilon, on the right – an abbreviation for *Athēnaiōn*). Yet it was not until the reign of Darius I of the Persian Empire that any government in

control of Judah began to issue coins which were current in the land of Israel. The Persian (Achaemenid) imperial coins displayed but one type throughout the course of the empire: a robed king, wearing a tiara, kneeling on his right knee facing to the right, holding a bow in his left hand and a lance or arrow in his right hand. The reverse was stamped with a shapeless punch and contained no device. The gold coins of this type were known as "darics" and weighed about 8.4 grams; they are referred to in Ezr. 2:69 and Neh. 7:70 as *dark^{e}mônîm*. In 1 Chron. 29:7 the related word *'^{a}darkōnîm* is used as a unit of weight for the various golden vessels offered in the time of King David for the service of God in the future temple to be built by Solomon. Since there were no minted coins whatever back in the 10th cent. B.C., it is evident that the Chronicler (perhaps Ezra himself) had calculated the weight of these vessels in terms of weight-standards familiar to his own contemporaries.

It was apparently during the late 5th century and the century following that local coinages sprang up within the Persian Empire, consisting especially of silver pieces, some of which were minted under the authority of local satraps like Mazaeus (and his predecessors, Datames and Pharnabazus) of Tarsus. These all portrayed Baal-Tars, enthroned, facing left, with sceptre in hand; the reverse types varied considerably, sometimes featuring a helmeted male head, or else a lion killing a bull, or even two standing figures flanking an altar of incense. Or else there were types minted by the rich commercial cities like Tyre and Sidon. Tyre featured the bearded, crowned figure of Baal riding the waves upon a winged hippocamp; the reverse displayed an Egyptian type of owl superimposed upon the shepherd's staff (*ḥeḳa*) and flail of the pharaonic insignia. Sidon showed a war-galley riding the waves, and on the reverse the Persian king riding in his chariot.

Interestingly enough there were even some issues that bore pagan types such as these and yet were inscribed with the name *Yehud* (Y-H-D), the Aramaic form of "Judah". Since the Torah strictly forbad the fashioning of human likenesses, or indeed of any cult animal associated with worship, it is inconceivable that such coins could have been minted with the sanction of the approval or sanction of the Jewish provincial government (except possibly by the Persian governor in charge of Jewish affairs). One type has a bearded head facing right, and on the reverse an Athenian type of owl and olive sprig, but with the "Phoenician" letters Y-H-D to the right. Another type (possibly minted in Gaza) shows a bearded Baal sitting on a two-wheeled chariot, holding a plump bird on his left hand, and facing a squat little dwarflike worshipper in the lower right corner. Across the top are the letters Y-H-D. From the preceding description of coin-types it is apparent that they fell into three general categories: (1) the symbol of the nation or city-state – often represented by some animal or bird – whether lion, bull, tortoise, owl or eagle; (2) a portrait of the patron god of the city or nation – whether Athena or Baal or the semi-divine Persian king; (3) some symbol of national power or wealth – such as the war-galley or chariot or sprig of olive. Almost always there was some clear reference to local religion or civic pride. Partly because of their lowly status as a relatively small, poor province of the Persian Empire, the post-Exilic Jews were in no position to mint coins of their own, even if they could have hit upon non-cultic types which would involve no violation of the Second Commandment.

The same was true during the ensuing period of Greek domination, after the

conquest of the Near and Middle East by Alexander the Great in 330 B.C. There was undoubtedly extensive use of coined money in Palestine, but all of it was of a pagan type. The imperial coinage of Alexander himself featured the head of Heracles in his lion headdress, and on the reverse the enthroned figure of Zeus holding a sceptre in his left hand and an eagle of victory on his right. The gold coins featured Athena's head wearing the Corinthian war-helmet, and on the other side a standing figure of the winged Nike (goddess of victory). The coinages of King Lysimachus of Thrace and of Ptolemy of Egypt were the first to portray the head of Alexander himself, wearing either a ram's-horn headdress or else an elephant-type, complete with trunk and tusks, suggestive of godlike powers and prestige. But soon thereafter (probably in the 290's) Ptolemy I began to issue coins with his own portrait upon them, and before long the Seleucid emperors at Antioch began to do the same. Since the Greek custom had been to portray none but gods or demi-gods upon their coins, it is fair to conclude that the Hellenistic rulers achieved the honour of portraiture upon their national currency only because they themselves claimed divine status. (Interestingly enough, it was not until the Roman senate voted divine honours for Julius Caesar that a Roman ruler ever had his visage presented on the coinage of his time. But once the precedent had been set, it became the invariable practice, and even the members of the Second Triumvirate, such as Antony and Octavian, issued money with their own portraits upon it.)

Not until the 2nd century and the assertion of Jewish independence did the Jews ever mint coins of their own, and even then it was not until sixty years after Judas Maccabaeus had expelled the forces of Antiochus Epiphanes from Jerusalem. Perhaps around 110 B.C. John Hyrcanus produced a very modest bronze coinage, hardly the size of an American dime, and bearing the simple device of two cornucopiae bound together at the horn-tips and flanking a poppy head in the centre. The reverse of this lepton contained a Hebrew legend in epigraphic characters reading: "Jonathan the High Priest, and the community of the Jews". His successor, Jonathan (Alexander Jannaeus), followed this example, but he also minted another type featuring a half-opened flower and the inscription, "Jonathan the King"; the reverse contained a compound anchor and a Greek inscription: "King Alexander". Other types used were a war-galley or a seven-rayed star. The complete absence of pagan symbols was thus maintained throughout the period of the Hasmonean Dynasty.

NT Even after the Roman conquest the small bronze coinage was kept largely free of pagan religious symbolism by the Herods who reigned as vassal kings under Roman authority. Herod the Great continued to make use of the anchor and the double cornucopiae (although his inscriptions were always in Greek). But he also introduced the crested helmet, the tripod bearing a bowl, and an incense burner between two palm branches. His successor, Herod Archelaus (4 B.C.–A.D. 6), introduced the grape-cluster and the tall, double-crested helmet. Subsequent to his dismissal from power by the Roman government, the rule of Palestine was partially entrusted to Herod the Tetrarch (Galilee, Samaria and Peraea only) and partially to a Roman procurator, such as Coponius, Valerius Gratus, or Pontius Pilate. Symbols inoffensive to Jewish sensibilities were employed by these Roman governors (who minted their bronze lepta with wheat ears or

barley, or else with palm branches or even palm trees or cornucopiae). But Pilate aroused considerable resentment when he ventured to employ such cultic implements as an augur's wand (resembling a shepherd's crook) or a simpulum – a type of ladle used in connection with Roman sacrifice. But after Pilate was recalled and sent into exile by Caligula, Herod Agrippa I was installed as king for seven years (A.D. 37–44) first over part and then over all of Israel. As a nominal Jew, Agrippa reverted to inoffensive types, such as triple ears of wheat, or a fringed umbrella (perhaps suggesting that the king was a protective shade to his people).

It will be noted that all of these bronze coins supplied only the small change required in simple commercial transactions. No issues in silver were ever minted by a Jewish government until the time of the First Revolt (A.D. 67–70). This meant that from Persian times and onward, the Jews were obliged to handle silver coins (and gold, too, for that matter) which were issued by the Persian, Greek or Roman government which was in control of the Near East. It is safe to say that such pagan coins were never accepted for use in worship at the Jerusalem temple. The only currency allowable consisted in Hasmonean or Herodian bronze lepta or dilepta, and offerings in silver or gold had to take the form of bullion or manufactured implements and vessels. Yet in daily life and in their business transactions, pagan coins were in constant and familiar use.

The most notable example of bronze coinage presented in the temple treasury was of course the contribution of two *lepta* (or "mites") placed in the offering box by the indigent widow whom Christ commended (Mk. 12:42 par. Lk. 21:2). Conceivably these consisted of the Pontius Pilate type described above, or else of the less offensive coinage of the earlier procurators. But very possibly they were of the John Hyrcanus II or Alexander Jannaeus types which are still very commonly discovered in Jewish burial sites throughout Israel even to this day. The *lepton* is also mentioned at Lk. 12:59, where the par. Matt. 5:26 has *kodrantēn*, the Roman quadrans.

The most celebrated discussion of the types or inscriptions of any coin referred to in Scripture occurred during Holy Week. Jesus was accosted by some crafty agents of the Sanhedrin who sought to entrap him in the matter of paying taxes to the Roman government. "Is it lawful to give a poll-tax to Caesar, or not?" They had him on the horns of a dilemma, for if he answered that it was perfectly all right to pay tribute to Rome, this would offend the religionists who opposed any support to a pagan power. If on the other hand he declared himself opposed to the payment of such taxes, he would incur the charge of fomenting rebellion and sedition, and he would immediately be turned over to the Roman authorities. In answer to their craftiness, Jesus simply asked them to produce a silver denarius from their own pockets. Holding it up before them he then pointed out that the portrait on the obverse was that of the Roman emperor (in all probability it was a mintage of Tiberius, who had been reigning since A.D. 14), and the inscription bore the name of Caesar. (Denarii of Tiberius read on the obverse: TI. CAESAR DIVI AVG. F. AVGVSTVS "Tiberius Caesar Augustus, son of the divine Augustus".) Quite obviously they had no compunctions about using the money which Caesar had minted for them, with all of the advantages of protection for law-abiding citizens and the safeguarding of their financial security. They had no scruples about accepting the Roman law and order and military defence against marauding invaders from the East.

Therefore, their pious question concerning the legitimacy of paying taxes to the government who guaranteed them safety and peace and order was nothing more than arrant hypocrisy. "Render therefore to Caesar that which is Caesar's" – that is, the money and support necessary for a strong, efficient government – "and to God the things that are God's" (not only their tithes and temple taxes, but also the worship of their hearts and the faithful obedience to his revealed will).

An interesting reference to the temple poll tax is found in the episode of Matt. 17:24–27. The tax-collectors approached Peter, as a representative disciple of Jesus and asked him whether his leader ever paid the standard contribution to the support of the temple, as required in Exod. 30:11–16. Since Jesus and his followers were constantly itinerating from one preach-point to another, it was difficult for tax agents to make contact with them. But now that they were back in Capernaum once more, it was time for the matter to be dealt with. After making the point that as the Son of God it was not really appropriate for him to pay a tax to his own Father, Jesus directed Peter nevertheless to secure the money for payment. He was to go down to the lake and cast in his fish-line, and pull up the first fish to strike his bait. In it he would find a "stater", in this case the same as a tetradrachma (Matt. 17:27) – although in classical times the stater was a mere two-drachma piece, or else in Corinth and its colonies the stater was a three-drachma coin. But already in Ptolemaic times the term *statēr* was applied to the four-drachma piece, and so quite generally in the Greco-Roman period, since the tax amounted to a didrachmon (two-drachma piece) per person, and the coin recovered in Peter's fish was large enough to pay for them both, it must have been a tetradrachma – quite possibly a Tyrian shekel. The silver coins of Tyre during the Greco-Roman period featured a wreathed head of Baal-Melqart on their obverse, and a leftward striding eagle on the reverse (with the inscription TYROU HIERAS KAI ASYLOU, "Tyre the holy city of refuge"). It was very likely this same coin which predominated in the payment of thirty "pieces of silver" (*argyria*) recorded in Matt. 26:15 as the price paid to Judas for his betrayal of Jesus at Gethsemane. Because of its high silver content and standardized weight, the Tyrian shekel was generally preferred in Palestine, despite the paganism of its symbols. The well-known hoard of silver coins found in 1954 at the Khirbet Qumran headquarters must have been secreted there around A.D. 1; it consists entirely of Tyrian shekels and half-shekels of this type.

In his parables Jesus told the story of the housewife who was greatly distressed to find that she had lost one of her collection of ten drachmas (Lk. 15:8 f.). She seized her broom and began to sweep up every particle on the floor until she finally came across the missing coin, much to her joy and satisfaction. The drachma was about equivalent to the Roman denarius in size and value, and it was roughly equivalent to an entire day's wages for a day-labourer (such as the vineyard workers of Matt. 20:2). To a woman in humble circumstances, even the loss of a single day's wage was a severe blow. (It is unnecessary to suppose that these coins were perforated and strung together in a sort of headpiece or necklace, as some writers have suggested. It was very unusual for the ancients to bore holes through the thick type of coin which was in vogue all during Classical and Greco-Roman times; it would result in the loss of too much silver, and greatly deface the appearance of the coin itself.)

It has already been mentioned that during the First Revolt (A.D. 67–70) the revolutionary Jewish government minted silver coins for the first time in history. The shekel or four-drachma piece bore a libation chalice on the obverse (with the inscription "Shekel of Israel"), and on the reverse a tripleheaded pomegranate (and the legend, "Jerusalem the holy"). But neither these nor the First Revolt bronze lepta (featuring the amphora and the vine-leaf) find any mention in the NT itself, for only the late Epistles of John and the book of Revelation postdate that tragic episode in Hebrew history. *G. L. Archer, Jr.*

→ Avarice, → Gift, → Gold, → Parable, → Poor, → Tax, → Tithe

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Pour

ἐκχέω

ἐκχέω (*ekcheō*) and ἐκχύννω (*ekchynnō*), pour out; σπένδω (*spendō*), pour out (a drink offering); πρόσχυσις (*proschysis*), pouring or sprinkling (of blood); αἱματεκχυσία (*haimatekchysia*), shedding of blood.

CL In cl. Gk. the uncompounded form *cheō*, pour, is still in use, but the compounds, especially *ekcheō*, pour out, gradually displace it. *ekcheō* is used in secular

Greek of pouring liquids, sometimes with the idea of draining, pouring away. A Jewish inscription uses it of shedding the blood of an innocent martyr. It can also be used for scattering solid objects, and, metaphorically, for squandering money. *ekchyn(n)ō* is a Hel. Gk. form which exists alongside it.

OT In the LXX *ekcheō* normally represents Heb. *šāpaḵ*, an equally general word for pour, but used in purificatory rites (Num. 19:17; Exod. 30:18) and particularly frequently of the pouring or shedding of blood, either as a part of the sacrificial ritual, or, most frequently, as a synonym for murder (cf. Gen. 9:6; 37:22; Deut. 19:10; 1 Sam. 59:7; Ps. 13:3). It is also used in the OT, as in secular Gk., of pouring out offerings, usually of water, to Yahweh (e.g. Num. 28 f.; Jdg. 6:20; 1 Sam. 7:6; 2 Sam. 23:16), and to other gods (e.g. Isa. 57:6; Jer. 7:18; 19:13); the technical term for offering libations (of wine) is *spendō* (translating Heb. *nāsaḵ*).

Among non-literal uses, the most common is the expression to pour out anger, fury on someone, used of God's acts of → judgment (e.g. Ps. 79:6; Ezek. 7:8). Men also pour out their soul, or their complaint, before God (1 Sam. 1:15; Ps. 142:2). One special use is the promise that God will pour out his → Spirit on men (Joel 2:28–29 [MT 3:1–2]; Ezek. 39:29; Zech. 12:10; cf. Isa. 32:15, using a different word, *'ārâh*, which normally means to be naked, bare, but here pour out.

NT 1. In the NT, *ekcheō* is used in the literal sense, without special theological significance, in Matt. 9:17 par. Lk. 5:37 (of wine being "spilled"); Jn. 2:15 (of money "scattered"); Acts 1:18 (of Judas's bowels being "poured out"; → Akeldama).

2. The use of "to shed blood" as a synonym for murder or martyrdom is taken over from the OT in Matt. 23:35 par. Lk. 11:50; Acts 22:20; Rom. 3:15; Rev. 16:6. The shedding or pouring of blood in the OT sacrificial ritual is referred to in Heb. by the cognate nouns *proschysis* (11:28; cf. Exod. 12:22) and *haimatekchysia* (9:22). The latter is found only in Christian writings, but cf. *ekchysis haimatos*, pouring out of blood (1 Ki. 18:28; Sir. 27:15).

3. These two OT senses of shedding blood, murder or martyrdom and sacrifice, come together in the crucial words of Jesus in the institution of the → Lord's Supper, "This is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out [*ekchynnomenon*] for many" (Mk. 14:24 par. Matt. 26:28; Lk. 22:20 reads "This cup which is poured out for you is the new covenant in my blood"). Jesus is both a martyr, an innocent victim of murder, and a sacrifice "for many". Several OT passages may be alluded to in these words, but two are particularly important. "This is my blood of the covenant" echoes Exod. 24:8, the sacrificial offering which instituted the old covenant of Sinai, now to be replaced (as Jer. 31:31–34 predicted) with a new → covenant, sealed by Jesus' sacrificial death. "For many" points to Isa. 53:11, 12, the "many" who were to be made righteous by the death of God's Servant bearing their sin; he is said in Isa. 53:12 to have "poured out" his soul to death, and while the verbs in both Heb. (*he'ᵉrâh*) and LXX (*paredothē*) are different from *šāpaḵ* and *ekcheō*, an allusion to this phrase is surely intended (→ Empty, art. *kenos*, NT 3). The pouring out of Jesus' blood, then, was the sacrifice which removed the sin of "many", and introduced them to a new covenant relationship with God. It is this pouring out that is symbolized in the cup at the Lord's Supper.

4. Paul takes up the pouring of libations as a metaphor for his approaching martyrdom, in his use of *spendō* in Phil. 2:17 and 2 Tim. 4:6. The libation is not, like the blood sacrifices, an atoning offering, but an expression of dedication to God.

5. The more metaphorical uses of pour in the OT are also echoed in the NT. The pouring out of God's fury provides the imagery of the seven bowls of the wrath of God poured out in Rev. 16, where *ekcheō* occurs 8 times in this sense. But more characteristically, God's love is "poured out" in the hearts of believers (Rom. 5:5), and this has been done by the bestowal of the Holy Spirit, who is several times said, following Joel 2:28–29, to have been "poured" upon those who receive Christ (Acts 2:17–18, 33; 10:45; Tit. 3:6). (Note also the use of being "filled" with the Spirit, → Fullness, NT 4.) The use of such an apparently impersonal term, in contrast with the very personal language used about the Spirit elsewhere in the NT, is accounted for by the influence of the OT usage mentioned above.

→ Blood, → Fullness, → Pentecost, → Spirit *R. T. France*

J. Behm, *ekcheō*, *TDNT* II, 467–469.

Prayer, Ask, Kneel, Beg, Worship, Knock

In the NT the most comprehensive term for "to pray" is *proseuchomai*. It denotes prayer in general, and may be used without further qualification. On the other hand, *deomai* and *deēsis*, like *aiteō* and *aitēma*, involve spoken supplication. Their content is usually indicated, as is the person to whom the request is made. These terms are also confined to definite acts of praying. Occasionally, in the case of *aiteō* and *aitēma*, the basic meaning of wanting something is still present, so that it has a rather more forceful and sometimes demanding tone, whereas *erōtaō*, when it means to request, is more intimate. Prayer to God may also be expressed by *boaō boē* and *krazō*, both vbs. meaning to cry, shout (→ Cry). They are generally used when prayer to God or to Jesus Christ arises from great human need or distress and is therefore a cry for help (e.g. in the case of sickness or fear). *gonypeteō* also expresses urgency in prayer or in making a request, whereas *proskyneō* tends to imply worship, adoration and obeisance. The prayer of praise and thanksgiving is expressed by *aineō* and *eucharisteō* (→ Thank). The vb. *krouō*, knock, is used metaphorically of seeking access to God.

αἰτέω

αἰτέω (*aiteō*), ask, ask for, demand; *αἴτημα* (*aitēma*), request, demand; *ἀπαιτέω* (*apaiteō*), demand back; *ἐξαιτέομαι* (*exaiteomai*), ask for, demand; *παραιτέομαι* (*paraiteomai*), ask for, request, excuse, refuse, decline.

CL The basic meaning of *aiteō* is to want something, to demand something as one's share. Hence in profane Gk. *aiteō* means both to ask and to demand. The mid. form is best translated by to ask for oneself, or occasionally by to desire for oneself. The noun *aitēma*, therefore, means the thing asked for, both in the sense of a request or desire, and of a demand (e.g. *aitēma tyrannikon*, the demand of a tyrant, Plutarch, *Demetr.* 3). *apaiteō* intensifies the basic idea of demanding (e.g.

to call to account, Plato, *Rep.* 10, 599b), usually in the sense of demanding back, such being the force of the prefix *ap-*. The derivative *exaiteomai* means to ask for oneself, while *paraiteomai*, because of the sense attaching to the prefix *par-*, means basically to ask to be released from an obligation, to present one's apologies.

OT The Heb. equivalent is *šā'al*, meaning to ask, require, wish, desire, request for oneself (Deut. 10:12; Jdg. 5:25; 1 Sam. 12:13; Job 31:30 and passim). Used with reference to God it approximates closely to the idea of prayer and is often associated with thanksgiving for answered prayer (e.g. 1 Sam. 1:20; Pss. 105[104]: 40; 21[20]:4). It also means to ask, inquire (Gen. 24:57, LXX *erōtaō*); in legal language to examine (Deut. 13:15, LXX *ereunaō*); to consult, seek counsel (Jdg. 18:5, LXX *eperōtaō*). *šā'al* is rendered by *aiteō* only when the desire is for something quite specific (Exod. 3:22; Jos. 14:12; Jdg. 5:25; 1 Sam. 12:17); e.g. Hannah asks for herself a son from Yahweh and Eli promises her "what you have asked from him" (1 Sam. 1:17). Similarly in the Pss., whenever this verb expresses a promise of answered prayer, this must always be seen against the background of a specific request (Pss. 2:8; 21[20]:4; 27[26]:4; 40[39]:6; 78[77]:18; 105[104]:40; cf. Isa. 7:11 f.; 58:2; Prov. 30:7 [24:30]).

NT 1. In the NT *aiteō*, *aiteomai* (occurring 70 times) generally means to request, ask (for oneself). It occurs with more or less the same degree of frequency in all four Gospels (Matt. 14 times; Mk. 9; Lk. 11; Jn. 11) and Acts (10 times) rarely in Paul (once each in 1 Cor. and Col., and twice in Eph.). It is found 5 times each in Jas. and Jude and once in 1 Pet. but not at all in the Pastorals, Heb. and Rev.

(a) On a human level the mid. form of the vb. (*aiteomai* etc.) is used almost always in addressing superiors (Matt. 14:7; 27:20; Lk. 23:23; Acts 9:2 and passim) and therefore has a somewhat official flavour. Generally speaking, the act. form of the verb (*aiteō* etc.) has no special nuances. Only in Matt. 5:42 is it clear from the context that *aiteō* has a trace of unpleasantness about it: to demand something unpleasant, or at least to ask in a way which the other person feels to be unpleasant (hence *aiteō* could virtually be translated here by "to approach" or "to accost"). D. Hill suggests that the two clauses in this verse are parallel and that *aiteō* here means to ask for a loan (cf. Exod. 22:25; *The Gospel of Matthew*, *New Century Bible*, 1972, 128). Jesus emphasizes that the disciple should respond even to requests such as this (cf. Matt. 7:7, 8). The ethical implications of this should be noted: I am to overcome my reluctance and open both heart and hand to the person making the request, for the request is nothing less than God calling me to open my heart to him and be obedient.

(b) In the religious sphere, i.e. in those passages when a request is made to God, no difference in meaning is discernible between the act. and mid. forms of the vb. In the nature of the case, such requests enter the realm of supplicatory prayer (cf. Matt. 21:22, to ask in prayer), though in the NT several other words are used, sometimes paired with *aiteō*, to express the idea of making supplication; e.g. → *proseuchomai* (Mk. 11:24; Col. 1:9), which usually remains unqualified and indicates prayer generally; or → *gonypeteō*, to bend the knee (cf. Eph. 3:13 f.), which particularly stresses the suppliant's humble posture before God. *erōtaō*, too, occurs in parallel with *aiteō* (1 Jn. 5:16), though as a rule it is used where there is a close relationship between the parties concerned, e.g. between the disciples and

Jesus, and between Jesus and God; when the disciples address requests to God, however, *aiteō* is generally used. *erōtaō* originally meant to ask a question (in a dialogue) and has retained its intimate conversational character. Another word for to ask in the NT is → *deomai*, generally used where the request springs from a concrete situation (hence frequently for intercession).

It is striking that *aiteō* is never used of Jesus' own requests and prayers, but always *erōtaō* or *deomai* (e.g. Jn. 14:16; 16:23–26; Lk. 22:32). This may be connected with the peculiarity of *erōtaō* mentioned above.

(c) It is significant that, wherever the NT speaks of requests made to God, it emphasizes that such requests are heard (cf. Matt. 6:8; 7:7–11; 18:19; 21:22; Jn. 14:13 f.; 15:7, 16; 16:23 f., 26; 1 Jn. 3:22; 5:14 f.; Jas. 1:5). It is as if the NT witnesses wished particularly to encourage men to pray, by assuring the suppliant that his requests are heard by God. The NT is aware that this certainty keeps all prayer alive; let such certainty become weakened or diminished through doubt, and prayer dies.

What basis does the NT give for this certainty? In Matt. 7:8 the fact that requests are heard is stated as a basic principle of the → kingdom of God: "Everyone who asks receives." This principle is here the foundation for the injunction and its accompanying promise; "Ask and it will be given to you." But the ultimate foundation is given in such passages as Matt. 6:8; Jn. 15:16; 16:23, 26 f.; Col. 1:9–12 and especially Matt. 7:9–11. God is the Father who loves his own more than an earthly father loves his son, and who therefore cannot permit their requests to be unavailing, but gives them what they need. Ultimately, therefore, the reason why a person who asks is certain of being heard, is the certainty, given by Jesus to his own, of God's fatherly goodness and love. Implicit in these passages is a further certainty which runs through the whole Bible and undergirds everything it says: the certainty that God is a living God who hears and sees, and who has a heart full of compassion.

As God deals with us, so should we deal with our neighbour and respond to his requests (Matt. 5:42). We are to give to him because we experience afresh every day the generosity and fatherly goodness of God.

(d) The NT repeatedly makes the point, however, that the prayer which God hears must be the right kind of prayer. This is alluded to in Matt. 7:7 f., where the vbs. to → seek and to knock (→ *krouō*) are used in parallel with to ask. Frequently in the Bible, seeking has God as its object; it denotes a God-orientated attitude on the part of man. This gives a clue as to what constitutes true prayer. It must be in keeping with the nature of him to whom it is addressed, in which case our requests will be well-pleasing to God and in accordance with his will (cf. 1 Jn. 5:14: to ask something "according to his will"). To ask from God means to ask from him something right and good (Matt. 7:11). Lk. interprets this specifically as asking for the Holy → Spirit (Lk. 11:13). In other places true prayer is described as asking in → faith (Matt. 21:22; Jas. 1:5 f.; note the affinity between Jas. and Matt.). In prayer we are never to forget whom we are addressing: the living God, the almighty One with whom nothing is impossible, and from whom therefore all things may be expected. To doubt God is to do him an injustice, for it belittles his deity, misjudges his character, and therefore receives nothing from him (Jas. 1:7). But true prayer is bound up with faith, i.e. with the certainty of being heard. The

NT encourages such a degree of certainty that the suppliant can believe he has actually received his request at the very moment of asking (Mk. 11:24; 1 Jn. 5:15). The corresponding passages in the Johannine writings expand the idea of asking in faith: it is said to arise from "his words remaining in us" (Jn. 15:7), i.e. from our being in such close union with Jesus and his word that our asking is sure to be in accordance with his will. 1 Jn. 3:22 moves rather more into the sphere of ethics: "we receive from him whatever we ask, because we keep his commandments and do what pleases him", i.e. because our asking springs from a right attitude to God. This verse presents in brief summary the implications of being united with Christ in our prayers. Elsewhere Jn. describes true prayer as "asking in the name of Jesus" (Jn. 14:13 f.; 15:16; 16:24, 26; → Name). Since such prayer is heard, and since I can be certain of the fact, the result is → joy (Jn. 16:24). Matt. 18:19 may be relevant here: united prayer by several disciples indicates that all selfish desires have been renounced, for selfish prayer is false and receives nothing from God (Jas. 4:3; Mk. 10:35).

2. When the object of *aiteō* is a subordinate person, it easily assumes the meaning to require, demand (Lk. 1:63; Acts 16:29); similarly when a creditor demands back from a debtor goods given on loan or trust, or requires an account of them (predicated of God in Lk. 12:48). In 1 Pet. 3:15 "to require an account" (of the Christian's hope) means to demand proof of its truth and credibility, or simply to demand information.

This meaning throws light on the implications lying behind the Jews' demand for "signs" (1 Cor. 1:22; → Miracle, art. *sēmeion*). When man takes this attitude, he is in fact setting himself above God and calling him to account; he is demanding that God should justify himself in relation to what he had done in Christ.

3. (a) The word *aitēma* occurs in its non-religious sense in Lk. 23:24. In its religious sense, i.e. when addressed to God, it likewise means a request and especially any individual request viewed in relation to its content (e.g. Phil. 4:6; 1 Jn. 5:15).

(b) The compound vb. *apaiteō* often carries the intensified meaning to demand, but is used particularly in the sense of reclaiming either stolen goods (Lk. 6:30b, where the command "Give to every one who begs from you" is expanded and at the same time brought into sharper focus), or goods loaned out for a limited period (Lk. 12:20, where God requires back man's life, the vb. itself indicating where the true ownership lies; cf. *aitēsousin* in Lk. 12:48b: "and of him to whom men commit much they will demand the more").

exaiteomai occurs only in Lk. 22:31 in the sense of to demand that someone (in this case Peter) be handed over. This demand has been made by → Satan to Peter's master, namely to God himself, with the alleged purpose of testing the genuineness and steadfastness of Peter's faith, but with the ulterior motive of bringing about his downfall.

(c) In Mk. 15:6 *paraiteomai* means to ask for someone's release, while in Lk. 14:18 f. it means to ask for one's own release, in this case from the obligation of accepting an invitation, i.e. to present one's apologies. Should the obligation be considered intolerable, then the vb. can mean to refuse, decline (e.g. Acts 25:11, with reference to the Roman death penalty; Heb. 12:19, 25, with reference to God and his word); or to reject (e.g. 1 Tim. 4:7, "godless and silly myths"; 5:11, the enrolment of younger women in the church's list of widows); 2 Tim. 2:23; Tit.

3:10. In the last-mentioned passages, disciplinary measures are in view both in regard to doctrine and in regard to church government, as befitted the situation being experienced by the recipients of the Pastoral Epistles. Hence, these acts of refusal or rejection begin to acquire an official character, though whether Tit. 3:10 refers to excommunication or merely to the breaking off of → fellowship (as in 1 Tim. 6:5, cf. AV) must remain an open question. *H. Schönweiss*

γονυπετέω

γόνυ (*gony*), knee; *γονυπετέω* (*gonypeteō*), fall on one's knees, kneel down before.

CL In the Gk. world, which adopted this custom from the Orient, kneeling was practised by a slave before his master and by a suppliant before the gods, but the practice was usually expressed not by *gonypeteō* but by *proskynēsis* and *hiketeia* even though the basic idea is different (→ *proskyneō*, lit. to kiss, and thus to worship).

OT The oriental ceremony of kneeling appeared in Israel only when its kings adopted the style of the great oriental monarchs and demanded similar tokens of servility (1 Chr. 29:20). At the same time, however, there is evidence that the widespread oriental custom of kneeling before the gods was also adopted, so that in the OT falling prostrate is a sign of submission and homage, of humility and awe before Almighty God (Ps. 95:6). In addition, the OT characteristically looks forward to the practice being continued in the messianic age of salvation (Isa. 45:23).

NT 1. Apart from Heb. 12:12 (cf. Isa. 35:3), *gony*, knee, occurs in the NT only in association with verbs in phrases meaning to bend the knee, kneel before. In the NT the plur. *ta gonata* is combined with *tithenai* (Mk. 15:19; Lk. 5:8; 22:41; Acts 7:60; 9:40; 20:36; 21:5) or *kamptein* (Rom. 11:4 quoting 1 Ki. 19:18; 14:11 quoting Isa. 45:23; Eph. 3:14; Phil. 2:10) to give the phrase to bow the knees. It expresses:

(a) Awe before a superior or homage before a king, i.e. recognition of his might and sovereignty (as in Mk. 15:19, where the phrase occurs in parallel with → *proskyneō*, with no real difference in meaning); the adoration and veneration which is due to God alone and not to any idol (Rom. 11:4); the recognition of God as the supreme judge (Rom. 14:11) or the acknowledgment that Jesus, in his universal majesty and cosmic significance, is Lord of all (Phil. 2:10).

(b) The phrase is particularly meaningful in Lk. 5:8, where it expresses the humble attitude of a man who, having received of Christ's abundant grace, recognizes both his sinful and lost condition and the wholly unmerited nature of the gift. His falling down before Jesus is here a sign of repentance, that change of direction which marks the beginnings of faith. Similarly in Jn. 9:38 *proskyneō* is a sign of faith in Jesus.

(c) In other passages falling on one's knees is simply the gesture associated with prayer (cf. → *proseuchomai*, → *deomai*, → *aiteō*), emphasizing its earnestness and urgency (e.g. Lk. 22:41; Acts 7:60; 9:40).

2. The simple vb. *gonypeteō* is also used (e.g. Matt. 27:29), especially to intensify

the urgency of a request or question (to ask on bended knee), e.g. Matt. 17:14; Mk. 1:40 (cf. the parallel use of → *proskyneō* in Matt. 8:2); 10:17.

H. Schönweiss

δέομαι

δέομαι (*deomai*), ask, request, beseech, beg; δέησις (*deēsis*), a request, entreaty; προσδέομαι (*prosdeomai*), need (in addition or further); ἱκετηρία (*hiketēria*), supplication; ἔντευξις (*enteuxis*), petition, prayer.

CL The basic meaning of *deomai* is to lack, be in need of (cf. *prosdeomai*), from which developed the meaning to request, beseech; similarly in the case of the noun *deēsis*.

OT 1. In the LXX *deomai* is used with the meaning to beseech, quite often representing the Heb. *ḥānan* (hith.), to beg for favour. Thus Esther besought the king (Est. 8:3), and Jacob likewise the angel (Hos. 12:4). Job, ostracized and in misery, had to beseech his own servant (Job 19:16). The suppliant pleads with God for mercy (1 Ki. 8:33–47; Ps. 30:8; 14:1). But *deomai* can also translate *ḥālâh* (piel), to appease, placate. The person praying attempts to placate God's anger by his entreaties (Exod. 32:11; 1 Ki. 13:6; Zech. 8:21; Jer. 26:19). The prayer can be accompanied by an offering (1 Sam. 13:12; → Sacrifice) or associated with renunciation of sin (Dan. 9:13). Sometimes *deomai* stands for the particle *bî* or *nā'* (Gen. 43:20; 44:18; Exod. 4:10; Num. 12:13) in the sense of "if it please you . . .", "by your leave . . .", used when addressing a superior.

2. The noun *deēsis* is used in the LXX to translate several Heb. words including *t^{e}ḥinnâh*, supplication (e.g. 1 Ki. 8:28, 30, 38, 45, 49, 52, 54; 9:3; Pss. 6:9; 55[54]:1); the related *taḥ^{a}nûn* (e.g. Pss. 28[27]:2, 6; 31[30]:22; 86[85]:6; 116[114]:1; 130 [129]:2; 140[139]:6; 143[142]:1); *rinnâh*, a cry of lamentation, a prayer of lament (e.g. Pss. 17[16]:1; 61[60]:1; 88[87]:2; 106[105]:44), and *šaw'âh*, a cry for help (e.g. in Ps. 34[33]:17; 39[38]:12; 40[39]:1; 145[144]:19). It is used only for supplication and calling upon God in prayer, often standing alongside *proseuchē*, prayer (e.g. in 1 Ki. 8:38, 45; Ps. 6:9; 17:1; 39:12; Jer. 11:14). It is thus largely synonymous with the latter (→ *proseuchomai*).

NT In the NT *deomai* occurs only with the meaning to ask request, beseech, beg.

1. It is used in a general sense as a courtesy formula, without any particular object or object clause (cf. the English phrase "I beg you"), followed by direct speech (Acts 8:24; 21:39) or by an infinitive (Acts 26:3).

2. In some passages *deomai* is used in its full sense of making earnest entreaty, even imploring. There is a warmth, an attractiveness, a winsomeness about it, as in 2 Cor. 5:20 (cf. Acts 2:40); 8:4; 10:2; Gal. 4:12.

3. In all other cases *deomai* has the religious sense of beseeching Jesus or God. The requests made are quite specific, arising out of real need and expecting definite help of an external or a spiritual nature. Help in a situation of external need is sought from Jesus in Lk. 5:12; 9:38. Passages such as Lk. 8:28; 9:38 indicate that with *deomai* the reason for the request is generally given (cf. also the following passages, but cf. Lk. 1:13). 1 Thess. 3:10 shows how even an apparently external

request may be directed to a spiritual end, so that here the distinction between external and internal is no longer operative.

Prayer should be made to God for forgiveness (Acts 8:22); for labourers to bring in God's harvest (Matt. 9:38; → Seed, Harvest); and for ability to stand on the last day (Lk. 21:36). In the latter verse, as in many other passages including some already mentioned, to ask is used absolutely, i.e. without God specifically mentioned as direct object. In such cases, of course, the direct object has to be supplied.

4. If the request is made not in one's own interest but on behalf of someone else, then *deomai* means to intercede (e.g. Acts 8:24; Rom. 10:1; 2 Cor. 1:11). When, as frequently happens, the content of the intercession is not stated, the vb. indicates that brotherliness which constrains one Christian to plead with God on behalf of another (e.g. Phil. 1:4; Eph. 6:18). Thus intercession is often the visible and practical expression of that heartfelt affection and fellowship which exist among Christians (e.g. 2 Cor. 9:14; 2 Tim. 1:3), an idea implicit, probably, in other passages also. That Paul highly valued such intercession and expected great things from it, is seen from such passages as 2 Cor. 1:11; Phil. 1:19. Jas. 5:16 speaks in precisely the same vein. Its point is further sharpened by the phrase "the supplication of a righteous man" (i.e. of a believer, cf. v. 15, whose life bears out his faith) and the adj. qualifying *deēsis*, namely *energoumenē*, energetic, active, effective. This comes about when the supplication involves living, dynamic fellowship and genuine conversation with God – which in itself is a gift from God himself. This is exemplified by → Elijah (v. 17; cf. 1 Ki. 17:1; 18:1). Similarly 1 Pet. 3:12 (quoting Ps. 34:16) says that the prayer of the "righteous" is heard by God (on prayer being heard → *aiteō*).

5. Whenever the request is addressed to God, *deomai* quite naturally assumes the meaning of to pray, and can often be so translated (likewise the noun *deēsis*, prayer). This is frequently the case when no content is stated (e.g. Acts 10:2; Heb. 5:7, where the noun stands alongside *hiketēria*, entreaty, supplication, originally that of a person seeking protection). Hence, as in the OT, *deēsis* often occurs with *proseuchē*, in which case the latter has the more general meaning of the two (→ *proseuchomai*); e.g. Rom. 1:10; Eph. 6:18; Phil. 4:6, where both are used with the further addition of *aitēma*, an individual request or petition (→ *aiteō*); 1 Tim. 2:1, where the two are complemented by *enteuxis*, intercession, petition, appeal, prayer.

Prayer is the most important evidence of true Christian faith (1 Tim. 2:1). It is the very mark of a Christian (1 Tim. 5:5; cf. Acts 9:11). Even Jesus prayed (Heb. 5:7; cf. Lk. 22:44) and made intercession (Lk. 22:32).

prosdeomai occurs only in Acts 17:25 in the sense of to need, be in need of. In this word the original sense of *deomai* reappears, and Lk. uses it here to underscore the self-sufficiency and complete independence of God who is highly exalted above all that is merely human. *H. Schönweiss*

προσεύχομαι

προσεύχομαι (*proseuchomai*), to pray, entreat; εὔχομαι (*euchomai*), request, vow; εὐχή (*euchē*), prayer, oath, vow; προσευχή (*proseuchē*), prayer.

CL *euchomai* is a technical term for invoking a deity and so covers every aspect of such invocation: to request, entreat, vow, consecrate etc. (similarly the noun: request, entreaty, vow); in a word: to pray; prayer. Since the vb.'s basic meaning is "to make confident statements about oneself", it can also mean to boast, brag and assert.

In profane Gk. prayer is often accompanied by an offering, the object of which is to make the gods favourably disposed. Here prayer mostly takes the form of supplication. Though used originally, as early as Mycenean Gk., almost exclusively with reference to tangible benefits, at a later period (e.g. in the Tragic Poets), the words have in view spiritual and ethical values (e.g. Aesch., *Cho.* 140 f.; Eur., *Medea* 635 ff.) or denote prayer for preservation from spiritual or moral harm. Characteristically, the assurance of being heard is lacking, belief in an omnipresent divine principle excluding all possibility of an epiphany. In the piety associated with the Hellenistic mysteries the worshipper at prayer experiences the nearness of the deity, especially at those rare moments of climax when he is granted a sight of the god concerned. At such times all prayer is extinguished, and is replaced by silent rapture. Intercession, and supplication for earthly things, are totally absent from this kind of prayer.

OT 1. In the OT prayer is all-important because of that which both characterizes and constitutes the nation of Israel, his relation to his God. The whole history of Israel is therefore permeated and borne along by prayer. At all its important points man is found in converse with God. This is true even when no use is made of those specific Heb. terms for to pray, such as *'āṯar* or *pālal*, both meaning to pray, request, and the noun *t^{e}pillâh*, prayer. Expressions like to speak, to call or to → cry are frequently used instead. To indicate intense emotional involvement, the Hebrew used vbs. such as to groan, to sigh or to weep (→ Lament). But however urgently he prayed, the OT suppliant never forgot that he was addressing the holy, almighty God (an utter impossibility apart from God's condescending kindness and grace). This is shown by the frequent use of the vb. *hištaḥ^{a}wâh* which really means to prostrate oneself (before superior) (→ *proskyneō*), and which may therefore indicate man's customary posture in prayer, though there is also evidence of prayer being offered from a standing position. The parallel expression, to fall down on one's knees, is also used occasionally. Such phrases are intended to indicate the → humility of mind which must always characterize a man as he prays. In addition the OT contains many expressions for the prayer of praise and thanksgiving, e.g. the familiar vb. *hālal*, to praise, glorify, extol (*hal^{e}lû-yâh*, praise the Lord; *yâh* = Yahweh; → Amen, art. *hallēlouia*), and a whole range of words intensifying the idea of praise: to shout with joy, to exult, to sing (often to instrumental accompaniment; → Thank).

In the LXX *proseuchomai* normally translates *pālal* in the hithpael form which is the standard Heb. vb. meaning to pray: Gen. 20:7, 17; 1 Sam. 1:10, 12, 26 f.; 2:1; 7:5; 8:6; 12:19, 23; 2 Sam. 7:27; 1 Ki. 8:28 ff., 33, 35, 42, 44, 48, 54; 13:6; 2 Ki. 4:33; 6:17 f.; 19:15, 20; 1 Chr. 17:25; 2 Chr. 6:19 ff., 24, 26, 32, 34, 38; 7:1, 14; 30:18; 32:20, 24; 33:13; Ezr. 10:1; Neh. 1:4, 6; 2:4; 4:9(3); Pss. 5:2; 32(31):6; 72(71):15; Jon. 2:2; 4:2; Isa. 16:12; 37:15, 21; 38:2; 44:17; 45:14, 20; Jer. 7:6; 11:14; 14:11; 29(36):12; 32(39):16; 37(44):3; 42(49):2, 4, 20; Dan. 9:4, 20. It

translates *pālal* in the piel in 1 Sam. 2:25 and the noun *t^epillâh*, prayer, in Ps. 109 (108):4. It translates the vb. *'āṭar*, entreat, in Exod. 10:17 and Jdg. 13:8; *nāpal*, fall, in the hithpael in 2 Esd. 10:1; the Aram. *ṣ^ela'*, pray, in Dan. 6:11(10) and 2 Esd. 6:10. It is without Heb. equivalent in 1 Sam. 14:45; Tob. 3:1; 6:17; 8:4 f.; 12:12; Jud. 11:17; Est. 5:1; Wis. 13:17; Bar. 1:11, 13; Dan. 3:24 f. LXX; Dan.Th. 9:21; 1 Macc. 3:44; 4:30; 7:40; 11:71; 2 Macc. 1:6; 20:10; 12:44; 15:14; 3 Macc. 6:1; 4 Macc. 4:11.

The noun *proseuchē* normally translates the corresponding Heb. noun *t^epillâh*, prayer: 2 Sam. 7:27; 1 Ki. 8:28 f., 38, 45, 49, 54; 9:3; 2 Ki. 19:4; 20:5; 2 Chr. 6:19 f., 29, 39; 7:12, 15; 30:27; 33:18 f.; Neh. 1:6, 11; 11:17; Pss. 4:1; 6:9; 17(16):1; 35(34):13; 39(38):12; 42(41):8; 54(53):2; 55(54):1; 61(60):1; 64(63):1; 65(64):2; 66(65):19 f.; 69(68):13; 80(79):4; 84(83):8; 86(85):6; 88(87):2, 13; 102(101):1, 17; 109(108):7; 141(140):2, 5; 143(142):1; Prov. 28:9; Jon. 2:8; Hab. 3:1; Isa. 38:5; 56:7; Jer. 11:14; Lam. 3:8, 44; Dan. 9:3, 17, 21. In addition it occurs in the titles of various Pss. (17[16]; 86[85]; 90[89]; 102[101]; 142[141]). It translates *qôl*, voice, in Pss. 64(63):1; 130(129):2; *t^eḥinnâh*, supplication for favour, 1 Ki. 8:45; 2 Chr. 6:35; and Dan. 9:20; and *taḥ^anûn*, supplication (for favour) in Dan. 9:18. It is without Heb. equivalent in 1 Ki. 9:3; Tob. 3:16; 12:8, 12, 15; 13:1; Jud. 12:6; 13:3, 10; Pss. 61(60):5; 88(87):14; Wis. 18:21; Sir. 3:5; 34(31):26; 35(32):17; 39:5, 7; 51:1, 13; Hab. 3:16; Isa. 38:9; 60:7; 1 Macc. 3:46; 5:33; 7:37; 12:11; 2 Macc. 1:23 f.; 3 Macc. 6:16; 7:20.

2. Prayer in the OT is characterized by being directed to the one God, who is both the God of Israel and at the same time the Lord of the nations and of the whole earth, having revealed himself as such to his people (1 Ki. 8:22 ff.; 2 Ki. 19:15). Accordingly the Israelite always prays first as a member of his people, not as an individual (Pss. 35:18; 111:1), and he knows what to expect of God. He knows too that God hears his prayer, and answers it if it is in agreement with his will (Pss. 3:4; 18:6; 65:2; Jer. 29:12). He prays therefore with firm confidence in God (Ps. 17:6 f.); he experiences temptation and doubt, to be sure, but these are possible only against the background of such confidence. He knows too that in the eyes of a holy God there is no question of his prayers counting as a work of piety which God then has to honour with his blessing. (Contrast the prayer of → Elijah, the prophet of Yahweh, with that of the priests of Baal, for whom it is nothing more than a technique, aimed at prevailing on their god by means of a torrent of words, 1 Ki. 18:26, 29.) He also knows that God is a person. Therefore, he prays in a thoroughly personal and specific fashion, aware that he is actually speaking to God, not merely invoking some dumb deity (Gen. 28:22–33; 1 Sam. 1:10 f.; Ps. 77:1–11). Such speaking to God can become a veritable wrestling with God, especially in the case of intercession (Exod. 32:11–14; Num. 14:13–22; Deut. 9:26–29; Neh. 1:4–11). Typical are the weapons with which the suppliant fights: he appeals to God's → promises, reminds him of his deeds of salvation in the past, particularly of his election of Israel and their deliverance from Egypt; he appeals to God's honour and → glory and to his very nature, which is one of forbearance, → grace and → mercy (cf. the last mentioned passages).

In addition, the suppliant thanks God for the miracles he has wrought in the history of his people (Pss. 105; 106) and asks for further guidance and continued deliverance from all possible distresses. Prayer and thanksgiving can cover

practically all the material and spiritual needs both of the individual and of the community, their whole life acquiring through prayer a lasting and intensive Godward orientation.

As an aid to prayer mention is sometimes made of → fasting (Neh. 1:4; Ezr. 8:23; Joel 1:14; 2:12, 15–17; Jer. 14:12), probably as an expression of that humble penitence before God which should lie at the root of all prayer.

3. Prayer is not restricted to any special place of worship but can take place anywhere (Gen. 24:26 f., 63), though of course it is specially fostered in the early sanctuaries and later in the → temple at Jerusalem.

4. The OT distinguishes between true and false prayer in the following manner. True prayer is of the → heart, i.e. it involves the whole person and means that a man comes before God with his whole being and in an attitude of humble submission (Jer. 29:12 ff.). False prayer, by contrast, is offered merely "with the lips", i.e. a man merely utters (or simply repeats) words and phrases with no self-surrender or offering of his "heart" and life to God, except perhaps as a pure formality, with no real intention of fulfilling the will of God as revealed, e.g. in his commandments (Isa. 1:15 f.; 29:13; Amos 5:23 f.).

In this same context, the OT also speaks of hindrances to prayer, which make an answer difficult or even impossible to obtain, e.g. disobedience (Isa. 1:15–17; 59:1 f.; Deut. 1:43–45), lovelessness towards one's fellowmen (Isa.58:3–10), injustice (Mic. 3:1–4). These characteristics of OT prayer are all exemplified with especial clarity in the Book of Psalms, a unique collection of prayers for use in public worship and by the individual.

5. Prayer also played a large part in the piety of Rabbinic Judaism. Of all devout exercises, fasting and praying were the most prominent, but although the texts of prayers found at Qumran indicate the great variety of prayers, both as regards forms and content (see especially the hymns, 1QH; → Song), which were still in use at the time of Christ, → Pharisaic orthodoxy had been extending its systematization, from the closing years of the first cent. B.C. onwards to include the piety of prayer. This applied not merely to the public prayers offered in the synagogue, which included the ancient Shema (*šᵉma'*; Deut. 6:4 ff.; → Hear, art. *akouō*, NT 3) and the Eighteen Benedictions (*šᵉmōneh 'eśrēh*; 18 petitions, referring particularly to the salvation of the individual and of the community) but also to private prayer, e.g. on the left arm and the forehead there were to be prayer straps, to which were attached small cylinders containing papyrus scrolls with Bible texts on them – an erroneously literal compliance with Exod. 13:9, 16; Deut. 6:8; 11:18; cf. Matt. 23:5; → Guard, art. *phylassō*, NT 4. The prayers handed down from individual rabbis prove to be remarkably uniform. The idea of achieving righteousness dominated the whole of their piety and left its imprint upon prayer.

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6. The major element in the daily rabbinic liturgy was the Shema which consisted of three OT passages (Deut. 6:4–9; 11:13–21; Num. 15:37–41). It was said both morning and evening with set benedictions (two preceding and one following in the morning; two preceding and two following in the evening; cf. Berakoth 1:4; text in R. A. Stewart, *Rabbinic Theology*, 1961, 178–83). In addition, the Tephillah

or Eighteen Benedictions was said thrice daily. Much of this material was incorporated in the Hebrew Prayer Book and is still used in the Synagogue (Hebrew texts in D. W. Staerk, *Altjüdische liturgische Gebete*, 1910; cf. S. Singer, ed., *Authorised Daily Prayer Book of the United Congregations of the British Empire*, 1935 and numerous editions).

The Eighteen Benedictions have been preserved in the form which the Pharisees gave them after the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 (cf. petition 14), but they are considerably older, and W. Förster holds that they give "a picture of the things that were precious to all Jews in Jesus' day" (*Palestinian Judaism in New Testament Times*, 1964, 156). The following translation is that given by R. A. Stewart, op. cit., 183–86, based on the text given by O. Holtzmann in G. Beer and O. Holtzmann, eds, *Die Mischna, Text, Übersetzung und Erklärung*, 1912, which he holds to be more accurate than that of Staerk.

O Lord, open thou my lips, and my mouth shall show forth thy praise (Ps. 51:17).

1. Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, the God of our fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, the great, mighty and revered God, the Most High God, owner of heaven and earth, our Shield and the Shield of our fathers, our confidence from generation to generation. Blessed art thou, O Lord, the Shield of Abraham.

2. Thou art mighty, bringing low the proud, strong, and the judge of the ruthless, living for evermore and raising the dead; making the wind to return and the dew to fall; nourishing the living and making alive the dead; bringing forth salvation for us in the blinking of an eyelid. Blessed art thou O Lord, who makest alive the dead.

3. Holy art thou, and revered is thy name. There is none other God beside thee. Blessed art thou, O Lord, the holy God.

4. Favour us, O our Father, with knowledge of thee, and with understanding and sagacity from thy Torah. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who favourest with knowledge.

5. Bring us back, O Lord, unto thee, and may we return. Renew our days as aforetime. Blessed art thou, who takest delight in repentance.

6. Pardon us, our Father, for we have sinned against thee. Wipe out and remove our transgressions from before thine eyes, for great are thy mercies. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who aboundest in forgiving.

7. Look on our afflictions and defend our cause, and redeem us for thy Name's sake. Blessed art thou, O Lord, the Redeemer of Israel.

8. Heal us, O Lord our God, from the affliction of our hearts and remove sorrow and sighing from us, and bring healing for our stripes. Blessed art thou, the healer of the sick of thy people Israel.

9. Bless this year to us for good, O Lord our God, in every kind of its increase, and bring speedily near the year of the fulfilment of our redemption. Grant the dew and the rain on the face of the earth, and make full the world from the storehouse of thy goodness. Grant blessing on the works of our hands. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who blessest the years.

10. Blow on a great trumpet for our liberty, and raise a standard for the gathering together of our exiles. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who gatherest together the banished ones of thy people Israel.

11. Restore our judges as at the first, and our counsellors as in the beginning, and mayest thou alone reign over us. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who lovest judgment.

12. For apostates let there be no hope, and the kingship of presumption mayest thou speedily destroy in our days. May Christians and heretics perish in a moment, may they be blotted out from the book of the living, and not be written down with the righteous. Blessed art thou, O Lord, that humblest the proud.

13. On righteous proselytes may thy compassions be moved, and grant us a good reward with them that do thy will. Blessed art thou, O Lord, a confidence for the righteous.

14. Have compassion, O Lord our God, in thine abounding compassion on Israel thy people, and on Jerusalem, and on Zion the tabernacle of thy glory, on thy Holy Place and on thy Temple, and on thy kingdom of the House of David. Blessed art thou, O Lord, the builder of Jerusalem. [Note: The wording offers clear presumption of a date prior to A.D. 70. The form used today is expressed a little differently.]

15. Hearken, O Lord our God, to the voice of our prayer, and have compassion on us, for thou art a gracious and compassionate God. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hearest prayer.

16. Be pleased, O Lord our God, to dwell in Zion, and thy servants will serve thee in Jerusalem. Blessed art thou, O Lord, whom we will serve in fear.

17. We give thee thanks. Thou art the Lord our God and the God of our fathers. For all good things, for grace and compassion which thou has dealt out unto us, and unto our fathers before us – and if we say, Our foot has slipped, the Lord will sustain us – blessed be thou, O Lord, to thee be the praise.

18. Give thy peace to Israel thy people, and unto thy city and thy possession. Bless us, each and every one. Blessed be thou, O Lord, who makest peace.

The first three petitions give praise to Israel's God. The reference to the → resurrection in the second petition indicates Pharisaic influence. The prayers indicate a strong desire to know God and to do his will. There is repeated petition for redemption which, however, is conceived in terms of an alteration of the present world-situation in restoring the fortunes of Israel and the restoration of Jerusalem

(14th, 16th, 18th). But there is no mention of a new covenant, a new heart, a new heaven and earth or the last judgment. This suggests that the ideas which had been developed in Judaism through the Hasidic movement are lacking (cf. W. Förster, op. cit., 157). There is no prayer for the repentance of the apostates or mention of the Gentiles turning to the God of Israel. The twelfth petition which appears to have been inserted after A.D. 70 shows the deep-rooted hostility to Christians (or Nazarenes, as the text calls them). However, this reference was subsequently removed. Förster notes a similar tendency in the Psalms of Solomon, a Pharisaic work consisting of eighteen psalms dated in the post Maccabean period *c.* 70–40 B.C. (ibid.). Here the pious and the ungodly have both sinned. But the former has done so without intent; he cleaves to God, accepts his discipline and remains righteous; whereas the latter does not (see especially Pss.Sol. 9:6 f.; 12:6; 16:5–13; 17:21–42; cf. ibid., 157–61; H. Braun, "Vom Erbarmen Gottes über den Gerechten. Zur Theologie der Psalmen Salomos", *ZNW* 43, 1950–51, 1–50). The Eighteen Benedictions clearly regard God as the sole redeemer. He alone pardons and removes transgression in his mercy (6th petition, cf. 8th, 15th), but alongside of this there is the same emphasis on the righteous that appears in Pss.Sol. (12th, 13th) and the implication that the righteous who do God's will deserve to be rewarded (13th). On rabbinic instructions regarding the use of the Shema and the Eighteen Benedictions see the Mishnah and Talmud Tractates Berakoth.

C. Brown

NT In the NT *proseuchomai* occurs 85 times and *proseuchē* 37 times, both being particularly frequent in Acts but entirely absent from the Gospel of Jn. and the Johannine Epistles. The simple vb. *euchomai* is found only 6 times in the NT (Acts 26:29; 27:29; Rom. 9:3; 2 Cor. 13:7, 9; Jas. 5:16; 3 Jn. 2), *euchē* only 3 times (Acts 18:18; 21:23; Jas. 5:15).

1. *The nature and scope of prayer.* (a) In the NT prayer is in all respects as it had developed in the OT. It is modelled, however, upon the praying of Jesus, to which there are repeated references (cf. 2 below), and which in its turn draws upon OT prayers and ideas. NT prayer is addressed to God or to Jesus, now called → Lord (*Kyrios*), those passages containing the vb. → *proskyneō*, to worship, being particularly significant in this connection. But *proseuchesthai* can also relate to Jesus (e.g. Rev. 5:8; Acts 9:34 f.; similarly in Acts 9:11, where attention is being drawn to the entirely new factor in Paul's situation). In this way the early church bears witness to the fact that it regards Jesus Christ as its Lord and its living head, who, having conquered death, is alive for evermore (→ Resurrection). Consequently one can enter into living, personal contact with him, talking with him just as one did when he was on earth (cf. Acts 9:10–16; 2 Cor. 12:8 f.). It follows that genuine prayer is not monologue but dialogue, in which the person praying is often silent in order to listen to Jesus' word and command. As in the OT, therefore, prayer is something very personal and specific, a genuine conversation with God or Jesus Christ. And since the NT believer knows God as his Father, with even greater clarity than anything his OT counterpart could have enjoyed, his praying proceeds from a childlike trust, as expressed in the typical NT form of address "Father", which Jesus taught his disciples to use (Matt. 6:6–9; Lk. 11:2; Eph. 3:14 f.; also *'abbā'*, the Aramaic word for Father, Rom. 8:15; Gal. 4:6). It is precisely at this

point that NT prayer contrasts most sharply with that of Rabbinic Judaism. (On the significance of these passages and the contrast with Judaism → Father, arts. *abba* and *patēr*.)

(b) The suppliant's assurance that his prayers are heard (→ *aiteō*) is even stronger in the NT than in the OT, being grounded in an experience of God's fatherly love in Jesus Christ. Jesus explicitly strengthens this assurance, which comes from faith, by promising that the prayer will be heard (e.g. Mk. 11:24: "Believe that you have already received it"). Experiences to the contrary, i.e. that God appears not to answer prayers, must not tempt us to doubt his fatherly love or the power of prayer (cf. Jesus in Gethsemane, Matt. 26:36–46 par. Mk. 14:32–42, Lk. 22:40–46, where Jesus' passion is the Father's will).

(c) True prayer has great power. It expresses that → faith whereby the sinner is justified (Lk. 18:10, 14). It is answered with the gift of the Holy Spirit (Lk. 11:13). It clarifies the way ahead (Mk. 1:35–39). It enables the suppliant to receive and put on the whole armour of God (cf. Eph. 6:18). Paul encouraged the believer to desire spiritual → gifts (1 Cor. 14:1). It is necessary to surround all activities with prayer, especially for the perseverance of the saints and for bold and faithful witness (Eph. 6:17–20). True prayer overcomes anxieties (Phil. 4:6). But at the same time it is a fight with the powers of evil and of darkness (Rom. 15:30; Col. 4:12; cf. Matt. 6:13).

On the other hand, the NT, like the OT, warns of hindrances which can make prayer ineffectual: licentiousness and lovelessness (1 Pet. 3:7; Jas. 4:3); unbelief and doubt (Jas. 1:5–7); and an unforgiving spirit (Matt. 5:23 f.; Mk. 11:25).

(d) NT prayer can be about anything, from the smallest matter to the greatest, from the affairs of today to those of eternity. The best example of this is the Lord's Prayer (Matt. 6:9 ff. and Lk. 11:2 ff.). Here the prayer for daily bread (→ Bread, art. *epiousios*), which includes all our other daily needs, is flanked on the one side by prayer for the coming of God's → kingdom and for his will to be done on earth, and on the other by prayer for the forgiveness of sin, for preservation in → temptation and for deliverance from all → evil (also from the evil one; → *ponēros*, NT 2 (b)). It is, however, not without significance that the prayers which refer to God, his will, his kingdom and his → name stand first (→ Holy, art. *hagios*). In Matt. 6 as in Lk. 11 the Lord's Prayer is embedded in longer discourses concerning true prayer (Matt. 6:5–15; Lk. 11:1–13); it must be marked by simplicity, concentration, discipline, patient confidence – and obedience. (On the Lord's Prayer see especially J. Jeremias, *The Prayers of Jesus*, *SBT* Second Series 6, 1967; J. Lowe, *The Lord's Prayer*, 1962; and E. Lohmeyer, *The Lord's Prayer*, 1965.)

(e) In addition to supplication, there are, as in the OT, the following types of prayer: intercession, the efficacy of which is emphasized especially by Paul and James (Rom. 15:30; 1 Thess. 5:25; 2 Thess. 3:1; Jas. 5:14–18) and which ought to embrace all men, even enemies (Matt. 5:44); the prayer of praise and thanksgiving (→ Thank, arts. *aineō* and *eucharisteō*) and adoration, which is addressed exclusively to God himself, quite apart from his gifts whether earthly or spiritual (cf. especially Rev. 4:8–11; 5:8–14; 7:9–17; 11:15–18; 15:2 ff.; 16:5 ff.; 19:1–8; 22:3, 9). The NT frequently insists that prayer should be constant (e.g. its use of *ektenōs*, eagerly, fervently, constantly Acts 12:5; 1 Pet. 1:22; → Patience, art. *kartereō*). This amounts to saying that the Christian ought always to live in the

presence of his Lord and in converse with him, and constantly to be looking to him (Col. 4:2 and passim).

The posture in prayer was either kneeling (Acts 21:5; Eph. 3:14), in which case the forehead might touch the ground (Matt. 26:39), or standing (Mk. 11:15; Lk. 18:11, 13), sometimes with uplifted hands (1 Tim. 2:8).

Communal prayer seems to have been customary in the early church, both in public worship (1 Cor. 11:4 f.; 14:13–16:26) and in smaller gatherings (Matt. 18:19, where Jesus attaches a special promise to communal prayer; Acts 2:46 f.; 12:12), though private prayer is the fountain-head of prayer in general (Matt. 6:6; Jesus frequently prayed alone: Matt. 14:23; Mk. 1:35; Lk. 5:16; 6:12; 9:18).

H. Schönweiss

2. *The form of the Lord's Prayer.* Set prayers certainly existed, but even here there was no rigidity, as can be seen from the fact that the Lord's Prayer is handed down in two variant forms (Matt. 6:9–13; Lk. 11:2 ff.; on this see J. Jeremias, op. cit., 87–94).

The RSV text reads:

Matt. 6:9–13	*Lk. 11:2 ff.*
Our Father who art in heaven,	Father,
Hallowed be thy name.	hallowed be thy name.
Thy kingdom come,	Thy kingdom come.
Thy will be done,	
On earth as it is in heaven.	
Give us this day our daily bread;	Give us each day our daily bread;
And forgive us our debts,	and forgive us our sins, for we
As we also have forgiven our debtors;	ourselves forgive everyone who is indebted to us;
And lead us not into temptation,	and lead us not into temptation.
But deliver us from evil.	

Certain manuscripts add to the text of Matt. various additions such as: "For thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory, forever. Amen" (RSV mg.). But these are all relatively late and not original. They do not appear in the early and important representatives of the Alexandrian, Western and pre-Caesarean types of text or the early commentaries on the Lord's Prayer by Tertullian, Origen and Cyprian. The ascription in its threefold form was probably composed to adapt the prayer for liturgical use in the early church (perhaps on the model of 1 Chr. 29:11 ff.) (cf. Metzger, 16 f.) The differences of punctuation in the above texts and the use of capitals reflect, of course, the translators' understanding, and not the original manuscripts. But certain differences are at once apparent. Lk. gives "Father" reflecting the Gk. *pater* and the Aram. *'abbā'* which may be construed as "Dear Father", whereas Matt. gives the pious and reverent form of Palestinian invocation. Whereas Matt. and Lk. agree in giving the first two "thou-petitions", Matt. gives a third. In Matt. the third of the "we-petitions" has an antithesis ("But deliver us from evil").

Jeremias points out that the shorter form of Lk. is completely contained in the

longer form of Matt. He, therefore, regards it as probable that the Matthaean form is an expanded one in view of the general tendency of liturgical texts to grow by expansion (op. cit., 89 f.). Moreover, no one would have dared to shorten a sacred text like the Lord's Prayer and leave out two petitions if they had formed part of the original tradition. Jeremias also points out that "in Matthew the stylistic structure is more consistently carried through" (op. cit., 90). This is reflected in the way the RSV sets out the text of Matt. in verses, whereas it gives the text of Lk. in continuous prose. In Matt. there is a parallelism in which three "thou-petitions" are followed by three "we-petitions". But in Matt. and Lk. there is the same basic order which puts God first and man second. This, in fact, reflects the order of the two great commandments and the Shema (cf. Matt. 22:34–40; Mk. 12:28–34; Lk. 10:25–28). A further point which Jeremias regards as favouring the originality of Lk.'s version is its reflection of the word *abba*, Father, which was characteristic of Jesus.

Jeremias concludes that Lk.'s form represents that of the Gentile church and Matt.'s that of the Jewish-Christian church, and that "The Gentile-Christian church has handed down the Lord's Prayer without change, whereas the Jewish-Christian church, which lived in a world of rich liturgical tradition and used a variety of prayer forms, has enriched the Lord's Prayer liturgically" (op. cit., 91). A similar form to Matt.'s with insignificant variations is given in the Didache 8:2. At the same time Jeremias observes that, "when one attempts to put back the Lord's Prayer into Aramaic, Jesus' mother tongue, the conclusion begins to emerge that, like the Psalter, it is couched in liturgical language" (op. cit., 93; cf. C. C. Torrey, "The Translations made from the Original Aramaic Gospels", in *Studies in the History of Religions presented to Crawford Howell Toy*, 1912, 309–17; and *The Four Gospels*, 1933, 292; E. Littmann, "Torreys Buch über die vier Evangelien", *ZNW* 34, 1935, 20–34; C. F. Burney, *The Poetry of our Lord*, 1925, 112 f.; G. Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, I, 1930², 283–365, appendix on "Das Vaterunser" which is not in ET; K. G. Kuhn, *Achtzehngebet und Vaterunser und der Reim*, *WUNT* 1, 1950, 32 f.). "We should note three features especially: parallelism, the two-beat rhythm, and the rhyme in lines two and four, which is scarcely accidental" (ibid.). This suggests, however, that it is not only Matt.'s version which had an original liturgical form, but that Lk.'s had one as well.

A position diametrically opposed to that of Jeremias is argued by M. D. Goulder in *Midrash and Lection in Matthew*, 1974, 296–301, which modifies his earlier article "The Composition of the Lord's Prayer", *JTS* New Series 14, 1963, 32–45. He instances cases of liturgical shortening from church history and claims that Lk. often shortens the Marcan teaching that he takes over and is regularly shorter than Matt. in Q-passages. Goulder claims that "what we have in Matthew is a prayer composed by the evangelist from the traditions of prayers of Jesus in Mark and the teaching on prayer in Mark, amplified from the Exodus context of the Sermon, and couched in Matthaean language. What we have in Luke is a version pruned of the rounded Matthaean periods and slightly obvious antitheses, and couched in Lucan language" (op. cit., 298).

Clearly Goulder is right in seeing parallels with Mk. There is an obvious reiteration of the petition for forgiveness. The only teaching on prayer in Mk. follows the saying about the mountain being cast into the sea: "Therefore I tell you,

whatever you ask in prayer, believe that you receive it, and you will. And whenever you stand praying, forgive, if you have anything against anyone; so that your Father also who is in heaven may forgive you your trespasses" (Mk. 11:25 f.). The saying about the mountain occurs in Matt. 21:21 in connection, as it is in Mk., with the withering of the fig tree (→ Fruit, art. *sykē*). In both cases it illustrates what God can do in response to → faith, and is occasioned by what happened to the fig tree. But the saying about forgiveness is omitted by Matt., evidently because it was already contained in the Lord's Prayer.

Goulder suggests parallels with Jesus' prayer in Gethsemane inferring that Mk.'s account supplied the source materials for the address of God as *abba*, Father (Mk. 14:36; cf. Matt. 26:39; Lk. 22:42), a term which had passed into the Pauline churches and was used ecstatically in prayer (Gal. 4:6; Rom. 8:15). Matt. renders this as *pater mou*, my Father, and Lk. simply as *pater*, Father, which is the way that he normally records Jesus' address to God (cf. Lk. 15:12; 18:21; 23:34, 46). This, Goulder suggests, explains why God is addressed simply as "Father" in Lk.'s version of the Lord's Prayer (op. cit., 299). A further parallel with the Lord's Prayer is the Gethsemane prayer: "yet not what I will, but what thou wilt" (Mk. 14:36; cf. Matt. 26:39; Lk. 22:42). Moreover, Jesus not only prayed for himself, but he also told the disciples to pray that they enter not into → temptation (Mk. 14:38; cf. Matt. 26:41; Lk. 22:46).

In Matt.'s version the Lord's Prayer consists of two halves each consisting of three petitions: three for the honour of God and three for our needs. It is widely held that Matt. sees the prayer in the context of a new Sinai, since he records it in the Sermon on the Mount with Jesus as the new lawgiver. Each half of the Lord's Prayer opens with a petition recalling Exod. The first petition is a Christian restatement of the Third Commandment (Matt. 6:9 par. Lk. 11:2; cf. Exod. 20:7; Deut. 5:11). It states positively what the Third Commandment states negatively. But in so doing it not only precludes taking the name of God in vain; it also secures what is implied in the First and Second Commandments concerning other gods and graven images (Exod. 20:3–6; Deut. 5:7–10). The fourth petition also recalls the coming to Sinai in God's provision of the manna (Matt. 6:11; Lk. 11:3; cf. Exod. 16:15; Num. 11:4–9; Deut. 8:3; Ps. 78:24 f.). On the significance of "daily" → Bread, art. *epiousios*. It may well imply provision for one's immediate needs, as in the exodus wanderings, and also provision in the coming kingdom symbolized by the messianic banquet. But apart from the first and fourth petitions, it may well be that the remaining petitions are a restatement of the Ten Commandments and the exodus wilderness themes. The petitions for the coming of God's kingdom and for the doing of God's will extend and supersede what the Fourth Commandment says about the → sabbath (Exod. 20:8–11; Deut. 5:12–15) – which, in a sense, anticipates the kingdom as the reign of God – and the remaining Commandments specifically directed at personal relationships (honouring one's parents, killing, adultery, stealing, bearing false witness and coveting, Exod. 20:12–17; Deut. 5:16–21). Similarly the fifth and sixth petitions for forgiveness and avoidance of temptation have retrospective and prospective bearing on the whole range of the Ten Commandments. These are themes which are interwoven with the history of Israel in general and the wilderness wanderings in particular. Thus Deut. 8:2 f. declares: "And you shall remember all the way which the LORD your God has led

you these forty years in the wilderness, that he might humble you, testing you to know what was in your heart, whether you would keep his commandments or not. And he humbled you and let you hunger and fed you with manna, which you did not know, nor did your fathers know; that he might make you know that man does not live by bread alone, but that man lives by everything that proceeds out of the mouth of the LORD" (cf. Matt. 4:4; Lk. 4:4). What the Lord's Prayer does is to apply the themes by which ancient Israel lived to the life of the new Israel. It is thus a fulfilment of the Ten Commandments and the exodus themes (cf. Matt. 5:17 f.). At the same time it transforms the themes from external commandments into petitions with which the one who prays personally identifies himself. And thus the law may be said to be written in his heart (cf. Jer. 31:33) as in the new covenant.

Goulder's thesis is that "Matthew has thus composed a prayer that may properly be called the Lord's Prayer, since the greater part of it is his own prayers, and teaching on prayer" (op. cit., 300). But if Matt. composed it, how did substantially the same prayer find its way into Lk.? Few scholars would subscribe to the view that Lk. was dependent on Matt., and in any case Goulder seems to invoke the Q-hypothesis of a source common to Matt. and Lk. at certain points. If the Lord's Prayer was in Q (and thus presumably ascribed to Jesus by a historically earlier source), it could not have been the free composition of Matt. (although this would not in itself preclude the possibility of its being the earlier composition of someone else). Clearly Goulder has shown that the argument about the length of the respective versions is in itself inconclusive. Jeremias admits that "we must be cautious with our conclusions. The possibility remains that Jesus himself spoke the 'Our Father' on different occasions in a slightly differing form, a shorter one and a longer one" (op. cit., 91). This point is, of course, supported by the fact that Matt. and Lk. present the prayer in quite different contexts (Matt. in the Sermon on the Mount; and Lk. as Jesus' response to the disciples' request to be taught to pray after they had seen him praying).

The most positive aspect of Goulder's treatment is the way in which he draws attention to the way in which phrases and similar thoughts in the Lord's Prayer are to be found elsewhere and to the way in which the Lord's Prayer takes up themes associated with Sinai and the wilderness wanderings. In the above discussion we have gone further than Goulder in suggesting that it is not only the first and fourth petitions which recall this, but that the entire prayer is a restatement of the Ten Commandments in the form of a prayer and that the affinities with the wilderness wanderings are by no means confined to the petition for daily bread. Goulder allows that the various elements of the prayer are to be found elsewhere in the words of Jesus. What this suggests is not that the prayer was the work of the creative imagination of Matt. (which entails the difficulties already noted), but that the Lord's Prayer is not to be thought of in isolation from the practice and teachings that Jesus lived and died by. Not only is it possible to conceive (as Jeremias allows) of two forms of the prayer given by Jesus on separate occasions. It is also possible to conceive of how different themes found in the prayer recur in different situations. Thus the petition regarding temptation was not only relevant to the disciples in Gethsemane; it was also the guiding principle in Jesus' own wilderness temptation where it coincides with the thought of the provision of bread, as in the wilderness wanderings. In the way in which the Lord's Prayer takes up the

Ten Commandments and the life of the pilgrim people of God which Jesus also took up and taught, the prayer is integral to the life and teaching of Jesus.

C. Brown

3. *Prayer in individual NT writers.* (a) The frequent use of *proseuchomai* in the Lucan writings is striking. For Luke prayer is a basic expression of Christian faith and life, and Jesus is the very model of how to pray aright (Lk. 11:1). All the important points in the lives of Jesus, his apostles and the members of his church are marked by prayer to God; all important decisions are made with prayer (Lk. 3:21 f.; 6:12 f.; 9:18, 28 ff.; 22:44; 23:34; Acts 1:14, 24 f.; 6:6; 9:11; 10:9; 13:3). That prayer was experienced as genuine conversation with God is clear from the fact that those concerned often receive quite definite instructions from God (e.g. Acts 10:9 ff., 30 ff.; 13:2).

(b) In Jn. the *euchomai* word-group is entirely absent. In referring to Christ's prayers, Jn. uses the ordinary words for speaking and talking, qualifying them only with the statement that Jesus lifted up his eyes to heaven (Jn. 11:14; 17:1). Moreover, it is noticeable that Jesus almost always speaks to his heavenly Father in the immediate situation, i.e. in full view of others and without retiring expressly for prayer (this is especially clear in Jn. 12:27 f.). In this way Jn. indicates Jesus' continual fellowship with God; in his case praying did not require a special act, since his whole life was one of prayer. His unique relationship to God is emphasized by the fact that he never prays in company with his disciples.

(c) Paul attaches special importance to the fact that true prayer is wrought by the → Spirit (Rom. 8:15, 26; Gal. 4:6). In both passages apart from Rom. 8:26 where the vb. is *proseuchomai*, Paul uses *krazō*, to → cry, in order to express that freedom, joy and confidence in prayer which spring from our awareness of being God's sons. In other words, such prayer does not originate in any power possessed by man and can never be considered as a meritorious work. Like faith itself, from which it stems and with which in fact it is practically identical, it is a gift from above (cf. Eph. 6:18, praying in the Spirit). To Paul, prayer is ultimately the indwelling, energizing → Spirit speaking with God himself, who "is the Spirit" (2 Cor. 3:17; cf. Jn. 4:23 f.; Rom. 8:14). Thus prayer is not dependent for its efficacy on human eloquence or on any particular frame of mind. The apostle emphasizes rather that assurance of salvation is both evidenced and increased by Spirit-wrought prayer (Rom. 8:15, 16). A similar idea is expressed elsewhere, when he speaks of his thanksgiving being offered "through Christ" (Rom. 1:8; 7:25).

Paul also refers to a kind of Spirit-filled prayer which transcends the limitations of human speech and understanding: the so-called speaking in tongues or praying in the Spirit (1 Cor. 14:14–16). But he very definitely considers prayer which is intelligible to the hearers to have greater value than prayer offered in tongues (1 Cor. 14:19), because only when others can give assent is the → church edified as a body (→ House, art. → *oikos*). The fact that Jn. too regards Spirit-wrought prayer as the new departure in Christian praying, is shown by Jn. 4:23 f. (to worship "in spirit and in truth"; → *proskyneō* NT 4).

A detailed study of Paul's prayers has been made by G. P. Wiles in *Paul's Intercessory Prayers: The Significance of the Intercessory Prayer Passages in the Letters of St Paul, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series* 24, 1974.

Wiles notes the following prayer passages in the Pauline epistle: (i) Doxology (using *doxazō*, glorify) Rom. 1:21, 23; 4:20; 11:36; 15:6, 9; 16:25 ff.; 1 Cor. 6:20; 10:31; 2 Cor. 1:20; 4:15; 9:13; Gal. 1:5, 24; Eph. 3:20 f.; Phil. 1:11; 2:11; 4:20; (ii) Praise (using *exomologeomai*, confess; *epainos*, praise) Rom. 14:11; 15:9 ff.; Eph. 1:6, 12, 14; Phil. 1:11; 2:11); (iii) Blessing (*eulogeomai*, bless) Rom. 1:25; 9:5; 1 Cor. 14:16; 2 Cor. 1:3 ff.; 11:31; Eph. 1:3); (iv) Worship (*proskyneō*, worship) 1 Cor. 14:25; (v) Hymns, community singing, psalms, etc. (*psalmos*, hymn, psalm; *psallō*, sing; *hymnos*, hymn, song; *ōdē*, song) 1 Cor. 15, 26; Eph. 5:19; Col. 3:16; (vi) Thanksgiving (*eucharistia*, thankfulness, gratitude; *eucharistos*, thankful; *eucharisteō*, give thanks) Rom. 1:8 ff., 21; 6:17 f.; 7:25; 14:6; 1 Cor. 1:4 ff., 14; 10:30; 11:24; 14:6 f., 18; 15:57; 2 Cor. 2:14; 4:15; 8:16 f.; 9:11 f.; Eph. 1:15 ff.; 5:4, 20; Phil. 1:3 ff.; 4:6; Col. 1:3 ff.; 2:5, 7; 3:15 ff.; 4:2; 1 Thess. 1:2 ff.; 2:13 ff.; 3:9; 5:18; 2 Thess. 1:3 ff.; 2:13; Phlm. 4 ff.; (vii) Boasting in Christ or before God (*kauchaomai*, boast, and cognates) Rom. 5:2 f., 11; 15:17 ff.; 1 Cor. 1:29 ff.; 2 Cor. 1:12 ff.; 7:4; and frequently in chs. 10–12; Phil. 1:26; 2:16; 3:3; 1 Thess. 2:19; (viii) Petition for self (*deomai*, ask, request, beg; *proseuchomai*, pray) Rom. 1:10; 7:24; 9:3; 1 Cor. 14:13; 2 Cor. 12:8; 1 Thess. 3:10, though apart from 2 Cor. 12:8, these passages are problematical; (ix) Intercessory prayer for others, including blessings and curses (*hyperentynchanō*, intercede, Rom. 8:26) Rom. 1:7b; 9 f.; 8:15 f., 23, 26 f., 34; 9:1–3; 10:1; 11:2–5, 12:12c, 14; 15:5 f.; 13:30–33; 16:20a, 20b; 1 Cor. 1:3, 8; 2:9–16; 5:3 ff.; 11:10; 15:29; 16:22a, 23; 2 Cor. 1:2, 7, 11, 14; 13:7, 9b, 11b, 14; Gal. 1:3, 8 f.; 4:6; 6:16, 18; Eph. 1:2, 16–23; 3:14–19; 6:18 ff., 23 f.; Phil. 1:2, 4, 9 ff., 19 f.; 4:6 f., 9b, 23; Col. 1:2b, 3b, 9–14, 29; 2:1–3, 5; 4:2 ff., 12, 18b, 18c; 1 Thess. 1:1b, 2 f.; 3:10–13; 5:17 f., 23, 24b, 25, 28; 2 Thess. 1:2, 11 f.; 2:16 f.; 3:1–3, 5, 16, 18; Phlm. 3, 4, 6; (x) General prayer – type not specified (*proseuchomai*, pray; *laleō tō theō*, speak to God) 1 Cor. 11:4 f., 13; 14:14 f., 28; (*epikaleō*, call upon) Rom. 10:12 ff.; 1 Cor. 1:2; 2 Cor. 1:23.

Intercessory prayer is referred to in the following passages: Rom. 1:7b, 9 f.; 8:15 f., 23, 26 f., 34; 9:3; 10:1; 11:2–5; 12:12c, 14; 15:5 f., 13, 30 ff., 33; 16:20; 1 Cor. 1:3, 8 f.; 2:9–16; 5:3 ff.; 11:10; 15:29; 16:22 f.; 2 Cor. 1:2, 7, 11; 9:14; 13:7, 9, 11, 14; Gal. 1:3, 8 f.; 4:6; 6:16, 18; Phil. 1:2, 4, 9 ff., 19 f.; 4:6 f., 9, 19; 1 Thess. 1:1 ff.; 3:10–13; 5:17 f., 23; 5:24 f., 28; Phlm. 3, 4, 6, 22, 25; Eph. 1:2, 16–23; 3:14–19; 6:18 ff.; 6:23 f.; Col. 1:2 f., 9–14; 1:29–2:3; 2:5; 4:2 ff., 12, 18; 2 Thess. 1:2, 11 f.; 2:16 f.; 3:1–3, 5, 16, 18. In addition to this, Wiles draws attention to the liturgically oriented patterns of the endings of the Pauline epistles. (For full classified tables of the various kinds of prayer, see op. cit., 297–302.)

Whilst recognizing that no hard and fast line can be drawn between thanksgivings, intercessions and representative corporate supplications, Wiles nevertheless insists that intercessory prayer forms a significant feature of Paul's writings in which the one who prays "is concerned as mediator and intercessor before God, principally for the needs of others" (op. cit., 293). An important feature here is the wish-prayer which may be described as "the expression of a desire that God take action regarding the person(s) mentioned in the wish" (op. cit., 22). Thus in Rom. 15:13 Paul writes: "May the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing, so that by the power of the Holy Spirit you may abound in hope" (cf. also Rom. 15:5 f.; 1 Thess. 3:11 ff.; 5:23 f.; 2 Thess. 2:16 f.; 3:5, 16; 2 Tim. 16, 18; 2:25;

4:16; Heb. 13:20 f.; for a full list see op. cit., 299 f.; for discussion of their form, background and function, op. cit., 22–107). Also significant are the prayer reports, where at the beginning of most of his letters Paul assures his readers "not only of his continual thanksgivings for them, but also of his constant intercessions on their behalf, and he indicates briefly some of the contents of his prayers" (op. cit., 156). Thus in Phlm. 4 ff. he writes: "I thank my God always when I remember you in my prayers, . . . and I pray that the sharing of your faith may promote the knowledge of all the good that is ours in Christ" (cf. Rom. 1:9 f.; Phil. 1:4, 9 ff.; 1 Thess. 1:2 f.; 3:10; 2 Cor. 1:7; Eph. 1:16–23; Cor. 1:3, 9–14; 2 Thess. 1:1 ff.; for discussion, op. cit., 156–258). Such prayer reports may also occur in the body of letters (Rom. 9:3; 1 Cor. 5:3; 2 Cor. 9:14; 13:7, 9; Col. 1:29–2:3, 5; 4:12). As far as the wish-prayers and prayer reports are concerned each in its own way epitomizes "the dominant message of the letter", underlines its central concerns, and stands at a strategic location in the letter (op. cit., 293).

While immediate concerns shape the prayers, they are "grounded in and directed by the gospel of Christ" (op. cit., 294). At the same time they are infused by warm personal feeling and "unbounded expectation". Paul's eschatological perspectives add increased urgency. "In his prayers he was always conscious of living 'before God', already in the last days with parousia and judgment close ahead, dominated by the belief that his readers and he would stand shortly at the judgment seat of Christ" (ibid.). But the prayers also indicate Paul's concern for mutual intercession, reconciliation and unity throughout the church. "Prayer buttressed all his mission work – in advance of his visits, during them, and after he had departed. All his plans were conceived under the constant sense of the guidance and will of God" (op. cit., 296). Sometimes the prayers are characterized by a tension between confident thanksgiving and anxious supplication, but invariably they lead back to thanksgiving in view of mercies already given.

(d) Jas. 5:13 ff. merits special mention. On the one hand, it is laid down that a Christian's whole life, the good times as well as the bad, should be lived in an atmosphere of prayer, i.e. that the Christian should lay before God everything that happens to him, so that each new experience is suffused with prayer. On the other hand, in cases of sickness, prayer is to be accompanied by the laying on of hands, anointing and confession of sins. Here the laying on of → hands (implicit in the phrase "let them pray over him") and the → anointing with → oil, being outward actions, are considered to be tangible, readily intelligible expressions of prayer for the benefit of the sick individual, while confession of sins is made in order to remove any hindrances to prayer (→ Heal).

4. Lastly, in one passage only (Acts 16:13, 16) *proseuchē* means a place of prayer.

H. Schönweiss, C. Brown

προσκυνέω

προσκυνέω (*proskyneō*), worship, do obeisance to, prostrate oneself, do reverence to; προσκυνητής (*proskynētēs*), a worshipper.

CL The basic meaning of *proskyneō*, in the opinion of most scholars, is to kiss. The prefix indicates a connection with cultic practices going back beyond Gk.

history. On Egyptian reliefs worshippers are represented with outstretched hand throwing a kiss to (*pros-*) the deity. Among the Greeks the vb. is a technical term for the adoration of the gods, meaning to fall down, prostrate oneself, adore on one's knees. Probably it came to have this meaning because in order to kiss the earth (i.e. the earth deity) or the image of a god, one had to cast oneself on the ground. Later *proskyneō* was also used in connection with the deification of rulers and the Roman emperor cult. In addition to the external act of prostrating oneself in worship, *proskyneō* can denote the corresponding inward attitude of reverence and humility.

OT In the overwhelming majority of cases in the LXX *proskyneō* translates the Heb. *šāḥâh* in the hithpael, meaning to bow down, and is used both of bowing down before men and of worship: Gen. 18:2; 19:1; 22:5; 23:7, 12; 24:16, 48, 52; 27:29; 33:3, 6 f., 9 f.; 42:6; 43:28; 47:31; 48:12; 49:8; Exod. 4:31; 11:8; 12:27; 18:7; 20:5; 23:24; 24:1; 32:8; 33:10; 34:8, 14; Lev. 26:1; Num. 22:31; 25:2; Deut. 4:19; 5:9; 8:19; 11:16; 17:3; 26:10; 29:25(26); 30:17; Jos. 23:7, 16; Jdg. 2:12, 17, 19; 7:15; Ruth 2:10; 1 Sam. 1:3, 19; 2:36; 15:25, 30 f.; 20:41; 24:9; 25:23, 41; 28:14; 2 Sam. 1:2; 9:6, 8; 12:20; 14:4, 22, 33; 15:5, 32; 16:4; 18:21, 28; 24:20; 1 Ki. 1:16, 23, 31, 47, 53; 9:6, 9; 16:31; 22:54; 2 Ki. 2:15; 4:37; 5:18; 17:16, 35 f.; 18:22; 19:37; 21:3, 21; 1 Chr. 16:29; 21:21; 29:20; 2 Chr. 7:3, 19, 22; 20:18; 24:17; 25:14; 29:28 ff.; 32:12; 33:3; Ezr. 9:47; Neh. 8:6; 9:3, 6; Job 1:20; Pss. 5:7; 22(21):27, 29; 29(28):3; 45(44):12; 66(65):4; 72(71):11; 81(80):9; 86(85):9; 95(94):6; 96(95):9; 99(98):5, 9; 106(105):19; 132(131):7; 138(137):2; Mic. 5:13; Zeph. 1:5; 2:11; Zech. 14:16; Isa. 2:8, 20; 27:13; 37:38; 44:15, 17; 45:14; 46:6; 49:7, 23; 66:23; Jer. 1:16; 8:2; 13:10; 16:11; 22:9; 25:6; 26(33):2; Ezek. 8:16; 46:2 f., 9. In the Aram. portion of Dan. it translates *s^{e}gîḏ*, pay homage to (Dan. 2:46; 3:5 ff., 10 ff., 14, 18, 28[95]; cf. also Isa. 44:15, 17, 19). In Dan. 6:27(26) it translates *zûā'*, tremble. It is used for *kāra'*, kneel down, in Est. 3:2, 5 in conjunction with *šāḥâh*; for *nāšaq*, kiss, in 1 Ki. 19:18; and *'ābaḏ*, serve, in Ps. 97(96):7. It occurs without Heb. equivalent in the apocryphal books and occasionally in canonical writings: Deut. 6:13; 10:20; 32:43; Jdg. 2:2; 6:19; 1 Ki. 2:13; Tob. 5:13; Jud. 5:8; 6:18; 8:18; 10:8, 23; 13:17; 14:7; 16:18; Est. 4:17; 8:13; Ep.Jer. 5 f.; Dan. 6:28(27); Bel 3, 23; 1 Macc. 4:55; 4 Macc. 5:12. The noun *proskynēsis*, worship, which is absent from the NT occurs only in the apocrypha (Sir. 50:21; 3 Macc. 3:7).

In the LXX *proskyneō* translates *hištaḥ^{a}wâh* and (almost exclusively in Dan.) *s^{e}gîḏ*, both with the basic meaning to bend down, stoop, bow. Although in profane Gk. *proskyneō* is generally used trans., it hardly ever takes an acc. in the LXX, being followed instead by a prepositional phrase as a translation of *l^{e}*: *epi.* . . , to the earth (e.g. Gen. 18:2); *enantion.* . . , before the people (e.g. Gen. 23:12 and passim); *enōpion.* . . , before God (Ps. 22:27); *pros.* . . , towards thy holy temple (Ps. 5:7); alternatively there may be a dat. construction (e.g. Gen. 24:26). This Hebraism marks off the adoration of Yahweh from heathen worship, in which the worshipper has no sense of having to keep his distance from the deity. The God of Israel is worshipped without → images and therefore is not within the grasp of the worshipper. *proskyneō* retains its physical sense of bending, however, except that this is understood as bowing to the will of the exalted One (cf. Exod. 12:27 f.).

As folding or crossing the hands and arms denotes the suppliant's mental concentration, and as the lifting up of outstretched hands expresses the fact that he is making a request, in the same way the physical act of bending indicates his readiness to bow to the will of the One whom he approaches in this manner. When *proskyneō* refers to men, it always indicates reverence shown to a person superior in position or power (cf. 2 Sam. 18:21). However, the fact that certain limits were always observed in this matter is shown by Est. 3:2, 5, where a Jew, on peril of his life, refuses to prostrate himself before a heathen prince.

NT 1. In the NT the verb occurs 59 times, of which 24 are in Rev., 11 in the Gospels of Jn. and 9 in Matt. ("the Gospel of the King"), and takes either acc. or dat. without any difference of meaning. The OT sense is taken up and further developed, except that now it denotes exclusively worship addressed (or which should be addressed) to God or to Jesus Christ (even in Matt. 18:26 the king is a symbolic figure for God). In Acts 10:25 f.; Rev. 19:10; 22:8 f. it is expressly stated that worship is to be offered to God alone, not to an apostle (even such a prominent apostle as Peter!), or even to an angelic being. Hence, whenever obeisance is made before Jesus, the thought is either explicit or implicit that he is king (Matt. 2:2), Lord (Matt. 8:12), the Son of God (Matt. 14:33), One who can act with divine omnipotence (e.g. Matt. 14:33; Mk. 5:6; 15:19). For that reason obeisance is often linked with a request for help in sore need. On the one hand, it intensifies the request, while, on the other hand, it is a sign of faith in the divine helper and redeemer, a faith certain of being heard (e.g. Matt. 8:2; 9:18; 15:25). In Jn. 9:38 obeisance is nothing less than the outward reflex action of faith: to believe means to adore Jesus, to recognize him as Lord, to render him homage as king. Thus obeisance is especially appropriate before the risen and exalted Lord (Matt. 28:9, 17; Lk. 24:52).

When Satan, reversing the true order of things, requires obeisance from Jesus (Matt. 4:9; Lk. 4:7), he proves himself by this very act to be God's great adversary, who would usurp that which is due to God alone (Matt. 4:10; Lk. 4:8) and so overthrow all the good purposes and ordinances of God.

2. In this context obeisance is a sign of man's fundamentally religious nature: his worship shows who his god is, whether it be the true God, or idols, demons, even Satan himself (cf. Rev. 9:20; 13:4, 8, 12). For man's relation to God is expressed principally in worship, and above all in prayer. The call to conversion can therefore be put in the form: "Worship God!" i.e. recognize him in all his power and glory as creator and judge, acknowledge his exclusive sovereign rights and claim upon you (Rev. 14:7).

3. Where *proskyneō* is used absolutely it means to share in public worship, to offer prayers (e.g. Jn. 12:20; Acts 8:27; 24:11), whence, in Rev., *proskyneō* comes to denote a particular kind of prayer, namely adoration. Its characteristic features find expression in the various hymns of adoration found throughout Rev. (4:8–11; 5:8–10, 12–14; 7:10–12; 11:15–18; 12:10 f.; 15:3 f.; 16:5–7; 19:1–7): it is addressed to God himself (or to Jesus Christ), is concerned with his being (i.e. not with his gifts as in thanksgiving) and with his works in a world-wide context (creation, Rev. 4:8–11; rule, 15:3 f.; 16:5–7; redemption, 5:8–10; consummation, 11:15–18). The hymns make use of ever-varied language and ideas, constantly

finding new titles of dignity with which to praise God, and ascribing to him the most exalted merits and attributes (eternity, omnipotence, honour, wisdom, holiness, power etc.), in a faltering attempt to confess his name. Frequently this takes the form of royal acclamation: "Worthy art thou!" (Rev. 4:11; 5:9, 12), "Salvation!" (7:10), interspersed with ejaculatory prayers: ("Hallelujah!" "Amen!" 7:12; 19:1, 3, 4; → Amen). Through all these hymns there runs a gloriously universal strain, and in the face of adoration such as this, human petitions and thanksgivings merely fade away into silence (cf. Matt. 6:13b).

4. The noun *proskynētēs*, worshipper, occurs only in Jn. 4:23 in the context of Jesus' reply to the woman of Samaria: "You worship what you do not know; we worship what we know, for salvation is from the Jews. But the hour is coming and now is, when the true worshippers [*hoi alēthinoi proskynētai*] will worship the Father in spirit and truth [*proskynēsousin tō Patri en pneumati kai alētheia*], for such the Father seeks to worship him. God is spirit, and those who worship him must worship in spirit and truth [*pneuma ho theos, kai tous proskynountas en pneumati kai alētheia dei proskynein*"] (Jn. 4:22 ff.). Earlier the woman had declared that her ancestors had worshipped on "this mountain", i.e. Mt. Gerizim (v.20). The allusion is to the rôle Gerizim played in Samaritan worship. In the Samaritan Pentateuch Joshua is instructed to build a shrine there (Deut. 27:4). The → Samaritans made worship on Gerizim part of the Decalogue (cf. however 2 Chr. 6:6). (On Samaritan thought and practice see J. Macdonald, *The Theology of the Samaritans*, 1964.) Jesus had countered the woman's assertion of her Samaritan faith by declaring that "the hour is coming when neither on this mountain nor in Jerusalem will you worship the Father" (v. 21).

Jesus' words are widely taken to be a reference to man's spirit and the need to take up a right personal attitude in worship as the continuance of mere custom and ritual (cf. L. Morris, *The Gospel according to John*, *NLC*, 1971, 270 f.). Such a meaning might be supported by the Hellenistic spiritualizing of Philo (*Quod Det. Pot. Ins.* 21; *Vit.Mos.* 2, 108; *Spec.Leg.* 1, 271; *Plant.* 108). On the other hand, R. E. Brown urges that it is the → Spirit of God that is meant here, and that one can regard "spirit and truth" almost as a hendiadys equivalent to "Spirit of truth" (*The Gospel according to John*, *Anchor Bible*, I, 1966, 180). This would, moreover, fit better the train of thought. For in the context both "this mountain" and "Jerusalem" have come to stand for ways in which men have seen fit to worship God in ways which were not real worship acceptable to God. But in the coming age men will worship God in the true way which he himself has chosen and provided, i.e. in and through himself (cf. also the Johannine teaching on the Spirit, Jn. 1:32 f.; 3:5–8, 34; 6:63; 7:39; 11:33; 13:21; 14:17, 26; 15:26; 16:13; 20:22; and the paraclete, Jn. 14:16, 26; 15:26; 16:7; → Advocate, art. *paraklētos*). "In true worship there is an encounter with God for which God must make man capable by his grace" (R. Schnackenburg, *The Gospel according to St. John*, I, 1968, 437). Schnackenburg sees confirmation of this interpretation by similar usage at Qumran: "Then God will purify all the deeds of man by his truth and he will cleanse the frame of man. He will eradicate the perverse spirit from within his flesh, and cleanse him by holy spirit from all his wicked deeds. He will pour out on him the spirit of truth like purifying water . . ." (1QS 4:20 f.; cf. 3:6 ff.; 8:5 f.; 9:3–6; 1QH 7:6 f.; 12:11 f.; 13:18 f.; 14:25; 16:6 f., 11 f.; 17:26; cf. also R. Schnackenburg, "Die

Anbetung in Geist und Wahrheit (Joh 4, 23) im Lichte von Qumran-Texten", *BZ* 3, 1959, 88–94; B. Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series*, 1, 1965, 44 ff., 119 f.). *H. Schönweiss, C. Brown*

ἐρωτάω

ἐρωτάω (*erōtaō*), ask, ask a question, request; ἐπερωτάω (*eperōtaō*), ask; ἐπερώτημα (*eperōtēma*), question, request, appeal.

CL *erōtaō* is found in cl. Gk. from Homer onwards in the sense of ask, ask a question (in Homer and the best codices of Hdt. as *eirōtaō*). *eperōtaō* occurs in secular Gk. from Hdt., meaning to consult a person or to put a question. Later Gk. used it technically for putting a formal question at a meeting or in the process of making a contract. It may even mean to accept the terms of a treaty. In religious contexts both vbs. can mean to put a question to an oracle or to a god (Hdt., 1, 53, 1 and often; *Inscriptions of Magnesia on the Meander*, ed. O. Kern, 1900, 17, 12 f., 26, 36; *SIG* III³ 1160, 1163, 1165). The noun *eperōtēma* can mean a question put to another person, to someone in authority for a formal, binding answer (*SIG* 856, 6, 2nd cent. A.D.). In the papyri (2nd cent. A.D.) the noun and the vb. are used of an agreement pledged in a contract (Moulton-Milligan, 231 f.).

OT In the LXX *erōtaō* is commonly used for *šā'al*, ask (e.g. Gen. 24:47, 57; Exod. 3:13; Ps. 35[34]:11; Isa. 41:28). *eperōtaō* is likewise used for the same vb. (e.g. Gen. 24:23; 26:27; Isa. 19:3). It is most frequent in the historical books (e.g. Jdg. 1:1; 18:5; 1 Sam. 9:9). It can be used of inquiry of God (e.g. Isa. 65:1, where some versions have *zēteō*, seek). Both vbs. are used by Josephus in this sense (*Ant.* 6, 123, 328; 9, 34; 12, 99; *War* 1, 540). *eperōtēma* occurs only in Dan. 4:14 (Theodotion, for *šᵉ'ēlâh*) and Sir. 33(36):3 without equivalent.

NT 1. *erōtaō* occurs 62 times (especially in Jn., 27 times; cf. Matt., 4 times; Mk. 3 times; Lk. 15 times; Paul, 4 times; Acts, 7 times; 1 and 2 Jn., once each). It commonly means to ask, inquire. Jesus' asking and counter-questions were part of his teaching method, designed to expose the person concerned to the implications of his own questions or make him reflect on his attitudes (e.g. Matt. 16:13; 19:17; 21:24; Mk. 8:5; Lk. 20:3). But it is also used of the theological questions put by the disciples (Mk. 4:10; Lk. 9:45; Acts 1:6). Jn. 16:23 implies that in the future salvation there will be no need to ask Jesus further questions. Asking implies imperfect knowledge which will be overcome by perfect fellowship with Jesus (cf. Jn. 16:30; cf. vv. 5, 19). Conversely Jesus does not need to ask questions, for he knows already what is in man (Jn. 2:25). Apart from Jn. 9:2 and the final discourses, the disciples are never said to ask Jesus. In Jn. asking is characteristic of the doubting, contentious questions of the Jews (Jn. 1:19, 21, 25; 4:31, 40, 47; 5:12; 8:7; 9:15, 19, 21, 23; 18:19, 21; 19:31, 38). But it may be compared with the question of the → Greeks (12:21) and those of Jesus (14:16; 17:9, 15, 20; of the intercession of Jesus, where Jesus asks things for his disciples of the Father). The vb. is used of the efficacy of intercession in 1 Jn. 5:16: "If any one sees his brother committing what is not a mortal sin, he will ask, and he [i.e. God] will give him life for those whose sin is not mortal. There is a sin which is mortal; I do not say

that one is to pray for that" (RSV mg.). The use here of the vb. of the praying believer extends to him a sense of the vb. which in Jn. is only applied to Jesus. H. Greeven thinks that the use of *erōtaō* in the sense of to pray may be a Semitism (*TDNT* II 686 f.). In 2 Jn. 5 it describes the action of the author in begging his readers to follow love (cf. v. 6). In Acts 1:6 it means to ask (a question). Elsewhere it generally means to request: of the disciples to Jesus (Matt. 15:23; Lk. 4:38); of the Jews to Pilate (Jn. 19:31); and in the Lucan writings of invitations (Lk. 7:36; 11:37; Acts 10:48; 18:20). In Lk. 14:18 f. it has the polite, weakened sense of "I pray you".

2. *eperōtaō* is nearly as common (56 times), and is most frequent in the Gospels. However, it is most characteristic of Mk. and somewhat less so of Lk. (Mk., 25 times; Lk., 17 times; cf. Matt., 8 times; twice each in Jn., Acts and Paul). The basic sense is to ask, and here it is synonymous with *erōtaō*, as can be seen from synoptic parallels and MS variant readings. Instances of its use in the sense of ask are Matt. 16:1; Mk. 9:32; Lk. 2:46; 1 Cor. 14:35 (the latter in Paul's instructions about the rôle of → women in public worship, who are to remain silent and ask their husbands at home). However, particular nuances of meaning may be detected in certain passages.

(a) Seeking. The → Pharisees and → Sadducees, traditionally enemies, joined together as representatives of Judaism (D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew*, *New Century Bible*, 1972, 257) or of unbelief (J. C. Fenton, *Saint Matthew*, 1963, 260) in asking for a sign which might accredit Jesus with popular authority (Matt. 16:1). A similar sense is found at Rom. 10:20, where those who do not ask for God means those who did not seek him: "Then Isaiah is so bold as to say, 'I have been found by those who did not seek me; I have shown myself to those who did not ask for me.' " This adaptation of Isa. 65:1 stands in a catena of citations from the OT which also includes Deut. 32:21. It is followed by the ensuing verse in Isa.: "But of Israel he says, 'All day long I have held out my hands to a disobedient and contrary people' " (Rom. 10:21; cf. Isa. 65:2). In the first instance Isa. 65:1 applies to Yahweh's readiness to be found by disobedient Israel, even though Israel did not seek him. Paul adapts it to apply *a fortiori* to the Gentiles who in times past did not seek Yahweh but now have found him through faith in Christ, whereas Israel remains disobedient and estranged. To them Isa. 65:2 still applies.

(b) Probing. In debate the opponents of Jesus asked probing questions to which an answer had to be given, and Jesus put counter-questions (Matt. 22:46; Mk. 11:29; Lk. 6:9).

(c) Questioning an authority. Several passages imply that the questioner is approaching an authority higher than himself. On feast days and sabbaths the temple Sanhedrin informally received questions and stated their traditions (Sanhedrin 88b), and on such an occasion the youth Jesus put questions to the temple elders (Lk. 2:46). In a similar sense the disciples dared not question Jesus about a passion prediction (Mk. 9:32 par. Lk. 9:45), and the Corinthian wives were to put questions to their husbands at home, not in the assembly for worship (1 Cor. 14:35).

3. The noun *eperōtēma* is found in the NT only at 1 Pet. 3:21 in respect of → baptism: "Baptism, which corresponds to this [i.e. the saving of → Noah in the

ark 'through water', v. 20], now saves you, not as a removal of dirt from the body but as an appeal [*eperōtēma*] to God for a clear conscience" (RSV). E. Best, following E. G. Selwyn and others, translates this as "pledge", i.e. a statement of faith given by the baptizand in answer to a formal question, like the *stipulatio* or answer given in a formal contract (E. Best, *1 Peter*, *New Century Bible*, 1971, 148; G. C. Richards, "1 Peter iii 21", *JTS* 32, 1931, 77; E. G. Selwyn, *The First Epistle of St. Peter*, 1947², 205; Moulton-Milligan, 231 f.; cf. P. Cairo Preiss 1, 16, of the 2nd cent. A.D.). Best prefers to regard it as "a pledge made to God to maintain a clear conscience" (cf. W. J. Dalton, *Christ's Proclamation to the Spirits*, *Analecta Biblica* 23, 1965, 224–28), or "a pledge made to God proceeding from a clear conscience" (cf. v. 20). Selwyn also suggests that it could mean "an enquiry of a good conscience after God", i.e. the convert's seeking after God as contrasted with the pagan's address to his favourite oracle (op. cit., 206). But he does not think that this sense is specially applicable to baptism. H. Greeven suggests that, in view of the sense of the vb. meaning to request (cf. Matt. 16:1), the meaning here could be that baptism is a "prayer to God for a good conscience" (*TDNT* II 688). However, it might also mean the answer by God to a such a question (cf. *SIG* 856, 6), i.e. the granting of a clear → conscience towards God. For a similar idea, cf. Heb. 10:19–25. *G. T. D. Angel*

κρούω

κρούω (*krouō*), knock.

CL & OT *krouō* is used in secular Gk. from Sophocles onwards and in the LXX (e.g. Cant. 5:2) for striking something, especially knocking on a door.

NT This is the strict meaning in all 9 NT instances (Matt. 7:7 f. par. Lk. 11:9 f.; Lk. 12:36; 13:25; Acts 12:13, 16; Rev. 3:20). But apart from the passages in Acts, the context is in each case metaphorical. The saying "Knock and it shall be opened to you" (Matt. 7:7 par. Lk. 11:9) is probably a proverb since it is found in Judaism (Pesikta 176a with reference to studying the Mishnah, "If a man knocks, it will be opened to him"). But Jer. 29:13 (LXX 36:13) contains Yahweh's promise: "You will seek me and find me; when you seek me with your whole heart" (cf. the previous verses). According to D. Hill, the knocking does not mean seeking to enter the → kingdom (cf. 7:13 f.); the situation presupposed is that described in Lk. 11:5–8 of the friend at midnight (*The Gospel of Matthew*, 1972, 148). Here the lesson is drawn: "I tell you, though he will not get up and give him anything because he is his friend, yet because of his importunity he will rise and give him whatever he needs" (Lk. 11:8). Lk., however, refers this ultimately to the gift of the Holy → Spirit (Lk. 11:13). G. Bertram, however, relates it to salvation (*TDNT* III 955 f.). Knocking in Lk. 12:36 and Lk. 13:25 is a detail of the parables of the returning master and of the excluded postulants. It has a dramatic rather than a special theological meaning.

Rev. 3:20 pictures the Risen Lord standing at a door knocking, and inviting those inside to open and receive him. The Lord is addressing the spiritually lukewarm church at Laodicea (→ Cold, Hot, Lukewarm), and the anticipated offer of his return means victory and a place in the presence of his Father. This prediction

of his confrontation with idle churchmen is both a disturbing warning that apathy will not go unheeded and a gracious encouragement that the Lord will not allow his people to remain ineffective, but will rather appeal insistently to establish the believer in victorious living. Although the picture has been interpreted as an initial confrontation with the Risen Lord, there is no doubt that an existing Christian community is being addressed. The background to the image could be the Lord's Supper (cf. G. B. Caird, *The Revelation of St. John the Divine*, *BNTC*, 1966, 58). However, G. R. Beasley-Murray comments: "The similarity of thought and language to that which is used in connection with the Lord's Supper (cf. Jn. 6:35 ff., 53 ff.) is due less to direct reminiscence of the Supper than to the event to which the Supper itself looks forward (Mk. 14:25; Lk. 22:28 ff.)" (*The Book of Revelation*, *New Century Bible*, 1974, 107). *G. T. D. Angel*

ἐντυγχάνω

ἐντυγχάνω (*entynchanō*), meet, turn to, approach, petition, pray, intercede; ὑπερεντυγχάνω (*hyperentynchanō*), plead, intercede.

CL & OT *entynchanō* occurs in cl. Gk. from Soph. and Hdt. onwards and is found in inscriptions, the papyri, the LXX, Philo and Josephus. It means to approach or appeal to someone (e.g. Polyb., 4, 30, 1; Dan. 6:13[12] LXX; Josephus, *Ant.* 16, 170; 12, 18). It is found in the papyri in the sense of appealing to someone against a third person (cf. Arndt, 269). In view of the fact that petitions may be addressed to God, it has also the sense of to pray (e.g. *BGU* 246, 12; Wis. 8:21; 16:28; Eth.Enoch 9:3). *hyperentynchanō* is first found in the NT. Apart from the reading in Dan., neither vb. occurs in the canonical books of the OT.

NT *entynchanō* is used of Paul's appeal to the emperor in Acts 25:24. In Rom. 11:2 it denotes → Elijah's pleading with God against Israel (cf. 1 Ki. 19:10). It is twice used of Christ's continuing intercession: "Who is to condemn? Is it Christ Jesus, who died, yes, who was raised from the dead, who is at the right hand of God, who indeed intercedes for us [*hos kai entynchanei hyper hēmōn*]?" (Rom. 8:33); "he is able for all time to save those who draw near to God through him, since he always lives to make intercession for them [*pantote zōn eis to entynchanein hyper autōn*]" (Heb. 7:25). In both cases the intercession is grounded in the death and resurrection of Christ. However, the two vbs. are also used of the Spirit's intercession: "Likewise the Spirit helps us in our weakness; for we do not know how to pray [lit. "what"; Gk. *ti proseuxōmetha*] as we ought, but the Spirit himself intercedes for us with sighs too deep for words [*hyperentynchanei stenagmois alalētois*]. And he who searches the hearts of men knows what is the mind of the Spirit, because [or "that" RSV mg.; Gk. *hoti*] the Spirit intercedes for the saints according to the will of God [*kata theon entynchanei hyper hagiōn*] (Rom. 8:26 f.)."

This verse is commonly taken to refer to Christian prayer generally. "We take Paul's meaning to be that all praying of Christian men, in so far as it is *their* praying, remains under the sign of this not-knowing, of real ignorance, weakness and poverty and that even in their prayers they live only by God's justification of sinners . . . The Spirit Himself helps our weakness by interceding for us" (C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Epistle to the Romans*, I, *ICC*, 1975, 422 f.). He dismisses the idea that the *stenagmoi*

refers to glossolalia on the grounds that the latter is usually associated with praise rather than intercession. He also thinks it unlikely that such utterances could be interpreted as the Spirit's own *stenagmoi*. On the other hand, E. Käsemann has set out a persuasive case for seeing this whole passage in the context of ecstatic worship in the Christian community.

As a background to this passage Käsemann sees Paul's doctrine of the → Spirit as teaching designed to counter the excess of charismatic enthusiasm in the early church ("The Cry for Liberty in the Worship of the Church", in *Perspectives on Paul*, 1971, 122–37; see especially 123 f.). Paul developed a positive doctrine of the Spirit which he related to the church and to Christ. He was well aware of a possible clash between "in the Spirit" and "in Christ" and established three safeguards: "(1) He so interpreted the spirit as the power of the risen Christ that it had to be proved daily in the individual Christian's life as the power of the *nova oboedientia*. (2) Starting from the identity of the risen and the crucified Christ, he allowed the Spirit to be the power of standing fast in temptations and suffering. (3) Like the Jewish Christians, he understood the spirit as an 'earnest' and hence placed pneumatology as well as Christology and anthropology under the eschatological proviso" (op. cit., 124; cf. Rom. 8:1–11 and chs. 12–16). Thus Paul opposed the "realized eschatology" of the Hellenists, who were proud of their possession of the Spirit as the sign of present power, with the doctrine of the future redemption of which the Spirit is the present pledge: "We know that the whole creation has been groaning in travail together until now; and not only the creation, but we ourselves, who have the first fruits [*aparchēn*] of the Spirit, groan inwardly [*en heautois stenazomen*] as we wait for adoption as sons, the redemption of our bodies [*hyiothesian apekdechomenoi, tēn apolytrōsin tou sōmatos hēmōn*]" (Rom. 8:22 f.).

Käsemann claims that it is not simply that we do not know *how* to pray but *what* we should pray, as the Gk. indicates. "Only the spirit knows and comprehends God's will. It must therefore, like the Paraclete of the Fourth Gospel, support our weakness. It does this by offering vicarious intercession for the saints" (op. cit., 128; → Advocate; cf. also 1 Cor. 2:11 ff.). Since prayer is never wordless in Paul, Käsemann takes the groans or sighs referred to here as ecstatic acclamations and cries of prayer which accompanied the acclamatory cry of "Abba! Father!" (op. cit., 130; cf. Rom. 8:15; Gal. 4:6). He claims the thought of "praying in the spirit" is presupposed in the Qumran hymns and is elsewhere attested in the NT (1 Cor. 14:13 ff.; Eph. 6:18; Jude 20; Rev. 22:17), always in the sense of the Spirit putting into man's mouth what he should pray for. Whereas the Palestinian tradition did not permit reason to be dispensed with, there is recognition here of the tradition represented in Philo, according to which inspiration uses a man as an instrument (op. cit., 131; cf. 1 Cor. 14:7 f., 13 ff.). What in 1 Cor. 14:7–12, 22 (cf. 11:5, 13) is the gift of tongues, which had a place in public worship, is here described in terms of "sighs too deep for words". In other words, they are "glossolalic utterances" (ibid.), which are the joint possession of the whole congregation. The earthly occurrence is linked with a heavenly one, for intercession can only take place at the right → hand of God (Rom. 8:34). In reply to Cranfield it may be said that to speak of glossolalia here is a kind of shorthand covering ecstatic utterance generally, and that the purported content of glossolalia in one place must not be allowed to prejudge its purported content elsewhere. Moreover, Paul

clearly uses the *stenagmois alalētois* of the Spirit as a counterpart to the *stenagmois* of men. Käsemann observes: "Since the spirit itself is acting here and the glossolalia in the prayer of believers is the medium through which it cries to God, the earthly phenomenon is the expression and reflection of a hidden heavenly one" (ibid., 133).

Paul does not develop this in a pietistic sense of raising us above our own strength in order to bring us near to God. The Spirit does not free us from earthly things, but as our proxy brings our needs to God in ways which we cannot express ourselves. The utterances are not "the tongues of angels", indicating full possession of the presence of God, as the Corinthians falsely supposed (1 Cor. 13:1), but a sign of the church's solidarity with the rest of the creation which likewise sighs or groans (cf. *synstenazei*, groan together, v. 20, with the vb. *stenazomen*, we groan, v. 23, and the noun *stenagmois*, with groans, v. 26). For the presence of the Spirit is only the first fruits (→ Sacrifice, art. *aparchē*) of the full reality of our adoption as sons, the redemption of the body (v. 23). The reference to our body, which in the Gk. is sing., could refer to the corporate body of the church (cf. Rom. 12:4 f.), or it may refer to the physical body in view of the previous reference to the creation's bondage to decay (v. 21). But perhaps the two ideas may coalesce here.

Käsemann detects a difference of attitude in Paul to glossolalia here and in 1 Cor. 14 and 2 Cor. 12:5–10. He suggests that in Corinth Paul tried to repress the phenomenon together with other ecstatic experiences and to make them a private matter as far as possible (op. cit., 134; cf. his essay, "Die Legitimität des Apostels", *ZNW* 41, 1942, 67 ff.), whereas here he allows congregational worship to be deeply influenced by these things. But to say this is to go beyond the actual evidence. What he does is to take account of the phenomenon as it occurs in the church and give it an interpretation which is positive, but which cuts across that of the charismatics at Corinth and possibly also that of the charismatics at Rome. Moreover, it may be said that, just as those who spoke in tongues at Corinth require an interpreter to make their utterances intelligible to men (1 Cor. 14:13, 26 ff.), so in Rom. those who sigh in prayer need the Spirit as an intercessor in order to make their utterances intelligible to God (Rom. 8:26 f.).

Käsemann endorses Schniewind's suggestion that "Prayer is described in Rom. 8.26 f. as it is formed from the *dikaiosynē theou*" (ibid.; cf. J. Schniewind, "Das Seufzen des Geistes, Röm. 8, 26, 27", *Nachgelassene Reden und Aufsätze*, 1952, 81 f.). It is set in the context of justification and the → righteousness of God (cf. 8:1). Just as in justification there is the paradox of the sinner justified by faith, so here there is the paradox of the sons of God being at one with the creation. The weaknesses are not just spiritual failings but descriptions of the human condition. Moreover, the glossolalia is not a sign that the church has arrived, as it were, and of its advanced spirituality; rather it is for Paul "nothing other than the cry of the tempted for liberty" (op. cit., 135). One may go beyond Käsemann and point out that Paul is not saying here that the sighing is an adequate form of worship. In fact, he says the contrary. It is inadequate, in that it shows that we do not know what to pray for as we ought, and that these utterances do not convey what is in the mind of God. But this is more than made up for by the intercession of the Spirit who intercedes for us with sighs too deep for words, lit. unspoken sighs (v. 26). This is acceptable to God, because God knows the mind of the Spirit and the

Spirit intercedes according to the will of God (v. 27). Later on Paul defines spiritual or *rational* worship (*logikēn latreian*, Rom. 12:1) in terms of presenting the body "as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God." He then goes on to explain what this means in terms of not being conformed to the world, of the renewal of the mind, proving the will of God, the exercise of gifts in the body of Christ and daily living in a world ruled by pagan authorities (chs. 12 and 13). These references indicate how the worship described in ch. 8 is to be complemented. It involves the dedication of the whole person to God in a way which is rational, embracing the whole mind, and practical, reaching out into the practicalities of daily living in the church and the world (→ Serve, art. *latreuō*). *C. Brown*

→ Advocate, → Baptism, → Blessing, → Church, → Confess, → Curse, → Fast, → Father, → Feast, → Lord's Supper, → Sacrifice, → Serve, → Song, → Temple, → Tent, → Thank

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Present, Day, Maranatha, Parousia

The subject-matter of this article is closely associated with ideas dealt with under → goal, → come and → time. Throughout this whole area there occurs the same tension, inherent in Christian eschatology, between that which is already present and that which is still future. This tension can be shown by careful investigation not to lie between the various words used but rather to extend right to the heart of practically each individual word. However, the three concepts treated below, "the

Day", Maranatha and Parousia, are all generally considered to have a future reference and are therefore dealt with separately from the rest.

parousia, presence, coming, advent, a political and religious term in the Hellenistic world, refers in the NT mainly to the return of Jesus at the end of this age (→ Time, art. *aiōn*) and to this extent is closely related with the *hēmera*, day (cf. 2 Pet. 3:12). The latter term has OT associations and, apart from its purely technical use as a measure of time, likewise means the last day or the day of the return of Christ. The Aramaic ejaculation *maranatha* is an expression of certainty or confident hope; it can be translated either: "Our Lord has come", or: "Our Lord, come".

ἡμέρα

ἡμέρα (*hēmera*), day.

CL A day can either denote the period of 24 hours, in which case it includes the night (Xen., *Anab.* 4, 7, 28: they remained three days; cf. Mk. 6:21) or it may exclude the night (Xen., *Anab.* 2, 2, 13: but when it was day; cf. Matt. 4:2). But *hēmera* can also mean a much longer period of time (Soph., *Aj.* 623 f., the mother, who had been brought up in an earlier day); it can cover a lifetime (Soph., *OC* 1216 f., for many have left behind sundry days, i.e. their lifetime), or time generally (Soph., *El.* 266 f., what [fateful] days are mine, think you, when I see Aegisthus sitting upon the throne; cf. Eph. 6:13; 1 Pet. 3:10).

OT 1. Like years and months (e.g. 2 Ki. 17:1; Exod. 2:2), days serve as a division of time (Gen. 1:5–2:2; Jos. 6:3), the Heb. word being almost invariably *yôm*, which often occurs within a fixed phrase. The day can include the night, in which case it begins with the evening (Gen. 1:5), or be distinguished from the night (Isa. 10:10). The word may indicate a particular day (Gen. 4:14, today; Job 3:1, birthday) or (in the plur.) a period of time (Gen. 6:3, lifetime; Gen. 8:22, so long as the earth remains; Ps. 90[89]:4, a thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday when it is past [→ Number art. *chilias*, OT 3]; Isa. 60:22, days of mourning; Jdg. 17:10, a year). Certain days have a special character: while six days of the week are days of work, the seventh day is the → Sabbath (Exod. 20:9 f.; Lk. 4:16). There are → feast days (Hos. 2:15; Neh. 8:9; Gal. 4:10). A day in the temple courts is better than a thousand elsewhere (Ps. 84[83]:10). Man has no power over the day of his death (Eccl. 8:8).

2. Those passages which speak of the day of Yahweh (*yôm YHWH*) are of particular theological importance. But the phrase has various meanings. Originally the day of Yahweh was a day of joy (this is assumed in Amos 5:18, 20; cf. Zech. 14:7). The prophets, however, re-interpreted this popular idea of a day of salvation and proclaimed it instead as a day of unrelieved judgment (cf. Amos 5:18, 20; Joel 1:15; 2:2). The event in view may be a political (Ezek. 34:12) or a cultic one (cf. S. Mowinckel's thesis of Yahweh's coronation day in *The Psalms in Israel's Worship*, I, 1962, 116; "Jahwes dag", *Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift* 59, 1958, 1–56, 209–29) or it may be *the* great eschatological event (e.g. Amos 8:9; Isa. 2:11 f., 17), the latter often described in cosmological language (Zeph. 1:15; Joel 3:14). H. Gressmann suggested that the day of the Lord was a foreign importation (*Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie*, *FRLANT* 6, 1905). But G. von Rad and

others see its origin within the traditions of Israel's holy war (*Der heilige Krieg im alten Israel*, 1949; "The Origin of the Concept of the Day of Yahweh", *JSS* 4, 1959, 97–108; *Old Testament Theology*, II, 1965, 119–25; cf. also K.-D. Schunk, "Strukturlinien der Vorstellung vom Tag Yahwes" *VT* 14, 1964, 319 ff.; H. W. Robinson, *Inspiration and Revelation in the Old Testament*, 1946, 135–47, who gives a critique of Mowinckel).

In many cases it is difficult to distinguish the one from the other. The day of Yahweh can mean the fall of → Jerusalem and so belong to the past (Lam. 1:21) or, as in the eschatological passages mentioned above, be still future. It can be imminent (Ezek. 7:7), so that the hearers give heed to the prophetic message (Mic. 1:2). But no time-scale may be indicated (Isa. 24:21). The day may even be regarded (by the sinner at least) as a long way off (Amos 6:3; 9:10). This shows that the prophets' preaching of the day of Yahweh cannot be isolated from concrete situations but can always be seen to have taken place in a particular historical context. However, H. H. Rowley contended that, while in some passages the day of the Lord was conceived of as nigh at hand (Isa. 13:6; Ezek. 30:3; Joel 1:15; 2:1; 3:14 [MT 4:4]; Obad. 15; Zeph. 1:14; in Lam. 1:12; 2:1, 21 f. it is already past), all OT writers thought of it as breaking into history in a spectacular fashion ("The Day of the Lord", in *The Faith of Israel*, 1956, 179). Moreover, while judgment may be nigh, there is also the thought of a golden age beyond it which may be presented as being near or far. But nowhere is it brought about by human achievement or the policies contrived by men. The golden age in which prophecy merges into apocalyptic has a universal character (cf. Isa. 11:6; 65:17, 21; Mic. 4:4). Sometimes the nations are depicted as serving Israel (Isa. 60:10 ff.; 61:5; Dan. 2:44; 7:27), or Israel's king as holding universal sway (Zech. 9:9 f.; Pss. 2:8 f.; 72:8, 10 f.; Mic. 5:2, 4 [MT 5:1, 3]). Jer. 3:17 declares that only universal submission to God can eliminate that which militates against well-being. The thought of the Gentiles sharing the faith of Israel also comes into the prophetic vision (Pss. 22:27; 96:1 ff., 9 f.; 102:15 f., 21 f.; Jer. 16:19 ff.; Zeph. 3:10; Zech. 2:11; 8:22 f.). Rowley points out that passages like Isa. 42:1, 3, 6; 43:10; 45:22; 49:6; 66:19 f. did not proclaim universalism for the first time. Rather they related it to the mission of Israel. The Gentiles are also envisaged in the books of Ruth and Jonah which are widely regarded as tracts on the theme of the Gentiles sharing in Israel's salvation and polemics against a narrow, exclusive Jewish outlook. Rowley further argues that the figures of the Son of man, suffering servant and messiah, and the idea of the kingdom of God all converge on the day of the Lord (op. cit., 194–201).

G. Braumann

3. The Hebrews had no word for time in the abstract, and similarly had no corresponding expressions for past, present and future. For fuller discussion → Time; cf. also T. Boman, *Hebrew Thought Compared with Greek*, 1960; J. Barr, *The Semantics of Bibical Language*, 1961; and *Biblical Words for Time*, *SBT* 33, 1962; and S. J. DeVries, *Yesterday, Today and Tommorrow: Time and History in the Old Testament*, 1975. Of the various words used to express aspects of time by far the most frequent in Heb. is *yôm* (cf. DeVries, op. cit., 42). Often it is qualified by a genitival phrase, an infinitive, or a relative clause introduced by *'ašer* (that or when).

Thus there could be a *yôm* of salvation experienced in a variety of past events: the day of Israel's election (Deut. 9:24; Ezek. 16:4 f.); the day of the plague on → Egypt and other days connected with the saving events of the exodus (Exod. 10:13; 12:17; Num. 11:32); the day of the dedication of the tabernacle (Num. 9:15); of the giving of the law (Deut. 4:10); of the victory over the Amorites (Jos. 10:12). Out of this arose a variety of stock expressions like "On the day when I brought them out of Egypt . . ." (Jdg. 19:30; 1 Sam. 8:8; 2 Sam. 7:6; Isa. 11:16; Jer. 7:22; 11:4, 7; 31:32; 34:13: Hos. 2:17; Ps. 78:42). De Vries suggests that this provided the model for speaking of another past day of salvation experienced in the return from exile (Hag. 2:15, 18 f.; Zech. 4:10; 8:9) and that what was true corporately for Israel could similarly be applied to the individual (Pss. 18:18; 20:2; 59:17; 77:3; 138:3; 140:8; Lam. 3:57; cf. op. cit., 43). But the days could also be remembered as a day of judgment (Num. 32:10; 2 Chr. 28:6; Pss. 78[77]:9; 95[94]: 8; 137[136]:7; Isa. 9:3, 13; Lam. 1:12; 2:1, 21 f.; Ezek. 31:15; 34:12; Hos. 10:14; Obad. 11, 14; Zech. 14:3). Whereas in some of these instances *yôm* is a literal day, in others it appears to denote a concrete time which may have extended for more than twenty-four hours, but which was nevertheless characterized by a specific event. The plur. *yāmîm*, however, "is used not so much to memorialize a unique event as to identify and specify the duration of a period of time, whether this be limited or unlimited, definite or indefinite" (DeVries, op. cit., 43).

In connection with day thought of in the past sense it may be observed that the two Gen. creation narratives both use *yôm* and the corresponding Gk. *hēmera*: the seven-day narrative (Gen. 1:5, 8, 13 f., 16, 18 f., 23, 31; 2:2–4a, attributed to P) and the one-day creation and fall narrative (Gen. 2:4b–3:24, attributed to J). The word day occurs again in Gen. 2:17: "but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil you shall not eat, for in the day that you eat of it you shall die." This was evidently not understood in a strictly literal sense of physical death within twenty-four hours. Rather, it brought a change in the human condition which affects man all the *days* of his life (Gen. 3:17; cf. also v. 14). Various attempts have been made to harmonize the narratives with a modern scientific view of the world involving some form of concordism, such as the view that the days correspond to geological eras. But these place a considerable strain on both scientific theory and the biblical text, e.g. the creation of light and plants before the sun and moon (for discussion see B. Ramm, *The Christian View of Science and Scripture*, 1955, 120–56). Moreover, if the six creation-days of Gen. 1 correspond to geological eras, it does not help to harmonize Gen. 2:4b, which locates the creation of man on the day that the earth and the heavens were made, apparently prior to the planting of the garden of Eden. It would, therefore, seem best to recognize both creation narratives as pre-scientific schematizations symbolically representing the origin of the world from God in its order and relative autonomy (cf. N. H. Ridderbos, *Is there a Conflict between Genesis 1 and Natural Science?*, 1957; C. Westermann, *Creation*, 1974). The type of discourse here may be compared with the → parable in the teaching of Jesus and the cosmic visions in Rev. dealing with the end-time, only here we are dealing with primeval pre-history. The six creation days followed by a rest day in Gen. 1 are seen in Exod. 20:11 to be a divine pattern for human activity in explaining the Fourth Commandment concerning the → sabbath. The par. in Deut. 5:12–15 omits the reference to creation but supplies a soteriological reason. Just as

Yahweh brought Israel out of forced labour in Egypt and gave him rest, so the servant and beast (like their master) are to be set free from toil on the sabbath day.

The present day may be characterized by laments and distress (Pss. 20[19]:9; 49[48]:5; 86:7; 102:3 f.; 2 Ki. 19:3; Isa. 37:3; 61:2; 63:4; Jer. 17:16 ff.; Lam. 1:7; Hos. 9:7), but also by salvation (Isa. 49:8). However, DeVries draws a basic distinction in the present use of *yôm* between the day that is historically present and the day in gnomic discourse (i.e. teaching that has to do with popular wisdom, especially in the form of proverbs and aphorisms) and in cultic regulations. In these latter it refers to a "today" that is continually repeated and hence continuously present. Examples of the gnomic present are Job 18:20; 20:28; 38:20; Pss. 20(19):9; 37(36):19; 102(101):3; Prov. 11:4; and in the plur. Job 14:14; 30:16, 27; Pss. 37(36):19; 94(93):13; Prov. 15:15; Eccl. 7:15; 9:9; 11:19; 12:1. Instances of the cultic present include Exod. 20:8; 31:15; 35:3; 40:2; Lev. 15:25; 19:6; 23:15, 27 f.; 24:8; 25:9; Num. 10:10; 15:32; 28:9; Deut. 5:15; Isa. 58:13; Jer. 17:22, 24, 27; Ezek. 46:1, 4, 12 (for further details see DeVries, op. cit., 45 ff.).

The future may be described in terms of a coming (eschatological) day (Isa. 13:9; Jer. 47:4; Ezek. 38:18; cf. 39:8; Mic. 7:4; Mal. 4:1). The day of the Lord and similar expressions containing the word *yôm* figures prominently in oracles of judgment against foreign nations (Isa. 13:6; Ezek. 30:3; Joel 4:14; Obad. 15). But Israel may also be the object of judgment (Isa. 2:12; Ezek. 13:5; Joel 1:15; 2:1, 11; 3:4; Amos 5:18, 20; Zeph. 1:7; Mal. 4:5). However, "it is important to observe that there is no set technical expression for the so-called 'day of Yahweh' " (DeVries, op. cit., 48; see pp. 48–51 for details of the various expressions used). It may be referred to as "their day of calamity" (Jer. 46:21), "a day of distress" (Hab. 3:16), a "day of downfall" (Ezek. 26:18; 27:27; 32:10), "a bitter day" (Amos 8:10), "an evil day" (Amos 6:3) etc. But it can also be a day of salvation: "the day when Yahweh binds up" (Isa. 30:26), "the day when I cleanse" (Ezek. 36:33), "the day when Yahweh gives rest" (Isa. 14:3), "the day when I pay attention" (Jer. 27:22), "the day when I honour myself" (Ezek. 39:13), "the day when he fights" (Zech. 14:3). Similarly, the prophets can use the plur. and say "Behold, the days are coming, when . . ." in both oracles of judgment (Isa. 39:6; Jer. 7:32; 9:24; 19:6; 48:12; 49:2; 51:47, 52) and of salvation (Jer. 16:11; 23:5, 7; 30:3; 31:27, 31, 38; 33:14; Amos 9:13).

In addition to this, the OT contains adverbial expressions of time such as *bayyôm hahû'*, on that day, which is used of the past some 89 times and of the future 112 times, and *hayyôm* which is used of the present, today, 217 times. The central part of DeVries's work constitutes a detailed examination and classification of these various passages, showing the function of words connected with time in respect of the literary form of their respective passages. Of theological significance is his conclusion that the function of the references to Yahweh's day, whether in the past or the future, is to illuminate the present "today". "Historiography provides the model for parenesis, employing the image of revelatory event in the past to illuminate the revelatory significance of the present. Eschatology is, then, an analogical projection of the past and the present into the future, positing Yahweh's coming action on his action already experienced. . . . In the early passages, at any rate, 'the day of Yahweh' is not to be understood as the termination of history. It is analogous to *bayyôm hahû'*, used absolutely in a futuristic sense, as in

I Kings 22:25, Isa. 52:6, and Amos 8:3. The interpretative framework is not chronological, placing this day within or at the end of a sequence of days, but qualifying, characterizing it as a day of Yahweh's decisive action in which all the complexities and ambiguities of the present situation are brought to a complete – and in this sense final – resolution. But, as Yahweh has often acted decisively in the past, so there may need to be recurring days of Yahweh in the future. In fact, 'today' – this very day – may be a 'day of Yahweh' " (op. cit., 341). Any day may become Yahweh's day, but only those days actively become his day when he manifests himself in judgment and salvation (cf. Ps. 95[94]:7; Jer. 28:9; Ezek. 33:33; Mal. 3:1, 3, 19–21).

The prophets frequently spoke of the day of the Lord as imminent (cf. Isa. 10:27; 27:1; 29:19; Hag. 2:23; Zech. 6:10). DeVries comments: "In agreement with the majority of modern interpreters, we affirm that Israel's prophets were predicting the future only as a proximate projection of the present. They were immediately deducing the future out of the present, less by way of political astuteness than out of faith in the being and nature of Israel's covenant God" (op. cit., 342). In the apocalyptic writings the idea is transformed. The future is increasingly abstracted from the present and has an epoch of its own. Thus Zech. 14:21 depicts the future more in terms of a state of being than a decisive event (cf. Isa. 61:3; Dan. 7).

DeVries considers that many of the distinctions employed by scholars to characterize the Hebrew conception of time (e.g. between "outer" and "inner" history; between "linear" and "cyclical" history; between "man's time" and "God's time"; and between "secular time" and "sacred time") fall wide of the mark. "The only ready-to-hand polarity that seems really applicable is a contrast between what we would call two different approaches to the identical temporal phenomena: the quantitative approach and the qualitative approach" (op. cit., 343). The quantitative approach sees time as a succession of commensurate entities – a given number of days, months or years. These can be measured mathematically. The qualitative approach sees time as a succession of essentially unique, incommensurate experiences. Thus the day takes its determination from the event which gives it its character. Because God acts in it, it has an eschatological dimension and thus becomes the decisive day of divine action. This Hebraic view of time stands in contrast with that of the Egyptians for whom time was an endless, meaningless continuum, caught in a perpetual seasonal pattern of alteration (op. cit., 344; cf. E. Otto, "Altägyptische Zeitvorstellungen und Zeitbegriffe", *Die Welt als Geschichte* 14, 1954, 135–48). The early Mesopotamian writings indicate a greater awareness of the distinction between different times, but did not see any underlying purpose, significance or interrelation between different times (cf. H. Gese, "Geschichtliches Denken im alten Orient und im Alten Testament", *ZTK* 55, 1958, 127 ff.). But in Israel Yahweh was Lord of past, present and future. "History therefore was filled with positive potentiality. It has a goal and a meaning" (De Vries, op. cit., 344 f.). In the OT the quantitative approach provides the framework of continuity, allowing for the interconnectedness of specific events. But it is the qualitative approach which gives the historical event its theological significance. It would be inaccurate to say that the same conceptions and emphases are found uniformly throughout the OT. In the historical writings (especially after the division of the kingdom), in those concerned with the cult and apocalyptic literature

the quantitative approach predominates, whereas in the prophetic writings the qualitative is dominant. But the differences between the cultic/gnomic conception of time and the historical/prophetic conception may be overstated. For while the practice of the cult could lead to a cyclical attitude to life characterized by the performance of daily rites and annual feasts, there are many passages in the OT which seek to invest the present with an awareness of the acts of God in time and of man's relationship with him in time. "For Deuteronomy the present generation is addressed as the generation that heard Yahweh speak from Horeb, being called not only to a new remembrance but to a new obedience" (DeVries, op. cit., 347). The Passover ordinance prescribed an annual rite, but the whole purpose of the rite is to summon the Israelite to reflect on the day in which his people were brought out of Egypt (Exod. 13:3–10). Similarly, Ps. 95:7 confronts the worshipper with the reflection that his "today" is the day of crisis in which the opportunities and the judgment which befell the wilderness generation are realized in his life.

C. Brown

4. Apocalyptic and later Judaism carried still further the idea of the future day, with eschatology now becoming part of the doctrine of the last things and developing strong apocalyptic features. The questions are asked: How long will this age last? When can we expect the new age? (2 Esd. 4:33, 35; cf. Mk. 13:4). The messianic age will be preceded by a time of tribulation, sub-divided into twelve shorter periods (Syr.Bar. 27) and marked, among other things, by unrighteousness and licentiousness (2 Esd. 5:2 ff.; cf. Matt. 24:12). The new age will be heralded by signs (Syr.Bar. 25:4; cf. Mk. 13:24), and "the end" (Syr.Bar. 29:7 f.; cf. Mk. 13:7) will be the transition to the days of messiah when judgment will give way to wisdom, sinlessness, life (Eth.Enoch 5:8 f.). The future eschatological world was originally thought to be identical with the age of messiah, but later these were separated into two consecutive periods (SB II 552). For further discussion see S. Mowinckel, *He That Cometh*, 1956, 261–79; D. S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic, 200 B.C.–A.D. 100*, 1964, 263–303; R. A. Stewart, *Rabbinic Theology*, 1961, 47–53; W. Förster, *Palestinian Judaism in New Testament Times*, 1964, 192–201; and L. Hartman, "The Functions of Some so-Called Apocalyptic Time-tables", *NTS* 22, 1975–76, 1–14. It is sometimes said that in answer to the prophets' question "How long, O Lord, how long?", the apocalyptists give the year, the day and the hour (cf. D. S. Russell, op. cit., 1). But L. Hartman questions this, suggesting that the supporting evidence is less strong than is sometimes supposed (Dan. 9 being the most clear-cut example; → Number). From his examination of Ass.Mos. 10:12, Apc.Abr. 28–31, and Eth.Enoch 91–94 in the light of modern semantics, he concludes that the time-tables have different functions. In Dan. they have a certain informative-theoretical function concerning the date of the end, but even so they are coupled with practical functions. But elsewhere they have predominantly a practical function such as exhortation. "When the literary convention of different kinds of apocalyptic timetables was developed in Jewish apocalyptical literature, it had not primarily a theoretical, informative, and calculating function, but rather some practical one. To put it another way: the time-tables were aimed less at the brain than at the heart and hands" (op. cit., 14).

The days of → messiah were expected to bring in renewal, a righting of wrongs,

and the → restoration of all that had been lost through Adam's transgression. So, e.g., the nations which had oppressed Israel will be destroyed, while Israel's boundaries will be fully restored in the new → temple (though on this point there was not absolute unanimity). Israel will be rich to a degree hitherto unknown. Both man and nature will increase in fruitfulness. Sinful desires, and the devil himself, will be destroyed. The Holy Spirit will be poured out. Sickness and death will be removed and the dead will arise (see *SB* IV, 2, 799–976).

5. The Qumran texts regard the date of the eschatological day as being already fixed (1QM 13:14). It will bring the annihilation of those who do not keep the commandments (CD 8:1); it will be the day of God's visitation (ibid.), the end of days (1QpHab 2:6; 9:6), the day of vengeance (1QS 10:19), the day of slaughter (1QH 15:17), when evil-doers will be destroyed (ibid.), including all carvers of idols for the nations (1QpHab 12:13 f.; 13:1 ff.). There will be a battle with fearful carnage (1QM 1:9) as the sons of light war against the sons of darkness (1QM 1:11). In the day of catastrophe all men fit for war are to be ready for the day of vengeance (1QM 7:5; 15:2 f.). God will then be praised (1QM 18:5), and on the day of judgment those who are willing to be added to the elect will be saved (1Q 14:7 ff.). However, the Qumran texts do not appear to mention explicitly "the day of Yahweh". (On Qumran eschatology see M. Burrows, *More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1958, 342–52; and, more fully, Y. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness*, 1962.)

NT 1. In the short → resurrection narratives there are striking expressions of time: on the third day (1 Cor. 15:4; Matt. 16:21; Lk. 9:22; → Number, art. *tritos*) or after three days (Mk. 8:31; 9:31; 10:34; → Number, art. *treis*). G. Delling suggests that the early Christian accounts were influenced by the eschatological expectation of Hos. 6:2 which also influenced rabbinic expectation: "After two days he will revive us [i.e. the nation]; on the third day he will raise us up, that we may live before him" (cf. *TDNT* II 949). According to Pirqe R. Eliezer 51, the passage was proof of the resurrection of the dead on the third day after the end of the world (*SB* I 747; cf. 647, 649). But in 2 Esd. 7:29 ff. it occurs after seven days. → Number, art. *hepta*.

The situation is similar with regard to the space of 40 days, which already has OT significance, both → Moses and → Elijah being said to fast 40 days and nights (Exod. 34:38; 1 Ki. 19:8; → Number, art. *tessarakonta*). The question may be asked whether the length of Jesus' fast (Matt. 4:2 par. Mk. 1:13, Lk 4:2) was merely coincidental, or whether there is a link with other OT passages (cf. Deut. 8:2 f., 15 f.). Clearly there is an allusion to the wilderness → temptation of Israel in the quotations from Deut. 8:3 (Matt. 4:4; Lk. 4:7), Deut. 6:16 (Matt. 4:7; Lk. 4:12) and Deut. 6:13 (Matt. 4:10; Lk. 4:8). There is the further parallelism between Jesus and Moses (Deut. 9:19; cf. also the giving of the Sermon on the Mount afterwards) and with Deut. 34:1–4 and Ps. 91. In the temptation stories Jesus recapitulates the experiences of Israel, particularly the wilderness generation. (On the temptation see E. Best, *The Temptation and the Passion: The Markan Soteriology, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series* 2, 1965, B. Gerhardsson, *The Testing of God's Son (Matt. 4:1–11 & Par): An Analysis of an Early Christian Midrash, Coniectanea Biblica: New Testament Series 2:1*, 1966.)

2. (a) The expectation of the last day is to be found in almost all the literary strata of the NT: pre-Pauline (Rom. 13:12); Paul (Rom. 2:5); Q (Matt. 10:15; Lk. 10:12); Mark and his tradition (Mk. 13:32); Matthew and his tradition (Matt. 12:36); Luke (Acts 17:31); one stratum of the Gospel of Jn., often assumed to be a later one which received prominence in the final redaction (Jn. 6:39; cf. also 1 Jn. 4:17); Jude 6; 2 Pet. 3:12; Eph. 4:30; 2 Tim. 1:12; Rev. 9:6 etc. Other portions of the Gospel of Jn. (the more primitive ones, according to modern conjecture) contain the idea that the last day is not still to come, but has already arrived with the coming of Jesus and the exercise of faith in him (Jn. 3:18 f.; see also Jn. 7:37). (On Johannine eschatology see below the note on *The Parousia and Eschatology in the NT*, 2 (d).)

The phraseology varies, reference being made to that day (2 Tim. 4:8), the last day (Jn. 6:30), the day of wrath (Rev. 6:17), the day of judgment (2 Pet. 2:9), the day of the Lord (1 Thess. 5:2), the day of the Son of man (Lk. 17:24), the day of Christ (Phil. 2:16), the great day of God (Rev. 16:14) or simply the day (1 Cor. 3:13). The plur. is also common (e.g. 2 Tim. 3:1; 2 Pet. 3:3; Rev. 9:6; 10:7).

(b) There are differing statements as to when the last day takes place. Paul teaches the received doctrine of an apocalyptic day still to come (Rom. 2:5; 2 Cor. 1:14), yet at the same time he regards himself as already involved in the eschatological event. Not only does he take over the existing tradition of the nearness of the last day (Rom. 13:12), but in addition calls upon his readers to walk "as in the day" (v. 13), "now" being the day of salvation (2 Cor. 6:2). In other words, the ages are intertwined. With the *parousia* being long delayed, the imminent day of Rom. 13:12 comes to be separated out from the remote "Last Day" (e.g. 2 Pet. 3:8). The suddenness of the last day, which has nothing to do with its imminence or otherwise, is taught in various strata of the NT: e.g. 1 Thess. 5:2, 4; Lk. 21:34 f.; 2 Pet. 3:10. The date is unknown (Mk. 13:32; Matt. 24:42; 25:13). As in apocalyptic, a period of tribulation and catastrophe will precede the last day (cf. Mk. 13; 2 Tim. 3:1; Rev. 2:10), or is inseparable from it (so apparently 2 Cor. 6:2 ff.).

(c) The events associated with the last day are as follows: God (Acts 17:31) or Christ (1 Cor. 1:8; Phil. 1:6, 10; 2 Cor. 5:10) is to be the judge of the world, and will reward each one according to his deeds (Rom. 2:5; → Judgment). Only then, according to Matt., will the separation take place between those who are to enter into the kingdom and those who are to be cast out (i.e. in this present age the church is still a mixed body, containing both groups as yet undifferentiated; Matt. 25:34, 41). The → resurrection of the dead, too, is associated with the judgment (1 Cor. 15:52; Jn. 11:24). Thus the last day becomes a day both of → fear (Matt. 10:15) and of → joy (Lk. 6:23; 21:28; 2 Tim. 4:8).

The message of the last day is not confined to the future, however, but has a definite application to the present. Paul regards the church now in existence as being his glory on the last day (Phil. 2:16; 2 Cor. 1:14). Its members are to conduct themselves even now as "on that day" (Rom. 13:13) and as answerable to God when that day comes (Matt. 25:31 ff.). They must be watchful since its date is unknown (Matt. 24:42), and because it will come suddenly (1 Thess. 5:6). There is also an eschatological aspect to the observance of the → Lord's Supper (Matt. 26:29 par. Mk. 14:25; Lk. 22:16; 1 Cor. 11:26).

3. The futurity of the last day (Matt. 25:13) does not alter the fact that the

exalted Lord is even now with his church "all the days" (Matt. 28:20; 18:20). In Jn. the *paraklētos* is the representative of Christ (cf. Jn. 16:5–15 with 16:16 ff.; → Advocate). A certain duration of time is indicated by phrases such as *kath' hēmeran*, daily (Matt. 26:55; Mk. 14:49 [though A. W. Argyle thinks that the meaning here is "by day", *ExpT* 63, 1951–52, 354]; Lk. 16:19; 22:53; Acts 2:46 f.; 3:2; 16:5; 19:9; 1 Cor. 15:31; 2 Cor. 11:28; Heb. 7:27; 10:11), *hēmera kai hēmera*, day after day, which is probably a Hebraism (2 Cor. 4:16; cf. Est. 3:4; Ps. 68[67]:20). (For these and other expressions see Arndt, 346 f.) This present → time, although it merges even now with the age to come (1 Cor. 15:20 ff.; 2 Cor. 4:16), is still characterized by tribulation (1 Cor. 15:31 f., I die daily; Rom. 8:38; 2 Cor. 11:28). It is sometimes suggested that the importance of this present time increases as the last day becomes more distant: the believer is to take up his cross daily (Lk. 9:23), and to pray for his *daily* bread (Lk. 11:3 par. Matt. 6:11; → Bread, art. *epiousios*); the early church assembles *daily* in tbe temple and *daily* grows in members (Acts 2:46, 47). On this question → *parousia*, NT.

4. The apostles' visits to cities and churches are generally short, lasting no more than a few days: Paul remains in Jerusalem 15 days (Gal. 1:18); according to Acts 10:48 Peter is asked to remain for some days in the household of Cornelius; Paul spends some days in Philippi (Acts 16:12). Paul's stay in Corinth (Acts 18:11, 18) is an exception to this general rule. *G. Braumann*

μαραναθά

μαραναθά (*maranatha*), maranatha, "Our Lord has come!", "Our Lord is coming!", or "Our Lord, come!"

1. *maranatha* is an Aram. word found in the NT only in 1 Cor. 16:22: "If anyone has no love for the Lord, let him be accursed. *Maranatha* [or *Marana tha*]." Its precise meaning is disputed, though it is certainly a combination of the Aram. *māran* or *māranā'*, our Lord, and the verb *'aṯā'*, to come. Either we take it as a perfect (*māran 'ᵃṯā'*), i.e. our Lord has come, or as an imperative (*māranā' ṯā*), i.e. our Lord, come! Other meanings are unlikely.

Apart from 1 Cor. 16:22, the word is found in the prayers associated with the Lord's Supper in the Didache (Did. 10:6; *c.* A.D. 100), but all subsequent references are based on 1 Cor. 16:22. Where the phrase originated is a matter of dispute. W. Heitmüller (*ZNW* 13, 1912, 333 f.) and W. Bousset (*Kyrios Christos*, [1921²] ET 1970, 129) assume it to have come from the bi-lingual Gk. and Aram. speaking churches of Antioch and Damascus, or even Tarsus. In Hellenistic syncretistic religion the gods were widely referred to as "lords" (*kyrioi*; cf. 1 Cor. 8:5), and the view of Heitmüller and Bousset is that *maranatha* indicates the transference of this heathen term to the Lord Jesus Christ. Our knowledge of the above-mentioned churches is too slight for this thesis to be finally disproved. On the other hand, the theory lacks confirmation. The ascription of lordship to Jesus in Aram. and its presence in this formula suggest that it goes back to the very earliest Christian church with its centre in Jerusalem which acknowledged the risen Christ as its Lord. Hence, most expositors still regard the Jerusalem church as the most likely source of the phrase. Moreover, if this is so, it suggests that the term → Lord is to be understood against a Jewish rather than a syncretistic background.

2. (a) Both translations of the phrase are tenable, i.e. it can be construed either as a perfect or as an imperative. The church fathers as a rule understood it as being perfect, though this interpretation may also include the present: "Our Lord has come and is now here". In this case, Phil. 4:5 ("the Lord is at hand") may be a reference to the phrase *maranatha*. The statement of 1 Cor. 16:22 is then a warning: the preceding words, "If any one has no love for the Lord, let him be accursed" (RSV), are further stressed by this reference to the nearness of the Lord. The same may be true of the call to repentance in Did. 10, 6.

(b) The imperative, however, is the more likely interpretation. Appeal may be made to Rev. 22:20, where the words "Amen. Come, Lord Jesus!" may be a free rendering of the original Aram. ejaculatory prayer. Then there is the fact that the word *'abbā'*, → Father (Mk. 14:36; Rom. 8:15; Gal. 4:6), is similarly handed down from Aram., the mother tongue of Jesus, and is likewise an ejaculatory prayer. It is quite understandable that these brief prayers should be passed on in their original form. No immediate connection with the context is essential.

3. Since in Did. 10:6 the word *maranatha* occurs in prayers associated with the Lord's Supper, it may be assumed to have been used in the liturgy of the Supper, perhaps even from the very beginning (cf. F. Hahn, *The Titles of Jesus in Christology: Their History in Early Christianity*, 1969, 96), though this cannot be conclusively demonstrated. 1 Cor. 11:26 shows that from the outset the Lord's Supper looked forward in hope to the coming of the Lord; also the words of institution in Matt. 26:29 par. Mk. 14:25 point forward to this final accomplishment. The prayers associated with the Lord's Supper in the Didache (chs. 9 and 10) show how very much alive this hope remained even at a later period. Thus *maranatha* is to be understood, in the light of Rev. 22:20, as a prayer for the coming of the Lord in the sense of the last advent. This need not be the only thought, however, for as Jn. 14:18 speaks of the risen Lord coming to his own, *maranatha* may also include this idea within its scope, and such a prayer was in fact partially answered whenever the church celebrated the Lord's Supper. Furthermore, if the prayer did stem from the earliest church, the latter must inevitably have been familiar with prayer to Jesus, even at such an early date. *W. Mundle*

4. Several writers have seen the possibility of an alternative or complementary setting to that of the Lord's Supper (cf. E. Peterson, HEIS THEOS, 1926; C. F. D. Moule, "A Reconsideration of the Context of *Maranatha*", *NTS* 6, 1959–60, 307–10; W. Dunphy, "Maranatha: Development in Early Christianity", *Irish Theological Quarterly* 37, 1970, 294 ff.; M. Black, "The Maranatha Invocation and Jude 14, 15 (I Enoch 1:9)", in B. Lindars and S. S. Smalley, eds., *Christ and Spirit in the New Testament: In Honour of Charles Francis Digby Moule*, 1973, 189–96). It is suggested that in the first instance at least *maranatha* in 1 Cor. 16:22, Did. 10:6 and Rev. 22:20 was used to reinforce or sanction the curse or ban (→ Curse, art. *anathema*). The NT contexts in question are not that of the Lord's Supper but that of cursing, and the idea of invoking the Lord's Presence in the Lord's Supper belongs more to later church history than the NT period. Formal parallels with ancient pagan cursing formulae have been noted (cf. R. Wünsch, *Antike Fluchtafeln, Kleine Texte* 20, 1907, 13, 25; K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, I, 1928, 89–90; A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 1927, 413 ff.; *CIG*, IV, 9303). The

Constitutiones Apostolorum 6, 26, 5 relates *maranatha* to the historical coming of Christ. But *maranatha* occurs in connection with the anathema in early church texts (*MPL*, LXXXVII, 1274; Tert., *De Pudicitia* 14, 13; Canon 75 of the Fourth Council of Toledo, A.D. 633). This would suggest that the original idea was an invocation that the Lord would soon come in judgment to redress wrong and establish right (cf. Moule, op. cit.).

In addition to these points Black draws attention to parallels with Jude 14 f.: "It was of these also that Enoch in the seventh generation from Adam prophesied saying, 'Behold, the Lord came with his holy myriads, to execute judgment on all, and to convict all the ungodly of all their deeds of ungodliness which they have committed in such an ungodly way, and of all the harsh things which ungodly sinners have spoken against him.' " This is a quotation from Enoch 1:9 and is exemplified not only in Gr.Enoch 1:9 and Eth.Enoch 1:3–9 but also in the Aram. fragments of 4QEn 1:4–9 found at Qumran (text in Black, op. cit., 193 f.; cf. also M. Black, "The Christological Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament", *NTS* 18, 1971–72, 10). Jude is giving a christological interpretation of Enoch. Unfortunately the opening words of the Aram. of v. 9 are lost in the Qumran text, but Black suggests that they would be verbally identical with the *maranatha* formula, i.e. *Mara'* *'aṯa'* or *'aṯe'*. Although it could be argued that the similarity is purely coincidental, Black thinks that it is too great to be accidental. "If the possibility is conceded, then the original setting of the *maranatha* formula at 1 En. 1:9, where it refers to a divine judgment on the wicked, not only supports the Parousia reference in the New Testament but can also account for its use as a reinforcement of the *anathema*: no formula would lend itself more to the purpose of an imprecation or a ban. At the same time, it would be equally appropriate within a eucharistic setting, since the eucharist contains, as an integral element in its structure, the proclamation of the Lord's death 'until He come' " (op. cit., 195). Black himself prefers to take the original form of the words as a future perfect, the equivalent of a prophetic perfect: " 'The Lord *will* (soon, surely) come' (i.e. at the *Parousia*)" (op. cit., 196). But the Gk. could be construed as an imperative or as a perfect. Black concludes: "perhaps the popularity of the formula was its ambiguity and hence flexibility: it could be fitted into different contexts, in the eucharist, as an imprecation, or as a confession ('The Lord has come')" (op. cit., 196).

Without wishing to question this general conclusion, attention may be drawn to one further passage. A. M. Hunter suggests that far from being a piece of imprecatory mumbo-jumbo, *maranatha* was probably the first Christian prayer looking back to Matt. 18:20: "For where two or three are gathered in my name, there am I in the midst of them." Hunter relates this to the Lord's Supper, looking back to the first Easter day, invoking the presence of the Lord (cf. Lk. 24:35; Acts 10:41) and beseeching the Lord to come in glory (*Exploring the New Testament*, 98; cf. Black, op. cit., 192). But the context in Matt. is patently not eucharistic, and is read into the verse rather than read out of it. On the other hand, it does explicitly mention discipline and disputes within the community (Matt. 18:15 ff.), binding and loosing (Matt. 18:18; → Bind; → Open, art. *kleis*, NT 3), and the promise: "if two of you agree on earth about anything they ask, it will be done for them by my Father in heaven" (Matt. 18:19). The *maranatha* might conceivably be used in such a situation to confirm such an agreement, especially in view of the presence

promised in v. 20. The fact that *maranatha* is not mentioned in Matt. may itself be an indication of its origin in the early church, whereas Matt. 18:15–20 is presented as having its location in the ministry of Jesus. In any case, if there is an affinity here, it confirms the suggestion that the original context of *maranatha* concerns the coming of the Lord in judgment to redress wrong and establish right. It may be noted that the following verses in Matt. concern Jesus' answer to the question on forgiving up to seven times, followed by the parable of the two debtors (Matt. 18:21–35). *C. Brown*

παρουσία

παρουσία (*parousia*), presence, appearing, coming, advent; πάρειμι (*pareimi*), be present, have come.

CL *pareimi* covers both the present tense idea of "being there" and the perfect idea of "having come". *parousia* means, on the one hand, presence (with certain effects following) or (in a more neutral sense) property, fortune, income, military strength; and, on the other hand, it means arrival, someone's coming in order to be present. Technically the noun is used for the arrival of a ruler a king, emperor, ruler, or even troops from the Ptolemaic period to the 2nd century A.D. Special payments in kind and taxes were exacted to defray the costs. In Greece a new era was reckoned from the *parousia* of Hadrian, and special advent coins were struck in various places to commemorate the *parousia* of an emperor. The corresponding Lat. term is *adventus*. The cities of Corinth and Patras struck advent coins com-, memorating the visit of Nero in whose reign Paul wrote to Corinth. They bear the inscriptions *Adventus Aug(usti) Cor(inthi)* and *Adventus Augusti* (cf. A. Deissmann *Light from the Ancient East*, 1911², 372 ff.). From this it is an easy step to speak of an appearing of the gods on men's behalf (cf. *Corp. Herm.* 1, 22: "my *parousia* will prove a help to them"; this being in keeping with the ideas of the Hellenistic mystery religions). Such a *parousia* is not thought of merely as future, but is experienced as a reality in the present. An inscription at Tegea combines the term with the deification of the emperor: "in the year 69 of the first *parousia* of the god Hadrian in Hellas" (*c.* A.D. 193; cf. Deissmann, op. cit., 377). This was approximately at the time when Christians were beginning to speak explicitly of the first *parousia* of Christ, as distinct from the second (cf. Justin, *Dial.* 14 and 52). For further instances see A. Oepke, *TDNT* V 859 ff.

OT The Greek translations of the OT use the vb. *pareimi* for seven different Heb. words, all of which mean to come, including *bô'*, the most common word for come (Num. 22:20; 1 Sam. 9:6; 2 Sam. 5:23; 13:35;1 Chr. 14:14; Joel 2:1; Isa. 30:13; Lam. 4:18). The noun *parousia* occurs in Neh. 2:6 *v.l.* (without Heb. equivalent); Jud. 10:18; 2 Macc. 8:12; 15:21; 3 Macc. 3:17. "The absence of the word from the LXX in the books originally written in Heb. may be explained by the fact that the Semite speaks more concretely" (A. Oepke, *TDNT* V 859). Nevertheless, the idea is there, for from the earliest times the OT speaks of the coming of God: God manifests himself in victory (Jdg. 5:4); he comes as king of the world (Exod. 15:18; Ps. 24:7 ff.; 95:3 f.), in dreams (Gen. 20:3), in his Spirit (Num. 24:2), with his hand (1 Ki. 18:46), in his word (2 Sam. 7:4) and at the end of the days

(Isa. 2:2 and passim; → *hēmera*). There are references to the coming of the anointed (Gen. 49:10?; Zech. 9:9 f.). In the Qumran texts, the appearance of various messiahs is predicted (1QS 9:10 f.). Important for the NT's view is the expectation of God in the Jewish apocalyptic texts (which, however, may have been worked over by Christian hands): "A king shall arise out of Judah and shall establish a new priesthood for all the Gentiles after the fashion of the Gentiles. And his appearing is greatly desired as a prophet of the Most High, of the seed of Abraham our father" (Test.Lev. 8:14 f.); "And by men of another race shall my kingdom be brought to an end, until the salvation of Israel shall come, [until the appearing of the God of righteousness] that Jacob may rest in peace" (Test.Jud. 22:2). There are also references to the coming of messiah: "when the Righteous One shall appear before the eyes of the righteous" (Eth.Enoch 38:2); "He will judge the secret things" (Eth.Enoch 49:4). By *parousia* Josephus means the presence of God in the Shekinah (*Ant.* 3, 8 and 202; 9, 55; 18, 284) which is revealed to his people and even to the pagan governor, Petronius. Oepke suggests that Josephus's rejection of apocalyptic was rabbinic and politically opportunist (*TDNT* V 864 f.). The prophecies of Dan. were applied by him in ways which avoided giving offence to the Romans (cf. *Ant.* 10, 209 f., 267 and 276; 12, 322; *War* 6, 313). Philo used *pareimi* frequently in a non-eschatological sense but not *parousia*. Hellenistic influences have all but obliterated a coming of Yahweh or the messiah. Only in *Praem.* 16, 91–97 does he refer to the coming man (cf. Num. 24:7) who will bring universal peace, and tame man and beast (*TDNT* V 864).

NT 1. (a) Paul uses the vb. *pareimi* with the meaning of to be present, though in 1 and 2 Cor. the vb. occurs only in the part. form *parōn*. The apostle distinguishes his personal, bodily absence (*apōn tō sōmati*) from his presence in spirit (*parōn de tō pneumati*) (1 Cor. 5:3); the word also refers to his presence in Corinth (2 Cor. 10:2, 11; 11:9; 13:2, 10) and among the Galatians (Gal. 4:18, 20). The same meaning is found in Jn. 11:28; Rev. 17:8. Lk. uses the vb. in the perfect sense (to have come), so a similar interpretation is conceivable also in the case of Acts 10:33; 24:19. In Col. 1:6 *parestin* is used without a personal subject: the gospel which has come to you. Similarly in Jn. 7:6 the time has not yet come (→ Time, art. *kairos*). The phrase *pros to paron* (Heb. 12:11) means for the moment, for the present (cf. Arndt, 629), and the vb. also occurs in its sense of to be available, to be at hand (Heb. 13:5; 2 Pet. 1:9, 12).

(b) The noun *parousia* denotes generally presence and arrival. Paul, however, is the only NT writer to use it in this way: he rejoices over the presence of Stephanas (1 Cor. 16:17); he is comforted by God through the arrival of Titus (2 Cor. 7:6 f.); he speaks of his coming to Philippi (Phil. 1:26; 2:12) and has to suffer the reproach of being weighty and strong in his letters, but weak and insignificant in his personal presence and speech (2 Cor. 10:10). (See on this R. W. Funk, "The Apostolic *Parousia*: Form and Significance", in W. R. Farmer, C. F. D. Moule and R. R. Niebuhr, eds., *Christian History and Interpretation: Studies Presented to John Knox*, 1967, 249–68; cf. also (a) above.)

2. In its special NT sense, *parousia* is intimately bound up with the development of NT eschatology. Jesus proclaimed the → kingdom of God as imminent and the *parousia* as having a decisive effect upon the present in that men are to live now in

the light of this coming event (cf. e.g. Mk. 3:27; Lk. 17:23 f.). Although the present and the future are viewed as a chronological succession, the future affects the present, not in the sense of being already realized and anticipated in the present, but in the sense that man makes his decisions as one who must give account at the imminent appearing of the kingdom of God. With Jesus' → death and → resurrection (or exaltation) the eschatological perspective is modified. The idea of the *parousia* now becomes bound up with the church's expectation of Christ's appearing at the end of the age (→ Son of God, art. *hyios tou anthrōpou*). Many scholars hold that at first the coming events were still regarded as imminent (cf. Paul), but later, as time went by without the *parousia* taking place it moved further and further into the future as far as the church was concerned, and eventually ran the risk of being abandoned altogether as an article of faith. Where the presence of Christ and the present experience of salvation are stressed (e.g. Gal. 2:20), the *parousia* may be relativized to some degree: its blessings are already being experienced here and now (cf. e.g. Jn. 6:39 ff.; 11:24, 26). Certainly, therefore, the delay of the *parousia* led to difficulties, but they were not so grave as to split the church asunder, simply because her confidence in Christ was even greater than her longing for his *parousia*, which, all were agreed, would come suddenly (cf. 1 Thess. 5:1 ff.; Lk. 17:23 f.). (For a survey of critical views see below.)

In the NT the term *parousia* is not frequent. It occurs 24 times, of which 14 are in Paul: Matt. 24:3, 27, 37, 39; 1 Cor. 15:23; 16:17; 2 Cor. 7:6 f.; 10:10; Phil. 1:26; 2:12; 1 Thess. 2:19; 3:13; 4:15; 5:23; 2 Thess. 2:1, 8 f.; Jas. 5:7 f.; 2 Pet. 1:16; 3:4, 12; 1 Jn. 2:28. Clearly some of these references refer to the apostle's *parousia* (see above 1 (a), (b)). Moreover, other terms are used to describe the *parousia* of Christ (→ *hēmera*; → Revelation, art. *epiphaneia*). "The term is Hellenistic. In essential content, however, it derives from the OT, Judaism, and primitive Christian thinking" (A. Oepke, *TDNT* V 866). It thus presupposes the Hellenizing of Jewish Christianity. Although from a religio-historical point of view the NT's *parousia* doctrine belongs to the general realm of apocalyptic, the NT is singularly lacking in the usual apocalyptic embellishments. This is because its emphasis falls upon the expected coming of Christ himself. Only Rev. belongs to the genre of apocalyptic books, though apocalyptic imagery was used by Jesus and Paul. The earliest NT passage which speaks of the *parousia* is the word of the Lord quoted by Paul in 1 Thess. 4:15: "For this we declare to you by the word of the Lord, that we who are alive, who are left until the coming of the Lord [*eis tēn parousian tou kyriou*], shall not precede those who have fallen asleep". The reference to "the word of the Lord" may be (i) an allusion to Matt. 24:30 f.; (ii) a quotation from an unknown saying now lost; (iii) a reference to a private revelation (cf. 2 Cor. 12:1 ff.; Gal. 1:12; Eph. 3:3; Acts 21:10 ff.); or (iv) a statement of what Paul believes to be in accord with the mind of Christ (cf. 1 Cor. 2:16; 7:10, 12) (A. L. Moore, *1 and 2 Thessalonians*, *New Century Bible*, 1969, 69). Here → resurrection and *parousia* are closely intertwined, for when the latter occurs no disadvantage will be suffered by those who have fallen asleep, and no advantage enjoyed by the living. 1 Cor. 15:23 takes up the same thought, emphasizing the fact that at that decisive moment Christ is Lord over all: "But each in his own order: Christ the first fruits, then at his coming [*en tē parousia autou*] those who belong to Christ." Paul regularly uses the prep. *en* before *parousia* when the noun occurs in its strictly theological sense; *eis* is found

only in 1 Thess. 4:15. The *parousia* will certainly involve different categories of people, but it does not follow that the apostle has in mind a double resurrection, an intervening millennial kingdom, or a systematic chronological sequence of eschatological events (cf. W. G. Kümmel, *Promise and Fulfilment, The Eschatological Message of Jesus, SBT* 23, 1961², 88–94; → Number, art. *chilias*). Paul breaks with traditional apocalyptic ideas by insisting that eschatology is already being worked out: believers are to live not in sadness but in hope (1 Thess. 4:13; 5:23). And although separated from the Thessalonian church through the efforts of → Satan, Paul can still describe this church as his "hope", "joy" and crown of boasting "before our Lord Jesus at his coming" (1 Thess. 2:18, 19). 2 Thess. clearly has another situation in view. There is patent tension between the presence of Christ experienced here and now and the (Jewish-apocalyptic) *parousia* at some future date (2 Thess. 2:2). Evidently some claimed that "the day of the Lord has come", purporting to have relations or communications from Paul to this effect (2 Thess. 2:2). Some made it an excuse for idleness to which Paul replied: "For even when we were with you, we gave you this command: If anyone will not work, let him not eat" (2 Thess. 3:10). The epistle attacks those who claimed present experience of events which in reality were still future. This leads Paul to give a vehement warning of Satan and the *parousia* of the lawless one which will take place before the *parousia* of Christ. "For the mystery of lawlessness is already at work; only he who now restrains it will do so until he is out of the way. And then the lawless one will be revealed, and the Lord Jesus will slay him with the breath of his mouth and destroy him by his appearing and his coming [*tē epiphaneia tēs parousias autou*] The coming [*parousia*] of the lawless one by the activity of Satan will be with all power and with pretended signs and wonders" (2 Thess. 2:7 ff.; → Antichrist; → Satan; → Miracle, Sign).

3. The delay in Christ's appearing led men to question whether that day would in fact ever come. In this situation Jas. 5:7 f. calls for patience: "Be patient [*makrothymēsate*], therefore, brethren, until the coming of the Lord (*heōs tēs parousias tou kyriou*]. Behold, the farmer waits for the precious fruit of the earth, being patient over it until it receives the early and the late rain. You also be patient [*makrothymēsate*]. Establish your hearts, for the coming of the Lord is at hand [*hoti hē parousia tou kyriou ēngiken*]" (→ Patience, art. *makrothymia*). In 2 Pet. 1:16 and 3:4 ff. believers are urged to go on especting the *parousia* despite the fact that so far nothing has happened. Matt. presents a dialectical tension. On the one hand, Jesus is present whenever his church assembles (Matt. 18:20), and with his people to the end of the age as they spread the gospel (28:20). On the other hand, the coming of the → Son of man is still future (24:39), its date being unknown to any man (v. 36); it will occur suddenly and at a time when men are living entirely for the present (vv. 27, 37 f.). These two elements are so starkly juxtaposed in 1 Jn. 2:28 that some have attempted to solve the difficulty in literary-critical fashion, by assigning the present and the future elements to two different strata.

G. Braumann

The Parousia and Eschatology in the NT

The purpose of this note is to draw attention to various areas of discussion in view

of the eschatological programmes set out in certain NT passages and the place of the parousia in them, whether or not the Gk. word *parousia* is actually used.

1. *Trends in NT Criticism.* (a) Consistent Eschatology. The term consistent eschatology is applied to the idea that Jesus expected the establishment of the kingdom of God in his own lifetime, brought about by his own ministry. The corollary of this thesis is that the idea of a second coming is the invention of the primitive church. In *The Quest of the Historical Jesus: A Critical Study of its Progress from Reimarus to Wrede*, (1910) 1954[3], Albert Schweitzer credited H. S. Reimarus (1694–1768) with being the initiator of the modern quest of the historical Jesus. (This latter point was inaccurate, as many of Reimarus's ideas were indebted to the English Deists, but this lies outside our present concern.) In a series of articles published anonymously and posthumously by G. E. Lessing as *Fragments of an Unknown Author* Reimarus had argued that Jesus expected that his own preaching would bring about the kingdom of God as a quasi-political reality. But Jesus' hopes failed to find the appropriate response and he was executed. The disciples, however, after having overcome their original shock, put out the story that Jesus had risen from the dead and that his teaching actually referred to a second coming, when the kingdom would be finally established. Their preaching won acceptance, and in the meantime no one has noticed that the parousia has failed to materialize. Nevertheless, Christianity is built upon a gigantic fraud (cf. H. S. Reimarus, *The Goal of Jesus and his Disciples*, tr. G. W. Buchanan, 1970; and *Fragments*, ed. C. H. Talbert and tr. R. S. Fraser, 1971). Schweitzer himself hailed Reimarus's work as "perhaps the most splendid achievement in the whole course of the historical investigation of the life of Jesus, for he was the first to grasp the fact that the world of thought in which Jesus moved was essentially eschatological" (op. cit., 23). Indeed, in view of its neglect of eschatology the whole movement of theology down to Johannes Weiss's *Jesus' Proclamation of the Kingdom of God* (1892; ET ed. R. H. Hiers and D. L. Holland, 1971) appeared to Schweitzer to be retrograde. For in the meantime the main emphasis of liberal Protestant theology had been on Jesus as a teacher of timeless moral truths, divorced from their historical background.

Schweitzer's own position was not dissimilar to that of Reimarus (in addition to the final chapter of *The Quest of the Historical Jesus* see also *The Mystery of the Kingdom of God* [1910] ET 1914; *Paul and his Interpreters: A Critical History*, 1912; *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle*, 1931; and *The Kingdom of God and Primitive Christianity*, 1968). Jesus believed himself to be the messiah-designate and regarded John the Baptist as Elijah preparing men for him and the kingdom. The mission of the twelve was a last effort to bring about the kingdom. When this failed to materialize Jesus saw that only through his own affliction would the kingdom dawn. The entry into Jerusalem was a "funeral march to victory", and Jesus died expecting the dawning of the kingdom and his own coming as messiah. But here Jesus proved to be wrong, though this did not prevent the rise of false expectations. Paul took over the idea, transforming it into a doctrine of overlapping aeons in which the present world order would continue, though its relevance would be lost to those who are "in Christ". NT ethics are interim ethics. As even the second parousia failed to materialize the eschatological aspect of Christianity was Hellenized and receded into the background. It may be noted in all this that, for all Schweitzer's stress on the importance of eschatology for understanding the NT, it does not

play any significant part in in his own beliefs and teaching, at any rate in the NT sense. For Schweitzer himself reverence for life became the dominant theme.

Schweitzer's thesis has been taken up by F. Buri in *Die Bedeutung der neutestamentlichen Eschatologie für die neuere protestantische Theologie*, 1934, who sought to interpret eschatology existentially. For us the ultimate concern must not be the programme of future world events but the will for life fulfilment in the present. In *The Formation of Christian Dogma*, 1957, Martin Werner also built upon the foundations laid by Schweitzer. Whereas Jesus' outlook was essentially that of late Jewish apocalyptic, which in turn affected that of Paul and the other apostles, the delay of the parousia created a great crisis for the church. This led to the falling away of many and the rise of heretics, and ultimately to the abandonment of the old eschatological understanding of the gospel. The vacuum was filled in Christian belief by its restatement in terms of Jesus' person and work which were understood in non-eschatological categories.

Schweitzer's position has been sharply criticized on the grounds of defective methodology and interpretation (cf. A. L. Moore, *The Parousia in the New Testament, Supplements to NovT* 13, 1966, 38–48). From the standpoint of methodology it raises the questions (i) whether the criterion Schweitzer used to ascertain the teaching of Jesus is necessary; (ii) whether his particular understanding of eschatology is justified in view of the complexity of thought in contemporary Judaism; and (iii) whether such a criterion can allow the possibility of any *sui generis* elements in the life and work of Jesus. Although Schweitzer was right in pointing out that eschatology had been a neglected factor in much previous study of the Gospels, his own interpretation of the eschatology of Jesus was not free from the charge of arbitrariness. As a matter of fact, the work of the messiah is never represented in apocalyptic writings as forcing in the kingdom. Moreover, the idea of a secret life of humiliation prior to exaltation is generally lacking (cf. Moore, op. cit., 41). The various elements in the life of Jesus, as depicted in the Gospels, cannot be subsumed under the category of apocalyptic eschatology as the single key to the whole.

Schweitzer and Werner claim that Paul understood Jesus' death and resurrection as the initiation of the end of the world, and even that he saw Jesus' resurrection as the literal beginning of the general resurrection. Moore counters this by suggesting that, while Paul regarded the speedy return of Christ a real possibility, he nowhere maintained it as certain or necessary either in his early or later epistles (op. cit., 46; cf. 108 ff. where he discusses 1 Thess. 4:13–18; 2 Thess. 1:5–12; 2:1–15; 1 Cor. 7; and 15; 2 Cor. 5:1–10; Rom. 13; and 15:19, 23; Phil. 3:20; 4:5). Consistent eschatology posits that Christianity is founded upon a mistaken idea which was not about some minor detail but about the central issue of the primitive church's witness. But the mistaken expectation of apocalyptic as Schweitzer understood it "cannot do justice to the soteriological understanding of Jesus' life and death which we find throughout the New Testament" (Moore, op. cit., 48).

(b) The Little Apocalypse Theory. A view which is diametrically opposed to that of Schweitzer is that propounded by T. Colani in *Jésus-Christ et les Croyances Messianiques de son Temps*, 1864, which is known as the Little Apocalypse theory. Colani argued that there was no connection at all between the teaching of Jesus and Jewish messianism. The Jewish messiah had always been a purely temporal figure and Jewish hopes had always been temporal and political. Jesus did not

proclaim either an eschatological kingdom or himself as the awaited messiah. He was a simple, humble teacher for whom the kingdom was a present reality identical with his teaching and life-style. Mk. 13:5–31 is a Jewish Christian interpolation representing views which were remote from Jesus' own position. The real answer to the disciples' question about the destruction of the temple (v. 4) is actually given in v. 32 ("But of that day or that hour no one knows, not even the angels in heaven, nor the Son, but only the Father"). The intervening material, the Little Apocalypse, is a tract written at a time of persecution before the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. It is this teaching which underlies the parallels in Matt. 24 and Lk. 17 and 21. For discussion of Colani and his influence see G. R. Beasley-Murray, *Jesus and the Future: An Examination of the Criticism of the Eschatological Discourse, Mark 13, with Special Reference to the Little Apocalypse Theory*, 1954; cf. also the same writer's *A Commentary on Mark 13*, 1957. For surveys of the history of interpretation of the kingdom see G. Lundström, *The Kingdom of God in the Teaching of Jesus: A History of Interpretation from the Last Decades of the Nineteenth Century to the Present Day*, 1963; and N. Perrin, *The Kingdom of God in the Teaching of Jesus*, 1963.

Colani's successors included C. Weizsäcker, W. Weiffenbach, G. C. B. Pünjer, H. H. Wendt, W. Baldensperger and E. Wending. The type of approach which Colani represented was shared by many who were not directly indebted to him. Whereas Colani saw a single document behind the Little Apocalypse others thought of it more in terms of a tradition. The essential feature was alien eschatological teaching incorporated into that of Jesus and in this sense the position was adopted in some form or other by B. H. Streeter, R. H. Charles, E. Meyer, F. Hauck, R. Bultmann and G. Hölscher. Colani himself divided the Apocalypse into three sections: the beginning of the birth pangs in the form of false prophets, wars and persecutions (Mk. 13:5–13); the terrible distress that will precede the end (Mk. 13:14–23); and the end (*telos*) of events (Mk. 13:24–31). Whilst Colani attributed the whole discourse to extraneous sources, others have seen some elements of Christian exhortation (e.g. vv. 9–13, 21 ff., 28 ff.) which could go back to Jesus.

(c) Realized Eschatology. The leading exponent of realized eschatology is C. H. Dodd who argued his position in a number of works including *The Parables of the Kingdom*, 1936[2]; *The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments*, 1936; *History and the Gospel*, 1938; *The Coming of Christ*, 1952; *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, 1953; *Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel*, 1963; *The Founder of Christianity*, 1970; and various articles reprinted in *New Testament Studies*, 1953, and *More New Testament Studies*, 1968. (For discussion see F. F. Bruce, "C. H. Dodd", in P. E. Hughes, ed., *Creative Minds in Contemporary Theology*, 1966, 1969[2], 239–69; N. Q. Hamilton, "C. H. Dodd's Realised Eschatology" in *The Holy Spirit and Eschatology in Paul, SJT Occasional Papers* 6, 1957, 53–70; J. A. T. Robinson, "Theologians of our Time: XII. C. H. Dodd", *ExpT* 75, 1963–64, 100 ff., reprinted in A. W. and E. Hastings, eds., *Theologians of Our Time*, 1966, 40–46; and A. L. Moore, op. cit., 49–66.) Dodd used the phrase "realized eschatology" to denote the fact that the burden of Jesus' preaching especially in the parables was that the kingdom of God had come (*The Parables of the Kingdom*, 198, cf. 44). This demands a response. The traditional Jewish eschatological scheme is dislocated by the advent of Jesus: "The *eschaton* has moved from the

future to the present, from the sphere of expectation into that of realized experience" (op. cit., 50). Eschatology means no longer the last point in time; it refers rather to "the absolute order" (op. cit., 107). The eschatological elements in the teaching of Jesus are thus to be interpreted in this sense. However, the early church misinterpreted a good deal along the lines of Jewish literalism (*The Apostolic Preaching*, 80 ff., 92; cf. 64 ff.). Thus, whereas Jesus spoke of the one single event of the coming of the Son of man, "they made a distinction between two events, one past, His resurrection from the dead, and one future, His coming on the clouds" (op. cit., 101). Paul himself, however, underwent a considerable spiritual and psychological development in which the initial apocalyptic dualism of 1 and 2 Thess. and 1 Cor. 15 was transcended. Thereafter there was a growing emphasis on eternal life here and now in communion with Christ, and the earlier world-denial gave place to a more positive evaluation of political institutions (Rom. 13), the goodness of man (Rom. 2:14 f.) and the family (Col. 3:18 f.; Eph. 5:21–33) (*New Testament Studies*, 80 ff., 109–118). The Fourth Gospel represents the ultimate stage of this development, in which popular apocalyptic eschatology is replaced and thus we come back to the original intentions of Jesus (*The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, 395, 406).

Another writer who finds the idea of a parousia inimical to the original teaching of Jesus is T. F. Glasson in *The Second Advent: The Origin of the New Testament Doctrine*, (1945) 1947². He claims that the idea is absent from the OT which was the most important source of Jesus' teaching and from apocalyptic which is largely concerned with an earthly king. But the idea arose because of unfulfilled prophecies and the Antichrist legend was imported into Christianity giving rise to imminent expectation and millenarianism. Another viewpoint is that of J. A. T. Robinson in *In the End God . . .*, (1950) 1968²; "The Most Primitive Christology of All?", *JTS* New Series 7, 1956, 177–89; reprinted in *Twelve New Testament Studies*, *SBT* 34, 1962, 139–53; and *Jesus and His Coming: The Emergence of a Doctrine*, 1957. Jesus himself did not expect to return in glory. Rather he taught that God was performing a decisive act which was stated in terms of vindication and visitation, neither of which involve a parousia. The temporal chronological element was introduced through a confusion of two types of christological teaching, one of which affirmed that Christ has come and the other that he will come. These were never fully reconciled. However, the Fourth Gospel does achieve a synthesis which gives the parousia its proper meaning as the "mutual indwelling of Jesus and the disciples in love" (*Jesus and His Coming*, 178).

Dodd's method has been criticized in respect of his handling of the parables, in that he selects those passages which stress the decisive moment in the present as representing the true meaning of the parables and the authentic teaching of Jesus, and discounts other teaching as secondary additions. Similarly he posits a *Sitz im Leben* for the parables in the light of what he conceives to be their clear meaning (cf. especially op. cit., 111–53), a procedure which requires their respective life settings to have been rapidly forgotten in their transmission and commitment to writing. Glasson's claim that Jesus made no use of apocalyptic (op. cit., 63 ff.) cannot be sustained, and few scholars would deny that terms like the Son of man are derived at least in part from Dan. or Enoch. The more moderate representatives of realized eschatology admit the presence of apocalyptic elements in the teaching

of Jesus, but are obliged to say that it applies only to the form and not to the meaning. Moore sees in realized eschatology an implicit form of demythologizing which has a built-in apologetic motif (op. cit., 56 ff.). It presents the eschatological expectations of the NT as resting upon a mistake, but shifts the onus for this from Jesus to the early church in the interests of rescuing Jesus from the charge of being a misguided, apocalyptic enthusiast.

Moore concludes his review of realized eschatology by pointing out that this school of thought "rightly recognizes that the New Testament emphatically declares that the Kingdom of God has come and is not 'wholly futurist'. However, this 'realization' is connected in the New Testament directly with the person and work of Christ and therefore with the lowliness and hiddenness characteristic of his ministry. It therefore carries the promise of future fulfilment, indeed demands future fulfilment" (op. cit., 63). It is perhaps not without some significance that Dodd himself somewhat modified his position by agreeing that, instead of speaking about "realized eschatology", it would be more appropriate to speak of "an eschatology that is in process of realization" (cf. the Ger. of J. Jeremias, "eine sich realisierende Eschatologie", noted in *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, 447; and J. Jeremias *The Parables of Jesus*, 1963², 230; cf. also G. Florovsky's phrase "inaugurated eschatology" noted by Dodd, ad loc.).

(d) Bultmann and Demythologizing. Rudolf Bultmann's programme of demythologizing the NT kerygma and restating it in existential terms, coupled with his radical form criticism, also entails a form of realized eschatology. In his epoch-making essay of 1941 on "New Testament and Mythology" Bultmann claimed that the NT not only contained myths, but that its thought-forms were essentially mythological, and therefore it should be demythologized in order to let the gospel speak to man today (for text and discussions see H.-W. Bartsch, ed., *Kerygma and and Myth: A Theological Debate*, I–II combined volume containing an enlarged bibliography, 1972; cf. also R. Bultmann, *Jesus Christ and Mythology*, 1960; A. L. Moore, op. cit., 67–79; N. Q. Hamilton, op. cit., 71–82; and C. Brown, ed., *History, Criticism and Faith*, 1976; → Myth). The myths, which derive from Jewish apocalyptic and gnosticism and belong to an obsolete pre-scientific world view, must be demythologized, not indeed to remove all offence but to allow the true offence of the gospel to confront men today. This alone will give men the possibility of understanding themselves and freeing them from the cares of material existence. In place of an apocalyptic programme of future external events, Bultmann prefers to say that every instant is eschatological, or rather that "every instant has the possibility of being an eschatological instant and in Christian faith this possibility is realised" (*History and Eschatology: The Presence of Eternity*, Gifford Lectures for 1955, 1957, 154). This is the meaning of eternity breaking into time, and of God breaking into history. "*The meaning of history always lies in the present*, and when the present is conceived as the eschatological present by Christian faith the meaning of history is realised. . . . In every moment slumbers the possibility of being the eschatological moment. You must awaken it" (ibid., 155). Alongside this we may put the statement: "The New Testament understanding of the history of Jesus as eschatological event is not rightly conceived either in the conception of Jesus as the centre of history, or in sacramentalism. Both are solutions of the embarrassment into which the Christian community was brought by the non-appearance of the

Parousia. The true solution of the problem lies in the thought of Paul and John, namely, as the idea that Christ is the ever present, or ever-becoming event (i.e. the eschatological event): the 'now' gets its eschatological character by the encounter with Christ or with the Word which proclaims Him, because in this encounter with Him the world and its history comes to its end and the believer becomes free from the world in becoming a new creature" ("History and Eschatology in the New Testament", *NTS* 1, 1954–55, 15).

An adequate critique of Bultmann's position would take us far beyond the scope of the present survey and would involve an appraisal of the complex questions of → myth, language and hermeneutics (→ Explain). It would also require a philosophical discussion of the nature of objectivity in relation to the concept of God, and an examination of the methods and sceptical results of Bultmann's *History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 1968² which gives his critical evaluation of the picture of Jesus presented by the Gospels. It must suffice here to pose the questions: What did Jesus himself say? How are we to interpret the apocalyptic language of the NT? How did the early church understand → time?

(e) Cullmann and Salvation History. Oscar Cullmann is a NT scholar whose views often stand in direct contradiction to Bultmann's. Of direct bearing on the question of the parousia are his *Christ and Time: The Primitive Christian Conception of Time and History*, 1951; "The Return of Christ", in *The Early Church*, 1956, 141–62; *The Christology of the New Testament*, 1959; and *Salvation in History*, 1967 (for further discussion and bibliography see D. H. Wallace, "Oscar Cullmann", in P. E. Hughes, ed., op. cit., 163–202; and J. J. Vincent, "Oscar Cullmann", in A. W. Hastings and E. Hastings, op. cit., 112–22). For Cullmann the "Christ event" is the mid-point (qualitatively speaking) in the ages of history. Eschatology embraces all the saving events beginning with the incarnation and concluding with the parousia. He illustrates this with the D-Day and V-Day terminology of the Second World War: "the decisive battle has already been won. But the war continues until a certain, though not as yet definite, Victory Day when the weapons will at last be still. The decisive battle would be Christ's death and resurrection, and Victory Day his *parousia*" (*Salvation in History*, 44). The church exists in the tension between these two historical events.

For his restatement of what is essentially a traditional understanding of the NT Cullmann has been attacked by members of the Bultmann school. Thus E. Fuchs adopted an existential approach to time in his *Studies of the Historical Jesus*, *SBT* 42, 1964, and P. Vielhauer has made the author of Acts responsible for the origin of the "early Catholic" idea of salvation history ("Zum 'Paulinismus' der Apostelgechichte", *EvT* 10, 1950–51, 1–15; ET "On the 'Paulinism' of Acts", in L. E. Keck and J. L. Martyn, eds., *Studies in Luke-Acts*, 1968, 33–50). What Cullmann regarded as the essence of the NT Hans Conzelmann claimed to be the special creation of Luke in *The Theology of St Luke*, 1960 (the original German title *Die Mitte der Zeit*, the mid-point of time, draws attention to the emphasis on Lk.'s conception of time). Conzelmann claimed that with his salvation history Lk. effectively abandoned the offence of the unfulfilled parousia. He achieved this by a scheme of periods which shifts the emphasis into the past and present, and substitutes the activity of the Holy Spirit for the kingdom to come. Whereas Cullmann himself sees Conzelmann's work as to some extent complementing his own (ibid., 46),

Conzelmann sees it as the antithesis. For it involves the abandonment of Jesus' eschatology in favour of an existential one, comparable with that of Bultmann. In *Das Problem der Parusieverzögerung in den synoptischen Evangelien und in der Apostelgeschichte*, *BZNW* 22, (1957) 1960², E. Grässer took this even further, arguing that Lk. was not as original in this as might appear. For the same process can be detected not only in the Synoptic Gospels but also in the sources that they used.

To all this Cullmann replies that the concept of salvation history begins with Jesus himself. He maintains that it is arbitrary to classify as genuine only those sayings which have to do with present salvation, and reject those which have to do with future salvation (*Salvation in History*, 191). His detailed examination of teaching in the Gospels leads to the statement: "We conclude that in Jesus' preaching the present which extends beyond his death is *already the end.* But this does not in any way justify asserting that Jesus is the end of salvation history. *The end time is, on the contrary, understood as belonging completely to salvation history, since each of its periods, short as they may be, has its own significance and is distinguished from others*" (op. cit., 230). Cullmann allows that there are differences among the various books of the NT on the subject of the *nearness of the end*, but none over the *tensions* between the "already" and the "not yet". "*The inmost essence of the New Testament messages is lost, not with the abandonment of the idea of a near end, but with the abandonment of salvation history*" (op. cit., 247).

(f) The Parousia in Recent Systematic Theology. A detailed examination of the parousia in systematic theology lies outside the scope of this volume. But attention may be drawn to the writings of Wolfhart Pannenberg and Jürgen Moltmann. To some extent Pannenberg represents a reaction to the theologies of the Word (whether that of Barth or of Bultmann) and to the idea of salvation history (cf. *Jesus – God and Man*, 1968; *Basic Questions in Theology*, I–III, 1970–73; W. Pannenberg, ed., *Revelation as History*, 1969; J. M. Robinson and J. B. Cobb, eds., *Theology as History*, *New Frontiers in Theology* III, 1967, including Pannenberg's "Focal Essay: The Revelation of God in Jesus of Nazareth", 101–33; cf. also A. D. Galloway, *Wolfhart Pannenberg*, 1973; and E. F. Tupper, *The Theology of Wolfhart Pannenberg*, 1974). Whereas Barth stresses revelation through the Word of God, Jesus Christ, through the Scriptures and Bultmann stresses existential illumination through demythologized kerygma, Pannenberg sees history as the revelation of God. But it is not the narrow ribbon of salvation history that is the sole revelation; rather it is universal history to which the event of Jesus Christ provides the key. "The historical event of revelation cannot be thought of in an outward way as revealing the essence of God. It is not so much the course of history as it is the end of history that is at one with the essence of God. But insofar as the end presupposes the course of history, because it is the perfection of it, then also the course of history belongs in essence to the revelation of God, for history receives its unity from its goal" (*Revelation as History*, 133). The resurrection of Jesus has the character of a proleptic revelation of this final goal. "Now the history of the whole is only visible when one stands at its end. Until then, the future always remains as something beyond calculation. And, only in the sense that the perfection of history has already been inaugurated in Jesus Christ is God finally and fully revealed in the fate of Jesus. With the resurrection of Jesus, the end of history has

already occurred, although it does not strike us in this way. It is through the resurrection that the God of Israel has substantiated his deity in an ultimate way and is now manifest as the God of all men" (op. cit., 142). The resurrection, therefore, posits the parousia. "The ultimate divine confirmation of Jesus will take place only in the occurrence of his return. Only then will the revelation of God in Jesus become manifest in its ultimate, irresistible glory. When we speak today of God's revelation in Jesus and of his exaltation accomplished in the resurrection from the dead, our statements always contain a proleptic element. The fulfilment, which had begun for the disciples, which was almost in their grasp, in the appearances of the resurrected Lord, has become promise once again for us" (*Jesus – God and Man*, 108).

Jürgen Moltmann has also sought to redress the inadequate eschatological perspectives of twentieth-century theology (cf. *Theology of Hope: On the Ground and Implications of a Christian Theology*, 1967; *Hope and Planning*, 1971; *Theology and Joy*, 1973; *The Crucified God: The Cross of Christ as the Foundation and Criticism of Christian Theology*, 1974; see also E. H. Cousins, ed., *Hope and the Future of Man*, 1973; M. D. Meeks, *Origins of the Theology of Hope*, 1974; and E. F. Tupper, op. cit., 257–61 for a brief comparison with Pannenberg). Moltmann claims that *parousia* does not mean the return of someone but "imminent arrival". It can also mean presence, in the sense of an awaited presence. "The parousia of Christ is a different thing from a reality that is experienced now and given now. As compared with what can now be experienced, it brings something new. Yet it is not for that reason totally separate from the reality which we can now experience and have now to live in, but, as the future that is really outstanding, it works upon the present by waking hopes and establishing resistance. The *eschaton* of the parousia of Christ, as a result of its eschatological promise, causes the present that can be experienced at any given moment to become historic by breaking away from the past and breaking out towards the things that are to come. . . . The Christian hope expects from the future of Christ not only unveiling, but also final fulfilment. The latter is to bring the redeeming of the promise which the cross and resurrection of Christ contains for his own and for the world" (*Theology of Hope*, 227 f.). Thus for Pannenberg and for Moltmann, however they understand its particularities, the parousia is not the misconceived application of apocalyptic ideas to a non-eschatological Jesus. It is implicit in Christ and in the structure of Christian hope for the world.

2. *The Parousia in the Theology of the New Testament Writings.* (a) Mk. 13 and the Synoptic Gospels. G. R. Beasley-Murray's *Jesus and the Future* reviews the debate on Mk. 13 to the time of publication in 1954. For discussion since then see K. Grayston, "The Study of Mark XIII", *BJRL* 56, 1973–74, 371–87; and D. Wenham, "Recent Study of Mark 13", *TSF Bulletin* 71, 1975, 8–15, and 72, 1975, 1–9.

Beasley-Murray reviews six types of approach to the vindication of the discourse in Mk. 13. (i) One way of doing this is to take the prophecy concerning Jerusalem as a prefiguration of the end (op. cit., 114 f.). This view was taken by J. Neander in *The Life of Jesus Christ in its Historical Connection and Historical Development*, (1837; ET from 4th ed. 1853). Similarly A. Plummer saw the day of judgment symbolized in the judgment on the guilty city (*Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew*, 1909, 328; cf. N. Geldenhuys, *Commentary on the Gospel of*

Luke, *NLC*, 1950, 523, 533). Beasley-Murray comments: "This view proceeds from an act of faith; it can neither be demonstrated nor denied from other statements in the Gospels. Its major defect is the presupposition that the discourse was intended to cater for two events separated by a long stretch of time" (op. cit., 115). (ii) A second view is that the discourse combines two prophecies of Jesus into one (op. cit., 115–27; cf. F. Godet, *A Commentary on the Gospel of Luke*, ET from 2nd French edition of 1870; W. Beyschlag, *New Testament Theology*, 1891; B. Weiss, *Die Evangelien des Markus und Lukas*, *KEK*, 1878; J. Weiss, *Jesus' Proclamation of the Kingdom of God*, [1892] ET 1971). In the one Jesus looked forward to the impending fall of Jerusalem; in the other to the end at a time unknown. (ii) A third view sees the discourse as a continuous description of the Christian era (op. cit., 127–31; cf. T. Zahn, *Introduction to the New Testament*, II, 1909). Mk. 13:30 declares: "Truly, I say to you, this generation will not pass away before all these things [*tauta panta*] take place." On this interpretation *tauta panta* were only the beginning, and the end would not come until the gospel had been preached throughout the world. Against this Beasley-Murray adduces Mk. 9:1 and Matt. 10:23 which refer to the imminent coming of the Son of man. This he finds irreconcilable with the apparently prolonged ongoing events of much of Mk. 13. (iv) A fourth view is the application of "Prophetic Perspective" which brings together events which in fact may be widely separated, as in a view of a mountain range in which the peaks appear to be close together (op. cit., 131–141; cf. J. A. Bengel, *Gnomon*, I, ET 1857, 417, 426; C. A. Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, 1886; *The Messiah of the Gospels*, 1984; *The Messiah of the Apostles*, 1895; P. Schwarzkopf, *Die Weissagungen Jesu Christi, von seinem Tode, seiner Auferstehung und Wiederkunft und ihre Erfüllung* 1895; C. H. Turner in C. Gore, H. L. Goudge and A. Guillaume, eds., *A New Commentary on Holy Scripture*, 1928, 102). Turner took the ignorance which Jesus attributed to himself (v. 32) to imply that Jesus was mistaken about the time-scale of events. (v) A fifth view suggests that the discourse is a composition of isolated fragments (op. cit., 141–46; cf. D. E. Haupt, *Die eschatologischen Aussagen Jesu in den synoptischen Evangelien*, 1895; F. C. Burkitt, *Jesus Christ: An Historical Outline*, 49 ff. (vi) Finally Beasley-Murray reviews works since about 1930 which move towards a synthesis (op. cit., 146–67). The works include G. Gloege, *Gottes Reich und Kirche im Neuen Testament*, 1929; H. D. Wendland, *Die Eschatologie des Reiches Gottes bei Jesu*, 1931; F. Busch, *Zum Verständnis der synoptischen Eschatologie. Markus 13 neu untersucht*, 1938; C. C. Torrey, *Documents of the Primitive Church*, 1941; C. J. Cadoux, *The Historic Mission of Jesus*, 1941; H. H. Rowley, *The Relevance of Apocalyptic*, 1944; P. Althaus, *Die letzten Dinge*, 1949[5]; J. Schniewind, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, *NTD*, 1949[5], and *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus*, *NTD*, 1950[5]; and A. Farrer, *A Study of St. Mark*, 1951. The consensus of opinion is that Jesus did expect a near end and that Mk. 13 is to some extent composite. But the main thrust of the teaching is to bring home to people the significance of the present.

Beasley-Murray himself sees no contradiction between the need for watchfulness and the suddenness of the end. But he insists that *genea* (v. 30) must mean → generation (op. cit., 260 f.). Jesus was thus mistaken in his prophetic time-scale, though this is mitigated by v. 32, and it does not undermine Jesus' authority as a teacher. Although some sayings may have been added (e.g. vv. 15 f.), Beasley-Murray does

not think that the discourse as a whole is a composite work. Although it shares a common OT background with Jewish writings, the apocalyptic in the discourse omits a great deal of typical Jewish apocalyptic (op. cit., 220–26). The parousia is in fact integral not only to the teaching of Jesus but to his life and death. "If it is true, as William Manson wrote, 'We do not approach the parousia prediction rightly unless we come to it by way of Gethsemane and Calvary', the reverse is also true: it requires the vindication of the parousia to set Gethsemane and Calvary in their right context" (op. cit., 220; cf. W. Manson, *Christ's View of the Kingdom of God*, 1918, 163).

Beasley-Murray inclines to the view that Matt. (cf. ch. 24) and Lk. (cf. ch. 21) had independent access to the teaching that occurs in Mk. 13 (op. cit., 226–30). He also suggests that Paul was also familiar with it (op. cit., 232 ff.; cf. 1 Thess. 4:15 ff. = Mk. 13:26 f., Matt. 24:31; 1 Thess. 5:1–5 = Mk. 13:32 f., Lk. 21:24–35; 1 Thess. 5:6 ff. = Mk. 13:35 f., cf. 33, 37; 1 Thess. 5:4–10 = Mk. 13:22; 2 Thess. 1:3 ff. = Mk. 13:9–13; 2 Thess. 1:6–10 = Mk. 13:16 f.; 2 Thess. 1:11 f. = Lk. 21:36; 2 Thess. 2:1 f. = Mk. 13:26 f.; 2 Thess. 2:3 = Mk. 13:5, Matt. 24:12; 2 Thess. 2:4 ff. = Mk. 13:14; 2 Thess. 2:7 = Matt. 24:12; 2 Thess. 2:8–12 = Mk. 13:22, cf. Lk. 24:11, Mk. 1:36; 2 Thess. 2:13 = Mk. 13:27, cf. Lk. 21:8; 2 Thess. 2:15 = Mk. 13:23, cf. 31). There are also affinities with Jn. in the shape of "the thought of the disciples witnessing to a hostile world by the aid of the Holy Spirit amidst acute suffering, in the period between the death and resurrection of Jesus and the parousia. If the keynote of Jn. 13–17 is 'In the world you have tribulation, but be of good cheer, *I have overcome the world*' (16.33), in Mk. 13 the stress is on the *future* victory. Both these characteristic emphases of the gospels are needed" (op. cit., 238). Similarly the theme of wars, international strife, famine, pestilence, persecutions, earthquakes and heavenly portents which are found in Rev. 6 all occur in Mk. 13, Matt. 24 and Lk. 21, though not necessarily in that order (op. cit., 238 ff.).

In view of its independent use by Paul and various other factors, Beasley-Murray suggests that if the material existed in documentary form it might even be "the most ancient document of Christianity" (op. cit., 246). He rejects the case that the discourse contains traces of the LXX, and holds that there are positive indications that the discourse was Aramaic in origin, having a quasi-poetic structure. Although this does not automatically authenticate the discourse, it would be consonant with tracing it back to Jesus himself. If the unity of these sayings with other known sayings of Jesus has been shown, "the Aramaic background of the discourse will confirm our belief that the discourse is authentic" (op. cit., 250).

W. G. Kümmel is among those who think that Mk. 13:30 (par. Matt. 24:34, Lk. 21:32) was understood by Mk. to refer to the events leading up to the end which will occur within the lifetime of this generation (*Promise and Fulfilment: The Eschatological Message of Jesus*, *SBT* 23, 1961², 60). However, he suggests that "these things" in v. 29 are not necessarily the same as "all these things" in v. 30. Moreover, he believes that "it is wrong to attempt to derive the exegesis of the saying from the *immediate* context given by Mark, which the original independence of the saying does not justify." To Kümmel Matt. 10:23 confirms the conclusion "that Jesus reckoned on the coming of the Kingdom of God and of the Son of Man

in glory within the lifetime of the generation of his hearers" (op. cit., 64).

A. L. Moore gives an alternative interpretation of Mk. 13:30: it refers not "to specific events but rather to the entire complex of events which may be termed 'signs of the end' and which are to be experienced, though not necessarily exhausted by, the contemporary generation" (*The Parousia in the New Testament, Supplements to NovT*, 13, 1966, 133). The answer to the question "when?" (v. 4) is not given here but in vv. 32 ff. (with Jesus' professed ignorance and the parable of the doorkeeper). Mk. 13:30 answers the question of the "signs" (v. 4). "But whereas the signs will occur within the immediate future (though not necessarily exhausted by that immediate future), the End itself is not so delimited" (op. cit., 134 f.). In both cases there is a parable attached. In the case of the signs it is the parable of the fig tree (vv. 28 f.; → Fruit, art. *sykē*). The question remains whether the versions of Matt. and Lk. support this interpretation. In Matt. G. Barth claims that expectation of the imminent end recedes, and exhortation comes to the fore (in G. Bornkamm, G. Barth and H. J. Held, *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew*, 1963, 61). If this is so, it is indeed surprising that Matt. 24:34 is included in the discourse, if it were understood by him to express a delimited parousia expectation. It would be insufficient, as Moore points out (ibid.) to say that this is counterbalanced by the parables of Matt. 25 envisaging some delay. It would have been simpler for Matt. to omit the verse entirely. In the case of Lk., H. Conzelmann thinks that Lk. altered the meaning of Mk. 13:30. Whereas in Mk. *genea* means generation, in Lk. 21:32 it means "humanity in general" (*The Theology of St Luke*, 1960, 131). Lk. also omits *tauta*, so that his version reads: "Truly, I say to you, this generation will not pass away until all has taken place." Thus the verse refers to "the whole of the Divine plan" (ibid.). However, Moore rightly questions whether there is a significant shift of understanding (ibid.). For even in Lk. *genea* is best understood as generation. And the omission of *tauta* is probably a stylistic alteration. Moreover, the saying is preceded by a reference to the coming of the Son of man, the impending redemption and the parable of the fig tree (vv. 27–30). This would seem to delimit the end for the contemporary generation also in Lk., in view of the rejection of Conzelmann's understanding of generation. Thus there is no essential difference between the Synoptic Evangelists, for all three are concerned with the signs which the contemporary generation will see which inaugurate the end, but do not necessarily contain the end. With this view we may compare Cullmann's view noted above that we are already in the end time, though the end has not yet come (see above 1 (e)).

In *Prophecy Interpreted: The Function of Some Jewish Apocalyptic Texts and of the Eschatological Discourse, Mark 13 Par., Coniectanea Biblica, New Testament Series* 1, 1966 L. Hartman argues that Mk. 13 is a midrash on various passages from the book of Daniel. Among the parallels that he sees are the following: *dei genesthai*, "this must take place" (Mk. 13:7 = Dan. 2:28; → Necessity, art. *dei*); *to bdelygma tēs erēmōseōs*, → "the abomination of desolation" (Mk. 13:14 = Dan. 9:27; 12:11); *thlipsis hoia ou gegonen toiautē ap' archēs ktiseōs hēn ektisen ho theos hēos tou nyn*, "such tribulation as has not been from the beginning of the creation which God created until now" (Mk. 13:19 = Dan. 12:1; → Persecution, art. *thlipsis*); and *ton hyion tou anthrōpou erchomenon en nephelais*, → "the Son of man coming in clouds" (Mk. 13:26 = Dan. 7:13 f.). The whole passage is seen as an

exposition or meditation on the texts in Dan. for the end time. Both the hortatory and the apocalyptic material in Mk. 13 are derived from Dan., apart from the conclusion (Mk. 13:33 f.) which was added. The presence of the same themes in 1 and 2 Thess. (noted above by Beasley-Murray) suggests that Paul also knew the pre-Marcan midrash. For discussion of Hartman's speculative reconstruction of how the discourse came into being see D. Wenham, *TSF Bulletin* 71, 10 f., who concludes that while there are firm links between Mk. 13 and Dan., the case has not been established that it is a midrash of the kind posited by Hartman, involving no less than nine stages of development and adaptation before it reached its Marcan form.

A considerable degree of redaction in Mk. 13 is claimed by J. Lambrecht in *Die Redaktion der Markus-Apokalypse: Literarische Analyse und Strukturuntersuchung*, *Analecta Biblica* 28, 1967. Mark was not just a collector of stories but a careful theological editor. (For a review of his verse-by-verse treatment of the chapter see D. Wenham, op. cit., 11–15.) Lambrecht sees the discourse as Jesus' last revelation and warning following his final break with the Jewish authorities. Much of it goes back to pre-Marcan traditions, including Q, and has close connections with the LXX. But a considerable amount is due to Mark himself who has imposed on it his own structure. The description of Jesus' coming (vv. 24–27) is the central element, but the thrust of the chapter as a whole is more towards warning and encouraging than giving apocalyptic information. Whilst recognizing many acute observations, Wenham concludes that Lambrecht's suggestion about the origins of the material are highly speculative, often exaggerating difficulties and apt to equate sayings in the Gospel tradition that are similar but far from identical. Moreover, his argument is cumulative, often taking certain verses to be secondary Marcan compilations on the ground that they make sense in the Marcan context (which he has earlier concluded to be secondary) and not elsewhere.

Another work which adopts a redaction-critical approach is R. Pesch's *Naherwartungen: Tradition und Redaktion in Markus 13*, 1968. His review of previous students of the passage includes Beasley-Murray, Hartman (who, he thinks, has proved the opposite of what he claims, i.e. that Mk. 13 is *not* a Danielic midrash) and Lambrecht. His chief complaint is that most scholars have tended to jump from the exegetical question to that of the historical Jesus without paying adequate (redaction-critical) attention to the chapter within its Marcan context. He agrees with Lambrecht in dividing the discourse into three sections: vv. 5b–23, 24–27, 28–37. According to Pesch, the pre-Marcan tradition included: (1) a group of persecution logia which were the work of Christian prophets (vv. 9, 13a, 11), since they do not reflect Jesus' earthly ministry; (2) two parables which may go back to Jesus (vv. 28b, 34); (3) two logia which could go back to Jesus in their original form (vv. 31, 32, the latter especially with its confession of Jesus' ignorance); (4) an apocalyptic tract whose contents are typical of the apocalyptic tradition, but whose vocabulary is not typical of the Gospel (vv. 6, 22, 7b, 8, 13b–17, ?18, 19 and 20a, 24–27). In direct contrast to Beasley-Murray, Pesch argues that there is here an unusually close dependence on the LXX which suggests that it was not part of Jesus' teaching. He thinks that it arose in Gk.-speaking circles. The tract was originally purely Jewish, but was taken over by Christians some time before A.D. 70 and applied to the Jewish War. Mk.'s intention is to warn against those

who were deceiving people by their calculations about the end-time, and also maintain a hope for a near end in the interests of attitudes to the present. D. Wenham sees in the work a propensity to unwarranted speculation (though not so great as Lambrecht's) and to lean on questionable assumptions (*TSF Bulletin* 72, 3). He regularly explains the tension between the second and third persons in the chapter as a reflection of Mk.'s use of sources, when it need not be. He is apt to assume that a saying which describes a church situation (e.g. v. 9b) must derive from that situation, and that a phrase reflecting Marcan vocabulary must derive from Mark himself. The work is characterized by an apparent unwillingness to try to make sense of the chapter not only in terms of Mk.'s theology but also in terms of Mk.'s apparent intention, i.e. to record what Jesus said.

In *No Stone on Another: Studies in the Significance of the Fall of Jerusalem in the Synoptic Gospels*, *Supplements to NovT* 23, 1970, Lloyd Gaston urges the need for a form-critical approach to Mk. 13. On the ground that the discourse is a farewell discourse in form, but that there is no reference to Jesus' coming death in it, he suggests that it may go back to a synoptic apocalypse that was originally regarded as part of Jesus' post-Easter teaching. To look for an apocalyptic source to which paraenetic elements have been added is to approach the question from the wrong end. "The framework of the discourse is provided by the parenetic, to which apocalyptic elements have been 'added' " (op. cit., 52). The characteristic words are *blepete*, "see" (vv. 5, 9, 23, 33) and *grēgoreite*, "watch"(vv. 34, 35, 37). The hortatory elements (vv. 5b, 7a, 8b, 9a, 13b, 21, 23, 28 f., 33–37) can readily be separated from the apocalyptic elements (vv. 6, 7b, 8a, 14–20, 22, 24–27), a division which very nearly corresponds to the formal distinction between the second and third persons. But, "It should be clear that this separation of different 'elements' has nothing to do with literary criticism in the sense of looking for 'sources', for neither series is capable of standing alone. We are only trying to isolate special characteristics of the chapter in order to determine the original function" (op. cit., 52). Gaston thinks that the discourse was originally the work of Christian → prophets which went through various stages of adaptation (op. cit., 61 ff.). The core was an unfulfilled oracle (vv. 14–19) which had its origin between the winter of A.D. 39–40 and the following winter. The original oracle referred to a situation similar to that of the time of Dan. It was then reapplied to the fall of Jerusalem. Jesus had spoken of a decisive event that would happen during the lifetime of those who witnessed his death. Because he had also predicted the fall of Jerusalem the two events were combined, and coupled with the winter oracle. Various other features were added in the course of time. Mk.'s own contribution (which was in fact to "mislead interpreters down to the present" [op. cit., 63]) was to set the whole discourse in answer to a question concerning the destruction of the temple. D. Wenham rightly draws attention to exegetical weaknesses in the build-up of the case here: "The author explains with confidence the history of the traditions contained in the chapter, but like others he builds too much on too little" (*TSF Bulletin* 72, 5). Moreover, he tends to deal with the chapter verse by verse without analyzing carefully the direction and purpose of the whole. If Jesus could predict separately the decisive event after his death and the fall of Jerusalem, it is difficult to see why he could not have predicted them together or foreseen some relationship between the two himself, especially in view of Jewish attitudes. Finally, considerable

weight here is placed on the creative rôle of Christian prophets who were evidently at least as influential as Jesus himself in their eschatological teaching and whose word was equally authoritative. But the evidence for them is very slight (for discussion → Prophet, art. *prophētēs* NT).

A redaction critical approach is adopted by Willi Marxsen in his study of Mark 13 in *Mark the Evangelist: Studies on the Redaction History of the Gospel*, 1969, 151–206. Despite what he considers to be the divergent material and inner contradictions, he maintains that Mk. intended the chapter as a unity (op. cit., 166). But "here as elsewhere, Mark does not give thought to utterances of the historical Jesus. It is rather the Risen Lord who speaks – through the evangelist. That is, for Mark the gospel is the proclamation of the Risen Lord to the present" (op. cit., 170). The destruction of the temple has already taken place. "The end time has begun its course. Men stand right at the beginning of the end. And he who is with the community is the same who was and is to come" (op. cit., 188). The whole discourse is thus presented by Mk. with many of the events described already in the past, but preparing the church for the imminent final end. Marxsen goes on to argue that Matt. has somewhat modified the material to adapt it to the situation of the missionary church, having surrendered the imminent expectation of Mk. Similarly, Lk. writes from the standpoint of his own experience and composes the first "church history", beginning with Jesus. In the evaluation of Marxsen's thesis much depends upon the evaluation of his use of redaction critical techniques. But a pivotal point is clearly the dating of the NT books. It is frequently assumed that the Gospels were composed sometime after A.D. 70 which in turn is partly based on the assumption that the prophecies in Mk. 13 are *vaticinia ex eventu*, i.e. not really prophecies at all but history written to look like prophecy. But a recent challenge to the widely accepted dating has come from J. A. T. Robinson in *Redating the New Testament*, 1976, who maintains that the whole of the NT together with the Didache was written before the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. Whilst we may agree that the chapter is essentially a discourse for the present, it may be thought that Marxsen, like so many of his predecessors, has too readily assumed the imminence of the parousia in the sense of the end of the world through not paying sufficient attention to the linguistic background of the concepts used.

With regard to the chronology of events in Mk. 13, D. Wenham adopts what is perhaps the most common conservative verdict: "Unless it is to be concluded that the Jesus of Mark is mistaken in his understanding of timing, we have then to assume that the time-scale is very compressed, so that what seem like near events are so only theologically; chronologically they are widely separated" (op. cit., 8). But in conclusion attention may be drawn to the somewhat different approach shared by two conservative scholars, J. M. Kik, *Matthew Twenty-Four: An Exposition*, 1948 (reprinted in *An Eschatology of Victory*, 1971, 53–173), and R. T. France, *Jesus and the Old Testament: His Application of Old Testament Passages to Himself and his Mission*, 1971. France argues that the whole context and argument of Mk. 13:4–23 could and does apply to events leading up to the judgment on Jerusalem (op. cit., 232). Kik similarly argues that Matt. 24:4–35 refers to the destruction of Jerusalem and the excision of the Jewish nation from the kingdom, whereas Matt. 24:36–25:46 refers to the second coming of Christ (*An Eschatology of Victory*, 73). There is warning of false Christs and persecution (Mk. 13:5–13 par.),

together with that of the → abomination of desolation (vv. 14 f. par.) which is a sign of the intensification of persecution, the greatest tribulation yet experienced and more false Christs. But all this can be read as applicable to the events leading up to the fall of Jerusalem. Then come the crucial verses Mk. 13:24–27 par. Matt. 24:29 ff., Lk. 21:25–28 which traditionally have been taken to refer to cosmic events and the second coming in view of the reference to the sun and moon not giving their light, the stars falling, the powers of heaven being shaken: "And then they will see the Son of man coming in clouds with great power and glory. And then he will send out the angels, and gather his elect from the four winds, from the ends of the earth to the ends of heaven." This is followed by the parable of the fig tree, the promise that "this generation will not pass away before all these things take place" (Mk. 13:30 par. Matt. 24:34, Lk. 21:32) which in turn is followed by Jesus' profession of ignorance of the time (Mk. 13:32 par. Matt. 24:36), and the parable teaching watchfulness (Mk. 13:33–37; cf. Matt. 25:14 f., Lk. 19:12 f.).

In context the theme of the discourse is the destruction of the → temple which symbolizes the judgment on Israel in view of its rejection of Jesus and his preaching. But the discourse is not simply concerned with Israel; it is also concerned with the disciples and the new Israel. For paradoxically the judgment which will fall on ancient Israel will bring them great trial and tribulation (Matt. 24:21; Mk. 13:19; cf. Dan. 12:1). Indeed, it is for the sake of the elect that the Lord has cut short (*ekolobōsen*) those days (Mk. 13:20, cf. Matt. 24:22). All this leads up to Mk. 13:24–27 par. which we might expect to deal with the judgment on Israel. Whereas other scholars assume that there is a jump in Jesus' thought here to the second coming, Kik and France say that these verses are actually a description of the judgment on Israel which did indeed occur within the lifetime of that generation and which in fact is also supported by the parable of the fig tree (→ Fruit, art. *sykē*). The language is, in fact, that of OT prophecy and apocalyptic which in the context of the OT is used to describe *this-worldly* events, in particular, judgments. The phrases in Mk. 13:24 f. par. are drawn from Isa. 13:10 and 34:4 (the former predicting the doom of Babylon; the latter that of "all the nations", but with special reference to Edom). Similar examples may be seen in Ezek. 32:7 (concerning Egypt), Amos 8:9 (concerning the northern kingdom), Joel 2:10 (concerning Judah), and constantly in Joel 3–4 concerning God's judgment on Judah and other nations (France, op. cit., 233; Kik, op. cit., 129 ff.). Similarly, Peter uses the cosmological language of Joel 2:28–32 in his Pentecost sermon (Acts 2:17–21) to interpret the outpouring of the Spirit, when there were no patent celestial phenomena. Thus Jesus is not predicting abnormal astronomical events; he is predicting the judgment of God on the Jewish nation in the OT language of judgment. We might add that the cosmic symbolism has the double function of drawing attention to the fact that this judgment is in the main stream of prophetic judgment and of emphasizing the divine dimension of something that is happening in history using imagery associated with the day of the Lord. But it may also have the further function of disclosing the significance of events in the same way that the → parables function. For those who have ears to hear and eyes to see, the utterance has significance, otherwise it remains veiled. It is on a par with the messianic secret, and indeed belongs to it.

Mk. 13:26 par. takes up Dan. 7:13. France writes: "Jesus is using Daniel 7:13 as a prediction of that authority which he exercised when in A.D. 70 the Jewish nation and its leaders, who had condemned him, were overthrown, and Jesus was vindicated as the recipient of all power from the Ancient of Days" (op. cit., 236). The coming in clouds referred to here is thus not a visible return in judgment but an allusion to Jesus' ascent to the Father and accession of authority. The visible events of the fall of Jerusalem are in fact the vindication of Jesus. A similar sense is present in Mk. 14:62. The seeing means that they will see for themselves that their time of power is finished, and that God has given all power in heaven and earth to Jesus. The parallelism of "coming" and "sitting" in Mk. 14:62 is itself a warning against taking the "coming" too literally. Clouds are a common piece of OT symbolism, denoting the power of God especially in judgment (cf. Isa. 19:1; Pss. 97:2 f.; 104:3). Matt. 24:30 takes up the language of Zech. 12:10 ff., which in context refers to the mourning of the Jews, and is appropriate in this context. Mk. 13:27 par. Matt. 24:31 uses the language of Deut. 30:4 and Zech. 2:6[10] (also Isa. 27:13 in the case of Matt.), none of which passages demand an eschatological sense in context. Here they are typologically applied to the gathering of the Christian church, the new Israel, from all the nations, as distinct from the old Israel descended from Abraham (France, op. cit., 238).

The parable of the fig tree is a parabolic warning that these things are beginning to happen, and Mk. 13:30 par. emphasizes that they will all happen within a generation. But Mk. 13:32 par. looks ahead to "that day" and "hour" which is known only to the Father. Two lines of interpretation may be considered. One is that it refers to the events in history that Jesus has been talking about, and thus the whole discourse does not look beyond the fall of Jerusalem, the consequent rejection of the Jewish nation and the vindication of the Son. This would not preclude a further parousia of the Son of man or a culmination of history (e.g. Matt. 13:40 f.; 25:1–46); it would merely state that this is not the theme of the present discourse. The other would be to say, with France and Kik, that the final part of the discourse looks ahead to the second coming of Christ. In the meantime the disciples are like servants put in charge of property whilst the master is away on a journey. They are to watch, lest when he comes, he should find them asleep. France's examination of the language rejects the view that the alleged Septuagintalisms in the text show that it could not have had a Semitic origin. From the standpoint of both language and thought, the discourse is entirely conceivable as the teaching of Jesus in the context set by the evangelists. It provides teaching for the disciples that is relevent to their situation as followers of the historical Jesus. He foresaw his own death which was paradoxically the final culminating act of Israel's rejection of him and thus also of God, and at the same time it was the decisive act in God's rejection of Israel. From that point onwards the temple (and with it Jerusalem and Israel) had no more future in salvation history. The disciples will live to see Jesus vindicated and Israel judged. But in the meantime they must expect persecution and watch.

(b) The eschatology of Luke. We have already had occasion to note Hans Conzelmann's argument in *The Theology of St Luke*, 1960, that the traditional Christian time-scheme which divides history into three periods, the age of Israel, the time when Jesus was on earth, and the age of the church, was the creation of

Luke (see above 1 (e); cf. also Conzelmann's *An Outline Theology of the New Testament*, 1969). Luke, he argues, developed this ostensibly because the expected parousia failed to materialize. Conzelmann himself further subdivides the middle period of Jesus into three parts: Jesus in Galilee, on the way to Jerusalem, and the time in Jerusalem. Similarly, Acts can be subdivided into three parts: Jerusalem, Samaria and the neighbouring regions, and the world (Asia Minor, Greece and Rome). Since Lk.'s Gospel is more of a biography than Mk., and his Acts is the first history of the church, Luke is often credited by contemporary NT scholars as the creator of early catholicism, though it is not often made clear whether the term is positive or pejorative or indeed what precisely it means. Conzelmann argues that the ministry of Jesus and the age of the church are separated by a holy time, consisting of the resurrection appearances at Jerusalem over a period of forty days. The Holy Spirit, given at Pentecost, is no longer the eschatological gift "but the substitute in the meantime for the possession of ultimate salvation" (op. cit. 95). Lk. does not expect the parousia soon. Apocalyptic signs may occur, but "the end will not be at once" (Lk. 21:9; cf. Mk. 13:7; Matt. 24:6). Lk. is concerned with the period of the church in Acts which reaches from Jesus' ascension to the future parousia. He is interested in relations with the Roman empire and the Jewish people (op. cit., 148). The church is the new people of God continuing salvation history and existing under persecution. Thus Luke replaces the imminent parousia with a scheme in which the institution of the church occupies a more prominent place.

A somewhat different approach is that put forward by H. Flender in *St Luke: Theologian of Redemptive History*, 1965. From his analysis of the dialectical structure of Luke-Acts Flender concludes that Luke had an overriding theological concern. He places side by side what belongs to the old world and to the new world of God, showing the gulf between the sinful world under judgment and God (op. cit., 34 f.). The time-scheme of salvation in Lk.-Acts is like that in Rev. 12: first victory in heaven, and then victory on earth (op. cit., 102 f.). As a historian and theologian of redemptive history, Luke had a threefold task: "First, he had to preserve the unique character of the Christ event in on-going history. Secondly, there was the problem of historical continuity between Israel and the Church. Thirdly, there was the problem of how to describe the presence of salvation in the Christian community as it passes through time" (op. cit., 91). Christ's exaltation is seen as "the consummation of salvation in heaven" (ibid.). Christ's occupation of the temple "is a kind of symbolic anticipation of his enthronement in heaven" (op. cit., 93). The ascension story "contains unmistakable echoes of the parousia terminology" (ibid.; cf. Acts 1:9 ff.; Dan. 7:13). In his handling of Lk. 17:22 ff., and the above material, Luke is not simply postponing the parousia: "He transfers theological statements previously associated with the parousia to the exaltation" (op. cit., 98). "The ascension, as Luke sees it, is a kind of anticipation of the parousia in heaven" (op. cit., 94). The apocalyptic sayings in Lk. 17 have an individual application in Lk.: "in that day one shall be taken and the other left" (Lk. 17:34; cf. 12:20) is similar to the words addressed to the dying thief (Lk. 23:43). Both refer to the individual's death by which he either loses or gains life. "The cross is not now the absolute end of the world. It is the preliminary end for the individual Christian who hears its message in the word of preaching" (op. cit.,

19; cf. 15). Flender holds that there is a continuity and a discontinuity between this age and the age to come. History goes on, as it were, on a horizontal plane. But there is also the vertical dimension of the divine realm. Flender concludes that Luke solves the problem of their relationship by discovering "a *via media* between the gnostic denial and the early catholic canonization of history. His solution is to give simultaneous expression to the supernatural mystery and the earthly visibility of Christ and his history" (op. cit., 167). For in his humility Jesus "belongs to the new period. . . . In his divinity he stands outside of any chronological scheme, sharing God's contemporaneity with all human time" (op. cit., 125). The corollary for Flender is that "Luke has no notion of any redemptive history extending in time" (op. cit., 162).

E. E. Ellis replies to this by drawing attention to two premises of Lucan thought (*Eschatology in Luke*, *Facet Books*, Biblical Series 30, 1972, 8 ff.). On the one hand, man is understood as a unified totality who may indeed be viewed from different perspectives but who is not a dualism consisting of body and soul. This understanding of man is taken over from the OT and was shared by Jesus and Paul. It may be seen in Lk.'s sources. Thus *psychē* usually means "life" or "self" which is lost at death (Lk. 9:24; 12:19 f.; Acts 2:27 = Ps. 16:10; 20:10; 27:22). In the midrash at Acts 2:31 the parallelism of self and *sarx* (flesh) follows the parallelism of *psychē* and self in the preceding quotation (Acts 2:27; cf. 13:37). There is a parallelism of *psychē* and *pneuma* (spirit) at Lk. 1:46 f., of *psychē* and *sōma* at Lk. 12:22 f., and the equivalent use of *pneuma* and *psychē* for life-principle at Lk. 8:55 and Acts 20:10. Lk. 12:20 ("your soul is required of you") and 23:46 (cf. Acts 2:27, 31) reinforce the impression that no anthropological dualism affects Luke's handling of his traditions. Even in the Areopagus address, Ellis claims that Luke understands Acts 17:28 differently from the traditional Stoic-pantheistic concept or is using it as an *argumentum ad hominem*. On the other hand, the Platonic contrast of time and eternity is equally absent from Luke's eschatology, as it is from the NT generally. The contrast between heaven and earth is not an occasion for cosmological speculation. It is a contrast of the "seen" and the "unseen" which, like his anthropology, has antecedents in Paul and the OT (cf. Acts 7:56; 12:6–11; 2 Ki. 6:17; and W. C. van Unnik, "Die geöffneten Himmel" in W. Schneemelcher, ed., *Apophoreta. Festschrift für Ernst Haenchen*, *BZNW* 30, 1964, 269–80). "Luke's conception of 'heaven' and 'earth' may be compared to two television channels showing different segments of the same auto race. The action is contemporaneous with and related to the other. But viewers of Channel 1 do not see the action of Channel 2" (op. cit., 10). In this connection Ellis agrees with Cullmann that the resurrection hope is not a compromise between Judaism and Platonism. A theology that includes the departure of the soul to a timeless realm or sees death as the anticipation of the parousia contradicts the NT concept of the temporal redemption of the whole man (ibid.; cf. O Cullmann, *Immortality of the Soul or Resurrection of the Dead? The Witness of the New Testament*, 1958).

In view of this, Luke's eschatology should be seen "within the framework of a two-stage eschatology and a monistic anthropology, a temporal redemption of the whole man from death. It is characterized by a concern to show the exclusive mediation of the eschatological fulfilment through Jesus and, thereby, to show the relationship of this age to the age to come" (op. cit., 11). In the mission of the

earthly Jesus the new age of the kingdom of God becomes present in his creative word and acts (Lk. 11:20; cf. 10:9, 11, 18; 19:11; 21:8 f.; E. E. Ellis, "Present and Future Eschatology in Luke", *NTS* 12, 1965–66, 27–41). This is not simply a Lucan perspective, but goes back to Jesus himself (cf. W. G. Kümmel, *Promise and Fulfilment: The Eschatological Message of Jesus*, *SBT* 23, 1957, 106–24, 138 ff.). The mission of the seventy (Lk. 10) presupposes the identification of Jesus' followers with his own person (Lk. 10:16; cf. Matt. 10:40; Jn. 13:20) and is thus a means of making the kingdom present. Similarly the dying thief will be "with me" in his exaltation (Lk. 24:43). In the Last Supper the participants are invited to "see the eschatological consummation in the present through union with the departing Jesus" (Kümmel, op. cit., 121; quoted by Ellis, op. cit., 12). The Semitic idea of corporate solidarity of the group with its leader underlies Acts 9:4 and probably the temple motif (Lk. 20:17 f.; Acts 6:14; 7:48; 15:16; 17:24; cf. B. Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament*, *Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series* 1, 103, 122, 123–42).

From all this Ellis concludes that "The identification of the eschatological fulfilment exclusively with Jesus provides the rationale by which the relationship of this age and the age to come is to be understood" (op. cit., 13). The twofold eschatology of apocalyptic Judaism of blessing and judgment becomes a *two-stage eschatology*. "The Spirit's activity in and through Jesus brings eschatological blessings of the coming age now, but the judgment and the consummation of the kingdom are deferred" (ibid.). Whereas Flender sees the vertical dimension in Luke's eschatology as a consummation in heaven that is manifested on earth, Ellis sees a consummation on earth in the resurrection and exaltation of Jesus that is presently manifested in heaven. Salvation history on earth incorporates in it a heavenly dimension. "For Jesus' followers the vertical dimension is not a road map of their individual pilgrimage but rather a relationship with the One who is in heaven 'until the times of universal *apokatastasis*' " (op. cit., 14; cf. Acts 3:21; Lk. 17:34 f.; 21:27; Acts 1:11; 17:31).

Moreover, the person and mission of Jesus define for Luke the nature of the *continuity and discontinuity* the age to come (ibid.). The healings (cf. Lk. 5:23 f.; 13:16; Acts 26:18), the nature miracles and Jesus' own resurrection point to the new age as a fulfilment and deliverance of the created order from the death-powers of the present age (cf. the references to → paradise [Lk. 23:43], → Adam [Lk. 3:38], restoration [Acts 1:6; 3:21]; and the parallel between "sons of the resurrection" and those who "live in God" [Lk. 20:38; Acts 17:28]). Yet the kingdom of God is also something radically new whose discontinuity with the present age is as radical as that between death and resurrection. "The fate of Jesus is the fate of the disciple, who also must go 'through many tribulations' and 'lose his life' if he, like Jesus, is to become 'a son of the resurrection' " (ibid.; cf. Acts 14:22; Lk. 17:33; 20:36; 22:28 ff.; and the parallels in Paul in Rom. 6:4, 10–13; Col. 3:1–5, 12).

Whilst issuing a timely warning against the tendency to see an opponent behind every bush in the NT theological garden, Ellis does allow that Luke's eschatology may contain certain correctives. Thus the prologue (Lk. 1:4) suggests that Lk. may be correcting heretical misinformation. The strong emphasis on the physical nature of Jesus' resurrection and the careful distinction between the resurrection and the ascension are intended to safeguard the resurrection against a heavenly

or spiritual interpretation. The discontinuity between the present age and the kingdom is a warning against political messianism. And the emphasis on the presence of the Spirit and the unity of the disciple with the exalted Lord (Lk. 23:43; Acts 7:56) corrects an improper anticipation of the coming end of the age (op. cit., 15).

In Ellis's view, to suggest that Luke's eschatological framework arose out of embarrassment over the delay in the parousia is to misconceive the nature of the problem. In any case, there is a basic tension between "Thy kingdom come" and "If I by the Spirit of God cast out demons, the kingdom of God has come upon you" which goes back to Jesus himself (Matt. 6:10; 12:28; cf. W. G. Kümmel, op. cit.; and "Futuristic and Realized Eschatology in the Earliest Stages of Christianity", *JR* 43, 1963, 303–14). In point of fact, the delay-motif in Lk. "appears before there was time to get embarrassed" (op. cit., 18). In Luke's traditions there was already the twin motif of "imminence and delay". But Luke's problem is not the delay of the parousia, "but a false apocalyptic speculation that has misapplied the teachings of Jesus and threatens to pervert the church's mission" (op. cit., 19).

The presence of apocalyptic fever in the second half of the 1st century is documented in both Christian sources and other writings (cf. Josephus, *War* 6, 5, 4; Tacitus, *History* 5, 13; Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars*, *Vespasian* 4; 2 Thess. 2:2). It is against this background that Luke records: "Being asked by the Pharisees when the kingdom of God was coming, he answered them, 'The kingdom of God is not coming with signs to be observed; nor indeed will they say, "Lo, here it is!" or "There!" for behold, the kingdom of God is in the midst of you' " (Lk. 17:20 f.). Similarly Acts 1:6 ff. records the question of the disciples: " 'Lord, will you at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?' He said to them, 'It is not for you to know the times or seasons which the Father has fixed by his own authority. But you shall receive power when the Holy Spirit has come upon you; and you shall be my witnesses in Jerusalem and in all Judea and Samaria and to the end of the earth.' " The theme of Acts is the church's task as mission which is not served by preoccupation with chronological speculation. "Because the eschatological reality is present the length of the interval until the consummation of is no crucial significance" (op. cit., 19). The Lucan eschatology is set within the context of a two-stage manifestation of the kingdom of God as present and future. Whereas Matt. couples eschatology with the church, Luke combines eschatology and the → Spirit (Lk. 3:16 f.; 11:31 f.; 17:21 ff.; Acts 1:2–16; 2:4–38; 4:8, 25, 31; 5:3, 9, 16, 32; 6:3, 5, 10; 7:51, 55, 59; 8:7–29; 9:17, 31; 10:19–47; 11:12–28; 13:2, 4, 9, 52; 15:8, 28 f.; 16:6–18; 17:26; 18:25; 19:1–21; 20:22 f., 28; 21:4, 11; 28:25) and Jesus (Lk. 22:28 ff.; 23:43). However, it must also be said that these references show the activity of the Spirit in relation to the church and Jesus. It is Jesus who gives the Spirit (Lk. 3:16; Acts 2:33) and who represents in his resurrection an individual fulfilment of the age to come. "His followers not only manifest the same *eschatological powers of the Spirit* as he does, but they also have a *corporate identification with the (risen) Lord.* In both ways Luke sets forth the new age as a present reality" (op. cit., 20). But it is a present reality that requires future consummation.

(c) Paul. It is a common presupposition of much NT interpretation that Paul expected the parousia within his own lifetime. A more sophisticated version of this

belief is that argued by C. H. Dodd that Paul's eschatology underwent a development in the course of time (cf. "The Mind of Paul" I and II, in *New Testament Studies*, 1953, 67–128; and the discussions of D. E. H. Whiteley, *The Theology of St. Paul*, 1974², 241–48; J. Lowe, "An Examination of Attempts to Detect Developments in St. Paul's Theology", *JTS* 42, 1941, 129–42; and J. C. Hurd, Jr., *The Origin of I Corinthians*, 1965, 8 ff.; see above 1(c)). This draws a distinction between the earlier epistles of Paul (1 and 2 Thess.; 1 Cor.; 2 Cor. 6:14–7:1 which was originally part of a separate letter; 2 Cor. 10:1–13:10 which was also separate) which envisaged an imminent parousia and the later ones (Rom.; 2 Cor. 1–9; and the Captivity Epistles) where the parousia has receded giving way to concerns which imply an ongoing view of history. The change of mind came about through the tensions with the Corinthian church involving a harsh, puritanical letter (2 Cor. 6:14–7:1 cf. 1 Cor. 5:9) and a further letter which included 2 Cor. 10:1–13:10. Following the capitulation of the dissident attitude, Paul wrote 2 Cor. 1–9 in which Paul himself mellowed somewhat and is more inclined to accept the world than to deny it, as in his allegedly earlier attitude.

In support of the specific eschatological contentions Dodd argues that 1 Thess. 4:15 ff. imply that Paul himself expected to experience the parousia: "For we declare to you by the word of the Lord, that we who are alive, who are left until the coming of the Lord, shall not precede those who have fallen asleep. For the Lord himself will descend from heaven with a cry of command, with the archangel's call, and with the sound of the trumpet of God. And the dead in Christ will rise first; then we who are alive, who are left, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air; and so we shall always be with the Lord" (cf. 5:1; and Dodd, op. cit., 110). But in 2 Cor. 4:12 and 5:4 Paul faces the possibility that he will die. The Thess. passage may be paralleled by the following: "Lo! I tell you a mystery. We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed" (1 Cor. 15:51); "the night is far gone, the day is at hand" (Rom. 13:12); "The Lord is at hand" (Phil. 4:5); and "the appointed time has grown very short; from now on, let those who have wives live as though they had none" (1 Cor. 7:29). Apart from Rom. 13:11–14 among the later Pauline writings, there is a lack of emphasis on the second coming. But here it must be noted that the same kind of language is present in 2 Tim. 1:12, 18. Moreover, Phil. 4:5 also belongs to a later Pauline epistle. Admittedly, the earlier references to the Day of Christ (Phil. 1:6, 10; 2:16) do not specifically mention its proximity, but Phil. 4:5 implies no fundamental shift of emphasis. Phil. 3:20 refers to heaven from which "we await a Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ." To this Whiteley suggests that Paul may have reverted to his earlier doctrine of the Thessalonian Epistles and 1 Cor., or even that Phil. may have been an early epistle (op. cit., 247)!

Support for Dodd's hypothesis is further seen in Paul's allegedly changed attitude to human institutions. In 1 Cor. 6:1–11 he is said to take a low view of Roman law courts, whereas in Rom. 13:1–11 he takes a more positive attitude towards the Roman state. But here it may be objected that the point in 1 Cor. is not to disparage civil law courts, but to draw attention to the incongruity of believers reverting to them to settle their internal disputes. In 2 Cor. 6:14–7:1 Paul urges the Corinthians to have nothing to do with unbelievers, whereas in Rom. 2:14 he envisages a Gentile knowledge of God. But here too it may be said that the two passages

deal with quite different things. The passage in 2 Cor. is concerned with sexual relations with pagans in the context of the cult at Corinth, whereas Rom. 2:14 may well refer to the fulfilment of the covenant promise of Jer. 31:33 among Gentile believers (→ God, art. *theos*, NT 4 (b)). In 1 Cor. 7 → marriage appears to be a second best whereas in Col. 3:18 f. and Eph. 5:21–33 marriage is highly esteemed. However, a high estimate of marriage can be combined with imminent expectation (1 Pet. 3:1–7; 4:7; cf. J. Lowe, op. cit., 139; see also E. G. Selwyn, "Eschatology in 1 Peter", in W. D. Davies and D. Daube, eds., *The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology: In Honour of Charles Harold Dodd*, 1954, 394–401). Moreover, the difference of emphasis is not so sharp as might appear at first sight. For in 1 Cor. 7 Paul does not condemn marriage as such. His positive point with regard to marriage and everything else is that believers should deal with the world "as though they had no dealings with it. For the form of this world is passing away" (1 Cor. 7:2). In 1 Cor. 7 this point is applied specifically to marriage, but it remained for Paul a fixed point on which he never went back.

D. E. H. Whiteley admits that subsequent criticism has weakened Dodd's case, but he does not think that it has destroyed it (op. cit., 248). Clearly it would be absurd to posit that Paul's thought was insusceptible to any development in the light of his missionary experience and further reflection. The crucial question is not whether Paul grew in understanding but whether he shifted his position from an expectation of the parousia in his lifetime to an indefinite postponement of it. Part of Dodd's case turns on the chronological order of Paul's epistles. In general scholarly opinion favours the broad outline which he accepts. However, there is no general endorsement of attempts to divide 2 Cor. in Dodd's way, and C. K. Barrett concludes his review of the various theories by suggesting that the epistle is basically a unity, though chs. 10–13 were written at a later stage than chs. 1–9 (*The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, *BNTC*, 1973, 21). There are, however, other ways of explaining the differing emphases in Paul's writing. J. A. T. Robinson sees in Paul a change which "is to be described as a shift from an apocalyptic to a non-apocalyptic form of eschatology" (*Jesus and His Coming*, 1957, 161; on this see the discussion of W. Baird below). C. F. D. Moule sees the shift in thought from 1 Cor. 15 to 2 Cor. 5 as involving the acknowledgement that the new clothing cannot be simply put over the old, but rather the old must be given up in exchange ("St Paul and Dualism: The Pauline Conception of Resurrection", *NTS* 12, 1965–66, 106–23). But even in 1 Cor. there is the recognition of the process of mortality (cf. 1 Cor. 6:14; 15:53 f. with vv. 36 ff.). Moreover, the case for assuming that Paul expected the parousia soon in 1 Thess. is far from water-tight. As early as 1 Thess. 5:10 Paul reckoned with the possibility that he might die. The possibility cannot be dismissed that in speaking of "we" in 1 Thess. 4:15 and 17 Paul was identifying himself with the last generation without necessarily supposing that he himself belonged to it (cf. J. Bonsirven, *L'Évangile de Paul*, 1948, 338 ff.; L. Morris, *The First and Second Epistles to the Thessalonians*, *NLC*, 1959, 141 f.). On the other hand, M. J. Harris believes that 2 Cor. 5 "marks a decisive turning-point in the apostle's estimate of his own relation to the Parousia. No longer is his pre-Advent decease a possibility more hypothetical than real. For the first time – to judge by the extant Pauline Epistles – he has begun to reckon with the implications of that possibility, a possibility that has ceased to be a distant reality by becoming a probability"

("2 Corinthians 5:1–10: Watershed in Paul's Eschatology", *TB* 22, 1971, 39). This was due to his confrontation with death in Asia (2 Cor. 1:8–11). There is also the possibility that the varying emphases of Paul's eschatology were affected by the different polemical situations in which Paul found himself. Thus 1 Thess. 4:13–18 and 5:10 is addressed to those who need assurance that both the living and dead believers will be with the Lord, whereas 2 Thess. 2:3 implies the teaching of some that the day of the Lord is already past and 1 Cor. 15:12 ff. the denial of the resurrection. Harris suggests that Paul further modified his own views in 2 Cor. Whereas he had previously regarded the resurrection of deceased Christians as transpiring at the Parousia, in 2 Cor. 5 he envisages his own receipt of a spiritual body, comparable to Christ's, as occurring at the time of his death (op. cit., 39–45). And by the time of 2 Cor. he no longer viewed the Christian dead as resting in "sleep" in the grave or Sheol until the Parousia; he now anticipates conscious personal communion with Christ in heaven immediately after death (op. cit., 45–57). Harris believes Paul's thinking was influenced by the tribulation of 2 Cor. 1:8 and the illness of 2 Cor. 2:12 f.; cf. 7:5.

W. Baird suggests a somewhat different line of approach in "Pauline Eschatology in Hermeneutical Perspective", *NTS* 17, 1970–71, 312–27. He points out that eschatological statements are found throughout most of Paul's epistles, though references to a future eschaton are lacking in 2 Cor. 10–13 and are scarce in Gal. (cf. 5:5, 21; 6:8). The absence of such key eschatological terms as *parousia* (presence), *orgē* (wrath), *anastasis* (resurrection) and *aphtharsia* (incorruption) from these passages suggests that in epistles (or sections of epistles) of sharpest polemic futurist eschatology plays no major rôle (op. cit., 321). But in fact, no clear pattern emerges from the contexts of the major eschatological passages in Paul. Rom. 13 and 1 Thess. 4–5 are set in paraenetic sections, the latter being concerned with care for the departed (4:18) and edification (5:1). 1 Cor. 15 answers Corinthian questions concerning the denial of the resurrection (15:12) and its mode (15:34). But it is also related to ethical concerns (vv. 34 and 58). In 2 Cor. 4:7 ff. and 5:6 ff. apostolic suffering and exhortation provide the context for discussion about the body and death. In Phil. 1:25 eschatology is bound up with the fulfilment of Paul's mission. There is a polemical note in Phil. 3:2 ff., 19 ff., and exhortation in Phil. 4:1.

Baird argues that just as the contexts of Paul's eschatological statements display a variety of interest embracing the paraenetic, the polemical, the pastoral, and the personal, so does the structure of his eschatological language. Whilst there is a broad parallelism between 1 Thess. 4:16 ff. and 1 Cor. 15:23 ff., the sequence of events is not identical (op. cit., 322). 1 Thess. lists the descent of the Lord (accompanied by shout, archangel's voice and trumpet), the resurrection of the dead and the catching of those who are alive for meeting the Lord in the air. 1 Cor. lists the raising of Christ (a past event), the resurrection of those who belong to Christ, and the end when Christ delivers the kingdom to God. 1 Thess. distinguishes between the raising of the dead and the elevation of the living, whereas 1 Cor. 15:51 speaks of transformation. 1 Cor. 15:23 and 1 Thess. 4:16 link the resurrection of Christians with the parousia, but the lifting up appears to be slightly later (1 Thess. 4:15, 17), whereas the whole occurs in a flash in 1 Cor. 15:52. Similarly, parallels with differences can be found in Phil. 1 and 2 Cor. 5 (op. cit., 323). Baird

suggests that a shift of eschatological language may be observed between 1 Thess. 4 and 1 Cor. 15, on the one hand, and 2 Cor. 5 and Phil. 1, on the other. The terms *koimaomai* (sleep), *salpinx* (trumpet) and *parousia* (presence) in an eschatological sense appear in Paul only in 1 Thess. and 1 Cor. Phil. 1:22 speaks of "living in the flesh" and 2 Cor. 5:2 refers to the heavenly dwelling, and both speak of being with Christ or the Lord (Phil. 1:23; cf. 2 Cor. 5:8), and of desire (Phil. 1:23) and groaning (2 Cor. 5:2, 4) for the new life.

However, the thesis that Paul completely changed his eschatological language and ideas is confounded by a comparison of 1 Thess. 5 (as an example of Paul's earliest writing) with Rom. 13 (as an example of later thought). For both passages share a view of the imminent eschaton, using the word *kairos* (time; Rom. 13:11; 1 Thess. 5:2), the contrast between night and day (1 Thess. 5:4; Rom. 13:12), that between sleeping and waking (1 Thess. 5:6; Rom. 13:11), and that between drunkenness and sobriety (1 Thess. 5:7; Rom. 13:13). The vb. *endyō* (put on) is also a common factor: the Thessalonians are to put on the breastplate of faith and love and the helmet of the hope of salvation (5:8); the Romans are to put on the armour of light (13:12; cf. also Eph. 6:11–17).

Just as there are also linguistic shifts between epistles, there are also different types of language within the same letter. 1 Thess.4 is one of the most apocalyptic passages, but it also contains the idea of being with the Lord always (4:17; 5:10), an idea paralleled in the more "Hellenistic" texts of 2 Cor. 5:8 and Phil. 1:23. 1 Cor. 15:51 f. preserves the apocalyptic idea of a trumpet and provides the only NT instances of *atomos* (that which cannot be cut in two; *en atomō*, in a moment) and *rhipē ophthalmou* (in the twinkling of an eye). It also expresses the hope of putting on immortality, a concept parallel to that of being clothed with the heavenly habitation (2 Cor. 5:2 f.). On the other hand, 2 Cor. 5 which describes the house eternal in the heavens (5:1) also depicts the apocalyptic judgment seat of Christ (5:10; cf. Rom. 14:10). Rom. 14:11 cites the prophecy of Isa. 45:23 that every knee shall bow to Yahweh and every tongue praise him, which Phil. 2:10 applies christologically and eschatologically.

In addition to these shifts of language, Baird draws attention to the fact that similar concepts are also expressed in different words (op. cit., 324). The word *parousia* is used in an eschatological sense only in 1 Thess. and 1 Cor., though Paul uses it elsewhere of human presence and the idea of the triumphal coming of the Lord is depicted in other language in 2 Cor. 4:14 and Phil. 3:20. The vb. *koimaō* (sleep) is used as a euphemism for → death in 1 Thess. 4:13 ff. and 1 Cor. 15:6, 18, 20, 51, but is replaced by *analyō* (unloose, depart) in Phil. 1:23. The noun *thanatos* (death) does not occur in 1 Thess., but is frequent in the later epistles. *anhistēmi* (rise) is the distinctive vb. for the resurrection of believers in 1 Thess. 4:14, 16, but is not used elsewhere by Paul to denote future resurrection. *egeirō* (raise) is used 15 times in 1 Cor. 15, but is found only once in 1 Thess. (1:10) with reference to the resurrection of Christ.

Corresponding to this varied use of eschatological language is the wide variety of contexts in which similar language is found. Baird draws attention to the following (op. cit., 324 f.). 1 Thess. 4:16 ff. has parallels in Jewish apocalyptic: the descent of the Lord (Mic. 1:3); the archangel (2 Esd. 4:36); the trumpet (2 Esd. 6:23); the clouds (Sl.Enoch 3:1). The image of the sons of light (1 Thess. 5:5; cf. Rom.

13:13) recalls the Qumran War Scroll (1QM). The day of the Lord (1 Thess. 5:2; Rom. 2:5; Phil. 1:6, 10) is found in the OT in passages like Amos 5:18; Zech. 14:1; → *hēmera*, OT). The judgment seat of Christ (2 Cor. 5:10; Rom. 14:10) recalls Eth.Enoch 62:3, 5. Such terms belong to the predominantly Jewish thought-world. But other ideas have Hellenistic affinities. Putting on the heavenly habitation is similar to the post-biblical Hymn of the Pearl 82 ff. which speaks of the "bright embroidered robe" which "was made ready in its home on high" (cf. R. M. Grant, *Gnosticism: An Anthology*, 1961, 121). Although the fear of nakedness is a Jewish concept (Isa. 30:4; Mic. 1:8; Ezek. 23:29), the idea of the naked bodiless soul is found in Plato (*Cratylus* 403) and Philo (*Virt.* 76), and the departure of the soul from the body under the cloud of nakedness is found in the Nag Hammadi gnostic texts (Gos.Phil. 23 f.; Gos.Thom. 20, 37).

It is not necessary to maintain that Paul was making explicit conscious reference to all or any of these passages. What they show is not so much literary dependence as the common currency of ideas in a variety of cultures. In addition to this, however, Paul may having been drawing on Christian tradition prior to himself. Thus 1 Thess. 4:15 ff. is presented as a "word of the Lord" (→ *parousia*, NT 2). Phil. 3:20 f. may express a pre-Pauline hymn. The illustration of the thief in the night (1 Thess. 5:1) occurs in Matt. 24:43 and Rev. 3:3. Death is personified in 1 Cor. 15:26; Rev. 6:8; 20:13 f.

Baird suggests that the distinctive feature of Paul's understanding of eschatology is its variety (op. cit., 325). He does not give a clear, simple apocalyptic picture of the end. His language is drawn from external sources and is not used with uniform emphasis. For in the last analysis Paul is using pictorial language to describe an indescribable future. He does not have a distinctive "Hellenistic" doctrine of life after death. There is no clear-cut pattern of development. However, Baird notes the following constant factors (op. cit., 325 ff.). (i) The death and resurrection of Christ as the decisive eschatological event has already occurred, and is the basis of the believer's own hope and faith (1 Thess. 4:14; 1 Cor. 15:3, 12–24; 2 Cor. 4:14; cf. Phil. 2:8–11; 3:18, 20 f.; Rom. 8:17). (ii) There will be a future consummation in which God's purposes will be fulfilled. This is described in a variety of ways: the parousia of Christ (1 Thess. 4:15; 1 Cor. 15:23); the judgment seat of Christ (1 Cor. 5:10) or God (Rom. 14:10); the subjecting of all things to Christ (1 Cor. 15:24 ff.; Phil. 3:21); the universal acknowledgment of Christ (Phil. 2:10 f.); and subjection of all to God (1 Cor. 15:28). Since the future remains hidden (Rom. 11:33–36), precise description is impossible (cf. Rom. 8:23). (iii) The future can be faced with confidence because of oneness with Christ. Again the precise images differ (Rom. 13:14; 1 Cor. 15:23; 2 Cor. 5:8; Phil. 1:23; 3:21; 1 Thess. 4:17; 5:10). (iv) The present is conditioned by the past eschatological occurrence and the hope of future consummation. The realized aspect is apparent only to the eyes of faith. It is also the ground of exhortation and argument.

The use of particular concepts does not present a uniform development capable of being traced in a linear trajectory. The course is zig-zag. However, Baird concedes that there is an overall reduction in the use of apocalyptic language in the later Pauline writings. But it does not amount to the disappearance of apocalyptic (op. cit., 327). Corresponding to this, there is an increase in the concern for the past and the present – a concern which is apparent even in Gal. (cf. 5:1–12;

6:7–10) and 2 Cor. 10–13 (cf. 10:3 f.; 11:12–15). At the same time Paul's thought becomes increasingly personal and realistic. Euphemisms like "sleep" (only in 1 Thess. and 1 Cor.) are reduced, while realistic terms like "death" (not in 1 Thess., but more than 20 times in Rom.) and "die" (twice in 1 Thess.; 19 times in Rom.; 7 times in 1 Cor.) are increased (→ Death, arts. *thanatos* and *katheudō*). Perhaps the underlying explanation is that death is a present reality which can be described concretely. As Paul grew older he reflected even more on death in relation to himself and believers, on the one hand, and Christ's death, on the other. But whereas death can be described both literally and metaphorically, the parousia is a reality to which we have no direct access. It cannot, therefore, be described in literal language; it can only be discussed in terms of picture and metaphor. In Paul's treatment of it he did not make a simple shift from apocalyptic to non-apocalyptic language. He was using the language and concepts that were available to him as the common property of himself and his readers. Whilst Paul's precise choice of terminology may well have been determined by the way in which the readers in any given community conceived the eschaton, we cannot rule out a growing understanding in the mind of Paul. What remains throughout is an awareness of accountability for what we do in this life and the possibility that at any time the end may come to us, either through death or with the parousia of Christ, and for this we must be constantly ready.

(d) John. John's eschatology involves two lines of thought. On the one hand, there is what R. E. Brown calls the "vertical" and "horizontal" views of God's saving action; and on the other hand, there is the interrelation of realized and future eschatology (*The Gospel According to John, I, Anchor Bible*, 1966, cxv–cxxi). The "horizontal" line traces God's acts in and through the sequence of history. Thus the Prologue sees the incarnation of the Word in relation to God's existence even before creation (1:1 ff.). In his dialogue with the → Samaritan woman Jesus sees the whole of history as leading up to the eschatological hour when both Samaritan worship on Mt. Gerizim and Jewish worship in the temple at Jerusalem will be superseded (Jn. 4:20 ff.). Moreover, that hour has arrived. "But the hour is coming, and now is, when true worshippers will worship the Father in spirit and truth, for such the Father seeks to worship him. God is spirit, and those who worship him must worship him in spirit and truth" (Jn. 4:23 f.; → Prayer, art. *proskyneō* NT 4). When the woman replies "I know that Messiah is coming (he who is called Christ); when he comes, he will show us all things", Jesus declares: "I who speak to you am he" (Jn. 4:25 f.). Similarly the → feasts find their fulfilment in him (cf. 1:29; 2:13, 23; 4:45; 5:1; 6:4; 7:2, 8, 10 f., 14, 37; 11:55 f.; 12:12, 20; 13:1, 29; 18:28, 39; 19:14). Not only the historic traditions of worship but the scriptures find their fulfilment in Jesus: "You search the scriptures, because you think that in them you have eternal life; and it is they that bear witness to me" (Jn. 5:39). To John everything is leading up to the "hour" which culminates the history of God's dealing with his people (cf. Jn. 2:4; 4:21; 8:20; 12:23, 27; 17:1; → Time, art. *hōra*). This has led some critics to suppose that Jn. is only interested in the "hour" of the ministry of Jesus. But R. E. Brown replies that Jn.'s "problem is not whether there will be a 'time of the Church,' but how this is related to Jesus" (op. cit., cxvi). He presupposes Christian missionary activity (Jn. 4:35–38; 20:21), a conflict of Christianity with the world (16:8), an influx of those who have come to

believe through the proclamation of the word (17:20), and the gathering of a flock to be shepherded (11:52; 10:16; 21:15 ff.).

But the acts of God do not operate only on the "horizontal" plane of history. The crucial events are seen as a "vertical" breaking into history. The Son of man has come down from heaven (3:13). The word has become flesh and dwelt among us. The culmination of the activity of Jesus will occur when he is lifted up to heaven in death and resurrection to draw all men to himself (12:32). There is a constant contrast between the above and the below, the divine realm and the world of men (3:3, 31; 8:23). There is a sphere that belongs to Spirit and a sphere that belongs to the flesh (3:6; 6:63). Jesus brings eternal life to a world which in its natural state is given over to death and judgment (3:16–21; cf. 1:12 f.). Death has no power over this life (11:25). The life-sustaining gifts which he gives from above are contrasted with earthly sustenance which has no enduring power: he gives the real water of life which never fails to satisfy (4:10–14); he is the bread of life, as contrasted with the manna in the wilderness that perished (6:27); he is the real light of the world (3:19).

R. E. Brown thinks that the Johannine integration of the "horizontal" and "vertical" elements argues against a gnostic interpretation of the Gospel (op. cit., cvi). Indeed, it represents a blending of the Hellenistic and Hebrew approaches to salvation. C. H. Dodd points out that the concept of "eternal life" (*zōē aiōnios*) is not found in pagan religious and philosophical writers until long after the NT period (*The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, 1953, 146). But the concept has Jewish roots long before this. Life may be thought of as prolonged (Eth.Enoch 10:10) or prolonged after the grave (Dan. 12:2; Test.Ash. 5:2; Pss.Sol. 3:16; 14:6; Eth.Enoch 37:4; 40:9; 2 Macc. 7:9, 14). There is also the doctrine of the two ages, the present age and the age to come, which is fully developed in 2 Esd. *c.* A.D. 100 (7:12 f.; 8:52 ff.; cf. also Eth.Enoch 48:7 with 71:15; Tosefta Peah. 4, 18, p. 24 [*c.* A.D. 50]; → Life, art. *zōē*; → Time, art. *aiōn*). Such references indicate that Jn.'s eschatological concepts were not a novelty. Rather, his presentation of Christ in terms of the "vertical" breaking into the "horizontal" made use of concepts current within Judaism. The novelty lies not in the concepts themselves but in the fact that Christ fulfils them.

At this point we may consider the other line of thought to which R. E. Brown, in common with many other NT scholars, draws attention: the relationship between realized and future eschatology in Jn. At first sight it might appear that Jn. teaches a thoroughly realized eschatology. The coming of the → glory of God is something that is represented as having already come with the incarnation: "And the Word became flesh and dwelt among us, full of grace and truth; we have beheld his glory, glory as of the only Son from the Father" (1:14). The → judgment is decisively brought forward to the present time: "He who believes in him is not condemned; he who does not believe is condemned already, because he has not believed in the name of the only Son of God. And this is the judgment, that the light has come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil" (3:18 f.). Whereas Matt. 25:31 ff. represents a future judgment scene, Jn. is not concerned with the scene itself. He is concerned with the act on which the judgment turns. Whatever else may follow is ratification of the choices that man makes here and now. In the Synoptics "eternal life" is something that one receives at the last

judgment or in a future age. In Jn. it is something that a man enters into here and now: "Truly, truly I say to you, he who hears my word and believes him who sent me, has eternal life; he does not come into judgment, but has passed from death to life" (5:24). For Lk. sonship is something that one has conferred as a future reward (Lk. 6:35; 20:36). In Jn. it is entered into here and now: "But to all who received him, who believed in his name, he gave power to become children of God" (Jn. 1:12).

But these passages must not be taken in isolation. Even in themselves they are not a repudiation of futuristic eschatology. Rather, they draw attention to the eschatological dimension of the present. The whole work, as Brown reminds us (op. cit., cxviii) was written in a post-resurrection situation. The readers would read about the new birth and entry into the kingdom (3:5), feeding on the living bread (6:27, 54, 57), and the life-giving Spirit (6:63; 7:38 f.; 16:7; 19:30; 20:22) in the light of a belief which extended beyond the plane of the continuously horizontal present. However, there are a number of passages which contain explicitly futuristic elements. Jesus' reply to Martha in respect of her affirmation of belief in the raising of her dead brother Lazarus in the resurrection relates it to himself in the present in a way which admits a future aspect: "I am the resurrection and the life; he who believes in me, though he die, yet shall he live" (11:25). The saying about Jesus' going away to prepare dwelling places in his Father's → house implies a future beyond the present (14:2 f.). At the climax of the high priestly prayer Jesus intercedes for the future state of the disciples: "Father, I desire that they also, whom thou hast given me, may be with me where I am, to behold my glory which thou hast given me in thy love for me before the foundation of the world" (17:24).

From what has been said so far it might be concluded that, while Jn. lays great emphasis on the eschatological dimension of the present but also hints at its future dimension, he does so in ways which avoid as far as possible apocalyptic language and concepts. But there are passages which refer to a second coming, a resurrection at the end time and the last judgment. Thus in the discourse in Jn. 5 Jesus declares: "Truly, truly, I say to you, the hour is coming, and now is, when the dead will hear the voice of the Son of God, and those who hear will live. For as the Father has life in himself, so he has granted the Son also to have life in himself, and has given him authority to execute judgment, because he is the Son of man. Do not marvel at this; for the hour is coming when all who are in the tombs will hear his voice and come forth, those who have done good, to the resurrection of life, and those who have done evil, to the resurrection of judgment" (5:25–28). In the middle of the discourse on the bread of life Jesus declares that he has come to do the will of him that sent him: "and this is the will of him who sent me, that I should lose nothing of all that he has given me, but raise it up at the last day. For this is the will of my Father, that every one who sees the Son and believes in him should have eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day" (6:39 f.). This theme is further underlined in the same discourse: "No one can come to me unless the Father who sent me draws him; and I will raise him up at the last day. . . . He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood has eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day" (6:44, 54). Similarly, the public ministry of Jesus reaches its climax with the declaration: "He who rejects me and does not receive my sayings has a judge; the word that I have spoken will be his judge at the last day" (12:48). This is endorsed by the affirmation

that what Jesus has said has been uttered on the authority of the Father and that his commandment is eternal life" (12:49 f.).

R. Bultmann deals with these passages by claiming that they are the work of the evangelist-redactor who inserted them to adapt the theology to the original Johannine church at large (*The Gospel of John*, 1971, 219 ff., 229, 233, 260 f., 345). Brown rejects this on purely literary grounds (op. cit., cxviii; cf. D. M. Smith, *The Composition and Order of the Fourth Gospel*, 1965, 230 ff.). Moreover, he suggests that if we take Rev. into account to form an overall picture of Johannine theology, the excision from Jn. of apocalyptic passages is unwarranted. E. Stauffer explains the emphasis in Jn. on realized eschatology and the hidden messiah as the work of the evangelist who sought to counter the vulgar apocalyptic elements that had become current in Christianity since the death of Jesus ("Agnostos Christos: Joh. ii. 24 und die Eschatologie des vierten Evangeliums", in W. D. Davies and D. Daube, eds., *The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology*, 1954, 281–99). Thus with Dodd, Stauffer believes that Jesus himself taught an eschatology with a strongly realized emphasis. M.-E. Boismard, however, thinks that the apocalyptic passages in Jn. were the earlier and the ones emphasizing the realized element reflect a later insight ("L'Évolution du Thème eschatologique dans les Traditions Johanniques", *RB* 68, 1961, 507–24). R. E. Brown believes that the tension between the realized and apocalyptic elements reflects the tension within the teaching of Jesus himself which is reflected in the Synoptic Gospels (cf. Matt. 10:23; 26:64; Mk. 9:1; 13:30; with Mk. 13:32 f.; Lk. 17:22). "It is a dubious procedure to excise one or the other group of statements in order to reconstruct a consistent eschatological view held by Jesus. The recognition that there were both realized and final elements in Jesus' own eschatology means that in the subsequent developments . . . the NT writers were not creating *ex nihilo* theories of realized or of final eschatology, but were applying to a particular situation one or the other strain already present in Jesus' thought" (op. cit., cxix). In fact, both strains were already present in Judaism. The War Scroll from Qumran (1QM) shows expectation of a final intervention, but other teaching at Qumran suggests that the community believed that they already shared in the heavenly gifts, that they were saved from judgment and enjoyed the companionship of the angels. Brown thinks that Jn. 21:22 f. (with its attempt to clarify that Jesus did not say that the disciple in question would not die but rather "If it is my will that he remain until I come, what is that to you?") was included to counter belief that Jesus would return within the lifetime of the disciples (op. cit., cxx; cf. 2 Pet. 3:4 and the discussion of Mk. 13:30 above). He also allows for the possibility of redaction.

Perhaps the best explanation of the eschatological emphases of Jn. is to recognize that it contains in tension the same elements as the Synoptic Gospels, but that stress on the eschatological dimension of the present is laid in view of the current apocalyptic beliefs canvassed in Judaism at a time when the existence of Judaism is under threat and the fall of Jerusalem is imminent. Jn.'s equivalent of the warnings in the apocalyptic discourse in the Synoptics about false Christs and wars is to stress the "now" of the Christ-event. His equivalent to the warnings of judgment on Jerusalem in the Synoptics is to speak about judgment here and now and depict the conduct of the Jews. It falls outside the scope of this note to discuss the relationship between Jn. and Rev. But if they were the work of the same author or even

reflected a basic underlying Johannine theological standpoint, it could be that the eschatology of Jn. and Rev. is to be understood as being complementary. The fourth Gospel stresses especially the eschatological dimension of the present in the light of the advent of Christ; Rev. stresses the eschatological dimension of history in the light of the advent of Christ. But in neither case can the present be divorced from the future, and in both cases the decisive factor is Christ. (For discussion of the eschatology of Rev. → Number, arts. *hepta* and *chilias*. Here it is argued that the number "seven" provides the key to the structure of the book in terms of seven parallel but cumulative visions of history culminating in the vision of the new → Jerusalem, corresponding to the seven days of creation of Gen. 1. The question of the millennium is also discussed.) *C. Brown*

→ Abomination of Desolation, → Antichrist, → Heaven, → Hell, → Judgment, → King, Kingdom, → Number, → Sabbath, → Time

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Addenda

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Dictionary of New Testament Theology Vol. 3

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THE NEW INTERNATIONAL DICTIONARY OF NEW TESTAMENT THEOLOGY is, first, a basic translation, and then an extensive revision and considerable enlargement, of a German work entitled *Theologisches Begriffslexikon Zum Neuen Testament.* On its first publication in German this was recognized as a major work of reference, and has since become more and more widely acclaimed as an important tool for understanding the theology and message of the Bible. Its translation and publication in this new English edition, together with the extensive revisions and extensive additions, have enlarged it so as to make it a unique source of information, invaluable to ministers, teachers, and anyone interested in the study as well as the teaching of the Bible.

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In its English form THE NEW INTERNATIONAL DOCTIONARY OF NEW TESTAMENT THEOLOGY was edited by Colin Brown, who holds the B.D. from the University of London, the M.A. from the University of Nottingham, and the Ph.D. from the University of Bristol. His publications include *Karl Barth and the Christian Message* and *Philosophy and the Christian Faith.* Before becoming Professor of Systematic Theology at Fuller Theological Seminary, Dr. Brown was Vice-Principal of Tyndale Hall. He has been Visiting Professor at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, Deerfield, Illinois, and at Regent College, Vancouver.

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Colin Brown
GENERAL EDITOR

Translated, with additions and revisions, from the German

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Preface

ALMOST ALL OUR WISDOM, CALVIN OBSERVED, CONSISTS OF TWO PARTS: THE knowledge of God and of ourselves (*Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 1, 1, 1). But, as Calvin's subsequent reflections make clear, neither part of this knowledge exists in a vacuum. The two are closely intertwined, and the Word of God which makes this knowledge possible touches every aspect of life. It was this awareness of the range and relevance of biblical thinking which prompted the editors and publishers of the German original of this dictionary to conceive the project of compiling a lexicon of New Testament terms seen against the background of the Old Testament and the ancient world. Their aim was to produce a reference work which would be compact and yet scholarly, a book which would be of service to preachers, teachers, pastors, Christian workers, students and lay people who wished to study biblical thinking in depth.

The publication of this third and final volume of the English edition sees the culmination of nearly a quarter of a century of work. In the course of time the dictionary has grown considerably. The original German articles have all been revised and enlarged to take into account more recent literature and scholarly research of interest to English-speaking readers. The present volume contains 104 main articles, of which 32 are completely new. In all 237 key Greek terms are treated here; of these 87 appear for the first time. A special feature of this English edition are the survey articles which discuss topics arising out of New Testament thought. This third volume contains 10 such articles ranging from *The Resurrection in Contemporary Theology* to *Jesus and Revolution*, and from *The Genealogies of Jesus Christ* to *Language and Meaning in Religion. Prepositions and Theology in the Greek New Testament* are given separate treatment in an extensive appendix.

As in the previous volumes, the main entries are arranged under the alphabetical order of the English terms which serve as a focus for the articles on key Greek words. These are further sub-divided as follows:

CL Discussion of the word in secular Greek. Uses of the word are illustrated by reference not only to classical literature but also to inscriptions and papyri. In view of the expressly theological interest of the dictionary discussion here is kept to a minimum.

OT Discussion of the word and related terms in the OT. The language of the church in the NT era was Greek, and the Old Testament Scriptures used by the church were largely the Greek translation of the Hebrew known as the Septuagint (LXX The discussion is therefore based on the terms as they occur in the LXX, but comparing the LXX throughout with the corresponding Hebrew Masoretic text. This section also takes account of terms as used by Philo, Josephus, the Dead Sea Scrolls and rabbinic writers.

NT Discussion of the word and related terms in the NT, noting statistical occurrences, usage in relation to the background, and the specific emphases of individual writers and writings.

For further discussion of the layout and scope of the dictionary the reader is referred to the Introduction to Volume I. A list of abbreviations and a key to the transliteration of Hebrew, Greek and Arabic words will be found in Volume I, pp. 31–47. Volume I, pp. 49–72, also contains a Glossary of Technical Terms which defines many of the terms currently used in theological discussion. This third volume contains a Combined Index to all three volumes, dealing with Hebrew and Aramaic words, Greek words, and subjects generally. In this connexion it is important to point out that, because of the inter-relation of ideas, relevant material on any given topic is not confined to the articles listed in the table of contents. There is, for example, an article on *Blood* in Volume I, but there is also a discussion of blood in relation to atonement in the article on *Reconciliation* in Volume III. Similarly, the treatment of *Divorce* in Volume I is supplemented by the discussions under *Discipline* in the same volume, under *Marriage* in Volume II, and under *Separate* in Volume III. For this reason it is important to make full use of the indexes in order to explore the range of ideas of any topic under study.

The work has been planned as a dictionary and not an encyclopedia. Its aim is not to say the last word on every subject, but to provide an introduction and the tools to enable the reader to make his own way into the field of study. For this reason the bibliographies at the end of the articles have been revised and enlarged to make them useful to an international readership. The bibliographies are normally divided into two sections: (a) works in English, and (b) works in other languages. The separation of the sections is designed to enable readers to see at a glance which works are relevant to their particular needs. Most English-speaking readers will naturally wish to consult the works in the first section. On the other hand, it was decided to include titles not available in English to meet the needs of the more specialist student. Even so, the works included represent only a fraction of the total volume of printed scholarly research. For the reader who wishes to take his studies still further, attention may be drawn to the following specialist bibliographical works: B. M. Metzger, *Index to Periodical Literature on Christ and the Gospels, New Testament Tools and Studies* 6, 1962; A. J. Mattill, Jr. and M. Bedford Mattill, *A Classified Bibliography of Literature on the Acts of the Apostles, New Testament Tools and Studies* 7, 1966; B. M. Metzger, *Index to Periodical Literature on the Apostle Paul, New Testament Tools and Studies* 1, 1970[2]; the massive *Elenchus Bibliographicus Biblicus* published annually by the Biblical Institute Press, Rome, under the editorship since 1949 of Peter Nober; the *Book Lists* of the Society for Old Testament Study (those for 1946–56 republished in *Eleven Years of Bible Bibliography*, 1957, those for 1957–66 in *A Decade of Bible Bibliography*, edited by G. W. Anderson, 1967, and those for 1967–73 in *Bible Bibliography*, 1974, edited by P. R. Ackroyd), and *New Testament Abstracts: A Record of Current Literature* published by Weston School of Theology, Cambridge, Massachusetts, in cooperation with The Council on the Study of Religion. Those who wish to keep abreast of German books should consult *Das Evangelische Schrifttum: Ein systematisches Verzeichnis für Wissenschaft und Praxis*, published annually by the Vereinigung Evangelischer Buchhändler, and *Das Katholisches Schrifttum*, published by the Verband Katholischer Verleger und Buchhändler. Also helpful are: J. L. Sayre and R. Hamburger, *An Index of*

Festschriften in the Graduate Seminary Library of Phillips University, 1970, and *An Index of Festschriften in Religion, New Titles 1971–1973, in the Graduate Seminary Library of Phillips University*, 1973; the *Index to Religious Periodical Literature* published by the American Theological Library Association; and the review of journal articles in *Themelios*, currently compiled by Professor R. P. Martin. Most major libraries contain the *Catalogues* of the Libraries of Congress and the British Museum, together with catalogues of unpublished theses and theses available on microfilm.

The translation of the original German articles as they appeared in the *Theologisches Begriffslexikon zum Neuen Testament* was prepared by a team of scholars which included Professor G. H. Boobyer, the Rev. Dr. Colin Brown, Mr. H. L. Ellison, the Rev. M. C. Freeman, the late Rev. Dr. George Ogg, Mr. John D. Manton, the Rev. Dr. A. J. M. Wedderburn. The magnificent indexes are the work of the Rev. Norman Hillyer, assisted by Mrs. Ruth Hillyer. The unrelenting work of proof reading which extended over five months was shared with the Editor by three people to whom the Editor and the dictionary are immeasurably indebted: the Rev. Norman Hillyer, Professor F. F. Bruce of the University of Manchester and Mrs. Olive Brown. Each has read the entire work in galley and page proof. In addition to the detection of printing errors, each of them has made a significant contribution to the finished text. On numerous points of detail the Editor has benefited from the advice and comments of many friends and colleagues, especially in his teaching at Trinity College, Bristol, and Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena. The Rev. Dr. A. C. Thiselton of the University of Sheffield has kindly commented on the drafts of various bibliographies, and Professor D. W. Burdick of the Conservative Baptist Theological Seminary, Denver, Colorado, on the text in galley proof.

The article on Resurrection contains a synoptic table of events in the resurrection narratives based on the table given by Professor G. E. Ladd in his book *I Believe in the Resurrection of Jesus*, 1975, published in Britain by Hodder and Stoughton and in the United States by Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. This is reproduced by kind permission of the author and publishers.

It goes without saying that no work of scholarship is ever final. New books are being published all the time, and existing work is always open to revision. As and when it becomes necessary to reprint any of the volumes of *The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology*, it is the editorial policy to include any supplementary material as an appendix to each volume, with appropriate cross references in the text of the existing articles. This supplementary material will be made available separately to purchasers of the first editions of the dictionary.

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Right, Worthy, *orthos*

Hartmut Krienke, Wuppertal
Remnant, Leave, *leimma* (part)

William L. Lane, Th.D., Professor, Department of Philosophy and Religion, Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green, Kentucky
Vessel, Pot, Potter, Mix, *keramion, ostrakinos, pēlos, phyrama*; Want, Lack, Need, *hysteros, chreia*

Myrtle Langley, B.A., B.D., Ph.D., Lecturer, Trinity College, Bristol
War, Soldier, Weapon, *Jesus and Revolution*

Walter L. Liefeld, Th.B., A.M., Ph.D., Chairman and Professor of New Testament, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, Deerfield, Illinois
See, Vision, Eye, *kollourion, anablepō, emblepō, atenizō, theatron*; Transfigure, Transfiguration, Transform, *metamorphoō, metaschēmatizō*; Wilderness, Desert, Lay Waste, Mountain, Plain, *oreinos, topos pedinos, oros, hypsēlos* (part)

Hans-Georg Link, Dr. theol., Cologne
Pure, Clean, *katharos* (part); Reconciliation, Restoration, Propitiation, Atonement, *apokatastasis, hilaskomai* (part); Rock, Stone, Corner-stone, Pearl, Precious Stones, *lithos* (part); Rule, Standard, Measure, *kanon* (part); Sacrifice, First Fruits, Altar, Offering, *aparchē* (part); Seek, Find, *zēteō*; Shame, Respect, *aidōs* (part), *aischynē*; Slave, Servant, Captive, Prisoner, Freedman, *aichmalōtos* (part), *desmios*; Strength, Force, Horn, Violence, Power, *keras* (part); Swear, Oath, *omnyō*; Take, Receive,

dechomai; Virtue, Blameless, *aretē* (part); Weakness, Sickness, Disease, Paralysis, *astheneia*, *nosos*; Yoke, *zygos* (part)

Donald H. Madvig, A.B., B.D., Th.M., M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Biblical Literature, Bethel Theological Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota
Temple, *to esōteron*, *to katapetasma*, *to mesotoichon*, *stylos*, *gazophylakion*, *neōkoros*, *pterygion*

I. Howard Marshall, M.A., B.D., Ph.D., Reader in New Testament Exegesis, University of Aberdeen
Son, Son of God, Son of Man, Servant of God, Son of David, *pais theou* (part), *ho hyios tou anthrōpou* (part), *hyios tou theou* (part), *hyios Dauid* (part)

Ralph P. Martin, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of New Testament, Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, California
Virtue, Blameless, *Haustafeln*

Reinhold Mayer, Dr. theol., Wiss. Rat, Tübingen
Scripture, Writing, *graphē* (part)

Wichmann von Meding, Winsen/Aller
Suffice, Satisfy, *hikanos*; Temple, *naos*

Otto Michel, Dr. theol., formerly Professor of New Testament, Tübingen
Son, Son of God, Son of Man, Servant of God, Son of David, *pais theou* (part), *ho hyios tou anthrōpou* (part), *hyios tou theou* (part), *hyios Dauid* (part)

Leon L. Morris, B.Sc., Th.L., B.D., M.Th., Ph.D., Principal of Ridley College, Melbourne
Weather, *astrapē*

Dietrich Müller, Marburg
Proclamation, Preach, Kerygma, *angellō* (part); Think, Mean, Consider, Reckon, *dokeō*; Will, Purpose, *boulomai*, *thelō*

Heinrich Müller, Dr. theol., Bleicherode
Type, Pattern, *typos*

Hermann Müller, Dr. phil., Hilchenbach
Stir Up, Trouble, Agitate, *tarassō*

Wilhelm Mundle, Lic. theol., Professor, Marburg
Redemption, Loose, Ransom, Deliverance, Release, Salvation, Saviour, *lyō* (part), *lytron* (part), Revelation, *apokalyptō*, *dēloō*; Revile, Blaspheme, Slander, *katalaleō*; Rock, Stone, Corner-stone, Pearl, Precious Stones, *petra* (part), *gōnia*; Torment, *basanos*, *kolaphizō*

Karlfried Munzer, Gauting
Remain, *menō* (part)

David F. Payne, M.A., Head of the Department of Semitic Studies, The Queen's University of Belfast
Solomon, *Solomōn*

Carl Heinz Peisker, Dr. theol., Mühlheim, Ruhr
Prophet, *prophētēs* (part)

Karl Heinrich Ringwald, Tübingen
Virtue, Blameless, *aretē* (part)

Johannes Schattenmann, D. theol., Ottobrun
Pure, Clean, *katharos* (part); Strength, Force, Horn, Violence, Power, *keras* (part)

Reinier Schippers, Dr. theol., Professor, Free University of Amsterdam
Right, Worthy, *artios*; Seal, *sphragis*

Ernst Dieter Schmitz, Wuppertal
Unanimity, *homothymadon*

Johannes Schneider, D. theol., Dr. theol., Professor, Berlin
Redemption, Loose, Ransom, Deliverance, Release, Salvation, Saviour, *rhyomai* (part), *sōzō* (part), *sōtēr* (part)

Walter Schneider, Hanover
Tempt, Test, Approve, *peirasmos* (part)
Helmut Schultz, Marburg
Thank, Praise, Eucharist, *aineō*
J. Julius Scott, Jr., B.A., B.D., Ph.D., Professor of New Testament, Wheaton Graduate School, Wheaton, Illinois
Sadducees, Herodians, *Saddoukaioi*
Horst Seebass, Dr. theol., Professor, Münster
Righteousness, Justification, *dikaiosynē* (part)
Manfred Seitz, Dr. theol., Professor, Heidelberg
Seek, Find, *eraunaō*
Friedel Selter, Rheinkamp-Repelen
Ready, Prepare, Gird, *zōnnymi*
Burghard Siede, Coburg
Recompense, Reward, Gain, Wages, *kerdos*; Suffice, Satisfy, *arkeo*; Take, Receive, *lambanō*
Siegfried Solle, Darmstadt
Ready, Prepare, Gird, *hetoimos*; Woman, Mother, Virgin, Widow, *chēra*
Wilfred Stott, B.A., B.D., B.Litt., D.Phil., formerly Principal of St. Paul's Theological College, Limuru, Kenya
Sabbath, Lord's Day, *sabbaton*, *kyriakē*
Friedrich Thiele, Dr. theol., Kassel
Ready, Prepare, Gird, *kataskeuazō*; Sacrifice, First Fruits, Offering, *thyō* (part); Work, Do, Accomplish, *poieō*
Anthony C. Thiselton, B.D., M.Th., Ph.D., Lecturer in Biblical Studies, University of Sheffield
Truth, *alētheia*; Word, Tongue, Utterance, *Language and Meaning in Religion*
Erich Tiedtke, Frankfurt am Main
Right, Worthy, *axios*; Rock, Stone, Corner-stone, Pearl, Precious Stones, *lithos* (part); Shame, Respect, *aidōs* (part); Snatch, Take Away, Rapture, *harpazō* (part)
Allison A. Trites, M.A., Ph.D., Acadia Divinity College, Acadia University, Wolfville, Nova Scotia
Witness, Testimony, *martyria* (part)
Rudolf Tuente, Bremerhaven
Slave, Servant, Captive, Prisoner, Freedman, *aichmalotos* (part), *doulos*
Herwart Vorländer, Dr. phil., Professor, Ludwigsburg
Reconciliation, Restoration, Propitiation, Atonement, *katallasso* (part); Woman, Mother, Virgin, Widow, *gynē* (part)
Hans Währisch, Rheydt
Revile, Blaspheme, Slander, *blasphēmeō* (part), *loidoreo*; Virtue, Blameless, *anenklētos*
John D. W. Watts, B.A., Th.M., Ph.D., Associate Professor of Old Testament, Fuller Theological Seminary
War, Soldier, Weapon, *polemos* (part)
Klaus Wegenast, Dr. theol., Professor, Lüneburg
Teach, Instruct, Tradition, Education, Discipline, *didasko*, *didaskalos*, *didaskalia*, *katēcheō*, *paradidōmi*
Horst Weigelt, Dr. theol., Professor, Erlangen
Wisdom, Folly, Philosophy, *philosophia*
J. Stafford Wright, M.A., formerly Principal of Tyndale Hall, Bristol
Satan, Beelzebul, Devil, Exorcism, *exhorkistes*; Son, Son of God, Son of Man, Servant of God, Son of David, *The Virgin Birth*

Pri

Pride

ὕβρις

ὕβρις (*hybris*), insolence, arrogance, insult, ill-treatment; ὑβρίζω (*hybrizō*), act arrogantly, ill-treat; ὑβριστής (*hybristēs*), violent, insolent man; ἐνυβρίζω (*enhybrizō*), despise, insult.

CL & OT *hybris* is a very ancient compound (E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, I, 1953², 495), formed from *y* (Cypriot, Rhodian equivalent of *epi*) and *bri* (cf. *briaros*, weighty; *brithō*, weigh, be heavy). Originally it meant excess weight, excess power; sometimes more concretely, ill-treatment, abuse, insult; sometimes more abstractly, arrogance, insolence, brutality. The word is frequently used in the *Odyssey*, to denote Penelope's suitors (e.g. 1, 227; 24, 352). *hybris* appears objectively as an infringement of the order of justice established by Zeus, which enabled community-life in the Greek polis to be maintained. It is the opposite of *eunomia*, good order, to the observance of which the gods pay close attention (as early as Homer, *Od.* 17, 487) and of *noos theoudēs*, the attitude that fears the gods. Classical tragedy contrasted *hybris* to *sōphrosynē*, modesty, which respects the limits laid down for men. Therefore *hybris* is not, strictly speaking, directed against the gods (J. J. Fraenkel, *Hybris*, 1942, 73). What the malefactor harms is good order. In the 5th century B.C. *hybris* became the classical expression of "numinous fear, i.e., of the Greek sense of sin from the religious standpoint" (G. Bertram, *TDNT* VIII 297; cf. Soph., *Trach.* 280; *OT.* 873). But in Euripides human norms replace those set by fate (*Heraclidae* 388; *Or.* 708).

There are many derivatives as early as the language of Homer; *hybrizō*, to act arrogantly, ill-treat, insult (after Homer: of animals, to be uncontrollable; of plants, to grow luxuriantly; as a legal term to inflict bodily harm); *ephybrizō*, insult; *hybristēs*, violent, dissolute, insolent man (after Homer: of animals, uncontrollable, restive; also of things, e.g. new wine). Of the numerous more recent formations the adj. *hybristikos* is important: arrogant, wanton, insolent (Plato onwards).

The OT material is dealt with under → *hyperēphanos*.

NT 1. It is remarkable that, in contrast with the OT, the abstract use of *hybris* in the sense of pride is completely absent from the NT. In 2 Cor. 12:10, where it is used alongside *diōgmos*, persecution, the word clearly means ill-treatment. The same is true of 1 Tim. 1:13, where Paul describes himself as one who formerly was a blasphemer, persecutor and a violent, insolent man (*blasphēmon kai diōktēn kai hybristēn*). In Acts 27:10, 21 it refers to hardship, damage and disaster caused by the elements (cf. Pindar, *Pyth*, 1, 140; Josephus, *Ant.* 3, 133; Arndt, 839). Similarly the vb. *hybrizō* regularly has the meaning of ill-treat: 1 Thess. 2:2 and Acts 14:5 of

the persecution of Paul and his companions; in the parable of Matt. 22:6 of the death of the servant; in the prediction of suffering in Lk. 18:32 of the passion. In Mk. 11:45 it means to insult.

2. The noun formed from this vb., *hybristēs*, violent, insolent man, occurs twice (Rom. 1:30; 1 Tim. 1:13). According to O. Michel on Rom. 1:30 a *hybristēs* was "originally a man who paid no attention to the wrath of God and committed an offence against the property or the honour of God (1 Tim. 1:13)" (*Der Brief an die Römer*, *KEK* 4, 1967[13], 61 f.). But the words which occur in the context suggest in the first instance evil conduct in the world and inter-personal relationships, rather than open enmity towards God. The catalogue of vices listed in Rom. 1:29 f. is adduced by Paul as itself the outcome of idolatry and as a judgment by God (cf. 1:28). Thus RSV translates *hybristas* here as "insolent". Similarly, *theostygeis*, which is a pass. form, is best translated as "hated by God", bearing the same sense that it has in cl. Gk., although it can have an act. meaning ("haters of God"). It would be preferable, therefore, to interpret 1 Tim. 1:13 also in the light of the use of the vb. *hybrizō*; although *hybristēs* comes most near in meaning to *hyperēphanos*, one can scarcely trace the idea of pride in it.

3. The compound *enhybrizō*, to insult, outrage (with "the Spirit of grace" as its object) occurs in Heb. 10:29, in parallel with *katapateō*, to trample underfoot, to treat outrageously ("the Son of God"; suggesting arrogant outrage; cf. LXX Dan. 8:10; and possibly Jerusalem in Zech. 12:3 LXX) and *koinon hēgeisthai*, to treat as profane ("the blood of the covenant by which he was sanctified"). In the use of the word the distinction made in OT and rab. Judaism between deliberate and involuntary sin (v. 26) is taken up and expounded (Heb. *hēzîḏ*, to act arrogantly, maliciously). Religious apostasy was regarded as an unforgivable sin at Qumran (1QS 2:13 f.; 3:4; cf. F. F. Bruce, " 'To the Hebrews' or 'To the Essenes'?", *NTS* 9, 1962–63, 224 ff.; *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, *NLC*, 1964, 256–64). In dealing with unforgivable → sin the present passage makes explicit allusion to Isa. 26:11; Deut. 17:2–6; 32:35 f.; and Exod. 24:8, arguing *a fortiori* from instances of judgment in the OT. *E. Güting*

ὑπερήφανος *ὑπερήφανος* (*hyperēphanos*), proud; *ὑπερηφανία* (*hyperēphania*), pride; *ἀλαζών* (*alazōn*), boastful; *ἀλαζονεία* (*alazoneia*), boastfulness.

CL 1. The part. *hyperēphaneontes* is the oldest attestation of the word group (Homer *Il.* 11, 694). Its etymology is not clear; it is perhaps connected with *katēphēs*, cast down. Along with *hyperēnoreōn* it means proud. Other intrans. verbal forms used in the same sense occur in the LXX and later. From Polybius onwards the vb. is also used transitively: to treat arrogantly, despise. The adj. *hyperēphanos* (Hesiod onwards) usually means arrogant, proud; occasionally, prodigal. It also has a positive use (e.g. in Plato): magnificent. The writers of the classical period also used the noun *hyperēphania* in the sense of pride, arrogance, contempt.

2. The *alazōn*, the wandering charlatan or braggart, was a favourite comedy character (Cratinus, Eupolis, Aristophanes, Alkaios, Menander). The wandering sophist was also scornfully nicknamed *alazōn*. The word (occurring as an adj. from Herodotus) is derived either from the Thracian folk-name *Alazōn* (Bonfante,

Frisk) or from *alaomai*, to wander (Boisacq, Hofmann). Its later meaning is generally braggart, show-off; and that of the corresponding abstract noun *alàzoneia* boastfulness, imposture. Similarly, likewise the vb. *alazoneuomai* (Aristophanes onwards) means to make false representations, to brag.

OT In the OT a central theme of the prophetic message (e.g. Isa. 13:11), and also of the Wisdom literature, is that God's judgment destroys all man's pride. Along with the four words mentioned above, many others occur which are not taken up by the NT (e.g. *agerōchia*, arrogance, *meteōros*, haughty, and especially those formed with *megal-* and *hyps-*, *hypsēlo-*). *hybris*, in particular, occurs frequently in senses not attested in the NT: pride, arrogance, and also insult, mockery (and, as in the NT, ill-treatment). Although the number of Heb. equivalents for which these words stand is large, more than half the occurrences stand for derivatives of the root, *gā'âh*, be exalted.

hybris stands for formations from *gā'âh*, be high, arrogant, at Lev. 26:19; Job 35:12; 37:4; Prov. 8:13; 14:3; 16:18 f.; 29:23; Hos. 5:5; 7:10; Amos 6:8; Nah. 2:2(3); Zeph. 2:10; 3:11; Zech. 9:6; 10:11; Isa. 9:9(8); 13:11; 16:6; 23:9; 25:11; 28:1, 3; Jer. 13:9; 48(31):29; Ezek. 30:6, 18; 32:12; 33:28. It also stands for *ġēwâh*, arrogant speech at Jer. 13:17; for *zāḏôn*, insolence, presumptuousness at Prov. 11:2; 13:10; Jer. 50(27):32; Ezek. 7:10; for *lāṣôn*, boasting prattle, at Prov. 1:22; for *'allîz*, wanton, presumptuous, at Isa. 23:7; and *rûm*, haughtiness, at Isa 2:17. It is without Heb. equivalent at Est. 4:17; Job 15:26 f.; 22:12; Prov. 14:10; 19:10, 18; 21:4; Wis. 2:19; 4:18; Sir. 10:6, 8; 21:4; Mic. 6:10; Isa. 10:33; Jer. 13:9; 1 Macc. 3:20; 2 Macc. 8:17; 3 Macc. 2:3, 21; 3:25; 6:12. *hybrizō* stands for formations from *gā'âh* at Isa. 13:3; Jer. 48(31):29; for *'ālaz*, exult, at Isa. 23:12; for *qālal* in hiph., treat with contempt, at 2 Sam. 19:44(43); and is without Heb. equivalent at 2 Macc. 14:42; 3 Macc. 6:9. *hybristēs* stands for *gē'* (Isa. 16:6) and *gē'eh* (Job 40:11[6]; Prov. 15:25; 16:19; Isa. 2:12), both words meaning haughty; for *rûm* at Prov. 6:17; and is without equivalent at Prov. 27:13; Jer. 51(28):2.

hyperēphania(-eia) stands mainly for formations from *gā'âh*, be high, arrogant: Pss. 17(16):10; 31(30):18, 23; 36(35):11; 59(58):12; 73(72):6; Prov. 8:13; Amos 8:7; Isa. 16:6; Jer. 48(31):29; Ezek. 7:20; 16:49, 56; Dan. 4:34 (Theodotion). It also stands for *beṣa'*, profit, at Exod. 18:21; *zāḏôn*, insolence, at Deut. 17:12; 1 Sam. 17:28; Obad. 1:3; for *rûm* at Num. 15:30; and is without equivalent at Est. 4:17; 8:13; Pss. 74(73):3; 101(100):7; Wis. 5:8; Sir. 10:7, 12 f., 18; 15:8; 16:8; 22:22; 48:18; 51:10; Dan. 4:19; 1 Macc. 1:21, 24; 2:47, 49; 2 Macc. 1:28; 5:21; 7:36; 9:7 f., 11; 3 Macc. 2:5, 17. The vb. *hyperēphaneuomai* stands for *gā'âh* at Ps. 10:2 (9:23); Job 22:29; and *zûḏ*, act presumptuously, at Neh. 9:16; Dan. 5:20 Theodotion; and for *gā'âh* again at Sir. 10:9. *hyperēphanos* stands for *zēḏ*, insolent, presumptuous, at Ps. 119(118):21, 51, 69, 78, 122; *gē'eh* or *ga'ªyôn*, haughty, arrogant, Job 40:12(7): Pss. 94(93):2; 123(122):4; 140(139):5; *gāḇōah*, that which is high, exalted, Ps. 101(100):5; *lûṣ*, deride, scoff, scorn, Prov. 3:34; Isa. 29:20; *'ārîṣ*, master, Isa. 13:11; *rahaḇ*, insolence, Ps. 89:11(88:10); and *rûm*, Job 38:15; Ps. 18(17):27; Isa. 2:12. It is without Heb. equivalent at Wis. 14:6; Sir. 3:28; 11:30; 13:20; 21:4; 23:8; 25:2; 27:15, 28; 32(35):12; 51:10; Zeph. 3:6; Isa. 1:25; 2 Macc. 9:12; 3 Macc. 1:27; 5:13; 6:4; 4 Macc. 4:15; 9:30.

The adv. *hyperēphanōs* (1 Macc. 8:34, 47; 2 Macc. 9:4, 12) has no Heb. equivalent.

alazoneia has no Heb. equivalent (Wis. 5:8; 17:7; 2 Macc. 9:8; 15:6; 4 Macc. 1:26; 2:15; 8:19). *alazoneuomai* stands for *hāḏar*, dignify oneself, at Prov. 25:6; but has no equivalent at Wis. 2:16. *alazōn* stands for *šaḥaṣ*, pride, Job 28:8; *yāhîr*, presumptuous, haughty, Hab. 2:5; the Heb. is uncertain at Prov. 21:24.

The fact that *hybris* and *hyperēphaneia* are used virtually as synonyms suggests that the LXX translators saw no fundamental distinction between them.

In the Wisdom literature the *hyperēphanoi* form a distinct group, contrasted with the righteous and the humble (→ Righteousness; → Humility) within but also outside Israel. *hyperēphanos* is never used of Israel. Behind this lies the fundamental conviction that "God resists the proud, but gives grace to the humble" (Prov. 3:34 LXX). Just as the → fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, departure from the Lord is the beginning of pride (Sir. 10:12). Therefore, the one who prays cleanses himself from the suspicion of pride (Est. 4:17 LXX) and indicates his own lowliness in expectation of God's help (Jud. 6:19). The prophetic message, on the other hand, accuses Israel himself of pride (e.g. Amos 6:8; 8:7; Hos. 5:5; 7:10; Jer. 13:9; Ezek. 7:10, 20; 16:56; Zeph. 2:10; cf. Lev. 26:19) and thus takes up a position in the sharpest opposition to deeply ingrained conceptions. There is no negative implication in the use of *alazōn* in Job 28:8; *hyperēphanos* in Est. 4:17; and *hybris* in Job 37:4.

NT 1. *hyperēphania* occurs only in Mk. 7:22 and *hyperēphanos* in Lk. 1:51; Rom. 1:30; 2 Tim. 3:2; Jas. 4:6 (quoting Prov. 3:34); 1 Pet. 5:5 (also quoting Prov. 3:34).

The context of Lk. 1:51 is poetic. It occurs in the Magnificat (Lk. 1:46–55): "He has shown strength with his arm, he has scattered the proud [*hyperēphanous*] in the imagination of their hearts." The verse appears to echo Ps. 89:10: "Thou didst crush Rahab like a carcass, thou didst scatter thy enemies with thy mighty arm" (where the LXX has *hyperēphanon* [88:11]). The Magnificat takes its name from the Lat. vb. with which this psalm opens which in EVV is translated by "magnifies". E. E. Ellis comments: "A lyrical poem modelled upon Old Testament (and Qumran?) psalms, it has special affinity with the Song of Hannah (1 Sam. 2.1–10; cf. Lk. 1.38; P. Winter, *BJRL*, 37, 1954, 328–47). It expresses Mary's joyous gratitude for her personal blessing (46–48), God's graciousness to all who reverence him (49–50), his special love for the lowly (51–53) and for Israel (54 f.). The last half of the poem describes God's victory in terms of a national deliverance from human oppression. This is a recurrent note in pre-Christian messianism. The New Testament writers do not deny it, but they redefine it and transfer it to Messiah's *parousia*" (*The Gospel of Luke*, *New Century Bible*, 1966, 72). On the psalm see further R. Laurentin, *Structure et Théologie de Luc I–II*, 1964[4].

The remaining instances occur mainly in contexts which have a paraenetic function. They are strung together in so-called catalogues of vices which were used in early Christian catechesis. The sole instance of *hyperēphania* occurs in the things which Jesus declares to come from the → heart which must be dealt with at that level and cannot be cured by mere external ablutions: "For from within, out of the heart of man, come evil thoughts, fornication, theft, murder, adultery, coveting,

wickedness, deceit, licentiousness, envy, slander, pride, foolishness. All these evil things come from within, and they defile a man" (Mk. 7:21 ff.). H. Anderson is representative of a cross-section of form-critical approach when he writes: "The list is without parallel in the teaching of Jesus. Similar catalogues occur in the *Manual of Discipline* from Qumran (1QS 4:9–11) and in Rom. 1:29–31; Gal. 5:19–23 (cf. 1 Tim. 1:9–10; 2 Tim. 3:2–5); they betray the influence of Hellenism and are characteristic of the Hellenistic world generally" (*The Gospel of Mark*, *New Century Bible*, 1976, 188). On the other hand, the concept of Hellenism as distinct from Palestinian Judaism is not as clear cut as was widely believed until recently. Whilst lists of virtues and vices were popular among the Stoics, they are also found in intertestamental literature (cf. Wis. 14:25 f.; Gr.Bar. 4:17; 8:5; 13:4; Test.Reub. 3:3–6; Test.Jud. 16:1; Sl.Enoch. 10:4 f.). And the existence of a parallel from Qumran confirms that such a list was not entirely foreign to Jewish soil. It is possible that Jesus himself was making use of an existing Jewish catechetical list in his debate with the → Pharisees over washing in order to show that merely external ritual cannot deal with man's deepest problems (→ Baptism; → Hand). Christian catechesis continued the tradition of OT → wisdom, stringing together almost proverbial sayings which were otherwise loosely connected. (For further lists see Rom. 1:29 ff.; 13:13; 1 Cor. 5:10 f.; 6:9 f.; 2 Cor. 12:20; Gal. 5:19 ff.; Eph. 4:31; 5:3 ff.; Col. 3:5, 8; 1 Tim. 1:9 f.; 2 Tim. 3:2–5; Tit. 3:3; 1 Pet. 4:3.) Prov. 3:34 is cited twice in paraenetical passages in the NT exhorting → humility: "But he gives more grace; therefore it says, 'God opposes the proud [*hyperēphanois*], but gives grace to the humble' " (Jas. 4:6); "Likewise you that are younger be subject to the elders. Clothe yourselves, all of you, with humility toward one another, for 'God opposes the proud, but gives grace to the humble' " (1 Pet. 5:5; cf. Num. 15:30 LXX). The former passage is concerned with worldliness; the latter with relationships within the church in the wider context of living in the end times.

In Rom. 1:30 the word occurs in a catalogue of the vices which Paul sees as the outcome of idolatry which is itself an expression of God's judgment. "They were filled with all manner of wickedness, evil, covetousness, malice. Full of envy, murder, strife, deceit, malignity, they are gossips, slanderers, haters of God, insolent [*hybristas*], haughty [*hyperēphanous*], boastful [*alazonas*], inventors of evil, disobedient to parents, foolish, faithless, heartless, ruthless" (Rom. 1:29 ff.; → *hybris*, NT 2). In 2 Tim. 3:2 it occurs in a list describing the characteristics of godless men in the last days: "For men will be lovers of self, lovers of money, proud [*alazones*], arrogant [*hyperēphanoi*], abusive, disobedient to their parents, ungrateful, unholy." Timothy is urged to "Avoid such people" (2 Tim. 3:5).

2. Jas. 4:16 takes up the thought of Jas. 4:6 (noted above): "As it is, you boast in your arrogance [*en tais alazoneiais hymōn*]. All such boasting is evil." The plur. here may suggest the numerous instances of confidence in one's cleverness, luck, strength, or skill which may have brought material advantage (cf. J. B. Mayor, *The Epistle of St. James*, 1897², 75, 147). The context deals with laying plans for material gain without regard to God. Jas. counters this with a twofold remedy: "Instead you ought to say, 'If the Lord wills, we shall live and we shall do this or that'. . . . Whoever knows what is right to do and fails to do it, for him it is sin" (Jas. 4:15, 17). The only other instance of the abstract noun is in 1 Jn. 2:16: "For

all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh and the lust of the eyes [*hē epithymia tēs sarkos kai hē epithymia tōn opthalmōn*] and the pride of life [*hē alazoneia tou biou*], is not of the Father but is of the world." The contrast with → desire of the flesh and of the eyes suggests that "the pride of life" means lust for advantage and status. The threefold use of terms is not so much a classification of kinds of evil that stem from the world, i.e. fallen humanity. It aims, rather, to lay bare the world's characteristically self-centred, grasping structure, which can only be overcome by love: "Do not love the world or the things of the world. If any one loves the world, love for the Father is not in him" (1 Jn. 2:15).

The noun *alazōn* occurs twice. It occurs in the catalogues in Rom. 1:30 and 2 Tim. 3:2, both of which passages include *hyperēphanos* (see above, 1). "*alazōn* denotes the man who tries to impress others by making big claims. It was used of the braggart, the charlatan, the quack, the impostor. The word is probably used here with the graver end of its range of meaning in mind. We may think of the 'frantic boast and foolish word' of the heathen heart, the sort of thing which is reflected in Isa. 10.7–11, in fact all the presumptuous claims and ostentatious behaviour of men by which they seek to impress one another, and very often delude themselves" (C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Epistle to the Romans*, I, *ICC*, 1975, 132).

→ Boast, → Height, → Humility, → Virtue *E. Güting, C. Brown*

(a). K. Barth, *CD*, IV, 1, 413–78; G. Bertram, *hybris* etc., *TDNT* VIII 295–307; *hyperēphanos* etc. *TDNT* VIII 525–29; W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism: Some Rabbinic Elements in Pauline Theology*, 1955², 111–46; and "Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Flesh and Spirit", in K. Stendahl, ed., *The Scrolls and the New Testament*, 1957, 157–82 (reprinted in *Christian Origins and Judaism*, 1962, 145–78); E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, II, 1951, 28–63; B. S. Easton, "New Testament Ethical Lists", *JBL* 51, 1932, 1–12; D. Grene, *Man in his Pride: A Study in the Political Philosophy of Thucydides and Plato*, 1950; S. Ranulf, *The Jealousy of the Gods and Criminal Law at Athens*, I–II, 1934; H. G. Robertson, "*Dikē* and *Hybris* in Aeschylus' Suppliants", *Classical Review* 50, 1936, 104–9; O. J. F. Seitz, "Lists, Ethical", *IDB* III 137 ff.; P. Tillich, *Systematic Theology*, II, 1957, 56–59; J. A. Wharton, "Pride", *IDB* III 876.
(b). G. Bertram, "Hochmut und verwandte Begriffe im griechischen und hebräischen Alten Testament", *Welt des Orients* 3, 1964, 29–38; J. J. Fraenkel, *Hybris*, 1942; E. Kamlah, *Die Form der katalogischen Paränese im Neuen Testament*, 1964; M.-J. Lagrange, "Le Catalogue de Vices dans l'Épître aux Romains, 1.28–31", *RB* 8, 1911, 534–49; A. Vögtle, *Die Tugend- und Lasterkataloge im Neuen Testament*, 1936; F. R. Walton, "Hybris", *RGG*³ III 497 f.; S. Wibbing, *Die Tugend- und Lasterkataloge im Neuen Testament*, *BZNW* 25, 1959.

Priest, High Priest

ἱερεύς

ἱερεύς (*hiereus*), a priest; ἀρχιερεύς (*archiereus*), high priest; ἀρχιερατικός (*archieratikos*), high-priestly; ἱερωσύνη (*hierōsynē*), priestly office, priesthood; ἱερατεία (*hierateia*), priestly office; ἱεράτευμα (*hierateuma*), priesthood; ἱερατεύω (*hierateuō*), hold the office or perform the service of a priest; ἱερουργέω (*hierourgeō*), perform holy service, act as a priest with regard to something.

CL *hiereus*, a priest, and *archiereus*, high priest, like the nouns *hierōsynē*, priesthood, priestly rank, *hierateia*, priestly office, priestly attendance, and *hierateuma*, priesthood, are all formed from the adj. *hieros*, holy. The meaning of the words in the Gk.-speaking world is dealt with under → holy, art. *hieros*, CL.

It may, however, be added that, according to the Stoic Zeno (Stob., *Ecl.* 2, 67,

20) the priest, "versed in the sacrificial ordinances", in chastity and in godliness, must be "within divine nature", i.e. in concord and harmony with → nature here viewed as divine. For the Stoics "the wise man alone" is therefore a priest (cf. Origen, Commentary on Jn. 1:4: Diog. Laert., 8, 119). The wise man is also the just diviner (Stob., *Ecl.* 2, 114, 16).

OT 1. *The Priesthood in Israel.* The LXX uses *hiereus* to trans. Heb. *kōhēn*, priest, cognate with Arab. *kahin*, seer, soothsayer. The view that one takes of the development of the priesthood in the OT depends considerably upon the view that one takes of the dating of the various books and sources behind them. The following reconstruction represents a cross-section of scholarly opinion.

(a) The task of the priest in Israel was originally not sacrificial service, but oracular divination (cf. Jdg. 17:5; 18:5 f.; 1 Sam. 14:36–42) and instruction in the Torah (Deut. 27:9 f.; 31:4 ff.). The head of every family could offer → sacrifice (cf. Gen. 8:20; 31:54). Moses' father-in-law, Jethro the priest of Midian (Exod. 2:18 ff.; 3:1), offered burnt-offerings and sacrifices at Sinai. He held a fellowship-meal with the elders of Israel and advised Moses in the regulations of sacral law (Exod. 18:12 ff.).

(b) The levitical order probably goes back to a priestly clan based on Kadesh with which again Moses was closely related (cf. Arab. *laway*, to give an oracle). However, not every Levite was also a priest (Jdg. 19:1). The formula "the priests, the Levites" (e.g. Deut. 17:8) is first found in the Deuteronomic scheme. The Levites were in a particularly close relationship to Yahweh (Deut. 10:9; Jdg. 17:13), and claimed that they alone were called to the true priesthood (Exod. 32:25 ff.; Deut. 33:8 ff.; against this, polemically, Gen. 49:5 ff.). In point of law they stood close to aliens in possessing no land (Deut. 10:9; Jdg. 17:7; 19:1), but belonged to the tribal system, whose traditions of sacral law they cared for (Deut. 27:14–26; 31:24 ff.; 33:10). They claimed → Moses for themselves, declaring him to be a Levite (Exod. 2:1 f.). It is a different matter with Aaron. In Num. 12:11 f. he appears as an intercessor; in Exod. 17:8 ff. as a rival of Moses when giving the blessing; and in Exod. 32:1 ff. as a priest of the idolatrous calf. If one links this with 1 Ki. 12:28 ff., Aaron was probably the eponymous ancestor of the priesthood at the sanctuary of Bethel in the northern kingdom; they defended their legitimacy against levitical criticism by declaring Aaron a Levite (Exod. 4:13–16). But → further Levite.

(c) In the pre-monarchic period priests are found only in connexion with a sanctuary, e.g. the shrine of the Ephraimite Micah (Jdg. 17); this man's priest was a Levite who was carried off to Dan together with his cultic image (Jdg. 18). The priesthood of Dan is legitimized in Jdg. 18:30 by being traced back to Moses. At the sanctuary of the ark in Shiloh, Eli's family carried out the priestly duties, which consisted of the offering of sacrifices and burnt-offerings and of oracular prophecy (1 Sam. 1:3; 2:27 f.). After the decline of Eli's family at Shiloh members of the family are mentioned at Nob (1 Sam. 21:27; 22:9–23).

(d) The flourishing temple cult of the monarchy gave rise to organized priesthoods (1 Ki. 4:2 ff.; 12:26 ff.), which quickly gained recognition over against the local sanctuaries, since the monarchy and the court-priesthood entered into firm political alliances (2 Ki. 10:11, 19 ff.; 11:1–12). The priestly upper-classes which

were formed in this way were deported by the conquerors of both northern and southern kingdoms (2 Ki. 17:27 f.; 25:18). Josiah's reform (begun *c.* 622–1 B.C.) centralized the Yahweh-cult in the Jerusalem temple and lowered the rank of the priests of the local sanctuaries to that of *clerus minor* (2 Ki. 23:5–9). The levitically-influenced Deuteronomic literature now succeeded in demanding levitical origin for priestly office (cf. Deut. 17:18).

(e) In exilic times priestly law was codified. Since not all Levites could be priests, "priests and Levites" were constructed as two divisions of the tribe of Levi, which now became the priestly tribe pure and simple (Num. 18:1–7). Aaron became *the* "priest", and the priesthood belonged as of right to Aaron's descendants (Exod. 29:29 f.). Finally, according to Ezek. 44:15, the Zadokites put forward their claim to the high priestly offices. They derived their origin from Zadok, the pre-Davidic priest of Jerusalem, who was traced back through the family of Eli at Nob to that of Eli at Shiloh (2 Sam. 8:17; 1 Chr. 24:3).

(f) The post-exilic reconstruction demanded Zadokite origin for the chief priests, Aaronic descent for the ordinary priests and levitical parentage for the temple servants (1 Chr. 24). Since, as well as the sacrificial service, there now came in the care of the law of Yahweh, ordained by Ezra (Neh. 8), a body of experts in the scriptures grew up, which soon overshadowed the priesthood. This is reflected in Aboth 6:6: "Greater is [learning in] the law than priesthood and kingship"; B. Sanh. 59a: "A non-Jew who concerns himself with the Torah is as a high priest" (→ Israel, OT; Scripture).

(g) At the time of Jesus a social gap divided the chief priests from the ordinary priests. The latter formed twenty-four divisions of service in four to nine family-groups (1 Chr. 24; Josephus, *Ant.* 7, 365; cf. Lk. 1:5, 8). The divisions performed their service in the → temple in turn, a week at a time. For the rest of the time the priests carried out a profession in the surrounding land. In addition they could pass expert judgment on questions of ritual purity (Lev. 11–15) and often undertook the reading and exposition of the Torah in the worship of the synagogue. Priestly rank was hereditary. Strict regulations concerning purity and marriage were enforced for them (Lev. 21). The Levites were divided into temple musicians and temple servants (1 Chr. 6:16–33) and similarly formed twenty-four divisions of service. They had no access to the altar (Num. 18:3). According to Jos. 21, they lived in levitical cities.

(h) In the Qumran community the Zadokite priesthood, deprived of its powers by the Hasmonaeans, constituted itself as the priestly salvation-community of the last days (1QS 5:2, 9; 1QSa 1:2, 24; 1QSb 3:22; CD 3:21). Its founder, the "Teacher of Righteousness", was a priest of Zadok's line (4QpPs 37 2:16). Its opponent, the "Wicked Priest" (1QpHab 8:8), is probably to be identified with the high priest Jonathan (152–143 B.C.). The priests took precedence in the community: "Wherever there are ten men of the Council of the Community there shall not lack a priest among them" (1QS 6:3; cf. 2:19 f.; also 1QM, especially 7:10–9:9; 17; and 18). The chief priest of the last days is ranked above the messiah (1QSa 2:11–21; cf. also 1QpHab. 2:8 f.; 9:9 ff.; 1QS 4:11; 1QM 2:1; 7:12; 15:4). The purificatory prescriptions for priests were applied to all members of the community. Both the language and the conceptual world of the community breathe a priestly air throughout.

(i) Philo saw in the priest the symbol of the Logos (*Abr.* 198; *Cher.* 16 f.), and, when psychologizing, equated him with the conscience (*Deus Imm.* 131 ff.) or with the divine power of the soul in the reason of man (*Som.* 1, 215). Stoic influence betrays itself. The Levites are the picture of the true priesthood in renouncing the passions and in turning to the true Logos (*Ebr.* 76; *Fug.* 109). Everyone who no longer walks in the way of sin belongs to the priestly family (*Spec.Leg.* 1, 243).

2. *The High Priest. archiereus* occurs only 5 times in the canonical books of the LXX, but 41 times in the Apocrypha. The LXX translates the MT *hakkōhēn haggāḏôl*, the great priest, or *kōhēn hārō'š*, the chief priest, literally, or by simple *hiereus*.

(a) The post-exilic (life-long) office of high priest, which was traced back to Aaron, was until 172 B.C. in the possession of the Zadokites. Since the nation lacked an independent political head, political powers also devolved upon him. Out of this arose tensions, e.g., between the High Priest Eliashib and Nehemiah (Neh. 13:4–9:28), and tendencies towards Hellenistic customs (2 Macc. 4:12–15). Power struggles for the high-priestly office gave the Seleucid Antiochus IV (Epiphanes) several opportunities from 175 B.C. onwards for filling the position and intervening in the Yahweh cult. It was against this that the Maccabean uprising was directed. The son of the last legitimate high priest went to Egypt in 169 B.C. and founded a temple in Leontopolis which survived until A.D. 73. In Jerusalem the Hasmonean Jonathan (a member of an ordinary priestly family) usurped the high-priestly office in 152 B.C. (1 Macc. 10:20 f.). The Hasmoneans held it against the protests of the Pharisees until 37 B.C. Then Herod and, following him, the Romans arbitrarily installed and deposed twenty-eight high priests (of which twenty-five came from non-legitimate families) up till A.D. 67. Powerful families (Boethus, Hannas, Phabi, Kamithos) knew how to secure their high-priestly position by bribery. The last high priest before the destruction in A.D. 70 was once again a Zadokite. (See further Schürer, II, 1, 195–206.)

(b) At the time of Jesus the high priest was the highest representative of the people. Through his investiture with the magnificent eight-part vestments (Exod. 28) he received permanent sanctity (cf. Acts 23:4 f.). Every one of his robes carried atoning power for particular sins. The death of the high priest released the murderers in the cities of refuge (Num. 35). The high priest could take over the offering of the sacrifice at any time; he had the first choice of the parts of the sacrifice, the leadership of the priesthood and the chief seat in the Sanhedrin (→ Council). His greatest task was the absolution of the community on the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16; Mishnah Yoma). The prescriptions for the purity and marriage of the high priest were especially strict (Lev. 21:10 ff.). The plural denotes the holders of the high-priestly offices: the chief temple office, the heads of the weekly and daily divisions, the temple keepers and treasurers.

(c) The high esteem of the high-priestly office led to a widespread Jewish expectation of an eschatological priest or high priest alongside the kingly messiah (Test. Reub. 6:8; Test.Lev. 18:2; Test.Jud. 21:2; 24:1; 1QS 9:10 f.; 1QSa 2:12 ff.; 1QSb 4:23; 4QpPs 37 2:15; CD 12:23 f.). This was joined with angel speculations (Test. Dan 6:2, Eth.Enoch 89:76; Sl.Enoch 22:4 ff.; Ḥag. 12b, where Michael offers a spiritual sacrifice), and the myth of the primeval man. Adam (Gen. R. 20; Num. R. 4), Enoch, or Metatron (Jub. 4:25, Heb.Enoch 48C, 7; 48D, 1; Sl.Enoch

64:5A) and → Melchizedek all appear as incarnations of the primeval man or primeval priest.

(d) Philo's idea of the high priest is a unique synthesis of these motifs. Moses is, as high priest (*Rer. Div. Her.* 182) and chief head of the people, the first Logos of all, who stands on the border-line between creation and Creator (*Rer. Div. Her.* 205 f.), since he is no longer man, but divine Logos (*Fug.* 108). Everyone who lives according to the law is, according to Wis. 18:20 ff., a high-priestly Logos (*Spec.Leg.* 2, 164). As Logos, the high priest holds sway in the temple of the cosmos of which his vestments are an image. He himself becomes a "cosmos in miniature" (*Som.* 1, 214 f.; *Spec.Leg.* 1, 82–97; *Vit.Mos.* 2, 109–135).

3. Melchizedek (MT *malkî-ṣeḏeq*), who in Gen. 14:18 and Ps. 110(109):4 is called king of Salem and priest of *'ēl-'elyôn* (LXX "the Most High God"), is according to Josephus (*War* 6, 438; *Ant.* 1, 180 f.), the founder and first priest of → Jerusalem. The Melchizedek-fragment of Sl.Enoch ascribes to him an eternal priesthood in → paradise and titles such as "the great High Priest", "the Word of God", "the miraculous Power", holding sway as High Priest at the centre of the earth. For Philo, Melchizedek is "self-taught in knowledge of God" (*Congr.* 99) and image of "the reason of the King" and of the "Priest-Logos", who transports the soul aloft as in ecstasy to the vision of God (*Leg.All.* 3:79 ff.). Rabbinic literature sought to play down Melchizedek (frequently called Shem; cf. SB III 692 f.) as against Abraham. Because Melchizedek in Gen. 14:18 mentions Abraham's name before God's name, God removes the priesthood from him in Ps. 110:4 and hands it over to Abraham (Lev. R. 25; Ned. 32b). This was possibly anti-Christian polemic. An eschatological *kōhēn-ṣeḏeq* repeatedly stands alongside the messiah (Cant. R. on 2:13; Sukkah 52b; Ab.R.N. 34). Hippolytus (*Haer.* 7:36; 10:24) and Epiphanius (*Haer.* 55) report of a probably gnostic group of "Melchizedekians" who worshipped Melchizedek as a higher Logos than Jesus.

4. *hierōsynē*, only in 1 Chr. 29:22 in the LXX (for Zadok's priesthood), but several times in the Apocrypha (e.g. Sir. 45:24; 1 Macc. 2:54) goes back to the basic meaning of priestly office. Josephus (*Ap.* 1, 31) and Philo (*Ebr.* 65; 126) both testify to its high esteem. Josephus himself possesses the *hierōsynē* (*Ant.* 16, 187; *Life* 198).

5. *hierateia* is chiefly used for *kᵉhunnâh* (priesthood) in the LXX (Exod. 29:2; 40:15; Num. 3:10; 18:1, 7; 25:13; Jos. 18:7; 1 Sam. 2:36; 2 Esd. 2:62; Neh. 7:46; 13:29). It stands for *kāhan* (Hos. 3:4) and *'ēpôḏ* (Exod. 35:9; 39:19). It denotes in Num. 3:10 and 18:1 the priestly service, but more frequently simply the priestly office. By their investiture and anointing (Exod. 29:9 and 40:15) in accord with divine instruction (Num. 25:13; Neh. 13:29; Sir. 45:8), Aaron's descendants have an eternal *hierateia*, which, according to Test.Jud. 21:2, 4, is more than kingship. Josephus and Philo do not use the word.

6. Exod. 19:6 speaks of Israel as a *mamleḵeṯ kōhᵃnîm* "a kingdom of priests". This may be taken as "a kingdom [consisting] of priests", i.e. the heads of the families. But J. P. Hyatt takes it to mean that "the Israelites were all to have access to Yahweh, and the nation was to serve as priest for the rest of the nations of the world" (*Exodus, New Century Bible*, 1971, 200). A similar view is taken by B. S. Childs who insists that the term is to be understood in conjunction with the concept of "a special possession from all the peoples" and "a holy nation" (*Exodus*, 1974,

367). The LXX translates the phrase by *basileion hierateuma*, "kingly priesthood", and thus lays the stress on the priestly aspect. Israel is called from amongst the nations to priestly service for God (cf. Isa. 61:6). The idea also appears in Exod. 23:22 LXX, but this is probably an interpolation, as there is no Heb. equivalent. The Peshitta, Syro–Hexaplar, Targum Onkelos and Targum Jerusalem II split up the MT in Exod. 19:6 into "kingship and priesthood". 2 Macc. 2:17, Jub. 16:18; Test. Lev. Gk. Fragment 67 and Philo (*Abr.* 56; *Sobr.* 66) deal similarly with the LXX text and understand kingship and priesthood as distinguishing marks of Israel.

NT 1. In the NT *hiereus* refers mainly to the levitical priests; in Heb. also to Christ and in Rev. to Christians. The word occurs 31 times, of which 14 are in Heb., 3 in Matt., 2 in Mk., 5 in Lk., 1 in Jn., 3 in Acts, and 3 in Rev.

(a) According to the evidence of the Gospels, Jesus had strikingly few dealings with the priesthood. When he sent healed lepers to the priests for confirmation of their healing (Matt. 8:4 par. Mk. 1:14, Lk. 5:14; Lk. 17:14), he was respecting their authority and acting in accordance with the law (cf. Lev. 13:49; 14:2 f.). It was also a challenge to recognize Jesus' authority. The healing of the → Samaritan leper (who would not normally have gone to the Jewish priest) brings into sharp focus the question of Jesus' authority and the status of the Jews and Samaritans. Lk. 10:31 is reminiscent of the prophetic critique of a merely external cult (but see further J. D. M. Derrett, "The Parable of the Good Samaritan", in *Law in the New Testament*, 1970, 208–27). In Matt. 12:1–8 par. Mk. 2:23–28, Lk. 6:1–5, Jesus declared his eschatological freedom over against cultic precepts. In the light of Lev. 24:9; Num. 28:9 f.; Deut. 23:25; 1 Sam. 21:1–6 and Hos. 6:6, not only is plucking grain on the sabbath permitted, but Jesus as the Son of man is Lord of the sabbath. Only in Lk. 1:5, 8 and Acts 6:7 are priests found in a positive relationship to the salvation event. In the figure of Zechariah the priesthood is taken into the service of the immediate preparations for salvation, and seen to be dependent on faith. Lk. 1:8 provides the sole NT instance of *hierateuō* which is found in late Gk. including Josephus, *Ant.* 3, 189; 15, 253; 1 Clem. 43:4. The addition of a large number of priests from the lower classes to the Jerusalem congregation (Acts 6:7) does not appear incredible, in view of the social contrast with the priestly aristocracy.

(b) In Rev. 1:6 and 5:10 (cf. 20:6) Christians are called "kings and priests" and thus picked out from humanity for the service of God. The promise of Exod. 19:6 is thus fulfilled, but the new order no longer knows any → temple since God himself is now the temple (Rev. 21:22; cf. also 20:6).

(c) The thought of Exod. 19:6 is also taken up in 1 Pet. 2:9 "But you are a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, God's own people, that you may declare the wonderful deeds of him who called you out of darkness into his marvellous light" (cf. Exod. 23:22 LXX). This concept of priesthood embraces the idea of access to God in intimate knowledge and the prophetic rôle of priesthood in proclaiming the knowledge of God. It complements the earlier idea of offering spiritual sacrifices: "and like living stones be yourselves built into a spiritual house, to be a holy priesthood, to offer spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ" (1 Pet. 2:5). In both cases the priesthood of all believers is seen to supersede that of the Jewish priesthood. And this is, in fact, the concept of Exod.

19:6. In addition to this, E. Best draws attention to other terms from the levitical cultus which are appropriated for Christian activity: "sprinkled" and "washed" come from the ritual consecration of priests (Heb. 10:22; cf. Exod. 29:21; Lev. 8:6, 30; → Baptism); "firstborn" recalls the Levites as the first born of Israel (Heb. 12:23; → First, art. *prōtotokos*); in Heb. 13:10 Christians have an "altar" (cf. *I Peter, New Century Bible*, 1971, 103; and E. Best, "Spiritual Sacrifice: General Priesthood in the New Testament", *Interpretation* 14, 1960, 280–90; J. H. Elliott, *The Elect and the Holy, Supplements to NovT* 12, 1966, 50–128).

(d) In Rom. 15:16 Paul describes his gracious calling "to be a minister [*leitourgon*] of Christ Jesus to the Gentiles in the priestly service of the gospel of God [*hierourgounta to euangelion tou theou*], so that the offering of the Gentiles [*hē prosphora tōn ethnōn*] may be acceptable, sanctified by the Holy Spirit." The context suggests that Rom. itself is a summary of this priestly ministry (cf. Rom. 15:15). In the light of Rom. 15:8 f., 13, D. W. B. Robinson writes: "Romans is both an exposition of the gospel of hope and at the same time Paul's *apologia* for his 'priesthood' in that gospel" ("The Priesthood of Paul in the Gospel of Hope", in R. Banks, ed., *Reconciliation and Hope: New Testament Essays on Atonement and Eschatology presented to L. L. Morris*, 1974, 232). On this verse see also C. Wiéner, "*Hierourgein* (Rom. 15.16)", *Stud.Paulin.Congressus, II, 1961*, 1963, 399–404. The theme of Rom. is God's saving purposes for both the Jewish nation and the Gentiles. The concern to show that the ground of salvation has always been grace received by faith (chs. 1–7) demonstrates that Jew and Gentile are on the same footing with regard to salvation. Chs. 9–11 consider God's purposes for the Jewish nation. The thought of the self-offering of the individual's life (Rom. 12:1) is paralleled by that of the Gentiles. Just as the OT priest presented the sacrifice to Yahweh, so Paul, as the apostle to the Gentiles (cf. Rom. 1:5; Gal. 2:8 f.; Acts 9:15; 22:21; 26:17 f.), is the one who has the special task of bringing them to God. This offering which would otherwise be unclean is made acceptable by the sanctifying work of the Holy Spirit (cf. Rom. 15:16 with 8:2–27). In the background of Paul's thought may be Isa. 66:20 where the Jews of the Diaspora are an offering (MT *minḥâh*; LXX *dōron*) which the Gentiles will bring to Jerusalem (SB III 153). Here, however, the rôles are reversed. In Phil. 2:17 the rôles are again reversed. Paul is in prison and awaiting possible execution (cf. Phil. 1:12 ff.; 17–26) and can envisage his own death as an offering for the sake of the church: "Even if I am to be poured out as a libation upon the sacrificial offering of your faith, I am glad and rejoice with you all."

(e) Although the words priest and high priest do not occur in it, Jesus' prayer in Jn. 17 is sometimes referred to as Jesus' high priestly prayer. The chapter represents Jesus' prayer for his people prior to his arrest and execution. Discussions include O. Michel, "Das Gebet des scheidenden Erlösers", *ZSTh* 18, 1941, 521–34; and E. Käsemann, *The Testament of Jesus: A Study of the Gospel of John in the Light of Chapter 17*, 1968. In Jn. 17:19 Jesus says: "And for their sake I consecrate myself, that they also may be consecrated in truth." The vb. *hagiazō* which is used here is also used for the sanctifying of priests (e.g. Exod. 28:41; 29:1, 21) and of sacrifices (e.g. Exod. 28:38; Num. 18:9) (→ Holy, art. *hagios*). The act of consecration through death for the sake of the people may reflect the Day of Atonement ritual carried out by the high priest (Lev. 16).

2. *archiereus* occurs only in the Gospels (Matt. 25 times, Mt. 22 times, Lk. 15 times, Jn. 22 times), Acts (22 times) and Heb. (17 times). In the Gospels and Acts it refers to the high priests chiefly in opposition to Jesus; in Heb. it has a christological and soteriological significance in that Jesus is depicted as the true high priest.

(a) In the Gospels and Acts the high priest is mentioned as the president of the Sanhedrin in the trials of Jesus and his followers (e.g. Matt. 26:62 par. Mk. 14:60; Acts 5:21, 27; 23:1 ff.; → Council). The frequent plurals (denoting the holders of the higher priestly offices) stand similarly in these contexts (e.g. Matt. 21:45 f. par. Lk. 20:19; Matt. 26:3 par. 14:1, Lk. 22:2; Jn. 12:10; 19:6, 15; Acts 5:24; 25:2). The priestly aristocracy thus appears as a closed group who staged persecutions and condemnations. Their combined act with the "elders" (→ Bishop, art. *presbyteros*, NT 2 (a)) and the → "scribes" is interpreted as being ordained by God (Matt. 16:21 par. Mk. 8:31, Lk. 9:22; Matt. 20:18 par. Mk. 10:33, Lk. 18:31; → Necessity, art. *dei*). Looking at it historically, it may well have been primarily the cleansing of the temple by Jesus (Mk. 11:18 par. Lk. 19:47; cf. Matt. 21:12 f.; Jn. 2:13–17) as an attack on the carefully preserved temple administration of the chief priests, which was the decisive factor in their hostility against him. Perhaps their arrangement with the occupying power also aroused their fears that the Romans might take measures against Jesus and his followers on their own account (Jn. 11:48). The remark in Jn. 11:51 that Caiaphas, in his office of high priest, prophesied Jesus' death recalls the rabbinic accounts of heavenly voices and visions which various high priests are supposed to have received while sacrificing on the Day of Atonement (Sotah 33a; Yoma 53b). On the other hand, 1QpHab. 10:9 suggests that the prophetic gift of the high priest was disputed at Qumran. Josephus also said that John Hyrcanus was credited with having prophetic powers (*Ant.* 13, 299; cf. 11, 327). He even claimed a measure of prophetic foresight himself in view of his priestly descent, although his main emphasis fell on knowledge of prophetical books (*War* 3, 352). There was a Jewish belief that prophecy was often unconscious (SB II 546). Jn.'s observation is an ironical comment on what to Caiaphas was sheer political realism: " 'You know nothing at all; you do not understand that it is expedient for you that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation should not perish.' He did not say this of his own accord, but being high priest that year he prophesied that Jesus should die for the nation, and not for the nation only, but to gather into one the children of God who are scattered abroad. So from that day on they took counsel how to put him to death" (Jn. 11:49b–53). In Jn. the concern of the chief priests and Pharisees was occasioned by the signs of Jesus (the most recent being the raising of Lazarus) and Jesus' popularity: "If we let him go on thus, every one will believe in him, and the Romans will come and destroy both our holy place and our nation" (11:48).

Caiaphas is mentioned in the NT at Matt. 26:3, 57; Lk. 3:2; Jn. 11:49; 18:13 f., 24, 28; Acts 4:6. Josephus (*Ant.* 18, 35; 18, 95) says that he was made high priest by the Procurator Valerius Gratus (A.D. 18) and was deposed by the Procurator Vitellius (A.D. 36). His successor was "Jonathan the son of Ananus" who is commonly identified with the Annas of the NT. According to Jn. 18:13, he was the son-in-law of Annas who had been deposed as high priest in A.D. 15 by Valerius Gratus. Lk. dates the public ministry of John the Baptist "in the high-priesthood

[*epi archiereōs*] of Annas and Caiaphas" (Lk. 3:2). Whereas some scholars see this as a mistake, others see this as a reflection of the real situation. As head of a powerful family, Annas continued to exert considerable influence which is evidenced by the fact that he procured appointment to the office for five of his sons. This may be the explanation of the fact that he is named as high priest in Acts 4:6. Annas is also mentioned in Jn. 18:3, 24. (For further discussion see S. Sandmel "Caiaphas", *IDB* I 481 f.; D. E. Hiebert, *ZPEB* I 683 ff.) The late Gk. adj. *archieratikos* is used in the NT only at Acts 4:6 when "Annas the high priest and Caiaphas and John and Alexander, and all who were of the high-priestly family [*ek genous archieratikou*]" were gathered to deal with Peter and John. Schürer suggests that the term high priest embraced not only present and former ones but also members of the privileged families from which the high priests were taken (Schürer, II, 1, 203–6).

Acts 22:30–23:10 depicts Paul's interrogation before the Sanhedrin at which the high priest Ananias commanded that Paul should be struck on the mouth. "Then Paul said to him, 'God shall strike you, you white-washed wall! Are you sitting to judge me according to the law, and yet contrary to the law you order me to be struck?' Those who stood by said, 'Would you revile God's high priest?' And Paul said, 'I did not know, brethren, that he was the high priest; for it is written, "You shall not speak evil of a ruler of your people" ' " (Acts 23:3 ff.; cf. Exod. 22:28). On Paul's remark → Black, White, Red, art. *leukos*. His failure to recognize the high priest has been ascribed to failing eyesight (on Paul's thorn in the flesh → Fruit, art. *skolops*), a change of high priest since Paul's last visit to Jerusalem, or irony (i.e. that one who spoke like that could not possibly be the high priest). However, the latter seems incompatible with the allusion to Exod. 22:28. The interrogation broke up in disorder when Paul played off the Pharisees and Sadducees against each other. Ananias appeared in person to support the renewed charges before Felix at Caesarea five days later (Acts 24:1). Ananias was appointed high priest by Herod, king of Chalcis in A.D. 48 (Josephus, *Ant.* 20, 103). He was sent to Rome in A.D. 52 by Quadratus, legate of Syria, to answer charges of cruelty, but was acquitted by Claudius through the efforts of Agrippa the younger (*Ant.* 20, 131 ff.).An unscrupulous man (*Ant.* 20, 205 ff.), he was a typical powerful Sadducee. Because of his collaboration with the Romans he was hated by the nationalists, and was murdered at the outbreak of the Jewish war in A.D. 66 (*War* 2, 441).

(b) Whilst high priestly functions are attributed to Christ in the NT outside Hebrews, such as intercession (Jn. 17:19; Rom. 8:34; 1 Jn. 2:1), and the opening of the way of access to God (Rom. 5:2; Eph. 2:18; 1 Pet. 3:18), only Hebrews offers a fully developed high-priestly christology. The writer interprets the suffering and the present work of Christ as a high-priestly service. Alongside the title *archiereus*, Christ also, on the basis of Ps. 109:4 (LXX), bears the title *hiereus*. But the interest is really focused on the high-priestly rank of Christ. The writer had probably already found this high-priestly title of Christ in confession-like liturgical tradition (Heb. 3:1). His scheme of thought appears to be influenced, not only by the Jewish expectation of the priest of the last days, but also by the motif of heavenly intercession (taken from angel speculations; cf. 1:5–14), and possibly elements of the gnostic myth of the primeval man. Acquaintance with these ideas

could have been mediated through the Alexandrian-Jewish doctrine of the Logos. The thought of the high-priestly self-sacrifice is nevertheless new (even Sifre Num. 131 does not speak of a cultic self-sacrifice of the high priest). The writer develops his interpretation of the priesthood of Christ as the antitype of the levitical priesthood, and does so in respect of structure, scriptural basis, bearer, service, place and time.

(i) Structure. Every high priesthood, as representative of men before God (Heb. 5:1), must be founded, on the one side, on its solidarity with men in their susceptibility to sin (Heb. 5:2), and on the other side, on divine calling (Heb. 5:4). Of the duties of the high priest Heb. is interested only in the sacrificial service (Heb. 5:1; 8:3), and primarily in his double service on the Day of Atonement (Heb. 2:17; cf. Lev. 16) – the slaughter of the sacrificial animal (Heb. 9:22) and his entry with the sacrificial blood into the most holy place (Heb. 9:7). The goal of the high priestly service is to render possible access to God by blotting out the guilt of their sins (Heb. 4:16; 7:18 f., 25; 10:1, 19, 22).

(ii) Scriptural basis. The fact and significance of the priesthood of Christ are grounded on Ps. 110:4 (cf. Heb. 5:6) and Gen. 14:17 ff. (Heb. 7:1 ff.). Following an exegetical tradition of Hellenistic Judaism, Heb. is not interested in the historical figure of → Melchizedek, but in the OT picture of his priesthood. It is not tied to any descent and is therefore eternal (Heb. 7:3) and superior to the levitical priesthood, since Melchizedek blessed Abraham, the ancestor of the Levites, and received a tithe from him (Heb. 7:5 ff.). All this is a prefiguration of the priesthood of the Son addressed in Ps. 110 (Heb. 7:3). It is grounded moreover on a divine oath (cf. the exegesis of the divine oath in Philo, *Leg.All.* 3, 203 ff. and elsewhere), whereas the levitical *hierōsynē*, the setting-up of this priesthood, rests on legal ordinance (Heb. 7:11, 20 f.). The "fleshly" law (Heb. 7:16), however, can only install men in their weakness as high priests (Heb. 7:23, 28). God's oath, by contrast, in which resides the "power of an indestructible life" (Heb. 7:16), entrusts to Jesus the Son of God, who has overcome all weakness, an unalterable *hierōsynē* (Heb. 5:7 ff.; 7:24, 28).

(iii) The bearer. The weakness of the levitical priesthood lies in its sinfulness (Heb. 5:3; 7:27). Although Jesus became like men in every respect (Heb. 2:17), he did not sin (Heb. 4:15; 9:14); and only such a high priest can act for us (Heb. 7:26), for he alone can atone. Behind this depreciation of the levitical high priesthood stands not so much the experience of its ethical decline in NT times as the dualistic moral doctrine of Hellenistic Judaism, and also the impression of the life of Jesus.

(iv) Service. The levitical priestly service is inadequate, since for an atoning sacrifice it must have recourse to animal → blood. This only effects an external "fleshly" purification, not the eradication of the guilt of sin from the conscience (Heb. 9:13 f.). On the contrary, it is only the necessity of continually renewed sacrifices which actuates a consciousness of sin (Heb. 10:1 ff.). But Christ, through his self-sacrifice, has effected once for all the liberation of the conscience from all sin (Heb. 9:14, 26) and thus opened the way to God (Heb. 10:19 ff.). Here Heb. takes up motifs of the prophetic critique of sacrifice, clothed in Hellenistic thought-forms (Heb. 10:5 ff.).

(v) Place. The levitical priestly service is imperfect, because its nature is earthly

and it takes place in an earthly sanctuary (Heb. 9:1). According to Exod. 25:40, it is the shadowy replica of the heavenly sanctuary in which Christ officiates as high priest (Heb. 8:2, 5; 9:11, 24). Heb. understands "earthly" and "heavenly" not so much apocalyptically and cosmologically as dualistically, comparable with the Platonic doctrine of Being. The heavenly sanctuary is perfect, "true", because it is "not of this creation" (Heb. 8:2; 9:11). To that extent not only Christ's entrance into heaven, but also the death he suffered on earth is essentially "heavenly" high-priestly service. The question of the commencement of his high-priesthood receives its answer from this point. He is a high priest for ever, but is first proclaimed as such on the basis of his sacrificial death (Heb. 5:10).

(vi) Time. The words → "covenant" and → "promise" (Heb. 8:6 ff.; 10:16 f.) bring a historical moment into the dualism of the earthly levitical high priesthood and the heavenly high priesthood of Christ. The latter sets the former aside (Heb. 7:18 f.). Moreover, the unique self-sacrifice of Christ the high priest marks the arrival of the end (already prophesied in the OT) of the cult as an atoning institution (Heb. 10:5 ff., 18). The new cult of Christians knows only the sacrifice of praise: confession and service (Heb. 13:15 f.).

(c) By way of summary, it must be stressed that the high-priestly christology of Heb. does not serve speculative but paraenetical interests. Heb. is directed to Christians who are tempted by the hiddenness of salvation in Christ, as against the very palpable salvation presented and represented in the cults of the surrounding world. Heb. wants to encourage them to hold fast to their confession by giving a new interpretation, both of Jesus' historical work and his present significance by means of the already previously handed down high-priestly title of Christ. Thus Jesus' death on the cross represents the high-priestly self-sacrifice of the eternal Son of God, surpassing all other sacrifices and valid once and for all. His exaltation is interpreted as the entrance of the perfect high priest into the heavenly and true sanctuary, and as his continual intercession for believers. Christ, therefore, as the eternal and heavenly high priest, now gives to those who hold firm to their confession of him a present guarantee of immediate access to God, and a future guarantee of entrance into the lasting heavenly world. Heb. thus represents salvation in Jesus Christ as the fulfilment of every cultic intention and so as the end of every cult (as a human endeavour of relationship with God), and exhibits this by using the methods of Hel. scriptural exegesis on the example of the OT cult. Alongside Paul, who proclaims Christ as the end of the law, then, comes an independent sketch of early Christian preaching of Christ as the end of the cult. *J. Baehr*

→ Bishop, → Council, → Levite, → Melchizedek, → Moses, → Prophet, → Sacrifice, → Temple

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Proclamation, Preach, Kerygma

There are a number of different words in Gk. for the passing on of messages, reports and instructions. Leaving aside the groups of words dealt with under → Teach (*didaskō* and *katēcheō* for the communication of material to be learned, and *paradidōmi* for the passing on of tradition); *gnōrizō*, to make known, which is dealt with under → Knowledge; and also the verbs mentioned under → Confess and → Witness; the principal words which are dealt with below are *angellō* and *kēryssō* and their derivatives. The NT uses the whole range of this vocabulary, partly because of the variety of the forms of communication which it mentions, and partly in the simple interchange of practically synonymous expressions. Of the two groups of words dealt with under this heading, that connected with *angellō* has more of the character of an offer of information or encouragement, while *kēryssō* indicates a public and authoritative announcement which demands compliance. See also → Gospel.

ἀγγέλλω

ἀγγέλλω (*angellō*), announce; ἀγγελία (*angelia*), message; ἀναγγέλλω (*anangellō*) and ἀπαγγέλλω (*apangellō*), report, announce, proclaim; διαγγέλλω (*diangellō*), make known, proclaim (far and wide); ἐξαγγέλλω (*exangellō*), proclaim, report; καταγγέλλω (*katangellō*), proclaim; καταγγελεύς (*katangeleus*), proclaimer; προκαταγγέλλω (*prokatangellō*), announce, proclaim beforehand, foretell.

CL The vbs. of this group are largely interchangeable. They are to be found in their principal sense, to bring tidings, notify, proclaim publicly, in some cases as early as Homer. *angelos*, messenger (→ Angel), is even attested in Mycenaean Gk. In Koine, as opposed to classical, Gk. the compounds are preferred: e.g. *an-* and *apangellō* take the place of the classical *angellō*. Nuances of meaning can of course be distinguished in the various compounds: *apangellō* is a more official word than *anangellō*. On the other hand, both words can be watered down to mean simply relate, speak. *di-*, *ex-* and *katangellō*, often indicate the elevated, ceremonious style of proclamation. *exangellō*, however, emphasises rather the unknown or secret nature of what is being told, sometimes even in the sense of gossip; while *katangellō* can, among other things, mean to make a claim concerning oneself. The noun *angelia* can mean either message or command. The one who conveys the message is the *katangeleus*, herald.

1. In their basic meaning these words always refer to the activity of the messenger who conveys a message which has been given to him either orally or in writing (Xen., *Anab.* 1, 3, 21), and who in this way represents the sender of the message himself. The content of the message may vary very considerably. It may be private family news (Soph., *Ajax* 1355), reporting good or evil fortune. Such news may especially concern political events: war (Plato, *Phaedrus* 262b), victory or defeat of an army (Plato, *Politicus* 1, 15, 11), the solemn proclamation of a ruler (cf. Xen., *Anab.* 2, 3, 19), the accession of an emperor. Good news (*angelia agathē*) is also called *euangelion* (→ Gospel).

2. Just as the messenger who brings the news stands under the special protection of the gods (→ Angel), so too his message can acquire a sacred significance. This is, of course, true particularly where it is associated with the cultic veneration of rulers and gods: e.g. where the messenger solemnly proclaims the successful completion of a sacrifice which brings blessing, or the approach of a ceremonial procession. He proclaims the manifestation of a god, the reign of a new god-king, or announces the mighty deeds of his god or emperor.

OT In the LXX *angellō* appears 5 times and means to announce. *an-* and *apangellō* by contrast occur frequently, chiefly to render the Heb. *nāḡaḏ* (hiph. or hoph.), in the sense of to report, announce (e.g. Gen. 9:22; 37:5; 2 Sam. 15:13), to proclaim (Pss. 19[18]:2; 51:15[50:17]), to speak out openly (e.g. Gen. 12:18; 1 Sam. 9:19), to direct or instruct (Deut. 24:8). *di-*, *ex-* and *katangellō* are seldom found in the LXX; *proangellō* and *katangeleus* do not appear at all.

The message of the OT and of rabbinic Judaism makes it quite clear that where the lordship of the divine Ruler is proclaimed, and his mighty deeds made known, no room is left for proclaiming the lordship of other gods. We ought therefore to ask whether the special meaning attached to these terms in the NT is not derived from OT and rabbinic usage. The might of God the Lord is declared to all the world (Exod. 9:16; Ps. 64[63]:9), his righteousness (Ps. 22[21]:30 f.), his faithfulness (Ps. 30[29]:9), his wondrous deeds (Ps. 71:[70]:17), his steadfast love (Ps. 92:2 [91:3]). He himself, the Lord, proclaims what is to come: "Behold, the former things have come to pass, and new things I now declare; before they spring forth I tell you of them" (Isa. 42:9; cf. 46:10). This is something idols cannot do (Isa. 44:7 ff.). It is above all the → prophets, the chosen messengers, who make known

the saving acts of God among his people and in all the earth (Isa. 12:5), who proclaim his will (Mic. 6:8) and announce what is to come. The latter idea, the announcement of eschatological events, is one that comes strongly into focus in intertestamental writings (cf. the Lat. *adnuntiare* of 2 Esd. Vulg.) One or two texts indicate that the prophets of the OT were even called *angeloi* (→ Angel), angels (Hag. 1:13; Mal. 3:1; Moses in Ass. Mos. 11:17 as the *magnus nuntius*). They make use of the same forms of expression as messengers in the surrounding world of the OT (e.g. the priests of Mari). Thus there is theological content in these expressions wherever in the LXX proclamation or announcement takes place at the behest of Yahweh or in the knowledge of his acts of salvation.

NT 1. In the NT *angellō* and *angelia* are only found twice each, and in each case in the Johannine writings (Jn. 4:51 *v.l.*; 20:18; 1 Jn. 1:5; 3:11). More frequently we find compounds with the same meaning: *anangellō* (13 times, 5 of which are Johannine and 5 in Acts); *apangellō* (46 times, 27 of these in Luke/Acts); and *katangellō* (18 times, of which 11 are in Acts and 7 in Paul). The other derivatives, as in classical Gk., are only found occasionally in the NT: *prokatangellō* (Acts 3:18); 7:52); *diangellō* (Lk. 9:60; Acts 21:26; Rom. 9:17); *exangellō* (1 Pet. 2:9) and *katangeleus* (Acts 17:18).

Statistical analysis shows that of the 88 occurrences, 48 are to be found in the Lucan writings, and 12 each in the Johannine literature and Paul.

As in classical usage, *an-* and *apangellō* can lose their full meaning and signify simply relate or speak (cf. e.g. Matt. 2:8; 28:11; Lk. 8:20; Acts 16:38). On the other hand, it is not always quite clear whether the etymological sense has been totally disregarded, e.g. in the typical ending of miracle stories (". . . and told [*apēngeilan*] it in the city and in the country", Mk. 5:14).

2. Usually the words of this group mean proclamation in a special, technical sense: the making known of God's activity, his will to save. This proclamation, the authority of which is derived from its ultimate source, enters deeply into the life of the messenger and makes total demands upon him. When used in this way, these terms can scarcely be distinguished in meaning from that word which is so central to the NT, *euangelizomai*, proclaim (good news) (→ Gospel). Thus, for example, 1 Jn. 1:5: "And this is the message [*angelia*] which we have heard from him and proclaim [*anangellomen*] to you, that God is light and in him is no darkness at all"; Lk. 9:60: "Leave the dead to bury their dead; but as for you, go and proclaim [*diangelle*] the kingdom of God."

(a) It is noticeable, however, that John uses the words of this group exclusively in a theologically pregnant sense, whereas *euangelizomai* and → *kēryssō*, a term frequently used in the Synoptic Gospels, Acts and Paul, do not appear in his writings at all. G. Friedrich is of the opinion that John has consciously avoided both expressions, because in contrast to *an-* and *apangellō* they emphasize strongly the dramatic, dynamic proclamation of the age of salvation, the heralding of a coming event, an idea which does not fit into John's realized eschatology (*TDNT* II 717; cf. III 703). John therefore prefers *martyreō*, to bear witness: what has already happened, and been seen or experienced, is the subject of → witness. If this is correct, it explains the peculiar nuance which, for instance, *anangellō* has in the Fourth Gospel: "when he [Messiah] comes, he will show [*anangelei*] us all things"

(Jn. 4:25); "and he [the Paraclete] will declare [*anangelei*] to you the things that are to come" (16:13; → Advocate); "he will take what is mine and declare [*anangelei*] it to you" (16:14). In these passages it is not so much a matter of a proclamation which will bring about its own fulfilment in the shape of an event, nor the announcement and heralding of a new age which is already dawning in the hidden messiah, as the revealing, the *reporting* of that "which was from the beginning" (1 Jn. 1:1). The believer may go forward with confidence into the darkness of the future, because the full truth of the word will one day be revealed to him by the Spirit. Similarly, in Jn. 16:25 *apangelō* ("I will tell you plainly") brings no new subject into view, "Rather, what was once said will become clear in the eschatological existence, for which it was spoken from the beginning" (R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 1971, 587).

The difference between this and the dynamic, dramatic announcement of the new age, which is conveyed by *kēryssō* and *euangelizomai*, is again made very clear in 1 Jn. 1:2 f.: "[we] proclaim [*apangellomen*] to you the eternal life which was with the Father and was made manifest to us – that which we have seen and heard we proclaim [*apangellomen*] to you, that you may have fellowship with us." That which has been heard is being said anew, not in order to say something new, but in order to make effective what has been heard. God is light (1 Jn. 1:5), and therefore the believer is not to walk in darkness (cf. 1:7); to be in the light means to be walking in love. "He who loves his brother abides in the light" (2:10). The content of the proclamation is both information, or "reminding" of the saving event, and commandment. *angelia* can be thus rendered as message (so RSV) or command in 1 Jn. 1:5: "This is the message [or "command", *angelia*] we have heard from him and proclaim [*anangellomen*] to you, that God is light and in him is no darkness at all"; and 1 Jn. 3:11: "For this is the message [or "command", *angelia*] which you have heard from the beginning, that we should love one another."

(b) Luke and Paul use the words in a variety of senses ranging from the simple, somewhat watered down sense of give notice (Acts 21:26, *diangello*), inform (2 Cor. 7:7, *anangellō*), and the more theologically significant give a report (e.g. Acts 14:27; 15:4), to the special meaning of command (Acts 17:30), confess (1 Cor. 14:25), proclaim, declare (e.g. Acts 4:2; 13:5; 26:20; cf. also 1 Pet. 2:9), and finally to the solemn, liturgical type of proclamation which results from the sacred celebration of the → Lord's Supper. "For as often as you eat this bread and drink this cup, you proclaim [*katangellete*] the Lord's death until he comes" (1 Cor. 11:26). The proclaiming here has been taken to refer to the symbolic action of the breaking of the bread (cf. Augustine, *In Ioannis Evangelium Tractatus* 80, 3) and the pouring out of the wine, but it probably also includes the recital of the passion narrative in the same way as the story of the exodus was recalled at the celebration of the Passover (cf. C. K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, *BNTC*, 1968, 270). The number of different words used in translation demonstrates that the words of our group do not acquire any technical application to a particular form of proclamation. Luke and Paul are, however, in contrast to John, dealing with the proclamation of a completed event or the announcement of a particular one in the future. The subject of the proclamation is new to the hearers (Acts 4:2; 16:17; 1 Cor. 9:14) and becomes operative by being proclaimed (Acts 13:38; 1 Cor. 2:1). If it is at all possible to draw a distinction

between this and *euangelizomai*, it is perhaps that the latter lays the emphasis more upon the *eu*, i.e. the good, on the God-sent intervention of something joyous into the human scene.

(c) The message of Christ is the message of the Risen One. *apangellō* becomes, in the resurrection narratives of all four Gospels, a technical term for witness to the resurrection (Matt. 28:8, 10 f.; Mk. 16:10, 13; Lk. 24:9; Jn. 20:18 *angellō*). The term is here used in its original sense: a messenger (→ Angel) conveys the news, which he has received directly beforehand from the sender of the message (the Risen One, Matt. 28:10; Jn. 20:18; angels, Lk. 24:6 ff.). It is no coincidence that Luke uses the same word in his account of the Transfiguration (9:36): the disciples do not pass on to anybody the message that they have seen Jesus transfigured, i.e. in his resurrection body.

(d) Jesus is proclaimed as the one in whom the prophetic promises (cf. *prokat-* and *katangellō* in Acts 3:18, 24) have found fulfilment. Paul opened the Scriptures to them and explained "that it was necessary for the Christ to suffer and to rise again from the dead, . . . saying 'This Jesus, whom I proclaim to you, is the Christ' " (Acts 17:3). It is not surprising, then, that the commission to proclaim is itself backed by a variety of OT quotations (e.g. Rom. 9:17, cf. Exod. 9:16; Rom. 15:21, cf. Isa. 52:15). In the two places where the quotation does not agree with the LXX, Matt. 12:18 ff. (Isa. 42:1–4) and Heb. 2:12 (Ps. 22:22), it is Jesus himself who is the messenger of God. Schniewind conjectures "the influence of Palestinian tradition, i.e. that the Messiah will be the prophet of Dt. 18:15, 18 and the *euangelizomenos* of Is. 52:7; cf. Jn. 4:25 *anangelei*, Hb. 3:1 *apostolos*" (J. Schniewind, *TDNT* I 67).

(e) Just as the use of these terms varies widely, so does the content of the proclamation differ from case to case. Sometimes the reference is to everyday information, sometimes to repentance (→ Conversion, art. *metanoia*), → faith → forgiveness of sins, to the totality of the Christian message (→ Word), or to other things.

U. Becker, D. Müller

κηρύσσω

κηρύσσω (*kērysso*), announce, make known, proclaim (aloud); κῆρυξ (*kēryx*), herald; κήρυγμα (*kērygma*) proclamation, announcement, preaching, kerygma.

CL 1. The words of this group derive from the noun *kēryx*, frequent in Homer; cf. Old High German *(h)ruod*, fame; Old Indian *kāruḥ*, singer; Old Persian *xrauš* (whence Aram. *kārôz*, Dan. 3:4; see OT 2). *kēryx* denotes the man who is commissioned by his ruler or the state to call out with a clear voice some item of news and so to make it known. Subsequently the vb. *kērysso* (first attested Homer, *Il.* 2, 438) was formed from the noun to describe the activity of the herald, but it is much less common than the noun. By the addition of *-ma* to the stem *keryk-* the noun *kērygma* was later formed (attested in Xen. and Eur.), which is used, like other words of the same form, to describe either the phenomenon of *kēryssein*, i.e. the ring of the herald's voice, the act of crying aloud (e.g. Xen., *Ages.* 1, 33), or, on the other hand, the content of the proclamation thus made, the announcement, edict (Hdt. 3, 52; Aristotle, *Oeconomica* 2, p. 1349b 36). This content may be anything from a mere report (Eur. *Iph. Taur.* 239) to an authoritative command (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 4, 19).

2. The precise meaning of the terms depends upon the function of the *kēryx* in the historical period in question (cf. on this the very detailed and widely documented account of G. Friedrich, *TDNT* III 683–94).

(a) In Homer (e.g. *Il.* 3, 118, 248; 7, 276) *kēryx* is used of the attendants of a prince who perform duties which are in keeping with the rôle of senior court officials, whose task is to care for the personal well-being of the prince and of his guests (like cupbearer, adjutant, steward, e.g. *Od.* 1, 143 ff.). They are, however, raised above the status of the rest of the retinue by the respect accorded to them, and by a status similar to that of friends (*Od.* 19, 247; *hetairos*, companion, friend; → Brother). The herald's staff, a kind of sceptre, in their hands (*Il.* 18, 505; *Od.* 2, 38) makes it clear, as they carry out their commission (to inform or invite), that they are authorized by the prince.

(b) In the period of the *polis*, the democratic city-state (→ People), the institution was maintained, though it seems at first to have been lessened in significance by the multiplication of types of herald. The particular function of a herald was indicated by the addition of a qualifying adj. or noun in the genitive (thus, there were heralds of the city, of the archons, of the council, of the court, and even of the mysteries and of the gods). Despite the fact that it was sometimes difficult to find free men to do this job, and that some of them appear to have been disparagingly spoken of, the really important fact is the rôle in society which the heralds played. Formally they were servants (we would say messengers, or spokesmen) of certain authorities (Plato, *Politicus* 290b), whose chief qualification for office was a loud and clear voice; but it was the heralds also who called the soldiers to battle (Homer, *Il.* 2, 51, 437 ff.) and the full citizens to the assembly (cf. → Church, art. *ekklēsia* CL). They were responsible for good order in the assembly, and opened it with prayers and sacrifices and announced its end (cf. Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazusae* 295 ff.; *Acharnenses* 45, 173). In public court hearings heralds announced the result of the drawing of lots for the judges, called on the judges to cast their votes, and beforehand asked the people whether anyone had objections to raise about the procedure of the statements of the witnesses. Thus they were, so to speak, responsible for the maintenance of the laws, and so for political and religious order generally. Their sacred, indeed sacrosanct position (Homer calls them *angeloi Dios*, *Il.* 1, 334 and *angeloi theioi*, divine messengers, *Il.* 10, 315), is even more evident from the fact that when the *kēryx* appeared, weapons were stilled, e.g. when heralds from one city invite all Greece to a festival in honour of the gods (Soph., *Aj.* 1240), and in the course of it they were responsible for the religious opening and the proclamation of victors and prizes. The herald who came to the enemy with a message in time of war must not be touched, since that would be to incur the wrath not only of the one who sent him, but also that of the gods, since it would be a gross *asebeia*, i.e. transgression of the religious and moral order (Dem., 12, 4; cf. the statement of Achilles in Homer, *Il.* 1,334). It is probably because of this position, guaranteed by the universally recognized moral and religious law, that heralds occasionally functioned as political ambassadors, or at least went out before them (Dem., 19, 163).

The following general characteristics may therefore be listed. The *kēryx* was always under the authority of someone else, whose spokesman he was. He himself was immune. He conveyed the message and intention of his master. He had,

therefore, unlike for example the *presbys*, envoy (→ Bishop), no liberty of his own to negotiate. His office had in every case an official character, even when he appeared in the market-place as a public middleman or auctioneer (e.g. Hdt., 6, 121). He was, therefore, also the announcer of judicial verdicts. What he announced became valid by the act of proclamation. The binding, commanding and settling nature of this proclamation distinguishes *kēryssō* and its cognates from → *angellō* and its compounds, which refer rather to the imparting of information, or making of an offer.

3. With the relaxation of the rigid order of the *polis*, the Stoics were provided with the opportunity for giving a quite different interpretation to the office of *kēryx*, after it had largely lost its significance for society. In addition to the political authorities, the Eleusinian mysteries already possessed their special heralds, who carried out liturgical functions in the cult, took over responsibility for the announcements, and together with the priests exercised great influence; and to Hermes had been attributed the function of a herald sent to men by the gods. Epictetus (*Dissertationes* 3, 22, 13 ff.) saw the real *kēryx* of his day in the Cynic philosopher, who moved around the country as a messenger of the gods and guardian of the moral order (*kataskopos*, *Dissertationes* 3, 22, 69). Without means of his own, and totally dedicated to his task, he came to denounce the way of life of his contemporaries and to call them to repentance, reformation of life, and concern about salvation. These preachers of → virtue, who deliberately dissociated themselves from every religious observance, laying all their emphasis upon integrity in everyday living and on an inner, higher peace (Epictetus, *Dissertationes* 3, 22, 9 ff.), dissolved religion, morality and philosophy into a single whole. They prepared the stage on which later the messengers of the gospel of Jesus Christ were to stand. How close the message of the latter could on occasion seem to Stoic preaching, both in language and in content, may be seen from the remarks which for instance Paul has to make in 1 Thess. 2:3 ff., in order to make the distinction clear.

OT 1. (a) In striking contrast to the generality of Gk. literature, the noun *kēryx* occurs only four times altogether in the LXX, and in three of these instances without a Heb. equivalent. Even here it never refers to a Jewish institution or person, but to foreign ones: in Gen. 41:43 (where the LXX has paraphrased the Heb. *qārâh* as *ekēryxen . . . kēryx*, a herald called out before him . . .), the reference is to the function of a servant of Pharaoh; in Dan. 3:4 it is Nebuchadnezzar's herald who calls the people to worship the image; in 4 Macc. 6:4 it is the herald of Antiochus IV; and in Sir. 20:15 the figure of a herald is used metaphorically for the raising of the voice. In Gen. 41 and Dan. the emphasis is upon the vb. *kēryssō*, which appears in addition to the noun.

All this is evidence that a figure comparable to the Gk. *kēryx* was unknown in Israel, and that it was clearly not appropriate to describe the → prophets in this way.

(b) As far as the vb. *kēryssō* is concerned, the picture is a little different. The LXX uses the word 29 times, usually to render the Heb. *qārâh*; but in Jon. 3:7 for *zā'aq*, to → cry; and in Hos. 5:8, Joel 2:1, Zeph. 3:14, Zech. 9:9, for the hiph. of *rûa'*, which refers to a loud cry (in the first two instances, the cry of alarm raised or

accompanied by instruments, both times on the mountain; in the other two, the triumphant battle-cry or shout of victory). In Exod. 36:6 and 2 Chr. 36:22, *kēryssō* is used for an announcement (Heb. *qôl*, voice) made throughout the camp by Moses, and throughout the kingdom by Cyrus, the Persian king.

Since, however, *qārâh* is found over 650 times in the OT and is usually translated in the LXX by *kaleō*, to → call, or *ekkaleō*, to call forth, we have to ask for what special kind of calling the vb. *kēryssō* is used in the translation. If we leave aside Zech. 9:9 and Zeph. 3:14, as being special cases, we may say that the word is used only for three classic functions of the herald: (i) for the proclamation of a cultic festival (Exod. 32:5; 2 Ki. 10:20; 2 Chr. 30:5; also Dan. 3:4 LXX, of the cultic call to worship made by the Babylonian herald; → Feast), or → fast (2 Chr. 20:3; Joel 1:14; 2:15; also Jon. 3:5, 7, by the citizens or the king of → Nineveh); (ii) for the orders of the military commander in the field, or a decree of the prince, which have to be proclaimed (Exod. 36:6; 2 Chr. 24:9; also the apocryphal passages 1 Esd 2:2, the decree of Cyrus that the Jews should return and the temple be rebuilt; and 9:3, Ezra's command to the Jews; 1 Macc. 5:49[51], Judas' command to attack Ephron); (iii) for the proclamation of → judgment (Hos. 5:8; Joel 3:9; Jon. 3:2, 4) or of Yahweh's day of judgment (Joel 2:1), or in Isa. 61:1 the announcement of liberty to captives; in this category also, following classical usage, belongs the proclamation of the rehabilitation of those accused (Mordecai, Est. 6:9, 11; Jonathan, 1 Macc. 10:63 f.).

Prov. 1:21, 8:1 and 9:3 belong in a special category of their own. These are the passages in which → wisdom cries out with a loud voice, in a way comparable with the Stoic use of the word. In Mic. 3:5 *kēryssō* is used to render the false prophets' proclamation of peace. The noun *kērygma* is found once in each of the above categories, describing the content of what is proclaimed (2 Chr. 30:5; 1 Esd. 9:3; Jon. 3:2; Prov. 9:3). Categories (i) and (ii) move within the familiar framework of orders given by human authorities; but all the prophetic passages mentioned under (iii) speak of the proclamation of a judgment of Yahweh. The number of references is, however, relatively small, a fact which confirms that the caution with which the OT makes use of the noun also applies to the vb. The latter never becomes a term of central importance in the OT's proclamation of salvation; this purpose is served by other vbs. (e.g. *angellō*).

2. In Jewish writings outside the OT, the noun *kārôz*, herald, public crier, probably a word borrowed from the Persian, is found frequently in the rabbis. Josephus' use of *kēryx* corresponds to the classical Gk. usage, when reference is made to the conveying of military commands, and to diplomatic missions (cf. *Ant.* 10, 75; *War* 2, 624; 3, 92). In Philo, on the other hand, the words are found only here and there, and then as a technical term for the utterances of the OT prophets (cf. K. Goldammer, *ZNW* 48, 1957, 80). In rabbinic literature both the noun and the vb. appear, where an announcement (e.g. Shabbath 15d, 38) or a judicial verdict (Sanhedrin 6:1; Sanhedrin 43a) is publicly proclaimed; and also for the public announcement of rabbinic decisions on doctrine when these are relevant to the keeping of the law (Rosh ha-Shanah 21a), and to describe the one who is commissioned by the rabbi to make known instructions for conduct during the synagogue service (Berakoth 7c, 59). Sometimes, the sound of the *baṯ-qôl*, the voice from heaven (→ Word, art. *phōnē*, OT 3), is linked with *kāraz*, call together,

call out, announce. On the whole, however, the term which is found relatively often, is used in a technical and formal way. It is used to introduce rabbinic decisions on doctrine, or the citation of scripture.

3. In the literature of Qumran the vb. *sāpar*, to tell, recount, which can sometimes come close in meaning to the Gk. *kēryssō*, occurs fairly frequently in the Hymns. Here, of course, it is used of the congregation's, or the individual worshipper's, act of witnessing and proclaiming in praise of God, recording the wonderful works of Yahweh (e.g. 1QH 3:20; 10:20), or his honour (1QH 11:6), majesty (1QH 12:30), patience and mercy (1QH 17:17; 18:14). Occasionally also God's own proclamation is spoken of, e.g., in his creation and his deeds (1QH 1:12; 13:11).

NT 1. The first noticeable feature in the NT is that, in keeping with the LXX, it uses the noun *kēryx* only 3 times, and that in later writings (1 Tim. 2:7; 2 Tim. 1:11; 2 Pet. 2:5). *kērygma*, too, is found relatively seldom: in Paul, for the message of Christ which he proclaims (Rom. 16:25, *kērygma Iēsou Christou*), or his preaching generally (in 1 Cor. 2:4; 15:14 with possessive pronouns; cf. 1 Cor. 1:21); more formalized in 2 Tim. 4:17 and Tit. 1:3; and finally in Matt. 12:41 par. Lk. 11:32, for the message of → Jonah to → Nineveh.

The vb. *kēryssō*, on the other hand, is found relatively frequently (61 times). It occurs 19 times in the Pauline epistles including Col., and 1 and 2 Tim.; 8 times in Acts; 9 times each in Matt. and Lk.; 14 times in Mk.; and once each in 1 Pet. and Rev. It is notable for its total absence in the Johannine writings, Heb. and Jas. An analysis of the grammatical object of the vb. reveals that in early passages of Paul (1 Thess. 2:9; Gal. 2:2; but cf. also Col. 1:23) and in some Marcan (Mk. 1:14; 13:10; 14:9) and Matthean (Matt. 4:23; 9:35; 24:14; 26:13) contexts the object is *to euangelion*, the → gospel; while in the Corinthian letters (1 Cor. 1:23; 15:12; 2 Cor. 1:19; 11:4), Phil. 1:15 and Acts 8:5; 9:20; 19:13 it is *Christos* (4 times), *Iēsous* (3 times) or Christ Jesus who is proclaimed. John the Baptist proclaimed the *baptisma metanoias eis aphesin hamartiōn*, "baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins" (Mk. 1:4; Lk. 3:3; cf. Acts 10:37; → Baptism). For Luke the *basileia*, → kingdom, is the object of proclamation (Lk. 8:1; 9:2; Acts 20:25; 28:31); for Matthew, too, the kingdom is the actual content of the gospel which is proclaimed (cf. Matt. 4:23; 9:35; 24:14).

2. (a) This evidence makes it quite clear that, no doubt deliberately, the NT witnesses, following other streams of Judaism, avoided identifying themselves or the messengers of Jesus with the Gk. institution of the *kēryx*, open as it was to such a wide variety of interpretation. Only in the later passages 1 Tim. 2:7 and 2 Tim. 1:11 (leaving aside the description of → Noah as a *kēryx* of righteousness in 2 Pet. 2:5), is the word introduced, and then in combination with *apostolos*, → apostle, which qualifies it. This is probably to be explained by the stronger tendency of the church to think in terms of institutions at a time when the eschatological aspect was diminishing in importance, and the church was adjusting herself to a permanent existence in the world. (On this whole question → Present: *The Parousia and Eschatology in the NT.*) But even these two texts still reveal the basic difference between the biblical viewpoint and that of the surrounding world: it is not the institution or the person to which importance is attached, but only the effective act of proclamation. This appears to be the reason why the establishment of a

definite, protected, official position was avoided by not using the noun which was ready to hand. This is confirmed by the fact that Jn., who in similar contexts prefers the vb. *martyreō*, to witness, uses the noun *martyria*, testimony, but not *martys*, a witness (→ Witness, NT 4). Even in the case of the unusual description of Noah as a *kēryx*, the writer is hardly thinking of an office but rather of the sign constituted by Noah's actions as a whole.

(b) A similar finding results from a study of the term *kērygma*, proclamation, in the NT. Where it is used, in Matt. 12:41 par. Lk. 11:32 for the *kērygma* of → Jonah, it undoubtedly includes also the content of Jonah's message to Nineveh. But the emphasis probably lies much more on the carrying out by Jonah of a divine commission: the delivery of a message containing not only a threat of judgment but also an invitation to repentance and salvation. Similarly Matt. 3:3 par. Mk. 1:3, Lk. 3:4 cites Isa. 40:3: "the voice of one crying [*boōntos*]. . ." (→ Cry, art. *boaō*). In the three texts accepted as Pauline (1 Cor. 1:21; 2:4; 15:14), this emphasis is even more obvious. Though it may not be clear where *dia tēs mōrias*, by the foolishness (1:21), refers to content or to means of delivery, it must be said that *ouk en peithois sophias logois*, "not in plausible words of wisdom" (2:4), goes further in the direction of describing the apostle's manner of speaking; and similarly that 15:14 has in mind the apostle's activity of preaching just as much as the content of his message. In Rom. 16:25 *kērygma*, message, is already becoming hypostasized: it is Christ-preaching, as carried out by Paul. Furthest of all along this line goes 2 Tim. 4:17. "But the Lord stood by me and gave me strength to proclaim the word fully [*hina di' emou to kērygma plērophorēthē*], that all the Gentiles might hear it." Here the *kērygma* is the actual act of proclamation, which has need of the particular messenger only in order, as it were, to complete it and give it concrete fulfilment (→ Fullness, art. *plēroō*). Tit. 1:3 is similar: "and at the proper time manifested in his word through the preaching with which I have been entrusted [*ton logon autou en kērygmati ho episteuthēn*] by command of God our Saviour."

(c) The nouns of this group are thus used in the NT generally to express the form of activity: *what* the *kērygma* is, what the content that it makes known, can be seen only from the context in each case. The NT is therefore as faithful to the original meaning of the word as is the OT. *kērygma* is the phenomenon of a call which goes out and makes a claim upon the hearers: it corresponds to the life and activity of the prophets. The idea that in terms of content it "can or must be as it were the 'evangelical' substance of the Christian message, the nuclear revelation after the mythical has been eliminated" cannot be established from the NT (K. Goldammer, *ZNW* 48, 1957, 96). The qualitative concept of *kērygma*, as it appears in the mid-twentieth-century theology of R. Bultmann and his school, is the product of theological reflection. It takes up the language of the NT, but uses the word in a sense which is at most marginally present in the NT. If we seek the origin of this usage, we may find it in the 4th cent. Athanasius, who, after centuries in which the word had been used in the most various of ways, was probably the first to use it in the full sense of Christian or church doctrine (*De Decretis Nicaenae Synodi* 26, 7; cf. K. Goldammer, ibid.)

3. (a) The NT's completely predominant conception of proclamation as a process and event, whose content can only be determined by closer definition, is

confirmed by the considerably greater frequency with which the vb. is used in comparison with the nouns. *kēryssō* is one of a number of formal verbs of telling and communication, which connote a certain means of communication but are not limited as to the content (e.g. *didaskō*, to teach; *angellō*, to report, together with its compounds; *legō*, to say; *homologeō*, to confess; *martyreō*, to bear witness, with its compounds; *euangelizomai*, to preach; *gnōrizō*, to make known; and others (cf. G. Friedrich, *TDNT* III 703). The wide range of words used in the NT indicates that none of the vbs. gained a position of clear dominance or was able to become a technical term.

Just how fluid the terminology was in seen from the fact that Paul in 1 Thess. 2:2, 9, describes his ministry in the same context as *lalēsai . . . to euangelion*, "to tell . . . the gospel", and as *ekēryxamen . . . to euangelion*, "we proclaimed . . . the gospel"; while in Phil. 1:18 he expresses this same act of proclamation by the vb. *katangellō*. Similarly, Luke in Lk. 4:43 (par. Mk. 1:38) and Lk. 9:6 (par. Mk. 6:12) replaces the Marcan *kērysso* by *euangelizō*. But in Lk. 8:1 he uses both vbs. synonymously side by side, and in Lk. 6:13 (par. Mk. 3:14) he appears to have subsumed the *kēryssein* which Mark expressly mentions into the term → apostle.

The nearest the NT comes to the classical figure of the herald is in Rev. 5:2, where the angel makes a proclamation with a mighty voice, and 1 Pet. 3:19, where the voice of the Crucified rings out in Hades (here the vb. is used on its own without an object). (For alternative interpretations of the latter passage → Flesh, art. *sarx*, NT 2 (a); → also Hell.) But Matt. 10:27 par. Lk. 12:3, where proclaiming from the roof-tops is a reference to the public revelation of what has hitherto been secret and hidden, ought also to be mentioned in this context.

(b) Traces of the original meaning of the word are also to be found here and there in Paul. In Rom. 2:21 he addresses those who make a demand that men should not steal, and yet do it themselves: "While you preach against stealing, do you steal [*ho kēryssōn mē kleptein klepteis*]?". Here *kēryssōn* may be compared with the Stoic sense of proclamation of a definite commandment which demands obedience. There is a similar thought in 1 Cor. 9:27. The call to a certain course of action or behaviour, though it is not here a matter of ethics, is also expressed by the vb. in Gal. 5:11, where Paul is dissociating himself from the continuing proclamation of circumcision, i.e. the propagation of conversion to Judaism as an expression of obedience to the only God.

Positively Paul sees himself as one who proclaims *to euangelion tou theou*, the → gospel of God (1 Thess. 2:9), among the Gentiles (Gal. 2:2), something which can be done only if it is accompanied by a total giving of his own person (1 Thess. 2:8). For Paul proclamation is not, as with Jonah, a once-for-all cry which might be compared with simply sticking up a poster. The proclamation of the message of Christ, as he understands it, requires unceasing pleading and wooing, with a love that seeks, and is accompanied by a constant care for the individual (cf. the labour and toil by day and night of 1 Thess. 2:9; cf. also 2 Cor. 5:18 ff.). It also involves exhortation (→ Exhort, art. *parakaleō*), warning (*parakalountes*), encouragement (→ Comfort, art. *paramytheomai*), and → witness. In such a context *kēryssein* appears as the central act of proclamation, which is needed, like the setting up of a signpost, if the → call of God (*tou theou tou kalountos hymas*, the God who calls you, 1 Thess. 2:12) is to be realized – as it is when the hearers

enter upon the kind of life which is worthy (*axiōs*) of the glory of God which is about to be revealed.

The basis for this invitation (i.e. its content and origin) may be discovered from those passages in his later epistles where Paul uses *kēryssō*, to proclaim. It is Christ, i.e. a person, whom Paul proclaims in this way (1 Cor. 1:23; 15:12; 2 Cor. 1:19; 4:5; Phil. 1:15; cf. 2 Cor. 11:4 *Iēsoun*, Jesus). It is in fact the crucified Christ (1 Cor. 1:23; cf. 2:2), that is the death of this Jesus, which is presented in this proclamation as the basis of life. It is the Christ in whom Paul sees all the previous → promises of God as being fulfilled and taking concrete form (2 Cor. 1:20). It is the Christ to whom Paul bears witness on the ground of the tradition handed down to him (→ Teach, art. *paradidōmi*), but also on the ground of his own experience (1 Cor. 15:3–8), as the one who appeared to his own after his death, as the Risen One (→ Resurrection). 1 Cor. 15:1 f. leaves no doubt that the → death of Jesus for the sin of others, and his presence and exaltation, made possible only by this means (cf. Phil. 2:8–11), formed the central content of what Paul preached as the saving and world-changing message (1 Cor. 15:12). According to 1 Thess. 4:13 ff., the promise of the general resurrection and of the *parousia*, i.e. the presence, of Jesus also form part of it (→ Present). W. Baird (*JBL* 76, 187) is probably right when he points out that (according to Gal. 1:11–17) it is not the facts and doctrines which had already been formulated in the pre-Pauline era which characterize Paul's proclamation, but the preaching of Jesus as the Son, raised to life, of which Paul had become convinced through revelation. If such a teaching be regarded as mythological, it will be difficult to disentangle the gospel from it completely without at the same time altering the gospel's content.

The act of proclamation is ultimately a prerequisite of → faith, inasmuch as it has as its goal not simply the imparting of information or a formal allegiance, but a faith which involves self-surrender and trust (cf. 1 Cor. 15:11). Therefore, Paul sees proclamation as legitimate and possible only where a commission and authority has been given (Rom. 10:8 ff.; cf. Rom. 10:15 with Acts 13:3 and Isa. 52:10). This means that Christ is not merely an object of proclamation, but also the subject, who has authority over it. He himself is the one who commands the proclamation, who at the same time wills to be present, and allows the hearers to experience him in and through such human proclamation (cf. Gal. 3:1).

(c) The Synoptic Gospels all use *kēryssō* for the activity of John the Baptist (Matt. 3:1; Mk. 1:4; Lk. 3:3), indicating, as the allusion to Isa. 40:3 also shows, that he is the last of the → prophets (→ Cry, art. *boaō*). Mk. sums up his preaching as that of a *baptisma metanoias eis aphesin hamartiōn*, "baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins." The phrase includes both the means and the end. Matt. and Lk. develop this further with some examples of his teaching. All three Gospels record, however, that the Baptist's preaching extended to the announcement of the coming Stronger One (*ischyroteros*), through whose Spirit-baptism a new order will begin (Matt. 3:11 par. Mk. 1:7, Lk. 3:16; cf. Jn. 1:26 f.).

(i) Matthew inserts at this point (Matt. 3:2), as the factor which legitimates and motivates John's *kēryssein*, the sentence *ēngiken gar hē basileia tōn ouranōn*, "for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." This means that John's call to repentance is set against the background of the promised lordship of Christ. This is why it is taken up by Jesus in exactly the same words (Matt. 4:17), and is emphasized at Matt.

10:7 as the centre of the message the disciples are to proclaim, which begins as they are sent out. Jesus himself thus moves into the area, as it were, between the Testaments, into the centre of time. Just as the prophets, represented by John, have pointed forward to his coming, before he himself establishes the signs of the *basileia* (cf. the summaries in Matt. 4:23; 9:35; 11:1), so the disciples bear witness to its dawning, as something that has already happened and is now present in their proclamation ("He who receives you, receives me", Matt. 10:40; cf. 24:12). The content of the *kēryssein* remains the same – a proclamation of the Lordship of Christ. But the form and perspective of the preaching is conditioned by its setting in history (and in the history of salvation).

It is to be observed that Matt. is the only evangelist to use the term *kēryssein* exclusively in reference to the ministry of John, Jesus, and the disciples expressly sent out by him. He thus underlines the binding, almost judicial and official character of the proclamation, which, in contrast to *didaskein*, to teach, takes place not only in the synagogues but also in the wilderness and the villages, in short even outside the traditional limits of the community and the places and meetings where it might be expected, even among the Gentiles (Matt. 24:14, throughout the whole inhabited world).

(ii) No such systematization can be found in Mark. Here too the line may indeed be followed from John (Mk. 1:4, 7), through Jesus (Mk. 1:38 f.), to the commissioned disciples (Mk. 3:14; cf. 6:12). Likewise the extension of the sphere of proclamation from Israel to the Gentiles is noted in the so-called "Little Apocalypse" (Mk. 13:10; cf. Matt. 24:14; on this → Present: *The Parousia and Eschatology in the NT*, 2 (a)). But Mk. emphasizes the inner power and the necessity of proclamation, rather than its official character. Even before the disciples have been commissioned, those who have been healed proclaim, despite being expressly forbidden to do so. What has happened to them is a result of their encounter with Jesus (Mk. 1:45; 5:20 par. Lk. 8:39; Mk. 7:36). Their encounter with Jesus, their experience of the mercy of God, their own recognition of the dawn of the new age in this Jesus (Mk. 7:37 echoes Isa. 35:5) are enough to compel them to tell others. Without any formal ratification this telling becomes proclamation.

(iii) Finally, Luke (Luke/Acts) taking up the prophetic words of Isa. 61:1 f. in Jesus' sermon at Nazareth (the place of proclamation is first of all the synagogue: Lk. 4:16, 44; cf. Mk. 1:39) and his declaration that the word has been fulfilled by his coming, describes Jesus as the one who both proclaims and carries through the work of God, and then sends out the disciples to proclaim it (Lk. 10:9 par. Matt. 10:7). When they speak of Christ, they proclaim by that very act the *basileia*, as God's new ordering of the things in the world, taking place in and through Jesus (cf. the activity of Philip in Samaria, Acts 8:5, with the description of the work of Paul in Acts 9:20; 20:25; 28:31). Conversely the proclamation of the *basileia* is tied up with the words and teaching of Jesus (Acts 28:31, *didaskōn ta tou kyriou Iēsou Christou*, "teaching the things of the Lord Jesus Christ"). Jesus is described as the Son of God (Acts 9:20), as the Risen One (e.g. Acts 2:32; 4:10), the guarantor of resurrection from the dead (Acts 4:2), in whose name alone the → forgiveness of sins which John proclaimed can be realized (Acts 2:38; cf. Lk. 24:47). Acts 15:21 ("from early generations Moses has had in every city those who preach him", i.e. the law) makes it clear that the proclamation to which *kēryssein* refers also lays

down binding principles of faith and life for the fellowship which it sets up and which is set up in accordance with it. In this respect the vb. goes beyond *euangelizomai*, a word which Luke uses in an otherwise synonymous sense.

4. We must now ask what is the particular nuance of *kēryssō* as compared with the other, synonymous words used for the passing on of the message of Christ. Both Luke and Paul prefer the vb. *euangelizō* when they want to describe the total activity of proclamation (in the case of Lk., *katangellō* also). But it may also be noted that *kēryssō* is particularly used when the message of the rule of God as it has dawned in Christ, and of his resurrection, is proclaimed in a particular instance by angels (Lk. 1:19; 2:10) or men (Lk. 3:18; 9:6; Acts 5:42; 8:4 ff.). Here the messengers are not bandying slogans. The proclamation in each case has a thoroughly personal character and the one who proclaims must stake his existence upon it. "If the word has precedence over the text, because the word intended is God's word, as it was heard and could be said in Jesus as God's 'yes' to man, faith has to proclaim this word by repeating Jesus. The task of proclamation is to repeat Jesus" (E. Fuchs, *Studies of the Historical Jesus*, *SBT* 42, 1964, 200). The vb. *kerykssō* characterizes the concrete proclamation of the message in a particular instance, with special reference to the claim that is being made, and its authority to set up a new order. It includes information, but is always more than mere instruction or a bare offer, and is equally distinct from the communication of philosophical teaching or general → wisdom. *kērykssō* sets a standard, to ignore which is not simply indifference but refusal.

At the same time the conveying of the message of Christ does not consist solely in *kēryssein*, as Matt., who has given the vb. its firmest position, makes clear. He describes the work of Jesus as *didaskōn . . . kai kerykssōn . . . kai therapeuōn*, "teaching . . . and preaching . . . and healing" (Matt. 4:23; 9:35). The description of the disciples' work follows the same pattern, albeit without *didaskōn* (Matt. 10:7 ff.; cf. Mk. 3:14 f.; 6:12 f.). For Matt. significantly, Jesus alone is the teacher, apart from the OT quotation in Matt. 15:9. The word does not appear in connexion with the disciples until the great commission of Matt. 28:20. All this is to say that the event of proclamation is surrounded by objective instruction and by events and actions which symbolically make known the dawn and the power of the new age. It is not only the proclamation of the new age, but it makes space for the latter to grow. This, and probably only this, provides the protection against blind fascination, on the one hand, and against spiritualization and idealization, on the other.

L. Coenen

The Structure and Content of the Early Kerygma

The subject of the kerygma has never been far from the forefront of critical discussion for the past half-century. It was virtually an axiom of Bultmann and his school that the primitive church was deeply interested in the Christ of the kerygma but cared little for the historical Jesus (cf. R. Bultmann, "The Significance of the Historical Jesus for the Theology of Paul", in *Faith and Understanding*, I, 1969, 220–46; *New Testament Theology*, I, 1952, 33–183; and "The Primitive Christian Kerygma and the Historical Jesus", in C. E. Braaten and R. A. Harrisville, eds., *The Historical Jesus and the Kerygmatic Christ*, 1964, 15–42). This was bound up

with two wider theological positions. On the one hand, there was the philosophical and dogmatic conviction that the knowledge of God is on a different plane from the knowledge of facts which, of course, include historical facts. On the other hand, it was related to a sceptical approach to form criticism which maintained that careful analysis of the literary forms detected within the NT writings showed a lack of interest in historical questions (cf. Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, [1921] ET 1968²; M. Dibelius, *From Tradition to Gospel*, [1933] ET [1934] 1971; K. L. Schmidt, *Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu. Literarkritische Untersuchungen zur ältesten Überlieferung*, [1919] 1964). It was argued that the first Christians were so absorbed by the thought of the Risen Christ and the parousia that they had no concern for biographical details of Jesus. Such an interest developed later on with second and third generation Christians.

W. Schmithals has argued that gospel traditions remained unknown or virtually apocryphal until the time of Justin Martyr ("Paulus und der historische Jesus", *ZNW* 53, 1962, 145 ff.). Within the ranks of Bultmann's disciples E. Käsemann signalled a return of interest in the historical Jesus in a lecture delivered in 1953 on "The Problem of the Historical Jesus" (*Essays on New Testament Themes*, *SBT* 41, 1964, 15–47). The considerable debate which followed focused on the question of the relationship between the kerygma and the historical Jesus and the adequacy of the existentialist interpretation of history. Moreover, interest in form criticism has given way to interest in redaction criticism and tradition criticism investigating the treatment of the hypothetical sources and traditions at various stages of alleged development. For discussions see J. M. Robinson, *A New Quest of the Historical Jesus*, *SBT* 25, 1959; J. Rohde, *Rediscovering the Teaching of the Evangelists*, 1968; N. Perrin, *Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus*, 1967; and *What is Redaction Criticism?*, 1970; R. H. Fuller, *The Foundations of New Testament Christology*, 1965; R. S. Barbour, *Traditio-Historical Criticism of the Gospels*, 1972; and more briefly G. N. Stanton, *Jesus of Nazareth in New Testament Preaching*, *Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series* 27, 1974, 1–12.

Käsemann contends that the Gospels are a (late) reaction to early Christian enthusiasm which at least partly overlooked the earthly Jesus ("Blind Alleys in the 'Jesus of History' Controversy", *New Testament Questions of Today*, 1969, 23–66). Others see a difference of interest in the separation of Gentile and Jewish Christianity, but with apparently contradictory results. G. Ebeling suggests that cultured Hellenistic circles would have appreciated a biographical presentation of Jesus especially as the presuppositions of OT thought and Jewish apocalypticism were less strong for them (*Theology and Proclamation*, 1966, 133). But U. Wilckens believes that the Hellenistic churches, including Paul, preached a Christ-kerygma which knew virtually nothing about the teaching and ministry of Jesus. The latter remained the preserve of Jewish Christians in Palestine; only later did the traditions about Jesus penetrate the Hellenistic churches ("Tradition de Jésus et Kérygme du Christ: La Double Histoire de la Tradition au Sein du Christianisme Primitif", *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses* 47, 1967, 1–20; "Hellenistisch-christliche Missionsüberlieferung und Jesustradition", *TLZ* 89, 1964, 518 ff.). Similar views have been argued by S. G. F. Brandon, *The Fall of Jerusalem*, 1951; P. Vielhauer, "Ein Weg zur neutestamentlichen Christologie?", *EvTh* 25, 1965, 24–72; and S. Schulz, "Die neue Frage nach dem historischen Jesus", in H. Balten-

sweiler and B. Reicke, eds., *Neues Testament und Geschichte. Historisches Geschehen und Deutung im Neuen Testament. Oscar Cullmann zum 70. Geburtstag*, 1972, 33 ff. It may be noted in passing that any thesis which posits a sharp cultural and religious difference between Palestinian and Hellenistic Judaism is likely to be subjected to increasingly sharp scrutiny in the light of the growing conviction that Hellenistic culture had pervaded Jewish life more early and more deeply than had been considered. Although the Hellenists formed a separate group in Acts, it is now highly questionable whether these two outlooks can be set in diametrical opposition in the NT period (cf. I. H. Marshall, "Palestinian and Hellenistic Christianity: Some Critical Comments", *NTS* 19, 1972–73, 271–87; M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, I–II, 1974).

A somewhat different approach has been advanced by Scandinavian scholars. H. Riesenfeld argues that the origin of the gospel tradition goes back to Jesus' own messianic consciousness ("The Gospel Tradition and its Beginnings", *StudEv*, I, 1959, 43–65; reprinted as a separate paper, 1957, and also in *The Gospels Reconsidered: A Selection of Papers read at the International Congress on the Four Gospels in 1957*, 1960, 131–54; and *The Gospel Tradition*, 1970, 1–29). "Jesus is not only the object of a later faith, which on its side gave rise to the growth of oral and also written tradition, but, as Messiah and teacher, Jesus is the object and subject of a tradition of authoritative and holy words which he himself created and entrusted to his disciples for its later transmission in the epoch between his death and the parousia" (*The Gospel Tradition*, 29). Missionary preaching was not the *Sitz im Leben* of the gospel traditions (op. cit., 11; on this point he leans on the arguments of C. H. Dodd discussed below). Rather, "the recitation of the tradition about Jesus as the sacred word of the New Covenant was an essential constituent in Christian public worship" (op. cit., 21). The need for authorized transmitters of the text gave rise to the growth of the Christian ministry and in turn led to the production of the Gospels. Jesus himself adopted the methods of a Jewish rabbi, and taught his disciples to learn likewise. In other words, they learned by heart and the Gospels have their ultimate origin in the teaching of Jesus himself.

Riesenfeld's position has been extended by his pupil, B. Gerhardsson, in *Memory and Manuscript: Oral Tradition and Written Transmission in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity*, *Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis* 12, 1961; and *Tradition and Transmission in Early Christianity*, *Coniectanea Neotestamentica* 20, 1964 (in which he replies to criticisms of the earlier work). Gerhardsson made a detailed study of later rabbinic methods of transmitting teaching and suggested that they were employed by Jesus himself. His critics have accused him of reading into the NT period the methods of a later age. They also point out that the Gospels themselves admit of variations in the choice of what is given, the precise wording of common material and the paraenetic interest of the evangelists. However, whilst there are points of substance here and more work needs to be done on teaching methods, this approach at least has the merit of seeking to relate the teaching of Jesus to the life-setting of Jewish teaching. A somewhat different position has been argued by T. Boman in *Die Jesus-Überlieferung im Lichte der neueren Volkskunde*, 1967. In the light of recent study of the transmission of folklore tradition, he argues that the kerygma tradition proclaimed by the apostles was separate from the gospel traditions which were recounted by a special group of narrators who were subject

to the apostles and prophets. But it is not easy to find direct evidence for a separate class of narrators or believe that the two activities could be reserved for different functionaries.

A number of writers have suggested that interest in the life of Jesus in the early church grew out of the need to have an example for Christian conduct in order to supplement the missionary kerygma (cf. A. M. Ramsey, "The Gospel and the Gospels" in *StudEv*, I, and *The Gospels Reconsidered*, 99–106; and the discussions of E. J. Tinsley, *The Imitation of God in Christ: An Essay in the Biblical Basis of Christian Spirituality*, 1960; and "Some Principles for Reconstructing a Doctrine of the Imitation of Christ", *SJT* 25, 1972, 45–57; E. Larsson, *Christus als Vorbild*, 1962; H. D. Betz, *Nachfolge und Nachahmung Jesu Christi im Neuen Testament*, *BHTh* 37, 1967; → Disciple). But whilst there are traces of this motivation in the NT (cf. 1 Cor. 11:1; 1 Thess. 1:6), G. N. Stanton points out that Jesus did not encourage the disciples to follow him in the ethical sense (op. cit., 8). Rather, following Jesus in the Gospels is a matter of personal commitment to him and preparedness to share his fate (cf. Mk. 8:34; Matt. 10:38 par. Lk. 14:27). Moreover, the vb. to imitate (*mimeomai*) and the corresponding noun (*mimētēs*) are not found in the Gospels.

Throughout the debate there have always been those who rejected as a false choice Bultmann's alternative of a kerygmatic Christ and the historical Jesus. It was felt that an interest in the former to the exclusion of the latter was simply unrealistic and that those who responded to the kerygma of the crucified Christ and risen Lord would have wanted to know something of his life, what made him what he was, and how he came to be crucified (cf. E. B. Redlich, *Form Criticism: Its Value and Limitations*, 1939; D. M. Baillie, *God Was in Christ: An Essay on Incarnation and Atonement*, 1948, 30–58; A. M. Ramsey, op. cit.; P. Althaus, *The So-Called Kerygma and the Historical Jesus*, 1959; R. A. Bartels, *Kerygma or Gospel Tradition . . . Which Came First?*, 1961; C. F. D. Moule, "Jesus in New Testament Kerygma", in O. Böcher and K. Haacker, eds., *Verborum Veritas. Festschrift für Gustav Stählin*, 1970, 15–26). Moule takes up a suggestion of G. J. Paul that Mark was taken by Paul on his missionary journeys because his eye-witness reminiscences supplied an element in Paul's preaching which he himself could not supply. "He took, as it were, a 'gospel source' with him, in the form of a person acquainted with the facts" (op. cit., 25; cf. G. J. Paul, *St. John's Gospel: A Commentary*, 1965, 26). Similarly, the Fourth Gospel complements the Johannine Epistles, in that without it some might conclude that the circle from which the epistles emanated had no concern for the sort of material that the Gospel of Jn. contains. Thus for Moule it is a mistake to assume that the epistles constitute the total kerygma. It is the thesis of G. N. Stanton's work "that there is plenty of evidence which, taken cumulatively, indicates that the early church was interested in the life and character of Jesus and that the primary (though not the only) *Sitz im Leben* of that interest was the missionary preaching of the church" (op. cit., 9).

Although the distinction is commonly drawn between missionary proclamation (*kērygma*) and Christian teaching (*didachē*; → Teach), in practice the two were closely intertwined. It would appear that the confession of Jesus Christ as Lord was a very primitive response to the kerygma and may indeed have been part of

the baptismal profession of initiates (cf. 1 Cor. 12:3; Rom. 10:9; with Acts 11:17, 20; 16:31; Col. 2:6; and Acts 8:16; 19:5; 1 Cor. 6:11). At the same time the contexts in which these passages appear indicate that they were also used for teaching. (On the emergence of confessional formulae in the NT see O. Cullmann, *The Earliest Christian Confessions*, 1949; J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, 1950, 6–29; V. H. Neufeld, *The Earliest Christian Confessions, New Testament Tools and Studies* 5, 1963; and E. Stauffer, *New Testament Theology*, 1955, 235–57.) The following passages contain summaries of the gospel which may well be couched in rhythmical language relating specifically to beliefs about Jesus as the Christ: Rom. 1:3 f.; 8:34; 1 Cor. 15:3 ff.; Phil. 2:6–11; 1 Tim. 3:16; 2 Tim. 2:8; 1 Pet. 3:18 ff. Perhaps the following contain echoes of catechetical formulae: Gal. 1:4; 1 Thess. 4:14; 5:9 f. There may also be traces of a formula used in exorcism and healing in Acts 3:6 and 4:10. Two-part formulae which link Jesus with the Father occur in Rom. 8:24; 1 Cor. 8:6; 1 Tim. 2:5 f.; 6:13 f.; 2 Tim. 4:1.

The NT epistles contain a variety of phrases which suggest a corpus of teaching. Among those found in the later writings are: "the faith once delivered to the saints" (Jude 3); "your most holy faith" (Jude 20, implying a body of beliefs); "the pattern of sound words" (2 Tim. 1:13); "the healthy doctrine" (2 Tim. 4:3; Tit. 1:9); "the deposit [*tēn parathēkēn*]" and "the noble deposit" (1 Tim. 6:20; 2 Tim. 1:14); "the faith" (1 Tim. 1:19; Tit. 1:13); "the splendid teaching" (1 Tim. 4:6); "the confession" (Heb. 3:1; 4:14; 10:23); "the elementary doctrines" (Heb. 6:2); "the word of life" (1 Jn. 1:1, though this may refer to Christ rather than the proclamation, cf. Jn. 1:1; but cf. also Acts 5:20; Phil. 2:16). Whilst some scholars take such expressions as evidence of the crystallization of a tradition towards the end of the NT period, there is strong evidence that the process of formulating Christian truth began at a much earlier stage. Thus in one of the earliest of his epistles Paul could write: "hold fast to the traditions [*tas paradoseis*] which you have been taught" (2 Thess. 2:15). In Rom. Paul could speak of "the pattern of doctrine [*typon didachēs*]" (Rom. 6:17). To the Corinthians he could insist that his teaching on the Lord's Supper was no innovation: "For I received from the Lord what I also delivered to you, that the Lord Jesus on the night when he was betrayed took bread" (1 Cor. 11:23). But the element of tradition also extended to the content of Paul's kerygma: "Now I would remind you, brethren, in what terms I preached to you the gospel [*to euangelion ho euēngelisamen*], which you received [*parelabete*], in which you stand, by which you are saved, if you hold it fast – unless you believed in vain. For I delivered [*paredōka*] to you as of first importance what I also received, that Christ died for our sins in accordance with the scriptures, that he was buried, that he was raised on the third day in accordance with the scriptures, and that he appeared to Cephas, then to the twelve" (1 Cor. 15:1–5). The term "the gospel" also occurs in Rom. 2:16; 16:25; Gal. 2:2; cf. 1 Cor. 15:1). Paul speaks of "the preaching [*kērygma*]" and the "preaching of Jesus Christ" (Rom. 16:25), not in the sense of the activity of preaching but in that of its content. Similarly "the faith" (Gal. 1:23; Col. 2:7) denotes not simply the act of believing but also what is believed (cf. also Eph. 4:5). In various letters Paul refers to "the word of the cross" (1 Cor. 1:18) or the word of God and of the Lord (1 Cor. 14:36; Gal. 6:6; 1 Thess. 1:6; 2 Thess. 3:1; Phil. 1:14; cf. 1 Pet. 1:25). J. N. D. Kelly comments: "In contradiction to the view that St Paul was a daring doctrinal innovator, virtually

the inventor of Catholic theology, all the evidence goes to prove that he had a healthy regard for the objective body of teaching authoritatively handed down in the Church" (op. cit., 10; cf. A. M. Hunter, *Paul and his Predecessors*, 1940; G. Bornkamm, *Paul*, 1971; and J. W. Fraser, *Jesus and Paul: Paul as Interpreter of Jesus from Harnack to Kümmel*, 1974).

In various writings C. H. Dodd endeavoured to go beyond this and establish the structure of apostolic preaching. In "The Framework of the Gospel Narrative" (*ExpT* 43, 1931–32, 396–400; reprinted in *New Testament Studies*, 1953, 1–11) Dodd examined K. L. Schmidt's form-critical approach to Mk. which insisted that Mk. was a compilation of separate *pericopae* transmitted independently. The present arrangement was due to the evangelist himself. Support for this thesis was found by Schmidt in the absence of precise chronological and geographical data and the way in which Mk. regularly introduces episodes by such expressions as "And he . . .", "And they . . .". Whereas Schmidt maintained that Mk.'s editorial cement was historically worthless, Dodd put forward the thesis that, when the generalizing summaries were put together, they formed "a perspicuous outline of the Galilaean Ministry, forming a framework into which the separate pictures are set" (*New Testament Studies*, 8). Into this framework Mk. arranged his material combining a chronological with a typical order. Dodd then compared this with the summary outlines of Jesus embedded in the primitive teaching in the speeches in Acts (the fullest being Acts 10:37–41 and 13:23–31) and 1 Cor. 15:3–7 and 11:23 ff. (cf. M. Dibelius, op. cit.).

Dodd took the argument further in *The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments*, 1936, where on the basis of an analysis of certain speeches in Acts (2:14–39; 3:13–26; 4:10 ff.; 5:30 ff.; 10:36–43; 13:16–41) and of passages in Paul (Gal. 3:1, 3 f.; 4:6; 1 Thess. 1:10; 1 Cor. 15:1–7; Rom. 1:1–4; 8:34; 2:16; 10:8 f.) he sought to establish a basic pattern of apostolic kerygma. He observed that three points in the Pauline kerygma do not appear in the kerygma of the Jerusalem church. (i) In the latter Jesus was not called "Son of God"; he is called the holy and righteous servant, drawing on Isa. In Acts Paul is the first to call Jesus the Son of God (Acts 9:20; cf. Rom. 1:1–4), but Dodd suggests that the phrase "Son of God with power" means much the same as "Lord and Christ", both having a messianic significance (op. cit., 25). (ii) The Jerusalem kerygma did not explicitly say that "Christ *died for our sins*. The result of the life, death, and resurrection of Christ is the forgiveness of sins, but this forgiveness is not specifically connected with Christ's death" (ibid). (iii) "The Jerusalem *kerygma* does not assert that the exalted Christ intercedes for us" (ibid.). This may have originated with Paul (cf. Rom. 8:34), but it may be non-Pauline (Heb. 7:25; Matt. 10:32). Dodd concludes: "For the rest, all the points of the Pauline preaching reappear: the Davidic descent of Jesus, guaranteeing His qualification for Messiahship; His death according to the Scriptures; His resurrection according to the Scriptures; His consequent exaltation to the right hand of God as Lord and Christ; His deliverance of men from sin into new life; and His return to consummate the new Age. This coincidence between the apostolic preaching as attested by the speeches in Acts, and as attested by Paul, enables us to carry back its essential elements to a date far earlier than a critical analysis of Acts by itself could justify; for, as we have seen, Paul must have received the tradition very soon after the death of Jesus" (op. cit., 26).

Dodd went on to note a similar outline theology restated in Heb. and 1 Pet. (op. cit., 44 f.; cf. 1 Pet. 1:11, 20; 2:22 f.; 3:18–22; Heb. 2:10, 18; 4:15; 5:7; 9:12, 24; 10:1, 5–9, 20). This is due not so much to Paul's direct influence as to the fact that it reflects the primitive apostolic kerygma generally. But the structure of the apostolic kerygma also sheds light on the structure of the Gospels. Mk. is an expanded form of the kerygma in which the ministry of Jesus is narrated as a preface to the passion story and the passion story is set within a framework of fulfilment (op. cit., 47 ff.; cf. Mk. 1:1). Like the speeches in Acts, Mk. is concerned especially with the acts of Jesus. The teaching of Jesus is kept to a bare minimum in Mk. Matt. and Lk. modify the perspective, because they combine *didachē* with *kērygma* (op. cit., 52 ff.). They do, however, include the Davidic descent in their genealogies which Mk. omits (cf. Matt. 1:1, 17; Lk. 2:4; 3:31). "In the Fourth Gospel we can discern, no less clearly than in Mark, and even more clearly than in Matthew and Luke, the fixed outline of the historical section of the *kerygma* as we have it in Acts x and xiii: the ministry of John the Baptist, the 'anointing' of Jesus with the Holy Spirit, His teaching and works of mercy and power in Galilee; His ministry in Judea and Jerusalem, His arrest and trial before Pilate, His crucifixion, burial, and resurrection" (op. cit., 69). "It is in the Fourth Gospel, which in form and expression, as probably in date, stands farthest from the original tradition of teaching, that we have the most penetrating exposition of its central meaning" (op. cit., 75).

Independently of Dodd, M. Dibelius put forward a case for tracing the speeches in the opening chapters of Acts to primitive material though he ascribed much less historical value to them ("The Speeches in Acts and Ancient Historiography", in *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles*, 1956, 138–85). Dodd's whole line of approach has met with considerable opposition particularly among those who adopt a redaction-critical approach. E. Haenchen endorses without further argument the view that U. Wilckens "has proved against Dibelius and Dodd that Peter's speeches in the first part of Acts do not contain any old pattern of Jewish-Christian missionary preaching" (*The Acts of the Apostles*, 1971, 129 f.; cf. U. Wilckens, *Die Missionsreden der Apostelgeschichte*, 1963²). Rather Luke is here using his pattern of the Gentile Christian missionary preaching to present the early Christian mission. This criticism reflects the outlook that Luke was the inventor of the Christian historical perspective in the early church, following the decline of parousia expectation. (For a statement and critique of this position → Present; and for a critique of Wilckens's specific arguments see G. N. Stanton, op. cit., 19–30.)

Dodd's argument has also come under fire from D. E. Nineham in "The Order of Events in St. Mark's Gospel – an Examination of Dr. Dodd's Hypothesis" (in D. E. Nineham, ed., *Studies in the Gospels: Essays in Memory of R. H. Lightfoot*, 1955, 223–41). Nineham takes up Schmidt's original position that Mk. is made up of disconnected units, claiming that the proposed outline is so brief and the units themselves contain so little internal evidence of chronology that a chronological arrangement lacks any substantial base (op. cit., 226). With regard to the speeches in Acts, Nineham tries to force a dilemma. "On the one hand, if the speeches in the early part of Acts reflect genuine historical reminiscence of what was said by the Apostles, then they can afford no evidence for the existence of a formal outline account of the ministry; for it can hardly be supposed that the original Apostles

were dependent on any such traditional outline; they had their own memories. If, on the other hand (and this seems more probable to many scholars), these speeches were produced by the author of Acts as a general summary of the sort of thing *likely* to have been said, after the Thucydidean model, then the outline of the ministry contained in them can have no independent evidential value; for it may have been derived by St. Luke from St. Mark's gospel, which we know him to have had before him. And this point is not affected if it be conceded that St. Luke used sources in the compilation of these speeches, for it still remains true, that, *in the form in which we have them*, these speeches have passed through the medium of St. Luke's mind, and St. Luke intended Acts to be read as a complement to the gospel he had just finished writing" (op. cit., 229).

Nineham's argument is, however, less telling than might appear at first sight. The first half of his dilemma has the logical defect of a heads-I-win-tails-you-lose-argument, for it dismisses without argument the possibility that the summaries of the Acts speeches could be based on "genuine historical reminiscence" and at the same time afford "evidence for the existence of a formal outline account of the ministry". It is an *a priori* rejection of the possibility that the speeches could be both. It further overlooks the fact that the speeches in question are attributed to Peter, except that in Acts 13 which is attributed to Paul. What we have is material ostensibly based on Peter's memory giving Peter's kerygma together with that of Paul which (as we have seen above) he claimed to have received on authority and to have transmitted faithfully. Nineham's argument leaves untouched the possibility that Peter, either by himself or in conjunction with others, developed a kerygmatic outline which formed the core of his proclamation and which was adapted by others in the way that Dodd suggests. Furthermore, this could have bearing on the interpretation of the testimony of Papias that "Mark, indeed, having been the interpreter of Peter, wrote accurately, howbeit not in order, all that he recalled of what was either said or done by the Lord" (Eusebius, *HE* 3, 39, 15). Nineham has a point of substance when he claims that Mk. does not necessarily give a chronological account of the acts of Jesus, but the outline framework of Mk.'s Gospel may well reflect the kerygma of Peter.

The accounts of the preaching in Acts are clearly summaries and do not give everything that the speaker said. They also are clearly used by Lk. with an apologetic intent, having a part in the total purpose and structure of Acts. On the other hand, it does not follow from this that they were freely constructed on the model of uncritical ancient history, or that they have no independent evidential value. There is in Nineham's argument the same logical defect as before. Any similarity with Mk. is assumed to be derived from direct borrowing. The alternative possibility that the Gospel and the speeches in Acts might have a common origin in the kerygma cannot simply be swept aside because of the fact that they were edited in the process. Although the Thucydidean model is frequently appealed to by scholars who are content with a low estimate of the historical value of Acts, it does not actually support the idea that speeches were irresponsibly composed to fill gaps, support the author's contentions, or to show off his style. Thucydides himself wrote: "As to the speeches which were made before or during the war, it was hard for me, and for others who reported them to me, to recollect the exact words. I have therefore put into the mouth of each speaker the sentiments proper

to the occasion, expressed as I thought he would be likely to express them, while at the same time I endeavoured, as nearly as I could, to give the general purport of what was actually said" (*History of the Peloponnesian War* 1, 22, 1). The burden here is on accuracy rather than rhetoric. If Luke had this model in mind it would suggest a conscientious endeavour to give an accurate summary. On the other hand, Lk. is more indebted to the OT tradition of historiography tracing the activity of God in historical events (cf. I. H. Marshall, *Luke: Historian and Theologian*, 1970, 56). Moreover, the Greek of the speeches in Acts seems hardly designed to show off the writer's style; if anything, it is inferior to the rest of Lk.'s writings. The absence of Semitisms in the speeches does not settle the matter one way or the other (cf. M. Wilcox, *The Semitisms of Acts*, 1965, 165–71). (Wilcox allows that the credal elements in Acts may go back to Gk. written sources, oral tradition or Lucan composition, though he himself favours an earlier separate existence.) We do, however, have evidence of Lk.'s use of Mk., and where we can compare such reproduction of teaching (as in Lk. 21 par. Mk. 13), there is evidence of editing but not of free invention or substantial change. It is possible that the OT quotations in the speeches go back to a book of testimonia. The christology of the speeches is relatively primitive, as compared with the developed christologies of the later NT epistles. Finally, the reference to the "house of Israel" (Acts 2:36) and the hope that Israel as a nation will be saved suggests an early dating.

Perhaps it may be added that the speech of Stephen in Acts 7, which reviews Israelite history without actually describing the saving events of Christ's death and resurrection, constitutes an interesting commentary on the debate. For this speech does not contain the same kerygmatic features as the speeches attributed to Peter and Paul. On the other hand, Stephen was not an apostle but belonged to the Hellenists (cf. Acts 6:5, 8–15) who constituted a separate group, though his preaching ministry does not seem to have been confined to any particular group. Paul, however, associated himself with the apostles at Jerusalem and even disputed with the unbelieving Hellenists (Acts 9:26–30). The different emphases of Paul and Stephen would accord with Dodd's account of the kerygma. Similarly, Paul's Areopagus address in Acts 17 was a deliberate departure from his earlier preaching. For whereas the speech of Acts 13:16–41 was addressed to Jews of the Dispersion in the synagogue at Antioch of Pisidia, the Areopagus address was to Greeks. The former (like Stephen's speech) contained a review of Israelite history; the latter appealed to Greek beliefs about God. Both, however, contained the themes of judgment and resurrection.

There is a further instance of kerygma in Philip's encounter with the Ethiopian eunuch (Acts 8:26–40) and further examples of Pauline preaching in Paul's address to the elders of Ephesus (Acts 20:17–37) and his defences before Felix (Acts 24) and Agrippa (Acts 26), while at Rome Paul is said to have testified to the kingdom of God "trying to convince them about Jesus from the law of Moses and the prophets" (Acts 28:23). This last instance might well sum up the kind of preaching that Paul gave in Acts 13, but the other instances are palpably different from the Petrine kerygma. The variety of preaching certainly makes it clear that Luke did not attempt to reduce all preaching to a uniform pattern. The explanation of the differences may be sought in Philip's case in the fact that the identity of the

servant was raised by the eunuch (though the fact that the eunuch raised the question of the significance of Isa. 53:7 f. may be an indication that this was already a kerygmatic issue). In any case, Philip like Stephen was a Hellenist (Acts 6:6) and not one of the Jerusalem apostles. Paul's preaching to the Ephesian elders was not kerygma either to unbelieving Jews or to unbelieving Gentiles; it was teaching for the elders. Moreover, Paul's defences focused on the account of his actions rather than the substance of his apologetic. In other words, these instances of preaching indicate that the examples of Petrine preaching given in Acts were not typical of all preaching. Rather, they lend implicit support to the suggestion that the examples considered by Dodd contain the elements of an apologetic directed specifically to the Jews focusing on the person of Jesus in the light of salvation history and the crisis brought about by Jewish rejection of him. It might be objected that Peter's address to Cornelius does not fall within this category, as Cornelius was a Gentile and the address was the occasion for opening the church to Gentile believers. But it may be noted that Cornelius was one who worshipped with the Jews (Acts 10:1 ff.), and what is given in Acts 10:36–43 is the rationale of the conflict with Judaism, which in turn provides the rationale for turning to the Gentiles with the proclamation of Christ. What is given in the Petrine preaching in Acts is not simply a christology, but a christologically interpreted eschatology. The theme of the preaching is the eschatological significance of Christ for Israel.

The above survey has not been able to take into account the wealth of discussion of the speeches in Acts. For a recent review see F. F. Bruce, "The Speeches in Acts – Thirty Years After" (in R. Banks, ed., *Reconciliation and Hope: New Testament Essays on Atonement and Eschatology Presented to L. L. Morris*, 1974, 53–68); and see also the works listed in the bibliography below. It is clear that the last word on the origin and structure of the kerygma has not yet been said. On the other hand, there are grounds for holding with Riesenfeld and Moule that the kerygma of missionary preaching, the teaching of the epistles and the Gospel accounts of Jesus were not separate compartmentalized activities belonging to different phases of the church, but were in fact simultaneous and complementary. In the view of the present writer, the argument of Dodd for certain identifiable features of the structure of the apostolic kerygma is far from being overthrown, though it requires modification and restatement. For the common features discerned by Dodd are not common to all the preaching in Acts. Rather, they provide a summary of the preaching attributed to Peter which was taken over by Paul in the specific context of the conflict of the church with Judaism which focused on the identity of Jesus as the messiah in the light of OT testimonia and the Jewish rejection of Jesus. Where these factors did not obtain, the preaching took on different forms. The absence of explicit ascription of saving significance to the death of Christ in the earlier speeches does not lie in Luke's own theology, but in the circumstances of the primitive community. As F. F. Bruce observes: "That God had raised the crucified Jesus to life again was the great new fact which, in their eyes, dwarfed all others. The claims of Jesus, disallowed by his judges, had been confirmed by God: he was divinely vindicated as both Lord and Messiah, and as such he should be acknowledged by the whole house of Israel" (op. cit., 59). Moreover, as Bruce goes on to say (taking up a phrase of J. A. T. Robinson): "In Acts 3:19–21 we may not have 'the most primitive Christology of all', but it

might well be argued that we do indeed have the most primitive *eschatology* of all" (op. cit., 68). *C. Brown*

→ Apostle, → Gospel, → Jesus Christ, → Teach, → Word

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(b). R. Asting, *Die Verkündigung des Wortes im Urchristentum*, 1939; H. E. Bahr, *Verkündigung als Information*, 1968; T. Boman, *Die Jesus-Überlieferung im Lichte der neueren Volkskunde*, 1967; R. Bultmann, "Allgemeine Wahrheiten und christliche Verkündigung", *ZTK* 54, 1957, 244 ff. (reprinted in *Glauben und Verstehen*, III, 1965³, 166 ff.); L. Cerfaux, "Témoins du Christ d'après le Livre des Actes", *Receuil L. Cerfaux*, II, 1954, 157–74; H. Flender, "Lehren und Verkündigung in den synoptischen Evangelien", *EvTh* 25, 1965, 701 ff.; J. Gewiess, *Die Urapostolische Heilsverkündigung nach der Apostelgeschichte*, 1939; K. Goldammer, "Der Kerygma-Begriff in der ältesten christlichen Literatur", *ZNW* 48, 1957, 77–101; E. Grässer, "Von der Exegese zur Predigt", *WuD* 60, 1971, 27 ff.; D. Grasso, "Il kerygma e la predicazione", *Gregorianum* 41, 1960, 424–50; and *L'Annuncio della Salvezza*, 1965; J. Herrmann, "Kerygma und Kirche", in *Neutestamentliche Aufsätze, Festschrift J. Schmid*, 1963, 110–14; P. Hitz, *L'Annonce Missionnaire de l'Évangile*, 1954; G. Hummel, ed., *Aufgabe der Predigt, Wege der Forschung*, 1971; W. Jetter, "Die Predigt als Gespräch mit dem Hörer", *Praktische Theologie* 56, 1967, 212 ff.; K. Kertelge, "Verkündigung und Amt im Neuen Testament", *BuL* 10, 1969, 189 ff.; E. Lerle, *Die Predigt im Neuen Testament*, 1957²; K. E. Lögstrup, "Verkündigung", *RGG*³ VI 155 ff.; F. W. Marquardt, "Geschichte und kirchliche Verkündigung", in *Antwort. Karl Barth zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*, 1956, 620–29; H. Ott, "Kerygma", *RGG*³ III 1250–54; A. Rétif, "Qu'est-ce que le Kérygme?" *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 81, 1949, 910–22; "Témoignage et Prédication Missionnaire dans les Actes des Apôtres", ibid. 83, 1951, 152–65; and *Foi au Christ et Mission d'après les Actes des Apôtres*, 1952; H. Ristow and K. Matthiae, eds. *Der historische Jesus und der kerygmatische Christus*, 1962²; J. Roloff, *Apostolat, Verkündigung, Kirche*, 1965; and *Das Kerygma und der irdische Jesus*, 1970; H. Schlier, "Kerygma und Sophia", *EvTh* 11, 1950–51, 181 ff. (reprinted in *Die Zeit der Kirche*, 1956, 206 ff.); and *Wort Gottes*, 1962²; K. L. Schmidt, *Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu. Literarische Untersuchungen zur ältesten Jesusüberlieferung* (1919), 1964; H. Schürmann, *Aufbau und Struktur der neutestamentlichen Verkündigung* 1954; and "Kerygma", *LTK* VI 122–25; K. Stendahl, "Kerygma und kerygmatisch", *TLZ* 77, 1952, 715–20; A. Strobel, *Kerygma und Apokalyptik*, 1967; U. Wilckens, "Kerygma und Evangelium bei Lukas", *ZNW* 49, 1958, 223–37; and *Die Missionsreden der Apostelgeschichte. Form- und traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, 1961.

Promise

ἐπαγγελία

ἐπαγγέλλομαι (*epangellomai*), announce, proclaim, promise, profess; προεπαγγέλλομαι (*proepangellomai*), announce before, promise before; ἐπαγγελία (*epangelia*), announcement, promise; ἐπάγγελμα (*epangelma*), announcement, notification, promise.

CL 1. *epangellomai* and *epangelia* are derived from the root *angel-*, as are *euangelizomai* and *euangelion* (→ Gospel). In classical Gk. (the active form is attested in Homer) they are originally synonymous with other words from the same root (e.g. other compounds of *angellō*, like *an-*, *apangellō*), and mean respectively to announce, proclaim (Hdt. 3, 36), and announcement, report. In the context of state proclamations they denote summoning (e.g. Polybius, 9, 38, 2). In legal usage the noun means notification of a charge (Aeschines, 1, 64). In the mid. the vb. means to announce one's accomplishments, to make a profession (Xen., *Mem.* 1, 2, 7), or to take up a moral position.

2. The nearest point of contact to the NT usage of these terms is in the meaning to announce an intention, to offer to do something, to promise, to vow (e.g.

Polybius, 1, 72, 6). It is significant that, when they are used in this sense, it is never the gods who promise something to men, but only men to gods. The Gks. were very conscious of the tension between human promises and their fulfilment. In this connexion, the word often carries the specific sense of a promise of money. Characteristically, in the whole of the Eastern Hellenistic world, the concept became a technical term for a free-will payment, gift or endowment (F. Hiller, *Inschriften von Priene*, 1906, 123, 5 ff.). *ho epangeilamenos* (lit. the one who promised) thus means the founder. In early Hellenistic usage *hē epangelia* can also mean the proclamation of a feast (cf. *TDNT* II 578).

OT Unlike *euangelion*, good news (→ Gospel), *epangelia* has no Heb. equivalent. The LXX uses the word in Est. 4:7 to render the Heb. *pārāšâh*, exact statement, information.

1. (a) Despite the absence of a special term for it, the OT is of course familiar with the concept. G. von Rad attempts to show how "from Abraham to Malachi, Israel was kept constantly in motion because of what God said and did, and that she was always in one way or other in an area of tension constituted by promise and fulfilment" (*Old Testament Theology*, II, 1965, 371). In some cases the fulfilment of certain promises is painstakingly recorded (e.g. Jos. 21:43–45; 23:14; "not one thing has failed of all the good things which the Lord your God promised concerning you; all have come to pass for you"). But generally the fulfilment appears as a partial or token fulfilment, which does not reveal the whole of the divine plan. Hence Israel is compelled in every new situation of his history to reinterpret the old promises, and is called to new expectancy by new proclamations of salvation (for details → Word, art. *logos*, OT).

Basic to the theme of Israel's existence under promise is Gen. 12:1–3. "Now the LORD said to Abram, 'Go from your country and your kindred and your father's house to the land that I will show you. And I will make of you a great nation, and I will bless you, and make your name great, so that you will be a blessing. I will bless those who bless you, and him who curses you I will curse; and by you will all the families of the earth bless themselves.' " There is here a triple promise of the land, a great nation, and blessing (on the development of these themes → Earth, Land; cf. also W. D. Davies, *The Gospel and the Land: Early Christianity and Jewish Territorial Doctrine*, 1974; → Abraham; → Israel; → People → Bless). Gen. develops the promise of the nation through the story of Isaac (→ Abraham), the wanderings of Abraham and his descendants, and the → covenant theme (Gen. 17). In Jer. 31:31–34 there is the promise of a new covenant. This was at a time of national collapse, when the whole idea of surviving in the promised land was problematic. The central idea of the new covenant is that of the law written on the heart (cf. also Ezek. 18:1–32 and 36:26–37 which couples a new spirit and heart with national restoration). The teaching of the prophets consists of promises of → judgment and → grace, culminating in the promises of the Servant Songs of Isaiah (Isa. 42:1–4; 49:1–6; 50:4–9; 52:13–53:12; → Serve). The promises of return from exile and sustenance in calamity of the later chapters of Isa. renew the exodus theme (cf. Exod. 3:24 f.; 12:1 ff.; 15:1 ff.; Hos. 11:1; Isa. 40:1–31). But as in Gen. 12:3, there is also a theme of blessing which will extend beyond Israel, so that Yahweh promises that the servant will be "a light to the nations" (Isa. 49:6). And as early

as Isa. 2:24 and Mic. 4:1–3 there is the prophecy of the nations flowing to the mountain of the house of the Lord so that they may learn the ways of Yahweh in peace and righteousness.

(b) The OT records various vows made by the righteous (→ Swear). But while the law and the prophets demand faithfulness in personal dealings (Exod. 20:15 f.; Deut. 27:19; Hos. 4:1 f.; Mic. 6:8), human promises are ultimately secondary to the promises of God. In the last analysis it is he alone that can both promise and fulfil, for he alone knows and overrules the whole of the future.

2. (a) Jewish writers in the Gk. language (Macc. in the LXX, Philo, etc.) adopted Hellenistic usage. Thus they use *epangellomai* in the ordinary sense of promise (e.g. money, 1 Macc. 11:28). But they also prepare the way for Paul's use of *epangelia* for God's activity. In 3 Macc. 2:10 God promises to answer prayer.

(b) In rabbinic writings *b^{e}ṭāḥâh* is used as a description of the promises of God. This word is not found in the OT, but it is derived from the root *bāṭaḥ*, to trust, which is frequent in the MT, and thus emphasizes the trustworthiness of the promises of salvation (cf. SB III 207 ff.). The reference is often to the promises made to the patriarchs (the making of the people, the conquest of the land).

(c) With the appearance of apocalyptic, interest is strongly attracted to the *'ôlām habbā'*, the world to come (e.g. 2 Esd. 7:119), and the warning "to make sure that one will be a son (daughter) of the world to come" is frequently found (e.g. Berakoth 4b). At the same time assurance of salvation is considerably dampened by the doctrine that a part in the salvation to come is dependent on strict observance of the → law.

NT 1. *General Review.* (a) *epangellomai*, to promise, is found 15 times in the NT, but only in 4 instances is it used of human promises (Mk. 14:11, the offer of money to Judas; 2 Pet. 2:19, the promise of a false freedom by heretics; 1 Tim. 6:21, the profession of false teachings; 1 Tim. 2:10, the profession of *theosebeia*, fear of God). It is not found in a theological sense either in the Gospels, 1 Pet., Jude or Rev. Acts and 1 Jn. have it only once each. Most of the instances are in the Pauline corpus (5), Heb. (4), and Jas. (2).

(b) *proepangellomai* means to announce beforehand, to promise beforehand. In the NT it is found just twice (in Paul's writings): in 2 Cor. 9:5 he speaks of *tēn proepēngelmenēn eulogian hymōn* (the vb. is passive in meaning here), the blessing which you have promised in advance (i.e. the collection; → Poor, art. *ptōchos*, NT 4); and in Rom. 1:2 Paul refers to the gospel of God which he promised beforehand (*proepēngeilato*) in the old covenant by his prophets in the scriptures.

(c) *epangelia*, found 52 times, is used only once in a secular sense; the noun is used absolutely 33 times, most of these instances being in Paul; the sing. form is greatly predominant, but in 11 instances the plur. occurs. *epangelia* is not found in Matt., Mk., Jn., Jas., Jude or Rev. It is found once in 1 Jn., twice in 2 Pet., but 9 times in the Lucan writings (once in the Gospel; 8 times in Acts), 26 times in the Pauline corpus and 14 times in Heb. As in classical Gk., so also in the NT, *epangelia* can refer either to form or to content, words of promise, or things promised, though the distinction is not always clear in every case. It is clear that it is the thing promised to which reference is made in passages like Lk. 24:49; Acts 1:4; and likewise Heb. 11:33 and 39.

(d) *epangelma* in classical Gk. means announcement, order, promise. In the NT its meaning cannot be distinguished from that of *epangelia*. It is used only twice (in 2 Pet.). The aim of the letter being to stir up the hope of the return of Christ at a time when it was flagging, the concept of promise is restricted to this event and the subsequent new creation of heaven and earth: "But according to his promise [*kata to epangelma autou*] we wait for new heavens and a new earth in which righteousness dwells" (2 Pet. 3:13). Since this consummation brings with it a share in eternal life and a partaking of the *theia physis*, divine nature (NEB "the very being of God"), the author calls the promises which point to it "precious and very great" (1:4).

(e) The absence of the words of this group from the Gospels (with the exception of Mk. 14:11 and Lk. 24:49) is to be explained by the fact that the Gospels tell of Jesus' words and deeds, but rarely reflect upon them. Moreover, where they do so, they are interested in the continuity between God's word of old and his word now. Thus they interpret Christ in terms of the OT, as in the case of Lk. 4:21: "Today this scripture has been fulfilled [*sēmeron peplērōtai hē graphē hautē*] in your hearing" (referring to Isa. 61:1 f.; cf. the Matthean introductory formula for OT citations, *hina plērōthē*, "that it might be fulfilled"). Thus in spite of the absence of the term *epangelia*, the Gospels (especially Matt.) do deal with the category of promise and fulfilment (→ Fullness, art. *plēroō*, NT).

2. *Theological Exposition.* The theological significance of the concept is worked out particularly in three groups of NT writings: Luke–Acts, the Pauline letters, and Heb.

(a) Luke–Acts. (i) The giver of the promise is, as elsewhere in the NT, God alone, "the God of glory" (Acts 7:5; cf. 7:2 for the subject), "the Father" (Lk. 24:49; Acts 1:4). The promise provides insight into his plan of salvation, and carries with it the future realization of that plan, so that the fulfilment is a creative act (Acts 13:32 f.: he has fulfilled [*ekpeplērōken*] it in sending Jesus).

(ii) The recipients of the promise are "the fathers" (13:32) especially → Abraham (7:17), → Israel as the covenant people (13:23), the → disciples of Jesus (Lk. 24:49; Acts 1:4), the hearers of Peter's sermon at → Pentecost with their children, and those living far away from Jerusalem (2:38 f.). It is through Israel that Gentiles first hear the promise.

(iii) The content of the promise is the historical sending of Jesus as the *sōtēr*, saviour (13:23, 32 f.; 26:6). Because he, the crucified and risen one, has wrought forgiveness of sins, all those who turn to him in faith and are baptized in his name receive the Holy → Spirit, the promised gift of God in the last days (2:38–40; cf. 2:17–21; and 2:32–36).

(iv) By being fulfilled (→ Fullness, art. *plēroō*), the promise (*epangelia*) becomes the good news, the → gospel (*euangelion*). Acts 13:32 uses the vb. *euangelizesthai*, to bring good news, to describe Paul's testimony to the fulfilment of the promise.

(b) Paul. It is Paul who gives the most emphatic testimony that the *epangelia* is a gift of God's free grace. God alone has the absolute power to fulfil his word of promise (Rom. 4:21). For he is the God "who gives life to the dead and calls into existence the things that do not exist" (Rom. 4:17). He is *ho apseudēs theos*, the God who cannot lie (Tit. 1:2).

(i) In his struggle against mixing the gospel with Jewish legalism, Paul thought

through the question of the relation between God's law and his promises, his demands and his bountiful grace. In answer to the Jewish theory, that man can come to enjoy the promised salvation only on the basis of prior fulfilment of all the duties required by the law, the apostle set out in antithetical form three basic insights afforded by the gospel.

It is not the law which makes us recipients of the word of promise and its fulfilment, but justifying grace: *ou dia nomou hē epangelia tō Abraam ē tō spermati autou, to klēronomon auton einai ton kosmon, alla dia dikaiosynēs pisteōs*, "not through the law did the promise come to Abraham or his descendants, that he should inherit the world, but through the righteousness of faith" (Rom. 4:13). Since the law can make no man "alive" to God (*zōopoiēsai*), i.e. enable him to do the will of God, the law and the promise are in reality opposites. "For if the inheritance is by the law, it is no longer by promise; but God gave it to Abraham by a promise [*tō de Abraam di' epangelias kecharistai ho theos*]" (Gal. 3:18). "Is the law then against the promises of God? Certainly not; for if a law had been given which could make alive, then righteousness would indeed be by the law. But the scripture consigned all things to sin, that what was promised to faith in Jesus Christ might be given to those who believe" (Gal. 3:21 f.).

Law and promise can neither limit nor supplement one another, since the law demands works, whereas faith is neither a work of man nor a legalistic achievement. If those who make the law into a way of salvation were able by doing so to become "heirs", then faith would be null and the promise void (Rom. 4:14).

The example of Abraham shows in any case that the law cannot be a condition for the reception of the promise or substance of salvation, since Abraham lived before the law was given. The promise to Abraham is the characteristic type of all other promises. But it was given centuries before the revelation of the law, and the law must certainly not be interpreted as an added clause by means of which God might invalidate the binding nature of his promises, as a man might add a clause to his will. Thus Paul uses the picture of a *diathēkē*, will, → covenant, in Gal. 3:15–18, to emphasize the irrevocability of God's promises.

This note of assurance is not weakened by the ethical imperatives of the NT. 2 Cor. 7:1 makes it clear that it is not our sanctification which brings about the fulfilment of the promises; rather, the promises have a sanctifying effect upon the way we live.

(ii) For Paul it is fundamental that all God's promises have been given his "yes" in Christ (2 Cor. 1:20). The sending of Jesus, and all that he did, is God's active ratification of all his promises of salvation. Christ's ministry to Israel demonstrated God's *alētheia*, truthfulness (→ Truth), and took place in order to confirm the promise given to the patriarchs (Rom. 15:8). By dying in our place under the curse with which the law threatens every transgressor, he prepared the way for the sending of the Holy → Spirit. He died "that in Christ Jesus the blessing of Abraham might come upon the Gentiles, that we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith" (Gal. 3:14).

Although in a wider context *dikaiosynē* (→ righteousness), *hyiothesia* (sonship), and *klēronomia* (inheritance) might be mentioned first, it is nonetheless strictly speaking the Holy Spirit who is chiefly spoken of as the promised gift of salvation (so Gal. 3:14; cf. also Eph. 1:3). The three images of *aparchē* (first fruits), *arrabōn*

(deposit), and *sphragis* (seal) are used to emphasize the certainty of salvation. In view of the close association of the Holy Spirit with eternal life, it is not surprising that in Tit. 1:2 "eternal life" is mentioned as the substances of the promise.

(iii) Historically, Israel is the first to receive the promise. The *ethnē*, Gentiles, originally stood outside the promise, tied as it was to the covenant order (Eph. 2:12).

In Gal. 3:16 Paul interprets *to sperma tou Abraam*, "the seed of Abraham", not collectively but in the singular, as referring to one individual, Christ. He is the universal heir; believers are only *synklēronomoi Christou*, co-heirs with Christ. Since, however, it is not physical descent from Abraham, but faith in Jesus Christ, that makes us entitled to the inheritance, believers from among the Gentiles are also "fellow heirs . . . and partakers of the promise in Christ Jesus" (Eph. 3:6).

(c) Hebrews. The situation to which this letter is addressed differs from that of the Pauline churches. The question of the relation of law to promise plays no part here; faith itself is in danger. Doubt is being expressed as to whether the promises will be fulfilled at all. The purpose of the letter is therefore to call its readers to hold fast to the promises, and to testify to God's faithfulness to his word.

(i) The writer has in mind a "cloud of witnesses" (12:1) who have borne witness to the character and depth of their faith both by divine interventions in their lives, and by personal *hypomonē*, steadfastness (→ Patience). As believers they lived out their lives on the basis of the divine promises, and with the same promises as their goal. Mention is made of the men and women of faith in the early history of Israel: Abraham (6:12 ff.; 7:6), Isaac and Jacob ("heirs with him of the same promise", 11:6), Sarah (11:11). Chapter 11 mentions, along with the judges, Samuel, David, and generally "the prophets", as people who experienced the promised help of God. In Heb. 4:1–9 the example of Israel in the → wilderness is used to make it clear that unbelief makes fulfilment of the promises impossible (cf. Ps. 95:11; → Rest).

(ii) The content of the promises mentioned in Heb. is the blessing of multitudinous descendants (6:14), rest (*katapausis*), and the new covenant, which on the basis of the remission of sins holds out the prospect of "the eternal inheritance" (9:15).

At the same time Heb. emphasizes that in the old covenant the promises neither were nor could be completely fulfilled. When it is said of Abraham in 6:15 that "he obtained the promise", the reference is still to no more than a partial fulfilment (the birth of Isaac). In the final analysis the promises are interpreted in terms of the gospel, and therefore as referring to complete salvation in Christ (cf. 4:2). Thus the writer declares in 11:39 that the whole cloud of witnesses who came before Christ have been made to wait: "they did not receive what was promised." For this reason he ascribes to the patriarchs an understanding of the promise which looks far beyond all historical foreshadowings and partial fulfilments, to an eternal consummation (11:10–16).

The keyword *kreittōn*, better, which is found 12 times, is used to describe the superiority of the new covenant to the old (→ Good). Christ is the "mediator of a better covenant . . . enacted on better promises" (8:6). Jeremiah's promise of a new covenant is cited twice, indicating that by the better promises we should understand full forgiveness, deep knowledge of God, and a Spirit-worked obedience

to his commandments (Heb. 8:8–12 = Jer. 31:31–34; Heb. 10:16 f. = Jer. 31:33 f.). Yet the content of the promises also includes all the other aspects of eternal, eschatological salvation, such as the unshakeable → kingdom (12:28), the future city (13:14), and the → sabbath for the → people of God (4:9).

The new covenant has been brought into operation by the death of Jesus. This means that the fulfilment of the promises is drawing steadily nearer. "You see the Day drawing near" (10:25). "Yet a little while, and the coming one shall come and shall not tarry" (10:37; cf. Isa. 26:20 LXX). It is, therefore, all the more necessary to remain steadfast during the short time that remains, not to cast away one's *parrhēsia*, confidence (→ Openness), and to "hold fast the confession of our hope without wavering" (10:23, cf. v. 35). As far as God is concerned, the promises remain unbreakable. They are an oath of God (6:13). This makes it all the more important for the members of the people of God to observe the exhortation to hold fast to the promises for their part (6:11 f.). *E. Hoffmann*

→ Covenant, → Fullness, → Hope, → Prophet

(a). I. Blythin, "The Patriarchs and the Promise", *SJT* 21, 1965, 56 ff.; J. Bright, *Covenant and Promise: The Future in the Preaching of the Pre-exilic Prophets*, 1977; F. F. Bruce, ed., *Promise and Fulfilment: Essays Presented to Professor S. H. Hooke*, 1963; R. Bultmann, "Prophecy and Fulfilment", in *Essays Philosophical and Theological*, 1955, 182–208; W. D. Davies, *The Gospel and the Land: Early Christianity and Jewish Territorial Doctrine*, 1974; A. T. Hanson, "Birth with Promise", *Studies in Paul's Technique and Theology*, 1974, 87–103; J. Jeremias, *Jesus' Promise to the Nations*, *SBT* 24, W. G. Kümmel, *Promise and Fulfilment: The Eschatological Message of Jesus*, *SBT* 23, 1961²; J. Moltmann, "Promise and History", in *Theology of Hope: On the Ground and the Implications of Christian Eschatology*, 1967, 95–138; G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, I, 1962; II, 1965; J. Schniewind and G. Friedrich, *epangellō* etc., *TDNT* II 576–86; C. Westermann, "The Way of Promise through the Old Testament", in B. W. Anderson, ed., *The Old Testament and Christian Faith*, 1964, 200–24; C. Westermann, ed., *Essays on Old Testament Interpretation*, 1963.

(b). F. Baumgärtel, *Verheissung*, 1954; F. W. Marquardt, *Die Bedeutung der biblischen Landverheissungen für die Christen*, *ThEH* Neue Folge 116, 1964; G. Sauter, *Zukunft und Verheissung*, 1965; C. Westermann, "Verheissungen an Israel", *EKL* III 1645 ff.; W. Zimmerli, "Verheissung und Erfüllung", *EvTh* 12, 1952–53, 6 ff. (reprinted in *Probleme alttestamentlicher Hermeneutik*, *ThB* 11, 1968³, 69 ff.).

Prophet

προφήτης

προφήτης (*prophētēs*), prophet, proclaimer; προφῆτις (*prophētis*), prophetess; προφητεύω (*prophēteuō*), make prophetic revelations, prophesy; προφητεία (*prophēteia*), prophetic activity, prophetic gift, prophetic word, prophetic saying; προφητικός (*prophētikos*), prophetic; ψευδοπροφήτης (*pseudoprophētēs*), false prophet; μαντεύομαι (*manteuomai*), foretell, utter oracles, prophesy.

CL 1. (a) *prophētēs* (Pindar, *Nemeans* 1, 60:9, 50; and Hdt., 8, 36 f., 135) is a noun made up of the stem *-phē-*, to say, proclaim, which always has a religious connotation, and the prefix *pro-*, which as a temporal adv. has the meaning of before, in advance. This may suggest the meaning: one who predicts, one who tells beforehand. It appears to be confirmed by the use of *prophēmi*, to predict, proclaim in advance. However, *prophēmi* is not found until very late, and so has no value as etymological evidence. Indeed, when one examines the combination of *pro-* with vbs. of speech

in earlier writings, it is evident that in no case does the object of the vb. point to the future. Several other vbs. are found: *proagoreuō* (Hdt., 3, 61 f.; Thuc., 2, 13); *prolegō* (Hdt., 8, 136; Thuc. 1, 139); *prophōneō* (Eur., *Hippolytus* 956). The meaning of these vbs. is clearly to proclaim openly, to state publicly, to proclaim aloud. This suggests that *prophēteuō* should be translated in the same way. This is corroborated by the use, found as early as the 5th century, of *prophētēs* in the sense of declarer, speaker (Pindar, *Paean* 6, 6; Eur., *Bacchae* 211). The religious flavour of the stem *-phē-* gives the word a special weight, and expresses the authority which can be claimed for the prophet's word.

(b) From this noun are derived the fem. *prophētis* (Eur., *Ion* 42, 321), the noun *prophēteia* (not found before 2nd century A.D.), and the corresponding adj. *prophētikos* and vb. *prophēteuō* (Pindar, *Fragment* 150).

2. The nature of the Gk. prophet is more easily ascertained from his place in public life than from etymological considerations. The words derived from this root are firmly tied up with the Gk. oracle. The most famous oracle was that of Delphi, presided over by Apollo (on this see especially H. W. Parke and D. E. W. Worrell, *The Delphic Oracle*, I–II, 1956²). In this connexion we meet the words in two senses.

The Pythia was called *prophētis*, but had the further title of *promantis* (Eur., *Ion* 681; Hdt., 6. 66). This office belonged originally to one, two or three girls drawn from the local population, but in later times at least the Pythia was elderly. The Pythia sat on a tripod over a cavity in the earth, from which an "oracular spirit" (*pneuma mantikon*) in the form of smoke arose and gave her the inspiration. This was enhanced by the chewing of bay-leaves (Apollo's plant). As a result she would burst out with enigmatic inarticulate sounds, similar to *glossolalia* (→ Word, art. *glōssa*). These concerned future events, as the title *promantis* suggests, and had a direct connexion with the person consulting the oracle, who came to it baffled by a problem about which he sought help in the form of instruction. He would present in writing a question which had arisen in his own life. Such questions might concern matters of business, religion, politics, ethics or education, and in them we find reflected the whole range of life in the ancient world.

Since, however, the Pythia's reply was usually incomprehensible to the visitor, there was need for other officials at the shrine, whose task it was to translate the utterance into a saying that could be clearly understood and remembered. The task was carried out by wise and highly respected old men, called to this position by the oracle, and likewise known as "prophets". They did not work by direct inspiration; had they done so, they would have been given the further title of *mantis*. Instead, their transmission of the message involved the use of their understanding (*logismos*). They received the Pythian oracles, tested them, completed them, interpreted them and formulated the final saying. Thus they never spoke on their own initiative, but only after a visitor had presented a question and the Pythia had uttered the oracle. (On the oracle of Delphi, which may be regarded as typical, cf. Plato, *Timaeus* 71e–72b. It should be noted that Plato idealizes the prophet to fit his philosophical concepts.) As an example, we may take the question put to the Delphic oracle by the Spartan Glaucus (Hdt., 6, 86). A stranger had deposited some money with him. If he committed perjury, he would be able to appropriate the sum himself. Might he, therefore, commit perjury? The prophetic response was that he could afford

this act of perjury, and that such a thing would never happen again. It might appear that he was not punished; but the false oath would pursue him (→ Curse). If it did not fall upon him, it would upon his children and his children's children. It would not rest until the whole family was destroyed.

From this example we may note the following basic features:

(a) The prophet expresses something for the content of which he is not responsible, since he has himself received it indirectly from the god. Where the inspiration is direct, a privilege reserved at Delphi at least solely for the Pythia, the prophet has the further title of *mantis*. Thus the Pythia bore the title of *promantis* in addition to that of prophet. Indirect inspiration comes through the inarticulate utterances of a Pythia, or through *symbola* such as the blowing of the wind, the rustling of the sacred oaks, the clanging of cymbals, or the shaking of an image of a god borne by priests. The prophets are thus "interpreters of mysterious utterances and visions" (Plato, *Timaeus* 72b).

(b) The prophet does not give advice unless he is asked for it. The initiative is the questioner's alone, not the god's or the prophet's.

(c) For this reason the words of the Gk. prophet are always addressed to a unique, historical, concrete, present situation in the life of the client. The advice then given embraces the whole range of counselling help which is called for, even up to the present day, by the troubles and needs of men and women.

(d) The prophet is called to his office by the oracular institution, and so not by a god.

To sum up, a prophet is a person, employed by the oracle, who by direct inspiration or by the interpretation of sounds and omens declares the will of the gods to a person who asks for advice. Accordingly, *prophēteuō* means to proclaim the counsel and will of the gods concerning a historical, concrete, present situation, in response to a definite question put by the client.

3. In early times the poet also has the title of prophet (Pindar, *Paean* 6, 6; cf. Homer, *Il.*, 1, 1; 2, 484–492), since he achieves in his poetry something which is otherwise impossible to mortals, and must therefore derive his wisdom, his *sophia*, from the gods (Pindar, *Paean* 7b, 11–15).

4. The prophet must be clearly distinguished from the soothsayer (*mantis*, seer, soothsayer). Admittedly, both titles can be held by one person (see above), but they refer to very different functions. If it is etymologically correct to say that *mantis* is derived from *mainomai*, to rage, to be out of one's senses, to be in ecstasy, it may suggest that the soothsayer is in origin one who makes a proclamation from or in a state of ecstasy. The prophet, on the other hand, speaks "with his reason". His divination is mediate, i.e. he receives his information from the gods through a medium (e.g. the Pythia).

The content of soothsaying, as in the case of prophecy, is never a timeless truth of universal validity, but a message directed to definite, individual events. Unlike prophecy, which sometimes deals with religious matters, soothsaying never concerns this realm (Plato, *Charmides* 173c). Soothsaying foretells future events, while prophecy is aimed at correcting a person's behaviour in view of events which may be expected. The chief impulse behind soothsaying is human curiosity (cf. J. Haeckel in L. Adam and H. Trimborn, eds., *Lehrbuch der Völkerkunde*, 1958, 62).

OT 1. The Heb. word for prophet, *nāḇî'*, is usually derived from the Akkad. vb. *naḇû*, to call, to proclaim. In the past, therefore, most scholars saw the etymology as parallel to the Gk. and understood the word in the active sense, one who calls, forth-teller, preacher (cf. H.-J. Kraus, *Worship in Israel*, 1966, 102). However, a parallel development in the Akkad. indicates that *nāḇî'* should be understood not actively but passively; one called, one appointed (W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, [1940] 1957, 303 ff.). Behind the passive form stands God as the agent, here the one who calls. Later *nāḇî'* became a technical term, and the literal meaning was forgotten.

From this noun the vb. *nāḇā'* is derived, which means to show, present, or express oneself, to speak as a prophet. It is found in hith. and niph. In early texts the dominant use is in the hith., meaning to behave as a prophet, implying adopting ecstatic behaviour. In later texts the niph. predominates, and is in most cases to be translated to speak prophetically (1 Sam. 10:5 f., 10 ff.; 19:20; 1 Ki. 22:10, 12). This point is corroborated by a second observation: the vb. is found among the earlier writing prophets only in Amos, and in none of the later ones but Jer., Ezek., Joel and Zech. This may suggest that in early times prophecy was dominated by ecstatic behaviour which later became suspect. Later still (from Jer. onwards) the vb. no longer suggested ecstasy and could be used without embarrassment.

(a) The noun *nāḇî'* is found in the OT 309 times, of which 92 instances are found in Jer. alone. The plur. signifies in the historical books groups of prophets; the sing. in early texts widely varying types of person, in later texts only, one who speaks on behalf of Yahweh. In earlier texts, the prophet can also have the title *'îš hā'ᵉlōhîm*, man of God, or *rō'eh* or *ḥōzeh*, seer. Man of God seems to be a title of distinction, which is also given to great leaders: → Moses (Deut. 33:1), → David (Neh. 12:24, 36 etc.), but above all Elisha (29 times), and the unnamed prophet of Judah in 1 Ki. 13:1–31 (15 times). This title expresses the close association of the person concerned with God.

The seer has the ability to reveal hidden secrets and future events (1 Sam. 9:6–20). With him the emphasis is on visions, with the prophet rather on his words (Isa. 30:10).

(b) Various figures in the history of Israel were given the title of *nāḇî'*. They include → Abraham (Gen. 20:7), Moses (Deut. 34:10) and Aaron (Exod. 7:1). Miriam received the title of prophetess (Exod. 15:20), which is doubtless linked with the Song of Moses at the Red Sea which was used as a cultic hymn (see below 2 (c)).

2. Before the fully-fledged prophecy of the so-called writing prophets took shape certain earlier forms are found in the OT.

(a) One of these is the appearance of groups of ecstatics who moved freely about the country, putting themselves by the use of musical instruments into a state of trance, and in such a condition babbling out their messages (cf. the phenomena in the NT period in 1 Cor. 14). This → ecstasy was infectious, so that Saul also came to be counted "among the prophets" (1 Sam. 10:5 ff.; cf. 19:18 ff.). The prophets of Baal were also ecstatics (1 Ki. 18:19–40). The ecstatic who could temporarily become "another man" (1 Sam. 10:6) constituted a certain attraction for the Israelites (1 Sam. 10:5). But on other occasions these "mad fools" (Hos. 9:7) repelled them. In Num. 11:10–30, where the 70 elders were seized by the Spirit

of God and went into an ecstasy, it is related that Joshua was critical. However, Moses replied: "Would that all the Lord's people were prophets, that Yahweh would put his spirit upon them!" (Num. 11:29). This is interpreted by some scholars as the attempt of the Elohist, by the inclusion of this story in the Mosaic tradition, to introduce the strange, repellent, un-Israelite phenomenon of ecstatic prophecy into the worship of Yahweh. Thus, G. von Rad comments: "The end which the story tries to serve is therefore that of the legitimation of this new religious phenomenon which may have caused the orthodox a good deal of perplexity. The story may actually be taken as evidence of an acceptance of the ecstatic movement into the institutions of Jahwism, or at least as an etiology of the prophetic movement which gave it legitimation" (*Old Testament Theology*, II, 1965, 19).

(b) Another early form is that of groups of prophets in monastic communities. These groups formed themselves around a prominent figure (e.g. Elisha, 2 Ki. 2:3 ff.; 4:38; 6:1), whom they addressed as "master" or "father", at whose feet they sat and learned, and with whom they lived in communal dwellings. → Elijah and Elisha were heads of separate bands of prophets (2 Ki. 2:1 ff.). Such groups are always found in connexion with a sanctuary (1 Ki. 13:11, Bethel; 2 Ki. 2:1, 4, 5, Gilgal, Jericho). Ecstasy has here a markedly reduced rôle (traces may be found at 2 Ki. 3:15). Instead, the gift of the Spirit seems to be manifested rather by the working of → miracles (2 Ki. 2:19–22; 2:23–25; 4:1–7, 18–37). Even these popular accounts, however, with their emphasis on miraculous deeds, reveal that Elisha was also a man of the word, who gave both spiritual (2 Ki. 4:1–7, 8–37; 5:1–14) and political counsel (2 Ki. 13:14 ff., "The chariots of Israel and its horsemen"; cf. 6:12; 8:7–15).

(c) One more early form must be mentioned: the cultic prophets employed as officials at the national sanctuary. They are to be distinguished clearly from the writing prophets (contra S. Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship* I–II, 1961), since the latter strongly criticized the cult (e.g. the temple, Hos. 8:14, RV mg.; Mic. 3:9–12; Jer. 7:1–15; sacrifice, Amos 3:14; Hos. 5:6; Isa. 1:10–17; priests, Hos. 4:4; Mic. 3:11; Jer. 2:8). Moreover, they acted and spoke in a way foreign to the cult (G. von Rad, op. cit., II, 54 f.). The cultic prophet had his place along with the priest in the cult. His task would have been to give oracles in answer to communal laments, and especially to the king. For this reason he had great influence in the royal court (1 Ki. 1:8), where he spoke as a man of God (1 Ki. 22:24 ff.) with remarkable severity (2 Sam. 12:1 ff.). The cultic prophets were feared, because their powerful → word could bring success or disaster (1 Sam. 16:4; 1 Ki. 17:18). Their words of salvation would be formulated after the manner of proverbs. In Isa. 33:1–24 there is preserved a prophetic liturgy (H. Gunkel, "Jesaia 33, eine prophetische Liturgie", *ZAW* 42, 1924, 177–208), which gives us insight into the language of these prophets. Among the cultic prophets we may count Shimei (1 Ki. 1:8), Zedekiah (1 Ki. 22:24), and perhaps also Nathan (2 Sam. 12:1 ff.; 1 Ki. 1:11 ff.) who worked in close association with the court and yet enjoyed an astonishing degree of independence. No books have come down to us from these prophets, unless one includes Nahum and Habakkuk who at least have some affinity with them. There are, however, unmistakable traits of the cultic prophet in Zechariah and still more in Haggai.

3. Prophecy in the characteristic sense associated with the prophetic literature of the OT began in Israel with the monarchy. However, no sharp dividing-line can be drawn. Ecstasy, soothsaying and miracle-working fade into the background, and the → word comes increasingly to the fore. Ties with the cult, with institutions and with the monarchy also become progressively looser. From Amos to Malachi the word was the predominant means of proclamation. The only actions of the prophets were symbolic actions. These were not strictly illustrations, but the acting out the content of the word (Hos. 1:4, 6, 9; Isa. 7:3; 8:3 f.; 20:2; Jer. 16:2, 5, 8). The classical prophets were active during three periods: the time of the dissolution of the Northern Kingdom (around 721 B.C.), of the Southern Kingdom (around 597–587 B.C.), and the time of the exile (around 539 B.C., the end of the Babylonian supremacy). In relation to history their message had a horizontal (the nation and the nations) and a vertical (past, present, future) dimension. The future dimension was in the nature of a warning, where the future is linked with the present situation of the hearer. It was not a prediction, where, as in soothsaying, the attention is taken away from the present to a point in the future and it is foretold what will happen. The themes include the following:

(a) Prophecy of judgment. Especially before the exile, it was the task of the prophets to warn the people, their representatives or a group of the people about the approaching → judgment. This could take various forms, such as droughts, earthquakes and wars. Since, however, the prophets were also responsible for exhorting and counselling the people, and preached with a view to repentance, the threat was accompanied by an explanation of the reason for the judgment. Thus the judgment comes about because of the → sin of the nation, of the king, or of a group within the nation. For the prophets, sin is human behaviour which is out of accord with the actions of God. In detail, this means in Isaiah, that the people is not putting its trust in Yahweh alone; in Amos and Micah, that the people is disregarding the law and commandments of Yahweh; in Hosea, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, the emphasis is rather on the unfaithfulness of the people in idolatry.

(b) Prophecy of salvation. Prophecies of salvation did not originate in curiosity about what will happen after God's judgment. They were based upon the loving will of God (in contrast to prophecies of judgment, which resulted from the wrong behaviour of men). This is further indicated by the various forms which the word of salvation, or promise, could take: the pledge is clearly the answer to a previous complaint, and so is not far removed from the favourable oracle (Isa. 43:1 ff.); the announcement promises God's future help (Isa. 41:17 ff.; Jer. 28:2 ff.); the description depicts the future reality of the salvation which God will bring about (Isa. 11:1 ff.; Zech. 8:4 f.). Prophecies of → salvation predominate during and after the exile. Salvation becomes a reality in the renewal of the relationship between Israel and God, in the eschatological king (the messiah), in the new ordering of the cult, the renewal of the state and political liberation of the nation. Majestic representation of salvation is often followed by an explanation of the ground on which it is based: not the faithfulness or holiness of the people, in its zeal for God and the covenant, but the faithfulness, holiness, zeal and unconditional love of God alone.

To sum up, the OT prophet is a proclaimer of the word, called by God to warn, exhort, comfort, teach and counsel, bound to God alone and thus enjoying a freedom that is unique.

4. Although later tradition added the book of Daniel to the prophets, it is in fact an example of Jewish apocalyptic. The latter is distinguished from prophecy by "pseudonymity, eschatological impatience and exact calculations about the last things, the range and fantasy of its visions, concern for world history and a cosmic horizon, numerical symbolism and esoteric language, doctrines of angels and hope of the afterlife" (W. Baumgartner, "Ein Vierteljahrhundert Danielforschung", *ThR* 11, 1939, 136 f.). Apocalyptic is therefore not a straightforward continuation of prophecy, though both share the element of future expectation. Its heyday comes after the prophets, between the 2nd century B.C. and the 2nd century A.D. The transition may be clearly seen in Zechariah: in the seven visions of the night (1:7–6:8) the prophet becomes a seer to whom the eschatological future of the nations and of Israel is revealed (cf. Isa. 24–27; Ezek. 38 f.; Joel).

5. The rabbis naturally saw in apocalyptic the legitimate successor of prophecy. "Up to this point [i.e. up to Alexander the Great] the prophets preached through the Holy Spirit. From then on, bow thine ear and hear the words of the wise [i.e. the apocalyptic writers]" (Seder 'Olam Rabbah 30). Prophecy itself is extinguished. In rabbinic writings the "voice from heaven" (→ Word, art. *phōnē*) begins to gain importance alongside apocalyptic. God still spoke but only through the echo of his voice (*baṯ qôl*) (SB II 125 ff.; cf. J. Jeremias, *New Testament Theology*, I 1971, 80 ff.). Josephus (*Ant.* 13, 311 ff.), on the other hand, reports that the Essenes had a great number of prophets who were held in high repute.

The cessation of prophecy is indicated by Ps. 74:9 and 1 Macc. 9:27 (cf. 4:46; 9:27; 14:41). On the other hand, some scholars see evidence for the expectation of an eschatological prophet connected with the person of → Moses on the basis of Deut. 18:15–18 (cf. Acts 3:22 f.; 7:37; and Jn. 6:14; 7:40) and connected with the person of → Elijah on the basis of Mal. 3:1 (cf. Matt. 11:10; Mk. 1:2; Lk. 1:17, 76; 7:27) and 4:1–6 (MT 3:19–24; cf. Matt. 17:11; Mk. 9:12; Lk. 1:17). (For further discussion see F. Hahn, "The Eschatological Prophet", in *The Titles of Jesus in Christology: Their History in Early Christianity*, 1969, 352–406; G. Molin, "Elijahu. Der Prophet und sein Weiterleben in den Hoffnungen des Judentums und der Christenheit", *Judaica* 8, 1952, 65–94; M.-J. Stiassny, "Le Prophète Élie dans le Judaisme", in *Élie le Prophète, Études Carmélitaines* 35, 199–255; SB II, 626 f.; IV 764–98; R. Schnackenburg, "Die Erwartungen des 'Propheten' nach dem Neuen Testament und den Qumran-Texten", *StudEv* 1, *TU* V, 18, 1959, 622–39; H. M. Teeple, *The Mosaic Eschatological Prophet*, 1959; and the literature listed in the articles on Moses and Elijah.)

6. The Qumran community treasured the prophetic writings of the OT (including the Psalms) to an extraordinary degree. They applied the prophecies to the events of their own day, which they saw as the "end of days" (i.e. the end-time). The Teacher of Righteousness reveals the secrets of the prophetic words (1QpHab 7:1–5) and so takes on the rôle of an actual prophet. The eschatological event which the Qumran community awaited was the coming of "the Prophet and of the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel" (1QS 9:11). This suggests a triumvirate, not a ruler with a threefold office (cf. Test.Lev. 18:9 ff.; cf. K. G. Kuhn, "Die beiden Messias Aarons und Israels", *NTS* 1, 1954–55, 168 ff.; F. F. Bruce, *The Teacher of Righteousness in the Qumran Texts*, 1956, 13).

NT In the NT *prophētēs* is found 144 times, most frequently in Matt. (37 times) and Luke (Gospel 29 times; Acts 30 times). In Mk. it is found only 6 times, and 14 times each in Jn. and Paul. It occurs 8 times in Rev., twice each in Heb. and 2 Pet. and once each in Jas. and 1 Pet. The noun means a prophet, one who proclaims and expounds divine revelation. In most cases it refers to OT prophets, but it is also applied to John the Baptist, Jesus and others who proclaim the Kingdom of God or Christ, and to the believer who possesses the gift of prophecy. Only in one place (Tit. 1:12) does a pagan receive the title of prophet. This is the poet Epimenides (6th century B.C.), from whose *Theogony* a proverbial saying is quoted ("Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, lazy gluttons"). Epimenides was regarded as a prophet by Plutarch (*Solon* 12), Plato (*Laws* 1, 642d) and others in the ancient world. The fact that he is regarded as a prophet here lends authority to the judgment.

As well as referring to a person, *prophētēs* can also be used of the OT prophetic writings (e.g. Matt. 5:17; Jn. 6:45; Rom. 3:21).

In the NT the title prophetess is not given to a woman who prophesies, with the exception of Lk. 2:36, where Anna, the daughter of Phanuel, is given this title because she proclaimed Christ. Jezebel, the type of the woman led astray into idolatry, gives herself the title (Rev. 2:20).

The abstract noun *prophēteia* is found only 19 times in the NT, and of these 9 times in Paul (including 5 times in 1 Cor. and twice in 1 Tim.) and 7 times in Rev. Otherwise it occurs once in Matt. and twice in 2 Pet. It refers to the prophetic word of an OT (e.g. Matt. 13:14) or Christian prophet (e.g. 1 Cor. 14:6). Only Paul uses it also as a term for the gift of prophecy (*charisma*; → Grace; e.g. Rom. 12:6). At Rev. 19:10 it probably means prophetic word, while at Rev. 11:6 it probably signifies prophetic activity.

It is similar with the occurrences of the vb., which is found 28 times in the NT, and of these 11 times in Paul, all in 1 Cor. The remaining instances are 4 in Matt., 2 each in Mk. and Lk., 1 in Jn., 4 in Acts, 1 each in 1 Pet. and Jude, and 2 in Rev. The basic meaning is to proclaim divine revelation (e.g. Matt. 7:22; cf. above, 2). This can be understood in an ethical, paracletic sense (e.g. 1 Cor. 14:3, 31; to comfort, exhort, teach); in a revelatory sense (e.g. Matt. 26:68) or as pointing to the future (e.g. Matt. 15:7; to foretell). Since the title of prophet is not given to women in the church, a circumlocution is used (Acts 21:9; Philip the evangelist's "four unmarried daughters who prophesied").

The late word *pseudoprophētēs* is found 11 times in the NT, including 3 times each in Matt. and Rev., but not at all in Paul. It occurs once each in Mk., Lk., Acts, 2 Pet. and 1 Jn. Normally it is used of a person who makes a false claim to being a prophet (e.g. Matt. 7:15). Since such people proceed to preach what is not true, the name comes to be applied to anyone who does this (1 Jn. 4:1) and so shows himself to be a false prophet. The adj. *prophētikos* occurs only in Rom. 16:26 and 2 Pet. 1:19. The vb. *manteuomai* is found only at Acts 16:16 of the soothsaying of the girl at Philippi who prior to her exorcism by Paul brought her owners great gain.

The NT term prophet is used in the following five senses.

1. *The Old Testament Prophet.* As in the OT ("Thus saith the Lord") he is described as "the mouth of God" (Jer. 15:19; Acts 3:18, 21). God is behind the passive construction in Matt. 2:17, 23 etc. Some take the reference in 1 Pet. 1:11 to

"the Spirit of Christ", the one at work in the prophets, to indicate the pre-existent Lord, who in 1 Pet. is one with God (cf. A. T. Hanson, *Jesus Christ in the Old Testament*, 1965, 133–36). In Heb. 1:1 (where *en* is used, on the analogy of Heb. b^e, of the instrument), the prophet is likewise seen as an instrument of God who makes an open proclamation. But the prefix *pro-* comes to be understood more and more in a temporal sense, so that, in contrast to the OT, the prophet is seen as one who foretells. He predicts everything which is later fulfilled in Jesus Christ (Matt. 1:22 f.; 2:5 f., 15, 17 f., 23, etc.). These texts are not proof-texts in the sense that the prophets make a prediction, and Jesus Christ fulfils it, therefore the prophecies are confirmed by → Jesus Christ or the scriptures proved through him. (For a discussion of the notion of fulfilment in Matt. which sees it not as direct, predictive prophecy but as fulfilled typology → Fullness, art. *plēroō*, NT 1 (b)–(c).) For Matt. the authority of the OT is so incontestable that it does not need to be proved. Rather, the texts are reflective quotations, intended to show that Jesus Christ does something, or that with his coming something happens. Matt. does his reflecting by the use of a suitable OT quotation. Since the prophets (→ Scripture) constitute an absolute authority for Matt., this means that Jesus Christ is proved by the quotation to be messiah. The direction of his argument is thus the opposite to that of a proof-text which establishes the truth of scripture.

A striking feature is the frequency of NT references to the violent deaths of the prophets (Matt. 23:31; the saying at Matt. 23:37 par. Lk. 13:34; in Acts 7:52 a line is drawn through the murder of the prophets to the death of Jesus). In early Christianity martyrdom was integrally related to the concept of the prophet (Matt. 23:35). Jesus presented himself as one who stood in the line of rejected prophets whose own rejection marked the climax of evil and brought open judgment on Jerusalem. He was also the culminating figure of those who were martyred for their righteousness (Matt. 23:35; Lk. 11:51). Abel (Gen. 4) was the first. Zechariah, the son of Jehoiada, is mentioned towards the end of the last book of the OT canon (2 Chr. 24:20 ff.). The latter may be identified here with Zechariah the son of Berechiah (Zech. 1:1). A Zechariah, son of Baris or Baruch was martyred in the Temple in A.D. 70 (Josephus, *War* 4, 5, 4), but he could hardly be the figure here. The Jewish tradition and LXX texts about the various Zechariahs show confusion.

2. *John the Baptist.* John is consistently given the title of prophet. This is justified by the fact that he takes up and makes even more radical the prophetic preaching of judgment and repentance (Amos 9:7 ff.; Mic. 3:12; Jer. 7:3 ff.; 26:1 ff.). His preaching was aimed at moral improvement, and at shaking the religious self-confidence of the Jews. His → baptism, which was not proselyte baptism or that practised at Qumran, must be seen as an eschatological sacrament of repentance, which is a testimony of conversion and forms a seal of salvation. It is not surprising that John was therefore regarded as the expected eschatological prophet who would bring in the age of salvation (cf. above, OT 3; Matt. 11:8 ff.). The NT however suppresses this (false) view, and portrays him as the eschatological forerunner (Matt. 3:1 ff.; 11:11 f.; 14:2 ff.; 16:14; 17:13; Mk. 6:25; 8:28; Lk. 7:20, 33; 9:19), or "witness" of Jesus (Jn. 1:6 ff.), who points in his preaching to Jesus Christ and in his baptism to Christian baptism (O. Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament*, 1963², 23–30; cf. J. Jeremias, *New Testament Theology*, I, 1971, 43–49;

C. H. H. Scobie, *John the Baptist*, 1963; W. Wink, *John the Baptist in the Gospel Tradition, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series* 7, 1968).

3. *Jesus Christ.* Only occasionally in the NT is Jesus Christ called a prophet, and generally only by the people (Mk. 6:15 par. Lk. 9:8; Matt. 16:14 par. Mk. 8:28, Lk. 9:19; Lk. 7:16). They may have in mind here contemporary prophets, but → Elijah is also mentioned by all three evangelists, and Matt. also refers to Jeremiah, suggesting that Jesus is thought of as in the succession of OT prophets. However, Jesus never described himself directly as a prophet. No great weight may be laid on Lk. 13:33 as a self-designation, since it is probably a quotation of a proverbial saying. In the passages ascribed to Q, the word prophet never occurs as a christological title; it is most frequently found in Lk. (cf. F. Hahn, *The Titles of Jesus in Christology*, 1969, 379 ff.; O. Cullmann, op. cit., 30–38). According to the NT, Jesus Christ is greater than the prophets (Matt. 12:41), since he not only announced but also brought salvation (1 Pet. 1:10 f.; Lk. 10:24). Christ is presented as a prophet in the sense of Deut. 18:15: "The Lord your God will raise up a prophet like me from among you, from your brethren – him shall you heed" (cf. Acts 3:22 f.; 7:37; Matt. 2:1–23; 4:1–11; 5:1 ff.; Jn. 6:14; 7:40).

J. Jeremias sees Jesus as a charismatic rather than as a professional theologian (Matt. 7:29 par. Mk. 1:22, Lk. 4:32). "The unanimous verdict on him was that he was a prophet. There was a constant echo to this effect among the people (Mark 6:15 par.; 8:28 par.; Matt. 21:11, 46; Luke 7:16; John 4:19; 6:14; 7:40, 52; 9:17) and even – though coupled with some scepticism – in Pharisaic circles (Luke 7:39; Mark 8:11 par.). According to Luke 24:19, Jesus' disciples, too, saw him as a prophet. Finally, it was as a false prophet that Jesus was arrested and accused. This is clear from the account of the mockery under Jewish confinement" (*New Testament Theology*, I, 1971, 77; cf. also J. D. G. Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 1975, 82 ff.). In support of the latter point Jeremias cites Matt. 26:68 par. Mk. 14:65, Lk. 22:64, and notes that a false prophet had to die (Deut. 18:20; cf. 13:6; 17:13). " 'Prophet' was not a full description of the task for which he had been sent . . ., but he included himself among the ranks of the prophets (Luke 13:33; Matt. 23:31 f., 34–36 par., 37–39 par.; cf. Mark 6:4 par.; Luke 4:24; John 4:44). He does this not only in those passages in which he uses the term 'prophet', but also in those in which he claims to possess the spirit. For the synagogue regarded the possession of the holy spirit, i.e. the spirit of God, as *the* mark of prophecy. To possess the spirit of God was to be a prophet" (op. cit., 78; cf. the Beelzebul controversy, Matt. 12:25–37 par. Mk. 3:23–30, Lk. 11:17–23; and Mk. 13:11; Lk. 6:23, 26 par. Matt. 5:12; Jn. 7:37 ff.). Whereas the Spirit had long been quenched, Jesus initiated the time of salvation. It was heralded by John the Baptist who was more than a prophet (Matt. 11:9 par. Lk. 7:26). It is indicated by his own presence as one who is greater than → Jonah (Matt. 12:41 par. Lk. 11:32). "The time of barrenness and judgment is coming to an end. The quenched spirit is returning after a long absence. God is breaking his silence and is speaking again, as he once did in the days of the prophets" (op. cit., 82). But the "more" implied in these latter references "has an eschatological ring. . . . With the new activity of the spirit the time of salvation has begun" (ibid).

4. *Those Specially Commissioned.* In the nativity narrative of Lk., and only here, we find people who have been specially commissioned and equipped by God to

proclaim prophetic messages which have been given to them by the Holy Spirit (cf. R. Laurentin, *Structure et Théologie de Luc I–II*, 1964). Of these only Anna has the title of prophet (Lk. 2:36). Zacharias' song, the *Benedictus*, is described as a prophecy inspired by the Holy Spirit (Lk. 1:67). Elizabeth (Lk. 1:41 f.) and Simeon (Lk. 2:25) speak by the Holy Spirit, which is intended to imply a prophetic gift.

5. *Christian Prophets.* The early Christian church had Christians who possessed the gift of prophecy. They were regarded as a sign that the Spirit was present in the church (→ Spirit; → Grace). It must be assumed that at a very early stage this charismatic, impulsive prophecy became institutionalized, and prophets were then seen as the holders of a spiritual office. This had its own standing in the community between, or on a par with, → apostles and teachers (1 Cor. 12:28 f.; Eph. 4:11); next to apostles (Lk. 11:49; Eph. 2:20, though possibly OT prophets are referred to here; Eph. 3:5; Did. 11:3); next to teachers (Acts 13:1; Did. 15:1 f.); next to saints and apostles (Rev. 18:20).

(a) In the worship at Corinth they had in the service (1 Cor. 14:23 f.) the task of exhorting (1 Cor. 14:3, 24 f., 31), comforting (1 Cor. 14:3), and edifying the church (1 Cor. 14:3), and of communicating knowledge and mysteries (1 Cor. 13:2). Paul instructed them to do this in words which could be understood (1 Cor. 12:1; 14:15 f., 23 f.), and not in a state of → ecstasy. There was evidently a danger, however, that the prophetic spirit might break out in uncontrolled, ecstatic power and invade the church's worship in such a way that not just one (1 Cor. 14:30) but several (v. 31) would be prophesying at the same time. Paul handled this problem by declaring that the spirits of prophets should be subject to prophets (v. 32), by which he meant submission to order and the peace of God (v. 33a). The prophet must also be able to remain silent. It remains debatable whether we can detect in the epistles the utterances of early Christian prophets, in the form of "statements of holy law" (cf. E. Käsemann, "Sentences of Holy Law in the New Testament", *New Testament Questions of Today*, 1969, 66–81). Käsemann cites Rom 11:25 f.; 1 Cor. 3:17; 14:38; 15:51 f.; 16:22; Gal. 5:21 and 1 Thess. 3:4 as eschatological logia.

(b) In Eph. 2:20 the prophets form part of the "foundation" of the church. This image suggests that the period in which the foundations of the church were laid is over, i.e. the prophetic office is a thing of the past. The apostles are here the NT counterpart of the OT prophets. Together they constitute the foundation, "Christ Jesus himself being the chief cornerstone" (→ Rock).

(c) Warnings against false prophets in the Synoptic Gospels (Matt. 7:15, 22 f.; 24:24 par. Mk. 13:22) permit the conclusion that there must have been a great number of Christian prophets in the area of Syria and Palestine.

Using form-critical analysis, E. Käsemann attempts to isolate forms of prophetic proclamation (statements of holy law, curses, blessings, etc.) in the synoptic tradition, and to demonstrate that these are the logia of early Christian prophets ("The Beginnings of Christian Theology", op. cit., 82–107). Such "spurious" dominical sayings, he suggests, formed part of the sayings-source, and were understood in the early church to be words of the risen Lord given by the mouth of Christian prophets.

C. H. Peisker

Käsemann's view which is shared by many goes back to R. Bultmann, *The*

History of the Synoptic Tradition, 1968², 127 f., and beyond that to H. Gunkel, *Reden und Aufsätze*, 1913, 173, and H. von Soden, *Das Interesse des apostolischen Zeitalters*, 1892, 153. (For this and the following points see D. Hill, "On the Evidence for the Creative Rôle of Christian Prophets", *NTS* 20, 1973–74, 262–74.) In support of his view of this creative rôle for the Christian prophets Bultmann appealed generally to Rev. and Od.Sol. 42:6: "For I have risen and stand by them and speak through their mouth."

But the view has not gone unquestioned. M. Dibelius, himself a leading form-critic, drew attention to Paul's distinction between commands which came from the Lord and his own advice (1 Cor. 7:10, 12, 25; cf. *From Tradition to Gospel*, 1971, 241 f.). F. Neugebauer has pointed out that no similar transformation of logia occurs in Jewish and NT writings and that the theory pays no heed to the difference in literary genre between "Gospel" and "Apocalypse" ("Geistsprüche und Jesuslogien", *ZNW* 53, 1962, 218–28). Moreover, if, as Bultmann allows, the words of the prophets only gradually came to be regarded as those of the historical Jesus, this in itself presupposes that the community originally made a distinction between the two. And if the words of the risen Lord uttered by the prophets had the same value as those of the historical Jesus, there is no reason for projecting them back into a fictitious pre-Easter setting. Bultmann and his followers have not paid sufficient attention to the rôle of → tradition in early Christian → proclamation. "The place given by Bultmann and others to the Christian prophets is precisely that occupied by the Gnostic authors of apocryphal Gospels: in these works it is not the Jesus of history who teaches by action and by word, but the resurrected Lord who conveys truths and revelations to this or that privileged disciple" (D. Hill, op. cit., 264).

Hill draws attention to the weakness of the exegetical basis of Bultmann's view. The Odes of Solomon is probably not a 1st century Jewish-Christian work, but a gnostic hymn-book from the 2nd century A.D. (Henn.Schn., II, 809 f.; cf. Hill, op. cit., 265). Moreover, the verse on which Bultmann leans does not refer to Christian prophets but to believers in general. In the letters to the seven churches in Rev. 1–3, the Spirit of Christ addresses the churches as the Spirit of the exalted Lord (cf. also Rev. 16:15) and not in a form of words projected back into the life-situation of the historical Jesus. Similarly, Paul was careful to distinguish his own opinions from the teachings of Jesus, even though he claimed to have the Spirit as the Corinthians did (1 Cor. 7:40). Moreover, there is evidence to suggest that the early church distinguished between the Spirit addressing a man (Acts 10:1; 11:12; 13:2; 21:11) and the utterances of the glorified Lord (Acts 9:4 ff., 10 f.; 18:9; 23:11). Nowhere in the Pauline letters is there an implied identity between an encounter with the Spirit bringing a revelation and the words of the historical Jesus (Hill, op. cit., 267).

Whilst passages in Rev. may echo words attributed to the earthly Jesus (cf. Rev. 16:15 with Lk. 12:39; and Rev. 3:20 with Lk. 22:29 f. and Lk. 12:36), they clearly do not purport to be utterances of the earthly Jesus. In any case, the author of Rev. cannot be appealed to as a model of the activity and consciousness of Christian prophets generally in the NT period. The author is the authoritative mediator of the revelation (Rev. 1:1). Those who keep the words of his book are blessed (Rev. 1:3; cf. 22:7). Readers of his book, including the prophets, are

subordinate. The prophets of the community do not make any independent contribution to the prophecy; their function is to teach (cf. the teaching of the false prophetess in Rev. 2:24) (on all this see further D. Hill, "Prophecy and Prophets in the Revelation of St John", *NTS* 18, 1971–72, 401–18; A Satake, *Die Gemeindeordnung in der Johannes-Apokalypse*, 1966). The evidence of Acts 11:28 and 21:11 does not support the idea of the prophets producing utterances in the name of the historical Jesus; rather, Agabus speaks here by the Spirit. Similarly, there is no hint in 1 Cor. 7:40 and 14:3 of the charismatic prophet using the name of Christ in the first person.

Examples of Käsemann's concept of "Sentences of Holy Law" include 1 Cor. 3:17 and Matt. 10:32. But from a study of the form of such sentences, there is nothing to require the existence of a community of prophets to promulgate eschatological laws of this kind (cf. K. Berger, "Zu den sogenannten Sätzen heiligen Rechts", *NTS* 17, 1970–71, 10–40). Whilst such formulations can be transposed in to the realm of eschatology, their form "belongs to the genre of sapiential exhortation in which the sanction corresponds to the action according to a law of immanent justice" (D. Hill, op. cit., 271). Finally, Hill observes that Käsemann's attempt to link the activity of the Christian prophets with gnosticism fails because of sheer lack of knowledge about the Christian prophecy and the origin and nature of gnosticism (op. cit., 272 f.).

(d) Acts gives considerable information about prophets. It includes the prophecy of Agabus which involves prediction of future events: widespread famine (Acts 11:28) and Paul's arrest (Acts 21:10 f.). But among contemporary German scholars the accounts of Acts are commonly conceived to be of little value as a historical source. The reason for this sceptical attitude is bound up with the acceptance of Conzelmann's ascription to Luke of a view of time which divides history into three eras: the period of Israel, the middle time, and the period of the church. The third era begins with → Pentecost (Acts 2:1 ff.), and therefore takes up most of the book of Acts. It is characterized as, among other things, the time when the Spirit is poured out on all Christians (whereas in the second era Jesus was the only bearer of the Spirit). One sign of the superabundant outpouring of the Spirit is the great number of early Christian prophets who are named (Acts 11:27 f.; 13:1; 15:32; 21:9 ff.), and the principle that all Christians are given prophetic inspiration (Acts 2:17 f.; 19:6). The numerous references to prophecy are held to be theologically motivated. However, theological interpretation need not necessarily be something alien superimposed on a situation that was historically different. (For discussion of Luke's view of history → Present, art. *The Parousia and Eschatology in the NT*, especially NT 2 (b).)

In the Lucan writings OT prophets are referred to in Lk. 4:24; 7:16; 39; 9:8, 19; 13:33; 24:19; Acts 3:22 f. Acts 7:37 sees Jesus as a prophet in terms of the prophecy of a successor to → Moses in Deut. 18:15, 18. John the Baptist is described as a prophet in Lk. 1:76 (cf. Mal. 4:5); 7:26; and 20:6. Christian prophets are envisaged in Lk. 11:49: "Therefore also the Wisdom of God said, 'I will send them prophets and apostles, some of whom they will kill and persecute.' " Here Wisdom may be identified with the Spirit of God as in later Judaism (cf. Wis. 9:17), implying a contrast with the wisdom of Solomon (Lk. 11:31) (for further discussion see E. E. Ellis, *The Gospel of Luke*, *New Century Bible*, 1966, 170 ff.). The passage

may well be a comment attributed to the Spirit which is intended to supplement the previous words of the historical Jesus. Acts mentions a group of prophets from the Jerusalem church visiting Antioch, including Agabus (Acts 11:27 f.; cf. 21:10), a group resident in Antioch, including Barnabas and Paul (Acts 13:1), and the two prophets who accompanied the Jerusalem decree to Antioch, Judas Barsabbas and Silas (Acts 15:22, 32). The vb. *prophēteuō* is always used in Acts of Christians (Acts 2:17 f.; cf. Joel 2:28 ff.; Acts 19:6; and 21:9). Although Peter is not called a prophet, he has the marks of one, which include the knowledge of men's hearts (Acts 5:3; 8:21 ff.; cf. Lk. 7:39). He also had experience of visions and dreams fulfilling the prophecy of Joel (cf. also Acts 10:10). Similarly others had these prophetic experiences (Acts 9:10; 16:9; 22:17 ff.; 27:23; cf. Num. 12:6). Acts 21:9 refers to the four daughters of Philip who prophesied (cf. also the references to them in Eusebius, *HE* 3, 31, 4; 3, 37, 1). E. E. Ellis sums up this evidence by saying that "Christian prophecy in Acts is represented as an eschatological power of the Holy Spirit from God (Acts 2:17) or from the risen Jesus (Acts 1:8; 2:17; 33; cf. Psa. 68:19(18); Eph. 4:8). Although prophecy is a possibility for any Christian, it is primarily identified with certain leaders who exercise it as a ministry" ("The Role of the Christian Prophet in Acts", in W. W. Gasque and R. P. Martin, eds., *Apostolic History and the Gospel: Biblical and Historical Essays Presented to F. F. Bruce*, 1970, 56).

The purpose of Ellis's study is to try to ascertain more precisely Luke's understanding of what constitutes and what distinguishes prophecy. Certain functions are reminiscent of the OT prophet: prediction of future events (Acts 11:28; 20:23, 25; 27:22), the declaration of divine judgments (Acts 13:11; 28:25–28), and the employment of symbolic actions (Acts 21:11). Ellis notes a particular link between prophecy and exhortation. "And Judas and Silas, who were themselves prophets exhorted [*parekalesan*] the brethren with many words and strengthened [*epestērixan*] them" (Acts 15:32; → Exhort, art. *parakaleō*). The vb. *parakaleō* is used of the ministry of John the Baptist (Lk. 3:18; cf. 7:26), as well as of that of the prophets (Acts 11:23; 16:40; 20:2), though not that of Jesus. It is applied to Peter (Acts 2:40; cf. also 1 Thess. 2:12), and is found in the NT only in Acts 14:22 of the prophets Paul and Barnabas and in the Thessalonian letters with the cognate *stērizō* (1 Thess. 3:2; 2 Thess. 2:17). The corresponding noun *paraklēsis* which occurs in Lk.-Acts, Paul and Heb. is associated by Luke with the activity of the Spirit (cf. Acts 9:31; 13:15). Ellis observes that "the written *paraklēsis* of the Jerusalem Decree is set in parallel with the verbal 'exhortation' of the prophets Judas and Silas, and the term 'son of *paraklēsis*', applied to Barnabas in Acts 4:36, possibly represents 'son of prophecy'. The understanding of *paraklēsis* as the specific ministry of a prophet is supported in the Pauline literature by I Corinthians 14:2 f." (op. cit., 57; cf. also Rom. 15:4 f.; 2 Cor. 5:20). The interpretation of scripture, usually in the synagogues, is a central feature of the mission of the prophets, though it is not confined to them (Acts 2:14–36; 3:12–26; 4:8–12; 6:9 ff.; 7:2–53; 8:30–35; 9:20 ff.; 13:5, 16–41; 16:22 f.; 17:2, 10 f., 17, 22–31; 18:4, 24–28; 19:8; 28:23). The interpretation of scripture was understood as a prophetic function (Dan. 9:2, 14; Targum to Jdg. 5:9; cf. SB IV 116; R. Meyer, *TDNT* VI 817). Similarly, the allusion to the rabbis sitting "in Moses' seat" (Matt. 23:2) indicates that the rabbis saw themselves as the successors to the prophets (Ellis, op. cit., 58).

As at Qumran, there was no sharp division between the prophet and the teacher (op. cit., 59). Jesus himself was seen as teacher and eschatological prophet (cf. Lk. 7:39 f. with Mk. 1:21 par. Lk. 4:31; and Mk. 6:1–6 par. Matt. 13:53–58; Lk. 4:16 ff.). In the light of the implied connexions in these contexts between prophecy and the exposition of scripture, Ellis suggests "that the prophets Judas and Silas were not chosen incidentally to accompany the Decree. Probably they were chosen because they had already exercised an influential role in establishing (or proclaiming) the biblical rationale upon which the provisions of the Decree were justified" (op. cit., 62).

Ellis observes that the prophets in Acts exercised a widespread ministry in a varied fashion – singly or in groups, travelling or in settled congregations. But their functions were not restricted to those who were specifically designated as prophets. This is, in fact, paralleled by other ministries and → gifts in the NT where sometimes the gifts are shared by anyone and sometimes they relate to specific offices (cf. Acts 2:33; 6:3, 8 ff. with 1 Cor. 12:28, 31; 14:1; 2 Tim 1:11; op. cit., 63 f.). On the basis of his comparison of the rôle of the prophet with that of the apostle and elder, Ellis concludes that "the role of the prophet may overlap that of the elder as it does that of the apostle and teacher, especially in certain teaching functions. But unlike the prophet the apostle (in Jerusalem at least) and the elder or 'shepherd' are incorporated into the organizational structure" (op. cit., 66; → Apostle; → Bishop). At various points in Acts, Luke presents the Christian mission as a continuation of the mission of Jesus who is now the exalted Lord (Acts 1:1; 9:5; 10:13; 16:7; 22:18; 23:11) and as a contest between conflicting spiritual powers (Acts 8:9–24; 13:6 ff.; 16:16; 19:13–20). Ellis concludes: "The role of the Christian prophet is related to both of these Lucan themes. The prophet is the Lord's instrument, one among several means by which Jesus leads his church. As one who makes known (*gnōstos*) the meaning of Scripture, exhorts, and strengthens the congregation, and instructs the community by revelations of the future, the Christian prophet manifests in the power of the Spirit the character of his Lord, who is the Prophet of the end-time (3:22)" (op. cit., 67).

(e) In Rev. prophets appear to have superseded apostles. In the three passages where the latter are mentioned Rev. 2:2 refers to false apostles, and Rev. 18:20 and 21:14 refer to the apostolic Twelve who are the counterpart of the OT prophets. On the other hand, prophets are mentioned in Rev. 10:7; 11:10, 18; 16:6; 18:20, 24; 22:6, 9. The author regards himself as a prophet (Rev. 22:9). He has received from the exalted Lord a revelation of the meaning of the events of history (Rev. 1:1). This is embodied in a series of seven sets of visions which constitute the substance of his book (→ Number, art. *hepta*). He is called to console and exhort (cf. above (d)). Although the words *parakaleō* and *paraklēsis* do not occur, the letters to the Seven Churches (chs. 2 and 3) and indeed the whole work constitutes a series of messages of consolation and exhortation. The work carries the authority of the exalted Christ, speaking through the Spirit (Rev. 22:18 f.).

In "Prophecy and Prophets in the Revelation of St John" (*NTS* 18, 1971–72, 401–18) D. Hill argues that the author "considered himself to be a prophet, and that his writing, while employing much of the traditional apparatus of Apocalyptic but lacking many of the most characteristic features of that genre, may justifiably, and probably correctly, be regarded as prophetic in intention and character,

especially in its concern with and interpretation of history" (op. cit., 406). The term prophet in the book denotes primarily Christian prophets who, while they may be separable from the body of believers, cannot be said to have special precedence or position on the basis of existing evidence (op. cit., 410). The phrase *hē martyria Iēsou (Christou)*, "the witness of Jesus (Christ)", occurs six times (Rev. 1:2, 9; 12:17; 19:10 twice; 20:4) and the clause "to have the witness" or "the witness of Jesus" three times (Rev. 6:9; 12:17; 19:10). On the basis of his study of these passages, Hill contends that the author holds a unique position. He stands in the tradition of OT and Jewish prophecy, rather than of Christian prophecy, and mediates to his brethren (the Christian prophets) the revelation of Jesus Christ. The Christian prophets are distinguished from other Christians in that they actually fulfil the ministry of witness and prophecy that is expected of the entire church which, at least in Rev. 19:10, is potentially a community of prophets (op. cit., 414; cf. 1 Cor. 14 where prophecy is a gift to be sought by all, though exercised by a few). The concept of prophetic activity in Rev. is comparable with that seen by Ellis in Lk.-Acts in relation to interpreting the meaning of scripture (see above (d)). As A. Feuillet has observed, Rev. is a "re-reading of the OT in the light of the Christian event" (*L'Apocalypse. État de la Question*, 1963, 65; cf. op. cit., 417).

(f) For a time prophecy continued to have a place in the church. Prophets are known in the Didache, but the author shows some nervousness about false prophets and those who outstay their welcome (Did. 10:7; 11:7–12; 13:1–7; cf. also Justin, *Dial.* 82, 1). They featured in Montanism in the 2nd and 3rd centuries (cf. Eusebius, *HE* 5, 16, 3–17; 5, 19, 2; Epiphanius, *Haer.* 48, 49; Hippol., *Haer.* 8, 19, 1–3; Tert., *De anima* 9). Besides Montanus himself, Priscilla and Maximilla claimed to be prophetesses. But Montanist abuse led to the gradual discrediting and disappearance of prophecy. *C. Brown*

→ Covenant, → Ecstasy, → Elijah, → Jonah, → Law, → Moses, → Priest, → Revelation, → Sacrifice, → Wisdom, → Word

(a). B. W. Anderson and W. Harrelson, eds., *Israel's Prophetic Heritage: Essays in Honor of James Muilenberg*, 1962; G. W. Anderson *et al.*, *Studies on Prophecy: A Collection of Twelve Papers, Supplements to VT* 26, 1974; J. G. Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, TC*, 1972; A. Bentzen, "The Ritual Background of Amos i. 2–ii. 16" *OTS* 8, 1950, 85–99; E. Best, "Prophets and Preachers", *SJT* 12, 1959, 129–50; J. Bright, *Jeremiah, Anchor Bible*, 1965; and *Covenant and Promise: The Future in the Preaching of the Pre-exilic Prophets*, 1977; F. F. Bruce, *The Teacher of Righteousness in the Qumran Texts*, 1956; M. Buber, *The Prophetic Faith*, 1949; R. Bultmann, "Prophecy as Fulfilment", in C. Westermann, ed., *Essays on Old Testament Interpretation*, 1963, 50–75; M. Burrows, "Prophecy and the Prophets at Qumran", in B. W. Anderson and W. Harrelson, eds., op. cit., 223–32; H. von Campenhausen, *Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power in the Church of the First Three Centuries*, 1969; K. W. Carley, *Ezekiel among the Prophets: A Study of Ezekiel's Place in the Prophetic Tradition, SBT* Second Series 31, 1975; B. S. Childs, *Isaiah and the Assyrian Crisis, SBT* Second Series 3, 1967; R. E. Clements, *Prophecy and Covenant, SBT* 43, 1965; and *Prophecy and Tradition, Growing Points in Theology*, 1975; J. L. Crenshaw, "The Influence of the Wise upon Amos. The 'Doxologies of Amos' and Job 5:9–16; 9:5–10", *ZAW* 79, 1967, and 45 ff.; *Prophetic Conflict: Its Effect upon Israelite Religion, BZAW* 124, 1974; P. E. Davies, "Jesus and the Role of the Prophet", *JBL* 64, 1945, 214–54; A. B. Davidson, *Old Testament Prophecy*, ed. J. A. Paterson, 1903; C. H. Dodd, "Jesus as Teacher and Prophet", in G. K. A. Bell and A. Deissmann, eds., *Mysterium Christi: Christological Studies by British and German Theologians*, 1930, 53–66; "The Prophecy of Caiaphas (John xi 47–53)", in *Neotestamentica et Patristica* (O. Cullmann Festschrift), *Supplements to NovT* 6, 1962, 134–43; J. D. G. Dunn, *Jesus*

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Punishment, Vengeance

δίκη

δίκη (*dikē*), justice, punishment, vengeance; ἐκδικέω (*ekdikeō*), execute justice, punish, avenge; ἔκδικος (*ekdikos*), avenger; ἐκδίκησις (*ekdikēsis*), vengeance, recompense, punishment.

CL 1. The noun *dikē* can mean, on the one hand, a mythological personification, the goddess of just punishment (Hesiod, *Works* 256 ff.), and on the other hand, in legal language, justice (Homer, *Il.* 16, 388), a judicial case (Hesiod, *Works* 249), a legal decision or judgment (Homer, *Il.* 18, 508; *Od.* 11, 570). It can also mean vengeance or punishment (Hesiod, *Works* 712; Josephus, *Ant.* 6, 237 f. *War* 7, 450; Philo, *Op.Mund.* 80). Along with the later word *dikaiosynē* (→ Righteousness), *dikē* is one of the basic concepts in the Gk. legal world, particularly in the administration of justice.

2. The vb. *ekdikeō*, be outlawed, avenge, punish, which is first attested in Apollodorus of Athens in 150 B.C., has undergone a striking change in meaning. Etymologically it is derived from *ekdikos* (Aesch. onwards): one who places himself through his own fault outside the law is outlawed and acts unlawfully. The adj. means something unjust: *paschō ekdika*, "I suffer injustice."

But the much more common word with the same content in the Gk. language is *ekdikazō* (Aristoph. onwards) which means to decide a legal case, punish, avenge. This word gave its meaning to the new Hel. form *ekdikeō*, so that it moved from the meaning be outlawed to that of avenge, and *ekdikos* from the meaning outlaw to that of avenger. Correspondingly *ekdikēsis* should be translated vengeance, recompense. The juridical use of *ekdikeō* in the papyri is also important. Here it

means to decide a case, work as an advocate, defend or help someone to obtain his rights.

OT 1. In the LXX the noun *dikē*, justice, vengeance, punishment, is surprisingly seldom used to translate Heb. words in comparison with the other words in this group, like *dikaiosynē*, → righteousness; 21 out of 28 instances of *dikē* are in the apocryphal literature. Only 9 times does it represent *rîḇ*, law-suit (over 60 occurrences in the MT) and 4 times *nāqām*, vengeance (which, with *n^{e}qāmâh*, occurs over 40 times in the MT). It can be used of Yahweh's intervention to exact vengeance and punishment from his people: Lev. 26:25 speaks of the "sword . . . that shall execute vengeance for the [breach of] covenant" (cf. M. Noth, *Leviticus*, 1965, 194 ff.). Similarly, in Amos 7:4 Yahweh summons fire, to punish with it. But it can also be used of his intervention against his enemies (Deut. 32:41). At a later period, particularly in the Pss., there was an emphasis on his intervention to ensure justice for the person offering prayer (Pss. 9:4 f.; 35:23; 43:1; 74:22; → Righteousness) and for the *'eḇyônîm*, the poor (Ps. 140:12; → Poor).

In the apocryphal literature *dikē* means justice (Wis. 1:8), vengeance (cf. Wis. 18:11) and punishment (cf. 2 Macc. 8:11).

2. The LXX's translation of OT concepts like *nāqam*, avenge, *pāqaḏ*, visit, punish, *rîḇ*, conduct a law-suit, and *dāraš*, seek, by *ekdikeō* is a problem in so far as quite different concepts of justice are here brought into contact with one another. Concepts from the OT's message of justice which communicates to individual men the will of God and from its judicial procedure, which is carried out solely with God's authority, are translated by words from a legal terminology that was previously neutral and secular. The OT took the thought embodied in Deut. 32:35 very seriously, and left vengeance to God (cf. Gen. 4:15; 1 Sam. 24:12[13]; 2 Ki. 9:7; and Pss., e.g. 37:28; 99:8; 58:10; 79:10) or practised it as God's command (Num. 31:2). The day of vengeance is spoken of in Hos. 9:7. Vengeance remained something → holy just as → blood is holy.

The various constructions used are numerous: the thing and the person that are avenged, as well as the victim of the avenging, are generally in the acc. after *ekdikeō* and in the gen. after *ekdikēsis*. The phrase *ekdikein ekdikēsin* comes from the Heb. *nāqam n^{e}qāmâh*, take vengeance (e.g. Ezek. 25:12; cf. Lk. 18:7 f.).

U. Falkenroth

3. In the OT punishment and → judgment go together. Sodom and Gomorrah provided a classical instance of Yahweh's punishment of a notoriously wicked pagan city providing a theme which was taken up in the NT (cf. Gen. 19:24 f. with Lk. 17:29; Gen. 19:26 with Lk. 17:32; Gen. 19:28 with Rev. 9:2). For other references to Sodom see Gen. 10:19; 13:10, 12 f.; 14:8, 10 ff.; 18:16–32; Deut. 29:23; 32:32; Isa. 1:9 f.; 3:9; 13:19; Jer. 23:14; 49:18; 50:40; Lam. 4:6; Ezek. 16:46–56; Amos 4:11; Zeph. 2:9 (cf. Matt. 10:15; 11:23 f.; Mk. 6:11; Lk. 10:12; Rom. 9:29; 2 Pet. 2:6; Jude 7; Rev. 11:8). The prophet Amos announced the punishment of the surrounding nations for their crimes against humanity (Amos 1 and 2), but this culminates in the announcement of the punishment of Israel for his transgressions in the form of idolatry (Amos 3:14) and the crimes committed against fellow Israelites (Amos 4:1 ff.). The foreign invasions were construed by the prophets as punishment for Israel's sin, culminating in the destruction of the

Northern Kingdom after the fall of Samaria in 722 B.C. (2 Ki. 15–17) and the exile of large sections of the population of Judah in the time of Jeremiah (2 Ki. 23–25), following the fall of Jerusalem (597 B.C.) and its destruction (587 B.C.).

On an individual level the Mosaic legislation specified a range of punishments for crimes both against God and against man. Some of the laws are comparable with those formulated in the Code of Hammurabi who belonged to the old Babylonian Amorite dynasty and reigned between 1728 and 1686 B.C. (for text see *ANET*, 163–80). However, there was a fundamental difference of outlook. As G. L. Archer observes, "Biblical jurisprudence was based upon the assumption that man is under obligation to carry out the revealed will of God in leading a holy life, respecting the rights of God and man, not simply upon a utilitarian basis of a pragmatic nature, but rather as a creature made in the likeness of God" ("Crimes and Punishments", *ZPEB* I 1031).

Archer notes the following crimes against God. Idolatry was punishable by death, normally stoning (Deut. 13:10–16; cf. Exod. 20:3–6; 22:20). Idols, cultic objects and altars were to be destroyed (Deut. 7:5, 25). Infant sacrifice (cf. 2 Ki. 21:6, 16) which was involved in the worship of Moloch and Canaanite idols, was also punishable by death (Exod. 22:18; Lev. 20:27; Deut. 18:10 f.; → Magic). Blasphemy was deemed to bring retribution from Yahweh (Exod. 20:7; 22:28; Lev. 19:12; 24:11–23; Deut. 5:11). The penalty for false prophecy was death (Deut. 18:20 ff.; cf. Jer. 26:8 f.). Violation of the → sabbath (Exod. 20:9 f.; cf. Gen. 2:3; Exod. 16:23) was punished by death (Exod. 31:13–17; Num. 15:32–36), though the punishment was evidently not widely carried out. The warning of Jer. 17:27 suggests that the sabbath was not being kept, but pronounces national retribution. Whereas offences committed by inadvertence could be atoned for (Lev. 16; Num. 15:27), stubbornness was punishable by being cut off from the people, which could mean death (Num. 15:30 f.; Deut. 17:8–12).

Civil crimes included murder which was punishable by death (Gen. 9:6; Exod. 21:12; Num. 35:31). Heb. law permitted no monetary damages as a substitute, as did Hittite law. However, those who had killed inadvertently or accidentally might flee to cities of refuge (Num. 34:22–15). The law provided for execution by the nearest able-bodied male relative of the deceased, "the avenger of blood" (Num. 35:19). But under the monarchy the king seems to have assumed jurisdiction (2 Sam. 13:19; 14:7, 11; 1 Ki. 2:34). In the case of unsolved murder, ritual and sacrificial provision was made lest the land should remain polluted (Deut. 21:1–9). Second degree murder with no clearly specified penalty was recognized (Exod. 21:22–25).

The penalty for criminal assault resulting in serious or permanent injury was stated in terms of the *lex talionis*, i.e. the same injury must be inflicted on the offender. "If any harm follows, then you shall give life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burn for burn, wound for wound, stripe for stripe" (Exod. 21:23 ff.; cf. Lev. 24:19 f.; Deut. 19:21; Matt. 5:38). This was much less severe than the Middle Assyrian laws (cf. *ANET*, 186), and, in fact, what the OT appears to be doing here is to establish a principle of equity so that punishments fit the crimes. It is perhaps significant that nothing is said as to how the law was to be implemented. Assault on one's parents was deemed serious enough to be punishable by death (Exod. 21:15). Serious injuries to slaves entitled the slaves to

manumission (Exod. 21:26 f.). In cases of robbery, provision was made for restitution plus punitive damages (Exod. 22:1, 4; 22:3; Lev. 6:2–7; 19:13).

In contrast with the Sumerian, Babylonian, Assyrian and Hittite law codes, the Mosaic law made no provision for religious prostitution, and prostitution in general was opposed (→ Discipline). Sodomy and homosexuality were punishable by death (Lev. 18:22, 29; 20:13), as were carnal relations with animals (Lev. 18:23; 20:15). G. L. Archer comments: "All crimes of unchastity were regarded as grievous offences against God, adversely affecting the whole community; failure to punish them would mean the moral decline of Israel to the degenerate level of the pagan Canaanites before them. This, in turn, would lead to their expulsion from the Land of Promise" (*ZPEB* I 1033; cf. Lev. 18:24–29). Remarriage of a divorced wife would cause the land to sin (Deut. 24:4; → Divorce). The adultery committed by married persons was punishable by stoning (Lev. 20:10; Deut. 22:14; cf. Exod. 20:14). This extended even to those who were betrothed (Lev. 22:23 f.). There was, however, no set penalty for fornication. An Israelite might even marry a reformed harlot, though priests were not allowed to do so (Lev. 21:7), and fornication by a priest's daughter was a capital crime (Lev. 21:9). Rape carried the death penalty, though the law drew a distinction between acts perpetrated out of doors, where the victim was unable to summon help, and cases where help could be summoned (Deut. 22:23–27). In the case of the seduction of a consenting unbetrothed virgin, the man might take her to wife in payment of fifty shekels to her father (Deut. 22:28 f.; cf. Exod. 22:16 f.). Polygamy was countenanced (→ Marriage), but there were certain forbidden degrees of marriage, and incest constituted a capital crime (Lev. 18:7–18; 20:11–21). On the case of levirate marriage, where a surviving brother marries the childless wife of a deceased brother (Deut. 25:5–10; cf. the Book of Ruth) → Marriage. Intercourse during menstruation (which was treated in the context of the laws dealing with incestual relations) was not subject to a civil penalty but brought ritual uncleanness (Lev. 18:19; 20:18; cf. 15:24).

The Fifth Commandment laid down the decree: "Honour your father and your mother, that your days may be long in the land which the Lord your God gives you" (Exod. 20:12; cf. Lev. 19:3; Deut. 5:16; Matt. 15:4; Mk. 7:10; Eph. 6:2). Not only was assault on one's parents a capital offence, but so was cursing (Exod. 21:15, 17; Lev. 20:9; Deut. 21:18 ff.). Kidnapping (which in ancient times was practised for purpose of selling the victim as a slave) carried the death penalty (Exod. 21:16; Deut. 24:7). False accusation and perjury carried the same penalty as that required for the crime (Deut. 19:19).

Cases of torts (i.e. personal wrongs dealt with by personal actions rather than by public prosecution) were judged by the elders of a town sitting by the gate (cf. Ruth 4). Such cases included damage to crops and vineyards from straying cattle or fire (Exod. 22:5 f.), injury to livestock or to persons from livestock (Exod. 21:33 f.; Lev. 24:18, 21). On the case of the oppressed who came under Yahweh's special protection (Exod. 22:11–24) → Poor.

Stoning is the most frequently mentioned form of capital punishment in the OT. Perhaps it was used in cases affecting the community at large because it involved the maximum participation of the community including the prosecuting witnesses (Deut. 17:7). For instances see Lev. 20:2–5, 27; 24:15 f.; Num. 15:32–36; Deut.

13:1–5; 17:2–7; 22:22 f.; Jos. 7:27; Jn. 8:7; Acts 7:57. In the case of murder, death by the sword is prescribed by Num. 35:19, 21 (but cf. also Exod. 32:27 and Deut. 13:15 in the cases of apostasy and idolatry). Death by burning was prescribed for certain sexual offences which involved prohibited degrees of intercourse (Lev. 20:14; 21:9). Execution by hanging on a tree involving the public exposure of the victim involved particular shame (Deut. 21:22 f.; cf. Jos. 10:27; for fuller discussion → Cross).

Mutilation is mentioned in Deut. 25:12 and the case of the *lex talionis* (Exod. 21:23 ff.) noted above. Scourging to a maximum of forty stripes is stipulated in Deut. 25:1–3 (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 4, 238; 2 Cor. 11:24; → Beat for other NT instances). It was apparently a penalty for one who unjustly accused his wife of unchastity before marriage (Deut. 22:18). Archer suggests that imprisonment was largely restricted to detention prior to trial (*ZPEB* I 1036; but cf. Jer. 37:15 f. where Jeremiah was detained without a formal hearing). Monetary fines are mentioned in Exod. 21:22, 30 f.; 22:1–4; Deut. 22:18 f., 29. Enslavement was the penalty prescribed for the thief who could not repay damages (Exod. 22:3). It was also allowed for non-payment of debts (2 Ki. 4:1; Neh. 5:5; Amos 2:6). Exod. 21:2 lays down a maximum of six years in the case of an Israelite. Voluntary slavery is discussed in Lev. 25:39 ff. (→ Slave). *C. Brown*

4. Late Judaism remained within the bounds laid down by the OT tradition. The Qumran texts often repeat the prohibition of the independent taking of vengeance. Vengeance belongs to God or to men to whom he has deputed it.

NT 1. In the NT *dikē* only occurs 3 times, of which 2 are found in the context of the expectation of the judgment (→ Judgment, art. *krima*). 2 Thess. 1:9 uses it of the punishment of eternal destruction meted out to those who oppress the community, and Jude 7 of the punishment by eternal fire (→ Fire, art. *pyr*) of the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah, which is used as an example of the judgment of the godless. Acts 28:4 tells how the Maltese supposed that Paul, who had been attacked by the snake, is a murderer whom *dikē* "does not allow to live." Some scholars see here an allusion to the Gk. mythological concept of a punitive deity (cf. E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1971, 713).

2. *ekdikeō* also occurs only seldom in the NT. The passages where it occurs go back to OT traditions, especially to Deut. 32:35, 43, and also to the descriptions of the day of judgment and the tradition of teaching about the state. Lk. gives one example of the purely Gk. sense to execute justice (18:3 ff.), but otherwise it means to punish or avenge.

(a) As in the case of the OT, *ekdikeō* and its derivatives are chiefly used in the NT with the sense of avenge. No important new thinking lies behind this, since the occurrences mostly appear in the form of OT phrases (and also in quotations) and thus naturally give expression to the vengeance of God. The translation avenge or vengeance is particularly appropriate where *ekdikeō* is used of God's activity. This divine vengeance is frequently mentioned in connexion with descriptions of the divine day of judgment. 2 Thess. 1:8 is typical in this respect, using motifs from Isa. 66:15. God's vengeance on his enemies is a compensation for those who suffer persecution.

Similarly both passages in Rev. (6:10; 19:2) are concerned with the Last Judgment. Both are connected with one another. The first records the anguished questioning and petition of the martyrs for vengeance, i.e. for the final judgment. This is not fulfilled immediately; there is still a delay, a little interval; hence vengeance, purged of all human lust for it, is left to God and its execution is first proclaimed in 19:2 (using the words of 2 Ki. 9:7), once the number of their fellow-servants and brothers is complete (6:11). Here we can see a motive for waiting for God's vengeance; in the words of E. Lohmeyer "only when judgment has been fully executed does full blessedness come to the martyrs" (*Die Offenbarung Johannis*, *HNT* 16, 1970³, on Rev. 16:10 f.).

(b) It is not the only motive. While Rev. makes the persecutors and the unbelievers the recipients of vengeance, in Heb. 10:30 it is the community itself. Those who have experienced → grace and who live by it know that God's vengeance is a serious matter and acknowledge his justice in his acts of vengeance. Paul recalls Lev. 19:18 and Deut. 32:35, when he says that vengeance is God's (Rom. 12:19 f.; cf. Heb. 10:30; Matt. 5:38–42). It is always God's prerogative to execute vengeance; instead of vengeance the community is called upon to love its enemies. He who does so "heaps coals of fire upon the head" of his enemy, i.e. he bestows upon him the fruit of → grace, that is, → love and → peace (cf. Prov. 25:21 f.; Matt. 5:44; Lk. 6:27; → Head, OT 2). But God will one day uphold his rights in gracious or vengeful judgment.

(c) *ekdikos*, avenger, in Rom. 13:4 designates an office, since this particular pericope contains a remarkable collection of expressions derived from the language of secular government. The might of the state is entrusted by God with the office of avenger. It is in line with OT thinking that an institution, conceived of in a wholly unmythological way (i.e. the authorities of Rom. 13:1 are not demonic powers), should thus have authority conferred upon it. This applies both to the kings of Israel and to other kings to whom Yahweh has given power (cf. Exod. 22:28; 1 Sam. 15:1; 24:6; 2 Sam. 1:14; 1 Ki. 19:16 ff.; 2 Chr. 36:22 f.; Ezra 1:1 ff.; Prov. 8:15; Isa. 10:5 ff.; 44:28; 45:1). (On Rom. 13:1 ff. → Might, art. *exousia*, NT.) The very similar passage in 1 Pet. 2:13 ff. confirms that this is a tradition (cf. also Jn. 19:11; Tit. 3:1). If we can translate God's activity of *ekdikeō* as avenging, then we can also follow Luther in translating *ekdikos* as avenger in 1 Thess. 4:6 without ignoring the official ring of the word.

(d) We must also mention the secular use of the word as, e.g., in 2 Cor. 7:11 where *ekdikēsis*, punishment, and *apologia*, vindication, defence, two terms from criminal law, occur together. Here it just means punishment: Paul's sharp intervention against an "offender" produces his punishment. Similarly he makes known in 2 Cor. 10:6 his readiness to punish every disobedience.

(e) Luke is the only one to use the word once in the everyday legal language of Hellenism, in the parable of the importunate widow (Lk. 18:3 ff.). Here it means to provide someone with justice. On the other hand, the other two passages in Lk.'s writings (Lk. 21:22; Acts 7:24) follows closely the language of the LXX.

3. On the forms of punishment inflicted by the Jews and the Romans in the NT period → Beat, → Council, → Cross. On the penalties imposed in the early Christian communities in connexion with church discipline → Bind, → Destroy, art. *olethros*, → Open. *U. Falkenroth*

κόλασις | κολάζω (*kolazō*), punish; κόλασις (*kolasis*), punishment.

CL J. Schneider links the original meaning of *kolazō* with its etymology, i.e. to maim, cut off. "Punishment is designed to cut off what is bad or disorderly" (*TDNT* III 814). Both the noun and the vb. were fixed terms in Gk. sacral jurisprudence. In inscriptions there are references to the deity punishing violations of the cultic laws. Plato put forward the view that he who punishes aright does good, and that punishment is a blessing since it frees one from a false frame of soul (*Grg.* 476a ff.; cf. *TDNT* III 815).

OT The two terms occur chiefly in non-canonical literature. The vb. *kolazō* is without Heb. equivalent and is found in 1 Esd. 8:24; Wis. 3:4; 11:5, 8, 16; 12:14 f., 27; 14:10; 16:1, 9; 18:11, 22; Sir. 23:21; Dan. 6:13(12); 1 Macc. 7:7; 2 Macc. 6:14; 3 Macc. 3:26; 7:3, 14; 4 Macc. 2:11; 8:6; 18:5. *kolasis* stands for *mi̲kšôl*, cause of guilt, offence, in Ezek. 14:3, 4, 7; 18:30; 44:12. It is used in connexion with the vb. *kālam* in the niph., be put to shame, in Ezek. 43:11. It has no Heb. equivalent in Wis. 11:13; 16:2, 24; 19:4; Jer. 18:20; 2 Macc. 4:38; 3 Macc. 1:3; 4 Macc. 8:9; 13:7.

Philo distinguished between the beneficent power of God with which he made the world and which is called God, and the judicial power in virtue of which he rules what is created and which is called Lord (*Rer.Div.Her.* 166; cf. *TDNT* III 815 for further references). God's mercy is older than punishment (*Deus.Imm.* 76) and God prefers to forgive rather than to punish (*Spec.Leg.* 2, 196). Punishment is for those who will not listen to reason (*Agric.* 40). Both Josephus (e.g. *Ant.* 1, 60) and Philo speak of *kolasis* as divine retribution. For other instances in non-biblical literature see Arndt, 440. The idea of eternal punishment *kolasis aiōnios* is found in Test.Reub. 5:5.

NT Both words occur only twice each in the NT. The vb. is found in Acts 4:21 of the Jewish leaders' treatment of Peter and John: "And when they had further threatened them, they let them go, finding no way to punish them, because of the people; for all men praised God for what had happened." It is used of divine chastisement in 2 Pet. 2:9: "then the Lord knows how to rescue the godly from trial, and to keep the unrighteous under punishment until the day of judgment."

The noun occurs in 1 Jn. 4:18: "There is no fear in love, but perfect love casts out fear. For fear has to do with punishment, and he who fears is not perfected in love." Schneider takes this to mean that "the man who lives in fear (before God) is already punished by this fear. His fear is his punishment" (*TDNT* III 817). He notes, however, that most commentators do not take it in this way. Rather, the meaning would seem to be that continued existence in fear is a sign of an inadequate relationship with God which is meant to exist on the plane of love. The love in question is both God's love for us and ours for him and the brethren (cf. v. 19 with 2:9 ff.; 3:11–18; 4:7–12). When men live on that level, they have "confidence for the day of judgment" (v. 17).

Matt. 25:46 raises the question of eternal punishment. At the end of the parable of the sheep and the goats the Lord separates the blessed, who manifested their righteousness in practical love, from the cursed who failed to do so, not recognizing the *incognito* presence of Christ in the needy brethren. "Then he will say to those

at his left hand, 'Depart from me, you cursed, into the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels. . . .' And they will go away into eternal punishment [*eis kolasin aiōnion*], but the righteous into eternal life [*eis zoēn aiōnion*]" (Matt. 25:41, 46). The passage has often been cited in support of the doctrine of endless torment. But it may be questioned whether it implies more than the finality of judgment. The term eternal has both qualitative and quantitative overtones (→ Time, art. *aiōn*). Jesus did not teach, like Plato and others, that the → soul was intrinsically immortal and that it would necessarily go on after death. References to the eternal → fire (Matt. 18:8; cf. Mk. 9:43–48; Jude 7) are necessarily figurative.

In attempting to determine the meaning of such passages, attention needs to be paid to semantics and the philosophical analysis of the structure and function of language. The words "life" and "judgment" are what I. T. Ramsey called *models* which describe something in familiar terms which is, in fact, not capable of being described in a purely literal way. For although eternal can be entered into now, its future character lies hidden beyond this life. The word "eternal" is what Ramsey termed a *qualifier* which serves as a directive to understand the model in a special way (*Religious Language: An Empirical Placing of Theological Phrases*, 1957, 61 f.; cf. also *Freedom and Immortality*, 1960, 91–148). The qualifier is not simply a literal description of the noun but a reminder that it is being used in a non-literal sense (cf. such phrases as "heavenly Father", "infinite love"). Similarly the phrase "eternal sin" (Mk. 3:29) does not mean an endless sin but one which has dimensions and ramifications beyond the present life.

Eternal → judgment is referred to in Heb. 6:2 and 2 Thess. 1:9. This, like the idea of eternal fire, does not necessarily imply that those concerned go on being judged or continue to be consumed. If the metaphor of fire is to be pressed at all, it would imply that the fire of righteousness continues to burn, but that what is consumed once is consumed for good (cf. also Paul's observation about works being consumed by fire, 1 Cor. 3:15). Rev. 20:10 speaks of the beast and false prophet tormented for ever in the lake of fire into which are also cast Death, Hades and anyone whose name is not in "the book of life" (Rev. 20:14 f.). The latter passage suggests that the lake of fire is not the same as → hell. For the author of Rev., all "dogs and sorcerers and fornicators and murderers and idolaters, and every one who loves and practises falsehood" are excluded from the new Jerusalem (Rev. 22:15). The parable of the rich man and Lazarus (Lk. 16:19–31) pictures the rich man's conscious awareness of torment in the after-life (for discussion see J. D. M. Derrett, "Dives and Lazarus and the Preceding Sayings", in *Law in the New Testament*, 1970, 78–99). In interpreting this parable it has to be decided whether the parable is intended to teach the conscious ongoing torment of the unrighteous or whether the point is: *if only* the unrighteous could return to life, they would testify to the tragic mistake that they have made, which has led to their eternal rejection, but as it is, people have sufficient warning in the law and the prophets.

C. Brown

→ Anger, → Beat, → Council, → Cross, → Death, → Destroy, → Discipline, → Divorce, → Hell, → Judgment, → Life, → Might, → Present, → Resurrection, → Time.

(a). A. Alt, "The Origins of Israelite Law", in *Essays on Old Testament History and Religion*, 1966, 79–132; G. L. Archer, "Crimes and Punishments" (*ZPEB* I 1030–36); B. F. C. Atkinson, *Life*

and Immortality: An Examination of the Nature and Meaning of Life and Death as they are Revealed in the Scriptures, 1969; J. Baillie, *And the Life Everlasting*, 1934; L. Boettner, *Immortality*, 1956; H. Buis, *The Doctrine of Eternal Punishment*, 1956; and "Punishment, Everlasting", *ZPEB* IV 954–57; H. B. Clark, *Biblical Law*, 1944²; O. Cullmann, *The State in the New Testament*, 1957; and *Immortality of the Soul or Resurrection of the Dead?*, 1958; R. B. Girdlestone, *Dies Irae: The Judgment of the Great Day, Viewed in the Light of Scripture and Conscience*, 1869; H. E. Guillebaud *The Righteous Judge: A Study of the Biblical Doctrine of Everlasting Punishment*, 1964; M. Hengel, *Crucifixion in the Ancient World and the Folly of the Message of the Cross*, 1977; M. Horbery, *An Enquiry into the Scripture Doctrine concerning the Duration of Future Punishment*, 1744; J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus: An Investigation into Economic and Social Conditions during the New Testament Period*, 1969; J. H. Leckie, *The World to Come and Final Destiny*, 1922²; C. S. Lewis, "The Humanitarian Theory of Punishment", *The Churchman* 78, 1959, 55–60; W. Lillie, "Towards a Biblical Doctrine of Punishment", *SJT* 21, 1968, 449–61; G. E. Mendenhall, *Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East*, 1955; A. Phillips, *Ancient Israel's Criminal Law: A New Approach to the Decalogue*, 1970; J. A. T. Robinson, *In the End God*, 1968²; S. D. F. Salmond, *The Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, 1903⁵; J. Schneider, *kolazō* etc., *TDNT* III 814–17; G. Schrenk, *dikē*, *TDNT* II 178–82; and *ekdikeō* etc., *TDNT* II 442–46; A. N. Sherwin-White, *Roman Society and Roman Law in the New Testament*, 1963²; V. F. Storr, *Christianity and Immortality*, 1918; R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions*, 1961, 143–63.
(b). J. Blinzler, "Die Strafe für Ehebruch in Bibel und Halacha", *NTS* 4, 1957–8, 32–47; H. Gollwitzer, "Das Wesen der Strafe in theologischer Sicht", *EvTh* 24, 1964, 195 ff.; E. Käsemann, "Römer 13 in unserer Generation", *ZTK* 56, 1959, 16 ff.; A. Strobel, "Zum Verständnis von Röm. 13", *ZNW* 47, 1956, 67 ff.

Pure, Clean

The study of religions reveals a widely held view that the world is divided into areas of purity and impurity; cf. the corresponding distinction between sacred (→ Holy) and profane. Through a process of purification, originally of a cultic and ritual nature, separation can be effected from areas of impurity (e.g. dirt, disease) and unclean powers (e.g. foreign gods, demons, or one's own sin), so as to achieve the state of purity needed for participation in the cult or enjoyment of the blessing of God. The Gk. language has two adjectives signifying purity: *hagnos* and *katharos*. *hagnos* is a word originally connected with a root meaning holy; it signifies a qualitative holiness or purity belonging to the deity and the associated things or persons (cultic objects and officials). More common are *katharos* and its cognates, indicating cultic, physical or moral cleanliness in persons and things. In the NT words from both roots are found in a specifically limited and usually metaphorical sense.

ἁγνός

ἁγνός (*hagnos*), pure, holy; ἁγνίζω (*hagnizō*), purify; ἁγνεία (*hagneia*), purity, chastity, propriety; ἁγνισμός (*hagnismos*), purification; ἁγνότης (*hagnotēs*), purity, sincerity.

CL *hagnos*, adj. from the vb. *hazomai* which is in turn derived from* *hagiomai*, to stand in awe of someone, originally meant that which inspires (religious) awe, tabu (→ Godliness, art. *sebomai*). In secular Gk. usage *hagnos* is found from Homer onwards. In religious language it is primarily an attribute of deity; then it refers to things having some relation to the deity. It thus comes to mean holy, in the sense of pure. Ritual purity is in mind here, e.g. avoidance of blood-guilt, touching corpses. Since to the primitive mind sexual intercourse also makes a person

ritually unclean, *hagnos* came to mean chaste. The originally cultic, religious term was then transferred to the sphere of morality, and is frequently used in the Hellenistic period in the sense of innocent, morally faultless. It is also used as a compliment for faultless execution of office. From *hagnos* are derived the vb. *hagnizō*, to purify (by means of expiatory rites), first found in Soph., and the cognate noun *hagnismos*, purification. Both terms are limited to the cultic sphere. *hagneia*, a noun derived from *hagnos*, is likewise found first in Soph., and is used of cultic purity, chastity, purity of mind. Another noun derived from *hagnos* is *hagnotēs*, which is unknown outside the NT and means purity, moral blamelessness.

OT 1. In the LXX *hagnos* is rare (11 examples), since the word normally used for cultic purity is → *katharos*. *hagnos* translates the Heb. *ṭāhôr*, ritually pure, and *zaḵ*, morally upright. In distinction from *hagios* (Heb. *qāḏôš*, set apart for God, appropriate to God, → holy), and *katharos*, which refers to both cultic and ethical purity, the particular nuance of *hagnos* is one of integrity: e.g. Ps. 12:6, "The promises of the Lord are promises that are pure" (cf. Ps. 19:8); Prov. 20:9, "Who can say, I have made my heart clean; I am pure from my sin?" (cf. Prov. 15:26; 21:8). It is significant that *hagnos* is found chiefly in the Wisdom Literature.

2. More common in the LXX is the vb. *hagnizō*, which describes the measures taken to achieve eligibility for the cult. Whereas *hagios* (→ holy) always includes the thought of the power and might of that which is holy, *hagnizō* expresses consistently the removal of what is not seemly (e.g. Exod. 19:10, washing of garments; Num. 6:3, abstinence from alcohol), especially in the sense, to purify oneself from sin or uncleanness (hith. of *ḥāṭā'*, e.g. Num. 8:21; 19:12). *hagneia* also refers in the OT (Num. 6:2–21, law of the Nazirite; 2 Chr. 30:19, sanctuary) and Apoc. (1 Macc. 14:36, temple) to ritual purity.

NT 1. In the NT only *hagnizō* and *hagnismos* (only at Acts 21:26) occur in their proper meaning, ritual purification: once in connexion with the Jews before the Passover (Jn. 11:55); later when Paul takes a vow in Jerusalem (Acts 21:24–26; 24:18). In Jas. 4:8; 1 Pet. 1:22; 1 Jn. 3:3, on the other hand, *hagnizō* refers to moral purification. *hagnos* is lacking in the Gospels, Heb. and Rev. altogether; it is found only in the epistles, where Hellenistic influence is noticeable. It means: (a) chaste (2 Cor. 11:2; Tit. 2:5); (b) innocent with regard to something (2 Cor. 7:11); (c) morally pure, upright: said of Christ (1 Jn. 3:3); in respect of a Christian's behaviour (1 Tim. 5:22; 1 Pet. 3:2; Phil. 4:8); as an attribute of wisdom (Jas. 3:17). The adv. *hagnōs* refers to sincerity in Christian service (Phil. 1:17); the noun *hagneia* to moral purity and blamelessness (1 Tim. 4:12; 5:2).

2. This survey of the occurrence and meaning of this root in the NT shows that the original significance, i.e. ritual purity, no longer has a great part to play. This is understandable, since it was only the Jewish Christian community in Jerusalem which clung to the temple cult and therefore had to observe the ordinances connected with it (Acts 3:1; 21:18–26). To all the Gentile churches, ritual purification probably meant nothing, for nowhere in the NT – apart from the apostolic decree (Acts 14:28–29), which was intended to make it possible for Gentile and Jewish Christians to live together in mixed churches – are cultic regulations for Christians to be found. The concept of purification gains however a new meaning, for the term is used to express the moral purity which is demanded in the behaviour of

Christians. Here the starting point is the fact that Christ is *hagnos*, pure, i.e. without sin (1 Jn. 3:3). Because he is pure, those who belong to him should also be pure. Through his unique sacrificial death Christ has not only made the normal sacrifices of the temple cult unnecessary, but he has also exposed their real meaning. It is a similar situation with the purity which he gives his own. It is more than ritual purity. Purity and integrity are, moreover, not merely human virtues: they indicate the relation of a person to God. Therefore this term is no longer used of sexual purity or abstinence. The NT term for that is *enkrateia* (→ Discipline).

H. Baltensweiler

καθαρός

καθαρός (*katharos*), clean, pure; καθαίρω (*kathairō*), to clean, make clean; ἐκκαθαίρω (*ekkathairō*), clean out; καθαρίζω (*katharizō*), cleanse, purify; καθαρότης (*katharotēs*), cleanness, purity; καθαρισμός (*katharismos*), cleansing; ἀκάθαρτος (*akathartos*), unclean; ἀκαθαρσία (*akatharsia*), uncleanness; περικάθαρμα (*perikatharma*), refuse, offscouring.

CL The family of words which go with *katharos* embraces the realms of physical, cultic and ethical purity.

1. The adj. *katharos* (derivation obscure, probably nothing to do with Latin *castus*) is common from Homer onwards, and means: (a) originally, clean, in a physical sense as opposed to *rhyparos* = dirty (e.g. pure, clean water, Eur. *Hippolytus* 209); (b) clean, in the sense of free, without things which come between, as opposed to *plērēs* or *mestos*, full (e.g. *en katharō*, Homer *Il.* 23, 61); (c) ritually clean, as opposed to *akathartos*, unclean; (d) in a religious sense, morally pure (e.g. *katharos adikias*, Plato, *Republic* 6, 496d; *katharos cheiras*, Hdt., 1, 35).

The cognate vb. *kathairō* meant originally to clean, sweep, cleanse (Diod.Sic. 19, 13, 4); in the Koine it means to clean (in the NT only at Jn. 15:2). The compound vb. *ekkathairō* (Homer) expresses an intensification of the primary meaning; to sweep out, cleanse thoroughly (e.g. Hdt. 2, 68; in the NT, 1 Cor. 5:7; with an accusative of the one cleansed, 2 Tim. 2:21). More common is the later Hellenistic vb. *katharizō*, to cleanse, in physical, ritual or religious sense (e.g. Josephus, *Ant.* 10, 70, to purify the land).

The noun *katharotēs* goes back to cl. Gk. (Xen., *Mem.* 2, 1, 22; Plato, *Laws*, 778c), and means cleanness, in both literal and figurative senses. The later Hellenistic term *katharismos*, which replaces the Attic *katharmos*, is found first as a technical term in agriculture, and then generally in the sense of physical or ritual cleaning (Michigan Papyri 185, 16).

The negative terms formed by the addition of alpha-privative, i.e the adj. *akathartos* and the noun *akatharsia*, refer to the whole realm of uncleanness, ranging from menstruation to moral pollution through wrongdoing (cf. Plutarch, *De Placitis Philosophorum* 5, 6; Plato, *Laws* 4, 716e). *perikatharma*, a substantival form from *perikathairō*, to clean all round, from every side, refers to what is removed in a thorough clean-up. It means dirt, refuse (Epict. 3, 22, 78; in the NT only at 1 Cor. 4:13, offscouring of the world; → Dirt).

2. In Gk. religion the system of purificatory and expiatory rites had nothing to do with penitence for sin or an inward purification of the heart. It was concerned rather with the warding off of demonic spirits, which wandered round about, by

means of exorcism and ritual acts. It thus had an apotropaic function. A woman after childbirth, and also her child, were unclean. So too was a dead person. Those who touched them must therefore undergo purification, which removed the uncleanness which had come from without. A person who shed blood, even if he had done so in the course of executing justice, had to be cleansed. The blood of an → animal was poured over the hands of the person who had become unclean, so banishing death by death, i.e. by the substitutionary sacrifice of an animal. Later these rites, which had affected the whole of people's ordinary and religious life, were given a deeper, ethical meaning. The credit for this goes to the Orphics and Pythagoreans, but above all to the mystery religions and the philosophers. This transformation in the concept of purity may be seen from the inscription on the temple of Asclepius at Epidaurus: "Let only the pure cross the threshold of the fragrant temple: and no one is pure, save he who has holy thoughts." A person who was initiated was called *kekatharmenos* (Plato, *Phaedo* 69c).

The Delphic oracle had a great influence. Not only was it responsible for purification in cases of murder; quite apart from this, the spirit of Delphi, which inspired the whole life of Greece, led to a relaxation and deeper interpretation of the old purificatory rites (cf. T. von Scheffer, *Hellenistische Mysterien und Orakel*, 1940, 139; → Prophet CL). It was a liberating spirit, a spirit of moderation, that went out from Delphi. It is typified by the third of the old inscriptions which adorn the Temple of Apollo at Delphi: along with *gnōthi seauton*, "Know thyself", and *mēden agan*, "Nothing overmuch", are the words *metanoei hamartōn*, "Repent [i.e. get a new spirit] if you have sinned" (cf. R. Pfeiffer, "The Image of the Delian Apollo and Apolline Ethics", *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 15, 1952, 20 f.).

3. The concept "pure" and its opposite "impure" are woven into the history of all religions. In primitive culture there is the idea of a supernatural force (*tabu*), possessing dangerous powers which are conceived in material terms and thought to be transferable by physical contact. In particular, → birth, → death, and sexual processes (discharges, menstruation, intercourse) are associated with the power-charged tabu, making subsequent purification necessary where there has been contact with them. As religions developed, this supernatural force came to be seen not only as a threat, but also as a friendly deity. A person wishing to approach the deity must be careful not to offend the latter by uncleanness which contradicts its nature. This is how the demand arose for cultic purification. The priest must undertake purificatory rites, removed and washing away what is unclean, in order to free the individual from the evil and demonic influences which constantly threaten him and cause him anxiety. Not until later was purity conceived in an inward sense, with the result that it was freed from ritual and linked instead to morality, so gaining an ethical character. In the comparative study of religions, however, the general rule is that purificatory rites are divorced from ethics, and this may be traced throughout the whole range of world religions.

OT 1. In the LXX *katharos* renders 18 different Heb. equivalents, but by far the most frequent is *ṭāhôr*, in the sense of ritual purity. Occasionally the LXX also translates the Heb. *nāqî*, pure, innocent (Job 4:7), and *zāḵaḵ*, to be bright, pure, innocent (Job 15:15) by *katharos*. The negative adj. *akathartos* corresponds to *ṭāmē'*, the noun *akatharsia* to *ṭum'âh*, both principally in the sense of ritual

impurity (e.g. Lev. 5:3; 15:24). *katharizō* is the equivalent of the qal and piel of *ṭāhar* (Lev. 12:7, 8), and sometimes also of the piel of *ḥāṭā'* (Lev. 8:15). *katharizō* can thus also be used as a synonym for *exhilaskesthai*, to atone (Lev. 16:30). The majority of references to purity and impurity are widely thought to come from relatively late texts, viz. the Priestly writer and the prophet Ezekiel with his background in priestly circles. But this does not preclude the possibility that the distinction between clean and unclean goes back to a very early period. Within the same realm of ideas are the concepts of → holy (Heb. *qāḏôš*; LXX *hagios*), and profane (Heb. *ḥōl*; LXX *koinos*; → Fellowship, art. *koinōnia*).

2. In the OT also purity and impurity are spoken of chiefly in a cultic sense. The distinction between them is inseparably connected with Israel's belief in Yahweh. It is grounded on the presupposition that uncleanness and Yahweh are irreconcilable opposites. Purity is therefore regarded, as a rule tacitly, as the norm, qualifying one to take part in the cultus; impurity is inimical to Yahweh and separates one from worship and from God's people, so that it must be opposed and purged out as an abomination (Lev. 7:19 f.). This distinction can be described as the pre-ethical foundation of the cultic and secular life of Israel.

(a) It begins with the person himself. Diseases, especially → leprosy, render him unclean. One of the duties of the priests is to pronounce a person who has contracted leprosy either clean or unclean by means of the so-called declaratory formulae (e.g. Lev. 13:17, 44). Here the close association between sin and disease in the faith of Israel finds expression. Likewise sexual processes are regarded as making a person unclean (emission of semen, Lev. 15:16; menstruation, Lev. 15:19; unhealthy discharges, Lev. 15:2, 25; intercourse, 1 Sam. 21:5 f.; adultery, Lev. 18:20; rape, Gen. 34:5; homosexuality, Lev. 18:22; and other sexual aberrations, Lev. 18:6 ff.). These regulations are directed in particular against the sexual practices of the Canaanites. A dead body is unclean in the highest degree; its uncleanness is transferred to every person who is present and also to open vessels (Num. 19:14 f.). Whereas in general, cleansing with clear water is sufficient, in cases of defilement by contact with a dead body special cleansing water, previously mixed with the ashes of a red heifer, is necessary (Num. 19). This practice expresses Israel's decisive rejection of all forms of a cult of the dead, as found in the religions round about.

(b) Lev. 11 presents a catalogue of clean and unclean → animals, which may or may not be eaten. The purpose of this distinction is to guard against animal worship (which was occasionally practised in the Northern Kingdom, 1 Ki. 12:28 ff.), to show Israel's rejection of animals symbolizing foreign religions (e.g. the pig in the Adonis-Tammuz cult), and to formulate health regulations. Foreign territory is likewise regarded as unclean, since foreign gods are worshipped there (Amos 7:17). Even Israel's own land and his temple can be defiled by idolatry (Jer. 2:7; 7:30). The temple, the altar and the most holy place, as the abodes of Yahweh, are the places of greatest purity and sanctity; because of the uncleanness of the Israelites, they need regular purification by the ritual of atonement (Lev. 16).

(c) Even the prophets, with the occasional polemic against the cult, do not abandon the distinction between clean and unclean. They extend and spiritualize the cultic concepts, for in criticizing cultic abuses they introduce a concept of purity which has to do with people and their behaviour (Jer. 2:23; Isa. 6:5). The

concept of impurity thus approaches those of → guilt and → sin (Jer. 33:8; Ezek. 39:24; cf. Ps. 51).

Thus when the OT distinguishes between clean and unclean, it is far from being concerned merely with cold, legalistic superficialities. Rather, we have here evidence of the dynamic struggle of the Yahweh religion, as it sought to establish itself in the face of rivals constantly appearing in the cultic world of Israel and her neighbours. "It is precisely in this grasp of the material side of life by the cultic sphere that Jahweh's urgent will to be immanent comes to expression, a will which is wholly unsatisfied with Israel's spirituality" (G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, I, 1962, 279).

3. It was left to late Judaism to surround the laws of purity with a multitude of casuistic and sometimes grotesque prohibitions and commands, which made the regulations into a law which was hard to fulfil. A → Pharisee was defiled even by sitting on the clothes of one of the "people of the land" (*'am hā'āreṣ*), who could not read the Torah (Hagigah 2:7).

The commonest act of ritual purification was the washing of the hands before the blessing at a meal (cf. Jn. 2:6; Mk. 7:3 f.). The requirement of hand-washing applied also to the hours of prayer (→ Baptism; → Hand). According to Rabbi Johanan (*c.* A.D. 250), the recitation of the Shema must be done as follows to be perfectly correct: one must relieve oneself, wash one's hands over it, put on one's phylacteries (the small cases containing parchment rolls on which were written the passages Exod. 13:1–10; 11–16; Deut. 6:4–9; 11:13–21), and then speak and pray the "Hear, O Israel" (R. Meyer, *TDNT* III 421 f.; → Command; → Hear).

The regulations about purity were meant as a guide for life, but they became a heavy burden. Certainly there can be found in Judaism the development of a spiritual and ethical view of purity, e.g., when Rabbi Meir (*c.* A.D. 150) says, "Cleanse and sanctify yourself from every sin and fault" (Berakoth 17a). But this and similar sayings were unable to check the development of a legalistic system of casuistry.

4. The Essenes were even stricter than the Pharisees on matters of purity and purification. Since they regarded themselves as the priestly, redemptive community of the end-time, they made the rules for the priests, particularly those regarding purity, binding on the whole community. Daily immersion was practised in the water-pools which have been uncovered in the excavations of the ruins at Qumran. If a person offended in some way against the rules of the community he was excluded temporarily or permanently from the purity of the many (i.e. the whole community) (e.g. 1QS 6:16 f., 25; 7:3, 16). At the same time, however, fig. language is used when an individual gives thanks that God has cleansed him from sin (1QS 3:4–12; 4:20 f.). (For further discussion see A. R. C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning*, 1966, especially 141 f., 191 f.)

NT In the NT *katharos* and its cognates occur in nearly all the writings. Instances are rather more common in the Synoptic Gospels, Heb. and the Pastoral Epistles than elsewhere. Paul seldom uses the words. On the whole, references to purity are not so frequent as, for instance, those to words derived from *hagios*, → holy. It is not possible without bias to speak of a unifying concept of purity in the NT. Here too we find *katharos* used in the physical (e.g. Rev. 15:6), cultic (e.g.

Matt. 8:2–4; Lk. 17:14) and spiritual (e.g. Matt. 5:8) senses. However, the concept of purity did acquire a new character through the preaching and person of Jesus.

1. (a) Jesus developed his doctrine of purity in the struggle against Pharisaism. In Matt. 23:25 f. he rejects the observance of ritual regulations on the ground that this kind of purity is merely external. Behind the practices of the Pharisees lurks the misguided notion that uncleanness coming in a concrete form from outside can defile a person (Matt. 15:11, 16 f. par. Mk. 7:15, 18). The opposite is true: "The things which come out of a man are what defile him" (Mk. 7:15, 20 par.). For from within, out of the heart of man, come evil thoughts, murder, wickedness, fornication, foolishness etc. (Mk. 7:21–23). Jesus countered the Pharisaic emphasis on cleansing the hands with a demand for purity of heart, as expressed in the sixth Beatitude: "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God" (Matt. 5:8). "In Ps. 24.3 f. access to God's presence during Temple worship is for him who has 'clean hands and a pure heart'. These are the spiritually 'pure', not the ritually or ceremonially clean. To 'see God' is a pictorial expression indicating the bliss of fellowship with God in the Kingdom (cf. Ps. 17.15; 42.3; 4 Ezra 7.98 – 'for they hasten to behold the face of him whom they served in life and from whom they are to receive their reward when glorified')" (D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew*, *New Century Bible*, 1972, 113). For the pure love of Jesus, i.e. the love which surrenders itself fully to God and to other men, there are no longer any unclean foods (Mk. 7:19c). Jesus sat down at table with tax collectors and sinners (Mk. 2:13–17). He did not repel the lepers, but healed them (Lk. 17:11–19). He talked to → Samaritans (Lk. 17:19c) and even Gentiles (Matt. 8:5–13; 15:21–28; → Greek; → People). This does not mean that Jesus annulled the purity regulations of the Torah (cf. e.g. Lk. 17:14–17). But in removing the dividing barriers of the ceremonial law, and turning the Pharisaic concept of purity on its head by demanding purity of heart and of character, he broke through the innermost essence of Judaism and left it behind him (cf. E. Käsemann, *Essays on New Testament Themes*, *SBT* 41, 1964, 39 f.).

(b) For the Christian community at Jerusalem, at least, it was a very difficult matter to bring themselves to step across the barriers which Jesus had broken down; for as Jewish Christians they held on at first to the ceremonial law and the temple cultus. This difficulty is illustrated by the story of the conversion of the centurion Cornelius as a result of Peter's preaching (Acts 10:1–11:18). In a vision Peter becomes aware of the invalidity of the outward distinction between clean and unclean, "What God has cleansed, you must not call common" (Acts 10:15). In the apostolic decree of the Jerusalem council, ritual requirements were laid upon the Gentile church at Antioch (Acts 15:29; → Noah on possible link with the "Noachian decrees"); but on the same occasion the view prevailed that God has made no distinction between Jews and Gentiles, but cleanses men's hearts by faith (Acts 15:9).

2. (a) Paul was the first to recognize clearly that Christ had brought about the end of the law, and that accordingly all cultic and ceremonial distinctions had become obsolete. In the controversy between the strong brethren and the weak, distinguished by their attitude to the eating of meat which had been used in heathen sacrifice, Paul comes down resolutely on the side of the strong: "Everything is

clean" (Rom. 14:20; cf. also Tit. 1:15; "To the pure [through faith] all things are pure"). For him the only reason for observing any kind of legalistic rules (e.g. religious festivals, Rom. 14:5; abstinence from alcohol, Rom. 14:21) is regard for the weaker brother. There is no longer any question of their having absolute validity.

(b) In the Johannine writings purity is brought into relation with the saving death of Jesus. In other words, it is given an explicit christological foundation: "The blood of Jesus his Son cleanses us from all sin" (1 Jn. 1:7; cf. 1:9). The story of the washing of the disciples' feet also shows that those who allow themselves to be served (as in baptism) by Jesus are clean (Jn. 13:10; cf. also Eph. 5:26). Purity is mediated by the word of Christ (Jn. 15:3). In Johannine thought, therefore, purity is not an ethical quality which a man must work for, but the outworking of the fact that the church belongs to Christ.

(c) The Epistle to the Hebrews interprets the death of Jesus with the help of OT ritual concepts, in order to demonstrate the superior quality of the new covenant over the old (Heb. 9:13–14). In contrast to the purification of the OT temple by sacrifice, repeated every year, which the writer interprets as an annual reminder of sin (10:1–4), the purification effected by the blood of Christ is valid once and for all. Moreover, it serves not only to bring outward purification, but rather cleansing from sin (1:3; 10:22). Like 1 Jn., Heb. links the concept of purity with that of → forgiveness (Heb. 9:22).

(d) It is not until the Pastoral and Catholic Epistles (especially Jas., 1 Pet.) that the concept of purity gains in part an ethical character. The Epistles to Timothy, in language formally similar to the preaching of Jesus, exhort to purity of heart and conscience (1 Tim. 1:5; 3:9; 2 Tim. 2:22). Meanwhile in content, the focus shifts from the person of Jesus to didactic instruction: "The aim of our charge is love that issues from a pure heart and a good conscience and sincere faith" (1 Tim. 1:5; cf. 1 Pet. 1:22).

The Epistle of James shows a certain tendency to return to a concept of purity already discarded by Paul and John, in that it describes self-denial in the face of a sinful world as pure and undefiled religion (Jas. 1:27). The nearest the NT comes to traditional Jewish thinking is in the Revelation, with its talk of purity in terms of physically clean linen garments (15:6; 19:8, 14) and the new Jerusalem of pure → gold (21:18, 21).

3. This survey of the history of these terms goes to show how variously, even in the NT, the purity which Jesus demanded, and which he conferred, was understood. Paul and John come nearest to showing its universal scope and liberating character; in the later writings a narrowing and moralizing tendency may be observed. The history of the concept demonstrates how the NT writers struggled to maintain an evangelical doctrine of purity, and how easy it is to fall back into a legalistic outlook. It is significant that in the NT comparatively little use is made of the idea of purity in preaching Christ or in Christian ethics. The preaching and teaching are dominated rather by key words like → discipleship, obedience (→ Hear, art. *hypakouō*), sanctification (→ Holy, art. *hagios*), or → love. Probably the concept of purity was not an appropriate image to convey the whole breadth of NT ethics, or even the preaching of Christ. All the more surprising and alarming is it, therefore, that in the course of the church's history there have again and again

been groups and sects which have taught that a rigorous and ascetic purity is a distinguishing mark of Christian faith, and which have often enough sought to impose this by laws and by compulsion. Frequently, like the Essenes, they have assumed the name of *katharoi*, pure ones. Their genealogy stretches from the church of Marcion, through the Montanists, Manichaeans and Donatists of the early church, the medieval Cathari, and the Anabaptist movement at the time of the Reformation, to radical groups in the Pietist movement (Voetius, Arnold) – to mention only the most important. They all have in common a view of purity, which is, generally speaking, nearer to the radical Judaism of the Pharisees or Essenes, than to the NT doctrine of purity as introduced by Christ. This development shows that in Christian proclamation the struggle between → law and → gospel must constantly be fought anew, in order that a Christ-centred doctrine of purity may be achieved, liberating rather than bringing legalism and anxiety to men.

H.-G. Link, J. Schattenmann

→ Animal, → Baptism, → Defile, → Demon, → Dirt, → Hand, → Head, → Heart, → Holy, → Leprosy, → Priest, → Sacrifice, → Sin

(a). J. B. Bauer, "Clean and Unclean", *EBT* I 118–21; G. W. Buchanan, "The Role of Purity in the Structure of the Essene Sect", *Revue de Qumrân* 15, 4, 1974, 397–406; C. H. Cave, "The Obedience of Unclean Spirits", *NTS* 11, 1964–65, 93–97; F. Hauck, *hagnos* etc., *TDNT* I 122 ff.; J. Jocz, "Clean", *ZPEB* I 884–87; A. R. C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning*, 1966; G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in its Essence and Manifestation*, 1964²; R. Meyer and F. Hauck, *katharos* etc., *TDNT* III 413–31; M. Noth, "The Laws in the Pentateuch: Their Assumptions and Meaning", in *The Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies*, 1966, 1–107; R. Pfeiffer, "The Image of the Delian Apollo and Apolline Ethics", *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, 15, 1952, 20 ff.; G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, I, 1962, 272–79; L. E. Toombs, "Clean and Unclean", *IDB* I 641–48; G. Wagner, *Pauline Baptism and the Pagan Mysteries*, 1967.

(b). J. Döller, *Die Reinheits- und Speisegesetze des Alten Testaments, Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen* 7, 2 f., 1917; R. Hink, R. Rendtorff, and E. Lohse, "Rein, Unrein", *RGG*³ V 939 ff.; K. Koch, "Reinigung, kultische", *EKL* III 576 ff.; W. Kornfeld, "Reine und unreine Tiere im Alten Testament", *Kairos* 7, 1965, 134–47; T. von Scheffer, *Hellenistische Mysterien und Orakel*, 1940; T. Wächter, *Reinheitsvorschriften im griechischen Kult, Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten* 9, 1, 1910.

Q

Quench

σβέννυμι

σβέννυμι (*sbennymi*), quench, extinguish, quell.

CL The underlying idea of the vb. is to extinguish by drowning with water, as opposed to smothering; to allay or subdue, the latter especially metaphorically. The vb. is of ancient origin, and is found from Homer onwards. It remained virtually unchanged in its basic meaning throughout the centuries. In the classical authors it means literally to put out, quell, quench, check (cf. Lat. *extinguere*). When applied to liquids, it means to dry up, evaporate. In the passive the term is used occasionally of people becoming extinct, while in medical literature it describes the disappearance of inflammation. These, however, are rather special uses of an otherwise well-understood term. In both voices *sbennymi* lent itself readily to metaphorical usage. In a late Gk. papyrus it means to wash out, erase.

OT In the LXX the term is found with its normal literal meaning, though metaphorical usage occurs in Cant. 8:7 (the quenching of love) and 4 Macc. 3:17 (the quenching of passion) and occasionally elsewhere. The common Heb. equivalent is *kāḇaḥ*, extinguish, quench (Lev. 6:5 f. [12 f.]; 2 Sam. 14:7; 21:17; 2 Ki. 22:17; 2 Chr. 29:7; 34:25; Amos 5:6; Isa. 1:31; 34:10; 42:3; 43:17; 66:24; Jer. 4:4; 7:20; 17:27; 21:12; Ezek. 21:3 f. [20:47 f.]; 32:7; Cant. 8:7). Occasionally it translates *dā'aḵ*, be extinguished (Job 18:5 f.; 21:17; Prov. 13:9; 20:20; 24:20; Isa. 43:17). In Job 30:8 it translates *nāḵā'*, be scourged out of. There is no Heb. equivalent in Lev. 9:2(9); Est. 4:17; Job 4:10; 16:15(16); 34:26; 40:12(7); Prov. 10:7; Wis. 2:3; 16:17; Isa. 42:4; Sir. 23:16; 28:12, 23; 3 Macc. 6:34; 4 Macc. 3:17; 9:20; 18:20. *šāḇar*, break, is used in Ps. 104(103):11, and *dā'aḵ* in Ps. 118(117):12, where the ET has quench, but neither verse has *sbennymi* in the LXX. In Josephus, *War* 7, 405, it is used of extinguishing fire.

NT *sbennymi* is used consistently in the NT in a literal sense (Matt. 12:20; 25:8; Mk. 9:48; Eph. 6:16; Heb. 11:34) and also in a metaphorical sense (1 Thess. 5:19).

In Eph. 6:16 the believer is urged to shelter behind an all-embracing → faith, so that he can deflect and extinguish all those evil temptations that would sear and consume the personality. The shield *(thyreos)* is the old wooden *scutum* familiar to the Romans, which protected most of the body. Its leather covering soaked in water effectively stopped and extinguished tow-headed darts dipped in pitch which were used as fiery missiles.

In 1 Thess. 5:19 the church is warned against any further quenching of the → Spirit, whose advent was marked by the likeness of fiery tongues (Acts 2:3; → Pen-

tecost), by behaviour which is contrary to Christ's will. The reference does not apply specifically to the cessation of speaking in tongues. "In v. 20 attention is directed to one particular gift, prophecy, but here the concern is more general: no gift of the Spirit is to be extinguished (*sbennyte*). The metaphor is especially vivid – the putting out of a flame or light – and is appropriate since 'fire' is associated with the Spirit (Mt. 3.11 = Lk. 3.16; Acts 2.3 f; 18:25; Rom. 12:11; 2 Tim. 1.6). If those who have been given gifts by the Spirit are either not allowed to exercise them within the community or what they say and do is ignored then in effect the fiery power and light of the Spirit is quenched and the church is not built up (I Cor. 14.26; cf. W. C. van Unnik, " 'Den Geist löschet nicht aus' (I Thessalonicher v. 19)", *NovT* 10, 1968, 255–69, for parallels from Hellenistic religion and culture)" (E. Best, *A Commentary on the First and Second Epistles to the Thessalonians, BNTC*, 1972, 238).

The expression "he will not break a bruised reed or quench a smouldering wick" is a quotation from Isa. 42:3 which occurs in the context of the application of the Servant Song of Isa. 42:1–4 to Jesus (Matt. 12:18:21). The passage shows that, "in refusing to quarrel with the Pharisees or to allow his Messiahship to be openly acknowledged, Jesus is the one who *will not wrangle or cry aloud*" (D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew, New Century Bible*, 1972, 214). For further discussion of this passage see B. Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic*, 1961, 144–52; K. Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew and its Use of the Old Testament, Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis* 20, 1967², 144–52; R. H. Gundry, *The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel, Supplements to NovT* 18, 1967, 110–16; → Serve. Commenting on the original meaning of the phrase in the context of Isa. 42, R. N. Whybray sees a contrast with the work of destruction of the earlier prophets. The Servant's work "will be to handle the *bruised reed* with great care and to keep the *dimly burning wick* from going out: that is, to nurture the remains of faith and hope among the exiles, by announcing the imminent arrival of Yahweh's universal rule" (*Isaiah 40–66, New Century Bible*, 1975, 73).

The description of → punishment in Mk. 9:48, "where their worm does not die, and the fire is not quenched", is taken from Isa. 66:24 which Whybray sees as an early description of eternal punishment (op. cit., 294). The passage also influenced Sir. 7:17 and Jdt. 16:17. The picture is taken from the Valley of Hinnom (→ Hell, art. *gehenna*) where human sacrifice had been offered during the monarchy (2 Ki. 23:10; Jer. 7:31; 32:35). Later it became the city's rubbish dump, and unclean corpses which could not be otherwise buried were burnt there or left to decompose. For rabbinic teaching on this see SB II 9 f.

The mention of the heroes of old who by faith "quenched raging fire" (Heb. 11:34) is probably an allusion to Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego who were delivered from the fiery furnace for refusing to worship Nebuchadnezzar's golden image (Dan. 3; → Miracle, art. *sēmeion*, OT 1 (c)). The readers of the epistle might also have to face a fiery ordeal in the near future (cf. the *pyrōsis* of 1 Pet. 4:12; cf. F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews, NLC*, 1964, 335). *R. K. Harrison, C. Brown*

ἄσβεστος

ἄσβεστος (*asbestos*), inextinguishable, that which is not or cannot be quenched.

CL The earliest secular sense was that of unquenchable, though Aeschylus extended the meaning to signify ceaseless. As a noun it was used by Dioscorides and others of unslaked lime, and subsequently of plaster. By the time of Pliny, the fire-proof asbestos fibres (*asbestus*) were being made into fire-resistant clothing which was known as *asbestinos*.

OT The adjective *asbestos* occurs once only in the LXX (Job 20:26), with some manuscript variations. It is not matched by any one word in the MT, the phrase *lō' nuppāḥ*, not blown upon, serving as the equivalent in Job 20:26.

NT *asbestos* is almost as rare in the NT as in the LXX, occurring three times only (Matt. 3:12; Mk. 9:43; Lk. 3:17). The Matthean and Lucan references quoted from part of the eschatological teaching of John the Baptist, while Mk. 9:43 refers to the unquenchable → fires of → hell. Fire was the most powerful destructive force known in the ancient world, and the NT use of *asbestos* implies utter and complete destruction of whatever is rejected by God as unsuitable or unworthy.

R. K. Harrison

→ Fire, → Hell, → Pentecost, → Prophet, → Spirit, → Word

(a). E. Best, *A Commentary on the First and Second Epistles to the Thessalonians, BNTC,* 1972; F. Foulkes, *The Epistle of Paul to the Ephesians, TC,* 1963; F. Lang, *sbennymi, TDNT* VII 165 ff.; R. A. Ward, *Commentary on 1 and 2 Thessalonians,* 1973.
(b). W. C. van Unnik, " 'Den Geist löschet nicht aus' (I Thessalonicher v. 19)", *NovT* 10, 1968, 255–69.

Quiet, Rest, Silence, Sound, Voice, Noise

ἡσυχία

ἡσυχία (*hēsychia*), quiet, quietness, rest, silence; ἡσυχάζω (*hēsychazō*), be quiet, be silent, rest; ἡσύχιος (*hēsychios*), quiet.

CL In non-biblical Greek *hēsychia* is used of the quietness of peace (as opposed to war) (Thucydides), relief from pain (Plato), a place of solitude (Xenophon), and the tranquillity of the philosopher who escapes from the turmoil of politics (Plato). Herodotus uses the adjective *hēsychios* to describe a disposition that is quiet. *hēsychazō* commonly denotes a cessation of speech, work or conflict, a calming of oneself, or the imposition of silence.

OT In the LXX *hēsychia* is used in reference to freedom from war (1 Chron. 4:40; 22:9), the stillness of night (Prov. 7:9), and tranquillity of life (Prov. 11:12; Ezek. 38:11; 1 Macc. 9:58). The vb. *hēsychazō* is often used of the peace that follows warfare (e.g. Jdg. 3:11, 30; 2 Ki. 22:20), also of refraining from speech (Neh. 5:8, Job 32:6), ceasing from a course of action (Job 32:1), relaxation (Job 37:8; Jer. 46[26]:27), or even culpable inaction (Jdg. 18:9).

NT 1. *Luke.* In the Lucan writings *hēsychazō* denotes abstention from work (Lk. 23:56), the cessation of an effort to convince (Acts 21:14), and the silencing of potential opposition (Lk. 14:4; Acts 11:18), while *hēsychia* in Acts 22:2 portrays the

silence that descended on the agitated Jerusalem crowd when they heard Paul address them in Aramaic, their native tongue.

2. *Paul.* In 1 Thess. 4:11 Paul exhorts the Thessalonians to aim at leading an unobtrusive life of tranquillity (*hēsychazein*), or, to reproduce his oxymoron, to make it their ambition to be free of (inordinate) ambition. Moreover, they are to avoid the disorderliness of → busybodies and to attend quietly (*meta hēsychias*, denoting an attendant disposition) to their business, and earn their own living (2 Thess. 3:12). Any eschatological excitement (cf. 2 Thess. 2:1–2) that produces corporate turmoil or individual laziness is here repudiated. And the Christian should pray for conditions that will permit "a quiet and tranquil [*hēsychion*] manner of life", a life free from outward disturbance and marked by inner tranquillity (1 Tim. 2:2).

The apostle enjoins → women to listen silently (*en hēsychia*) to the instruction given in the church and to show the necessary deference to their teachers (1 Tim. 2:11). The public exposition of scripture ("to teach") was outside a woman's proper domain of service (but cf. Tit. 2:3–5), as was any exercise of ecclesiastical authority over a man. In the church she was to remain silent (*einai en hēsychia*) (1 Tim. 2:12).

3. *Peter.* Peter insists that a woman's adornment should not be external but inward, "the imperishable ornament of a gentle and quiet [*hēsychiou*] spirit" (1 Pet. 3:4), a spirit which calmly bears the disturbances created by others and which itself does not create disturbances.

M. J. Harris

ἦχος

ἦχος (*ēchos*), sound, noise, report; ἠχέω (*ēcheō*), make a sound.

CL In secular Greek *ēchos* (a later form of *ēchē* and closely related to *ēcheō* in meaning) denotes the sound of words (as opposed to their meaning) or of letters or of a voice. It can, like *ēcheō*, be used of an echo (Aristotle) and, in a technical medical sense, of ringing noises in the ears (Hippocrates). The verb *ēcheō* may describe the clanging of a metal shield (Herodotus) or the chirp of a grasshopper (Theocritus).

OT In the LXX *ēchos* occurs 23 times, rendering 4 different Heb. terms, and *ēcheō* 22 times, representing 6 Heb. words. Both terms generally denote inarticulate sounds such as the blast of the trumpet (Exod. 19:16 [*ḥāzāq*]; Ps. 150:3 [*tēqa'*]), the roaring of water (Ps. 46 [45]:3 [*hāmâh*]; Isa. 17:12 [*šā'âh*, niph.]), or the tumult of a city (Ruth 1:19 [*hûm*, niph.]; 1 Sam. 4:15 [no equivalent]; 1 Ki. 1:41 [*hāmâh*], 45 [*hûm*, niph.]).

NT 1. There are 4 NT uses of *ēchos*. It denotes the roaring of the sea and the waves (Lk. 21:25), a sound (*ēchos*) from the sky like a violent blast of wind (Acts 2:2), the → trumpet-blast (Heb. 12:19), and (metaphorically) a rumour that was spread throughout a region (Lk. 4:37).

2. 1 Cor. 13:1 contains the only NT use of *ēcheō*. Paul may be insisting that to exercise the gift of glossolalia without love (i.e. without an interpretation that enabled all to understand and benefit, cf. 1 Cor. 14:5–12, 19) was to be as unedifying as "a noisy [*ēchōn*] gong or a clanging cymbal" (RSV) that might be heard in pagan

worship. Or he may be making the more general observation that to have the gift of tongues but no Christian love amounted to nothing more than paganism.

M. J. Harris

φωνή

φωνή (*phōnē*), sound, noise, voice, language; φωνέω (*phōneō*), make a sound, call, summon.

CL To the Greeks *phōnē* signified an audible sound made by a living creature, and covered the whole range of animal noises or human sounds. As applied to man, it meant voice, speech (as articulate sound made by the voice) or statement (as significant speech). A deity was thought to have an extraordinary *phōnē* (cf. Acts 12:21–22). *phōneō*, on the other hand, may denote the sound produced by a musical instrument, as well as by man or animal.

OT In the LXX *phōnē* generally renders Heb. *qôl* which denotes any audible sound such as the clap of thunder (Exod. 19:16) or the twittering of birds (Ps. 104[103]:12), but not the organ of speech or speech itself. In several Psalms (e.g. Pss. 29[28]:3 f., 8; 104[103]:7) the creatorial and revelatory voice of God is described as thunder. To hear (i.e. obey) God's voice was the essence of covenantal religion (1 Sam. 12:14) and true religion (Jos. 24:19–24; → Hear, art. *akouō*). By the first century the rabbis had a developed view of the *baṯ qôl* ("daughter of a voice"), an echo of a heavenly voice that was audible on earth and proclaimed some divine oracle or judgment.

There are only 10 uses of *phōneō* in the LXX, the vb. being used of human speech (Ps. 115[113]:15; 3 Macc. 2:22), animal cries (Zeph. 2:14) and the trumpet-blast (Amos 3:6).

NT 1. As in the LXX, so in the NT *phōnē* describes any noise or sound, whatever its source (whether animate or inanimate); for example, the wailing of Rachel (Matt. 2:18), the rustling of wind (Jn. 3:8), the tumult of a crowd (Rev. 19:1).

2. Not all human voices sound alike (Jn. 3:29; Acts 12:14) and each person has more than one "tone of voice" (Gal. 4:20). Speaking "in a loud voice [*megalē phōnē*]" is not restricted to human beings (Lk. 23:23; Acts 7:57, 60; 14:10; 26:24) or the souls of martyrs (Rev. 6:9–10). Unclean spirits (Mk. 1:26; 5:7; Lk. 4:33, Acts 8:7), angels (Rev. 5:12; 14:7, 9), or the archangel (1 Thess. 4:16) may speak this way. Particularly noticeable is the close association of this idea with (a) the praise of God by angels (Rev. 5:11–12) or men (Lk. 17:15–16; 19:37–38; Rev. 7:9–10); (b) the power of Jesus to raise the dead (Jn. 11:43; cf. 5:25, 28–29) and his authority as the risen Son of man (Rev. 1:10–12, 15); (c) the death of Jesus (Matt. 27:46 par. Mk. 15:34; Matt. 27:50 par. Mk. 15:37; Lk. 23:46).

3. The "voice from heaven" that figures so prominently in Rev. (e.g. 1:10; 4:1; 10:8; 11:12) or that dialogues with Peter regarding Jewish food-laws (Acts 10:9–16) is distinguishable from the rabbinic Bath Qol by being generally identifiable as the personal voice of God (Rev. 16:17), Christ (Acts 10:13–14; 11:7–9), an → angel (Rev. 18:1–2) or some heavenly inhabitants (Rev. 11:15). Binding together the Synoptic records of the baptism (Matt. 3:13–17 par. Mk. 1:9–11, Lk. 3:21 f.) and the

transfiguration of Jesus (Matt. 17:1–8 par. Mk. 9:2–8, Lk. 9:28–36) is the reference to the voice "from heaven" (Mk. 1:11) or "from the cloud" (Mk. 9:7) that, like the Bath Qol, issues a public divine declaration that is audible on earth (Matt. 3:17; 17:5 par.; but note the "You are" of Mk. 1:11; Lk. 3:22; cf. Jn. 12:28). The words "my Son" in this messianic confirmation clearly indicate that the voice belongs to God the Father (→ Son of God).

4. For John, to → hear (i.e. heed) the voice of Jesus (Jn. 10:3, 16, 27; 18:37) was to gain eternal → life (Jn. 5:24–25; 6:68; 10:27–28).

5. Perhaps the solution to the apparent contradiction between Acts 9:7 and Acts 22:9 with regard to Paul's companions' hearing "the voice" during his encounter with the risen Christ outside Damascus is that in Acts 9:7 it was Paul's voice (not Christ's) they heard or that the genitive case *phōnēs* after *ākouō* ("hear") denotes hearing either without understanding (Acts 9:7) or with understanding (Acts 22:7), while the accusative case *phōnēn* describes only hearing with understanding (Acts 22:9; cf. 9:4; 26:14).

6, Not infrequently the content of a *phōnē* is a solemn declaration of confession of faith (Acts 13:27; 19:34; 22:14; 24:21; 2 Pet. 1:17).

7. The NT use of *phōneō* is restricted to the four Gospels, Acts and Rev. 14:18. In some cases (e.g. Lk. 8:8; 16:24; Acts 10:18) it is indistinguishable in meaning from *krazō* (→ "cry out"), especially when "in a loud voice" (*megalē phōnē*) is added (e.g. Mk. 1:26). On occasion it denotes an urgent request (Matt. 27:47 par. Mk. 15:35) or a powerful command (Lk. 8:54; Jn. 12:17), and not infrequently an authoritative summoning (e.g. Mk. 9:35; Lk. 16:2) or a polite invitation (e.g. Lk. 14:12; Jn. 1:48). In Palestine the cock would crow (*phōneō* expresses this in Matt. 26:34, 74 par. Mk. 14:30, 72; Lk. 22:34, 60) during the third watch (i.e. between midnight and 3 a.m.).

M. J. Harris

O. Betz, *phōnē* etc. *TDNT* IX 278–303; A. Marmorstein, *Studies in Jewish Theology*, 1950, 135 ff.; J. Schneider, *ēcheō*, *TDNT* II 954 f.

R

Rabbi

Rabbi was in NT times a title of respect given by the common man to the scribes and by a student to his teacher. Gradually it became a technical term for a man who had received ordination (*s*ᵉ*mîḵâh*), i.e. who had received authority to act as judge in religious matters. This was conferred on him by the laying on of hands. The use of the term ordination must not be understood to mean that he was in any sense a minister in the Christian sense; he was exclusively an authority on the law (Torah) as it had come to be understood in the synagogue. This ordination was practised only in Palestine and ceased in the 4th cent. From then on *s*ᵉ*mîḵâh* with the title of Rabbi has been conferred by the opinion of three rabbis that the person has adequate knowledge to expound the law.

ῥαββί

ῥαββί (*rhabbi*) (from Heb. *rabbî*, "my lord"), *ῥαββουνεί* (*rhabbounei*) (from Aram. *rabbûnî*), Rabbi, my master. On the alternative forms *rhabbi* and *rhabbei* see Funk § 38.

OT The Sem. *raḇ* means many or great. In the latter sense we find it both inside and outside Israel as a designation for chief officers (e.g. Jer. 41:1; 39:13; Dan. 1:3; Est. 1:8; Jon. 1:6, of a sea captain), and it has come down to us in the titles of certain Assyrian and Babylonian officials (e.g. 2 Ki. 18:17; Jer. 39:18).

NT 1. In NT times it was a title of respect for the scribes and their pupils, the Pharisees (Matt. 23:7, 8). John the Baptist's disciples addressed him by this title (Jn. 3:26). It is applied to Jesus a number of times: by Nicodemus (Jn. 3:2), by Nathanael (Jn. 1:49), by Peter (Mk. 9:5; 11:21), by Judas (Matt. 26:25, 49; Mk. 14:45); it is also used by disciples and others in Jn. 1:38; 4:3; 6:25; 9:2; 11:8. *rhabbounei* comes from the Aram. equivalent of *rhabbei*; it is found in the mouth of Bartimaeus (Mk. 10:51) and of Mary Magdalene (Jn. 20:16).

2. In the Gospels the commonest form of address for Jesus is *didaskale*, i.e. teacher (→ Teach); Luke uses the synonym *epistata* six times (Lk. 5:5; 8:24, 45; 9:33, 49; 17:13). Frequently he is called *kyrie*, i.e. → Lord. This is often no more than a mark of respect (e.g. Matt. 13:27). Since, however, in parallel passages in the Synoptics, it is used where the others have Teacher – the best example is Matt. 8:25 (*kyrie*), Mk. 4:38 (*didaskale*), Lk. 8:24 (*epistata*) – we are probably safe in assuming that where Jesus is called Lord it normally represents Rabbi. This title was normally avoided in Gk.-speaking circles as unfamiliar (cf. the translation in Jn. 20:16). In some contexts, however, it probably represents *mārî*, i.e. My Lord. This was another

title given to scholars. Behind "Teacher and Lord" in Jn. 13:13, 14 there lies *rabbî ûmārî*.

3. The argument is occasionally met that, since the use of the title Rabbi becomes normal only after the destruction of the temple, the NT usage is evidence of the late composition of the Gospels. The argument is baseless, for the technical use of Rabbi clearly derives from an earlier popular usage. *H. L. Ellison*

→ Law, → Pharisee, → Scribe

(a). S. W. Barron, *The Jewish Community*, I–III, 1942; M. M. Berman, *The Role of the Rabbi*, 1941; J. Bowker, *The Targums and Rabbinic Literature*, 1969, 40–92; J. Braydé *et al.*, "Rabbi", *Jewish Encyclopedia* X 294–97; G. H. Dalman, *The Words of Jesus, Considered in the Light of Post-Biblical Jewish Writings and the Aramaic Language*, 1902, 327 ff., 331–40; J. D. M. Derrett, *Jesus' Audience*, 1973; A. J. Feldmann, *The Rabbi and his Early Ministry*, 1941; A. Finkel, *The Pharisees and the Teacher of Nazareth*, 1964; L. Finkelstein, ed., *The Jews*, I–III, 1971; W. Foerster, *Palestinian Judaism in New Testament Times*, 1964, 170–75; J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus: An Investigation into Economic and Social Conditions During the New Testament Period*, 1969, 242–49; M. Kadushin, *The Rabbinic Mind*, 1952; E. Lohse, *rhabbi, rhabbouni*, *TDNT* VI 961–65, and *The New Testament Environment*, 1976, 115–20; C. G. Montefiore and H. Loewe, *A Rabbinic Anthology*, new edition 1974, 696–713; Moore, *Judaism*, III, 15 ff.; J. Neusner, " 'Pharisaic-Rabbinic' Judaism", *History of Religions* 12, 1972–73, 250–70; Schürer, II, 1, 315 ff.; A. Steinsaltz, *The Essential Talmud*, 1976; G. Vermes, *Jesus the Jew*, 1973, 113–28.

(b). E. Lohse, *Die Ordination im Spätjudentum und im Neuen Testament*, 1951; E. Nestle, "Rabbi", *ZNW* 7, 1906, 184; SB I 916 f.; G. Schrenk, "Rabbinische Charakterköpfe im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter", *Studien zu Paulus*, 1954, 9–45.

Ready, Prepare, Gird

The NT uses two different groups of words to convey the idea of preparing, equipping, being ready, or being resolved for something lying in the future. One is the group of words associated with *hetoimos*, the other the related vbs. *kataskeuazō* and *paraskeuazō*, derived from *skeuos*, vessel. As far as their meaning is concerned, the two groups cannot be clearly separated, except to say that *kataskeuazō* frequently brings out more strongly the idea of producing, making, constructing, while the *hetoimos* group refers to something already existing in a state befitting its purpose or use, or to the initiation of such a state. The same may be said of the *zōnnymi* group. The meaning of this word is very similar. Originally it meant to gird; hence, to make oneself ready to depart, to stand in readiness. The words dealt with in this article describe the state of readiness primarily in its outward aspect. The other side of the picture, concerned with the inner attitude of a person, is supplied by the words considered under the article on Guard, Keep, Watch. The distinction between these two groups of words is not clear-cut, and the dividing line is a fluid one.

ἕτοιμος

ἕτοιμος (*hetoimos*), ready, prepared; ἑτοίμως (*hetoimōs*), readily; ἑτοιμάζω (*hetoimazō*), get ready, hold in readiness; ἑτοιμασία (*hetoimasia*), state of readiness, preparation; προετοιμάζω (*prohetoimazō*), prepare beforehand.

CL "The clear meaning of this word group is preparation both in the active sense of 'making ready' and in the passive sense of 'readiness', 'ability' or 'resolution' "

(W. Grundmann, *TDNT* II 704). In classical Gk. it is not found in a religious sense, except that Homer (*Il.* 10, 571) uses it in connexion with sacrifice: *hiron hetoimassein.*

OT In the LXX the words serve chiefly to translate *kûn* (especially niph. and hiph.) and the principal meanings are to be firmly established, to establish, set up, make, prepare, get ready.

1. Though widely used in a secular sense, the words have a religious meaning, e.g. in connexion with the Passover (2 Chr. 35:4, 6, 14 f. LXX); sacrificial animals (Num. 23:1, 29); the ark (1 Chr. 15:1; 2 Chr. 1:4); the showbread (1 Chr. 9:32); the temple vessels (2 Chr. 29:19); the temple (2 Chr. 31:11); divine service (2 Chr. 35:16).

2. Besides this, the words are used for the all-embracing divine activity of creation, preparation, and establishing.

(a) God has established the heavens (Prov. 3:19; 8:27) and founded the earth (Jer. 28:15 LXX), founded the earth upon the rivers (Ps. 24[23]:2), and established the mountains (Ps. 65[64]:6). He prepares rain (Ps. 147[146]:8; cf. Job 38:25). His hands have made man (Ps. 119:73 LXX *v.l.*). He provides food for his creatures (Pss. 65[64]:9; 78[77]:20; Job 38:41), and concerns himself with their destiny (Gen. 24:14, 44).

(b) God's creation and providence extends also to his acts of salvation in history. He has established Israel to be his → people for ever (2 Sam. 7:24), and sworn that he will bring them into a land appointed for them (Exod. 23:20; Ezek. 20:6). Therefore, he creates food for them (Ps. 78[77]:19 f.), and despite their recurring unbelief and all their enemies, leads them into the sanctuary that his own hands have prepared (Exod. 15:17), prepared for everlasting glory (Sir. 49:12 LXX). Moreover, he sets up the kings of Israel and establishes their rule. If Saul had been obedient, the Lord would have established his kingdom for ever (1 Sam. 13:13), whereas David, who is appointed by him, is given the promise, "I will establish your descendants for ever" (Ps. 89[88]:4; cf. 2 Sam. 7:12; 1 Chr. 14:2; 17:11; 1 Ki. 2:24).

(c) God does all this because his faithfulness is established in the → heavens (Ps. 89[88]:2). There he has set up his throne from the beginning (Pss. 93[92]:2; 103[102]:19), a throne founded upon righteousness and justice (Ps. 89[88]:14). He has established it for → judgment (Ps. 9:7), and for the judgment day he has prepared a sacrifice (Zeph. 1:7 f.; cf. Isa. 30:33; 14:21).

3. The all-embracing work of God in creating and providing for his people does, however, demand self-preparation and readiness on man's part. The → people and → Moses are called upon to prepare themselves (ritually) for the revelation of God at Sinai (Exod. 19:10 f., 15; 34:2; cf. Num. 16:16 LXX). In the prophets Israel is challenged: "Prepare to meet your God" (Amos 4:12; cf. Mic. 6:8; 2 Chr. 27:6). This involves also the preparation of the → heart: "Those who fear the Lord will prepare their hearts" (Sir. 2:17 LXX; cf. Pss. 57[56]:7; 108[107]:1; 112[111]:7; Sir. 2:1; 18:23; Prov. 23:12 LXX).

NT 1. In the NT the noun *hetoimasia* occurs only once (Eph. 6:15), but the vbs. *hetoimazō* and *prohetoimazō* between them appear 43 times, and the adj. and adv. 20 times. All are relatively rare in the writings of Paul. When used with

reference to objects, the meaning corresponds exactly with that in the OT. It is noteworthy, however, that the words of this group are not used with reference to God's creation and providence in nature, and in a cultic setting only with reference to the Passover (Matt. 26:17, 19 par. Mk. 14:12, 16; Lk. 22:9, 13). Apart therefore from their wide use in a secular sense, they connote (a) God's activity of creating and providing in terms of the history of salvation; (b) man's self-preparation and readiness.

2. In his song of praise Simeon declared: "My eyes have seen thy salvation which thou hast prepared in the presence of all peoples" (Lk. 2:30 f.; cf. 3:6; Isa. 52:10). Yet the world is unable in its own light to recognize the salvation present and promised in Jesus: God has prepared it for those who love him (1 Cor. 2:9). It is his purpose, by his free elective grace "to make known the riches of his glory for the vessels of mercy, which he has prepared beforehand for glory" (Rom. 9:23). Jesus comforts his fearful disciples by saying, "I go to prepare a place for you" (Jn. 14:2 f.; but cf. Matt. 20:23 par. Mk. 10:39). So too Peter is able to encourage the Christians undergoing trials in Asia Minor by telling them that they "by God's power are guarded through faith for a salvation ready to be revealed in the last time" (1 Pet. 1:5). God's free mercy does not clash with, but rather forms the basis of, the doctrine that he is "ready to judge the living and the dead" (1 Pet. 4:5; cf. Matt. 25:34, 41). For the invitation "Come, for all is now ready" (Lk. 14:17; cf. Matt. 22:4, 8; and also Jn. 7:6 "Your time is always ready") has gone out, but many have proved unworthy. No one, however, has cause to glory in himself, "For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus for good works, which God prepared beforehand, that we should walk in them" (Eph. 2:10; cf. 2 Tim. 2:21).

3. To this sphere, which is marked out by God's work of preparation arising from his free elective choice (→ Elect), belong also the statements about man's self-preparation and readiness. The OT call, "In the wilderness prepare the way of the Lord" (Isa. 40:3; → Cry, art. *boaō*), is applied in the NT to John (Matt. 3:3 par. Mk. 1:3, Lk. 3:4; cf. Lk. 1:17, 76), who by his preaching of repentance prepared the way for the coming of the Lord to his people. The Lord who has come is also, however, the Lord who is to come. He will come like a thief in the night, like a bridegroom to the wedding. The church is therefore exhorted to be ready for his coming (Matt. 24:44 par. Lk. 12:40; cf. also Rev. 19:7; 21:2). Only those virgins who are ready when the bridegroom arrives will be let in (Matt. 25:10). The servant, who made nothing ready despite his knowledge of the master's will, stands condemned (Lk. 12:47). The church is therefore exhorted to be ready "for every good work" (Tit. 3:1), "to make a defence to anyone" (1 Pet. 3:15), and also "to punish every disobedience" (2 Cor. 10:6). This is not contradicted by the exhortation to be shod "with the equipment [*hetoimasia*, lit. "preparation"] of the gospel of peace" (Eph. 6:15). In this context Paul's declaration should also be noted, that he is ready not only to be imprisoned but even to die for the Lord Jesus at Jerusalem (Acts 21:13; cf. by contrast Lk. 22:33). 2 Cor. 12:14 refers to Paul's readiness to visit the Corinthians, despite his painful relations with them.

S. Solle

κατασκευάζω

κατασκευάζω (*kataskeuazō*), make ready, prepare, build, construct, erect, equip, furnish; παρασκευάζω (*paras-*

keuazō), get ready, prepare (oneself); *παρασκευή* (*paraskeuē*), day of preparation.

CL Classical writers from Hdt. onwards use both these compounds in passages relating to the setting up and decoration of rooms and festal routes (e.g. Lysias, Thuc.), or to preparations of various kinds, e.g. dressing, the preparation of a meal (only *paraskeuazō*), the building of a ship or preparation for battle on land or sea (e.g. Hdt., Xen.). *kataskeuazō* is also used in an inward sense, both in statements about the instruction of those who are learning, and concerning preparation for religious rituals (e.g. Aristotle, Josephus). Finally *kataskeuazō* is used in philosophical logic and geometry of the construction of positive arguments (Aristotle, Plutarch, Euclid).

OT 1. The LXX has *kataskeuazō* 30 times, of which 19 examples are in the Apocrypha. In Isa. 40:28; 43:7; 45:7, 9 the vb. refers to God's work of preparation in the sense of creation (in the Heb. text the terms are *bārā'*, create, and *yāṣar*, create, form, shape). It is found in the same sense 5 times in Wis., Bar., and 4 Macc. Equipping with arms and warships is mentioned particularly in 1 Macc. (3:29; 10:21; 15:3). The Apocrypha also uses *kataskeuazō* in connexion with the production of idols (Ep. Jer. 9, 45 f.; also in a LXX addition to Isa. 40:19).

2. *paraskeuazō* is found 16 times in the LXX. Jeremiah uses it in 6:4; 46(26):9; 50(27):42; 51(28):11 in connexion with preparing for battle. It is later used in reports of the preparation of a meal (Tob. 8:19; 2 Macc. 2:27; 6:21).

3. Otherwise the two vbs. are used of various activities of preparation: construction of a building (Num. 21:27; 2 Chr. 32:5); tilling a field (Prov. 24:27); spreading a net as a trap (Prov. 29:5). In 1 Sam. 24:3 *paraskeuazō* is used absolutely, clearly in a specialized sense, and is usually translated "relieved himself". The context would also allow the sense "to change".

NT In the NT, where the simple form *skeuazō* is lacking, *paraskeuazō* is found 4 times, always in a similar sense, and *kataskeuazō* 11 times.

1. In Acts 10:10 it refers to the preparation of a meal. In 1 Cor. 14:8, where the meaninglessness of speaking in tongues is compared with the indecision brought about if the battle trumpet makes an indistinct noise, we have the metaphor of preparation for battle. 2 Cor. 9:2 f. deals with the Christians in Achaia, who have "been ready since last year" to take the collection to Jerusalem (→ Poor, art. *ptōchos* NT 4). The next verse contains, in the same context, the adj. *aparaskeuastos*, which occurs nowhere else in the NT, and is here used of the possibility of "not being ready".

2. (a) *kataskeuazō* is used in 4 cases in connexion with sayings about John the Baptist's function as the preparer of the way: Matt. 11:10; Mk. 1:2; Lk. 1:17; 7:27 (→ Elijah). In each case Mal. 3:1 is cited (with echoes of Exod. 23:20 and Isa. 40:3, where → *hetoimazō* is used), though Mal. 3:1 does not place any emphasis on *kataskeuazō*. In Lk. 1:17 the context is also one dealing with the Baptist, but here the subject is his task "to make ready for the Lord a people prepared".

(b) The other NT examples of *kataskeuazō* (almost all in Heb.; see below) refer to the construction and furnishing of a building. In these contexts we can always detect an association in content with man's preparation for his meeting with God, as we also found in the examples from the Gospels. 1 Pet. 3:20 mentions (in connexion with

man's appropriation in baptism of the work of Jesus) the "preparation" of → Noah's ark.

Half of the NT examples of *kataskeuazō* are in Heb. The OT concept of God's all-embracing work of creation introduces the simile of the building of a house, and concludes that God has built everything (Heb. 3:3 f.). The underlying thought here is that of Christ as the builder of the church. The other places in Heb. where the word is used deal with building and furnishing according to a prescribed pattern: 11:7 speaks of Noah, building the ark in obedient faith, in order to prepare a way of escape. In a reflection similar to that found in the Synoptic Gospels, the word is here used of human preparation for God's saving act. The same is true of Heb. 9:2, 6: an exhaustive consideration of Christ's unique sacrifice is introduced in verses 1–10 by a description of the tabernacle, which was set up and furnished with all manner of contents according to strict instructions (→ Tent).

3. In secular Gk. *paraskeuē* is found in the general sense of preparation, but the NT uses the noun *paraskeuē* always as a temporal expression to indicate the "day of preparation" preceding a → Sabbath or Passover festival: Matt. 27:62; Mk. 15:42; Jn. 19:14, 31, 42. This suggests that in the NT, as in the OT, and in the same sense in all strands of the tradition, *paraskeuazō* and *kataskeuazō* are terms which have the sense of pointing to, preparing and equipping. They have the theological function of looking forward to God's saving activity towards man, which is introduced by a ministry of preparation having about it the flavour of Advent. *F. Thiele*

ζώννυμι

ζώννυμι (*zōnnymi*), gird; *ζώνη* (*zōnē*), girdle, belt; *διαζώννυμι* (*diazōnnymi*), tie or gird around; *περιζώννυμι* (*perizōnnymi*), gird with, gird around.

CL *zōnnymi* (Homer), gird (oneself or another); *diazōnnymi* (Thuc.), gird around, bind round oneself; and *perizōnnymi* (Aristophanes), gird around, bind round (oneself or another with something), are used in the act. and mid., and the compound forms also in the pass. The noin *zōnē*, girdle, is derived from *zōnnymi*. In classical usage *zōnē* is also found in the sense of a money belt or purse (cf. Mk. 6:8; → Bag).

OT Generally speaking the OT uses the words in the same way as classical Gk., but the words of this group represent a number of different Heb. terms. The girdle (*zōnē*), made of linen or leather, served to tuck in the long skirts of the robe, in order to give greater freedom of movement. Hence the putting on of a girdle acquired the particular meaning of making oneself ready to go (2 Ki. 4:29), and to lay aside one's girdle meant correspondingly to rest. A person in authority wore it as part of his finery (Isa. 22:21), an officer as his badge of rank. A richly embroidered girdle (Heb. *'abnēṭ*) formed part of the vestments of the high priest (Exod. 28:4, 39[35], 40[36]; 29:9; 39:29[36:37]; Lev. 8:7, 13; 16:4). Several other Heb. nouns are also found including *ḥ^{a}gôr* (1 Sam. 18:4 *v.l*) and *ḥ^{a}gôrâh* (1 Ki. 2:5; 2 Ki. 3:21; Isa. 3:24). The most frequent Heb. vb. meaning to gird is *ḥāgar* (Exod. 29:9; Lev. 8:7, 13; 16:4; Jud. 18:11 *v.l.*; 1 Sam. 17:39; 25:13; Ps. 109[108]:19; Ezek. 23:15).

A golden girdle, worn around the breast, is regarded as an angel's mark of distinction (Dan. 10:5; cf. Rev. 15:6). For mourning, a hair shirt or a rope is worn (Isa. 3:24; cf. 2 Sam. 3:31). A broad leather girdle was used as armour, to protect the

lower part of the body (1 Sam. 25:13), and so the expression "everyone who wears the girdle" means "the men fit for war".

A metaphorical use occurs in e.g. Ps. 65(64):6 (Yahweh is "girded with might"); Ps. 18(17):32, 39 (Yahweh girds the righteous "with strength"); and Ps. 30(29):11 (girded "with gladness"). Isaiah (11:5) looks forward to the new → David as an ideal king, the messiah, of whom it is said that "Righteousness shall be the girdle of his waist, and faithfulness the girdle of his loins."

NT In the NT the words are used in the same way as in classical Gk. and the LXX:

(a) They occur in a direct sense without any specialized meaning in, e.g., Jn. 21:7 (Peter girds himself with his outer garment because he does not wish to meet the Lord improperly dressed), and Lk. 17:8 (the servant girds himself in order to serve his master). Jn. 13:4 f. records how Jesus, the Master, changed his clothes in preparation for performing the task of a slave, a loving service which at the same time demonstrates the new order of life, which belongs to the age which is dawning.

(b) In some passages "to gird" has, as in the LXX, the special meaning of making oneself ready to depart, i.e. to get moving, stand in readiness. Thus in Acts 12:8 Peter is commanded to prepare himself for leaving the prison; and in Jn. 21:18 this same vigorous Peter who is well able to gird himself and make himself ready to go, is told that when he is old another will make him ready for a journey, and so determine the direction and destination of his life (probably an allusion to Peter's martyrdom). In this sense, too, Lk. 12:35 (echoing Exod. 12:11) is to be understood as a challenge to the church to live unfettered by the world, in expectation of the Lord's coming, in readiness to depart (cf. 1 Cor. 7:29–31). Matt. 10:9 par. Mk. 6:8 further add to the picture of the disciples' way of life as they live in expectation of the end, by telling them not to secure themselves financially, but to leave everything to God's provision.

(c) According to Mk. 1:6, John the Baptist did not wear over his clothing the linen girdle customary among nomads, but a leather one (cf. 2 Ki. 1:8). His appearance is to be seen (following Mal. 3:1; 4:5) as that of → Elijah *redivivus*, the eschatological forerunner of the messiah. His clothing does not indicate hostility to culture, or especial asceticism, but is to be explained, like the location of his ministry, in terms of wilderness typology. The rough mantle of camel's hair was the recognizable garb of a prophet going back to Elijah and Elisha (1 Ki. 19:19; 2 Ki. 2:13 f.; cf. Zech. 13:4). John's garb proclaimed his conscious prophetic calling (cf. C. H. H. Scobie, *John the Baptist*, 1964, 128).

In the vision of Rev. 1:13 the golden girdle marks the exalted Christ as the true high → priest, as does his long robe (Exod. 28:4; see OT above).

In Acts 21:11 Agabus (like the prophets of the OT; cf. Isa. 20:2; Jer. 13:1 ff.) carried out a symbolic action with Paul's girdle (a long cloth worn about the waist), to indicate the coming arrest of Paul. "The accompanying word of interpretation 'Thus says the Holy Spirit!' corresponds to the OT 'Thus says Yahweh!' " (E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1971, 602).

(d) *perizōnnymi* is used in a metaphorical sense, with *en* of the instrument, in Eph. 6:14, which echoes Isa. 11:5 LXX. The believers are to put on God's → "truth" like a military girdle, which can protect them against the attacks of the evil one.

F. Selter

→ Clothe

W. Grundmann, *hetoimos* etc., *TDNT* II 704 ff.; A. Oepke, *zōnnymi* etc., *TDNT* V 302–8.

Reason, Mind, Understanding

Since Kant reason (Lat. *ratio*) has meant the whole range of man's intellectual powers, bringing together into a single whole the individual faculties of thought, knowledge and understanding. It presupposes positive data, objects or facts which it perceives. The Gk. term *nous* is capable of embracing all the instruments of sensual and conceptual perception, and depending on the context it can mean sense, understanding, thoughts, or reason. *dianoia* and *synesis*, by contrast, belong more to the narrower, intellectual category of discursive thought. *synesis* contains in addition the existential components of mature and experience-based insight. The vb. *epistamai*, to understand, know, is not given separate consideration here; it expresses the result of a process of perception, i.e. knowledge, cognizance (in the NT it is only used with any frequency in Acts). In the NT the relation of faith to knowledge is thought out and discussed chiefly by Paul.

νοῦς

νοῦς (*nous*), mind, intellect, understanding, reason, thought; *νοέω* (*noeō*), apprehend, perceive, understand, gain insight into; *νοῆμα* (*noēma*), thought, mind; *ἀνόητος* (*anoētos*), unintelligent, foolish; *ἄνοια* (*anoia*), folly; *διανόημα* (*dianoēma*), thought; *διάνοια* (*dianoia*), understanding, intelligence, mind, thought; *δυσνόητος* (*dysnoētos*), hard to understand; *ἔννοια* (*ennoia*), thought, knowledge, insight; *κατανοέω* (*katanoeō*), notice, observe, consider, contemplate.

CL 1. (a) The Gk. word *nous*, attested since Linear B, probably goes back etymologically to the root **snu* (cf. Ger. *schnaufen*, to pant; *schnuppern*, to sniff). Originally it refers to the inner sense, directed at an object; then, disposition, understanding, insight, reason, mind. Along with feeling and will, understanding belongs, as the ability to think, to the inner powers of man (e.g. Parmenides, 16, 2). Plutarch (*On the Education of Children* 8) puts *logos*, → word, and *nous* in a definite relationship to one another: the understanding rules the word, the word serves the understanding. *nous* is also, however, the moral attitude, disposition, which is determined by the reflection of the mind (e.g. Hdt., 7, 150; Soph., *OT* 600). It also means resolve and intention (e.g. Homer, *Il.* 9, 104 f.; Hdt., 1, 27).

(b) In Gk. philosophy and religion the concept is developed further in theory. Here it comes to mean reason or mind as the organ of thought, which comprehends the world and existence. Early Gk. philosophy describes the meaning of understanding: it perceives, orders and controls everything (e.g. Anaxagoras, *Fragment* 12).

In Plato *nous* does not mean the whole realm of thought, but the highest of the three parts of the → soul. *nous* is here called the *logistikon*, the ruling principle of pure thought (*Phaedr.* 247c). This true and divine reason rules in man and in the universe, in the microcosm as well as in the macrocosm (*Tim.* 30a b, 46c ff.). Reason comprehends truth (*Rep.* 6, 490b). Reason and truth, begotten by Philomathes along with the *ōn*, being, lead to knowledge. In man's reason lies his awareness of God.

Aristotle set understanding above the powers of the soul. He distinguished a *nous theōrētikos*, theoretical reason, from *nous praktikos*, practical reason (*An.* 3, 9, p. 432b, 27 ff.; 3, 101, p. 433a, 14 ff.; *Eth.Nic.* 6, 2, p. 1139a, 17 ff.). This reason is immortal and divine. The *nous* is both the most important part of the human mind and the embodiment of the divine (*Eth.Nic.* 10, 7, p. 1177a, 14 f.).

This linking of *nous* and the divine is also characteristic of Stoicism. According to Epictetus, reason is the essence of God (*Dissertationes* 2, 8, 1 f.).

In the *Corpus Hermeticum, nous* is thought of in the most strictly abstract way, as the original divine principle (e.g. 1, 6; 1, 12; 5, 11). Man too has a share in this *nous*, even if not in its original fiery form. This *nous* is the eye of reason, through which alone man can comprehend God (5, 10a). The *nous* enters the soul and leads it to knowledge (10, 21). All in all, this is a typically gnostic, syncretistic doctrine of salvation, for which the Gk. concept of *nous* is pressed into service.

2. (a) With *nous*, mind, there goes a whole group of words, derived from the same root, including the noun *dianoia* (Hdt. onwards), the act or faculty of thinking and reflection. Aristotle (*Met.* 5, 1, p. 1025b, 25) divides this into *praktikē*, *poiētikē* and *theōrētikē*, practical, creative and reflective thinking. It is the special philosophical power of thought, theoretical understanding as opposed to sensory perceptions and feelings (Democritus, *Fragment* 11). *dianoia* also means way of thinking, disposition, intention (e.g. Plato, *Laws* 10, 888a) or purpose, design (Hdt., 1, 90, 3; 8, 97, 3). Like *nous*, *dianoia* can also be used of the sense and meaning of a word (e.g. Plato, *Critias* 113a).

(b) *ennoia* (Eur. onwards) meant originally the act of thought (Pseudo-Plato, *Definitions* 414a), then the result: thought, realization, insight, disposition, even the disposition of the gods (e.g. Xen., *Cyr.* 1, 1, 1). In philosophy *ennoia* means idea, concept (e.g. concept of time, Plato, *Timaeus* 47a; the idea of the beautiful, Aristotle, *Eth.Nic.* 10, 10, p. 1179b, 15). *ennoia* is conceptual thought, without which things cannot be perceived (Diogenes Laertius, 7, 42). According to Stoic doctrine, these concepts are derived from experience and are reproduced from one's understanding of the nature of things (e.g. Epictetus, *Dissertationes* 2, 17, 7).

(c) *noēma* (Homer onwards) is that which is thought, a thought. Like *ennoia*, it can mean concept (Aristotle, *An.* 3, 6, p. 430a, 27 f.). It can, however, also mean plan (Plato, *Politicus* 260d).

(d) The meaning of *dianoēma* (Xen. onwards) is not much different: thought, notion, resolve, plan (e.g. Plato, *Sym.* 210d). Thus it can be contrasted with → work (*ergon*) (Isocrates, 3, 9). It can also mean ulterior motive (P.Lond. 5, 1724, 15). This term is also found in the sense of illusions and the confused thoughts of those sick with fever (Hippocrates, *Epidemiai* 1, 23).

(e) Similarly *anoia* (Theognis onwards) means folly, want of understanding. Plato (*Timaeus* 86b) distinguishes two kinds of lack of understanding: that resulting from madness and that resulting from lack of teaching.

3. Corresponding to these nouns is a group of verbs which give expression to the process of thinking, and to thought itself:

(a) *noeō* (Homer onwards) originally meant to perceive with understanding including both sensory and mental impressions (Homer, *Il.* 11, 599). In the philosophy of Parmenides, thought and being are made almost identical (Parmenides, *Fragment* 3). A theme which is significant for Gk. thought is *homoion homoiō noeitai*, "Like is

known by like." Deity is known to itself. The Roman poet, Manilius, expressed the same idea in this way: *quis caelum possit nisi caeli munere nosse et reperire deum nisi qui pars ipse deorum est*, "Who would be able to know heaven except by the gift of heaven, and who would be able to find a god unless he be a part of the gods himself?" (*Astronomica* 2, 115).

(b) A strengthened form of *noeō* is *katanoeō* (Hdt. onwards), to direct one's mind and interest towards something, to notice and perceive it (e.g. Xen., *Cyr.* 2, 2, 28). Thus *katanoeō* can mean to observe, test, comprehend, understand, in the latter sense being almost synonymous with *syniēmi*, to understand.

4. (a) In addition to *noeō* the verbal adj. *noētos* is attested from the time of Parmenides and means intelligible. The opposite is expressed by *anoētos* (from the pre-Socratics), unintelligible, unimaginable. Plato (*Parmenides* 132c) speaks of *noēmata ... anoēta*, unintelligible, unthinkable thoughts. *anoētos* also means senseless, foolish, indicating a lack of understanding and judgment (Plato, *Grg.* 464d). The plur. *anoētoi* is used as the contrary of *phronountes*, senseless and sensible respectively (Anaxippus, *Fragment* 4). The *anoētoi* are not far removed from the *kakoi* and *ponēroi*, the bad.

(b) *dysnoētos* is the equivalent of hard to understand (e.g. Aristotle, *De Plantis* 1, 1 p. 816a, 3). This is how Lucian (*Alexander* 54) describes the oracular utterances. Along with this goes *dysexēgētos*, hard to interpret (Diogenes Laertius, 9, 13).

OT 1. In comparison with the central rôle played by the *nous* in the world of Gk. literature, it is surprising how little use is made of this group of words in the LXX. The most common of the terms is *dianoia*, which appears 75 times, whereas *nous* and *noeō* are each attested only about 35 times, and the other derivatives even less. This sparing use of the words in the LXX is connected with the fact that the Heb. has no term equivalent to the Gk. *nous*. *lēḇ* or *lēḇāḇ*, which is rendered in the LXX 6 times by *nous* and 38 times by *dianoia*, is otherwise nearly always translated *kardia*, → heart. Nevertheless, this variation in translation does indicate that in OT thought the heart is the seat of intellectual processes. But OT anthropology knows nothing of the Gk. division of the soul into three parts, so that human understanding does not become pushed into the foreground in such a one-sided and isolated way as is the case, at least to some extent, in the Gk. world. In the OT the understanding belongs together with the will, and aims less at theoretical contemplation than at right conduct. The intellectual sphere is thus anchored more firmly in the whole person, both body and soul, than it is in Gk. thought (cf. W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*, II, 1967, 147 ff.). The intellectual element is displayed more clearly in the use of the vb. *noeō* than it is with the noun *nous*, for it goes back to the Heb. *bîn*, to understand, perceive. Insight and understanding also mean in the OT the process of judging and exploring the relation of things to one another. The difference is that this insight is not regarded as an independent achievement of man using his critical faculty, but as a gift of Yahweh. The most important statement of the OT theory of knowledge is that all true knowledge comes from God (cf. L. Koehler, *Hebrew Man*, 1956, 115–48; *Old Testament Theology*, 1957, 99–126).

In general, these words are seldom found in the earlier parts of the OT. They are more frequent in the Wisdom literature; but they come into their own in the Gk. writings of the LXX (especially Macc.). This fact indicates that the specifically Gk.

concept of *nous* did not enter the OT tradition until the post-canonical, apocryphal era. The process reaches a kind of climax in Philo.

2. (a) The fact that *nous* 6 times (out of a total of 31) stands in the LXX for *lēḇ* and *lēḇāḇ*, heart, inner being, suggests that the texts have undergone a certain Hellenizing process (Exod. 7:23; Isa. 10:7b, etc.); but it also shows that *nous* is to be understood in a sense more associated with the will. Other expressions pointing in the same direction are to keep in mind (2 Macc. 15:8), to give attention to something (1 Esd. 9:41); and phrases like an understanding mind (4 Macc. 1:35; 2:16), a pure mind (Test. Ben. 8:3), an innocent mind (Wis. 4:12), or in Josephus, a healthy mind (*Ant.* 8, 23). But at the same time, the use of *nous* to translate *lēḇ* also includes the element of deliberation, sometimes almost philosophical reflection, with the aim of making a practical decision (e.g. Isa. 10:7; 41:22). An unusual use of *nous* is to translate *rûaḥ*, spirit (Isa. 40:13; cf. Jud. 8:14). But the use of *nous* for *'ōzen*, ear, may be due to a scribal error – *nous* instead of *ous*, ear (Job 33:16; 12:11).

(b) *dianoia* (c. 75 times) is also used in the LXX to translate heart. It can be used to express the idea of to oneself, in one's heart, in one's mind, and so comes to be used to express emotions and acts of will (Isa. 35:4; Exod. 35:22). It can also express the whole of one's inner life (Gen. 8:21). Occasionally it renders the Heb. *maḥᵃšāḇôṯ*, plots, plans (Dan. 11:25), and also *bînâh*, understanding (Dan. 9:22).

In the apocryphal writings *dianoia* means spirit, mind, consciousness, disposition, especially in a moral sense. God is the guide of the *dianoia* (Aristeas 238). The good, moral, pure mind can be beguiled (Test.Ben. 8:2; Test.Jud. 11:1). Philo is able to write of the *dianoia* in the same way as he does of the *nous*, that it is the divine element in man (*Det. Pot. Ins.* 29), the organ by which God is perceived (*Virt.* 57), and that which makes man immortal (*Op. Mund.* 135).

(c) *ennoia* (13 times) is used to render various Heb. words, especially in Prov. (1:4; 2:11; 3:21; 4:1; 5:2; 8:12;16:22; 18:15; 19:7;23:4, 19; 24:7; Wis. 2:14). All the Heb. equivalents mean understanding, wisdom, knowledge, and so *ennoia* retains its sense of reflection, insight, perception, wisdom, though not the theoretical meaning of concept. This latter sense is not found before Philo (*Leg. All.* 3, 234). Test. Naph. 2:5 uses it for thought; as does Philo (the *ennoia* of God, *Det. Pot. Ins.* 86).

(d) *noēma* (3 times) appears in the LXX in the sense of evil intention, plot; not as in classical Gk., concept (Sir. 21:11; Bar. 2:8; 3 Macc. 5:30).

dianoēma, on the other hand, usually in the LXX means wise thought, insight (Prov. 14:14; 15:24; Isa. 55:9; Ezek. 14:3 f.; Sir. 25:5; 32[35]:18).

(e) *anoia* (13 times) means lack of understanding, folly, especially in a moral sense (Prov. 14:8; 22:15, for *'iwwelet*; it is found again in 2 Macc. 4:6, 40; 14:5; 15:33, where it always means wickedness, and in Josephus (*Ant.* 8, 318) coupled with baseness (cf. also Job 33:23; Ps. 22[21]:2; Eccl. 11:10; Wis. 15:18; 19:3; 3 Macc. 3:16, 20).

3. (a) *noeō* (35 times) renders, along with *syniēmi* and *ginōskō*, the various forms of the Heb. *bîn*, to observe, notice, understand (e.g. Prov. 20:24; Jer. 2:10), or the Heb. *śāḵal*, understand, have insight (e.g. Prov. 1:3; Jer. 10:21).

The typical organ of understanding in the OT is the → heart (Prov. 16:23; Isa. 6:10). This implies that this understanding lies within the realm of moral decisions. In Isa. 47:7 ("you did not lay these things to heart") the LXX translates freely, and yet without changing the meaning, "you did not understand this in your heart." In Philo

noeō means to think, losing its association with sense perception (*Leg. All.* 2, 70; *Abr.* 44).

(b) *katanoeō* (30 times) is used in the LXX in the sense of to notice, regard, for the Heb. *rā'âh*, to see (Isa. 5:12; Exod. 19:21); for *nāḇaṭ* hiph., to look (e.g. Pss. 10:14[9:35]; 22[21]:17; synonymous to *blepō*, to look, Dan. 7:21; so also in Philo, *Vit. Mos.* 1, 158). The LXX translates *ṣāp̄âh*, to spy, watch, by *katanoeō* (e.g. Ps. 37[36]:32), and Josephus uses the vb. in the same way (*Ant.* 5, 5). Philo uses it in the sense of meditative reflection, in referring to the beauty of an idea (*Ebr.* 137).

(c) *anoētos* (9 times) appears in the LXX for the Heb. *'ᵉwîl* (Prov. 17:28) and *'iwweleṭ* (Prov. 15:21), foolish, without sense. Otherwise it is without Heb. equivalent (Deut. 32:31; Ps. 49[48]:12; Sir. 21:19; 42:8; 4 Macc. 5:8 f.; 8:17). It occurs alongside *mōros* (Sir. 21:19; 42:8) in a moral and religious sense: senseless, foolish.

4. (a) In Philo's writings we find all the elements of the Gk. concept of *nous*. The mysterious element of thought and understanding comes in, however, for stronger emphasis here than in classical Gk. God is the reason behind all things, the perfect world-reason. Because reason is inspired by God, it leads to the knowledge of God (*Deus Imm.* 143; *Spec.Leg.* 1, 18; *Migr.Abr.* 192). Whereas the Greeks defined reason, and looked for its origin in human powers, thus placing their emphasis upon reasoned consideration of the world, Philo was more interested in the significance of reason as a means to gain knowledge of God. More important for him than any knowledge of God gained by reason is an ecstatic knowledge of God, conveyed by God's Spirit. So long as ecstasy continues, reason must take second place (*Rer. Div. Her.* 265; *Leg.All.* 2, 31).

(b) It can be established that in intertestamental Judaism the words of this group are used with a bias towards the moral side. A religious element may be detected more clearly than in Gentile writings. At the same time Gk. anthropology exercised an influence in translation and use of terms. *nous* generally means mind, moral nature (e.g. Test.Ben. 8:3; Test.Jud. 14:2 f.).

(c) For the Qumran community understanding and insight belong only to God and his children of light. The dualistic tract 1QS 3:13–4:26 praises the mysteries of the insight and wisdom of God, which will bring to an end at the appointed time the existence of wickedness (1QS 4:18). Those who would join the community must first be tested for their insight (CD 13:11). The Hymns praise God, who has lent to his own the insight to recognize his wonders and mighty deeds (1QH 11:28; 12:13; 13:13). In the writings of the sect we find the (gnostic?) version of the Aaronic blessing: "May he lighten your heart with life-giving wisdom and grant you eternal knowledge" (1QS 2:3).

NT 1. If we consider first and foremost the frequency of the *nous* group of words in the NT, we find the same situation as in the LXX: namely, that the group does not have a central part to play in the NT as a whole. *nous* is found only 24 times, *noeō* and *katanoeō* 14 times each, and the other associated terms even less often. This statistical survey gives, however, a false impression. It is true that the concept of *nous* has only a peripheral place in the Gospels (with the partial exception later of Lk., who uses *katanoeō* 8 times) and in the later letters. On the other hand, we find that this Hellenistic terminology occurs relatively more frequently in Paul (21 of the 24 occurrences of *nous* itself are in the so-called Pauline corpus). It was Paul who

not only acted as the historical link between the early church and its Hellenistic environment, but also thought out, in his dealings with the church at Corinth, the fundamental theological relationship between faith and knowledge. Although he adopted concepts and ways of formulating problems from Hellenism, he rejected the Gk. attempts at solving them, and relegated reason to its proper and inalienable place, both limiting and freeing it by means of the Christian faith.

All in all, it may be said that the NT gives to this group of words its own interpretation. The contrast between understanding and lack of understanding becomes clearer. The whole group of words is associated more firmly with the will, and the understanding spoken of is an understanding of God and his will in salvation, an understanding of the word in scripture and preaching. Understanding itself becomes a disposition, an attitude, and thus a standpoint of faith.

2. (a) The noun *nous*, which is found in the Pauline corpus, including Eph., Col., and the Pastorals, has the meaning mind, faculty of judgment, insight (e.g. 2 Thess. 2:12). But this understanding is a religious understanding, a religious faculty of judgment, and is set along side the → conscience (Tit. 1:15). *nous* is a term parallel to → faith, which in the Pastorals means the same thing as religion: the false teachers are corrupt in their religious discernment, and not to be trusted in matters of Christian religion (2 Tim. 3:8; also 1 Tim. 6:5).

In Rom. 7:23 Paul writes, "I see in my members another law at war with the law of my *nous*". Then in v. 25 he goes on, "So I serve the law of God with my *nous* [i.e. with my understanding], but with my flesh [i.e. as flesh] I serve the law of sin." This *nous* is the same thing as the *esō anthrōpos*, the inner man, or the *egō*, the real self, which can distinguish between good and bad. The self agrees with the law, that it is good; the self wishes to fulfil the law. But against this law which the *nous* recognizes, the law of religious understanding, there fights the other law of → sin. *nous* is here the religious knowledge and insight which honours and recognizes the law of God.

The understanding, namely, the faculty of religious discernment, is what is meant in Eph. 4:18 by *dianoia*. Here we read of the darkening of the understanding – parallel, incidentally, to the futility of the *nous*. On the positive side we read of the gift of understanding, the ability to recognize religious truth: by this gift from the hand of Christ, Christians are enabled to discern him who is true, namely God (1 Jn. 5:20).

(b) *dianoia* comes very near in meaning to *nous*, and means, ability to think, faculty of knowledge, understanding, the organ of *noein*; then, mind, and particularly disposition. NT usage is quite different from that of Gk. philosophy, but correspondingly near to that of the LXX. This is shown by citations of the OT in which *dianoia* stands in parallelism to *kardia*, heart (Heb. 8:10; 10:16; from Jer. 31:33 LXX). The same combination is seen in Lk. 1:51, *hyperēphanoi dianoias kardias*, "proud in the imagination [or way of thinking] of their hearts" (cf. NEB "arrogant of heart and mind"). In the sense of understanding or mind, *dianoia* is counted among the inward powers of man (Matt. 22:36 par. Mk. 12:30; Lk. 10:27; → Command, art. *entolē* NT 1; → Hear, art. *akouō* NT 3). On the other hand, *dianoia* can in some contexts mean the power of the disposition or the will, and thus acquire a religious flavour. It is the spiritual consciousness, the disposition, the attitude of faith. This consciousness can be sincere (2 Pet. 3:1). It can also be hostile (Col. 1:21). It can be

figuratively girded up, like the loins, i.e. when a person begins to think actively (1 Pet. 1:13).

(c) Similarly, *ennoia* is used in the NT neither in a gnostic nor in a philosophical sense, e.g. in the sense of concept. In the sense of thought, it is found alongside *enthymēsis*, consideration, again in biblical fashion with the gen. *tēs kardias*, of the heart (Heb. 4:12). The Christians are exhorted to arm themselves with the same thought, with which Christ was filled when he suffered (1 Pet. 4:1).

(d) *noēma* is found only in Paul (5 times in 2 Cor., once in Phil.). Even here we find a religious sense: the understanding of the divine will concerning salvation, the thinking concerned with this. This thinking can be corrupted, so that it no longer concerns itself simply with Christ (2 Cor. 11:3). It can be hardened and made inaccessible to God's word and the understanding of scripture (2 Cor. 3:14). It can become blind, so that it no longer perceives the illumination which comes from the gospel of the glory of Christ, and leads only to unbelief (2 Cor. 4:4). The → apostle, in the authority of his position and his commission, makes it his business to take every thought captive, so that it will submit, not to the apostle, but to Christ (2 Cor. 10:5). *noēma* is thus the general faculty of judgment, which can take decisions and pronounce verdicts right or wrong, depending on the influences to which it is exposed. In 2 Cor. 2:11 the plur. refers to the designs of Satan. At the climax of Phil. Paul urges his readers to continual rejoicing, forbearance and freedom from anxiety by committing everything to God in prayer. He then adds: "And the peace of God, which passes all understanding, will keep your hearts and your minds in Christ Jesus" (Phil. 4:7).

(e) *dianoēma* appears only in Lk. 11:17, where it refers to hostile thoughts. The par. in Matt. 12:25 uses *enthymēseis*, thoughts, considerations, and refers to the → Pharisees (cf. 11:24).

(f) *anoia* is lack of understanding, non-recognition, the absence of *nous* and *dianoia*. Those without understanding have no comprehension of Jesus' action towards a sick man on the → Sabbath (Lk. 6:11). They are without understanding of the saving work of God in Christ. The folly of false teachers will come to light (2 Tim. 3:9).

3. (a) *noeō* means to perceive, recognize in a religious sense, with especial reference to God, his acts and his will. The juxtaposition of *noeō* and *kardia*, heart, in the quotation from Isa. 6:9–10, shows that *noeō* is regarded as an activity of the heart, a spiritual recognition (Jn. 12:40). The invisible is perceived, but not in a mystic vision: rather the visible expression of the invisible is thought through, in a kind of process of reflexion leading from the creation to the Creator. "Ever since the creation of the world his invisible nature [*ta ... aorata autou*], namely, his eternal power and deity, has been clearly perceived [*nooumena kathoratai*] in the things that have been made. So they are without excuse" (Rom. 1:20; → God, art. *theos* NT 4(b)). The invisible is seen as something recognized. Knowledge of the infinite God is reached through the finite order. Similarly, Wis. 13:4 calls on men to reflect on the beauty and power of nature: "But if men were amazed at their power and working, let them perceive from them how more powerful is he who formed them." Ultimately this recognition is dependent upon → faith. That the world was created by the word of God, only faith can perceive (Heb. 11:3).

The parenthetical expression, "let the reader understand", Matt. 24:15, calling the

reader of the synoptic apocalypse to understand the text aright, uses *noeō* in the sense of an understanding of the divine plan of salvation. The church has the spiritual understanding (*synesis*) of the divine, secret plan, which the apostle proclaims in his writings (Eph. 3:4).

(b) The use of *katanoeō*, to see and perceive, inspect, follows a similar pattern (Lk. 6:41 par. Matt. 7:3). The speck in the brother's eye is seen, but the log in one's own eye has to be noticed and observed. Lk. 20:23 shows that *katanoein* includes what goes on behind the scenes. In the same way, Heb. 3:1 means that it is not the outward figure of Jesus that we should look to, but what he really is, as the emissary of God, as the real High Priest, and as the proper object of Christian faith. Christians are exhorted to pay attention to one another, i.e. to focus their attention on their standing as Christians, working itself out in love, good works and mutual fellowship (Heb. 10:24).

(c) The *anoētos* is the man who is lacking in understanding, knowledge, instruction, spiritual insight, the foolish man (Rom. 1:14), the opposite to the *sophos*, wise. The Galatians, who do not understand the freedom which their salvation has given them, are *anoētoi*, foolish (Gal. 3:1, 3), as are the disciples who do not understand God's plan of salvation, embracing as it does the death of Jesus. Their lack of understanding is in connection with the OT and its promises (Lk. 24:25). Foolishness here consists in deficient spiritual understanding of the good will of God.

(d) *dysnoētos*, hard to understand, occurs only once in the NT (2 Pet. 3:16), where it refers to difficult passages in the letters of Paul.

4. (a) The understanding of the *nous* has particular reference to the OT scriptures. The risen Christ opened the minds of the disciples that they might understand the scriptures (Lk. 24:45). The man with understanding is the one who knows the real meaning of the scriptures and the ways in which God manifests himself there; in other words, the one who knows the → secrets of the divine plan (Rev. 13:18; 17:9). Here *nous* and *sophia*, understanding and → wisdom, are interchangeable terms. It is the divine wisdom which has been given to the spiritual.

(b) *nous theou* is God's plan of salvation itself, which it is so important to know. Rom. 11:34 speaks of the *nous* of God, of his plan of salvation, the divine intention: "Who has known the mind of the Lord? " (cf. Isa. 40:13 f.). Again, in 1 Cor. 2:16 we read of the *nous* of the Lord, of his intention to save, his thoughts and plans, also quoting Isa. 40:13 (→ Council, art. *symbouleuō*). After the quotation Paul continues: *noun Christou echomen*, "we have the mind of Christ". This is in keeping with the thought in 1 Cor. 2:12, that Christians have received the Spirit from God, in order that they may know what God has given them. In this context we should also consider Paul's remarks about speaking in tongues, which are reminiscent of Philo. The one who speaks in tongues is filled with the Spirit. The Spirit prays but the mind "is unfruitful" (1 Cor. 14:14). In the same passage Paul contrasts speaking with the mind and speaking in tongues (14:19). It must not be overlooked that speaking with the mind is also the gift and work of the Spirit. Even where the Spirit and the mind are separated (14:14), it is only a matter of two different modes of operation of the Spirit. In v. 14 *pneuma* is used in a narrower sense, of → ecstasy brought on by the Spirit, which is contrasted with the mind, in which the Spirit is also at work. What is described in v. 24, the conviction of the outsider when he comes into the Christian assembly, is a conscious experience, the result of the comprehensible prophetic

charisma. On the intercession of the Spirit and tongues → Prayer, art. *entynchanō*.

(c) *nous* in the sense of right understanding leads to a right attitude of mind. The heathen have a foolish attitude of mind because they lack right knowledge (Eph. 4:17). Christians, on the other hand, must be renewed in the spirit of their mind (Eph. 4:23). The Spirit upholds and fills the mind of the Christian. The hortatory part of the epistle to the Romans begins with the command to be transformed by the renewing of the mind (Rom. 12:2). Everyone is to be convinced in his decisions and his knowledge (Rom. 14:5). Paul appeals to the Corinthians, beset by divisions, to continue in one mind and opinion (1 Cor. 1:10). *G. Harder*

σύνεσις

σύνεσις (*synesis*), faculty of comprehension, understanding, insight; συνίημι (*syniēmi*), perceive, comprehend, understand; συνετός (*synetos*), quick at apprehending, understanding, intelligent; ἀσύνετος (*asynetos*), senseless, foolish.

CL This group of words is common in classical Gk. literature, the vb. and noun being attested since Homer, the adj. *synetos* and its opposite *asynetos* since Theognis and Hdt. The vb. *syniēmi* originally meant to bring together (Homer, *Il.* 1, 8); this simple meaning is not found in the NT. Figuratively, *syniēmi* means to perceive, take notice of, understand, see into, comprehend. The word thus signifies, first, perception, then, taking note of, and finally, grasping, in the sense of understanding – though the latter meaning does not occur before Heraclitus.

The noun *synesis* means, first, a joining (of rivers, Homer *Od.* 10, 515); then, in a transferred sense, the faculty of apprehension, understanding, judgment, insight, comprehension. The term is distinguished from other related terms in Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 6, 11; but neither the vb. nor the noun acquired any great philosophical importance.

The adj. *synetos* means quick at apprehending, understanding, clever; passively, intelligible; and the opposite is *asynetos*, stupid or unintelligible.

OT In the LXX the words of this group occur frequently, the noun and the vb. being found about 100 times each, the adj. 53 times, though the negative adj. is much rarer (11 times). As one might expect, they are found most frequently in the Wisdom literature. The most important Heb. equivalents are *bîn*, to observe, notice, understand, and its derivatives.

It is a characteristic of the meaning of this group of words that they are used mostly in connexion with sayings about → Wisdom. *synesis*, understanding, insight (Gk. translation of Heb. *bînâh* or *tᵉḇûnâh* in the same sense), and *sophia*, wisdom (for Heb. *ḥoḵmâh* in the same sense), are used together (e.g. Isa. 11:2; 29:14; Job 12:13; Sir. 1:19 f.; and especially in the programmatic texts Prov. 1:7 par. Ps. 111[110]:10; Prov. 2:1 ff.; 9:10). Other words used synonymously or in parallelism complete the picture: in Isa. 43:10 we find "know" and "believe" next to "understand". The object of this knowledge is the fact that God is God (e.g. Jer. 9:24; note the contrast with human wisdom in v. 23, cf. also the LXX text of 1 Sam. 2:10). "Fear of the LORD", "justice and righteousness", "good and evil" are named as the objects of insight (Prov. 2:5, 9; 9:10; 1 Ki. 3:9, 11). From this it may be concluded that in later wis-

dom teaching insight is not understood as a faculty open to every man. This was how the older proverbial wisdom thought of wisdom and understanding (G. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel*, 1972, 53–73). But when they became linked closely to the objects of knowledge just mentioned, the terms became more narrowly defined. Since the knowledge of God is always associated with God's revelatory activity, insight can ultimately be understood only as a gift of God which he imparts in response to man's request (1 Ki. 3:9; Dan. 2:21; Ps. 119[118]:34, 73, 125), but can also withdraw because of men's disobedience (Isa. 29:14). Under the influence of OT ideas, the definition of the term can change in the world of Hel. Judaism: e.g. *asynetos* can mean a lack of apprehension but also of moral insight (Sir. 15:7; Josephus, *War* 6, 170).

NT In the NT these words are found less frequently than in the LXX. The vb. occurs only in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts, in quotations from the LXX at Rom. 3:11 and 15:21, and otherwise 2 Cor. 10:12 and Eph. 5:17; the noun only 7 times altogether (once in a quotation); and the adj. and its opposite only very occasionally in the Synoptic Gospels, and only in quotations in Paul. The words are not present in John's Gospel or the Johannine Epistles (though the ideas are present in Jn. 12:37–41). The OT idea that insight is a gift of God and is linked with his revelation reappears in the NT usage. This is clear from the fact that the terms we are discussing appear in important passages in quotations from the OT, or in loose connection with such quotations (Isa. 6:9 f. in Matt. 13:13 par. Mk. 4:12; Lk. 9:10; cf. Matt. 13:15; Mk. 8:17 f., 21; Acts 28:26 f.; Deut. 6:5 in Mk. 12:33; Ps. 14:2 in Rom. 3:11; Deut. 32:21 in Rom. 10:19; Isa. 52:15 in Rom. 15:21; Isa. 29:14 in 1 Cor. 1:19).

1. In the Synoptic Gospels the most important passages are those which are concerned with the theme of the so-called "messianic secret" (→ Secret).

(a) Mark records the disciples' lack of understanding regarding the words and actions of Jesus (6:52; 7:18; 8:17, 21; in 8:18 with direct reference to Isa. 6:9 f. or Jer. 5:21; and the same idea expressed with other vbs. in Mk. 4:40 f.; 9:10, 32). This gives expression to the thought that the biographical nearness of the disciples to Jesus is not alone sufficient to guarantee understanding. Jesus' work is understood in retrospect in the light of Easter. It is the → faith which the gospel stimulates and which God gives that leads the church into insight.

The so-called "parable theory" of Mk. 4:10–12 serves to press home the same point. Here the conflict between Jesus' teaching by parables, with its aim of illumination and understanding, and Mk's concept of the secret messiahship of Jesus, is solved by the assertion that the works of Jesus become revelation to those who believe. Therefore they are given the secret of the kingdom of God. To "those who are without" everything is said in parables. Because they do not understand these, they are unable to turn and be saved (→ Parable, art. *parabolē* NT 7). Here again Isa. 6:9 f. is cited (v. 12).

(b) A comparison of the Matthean parallels with the passages in Mk. indicates that Matt. adopts a somewhat different emphasis. This is true not only of the so-called "parable theory" but also of the disciples' lack of understanding.

The failure of the disciples to understand the parables is not for Matt. paramount.

At the end of the parabolic discourse reports Jesus asks the disciples, "Have you understood all this? " Matt. reports the answer "Yes" (Matt. 13:51). The statement of Mk. 6:52, which attributes their lack of insight to hardness of heart, is passed over in the Matthean version and replaced by an exclamation of worship, praising Jesus as the Son of God (Matt. 14:33). The discussion of → leaven (Mk. 8:14–21, par. Matt. 16:5–12), which ends in Mk. with the accusing question, "Do you not yet understand? ", leads in Matt. to the final understanding of the disciples. H. Conzelmann sees a "psychologising trend" in Matt. (*TDNT* VII 895) which displays a greater interest in the disciples' understanding than Mk. Mk. presents the material as a problem; Matt. presents the problem and at the same time shows how the disciples came to understand. But he does not minimize the fact that understanding is a divine gift (cf. Matt. 16:16 ff.; 17:5 ff.).

(c) In Luke many of the passages under discussion are missing, or have been greatly shortened (e.g. the parable theory in Lk. 8:9 f.). In Lk. 18:34 the disciples' lack of understanding is emphasized particularly in regard to the passion prediction of Jesus. In Lk. 2:47 the insight of Jesus at twelve years of age is the subject of amazement, and there is no doubt that insight is here regarded as a gift of God – just as in Lk. 2:50 his parents' failure to understand must be seen as the exact opposite. On the other hand, it is the risen Christ who enables the downcast disciples on the Emmaus road to understand the scriptures and to grasp the fact that his sufferings were foreordained by God (Lk. 24:45).

Finally, in Acts 28:26 f., Isa. 6:9 f. is cited as the explanation for the unwillingness and inability of the Jews in Rome to understand (cf. Jn. 12:40, where *noeō* is used instead of *syniēmi*). Along with the LXX, the writer of Acts has changed the imperative "harden" of the prophetic word into the indicative "hardened", simply describing the refusal of the people. It is thus indicated that, although insight is a gift of God, lack of insight must be regarded as culpable (→ Hard; → Blind).

2. In Paul the use of these words is again affected by OT concepts, especially since in the majority of cases it is in quotations from the OT or allusions to OT phrases (Rom. 3:11 = Ps. 14:2; Rom. 10:19 = Deut. 32:21; Rom. 15:21 = Isa. 52:15; 1 Cor. 1:19 = Isa. 29:14). Whether lack of insight is being condemned (Rom. 3:11), or God's wrath pronounced over the arrogance of those who believe themselves to be wise (1 Cor. 1:19), or whether the subject is the universality of the message of salvation (Rom. 10:19; 15:21), insight is always seen as a gift of God and lack of insight as not merely a chance lack of knowledge. The latter is a sign that a man in his deepest being rejects God ("their senseless minds were darkened", Rom. 1:21). Thus in the Pauline passages the context emphasizes more strongly than in the Synoptic Gospels that lack of insight must be regarded as culpable behaviour. *asynetos*, having no insight, "foolish" (RSV), appears among the list of evils in Rom. 1:31. Similarly the connexion between understanding and knowledge is more obvious than in the Synoptic Gospels (e.g. 1 Cor. 1:19; Rom. 1:21 f.).

3. In the later Pauline literature we find not only the familiar ideas (insight as a gift, 2 Tim. 2:7), but also a new emphasis arising because of the connexion of these words with the concept of mystery. Fullness of understanding is given in the revelation of the → secret of God in Christ, in whom all the treasures of → wisdom and → knowledge lie hidden (Col. 2:2 f.). We may compare Eph. 3:4, where the content of the mystery of Christ is, in keeping with the wider context of the thought in Eph.,

associated with the church. In these epistles the nearness of this group of words to the concept of wisdom is again obvious (Col. 1:9; 2:2; Eph. 5:17; cf. v. 15).

J. Goetzmann

→ Conscience, → Faith, → Knowledge, → Man, → Mind, → Secret, → Think, → Truth, → Wisdom

(a). G. Barth, "Matthew's Understanding of the Law", in G. Bornkamm, G. Barth and H. J. Held, *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew*, 1963, 58–164; K. Barth, *Anselm: Fides Quaerens Intellectum; Anselm's Proof of the Existence of God in the Context of his Theological Scheme*, 1960; J. Behm and E. Würthwein, *noeō* etc., *TDNT* IV 948–1022; B. Blanshard, *Reason and Analysis*, 1962; and *Reason and Belief, Based on Gifford Lectures at St Andrews and Noble Lectures at Harvard*, 1974; G. Bornkamm, "Faith and Reason in Paul's Epistles", *NTS* 4, 1957–58, 93–100; and "The Revelation of God's Wrath (Romans 1–3)", in *Early Christian Experience*, 1969, 47–70; R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, I, 1952, 211–20; and "Romans 7 and the Anthropology of Paul", in *Existence and Faith*, (1961) 1964, 173–85; H. Conzelmann, *syniēmi* etc., *TDNT* VII 888–96; and *An Outline Theology of the New Testament*, 1969, 180 f.; A. C. Ewing, *Reason and Intuition*, 1942; W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*, II, 1967, 118–50; N. S. F. Ferré, *Reason in Religion*, 1963; S. Freud, *The Future of an Illusion*, 1928; K. von Fritz, "*Noos* and *noein* in the Homeric Poems", *Classical Philology* 38, 1943, 79 ff.; and "*Nous, noein* and their Derivatives in Pre-Socratic Philosophy (excluding Anaxagoras), Part I, From the Beginning to Parmenides", *Classical Philology* 40, 1945, 223 ff.; H.-G. Gadamer, "The Power of Reason", *Man and World* 3, 1970, 5–15; W. K. C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy*, I *The Earlier Presocratics and the Pythagoreans*, 1962; II *The Presocratic Tradition from Parmenides to Democritus*, 1965; III *The Fifth-Century Enlightenment*, 1969 (see indexes under *nous*); R. Jewett, *Paul's Anthropological Terms: A Study of their Use in Conflict Settings, Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Christentums* 10, 1971, 358–90; D. W. Kemmler, *Faith and Human Reason: A Study of Paul's Method of Preaching as Illustrated by 1–2 Thessalonians and Acts 17, 2–4, Supplements to NovT* 40, 1975; L. Koehler, *Hebrew Man*, 1956, 115–48; and *Old Testament Theology*, 1957, 99–126; J. L. Martyn, "Epistemology at the Turn of the Ages: 2 Cor. 5:16", in W. R. Farmer, C. F. D. Moule and R. R. Niebuhr, eds., *Christian History and Interpretation. Studies Presented to John Knox*, 1967, 269–87; A. E. Murphy, *The Uses of Reason*, 1943; E. Nagel, *Sovereign Reason*, 1954; W. Pannenberg, "Faith and Reason", in *Basic Questions in Theology*, II, 1971, 46–64; G. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel*, 1972; N. H. G. Robinson, "Reason and Religion", *SJT* 23, 1970, 338–48; B. Russell, *Skeptical Essays*, 1928; G. Santayana, *The Life of Reason*, 1954; B. Snell, *The Discovery of the Mind: The Greek Origins of European Thought*, 1953 (the Ger. translation *Die Entdeckung des Geistes*, 1955[3] contains additional material); W. H. Walsh, *Reason and Experience*, 1947; G. J. Warnock, "Reason", in P. Edwards, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, VII, 1967, 83 ff.; A. N. Whitehead, *The Function of Reason*, 1929; R. N. Whybray, *The Intellectual Tradition in the Old Testament, BZAW* 135, 1974; H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the Old Testament*, 1974, 46–55.

(b). P. Bonnard, "L'Intelligence chez Saint Paul", in *L'Évangile Hier et Aujourd'hui*, Festschrift F. J. Leenhardt, 1968, 13 ff.; A. Fridrichsen, "Zur Auslegung von Römer 1.19 f.", *ZNW* 17, 1916, 159 ff.; H.-J. Iwand, *Glauben und Wissen, Nachgelassene Werke*, I, ed. H. Gollwitzer, 1962, 17 ff.; H. J. Krämer, *Der Ursprung der Geistesmetaphysik*, 1964; W. G. Kümmel, *Römer 7 und die Bekehrung des Paulus, Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* 17, 1929; J. Kürzinger, "Der Schlüssel zum Verständnis von Römer 7", *BZ* Neue Folge 7, 1963, 270–74; B. Lohse, "Vernunft", *EKL* III 1649 ff.; H. Lüdemann, *Die Anthropologie des Apostels Paulus und ihre Stellung innerhalb seiner Heilslehre. Nach den vier Hauptbriefen*, 1873; O. Moe, "Vernunft and Geist im Neuen Testament", *ZSTh* 11, 1934, 351 ff.; K. Oehler, "Vernunft und Verstand", *RGG*[3] VI 1364 ff.; and *Die Lehre vom noetischen und dianoetischen Denken bei Platon und Aristoteles*, 1962; H. Ott, "Glaube und Vernunft", *TLZ* 92, 1967, 401 ff.; O. Sander, "Leib-Seele Dualismus im Alten Testament?", *ZAW* 77, 1965, 329 ff.; R. Schottlaender, "*Nous* als Terminus", *Hermes* 64, 1929, 239 ff.; G. Schrenk, "Geist und Enthusiasmus", in *Wort und Geist. Festschrift K. Heim*, 1934, 75 ff. (reprinted in *Studien zu Paulus, AThANT* 26, 1954, 107 ff.); T. Simon, *Die Psychologie des Apostels Paulus*, 1897; B. Snell, "Wie die Griechen lernten, was geistige Tätigkeit ist", *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 93, 1973, 172–84; J. Stenzel, "Zur Entwicklung des Geistesbegriffes in der griechischen Philosophie", *Antike* 1, 1925, 244 ff.; P. Stuhlmacher, "Glauben und Verstehen bei Paulus", *EvTh* 26, 1966, 337 ff.; G. Teichmüller, *Neue Studien zur Geschichte der Begriffe*, I–III (1876–79) 1965 (see index under *nous*); E. Weber, "Die

Beziehungen von Römer 1–3 zur Missionspraxis des Paulus", *BFChTh*, 9, 1905, 86 ff.; H. H. Wendt, *Die Begriffe Fleisch und Geist im biblischen Sprachgebrauch*, 1878.

Recompense, Reward, Gain, Wages

The following article brings together several Gk. words. The group associated with *apodidōmi* conveys the idea of recompense. The word *misthos* is taken from commercial life and originally denoted the payment made to a worker, but since Hellenistic times it was also used in religious contexts. *opsōnion*, on the other hand, is a term drawn from military circles, meaning the soldier's rations, then payment for military service, and finally the salary of a government official. *kerdos* is the word with the widest meaning. It suggests the consequences of payment: profit, advantage, gain. Since advantage and disadvantage and profit and loss belong together as opposites, *zēmia* (loss) is discussed together with *kerdos*.

ἀποδίδωμι

ἀποδίδωμι (*apodidōmi*), give away, give up, give back, sell, give back what is due, recompense; ἀνταποδίδωμι (*antapodidōmi*), give back, repay, return, requite, pay back in his own coin; ἀνταπόδοσις (*antapodosis*), repaying, reward, recompense; ἀνταπόδομα (*antapodoma*), repayment, requital, recompense.

CL *apodidōmi*, attested in general Gk. usage from the time of Homer, means primarily to give up, render (Diod. Sic. 14, 84, 2), or, to give back (Xen., *Hell.* 2, 2, 9). In the mid. it means accordingly to sell. Hence it acquired the specific meaning of giving something up which one must give up because of some kind of obligation (thus to pay out a wage, Xen., *Anab.* 1, 2, 12; to pay one's vow, Xen., *Mem.* 2, 2, 10). This gives the word the technical sense to render, requite, in both good and bad senses (Dion. Hal., 6, 73). The compound form *antapodidōmi* and its derivatives express this meaning of the word still more definitely in the Hellenistic period. In the article which follows we shall concentrate on the idea of recompense, since it is here that the term has relevance theologically.

OT 1. In the OT act and consequence are firmly linked like cause and effect. The reward arises out of the action done, like the harvest from the act of sowing (e.g. Job 8:7; Prov. 22:8; cf. Gal. 6:7 ff.). The concept of a personal judge and recompenser is present here in so far as God is the one who maintains this order and allows the action to return upon the doer (Heb. *hēšîḇ*, hiph. of Heb. *šûḇ*, return, i.e. cause to return, requite, 1 Sam. 26:23 f; 2 Sam. 16:8). As such, he avenges wrongdoing (*nāqam*, Jer. 15:15). Man's responsibility before God is expressed clearly by the root *pāqaḏ*, to visit (→ Bishop, art. *episkopos* OT): God keeps a watch over his servants, recognizing right actions and inflicting punishment upon the wicked (Hos. 1:4; 4:9, 14; 8:13; 9:7; Amos 3:14). The most important term for recompense is, however, *šālēm* in the piel, which means to restore, repay, pay damages (cf. Exod. 22). In legal, judicial usage it comes to mean to requite, because the judge so to speak repays a claim which a person has earned by his action either on the good side (reward) or on the bad (punishment). This is especially clear in Prov. 19:17. Reward and → punishment correspond to the action of the one being judged (cf. Jdg. 1:7; 2 Sam. 3:39; Ps. 62:12; Jer. 25:14; 50:29).

2. The idea of recompense is found first and foremost as a concept characteristic of the theology of the OT, in the negative sense of God's punishment for the dis-

obedience of Israel. God punishes the people as a whole. Ezekiel was the first to declare that no man will die on account of another's sin (Ezek. 18). God requites his people for their unfaithfulness. This is not despite his → election of them; rather they are responsible to him because they have been "known" by God (Amos 3:2). It is their faithlessness to the → covenant between God and his people which is the cause of their punishment. Deut. is the first book to speak of a "reward" for the faithful (Deut. 28). The Deuteronomic history (Jdg.-2 Ki.) finds in the recompense of God the key to understanding the history of Israel. This is set out programmatically in Jdg. 2:6 ff.

3. In the intertestamental period the idea of recompense came to be related exclusively to the → law. The latter is no longer anchored in the historic event of the old covenant; it is no longer a set of instructions on how to remain within the grace of the covenant. It becomes an absolute norm, according to which each person's actions are assessed and by means of which one hopes to attain to salvation (which is seen as altogether other-worldly and in the future). Recompense is now no longer simply the punishment of faithlessness and apostasy; it also determines who has succeeded in reaching the height of fellowship with God by means of his good → works. The OT by contrast regarded → fellowship with God as a free gift, which had come to the people by grace in the deliverance from Egypt and the bestowal of the land of Canaan. Now judgment, recompense, and salvation or condemnation are transferred completely into the future. The present state of salvation, which for the OT consisted in living in the promised land, became lost in the hardships of the people from the time of the Babylonian captivity. This legalistic understanding of recompense leads the LXX to translate the Heb. equivalents into the legal terms *antapodidōmi*, to requite, and *antapodoma*, requital.

NT 1. In the NT *apodidōmi* occurs 43 times, predominantly in Matt. (18 times), Lk. (12 times) and Paul (8 times). As with the Hellenistic writers, the whole wide range of the word is represented: to hand over (Matt. 27:58); to give back (Lk. 4:20); to sell (Acts 5:8, mid.); to pay what has been agreed or to fulfil an agreed obligation (Matt. 20:8); to pay a debt (Matt. 18:23 ff.); to perform what one has sworn to do (Matt. 5:33); and then especially, to forgive. The vb. is not found in Jn. In the sense of to recompense, it occurs chiefly in Matt. and Paul, but also in Rev.; in the sense of to restore, in Lk.

antapodidōmi (7 times; of which 4 are in Paul, 2 in Lk.) fits into the same pattern. It emphasizes the character of what is given in return. *antapodoma* and *antapodosis* are used in reference to the divine recompense (Lk. 14:12; Rom. 11:9) at the final judgment (Col. 3:24).

2. Theologically *apodidōmi* has its home in the NT expectation of → judgment and → punishment. Jesus proclaimed the final judgment as being at hand and summoned men to repentance. The NT concept of recompense can best be illustrated from a passage like Mk. 8:38: "For whoever is ashamed of me and my words in this adulterous and sinful generation, of him will the Son of man also be ashamed, when he comes in the glory of his Father with the holy angels" (par. Lk. 9:26). As in the OT, it is a person's attitude to the Lord (in the NT Jesus Christ), our faithfulness towards him, that determines our fate on the last day. This is the meaning of the parable of the last judgment in Matt. 25:31–46. Here the ultimate criterion is the

behaviour of men towards Christ, even though this attitude is expressed also in their relationships with their neighbours. In the same way John can identify the → work which will be approved at the judgment with faith (Jn. 6:29), and conversely describe unbelief simply as sin (Jn. 16:9; cf. 12:48). Recompense, then, is not a matter of the reckoning up and weighing against each other of individual works; the decisive factor is whether we are true to Jesus and his word, whether we confess him or reject him. This is corroborated by Heb. 10:26–30, with its insistent warning against apostasy and leaving the new covenant, for fear of recompense. "For we know him who said, 'Vengeance is mine, I will repay [*emoi ekdikēsis, egō antapodōsō*].' And again, 'The Lord will judge his people' " (quoting Deut. 32:35 f.). The NT, like the OT, thinks in terms of a covenant already established, fellowship already firmly fixed, and expects recompense to operate against those who withdraw from Jesus Christ.

3. This gives us the background of the NT use of *apodidōmi*. Man is responsible to his heavenly Judge, whether he is a Christian or an unbeliever (Rom. 2:6; cf. 1 Cor. 3:13 ff.; 2 Cor. 5:10). *apodidōmi* does not imply an evaluation of human works on the basis of some inherent moral worth in the works themselves, even where reference is made to an *apodidōmi* according to works (Matt. 16:27; Rom. 2:6; 2 Tim. 4:14; Rev. 22:12). The works are rather the expression either of opposition to Christ, or of agreement and faith; in them is manifested either allegiance to the new covenant, which causes the Christian to be obedient to his Lord and to be his disciple, or the unbeliever's state of rejection.

A passage which is particularly instructive in this context is Rev. 20:11–15 on the final judgment. All men are judged according to their works, which are recorded in books which have been opened (v. 12). When it comes, however, to the book of life (vv. 12, 15), the pattern of recompense is no longer carried through consistently. The believers are withdrawn from the judgment. Through → election they have a → righteousness which leads to life. For them the recompense consists of the "inheritance" which God gives (cf. Col. 3:24). Since recompense comes with the final judgment, Christians are forbidden to wreak their own vengeance in the present age (Rom. 12:17; 1 Thess. 5:15; 1 Pet. 3:9). On the question of human merit → *misthos* below.

P. C. Böttger

κέρδος

κέρδος (*kerdos*), gain; *κερδαίνω* (*kerdainō*), to gain; *ζημία* (*zēmia*), damage, disadvantage, forfeit, loss; *ζημιόομαι* (*zēmioomai*), suffer damage, loss, forfeit.

CL *kerdos*, gain, profit, advantage; more rarely used in Gk. for clever advice, cunning attacks; and in the plur. deceit, a frequent meaning from Homer onwards. The vb. *kerdainō* means to make to profit or gain an advantage, gain something or somebody for something; it can also mean to spare or avoid (e.g. in Acts 27:21), since avoiding loss brings a gain.

The opposite of *kerdos* is *zēmia*, disadvantage, loss, and (occasionally) punishment. The opposite of *kerdainō* is accordingly *zēmioomai*, suffer loss, attested only after Homer. These contrasting pairs are brought together in Matt. 16:26 and Phil. 3:7.

OT Although neither *kerdos* nor *kerdainō* (which can be traced back to Hesiod) is

used in the LXX, the OT and LXX both use careful periphrases for profit, making the following distinctions.

1. Gains which are unjustly acquired or striven for are termed Heb. *beṣa'*, unjust gain, robbery, booty, profit (Gen. 37:26; Exod. 18:21; Jdg. 5:19; Ps. 119:36; Isa. 33:15; 56:11; 57:17; Jer. 22:17; 51:13; Ezek. 22:13; 33:31). The corresponding vb. *bāṣa'* means to cut to pieces, plunder, make a profit (cf. Ps. 10:3; Prov. 1:19; Jer. 6:13; 8:10). The LXX, keeping the general sense, translates the idea by *anomia*, lawlessness, *adikia*, unrighteousness, *anoma*, lawless things (cf. Prov. 1:19; 28:16; Isa. 33:15; Jer. 6:13 "everybody is out for gain").

2. Gain as a *yiṯrōn*, advantage or profit = LXX *perisseia*, surplus, abundance (→ Fullness, art. *perisseuō*). The Preacher is the only one to enquire about profit in life and to deny it critically (Eccl. 2:11); there is nothing of any profit under the sun (cf. Eccl. 1:3; 3:9; 5:15 with 2:13; 3:19; 5:8, 15; 6:8; 7:11 f. [12 f.]; 10:10 f.).

3. To gain, as a translation of *yā'al* (hiph.), means to have an advantage or bring a profit: "What advantage have I?" (Job 35:3; cf. 21:15). The LXX translates gain, advantage by *ōpheleia.*

NT In the NT *kerdos* is found only 3 times, all in Paul. *kerdainō* occurs 16 times, of which the following are particularly important theologically: Matt. 16: 26 par. Mk. 8:36, Lk. 9:25; Matt. 25:16 ff.; Phil. 3:8; 1 Cor. 9:19 ff.

1. The NT is critically opposed to the normal economic orientation of profit in so far as profit is looked for out of selfish motives. Tit. 1:11 is directed against teachers of false doctrine from Crete who were spreading abroad ideas with an eye to their own advantage. They teach "for base gain" (cf. also the warnings to the leaders and deacons of the congregation in 1 Tim. 3:8; Tit. 1:17; 1 Pet. 5:2). Anyone who is out for gain and whose view of life is dominated by the profit-motive falls into an arrogant self-centredness, and thus into sin (Jas. 4:13). Matt. 16:26 par. Mk. 8:36, Lk. 9:25 give a similar warning against finding a basis for one's life by means of self-preservation. It is no use securing the lordship of the world and all its powers, if one's life is forfeited. The most important thing that a man has is his life; but paradoxically he must lose it in order to gain it.

2. Paul develops a positive understanding of gain in Phil. 1:21, and in Phil. 2:5 ff. distinguishes it from the values that men put on life. He recounts his own privileges, both inherited and acquired, such as his circumcision and membership of the chosen people, his conduct in life and his faithful adherence to the law. The historical and moral advantages of this sort, which had been his "gain" (*kerdos*), had become, for the sake of Christ, total loss (*zēmia*), because they were bound by the law of reputation and achievement, and conferred none of the "righteousness from God" (Phil. 3:9). Paul, therefore, regards human gains as losses, in order to gain Christ and be found in him. The gain of Christ is the ultimate good. Death itself is therefore a "gain" (Phil. 1:21), since it marks the end of the life of martyrdom and leads to life with Christ. Simply to come to Christ and to be with him is gain.

3. Allied with this is the particular meaning that gaining takes on in the language of mission. Paul conceives of his missionary commission as a "gaining". In 1 Cor. 9:19 he declares: "For though I am free from all men, I have made myself a slave to all, that I may win [*kerdēsō*] the more." Winning or gaining here corresponds with "saving" in 1 Cor. 9:22; this is the goal of missionary work.

Matt. 18:15 exhorts people to encourage, and so "gain", the brother who has fallen into sin, through their pastoral care and concern. In 1 Pet. 3:1 wives are to "win" their husbands who do not obey the word simply by their behaviour.

4. By contrast with reward (→ *misthos*), which is paid out or earned as recompense for work done or for certain human behaviour, gain comes from the hidden work of Christ. In order to gain "talents" (Matt. 25:16 ff.), whether they be understood as men or Christ, one needs his gifts and his commissioning. Only through him does life reach its goal: only in him is the *perisseia* which the Preacher searched for in vain – the full measure of God's grace and his gift of righteousness (Rom. 5:17). *B. Siede*

μισθός

μισθός (*misthos*), pay, wages, reward; μισθόω (*misthoō*), hire; μισθωτός (*misthōtos*), hired servant; μίσθωμα (*misthōma*), contract price, rent; μίσθιος (*misthios*), hired servant; μισθαποδοσία (*misthapodosia*), recompense; μισθαποδότης (*misthapodotēs*), one who pays wages, a rewarder.

CL The noun *misthos* can be traced from Homer onwards in the sense of reward for work. But as well as workers, soldiers (Thuc.), orators, doctors or actors (Xen., Plato) may also receive *misthos*. The word occurs mainly in industrial or commercial contexts. More rarely, pictorial examples can be found of good fortune being given to men as a reward for their ethical endeavours (Pindar, Isoc., Plato). In the religious sphere, *misthos* was not used, since Gk. religion did not rest on the basis of rewards. In general, too, it was not reward that was the goal of ethical endeavour, but → honour (→ Glory, art. *timē*). Happiness (*eudaimonia*, a word not found in the NT, originally referring to the presence of good spirits), was not something one received as a gift; one gained it through *aretē*, → virtue. Striving for righteousness or justice was only a part of the total endeavour to find *aretē*, as Socrates first pointedly expounded. Socrates also delineated the concept of "the Good" (*agathos*), in which the → good man is one whose life is directed towards the Good (*agathon*), and who considers the reward or → punishment which awaits him in the next life (cf. the Gorgias myth). Plato rarely used the term in ethical contexts, and even when he used the idea he thought more in terms of living according to the immanent laws of being (*Rep.* 10, 612d ff.).

From Hellenistic times onwards, the idea of reward penetrated into religious thought. As before, in the Orphic and Eleusinian Mysteries, so now the belief in rewards and punishments in the next life begins to play a decisive rôle in the Hellenistic religions of Serapis-Isis and of Mithras. In Roman religion the commercial conception of payment and of reward expanded to include the relationship of men to gods, illustrated by the basic phrase *do ut des*, I give (to you) so that you can give (to me); in Roman religion people carried out their stipulated obligations expecting help in return. The concept of reward is linked here, clearly, with the language of sacrifice (cf. H. Preisker, *TDNT* IV 705 f.).

OT 1. The noun *misthos* stands chiefly for Heb. *śāḵār*, hire, wages, reward, depending on context (Gen. 15:1; 30:18, 28, 32 f.; 31:8a; Exod. 2:9; 22:14[15];

Num. 18:31; Deut. 15:18; 24:15; 1 Ki. 5:20[6]; 2 Chr. 15:7; Ps. 127[126]:3; Eccl. 4:9; 9:5; Zech. 8:10; 11:12; Mal. 3:5; Isa. 40:10; 62:11; Jer. 31[33]:16; Ezek. 29:18 f.). The LXX also uses *misthos* for the following Heb. cognates: *maśkōreṯ*, wages, reward (Gen. 29:15; 31:7, 41; Ruth 2:12); *śaḵîr*, adj. hired (Deut. 24:16; Job 7:1); *śeḵer*, hire, wages (Prov. 11:18); and for the hithp. of the vb. *śāḵar*, hire (Hag. 1:6). The LXX uses *misthos* to translate the following other Heb. words: *'eškār*, gift (Ezek. 27:15; *'eṯnan*, hire (of a harlot) (Isa. 23:18); *mᵉḥîr*, price, hire (Mic. 3:11); *'izzaḇôn*, wares (Ezek. 27:27, 33); *pō'al*, wages of work (Job 7:2; Jer. 22:13); and *pᵉ'ullâh*, work, recompense (Lev. 19:13). There is no Heb. equivalent in Gen. 31:8b; Tob. 2:12, 14; 4:14; 5:3, 7, 9, 14 f.; 12:1 ff., 5; Prov. 11:21; 17:8; Eccl. 9:6; Wis. 2:22; 5:15; 10:17; Sir. 2:8; 11:18, 22; 34[31]:22; 36:18[21]; 51:22, 30; 2 Macc. 8:33.

The vb. *misthoō* normally translates various verbal forms derived from *śāḵar*, to hire (Gen. 30:16; Deut. 23:5[4]; Jdg. 9:4; 18:4; 2 Sam. 10:6; 2 Ki. 7:6; 1 Chr. 19:6 f.; 2 Chr. 24:12; 25:6; Neh. 6:12; 13:2; Isa. 7:20; 46:6). The sole exceptions are Hos. 3:2 (*kārâh*, get by trade, buy); 2 Esd. 4:5 (*śāḵar*, hire); and 1 Macc. 5:39, where there is no Heb. text.

Other cognate words in the LXX are: *misthios* for *śāḵîr*, a hired servant (Lev. 19:13; 25:50; Job 7:1; and without Heb. equivalent in Sir. 7:20; 34[31]:22; 37:11); *misthōma* for *'eṯnān* and *'eṯnan*, hire (Deut. 23:19[18]; Mic. 1:7; Ezek. 16:31, 34, 41), for *'eṯnâh*, hire of a harlot (Hos. 2:14[12]), for *nāḏān*, bribe of a harlot (Ezek. 16:33) and without Heb. equivalent (Prov. 19:13; Ezek. 16:32). *misthōtēs*, mercenary, occurs in 1 Macc. 6:29. *misthōtos*, usually translates *śāḵîr*, hired servant (Exod. 12:45; 22:14[15]; Lev. 19:13; 22:10; 25:6, 40; Deut. 15:18; Job 7:2; 14:6; Mal. 3:5; Isa. 16:14; 21:16; Jer. 46[26]:21; though it is without Heb. equivalent at Lev. 25:53; Jdg. 4:10; 6:2, 5; Isa. 28:1, 3; 1 Macc. 6:29).

2.(a) Reward in the OT is primarily used in its secular sense summoning Israelites to social action. Daily labourers are to be paid their wages daily in order to avoid possible want or starvation (Jer. 22:13; Deut. 24:14; cf. also the wage disagreements between Laban and Jacob in Gen. 31:25 ff.).

(b) Semitic and Israelite thought is largely determined by the connexion between the dealings and fortunes of men. Earthly rewards and → punishments are part of the obvious make-up of OT faith. Leah receives her son Issachar as a reward from God (Gen. 30:18; cf. Ps. 127:3), while Yahweh punishes the Amalekite crimes by putting them under a ban and destroying them (1 Sam. 15:2 f.). In earlier days, the negative aspect of punishment and retribution stood in the foreground. Amos 1:3–16, in particular, sets out the connexion between the bleak fate of Israel and the other nations and God's judgment. Ezekiel replaced the concept of wholesale recompense by that of punishment which takes note of more individual offences: "The soul that sins shall die. The son shall not suffer for the iniquity of the father, nor the father suffer for the iniquity of the son; the righteousness of the righteous shall be upon himself, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon himself" (Ezek. 18:20). Deut. unfolds a positive understanding of reward, for the first time linking together obedience (→ Hear) and → blessing (cf. Deut. 28:1–15), and their antithesis disobedience and → curse (cf. Deut. 28:15–68). But it is in the Wisdom literature that the concept of reward receives its distinctive stamp. Here for the first time a systematized pattern is developed, possessing authority for the whole of life; the consequence of which is the

expectation of reward for the righteous, and punishment for the godless (cf. E. Würthwein, *TDNT* IV 711). Prov. 11:21 (LXX) reads "Depend upon it! A man who is evil does not remain unpunished; a man who sows righteousness will receive a just reward" (cf. 11:18 and 31). Job's attack on the theology of his friends (Job 8:4–6) is a protest against this theory of retribution for good and bad, because it does not do justice to the real suffering of the godly man (Job 27:51 f). The Preacher's resignation in Eccl. 8:14 also reveals his dissatisfaction with an overneat correlation of rewards and punishments: "There is a vanity which takes place on earth, that there are righteous men to whom it happens according to the deeds of the wicked, and there are wicked men to whom it happens according to the deeds of the righteous. I said that this also is vanity."

(c) But it is important to note how very different the conception of divine reward is from our own human concepts. God is a sovereign Lord who rules his servants – and so could be compared to an oriental king – but who is not in the slightest respect obliged or compelled by the amount of work they have done. It is a gift that he gives, a royal bounty, which far exceeds in value any service from his subjects. Ps. 127:3 is a good example of this. Here the two words *naḥᵃlâh*, a possession that has been donated, and *śāḵār*, reward, are both used in parallel with similar meanings: "Lo, sons are a heritage of the LORD [*naḥᵃlaṯ YHWH*], the fruit of the womb a reward [*śāḵār*]." The reward that man receives from God, is not payment for services, or a remuneration for some achievement worthy of, or appropriate for God; it is something conceivable only against the background of ancient social relationships – a free gift from a generous king. Similarly Gen. 15:1: "After these things the word of the LORD came to Abram in a vision, 'Fear not, Abram, I am your shield; your reward shall be very great.' " Dan. 11:39 provides a secular or possibly anti-Jewish analogy where the king who is opposing God gives a reward of land to those who acknowledge him. The blessings of salvation in the OT and the reward of God are always understood in earthly terms (cf. Deut. 28:3 ff., where Deut. speaks of "life", which anyone receives who obeys the commandments). Even in passages like Deut. 30:15, "life" is to be understood first and foremost in this-worldly terms: "See, I have set before you this day life and good, death and evil."

3. It was essentially in later Judaism, when the concept of a final judgment had been accepted, that a reward from God was considered as having significance beyond this life. But hand in hand with this development went a fateful modification in the understanding of reward. Since the Israelite prophets had branded unbelief as the source of all corruption, it was not a great step to draw the opposite conclusion that one could earn God's grace in the judgment through good behaviour. Good → works become the means of attaining the grace which has as yet not been received, and become the pre-condition of the expected reward. The law ceases to be the fence which holds Israelites inside the saving boundaries of the covenant, and becomes a ladder and a means of acquiring salvation, now thought of in purely futuristic terms. "R. Hananiah b. Abashya says: The Holy One, blessed is he, was minded to grant merit to Israel; therefore hath he multiplied for them the law and commandmants, as it is written, *It pleased the Lord for his righteousness' sake to magnify the law and make it honourable*" (Makkoth 3:16; cf. Isa. 42:21; Pirqe Aboth 2:16; 3:16; 6:11). Yahweh's covenant has now become a starting-position for self-justification, instead of something one aims to fulfil in its own right. One reckons up the precise value of

some suitable work and sets it off against the appropriate reward; yet one can never be quite certain whether this is credited to one's account or not. Eschatological expectation could never become a matter of certain hope, where a conception of reward had been perverted into a system of merit and achievement.

NT 1. In the NT *misthos* appears noticeably and frequently in Matt. (10 times, as against once in Mk. and 3 times in Lk.). The concept is only in the background in Paul (5 times) and John (twice). Two surprising compound words are found in Heb. which occur nowhere else in the NT: *misthapodosia*, rewards or recompense (3 times), and *misthapodotēs*, one who rewards or recompenses (once).

(a) *misthos* is a basic part of Jesus' preaching concerning the coming → kingdom of God. Many references give the impression that Jesus took over the prevalent Jewish conception of reward; if one sells all one's possessions, one wins a treasure in heaven (Matt. 19:21 par. Mk. 10:21, Lk. 18:22). God will not withhold the reward for godliness if it is directed to him and not always concerned with one's own reputation in society (Matt. 6:1). Jesus very definitely placed all human action and existence under the coming judgment; but this raises the question all the more forcefully, as to whether this does not open the flood-gates to "works-righteousness".

The parable of the workers in the vineyard (Matt. 20:1–16) gives an answer to this. First, it should be noticed that the landowner is entirely free and under no external constraint (v. 15), a characteristic which is made even clearer in the parable of the talents (Matt. 25:24). The reason why those who had worked only an hour were paid the same wage as the others who "had borne the burden and heat of the day" (v. 12) is not that their work was of a higher quality (as in the case in the similar Jewish parable about Rabbi Bun bar Hiyya [died c. A.D. 325], reproduced in J. Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus*, 1963², 138 f.; cf. T. J. Ber. 2:3c). Nor was it that God had reckoned their small efforts worth the same pay (as some Catholic interpreters understand it, cf. G. Bornkamm, "Der Lohngedanke im Neuen Testament", *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, II, 1963 ², 84). Rather, payment is made by the householder purely on grounds of freedom and generosity; all thought of balancing effort and reward is eliminated.

God does not only repay far beyond any merit (cf. Lk. 19:17, 19); payment of reward is simply independent of the worker's achievements. Its sole root lies in God's sovereign generosity: "Am I not allowed to do what I choose with what belongs to me? Or do you begrudge my generosity?" (Matt. 20:15). Every claim to one's deserts must fall silent in the face of the demand for total obedience: "So you also, when you have done all that is commanded you, say, 'We are unworthy servants; we have only done what was our duty' " (Lk. 17:10). Nevertheless, even the smallest act of service in the kingdom of God will not go unrewarded: "And whoever gives to one of these little ones even a cup of cold water because he is a disciple, truly, I say to you, he shall not lose his reward" (Matt. 10:42; cf. Mk. 9:41).

(b) A closer examination of the service to be performed and its reward completes the picture. Jesus' polemic against the false piety of the → Pharisees is instructive (Matt. 6:1 ff.). A Pharisee who is putting his piety on show is not looking for God's acceptance and honour but for men's. If men admire him and his virtues, his reward has already been paid out to him – literally so (Matt. 6:2, 5, 16). It is paid out by the masters he has chosen for himself – men. A truly pious man, however, does

everything for God's sake; hence God will reward him in his judgment. This antithesis of men and God is the essential one in Matt. 6:3, 15, 18, not that of "in secret" and openly. True worship should be offered for God's sake, not man's. The faith which stands on the side of God, ready to → suffer for Jesus' sake, does not have to wait for its reward (Matt. 5:11 ff.). Profession of faith in the Lord is not only verbal; it also means acceptance of "the least of these my brethren" in his name (Matt. 25:40; cf. 25:45; 10:42). Such an attitude is rewarded because and in so far as a person occupies the place in the kingdom of God which has been prepared for him. Our works have no intrinsic moral value which can accrue merit with God. Nor are they to be thought of as isolated achievements that might be taken into consideration in the judgment. Rather, they are integral parts of faith and of our confession of Christ. Only as such are they rewarded, but even this is not dependent on a fixed value-scale with quantitive demarcations; the sole basis is our total acceptance by the eschatological judge (Matt. 10:32), which includes full salvation and eternal life (Mk. 8:36; 10:30). God rewards confession of faith "a hundredfold" in this age and then in the age to come (Mk. 10:30; cf. Matt. 19:29; Lk. 18:30). In making the concept of reward subsidiary to the prior category of the coming kingdom of God, Jesus makes a clean break with the calculating approach of Judaism.

2. (a) Paul was well acquainted with the thought of judgment based on works (cf. Rom. 2:6; 2 Cor. 5:10). But with him the rabbinic Jewish concept of merit is replaced by his radical doctrine of justification. How is this to be understood? The nature of *misthos* is explained by the use of other concepts: the righteous man receives "praise" (Rom. 2:29), "honour" (Rom. 2:7), and the "prize of the high calling" (Phil. 3:14) from God in the judgment. As with Jesus, so with Paul; the reward is what the Romans called a *praemium* (a reward bestowed or a gift), not *pretium* (the price or value set on something) (cf. G. Bornkamm, op. cit., 91). What we have earned is → death; → life is what God gives us in his grace (Rom. 6:23). God does not owe us this reward; he gives it to us as grace (Rom. 4:4). The doctrine of justification thus gives its own particular stamp to the understanding of reward (→ Righteousness).

(b) This does not mean that the *misthos* has no place in a Christian's activity. There is the prize that beckons the victor in the race (1 Cor. 9:24; cf. Phil. 3:14). There is the acknowledgment that awaits the wise master-builder of the community (1 Cor. 3:14). There can, however, only be any question of reward, when it is given for something that one is not obliged to do. Paul was under obligation to preach the gospel: "For if I preach the gospel, that gives me no ground for boasting. For necessity is laid upon me. Woe to me if I do not preach the gospel!" (1 Cor. 9:16). But Paul freely waived the church's obligation to maintain his upkeep, lest he be regarded as under obligation to men (1 Cor. 9:15; → Boast). A reward is given for something done voluntarily. But although Paul speaks to the Corinthians of his reward, his understanding of it is paradoxical. For it turns out that the reward he seeks is not something that he covets for himself, but to make the gospel free of charge. "For if I do this of my own will [i.e. preach the gospel], I have a reward; but if not of my own will, I am entrusted with a commission. What then is my reward? Just this: that in my preaching I may make the gospel free of charge, not making full use of my right in the gospel" (1 Cor. 9:17 f.). His motive is to avoid putting any obstacle in the way of the gospel (1 Cor. 9:12). It is a further aspect of his conduct as

a skilled master-builder (1 Cor. 3:10) and an apostle who is content to suffer (1 Cor. 4:9 ff.). As such, it stands in marked contrast with those who are already filled and rich, and who reign like kings (1 Cor. 4:8).

(c) *misthos*, then, may be thought of as God's reply to a Christian's action, although there is no strict causal connexion between the two. Paul's doctrine of justification is carried through to all aspects of Christian living. It is instructive, in this respect, to see how Paul, in one particular case, distinguishes between the builder and his work which, because it is unserviceable is burned up in the → fire of → judgment, while he himself is saved, albeit "only as through fire" (1 Cor. 3:15). Nevertheless, God's grace does not allow him to be lost. The ultimate validity of grace in pronouncing the verdict of righteous in the last judgment lies in the fact that not only our Christian faith but also our good works are just as much the gift of God (Eph. 2:10). It is God who "is at work in you, both to will and to work for his good pleasure" (Phil. 2:13). All personal vainglory is excluded.

3. Hebrews reveals by its choice of vocabulary that reward can be spoken of only in terms of the sovereign act of God. Heb. 10:35 ff. says that it is the blessing of the promise that brings us God's reward (*misthapodosia*, recompense, and *epangelia*, promise, are in parallel). What is at issue here is not so much reward for individual actions; *misthapodosia* means, rather, the bestowal of eternal life, the summation of the Christian hope (Heb. 11:6). No human action can in any way counterbalance this in value. On the contrary, this gift is intended for those who seek God with a bold faith: "Therefore do not throw away your confidence [*parrhēsian*], which has great reward [*megalēn misthapodosian*]" (Heb. 10:35; → Openness). "And without faith it is impossible to please him. For whoever would draw near to God must believe that he exists and that he rewards [*misthapodotēs ginetai*] those who seek him" (Heb. 11:6). Faith is indeed bound up with → patience and "not neglecting to meet together" (Heb. 10:25); but there is never any mention of merit which would deserve salvation. Heb. contains repeated warnings against despising the grace of God and the day of opportunity (e.g. Heb. 2:7–19; 4:1–13; 6:4–8; 10:35 ff.; 12:3 ff., 15 ff.; 25 ff.). These references show that there comes a point in sinning which is a point of no return. But the believer has not come to Mount Sinai with all its terrors of judgment, but "to Mount Zion, to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to innumerable angels in festal gathering, and to the assembly of the first-born who are enrolled in heaven, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus, the mediator of a new covenant, and to the sprinkled blood that speaks more graciously than the blood of Abel" (Heb. 12:12 ff.). The prospect of judgment for the faithful is not a petty reckoning up of human values and achievements, but a joyful hopefulness (Heb. 10:35). In this respect → Moses is an example of faith, for "he considered abuse suffered for the Christ greater wealth than the treasures of Egypt, for he looked to the reward [*misthapodosian*]" (Heb. 11:26, on the meaning of this verse → Possessions, art. *thēsauros*, NT 3).

4. In Jn. 4 Jesus' discourse with the disciples following the conversation with the Samaritan woman shows that the "harvest", the eschatological age of salvation, has already broken in (→ Seed, Harvest; → Black, White, Red, art. *leukos*). Indeed, the "reaper" is already drawing his pay. "He who reaps receives wages [*misthon*], and gathers fruit for eternal life, so that sower and reaper may rejoice together. For here the saying holds true, 'One sows and another reaps.' I sent you to reap that for which

you did not labour; others have laboured, and you have entered into their labour" (Jn. 4:36 ff.). For related imagery, see Lev. 26:5; Deut. 28:33; Jdg. 6:3; Ps. 126:5 f.; Amos 9:13; Mic. 6:15; Matt. 9:37 f. par. Lk. 10:1 f.; and T. Peah 4:18 ("My fathers have gathered treasures in this age; I have gathered treasures in the age to come"). The thought of wages is not a matter of merit. Rather, the fact that the reaper is receiving his wages underlines the presence of the eschatological hour. The "work of God" which has eternal life as its consequence is faith (Jn. 6:29). It is in this sense that 2 Jn. 8 speaks of the *misthos* of faith: "Look to yourselves, that you may not lose what you have worked for, but may win a full reward."

5. According to the witness of the OT and the NT, the fulfilment of life's meaning is not something that lies within our capacity. It is a gift that comes from outside ourselves. It comes from God himself who, as our judge, pronounces us righteous despite ourselves. All rewards lie in God's gift. This excludes the idea of God having to bestow an equivalent reward for our meritorious action. And yet there is a connection between the anticipated reward and our conduct. But the relationship is not one of direct cause and effect. We see it, when we realize that all goodness comes from God and that the reward is yet one further token of the free grace of God which enabled us to act in the first place. The NT statements about rewards are thus opposed to the diametrically opposite ideas that man can deserve salvation and that justification by faith makes unimportant what we do with our lives.

P. C. Böttger

ὀψώνιον

ὀψώνιον (*opsōnion*), wages, payment.

CL & OT *opsōnion* is a combination (from Menander's time) from *opson*, any kind of sustenance prepared on a fire (as distinct from → bread and other accompaniments to a meal, such as wine) and *ōneomai*, buy. It refers actually to the cash one needs to buy such additional foods (1 Esd. 4:56); then (in the plur. and also in LXX) particularly to a soldier's maintenance allowances, which he received above and beyond natural provisions, such as cereal and oil. Finally, it means wages in general (1 Macc. 3:28; 14:32), and occasionally the salary of government officials. *opsōnion* can thus be seen to be a regular term used with strict reference to payment which one is entitled to receive daily or monthly, etc., and for which one could eventually sue, if need be. It is a minimum subsistence wage rather than an appropriate reward for work carried out (→ *misthos*; and cf. Lat. *stipendium*).

NT *opsōnion* occurs 4 times in the NT. Apart from the Baptist's advice to the soldiers to be satisfied with their wages (Lk. 3:14), it occurs only in Paul (1 Cor. 9:7; 2 Cor. 11:8; Rom. 6:23).

1. In 1 Cor. 9:7 Paul uses the term *opsōnia* (plur.) to refer to the support to which he was entitled from the various congregations as remuneration for his missionary work (cf. 2 Cor. 11:8). This is not only an allusion to soldiers' pay, comparing his missionary work with military service; it also implies the legal claim of the apostle on the congregations. Hence, for Paul to waive his *opsōnion* is to underline that God's gift of grace costs nothing, just as it is offered to all men in the apostolic preaching without any conditions (→ *misthos*, NT).

2. Rom. 6:23 is not a pronouncement about the nature of → death. The point of the verse is to state that sin pays out wages. *thanatos* is a predicative noun, not the subject of the sentence. The wages of sin and the gift of God are set over against one another in antithesis. *ta opsōnia* are the provisions which sin pays out to those who do military service for it, and these provisions for life consist in – death! Sin promises life and gives death; but this death does not just begin at the end of our temporal life, it is the current payment which we already receive. That is the only right which we can lay claim to, as sinners (v. 23a). But over against this right stands God's gift of → grace which we receive in service under him (v. 23b). This is not a relationship which insists on its rights but one which is based on grace. No one in God's service can claim anything as of right; he receives eternal life as a free gift from God.

O. Becker

→ Judgment, → Poor, → Possessions, → Punishment, → Righteousness, → Work

(a). F. Büchsel, *apodidōmi, TDNT* II 169; C. Caragounis, *NovT* 16, 1974, 35 ff.; K. P. Donfried, "Justification and Last Judgment in Paul", *Interpretation* 30, 1976, 140–52; F. V. Filson, *St. Paul's Conception of Recompense*, 1931; H. W. Heidland, *opsōnion, TDNT* V 591 f.; A. Marmorstein, *The Doctrine of Merits in Old Rabbinical Literature*, I–II, (1920) 1968; H. Preisker and E. Würthwein, *misthos* etc., *TDNT* IV 695–728; P. S. Minear, "And great shall be your reward", *Yale Studies in Religion* 12, 1941; L. Morris, *The Biblical Doctrine of Judgment*, 1960; G. de Ru, "The Conception of Reward in the Teaching of Jesus", *NovT* 8, 1966, 202 ff.; H. Schlier, *kerdos* etc., *TDNT* III 672 f.; W. S. Towner, "Retributional Theology in the Apocalyptic Setting", *Union Seminary Quarterly Review* 26, 1917, 203–14.

(b). A. Alt, "Zur Talionsformel", *ZAW* 52 (Neue Folge 11), 1934, 303 ff. (reprinted in *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, I, 1968[4], 341 ff.); W. Bienart, *Die Arbeit nach der Lehre der Bibel*, 1956[2], 88–96; G. Bornkamm, "Der Lohngedanke im Neuen Testament", *EvTh* 6, 1946, 143 ff. (reprinted in *Studien zu Antike und Christentum. Gesammelte Aufsätze*, II, 1963[2], 69 ff.); H. Braun, *Gerichtsgedanke und Rechtfertigungslehre bei Paulus, Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* 19, 1930; H. Gomperz, *Die Lebensauffassungen der griechischen Philosophie und das Ideal der inneren Freiheit*, 1927; F. Horst, "Recht und Religion im Bereich des Alten Testaments", *EvTh* 16, 1956, 49 ff. (reprinted in *Gottes Recht, ThB* 12, 1961, 286 ff.); L. Ihmels, *Der Lohngedanke in der Ethik Jesu*, 1908; E. Jüngel, *Paulus und Jesus, Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Theologie* 2, 1962, 66–70; F. K. Karner, *Die Bedeutung des Vergeltungsgedankens für die Ethik Jesu* (Dissertation, Leipzig, 1927); V. Kirchner, *Der Lohn in der alten Philosophie, im bürgerlichen Recht, besonders im Neuen Testament*, 1908; K. Koch, "Gibt es ein Vergeltungsdogma im Alten Testament?", *ZTK* 52, 1955, 1–42; K. Koch, W. Bienert and P. Jacobs, "Vergeltung und Vergebung", *EKL* III 1636 ff.; G. Lanczkowski et al., "Vergeltung", *RGG*[3] VI 1341 ff.; E. Lohmeyer, *Die Briefe an die Philipper, an die Kolosser und an Philemon, KEK* 9, 1964[13], 57 ff., 131 ff.; L. Mattern, *Das Verständnis des Gerichts bei Paulus*, 1966; O. Merk, *Handeln aus Glauben. Die Motivierungen der paulinischen Ethik*, 1968; O. Michel, "Der Lohngedanke in der Verkündigung Jesu", *ZSTh* 9, 1932, 47 ff.; W. Pesch, *Der Lohngedanke in der Lehre Jesu verglichen mit der religiösen Lehre des Spätjudentums, Münchener theologische Studien* 7, 1955; W. Preiser, "Vergeltung und Sühne im deutschen Strafrecht", in *Festschrift E. Schmidt*, 1961, 7 ff.; K. H. Rengstorf, "Die Frage des gerechten Lohnes in der Verkündigung Jesu", *Festschrift Karl Arnold*, 1955, 141–155; O. Schulthess, *misthos*, Pauly-Wissowa XV 2078 ff.; M. Wagner, "Der Lohngedanke im Evangelium", *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift* 43, 1932, 106–12; K. Weiss, *Die Frohbotschaft Jesu über Lohn und Vollkommenheit, NTAbh* 12, 4/5, 1927.

Reconciliation, Restoration, Propitiation, Atonement

Reconciliation means the restoration of a good relationship between enemies. In order to achieve this good relationship in the confrontation of God and man, it is necessary that the factors which produce the enmity be removed. This is achieved by atonement. These various aspects involve the use of the three groups of words dealt

with in this article. *(ex-)hilaskomai* and its derivatives belong to the cultic realm and chiefly denote actions which are supposed originally to make the gods favourably disposed and, later, to expiate → sin. The group of words around *katallassō*, on the other hand, comes from the secular world and indicates the improvement (*allassō*, to change) of a negative relationship. *apokatastasis* is a technical term in politics and eschatology, meaning a partial or universal restoration. In the NT the cultic term *hilasmos*, the political term *apokatastasis* and the ordinary term *katallagē* are all comparatively rare, but they occur in crucial passages.

ἀποκατάστασις

ἀποκαθίστημι (*apokathistēmi*) and *ἀποκαθιστάνω* (*apokathistanō*), re-establish, restore; *ἀποκατάστασις* (*apokatastasis*), restoration.

CL 1. The vb. *apokathistēmi* (Xen. onwards) meant originally to restore to a previous state, and then generally to restore. It is found at first in a literal and non-religious context: of the giving back of what has been lent (Xen., *Respublica Lacedaemionorum* 6, 3), of the renovation of a canal (W. Dittenberger, *Orientis Graecae Inscriptiones*, I–II, 1903–5, 672), of the restoration of a sick person (Dioscorides, *De Materia Medica* 1, 64, 4); later, more generally, of the renewal of the world (Lactantius, *Divinae Institutiones* 7, 18).

2. A derivative of the vb. is the later noun *apokatastasis* (e.g. Aristotle, *Magna Moralia* 1204b, 36) with the basic meaning of re-establishment of a former state, restoration. Here again we find it chiefly in secular contexts to begin with: the bringing back of hostages (Polybius, 3, 99, 6), the improvement of a road (Dittenberger, op. cit., 483, 8), the reconstitution of a city's affairs (Polybius, 4, 23, 1).

3. These words have a specialized use in connexion with astronomical and cosmological speculation in the Hellenistic and late classical age. Thus *apokatastasis* became a "technical term for the restitution of the cosmic cycle" of the constellations (A. Oepke, *TDNT* I 390). Ancient, and particularly Stoic, thought imagined the course of the universe in terms of an infinite series of cyclical cosmic periods (H. von Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, II, 190), of which the *apokatastasis* is always the final stage of the old period and the point where the new one begins. In Stoicism and the Hermetic literature the concept of *apokatastasis* is occasionally associated with political expectations (cf. *Corp. Herm.* 11, 2); and in the neo-Platonism of the post-Christian era we find an anthropological application to the → soul of the individual (Iamblichus, *De Mysteriis* 1, 10; Proclus, *Institutio Theologica* 199). Here the *apokatastasis* designates the repeated entry of the immortal soul into the mortal body through reincarnation, with the object of thus being cleansed from matter and reattaining its original condition, which is itself also sometimes called *apokatastasis* (e.g. *Corp. Herm.* 8, 4).

OT 1. Only the vb. is found in the LXX, usually to translate the root *šûḇ*, in the qal meaning to turn back, return; in the piel to bring back; and most frequently hiph. to bring back, restore. In non-religious contexts *apokathistēmi* can take on a wide range of meanings, especially in the early strands of the Pentateuch: e.g., Abraham paying money to Ephron (Gen. 23:16); a stone being rolled from the mouth of a well

(Gen. 29:3); a man being reinstated in his office (Gen. 41:13); water flowing back (Exod. 14:26 ff.).

2. More important is the use of the word in the message of the prophets. While *apokathistēmi* is found but rarely in the preaching of the early prophets (e.g., Amos 5:15; Hos. 2:5[3]; 11:11), it has a special theological significance in the announcement of eschatological salvation in exilic and post-exilic prophecy. Yahweh will bring Israel back from exile into his own land (Jer. 16:15; 23:8; 24:6). Ezekiel draws a parallel between the eschatological restoration of Israel and his beginnings (Ezek. 16:55), and Mal. 4:6 (3:24) prophesies of the → Elijah *redivivus* who will turn the hearts of fathers and sons towards each other again. Thus in the LXX *apokathistēmi* becomes more and more the term for the eschatological, and in part messianic, hopes of Israel for restoration of her former state.

3. This tendency is stronger still in the intertestamental writings, in which *apokathistēmi* is used for Aram. *tûḇ*, to return. Here the word acquires at times a specifically political character. In Dan. 4:33 f. it is used of Nebuchadnezzar's recovery of power and dominion; while 1 Macc. 15:3 speaks of the plans of Antiochus VII to regain control of "the kingdom of our fathers" and re-establish the former state of affairs. Josephus used *apokatastasis* in describing the return of the Jews from exile (*Ant.* 11, 63), but Philo linked this idea with the mystical one of the restoration of the soul (*Rev.Div.Her.* 293).

4. In this connexion mention should also be made of the political, messianic hope of the → Samaritans, which centred upon an eschatological figure known as the Taheb, the returner, the restorer (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 18, 85; cf. A. Merx, *Der Messias oder Taëb der Samaritaner*, 1909; J. Macdonald, *The Theology of the Samaritans*, 1964, 362–71).

NT In the NT the vb. is found 8 times (mostly in the Synoptic Gospels), and the noun only once (Acts 3:21).

1. (a) In Mk. 3:5 par. Matt. 12:13, Lk. 6:10 and Mk. 8:25 the original non-religious meaning of *apokathistēmi* is found in connexion with the healing of the sick: a hand or a blind man is restored, i.e. healed. Heb. 13:19 ("that I may be restored to you the sooner", i.e. that I may come to you sooner) likewise goes back to ordinary Gk. usage.

(b) Mk. 9:12 par. Matt. 17:11 is an allusion to Mal. 4:5 f. (3:23 f.). In the debate about the messiah, the political messianic hopes, which centred upon the figure of → Elijah *redivivus* "who will restore all things", are countered by reference to the fate of the Son of man, who "will suffer many things and be despised". In the NT the Jewish political concept of the messiah associated with *apokathistēmi* is transformed into the doctrine of the suffering Son of man, with the consequence that this usage of the vb. noticeably recedes (→ Jesus Christ, art. *Christos*; → Son of God, art. *hyios tou anthrōpou*; → War).

A similar tendency may be seen in Acts 1:6 ff. To the question of the disciples, still conceived in terms of a political messiah, "Will you at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?", a reply is given which forbids reckoning and calculation, and points to the promised gift of the → Spirit. Luke thus raises the question to a different level: in the era of the church it is not political control that matters, but the interim kingdom of the Spirit and of power.

2. (a) The passage from Peter's sermon at the temple portico, which is the only place in the NT where the noun *apokatastasis* is found, reads: "Repent therefore and turn again, that your sins may be blotted out, that times of refreshing may come from the presence of the Lord, and that he may send the Christ appointed for you, Jesus, whom heaven must receive until the time for establishing all [*achri chronōn apokatastaseōs pantōn*] that God spoke by the mouth of his holy prophets from of old" (Acts 3:19 ff.). This sentence accords with the eschatological messianic hope of OT prophecy and Judaism (see above OT 2). The *apokatastasis pantōn* does not mean the conversion of all mankind, but the restoration of all things and circumstances which the OT prophets proclaimed, i.e. the universal renewal of the earth. While the *kairoi anapsyxeōs*, "times of refreshing", mean the coming in of the change and the subjective effects of this event, the *chronoi apokatastaseōs*, "times of restoration" [or "establishing" RSV], emphasize the objective side and the permanent condition of the world renewed (cf. A. Oepke, *TDNT* I 392).

(b) In the early church Origen used Acts 3:21 as the basis for a theory of the Apokatastasis, i.e. the doctrine of the restoration of all created things. Central to this is the view that God's work of salvation has as its aim the removal of all the disorder in creation which has resulted from sin, and so the medical, political and cosmic restoration of all created things to the harmony of one all-embracing order of being (Origen, *De Prin.* 1, 6, 1–4; 2, 3, 1–5; 3, 6, 1–9). This doctrine of universal Apokatastasis, which includes elements of late classical and Jewish ideas of Apokatastasis, was taken up in the East by Gregory of Nyssa, and in the West by Scotus Erigena, Hans Denck, J. A. Bengel, F. C. Oetinger, F. D. E. Schleiermacher and others, and in some cases developed with reference to man into the doctrine of universalism. (Cf. *TDNT* I 392 f.; B. Altaner, *Patrology*, 1960, 233, 324, 353, 356, 455, 632.) Although he rejected Origen's teaching, Karl Barth came close to the idea (*CD II*, 2, 172 f., 295, 352 f., 417, 422, 476; cf. C. Brown, *Karl Barth and the Christian Message*, 1967, 130–33). From an exegetical point of view there is less justification for this doctrine in Acts 3:21 than in 1 Cor. 15:27 f. From the point of view of systematic theology, the doctrine of Apokatastasis or of universalism should be considered less in the context of Jewish political hopes and classical cosmology than in that of the universal significance of the Christ event. *H.-G. Link*

ἱλάσκομαι

ἵλεως (*hileōs*), gracious, merciful; *ἱλάσκομαι* (*hilaskomai*), propitiate, expiate, conciliate, make gracious, be gracious; *ἱλασμός* (*hilasmos*), propitiation, propitiatory sacrifice; *ἱλαστήριον* (*hilastērion*), that which expiates or propitiates, means of propitiation, mercy-seat.

CL 1. (a) The adj. *hileōs*, *-ōn*, is the Attic form of *hilaos* or *hileos*, kindly, gracious, and a parallel word to *hilaros*, cheerful (cf. Lat. *hilaris*). It meant originally cheerful, joyous (Plato, *Laws* 1, 649a); later, kindly, gracious, benevolent (e.g. Xen., *Cyr.* 1, 6, 2). *hileōs* is chiefly used of rulers or gods; in connexion with gods the phrase *hileō poiein*, to make gracious, is found (Plato, *Laws* 10, 910a).

(b) The mid. deponent *hilaskomai* (Homer onwards), is etymologically connected with *hilaos* and *hileos*, friendly, gracious, and *hilēmi*, to be gracious. Like the intensive form *exhilaskomai* (Hdt. onwards), it has a causative meaning: to make

gracious, appease (e.g. Homer, *Od.* 3, 419; Hdt. 7, 141). The passive aor. *hilasthēnai* should be translated in an intrans. middle sense: to let oneself be appeased, to have mercy (especially common is the imperative *hilasthēti*, be merciful). Generally the subject is a man, and the object a deity; the setting is usually a cultic action by which the deity is to be appeased (Hdt. 5, 47; 6, 105; Xen., Cyr. 7, 2, 19). Sometimes a man (e.g. the emperor) is the object of *hilaskesthai*, which can then be rendered to conciliate (Plutarch, *Antonius* 67, 3), or bribe (Hdt., 8, 112, 2).

(c) The noun *hilasmos*, which is derived from *hilaskomai*, is rare and found mainly in late writings. It denotes the action by which a deity is to be propitiated (e.g. Plutarch, *Solon* 12).

(d) *to hilastērion* is the neut. adjectival noun from *hilastērios*. On Gk. inscriptions it means a propitiatory gift for the gods (W. R. Paton and E. L. Hicks, eds., *The Inscriptions of Cos*, 1891, nos. 81, 347).

2. The basic idea behind the Gk. *hilasmos* is man's effort to dispose in his favour the awful and frequently calamitous power of the dead, the demons and the gods, and to strengthen his own actions by the assistance of supernatural forces. This presupposes some elementary knowledge of the threat posed to human existence by the envy, punishment, wrath and baseless anger of the all-powerful gods. The propitiation of deities is done by means of cultic acts, including human or animal sacrifice, purificatory rites, prayers, and also dances and games (cf. F. Büchsel, *TDNT* III 311 f.). In Rhodes and Massilia criminals were sacrificed until a late period in order that the city might be absolved. Human sacrifice, offered without scruple in Homeric times, did however become less frequent as civilization progressed, and was replaced by symbolic acts. In cases of extreme need a *ver sacrum* was sometimes vowed, which meant that the animals born in the following spring had to be sacrificed, and the humans when they had grown up must go into exile.

In later, more enlightened times the power of the gods lost some of its terrors, and so the significance of propitiatory rites diminished. In Stoicism the cultic rites are replaced by the moral person, who lives in keeping with the will of the deity by means of ethical behaviour.

OT 1. (a) In contrast to the usage of classical Gk. (cf. CL 1(a) *hileō poiein*), the terms used in the LXX are *hileōs einai* or *genesthai*, to be or become gracious, translating the Heb. *sālaḥ*, to forgive (15 times), and *niḥam*, to be sorry, be moved to pity, etc. The adj. *hileōs* occurs in the LXX only as a predicate of God.

(b) The vb. *hilaskomai* is found relatively seldom (12 times) in the LXX, and only in a mid. or pass. sense: to have mercy (with Yahweh as subject), usually (7 times) in translation of the Heb. *sālaḥ*, to forgive. The compound form *exhilaskomai* is found considerably more often (about 100 times), and in by far the majority of cases (about 80) its Heb. equivalent is *kipper*, to cover, propitiate. Accordingly, *exhilaskomai* is used predominantly in the active sense, to propitiate, and refers to the cultic activity of the → priest (the majority of places where it is used occur in the priestly writing of Exod.-Num.). Occasionally *exhilaskomai* has the sense of purify (of objects; Heb. *ḥiṭṭē'*, e.g. Ezek. 43:20, 22, 23), or entreat the favour of (a person, Heb. *ḥillâh*, e.g. Zech. 7:2; 8:22; Mal. 1:9). The important point to note is that with *exhilaskomai* the grammatical subject is usually a man (the priest) and the object God. In Sir.,

however, sin is the object (e.g. Sir. 20:28), and the subject is either God (Sir. 5:6; 34:19[31:23]) or man (Sir. 3:3, 30; 20:28) (see further F. Büchsel, *TDNT* III 315).

(c) The LXX generally uses *hilasmos* (about 100 times) or *exhilasis* (twice) and *exhilasmos* (about 15 times) to translate derivatives of the Heb. vb. *kipper* (piel), to cover over, pacify, propitiate, which describe the process of propitiation (sacrificial propitiation in the cult, e.g. Lev. 23:27 f.; 25:9).

2.(a) Sacrificial rites are widespread throughout the ancient world, and there is nothing originally or specifically Israelite about them (see above, OT). Some scholars hold with G. von Rad that sacrifice and its attendant rites were not the creation of original Yahwism. "It was only in Canaan that Israel entered into an old and widespread sacral practice, into which she later poured her own ideas" (*Old Testament Theology*, I, 1962, 252). In pre-exilic writings we find the common concept of sacrifice, i.e. that of propitiating an angry deity: "If it is the LORD who has stirred you [Saul] up against me [David], may he accept an offering" (1 Sam. 26:19; cf. also Gen. 8:20 ff.; 2 Sam. 24:17–25).

(b) According to some critical views cultic rites and forgiveness of sins were of little importance in pre-exilic Israel. But for the exilic and post-exilic community they took up a central place in the worship of Yahweh (cf. K. Koch, "Sühne and Sündenvergebung um die Wende von der exilischen zur nachexilischen Zeit", *EvTh* 26, Neue Folge 21, 1966, 217 ff.). Even from a statistical survey of the occurrence of these words, it is clear that *exhilaskomai*, *hilasmos* and *hilastērion*, like their Heb. equivalents, are found almost exclusively in passages attributed to the priestly writings. ([Ed.] This point appears to be a tautology: if the passages designated as belonging to the priestly writings are defined in terms of their interest in the cult, it is inevitable that cultic terms will predominate in them.) At the same time there took place a general reinterpretation of the concept of propitiation widely held in the ancient world and taken over by Israel. This may be seen in the Pentateuch and passages like Isa. 43:22–25. The emphasis changed from the attempt to change the deity's mind by man-made sacrifice, to the specifically Israelite idea of propitiation, according to which Yahweh makes atonement for his people (cf. Deut. 21:8). Up till now OT scholarship has not been able to explain adequately what caused this transformation in the concept of propitiation to take place (cf. K. Koch, op. cit., 224 f.).

(c) The characteristic Israelite concept of propitiation can only be understood against the background of the OT doctrine of sin (→ Sin, art. *adikia*, OT 2). An offence (even if unconscious) against Yahweh's covenant laws gives rise to objective guilt (cf. 1 Sam. 14:2 ff.), which sets in motion a destructive force whose disastrous effects fall of necessity as punishment on the miscreant and his affairs (cf. G. von Rad, op. cit., I, 265–79). This chain of sin and disaster can be halted only by Yahweh, inasmuch as he diverts the evil effect of a misdeed from the doer and his affairs to a beast, which dies in his place, the classic example being the ritual of the scapegoat given to Azazel on the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16:20 ff.). In this act of atonement the subject, who brings about the atonement, is thus Yahweh. The → priests function merely as his representatives in the cultic action (cf. Exod. 28:38; Num. 18:22 f.), while the wrongdoer or the sinful people are the recipients of the atonement. According to the Israelite view, life is actually carried in the → blood, and therefore blood acts as the means of atonement (Lev. 17:11; cf. 17:14; Gen. 9:4;

Deut. 12:23). Sin can be transferred, because the animal, being a possession, has "a part in the personality of the man or human community" (K. Koch, op. cit., 229). Yahweh has given the → sacrifices to his people in order to take away "the iniquity of the congregation" (Lev. 10:17). *H.-G. Link*

3. In discussing reconciliation and atonement it has become customary to draw a distinction between propitiation and expiation. In propitiation the action is directed towards God or some other offended person. The underlying purpose is to change God's attitude from one of wrath to one of good-will and favour. In the case of expiation, on the other hand, the action is directed towards that which has caused the breakdown in the relationship. It is sometimes held that, while God is not personally angry with the sinner, the act of sin has initiated a train of events which can only be broken by some compensatory rite or act of reparation for the offence. In short, propitiation is directed towards the offended person, whereas expiation is concerned with nullifying the offensive act.

(a) G. von Rad is not untypical of a broad segment of biblical scholars who maintain that sacrifice in the Bible is concerned with expiation rather than with propitiation. Commenting on Lev. 17:11 ("For the life of the flesh is the blood; and I have given it for you upon the altar to make atonement for your souls; for it is the blood that makes atonement, by reason of the life"), von Rad writes: "But it is not the blood in itself that effects expiation, but the blood in so far as the life is contained in it. Expiation therefore does not depend upon the blood, but upon the life, whose bearer the blood is" (op. cit., I, 270; cf. J. Herrmann, *Die Idee der Sühne im Alten Testament*, 1905, 67). Further support for this idea of expiation is found in the provisions made by Deut. 21:1–9 for purging "the guilt of innocent blood in the midst of thy people Israel" (v. 8). "As a rule ... expiation is effected through the vicarious death of an animal. But what is of special importance in this connexion is that appeal is made to Jahweh himself actively to effect the expiation. Accordingly the one who receives expiation is not Jahweh, but Israel: Jahweh is rather the one who acts, in averting the calamitous curse which burdens the community" (op. cit., I, 270). Similarly, von Rad interprets the Day of Atonement ritual (Lev. 16): "What was effected in expiation was that in both cases, with persons and objects alike, Jahweh removed the baneful influence of an act. He broke the nexus of sin and calamity; and this was as a rule effected by way of channelling the baneful influence of the evil into an animal which died vicariously for the man (or the cultic object). Expiation was thus not a penalty, but a saving event" (op. cit., I, 271). Von Rad's position essentially reiterates that of G. F. Oehler: "The law nowhere indicates that in sacrifice ... an act of punitive punishment is executed; it in no way asks us to look on the altar as a place of punishment" (*Theology of the Old Testament*, 1874, 431).

(b) The case for expiation rather than propitiation has been further supported on linguistic grounds by C. H. Dodd in his article on "*hilaskesthai*, its Cognates, Derivatives and Synonyms in the Septuagint" (*JTS* 32, 1931, 352–60; reprinted with minor alterations in "Atonement", *The Bible and the Greeks*, 1935, 82–95; quotations are from the latter). Dodd's argument is based upon an analysis of the meaning of the Greek words used in the LXX to translate the OT Heb. *kipper*. He points out that "The stock rendering is *hilaskesthai*, or *exhilaskesthai*, with the corresponding substantives *hilasmos*, *exhilasis*, *exhilasma*. In classical Greek and in the *Koine*

hilaskesthai, exhilaskesthai, have regularly the meaning 'placate', 'propitiate', with a personal object. As a secondary meaning *exhilaskesthai* also bears the sense 'expiate', with an impersonal object; e.g. Plato, *Laws*, 862c, *to apoinois exhilasthen*, Ditt. *Syll.*[3] 1042, *hos d' an polypragmonēsē ta tou theou ē periergasētai, hamartian opheiletō Mēni Tyrannō ēn ou mē dynētai exhilasasthai.* Thus the words are in themselves ambiguous, and a close study of LXX usage is necessary to determine which sense predominated in Hellenistic Judaism" (op. cit., 82).

Before proceeding to examine Dodd's case in detail, it may be noted with Leon Morris that the quotation from Plato is concerned with the legislator who must endeavour to restore good relations by payment of indemnity for injury. The context suggests that it is the appeasement of a person that is in mind rather than the expiation of a crime (*The Apostolic Preaching of the Cross*, 1963[3], 146; cf. also F. Büchsel, *TDNT* III 316). The probable date of the Men Tyrannus inscription, referred to by Dodd, is in the 2nd or 3rd century A.D., and can hardly be decisive for the determination of the translation of the LXX.

Dodd's article was basically a schematic analysis of the words used in the LXX to translate the Heb. *kipper*. He began by noting words used other than *hilaskomai* etc., such as *hagiazō*, sanctify (Exod. 29:33, 36), *katharizō*, cleanse (Exod. 29:37; cf. v. 36; Deut. 32:43; Isa. 47:11), and *athōoō*, pronounce free from guilt (Jer. 18:23). Other passages that Dodd examined were Dan. 9:24 and Exod. 30:10. Dodd concluded that, "where the LXX translators do not render *kipper* and its derivatives by words of the *hilaskesthai* class, they render it by words which give the meaning 'to sanctify', 'purify' persons or objects of ritual, or 'to cancel', 'purge away', 'forgive' sins. We should therefore expect to find that they regard the *hilaskesthai* class as conveying similar ideas" (op. cit., 84).

Dodd then turned to passages where the *hilaskesthai* word-group translates words other than *kipper* and its derivatives. He instances: *exhilaskesthai*, in the middle voice with a human subject, for *ḥiṭṭē'*, cleanse from defilement (2 Chr. 29:24; 30:18; Ezek. 43:26; cf. v. 23; 45:15, 17, 20; cf. v. 19; Hab. 1:11; Amos 8:14; *hilaskesthai*, in the middle with divine subject, for *sālaḥ*, to forgive (2 Ki. 5:18; Ps. 25[24]:11; 2 Chr. 6:30; cf. *exhilasmos* in Dan. 9:9 Theodotion; Sir. 5:5 f.); *hilaskesthai* in the passive, *hileōs einai or gignesthai, euhilateuein*, all with divine subject, for *sālaḥ*, forgive (Deut. 29:20; 2 Sam. 24:4; Amos 7:2 and various unspecified instances in 1 Ki., 2 Chr. and Jer.); *hileōs gignesthai, euhilatos gignesthai*, with divine subject for *nāśā' (l[e])*, lit. lift up, i.e. pardon (Num. 14:19; Ps. 109[108]:8; Sir. 16:7); *hilaskesthai* in the passive, *hileōs gignesthai*, with divine subject, for *niḥam* (niphal) and *riḥam* (piel), have compassion (Exod. 32:12, 14; Isa. 54:10); *exhilaskesthai* in the middle with a human subject and God as the object, for *ḥillâh*, appease, pacify, propitiate (Zech. 7:2; 8:22; Mal. 1:9, the first clear examples which Dodd allows of this meaning); *exhilaskesthai* in the middle with a human subject, for *pillēl*, pray, intercede (Ps. 106[105]:30; cf. Num. 25:11, where Dodd allows an element of propitiation). Dodd concludes that, "where words of the *hilaskesthai* class do not render *kipper* and its derivatives, everywhere, except in the four cases last considered, they render words which fall into one or other of two classes: (i) with human subject, 'to cleanse from sin or defilement', 'to expiate'; (ii) with divine subject, 'to be gracious', 'to have mercy', 'to forgive' " (op. cit., 88).

Finally, Dodd examined those passages where the *hilaskesthai* group translates

kipper and its derivatives. Dodd noted the following types of usage. *hilaskesthai* and *exhilaskesthai* in the middle voice with a direct object mean to cleanse, purge, sanctify, cancel sin etc., as in the Men Tyrannus inscription (Lev. 16:16, 33; Ezek. 45:20 and other unspecified passages in Lev. and Ezek.; Dan. 9:24 Theodotion; Sir. 3:30). It has the same meaning in the passive, as in Plato's *Laws* (Num. 35:33; Deut. 21:8; 1 Sam. 3:14), where as before, the subject is human. Only in Ps. 65:3 (64:4) is the subject God. In view of this, Dodd gives the meaning of expiation to *exhilasmos* (Heb. *kippurîm*, Exod. 30:10 A; Lev. 23:27 f.; Num. 5:8; Heb. *kappōreṯ*, 1 Chr. 28:11), *exhilasis* (Heb. *kippurîm*, Num. 29:11; cf. Hab. 3:17), and *hilastērion* (Heb. *kappōreṯ*, Exod. 25:17–22[16–21]; 31:7; 35:12; 37:6[38:5]; 37:6, 8 f. [38:5, 7 f.]; Lev. 16:2, 13 ff.; Num. 7:89). *hilaskesthai* and *exhilaskesthai* in the middle with prepositional phrases (*epi*, *peri*, *hyper*), with a human subject, is the most frequent use (e.g. Exod. 30:15 f.; 32:30; Ezek. 45:17; and frequently in Ezek. and the Pentateuch). This usage corresponds to the Heb. *kipper* with the acc. or the prepositions *'al*, *b^{e}'aḏ*. Dodd takes the meaning here to be: to make expiation for, to expiate or cleanse. Where *hilaskesthai* and *exhilaskesthai* occur in the middle with a dat. and a divine subject (Ps. 78[77]: 38; Ezek. 16:63) the vb. means to forgive. The same vbs. in the passive (Ps. 89[88]:9; 2 Chr. 30:18 f.) and also *hileōs gignesthai* (Deut. 21:8) mean to be propitious or gracious towards, and so to forgive (but not, according to Dodd, to be propitiated). *exhilaskesthai* in the middle with the acc. direct object and with a human subject means to appease, or placate (Gen. 32:20[21]; Prov. 16:14). *exhilasma* occurs only twice for *kōper*, equivalent, compensation, equivalent of a life, ransom (1 Sam. 12:3; Ps. 49[48]:8). Dodd drew from all this the conclusion "that the LXX translators did not regard *kipper* (when used as a religious term) as conveying the sense of propitiating the Deity, but the sense of performing an act whereby guilt or defilement is removed, and accordingly rendered it by *hilaskesthai* in this sense" (op. cit., 93). He went on to draw the further conclusion that this was the meaning that the NT writers assumed when they used this word group (op. cit., 93 ff.).

(c) Dodd's case has been subjected to minute criticism from various angles. An immediately apparent weakness is that Dodd limited his discussion to questions of grammar and equivalent translations in the LXX without looking at the wider context of ideas and motivation (cf. D. Hill, *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings: Studies in the Semantics of Soteriological Terms*, *Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 5*, 1967, 24). Dodd did not inquire at all into the background of what the OT says about the character of Yahweh and man's relationship with him. Even so, as Roger R. Nicole has pointed out, Dodd failed to take into account a large group of words which translate *kipper* and its cognates, e.g. *aphaireō*, take away (Isa. 27:9), *antallagma*, that which is given in exchange (Isa. 43:3). Nicole maintains that "in his first line of investigation Dodd's conclusions are based on less than 40 per cent of the relevant evidence, and this in a case where the uniformity of the usage is a major factor in the argumentation" ("C. H. Dodd and the Doctrine of Propitiation", *WTJ* 17, 1955, 129). In the light of his own detailed examination of the various translations of *kipper* in the LXX, Nicole claims that Dodd's findings should be rewritten as follows: "Where the LXX translators do not render *kipper* and its cognates by words of the *hilaskesthai* class, they render it by words which give the meaning 'to sanctify', 'to forgive', 'to remove', 'to cover with pitch', 'to ransom', 'to contribute', 'to give', 'to veil', 'to anoint', 'the village', 'the

myrrh', or they have failed to render it altogether. We should therefore expect to find that they regard the *hilaskesthai* class as conveying similar ideas" (ibid.; cf. Dodd, op. cit., 84, quoted above). The point of the observation is to draw attention to Dodd's arbitrary selectivity in concentrating on one particular meaning to the exclusion of other attested meanings. Moreover, as D. Hill points out, the range of meanings which Dodd himself allows to this group of words (from 'sanctify' to 'cancel') is so wide that it cannot offer a precise guide to the meaning of the *hilaskomai* group (op. cit., 25 f.). Even where there is a single theme of meaning, the actual meaning must be determined by the way in which words are used in context."

This last point has bearing on the debate concerning the etymology of *kipper*. The two main alternative meanings proposed for the root are "to cover" and "to wipe away". But as Hill again points out, this debate is indecisive for determining the biblical uses of the word-group (op. cit. 30 f.). On the one hand, the meaning of words change in the course of time. The root meaning of a word is at best only a general guide. The more exact determination of meaning must depend on the way words are used in particular contexts (cf. J. Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language*, 1961, 107–60). On the other hand, the difference between the two suggested meanings is not great, and both lend themselves to propitiatory and expiatory interpretations.

kipper in the Heb. OT is normally translated by *exhilaskomai*. The latter vb. does not occur at all in the NT which prefers *hilaskomai*. Nevertheless, *exhilaskomai* is important, as it occurs 105 times (83 of which to translate *kipper*). It is the normal vb. used when OT writers speak of making atonement. Their usage falls into two main groups, according to whether the atonement is brought about by some cultic action (the majority of cases) or by some other non-cultic means. Dodd was inclined to dismiss instances like Gen. 32:20(21) and Prov. 16:14, where he admitted that the meaning was to appease or placate, since the usage here was not strictly religious and thus belonged to the non-cultic use (Dodd, op. cit., 92). But Hill (op. cit., 31) and Morris (op. cit., 161–67) argue that the non-cultic use is fundamental, since it enables us to ascertain the general, basic meaning of *exhilaskomai* (cf. also S. H. Langdon, *ExpT* 22, 1910–11, 323; J. Herrmann, *TDNT* III 302 f.).

Morris examines the following passages in some detail, all of which contain *exhilaskomai* in a non-cultic sense: Exod. 30:12–16; Num. 31:50; Isa. 47:11 (where some form of payment averts wrath); Exod. 32:30 (where Moses offers his life to make atonement); 2 Sam. 21:1–14 (where the hanging of seven descendants of Saul reconciles the Gibeonites); Num. 35:33 ("You shall not thus pollute the land in which you live; for blood pollutes the land and no expiation can be made for the land, for the blood that is shed in it, except by the blood of him who shed it"); Deut. 32:41 ff. (Yahweh "avenges the blood of his servants, and takes vengeance on his adversaries, and makes *kipper* [LXX *ekkathariei*, will cleanse out] for the land of his people"); Deut. 21:1–9 (the killing of a heifer to avert the guilt of innocent blood from a community); Prov. 16:14 (a wise man will appease the wrath of a king); Isa. 27:9 (forgiveness brought about by the destruction of idolatrous altars); Ezek. 16:63, cf. vv. 38, 42 (forgiveness through satisfaction); Pss. 65:3; 78:38; 79:9; Dan. 9:24; Jer. 18:23 ("Forgive not their iniquity ... deal with them in the time of thine anger"); Num. 25:1–18 (by offering up the lives of evil-doers the zealous priest makes atonement and averts divine wrath); 2 Chr. 30:18 and Isa. 6:7 (both passages concerned

with the purging away of uncleanness). Morris concludes that in 7 of these passages atonement is made through offering a *kōper* of life, and in 9 the *kōper* is money, goods or a metaphorical price (op. cit., 166 f.). Clearly, some cases are less clear-cut than others, since not all of these passages explicitly refer to the person who is propitiated. However, in those cases where the propitiated party is mentioned, it is evident that the offence is not dealt with in an impersonal way as if the mere performance of an act is sufficient to bring about the desired consequences. It may be stated that those passages which can be construed in an expiatory sense can also be construed in a propitiatory sense. On the other hand, those passages which require a propitiatory sense cannot be reduced to a simple expiatory sense.

Turning to the cultic use of *kipper*, Morris points out that the vb. acquired a technical meaning which completely overshadowed other meanings. Hence, in most places it means "to accomplish reconciliation between God and man", without indicating how that reconciliation is obtained (op. cit., 167). Num. 16:41–50 provides a link between the cultic and non-cultic uses. The means of averting Yahweh's wrath is by Aaron's making an offering of → incense (vv. 46 f.). Various passages speak of gifts in which there is an element of atonement (Num. 15:25; cf. 7:25; 31:1–54; Deut. 16:16; Jdg. 6:18 f.; Isa. 18:7; Zeph. 3:10). 1 Sam. 3:14 is an early cultic passage in which Yahweh's personal enmity to the house of Eli is so great that "the iniquity of Eli's house shall not be atoned [*yiṯkappēr*] with sacrifice or offering for ever." Lev. 5:16 refers to a guilt offering for an unwitting trespass: "He shall also make restitution for what he has done amiss in the holy thing, and shall add a fifth to it and give it to the priest; and the priest shall make atonement [*yᵉkappēr*] for him with the ram of the guilt offering, and he shall be forgiven [*wᵉnislaḥ lô*]." Morris suggests that the extra fifth looks remarkably like a sort of *kōper*, and that the same may be said for other examples of the guilt offering (op. cit., 169). Even in cases where restitution could not be paid to the offended party because of his death, the restitution plus one fifth still had to be paid to Yahweh (Num. 5:8). Although the prophets denounced popular ideas of sacrifice which assumed that Yahweh would be satisfied with a gift without a corresponding change of heart (Isa. 1:1 ff.; Mic. 6:6 ff.), they did not put forward an alternative theory of sacrifice.

Morris holds that the remaining cases of *exhilaskomai* which translate a vb. other than *kipper*, which have already been noted in discussing Dodd's case, are also compatible with the idea of propitiation. Indeed, as Dodd himself recognized, the element of propitiation is positively required by Zech. 7:2; 8:22; Mal. 1:9; cf. also Ps. 106(105):30; Num. 25:11.

The vb. *hilaskomai* which is used in the NT occurs only 11 times in the OT, always in the middle or passive and always with Yahweh as subject. In general, it means to forgive. But in 6 of these passages there is explicit mention of divine wrath. In view of this Morris claims that "it is manifestly impossible to maintain that the vb. has been emptied of its force" (op. cit., 158). Thus, in Exod. 32:14 it translates *nāḥam* (in the niphal): "And the LORD repented [*wayyinnāḥem YHWH*] of the evil which he thought to do to his people." But it must be noted that vv. 11 f. refer to the wrath of Yahweh which is averted by the intercession of Moses. In Lam. 3:42 *hilaskomai* translates *sālaḥ* which means to forgive: "We have transgressed and rebelled, and thou hast not forgiven." But the forgiveness in question here is of the kind which involves the turning away of divine wrath. The same may be said of Dan.

9:19 (Theodotion): "O Lord, forgive"; which may be compared with v. 16: "O Lord, according to all thy righteous acts, let thy anger and thy wrath turn away from thy city Jerusalem, thy holy hill; because for our sins, and for the iniquities of our fathers, Jerusalem and thy people have become a byword among all who are round about us." The personal wrath of Yahweh is present in 2 Ki. 24:3 f.: "Surely this came upon Judah at the command of the LORD, to remove them out of his sight, for the sins of Manasseh, according to all that he had done, and also for the innocent blood that he had shed; for he filled Jerusalem with innocent blood, and the LORD would not pardon." The idea of forgiveness in Ps. 78(77):38 is practically identical with the averting of divine wrath: "Yet he, being compassionate, forgave their iniquity, and did not destroy them; he restrained his anger often, and did not stir up all his wrath." The same is true of Ps. 79(78):8: "Do not remember against us the iniquities of our forefathers; let thy compassion come speedily to meet us, for we are brought very low." There is a clear link between the pardoning of guilt and Yahweh's character in Ps. 25(24):11: "For thy name's sake, O LORD, pardon my guilt, for it is great" (cf. vv. 16 ff.). In Ps. 65(64):3 the notion of forgiveness is uppermost, but the context makes it clear that it is no mere impersonal matter but something which concerns Yahweh personally: "When our transgressions prevail over us, thou dost forgive them." Est. 13:17 (Addition C v. 10) is concerned with the forgiveness of the people under sentence of death. In 2 Ki. 5:18 the former → leper and convert to Yahwism, Naaman, asks for pardon for bowing down in the house of Rimmon, an action prohibited by the Second Commandment on the grounds that Yahweh is a jealous God (Exod. 20:5; Deut. 5:9): "In this matter may the LORD pardon your servant: when my master goes into the house of Rimmon to worship there, leaning on my arm, and I bow myself in the house of Rimmon, when I bow myself in the house of Rimmon, the LORD pardon your servant in this matter."

The noun *hilasmos* occurs 10 times in a variety of contexts. In Lev. 25:9 and Num. 5:8 it translates *kippurîm* and may be translated as atonement. The former is concerned with the Day of Atonement and the latter with the ram of atonement, offered to Yahweh in restitution for wrong committed against a fellow Israelite. In Ps. 130(129):4 and Dan. 9:9 (Theodotion) it translates *s^{e}lîḥâh*, forgiveness. In Amos 8:14 it translates *'ašmâh*, wrong doing, guilt. In Ezek. 44:27 it is the equivalent of *ḥaṭṭā't*, sin offering. There is no Heb. equivalent in 1 Chr. 28:20 and 2 Macc. 3:33, where it is applied to the sacrifice offered by Onias to deliver Heliodorus from further punishment.

The LXX uses *hilastērion* 22 times for the Heb. *kappōreṯ* which may be rendered "propitiatory" (BDB, 498) or "mercy seat" (RSV). The older translation "cover" (cf. RSV mg) has no justification in usage. It occurs in Exod. 25:17–22 (16–21); 31:7; 35:12; 38:6, 8 f. (5, 7 f.); Lev. 16:2, 13 ff.; Num. 7:89). It designates the slab of → gold 2½ cubits by 1½ cubits placed on top of the ark of testimony (→ Tent, Tabernacle; → Temple). On it and as part of it were the two → cherubim, whose outstretched wings came together and formed the throne of Yahweh. When the high → priest entered the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16), this holiest place had to be enveloped in a cloud of → incense. The → blood of the sin-offering of atonement was sprinkled on it and before it. In 1 Chr. 28:11 the temple proper, as distinct from the porch etc., was called the *bēṯ hakkapporeṯ*, "the room [lit. house] for the mercy seat" (RSV). In Ezek. 43:14, 17, 20 *hilastērion* stands for *'^{a}zārâh*, a

ledge surrounding Ezekiel's altar. It occurs without Heb. equivalent in Amos 9:1, and also in 4 Macc. 17:22 where it may be an adj. qualifying the noun death or a noun in apposition: "they having as it were become a ransom [*antipsychon*] for our nation's sin; and through the blood of these righteous men and the propitiation of their death [*tou hilastēriou thanatou*], the divine Providence delivered [*diesōsen*] Israel that before was evil entreated" (cf. also 2 Macc. 7:37; 4 Macc. 6:28).

hileōs occurs 35 times in the LXX particularly in the phrase *hileōs einai*, be propitious, for Heb. *sālaḥ*, forgive. It features in the prayer of → Solomon at the dedication of the → temple (1 Ki. 8:30, 34, 36, 39, 50; 2 Chr. 6:21, 25, 27, 39; cf. also Num. 14:20; 2 Chr. 7:14; Jer. 5:1, 7; 50[27]:20; 31[38]:34; 36[43]:3). It renders no less than 7 other Heb. expressions chiefly connected with forgiveness in Gen. 43:23; Exod. 32:12; Num. 14:19; Deut. 21:8; 1 Sam. 14:45; 2 Sam. 20:20; 23:17; 1 Chr. 11:19; and has no corresponding Heb. in 1 Macc. 2:21; 2 Macc. 2:7, 22; 7:37; 10:26; 4 Macc. 6:28; 8:14; 9:24; 12:18.

In the intertestamental period human expressions of piety may have atoning power as well as cultic acts. This is anticipated by Prov. 16:6: "By loyalty and faithfulness iniquity is atoned for, and by the fear of the LORD a man avoids evil." According to Sir. 3:30, "A flaming fire doth quench water; so doth almsgiving atone for sin." In later Judaism good deeds, the study of the Torah, suffering, and one's own death may have atoning value (T. Yoma 5:6 ff.; cf. E. Lohse, *Märtyrer und Gottesknecht*, 1963 ², 35 ff.). The death of the martyrs has a special atoning worth, as may be seen in the quotation above from 4 Macc. 17:22 (cf. 2 Macc. 7:37; SB II 275 ff.; Lohse, op. cit., 66 ff.).

To sum up the discussion so far, it is clear that the authors of the Heb. OT and the LXX translators are far removed from the crude pagan idea of propitiating a capricious and malevolent deity. On the other hand, the evidence that we have examined does not suggest that these writers shared a common quasi-mechanistic view of life in which the effects of sin could be nullified by resorting to the appropriate rite as an antidote. There is a personal dimension which affects both the offending and the offended parties which means that, even where an offence has to be expiated, the action has to be taken because the personal relationship between the parties requires it. What C. K. Barrett says of Paul's teaching in Romans might also be applied to those passages in the OT concerning the expiation of man's sin: "It would be wrong to neglect the fact that expiation has, as it were, the effect of propitiation: the sin that might have excited God's wrath is expiated (at God's will) and therefore no longer does so" (*The Epistle to the Romans*, *BNTC*, 1957, 78).

(d) The element of propitiation is further supported by a closer examination of the significance of → blood in the OT. The view that → life is in the blood has already been noted (see above, OT 2 (c)). This has been taken by an influential body of theologians to mean that sacrifice is a way of releasing life. Thus Vincent Taylor writes: "The victim is slain in order that its life, in the form of blood, may be released, and its flesh is burnt in order that it may be transformed or etherialized; and in both cases the aim is to make it possible for life to be presented as an offering to the Deity" (*Jesus and His Sacrifice*, 1937, 54 f.). Similarly, E. L. Mascall writes: "The slaying was merely an indispensable preliminary by which the life was set free to be offered" (*Corpus Christi*, 1955, 89; cf. F. C. N. Hicks, *The Fullness of Sacrifice*, 1930). With Mascall, Hicks and other Catholic writers, this interpretation laid the

OT foundation for a view of the eucharist which saw the sacrament as the means of communicating the life of Christ to the faithful, on whose behalf it was released in the sacrifice of Calvary and renewed in the eucharist.

The chief grounds for adopting this interpretation of the OT lie in the way passages like Lev. 17:11 are understood: "For the life [Heb. *nepeš*; LXX *psychē*] of the flesh is in the blood [Heb. *dām*; LXX *haima*]; and I have given it for you upon the altar to make atonement for your souls; for it is the blood that makes atonement, by reason of the life." This may be coupled with the prohibition in Lev. 17:14: "For the life of every creature is the blood of it [so Gk., Syr., cf. Vulg.; the Heb. reads: for the life of all flesh, its blood is in its life]; therefore I have said to the people of Israel, You shall not eat the blood of any creature, for the life of every creature is its blood; whoever eats it shall be cut off." A similar prohibition is contained in Deut. 12:23: "Only be sure that you do not eat the blood; for the blood is the life, and you shall not eat the life with the flesh." The same command is given to → Noah which is contained in the so-called "Noachian decrees": "Only you shall not eat flesh with its life, that is, its blood" (Gen. 9:4). The eating of flesh with blood in it is further prohibited in (e.g.) Lev. 3:17; 7:26 f.; 17:10, 12; 19:26; Deut. 12:16, 23;15:23. Various other passages link blood and life. Thus → David refused to drink the water brought to him from the well of → Bethlehem: "He poured it out to the LORD, and said, 'Far be it from me, O LORD, that I should do this. Shall I drink the blood of the men who went at the risk of their lives?' " (2 Sam. 23:16 f.). The taking of human life is also prohibited in the "Noachian decrees": "For your lifeblood I will surely require a reckoning; of every beast I will require it and of man; of every man's brother I will require the life of man" (Gen. 9:5). Blood is used as a synonym for life or soul by the Psalmist: "From oppression and violence he redeems their life [Heb. *napšām*; LXX *psychas*]; and precious is their blood in his sight" (Ps. 72[71]:14).

The view represented by Taylor has, however, been strongly challenged by a number of scholars (L. Morris, op. cit., 112–28; A. M. Stibbs, *The Meaning of the Word "Blood" in Scripture*, 1954²; J. Behm, *haima, haimatekchysia, TDNT* I 172–77; J. A. Robinson, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians*, 1904, 29; G. F. Moore, *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, 1899–1903, column 4221; C. Ryder Smith, *The Bible Doctrine of Salvation*, 1946, 233; cf. also H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the Old Testament*, 1974, 60 ff., whose study of blood makes no reference to the theory of the shedding of blood as the release of life). On closer examination it becomes clear that "blood" in many of the passages quoted means death rather than life. So long as the blood circulates in the animal or human being, there is life. When it no longer circulates, death ensues. This, of course, is prior to the modern theory of the circulation of the blood, discovered by William Harvey in the seventeenth century. Rather, it was recognized that, while blood flowed, there was life. Behind the prohibition of eating flesh with blood in it, there may also have been sound hygienic reasons. Gen. 9:5 (like Gen. 42:22) is concerned with the destruction of life. Alongside Ps. 72[71]:14 may be set Ps. 116:15: "Precious in the sight of the LORD is the death of his saints."

Similarly, David's question about drinking the blood of his brave followers can only be a metaphorical one in which blood signifies life surrendered in death. Of the 362 instances of the word *dām*, blood, in the Heb. OT, Leon Morris claims that no less than 203 associate blood with violent death (op. cit., 112). Among these are

some 165 general instances like "Whoever sheds the blood of man, by man shall his blood be shed" (Gen. 9:6), "the avenger of blood" (Num. 35:19), "he who avenges blood is mindful of them" (Ps. 9:12). The expression "innocent blood" occurs 21 times (e.g. Deut. 19:10, 13; 21:8 f.; cf. 27:25; 1 Sam. 19:5; 1 Ki. 2:31; Prov. 6:17; Isa. 59:7). The idea of one's blood being upon oneself is found 12 times (e.g. Lev. 20:9, 11 ff., 16, 27; 2 Sam. 16:8; 1 Ki. 2:32 ff.). On blood-guiltiness see Gen. 9:4 ff.; Lev. 17:4; Deut. 19:10; Prov. 1:18; 28:17; Isa. 1:15; Hos. 1:4; 4:2; Nah. 3:1; Ezek. 22:2; 24:6, 9. There are some 5 references to the death of animals (e.g. Lev. 17:3 f.) in addition to 103 references to sacrificial blood (e.g. Exod. 23:18). In passages like Gen. 37:26; 1 Ki. 2:5; Ps. 58[57]:10, blood clearly signifies death.

Taken in isolation, it is possible to construe certain passages which deal with atonement (e.g. Exod. 30:10; Lev. 16:27; 17:11) as offering the life of the victim. But it is equally possible to understand them as offering the death of the victim whose life has been taken away. However, in Num. 35:33 which deals with the execution of a murderer, there can be no question of the presentation of his life before God. And in various passages where atonement is effected by some means other than the cultus it is the termination of life which brings about the atonement. Thus Moses sought atonement for the sin of the people by asking Yahweh to blot him out of the book which he had written (Exod. 32:30 ff.). Phinehas made atonement by slaying Zimri and Cozbi (Num. 25:13). David made atonement by delivering seven descendants of Saul to be hanged by the Gibeonites (2 Sam. 21:3 f.). In the case of a murder committed by an unknown person atonement is made by breaking the neck of a heifer (Deut. 21:1–9).

In the case of sacrifice within the cultus, atonement is generally effected not simply by offering the blood but by the offering of the whole sacrifice (Ezek. 45:17; for the various types of offering → Sacrifice). Moreover, different parts of the animal were associated with atonement: e.g. the head (Lev. 1:4; cf. Yoma 3:8; 4:2; 6:2); the burning of the fat (Lev. 4:26; cf. 3:16 f.; Isa. 1:11; 34:6; 2 Sam. 1:22). In some cases where atonement is spoken of, the blood appears to be excluded altogether. Thus Aaron and his sons were instructed to "eat those things with which atonement was made" (Exod. 29:33). Similarly, Moses rebuked the sons of Aaron by asking: "Why have you not eaten the sin offering in the place of the sanctuary, since it is a thing most holy and has been given to you that you may bear the iniquity of the congregation, to make atonement for them before the LORD? Behold, its blood was not brought into the inner part of the sanctuary. You certainly ought to have eaten it in the sanctuary, as I commanded" (Lev. 10:17 f.). In other places atonement is connected with ceremonies like the → pouring of → oil on the head of a cleansed → leper (Lev. 14:18, 29), the offering of → incense (Num. 16:46), and the scapegoat (Lev. 16:10). In the Passover ritual blood is the means of averting destruction. "The blood shall be a sign for you, upon the houses where you are; and when I see the blood, I will pass over you, and no plague shall fall upon you to destroy you, when I smite the land of Egypt" (Exod. 12:13). Morris comments: "The obvious symbolism is that a death has taken place, and this death substitutes for the death of the firstborn" (op. cit., 121).

Finally, attention may be drawn to certain prophetic passages in which the slaughter of nations is compared with sacrifice. Thus Jeremiah spoke of the destruction of Egypt and her allies: "The sword shall devour and be sated, and drink its fill

of their blood. For the LORD God of hosts holds a sacrifice in the north country by the river Euphrates" (Jer. 46:10b). In similar vein Zephaniah also spoke of the day of the Lord: "Be silent before the LORD God! For the day of the LORD is at hand; the LORD has prepared a sacrifice and consecrated his guests. And on the day of the LORD'S sacrifice – 'I will punish the officials and the king's sons and all who array themselves in foreign attire' " (Zeph. 1:7 f.). Here too there can be no question of sacrifice being a means of releasing life; the essential idea is the taking away of life in death.

In view of these considerations, the conclusion may be drawn that, where blood is mentioned in the OT, the thought that is uppermost is the shedding of blood (whether literally or in some other way of terminating life), and where blood is linked with sacrifice or atonement the thought is that of the death of the victim rather than the release of his life. As in our study of *kipper* and the *hilaskomai* word-group, there lies in the background the thought that such acts are not arbitrary or unethical. In the last analysis they are required because Yahweh is who he is. The biblical writers see no tension with righteousness at this point. Indeed, these things are seen as part and parcel of the moral structure of life which in turn derives from Yahweh.

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4. The ideas of atonement acquired a particular form in the Qumran community. The community on the one hand held firmly to the OT view that God is the subject of atonement (e.g. 1QH 4:37; 1QS 11:1–14; CD 4:6 ff.; 20:34). At the same time, however, there was the idea that the Essene community as the true → Israel makes atonement for the whole land (*l*^{e}*kapper b*^{e}*'aḏ hā-'āreṣ*) by its obedience to the Torah (1QS 8:6, 10; cf. 2:8; 5:6; 8:3; 1QSa 1:3; Lev. 18:27 f.; Num. 35:33; Joel 3:17[4:17]; Jub. 50:5; Sib. 5:264; Syr. Bar. 66:2; see further A. R. C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning*, 1966, 217).

NT In view of the relatively frequent and quite familiar occurrence of cultic terms in the LXX, it comes as a surprise to find how rarely the NT makes use of these words. Each of the four terms is used only twice, so that the whole group of words appears only 8 times in the NT (of which 3 are in Heb.).

1. (a) *hileōs* appears in Matt. 16:22 as a negative exclamation in Peter's rebuke of Jesus when Jesus told him of his impending death at Jerusalem: "God forbid, Lord! This shall never happen to you." The Gk. is *hileōs soi, kyrie* (lit. "gracious to you, Lord"). The words *eiē ho theos* ("may God be") are understood. For biblical parallels see Gen. 43:23; 2 Sam. 20:20; 1 Chr. 11:19 (cf. also *hileōs soi, Alypi* "May [Serapis] help you", quoted by Arndt, 376; cf. Funk § 128, 5; Moulton-Milligan, 303).

(b) Heb. 8:12 comes at the end of a quotation from Jer. 31:31–34: "for I will be merciful toward their iniquities, and I will remember their sins no more." It concludes an argument that the new covenant has been inaugurated by Christ, that this is the covenant foretold by Jeremiah, and therefore that, "In speaking of a new covenant he treats the first as obsolete. And what is becoming obsolete and growing old is ready to vanish away" (Heb. 8:12).

2. (a) Strikingly enough, *exhilaskomai* which is the regular vb. in the LXX does not occur in the NT at all. The aor. passive of *hilaskomai* is used in Lk. 18:13 in the tax collector's prayer in the temple: "God, be merciful to me a sinner! [*ho theos,*

hilasthēti moi tō hamartōlō]." The thought is similar to that of Ps. 79(78):9 LXX: "and forgive our sins for thy name's sake [*kai hilasthēti tais hamartiais hēmōn heneka tou onomatos sou*]." The same vb. is used in both cases. It can be rendered as both "be propitious" and "be merciful" (Moulton-Milligan, 303; Arndt, 376). Whether one sees here overtones of the need for propitiation, as in cl. Gk., or whether one sees a more general cry for mercy, depends on the weight one gives to Dodd's argument that the passive meaning of "be propitiated" has been evaporated in the LXX (op. cit., 93 f.; cf. above OT 3 (b)). However, it must be pointed out that the tax collector certainly felt the need for a forgiveness that only God himself could bestow. Otherwise, he would not have uttered the prayer.

Jesus' comment is contained in Lk. 18:14: "I tell you, this man went down to his house justified [*dedikaiōmenos*] rather than the other; for every one who exalts himself will be humbled, but he who humbles himself will be exalted." On justification → Righteousness, art. *dikaiosynē*. Commenting on the parable, E. E. Ellis sees the → Pharisee's attitude as not untypical of attitudes within Judaism (*The Gospel of Luke, New Century Bible*, 1966, 215). In the Talmud one rabbi was said to be confident that his righteousness was sufficient to exempt his whole generation from judgment. If the saved numbered only "a hundred, I and my son are among them; and if only two, they are I and my son" (Suk. 45b). In terms of performing those acts which were currently understood as comprising righteousness, Paul declared himself "as to the righteousness under the law, blameless" (Phil. 3:6). Even at Qumran, amidst the profound consciousness that the community was the elect and righteous Sons of Light, there was a sense that righteousness was a gift of God. "As for me, my justification is with God. In His Hand are the perfection of my way and the uprightness of my heart. He will wipe out my transgression through His righteousness. . . . From the source of His righteousness is my justification" (1QS 11:2 f., 5). Thus justification here might be said to be by grace alone, but it was not, as with Paul, by faith related to the saving act of Christ (Rom. 3:20–27) or related to the law (Rom. 8:4; cf. 7:1–25; Gal. 3:10 ff.). The development of these aspects of reconciliation and justification belong to the post-Pentecost church.

The parable in Lk. 18 focuses on two aspects: on man's side what matters is a heartfelt turning to God which simply casts oneself on God's mercy; on God's side human self-righteousness is of no avail, but God has mercy on the ungodly who turn to him for mercy. The final statement about → humility and exaltation (→ Height, art. *hypsoō*) is regarded by some as possibly an originally independent saying (Ellis, op. cit., 214). It does, however, fit the context and train of thought remarkably well. For it picks up OT teaching about God, righteousness and humility (e.g. Prov. 3:34; Isa. 55:15; 58:3 ff.; cf. also 1 Pet. 5:5 f.). It says in effect to those to whom the parable was addressed ("who trusted in themselves that they were righteous and despised others", Lk. 18:9), that this teaching is nothing new. If they (and the Pharisee in the parable) had really understood the Scriptures, they would have understood this truth about God and man.

(b) Heb. 2:17 takes up the cultic ritual of the Day of Atonement: "Therefore he had to be made like his brethren in every respect, so that he might become a merciful and faithful high priest in the service of God, to make expiation for the sins of the people [*eis to hilaskesthai tas hamartias tou laou*]" (cf. Lev. 16:14 ff.). The RSV here follows Dodd's line of interpretation (see above, OT 3 (b)). "Christ is represented

as performing an act whereby men are delivered from the guilt of their sin, not whereby God is propitiated" (C. H. Dodd, op. cit., 94). Jesus is portrayed as the faithful high priest (cf. 1 Sam. 2:35) who atones for the → sins of the people. The death and exaltation of Jesus are interpreted in terms of the annual Day of Atonement ritual which is seen as a type of Jesus' reconciling work and which is thus rendered obsolete by the fulfilment which comes with Jesus.

Jesus stands in the service of God. In the phrase "a merciful and faithful high priest in the service of God [*eleēmōn . . . kai pistos archiereus ta pros ton theon*]" the *ta* is an acc. of respect (Funk § 160). This has been taken to imply that God is not the recipient of the reconciliation. Rather, Jesus is appointed and authorized by God "to fulfil that which neither the propitiatory acts of the OT nor those of other religions have been able to accomplish" (O. Michel, *Der Brief an die Hebräer*, *KEK* 13, 1966 [12], 169). Comparison with cultic atonement exhibits the radical nature of the sacrifice of Jesus' life for the sin of others (cf. Heb. 7:27; 9:12, 26; 10:12). The outcome of Jesus' atonement (*hilaskesthai*) is the wiping out of the guilt of sins (*hamartias*) and the offer of → forgiveness to the new people of God. Clearly, this is an action by God through his high priest Jesus for the salvation of men. But while there is no thought of appeasement of an angry deity in the pagan sense, and God is not said explicitly to be the recipient of the *hilaskesthai*, it may be asked whether Dodd's conclusion is not too simplistic. For whether we look at it against the wider background of personal relations with Yahweh in the OT or the more specific background of the Day of Atonement ritual (see above, OT 3 (c)), the reason why guilt has to be expiated lies in the character of God himself. The Day of Atonement ritual is required not because of some mechanistic view of the universe which requires the appropriate ritual as an antidote to nullify the effects of sin. It is because God himself is who he is and what he is. He is both the provider and the recipient of the reconciliation.

3. The noun *hilasmos* occurs only in 1 Jn. "And he is the expiation for our sins [*hilasmos . . . peri tōn hamartiōn hēmōn*], and not for ours only but also for the sins of the whole world" (1 Jn. 2:2 RSV). "In this is love, not that we loved God but that he loved us and sent his Son to be the expiation for our sins [*hilasmon peri tōn hamartiōn hēmōn*]" (1 Jn. 4:10 RSV). The decision whether to translate *hilasmos* by "expiation" or "propitiation" must be decided against the background of the considerations already discussed (see above, OT 3 (b) and (c)). However, it must be said that, as with other passages in the OT and NT concerning reconciliation, it is not a matter of applying some impersonal antidote. The question at issue is our personal relationship with God, and that which hinders this relationship needs to be dealt with for God's part just as much as for ours (cf. 1 Jn. 1:5–10; 4:7 ff., 13–21).

1 Jn. 2:2 and 4:10 are parallel statements to 1 Jn. 2:1 and 1 Jn. 4:9: "My little children, I am writing this to you so that you may not sin; but if any one does sin, we have an advocate with the Father [*paraklēton . . . pros ton patera*], Jesus Christ the righteous"; "In this the love of God was made manifest among us, that God sent his only Son into the world, so that we might live through him." In view of this parallelism and the fact that cultic language is not in general characteristic of 1 Jn., it has been suggested that 1 Jn. 2:2 and 4:10 were later additions due to the redactional influence of the community (cf. R. Bultmann, *The Johannine Epistles*, *Hermeneia*, 1973, 23, 68). But in fact, words of the *hilaskomai* word-ground fit in naturally with

the terminology of blood, cleansing and sin (1 Jn. 1:7 ff.) and would come naturally to anyone familiar with this area of the thought-world of the LXX.

In 1 Jn. 2:1 Jesus is described by use of the personal term → advocate (*paraklētos*). But now, as B. F. Westcott pointed out, he is not said to be the propitiator but the propitiation (*The Epistles of St John*, 1892 [3], 44). This is parallel to him being "our life" (Col. 3:4), "our wisdom, our righteousness and sanctification and redemption" (1 Cor. 1:30). He does not simply guide, teach, quicken; he is "the way, the truth, and the life" (Jn. 14:6). The action is clearly linked with his death: "But if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship with one another, and the blood of Jesus his Son cleanses us from all sin" (1 Jn. 1:7). Christ's death is the ground on which we may be cleansed, when we confess our sins: "If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just, and will forgive our sins and cleanse us from all unrighteousness" (1 Jn. 1:9). "The *hilasmos* is not one-sidedly linked with the single achievement of the death, but with the total person and work of Jesus, of which His death is, of course, an indissoluble part, 5:6; cf. 3:16; 1:7" (F. Büchsel, *TDNT* III 318). Jn. does not set out the need for a *hilasmos*. For him it is self-evident in the light of the character of God and the coming → judgment (1 Jn. 4:17). But once again atonement is not regarded as something that man does to God, but rather as the expression of God's love to men (1 Jn. 4:10).

4. (a) In the description of the sanctuary in the → tent in Heb. 9:1–5 *hilastērion* means mercy seat: "above it were the cherubim of glory overshadowing the mercy seat" (Heb. 9:5a; cf. Exod. 25:18–22; 37:7 ff. LXX; see above, OT 3 (c)).

(b) The interpretation of Rom. 3:25 has been the subject of much discussion. It stands at the centre of Paul's statement of God's → righteousness in the face of man's sin. The Gentile stands condemned apart from the law (Rom. 1:18–32; cf. 2:12) and the Jew is condemned by the law (Rom. 2:1–3:20). "But now the righteousness of God has been manifested apart from the law, although the law and the prophets bear witness to it, the righteousness of God through faith in Jesus Christ for all who believe. For there is no distinction; since all have sinned and fall short of the glory of God, they are justified by his grace as a gift, through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus, whom God put forward as an expiation by his blood, to be received by faith [*hon proetheto ho theos hilastērion dia pisteōs*]. This was to show God's righteousness, because in his divine forbearance he had passed over former sins; it was to prove at the present time that he himself is righteous and that he justifies him who has faith in Jesus" (Rom. 3:21–26).

E. Käsemann sees Rom. 3:25 as a quotation taken up by Paul from Jewish Christian sources to which Paul has added his characteristic emphasis on faith in the words *dia pisteōs* ("Zum Verständnis von Römer 3, 24–26", *ZNW* 43, 1950–51, 150 ff.; reprinted in *Exegetische Versuche und Besinnungen*, I, 1968[5], 96 ff.; cf. also R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, I, 1952, 46 f.).

Several older exegetes connect the *hilastērion* here with the mercy seat, as in Heb. 9:5 (see above, 4 (a)). Thus, F. Büchsel, who points out that Paul's writings are saturated with allusions to the LXX, writes: "The indisputable centre of the earlier expiations of the Law is the Day of Atonement, when the *hilastērion*, or *kappōreṯ*, must be sprinkled with blood to mediate the remission of all sins. Paul obviously assumes that the church to which he writes is acquainted with the Mosaic Law, 7:1. Hence it is natural that he should depict Jesus in this context as a higher *kappōreṯ*

which is efficacious through faith rather than through purely external observance" (*TDNT* III 321; cf. Rom. 2:28; 1 Cor. 3:6). Similarly, T. W. Manson interpreted *hilastērion* against the background of the Day of Atonement rites and took it to mean either "an expiatory place or object", or more probably in the context of Jewish-Christian usage "the place where God shows mercy to man" ("*HILASTERION*", *JTS* 46, 1945, 1–10).

This attractive interpretation has, however, failed to find general assent. Among those who have contested it is E. Lohse, *Märtyrer und Gottesknecht. Untersuchungen zur urchristlichen Verkündigung vom Sühntod Jesu Christi*, *FRLANT* 46, 1955, 1963 [2], 151 f.). Leon Morris has also questioned it on the following grounds ("The Meaning of *hilastērion* in Rom. iii. 25", *NTS* 2, 1955–56, 33–43). When *hilastērion* means mercy seat it always has the definite article (as in Heb. 9:5). The only exception is Exod. 25:17, where *epithema* removes it from the general to the particular. Not all the instances of *hilastērion* which Manson regards as referring to places are certain: they also refer to the propitiatory nature and purpose of the object. Generally speaking, Rom. does not move in the sphere of Levitical symbolism (in the way that, e.g., Heb. does). The question has to be asked how readily the readers of the Jewish Christian community at Rome would have grasped the significance of *hilastērion* as a single unexplained reference to the tabernacle furnishings. Manson regarded Rom. 1–3 as an "elaborate confession of sin for all mankind". This could be compared with Aaron's confession of the iniquities of Israel over the live goat on the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16:21) but for the fact that these chapters are not a confession of sin to God but a demonstration of God's condemnation of sin before men. Morris regards it as harsh to make Christ, at one and the same time, the priest, victim and place of sprinkling. On the other hand, this latter point is not an insuperable objection, for Paul evidently regards Jesus Christ as the one who made the offering, the victim whose blood actually does take away sins, and therefore he himself was the locus in which all this was effected.

An alternative model for Paul's thought might be 4 Macc. 17:22 (quoted above, OT 3 (c)). H. Rashdall went so far as to think it "highly probable" that "this was the source of St. Paul's thought and expression" (*The Idea of Atonement in Christian Theology*, 1919, 132). Leon Morris is more cautious and prefers to think of a community of thought to which both Paul and 4 Macc. belong. Among the ideas common to both passages are the following which are listed by D. Hill (op. cit., 42): (1) Both contexts speak of the active wrath of God; (2) Both refer to the shedding of blood and the surrender of life; (3) The death in both cases deals with sin; (4) In both cases death brings about deliverance, although with Paul it is not political but moral and theological; (5) In both passages the death is vicarious; (6) In both places it is God who provides the means of atonement.

Hill goes on to suggest that Paul was directly influenced by 4 Macc. (op. cit., 43–46). He follows M. Hadas in dating 4 Macc. in the middle or end of the reign of Caligula (A.D. 37–41) (*The Third and Fourth Books of Maccabees*, 1953). Paul probably wrote Rom. during his three-month stay in Greece mentioned at Acts 20:2 f. some time between late A.D. 55 and early 59. He therefore regards it as chronologically probable that 4 Macc. was written before Rom. Moreover, he does not think that the Alexandrian origin of 4 Macc. and its use of Gk. philosophical ideas militate against the theory that Paul knew the work and was influenced by it.

The work itself celebrates the glory and worth of martyrdom, with its emphasis on supreme obedience to the demands of God, its atoning worth, and the merit which avails for others. Similar ideas were current in Judaism (Ass.Mos.; Pss.Sol. 10:2; Test.Ben. 3:8; cf. W. H. C. Frend, *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church*, 1965, 31–68; W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, 1955 ², 265–73; H. J. Schoeps, *Paul: The Theology of the Apostle in the Light of Jewish Religious History*, 1961, 128–33; and E. Lohse, op. cit.). There are clear traces of a martyr-theology in Paul (Rom. 5:13–18; Phil. 2:8). Moreover, Hill thinks it not too fanciful to suggest that Paul's writing of Rom. coincided with the Feast of the Dedication (Hanukkah) which began on 25 Chisleu and which was a winter festival. The feast commemorated the rededication of the temple in 165 B.C. This point has particular significance if 4 Macc. was or contained "a Memorial Address" composed for the feast (cf. B. W. Bacon, "The Festival of Lives given for the Nation in Jewish and Christian Faith", *Hibbert Journal* 15, 1917, 256–78).

Hill admits that a good deal of this is an undemonstrable hypothesis. But the point must be stressed that, if Paul has 4 Macc. in mind in writing Rom. 3, he was not saying that Jesus was just one of a long line of Jewish martyrs whose deaths had atoning value. Rather, his stress on the uniqueness of Christ's death and efficacy make it clear that the deaths of the Jewish martyrs do not possess the atoning value ascribed to them. This point is reinforced by Rom. 3:25b which declares that God had passed over former sins, i.e. he had not punished them, but that now he shows his righteousness in visiting sin and justifying those who have faith in Jesus (v. 26; → Patience, art. *anechomai* NT 2; cf. M. Black, *Romans*, *New Century Bible*, 1973, 70; C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Epistle to the Romans*, *ICC*, I, 1975, 211 ff.).

If the objection be made that to think of *hilastērion* in Rom. 3:35 in terms of the mercy seat involves an abrupt introduction of the idea without explanatory reference to the context, the same objection could be made to linking it to the thought-world of 4 Macc. And yet the word and its associated ideas are common factors in all three contexts. Must we choose between them? It might seem that it would make Paul's thought impossibly complicated, if we suggest that Paul was thinking of both the Day of Atonement with all its tabernacle symbolism and the Jewish tradition of the atoning death of the martyrs. But to put the matter this way might be to put it the wrong way round. There are a number of common factors in the Day of Atonement ritual and the Jewish beliefs: the need for atonement, that this is brought about by death, and that of an innocent victim, that this benefits the people. Such beliefs were not exclusively associated with either the Day of Atonement or the death of the martyrs. It may well be that Paul deliberately chose a term which was common to both to show that Christ's death is the ultimately valid means of atonement by which both the OT rites and contemporary Jewish beliefs about the deaths of the martyrs were once and for all superseded.

If this is so, it might well explain the grammatical problems posed by supposing that Paul was drawing on either context; i.e. his anarthrous use of *hilastērion*, whereas it normally has the definite article when it means mercy seat; the fact that *hilastēriou* in the best reading of 4 Macc. 17:22 appears to be adjectival. Thus Paul is using the word in a way which corresponds grammatically to neither set of passages exactly; but the substance of the idea is common to both.

At the same time Paul emphasizes once more the importance of → faith in the

words "by faith [*dia pisteōs*]". The words "by his blood [*en tō autou haimati*]" recall the Last Supper, the tradition of the → Lord's Supper (Matt. 26:28 par. Mk. 14:24, Lk. 22:20; 1 Cor. 10:16; 11:25), the primitive → proclamation of the *kērygma* (1 Cor. 15:3), and the references to blood elsewhere in NT teaching (Rom. 5:9; Acts 20:28; Eph. 1:7; 2:13; Col. 1:20; Heb. 9:11 ff.; 10:19, 29; 13:12, 20; 1 Pet. 1:2, 19; 1 Jn. 1:7; 5:6; Rev. 1:5; 5:9; 7:14; 12:11 (cf. C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Epistle to the Romans, ICC*, I, 1975, 210 f.). It re-establishes the broken covenant through God's covenant faithfulness, his *dikaiosynē*, → righteousness (cf. E. Käsemann, op. cit., 99; and "The Saving Significance of the Death of Jesus in Paul", *Perspectives on Paul*, 1971, 32–59).

H.-G. Link, C. Brown

καταλλάσσω

καταλλάσσω (*katallassō*), reconcile; καταλλαγή (*katallagē*), reconciliation; ἀπαλλάσσω (*apallassō*), set free, release; διαλλάσσομαι (*diallassomai*), become reconciled; ἀποκαταλλάσσω (*apokatallassō*), reconcile; μεταλλάσσω (*metallassō*), to exchange; ἀντάλλαγμα (*antallagma*), what is given or taken in exchange.

CL *katallassō* is a compound of *allassō*, to alter, exchange (derived from *allos*, another; → Other). Its original meaning is to change, exchange, etc.; transferred, it means to reconcile (Hdt. onwards; e.g. Hdt. 5, 95; 7, 145). The corresponding noun is *katallagē*, reconciliation (Aesch., *Sept.* 767; Dem. 1, 4). Other compounds of *allassō* found in the NT are: *apallassō*, set free, release; *diallassō*, change (someone's mind), reconcile (found in passive); *metallassō*, change, exchange; *apokatallassō* (only in Christian literature), to reconcile. From the same root is derived the noun *antallagma*, what is given in exchange, price of purchase (e.g. Eur., *Orestes* 1157).

katallassō (like *diallassō*, and *katallagē*, with its corresponding meaning) generally denotes in classical Gk. the restoration of the original understanding between people after hostility or displeasure (Xen., *Anab.* 1, 6, 1: Eur., *Helena* 1235; Aristotle, *Oeconomica* 1348b, 9). *katallassō* is rarely found in the sense of reconciliation in a religious setting (it occurs once in Soph., *Ajax* 744). It is not a term that can be used of propitiatory rites: in general the thought of a personal relationship to God is far removed from Gk. thought, as is also any forensic concept of a relationship with God.

OT The words of this group are rare in the LXX. In the canonical books they appear in their original sense, or in one closely associated therewith. *katallassō* is found only at Jer. 48(31):39, for *ḥāṯâh*, to be shattered, dismayed; and without Heb. equivalent at 2 Macc. 1:5; 7:33; 8:29; *katallagē* only at Isa. 9:4(5) where it deviates from the Heb. text and is hard to understand, and at 2 Macc. 5:20. *diallassō* stands for various vbs. in Job (12:20, 24, *sûr* hiph., to remove; *pārar* hiph. break, frustrate, 5:20; similarly *apallassō* for various vbs. in 9:34; 5:12, to destroy; cf. 7:15; 9:12; 10:19; 27:5; 34:5). See also Exod. 19:22; 1 Sam. 14:29; 22:1; Jer. 32(39):31; 3 Macc. 6:30; 4 Macc. 9:16. *antallagma* means price (*mᵉḥîr*, 1 Ki. 21(20):2; Job 28:15; Jer. 15:13); a change (*ḥᵃlīp̄âh*, Ps. 55[54]:19); ransom price (*kōp̄er*, Amos 5:12); exchange (*tᵉmûrâh*, Ruth 4:7). There is no corresponding Heb. in Ps.

89(88):57; Sir. 6:15; 26:14; 44:17. Later rabbinic usage is anticipated in 1 Sam. 29:4, where *diallassomai* deviates from its original sense to mean to make oneself acceptable. In translating the language of atonement taken from the technical priestly vocabulary, the LXX prefers similar cultic terms like *ekkathairō*, purify (→ Pure, art. *katharos*), frequently *exhilaskomai*, atone, expiate, or propitiate (→ *hilaskomai* for atonement and reconciliation in the OT). *katallassō* and its derivatives are not found at all in cultic and priestly contexts.

2. Judaism has a mood of repentance all its own (cf. the large number of penitential prayers). Confession of sins and repentance are means by which reconciliation with God is sought, i.e. the restoration of his favour. Thus *katallassō* appears with reference to God in 2 Macc. 1:5; 7:33; 8:29. Often the OT proclamation of the grace of God is here foreshortened (cf. e.g. Ps. 62[61]:12 with Prov. 24:12; Sir. 16:12). When the fulfilment of the → law becomes a means to the end of achieving → righteousness before God, the thought of reconciliation can find itself in close proximity with that of reward. *katallassō* and cognates are not unfamiliar, but are not very frequently found.

NT In the NT *katallassō* occurs only in the sense of to reconcile, or (passive) to be reconciled. It is used of the reconciliation of men with one another (1 Cor. 7:11; in the same sense *diallassomai* in Matt. 5:24), and of their relationship with God (only in Paul: Rom. 5:10; 2 Cor. 5:18–20; in Col. 1:20, 22 and Eph. 2:16 *apokatallassō* in the same sense). *katallagē* is also found in the sense of reconciliation (only in Paul: Rom. 5:11; 11:15; 2 Cor. 5:18, 19).

apallassō occurs in the act., meaning to free (Heb. 2:15), and in the passive or middle to get free, be released, settle with (Lk. 12:58; Acts 19:12). Similarly we find in their original sense *metallassō* (Rom. 1:25, 26) and the simple form *allassō* (Acts 6:14; Gal. 4:20; Heb. 1:12; Rom. 1:23; on 1 Cor. 15:51 f. → Resurrection, art. *anastasis*). *antallagma*, ransom money, is found only at Mk. 8:37 par. Matt. 16:26.

1. *katallassō* and *katallagē* occur only rarely in the NT even in Paul who is the sole NT writer to use these terms. Nevertheless, these words are among the basic concepts of Pauline theology. They serve to give greater theological and christological precision to Christ and his work than such soteriological concepts generally found in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts like → forgiveness (Gk. *aphiēmi*).

2. The subject of the reconciliation is God (2 Cor. 5:18 f.). This is the theological novelty in comparison with non-Christian religious thought, which knows the deity only as the object of the reconciling work of man. At the same time it is consistent with the OT message of God as the "merciful" and "gracious" one, who reveals "steadfast love" and "faithfulness" as belonging to his very being (Exod. 34:6 f.; cf. Ps. 103[102]:8 ff.), and who promises forgiveness and restoration of the → covenant as his sovereign work (Isa. 43:25; 54:7 ff.; Jer. 31:31 ff.). The *katallagē* created by God is thus a completed act which precedes all human action. "For if while we were enemies we were reconciled [*katēllagēmen*] to God by the death of his Son, much more now that we are reconciled [*katallagentes*], shall we be saved by his life" (Rom. 5:10). Man was thus an → enemy before the reconciliation took place. *A fortiori* the resurrection of Jesus is the guarantee of salvation. Human action, including even repentance and confession of sins, is not a work of man to bring about and initiate reconciliation, to which God reacts. Rather is it the reaction of man, and as such

necessary and demanded. That this is the state of affairs is confirmed further by Paul's characteristic order of indicative followed by imperative, which starts out from the act of God as the matter of primary importance, the good news which must be proclaimed as already complete. It is the ground of the believer's → joy in God: "Not only so, but we also rejoice in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom we have now received our reconciliation [*tēn katallagēn*]" (Rom. 5:11).

3. The reconciliation has been effected by the work of Christ. As we have already seen, Rom. 5:10 f. speak of its connexion with his death and with his resurrection. As the effect of this work, reconciliation is an expression of the new situation which this work has brought about, and which Paul usually indicates in terms like *dikaioō*, justify, *dikaiosynē*, righteousness, which are judicial terms (→ Righteousness). The fact that *katallassō* and *katallagē* can be used in parallel with these terms (cf. Rom. 5:9 with 5:10; and 2 Cor. 5:19 with Rom. 4:3 ff.) indicates the central place that they have in the preaching and theology of Paul. The *katallagē* is the expression of the transformation of the relationship (of enmity) between God and man, which has been brought about by the new → Adam (Rom. 5:12 ff.), Jesus Christ.

Perhaps the central theme of Rom. is the place of the Jewish nation in the divine economy of salvation. This explains why Paul is anxious to demonstrate from the OT scriptures that salvation has always been by grace through faith (cf. chs. 3 f.) and to show that the rôle of the → law was never intended to be a means of self-salvation (cf. chs. 2 f. with 7 f.). In chs. 9–11 Paul returns to the question whether God has forsaken Israel for ever in view of their rejection of Christ. In Rom. 11:15 he gives his answer in terms of reconciliation: "For if their rejection means the reconciliation of the world [*katallagē kosmou*], what will their acceptance mean but life from the dead?" The world here means the Gentiles (cf. M. Black, *Romans*, *New Century Bible*, 1973, 144). Black suggests that resurrection here is of the kind envisaged by the Targum on Hos. 6:2 ff. which included the resurrection of the faithful elect, both Jew and Gentile. The argument proceeds *a fortiori* from the Jewish rejection of Jesus; the unuttered premise is the unsearchable wisdom and love of God who will in his good time bring about his own purposes (cf. Rom. 11:33–36).

4. As God's unilateral act in Christ, reconciliation is his → gift, and the ministry of reconciliation is spoken of in these terms in 2 Cor. 5:18. Having depicted the act of new creation which takes place when a man is "in Christ" (→ New, art. *kainos* NT 2 (c)), Paul writes: "All this is from God, who through Christ reconciled us to himself [*katallaxantos hēmas heautō*] and gave us the ministry of reconciliation [*dontos hēmin tēn diakonian tēs katallagēs*]; that is, God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself [*kosmon katallassōn heautō*], not counting their trespasses against them [*mē logizomenos autois ta paraptōmata autōn*], and entrusting to us the message of reconciliation [*kai themenos en hēmin ton logon tēs katallagēs*]. So we are ambassadors for Christ, God making his appeal through us. We beseech you on behalf of Christ, be reconciled to God [*katallagēte tō theō*]. For our sake he made him to be sin who knew no sin [*ton mē gnonta hamartian hyper hēmōn hamartian epoiēsen*], so that in him we might become the righteousness of God [*hina hēmeis genōmetha dikaiosynē theou en autō*]" (2 Cor. 5:18–21).

Commenting on the reconciliation mentioned in v. 18, C. K. Barrett points out that reconciliation "is closely related to justification, and thus leads directly to the mention of God's righteousness in verse 21. To reconcile is to end a relation of en-

mity, and to substitute for it one of peace and goodwill. It is not necessarily implied that the enmity existed on one side only, but it is plainly stated that in this case the initiative to reconciliation was God's who found in the death of his Son (Rom. iii. 25 f.) a way in which his love for the sinner and his wrath against sin could be accommodated, so that he might both be righteous himself, and justify the man – the sinful man – who relies on faith in Jesus" (*The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, *BNTC*, 1973, 175),

The ministry of reconciliation might be contrasted with that of the Qumran community which believed that by its obedience to the Torah it made atonement for the whole land (1QS 8:5–10; → *hilaskomai* OT 4). There is at least a triple contrast: in the case of the Qumran community, the atonement affects only the land of Israel, whereas that brought about by Christ affects mankind; in the case of Qumran, it was the obedience of men, whereas with God it is nothing less than the death of his Son in the place of sinful man; in the case of Qumran it is something that man does, whereas the reconciliation wrought by Christ is the work of God himself. But the ministry of reconciliation does not end there. It has to be proclaimed and received. Elsewhere Paul defined his task in terms of preaching the word of the → cross (1 Cor. 1:8). It is the message of God's love for sinners and reconciliation (Rom. 5:8 ff.). What Paul calls "the message of reconciliation" (2 Cor. 5:19) is the → gospel itself. And the proclamation of the gospel is laid on the whole church. At the same time, it may be noted that the appeal to "be reconciled to God" (2 Cor. 5:20b) is addressed to the → church. The church, no less than the world (v. 19), needs to enter into this reconciliation and live it out.

On the grammatical questions raised by 2 Cor. 5:19 see C. K. Barrett, op. cit., 176 f., who points out that, "The only new thought (as we move from verse 18 to 19) is that *us* is expanded into the world; this says no more than verse 14, *he died on behalf of all.* The absence of the article (*kosmon katallassōn*) has the effect of emphasizing the nature rather than the particularity of the object of the verb – it was the whole world he reconciled – including perhaps the rebellious powers of Col. i. 19 f."

In 2 Cor. 5:19 reconciliation is understood as justification. It is expressed first of all negatively ("not counting their trespasses against them"). There may be a play on words between the participle used here *logizomenos* and the word translated by the RSV as "message" (*logos*; cf. 1 Cor. 1:18; → Word). The same vb. is used in Rom. 4:3–8 in the context of justification, where Paul argues from OT passages that justification comes about when God does not reckon iniquities to man, but reckons him righteous by faith (cf. Rom. 4:3 with Gen. 15:6; Gal. 3:6; Jas. 2:23; and Rom. 4:7 with Ps. 32[31]:1 f.). It is expressed positively in v. 21, where Christ is said to have assumed our sin so that "we might become the righteousness of God." This is no legal fiction. For in Christ the believer actually assumes his righteousness, just as Christ assumed the believer's sin. "Since transgressions no longer counted against men (cf. Exod. xxix. 10) the way was open for reconciliation; nothing remained but for men to take it. This however they could not do unless they were informed of the possibility now open to them" (Barrett, op. cit., 177).

The word translated as "ambassadors" in v. 20 is actually the 1st person plur. of the vb., and C. K. Barrett appropriately translates the phrase "We therefore act as ambassadors [*presbeuomen*]." The same vb. is found at Eph. 6:20, where having asked for prayer to proclaim boldly the mystery of the gospel Paul adds "for which I

am an ambassador [*presbeuō*] in chains; that I may declare it boldly, as I ought to speak" (→ Bishop, art. *presbyteros*). In Phlm. 9 the noun *presbytēs* is used: "yet for love's sake I prefer to appeal to you – I, Paul, an ambassador and now a prisoner also for Christ Jesus." Elsewhere Paul thinks of himself as a *kēryx*, herald (1 Tim. 2:7; 2 Tim. 1:11; cf. also 2 Pet. 2:5; → Proclamation, art. *kērysso̅*). The loftier concept of ambassador presents an even more marked contrast with Paul's outward circumstances (cf. 2 Cor. 2:14 ff.; 11:1–12:10). But it is particularly appropriate in the present context. For Paul and his colleagues are acting "on behalf of Christ [*hyper Christou*]", in his interest, virtually in his stead, for Christ is no longer physically present with his church. It is "as if [*hōs*]" God were exhorting the readers through Paul (on *parakaleō* → Exhort). The substance of this exhortation ("be reconciled to God") draws attention to the fact that reconciliation is incomplete until it is accepted by both sides. Moreover, it needs to be realized by those who are already in the church and who presumably have made some form of profession of faith. These verses throw light on Paul's concept of his → apostleship, both in terms of the content of his message and in terms of his activity both within and without the church.

The content of Paul's apostolic message of reconciliation is definitively expressed in v. 21 which sets it out in a parallelism which exhibits chiasmus (Barrett, op. cit., 179; cf. J. Jeremias, *Abba*, 1966, 278):

a	b	c	d
ton mē gnonta hamartian	*hyper hēmōn*	*hamartian*	*epoiēsen*
"him who knew not sin"	"for our sake"	"sin"	"he made"

hina
"that"

a	d	c	b
hēmeis	*genōmetha*	*dikaiosynē theou*	*en autō*
"we"	"might become"	"the righteousness of God"	"in him"

On the sinlessness of Christ and the messiah see Rom. 8:3; Jn. 8:46; cf. Pss.Sol. 17:40 f.; Test.Jud. 24:1; Test.Lev. 18:9. It is further implied in the narratives of Jesus' baptism (Matt. 3:13–17, especially 14 f. par. Mk. 1:9 ff., Lk. 3:21; Jn. 1:29–34). Yoma 22b speaks of a one-year-old child that has not tasted sin. "It is only as sinless that Christ can, in Paul's view, bear the sins of others. . . . Paul does not say, for by definition it would not have been true, that Christ became a sinner, transgressing God's law; neither does he say, for it would have contradicted all experience (not least in Corinth) that every believer becomes immediately and automatically morally righteous, good as God is good. He says rather that Christ became *sin*; that is, he came to stand in that relation with God which normally is the result of sin, estranged from God and the object of his wrath" (Barrett, op. cit., 180).

2 Cor. 5:21 occupies the same theological place in 2 Cor. as Rom. 3:25 does in Rom. The term *hilastērion* in the latter may be compared with the *hamartia* here, although Barrett rejects the suggestion that it might be translated "sin offering". O. Cullmann refers the verse to Isa. 53:6: "All we like sheep have gone astray; we

have turned every one to his own way; and the LORD has laid on him the iniquity of us all [LXX: *kai kyrios paredōken auton tais hamartiais hēmōn*]" (cf. O. Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament*, 1963 ², 76). It may be too specific to say that Paul is thinking here of Christ as a "sin offering". The normal LXX expression for "sin offering" is *peri hamartias* (e.g. Lev. 14:31 for *ḥaṭṭā't*; Ps. 40:6[39:7] for *ḥ^aṭā'âh*; Isa. 53:10 for *'āšām*; Lev. 9:2 for *l^eḥaṭṭā't*, "for a sin offering". The term *peri hamartias* is actually found at Rom. 8:3, but commentators generally prefer to take it in the wider sense of "for sin" rather than the narrower one of a particular OT type of sacrifice (cf. C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Epistle to the Romans, ICC*, I, 1975, 382). Nevertheless, the thought of both 2 Cor. 5:21 and Rom. 8:3 requires us to say that what Christ did on the cross comprehends and supersedes the OT sin offerings. In Gal. 3:13 f. Paul did not use the concept of reconciliation but expressed the atoning work of Christ on the cross in terms of the removal of the curse. The fact that Jesus died on the cross is itself proof that he bore the curse of God: "Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, having become a curse for us – for it is written, 'Cursed be every one who hangs on a tree' – that in Christ Jesus the blessing of Abraham might come upon the Gentiles, that we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith" (Gal. 3:13 f.; cf. Deut. 21:23 → Curse, art. *anathema*). Here again there is the thought of the benefit to others achieved by Christ in his death on their behalf. Although some scholars wish to see Christ's action as that of a representative rather than of a substitute (cf. M. D. Hooker, "Interchange in Christ", *JTS* New Series 22, 1971, 349–61), these verses make it impossible to see his work as representative without at the same time being vicarious.

5. The substance of the reconciliation lies in the ending of the enmity between God and man (Rom. 5:10), in that God "did not count their trespasses against them" (2 Cor. 5:19). Reconciliation consists therefore in the fact that "we have peace with God", a phrase which is used in Rom. 5:1 to indicate the effect of justification (→ Peace, art. *eirēnē*). In this sense reconciliation is the precondition of our → salvation (Rom. 5:10b) and the basis for the all-embracing "new creation" (2 Cor. 5:17 ff.), which is clarified in Rom. 5:1 ff., "because God's love has been poured into our hearts through the Holy Spirit which has been given to us" (v. 5b).

6. The "message of reconciliation" (2 Cor. 5:19) is matched by the "ministry of reconciliation" (2 Cor. 5:18, 20; → Serve, art. *diakoneō*), in which the apostle himself is engaged. This cannot, after all that has gone before, mean any longer a cultic ministry designed to bring about reconciliation or to re-enact it, but rather reconciling activity in the everyday world and the call to accept the reconciliation as it is preached, i.e. a call to faith (v. 20).

7. Col. 1:20, 22 and Eph. 2:16 have instead of *katallassō* the otherwise unknown vb. *apokatallassō*; but this ties up with the above-mentioned Pauline use of *katallassō* and has, basically, the same meaning. "For in him all the fullness of God was pleased to dwell, and through him to reconcile to himself all things [*di' autou apokatallaxai ta panta eis auton*], whether on earth or in heaven, making peace by the blood of his cross. And you, who once were estranged and hostile in mind, doing evil deeds, he has now reconciled in his body of flesh by his death [*apokatēllagēte en tō sōmati tēs sarkos autou dia tou thanatou*], to present you holy and blameless and irreproachable before him" (Col. 1:19–22). There are here many of the features of reconciliation which we have seen in the earlier Pauline literature: the need for recon-

ciliation; the fact that it is effected from God's side; the fact that it is not only that man needs to be reconciled to God, but that there is the estrangement caused by sin which has to be dealt with before God can be reconciled with man; that fact that it is the death of Christ referred to in terms of his "blood" and "cross"; and the purpose in presenting man as righteous before God. The ground of this victory in cancelling the debt of the law on the cross, thus depriving the principalities and powers of their hold on man, is further explained in Col. 2:13 ff. But to the thought that "God was in Christ" (2 Cor. 5:19) is added the thought that "in him all the fullness of God was pleased to dwell" (Col. 1:19; cf. 2:9; → Fullness, art. *plēroō* NT 5 (b)). Moreover, the scope of reconciliation is given a cosmic dimension. The passage may well be Paul's adaptation of a christological hymn, reflecting Jewish beliefs about angels and cosmic powers (cf. E. Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon, Hermeneia*, 1971, 59; R. P. Martin, "Reconciliation and Forgiveness in the Letter to the Colossians", in R. Banks, ed., *Reconciliation and Hope: New Testament Essays on Atonement and Eschatology presented to L. L. Morris*, 1974, 104–25). The passage presupposes a cosmic catastrophe caused by the powers of evil. He, who is the creator and sustainer of all, is he who has triumphed over the powers of evil on the cross and is therefore the reconciler of all (Col. 1:16 ff.; cf. 2:15). Within this cosmic context is set the reconciliation of believers (Col. 1:21 f.). But it should be noted that the reconciliation is conditional upon continuing in the faith (Col. 1:23).

Eph. 2:16 sees the reconciliation in the context of its effect on the relationship of Jews and Gentiles before God. The Gentiles were at one time "separated from Christ, alienated from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers to the covenants of promise, having no hope and without God in the world" (Eph. 2:12). But they have been "brought near in the blood of Christ" (Eph. 2:13). His death has, however, not only reconciled the Gentiles; it has also reconciled the Jews, providing a way of salvation to them which they did not have before. At the same time the act of reconciling Jew and Gentile to God reconciles them to each other and makes a new humanity. "For he is our peace, who has made us both one, and has broken down the dividing wall of hostility, by abolishing in his flesh the law of commandments and ordinances, that he might create in himself one new man in place of the two, so making peace, and might reconcile us both to God in one body through the cross, thereby bringing the hostility to an end [*kai apokatallaxē tous amphoterous en heni sōmati tō theō dia tou staurou, apokteinas tēn echthran en autō*]. And he came and preached peace to you who were far off and peace to those who were near; for through him we both have access in one Spirit to the Father" (Eph. 2: 14–18).

8. Reconciliation on a human level is discussed in two important passages. In 1 Cor. 7:10 f. Paul discusses the question of → divorce: "To the married I give charge, not I but the Lord, that the wife should not separate from her husband (but if she does, let her remain single or else be reconciled to her husband [*ē tō andri katallagētō*]) – and that the husband should not divorce his wife." The teaching is in line with Jesus' interpretation of the OT on this matter (Matt. 19:3–12, par. Mk. 10:2–12, Lk. 16:18; cf. Matt. 5:27–32; Deut. 24:1–4), and hence may properly be said to be a charge from the Lord. The use of two separate vbs. (*chōristhē*, of the wife, and *aphienai* of the husband, which was the normal term for divorce) might reflect the fact that in Judaism only the husband had the right to divorce (but on this see D. Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, 1956, 362–65). In con-

trast with 1 Cor. 7:13–16, where Paul deals with the question of whether divorce should take place on the grounds that one party is a believer and the other is not, Paul's judgment here seems to refer to the question of divorce in general. His answer is that separation and divorce do not put the former partners outside the church. In the first instance, the two courses open are either to separate and remain single or to be reconciled. In the former case, it would seem that Paul recognizes that there are cases where there is no real alternative but for the break-up of a marriage. It may even be that both former partners remain in the church. The fact that a believer may find himself or herself married to an unbeliever is no grounds for separation, as the believing partner consecrates the other partner and provides the possibility of saving him or her (vv. 12–16). It is thus not a case for Paul of the believer having to separate himself from the unbeliever. Remarriage with a believer is a possibility that can certainly be contemplated after the death of the former partner (cf. v. 39). On the other hand, it is not a sin to marry, when one is "free" from a marriage partner (cf. vv. 27 f.; → Redemption, art. *lyō* NT 6 (f); → Separate, art. *chōrizō*).

The unique vb. *diallassomai* occurs in Matt. 5:24: "So if you are offering your gift at the altar, and there remember that your brother has something against you, leave your gift there before the altar and go; first be reconciled [*diallagēthi*] to your brother, and then come and offer your gift" (Matt. 5:23 f.). According to the Mishnah tractate Yoma, "For transgressions that are between man and God the Day of Atonement effects atonement; but for transgressions that are between a man and his fellow the Day of Atonement effects atonement only if he has appeased his fellow" (Yoma 8:9). But D. Hill claims that in contemporary Judaism this idea of reconciliation "was overshadowed by the desire to avoid desecrating the Temple or defiling one's self (cf. CD vi. 14–vii. 4)" (*The Gospel of Matthew*, *New Century Bible*, 1972, 122). Jesus' teaching here is of a piece with his teaching on the two great commandments and the parable of the Good Samaritan which lay down man's vocation to love God with the whole of his being and at the same time to love his neighbour as himself (Matt. 22:34–40 par. Mk. 12:28–34; cf. Lk. 10:25–37; Deut. 6:4; Lev. 19:18; → Brother, art. *plēsion*; → Command, art. *entolē* NT 1; → Hear, art. *akouō* NT 3; → Love, art. *agapaō*). The teaching of Matt. 5:23 f. clearly shows that no sacrifice is acceptable to God without repentance and reconciliation.

The following saying (Matt. 5:25 f.) is paralleled in Lk. 12:58 f.: "As you go with your accuser before the magistrate, make an effort to settle with him on the way [*dos ergasian apēllachthai ap' autou*; cf. Matt. *isthi eunoon to antidiko sou tachy*. "Make friends quickly with your accuser"], lest he drag you to the judge, and the judge hand you over to the officer, and the officer put you in prison. I tell you, you will never get out till you have paid the very last copper." The need for human reconciliation is parabolic of man's need of reconciliation with God (cf. also the parable of the unforgiving servant in Matt. 18:23–35). The context of Lk. brings this out even more clearly. The saying is preceded by Jesus' denunciation of those who pretend to be able to discern the weather but are unable to discern the times (Lk. 12:54 ff.). It is followed by the discussion of the Galileans butchered by Pilate and those killed by the fall of the tower of Siloam. Jesus draws the conclusion that they were no worse sinners than the rest on whom judgment had not yet fallen; "I tell you, No; but unless you repent you will all likewise perish" (Lk. 13: 3, 5). This is then followed by the parable of the fig tree which has failed to bear fruit, and is given just one more

chance (Lk. 13: 6–9; → Fruit, art. *sykē*; cf. also Lk. 13:22–30). All this reinforces the point of Lk. 12:58 f. which is to come to terms with the accuser (Jesus with his message of repentance in view of the coming of the impending judgment), for when → judgment falls it will be irrevocable and relentless.

apallassō is found in the active transitive sense of free, release, deliver in Heb. 2:15 of the incarnation: "Since therefore the children share in flesh and blood, he himself likewise partook of the same nature, that through death he might destroy him who has the power of death, that is, the devil, and deliver [*apallaxē*] all those who through fear of death were subject to lifelong bondage" (Heb. 2:14 f.). It also occurs in Lk. 9:40 D of release from an evil spirit. In Acts 19:12 it has a similar connotation and is used in the intransitive of diseases mentioned in parallel with evil spirits, which left people.

antallagma, that which is given in exchange, occurs only in Mk. 8:37: "For what can a man give in return for his life? [*ti gar doi anthrōpos antallagma tēs psychēs autou*]" (cf. par. Matt. 16:26). For what does it profit a man, to gain the whole world and forfeit his life?" The par. in Lk. 9:25 employs a circumlocution. The synoptic context is that of the call for complete renunciation as the pre-condition of discipleship and acceptance with the Father. "For whoever would save his life will lose it; and whoever loses his life for my sake and the gospel's will save it" (Mk. 8:35 f.; cf. par. Matt. 16:25 f.; Lk. 9:24 f.; Jn. 12:25). There is the implication that man can give nothing in exchange for his life, and therefore even to take up the → cross in utter self-abandonment is far more important than to gain the whole world. The Pharisaic work written shortly after A.D. 70, Syr. Bar., contains a similar saying: "For what, then, have men lost their life, and for what have those who were on earth exchanged their souls?" (51:15). But the saying also recalls Ps. 49:7 f., 15 (48:8 f., 16): "Truly no man can ransom [*lytrōsetai*] himself [*v.l.* "no man can ransom his brother], or give to God the price of his life [*exhilasma*], for the ransom of his life is costly [*kai tēn timēn tēs lytrōseōs tēs psychēs autou*], and can never suffice. . . . But God will ransom my soul [*lytrōsetai tēn psychēn mou*] from the power of Sheol, for he will receive me" (→ Redemption, arts. *lyō* and *lytron*). Like the other sayings in the Synoptic Gospels, the saying here does not offer a theology of reconciliation in the Pauline sense. Rather, it states in the sharpest possible terms man's need for reconciliation, whilst implying at the same time that reconciliation is available to those who are concerned enough to seek it.

H. Vorländer, C. Brown

→ Anger, → Cross, → Forgiveness, → Holy, → Judgment, → Redemption, → Sacrifice, → Sin

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Redemption, Loose, Ransom, Deliverance, Release, Salvation, Saviour

Whenever men by their own fault or through some superior power have come under the control of someone else, and have lost their freedom to implement their will and decisions, and when their own resources are inadequate to deal with that other power, they can regain their freedom only by the intervention of a third party. In the NT, depending on the aspect envisaged, the Gk word-groups associated with *lyō*, *sōzō*, *rhyomai*, are used to express such intervention. *lyō*, to free (42 times in the NT) is used to express liberation from bonds or by payment of a ransom (*lytron*), but it has other shades of meaning which are also discussed here. *sōzō* (106 times in the NT) is the commonest term and has the widest range of meaning. Predominantly it means to save, preserve and rescue. The least used, *rhyomai* (16 times), has the narrowest range of meaning, i.e. to rescue, deliver, and thus save from a threatening or acute danger. *sōtēr*, derived from *sōzō*, means deliverer, saviour, and was in general use to denote someone who so acted. Hence it is used in the NT as a title of honour for God and Christ. In the NT these terms are used pre-eminently of the redemptive work of Christ.

λύω

λύω (*lyō*), to loose, untie, set free, release, annul, abolish; λύσις (*lysis*), release, divorce; καταλύω (*katalyō*), destroy, demolish, abolish; κατάλυμα (*katalyma*), lodging, guest room; ἀκατάλυτος (*akatalytos*), indestructible; ἐκλύω (*eklyō*), become loose, become weary, become weak; ἀπολύω (*apolyō*), set free, release, discharge, pardon, let go, send away, dismiss, divorce.

CL *lyō* (from Homer onwards) means to loose, make free. When used with a personal object it means to set free, ransom, both literally and metaphorically. The meaning to dissolve gives the further sense of to destroy. Already in Homer (Od. 5, 397; 13, 321) it was used of the salvation which the gods give to men, e.g. from difficulties and need, but without any recognizable link with → sin. Numerous compound forms are found in cl. Gk. *W. Mundle*

OT The LXX uses *lyō* to translate 7 different Heb. vbs. The most common is *pāṯaḥ* (7 times in the qal, niphal and piel) which is the regular vb. for to open (Gen. 42:27; Job 39:5; Ps. 102[101]:20; Isa. 5:27; 14:17; 58:6; Jer. 40[47]:4). It stands twice for *nāṯar* in the hiphil, meaning to free, loose those in bondage (Pss. 105[104]:20; 146[145]:7); and twice for *nāšal*, draw off sandals (Exod. 3:5; Jos. 5:15). In the Aram. section of Daniel it stands for *šᵉrā'*, as a past participle meaning loosed (Dan. 3:92[25] LXX and Theod.), and fig. to loosen knots, i.e. solve difficulties (Dan. 5:12). It stands for *rāṣâh* in the niphal which means to be pleased with, accept favourably, in Isa. 40:2, in the message to Jerusalem that her inquity is pardoned. It also occurs once each for *nāśā'*, lift up, take away, of the Lord taking away sins because of Job (Job 42:9); and *sᵉṯar*, of the destruction of the house of God (Ezr. 5:12; the other reading has *katelysen*). It has no Heb. equivalent in 1 Esd. 1:55; 9:13, 46; Tob. 3:17; Jud. 6:14; 9:2; Job 39:2; Sir. 28:2; 3 Macc. 1:4; 6:27, 29; 4 Macc. 3:11; 7:13; 12:8 f.

katalyō is used 39 times for 14 Heb. equivalents but is generally without particular

theological significance. It frequently stands for *lûn* and *lîn*, lodge, pass the night, especially in historical narratives (e.g. Gen. 19:2; 24:23; Num. 22:8; Ruth 4:14; 2 Sam. 17:8). It is seldom used with the meaning to pull down (Ezr. 5:12 *v.l.*, see above; 2 Ki. 25:10 for *nāṯaṣ*), or to dissolve, abolish (2 Macc. 2:22).

eklyō stands for 19 different Heb. vbs. It commonly has the meaning of losing one's strength, letting one's heart faint, of relaxing one's hands or allowing them to become feeble (e.g. Deut. 20:3; Jos. 10:6; 18:3; 2 Sam. 4:1; 2 Chr. 15:7; Isa. 13:7; 29:9; Jer. 4:31; Lam. 2:12, 19; Ezek. 7:17). However, in Job 19:25 it stands for *gā'al*, redeem, act as a kinsman, in a participial form used as a noun, i.e. redeemer: "For I know that my Redeemer [MT *go'ᵃlî*; LXX *ho eklyein me mellōn*] lives, and at last he will stand upon the earth [lit. "dust" as RSV mg.; MT *'al-'apar*; but LXX *epi gēs*, as RSV]." The *gō'ēl* in Heb. was the kinsman redeemer, who as the closest relation was the avenger of blood, the one who had to redeem the blood of the murdered victim, buy back family possessions, redeem from bondage, and take a kinsman's widow (→ *lytron* OT 1(c)). The translation of Job 19:25 f. is notoriously difficult (for a review of interpretations see J. Speer, *ZAW* 25, 1905, 47 ff.; and H. H. Rowley, *From Moses to Qumran*, 1963, 179 ff.). Rowley thinks that the term "vindicator" is more appropriate than "redeemer" here. For the context is not concerned with deliverance from Sheol but with the vindication of Job's name before men (*Job, New Century Bible*, 1970, 172). The verse may take up the thought of Job 16:19: "Even now, behold, my witness is in heaven, and he that vouches for me is on high." Job is thinking of God himself as his *gō'ēl*. The same Heb. word is used of God in Ps. 19:14 (MT v. 15; LXX 18:15): "Let the words of my mouth and the meditation of my heart be acceptable in thy sight, O LORD, my rock and my redeemer [MT *ṣûrî wᵉgō'ᵃlî*; LXX *boēthe mou kai lytrōta mou*]." In both cases the main emphasis is on vindication and help. Whether there is also an element of buying back will depend on the degree to which it is possible to speak of this factor in the general idea of the *gō'ēl*. However, there is the implication in the idea that the *gō'ēl* rescues that which was forfeited and restores justice to those who are not in a position to help themselves.

There has been considerable debate as to whether Job 19:25 f. looks to a life after death and even some form of → resurrection. V. 26 reads: "and after my skin has thus been destroyed [MT *wᵉ'aḥar 'ôrî niqqᵉpû zō't*; LXX *anastēsai to derma mou to anatlōn tauta*] then from my flesh I shall see God [MT *ûmibbᵉśarî 'eḥᵉzeh 'ᵉlôaḥ*; LXX *para gar kyriou tauta moi synētelesthē*]" (RSV mg.). The difficulties of the Heb. are reflected in the LXX translation which gives quite a different rendering: "For I know that he is eternal, who is about to dissolve me on earth, to raise this skin of mine which draweth up these things" (Job 19:25 f. LXX).

In the first half of the verse the vb. translated as "destroyed" is the Heb. *nāqap* in the niphal, and means lit. "they have struck off". This could be a reference to the ravages of disease. There is no justification in the text for the AV's insertion of "worms" as the subject of the vb. The meaning of *ûmibbᵉśārî* is equally disputed. The prep. *min* which is incorporated in the word means "from". This is taken by the RSV tx. to mean "without". But "in" (AV) is also possible. Thus the second half of the v. could mean either that Job expected to see God, his redeemer, in his flesh, i.e. in his lifetime, or that Job expected to see God without his flesh, i.e. in an after-life. The allusion to an after-life is questioned by those who claim that man in the OT had no firm expectations of → life after → death. The idea of some kind of incorporeal ex-

istence is also questioned by those who claim that it is unthinkable for OT man to conceive of a bodiless existence. Therefore, some form of resurrection life is envisaged here. (On this question generally see H. H. Rowley, "Death and Beyond", in *The Faith of Israel*, 1956, 150–76.)

In view of the difficulties of the verse, Rowley thinks it unlikely that we shall be able to achieve any convincing reconstruction within the limits of our present knowledge. "That it is in its original form is very improbable. To remove any trace of the thought of resurrection is as improper as it is to strengthen it. Two things seem to be clear. Job is assured that his Vindicator will arise to vindicate his innocence, and that he himself will see God. If, as seems probable, the Vindicator is God, this means that he will be aware of his vindication. That this vindication is not expected until after Job's death is likely, since he has cried for his blood to demand satisfaction. But in what form Job will be conscious of vindication must remain obscure" (*Job*, 174). Perhaps two further points may be added. On the one hand, although Job was vindicated by God (cf. Job 41), he did not actually → see God in any literal sense. On the other hand, seeing God is not something that man can do in this life according to the OT (cf. Exod. 33:20, 23).

NT 1. In the NT *lyō* is used in the lit. sense of untying the thong of a sandal (Mk. 1:7 par. Lk. 3:16; Jn. 1:27; Acts 13:25, John the Baptist speaking of Jesus; cf. Acts 7:33 with Exod. 3:5, of Moses by the burning bush), untying the ass's colt (Matt. 21:2 par. Mk. 11: 2, 4, 5; Lk. 19:30 f., 33), and of removing Paul's bonds (Acts 22:30). In Jn. 11:44 it is used of the unbinding of Lazarus from his grave-clothes. It is found in a weakened sense in Acts 13:43 of being released from the synagogue; cf. RSV "when the meeting of the synagogue broke up" (this rendering may be related to 4 below).

2. The sense of setting free, untying and thus loosing is applied to → angels (Rev. 9:14 f.) and → Satan (Rev. 20:3, 7). In the former case the context is the vision of the sixth angel with a trumpet who is commanded: " 'Release the four angels who are bound at the great river Euphrates.' So the four angels were released, who had been held ready for the hour, the day, the month, and the year, to kill a third of mankind." This causes a great, terrible army to be released. The river represents the boundary of Assyria and Babylon, the area from which the catastrophic invasions came in OT times. But in Rev. → Babylon represents the wicked world in its ongoing manifestations (cf. chs. 17 f.). The number four probably represents completeness. Possibly the angels are the same as in Rev. 7:1 who restrain the forces of nature. But this appears unlikely in view of the evil character of the angels here. As the angels are released, so too are the evil forces of destruction. The precise significance of the vision depends upon the way in which Rev. as a whole is interpreted. Some exegetes treat the visions as consecutive, in which case the vision refers to some specific event. But according to the parallelistic interpretation of Rev., the numerous series of visions relate to different aspects of ongoing history (→ Number, art. *hepta* NT 4). In this case the vision is that of God permitting war to afflict mankind down the ages with great destruction and loss of life. Nevertheless, the effect is not wholly negative. For it gives occasion for repentance, even though many do not take it (Rev. 9:20 f.). On the binding and loosing of Satan and the question of the millennium → Number, art. *chilias* NT 4.

3. Satan is mentioned in connexion with binding and loosing in Lk. 13:16 in the

description of the woman bent with a spirit of infirmity for eighteen years. There is probably a play on words here which underlines the hypocrisy of those who complained that Jesus had healed on the → sabbath. For the same word is used of those who untie their oxen and asses to lead them to water on the sabbath (v. 15). Jesus put the question to them: "And ought not this woman, a daughter of Abraham whom Satan bound for eighteen years, be loosed from this bond on the sabbath day?"

The same vb. is used in the case of the healing of the deaf man with an impediment in his speech: "And his ears were opened, his tongue was released, and he spoke plainly" (Mk. 7:35; → Heal; → Deaf, Dumb; → Magic, art. *mageia* NT 5). V. Taylor sees in Mk.'s language no more than a figurative description of the cure (*The Gospel according to St. Mark*, 1955, 355). But A. Deissmann maintains that *ho desmos tēs glōssēs*, "the bond of the tongue", was a technical expression illustrating the idea that such impediment of the speech was the work of demonic influences (*Light from the Ancient East*, 1927 [4], 304–8).

4. *lyō* has the sense of break, break up and thus destroy, in a number of passages. In Rev. 5:2 the scroll of ongoing history, held by God who is seated on his throne, is sealed with seven seals which no one is worthy to open and break (→ Number, art. *hepta*). However, "the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David, has conquered, so that he can open the scroll and its seven seals" (Rev. 5:5; cf. chs. 6 f. for the opening of the seals).

Acts 27:41 tells of the breaking up of the stern of the ship on which Paul was bound for Rome, whereas Acts 13:43 refers to the breaking up of a meeting of the synagogue at Antioch in Pisidia. On Jn. 2:19 and Eph. 2:14 see 6 (b) below.

On 2 Pet. 3:10–12 which describes the final conflagration see J. N. D. Kelly, *The Epistles of Peter and of Jude*, *BNTC*, 1969, 363–68. Kelly suggests that the present passive participle in v. 11 (which he translates as "are disintegrating") either "has a future force suggested by the context, or (more probably) the writer deliberately chooses it so as to highlight, by its suggestion that the process of dissolution has already started, the immediacy of his summons" (op. cit., 366). For the idea of the "elements" (*stoicheia*) melting cf. Isa. 34:4; 43:19; Test. Lev. 4:1; 2 Clem. 16:3. The proclamation of a → new → heaven and → earth goes back to Jesus himself (Matt. 19:28; cf. Mk. 14:25; Lk. 22:30). Paul saw the present creation as groaning in travail in expectation of a new order (Rom. 8:19–22). The new heaven and earth are pictured in Rev. 21 f. The vision of a new heaven and earth is proclaimed by Isa. 65:17; 66:22.

5. *lyō* in the sense of loosing or freeing from → death and → sin is found in Acts 2:24 and Rev. 1:5 respectively. In the former case it is applied to the resurrection of Jesus: "But God raised him up, having loosed the pangs of death [*lysas tas ōdinas tou thanatou*], because it was not possible for him to be held by it" (Acts 2:24). On the imagery of the cords of Sheol and death cf. 2 Sam. 22:6; Pss. 18:4 ff.; 116(114):3; Job 39:2 LXX.

Rev. 1:5 relates remission of sin to the death of Jesus in the phrase "and has freed us from our sins by his blood [*kai lysanti hēmas ek tōn hamartiōn hēmōn en tō haimati autou*]" (→ Blood; → Reconciliation). The AV follows the TR *v.l. elousen* ("washed us") instead of the better attested *elysen*. This may have arisen through a failure to understand the Hebraic use of *en* (lit. "in" but here meaning "by") to denote a price (Metzger, 731). Both ideas are paralleled elsewhere in the book:

washing robes in the blood of the → Lamb (Rev. 7:14); ransoming men by his blood (Rev. 5:9). But the context fits "the conception of redemption as a new exodus of the people of God. The beatitude of verse 4 itself expounds the name of God made known to Moses before the exodus. The doxology celebrates the greater redemption of which the first exodus is an anticipation. The sacrifice of the Lamb of God introduces an emancipation from the slavery of sin such as the sacrifice of the passover-lamb could only foreshadow" (G. R. Beasley-Murray, *The Book of Revelation*, *New Century Bible*, 1974, 57).

6. *lyō* is found in a variety of senses in connexion with the institutions of Judaism. In each case the divine origin of the institution is recognized either explicitly or implicitly. But the coming of Jesus demands a fresh understanding in the form either of a renewed attitude to what still stands or the realization that what was formerly regarded as valid and binding is now superseded.

(a) The Sermon on the Mount contains the statement: "Think not that I have come to abolish the law and the prophets [*mē nomisēte hoti ēlthon katalysai ton nomon ē tous prophētas*]; I have come not to abolish them but to fulfil them [*ouk ēlthon katalysai alla plērōsai*]. For truly, I say to you, till heaven and earth pass away [*parelthē*], not an iota, not a dot, will pass from the law until all is accomplished [*iōta hen ē mia keraia ou mē parelthē apo tou nomou heōs an panta genētai*]. Whoever then relaxes one of the least of these commandments and teaches men so, shall be called least in the kingdom of heaven [*hos ean oun lysē mian tōn entolōn toutōn tōn elachistōn kai didaxē houtōs tous anthrōpous elachistos klēthēsetai en tē basileia tōn ouranōn*]; but he who does them and teaches them shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven. For I tell you, unless your righteousness exceeds that of the scribes and Pharisees, you will never enter the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. 5:17–20).

T. W. Manson represents an older critical position on this passage. He sees no reason "why Jesus should not have uttered" the saying in v. 17 (which in form is paralleled by Matt. 10:34) (*The Sayings of Jesus as Recorded in the Gospels according to St. Matthew and St. Luke*, [1937] 1949, 153 f.). The passage is included in the Gospel because Palestinian Jewish Christians were sensitive to the Jewish attitude to the → law which was fundamental to the national heritage. "The difference between the teaching of Jesus and orthodox Jewish doctrine must be shown to be due not to heresy on the part of Jesus but to His deeper and fuller understanding of the Law. His pronouncements, so far from upsetting the Law, bring out its true meaning and purpose" (op. cit., 153). Manson shows that the attitude of Jesus here is essentially the same as that in Mk. 7:6–13; 10:1–12: 11:15–19; Lk. 11:45–52, in which Jesus upholds the intention and spirit of the law in contrast with the scribal interpretations which stultify its demands.

However, Manson thinks that the passage in its present form makes Jesus too sympathetic towards orthodox Judaism. He thinks that v. 18 cannot be attributed to Jesus in the light of such a passage as Mk. 10:1–12 (op. cit., 154). In reply, it may be pointed out that the latter passage which concerns → divorce is not critical of Moses in allowing divorce even though it implies violating the creation ordinance of marriage (Deut. 24:1–4; cf. Gen. 1:27; 2:24). Rather, the Mosaic law caters for a contingency brought about by man but which is contrary to the divine purpose in in-

stituting marriage: "For the hardness of your heart he wrote you this commandment" (Mk. 10:5). Hence, Mk. 10:1–12 is not a proof of an attitude to the law on the part of Jesus different from the one attributed to him in this whole passage. His teaching on divorce upheld precisely the creation ordinance on marriage and Mosaic provision for divorce.

A parallel to Matt. 5:18 occurs in another context in Lk. 16:17, both of which passages Manson attributes to Q: "But it is easier for heaven and earth to pass away, than for one dot [*keraian*] of the law to become void." The preceding verses in Lk. concern the law and the prophets being preached until John the Baptist, and the following verse pronounces as adultery any marriage contracted after divorce. Manson thinks that the Lucan form was nearer the original and that it was intended to be ironic, referring to the attitude of the scribes. He claims that the *keraia* (EVV "tittle", "dot") was not in fact part of the law itself, but stood "most probably" for scribal ornaments added to certain Heb. letters (op cit., 135; cf. SB I 248 f.). The rabbis gave them the terms *qôṣâh* or *qôṣ*, thorn, *tāḡā'* or *keṯer*, crown, and *nᵉqûddâh*, point. The term "crown" would thus give added point to the idea of falling from the law. However, these strokes formed part of the actual consonantal letter and served to distinguish the one from the other. The *iōta* (EVV "jot", "dot", "iota") was the Heb. letter *Yôḏ* (*y*) which was the smallest letter of the Heb. alphabet (cf. SB I 247 f. for rabbinic pronouncements on the letter). The letter was often omitted in Heb. and Aram. texts. Another possibility for the *keraia* is that it denotes the "hook (letter)", i.e. *Wāw* (*w*) which was also sometimes dispensed with (A. H. McNeile, *The Gospel according to St. Matthew*, 1915, 59). The *Wāw*, when placed in front of a word means "and". Both letters could also be used as vowels (*Yôḏ* = *y*; *Wāw* = *û*, or = *ô*), but unlike other vowels they would be written in the unpointed text (i.e. the normal text of the time which was written with consonants only). How such a text is read (i.e. whatever vowels are read into the text) obviously can make a considerable difference to the meaning. Whatever particular ideas may lie behind these terms, Manson would seem to be wrong in his interpretation of the evidence presented by SB in thinking that the *keraia* was a purely ornamental stroke which had no bearing on what the letter was actually meant to be. Although the stroke was a small one, it made a significant difference to the meaning of the text. And in view of what we know from elsewhere of Jesus' attitude to the law, the verse is best interpreted as an affirmation of the abiding significance of the law.

This last point is supported by the final statement of the verse about the necessity of fulfilment which is a recurrent theme especially in Matt. (→ Fullness, art. *plēroō* NT). The precise significance of this statement has been variously interpreted. The NEB gives the paraphrase: "till all that must happen has happened." W. D. Davies gives it an eschatological interpretation ("Matthew 5:17, 18", in *Mélanges Bibliques en l'honneur d'A. Robert*, 1957, 428–56; reprinted in *Christian Origins and Judaism*, 1962, 31–66, from which quotations are taken). Davies holds that the phrase *heōs an panta genētai* "in its present Matthaean form may well go back to Jesus" (op. cit., 65), and that it was not the Jewish-Gentile conflict of the early church which was responsible for this passage but the actual ministry and purpose of Jesus. Davies suggests that the phrase means: "that while this present order endures (*ho ouranos kai hē gē*) the old Law remains in force (although signs that it is to pass are already given during the Ministry and, indeed, for the new Messianic community it was

already in process of passing), but once the obedience of Jesus has finally issued in death and the New Covenant has thus been fully inaugurated (because the Ministry itself is its partial inauguration) then the old Law ceases to have authority" (op. cit., 60 f.). The difficulty with this view is the strain it puts on the clause "till heaven and earth pass away" which it identifies with the period of time up to the death of Jesus. The phrase does indeed imply the continued validity of the law for the duration of the present order until whatever is in the law is accomplished. But it implies that the present order will continue until the end of time and not the death of Jesus which is not mentioned in the passage (cf. A. M. Honeyman, "Matthew v. 18 and the Validity of the Law", *NTS* 1, 1954–55, 141 f.). The comment of R. Banks on Matt. 5:17 appears to fit the context much better: "This 'fulfilment' takes place not in the first instance through his suffering and death as some have sought to maintain, but in his teaching and practice, though these, of course, ultimately culminated in the Cross. It is *to* that ministry that the Law 'prophetically' pointed, and it is only in so far as it has been taken up *into* that teaching and completely transformed that it lives on" (*Jesus and the Law in the Synoptic Tradition, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series* 28, 1975, 242).

Manson suggests that *lysē* ("relaxes", i.e. "one of the least of these commandments", v. 19) represents the hiphil of *nāṭar* which means to free, untie, loose in the OT and also to permit, declare permitted (Shabb. 4a), and to free, surrender, outlaw, proscribe (San. 40b) in rabbinic Heb. The context suggests that the commandments referred to are those of the law (v. 18; cf. D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew, New Century Bible*, 1972, 118) rather than those of Jesus which follow (v. 41; cf. G. D. Kilpatrick, *The Origins of the Gospel according to St. Matthew*, 1946, 25f.). The Gk. text of Matt. contains a play on words between *katalyō*, destroy, demolish, do away with, abolish, and *lyō*, relax, which Hill paraphrases as "to show by example and teaching that a commandment was obsolete" (op. cit., 119). In v. 17 Jesus emphatically states that he has not come to *katalysai* the law and the prophets; in v. 19 he gives dire warning to anyone who would *lysē* the least of these commandments. V. 20 relates this to the scribes and Pharisees, and the Sermon proceeds to give examples of how commandments have been relaxed: murder and anger (Matt. 5:21 ff.; cf. Exod. 20:13; Deut. 5:17; 16:8); adultery and lust (Matt. 5:27 ff.; cf. Exod. 20:14; Deut. 5:18); divorce and adultery (Matt. 5:31 ff.; cf. Deut. 24:1–4; Matt. 19:9; Lk. 16:18; Mk. 10:11 f.; 1 Cor. 7:10 f.); swearing (Matt. 5:33–37; cf. Lev. 19:12; Num. 30:3; Deut. 23:21; Matt. 23:16–22; Jas. 5:12); justice and revenge (Matt. 5:38–42; cf. Exod. 21:24; Lev. 24:20; Deut. 19:21; Prov. 24:29; Lk. 6:29 f.; Rom. 12:17; 1 Pet. 2:19; 3:9); loving one's neighbour (Matt. 5:43 ff.; cf. Lev. 19:18; Prov. 25:21 f.; Lk. 6:27 f., 32–36 – the OT did not enjoin hating one's enemy, which was a mark of sectarian Judaism perhaps taught by a Targum, M. Smith, "Matt. v. 43: 'Hate Thine Enemy' ", *HTR* 45, 1952, 71 ff.; W. D. Davies, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount*, 1964, 245 ff.). In all these points Jesus, far from relaxing the law, ratifies it and applies it to man's inner attitudes as well as his outward acts. For Jesus' teaching on the law elsewhere in Matt. see also 7:12; 11:13; 22:40. For his denunciation of those who make a mockery of the law by their hypocrisy see Matt. 15:1–11; 23:1–39.

A redaction-critical approach to this whole subject is given by G. Barth in "Matthew's Understanding of the Law", in G. Bornkamm, G. Barth and H. J. Held,

Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew, 1963, 58–164. Barth claims that Matt. 5:17 ff. "obviously stem from the Jewish-Christian congregation and are directed against a tendency to abandon the law, a representative place and a programmatic meaning. Along with the unabridged validity of the Torah the interpretation of the scribes is also axiomatically binding for him. This is seen in the antitheses that follow, where, above all, there is no question of setting Torah and scribal interpretation over against each other, but what was said 'to them of old time' is at times quoted in the form which was self-evident to the Jew, namely that which tradition gave to the word of Scripture. In fact, Matt. 23.2 grants to the scribes and Pharisees that they sit on the *kathedra* of Moses; their teaching is not attacked but declared to be binding (23.3). What is attacked is the discrepancy between what they teach and what they do, their hypocrisy (23.4 ff.; 6.1 ff.)" (op. cit., 24).

The difficulty with this view is that it is too wholesale. Although Barth goes on to take note of the criticism of tradition in Matt. 15:3–9 (par. Mk. 7:6–13, Lk. 11:39 ff.) which condemned the scribes and Pharisees not for failing to keep their tradition, but "for the sake of your tradition, you have made void the word of God" (Matt. 15:6, cf. 9 quoting Isa. 29:13 and par.), he fails to see the bearing of this for Matt.'s presentation of Jesus' attitude to the law. Similarly he fails to appreciate the significance of Jesus' denunciation of the → blind leaders of the blind (Matt. 15:14), and the warning against the → leaven of the Pharisees and Sadducees (Matt. 16:6, 11) which he admits to be their teaching. If we study these later pasages alongside Matt. 5, a consistent picture emerges. Jesus is presented not only as one who upholds the law, but as one who insists that the law must be rightly interpreted and applied. To that extent the true disciple is also a *grammateus*, scribe (Matt. 23:34), but one who has to be "trained for the kingdom of heaven", so that he might bring out of his treasure things old and new (Matt. 13:52; → Possessions, art. *thēsauros* NT 1 (f); → Scribe, art. *grammateus*). The point is that not all interpretation and application are wrong. Jesus and the disciples engage in it. It is wrong, however, where it fails to bring out the true meaning of the law and when it substitutes human tradition for the word of God. Barth is clearly wrong in claiming that, according to Matt., scribal interpretation is "axiomatically binding". The antitheses of Matt. 5 distinguish sharply between the intention of Scripture and accepted interpretations. The root difference between the two is formulated in Matt. 5:19 f. which focuses on two concepts. On the one hand, misguided interpretation is seen as relaxing (*lysē*) the commandments. On the other hand, this is in the last analysis a question of → righteousness (*dikaiosynē*). A man's attitude to the commandments determines his place in the kingdom; because of their attitude, which involves a fundamental lack of righteousness, the scribes and the Pharisees are excluded from the kingdom. Moreover, the disciple is not exempt from the same danger.

The phrase "least in the kingdom of heaven" may be compared with Paul's description of himself as "the least of the apostles" (1 Cor. 15:9), but it is impossible to establish any literary interdependence. In any case, the underlying Aram. in Matt. could mean "little" (cf. also Matt. 11:11). Later rabbinic thought distinguished between "heavy" and "light" commandments (Sifre Deut. 187, 108b), but the more rigid school of Shammai refused to draw such a distinction (D. Hill, op. cit., 119; cf. Jas. 2:10). It is sometimes suggested that Matt.'s presentation of Jesus' attitude to the law is designed to be an anti-Pauline counterbalance to Paul's denigration of the law,

whether the latter be real or apparent (on Paul's teaching → Law, art. *nomos* NT 2). But in fact there is an affinity between the two positions (cf. Matt. 5:17 f., 48; 22:40; with Rom. 3:31; 1 Cor. 2:6; Gal. 5:14; cf. A. W. Argyle, " 'M' and Paul", *ExpT* 81, 1969–70, 340 ff.). Moreover, Matt.'s presentation of Jesus' understanding of the law does not differ essentially from that presented by the other Gospels, as may be seen from the parallels already noted. Clearly, of all the evangelists, Matt. is the one most concerned to articulate Jesus' position on the law. But, as Banks concludes, "Matthew is not imposing upon the tradition a weight that it cannot bear, but merely drawing out the specific consequences of that which is present in it" (op. cit., 251).

(b) *lyō* is twice used in connexion with the → temple. In Jn.'s account of the cleansing of the temple the Jews ask for a sign of Jesus' authority. "Jesus answered them, 'Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up [*lysate ton naon touton kai en trisin hēmerais egerō auton*]' " (Jn. 2:19). Commenting on the Jews' remark that the temple took forty-six years to build, Jn. points out that Jesus was referring to "the temple of his body" (v. 21), which the disciples understood after the resurrection and which in turn caused them to believe "the scripture and the word which Jesus had spoken" (v. 22). At his trial before the chief priests, elders and scribes, false witnesses claimed: "We heard him say this, 'I will destroy this temple that is made with hands, and in three days I will build another, not made with hands [*egō katalysō ton naon touton ton cheiropoiēton kai dia triōn hēmerōn allon acheiropoiēton oikodomēsō*]' " (Mk. 14:58; cf. the abbreviated par. Matt. 26:61 which also has *katalysō*). The destruction of the temple itself is foretold in Mk. 13:2 par. Matt. 24:2, Lk. 21:6. Dodd suggests that Jn.'s use of the imperative vb. with a conditional sense (i.e. "If you destroy . . .") and the unliterary *en trisin hēmerais* point to a primitive Semitic form of the saying (*The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, 1953, 302). Bultmann points out that *lyō* and *katalyō* are often used for the destruction of buildings (Matt. 27:40; Mk. 13:2; 14:58; 15:29; Acts 6:14, referring to the false witnesses and the onlookers at the crucifixion) as is *egeirō* for constructing them (*The Gospel of John*, 1971, 125). He suggests that there is more than just a conditional clause implied here; it is "cast in the ironic imperative of the prophetic style" (cf. Amos 4:4; Isa. 8:9 f.). The saying implies that Jesus' own person has already replaced the temple as the divinely appointed place of meeting between God and man. It further implies that Jewish disobedience is directly responsible for the destruction of this temple, just as it was for the destruction of the first one (2 Ki. 25:9, 13–17). It may be noted that it was the false witnesses who accused Jesus of threatening to destroy the temple. The theme of misunderstanding is a motif in Jn. (cf. 2:20; 3:3 f.; 4:10 ff., 32 f.; 6:32 ff.; 7:34 ff.; 14.4 f., 7 ff., 22 ff.; 16:17 f.).

Eph. 2:14 uses *lyō* to make a rather different point: "For he is our peace, who has made us both one, and has broken down the dividing wall of hostility [*kai to mesotoichon tou phragmou lysas*]." The term *mesotoichon* occurs only here in the NT. It is rare in secular Gk. and is not found at all in the LXX. It means a partition or dividing wall, and evidently refers to the stone wall in the temple with pillars "declaring the law of purity, some in Greek, and some in Roman letters, That *no foreigner should go within that sanctuary*" (Josephus, *War* 5, 5 [194]). The context of Eph. 2 evidently presupposes some knowledge of Jewish practices among the Gentiles of Asia Minor, and the climax of the chapter is reached in the assertion that the

Gentile Christians now grow "into a holy temple in the Lord" (v. 21). V. 14 points out that there is no longer a dividing wall between Jewish and Gentile believers before God. The reason is given in the following verses: "by abolishing in his flesh the law of commandments and ordinances, that he might create in himself one new man in place of the two, so making peace, and might reconcile us both to God in one body through the cross, thereby bringing the hostility to an end" (Eph. 2:15 f.; → Reconciliation, art. *katallassō* NT 7). The idea of the law as a protecting wall against the Gentiles is expressed in Aristeas 139: "Now our Lawgiver being a wise man and specially endowed by God to understand all things, took a comprehensive view of particular detail, and fenced us round with impregnable ramparts and walls of iron, that we might not mingle at all with any of the other nations, but remain pure in body and soul, free from all vain imaginations, worshipping the one Almighty God above the whole creation." In contrast with the Gospels where Jesus never actually says that he will destroy the temple, in Eph. 2:14 he is in fact the subject of the vb. The destruction of the dividing wall between Jewish and Gentile believers is the result of his reconciling death.

(c) In Jn. 5:18 *lyō* is used of breaking the → sabbath: "This was why the Jews sought all the more to kill him, because he not only broke the sabbath [*hoti ou monon elyen to sabbaton*] but also called God his Father, making himself equal with God." The occasion was the healing of the paralytic by the pool of Bethzatha. Jesus defended his action by claiming: "My Father is working still, and I am working" (Jn. 5:17). To the Jews the reply sounded like Adam's sinful attempt to be like God (Gen. 3:5 f.). But the answer is intended to show that there is a sense in which God is working on the sabbath both in general in sustaining the world and in particular in the case of this healing, in which Jesus is co-operating with the Father.

(d) The same incident is taken up again, but this time with reference to the law, in Jn. 7:23: "If on the sabbath a man receives circumcision, so that the law of Moses may not be broken [*hina mē lythē ho nomos Mōÿseōs*], are you angry with me because on the sabbath I made a man's whole body well?" There is an irony between the rite of circumcision performed on the male sexual organ which inevitably causes some pain and suffering and the healing of the whole body which banishes suffering. Jesus' stance implies that, just as in healing he was not breaking the sabbath, he is also not breaking the law.

The point is extended to scripture in Jn. 10:35 f.: "If he called them gods to whom the word of God came (and scripture cannot be broken [*kai ou dynatai lythēnai hē graphē*]), do you say of him whom the Father consecrated and sent into the world, 'You are blaspheming,' because I said, 'I am the Son of God'?" The statement about "gods" is an allusion to the previous v. which contains a quotation from Ps. 82(81):6, "You are gods," which agrees with both the MT and the LXX. The passage has been the subject of considerable discussion (cf. L. Morris, *The Biblical Doctrine of Judgment*, 1960, 34 ff.; and *The Gospel according to John*, *NLC*, 1971, 525 f.). J. A. Emerton has suggested that the "gods" in the Ps. "were regarded as angels by the Jews, but as gods by the gentiles", and that the passage is not conclusive evidence that in the OT men could be called "god" ("Some New Testament Notes", *JTS* New Series 11, 1960, 329–32). But Morris objects that this interpretion does less than justice to the context of the Ps. A. T. Hanson takes seriously the rabbinic view that the Ps. was spoken to Israel by God at Sinai ("John's Citation of Psalm lxxxii", *NTS*

11, 1964–65, 158–62). He thinks that Jn. believed that the Ps. was uttered by the pre-existent Word: "if to be addressed by the pre-existent Word justifies men in being called gods, indirect and mediated though that address was (coming perhaps through Moses, certainly written down only through David), far more are we justified in applying the title Son of God to the human bearer of the pre-existent Word, sanctified and sent by the Father as he was, in unmediated and direct presence" (op. cit., 161). Disagreement with this view has come from M. de Jonge and A. S. van der Woude who draw attention to the Qumran scroll 11Q Melchizedek in which → Melchizedek is regarded as the speaker of Ps. 82 and evil angels as addressees ("11Q Melchizedek and the New Testament", *NTS* 12, 1965–66, 301–26), and also from Emerton who claims the scroll as support for his view ("Melchizedek and the Gods: Fresh Evidence for the Jewish Background of John x. 34–36", *JTS* New Series 17, 1966, 393–401). But Hanson has replied to these criticisms and claims that his own position is vindicated ("John's Citation of Psalm lxxxii Reconsidered" (*NTS* 13, 1966–67, 363–67).

The RSV takes *kai ou dynatai lythēnai hē graphē* as a parenthesis, but Morris thinks it better to see it as dependent upon the previous *ei* ("if") which would then introduce two certainties as premises for the conclusion: if the passage calls men "gods" and if Scripture cannot be broken, then *a fortiori* is it proper for Jesus to claim to be "the Son of God" (v. 36). This is in fact confirmed by his → works "that you may know and understand that the Father is in me and I am in the Father" (v. 37; cf. v. 32). The works justify the title, pointing to the relationship with the Father. Morris suggests that the idea of Scripture being broken means that it "cannot be emptied of its force by being shown to be erroneous" (*The Gospel according to John*, 527). He cites in support Jn. 5:18; 7:23; Matt. 5:19. R. E. Brown follows R. Jungkuntz in holding that *lyō* is to be contrasted with *plēroō*, i.e. to keep from being fulfilled as opposed to being fulfilled (*The Gospel according to John*, I, *Anchor Bible*, 1966, 404; cf. R. Jungkuntz, "An Approach to the Exegesis of John 10:34–36", *Concordia Theological Monthly* 35, 1964, 556–65). In rabbinic usage *baṭṭēl*, nullify, render futile, appears to be the Aram. equivalent of *lyō*. Thus in Jn. 7:23 it means that a man receives circumcision on the sabbath, so that the fulfilment of the law will not be frustrated. The reason why judges are called "gods" in Ps. 82 is that they have the office of administering God's judgment as "sons of the Most High". In the context of the Ps. the men in question have failed to do this, and the Ps. ends by calling on God himself to arise and judge the earth. Perhaps the use of the quotation in Jn. 10 implies that this is now what is happening in the person of Jesus in his confrontation with the Jews. If this is so, then the breaking of Scripture in Jn. 10:34 is not simply a matter of showing Scripture to be erroneous. It is a claim that the Ps. finds fulfilment in Jesus. Whereas the Jews were accusing Jesus of blasphemy (vv. 33, 36), they were in fact committing it themselves. In trying to arrest him (v. 39) and in disregarding the testimony of his works (vv. 32, 38), they were judging unjustly like the judges in Ps. 82:2. In failing to appreciate how these works benefited the weak and needy and in not attempting to do anything about it, they were acting like the unjust judges of the Ps. (Ps. 82:4; cf. 3). In so doing, they showed that they had "neither knowledge nor understanding", and were walking about "in darkness", as the Psalmist had said (Ps. 82:5). On the other hand, Jesus fulfilled the rôle of a true judge as a "god" and "son of the Most High", which in the Ps., as in the OT, was not sim-

ply a matter of delivering judgment in court, but included the wider aspect of administering the community in righteousness.

It is sometimes suggested that the reference to Scripture in Jn. 10:35 is an *argumentum ad hominem* which did not represent Jesus' own view of Scripture, but was a premise that Jesus knew the Jews accepted. It was therefore an adroit way of winning an argument by turning the tables on his opponents. But, as B. B. Warfield contends, the argument is not *ad hominem* but *e concessu*: "Scripture was the common ground with Jesus and His opponents" (*The Inspiration and Authority of the Bible*, 140). This appeal to the authority of Scripture and its fulfilment is in line with other appeals testified to in various strata of the Gospels (cf. Jn. 5:39; 12:14; 13:18; 17:12; Matt. 26:31, 54; Mk. 9:12 f.; 14:27; Lk. 20:17; 24:25; see Warfield, op. cit., 141–65, for discussion of these and other passages). Moreover, if the above interpretation of *lythēnai* in relation to Ps. 82 is correct, then the point of the quotation is to show not only that the Ps. offers formal precedent for speaking of a man as a "god", but that there is a material fulfilment of the whole Ps. in the person of Jesus in his confrontation with his unrighteous opponents who were presuming to judge him.

(e) The binding and loosing with which Peter was authorized in Matt. 16:19 and which was given to the disciples and the church at large in Matt. 18:18 stands in contrast with rabbinic usage (cf. *deō* = Aram., *'asar*, bind; *lyō* = Aram. *šera'*, loose). The authority of the rabbis as teachers was shown by their being able to forbid or allow certain things. They were able to excommunicate, i.e. exclude a person from the synagogue, though this is relatively seldom mentioned in rabbinic writings. Their decisions claimed to have validity in heaven, i.e. with God (SB I 738 ff.; 702 f.). On the nature of the authority entrusted to the church → Bind; → Open, art. *kleis* NT 3. Clearly it is an authority which is quite independent of any Jewish institutions, but which has its own God-given power.

(f) *lyō* and the unique noun *lysis* occur in 1 Cor. 7:27 in connexion with → divorce: "Are you bound to a wife? Do not seek to be free [*dedesai gynaiki; mē zetei lysin*]. Are you free from a wife? Do not seek marriage [*lelysai apo gynaikos; mē zētei gynaika*]." D. Daube points out that *lysis*, "release", is a somewhat untechnical word for divorce (*The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, 1956, 363), as compared with Paul's use of *chōrizesthai* of the wife who "separates" from her husband and *aphienai* of the husband who "dismisses" his wife, which corresponds to Jewish usage (cf. 1 Cor. 7:10 f.; → Reconciliation, art. *katallassō* NT 8). Perhaps Paul was using a more general term which would cover not only formal divorce but separation and even the death of the marriage partner. However, *apolyō* is used of divorce (Matt. 5:31 f. par. Lk. 16:18; Matt. 19:3–9 par. Mk. 10:2–12). C. K. Barrett claims that 1 Cor. 7:27 "contains Paul's advice on what, in the present circumstances, it is a *good thing* for a man to do; but it is in no sense a strict ruling which all must obey" (*The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, *BNTC*, 1968, 175). On the other hand, the ruling is in line with the charge from the Lord, not to separate but to seek reconciliation within marriage, and with OT teaching (1 Cor. 7:10 f.; cf. the Gospel passages quoted above; → Reconciliation, art. *katallassō* NT 8). And whilst Paul's teaching on the whole range of marriage questions in 1 Cor. 7 is clearly conditioned by circumstances (cf. vv. 29 ff.), it may be asked whether Paul envisaged those circumstances ever being altered except by the parousia. Nevertheless, it is not a sin for those who find themselves thus "free from a wife [*lelysai apo gynaikos*]" (v. 27) to

marry (v. 28). And this may, indeed, be right in view of the considerations discussed in vv. 2–7. For each has his or her particular gift. For fuller discussion → Separate, art. *chōrizō*.

7. Compounds of *lyō* are not infrequent in the NT.

(a) *apolyō* (which occurs in cl. Gk. from Homer onwards) means: (i) to set free, release, pardon a prisoner (Matt. 27:15–26; Mk. 15:6–15; Lk. 23:16–25; Jn. 18:39; 19:10, 12; Acts 3:13; 5:40; 16:35 f.; 26:32; 28:18); release a debtor (Matt. 18:27; cf. Lk. 6:37); be freed of diseases (Lk. 13:12); (ii) let go, send away, dismiss one's wife or betrothed, divorce (Matt. 1:19; 5:31 f.; 19:3, 7 ff.; Mk. 10:2, 4, 11; Lk. 16:18; cf. Deut. 24:1 ff.); of a woman divorcing her husband (Mk. 10:12 which accords with Greco-Roman custom, but not with Jewish, cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 15, 259); (iii) dismiss, send away crowds (Matt. 14:15, 22; 15:32, 39; Mk. 6:36, 45; 8:9), an assembly (Acts 19:40), and individuals (Matt. 15:23; Lk. 8:38; 14:4; cf. also Mk. 8:3; Acts 4:23; 15:30, 33); and as a euphemism for let die (Lk. 2:29).

(b) *katalyō* (in cl. Gk. from Homer onwards) means: (i) throw down, detach a stone from a building (Matt. 24:2; Mk. 13:2; Lk. 21:6), destroy, demolish, dismantle, of the temple (Matt. 26:61; cf. 27:40; Mk. 14:58; 15:29; Acts 6:14; see above 6 (b)), metaphorically of Paul demolishing the Jewish understanding of salvation and way of life (Gal. 2:18), of "the earthly tent", i.e. the human body at death which nevertheless leaves the believer with "a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens" (2 Cor. 5:1), tearing down "the work of God", i.e. the church (Rom. 14:20; cf. v. 19) over questions of eating what is unclean; *akatalytos* (from 1st cent. B.C. onwards) is found in the NT only at Heb. 7:16, meaning indestructible hence endless, referring to the life of Jesus, the eternal high priest, for Jesus was not appointed by the carnal law which is "a system of earth-bound rules" (NEB) but after the order of → Melchizedek; (ii) do away with, abolish, annul, make invalid, of the law (Matt. 5:17; see above 6 (a)), of the church which Gamaliel said would fail, if it was of men, but which could not be overthrown if it was of God's plan (Acts 5:38 f.); (iii) halt (i.e. unharness the pack animals), hence to rest, find lodging (Lk. 9:12; 19:7). *katalyma* (2nd cent. B.C. onwards) means generally lodging, but more particularly a guest room or dining room (Mk. 15:14; Lk. 2:7; 22:11).

(c) *eklyō* (Homer onwards) means to become loose, become weary, become weak, of the hungry crowds in the desert (Matt. 15:32; Mk. 8:3), of the Christian's certainty of reaping the harvest of well-doing if he does not grow weary (Gal. 6:9), of not losing courage in adversity, for discipline is a sign of sonship (Heb. 12:5 quoting Prov. 3:11; cf. also Heb. 12:3). *C. Brown*

λύτρον

λύτρον (*lytron*), price of release, ransom, ransom price; *ἀντίλυτρον* (*antilytron*), ransom, ransom price; *λυτρόω* (*lytroō*), to ransom, redeem; *λύτρωσις, ἀπολύτρωσις* (*lytrōsis, apolytrōsis*), redemption, deliverance, release; *λυτρωτής* (*lytrōtēs*), redeemer.

CL *lytron* (from 5th cent. B.C. on) and *antilytron* (only post-biblical in secular Gk.) denote the means or money for a ransom. The suffix *-tron* denotes the instrument or means by which the action of the vb. is accomplished, i.e. means of releasing, or the payment, i.e. price of releasing (D. Hill, *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings:*

Studies in the Semantics of Soteriological Terms, *Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series* 5, 1967, 49). The plur. *lytra* is common. We find also the meaning of recompense. Among the Gks. a ransom was often paid to free slaves, but the word is seldom found in cultic contexts. *lytroō* (from Plato on) means to free by a ransom, redeem. It is used only in act. in secular Gk., but is always mid. or pass. in biblical Gk. *lytrōsis* and *apolytrōsis*, synonyms meaning freeing, redeeming, are rare and found first in 1st cent. B.C. *lytrōtēs*, redeemer, is found only in biblical Gk.

W. Mundle

OT 1 (a). In the LXX the sing. *lytron* is found only in Lev. 27:31; Prov. 6:35; 13:8; otherwise it is always in plur. In addition to the passages mentioned, *lytron* translates Heb. *kōper*, covering, also in Exod. 21:30; 30:12; Num. 35:31, 32; Prov. 6:35; 13:8. *kōper* means the gift in exchange for a life, which according to the sacred law is forfeit or has come under the punishment of God. Normally it is not clear whether God, or men representing him, i.e. priests, are to be the recipients of the ransom money. A ransom was not to be paid for the murderer (Num. 35:31 f.). (On the important related vb. *kipper* → Reconciliation, art. *hilaskomai* OT 3.)

(b) *lytron* is used also to render *piḏyôn*, *piḏyôm*, *pᵉḏûyîm*, ransom (from *pāḏâh*, ransom, redeem; cf. Num. 3:46–51). In addition it is found in Lev. 19:20 and Num. 18:15 to strengthen the vb. *pāḏâh*, stressing the action of redeeming and its price. This has to be paid for those, like the first-born of man or animal, which by sacred law belong to God (→ First). It can be paid by animal sacrifice (Exod. 13:13, 15; 34:20) or sometimes by a money payment (Exod. 30:13–16; Num. 3:46–51; 18:15 f.). The suggestion that 1 Sam. 14:45 implies the ransoming of Jonathan's life by the life of another is highly improbable (cf. H. W. Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel*, 1964, 117 f.). Lev. 19:20 uses *lytra* for the ransoming of a slave girl.

(c) *lytra* also renders the noun *gᵉ'ullâh*, redemption (from the vb. *gā'al*, redeem, act as kinsman) in the case of the relative who was both entitled and under obligation to act (Lev. 25:24, 26, 51 f.). The redeemer (*gō'ēl*) was originally the closest relative who, as the avenger of → blood, had to redeem the blood of the murdered victim (Num. 35:19, 21, 24, 25, 27; Jos. 20:3, 5) and also the family possession that had been sold (Lev. 27:13, 15, 19 f., 31; cf. Jer. 32:7 where the LXX does not use *lytra*), and even the person whose economic plight had caused him to sell himself to a non-Jew (Lev. 25:48 f.). In Lev. 25:26, 51 f. the *gᵉ'ullâh* is the price of redemption. In Lev. 25:24 it means redemption, and in Lev. 25:29, 31 f., 48; Ruth 4:6; Jer. 32:8 it signifies the right of redemption. In Ezek. 11:15 "your fellow exiles" (RSV), "men of your kindred" (RSV mg.) are lit. "men of your redemption (MT *'anšê gᵉ'ullāṯeḵā*]". In Isa. 45:13 *lytra* renders *mᵉḥîr*, purchase price.

(d) D. A. Leggett points out that the duties prescribed by the OT laws are only understandable against the background of the covenant which made Israel Yahweh's unique possession (Exod. 19:5) among whom he dwelt (Exod. 25:8) (*The Levirate and Goel Institutions in the Old Testament with Special Attention to the Book of Ruth*, 1974, 292). The land was Yahweh's and given to Israel through Yahweh's saving intervention as Lord of history. Therefore the land was not to be sold in perpetuity (Lev. 25:23), but rather to be redeemed (Lev. 25:24). Yahweh had redeemed Israel out of → Egypt, by which act they had become his servants (Lev. 25:37, 55; cf. Deut. 15:15). Accordingly the impoverished Israelite who had sold himself into

slavery was to be redeemed (Lev. 25:55). If he was not redeemed by the appointed means, he was to be released in the year of jubilee (Lev. 25:50, 55).

The latter institution was part of the system of sabbatical years described in Lev. 25, which decreed that the land should be left fallow every seventh year (cf. Lev. 26:34–43; 2 Chr. 36:21; Neh. 10:31; Jer. 34:14–22; 1 Macc. 6:49, 53; Josephus, *Ant.* 12, 378; 14, 202). Unattended growth could be gathered by the poor or eaten by the beasts (Exod. 23:11; Deut. 15:2–18). Every fiftieth year (i.e. after 7 x 7 sabbath years) was a jubilee (so called from the Heb. *yôḇēl*, ram, thence the ram's horn trumpet which heralded the year, cf. Exod. 19:13). The LXX uses *aphesis*, release. Then the sanctions of the sabbatical year were enforced, and debts were remitted and slaves released. The institution brought together not only sound ecological and humanitarian principles in a primitive society; it grounded them in faith in a God who acts for salvation in history. (For critical discussion see J. Lilley, "Jubilee Year", *ZPEB* III 715 f.; R. North, *Sociology of the Biblical Jubilee*, 1954; H. Cazelles, *VT* 5, 1955, 321–24; W. Hallo, *BA* 23, 1960, 48 f.; N. Avigad, *BASOR* 163, 1961, 18–22.)

(e) Leggett sees the figure of the *gō'ēl* reflecting that of Yahweh in his relationship with Israel which is grounded in the covenant (op. cit., 293 f.). The vb. *gā'al* and the figure of the *gō'ēl* have particular prominence in the book of Ruth in which Ruth, the Moabitess and widowed daughter-in-law of Naomi, accompanies the latter to her home town of → Bethlehem. The two are destitute, but Ruth gleans in the field of Boaz who is a kinsman (Ruth 3:3). Naomi counsels Ruth to go to Boaz at the threshing floor at night. Boaz does not take Ruth at once. There is a nearer kinsman: "Remain this night, and in the morning, if he will do the part of the next of kin for you, well; let him do it; but if he is not willing to do the part of the next of kin for you, then, as the LORD lives, I will do the part of the next of kin for you. Lie down until the morning" (3:13). But upon the latter's refusal before the elders to take Ruth, Boaz does so by buying a field from the hand of Naomi (4:5). The background to this is the concept of the levirate marriage, according to which it was the duty of a kinsman to marry a widow "in order to restore the name of the dead to his inheritance" (4:5; → Marriage, art. *gameō* OT 5).

It should be noted that the LXX tones down the concept of redemption by avoiding *lytron* and cognates in the book of Ruth. Instead, it uses the noun *anchisteus*, kinsman (Ruth 3:9, 12; 4:1, 3, 6, 8, 14) and the vb. *anchisteuō*, be next of kin, act as next of kin, do a kinsman's office (Ruth 2:20; 3:13; 4:4; 6 f.). Nevertheless, the act of buying the field and the deliverance of Ruth and Naomi from destitution are integral features of the concept of redemption. The purpose of the book of Ruth has been widely debated (cf. O. Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament: An Introduction*, 1965, 477–83; R. K. Harrison, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 1969, 1059–64; L. Morris in A. E. Cundall and L. Morris, *Judges, Ruth, TC*, 1968, 239–43). It is widely held to be a tract against Jewish exclusivism. The book closes with a brief genealogy tracing → David's descent from Boaz (Ruth 4:18 ff.). Leggett sees in the book the theme of redemptive, messianic typology. "In the actions of Boaz as goel we see foreshadowed the saving work of Jesus Christ, his later descendant. As Boaz had the right of redemption and yet clearly was under no obligation to intervene on Ruth's behalf, so it was with Christ. As Boaz, seeing the plight of the poor widows, came to their rescue because his life was governed by Yahweh and his

laws, so also of the Messiah it is prophesied that his life would be governed by the law of God and that he would deal justly and equitably with the poor and with those who were oppressed (Ps. 72:2, 4, 12, 13; Isa. 11:4)" (op. cit. 298).

(f) In the cases discussed so far there is the idea of release through buying back either through some act or by an appropriate payment. The plur. *lytra* denotes what is given in replacement which results in release. The thought that something has to be done or paid implies the need to come to terms. But the idea of reconciliation is particularly prominent in those passages where *lytra* translates *kōper*, price of a life, ransom (Exod. 21:30; 30:12; Num. 35:31 f.; Prov. 6:35; 13:8). This Heb. noun is a cognate of the vb. *kipper*; → Reconciliation, art. *hilaskomai* OT 3. *kōper* occurs in the MT as the price for ransom of a life (Exod. 21:30; cf. 30:16; Job 33:24; 36:18; Prov. 13:8), a ransom (Num. 35:31 f.; Prov. 6:25; Ps. 49[48]:8, LXX *exhilasma*, guilt offering; Isa. 43:3). It means a bribe (1 Sam. 12:3, LXX *exhilasma*; Amos 5:12), where it is perhaps connected with the root idea of covering, i.e. that which covers the eyes. In Exod. 30:12 it is the half shekel of the sanctuary paid by all males above the age of twenty at the census to avert the plague (→ Tax). But the word is not found in the Day of Atonement ritual (Lev. 16). For the concept of reconciliation in later Judaism → Reconciliation, arts. *apokatastasis* OT 3 f.; *hilaskomai* OT 1 (b), 3 (c), 4; cf. H. Herrmann and F. Büchsel, *hileōs, hilaskomai* etc. *TDNT* III 301 ff.

2. The vb. *lytrousthai* is found more frequently in the LXX than the noun *lytron*. In the majority of cases Yahweh is the subject. It renders *pāḏâh*, ransom, 42 times: Exod. 13:13, 15; 34:20; Lev. 19:20; 27:29; Num. 18:15, 17; Deut. 7:8; 9:26; 13:5(6); 15:15; 21:8; 24:18; 2 Sam. 4:9; 7:23; 1 Ki. 1:29; 1 Chr. 17:21; Neh. 1:10; Pss. 25(24):22; 26(25):11; 31(30):5; 34(33):22; 44(43):26; 49(48)7, 15; 55(54):18; 71(70):23; 78(77):42; 119(118):134; 130(129):8; Hos. 7:13; Mic. 6:4; Zech. 10:8; Isa. 51:11; Jer. 15:21; 31(38):11 (in several of these passages it occurs more than once). *lytrousthai* translates *gā'al*, redeem, act as a kinsman, 45 times: Exod. 6:6; 15:13; Lev. 25:25, 30, 33, 48 f., 54; 27:13, 15, 19 f., 27–31, 33; Pss. 69(68):18; 72(71):14; 74(73):2; 77(76):15; 103(102):4; 106(105):10; 107(106):2; 119(118):154; Prov. 23:11; Hos. 13:14; Mic. 4:10; Zech. 3:1; Isa. 35:9; 41:14; 43:1, 14; 44:22 ff.; 52:3; 62:12; 63:9; Jer. 50(27):34; Lam. 3:58 (again in some verses more than once). It is also used to translate 7 other words: *'ārāp̄*, break the neck of an animal (Exod. 13:13?); *pallēṭ*, deliverance (Ps. 32[31]:1); *pāṣâh*, part, open, snatch away (Ps. 144[143]:10); *pāraq*, tear away a yoke (Lam. 5:8) and the Aram. *pᵉraq* (Dan. 4:24); *qānâh*, get, acquire (Exod. 15:16 *v.l.*); *śāḡaḇ*, rise up (Ps. 59[58]:1); Aram. *šêziḇ*, deliver (Dan. 6:28[27]). There is no corresponding Heb. in Sir. 48:20; 49:10; 50:24; 51:2 f.; 1 Macc. 4:11.

The basic idea of making free by a ransom can be seen in Exod. 34:20; Lev. 19:20; 25:25; but already in Deut. 7:8; 9:26; 13:5(6), etc. *lytrousthai* (*pāḏâh*) no longer refers to a material price paid, but means the redeeming activity of God, which freed Israel from → Egypt, the house of bondage. It is the use of his power in the service of his love and faithfulness which redeems from bondage. In Isa. the work of God as the Redeemer is stressed (*gō'ēl*, *lytroumenos* or *rhysamenos*, deliverer; Isa. 41:14; 47:4). Here the deliverance is in the first place the freeing of Israel from Babylonian captivity and the return of the people. The foreign nations are to receive no ransom for them; in fact God gives them as ransom for Israel (Isa. 43:3 f.; 45:13).

The thought of deliverance rather than the ransom paid is often uppermost (cf. D. Hill, op. cit., 54). *lytrousthai* is used interchangeably in the Pss. for *gā'al* and *pāḏâh* (Pss. 25[24]:22; 72[71]:14; 119[118]:134, 154).

D. Hill points out that while the deliverance from Egypt is often described in terms of redemption (2 Sam. 7:23; Deut. 7:8; 9:26; 13:5; 15:15; 24:18; 1 Chr. 17:21; Ps. 78[77]:42), the "redeeming" from exile is not often described by *pāḏâh* (Isa. 35:10; 51:11). Moreover, the specific idea of a ransom tends to fall into the background. "To stress the costliness of the deliverance in terms of Yahweh's strength and activity in order to keep alive the notion of ransom price (cf. Neh. 1:10 and 2 Sam. 7:23) would be to place an undue strain on the evidence: wherever there is need to emphasise the exercise of Yahweh's power in saving his people, it is stated explicitly in the context. We have no right to read it into every occurrence of the verb in order to make the word retain a presumed original and single unchanging sense. The meanings of words are seldom static and semantic development is often influenced by the events of history. It seems probable that the words *gā'al* and *pāḏâh* which had a close association with the idea of releasing slaves and of reclaiming persons and things, were taken up into the vocabulary of Israel's writers as the most suitable terms to describe the liberation from slavery of those whom Egypt and Babylon had conquered, and the reclaiming by Yahweh into his rightful ownership of 'the people of his possession'. This semantic development does no more than extend and emphasise what was already the essential theme of *gā'al* and *pāḏâh* in their specialised use, namely that of bringing persons into freedom" (op. cit., 55 f.).

3. In the intertestamental period the expectation of redemption continued (Sir. 50:24). Since the dominion of the foreigners over Israel continued, the term received a political and nationalistic connotation (Pss.Sol. 9:1; 12:6). The Qumran texts also stress this aspect (1QM 1:12 f.; 14:5 f.). Redemption was often conceived of in a wider sense. Especially in the Pss. the thought is of the individual: God redeems him from oppression and wrong (Pss. 31[30]:5[6]; 72[71]:14; 119[118]:134), and also from destruction (Ps. 103[102]:4; Sir. 51:2) and sin (Ps. 130:8).

4. *lytrōsis* renders *gᵉ'ullâh* in Lev. 25:29, 48, and *gᵉ'ûlîm* in Isa. 63:4. Otherwise it translates *pāḏâh* and its derivatives. In Lev. 25:29, 48 it means the right of redemption of property that has been sold. Ps. 49(48):8 states that there is no ransom from death. In Isa. 63:4 the judgment on the heathen appears to Israel as a "year of redemption". Ps. 111(110):9 thinks of Israel's redemption in general, and Ps. 130(129);7 of redemption from sin. *apolytrōsis* is used in the LXX only in Dan. 4:34(31) of the freeing of Nebuchadnezzar from his madness. God is twice called *lytrōtēs*, Redeemer, in the Pss. (19[18]:14; 78[77]:35). *lytrōtos*, redeemable (for Heb. *gᵉ'ullâh*) occurs only in Lev. 25:31 f.

5. Judaism reflected much on the OT statements about ransom money. Above all, the good deeds of the martyrs appeared as a ransom with atoning power (4 Macc. 6:28 f.; 17:22; → Reconciliation, art. *hilaskomai* OT 3 (c), NT 4 (b)). On the other hand, it is stressed that there is no ransom for the Gentiles in the final judgment (Eth. Enoch 98:10; cf. SB I 750; III 644).

gā'al is used only once in the Qumran texts as kinsman or protector (CD 14:16); *pāḏâh* is more important. In 1QH the author praises God for delivering him from his enemies (1QH 2:32, 35) and from destruction (1QH 3:19). 1QM calls the community "the people of the divine redemption" (1QM 1:12; 14:5) and "the poor of his

redemption" (1QM 11:9). Cf. also 1QH 17:20; Fragment 45 1:2; 4QpPs37; CD 16:8; 1QM 11:9; 13:14; 14:10; 15:1; 17:6; 18:11; Fragment 22 4:2; 4QM 8. The same semantic development which Hill observed in the OT appears to have taken place in the Dead Sea Scrolls, viz. that *paḏâh* means primarily to release, save or deliver (D. Hill, op. cit., 56).

Although *gā'al* was avoided in the Qumran writings, it is often used of the exodus deliverance in rabbinic literature. Both vbs. are frequent in the Mishnah in cases of legal and cultic redemption: *gā'al* of the redemption of property (Arakhin 9:1–4, dealing with the sabbath year and year of jubilee) and of things dedicated to the Lord (Arakhin 7:3 ff.); *pāḏâh* of the redemption of standing corn (Peah 4:7), dough (Hallah 3:3), dedicated produce (Terumoth 6:5; Pesahim 2:5), captive slaves (Ketuboth 1:2, 4; 3:1), persons from Gentile ownership (Gittin 4:9). Hill points out that in these passages the ideas which belong to the use of the words in the Pentateuch are dominant (op. cit., 57). But the tractate Pesahim (Feast of Passover) contains, as might be expected, examples of *gā'al* used of the exodus deliverance (10:5 f.), though none suggest the notion of ransom price in terms of the exertion of Yahweh's power. In rabbinic literature *gā'al* is applied to Israel's future deliverance when all afflictions will be ended. This is exemplified in the seventh of the Eighteen Benedictions which may well date from the Maccabean period: "Look upon our afflictions and defend our cause, and redeem us [*ûgᵉ'ālēnû*] for thy name's sake. Blessed art thou, O Lord, the Redeemer [*gō'ēl*] of Israel" (→ Prayer, art. *proseuchomai* OT 6). The thought here that is uppermost appears to be that of deliverance, perhaps with overtones of the avenger of blood. The rabbis used *gō'ēl* for the coming messiah, the redeemer of the glorious future (Hill, op. cit., 58; cf. H. Cazelles et al., *Moïse: L'Homme de l'Alliance*, 1955, for the messiah as a Moses-like deliverer).

The emphasis on deliverance rather than the ransom price of the later biblical writings outside the Pentateuch appears to be continued in the Palestinian Apocryphal writings (Sir. 48:20; 49:10; 50:24; 51:2 f.; 1 Macc. 4:11; cf. also Eth. Enoch 98:10 where "ransom" could mean "[way of] deliverance"). In the case of Philo, Hill detects the following procedure: "he finds the words in his biblical texts and quotes them in his work with the ransom significance which their contexts in legal codes required. When he explains the *meaning* of the passages, the strict ransom sense is missing and the idea of freedom is dominant" (op. cit., 60; *Sacr.* 114, 117 ff.; *Rer.Div.Her.* 44, 124, 186; *Spec.Leg.* 1, 77; 1, 135; 2, 95; 2, 116, 121 f.; 3, 145; *Omn.Prob.Lib.* 114; *Congr.* 109; *Leg.All.* 3, 21).

Apart from the *lytron* word-group, attention may be drawn to Jewish beliefs about the atoning value of suffering and martyrdom in the immediate pre-Christian era (cf. Hill, op. cit., 65 f.; A. Büchler, *Studies in Sin and Atonement in the Rabbinic Literature of the First Century*, 1928; 175–89; Moore, *Judaism*, I, 546–52; S. Schechter, *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*, 1909, 307–11). Traditionally atonement was achieved through the sacrifices of the cult and the Day of Atonement, but after the destruction of the temple and the cessation of sacrifice, it came to be thought of in terms of obedience and suffering, especially death. Hill claims that the idea of a man's death atoning for his own sins is not traceable in pre-Christian Judaism, but the idea of representative atonement is pre-Christian. Thus Jacob is said to have addressed Benjamin: "In thee shall be fulfilled the prophecy of heaven,

which says that the blameless one shall be defiled for lawless men, the sinless one shall die for ungodly men" (Test. Ben. 3:8, cf. Isa. 53; the longer *v.l.* is even more explicit). The representative value of suffering is expressed in the old Jewish tradition concerning the binding of Isaac (Akedah) which may have influenced Paul's doctrine of atonement (H. J. Schoeps, *Paul: The Theology of the Apostle in the Light of Jewish Religious History*, 1961, 141–49; G. Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism*, 1961, 193–227). The deaths of Saul and Jonathan caused God to be entreated for the land (Pes. 27, 174b). The atoning value of the deaths of the martyrs features in 2 Macc. 7:37; 4 Macc. 6:28; 17:21 f. (on this → Reconciliation, art. *hilaskomai* OT 3 (c), NT 4 (b)). Both 4 Macc. 6:28 and 17:21 use the rare word *antipsychon*, life given as a substitute.

NT 1. In the NT *lytron* is found only in the saying of Jesus which, apart from the introductory conjunctions, is found with identical wording in Matt. 20:28 and Mk. 10:45: "even as [*hōsper*, Matt.; "for", Mk. *kai gar*] the Son of man came not to be served but to serve, and to give his life a ransom for many [*ho hyios tou anthrōpou ouk ēlthen diakonēthēnai alla diakonēsai kai dounai tēn psychēn autou lytron anti pollōn*]." Lk. does not have the saying, but in his narrative of the Last Supper he gives the saying: "For which is the greater, one who sits at table, or one who serves? Is it not the one who sits at table? But I am among you as one who serves [*egō de en mesō hymōn eimi hōs ho diakonōn*]" (Lk. 22:27).

The conclusion has been drawn that the Lucan saying is more original than the Marcan. R. Bultmann, for example, sees the Marcan versions as a product of the early church in the form of an utterance attributed to the exalted Christ (*The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 1963, 149). In particular, it "has formed its conception of Jesus from the redemption theories of Hellenistic Christianity" (op. cit., 144; cf. W. Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, [1913], ET 1970, 39). But the theory is indemonstrable, and the ascription of prophetic utterances in the early church to the historical Jesus is open to serious objections (→ Prophet, art. *prophētēs* NT 4). Other exegetes have demonstrated the probability of a Palestinian background (cf. J. Jeremias, "Das Lösegeld für viele", *Judaica* 3, 1948, 249 ff.; E. Lohse, *Märtyrer und Gottesknecht*, 1955). This is indicated by the designation of Jesus as → Son of man (cf. Dan. 7:13) and the Semitic form of expression (e.g. the use of "many", Heb. *rabbîm*, instead of "all"; cf. the use of "all" in 1 Tim. 2:6 which speaks of Jesus giving himself "as a ransom for all [*antilytron hyper pantōn*]"; → All, art. *polloi*).

Mk. 10:45 has often been interpreted in the light of the Suffering Servant of Isa. 53, especially vv. 10–12: "Yet it was the will of the LORD to bruise him; he has put him to grief; when he makes himself an offering for sin, he shall see his offspring, he shall prolong his days; the will of the LORD shall prosper in his hand; he shall see the fruit of his soul and be satisfied; by his knowledge shall the righteous one, my servant, make many to be accounted righteous; and he shall bear their iniquities. Therefore I will divide him a portion with the great, and he shall divide the spoil with the strong; because he poured out his soul to death, and was numbered with the transgressors; yet he bore the sin of many, and made intercession for the transgressors."

W. L. Lane notes that "The sacrifice of the one is contrasted with those for whom it is made, in allusion to Isa. 53:11 f." (*The Gospel of Mark*, *NLC*, 1974, 384). Here

too "many" are referred to. This would further underline the Jewish background of the thought. But Lane also draws attention to the fact that at Qumran "the many" is "a technical term for the elect community, the eschatological people of God" (ibid.; cf. R. Marcus, "*Mebaqqer* and *Rabbim* in the Manual of Discipline vi, 11–13", *JBL* 75, 1956, 298–302; H. Huppenbauer, "*rbym, rwb, rb* in der Sektenregel (1QS)", *ThZ* 13, 1957, 136 f.). The thought of Mk. 10:45 seems to combine the substitutionary redemption of Isa. 53 by the one on behalf of many with the idea that the many are the elect community.

The link with Isa. 53 has been disputed by some scholars (cf. M. D. Hooker, *Jesus and the Servant: The Influence of the Servant Concept of Deutero-Isaiah in the New Testament*, 1959, 74–9; C. K. Barrett, "The Background of Mark 10:45", in A. J. B. Higgins, ed., *New Testament Essays: Studies in Memory of Thomas Walter Manson*, 1959, 1–18). It is argued, for example, that Isa. 52:13 and 53:11 speak of "my servant" and not the Son of man which recalls rather Dan. 7 and 12:3. The reminiscence of the Isaianic Servant in Eth. Enoch 37–71 which refer to the Son of man do not make a link with suffering. Isa. 53:10 speaks of an "offering for sin" rather than a "ransom". On the other hand, the idea of a ransom suggested by *lytron* and its cognates is found in Exod. 21:30; 30:12; cf. 21:23; 2 Ki. 10:24; 49[48]:8; Isa. 52:3; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 14, 107. But what this shows is that there are certain verbal dissimilarities when Mk. 10:45 and Isa. 53 are compared, and that the NT passage is not based exclusively on any single OT passage. The idea of a guilt offering is found in Lev. 5:14–6:7; Num. 5:5–8. The reconciling significance of Jesus' passion which in Mk. 10:45 is designated by the word *lytron* corresponds to what in Heb. was expressed by the *kipper* word-group (→ Reconciliation, art. *hilaskomai*). In the earliest form of NT proclamation it was expressed in the formula that "Christ died for our sins in accordance with the scriptures" (1 Cor. 15:3). Whereas the atoning value of the sufferings of the Jewish martyrs is celebrated in 2 Macc. 7:37; 4 Macc. 6:28; 17:21 f., the present passage offers a parallel and a stark contrast. It affirms that atonement is made by suffering, but it implicitly denies that such atonement was made by the Jewish martyrs. It insists that it is brought about by Jesus alone. "With the preposition *anti* [for] Jesus contrasts what he surrenders with what he gains. He surrenders his life and obtains the many who are liberated. The thought is also in the background that by his death Jesus stands in the place of those who are in bondage to sin and death, and suffers in their stead that which sets them free" (A. Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Matthäus*, 1963⁶, 603 f.). "The genuineness of the saying has been much discussed ... but no argument has yet been advanced which is so strong as to make it impossible for us to believe that Jesus could have spoken of his death in the kind of terms reproduced here – of vicarious and representative suffering for his people, in the terms of the old Jewish martyr theology" (D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew*, *New Century Bible*, 1972, 289).

As Schlatter observes above, the ransom has not only an atoning but also a liberating aspect. The many are set free not only from → guilt, but also at the same time from its consequences, → death and → judgment. "Deliverance from guilt and deliverance from death is the same process" (Schlatter, op. cit., 603). In Mk. 8:37 Jesus puts the question: "For what can a man give in return for his life?" (→ Reconciliation, art. *katallassō* NT 8). The question finds its answer here in Mk. 10:45. This answer stands in sharp contrast to Eth. Enoch 98:10: "And now, know ye that ye

are prepared for the day of destruction: wherefore do not hope to live, ye sinners, but ye shall depart and die; for ye know no ransom; for ye are prepared for the day of the great judgment, for the day of tribulation and great shame for your spirits." The same Jesus who completes his service in giving up his life is the Son of man who will come in glory (Matt. 25:31). Jesus does not say who will receive the ransom. Since Mk. 8:33 pictures Satan as endeavouring to prevent Jesus' path of suffering, we can think only of God in this context.

2. The rare word *antilytron*, ransom, which is not found at all in the LXX occurs in the NT only at 1 Tim. 2:6 in the context of an exhortation to prayer for all men, including kings and those in high positions. For "God our Saviour . . . desires all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth. For there is one God and there is one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, who gave himself as a ransom for all [*ho dous heauton antilytron hyper pantōn*], the testimony to which was borne at the proper time" (1 Tim. 2:4 ff.). The saying points back to Mk. 10:45. J. Jeremias has shown that the saying differs from the words of Jesus only in that it has been stripped of its Semitic linguistic form of expression ("Das Lösegeld für viele", *Judaica* 3, 1948, 260). C. Spicq points out that the first motive for intercessory prayer for all men lies in the character of God. The second is based on the mission of Jesus Christ (*Les Épîtres Pastorales*, 1947, 59). He points out that whereas Mk. 10:45 par. Matt. 20:28 speak of a *lytron anti* ("a ransom for") Paul uses a noun which combines the noun and preposition in a single word, which thus appears stronger than the simple *lytron*, suggesting a ransom which has been completely paid, an atonement that has been effected. The use of *anti* as a prefix may even accentuate the notion of exchange (cf. *antimisthia*, reward, return, in Rom. 1:27; 2 Cor. 6:13). D. Guthrie comments: "The addition of the preposition *anti*, 'instead of', is significant in view of the preposition *huper*, 'on behalf of', used after it. Christ is conceived of as an 'exchange price' on behalf of and in the place of *all*, on the grounds of which freedom may be granted. Yet not all enjoy that freedom. The ransom, it is true, has infinite value, but the benefits require appropriation. The apostle is implying here that since the ransom is adequate for all, God must desire the salvation of all" (*The Pastoral Epistles*, *TC*, 1957, 72).

However, the alternative interpretation may be noted which takes the word → all (*pas*) to denote not all, in an absolute and inclusive sense, but all kinds of. On this view, Paul is saying that he does not exclude any class of men from salvation (and thus from the sphere of intercessory prayer). For he desires all kinds of men (including pagan rulers, whom some Christians might deem to be beyond the pale) to be saved. In NT literature *pas* is used for *pantodapos* and *pantoios* which are absent from the NT. Other instances of *pas* in this sense include Matt. 4:23; 23:27; Lk. 11:42; Acts 2:5; 7:22; 13:10; Rom. 1:18, 29; 7:8; 1 Cor. 1:5; 6:18; 2 Cor. 7:1; 9:8; 10:5; Eph. 1:3, 8, 21; 4:19; 5:3; Phil. 1:9; 2 Thess. 2:17; Tit. 1:16; 3:1; Heb. 13:21. The question may be asked whether the use of the word *pas* ("all") here in the context of the Gentile mission significantly extends that of the *polloi* ("many") in Mk. 10:45 par. which occurs in a Jewish Palestinian setting. On the one hand, *polloi* can have a more inclusive sense, but the Qumran background suggests that the "many" may refer to the elect eschatological community. On the other hand, the "all" in 1 Tim. 2:6 may mean that Christ gave himself for all men absolutely or for all kinds of men. What is clear in 2 Tim. 2:6 is that Paul extends the "many" of the Gospels to

include not only the Gentiles who have actually responded to the gospel but to pagan rulers who at the time might even be hostile.

Similar thoughts on Christ's death as a ransom given in love may be found elsewhere in Paul. His self-giving in death is grounded in love (Gal. 2:20; Eph. 5:2). Believers are bought with a price (*timē*, 1 Cor. 6:20; 7:23), paid to atone from sin and its consequences (Gal. 1:4; Eph. 1:7; Col. 1:14). Christ's death is a propitiation (Rom. 3:25) which brings about → reconciliation (2 Cor. 5:18–21).

The final clause in 1 Tim. 2:6 ("the testimony to which was borne at the proper time") is not immediately clear. If *to martyrion* is taken in apposition to the preceding statement, it could be understood as referring to the gospel of salvation. The noun would thus be a metonymy in which the abstract stands for the concrete, the testimony for the thing testified. But the proper meaning of *martyrion* is not the thing testified but the testimony (cf. Heb. 3:5). Spicq, therefore, prefers to see *to martyrion* in apposition to the entire train of thought in vv. 4–6 and "to understand that the great expiatory sacrifice of Christ for all is itself the attestation, the great sign, the most manifest proof which is as indisputable as a fact, of the will of God to save all men" (op. cit., 61). This is the sense of the word in 1 Tim. 6:13. This revelation and proof of God's redeeming love was manifested in God's own appointed time (cf. Tit. 1:3; 1 Tim. 6:15; Rom. 5:6; Gal. 4:4).

3. *lytrōsis*, deliverance, release, redemption, occurs twice in the birth and infancy narratives of Lk. and once in Heb. Zechariah, the father of John the Baptist, "was filled with the Holy Spirit, and prophesied" at the birth of his son in a psalm which begins: "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for he has visited and redeemed his people" (Lk. 1:68). V. 69 develops this theme in speaking of "the horn of salvation [*keras sōtērias*] which God has raised up for us in the house of his servant David", and vv. 71 and 73 celebrate this in terms of being "saved [*sōtērian*]" and "delivered [*rhysthentas*]" from our enemies. Similarly, the prophetess Anna gave thanks to God on seeing the infant Jesus in the temple "and spoke of him to all who were looking for the redemption of Jerusalem" (Lk. 2:38). D. Hill comments: "the word is being used in the sense of the long-awaited intervention by God to save and deliver his people into freedom and blessing. This applies also to the remark by the Emmaus-road pilgrims (Luke 24:21), 'We had hoped that he was the one to deliver Israel (*ho mellōn lytrousthai Israēl*)' " (*Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings: Studies in the Semantics of Soteriological Terms*, *Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series* 5, 1967, 67). Hill thinks that the idea of ransoming or purchasing has here completely receded, and that the emphasis is entirely on God's deliverance of his people. Even though Zechariah's psalm goes on to relate this deliverance to the rôle of John in preparing the ways of the Lord "to give knowledge of salvation to his people in the forgiveness of sins" (Lk. 1:77), the deliverance that Zechariah and Anna appear to envisage is one which sees it in terms of the promised restoration of the fortunes of → Israel in terms of OT prophecy concerning the historic people of God (cf. Lk. 1:76 with Mal. 4:5; Lk. 1:78 with Mal. 4:2; Lk. 1:79 with Isa. 9:2).

It is questionable how far the idea of ransoming is present in Heb. 9:12, though clearly atonement is here made by → blood. The death, resurrection and ascension of Jesus is here understood in terms of the Day of Atonement ritual of Lev. 16: "But when Christ appeared as a high priest of the good things that have come, then through the greater and more perfect tent (not made with hands, that is, not of this

creation) he entered once for all into the Holy Place, taking not the blood of goats and calves but his own blood, thus securing an eternal redemption [*aiōnian lytrōsin heuramenos*]" (Heb. 9:11 f.). The sacrifices of the Day of Atonement were not strictly speaking a *ransom*, although the shedding of blood made propitiation (Lev. 17:11; → Reconciliation, art. *hilaskomai*). In the light of Heb. 9:22, 25 f., 28, Hill concludes: "As the blood of bulls and goats in the Day of Atonement ceremony cleansed and freed the assembly of Israel from sin for one year, the blood of the great High Priest himself is the means (not the price) of bringing deliverance from sin and a renewed relationship with God (*v.* 14) to all men for ever" (op. cit., 69).

4. *lytrōtēs* occurs only in Stephen's speech where it is applied to → Moses: "This Moses whom they refused, saying 'Who made you a ruler and a judge?' God sent as both ruler and deliverer [*archonta kai lytrōtēn*] by the hand of the angel that appeared to him in the bush" (Acts 7:35; cf. Exod. 2:14). The point of the argument is to show that the Jews' treatment of Jesus is consistent with the Jews' attitude to the divinely appointed leaders and deliverers down the ages. But, in fact, Moses whom the Jews regard as the leader and deliverer *par excellence* is in this double aspect a type of Christ: he is a ruler and deliverer on the one hand, and he was rejected by the Jews on the other hand (cf. v. 52). E. Haenchen also points out that "*archonta* matches *archēgos* in 3.15 and 5.31, and *lytrōtēn* has its counterpart in Luke 24:21" (*The Acts of the Apostles*, 1971, 282).

5. *apolytrōsis* occurs 10 times in the NT. The sole instance in the Gospels is in Lk. 21:28. Otherwise it is found 7 times in the Pauline writings and twice in Heb. These occurrences attest the Hellenistic preference for the compound form over the simple *lytrōsis*. In the Pauline writings it figures largely to designate the deliverance from sin and its penalty brought about by the propitiatory death of Christ. In this sense it is a present reality grounded exclusively in Christ: "they are justified by his grace as a gift, through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus" (Rom. 3:24; cf. v. 25 → Reconciliation, art. *hilaskomai*); "In him we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of our trespasses, according to the riches of his grace" (Eph. 1:7); "in whom we have redemption, the forgiveness of sins" (Col. 1:14): "He is the source of your life in Christ Jesus, whom God made our wisdom, our righteousness and sanctification and redemption" (1 Cor. 1:30).

But it also has a future aspect, for the full realization of redemption will only come with the parousia: "and not only the creation, but we ourselves, who have the first fruits of the Spirit, groan inwardly as we wait for adoption as sons, the redemption of our bodies" (Rom. 8:23; cf. Phil. 3:21). The context there is probably that of a charismatic enthusiasm which Paul counters by drawing attention to present imperfection (→ Prayer, art. *entynchanō*; on this verse see also P. Benoit, "Nous gémissons, attendant la délivrance de notre corps", *RSR* 39, 1951, 267–80). Similarly, Eph. 1:14 sees the present sealing by the → Spirit as the guarantee of our inheritance until we acquire possession of it [*eis apolytrōsin*; lit. "unto redemption"], to the praise of his glory." The sole instance in the Gospels has also a future reference: "Now when these things begin to take place, look up and raise your heads, because your redemption is drawing near" (Lk. 21:28; cf. also 18:7 f.; → Present, art. *The Parousia and Eschatology in the NT*).

In Heb. 9:15 the thought combines the Pauline association of redemption and the death of Christ with the characteristic theme in Heb. of the comparison of the new

covenant with the old: "Therefore he is the mediator of a new covenant, so that those who are called may receive the promised eternal inheritance, since a death has occurred which redeems them from the transgressions under the first covenant." In Heb. 11:35 *apolytrōsis* is used in the secular sense of "release" (cf. Dan. 4:32 LXX): "Some were tortured, refusing to accept release, that they might rise again to a better life." The allusion appears to be the story in 2 Macc. of the mother and her seven sons who prefer torture and death to denying the law, expressing their hope in a resurrection life (2 Macc. 7:9, 11, 14; for other instances of torture see F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, *NLC*, 1964, 337 ff.).

6. The vb. *lytrousthai* (middle and passive) is found only in three passages. Lk. 24:21 is noted above (see under 3 above). Tit. 2:14 interprets christologically the thought of Ps. 130:8 (cf. also Ezek. 37:23; Deut. 14:2). The passage describes the Christian life as renouncing irreligion and worldy passions and living in a godly way, awaiting the appearing of Christ, "who gave himself for us to redeem us from all iniquity and to purify for himself a people of his own who are zealous for good deeds." 1 Pet. 1:18 f. refers both to that from which the believer is ransomed and to the means of the ransom: "You know that you were ransomed from the futile ways inherited from your fathers, not with perishable things such as silver or gold, but with the precious blood of Christ like that of a lamb without blemish or spot." The words "futile" and "vain" are used of idolatry (Lev. 17:7 LXX; Jer. 8:19; Acts 14:15; cf. Rom. 1:21), and in a general sense life without God is one of futility and emptiness (→ Empty, art. *mataios*). The allusion to silver and gold recalls Isa. 52:3: "You were sold for nothing, and you shall be redeemed without money" (→ Gold). On → blood as the means of redemption see Eph. 1:7; Heb. 9:12, 22; Rev. 1:5; cf. 5:9. The image of the → lamb recalls Isa. 53:7. The passover lamb and animal sacrifices were expected to be without blemish (Exod. 12:5; 29:1; Lev. 22:17–25; Ezek. 43:22 f.; cf. Heb. 9:14).

Other ways of expressing the idea of ransom include that of being bought with a price (1 Cor. 6:20; 7:23; → Buy, art. *agorazō*; → glory, art. *timē*). *C. Brown*

ῥύομαι

ῥύομαι (*rhyomai*), rescue, deliver, preserve, save.

CL *rhyomai* is a middle deponent vb. found in cl. Gk. from Homer onwards and also in inscriptions and papyri. It is used of deliverance and keeping by both the gods and men.

1. Ajax prayed to "Father Zeus" to save the Achaians from the dark night (Homer, *Il.* 17, 645). "Only Zeus and the other gods saved thee", cried Achilles to Aeneas (*Il.* 20, 194). Such deliverance extends not only to individuals in battle, but to various dangers, afflictions and also the protection of property (*Il.* 15, 257, 290; Hdt. 1, 87 *ek tou kakou*, "from evil"; 5, 49; 9, 76; 4, 187; 6, 7; 7, 217; other instances in W. Kasch, *rhyomai*, *TDNT* VI 1000).

2. On the human level the vb. is applied to the action of princes in delivering cities and countries (Homer, *Il.* 9, 396), women and children (*Il.* 17, 224), the outcast (Soph., *OC* 285). Moreover, it can be used of inanimate objects. Thus, walls (*Il.* 18, 515), helmets (*Il.* 10, 259), and armour (*Il.* 23, 819) are said to protect. On the other hand, Odysseus cannot save his comrades who have destroyed themselves by sin

(*Od.* 1, 6f.), and there are cases where not even the gods can save (*Il.*, 15, 141; *Od.* 12, 107; Aesch., *Sept.* 91; cf. W. Kasch, ibid.).

OT In the LXX *rhyomai* mostly renders the hiphil form of *nāṣal* in the sense of rescue, deliver (84 times), the niphal form in the sense of to save oneself (4 times), and the hophal form twice. The Gk. vb. → *sōzō*, save, translates *nāṣal* only 23 times. *rhyomai* is used 11 times in the later passages of Isa. and also in Gen. 48:16 to translate *gā'al*, redeem, buy back, deliver (→ *lyō* OT). It also translates several other vbs.: *pālaṭ* in the piel, bring to safety, save (10 times); *yāša'* in the hiphil, save, deliver, set free (7 times; *yāša'* is translated by *sōzō* 138 times); *pādâh*, redeem (5 times); *ḥālaṣ*, save (5 times); *nāṣar*, watch, keep guard (twice); *pāṣâh*, snatch from deliver (once), and the Aram. *šêziḇ* (once). W. Kasch sees two main groups of passages. In the first, *rhyomai* is used in a way corresponding to cl. Gk. usage, except that Yahweh fulfils the rôle which in Gk. literature is ascribed to the gods. In the second, a distinctive OT usage may be seen. (On the Heb. terms see further J. F. A. Sawyer, *Semantics in Biblical Research: New Methods of Defining Hebrew Words for Salvation*, *SBT* Second Series 24, 1972.)

1. The following group of passages exhibits marked similarities with Gk. usage, except that the deliverance is seen as the work of Yahweh and not of the gods. The Psalmists sing of deliverance from persecutors (Ps. 7:2[1]), wicked neighbours (Ps. 34[33]:4), false and evil men (Ps. 43[42]:1; cf. Isa. 25:4), those who hate the innocent (Ps. 69[68]:14), from murder (Ps. 18[17]:29), → blood (Ps. 51[50]:14), the sword (Ps. 22[21]:20), the snares of the fowler (Ps. 91[90]:3), death and famine (Ps. 33[32]:19; cf. Pss. 56[55]:13; 57 [56]:4; 86[85]:13; 89[88]:48; Job 5:20), Sheol (Ps. 86[85]:13; cf. 56[55]:13; Hos. 13:14; → Hell), the ungodly (Ps. 17[16]:13; cf. 59[58]:3; 71[70]:4; 97[96]:10), tribulations (Ps. 34[33]:17, 19), and from sins and their consequences (Pss. 39[38]:8; 40[39]:13; 79[78]:9). Dan. 3:88 LXX speaks of deliverance from destruction (cf. Job 33:17), and Ezek. 13:21, 23 of deliverance from false divination.

But the prophetical, historical and wisdom writings, as well as the Torah, celebrate the deliverance by Yahweh of his people both as a whole (Exod. 6:6; 14:30; Jdg. 6:9 B; 8:34; 2 Ki. 18:32; 2 Esd. 8:31; Mic. 4:10; 5:5; Isa. 36:15; 44:6; 48:17; 49:7, 25; 54:5, 8; Ezek. 13:21, 23; 1 Macc. 16:2) and as individuals (2 Sam. 12:7; 22:18, 44, 49; Job 5:20; 22:30; 33:17; Pss. 6:4; 7:1; 17[16]:13; 25[24]:20). Sometimes this is related to the specific historical context of the great saving acts of God, especially the exodus (Exod. 6:6; 14:30) and the settlement in Canaan (Jdg. 6:9 B; 8:34). Other instances are 2 Ki. 18:32; Isa. 36:15; Mic. 4:10; 5:5; 2 Sam. 12:7; 22:18; 2 Ki. 18:32; 3 Macc. 6:10.

The OT, like secular Gk. literature, knows of human deliverers. But there is always the implication that these act in the name of Yahweh and in his power. Thus, Moses saved the daughters of the priest of Midian (Exod. 2:17, 19). Gideon is called a saviour of Israel (Jdg. 9:17 B). The king saves Israel (2 Sam. 19:9). The king is appealed to as a deliverer (2 Sam. 14:16). It is the task of the judge to deliver (Ps. 82[81]:4; on this Ps. → *lyō* NT 6(d)). In Sir. 40:24 the brother or companion may be a saviour. A thief will be willing to give up all his goods in order to save himself (Prov. 6:31 LXX), and a man can save himself by giving money (3 Macc. 2:32).

2. W. Kasch holds that there is a distinctive OT emphasis in those passages where

a theocentric understanding replaces the anthropocentric understanding of secular Gk. Deliverance is no longer determined by the laws of being which obtain for both gods and men but by "the creating and sustaining word of Yahweh for whom the salvation of the people and the individual is part of His creative action in the salvation history commenced by Him" (op. cit., 1001). He delivers according to his mercies (Neh. 9:28; cf. Ps. 33[32]:18f.), for his name's sake (Ps. 79[78]:19). In Theodotion's text of Dan. 3:96, Nebuchadnezzar confesses that "There is no god who can save thus" (but cf. 2 Ki. 18:33, where the Rabshakeh taunts Hezekiah with the question: "Has any of the gods of the nations ever delivered his land out of the hand of the king of Assyria?"; and similarly Isa. 36:19). But in the later chapters of Isa. Yahweh is celebrated as the one who delivers his people from bondage: "Thou, O LORD, art our Father, our Redeemer from of old is thy name" (Isa. 63:16; cf. 44:6; 47:4; 48:17, 20; 49:7; 51:10; 52:9; 54:5, 8; 59:20; 63:16). In all these passages of Isa. *rhyomai* translates *gā'al*. This usage is confined to Isa., apart from Gen. 48:16, though Isa. 49:25 f. and 63:5 use it for *yāša'* and Isa. 50:2 has it for *pāḏâh*.

Deliverance in the OT has nothing magical about it. Because it has to do with historical situations, it occurs in history. On one occasion, Moses could even reproach Yahweh for failing to deliver the people (Exod. 5:23; cf. 3 Macc. 6:11). However, the deliverance came in Yahweh's good time.

Kasch draws attention to the faith which corresponds to Yahweh's deliverance and to which Yahweh responds: "In thee our fathers trusted; they trusted, and thou didst deliver them" (Ps. 22[21]:4; cf. v. 8; Pss. 33[32]:18f.; 34[33]:7). Unbelief amounts to the denial that Yahweh can save (Isa. 36:14–20; Wis. 2:18ff.). On the other hand, Yahweh delivers those who fear him and hope in his steadfast love (Ps. 33[32]: 18f.; Ezek. 14:20; cf. Job 22:30; 1 Macc. 2:60), and those who consider the → poor (Ps. 41; cf. Sir. 40:24). Israel so easily forget their God who rescued them from all their enemies on every side (Jdg. 8:34). But the Pss. contain the deepest expression of individual awareness of guilt and the heartfelt cry for deliverance from transgression (Pss. 39[38]:8; 40[39]:13; 79[78]:9). In the last analysis, salvation is grounded in Yahweh's mercy (Pss. 31[30]:1; 71[70]:2; 86[85]:13).

NT The vb. is found relatively seldom in the NT – only 15 times compared with 106 instances of → *sōzō*. Moreover, seven of these occur in quotations or allusions to the OT; in each case God is the deliverer.

(a) The taunt of the bystanders at the crucifixion echoes Ps. 22:8 (21:9): "He trusts in God; let God deliver him now, if he desires him; for he said, 'I am the Son of God' " (Matt. 24:43). The mockers evidently took the sufferings of Jesus and the failure of God to deliver him as conclusive disproof of his claims. The allusion to the Ps. is seen by Matt. as proof of a deeper working of God. Although God does not deliver Jesus from death in the way that might have been expected, he delivers him in a deeper sense in the resurrection. (On the use of Ps. 22 in Matt.'s passion narrative → God, art. *theos*, NT 6 (d).) The psalm of Zechariah at the birth of John the Baptist sees the promised deliverance from the hand of Israel's enemies to serve God without fear as a fulfilment of the promise to Abraham (cf. Gen. 22:16f.). The psalm sees this as now imminent and the child is the promised herald of salvation.

In dealing with the question of whether God has finally rejected Israel, Paul argues (Rom. 11:26) that the present hardening is merely a temporary part of God's pur-

pose and that Isa. 59:20f. has yet to be fulfilled: "and so all Israel will be saved; as it is written, 'The Deliverer will come from Zion, he will banish ungodliness from Jacob.' " The quotation may also take up the thought of Ps. 14:7: "O that deliverance for Israel would come out of Zion! When the LORD restores the fortunes of his people, Jacob shall rejoice, Israel shall be glad." Isa. 27:9 speaks of the expiation of the guilt of Jacob, and the forgiveness of Israel's iniquity is a feature of the new → covenant (Jer. 31:34). (On the name Jacob → Israel, art. *Iakōb.*) Zion was originally the City of David but is here understood eschatologically in a way comparable to the "heavenly Jerusalem" (Gal. 4:26; → Jerusalem). The LXX reads "on account of Zion" and the MT "to Zion". The Pauline variant may be indebted to Pss. 14:7 and 52:7 LXX. What Paul gives is evidently a reinterpretation of Isa. 59:20, combined with the other passages mentioned, showing how OT prophecy has been fulfilled and will be fulfilled. (For a comparable adaptation and interpretation of the OT in the case of Eph. 4:8 [cf. Ps. 68:18] → Heaven, art. *anabainō* NT 5.)

Paul's account of his afflictions in Asia is expressed in language which recalls the Psalmist's praise of Yahweh's deliverance from death: "he delivered us from so deadly a peril, and he will deliver us; on whom we have set our hope that he will deliver us again" (2 Cor. 1:10). The allusion may be to the riots in Ephesus, the capital of the Roman province of Asia, which may have been more serious than might appear at first sight from Acts 19:23–40. But Paul may also be speaking of a serious illness (cf. 2 Cor. 12:7; → Fruit, art. *skolops*; cf. C. K. Barrett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, *BNTC*, 1973, 64). The request for prayer to be "delivered from wicked and evil men; for not all have faith" (2 Thess. 3:2) also recalls OT language (cf. Isa. 24:4 LXX, Ps. 140 [139]:1). In view of 1 Thess. 2:15f., this may be a reference to the Jews, especially if the letter was written from Corinth at a time when Paul was experiencing opposition there from the Jews (cf. Acts 18:5ff.). OT language is again found in 2 Tim. 3:11 in reference to Paul's sufferings at Antioch, Iconium and Lystra (cf. Acts 13:14–52; 14:1–20; 16:1–5); "yet from them all the Lord rescued me." 2 Tim. 4:17f. evidently describes a preliminary hearing of Paul's case at Rome. Although it was the custom for friends of the defendant to appear with him to give him support, no one stood by Paul. "But the Lord stood by me and gave me strength to proclaim the word fully, that all the Gentiles might hear it. So I was rescued from the lion's mouth. The Lord will rescue me from evil and save me for his heavenly kingdom. To him be glory for ever and ever. Amen." The situation recalls Dan. 6:20 and Ps. 22:21 (21:22), but doubtless refers also to the Roman practice of exposing criminals to wild beasts in the arena. It is doubtful whether this could have been the Colosseum in this case, as it was formally inaugurated by Titus only in A.D. 70. D. Guthrie, however, supposes that the lion here is metaphorical for Nero (*The Pastoral Epistles*, *TC*, 1957, 177). The absence of any further explanation makes it unlikely to be a symbolic reference to Satan (as in 1 Pet. 5:8). The expectation of future deliverance in v. 18 looks forward to deliverance through death and whatever terrifying circumstances may attend it (cf. vv. 6ff.; 1:12; 2:11ff.; Phil. 1:20ff.).

In addition to the above passages with their OT allusions, 2 Pet. 2:9 occurs in a hortatory passage which illustrates its point from the OT: "then the Lord knows how to rescue the godly from trial, and to keep the unrighteous under punishment until the day of judgment." The examples cited are → Noah and the flood (v. 5; cf. Gen. 6:1–8:22), the judgment on Sodom and Gomorrah (v.6; cf. Gen. 19:24), and the

rescue of Lot (v. 7; cf. Gen. 19:16, 29). In each case the righteous is saved from the judgment which befalls the ungodly, and this is both an encouragement and a warning.

(b) Only once is *rhyomai* used with a clear reference to the deliverance which believers have already experienced: "He has delivered us from the dominion of darkness and transferred us to the kingdom of his beloved Son" (Col. 1:13). A similar thought is expressed in Eph. 2:5–8 where believers are said to have been made alive after having been dead in trespasses and sins, and are now "saved through faith [*sesōsmenoi dia pisteōs*]." The passage may be understood to refer to → baptism, if this in turn be understood in terms of all that baptism stands for in the light of the cross and Christian experience of life in Christ (cf. Col. 2:12–15; 3:1–4). It could equally be said to be the true meaning of → circumcision (cf. Col. 2:11, 13). Col. 1:14 relates this deliverance to → redemption, and the → forgiveness of sins. The → kingdom in v. 13 is the reign of Christ which is contrasted with the dominion of darkness. E. Lohse points out that the passage does not mean "that those baptized have been taken up into a transcendent realm of light. There is no mention of an enthusiastic anticipation of the consummation. Rather, just as darkness designates those who are lost, light characterizes the rule of Christ, which here and now shapes the life and conduct of those who are baptized" (*Colossians and Philemon*, *Hermeneia*, 1971, 38). On the background ideas → Light and → Darkness. In whatever terms this deliverance may be expressed, the common factor of all these passages in Col. and Eph. is that it is entirely the work of Christ.

There has been considerable debate on the interpretation of Rom. 7:24: "Wretched man that I am! Who will deliver me from this body of death?" Man is subject to death because of sin (Rom. 5:12, 21; 6:23; cf. Gal. 6:7f.). On the question whether this passage refers to the cry of the unredeemed or that of the godly man who is all too aware of his sinful nature, so long as he remains in this world, → I Am, art. *egō eimi*, NT 2 (c). The answer to the question is given in Rom. 7:25: "Thanks be to God through Jesus Christ our Lord! So then, I of myself serve the law of God with my mind, but with my flesh I serve the law of sin." It suggests that the believer's life in this world remains one of conflict. The answer is further developed in ch. 8. God has done in his Son what the law was powerless to do; "he condemned sin in the flesh, in order that the just requirement of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not according to the flesh but according to the Spirit" (Rom. 8:3b, 4). The believer is not to set his mind on the flesh, but to live according to the Spirit (Rom. 8:5, cf. 6–17). Even so, the deliverance is not complete in this life. "We know that the whole creation has been groaning in travail together until now; and not only the creation, but we ourselves, who have the first fruits of the Spirit, groan inwardly as we wait for adoption as sons, the redemption of our bodies" (Rom. 8:22f.). What we have now is only an anticipation of the eschatological fulfilment.

The Lord's Prayer contains the petition: "But deliver us from evil [*alla rhysai hēmas apo tou ponērou*]" (Matt. 6:13). The petition is omitted from the par. in Lk. 11:2ff. On the interpretation of the petition → Evil, art. *ponēros* NT 2 (b). Whether this is taken as a reference to being delivered from "the evil one" or from "evil" generally, the disciple is asking to be freed from the power which dominates this age and is constantly threatening him. But there is also an eschatological note. The thought of eternal salvation as the goal of deliverance is also present.

Rom. 11:26 and 1 Thess. 1:10 are also thoroughly eschatological. The former passage has already been noted in connection with its use of the OT. The latter expresses the Christian hope as waiting for God's "Son from heaven, whom he raised from the dead, Jesus who delivers us from the wrath to come" (→ Anger, art. *orgē*; → Judgment). *J. Schneider, C. Brown*

σώζω

σώζω (*sōzō*), save, keep from harm, preserve, rescue; *σωτηρία* (*sōtēria*), salvation, deliverance, preservation; *διασώζω* (*diasōzō*), bring safely through, save, rescue.

CL 1. In the first instance both the vb. and the noun denote rescue and deliverance in the sense of averting some danger threatening life. This can happen in war (e.g. Homer, *Il.* 15, 290 f.; Plato, *Symp.* 220 d) or at sea (Homer, *Od.* 5; 130; Lucian, *Dialogi Deorum* 26, 2). But that which one is delivered from may also be an illness (*SIG*[3] II 620, 13 f.; III 1173, 9). Where no immediate danger is mentioned, they can mean to keep or preserve (Homer, *Od.* 1, 83; 3, 185; 22, 357). The vb. (Homer, *Il.* 9, 393; Epictetus, *Dissertationes* 2, 17, 37 f.; Lucian, *Dialogi Meretrici* 9, 1) and the noun (Plutarch, *Lacaenarum Apophthegmata* 11) can even mean safe return home. (For further examples see W. Foerster, *TDNT* VII 966; Liddell-Scott, 1748, 1751.)

2. In religious contexts the gods save men from the various perils of life. They are regarded as saviours (→ *sōtēr*) and protectors, able to turn away the fate that threatens men.

3. For the gnostics it is knowledge given by divine revelation which frees the soul from the power of death (cf. *Corp.Herm.* 1, 26; 1, 29; 7, 1 f.; → Knowledge, art. *ginōskō* CL 2).

4. In the mystery religions deliverance comes through the initiate's sharing in the experience of the dying and rising god through the actions of the mystery cult. The 4th cent. A.D. Latin author, Julius Firmicus Maternus of Syracuse, who was a convert to Christianity from Neo-Platonism and an opponent of the mystery cults, spoke of the "initiates of the saved deity [*mystai tou theou sesōsmenou*]" (*De Errore Profanarum Religionum* 22, 1). The initiate participates in the divine being and thus attains a life which extends beyond death (Apul., *Met.* 11, 21). It is highly unlikely that the NT teaching on baptism was influenced by the mystery religions, not least in view of the fact that these practices considerably postdate the apostolic church (→ Baptism, art. *baptizō* NT 7). (For a survey of the cults and their rites see G. Wagner, *Pauline Baptisms and the Pagan Mysteries: The Problem of the Pauline Doctrine of Baptism in Romans VI. 1–11, in the Light of its Religio–Historical "Parallels"*, 1967.)

5. In the philosophical and religious spheres, *sōzō* and *sōtēria* are used to denote the divine preservation of all things. Plato expressed belief in such an ordering in *Leg.* 10, 903 b. According to Cornutus of Leptis, Zeus is the one through whom all things come into being and are preserved (*sōzetai*) (*Theologia Graeca* 2 [3, 9]). The Stoic philosopher emperor of the 2nd cent. A.D., Marcus Aurelius, comforted his soul with the thought of a higher divine ordering and preservation *(sōtēria)* of life (*Meditations* 10, 1, 3). In the Hellenistic–Roman period, when belief in fate replaced that of a

divine harmony, the *sōzein* of the gods came to include their power to save and keep from an inscrutable destiny (*TDNT* VII 969).

6. In the gnosticism attested by the post-Christian Hermetic literature, it is knowledge (*gnōsis*) which saves. It is imparted to the gnostic by revelation or by a mediator (*Corp.Herm.* 1, 26; 1, 29). Its content is the salvation of man from the power of death. The → soul is saved (*Corp. Herm.* 7, 1). On gnosticism → Knowledge, art. *ginōskō* CL 2; for texts see W. Foerster, *Gnosis: A Selection of Gnostic Texts*, I. *Patristic Evidence*, 1972, II. *Coptic and Mandaic Sources*, 1974.

OT In the LXX *sōzō* translates no less than 15 different Heb. vbs., but the most important are *yāša'*, used in the hiphil for to deliver and save, and *mālaṭ*, niphal to slip away, escape, piel to deliver, save. The noun *sōtēria*, which is also common especially in the historical books, Job, the Pss. and Isa., stands for 6 different Heb. formations, but chiefly they are connected with the vb. *yāša'*. For a linguistic study see J. F. A. Sawyer, *Semantics in Biblical Research: New Methods of Defining Hebrew Words for Salvation, SBT* Second Series 24, 1972. Sawyer's work is set against the general contentions that an adequate definition of context must precede every semantic statement; that semantic statements must be primarily synchronic, i.e. the exegete must analyse the statement in terms of the relevant point in time; that semantic universals operate in OT Hebrew as in any other language; that a structural approach is required as much for semantic description as for philological and grammatical analysis; and that semantic analysis must be monolingual, i.e. the study of comparative etymology and grammar is often irrelevant to ascertaining the meaning and usage of a word in another language.

1. *sōzō* and *yāša'*. (a). Deliverance may come about through men. In some cases it may lack any particular theological significance (e.g. 1 Sam. 23:5; cf. Gen. 47:25, *ḥāyâh*; Jos. 6:25). It may be the relief of a besieged city (1 Sam. 11:3) or help in battle (Jdg. 12:2 f.; 13:5), though human agency does not necessarily exclude Yahweh's ultimate agency, and sometimes men are powerless to save (Jer. 14:9; Hos. 13:10). Judges, Nazirites and especially the kings had the task of delivering Israel (Jdg. 8:22; 13:5; 2 Sam. 3:18; 14:4; 2 Ki. 6:26; Hos. 13:10). The king was not only a deliverer of the nation but the deliverer of the → poor, needy and oppressed within the nation (Ps. 72[71]:4, 13).

On the other hand, the OT gives repeated, sharp reminders about human limitations. Gideon's band was reduced to three hundred men, for "The LORD said to Gideon, 'The people with you are too many for me to give the Midianites into their hand, lest Israel vaunt themselves against me, saying, "My own hand has delivered me"' " (Jdg. 7:2; cf. v. 7). It is by the power and name of Yahweh that Israel has won the land and been saved from his enemies (Ps. 44[43]:3, 6 f.). In the last analysis, victory in battle is Yahweh's work (Ps. 33[32]:16 f.; cf. 146[145]:3; Hos. 1:7; 14:4). Therefore, Isa. 30:15 counsels: "For thus said the Lord God, the Holy One of Israel, 'In returning and rest you shall be saved; in quietness and in trust shall be your strength.' " It is important to do Yahweh's work by Yahweh's appointed means. It was only by Yahweh's intervention that David was saved from bloodguilt (1 Sam. 25:26, 31, 33). Moreover, the astrologers are powerless to save (Isa. 47:14; → Magic). So too are the idols (Isa. 45:20; 46:7; Jer. 2:27 f.; 3:23; 11:12; Hos.

14:3a; → Image, art. *eidōlon*) and the nations (Hos. 14:3b).

(b) While Yahweh employs human agents, the pious Israelite was aware of the fact that deliverance comes ultimately from Yahweh himself. The vb. *yāša'* is particularly prominent in the Pss., where men look both backwards to past and forward to future deliverance from enemies and trouble. Often the Psalmist cries *hôšî'âh*, "Save!" or "Help!" (Pss. 12[11]:1; 20[19]:9; 28[27]:9; 60[59]:5; 86[85]:16; 108[107]:6; cf. also the formations with other suffixes in Pss. 3:7; 6:4; 7:2; 22[21]:22; 31[30]:16; 54[53]:1; 59[58]:2; 69[68]:1; 71[70]:2; 106[105]:47; 109[108]:26; 118[117]:25; 119[118]:94). Deliverance or salvation (Heb. *y'šû'âh* and cognates) is the work of God, but its precise content varies according to context and circumstances (cf. F. F. Bruce, " 'Our God and Saviour': A Recurring Biblical Pattern", in S. G. F. Brandon, ed., *The Saviour God*, 1963, 54–65). In Ps. 74(73):12 *sōtēria* denotes the victory over the powers of chaos at the → creation (cf. Ps. 65:5–8 [64:6–9]). But it can also denote victory over historical enemies (Pss. 60[59]:11; 144[143]:10). Other senses of the noun and vb. are vindication (Pss. 72[71]:4; 76[75]:9), help (69[68]:14; 119[118]:81), and freedom from troubles and calamities (cf. the various terms used in Pss. 18[17]:19; 85[84]:7; 91[90]:16; Job 30:15). Occasionally, there are eschatological overtones: "May God be gracious to us and bless us and make his face to shine upon us, that thy way may be known upon earth, thy saving power [MT *y'šû'āṯeḵā*; LXX *to sōtērion sou*] among all nations" (Ps. 67:1 f. [66:2 f]; cf. on these various points A. A. Anderson, *The Book of Psalms*, *New Century Bible*, I, 1972, 277).

The theme of salvation and deliverance is by no means confined to the Pss., although both in the Pss. and elsewhere salvation has often cultic associations. At the climax of the blessing attributed to Moses reviewing Yahweh's dealings with the several tribes, Israel is seen as a unique nation: "Happy are you, O Israel! Who is like you, a people saved by the LORD, the shield of your help, and the sword of your triumph! Your enemies shall come fawning to you; and you shall tread upon their high places" (Deut. 33:29; cf. Exod. 15:2; 2 Sam. 11:13; 14:23, 39; 2 Sam. 8:6, 14 for other expressions of gratitude for deliverance in battle). Conversely, Israel's failure to trust Yahweh's saving power provokes his wrath (Ps. 78[77]:22; LXX *to sōtērion autou*; cf. Num. 10:9; Deut. 20:4; Isa. 17:10; Hab. 3:13). The absence of the ark prevents Yahweh from saving (1 Sam. 4:3), as does turning to other gods (Jdg. 10:12 ff.). For in the historical writings and the prophets victory comes from Yahweh (Isa. 33:3; Jer. 14:8; 15:20; 17:14; Zeph. 3:17).

Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the temple in 2 Chr. 6:41 contains the petition: "And now arise O LORD God, and go to thy resting place, thou and the ark of thy might. Let thy priests, O LORD God, be clothed with salvation, and let thy saints rejoice in thy goodness." The par. in Ps. 132[131]:9 → "righteousness" instead of "salvation", but that in v. 16 has "salvation". The thought expresses a heartfelt desire that the priests should be characterized by righteousness (cf. Isa. 11:5; 61:10) and thus be instruments of the divine blessing, which is at once pure and holy and at the same time brings deliverance to the people (cf. 2 Chr. 6:36–39). H.-J. Kraus suggests that there may be an underlying allusion to the function of the priests as the givers of oracles of salvation (*Psalmen*, *BKAT* 15, 1960, 886). Something of the sort would fit the context, for the preceding verses deal with the possibility of repentance and restoration after the people have gone astray. It would therefore be appropriate

for the priests to lead the people into the ways of righteousness which bring deliverance from trouble. A. A. Anderson rightly rejects the suggestion of W. O. E. Oesterley that the priests must be clothed in "fitting – i.e. festal – garments" (op. cit., II, 883; cf. Oesterley, *The Psalms*, 1939, 532). For whilst the appropriate cultic dress was the prerequisite of temple worship, the whole context suggests that more than liturgical propriety is at stake here. Correct outer vestments should correspond to an inner righteousness which comes from Yahweh alone. For similar parallelism see Isa. 61:10.

Another expression with cultic overtones is "the cup of salvation" (Ps. 116:13 [115:4]; cf. 16:5). In reply to his own question, "What shall I render to the LORD for all his bounty to me?" (v. 12), the psalmist can only receive with gratitude what Yahweh freely gives him and rededicate himself: "I will lift up the cup of salvation and call on the name of the LORD, I will pay my vows to the LORD in the presence of his people." Anderson suggests four possible interpretations of the "cup" (op. cit., II, 794): (1) a drink offering of wine which was part of the thank offering (cf. Num. 28:7); (2) a metaphor of deliverance, and the opposite of the cup of Yahweh's wrath (cf. Isa. 51:17; Jer. 25:15); (3) a cup connected with some particular ordeal (cf. Num. 5:16–28); (4) a cup of wine used at the thanksgiving meal (cf. Ps. 23:5). Anderson prefers the first of these alternatives in view of its association with something rendered to Yahweh. However, the suggestion is attractive that such a cup necessarily stands in contrast with the cup of Yahweh's wrath, and therefore this idea may also be present. Similarly in Exod. 14:13 man's rôle is that of trusting response in which the exodus provides a pattern: "And Moses said to the people, 'Fear not, stand firm, and see the salvation of the LORD, which he will work for you today; for the Egyptians whom you see today, you shall never see again. The LORD will fight for you, and you have only to be still."

Here the salvation in question is an earthly and historical one. S. R. Driver suggests that salvation and deliverance "seldom, if ever, express a spiritual state *exclusively*: their common theological sense in Hebrew is that of *a material deliverance attended by spiritual blessings* (e.g. Is. 12, 2; 45, 17)" (*Notes on the Hebrew Text and Topography of the Books of Samuel,* 1913², 119). However, certain passages in the prophets have an eschatological dimension. In the last days Yahweh will bring full salvation for his people (e.g. Isa. 43:5 ff.; Jer. 31:7; 46:27; Zech. 8:7; → Present, art. *hēmera* OT). Then Israel "will draw water from the wells of salvation" (Isa. 12:3), and the whole world will share in this salvation (Isa. 45:22; 49:6).

Finally, it may be noted that the Heb. vb. *yāša'* and the divine name are combined in certain proper names which celebrate Yahweh as the deliverer: e.g. Isaiah (Heb. *yᵉša'yāhû*, Salvation of Yah) which was the name given to the prophet (Isa. 1:1; 2 Ki. 19:2; 2 Chr. 26:22; 32:20, 32 etc.) and various others (1 Chr. 25:3, 15; 26:25); Joshua (Heb. *yᵉhôšûa'*, *yᵉhôšua'*, and later *yēšûa'*, Yah or Yahweh is salvation), the name given to Moses' successor (Exod. 17:9 ff.; Deut. 1:38; 3:21, 28; 31:3 ff.; Jos. 1:1 etc.) and numerous others (e.g. 1 Sam. 6:14, 18; Hag. 1:12, 14; Ezra 2:6, 40); and cf. Hosea (Heb. *hōšēa'*, salvation), the original name of Joshua (Num. 13:8, 16), the last king of Israel (2 Ki. 15:30; 17:1, 3, 4, 6; 18:1, 9 f.), the prophet (Hos. 1:2) and different chiefs (1 Chr. 27:20; Neh. 10:24). In some cases the person so named was a living testimony to Yahweh's saving power; in others the life was a denial of

the name. The name of Jesus derives from Joshua (→ Jesus Christ, art. *Iēsous*; → also Name; cf. BDB 221, 447).

2. The vb. *mālaṭ* means in the niphal to slip away, slip through (1 Sam. 20:29; 2 Sam. 4:6), and so to escape (e.g. Jdg. 3:29; 1 Sam. 19:10–17; 30:17; 1 Ki. 18:40; 20:20; 2 Ki. 10:24; Isa. 10:6; 49:24 f.; Jer. 46:6; 48:8, 19; Ezek. 17:15, 18; Amos 9:1; Jon. 3:5; Zech. 2:11; Mal. 3:15). In the piel it means to deliver or save (1 Sam. 19:11; 2 Sam. 19:6; 1 Ki. 1:12; Ps. 41:2; Job 22:30; 29:12; Ps. 107[106]:20), and in particular to save life (1 Sam. 19:11; 2 Sam. 19:6; 1 Ki. 1:12; Jer. 48:6; 51:6, 45; Ezek. 33:5; Amos 2:14 f.; Job 20:20; Pss. 89[88]:49; 116[114]:6). It is the testimony of the fathers of Israel that they trusted in God to deliver them: "To thee they cried, and were saved; in thee they trusted, and were not disappointed" (Ps. 22[21]:5; cf. 8, 21). Job's comforter, Eliphaz the Temanite argued that "God abases the proud, but he saves the lowly. He delivers the innocent man; you will be delivered through the cleanness of your hands" (Job 22:29 f.). The implication was drawn that Job's sufferings were divine retribution for some sin that he had not put right. But the message of the Book of Job is that suffering is not necessarily the direct effect of such a cause and that God's ways are more marvellous than man can comprehend (cf. chs. 38–41). In the end God delivered Job and restored to him more than he had at first (Job 42), rebuking the folly of the comforters with their facile explanations.

Numerous passages warn against turning for deliverance to things which, in worldly wisdom, man would naturally expect to save him from calamity: an army or the strength of a war horse (Ps. 33[34]:16 f.), the might of a foreign state (Isa. 20:6), wealth (Job 20:20; Eccl. 8:8, where wickedness is also a possible reading), or one's own understanding (Prov. 28:26). The true wisdom which saves is different from man's native understanding (Prov. 28:26; Eccl. 9:15). But there is no escape for the worshippers of Baal (1 Ki. 19:17) or even the whole nation of Israel in its guilt (Amos 2:14 f.; 9:1), the king (Jer. 32:4), and the Babylonian makers of idols (Isa. 46:2). In the coming deliverance prophesied by Isa. 49:24 f., the captives will be delivered from those who held them captive. In the last days those who call on the name of the Lord will be saved (Joel 2:32 [3:5]). In Dan. 12:1 it is they whose names are written in the book of life.

3. In the apocryphal books *sōzō* is seldom used of one person rescuing another (exceptions are 1 Macc. 6:44; 9:21; 3 Macc. 7:20). It is more often found in the middle and passive of being saved through flight (e.g. 1 Macc. 2:44; 9:9; 10:83; 11:48). It is the theme of 4 Macc. that deliverance cannot be found by abandoning the law (9:4; 15:2, 8, 27; cf. Jud. 10:15; 11:3; for further discussion see W. Foerster, *TDNT* VII 981). The vb. is always used in the context of dire threat to life. The vast majority of cases have to do with God's rescuing of the godly (Wis. 9:18; 16:7; 18:5; 1 Macc. 3:18; 4:9, 11; 9:46; 2 Macc. 1:25; 8:27; 4 Macc. 4:14; 17:22; Sir. 48:8). Conversely, the heathen gods cannot save (Ep. Jer. 49). The noun *sōtēria* is found e.g. in Wis. 5:2; 6:24; 16:6; 18:7; Sir. 4:23; 40:7; 46:1; 1 Macc. 3:6; 4:25; 5:62; 2 Macc. 3:29, 32; 7:25; 11:6; 12:25; 13:3; 14:3; 3 Macc. 6:13, 33, 36; 7:16, 22; 4 Macc. 9:4; 12:6; 15:2, 8, 27). The idea of an eternal salvation which comes from God, as contrasted with an earthly one which comes from man with its attendant compromises, is present in 4 Macc. 15:3; cf. Wis. 5:2; Tob. 14:4, 7 *v.l.*; Bar. 4:24, 29.

In Eth. En. 106:16 the idea of being saved occurs in reference to the flood. But the

idea occurs most frequently in statements to the effect that the ungodly have no salvation or hope of salvation (Eth. En. 5:6; 98:10, 14; 99:1; 102:1; cf. also 5:6; 48:7; 50:3; 62:13). In Test. XII salvation is applied to the individual in both temporal deliverance (Test. Reub. 3:9; Test. Jos. 10:3; Test. Lev. 2:4; Test. Gad 4:7; 5:7; Test. Dan 6:9) and eternal salvation (Test. Ben. 4:1; Test. Ash. 5:2; cf. 6:6; Test. Lev. 4:1; Test. Reub. 5:5; Test. Gad 7:5; Test. Zeb. 10:3). Over against the eternal salvation stands eternal punishment, in which the wicked are cast into the fire. The godly individual attains salvation by his prayers and piety and by God's help. But Test. XII also speak of the eschatological salvation of Israel in which even the nations also participate (Test. Jud. 22:2; Test. Ash. 7:3; Test. Ben. 10:5). In particular the salvation springs from Levi and Judah (Test. Jos. 19:11; Test. Dan 5:10; Test. Lev. 2:10; Test. Naph. 8:2 f.; Test. Sim. 7:1 f.)

Pss. Sol. contain the same two lines of thought of salvation for the godly individual (16: 4f.; 3:5; 6:1; 13:2, 7; 15:6) and the nation (Pss. Sol. 17 and 18; cf. 10:8; 12:6), but there is no unambiguous expression of eternal salvation (W. Foerster, *TDNT* VII 985). 2 Esd. speaks of the saving intervention of God in the history of Israel (14:29) and in the last days (9:7; 13:23; 14:34). 2 Esd. 5:45 and 14:35 refer to the quickening of the creation. "Many have been created, but few shall be saved" (2 Esd. 8:3; cf. 8:41; 9:13; see further W. Foerster, *TDNT* VII 985 f.).

5. Josephus generally uses both th noun and the vb. in the sense of rescuing someone from death, a city from an enemy, or the land and the temple from destruction (W. Foerster, *TDNT* VII 986; cf. *War* 5, 480; 7, 67; *Ant.* 8, 115). There are possible eschatological overtones in *War* 6, 285, though the utterance is attributed to a false prophet, and in general Josephus does not use *sōzō* and *sōtēria* in a theologically pregnant manner. Similarly, Philo frequently uses them in the sense of rescuing from danger or preservation in a temporal sense. But his main interest lies in the relationship between God and the godly man (e.g. *Sobr.* 55; *Migr. Abr.* 122–125). God is the saviour (→ *sōtēr*) who not only preserves order but saves and helps in the struggles of the soul against the passions. "If Philo's allegorising entails an importing of alien Gk. thoughts into the text of the Torah, his use of the *sōzō* group, esp. *sōtēria*, shows that Gk. thinking was not able to destroy entirely the influence of the OT. For Philo the content of *sōtēria* is not that man maintains his own humanity but that in Platonic fashion he acquires a share of the divine forces by subduing the passions. The ref. to God's help permits him to speak of a *pantelēs sōtēria* which God grants: God is *boēthos* to the contemplative soul *hōs charisasthai pantelē sōtērian autē*, Ebr. 111; cf. Som. 1, 86; Migr. Abr. 2 and 124; Ebr., 72" (W. Foerster, *TDNT* VII 989).

6. The Qumran literature frequently refers to God's saving and helping in the history of Israel (1QM 4:13; 10:4 f.; 11:3; 14:4 f.; 18:7; CD 5:19; 1QS 1:18 f.). But God's saving also figures in the personal life of the godly. The Hymns testify to the experiences enjoyed by the one who trusts in the help of God: "Thou hast saved me from the zeal of lying interpreters, and from the congregation of those who seek smooth things" (1QH 2:32). "I will praise Him when distress is unleashed and will magnify Him also because of His salvation" (1QS 10:17; cf.; 1QH 5:11 f.; 11:23 f.). God has created the righteous to "enlarge his straitened soul to eternal salvation" (1QH 15:16). Regarded eschatologically, it is not the individual but God's people as a whole which is the object of salvation. 1QM 1:12 speaks of the "time of [great]

tribulation for the people which God shall redeem" (cf. 14:5). God saves his people from the power of darkness with a view to eternal salvation (1QH frag. 18:5; cf. 1QH 15:15). Redemption is eternal (1QM 1:12; 18:11) and correspondingly destruction is certain for the nations of wickedness (1QM 15:1 f.). For further discussion see W. Foerster, *TDNT* VII 982 f.

7. In rabbinic writings *yāša'* tends to recede in favour of *nāṣal*. The helping intervention of God is more prominent than the saving work of men. The most frequent reference is to the bringing of Israel out of → Egypt, which serves as a type of eschatological redemption (SB II 139, 141; cf. *TDNT* VII 987).

NT The vb. *sōzō* is found in the NT 106 times and the compound vb. *diasōzō* 8 times; the noun *sōtēria* occurs 45 times.

1. The meaning of deliverance from immediate physical danger to life is comparatively rare. It is found, e.g., in the account of Paul's shipwreck (Acts 27:20, 31, 34). It may be noted that 5 out of the 8 instances of *diasōzō* come in the account of how Paul escaped various dangers including shipwreck on his way to Rome (Acts 23:24; 27:43, 44; 28:1, 4). The remaining three examples of the compound vb. refer to the sick who touched Jesus' garment being made well (Matt. 14:36), the plea of the centurion to heal his slave (Lk. 7:3), and to the eight souls, including → Noah, who were "saved through water" (1 Pet. 3:20). The last instance refers to physical danger but has soteriological overtones and is seen as a parallel to → baptism with its symbolism of cleansing and death and resurrection (v. 21). Otherwise, *sōzō* occurs in Peter's cry, "Lord, save", in the stilling of the storm (Matt. 8:25) and "Lord, save me", in the walking on the water (Matt. 14:30). Some scholars think that the words, which are found only in Matt., have a liturgical ring about them (cf. D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew, New Century Bible*, 1972, 166). No doubt, they point beyond their immediate narrative context to the condition of the hearer and reader. A number of passages use *sōzō* in the sense of saving from death, but again there are overtones of divine deliverance. At the crucifixion the bystanders derided Jesus, saying, " 'Aha! You who would destroy the temple and build it in three days, save yourself, and come down from the cross!' So also the chief priests mocked him to one another with the scribes saying, 'He saved others; he cannot save himself' " (Mk. 15:29 ff. par. Matt. 27:39 f.; cf. Mk. 13:2; 14:58; Jn. 2:19). In Lk.'s account, "One of the criminals who were hanged railed at him, saying, 'Are you not the Christ? Save yourself and us!" (Lk. 23:39). But the other criminal sought salvation in terms of repentance and mercy and was promised by Jesus that he would be with him that day in → paradise (Lk. 23:43). Jesus' cry of dereliction prompted some to say, "Wait, let us see whether Elijah will come to save him" (Matt. 27:49; → Elijah; → God, art. *theos* NT 6 (d)). In Gethsemane Jesus prayed, "Now is my soul troubled. And what shall I say, 'Father, save me from this hour'? No, for this purpose I have come to this hour" (Jn. 12:27). Jesus' Gethsemane prayer is reflected upon in Heb. 5:7: "In the days of his flesh, Jesus offered up prayers and supplications, with loud cries and tears, to him who was able to save him from death, and he was heard for his godly fear." Finally, the saving of → Noah is seen as God's response to Noah's faith: "By faith Noah, being warned by God concerning events yet unseen, took heed and constructed an ark for the saving of his household; by this he condemned the world and became an heir of the righteousness which comes by faith" (Heb. 11:7). In these

passages the saving in question is the saving from physical death. The passion narratives show that God has purposes which transcend such saving. The word-group is never found in the NT with the meaning of simply protecting or maintaining life.

2. In the Synoptic accounts of Jesus' → miracles of → healing, the vb. *sōzō* is used 16 times and *diasōzō* twice (see 1 above). The noun *sōtēria* is found in Lk. (1:69, 71, 77; 19:9) and Jn. (4:22), but not in Matt. or Mk. The healing in these stories is always of the whole man. The → faith of the person is of great importance for its achievement. It makes effective Christ's saving power: "Your faith has made you well" (Mk. 10:52; Lk. 8:48; 17:19; 18:42); "Your faith has saved you" (Matt. 9:22 par. Mk. 5:34, Lk. 8:48; Lk. 7:50). Here *sōzō* has the sense of making well, delivering from the evil, physical affliction. Commenting on the healing of the woman, D. Hill writes: "The faith that made her well is the expectant admission, by reason of her presence and action, that only Jesus can deal with her condition. This confidence is the ground on which Jesus authoritatively banishes her illness. It is the word of Jesus which heals, not the woman's action or faith" (op. cit., 179). Jesus' acts of healing were continued in those of the → apostles. They were carried out in the → name of → Jesus Christ (Acts 4:10) and similarly presupposed the faith necessary for healing (Acts 14:9; cf. Jas. 5:15).

The particular theological and soteriological significance of the word-group is largely latent in the Synoptic tradition. Zechariah's psalm at the birth of his son, John, makes three references to the salvation which the child will herald, but does so in terms of the OT thought-world. He blesses God for raising up "a horn of salvation for us in the house of his servant David" (Lk. 1:69). "As an animal's strength is in its horn so God is a 'horn' in effecting his mighty act of salvation (Ps. 18:2; cf. Dt. 33:17; 1QH 9:28f.). The ancient title for God is applied to Messiah. In the Old Testament there is an undefined fusion of Yahweh and his 'messenger'. This may be present here. Cf. Jg. 6:11–23; 13:21 f.; Mal. 3:1" (E. E. Ellis, *The Gospel of Luke, New Century Bible*, 1966, 76). The salvation is construed as being "saved from our enemies, and from the hand of all that hate us" (Lk. 1:71; → *rhyomai* NT). The child is sent by God "to give knowledge of salvation to his people in the forgiveness of their sins" (Lk. 1:77; cf. Mal. 4:5; Mk. 1:4). Whereas in the OT cleansing from sin was a precondition of physical salvation from one's enemies, this psalm suggests that it is the precondition of light and peace (Lk. 1:78 f.; cf. Mal. 4:2; Isa. 9:2), which are now understood primarily in terms of a personal relationship with God in Christ. Matt. 1:21 explains the name Jesus: "for he shall save his people from their sins."

Jesus is a form of Joshua, but whereas Joshua was God's agent in saving ancient Israel from his enemies, Jesus is God's saviour from sin (see above OT 1 (b); → Jesus Christ, art. *Iēsous* OT).

Certain passages in the Synoptic Gospels imply eschatological salvation. In a saying following his challenge to take up one's → cross, Jesus declares: "For whoever would save his life will lose it; and whoever loses his life for my sake and the gospel's will save it" (Mk. 8:35 par. Matt. 16:25, Lk. 9:24; cf. Jn. 12:25). "Jesus' words envision men before a court where denial of association with him will bring release while affirmation of 'Jesus and the gospel' issues in martyrdom. He thoroughly appreciates the frailty of human life threatened by death, but warns that the man who seeks to secure his own existence by denial of his Lord brings about his own destruction.

Paradoxically, the man who yields his life in loyalty to Jesus safeguards it in a deeper sense ... In the second half of Mark 'the gospel' always denotes the message announced by the Church, of which Jesus is the content (Chs. 8:35; 10:29; 13:10; 14:9), precisely as in Ch. 1:1. Mark knew experientially that for the gospel men abandoned their goods (Ch. 10:29) and gave their lives (Ch. 8:35). It is possible that he has preserved an early Christian slogan, 'for Christ and the gospel', for which believers suffered and overcame" (W. L. Lane, *The Gospel of Mark*, *NLC*, 1974, 308 f.). Following the saying about the camel and the eye of a needle, the disciples asked "Then who can be saved?" (Mk. 10:26 par. Matt. 19:26, Lk. 18:26; → Animal, art. *Animals in the NT*; → Possessions). Jesus replied: "With men it is impossible, but not with God; for all things are possible with God" (Mk. 10:27 par.). "Salvation is completely beyond the sphere of human possibilities; every attempt to enter the Kingdom on the basis of achievement or merit is futile. Yet even the rule of the impossibility of entrance into the Kingdom for the rich is limited by the sovereign action of God himself" (W. L. Lane, op. cit., 370).

This salvation has, however, become a present fact through the actions of Jesus which bring forgiveness of sins. It is brought out by Lk. in his account of the change that came over Zacchaeus. "And Jesus said to him, 'Today salvation has come to this house, since he also is a son of Abraham. for the Son of man came to seek and to save the lost' " (Lk. 19:9 f.; cf. Lk. 15:1–32).

3. In the proclamation of the primitive church, *sōzō* and *sōtēria* gained a central importance through their application to Christ as the basis, content and goal of the → gospel. They are used to sum up the essential characteristic of his mission. This is clearly expressed in Acts. In Acts 4:12 Peter declares to the assembled religious leaders that "there is salvation in no one else, for there is no other name under heaven given among men by which we must be saved." E. Haenchen is doubtless correct when he says that here "*sōtēria* embraces both 'healing' and 'salvation' " (*The Acts of the Apostles*, 1971, 217). The occasion was Peter's defence after being arrested for healing the lame man in the temple in the → name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth (Acts 3:6; cf. 4:9 f.). Peter had taken the opportunity to preach Jesus as the servant foretold by the prophets and whom God had raised up and "sent to you first, to bless you, in turning every one of you from your wickedness" (Acts 3:26). Acts 4:12 makes an absolute and universal claim for the Christian message of salvation. The apostolic kerygma which was addressed first to the Jews (Acts 13:26) and then to the Gentiles (Acts 16:17 etc.) excludes every other way of salvation (Acts 13:38; 15:10 f.), for salvation can be gained only by faith in Christ (Acts 16:31). The salvation given to the one who believes consists in the forgiveness of sins (Acts 10:43; cf. 26:18) and a new relationship with God.

In Acts, statements about salvation focus on the immediate present. The offer of salvation is linked with the demand, "Save yourselves from this crooked generation" (Acts 2:40). A mention of future salvation is found in Acts 2:20, alluding to Joel 2:32 (MT 3:5): "And it shall be that whoever calls on the name of the Lord shall be saved." The Joel prophecy refers to the end-time, and its use implies that the end time has now dawned. It should be noted that "the name" for Joel was that of Yahweh, whereas in Acts it is applied to Jesus. In him God is personally present in a saving way. *C. Brown*

4. In his major epistles addressed to specific churches, Paul uses *sōzō* and *sōtēria* exclusively for the saving activity of God. The message of saving grace comes to men through the kerygma. The → gospel brings salvation (Eph. 1:13). "It is the power of God for salvation to every one who has faith" and brings deliverance from destruction (Rom. 1:16; cf. 1 Cor. 1:21). The word of the → cross especially is the power of God for those who are being saved (1 Cor. 1:18). In 1 Cor. 15:2 Paul states that Christians have obtained deliverance; they have been saved by the grace of God through faith (Eph. 2:8). In Eph. 1:13 we have a comprehensive picture of the process of salvation; the believers addressed in the epistle have heard the gospel before their deliverance, they came to faith and were sealed with the Holy → Spirit. Paul's statements about the goal of his missionary activity correspond to this. He was intent on bringing the news of salvation to as many Jews and Gentiles as possible through the preaching of the gospel (Rom. 1:15; 11:14; 1 Cor. 9:22; 10:33; 1 Thess. 2:16; cf. also 1 Cor. 7:16). Those who have been saved through faith are contrasted with those who are perishing (1 Cor. 1:18; 2 Cor. 2:15). The apostle testifies to the fact that salvation is a present reality through the divine means of grace presented and offered to men, when he adds to his quotation of Isa. 49:8 the words "now is the day of salvation" (2 Cor. 6:2).

From Rom. 8:24, "For we have been saved, though only in hope [*tē gar elpidi esōthēmen*]" (NEB), we can see how strongly Paul was conscious of the inner relationship between present and future salvation. The very fact that we have already been saved makes the expectation of final eschatological salvation the greater reality. Moreover, the final verdict is passed at that time (1 Cor. 3:15; 5:5; cf. 2 Cor. 5:10). This future salvation, which is "nearer to us now than when we first believed" (Rom. 13:11), is the goal towards which Christians press. All present warning, discipline and punishment have as their purpose that we should not forfeit this eschatological salvation (cf. 1 Cor. 5:1–13; 9:24–27; 2 Cor. 2:10; → Discipline, art. *enkrateia*; → Destroy, art. *olethros*). Accordingly, in Phil. 2:12 those who have been saved by God's grace are exhorted to work out their future, and therefore final, salvation by a sanctified life in fear and trembling. According to God's plan of salvation, all Israel will share in the future salvation after the fullness of the Gentiles has come in (into the church of God) (Rom. 11:25 f.). In this final, eschatological salvation (Phil. 2:12; 1 Thess. 5:8 f.; 2 Thess. 2:13) we are concerned firstly with deliverance from the coming wrath of God (Rom. 5:9; 1 Cor. 3:15; 5:5; 1 Thess. 1:10; 5:9; → Anger) and secondly with the granting of the divine → glory (*doxa*). Then Christians are conformed to the → image of the Son of God, and so God's activity, begun with his choice of believers for salvation from the beginning, reaches its conclusion (Rom. 8:29; 2 Thess. 2:13 f.).

5. In the Pastoral Epistles there is a whole series of statements about salvation which shows a comprehensive understanding of it.

(a) God desires the salvation of all. He desires all men to be saved and to come to a → knowledge of the truth (1Tim. 2:4; on the use of "all" in connexion with Christ's ransom death in 1 Tim. 2:6 → *lytron* NT 2).

(b) The task of Jesus was to save sinners; that is why he came into the world (1 Tim. 1:15). This confessional statement is strengthened by the apostle's personal testimony that he himself had experienced the saving power of grace, knowing himself to be the chief of sinners.

(c) The present experience of salvation is testified to in a number of passages. God has saved us and called us with a holy calling (2 Tim. 1:9). In this → call, operative through divine → grace, lies the basis for our appropriation of salvation. We find the thought that God has saved us, not because of the deeds we have done, but in virtue of his own mercy, also in Tit. 3:5. Here salvation is linked with → baptism and renewal of life through the Holy Spirit (→ Birth, art. *palingenesia*). 2 Tim. 3:14 f. declares that knowledge of the Scriptures can bring to salvation through faith in Jesus Christ (cf. Jn. 5:39; 2 Cor. 3:14; Heb. 4:2).

(d) 2 Tim. 4:18 speaks of the coming salvation. The apostle is confident that the Lord will rescue him into his → Kingdom (here called *epouranion*, heavenly, i.e. eschatological). In 2 Tim 2:10 Paul affirms that his sufferings are a necessary service for the elect, so "that they also may obtain the salvation which in Christ Jesus goes with eternal glory." In 1 Tim. 4:16 the future perfection of salvation is promised to Timothy and his hearers, provided he shows discipline and faithfulness in teaching and life. 1 Tim. 2:15 points out that women will obtain it through faith, love and holiness without abandoning their sexual rôle as mothers. This may be aimed at demands for emancipation, or against a despising of the physical. But it may also be designed to counter a misunderstanding of Gen. 2:3, 16, especially in view of the allusion to Eve in vv. 13 f. (For a review of interpretations see D. Guthrie, *The Pastoral Epistles, TC*, 1957, 77 ff.; C. Spicq, *Les Épîtres Pastorales*, 1947, 72 ff.; M. Dibelius and H. Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles, Hermeneia*, 1972, 47 ff.).

6. In 1 Pet. the apostle uses *sōtēria*, along with a number of other expressions, to express final salvation. Christians are guarded by God's power through faith for this salvation, which is already there, but which will be revealed only in the last time (1:5). Christians "grow up" to this salvation through the spiritual food which they receive through preaching and teaching (2:2), so that finally they reach the goal of their faith, i.e. *hymōn sōtēria psychōn* ("your souls' salvation"), the glorification which is to be theirs (1:9). Already the prophets had pondered on and prophesied about it (1:10).

In 1 Pet. the vb. *sōzō* is found only in 4:18 (quoting Prov. 11:31) and 3:21. In the latter passage → baptism expresses the saving power of God; it saves now because of the → resurrection of Jesus Christ from the destruction to which men become subject because of their sins. In this sense it is an antitype of the saving of → Noah and his family "through water" (3:20). It is noteworthy that although 1 Pet. repeatedly mentions present salvation, the apostle seldom uses the word-group we are considering; he employs such terms as *elytrōthēte* (1:18), "you were ransomed", *anagennēsas* (1:3), "born anew".

In 2 Pet. 3:15 the readers are exhorted to take God's forbearance, the chief reason for the delay in the parousia, as motive to be concerned with their final salvation, which is guaranteed only if they do not give up their efforts for sanctification. Eschatology and ethics are, as with Paul, closely linked.

7. In Hebrews Christ is the pioneer (*archēgos*), the source (*aitios*) and intermediary *(mesitēs)* of the *sōtēria*, salvation (Heb. 2:10; 5:9; 7:25; → Beginning, art. *archē* NT 4; → Covenant, art. *mesitēs* NT 2). At his first coming Jesus laid the foundation for the future saving activity of God by his atoning sacrifice. As the one who lives for ever, he can save those who come to God through him (Heb. 7:25). At his second coming he will appear as the perfecter of salvation (Heb. 9:28). In all aspects

salvation is the goal of God's activity with men. The salvation brought by Christ is perfect and eternally valid (Heb. 5:9). Heb. points also to the fact that the saving activity of God in Christ began already with Christ's → proclamation (Heb. 1:1 f.). From him it came to the hearers of his word, who passed it on, while it was confirmed by God by signs, wonders, various miracles and by gifts of the Holy Spirit (Heb. 2:3 f.). The → angels also have been appointed by God to serve in his revelation of salvation; they are instruments in God's will to save (Heb. 1:14). In Heb. 6:9 *ta kreissona kai echomena sōtērias* means "the better things that belong to salvation". That is the better things to which the writer refers after his earnest exhortation, having left "the elementary doctrines" of vv. 1 f.

8. In James, which uses only the vb. *sōzō*, deliverance in the final judgment is always meant, except in Jas. 5:15 where it means to heal. The same is true of Jude, where both the noun (v. 3) and the vb. (v. 23) are found. In v. 5 the rescue of Israel from → Egypt is the subject.

9. The word-group is little represented in the Johannine writings. Doubtless this is connected with the fact that in John "eternal life" is the determinative concept of the statements about salvation (→ Life, art. *zōē*). *sōtēria* is found only once in the Gospel in the remark to the Samaritan woman: "Salvation is from the Jews" (Jn. 4:22; → Samaritans; → *sōtēr* NT 1). *sōzō* in the sense of salvation – bringing action occurs 4 times. In Jn. 3:17 and 12:47 Jesus says that he has come not to judge but to save the world; in Jn. 5:34 the word is applied to the Jews, in Jn. 10:9 to believers. The Son of God is the true and only mediator of salvation. In Jn. 11:12 and 12:27 the vb. has the general meaning of being delivered from physical and emotional need.

In Rev. only the noun is found, in all 3 cases in liturgical passages of worship. In Rev. 7:10 the great multitude attributes salvation to God and the → Lamb; this is heard again in Rev. 12:10 after the fall of the → dragon, and in Rev. 19:1 after the fall of → Babylon. The songs of triumph and victory proclaim that now, after the conquest of all enemies of God, salvation, glory and power belong to God alone.

J. Schneider

σωτήρ

σωτήρ (*sōtēr*), saviour, deliverer, preserver; σωτήριος (*sōtērios*), saving, delivering, preserving, bringing salvation, means of deliverance, deliverance.

CL 1. The noun *sōtēr*, formed from *sōzō*, includes the connotations of *sōzō* and *sōtēria*. It is applied almost exclusively to the gods or men. But there are exceptions, such as when it is applied to a personified river (Hdt., 8, 138, 1).

2. The gods are saviours from the dangers of life and also protectors and preservers of men. In the oldest text attesting *sōtēr*, Poseidon is addressed as the saviour of men (*Hymni Homerici, Ad Neptunum*, 22, 5. It could even be applied to a female, Leda (*Hymni Homerici, Ad Castores*, 33, 6 f.). The title was accorded to numerous gods, but especially to Zeus (Pindar, *Ol.* 5, 17; *Fragment* 30, 5; *IG* II^{2}410, 18; Plato, *Rep.* 9, 583b; cf. Liddell-Scott, 1751; W. Foerster, *TDNT* VII 1004 f.). Isis and Serapis were also frequently called saviours (e.g. Artem., *Oneirocriticum* 2, 39). Also in the Hellenistic-Roman period Asclepius was regarded as a saviour of the sick (Clem.Alex., *Protrepticus* 2, 26, 8; cf. *TDNT* VII 1005).

3. Men could also be called saviours, in saving others from trouble and danger,

and also in the case of doctors (Soph., *OT* 302–4). Plato could call the ideal ruler who governed and preserved the state a *sōtēr* in the sense of a protector (*Rep.* 5, 463b). The term could also be applied to philosophers, particularly Epicurus (Polystratus, *Herc.* 346, p. 80, 5). It was widely applied to statesmen and rulers. Thus, Philip of Macedon was hailed by the inhabitants of Thessaly as friend, benefactor and saviour (Dem., *Orationes* 18, 43). But it is difficult to ascertain what religious overtones such an appellation had (cf. *TDNT* VII 1008). Use of the term is also found in Cicero (*In Verrem* 2, 2, 63, 154; *Tusculanae Disputationes* 1, 14, 32; *De Re Republica* 1, 7, 12) and various other sources.

In the Hellenistic ruler cult the lord became part of the official title of kings, and divine honours were accorded them. *theos sōtēr* was regularly incorporated into the Ptolomaic and Seleucid royal titles (for details, see *TDNT* VII 1009). This development found its strongest expression in the Roman imperial cultus. The term *sōtēr tēs oikoumenēs*, saviour of the (inhabited) world, was first applied to Caesar (*IG* 12, 5, 1, 557), and *sōtēr tou kosmou*, saviour of the world, is attested from the time of Hadrian, but is probably older (*TDNT* VII 1010; cf. W. Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrian*, 1907). However, *sōtēr* was not incorporated into the official titles of the Roman rulers. The inscriptions hail Hadrian as *sōtēr* of a particular city. The appellation "saviour of the world" was a generalization. It was rare for an emperor to allow himself to be called *sōtēr* on coins. The idea of the emperor as a benefactor was also linked with that of the golden age of peace, order and prosperity inaugurated by his beneficent rule. Thus the decree from Halicarnassus, which probably dates from the later years of Augustus in the 1st century B.C. and may be the copy of a general decree of the province of Asia, proclaims: "Whereas the eternal and immortal nature of the Universe, in its grace to men, has added a thing of the greatest good to the exceeding benefits already given, having brought to us Caesar Augustus, who in the happy life of our time is father of his own country, *dea Roma*, Zeus the Paternal, Saviour (*sōtēr*) of the whole race of men, and whose providence has not only fulfilled but even exceeded the prayers of all – for there is peace on land and sea; the cities flourish in obedience to law and in concord (*homonoia*) and prosperity; and there is a culmination and abundance of all good, of bright hopes for the future and joy in the present, with men filled to overflowing with [delight in] games and offerings and sacrifices and hymns . . . ." (E. Barker, ed., *From Alexander to Constantine: Passages and Documents Illustrating the History of Social and Political Ideas 336 B.C. – A.D. 337*, [1956] 1959, 213). Similarly, the Priene Inscription (*c.* 9 B.C.) hails Augustus as "a saviour for us" (op. cit., 212; for text → Gospel, art. *euangelion* CL 2 (c)). Although the emperor is a saviour in a thoroughly this-worldly sense, he has been empowered in this office by the gods or divine providence.

4. The adj. *sōtērios*, saving, delivering, bringing safety or deliverance to, is found in cl. Gk. applied both to men, e.g. someone who brings safety to the state (Soph., *OC* 487 codd.), and to the gods (*BGU* 362, 5, 1 [3rd cent. A.D.]), including Zeus (Soph., *El.* 281; *Fragment* 425) (Liddell-Scott, 1751).

OT *sōtēr* occurs in the LXX some 36 times for the Heb. *yᵉšû'âh, yēša'* or the participle *môšîa'* of the vb. *yāša'* in the hiphil. On *yᵉšû'âh* as the proper name Joshua → *sōzō* OT *1 (b)*.

1. In Jdg. 3:9, 15 "saviour" might be taken as a technical term for the judges. At the time of the judges, Yahweh raised up such "saviours" for Israel who rescued them from their enemies (cf. 12:3). "Then the LORD raised up judges, who saved [*esōsen*] them out of the power of those who plundered them" (Jdg. 2:16). Similarly Ezra, reviewing the course of God's dealings with his people, commented on Israel's rebellion thus: "Therefore thou didst give them into the hand of their enemies, who made them suffer; and in the time of their suffering they cried unto thee and thou didst hear them from Heaven; and according to thy great mercies thou didst give them saviours who saved them [*sōtēras kai esōsas*] from the hand of their enemies" (Neh. 9:27). Nevertheless, Jdg. 2:18 stresses that it was Yahweh who is the ultimate source of the saving: "Whenever the LORD raised up judges for them, the LORD was with the judge, and he saved them from the hand of thir enemies all the days of the judge; for the LORD was moved to pity by their groaning because of those who afflicted and oppressed them." Samuel took the desire for a king as a rejection of "your God who saves you [LXX *hos autos estin hymōn sōtēr*]" (1 Sam. 10:19), and the term is hardly ever used of the kings (cf. 2 Ki. 13:5).

2. *sōtēr* is applied above all to Yahweh, though not as a technical term. Isa. 45 contrasts the mysteries of Yahweh's working with the impotence of the idols. He has anointed the Persian king Cyrus to liberate Israel from captivity in Babylon (Isa. 45:1). He promises the wealth of the nations to the captive Israel. The prophet cries: "Truly, thou art a God who hidest thyself, O God of Israel, the Saviour" (Isa. 45:15). Israel is saved by Yahweh "with an everlasting salvation" (v. 17). Turning to those who carry idols, the prophet issues the challenge: "Declare and present your case; let them take counsel together! Who told this long ago? Who declared it of old? Was it not I, the LORD? And there is no other god besides me, a righteous God and a Saviour; there is none besides me. 'Turn to me and be saved, all the ends of the earth! For I am God, and there is no other' " (Isa. 45:21 f.). Whereas v. 15 celebrates the mysterious working of Yahweh in history to liberate his people from exile, v. 21 has a universal, eschatological dimension.

Yahweh is presented as saviour in Deut. 32:15; 1 Chr. 16:35; Pss. 24(23):5; 25(24):5; 27(26):1, 9; 62(61):2, 6; 65(64):5; 79(78):9; 95 (94):1; Prov. 29:25 *v.l.*; Mic. 7:7; Hab. 3:18; Isa. 12:2; 17:10; 25:9; 62:11. Often the LXX speaks concretely of (e.g.) "God my saviour [*ho theos ho sōtēr mou*]", whereas the MT speaks of "the God of my salvation".

The messiah is not called *sōtēr*, even though the promised king in Zech. 9:9 is described by the participle *sōzōn* in the LXX (on this passage → Humility, art. *prayÿs* OT 2). In Isa. 49:6 LXX the Servant of Yahweh is said to be *eis sōtērian heōs eschatou tēs gēs* "for salvation to the end of the earth" (cf. RSV "that my salvation may reach to the end of the earth").

In the apocryphal books the title *sōtēr* is confined to God (Wis. 16:17; Sir. 51:1; Bar. 4:22; 1 Macc. 4:30; 3 Macc. 6:29; 32; 7:16). In the Qumran literature there is nothing corresponding to the Gk. *sōtēr* concept. Josephus used it only for human saviours, e.g. Jonathan (*Ant.* 6, 240; cf. *TDNT* VII 1014), though Philo saw God as the saviour of his people, the sustainer of the race and the cosmos, and the saviour of the soul in its struggle with the passions (*TDNT* VII 1015; → *sōzō* OT 5). Apart from one isolated instance in rabbinic writings, the messiah was not called a saviour. Elsewhere, God and the messiah are described by the word *gō'ēl*, redeemer (→

lytron OT). "There is no evidence that 'Redeemer' or 'Saviour' was a current Messianic title in the NT period" (W. Foerster, *TDNT* VII 1014).

NT *sōtēr* occurs 24 times in the NT, and in 16 of these instances it is applied to Christ. The remaining 8 are applied to God. It is never used of ordinary men. It is thus much less common than either *sōzō* or *sōtēria*. The title is used almost exclusively in the relatively late writings of the NT (10 times in the Pastoral Epistles, 5 times in 2 Pet.) which belong to the churches in the Hellenistic world.

1. (a) The angel who announced the birth of Jesus to the shepherds told them not to be afraid, "for to you is born this day in the city of David, a Saviour, who is Christ the Lord" (Lk. 2:11). The use of *sōtēr* here takes up the descriptions given to the national leaders and to God in the OT and Judaism (E. E. Ellis, *The Gospel of Luke, New Century Bible*, 1966, 80; cf. P. Winter, *StTh* 12, 1958, 106). In Lk. the word occurs elsewhere only in the Magnificat, where it is applied to God: "and my spirit rejoices in God my Saviour" (Lk. 1:47). The latter passage echoes Hab. 3:18. It is significant that in Zechariah's psalm *sōtēria* is linked with the promised intervention of God (→ *sōzō* NT 2). Ellis thinks that the use of *sōtēr* may also reflect the Christian response to the emperor cult (see above CL 3). Whereas in the Halicarnassus inscription Augustus was celebrated as the *sōtēr* who brought peace, Jesus is the true bringer of peace (Lk. 2:14; on this v. → Please, art. *eudokeō* NT 3 (c)).

(b) In the proclamation of the primitive church to the Jews, Jesus is presented as the saviour of Israel: "God exalted him at his right hand as Leader and Saviour, to give repentance to Israel and forgiveness of sins" (Acts 5:31); "Of this man's posterity God has brought to Israel a Saviour, Jesus, as he promised" (Acts 13:23; → David). This preaching clearly draws a distinction between Jesus and God. At the same time, it draws attention to the uniqueness of Jesus as the divinely appointed and empowered one whom God had chosen as the instrument of salvation. It was precisely this that was the point of conflict between the church and the Jews.

(c) In Jn. it is left to the → Samaritans to conclude: "It is no longer because of your [the Samaritan woman's] words that we believe, for we have heard for ourselves, and we know that this is indeed the Saviour of the world" (Jn. 4:42). This contrasts with Jesus' reminder to the Samaritan woman: "You worship what you do not know; we worship what we know, for salvation is from the Jews" (Jn. 4:22). In the latter v. Jesus draws attention to the futility of Samaritan worship (→ Prayer, art. *proskyneō* NT 4), and that salvation is bound up with Judaism and comes from within it. But paradoxically Jn. 4:42 brings out its universal aspect. There is also the further paradox implied by Jn., that the Samaritans have seen this and responded to it in the person of Jesus, whereas the Jews have not.

2. (a) In the Pauline Epistles to churches *sōtēr* is found only twice. Phil. 3:20 reminds its readers of their eschatological existence and expectation in the midst of the trials of the present life: "But our commonwealth is in heaven, and from it we await a Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, who will change our lowly body to be like his glorious body, by the power which enables him even to subject all things to himself" (on "commonwealth" → People, art. *polis* NT 5).

Eph. 5:21–33 is an exhortation to mutual love and respect within the → marriage relationship which is seen as an image of Christ and the church: "For the husband is the head of the wife as Christ is the head of the church, his body, and is himself its

saviour" (Eph. 5:23x; → Head; → Body). Christ is the saviour, because he gave himself up to death for his church and cleansed her by the washing of water and the word, in order to present her for himself pure and glorious, when salvation is perfected (vv. 25 ff.).

(b) In the Pastoral Epistles *sōtēr* occurs relatively more frequently than in any other NT writings: 6 times for God and 4 times for Christ. This title for God links with the usage of the LXX (e.g. Pss. 25(24):5; 27(26):9; Hab. 3:18; Sir. 51:1).

(i) The statements in the Pastorals about God as Saviour show that God's offer of salvation is universal. They are in contrast to the exclusive attitude of the synagogue and of the gnostics, who promised salvation only to the righteous or to those possessing knowledge. The true and living God is the saviour of all men (1 Tim. 4:10), and he has instituted preaching, that the message of salvation might become known to all men, so that they might come to faith (Tit. 1:3). But God is in particular *our* saviour, because Christians have accepted salvation and stand in faith (1 Tim. 4:10; cf. Tit. 1:3). They must live a life that adorns the doctrine of God our saviour (Tit. 2:10). But already in the next sentence (v. 11), Paul declares that the grace of God is revealed above all in its power, bringing salvation to all men, by the new life of the church-members, even of the slaves, being seen. The saving plans of God embrace all, and he is concerned to make them a reality in every way possible. In the introduction to 1 Tim. (1:1), God and Christ are called Saviour in the same way.

(ii) The passages which speak of the Saviour Christ are, apart from 2 Tim. 1:10, all in Tit. They furnish an all-embracing picture of God's activity for our salvation.

To the world God has manifested his purpose to save men, made before eternal ages, through the first appearing of Jesus Christ (2 Tim. 1:10). In the Saviour Christ, the goodness and loving kindness of God appeared (Tit. 3:4), which are qualities which were specially praised in Hellenistic rulers, but are here transferred to God. According to 2 Tim 1:10, the saving work of Christ consisted in his abolishing death and bringing immortal → life to light.

Through his free purpose, decided before eternal ages, and through his grace revealed in Christ – and hence not on the basis of their works – believers are already saved. Through cleansing and regeneration God has saved us according to his mercy. The pouring out of the Holy → Spirit has come richly through our Saviour Jesus Christ (Tit. 3:5 f.; → Birth, art. *palingenesia*).

Believers, as those justified by the grace of God, wait for the perfection of salvation (Tit. 3:7), and for the fulfilment of their hope, which they will receive through the appearing of the great God and of our Saviour Jesus Christ (Tit. 2:13, cf. AV, RV mg., RSV mg., NEB mg.). The translation, "Awaiting our blessed hope, the appearing of the glory of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ" (cf. RV tx., RSV tx., NEB tx.; Funk § 276 (3); Moule 109 f.), is linguistically possible but contradicts the otherwise rigorously maintained distinction in the Pastorals between God and Christ. The transference to Jesus of the attribute of God, "great God", firmly rooted in late Judaism would be unique in the NT (J. Jeremias in J. Jeremias, *Die Briefe an Timotheus und Titus, NTD* 9, 1968, 65). In spite of this, the majority of British exegetes prefer the latter rendering. Apart from the fact that it is the natural grammatical rendering, it is pointed out that nowhere else is *epiphaneia*, appearing, used of God (→ Revelation).

The term "Jesus Christ our Saviour" cannot be derived directly from the OT, for

there the messiah is never called saviour (see above OT 2). Jesus never called himself *sōtēr*. Nor do we find the term so used in the older strata of NT tradition, rooted in Palestinian concepts. The designation of Jesus as *sōtēr* is found "first hesitatingly, then increasingly in the Hellenistic sphere" (J. Jeremias, *NTD* 9, 45). From the assumption that expressions from the imperial cultus are repeatedly applied to Christ (e.g. 2 Tim. 1:10; Tit.3:4), the conclusion was drawn that the designation of Jesus as *sōtēr* was borrowed from this cultus. J. Jeremias considers that this explanation covered only part of the facts. "The roots of this designation of Jesus as Saviour are older." Matt. 1:21 shows that "the oldest churches, using Aram. or Syr., explained the name Jesus, literally 'Yahweh is salvation', as 'Bringer of salvation'. This explanation of the name of Jesus could be the reason that Jesus was called Saviour (*sōtēr*) in the Gk.-speaking areas, the oldest extant example being Phil. 3:20" (J. Jeremias). The title Saviour was necessary to help the Greeks understand what the title messiah (→ Anoint) implied for the Jews.

3. 2 Pet. uses *sōtēr*, generally linked with the title *kyrios* (→ Lord), comparatively frequently to identify Christ. The letter is addressed "To those who have obtained a faith of equal standing with ours in the righteousness of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ: May grace and peace be multiplied to you in the knowledge of God and of Jesus our Lord" (2 Pet. 1:1 f.). The readers are exhorted to confirm their call and election, "so there will be richly provided for you an entrance into the eternal kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ" (2 Pet. 1:11). 2 Pet. 2:20 contains a warning against being enslaved to the passions: "For if, after they have escaped the defilements of the world through the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, they are again entangled in them and overpowered, the last state has become worse than the first." 2 Pet. 3:2 seeks to arouse the "sincere mind", "that you should remember the predictions of the holy prophets and the commandment of the Lord and Saviour through your apostles." Here Christianity may be seen in terms of a new law (cf. 2:21). The letter closes with a prayer taking up again the theme of knowledge which doubtless includes that of the commandment of Christ: "But grow in the grace and knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. To him be the glory both now and to the day of eternity. Amen" (2 Pet. 3:18). Similarly, Jude 25 concludes: "to the only God, our Saviour through Jesus Christ our Lord, be glory, majesty, dominion, and authority, before all time and now and for ever. Amen."

4. *sōtērios* is used as an adj. in Tit. 2:11 which may be translated: "for the grace of God has appeared, bringing salvation to all men" (Arndt, 809). Elsewhere it is used in the neut. as a noun in the NT and early Christian literature of messianic salvation and the one who mediates it (Lk. 2:30; 3:6 [= Isa. 40:5]; Acts 28:28 [= Ps. 67:2]).

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→ Anger, → Cross, → Faith, → Forgiveness, → Holy, → Judgment, → Present, → Reconciliation, → Sacrifice, → Sin

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Remain

μένω

μένω (*menō*), remain; *ἐμμένω* (*emmenō*), stay or remain in, persevere, abide by; *ἐπιμένω* (*epimenō*), stay, remain, continue (in); *παραμένω* (*paramenō*), remain, stay on, continue in; *προσμένω* (*prosmenō*),

remain, stay with, remain longer; περιμένω (*perimenō*), wait; μονή (*monē*), staying, tarrying, dwelling (-place), room, abode.

CL *menō*, found already in Homer, is related to Lat. *maneo*; intrans. it means to remain in one place, at a given time, with someone. Metaphorically, it can mean to keep an agreement, to remain in a particular sphere of life (with *en*), to make a stand against difficult circumstances (e.g. illness or death), and changes in general (cf. *hoi menontes*, the fixed stars (Aristotle, Cael. 290 a, 21)). Hence *menō* can be used of that which remains valid in law, e.g. a *diathēkē*, a will (→ Covenant). In religious language, it is used for the gods, or that inspired by them (e.g. *nous*, mind; *ideai*, ideas), as having continuing existence. It is only seldom used trans., with the force of waiting for, or expecting someone or something.

OT In the LXX *menō* translates some 16 Heb. words, the commonest being *'āmaḏ* (stand, remain) and *qûm* (arise, stand). It only seldom means to remain in one place (e.g. Exod. 9:28; Lev. 13:23). Sometimes it means to wait (e.g. Gen. 45:9; Job 36:2). Generally it is concerned with the existence or continuing validity of something. A vow is valid (Num. 30:4 [5]; 30:9 [10]), or invalid (Num. 30:5, 12, [6, 13]). The wealth of the godless does not endure (Job 15:29). The salvation of the righteous endures for ever (Ps. 112[111]:3, 9).

It is, therefore, particularly used of God. His relationship with man (→ Righteousness) is not severed by him (Ps. 112[111]:3, 9), and hence his word (Isa. 40:8) and truth (Ps. 117[116]:2) endure. God waits to have mercy (Isa. 30:18). Especially in the Pss. and Isa. God's constancy is stressed as a characteristic in contrast to the changeability of the gods and the transitory nature of the world. We do not find this as a merely abstract theological statement, but always in the living context of the worship and praise of God. God is the living one who endures for ever (Dan. 6:26; Ps. 102[101]:12; *menō* represents *qûm*, arise, and *yāšaḇ*, dwell, respectively). Humanity, opposed to God, perishes under his → judgment and wrath, but the new → heavens, the new → earth and the people of God will remain (Isa. 66:22). Just as Yahweh abides, so does his → name (Ps. 72[71]:17, though here without *menō*), his plan or counsel (Ps. 33[32]:11; Isa. 14:24), his → righteousness (Ps. 111[110]:3) and his praise (Ps. 111[110]:10).

NT 1. Of the 118 instances of *menō*, 40 are found in Jn. and 24 in the Johannine Epistles. Here it is used with a special christological force (see 4, below). The normal secular Gk. uses of the word are also found in the NT.

(a) Intrans., *menō* means to remain, e.g., to stay in a place (Lk. 19:5), or with someone (Lk. 24:29; Matt. 26:38); to continue to exist for a specific time (Matt. 11:23); to live (Jn. 1:38); or metaphorically to hold fast, or remain steadfast, e.g., in a teaching (2 Tim. 3:14, 2 Jn. 9), in fellowship with (Jn. 14:10), in the unmarried state (1 Cor. 7:40), to stand firm, pass the test, e.g. when one's works are judged (1 Cor. 3:14); to live on, and not to have died (1 Cor. 15:6).

(b) Trans., *menō* means to wait for (Acts 20:5, 23).

2. The NT continues the thought of the OT and speaks of the unchanging character of God who maintains his word (1 Pet. 1:23; cf. Dan. 6:26; 1 Pet. 1:25, quoting Isa. 40:8) and his counsel, i.e. he continues and carries through his plan of election in

human history (Rom. 9:11). In the NT, God's constancy has been made visible in the sending and life of Jesus, the messiah, who continues for ever (Heb. 7:24). Those who have been born anew through the abiding word of God (1 Pet. 1:23) receive from the Holy → Spirit not only ecstatic experiences from time to time, but the power of God abides continually in them (1 Jn. 2:27). He who confesses that Jesus is the Son of God abides in God, i.e. is bound to him by God's love (1 Jn. 4:14 f.). He does not seek for an abiding city here (Heb. 13:14), but has abiding possessions in heaven (Heb. 10:34).

Paul points out that, in contrast to the service by → Moses, which was transitory, the new service of the Spirit and of righteousness is permanent (2 Cor. 3:7–11), and with it faith, hope and love (1 Cor. 13:15), above all love (cf. 13:8) by which he knew himself controlled (cf. 2 Cor. 5:14).

3. Since the final and lasting state which Christ will bring is coming, human effort for change and for self-fulfilment in this transitory life loses its attraction, and man is freed from it. Since there is a new focus for Christians, they can and should give up their personal social advancement as their goal in life and the expectation that → marriage will fulfil every hope. It is best to remain quietly as they are. That is why Paul could advise the Christians in Corinth, "Were you a slave when called? Never mind" (1 Cor. 7:21). The unmarried and widows should remain unmarried unless they cannot exercise self-control, otherwise "it is better to marry than to be aflame with passion" (1 Cor. 7:8 f.). All their energies should be concentrated on the dawning kingdom of God and all their efforts should be given to remaining in love and true faith (1 Tim. 2:15; 2 Tim. 3:14).

4. In Jn. the secular Gk. *menō en* gained a meaning parallel to the Pauline conception of Christ's dwelling in the believer (Rom. 8:9 ff.) and his dwelling in Christ. It is even expanded and strengthened (cf. F. Hauck, *TDNT* IV 576).

(a) On the one hand, *menō* expresses the closest possible relationship between Father and Son: "The Father who dwells in me [*en emoi menōn*] does his works" (Jn. 14:10). The unbroken fellowship of Jesus with the Father "causes the word of Jesus to be the word of God and his work to be the work of God" (A. Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Johannes*, 1960³, 295). Christ was not called, like a prophet, for a particular task and a limited period; his whole person remains in lasting and special nearness to the Father (Jn. 1:32), just as the son, in contrast to the slave, continues for ever in the father's → house (Jn. 8:35). "His fellowship with men would be powerless and valueless, had he not as recipient of the Spirit acted in oneness with the Father" (A. Schlatter, op. cit., 51, on Jn. 1:32). For further discussion of this relationship → Son of God.

(b) Then there is depicted the closest possible relationship between Christ and the believer; Jesus calls men to remain in this fellowship, and guarantees for the believer that he also will remain in it (Jn. 15:4 f.). Here a distinction is made between Jesus' being with them (*menō en*, Jn. 15:4 f.) and his being in them after his death and resurrection (*menō en*, Jn. 15:4 f.). This abiding of Jesus in the believer was proclaimed in the promise that the Holy Spirit would abide in them (Jn. 14:17; 1 Jn. 2:27; → Advocate, art. *paraklētos*).

The statement that Christ abides in the believer is a statement with an indubitably mystical element; it creates an inner unity, a *unio mystica*. (One of Paul's ways of expressing this relationship is to use the picture of the body, which is not found in Jn.)

But this does not mean that God is absorbed in man, and so could be found in him by a mystic plumbing of the depths of personality. Rather Christ's abiding in his own is inseparably linked with the abiding of his → word in them (Jn. 15:7; 1 Jn. 2:24; cf. Jn. 8:31) and with the continual acceptance of the reconciling power which flows from the death of Jesus. This is expressed in Jn. above all in the words: "He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood abides in me, and I in him" (Jn. 6:56). This concept expresses the real meaning of the → Lord's Supper for Jn. In this inner fellowship between Christ and the believer "the loyalty that is demanded is not primarily a continued being *for*, but a being *from*; it is not the holding of a position, but an allowing oneself to be held, corresponding to the relationship of the *klēma* [branch] to the *ampelos* [vine]. In this sense the relationship can be a reciprocal one; indeed it *must* be" (R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 1971, 535 f., on Jn. 15:4).

(c) Such an abiding in Christ makes a man Christ's property right down to the depths of his being. It is not confined to spiritual relationship or agreement, but means present experience of salvation and hence → life (Jn. 6:57). Therefore "he who says he abides in him ought to walk in the same way in which he walked" (1 Jn. 2:6). The indwelling Christ, or life through the word of Christ, demands and forms a life conforming to his spirit and nature, and wills and brings about sanctification. "He who does the will of God abides for ever" (1 Jn. 2:17). Abiding in Christ is the same as bearing → fruit (Jn. 15:5). If there is no fruit, it is a sign that the fellowship has already been interrupted (Jn. 15:6; 1 Jn. 3:6). Where this is true, the wrath of God rests upon the unbeliever (Jn. 3:36). "The relationship of a man to God is finally determined by the way in which he is related to the word of Jesus" (A. Schlatter, op. cit., 112). Jn. makes this clear once more in 15:9–17 which is par. to 15:1–8. "To abide in love, which is what is demanded of the disciple, means continuing in the love he has received, in the state of being loved; it means – and this has already been stated in v. 4 – that his existence is to be based completely on the Revealer's service, as the foot washing had already made clear symbolically" (R. Bultmann, op. cit., 540, on Jn. 15:9; cf. Jn. 13:1–20). Abiding in love becomes a reality in action (Jn. 15:10), in the bearing of continuing fruit (Jn. 15:16), which for example becomes visible in unbounded love of the brethren (1 Jn. 2:10; 3:14 f.). *K. Munzer*

5. (a) The compound *emmenō*, stay or remain in, persevere, continue in, is found in secular Gk. It occurs in the LXX for *ḥāḳâh* in the sense of the righteous waiting on God (Isa. 30:18; Dan. 12:12), and 8 times for *qûm*, especially in sayings about abiding by one's word and agreements (Num. 23:19; Deut. 19:15; 27:26; Isa. 7:7; 8:10; 28:18; Jer. 44[51]:25, 28). It is without Heb. equivalent at Sir. 2:10; 6:20; 7:22; 11:21; 28:6; 39:11; 1 Macc. 10:26 f.; Dan. 6:13(12) LXX. In the NT it occurs only 4 times. After their initial missionary work, Paul and Barnabas returned to Lystra, Iconium and Antioch, "strengthening the souls of the disciples, exhorting them to continue in the faith [*emmenein tē pistei*], and saying that through many tribulations we must enter the kingdom of God" (Acts 14:22). The Book of Acts ends with Paul remaining in Rome two whole years at his own expense, welcoming all who came to him, preaching the kingdom of God and teaching openly and unhindered about the Lord Jesus Christ (Acts 28:30 f.). *emmenō* has the sense of "abide by" in Gal. 3:10, where Paul cites Deut. 27:26 to show the impossibility of keeping the law as a way of salvation: "For all who rely on the law are under a curse; for it is

written, 'Cursed be every one who does not abide by all things written in the book of the law, and do them.' " In Heb. 8:9 (alluding to Jer. 31:32) it has the sense of "continue in": "not like the covenant that I made with their fathers on the day when I took them by the hand to lead them out of the land of Egypt; for they did not continue in my covenant, and so I paid no heed to them, says the Lord." In its place, Yahweh promises a new → covenant written on the heart (v. 10), and Heb. argues that this has now been established by Christ (Heb. 8:6–13; 10:14–18).

(b) *epimenō*, stay, remain, is found in secular Gk. from Homer onwards, but occurs in the LXX only at Exod. 12:39 (for *māhaḥ*, linger, tarry). It is used in a lit. sense in Acts 10:48; 21:4, 10; 28:12, 14; 1 Cor. 16:7 f.; Gal. 1:18. The reason for the stay is frequently connected with Christian service. In Phil. 1:24 Paul, reflecting on his possible imminent execution, writes: "But to remain in the flesh [*to de epimenein [en] tē sarki*] is more necessary on your account." Hence, he is convinced that his life will be spared for the sake of continued service. On the other hand, to die is gain (Phil. 1:21) because it brings release from earthly troubles and brings one into the more immediate presence of Christ. Nevertheless, Paul is willing to reject this "gain" for the sake of his pastoral care (cf. D. W. Palmer, " 'To Die is Gain' (Philippians 1:21)", *NovT* 17, 1975, 203–18).

epimenō has the fig. sense of continue, persist (in), persevere, with the dat. Thus, Peter continued knocking on the door after his escape from prison (Acts 12:16). In the pericope concerning the woman taken in adultery, the Jews continued to ask Jesus until he gave the reply: "Let him who is without sin among you be the first to throw a stone at her" (Jn. 8:7; cf. Lev. 20:10; Deut. 13:10; 17:7; 22:2 ff.; Sanhedrin 7:4; 11:1; Sotah 47; on this see further J. D. M. Derrett, "The Woman Taken in Adultery", in *Law in the New Testament*, 1970, 156–88).

The fig. use is found in theological contexts in the sense of continuing in sin (Rom. 6:1), which Paul rejects on the grounds that to desire to do so is utterly incompatible with dying and rising with Christ as represented by baptism. The liberty we have through justification by faith is not a liberty to sin but to live out the life of Christ. Later on in Rom. Paul discusses the status of the Jews as the people of God with regard to the saving purposes of God, using the image of pruning and grafting into the → olive tree. "Note then the kindness and the severity of God: severity toward those who have fallen, but God's kindness to you, provided that you continue in his kindness [*ean epimenēs tē chrēstotēti*]; otherwise you too will be cut off. And even the others, if they do not persist in their unbelief [*ean mē epimenōsin tē apistia*], will be grafted in, for God has power to graft them in again" (Rom. 11:22 f.). Thus, Paul envisages the possibility of the Jews being once more incorporated into the people of God through a return to faith. But for the present they are no longer the people of God, and they will never again become the people of God in the sense that they were before. The church is the new people of God, though there is the possibility of the Jews being grafted into this people (perhaps comparable with the way in which Gentiles were grafted into the Jewish nation prior to Christ). However, the continuance of the Gentiles is also conditional upon their continuance in God's kindness (→ Good, art. *chrēstos*). The warning is comparable with that in Heb. 3:15 ff.; 4:1–13; 6:1–8 (cf. Ps. 95:7 f.).

A similar warning is issued in Col. 1:23. It follows the reminder: "And you, who were once estranged and hostile in mind, doing evil deeds, he has now reconciled in

his body of flesh by his death, in order to present you holy and blameless and irreproachable before him, provided that you continue in the faith [*ei ge epimenete tē pistei*], stable and steadfast, not shifting from the hope of the gospel which you heard, which has been preached to every creature under heaven, and of which I, Paul, became a minister" (Col. 1:21 ff.). In all these passages, where *epimenō* is used in connexion with salvation there is a paradox: reconciliation and redemption are the free gifts of God, but they need to be appropriated and lived out. Continuance and perseverance are essential features of the life of faith.

In 1 Tim. 4:16 Timothy is exhorted to "Take heed to yourself and to your teaching: hold to that [*epimene autois*], for by so doing you will save both yourself and your hearers." Again there is the same stress on perseverance, but it is now expressly linked with teaching (*didaskalia*; → Teach, art. *didaskō*). In Col. and 1 Tim. the perseverance is related to "the faith" (Col. 1:23) and "teaching" (1 Tim. 4:16). These expressions suggest a situation in which it was felt that it was not enough for believers to be exhorted to persevere. In view of the false teaching and dangers of the times it was necessary for them to be guided by a defined body of truth.

(c) *paramenō*, remain, stay on, continue in, is found from Homer onwards. In the LXX it translated *yāšaḇ* (dwell, remain) at Gen. 44:33 and *ʿāmaḏ* (stand) at Prov. 12:7 and Dan. 11:17 (Theodotion). It is without Heb. equivalent at Jud. 12:7, 9; Sir. 6:8, 10; 11:17; 38:19. In the NT Paul, faced with the prospect of execution, tells the Philippians that he would prefer to be with Christ, but that it is more necessary to remain in the flesh on their account. "Convinced of this, I know that I shall remain and continue with you all, for your progress and joy in the faith" (Phil. 1:25). This may be compared with the use of *menō* with *para* (see above). Heb. 7 argues for the superiority of Christ's priesthood which is after the order of → Melchizedek. This is shown *inter alia* by Christ's permanent and continuing ministry as contrasted with the temporary nature of the Levitical priesthood. "The former priests were many in number, because they were prevented by death from continuing in office; but he holds his priesthood permanently, because he continues for ever" (Heb. 7:23 f.). In the course of his argument that the true believer shows his faith by his works (Jas. 2:22), James argues: "But he who looks into the perfect law, the law of liberty, and perseveres [*paremeinas*], being no hearer that forgets but a doer that acts, he shall be blessed in his doing" (Jas. 1:23 f.). The vb. also occurs in 1 Cor. 16:6 in the physical sense of "stay" in the discussion of Paul's future plans.

(d) *prosmenō*, remain, stay with, stay longer, is found in secular Gk., but occurs in the LXX only at Jdg. 3: 25A; Tob. 2:2; Wis. 3:9; 3 Macc. 7:17. It is used of the crowds who had been with Jesus for three days (Matt. 15:32 par. Mk. 8:2). Similarly, it is used in a physical sense in Acts 18:18 and 1 Tim. 1:3. Barnabas exhorted the believers at Antioch "to remain faithful to the Lord with steadfast purpose" (Acts 11:23), while Paul and Barnabas urged their followers from the Jews and proselytes in the synagogue at Pisidian Antioch "to continue in the grace of God" (Acts 13:43). 1 Tim. 5:5 describes the righteous widow: "She who is a real widow, and is left all alone, has set her hope on God and continues in supplications and prayers night and day" (→ Woman, art. *chēra*).

(e) *perimenō*, expect, await, in cl. Gk., occurs in the LXX only twice (Gen. 49:18; Wis. 8:12) and only once in the NT, where it signifies waiting "for the promise of the Father", i.e. the Holy → Spirit (Acts 1:4). The disciples were not to depart from

Jerusalem until they had received it (cf. Lk. 24:49; → Pentecost).

(f) For *hypomenō* → Patience.

(g) The noun *monē* is found in secular Gk. with a variety of meanings including abiding, tarrying, persistence, continuance, permanence (cf. Liddell-Scott, 1143; F. Hauck, *TDNT* IV 579). But perhaps the meanings which come closest to the 2 instances in the NT are a place of halt on a journey, an inn (Pausanias, 10, 31, 7), a watch-house in a police district (E. J. Goodspeed, *Greek Papyri from the Cairo Museum*, 1902, 15, 19), a hut for watching in a field (J. Maspéro, *Papyrus Grecs d'époque Byzantine*, 1911 ff., 107, 10). However, these examples are late. *monē* may represent some form of the Aram. *'wn'*, meaning a night-stop or resting place on a journey (cf. R. E. Brown, *The Gospel according to John*, II, *Anchor Bible*, 1971, 618). Origen took the NT references to refer to stations on the road to God (*De prin.* 2, 11, 6), and this may lie behind the Vulg. *mansio* and Eng. mansion which meant a dwelling place rather than a sumptuous large house. F. Hauck takes Jn. 14:2 to refer to the movement from below up to God. "The word seems to be deliberately chosen to express the fact that our earthly state is transitory and provisional compared with eternal and blessed being with God. On the other hand, 14:23 (the movement is from above downwards) depicts salvation after the departure of the Saviour as a permanent abiding of Christ and God in believers" (*TDNT* IV 580). However, C. K. Barrett rejects the idea that life in heaven involves a progression, and claims that v. 23 implies a permanent abiding-place or mode of abiding (*The Gospel according to St John*, 1955, 381; cf. 1 Macc. 7:38). In Jewish belief there were various compartments or dwelling places in heaven (Eth. Enoch 39:4 ff.; cf. 15:7, 10; 22:9 ff.; 71:15 f.; Sl. Enoch 61:2; *TDNT* IV 580 f.). Hence, the RSV: "In my Father's house are many rooms [*monai polloi*]; if it were not so, would I have told you that I go to prepare a place for you?" (Jn. 14:2); "Jesus answered him, 'If a man loves me, he will keep my word, and my Father will love him, and we will come to him and make our home [*monēn*] with him' " (Jn. 14:24). This corresponds to the use of *menō* in Jn. (see above 4). The former passage stresses the certainty of the coming salvation and fellowship with Jesus; the latter the present salvation which comes from the indwelling of the Father and the Son. (→ also House, art. *oikos.*) *C. Brown*

ἀδιάλειπτος

ἀδιάλειπτος (*adialeiptos*), unceasing, constant; *ἀδιαλείπτως* (*adialeiptōs*), unceasingly, constantly.

CL & OT Both the adj. and the adv. are comparatively rare in secular Gk. (cf. Liddell-Scott, 22; Arndt, 16). In the LXX only the adv. occurs and that exclusively in the Maccabean literature (1 Macc. 12:11, 2 Macc. 3:26; 9:4; 13:12; 15:7; 3 Macc. 6:33). It is also found in Test. Lev. 13:2; Josephus, *War* 3, 164; 3, 241), whilst the adj. occurs in Arist. 84 and Josephus, *War* 2, 155; 5, 31.

NT *adialeiptos* describes in Rom. 9:2 Paul's unceasing anguish of heart (*adialeiptos odynē tē kardia mou*) for the Jews, for whose sake he could wish himself accursed and cut off from Christ (v. 3). For though they are descended from → Israel and have all the formal promises, they are not truly of Israel. Paul's yearning for the salvation of Israel may be compared with Jesus' concern for → Jerusalem (Matt. 23:37 ff. par.

Lk. 13:34 f.). In 2 Tim. 1:3 it is used of Paul's constant remembrance of Timothy in his → prayers.

The adv. *adialeiptōs* is likewise only found in the Pauline literature. In Rom. 1:9 it is used of Paul's intercession for the Roman Christians and similarly in 1 Thess. 1:2 for the Thessalonians. Likewise, Paul thanks God constantly for the response of the Thessalonians to the word of God (1 Thess. 2:13) and urges them to pray unceasingly (1 Thess. 5:17).

Thus all the contexts in which these words are found in the NT express unremitting concern for others, particularly in prayer and praise. *C. Brown*

(a). R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 1971; F. Hauck, *menō* etc., *TDNT* IV 574–88; J. E. Russcop, *Abiding in Christ: Studies in John 15*, 1973.
(b). J. Heise, *Bleiben. Menein in den johanneischen Schriften*, 1967; A. Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Johannes*, 1960³.

Remember, Remembrance

μιμνήσκομαι

μιμνήσκομαι (*mimnēskomai*), recall to mind, remember; *μνεία* (*mneia*), remembrance, memory, mention; *μνήμη* (*mnēmē*), recollection, memory; *μνημονεύω* (*mnēmoneuō*), remember, mention; *μνημόσυνον* (*mnēmosynon*), memory, recollection; *ἀνάμνησις* (*anamnēsis*), reminder, remembrance; *ὑπόμνησις* (*hypomnēsis*), recollection; *ἀναμιμνήσκω* (*anamimnēskō*), remind; *ὑπομιμνήσκω* (*hypomimnēskō*), remind.

CL 1. *mimnēskomai* is derived from the Indo-European root **mēn*, to think. The words from this root cover three areas of meaning: (a) *me-*, *mn-*, to intend, want, require (Gk. *memona*); (b) to be enraptured, to rave (Gk. *mainomai*; → Ecstasy); (c) *menā-*, *menei-*, to be mindful of (Gk. *memnēmai*), might, power, ferocity, liveliness, etc. (Gk. *menos*), to remember, recall, mention (Gk. *mimnēskō*, *-omai*), counsellor (Gk. *mnēmōn*); memorial (Gk. *mnēma*). See E. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Grecque – Étudiée dans ses Rapports avec les autres Langues Indo-Européennes*, 1916, 625. Hence there arises, in Indo-European languages generally, the following complex of meanings: (a) to remember (referring to the intellectual ability, and its exercise, of linking the past to the present); (b) to consider, weigh up (where the present is linked to the future); (c) to be mindful, take into account, mention (assessing how the present relates both to past and future). This range of meanings can be seen in English, e.g., in the various uses of the word "mind": to remind, call to mind, give one's mind to, bear in mind, have a mind to, etc. (see further E. Boisacq, op. cit., 627, 638).

The various simple and compound forms of both vbs. and nouns in Gk. (Liddell-Scott give no less than 45!) are used interchangeably. No fundamental difference in meaning exists between, on the one hand, compounds such as *anamnēsis* and *hypomnēsis*, and, on the other hand, simple forms such as *mimnēskō* and *mnēmē*, apart, of course, from their being different parts of speech (cf. J. Behm, *anamnēsis* etc., *TDNT* I 348 and O. Michel, *mimnēskomai*, *TDNT* IV 678 ff.). In view of this strong inter-connexion of meaning and the resulting difficulty of distinguishing the sense of one word from that of another, many theologians translate all derivatives of

the stem *mnē-* by memory, to remember, etc., with the unfortunate result that significant shades of meaning are obscured.

2. In Gk. literature (from Homer to the inscriptions and papyri of the Hellenistic period) the following principal meanings are attested:

(a) to remind oneself or someone else, to remind once again (especially in Plato *anamimnēskesthai* and *anamnēsis*), recollection, memory. These meanings apply to 50% of the relevant words. The commonest prefixes before trans. vbs. are: *ana-*, *epi-* and *hypo-*.

(b) to consider, think of, ponder, reflect (meanings not found in all the writers and works investigated) (5%).

(c) to remember for good or ill, concern oneself with, to want, strive after, desire (10%; in Homer almost 50%).

(d) to be mindful of, take into account, comply with (10%).

(e) to mention (verbally or in writing), make known, call, name; to warn; deed, document (compounds often formed with *hypo-*) (25%).

anamnēsis has special significance in Plato. From the fact that it is possible to probe behind the externals of things, events etc., and to recall their "idea", he deduces a bodiless, free, purely spiritual pre-existence of the → soul, and its survival after death (see especially *Phdr.* 73c; *Theaetetus* and *Meno*; cf. G. Vlastos, "Anamnesis in the *Meno*", *Dialogue*, IV, 1965, 143–67; on memory in philosophy see S. Shoemaker, "Memory", in P. Edwards, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, V, 1967, 265–76). (→ also Resurrection, art. *anastasis* CL.)

3. From the time of Homer until the time of Christ and beyond, *mnēmē* is one of the ideas central to the ancient Gk. and Hellenistic Gk. cults and religio-philosophical systems (*TDNT* IV 679).

(a) In Homer, Hades is the kingdom of *lēthē*, i.e. oblivion and forgetfulness. Its inhabitants are mute and unremembered. The situation may be expressed in the form of two equations: forgetting = silence = death; remembering = speech = life (Homer, *Od.* 11, 71, 97 ff., 140 ff., 147 ff.).

(b) Whereas in Homer remembering and forgetting are mental phenomena, in Orphism *mnēmē* is personified as a goddess *Mnēmosynē*; but also, under the figures of water from a divine spring, or a "passport" for the dead, it is a gift of the goddess, i.e. the divine immortality of the human soul (A. Olivieri, *Lamellae Aureae Orphicae, Kleine Texte* 133, 1915). Here then memory is not only a natural power but also the process which this power sets in motion.

(c) In gnosticism the human soul has left its heavenly home and so become separated from the unity of the divine (→ One, art. *heis*). Its sentence and fate is to forget its divine origin, through contamination by earthly evil. Recollection occurs in similar bodily fashion, being the soul's first step in returning to its heavenly home. This recollection is evoked by the arrival of the redeemer (in the form of the "call", the "heaven-sent epistle", the "messenger", etc.). The "call" is, as it were, the magic formula which sets the process in motion (and is so represented in the "Hymn of the Pearl" [i.e. the soul] in the *Acts of Thomas*, text in Henn.-Schn., II, 498–504; similarly in the Manichaean literature). (For gnostic texts see W. Foerster, *Gnosis: A Selection of Gnostic Texts*, I *Patristic Evidence*, 1972, II *Mandaic Sources*, 1974.)

(d) This line is carried further in the mystery cults, where the fortunes of the particular god being worshipped are recalled in sensual fashion by means of ceremonies

frequently based on a mixture of mysticism and → magic. (See further G. Wagner, *Pauline Baptism and the Pagan Mysteries: The Problem of the Pauline Doctrine of Baptism in Romans VI. 1–11, in the light of the Religio-Historical "Parallels"*, 1967.)

These remarks should make it clear that the NT use of words from the stem *mnē-* cannot be made to originate in these areas (as in many works of the so-called "Benedictine School" of Dom Odo Casel and others, and also of those Lutheran theologians who try to interpret "remembrance" as a sacramental "representation" of the exalted Christ (cf. K. H. Bartels, "Der theoretische Quellort der 'Sammlung' und ihre Parole 'Katholische Reformation' ", *EvTh* 20, 1960, 364 ff.).

OT In the LXX words from *mnē-* generally correspond to derivatives of the Heb. vb. *zāḵar* and are used as in ordinary Gk. Meanings: (a) to remember, etc. (Gen. 40:23; Wis. 12:2; Gen. 8:1); (b) to consider, etc. (Isa. 47:7; Sir. 41:1 f.); (c) to remember for good or ill, used mainly (53 times) of God, rarely (4 times) of men (Gen. 30:22; Jer. 40:8 LXX). In particular Deut. "especially develops a theology of remembering" (O. Michel, *TDNT* IV 675; cf. Deut. 5:15; 7:18; 8:2, 18; 9:7; 15:15; 16:3, 12; 24:18, 20, 22; 32:7); (d) to be mindful of (Deut. 15:15 and passim; Michel, ibid.); (e) to mention, etc. (Dan. 5:10 LXX; Est. 2:23; 2 Ki. 18:18 LXX). Then there is a specifically biblical use, partially foreshadowed in profane Gk., but undoubtedly going back to early oriental and Heb. influences which had a lasting effect upon the vocabulary and style of the LXX. Hence the distribution of meanings of *mnē-* in the OT differs characteristically from that in profane Gk. and in rabbinic Judaism (the latter being exposed to other influences). The following percentages refer to the meanings given above, profane Gk. being given in brackets: (a) 24 (50) %; (b) 5 (5) %; (c) 18 (10) %; (d) 30 (10) %; (e) 23 (25) %.

2. Specifically biblical meanings have already been enumerated. They are:

(a) To mention in prayer to God, call to God's remembrance (→ Prayer, art. *proseuchomai*; for *epikaleomai* → Call). Ps. 109 (LXX 108):14 may be paraphrased thus: "Let the accuser [Job 2:1, → Satan] make mention [LXX *anamnēstheiē*; MT *yizzāḵēr*] of the inquity of his fathers before the judgment seat of God." In the LXX of Ps. 62:7; Ezek. 33:13, "to think of" and "to be thought of" mean to mention or be mentioned in intercession before God (cf. also Isa. 48:1; O. Michel, *homologeō TDNT* V 204 f.; Bartels, *Gedächtnis*, 13 f., and notes 86–97).

(b) To proclaim, to celebrate, to solemnize (→ Feast, art. *heortē*; → Proclamation, art. *angellō*). The existence of the people of Israel, their faith in Yahweh as their saviour and redeemer, their obedience to him as their sovereign and as Lord of history, their public worship – all these things are grounded in their experience of his gracious help in the past. Hence, at their festivals the people of God are publicly called upon to remember, and as they do so, the same God who did such great things for them in the past, speaks to them once again at the present. In this way, at daily worship and at the recurring festivals, the words spoken, sung or heard take up redemptive history and turn it into something requiring present commitment (H. W. Wolff, "Das Alte Testament und das Problem der existentialen Interpretation", *EvTh* 23, 1963, 10, 14 f.). Hence, the words of this group may be used like *angellō*, i.e. to convey the idea of authorized proclamation (as did the Heb. *zāḵar* before them; cf. W. Schottroff, *"Gedenken" im Alten Orient und im Alten Testament*, 1964, 23), oc-

casional examples being found already in Aristotle. A typical passage is Ps. 70(71):15–17, where v. 16b ("I praise thy righteousness, thine alone") is literally: "I remember [i.e. declare, proclaim] thy righteousness ...." Here the reference is to *oral* "remembrance", but elsewhere (e.g. Exod. 13:8; Jos. 4:6 f.) God's mighty acts are commemorated by tangible objects (→ Miracle, art. *sēmeion*), or, as in Exod. 12:14, by a holy day, the *mnēmosynon* (Heb. *zikkaron*) being nothing less than the celebration of a festival (cf. G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, I 1962, 242 f.; K. H. Bartels: *Dies tut zu meinem Gedächtnis. Zur Auslegung von 1 Kor. 11, 24.25*, Dissertation, Mainz, 1959, 14–17 and notes 98–124).

(c) To believe, obey, become converted, turn about. To remember God in this sense means to serve him, to adore him, to obey and follow him, to recognize him as Creator and Lord (Num. 15:39 f.; Tob. 1:11 f.; cf. H. Graf Reventlow, "Das Amt des *mazkîr*", *ThZ*, Basel, 1959, 161 ff., especially 165). The phrase "to remember God" can be a formula summing up a man's religious standing (Jud. 13:19; Tob. 2:2). Thus in Ps. 22(21):28 f. *mnēsthēsontai* (*yizkᵉrû*), used in parallel with *epistraphēsontai* (*yāšûḇû*), probably refers to the act of turning in faith to the Lord (cf. Pss. Sol. 4:21; Bartels, *Gedächtnis*, 18 f. and notes 125–130).

(d) To confess with praise and adoration, give adoring testimony (→ Confession; → Thank, art. *aineō*; → Blessing, art. *eulogia*). Whenever words of the *mnē-* group are used as synonyms or metonyms of *homologeō*, to confess (Heb. *yāḏâh* in hiphil, *tôḏâh*), they always at least include the idea of the public confession or acknowledgment of God. Examples are Pss. 30(29):4; 97(96):12; 45(44):17; 6:5 (cf. Sir. 17:27 f., Bar. 2:17; Bartels, *Gedächtnis*, 24) and Tob. 14:7 ff., and especially the titles of Pss. 38 (37) and 70 (69). Both titles probably refer to the content of their respective psalms (38:19; 70:4) (cf. the titles of Pss. 60, 80 and 145), and so represent liturgical rubrics (cf. Schottroff, op. cit., 334 ff.), in which case they are to be translated "for a testimony", i.e. to God's goodness – such testimony being borne through the public recital of the psalm (Bartels, *Gedächtnis*, 23–26 and notes 188–208). This usage has been transferred from the Heb. *zāḵar* to the Gk. of the LXX; no analogy exists in profane Gk.

3. In rabbinic Judaism, however, the specifically biblical usage recedes. Remembrance for good or ill comes to be heavily rationalized, e.g. the Midrash on Gen. 30:22, where God's remembrance is interpreted as his recollection of Rachel's good works: "What did he remember? Her silence toward her sister.... Of what did he think? Of the fact that she had brought the concubine into her home" (*Ber. Rabbah* 355). On the other hand, the biblical meaning to help, to be gracious, lived on in the liturgy (cf. the so-called *zikrōnôṯ* in the liturgy for the new year's day; P. Fiebig, *Rosch-ha-schana*, 1914). The meaning to mention occurs frequently in the formula "his memory was kept in honour" (Yoma 3:9b and passim). The use of *'azkārâh* in the place of the divine name is significant (O. Michel, *TDNT* IV 682 n.; R. Meyer, *TDNT* III 982 f.; Schottroff, op. cit., 333 and n. 1). Here remembrance stands for *šēm*, → name (as it does occasionally in the OT: Exod. 20:24 LXX, where *onomazein* stands for the Heb. *zāḵar*). In the Qumran texts the idea persists of God "remembering" for good and is more prominent than in the rabbinic literature. Thus, it is stated that God thought of the old covenant and gave the new covenant for his elect, while in the eschatological war he will remember the sons of light and help them against the sons of darkness. For instances of *zāḵar* see 1QS 6:27; 1QM 10:7;

17:2; 1QH 4:34 f.; 1Q 34 2:5; 32, 5; 6QD 3:5; CD 1:4; 6:2; 15:2.

K. H. Bartels

4. The theological interpretation of memory and remembering has been the subject of investigation in OT scholarship. In 1926 J. Pedersen put forward a theory of the Hebrew psychology of memory which claimed that the Hebrew viewed reality with the purpose of discovering a totality (*Israel: Its Life and Culture*, I–II, 99 ff.). Man is a *nepeš* (soul). Abstract thought is something alien to the primitive Hebrew approach to life. "When the soul remembers something, it does not mean that it has an objective memory image of some thing or event, but that this image is called forth in the soul and assists in determining its direction, its action. When man remembers God, he lets his being and his actions be determined by him.... The peculiarity about the Israelite is that he cannot at all imagine memory, unless at the same time an effect on the totality and its direction of the will is taken for granted" (op. cit., 106 f.). The general attack on Pedersen's method by James Barr in *The Semantics of Biblical Language*, 1961, has been followed up by a detailed critique by B. S. Childs in *Memory and Tradition in Israel, SBT* 37, 1962.

Childs gives what is perhaps the most detailed study in English of *zāḵar*, and claims that Pedersen has imposed his own preconceived ideas on the material he has examined. He rejects the method of listing the occurrences of the root in an attempted chronological order, as this takes too much account of the accidental appearances it makes in writing, and too little of its function within the particular contexts of life and worship. Employing the techniques of form-criticism, Childs studies the use of the vb. in the setting of the cult, the law court, prophecy, narrative etc. He agrees with Pedersen that features of OT thought exhibit similarities with that of other contemporary, primitive peoples. But "the biblical evidence simply does not confirm his theory that event is conceived of merely as a manifestation of the soul and effected independently of external factors" (op. cit., 29). The Hebrews were certainly aware that thoughts did not always lead to a corresponding action, as in the complaint to Moses, "O that we had meat to eat. We remember the fish we ate in Egypt for nothing ... and there is nothing at all but this manna to look at" (Num. 11:5; cf. Est. 4:13 for a similar example of where the thought is quite different from the reality). "But one can go a step beyond this. Israel developed a sense of history because of its understanding of Yahweh's relation to the world which broke the primitive pattern. God controls the external world through the dimension of the historical" (op. cit., 29 f.; cf. Gen. 50:20; Isa. 10:7 ff.).

(a) When the vb. is used of God, Childs notes two distinct formulae: "On the one hand, the imperative form has its context within the complaint psalm. An expansion of the form away from its cultic origin was traced in the complaints of Jeremiah and Job. The great break came with the prophetic adaptation for purposes of judgment and promise. On the other hand, the use of the finite form of the verb arose within the hymn. The Priestly school accommodated the form to express a theological interpretation of covenantal history" (op. cit., 44).

(i) The complaint Psalm may be both individual (Pss. 25[24]: 6 f.; 119[118]:49) or communal (Pss. 74[73]:2, 18, 22; 79[78]:8; 106[105]:4; 137[136]:7; cf. Isa. 64:8; Jer. 14:21; Lam. 5:1; Neh. 1:8). It may be negative or positive: "Do not remember against us the sins of our forefathers" (Ps. 79[78]:8); "Remember how the enemy

scoff" (Ps. 74[73]:18; cf. v. 22). Frequent appeals are made to the → covenant relationship (Jer. 14:21; Ps. 25[24]:6; cf. Pss. 119[118]:49; 74[73]:2). Outside the Psalms among the pre-exilic non-cultic material are the prayers of Hannah (1 Sam. 1:11), Samson (Jdg. 16:28) and Hezekiah (2 Ki. 20:3 par. Isa. 38:3). Other passages containing intercessory prayers are Exod. 32:13; Deut. 9:27; 2 Chr. 6:42; Pss. 20(19):4; 89(88):48, 51; 132(131):1.

(ii) In the pleas of Jeremiah for Yahweh to remember him, access to the divine presence through the cult has been replaced by a direct confrontation with Yahweh. His plea is grounded in the fact that he is the bearer of the prophetic word (Jer. 18:20; 20:8 ff.) which has brought about his isolation and rejection (Jer. 15:15–18). Job's complaints are "characterized by a poetic freedom which allows him wide latitude" (op. cit., 38; cf. Job 7:7–10). In Neh. "the imperative appears frequently in a stereotyped prose phrase (Neh. 5:19; 6:14; 13:14, 22, 29, 31). For examples of the prophetic oracle, adapting the complaint psalm, see Hos. 6:1–7:2; 8:8, 11 ff.; 9:9; Jer. 14:2–12; 31:15–20 (cf. also Isa. 43:25; Jer. 2:2; 31:34 which are not related to the complaint Psalm).

(iii) A different genre is the hymn, where instead of the imperative urging Yahweh to remember, the writer praises Yahweh in the indicative for remembering his covenant faithfulness and promises (Pss. 98[97]:3; 105[104]:8, 42; 106[105]:45; 111[110]:5; 136[135]:23; 1 Chr. 16:15). Yahweh's memory is not confined to past events; it is active in the present and will continue into the future (Pss. 105[104]:8; 103[102]:7, 14; 111[110]:5).

(iv) Finally, in passages which he ascribes to the Priestly writer Childs sees certain affinities with the hymn, but points out that God's remembering is uncultic in character and figures in a historical work in prose passages concerned with the history of redemption. "The use of the verb *zkr* reflects the Priestly writer's concern to present history as a witness to the unfolding of the purpose of the covenant God who is active in Israel's midst. This history is merely a working out of the one eternal act of divine grace" (op. cit., 43; cf. Gen. 8:1; 9:15 f.; 19:29; Exod. 2:24; 6:5; Lev. 26:42, 45; cf. also Ezek. 16:60). God's remembrance of his covenant includes a renewed promise of the land (Exod. 6:8; cf. Lev. 26:42, 45).

(b) But not only does Yahweh remember; Israel also remembers. Here Childs notes several distinctive types of usage.

(i) In the case of Deuteronomic usage "the writer has as his chief problem the relating of the new generation of Israel to the tradition of Moses. No longer has Israel direct access to the redemptive events of the past. Now memory takes on central theological significance. Present Israel has not been cut off from redemptive history, but she encounters the same covenant God through a living tradition. Memory provides the link between past and present" (op. cit., 55; cf. Deut. 7:18; 9:7; 24:9; 25:17). "The divine commands as event meet each successive generation through her tradition calling forth a decision, and in obedience Israel shares in the same redemption as her forefathers" (op. cit., 56; cf. Deut. 5:15; 15:15; 16:12; 24:18, 22). Here the → sabbath plays an important part, and the emphasis is rather different from Exod. 20:8. "Memory does not serve to arouse a psychological reaction of sympathy for slaves. Rather, quite the reverse is true. Israel observes the Sabbath *in order to* remember her slavery and deliverance" (op. cit., 53). In so doing

there is an actualization of redemptive history. "Israel in every generation remembers and so shares in the same redemptive time" (op. cit., 54).

(ii) In Mic. 6:5 "the prophet appeals to Israel's memory as a means of actualizing Yahweh's original purpose for his people" (op. cit., 57). The appeal to memory is characteristic of a defendant's speech in a law court. The present rupture with Yahweh stems from Israel's failure to understand the saving acts.

(iii) In Isa. 43:18, 44:21 and 46:9 there is "both the continuity and the discontinuity of history. There is a continuity between the past and the future because of the one purpose of God. There is a discontinuity because of Israel's failure. Israel's past response evokes the need of a radical new quality within history. In both instances Israel's memory is an active response in faith which links her to the redemptive action of God's entrance into history" (op. cit., 59).

(iv) Ezekiel focuses attention on the problem of Israel remembering his sins (Ezek. 6:9; 16:22, 61; 20:43; 23:19, 27; 36:31). Remembering is also connected with the formula "they [or you] shall know that I am Yahweh" (Ezek. 6:10; 16:62; 20:44; 36:23).

(v) The Psalms contain the largest number of instances of *zāḵar*, the overwhelming majority of which occur in the individual complaint Pss. (e.g. 42[41]:5; 77[76]:4; 119[118]:52, 55; 143[142]:5). Allied to this is the communal complaint (Ps. 137[136]:1, 6) and → Jonah's psalm (Jon. 2:8). "The fact that the psalmist can remember a situation different from his present plight evokes his bitter complaint and fervent plea for aid" (op. cit., 60). Ps. 42 pictures the individual cut off from the temple, and thus apparently from the divinely appointed means of access to Yahweh, and thirsting for his presence. In Ps. 77 the Psalmist grieves that Yahweh has changed his attitude towards him. "Memory as a psychological process is the same in the two parts of the psalm. The difference is that in vv. 2–11 the psalmist's remembering results in bitter frustration, whereas in vv. 12 ff. he encounters God through his memory .... The act of memory forms a bridge which links the psalmist with the God of the forefathers, not because of a Herculean act of self-projection, but because the events of the tradition possess a power which continues to meet Israel in her struggle" (op. cit., 63). In the case of Ps. 63, Childs thinks that an experience which was originally cultic in nature is actualized through a process which is no longer cultic, whereas Ps. 137 expresses bitter sorrow for → Jerusalem's destruction.

(c) The LXX uses the noun *mnēmosynon* chiefly to translate various forms from the root *zkr*. In particular, the MT uses two Heb. nouns *zikkārôn* and *zēḵer*.

(i) *zikkārôn*, memorial sign, is derived from the qal stem of *zkr* (J. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen*, 1894², 324). It occurs 23 times (including once in an Aram. cognate). It is found 14 times in the Pentateuch, 12 of which Childs locates in the Priestly source (op. cit., 66). Childs sees two broad categories of meaning. In the passive sense it means a *memorandum*, a thing worthy to be remembered: memorable deeds (Est. 6:1), sayings (Job 13:12), remembrance (Eccl. 1:11; 2:16), a record (Ezr. 6:2), a memorial written in a book which will serve to bring to mind the defeat of the Amalekites (Exod. 17:14), a book of memorial(s) (Mal. 3:16; Est. 6:1). In the active sense it means a memorial which calls something else to remembrance. In 9 cases it is a cultic object: the altar covering (Num. 16:40; 17:5), booty (Num. 31:54), onyx stones (Exod. 28:12, twice), atonement money (Exod. 30:16), breastpiece (Exod. 28:29), cereal offering (Num. 5:15, 18). It is twice

used of the cultic activity of blowing trumpets (Num. 10:10; Lev. 23:24), and once of a cultic festival, the passover (Exod. 12:14). "According to the usual Priestly idiom the *zikkārôn* is a 'memorial for the children of Israel before Yahweh'. One has only to recall the role of the cult for the Priestly writer to recognize the full significance of the phrase. God has established a covenantal relationship with Israel which expresses itself in his eternal ordinances (*ḥuqqaṯ 'ôlām*, Num. 10:8). Signs and memorials serve within this dispensation of grace both to guarantee and maintain for each generation this eternal relationship. The cultic acts of Israel continually remind God of this eternal covenantal order. The cultic objects and rites act to guarantee that the covenant is not forgotten" (B. S. Childs, op. cit., 67). Other instances are the crown in the temple (Zech. 6:14), its pejorative use of an idolatrous cult symbol (Isa. 57:8), the unleavened bread (Exod. 13:9) and the stones set up in the Jordan to be "to the people of Israel a memorial for ever" (Jos. 4:7).

(ii) The Heb. *zēḵer*, remembrance, memorial, occurs 23 times. It is used as a parallel for *šēm*, name, in 5 cases (Exod. 3:15; Isa. 26:8; Ps. 135[134]:13; Job 18:17; Prov. 10:7), and the contexts of 4 other passages suggest a similar meaning (Hos. 12:6, Pss. 30[29]:5; 97[96]:12; 102[101]:13). Because the → name expresses a person's essence in Heb. thought, the destroying of one's name is the same as to annihilate someone (Jer. 11:19; Job 18:17). Thus a number of passages deal with the destruction of the enemy, cutting off all mention of the name (Exod. 17:14; Deut. 15:19; 32:26; Isa. 26:14; Pss. 9:7; 34[33]:17; 109[108]:15; 112[111]:6; Eccl. 9:5; Est. 9:28). In Ps. 6:6 the psalmist complains that "in death there is no remembrance of thee; in Sheol who can give thee praise?" Childs relates Est. 9:28 to the problem of actualizing the past and thus translates the verse: "that the days of Purim should not fall into disuse among the Jews nor should the recounting of them cease among the descendants" (op. cit., 72). He also suggests that *zēḵer* in Ps. 111(110):4 refers primarily to the act of proclaiming, which in turn leads to the acts being remembered. Childs concludes that *zēḵer* "is not used primarily as a means of renewing the redemptive traditions of Israel, and that it should be carefully distinguished from *zikkārôn*" (op. cit., 73).

(d) Whether one assigns certain passages to the Priestly writer will depend on the view one takes of the authorship and composition of the Pentateuch. This in turn will have a bearing on how the appeal to memory is seen as developing in the worship and history of Israel. Childs sees memory as deeply related to Israel's cult "as a means of actualizing the past. In times of crisis, when the role of the cult was threatened, Israel's memory assumed a new significance in renewing her tradition" (op. cit., 80). S. Mowinckel saw this process of actualization against the wider background of the mythopoeic thought of the ancient Near East (cf. *The Psalms in Israel's Worship*, I–II, 1962). The cult serves to renew the structure of the world by re-enacting the sacred drama of the myth. The content of the myth is renewed and the participants experience its elemental power. Childs is among those who object to this on the grounds that it fails to do justice to the fact that in Israel the myth was replaced by historical events (op. cit., 82; cf. G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, II, 1965, 99–125). Moreover, these events could not be repeated; they were fixed in time. A view which is diametrically opposed to Mowinckel's sees the process of actualization as the recital in the cult of the great historical events of the past which established Israel's existence. "Actualization occurs when the worshipper experiences

an identification with the original events. He bridges the gap of historical time and participates in the original history" (B. S. Childs, op. cit., 82; cf. M. Noth, "The 'Representation' of the O.T. in Proclamation", in C. Westermann, ed., *Essays on Old Testament Interpretation*, 1963, 76–88; H.-J. Kraus, *Worship in Israel*, 1962).

Childs himself wishes to combine the two positions, while laying greater emphasis on the latter, though he believes that remembering in the OT is more than a mental event. The historical redemptive event "causes a continued reverberation beyond its original entry" (op. cit., 83). On the one hand, it was unique in time and space. But on the other hand, redemptive history continues. "It means more than that the influence of a past event continued to be felt in successive generations, which obvious fact no one could possibly deny. Rather, there was an immediate encounter, an actual participation in the great acts of redemption .... Actualization is the process by which a past event is contemporized for a generation removed in time and space from the original event. When later Israel responded to the continuing imperative of her tradition through her memory, that moment in historical time likewise became an Exodus experience. Not in the sense that later Israel again crossed the Red Sea. This was an irreversible, once-for-all event. Rather, Israel entered the same redemptive reality of the Exodus generation" (op. cit., 84 f.).

There is much in Childs' work which commands assent. Nevertheless, it may be questioned whether the concept of actualization may not be taken too far. For the data which Childs examines do not warrant the conclusion that the past event is somehow made present. Rather, it is the living God, Yahweh, who is ever present. Past history serves to give the present its shape. And reflection on the past serves to remind the believing Israelite that Yahweh can be counted upon to remain true. In this respect, the appeal to memory has a double function: it serves as a basis of appeal to Yahweh in prayer; and as such it also serves to encourage the believing Israelite that, however black his present predicament may be, he can still count on Yahweh. (For further discussion on the rôle of history in biblical thought see C. Brown, ed., *History, Criticism and Faith*, 1977, especially 13–75, 147–224.)

5. In the LXX *mnēmosynon* also translates the Heb. *'azkārâh*, the memorial meal offering which was burnt with oil and frankincense as a pleasing odour to Yahweh (Lev. 2:2, 9, 16; 6:8[15]; Num. 5:26; → Sacrifice). In the case of the very poor it could serve as a sin offering (Lev. 5:12). All the passages where *'azkārâh* occurs are widely attributed to P. On the use of *anamnēsis* to translate the term in Lev. 24:7 see below, 9. On the offering see R. de Vaux, *Studies in Old Testament Sacrifice*, 1964, 30.

6. The LXX uses *mneia*, remembrance, for phrases with the vb. *zāḵar* (Deut. 7:18; Job 14:13; Isa. 26:13; Jer. 31[28]:20; Ezek. 21:37[32]: 25:10; Zech. 13:2), for *zēḵer* (Ps. 111[110]:4; Isa. 28:6), and without equivalent in Isa. 32:10; Bar. 4:27; 5:5; Wis. 5:14.

7. The LXX uses *mnēmē* for *zēḵer* (Pss. 30[29]:4; 97[96]:12; 145[144]:7; Prov. 10:7; Eccl. 9:5), for *ziḵrôn*, memorial (Eccl. 1:11; 2:16) and without Heb. equivalent (Prov. 1:12; Wis. 4:1, 19; 8:13; 10:8; 11:12; 2 Macc. 2:25; 7:20).

8. Two cognate nouns are found in the LXX in the sense of memorial, grave: *mnēma* for *qeḇer* (Exod. 14:11; Num. 11:34 f.; 19:16, 18; 33:16 f.; Deut. 9:22; 2 Chr. 16:14; 34:4, 28; Job 10:19; Isa. 65:4; Jer. 26[33]:23; Ezek. 32:26; 37:12) and *q^{e}ḇûrâh* (Ezek. 32:23 f.); and *mnēmeion* for the same pair of words, *qeḇer* (Gen.

23:6, 9; 49:30; 50:5, 13; Neh. 2:3, 5; Isa. 22:16; Jer. 26[33]:23; Ezek. 39:11) and *qᵉḇûrâh* (Gen. 35:20). (→ further Bury, Grave, Tomb.)

9. The noun *anamnēsis*, remembrance, which features in the words of institution in the → Lord's Supper is comparatively rare. In Lev. 24:7 it stands for *'azkārâh*, which was a memorial offering (see above, 5): "And you shall put pure frankincense with each row, that it may go with the bread as a memorial portion [MT *lᵉ'azkārâh*; LXX *eis anamnēsin*] to be offered by fire to the LORD." This particular *'azkārâh* was evidently intended to be a perpetual reminder of the → covenant, to be offered every → sabbath: "Every sabbath day Aaron shall set it in order before the LORD continually on behalf of the people of Israel as a covenant for ever. And it shall be for Aaron and his sons, and they shall eat it in a holy place, since it is for him a most holy portion out of the offerings by fire to the LORD, a perpetual due" (Lev. 24:8 f.). There would seem to be no propitiatory element in this offering. On the other hand, the memorial aspect of it seems to have had a double reference, i.e. a God-ward and a man-ward reference. Just as Yahweh may be said to remember and was called upon to remember, the offering may have been regarded as an appeal to Yahweh's covenant faithfulness. At the same time it was a reminder to Israel of Yahweh's covenant faithfulness. The fact that only the → priests might eat it indicates not only the holy character of the offering but their representative rôle on behalf of the people.

Num. 10:10 has also a cultic context but the Heb. noun is *zikkārôn* (see above, 4 (c) (i)): "On the day of your gladness also, and at your appointed feasts, and at the beginning of your months, you shall blow the trumpets over your burnt offerings and over the sacrifices of your peace offerings; they will serve you for remembrance before your God [MT *wᵉhāyû lāḵem lᵉzikkārôn lip̄ᵉnê YHWH 'ᵉlōhêḵem*; LXX *kai estai hymin anamnēsis enanti tou theou hymōn*]: I am the LORD your God." The expression "before the LORD" coupled with the context of the previous verse suggests that the remembering here too has a God-ward reference which indeed is primary, although the man-ward reference is implicit: "And when you go to war in your land against the adversary who oppresses you, then you shall sound an alarm with the trumpets, that you may be remembered before the LORD your God [MT *wᵉnizkartem lip̄ᵉnê YHWH 'ᵉlōhêḵem*; LXX *kai anamnēsthēsesthe enanti kyriou*], and you shall be saved from your enemies" (Num. 10:9; → Trumpet).

anamnēsis occurs in the titles of Ps. 38 (LXX 37; "A Psalm of David, for the memorial offering" RSV) and Ps. 70 (LXX 69; "To the choirmaster. A Psalm of David, for the memorial offering"). On the titles of the Pss. see A. A. Anderson, *The Book of Psalms, New Century Bible*, I, 1972, 43–51. Their origin and value with regard to the interpretation of the Pss. are very uncertain. The contents of neither Ps. make explicit reference to the cult, and S. Mowinckel thinks that the purpose was to remind Yahweh of the distress of the worshippers (*The Psalms in Israel's Worship*, 1962, II, 212). The MT uses the hiphil of the vb. *zāḵar*.

In the Apocrypha *anamnēsis* occurs only in Wis. 16:6 with a clear man-ward reference: "But for admonition they were troubled for a short space, having a token of salvation, to put them in remembrance of the commandment of thy law [*eis anamnēsin entolēs nomou sou*]."

The vb. *anamimnēskō*, remember, is a little more frequent than the noun, and always stands for *zāḵar* where there is a Heb. equivalent (Gen. 8:1; 41:9; Exod. 23:13; Num. 5:15; 10:9; 2 Sam. 18:18; 20:24; 1 Ki. 4:3; 17:18; 2 Ki. 18:18, 37;

Neh. 9:17; Job 24:20; Ps. 109[108]:14; Jer. 4:16; Ezek. 21:28 f. |24 f.|; 23:19; 29:16; 33: 13, 16). There is no corresponding Heb. in 1 Ki. 3:1; Sir. 3:15; 4 Macc. 16:18. *C. Brown*

NT 1. Altogether 72% of all the passages in the NT reflect normal Gk. usage. They bear the following meanings:

(a) To remember, call to mind (20% of NT instances; 50% in profane Gk.). Thus, "Peter remembered [*emnēsthē*] the saying of Jesus, 'Before the cock crows, you will deny me three times.' And he went out and wept bitterly" (Matt. 26:75; here *mimnēskomai* is used as a reflexive vb., to remind oneself, i.e. to remember, with the object in the gen.). In the par. passages the other synoptic evangelists use different cognates: "Peter remembered [*anemnēsthē*]" (Mk. 14:72; the passive of *anamimnēskō*, remind); "Peter remembered [*hypemnēsthē*]" (Lk. 22:61; the passive of *hypomimnēskō*, remind). Similarly, Matt. 16:9: "Do you not yet perceive? Do you not remember [*mnēmoneuete*] the five loaves of the five thousand, and how many baskets you gathered?" (cf. par. Mk. 8:18). 2 Pet. 1:15 uses a verbal phrase: "And I will see to it that after my departure you may be able at any time to recall these things [*tēn toutōn mnēmēn poieisthai*]." In 2 Tim. 1:6 the vb. *anamimnēskō* means to remind, and governs the acc. of the person and the infinitive: "Hence I remind you to rekindle the gift of God that is within you through the laying on of my hands." This basic secular sense is used in all these passages to draw theological lessons. Peter's memory of Jesus' warning about his denial underlines the folly of self-confidence, the loving way in which Jesus handled Peter, and the part of remorse in repentance and restoration. In the case of Matt. 16:9 par. Mk. 8:18, memory of Jesus' past actions should have sustained the disciples' faith in present difficulties. And in the other two passages cited, remembering plays an important part in sustaining the life of faith.

(b) To consider (6.5% of the NT instances; 5% in profane Gk.). "Remember [*mnēmoneuete*] Lot's wife" (Lk. 17:32; cf. Gen. 19:26; Wis. 10:6 ff.; 2 Pet. 2:7 f.; SB III 769 ff.). The object is in the gen. The example of Lot's wife in refusing to give herself totally to escaping the → judgment on Sodom and Gomorrah served as a warning to be considered in both Jewish and Christian teaching. In Heb. 10:32 the object is in the acc.: "But recall [*anamnēskesthe*] the former days when, after you were enlightened, you endured a hard struggle with sufferings." The allusion is uncertain, but Heb. 12:4 suggests a persecution which had stopped short at martyrdom. This could have been the expulsion of Jews from Rome in A.D. 49, when rioting among the Jewish colony may have been caused by the introduction of Christianity (cf. Suetonius, *Claudius* 24, 4; Acts 18:2; F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, *NLC*, 1964, 266–70; and "Christianity under Claudius", *BJRL* 44, 1961–62, 309 ff.). In Lk. 16:25 *mnēsthēti* is followed by a dependent clause: "But Abraham said, 'Son, remember that you in your lifetime received your good things, and Lazarus in like manner evil things; but now he is comforted here, and you are in anguish" (on the parable see especially J. D. M. Derrett, "Dives and Lazarus and the Preceding Sayings", in *Law in the New Testament*, 1970, 78–99). Here again, remembering in the form of considering, plays – or should play – an important part in the conduct of life.

(c) To remember for good, to remember in a way which will benefit the person concerned in some way or other (14.5% of the NT instances; 10% in profane Gk.).

Here the passages are either OT quotations or have strong OT overtones. Mary's psalm *The Magnificat* recalls: "He has helped his servant Israel, in remembrance of his mercy [*mnēsthēnai eleous*]" (Lk. 1:54; cf. Ps. Sol. 10:4; → Mercy). Zechariah's psalm blesses God for fulfilling his promises "to perform the mercy promised to our fathers, and to remember [*mnēsthēnai*] his holy covenant" (Lk. 1:72; cf. Exod. 2:24; 6:5; Pss. 105[104]:8; 106[105]:7. 45). Heb. 8:12 also operates within the theology of the → covenant, taking up the promise of Jer. 31:34: "For I will be merciful toward their iniquities, and I will remember [*mnēsthō*] their sins no more." The same passage is again cited in Heb. 10:17. The plea of the penitent thief means in effect, "Save me!": "Jesus, remember me [*mnēstheti mou*] when you come in your kingly power" (Lk. 23:42; → Paradise). Gal. 2:10 refers to the eagerness of James, Peter and John, in extending the right hand of fellowship to Paul and Barnabas in their mission to the Gentiles, to "have us remember the poor [*tōn ptōchōn hina mnēmoneuōmen*], which very thing I was eager to do" (Gal. 2:10). On this aspect of the Christian mission → Poor, art. *ptōchos*. Rev. 18:5 expresses the converse aspect of this kind of remembering in the oracles against → Babylon: "for her sins are heaped high as heaven, and God has remembered [*emnēmoneusen*] her inquities."

(d) To be mindful of (26% of the NT instances; 10% in profane Gk.). In most of these cases the translation "to remember" would be too weak. Rather, the remembering is seen as a positive force which affects one's behaviour (cf. 1 Esd. 4:22 LXX). Thus Heb. 11:15 might be paraphrased: "If their hearts had still been [*mnēmoneuousin*] in that land from which they had gone out, they would have had opportunity to return." The allusion is to the departure of → Abraham from Ur and his sojourning in the land with his dependants prior to the settlement of Israel in the promised land (Gen. 11:31 ff.). 2 Pet. was written expressly "that you should remember [*mnēsthēnai*] the predictions of the holy prophets and the commandment of the Lord and Saviour through the apostles" (2 Pet. 3:2). O. Michel claims that this "is not meant in a historicizing or intellectual sense .... To remind the congregation is to bear witness to the Gospel; to remind oneself is to place oneself under the Word of Jesus. Here, too, the whole man is embraced" (*TDNT* IV 678). Similarly Timothy is exhorted: "Remind them of this [*tauta hypomimnēske*], and charge them before the Lord to avoid disputing about words, which does no good, but only ruins the hearers" (2 Tim. 2:14). In 1 Cor. 11:2 *hoti memnēsthe* means *"that you have regard for* me to such an extent that [epexegetical *kai*] you maintain the tradition even as I delivered it to you." In 2 Tim. 1:5 *hypomnēsin labōn* conveys the force of "having become convinced". According to 1 Cor. 4:17, Timothy has been sent to the Corinthians "to remind [*hos anamnēsei*] you of my ways in Christ, as I teach them everywhere in every church." For similar meanings which go beyond the merely intellectual exercise of bringing the past to mind, see 2 Pet. 1:12 f.; Jude 5, 17; 2 Pet. 3:1; Acts 11:16; Heb. 13:3.

(e) To mention (5% of the NT instances; 25% in profane Gk.). This may be the sense in 2 Cor. 7:15, although the context implies that what Titus is doing here is not something casual: "And his heart goes out all the more to you, as he remembers [*anamimnēskomenou*] the obedience of you all, and the fear and trembling with which you received him." *hypomnēsō* in 3 Jn. 10 means "I will bring up", i.e. the elder will raise the question of the actions of Diotrephes before the church council. In the vision of Rev. 16:19 great → Babylon "was remembered before God [*emnēsthe*

enōpion tou theou], i.e. arraigned before God, her condemnation being expressed by the infinitive clause "to make her drain the cup of the fury of his wrath" (cf. Rev. 18:5 see above (c); Ps. 109[108]:14).

2. The specifically biblical usage occurs only in 28% of the NT passages.

(a) To mention in prayer, to remember in → prayer. The two phrases *mneian poioumenoi* "mentioning" and *mnēmoneuontes* "remembering" in 1 Thess. 1:2 f. both mean to intercede. In Acts 10:4 Cornelius the centurion is told by an angel of God, "Your prayers and your alms have ascended as a memorial before God [*anebēsan eis mnēmosynon emprosthen tou theou*]." E. Haenchen thinks that the meaning here is simply that the prayers and alms are remembered before God, and that the connexion with the burnt part of the meal offering is too remote to see any association (*The Acts of the Apostles*, 1971, 347; cf. OT 5 above). On the other hand, F. F. Bruce sees in the use of *mnēmosynon* a "sacrificial efficacy" in Cornelius's conduct (*The Acts of the Apostles*, 1952², 216; cf. Ps. 111[110]:2; Phil. 4:18; Heb. 13:15 f.; Tob. 12:12). In Acts 10:31 *emnesthēsan* ("have been remembered") is substituted in the case of the alms, and the prayer is simply said to have been heard. The passage may be compared with the prayer of the righteous for vengeance in Eth. Enoch 47:1 f.

(b) To proclaim. "Therefore I intend always to remind [*hypomimnēskein*] you of these things, though you know them and are established in the truth that you have [*en tē parousē alētheia*]. I think it right, as long as I am in this body, to arouse you by way of reminder [*en hypomnēsei*]" (2 Pet. 1:12 f.). Here the reminding is understood in terms of presenting again the known truth of the gospel. According to Jn. 14:26, such reminding is the work of the Holy Spirit as the paraclete: "But the Counselor [*paraklētos*], the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, he will teach you all things, and bring to your remembrance [*kai hypomnēsei hymas*] all that I have said to you" (→ Advocate). As Christ's hearers bring to mind the message which they have heard from him and which therefore in some measure remains within them, the Holy Spirit enables them to proclaim the Lordship of Christ in ways which are relevant to each succeeding generation. There are overtones of this sense of proclamation in 1 Cor. 4:17 (see above (d)). There is a sense in which Paul himself is being proclaimed to the Corinthians, for the apostle is part and parcel of the eschatological event (cf. R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, I, 1952, 303 ff.).

Similarly, the woman who anointed Jesus becomes part of the NT proclamation: "And truly, I say to you, wherever the gospel is preached in the whole world, what she has done will be told in memory of her [*eis mnēmosynon autēs*]" (Mk. 14:9; cf. Matt. 26:13). J. Jeremias has argued that the verse refers not to the church's mission in the world but to the last judgment, where the woman will be remembered by God ("Mc. 14, 9", *ZNW* 44, 1952–53, 103–7). J. H. Greenlee takes it to mean that the action served as her memorial to Jesus in view of his impending death ("*eis mnēmosynon autēs*, 'For her memorial', Mt. xxvi. 13; Mk. xiv. 9", *ExpT* 71, 1959–60, 245). For further discussion see A. L. Moore, *The Parousia in the New Testament, Supplements to NovT* 13, 1966; and W. L. Lane, *The Gospel of Mark*, *NLC* 1974, 494 f. Lane draws attention to Ps. 41(40):2, where the one who protects the poor is assured of the blessing of Yahweh. The disciples might at first sight appear to be well qualified for this benediction in view of their suggestion about selling

the ointment and using the proceeds for the poor. "It is the woman, however, who receives Jesus' praise for her response to the poor man above all others who is about to suffer for the people of God" (Lane, op. cit., 494). Jesus' pronouncement in v. 8, that "She has done what she could; she has anointed my body beforehand for burying", indicates that Jesus anticipated that he would suffer a criminal's death, for only in such circumstances would there be no anointing of the body (D. Daube, "The Anointing at Bethany and Jesus' Burial", *Anglican Theological Review* 32, 1950, 187 f.). V. 9 looks beyond the crucifixion to the post-resurrection church situation of the → proclamation of the → gospel.

Exhortation in the form of *anamnēsis* or *hypomnēsis* is a marked feature of the Christian message: "Hence I remind [*anamimnēskō*] you to rekindle the gift of God that is within you through the laying on of my hands" (2 Tim. 1:6; → Gift; → Hand, art. *epitithēmi*); "Remind [*hypomimnēske*] them to be submissive to rulers and authorities, to be obedient, to be ready for any honest work" (Tit. 3:1).

(c) To believe. "Remember Jesus Christ [*mnēmoneue Iēsoun Christon*], risen from the dead, descended from David, as preached in my gospel" (2 Tim. 2:8). What is to be remembered is a short credal statement (→ Confess; → Proclamation). It may be compared with the somewhat longer form in Rom 1:3 f., where the order is chronological. Stress is laid on the fact that these truths are integral to the apostolic gospel. See further J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, 1972[3], 1–29; V. H. Neufeld, *The Earliest Christian Confessions, New Testament Tools and Studies* 5, 1963; O. Cullmann, *The Earliest Christian Confessions*, 1949; E. Stauffer, *New Testament Theology*, 1955, 244–48.

(d) To confess. Referring to the sacrifices under the old covenant, Heb. 10:3 declares: "But in these sacrifices there is a reminder of sin [*anamnēsis hamartiōn*] year after year." Here the allusion may well be to the Day of Atonement ritual (Lev. 16), which involved public acknowledgment of sins committed in the past year (cf. J. A. Bengel, *Gnomon of the New Testament*, IV, 1866[6], 4219 ff.; F. F. Bruce, op. cit., 228 f., who draws attention to Num. 5:15, where the ordeal of jealousy involves "a meal-offering of memorial, bringing iniquity to remembrance", and Jub. 34:19, where the Day of Atonement is the anniversary of the day on which Joseph was sold by his brothers, and "has been ordained that they should grieve for all their sins, and for all their errors, so that they might cleanse themselves on that day once a year"). As the OT sacrifices cannot remove sin, their effect is to expose it, so that he who brings an offering for sin year by year, is thereby confessing that he is, and remains, a sinner (cf. K. H. Bartels, *Gedächtnis*, 26 and notes 209 f.).

3. The only other NT instances of *anamnēsis* occur in the Pauline and Lucan accounts of the Last Supper (→ Lord's Supper): "and when he had given thanks, he broke it, and said, 'This is my body which is for you. Do this in remembrance of me [*touto poieite eis tēn emēn anamnēsin*].' In the same way also the cup, after supper, saying, 'This cup is the new covenant in my blood. Do this, as often as you drink it, in remembrance of me [*touto poieite, hosakis ean pinēte, eis tēn emēn anamnēsin*]' " (1 Cor. 11:24 f.); "And he took bread, and when he had given thanks he broke it and gave it to them, saying, 'This is my body which is given for you. Do this in remembrance of me [*touto poiete eis tēn emēn anamnēsin*]' " (Lk. 22:19 RSV mg.; for discussion of the textual variants in Lk. see Metzger, 173–77).

Traditionally, these words have been generally understood to mean that the Lord's

Supper was Jesus' appointed means of being present in the hearts and minds of the community of the church. At one end of the scale, there was the Zwinglian interpretation which saw the Lord's Supper as a kind of *aide mémoire*, a stimulus to the act of mental recollection of Jesus' atoning death. Whether this does full justice to Zwingli himself is open to question (cf. Zwingli *On the Lord's Supper*, 1526, in G. W. Bromiley, ed., *Zwingli and Bulinger, Library of Christian Classics* XXIV, 1953, 176–238). Zwingli believed that the physical body of Christ was risen, ascended, and seated at the right hand of the Father, and therefore could not be present in the Lord's Supper. Moreover, he held that it is the Spirit that gives life (Jn. 6:63), and therefore the access that we have to Christ in remembering him is through the Spirit. At the other end of the scale is the Catholic interpretation which speaks of the real presence of Christ in the eucharist, involving the doctrine of transubstantiation in which the substance of the bread and the wine is changed into the substance of the body and blood of Christ, though the accidents (i.e. the outward appearances) remain. It was defined *de fide* by the Lateran Council of 1215 (cap. 1), received classical formulation by Thomas Aquinas (*Summa Theologiae* 3a, QQ. 75–77), and reaffirmed by the Council of Trent (Session 13, 1551, cap. 4). This was also closely linked with the doctrine of eucharistic sacrifice, in which the eucharist was seen as the means of making present to the church the atoning death of Christ. More recently Catholic theologians have attempted to restate the doctrine of the eucharist. Thus Gregory Dix saw the essence of the early church's understanding of the eucharist as "the recalling before God of the one sacrifice of Christ in all its accomplished and effectual fulness so that it is here and now operative by its effects in the souls of the redeemed" (*The Shape of the Liturgy*, 1945, 243). The Protestant writer, Max Thurian, who is a member of the Taizé community, takes the words *eis tēn emēn anamnēsin* to mean: " 'with a view to my memorial, in memorial of me, as the memorial of me.' This memorial is not a simple subjective act of recollection, it is a liturgical action. But it is not just a liturgical action which makes the Lord present, it is a liturgical action which recalls as a memorial before the Father the unique sacrifice of the Son, and this makes Him present in His memorial, in the presentation of His sacrifice before the Father and in His intercession as heavenly High Priest. The eucharistic memorial is a recalling to us, a recalling by us to the Father and a recalling of the Son to the Father for us. Hence the eucharistic memorial is a proclamation by the Church; it is a thanksgiving and intercession of Christ for the Church" (*The Eucharistic Memorial*, II, *The New Testament, Ecumenical Studies in Worship* 8, 1961, 35 f.).

A somewhat different line of approach, which nevertheless sees these words of Jesus as having a God-ward reference, is taken by J. Jeremias in *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, 1966, 249–55. Jeremias takes the phrase to mean: "that God may remember me." He claims that in such passages as Mk. 14:9 (par. Matt. 26:13), Acts 10:4 and in the OT and Palestinian memorial formulae, it is almost always God who remembers (op. cit., 251 f.; cf. 246–49). He also cites the Passover Haggadah prayer which may in essence go back to the time of Jesus: "Our God and God of our fathers, may there arise, and come, and come unto, be seen, accepted, heard, recollected and remembered, the remembrance of us and the recollection of us, and the remembrance of our fathers, and the *remembrance of the Messiah, son of David, thy servant (zikrôn māšîaḥ ben Dāwiḏ 'aḇdekā)*, and the remembrance of Jerusalem

thy holy city, and the remembrance of all thy people, the house of Israel. May their remembrance come before thee, for rescue, goodness ..." (op. cit., 252). In other words, Jeremias contends that the command for repetition may be understood as " 'This do, that God may remember me'; *God remembers the Messiah in that he causes the kingdom to break in by the parousia"* (ibid.). Paul's explanation in v. 26 ("For as often as you eat this bread and drink the cup, you proclaim the Lord's death until he comes") is taken by Jeremias to mean: *"As often as the death of the Lord is proclaimed at the Lord's supper, and the maranatha rises upwards, God is reminded of the unfulfilled climax of the work of salvation* 'until (the goal is reached, that) he comes' " (op. cit., 253; → Present, art. *maranatha*).

It should be observed that Jeremias is making a point which is rather different from the older Catholic interpretations and even that of Thurian. There is nothing in his argument which suggests a doctrine of the real presence of Christ or a eucharistic sacrifice which either repeats or extends that of Christ on the cross. Its emphasis is eschatological. The Lord's Supper would thus be an enacted prayer comparable with Ps. 132(131):1: "Lord, remember David [*mnēsthēti, kyrie, Dauid*]." It might also be compared with the vision of the fifth seal in Rev. 6:9 f., where the souls of the martyrs under the altar "cried out with a loud voice, 'O Sovereign Lord, holy and true, how long before thou wilt judge and avenge our blood on those who dwell upon the earth?' " Jeremias sees this interpretation as essentially Jewish and Palestinian in outlook, making it "very probable that the command goes back to Jesus himself" (op. cit., 255).

However, Jeremias's view has not been universally endorsed. Although he can point to Did. 10:5 f. for supporting testimony to prayer in the early church for the eschatological remembrance of God and to the OT for the idea of God remembering, his view does not rule out other interpretations. *touto poieite* ("This do") may be regarded as a summary of the procedure to be followed by participants in the Lord's Supper. They are to act as Jesus did, when instituting the Supper on the eve of his passion, according to the Synoptic account. All the words and actions are intended to be *eis tēn emēn anamnēsin.* Comparison with the passages discussed in OT 2 (d) and with Heb. 10:3 suggests that this command to repeat the words and actions may be paraphrased as follows: "Do this, by eating the bread and drinking the cup (i.e. by participating in my life and death), by the preaching of the word (1 Cor. 11:26) and the singing of praise." The word *anamnēsis* covers all these ideas. For a detailed analysis see Bartels, *Gedächtnis*, 27–42 and notes 212–334, where the most important literature on the subject is also discussed (→ further Body; → Blood; → Fellowship; → Song; cf. Mk. 14:26).

In the early church liturgies of the Lord's Supper, which give a fuller interpretation of the words of institution, the *anamnēsis* is expanded into a credal statement which is sometimes quite extensive. Evidence of this is found as early as Justin Martyr (*Dial.* 70, 4) and in the so-called Church Order of Hippolytus (cf. Bartels, *Gedächtnis*, 42–49 and notes 336–39). Accordingly in the ancient church it was the legal duty of baptized church members to participate in the Lord's Supper (*Apostolic Constitutions* 8, 47, 9), such participation being forbidden to all who were not full members (*Apostolic Constitutions* 12, 1 f.).

4. The original meanings of the *mimnēskō* word-group were entirely non-religious, ranging from sexual desire to the heights of philosophy. However, as a result of their

adoption into the Gk. scriptures as renderings of Heb. and ancient eastern equivalents, the Gk. words underwent a significant expansion of meaning, particularly along the lines of public worship (Schottroff, op. cit., passim). In this matter the NT followed implicitly in the footsteps of the OT, largely defying common Gk. usage.

What makes this so significant is the fact that the Gk. of the NT possesses so many other words relating to public worship, and yet this, the *mnē-* group, is introduced into early Christian vocabulary for use in this special area, with the result that what has been an altogether peripheral meaning in profane Gk. now becomes central. This is a sure sign that existing NT words were felt to be inadequate. In both OT and NT, the public worship of God (including sacrifice) belongs to the sphere of the historical. God's revelation, unlike the nature religions, does not follow the birth-and-death cycles of nature; it is no automatically unfolding process as in the mystery religions or in gnosticism. Rather, it occurs within the course of history (although not confined to history, cf. R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, I, 1952, 25 f.) stretching from yesterday, through today, and on into the future, from Sinai to Calvary, from the OT covenant people to the church of Christ, then on to us and eventually to the end of the age and God's eternal kingdom. Hence, all the church's worship is and always has been historical, verbal and personal, rather than nature-orientated, mystical or dramatic. This is true of the preaching of the word, which aims to give outward expression to something which has happened in the past, by removing it from the wrappings of memory or of oral or written tradition and so recalling it to men's minds. The same applies also to the Lord's Supper, instituted at a precise time and place to be a "remembrance" of Christ throughout a definite period in the church's history, namely, "till he come" (1 Cor. 11:26). The Supper has its roots in the historical event of Christ's passion, so, as in the case of preaching, each time it takes place it is "in remembrance of" Jesus Christ. We give outward, visual expression to what we inwardly remember in order once again to "feed on him in our hearts by faith".

God's "remembrance" of his people (expressed in preaching) dovetails with his people's "remembrance" of him in praise and testimony. Within the context of revelation, God's remembrance is expressed verbally, i.e. it is addressed to men's minds and is personal, but it is not therefore mere words. "God's remembering is thus an efficacious and creative event" (O. Michel, *TDNT* IV 675). It can bring → blessing (Gen. 30:22) or → judgment (Rev. 16:19). Man's response is similarly "remembrance", expressed not only verbally in the ordinance of public worship, but in a manner which involves the whole person as only eating and drinking can do, i.e. in the Lord's Supper; and, over and above all this, expressed tangibly in collecting money for the poor (Gal. 2:10). Hence, words of the *mnē-* group cover a concept which is fundamental to the Bible and which embraces the whole of divine and human life: the "Word" of revelation and the "response" of faith.

5. Finally, the instances in the NT of the following nouns may be noted: *mneia*, remembrance (1 Thess. 3:6; 2 Tim. 1:3), mention, in the NT only in prayer (Rom. 1:9; Eph. 1:16; 1 Thess. 1:2; Phil. 1:3; Phlm. 4); *mnēma*, lit. a sign of remembrance, especially for the dead, and thus a grave or tomb (Mk. 5:3 par. Lk. 8:27; Mk. 15:46 par. Lk. 23:53; Mk. 16:2 par. Lk. 24:1; Acts 2:29; Rev. 11:9); *mnēmeion*, lit. a token of remembrance, especially for the dead, and hence a monument or memorial

(probably Lk. 11:47) and a grave or tomb (Matt. 8:28 par. Mk. 5:2; Matt. 23:29 par. Lk. 11:47; Matt. 27:52 f., 60 par. Mk. 15:46, Jn. 19:41 f.; Matt. 28:8 par. Mk. 16:8; Mk. 6:29; 16:2 f., 5; Lk. 11:44; 23:55; 24:2, 9, 12 *v. l.*, 22, 24; Jn. 5:28; 11:17, 31, 38; 12:17; 20:1–4, 6, 8, 11; Acts 13:29). *hypomnēsis* (2 Tim. 1:5; 2 Pet. 1:13; 3:1) is virtually identical in meaning with *anamnēsis* in the act. sense. For further discussion → Bury; → Lord's Supper, → Proclamation; → Resurrection *K. H. Bartels*

(a). J. Behm, *anamnēsis* etc., *TDNT* I 348 f.; E. P. Blair, "An Appeal to Remembrance: The Memory Motif in Deuteronomy", *Interpretation* 51, 1961, 41 ff.; B. S. Childs, *Memory and Tradition in Israel, SBT* 37, 1962; G. Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 1945; J. Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, 1966²; D. Gregg, *Anamnesis in the Eucharist*, 1976; D. Jones, *"anamnēsis* in the Septuagint and the Interpretation of 1 Cor. xi. 25", *JTS* New Series 6, 1955, 183 ff.; E. Käsemann, "The Pauline Doctrine of the Lord's Supper", *Essays on New Testament Themes*, 1964, 108–35; A. Oepke and R. Meyer, *kryptō* etc., *TDNT* III 957–1000; O. Michel, *mimnēskomai* etc., *TDNT* IV 675–83; M. Noth, "The 'Representation' of the O.T. in Proclamation", in C. Westermann, ed., *Essays on Old Testament Interpretation*, 1963, 76–88; J. J. Petuchowski, " 'Do this in Remembrance of Me' (1 Cor. 11:24)", *JBL* 76, 1957, 293 ff.; M. Thurian, *The Eucharistic Memorial*, I *The Old Testament*, II *The New Testament, Ecumenical Studies in Worship* 7 and 8, 1961.
(b). K. H. Bartels, *Dies tut zu meinem Gedächtnis. Zur Auslegung von 1 Kor. 11, 24, 25* (Dissertation, Mainz, with extensive bibliography), 1959; and "Der theoretische Quellort der 'Sammlung' und ihre Parole 'Katholische Reformation' ", *EvTh* 20, 1960, 364 ff.; J. Begrich, "*sôpēr* und *mazkîr*" *ZAW* Neue Folge 17, 1940–41, 1 ff.; P. A. H. de Boer, *Gedenken und Gedächtnis in der Welt des Alten Testaments*, 1962; P. Bonnard, "Die Anamnesis, eine grundlegende Struktur des Urchristentums", in *Zeichen der Zeit*, 1971, 81–88; P. Brunner, "Zur Lehre vom Gottesdienst", *Leiturgia* 1, 1954, 84 ff.; N. A. Dahl, "Anamnesis: Mémoire et Commemoration du Christianisme primitif", *StTh* 1, 1947, 69–95; O. Haggenmüller, "Erinnern und Vergessen Gottes und der Menschen", *Bibel und Leben* 3, 1962, 1 ff.; J. Jeremias, "Mk. 14, 9", *ZNW* 44, 1952–53, 103 ff.; P. Neuenzeit, *Das Herrenmahl. Studien zur paulinischen Eucharistieauffassung*, 1960; H. Graf Reventlow, "Das Amt des *mazkîr*", *ThZ* Basel 15, 1959, 161 ff.; G. Schmidt, *"MNESTHETI"*, in *Viva Vox Evangelii*, Festschrift W. Meiser, 1951, 259 ff.; W. Schottroff, *"Gedenken" im Alten Orient und im Alten Testament, Wissenschaftliche Monographien* 15, 1964; and *zākar*, *THAT* I 507–18.

Remnant, Leave

λεῖμμα

λείπω (*leipō*), leave, leave behind, lack; λοιπός (*loipos*), remaining, other; λεῖμμα (*leimma*), remnant; καταλείπω (*kataleipō*), leave, leave behind, leave over; κατάλειμμα (*kataleimma*), remnant; ὑπόλειμμα (*hypoleimma*), remnant.

CL The basic Gk. vb. *leipō* (found as early as Mycenaean Gk., related to Lat. *linquere*, Eng. *leave*) means to leave, leave behind, leave over. As an intrans. active, it can assume the meaning of to be lacking (e.g. *soi polla leipei*, you lack much). There are various compound derivatives: *kataleipō*, to leave behind, leave remaining; *hypoleipō*, to leave remaining; *perileipomai*, to survive (all these are found in Homer, e.g. *Il.* 10, 238; *Od.* 16, 50; *Il.* 19, 230); and *dialeipō*, to cease (Xenophon, *Apology* 16). Later derivatives are the adjectives *loipos*, remaining (Pindar); and *kataloipos*, left over (Plato). The rare noun *leimma*, remnant, residue, occurs from Hdt. onwards; the LXX has also *kataleimma*, with the same meaning. Neither the vbs. nor the nouns acquired in Gk. any special nuance or religious meaning, apart from the general meaning of to leave, leave remaining, remnant, residue (of persons and

things). This is true even in the writings of Josephus who, instead of the nouns, generally used *to leipsanon*, the remainder (cf. Eur. *Medea* 1387; Josephus, *Ant.* 11, 213; *War* 4, 414).

OT 1. In the LXX *leipō* and its derivatives are used in most cases for the following Heb. verbs and their derivatives: (a) *šā'ar* (niphal, to be left remaining; hiphil, to leave remaining; some 200 times in the MT); (b) *'āzaḇ*, to forsake (niphal, to be forsaken; some 200 times); *pālaṭ*, to escape (22 times in piel meaning to save); (e) *śāraḏ*, to run away (once only, Jos. 10:20; the derivative *śārîḏ*, survivor, occurs however 28 times).

The noun *leimma* is found only once (2 Ki. 19:4, for *šᵉ'ērîṯ*, remnant); the vb. *leipō* in all 8 times (3 times for 3 different Heb. verbs, 4 times in the Apocrypha, and at Prov. 11:3 giving a different sense from that of the MT); but the adj. *loipos* more than 120 times (mostly for *yeṯer*, remnant, and 10 times for *šᵉ'ār* or *šᵉ'ērîṯ*, remnant). Most frequent of all, however, with nearly 300 instances, is *kataleipō*, chiefly for *šā'ar*, to be left remaining, to leave remaining; *'āzaḇ*, to forsake; and *yāṯar*, to be left remaining, to leave remaining. The adj. *kataloipos* (over 90 times) is used in most cases for *šᵉ'ār* or *yeṯer*, remnant; the noun *kataleimma* (21 times) usually for *šᵉ'ār* or *šᵉ'ērîṯ*, remnant, but also twice for *śārîḏ*, escapee. *hypoleipō* (c. 90 times) is likewise used for *šā'ar*, *yāṯar* and other Heb. vbs. Less frequent is the noun *hypoleimma*, remnant, which occurs 9 times in all, rendering in 6 instances derivatives of *šā'ar* and once *śārîḏ*, survivor. *perileipō* and *periloipos* translate derivates of *šā'ar* and *yāṯar*. Differences of meaning between the various compounds of *leipō* used to translate Heb. words are especially marked in the case of *dialeipō*, to cease (10 times for various Heb. vbs.), and *ekleipō*, to cease, come to an end (over 150 instances), neither of which are ever used for *šā'ar* or *yāṯar*.

2. In the general sense most of these vbs. are used of things to describe total destruction with nothing remaining (e.g. Exod. 10:15, where the locusts leave nothing remaining; Exod. 10:19, the locusts are not left remaining, i.e. they are totally removed), or to refer to a remnant which survives (e.g. Isa. 10:19, where the remnant of the forest trees can be counted by a child; Isa. 44:17, 19, where the rest of a tree is fashioned into an idol).

(a) Important uses of the words are the concepts of the remnant in the case of the noun, and to leave remaining in the case of the vb., in the context of the holy → war. Here it is a matter of the total annihilation of peoples or specific groups (Og of Bashan, Num. 21:35; the inhabitants of Ai, Jos. 8:12 ff., or the leaving of survivors after a campaign, a few Anakim in Gaza, Gath and Ashdod, Jos. 11:12).

The terms "remnant" and "survive" can be used to describe the activity of Yahweh in preserving what he has created. Thus in the flood story (10th century B.C.) we find the words: "Only Noah was left [MT *wayyiššā'er;* LXX *kai kateleiphthē*], and those that were with him in the ark" (Gen. 7:23; → Noah).

(b) The military use of the word *šā'ar* is combined with the preserving activity of Yahweh towards the end of the 9th century B.C., in the promise of Yahweh to → Elijah (1 Ki. 19:18) at a time when Israel was threatened from within by apostasy and outwardly by the Syrian Hazael: "Yet I will leave [MT *wᵉhiš'arti*; LXX *kai kataleipseis*] seven thousand in Israel, all the knees that have not bowed to Baal, and every mouth that has not kissed him."

3. (a) The first suggestions of the idea of a remnant of Israel are found in the early prophets. Thus in Amos 5:14 f. we can see the "vague hope of a remnant as yet unspecified" (S. Herrmann, *Die prophetischen Heilserwartungen im Alten Testament*, 1965, 124 f.), when the prophet says that "it may be" (!) that Yahweh will be gracious to "the remnant of Joseph". In Isaiah the military concept of a remnant is given a theological content. In the context of the prophet's exhortation to King Ahaz not to be afraid (cf. Isa. 30:15) and to trust in Yahweh, we find the name of the prophet's son Shear-jashub (*šᵉ'ār yāšûḇ*, "A remnant shall return" (Isa. 7:3). The object of the prophet's exhortation is to save the people from a catastrophe in which, while the people of God will not be totally destroyed, only a remnant will survive. Here the concept of the remnant serves to underline and confirm the dreadfulness of the catastrophe. Those who cannot muster up confidence in Yahweh become a worthless residue (cf. Isa. 30:15 ff.). Herrmann holds that "the concept of the remnant is peripheral to Isaiah's message" (op. cit., 130), but in Isaiah a "forerunner of the doctrine of the remnant" can be seen (U. Stegemann, "Der Restgedanke bei Jesaja", *BZ* Neue Folge 19, 1969, 186). Some scholars hold that the mention of a remnant in Isaiah led in the later, post-exilic period to the addition of various sayings (Isa. 6:13; 10:20 ff.; 11:11 ff.; 28:5 f.), which seek to tone down the prophet's message of → judgment by the thought of the remnant, and to place more emphasis on the remnant in the prophet's message generally.

(b) Even in the first half of the 6th century B.C., the time of the catastrophic downfall of the Southern Kingdom in 597 and 587 B.C., there is no mention of a remnant of Israel which could maintain the hope of a new beginning. Jeremiah threatens that Yahweh will let Judah be annihilated (Jer. 19:11). He compares those who have been left in the land under Zedekiah (*hanniš'ārîm bā'āreṣ*) to bad figs (24:8; → Fruit, art. *sykē*). The remnant of Judah under Gedaliah forfeits the possibility of remaining in the land, when Gedaliah is murdered by Ishmael (Jer. 40:11–15).

In Ezekiel, the concept of the remnant is either excluded (Ezek. 9:8; 11:13; 17:21), or used in an entirely different way. There is a remnant remaining in → Jerusalem after the judgments of Yahweh (war, famine, wild beasts, pestilence); but the only purpose is to bring home to the exiles a proof of the massive destruction of Jerusalem and its inhabitants (cf. W. Eichrodt, *Ezekiel: A Commentary*, 1970, 190 f. on Ezek. 14:22; cf. 12:16, where the survivors are to "confess all their abominations among the nations where they go", i.e. the self-condemnation of Israel).

For Jeremiah and Ezekiel alike, the true remnant is represented by the company of exiles, i.e. by those who have survived the catastrophe through deportation. They are the ones, according to Ezekiel, to whom God appears.

(c) A somewhat more optimistic attitude to the remnant is seen in Deuteronomy. Although at Deut. 28:62, like Lev. 26:36, the survivors are warned of calamity and fear in the land of their enemies, Deut. 4:27 ff. reminds those who remain of the mercy of Yahweh, should they repent. They are promised consolation in an unusually emphatic way.

(d) It was during the period of the exile that the concept of the remnant acquired a fixed theological content, viz. the hope of Yahweh's preserving and saving work. Behind this was the discovery that, although in the national catastrophe Yahweh had executed a terrible judgment, even this judgment was limited by Yahweh's will to

maintain and preserve his people. We have a witness to this hope in Isa. 46:3 f. when the prophet makes Yahweh address the exiles as "the remnant of the house of Israel", whom he will "bear, carry and save" (Isa. 46:4). In these chapters we also find another, different thought: the concept of a remnant is applied to the "survivors of the nations" (Isa. 45:20) who, embarrassed as a result of their idolatry, take counsel before Yahweh.

(e) In the late exilic and post-exilic periods, i.e. in the second half of the 6th century B.C., when the → temple was rebuilt by the returned exiles, the concept of the remnant gained increasingly in importance. To this period belong probably the sayings of Mic. 2:12 f.; 5:7 f.; 7:18, and Zeph. 2:7, 9, where the recovery of the coastal strip is promised to the remnant of Judah (v. 7), or of the people generally (v. 9). In Obadiah (v. 17) we find, already during the exilic period, the concept of the remnant linked with the hope for → Jerusalem or Zion; and Zechariah announces the return of Yahweh to Zion, and awakes in the survivors the hope of the preservation of Jerusalem (8:3; 8:11 f., "a sowing of peace", i.e. secure tenure).

(f) In Joel 2:32 the concept of the remnant is still linked to Zion (cf. also Ezr. 9:8) at a still later date (4th or 3rd century B.C.). In the books of Ezra and Nehemiah (4th or 3rd century B.C.) the idea of the remnant is several times applied to the exiles who have returned (Ezr. 9:8; 9:15; Neh. 1:2 f.). After 300 B.C. the later parts of the book of Zechariah speak of a remnant which will be purified (Zech. 13:8 f.), and which will survive on the day when the nations assemble to fight against Jerusalem (14:2, linked with apocalyptic ideas about the day of Yahweh).

(g) A completely new kind of saying is found concerning the Philistines at Zech. 9:7: "it too shall be a remnant for our God; it shall be like a clan in Judah." Isa. 66:18 ff. (which could be as late as 160 B.C., cf. C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66: A Commentary*, 1969, 295–308, 423 f.) speaks of a mission of survivors to the nations – in the context of apocalyptic sayings, a line of thought which extends the idea of the remnant to the nations, and has its ultimate continuation in the NT!

4. (a) In the extra-canonical, apocalyptic writings, the remnant concept is only occasionally applied to the whole creation: "And now, my son, arise and make a petition to the Lord of glory, since thou art a believer, that a remnant may remain on the earth, and that He may not destroy the whole world" (Eth. Enoch 83:8). 2 Esd. 13:26 speaks of "a Man coming from the heart of the sea" through whom "the Most High" will deliver his creation "and the same shall order the survivors". Much more frequent are the remnant sayings which refer to → Israel or the synagogue: 2 Esd. 9:7 f. refers to "my salvation in my land, and within my borders" in connexion with those who have been saved (cf. 2 Esd. 12:34; 13:48; Eth. Enoch 90:30). According to Syr. Bar. 40:2, the messiah will "protect the rest of My people which shall be found in the place which I have chosen."

(b) The tying of the remnant concept to Israel led, in Palestinian Judaism, to the making of exclusive claims for particular groups, and consequently to an intensification. The Qumran community, for instance, saw in itself the holy remnant promised in the OT (CD 1:4), and enjoying God's assistance (1QM 13:8; 14:8 f.), while their enemies are utterly destroyed with none remaining (1QM 1:6; 4:2; 14:5; cf. also 1QS 4:1–5:13; CD 2:6). Likewise, the → Pharisees attempted, by voluntary submission to priestly ordinances regarding cleansing, to set themselves up as the holy remnant

(cf. J. Jeremias, "Der Gedanke des 'Heiligen Restes' im Spätjudentum und in der Verkündigung Jesu", in *Abba*, 1966, 122).

(c) In rabbinic Judaism the condition for belonging to the remnant was held to be observance of the Torah. "So . . . shall great deeds be done . . . (but only) for the remnant, who have not sinned" (Targum Isa. 10:22 f.). "Those who survive will return to Zion, and those who have kept the Torah will remain in Jerusalem" (Targum Isa. 4:3). Here the concept of the remnant is quite clearly associated with the keeping of the → law.

NT 1. In the NT the noun *leimma*, remnant, is found only once (Rom. 11:5), and the vb. *leipō* 6 times, with the meaning to lack, be in want of (Lk. 18:22; Tit. 1:5; 3:13; Jas. 1:4 f.; 2:15). The adj. *loipos*, remaining, other, which is used chiefly in the plur., the others, the rest, or adverbially, in other respects, is found altogether 55 times; occasionally with a critical undertone, when it refers to those who are hardened (Lk. 8:10; Rom. 11:7), who do not believe (Mk. 16:13; 1 Thess. 4:13), who act as hypocrites (Gal. 2:13), or who do not repent (Rev. 9:20).

As in the LXX, the most common compound is *kataleipō*, again with various meanings such as to leave (a region, Matt. 4:13; people, Matt. 19:5 par., Mk. 10:7; cf. Gen. 2:24; possessions, Lk. 5:28); to fall behind, neglect (Acts 6:2); to leave, leave behind (someone somewhere, e.g. Acts 18:19). The following appear once each: *kataloipoi*, rest (Acts 15:17 = Amos 9:12 LXX); *dialeipō*, to leave off, cease (Lk. 7:45); *hypoleipomai*, to be left remaining; and *hypoleimma*, remnant (Rom. 9:27 = citation of Isa. 10:22; in the TR *kataleimma*).

2. (a) In the NT, the OT remnant concept is taken up only in Rom. 9–11. Here Paul is dealing with the fact that the majority of Jews refuse to believe in Christ. Indeed, the central theme of Rom. is the question of the standing of the Jewish people in relation to the salvation that is in Christ alone. Chs. 1–8 deal with the ground of salvation showing that the OT anticipates the way of salvation in Christ. Chs. 9–11 deal with the position of the Jews as the chosen people in the light of their rejection of Christ and God's overall purposes. What attitude, then, should be adopted towards this fact by the early Christian church, composed as it is of both Gentile and Jewish Christians? Does this rejection of Christ mean that the → election of Israel no longer applies? Paul holds on to the special position of Israel among the nations. This special position, however, is based on God's free elective grace, *kat' eklogēn*, "according to election" (Rom. 9:11; 11:5), just as is the calling of the Gentiles into the community of the new people of God (9:24).

To show that the Gentiles are accepted as children of God, Paul cites Hos. 2:23 and 1:10 (Rom. 9:25 f.). This is followed immediately (9:27) by the warning of Isa. 10:22 f., which speaks of the decimation of Israel down to a remnant that repents; like the LXX, Paul does not say "A remnant will return", but "A remnant will be saved." To this he adds in v. 29 a citation of Isa. 1:9, where the LXX has already introduced a greater note of hope: for the Heb. *śārîḏ*, remnant, both LXX and Paul have *sperma*, lit. "seed", i.e. descendants. This combination of OT citations displays clearly the direction of Paul's reinterpretation of the remnant. In setting a reference to the remnant of Israel alongside the prophecy of the Gentiles' acceptance as the children of God, Paul is altering the status of the former. The remnant of OT prophecy merges into the new people of God, constituted on the basis of faith in

Christ. The remnant of Israel is not eliminated; but it stands alongside those Gentiles who are called to be members of God's new people. The remnant (Isa. 1:9 MT), or the descendants (Isa. 1:9 LXX), are those whom God has called, together with the Gentiles, into the church of Christ. In Rom. 11:3, 4, 5, the concept of the remnant is introduced by a reference back to Elijah's complaint on Mount Horeb (1 Ki. 19:10), and Yahweh's reply (1Ki. 19:18). This reference is used by Paul as evidence that God has not rejected Israel. The *leimma kat' eklogēn charitos*, remnant chosen by grace (→ Election, art. *haireomai*; → Grace, art. *charis*), is however based not on Israel's efforts, but on God's set purpose (Rom. 11:5); and it is characterized by faith in Christ. Paul's hope is that through this remnant, and through the Gentile Christians who with them form the church, the "fullness" (*plērōma*, Rom. 11:12 AV) of Israel can be won for Christ. Thus in the remnant of Israel, which confesses faith in Christ, there is a new beginning for all Israel. This remnant is a challenge to all the Jews.

God's gracious activity is directed towards all nations and towards the whole of Israel, with the aim of making them part of the new people of God. Paul takes up the concept of the remnant and weaves it into an elaborate argument in these chapters, where he appears as the spokesman of Israel. His purpose is not to take over into the Christian church the ideas about the remnant which were current in 1st century Judaism, and to suggest that the church is the holy remnant. Nor is he attacking the idea of the remnant. He is reinterpreting and developing it further, to show that the OT prophecy of the remnant is fulfilled in a community consisting of Jews and Gentiles.

(b) The adj. *loipos*, remaining, is twice used by Paul of those who mourn because they have no hope (1 Thess. 4:13), or who are asleep in the sense that they are not expecting the parousia (1 Thess. 5:6) (→ Present, art. *parousia*). In Rom. 1:13 it is used of other nations, or Gentiles, in contrast to those being addressed in the letter, and in Gal. 2:13 it refers to other Jewish Christians who joined Peter in acting hypocritically, in that at first they had fellowship at table with the Gentiles in Antioch, but later abandoned it out of fear.

Otherwise Paul uses the adj. without any specialized meaning, and in this he is not unlike other NT writers: other (the rest of the Gentiles, Rom. 1:13; the rest of the Jews, Gal. 2:13; and the rest of the churches, 2 Cor. 12:13; the other co-workers, Phil. 4:3; the other apostles, 1 Cor. 9:5, cf. Acts 2:37; cf. the other virgins, Matt. 25:11; the rest of the scriptures, 2 Pet. 3:16); the others (Rom. 11:7; 1 Cor. 7:12; Eph. 2:3; 1 Tim. 5:20; cf. Matt. 22:6, 27; Mk. 16:13; Lk. 8:10; 18:9, 11; 24:10; Acts 5:13; 16:30 D; 17:9; 27:44; Rev. 19:21; 20:5); all the others (2 Cor. 13:2; Phil. 1:13; cf. Lk. 24:9; Acts 28:9); the other things, the rest (1 Cor. 11:34; 15:37; cf. Mk. 4:19; Lk. 12:26; Rev. 3:2).

loipos is used adverbially in various expressions of time: *(to) loipon*, from now on, in the future, henceforth (1 Cor. 7:29; 2 Tim. 4:8; cf. Matt. 26:45; Mk. 14:41; Heb. 10:13); *loipon*, finally (Acts 27:20); *tou loipou*, from now on, in the future (Gal. 6:17), finally (Eph. 6:10). *(to) loipon* is also used adverbially in the sense of beyond that, as far as the rest is concerned, finally (1 Cor. 1:16; 2 Cor. 13:11; Phil. 3:1; 4:8; 1 Thess. 4:1; 2 Thess. 3:1); and in this connexion, then, furthermore (1 Cor. 4:2).

3. In the Synoptic Gospels the adj. is also occasionally used to describe those who are outside the rule of God. Thus in the parable of the royal wedding feast

(Matt. 22:1–13), *hoi loipoi*, the others, the rest, are those who mock and kill the servants sent by the king to invite them; and in Matt. 25:1–12 the "other [*loipai*] maidens " (v. 11) are those excluded from the wedding feast. Jesus' cry of dereliction from the cross (Matt. 27:46) is finally received by "the others [*hoi loipoi*]" with the words: "Wait, let us see whether Elijah will come and save him" (Matt. 27:49). In Lk. 8:10 the "others" are contrasted with the disciples. *loipoi* here means those who are outside the band of disciples and do not understand the meaning of the → parables, because they are → hardened (cf. also Rom. 11:7). The parable of the Pharisee and the publican (Lk. 18:9–14) is addressed to those who, in their own faithful observance of the law, despise others (*loipous*, v. 9). The expression "other men", used by the Pharisee, is here a judgment on those who do not keep the law (v. 11). Whether the polemic of the gospels against the → Pharisees (cf. Matt. 23, especially v. 13) is connected with their claim to be the remnant community (cf. J. Jeremias, op. cit., 129 f.), and whether the absence of reference to the remnant in the Gospels may be traced to this, is a question which cannot be answered with certainty. All that can be said is that neither the OT concept of the remnant, nor its narrower Judaistic counterpart, is to be found in the Gospels.

4. The vb. *leipō* is used in Lk. 18:22 of the decisive shortcoming which hinders the rich man from the life of discipleship, namely his riches: "One thing you lack [*eti hen soi leipei*], sell all that you have and distribute to the poor, and you will have treasure in heaven; and come, follow me" (→ Poor; → Possessions). In Jas. 1:4, 5 and 2:15 the vb. means to lack, have need of, in the literal sense. In Tit. 3:13 it has the sense of lack, and in Tit. 1:5 it is used of the defects which Titus is to amend in the church in Crete.

5. In the Revelation the adj. *loipos* is found 8 times; in two cases it has a meaning reminiscent of the remnant idea. In Rev. 11:13 we read of the "rest" who survive the judgment on the city unharmed, and give glory to God. Rev. 12:17 speaks of the war waged by the dragon on the "rest" of the offspring of the woman, "who keep the commandments of God and bear testimony to Jesus", and against whom in Rev. 13 both the beasts fight. Although we may see behind these sayings a wealth of Jewish apocalyptic material, the reference here is not to the remnant in the sense of a new beginning.

6. The place in early Christian theology for the concept of the remnant in its proper sense is in dealing with the relationship of the church to Israel. The return to an understanding of it in the sense of a kind of *ecclesiola in ecclesia*, a church within the church, is a repetition of the narrowing of the doctrine which took place in Jewish apocalyptic. It ignores two facts: firstly, that we are told that God's purpose for the remnant is his purpose for the whole people; and secondly, that in the confrontation between Israel and the message of Jesus Christ, the idea of a specially qualified remnant became modified and reinterpreted, finding in this message its ultimate fulfilment in an unexpected way (→ Redemption, art. *sōzō* NT; → Elect, art. *eklegomai*; → Take, art. *lambanō* NT). *W. Günther, H. Krienke*

→ Church, → Israel

(a). J. G. Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi*, *TC*, 1972; K. Barth, *CD* II, 2, 269–305; H. Berkhof, *Christ the Meaning of History*, 1966; J. C. Campbell, "God's People and the Remnant", *SJT* 3, 1950, 78–85; W. D. Davies, *The Gospel and the Land: Early Christianity and Jewish Territorial Doctrine*, 1974; W. Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, 1970; G. Fohrer, "The Stems *plṭ* and *mlṭ* in the Old Testament", in *sōzō*

etc., *TDNT* VI 978 ff.; L. Goppelt, *Jesus, Paul and Judaism*, 1964; H. Gross, "Remnant", *EBT* II 741 ff.; G. F. Hasel, "Linguistic Considerations Regarding the Translation of Isaiah's *Shear-Jashub*: A Reassessment", *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 9, 1971, 36–46; "Semantic Values of Derivatives of the Hebrew root *š'r*", ibid. 11, 1973, 152–69; *The Remnant: The History and Theology of the Remnant Idea from Genesis to Isaiah*, 1974²; and "Remnant", *IDB Supplementary Volume*, 1976, 735 f.; E. W. Heaton, "The Root *š'r* and the Doctrine of the Remnant", *JTS* New Series 3, 1952, 27–39; J. Jocz, *A Theology of Election: Israel and the Church*, 1958; R. Martin-Achard, *A Light to the Nations*, 1962; B. F. Meyer, "Jesus and the Remnant of Israel", *JBL* 84, 1965, 123–30; J. Morgenstern, "The Rest of Nations", *JSS* 2, 1957, 225–31; J. Munck, *Christ and Israel*, 1967; J. Murray, *The Epistle to the Romans, NLC*, II, 1965, 39 ff., 68 ff.; G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, II, 1965, 21 f., 165 ff., 187; P. Richardson, *Israel and the Apostolic Church, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series* 10, 1969; V. Herntrich and G. Schrenk, *leimma* etc. *TDNT* IV 194–214; C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 1969; R. N. Whybray, *Isaiah 40–66, New Century Bible*, 1975; E. J. Young, *The Book of Isaiah, The New International Commentary on The Old Testament*, I–III, 1965–72; W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*, I, *Hermeneia*, 1978.

(b). F. Dreyfus, "La Doctrine du Reste d'Israel chez le Prophète Isaie", *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques* 39, 1955, 361–86; S. Herrmann, *Die prophetischen Heilserwartungen im Alten Testament*, 1965; J. Jeremias, "Der Gedanke des 'Heiligen Restes' im Spätjudentum und in der Verkündigung Jesu", *ZNW* 42, 1949, 184 ff. (reprinted in *Abba*, 1966, 121–32); U. Luz, *Das Geschichtsverständnis des Paulus*, 1968, 80-83; P. Meinhold, *Studien zur israelitischen Religionsgeschichte*, I, *Der heilige Rest*, 1903; C. Müller, *Gottes Gerechtigkeit und Gottes Volk. Eine Untersuchung zu Röm. 9–11, FRLANT* 86, 1964; W. E. Müller and W. E. Preuss, *Die Vorstellung vom Rest im Alten Testament*, 1973; G. Schrenk, *Die Weissagung über Israel im Neuen Testament*, 1951; U. Stegemann, "Der Restgedanke bei Jesaja", *BZ* Neue Folge 19, 1969, 161–86; R. de Vaux, "Le 'Reste d'Israel' d'après les Prophètes", *RB* 42, 1933, 526–39; H. Wildberger, *š'ār*, *THAT* II 844–55.

Rest

ἀνάπαυσις

ἀναπαύω (*anapauō*), give rest, mid. rest, take one's rest; ἀνάπαυσις (*anapausis*), rest; ἐπαναπαύομαι (*epanapauomai*), rest, take one's rest, rely on; καταπαύω (*katapauō*), bring to rest, rest, stop, resting; κατάπαυσις (*katapausis*), rest, place of rest.

CL In cl. Gk. *anapauō* is used in its act. form for: (a) make to cease, bring to an end, stop or hinder from something (Homer, *Il.* 17, 550); (b) to rest (trans.), make to halt, refresh (Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 7, 1, 4). In mid. and pass. it means to cease, take rest from, recover, come to rest (Plato, *Critias* 106a); later also, to die. Thus the expression to take one's rest can be used of the dead (cf. *IG* 14, 1717). *katapauō* means to stop, put an end to; with reference to persons, to put an end to, hinder, depose, kill (Homer, *Il.* 16, 618; thus often with an unpleasant undertone); but also, to appease, calm (Homer, *Od.* 4, 583). In Judaism the term was taken up in the sense of to give someone a good rest (LXX). *anapausis* in cl. Gk. meant repose, relaxation, recreation, a rest from something.

OT 1. *Heb. equivalents.* The vb. *anapauō* is used in the LXX to translate no less than 14 different Heb. vbs. The most common of these is *nûaḥ*, rest, repose, be quiet, and in the trans. forms to lay down, let remain, leave. *nûaḥ* occurs in the following passages: Exod. 23:12; Deut. 5:14; 2 Sam. 7:11; 1 Ki. 5:18 (4); 13:20 A; 1 Chr. 22:9, 18; Neh. 9:28; Est. 9:16 ff., 22; Job 3:13, 17, 26; Prov. 21:16; 29:17; Eccl. 7:9 (10); Hab. 3:16; Zech. 6:8; Isa. 7:19; 11:2; 14:1, 3, 6; 32:18; Lam. 5:5; Dan. 12:13. *anapauō* stands for *bālaḡ*, look cheerful (Job 10:20); *yāšaḇ*, sit, remain, dwell (Mic.

4:4); *nāḥam*, comfort, console (Jer. 42[49]:10); *nāpaš*, be refreshed (Exod. 23:12); *rāḇaṣ*, lie down (Gen. 29:2; 49:14; Isa. 13:20 f.; 14:30; 27:10; Ezek. 34:14 f.); *rāgā'*, be at rest, repose (Deut. 28:65; Isa. 34:14; Jer. 47[29]:6); *rawaḥ*, be wide, spacious, find relief (Job 32:20); *šā'an*, be at ease, at peace, rest securely (Jer. 48[31]:11); *šāḇaṯ*, cease, desist, rest (Exod. 32:12; Isa. 14:4); *šaḵaḇ*, lie down (Num. 24:9); *šāḵan*, settle down, abide, dwell (Isa. 13:21; 32:16; 34:17; 57:15; Ezek. 17:23; 31:13); *šāqaṭ*, be quiet (Isa. 57:20; Jer. 49:23 [30:12]; Ezek. 16:42); and *'āḇar*, pass over (Job 13:13?). It is without Heb. equivalent in Jdg. 4:11; 1 Sam. 16:16; Job 2:9; Sir. 3:6; 18:16; 22:11; 31 (34):21; 39:11; 47:23; Lam. 1:6; Ad.Dan. Susannah 37.

The noun *anapauma* which does not occur in the NT is without equivalent in Job 3:23, and stands for *nûaḥ* in Isa. 28:2 and *mᵉnûḥâh*, rest, in Isa. 28:12, though it can also mean a resting-place.

anapausis stands chiefly for *mᵉnûḥâh* (Gen. 49:15; Num. 10:33; Ruth 1:9; 1 Chr. 22:9; 28:2; Pss. 23[22]:1; 132[131]:8; Mic. 2:10; Isa. 11:10; Jer. 45:3|51:33|), and other cognates of *nûaḥ*, i.e. *mānôaḥ*, resting-place, state or condition of rest (Gen. 8:9; Ruth 3:1; Ps. 116[115]:7; Isa. 34:14; Lam. 1:3), and *naḥaṯ*, quietness, rest (Eccl. 4:6; 9:5, 17), and the vb. *nûaḥ* (Isa. 23:12). It stands for *raḇaṣ*, repose (Isa. 17:2), *rēḇeṣ*, resting-place (Isa. 65:10); *reḡa'*, a moment (Job 7:18; 21:13); *šabbāṯ*, → sabbath rest (Exod. 16:23; Lev. 25:8), *šeḇeṯ*, cessation (Isa. 37:28), *šabbaṯôn*, sabbath observance (Exod. 31:15; 32:2; Lev. 16:31?; 23:3, 24, 39; 25:4 f.); and *šāḇaṯ*, cease, desist, rest (Exod. 23:12); *šāqaṭ*, be quiet (Isa. 32:17); and *nûaḥ* (Isa. 25:10; 28:2). It is without Heb. equivalent in Est. 9:17; Job 3:23; Ps. 132(131):4; Wis. 4:7; Sir. 6:28; 11:19; 20:21; 22:13; 24:7; 28:16; 30:17; 33:25 (30:34); 31(34):3 f.; 36:24(29); 38:14, 23; 40:5 f.; 51:27; Isa. 23:13 *v.l.*

The vb. *epanapauomai*, rest in or upon, stands for *nûaḥ* (Num. 11:25 f.; Jdg. 16:26; 2 Ki. 2:15; Isa. 11:2 *v.l.*, for *šā'an*, lean, support oneself on (2 Ki. 5:18; 7:2, 17; Mic. 3:11; Ezek. 29:7), and is without equivalent (1 Macc. 8:12).

In the LXX *katapauomai* translates no less than 16 different Heb. vbs. or nouns, but again the most common is *nûaḥ* (Exod. 20:11; 33:14; Deut. 3:20; 12:10; 25:19; Jos. 1:13, 15; 3:13; 21:42; 22:4; 23:1; 2 Sam. 21:10; 1 Chr. 23:23; 2 Chr. 14:5 f. [6 f.]; 15:15; 20:30; Eccl. 10:4). *šāḇaṯ* is also not uncommon (Gen. 2:2 f.; 8:22; Exod. 5:5; 31:17; 34:21; Deut. 32:26; Neh. 4:5|11|; 6:3; Hos. 1:4; Lam. 5:14; Ezek. 30:13; Dan. 9:27 Theodotion; 11:18). Other vbs. used are *'āsap̄*, gather (Ps. 85[84]:3, here in the sense of withdraw [anger]); *ḥāyâh*, live (Deut. 5:33); *yāšaḇ* (Ruth 2:7); *kālâh*, come to an end, cease (Gen. 49:33; Exod. 31:18; 34:33; Hos. 11:6); *lîn*, lodge, spend the night, abide (Jdg. 18:2); *nāḥal*, get through (2 Chr. 32:22); *rāḡa'* (Job 26:12); *rāp̄âh*, let drop (Ezek. 1:24); *śārap̄*, burn (Ps. 74|73|:8; the MT has "they burned all the meeting places of God in the land", whereas the LXX has "come, let us cause to cease from the land the festivals of the Lord"); *šûḇ*, turn back, return (Num. 25:11; 1 Ki. 12:24; Job 21:34); *šᵉḵāḇâh*, deposit, layer of dew (Exod. 16:13); *šāḵen*, dwell (Deut. 33:12; Ps. 55[54]:6); *šāqaṭ*, be undisturbed, be at peace, be quiet (Jos. 11:23); *nāp̄aš*, take breath, refresh oneself (Exod. 31:17). There is no Heb. equivalent at Exod. 35:2; Jdg. 8:3A; 20:43A; Ezr. 9:13 Symmachus; Jud. 6:1; Wis. 10:19 Symmachus; Sir. 5:6; 10:17; 24:8, 11; 38:23; 43:5, 13; 44:23; 45:3; 47:12 f.; Lam. 3:11; 1 Macc. 9:73; 2 Macc. 15:37).

katapauma, rest, occurs only at Sir. 36:15(18). *katapausis* stands for 3 Heb. sets of words: *nûaḥ*, rest (vb. Num. 10:36), *nôaḥ*, rest (2 Chr. 6:41), *mānôaḥ*, resting-

place (1 Chr. 6:16[31]), *mᵉnûḥâh*, resting-place (Deut. 12:9; Jdg. 20:43; 1 Ki. 8:56; Pss. 95[94]:11; 132[131]:14; Isa. 66:1); *ʾᵃḥuzzâh*, property (Lev. 25:28); *šāḇaṯ*, rest (Exod. 34:21). There is no Heb. equivalent in Exod. 35:2; Jud. 9:8; 2 Macc. 15:1.

2. *Theological usage.* The concept of rest is important in the OT, especially in connexion with the idea of the people of God being given rest by Yahweh from their many enemies. The vb. *nûaḥ* is frequently used in a lit. sense, meaning to settle down to rest, e.g. of an army or swarms of locusts (the Arabic par. is used of camels lying down). In the religious realm the use was extended to the idea of God's → Spirit resting on men and things (Num. 11:25; Isa. 11:2), the resting of God's → hand (Isa. 25:10), and of rest in the grave (Job 3:17). Probably the most important use theologically is that of the hiphil in the sense of to give rest to (Isa. 14:3; 28:12), usually with Yahweh as subject. He gives rest to his people by the provision of the promised land and the conquest of their enemies (Jos. 1:13, 15; 21:44; Deut. 3:20; 12:10; 25:19; cf. Deut. 12:9 *mᵉnûḥâh*). Typical of the concrete and this-worldly hopes of the OT faith in Yahweh is this promise of peace in the land, where Judah and Israel will dwell securely, "every man under his vine and under his fig tree" (1 Ki. 4:25).

At a later period the → sabbath rest (Heb. *šabbāṯ*; LXX *anapausis*, or *katapauō*) gained special significance for Israel. The first creation narrative, which is often attributed to the Priestly writer, accounts for this by reference to Yahweh's rest on the 7th day of creation (Gen. 2:2 f.; Exod. 20:22), in contrast to the soteriological explanation given in Deut. 5:12–15. Characteristically, the sabbath rest is by no means confined to the religious, worshipping community, or to a privileged class: male and female slaves, aliens, and even cattle are expressly included in the day of rest devoted to Yahweh (Exod. 16:23, 25; 20:10). Along with the curse of work (Gen. 3:17 ff.), the people of God are given the blessing of rest, in which to rejoice in their God and his works. *anapausis* is used in post-canonical Judaism, notably Sir., to refer to the rest promised to the disciples of wisdom; the refreshment that comes from the possession of wisdom given by God (cf. Sir. 6:28; 24:7; 30:17; 51:27).

NT 1. In the NT *anapauō* means: (a) to take one's rest in the normal bodily sense (Mk. 14:41; Matt. 26:45); (b) to calm someone who has become disturbed, to refresh by giving pleasure, comfort or compensation (1 Cor. 16:18; Phlm. 7, 20; 2 Cor. 7:13). This may come about through Christian love, fellowship or action, or news of such. Jesus called his disciples to come apart and rest for a while in body and spirit because of the many who were coming and going (Mk. 6:31). The unclean spirits also seek rest (Matt. 12:43; Lk. 11:24). Self-reformation only makes the last state worse than the first, for the spirit only returns with seven other spirits more evil than himself. Matt.'s account of this saying applies it to contemporary Judaism: "So shall it be with this evil generation" (Matt. 12:45c).

In the Book of Revelation the meaning is extended to signify rest from hardship and affliction in the eschatological consummation (Rev. 6:11; 14:13). The four living creatures praise God without rest (*anapausis*) (Rev. 4:8; → Cherub); by contrast, those who worship the beast have no rest from torment (Rev. 14:11; → Animal, art. *thērion*).

But the concept of rest finds its ultimate and deepest development in Matt. 11:28 ff. "To this rest are invited those who in truth have found in Judaism only a

burden" (O. Bauernfeind, *TDNT* I 351). Everyone, whether under the Law (Jews) or far off from God (Gentiles), everyone whose life is marked by a lack of peace and security, is called to become a disciple of Jesus: here true rest is found, not the invulnerability and calm of the Stoic, but peace, contentment and security in God, the Father God revealed by Jesus. (On this passage → Yoke.)

2. The concept of rest is of particular importance in Hebrews. In this letter the task given to Joshua, namely to bring God's people into their rest in the promised land (*katepausen*, Heb. 4:8), is regarded as having been fulfilled only in a limited sense, and is linked up with the true rest of God on the seventh day (Heb. 4:4; cf. Gen. 2:2; *katapausis* 3:11 [= Ps. 95, 11], 18; 4:1, 3, 5, 10 f.). Here the thought of Heb. shows a similarity to the interpretation given in some passages of Deut. to the fulfilment of the promise made to the people: this fulfilment is not a guarantee of permanent rest, but it gives rise to new promises, which accompany the people of God on their way through history and are realized in topical events (cf. Deut. 5:53; 12:10; Heb. 4:1 ff.). In Heb., God's people of the new → covenant are exhorted to claim now the ancient promise of God's rest, available to them in Jesus Christ, and to lay hold of it in hope, by faith in Christ as Lord.

3. 1 Pet. 4:14 stands in a context in which Christians are urged to be guiltless and thus not to give grounds for just punishment on their part. On the other hand, they are to rejoice in suffering in so far as they suffer for the sake of Christ and even share in his sufferings (v. 13). Indeed, suffering of this kind may be taken as a sign of being owned by God: "If you are reproached for the name of Christ, you are blessed, because the spirit of glory and of God rests upon you [*ei oneidizesthe en onomati Christou, makarioi hoti to tēs doxēs kai to tou theou pneuma eph' hymas anapauetai*]" (1 Pet. 4:14). The passage recalls Jesus' own promise (Matt. 5:11; Lk. 6:22). J. N. D. Kelly suggests that the idea of suffering "on behalf of" or "because of" or "in" Christ's → name was almost a technical expression in the early church (*The Epistles of Peter and of Jude*, *BNTC*, 1969, 186; cf. these vv. with Matt. 10:22; Mk. 13:13; Lk. 21:17; Jn. 15:21; Acts 9:16; 15:26; 21:13; Rev. 2:3; 3:8). The passage may be directed against certain charismatics in the early church who may have taught that those who truly enjoyed the → gifts of the → Spirit were exempt from → suffering (cf. Paul's thorn in the flesh; → Fruit, art. *skolops*). The point is countered by arguing almost the opposite; i.e. not that possession of the Spirit makes suffering inevitable, but that if it is suffering for the sake of Christ, it is a sign that the Spirit rests upon the believer. Note the connexion between Christ and the Spirit: the Spirit is the Spirit of Christ (cf. 1 Pet. 1:2, 11); the Christ who lived and died in history (1:19; 2:21–25; 3:18) is present to believers through the Spirit both before and after the coming of Christ (1:10 ff.; 3:8), and indeed it is the Spirit who made Christ alive after his death (3:18; cf. 1:13). The believer's life should be lived for Christ (1:4 ff.; 3:16; 5:1). The Spirit is bestowed especially on the persecuted, cf. the saying of Christ (Matt. 10:19 f.) and the description of Stephen whose face was "like an angel's face", being "full of the Holy Spirit", and seeing "the glory of God" (Acts 7:55; cf. 6:15; and *Mart. Poly.* 2, 2; Eusebius, *HE* 5, 1, 29 and 34).

1 Pet. 4:14 uses OT imagery. The → glory which manifested itself in the pillar of cloud and in other ways in the OT (cf. Exod. 33:9 f.; 40:34 f.; Isa. 40:1–7; Hag. 2:7) is now a present reality in the life of the persecuted Christian (cf. 1 Pet. 1:7; 5:4; 2 Cor. 4:17; Col. 3:4). The wording seems to be inspired also by Isa. 11:2: "And the

Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him [*kai anapausetai ep' auton pneuma tou theou*], the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and the fear of the LORD" (cf. Isa. 42:1; 48:16; 61:1; Matt. 3:16; Jn. 1:32; 16:13; 1 Cor. 1:30; Eph. 1:17 f.; 2 Tim 1:7). But what was in the first instance applied to the servant of Yahweh and then to Christ is here applied to the believer, for the believer belongs to Christ through the Spirit, and shares in his suffering and life. On the grammatical difficulties presented by the phraseology see Kelly, op. cit., 187.

4. *katapausis* occurs outside Heb. only at Acts 7:49, where Stephen's speech cites Isa. 66:1: "Heaven is my throne, and earth my footstool. What house will you build for me, says the Lord, or what is the place of my rest?" The context is a polemical attack on the idea of Yahweh being tied to the → temple. Similarly the vb. *katapauō* occurs only in Acts outside Heb., though here there is no special theological significance: "with these words they scarcely restrained the people from offering sacrifice to them" (Acts 14:18).

5. *epanapauō* is a late and rare word. In Lk. 10:6 it is used of the disciples' greeting of → peace as they go upon their evangelistic mission: "Whatever house you enter, first say, 'Peace be to this house!' And if a son of peace is there, your peace shall rest upon him; but if not, it shall return to you" (Lk. 10:5 f.; cf. Matt. 10:12 f.). The greeting was no mere formality. In the context of the mission it was decisive as to where the recipients stood in relation to Jesus. But even where it was spurned, it would not be made void. It would remain with those who brought this peace in all its fullness.

In Rom. 2:17 the vb. means to rest upon, i.e. place reliance on, the → law. In context Paul is addressing the Jew who relies on formal adherence to the law, and fails to see that his actions are at variance with it and that he is condemned by it.

R. Hensel, C. Brown

→ Sabbath, → Yoke

(a). C.K. Barrett, "The Eschatology of the Epistle to the Hebrews", in W. D. Davies and D. Daube, eds., *The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology. In Honour of Charles Harold Dodd*, 1954, 363–93; J. B. Bauer, "Rest", *EBT* II 748 ff.; O. Bauernfeind, *anapauō* etc., *TDNT* I 350 f.; and *katapauō* etc., *TDNT* III 627 f.; H. D. Betz, "The Logion of the Easy Yoke and of Rest", *JBL* 86, 1967, 10–24; G. W. Buchanan, *To the Hebrews*, 1972; W. D. Davies, *The Gospel and the Land: Early Christianity and Jewish Territorial Doctrine*, 1974; E. Lohse, *sabbaton* etc.; *TDNT* VII 1–35; H. A. Lombard, *"Katapausis* in the Letter to the Hebrews", *Neotestamentica* 5, 1971, 60–71; M. Maher, " 'Take my yoke upon you' (Matt. xi. 29)", *NTS* 22, 1975–76, 97–103; G. von Rad, "There Remains Still a Rest for the People of God: An Investigation of a Biblical Conception", in *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays*, 1966, 94–102; R. Williamson, *Philo and the Epistle to the Hebrews*, 1970.

(b). J. B. Bauer, "Requiem Aeternam", *Heiliger Dienst* 8, 1954, 91–96; and "Das milde Joch und die Ruhe, Matt. 11, 28–30", *ThZ* 17, 1961, 99–106; G. Braulik, *"mᵉnûḥâh.* Die Ruhe Gottes und des Volkes im Lande", *BuK* 23, 1968, 75–78; J. Cadet, "Repos dominical et Loisir humain", *La Maison-Dieu* 83, 1965, 71–97; E. Käsemann, *Das wandernde Gottesvolk, FRLANT* 55, 1939, 40 ff.; O. Hofius, *Katapausis. Die Vorstellung vom endzeitlichen Ruheort im Hebräerbrief, WUNT* 11, 1970; T. Ohm, *Ruhe und Frömmigkeit*, 1955; M. Philippe, "Le repos du Père et l'Alliance éternelle", *Verbum Caro* 20, 79, 1966, 9–25; C. Spicq, *L'Épître aux Hébreux*, II, 1953, 95–104; F. Stolz, *nûaḥ, THAT* I 43–6; P. Vielhauer, "*Anapausis.* Zum gnostischen Hintergrund des Thomasevangeliums", in *Apophoreta*, Festschrift for E. Haenchen, 1964, 169 ff. (reprinted in *Aufsätze zum Neuen Testament, ThB* 31, 1965, 215 ff.).

Resurrection

The NT uses two words groups when it deals with the resurrection, one connected with *anhistēmi* and the other with *egeirō*. They are not substantially different in meaning; which is used depends mainly on whether the stress is on the active or the passive aspect. The theological differentiation in use is discussed under *anhistēmi* NT 1.

ἀνάστασις

ἀνάστασις (*anastasis*) resurrection; *ἐξανάστασις* (*exanastasis*), resurrection; *ἀνίστημι* (*anhistēmi*), raise, intrans. rise; *ἐξανίστημι* (*exanhistēmi*), raise up, awaken, intrans. rise; *ἀναζάω* (*anazaō*), come to life again.

CL The vb. *anhistēmi*, a compound of *histēmi*, → stand, meant in secular Gk. (already in Homer) to make to stand up, raise, awaken, rouse (of persons lying down or sleeping). In one direction, its meaning was widened to include appointing to an office or task; in the other, when used intrans., it could mean to stand up, rise, start, appear, with the connotation of a revolt or political uprising. Especially with the part. it also expresses the beginning of an action, or readiness for it, e.g., of a conference, the beginning of a reign, of a movement. In post-Homeric writings it is also used of things, e.g., for the setting up or repairing of statues, altars, etc. Occasionally it means to get well. *exanhistēmi* (Soph. onwards) has the same meaning. *anastasis* (Aesch. and Hdt. onwards) and *exanastasis* (Hippocrates onwards) have the intrans. meaning of getting up, rising up (also from the dead). (For general usage see further Liddell-Scott, 121, 144 f., 584 f.) *L. Coenen*

anabiōskomai, come to life again, is used of the transmigration of souls (Plato, *Phd.* 71e onwards; cf. Aristides, *Orationes* 20[21], 19: Hierocles, *In Carmen Aureum* 26, p. 479 M; Sannyrio, 3D; Philostr., *VA* 4, 45; used as the causal of *anabioō*, bring back to life in, e.g., Plato, *Cri.* 48c; *Phd.* 89b; Aelianus, *De Natura Animalium* 2, 29; Themistius, *Orationes* 8, 115c). The vb. *anabioō*, come to life again, occurs, e.g., in Plato, *Rep.* 614b; Aristophanes, *Ranae* 177; Andocides, 1, 125; and the noun *anabiōsis*, return to life, in Plutarch, *Lucullus* 18; Appianus, *Keltikē* 1, 3 etc.

The doctrine of the transmigration of the soul into some other body appears in Greece as a philosophical doctrine (*OCD*, 1089). The earliest exponent known is Pherecydes of Syros (Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes* 1, 38). It was regarded as a characteristic doctrine of the Pythagoreans (cf. Horace, *Odes* 1, 28, 10; Empedocles, 375; Pindar, *Ol.* 2, 56 ff.). It was also Orphic (Pindar, Fragment 127). It found classical expression in Plato and thence to Vergil, *Aeneid* 6, 713 ff. Little trace is found in Italy, though there is evidence of it among the druids (Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* 6, 4, 5; Lucan, 1, 454 ff.). Evidence of belief in direct translation to the heavenly abode is even more rare. Various stories tell of Ganymedes being carried off to become the cup-bearer of Zeus (*OCD*, 457). Other figures credited with it include Menelaus, Apollonius of Tyana in Greece, Utanapishtim in the Babylonian flood epic who was granted immortality by the god Ea, and Seḥetepibrē, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, though in this case the reference is to a god being united

with his father rather than a mortal called to dwell with the gods (R. Martin-Achard, *From Death to Life: A Study of the Doctrine of the Resurrection in the Old Testament*, 1960, 68 f.; on the fate of the dead generally see S. G. F. Brandon, *Man and his Destiny in the Great Religions*, 1962 and *The Judgment of the Dead: An Historical and Comparative Study of the Idea of a Post-Mortem Judgment in the Major Religions*, 1967; and L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality*, 1921).

In his *Phaedo* Plato defended the idea of the immortality of the soul in the course of a dialogue between Socrates and his friends prior to the former's execution at his own hand by drinking poison. Socrates does not fear death because of the immortality of the soul which he defends on various grounds related to the Platonic doctrine of forms, the eternal realities behind our transient physical world (cf. *Phd.* 75, 102; *Rep.* 6, 508–11; 7, 514 ff.). The soul possesses a certain likeness to the forms, so that when the body dies the soul goes on. Certain forms are incompatible, like heat and cold, life and death. It is an essential feature of the soul that it should partake in life. Therefore at death the soul retires elsewhere. Plato also sees a certain cyclical pattern in nature: cold becomes hot, and hot becomes cold; day follows night, and night follows day. By analogy, the dead awake in a new life after death. Otherwise, life would vanish. Plato also made use of the doctrine of recollection (*anamnēsis*), according to which the soul is able to recall things known in a previous existence. Similarly, in the *Meno* 82b–85b a slave boy is able to solve geometrical problems on the basis of such recollection. Knowledge of the forms can only have been acquired in this way (*Phd.* 72e ff.).

Plato set out his doctrine of the transmigration of souls in the myth of Er at the end of his *Republic* (Book 10). Er is a soldier killed in battle. But after several days there are no signs of decay in his body, and he returns to life on the funeral pyre to tell of what he has seen in the beyond. At death the soul goes to a spot where it is judged. The just souls are seen ascending to a thousand years of happiness; the unjust tell of their thousand years of travail on the earth, where they have been sent as punishment, each soul receiving tenfold retribution for the evil it has done (*Rep.* 615). The very wicked are cast for ever into Tartarus, the traditional place of punishment in Hades surrounded by a brazen wall and encircled by impenetrable darkness. Here, they receive terrible torture (*Rep.* 626). After spending seven days by a meadow the soul journeys to a place where it must choose the next form of its life. It is brought to a place where the mechanism of the earth is visible, where the Fates can be seen and heard (*Rep.* 616 f.). The symbolism suggests the elements of necessity and choice. Thus Lachesis, the daughter of Necessity declares: "Your destiny shall not be allotted to you, but you shall choose it for yourselves. Let him who draws the first lot be the first to choose a life, which shall be his irrevocably. Virtue owns no master: he who honours her shall have more of her, and he who slights her, less. The responsibility lies with the chooser. Heaven is guiltless" (*Rep.* 617). Lots are cast to decide the order of choice. The forms of life are predetermined, but each man's will is his destiny. Some souls mistakenly choose power for themselves. Some even choose to become animals or birds because of their bitter experience of humans on earth (*Rep.* 620). Souls are generally wiser for their experiences in previous existences. *The Republic* ends with the exhortation: "Indeed, if we follow my advice, believing the soul to be immortal, and to possess the power of entertaining all evil, as well as all

good, we shall ever hold fast the upward road, and devotedly cultivate justice combined with wisdom; in order that we may be loved by one another and by the gods, not only during our stay on earth, but also when, like conquerors in the games collecting the presents of their admirers, we receive the prizes of virtue; and, in order that both in this life and during the journey of a thousand years which we have described, we may never cease to prosper" (*Rep.* 621). In the *Phaedrus* 249 ff. Plato not only links the ideas of transmigration, the forms and recollection, but also implies that the truly enlightened soul which loves the forms will one day transcend the circle of earthly existence and return to the pure state from whence it came.

There was a strong tradition in Gk. thought which denied the possibility of resurrection, referring either to the noun *anastasis* or the vb. *anhistēmi* (Homer, *Il.* 21, 56; 24, 551 and 756; Hdt. 3, 62; Aesch., *Ag.* 1360 f.; *Eum.* 648; Soph., *El.* 137 ff.; and probably Eur., *Hercules Furens* 719). On the other hand, certain passages entertain the idea of resurrection as an isolated miracle (Plato, *Symp.* 179c; Lucianus, *De Saltatione* 45). Evidently the physician Aesculapius enjoyed the reputation of being able to raise the dead (Pseudo-Xenophon, *Cynegeticus* 1, 6; Pausanias, *Periegeta* 2, 26, 5; cf. 2, 27, 4). Apollonius of Tyana raised in Rome an apparently dead girl (Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii* 4, 45). A. Oepke sees the raisings reported in the *Acts of Peter of Vercelli* 25–28 as essentially Hellenistic (*TDNT* I 369). Oepke concludes that "the idea of a general resurrection at the end of the age is alien to the Greeks", and thinks that it is attacked in the Phrygian inscription noted by Ramsay (ibid.; cf. W. M. Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, 1895–97, No. 323). Acts 17:31 f. records how Paul's preaching of the resurrection at Athens met with sceptical amusement. Acts 17:18 reports that: "Some also of the Epicurean and Stoic philosophers met him. And some said, 'What would this babbler say?' Others said, 'He seems to be a preacher of foreign divinities, – because he preached Jesus and the resurrection." F. F. Bruce notes various possible interpretations of *anastasis* here (*The Acts of the Apostles*, 1951, 333). If *Iēsous* was connected with *iasis* (healing) or *Iēsō* (Healer), *anastasis* might remind them of *anastatēria*, a word quoted by Hesychius as meaning sacrifices offered on recovery from sickness (cf. F. H. Chase, *The Credibility of the Acts of the Apostles*, 1902, 205 f.). Anastasis may, however, have been thought of as a goddess (cf. Chrysostom, *Hom. in Act.* 38, 1; Oepke, ibid.; E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1971, 518).

OT 1. The pre-exilic portions of the OT are widely considered to contain no statements which enable us to recognize a hope of resurrection from the dead. Death is the definite end, the destruction of human existence (cf. Gen. 3:19; Job 30:23). This concept is not invalidated by the accounts of isolated individuals returning to life, viz. the widow's son in Zarephath (1 Ki. 17:17–22), the Shunammite's son (2 Ki. 4:18–37), and the man thrown hurriedly into Elisha's grave (2 Ki. 13:20 f.). If Enoch (Gen. 5:24) and → Elijah (2 Ki. 2:11) did not die, but were snatched away from earth before their death, it was a proclamation of the power of death to destroy life and the general lack of hope beyond it. This may be seen most clearly in Job's words to his friends (Job 7:7–10; 20:20 ff.; 14:14; on Job 19:25 f. → Redemption, art. *lyō* OT).

2. It is further confirmed by those statements in the Psalms in which prayer is made for salvation and preservation from the domain of death which destroys life,

but not from a death which has already been experienced. Thus the author of Ps. 88 prays to be delivered from Sheol (Heb. *šᵉ'ôl*; Gk. *hadēs*) and the Pit or destruction (Heb. *šaḥaṯ*; Gk. *diaphthora*) (→ Hell, art. *hadēs*), where the dead are evidently cut off from Yahweh: he is "like one forsaken among the dead, like the slain that lie in the grave, like those whom thou dost remember no more, for they are cut off from thy hand.... Dost thou work wonders for the dead? Do the shades rise up to praise thee? *Selah.* Is thy steadfast love declared in the grave, or thy faithfulness in Abaddon? Are thy wonders known in the darkness, or thy saving help in the land of forgetfulness?" (Ps. 88[87]:5, 10 f. [6, 11 f.]). Conversely, the faithful who are saved by Yahweh sing of salvation in the same terms (Pss. 30[29]:2 f., 11; 86[85]:12 f.; 103[102]:1, 3 ff.; 116[115]:8; 118[117]:7; Isa. 38:17.)

The salvation of which the psalmist sings in Ps. 16(15):10 appears to be this-worldly, though it also points beyond the grave: "For thou dost not give me up to Sheol, or let thy godly one see the Pit" (cf. Acts 2:25–28, 31). Some scholars see no mention of a life after death in Ps. 16 (e.g. A. F. Kirkpatrick, H. Gunkel, C. Barth, H.-J. Kraus, S. Mowinckel), whereas others do (S. R. Driver, A. Weiser, M. Dahood, H. H. Rowley) (cf. H. H. Rowley, *The Faith of Israel*, 1956, 175; A. A. Anderson, *The Book of Psalms, New Century Bible*, I, 1972, 145). R. Martin-Achard points out that "The real question in Ps. XVI is that of communion with the Living God; the writer foresees no end to this; he does not understand how its persistence will be possible, but that does not trouble his mind, because it depends on God" (*From Death to Life: A Study of the Development of the Doctrine of the Resurrection in the Old Testament*, 1960, 152 f.). The point is borne out by the final verse of the Psalm: "Thou dost show me the path of life; in thy presence there is fullness of joy, in thy right hand are pleasures for evermore" (Ps. 16[15]:11).

Another passage is Ps. 49(48):15: "But God will ransom my soul from the power of Sheol, for he will receive me [MT *yiqqāḥēnî*; LXX *lambanē me*]." M. Dahood suggests that the psalmist expected to be assumed in a way similar to Enoch or Elijah (*Psalms, Anchor Bible*, I, 1966, 301; cf. R. Martin-Achard, op. cit., 157 f.). He does so on the grounds that the Heb. vb. *lāqaḥ* is precisely that used in Gen. 5:24; 2 Ki. 2:3, 5, 9; cf. Sir. 42:15; 48:9; Ps. 73(72):24. However, it must be pointed out that both the Heb. and Gk. vbs. are the regular vbs. meaning to take, and it is probably best to exercise the same caution indicated by the interpretation of Ps. 16. Ps. 49 clearly does not teach a positive doctrine of resurrection. On the other hand, it envisages an ongoing life with Yahweh in which the believing Israelite is saved from the ongoing power of Sheol.

A similar thought is probably expressed in Ps. 73(72):24: "Thou dost guide me with thy counsel, and afterward thou wilt receive me to glory [MT *wᵉ'aḥar kāḇôḏ tiqqāḥēnî*: LXX *kai meta doxēs proselabou me*]." Again the Heb. vb. is *lāqaḥ*, and glory could mean honour and prosperity in this life. However, H. H. Rowley thinks that the psalmist's way of speaking is odd, if he is referring to this life only. "He speaks of God receiving him, rather than of his bestowing some material boon upon him. He first declares that he enjoys God's fellowship here and now, and if God is to receive him, it must be to future fellowship. If that is still in this life, nothing is added to the thought; but if it is beyond the grave then the words contribute something to the thought. It seems to me likely that the meaning is that both before death and after death he has a secure treasure in the fellowship of God. The God who delights to

enrich him with the experience of himself now will grant him fuller fellowship hereafter" (op. cit., 173).

Summing up the testimony of the psalmists, G. E. Ladd observes that "Such passages give us only glimpses of a hope of a blessed existence after death. It is important to note that the hope is based on confidence in God's power over death, not on a view of something immortal in man. The Psalmists do not reflect on what *part* of man survives death – his soul or spirit; nor is there any reflection on the nature of the after life. There is merely the confidence that even death cannot destroy the reality of fellowship with the living God. This is very different from the Greek view of immortality. 'The psalmists . . . cannot conceive that this communion with God can ever be broken even by death' " (*I Believe in the Resurrection of Jesus*, 1975, 47; the last sentence is a quotation from R. Martin-Achard, op. cit., 180).

3. Outside the Book of Psalms, the Song of Moses (Deut. 32) and that of Hannah (1 Sam. 2) proclaim that Yahweh kills and makes alive. The Song of → Moses has been described as a sort of compendium of prophetic theology, bringing to mind the historical evocations of Hos. 2, Jer. 2 and Ezek. 16, 23, and the historical theology associated with the Deuteronomistic outlook (cf. R. Martin-Achard, op. cit., 53). It celebrates the power of the living God, culminating in the assertion: "See now that I, even I, am he, and there is no god beside me; I kill and I make alive, I wound and I heal; and there is none that can deliver out of my hand" (Deut. 32:39). Whereas the Song of Moses reflects on Yahweh's dealings with the nation, the Song of Hannah which comes after the birth of Samuel celebrates Yahweh's power to those in need, including the barren (2 Sam. 2:5). In the mid-point of the song there is the reflection: "The LORD kills and brings to life; he brings down to Sheol and raises up" (1 Sam. 2:6). For interpretations of the song see R. Martin-Achard, op. cit., 56 f., who concludes that both songs stress the extraordinary power of the God of Israel. "Yahweh freely disposes of life, He bestows it, withdraws it, and gives it again. The history of the Chosen People and the existence of the Israelite alike abundantly testify to this sovereign power that Yahweh exercises at the expense of His enemies and for the sake of His own. The writers of these hymns do not envisage the resurrection of the dead, they are simply asserting that the Living God is able to intervene, effectively, everywhere, and at all times, even in the darkest hour; His liberating interventions are particular evidence of His tremendous power" (op. cit., 57).

4. The continuity of the living God and the ongoing life of those who belong to him is the premise of Jesus' interpretation of Exod. 3:6 in his debate with the → Sadducees over the resurrection and the problem case of levirate marriage (Matt. 22:23–33; Mk. 12:18–27; Lk. 20:27–40; → Marriage, art. *gameō* OT 5). "And as for the dead being raised, have you not read in the book of Moses, in the passage about the bush, how God said to him, 'I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob'? He is not God of the dead, but of the living; you are quite wrong" (Mk. 12:26 f., cf. par. Matt. 22:31 f., Lk. 20:37 f.). The idea of Yahweh as the protector of the patriarchs and of his covenant people recurs in Exod. 3:15 f.; 4:5 and also later writings (cf. Man. 5:1; Ass. Mos. 3:9; Jub. 45:3; Test. Reub. 4:10; Test. Sim. 2:8; Test. Jos. 2:2; 6:7; Test. Gad 2:5; 3 Macc. 7:16; Wis. 9:1; Jud. 9:11; 1QM 10:8). "The concept 'God of the dead' implies a blatant contradiction, especially in the context of the Sadducean understanding of death as extinction, without the hope of resurrection. If God has assumed the task of protecting the

patriarchs from misfortune during the course of their life, but fails to deliver them from that supreme misfortune which marks the definitive and absolute check upon their hopes, his protection is of little value. . . . In citing Ex. 3:6 Jesus showed how resurrection faith is attached in a profound way to the central concept of biblical revelation, the covenant, and how the salvation promised by God to the patriarchs and their descendants in virtue of the covenant contains implicitly the assurance of the resurrection. It was the failure to appreciate the essential link between God's covenant faithfulness and the resurrection which had led the Sadducees into their grievous error" (W. L. Lane, *The Gospel according to Mark, NLC*, 1974, 430; cf. F. Dreyfus, "L'Argument Scripturaire de Jésus en Faveur de la Résurrection des Morts (Marc, XII, 26, 27)", *RB* 66, 1959, 213–24; C. F. D. Moule, *The Birth of the New Testament*, 1966, 65). R. N. Longenecker sees Jesus as confounding the Sadducees for whom every word of the Torah possessed validity, by employing their own methods of exegesis against them (*Biblical Exegesis in the Apostolic Period*, 1975, 68 f.).

5. The two passages dealing with translation require further comment.

(a) The translation of Enoch is mentioned in a list of the antediluvian patriarchs, given in Gen. 5 which is widely attributed to P. The list extends from → Adam to → Noah. Ten names are mentioned and the great longevity of each is stated. Apart from the first, the last and the case of Enoch, there is a general pattern of description which R. Martin-Achard expresses as follows: "When *A* had lived *x* years, he became the father of *B*. *A* lived after the birth of *B y* years, and had other sons and daughters. Thus all the days of *A* were (*x* + *y*) years; *and he died*" (op. cit., 65). Generally speaking, as the generations proceed, the life-span of the patriarchs diminishes, as though in growing older man is increasingly alienated from the creator. But in the case of Enoch the process is momentarily interrupted, and he differs from the rest in that he did not die. "When Enoch had lived sixty-five years, he became the father of Methuselah. Enoch walked with God after the birth of Methuselah three hundred years, and had other sons and daughters. Thus all the days of Enoch were three hundred and sixty-five years. Enoch walked with God; and he was not, for God took him [MT *wayyiṯhallēḵ ḥ^anôḵ ʾeṯ-hāʾ^ĕlōhîm wᵉʾênennû kî-lāqaḥ ʾōṯô ʾᵉlōhîm*; LXX *kai euērestēsen Enōch tō theō kai ouch hēurisketo hoti metethēken auton ho theos*]" (Gen. 5:21–24). On the LXX translation → Please, art. *areskō*, NT 3; the intention was evidently to make it sound less anthropomorphic. In the LXX Enoch is one hundred and sixty-five years old at Methuselah's birth, and the rest of his life is correspondingly diminished to two hundred years.

In Heb. 11:5 Enoch is seen as an example of the → faith that is pleasing to God which was the cause of his translation. Martin-Achard suggests, however, that Enoch was originally an astral divinity, a sun-god (op. cit., 67). This is partly connected with the number 365 which is both his life-span and the number of days in the solar year. He also sees a connexion between the fact that Enoch was the seventh in line and that the Mesopotamian Enmeduranna was the seventh antediluvian king and was also lord of the oracles, custodian of the divine secrets, a renowned prophet and astrologer and King of Sippar, city of the sun (cf. the Sumerian king list in *ANET*, 265). Martin-Achard may well be right when he observes with W. Zimmerli that "the number 365 stands for a whole and so indicates that the Patriarch accomplished a complete cycle, his life being fulfilled when God takes him; the divine decision is not

a sign of reprobation but, on the contrary, sanctifies a life lived with God" (op. cit., 67 f.). On the other hand, E. A. Speiser thinks that the slight similarity of names is apparently coincidental, and that the initial *ḥ* in the Heb. form of Enoch's name appears to preclude any etymological relationship with the Sumerian Enmeduranna (*Genesis, Anchor Bible*, 1964, 41, 43).

The crucial vb. *lāqaḥ* means to take. Martin-Achard thinks that it is used here "as a technical expression to denote the assumption of a human being to God" (op. cit., 69; cf. 2 Ki. 2:2, 5, 9 f.; Pss. 49[48]:15; 83[82]:24; Sir. 44:16; 48:9; 49:14 f.; and liqû in the Gilgamesh epic, Tablet X, line 205 [for text of the tablet see *ANET*, 89–93]). But nothing is said about the mode of the taking. The LXX uses the vb. *metatithēmi*, change the position of, convey to another place, and in this it is followed by the author of Heb. (Heb. 11:5a and b; cf. Sir. 44:16; Wis. 4:10; 1 Clem. 9:3; the noun *metathesis*, removal, is used in Heb. 11:5c and 12:27). Josephus used the expression "withdrew to the divine [*anechōrēse pros to theion*]" (*Ant.* 1, 85); a phrase he also used to describe the passing of Moses (*Ant.* 4, 326; cf. 3, 96).

Subsequently a considerable Jewish literature grew up which supplied elaborate details of Enoch's translation. The so-called First Book of Enoch exists in its entirety only in Ethiopic, hence the title Ethiopic Enoch. About a third of it exists in Gk. and fragments in the original Aramaic and Heb. (representing the remains of more than ten separate manuscripts found at Qumran). Among these are all the sections of Eth. Enoch except chs. 37–71, the "Similitudes of Enoch". There is also a single Lat. fragment. R. H. Charles divided the work into five sections composed at different dates (Charles, II, 163–281): (i) chs. 1–36 incorporate portions of the Book of Noah and was written before 170 B.C..; (ii) chs. 37–71 contain the "Parables" or "Similitudes of Enoch" with the Son of Man passages which have NT affinities (*c.* 105–64 B.C., though some of it may belong to the Christian era); (iii) chs. 72–82 "The Book of the Heavenly Luminaries" (before 110 B.C..); (iv) chs. 83–90 "The Dream Visions" (*c.* 165–161 B.C.); (v) chs. 91–104 contain an "Apocalypse of Weeks" with material of various dates. The whole work is one of the most important Jewish pseudepigrapha, embodying revelations to Enoch on such topics as the origins of → evil, the → angels and their destinies, Gehenna (→ Hell) and → paradise. For critical edition of the text see M. A. Knibb and E. Ullendorff, eds., *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments*, I–II, 1977.

Slavonic Enoch or 2 Enoch bears the title "The Book of the Secrets of Enoch" in some manuscripts. It survives in Slavonic only in two recensions, and has numerous points of contact with Eth. Enoch. It has been variously seen as the work of an Alexandrian Jew at the beginning of the Christian era (Charles, II, 429), and as a Christian reply to Eth. Enoch dated in the 2nd or early 3rd cents. (A. Vaillant; cf. *ODCC*, 460). Hebrew Enoch or 3 Enoch is a Jewish, perhaps anti-Christian, work dating from the Christian era.

Eth. Enoch 1:9 is quoted by Jude 14 f.: "It was of these also that Enoch in the seventh generation from Adam prophesied, saying, 'Behold, the Lord came with his holy myriads, to execute judgment on all, and to convict all the ungodly of all their deeds of ungodliness which they have committed in such an ungodly way, and of all the harsh things which ungodly sinners have spoken against him." He is mentioned in Jub. 4:17 as "the first among men that are born on earth who learned writing and knowledge and wisdom." Elsewhere he is seen as the type of the righteous man:

"Enoch was found perfect, and he walked with Yahweh, and was taken; a sign of knowledge to every generation" (Sir. 44:16). The thought is amplified in Wis. 4:10 ff., stressing his innocence in the midst of wickedness and pointing out that "while living among sinners he was translated". Philo explained the translation as follows: "Concerning him it is said that 'Enoch was well-pleasing to God and was not found, for God translated [*metētheken*] him'; for 'translation' [*metathesis*] denotes turning and changing, and that a changing for the better" (*Abr.* 17 f.); "By 'translation' is clearly signified the new home [granted to him 'who escaped the insurrections of the body and deserted to the side of the soul'], and by 'not found' the solitary life" (*Praem.* 17; cf. F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, *NLC*, 1964, 188). In short, what in Gen. 5:21–24 began as a cursory statement about the life of Enoch, culminating in the statement, "Enoch walked with God, and he was not, for God took him", was articulated in later Judaism into a view of Enoch as a model of wisdom and righteousness, culminating in elaborate theories of translation.

(b) The translation of → Elijah is described in 2 Ki. 2:1–15. It belongs to the Elisha cycle, telling how the latter asked and received a double share of Elijah's spirit (the double portion being the right of the first-born, Deut. 21:17). Elijah is taken up to heaven by a whirlwind. "And as they still went on and talked, behold, a chariot of fire and horses of fire separated the two of them. And Elijah went up by a whirlwind into heaven" (v. 11; cf. Job 38:1). Martin-Achard suggests that the scene recalls the earliest theophanies of the God of Israel, as he first appeared to the tribes as the Lord of war and storm (op. cit., 70; cf. H. Fredriksson, *Jahve als Krieger*, 1945, 47 ff.). The text itself hardly supports Martin-Achard's suggestion of overtones of the sun myth in the light of the horses dedicated to the luminary at the entrance to the temple (2 Ki. 23:11). His other suggestion is more likely, that Yahweh is thought of in terms of chariots and horsemen, i.e. symbols of power in the realm where Israel was extremely needy. This latter point is underlined by the fact that the king of Syria allowed Israel to maintain a defensive force of only fifty horsemen, ten chariots and a thousand infantry (2 Ki. 13:7; cf. also Ps. 20:7). The people of God lack physical force, but Yahweh has it in abundance. Subsequent search fails to find the body of Elijah (2 Ki. 2:16 ff.), and Elisha succeeds him. For the sons of the prophets recognize that "The spirit of Elijah rests on Elisha" (v. 15).

The end of no other OT prophet is described in these terms. Again the vb. *lāqaḥ* is used for the taking of Elijah. It is questionable whether the carrying of Elijah by the Spirit of God (1 Ki. 18:12 ff., where the vb. is *nāśā'*) implies some form of supernatural transport, or whether *lāqaḥ* implies a more permanent and in fact a horizontal action as against *nāśā'* which has been thought to imply a vertical action (so L. Bronner. *The Stories of Elijah and Elisha as Polemics against Baal Worship, Pretoria Oriental Series* 6, 1968, 126 f.). Indeed, the only safe conclusion that can be drawn from the brief descriptions of the end of both Elijah and Enoch is the positive one that they both imply the positive points that (i) they entered the presence of Yahweh at the end of their earthly lives, and (ii) that Yahweh himself took the initiative. Negatively it may be said that in neither case is death mentioned, but then that the writers of the two accounts clearly wished to focus attention on the positive aspect. In the case of Elijah a whirlwind or tempest (Heb. *sᵉʿārâh*; LXX *sysseismos*) is mentioned. This may be compared with the manifestations of Yahweh's power in the elements in 1 Ki. 18:38, 45; 19:11–14 and the motif of Baal as the rider of the

clouds (cf. Bronner, op. cit., 122 ff.). Yahweh's power is manifested through the elements. In the case of the end of Elijah and the bestowal of his spirit on Elisha it was manifested through the whirlwind or tempest. (For the considerable rabbinic speculation on Elijah after his translation from this world see SB IV, 2, 764–98.)

6. A number of passages in the prophets are relevant to the discussion.

(a) Hos. 6:1–3 states: "Come, let us return to the LORD; for he has torn, that he may heal us; he has stricken, and he will bind us up. After two days he will revive us [MT *yᵉḥayyēnû*; LXX *hygiasei hēmas*, he will heal us]; on the third day he will raise us up [MT *yᵉqimēnû*; LXX *anastēsometha*], that we may live before him [MT *wᵉniḥyeh lᵉpānāyw*; LXX *kai zēsometha enōpion autou*]. Let us know, and let us press on to know the LORD; his going forth is sure as the dawn; he will come to us as the showers, as the spring rains that water the earth." For a review of critical opinion see R. Martin-Achard, op. cit., 74–86. The historical background is that of the Syro-Ephraimitish War (735–734 B.C.) and its aftermath (cf. 2 Ki. 15 and 18; Isa. 7 and 8), and the passage constitutes a call to repentance and faith in Yahweh for restoration. Martin-Achard sees in the terms "in two days", "on the third day", "dawn" and "dew" allusions to the Baal cult in the Ras Shamra texts, in which Baal descends into the nether world with his retinue, clouds, winds, rains, his servants and daughters, and restores life (op. cit., 84 f.). He concludes that resurrection is therefore envisaged, though on the basis of the agricultural cults. But the argument is slender. The context does not imply cultic renewal, and indeed repudiates it (Hos. 6:6). Moreover, Baal-worship is condemned as harlotry (v. 10; cf. vv. 4 and 7; and 2:13; 9:2). Rather, the passage implies national renewal on the basis of returning to Yahweh, using the language of healing after being stricken for apostasy. There is a case for saying that Hosea consciously takes over the language and idioms of Baal-worship and uses them polemically against the Baals (cf. H. W. Wolff, *Hosea, Hermeneia*, 1974, xxvi ff.). Hosea's point is that it is not the Baals that do these things through the cults but Yahweh; and it is Yahweh in Hos. 6:1–3 who will restore Israel to health and vitality, just as the spring rains renew the parched, dead earth.

Hos. 13:14 asks: "Shall I ransom them from the power of Sheol? Shall I redeem them from Death? O Death, where are your plagues? O Sheol, where is your destruction? [LXX *pou hē dikē sou* (your judgment), *thanate; pou to kentron sou* (your sting), *hade*; the MT has a positive statement instead of questions, *ʾᵉhî dᵉḇāreyḵā māweṯ ʾᵉhî qāṭāḇḵā šᵉʾôl*, i.e. I will be . . .]. Compassion is hid from my eyes." On the various questions raised by the language here see R. Martin-Achard, op. cit., 88. The LXX, like the Syriac, reads *ʾayyēh* ("where") for *ʾᵉhî* ("I will be"). It should be remembered that the Heb. text would be unpointed, i.e. written with the consonants only. The phraseology of Hos. 13:14b appears to be taken up by Paul in 1 Cor. 15:55 in celebrating the resurrection of the dead: "When the perishable puts on the imperishable, and the mortal puts on immortality, then shall come to pass the saying that is written: 'Death is swallowed up in victory.' 'O death, where is thy victory? O death, where is thy sting [*pou sou, thanate, to nikos; pou sou, thanate, to kentron*]?' " (1 Cor. 15:54 f.; v. 54 quotes Isa. 25:8).

Luther and others have seen the passage as a predictive prophecy of the downfall of death before the risen Christ (for a review of interpretations see R. Martin-Achard, op. cit., 90 ff.). However, to see the passage as a prediction in this sense is to violate the original intention of the words which in context refer to the coming judgment on

the nation. Nevertheless, the passage testifies to "the extraordinary power of the God of Israel; Yahweh treats Death as a lord treats one of his subjects; He commands it as a vassal, and, in spite of all, Sheol is at His disposal. In face of the Living God, even the dominion of death has to yield" (R. Martin-Achard, op. cit., 92). But in any case, the reference appears to be to the historical situation of Israel, threatened with destruction by the foreign nations. "These nations stand under the commanding authority of Israel's God (cf. 10:10). If those hostile nations punish Israel with the 'thorns' and 'stings' of the drover or foreman, then the imagery of tormenting and distressing death is clear (cf. Josh. 23:13; Nu. 33:55; Ju. 8:7). To be sure, only in Ps. 91:6 are 'thorn' (*dbr*) and 'sting' (*qṭb*) mentioned in connection with a humanly wielded weapon ('arrow' in v. 5). In most cases these words denote pestilence, which would naturally fit here as the instrument of death and Sheol as well. In each case Yahweh refuses to be compassionate" (H. W. Wolff, op. cit., 228).

In context, therefore, Hosea's words do not refer to the resurrection hope of the individual but to Yahweh's power over the death and destruction of the nation in history. However, as C. K. Barrett points out, Paul is not here "grounding an argument on Scripture, but writing freely, in scriptural language, of the ultimate victory over death" (*The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, *BNTC*, 1968, 283). To be more precise, Paul appears to be making use of OT testimonia, following a pesher style of exegesis which interprets the meaning of the original text in the light of the point the expositor is making (cf. E. E. Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament*, 1957, 96 ff., 144 ff.). The original meaning of Hosea's words finds its ultimate fulfilment in the resurrection, where men are ransomed from Sheol and redeemed from death, and where thus Sheol and death are mocked.

(b) On the other hand, Isa. 26:19 expresses fleetingly a confidence in the resurrection of Israel: "Thy dead shall live, my bodies shall rise. O dwellers in the dust, awake and sing for joy! For thy dew is a dew of light, and on the land of the shades thou wilt let it fall" (RSV mg.). The attempt to work out who is speaking presents a puzzle. "If the profession of trust in Yahweh is uttered by the praying community ... or an individual leading the prayer, then the dead are departed Israelites who are particularly close to him, or perhaps even the righteous.... On the other hand if Yahweh is the speaker, as most modern commentators accept, what we have is a promise in reply to the praying community, and all the subsequent relationships are simply reversed" (O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 13–19*, 1974, 215 f.). There are certain discrepancies of reading represented by the MT and the Vulgate on the one side and the LXX, the Qumran Isaiah Scroll and the Syriac and Aramaic traditions on the other. This has led to the conjecture of emendation concerning the clause in the MT *yiḥyû mēṯeḳā nᵉḇēlāṯî yᵉqûmûn* ("your dead shall live, my bodies shall rise" MT), as contrasted with the LXX *anastēsontai hoi nekroi kai egerthēsontai hoi en tois mnēmeiois* ("the dead shall rise and those in the tombs shall be raised" LXX). However, the passage clearly teaches a belief in the resurrection. This has led some commentators like Kaiser to regard it as an interpolation, on the grounds that such an expression of belief is too rare in Isaiah's day and appears only on the very limits of the OT (op. cit., 218). For the same reason he regards Isa. 25:8 also as an interpolation: "He will swallow up death for ever, and the Lord God will wipe away tears from all faces, and the reproach of his people he will take away from all the earth, for the LORD has spoken." Similarly, R. Martin-Achard dates the passage in the 4th

cent. B.C. at the time of the upheavals attending the conquests of Alexander the Great (op. cit., 131; but cf. E. J. Young, *The Book of Isaiah, The New International Commentary on the Old Testament*, II, 1969, 225–29, 253–61). There is no need with Martin-Achard to see in the allusion to dew the Mother Earth theme, reflecting ideas found at Ras Shamra (op. cit., 132; cf. Hos. 6:4; 14:5; Mic. 5:6; Ps. 110:3; Isa. 66:14). The dew in Palestine replaced the rain in summer and increased in quantity in the autumn (cf. Kaiser, op. cit., 217).

For discussion of the Servant Songs of Isa. (especially Isa. 53:10 ff. in 52:13–53:12) see R. Martin-Achard (op. cit., 103–23; → also Serve). As Martin-Achard points out, "The prophet here seems to be informing us of the destiny of an individual and not about the lot of a group; thus the exaltation of the Servant implies more than the restoration of Israel and the prospective greatness of the People of God. The destiny of the humiliated and glorified Servant presupposes his resurrection; yet Deutero-Isaiah makes no specific reference to this " (op. cit., 122).

(c) Ezekiel's vision of the valley of dry bones (Ezek. 37) has frequently been taken as a prediction of the resurrection (cf. Justin, *Apol. II*, 87; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 5, 1; Tertullian, *De resurrectione carnis* 30). In the vision the prophet is asked by Yahweh whether these bones can live (v. 3). The prophet replies that Yahweh alone knows. "Again he said to me, 'Prophesy to these bones, and say to them, O dry bones, hear the word of the LORD. Thus says the Lord God to these bones: Behold, I will cause breath to enter you, and you shall live. And I will lay sinews upon you, and will cause flesh to come upon you, and cover you with skin, and put breath in you, and you shall live; and you shall know that I am the LORD" (Ezek. 37:4 ff.). In the vision the prophet does so, and what is promised comes about (vv. 7–11). He is then given the interpretation: "Then he said to me, 'Son of man, these bones are the whole house of Israel. Behold, they say, "Our bones are dried up, and our hope is lost; we are clean cut off." Therefore prophesy, and say to them, Thus says the Lord God: Behold, I will open your graves, and raise you from your graves, O my people; and I will bring you home into the land of Israel. And you shall know that I am the LORD, when I open your graves, and raise you from your graves, O my people. And I will put my Spirit within you, and you shall live, and I will place you in your own land; then you shall know that I, the LORD, have spoken, and I have done it, says the LORD' " (vv. 11–14).

The background is the fall of → Jerusalem, the capture of the → temple and the exile which left the Israelites saying: "Our transgressions and our sins are upon us, and we waste away because of them; how then can we live?" (Ezek. 33:10). In the context of the times, therefore, the vision is one of national restoration. H. Riesenfeld has seen in it traces of sacral ceremonies, including the drama of the New Year festival in which the king was supposed to engage in combat with his enemies, representing the conflict of creative powers with chaos (*The Resurrection in Ezekiel xxxvii and in the Dura-Europos Paintings*, 1948). However, the evidence for this festival is tenuous, and any link with Ezek. 37 is uncertain. It is more likely that Ezekiel based his view of the creative power of Yahweh on the theology that is found in Gen. 2:7, and that the picture derives from the countless corpses scattered on the battlefield in the wake of Nebuchadnezzar's armies. "The prophet is not concerned with the resurrection of the dead as such, but there is no doubt that the symbolism that he employs raised among the Jews the question of renewal of life for the depar-

ted, and it is in this sense that both Jewish and Christian tradition re-read this chapter. Ezekiel's confidence is founded on the sovereign power of the God of Israel, a power that was made especially manifest when He created man" (R. Martin-Achard, op. cit., 102; cf. W. Eichrodt, *Ezekiel,* 1970, 505–15; J. W. Wevers, *Ezekiel, New Century Bible*, 1969, 276–80).

(d) Dan. 12:2 is "the only passage in the Old Testament where we have a clear and undisputed reference to the resurrection of the dead" (H. H. Rowley, op. cit., 167). The context speaks of a great tribulation such as there has never been, with Michael (→ Angel) arising in charge of the people and a book containing the names of the people who shall be delivered (v. 1). "And many of those who sleep in the dust shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt" (Dan. 12:2). V. 3 goes on to say: "And those who are wise shall shine like the brightness of the firmament; and those who turn many to righteousness, like the stars for ever and ever." Some writers trace this to the influence of Persian thought (e.g. H. Birkeland, "The Belief in the Resurrection of the Dead in the Old Testament", *StTh* 3/1, 1950, 75 f.). But Rowley thinks that "the author was driven by the dynamic of his own faith to this as the corollary of that faith" (ibid.). In common with many scholars Rowley locates Dan. in the Maccabean period, which in turn gave rise to the → Pharisaic belief in the resurrection. Thus, R. Martin-Achard sees in the passage an allusion to the victims of Antiochus Epiphanes (op. cit., 145; cf. 2 Macc. 7:11). (For an exposition of Dan. setting it in the time of the exile in terms of the events that it describes see E. J. Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel,* 1949.) Dan. 12 is apparently concerned only with a resurrection within Israel: some to salvation and others to condemnation. "The mass of the people does not appear to be interested in an event which will enable the *Ḥasidim* to be rewarded and the impious punished; the indifferent will thus remain in the dust. Justice requires the resurrection, for only the resurrection provides the one answer to the problem raised by the death of the most faithful servants of the Living God" (R. Martin-Achard, op. cit., 144; cf. 2 Macc. 7:9, 11 f., 13 f., 23, 29, 36 f.; 12:43 f.; 14:46). On the possible influence of Persian thought on Dan. see below, 9.

7. Before leaving the canonical writings of the OT, mention may be made of the episode in 1 Sam. 28 in which the medium at Endor conjured up the spirit of Samuel at the behest of Saul. The woman said to Saul: "I see a god coming up out of the earth" (1 Sam. 28:13). Commenting on Samuel's words, "Why have you disturbed me by bringing me up?" (v. 15), J. Mauchline writes: "The meaning of the statement by Samuel that he has been disturbed probably does not refer to an emotional disturbance at meeting Saul again but at having to leave Sheol to be involved in earthly affairs again (cf. Job 3.12–19)" (*1 and 2 Samuel, New Century Bible*, 1971, 182). The reference to a "god" means a "godlike being", and is probably best rendered by "spirit" (H. W. Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel*, 1964, 219). (On mediums in Israelite religion → Magic, art. *mageia* OT 4.)

8. The literature of the intertestamental period exhibits a variety of beliefs about the after-life and resurrection.

(a) Jesus ben Sirach, writing about 180 B.C., had no conception of resurrection or life after death, and thus held a position comparable with that of the → Sadducees in the time of Christ. Sheol is the ultimate abode of the dead. It is devoid of pleasure (Sir. 14:16). It is a place of darkness (22:11), endless sleep (46:19), silence (17:27 f.)

and corruption (10:11). Men cannot praise God there (18:28). There is no return from death (38:21) which is a state of eternal rest (30:17). The only immortality known to Sirach is a good name (39:9; 41:11 ff.; 44:8) or the perpetuation of one's name in one's children (11:28; 46:12).

(b) However, 2 Macc. describes the hope of the martyrs of Israel in the struggle against Antiochus Epiphanes (see especially 2 Macc. 7:9, 11, 14, 22 f., 29; 12:43; and cf. above 6(d) on the Book of Daniel). Thus the elder, Razis, disembowelled himself rather than fall into the hands of the Greeks. He flung his bowels at the crowds, "calling on Him who is lord of life and spirit to restore them to him again" (2 Macc. 14:46).

(c) The Apocalypse of Baruch was written late in the 1st cent. A.D., reflecting on the tragedy of the destruction of Jerusalem. The only hope lies in the world to come. For the author the dead will be raised in exactly the same form: "For the earth shall then assuredly restore the dead [which it now receives in order to preserve them]. It shall make no change in their form, But as it has received them, so shall it restore them, And as I delivered them unto it, so also shall it raise them" (Syr. Bar. 50:2). They will thus be recognizable (vv. 3 f.). But then they will be changed, just as the wicked will be tormented: "Also (as for) the glory of those who have now been justified in My law, who have had understanding in their life, and who have planted in their heart the root of wisdom, then their splendour shall be glorified in changes, and the form of their face shall be turned into the light of their beauty, that they may be able to acquire and receive the world which does not die, which is then promised to them" (Syr. Bar. 51:3). This hope seems to combine transformation "into the splendour of angels" (v. 5) with a Gk. idea of the eternal world. At the same time it makes resurrection dependent on adherence to the practice of the law.

(d) Another apocalyptic and pseudepigraphical writing is 2 Esdras which was similarly written about A.D. 100 and which describes the coming of the messiah. After an interim kingdom of four hundred years "the earth shall restore those that sleep in her, and the dust those that are at rest therein [and the chambers shall restore those that were committed unto them]. And the Most High shall be revealed upon the throne of judgment: (and then cometh the End) and compassion shall pass away (and pity be far off). . . . And then shall the pit of torment appear, and over against it the place of refreshment; The furnace of Gehenna shall be made manifest, and over against it the Paradise of delight" (2 Esd. 7:32–6). The nations shall also be raised for judgment (vv. 37 ff.). The saved are those who observed "the Law of the lawgiver perfectly" (v. 89). The face of the righteous in the resurrection shall shine like the sun (v. 97).

2 Esd. 7 is "the one passage in Jewish intertestamental literature which speaks of a dying Messiah" (G. E. Ladd, op. cit., 69). At the end of this evil age God will intervene to punish the wicked and reward the righteous in the age to come. "For my Son the Messiah shall be revealed, together with those who are with him, and shall rejoice the survivors four hundred years. And it shall be, after these years, that my Son the Messiah shall die, and all in whom there is human breath. Then shall the world be turned into the primeval silence seven days, like as at the first beginnings; so that no man is left. And it shall be after seven days that the Age which is not yet awake shall be roused, and that which is corruptible shall perish" (2 Esd. 7:28–31). (For further discussion of the messiah and the resurrection see G. E. Ladd, op. cit., 60–73.)

(e) The date and structure of Ethiopic Enoch have already been noted above in 5(a). The five sections express a variety of eschatological expectations. Chs. 1–36 do not speak explicitly of a resurrection, but one is implied. Enoch visits Sheol, the intermediate state of the dead. The statement that some of the spirits of the wicked shall be slain on the day of judgment (Eth. Enoch 22:13) suggests that others will be raised. The resurrection of the righteous Israelites (though not of others) is implied in Eth. Enoch 90:33. The same is true of the Similitudes of Enoch. The wicked "shall have no hope of rising from their beds, Because they do not extol the name of the Lord of Spirits" (46:6). But the righteous shall be raised as the chosen of the Elect One, the heavenly Son of man: "And in those days shall the earth also give back that which has been entrusted to it, And Sheol also shall give back that which it has received, And hell shall give back that which it owes. For in those days the Elect One shall arise, And he shall choose the righteous and holy from among them: For the day has drawn nigh that they should be saved" (Eth. Enoch 51:1 f.). The nature of the resurrection is described in Eth. Enoch 62:13–16: "And the righteous and the elect shall be saved on that day, And they shall never thenceforward see the face of the sinners and unrighteous. And the Lord of Spirits will abide over them, And with that Son of Man shall they eat, And lie down and rise up for ever and ever. And the righteous and elect shall have risen from the earth, And ceased to be of downcast countenance. And these shall be the garments of life from the Lord of Spirits: And your garments shall not grow old, Nor your glory pass away before the Lord of Spirits."

This latter passage seems to envisage the resurrection of a transfigured body. G. E. Ladd points out that the concept of resurrection in the final section of Eth. Enoch seems to be a resurrection of the spirit, although this is quite uncommon in Judaism (*I Believe in the Resurrection of Jesus*, 1975, 75): "And the spirits of you who have died in righteousness shall live and rejoice, And their spirits shall not perish, nor their memorial from before the face of the Great One unto all the generations of the world: wherefore no longer fear their contumely" (Eth. Enoch 103:4; cf. 95: 33 ff.; 104:2–6).

(f) The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs were probably compiled in the first two centuries B.C. Again the resurrection of righteous Israelites is affirmed (Test. Jud. 25:1–4; Test. Ben. 10:6–9; Test. Zeb. 10:4).

(g) Although the Qumran community expected a grand final conflict between the sons of light and the sons of darkness (cf. 1QM generally; 1QH 3:34 ff.; CD 20:14 f.), they do not seem to have been much concerned about the fate of the dead (G. E. Ladd, op. cit., 57 f.; cf. H. Ringgren, *The Faith of Qumran*, 1963, 148 ff.). J. Pryke attributes to them a view of the immortality of the soul rather than the resurrection of the body in any Christian or late Jewish sense ("Eschatology in the Dead Sea Scrolls", in M. Black, ed., *The Scrolls and Christianity, SPCK Theological Collections* 11, 1969, 56). The sect clearly shared a belief in some form of future life. Perhaps the nearest statement of belief in a resurrection comes in the following Hymns, but even here it may be poetic metaphor: "And then at the time of Judgement the Sword of God shall hasten, and all the sons of His truth shall awake to [overthrow] wickedness; all the sons of iniquity shall be no more" (1QH 6:29 f.); "Hoist a banner, O you who lie in the dust! O bodies gnawed by worms, raise up an ensign for [the destruction of wickedness]! [The sinful shall] be destroyed in the bat-

tles against the ungodly" (1QH 6:34); "that bodies gnawed by worms may be raised from the dust to the counsel [of Thy truth], and that the perverse spirit (may be lifted) to the understanding [which comes from Thee]; that he may stand before Thee with the everlasting host and with [Thy] spirits [of holiness], to be renewed with all the living and to rejoice together with them that know" (1QM 11:12 ff.). The Manual of Discipline speaks of "the Renewal", of God choosing them "for an everlasting Covenant and all the glory of Adam shall be theirs" (1QS 4). "And as for the visitation of all who walk in this spirit, it shall be healing, great peace in a long life, and fruitfulness, together with every everlasting blessing and eternal joy in life without end, a crown of glory and a garment of majesty in unending light" (1QS 4:7 f.).

It is passages such as these which lead Pryke to conclude that the main thrust of Qumran belief was that "the ultimate destiny of those raised from the dead is to join the angelic company of spirits and to be transmuted from the matter into spirit, from man into angelic being" (op. cit., 56). This variety of emphases found in the Qumran texts lends substance to the accounts of Josephus, who held that the Essenes believed in both the resurrection of the body and the immortality of the soul: "Now the following opinion is firmly held among them . . . that while bodies are corruptible and their material substance has no permanency, souls are immortal and continue for ever; and that, emanating from the finest atmosphere, they are bound up in their bodies as in prisons, into which they are drawn by a certain natural attraction: but when they are released from the bonds of the flesh, they rejoice and are borne upwards, freed from a long slavery" (Josephus, *War* 8, 11). "Now the dogma (word) of the resurrection also is firmly held among them. . . . For they confess that the flesh also will rise and be immortal as the soul is already immortal, which they now say, when separated from the body, enters a place of fragrant air and light, to rest until the judgment . . . for they say that there will be a judgment and a conflagration of everything, and that the wicked will be eternally punished" (Hippolytus, *Haer.* 27; both quotations taken from M. Black, "The Account of the Essenes in Hippolytus and Josephus", in W. D. Davies and D. Daube, *The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology. In Honour of Charles Harold Dodd*, 1954, 175). Perhaps these summaries are weighted by a background Greek understanding of the immortality of the soul. But there is a passage in the Angelic Liturgy which together with the Horoscopes of Qumran comes near to gnosticism: "The sixth among the chief Princes will bless [. . .] all the perfect in righteous acts with seven words of wonder, so that they should be for ever with those who live for ever [. . .] The seventh of the sovereign Princes shall bless [. . .] who [for ever] praise his glorious kingdom with seven wondrous words which will be to them for eternal peace" (4QS1 1:24 ff.; cf. J. Pryke, ibid.; M. Delcor, "Recherches sur un Horoscope en Langue Hébraique provenant de Qumrân", *Revue de Qumrân* 20, 1966, 521–42; J. Carmignac, "Les Horoscopes de Qumrân", *Revue de Qumrân* 18, 1965, 199–217).

(h) In the later Talmudic literature "the primary doctrine of Judaism is the resurrection, the revivification of the dead" (G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, II, 379). The two terms are here synonymous. For complete demonstration, proof was sought from the three main divisions of scripture as in the discussion between Rabban Gamaliel II and the Sadducees. The latter asked Gamaliel where in scripture was the evidence that the Holy One brings the dead to life. Gamaliel replied by citing from the law Deut. 31:16, from the prophets Isa. 26:19, and from the hagiographa Cant. 7:10.

But the Sadducees were not satisfied, and Gamaliel finally quoted Deut. 11:9, claiming that the promise of the land "to them" implied resurrection of the dead (cf. Sanhedrin 90b; Moore, *Judaism*, II, 382, and for further data 377–95; SB IV, 2, 1166–98 on the question of a general or partial resurrection of the dead in Judaism; SB IV, 2, 1213–1323 on ideas of judgment in Judaism). However, recent investigation has also shown widespread belief in Judaism between c. 200 B.C. and A.D. 100 of immortality of the soul alongside resurrection (cf. H. C. C. Cavallin, *Life After Death. Paul's Argument for the Resurrection of the Dead in 1 Corinthians 15. Part I: An Enquiry into the Jewish Background*, 1974, 200).

9. Neither the OT nor later intertestamental literature contains a uniform eschatological expectation. In large tracts of the NT, expectation is concentrated on this life and on what Yahweh is doing in history. But in various places there is the growing belief that, because Yahweh lives, his faithful people will also live. The nature of such an existence is rarely defined, though there is an implied continuity of identity. While Sheol is often depicted as the ultimate end of man, there is "the beginnings of the thought of a richer and more worth-while survival in another world, and the growth of a belief in a resurrection to life on earth" (H.H. Rowley, op. cit., 160 f.).

Such beliefs are sometimes traced to foreign influence. One such suggestion is that the Israelites got the idea of resurrection from the Egyptian cult of Osiris (H. Gressmann, *Tod und Auferstehung des Osiris, Der Alte Orient* 13, 1923; R. Martin-Achard, op. cit., 195–205; but cf. F. Nötscher, *Altorientalischer und alttestamentlicher Auferstehungsglauben*, 1926, 177 ff., 185, and H. H. Rowley, op. cit., 161 ff.). This was related to the Babylonian Tammuz cult and to the Canaanite fertility cult (cf. the account of the "Descent of Ishtar to the Nether World", *ANET*, 196–9; H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, 1945, 286 ff.). Osiris may well be connected with Adonis, the Syrian counterpart of Tammuz (Lucian, *De Dea Syra* 7; cf. W. W. von Baudissin, *Adonis und Esmun*, 1911, 94 ff.). The Osiris cult was originally a rite in which pharaoh was identified with Osiris, thus assuring him of immortality. It has been suggested that such rites were incorporated into Israelite religion in the form of a new year festival in which the king ritually died and rose again. In this he represented God, and the ceremonies were designed to encourage fertility and the renewal of nature. The idea of sacred marriage belonged to these rites, and this was reflected in the religious prostitution denounced by the prophets.

Although it is clear from the denunciations of the prophets that Canaanite religion encroached upon that of the Israelites, the subject of the new year festival as such is not directly mentioned by the OT writers. It is rather inferred from constructions placed on certain passages, and many scholars now doubt whether there ever was such a festival (cf. D. J. A. Clines, "The Evidence for an Autumnal New Year in Pre-Exilic Israel and Judah Reconsidered", *JBL* 93, 1974, 22–40; and "The Psalms and the King", *Theological Students' Fellowship Bulletin* 71, 1975, 1–6; → also Might, art. *thronos* OT 4; → Myth, art. *mythos* OT). Even if there was a new year festival, Rowley doubts whether the Israelites could have gained their notions of an after-life from Canaanite or Egyptian religion via this rite. If they had, one would have expected faith in resurrection to have appeared in pre-exilic times. But in any case, such Israelite belief in resurrection as there was had an essentially different character. "In the rites the central thing was not to set before men the idea of human resurrection,

but to maintain fertility in family, field and flock throughout the community" (Rowley, op. cit., 163). It is possible that some of the ideas of the Pss. (see above, 1) reflect the language of the rites. There are references to Adonis gardens in Isa. 17:10, weeping for Tammuz in Ezek. 8:13 f., and mourning for Hadad-rimmon in Zech. 12:11. But none of these passages warrants the conclusion that Israelite belief in an after-life or resurrection was actually derived from the non-Israelite sources so far discussed.

Another, but later, suggested source is Persian Zoroastrianism (cf. J. D. C. Pavry, *The Zoroastrian Doctrine of a Future Life*, 1929; J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, 1913, 154 ff.; H. S. Nyberg, *Die Religionen des alten Iran*, 1938, 308 ff.; A. T. Nikolainen, *Die Auferstehungsglauben in der Bibel und ihrer Umwelt*, I, 1944, 22 ff.; R. Martin-Achard, op. cit., 186–95). But, although Rowley shares the widespread view that Jewish thought bears the influence of Persian ideas, particularly in the Book of Daniel and especially in connexion with its angelology, he rejects the suggestion that Iranian thought was the source of Daniel's doctrine of resurrection (op. cit., 161; cf. H. H. Rowley, *The Relevance of Apocalyptic*, 1947², 40; F. Nötscher, *Altorientalischer und alttestamentlicher Auferstehungsglauben*, 1926, 185–96; A. Bertholet, "The pre-Christian Belief in the Resurrection of the Body", *American Journal of Theology* 20, 1916, 25 ff.; and "Zur Frage des Verhältnisses vom persischen und jüdischen Auferstehungsglauben", in *Festschrift F. C. Andreas*, 1916, 51–62). In Daniel there is no thought of a universal resurrection of the kind found in Zoroastrianism. It may be that the "many" of Dan. 12:2 may have an inclusive sense, i.e. "all" (→ All, art. *polloi*) and this would fit the context. But this still leaves considerable differences between Heb. and Persian thought. W. W. von Baudissin has pointed out that the terminology employed by the Jews in discussing the resurrection is typically Semitic and does not recall Iranian expressions (*Adonis und Esmun*, 1911, 418 ff.). Whereas the biblical passages speak of awakening from death, as from sleep, the Persians thought of it as a reconstitution of the body through the reunion of its elements. In conclusion it may be said that the Jews had a conception of resurrection before they came into contact with the Persian Empire. The thought of an after-life has its deepest root in the awareness of the living God himself; because Yahweh lives and is the covenant God of Israel, his people, there is an on-going relationship and life. This awareness developed in the course of history in Israel's many vicissitudes and partly also in contrast with surrounding religious beliefs. *C. Brown*

NT Both the vb. and the noun are found in the NT in general senses not connected with resurrection. *anhistēmi* is used of raising up children for a deceased brother in a levirate marriage (Matt. 22:24; cf. Gen. 38:8), of rising to speak (Matt. 26:62; cf. Mk. 14:57, 60), to read scripture (Lk. 4:16), or from prayer (Lk. 22:45) etc. It can be used in the sense of to appear or come, of a king (Acts 7:18; cf. Exod. 1:8), a priest (Heb. 7:11, 15), accusers (Matt. 12:41; Lk. 11:32; Mk. 14:57), a questioner (Lk. 10:25; cf. Acts 6:9), and an enemy rising up or rebelling against someone (Mk. 3:26; Acts 5:36). There is also the weakened meaning indicating the beginning of an action expressed by another vb., i.e. rise, set out, get ready (Matt. 9:9; Mk. 2:14; 7:24; 10:1; and perhaps 1:35; Lk. 1:39; 4:29, 39; 5:28; 6:8; Acts 8:26; 9:6, 11, 34). In Mk. 13:2 *v.l.* it means to rise. (For further discussion and usage outside the NT in

these senses see Arndt, 69.) *anastasis* is used in the expression "Behold, this child is set for the fall and rising of many in Israel" (Lk. 2:34), i.e. because of him many will fall and others will rise in Israel. These words of Simeon draw attention almost at the outset of Lk. to the rôle of Jesus in God's purposes and to his divisive effect within Israel, a fact borne out by the succeeding narrative. Altogether the vb. occurs 107 times in the NT, including 71 instances in the Lucan writings alone (4 times in Matt.; 17 in Mk.; 26 in Lk.; 8 in Jn.; 45 in Acts; once each in Rom., 1 Cor. and Eph.; and twice each in 2 Thess. and Heb.). The noun is found 42 times, again predominantly in the Lucan writings (4 times in Matt.; 2 in Mk.; 6 in Lk.; 4 in Jn.; 11 in Acts; 2 in Rom.; 4 in 2 Cor.; once each in Phil. and 2 Tim.; 3 in Heb.; twice each in 2 Pet. and Rev.). Although the vb. is much more common, most instances of it do not refer to the resurrection; it is the reverse in the case of the noun. In the case of → *egeirō* it is the vb. which is more commonly used in connexion with resurrection.

1. In secular Gk. we find these words are hardly ever used to express resurrection of the dead to life, but this is their theologically richest meaning in the NT. When this happens, the root has become virtually synonymous with → *egeirō*. At first sight, as is the case in the LXX, it seems that there is hardly any difference between them. Closer study shows that *egeirō*, especially in the pass., is used predominantly for what happened at Easter, i.e. the wakening of the Crucified to life, while *anhistēmi* and *anastasis* refer more especially to the recall to life of people during the earthly ministry of Jesus and to the eschatological and universal resurrection. 1 Cor. 15:25 f. makes the difference between the two concepts clear (although the Eng. does not always make it sufficiently clear that two different roots are being used). They soon became interchangeable, however, as is shown by *tēn dynamin tēs anasteōs autou* ("the power of his resurrection") in Phil. 3:10, and especially by *anastasis Iēsou Christou* ("resurrection of Jesus Christ") in 1 Pet. 1:3 and 3:21. M. E. Dahl has shown in table-form that with both verbal stems the intrans. meaning predominates (*The Resurrection of the Body: A Study of I Corinthians 15, SBT* 36, 1962, 98 ff.); with both, except in 1 Cor. 15, the subject is almost always Christ. When they are used trans., God is predominantly the subject and Christ the object. Although we cannot apply it universally, we may say that the general rule in the NT is that, in contrast to the LXX, the action of God on and through Christ is expressed by *egeirō*, while *anhistēmi* expresses, as it were, that which happens in the realm of human experience.

2. Central for the NT are the statements about Jesus' resurrection, including the predictions Mk. 8:31 par. Matt. 16:21; Lk. 9:22; Mk. 9:9 par. Matt. 17:9; Mk. 9:31 par. Matt. 17:23; Mk. 10:34 par. Matt. 20:19, Lk. 18:33, and the testimony by Mary Magdalene (Matt. 28:8, 10) and the disciples (Acts 1:22; 2:31; 4:33 etc.). Through an act of God, the dead and buried Lord had been awakened to → life again (cf. Acts 2:31, 34; Eph. 5:14) with a body, which was new, material, not identical with the old, but not merely visionary (cf. Jn. 20; 21). He appeared to his disciples in a form that could be seen and felt (Jn. 20:27; Lk. 24:16, 31, 39; Acts 1:2, 9; cf. 1 Jn. 1:1 ff.), though he might not always permit the latter (Jn. 20:17), because from then on they should know him only as the Exalted One, i.e. independently from his form in the flesh (cf. 2 Cor. 5:16). Though Jesus already possessed the → light and → spirit → body of the new age (→ Time, art. *aiōn*), he maintained normal human fellowship with his disciples by eating and drinking with them (Lk. 24:29 f.; Jn. 21:12 f.). The

testimony of the disciples was not based on the event of Jesus being raised which no one had seen – according to Matt. 28:4 the guards fainted – but on their meetings with the Risen One (Acts 1:22). The fact that Jesus did not remain among the dead, but was alive (Lk. 24:5) gave the disciples, who until then had vacillated, the certainty that they had to do with the Lord, the Son (Rom. 1:4). The resurrection of Jesus thus became the sign of God's triumph over the power of → sin and → death. In other words, it had cancelled the fall of → Adam and all human slavery that had resulted from it, for the Crucified had entered the glory → of God as the first among many (→ Sacrifice, art. *aparchē*). This message is the foundation of all Christian hope and preaching (1 Pet. 1:3; 1 Cor. 15; → Proclamation); it also explains why → baptism is the sign of salvation (1 Pet. 3:21; Rom. 6:5).

In the mystery of his person Jesus incorporates "the resurrection and the life" (Jn. 11:25). In other words, the resurrection, which the Jews had conceived only eschatologically, begins at the point where he appears and sets his Spirit to work. Anyone who is linked to him by → faith, and has been possessed by his power, experiences the beginning of the transition from this transient age to the new one, to the liberation from sin and death (Phil. 3:10; → Redemption). This is testified to in the → Lord's Supper (Jn. 6:54). Hence, faith may be interpreted as a dying and rising again with Jesus (Rom. 6:11; Jn. 5:24).

4. Even if John gives us a concept of resurrection as something apparently contemporaneously realized, that is only a beginning. (On Jn.'s eschatology → Present, art. *The Parousia and Eschatology in the NT* 2 (d) .) 2 Tim. 2:18 expressly rejects the idea that the general resurrection of the dead took place in that of Jesus; the context of Col. 2:13 and Eph. 2:6 does not suggest it either. The general resurrection, which is inferred from that of Jesus, is held fast. In Jn. 6:39 f., 54 it is recorded as taught by Jesus himself. It is always in the sense of the resurrection of the → body; it is never a mere continuation of being, or a reawakening of the soul. As such, it was the real point of opposition to the proclamation of the gospel. It was rejected by the Sadducees (Matt. 22:23), who held that only the Torah, the OT law, was authoritative, and they claimed that the resurrection was not taught there (cf. Matt. 22:31 f.) It was equally rejected by the Greeks, because the teaching was too materialistic for their spiritualized thinking (Acts 17:18, 32; 1 Cor. 15:12). Faith in a resurrection linked with → judgment (cf. Heb. 6:2) belongs to the fundamental elements of faith (cf. 2 Cor. 5:10; Lk. 14:14; Heb. 11:35).

5.(a) Although the word resurrection is clearly used of a definite event in the future (Jn. 11:24; Matt. 22:28), the term does not necessarily imply it. There are here, as in Jewish apocalyptic, two lines of thought discernible concerning the scope of its effects. Besides the general resurrection as it is depicted in Rev. 20:11–15, Matt. 25:31–46, which is linked with the return of Christ and the separation (→ Judgment) of the good and bad, the NT also speaks of a preceding "first" resurrection of the righteous (Lk. 14:14), of the dead in Christ (1 Thess. 4:16; probably also in 1 Cor. 15:23 f., where *to telos* may mean the rest [cf. Arndt, 819]). In Rev. 20:4 ff. the dead in Christ are said to reign for a thousand years, whereas the remainder of the dead appear before the throne of God first on the day of final judgment (Rev. 20:11 ff.). (For interpretations of the millennium → Number, art. *chilias* NT 4.) While it is also true of the general resurrection that individual identity persists in spite of death, so that men will stand before God in their complete being, a fuller language is used for

believers. They will be "equal to angels [*isangeloi*]" (Lk. 20:36), free of all impulses of the *psychē*, including sexual ones (Matt. 22:30; 24:38); they will be like Jesus, for they will "see him as he is" (1 Jn. 3:2). In this connexion Paul once uses the expression *exanastasis* (Phil. 3:11): "that if possible I may attain the resurrection from the dead." It is debated whether the compound word simply means *anastasis*, as is normally the case, or whether Paul is alluding to the earlier transformation and the church's being lifted up to be with Christ (1 Thess. 4:17; Rev. 20:4). In any case, we must remember that the analogy of → seed and harvest has only a superficial resemblance to the process of resurrection. God gives a body as he wills (1 Cor. 15:38), and so he alone guarantees the identity of the person.

6. The vb. *anazaō*, come to life again, is rare in secular Gk. It is found in the NT in the following senses. In Rev. 20:5 f. TR it is used of the dead coming to life. In Rom. 7:9 it describes the action of the commandment in provoking and condemning sin: "I was once alive apart from the law, but when the commandment came, sin revived and I died." The argument is that it is the law which identifies sin for what it is (Rom. 7:7). But sin uses the commandment to attempt to justify itself by assuming that man can actually fulfil the law (vv. 8 ff.). This is a deception, and results in killing the person concerned (v. 11), because failure to keep the law brings condemnation. Finally, the vb. is used of the prodigal son after his return: "for this my son was dead, and is alive again [*anezēsen*]; he was lost, and is found" (Lk. 15:24).

L. Coenen

In Phil. 3 Paul describes how he counts as "loss" all the things which he previously gloried in as a Jew in order to gain Christ (Phil. 3:8; → Dirt, art. *skybalon*). His desire now is to have a → righteousness not of his own, but "that which is through faith in Christ" (v. 9), "that I may know him and the power of his resurrection [*tēn dynamin tēs anastaseōs autou*], and may share in his sufferings, becoming like him in his death, that if possible I may attain the resurrection from the dead [*ei pōs katantēsō eis tēn exanastasin tēn ek nekrōn*]" (vv. 10 f.). R. P. Martin suggests that the background here is a polemical confrontation with those perfectionists who were arguing that knowledge of the heavenly Lord was all-important and that believers were already raised with Christ to new life (*Philippians, New Century Bible*, 1976, 134; cf. Phil. 3:12–16; 2 Tim. 2:18; 1 Cor. 15:12; W. Schmithals, *Gnosticism in Corinth*, 1971, 155 ff., 259 ff.; P. Siber, *Mit Christus Leben. Eine Studie zur paulinischen Auferstehungshoffnung*, 1971, 116–22). "He does so with a forceful statement that the only way to enter into the *power of his resurrection* is by a willingness to *share his sufferings*, and so become *like him in his death.* The last phrase is clearly baptismal (cf. Rom. 6:1–11; 2 C. 4:7–15; Col. 2:12, 20; 3:1; 2 Tim. 2:11), referring to the representative death of Jesus on the cross in which believers participate as they too die to their old life and are raised to new existence" (ibid.; cf. J. Jervell, *Imago Dei*, 1960, 206 ff., 261, 273 ff.; M. B. Ahern, "The Fellowship of his Sufferings (Phil. 3,10)", *CBQ* 22, 1960, 1–32; H. Seesemann, *Der Begriff KOINONIA im Neuen Testament*, 1933, 83 f.). The reference to "his resurrection" (v. 10) suggests a present experience. In v. 11 "Paul expresses the hope that complete conforming to his Lord (3:21) will come at *the resurrection from among the dead* (the unparalleled expression – 'intended clearly to express the realism of the resurrection from the physically dead' [Gnilka] – is probably to be accounted for by Paul's

emphasis on the necessity for a future resurrection to complete God's saving plan for his people)" (R. P. Martin, op. cit., 135; cf. J. Gnilka, *Der Philipperbrief, Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament*, 1968, ad loc.). Polycarp observed that false prophets said that "there is neither resurrection nor judgment" (*To the Philippians* 7). The phrase *ei pōs* ("if possible") is seen by Martin not as an expression of doubt about the reality of Paul's resurrection but about the way in which it will be his, i.e. whether by martyrdom in the near future or by some other means at a more distant time (op. cit., 136; cf. Phil. 1:20–26; on the Gk. see Funk § 375).

(b) That which happens between earthly death and eschatological resurrection is, from the standpoint of time, unimportant, for with death man is no longer within → time. Discussion about the intermediate state of the soul can only be speculative. The decisive point is that after death all men will stand before Christ, either as judge or saviour, "who will change our lowly body to be like his glorious body, by the power which enables him even to subject all things to himself" (Phil. 3:21, cf. v. 20; 1:10, 21; 2:10 f.; → Present, art. *The Parousia and Eschatology in the NT* 2 (c) for Paul's eschatological teaching, and the note below on *The Resurrection in Contemporary Theology* 2 for interpretations of the NT teaching on the resurrection of believers).

C. Brown

ἐγείρω

ἐγείρω (*egeirō*), wake, rouse, raise up; ἔγερσις (*egersis*), awakening, i.e. resurrection.

CL This word-group is often found in Gk. literature, the vb. from Homer onwards, the noun from Empedocles and Hippocrates, and is absolutely synonymous with *anhistēmi*. Accordingly the meaning of the vb. when trans. is to waken, lift up, erect, stimulate, stir up; when intrans. awake, get up, stand up. When used of persons, it is used for those who are awakened from sleep, unconsciousness, or lethargy, who are stimulated to action or revolt, or for those who do such actions. The noun means (trans.) a waking up, an establishing, (intrans.) a waking, standing up, a recovery (from illness). The meaning resurrection (from death) in our understanding of the term can hardly be found, either in a verbal or substantival sense. One of the few possible exceptions is Menander of Ephesus quoted in Josephus *Ant.* 8, 5, 3 (146), *Ap.* 1, 119, though this interpretation of *egersis* is not given in the standard translations of Whiston and Thackeray. From this we can infer, as was already pointed out under → *anastasis*, CL, that the concept was not native to Gk. thought, and occurs only symbolically or cultically for the waking up of sleeping gods. Fuller details in *TDNT* II 333.

OT The OT use of the word-group normally corresponds to Gk. idiom. In the LXX, which uses it as virtually synonymous with the *anhistēmi* group, it represents the Heb. *qûm* (rise), *'ûr* (arouse) and *'āmaḏ* (stand): Pharaoh awoke (Gen. 41:4, 7); the Lord raised up judges (Jdg. 2:16, 18); Gabriel set Daniel, who had fallen unconscious, on his feet (Dan. 8:18); King Ahasuerus rose from table (Est. 7:7); God is solemnly called on to arise and scatter his enemies (Num. 10:35). That it is synonymous with *anhistēmi* may be seen from Gen. 38:8 and 2 Sam. 7:12 where *anhistēmi* is used both for man and God, while in Isa. 45:13a *egeirō* is used (→

anastasis OT). At the same time already in LXX there is a marked modification of the verbal connotation through its use for the raising of the dead (→ *anastasis* OT) and the work of God's Spirit in man.

NT 1. Generally speaking the word-group has the same meaning in the NT as in CL and OT. *egersis* is found only once, viz. Matt. 27:53 in connexion with the resurrection of Jesus; elsewhere *anastasis* or its verbal forms is used. However, *egeirō* occurs 143 times (36 in Matt.; 19 in Mk.; 18 in Lk.; 13 in Jn.; 12 in Acts; 10 in Rom.; 20 in 1 Cor.; 4 in 2 Cor.; 2 in Eph.; once each in Gal., Phil., Col., 1 Thess., 2 Tim., Heb., Jas., 1 Pet. and Rev.). *egeirō* is particularly used by Matt. as an introduction to action (e.g. 1:24; 2:14; 8:26; 25:7), and for the appearance of characters on the stage of history (e.g. 24:7, 11, 24). This usage is common also in Lk. (e.g. 13:25). Mk. prefers the imperative (but cf. Lk. 5:23 f.; Jn. 14:31).

2. A survey of the cases in which the word-group is used for awaking to life creates at first the impression that the line of development already seen in the OT and Jewish apocalyptic has been merely further developed. There are occasional cases where those regarded by the doctors as dead are reported as brought back to life by Jesus. He took the hand of Jairus' daughter and caused her to get up and walk (Mk. 5:41). According to the Synoptics (Matt. 9:25; Mk. 5:41; Lk. 8:54 f.), it was his touch and kingly command that gave the child back her life. The command was expressed by the imperative *egeire*. The same is true of the widow's son outside the gate of Nain (Lk. 7:14; the command *egerthēti* is used). Lazarus was raised from the dead after a previous prayer of thanks merely by the command *deuro exō*, "Come out" (Jn. 11:43). In the case of "the officer in the royal service" (NEB) it was sufficient for Jesus to say, "Your son is alive" (Jn. 4:50). In the two latter cases the relation to the → faith of those concerned and of the spectators is underlined and it is stressed that Jesus had full authority to bring the dead to life (Jn. 4:50; 11:25, 40). The young man at Nain was called back to life merely out of pity for the mother (Lk. 7:13). It is probably also characteristic that both before the raising of Jairus' daughter (Mk. 5:39) and of Lazarus (Jn. 11:11) Jesus stated that (for him) the dead persons were not dead, but asleep. Both the Synoptics and John indicate that death can set no bounds to Jesus' activity, but that the → life which proceeded from him stripped death of its power, i.e. that the otherwise immutable frontier of → death and → time had been broken through or leaped over. The spectators' laughter at such a statement (Mk. 5:40) serves best to stress the extraordinary and incomprehensible nature of this life-giving → power. What the Jews at best considered possible, and to be expected, apart from their belief in eschatological resurrection (Jn. 11:24; Martha), was that someone should be preserved from death, even as in the OT: "Could not he ... have kept this man from dying?" (Jn. 11:37). But now God, the Lord over life and death, stood in person before them.

3. This has brought us to the heart of the concept which has to do with the raising of Jesus. The epistles of the NT never use *egeirō*, except in Phil. 1:17, in any sense but that of resurrection from the dead. It is so frequently used in Rom., 1 and 2 Cor., that we recognize that it must have been a dominant element in Paul's preaching. In fact, in 1 Cor. 15 he explains that God's breaking into history in the resurrection of Jesus is the decisive factor in the → gospel, the means by which we are saved, without which all faith would be vain. Witnesses are adduced for the truth of the happening;

they were those to whom Jesus had "appeared" (*ōphthē* is used four times in vv. 5–8). For the preacher of the gospel it had become the touchstone of its truth. The one who disputed or denied the resurrection made God a liar and their → faith a hollow mask (vv. 14–17: *kenos* and *mataios;* → Empty). After all, it is faith "in him who raised from the dead Jesus our Lord" (Rom. 4:24), and his spirit lives in those who believe "to give life" to their mortal bodies (Rom. 8:11; cf. 2 Cor. 4:14). It is the fact of Jesus' resurrection that has removed our sins (1 Cor. 15:17) and has broken the power of death (Rom. 6:4, 9, in connexion with → baptism).

The resurrection of Jesus is not described only with God as subject and Jesus as object; the vb. may be taken intrans. in the middle voice with Jesus as subject, i.e. "he arose from the dead" (e.g. Rom. 6:4, 9; 8:34, and especially in the Synoptics, Mk. 14:28; 16:6; Matt. 27:63). This change in usage shows that while the resurrecting power always issued from God, it belongs to the Son also, who is of one being with the Father.

4. This is seen most clearly in the case of the eschatological resurrection, when it is normally left open who raises the dead, Christ or God himself. "The dead will be raised", i.e. will rise (1 Cor. 15:52; Matt. 11:5). It is, however, clear that the resurrection of the dead is inseparably linked with the resurrection of Christ; it is based on it and follows on it (1 Cor. 15:13–17). Except in 1 Cor. 15 the *anhistēmi* group is normally used for it. In 1 Cor. 15:42–44 Paul contrasts the difference between now and then by the contrasts *phthora*, corruption – *aphtharsia*, incorruptibility; *atimia*, dishonour – *doxa*, glory; *astheneia*, weakness – *dynamis*, power; *psychikon*, natural, of the *psychē* – *pneumatikon*, spiritual. The power to raise the dead is transferred from God to Jesus, and by him is promised to his disciples (Matt. 10:8). Perhaps its most exalted expression is found in Matt. 3:9: "God is able from these stones to raise up children to Abraham." *L. Coenen*

The Resurrection in Contemporary Theology

The purpose of this note is to make a survey of some of the more recent influential studies of the NT teaching on resurrection looking at: 1. The Resurrection of Jesus, and 2. the Resurrection of Men in General.

1. *The Resurrection of Jesus.* (a) Rudolf Bultmann, who for more than a quarter of a century has dominated German NT interpretation, put forward the paradoxical position maintaining "the incredibility of a mythical event like the resuscitation of a corpse – for that is what the resurrection means" and the fact that "the resurrection is itself an article of faith" (cited from "New Testament and Mythology" (1941) in H. W. Bartsch, ed., *Kerygma and Myth*, I, 1953, 39 f.; → Myth). For Bultmann the cross and the resurrection constitute the heart of the NT kerygma. Although they are presented in the context of obsolete, mythological world-views, they cannot be set aside. Nor can they be verified by historical scholarship. For the cross and resurrection confront us with the eschatological which transcends all historical and objective investigation. "In accepting the word of preaching as the word of God and the death and resurrection of Christ as the eschatological event, we are given an opportunity of understanding ourselves. Faith and unbelief are never blind, arbitrary decisions. They offer us the alternative between accepting or rejecting that which alone can illuminate our understanding of ourselves. The real Easter faith is faith in the word of

preaching which brings illumination. If the event of Easter Day is in any sense an historical event additional to the event of the cross, it is nothing else than the rise of faith in the risen Lord, since it was this faith which led to the apostolic preaching. The resurrection itself is not an event of past history. All that historical criticism can establish is the fact that the first disciples came to believe in the resurrection" (op. cit., 41 f.).

In reply to criticisms Bultmann could even say: "It has often been said, most of the time in criticism, that according to my interpretation of the kerygma Jesus has risen in the kerygma. I accept this proposition. It is entirely correct, assuming that it is properly understood. It presupposes that the kerygma itself is an eschatological event, and that it expresses the fact that Jesus is really present in the kerygma, that it is *his* word which involves the hearer in the kerygma. If that is the case, then all speculation concerning the modes of being of the risen Jesus, all the narratives of the empty tomb and all the Easter legends, whatever elements of historical fact thy may contain, and as true as they may be in their symbolic form, are of no consequence. To believe in the Christ present in the kerygma is the meaning of the Easter faith" ("The Primitive Christian Kerygma and the Historical Jesus", in C. E. Braaten and R. A. Harrisville, eds., *The Historical Jesus and the Kerygmatic Christ: Essays on the New Quest of the Historical Jesus*, 1964, 42). (On Bultmann's position → Present, art. *The Parousia and Eschatology in the NT* 1 (d); → Myth; cf. also R. Bultmann, *Jesus Christ and Mythology*, 1951; the various essays in *Kerygma and Myth*, combined volume, 1972; L. Malevez, *The Christian Message and Myth: The Theology of Rudolf Bultmann*, 1958; C. W. Kegley, ed., *The Theology of Rudolf Bultmann*, 1966; W. Schmithals, *An Introduction to the Theology of Rudolf Bultmann*, 1968, 126–46; and C. Brown, "Bultmann Revisited", *The Churchman* 88, 1974, 167–87).

(b) Probably the most substantial study of the resurrection event by a German scholar in recent years is that of Hans Grass, *Ostergeschehen und Osterberichte*, (1956), 1964[3]. Grass begins with an examination of the gospel narratives. He considers much to be legendary and dominated by ulterior motives. "What remains now as the historical kernel of the legendary Easter stories of the gospels which were shaped by various motives? The conjecture that the first appearances occurred in Galilee (by the lake?) at a point in time removed from Easter, that the circle of disciples participated in the appearances and that Peter was dominant in it, or rather saw the Lord before the other disciples. Out of the appearances arose the Easter faith: the Lord is risen indeed. The encounter with the Lord was understood as a commission to continue his work. Nothing more certain can be derived from the reports about the mode and manner of the appearances. It also remains uncertain whether any dependable information about the empty tomb still stands behind the grave stories. The legendary character of all the gospel Easter reports would itself make these data appear questionable, if we did not have the resurrection testimony of Paul and could not derive from him a series of more certain data" (op. cit., 93). Nevertheless, the appearances were not a piece of self-deception for such self-deception could not have survived the rigours of the opposition encountered by the early church and the awareness of the presence of the risen Christ was intrinsic to the early church's message and sacraments (op. cit., 263 ff.; cf. 14, 29–32, 127).

Grass believes that the original ending of Mk. was erased by a community which may have felt a tension between the (later) tradition of a third-day appearance in

Jerusalem and an earlier Galilean appearance (op. cit., 18 f.). The original may be represented in Jn. 21 which contains a Galilean tradition which is older than the theologically slanted one of Jn. 20 (op. cit., 74–85; cf. 51–73). Grass regards many of the details given in Matt. as legendary and late, e.g., the story of the guard (Matt. 27:62–66; 28:4, 11–15) which is also found in Gos. Pet. He sees a tension here in that the appearance is to non-believers, whereas the earlier tradition (which survived in Acts 10:41) maintained that Jesus appeared only to believers (op. cit., 25). However, the parousia-like scene of the commissioning of the disciples preserves the historical element of locating it in Galilee (op. cit., 28 ff.). Luke's account of the Emmaus road encounter is also legendary and apologetic in intention (op. cit., 35 ff.). The story of the forty days and the ascension represent the answer of a post-Pauline theology to the question why the appearances had ceased (op. cit., 48 ff.), and they represent events in a much more naturalistic and verifiable way than they actually were.

Grass rejects all attempts at harmonization of the gospel accounts. "The gospel narratives are . . . strongly legendary and give no true picture of the events. Paul, as the more original account, must retain precedence over the gospel accounts" (op. cit., 107; cf. 1 Cor. 15:3–10). The kerygma which Paul took over contained only the first two appearances, those to Peter and the Twelve. The appearances to Peter and the twelve took place in Galilee, whereas those to James and "all the apostles" occurred in Jerusalem. The one to the five hundred brethren took place before that to James (op. cit., 101).

Grass is sceptical about "the third day" and the empty tomb. The place of the former in early tradition may be due to the discovery of the empty tomb on that day. But the idea may be due to a Christian adaptation of current Jewish interpretation of Hos. 6:2 in connexion with the general resurrection (op. cit., 134). The story of the empty tomb is a late development which came about through the need to regard the body of Jesus as freed from corruption and as having ascended into heaven (op. cit., 145 f.). In Paul's view the tomb does not need to be empty (op. cit., 146–73). The function of 1 Cor. 15:4 is to stress Jesus' death. Grass understands 2 Cor. 5:1–10 as teaching that those who rise from the dead do not need their old bodies (cf. 1 Cor. 15:49, 53). Resurrection does not necessitate the transformation of the physical body but its replacement by a glorious body.

Although ecstatic experiences were not uncommon in the early church, the resurrection appearances were not the subjective product of ecstasy. Despite the Lucan attempts to argue for the resurrection of Jesus' earthly body, Christ always appeared with a *sōma doxēs* (body of glory) or *sōma pneumatikon* (spiritual body) (op. cit., 232). "That a psychic disposition among certain disciples conditioned the visionary contemplation of the exalted Lord is no more probable than the reverse assumption that enthusiastic phenomena were a consequence of encounter with the Risen One" (op. cit., 238). The appearances were essentially visionary, though the visions have a divine authority. "The Easter event is reduced for critical, historical study to a series of Christ-visions, by which the scattered and shattered disciples were empowered to a death-defying proclamation of Christ, to the founding of the church and to mission. With them begins the history of Christianity. Theological reflection has no cause to dispute the visionary character of the Christ-encounters. It believes, however, that this was not a case of self-deception on the part of the disci-

ples to be explained by imminent factors, but rather that God has acted here. He has not left Christ in death, but raised and exalted him, revealing the Living and Exalted One not to all the people but to a circle of chosen witnesses, who in visionary contemplation were allowed to see him in his *doxa* and were certain of his *kyriotēs* which commissioned them anew" (op. cit., 249). The commissioning element is very old and original, though not necessarily authentic, in the sense that it is useless to ask which sayings are authentic (op. cit., 252 f.).

(b) In 1964 Willi Marxsen published a discussion paper intended for theologians which was subsequently translated into English under the title "The Resurrection of Jesus as a Historical and Theological Problem" (in C. F. D. Moule, ed., *The Significance of the Message of the Resurrection for Faith in Jesus Christ, SBT* Second Series 8, 1968, 15–50). The paper led to calls for Marxsen's removal from the examining commission of the Evangelical Church of Westphalia on the grounds of heresy. Marxsen himself followed it up with a more popular presentation, *The Resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth* (1968; E. T. 1970, cited below as *The Resurrection*). Commenting on 1 Cor. 15:14 ("If Christ has not been raised, then our preaching is in vain and your faith is in vain"), Marxsen says: "This means surely that apart from the resurrection of Jesus there would be no Church" (Moule, ed., op. cit., 15; cf. *The Resurrection*, 12). But for us the question is now on a different plane from what it was in NT times in view of our post-Enlightenment critical attitude to history. We cannot answer the question of historicity simply by appealing to the texts, any more than we can answer the question about how the world came into being by appealing to the Book of Genesis without taking into consideration the conclusions of natural science (Moule, ed., op. cit., 16). Although there is a close relationship between the theological interpretation of the biblical writers and their historical beliefs, the former is not altogether invalidated if the latter can no longer be accepted at face value (Moule, ed., op. cit., 17; cf. *The Resurrection*, 15). Whereas Bultmann appears to be uninterested in the connexion between theology and history, Marxsen thinks that it is at least worth investigating (Moule, ed., op. cit., 18 f.).

"Now it is of course obvious that I have *no* direct access to any event in the past" (Moule, ed., op. cit., 20). We have to work through the witness of intermediaries and build up a picture of what happened on the basis of our critical evaluation of their sources. One cannot short-circuit this process by appealing to spiritual insight. "But by means of spiritual perception no *event* is grasped, no historical fact, but merely the significance of a phenomenon open to others as well. Of this significance reality is a necessary characteristic. But this reality is recognized not *in addition to*, but precisely *in* the event" (Moule, op. cit., 21). Now, Paul's experience of Jesus on the Damascus road was not like, say, his encounter with Peter at Antioch. He did not claim to have seen the *Risen One*, but speaks of Jesus as God's *Son* (Gal. 1:15) and asks "Have I not seen *Jesus* our Lord?" (1 Cor. 9:1). Only in 1 Cor. 15:8 is there a somewhat different emphasis: "Last of all, as to one untimely born, he appeared also to me [*ōphthē kamoi*]" (on this verse → Birth, art. *ektrōma*). Conversely, when Paul spoke of the raising of Jesus he never did so in terms of something that had happened to him (Moule, ed., op. cit., 23). On this basis, Marxsen infers that "The belief that Jesus' resurrection had actually taken place is therefore founded for Paul *not* upon a happening of something which he considers to have taken place; on the contrary, it is a process of deduction. We are therefore on no account allowed to appeal to Paul if

we want to describe Jesus' resurrection (directly) as an event which has happened, but we must begin by asking if this process of deduction is reliable" (Moule, ed., op. cit., 24).

Marxsen's logic at this point is curious. For while granting what he says about Paul's language, neither the formal premises of Paul's position nor his actual statements warrant the inference that for him belief in the resurrection of Christ was a deduction as contrasted with "something which he considers to have taken place" (cf. 1 Cor. 15:4–7). While it is true to say that no one in the NT ever claimed to have seen the event of the resurrection (this is first found in the Gospel of Peter), the *kērygma* does presuppose that the resurrection was a historical event (→ Proclamation, art. *kēryssō*). In the meantime, Marxsen himself claims that belief in the resurrection came into being on the basis of two data. On the one hand, there was the empty tomb which in any case he believes to be ambiguous. For whilst it could be empty because Jesus was risen (Mk. 16:6 par.), it could be claimed that the disciples stole the body (Matt. 27:64; 28:13; cf. Jn. 20:13). On the other hand, there are the appearances which can be divided into two groups. In the first group only the *fact* of the appearances is mentioned (cf. 1 Cor. 15:5–7). In the second group there are more elaborate descriptions, and these Marxsen takes to be later embellishments (Moule, op. cit., 26 f.; cf. *The Resurrection*, 25–78 with 79–113).

Marxsen lays particular stress on the precise terminology used. The word *ōphthē* is pre-Pauline and is found in formalized traditional material (1 Cor. 15:5, 6, 7, 8; Lk. 24:34; cf. Acts 9:17; 13:31; 26:16). It can be taken as the aorist passive of *horan*, to see, i.e. he was seen (the person in each case being in the dat.). But a deponent meaning is also possible (cf. Funk *§§* 191 (1), 313), i.e. he appeared, or let himself be seen, or showed himself. A third possibility is to understand the passive as a form (common in Judaism) used as a paraphrase for the name of God, i.e. "God ... let himself be seen" (Moule, ed., op. cit., 27; cf. K. H. Rengstorf, *Die Auferstehung Jesu. Form, Art und Sinn der urchristlichen Osterbotschaft*, 1960[4], 57). The use of this kind of language suggests that what we have in the resurrection was some kind of vision. And in the last analysis Marxsen thinks that there is no fundamental distinction between a subjective vision and an objective one. For with due respect to Hans Grass, "the so-called objective-vision theory when examined closely is a subjective one *too*, i.e. it is derived from our own faith" (Moule, ed., op. cit., 30). Again in passing we may note a certain flaw in Marxsen's logic. For whilst the articulation of such a theory may be an articulation of one's faith, it is a question for critical investigation and not dogmatic assertion whether such a vision was the cause or the product of faith.

In the meantime, Marxsen asks whether to call the resurrection a vision is "indeed the whole truth of what really happened?" (Moule, ed., op. cit., 31). He follows Ulrich Wilckens in saying that "the witnesses who had the experience of this happening were obliged to make it known 'with the resources of the tradition' " (op. cit., 32; cf. U. Wilckens, "Der Ursprung der Überlieferung der Erscheinungen des Auferstandenen", in W. Joest and W. Pannenberg, eds., *Dogma und Denkstrukturen*, 1963, 56 ff.). From this he concludes that "The formulae show that both the setting up of the community as well as the reasons given for functioning within it were traced back to a vision of Jesus after his crucifixion. Now this means that what supplies the real basis of the community and the function within it is *the fact*, not of the resurrection

itself, but of Jesus' *appearances*; this fact alone is brought into prominence" (op. cit., 34). But again in passing we may note a curious leap of logic. For the community did not have ready-made resources of this particular tradition to hand; these resources were shaped by the community as it went along. Admittedly Matt. 28:16 ff.; Jn. 20:19–23 and Acts 10:44 ff. are capable of being interpreted in terms of visual experiences shared by those who had faith, but they are also capable of being understood as encounters with an objective, personal presence.

In terms of content the resurrection appearances do not provide the witnesses "with a *fresh* content to preach, or *fresh* revelations which need to be handed on and which now made this vision and what was connected with it to be the central content of the preaching. The content is rather, as Jesus is reported to have said later in the Gospel of John: 'As the Father has sent *me*, even so I send *you*' (20:21)" (Moule, ed., op. cit., 37). Here again this is not strictly true; it is only half the truth. For whilst the witnesses were sent, and whilst they were aware of the continuity of the identity of the one who sent them, there was in fact a new content, viz. that the one who sent them was risen from the dead.

For Marxsen, to speak of the resurrection of Jesus is "an outcome of reflection" (Moule, ed. op. cit., 41). And it is reflection which gives rise to the further hope of a general resurrection of mankind. It is connected with the outlook of Jewish anthropology which (unlike Greek-Hellenistic anthropology) happened to be monistic, understanding man as a unity. But already in 1 Cor. 15:35 ff. this is blended with Greek-Hellenistic ideas in which the resurrection body is seen as belonging to a quite different order from the earthly, physical body. But for Marxsen, the essential point is that "Jesus was experienced *in his earthly ministry* as an anticipation of the *eschaton*, as a divine event" (Moule, ed., op. cit., 47). After his death he continued to be experienced in this way. The language of resurrection is an objectifying interpretation of this event. "We must therefore hold firmly to the fact that the raising of Jesus is not the fundamental *datum* of Christianity" (ibid.). The language of raising expresses the reality of our encounter with the *eschaton* in the *kērygma*, and this is the real basis of the church and Christian faith and hope (cf. *The Resurrection*, 174–88).

(d) In addition to the paper referred to by Marxsen, Ulrich Wilckens has written on "The Tradition-History of the Resurrection of Jesus" (C. F. D. Moule, ed., op. cit., 51–76) and *Auferstehung* (1970). Wilckens is concerned about the *Sitz im Leben* of the NT testimony to the resurrection. 1 Cor. 15:3–5 "contains material from a kerygmatic and catechetical tradition which had a fixed form before Paul made use of it" (Moule, ed., op. cit., 57). But the other appearances to unspecified and collective groups (vv. 6 f.) are additions to the original list (op. cit., 59 ff.; cf. *Auferstehung*, 28 ff.). Equally ancient is the pre-Marcan Easter story (Mk. 16:1–8a; cf. Moule, ed., op. cit., 71). This influenced Paul as well as Mk. Paul's mention of the burial serves not only to emphasize Jesus' death. It is probably connected with the empty tomb tradition of the evangelists.

Wilckens distinguishes three main phases in the emergence of belief in the resurrection. (1) "It was the appearances of the risen Jesus in Galilee which inspired belief in the resurrection and led to the founding of the primitive community. On this basis, the resurrection of Jesus came to be a fundamental assumption in everything the community thought and did. Moving to Jerusalem, the community found in ex-

istence the women's story of the discovery of the empty tomb" (Moule, ed., op. cit., 73 f.). This story was treated as confirmation of the resurrection belief and came to occupy an important place in the passion narrative. (2) "At an early period diaspora Jews who were in Jerusalem came to believe in Jesus through contact with the primitive community" (ibid., 74). They had never known the earthly Jesus. "What they knew was the story of the passion and resurrection, and the nucleus of their preaching was a brief summary of this: Jesus died and was raised by God; now he is with God in heaven and is the principal mediator of salvation in the final phase of time which is to come" (ibid.). When they were driven out of Jerusalem they preached this message with extraordinary vigour and made it "the central article of Christian belief" (ibid.). Under the influence of the Jewish Diaspora and Hellenism there arose a cosmic christology with the central themes of the death and resurrection of Jesus. (3) In the meantime through the influence of Hellenization in Palestine certain stories developed like that of the Emmaus road (excluding the doctrinal discussion, Lk. 24) and the appearance to Mary Magdalene (Jn. 20:14 ff.). But there were also counter-influences which stressed the physical aspect of the risen Christ in opposition to incipient gnosticism. "This reaction played an important part in ensuring that the risen Christ remained identified with Jesus of Nazareth in common Christian tradition" (Moule, ed., op. cit., 75).

In *Auferstehung* Wilckens stresses the oneness of the Christian traditions with pre-Christian literature. He sees a connexion between Mk. 15:24 and Ps. 22:19 and between Mk. 15:29 and Ps. 22:8 f. Furthermore, the Lord is seen as a heavenly being who is admitted to the secrets of heaven (cf. Rev. 1:9 ff.; Acts 7:55 f.; Rom. 8:34; Eph. 1:19 ff.; Col. 1:18 ff.; Heb. 1:3; 13:20; ff.; op. cit., 91 ff.). There is thus an apocalyptic stamp about certain descriptions of the risen and ascended Christ, and this raises the question of how valid such descriptions can be for us today.

(e) In *The Formation of the Resurrection Narratives* (1971) R. H. Fuller aims "to start with the earliest record of the Easter traditions, in 1 Corinthians 15, and then to apply the tools of tradition and redaction criticism to the Easter narratives of the four Gospels. In so doing our purpose will be to reconstruct the history of the tradition from its earliest recoverable form in allegedly factual reports (beyond this the historian cannot go) through its successive developments in the preliterary and literary stages" (op. cit., 7). When this is done, "resurrection faith . . . becomes not a matter of believing in the historical accuracy of these narratives but of believing the proclamation which these narratives, for all their differences, enshrine" (op. cit., 8). For Fuller the resurrection is not a historical event but has a "meta-historical character" (op. cit., 23). It remains somewhat obscure whether this latter point represents any positive advance upon the more traditional views. It seems designed to claim that any judgment about historicity lies beyond the competence of the historian, which is a view which we shall see questioned below. On the other hand, traditionalists have always implied that the resurrection transcended the limitations of time and space.

Fuller holds "that 'on the third day' is not a chronological datum, but a dogmatic assertion: Christ's resurrection marked the dawn of the end-time, the beginning of the cosmic eschatological process of resurrection" (op. cit., 27). In making this point he is following M. Goguel in his claim that this is akin to Hos. 6:2 and those Talmudic texts which state that the general resurrection will occur three days after the end of the world (*La Foi à la Résurrection de Jésus dans le Christianisme*

Primitif, 1933, 169 ff.; cf. SB I 747). The list of appearances in 1 Cor. 15:3–8 is a catena of Jerusalem traditions which Paul acquired from Peter and James (Gal. 1:18 f.), combined with his own Damascus road experience. Previously they had been unconnected examples of kerygmatic assertion, but Paul used these as evidence for the resurrection and to prove his apostleship (1Cor. 15:9 ff.; cf. K. Barth, *The Resurrection of the Dead,* 1933). Fuller agrees with Bultmann in seeing this as the beginnings of an attempt to "prove" the resurrection (op. cit., 29; cf. *Kerygma and Myth,* I, 39).

The language of the NT here is "analogical". It was made "for the description of events in this age; the New Testament has the problem of conveying events which belong to the eschatological age, but which are disclosed through this-worldly, historical events. The farthest we can get perhaps is to say that the *events through which* the Easter revelations were conveyed were visionary, but to describe them as visions, even as 'objective visions', is not entirely felicitous. The word vision, at best, denotes the this-worldly event through which the eschatological event is mediated. " 'Objective' points to the divine act of disclosure mediated by the vision, but does not indicate that what was disclosed was eschatological" (op. cit., 33; cf. E. G. Selwyn, "The Resurrection", in E. G. Selwyn, ed., *Essays Catholic and Critical,* 1926, 281–319, especially 296–99). Perhaps the "this-worldly" aspect of the visions is open to public verification, but it would seem that the eschatological dimension lies outside the techniques of the historian. The appearances to Peter and the Twelve have a special function: "In these appearances the Risen One initiates the foundation of the eschatological community: they are 'church-founding appearances'. As such they must be distinguished from the later appearances, whose function is the call and sending of apostles to fulfil a mission" (op. cit., 35). But as A. R. C. Leaney comments, "The difficulty of maintaining this distinction is great and it is hard to believe that the apostles could have made it" ("Recent Studies on the Resurrection of Jesus", in R. H. Preston, ed., *Theology and Change: Essays in Memory of Alan Richardson,* 1975, 65).

Fuller holds that the two primary appearances in Galilee are Marcan rather than primary and authentic (op. cit., 57 f.), and that the finding of the empty tomb by Mary or the other women is Palestinian and apocalyptic tradition (rather than Hellenistic materialism). "The disciples received Mary's report not as the origin and cause of their Easter faith, but as a vehicle for the proclamation of the Easter faith which they already held as a result of the appearances" (op. cit., 70).

Turning to Matt., Fuller suggests that the angelophany in Mk. became a Christophany in Galilee in Matt., both being to women. "The earlier tradition of primary Christophanies in Galilee is beginning to react upon the originally quite separate story of the empty tomb with which only the women were originally associated (Mark 16:1 f.)" (op. cit., 78). The significance is twofold. "It is the first symptom of a tendency which culminates in the relocation of the primary appearances to the disciples in Jerusalem in Luke 24 and John 20:2. The Christophany of Matthew 28:11–17 is the first instance we have of a materialization of the appearances" (op. cit., 79). "The final scene in Matthew's Gospel adds only one fresh point to our knowledge of the resurrection appearances as they actually occurred, viz., that some of the disciples doubted. He has taken from the earliest tradition (via Mark) the second appearance to the Twelve in Galilee, and by drawing out the im-

plications of Mark 16:7 . . . has re-interpreted this appearance, not as the founding of the eschatological community, but as the inauguration of the mission" (op. cit., 91).

Although Luke is concerned with salvation history, Fuller thinks that his picture of a diffusion from Jerusalem is nearer to actual history. On the other hand, Leaney thinks that there could have been a "spontaneous combustion" of Christianity in various places where the earthly Jesus had ministered in Galilee, Decapolis and Syria as a result of the resurrection restoring faith among believers there (op. cit., 66; cf. Fuller, op. cit., 212). Leaney thinks that the appearance to more than five hundred need not have been in Jerusalem.

The thrust of the Johannine accounts is to emphasize that the faith engendered by the appearances is not primarily factual (that he did rise) but christological (since he is alive, he is to be confessed with Thomas as my Lord and my God) (op. cit., 142 ff.; cf. especially Jn. 20:24–29).

For Fuller, the resurrection has profound significance for the Christian community. "The resurrection does not mean that the earthly Jesus is relegated to past history but has as its consequence the extension of the word and work of the earthly Jesus into the present life of the community" (op. cit., 173). "Faith seeks the earthly Jesus not as a dead teacher, but as the living Lord, whose word and work were not merely accomplished once upon a time, but are now made ever present in the community" (op. cit., 74).

(f) It is virtually an axiom among the scholars following in the wake of Bultmann that the historian can only deal with the faith of the disciples in the resurrection but not the resurrection itself. Thus G. Bornkamm insists that "the last historical fact" available to scholars is "the Easter faith of the disciples" (*Jesus of Nazareth*, 1960, 180). The underlying premise is that the historian can deal with questions on a purely human level, but that he has to suspend judgment on questions which involve the metaphysical and supernatural. It is precisely this point which Alan Richardson questions in the name of critical history. According to Richardson, "such an attitude involves the abandoning of historical method altogether, for the historian cannot admit that there are any 'last facts' in history, for they would be causeless events" (*History – Sacred and Profane, Bampton Lectures for 1962*, 1964, 196). This is not to say that the historian has direct access to the resurrection or any other event. At best the historian's work is a piece of reconstruction, the creation of a picture or model of how he conceives the original event on the basis of the historical data available to him (for further discussion see C. Brown, "History and the Believer", in C. Brown, ed., *History, Criticism and Faith; Four Exploratory Studies*, 1976, 147–224). On the other hand, the historian cannot stop short at the data. "History is a causal nexus in which there can be no breaks, no events which are in principle inexplicable. The historian, if he is to be true to his calling, is bound to go on to consider the various possible explanations of the alleged happening or, if he can, to find a new and better one" (A. Richardson, op. cit., 196 f.).

In view of this, Richardson insists that we are bound to ask what caused the resurrection faith of the disciples, and that this is a proper question for the historian to ask. "Either Christ's resurrection called the Church's faith into being or we must give some more rationally coherent account of how that faith with all its tremendous consequences arose" (op. cit., 209; cf. "The Resurrection of Jesus Christ", *Theology* 74, 1971, 146–54, especially the conclusion on 153 f.). Hence, Richardson in com-

mon with traditional apologetics sees three possible explanations of the church's Easter faith. The first is that the resurrection was in some sense a historical fact. We may not be able to say how it happened, any more than we can say how Hannibal crossed the Alps. The historian is rarely an eye-witness, and "historical facts" are always inferences from pieces of testimony and other evidence which the historian has good reason to accept. The second possibility is that the claim that Jesus was raised was fraudulent. But Richardson rejects this on the grounds that "it is incredible that a faith which brought reconciliation with the all-holy God and peace and charity amongst men could have originated in a fraudulent conspiracy" (op. cit., 206). The third suggestion is that the disciples could have been mistaken. Such a view entails dismissing the claims found in the NT to have encountered the risen Christ and that the tomb was empty. It also means finding an explanation of how such a mistake could have arisen.

In making these points, Richardson has performed a valuable service in setting the debate about the resurrection of Jesus in the wider context of historical method. But several questions arise which these particular considerations do not solve. The argument leaves open the question of what the early church did see in the resurrection appearances and what kind of a resurrection body Jesus had (cf. op. cit., 212). It leaves to one side the detailed examination of the testimony to particular appearances and the empty tomb. Furthermore, Richardson appears to diminish its force by conceding that in the end the historical judgment that Jesus was raised from the dead cannot be made without an element of faith (ibid.). But it may be asked whether such a predisposing faith is a necessary condition and whether Richardson's approach actually demands it. The question can be pressed even further and put in the form of whether the first disciples had such a predisposing faith. The answer would seem to be in the negative. For it was encounter with the risen Christ which awakened faith, and not an existing faith that Jesus would rise that created resurrection belief.

(g) A German church historian who thinks that insufficient weight has been given to the actual historical evidence is Hans von Campenhausen in "The Events of Easter and the Empty Tomb" (*Tradition and Life in the Church: Essays and Lectures in Church History*, 1968, 42–90). Campenhausen does not wish to return to naive apologetics and sacrifice critical history. On the other hand, the evidence of the empty tomb should be taken more seriously than German scholars are wont to take it. "Thus, two essential and reliable pieces of data emerge from the confused mass of material handed down to us: a series of indubitable appearances of Christ, which must be placed in Galilee, and the discovery of the empty tomb in Jerusalem. At a very early date attempts were made to align the two accounts as closely as possible, that is to say, to make the first appearances begin at the empty tomb, and then, finally, to shift them all to Jerusalem. . . . Admittedly Mark's witness is not on a par with that of Paul; but, even so, it is old, in no way contradicts Paul, and cannot simply be ignored. Both pieces of data, therefore, the Galilean appearances and the empty tomb, must be upheld. They form the fixed points of departure, and point the line to be followed, for a consistent account of the events of Easter to be reconstructed" (op. cit., 77).

Campenhausen does not wish to stress external proof at the expense of faith. Rather, due weight must be given to both. "The credibility of the message rests not on bare historical proofs, but, on the one hand, on its existential ratification in the

spirit and through 'signs that follow', and, on the other, on the character of the events as fulfilments in salvation-history, or, dogmatically speaking, on the 'proof from scripture'. This, however, does not mean that the history can be treated as unimportant. It belongs, in fact, of necessity to the witness, which, apart from it, would lose its meaning" (op. cit., 87).

The question of the empty tomb has featured prominently in the debates on the resurrection since the eighteenth century. In the last of his *Discourses on the Miracles of our Saviour* (1729) Thomas Woolston maintained that the disciples had stolen the body of Jesus, the Roman soldiers being bribed and drunk. Jesus appeared only to his disciples who themselves eventually came to believe their own lies. Woolston was fined and imprisoned for blasphemy, but a less savage reply came from Thomas Sherlock whose *Tryal of the Witnesses of the Resurrection* (1729) took up the theme of the court case, putting the witnesses in the dock. Sherlock found it impossible to think that the disciples would have faced the persecution that befell them for the sake of a lie, while at the same time preaching a faith which demanded the utmost integrity. (For a latterday attempt at the same kind of thing see S. Greenleaf, *The Testimony of the Evangelists Examined by the Rules of Evidence Administered in the Courts of Justice*, [1874] 1965.) Admittedly, resurrection is contrary to the known laws of nature. But to someone living in a tropical climate in the eighteenth century the concept of ice is inconceivable. However, to others who have a wider experience the idea of water solidifying is comprehensible. The illustration figured in various apologetic works of the time. It has its limitations in that the phenomenon of ice is subject to repeated public verification, whereas the resurrection of Jesus is an unrepeatable event in the past. On the other hand, the Christian may assert that there will be an eschatological verification in the general resurrection. To say this, however, is to admit that resurrection claims are not on a par with other factual empirical assertions.

Other writers to pursue the theme were Peter Annet in a series of pamphlets, Gilbert West in his *Observations on the History and Evidences of the Resurrection* (1747), and H. S. Reimarus in the pamphlets published anonymously by G. E. Lessing known as the *Wolfenbüttel Fragments* (cf. *Fragments*, ed., C. H. Talbert, 1971; *The Goal of Jesus and his Disciples*, ed., G. W. Buchanan, 1970; H. Chadwick, ed., *Lessing's Theological Writings*, 1956). Reimarus, who is commonly though wrongly credited with having initiated the quest of the historical Jesus, took over many of the arguments of the English deists, claiming that the ideas of the resurrection and the second coming of Jesus were invented by the disciples at a time when Jesus' body could no longer be discovered, in order to perpetuate their comfortable way of life (→ Present, art. *The Parousia and Eschatology in the NT* 1 (a)). Reimarus's work was subjected to minute critique by numerous contemporaries but above all by J. S. Semler in his *Beantwortung der Fragmente eines Ungenannten insbesondere vom Zweck Jesu und seiner Jünger* (1779). (On this whole question see further C. Brown, *Jesus in European Protestant Theology, 1778–1860: A Study of Trends in Theological Method*, I–II, Dissertation, Bristol, 1969.)

The idea that the disciples stole the body goes back to NT times, and according to Matt. 28:13, it was even put forward by the Jewish elders in their attempt to bribe the Roman soldiers. It figured in Origen's debate with Celsus, in which Origen argued that men do not suffer persecution and risk martyrdom for a lie (*Contra Celsum* 2,

56; cf. Acts 7:60; 12:2). The rationalist H. E. G. Paulus put forward the "swoon theory" in *Das Leben Jesu als Grundlage einer reiner Geschichte des Christentums*, I, 2, 303 ff. Jesus was taken down from the cross still alive, and lingered on for another forty days before finally taking his leave in the mist (op. cit., 331). Shortly afterwards two disciples returned with the news that Jesus was now in a state of eternal bliss. It was the cool of the tomb and the aromatic spices which revived Jesus who stripped off his shroud and put on the gardener's clothes, hence the mistake of Mary Magdalene (Jn. 20:15). Jesus managed to emerge from the tomb because the earthquake had shifted the stone. In more recent times a similar view has been set out by H. Schonfield in *The Passover Plot* (1965). Other explanations of the empty tomb are those of K. Lake in *The Resurrection of Jesus*, 1912, 78 ff., and J. Klausner in *Jesus of Nazareth*, 1925, 357, who both suggest that Joseph of Arimathea buried the body. Lake conjectured that there were several tombs and that the women misunderstood the young man who said that Jesus was not there. The man had intended to redirect them to the right place, but they read into it something more.

Whilst all such theories fasten upon one or other detail of the Gospel narratives, they all place upon these details a construction other than the natural one in the context of the narrative. But even more significantly they do not explain the resurrection faith of the disciples. As G. E. Ladd points out, "Faith did not create the appearances; the appearances created faith" (*I Believe in the Resurrection of Jesus*, 1975, 138). The disciples themselves regarded the empty tomb as ambiguous, according to the Gospel accounts. It was the appearances of Jesus which convinced them; the empty tomb was the corroborative corollary. In reply to the suggestion that these appearances might have been some kind of subjective vision, Ladd follows W. Milligan in replying that the vision theory is inconsistent with the mental states of the disciples, that such visions could not have been witnessed by more than five hundred persons at once, and that they would not be likely to extend over a period of forty days and then cease (ibid.; cf. W. Milligan, *The Resurrection of Our Lord*, 1894⁴, 81–114; and W. Pannenberg, *Jesus – God and Man*, 1968, 85 ff.).

G. W. H. Lampe has argued that the empty tomb should not be taken literally (in G. W. H. Lampe and D. M. MacKinnon, *The Resurrection: A Dialogue Arising from Broadcasts*, 1966, 58 ff.). As a historian, he thinks that it rests on inferior evidence, and, as a theologian, he feels that Christ's resurrection should be of the same kind as that of other believers, whose bodies die and are decayed. Over against this view may be set that of N. Clark that, "the Empty Tomb stands as the massive sign that the eschatological deed of God is not outside this world of time and space or in despair of it, but has laid hold on it, penetrated deep into it, shattered it, and begun its transformation" (*Interpreting the Resurrection*, 1967, 98; cf. W. Künneth, *The Theology of the Resurrection*, 1965, 97). Moreover, the tradition of the empty tomb is not a late accretion designed to combat docetism. A number of scholars hold that Paul's mention that "he was buried [*etaphē*]" (1 Cor. 15:4) implies Paul's knowledge of the empty tomb (K. Bornhäuser, *Die Gebeine der Toten*, 1921, 9–37; W. Künneth, op. cit., 94; C. F. D. Moule, *The Significance of the Message of the Resurrection for Faith in Jesus Christ*, 7 f.; cf. also J. A. T. Robinson, *IDB* III 45 f.; and *The Human Face of God*, 1973, 127–41). In reply to the suggestion that a Jew of those times would in any case have thought of a continuity of identity between the earthly body and the risen one and thus would have assumed the emptiness of the

tomb, C. F. D. Moule points out that "the story in its essentials is very far indeed from conforming to the presuppositions of Jewish apocalyptic. Jewish apocalyptic did not believe in a *permanent* raising from death until the End, which was still in the future" (op. cit., 8). Before that, all that the Pharisaic Jew could believe in was temporary restoration to this life (as in the raisings by Elijah and Elisha and of Lazarus and Jairus's daughter) or to immaterial forms (as in 1 Sam. 28:12 ff.; Job 4:16; Mk. 6:49). In addition, Moule thinks that the failure to produce the body of Jesus should not be too readily dismissed and that the fact that women were the principal witnesses argues in favour of credibility, as women were notoriously invalid witnesses according to Jewish principles of evidence (op. cit., 9).

To Moule, belief in the empty tomb does not imply that the body of Jesus was exactly the same in its risen state. Rather, he suggests that the evidence implies transformation in a way comparable with the resurrection of believers. Admittedly their bodies die and decompose. "But is it conceivable that the total matter of this time-space existence is destined by the Creator not to be 'scrapped' but to be used up into some other existence? This, it might be said, would imply a doctrine of creation, not *ex nihilo in nihil* (out of nothing into nothing), but *ex nihilo in aliquid novi* (out of nothing into something new); and the latter is certainly congruous with the idea of a God who never creates without a purpose. If so, is it inconceivable that in just the area of the body of Jesus, which alone had been surrendered to death in total absolute obedience to the will of God, this transformation and using up was anticipated; while with the rest of mankind their 'material' returns to the collective reservoir of the totality of matter one way or another, by decomposition slow or sudden, until this new totality of things is ultimately used as the material of a new existence, in which they, by the grace of God, will share?" (op. cit., 10). For further elaboration of Moule's position see "St Paul and Dualism: The Pauline Conception of Resurrection", *NTS* 12, 1965–66, 106–23; and Moule and D. Cupitt, "The Resurrection: A Disagreement", *Theology* 75, 1972, 507–19. Moule's view may also be compared with that of G. E. Ladd discussed below under (h).

(h) A conservative NT scholar who has examined the historicity of the data is G. E. Ladd in *I Believe in the Resurrection of Jesus*, 1975. His investigation is carried out against the background of a study of resurrection belief in the OT and in Judaism. Ladd draws attention to the curious fact that the NT writers never appealed to Isa. 53:10 f. ("He shall see his offspring, he shall prolong his days; the will of the LORD shall prosper in his hand; he shall see the fruit of the travail of his soul and be satisfied") to support the resurrection of Jesus (op. cit., 67). Indeed, the disciples were not prepared for either the death or the resurrection of Jesus. "When Jesus began to teach that as the Son of Man his mission was to suffer and die (Mt. 8:31), the disciples were sure something was wrong. The Son of Man by definition was a heavenly super-human being who would come to earth with power and glory to transform the present order and reign in God's glorious Kingdom. But a suffering and dying Son of Man – such a thing was unheard of. It was in fact a contradiction in terms. The Son of Man was to conquer and reign, not to die" (op. cit., 71). The only dying messiah in Jewish literature is in 2 Esd. 7, and there his death has no saving power. Hence, the disciples were slow to realize how Jesus was fulfilling the rôle of messiah, because their expectations and those of contemporary Judaism were different.

Turning to the evidence of the Gospels, Ladd is willing to say that they were first

written some thirty to forty years after the events that they describe, and that each evangelist selected and to some degree shaped his material to suit his theological and ecclesiastical interests (op. cit., 74). He regards Mk. as the earliest Gospel written c. A.D. 65 in Rome by Mark the attendant of Peter (op. cit., 75; cf. Papias in Eusebius, *HE* 3, 39, 15). Ladd rightly rejects the longer ending of Mk. (16:9–19) as not original (op. cit., 83; cf. on this subject W. R. Farmer, *The Last Twelve Verses of Mark, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series* 25, 1974).

Ladd himself thinks that the ending of Mk. has been lost. Nevertheless, it would not be true to say that there is no evidence for the resurrection of Jesus in Mk. Jesus foretold his resurrection after Peter's confession of him as messiah at Caesarea Philippi (Mk. 8:31 par. Matt. 16:21; Lk. 9:22), at his transfiguration (Mk. 9:9 par. Matt. 17:9), and at his second prediction of his passion (Mk. 9:31 par. Matt. 17:23). On Easter morning Mk. relates that when the women came to the tomb, a young man announced to them, " 'Do not be amazed; you seek Jesus of Nazareth, who was crucified. He has risen, he is not here; see the place where they laid him. But go, tell his disciples and Peter that he is going before you to Galilee; there you will see him, as he told you.' And they went out and fled from the tomb; for trembling and astonishment had come upon them; and they said nothing to any one, for they were afraid" (Mk. 16:6 ff.).

Ladd points out that, whilst (in his view) Matt. and Lk. both made use of Mk. they largely go their separate ways in their resurrection narratives. "All this means that *at the points in which the gospels agree, that agreement is all the more striking*" (op. cit., 84). The following table is based on that given by Ladd (op. cit., 80 ff.). Agreements are shown in ordinary print; points of difference are in italics.

	Matt. 28:1–20	Mk. 16:1–8	Lk. 26:1–53	Jn. 20:1–21:25
1.	toward the dawn of first day	when Sabbath was past	on the first day of the week	on the first day of the week
2.	women	women	women	women
3.	Mary Magdalene, *the other Mary*	Mary Magdalene *Mary, mother of Salome*	Mary Magdalene Mary, mother of James; Joanna	Mary Magdalene (alone)
4.	*to see the tomb*	*to anoint Jesus' body*	*taking spices*	*no reason given (Nicodemus anoints the body, 19:39)*
5.	*an earthquake* an angel rolled the stone	they found the stone rolled away	they found the stone rolled back	found the stone taken away
6.	*an angel*	*a young man*	*two men*	*two angels* (20:12)
7.	*the guards fall like dead men*			
8.		the women enter the empty tomb	they did not find the body	

9.	"He has risen, as he said"	"He has risen, he is not here"	"Why do you seek the living among the dead?"	
10.	"Go, tell his disciples"	"Go, tell his disciples *and Peter*"		
11.	"He is going before you to Galilee; there you will see him."	"He is going before you to Galilee; there you will see him."		
12.	They departed quickly *with fear and joy*	They fled trembling *and astonished*	They returned from the tomb	*Mary runs to tell Peter and the other disciple*
13.	*They ran to tell his disciples*	*They said nothing to anyone; they afraid*	*They told all this to the eleven and all the rest. They do not believe*	
14.	*Jesus meets the two women*			
15.				*Peter and John enter the empty tomb; Peter believes* (21:3–10)
16.				*Jesus appears to Mary* (21:11–17)
17.				*Mary tells the disciples*
18.			*appearance to two disciples near Emmaus*	
19.			*an appearance to the eleven in Jerusalem* (24:36–49)	*an appearance to the disciples* (20:19–23)
20.				*a second appearance to the eleven, including Thomas* (20:21–29)
21.				*an appearance in Tiberias* (21:1–23)
22.	*the great commission in Galilee*			
23.			*the ascension from Bethany*	

In many instances the disagreements are negligible, and are capable of being resolved without any great stretch of the imagination, bearing in mind the various

standpoints of the writers and their sources of information. Thus the action of the women in coming to the sealed tomb two nights and a day after the death of Jesus may be less improbable than it appears, if we remember with C. E. B. Cranfield that "love often prompts people to do what from a practical view is useless" (*The Gospel according to Saint Mark*, 1959, 464). According to Jn. 19:40, the body was wrapped in strips of linen (*othonia*); according to the Synoptics it was wrapped in a linen shroud (*sindōn*) (Mk. 15:46 ff. par.). Possibly the body was wrapped in the shroud and then the strips were wound around it (op. cit., 85). Whereas the Synoptics mention several women, Jn. mentions only Mary Magdalene. Nevertheless, she used the plur. when she said, "They have taken the Lord out of the tomb, and we do not know where they have laid him" (Jn. 20:2). Whereas Mk. and Matt. focus attention on Galilee as the scene of the appearances, Lk. relates them only in or near Jerusalem. But Lk.'s interest may be explained in the light of his overall purpose of showing how the church has spread to the very heart of the Roman empire, being rejected by Israel both in Jerusalem and Rome, but finding response among the Gentiles. Thus Acts closes with an account of Paul's effective ministry in Rome. "Luke is not interested in writing a complete history nor does he have any particular interest in Galilee. He is interested in the movement from Jerusalem to Rome, and in connection with this interest, he relates only appearances in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. Undoubtedly the command to the disciples not to leave Jerusalem (Acts 1:4) was given after the disciples had returned from Galilee to Jerusalem" (op. cit., 87 f.).

In contrast with Campenhausen who, on the basis of Lk., holds that "Peter seems to have understood the empty tomb as a pledge that the resurrection had occurred and to have influenced the others accordingly" (op. cit., 85), Ladd insists that "The empty tomb did not and does not arouse faith in the resurrection of Jesus" (op. cit., 89; cf. Mk. 16:8; Lk. 24:11, 21). The fact that the women were primary witnesses bears, moreover, the mark of verisimilitude especially in view of the attitude to women in Judaism. "If the faith of the community had entered significantly into the substance of the resurrection stories, *we should have expected the primary witnesses to have been apostles* instead of women" (op. cit., 90). Ladd, in common with C. H. Dodd and C. F. D. Moule, insists that we do not have to choose between Galilee and Jerusalem as the locale of the appearances, but that there are solid grounds for accepting both (ibid.; cf. C. H. Dodd, *The Founder of Christianity*, 1970, 163–72; C. F. D. Moule, "The Ascension – Acts i. 9", *ExpT* 68, 1956–57, 207).

Ladd concludes: "The Gospels agree in certain important points which we may take as being historically credible. 1. Jesus was dead and buried. 2. The disciples were not prepared for his death; they were overcome with confusion. 3. The tomb was found on Easter morning to be empty. 4. The empty tomb was not itself a proof of the resurrection. Mary thought the body had been stolen. 5. The disciples encountered certain experiences which they took to be appearances of Jesus risen from the dead. In the last analysis, it does not really matter where or to whom these appearances occurred. 6. We must include another important historical fact. Contemporary Judaism had no concept of a dying and rising Messiah. 7. Another historical fact: the disciples proclaimed the resurrection of Jesus in Jerusalem, near where he had been buried" (op. cit., 93; cf. 91 ff. for an outline harmonization of the Gospel accounts).

So far nothing has been said about the nature of the resurrection body of Jesus.

But the Gospels contain certain indications that the authors did not think of it merely as the resuscitation of a corpse. The description of the position of the grave clothes in Jn. 20:7 f. leads Ladd to say with S. H. Hooke that, "It seems to be the evangelist's intention to suggest that Peter saw the grave clothes lying like a chrysalis out of which the risen body of the Lord had emerged" (op. cit., 94; cf. S. H. Hooke, *The Resurrection of Christ*, 1967, 79). The account in Lk. 24 of the encounter on the Emmaus road and the breaking of bread afterwards "says two things: the person of Jesus was capable of being recognised by those who had known him in his earthly ministry; and yet he was capable of sudden, inexplicable disappearance" (op. cit., 97). The subsequent appearances in Lk. 24:34–40 suggest a "material" body, but one which had properties different from that of the body of Jesus in his earthly ministry. This may be compared with Jn. 20:19, 26. "He possessed a real body, but also powers never before heard of – of being able to appear and disappear at will to the human physical senses" (op. cit., 99). All this is far removed from the extravagances of the description of the actual resurrection in the Gospel of Peter, but it is compatible with Paul's concept of a "spiritual body" (1 Cor. 15:44). To Ladd the resurrection "was an event that was observed by no one, an event caused by God – indeed, an event in which the world of God intersected the world of time and space ... All that the historian as such can say is that something marvellous has happened here. *Only those who have reason to believe in the God to whom the Bible witnesses can accept the witness of the gospels, viz., that God raised Jesus from the dead"* (op. cit., 101 f.).

Turning to Paul, Ladd maintains that the account in 1 Cor. 15:3–8 embodies traditions independent of the Gospels (op. cit., 105). The appearance to Cephas, whose person was highly esteemed at Corinth (1 Cor. 1:12), is mentioned in the Synoptics only at Lk. 24:34. The appearance to the "twelve" could be that to the eleven in Lk. 24:36–49 or an appearance in Jn. 20. That to the five hundred is not mentioned in the Gospels, but could have occurred in Galilee. Nothing is known of the appearance to James. The scriptures which Paul had in mind may have been passages like Ps. 16 (cf. Acts 2:26 f.) and Ps. 110, Hos. 6:2, Jon. 2 interpreted christologically, finding a transcended fulfilment in the resurrection of Jesus. Ladd thinks that the appearance to Paul himself was not simply a vision (cf. 1 Cor. 12:4; 2 Cor. 12:1) but a face-to-face encounter with the risen, exalted Christ. Commenting on 1 Cor. 15:23 ("But each in his own order; Christ the first fruits, then at his coming those who belong to Christ"), he writes: "*the resurrection body of Jesus was of the same order as the resurrection bodies of the saints at the end of the age*" (op. cit., 123; cf. Phil. 3:21). As against Pannenberg, Ladd does not think that Paul derived his concept of a spiritual body from Syr. Bar. 50–51, for the differences are too great to establish dependence (op. cit., 124; cf. W. Pannenberg, "The Revelation of God in Jesus" in J. M. Robinson and J. B. Cobb, eds., *Theology as History*, 1967, 115). Rather, "it was Paul's familiarity with the theology of glory, and his experience of meeting Jesus in his glorified state, that led Paul to his theology of glorified bodies in the eschatological resurrection" (op. cit., 125).

There is a sense in which "*the resurrection of Jesus was his exaltation.* At his resurrection he entered the invisible world of God. His appearances to his disciples did not mean the passing of one body through other solid substances; it means that Jesus, who was with them but invisible, made himself visible to their physical senses"

(op. cit., 127). Support for this view of the exaltation of Jesus is found in Acts 2:32 f.; 5:30 f.; Col. 3:1; Phil. 2:8 f.; Heb. 1:3 (cf. 1:13; 8:1; 10:12; 12:2 which all refer to the exaltation, whereas only Heb. 13:20 refers to the resurrection as such). Only Luke-Acts emphasizes the ascension as an event separate from the resurrection. Ladd sees Lk.'s account as signalling the end of the resurrection appearances (op. cit., 128).

(i) G. E. Ladd's reflections on the resurrection body of Jesus bring us to the point where we may consider the views of a number of theologians on the theological significance of the resurrection of Jesus. And in so doing this final section on the resurrection of Jesus forms a bridge to the second part of this survey which will deal with the resurrection of men in general.

For the Barth of the early part of the *Church Dogmatics* the resurrection meant the breaking in of "fulfilled time", the time of "the pure presence of God" (*CD* I, 2, 115). For in the period of the forty days between the resurrection and the ascension God encountered the church in Christ in a direct and unique way. Eternity broke into time in this event of revelation in a way which transcended the successive momentariness of our time which is either "not yet" in the case of the future or "no longer" in the case of the past. "But the Easter story (with, if you like, the story of the transfiguration and the story of the conversion of Saul as prologue and epilogue respectively) actually speaks of a present without any future, of an eternal presence of God in time. So it does not speak eschatologically. The Easter story, Christ truly, corporeally risen, and as such appearing to His disciples, talking with them, acting in their midst – this is, of course, the recollection upon which all the New Testament recollections hang, to which they are all related, for the sake of which there is a New Testament recollection at all" (*CD* I, 2, 114). For Barth the resurrection of Jesus cannot be proved. It can be recollected, proclaimed and received in faith. This is because it belongs to the transcendent dimension of God and can be known only in revelation. Nevertheless, it took place in history.

In the theology of the later volumes of the *Church Dogmatics* the resurrection of Jesus not only has a revelatory significance. It belongs to the basis of the universal covenant with all mankind by which, according to Barth, God has united man to himself in virtue of the union of the divine and human natures in Jesus Christ. Thus no man can ever be considered as an independent subject. "In virtue of the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ – whether he knows it and believes it or not – it is simply not true that he belongs to himself and is left to himself, that he is thrown back on himself. He belongs to the Head, Jesus Christ, of whose body he is or is to become a member, the Lord of the Church who is also the Lord of the cosmos, and therefore the Lord of those who so far do not believe in him, or do so no longer. He exists because Jesus Christ exists. He exists as a predicate of this Subject, i.e. that which has been decided and is real for man in this Subject is true for him" (*CD* II, 2, 539; for critical discussion of Barth's position see C. Brown, *Karl Barth and the Christian Message*, 1967, 64 ff., 129 ff.).

In *The Easter Jesus* (1973) G. O'Collins seeks to understand the resurrection in the light of history, belief and theology. The theological value of the resurrection is the way in which it transforms our concrete and material existence, revealing Christ's continued and effective presence in the church. In Lk. and Jn. it is combined with a realism which insists on the physical reality of what is revealed, the other-worldly

and transformed identity of the risen Christ with the earthly Jesus. While the resurrection transcends history it is not supra-historical. It anticipates the end and purpose of history, but also leaves evidential traces within history. Thus, although O'Collins regards the empty tomb as "an ambiguous episode" (op. cit., 44), he lays great store by the probability of the narratives. The appearances were objective in the sense that "The encounters produced the disciples' faith and not vice versa" (op. cit., 34). But for us today the evangelists provide "an amalgam of believing witness and historical reminiscence with the aim of eliciting and developing the faith of their readers" (op. cit., 77).

In *Resurrection and the New Testament*, *SBT* Second Series 12, 1970, C. F. Evans studies the idea of resurrection and the several NT traditions. His form-critical analysis leads him to see a great fragmentation within the NT. Hence, what matters is not to believe in the historical accuracy of the stories but the central proclamation that they enshrine. The resurrection signifies that God has made Jesus Lord and messiah of Israel (Rom. 1:4; Acts 2:36; 3:13 ff.). "If, then, resurrection is the principal source of faith in the lordship and messiahship of Jesus, it follows that resurrection is also the source of the existence of the church, and its knowledge of itself as the community of the risen Lord and Messiah, the community of the last days" (op. cit., 149). However, for Evans the cause of the resurrection faith of the early church remains obscure: "Whatever the Easter event was, it must be supposed to be of such a kind as to be responsible for the production of these traditions as its deposit at whatever remove" (op. cit., 130). In its rudimentary form "Resurrection is the divine reversal of the Cross as life is opposite to death" (op. cit., 132; cf. Acts 2:23 f.). But in another sense Jesus' messianic lordship is established by God in the church which is the continuing sphere of Christ's presence. "From this point of view the resurrection body of Jesus is simply the church" (op. cit., 150). There is also for Paul the present resurrection life of the Spirit. "While the expectation of the parousia remained with Paul all his life, and so determined his thought on resurrection, the realization of what was involved in being here and now 'in Christ' or 'with Christ' served to unhook some of the links which tied resurrection to apocalyptic expectation, and to allow it to play a more creative role of its own" (op. cit., 163). For further discussion of Paul's eschatological teaching → Present, art. *The Parousia and Eschatology in the NT* 2 (c).

According to Rom. 1:3 f., Jesus is "God's Son, who was descended from David according to the flesh and designated Son of God in power according to the Spirit of holiness by his resurrection from the dead, Jesus Christ our Lord [*tou horisthentos hyiou theou en dynamei kata pneuma hagiosynes ex anastaseos nekron lesou Christou tou kyriou hēmōn*]." On the interpretation of these verses see M. E. Boismard, "Constitué Fils de Dieu", *RB* 60, 1953, 51–7; E. Schweizer, "Röm. 1, 3 f. und der Gegensatz von Fleisch und Geist vor und bei Paulus", *EvTh* 15, 1955, 563–71; A. J. B. Higgins, "The Old Testament and Some Aspects of New Testament Christology", *Canadian Journal of Theology* 6, 1960, 200–10; L. C. Allen, "The Old Testament Background of *(pro)horizein* in the New Testament", *NTS* 17, 1970–71, 104–8; E Linnemann, "Tradition und Interpretation in Röm. 1, 3 f.", *EvTh* 31, 1971, 164–71; and C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Epistle to the Romans*, I, 1975, *ICC*, 57–65. Paul is probably making use of existing confessional formulae. There is no other reference to Christ's Davidic descent in Pauline literature apart from 2 Tim. 2:8.

However, the reference to Jesus' Jewish origin in terms of → David fits the theme of Romans which is to expound the nature and identity of the people of God in the light of Christ and the new situation this has created for Jew and Gentile. Cranfield thinks that *horizō* here means to appoint, constitute or install. No clear example of the meaning "declare" or "show to be" has been found contemporary with the NT. The patristic interpretation along the latter lines (e.g. Chrysostom 397) may be due to doctrinal considerations. The passage does not teach a form of adoptionism. Cranfield sees the meaning of the opening words of v. 4 as " 'who was appointed Son-of-God-in-power' (that is, in contrast with His being Son of God in apparent weakness and poverty in the period of His earthly existence)" (op. cit., 62). The resurrection which is here attributed to the → Spirit thus inaugurates a new era in which Christ is exalted (cf. G. E. Ladd's view under (h) above; → Lord; → Son).

G. Kegel's *Auferstehung Jesu – Auferstehung der Toten. Eine traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum Neuen Testament* (1970) sees the resurrection faith initially articulated in terms of Jewish apocalyptic in Lk.-Acts but issuing in a specifically Christian world-view of the general resurrection and future hope. He asks, however, what happens when the apocalyptic thought world is questioned (op. cit., 121). Like Marxsen, to whom he is much indebted, the appearances are the primary data recoverable by historical research. The "resurrection of Jesus" represents a conclusion from these appearances cast in apocalyptic terms. It was motivated by apologetic concerns which in the last analysis represent a confession of God (op. cit., 12–25). Kegel's work thus raises the question of hermeneutics.

In similar vein X. Léon-Dufour is also concerned with interpretation in *Resurrection and the Message of Easter* (1974). The work examines (1) the conceptual categories which underlie the earliest expressions of Easter faith (resurrection, exaltation, appearance); (2) the literary genre of the stories of encounter with the risen Jesus; (3) the various theological and christological perspectives in the narratives; and (4) the focal point of interpretation and pastoral communication. The task for today is not to attempt to bring faith and science into line but to mediate and translate different language systems. God's action occurs in the "silence of God" and is accessible only in its consequences.

In *Dieu l'a Ressuscité Exégèse et Théologie Biblique* (1973) B. Rigaux examines the ideational background of resurrection faith, i.e. not only the conceptual categories in which it is expressed but the psychological content of the various images. This he finds not only in pre-Christian Judaism but in the preaching of Jesus himself. Jesus believed in a resurrection involving a transformation of life rather than its mere restoration. The resurrection brought about a new perspective in which the revelation of God as the God of Israel is transformed: "The act of God in the resurrection of Jesus comprises an essential and unique characteristic conferring on it an unprecedented and definitive function in God's relationship with humanity. First of all, it places Jesus at the term of the interventions of the mystery of revelation; secondly, it constitutes a living relation between God and the Church instituted by the risen Messiah" (op. cit., 321).

The views of R. E. Brown in *The Virginal Conception & Bodily Resurrection of Jesus* (1973) are of interest in that they represent the thought of a leading contemporary American Roman Catholic scholar who is thoroughly versed in historical and literary criticism. After a review of the biblical data in the light of contemporary

scholarship Brown concludes that "The resurrection of Jesus, along with his exaltation and his giving of the Spirit, constituted an eschatological event – the beginning of the end-time" (op. cit., 125). Our everyday language of "seeing" and "speaking" is that of analogy. No one knows when the resurrection took place, and no one can describe it. But it is wrong to think of it as not being historical, "for, while the risen Jesus stood outside the bounds of space and time, by his appearances he touched the lives of men who were in space and time, men who were in history. The interaction of the eschatological and the historical should not be lost sight of" (op. cit., 126). If there had been a body of Jesus in the tomb, it would be "difficult, if not impossible, to understand how the disciples could have preached that God raised Jesus from the dead, since there would have been irrefutable evidence that He had not done so" (ibid.). The tradition of the empty tomb is old, but it does not provide the basis of faith, for "Christians believe in Jesus, not in a tomb" (op. cit., 127). But in turn this affected the formation of the narratives. There was a real continuity between the earthly Jesus and the risen Christ. Whilst it is right to speak of the bodily resurrection of Jesus, we must think of that body in terms of a resurrection body. "Jesus' risen body was no longer a body as we know bodies, bound by the dimensions of space and time. It is best to follow Paul's description of risen bodies as spiritual, not natural or physical (*psychikos* . . .); he can even imply that these bodies are no longer flesh and blood" (op. cit., 128; cf. 1 Cor. 15:50). The fact that Jesus' body was not corrupted has important theological implications: "It was the sovereign action of God glorifying Jesus of Nazareth. Only because God has done this for His Son are new possibilities opened for His many children who have come to believe in what He has done" (op. cit., 128). "If Jesus' body corrupted in the tomb so that his victory over death did not involve bodily resurrection, then the model of destruction and new creation is indicated. If Jesus rose bodily from the dead, then the Christian model should be one of transformation" (op. cit., 129).

Finally we may note the significance of the resurrection in the theology of Wolfhart Pannenberg (cf. *Jesus – God and Man*, 1968; *Basic Questions in Theology*, I–III, 1973; *Theology and the Philosophy of Science*, 1976; "Did Jesus Really Rise from the Dead?", *Dialog* 4, 1965, 128–35; W. Pannenberg, ed., *Revelation as History*, 1969; J. M. Robinson and J. B. Cobb, eds., *Theology as History, New Frontiers in Theology* III, 1967; A. D. Galloway, *Wolfhart Pannenberg*, 1973; E. F. Tupper, *The Theology of Wolfhart Pannenberg*, 1974; and D. Fuller, *Easter Faith and History*, 1968, 177–87; → Present, art. *The Parousia and Eschatology in the NT* 1 (f)). As against the theologies of revelation through the Word, Pannenberg stresses revelation in history. It is only at the end of history that God will be fully revealed. Nevertheless, the resurrection of Jesus anticipates this final revelation. "The resurrection of Jesus supports our attempt at a new interpretation of the concept of revelation. It depends on the one hand on the fact that the raising up of Jesus implies a confirmation by God himself of his pre-Easter appearance and that the pre-Easter Jesus remained dependent on this confirmation, so that no position in regard to the pre-Easter Jesus and his message can be justified without regard to the cross and resurrection. On the other hand, the proper meaning of the resurrection depends from the beginning on its connection with the apocalyptic expectation: for only in relation to this connection is the resurrection already the inauguration of the expected end, which for the remainder of mankind is still to come. And this eschatological

character of the resurrection of Jesus as anticipation in Jesus of the end-event, for our outline, is the foundation of its original meaning as revelation of God, since – and here again we can argue only in terms of the history of the transmission – in the apocalyptic understanding of history the revelation of God's glory (and therefore of God himself) was expected in connection with the end-event of the raising of the dead and the judgment" (*Revelation as History*, 193). The "fate of Jesus" is "the anticipation of the end of all history" (op. cit., 134; cf. *Basic Questions in Theology*, I, 24).

This view of Jesus posits treating the resurrection of Jesus as an event in history, and Pannnberg does just this (cf. *Jesus – God and Man*, 53–114). But apart from the particular historical arguments in favour of the resurrection, Pannenberg has also defended the methodology of treating the resurrection as a historical event. In contrast with Ernst Troeltsch's view of analogy, which insists that we cannot accept anything in the past as historical unless it bears analogies with the events that we know in the present, Pannenberg insists that analogy must not be used to pre-empt the question of historicity. The positivistic historian would reject accounts of the resurrection on the grounds that he has no experiences of resurrection in the modern world. But Pannenberg insists that analogy can only enable us to discern events of a similar kind. It cannot prejudge the historicity of events that are dissimilar. In the case of the resurrection it is the raising of Jesus which provides the decisive context for understanding and interpreting all subsequent history and not vice versa (*Basic Questions in Theology*, I, 44 ff.; cf. C. Brown "History and the Believer", in C. Brown, ed., *History, Criticism and Faith,* 1976, 171 ff.).

2. *The Resurrection of Men in General.* The following survey is particularly indebted to the article by M. J. Harris, "Resurrection and Immortality: Eight Theses", *Themelios* 1, 1976, 50–55. It takes up the eight theses put forward by Harris and draws on the literature noted by him.

(a) The NT speaks of immortality, but this concept clearly does not mean endless, personal survival through the avoidance of physical death. Rather, it involves participation in the eternal life of God and therefore immunity from eternal death. Admittedly, the terms which are rendered "immortality" suggest by their etymology immunity from death (*athanasia*; 1 Cor. 15:53 f.; 1 Tim. 6:16) and decay (*aphtharsia*; Rom. 2:7; 1 Cor. 15:42, 50, 53 f.; Eph. 6:24; 2 Tim. 1:10). But in the context of the NT, Harris urges that they should be defined qualitatively as well as quantitatively. The concept of immortality involves sharing in the nature of God (2 Pet. 1:4) and enjoying fellowship with Christ (Lk. 23:43; 2 Cor. 5:8; Phil. 1:23). Comparison of 2 Cor. 5:4 with 1 Cor. 15:53 f. indicates that "life" and "eternal life" are equivalents for "immortality" (op. cit., 50; cf. R. W. Thomas, "The Meaning of the Terms 'Life' and 'Death' in the Fourth Gospel and in Paul", *SJT* 21, 1968, 199–212, especially 204). The terms are juxtaposed in Rom. 2:7 ("to those who by patience in well-doing seek for glory and honour and immortality, he [God] will give eternal life") and 2 Tim. 1:10 ("Christ Jesus, who abolished death and brought life and immortality to light through the gospel"). Harris concludes: "The Christian is destined to gain an immunity to that principle of decay and deterioration which characterizes humanity in Adam, through sharing the endless life of God" (op. cit., 50 f.).

(b) "In the distinctive New Testament usage, resurrection signifies not the reanimation of corpses but the transformation of the whole person into the image of Christ by the power of the indwelling Spirit, in spite of the intervention of death" (op.

cit., 51). The Gk. pagan of the 1st cent. would probably have understood *hē anastasis tōn nekrōn* as "the standing up of corpses" (Acts 17:23a), whereas others in the tradition of Judaism may have had some idea of the new body as a permanent home of the soul which had been preserved intact in the heavenly treasuries since the time of death (cf. P. Volz, *Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde*, 1934, 117–21, 249–55). The NT contains examples of restoration to life in the raising of Lazarus (Jn. 11:1–44) and the widow of Nain's son (Lk. 7:11–17), but these were only temporary. They were quite different from the resurrection of Christ who was never to die again (Acts 13:34; Rom. 6:9) and is always exalted at the right hand of God (Rom. 8:34).

The NT does not actually refer to "the resurrection of the body" or "the resurrection of the flesh" but only to "the resurrection of the dead" or "resurrection from the dead". "The subjects of resurrection are whole persons, who are transformed outwardly and inwardly in what may be called an acceleration of the process of Christification (see Rom. 8:29; 1 Cor. 15:49; 2 Cor. 3:18; Col. 3:10)" (op. cit., 51; on the credal formularies cf. W. Bieder, "Auferstehung des Fleisches oder des Leibes? Eine biblisch-theologische und dogmengeschichtliche Studie" *ThZ* 1, 1945, 105–20; J. A. Schep, *The Nature of the Resurrection Body*, 1964, 220–27; J. G. Davies, "Factors leading to the Emergence of Belief in the Resurrection of the Flesh", *JTS* New Series 23, 1972, 448–55; R. M. Grant, "The Resurrection of the Body", *JR* 28, 1948, 120–30, 188–208; J. Gnilka, "Contemporary Understanding of 'the Resurrection of the Body' ", in P. Benoit and R. Murphy, eds., *Immortality and Resurrection*, 1970, 129–41). Even the phrase "resurrection in the body" is not without difficulty (C. R. Bowen, *The Resurrection in the New Testament*, 1911, 76). In view of the NT understanding of → body, Harris suggests that the phrase "resurrection of the person" is least open to objection (ibid.; cf. P. H. Menoud, *Le Sort des Trépassés*, 1966², 60 f.).

A number of passages retain the primitive language of "coming to life again" (cf. Jn. 5:21a) or emergence from the tomb (cf. Jn. 5:28 f.). There is a resurrection which leads to → judgment and not life (Jn. 5:29; Acts 24:15; cf. Matt. 25:46; Lk. 11:32; Dan. 12:2; 2 Esd. 7:32–8), a reanimation of "the rest of the dead" that leads to "the second death" (Rev. 20:4 ff., 11–15).

Harris believes that in the Pauline epistles resurrection is a privilege reserved for the new humanity in Christ (op. cit., 52; cf. J. Héring, "Saint Paul a-t-il enseigné deux résurrections?", *RHPR* 12, 1932, 308 f.; and J. Jeremias, " 'Flesh and Blood cannot Inherit the Kingdom of God' (1 Cor. xv. 50)", *NTS* 2, 1955–56, 155, who holds that Paul distinguishes between *hoi nekroi*, deceased Christians, and the anarthrous *nekroi*, the dead in general; but against this J. B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Epistle to the Philippians*, 1894⁴, 151). In any case, whatever the state of the wicked dead, they do not possess spiritual bodies, since the *sōma pneumatikon* (1 Cor. 15:44, 46) is imperishable (1 Cor. 15:42, 50).

The resurrection of Christ or the resurrected Christ forms the prototype and pattern for the resurrection of believers. Aquinas believed that his resurrection caused that of believers (*Summa Theologiae* 3, Q. 56; cf. M. E. Dahl, *The Resurrection of the Body, SBT* 36, 1962, 49 f.). But this goes beyond the explicit teaching of the NT which speaks of Christ as the firstfruits (*aparchē*) of those who have fallen asleep (1 Cor. 15:20, 23; Col. 1:18; Rev. 1:5; → Sacrifice). The term suggests both priority

in time (cf. Acts 26:23) and superiority in status, in that his resurrection forms the first and most significant part of the series. Moreover, this concept implies a pledge that Christians will have a share in the full ingathering of the harvest (2 Cor. 1:22; 3:18; 5:4 f.; → Seed, Harvest).

(c) "Only with the death and resurrection of Christ did the ideas of resurrection and immortality emerge from the Old Testament shadows into the full light of the New Testament day (cf. 2 Tim. 1:10)" (op. cit., 52). OT teaching has been reviewed above under *anastasis*. But there are grounds for maintaining a Jewish doctrine of immortality distinct from the idea of resurrection and the Gk. idea of the soul which was widespread in the period 200 B.C. to A.D. 100 (cf. H. C. C. Cavallin, *Life After Death. Paul's Argument for the Resurrection of the Dead in 1 Corinthians 15. Part I: An Enquiry into the Jewish Background*, 1974, 200). However, it was the resurrection of Jesus which first gave any tangible grounds for the hope of an after-life.

(d) Immortality is not a present possession of all men but a future acquisition of Christians. According to 1 Cor. 15:42, 52 ff., it is only after the resurrection transformation that believers "put on" the garment of immortality (op. cit., 53; cf. M. J. Harris, "Paul's View of Death in 2 Corinthians 5:1–10", in R. N. Longenecker and M. C. Tenney, eds., *New Dimensions in New Testament Study*, 317–28). In Paul's thought it is not immortality but death that is inherited from → Adam (Rom. 5:12; 1 Cor. 15:22; cf. C. K. Barrett, "Immortality and Resurrection", *London Quarterly and Holborn Review* 190, 1965, 97, 101). "Man is not immortal because he possesses or is a soul. He becomes immortal because God transforms him by raising him from the dead" (Harris, op. cit., 53). Sharing the divine nature is a future experience reserved for those who belong to Christ (1 Cor. 15:23, 54 f.; 2 Pet. 1:4).

Man may be said to possess a → "soul" already but this is not necessarily immortal in the Gk. sense. Matt. 10:28 teaches not the potential immortality of the soul but the irreversibility of divine judgment on the unrepentant. Similarly Rev. 20:6, 14 and 21:8 counter the idea of immunity from death with that of the "second death". The NT sees man essentially as a unity and promises the transformation of the whole person, and not just the survival of a part.

But to speak of immortality as a future acquisition and the resurrection as a future event is not to deny that man may proleptically enjoy eternal life now (cf. Rom. 8:2, 11). The transformation is something which begins now, because of the Spirit of life which dwells within the believer.

In the last analysis only God has immortality (1 Tim. 6:15 f.; cf. Jn. 5:26; Rom. 1:23; 1 Thess. 1:9). Whatever man has, he must receive as a gift from God alone. He has nothing intrinsic to himself as of right.

(e) "Just as resurrection is an act of God, so immortality is a gift of God" (op. cit., 54). The agent of resurrection is generally said to be the Father (Jn. 5:21; Acts 26:8; Rom. 4:17; 8:11; 1 Cor. 6:14; 2 Cor. 1:9; 4:14b; Heb. 11:19) but on occasion the Son (Jn. 6:39, 40, 44, 54). In raising Jesus, God was active by the Spirit of holiness (Rom. 1:4).

Denial of the resurrection stems not from ignorance of man's constitution but from ignorance of God, his word and his power (Mk. 12:24; 1 Cor. 15:12, 34).

(f) In Pauline thought, resurrection and immortality are inseparable and complementary ideas (op. cit., 54). In 1 Cor. 15 the two ideas are clearly juxtaposed. In the light of vv. 42, 50–54 it is clear that there can be no immortality without prior

resurrection. Those at Corinth who denied the resurrection (v. 12) may have been enlightened rationalists who advocated the immortality of the soul, claiming that the resurrection of the body was inconceivable and unnecessary. But Harris prefers to think of them as "over-realized eschatologists" who asserted that the only resurrection – the spiritual one – lay in the past having been accomplished at baptism (ibid., cf. 1 Cor. 4:8; 2 Tim. 2:17 f.). Against this view Paul insists on the futurity of the resurrection and the reality of the resurrection body. Resurrection and immortality are in fact complementary notions; neither can be had without the other. Those who were raised by Christ in his earthly ministry had to die, as these raisings did not confer immortality. But once raised, believers will bear permanently the image of the man from heaven (Rom. 8:29; 1 Cor. 15:49; 1 Jn. 3:2).

(g) All believers will be transformed, but not all will be resurrected (ibid.). This is due to the fact that some will still be alive at the parousia. But they too, like the dead, will be transformed (1 Thess. 4:15; 1 Cor. 15:51). The dead in Christ will be both raised and transformed (1 Cor. 15:42, 52).

(h) "The identity between 'the physical body' and the 'spiritual body' is not substantial but personal" (op. cit., 55). According to 1 Cor. 15:53, "this corruptible body must put on incorruption". "It is sown a physical body, it is raised a spiritual body" (1 Cor. 15:44). No mortal can inherit immortality (1 Cor. 15:50, 53). "Substantial or numerical identity between the successive forms of the Christian's embodiment seems excluded by the dual concept of a 'spiritual body' not yet possessed (2 Cor. 5:1) and the indispensability of change before such possession (1 Cor. 15:50)" (ibid.). Nevertheless, there is a continuity of personal identity (cf. 1 Cor. 15:49). There are two dwellings but one occupant. Although Matt. 22:29 implies that the resurrection body has no procreative powers, it does not mean that the distinction between the sexes will be obliterated.

The above discussion has focused on the concept of the resurrection body. For other eschatological concepts → Heaven, → Hell, → Judgment, → Punishment, → Number, art. *chilias* (for the millennium), → Present (for views of the parousia and eschatology). *C. Brown*

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Revelation

Revelation in Christian theology expresses the significant self-disclosure of God to man. The Gk. language possesses various terms and expressions relevant to this process. *apokalyptō*, a compound word formed from *kalyptō* (→ hide, conceal) and *apo* (from), carries with it the idea of unveiling something previously hidden. *dēloō*, derived from *dēlos*, clear, manifest, calls more attention to the goal, i.e. that as a

result something becomes known and manifest. *epiphaneia*, from the root *-phan-* (cf. *phainomai*, appear; *phaneroō*, let be seen; → Light art. *phainō*), suggests a visual appearance, a manifestation of deity. Other relevant concepts include *gnōrizō*, make known (→ knowledge, art. *ginōskō*); *horama*, an apparition (something seen) and *optasia*, a vision (→ See). Also → Hear, → Scripture, → Secret, → Teach, → Truth, → Word.

ἀποκαλύπτω

ἀποκαλύπτω (*apokalyptō*), uncover, disclose, reveal; ἀποκάλυψις (*apokalypsis*), disclosure, revelation.

CL 1. The vb. *apokalyptō*, unveil, formed from *kalyptō*, cover up, conceal, and *apo*, from, is attested in cl. Gk. from Hdt. onwards to denote the disclosure of previously hidden things; the noun *apokalypsis*, disclosure, revelation, is, however, only used from the 1st cent. B.C. onwards, and then predominantly in a religious sense.

2. The religious and theological use of both words is rare in the Greek-Hellenistic world. They occur sporadically in the *Corp. Herm.* (13, 1; in the 2nd or 3rd cent. A.D.), in the neo-Platonist Iamblichus (3rd cent. A.D.) and in later astrological and alchemical texts. Other words were preferred to designate divine revelations and manifestations. For the pronouncement of the Delphic oracle, for example, *sēmainō*, (indicate, explain, command: from *sēma*, a sign or mark) was used (cf. A. Oepke, *TDNT* III 566). In Hellenistic times the words → *epiphaneia*, an appearance, a becoming visible, and → *parousia*, presence (→ Present), signify that a hidden divinity has become visibly perceptible (cf. Arndt, 304, 635). It is instructive that the same expressions also play a rôle in the divine worship accorded to rulers. In the mystical Hermetic literature *gnōsis*, → knowledge, becomes the revelation (A. Oepke, *TDNT* III 569 f.). Clearly there is no question here of revelation in the NT sense of the word; the two concepts are quite distinct. God has indeed not left himself without a witness among the heathen (Acts 14:17); but even if they had the ability to recognize an invisible power and godhead from the works of God, they have perverted this knowledge through perverting faith in God into worship of idols (Rom. 1:18–23). If there is a reality behind heathen idol-worship, it is the reality of demonic powers (1 Cor. 10:20).

OT 1. Corresponding with its late appearance, the noun *apokalypsis* is found in the LXX only in 1 Sam. 20:30 for *'erwâh*, nakedness, and a further 3 times without Heb. equivalent in Sir. (11:27; 22:22; 42:1). The vb. *apokalyptō* (found *c.* 80 times) almost without exception represents forms of the Heb. vb. *gālâh*, in particular the niphal, to strip, and piel, expose, uncover. Thus it is used literally in Gen. 8:13 of removing the roof of the ark; in Num. 5:18 of the uncovering of the head, although this probably referred originally (as in the legal prescriptions of Lev. 18:6 ff. and 20:11 ff.) to the exposure of the otherwise covered sex-organs for the purpose of sexual union. The goal of the uncovering is thus not distant observation, but entrance to the most intense form of encounter which can involve the individual person. This picture was most notably taken up by Ezek. in order to characterize Israel's guilty and corrupt state (Ezek. 13:14; 16:36 f., 57: 21:29[24]; 22:10; 23:10, 18, 29).

In a figurative but still everyday use, *apokalyptō* means to reveal, to make known. It is used of human speech in Jos. 2:20; 1 Sam. 20:2, 13; 22:8, 17; and of human plans in 1 Macc. 7:31. The noun *apokalypsis* is used in Sir. 22:22 and 42:1 (?) in a secular sense for the revelation or publication of secrets. Perhaps there is theological significance in Sir. 11:27; at the end of a man's life stands "the revelation of his works". Here the thought could be of God's → judgment.

2. On the whole, *apokalyptō* is found relatively rarely in the LXX with a theological significance. The secular use is dominant. It occurs in the story of Balaam's prophetic experience in Num. 22:31 and 24:4, 16. God opened the prophet's inner eye and presented him with a true view of reality which, of course, did not accord with the wishes of Balak who wanted him to curse Israel. God gave him knowledge of the Most High, so that he could hear and speak his word. In a time when revelations were rare, God revealed himself to Samuel who previously did not know him (1 Sam. 3:1, 7); Samuel's prophetic authority is grounded in a series of further revelations (3:21). The account of Samuel's call (1 Sam. 3:1–4:1) has been seen to imply that not only were revelatory words from Yahweh rare, but that they were at that time received by men in visions (cf. Isa. 1:1; 2:1; Amos 1:1; Ezek. 1:1; Obad. 1). But in other instances of the writing prophets there are no explicit references to visions (cf. Jer. 1:1; Hos. 1:1; Zeph. 1:1; Zech. 1:1; Mal. 1:1). Samuel was evidently fully awake and not in an ecstatic state (1 Sam. 3:9 ff.; J. Mauchline, *1 and 2 Samuel, New Century Bible*, 1971, 56; → Prophet; → See; → Word). 1 Sam. 9:15 and 2 Sam. 7:27 refer to the opening of the ear. In this way Samuel and David are able to hear God's instructions and promises. "Open my eyes, that I may behold the wonders in your Law" prays the Psalmist (Ps. 119[118]:18). To the prophets, his servants, God reveals his divine *paideia*, his secret counsel (Heb. *sôḏ*) (Amos 3:7). In Theodotion's translation of Dan., the disclosure of the mysteries of God is rendered by *apokalyptō*, whereas the LXX uses *anakalyptō*, *ekphainō* and *dēloō* (Dan. 2:27–30, 47).

God's revelation mediates knowledge of God, his decrees and secrets, a knowledge which, in the last analysis, is inexhaustible: "The root of wisdom, to whom was it revealed?" (Sir. 1:6). Along with the mediation of knowledge goes the revelation of God's deeds. 1 Sam. 2:27 looks back to the revelation of God's deeds in → Egypt at the time of Israel's slavery. Isa. 52:10 and 53:1 speak of the revelation of the "arm" of God, i.e. of his power. In Isa. 56:1 God reveals his compassion and in Ps. 98(97):2 f. his → righteousness and his salvation, which the ends of the earth will see. The language of the LXX gives a clear picture of God's revealing activity under the old covenant.

3. For Judaism at the time of Jesus the content of divine revelation is drawn up and set down in the → Scripture (art. *graphē*). This is also called "the Law and the Prophets" (cf. Matt. 5:17, 12, etc.), by virtue of its contents of which the most important part is the → law of → Moses, the Torah. Prophecy, however, is extinct. "The prophets have gone to sleep" (Syr. Bar. 85:3; cf. e.g. 1 Macc. 4:46; 9:27; 14:41). Consequently the use of the word-group *apokalyptō* is rare in Judaism apart from the LXX (cf. *TDNT* III 578). There were the ideas that the messiah would give a new exposition of the law and that he would give a new Torah (SB III 577). The Dead Sea Scrolls, however, and in particular the Hymns Scroll, show that at the turn of the era there were Jewish circles with a continuing and living consciousness of prophetic

revelation and illumination (e.g. 1QH 1:21; 5:9; 6:4; cf. O. Betz, *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte*, 1960).

In this connexion, apocalyptic literature describes how God had entrusted holy men of antiquity with revelations of the last things, the coming of the messiah and his → kingdom, the → resurrection of the dead, the → judgment, and so on. Determinative for such apocalyptic thought is the contrast between the two worlds, the present age and the age to come (cf. e.g. Gal. 1:14; → Time, art. *aiōn*). Linked with assertions concerning the future are all manner of portrayals of the heavenly world, speculations about the constellations and the course of history. It is also a typical apocalyptic motif (→ art. *dēloō*, OT) for an angel to appear as a mediator of revelation. Apocalyptic also penetrated into early Christianity. As well as the Revelation to John there were other Christian-apocalyptic works which, however, were not accepted in the NT Canon. These include the Apocalypse of Peter and the Shepherd of Hermas. Jewish writings such as 3 Esd. were revised. It is also worth mentioning that the author of Rev. does not conceal his authorship behind the name of some man of antiquity but gives his own name.

NT 1. Numerically, the word-group is not very common in the NT (the vb. 26 times, and the noun 18 times). It is entirely lacking in a range of writings – Mk., Acts, Col., 1 Thess., the Pastoral Epistles, the Catholic Epistles (except 1 Pet.). In Jn.'s Gospel the vb. is found only in a quotation from Isa. 53:1 in Jn. 12:38, explaining unbelief of the Jews. Otherwise *phaneroō* is used for the act of revelation (Jn. 1:31; 2:11; 3:21; 7:4; 9:3; 17:6; 21:1, 14; cf. 1 Jn. 1:2; 2:19, 28; 3:2, 5, 8; 4:9). In Rev. the noun is found only in the title (1:1). Hence, we can assert at the start that the words are used predominantly by Paul (13 times each for verb and noun), 1 Pet. (perhaps dependent on Paul; the noun and vb. 3 times each), Matt. (4 times) and Lk. (6 times).

The noun always has theological significance; the vb. is found in Lk. 2:35 in an everyday sense, of thoughts being revealed. On the borderline of secular usage is the aphorism in Matt. 10:26 (par. Lk. 12:2): nothing is covered that will not be revealed (*ho ouk apokalyphthēsetai*; → Hide, art. *kryptō* NT 1). This dominical word is also transmitted in Mk. 4:22 (par. Lk. 8:17); but instead of *apokalyphthēsetai* there stands *hina phanerōthē/phaneron genēsetai*. If *apokalyptō* refers to the removal of a covering, then *phaneroō*, used in context with *phōs/phainō*, has the basic meaning of bringing into the → light, making visible. In the NT the meaning of both words is virtually interchangeable, so that, as with the synonymous *dēloō*, to make known, any attempt at precise conceptual distinction only leads to artificial demarcations (cf. Rom. 1:17; 3:21; 1 Sam. 3:21 LXX; 1 Pet. 1:12). By contrast with the LXX, the prevailing significance of the vb. in the NT is also the religious and theological one.

2. A theological understanding of the NT revelation is in the first instance orientated around the content, and only secondarily around the act and event of the revelation. Nevertheless, the latter must also be considered.

The OT statements (Num. 22:31, 1 Sam. 9:15 etc.; see above OT 2) make it plain that revelation is a divinely-effected opening of the eyes and ears. The NT is no different. Corresponding with the eyes there is a becoming visible, an appearance of God or Christ (2 Tim. 1:10; Tit. 2:11; 3:4). Corresponding with the opening of the ears there is a speaking by God (Heb. 1:1 f.). God's revelation must become percepti-

ble in the earthly world. In accordance with this, the apostles preach what they have heard and seen, and have even touched with their hands (Acts 4:20; 1 Jn. 1:1). The content of this seeing is Jesus Christ, the Word become flesh (*ho logos sarx egeneto*), the Word of Life (*tou logou tēs zōēs*) (Jn. 1:14; 1 Jn. 1:1). The disciples are called blessed, because they have been allowed to hear and see what was denied to many prophets and righteous men who longed for it, and what the angels themselves long to see (Matt. 13:16 par. Lk. 10:23 f.; 1 Pet. 1:12). To → hear and → see in this way, and in faith to perceive the glory of God (Jn. 11:40), is distinguished from the hearing and seeing of disbelief, which in truth is no hearing or seeing at all (Isa. 6:9 f. is cited 6 times in the NT: Matt. 13:13 ff., par. Mk. 4:12, Lk. 8:10; Jn. 12:39 ff.; Acts 28:26 f.; Rom. 11:8).

The knowledge of a new revelation of God surpassing the previous one is the characteristic of the attitude of faith of NT Christians. The earlier revelation given to the prophets is a pointer to Christ and the → gospel (Rom. 1:2; 1 Pet. 1:11 f.). Now, when unbelieving Jews read the OT, a veil lies over their → hearts which can only be removed when they are converted to Christ (2 Cor. 3:14 ff.; → Hide, art. *kalyptō* NT 3).

3. (a) In the Synoptic Gospels Jesus is the bearer of divine revelation. Simeon's words describe him as a *phōs eis apokalypsin ethnōn*, a light for revelation to the nations (Lk. 2:32; cf. Isa. 42:6). Jesus further confronts us as Revealer in the words of Matt. 11:25 ff. (par. Lk. 10:21 f.), where he praises the Father and Lord of the world for giving his revelation not to the wise and understanding, but to babes. It was not the → scribes or the → Pharisees, versed in the law, nor was it the High → Priests and spiritual leaders, but the → "poor in spirit", the fishermen from Galilee, who became his disciples. "All things have been delivered to me by my Father; and no one knows the Son except the Father, and no one knows the Father except the Son and any one to whom the Son chooses to reveal him" (Matt. 11:27; cf. par. Lk. 10:22). Knowledge of God through the old covenant has been surpassed; it can be regarded as only the first step towards the knowledge which the revelation of Jesus mediates. The authenticity of this logion has frequently been denied, but it fits into the picture which the Evangelists have painted of Jesus without any difficulty. Everywhere we meet the divine authority and consciousness of having been sent (Mk. 1:22, 27) which is expressed in Matt. 11:25 ff. On the authenticity of the saying see A. M. Hunter, "Crux Criticorum – Matt. xi. 25–30 – A Re-appraisal", *NTS* 8, 1961–62, 241–49; I. H. Marshall, "The Divine Sonship of Jesus (Did Jesus conceive himself as the Son of God?)", *Interpretation* 21, 1967, 87–103; J. Jeremias, *The Prayers of Jesus*, *SBT* Second Series 6, 1967, 48 ff.; and *New Testament Theology*, I, 1971, 56–61; D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew*, *New Century Bible*, 1972, 205 ff. The saying has been challenged because of its Johannine ring (cf. Jn. 3:35; 10:15). But it may be questioned if such a parallel must make a saying *ipso facto* inauthentic. Jeremias regards the Synoptic saying as a stage on the way to Johannine thought. Moreover, the saying is not only lacking in precise Hellenistic parallels, but it can be shown to be Semitic in language and style (cf. W. D. Davies, *Christian Origins and Judaism*, 1962, 144; Jeremias, *The Prayers of Jesus*, 46). Jeremias sees the picture drawn from everyday Jewish life: "Just as only a father really knows his son, so only a son really knows his father" (op. cit., 50; cf. Jn. 10:15). It is a key statement about Jesus' mission with parallels elsewhere in the Gospels (cf. Matt. 5:17, Jesus brings the final

revelation; Lk. 15:1–32, Jesus' action reflects God's attitude to sinners; Matt. 13:11 par. Mk. 4:11, Lk. 8:10, Jesus passes on the mystery of the kingdom of God). For further discussion of Jesus' sonship → Son.

(b) Although in Jn.'s Gospel the noun is lacking and the vb. occurs only in 12:38 (the quotation from Isa. 53:1), the theme that Jesus is the mediator of the divine revelation is expounded even more powerfully than in the Synoptic Gospels. He is the only Son who has made the Father known (Jn. 1:18; → One, art. *monos*). He speaks in the world what he has heard from his Father (Jn. 3:32; 8:26; 15:15). The word "to reveal", however, is not rendered in the Johannine literature by *apokalyptō* but by *phaneroō* (Jn. 1:31; 2:11; 3:21; 7:4; 9:3; 17:6; 21:1; 14; 1 Jn. 1:2; 2:19, 28; 3:2, 5,8; 4:9) and *emphanizō* (Jn. 14:21 f.). The description of Jesus as the → light of the world (Jn. 1:4 f.; 8:12 etc.) corresponds with this, as does the emphasis which is laid not only on hearing (→ hear) the voice of Jesus (Jn. 10:3, 2 f.), but also on seeing (→ see) the → glory of Jesus or God (Jn. 1:4; 11:40; 14:7, 9).

(c) The central content of the revelation is Christ himself. The Father in heaven revealed to Peter who Jesus is: "flesh and blood" could not mediate this knowledge to him (Matt. 16:17). The disciples are to declare openly in their → proclamation what has been revealed to them and what Jesus has said to them (Matt. 10:26 f.). Thus in the preaching of the disciples the event of revelation is continued: he who hears the disciples hears Jesus himself (Lk. 10:16; cf. Matt. 10:40; Jn. 12:44; 13:20). In Jn's Gospel Jesus promises his disciples the → Spirit of → truth who will bear witness to him. He will teach them everything and lead them into the full truth (Jn. 14:26; 15:26; 16:13). The event of revelation is not terminated in the earthly existence of Jesus.

4. (a) This is important for understanding the apostle Paul. He, too, is aware of himself as a bearer of divine revelation; the word *apokalypsis* consequently has fundamental significance. He lays great stress on the fact that Christ works and speaks through him (Rom. 15:18; 2 Cor. 13:3). From him he received his apostolic commission (Rom. 1:5), which is grounded in the fact that he has seen the resurrected Lord (1 Cor. 9:1; 15:8; → Birth, art. *ektrōma*; → Resurrection). Thereby he belongs to the circle of Easter witnesses and apostles (1 Cor. 15:11). This "seeing" is understood by him to be an event of revelation; it pleased God to reveal his Son to him (cf. Jn. 21:1, 14: the Easter appearances as self-revelation of the Risen One).

The authority with which Paul attacks the heresy threatening the Galatians is founded on the revelation of the Resurrected One. With a solemn *gnōrizō* (make known; cf. 1 Cor. 15:1) he insists that he has not received his gospel from men but by the revelation of Christ. *gnōrizō* is used both in LXX and NT language of immediate proclamations of the divine will (2 Sam. 7:21; Ps. 16:11; Col. 1:27; cf. Lk. 2:15, 17; Jn. 15:15; 17:26; Acts 2:28 [= Ps. 16:11]; 7:13; Rom. 9:23 f.; 16:26; 1 Cor. 12:3; 15:1; 2 Cor. 8:1; Gal. 1:11; Eph. 1:9; 3:3, 5, 10; 6:19, 21; Phil. 1:22; 4:6; Col. 1:27; 4:7, 9; 2 Pet. 1:16). To the Thessalonians Paul stresses that the gospel they received from him is not the word of men but the → Word of God (1 Thess. 2:13). 1 Cor. 2:10 points in the same direction; the Holy Spirit appears as the author of the revelation given to the apostle. The statements in Rom. 16:25 and Eph. 3:5 also crystallize the revelatory character of the apostolic message, which is identical with the mystery of Christ (→ Secret, art. *mystērion*).

The view that only Jesus' proclamation is revelation, and that the preaching of the early church is but an approximation to it (so J. Jeremias, *The Problem of the Historical Jesus*, 1964), does not, in view of the above affirmations, do justice to the statements of the NT. The NT does not draw a distinction here: the apostolic message is called the "Word of God" just as much as the word of Jesus (cf. Lk. 5:1; 8:21; with 1 Cor. 14:26; Col. 1:25). The consequence of this understanding was that early Christianity accepted both the words of Jesus transmitted in the Gospels and the apostolic writings into the Canon, and gave them recognition as the authoritative records of the divine revelation.

(b) Equally the word *apokalypsis* is not confined in Paul to the foundation message of Christ. In Gal. 2:2 he reports that he travelled to Jerusalem to the Apostolic Council on the basis of a revelation, i.e. he undertook the journey on the basis of divine direction, although we are not given any more exact details of the way he received it. 2 Cor. 12:1 ff. (cf. also 1 Cor. 14:6) refers to "visions and revelations" which Paul experienced, and which may have been ecstatic experiences (→ Ecstasy, art. *ekstasis*; → Paradise, art. *paradeisos* NT 1 (b)). In this connexion Paul also mentions the word that the exalted Lord spoke to him: "My grace is sufficient for you, for my power is made perfect in weakness" (v. 9).

But however important these revelations were for the personal faith and life of the apostle, we must distinguish them from the basic initial revelation of Christ. Such a revelation can be shared by other Spirit-filled Christians (1 Cor. 14:26, 30; Phil. 3:15). This is the explanation of Paul's prayer that God might give the Ephesians "the Spirit of wisdom and revelation" (Eph. 1:17). For the Spirit who guides the disciples into all truth opens up the understanding of revelation which is given them in the word of Jesus and of the apostles (cf. Eph. 2:18; Jn. 16:13; → Advocate).

(c) Alongside the revelation through the word stands the revelation in the acts of God. Paul is thinking of this when he speaks, from the standpoint of a man imprisoned under the law, of the message of → faith (*pistis*) which is to be revealed. The thought there is not only of the message itself but also of its content, the salvation event in Christ (Gal. 3:23). In the gospel is disclosed God's great gift enclosing salvation – the → "righteousness of God", through which sinful man is justified (Rom. 1:17; cf. 3:21).

This revelation of course contrasts with another: the revelation of the wrath of God, which falls on sinful humanity and allows it to sink even deeper into sin (Rom. 1:18 ff.; → *Revelation in Contemporary Theology* 2 (a)); on "the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God [*en hēmera orgēs kai apokalypseōs dikaiokrisias tou theou*]" (Rom. 2:5 AV) it will strike the impenitent in all its full severity. This revelation is anticipated by the gospel and the cross of Christ which show God's love and enmity to sin. 1 Cor. 3:13 also speaks of "fire" which will be revealed on the day of the Lord. Paul seems here to be thinking not only of the fire of → judgment, but also of a purifying fire. Preceding the day of Christ (2 Thess. 2:2), however, will be the revelation of the anti-Christian power which seizes control of the Sanctuary of God; the Lord will destroy it through the appearance of his advent (2 Thess. 2:3, 6, 8; → Present, arts. *hēmera*, *parousia*, and *The Parousia and Eschatology in the NT* 2 (c)).

This advent is the day of the revelation of Christ when he appears in the fullness of his power (1 Cor. 1:7; 2 Thess. 1:7). With it is linked the "revelation of the sons of

God" and of their heavenly → glory (*doxa*) which the sufferings of the time cause them to forget (Rom. 8:18 f.). Whenever 1 Pet. uses the word (apart from 1:12) it has the end revelation in view. The revelation of Christ is the revelation of his glory, in which Christians who are now led through suffering and manifold temptations will also have a share. They should therefore set all their hope on this salvation and grace (1 Pet. 1:5 ff., 13; 4:13; 5:1).

Such an *apokalypsis* is also the great theme of Rev. (1:1), which ends its vision of the future with the prayer "Amen. Come, Lord Jesus" (22:20; → Present, art. *maranatha* 2 (b)). The hope of this eternal future is a part of the Christian belief in revelation that cannot be surrendered. *W. Mundle*

δηλόω

δηλόω (*dēloō*), reveal, make clear, explain, give information, notify; δῆλος (*dēlos*), clear, plain, evident.

CL *dēloō*, from *dēlos*, visible, clear, manifest, is attested from the 5th cent. B.C. (Aesch., Hdt.), and means to announce, make manifest, explain, set forth. The word has a secular sense, first of all, and is so used in the LXX (Jos. 4:7; Tob. 10:8). In Stoic philosophy it takes on the meaning of to interpret, clarify (Cornutus, *Theologia Graeca* 6, p. 6, 13 f.; 33, p. 71, 4). Hellenistic writers of the 2nd cent. A.D. such as Pausanias (4, 33, 5; 9, 25, 6) and Aelius Aristides (47, 51 and 55, 49, 48) use the vb. for the publication of divine secrets. The post-Christian use of the word in Hermas, *Mandata* (4, 3, 3; 4, 1; 8, 8 etc.) and the Leiden magical papyrus, the Eighth Book of Moses, corresponds with this (cf. K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, XIII, 614). An angel declares the divine revelation. It is not possible to differentiate precisely between *dēloō* and other synonymous words such as → *apokalyptō*, *emphanizō* (→ light) and *phaneroō* → *epiphaneia* (→ Truth, art. *alētheia* NT 2 (c)).

OT In the LXX *dēloō* is principally a designation for the divine revelation. The underlying Heb. root equivalent is generally *yāḏa'* (hiph), to declare, let know. Thus revelation includes the imparting of → knowledge (art. *ginōskō*). God reveals his → name (Exod. 6:3; → God, art. *theos* OT 2), his purposes (Exod. 33:12), his ways (1 Ki. 8:36; 2 Chr. 5:27), his mysteries (Ps. 50[51]:8; Dan. 2:28, 29, 30; → Secret), his → covenant (Ps. 25[24]:8). *dēloō* can also denote the revelation of God's power (Jer. 16:21) and → glory (2 Macc. 2:8). The word is found very frequently in Dan. 2 (14 times out of 38 passages in the LXX), occasionally in the sense of expounding, interpreting (Dan. 2:5 ff.; 7:16); but there is no thought here of allegorical textual interpretations such as in the Stoa, but of the interpretation of → dreams (→ Explain). In Dan. 2 the Aram. vb. is *ḥwh*, show, make known.

NT In the NT the rare use of *dēloō* is confined to two passages each in 1 Cor. and Heb., and one passage each in Col. and 1 and 2 Pet., where the adj. is also found three times. The vb. bears the everyday sense of making known in 1 Cor. 1:11 and Col. 1:8. Similarly in Matt. 26:73, *hē lalia sou dēlon se poiei* means "your speech makes you known" (cf. RSV "your accents betrays you"). Also non-theological is the regular expression *dēlon hoti*, "it is clear that . . ." in 1 Cor. 15:27, Gal. 3:11; 1

Tim. 6:7 *v.l.* 1 Pet. 1:11 leads into the sphere of faith. Here it is stated that the prophets inquired concerning the → time indicated by the Spirit at work in them, when bearing witness to the sufferings of Christ and the subsequent glory. According to 2 Pet. 1:14, the Lord revealed to Peter the nearness of his end. In Heb. *dēloō* is used of the spiritual interpretation of the OT. According to Heb. 9:8, the Holy Spirit reveals that the way into the sanctuary did not yet become visible as long as the first → tent (the Jewish tabernacle) was still standing, and that only with Christ, the High Priest of the good things to come (v. 11), did the fulfilment appear. Heb. 12:27 offers a spiritual interpretation of Hag. 2:6. The convulsion spoken of here which is to follow is again an allusion to the everlasting → Kingdom, which is not subject to the transitoriness of created things (→ Shake). 1 Cor. 3:13 deals with the final revelation of the day of judgment, which will reveal the true character and value of human works "by fire". This use of *dēloō* expresses not imparting of knowledge, but God's final active revelation. *W. Mundle*

ἐπιφάνεια

ἐπιφάνεια (*epiphaneia*), appearance, revelation; *ἐπιφαίνω* (*epiphainō*), show, appear; *ἐπιφανής* (*epiphanēs*), powerful, splendid, terrible; *φανερός* (*phaneros*), visible, clear, open, evident; *φανερῶς* (*phanerōs*), openly; *φανερόω* (*phaneroō*), reveal, make known, show, manifest; *φανέρωσις* (*phanerōsis*), revelation, manifestation, disclosure; *φαντάζω* (*phantazō*), make visible; *φάντασμα* (*phantasma*), apparition.

CL 1. *epiphaneia*, derived from *phainō*, to appear (cf. *phōs* → Light), and attested since the 4th cent. B.C. (in the Pre-Socratics only in later reports), denotes originally: (a) purely outward appearance or mode of appearance; thus "the three visible sides of a town" (Polyb., 4, 70, 9; cf. also Acts 27:20). Analogous to the meaning "glorious" for the related word *epiphanēs*, attested since Pindar, there developed simultaneously the figurative meaning (b) glorious appearance, i.e. esteem, distinction, majesty (Pseudo-Plato, *Alcibiades* 1, 124c). Since already in *c.* 350 B.C. Isaeus of Chalcis could use *epiphaneia* to express (c) the sensation which a person or thing causes, it is not surprising that, at the time of Jesus, the word had almost become a technical term for (d) the succouring appearance of an otherwise hidden deity (cf. M. Dibelius and H. Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles*, *Hermeneia*, 1972, 104).

2. (a) Since the appearances of a divinity occur principally in the temple, the whole narrative section of the temple chronicle of Lindos (beginning of 1st cent. B.C.) is entitled *epiphaneiai*. The epiphany of a god is celebrated in the cult as the feast of his birth, of his accession, of a single miracle worked by him (cf. with this the relationship of the Christian feast of Epiphany to Lk. 2 and Matt. 2, to → baptism, and to the miracle at Cana), or of his return from a foreign land (cf. E. Pfister, Pauly-Wissowa, Supplement 4, 277–323). It is experienced not only in the personal appearance of the divinity, but also in extraordinary happenings which reveal the power and providence of the divinity (Diod. Sic., Plut. and others; cf. R. Bultmann and D. Lührmann, *TDNT* IX 8 f.). *epiphaneia* thus denotes the appearance of the divinity less in myth than in historical events.

(b) Since *epiphaneia* is used to describe the powerful intervention of the gods, rulers who were regarded as divine kings applied the adj. *epiphanēs* to themselves. Thus Antiochus Epiphanes in 1 Macc. 1:10 and after; cf. also Caesar's title, *ton apo Areōs kai Aphrodeitēs theon epiphanē kai ... sōtēra*, "the mighty god and ... saviour descended from Ares and Aphrodite" (W. Dittenberger, *SIG* II, 760, 6 f.).

OT 1. In the LXX *epiphainō* is the chief rendering of Heb. *'ôr* (hiph.), to cause to shine. It occurs in the Aaronic blessing (Num. 6:25) and associated passages (Pss. 31[30]:16; 67[66]:1; 80[79]:3, 7, 19; 118[117]:27; 119[118]:135; Dan. 9:17 Theodotion). In addition *gālâh* (niph.), to show oneself (Gen. 35:7; Ezek. 39:28), *zāraḥ*, to shine forth (Deut. 33:2) and *māṣâ'* (niph.) to (let oneself) be found (Jer. 29[36]:14) are all rendered by *epiphainō*. But always it is Yahweh's marvellous rescuing and redemptive vindication of his people in the sense of the OT theophany that is meant.

2. *epiphanēs* is the LXX rendering of Heb. *nôrā'* (niph. part. of *yārē'*, to fear) terrible (Jdg. 13:6; Joel 2:11, 31[3:4]; Hab. 1:7; Mal. 1:14; 3:23[4:5]). The pl. *nôrā'ôṯ* is (only in 2 Sam. 7:23) translated by *epiphaneiai*, the terrifying deeds of God. The LXX has obviously confused derivates of *yare'* with derivatives of *rā'âh*, to see (or even *'ôr*, to illuminate) and so introduced the element of the terrible into the ancient epiphany concept. This becomes clear in the translation of the expected "great" and "terrible" day of the LORD (Joel 2:11, 31[3:4]; Mal. 3:23[4:23]) by *megalē* and *epiphanēs* (→ Present, art. *hēmera* OT). Acts 2:20 picks up Joel 2:11. Some texts render *epiphanēs* here by "glorious": the coming day of judgment is terrible for those who are to be punished, but glorious for those who are to be saved. Correspondingly the LXX also translates *nôrā'ôt* by *ta endoxa* (Deut. 10:21; Isa. 64:2), the marvellous deeds, or – more correctly – by *ta phobera*, (e.g. Pss. 106[105]:22; 145[144]:6), the terrible deeds.

Through the introduction by the LXX of the elements of the terrible into the epiphany concept, the expectation of the appearance of God as an eschatological event means that words from this group can be used to designate the double outcome of salvation history (see below, NT 1).

3. The word-group is found especially in 2 Macc. *epiphainō* serves here to denote the rescuing intervention of God (2 Macc. 2:24; 14:15; and especially 15:27) in the sense of an OT theophany. 3 Macc. 2:19 and 6:4, 9 go back to the OT linguistic usage corresponding with Num. 6:25. On the other hand, *epiphainō* is used in the sense of 1 (a) to refer to Judas Maccabaeus' troops. The adj. *epiphanēs* can both describe the "Lord" (2 Macc. 15:34; 3 Macc. 5:35), the God of Israel, and also the sanctuary of Dionysus (2 Macc. 14:33). In Josephus *epiphaneia* is found in the above-mentioned sense of CL 2 (b) (*Ant.* 1, 255; 2, 339; 3, 310; 9, 60; 12, 136, quoting Polyb.; 18, 286). But this sense does not occur in Philo (*TDNT* IX 9).

NT If, as Wrede, Knopf, Jülicher, Bultmann, Bornkamm and others hold, 2 Thess. and the Pastoral Epistles are sub-apostolic writings, then the word *epiphaneia* emerges only late in the NT. On the other hand, other scholars regard them as Pauline, though the Pastoral Epistles belong to Paul's latest writings (for discussion see D. Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, II, 1961, 198–236; W. G. Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 1975², 370–87). The word is used with a twofold meaning for the visible appearance of Jesus Christ on earth.

1. *epiphaneia* occurs with reference to the appearance of the Lord on earth at the end of history. According to 2 Thess. 2:1–12, written in the language of Jewish apocalyptic, the advent of the "man of lawlessness" (→ Antichrist) precedes the visible appearance of the Kyrios (→ Present, art. *The Parousia and Eschatology in the NT* 2 (c)). In fact he is already at work (2:7), but his *parousia* (2:9) is at the moment impeded by some not further defined power (2:6 f.). The Lord Jesus will destroy him *tē epiphaneia tēs parousias*, at the appearance of his coming (2:8). *epiphaneia* and *parousia* are to be understood here as a hendiadys, *epiphaneia* stressing the powerful and effective action of the returning Christ, and *parousia* accentuating more strongly the fact of his re-appearance. The decisive factor at the return of the Lord is what he will do. His appearance, the judgment and the eschatological establishment of his → kingdom belong inextricably together. The awaited judgment day of the Lord will be both terrible and glorious. The NEB translates *epiphanēs* in Joel 2:31 by "terrible" and the quotation of this verse in Acts 2:20 by "resplendent" (AV "notable"; RSV "manifest"). Because there are two possible outcomes in salvation history, the need to stand one's ground in the fight of faith has to be stressed as the confirmation of this (note how the thought of 1 Tim. 6:12 precedes that of 6:14). Anyone who stands the test belongs to those "who have come to have a love for" the Lord's both powerful and illuminating intervention and so for "his appearance" (2 Tim. 4:8). The stress that is laid on Christ's powerful action in the designation of his return as *epiphaneia* derives ultimately from the fact that the Kyrios can be called God (Tit. 2:13) in connexion with his expected *epiphaneia*, even though the NT is still very restrained in its application of this title to Jesus Christ (→ God, art. *theos* NT 6; → Lord, art. *kyrios* NT 3).

2. From the use of the word in CL 2 (b) it is not surprising that Christians applied *epiphaneia* also to the visible earthly appearance of their Saviour (2 Tim. 1:10; and later Justin, *Apol. I* 14, 3 and 40, 1).

epiphainō (apart from Acts 27:20) is used in the NT solely of Jesus' earthly appearance, whether with a forward (Lk. 1:79) or a backward look (Tit. 2:11; 3:4). To see God's powerful revelation shining in Jesus' servant-form is not a judgment of the reason, but one exclusively of faith, for outside faith the revelation of God is not visible (cf. R. Bultmann, "The Concept of Revelation in the New Testament", in *Existence and Faith*, [1961] 1964, 67–106).

3. The no longer and not yet visible Lord, who is nevertheless believed in as present and active, can be requested in the prayer of the early church to reveal himself (1 Clem. 59:4 and 60:3; cf. Num. 6:25; and further 1 Cor. 16:22; Rev. 22:20). The thought is not that of seeing him, but of his succouring intervention and of a growing certainty which strengthens their faith (cf. CL 1 (d)).

4. In pregnant usage the word-group is found in the Bible only in the context of the revelation of Yahweh in the OT and of Jesus Christ in the NT. To speak of revelation in the fullest biblical sense is to speak of Jesus Christ. The words are never employed in connexion with the creation! The accent of the revelation-event rendered by *epiphaneia* lies on the soteriological character of God's revelation. The words accordingly do not belong to a theory of knowledge which is independent of history but to NT soteriology. In view of God's revelation in Jesus Christ the extension of knowledge is a trifling matter *vis-à-vis* salvation from blindness, lack of orientation and lostness. The mighty saving intervention of God has already occurred, but its

fulfilment will take place only at the appearance of Jesus Christ. Thus believers live in the eschatological tension of being already reconciled but not yet redeemed (Rom. 8:23; → Reconciliation; → Redemption). In other words, they live in → hope.

B. Gärtner

5. The NT has a number of related words. For *phainō* and *emphanizō* → Light.

(a) The adj. *phaneros*, visible, clear, open, evident, is not a theological technical term, although it is used in some important theological contexts. It stresses what is visible to the sight. It is used in connexion with the messianic → secret (Mk. 3:12 par. Matt. 12:16): Jesus charged them not to make him known. Nevertheless, his name had become known (Mk. 6:14). It is used in Jesus' declaration that men do nothing in secret that shall not be made manifest (Mk. 4:22; Lk. 8:17). In Acts 4:16 the Jewish leaders are compelled to acknowledge that the apostles, Peter and John, had performed a notable deed in healing the lame man in the temple, and that this was manifest to all the inhabitants of Jerusalem. Similarly, the fact that Paul's imprisonment was for Christ had become known throughout the praetorian guard (Phil. 1:13). In all these instances there is the implication that God's truth will become visible and evident in God's good time, whether men try to hasten it or hinder it. The adj. has a non-technical sense in Stephen's speech which refers to Joseph making himself known to his brethren (Acts 7:13).

Rom. 1:19 declares that what may be known about God is made manifest to men in the natural order (see the discussion of revelation in nature below in *Revelation in Contemporary Theology*). In Rom. 2:28 the man who is a Jew outwardly (*en tō phanerō*), i.e. by possessing → circumcision and making a formal profession of the → law, is contrasted with the one who is a Jew inwardly (*en tō kryptō*) who has the real, spiritual circumcision of the heart (v. 29). Paul is arguing that true membership of the people of God does not consist of possessing the outward marks of → covenant membership; there must also be the inner spiritual reality. But where this is absent, as in the case of the unbelieving Jews, it does not nullify the faithfulness of God (Rom. 3:1–4, 31; cf. Ps. 51:4). God plans to use even the unbelief of the Jews to his glory, and wills their inclusion in the people of God by grafting them back through their turning to him on a massive scale (Rom. 9:1–11:36).

In the day of the Lord the works of all men – including believers – will come to light (1 Cor. 3:13; cf. 14:25; Mk. 4:22; Lk. 8:17; Judgment; → Present, art. *hēmera*). Indeed, the present dissensions within the church make it manifest who are genuine (1 Cor. 11:19). In Gal. 5:19 Paul draws attention to the self-evident character of the works of the flesh, as contrasted with the → fruit of the Spirit. Timothy is exhorted to practise the duties of his ministry so that his progress may be evident to all (1 Tim. 4:15). Similarly, the believer's attitude to sin makes it plain that he is a child of God (1 Jn. 3:10).

(b) The adv. *phanerōs* is used in the sense of "openly", "publicly", so that people can see (Mk. 1:45; Jn. 7:10). It is the opposite of *en kryptō*, "in secret". In Acts 10:3 it means "plainly".

(c) The vb. *phaneroō*, reveal, make known, show, manifest, is relatively frequent in the NT compared with the number of instances outside it (*TDNT* IX 4). Mk. 4:22 has the character of a proverbial saying (cf. above (a)). Elsewhere it occurs in the Synoptic Gospels only in the longer ending of Mk.: Mk. 16:12, 14 (on the longer

ending see W. R. Farmer, *The Last Twelve Verses of Mark, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series* 25, 1974).

It is, however, frequent in Jn. virtually as a synonym for → *apokalyptō* which is used only in the quotation from Isa. 53:1 in Jn. 12:38 (cf. its use in Matt. and Lk.). John the Baptist came baptizing with water that Jesus Christ might be revealed to Israel (Jn. 1:31). The sign at Cana "manifested his glory; and his disciples believed in him" (Jn. 1:11). Those who do evil hate the light and do not come to it. "But he who does what is true comes to the light, that it may be clearly seen that his deeds have been wrought in God" (Jn. 3:21). Jesus' brothers urged him to go to Jerusalem, "For no man works in secret if he seeks to be known openly. If you do these things, show yourself to the world" (Jn. 7:4). But the words betray a lack of belief (v. 5), and Jesus rejected their counsel as his time had not yet come. On the other hand, their time – and their attitude which conformed to the world – is always here (v. 6). Jesus explained the blindness of the man blind from birth on the grounds that, "It was not that this man sinned, or his parents, but that the works of God might be made manifest in him" (Jn. 9:3). In his high priestly prayer Jesus declares: "I have manifested thy name to the men whom thou gavest me out of the world; thine they were, and thou gavest them to me, and they have kept thy word" (Jn. 17:6). In Jn. 21:1 and 14 the vb. is used of Jesus' revelation of himself to his disciples.

The vb. also figures prominently in 1 Jn. In Jesus "the life was made manifest, and we saw it, and testify to it, and proclaim to you the eternal life which was with the Father and was made manifest to us" (1 Jn. 1:2). By contrast the action of unbelievers in quitting the community makes it manifest that they were not truly of the community (1 Jn. 2:19). In 1 Jn. 2:28 it is used of the coming of Christ. The epistle proceeds to develop the tension between the two manifestations of Christ and the implications that this has for the believer. "Beloved, we are God's children now; it does not yet appear what we shall be, but we know when he appears we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is" (1 Jn. 3:2). "You know that he appeared to take away sins, and in him there is no sin" (1 Jn. 3:5). "He who commits sin is of the devil; for the devil has sinned from the beginning. The reason the Son of God appeared was to destroy the works of the devil" (1 Jn. 3:8). "In this the love of God was made manifest among us, that God sent his only Son into the world, so that we might live through him" (1 Jn. 4:9; cf. Jn. 3:16).

In Rev. 3:18 the church at Laodicea is counselled to buy white garments from the risen Christ to keep the shame of its nakedness from being seen. The allusion is to the lukewarm attitude of that church in its self-contented prosperity which blinded it to its true state (→ Cold, Hot, Lukewarm NT (c)). In Rev. 15:4 the song of those who have conquered celebrates the God who alone is holy and the fact that "All nations shall come and worship thee, for thy judgments have been revealed."

Paul uses *phaneroō* and *apokalyptō* as synonyms (cf. Rom. 1:17 and 3:21 on the revelation of the → righteousness of God in Christ; Eph. 3:5 and Col. 1:26 on the revelation of the mystery hidden for ages). In Rom. 1:19 and 1 Cor. 4:5 *phaneroō* has the sense of "make visible". The former passage refers to the revelation of God's "eternal power and deity" in the creation (Rom. 1:20; see below on *Revelation in Contemporary Theology*). The latter refers to the coming → judgment when all the hidden things will be made manifest. For Paul this has the practical implication that he does not pronounce judgment before the time, being content to leave it to God,

and equally he does not wish to have premature commendation for the same reason.

Paul uses *phaneroō* no less than 9 times in 2 Cor. especially in polemical contexts. He uses it of the revelation that comes about through his preaching (2 Cor. 2:14; 11:6). His own apostolic way of life is itself a paradoxical revelation of Christ, in a way comparable to Christ's own way of life. For men – including his adversaries – naturally expect God to manifest himself in success. But in fact it is otherwise. Paul's apostolic way has been one of affliction and suffering, "always carrying about in the body the death of Jesus, so that the life of Jesus may also be manifested in our bodies. For while we live we are always being given up to death for Jesus' sake, so that the life of Jesus may be manifested in our mortal flesh. So death is at work in us, but life in you" (2 Cor. 4:10 ff.). On the other hand, the existence of believing men and women in the church shows them to be a letter from Christ, a manifest attestation vindicating Paul's apostleship in contrast with the letters of accreditation vaunted by his opponents. The vb. is used of the appearance of all before the judgment seat of Christ (2 Cor. 5:10 f.; → Judgment, art. *bēma*). The vb. is used 3 times. Not only shall we appear (v. 10), but what we are is made manifest to God (v. 11a). To this Paul adds the hope that it is also manifest to the consciences of his readers (v. 11b). In 2 Cor. 7:12 Paul declares that his intention in writing as he did was "in order that your zeal for us might be revealed to you in the sight of God." Despite his lack of eloquence Paul expresses the hope that his apostleship and devotion to Christ have been made plain (2 Cor. 11:6). For further discussion of the vb. and the cognate noun in 2 Cor. see below (d).

Revelation takes place in proclamation (Col. 1:25 f.; 4:4; Rom. 16:25 ff.). In Eph. 5:13 Christian conduct is seen in terms of light. The thought of revelation is further developed in terms of mystery hidden for ages but now revealed in Christ (Col. 1:26; 3:4; 4:4; cf. Eph. 3:5; 6:19).

On the question of whether there is a conflict between Paul's claims about revelation (cf. also 1 Cor. 11:23; Gal. 1:12) and his insistence on having received his kerygma from tradition (1 Cor. 15:3) see G. E. Ladd, "Revelation and Tradition in Paul", in W. W. Gasque and R. P. Martin, eds., *Apostolic History and the Gospel: Biblical and Historical Essays Presented to F. F. Bruce*, 1970, 223–30. Ladd sees Paul in 1 Cor. thinking of particular aspects of his gospel: the Lord's Supper, the saving death, the resurrection and the appearances of Jesus. These include facts and interpretations which Paul received from earlier Christians (→ Proclamation). However, in Gal. Paul is dealing with his apostolic authority and conversion. "Paul was not converted by Christian preaching but by an immediate confrontation by the exalted Christ. Neither did he receive his apostolic office from men. Both – his gospel and his apostolic office – came directly from the Lord, unmediated by men" (op. cit., 230).

1 Tim. 3:16 takes up the theme of mystery in quoting a primitive Christian hymn: "Great indeed, we confess, is the mystery of our religion: He was manifested in the flesh [*hos ephanerōthē en sarki*], vindicated in the Spirit, seen by angels, preached among the nations, believed on in the world, taken up in glory." On this subject see R. H. Gundry, "The Form, Meaning and Background of the Hymn Quoted in 1 Timothy 3:16", in W. W. Gasque and R. P. Martin, eds., op. cit., 203–22; J. T. Sanders, *The New Testament Christological Hymns, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series* 15, 1971, 94 f.; M. Dibelius, *The Pastoral Epistles, Hermeneia*,

1972, 61 ff.; and A. T. Hanson, *Studies in the Pastoral Epistles*, 1968, 21–28 (on the introductory clause). *phaneroō* here refers to the incarnation (cf. Rom. 1:3 f. and the use of the vb. elsewhere for the incarnate ministry of Jesus in Jn. 1:31; Heb. 9:26; 1 Pet. 1:20; 1 Jn. 1:2; 3:5, 8; and the use of *sarx* for the humanity of Jesus in Jn. 1:14; 6:51 ff.; Rom. 8:3; 10:5; Eph. 2:14; Col. 1:22; Heb. 5:7; 1 Pet. 3:18; 4:1; 1 Jn. 4:2; 2 Jn. 7; cf. Lk. 24:39). Gundry thinks that the clause refers to the entire earthly ministry right up to the ascension in view of (1) the use of *sarx* for human lifetime (Gal. 2:20; Phil. 1:22, 24; Heb. 5:7), (2) the generality of "manifested" instead of a more specific vb. like "born", and (3) the synthetic relation to "taken up in glory" (op. cit., 209). *ephanerōthē* thus becomes a constative aorist indicating that the action is conceived of as a whole. The same vb. is also used of the significance of the incarnation in 2 Tim. 1:10 in concluding its definition of the → gospel in the power of God: "and now has manifested through the appearing of our Saviour Christ Jesus, who abolished death and brought life and immortality to light through the gospel." The incarnation is also in mind in the other reference to the vb. in the Pastoral Epistles, but it is now mediated by proclamation: "and at the proper time manifested in his word through the preaching with which I have been entrusted by command of God our Saviour" (Tit. 1:3).

The vb. occurs twice in Heb. 9 but with somewhat different meanings. In Heb. 9:26 the reference is to the incarnation, the purpose of which was to offer a sacrifice for sins which supersedes the OT → sacrifices and day of atonement ritual. The manifestation of Christ is unique and unrepeatable: "Nor was it to offer himself repeatedly, as the high priest enters the Holy Place yearly with blood not his own; for then he would have had to suffer repeatedly since the foundation of the world. But as it is, he has appeared once for all at the end of the age to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself" (Heb. 9:15 f.). Conversely, the author has earlier argued that the structure of the tabernacle (and by implication the → temple) and the prohibition of all but the high priest from entering the inner sanctuary is proof of the incompleteness of the religion and rites of the old covenant: "By this the Holy Spirit indicates [*dēlountos*] that the way into the sanctuary is not yet opened [*pephanerōsthai*] as long as the outer tent is still standing" (Heb. 9:8; → Tent). Whereas the RSV translates the vb. by "opened", it would be consistent with the regular meaning of the vb. to translate it as "manifested", "revealed" or "made known" (cf. NEB "remains unrevealed").

The vb. also occurs twice in 1 Pet. again of Christ referring to his two manifestations in his historical life and at his second coming. "He was destined from the foundation of the world but was made manifest at the end of the times for your sake" (1 Pet. 1:20). "And when the chief Shepherd is manifested you will obtain the unfading crown of glory" (1 Pet. 5:4).

(d) Compared with the relative frequency of the vb. (49 times), the noun *phanerōsis*, revelation, manifestation, disclosure, occurs only twice. In 1 Cor. 12:7 it describes the → gifts of the → Spirit: "To each is given the manifestation of the Spirit for the common good." In 2 Cor. 4:2 it is used in connexion with Paul's preaching in a polemical passage replying to accusations: "We have renounced disgraceful, underhanded ways; we refuse to practise cunning or to tamper with God's word, but by the open statement of the truth [*tē phanerōsei tēs alētheias*] we would commend ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God. And even if our gospel is veiled [*kekalymmenon*], it is veiled [*kekalymmenon*] to them that are perishing" (2 Cor. 4:2

f.; → Hide, art. *kalyptō* NT 3). C. K. Barrett takes the phrase to mean "by showing forth the truth, that is the Gospel, or word of God" (*The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, *BNTC*, 1973, 129; cf. R. Bultmann, *Exegetica*, ed. E. Dinkler, 1967, 143). The passage may be compared with 2 Cor. 5:10 f. and the use of the vb. in 2 Cor. noted above (c). W. Schmithals sees Paul defending his rational, non-ecstatic method of proclaiming Christian truth as against gnostic criticism (*Gnosticism in Corinth*, 1971). But Barrett prefers to see Paul's use of the vb. against the background of the law court, where it was used of appearances in court (2 Cor. 5:10; op. cit., 160, 164; cf. C. F. D. Moule, *The Phenomenon of the New Testament*, *SBT* Second Series 1, 1967, 92).

(e) The vb. *phantazō*, make visible, usually in the pass. to become visible, especially of extraordinary phenomena, is rare in secular Gk. and occurs only in Heb. 12:21 of → Moses on Sinai: "Indeed so terrible was the sight [*to phantazomenon*] that Moses said, 'I tremble with fear' " (cf. Deut. 9:19). *phantasma* means an apparition or ghost (secular Gk. from Aesch. and Plato; cf. Job 20:8 *v.l.*; Wis. 17:14; Josephus, *Ant.* 1, 331 and 333; Matt. 14:26 par. Mk. 6:49, Lk. 24:37D, of the disciples' mistaken impression of Jesus walking on the water). *C. Brown*

χρηματίζω

χρηματίζω (*chrēmatizō*), impart a revelation, injunction or warning; bear a name, be called or named; *χρῆμα* (*chrēma*), property, wealth, means, money; *χρηματισμός* (*chrēmatismos*), a divine statement or answer.

CL & OT *chrēma* is related to *chrē*, necessity, it is inevitable, and means affair, money in secular Gk. (B. Reicke, *TDNT* IX 480). It has the meaning of money, riches in the LXX and is so used in the NT (→ Possessions, art. *chrēma*). From *chrēma* in the sense of affair, business, the vb. *chrēmatizō* means to handle a matter (e.g. Thuc., 1, 87, 5). In the language of government and business in the Hellenistic world it came to denote taking up a matter, dealing with something, giving an answer, especially from an official point of view (*TDNT* IX 481). It can have this sense in the case of a deity giving an answer (Diod. Sic. 15, 10, 2; Josephus, *Ant.* 3, 212). In Jer. LXX it corresponds to the Heb. *dibber*, speak (26[33]:2; 29[36]:23; 30[37]:2) and *šā'ag*, roar (25[32]:30).

NT 1. In the NT *chrēmatizō* has 2 distinct senses, though the second sense may be a quite different vb. The first sense may be connected with *chrēsmos*, oracle, and the second with *chrēmata*, business (Moulton, *Grammar*, II, 265).

(a) In the infancy stories, the story of Cornelius and Heb. the vb. is used of the instruction of people by revelations. It is usually in the pass., and the recipient is regarded as an instrument of God. Often the vb. is in the imperative. Thus the wise men were warned in a → dream not to return to Herod (Matt. 2:12; → Magic, art. *mageia* NT 2(b)). Joseph was likewise warned not to go to Judea where Archelaus ruled and so withdrew to Galilee (Matt. 2:22). It was "revealed" to Simeon "by the Holy Spirit that he should not see death before he had seen the Lord's Christ" (Lk. 1:26). In the account of the opening of the church to the Gentiles "Cornelius, a centurion, an upright and God-fearing man, who is well spoken of by the whole Jewish nation, was

directed to send for you [Peter] to come to his house, and to hear what you have to say" (Acts 10:22). Heb. 11:5 speaks of the response of → Noah's → faith to the warnings of God, and Heb. 12:25 exhorts professing Christians: "See that you do not refuse him who is speaking. For if they did not escape when they refused him [Moses] who warned them on earth, much less shall we escape if we reject him [Jesus] who warns from heaven" (cf. Heb. 3:12; Exod. 19:18; 20:19).

(b) In two instances *chrēmatizō* means to appear as something, bear a name, be called or named. Thus "in Antioch the disciples were for the first time called Christians" (Acts 11:26c; → Jesus Christ, art. *Christianos*). A woman "will be called an adulteress if she lives with another man while her husband is alive" (Rom. 7:3a; → Marriage, art. *moicheuō*).

2. *chrēmatismos* is found in secular Gk. from Plato onwards in the sense of money-making (e.g. *Rep.* 2, 357c). But it is also a term for an official answer, instruction or decree and also a divine answer in Hellenism (*TDNT* IX 482). In the LXX it means dispatch (2 Macc. 11:17), oracle (Prov. 31:1; Isa. 13:1), and divine direction (2 Macc. 2:4). In the NT it is found only at Rom. 11:4: "But what is God's reply [*chrēmatismos*] to him [→ Elijah]? 'I have kept for myself seven thousand men who have not bowed the knee to Baal' " (cf. 1 Ki. 19:18). The instance affords a precedent and example for Paul to argue "So too at the present time there is a remnant, chosen by grace" (v. 5). The argument is concerned to show that God has not rejected altogether his ancient people, and that God's way of working now is the same as it was in time past under the old covenant. "In spite of the linguistic link between *entynchanō* and *chrēmatismos* Elijah is thought of, not as an attorney submitting written petitions, not as a mantic practising incubation, but as a man of God receiving revelations" (B. Reicke, *TDNT* IX 482). *C. Brown*

Revelation in Contemporary Theology

The purpose of this note is to draw attention to some of the representative views of revelation of the past half-century. Two main streams have emerged: the one stresses revelation through the word, the other through history and events. They do so against a double background. On the one hand, the rise of critical historical scholarship has set a question mark against the possibility of treating the Bible without more ado as the written word of God. On the other hand, there is the question whether God does not reveal himself in nature and history, and within the Bible itself there are grounds for answering this in the affirmative.

1. *Revelation through the Word.* (a) In the 1920s and 1930s Karl Barth was a leading advocate of Dialectical Theology, and his commentary on *Romans* (1919) became a programmatic manifesto of this school of thought. Basic to it was the idea that God is *Wholly Other*. God exists on a different plane and in a different way from men. Consequently they can know him only as he reveals himself to them. But being *Wholly Other* there is a sense in which God remains hidden even in revelation. For when men saw Jesus with their eyes, they saw a man and not God. When they heard his words, they heard human words. The divine cannot be perceived directly; it can only be perceived indirectly. This view of God as *Wholly Other* had a double consequence for Barth's thinking. On the one hand, it meant that man's religion as a human quest for God was worthless and sinful. Indeed, in the light of God's revela-

tion of himself in Jesus Christ we can see how misguided it really is. On the other hand, for the Barth of Dialectical Theology the words of Scripture are not themselves revelation but a witness to revelation. They point in human terms to that which cannot be expressed by man at all.

In the 1930s. Barth moved away from the strict position of Dialectical Theology in favour of a view which saw an analogical correspondence between the truth of our words about God and the reality of God himself (cf. *CD* I, 1, 279, cf. 274 ff.; II, 1, 223–54). For strictly speaking, if God is *Wholly Other* nothing at all can be said about him. He would be so different from our ways of speaking and thinking that nothing appropriate could be said. But in the light of the revelation in Scripture, Barth came to see a correspondence between our concepts and the reality of God in himself. Thus, if we call God our "Father" we do not mean that he is our father in the same way as our human fathers, who can be seen, heard, touched, and who bring children into the world by physical procreation. God is not a father in the literal sense. But there is a correspondence in the way in which he is the source of our life and in the way he cares for and guides us as his children.

In the *Church Dogmatics* Barth developed the concept of the threefold form of the Word of God (*CD* I, 1, 98–140). In the strictest sense of the word Jesus Christ himself is the Word of God (cf. Jn. 1:1, 14; Rev. 19:13; Heb. 1:2). He is the one who reveals the Father (Matt. 11:27 ff.; Lk. 10:22; Jn. 14:6–10; 1 Cor. 1:30). But there is also a sense in which Scripture is also the → Word of God. It is the Word of God as God speaks to men through it. Thus Barth conceives of Scripture not as something separate from God but as the vehicle through which God speaks to men. But it is revelation in so far as it reveals Christ, or rather, as Christ reveals himself through it. Barth speaks of Scripture as "the witness of the prophets and apostles", i.e. as the witness of those who were specially commissioned by God to testify to him before and after the event of Christ. The former look forward to him, and the latter look back to him. The word "witness" has to be understood in the gospel sense of the term: "He who receives you receives me, and he who receives me receives him that sent me" (Matt. 10:40; cf. Lk. 10:16; Jn. 13:20). Just as those who received the disciples received Christ in and through them, so we today in receiving their written words also receive Christ, and with him also the Father. In addition to Christ and Scripture, Barth also thinks of proclamation as a form of the Word of God. The church's preaching today is the concrete means of God revealing himself and of men receiving the Word of God. In practice these three forms of the Word of God are inseparable. There is no revelation apart from Christ, but no knowledge of Christ apart from the Scriptures. In practice we know Christ and the Scriptures through the proclamation of the church, but we must test that proclamation by Scripture.

For Barth there can be no external proof of the truth of revelation. For it is impossible to stand outside our human condition and look at God as he is in himself and look at our theologies and see them in a completely detached manner. There is no vantage point from which we could do this. Barth admits that his argument is circular (*CD* I, 2, 535), but it is not a vicious circle. We may step into the circle of truth and see its truth from a position of obedient faith. The truth of God is self-attesting. Therefore an extraneous "objective" proof is as impossible as it is irrelevant. The truth of the Bible on historical matters is of course open to corroboration by

archaeology. But such corroboration would merely be on a human level. It would not tell us whether what the Bible says about God is true. This can only be known from within the self-attesting circle of revelation.

Two further observations may be made on Barth's position. On the one hand, it means that all knowledge of God is mediated in and through the person of Jesus Christ. On the other hand, this means that there is no true knowledge of God outside this revelation, which in turn means the rejection of religion as a subject of interest and value in its own right (whether in its Christian or non-Christian forms) and also of natural theology. Natural theology, as the attempt to discover certain truths about God by reflection on the natural world and certain human institutions like marriage and moral values, formed the subject of a debate between Barth and Emil Brunner in the 1930s (cf. their papers in *Natural Theology; Comprising 'Nature and Grace' by Professor Emil Brunner and the Reply 'No!' by Dr. Karl Barth*, 1946). Brunner argued that a knowledge of God from nature was a presupposition for the proclamation of the gospel and that it was the task of Protestant theology to construct a new natural theology. Barth ridiculed the proposition, but in so doing failed to give adequate weight to passages like Ps. 19:1 ff.; Acts 14 and 17; and Rom. 1:19 ff. Later on he recognized that the Bible speaks of a revelation in nature, but maintained that the natural man makes nothing of it (*CD* II, 1, 119 ff.), insisting that only the Spirit of God can reveal the deep things of God (1 Cor. 2:6–16). The knowledge of God by the Gentiles in Rom. 2:12–16 is not a general unaided response to natural revelation. Rather, it is the fulfilment of Jer. 31:31 ff. in the knowledge of God by the Gentiles under the new covenant. The Gentiles in question are Gentile believers (*CD* I, 2, 304; II, 242, 604; IV, 1, 33, 369, 395). For Brunner's view of revelation see *Revelation and Reason; The Christian Doctrine of Faith and Knowledge*, 1947; and *Truth as Encounter: A New Edition, Much Enlarged, of The Divine-Human Encounter*, 1964 (cf. also P. K. Jewett, *Emil Brunner's Concept of Revelation*, 1954).

For Barth the doctrine of the Trinity is grounded in revelation in so far as the Father reveals himself in the Son (who is the objective reality of revelation) through the power of the Holy Spirit (who is the subjective reality of revelation) (cf. Eph. 2:18; Matt. 28:19; 2 Cor. 13:14). Hence, *CD* I, 1 which deals with the doctrine of the Word of God as the prolegomena to church dogmatics is also a massive treatise on the doctrine of the Trinity. For it is none other than the triune God himself who is active in revelation, and as such is also the underlying principle of Christian theology.

Barth's concept of inspiration stretches the concept from the idea of God-breathed scriptures ("All Scripture is inspired by God [*pasa graphē theopneustos*] and profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, and for training in righteousness", 2 Tim. 3:16) to cover the whole process of illumination described in 1 Cor. 2:6–16 and 2 Cor. 3:4–18 (*CD* I, 2, 514 ff.). Within this general context Barth is willing to speak of the inspiration of scripture, and warns against saying anything different in the light of Matt. 5:17 f. At the same time, he insists that the Bible must not be detached from encounter with the living God. Otherwise, it becomes a "paper Pope". Barth's high view of Scripture does not preclude for him the possibility that the biblical writers were capable of error and that they spoke "the Word of God in their fallible and erring human word" (*CD* I, 2, 530; cf. 509, 528 ff.). The action of the Spirit does not suspend their human thought-processes. But he prefers to speak of a

"capacity for errors" rather than actual errors, warning us not to attempt to play off one writer against another.

(b) In the 1920s Rudolf Bultmann was also associated with Dialectical Theology. But in subsequent years the gap between Barth and Bultmann widened into a chasm. It would be wrong to think of Bultmann entirely as an existentialist theologian. The existentialist element in his teaching is but one aspect. At its foundation lies the thought of the otherness of God. This means that God cannot be objectified. At the same time Bultmann espoused a much more radical view of the Bible than Barth in such works as *The History of the Synoptic Tradition* (1921, ET 1963). Moreover, the thoughts of the biblical writers are couched in the language of obsolete mythical world views (→ Myth). Thus the message of the NT requires to be demythologized, not indeed to remove all offence, but to allow the real offence of the gospel to stand (cf. "New Testament and Mythology"; 1941, ET in *Kerygma and Myth*, ed. H. W. Bartsch, combined volume, 1972, 1–44; and *Jesus Christ and Mythology*, 1960). Christ is revealed in the *kērygma* of the cross and resurrection. "The word of preaching confronts us as the word of God. It is not for us to question its credentials. It is we who are questioned, we who are asked whether we will believe the word or reject it. But in answering this question, in accepting the word of preaching as the word of God and the death and resurrection of Christ as the eschatological event, we are given an opportunity of understanding ourselves. Faith and unbelief are never blind, arbitrary decisions. They offer us the alternative between accepting or rejecting that which alone can illuminate our understanding of ourselves" (*Kerygma and Myth*, 41 f.; → Resurrection, art. *The Resurrection in Contemporary Theology* 1 (a)).

There is both an eschatological and an existential note here which resounds throughout Bultmann's teaching. The eschatological is the element of the transcendent breaking into time through the medium of the *kērygma*; the existential is the element of self-understanding which occurs in our response to it (cf. *Theology of the New Testament*, I, 1952, 3; *The Gospel of John*, 1971, 159 f.).

In so far as revelation is transcendent and eschatological it cannot be communicated. It is rather occasioned by the Christian *kērygma* as it meets the response of faith. Thus, if we ask Bultmann what has been revealed according to the NT, his reply is "Nothing at all, so far as the question concerning revelation asks for doctrines – doctrines, say, that no man could have discovered for himself – or for mysteries that become known once and for all as soon as they are communicated. On the other hand, however, everything has been revealed, insofar as man's eyes are opened concerning his own existence and he is once again able to understand himself" (*Existence and Faith*, [1961] 1964, 100). "Revelation is an act of God, an *occurrence*, and not a communication of supernatural knowledge" (ibid., 102). Faith, for Bultmann, does not have an object. It "does not relate itself to historical or cosmic processes that could be established as free from doubt, but rather to the *preaching* behind which faith cannot go and which says to man that he must understand the cross as God's act of salvation and believe in the resurrection" (ibid., 163).

(c) A somewhat older view which was in no way bound up with Bultmann's demythologized existential *kērygma* was that of William Temple who rejected the idea of propositional revelation in words. "What is offered to man's apprehension in any specific Revelation is not truth concerning God but the living God Himself" (*Nature, Man and God*, Gifford Lectures, 1934, 322). However, Temple went further

than Bultmann in thinking that the truth of revelation could be formulated. "There are truths of revelation, that is to say, propositions which express the results of correct thinking concerning revelation; but they are not themselves directly revealed" (ibid., 317).

(d) A writer who rejects the idea of revelation altogether is F. G. Downing who claims that, "If God intended to 'reveal himself' in Christ, in the events of his life and death and resurrection and in his teaching, he failed. It seems more faithful to assume that this was not his intention. . . . A 'revelation' of what cannot now be seen is not a 'revelation'. We may believe, trust, that Christ has made 'the revealing of God' a possibility in some sort of future. It is surely nonsense, even pernicious nonsense, to pretend that it is a present fact" (*Has Christianity a Revelation?*, 1964, 238).

(e) By contrast with these positions stands the traditional orthodox and evangelical understanding of revelation, as represented by scholars like B. B. Warfield in the various articles collected in *The Inspiration and Authority of the Bible*, 1951, and J. W. Wenham in *Christ and the Bible*, 1972. This position is based on a detailed examination about what the Bible says about itself and especially Jesus' own attitude to → Scripture as the → Word of God. Thus Jesus came to endorse and fulfil the law and the prophets (Matt. 5:17 f.; → Fullness, art. *plēroō*; → Redemption, art. *lyō* NT 6 (a) and 6 (d) for Jn. 10:35 f.). His life was governed by the fulfilment of Scripture (Matt. 11:10 par. Lk. 7:27; Matt. 21:42 par. Mk. 12:10; Lk. 20:17, cf. Ps. 118:22; Matt. 26:24 par. Mk. 14:21; Matt. 26:31 par. Mk. 14:27; cf. Zech. 13:7; Matt. 26:53–56 par. Mk. 14:49; Mk. 9:12 f.; Lk. 4:21; 18:31 ff.; 21:22; 24:25 ff., 44–47; Jn. 5:39–47; 13:18; cf. Ps. 41:9; Jn. 15:25; cf. Ps. 35:19; Jn. 17:12). He lived not by bread alone but by every word that proceeds from the mouth of God (Matt. 4:4; cf. Deut. 8:3). The Scriptures are thus the expression of the will of God. The question "Have you not read. . .?" is virtually the equivalent of "Do you not know that God has said. . .?" (Matt. 12:3; 19:4; 21:16; 22:31; Mk. 2:25; 12:10, 26; Lk; 6:3). Similarly the word *gegraptai*, "It is written", carries with it the full weight of divine authority (Matt. 11:10; 21:13; 26:24, 31; Mk. 9:12 f.; 11:17; 14:21, 27; Lk. 7:27; 19:46). On occasion "Scripture" and "God" are even used interchangeably (Rom. 9:17, cf. Exod. 9:16; Gal. 3:8, cf. Gen. 12:3; 18:18; Matt. 19:4 f., cf. Gen. 2:24). This view involves the concept of the plenary inspiration of the Bible (cf. 2 Tim. 3:16; 1 Pet. 1:23 ff.; 2 Pet 1:20 f.; 1 Thess. 2:13), though not necessarily the corollary that the Holy Spirit dictated the words of scripture in a way which involves the suspension of the normal thought-processes of the writers. Advocates of this view leave open the question of how the Spirit guided the biblical writers, but they recognize that this view commits them to propositional revelation. Thus God reveals himself to us today through the medium of words.

(f) In marked contrast with this position is the view set out by John Macquarrie in *The Principles of Christian Theology*, 1966. Macquarrie sees revelation as "the primary source for theology" and "a basic category for theological thinking" (op. cit., 6, 76). But he utterly rejects the notion of propositional revelation and indeed of a theistic view of God. Revelation is not concerned with acquiring new items of knowledge but with seeing things in a different way (op. cit., 80). "Because of its gift-like character, revelation is of a different order from our ordinary matter-of-fact knowing of the world" (op. cit., 6). But a basic pattern runs through experiences of revelation in the different religions which Macquarrie analyses as follows: "a mood

of meditation or preoccupation; the sudden in-breaking of the holy presence, often symbolized in terms of the shining of a light; a mood of self-abasement (sometimes terror, sometimes consciousness of sin, sometimes even doubt of the reality of the experience) in face of the holy; a more definite disclosure of the holy, perhaps the disclosure of a name or of a purpose or a truth of some kind (this element may be called the 'content' of the revelation); the sense of being called or commissioned by the holy to a definite task or way of life" (op. cit., 6 f.). Macquarrie sees this pattern exemplified in the story of Moses and the burning bush (Exod. 3:1 ff.), the Gnostic writer who received the gospel of *Poimandres* (introduction), and Arjuna who received a theophany of the god Krishna (*Bhagavadgita* 11). If further distinctions are to be drawn, Macquarrie sees such revelations as "classic" or "primordial" which subsequently become paradigms or normative patterns for interpreting the later experience of the community (op. cit., 7). They are handed down by means of scriptures which are not themselves revelation but means (among others) of keeping the revelation alive (op. cit., 8).

In revelation one does not, according to Macquarrie, enter into an I-Thou encounter with a personal God (op. cit., 83 f.). For the idea of a personal God over against the universe is one to be rejected. Rather, one is grasped by being which pervades all beings, and is the condition of their being (op. cit., 94–110). "The expression which I prefer to use . . . to point to the characteristic of being as the condition that there may be any particular beings, is 'letting-be'. Being, strictly speaking, 'is' not; but 'lets be', and since letting-be is prior to particular instances of being, though other than these, we are justified in claiming that being is more beingful than any particular being that it lets be, and we have justification too for using, with proper care and qualification, the expression 'being is' " (op. cit., 103).

The significance of Macquarrie's approach here lies not so much in any intrinsic merits but in its interest as an example of a phenomenological approach to revelation which attempts to work out a philosophy of religion on the basis of an examination of religious phenomena in general. For one thing, "being" is hardly the "neutral" category that Macquarrie appears to imagine it to be (op. cit., 105). It is itself just as much an interpretation as the use of the words "holy" or "God"; and to understand, say, Exod. 3:1 ff. in terms of an experience of being is not an objective, detached, presuppositionless way of letting religious phenomena speak for themselves, but is itself an interpretation in terms of a framework of interpretation. Moreover, it is difficult to imagine how one can meaningfully speak of being as prior to beings from the logical, ontological or chronological standpoints. Similar difficulties attach to the concept of "being letting-be". But what is perhaps most striking from the standpoint of revelation is not how much Macquarrie's analysis of "primordial revelation" coincides with the Christian viewpoint but how little. Whilst there are parallels with certain events in the Bible, such as Isaiah in the temple (Isa. 6), Peter's confession of Christ (Matt. 16:17 par.), the transfiguration (Matt. 17:1–8 par.), Paul on the Damascus road (Acts 9:3–9; 22:6–11; 26:12–18), and perhaps the resurrection appearances, there is much more in the OT and the NT which is regarded as the meaningful self-disclosure of God. The proclamation of the prophets in terms of "Thus says the Lord. . ." and the dominical "But I say unto you. . .", the parabolic teaching of Jesus and the law and the proclamation of the gospel are all forms of disclosure. At the same time, the biblical writers are aware of a revelation in nature (cf.

Ps. 19:1 ff.; Rom. 1:19 ff.; Acts 14:17; see below 2 (a)) and in other religions and philosophies (Acts 17:26–29, quoting Epimenides and Aratus, *Phaenomena* 5; → God, art. *theos* NT 4 (b)).

2. *Revelation in Nature and History.* (a) We have already had occasion to note certain strands of biblical teaching which speak of a revelation in nature (see above 1 (a) and (f)). The passages in question maintain that man has an awareness of God apart from the special revelation given through Christ and Scripture, though this does not amount to a saving knowledge of God. Nor, despite Thomas Aquinas (*Summa Theologiae* 1 Q.2) do these passages entitle us to say that the existence of God can be proved *from* nature by such arguments as the cosmological and the teleological arguments which argue back from evidences of causation and purpose to a first cause or original designer. The Bible itself contains no such proofs. Rather the passages in question claim that reflection on nature indicates something of the kind of God that God is. Thus the heavens declare his glory (Ps. 19:1). On the other hand, the same Psalm proclaims that it is the law of God which revives the soul, and his testimony which makes the simple wise (v. 7). The thrust of Matt. 6:16 ff., 45; Acts 14:17; 17:26–29; Rom. 1:19 ff. is not to prove the existence of God but to point out lessons from the natural world that we can learn about God. Thus, God cares for the flowers and the birds; *a fortiori* he will care for his children. The fruits of the earth and the seasons testify to his providential concern. The pagan poets have an awareness that man's being is sustained by the invisible God; we ought not therefore to think of him in terms of idols, "a representation by the art and imagination of man" (Acts 17:29). Similarly, in Rom., God is not to be reduced to an image or idol (Rom. 1:23), for such things could not have wrought the created order that we live in. "For what can be known about God is plain to them, because God has shown it to them. Ever since the creation of the world his invisible nature, namely, his eternal power and deity, has been clearly perceived in the things that have been made. So they are without excuse; for although they knew God they did not honour him as God or give thanks to him, but they became futile in their thinking and their senseless minds were darkened. Claiming to be wise, they became fools, and exchanged the glory of the immortal God for images resembling mortal man or birds or animals or reptiles" (Rom. 1:19–23).

G. Bornkamm has drawn attention to the parallels with the Stoic terminology and apologetic trains of thought that are characteristic of Hellenistic Judaism, especially Wis. 12 f. and Philo (in "The Revelation of God's Wrath (Romans 1–3)", *Early Christian Experience*, 1969, 50 ff.; cf. G. Kuhlmann, *Theologia Naturalis bei Philon und bei Paulus*, *Neutestamentliche Forschungen* I, 7, 1930; J. N. Sevenster, *Paul and Seneca*, *Supplements to NovT* 4, 1961). Thus, Cleanthes' *Hymn to Zeus* begins: "Greetings, most glorious of the immortals, of many names, almighty Zeus, ruler of nature, you who govern the universe according to law." It goes on to say: "For we Thine offspring are, and all created things that live and move on earth receive from Thee the image of the One" (ibid., lines 4 f.). The hymn concludes: "Therefore all-giving Zeus, clouded in darkness, powerful as lightning, save men from their miserable foolishness; banish it, O Father, from their souls and let them acquire reason, with which you rule all in justice, that we, so honoured by you, return to you the honour, for there is nothing higher for mortals and for gods than, as is proper always, to praise the all-governing law." There is an affinity between the Stoic con-

cern for the law and Philo: "His exordium, as I have said, is one that excites our admiration in the highest degree. It consists of an account of the creation of the world, implying that the world is in harmony with the Law, and the Law with the world, and that the man who observed the Law is constituted thereby a loyal citizen of the world, regulating his doings by the purpose and will of Nature, in accordance with which the entire world itself is administered" (*Op. Mund.* 3; for further instances see Bornkamm, op. cit., 50–53).

But, as Bornkamm points out, there is a common feature of the Hellenistic doctrine of God which is lacking in Paul: in Paul one does not ascend from below to above (op. cit., 50). On the other hand, sin may distort this knowledge of God which comes from God through nature, but it does not completely destroy it (cf. Rom. 1:32). "If Paul speaks to man as he does in order that he may know about God's creative power, his law, the folly of idolatry, the sacrilege of a deification of the world, the error of the moral life and the legitimacy of the death sentence which comes as a consequence, he is saying that this knowledge does not represent a solution for him at all. Rather, it seals his lostness. Thus, the all-pervading intention of his statements and their difference from the parallel texts becomes fully clear. Therefore, Rom. 1:18 ff. is not an apologetic and pedagogical discussion, because *the intention of the Apostle is not to infer God's being from the world, but to uncover the being of the world from God's revelation; not to prove the revelation of God before the judgment of the world, but to unveil the judgment of God over the world revealed in the law*" (G. Bornkamm, op. cit., 58 f.).

(b) Alongside the theologies of the word developed by Barth, Bultmann and others in the mid-twentieth century a number of biblical scholars have elaborated theologies of revelation in history. G. Ernest Wright maintains that one of the distinctive features of the Bible is to see history and historical tradition "as the primary sphere in which God reveals himself" (*God Who Acts: Biblical Theology as Recital, SBT* 8, 1952, 55). He goes on to say, "To be sure, God also reveals himself and his will in various ways to the inner consciousness of man, as in other religions. Yet the nature and content of this inner revelation is determined by the outward, objective happenings of history in which individuals are called to participate. It is, therefore, the objectivity of God's historical acts which are the focus of attention, not the subjectivity of inner, emotional, diffuse and mystical experience" (ibid.). Central to this idea is the concept of God's "election of a special people through whom he would accomplish his purposes" (ibid.). This in turn provides the framework not only for the exodus and the giving of the law but for prophetic eschatology and apocalyptic. It also contrasts with much of the surrounding religion in which historical events play little or no part (cf. also *The Old Testament against its Environment, SBT* 2, 1950).

An objection which has been levelled against Wright is that the language of the "God who acts" has been taken over from the realism of the biblical narrative itself. Unless one is willing to maintain that the events took place much as they are described, one is open to the charge of equivocation (cf. L. Gilkey, "Cosmology, Ontology and the Travail of Biblical Language", *JR* 41, 1961, 194–205; and *Naming the Whirlwind*, 1969). In later works Wright has tended to stress Israelite mental patterns, such as the covenant, rather than the underlying history (cf. *The Old Testament and Theology*, 1969), and this has raised a question mark in the minds of some scholars as to how seriously the idea of the "God who acts" is to be taken.

The work of G. von Rad also lays great stress on salvation history (cf. *Old Testament Theology*, I–II, 1962–65; *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays*, 1966; *Genesis*, 1972 [2]; *Deuteronomy*, 1966; *Studies in Deuteronomy*, *SBT* 9 1953). But by contrast with Wright who was more concerned with archaeology than exegesis of the text, von Rad laid great stress on literary analysis, form-criticism and tradition history, and in particular the kerygma of the various strata within the texts. Thus the OT proclaimed the actions of Yahweh in history. On the other hand, von Rad drew a distinction between this confession of history and the actual history as it was, even though the confession is rooted in the latter. It is this gap between the two histories that makes it difficult to accept the proclamation of salvation history. Moreover, von Rad held that this view fitted the Deuteronomistic outlook, but not the whole of the OT. The story of David is not included. Neither is the late OT tradition because of changes in the view of history and the law.

According to B. Albrektson, *History and the Gods*, 1967, the differences between Israel and other religions in the Near East have been overstressed, and J. Barr argues that the differences between Greek thinking and Hebrew thinking are also less clear cut than have been imagined (cf. *Old and New in Interpretation: A Study of the Two Testaments*, 1966, 34–64 and 65–102). Clearly not all the OT is historical in its outlook; some of its thought forms have been influenced by Greek thought. Moreover, in Hellenistic times when Hebrew thought came into contact with the Greek world it did not only not lose its historical sense but became even more interested in history.

In the sphere of NT studies Oscar Cullmann has made a major contribution with his stress on salvation history (Ger. *Heilsgeschichte*; cf. *Christ and Time: The Primitive Christian Conception of Time and History*, 1951; *The Christology of the New Testament*, 1959; and *Salvation in History*, 1967; for further discussion of his view → Present, art. *The Parousia and Eschatology in the NT* 1 (e)). Cullmann saw the NT understanding of time as a line formed by the joining together of decisive moments, constituted by the decisive acts of God in time. For Cullmann the eschatological acts of God are not so transcendent as to be hidden from view. They become objective in history, and as such become the object of faith. "Faith means that in humility I turn away from myself and look only to the radiant light of an event in which I am totally uninvolved, so that I can only fall down and worship him who has brought about this event (Rom. 1:21)" (*Salvation in History*, 321).

In the realm of systematic theology Wolfhart Pannenberg has reacted against both the theologies of the word and the more restricted view of salvation history in favour of a universal view of history (cf. *Jesus – God and Man*, 1968; *Basic Questions in Theology*, I–III, 1970–73; W. Pannenberg, ed., *Revelation as History*, 1969; and J. M. Robinson and J. B. Cobb, eds., *Theology as History. New Frontiers in Theology* III, 1967). Within the Bible there is a broadening perspective of history. "It is not so much the course of history as it is the end of history that is at one with the essence of God. But insofar as the end presupposes the course of history, because it is the perfection of it, then also the course of history belongs in essence to the revelation of God, for history receives its unity from its goal" (*Revelation as History*, 133). But this does not mean that we are left completely in the dark about the meaning of history. "With the resurrection of Jesus the end of history has already occurred, although it does not strike us in this way. It is through the resurrection that the God of Israel has substantiated his deity in an ultimate way and is now manifest as the

God of all men. It is only the eschatological character of the Christ event that establishes that there will be no further self-manifestation of God beyond this event. Thus, the end of the world will be on a cosmic scale what has already happened in Christ" (op. cit., 142). Within this framework of universal history "The Word relates itself to revelation as foretelling, forthtelling and report" (op. cit., 152). The events themselves are revelatory and as such are "self-evident" (op. cit., 155). They are capable of being perceived by anyone without special revelation. The word of proclamation merely draws attention to the revelation in the event.

3. *Towards a Synthesis.* (a) The advocates of revelation in history have been accused of imprecision and ambiguity in their attitude to history. For many of them would be unwilling to regard as historical all the events in the Bible which are depicted as historical (cf. J. Barr, "Revelation in History", *IDB Supplementary Volume* 746 f.). Clearly, to regard an event as revelatory does not necessarily imply the suspension of all natural and historical causes. For God can work through them as well as apart from them. The revelation in such a case would consist in God's guidance of the event and in his making it clear by the nature of the event and its interpretation by the accompanying prophetic or apostolic word what its significance is. But it would be impossible to accept as revelation a story that was intended to refer to an event that had happened, if there is no historical basis for the event. This is not to say that the stylistic conventions of historical reporting at any given period are to be taken as a kind of photograph of the event taking place. Rather, the event has to be understood in terms of the form and style of the narrative in the light of the appropriate critical and hermeneutical procedures for understanding the text. But it is not the thought-patterns of ancient Israel which are the true foundation of a biblical theology but the revelation of God in and through them. A study of the thought-patterns alone might conceivably be a matter of antiquarian interest. The resultant theology would give an account of how the Israelites looked at life and history. But as such, it would not amount to revelation. Only if there is an apprehension of the living God in and through these thought-patterns can we speak of revelation. And if the ostensibly historical narratives have no historical basis, the concept of a revelation in history is a contradiction in terms. This is not to say that we must take a pessimistic view of the historicity of the OT and the NT. Rather, the reverse. But the advocates of the idea of biblical revelation must be prepared to defend the historicity of the events recorded in the Bible in the light of all the techniques of modern scholarship.

(b) Conservative scholars in the past have tended to base their case on the formal statements of Scripture itself about Scripture. We have noted already the charge of circularity in the argument and Barth's reply (see above 1 (a)). In the last analysis revelation must be self-authenticating. That is, there cannot be external proofs; it must carry with it its own validation by enabling the recipient of revelation to grasp the truth of the revelation and be grasped by it. On the other hand, the claim to revelation through the assertions of Scripture is, like the concept of historical revelation, open to falsification. If the truth claims of a purported revelation can be shown to be false on a factual level, we can hardly claim it to represent the truth about God and man on any other level.

(c) A view which is sometimes presented as an alternative to propositional revelation is the idea that revelation takes place through symbols and images. This has been argued by Austin Farrer (*The Glass of Vision*, 1948) and E. L. Mascall (*Words*

and Images, 1957; and *Theology and Images*, 1963) within the context of an Anglican theism, and by Paul Tillich (see especially "The Meaning and Justification of Religious Symbols" and "The Religious Symbol" in S. Hook, ed., *Religious Experience and Truth: A Symposium*, 1962, 3–11 and 301–21) in the context of Tillich's anti-theistic view of God as the ground of being or being itself. Basically the symbol has two aspects, the symbolic material, i.e. the ordinary meaning of the word, the empirical reality of the person or object, and that to which this points. Through symbols one is pointed to a reality beyond the immediate empirical and material context and dimensions of reality are opened up which would be otherwise hidden or obscured. Symbols have also an integrating and even a disintegrating power (as in the case of the swastika as a symbol of hate and racism). Examples of biblical symbolism are the lamb of God, light, living water, the shepherd, the king, and the vine. Instances could readily be multiplied. In the thought-world of the Bible we do not remain with these concepts on a literal and empirical level; but neither can we dispense with them. Rather, by apprehending them in the contexts in which they are given we are enabled to grasp something of the reality which they represent. But it would be a mistake to think that images and symbols are simply given apart from any context whatsoever. In fact, they come within the context of history and language, and therefore symbolism is not an alternative to revelation in history and revelation through words but an aspect of both. It is as such that any future doctrine of revelation must take them into account.

(d) In addition to symbolism any future doctrine of biblical revelation must take into account the question of hermeneutics and the function of language in its many forms. (On these subjects see the articles on Explain and Word and the literature referred to there.) In order to penetrate the meaning of an utterance one has to study not only its grammatical and syntactical form; one has also to penetrate the thought-world out of which it comes and relate the utterance and the thought-world to our present-day world. Moreover, it has to be recognized that terms change and develop in meaning within Scripture. It would be an anachronism, for example, to read into the LXX use of *ekklēsia* the later Pauline understanding of "church". On the other hand, our understanding is greatly enriched when we see organic connexions between the uses of words in their various contexts. It has also to be recognized that Scripture does not present us with a single, unified world-view which remains unchanged from Genesis to Revelation. Rather, we are given a series of inter-related world-views which are unified by their relationship to God himself who has spoken to men and dealt with them within concrete historical situations. The Christian view of revelation maintains that the God who spoke and acted then is the same God who speaks and acts now, and that the words, actions and symbolism of the past are media through which God speaks today in our contemporary situation. Without media of some form or other there is no revelation. In this life we do not perceive God directly but only indirectly (1 Cor. 13:12; cf. Matt. 5:8; Exod. 33:20 ff.). Thus there is a sense in which revelation involves a veiling of God in the media of revelation in all their concreteness and historicality in the selfsame act as the unveiling (cf. K. Barth, *CD* I, 1, 188). Our knowledge of God in his revelation of himself depends in part therefore on our understanding of the concrete media of revelation.

Revelation is frequently said to have an objective and a subjective side. The objective side consists of what is revealed: the media of revelation through which God

makes himself known. The subjective side is the activity of God himself in opening man's eyes to see. Paul insists that this is the work of the → Spirit, and without it man cannot come into a personal, saving relationship with God (1 Cor. 2:4–16; 2 Cor. 3:6–4:15; cf. also Eph. 2:18; Matt. 16:17). In these passages Paul makes it plain that without the Spirit one cannot have a true knowledge of either Scripture or Christ.

From the philosophical standpoint of analyzing what happens in the process of understanding, I. T. Ramsey has spoken of "disclosure situations" (cf. *Religious Language: An Empirical Placing of Theological Phrases*, 1957; *Christian Discourse: Some Logical Explorations*, 1965; *Models for Divine Activity* 1973; and *Christian Empiricism*, ed. J. H. Gill, 1974, 59–142). Religious language represents a kind of model which is not identical with God, because of course it operates on the human plane. A model is not the same as the thing which it represents. On the other hand, by understanding it the mind is enabled to grasp something of the reality which it represents. Thus, by grasping the words and images of the revelation one is able to perceive something of the reality of God himself. When this happens a disclosure takes place.

This process does not apply solely to words and symbols; it applies also to history. Strictly speaking, a historical account is not a reconstruction of the original event. For that would strictly involve trying to re-enact the event on the same scale. Rather, the work of the historian (whether it is a matter of primary reporting or critical research) is more akin to that of the model maker who constructs something which is not identical with the original but which enables one to grasp what the original is like. Thus, the biblical historians do not attempt to give every detail. Rather, they give an interpretative picture through which one may grasp the significant activity of God and man. The function of this activity is not simply to provide information, although it does this. It is through the information that the recipient encounters the divine reality in the original event and also interprets his own existence. For the original events and pronouncements serve as paradigms or models for understanding our own situation. Thus, the exodus and exile serve as patterns for understanding the Christian's pilgrim walk (1 Pet. 1:1; 2:11). The priesthood is a model for understanding Christ's priesthood, although he was never technically and formally a priest, and of the believer's access to God (Heb. 9:11 ff.; 1 Pet. 2:9). To make this point is not to say that revelation has ceased at some point in the past. Indeed, there is a sense in which revelation is an on-going process. For in so far as God continues to have dealings with men, this is in fact a revelation of himself. Rather, the revelations of the past serve as paradigms for our understanding of God's dealings with us in the present.

To demand that revelation should be understood in terms of such alternatives as propositional revelation or revelation in history, or a general revelation or revelation through symbols, is to present false antitheses. Since words are part and parcel of history, they cannot be precluded from the concept of revelation in history. Conversely, in so far as the prophetic, dominical and apostolic words give interpretations of God's actions in history, we cannot say that the revelation resides exclusively in propositions. Moreover, language is more than propositions, making factual statements. The → parables, for example, do not function as interesting stories. They are designed to provoke an element of response in which disclosure of truth, personal commitment and encounter with God take place. Similarly, the imperatives of Scrip-

ture invite a response which has both horizontal and vertical dimensions, in that our response to our fellow man also involves our relationship with God (cf. 1 Jn. 4:20). Revelation cannot therefore be reduced simply to the intellectual apprehension of and mental assent to a series of propositions. On the other hand, the assertive element in revelation cannot be ignored either.

The pre-Reformation church made the great mistake of propounding the doctrine of transubstantiation to explain the action of God in the Lord's Supper, claiming that at the moment of consecration the whole substance of the bread and the wine were changed into the whole substance of the body and blood of Christ, although the accidents (the outward appearances) remained. The debate about revelation has tended to make the tacit assumption that a similar change takes place in the media of revelation when God reveals himself either in history or through Scripture as his Word. But in God's actions in history and his dealings with us today there is not necessarily a suspension of natural causes but the working of God in and through them. Similarly, the words of Scripture do not lose their historicality and concreteness, neither do they cease to be human words. They retain their human-ness, and all the specific character of their origins in particular situations at particular points in time. They have to be grasped in the light of grammar, syntax and semantics, history and the conceptual world of their age. And yet at the same time they are the vehicle of God's self-disclosure. It is factors such as these that future doctrines of revelation must take into account. *C. Brown*

→ Explain, → Faith, → Reason, → Scripture, → Truth, → Word

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Revile, Blaspheme, Slander

The use of speech gives us a certain control over objects. Words produce concepts of the things to which they refer and are thus important, in affecting our relationship with things. For this reason the word came, in the thought of primitive peoples, to be invested with magical powers, since it could, as it were, conjure up or alter the object named. This fact enables us to understand the original meaning and function of abuse, slander and calumny (→ Curse). In the NT, a whole range of terms is found which seem in part to be synonymous, but which, on closer examination, reveal different emphases. The strongest form of calumny, which is very near to a curse, is expressed by the words of the *blasphēmeō* group. In the NT, this group of words almost always refers directly or indirectly to an attitude towards God. *katalaleō*, on the other hand, means to slander; it denotes a hostile attitude towards a fellow man. The words of the *loidoreō* group are not religious in origin, and mean rather to abuse (probably, at first, to make fun of). In some passages the meaning is close to that of *blasphēmeō*.

Certain other terms should be mentioned, which belong to this category, but are not treated in separate articles. *oneidizō* and *oneidismos* refer to a reproach thrown against someone (originally against the gods!). In the NT, for instance, Jesus reproached or upbraided the cities of Galilee (Matt. 27:44 par. Matt. 11:20); but the same word refers to the reviling of Jesus (Mk. 15:32) and his disciples (Matt. 5:11; Lk. 6:22; cf. 1 Pet. 4:14). In the longer ending of Mk. Jesus upbraided the unbelief of the eleven (Mk. 16:14). On Heb. 11:26 and Rom. 15:3 (cf. 1 Tim. 3:7) → Possessions, art. *thēsauros* NT 3. The vb. also occurs at Jas. 1:5 and the noun at 1 Tim. 3:7; Heb. 10:33; 13:13. *oneidos*, reproach, insult, disgrace occurs only at Lk. 1:25 (cf. Gen. 30:23; Isa. 4:1), of Elizabeth's joy at being pregnant, the Lord having taken away the disgrace of being childless. In Matt. 5:11 and Lk. 6:22 the meaning of *oneidizō* comes near to that of *empaizō*, which originally meant to behave childishly, to make fun of, and then to ridicule. *empaizō*, ridicule, make fun of, mock, occurs only in the Synoptic Gospels, and in 11 out of 13 instances refers to the mocking of Jesus during his passion (Matt. 20:19 par. Mk. 10:34, Lk. 18:32; Matt. 27:29, 31, 41

par. Mk. 15:20, 31; Lk. 22:63; 23:11, 36). In Lk. 14:29 it occurs in the parable of the tower of those who mock the man's inability to complete it. But in Matt. 2:16 it means to deceive or trick, of Herod by the magi. 2 Pet. 3:3 sees *empaigmonē*, mocking, i.e. mockers, or scoffing as a sign of the last days. Luke uses *ekmyktērizō*, ridicule, sneer, instead (Lk. 16:14; 23:35). Ridicule is here the rejection, in foolish arrogance, of the bearer of revelation. *myktērizō* (have a nose bleed) means to turn up the nose at, treat with contempt. It occurs at Lk. 23:35 D, and in the pass. of God who is not mocked (Gal. 6:7; cf. Jer. 20:7, of the prophet).

βλασφημέω

βλασφημέω (*blasphēmeō*), slander, defame, blaspheme; *βλασφημία* (*blasphēmia*), slander, defamation, blasphemy; *βλάσφημος* (*blasphēmos*), slanderous, blasphemous, a blasphemer.

CL *blasphēmeō* (Plato onwards) is simplified from *blaps(i)phēmeō*, speak harm, being derived from *blapsis* (cf. *blaptō*), harm, and *phēmi*, speak, and means generally to bring into ill repute, slander, blaspheme. *blasphēmia* (a noun of action) means profane language, slanderous speech, or slander, defamation, by which another person is damaged. *blasphēmos* expresses the quality of the action or the doer. Like *empaizō*, *loidoreō*, *myktērizō*, and *oneidizō*, *blasphēmeō* expresses the slandering of a person; it is the strongest expression of personal defamation.

In cl. Gk. false representations of the deity, for instance in anthropomorphic terms, can be described as blasphemy (e.g. in Plato, *Rep.* 2 381e; Vettius Valens 58:12; 67:20); so too can doubts about the authority of the deity (cf. H. W. Beyer, *TDNT* I 621).

OT These words appear relatively seldom in the LXX (22 times, predominantly in 2 Macc.), and, where there is a basis in the MT, without any consistent Heb. equivalent. *blasphēmeō*, *blasphēmia* and *blasphēmos* are always in the LXX either directly or indirectly against the majesty of God; and, with a few exceptions, (*blasphēmos* in Isa. 66:3 for *nā'aṣ*, contemn, spurn; Wis. 1:6; Sir. 3:16), they refer to the reviling of the people of Israel by heathen enemies. Thus in a comparison with the king of Assyria, Yahweh is written off as powerless, "reviled" (2 Ki. 19:4 [*yāḵaḥ*, rebuke], 6, 22 [*gādap̄*, revile, blaspheme]); when Israel is under attack, Yahweh is blasphemed against (2 Macc. 8:4; 9:28; 10:4, 34); the Edomites rejoice over the fall of Jerusalem and in so doing blaspheme against Yahweh (Ezek. 35:12 f. [LXX *blasphēmia*; MT *ne'āṣâh*, contempt]). In Isa. 52:5 (*nā'aṣ*) the lament of the rulers over the continual despising of God's name through the exile is the basis for Yahweh's saving intervention (cf. v. 6). The God of Israel is not as a rule a source of hope and help, or even of fear, for the heathen; and this fact alone is enough to earn them the title in general of blasphemers (*blasphēmia*, Dan. 3:29[96] Theodotion, Aram. *šālâh* or *šālû*). The LXX clearly reinterprets Lev. 24:16 in a Judaistic sense (cf. Sanhedrin 7:5): "He who blasphemes the name of the LORD [*onomazōn to onoma kyriou*; lit. "names the name of the LORD] shall be put to death" (Lev. 24:16). The MT has *nāqaḇ*, curse. Even to name the → name of Yahweh is blasphemy, since the Name of Yahweh may not be pronounced at all (→ God, art. *theos* OT 2). This does not apply to blasphemy by Israelites only (which is hedged about with the most

various stipulations), but also to blasphemy uttered by heathen, which may be requited by God with death (cf. 2 Ki. 19:6 *blasphēmeō*; 2 Macc. 9:28 *blasphēmos*). In Judaism the religious use of the words, as in the LXX, is in the main retained. Other instances are: *blasphēmeō* (Tob. 1:18 *v.l.*; Add. Dan. Bel Theodotion 9); *blasphēmia* (Tob. 1:18; 1 Macc. 2:6; 2 Macc. 10:35; 15:24); *blasphēmos* (2 Macc. 9:28; 10:4).

The concept is sometimes found in the OT even where the technical terms for blasphemy are lacking. It is blasphemy to make use of the name of God for evil ends such as magic and unlawful cursing: "You shall not take the name of the LORD your God in vain; for the LORD will not hold him guiltless that takes his name in vain" (Exod. 20:7; cf. Deut. 5:11). Similarly the king or priest was not to bring discredit upon his sacred office (1 Sam. 3:13; 2 Sam. 12:14), oppose God's chosen (Num. 16:30), break the covenant (Deut. 31:20; Isa. 1:4), or doubt Yahweh's power either in judgment or salvation (Num. 14:11, 23; 20:10 ff.; 2 Ki. 18:30–35; 19:4, 6, 22; 2 Chr. 32:13 ff.; Isa. 5:24; 10:8 ff.; 36:18 ff.; 37:10 ff.). Blasphemy is closely linked with cursing. Job's wife and Satan expected Job to curse God and thus blaspheme (Job 1:11; 2:5, 9). On the other hand, his friends regarded his protestations of innocence as blasphemy (Job 15:2–6; 34:35 ff.). To mock or oppose God's people is blasphemy (Isa. 52:5; Ezek. 35:12 f.; cf. 1 Macc. 2:6; 2 Macc. 8:4; 10:34; 12:14; 15:24).

These are numerous passages in which the innocent appear to reproach Yahweh, but this is not regarded as blasphemy. It is more like a confession of faith expressing utter dependence on him to act (Exod. 5:22; Num. 11:11 ff.; Jos. 7:7; Isa. 38:13; Jer. 12:1–5; 15:16–21; 20:7–10; Lam. 3:10 f.; Job 9:12–20; 19:6–21; 30:18–23; 38:2; 40:2, 8). On the other hand, genuine blasphemy is a transgression which merits death and is punished by human judges (Lev. 24:10–16; 1 Ki. 21:13) or by God himself (Exod. 20:7; Num. 16:30; Deut. 5:11; 1 Sam. 4:11; 2 Ki. 19:7; 2 Chr. 32:21; Isa. 37:36 ff.; 2 Macc. 9:4, 12, 38). The forms of the penalties suggest the extermination of the guilty party.

NT Words of the *blasphēmeō* group are found in the NT altogether 56 times (the vb. alone 34 times), without any special concentration in any of the NT books. As in the OT and in Rab. Judaism (cf. SB I 1009 f.), the terms are used in the NT in a religious sense, i.e. with direct or indirect reference to God (with the exception of Jude 9). Blasphemy against God amounts to words or conduct injurious to God's honour and holiness.

1. This sin against God's majesty can consist of blasphemy against God himself (Acts 6:11; Rev. 13:6; 16:11, 21 → Animal, art. *thērion*), against his → name (Rom. 2:24; 1 Tim. 6:1; Rev. 16:9, where the name is a circumlocution for God himself), against the → word of God (Tit. 2:5), or against God's → angels (2 Pet:10 ff.).

Since Jesus claims for his words and actions messianic authority, and at the same time assumes rights and powers (e.g. to forgive sins, Lk. 5:21), which in the view of the religious Jews and scribes belong to God alone, he is regarded in these circles as a blasphemer (Matt. 9:3 par. Mk. 2:7; Jn. 10:36). The sentence of death against him is therefore based, among other things, on a charge of blasphemy (Matt. 26:65 par Mk. 14:64). In 1st century Judaism, blasphemy was still an offence deserving death (cf. SB I 1009 ff. on Exod. 22:27 and Num. 15:30 f.). According to Sanhedrin 7:5, the blasphemer is not culpable unless he pronounces the divine name itself (cf. Lev.

24:10 ff.); the judges were to rend their garments on hearing the evidence. The *egō eimi* ("I am") of Jesus has been understood by some scholars to be a claim to the divine name, implying that Jesus was guilty in Jewish eyes of the crime in Sanhedrin 7:5 (for literature and discussion see D. R. Catchpole, *The Trial of Jesus: A Study in the Gospels and Jewish Historiography from A.D. 1770 to the Present Day*, 1971, 132 ff.; J. C. O'Neill, "The Charge of Blasphemy at Jesus' Trial before the Sanhedrin", in E. Bammel, ed., *The Trial of Jesus*, *SBT* Second Series 13, 1970, 72–77).

2. From the NT point of view, the real blasphemers are those who deny the messianic claims of Jesus, and therefore revile and mock at him like those by the cross who said, "You who would destroy the temple and build it in three days, save yourself! If you are the Son of God, come down from the cross" (Matt. 27:39 f. par. Mk. 15:29; Lk. 22:65; cf. Matt. 26:61; Mk. 13:2; 14:58; Jn. 2:19; Acts 6:14). He who impugns the dignity of the one sent commits an offence against God himself.

3. Since, however, the church of Christ and its members bear witness by their existence to Christ himself, they also undergo the abuse which is directed against their Lord (1 Pet. 4:4; Rev. 2:9). Thus Paul must suffer as Christ's disciple (Acts 13:45; 18:6) what he previously inflicted on the Christians as their persecutor (1 Tim. 1:13). To revile the church which bears Christ's name, can be to mock Christ and thus, indirectly, to blaspheme against God.

4. Christians for their part must take care that they do not, by their own conduct, give cause for blasphemy against God or against his word (1 Tim. 6:1; Tit. 2:5). Indeed, the behaviour of Christ's disciples (even towards each other) should contribute to the glory of the Father (Matt. 5:16). This is probably the sense in which we should interpret the lists of → sins, in which we repeatedly find prohibitions of blasphemy (cf. Eph. 4:31; Col. 3:8; 1 Tim. 6:4; 2 Tim. 3:2). The disciple is not "to deny ... the presence of the Spirit by his life" (H. Conzelmann, *NTD* 8, 82); therefore he is given in these lists of sins explicit instructions about his conduct. Blasphemy is mentioned in them, as being a characteristic of the heathen and of apostate Christians. By contrast Rom. 2:24 adapts Isa. 52:5 LXX (cf. 2 Pet. 2:2). The MT of Isa. 52:5 refers to the reviling of God's name by the oppressors of Israel. The LXX interpretation lays the cause for this with Israel himself.

5. Even the sin of blasphemy can be forgiven (Matt. 12:31 par. Mk. 3:28; Lk. 12:10), including (according to Matt. and Lk.) blasphemy against the Son of man. Only blasphemy against the Holy Spirit is unforgivable (Matt. 12:32 par Mk. 3:29, Lk. 12:10). This statement has been the subject of much questioning. Obviously the reference here is not to the naming of the Holy Spirit in a blasphemous utterance, for in Matt. 12:32 even blasphemy against the Son of man can be forgiven. Among the many attempts at exegesis, the most convincing is the suggestion that the man who blasphemes against the Holy Spirit is he who has recognized that God is working through the Holy Spirit in the actions of Jesus, and who quite consciously "misrepresent faith in God as faith in the devil. This saying is an extremely serious warning against the demonic and scarcely conceivable potential in man: To declare war on God. This is not done in weakness and doubt, but by one who has been overcome by the Holy Spirit and who knows very well on whom he is declaring war" (E. Schweizer, *The Good News according to Mark*, 1971, 87; cf. H. W. Beyer, *TDNT* I 624; O. E. Evans, "The Unforgivable Sin", *ExpT* 68, 1956–57, 240–44). This is the

blasphemer who does it deliberately, after encounter with the God of grace, as the context shows (→ Satan, art. *Beelzeboul*). For Jesus has just been accused of casting out demons by Beelzebul, the prince of demons. "Therefore he who blasphemes the Spirit is no longer speaking against a God who is distant, about whom he entertains mere foolish thoughts, but against the one who makes evident to him his gracious work, and confirms it with his manifest, divine seal. He is a man who ought to give thanks, not to blaspheme" (A. Schlatter, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus, Erläuterungen zum Neuen Testament* I, 1962, on Matt. 12:32).

W. L. Lane draws attention to Sifre on Deut. 32:38 (end): "The Holy One, blessed be he, pardons everything else, but on profanation of the Name [i.e. blasphemy] he takes vengeance immediately" (*The Gospel of Mark, NLC*, 1974, 145; cf. M. Smith, *Tannaitic Parallels to the Gospels*, 1951, 48 f.; E. Lövestam, *Spiritus Blasphemia. Eine Studie zu Mk 3, 28 f. par.*, 1968). Lane goes on to comment: "This is the danger to which the scribes exposed themselves when they attributed to the agency of Satan the redemption brought by Jesus. The expulsion of demons was a sign of the intrusion of the Kingdom of God. Yet the scribal accusations against Jesus amount to a denial of the power and greatness of the Spirit of God. By assigning the action of Jesus to a demonic origin the scribes betray a perversion of spirit which, in defiance of the truth, chooses to call light darkness. In this historical context, blasphemy against the Holy Spirit denotes the conscious and deliberate rejection of the saving power and grace of God released through Jesus' word and act" (ibid.). Thus blasphemy here is much more serious than the taking of the divine name in vain which a believer may have done before coming to repentance and faith. It may be said to those who have been tormented by fear that they have committed the unforgivable sin that their concern is itself a sign that they have not committed the sin envisaged in Jesus' teaching here. Lane's interpretation also helps to explain the distinction drawn between blasphemy against the Son of man and blasphemy against the Holy Spirit. The distinction suggests that "while an attack on Jesus' own person, as Son of Man and therefore 'hidden', is pardonable, any speaking against the *power* by which he works (i.e. the divine endowment for his messianic ministry) will not be pardoned" (D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew, New Century Bible*, 1972, 218). For such an action would be deliberately to attribute to Satan the action of God himself.

This interpretation fits the historical context of the Gospels themselves much better than to posit a situation which reflects the Spirit-filled community, in which to speak against the Spirit after → Pentecost is unpardonable whereas to speak against Jesus as the messiah before it was pardonable (cf. K. Stendahl, in *Peake's Commentary on the Bible*, ed. M. Black and H. H. Rowley, 1962, 785).

6. Another passage which is the subject of debate is Jude 9: "But when the archangel Michael, contending with the devil, disputed about the body of Moses, he did not presume to pronounce a reviling judgment on him [*ouk etolmēsen krisin epenenkein blasphēmias*], but said, 'The Lord rebuke you [*epitimēsai soi Kyrios*].' " The false teachers are compared with the men of Sodom and Gomorrah (v. 7), and are accused of defiling the flesh, rejecting authority (*kyriotēta*; cf. the use of *Kyrios* in v. 9) and reviling the glorious ones or glories (*doxas de blasphēmousin*) (v. 8). The latter are probably angels (cf. J. N. D. Kelly, *The Epistles of Peter and of Jude, BNTC*, 1969, 263 f., who notes that according to Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1, 25, 1 f., certain gnostics despised angels as the agents of the inferior creator-God who brought the

universe into being, though there are no grounds for seeing such views here). On the agency of → angels see Acts 7:53 and Gal. 3:19, and on Michael → Angel, art. *Michaēl*. The story alluded to here does not appear in the OT which merely records that "he [i.e. Yahweh] buried him [i.e. Moses] in the valley of the land of Moab opposite Beth-peor" (Deut. 34:6). Kelly notes that the LXX tried to eliminate the offensive anthropomorphism by changing the vb. to the plur. "they buried" (op. cit., 265). However, Philo records that "immortal angelic powers buried him" (*Vit. Mos.* 2, 291). Several early Christian writers attribute Jude's account to the Assumption of Moses, a Pharisaic work of the early 1st cent. which was soon translated into Gk. (Clement of Alexandria, *Adumb. in ep. Iud.*; Origen, *De prin.* 3, 2, 1; Didymus of Alexandria, *In ep. Iud. enarr.*; Gelasius of Cyzicus, *Hist. Eccl.* 2, 20, 7). But this story is missing from the Lat. fragment that has survived.

Kelly thinks that *krisin . . . blasphēmias* is best translated as "a reviling judgment" rather than "a judgment on his reviling", as this would fit the context better. The archangel was deputed to bury the body of → Moses, though Satan did his best to prevent him, claiming as lord of the material order that the body was his, and threatening to accuse Moses of murdering the Egyptian (cf. Exod. 2:12). The point of the observation is that even the archangel Michael did not respond with like reviling but committed the responsibility for rebuking Satan to God, using an imprecation found in Zech. 3:2. Perhaps we may see in the background the old conception that man should beware, as in making a → curse, so also in reviling, of challenging a power too great for him to cope with. The text goes on to say "But these men revile whatever they do not understand, and by those things that they know by instinct as irrational animals do, they are destroyed" (Jude 10; cf. 1 Cor. 2:7–16). There is in the passage the implication that the unspiritual not only fail to understand but even blaspheme God in the process. Thus the sense may be comparable with that in the Synoptic Gospels (see 5, above). On the other hand, there may also be the sense in which the believer should leave judgment to God (cf. Rom. 12:19; cf. Deut. 32:35).

7. *blasphēmos*, evil-speaking, slanderous, blasphemous, occurs at Acts 6:11; 2 Tim. 3:2; 2 Pet. 2:11; and as a noun, blasphemer, at 1 Tim. 1:13.

H. Währisch, C. Brown

καταλαλέω

καταλαλέω (*katalaleō*), speak evil of, rail at, slander; καταλαλιά (*katalalia*), evil speech, railing, slander; κατάλαλος (*katalalos*), slanderer, railer, defamer.

CL & OT *katalaleō*, to speak evil against, slander, is rare in cl. Gk., but occurs as early as Aristophanes (5th century B.C.). In the LXX it is found chiefly for forms of *dāḇar*, say, speak (Num. 12:8; 21:5, 7; Pss. 50[49]:20; 78[77]:19; 119[118]:23; Hos. 7:13; Mal. 3:13, 16), and also for *gāḏap̄*, revile, blaspheme (Ps. 44[43]:16), *kālam*, humiliate (Job 19:3), *lāšan*, slander (Ps. 101[100]:5), and at Prov. 20:13 and Mic. 3:7. The noun *katalalia*, slander, is found only in the Bible (in LXX, Wis. 1:11) or in texts depending on it. *katalalos*, slanderer, is found for the first time at Rom. 1:30, and then in Hermas (*Sim.* 6, 5, 5).

In the LXX *katalaleō* expresses hostility of speech, whether against God (Num. 21:5, 7; Ps. 78:19; Hos. 7:13 etc.), against his servant Moses (Num. 12:8; 21:7), or

against other men, e.g. when Job is reproached by his friends (Job 19:3), or in cases of slander against one's brother or one's neighbour (Pss. 50:20; 101:5). The words are also found several times in Test. XII, and often in the Apostolic Fathers (e.g. Test. Gad 3:5; 5:4; 1 Clem. 30:1, 3; Hermas, *Mand.* 2:2 f.; 8:3).

NT In the NT *katalaleō* is not used of blasphemy against God (→ *blasphēmeō*); but slanderers (*katalalous*) are among the sinners whom Paul mentions in Rom. 1:30 as typical examples of paganism. It is linked with *psithyristas*, whisperers, tale-bearers (v. 29). The cognate nouns *psithyrismos*, gossip, tale-bearing, and *katalalia* are again linked in 2 Cor. 12:20 and 1 Clem. 30:3; 35:5. Similarly *katalaliai*, slanders, are among the sins which Paul fears he will encounter in the rebellious church of Corinth (2 Cor. 12:20): the fellowship of the community is destroyed by this sin. But the Christian churches are themselves the victims of such evil speech: it is the result of the hostile attitude taken up towards them by the heathen world around. Christians ought, therefore, for their part to be so much the more concerned to show by their "good behaviour in Christ" that the slanders against them are groundless (1 Pet. 2:12; 3:16). As "newborn babes", i.e. those born again, who know the kindness of their Lord, Christians should put away malicious slander along with other sins (1 Pet. 2:1–3). The letter of James, too, with its particular censure of sins of the tongue (3:3 ff.; → Word, art. *glōssa*), emphatically forbids Christians to indulge in evil speaking. It is not only an expression of arrogance and disregard for one's brother, but also a slight to God's law and God himself as the *one* Lawgiver and Judge of all (Jas. 4:11 f.). Thus the apostolic injunctions show us what the outworking of Jesus' love-commandment should be in the life of the Christian churches.

W. Mundle

λοιδορέω

λοιδορέω (*loidoreō*), insult, abuse, revile; λοιδορία (*loidoria*), insult, abuse, railing; λοίδορος (*loidoros*), railing, abusive, a reviler; ἀντιλοιδορέω (*antiloidoreō*), abuse or revile in turn.

CL The group of words connected with *loidoreō* (probably related to Lat. *ludus*, game), is frequently found in cl. Gk. In general it is not used in a religious sense. It was rather in the political and social life of the Greeks that importance came to be attached to slander, insult and disparagement of an opponent, e.g. as a weapon of the orator in a political dispute, or of the Homeric heroes.

OT In the LXX the words are found comparatively seldom (altogether 21 times). The vb. normally renders the Heb. *rîḇ* (Exod. 17:7; 21:18; Num. 20:3, 13; Deut. 33:8), to quarrel, accuse, strive; but also for the Heb. *gā'ar*, to rebuke (Jer. 29[36]:27). It is without equivalent at Gen. 49:23; 2 Macc. 12:14. *loidoria* translates *dibbâh*, slander (Prov. 10:18), and formations from *rîḇ* (Exod. 17:7; Num. 20:4; Prov. 20:31), and in the Apocrypha is without Heb. equivalent (Sir. 22:24; 23:8; 27:21; 29:6). *loidoros* translates *māḏôn* or *miḏyān*, strife, contention (Prov. 25:24; 26:21; 27:15), and is without equivalent in Sir. 23:8. Apart from some slight shifts of emphasis due to the meaning of the Heb., the use of the words in the LXX follows that of cl. Gk.

NT In the NT the words occur altogether only 9 times, of which 1 Cor. and 1 Pet. have 3 instances each. They retain the meaning which they have in cl. Gk., although they are used chiefly in religious contexts. If for the Greek it was one of the arts of life to know how to insult others or bear insults against oneself, for the believer the suffering of slander and insults is evidence of the cross the Christian disciple is called to bear (1 Pet. 2:23; 1 Cor. 4:12; cf. Mk. 14:65; 15:16–19, 29–32 par. Matt. 27:39–44; Lk. 23:35–39; and also Isa. 53:7; → Cross; → Disciple). In the Christ-hymn cited at 1 Pet. 2:23, it is a matter of more than simply imitating Christ. The disciple, as one who has been freed in order to obey, is constantly encountering the unredeemed character of the world, and shares his Lord's suffering in it. There is more to this than the keeping of standards: rather it is a question of maintaining the faith in the form of love even towards one's enemies, as we see from the formal statements in 1 Pet. 3:9 and 1 Cor. 4:12. When reviling is answered with → blessing, we have to do not with an art of living that can be learned, but with the evidence of the power of Jesus Christ and of the gospel to overcome the world, which has to be worked out in faith.

We therefore find *loidoros* twice in lists of sins, indicating conduct not becoming to the Christian (1 Cor. 5:11; 6:10).

Neither must the Christian himself give any cause for evil gossip (1 Tim. 5:14): the reason for this is that his life should be a testimony to his Lord. He will, however, have to endure reviling for his Lord's sake (cf. Jn. 9:28).

The case is different in Acts 23:4 f. *loidoreō* is here used in the same way as → *blasphēmeō*. Paul utters a prophetic → curse, pronouncing God's judgment on the high priest, because he is misusing the authority given to him by God. Paul's statement that he did not know he was addressing the high priest should probably be understood as ironical: Ananias was not behaving like a high priest in the way he executed his office. If he had behaved in a proper manner, the curse would have been blasphemy. (On this passage → Black, White, Red, art. *leukos* NT; → Priest, art. *hiereus* NT 2 (a).) *H. Währisch*

→ Anger, → Blessing, → Curse, → Laugh, → Swear, → Virtue

(a). G. Bertram, *myktērizō* etc., *TDNT* IV 796 ff.; and *paizō* etc., *TDNT* V 625–36; H. W. Beyer, *blasphēmeō* etc., *TDNT* I 621–25; S. H. Blank, "Men against God", *JBL* 72, 1953, 1–13; and "The Curse, the Blasphemy, the Spell, and the Oath", *Hebrew Union College Annual* 23, 1950–51, 73–95; J. Blinzler, *The Trial of Jesus*, 1959 (fuller *Der Prozess Jesu*, 1969[4]); D. R. Catchpole, *The Trial of Jesus: A Study in the Gospels and Jewish Historiography from A.D. 1770 to the Present Day, Studia Post-Biblica* 18, 1971; O. E. Evans, "The Unforgivable Sin", *ExpT* 68, 1956–57, 240–44; H. Hanse, *loidoreō* etc., *TDNT* IV 293 f.; G. Kittel, *katalaleō* etc., *TDNT* IV 3 ff.; W. L. Lane, *The Gospel of Mark, NLC*, 1974; J. C. O'Neill, "The Charge of Blasphemy at Jesus' Trial before the Sanhedrin", in E. Bammel, ed., *The Trial of Jesus. Cambridge Studies in Honour of C. F. D. Moule, SBT* Second Series 13, 1970, 72–77; J. Scharbert, "Blasphemy", *EBT* I 67 ff.; J. Schneider, *oneidos* etc., *TDNT* V 238–42; E. Schweizer, *The Good News according to Mark: A Commentary on the Gospel*, 1971.
(b). H. Conzelmann, "Der Epheserbrief", in *Die kleineren Briefe des Apostels Paulus, NTD* 8, 1968[3], 81 f.; E. Lövestam, *Spiritus Blasphemia. Eine Studie zu Mk 3, 28 f. par.*, 1968; SB I 1006–20; J. Scharbert, " 'Fluchen' und 'Segnen' im Alten Testament", *Biblica* 39, 1958, 1–26.

Right, Worthy

The terms and groups of words dealt with in this article are used, each in its own way and with its own shade of meaning, to express appropriate, suitable behaviour or a

corresponding state (negative forms expressing the opposite, viz. unsuitable, incorrect, etc.). *axios* is a relative term, comparing two entities (persons or things) by measuring the lesser against the greater. If the lesser comes up to the standard of the greater, it is worthy; otherwise it is unworthy. *artios* and its derivatives contain the idea of straightening, equipping and preparing for a specific purpose, which requires corresponding appropriateness, suitability, usefulness or aptitude. *orthos* is the plainest and most unequivocal term: the root meaning is upright, straight; it connotes the virtue of right, i.e. honest and straightforward, behaviour.

ἄξιος

ἄξιος (*axios*), of like value, fit, worthy, worth; ἀξίως (*axiōs*), worthily, in a manner worthy of, suitably; ἀνάξιος (*anaxios*), unworthy; ἀξιόω (*axioō*), consider or think worthy, make worthy; καταξιόω (*kataxioō*), deem worthy, consider worthy.

CL *axios* (Homer onwards) meant originally tipping the scales, counter-balancing, of like value (*TDNT* I 379). The term compares two entities, either of the same or of different (*anaxios*) weight (e.g. Prov. 3:15 where the LXX has *axios*: "all the things thou canst desire are not to be compared" with wisdom). The meaning of *axios* is then extended to cover the relation between persons or things which correspond (or do not correspond) to one another: i.e. fit, appropriate (cf. Hdt. 4, 28). Since this relation of fitness implies corresponding worth, *axios* comes finally to mean worthy, worth. The adv. *axiōs* is especially used in this sense (e.g. worthy of the truth, Diod. Sic. 1, 51, 7). *anaxios* is the negative form of expression, not suitable, unworthy (Sophocles onwards; cf. Epictetus, 2, 8, 18). The vb. *axioō* (Hdt. onwards) means: (1) to think worthy, think suitable (Eur., *Medea* 962); (2) to request, ask (Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 3, 11, 12). *kataxioō* (Aesch. onwards) has the same meaning, intensified: to deem worthy; pass. to be held worthy (Polybius, 12, 10, 8; cf. Diod. Sic. 2, 60, 3).

OT In the LXX this group of words has no great significance. Instead the Heb. *zāḵâh*, to be morally pure (e.g. Job 15:14; LXX *amemptos*) is used in Judaism for the concept of merit (→ Reward). *axios* gains the meaning of deserving, e.g. "Here is a man who is worthy of the Holy Spirit" (SB I 129). In relation to God, *axios* lost its character in Judaism as a relative term showing correspondence to a standard; it became a quality, a merit belonging to the zealous keeper of the law, who uses it as the foundation of a claim on God (2 Macc. 7:20; 4 Macc. 17:18 ff.; SB II 254).

NT In the NT the majority of instances is found either in the Synoptic Gospels, or in the Pauline and a few other epistles.

1. In radical contrast to the Judaistic concept of merit, the parable of the prodigal son makes it clear that man can make no claim upon God: "I am not worthy to be called your son" (Lk. 15:19, 21; cf. also Jn. 1:27; Acts 13:25). The centurion from Capernaum, who in the Jewish view deserved Jesus' help, because he had built a synagogue, did not even consider himself worthy for Jesus to be troubled with him, "but say the word, and my servant will be healed" (Lk. 7:7). Instead, it is the grace of God

in the gospel that imparts worth, and makes men worthy of fellowship with God. In Lk. 20:35, Acts 5:41 and 2 Thess. 1:5 it is the undeserved gift of salvation which is expressed by *kataxioō*. The worth of a man before God is decided by whether he comes into contact with the message of Christ and is obedient to it: "He who does not take his cross and follow me is not worthy of me" (Matt. 10:38; cf. vv. 11, 13, 37; 22:8).

2. In the epistles *axios* frequently has the meaning of fitting, in accord with. This is especially evident in the use of the adv. *axiōs* in exhortations demanding the right manner of life to accord with the gospel of Christ (Phil. 1:27), the Lord (Col. 1:10; 1 Thess. 2:12), or our calling (Eph. 4:1). Similarly in 1 Cor. 11:27 Paul warns against celebrating the → Lord's Supper in an unworthy manner (*anaxiōs*). He is not requiring moral quality in the participants, but looking for a manner of life which accords with the gospel, i.e. mutual love (cf. the context, 1 Cor. 11:17–34).

axios also describes the value of human actions. A much-quoted proverb says, "The labourer is worthy of his hire" (1 Tim. 5:18; cf. Lk. 10:7; Matt. 10:10; cf. Did. 13:1; 1 Cor. 9:14). Sinners do things for which they deserve (*axioi*) to die (Rom. 1:32); Paul's enemies can find nothing in his behaviour deserving death, with which to accuse him (Acts 25:11, 26). Christians are worthy to be clothed in white in the age to come (Rev. 3:4; → Black, White, Red, art. *leukos*).

At Rom. 8:18 Paul uses *axios* in its original sense of a comparison between two entities. The → sufferings of this present time are not *axia*, i.e. do not stand comparison with, the future → glory.

At Rev. 4:11 *axios* is even used in reference to the exalted Lord. None is worthy of such glory and honour as → God and the → Lamb (because of creation [Rev. 4:11], or Christ's sacrificial death [Rev. 5:12]); and the Lamb alone is worthy to be entrusted by God with the execution of his plans of salvation and of kingship (5:2, 4, 9).

E. Tiedtke

ἄρτιος

ἄρτιος (*artios*), suitable, complete, capable, sound; καταρτίζω (*katartizō*), put in order, restore, make complete, prepare; καταρτισμός (*katartismos*), preparation, equipment; κατάρτισις (*katartisis*), being made complete, completion; προκαταρτίζω (*prokatartizō*), get ready, arrange in advance; ἐξαρτίζω (*exartizō*), finish, complete, equip, furnish.

CL *artios* and its derivatives come from the root *ar-* which indicates appropriateness, suitability, usefulness, aptitude (cf. *artyō*, to arrange, season; *artynō*, to put in order; Lat. *aptare*, *adaptare*, *congruere*). *artios* accordingly means suitable, appropriate, fitting a situation or requirements; hence also respectively, normal, perfect, sound in physical, intellectual, moral and religious respects. In mathematics it is used to describe what is straight and to denote even numbers (as against *perissos*, odd).

The oldest derivative in cl. Gk. (apart from the Homeric *artyō*) is the vb. *katartizō*, to put in order, restore, furnish, prepare, equip. These various meanings have a common origin in the basic meaning to make suitable, make fitting. *katartismos* and *katartisis* mean restoration.

OT The LXX uses *katartizō* 19 times, and it stands for no fewer than 9 different Heb.

words. On 7 occasions the vb. renders the Aram. *kᵉlal*, to complete. It is found in this sense only in Ezr. in connexion with the building of the wall and the temple by the post-exilic community (Ezr. 4:12 f., 16; 5:3, 9, 11; 6:14). The various meanings of the vb. range from to set up, establish, in a literal sense (Ps. 74[73]:16; Heb. *kûn*); and of the righteous man's steps to hold fast to Yahweh's paths, human "goings" (Ps. 17[16]:5; Heb. *tāmaḵ*); to sayings about God's activity, to equip (Ps. 40[39]:6 RSV), to restore (Ps. 68[67]:9; Heb. *kûn*). Frequently Yahweh is the subject of sentences which refer to his work of establishing and founding. Other instances are Exod. 15:17 (Heb. *pā'al*, make); Ps. 8:2 (Heb. *yāsaḏ*, found, establish); Ps. 11(10):4 (Heb. *šāṯ*, foundation); Ps. 18(17):33 (Heb. *šāwâh*, make like); Ps. 29(28):9 (Heb. *ḥûl*, whirl); Ps. 68(67):28 (Heb. *pā'al*); Ps. 80(79):15 (Heb. *kānan*, cf. *kûn*); Ps. 89(88):37 (Heb. *kûn*). *artiōs* is used in the LXX only as a temporal adv. meaning until now (2 Sam. 15:34).

NT Of this group of words only *katartizō* is used at all frequently in the NT (13 times), while *artios* (2 Tim. 3:17), *katartisis* (2 Cor. 13:9), and *katartismos* (Eph. 4:12) occur only once each.

1. At Matt. 4:21 and Mk. 1:19, *katartizō* is found in the secular sense of repairing fishing nets. In addition to this, the NT also uses *katartizō* in the same way as the LXX: the meaning here is to prepare (Heb. 10:5, a citation of Ps. 40:6; Matt. 21:16, citing Ps. 8:3 LXX; Rom. 9:22), to establish, to form (Heb. 11:3), to equip (Heb. 13:21; 1 Pet. 5:10). As in the OT, God is the subject of sentences which express his power to strengthen and establish.

2. Of particular importance are those passages in which *artios* and its derivatives are used in connexion with the preparation and equipment of the believer and the church, for the service of God and their fellow-men. The adj. *artios* occurs only at 2 Tim. 3:17, together with the perfect pass. participle *exērtismenos*. In the OT → scriptures the church of the New Testament has an indispensable, God-given guide to living, through which the man of God may achieve an appropriate state, viz. be equipped for every work of love: "so that the man who belongs to God may be efficient and equipped for good work of every kind" (NEB). *artios* here does not imply perfection, as was originally thought, doubtless because of the variant reading *teleios*, perfect, in Codex D. Rather it refers to the state of being equipped for a delegated task. So too, in Eph. 4:12 *katartismos* refers to the preparation of the church for becoming perfect, but not to this perfection itself, as can be seen from the use of *teleios* (complete, mature; → Goal), *hēlikia* (stature; → Age, Stature), and *plērōma* (→ fullness) in v. 13 (cf. also 1 Cor. 1:10). The terms *artios* and *katartismos* thus have not so much a qualitative meaning as a functional one. This standard, hortatory use of *artios* and its derivatives arises from the fact that all imperatives are founded on the one indicative, i.e. the firm promise of salvation. The life of the saints is to correspond to the grace given, and this itself is the standard to which they are to aspire. It is on this ground that in Gal. 6:1 and 2 Cor. 13:11 *katartizō* can mean to restore; in 1 Thess. 3:10 to make up, to put in a fit state, to perfect. *katartisis* in 2 Cor. 13:9 also comes into this category. Like the verbal form in v. 11, it should be translated with the NEB, "that all may be put right with you", as a reference to the restoration and perfection of the church.

3. At 2 Cor. 9:5 *prokatartizō* is used of arranging or gathering and making ready

the collection (→ Poor, art. *ptōchos* NT 4); and at Acts 21:5 we find *exartizō* in *egeneto hēmas exartisai tas hēmeras*, "our time was up" (Arndt, 273), or ended as prescribed (cf. G. Delling, *TDNT* I 476). *R. Schippers*

ὀρθός

ὀρθός (*orthos*), upright, straight, right; *ὀρθῶς* (*orthōs*), rightly, correctly; *διόρθωσις* (*diorthōsis*), improvement, reformation, new order; *ἐπανόρθωσις* (*epanorthōsis*), correcting, restoration, improvement; *ἐπανορθόω* (*epanorthoō*), set up again, correct; *ὀρθοτομέω* (*orthotomeō*), cut straight, lead in a straight way, rightly handle; *ὀρθοποδέω* (*orthopodeō*), walk uprightly, act rightly, be straightforward.

CL *orthos* means lit. standing upright, continuing in a straight direction; fig. right, true. In cl. Gk. *orthos* is used in a fig. sense of ethically correct behaviour (Pindar, *Pythian Odes* 10, 68, *nous orthos*, a right mind; Plato, *Phaedrus* 73a; Epictetus, *Dissertationes* 1, 11, 19). Both in the classical period and for the Stoics, the word refers to an objective quality or virtue. *diorthōsis* denotes the straightening of what has become disordered, correct ordering, right treatment (Plato, *Laws* 642a); then fig. correction of a mistake (Polybius, 3, 58, 4; not in the LXX). *epanorthōsis* (from *epanorthoō*, to set up again, correct) means lit. restoration (e.g. of what has been destroyed); fig. improvement (e.g. of the laws, Demosthenes, *Or.* 24, 22).

OT In the LXX *orthos* is also used in the sense of upright (Mic. 2:3, "with your head upright", i.e. haughtily), and in a straight direction (Jer. 38:9 LXX, on a straight path). *orthos* has, however, a special use in the Wisdom literature. Here it is used for Heb. *yāšār* and means right, correct, true (Prov. 8:6, 9, right words; 11:6, an honest man; 16:25, a right way; etc.). Occasionally *nāḇôn*, understanding (from *bîn*, to understand), is also translated by *orthos* (Prov. 15:14, an understanding heart). Thus in the Wisdom literature *orthos* is used to refer to the kind of right attitude, speech, and action, that accords with a proper relationship to Yahweh. It does not describe a virtue so much as a relationship. The adv. *orthōs* occurs at Gen. 4:7; 40:16; Exod. 18:17; Deut. 5:25[28]; 1 Sam. 16:17 (in connexion with *ṭôb*, good, well); and at Num. 27:7(6); Prov. 14:2; 16:5 etc.

NT 1. In the NT the group of words which goes with *orthos* has no particular part to play. In the epistles none of the words occurs more than once or twice; in the Gospels they are not found at all, with the exception of the adv. *orthōs*, which is used to confirm the correctness of a speech or answer (Lk. 10:28; 20:21). Only at Acts 14:10, where Paul heals a lame man by calling "stand upright on your feet", is *orthos* found in its lit. sense. Heb. 9:10 speaks of the time of a right and better order (*diorthōsis*), which has begun with the coming of Christ and is contrasted with the provisional nature of the OT covenant.

2. The other instances belong to the sphere of NT ethics and exhortation.

(a) Heb. 12:13 exhorts a church which has become weary not to lose sight of the risen Lord and the goal towards which it is moving. The "straight paths" (a citation of Prov. 4:26 LXX) refer to the direction set for the wandering people of God. Thus

orthos is here interpreted in the sense of an eschatological alignment for the Christian church.

(b) Gal. 2:14 deals with the delicate question of Peter's right behaviour (*orthopodeō*) towards the Gentile Christians of Antioch, when he came to them from → Jerusalem. By right behaviour, or walking uprightly, Paul means obedience towards the gospel of Christ in its freedom from the law.

(c) 2 Tim. 3:16 lists the uses of Holy Scripture in ethical and didactic categories. They serve progressively (1) to convert; (2) to restore and improve (*epanorthōsis*); and (3) to instruct in righteousness.

3. *orthotomeō* is found elsewhere only at Prov. 3:6 and 11:5, where it is used in connexion with cutting a path in a straight direction. It is connected with *temnō*, cut. The idea is that of cutting a path through a forest or difficult terrain so that the traveller may go directly to his destination (Arndt, 584). The vb. occurs only at 2 Tim. 2:15 where the RSV has: "Do your best to present yourself to God as one approved, a workman who has no need to be ashamed, rightly handling [*orthotomounta*] the word of truth." The phrase may be compared with Plato, *Laws* 7, 801E: "to proceed along the way of legislation which has been cleared [*tetmēmenēn hodon*] by our present discourse." Arndt suggests that the meaning in 2 Tim. is to guide the word of truth along a straight path, like a road that goes straight to its goal. Other interpretations are to teach the word aright, expound it soundly, shape rightly, and preach fearlessly (cf. Moulton-Milligan, 456 f.).

4. *orthopodeō* occurs only at Gal. 2:14: "But when I saw that they were not straightforward [*ouk orthopodousin*] about the truth of the gospel, I said to Cephas before them all, 'If you, though a Jew, live like a Gentile and not like a Jew, how can you compel the Gentiles to live like Jews?' " Here the question turns on → circumcision and the ambiguous stance adopted by Peter in the face of the circumcision party. Arndt give the meaning "be straightforward" (583), but notes other interpretations: progress or advance in the direction of the truth (C. H. Roberts, *JBL* 40, 1939, 55 f.); cf. also the phrase noted by J. G. Winter in a 3rd cent. papyrus *orthopodei to paidion*, the child is getting on or growing up (*HTR* 34, 1941, 161 f.); "They were not on the right road toward the truth of the gospel", G. D. Kilpatrick, in *Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolf Bultmann*, 1954, 269–74). *R. Klöber*

→ God, → Ready, → Virtue

W. Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity*, 1972; G. Delling, *artios* etc., *TDNT* I 475 f.; J. D. G. Dunn, *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament: An Inquiry into the Character of Earliest Christianity*, 1977; W. Foerster, *axios* etc., *TDNT* I 379 f.; H. Preisker, *orthos* etc., *TDNT* V 449 ff.

Righteousness, Justification

δικαιοσύνη

δικαιοσύνη (*dikaiosynē*), righteousness, uprightness; *δίκαιος* (*dikaios*), upright, just, righteous; *δικαιόω* (*dikaioō*), justify, vindicate, treat as just, acquit, pronounce or treat as righteous, make or set free from; *δικαίωμα* (*dikaiōma*), regulation, requirement, commandment, righteous deed; *δικαίως* (*dikaiōs*), justly, in a just manner, uprightly; *δικαίωσις* (*dikaiōsis*), justification, vindication, acquittal. For *ἀδικία* (*adikia*), unrighteousness, and cognates → Sin.

CL All the words in this group are derived from *dikē* (→ Punishment). According to H. Frisk, the original root-noun meant "instructress" or "instruction" (*Studien zur griechischen Wortstellung, Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift* 39, 1, 1933; but cf. the discussion by G. Schrenk in *TDNT* II 178 ff.). The sense of "instructress" is supported by Hesiod (*Works* 256 ff.): Dike is the daughter of Zeus who shares in his government of the world. The concept of "instruction" is also supported by Hesiod (ibid., 275 ff.): Zeus put a difference between beasts and men: to the former he gave a *nomos* (→ law, i.e. that they should devour one another), while to the latter, in order to make human life possible, he gave *dikē*, whose implacable enemy is *biē*, violence. In its basic religious sense, therefore, and in common with all things divine in Gk. religion, *dikē* is an elemental cosmic force which men feel to be superior to themselves. It is not a standard imposed upon the world by God, but something immanent, inherent in the very nature of being, and related to men's living together in society. In post-Homeric times it was also regarded as expiation or punishment, or as the goddess of punishment who pursued wrongdoers. In the arguments that preceded the creation of the *polis* (→ People, art. *polis*) *dikē* and its derivatives were first of all battle-cries, and then later became concepts basic to the whole ideas of the *polis*. Of overriding importance in this connexion was the thought that justice prevails when every man does that which is fitting for him (Plato: *ta heautou prattein*). For Plato *dikaiosynē* is basic to the structure of the state (*Rep.* 1–4) and the human soul (*Rep.* 4, 443c ff.), and for Aristotle (who devoted *Eth. Nic.* 5 to the subject) it is the chief of human virtues (5, 3, p. 1129b, 27). To Plato and those who followed him, it was right and proper to accept the existence of utterly diverse social ranks with their accompanying degrees of power, and to take upon oneself that which befitted one's own station. In other words, *dikē* acquired the status of the axiomatic, unshakable foundation of all human life.

1. Hence, the righteous man (*dikaios*) was originally one whose behaviour fitted into the framework of his society and who fulfilled his rightful obligations towards the gods and his fellow-men (Homer, *Od.* 13, 209), his observance of such obligations serving to differentiate him from the unrighteous (*dyssebēs*) (Aesch., *Sept* 598; → Godliness). Hybris and uncivilized behaviour were out of keeping with the character of a righteous man (*Od.* 9, 175), therefore the term *dikaia zoē* (righteous life) was applied to a civilized way of life, i.e. one which, unlike barbarism, adhered to the rules of an orderly society; while in *Od.* 14, 90 *dikaiōs mnasthai* refers to wooing one's bride "in a fitting manner". At a later period the meaning was extended to cover the idea of conforming to a given standard, so that *harma dikaion* was a smoothly running carriage; *dikaia basanos* an impartial examination; and *tō dikaiotatō tōn logōn* the most appropriate way of speaking. Undoubtedly, however, the legal and ethical aspect was of supreme importance, *dikaios* meaning righteous *vis-à-vis* the law, conforming to the existing, static, social order. It is particularly common as a neuter noun in the sense of "that which is [legally and ethically] right", e.g. *to dikaion to nomikon kai to ison* (Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 1129a, 34); *ouden tōn dikaiōn poiein tini*, to do nothing that is right and just to someone, i.e. treat someone unjustly; *ta dikaia lambanein*, to take what is one's due. Hence *to dikaion* comes to mean a legal claim, while *ta pros allēlous dikaia* means the contracts and obligations existing between men.

2. The noun *dikaiosynē* (*-synē* indicating an abstraction) is a later formation

(since Theognis 1, 47: *en de dikaiosynē syllēbdēn pasa aretē estin*). On the one hand, it denotes the quality of the righteous man (*dikaiosynē dikastikē* being righteousness according to the law), but, on the other hand, it is in itself the standard which a judge is required to uphold, and which it must be his aim constantly to restore. Thus it is impartial justice, described by Aristotle as *hōs ho nomos*, as the law (*Rhet.* 1, 9p, 1366b, 9 ff.). It is one of the four cardinal virtues, along with *phronēsis* (prudence), *sōphrosynē* (temperance) and *andreia* (fortitude).

From the time of Pindar and Aeschylus, the corresponding and derivative verb *dikaioō* is used, meaning: (a) to put right (e.g. the law on violence, *Fragment* 169, 3); (b) to demand as a right, regard as being right, pass sentence; (c) to give someone his due, either in the sense of to punish (Herodotus 1, 100) or, from the LXX onwards, to declare righteous, to justify.

3. Finally, two other nouns from the same stem express either the result of human action, or the application of justice to a given person:

dikaiōma (since Plato and Aristotle) which means: (a) right action; (b) judgment, either of condemnation or acquittal; (c) (from the LXX onwards) ordinance, decree; (d) legal documents, credentials.

dikaiōsis (since Thucydides), which means: (a) condemnation, punishment; (b) acquittal; (c) just claim; (d) discretion, judgment as to what is just or unjust.

OT The noun *dikaiōma* is frequently found in the LXX in the context of → law meaning ordinance or statute. It translates the Heb. *ḥōq* or *ḥuqqâh* some 70 times (e.g. Gen. 26:5; Exod. 15:25 f.; Lev. 25:18; Num. 27:11; 30:17; 31:21; 35:29; Deut. 4:1, 5 f., 8, 14, 40, 45; 5:1, 28[31]; 6:1 f., 17, 20, 24; 7:11; 8:11; 10:13; 11:1; 17:19; 26:16 f.; 27:10; 28:45; 30:10, 16; 2 Sam. 22:23; 2 Ki. 17:8, 13, 19, 34, 37; 23:3; 2 Chr. 19:10; 33:8; Pss. 18[17]:22; 50[49]:16; 89[88]:31; 105[104]:45; 119[118]:5, 8, 12, 16, 23, 26, 33, 48, 54, 56, 64, 68, 71, 80, 83, 112, 117 f., 124, 135, 145, 155, 171; 147:19[8]; Mic. 6:16; Ezek. 36:27). It translates the Heb. *mišpāṭ*, judgment, ordinance, some 40 times (e.g. Exod. 21:1, 9, 31; 24:3; Num. 15:16; 36:13; Deut. 7:12; 33:10; 1 Sam. 2:13; 8:3, 9, 11; 10:25; 27:11; 30:25; 1 Ki. 3:28; 8:45, 59; 2 Chr. 6:35; Ps. 119[118]:20; Prov. 2:8; 19:28; Mal. 3:22[4:4]; Ezek. 5:6 f.; 11:20; 18:9, 21; 20:11, 13, 16, 18, 19, 21, 24 f.). It is also found for sundry other words (2 Sam. 19:29[28]; 1 Ki. 2:3; Job 34:27; Pss. 19[18]:8; 119[118]:27, 56, 93 f., 141; Prov. 8:20; Ezek. 18:21; 43:11) and has no corresponding Heb. term at Deut. 6:3; Ruth 4:7; Ps. 119[118]:24; Sir. 4:17; Bar. 2:12, 17, 19; 4:13; Hos. 13:1; Ezek. 20:13; 44:24; 1 Macc. 1:13, 49; 2:21, 40; 4 Macc. 18:6.

Apart from this, the *dikaios* word-group translates words belonging to the Heb. *ṣdq* word group on 462 out of a possible 476 times. There is thus a considerable semantic overlap between the two groups. *diakaiosynē* normally renders the Heb. *sᵉḏāqâh* and less frequently *ṣeḏeq* (some 220 times; for instances see discussion below), although there are 11 other terms it is used to translate, and it also occurs occasionally for other formations from *ṣdq*. These include *ʾᵉmeṯ*, truth, faithfulness (Gen. 24:49; Jos. 24:14; Isa. 38:19; 39:8); *mišpāṭ*, judgment (Prov. 17:23; Mal. 2:17; Isa. 61:8; Ezek. 18:17, 19, 21); *ḥeseḏ*, loving kindness, grace, covenant fidelity (Gen. 19:19; 20:13; 21:23; 24:27; 32:11[10]; Exod. 15:13; 34:7; Prov. 20:28; Isa. 61:7).

The adj. *dikaios* occurs some 180 times for *ṣaddîq*, although it also translates 17

other terms and expressions, including *yāšār*, right, correct, straightforward, upright (e.g. Num. 23:10; Prov. 3:32; Job 1:1, 8) and *nāqî* and *nāqî'*, innocent (e.g. Job 9:23; 17:8; Prov. 6:17; Joel 4:19; Jon. 1:14). Its use to translate *yāšār* may suggest Hellenistic influence on the part of the translator, giving *dikaios* the sense of "virtuous" (cf. D. Hill, *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings: Studies in the Semantics of Soteriological Terms, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series* 5, 1967, 105).

The vb. *dikaioō* is used 23 times to translate *ṣādaq* (Gen. 38:26; 44:16; Exod. 23:7; Deut. 25:1; 2 Sam. 15:4; 1 Ki. 8:32; 2 Chr. 6:23; Job 33:22; Pss. 19[18]:9; 51[50]:4; 82[81]:3; 143[142]:2; Isa. 5:23; 42:21; 43:9, 26; 45:25[26]; 50:8; 53:11; Jer. 3:11; Ezek. 16:51 f.). It also translates *bāḥan*, try (Ezek. 21:18[13]); *zāḵâh*, be clean (Ps. 73[72]:13; Mic. 6:11); *rîḇ*, contend, conduct a legal case (Mic. 7:9; Isa. 1:17); and *šāpaṭ*, judge (1 Sam. 12:7). It occurs without Heb. equivalent at Tob. 6:11 f. *v.l.*; 12:4; Sir. 1:21; 9:12; 10:29; 13:22; 18:2, 22; 23:11; 26:29; 31(34):5; Ezek. 44:24.

1. Righteousness in the OT is not a matter of actions conforming to a given set of absolute legal standards, but of behaviour which is in keeping with the two-way relationship between God and man. Thus the righteousness of God appears in his God-like dealings with his people, i.e. in redemption and salvation (Isa. 45:21; 51:5 f.; 56:1; 62:1). His righteous acts are extolled from the earliest times onward (Jdg. 5:11; 1 Sam. 12:7; Isa. 45:24; Mic. 6:5; Ps. 103[102]:6; Dan. 9:16). He who longs for → redemption calls upon God's righteousness, i.e. he pleads for God's intervention (Pss. 71[70]:2; 143[142]:11). Israel's enemies, by contrast, find God's righteousness to be the root of their downfall (Isa. 41:10 f.; 54:17; Ps. 129[128]:4 f.). For Israel's sake, even the very land itself may be restored through the gift of God's righteousness (Hos. 10:2; Joel 2:23; Isa. 32:15 ff.; 48:18 f.). Dwelling in the land as he does, Israel partakes of God's righteousness (Ps. 24[23]:5) and such righteousness may actually be referred to in spatial terms (Pss. 89[88]:16; 69[68]:28).

2. In the pre-exilic period, little is said about individual righteousness, the main concern being that men should remain within the national righteousness referred to above. Access to it is denied to anyone whose life falls short of God's standards (Pss. 15[14]; 24[23]:3 ff.), the righteousness of God being, in effect, salvation *per se*; hence the OT never identifies righteousness with condemnation. On a purely human level, therefore, judgment is pronounced not in terms of "the guilty man is justly punished", but rather "the just man is made just and the guilty man made guilty" (Deut. 25:1). In general before the exile, a man's righteousness is not so much in relation to God as in relation to his fellow-men, his behaviour being regulated on the one hand by human relationships (e.g. between members of the same family, Gen. 38:26; or between the king and one of his officers, 1 Sam. 24:15), and on the other by the law of God (Zeph. 2:3); Amos 5:7 and 6:12 each refers to both of these aspects. On the other hand, Amos 5:4, 6, 14 and the book of Hosea testify generally to a concern for righteousness before God, through inter-personal relationships.

The exile, however, marks a turning-point in the history of ideas, and thereafter the OT has no hesitation in speaking of the devout individual's righteousness before God. Before the exile the pledge of God's presence among the people was their free, independent possession of the land, with his righteousness covering both the people and the land they owned. Afterwards, however, God's pledge is his gift of the law,

which provides clear terms of reference for righteousness between man and man, and at the same time the framework within which a man may share, and go on sharing, in Yahweh's righteousness. Hence, when the Psalmists refer to themselves as "righteous" (Pss. 7:9; 17[16]:1–5; 18[17]:22–24; 26[25]:1–6), they are appealing to their membership of that nation which Yahweh has permitted to partake of his righteousness, for, as the religion of Israel had long since made clear, God alone can pronounce a man righteous. Such a claim on the part of the Psalmists is, therefore, an act of testimony. The fact that a man joins in public worship is evidence that he is not cut off from the righteousness of God. Furthermore, the law is considered easy to keep, therefore in claiming to be righteous, men are joyfully acknowledging the law to be the well-spring of their daily life (G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, I, 1962, 381 f.). Here and there, however, the note is already heard that in the eyes of God one's own righteousness counts for nothing (Ps. 143[142]:1; Job 4:17), and that men are dependent on his mercy alone (Dan. 9:18). Thus in the intertestamental period, "righteousness" takes on increasingly the character of "goodness" (→ grace), which counterbalances the strictly impartial judgment of God (cf. G. von Rad, op. cit., 370–83; F. Horst, *RGG*[3] II 1403 ff.). *H. Seebass*

3. D. Hill contends that the original significance of the root *ṣdq* appears to be irretrievably lost and that the study of parallels in other languages does not allow us to attribute with confidence any single primary meaning to it (*Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings: Studies in the Semantics of Soteriological Terms, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series* 5, 82 f.). Outside specifically theological contexts in the OT it is used in connexion with weights and measures, indicating conformity to the proper standards (Lev. 19:36; Deut. 25:15; Ezek. 45:10), and correct sacrifices which have been offered in accordance with the prescribed ritual (Deut. 33:19; Pss. 4:6; 51:21 MT). Hill sees Judah's remark about Tamar ("She is more righteous than I") as not making a moral judgment so much as making an observation about the strength of her case in terms of the levirate marriage law (op. cit., 84; → Marriage, art. *gameō* OT 5). Similarly a righteous person in the law is one who is "in the right" (cf. Exod. 23:7; with 1 Sam. 24:17; Ezek. 16:52).

The standard of righteousness is not provided simply by custom. Hill endorses W. Eichrodt's verdict that it is to be seen against the wider background of the → covenant relationship with Yahweh: "It may therefore be said that in the case of Yahweh his righteousness implies the same kind of right conduct which in Israel upholds the law by means of judicial procedure; the justice appropriate to Israel on her side is determined by her position as the covenant people, in virtue of which she can count on the intervention of the divine assistance in any danger which threatens that position" (*Theology of the Old Testament*, I, 1961, 241 f.; cf. Hill, op. cit., 86). Eichrodt points out that "In the early period of Israel's history God's righteousness seems only to have been spoken of in connection with his help against outside enemies. Yahweh watches over the 'justice' of his people in that he safeguards their existence by his victories over their foes, and Israel's triumphs in war are therefore proofs of the righteousness of God, *ṣidqōt yhwh*" (ibid.; cf. Jdg. 5:11; 11:27; Mic. 6:5; 1 Sam. 12:7; 2 Sam. 18:31; Deut. 33:21). Some scholars see a background of Canaanite influence, reflecting a deity or agent of God in Pss. 85, 89 and 97, where righteousness is thought to be hypostatized (cf. Hill, op. cit., 86), though the argu-

ment seems tenuous in the context of the Psalms (cf. A. A. Anderson, *The Book of Psalms, New Century Bible*, 1972, II, 613, 637 f., 687). Righteousness is there a divine attribute, occasionally personified. Thus, Anderson sees the expression, "He loves righteousness and justice" (Ps. 33[32]:5) as meaning that Yahweh "loves to perform righteous and just deeds (cf. 99:4; Jer. 9:24). This may also imply that God is concerned to do and to uphold righteousness and justice. 'Righteousness' (*ṣᵉḏāqâh*) is a term of relationships, denoting that kind of conduct which serves to maintain the established ties" (op. cit., I, 262). In certain contexts this amounts to "deliverance" (Pss. 22:31 [MT 32]; 40:9 [MT 19]; 51:14 [MT 16]; 65:5 [MT 6]), "salvation" (Ps. 69:27 [MT 28]), "victory" (Isa. 41:2). "vindication" (Ps. 103:6), "righteous help" (Ps. 71:24), "healing" Ps. 40:10 [MT 11]), and perhaps even "reward" (Ps. 106:31). Negatively, it means punishment of the wicked (Ps. 119:75). Anderson also sees a covenant background in the sense of "faithfulness to the obligations stipulated by the Covenant, but in general it may imply a behaviour which is right according to the standards accepted by the community" (ibid.).

Because the nation found its focus in the king, it depended on him for its right-ordering and well-being, and thus the king has a special place in maintaining righteousness in Israel (cf. Hill, op. cit., 87 ff.; 2 Sam. 15: 1–6; Ps. 72). "As judge, Yahweh supremely distinguishes between those who are 'in the right' and those 'who are in the wrong': he condemns the latter and 'puts in the right' (Hiph'il of *ṣdq* = declare to be in the right) the former [Gen. 18:25; Exod. 23:7; 1 Ki. 8:32; Hos. 14:8 f.; Ps. 7:7–11; Jer. 11:20; Zeph. 3:5; Ezra 9:15]. Just as the righteous judgment of the king took on a special character when it was directed towards the poor and needy, so in establishing *ṣᵉḏāqâh* in the land, Yahweh has a particular concern for the cause of the poor and outcast, the widow and orphan" (Hill, op. cit., 89 f.; cf. Amos 2:6 f.; 5:12–15; Mic. 3:2; Isa. 5:7). Within the righteousness of Yahweh there is a place for punishment and for deliverance. Thus, in the destruction of Jerusalem the city confesses: "The LORD is in the right [*ṣaddîq*]: I have rebelled against his word" (Lam. 1:18). On the other hand, Yahweh may still deliver Israel, giving sentence in his favour because of the character of Yahweh himself (Isa. 46:12 f.; cf. 51:5–8, 17).

Hill rejects the idea that the prophets gave an ethical content to a religion which was previously non-ethical, insisting that "we may regard the prophetic teaching as essentially a recalling of Israel to the covenant and to the standards and way of life which should characterise national and individual existence within the covenant" (op. cit., 94). On many occasions in the Psalms he sees the individual righteous as "those who, in humility and faithfulness, trust in Yahweh, despite persecution and oppression; those who seek to live uprightly and without pride of heart, depending on Yahweh for protection and vindication. 'Righteousness' here is not ethical perfection, but that obedience and uprightness of the faithful who plead with Yahweh for a favourable decision, not always in order to be 'justified' against an adversary, but often, in an absolute manner, to be accepted and saved" (Hill, op. cit., 94 f.; cf. Ps. 24:3 ff.). Isa. 56–59 form a section which begins with the call: "Keep justice, and do righteousness, for soon my salvation will come, and my deliverance be revealed" (Isa. 56:1). Righteousness is the key to national recovery (Isa. 58:8 ff.; cf. 60:17, 21) and will ultimately spread to the nations (Isa. 61:10). This righteousness depends on Yahweh's gift (Isa. 46:12 f.; 50:9; 52:13–53:12); but it calls for a corresponding

righteousness in the national and individual lives of the people (cf. Deut. 6:20 ff.; 24:13).

Commenting on the LXX usage of the *dikaios* word-group, D. Hill observes that it underwent a considerable change through being consistently used to render the Heb. group formed from *ṣdq*, especially as compared with cl. Gk. "(1) The words were employed to refer to God's character and actions [in the LXX]. In Classical Greek usage, *dikaios*, etc., were not terms used of the divine, except at a very early date. (2) In the Classical Greek usage of the terms the idea of conformity to a standard was present and the standard was primarily that of social obligation. In the Old Testament use of *ṣᵉḏāqâh* the standard implied possesses divine authority and often is the demands of the covenant law. Through being used consistently as the means of translating the Hebrew word, *dikaiosynē* gained this new dimension of reference (i.e. the divine requirement) in biblical Greek. (3) Through being drawn into the covenant terminology the word *dikaiosynē* was supplied, from time to time, with a content which is related to that of 'mercy' (when translating *ḥeseḏ*) and of 'loyalty' and 'trustworthiness' (when translating *ʾᵉmeṯ*). The verb *dikaioō* is not found with its secular Greek meanings in the LXX: it has to be interpreted in terms of the Hebrew root it renders. When it translates the root *ṣdq* (and even other roots as well), the forensic sense is almost always present. The only possible exceptions we have found are in Pss. 19(18):10 and 73(72):13" (op. cit., 108 f.).

4. In the apocryphal books *dikaios* is used as in the LXX except that there are no instances of it meaning "in the right" and "innocent" (D. Hill, op. cit., 109). Righteous is applied to God, man and actions (Tob. 3:2; 14:9; Wis. 2:10; 3:1; Sir. 10:23). The meaning "just" occurs at Wis. 12:15 and 2 Macc. 9:18; cf. 1 Macc. 7:12; 11:33; 2 Macc. 11:14; 13:22. In Pss. Sol. *dikaios* denotes the upright man who trusts in God and keeps the law, as distinct from sinners (2:34; 3:4–8; 15:6). When applied to God it describes his attitude in discriminating between the upright and the sinner (2:10, 18, 32, 34; 5:1; 8:8; 9:2; 10:5). It is also applied to the messiah in this sense (17:32).

In the apocryphal writings *dikaiosynē* is the righteousness or righteous conduct which makes a man acceptable to God (Tob. 12:9; 14:11; Wis. 1:15). It denotes God's righteousness in discerning good and evil, and saving the good and punishing the evil among men (Wis. 5:18; 12:16). In Wis. 15:3 knowledge of God constitutes righteousness. In Sir. 42:2 *dikaioō* means to do justice to, punish, and in Sir. 7:5; 10:29; 13:22 it means to recognize or declare to be right or righteous. Otherwise the vb. frequently occurs in the passive, meaning to be declared innocent or to acquit, and even accept (18:22). In Pss. Sol. it means to recognize as just or righteous (2:15; 3:3, 5; 4:9; 8:7, 23, 26; 9:2; cf. D. Hill, op. cit., 110). *C. Brown*

5. In rabbinic Judaism righteousness was completely identified with conformity to the → law. Many of the laws, particularly the ceremonial ones, were no longer relevant as they stood, but, according to the rabbis, were intended to train men in obedience and, in particular, to provide a way for men to acquire merit in the sight of God. The passion for obedience now became transformed into a striving for merit, to ensure one's part in the kingdom of God. Works of charity and works of mercy were considered especially meritorious, the former (*ṣᵉḏāqâh*) comprising everything that could be done by material expenditure, such as feeding the hungry, clothing the

naked, giving drink to the thirsty, etc., while works of mercy were those requiring a moral effort, such as mourning with mourners, comforting the broken-hearted and visiting those who were sick or in prison (cf. Matt. 25:35 f.). However, there are many examples to show the power of trust in God, quite apart from meritorious works; e.g. at the time of Israel's exodus from Egypt, Moses' faith alone sufficed for God to divide the sea. Very few qualified for the designation "a righteous man" (principally biblical figures, cf. R. Mach, *Der Zaddik in Talmud und Midrasch*, 1957, 242 ff.); it was believed that no one, not even the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, could achieve righteousness apart from God's grace, but that on the other hand "God helps those who help themselves". Eventually merits will be weighed against demerits in the day of judgment; if a man's merits preponderate, he will be deemed a righteous man; if the opposite is the case, he will be deemed an evil-doer. Should there be an even balance, then according to one view the persons concerned will go to hell, emerging therefrom later when their purification is complete, while others believed that God will make use of his own great riches and of the merits of the righteous, in order to render the mediocre righteous (cf. R. Mach, op. cit.; A. Marmorstein, *The Old Rabbinic Doctrine of God*, 1922). For further discussion and data D. Hill, op. cit., 115–20; J. A. Zeisler, *The Meaning of Righteousness in Paul: A Linguistic and Theological Enquiry, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series* 20, 1972, 112–27.

6. The Qumran community seems to have been deeply aware of its own guilt and of the transitoriness of life, hence their recurring appeals to justification by God: "As for me, my justification [*mišpāṭ*] is with God"; "he will wipe away my transgression through his righteousness"; "his righteousness is the source of my justification"; "if I stumble and fall because of the guilt of my flesh, my justification shall arise through the righteousness of God which endures for ever" (1QS 11:2, 3, 5, 12). "Righteousness, I know, is not of man, nor is a perfect walk of the son of man. To the most high God belong deeds of righteousness [= grace 11, 18; 16, 9]; but the way of man will not stand, save by the spirit which God created for him" (1QH 4, 30). But impressively like Paul as such statements are at first sight, it should be noted that righteousness is based not simply upon the law (as it is in Judaism generally), but in particular upon the radical doctrines of the Teacher of Righteousness. "This concerns all those who observe the Law in the House of Judah, whom God will deliver from the House of Judgment because of their suffering and because of their faith in the Teacher of Righteousness" (1QpHab 8: 1–3 on Hab. 2:4). The title Teacher of Righteousness occurs in CD 1:11; 20:32; 1QpHab 1:13; 2:2; 5:10; 7:4; 11:15; 1QpMic frag. 10. There are a number of other possible allusions (cf. J. A. Ziesler, op. cit., 91). For when the members of the community are called the "sons of righteousness" (1QS 9, 14) or the "elect of righteousness" (1QH 2, 13), this implies one thing only, namely, that they follow their Teacher's doctrine, and it would appear that the justifying grace of God is seen essentially in the fact that this doctrine of radical legal piety has been revealed (cf. G. Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit, StUNT* 2, 1963, 308 ff.; F. F. Bruce, *The Teacher of Righteousness in the Qumran Texts*, 1957). On Qumran teaching see further D. Hill, op. cit., 110–115; J. A. Ziesler, op. cit., 91–103; O. Betz, "Rechtfertigung in Qumran", in J. Friedrich, W. Pöhlmann and P. Stuhlmacher, eds., *Rechtfertigung. Festschrift für Ernst Käsemann*, 1976, 17–36.

NT The NT uses the words of this group in many different ways. The adj. *dikaios* occurs in almost all NT books, most often in Matt. and Paul (17 times each), while its related words are predominantly Pauline, occurring with particular frequency in Rom. It will make for greater clarity if the usage of each writer is examined, the more straightforward passages being left on one side.

1. *Matthew.* The adj. *dikaios* is applied to Christ (Matt. 27:19, 24 *v.l.*), to righteous men (Matt. 1:19; 5:45; 9:13; 10:41; 13:17, 43, 49; 23:28 f., 35; 25:37, 46), and to things (Matt. 20:4; 23:35; 27:4 *v.l.*). *dikaiosynē* occurs at Matt. 3:15; 5:6, 10, 20; 6:1, 33; 21:32; and *dikaioō* at Matt. 11:19; 12:37.

Matt.'s doctrine of righteousness is central to his message. Even the work of John the Baptist is described in these terms, for he came "in the way of righteousness" (Matt. 21:32), i.e. calling all → Israel to repentance and → baptism. In insisting that no one had any claim upon God (Matt. 3:9), John was acting, said Jesus, in the name of God, who was even then bringing in his → kingdom. So in order "to fulfil all righteousness" (Matt. 3:15), Jesus submitted to John's baptism. They are blessed, therefore, who hunger and thirst after righteousness (Matt. 5:6); for whether they live according to the law or not (Matt. 1:19), their one desire is that God may justify them.

In the light of such righteousness, Jesus was particularly concerned to address sinners rather than the righteous (Matt. 9:13; cf. Mk. 2:17) who imagined that they had no need of it. Admittedly, he did not dispute the righteousness of such men (in the sense that they formally fulfilled the → law), for, in the rabbinic tradition, he could speak of the righteous men who were exemplars to Israel (Matt. 10:41; 13:17; 23:15, 29; note that when these are mentioned, it is always in conjunction with the → prophets). The conflict with the → Pharisees and scribes who fancied that they were in the way of righteousness (Matt. 23:27 f.) arose only because they could not see their righteousness as the free gift of God, and so did not submit to John's baptism (Matt. 21:32). They murmured because God's calling of men was in the nature of a free gift and had nothing to do with just rewards (Matt. 20:13–15). They adopted towards other men a "holier than thou" attitude, but Jesus taught that separation between the wicked and the righteous was something reserved for the final → judgment of God (Matt. 13:49).

In teaching this, however, Jesus was not seeking to soften the demands of God's revealed will; on the contrary: "Unless your righteousness exceeds that of the scribes and Pharisees, you will never enter the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. 5:20). Jesus intensified the torah or repealed it (Matt. 5:21 ff.), depending on the character and work of God, who, as the baptism of John reveals, loves his enemies and therefore sends rain upon the just and the unjust (Matt. 5:44 f.; v. 45 is a typically rabbinic utterance).

Should the practice of such righteousness bring about a conflict with the letter of the law, then that man is blessed who, like Jesus himself, is persecuted for righteousness' sake (Matt. 5:10). "Seek first the kingdom of God and his [God's] righteousness", exhorts Jesus (Matt. 6:33). But this righteousness is not to be displayed before the eyes of men (Matt. 6:1); to do so is to seek a → reward from men and not from God, as do the Pharisees who, like whitewashed tombs, appear righteous in the eyes of men, but within (and so in God's sight) are full of unclean thoughts (Matt. 23:27 f.; → Black, White, Red, art. *leukos*).

2. *The Lucan Writings.* The adj. *dikaios* is applied to Christ (Lk. 23:47; Acts 3:14; 7:52; 22:14), to righteous men (Lk. 1:6, 17; 2:25; 14:14; 15:7; 18:9; 20:23; 23:50; Acts 10:22; 24:15), and to things (Lk. 12:57; Acts 4:19). The adv. *dikaiōs* occurs only in the Gospels at Lk. 23:41 in the remark of the penitent thief who observed that he and the other thief were suffering justly, but Jesus had done no wrong. The noun *dikaiōma* occurs in the Gospels only at Lk. 1:6 of Zechariah and Elizabeth who walked "in all the commandments and ordinances of the law blameless." The noun *dikaiosynē* occurs at Lk. 1:75; Acts 10:35; 13:10; 17:31; 24:25; and the vb. *dikaioō* at Lk. 7:29; 10:29; 16:15; 18:14; Acts 13:38 f.

In the Lucan writings the word-group is important as one of the means whereby Christianity is shown to be the legitimate development of Judaism, the latter being a religion tolerated by the Romans and having the status of a *religio licita.* Hence, special mention is made of devout observers of the Jewish law (*dikaioi*) who came into contact with Jesus: Zechariah and Elizabeth, Simeon, Joseph of Arimathea (Lk. 1:6; 2:25; 23:50), to whom is added the Roman centurion, Cornelius (*anēr dikaios*, Acts 10:22; cf. v. 35). The beginning of Lk.'s Gospel is marked by references to Jewish eschatological hopes regarding the return of → Elijah who will turn the disobedient to the wisdom of the just (Lk. 1:17) and to similar hopes of a life whose characteristics throughout will be righteousness and → holiness (Lk. 1:75). Lk. sees this returning Elijah in the person of John the Baptist; tax-gatherers and public sinners justified God (*edikaiōsan*, Lk. 7:29) by being baptized by John, while the → scribes and → Pharisees deceived themselves into thinking they could pass themselves off before men as righteous (Lk. 20:20), or indeed that they were already righteous (Lk. 16:15). This is vividly portrayed in the parable of the Pharisee and the publican (Lk. 18:9–14), in form a perfect rabbinic example of false self-confidence (cf. SB II 210 f.).

But in → heaven there is more joy over one sinner who repents than over ninety-nine righteous (Lk. 15:7). Lk. does not deny that there is joy in heaven over the righteous; but the greatest joy is over those who turn from sin (→ Conversion). For the wonderful thing about Jesus is that by his word he makes new life possible for men who are so depraved and sinful as to suffer social and religious ostracism (Lk. 5:32); and this applies not only to Jews but to Gentiles too (Acts 10:22, 35). Jesus himself is therefore the very exemplar of a righteous man (a fact mentioned only incidentally in Matt. 27:19). His righteousness is openly recognized by the Roman centurion at Jesus' death (Lk. 23:47), after which it becomes fundamental to Christian preaching (Acts 3:14; 7:52; 22:14). As the righteous one he has been raised by God from the dead, in advance of the general → resurrection of the righteous and unrighteous (Acts 24:15), and has been commissioned to judge the whole world in righteousness (Acts 17:31). This being the climax of Luke's message, he records the pointed way in which the question of righteousness was handled by the apostles when face to face with the Jewish authorities: "Whether it is right in the sight of God to listen to you rather than to God, you must judge" (Acts 4:19).

3. *Mark.* By contrast with the other Synoptic Gospels the only instance of the word-group in Mk. is the use of the adj. at Mk. 6:20 in describing Herod's reluctance to have John the Baptist executed on account of Herodias: "for Herod feared John, knowing that he was a righteous and holy man, and kept him safe. When he heard him, he was much perplexed; and yet he heard him gladly." The usage is in line with

Jewish concepts of righteousness; but the general absence of the word-group is indicative of Mk.'s tendency to avoid technical language.

4. *The Johannine Writings.* The adj. *dikaios* is applied to the Father by Jesus in his high priestly prayer (Jn. 17:25) and also in 1 Jn. 1:9 and Rev. 16:5; to Jesus (1 Jn. 2:1, 29; 3:7), though 1 Jn. 3:7, like Rev. 22:11, may apply to men. It applies to Jesus' just judgment (Jn. 5:30); and the Jews are likewise urged to "judge with right judgment" (Jn. 7:24). The adj. is also used impersonally in 1 Jn. 3:12; Rev. 15:3; 16:7; and 19:2. The noun *dikaiosynē* occurs only at Jn. 16:8; Rev. 19:11; 22:11 (where the only instance of *dikaioō* in the Johannine writings occurs as a *v.l.*); though *dikaiōma* also occurs at Rev. 15:4; 19:8.

(a) The sole instance of *dikaiosynē* in the Gospel of Jn. is used in a significant passage: the Paraclete (→ Advocate) will convince the world of sin and of righteousness and of judgment (Jn. 16:8). Jesus is seeking to show that righteousness will be manifested by his returning to the Father (Jn. 16:10), for it is not to be found in the world itself, not even in the world's best and most worthy representatives; the Father alone is its source and fountain-head. Jesus must therefore go away from his disciples, in order that their hopes might not be set upon him in any "this-worldly" fashion, but might be centred upon the Father with whom the Son is one.

(b) 2 and 3 Jn. do not use these words, but 1 Jn. sounds a note peculiar to itself. There are two mutually exclusive spheres: "Little children, let no one deceive you. He who does right is righteous, as he [Christ] is righteous. He who commits sin is of the devil; for the devil has sinned from the beginning" (1 Jn. 3:7 f.; cf. 3:10). In other words, a man can belong only to one of these two spheres, and bears the stamp of one or the other: "If you know that he [Christ] is righteous, you may be sure that every one who does right is born of him" (1 Jn. 2:29). Since there is only one person who is completely righteous, namely, Jesus (1 Jn. 2:1), and only one who has sinned from the beginning (1 Jn. 3:8), it is crucial whose side a man is on, i.e. whether he recognizes and confesses his sin (1 Jn. 1:9–2:2) or not. The sharpness of the distinction (cf. also 1 Jn. 3:12) is probably explained by the fact that many Christians had such a sense of communion with God as to imagine that they no longer belonged to this world but were already in heaven (1 Jn. 1:8), and were therefore beyond the reach of → sin.

(c) *dikaiosynē* is used of the rider on the white horse, Christ, who is called "Faithful and True, and in righteousness he judges and makes war" (Rev. 19:11; → Black, White, Red, art. *leukos*). In the concluding visions of Rev. there is a great separation between the righteous and the evil doers: "And he said to me, 'Do not seal up the words of the prophecy of this book, for the time is near. Let the evil doer still do evil, and the filthy still be filthy, and the righteous still do right, and the holy still be holy' " (Rev. 22:11). The thought is comparable with Dan. 12:9 f. *dikaiōma* means a judgment in Rev. 15:4 and a righteous deed in Rev. 19:8.

5. *Paul.* The adj. *dikaios* is applied by Paul to God (Rom. 3:26), Christ (2 Tim. 4:8), men (Rom. 1:17; cf. Gal. 3:11; Heb. 10:38; Rom. 2:13; 3:10; 5:7, 19; 1 Tim. 1:9; Tit. 1:8), and things (Rom. 7:12; Eph. 6:1; Phil. 1:7; 4:8; Col. 4:1; 2 Thess. 1:5 f.). The noun *dikaiosynē* occurs in Rom. 1:17; 3:5, 21 f., 25 f.; 10:3; cf. 2 Cor. 5:21; Phil. 3:9; Rom. 4:3, 5, 9, 22; cf. Gal. 3:6; Jas. 2:22; Gen. 15:6; Rom. 4:6, 11, 13; 5:17, 21; 6:13, 16, 18; 8:10; 9:30 f.; 10:4 ff., 10; 14:17; 1 Cor. 1:30; 2 Cor. 3:9; 5:21; 6:7, 14; 9:9 f.; 11:15; Gal. 2:21; 3:21; 5:5; Eph. 4:24; 5:9; 6:14; Phil. 1:11; cf.

Heb. 12:11; Jas. 3:18; Phil. 3:6, 9; 1 Tim. 6:11; 2 Tim. 2:22; 3:16; 4:8; Tit. 3:5. *dikaiōma* occurs in Rom. 1:32; 2:26; 5:16; 8:4; and the only instances of *dikaiōsis* in the NT are to be found in Rom. 4:25; 5:18. The adv. *dikaiōs* occurs in 1 Cor. 15:34; 1 Thess. 2:10; Tit. 2:12. The vb. *dikaioō* occurs in Rom. 2:13; 3:4, 20; cf. Gal. 2:16; Rom. 3:24, 26, 28, 30; 4:2, 5; 5:1, 9; 6:7; 8:30, 33; 1 Cor. 4:4; 6:11; Gal. 2:16 f.; 3:8, 11, 24; 5:4; 1 Tim. 3:16; Tit. 3:7.

Paul thus makes the most frequent use of this whole word-group, and gives it its widest range of meanings. Of all NT writers, he it is who establishes the closest connexion with the OT, when speaking of God's righteousness and God's justification of sinners. God's righteousness is essentially his covenant dealings with his people, who are thereby constituted a new humanity, a new → Israel comprising both Jews and Gentiles. This divine righteousness is revealed by the fact that God's purposes are not foiled by man's sin; rather he remains almighty both as Lord and Saviour in spite of man's rebellion. Since man's sin has been so radically dealt with, the demarcation between Israel and the Gentiles can be swept away so that the new people of God may come into being. The transgression and unbelief of the one man (→ Adam; Gen. 3) brought unbelief into the world, with the result that all men fell under God's condemnation. But now the righteous act (*dikaiōma*) of the one man (Christ), his absolute trust in him who justifies the ungodly, has defied the curse of → sin by bringing into the world the possibility of a similarly implicit trust in God. The result, at the appearing of Christ, will be the acquittal (*dikaiōsis*), the declaring righteous of all who are members of the new humanity (*dikaioi katastathēsontai hoi polloi*, "many will be made righteous"; Rom. 5:16–19). The following strands of teaching may be distinguished:

(a) By the works of the law, i.e. on the basis of perfect obedience, no man can be justified (Rom. 3:20, 28; Gal. 2:16; 3:11). Indeed, there would have been no need for Christ to die if *dikaiosynē* were by the law (Gal. 2:21; cf. 3:21). Henceforth, he who would be justified by the → works of the law shows that he has fallen from grace (Gal. 5:4). Thus men who pursue the righteousness of the law come to grief upon a stumbling stone (Rom. 9:32; → Offence, art. *proskomma*; → Rock, art. *lithos*). For through Christ this law has lost its absolute validity (Rom. 10:4; → Goal, art. *telos* NT 1 (a)), because by its own standards, he who knew no sin was made sin for us (2 Cor. 5:21; → Reconciliation, art. *katallassō* NT 4). Rom. 2:13 seems to contradict this: the doers of the law are justified, not the hearers (cf. 10:5). But it was precisely in the matter of *doing* the law that Israel had failed (Rom. 9:31), for a man can only do the will of God when he is grasped by the righteousness of God and completely taken up by it. Otherwise sin usurps the law (Rom. 7), and man is powerless against it because sin is not primarily evil deeds or evil inclinations, but man's striving for his own righteousness and justification (Rom. 10:3). Hence, only the man who has died to sin and so is justified (Rom. 6:7) can do God's will (Rom. 6:10).

(b) From this Paul concludes that man can be justified only by → faith in Christ (Rom. 3:26, 28; 5:1; Gal. 2:16), i.e. by trusting utterly and only in God's grace, which by definition must be a free gift (Rom. 3:24). Jews and Gentiles are justified in the same way: the circumcised (Israel) on the ground of their faith and the uncircumcised (the nations) because of their faith (Rom. 3:30; cf. Gal. 3:8). Here Paul appeals to the testimony of Scripture concerning → Abraham, who trusted in the God who justifies the ungodly (Rom. 4:5, 9, 11; Gal. 3:6; cf. E. Käsemann, "The Faith of

Abraham in Romans 4", in *Perspectives on Paul*, 1971, 79–101; A. T. Hanson, "Abraham the Justified Sinner", in *Studies in Paul's Technique and Theology*, 1974, 52–66; C. K. Barrett, "The Allegory of Abraham, Sarah, and Hagar in the Argument of Galatians", in J. Friedrich, W. Pöhlmann and P. Stuhlmacher, eds., *Rechtfertigung. Festschrift für Ernst Käsemann*, 1976, 1–16). Similarly, in the light of the transition between Rom. 3:20 and 3:21 ff., *dikaiosynē* in the latter passage must be taken as meaning the way in which God justifies. Rom. 3:20 says: "Therefore by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified in God's sight"; Rom. 3:21 f. continues: "But now the righteousness of God has been manifested. . ., the righteousness of God through faith in Jesus Christ. . . ." The outcome of this righteousness of God is therefore being "justified freely by his grace" (v. 24). Vv. 25 f. take up the same idea and may be paraphrased as follows: "[Christ Jesus] has God put forward as an expiation [or propitiation] by his sacrificial death [→ blood], an expiation which becomes a reality through faith [→ Reconciliation, art. *hilaskomai* NT 4]. This took place to show his righteousness, because in the time of his forbearance he had passed over former sins [→ Patience, art. *anechomai* NT 2]; it was to prove at the present time that he himself is righteous, that he might be just and the justifier of him who lives by faith in Jesus Christ". Christ's atoning work is viewed from three different aspects. First, it is experienced as a reality only by → faith, since it was Christ's faith in him who justifies the ungodly (Phil. 2:8) which enabled him to be "made sin", i.e. treated as an ungodly man. To faith, therefore, Christ's atonement is something objectively real, for it is only through faith that we can die with Christ. Second, the sacrificial death of Christ atones for sin because it is proof of God's righteousness, i.e. it was not intended to atone for Christ's alleged offence of blasphemy (→ Revile, art. *blasphēmeō*), but to procure justification for all believers (cf. 1 Cor. 1:30). Third, this justification anticipates Christ's return in that it is already revealed; it enables God to be just, for he does not plunge men into sin so that they may experience his grace (see Rom. 3:5 ff.), but, in spite of the alienation between himself and men, he enables men even now to exercise believing trust and thereby, even before the manifestation of "the age to come", to enter into newness of life (Rom. 5:17). The manner in which God justifies the sinner is expressed by the following phrases: *dikaiosynē pisteōs* "righteousness of faith" (Rom. 4:11, 13); *dōreas tēs dikaiosynēs* "free gift of righteousness" (Rom. 5:17); *dikaiosynēn tēn ek pisteōs* "righteousness through faith" (Rom. 9:30; 10:6, 10; Phil. 3:9).

(c) Since the believer has died with Christ to → sin and is now justified (Rom. 6:7), he lives only for God (6:11). This can be expressed in the words of Rom. 6:18: "Thanks be to God that. . ., having been set free from sin, you have become slaves of righteousness" (cf. v. 19). Paul can therefore speak of being subject to the righteousness of God (Rom. 10:4 cf. E. Käsemann, " 'The Righteousness of God' in Paul", in *New Testament Questions of Today*, 1969, 168–82). All such phrases, however, are but variations on the theme of the Christian belonging exclusively to God; see Rom. 6:13, 22: "But now being made free from sin and having become slaves of God . . . do not yield your members to sin as instruments of wickedness, but yield yourselves to God as men who have been brought from death to life, and your members to God as instruments of righteousness." Similarly Paul can speak of the service of righteousness (2 Cor. 3:9; cf. 11:15) and of its → weapons (Eph. 6:10–17), since the righteousness of God is the way in which he reveals himself and the only

way in which he can be approached (Rom. 1:16 f.). On 1 Cor. 4:4 → Conscience, art. *syneidēsis* NT 4. On Rom. 1:17; 3:21; Gal. 3:11; Heb. 8:38; cf. Hab. 2:4 see below, 6 (b).

(d) As the → resurrection anticipates the universal manifestation of God's kingdom, in the same way righteousness at the present time (Rom. 3:26) anticipates the final revelation of God's righteousness at the parousia of Christ, for believers "through the Spirit, by faith, wait for the hope of righteousness" (Gal. 5:5; cf. 2:17; Rom. 5:19). Otherwise, however, Paul always speaks of believers having been justified (*dikaiousthai*), i.e. in the past tense. The connecting link between present and future righteousness is the fact that, while believers have already become a people for God's own possession, he is still at enmity with the world as a whole ("all men", Rom. 5:18).

Hence, the justification of the individual springs entirely from that of all men (Rom. 5:19), so that it is not we who possess righteousness but righteousness which possesses us; we are its servants (Rom. 6:18; 2 Cor. 3:9). Our justification both comes from and extends into the future.

(e) Paul's doctrine of God's righteousness was so alien to the early church that Col. makes no use whatsoever of these words; Eph. has them merely in certain echo-like phrases (4:24; 5:9; 6:14), while the Pastorals speak of them entirely in terms of Hellenistic virtues: 1 Tim. 6:11; 2 Tim. 2:22: "Aim at righteousness. . ."; Tit. 1:8 (listing the virtues of a → "bishop"); 2:12: God's saving grace trains us "to live sober, upright and godly lives in this world". Similarly Scripture is profitable "for training in righteousness" (2 Tim. 3:16), and the law is considered to be only for the lawless and profane, not for the righteous who by their virtues far surpass the law (1 Tim. 1:9). So the Lord, the righteous judge (cf. Rev. 19:12) will award the crown of righteousness to his apostle when the latter has finished his course (2 Tim. 4:7 f.). The preaching of virtue is made possible, however, by our being "justified by his [Christ's] grace" (Tit. 3:7), for God "saved us, not because of deeds done by us in righteousness, but in virtue of his own mercy" (3:5).

6. *The Epistle to the Hebrews.* The adj. *dikaios* occurs at Heb. 10:38 in the quotation from Hab. 2:4 "my righteous one shall live by faith". *dikaiosynē* occurs at Heb. 1:9 (quoting Pss. 45[44]:7); 5:13; 7:2; 11:7 (of → Noah); 11:23; 12:11 (cf. Jas. 3:18; Phil. 1:11), and *dikaiōma* at Heb. 9:1, 10. The vb. *dikaioō* is not found at all in Heb.

(a) Heb. shows scarcely any Pauline influence, righteousness being seen as the result of faith in the invisible God. This is the sense in which the epistle speaks of righteousness *kata pistin* "according to faith" (Heb. 11:7; cf. vv. 4, 33 f.; → Faith). God's discipline (*paideia*; cf. Heb. 12:5–11; Prov. 3:11 f.) leads to this righteousness, and for those made perfectly righteous he has prepared a place in heaven (Heb. 12:23). The Son, as the antitype of → Melchizedek (Heb. 7:2) is the King of Righteousness (cf. 1:8, 9). The ordinances of the old covenant are described in Heb. 9:1 by the word *dikaiōma*, and in Heb. 9:10 are further characterized as "ordinances of the flesh", i.e. those of a merely temporary nature – particularly, no doubt, those relating to the sacrificial system. *H. Seebass*

(b) Whilst Heb. does not use the vb. to justify, and relates faith in Heb. 11 directly to the invisible God, drawing its examples from the OT, there are certain parallels

with Pauline thought. For Paul likewise is concerned to show that his understanding of salvation is entirely in line with that in the OT. The burden of the argument of Rom. 4 is to show from the example of → Abraham and → David that justification under the old covenant was by faith (cf. Gal. 3:15–18, where Paul stresses that it is by → promise and not by works, with Heb. 6:13 ff.). Similarly, Paul's teaching on Jesus' propitiatory death is paralleled in Heb. by the argument that Jesus as our perfect high → priest has offered himself in → sacrifice, fulfilling the day of atonement ritual and thus inaugurating the new → covenant, thereby superseding the old covenant, its priesthood and sacrifices (Heb. 7–10). The new element is the way in which the thought of the day of atonement ritual is carried through, so that the believer has his sins dealt with and gains access to God through Jesus' priestly and sacrificial act on the cross and his exaltation: "Therefore, brethren, since we have confidence to enter the sanctuary by the blood of Jesus, by a new and living way which he opened for us through the curtain, that is, through his flesh, and since we have a great high priest over the house of God, let us draw near with a true heart in full assurance of faith, with our hearts sprinkled clean from an evil conscience and our bodies washed with pure water" (Heb. 10:19–22; cf. Lev. 16; F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, *NLC*, 1964, 244–52). J. A. T. Robinson goes even further and sees the death of Jesus in Heb. 10:19 as "the new Encaenia or Dedication (*enekainisen*)" (*Twelve New Testament Studies*, *SBT* 34, 1962, 172). Robinson suggests that the author of Heb. is "conflating the two ideas that the Cross is the dedication (a) of the new covenant (cf. 9:18: 'Even the first covenant hath not been dedicated (*enkekainistai*) without blood') and (b) of the new temple (the Encaenia as a technical term [cf. John 10:22] goes back to the rededication of the Temple in I Macc. 4:54–9, and the whole argument of chapters 9 and 10 leads to the climax that Jesus has now 'opened' the new sanctuary in the temple of his body)" (ibid.).

The writer proceeds to apply this teaching to the need for patience, which he supports with a quotation from Hab. 2:3 f.: "For yet a little while, and the coming one shall come and shall not tarry; but my righteous one shall live by faith [*ho de dikaios mou ek pisteōs zēsetai*], and if he shrinks back my soul has no pleasure in him" (Heb. 10:37 f.). The prophet Habakkuk lived in the latter part of the 7th cent. B.C. at a time of oppression, crying out for vindication of divine righteousness. Yahweh replied by telling him to be patient, for the oppressor would reap his due judgment, and the righteous man would be preserved by his loyal trust in God: "For the vision awaits its time; it hastens to the end – it will not lie. If it seems slow, wait for it; it will surely come, it will not delay. Behold, he whose soul is not upright in him shall fail, but the righteous shall live by his faith [MT *wᵉṣaddîq beʾᵉmûnāṯô yiḥyeh*]" (Hab. 2:3 f.). In the LXX version the words are given a different emphasis with various changes of detail: "For the vision is for a time yet to come. But it will spring up at last and will not be in vain. Though he may tarry, wait for him; for he will assuredly come and will not fail. If any one draw back my soul hath no pleasure in him. But the just [or "righteous one"] shall live by faith in me [*ho de dikaios ek pisteōs mou zēsetai*]." This reading follows the B text of the LXX, but the A text and C group of MSS change the place of the possessive pronoun and thus give a significantly different sense: *ho de dikaios mou ek pisteōs zēsetai*, "but my righteous one will live by faith[fulness]" (cf. F. F. Bruce, op. cit., 273). Codex A has the *mou* ("my") in both positions, but this is evidently a secondary reading. Most editors prefer the B text,

and it has even been suggested that the A reading has been influenced by the text of Heb. (cf. B. Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic*, 1961, 231). But the A reading has been defended by T. W. Manson ("The Argument from Prophecy", *JTS* 46, 1945, 129 ff.) claiming that it makes better sense in the context of the argument. God's righteous one will live by faithfulness. By contrast the leader who plays the coward "*eo ipso* shows that he is not God's chosen. The genuine choice of God, God's righteous one, will be faithful to his God, his people, and his task, and so he will win life."

If this is correct, the LXX gives an interpretation which focuses on one individual, God's chosen one, and on the element of faithfulness. The author of Heb. further interprets this, applying it to the second coming of Christ. The introductory clause ("for yet a little while") is not taken from any attested text of Hab., but may derive from Isa. 26:20. Heb. places a definite article before the participle "coming", so as to give the messianic title "the coming one" (cf. Matt. 11:3 par. Lk. 7:19). But Heb. also inverts the two parts of the verse: "my righteous one" is applied to the believer who may be tempted to lose patience and doubt the second coming, and thus shrink back. "My righteous one" thus becomes the subject for both parts of the verse. At the same time, the author of Heb. may not, like various commentators, feel compelled to choose between the two alternative interpretations of *pistis*, i.e. as "faith" and "faithfulness". For in living by faith one becomes faithful in the sense of loyal to the promises of God, enduring temptation and hardship. And this is, in fact, the theme of ch. 11 with its many examples of faith which enabled the heroes of faith to endure (cf. also Heb. 12:1 f.).

The interpretation of Hab. 2:3 f. was discussed by the rabbis. Rabbi Simlai (c. A.D. 250) claimed that the 613 commandments received by Moses had been summed up by David in eleven commandments (Ps. 15), by Isaiah in six (Isa. 33:15 f.), by Micah in three (Mic. 6:8), by Isaiah again in two (Isa. 56:1), and finally by Amos in one (Amos 5:4), but Rabbi Nachman ben Isaac (c. A.D. 350) substituted Hab. 2:4b for Amos 5:4 as the summary in one commandment (Makkoth 23b; cf. C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Epistle to the Romans*, *ICC*, I, 1975, 101; SB III 542 ff.). The Qumran community applied the passage to those who were loyal to the Teacher of Righteousness: "Interpreted, this concerns all those who observe the Law in the House of Judah, whom God will deliver from the House of Judgement because of their suffering and because of their faith in the Teacher of Righteousness" (1 QpHab 8:1–3; for Qumran exegesis see R. N. Longenecker, *Biblical Exegesis in the Apostolic Age*, 1975, 40 ff.; J. A. Ziesler, op. cit., 103).

Hab. 2:4 is quoted and interpreted twice by Paul as a testimonium laying the foundation for his doctrine of justification by faith. In Rom. 1:16 Paul declares that he is "not ashamed of the gospel: it is the power of God for salvation to every one who has faith, to the Jew first and also to the Greek." He then adds: "For in it the righteousness of God is revealed through faith for faith; as it is written, 'He who through faith is righteous shall live' " (RSV; cf. RSV mg. "The righteous shall live by faith"; *ho de dikaios ek pisteōs zēsetai*). In Gal. 3:11 Paul argues: "Now it is evident that no man is justified before God by the law; for 'He who through faith is righteous shall live' " (RSV; cf. RSV mg. "the righteous shall live by faith"; *ho dikaios ek pisteōs zēsetai*). There is also an echo of the thought in Phil. 3:9, where Paul declares it his aim to be found in Christ "not having a righteousness of my own, based on law,

but that which is through faith in Christ, the righteousness from God that depends on faith."

C. H. Dodd suggests that the quotation was current as a testimonium to the coming of Christ in primitive Christian times, and that it was used independently by both Paul and the author of Heb. He thinks that Paul quoted it in Gal. as an *ad hominem* argument based on common acceptance of the testimonium by himself and his opponents (*According to the Scriptures*, 1952, 50 f.). F. F. Bruce sees no fundamental difference between Paul's use of the text and that of Heb. (op. cit., 274). A. Feuillet argues that Paul's meaning is not simply that "the just shall live by faith." Because Paul attaches *ek pisteōs* to *zēsetai*, dropping altogether the possessive pronoun (*mou*, "my", which occurs in the LXX and Heb.), Feuillet contends that Paul's thesis is "he who is just in virtue of faith will live" ("La Citation d'Habacuc II.4 et les Huit Premiers Chapîtres de l'Épître aux Romains", *NTS* 6, 1959–60, 52–80). He further argues that this is the thesis that Paul develops in Rom. 1–8. His argument is adopted by J. A. Ziesler who endorses the forensic and ethical meaning of *dikaios*: "the believer is really righteous because he is in Christ, though this righteousness is not and never becomes his own. This is the righteousness acceptable to God which enables the man of faith to live. This life is probably eschatological salvation, understood forensically and in terms of eternal life, cf. Rom. 5:17; Ezek. 18:27" (op. cit., 177). C. E. B. Cranfield relates *zēsetai* ("will live") to Rom. 2:7; 4:17; 5:17, 18, 21; 6:4, 10, 11, 13, 22, 23; 7:10; 8:2, 6, 10, 13; 10:5; 12:1 (op. cit., 101).

Paul is giving a selective interpretation of Hab. which asserts a fundamental identity between the righteous in Israel and the righteous in the Christian community (E. E. Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament*, 1957, 120). The Heb. *'ᵉmûnâh* means both faithfulness and faith (op. cit., 177), the former denoting the quality of character produced by faith. The hiphil form of the corresponding vb. *h'myn b* (cf. Num. 14:11), means both "to show steadfastness in" and "to believe in". As the argument of Rom. shows, the faith that Paul is contending for is never a bare faith which does not issue in a life of faithfulness (cf. Rom. 6:1 ff.). On the other hand, faithfulness springs from faith and not *vice versa*.

C. E. B. Cranfield argues against the numerous exegetes who link *ek pisteōs* ("by faith") with the vb. *zēsetai* ("will live") on the grounds that this reflects the MT and LXX (op. cit., 101 f.). Paul is giving an interpretation of Hab. But to argue that, if Paul had meant to link "by faith" with "the just", he would have written *ho de ek pisteōs dikaios zēsetai*, fails to appreciate that Paul is quoting and not formulating something independently. Moreover, to claim that *zēsetai* alone without the support of *ek pisteōs* is weak, is to fail to recognize the significance of the word-group associated with "live" in Rom. Cranfield advances three positive arguments for linking "the just" (*ho dikaios*) with "by faith" (*ek pisteōs*). (i) The context requires it, for Paul's thesis is not immediately concerned with living by faith but with righteousness by faith. (ii) The structure of the epistle requires it: Rom. 1:18–4:25 expounds the meaning of "the just by faith", while Rom. 5:1–8:39 expounds the meaning of the promise that the man who by faith is righteous "will live". (iii) The connexion between righteousness and faith is made explicit by Rom. 5:1 ("therefore being justified by faith") which summarizes the argument of the previous section, and also by 4:11 ("seal of righteousness by faith"), 4:13 ("the righteousness of faith"), 9:30 ("righteousness through faith"), and 10:6 ("the righteousness based on faith says").

7. *James.* The adj. *dikaios* occurs in Jas. 5:6 ("you have killed the righteous man") and Jas. 5:16 ("The prayer of a righteous man has great power in its effects"). The noun *dikaiosynē* is found at Jas. 1:20 ("for the anger of man does not work the righteousness of God"); 2:23 quoting Gen. 15:6 ("and the scripture was fulfilled which says, 'Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned to him as righteousness'; and he was called the friend of God"; cf. Rom. 4:3; Gal. 3:11; Isa. 41:8; 51:2; 2 Chr. 20:7; Dan. 3:35); and 3:18 ("And the harvest of righteousness is sown in peace by those who make peace"). The vb. *dikaioō* also occurs three times: "Was not Abraham our father justified by works, when he offered his son Isaac upon the altar?" (Jas. 2:21); "You see that a man is justified by works and not by faith alone" (Jas. 2:24; cf. v. 23 quoted above); "And in the same way was not also Rahab the harlot justified by works when she received the messengers and sent them out another way?" (Jas. 2:25; cf. Jos. 2:1–21).

There has been a considerable debate on whether James is actually contradicting Paul and in the past Jas. 2:14–26 has been a major battleground in the conflict between Protestant and Catholic apologists in the debate on justification by faith (for a brief survey and literature see M. Dibelius and H. Greeven, *James: A Commentary on the Epistle of James*, *Hermeneia*, 1976, 174–80; see also the bibliography below). Dibelius and Greeven see as the background a basically Jewish exposition of scripture (op. cit., 161–67), and point out that the example of Abraham must be seen in the light of the Jewish tradition about him (cf. Midrash Rabbah on Genesis; Sir. 44:19 ff.; 1 Macc. 2:52 ["Was not Abraham found faithful when tested, and it was reckoned to him as righteousness?"]; Philo, *Abr.* 167 on the offering of Isaac ["For I might almost say that all the other actions which won favour with God are surpassed by this"]; *Rer. Div. Her.* 94; *Leg. All.* 3, 228; Dibelius and Greeven, op. cit. 168–74; B. Beer, *Leben Abrahams nach Auffassung der jüdischen Sage*, 1859; P. Billerbeck, "Abrahams Leben und Bedeutung nach Auffassung der älteren Haggada", *Nathanael. Zeitschrift für die Arbeit der evangelischen Kirche an Israel* 15, 1899, 43 ff.; ibid. 16, 1900, 33 f.; O. Schmitz, "Abraham im Spätjudentum und im Urchristentum", *Aus Schrift und Geschichte*, Festschrift A. Schlatter, 1922, 99–123; S. Sandmel, *Philo's Place in Judaism: A Study of Conceptions of Abraham in Jewish Literature*, 1956).

James' position presupposes the radically non-Jewish separation of faith and works wrought by Paul. Dibelius and Greeven think that James was not attacking Paul as such, but it was Paul's fate to be misunderstood and James lacked the depths of spiritual experience which lay behind the Pauline slogan of "faith without works" (op. cit., 180 f.). But the context of James' remarks argues against this. The situation is one in which the rich could be indifferent to the starving and ill-clad, content with their own spirituality (Jas. 2:14–18; 3:13 ff.; cf. 5:1 ff.), and in which church members saw no inconsistency between their spirituality and gossip and slander (Jas. 3:1 ff., 11 ff.). It was a situation which was not without its parallels in the church at Corinth with its factions, moral laxity and complacent attitudes in the face of Paul's collection for the → poor. In such a situation Paul himself did not preach justification by faith but the need to do something.

James introduces the problem by asking: "What does it profit, my brethren, if a man says he has faith but has not works? Can his faith save him?" Faith here could mean either notional assent to a doctrine such as justification by faith, or preoccupa-

tion with or uncritical acceptance of an attitude without asking about its practical implications. It is not the wholehearted trust and self-commitment which Paul speaks of. Similarly, the works which justify a man are not the works envisaged by Paul. For Paul faith signifies implicit trust and works man's attempt to procure favour with God by his own merits. With James the contrast is between holding something to be true without acting upon it and acknowledging a truth which is worked out in daily life. James' use of "righteousness" (1:20; 3:18) and the "righteous" (3:5; 5:6, 16) shows that he is standing in the Jewish tradition (cf. also his address in 1:1). At the same time he is appealing within that tradition to a strand of interpretation which complements rather than contradicts Paul.

For in both Paul and James *dikaioō* means to pronounce righteous, though in the case of James it concerns evidence that can be seen by men whereas in Paul it is the eschatological verdict pronounced by God on the unrighteous. Paul bases his argument on Gen. 15:6, where Abraham believes the promises of God and is declared righteous. Although James quotes the same passage, he illustrates his point not from that passage but from the subsequent story of the offering of Isaac (Jas. 2:21; cf. Gen. 22:1–14). This enables him to draw the conclusion: "You see that faith was active along with his works, and faith was completed by works" (2:22); "For as the body apart from the spirit is dead, so faith apart from works is dead" (2:26). A bare lifeless faith is like a corpse; but the works which animate it are not the self-righteous acts which supposedly accrue merit with God, but the acting out of the word of God, as is illustrated by the way Abraham and Rahab acted out the word of God which came to them. Thus, Paul and James are fighting on different fronts. Paul is attacking self-righteous legalism, and James self-righteous indifference.

8. *1 and 2 Peter.* The adj. *dikaios* occurs in 1 Pet. 3:12 ("For the eyes of the Lord are upon the righteous", quoting Ps. 34:16); 3:18 ("For Christ also died once for all, the righteous for the unrighteous, that he might bring us to God, being put to death in the flesh but made alive in the spirit"); 4:18 ("And 'If the righteous man is scarcely saved, where will the impious and sinner appear?' " quoting Prov. 11:31 LXX); 2 Pet. 1:13 ("I think it right"); and 2:7 f. ("And if he rescued righteous Lot, greatly distressed by the licentiousness of the wicked [for by what that righteous man saw and heard as he lived among them, he was vexed in his righteous soul day after day with their lawless deeds], then the Lord knows how to rescue the godly from trial, and to keep the unrighteous under punishment until the day of judgment"; cf. Gen. 19:16, 29). The adv. *dikaiōs* occurs in 1 Pet. 2:23 ("When he was reviled, he did not revile in return; when he suffered he did not threaten; but he trusted to him who judges justly"). The vb. *dikaioō* does not occur at all. But the noun *dikaiosynē* is found twice in 1 Pet. and 4 times in 2 Pet.: "He himself bore our sins in his body on the tree, that we might die to sin and live to righteousness. By his wounds you have been healed" (1 Pet. 2:24); "But even if you do suffer for righteousness' sake, you will be blessed. Have no fear of them, nor be troubled" (1 Pet. 3:14). The concept figures in the opening address of 2 Pet.: "Simon Peter, a servant and apostle of Jesus Christ, to those who have obtained a faith of equal standing with ours in the righteousness of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ" (2 Pet. 1:1). 2 Pet. 2:5 speaks of → Noah as "a herald of righteousness", and 2 Pet. 2:21 describes the Christian faith and life as "the way of righteousness" in its dire warning against falling away: "For it would have been better for them never to have known the way of righteousness than after know-

ing it to turn back from the holy commandment delivered to them." Finally it occurs in 2 Pet. 3:13: "But according to his promise we wait for new heavens and a new earth in which righteousness dwells."

There is the sense in which a righteous person is a member of the righteous community, but in none of these passages is the notion a bare formality. Righteousness takes its character from God himself (1 Pet. 2:23; cf. Rev. 16:5), and salvation is grounded in righteousness (1 Pet. 3:18; cf. 2:24 ff.) which finds its expression in right behaviour (1 Pet. 2:24; cf. 3:12; 4:18). He who is called to suffer for righteousness' sake is blessed (1 Pet. 3:14), and in so doing lives out the righteousness of Christ. Thus the Christian faith and way of life can be called "the way of righteousness" (2 Pet. 2:11), and the goal of life can be described in terms of righteousness (2 Pet. 3:13).

9. *Contemporary Interpretations of Righteousness.* Traditionally the question of justification has been a divisive issue since the time of the Reformation. The Roman Catholic view set out at the Council of Trent regards justification as both an acquittal and a making righteous, and can even speak of an increase of justification (Session VI, Canon 24). On the Catholic side it is pointed out that Scripture never speaks of justification by faith *alone*, and support for the ethical interpretation is found both in the OT and in Jas. At the same time, it has been argued that the Council of Trent insists that works are entirely the fruit of grace, and Hans Küng has argued that there is a fundamental agreement between the Reformed and Catholic understanding of justification (*Justification: The Doctrine of Karl Barth and a Catholic Reflection*, 1964). Perhaps typical of the more traditional Catholic exegesis is the view of F. Amiot: "God considers just those whom he has rendered just, and implicitly declares them to be so. But he does not, strictly speaking, pronounce a judgment. The judgment is reserved for the day of the appearance before the judgment seat of Christ. . . . Then it is that God will finally declare just those who are just, having remained faithful to the end" (*The Key Concepts of St Paul*, 1962, 124). For K. Kertelge, justification is forensic but not merely so; it is a real rather than an imputed righteousness (*"Rechtfertigung" bei Paulus*, 1967, 115–20).

Against the Catholic position it has been pointed out that the distinction between "real" and "imputed" righteousness is a false antithesis. For the notion of imputation is no mere legal fiction. Because the believer is in Christ, he is really righteous, since he has the righteousness of Christ (cf. E. J. Goodspeed, "Some Greek Notes: III Justification", *JBL* 73, 1954, 86–91; cf. also G. W. Bromiley, "The Doctrine of Justification in Luther", *EQ* 24, 1952, 91–100; E. G. Rupp, *The Righteousness of God*, 1953, 177–83; and J. A. Ziesler, op. cit., 1–16 for a survey of interpretations).

Karl Barth defines the righteousness of God as that which is revealed by the gospel according to Rom. 1:16 f.: "There it is made clear that the gospel is the revelation of *dikaiosynē*, also called *dikaiōsis* (Rom. 4:25 and 5:18) and *dikaiōma* (Rom. 5:16) – i.e. the revelation of the final righteous decision of God, which, for everyone who acknowledges it in faith, is the power of God unto salvation – *dynamis Theou eis sōtērian*" (*Christ and Adam: Man and Humanity in Romans 5*, *SJT Occasional Papers* 5, 1956, 1; cf. "The Justification of Man", *§* 61, *CD* IV, 1, 514–642; and for a brief discussion C. Brown, *Karl Barth and the Christian Message*, 1967, 130–9). Accordingly, justification is construed as "conforming to the decision about

them that has already been made in Him" (*Christ and Adam*, 3). "In sovereign anticipation of our faith God has justified us through the sacrificial blood of Christ" (ibid., 2). Underlying Barth's approach is his view of the covenant which he understands as the partnership between God and man generally in view of the union of divine and human nature in Jesus Christ. There is a sense in which all God's dealings with man take place in him. He is the elect for all and the reprobate for all. On the cross he bore the wrath of God for all, so that the wrath of God is a thing of the past. The resurrection of Jesus is God's *verdict* on man in view of Christ's death in his place. Thus the justification of man takes place objectively in Christ, and is appropriated subjectively as men come to faith in him. The difference between believers and unbelievers lies in the fact that the former consciously enjoy their justification and live it out, whereas the latter do not. Barth's position has been criticized from various angles. On the one hand, it has been questioned on the grounds that his view of the covenant is a piece of speculation based on a biblical core of ideas. On the other hand, his exegesis of Rom. requires him to treat *dikaiosynē*, *dikaiōsis* and *dikaiōma* as synonyms which identify the justifying act of God with the righteousness of God, making it take place entirely outside man as God's verdict, whereas for Paul one cannot speak of justification apart from faith. In so doing Barth makes justification and atonement identical (→ Reconciliation; → Redemption).

R. Bultmann holds that *dikaioō* means to make righteous, because it normally renders the Heb. in the hiphil and thus must be causative. But the term righteous means "in a right relationship" and not "ethically upright". It is forensic and eschatological, in that righteousness is already imputed to man in the present on the presupposition that he has faith, but as such it is also eschatological in that the saving event has ended the old course of the world and has introduced the new aeon (cf. *Systematic Theology*, I, 1952, 270–78; "DIKAIOSYNĒ THEOU", *JBL*, 12–16). C. K. Barrett takes a similar view of *dikaioō* (*The Epistle to the Romans*, *BNTC*, 1957, 74 ff.). Alan Richardson argues that the righteous man actually is righteous but only eschatologically (*An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament*, 1958, 236 ff.).

Ernst Käsemann rejects the view that God's righteousness is a property of the divine nature, as deriving from the Greek speculative tradition and as being in conflict with the OT and Jewish tradition. For him it is both a power and a gift (" 'The Righteousness of God' in Paul", in *New Testament Questions of Today*, 1969, 168–82; cf. also "Justification and Salvation History in the Epistle to the Romans", in *Perspectives on Paul*, 1971, 60–78; and *An die Römer, HNT* 8a, 1973). It is "a power which brings salvation to pass" (*New Testament Questions of Today*, 181), "the rightful power with which God makes his cause to triumph in the world which has fallen away from him and which yet, as creation, is his inviolable possession" (ibid., 180). Käsemann sees the phrase *dikaiosynē theou* as a fixed term which existed independently of Paul (cf. Matt. 6:33; Jas. 1:20) which can be traced back to Deut. 33:21 ("The LORD executed righteousness [*dikaiosynēn kyrios epoiēsen*] and his judgment with Israel" LXX; cf. ibid., 172). It is found in Test. Dan 6:10 ("Depart therefore, from all unrighteousness, and cleave unto the righteousness of God") and 1QS 11:12 ("If I stumble by reason of the wickedness of my flesh, my justification lies in the righteousness of God").

Käsemann refrains from drawing an over-sharp distinction between the gift-like

character of righteousness, its juridical application and its character as power (ibid.). But C. Müller eliminates the forensic element and thinks of it as eschatologically making real God's rightful power in the world (*Gottes Gerechtigkeit und Gottes Volk. Eine Untersuchung zu Römer 9–11*, *FRLANT* 86, 1964). P. Stuhlmacher sees it as a technical term and a basic theme in apocalyptic, the demonstration of the creator's power that establishes justice (*Gottes Gerechtigkeit bei Paulus*, *FRLANT* 87, 1965).

Against Käsemann it has to be said that the grounds for asserting that "the righteousness of God" is a Jewish formula are not very substantial. Deut. 33:21 appears to be concerned with God as the punishing judge, though there may be grounds for seeing it as a technical term at Qumran (cf. 1QS 10:25; 11:12; 1QM 4:6). Within the teaching of Paul it appears as power (2 Cor. 3:9; Rom. 10:3; 6:13 ff.), a designation for Christ (1 Cor. 1:30), a possible synonym for God's glory (Rom. 3:21 ff.), and a possible description of God's covenant faithfulness (Rom. 3:5). Käsemann makes an important point when he warns against understanding God's righteousness in too narrowly an individualistic way. He has performed a service in drawing attention to the aspect of righteousness as the power of God, and in warning against seeing the term anachronistically and abstractly in terms of a speculative understanding of the divine attributes. On the other hand, it must be said that the righteousness of God is God acting righteously. As such, God is acting in power. As such, his action is a free gift. And in the light of the context of judgment, which Paul develops, e.g. in Rom. 1 and 2 and Gal. 3, God's righteousness has a forensic context.

J. A. Ziesler sees the vb. as essentially relational or forensic and the noun and adj. as describing behaviour within the relationship (op. cit., 212). But the distinction seems to oversimplify. Perhaps it is safer to say with him that the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith is relational or forensic: "God accepts us as we are, he acquits us despite our lack of deserving, he forgives us. It all rests entirely on his grace, our faith being not the ground but the means by which justification operates, though the expressions may vary, cf. *ek pisteōs* in Rom. 5:1 and *dia pisteōs* in Gal. 2:16. This entire dependence on grace is not only initially, at baptism or conversion, but remains. Even after a lifetime of Christian service, the believer has no works on which to rely. Justification is always by grace through faith, now, and before God's judgment throne, cf. Rom. 3:30; 5:1" (op. cit., 168). Moreover, there is a corporate and ethical aspect to it. "The believer enters not just a private relationship to Jesus, but a new humanity, in which he becomes a new kind of man. Thus there are not only social or corporate implications, but also ethical ones, for he now shares in the risen life of Christ, which means power, including ethical power" (op. cit., 168 f.). This righteousness is the righteousness of Christ which he participates in and receives as a gift. He never possesses it outright as his own, but only in Christ as Christ lives in him (cf. Gal. 2:20). This faith-righteousness means the end of law-righteousness, which in fact was never a real righteousness at all. "True righteousness does not consist in law-fulfilment, for the Christian has died to the Law both as the way to justification and as the way to righteousness. Yet if God looks on believers only as they are found in Christ, he may properly declare them righteous, for in him – and only in him – they are righteous, and therefore ought to be acquitted. There is nothing fictional here" (op. cit., 169). *C. Brown*

→ Cross, → Forgiveness, → Judgment, → Law, → Reconciliation, → Redemption, → Sin

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Rob, Steal

Robbing implies the idea of violence, but the distinction from stealing, with its overtone of secrecy, is not always preserved.

λῃστής

λῃστής (*lēstēs*), robber, highwayman, bandit, revolutionary; κλέπτω (*kleptō*), steal; κλέπτης (*kleptēs*), thief.

CL The use of *kleptō* (Lat. *clepere*) emphasises the secrecy, craft, and cheating involved in the act of stealing or embezzlement (cf. Eng. stealth). By contrast, *lēstēs*, which derives from the same root as *leia*, booty, and *apolauō*, to take advantage of, includes the element of violence, though not necessarily of dishonesty: a soldier exercising his right to seize plunder could be termed *lēstēs*. But the word usually meant robber, bandit, pirate.

OT In the LXX *kleptō* regularly translates the Heb. *gānaḇ*, which like the Gk. vb. includes the sense of stealth. Theft is a sin against God. The LXX uses *kleptō* without further definition in the Decalogue (Exod. 20:15; Deut. 5:19) and its echoes (Lev. 19:11; Jer. 7:9). What is stolen may include objects of value (Gen. 44:4; Exod. 22:6), animals (Gen. 30:33), men (Gen. 40:15; Exod. 21:16), things devoted to God (Jos. 7:11), household gods (Gen. 31:19), and genuine words of God, stolen by false prophets (Jer. 23:30). To be guilty of theft incurs punishment (Exod. 22:1 f.; Deut. 24:7). Even when prompted by need or poverty, stealing dishonours God (Prov. 30:9; cf. 6:30). To ascribe to men something which is the work of God is said by Philo to be thieving (*Leg. All.* 3:32 f.). The sense of stealth is brought out in Tob. 1:18, where bodies are said to be buried secretly (*kleptōn*). The noun *lēstēs*, which seldom occurs in the LXX, translates three Heb. words, all associated with violence: *gᵉḏûḏ* (raider, Jer. 18:22), from *gāḏaḏ*, to cut, used of lightly armed troops suddenly cutting into the enemy; *pārîṣ* (robber, Jer. 7:11), from *pāraṣ*, to break; and *šôḏēḏ* (plunderer, Obad. 5) from *šāḏaḏ*, to act violently. Rab. Judaism transmuted the Gk. *lēstēs* into *lêsṭês*, *lêsṭyā'*, and *lêsṭāyûṭ*. The Mishnah also used *gannāḇ* for theft and *gāzal* (flay, snatch) for robbery. By referring to both bandits and Zealots as *lēstai*, Josephus and the rabbis reveal their opposition to the methods employed by the nationalists.

NT The requirements of the Decalogue, including *mē klepsēs*, still apply in the Christian era. This commandment is quoted by Jesus to the rich young ruler (Matt. 19:18; Mk. 10:19; Lk. 18:20), and by Paul (Rom. 13:8), and alluded to in 1 Cor. 6:10 and 1 Pet. 4:15. As the breaking of a divine commandment, theft is an offence against God's will, and in terms of human relationships, an activity which is loveless:

it betrays fellowship (Jn. 12:6). On the other hand, the positive fulfilment of this commandment, as of the other commandments in the second table, is brought about by love to one's neighbour (Rom. 13:9 f.; Matt. 22:39). In practical terms, the thief must stop stealing and instead do honest work, so that he can serve not his own selfish ends but the needs of those who lack (Eph. 4:28). In Matt. 6:19 f. (cf. Lk. 12:33 f.) Jesus warns against reliance upon accumulated wealth, because of the activity of thieves who can easily break through (lit. dig through) house-walls made of mud-brick and steal property. By contrast, treasures in heaven, i.e., what wins divine approval and reward in the coming kingdom, are beyond the reach of thieves or inflation.

In Matt. 27:64 the Jews fear that the disciples may quietly steal (*klepsōsin*) the body of Jesus, and in 28:13 they decide to put it about that this explains the empty tomb. The vb. *kleptō* and the noun *kleptēs* are used to describe the sudden arrival without warning of the messianic age. As by keeping alert the householder is able to forestall a thief approaching secretly, so the disciple needs to be on the watch for the parousia of the Lord (Matt. 24:43; Lk. 12:39). The same simile illustrates the unexpected moment of the Lord's coming in 1 Thess. 5:2, 4; 2 Pet. 3:10; Rev. 3:3; 16:15.

The Fourth Gospel's discourse on the Good Shepherd opens with a description of a prospective sheepstealer as *kleptēs kai lēstēs*, i.e., using stealth or force as required to get into the sheepfold, and not the proper entrance (Jn. 10:1). Judas, who pilfered money, was a *kleptēs* (Jn. 12:6); Barabbas, who was implicated in violence, was a *lēstēs* (Jn. 18:40). The plural phrase *kleptai kai lēstai*, used by Jesus in Jn. 10:8 to define *all* who came before him, is not intended to include the godly of earlier days, but refers to false messiahs, such as Theudas and Judas the Galilean (Acts 5:36 f.). "All who came" alludes to the tech. term for the messiah, the "coming one" (Matt. 11:3; Mk. 11:9; Lk. 7:19; Rom. 5:14). The purpose of the coming of the *kleptēs* was to destroy life in furthering his own ends. By contrast, Jesus had come to give life, even at the expense of his own, and abundant life at that (Jn. 10:10).

In the story of the Good Samaritan the term *lēstai* (Lk. 10:30, 36) may not refer to bandits in the general sense, but bear the rabbinic meaning of Zealots. The victim is a Jew. But he is not killed, and his injuries could have been due to his resisting the attack. When Zealots robbed to raise supplies for themselves, they are known not to have taken more than was necessary from their own countrymen. If the *lēstai* in the story are Zealots, this adds point to Jesus' response to the scribe's question about the neighbour, for the Pharisees were constantly pressing Jesus to declare his attitude towards the nationalistic movement (Matt. 22:15 ff.). At the cleansing of the → temple, Jesus charged the merchants trafficking there with making God's house of prayer (Isa. 56:7) into a den of robbers (Jer. 7:11; → *spēlaion*). Apart from the opportunities of profiting from sharp practice, the Jews' market in the forecourt robbed the Gentile nations (Mk. 11:7) of the only area in the temple which was available to them as a place of prayer (Matt. 21:13; Lk. 19:46). If *lēstēs* also has the tech. sense of Zealot, Jesus is saying that by their activities the temple authorities were opening the way for the building to be turned into a Zealot stronghold, as happened in the rebellion of A.D. 68–70 (G. W. Buchanan, "Mark 11, 15–19: Brigands in the Temple", *Hebrew Union College Annual* 30, 1959, 169–77).

At the arrest in Gethsemane, Jesus ironically demands to know whether his enemies, armed to the teeth as they are, now take him for a *lēstēs*, a bandit or in-

surrectionist who would sell his life dearly (Matt. 26:55; Mk. 14:48; Lk. 22:52). The two men crucified with Jesus are described as *lēstai* (Matt. 27:38, 44; Mk. 15:27), probably to be translated bandits rather than revolutionaries in view of the use of *kakourgoi*, criminals, in the parallel passage Lk. 23:33. A later scribe added the apposite quotation from Isa. 53:12: He was numbered with the transgressors (Mk. 15:28 AV), but this is omitted by the best MSS. Paul includes *lēstai*, highwaymen, among the perils he faced on his travels (2 Cor. 11:26). *N. Hillyer*

συλάω

συλάω (*sylaō*), plunder, rob; *συλαγωγέω* (*sylagōgeō*), rob, carry off as booty or captive.

CL & OT *sylaō*, or sometimes *syleuō*, means to strip off the arms from a fallen enemy, strip bare, deprive; to take a bow out of its case or the lid off a quiver, esp with the notion of violence or suddenness; to despoil secretly, i.e., cheat; to rescue, as in the formula used at Delphi in the manumission of slaves. In the LXX *sylaō* occurs only in Ep. Jer. (Bar. 6:18), referring to burglary, for fear of which priests bolt and bar their temples.

NT *sylaō* occurs only at 2 Cor. 11:8. By a bold military metaphor Paul dramatizes the fact that his ministry at Corinth was at no cost to the Christians there, because he had, as it were, plundered (*esylēsa*) other churches by accepting financial support (*opsōnion*, ration money, soldier's pay) from them, rather than expecting the Corinthians to keep him.

sylagōgeō, rob, carry off as booty or captive, is not found before the NT, and even there occurs only once. In Col. 2:8 the verb is used fig. of drawing someone away from the truth of Christ into the slavery of error. Paul warns the converts at Colossae against the threat of being seduced from the Lord. His verb gives the picture of prisoners being led away with a rope around their necks, like the long strings of captives portrayed on Assyrian monuments. *N. Hillyer*

ἀποστερέω

ἀποστερέω (*apostereō*), rob, defraud, deprive.

CL *apostereō* means to refuse to pay a debt or return property or money deposited with another for safe-keeping; defraud; become a defaulter; withdraw from a person or thing, i.e., break off relations; bereave; in logic, to draw a negative conclusion.

OT *apostereō* translates two Heb. words, *gāra'* and *'āšaq*. In Exod. 21:10 a husband who takes a second wife is warned not to deprive (*gāra'*) the first of food, clothes, or conjugal rights. In Deut. 24:14 the law requires an Israelite not to exploit a poor labourer by keeping back (*'āšaq*) wages due to him. Mal. 3:5 threatens judgment against those who oppress (*'āšaq*) the wage-earner.

NT In Mk. 10:19 the commandment *mē aposterēsēs*, do not defraud, is quoted by Jesus to the rich young ruler. The clause is omitted from the parallel passages Matt. 19:18 and Lk. 18:20, perhaps because a scribe noticed that with this exception all the other commandments are drawn straight from Deut. 5:16–20. The words are

probably intended to summarize the tenth commandment, not otherwise mentioned here, for he who covets what belongs to another has in his heart already deprived (*apostereō*) him of it.

In 1 Cor. 6 Paul censures the Corinthians for engaging in lawsuits with one another before heathen courts. As those who should know the law of love, and probably Christ's teaching in Matt. 5:39 ff., they ought rather to accept being defrauded (*apostereisthe*, 6:7), and certainly not actively defraud others (*apostereite*, 6:8). "To say then that the wronged man goes to law before wrongdoers is nothing else than to say that he desires to retaliate and wishes to do wrong to the second in return, which is likewise to do wrong also himself" (Clem. Alex., *Strom.* 7, 14). Paul uses the verb again in 1 Cor. 7:5. Because a married couple belong to each other, an attempt by one partner to spiritualize marriage amounts to fraud, a withholding of what is due. Abstention can be lawful only if it is by mutual consent, for a good purpose (prayer is Paul's example), and as a temporary measure. In 1 Tim. 6:3–5 he assails those who taught that an outward show of religion could be made a means of gain. Such were depraved in mind and bereft (*apesterēmenōn*) of the truth. Once they had known the truth in Jesus, but had allowed conceit to defraud them of the treasure (cf. 4:1). Having lost the centre of agreement with fellow Christians, they now knew only wrangling. *N. Hillyer*

ἀνδραποδιστής — *ἀνδραποδιστής* (*andrapodistēs*), slave-dealer, kidnapper.

CL *andrapodistēs* was never used as an ordinary term in connexion with slavery. It derives from the verbal idea of catching a man (*andra-*) by the foot (*pod-*) and crudely distinguished human chattels from quadrupeds.

NT 1 Tim. 1:9 f. refers to those who disregard God's law in general and break God's laws in particular, as set out in the Decalogue. Paul describes those guilty of breaking the eighth commandment as *andrapodistai*, slave-dealers, kidnappers, lit. men-stealers (cf. Exod. 21:16; Deut. 24:7). The term could include those who broke into Christian homes to carry off any belonging to the Way (Acts 9:1 f.), and, by extension, those who by false teaching (1 Tim. 1:3–7) drag away believers from their rightful place before God and rob them of their liberty in Christ. *N. Hillyer*

σπήλαιον — *σπήλαιον* (*spēlaion*), cave, den.

CL & OT *spēlaion* (from Plato onwards) is derived from *speos*, *speios* (Hom.), all three words meaning cavern, grotto. Almost always the LXX uses *spēlaion* to translate the Heb. *m^{e}ʿārâh*, cave: as a place of refuge (Gen. 19:30; Jos. 10:16; 1 Sam. 22:1; Josephus, *Ap.* 1, 292); as a tomb (Gen. 23:9; Test. Reub. 7:2); or as a robber's hideout (Jer. 7:11; Josephus, *Ant.* 14, 415).

NT In Matt. 21:13 (= Mk. 11:17; Lk. 19:46) Jesus, as Lord of the temple (Matt. 12:6), protests that the Jerusalem authorities have degraded God's house of prayer (Isa. 56:7) into a den (*spēlaion*) of thieves (→ *lēstēs*), robbing the helpless

while themselves enjoying the safe refuge of privilege. Their nefarious trading activities betrayed an insensitivity to the holiness of the outer court, and denied Gentiles the right of access to the only part of the temple area permitted to them for quiet worship. Jer. 7:11, alluded to here, had correctly forecast the destruction of the land in Jeremiah's day, in a similar context of the denial of the rights of aliens. The sale of animals in the temple forecourt was apparently a recent innovation by Caiaphas the high priest (*c.* A.D. 30), to compete against the four traditional markets on the Mount of Olives (V. Eppstein, *ZNW* 55, 1964, 42–58). So unpopular among ordinary Jews was the temple trading, because of the greed of those in charge, that a popular uprising three years before Jerusalem was destroyed in A.D. 70 swept away the "bazaars of Annas" (W. Hendriksen, *Matthew*, 768–771). Heb. 11:38 and Rev. 6:15 describe refugees seeking shelter in *spēlaia*, caves, a feature of the limestone rocks of Palestine (cf. 1 Macc. 2:28; 2 Macc. 6:11; 10:6). Natural caves could also be adapted as burial places (Baba Bathra 6:8; SB I 1049–51), as in the case of Lazarus (Jn. 11:38). *N. Hillyer*

→ Possessions, → Punishment, → Snatch

H. Preisker, *kleptō, kleptēs*, *TDNT* III 754 ff.; K. H. Rengstorf, *lēstēs*, *TDNT* IV 257–62.

Rock, Stone, Corner-Stone, Pearl, Precious Stones

πέτρα

πέτρα (*petra*), rock; πέτρος (*petros*), stone, rock, Peter; Κηφᾶς (*kēphas*), Cephas (Aram. *kêpā'*, rock), the Aram. form of the name given to Peter.

CL *petra* means rock, a mass of rock, boulder, and stone as material; it is used as early as Homer for a symbol of firmness (*Od.* 17, 463), and from the 5th cent. B.C. onwards of hard-heartedness (Aesch., *PV* 2, 244; Eur., *Andromache* 537). *petros*, likewise attested from earliest times, means a (broken off) piece of rock, stone (→ *lithos*). A strict distinction of meaning cannot however be maintained: *petros* can mean, rock, and *petra*, stone (cf. Homer, *Od.* 9, 243; Hesiod, *Theog.* 675; Soph., *OC* 1595; O. Cullmann, *petra TDNT* VI 95; and *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr, A Historical and Theological Study*, 1962 ², 20).

OT In the LXX *petros* is found only at 2 Macc. 1:16 and 4:41, in the sense of stone; *petra*, rock, is mostly used to translate the Heb. *ṣûr*, rock, large piece of rock, or *sela'*, rock, crag, cliff (e.g. Exod. 17:6; Num. 20:8), and twice for *kēp* (Job 30:6; Jer. 4:29; which also occurs at Sir. 40:14), occurring in all about 100 times. In a secular sense it is found in various contexts (e.g. Exod. 33:21; Job 39:28). In particular, rocks provide a refuge for animals (Ps. 104[103]:18; Prov. 30:26), and also for men (1 Sam. 13:6). On the day of Yahweh men will creep into the clefts of the rocks to escape from the terrible majesty of God (Isa. 2:19). Since a rock affords protection and therefore also strength, God himself is described as the Rock (2 Sam. 22:2; cf. Gen. 49:24); the LXX avoids the word *petra* in translating these passages, and makes use of circumlocutions (cf. also Pss. 31:4; 62:7). As the site of the cultus, the rock is also the scene of divine revelation (Jdg. 6:20, 21; 13:19). The numinous character of the divine revelation is evident in the way rocks are torn assunder by God or by his word

(1 Ki. 19:11; Jer. 23:29; Nah. 1:6). The memory of the miracle recorded in Exod. 17:1–6, Num. 20:1–13, where → Moses brought water out of the rock by striking it at God's command, remained alive at a later period (e.g. Neh. 9:15; Ps. 78[77]:15 f.). A similar miracle, the feeding of the people with honey from the rock, is recorded at Deut. 32:13 and Ps. 81(80):16. In a transferred sense the rock is also a symbol of firmness and resolution (Isa. 50:7; Ezek. 3:9), and of stubborn resistance (Jer. 5:3).

Later the rabbis, taking up Isa. 51:1, 2, describe → Abraham as a rock (SB I 731). In the Qumran texts the eschatological community is compared to a building with foundations on the rock; the image of the corner-stone (→ *gōnia*) which we find in the NT is likewise present in these writings: "It shall be that tried wall, that precious corner-stone, whose foundations shall neither rock nor sway in their place" (1QS 8:7 f.; cf. 1QH 6:26; 7:8; cf. A. R. C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning*, 1966, 217 ff.). In 1QS 8:7 f. the reference is to the Council of the Community.

NT In the NT *petros* is found 154 times, but in all but one of the instances (Jn. 1:42) it is used as a second name for Simon, whose biography goes beyond the scope of the present article (see the bibliography below for studies of Peter in contemporary theology). *petra* occurs 15 times: in the parable at the end of the Sermon on the Mount it is said that the man who hears and does the → word of Jesus is like one who builds his → house upon a rock, i.e. on a firm, sure foundation (Matt. 7:24 f; → firm art. *themelios* NT 1; cf. also Deut. 28:15, 30). In the parable of the sower, Lk. 8:6, 13 speaks of the seed which falls on the rock; Matt. 13:5, 20 and Mk. 4:5, 16 speak of "rocky ground" (*petrōdēs*). "As for what was sown on rocky ground, this is he who hears the word of God and immediately receives it with joy; yet he has no root in himself, but endures for a while, and when persecution arises on account of the word, immediately he falls away" (Matt. 13:20 f.). According to Matt. 27:51, the death of Jesus is accompanied by earthquakes and the splitting of the rocks; Joseph of Arimathea laid the corpse of Jesus in a tomb hewn out of the rock (Matt. 27:60; Mk. 15:46). In the last events of Revelation men will hide themselves in the caves and the rocks of the mountains; behind the portrayal of this in Rev. 6:15–17 lies not only Isa. 2, but a recollection of Hos. 10:8.

Three sets of passages merit particular attention: Rom. 9:33 and 1 Pet. 2:8; 1 Cor. 10:3 f.; and Matt. 16:18.

1. Two passages refer to the stone of stumbling which is interpreted christologically: "As it is written, 'Behold, I am laying in Zion a stone that will make men stumble, a rock that will make them fall [*lithon proskommatos kai petran skandalou*]; and he who believes in him will not be put to shame' " (Rom. 9:33; → Offence); "and 'A stone that will make men stumble, a rock that will make them fall [*lithos proskommatos kai petra skandalou*]'; for they stumble because they disobey the word, as they were destined to do" (1 Pet. 2:8). The words take up the thought of Isa. 8:14: "And he will become a sanctuary, and a stone of offence, and a rock of stumbling to both houses of Israel, a trap and a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem." This is further developed in Isa. 28:16 to that of the corner-stone (→ *gōnia*) which, according to Ps. 118(117):22 was rejected by the builders. Isa. 8:13 ff. promises that Yahweh will be a sanctuary to those who → fear him; but those who disdain him will break themselves on him. For rabbinic messianic interpretations of the idea of the stone see J. Jeremias, *lithos*, *TDNT* IV 272 f.; SB III 506. In Rom.

9:33 Paul sees a fulfilment of Isa. 8:14 in the Jewish rejection of Christ, and in particular because Israel pursued a righteousness based on law and works and not on faith (cf. vv. 31 f.). On the other hand, the Gentiles who did not pursue righteousness have found it through faith (v. 30). In 1 Pet. 2:8 the passage underlines the contrast between the disobedient (i.e. the old Israel which rejected Christ) and the "spiritual house" of God, the "holy priesthood" which offers spiritual sacrifices (v. 5) (i.e. the church, the body of believers, cf. v. 7). C. H. Dodd holds that the quotation is from an independent testimonium which was current in the early church and which differs slightly from the LXX (*According to the Scriptures: The Sub-structure of New Testament Theology*, [1952] 1965, 41 ff.). (For further discussion of the OT background see S. H. Hooke, "The Corner-Stone of Scripture", in *The Siege Perilous: Essays on Anthropology and Kindred Subjects*, 1956, 235–49.)

2. In 1 Cor. 10:3 f. Paul makes reference to the Exodus miracle of Exod. 17 and Num. 20. The fathers in the wilderness "all ate the same spiritual food and all drank the same spiritual drink. For they drank from the spiritual Rock which followed them, and that Rock was Christ." By comparing Exod. 17 and Num. 20 the rabbis had already come to the conclusion that the rock which provided the water had followed the Israelites on their journey (SB III 406); but Judaism does not know a messianic interpretation of the passage. Paul is the first to interpret the OT miracle in the light of the → Lord's Supper, which is spiritual food and spiritual drink having its origin in Christ. This OT narrative is in the apostle's view a type foreshadowing the Christ-event. For clarification of the passage attention has been drawn to Jn. 7:37; but the sayings of the Johannine Christ about the bread of life should also be noted, since these likewise allude to the miraculous feeding in the wilderness (manna, Jn. 6:35–58; → Bread). The early fathers of the church interpreted this passage with reference to the Lord's Supper. On this passage → further Hunger, art. *pinō* NT 4 (a).

3. (a) In Matt. 16:18 Jesus calls Peter the rock on which he will build his → church: "And I tell you, you are Peter [*petros*] and on this rock [*petra*] I will build my church, and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it" (→ Gate; → Hell). The basis here is play on the words *petros* and *petra*. According to Mk. 3:16 and Jn. 1:42, Jesus himself gave Simon the name of Peter. In Matt. Simon already bears this name when he is mentioned for the first time in 4:18; many commentators conclude from this that in Matt. 16:18 he is not given the name, but rather that the name is interpreted. Paul mostly uses the Aram. form Cephas *kēpā'*, rock, stone (1 Cor. 1:12; 3:22; 9:5; 15:5; Gal. 1:18; 2:9, 11, 14; cf. 1 Clem. 47:3). In Jn. 1:42, the only place in the NT where the noun *petros* is used in its normal sense, it is stated that the name *Kēphas* means *petros*: "He [Andrew] brought him [his brother, Simon] to Jesus. Jesus looked at him, and said, 'So you are Simon the son of John? You shall be called Cephas' (which means Peter)." Both the Aram. transliteration and the Gk. translation, *kēphas/petros*, can mean rock, and therefore *petra* in Matt. 16:18 can be translated as rock. The assonance of the words makes it immediately evident that Peter is the "rock-man", the foundation on which Jesus will build his church. O. Cullmann suggests that the sense would require *petra* in both halves of the pronouncement (cf. Jer. 4:29; Job 30:6 LXX), but since *petra* is a fem. noun, the NT chooses the less usual Gk. word which has the masc. ending *-os* for the masc. name (*Peter*, 20).

Cullmann's interpretation does more justice to the text than the reconstruction of

Max Wilcox who thinks that the original saying behind Matt.'s text referred to Jesus as the rejected stone of Ps. 118(117):22 f. which was linked with the rock-stone testimonia of Isa. 8:14; 28:16; and possibly Dan. 2:34; 7:13 ("Peter and the Rock: A Fresh Look at Matthew xvi. 17–19", *NTS* 22, 1975–76, 73–88). Wilcox attributes the *petra-Petros* link to the evangelist, though the original saying may well go back to Jesus himself. Despite the "primacy" given to Peter (cf. Matt. 10:2), the purpose is not to glorify Peter (cf. the rebuke of Matt. 16:23). But it accords with the fact that Peter is regularly associated in Matt. with the themes of church, authority, discipline and rulings on disputed points (cf. Matt. 15:15; 17:1, 4, 24; 18:21; 19:27; 26:33–75; see G. D. Kilpatrick, *The Origins of the Gospel according to St. Matthew*, 1946, 95 f.). This latter point in no way militates against Cullmann's argument. In fact, it helps to show how the "primacy" of Peter is to be understood. (For Cullmann's arguments about the authenticity of the use of the term *ekklēsia*, church, and the authority of the keys → Open, art. *kleis* NT3.)

(b) But in what sense is Peter the rock? The saying is recorded only by Matt. and is added after the confession that Jesus is the Christ, which is also recorded in Mk. 8:29 and Lk. 9:20 (cf. Jn. 6:68, 69). The other evangelists do not have the saying about the rock-man of Matt. 16:18. This is, however, no reason for denying the authenticity of the saying, as is often done. In the opinion of E. Dinkler, for example, the early church put the saying in the mouth of our Lord in order to mark out Peter, on the ground of his Easter experience (1 Cor. 15:5), as the one appointed by Jesus to be leader of his church (*RGG*^{3} V 248). The theory remains, nevertheless, hypothetical. The form *Kēphas*, which is a transliteration of the Aram. and is attested by Paul, shows us that the tradition stems from the earliest days of the church. Moreover, parallels in the Qumran texts make it appear likely that Matt. 16:18 is of Palestinian origin; though it cannot be concluded from this that the Qumran sect influenced the writing of the Gospel, for Jesus describes Peter and not, like the Qumran tradition, the community as the rock.

But what does this saying of Jesus mean? It is probable that as early as the beginning of the 3rd cent. A.D. the Roman pope was using it to support his claim to be head of the church, asserting that this position had been given to him by Christ as the successor of Peter. The Gospel account, however, makes no mention of Peter's successors. Indeed, some Protestant commentators of today deduce from the text that Peter was accorded a position of unique significance in the church, a position given to him alone and limited to the duration of his own life. Peter may have no significance as far as the work of building is concerned, but he is of great importance in the laying of the foundation (O. Cullmann, *TDNT* VI 107 ff.; J. Schniewind, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus*, *NTD* 2, 1968 [15], ad loc.). It may be doubted, however, whether such an explanation is satisfactory: in Matt. 16:18 Jesus is not speaking of the laying of foundations, but of the building of the church. It is important to observe further that Paul, who acknowledges the apostleship of Peter (Gal. 2:8), and himself appears in his letters as the standard exponent of apostolic authority, states clearly in Gal. 2:14 that "the truth of the gospel" stands as the norm binding on all apostles, even on Peter. It is this truth again which underlies the conferring of apostolic authority on Peter in Matt. 16:18. It is implied in the confession that Jesus is the Christ, for like the gospel itself this confession is based upon divine → revelation (Matt. 16:17; Gal. 1:12). This confession, which is the source of all apostolic

authority, points us to Christ as the true foundation of the church. Seen in this light, the words of Matt. 16:18 are simply an interpretation of the confession of Christ in Matt. 16:16 par., and there is no reason why this interpretation should not be attributed to Jesus himself. This view accords in the main with that of the Reformers. They had no wish to found their church on the person of Peter, and certainly not on his subjective act of faith: for them the rock foundation on which Christ would build his church was the eternal, unchangeable truth of the confession of Christ. It is not, of course, the act of confession on which attention is focused, but its content: the eternal Christ, upon whom the church is founded in every age. The church founded upon this rock is covered by Christ's promise even today, that the gates of hell will not prevail against it. *W. Mundle*

(c) Matt. 16:18 has been a crucial passage in the interpretation of claims to papal supremacy and indeed in the question of whether there should be a pope at all (for a review of the arguments down the ages see H. Burn-murdoch, *The Development of the Papacy*, 1954; and for relevant documents see E. Giles, *Documents Illustrating Papal Authority A.D. 96–454*, 1952; C. Mirbt, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums und des römischen Katholizismus*, I *Von den Anfängen bis zum Tridentinum*, revised by K. Aland, 1967 [6]; H. Denzinger, *Enchiridion Symbolorum, Definitionum et Declarationum de Rebus Fidei et Morum*, revised by A. Schönmetzer, 1965 [33]). The term pope derives from the Lat. *papa*, father. In the ante-Nicene church there were such "fathers" at Alexandria and Antioch, but already in the 2nd cent. Rome was claiming an ascendency.

By the time of Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage (248–58), papal primacy was a burning issue. In his treatise *On the Unity of the Catholic Church* Cyprian affirmed: "No doubt the others were all that Peter was, but a primacy is given to Peter, and it is [thus] made clear that there is but one Church and one Chair. So too, if they are all shepherds, we are shown but one flock which is to be fed by all the Apostles in common accord. If a man does not hold fast to this oneness of Peter, does he imagine that he still holds the faith? If he deserts the Chair of Peter upon whom the Church was built, has he still confidence that he is in the Church?" (Cyprian, *De Lapsis and De Ecclesiae Catholicae Unitate*, edited by M. Bévénot, 1971, 63 ff.). However, in the second edition of the work this position was somewhat modified. "No doubt the other Apostles were all that Peter was, endowed with equal dignity and power, but the start comes from him alone, in order to show that the Church of Christ is unique. Indeed this oneness of the Church is figured in the Canticle of Canticles when the Holy Spirit, speaking in the Lord's name, says: '*One is my dove, my perfect one: to her mother she is the only one, the darling of her womb.*' If a man does not hold fast to this oneness of the Church, does he imagine that he still holds the faith?" (ibid.; cf. Cant. 6:9[8]). The difference between the two texts is best explained by attributing the revision to Cyprian's quarrel with Pope Stephen which caused him to modify his own allegiance to Rome, whilst still maintaining the visible unity of the church (cf. Bévénot, op. cit., xiii ff.). Nevertheless, it illustrates the kind of primacy that was already an issue in the 3rd cent.

In the Middle Ages Boniface VIII promulgated the Bull *Unam Sanctam* (1302) which concludes: "Further, We declare, say, define, and pronounce that it is absolutely necessary for the salvation of every human creature to be subject to the

Roman Pontiff" (Denzinger-Schönmetzer § 875). This umbrella statement of universal papal authority was, of course, made against the background of the conflict of temporal and ecclesiastical power in which the Holy Roman Emperors vied with the medieval popes. Nevertheless, it is clearly felt to be a source of embarrassment to ecumenically minded Catholic theologians who are uneasy about the irreformability of Catholic dogma (cf. G. Baum, "The Magisterium in a Changing Church", *Concilium* 1, 3, 1967, 34–42).

In *The First Dogmatic Constitution of the Church of Christ* (1870) Vatican I appealed to Jn. 1:42; Matt. 16:16–19; Jn. 21:15 and 17 to establish the apostolic primacy of Peter: "We teach and declare, therefore, according to the testimony of the Gospel that the primacy of jurisdiction over the whole Church of God was immediately and directly promised to and conferred upon the blessed Apostle Peter by Christ the Lord" (Denzinger-Schönmetzer § 3053). The *Constitution* then went on to argue for the continuation of this primacy in the bishops of Rome (Denzinger-Schönmetzer §§ 3056 ff.) and its extension not only to the whole church but also to the entire world in order to fulfil Christ's charge to feed his flock (Denzinger-Schönmetzer §§ 3059–64). Finally the Council defined papal infallibility: "that the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks ex cathedra, that is, when, acting in the office of shepherd and teacher of all Christians, he defines, by virtue of his supreme apostolic authority, doctrine concerning faith or morals to be held by the universal Church, possesses, through the divine assistance promised to him in the person of St. Peter, the infallibility with which the divine Redeemer willed his Church to be endowed in defining doctrine concerning faith or morals; and that such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are therefore irreformable because of their nature, not because of the agreement of the Church" (Denzinger-Schönmetzer § 3074).

In view of such claims it was perhaps inevitable that Protestant apologists should seek to deny that Peter was the rock, and claim that the rock that Jesus had in mind was either his faith or his confession (for a review of interpretations see Cullmann, *Peter*, 164–76). The fathers were by no means unanimous that the rock was Peter. Thus, Augustine held that the rock was Christ himself (Sermons 76; 147; 149; 232; 245; 270; 295; cf. *Retractationes* 1, 21, 1). However, in the light of the arguments of 3 (a) above, it seems most likely that the original word that Jesus used for both *petra* and *Petros* was the Aram. *kêpā'*, and that the difference in the Greek was due to the appropriateness of giving Peter a masc. form of the word for "rock". Although *petros* can mean a detached rock or stone and *petra* a mass of living rock, the two words could be used interchangeably. Without further clear indication it is impossible to build any firm argument on the distinction between the two words.

If, therefore, the rock is Peter himself, the passage gives no grounds for thinking that Jesus gave him this name in virtue of his stable character. In fact, his vacillation under pressure gives a certain irony to the name (cf. Matt. 26:30–35 par. Mk. 14:26–31; Lk. 22:31–34; Matt. 26:57–75 par. Mk. 14:53–72; Lk. 22:54–71; Gal. 2:11 ff.). Moreover, as Cullmann points out, "On exegetical grounds we must say that the passage does not contain a single word concerning successors of Peter" (op. cit., 213). It would seem that Peter was the rock in the sense that he was the first member of the → church proper. In the context of Christ's pronouncement Peter is the representative spokesman of the disciples, the first to confess Jesus as the Christ, the Son of the living God. As such, he is assured that flesh and blood has not reveal-

ed this to him but the Father in heaven (Matt. 16:16 f.). He used the keys of the kingdom (Matt. 16:19; cf. 23:13; Rev. 1:18; 3:7; Isa. 22:22; Rev. 21:25; Matt. 18:18; Jn. 20:23; → Open, art. *kleis*) in opening the church first to the Jews (Acts 2) and then to the Gentiles (Acts 10) by proclaiming the gospel to them. He exercised leadership in the appointment of Matthias to the apostolic band in replacement of Judas (Acts 1) and discipline in the case of Ananias and Sapphira (Acts 5:1–11). He figured prominently in the early days of the church in bearing witness before the Jews and their leaders (Acts 4:8 ff.; 5:15, 29; 9:32).

However, once the church was thus opened and established, Peter's foundational rôle is essentially over. After his imprisonment (Acts 12) he began to occupy a less prominent place. His work was confined to the Jewish mission (Gal. 2:8). In the first great council of the church depicted in Acts 15 it was James, the Lord's brother, who presided (Acts 15:19 ff.). Although Peter played an important part in the debate (Acts 15:7 ff.), it was James who delivered the decisive judgment. Moreover, nowhere in the NT does Peter lay claim to primacy. In the opening verses of the two epistles of Peter, the author describes himself as an apostle, and this is how Paul views him (1 Cor. 9:5).

It would seem that there were tensions in the apostolic church which centred on personalities, and this may explain certain passages in which Paul counterbalances possible claims by a Petrine faction. In 1 Cor. 1:12 he rebukes those who claim to belong to Paul, Cephas or Apollos rather than to Christ. Baptism into Christ precludes such factious divisions (v. 13). 1 Cor. 3:11 may in this light also be a counter to a partisan understanding of the foundational rôle of Peter: "For no other foundation can any one lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ" (→ Firm, art. *themelios*). Perhaps Paul's subsequent remarks may also be influenced by this: his warning about what one builds on the foundation which will be tried by fire (vv. 12–15); and the reminder "Do you not know that you are God's temple and that God's Spirit dwells in you? If any one destroys God's temple, God will destroy him. For God's temple is holy, and that temple you are" (vv. 16 f.; → Temple). In Gal. 2:9 there is a certain irony in the allusion to James, Cephas and John "who were reputed to be pillars [*hoi dokountes styloi einai*]" which is underlined by Peter's vacillation in the face of the Jewish → circumcision party (vv. 11–21). Eph. 2:20 allows a foundational rôle to the → apostles and → prophets but insists with the Gospels that Christ is the → *gōnia*: believers constitute "the household of God, built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus himself being the chief cornerstone" (Eph. 2:19 f.). Similarly the new → Jerusalem in Rev. 21:14 is built on the foundation of the apostles. This theme is taken up by Peter himself when he describes believers as "living stones ... built into a spiritual house" (1 Pet. 2:5). There is no thought of the foundation of Peter continuing right through the building. Neither the epistles nor Acts give any hint of a permanent primacy and jurisdiction of Peter, still less of such authority being handed on to possible successors.

As Cullmann says, the command to Peter to feed Christ's lambs (Jn. 21:16 ff.) "is certainly limited by his martyrdom" (op. cit., 214). In itself the passage indicates the kind of task to which Peter was commissioned; not his place in the hierarchy of the church. The promise that the gates of hell shall not prevail against the church pictures Hades as the abode of the dead and the *ekklēsia* as the people of God wandering (like ancient Israel) before it through a land occupied by hostile powers which it

cannot avoid, but which it will assuredly overcome. Not even the armed fortress of death through which Christ and his people must pass will be able to prevent them from attaining their goal (→ Gate; → Hell, art. *Hadēs*). On the powers promised to Peter → Bind; → Open, art. *kleis* NT 3. Whilst it seems probable that Peter visited Rome (cf. 1 Pet. 5:13), there is no hint that Peter was ever bishop of Rome. Indeed, the primary document for the church at Rome in the sub-apostolic age is 1 Clement, but this letter seems to know nothing of the primacy of a bishop of Rome. The church of Rome at that time seems to be governed by a college of presbyters. The letter was sent in the name of the church, and is attributed to Clement personally only by a variant ending preserved in some later manuscripts. Such considerations undermine not only the idea of a special teaching primacy vouchsafed to Peter but also the idea of a hierarchical teaching magisterium formally vested in the episcopal office of the church (cf. C. Brown, "The Teaching Office of the Church", *The Churchman* 83, 1969, 184–96). *C. Brown*

γωνία

γωνία (*gōnia*), corner; *κεφαλὴ γωνίας* (*kephalē gōnias*), corner-stone or keystone; *ἀκρογωνιαῖος* (*akrogōniaios*), lying at the extreme corner, corner-stone or capstone.

CL & OT 1. *gōnia* is found in secular Gk. from Hdt. onwards and also in the LXX meaning corner. Theological interest lies in the expression *kephalē gōnias* in Ps. 118(117):22: "The stone which the builders rejected has become the chief cornerstone [MT *l^erō'š pinnâh*; LXX *eis kephalēn gōnias*]." This cultic Psalm which was performed at the temple gates (vv. 19 f., 26 f.) celebrates the victory and salvation which Yahweh gives in his righteousness (vv. 10–21), and Yahweh's steadfast love (vv. 1–4, 28 f.) in the face of distress (vv. 5 ff.). It is probably pre-exilic (cf. A. A. Anderson, *The Book of Psalms*, *New Century Bible*, II, 1972, 797 ff.). Anderson sees v. 22 as "in all probability a proverbial saying, that what appeared to be worthless has now taken the place of honour. This was also the experience of the singer in verses 5–21: at one point he was hard pressed and near death; now he is delivered by Yahweh and recognized as righteous or victorious" (op. cit., 802). The Heb. *rō'š pinnâh* means lit. (like the Gk.) "head of [the] corner". It was not necessarily the only such stone, but one of the most important parts of the building. Anderson sees it as either one of the large corner-stones which bind together two rows of stones especially in the foundations or the keystone which completes an arch or structure.

2. The word *akrogōniaios* has the same meaning. It occurs first in Isa. 28:16: "Therefore thus says the Lord GOD, 'Behold, I am laying in Zion for a foundation a stone, a tested stone, a precious corner-stone [MT *'āḇen 'eḇen bōḥan pinnaṯ yiqraṯ mûsāḏ mûssāḏ*; LXX *lithon polytelē eklekton akrogoniaion entimon eis ta themelia*]: "He who believes will not be in haste." ' " The saying comes in the context of a woe-pronouncement on the dissolute and unbelieving nobles who had evidently made a treaty with → Egypt, invoking the protection of pagan gods in the hope of being saved from the Assyrian armies. Isaiah denounces this as a "covenant with death" (v. 15), death (Heb. *māweṯ*) being the name of the Canaanite god of the underworld and infertility, alluding perhaps to the comparable Egyptian deities (Osiris and Seth?). But this will be of no avail "when the overwhelming scourge passes through"

(v. 15). The scheming politicians should have known better than to pin their hopes to such tangible but in fact flimsy shelter. The true refuge is the building which Yahweh has founded in Zion, the corner-stone of which is faith and which is built in accordance with justice and righteousness (vv. 16, 17a). The *boḥan* stone is an Egyptian word, denoting a hard type of stone suitable for carving (Koehler-Baumgartner, 117). It bears the inscription "He who believes [i.e. trusts] will not be in haste [i.e. alarmed]" (cf. 7:9; 28:12; 30:15). Isaiah can hardly be thinking of this building as the → temple, even though it was rich in association for him (Isa. 6). For the temple was already erected. It is more likely that he is thinking of Yahweh's purposes for the Davidic monarchy with the promises which he sees attached to it, but which was discounted by the mighty of the land as being unable to save in the situation.

The mention twice of *themelia*, foundation, suggests that *akrogōniaios* means a foundation stone (→ also *lithos* OT 2 (d)). Probably the word is a biblical coinage, as there is no clear evidence of its use in secular Gk.

NT 1. *gōnia* is used in Matt. 6:5 of a street corner in Jesus' warning not to be like the "hypocrites" who "love to stand and pray in the synagogues and at street corners, that they may be seen by men. Truly, I say to you, they have their reward." In Jesus' day prayer in the synagogue was led by a member of the congregation standing before the ark of the law. But at times of public fasting, and perhaps in response to the call to prayer at the time of the afternoon temple sacrifice, prayers could be offered in the streets (Taanith 2:1 f.; cf. D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew, New Century Bible*, 133). Jesus' criticism is not directed at the practice of prayer but at ostentation.

In Acts 26:26 Paul reminds Festus that King Agrippa knows what has happened to Paul, "for this was not done in a corner", i.e. in secret. In Rev. 7:1 the seer sees four angels from the four corners of the earth; the ancient East regarded the world as a quadrilateral (so in Jer. 49:36 four winds come from the four ends of heaven). Rev. 20:7 ff. recalls Ezek. 38 f. and describes how Satan leads forth Gog and Magog, the Gentile hosts, from the four corners of the earth to do battle against "the beloved city". This struggle ends with the destruction of these powers that are hostile to God.

2. All 5 NT passages which refer to the *kephalē gōnias* are derived from Ps. 118:22. The corner-stone as the most important stone in the foundation is laid first. Because of its position it could be "a stone of offence and a rock of stumbling", as 1 Pet. 2:8 says (lit. translated), referring to Isa. 8:14 (→ Offence). The *kephalē gōnias* of v. 7 certainly here means the corner-stone. Presumably the same is true of Matt. 21:42 par. and Acts 4:11, since these also refer back to Ps. 118:22.

However J. Jeremias has proposed another interpretation. He suggests that *kephalē gōnias* should, like *akrogōniaios*, mean not the corner-stone, but the keystone which was placed over the entrance of the temple (see bibliography). But none of the evidence that Jeremias cites for this interpretation is earlier than the second half of the 2nd cent. A.D. That is true of Symmachus' translation of the OT, which translates the Heb. *kōṯeret* (capital) of 2 Ki. 25:17 with *akrogōniaion*, and of the Testament of Solomon 22:7 ff. which Jeremias adduces as of the first importance for his view; it is an apocryphal Christian document of the 3rd/4th cents. A.D. See also 1QM 8:4 ff. (For details of evidence of a top corner-stone → *lithos* OT 2 (d).) The "stone of offence and rock of stumbling" in 1 Pet. 2:8 cannot refer to the keystone at

the top of the building; hence we must set aside Jeremias' interpretation, since firm evidence for it is lacking in the NT period. This interpretation of the stone of Ps. 118:22 (Isa. 28:16) arose later; perhaps it goes back to Eph. 1:22. Here Christ is said to have been made "the head over all things for the church". This concept may have replaced that of "the head of the corner" (Ps. 118:22) on the grounds that this was no longer clearly understood. It was transferred to the keystone which forms the → "head" of the spiritual building, the church. ([Ed.] This seems barely plausible in view of the other OT allusions in Eph. including the wandering people of God, the reference to covenants, law and the temple in Eph. 2:11–22.)

In essence the point of the statements in the NT about the corner-stone is the same. The builders who have rejected the stone are the Jewish nation and its leaders; they have rejected Christ, but through his saving action in Christ's death and resurrection God has made this same Christ into the corner-stone of a new building, the → church. The likening of the community to a building is found elsewhere in the NT (e.g. Matt. 16:18; 1 Cor. 3:9 ff.; 14:12; → House). According to Matt. 21:42 par. Mk. 12:10; Lk. 20:17, Jesus himself directed his Jewish opponents' attention to Ps. 118:22. But, according to 1 Pet. 2:8, what applies to them also applies to all who do not accept the message of Christ. If Jesus is for unbelievers the cause of their judgment, the stone of offence and rock of stumbling, he is for Christians the "living stone" which is chosen and precious (1 Pet. 2:4, 6). The description of Christ as the corner-stone thus expresses most pregnantly the truth that man's eternal destiny is decided in him. For further discussion see R. J. McKelvey, "Christ the Corner-stone", *NTS* 8, 1961–62, 352–59.

3. The word *akrogōniaios*, corner-stone, occurs in the NT only in Eph. 2:20 and 1 Pet. 2:6. In both passages the saying of Isa. 28:16 is given a christological interpretation. This messianic view of the passage is visible already in Rom. 9:33 and we can see that it was widely held in early Christianity (→ *petra* NT 1). The juxtaposition in Eph. 2:20 of "foundation" and "corner-stone" shows that the apostle has the Isa.-passage in mind. In Christ the prophetic utterance finds its fulfilment. The foundation upon which the community is built is the apostles and prophets, the corner-stone is Jesus Christ. Upon this foundation the community grows into a holy temple in the Lord, into whom Christians, through the Holy → Spirit, are also built. The statement in 1 Cor. 3:11, in which Christ is spoken of as the foundation of the church (→ Firm, art. *themelios*), thus takes on a subtle shade of meaning. In 1 Pet. 2:6 the *akrogōniaios* is identical with the *kephalē gōnias* of vv. 4, 7. This confirms that the stone is a corner-stone. The living stone which is chosen by God and is precious is Jesus Christ. Christians need to join him in order to be themselves built in as "living stones" (v. 5) into the spiritual house, the church. This is the original meaning of the word edification, whose biblical sense we constantly need to remember.

W. Mundle

λίθος

λίθος (*lithos*), stone; λίθινος (*lithinos*), of stone; μύλος (*mylos*), mill, millstone; μυλικός (*mylikos*), belonging to a mill; μύλινος (*mylinos*), belonging to a mill.

CL *lithos* (Homer onwards) means stone, *lithinos* (Pindar, Hdt. onwards) of stone. In general *lithos* can describe stones of every sort (cf. Lucian, *Hermotimus* 81: *ho*

theos ouk en ouranō estin, alla dia pantōn pephoitēken: hoion xylōn kai lithōn kai zōōn, God is not in heaven, but goes about permeating all things, bits of wood, stones and living creatures). In particular one can distinguish building stones (Diog. Laert., 2, 72; Diod. Sic., I, 66, 3, *lithoi kaloi*, fine stones, here works of marble) and precious stones (together with gold, silver, pearls, etc., *lithoi timioi*, jewels, are mentioned, e.g. in Herodian, 5, 2, 4).

OT 1. Usually the LXX translates the Heb. *'eḇen* by *lithos*. The Heb. uses a further 10 words to specify different sorts of stone like mill-stones, boundary-stones, stone pillars, piles of stones, precious stones, emeralds, diamonds, etc. These the LXX also translates by *lithos*, usually without differentiating them. The most important of the numerous occurrences of this word (which is found some 350 times) are those passages in which *lithos* occurs in a theological context and which are occasionally taken up in the NT.

2. (a) In a threatening passage (Isa. 8:11–15) the prophet Isaiah warns his people not to free themselves from the danger of an Assyrian invasion through self-sufficient and faithless exertions. He testifies that the real danger for Judah is not the Assyrians, but the proximity of God their judge, who will become a "stone of offence" and a "rock of stumbling" (Isa. 8:14). "Just as someone wandering in the night suddenly stumbles over a stone and falls to the ground, or on a mountain steps upon a loose fragment of rock and falls, the people of the covenant ... will be smitten unexpectedly by the judgment of God" (O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12*, 1972, 118).

(b) Isa. 28:16a uses the image of the building of a house and the foundation-stone. In contrast to the Jerusalem rulers' policy of alliances against Assyria, a policy that is doomed to fail, for they make alliances with death (v. 16), Yahweh is laying in Zion a firm foundation-stone, which gives a stable base for the foundation, its walls and the whole building. Possibly there is a comparison here with the Jerusalem temple. However, the interpretation, "He who believes will not be confounded" (v. 16b), interprets the foundation-stone, upon which the building of the nation and state is to be erected, as faith and trust in Yahweh's help, which makes the anxious search for alliances superfluous. On this passage → *gōnia* CL & OT 2.

(c) Likewise Psalm 118:22 cites what looks like a proverb about a corner-stone (→ art. *gōnia* OT 1). The one who offers the prayer thanks Yahweh for the salvation which he shares. He likens his existence threatened by death to a stone which the builders discarded as useless and his rescuing by Yahweh to a corner-stone or keystone of a building.

(d) Zechariah prophesies the completion of the building of the post-exilic → temple by Zerubbabel: " 'What are you, you great mountain? Before Zerubbabel, be a plain! He will pull out the keystone [MT *hā'eḇen hārō'šâh*, lit. 'the head stone'; LXX *ton lithon tēs klēronomias*, lit. 'the stone of inheritance'] to shouts of: Blessings on it, blessings on it!' The word of Yahweh was addressed to me as follows. 'The hands of Zerubbabel have laid the foundation [MT *yissᵉḏû*; LXX *ethemeliōsan*] of this Temple; his hands will finish it. (And you will learn that Yahweh Sabaoth has sent me to you.) A day for little things, no doubt, but who would dare to despise it? People will rejoice when they see the chosen stone [MT *hā'eḇen habbᵉḏîl*; LXX *ton lithon ton kassiterinon*] in the hands of Zerubbabel' " (Zech. 4:7–10 JB). The great mountain is

not to be taken literally (cf. J. G. Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, TC*, 1972, 121; cf. Isa. 40:4; 41:15). The thought is that the mountains of opposition to God's work cannot impede it. A. Petitjean claims that Zechariah means a foundation stone in v. 7 (*Les Oracles du Proto-Zacharie*, 1969, 243–51; cf. *ANET*, 340 f.). But Baldwin holds that the sense of the passage requires it to mean a completion stone, for the promise concerns the completion of the building (cf. v. 9). The completion is symbolic of the victory of God's Spirit (cf. v. 6). Miss Baldwin notes parallels in Babylonian Chronicles where the king proclaims that he has raised the head of the temple to its height (op. cit., 122). The expression *hā'eḇen habbᵉḏîl* (v. 10) means lit. "the stone the tin". RSV has plumbline (cf. the LXX), although plumblines were normally made of lead. NEB has "the Stone called Separation", parallel with the stone of inheritance or possession (v. 7). This follows the Syriac which sees the noun connected with the vb. *bāḏal*, to separate (cf. G. R. Driver, "Babylonian and Hebrew Notes", *Die Welt des Orients* 2, 1954, 22). This translation would symbolize the separated, holy nature of the Jewish community, and from this it is but a short step to "the chosen stone" (JB). "The cause of rejoicing, therefore, is the placing of this last ceremonial stone, the crown of all their work, on the height of the Temple walls, by Zerubbabel" (Baldwin, op. cit., 123). A top corner-stone has, in fact, been discovered in Jerusalem (cf. B. Mazar, *The excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem near the Temple Mount, Preliminary Report of the Second and Third Seasons*, Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, The Israel Exploration Society, Jerusalem, 1971, 2, see also figs. 1 and 3).

(e) Dan. 2:34 f. tells of Nebuchadnezzar's → dream in which he saw a stone break off from a mountain without any human agency and shatter the great image on its feet of iron and clay. The image was dispersed without trace. "But the stone that struck the image became a great mountain and filled the whole earth." In Dan. 2:44 f. the dream is interpreted as the establishment of God's kingdom which will crush the image, i.e. all other kingdoms: "And in the days of those kings the God of heaven will set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed, nor shall its sovereignty be left to another people. It shall break in pieces all these kingdoms and bring them to an end, and it shall stand for ever; just as you saw that a stone was cut from a mountain by no human hand, and that it broke in pieces the iron, the bronze, the clay, the silver, and the gold. A great God has made known to the king what shall be hereafter. The dream is certain, and its interpretation is sure." (For interpretations of the kingdoms see J. A. Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel*, ICC, 1927, 165–92; E. W. Heaton, *The Book of Daniel*, 1956, 130–35; N. W. Porteous, *Daniel*, 1965, 44–51; and E. J. Young, *The Prophecy of Daniel*, 1949, 71–80, cf. 295–306.)

3. In late Judaism various OT sayings about stones were given a messianic interpretation. Already in the LXX an *ep' autō* ("in him") has been added to the *ho pisteuōn* ("he who believes") of Isa. 28:16. Similarly the stones in Isa. 8:14 (San. 38a), Zech. 4:7 (Tg. ad loc.), Zech. 4:10 (Tanh. Toledot 20) and Dan. 2:34 ff. (Num. R. 13:14 on 7:13) are given messianic interpretations (cf. Targum Ps. 118:24; Zech. 3:8 f.; detailed evidence in J. Jeremias, *TDNT* IV 272 f.). Judaism expected a glorification or renewal of the temple (SB I 1003 f.; but cf. Jesus in Lk. 13:35). The Qumran community regarded itself as the eschatological Israel, as God's true temple, and cited Isa. 28:16 as evidence (1QS 8:7 f.).

NT In the NT most instances of the word *lithos* are in the Synoptic Gospels, especially Matt.; it occurs only occasionally in Paul, in 1 Pet. and in Rev. It is used lit. of a mill-stone (Lk. 17:2), a boulder (Matt. 27:60 par. Mk. 15:46; Matt. 28:2 par. 16:3 f.; cf. Lk. 24:2; Jn. 20:1) or a precious stone (Rev. 18:12, 16; 21:11, 19). Its fig. use is chiefly in connexion with OT quotations which are given a messianic interpretation.

1. (a) The saying about the stones crying out (Lk. 19:40) is to be understood against an OT and Jewish background, where we occasionally get references to the accusing cry of lifeless objects (Gen. 4:10; Hab. 2:11; 2 Esd. 5:5; cf. SB II 253). J. Jeremias gives this intepretation to Jesus' saying: "If my disciples were to withhold their acclamation, the stones by the wayside would cry out and accuse them" (loc. cit. 270).

(b) It is doubtful whether John the Baptist's saying, that "God can raise up children of Abraham from these stones" (Matt. 3:9; Lk. 3:8), is citing Isa. 51:1 f. (taking → Abraham as the rock; so Jeremias, loc. cit. 271). For those whom the Baptist addresses certainly ought not to appeal to the descent of the whole nation from one man (which is emphasized in that passage) as God can make children of Abraham from stones. The offensive saying means that God can fashion a new → Israel from men who can claim no qualifications (like descent, etc.) of their own (cf. Rom. 4:9–25).

(c) On the saying of Jesus about no stone of the temple being left standing on another (Mk. 13:2 par.) → Present, art. *The Parousia and Eschatology in the NT* 2 (a).

2. (a) Occasionally Jesus is likened to a stone. Mk. 12:10; Lk. 20:17 f. cites Ps. 118:22 in connexion with the parable of the husbandmen: the stone rejected by the builders has become the corner-stone or keystone. He who is rejected by men is the One exalted by God (J. Schniewind, ad loc.). According to Acts 4:10 f., this exaltation has already taken place in Jesus' resurrection. Eph. 2:20–22 also makes Jesus the *akrogōniaios*, the corner-stone or keystone, which holds the whole building together (→ *gōnia* NT 3), while the apostles and prophets form the foundation.

(b) On the other hand, Jesus is likened in Lk. 20:18 to a destroying stone which will crush its opponents, an allusion to Dan. 2:34 (cf. above, OT 2 (e)). In Rom. 9:32 f. Paul quotes Isa. 8:14 and interprets the stone of offence of Christ who has been the undoing of the Jews (→ *petra* NT 1).

(c) In Rom. 9:33 and 1 Pet. 2:4–8 (cf. also Lk. 2:34) the positive interpretation of Jesus as the corner-stone or keystone is combined with the negative one of him as the destructive stone of offence by combining different OT quotations (→ *petra* NT 1). This serves to show the dialectical significance of Jesus as gospel and law, as salvation and disaster. It is the faith of individual men that decides whether Christ the stone has a vital (1 Pet. 2:4) or a fatal (Lk. 20:18) effect (cf. the citation of Isa. 28:16 in Rom. 9:33 and 1 Pet. 2:6 f.).

3. In 1 Pet. 2:5 Christians are likened to "living stones": "as living stones be built up into a spiritual house" (cf. Eph. 2:20). The inanimate image of the building here is inadequate for the truth expressed. Because Christ lives, the foundation and thus the entire building is living; and because Christians live with and through him they can be addressed as "living stones". (See further N. Hillyer, " 'Rock-Stone' Imagery in I Peter", *TB* 22, 1971, 58–81.) *H.-G. Link, E. Tiedtke*

4. The word *mylos*, mill, is found in secular Gk. and the LXX (cf. Exod. 11:5; Deut. 24:6; Isa. 47:2; Sib. 8:14). It consisted of two round, flat stones, and figures in Jesus' warning about the suddenness of the parousia and how unprepared some will be for it: "Two women will be grinding at the mill; one is taken and one is left" (Matt. 24:41; cf. Num. 11:8). The fact that "the sound of the millstone shall be heard no more" is one of the vivid ways of expressing judgment on → Babylon, i.e. godless civilization (Rev. 18:22). This follows the event described in Rev. 18:21: "Then a mighty angel took up a stone like a great millstone and threw it into the sea, saying, 'So shall Babylon the great city be thrown down with violence, and shall be found no more.' " The judgment on Babylon recalls Jer. 51:60–63 (cf. 7:34; 16:9; 25:10), and the destruction by a stone is reminiscent of Dan. 2:34 f. (see above OT 2 (e)). In Jdg. 9:53 Abimelech was killed by a millstone thrown by a woman as he besieged the tower at Thebez. "For some of John's readers this passage would have awakened more recent memories of that August night in A.D. 79 when the lamps and gaiety of Pompeii and Herculanum were extinguished for ever by a pall of volcanic ash. It is not after all the heroic sins that bring the downfall of cities, but sheer heedlessness of approaching disaster" (G. B. Caird, *The Revelation of St. John the Divine*, *BNTC*, 1966, 231). Babylon is thus as unprepared as the woman in Jesus' saying. There is an irony in the contrast between the *lithon hos mylinon megan* of v. 21 and the *phonē mylou* of v. 22. The latter denotes a harmless and necessary activity; the former becomes the instrument of destruction as it is in the saying of Jesus, "Whoever causes one of these little ones who believes in me to sin, it would be better for him if a great millstone were hung round his neck and he were thrown into the sea" (Mk. 9:42 par. Matt. 18:8, Lk. 17:1 f.; → Offence, art. *skandalon* NT 3). The *mylos onikos* of Matt. and Mk. means lit. a "donkey stone"; Lk. has *lithos mylikos*, stone belonging to a mill (cf. Mk. 9:42 *v.l.*; Rev. 18:21 *v.l.*). It signifies a large stone worked by donkey power. W. L. Lane draws attention to its context in Mk., where it follows Jesus' rebuke of the disciples for forbidding the unknown exorcist. "The stern warning has immediate relevance for those who had sought to prevent the exercise of faith in Jesus' name, and corresponds in severity to the word addressed to Peter when he sought to turn Jesus from the path of obedience (Ch. 8:33). Verse 42 performs the same function as Ch. 8:33: it serves to expose a grievous misconception and by graphic language to impress the seriousness of the matter indelibly upon the hearers' hearts" (*The Gospel of Mark*, *NLC*, 1974, 345). *C. Brown*

→ Apostle, → Bind, → Church, → Firm, Foundation, → Offence, → Open, → Punishment

μαργαρίτης

μαργαρίτης (*margaritēs*), pearl.

CL *margaritēs*, pearl, is that rarest phenomenon, a certain translation of an ancient term for a gemstone (from Theophrastus, 4th cent. B.C.). In a rare flight of poesy, Pliny describes how pearls originate as dewdrops falling into open oysters (*Nat. Hist.* 9, 106–23).

OT There are no certain references to pearls in the OT, and *margaritēs* does not occur in the LXX. The "pearl" of Job 28:18a AV (Heb. *gāḇîš*) is probably crystal.

RSV translates *pᵉnînîm* in Job 28:18b as pearls, but elsewhere always as jewels, costly stones. The use of pearls for the gates of new Jerusalem was a familiar messianic picture (Baba Bathra 37:1; Sanhedrin 100, 1; Mid. Ps. 87; Exod. R. 15, 114, 4).

NT In Matt. 7:6 Jesus urges discrimination in offering "what is holy", that which stands in special relation to God, to the irresponsible and unappreciative, an action tantamount to casting costly pearls before swine. The saying is quoted in Did. 9:5 and by Tertullian (*De praesc.* 41) against the admission of the unbaptized to the Lord's Supper. Pearls are mentioned in 1 Tim. 2:9; Rev. 17:4 as extravagances of feminine finery, and in Matt. 13:45 f.; Rev. 18:12, 16 as articles of merchandise.

Each gate of the heavenly city is a gigantic pearl, some 200 feet across (Rev. 21:21; cf. Isa. 54:12). On each gate is inscribed the name of one of the tribes of Israel (21:12). It is less likely that this implies that there is one particular entrance for a man assigned to any given tribe, than that the large number of gates suggests free and ample access to the city. The names of the 12 tribes on the gates should be related with the names of the 12 apostles on the foundations (21:14). The implication is that the true children of God under the old covenant and under the new alike share in the heavenly city. The gates of the city are not intended to stand against assault – indeed, they are always open (21:25). The angels on duty (21:12) are not armed (cf. Gen. 3:24) but a guard of honour. Pearl is not utilitarian, but only for decoration, beauty, ornament.

In the parable the prudent merchant was prepared to sell all that he had to acquire a single pearl of great price (Matt. 13:46). It is suggestive that alone among precious stones the pearl is the product of a living organism. More precisely, the pearl results from an injury done to a living organism. A foreign body invading the shell of an oyster is covered by layers of nacre, until the pearl is formed. The pearl of great price in the parable can be taken to represent the church which Jesus purchased with his own blood (Acts 20:28). For the substance of the gates of the heavenly city to be described as pearl, therefore, is apt, for entrance into the Father's presence is only by way of the work of Jesus himself (Jn. 14:6). *N. Hillyer*

Precious Stones in the Apocalypse

Systematic mineralogy was not established as a science until *c.* 1780. Today, identifying a gemstone by the use of optical and other instruments still involves a careful process of elimination. Even so, nomenclature often remains confused: *topaz* is a term loosely used for many yellow or sherry-brown stones which have only their colour in common; none is the same as ancient topaz, usually thought from contexts to be green (modern peridot). The uncertainty surrounding the names of precious stones in antiquity is therefore not surprising, especially since most of the corresponding Heb. roots simply mean glitter, sparkle, gleam, and the like. Furthermore, many stones are found in a great variety of colours.

The problem can be highlighted with one illustration. The first gemstone in Rev. 21:19 is *iaspis*, usually translated jasper. The Gk. noun is used in the LXX to render three different Heb. words: (a) *yāšᵉpēh*, Ezek. 28:13; from an unused root meaning to polish (*iaspis* and *jasper* simply transliterate the Heb.); (b) *yahᵃlōm*, Exod. 28:18;

36:18 (39:11); something hard, derived from *hālam*, to strike down with force; (c) *kaḏkōḏ*, Isa. 54:12; sparkling, from *kāḏaḏ*, to strike fire from metal. Even as early as the Mishnah, the meaning of *kaḏkōḏ* was the centre of an argument (Baba Bathra 75a). Modern translators propose agate, red jasper, or ruby. Pliny has a long discussion about precious stones in *Nat. Hist.* 37. He refers to *iaspis* as a translucent green, with a Persian variety in sky-blue. The reference in Rev. 21:11 to crystal suggests translucence, but present-day jasper cannot be meant since that is opaque. J. S. Harris concludes that *iaspis* is a variety of quartz, found in red, brown, green, or yellow, occasionally in blue or black, and rarely in white. According to L. Ginzberg, the *iaspis* was Benjamin's stone: "This stone changes colour even as Benjamin's feelings towards his brothers changed."

Recent translations of the Bible offer the following possibilities for the 12 precious stones of the wall of New Jerusalem (Rev. 21:19–21): *iaspis*, jasper, diamond; *sappheiros*, sapphire, lapis lazuli; *chalkēdōn*, agate, chalcedony, turquoise; *smaragdos*, emerald, crystal; *sardonyx*, onyx, sardonyx, agate; *sardion*, carnelian, cornelian, ruby, sardius; *chrysolithos*, chrysolite, gold quartz, yellow quartz; *bēryllos*, beryl, malachite; *topazion*, topaz; *chrysoprasos*, chrysoprase, emerald, chalcedony; *hyakinthos*, jacinth, turquoise, sapphire; *amethystos*, amethyst.

Although in a different order, the names of the precious stones in Rev. 21 closely resemble those on the high priest's breastplate in Exod. 28:17–20 LXX (= Ezek. 28:13 LXX). Eight of the LXX names recur in Rev. 21. Of the stones in Exod. 28, *anthrax* (Heb. *nōp̄eh*), *ligyrion* (*lešem*), *achatēs* (*šᵉḇô*), and *onychion* (*yāšᵉp̄ēh*) are replaced in Rev. 21 by *chalkēdōn*, *chrysoprasos*, *hyakinthos*, and *sardonyx*, none of which appears in the LXX as the name of a precious stone. W. Bousset (*Die Offenbarung Johannis*, 1906) shows that the variations between Revelation and Exodus can be explained, so we may safely assume that John intended to reproduce the OT list. But Bousset is unable to account for the order of the stones, which in fact differs widely in all the lists (Exod. 28; Ezek. 28 MT; and ibid., LXX).

Rev. 17:4 is part of a picture of depravation and decadence in the description of the woman on a scarlet beast representing "Babylon the great, mother of harlots and of earth's abominations" and "bedeckt with gold and jewels and pearls" (*chrysiō kai lithō timiō kai margaritais*), an expression which sounds like a perversion of the high priest's breastplate.

The Samaritan Targum on Exod. 28:17–20; 39:10–13 (dated to the Roman period) indicates that the stones on the high priest's breastplate gave three variations of four basic colours: red, bright red, intense red; and similarly with black, green, and white. This grouping by shades appears a more likely explanation of the biblical lists, since 12 totally different colours in gemstones, even if known to the ancients, would almost certainly have presented violent clashes of colour (J. S. Harris, *ALUOS* 5, 1965, 58–62).

Philo (*Vit. Mos.* 2, 122–35) regards the gemstones on the breastplate as symbolic of the months of the year, or of the signs of the Zodiac. Josephus (*Ant.* 3, 166–71; *War* 5, 233–5) also associates the stones with the Zodiac (though he enumerates them differently in the two writings). So too does Clem. Alex. (*Strom.* 5, 38, 4). The Mishnah associates the 12 tribes with the 12 constellations (Berakoth 32b), and this prompts A. Farrer (*A Rebirth of Images*, 1949, 216–44) to attempt to match tribes with zodiacal signs. Since such signs are depicted in mosaics in synagogues in

Palestine, it is clear that Judaism was prepared to make use of pagan symbols in the cause of Jewish ideas. Such symbolism was extremely primitive and widespread. The architecture of the city of the gods, according to Babylonian mythology, was marked by cosmic symbols. The city rested on four columns covered by jewels (= stars), had 12 foundation stones and 12 gates (12 signs of the Zodiac), and was traversed by a golden street (the Galaxy).

R. H. Charles (*ICC*, 1920) suggested that the gemstones in Rev. 21 represent the signs of the Zodiac arranged in the reverse order to which the sun travels through the Zodiac, thus indicating that Christianity and the New Jerusalem are opposed to religions of sun-worship (cf. Rev. 22:5). The 12 signs of the Zodiac had jewels allocated to them, beginning with amethyst and ending with jasper. John reversed the order "to attack astrology", a suggestion since followed by other commentators (e.g. G. B. Caird, *The Revelation of St John*, 1966). But this is an odd way to attack astrology (T. F. Glasson, *JTS* ns 26, 1975, 95): no constellations are mentioned in Rev. 21; any zodiacal reference is obscure, though John is quite capable of making his points forcibly. The best method of attack would have been to scramble the order, not to adopt correspondences to the Zodiac. Charles had relied on Athanasius Kircher (1602–80), but Glasson exposes the latter as a fraud.

A. Farrer (*Revelation of St John*, 1964, 219) suggests that John simply compiles his list in general correspondence with Exodus, but euphoniously. The writer arranges the Gk. terms to emphasize a division by three. Nine of them end with *s* sounds, and the three exceptions end with *n* sounds, as if to underline the points of division: *iaspis, sappheiros, chalkēdōn*; *smaragdos, sardonyx, sardion*; *chrysolithos, bēryllos, topazion*; *chrysoprasos, hyakinthos, amethystos*. John has already listed the 12 tribes in Rev. 7:5–8. The stones represent the tribes, according to Exod. 28:21. But there is no need to repeat woodenly the stones in the exact order of the tribes.

Although the stones on the high priest's breastplate are usually assumed to have been set in four rows of three, some early writers suggest that the arrangement was in the form of a square (Mid. R. 2:7 on Num. 2:2; Clem. Alex., *Strom.* 5, 38, 4), corresponding to the position of the tribes around the tabernacle (Num. 2) and the gates of the city (Ezek. 48:30; Rev. 21:13). It is also possible that, like the 12 gates of the city (Rev. 21:12), the 12 stones not only symbolize the 12 apostles (21:14), but also relate to the 12 tribes of Israel (A. M. Farrer, *A Rebirth of Images*, 1949, 216 ff.). A convincing identification of individual stones with tribes is unlikely, with one possible exception. *iaspis*, at the head of the list of precious stones adorning the wall, may stand for the first tribe in John's list, Judah (7:5), and its corresponding apostle (21:14). *iaspis* is also the general material of the city (21:11). Jesus the messiah is of the tribe of Judah (Lk. 3:26; Heb. 7:14; Rev. 5:5), termed apostle (Heb. 3:1) and the chief corner-stone (Eph. 2:20; cf. 1 Pet. 2:6, 8). It is from him that the church acquires the substance and colour of the divine glory (Rev. 4:3). The wall of the city is associated with both tribes and apostles (Rev. 21:12, 14). The symbolism is of a perfect city of God in which all the saints of both the old and the new covenants alike have their portion. As 12 tribes represent the chosen people of God in completeness, so 12 apostles represent the apostolic company in totality. Discussion as to whether Judas is excluded or Paul included has no place in this symbolism.

The main outline of the description of the heavenly city in Rev. 21 is foreshadowed in Isa. 54:11 f. (cf. Tob. 13:16–18). Precious stones are frequently connected with

theophanies (e.g., Ezek. 1; Rev. 4), probably because of their quality of reflecting light and emitting radiance. A midrash on Isa. 54:11 f. from Qumran represents the community of the elect as precious stones and their priests as lapis lazuli or sapphires (4QpIsa). But in Revelation the focus of attention is on God himself.

The constant mention of transparency indicates that the heavenly city is designed to transmit the glory of God in the form of light without hindrance. In Rev. 4:3, 6 the presence of God is likened to the appearance of *iaspis* and *sardion*, the rainbow around the throne to *smaragdinos* (cf. Ezek. 1:26–28; 10:1), and the sea before the throne to *krystallos*, rock-crystal. Rev. 21 suggests a scene of indescribable beauty, with the light of the heavenly city playing upon the layers of multi-coloured stones built one upon the other, each layer extending all round the city. The city is a blaze of light (from the Lamb, 21:23) and its radiance compared to the brightness of *iaspis*, a term used for stones of various colours, but here qualified by *timiōtatō*, most costly, and *krystallizonti*, translucent like rock-crystal (21:11) – costly to man but used lavishly in the new Jerusalem (21:19) for the purpose of manifesting the glory of God. The believer in Christ does not generate the light of Christ, but should both reflect and transmit its glory without blurring the beauty and loveliness of Christ.

N. Hillyer

On *petra, gōnia* and *lithos* etc.:
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(b). O. Betz, "Felsmann und Felsengemeinde (Eine Parallele zu Mt 16, 17–19 in den Qumranpsalmen)", *ZNW* 48, 1957, 49–77; H. Clavier, *petros kai petra*, in *Neutestamentliche Studien für Rudolf Bultmann, BZNW* 21, 1954, 101 ff.; O. Cullmann, "Petrus, Werkzeug des Teufels und Werkzeug Gottes. Die Stellung von Mt. 16, 17–19 in der ältesten Überlieferung", in *Vorträge und Aufsätze*, 1966, 202–13 (French version in A. J. B. Higgins, ed., op. cit., 94–105); G. Beer,

Steinverehrung bei den Israeliten, 1921; E. Dinkler, "Petrus", *RGG*[3] V 247 ff.; E. von Dobschütz, "Matthias als Rabbi und Katechet", *ZNW* 27, 1928, 338–48; J. Dupont, "La Révélation du Fils de Dieu en Faveur de Pierre (*Mt* 16, 17) et de Paul (*Ga* 1, 16)", *RSR* 52, 1964, 411–20; K. Galling, "Serubbabel und der Wiederaufbau des Tempels in Jerusalem", in *Festschrift für W. Rudolph*, 1961, 67–96; H. Gressmann, "Der Eckstein", *Palästina-Jahrbuch* 6, 1910, 38 ff.; E. Haenchen, "Petrus-Probleme", *NTS* 7, 1960–61, 187–97; H. W. Hertzberg, "Der heilige Fels und das Alte Testament", *The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 11, 1931, 32 ff.; R. Hirzel, *Die Strafe der Steinigung*, (1909) 1967; J. Jeremias, "Der Eckstein", *Angelos* 1, 1925, 65 ff.; *Golgotha*, 1926; and *Kephalē gōnias – Akrogōniaios*, *ZNW* 29, 1930, 264 ff.; H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen*, *BKAT* 15/2, 1966[3]; W. G. Kümmel, "Jesus und die Anfänge der Kirche", *StTh* 7, 1953, 1–27 (reprinted in *Heilsgeschehen und Geschichte*, 1965, 289–309); H. Lehmann, "Du bist Petrus. . .", *EvTh* 13, 1953, 44 ff.; W. Marxsen, "Der Fels der Kirche", in *Der "Frühkatholizismus" im Neuen Testament*, *BSt* 21, 1958, 39–54; F. Obrist, *Echtheitsfragen und Deutung der Primatstelle Mt. 16, 18 f. in der deutschen protestantischen Theologie der letzten dreissigen Jahre*, *NTAbh* 21, 3/4, 1960 (with extensive bibliography); G. Sass, *Der Fels der Kirche*, 1957; K. T. Schäfer, "Zur Deutung von *akrogōniaios* Eph. 2, 20", in *Neutestamentliche Aufsätze*, Festschrift J. Schmid, 1963, 218 ff.; H. Schlier, *Christus und kie Kirche im Epheserbrief*, *BHTh* 6, 1930, 47 ff.; G. Schulze-Kadelbach, "Die Stellung des Petrus in der Urchristenheit", *TLZ* 81, 1956, 1 ff.; A. Schwarzenbach, *Die geographische Terminologie im Hebräischen des Alten Testaments*, 1954, 118–22; G. Stählin, *Skandalon*, 1930, 187 ff.; A. Vögtle, "Messiasbekenntnis und Petrusverheissung: zur Komposition Mt 16, 13–23 Par.", in *Das Evangelium und die Evangelien. Beiträge zur Evangelienforschung*, 1971, 137–70; A. S. van der Woude, *ṣur*, *THAT* II 538–43.

On *margaritēs* and Precious Stones:

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Rule, Standard, Measure

κανών

κανών (*kanōn*), rule, standard, norm.

CL & OT The Gk. word *kanōn* is a loan word from Semitic, where its original meaning was reed, cane, stalk of grain. *kanōn*, attested from Homer onwards, means anything that can be held against something else in order to stretch, roll up or measure it. The idea of measurement became predominant and from the 5th cent. B.C. *kanōn* meant above all a measuring line, measuring rod, balance arm, fixed rule, norm. In mathematics, astronomy and history *kanōn* means list or table; in art a guideline. Polyclitus' "Spearbearer" was called the *kanōn* by his contemporaries (Pliny, *Natural History* 34, 55). In philosophy *kanōn* denotes the criterion of judgment.

In this sense *kanōn* also occurs in 4 Macc. 7:21, while in Jud. 13:6 it stands for something like the supporting frame of a bed. In that almost unintelligible verse, Mic. 7:4, *kanōn* seems to be a meaningless and recent conjecture with no Heb. equivalent. For the thoughts expressed by *kanōn* the OT has neither terms nor understanding. The nearest Heb. is *qānêh*, reed.

NT 1. The word *kanōn* is rare in the NT; only Paul uses it. He employs it in the sense of norm or standard. *kanōn* is thus both the rule for the individual Christian's life and the standard by which to judge others. "Peace and mercy be upon all who walk by this rule, upon the Israel of God" (Gal. 6:16). With the phrase "by this rule [*tō kanoni toutō*]" Paul sums up all that he has previously said. *kanōn* is a rule of life, the content of which is the death of Christ on the cross, which gives a new relationship to God and with it a new basis for existence. The *kanōn* determines what is to be done, what is to be rejected and what is to be accepted; it establishes a new scale of values, which is distinguished from everything which is to be found outside the salvation given by Christ. It is a rule which is to be applied in the everyday conduct of life; the "new creation" (Gal. 6:15) corresponds to it. "Walking by this rule" means that the new being, shaped by Christ's saving work, manifests itself in the processes of thought and action. Whoever lives by the rule of Christ belongs to the "Israel of God".

2. *kanōn* occurs in some variant readings of Phil. 3:16 which in the RSV reads: "Only let us hold true to what we have attained." Here Paul speaks of being taken hold of by Christ, an experience which enables him to press towards the goal of his heavenly calling. These readings introduce the word *kanōn* in the same sense as in Gal. 3:16. It is the norm of conduct to which all have yielded with a common attitude. (On the variety of readings see Metzger, 615.)

3. *kanōn* is used three times in 2 Cor. 10:13–16: "But we will not boast beyond limit [*ouk eis ta ametra*], but will keep to the limits God has apportioned to us [*alla kata to metron tou kanonos hou emerisen hēmin ho theos metrou*], to reach even you. For we are not overextending ourselves, as though we did not reach you; we were the first to come all the way to you with the gospel of Christ. We do not boast beyond limit [*ouk eis ta ametra*], in other men's labours; but our hope is that as your faith increases, our field among you may be greatly enlarged [*en hymin megalynthēnai kata ton kanona hēmōn eis perisseian*], so that we may preach the gospel in lands beyond you, without boasting of work already done in another's field [*en allotriō kanoni*]." The RSV thus interprets *kanōn* in a geographical sense, i.e. the area of work measured out or allotted to Paul. But interpreters differ on this. In the opinion of the present writers *kanōn* stands for the rule that Paul is active wherever the gospel has not yet been proclaimed (cf. Rom. 15:20 f.). A. Schlatter says of v. 13 that, "The measure, *metron*, is measured by the measuring-rod, *kanōn*" (*Paulus der Bote Jesu*, 1962, 624). But C. K. Barrett rejects this and translates *kanōn* as "province": "If Paul is going to boast at all, he will do so not in terms of what he himself has done, but of what God has done through him in the evangelization of hitherto untouched territory" (*The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, *BNTC*, 1973, 265). "The geographical reference here [i.e. in Rom. 15:23 f. which was probably written while Paul was in Corinth] confirms the view of *measure* and *province* (*metron* and *kanōn*) taken above against Käsemann ... though he may well be right in thinking that it was Paul's adversaries who first employed these words; and they may have used them in a different way" (op. cit., 268; cf. E. Käsemann, "Die Legitimität des Apostels", *ZNW* 41, 1942, 56–61; reprinted as a separate work, 1956, 43–51).

J. Guhrt, H.-G. Link

4. In later church usage the term canon stands for the rule of faith and especially for the list of writings recognized by the church as documents of divine revelation.

The church took over the OT Scriptures of the LXX, but there is no clear evidence that those books were widely regarded as canonical which were not in the Heb. By the time of Jesus there was widespread agreement as to the content of the canon with regard to those books which we know as the OT. In the 2nd cent. A.D. Melito sent to Palestine to discover the content of the Heb. Bible, because it was assumed that this was the norm for the church.

After the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 an assembly of Jewish religious teachers was established at Jamnia, a city some 13 miles south of Joppa. This body was regarded to some extent as replacing the Sanhedrin. Among the questions discussed by the rabbis was the status of certain books like Est., Prov., Eccles., Cant. and Ezek. H. E. Ryle suggested that a particular synod held around A.D. 100 settled the extent of the Jewish canon (*The Canon of the Old Testament*, 1892). But although this view is widely assumed, there is no evidence to confirm it. The Roman Catholic church accepted among the canonical Scriptures the books included in the LXX, and this was confirmed by the Council of Trent (Session IV, 1546).

E. Käsemann has argued that it is not the NT canon that establishes the unity of the church but the different confessions ("The Canon of the New Testament and the Unity of the Church", in *Essays on New Testament Themes*, *SBT* 41, 95–107). He holds that there was a variety of confessions in the early church and that we must not imprison God arbitrarily. On the other hand, it must be pointed out that the concept of the canon was not something that was ever formally pronounced upon by a general council of the church. Thus it would be wrong to say that the church has given us the canon of Scripture. Rather, it was a matter of recognizing which books the Spirit was speaking through. The earliest list of NT writings which corresponds exactly to the NT canon which we have today occurs in the 39th Festal Letter of Athanasius in A.D. 367 to guard the church against heretics and their writings. The reason why the Scriptures are distinguished from other writings is that they are "springs of salvation"; they are "god-inspired" (*theopneustos*; cf. 2 Tim. 3:16) in a way which other writings are not; and they have been handed down "by those who were eye-witnesses ... of the word from the beginning." However, the authority of the four Gospels, Acts and the Pauline epistles was generally recognized early in the 2nd cent.

The earliest known canon of the NT was that of the heretic Marcion who was excommunicated c. A.D. 144. He excluded everything except ten Pauline epistles and the Gospel of Luke, the latter in a mutilated form. The church's canon was formulated in response to the appeal by heretical groups to secret books and tradition and the emergence of a large number of apocryphal works (cf. E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher, eds., *New Testament Apocrypha*, I–II, 1963–65; → Hide). The recognition of the authority of the canonical writings depended on whether they could be traced to an apostle or alternatively had some kind of apostolic backing. And this was coupled with the intrinsic authority of the books themselves in which the church heard God speaking. This recognition constituted an extension of the authority of the *kērygma* (→ Proclamation). But already in the NT itself Paul could "thank God constantly for this, that when you received the word of God which you heard from us, you accepted it not as the word of men but as what it really is, the word of God, which is at work in you believers" (1 Thess. 2:13). 2 Pet. 3:15 f. brackets the "letters" of Paul with "the other scriptures".

By the close of the 2nd cent. all the NT books were generally accepted, apart from James, 2 Pet., 2 and 3 Jn., Heb. and Rev. Sometimes the *Shepherd* of Hermas and the *Didache* were regarded as Scripture. The first decision on the subject of scripture by a church council was probably made at Laodicea in A.D. 363. A list similar to Athanasius's was confirmed by the Synod of Carthage (A.D. 397). It was through the influence of Jerome and Augustine that the western church was finally persuaded of the authority of some of the doubted books. *C. Brown*

μέτρον

μέτρον (*metron*), measure; *ἄμετρος* (*ametros*), without measure; *μετρέω* (*metreō*), take the dimensions of, measure, give out, deal out, apportion.

CL *metron* (Homer onwards) means a measure, as that with which one measures and that which is measured, a proportion, order, and measure in verse. In philosophy it is significant as the measure by which all things are measured (Protagoras, *Frag.* 1). Plato identifies the measure with God (*Leg.* 4, 716c; cf. also Plotinus, *Enneads* 1, 8, 3; 6, 8, 18; 5, 5, 4). The vb. *metreō* (also from Homer) means to measure, traverse, evaluate, judge.

OT *metron* stands chiefly for *middâh.* In theological contexts it is used of cultic measurements of the tabernacle and temple (especially Ezek. 40–48); weights and measures which stand under Yahweh's surveillance (Lev. 19:35; Deut. 25:14 f.; 2 Chr. 23:29; Prov. 25:14 f.; Amos 8:5); the measures of the world in connexion with creation (Job 11:9; 28:25; 38:5; Wis. 11:20); and in pronouncements of judgment and salvation (2 Ki. 21:13; Isa. 5:10; Ezek. 4:11, 16; Lam. 2:8; Ps. 80[79]:5; Zech. 1:16; 5:6 ff.). *metreō* is used for *māḏaḏ* (e.g. Exod. 16:18).

NT In the NT the noun and the vb. are found particularly in contexts of judgment and the gift of grace allotted to believers.

1. Both the noun and the vb. occur in Matt. 7:2: "For with the judgment you pronounce you will be judged, and the measure you give will be the measure you get" (cf. par. Mk. 4:24; Lk. 6:38). This is "not simply a recommendation to be moderate in judgment on others. The meaning is that, if you condemn, you exclude yourself from God's pardon" (D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew, New Century Bible*, 1972, 146). The saying in the second half of the v. may be proverbial. The Mishnah tractate on the adulteress states: "With what measure a man metes it shall be measured to him again: she bedecked herself for transgression – the Almighty brought her to shame; she laid herself bare for transgression – the Almighty laid her bare; she began transgression with the thigh first and afterwards with the belly – therefore the thigh shall suffer first and afterward the belly; neither shall aught else of the body go free" (Sotah 1:7). It may be that Jesus was citing a common proverb to bring home a truth of judgment from which no man is exempt. Whereas the rabbis formulated criteria of judgment, Jesus drew the conclusion: "Judge not, that you be not judged" (Matt. 7:1). It is the reverse side of the exhortation to forgive (Matt. 6:14 ff.). And it is on a par with the other exhortations in the Sermon on the Mount to leave everything to God, whether it be rewards (Matt. 6:1 ff.), petitionary prayer (Matt. 6:7 ff.), or concerns for wordly needs and cares (Matt. 6:19–34). Lk. 6:38b contains the statement:

"For the measure you give will be the measure you get back." In Lk. this follows exhortations not to judge and also to give.

In the context of condemnation for shedding the blood of the prophets, Jesus declares: "Fill up then the measure of your fathers" (Matt. 23:32). K. Stendahl sees in the v. a change to the style of the apocalyptic oracle (*Peake's Commentary on the Bible*, ed. M. Black and H. H. Rowley, 1962, 793). D. Hill sees here an allusion to the Jewish view that the final judgment will come only after men have reached the absolute nadir of sinfulness (op. cit., 314; cf. SB I 939 f.).

2. Jn. 3:34 states: "For he whom God has sent utters the words of God, for it is not by measure that he gives the Spirit." Leon Morris notes three possible interpretations: (a) The Father gives the Spirit to the Son without measure, i.e. there is perfect communion between them, and no limit to the gift; (b) The Son gives the Spirit to believers without measure; (c) The Spirit does not give by measure, i.e. when the Spirit gives, he does so liberally (*The Gospel according to John, NLC*, 1971, 246). In the light of the first half of the v. the first of these interpretations best fits the context. Elsewhere John speaks of the Spirit as given by the Father (Jn. 14:26), but also by the Son (Jn. 15:26).

The noun *metrētēs*, meaning a liquid measure, occurs only in the account of the wedding at Cana, where each of the jars is said to contain between two and three measures apiece. This is estimated as equivalent to the Heb. *baṯ* which the RSV renders as "twenty or thirty gallons".

3. *metron* occurs 4 times in Paul. In Rom. 12:3 Paul writes: "For by the grace given to me I bid every one among you not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think, but to think with sober judgment, each according to the measure of faith which God has assigned him." C. E. B. Cranfield suggests that the phrase *metron pisteōs* means " 'a standard (by which to measure himself), namely (his) Christian faith'. But since the all-important thing in Christian faith is not the activity of the believer but the Object believed in, to say that the Christian is to measure himself and all things by his faith is really to say that he is to measure himself and all things by Jesus Christ. The *metron pisteōs* is really Jesus Christ himself as the Standard and Norm. For the Christian Jesus Christ himself – and he alone – is the true *pantōn chrēmatōn metron*" ("*metron pisteōs* in Romans xii. 3", *NTS* 8, 1961–62, 351).

In Eph. *metron* occurs in connexion with → gifts: "But grace was given to each according to the measure of Christ's gift" (Eph. 4:7); "until we all attain to the unity of the faith and the knowledge of the Son of God, to mature manhood, to the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ" (Eph. 4:13; → Age, Stature, Maturity, art. *hēlikia* NT 3); "from whom the whole body, joined together by every joint with which it is supplied, when each part is working properly [*kat' energeian en metrō henos hekastou merous*], makes bodily growth and upbuilds itself in love" (Eph. 4:16 RSV). M. Barth sees the phrase as meaning "according to the needs of each single part": "the church is not treated by her head as a collective of mutually exchangeable individuals who are as equal as drops in a bucket of water or grains of sand in a pile" (*Ephesians*, II, *Anchor Bible*, 1974, 449).

On *metron* in 2 Cor. 10:13 → *kanōn* NT 3. It takes up the use of the vb. in v. 12 in connexion with Paul's opponent: "Not that we venture to class or compare ourselves with some of those who commend themselves. But when they measure themselves by

one another, and compare themselves with one another, they are without understanding." The action of these opponents contrasts with Jesus' teaching on measuring. The adj. *ametros*, without measure, occurs also only in this passage (2 Cor. 10:13, 15).

4. Otherwise the noun and the vb. occur only in Rev. In Rev. 11:1 f. Jn. is given a measuring rod like a staff (*kalamos homoios rhabdō*) and is told: "Rise and measure the temple of God and the altar and those who worship there, but do not measure the court outside the temple; leave that out, for it is given over to the nations, and they will trample over the holy city for forty-two months." The vision takes up the theme of Ezek. 40–48, where the measuring was with a view to the reconstruction of the new temple after the destruction of the old. Here the people are also measured. It symbolizes the separation of the church, the new temple of God, from the rest of the world, with the implied promise that God will preserve it. (See further G. R. Beasley-Murray, *The Book of Revelation, New Century Bible*, 1974, 181 f.) Rev. 21:15, 17 again take up the measuring in Ezek. in connexion with the dimensions of the new Jerusalem with its perfect proportions (→ Number, art. *dōdeka*). *C. Brown*

→ Book, → Revelation, → Scripture

(a). K. Aland, *The Problem of the New Testament Canon*, 1962; G. W. Anderson, "Canonical and Non-Canonical", in P. R. Ackroyd and C. F. Evans, eds, *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, I, 1970, 113–58; W. Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity*, 1971; H. W. Beyer, *kanōn*, *TDNT* III 596–602; H. von Campenhausen, *The Formation of the Christian Bible*, 1972; C. E. B. Cranfield, "*metron pisteōs* in Romans xii. 3", *NTS* 8, 1961–62, 345–51; R. M. Grant, *The Formation of the New Testament*, 1965; and "The New Testament Canon", in P. R. Ackroyd and C. F. Evans, eds., op. cit., 284–307; K. Deissner, *metron* etc., *TDNT* IV 632 ff.; E. Käsemann, "The Canon of the New Testament and the Unity of the Church", in *Essays on New Testament Themes*, *SBT* 41, 95–107; A. R. C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning*, 1966; S. Z. Leiman, *The Canonization of Hebrew Scripture: The Talmudic and Midrashic Evidence*, 1976; B. M. Metzger, *An Introduction to the Apocrypha*, 1969[3]; H. M. Orlinsky, "The Canonization of the Bible and the Exclusion of the Apocrypha", in *Essays in Biblical Culture*, 1974, 257–86; H. Ridderbos, "The Canon of the New Testament", in C. F. H. Henry, ed., *Revelation and the Bible: Contemporary Evangelical Thought*, 1959, 187–202; H. E. Ryle, *The Canon of the Old Testament*, 1904[2]; J. A. Sanders, *Torah and Canon*, 1972; A. Souter, *The Text and Canon of the New Testament*, revised by C. S. C. Williams, 1954; E. J. Young, "The Canon of the Old Testament", in C. F. H. Henry, ed., op. cit., 153–68.

(b). N. Appel, *Kanon und Kirche, Konfessionskundliche und kontroverstheologische Studien* 9, 1964; H. Braun, W. Andersen and W. Maurer, *Die Verbindlichkeit des Kanons*, *Fuldaer Hefte* 12, 1960; E. Fuchs, "Kanon und Kerygma", *ZTK* 63, 1966, 410 ff.; S. Greidanus, *Bizondere Canoniek van de Boeken van het Nieuwe Testament*, I–II, 1947–49; O. Joest, "Erwägungen zur kanonischen Bedeutung des Neuen Testaments", *KuD* 12, 1966, 27 ff.; E. Käsemann, ed., *Das Neue Testament als Kanon. Dokumentation und kritische Analyse zur gegenwärtigen Diskussion*, 1970; W. G. Kümmel, "Notwendigkeit und Grenze des neutestamentlichen Kanons", *ZTK* 47, 1950, 277–313 (reprinted in *Heilsgeschehen und Geschichte. Gesammelte Aufsätze 1933–1964*, 1965, 230–59); W. Marxsen, "Das Problem des Kanons aus der Sicht des Exegeten", *Neue Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie* 2, 1960, 137 ff.; H. Oppel, *KANŌN. Zur Bedeutungsgeschichte des Wortes und seiner lateinischen Entsprechungen*, *Philologus*, *Suppl. Band* 30, Heft 4, 1937.

S

Sabbath, Lord's Day

σάββατον

σάββατον (*sabbaton*), sabbath, the seventh day of the week in the Jewish calendar which was set aside as a day of rest and for worship of Yahweh; παρασκευή (*paraskeuē*), preparation, the day of preparation.

OT 1. *Origin of the Term.* The Gk. *sabbaton* transliterates the Heb. *šabbāṯ*. It is found in the sing. and also the plur. (*sabbata*) for a single sabbath day. The derivation of the Heb. word is still uncertain. Etymologically the most likely explanation still seems to be that it is derived from the vb. *šāḇaṯ*, to cease, to pause. This is the explanation implied in Gen. 2:2 f.: "And on the seventh day God finished his work which he had done, and he rested [*wayišbōṯ*] on the seventh day from all his work which he had done. So God blessed the seventh day and hallowed it, because on it God rested [*šāḇaṯ*] from all his work which he had done in creation" (cf. Exod. 20:8–11). Attempts to derive the observance of the OT sabbath from Babylonian, Canaanite (F. Delitzsch, *Babel and Bible*, 1903, 40 f.) or Kenite sources (H. H. Rowley, "Moses and the Decalogue", *BJRL* 34, 1951–52, 81–118; reprinted in *Men of God: Studies in Old Testament History and Prophecy*, 1963, 1–36), have not proved fruitful. There does not seem to be any difference in meaning between the sing. and plur. forms of the Gk. equivalent in the LXX.

2. *The Sabbath in the OT.* The sabbath is mentioned in all parts of the law and in the conjectured source strata (Exod. 34:21[J]; 23:12[E]; 31:12–17; 35:1–3[P]; Lev. 23:1–3[H]). No other commandment is so strongly emphasized as this, showing what great importance it held in Israel's history and carrying the death penalty for its infringement (Exod. 31:14; cf. 35:3; Num. 15:32–36). The rite of → circumcision was performed on the sabbath if it fell on the eighth day after the boy's birth (Lev. 12:3; cf. Jn. 7:22). It is not necessary to insist, as some have, that its origin lay in a settled agricultural community; it would be equally possible for it to have been practised among a nomadic people (E. Lohse, *sabbaton* etc., *TDNT* VIII 3). It may well go back to a pre-Mosaic period (H. H. Rowley, *Men of God*, 27–32), and have been known to the Hebrews when they were in Egypt or even earlier (B. S. Childs, *Memory and Tradition in Israel*, *SBT* 37, 1962, 52).

Sabbath observance is strongly emphasized in both versions of the Decalogue, though in a slightly different form and with a different reason suggested. "Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy. Six days you shall labour, and do all your work; but the seventh day is a sabbath to the LORD your God; in it you shall not do any work, you, or your son, or your daughter, your manservant, or your maidservant, or your

cattle, or the sojourner who is within your gates; for in six days the LORD made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that is in them, and rested the seventh day; therefore the LORD blessed the sabbath day and hallowed it" (Exod. 20:8–11). "Observe the sabbath day, to keep it holy, as the LORD your God commanded you. Six days you shall labour, and do all your work; but the seventh day is a sabbath to the LORD your God; in it you shall not do any work, you, or your son, or your daughter, or your manservant, or your maidservant, or your ox, or your ass, or any of your cattle, or the sojourner who is within your gates, that your manservant and your maidservant may rest as well as you. You shall remember that you were a servant in the land of Egypt, and the LORD your God brought you out thence with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm; therefore the LORD your God commanded you to keep the sabbath day" (Deut. 5:12–15). Thus the Exod. form is linked with creation and the Deut. form with redemption from bondage in → Egypt. In both cases it is for the benefit of man and for calling to mind the fact that man owes everything to God who provides for all his needs. The sabbath is included in the so-called cultic Decalogue: "Six days you shall work, but on the seventh you shall rest; in ploughing time and in harvest you shall rest" (Exod. 34:21).

The emphasis on the aspect of rest from labour in both forms of the Decalogue and in Exod. 34:21 shows that its main purpose was the cessation of ordinary work for one day in seven. In the Exodus form of the Decalogue this is based on the claim that in creation God rested on the seventh day from his activity. Because of this he blessed the day and set it apart as holy. The same view is taken in the account of the creation in Gen. 1:1–2:3. Here, though the noun "sabbath" is not used, the vb. *šābaṯ* occurs together with the exact words used in the commandment: "God blessed the seventh day and hallowed it." As the creation story in Gen. 1 centres on the creation of man on the sixth day, the author evidently intends the inauguration of the sabbath to be seen as the climax of the creation process as it applied to the man who had been formed (B. S. Childs, *Exodus*, 1974, 416). As Eichrodt has pointed out, this shows that the day was regarded as a source of blessing of universal significance and not merely for Israel, and as being coeval with the human race (W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*, I, 1961, 133).

The day then was looked on as a cessation from labour, a pause, a rest, but this with a view to its being dedicated to God, an opportunity for getting to know God and for worshipping him.

Most writers have claimed that a different reason is given for its observance in the Deuteronomic decalogue, emphasizing the strongly humanitarian aspect, which elsewhere marks Deuteronomy. Certainly the command includes the slave and the stranger, as Exod. 20:10 does. It underlines the fact by the comment, "that your manservant and your maidservant may rest as well as you." But the primary reason for the commandment is given in the next verse; and as B. S. Childs rightly points out, it is basically theological (*Exodus*, 417). God's people had been slaves in Egypt, but God mightily delivered them. The sabbath was to be kept holy, because Israel was a redeemed people. The Deuteronomic version then includes a second reason for its observance. Creation and redemption are both motives for its observance, the one for all men, the other especially for Israel.

This second aspect appears also in the law under another form. In Exod. 31:17 the sabbath is looked at as a sign between God and Israel. As B. S. Childs points out,

"the sabbath as a sign is a reminder both to God and Israel of the eternal covenant relationship which was the ultimate purpose of creation" (*Exodus*, 416).

In Lev. 23:1–3 the sabbath is included in the → feasts of the Lord. The feasts were commemorations, days set apart so that Israel might spend time in meditation on different aspects of God's good hand over the nation. Included in their observance were "holy convocations", public acts of worship. Both for the individual and for the community the sabbath then was to be a day of public worship as well as an opportunity for a joyful observance of the day in the home. This was so in pre-exilic times (Hos. 2:11; Amos 8:5; Isa. 1:13). It was a suitable time for consulting a prophet (2 Ki. 4:23).

On the sabbath special sacrifices were to be offered (Num. 28:9), and with them the renewal of the → Bread of the Presence (Lev. 24:8); thus linking the sabbath with the official ritual of tabernacle and temple. It seems that special Psalms were appointed (cf. the title of Ps. 92).

The insistence on the laying aside of work, even in the busiest times of ploughing and harvest (Exod. 34:21), and the infliction of the death penalty for its breach (Num. 15:32; Exod. 31:14), show the supreme importance attached to this command in the life of Israel.

Yet it was to be looked at, not as a burden, but as a joyful feast, a delight, "holy to the LORD" (Isa. 58:23). Special blessings were attached to its observance (Isa. 56:2).

After the exile, in the disordered state of the nation, it is natural to find that it is emphasized strongly in Nehemiah's reforms (Neh. 10:32; 13:15–22).

To summarize, the OT attitude to the sabbath was to regard it as a divine ordinance which was universal, but especially relevant to Israel as a redeemed people. Negatively it was observed by a cessation of labour; positively it was a feast of the Lord, an opportunity to concentrate in private and in public on the things of God. Its atmosphere was to be that of a joyful festival; its observance to be taken very seriously by all.

3. *The Sabbath in the Intertestamental Period.* During this period Judaism gradually began to divide into two types. In Palestine itself and in Mesopotamia a more rigid and legal attitude emerged; while in other parts of the diaspora a more liberal attitude prevailed. Both sections insisted on the observance of the sabbath as a divine institution and, with → circumcision, as one of the signs of the → covenant. Synagogue worship on the sabbath was a regular feature of both types (S B IV, 1, 153–88).

In Hellenistic circles a more mystical and spiritual attitude to the sabbath emerged. Philo insisted that it was not meant for *argia*, emptiness, but should be dedicated to the study of the spiritual (*Decal.*, 100). On that day the slave became a free man. With the translation of the OT into Greek, while the word itself was transliterated, *anapausis* (rest) was given as its meaning (Josephus, *Ant.* 1, 33; Philo, *De Cherubim*, 87).

Palestinian Judaism tended towards a more literal and rigid attitude. In order to safeguard its observance, a "hedge" came to be set round the commandment. Traditions of how it was to be observed began to crystallize. To protect it from loose Gentile influences, a stereotyped code of what could or could not be done on the sabbath came into existence. Jub. 2:17–33 is the earliest record. Much the same occurs in the Damascus Document (CD). Even the rescue of an animal from death on the sabbath

was forbidden (CD 10:14–11:18). The traditions, later incorporated into the Mishnah, became codified. The first tractate of the second division of the Mishnah is devoted to the Sabbath. In Shabbath 7:2 the main classes of work forbidden on the sabbath are given as "forty save one". However, under certain circumstances, the sabbath law could be superseded. These included the service of the priests in the temple, the saving of life in emergency and circumcision on the eighth day.

Yet in spite of these burdensome regulations the sabbath was welcomed with joy. It was to be celebrated at home as rest and refreshment and corporately in public worship (Shabbath 119a). On the day before, the Preparation, everything was to be got ready and the lamps lit as the sabbath commenced at sunset. A meal extra to the normal two was added and the best clothes worn (Shabbath 16:2). Guests would be invited (cf. Mk. 14:3). Half the day was to be spent in eating and drinking and half in instruction in the things of God (Babylonian Talmud Pesahim 68).

The noun *paraskeuē*, which is found in secular Gk. from Hdt. onwards, means preparation, but in Christian literature it is used only of the day of preparation for a festival or sabbath. According to Jewish usage, it was the Friday on which everything had to be prepared for the sabbath (Josephus, *Ant.* 16, 163; Synesius, *Epistola* 4, p. 161D; cf. Matt. 27:62; Mk. 15:42; Lk. 23:54; Jn. 19:31, 42). In the Didache it is regarded as a fast day, marking the death of Jesus (Did. 8:1).

NT 1. *The Gospels.* The Palestinian attitude to sabbath observance is in evidence in the Gospels. Christ's conflicts with the Jews, mentioned in all four Gospels, centre on the question of what was or was not permissible on the sabbath. In each case Jesus or his disciples are challenged over this. In all but one of these it is a question of healing on the sabbath day. The other occasion is when the disciples plucked the ears of corn as they passed through the field.

R. Bultmann has suggested that the sayings attributed to Jesus on some, if not all, these occasions are in fact the thoughts of the early church as it grappled with the problems of the situation in which it found itself (*Jesus and the Word*, 1958, 14). But it seems most unlikely that in this case, in the process of abandoning the seventh day sabbath observance, it would have put into Jesus' mouth words which make no decisive pronouncement. Is it not much more likely that, particularly in Luke, there would have been an outright condemnation of Jewish sabbath observance, if this were the case? It may well be that the authors of the Gospels, in selecting their material, did have the immediate problems of the church in view, but unlikely that their choice was limited to this. It seems reasonable then to take the words of Jesus in these controversies as authentic.

Taking the six recorded confrontations with the Jews over the sabbath question, the replies of Jesus will offer some clues as to whether he was in fact abrogating a day of rest or merely challenging the restrictions which in their traditions the rabbis had imposed.

(a) Mk. 2:23–26; Matt. 12:1–8; Lk. 6:1–5. These par. accounts relate the incident of the plucking of the ears of corn on the sabbath day. According to the → Pharisees, this was breaking the law. In Matt.'s account the reason given is that the disciples were hungry. This is not mentioned in Mark, though the answer seems to assume it. Jesus claims that, as in the case of → David and his men (1 Sam. 21:1–6; cf. 2 Sam. 8:17; Deut. 23:25), human need overrides the ritual law, in this case the

sabbath law (cf. Exod. 23:12; Deut. 5:4). The law itself is not challenged, but Jesus claims an overriding factor.

(b) Mk. 3:1–6; Matt. 12:9–14; Lk. 6:6–11. These passages describe the healing of the man with the withered hand. In this case, before healing him, Jesus asks the Jewish leaders whether it is lawful on the sabbath day, "to do good or to do harm, to save life or to kill?" Again there is no challenge to the law itself; in fact the wording assumes its relevance. The right use of the law, the salvation, the making whole of man, is the great object behind that law and therefore the healing is justified.

(c) Lk. 13:10–17 relates the story of a woman bowed down with infirmity. She came into the synagogue and Jesus restored her. This roused the anger of the ruler of the synagogue. Jesus' reply includes two points. What he had done was an act of mercy such as they themselves would have allowed to an animal. It was also the destruction of a work of → Satan. There is no hint that the principle of a day of rest was being questioned, but merely the right use of the day.

(d) Lk. 14:1–6. In this case Jesus again opens the discussion by asking the Pharisees whether it is right to heal on the sabbath day or not. To this they offered no reply. This is a particularly important incident, as the question was addressed to those who were expert in the law (*nomikous*). Jesus proceeded to heal the man and then explained that healing the sick is in fact just as much an act of mercy as the pulling out of an animal from a well. The fact that the experts could offer no reply suggests that they agreed that Jesus was not challenging the sabbath law.

(e) Jn. 5:1–9, 16, 17; 7:22. Here the man who had been infirm for thirty-eight years was healed by Jesus on the sabbath day and told to take up his bed and walk, possibly a part of the complete healing. The Jews persecuted Jesus. He replied, "My Father is working up till now and I am working." In other words, he is continuing, in the healing, the work that the Father has all the while been doing. The Jews then plotted to kill him, because he was breaking the sabbath and making himself equal to → God. Some commentators take this as being the view of the author that Jesus was in fact annulling the sabbath (E. Lohse, *TDNT* VII 27); but it seems best, after what has been said in the other controversies, to take it that it was the view of his accusers. This is confirmed by the words in Jn. 7:22, where Jesus explains that the law of circumcision overrides the law of the sabbath. Had he been annulling the sabbath law, he would hardly have argued in this way, and again the words "until now [*heōs arti*]" suggest that, all the while that the sabbath command was in force, God was in fact working. In other words, the sabbath command does not mean doing nothing (*argia*), but the doing of the work of God. This was in fact what Christ had been doing in the healing of the infirm man.

(f) Jn. 9. In the case of the man born → blind, no words are spoken by Christ to defend his action, but in the answer to the disciples' question in v. 2, Christ claims the sabbath healing was "that the works of God might be made manifest."

(g) In addition to these incidents there is the reference in Lk. 4:16 to Jesus' attendance at the synagogue "as was his custom". The natural meaning of this expression is that Jesus followed the ordinary habits of Jewish worship on the sabbath day. This certainly had been the pattern of his boyhood (Lk. 2:22, 41). It may be significant that, at his trial before the Sanhedrin (Matt. 26:57–68 par. Mk. 14:53–65; Lk. 22:54–71; Jn. 18:13–24), while the accusation of destroying the temple is included, there is no mention of an annulling of the sabbath law.

(h) In Matt. 24:20, Christ's followers are told to pray that in the coming destruction of Jerusalem their flight should not occur in the winter or on the sabbath day. This need not imply that Christ foresaw his followers continuing to observe the sabbath, but merely that it would be impossible to get help or buy what was needed in the emergency on a sabbath day in the vicinity of Jerusalem.

We may conclude then, that though Jesus broke through the rabbinic traditions about the sabbath, there was no annulling of the observance of the day.

(i) Turning now to Mk. 2:27, there is a positive statement of Christ's about the sabbath. Here its institution is stated to have been made for man's good and it would seem that there is at least an indirect reference to the account in Gen. 2:1, 2 (J. Jeremias, *New Testament Theology*, I, 1971, 208). It would then imply that the ordinance was not merely for Israel, but had a pre-Israelite, worldwide, humanitarian, implication. This is followed by the claim, mentioned in the other two Gospels, that Jesus was "Lord of the sabbath". In other words, he has the authority to decide about its observance. Far from suggesting that, though a benefit to man, it was to be annulled, it would suggest that the manner of its observance was under the control of Christ himself.

The *paraskeuē*, lit. preparation, i.e. day of preparation, is mentioned only in the Gospels in connexion with chronology (Matt. 27:62; Mk. 15:42; Lk. 23:54; Jn. 19:14, 31, 42). The corresponding vb. *paraskeuazō* which has the general meaning of to prepare occurs in Acts 10:10; 1 Cor. 14:8; 2 Cor. 9:2 f.

2. *The Acts of the Apostles.* Turning to the Acts of the Apostles, we find that in the decrees of the Jerusalem Council in ch. 15 no mention is made of the sabbath. This would imply that it was not a point of disagreement between Jewish and Gentile Christians. Paul on his missionary journeys seized the opportunity to preach as occasion arose in the synagogues on the sabbath day and this was his custom (Acts 13:5, 14, 44; 14:1; 16:13; 17:2, 17; 18:4; 19:8). Yet we find him meeting with the Christians on the → first day of the week, although he was at Troas for seven days (Acts 20:7; cf. 1 Cor. 16:2; → *kyriakē*).

3. *The Epistles.* There are three significant passages in the Epistles of Paul, where the Christian attitude to the sabbath is dealt with.

(a) Rom. 14:5 f. There is no direct reference here to the sabbath, but the passage touches on this theme. It deals with the weak Christian, one who still is influenced by the letter of the law. In the case of days, instead of thinking of one day as being specially sacred, the strong Christian considers all days as God's days. All days are to be lived to God. No day *in itself* has any special sanctity.

(b) Gal. 4:10. Paul is addressing Gentile converts who now, after their conversion, are turning to a scrupulous observance ("you observe [*paratēreisthe*]") of Jewish ritual, special days, new moons, feasts and the yearly observances enjoined in the Levitical regulations. They are taking on themselves the Jewish law. Paul will not countenance a reversal to Jewish practices for Gentile Christians.

(c) Col. 2:16. Here Paul argues that the Jewish law (the legal demands) were cancelled in the death of Christ (v. 14), and therefore the Jewish food regulations and religious calendar are not binding on the Christian. Included in this ritual was the Jewish sabbath observance. These observances, Paul claims, pointed to a spiritual reality fulfilled in Christ.

(d) There remains one other passage bearing on the sabbath. This is Heb. 4:9;

"there remains a keeping of sabbath [*sabbatismos*] to the people of God." Here the rest typified by the sabbath is seen as the rest of heart, provided in Christ (cf. Matt. 11:28) to be realized partially now and fully in the life to come.

4. *Theological Insights.* As the rest of God after creation did not exclude the idea of the sabbath day each week, but included it, may it not well be that the rest of heart remaining to the people of God still includes the foretaste of the final rest in the weekly rest day? Or are we to take it that in this spiritual conception of a sabbath rest to the people of God, clearly not limited to one day, the practical observance of a day of rest and worship has been annulled? We have seen that the sabbath concept includes both a national aspect as part of the covenant relationship with the Jews, and a universal aspect as a spiritual and humanitarian benefit for mankind as a whole. The end of the sabbath, as a sign of the covenant with Israel, does not necessarily involve the abolition of the concept of a weekly day of rest. From Christ's words in Mk. 2:27 it would seem that such an outward enjoyment of a sabbath rest was an integral part of the inward heart rest, of which the sabbath under the old covenant had been a shadow. The fact that before the close of the NT an analogous day for Christians, the Lord's Day, had already come into being suggests that this is the right solution of the problem.

W. Rordorf has suggested that Christians did not look upon the Christian Sunday as a day of rest, the sabbath ideal, until the decree of Constantine in A.D. 321 (*Sunday: The History of the Day of Rest and Worship in the Earliest Centuries of the Christian Church*, 1962). Until that time they had made use of the first day as a day on which they worshipped, without considering it a day of rest. Apart from the unlikely suggestion that a pagan emperor would order a day of rest which had never been practised before, and that day not the Jewish sabbath, there is evidence against this view in pre-Constantine patristic texts. (For detailed discussion see W. Stott, *The Theology of the Christian Sunday in the Early Church*, Dissertation, Oxford, 1966.)

W. Stott

κυριακή — κυριακή (*kyriakē*), the Lord's (day).

OT 1. *The Origin of the Word kyriakē in Secular Literature and in the NT. kyriakē*, belonging to the Lord, is an adj. derived from *kyrios*, → Lord. It is doubtful if the word was used in LXX. In 2 Macc. 15:36 it is more probable that *Syriakē* is the right reading. It occurs in inscriptions and papyri from 68 B.C. with the meaning of belonging to, or connected with the lord, the proprietor, and officially of the emperor.

It is used only once in the NT besides the reference in Rev. 1:10. This is in 1 Cor. 11:20 *kyriakon deipnon*, the → Lord's Supper. Here it would mean "the supper instituted by the Lord" or "belonging to the Lord". In patristic writings it is used of "the words" of Christ, the covenants, the people, the house, the cross, but most commonly of the Lord's Day.

2. *Its Use in Rev. 1:10.* While it has been claimed that it refers to the last day, or even to Easter, it seems certain that the expression is the name which had come to be given to the first day of the week. From Ignatius (Mag. 9:1) onwards this is its mean-

ing in patristic writers (cf. W. Stott, "A Note on the Word KYRIAKĒ in Rev. 1:10", *NTS* 12, 1965–66, 70–75).

It may be taken for granted that the adj., rather than the genitive of the noun, was used to differentiate it from "the day of the Lord" (2 Thess. 2:2). In the versions it is translated by an adj. and not a genitive. But as the word had already been attached to the supper in Pauline literature, and there it hinted at a special connexion with Christ in its institution, it may well carry something of this meaning as it is used here in Rev. 1:10.

3. *The Theological Deductions.* If, as we have suggested, "the Lord's Day" referred to the Christian Sunday, the first day of the week, in order to see its theological significance it will be necessary to examine other passages which refer to the first day of the week. The earliest reference is in 1 Cor. 16:2, where Paul asks the Corinthian Christians to lay something aside on each first day of the week. It seems unlikely that this was a pay-day and more likely that, while the laying aside was at home, the day's connexion with Christian worship would make it easy to remember this duty. This suggests that the first day was becoming the regular day of worship. In Acts 20:7 also we find Paul meeting with the Christians at Troas to break bread, probably the Eucharist, on the first day of the week, although he was with them for seven days. By the time of the Didache this was certainly the regular day of worship for the church. The strong emphasis on the first day of the week, as the day on which Christ rose from the dead in all four Gospels, suggests that the theological reason for the change from the seventh to the first day was the resurrection of our Lord (Matt. 28:1; Mk. 16:2, 9; Lk. 24:1; Jn. 20:1).

From what we have seen of the institution of the sabbath in the OT with its humanitarian and spiritual advantages, of Christ's insistence that it was made for man, of Paul's insistence that no day in itself has any special sacredness, nor are we to be involved in the Jewish ritual calendar, we may fairly assume that the Christian church was guided by the Holy Spirit to attach the same privileges and blessings of one sacred day of rest in seven to the new Lord's Day. This was the day on which Christ in his resurrection was revealed as Lord, and the day would be celebrated with this thought in view. *W. Stott*

→ Present, → Redemption (for sabbatical year), → Time, → Work

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Sacrifice, First Fruits, Altar, Offering

Sacrifice, which forms a part of all cultic religions, is a ritual action intended to influence unseen powers, and in certain cases render their malignant activities innocuous by offering them satisfaction and so effecting positive blessings. The general import of sacrifice can be most easily characterized by the ancient Roman formula *do ut des* ("I give, so that you may give"). However, the sacrifices of the Israelite cultus are to be seen within the context of Israel's → covenant relationship with Yahweh. In the NT the idea of sacrifice plays an important rôle, where it is a category for the interpretation of the → death of Jesus. It is also found, as in general in the ancient world, pictorially and in ethical contexts. The regular, general term for sacrifice in the Gk. world is *thysia*. The special form of the gift of the first fruits, *aparchē*, is dealt with in its own individual section on linguistic and material grounds. See also → Cross, → Death, → Gift, → Lord's Supper.

ἀπαρχή — ἀπαρχή (*aparchē*), the gift of the first fruits, offering, gift.

CL *aparchē*, used since Soph. and Hdt., is a technical term of sacrificial language and denotes the first fruits of any sort, e.g. of natural products or of livestock, which were sacred to the deity and had to be consecrated to it before the whole could be given over to profane use (Hdt., 1, 92). In religious contexts there is also occasional mention of the offering of individual men or of whole groups to the deity (Plut., *De Pythiae Oraculis* 16; *Quaestiones Graecae* 35). This is mainly a question of the dedication of men to life-long service in the sanctuary (*hierodouloi*, temple slaves). Later the meaning of *aparchē* grew to include the payment of regular taxes in the secular sphere, such as death-duty to the state (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 16, 172).

OT In the LXX *aparchē* translates initially the Heb. *rē'šît*, lit. beginning, chief, first (of fruits etc.), meaning the offering of the first fruits of natural products, such as wine and cereals, which were consecrated to Yahweh, the giver of fruitfulness (Num. 18:2; Deut. 18:4; 26:2, 10; 2 Chr. 31:5). It is also found at Exod. 23:19; Lev. 2:12; 23:10; Num. 15:20 f.; Deut. 33:21; 1 Sam. 2:29; Neh. 10:3; 12:44; Pss. 78(77):51; 105(104):36; Ezek. 20:40; 44:30. But most commonly *aparchē* renders *t'rûmâh*, contribution, offering, which denotes the contribution of natural products or money to the cult for the → priests and → Levites (Exod. 25:2 f.; Deut. 12:11, 17; 2 Chr. 31:10, 12, 14), which is similarly understood as a thank-offering to Yahweh. Other

instances are: Exod. 35:5 f.; Lev. 22:12; Num. 5:9; 18:8, 11; 31:29; 2 Sam. 1:21; 2 Esd. 8:25; Neh. 10:40(39); 13:5; Mal. 3:8; Ezek. 20:40; 44:30; 45:1, 6 f., 13, 16; 48:8 ff., 12, 18, 20 f. This cultic practice is supported by the Israelite belief in → creation: Yahweh is the glory and owner of human, animal and plant life. The gift of the first fruits of everything living therefore belongs to him (Num. 18:15 [Heb. *bᵉkôr*, LXX *prōtotokos*]; Exod. 23:19; → First).

aparchē also renders *ḥēleḇ*, fat (Num. 18:12, 29 f., 32), *ma'ᵃśēr*, tenth part, → tithe (Deut. 12:6 *v.l.*), and *tᵉnûpâh*, offering (Exod. 38:24[39:1]), a term which is also used of the wave-offering. It is without Heb. equivalent at Exod. 22:28(29); Num. 18:1; 1 Sam. 10:4; Tob. 1:6; Jud. 11:13; Sir. 7:31 *v.l.*; 24:9 *v.l.*; 35(32):8; 45:20; Ezek. 20:31.

NT In the NT *aparchē* occurs only 9 times, of which 7 instances are in Paul.

1. In Rom. 11:16 Paul takes up the thought of Num. 15:17–21: "If the dough offered as first fruits is holy, so is the whole lump; and if the root is holy, so are the branches." Admittedly, there is a certain difference between the OT example and Paul's conclusions. In the case of the Israelites, the rest of the dough could be put to profane use. On the other hand, as M. Black points out, "By offering the 'first fruits' of the dough, i.e. probably the first loaf baked, the whole mass of dough is consecrated (Num. 15:17 ff.) Israel, as a whole, is consecrated through the Patriarchs (the 'holy root'; and cf. verse 28)" (*Romans*, *New Century Bible*, 1973, 144). By means of this exegesis, which is not untypical of rabbinic thought, Paul argues that the first fruits of Israel, the faith of the patriarchs (e.g. of → Abraham, Rom. 11:28), guarantee the rôle in salvation history of the nation as a whole. For the analogy of the root and branch → Olive.

2. *aparchē* has a similar figurative sense in Rom. 16:5, where Paul speaks of Epaenetus as the first fruits ("the first convert", RSV) of the province of Asia. Similarly, in 1 Cor. 16:15 the household of Stephanas is called the first fruits of Achaia. They were the first Christian converts as a result of the evangelization of these provinces. The same thought is found in the *v.l.* of 2 Thess. 2:13: "But we are bound to give thanks to God always for you, brethren beloved by the Lord, because God chose you from the beginning [*ap' archēs*; *v.l.* "as the first fruits", *aparchēn*] to be saved, through sanctification by the Spirit and belief in the truth." The similarity of form explains the difficulties in copying. Perhaps "first fruits" is to be preferred, by analogy with the other Pauline passages, and because Paul nowhere else uses the phrase "from the beginning" (cf. Metzger, 636 f.).

More generally, James addresses his readers as the first fruits of God's creation: "Of his own will he brought us forth by the word of truth that we should be a kind of first fruits of his creatures" (Jas. 1:18). According to Philo, the people of Israel were set apart "as a kind of first fruits to the Maker and Father" (*Spec. Leg.* 4, 180). Here in Jas. Christians are thought of as the first fruits of the new created order which supersedes the old Israel. They are "a temporary down-payment to be followed by the remaining members of the species" (M. Dibelius and H. Greeven, *James*, *Hermeneia*, 1976, 106).

In Rev. 14:4 the hundred and forty-four thousand are similarly so described: "It is these who have not defiled themselves with women, for they are chaste; it is these who follow the Lamb wherever he goes; these have been redeemed from mankind as

first fruits for God and the Lamb". (On the hundred and forty-four thousand → Number, art. *chilias* NT 4.)

3. Rom. 8:23 reverses the OT relationship of giver and receiver: "and not only the creation, but we ourselves, who have the first fruits of the Spirit, groan inwardly as we wait for adoption as sons, the redemption of our bodies." Here it is not God but believers who are the recipients of the first fruits. The gift of the → Spirit is seen as the first instalment and guarantee of the eschatological → redemption of the → body. (On the interpretation of this passage → Prayer, art. *entynchanō*; and on the nature of the resurrection body → Resurrection, art. *The Resurrection in Contemporary Theology* 2.)

4. In 1 Cor. 15:20 *aparchē* is used in connexion with the → resurrection: "But in fact Christ has been raised from the dead, the first fruits of those who have fallen asleep." The assertion follows the reflection that, "If in this life we who are in Christ have only hope, we are of all men most to be pitied" (v. 19). If Christ has not been raised both preaching and faith are → empty (v. 14). Christ's resurrection is thus a guarantee of the believer's resurrection. "This analogy may have come more readily to Paul's mind if he was writing between Passover (5:7 f.) and Pentecost (16:8): the presentation of the first fruits soon after Passover inaugurated the seven weeks which terminated at Pentecost (Lev. 23:15 ff.; cf. verse 4 above)" (F. F. Bruce, *1 and 2 Corinthians*, *New Century Bible*, 1971, 145). The thought is further developed in v. 23 in relation to the eschatological order of resurrection life: "But each in his own order: Christ the first fruits, then at his coming those who belong to Christ" (→ Present, art. *The Parousia and Eschatology in the NT* 2 (c)).*H.-G. Link, C. Brown*

θύω

θύω (*thyō*), to sacrifice, slaughter, kill, celebrate; *θυσία* (*thysia*), sacrifice, offering, act of offering; *θυσιαστήριον* (*thysiastērion*), altar; *προσφορά* (*prosphora*), offering, the act of offering, the offering that is brought; *εἰδολόθυτον* (*eidōlothyton*), a thing sacrificed to idols; *ὁλοκαύτωμα* (*holokautōma*), whole burnt offering.

CL 1. *thyō* (used since Homer) has in secular Gk. the basic meaning of to sacrifice, though originally in connexion with the smoke-offering it meant to smoke, and in particular, in the active form, to offer a smoking or a burnt sacrifice (Homer, *Il.* 9, 219; Xen., *Cyr.* 8, 7, 3). Because sacrificial animals or portions of animals – and human beings also – were burnt, *thyō* also assumed the meaning to slaughter for cultic ends (Hdt., 1, 216; Eur., *Iph. Taur.* 621). The noun *thysia* (since Pindar) signifies the ritual of sacrifice as well as the sacrificial animal or any other similar sacrificial gift (Hdt., 4, 60; Thuc., 8, 70).

2. *prosphora* meant originally bringing, presenting. It was also used of income, revenue, and the offering of sacrificial gifts, then in particular an offering of food, especially in the form of a gift of cereals. From Sophocles onwards, in the connotation of making an offering in the form of a gift, the expression came to indicate total submission to the deity in cultic acts (Theophrastus, *Characteres* 30, 19). For further discussion see R. K. Yerkes, *Sacrifice in Greek and Roman Religion and in Early Judaism*, 1952. *F. Thiele*

OT 1. *Principal Sources.* Many passages in the OT exhibit the wide-ranging significance which sacrifice acquired in Israel. The most important sources are the Cultic Decalogue (Exod. 34), the Book of the Covenant (Exod. 20:22–23:33), Deut. 12–26, the final part of the book of Ezekiel (chs. 40–48), and the so-called Priestly Code (especially Exod. 24–Num. 10). The OT does not present a single concept of sacrifice which embraces the whole, but rather a variety of inter-related ideas. Many scholars hold that most of the sacrificial rites of the OT did not originate in faith in Yahweh (cf. G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, I, 1962, 252; R. Dussaud, *Les Origines Cananéennes du Sacrifice Israélite*, 1941 [2]; H. H. Rowley, "The Meaning of Sacrifice in the Old Testament", *BJRL* 33, 1950–51, 74–110; reprinted in *From Moses to Qumran: Studies in the Old Testament*, 1963, 67–107; R. de Vaux, *Studies in Old Testament Sacrifice*, 1964). It is widely held that they developed in part in the struggle with neighbouring heathen, particularly Canaanite, cults (cf. Lev. 20:2 ff.; Deut. 18), and that they were the product of a lengthy and complex development. In the OT the sacrificial cultus forms part of the Mosaic legislation.

2. *Cultic Sites.* The offering of sacrifice is localized at a cultic site which centres on the altar (Heb. *mizbēaḥ*, place of sacrifice, which is related to the vb. *zāḇaḥ*, to slaughter or sacrifice, and the noun *zeḇaḥ*, a sacrifice). The LXX is the first place where the corresponding Gk. noun *thysiastērion*, sacrificial table, altar, occurs. It is found in the LXX 419 times. Its use remains confined to Jewish and Christian literature. *thysiastērion* is always used as the "altar of the God of the Bible" (J. Behm, *TDNT* III 182), e.g. the altar of burnt offering (Lev. 4:7 etc.), the altar of incense (Exod. 30:1; 40:5), and the altar on which Abraham intended to offer Isaac (Gen. 22:9 f.). For the altars of foreign gods *bōmos* is used (for *mizbēaḥ*, Exod. 34:13; Num. 3:10; 23:1 f., 4, 14, 29 f.; Deut. 7:5; 12:3; Jos. 22:10 f., 16, 19, 23, 26, 34; 2 Chr. 31:1; Isa. 17:8; 27:9; Jer. 11:13; for *bāmâh*, high place, Hos. 10:8; Amos 7:9; Isa. 15:2; 16:12; Jer; 7:31; 48[31]:35; 32[39]:35; cf. also 1 Macc. 1:46, 54, 59; 2:23 ff., 45; 5:68; 2 Macc. 2:19; 10:2; 13:8). This distinction was not, however, preserved by Philo (cf. *Spec. Leg.* 1, 285 ff.; 1, 290; *Vit. Mos.* 2, 196) and Josephus (*Ant.* 8, 88 and 230).

The patriarchs built their own altars and offered sacrifice without recourse to priesthood: → Noah (Gen. 8:20); → Abraham (Gen. 12:6 ff.; 13:18; 22:9); Isaac (Gen. 26:25); Jacob (Gen. 33:20; 35:1–7); → Moses (Exod. 17:15). Archaeologists have discovered Canaanite altars from the 14th and 13th centuries B.C. onwards. Moses was instructed to tell the people to make an altar of earth (Exod. 20:24 ff.). The altar built by → Elijah on Carmel consisted of twelve uncut stones representing the twelve tribes (1 Ki. 18:31 f.). Altars were also built by Joshua (Jos. 8:30 f.; cf. Deut. 27:5), Gideon (Jdg. 6:24 ff.) and David (2 Sam. 24:18–25). See also Jos. 22:10–34; 1 Sam. 20:6, 29. Solomon's altar was probably a new one (1 Ki. 8:22, 54, 64; 9:25). This bronze altar for burnt offerings stood in the inner court. It was 20 cubits square and 10 cubits high (2 Chr. 4:1). Between this and the porch was the bronze laver (1 Ki. 7:23–26; cf. 16:17). Within the holy place in the tabernacle was a miniature altar of → incense, overlaid with gold (Exod. 30:1–10; → Tent). To this altar only Aaron and the high priests had access, for burning incense morning and evening and for making atonement once a year on the Day of Atonement. The horns of the altar were projections which were smeared with the blood of the sacrifice (Exod. 29:12; 30:10; Lev. 4:7). On the large altar the victims were tied to them (Ps.

118:27). Offenders might cling to them for safety (1 Ki. 2:28). In Ezekiel's vision of the temple no incense altar is mentioned, but the altar of burnt offering is described in detail (Ezek. 43:13–17), employing Babylonian concepts. When the temple was rebuilt after the exile it was provided with altars (cf. Josephus, *Ap.* 1, 21; and the Letter of Aristeas). Antiochus Epiphanes removed the golden altar in 169 B.C. (1 Macc. 1:21), and two years later surmounted the altar of burnt offering with the → abomination of desolation (1 Macc. 1:54). The Maccabees built a new altar and restored the altar of incense (1 Macc. 4:44–49). In the time of Herod the altar of burnt offering was a pile of unhewn stones approached by a ramp (for description see the Mishnah tractate Middoth 3).

3. *Types of Sacrifice.* Various forms of sacrifice are described in the OT, and they are named according to the occasion and form of the gift.

(a) The *ḥaṭṭā't* (LXX *peri hamartias*, lit. "for sins") is generally rendered "sin offering" (cf. the vb. *ḥāṭā'*, to miss a goal or way, to sin, and the noun *ḥēṭ'*, sin). However, "purgation offering" has been proposed as an alternative on the grounds that the name is derived from the piel form of the vb. *ḥiṭṭē'* which is synonymous with *ṭihar*, to purify (e.g. Ezek. 43:23–26) and *kipper*, to purge (Ezek. 43:20, 26) (cf. J. Milgrom. *IDB Supplementary Volume*, 1976, 766). In this sacrifice the → blood of the animal is not used on the person. The rites for the healed leper (Lev. 14) and the consecration of the priest involve this sacrifice and the daubing by blood, but the blood is taken from a different sacrifice. The priest purges the sanctuary by means of the *ḥaṭṭā't* on the behalf of the person or group of persons who have polluted it. The reason for the pollution may be physical impurity (e.g. Lev. 12–15) or an unwitting offence against Yahweh (e.g. Lev. 4). Unrepented impurities cannot be so purged (Num. 15:27–31) but must be dealt with by the Day of Atonement ritual (→ Reconciliation, art. *hilaskomai* OT).

The underlying idea of purging is further illustrated by the fact that a person was contaminated by the blood of the sacrifice (Lev. 6:27). Earthenware objects used for the sin offering had to be broken and metal ones scoured (Lev. 6:28; 11:33, 35; 15:12; Num. 31:22 f.). Those who burned the sin offering after it had purged the sanctuary had to submit to ablutions (Lev. 16:16, 28; cf. also Num. 19:8 ff., 21). The sacrifice absorbed the impurity, and by that fact could also contaminate. For a similar idea outside the OT cf. the Hittite Code § 44 (*ANET*, 191). On occasion the priests could eat it (Lev. 6:29). "But no sin offering shall be eaten from which any blood is brought into the tent of meeting to make atonement in the holy place; it shall be burned with fire" (Lev. 6:30). It was thus burned outside the camp (Lev. 4:11 f., 21), and the one who burnt it must also purify himself before returning (Lev. 16:28).

Three stages have been noted in the purging of the sanctuary (cf. J. Milgrom, op. cit., 767): (i) When an individual commits an inadvertent sin or contracts impurity, the blood of the sin offering is daubed on the horns of the outer altar (Lev. 4:25; 9:9; 14:19). (ii) When the entire community commits an inadvertency, the blood is brought inside the shrine, where it is sprinkled before the veil and daubed on the horns of the inner altar (Lev. 4:5 ff., 16 ff.). (iii) For presumptuous sins the blood is brought inside the adytum where it is sprinkled before and upon the ark, followed by the ritual of the previous two stages in reverse order (cf. the Day of Atonement ritual in Lev. 16).

Repentance is a precondition of the sin offering (Lev. 4:22 f., 27 f.). The sacrifice

covers the inadvertent violation of prohibitive commandments (Lev. 4:2, 13, 22, 27), but not the neglect of performative commandments. The type of animal offered is related to the social and economic position of the offender: a bull for the high priest and community, a he-goat for a chief, and a female of the flock for a common Israelite (cf. Lev. 4:2–21; 9:2 f., 15; 16:5, 11; with Num. 15:22–26). The very poor could offer birds or flour (Lev. 5:1–13). Where more than one kind of sacrifice is offered, the sin offering take precedence, because the altar must first be purged before other gifts may be offered (cf. Lev. 5:8 with Num. 6:14 ff.). The man who deliberately delayed purification is warned that he will bear his iniquity (Lev. 17:16; Num. 19:13, 20).

(b) The *'āšām* (LXX *plēmmeleia*) is generally translated as "guilt offering". It is related to the vb. *'āsam*, to offend, be guilty, incur liability to someone (cf. Lev. 5:19), and where it has no personal object, to feel guilty (e.g. Lev. 5:5, 17; 6:4[5:23]). J. Milgrom sees the underlying meaning as reparation (cf. Lev. 5:6), especially in view of the vbs. used in connexion with it: *hēšîḇ*, restore (Num. 5:7 f.; 18:9; 1 Sam. 6:3 f., 17) and *šillēm*, repay (Lev. 5:24[6:5]) (op. cit., 768). It thus implies indemnities. Moreover, the *'āšām* is the only sacrifice upon which value is set in terms of money (Lev. 5:15, 18; 6:6[5:25]).

The guilt offering was to be offered, together with a fine to the value of one fifth, for unwitting trespass in any holy thing (Lev. 5:14; cf. also Lev. 27). The nature of the trespass is not defined in the OT, though in Hittite documents it can be related both to the animate and the inanimate (*ANET*, 208). Particular cases where the guilt offering has to be made include reparation by the Nazirite for desecrating his hair and vow (Num. 6:1–12), the desecration of Israel by foreign nations (Jer. 2:3), and the desecration of Israel by mixed marriages (Ezra 10:19). Lev. 5:17 ff. prescribes the guilt offering for unwitting sins in order to avoid divine retribution (cf. *ANET*, 34 ff., 391 ff.). The healed leper had to offer the *'āšām* (Lev. 14:10–32; → Leprosy). It was also to be offered in cases of breach of faith (Lev. 6:1–7[5:20–26]), which also entailed restoration of the value of the property plus a one-fifth fine. This is furher elaborated in Num. 5:6 ff. which stipulates that in cases where the owner dies without heirs the total reparation belongs to the sanctuary, and also that the guilty party must express his repentance in confession.

Isa. 53:10 f. declares of the servant of Yahweh: "Yet it was the will of the LORD to bruise him; he has made him sick; when thou makest his soul an offering for sin [MT *'im-tāśîm 'āšām napšô*; LXX *ean dōte peri hamartias*], he shall see his offspring, he shall prolong his days; the will of the LORD shall prosper in his hand; he shall see the fruit of the travail of his soul and be satisfied; by his knowledge shall the righteous one, my servant, make many to be accounted righteous; and he shall bear their iniquities [MT *ʿāwōnōṯām*; LXX *tas hamartias auton*]" (RSV mg.). In this unique passage the servant of Yahweh takes over the rôle of the animal in the guilt offering by the offering of his own life. (On the question of the servant → Serve.) In the NT Jesus' self-giving as a *lytron*, ransom (Matt. 20:28), recalls this passage (→ Redemption; → Lord's Supper). Some scholars consider the text to be corrupt, and the RSV emends: "he has put him to grief; when he makes himself an offering for sin . . . ." J. Begrich emended the text to read "he healed him who made his life a guilt offering" (*Studien zu Deuterojesaja*, 1938, 58; reprinted in *ThB* 20, 1963, 63; cf. R. N. Whybray, *Isaiah 40–66*, *New Century Bible*, 1975, 179, for this and other conjec-

tured emendations). Thus Begrich eliminates the idea that Yahweh desires to make the life of the servant a guilt offering. However, it has to be asked whether all such emendations are not made in the light of a preconceived theological interest.

(c) The *ʿōlâh* is commonly translated "whole burnt offering". It is related to the vb. *ʿālâh*, go up, hiph. cause to ascend, i.e. in the sacrificial fire. For this the LXX has *holokautōma* and *holokautōsis*, "holocaust", and also *holokarpōma* and *holokarpōsis*, "whole food offering", and *karpōma* and *karpōsis*, "food offering". The Heb. *kālîl* is also used as a synonym (cf. Deut. 33:10; 1 Sam. 7:9; Ps. 51:21). All of the beast or fowl was laid on the altar, except the skin (Lev. 7:8) and those parts which could not be washed clean (Lev. 1:9 ff., 13), and it was entirely consumed by → fire. The beast had to be a male without blemish from the herd or flock (Lev. 1:3, 10; 22:18 f.). But the offering could also be a fowl (Lev. 1:14 ff.; 5:7; 12:8; 14:22; 15:14 f., 29 f.; Num. 6:10 f.). A → lamb was offered by individuals (Lev. 12:6; Num. 6:14) and by the nation with the sheaf-waving (*ʿōmer*; Lev. 23:12) and also daily at the morning and evening sacrifices (Num. 28 and 29; cf. also Exod. 29:42; Lev. 9:17; 2 Ki. 16:15; Ezra 3:5; Neh. 10:34; Ezek. 46:13, 15). The whole burnt offerings were increased on important occasions such as certain feasts and the reconsecration of the → temple (2 Chr. 29:32; cf. Ezek. 45:23; 46:4).

The offerer imposed his hands on the head of the animal and then slaughtered it himself (Lev. 1:4 f.; 4:24, 33; 6:8; 7:2; 9:12; 14:13, 19, 31; Ezek. 40:39, 42; 44:11). He also flayed it (Lev. 1:6; 2 Chr. 29:34), though it was the priests that presented the blood and arranged the sacrifice on the altar and burned it (Lev. 1:5–10; cf. Ezek. 40:38). It was devoured by fire (Lev. 1:9, 13, 17; 6:2–6; 8:21; 9:24; Num. 28:13; 1 Ki. 18:38; 2 Chr. 7:1). To the devout Israelite it was a matter of great concern that his whole burnt offerings should be accepted (1 Sam. 15:22; Pss. 20:3; 40:6; 51:19; Isa. 56:7; Jer. 6:20). Performance of the cultic act without penitence and heartfelt longing for Yahweh was not enough.

The atoning character of the *ʿōlâh* is made explicit in Lev. 1:4, and is implied in certain rituals (Lev. 9:7; 14:20) and also in non-cultic passages (Job 1:5; 42:8). Counterparts to it outside Israelite religion have been found in Greece, Anatolia and Canaan, but not in Egypt or Mesopotamia. The OT speaks of human burnt offerings being made to other gods (2 Ki. 3:27; Jer. 19:5). Jephthah offered his daughter as such a sacrifice (Jdg. 11:31), though human sacrifice is condemned in the OT (Lev. 18:21; 20:1–5; Mic. 6:7; Ezek. 20:25 f.; Jer. 32:35; 2 Ki. 23:10; Deut. 12:31; 18:10; cf. de Vaux, op. cit., 63–90). Abraham was prepared to offer Isaac as an *ʿōlâh*, though God drew his attention to a ram instead (Gen. 22:2, 13). The *ʿōlâh* may well have been the earliest expiatory sacrifice. Outside the Pentateuch early references to its use on behalf of individuals are found in Job 1:5 and 42:8, and on behalf of the community in 2 Sam. 24:25.

(d) The noun *minḥâh* (LXX *thysia*, and also twice *thysiasma*) means a gift or present (Gen. 32:14, 19, 21 f.; Jdg. 6:18 etc.), tribute (Jdg. 3:15–18; 2 Sam. 8:2, 6; Hos. 10:6 etc.), and an offering made to God of any kind whether of grain or animals (Gen. 4:3 ff.; Num. 16:15; 1 Sam. 2:17, 29; 26:19; Isa. 1:13; Ps. 96:8; Zeph. 3:10). Thus the sacrifices of Cain and Abel are both described by the same term; it is the context which indicates that Abel's offering of the firstlings of his flock and their fat portions (Gen. 4:3) was acceptable to God rather than Cain's offering of the fruit of the ground. But Cain's decisive sin was to resent God with an impenitent heart (Gen.

4:6 f.), which in turn led to the murder of his brother and his attempted cover-up (Gen. 4:8 f.).

But *minḥâh* is also used in the special sense of the cereal offering in passages attributed to P (Exod. 30:9; 40:29; Lev. 7:37; 23:37; Num. 18:9; 29:39; Hos. 2:23, 29). It is found in various forms: *'ābîḇ*, the grain in the ear parched with fire, oil and incense (Lev. 2:14 f.); *sōleṯ*, fine flour usually mixed with oil and incense (Lev. 2:1; 6:7 f.; 14:10, 21; 23:13; but cf. 5:11 ff. for the very poor; Num. 7:13 ff.; 8:8; 15:4, 6, 9; 28:5 ff.; 29:3, 9, 14); *sōleṯ*, baked in an oven as cakes (Lev. 2:4; 7:9; Num. 6:15) or some form of a pan (Lev. 2:5, 7; 6:14; 7:9). These were always unleavened (*maṣṣôṯ*) and mixed with oil and salt (Lev. 2:11 ff.; → Leaven). They figured at → Pentecost (Lev. 23:16 f.; Num. 28:26). Barley meal without oil or incense was also used (Num. 5:15, 18, 25).

The *minḥâh* may have been a cheap *'ōlâh* for the poor (cf. Men. 104b; Lev. Rabbah 1:5; 8:4). In Mesopotamia cereal offering was an alternative to animal sacrifice for the poor (J. Milgrom, op. cit., 769). In Israel it regularly went with the *'ōlâh* (e.g. Lev. 14:20; Num. 28 and 29) and had a similar range of functions including expiation (Men. 110a; Philo, *Spec. Leg.* 1, 271).

(e) The *šᵉlāmîm* (LXX *sōtērion, eirēnikē*) is a plur. formation. The sing. is found only in Amos 5:22. It is frequently translated as "peace offering", on the grounds that it is etymologically linked with *šālôm*, peace, and that it effects → peace (Tosefta Zeb. 11:1). Some scholars see support for this view of the *šᵉlāmîm* in the early sources which depict it as a shared meal eaten before Yahweh (e.g. Gen. 31:54; Deut. 27:7; 1 Sam. 2:13–16). But the evidence of the OT itself does not warrant the further suggestion that the peace offering effected a mystic union between the offerer and the deity (cf. Jdg. 6:18–21; 13:16; Ps. 50:12 f.). The sacrifice was eaten "before [*lipnê*] Yahweh", not "with" him.

Other conjectured derivations include seeing it as a → covenant or gift sacrifice in view of the Akkadian *salimu* (covenant) and *šulmānu* (gift). In view of the Heb. *šālēm* (whole, sound), it has been seen as a sacrifice in which the offerer expresses thanks for his well-being (cf. Tosefta Zeb. 11:1; Sifra, Nedaba 16:2; Philo, *Spec. Leg.* 1, 212). A further suggestion is to relate it to *šillēm* (repay), and see it as a sacrifice repaying God for his blessings (cf. Rashbam on Lev. 3:1; Prov. 7:14).

The *šᵉlāmîm* is thought to be old, and was eaten close to the altar (1 Sam. 2:13; 9:24; cf. Ezek. 46:24; Num. 6:18 f. in the case of the consecration of the Nazirite). Birds could not be offered. In the wilderness period birds were considered game. Their blood was not dashed on the altar but buried (cf. Lev. 17:13 f.).

In passages atributed to P the *sᵉlāmîm* are often linked with or replaced by the noun *zeḇaḥ*, the generic term for sacrifice. In Ugaritic, Punic and rabbinic Heb. the root *zbḥ* can refer to all types of blood sacrifice. But in the OT it is used for those sacrifices in which the flesh is eaten (except possibly 2 Chr. 7:12), e.g. feasts at altars (1 Sam. 2:13), the yearly (1 Sam. 1:21) and family (1 Sam. 20:29) *zeḇaḥ*.

The character of the *šᵉlāmîm* as thankoffering, votive offering and freewill offering is brought out in Lev. 22:21: "And when any one offers a sacrifice of peace offerings to the LORD, to fulfil a vow or as a freewill offering, from the herd or from the flock, to be accepted it must be perfect; there shall be no blemish in it" (cf. Lev. 7:11–16; 19:5 ff.; Deut. 27:7; Philo, *Spec. Leg.* 1, 224; Plato, *Laws* 909 f.). The ritual is prescribed in Lev. 3. The offerer lays his hand on the animal's head and kills it at the

door of the tent of meeting (v. 2; cf. v. 7 for a lamb and v. 13 for a goat). The priest throws the blood on the altar and round about (v. 2; cf. vv. 6–17). The entrails are removed (vv. 3 ff.) and the fat burnt as a pleasing odour to Yahweh (v. 5). It was mainly a private and family sacrifice, but was offered in public at → Pentecost (Lev. 23:19) and at the consecration of priests (Lev. 9:4).

The sacrifice was evidently of less sanctity than the burnt offerings, for female animals could be offered (Lev. 3:1 etc). It was additional to the mandatory offerings laid down by the law, and physically imperfect animals were accepted for freewill, but not votive offerings (Lev. 22:23). Certain parts went to the priest and the rest was eaten by the offerer and his friends (Lev. 7:15 f.). In general, the *šᵉlamîm* were not associated with propitiation or expiation, and the OT largely avoids using the vb. *kipper* in association with it (→ Reconciliation, art. *hilaskomai*, OT). Possible exceptions are Ezek. 45:15, 17; 1 Sam. 3:14; and Lev. 17:11, where the context seems to refer to *šᵉlāmîm*. But the warning against eating flesh with → blood that makes atonement seems intended to ensure that the sacrifice is eaten as a proper peace offering (cf. Lev. 17:3 f.).

The *šᵉlāmîm* could be offered as a thanksgiving or thankoffering, *tôḏâh* (Lev. 7:12 f., 15; 22:29; cf. also 2 Chr. 29:31; 33:16; Pss. 50:14, 23; 56:12; 107:22; 116:17; and the title of Ps. 100; Jer. 17:26; 33:11; Amos 4:5). It is linked with a bread offering and eaten the same day in Lev. 7:11–16. The offering in fulfilment of a vow (*neḏer*, *nᵉḏāḇâh*) might be brought as an *ʿōlâh* as well as a *šᵉlāmîm* (Num 15:3; Ezek. 46:2, 12), but apparently not the *tôḏâh* (2 Chr. 29:31).

(f) Several other cultic rites are mentioned by the OT. For the *qorbān*, offering (Lev. 1:2 f., 10; 2:1, 5; 7:38; Num. 6:14 etc.) → Gift, art. *korban*. The *nesek*, drink offering (LXX *spondē*), which consisted of wine, is mentioned in Gen. 35:14 (attributed to E) and elsewhere in passages attributed to P (Lev. 23:37; Num. 4:7; 29:39). It was usually offered with the *ʿōlâh* (Exod. 29:40; Lev. 23:13, 18; Num. 15:5, 7, 10, 24; 28:7, 14, 31; 28:9–24; 29:6–37). It is mentioned in connexion with the morning offering (Exod. 29:41; Num. 28:8), and with other offerings (Num. 6:15, 17; 15:5, 7, 10; 1 Chr. 29:21; 2 Chr. 29:35; Ezek. 45:17; Jos. 1:9, 13; 2:14). Drink offerings were also offered to other deities (2 Ki. 16:13, 15; Isa. 57:6; Jer. 7:18; 19:13; 32:29; 44:17–25; Ezek. 20:28; Ps. 16:4). On the memorial *ʾazkārâh*, a term associated with the meal offering (Lev. 2:2, 9, 16; 6:8; Num. 5:26) → Remember. It was used of the frankincense burned for the show-bread (Lev. 24:7). A meal offering could be used as a sin offering and a memorial before Yahweh by the very poor (Lev. 5:12).

The → bread of the presence or show-bread (*leḥem-panîm*, lit. "bread of face") was to be set on the table in the sanctuary perpetually before Yahweh (Exod. 25:30). Some critics have seen it as a survival of the idea that the deity was nourished by the food presented by the worshippers. It was unleavened recalling the exodus (→ Leaven). It was renewed each → sabbath, the old bread being eaten by the priests within the precincts of the sanctuary (Lev. 24:5–9). As such it is seen as a memorial before Yahweh and an expression of the covenant, being offered with fire and frankincense. 1 Sam. 21:1–6 tells how → David and his men ate this bread, which in the NT is appealed to by Jesus to justify the disciples' action in plucking grain on the sabbath (Matt. 12:1–8 par. Mk. 2:23–28, Lk. 6:1–5). See also 1 Ki. 7:48 = 2 Chr. 4:19; Exod. 35:13; 39:36; 40:23; Num. 4:7; 1 Chr. 9:32; 23:29; 2 Chr. 13:11; Neh.

10:34. Lev. 23:17 speaks of the wave-loaf, and Lev. 23:20 and 2 Ki. 4:42 of the bread of the first fruits.

The wave-offering *t*nûp̄âh* (LXX *epithema*), wave offering, was waved at the high priest's ordination (Exod. 29:26). The → Levites were also offered as a wave offering (Num. 8:11, 13, 15, 21). The offering was so called because it was waved, signifying that the sacrifice was Yahweh's: "And you shall consecrate the breast of the wave offering, and the thigh of the priest's portion, which is waved, and which is offered from the ram of ordination, since it is for Aaron and for his sons" (Exod. 29:27; cf. also Lev. 7:34; 8:27; 10:14 f.; 14:14, 21, 24; 23:15, 17, 20; Num. 6:20; 18:18).

On the separate questions of cursing and tithing → Curse, → Tithe. On the festivals, including the Passover, → Feast.

4. *Theories of Sacrifice.* Various theories have been put forward as to the fundamental idea behind sacrifice in general.

(a) The view that sacrifice is intended to provide food for the god is argued by W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*, I, 1961, 141 f.; E. Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, II, 1908, 611; R. H. Pfeiffer, *Religion in the Old Testament*, 1961, 35. Some support for taking this view in the OT has been found in certain idioms, such as "my table" (Ezek. 44:16), "the food of his God" (Lev. 21:22, cf. v. 17), "my food ... my pleasing odour" (Num. 28:2) (cf. J. Milgrom, op. cit., 764). The furniture of the sacred → tent and later of the → temple (the table for the bread of the presence, the candelabrum, and the incense altar) have been seen as the means for providing Yahweh with the necessary means of partaking of the food offered. There are also passages which treat Yahweh as an honoured guest who must receive his share of the sacrifice before man (e.g. 1 Sam. 2:29). But the latter may also be construed as an expression of reverence. At most, as Milgrom points out, "these words and mores are only fossilized vestiges from a dim past, which show no signs of life in the Bible" (ibid.). There is never any thought in the biblical writers that Yahweh actually *needs* food from man. Although this may have been in the minds of some Israelites influenced by Canaanite religion, it was trenchantly denounced by the psalmist: "I do not reprove you for your sacrifices; your burnt offerings are continually before me. I will accept no bull from your house, nor he-goat from your folds. For every beast of the forest is mine, the cattle on a thousand hills. I know all the birds of the air, and all that moves in the field is mine. If I were hungry, I would not tell you; for the world and all that is in it is mine. Do I eat the flesh of bulls, or drink the blood of goats? Offer to God a sacrifice of thanksgiving, and pay your vows to the Most High; and call upon me in the day of trouble; I will deliver you, and you shall glorify me" (Ps. 50:8–15). What is striking about this Psalm is that it does not condemn sacrifice as such, but misconceptions of it. Commenting on v. 14, A. A. Anderson writes: "The point of this verse seems to be that sacrifice is not *food* for Yahweh, but that it can become a vehicle for expressing the right attitude to him, and a means of blessing for the worshipper" (*The Book of Psalms*, *New Century Bible*, I, 1972, 386).

(b) An alternative view is that sacrifice releases the life force of the animal through its death. This has been argued by E. O. James, "Sacrifice (Introductory and Primitive)", *ERE* XI 1 ff.; and *Origins of Sacrifice: A Study in Comparative Religion*, 1937[2]; R. Dussaud, *Les Origines Cananéennes du Sacrifice Israélite*, 1941[2]; A. Bertholet, *RGG*[2] IV 704. But whilst such views can be found in animism

they are absent from the accounts of sacrifice in the OT. Appeal is sometimes made to the statement that life is in the blood (cf. Gen. 4:4; Lev. 17:11, 14; Deut. 12:23), and the inference is drawn that the death of the victim enables its life to be released. But this view cannot be sustained in the light of detailed examination of the passages concerned (→ Blood; → Reconciliation, art. *hilaskomai* OT 3 (d)).

(c) Sacrifice has also been understood as a means of effecting a union with the deity by sharing in the body of the sacrificed animal (cf. W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites: The Fundamental Institutions*, [1889] 1927[3], ed. S. A. Cook; F. B. Jevons, *An Introduction to the History of Religions*, 1927[9], 144 ff., 285; C. F. Burney, *Outlines of Old Testament Theology*, 1930[3], 55 f.). The nearest that the OT comes to this view is in the *šᵉlāmîm*. For discussion of this see above, 2 (e). Detailed examination of this and the other sacrifices shows that, while there are elements of union and reconciliation, there is no thought of the sacrifice effecting a mystical identity between the offerer and Yahweh. This goes far beyond the idea which is present of expressing thanks or vowing one's commitment to Yahweh.

(d) A fundamental idea of sacrifice outside Israelite religion is that of inducing the aid of the deity (cf. E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Language, Art, and Custom*, 1929 [5], II, 375 ff.; S. I. Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion Today*, 1902, 218 ff.; O. Baumgarten, *RGG*[1] IV 956). The motive may be to secure fertility, blessing, deliverance from enemies, sin, or impurity. There would seem to be a profound awareness in man of need of power outside himself. In its crudest form sacrifice constitutes a bribe or a superstitious act, designed to secure success. But in its deepest form it represents an awareness of the need to be reconciled and to commit oneself without reserve to the God with whom man needs → reconciliation and who is worthy of total commitment. This finds expression, e.g. in Ps. 50 (quoted above under (a)). The variety of sacrifices in the OT expresses the varied aspects of this need and the divine provision made for them under the old → covenant. With the death of Christ the NT writers see the sacrifices of the OT superseded.

5. *Sacrifice in the History of OT Religion.* The OT presents sacrifice as dating back to primeval history. Cain and Abel both brought sacrifices, though Cain's cereal offering was unacceptable (Gen. 4:4 f.). Noah offered burnt offerings (Gen. 8:20 ff.) and the pleasing odour is stressed. Job likewise made burnt offerings (Job 1:5; 42:7 ff.). The patriarchs "called on the name of Yahweh" (e.g. Abraham in Gen. 12:8; 13:4; 21:3; and Isaac in Gen. 26:25). The association of the phrase with the building of altars shows that it was linked with sacrifice. In the case of Jacob the particular altar is named (Gen. 33:20; 35:7; cf. also 31:54; 46:1). Abraham was tested by the call to offer his son, Isaac, though God provided a ram instead (Gen. 22). Sacrifice formed an essential part in the → covenant between God and Abraham (Gen. 15:4 ff.; cf. Jer. 34:18 ff.).

The Mosaic covenant was inaugurated with sacrifice (Exod. 24:3–8). Burnt and peace offerings were first offered. The blood from them was then thrown, half against the altar and half against the people.

In the land of Canaan sacrifices were held at various places, e.g. Bochim (Jdg. 2:1–5) and Ophrah (Jdg. 6:24 ff.). Jephthah sacrificed his daughter in fulfilment of a vow to sacrifice whatever he first met, if he returned victorious (Jdg. 11:30–40). The Book of Judges offers no comment on the rightness of his action. It would seem to

combine a devotion to Yahweh with a pagan view of sacrifice which permitted human offering. Elsewhere human sacrifice is denounced (cf. above 3 (c)). Jephthah's action appears to be the product of a → conscience which obliged him to keep a promise, regardless of the moral character of the act.

Shiloh emerged as the main centre for sacrifice (1 Sam. 1:3 ff.; cf. Jos. 18:1 ff.; Jdg. 18:31; 21:12 ff.; 1 Sam. 4:3 ff.; 14:3; 1 Ki. 2:27; 14:2 ff.; Ps. 78:60; Jer. 7:12 ff.; 26:6, 9; 41:5), where annual festive offerings were made. Eli's sons were condemned for their greed and treating the sacrifice with contempt (1 Sam. 2:12–17). Other legitimate centres were Bethshemesh (1 Sam. 6:14 f.), Mizpah (7:9), Ramah (7:17; 9:11–24), Gibeah (10:5) and Gilgal (10:8; 11:15; 13:9). Family and clan sacrifice is described in 1 Sam. 16:2–5.

Under Saul the chief centre was Nob (1 Sam. 21:1 ff.). The families of Saul and David made peace offerings and held family feasts at the new moon (1 Sam. 20:5, 24 f.).

Under → David the cultus came to be centralized at → Jerusalem which he made into his capital. Here he brought the ark and offered burnt and peace offerings (2 Sam. 6:16 ff.; 1 Chr. 16:2, 40). 1 Chr. 21:18–30 describes how David was commanded to build an altar on the threshing floor of Ornan. The horned altar had been located at Gibeon prior to its move to Jerusalem (1 Chr. 21:29; 22:1; 2 Chr. 1:6). David evidently reorganized the ritual (1 Chr. 23:28–31).

David was not allowed to build a permanent → temple (2 Sam. 7). This fell to his son, → Solomon (1 Ki. 7–9). Jerusalem now became the centre of the cultus (1 Ki. 8:5, 62–65; 2 Chr. 5:6; 7:4–8). Nevertheless, people continued to resort to the high places (cf. 1 Ki. 3:2; 13:2 ff.; 18:30 ff.; 19:10; 2 Ki. 14:4; 15:4, 35; cf. P. H. Vaughan, *The Meaning of 'bāmâ' in the Old Testament: A Study of Etymological, Textual and Archaeological Evidence, Society for Old Testament Study Monograph Series* 3, 1974). With the separation of the northern and southern kingdoms they constituted rival centres to Jerusalem. Jeroboam I of the northern kingdom established shrines at Dan and Bethel (1 Ki. 12:27 f.). Beersheba may also have been a rival centre (Amos 5:5). Although sacrifice continued to be offered at Jerusalem (2 Ki. 12:4–16; 16:13 ff.; 2 Chr. 13:10 ff.; 28:18; 24:14), sacrifice on the high places was also tolerated in Judah (2 Chr. 15:17; 20:33). From time to time godly kings sought to implement reform. Many of the high places were abolished by Hezekiah (2 Ki. 18:4; cf. 2 Chr. 29:21–35). But they returned under Manasseh (2 Ki. 21:3; 2 Chr. 33:3 f., 19). 1 Ki. 18 gives an account of the contest between → Elijah and the priests of Baal on Mount Carmel at the time of Ahab and Jezebel. Here both parties presented rival sacrifices. But whereas the priests of Baal failed to bring fire from heaven to consume the sacrifice, Elijah's prayers to Yahweh were answered by the fire of the Lord. The priests of Baal were then slaughtered. The compiler of the Books of Kings writes from the standpoint of the Deuteronomic Code. Josiah's reform which was based on the code led to the desecration of the high places from Geba to Beersheba (2 Ki. 23:5–9; cf. 2 Chron. 35:6–14). But they subsequently reappeared in the valley of Ben Hinnom and throughout Judah (Jer. 7:31; 17:3; cf. Ezek. 6:3, 6; 20:29), causing Israel to turn away from Yahweh and contributing to the downfall of Judah.

Following J. Wellhausen, many critics have seen two types of religion in Israel which were in tension: a moral religion taught by the → prophets and a ritualistic

religion based on the cult and the law (cf. J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History* of Israel, 1885; for discussion of this subject generally see H. H. Rowley, "The Law and the Prophets", in *The Unity of the Bible*, 1953, 30–61; A. C. Welch, *Prophet and Priest in Old Israel*, 1936; N. W. Porteous, "Prophet and Priest in Israel", *ExpT* 62, 1950–51, 4 ff.; and R. E. Clements, *A Century of Old Testament Study*, 1976, 7–30, 51–75).

A number of passages in the prophets denounce sacrificial ritual (Hos. 6:6; Amos 5:21–27; Mic. 6:6 ff.; Isa. 1:11–31; Jer. 6:20; 7:21 f.). Righteous conduct and obedience are contrasted with empty ritual. Amos 5:25 and Jer. 7:22 are sometimes taken to imply that sacrifice was unknown in Israel prior to the settlement in Canaan. They do, however, suggest that sacrifice was not practised in the wilderness wanderings. The evidence from Ras Shamra and the OT itself indicates that sacrifice was practised by the Canaanites and that some sacrifices had the same names. But Rowley contends: "No one can deny that Israelite sacrifice came out of a wider background of ritual practice, but while it is probable that much of Israelite sacrificial ritual was modelled on Canaanite, we have no evidence that it was identical with it in form or meaning, and no evidence that for Israel sacrifice began after their entry into the land of Canaan" (op. cit., 31 f.). Rowley takes Amos 5:25 to mean "Was it only flesh-sacrifices and meal-offerings that ye brought me in the wilderness?" with the expected answer "We brought more than this; we brought true worship of heart and righteousness" (op. cit., 42). Clearly Jeremiah was not opposed to the temple as such (Jer. 7:11), but he denounced the attitudes of those who made ritual a substitute for obedience and righteousness. His attitude and that of the other prophets is comparable with that of Samuel in condemning Saul for sparing the Amalekites: "Has the LORD as great delight in burnt offerings and sacrifices, as in obeying the voice of the LORD? Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams" (1 Sam. 15:22). The fact that the Israelites had to eat manna and quails in their wilderness wanderings (Exod. 16 ff.) indicates that they lacked animals for sacrifice in any case during this period.

A pronouncement like Hos. 6:6 (cf. Matt. 9:13; 12:7) is best understood as a statement of priorities expressed by means of hyperbole: "For I desire love and not sacrifice, the knowledge of God, rather than burnt offerings." On the other hand, the prescriptions of passages like Lev. 5:5 f. and Num. 5:6 f. make it clear that the offering of sacrifice must be accompanied by penitence and confession. Isaiah condemned not only vain offerings, new moons and sabbaths but also prayer (Isa. 1:15; 29:13), when it was made without the right inner attitude. Linked with the lack of right attitudes was the intrusion of alien elements into the worship of Yahweh, and these were also condemned by the prophets both in Judah (cf. Jer. 7:17 f.; Ezek. 8) and Israel (Amos 4:4 f.; Hos. 2:13 ff.; 4:11 ff.; 13:2).

The same emphasis on moral righteousness, as contrasted with mere ritual, is also found in the Psalms (e.g. 40:7 f.; 50:8–15; 51:18 f.) and the Wisdom literature (cf. Prov. 15:8; 21:3, 27).

In the post-exilic period, sacrifice was restored soon after the return (Ezra 3:2–7). Darius authorized not only the rebuilding of the temple but provision for the cultus (Ezra 6:9 f.). Henceforth, the second temple remained the centre for Israelite religion (Ezra 6:17; 7:17; 8:35; 10:19; Neh. 10:33–37; 13:5, 9). But for Samaritan practice → Samaria. A Jewish colony in Egypt had its own temple at Elephantine which dates

from before 525 B.C., when Cambyses invaded Egypt. It was destroyed by opponents in 410 B.C. There was also a shrine at Lachish in the Hellenistic period, but without an altar for burnt offering. The Jerusalem temple was destroyed in A.D. 70, and with it the sacrificial rites died out. But already in NT times the growth of synagogue worship had tended to displace sacrificial ritual which could only be participated in at Jerusalem. The Qumran community had already cut itself off from the temple cult. Here obedience to the Torah and the community rule and the praise of God replaced material sacrifices. In the writings of Philo the cultic rites of the OT are given spiritual interpretations, although the practice of sacrifice is still endorsed by other late writings of the intertestamental period (cf. Jub. 50:11; Sib. 3:570–79; 1 Macc. 1:45; 2:68; 2 Macc. 1:19 ff.; 3:1 ff., 32 ff.; for a survey of views in later Judaism and Hellenism see J. Behm, *TDNT* III 186–89). In Yoma 8:8 f. repentance is said to effect atonement for lesser transgressions, although the sin offering, guilt offering and Day of Atonement are still necessary. (For rabbinic teaching see R. A. Stewart, *Rabbinic Theology: An Introductory Study*, 1961, 119–40.)

NT *thyō* and its cognates are found in various NT writings. The vb. *thyō* occurs chiefly in Lk. and Acts (4 times each; once each in Matt., Mk. and Jn.; twice in 1 Cor.). Out of the 28 instances of the noun *thysia* 15 are in Heb. (it occurs twice each in Matt., Lk. and Acts; 5 times in Paul; and once each in Mk. and Jas.). Of the 23 passages with *thysiastērion* 8 are in Rev., 6 in Matt., 4 in Paul, 2 each in Lk. and Heb., and 1 in Jas. The whole word-group retreats into the background in the Pauline corpus and the Johannine writings. Examination of the context of these passages reveals how far the NT writers have dissociated themselves from the OT cult. Even the allusions to the altar in the visions of Rev. which formally lean heavily on the imagery of the OT exhibit a new interpretation of the concept of sacrifice.

1. In the Synoptic Gospels Jesus is seen in confrontation with the Jerusalem temple cult. He does not reject it any more than the prophets. Rather he directs his polemic against the attempt to evade God's radical demand of love through ritual and hair-splitting observance of the law. In the Sermon on the Mount priority is given to reconciliation, but not to the exclusion of formal worship. "So if you are offering your gift at the altar, and there remember that your brother has something against you, leave your gift there before the altar and go; first be reconciled to your brother, and then come and offer your gift" (Matt. 5:23 f.). The saying presupposes the continued practice of Judaism (cf. Matt. 5:17 f.), and would thus fit into the earthly ministry of Jesus. D. Hill draws attention to the existence of the idea of reconciliation in contemporary Judaism (Yoma 8:9), but it was overshadowed by the desire to avoid desecrating the temple or defiling oneself (cf. CD 6:14–7:4) (*The Gospel of Matthew*, *New Century Bible*, 1972, 122). For Jesus, doing one's utmost to seek reconciliation between men is the *sine qua non* of true worship.

Hos. 6:6 is cited twice in Matt. On the first occasion the → Pharisees had complained that Jesus was guilty of defilement by eating with tax collectors and sinners. In reply Jesus says: "Those who are well have no need of a physician, but those who are sick. Go and learn what this means, 'I desire mercy, and not sacrifice.' For I came not to call the righteous, but sinners" (Matt. 9:12 f.; the par. in Mk. 2:13–17 and Lk. 5:27–32 omit the quotation). On the first part of the reply about "those who are well" → Heal, art. *hygiēs* NT 1 (b). The introductory words "Go and learn" are a

rabbinic formula (SB I 499), and correspond to Jesus' teaching method of appealing to → Scripture (cf. Matt. 5:17 f.; and Jn. 5:39). Although the precise relevance of the quotation is sometimes questioned (cf. D. Hill, op. cit., 174 f.), it is in fact germane to the issue and also in line with the previous teaching in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5:23 f.). For "sacrifice", as the highest form of Israelite worship, stands for the keeping of the Mosaic law, which itself demanded separation from anything that defiles as a prerequisite for worship. The greater includes the less. But Jesus makes the radical point that what defiles is not what the Pharisees think, i.e. formal association with sinners, but the heart which lacks → mercy (Heb. *ḥesed*). However, the radical demand is not something new, invented by Jesus. It is already present in the Scriptures which both Jesus and the Pharisees accept.

Hos. 6:6 is again appealed to in Matt.'s account of the disciples plucking the ears of grain on the → sabbath (Matt. 12:7 but not in the par. Mk. 2:23–28 and Lk. 6:1–5). Here too "sacrifice" stands for the observance of the religious prescriptions of the law, and the principle is the same. Humane considerations take precedence over formal observance of the letter of the law. Moreover, something greater than the → temple is here (Matt. 12:6). "And if you had known what this means, 'I desire mercy, and not sacrifice,' you would not have condemned the guiltless. For the Son of man is lord of the sabbath" (Matt. 12:7 f.).

In the series of woes pronounced on the scribes and Pharisees Jesus condemned the practice not only of swearing by the temple but also of swearing by the gold of the temple (Matt. 23:16 f.) and the altar and the sacrifice: "And you say, 'If any one swears by the altar, it is nothing; but if any one swears by the gift that is on the altar, he is bound by his oath.' You blind men! For which is greater, the gift or the altar that makes the gift sacred? So he who swears by the altar, swears by it and by everything on it; and he who swears by the temple, swears by it and by him who dwells in it; and he who swears by heaven, swears by the throne of God and by him who sits upon it" (Matt. 23:18–22; → Swear). The scribal rulings operated on the principle that oaths by the most holy things were to be avoided, because they were as binding as an oath made in God's name. But oaths made by less holy things were less serious and thus less binding (cf. D. Hill, op. cit., 312; SB I 931 f.). Jesus simply swept such rulings aside as chicanery. Men should not make an oath at all (whether before God or man), unless they intend to keep it (cf. Matt. 5:33–37). Again this later teaching illustrates the principles enunciated in the Sermon on the Mount.

In all this Jesus is not rejecting sacrifice and the temple as such; he is putting them in perspective. B. Gerhardsson has pointed out that Matt. does not present the death of Jesus as a sacrifice ("Sacrificial Service and Atonement in the Gospel of Matthew", in R. J. Banks, ed., *Reconciliation and Hope; New Testament Essays on Atonement and Eschatology Presented to L. L. Morris*, 1974, 25–35). "For Matthew, Jesus' deed is not a sacrifice from which mankind is only to reap the fruits. Jesus invites Israel to participate in the deep spiritual temple service he himself carries out" (op. cit., 31). For the terms in which Matt. presents the death of Jesus, see his use of *lytron*, "ransom" (Matt. 20:28; → Redemption) and Matt. 26:28 (→ Lord's Supper).

All four Gospels record the cleansing of the temple by Jesus (Matt. 21:10–17 par. Mk. 11:11, 15 ff.; Lk. 19:45 f.; Jn. 2:13–17). (For details of temple trade see J.

Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, 1969, 48 f.) In the Synoptics it occurs as a symbolic act after Jesus' entry into Jerusalem in the last week of his ministry. It represents his coming into his own and the purging judgment of God on God's own house. Jn. likewise sets the account before the Passover, but places it before his narrative of the public ministry of Jesus. It is possible to read the whole section of Jn. 2:13–22 as a detached pericope which John has placed, not in its chronological sequence, but as a kind of trailer epitomizing Jesus' relationship with the Jews. In the synoptic account Jesus cites Isa. 56:7 ("these will I bring to my holy mountain, and make them joyful in my house of prayer; their burnt offerings and their sacrifices will be accepted on my altar; for my house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples") and Jer. 7:11 ("Has this house, which is called by my name, become a den of robbers in your eyes? Behold, I myself have seen it, says the LORD") in a conflated saying ("He said to them, 'It is written, "My house shall be called a house of prayer"; but you have made it a den of robbers' ", Matt. 21:13; cf. Mk. 11:17; Lk. 19:46; and Jn. 2:16). The saying combines the eschatological proclamation of Isaiah with Jeremiah's denunciation of the temple as it was in his day. Jesus' action is also a fulfilment of Mal. 3:1 ff. and was thus a messianic sign. The purification of Jerusalem and the temple was part of Jewish expectation (cf. Ps. Sol. 17:30). In Jn. 2:17 "His disciples remembered that it was written, 'Zeal for thy house will consume me' " (cf. Ps. 69:9). The Ps. itself adds: "and the insults of those who insult thee have fallen on me." This may well be implied in Jesus' action; the attitude of men to the temple expresses their attitude to God. Jn.'s narrative then compares the Jerusalem temple with the temple of Jesus' body – both of which are the dwelling place of God. And in both cases the attitude of the Jews of Jesus' day showed how oblivious they were to the presence of God among them.

Lk. 2:24 refers to the offering made by Joseph and Mary on behalf of their infant son (cf. Lev. 12:2–8; Exod. 13:2, 12) which consisted of two → birds on account of their poverty. Lk. 13:1 refers to the blood of those Galileans which Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices. Josephus does not mention this particular incident but describes Pilate's cruelty on another occasion (*War* 2, 175). In this connexion Jesus rebutted the inference that anyone who so suffered must have been particularly guilty of sin. "I tell you, No; but unless you repent you will all likewise perish" (Lk. 13:3). The later predictions of judgment on Jerusalem (Lk. 17 and 21) underline the warning.

The guilt of those who reject God's servants is expressed in the saying "that upon you may come all the righteous blood shed on earth, from the blood of innocent Abel to the blood of Zechariah the son of Barachiah, whom you murdered between the sanctuary and the altar" (Matt. 23:35 par. Lk. 11:51). Not only were these the first and last victims of murder in the OT (Gen. 4:8; 2 Chr. 24:21); they were also murdered in connexion with sacrifice. The words "the son of Barachiah" are generally explained as a copyist's error, in the light of Zech. 1:1, and that the allusion is to Zechariah the son of Jehoiada. Lk. omits the appellation. On this passage → also Rule, art. *metron* NT 1.

The *holokautōma*, whole burnt offering, is mentioned in Mark's account of the two great commandments. The scribe acknowledges that Jesus is right and adds "and to love him with all the heart, and with all the understanding, and with all the strength, and to love one's neighbour as oneself, is much more than all whole burnt offerings

and sacrifices" (Mk. 12:33; → Command; → Love). For the other instances of this term in Heb. 10:6, 8 see below 3.

Stephen's speech in Acts 7 similarly adopts a negative attitude to sacrifice. The first allusion is to the sacrifice to the golden calf (Acts 7:41; cf. Exod. 32:4, 6), and the second cites Amos 5:25 on the absence of sacrifice in the wilderness wanderings (cf. above OT 5). Stephen draws the conclusion that Israel's failure to worship God in a spiritual way resulted in God giving Israel over to paganism.

There is a distinct note of futility in the reference to a pagan altar in the account of Paul's Areopagus address: "Men of Athens, I perceive that in every way you are very religious. For as I passed along, and observed the objects of your worship, I found also an altar [*bōmon*] with this inscription, 'To an unknown god.' What therefore you worship as unknown, this I proclaim to you" (Acts 17:22). (On the use of the word *bōmos* for pagan altars in the Bible see above OT 2. It occurs only here in the NT. On this passage → God, art. *theos* NT 4 (b); → Knowledge, *agnoeō* NT 2 (b)).

2. The apostle Paul evidently continued to make occasional offerings himself. Acts 21:26 tells how Paul released four men who were under a vow: "Then Paul took the men, and the next day he purified himself with them and went into the temple, to give notice when the days of purification would be fulfilled and the offering presented for every one of them." The four men concerned had evidently undertaken a Nazirite vow (cf. Num. 6:1–21 and the Mishnah tractate Nazir; and Acts 18:18). By associating himself with the men in their vow Paul was consistent with his principle of being all things to all men in order to win them (1 Cor. 9:22; cf. H. L. Ellison, "Paul and the Law – 'All Things to All Men' ", in W. W. Gasque and R. P. Martin, eds., *Apostolic History and the Gospel: Biblical and Historical Essays Presented to F. F. Bruce*, 1970, 195–202). Whereas Paul repudiated the extension of → circumcision to the Gentiles, he nevertheless kept the law among Jews. "To the Jews I became as a Jew, in order to win Jews; to those under the law I became as one under the law – though not being myself under the law – that I might win those under the law. To those outside the law I became as one outside the law – not being without law toward God but under the law of Christ – that I might win those outside the law" (1 Cor. 9:20 f.; cf. his rejection of circumcision in Gal. with his circumcision of Timothy, Acts 16:3). Similarly, Acts 24:17 f. reports how Paul made offerings (*prosphoras*) and was purified in the temple.

In his letters Paul took over the Jewish-Christian interpretation of the death of Jesus which saw its saving efficacy in terms of OT sacrificial language. In urging moral purity to the Corinthians, Paul writes: "Cleanse out the old leaven that you may be fresh dough, as you really are unleavened. For Christ, our paschal lamb, has been sacrificed. Let us, therefore, celebrate the festival, not with the old leaven, the leaven of malice and evil, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth" (1 Cor. 5:7 f.; → Leaven; → Feast, art. *pascha*). Rom. 3:25 sees Jesus' death as a *hilastērion*, propitiation (→ Reconciliation, art. *hilaskomai*). Rom. 15:16 sums up the grace of Paul's calling "to be a minister of Christ Jesus to the Gentiles in the priestly service of the gospel of God, so that the offering (*prosphora*) of the Gentiles may be acceptable, sanctified by the Holy Spirit." Here the Gentile Christians are the offering and Paul the priest (cf. the *minḥâh* of the Diaspora Jews in Isa. 66:20; SB III 153). In Phil. 4:18 Paul describes the gifts sent by the Philippians as "a fragrant offering, a sacrifice acceptable and pleasing to God." And in Phil. 2:17 he sees his own

impending martyrdom in similar terms: "Even if I am to be poured [*spendomai*] as a libation upon the sacrificial offering [*epi tē thysia kai leitourgia*] of your faith, I am glad and rejoice with you all" (cf. Phil. 1:19–26). It has been argued that the use of the vb. *spendomai* ("pour out") is never used of the pouring out of blood sacrifice, and that Paul has in mind not his death but his apostolic labours (cf. R. P. Martin, *Philippians*, *New Century Bible*, 1976, 108). However, the use of the word *thysia* and the fact that Paul was in prison expecting the possibility of execution suggest that Paul was thinking of his death, not as a propitiatory sacrifice but as a freewill offering for the sake of the church.

In Rom. 12:1 Paul sees the Christian life as a sacrifice: "I appeal to you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, to present your bodies as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God, which is your spiritual worship." The word "therefore" implies that the act of total commitment is a response to all that has gone before. It is life, not ritual, which is now the true sacrifice of the people of God. For further discussion of this passage → Serve, art. *latreuō*; → Prayer, art. *entynchanō*.

Eph. 5:2 urges its readers to "walk in love, as Christ loved us and gave himself up for us, a fragrant offering and a sacrifice to God [*prosphoran kai thysian tō theō eis osmēn euōdias*]." M. Barth sees here a fusion of the unbloody and bloody sacrifices of the OT (the Heb. *minḥâh* and *ʿōlâh*), and draws two conclusions: "(a) The author designates Jesus Christ's death as an atoning sacrifice offered by the pouring out of blood. Sacrifice is not just a metaphor, but here – as much as in Rom. 3 and Hebrews – its essence and fulfilment are declared to be present on the cross. The author's theology and soteriology are priestly. (b) The reference to the 'love' of the one who was priest and victim at the same time shows that the prophetic, i.e. ethical and metaphorical meaning of sacrifice was joined with the cultic and priestly understanding. Equally in Heb. 9:14; cf. 5:7–9; 10:5–10, the 'Spirit' in which Jesus Christ brought his sacrifice, i.e. the obedience of the priest, is pointed out. In summary, the reference to the Messiah's death in Eph. 5:2 has a double function. The 'cross' (2:16) is a once and for all valid saving event that cannot be duplicated or imitated, *and* it is an example which is to be followed" (*Ephesians*, II, *Anchor Bible*, 1974, 558 f.).

In Corinth there was an acute problem for the church over whether Christians should eat meat that had been sacrificed to idols. The term *eidōlothyton* (Acts 15:29; 21:25; 1 Cor. 8:1, 4, 7, 10; 10:19; Rev. 2:14, 20) refers to meat which had been sacrificed according to the rites of the locality, and thus offered to a pagan deity, part of which had been burned on an altar, part eaten at a solemn meal in the temple and part sold in the market for domestic consumption (cf. A. Ehrhardt, "Social Problems in the Early Church. I: The Sunday Joint of the Christian Housewife", in *The Framework of the New Testament Stories*, 1964, 276–90; C. K. Barrett, "Things Sacrificed to Idols", *NTS* 11, 1964–65, 138–53). The eating of it was condemned by the Jerusalem council. The church of Pergamum was accused of allowing men to eat it and of practising immorality, as was the church of Thyatira. From the Jewish standpoint it was unclean and therefore forbidden. For the Christian it raised the question of whether eating such meat implied some kind of allegiance to or communion with a pagan deity. The strong at Corinth said that they could do it with good → conscience and impunity (cf. 1 Cor. 4:4, 10; 8:1 f.). But the scrupulous had a conscience about it. Paul replied that the Christian should be guided by love rather than

any vaunted "knowledge", and therefore Paul would not eat meat at all, if it caused others to stumble (1 Cor. 8:1–13). In the course of his argument he points out that it is God from whom all things exist, regardless of whether one regards idols as something or nothing (vv. 4 ff.). The Christian should be guided by concern for the conscience of others, rather than by what he feels from his own conscience (vv. 10 ff.). To participate knowingly in something offered to demons is to be a partner with demons, and as such is incompatible with partaking of the Lord's table (1 Cor. 19:19 ff.). On the other hand, where the Christian is unaware of demonic associations, he may eat the meat (10:23–30). But he should do everything to the glory of God, giving offence to none (10:31 ff.).

Between the two passages in which he deals with meat offered to idols Paul deals with the question of freedom and the Christian worker's right to upkeep. Alluding to Deut. 18:1, he asks: "Do you not know that those who are employed in the temple service get their food from the temple, and those who serve at the altar share in the sacrificial offerings?" (1 Cor. 9:13 with reference to the → Levites; cf. also 10:18; Heb. 13:10; J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, 1969, 105 f. 46–49, 105 f.; though the practice was also known in pagan religion).

3. The central theme of the Epistle to the Hebrews is the way in which, through Christ, believers enter into the reality of which the OT institutions represent only an anticipation. This is developed in terms of → angels (Heb. 1:5–2:18), → Moses (3:1 ff.), → rest (3:7–4:13), the high priesthood of Jesus which is after the order of → Melchizedek (4:14–7:21) and which thus supersedes the OT order of → priests, the new → covenant which supersedes the old (8:7–13; 10:15 ff.), the Day of Atonement ritual (9:1–10:39), and Mount Zion as compared with Mount Sinai (12:18–29). At the same time the epistle shows that God deals with men on the basis of → faith, just as he did under the old covenant (ch. 11).

The noun *thysia* occurs in the following passages. The function of the high priest is defined in terms of offering gifts and sacrifices for sin (5:1; cf. 8:3). But Jesus "has no need, like these high priests, to offer sacrifices daily, first for his own sins and then for those of the people; he did this once for all when he offered up himself" (7:27). The gifts and sacrifices of the old tabernacle "cannot perfect the conscience of the worshipper" (9:9). Their very repetition shows that they "can never take away sins. But when Christ had offered for all time a single sacrifice for sins, he sat down at the right hand of God" (10:11 f.; cf. the use of *prosphora*, offering, in vv. 14 and 18). The earthly tabernacle is but a copy of the heavenly one. "Thus it was necessary for the copies of the heavenly things to be purified by these rites, but the heavenly things themselves with better sacrifices than these" (9:23). Adopting the symbolism of the Day of Atonement ritual (Lev. 16), Christ is seen by his resurrection and ascension, following his death, as entering the inner sanctuary once and for all on behalf of his people. "Nor was it to offer himself repeatedly, as the high priest enters the Holy Place yearly with blood not his own; for then he would have had to suffer repeatedly since the foundation of the world. But as it is, he has appeared once for all at the end of the age to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself" (9:25 f.; cf. 10:1).

Heb. 10:5–10 sees the coming of Christ anticipated in Ps. 40:6 ff.: "Consequently, when Christ came into the world, he said, 'Sacrifices and offerings thou hast not desired, but a body hast thou prepared for me; in burnt offerings and sin offerings thou hast taken no pleasure. Then I said, "Lo, I have come to do thy will, O God," as

it is written of me in the roll of the book.' When he said above, 'Thou hast neither desired nor taken pleasure in sacrifices and offerings and burnt offerings and sin offerings' (these are offered according to the law), then he added, 'Lo, I have come to do thy will.' He abolishes the first in order to establish the second. And by that will we have been sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all." The Ps. is cited in the LXX which reads "a body didst thou prepare for me" in place of the MT "ears hast thou digged for me." This is best regarded as an interpretative paraphrase of the Heb. which uses the part for the whole (cf. F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, NLC, 1964, 232). The idea of "digging" refers to the fashioning of the human body, the imagery indicating obedience expressed in bodily action. Alternatively, the "digging" of the ear may refer to the custom of Exod. 21:6. The four types of sacrifice mentioned in vv. 5ff. are *thysia* (= *zeḇaḥ*), *prosphora* (also vv. 8 and 10) (= *minḥâh*), *holōkautōma* (= *ʿōlâh*), and *peri hamartias* (= *ḥaṭṭāʾṯ*). "The spiritual principles which underlay these various types of sacrifice are fulfilled and transcended in the perfect self-offering of Christ. Our author's contrast is not between sacrifice and obedience, but between the involuntary sacrifice of dumb animals and 'sacrifice into which obedience enters, the sacrifice of a rational and spiritual being, which is not passive in death, but in dying makes the will of God its own' " (F. F. Bruce, op. cit., 234, citing J. Denney, *The Death of Christ*, revised by R. V. G. Tasker, 1951, 131). Unlike the purificatory rites of the old covenant which required constant repetition, the offering of Christ effects the sanctification of believers once and for all (*ephapax*, v. 10). But "if we sin deliberately after receiving the knowledge of the truth, there no longer remains a sacrifice for sins" (10:26; cf. 3:12; 6:4–8; 10:29; 12:25 ff.). This denotes contempt of the most flagrant kind, comparable with the rebellion of the Israelites who failed to enter the promised land (cf. chs. 3 and 4; Ps. 95:7 f.; Num. 14:1–35).

Heb. 11:4 sees the essential difference between the sacrifices of Cain and Abel (Gen. 4:3–10) as lying in the fact that, "By faith Abel offered to God a more acceptable sacrifice than Cain, through which he received divine approval as righteous, God bearing witness by accepting his gifts; he died, but through his faith he is still speaking."

The sacrifices that remain for the Christian are those of praise and good living: "Through him then let us continually offer up a sacrifice of praise to God, that is, the fruit of lips that acknowledge his name. Do not neglect to do good and to share what you have, for such sacrifices are pleasing to God" (13:15 f.). The linking of praise with practical living shows that such sacrifice extends beyond liturgical worship. The argument is set in the context of a reminder that we have no lasting city on earth (v. 14), and the break with Judaism. The writer has earlier seen Christ's death in terms of the Day of Atonement tabernacle ritual. But now he argues that, "We have an altar [*thysiastērion*] from which those who serve the tent have no right to eat. For the bodies of those animals whose blood is brought into the sanctuary by the high priest as a sacrifice for sin are burned outside the camp. So Jesus also suffered outside the gate in order to sanctify the people through his own blood. Therefore let us go forth to him outside the camp, bearing abuse for him" (13:10–13). The allusion is to the Day of Atonement animals (Lev. 16:27). The word "altar" is used by metonymy for "sacrifice", since the author does not have in mind a material altar (F. F. Bruce, op. cit., 399 f.). The saying is perhaps comparable with speaking of Christ

as a *hilastērion* (Rom. 3:25; → Reconciliation, art. *hilaskomai*). The "we" in question must mean "we Christians" (cf. 8:1) in contrast to the Jews who clung to the material sacrifices of the temple ritual. Those who do so have no right to feed on Christ. The absence of a visible altar (v. 10) is comparable with the absence of a visible city (v. 13). The Judaizers had both a visible altar and a visible city, Jerusalem, but not the spiritual reality. They also had material sacrifices in contrast to the spiritual sacrifices of praise and deed (v. 16). What the author has in mind is therefore something much wider than the eucharist, which he does not mention either here or by any reference to the bread and wine brought by → Melchizedek (7:1). It is only in writings of a much later date that the Lord's Table was spoken of as an altar (possibly Irenaeus, *Haer.* 4, 18, 6; Tertullian, *De Oratione* 19; *De Exhortatione Castitatis* 10; and regularly from Cyprian onwards; cf. B. F. Westcott, "On the history of the word *thysiastērion*", in *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 1892², 453–61). *thysiastērion* is also mentioned in Heb. 7:13 in making the point that no one from a tribe other than that of Levi had ever served at the altar. But Jesus was descended from Judah (v. 14), which in itself is an indication that he was of a different order of priesthood.

4. The theme of the sacrifice of the Christian is taken up in 1 Pet. 2:4 f. in its assertion of the priesthood of all believers: "Come to him, to that living stone, rejected by men but in God's sight chosen and precious; and like living stones be yourselves built into a spiritual house, to be a holy priesthood, to offer spiritual sacrifices [*anenenkai pneumatikas thysias*] acceptable to God through Jesus Christ" (→ House; → Temple; → Priest; → Rock). This priesthood, which also includes being a holy nation, is defined in terms of declaring "the wonderful deeds of him who called you out of darkness into his marvellous light" (1 Pet. 2:9; cf. also Exod. 19:5 f.). It is grounded in the death of Christ which is described in sacrificial language. Thus the recipients of the letter are called "the exiles of the dispersion" (1:1), "chosen and destined by God the Father and sanctified by the Spirit for obedience to Jesus Christ and for sprinkling with his blood" (1:2a). The allusion here is probably to the enactment of the Mosaic covenant (Exod. 23:3–8) by which Israel was constituted the covenant people of God. It is by the death of Christ that believers of all nations are constituted the new people of God and the new priesthood of God. This latter thought takes up the symbolism of the consecration of Aaron and his sons to the priesthood (Exod. 29:19 ff.) who were likewise sprinkled with blood. 1 Pet. 1:18 f. sees the death of Christ as a ransom which is also understood in sacrificial terms and which in turn provides the basis for the Christian life: "You know that you were ransomed from the futile ways inherited from your fathers, not with perishable things such as silver or gold, but with the precious blood of Christ, like that of a lamb without blemish or spot" (→ Redemption, arts. *lyō* and *lytron*; → Blood; → Reconciliation, art. *hilaskomai*). "Since in 2:22–5 the writer draws deeply on Isa. 53 he may well have Isa. 53:7 in mind here (cf. Isa. 52:3 with its reference to redemption without money, suggestive of 1 Pet. 1:18)" (E. Best, *1 Peter*, *New Century Bible*, 1971, 90). The passover lamb and the atoning animal sacrifices in the OT were expected to be perfect (Exod. 12:5; 29:1; Lev. 22:17–25; Ezek. 43:22 f.; cf. Heb. 9:14). "The words serve to bring out the value of the sacrifice of Christ's blameless life (cf. 2:22)" (E. Best, op. cit., 90 f.).

5. In addition to the reference to *thysiastērion*, altar, noted above (Matt. 5:23 f.;

23:18 ff.; 23:35 par. Lk. 11:51; 1 Cor. 9:13; 10:18; Heb. 7:13; 13:10), altars are mentioned in the NT in the following passages. Zechariah received tidings of the birth of his son, John (the Baptist), from "an angel of the Lord standing on the right side of the altar of incense" (Lk. 1:11). The place indicates the solemnity and divine origin of the revelation. The right side was the south side, and the angel would be between the altar and the golden candlestick. On the north side was the table with the bread of the presence (cf. Exod. 40:22–27; → Incense; → Angel). Rom. 11:3 alludes to → Elijah's complaint in 2 Ki. 19:4: "Lord, they have killed thy prophets, they have demolished thy altars, and I alone am left, and they seek my life." The saying forms part of Paul's argument about the remnant and the people of God. God has not rejected his people, even though it may seem as if there are no godly men left. Just as God kept for himself seven thousand men who had not bowed the knee to Baal, so he keeps a remnant today. But it is by grace and not works (Rom. 11:4 ff.; cf. 1 Ki. 19:18). Jas. 2:21 asks: "Was not Abraham our father justified by works, when he offered his son Isaac upon the altar?" (→ Abraham; → Righteousness, art. *dikaiosynē* NT 7).

The remaining passages referring to altars all occur in Rev. The souls of the martyred saints are depicted under the altar crying out for vengeance (Rev. 6:9 f.). The vision is rich in OT allusions. Blood was poured out at the base of the altar (Lev. 4:7). Ps. 116:15 declares that "Precious in the sight of the LORD is the death of his saints." And the same Psalm speaks of commitment and thanksgiving in sacrifice (vv. 12–19). The cry recalls the death of Abel (Gen. 4:10; cf. Heb. 11:4). The sacrifices of the martyrs are in no sense atoning; but neither were all the sacrifices in the OT. The prayers of the saints have a sacrificial character: "And another angel came and stood at the altar with a golden censer; and he was given much incense to mingle with the prayers of all the saints upon the golden altar before the throne" (Rev. 8:3). The mingling of → incense indicates symbolically the hallowing of the prayers from a source outside man, without which his prayers would not be acceptable to God. The action of the angel in taking fire from the altar and throwing it on earth (Rev. 8:5) is a sign that the prayers are answered in the judgments that will befall the earth (cf. Rev. 6:9 f.). The judgment pronounced by "the voice from the four horns of the golden altar before God" (Rev. 9:13) again indicates the divine judgment in answer to the cries of the saints. The miniature golden altar of incense stood within the Holy Place of the tabernacle (Exod. 30:1–10). Similarly in Rev. 14:18 and 16:7 judgment comes from the altar.

In Rev. 11:1 John is told to "measure the temple of God and the altar and those who worship there." He is not, however, to measure the court outside the temple which is given over to the nations who will trample over the holy city for forty-two months (Rev. 11:2). The measuring symbolizes setting the holy places apart from that which is profane and will be subject to tribulation and judgment. But that which is set apart – the sanctuary which symbolizes the people of God – will come through the tribulation (cf. also Ezek. 40:5; 42:20; Zech. 2:1; → Rule, art. *metron*). Just as the sealed will come to no ultimate harm, so the sanctuary, which represents the true church which is sanctified by God himself, will be safe when the wrath of God falls on the holy city. *C. Brown*

→ Covenant, → Feast, → Gift, → Incense, → Lord's Supper, → Melchizedek, → Priest, → Reconciliation, → Redemption, → Salt, → Serve, → Sin

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Sadducees, Herodians

Σαδδουκαῖοι	Σαδδουκαῖοι (*Saddoukaioi*), Sadducees.

The noun is always found in the plur. It designates a group, sect or party within Palestinian Judaism before and during the first century. It is usually assumed that the term goes back to the proper name Zadok (Heb. *Ṣāḏôq*; LXX *Saddouk*), the name of several priests, one as early as David's reign (2 Sam. 15:24 ff.; 17:15; 19:11) who with his family gained control of the high priesthood and temple under → Solomon (1 Ki. 2:35; 1 Chr. 29:22). "The Levitical priests, the sons of Zadok," minister in the sanctuary in Ezekiel's vision of the reconstructed temple (Ezek. 44:14). However, the identification of the Sadducees with the Zadokites is by no means certain, and there are conflicting traditions about their origin.

Information about the Sadducees with any claim to authenticity is found in only three bodies of ancient literature: (1) Josephus (*Ant.* 13, 117 ff., 293 ff.; 18, 11, 16 f,; 20, 199; *War* 2, 119, 162 ff.; *Life* 10); (2) the NT (Mk. 12:28 [par. Matt. 22:23; Lk. 20:27]; Matt. 3:7; 16:1, 6, 11, 12; 22:34; Acts 4:1; 5:17; 23:6, 7, 8); and (3) the Mishnah (Erubin 6:2; Makkoth 1:6; Parah 3:3, 7; Niddah 4:2; Yadaim 4:6, 7). There are numerous post-Mishnaic references to the Sadducees in the Talmud, but most are late, confused, unreliable, and sometimes makes "Sadducee" a synonym for "heretic" or → "Samaritan".

Josephus first mentions the Sadducees (*Ant.* 13, 293) in connexion with the reign of John Hyrcanus (135–105 B.C.) but assumes that they were a well-established group by that time. He says that they were rude in their conduct (*War* 2, 166; cf. *Ant.* 18, 16), few in number, included "men of high standing" (*Ant.* 18, 16), and held the "confidence of the wealthy alone" (*Ant.* 18, 293). When they assumed rule, the people tolerated them only when they reluctantly followed "the formulae of the Pharisees" (*Ant.* 18, 17).

Josephus usually refers to the Sadducees in the context of their continued controversy with the Pharisees. These groups differed because the Sadducees "own no observance of any sort apart from the laws" (*Ant.* 18, 16), by which Josephus means the Sadducees rejected the *oral law* ("regulations handed down by former generations and not recorded in the laws of Moses", *Ant.* 13, 297) which was authoritative for the Pharisees. The Sadducees also rejected belief in continued existence, bodily resurrection, or rewards and punishments after death (*War* 2, 165; *Ant.* 18, 16). Josephus twice notes Sadducean rejection of "Fate" (i.e., predestination); in order to dissociate God from evil they hold that "all things lie within our own power, so that we ourselves are responsible for our own well-being, while we suffer misfortune through our own thoughtlessness" (*War* 2, 164 f.; cf. *Ant.* 13, 173).

In the NT, Matt. 3:7–9 and 16:1–16 name the Sadducees along with the Pharisees as leaders of the Jewish people rebuked by both John the Baptist and Jesus. In Mk. 12:18–27 (par. Matt. 22:23–32, Lk. 20:27–39) the Sadducees, "who say that there is no resurrection", presented Jesus with a situation which to their notion made belief in the resurrection look ridiculous. Jesus constructed an argument based on the *written* law which silenced them (→ Resurrection, art. *anastasis* OT 4).

Acts places the Sadducees among the opponents of early Christians. In Acts 4:1 the Sadducees are associated with, but distinguished from, the priests; in 5:17, those

with the high priests are specifically identified as "the party of the Sadducees". Acts 4:2 tells that the opponents of the Christians were "annoyed because they were teaching the people and proclaiming in Jesus the resurrection from the dead." Acts 23:6–9 describes an uproar in the Jewish Council when Paul, perceiving the presence of both Sadducees and Pharisees, identified himself with the latter. Acts adds, "The Sadducees say that there is no resurrection, nor angels, nor spirits; but the Pharisees acknowledge them all."

Mishnaic and rabbinic references to the Sadducees describe them almost entirely in terms of their differences with the → Pharisees on ritual, ceremonial, and judicial matters. These issues involved a wide range of questions relating to such matters as the date and observance of certain feasts, → sabbath-keeping, the way sacrifices were to be offered and → temple ritual performed, the conduct and penalties in criminal cases, and procedures relating to ceremonial defilement and cleanliness (see L. Finkelstein, *The Pharisees*, 1940, II, 637 ff.; and J. W. Bowker, *Jesus and the Pharisees*, 1973, 53 ff.).

From these sources one might generalize as follows. The Sadducees came into existence during the intertestamental period, probably assuming their definitive stance after the Hasmonean priest-rulers gained firm control. They were closely associated with the priestly aristocracy (although not necessarily identical with it) and hence deeply involved in political matters. Like the priests, the Sadducees seem to have given at least some support to foreign influences (e.g., Hellenism) and powers (e.g., the Romans) present in Jewish Palestine in order to maintain their own position.

Their religious and theological views resulted from conservative, literal handling of the OT law. They were bitter opponents of the Pharisees for whom oral tradition was an attempt to interpret, up-date, and apply the written law in the face of changing circumstances. The Sadducees had their own traditions and hermeneutical methods which accepted the written law (i.e., the Pentateuch) alone as authoritative. Hence they refused the mass of post-biblical developments associated with Pharisaism, including belief in the imminence of divine activity and life after death.

The Sadducees were essentially secularists. This doubtless resulted from their exclusion of God ("Fate") from human history and their limitation of man's existence and blessing to this life. The consequences of their this-worldly orientation were many. For example, they went to great lengths to protect their power and prestige; many of their ceremonial positions, Lauterbach observes, benefited the priests financially.

These motives stirred the Sadducees to opposition against Jesus and the Jewish church. Jesus' preaching and activities posed a threat to the political *status quo* and the dominance of the priestly party within it (cf. Jn. 11:47 ff.). Jesus' emphasis upon the spiritual realm, his attacks upon the external religion of Jewry, and the popular acceptance accorded Jesus and his followers could have endangered the already precarious position of the Sadducees. Furthermore, Christianity was in agreement with much in the position of the Sadducees' enemies, the Pharisees. However, the Sadducees found one emphasis of Christian doctrine more objectionable than any Pharisaic teaching. While the latter taught the resurrection as a theory and future possibility, the Christians taught it as a present reality, accomplished in Jesus (cf. Acts 4:2).

The Sadducees were closely associated with the external institutions and concerns

of the Jerusalem-centred Judaism of the first and preceding centuries. With the destruction of the Second Jewish Commonwealth by the Romans, c. A.D. 70, Sadducean influence was lost. *J. Julius Scott, Jr.*

Ἡρῳδιανοί *Ἡρῳδιανοί* (*Hērōdianoi*), Herodians.

Although, as their name implies, the Herodians appear to have been supporters of the house of Herod, little is known about them. They are twice reported in the Gospels to have joined forces with the Pharisees in efforts to destroy Jesus. The first instance is the direct outcome of the sabbath healing of the man with the withered hand in a Galilean synagogue (Mk. 3:6). The second incident takes place in Jerusalem when the question is raised about paying tribute to Caesar (Matt. 22:16; Mk. 12:13). Josephus mentions *hoi ta Hērōdou phronountes* in Judea (*Ant.* 14, 450) and *Hērōdeioi* in Galilee (*War* 1, 139). Both Gk. expressions mean "partisans of Herod", but are unlikely to refer to the *Hērōdianoi* of the Gospels. In some circles they may have been known as Boethusians, a family providing many high priests in the 1st cent. A.D. But Mark does not use that term, and probably a rather amorphous group of pro-Herod aristocrats is intended by "Herodians" in the gospels.

H. H. Rowley (*JTS* 41, 1940, 14–27) reviews various interpretations of *Hērōdianoi*. He concludes that the Herodians were not members of Herod's domestic staff, for the Pharisees would hardly associate with such a class, let alone propose an alliance, implying equal status. Neither were the Herodians court officers, for to bring along those with official positions to question Jesus would be to menace him rather than lay a subtle snare against him. Nor are court officers accustomed to enquire of any beneath them as to the legality of the taxes they themselves levy. Herodians as a term, therefore, is likely to refer not to an organized party but to men of a particular political outlook, that of support for the house of Herod, and thus, as the best way to achieve that end, of support for the occupying Roman power. A. Schalit (*König Herodes*, 1969, 479–81) suggests that Herodians were men whose friendship Herod the Great bought in an effort to improve public relations. The Jews had an intense dislike of Herod and all his works.

It seems more probable that the Herodians arose during the principality of Antipas, who apparently adopted the name of Herod after the deposition of Archelaus. Herod the Great had not thought Jews fit for autonomy, or had not dared to entrust them with it. His cities had all been pagan, and the towns he had built on Jewish soil had been administered by his own officials. Antipas rebuilt Sepphoris, demolished by Varus in 4 B.C., and founded a new city on the West shore of the Sea of Galilee, naming it Tiberias after his imperial patron. As a cautious experiment, Antipas brought in Jewish officials to govern both cities, each with a regular Greek constitution. Thus Antipas proved that he could depend on the loyalty of the Jewish upper classes, who filled all the offices in councils and magistracies. Antipas' quarrel with Pilate, whatever its origin, no doubt caused his stock to rise among the populace, for there was widespread dissatisfaction with Pilate's rule. Many leading Jews had also been affronted at the low rank of the Roman governors sent to their province after the death of Herod the Great. The rule of the procurators had originated in the desire

of the Jews not to suffer another Herod the Great. But when they found that procuratorial rule was even less bearable, there was an upsurge of general support for the house of Herod in the person of Antipas. That support was in part given expression by the appearance in his reign of the Herodians, who as a group probably included not only the official aristocracy which Antipas had created, but other Jews of influence and standing. While the Herodians were pro-Roman, as the test question to Jesus about the tribute-money shows, they aimed at the indirect rule of Rome, mediated through its loyal agents, the Herodian dynasty (Origen, *Comm.* on Matt. 22:16). Furthermore, the Herodian kings might be a useful buffer against the arrogance and intolerance of the average equestrian governor. Antipas' experiment was justified by the results. The governing classes of Sepphoris and Tiberias remained outstandingly loyal to the Herodian house and to the Roman government during the Great Rebellion (A. H. M. Jones, *The Herods of Judea*, 1938, 179).

The Pharisees were no friends of the Herods, but for them to ally with the Herodians in the tribute-money incident is understandable. Both parties were seeking to get rid of Jesus as a potential trouble-maker, as they saw it, whose activities would sooner or later cause the Romans to intervene and thereby threaten the Jewish establishment. But why did the Pharisees turn to the Herodians in the other incident of the healing of the man with the withered hand in the synagogue on the sabbath? The issue, on the surface at least, is one involving the Torah. But the Herodians were apparently more concerned with political than with religious issues. Indeed, they seem not to have been present at the service, since it is said only of the *Pharisees* that they went out of the synagogue to take counsel with the Herodians (Mk. 3:6). At other times the Pharisees were prepared to swallow their dislike of the Sadducees and work with them in order to try to discredit Jesus (Matt. 16:1). Geography prevented a similar alliance on this occasion. The aristocratic priestly party of the Sadducees was based only on Jerusalem. By contrast, Pharisees were to be found all over the country. The controversial healing of the withered hand took place in Galilee. The Pharisees had to turn for support to the Herodians as the only other influential body in the area. The Herodians might not be interested in the religious question involved in Jesus' apparent breach of the sabbath, but they were concerned with preventing trouble which might lead to disturbances and so threaten the political and social order. The Herodians had a vested interest in maintaining the *status quo*. The Pharisees opposed Jesus on religious grounds for what they regarded as disrespect for the law, the Herodians on political grounds, for his messianic claims conflicted with their hopes for the restoration of Herodian rule in Judea.

Although he had an interest in the Herods, Luke never mentions the Herodians in his parallel accounts of the two incidents (Lk. 6:6–11; 20:20–26), presumably because Herodians would have had little significance for his readers. The absence of references to Herodians outside the gospels suggests their presence was short-lived.

In Mk. 8:15 some MSS read, "Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and the leaven of the Herodians" (the better attested reading is *Herod*), while the parallel passage in Matt. 16:6 speaks of Pharisees and *Sadducees*. But the equation that all Herodians were Sadducees is unlikely, though probably some were. (The two parties are mentioned as separate groups in Matt. 12:13, 18.) Politically, the Sadducees seem to have remained loyal to the memory of the Hasmoneans, a fact which Herod the Great recognized by never choosing a high priest from the Hasmonean house

(Josephus, *Ant.* 15, 22, 39–41, 320–322). Geographically, the Sadducees were centred solely on Jerusalem, whereas at Mk. 3:6 Herodians are also to be found in Galilee. In Jerusalem, however, where Herodians and Sadducees were likely to meet, the two parties would naturally tend to support one another on many issues. Both were the aristocrats of the day. Both depended for their positions on an understanding with the house of Herod. The marriage of Herod Antipas with Herodias about A.D. 29 may well have brought the two groups together. *N. Hillyer*

On the Sadducees:
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(b). G. Hölscher, *Der Sadduzäismus*, 1906; R. Leszynsky, *Die Sadduzäer*, 1912; SB IV 334–52; M. Wagner, *Die Parteiungen im jüdischen Volke zur Zeit Jesu*, 1893; J. Wellhausen, *Die Pharisäer und die Sadducäer*, 1874.
On the Herodians:
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(b). E. Bikerman, "Les Hérodiens", *RB*, 47, 1938, 184–97; P. Joüon, "Les 'Hérodiens' de l'évangile", *RSR*, 28, 1938, 585–8.

Salt

ἅλας

ἅλας (*halas*); ἅλς (*hals*), salt; ἁλυκός (*halykos*), salty; ἁλίζω (*halizō*), to salt, season with salt; ἄναλος (*analos*), saltless, insipid; συναλίζω (*synalizō*), to assemble with, eat (salt) with.

CL *halas*, or, more commonly, *hals*, salt (from Homer); poetically, the sea; proverbially, to have eaten a bushel of salt together, i.e., be old friends; to eat the proverbial salt in company, i.e., be bound by ties of hospitality (Aristot.). *halizō*, to supply with salt, to salt food (Aristot.); to collect, assemble, as military forces, fragments, etc. (Hdt.). *halykos*, salty (Aristoph.); *analos* (Aristot.) or *analmos* (Xen.), without salt, unsalted. *synalizō*, frequently in Hdt. and Xen., to bring together, collect; or if derived from *hals*, to eat (salt) with, eat at the same table. The passive means to come together, assemble.

The domestic and medicinal value of salt both as condiment and preservative was as universal in the ancient world as it is today. Pliny declared that "salt has something of the nature of fire", and he quotes a current saying, "To the whole body nothing is better than sun and salt" (*Nat. Hist.* 31, 98, 102). Salt on sacrifices no doubt originated from the primitive conception of sacrifice as the meal of a god

(Homer), but the association of salt with the deity (Plato) also balanced the notion of putrefaction and corruption being linked with demons. Lasting alliances were made by eating bread and salt, or salt alone (Aristot.). Cato, Virgil, and Pliny all refer to the ability of salt to improve the productivity of the soil.

OT The Heb. verb *mālaḥ*, to salt, is translated in the LXX by *halizō*, and the corresponding noun *melaḥ* by *hals*, *hala*, or *halas*. *halykos* occurs only in reference to the Dead Sea (Num. 34:3). It is used three times in Gen. 14 in an effort to interpret rather than translate the obscure Heb. term *śiddîm*, valley of Siddim, later submerged beneath the Salt Sea after the divine judgment upon Sodom and Gomorrah.

Apart from various outcrops, the main source of salt in Palestine was from the so-called Hill of Salt (Jebel Usdum) which stretched for some seven miles along the SW corner of the Dead Sea. Salt was also obtained by evaporation from water in salt pits in the same area (Zeph. 2:19; 1 Macc. 11:35) and from the incrustation of marshes along the shore (Ezek. 47:11). Incrustation salt was much less bitter, since as the saline water rose through the marsh soil much of the magnesium chloride causing the bitterness was absorbed. Salt was a necessity of life in Palestine (Ezr. 7:22; Sir. 39:26), as elsewhere in the ancient world, for a people whose diet was vegetables. The consequent commercial value of salt is illustrated by many references to taxation (1 Macc. 10:29), and to the Torah's being likened to salt "which the world cannot do without" (Sopherim 15:8). Salt was used to preserve fish and meat (Bar. 6:28), as a condiment (Job 6:6), and for toothache (Shabbath 6:5). The practice of rubbing a newborn baby with salt (Ezek. 16:4), still done among Arabs, may have been to preserve life, or to drive away evil spirits (T. Canaan, *Dämonenglaube im Land der Bibel*, 1929, 42), or to signify separation from its unclean state immediately after birth (J. Gray, *I & II Kings*, 1964, 427 f.).

The impressive scene of desolation around the Salt (Dead) Sea formed a natural boundary (Num. 34:3), and a perpetual reminder of the ability of large quantities of salt to destroy vegetation (Deut. 29:23) and leave an area uninhabitable (Jer. 17:6). Sowing an enemy city with salt after its capture (Jdg. 9:45) may not have implied using massive quantities to render the ground useless for cultivation. Token amounts could be sprinkled as a sign of cursing the city with infertility and barrenness (F. C. Fensham, *BA* 25, 1962, 48–50). No doubt the impure water at Jericho was a side-effect of the curse pronounced upon any who rebuilt the city (Jos. 6:26; 1 Ki. 16:34). The miracle of healing carried out by Elisha (2 Ki. 2:19–22) at the beginning of his ministry made use of the symbolism of salt staying corruption and death. "Sin must be cleansed at the fountain-head in the heart, not half a mile down the stream, in the deeds. Put the salt in the spring, and the outflow will be sweet" (A. Maclaren, *The Book of Kings*, 1906, 345). Small amounts of salt sprinkled on fodder were beneficial as an antiseptic for animals (Isa. 30:24), and a light application on soil to improve its quality for crop-bearing was well known. To eat someone's salt, i.e., his bread, was to be on friendly terms with him, to enjoy his hospitality. To eat the salt of the palace (Ezr. 4:14) was in practice to be on the royal pay-roll (cf. salary, from Lat. *salarium*, the allowance made to Roman soldiers for the purchase of the ever-necessary *sal*, salt). But the uppermost thought behind the expression is that of loyalty in the relationship of employee to employer. Similarly, the salt of the covenant (Lev. 2:13)

refers to the solemn irrevocable character of the relationship between God and his people. Hence the custom of salting all sacrifices (Exod. 30:35; Ezek. 43:24). *DCG* (art. "Salt") curiously declares that salt with sacrifices typified the prevention of putrefaction. H. C. Wilson (*ExpT* 35, 1923–4, 136 f.) points out that sacrifices were consumed not preserved, and salt was certainly not necessary to preserve cereals (Lev. 2:13). The symbolism was of the permanency of the covenant with God. The sacred incense (Exod. 30:35) and, according to the Mishnah, even the wood for the sacrificial fire (Menahoth 20b) were likewise sprinkled with salt. In Lev. 21:8, 17 such salted sacrifices are even termed the food of God (see above, CL). This is not to imply a pagan notion of divine need. Rather the allusion is to indispensability: as salt is essential to man, so sacrifice (i.e., the covenant signified by sacrifice) is essential to the divine-human relationship (Jn. 6:51). In rabbinic Judaism the cultic significance is weakened: "This is an eternal covenant with the Lord concluded with salt. Scripture (= God) made a covenant with Aaron by means of something (salt) which is not only in itself wholesome but which keeps other things (e.g., the covenant) wholesome" (Mid. Siph. Num. 118 on 18:19). Rabbinic instructions to the disciples of scribes included the exhortation to be modest and of a humble spirit, industrious and (lit.) *salted* (Derek 'Ereṣ Zuta). Here salt seems to mean wise, bright, sagacious (W. Nauck, *StTh* 6, 1952, 165–78). The same phrase occurs in the Mishnah: If a son is industrious and intellectually bright, the study of the Torah by the son takes precedence over its study by his father (Kiddushin 29b). Less seriously, witty speech is likened to salt (Kethuboth 66b).

NT Salt is mentioned in six passages. In Matt. 5:13 commentators usually take salt to be a preservative, but the context (*tēs gēs*, of the earth) more probably suggests the stimulating property of salt as a fertilizer: "for if the salt has lost its true nature, *en tini halisthēsetai*, with what shall it [*gē*] be salted?" This is a more edifying idea than the delay of putrefaction. Jesus came not to keep the world from putrefying but to save it (Jn. 3:17) and to provide life in abundance (Jn. 10:10). In quoting the same saying, Luke (14:34) and Mark (9:50) also indicate by their use of *artyō*, to season, that bringing out the quality, in food or soil, is meant. There is only one instance of salt being used to prevent putrefaction, a reference to the priests' wives salting down the priestly portion of sacrificial meat for later use by their families (Bar. 6:28). *hymeis este to halas tēs gēs* in Matt. 5:13, therefore, is best translated "You are salt *for* the soil" (*tēs gēs*, objective genitive), and balanced in the parallelism with 5:14, "You are light for the world" (*tou kosmou*). See E. P. Deatrick, *BA* 25, 1962, 41 ff. Though one cannot see salt which has been added to food, it can be tasted. Salt is noticed by the tongue, and light by the eye, and in either case the user is gratified. A city on a hill cannot be hidden, even at night because of its lights. Salt in food, or its absence, cannot be kept from the knowledge of the eater. "What can you salt with flavourless salt, or what can you illumine with a hidden lamp? Let your stimulating power be so evident that men will recognize the source of your good works" (W. R. Hutton, *ExpT* 58, 1946–7, 166–8). K. Bornhäuser (*Die Bergpredigt*, in *Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie*, 2.7, 1927, 45) draws attention to the emphatic *hymeis*, you, at the beginning of Matt. 5:13 and 14. The Sermon on the Mount has to be understood as being of a piece with Christ's opposition to the scribes and Pharisees. It is not they who are the salt and light, but his disciples. So Jesus calls his

disciples the real teachers, the true wise men, as against the Jewish wise men (→ Scribes). Savourless salt and a covered lamp are alike useless; so the Christian disciple who fails to be stimulating and bright in the work that God wants done is good for nothing. (Cf. a similar combination of light and wisdom in Eph. 5:8, 15 f.)

The stability of sodium chloride as a chemical compound has raised a problem about salt being said to be liable to lose its quality of saltness. Jesus is referring to one of the impure salts of Palestine in everyday use which can and does lose its savour through physical disintegration or through being mixed with wind-blown gypsum dust (Pliny, 3, 31, 34). This suggests that "*if* [*ean*] the salt has lost its savour" should be translated (as it may) as *whenever*, since what follows is not a condition contrary to fact but a real possibility.

Local colour on how Palestine salt can lose its savour is suggestive. (a) W. M. Thomson (*The Land and the Book*, 1882, 362) tells of a merchant of Sidon who imported twenty years' supply of incrustation salt and stored it in mountain cabins to evade the salt tax, only for the salt, in too close contact with the damp earthen floor, to disintegrate and leach away. (b) Blocks of salt were used by the village baker in his oven to maintain a moist atmosphere, so that the soft bread could later be torn into sops for dipping into stews. The intense heat over a period of time would cause the salt to deteriorate. The bread then turned out hard and to the eastern diner unpalatable, and the savourless salt had to be dug out and replaced. (c) At Gebul, near Aleppo, are sparkling veins of salt alongside a hill. The salt on the surface, exposed to rain, sun and air tastes like sand. But salt extracted from below the surface, in contact with the rock, is perfect. Spent natural salt cannot regain its quality, but the faltering disciple can be restored – by getting back to the Rock which is Christ. Present-day shepherds use the term "salt of the earth" as an idiom for rock-salt. (d) In modern Israel savourless salt is spread on the soil on the flat roofs of houses, thus making it hard and serving to prevent leaks. Since the flat roof is used as a meeting-place for adults and as a play-ground for children, the useless salt can still be said to be trodden under foot.

The difficulty of understanding Mk. 9:49 was evident from the earliest days. There are three major textual forms. The best attested reading is "for everyone will be salted with fire". Other MSS have "for every sacrifice will be salted with salt" (Lev. 2:13), or a combination of both readings. Even at the beginning of this century, H. A. W. Meyer could list fourteen different interpretations of the verse (B. Weiss, *Die Evangelien des Markus und Lukas*, 1901, 153–5). If nothing else, it highlights the problems surrounding this logion, and the verse following, and their connexion, if any, with the preceding sayings. Literary critics have usually concluded that an editor brought together the whole passage Mk. 9:42–50 on little more than catchwords: *skandalizō*, cause to stumble; *gehenna*, hell; *pyr*, fire; *halas, hals*, salt.

The secondary textual form may be right in interpreting "salted with fire" as a reference to the Christian disciple being seasoned with salt like the OT sacrifices. This will take place through trials (1 Pet. 1:7, 4:12; cf. 1 Cor. 3:13) and everything contrary to God will be purged away (F. Hauck, *TDNT* I 228 f.; W. Nauck, *StTh* 6, 1952, 165–78). The self-sacrifice metaphor in the whole context is appropriate to a situation of suffering and testing in which the principle of sacrifice is severely tried. Understood in this way, Jesus' word is a challenging pronouncement on suffering which sheds light on the experience of the church in Nero's Rome (W. L. Lane, *The*

Gospel according to Mark, *NLC*, 1974, 349). But F. C. Burkitt saw nothing about sacrifice in the entire passage. Cutting off the hand, etc., is not a sacrifice but a precaution. The only salting of a living person in Hebrew literature is Ezek. 16:4 (the newborn infant). The custom might have been in Jesus' mind, for the context is about "entering into life" and "little ones" (Mk. 9:42 f.). *halisthēsetai*, will be salted, may refer to the first bath of a Jewish infant (*JTS* 17, 1915, 16–18). T. J. Baarda (*NTS* 5, 1958–9, 318–21) suggests from the possible equivalence of the Gk. *halizō* and the Aram. *tabbel* that through a mishearing of the spoken word, derivative forms from the Aram. roots *tbl* and *ṭbl* were confused. An original *mitṭ^{e}ḇel* (baptized) may have been mistaken for *mittaḇal* or *m^{e}ṭabbal* (seasoned, salted), so that the translator targumized the Aram. with *halisthēsetai* (will be salted) where he should have written *baptisthēsetai* (will be baptized). A curious coincidence supports the possibility. Matt. 3:11 and Lk. 3:16 are the only NT passages in which baptism by fire is mentioned. In the same two passages the phrase *pyr asbeston* (unquenchable fire) appears, and this otherwise occurs only in Mk. 9:43, with the verbal form in 9:48, *to pyr ou sbennytai*, the fire is not quenched (Isa. 66:24). Fire is used as a metaphor of purification in rabbinic writings (Sanhedrin 39a; Siphre Num. 158 on 31:23), and similarly salt (Berakoth 5a).

The organic union of Mk. 9:49 and 9:50 has been questioned. The latter saying occurs in a different context in Matt. 5:13 and Lk. 14:34, and there seems no logical coherence in referring in Mk. 9:50a to something which is already a possession of the disciples of Jesus. The context of Mk. 9:50 shows that the evangelist took the saying to be part of Jesus' teaching to his disciples (9:35, he sat down, as teacher, and called the Twelve around him). Matthew and Luke both employ *mōrainomai*, usually in Gk. of a human characteristic (to become foolish), rather than a quality of things (to become savourless). But the Aram. *sry* or *sr'* has a similar double meaning, as does the Heb. *tpl*. *mōrainomai* maintains the rabbinic background of the saying, according to which savourless/foolish and salt/wisdom were associated. W. Nauck, therefore, understands "Have salt in yourselves" in the same sense as in the rabbinic instruction to disciples of scribes to be wise (→ OT). In Mk. 9:50 eschatological wisdom is meant, the wisdom of disciples lived out in their religious attitude, faith, and conduct, keeping in mind the last events to come (Matt. 10:16; Eph. 5:15 f.). These eschatological events provide the organic link between verses 49 and 50 in Mk. 9 (*StTh* 6, 1952, 165–78). Salt as Christian wisdom was taken up as a metaphor by the early church (Ephrem Syrus, Gelasian Sacramentary).

The last phrase of Mk. 9:50, *eirēneuete en allēlois*, be at peace with one another, resembles the continuation of the rabbinic instruction to scribes: "They should suffer insult and should be liked by all men." The last sentence of Mk. 9:50 is an example of two Gk. imperatives in conditional parataxis, linked by the consecutive *kai*: "Have salt in yourselves, *then* you will be able to maintain peace with one another" (Funk *§* 442 (2)).

If the disciple is thought of as a sacrifice (Rom. 12:1), "have salt in yourselves" is apt. Without it, their sacrifice, however great, would be of no use. "Be at peace with one another" follows on easily from "have salt in yourselves", for the disciples had just been arguing about who would be greatest (Mk. 9:34). But there should be no quarrel among the sacrifices as to whether the flesh, whole burnt-offering, cereal, or incense is the more important. All, if offered with salt, were acceptable. Salt was salt,

whether offered in one class or another. Furthermore, salt made those who ate at the common table friends. There should be no quarrelling among friends. Such a covenant was inviolable, and so the treachery of Judas is portrayed, it is said, by the upsetting of the salt in the picture of the Last Supper by Leonardo da Vinci (W. R. Hutton, *ExpT* 58, 1946–7, 168).

Because of the reading *salem*, for *sal*, in the Lat. text of Codex Bezae (d), J. R. Harris suspects a Latinism in the Gk. text, in which by word-play *salem* is mystically interpreted as peace, Heb. *šālôm* (cf. Heb. 7:2). See *ExpT* 35, 1923–4, 403–5; 48, 1936–7, 185 f.

A reference to ancient practices throws light upon the unity and meaning of the whole passage Mk. 9:42–50. Amputation of the hand was known in biblical times (Deut. 25:22). Ancient peoples in general cut off hands or feet, as the guilty members, in cases of theft, robbery, or forgery. Similarly, the eye was taken for adultery (Job 31:1; Gen. 19:11; Matt. 5:29 f.). Recent puritanical movements in Africa have revived the practice as government policy: Saudi Arabia, Libya, and Sudan all do so in 1977. Punishment by amputation was considered humane in an age when the death penalty was common for theft, robbery, sedition, and even adultery. The stump had to be cauterized, otherwise gangrene set in. In the ancient world worms bred in mortified flesh (cf. Mk. 9:48). Salt was a primitive treatment for wounds, including superficial injuries left after the most careful amputation. Fear of secular punishment partly, if inefficiently, deters from crime against secular society and its ruler. The deterrent in the sphere of sin is Isa. 66:24, quoted in Mk. 9:48. The threat also has its healthful side. Avoid the supernatural fire of the next world by applying a symbolic fire in this. Avoid the figurative worms of hell by preserving yourself from worms in this. The salt that draws off blood (it was used to prepare meat, Berakoth 3a) will also preserve meat. Salt is a medicament for damaged tissue. Apply the symbolic amputation to this life, and you not only avoid the circumstances whereby actual amputation might result, but you avoid the fire to come. The church leaders are the preserving salt of the community. By their skilful performance of "amputations" and by healing the wounds afterwards (bearing one another's burdens), they will preserve one another, so that they are the *beati* within the meaning of the closing verses of Isaiah (J. D. M. Derrett, *Theology*, 76, 1973, 364–8).

The passage Lk. 14:25–34 is a discourse on the need for persistent wholeheartedness in following Jesus. That takes precedence even over the family, though to abandon family life was quite outside the rabbinic ideal. The man who lays down the cross has no further testimony. The man who leaves his house roofless is a laughingstock. The man who sues for peace at the start is beaten without a struggle. Salt that has lost its flavour is like all these – no use at all: neither as a fertilizer for the land (*eis gēn*), nor even for the dunghill (*eis koprian*). Assuming word-play originally spoken in Aramaic, F. Perles (*ZNW* 19, 1928, 96) suggests that the translation should be: "It is fit neither for seasoning (*lᵉṭabbālā'*) nor for dunging (*lᵉzabbālā'*)", *tēḇēl* is five times rendered in the LXX by *gē*, earth, and might have been the original of *gē* in "You are the salt of the earth" (Matt. 5:13), the occurrence of the same consonants in a following line misleading the translator into rendering *lᵉṭabbalā'* by *eis gēn* (M. Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels*, 1967 ³, 166 f.).

In Col. 4:6 Paul declares that the Christian's speech should always be gracious, seasoned with salt (*halati ērtymenos*). Salt gives flavour to discourse and recom-

mends it to the palate (cf. Job 6:6), and this may be the primary idea of the metaphor here, as the use of *artyō*, to season, suggests. Salt also preserves from corruption and renders wholesome. Eph. 4:29 carries similar ideas: "Let no corrupt speech proceed from your mouth . . . that it may impart grace" (J. B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, 1897, 230). W. Nauck interprets Col. 4:6 by the metaphorical sense of salt as wisdom: "Your talk should always be with grace; it should be wise, and you should learn how to answer every man (*StTh* 6, 1952, 165–78). Several church fathers take salt in this sense of wisdom (Origen, *Hom. in Gen.* 5:12).

halykos occurs only at Jas. 3:12. In nature it is impossible for both salt water (*halykon hydōr*) and fresh (*glyky*, lit. sweet) to come from the same spring. It ought to be just as unnatural for the tongue of the Christian to pour out curses as well as blessings.

The only occurrence of *synalizō* in the NT (Acts 1:4) poses several difficulties. The context seems to need not the present singular but a perfect plural. The translation is taken by Chrysostom and by the Vulgate's *convescens* to mean eating together. Many minuscules and patristic citations, however, read *synaulizomenos*, from *synaulizomai*, to spend the night with, stay with, and this meaning is followed by RSV (Arndt, 791). Behind the variant text may be the desire to avoid the difficulty of accepting that the risen Christ ate food, since his resurrection body had no need of physical sustenance. That he did take food is affirmed in Lk. 24:41–43 (cf. Acts 10:41), to convince the disciples of the reality of his presence. *N. Hillyer*

(a). T. J. Baarda, "Mark IX. 49", *NTS* 5, 1958–9, 318–21; N. D. Coleman, "Note on Mark IX. 49, 50: A new meaning for *halas*", *JTS* 24, 1923, 387–96; and " 'Salt' and 'Salted' in Mark ix. 49, 50", *ExpT* 48, 1936–7, 360–2; E. P. Deatrick, "Salt, Soil, Savior", *BA* 25, 1962, 41–8; J. D. M. Derrett, "Salted with Fire. Studies in Texts: Mark 9:42–50", *Theology* 76, 1973, 364–8; J. R. Harris, "An Unrecognized Latinism in St Mark", *ExpT* 35, 1923–4, 403–5; F. Hauck, *halas*, in *TDNT* I 228 f.; A. M. Honeyman, "The Salting of Shechem", *VT* 3, 1953, 192–5; W. R. Hutton, "The Salt Sections", *ExpT* 58, 1946–7, 166–8; W. Nauck, "Salt as a Metaphor in Instructions for Discipleship", *ExpT* 35, 1923–4, 136 f.; W. S. Wood, "The Salt of the Earth", *JTS* 25, 1924, 167–72.
(b). J. ten Hove, "Het zout der aarde", *Theologisch Tijdschrift* 46, 1912, 252–4; J. B. Souček, "Salz der Erde und Licht der Welt. Zur Exegese von Matth. 5, 13–16", *ThZ* 19, 1963, 169–79.

Samaritan, Samaria

Σαμαρίτης

Σαμαρίτης (*Samaritēs*), Samaritan; *Σαμάρεια* (*Samareia*), Samaria.

OT 1. *Linguistic Usage.* The Gk. word *Samareia* (*v.l. Samaria*) stands for the Heb. *šōmᵉrôn* and designates originally the capital city of the northern kingdom founded by Omri in 876 B.C. It later came to designate the area of the northern kingdom as an administrative unit of several successive empires. After the city was refounded by Herod in 27 B.C. the new name of *Sebastē* was widely accepted; hence the Arabian *Sebaṣṭiye*. In the NT *Samareia* always denotes the territory of Samaria, which can readily be seen in those passages which list Samaria together with other territories (Lk. 17:11; Jn. 4:4; Acts 1:8; 8:1; 9:31; 15:3). Josephus and 1 Macc. also use the terms *hē Samareitis* and (solely in *Ant.* 17, 319) *to Samareitikon* for the

territory of Samaria. The words *Samareitēs*, *Samaritēs* (fem. *Samareitis*, *Samaritis*) for the first time used in 2 Ki. 17:29 LXX (and in the LXX only here) denote the inhabitants of Samaria, both the city and the territory. In the NT they apply only to the latter. In Josephus *Samareitēs* alternates with *Samareus* and also *Sikimitēs*, Shechemite (e.g. *Ant.* 12, 10), because the Samaritans "had then Shechem for their metropolis" (*Ant.* 11, 340). Other synonyms are *hoi Sidōnioi en Sikimois*, the Sidonians in Shechem (according to *Ant.* 11, 344; cf. 12, 258, 262, it was a self-designation of the Shechemites) and *Chouthaioi*, Cutheans or Kuthites (*Ant.* 10, 184; 11, 88, 303; cf. 2 Ki. 17:24, 30).

The context shows *Samar(e)itēs* to be a geographical, and thus indirectly an ethnological term, but at the same time to be a religious group designation (cf. *Ioudaios*, Jew). The ethnological identity of the Samaritans is a point of dispute between the Jews and the Samaritans. The anti-Samaritan polemic of Judaism assumes a total deportation of the population of the northern kingdom; hence the equation of the Samaritans with the Cutheans. But the religious community centred on Shechem, or Mount Gerizim, until today sees itself as a confessional denomination within Israel, standing ethnologically in unbroken continuity particularly with the northern tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh. It draws a distinction between the admittedly mixed populace of the territory of Samaria and the worshippers of the Yahweh-cult of Shechem, and accepted the designation "Samaritan" only with hesitation as a term originally used only by outsiders.

Nevertheless, it is best not to follow Kippenberg and Macdonald in drawing a strict terminological distinction between Samaritans in the geographical and Samaritans in the religious sense (cf. G. H. Kippenberg, *Garizim und Synagoge. Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur samaritanischen Religion der aramäischen Periode*, 1971, 34; and J. Macdonald, *The Theology of the Samaritans*, 1964, 14).

For we must respect the lack of precision in the terminology of the sources as part of the evidence. The two strands cannot be disentangled historically. In any case, the territory of Samaria in the post-exilic period had no cultic centre acceptable to Israelites other than Mount Gerizim, near to ancient Shechem. Only after Alexander the Great's general, Perdiccas, had settled the city with Macedonians could the city of Samaria perhaps be said to stand apart from the religious faith of the rest of the population. However, Josephus (*Ant.* 12, 258–262) indicates possibilities of solidarity between the two groups. Similarly, there are numerous common factors in later history. John Hyrcanus destroyed both Shechem and Samaria. Neither side took part in the rebellion of 4 B.C. Jewish attacks were unitedly repulsed by armed Samaritans and soldiers from Sebaste in A.D. 52.

The term "Sidonians in Shechem" (cf. *Ant.* 11, 344; 12, 258, 262) is to be recognized as a self-designation of the Samaritans (so E. Bickerman, "Un Document relatif à la Persécution d'Antiochus IV Epiphane", *RHR* 58, 1937, 188–223; Ger. translation in *Zur Josephus-Forschung*, ed., A. Schalit, 1973, 241–77; and A. Schalit, "Die Denkschrift der Samaritaner an König Antiochos Epiphanes zu Beginn der grossen Verfolgung der jüdischen Religion im Jahre 167 v. Chr. (Josephus, AJ, XII, §§ 258–264)", *ASTI* 8, 1970–71, 131–83; against M. Delcor, "Vom Sichem der hellenistischen Epoche zum Sychar des Neuen Testaments", *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 78, 1962, 34–48; and H. G. Kippenberg, op. cit., 79).

However, it does not shed light on the ethnological identity of the Samaritans, but only on their political tactics which Josephus aptly describes (*Ant.* 11, 291, 341).

It is uncertain when the self-designation *šômᵉrîm* (pronounced by the Samaritans *šāmᵉ rîm*), lit. those who keep or preserve, came into use. Origen knows it (cf. *Homily* on Ezek. 9, 1; *John* 20, 25). But Philo too, who never explicitly refers to the Samaritans, appears to play on the term (cf. *Leg. All.* 3, 25 f.).

2. *The History of the Samaritans to the Arab Occupation.* The origins of the Samaritan community lie in obscurity and are covered over by the mutual polemic of the Jews and Samaritans. The tension between the northern and southern tribes, and between the northern and southern kingdoms in both politics and religion doubtless forms part of the antecedents of the schism. But the tracing of it to the Assyrian colonization by Jewish polemics based on 2 Ki. 17:24 ff. (which has also influenced the Christian picture of the Samaritans) is to be rejected. Likewise we cannot accept the Samaritan attempt to date the break as early as the time of Eli, who, according to the Samaritan Chronicles, is supposed to have founded the sanctuary at Shiloh as a rival centre to Mount Gerizim. Even the conflict between the Persian administration in Samaria, headed by the house of Sanballat, and the leaders of the restoration in Jerusalem (Nehemiah and Ezra) should be seen as only one contribution to the growing alienation between Judea and Samaria (cf. Ezr. 4; Neh. 4; 13:28). It is a matter of dispute whether the texts of the Heb. OT already mount a polemic against the Samaritans. Among these are the writings of the Chronicler; Isa. 56–66; Hag. 2:10–14; Zech. 11:14; Ps. 78. Recent writers tend to be more sceptical on this point than the earlier ones (cf. R. J. Coggins, *Samaritans and Jews: The Origins of the Samaritans Reconsidered*, 1975). In any case the conflict soon influenced the history of the text of the OT, in particular that of the Pentateuch which alone was canonical for the Samaritans (cf. the substitution of Mount Ebal for Mount Gerizim at Deut. 27:4 MT).

The most important single event in the history of the rise of the Samaritan community was probably the construction of the temple to Yahweh on Mount Gerizim towards the end of the 4th cent. B.C. According to Josephus, *Ant.* 11, 302–47, the initiative came from the priests who had been excluded from Jerusalem, because their marriages had been rejected as mixed marriages (cf. *Ant.* 11, 306 ff., 312). They were settled by Sanballat in Shechem (11, 312, 340). Permission to build the temple is supposed to have been granted by Alexander the Great in gratitude for military support by Sanballat (*Ant.* 11, 321–24, cf. 346; 13, 256; cf. F. M. Cross, Jr., "Aspects of Samaritan and Jewish History in Late Persian and Hellenistic Times", *HTR* 59, 1966, 201–11). In the mouth of Josephus this is a credible and historically plausible tradition, because the erection of a temple was in any case an act of state (cf. Ezr. 1:1–8).

This was not the only temple to Yahweh that was erected outside Jerusalem in the post-exilic period. We know of a temple at Elephantine in Upper Egypt in the 5th cent. B.C., and in the 2nd cent. B.C. temples were founded at Leontopolis in Lower Egypt (cf. Josephus, *War* 1, 33; 7, 420–736; *Ant.* 12, 387 f.; 13, 62–73) and 'Arâq el-'Emîr in Transjordan. However, the Gerizim temple alone became a real challenge to the Jerusalem temple, because it represented a considerable political faction, and because sooner or later the claims of Deut. about the sole, legitimate cultic centre came to be related to it. The idea cannot be excluded that the participants in the

founding of the sanctuary saw it as an act of restoration (cf. Jos. 24:2, the MT against the LXX), since Shechem and Gerizim have ancient Israelite traditions on their side (cf. Deut. 27:4, the Samaritan Pentateuch against the MT).

The next conflict which opened up deep wounds and which was perhaps decisive for the ultimate schism arose through the opportunist policy of Shechem under Antiochus IV (175–*c.* 164 B.C.), Epiphanes. In a petition preserved by Josephus, *Ant.* 12, 258–261 (on its authenticity see E. Bickermann, op. cit.) the Samaritans requested in 167/166 B.C. that their temple on Mount Gerizim (which, they pretended, had up to that very day been "anonymous", i.e. not connected with the name of any particular deity) should be dedicated to Zeus Hellenios (i.e. the Zeus worshipped on Aigina; cf. Schalit, op. cit.). They evidently did not intend thereby to implement any change of cultic practice. Rather, they were making use of the *interpretatio Graeca*, according to which other oriental deities could also be identified with Greek gods and worshipped under their names. Thus the Samaritans escaped persecution, whilst in Judea the Maccabees resisted the policy of cultural and religious Hellenization at the price of their lives. It was only natural that the success of the Maccabean revolt led as a consequence not only to the expansion of Judea at the expense of Samaria (cf. 1 Macc. 10:38; 11:24, 57), but also to the destruction of the temple on Mount Gerizim by John Hyrcanus in 129/128 B.C. (Josephus, *Ant.* 13, 255 f.; *War* 1, 63; Megillat Ta'anit 9).

It was Pompey that ended the Judean dominance over Samaria in 63 B.C. This explains the good relations of the Samaritans to the Romans which lasted until A.D. 67 and to the house of Herod which was closely tied to Rome (cf. Josephus, *War* 1, 213, 302 f., 355; *Ant.* 14, 411, 468; 18, 167). These were interrupted only by the blood bath precipitated by Pontius Pilate which, however, cost him his office (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 18, 85–89), and a trial for breach of the peace in A.D. 52, when the Samaritans who were supported by the procurator Cumanus came into violent conflict with the Jews. Following the trial in Rome the leading Samaritans were executed and Cumanus banished (Josephus, *War* 2, 232–46; *Ant.* 20, 118–24). The execution may have provoked the mood which led to the tardy and vain participation in the Jewish rising of A.D. 67 (cf. Josephus, *War* 3, 307–15).

The basically pro-Roman attitude of the Samaritans was the logical consequence of their support of the Seleucids into whose inheritance the Romans entered in the region of Syria. Their support of Herod combined loyalty to the dominant world power with hostility to the Hasmoneans and Jewish patriotism. This traditional hostility found expression in isolated outbursts like the desecration of the Jerusalem temple under Coponius (*c.* A.D. 6–9; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 18, 29 f.) and the murder of a Galilean pilgrim in A.D. 52 (according to Josephus, *War* 2, 232; cf. *Ant.* 20, 118).

It seems like an irony of history that the Samaritans, who were in general ready to co-operate with the world power of the day and to make compromises with the surrounding pagan world, did not regain their rights to practise the Israelite religion after the Bar Kochba revolt of A.D. 132–35. It was otherwise with the Jews. The Samaritans, however, were bloodily persecuted, especially on account of the practice of circumcision (cf. Origen, *Contra Cels.* 2, 13). The 4th cent. A.D. brought with it a time of revival for the Samaritans which lasted several decades. Their leader, Baba Rabba, reformed the life of the synagogue, and the oldest portions of the extant non-biblical literature of the Samaritans (the Memar Markah, parts of the liturgy) date

from this period. Growing pressure from the Christian Byzantine emperors (cf. the Code of Justinian 1, 5, 17) led to futile risings with considerable loss of life. As a consequence the Samaritans in the 7th cent. A.D. welcomed and gave support to the Arab conquerors.

3. *Geographical, Social and Cultural Aspects.* For a true appreciation of the relationship between the Samaritans, the Jews and the Christians an explanation of the geographical situation is of fundamental importance. The Samaritans lived in many places outside Samaria, even in Palestine. Archaeological finds indicate Samaritan synagogues in Bet Še'an (Scythopolis), Ṣabarin on Mount Carmel, Gaza, Jabneh, Kfar Bilu and Beth-Dagan in the coastal area, 'Amwâs (Emmaus/Nicopolis) and Shaalbin in the Shephelah, and possibly Mount Nebo and Namara in Transjordan. There is literary and archaeological evidence of a strong Samaritan concentration in and around Caesarea by the sea. Outside Palestine special mention may be made of Alexandria and the rest of Egypt (from the 4th cent. B.C.; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 11, 345; 12, 7–10; 13, 74–79), and also of Damascus, Thessalonica, Athens and Rome.

The proximity of Samaria to Hellenistic cities and the presence of Samaritans in such cities ties up with reports of the pro-Greek attitude of the early Samaritans, forming a clear overall picture. Also pointing in this direction is the evidence of at least one Samaritan companion piece to the LXX (the Samareitikon; Symmachus?). So too does the Samaritan origin of a number of educated figures like Justin Martyr (2nd cent. A.D.), Siricius (the rhetorician in Athens in the 4th cent. A.D.) and Marinus (the Neo-Platonist of the 5th cent. A.D.). All these hailed from Neapolis which continued to be the religious centre of the Samaritans (cf. the synagogue inscription of Thessalonica). The philosophical grounding of Markah (4th cent. A.D.) merits considerable esteem. These data help to explain the cross-connexions with Hellenistic Judaism and Hellenistic Jewish Christianity (cf. Acts 8:4–25), both of which likewise grew up amid an urban civilization.

Of course, the liberal, cosmopolitan attitude of the Samaritans could not in the long term survive the painful encounters with the power of imperial Rome. The brief Samaritan renaissance of the 4th and 5th cents. A.D. that was terminated by force led, therefore, to a concentration on the Israelite inheritance canonized in the Torah. It decided the character of Samaritan theology and piety as an exclusively Mosaic religion. This was intensified rather than weakened by the encounter with Islam. It may be said that the Samaritans in the first centuries A.D. caught up with a development which had been extinguished in Judaism through the conflict with the Seleucids. In this connexion belongs the rise of a specific Samaritan eschatology (with the expectation of the "day of vengeance and recompense"), including the hope of resurrection which the Samaritans did not originally share.

NT 1. *Samaria and the Samaritans in the NT.* (a) Matt. 10:5 f. Within the framework of the commissioning of the disciples (Matt. 10:1–16, par. Mk. 3:13–19; 6:8–11; Lk. 6:12–16; 9:2–5, cf. 10:1–12) vv. 5 f. contain the saying peculiar to Matt.: "Go nowhere among the Gentiles, and enter no town of the Samaritans, but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." J. Jeremias sees the saying as an ancient tristich based on an Aram. tradition forbidding the disciples to work among either Samaritans or Gentiles. He reconstructs it as follows: "Go not

to the Gentiles/and enter not into the land of Samaria/but go (only) to the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (*TDNT* V 92; cf. J. Jeremias, *Jesus' Promise to the Nations*, *SBT* 24, 1958, 19 f.).

The parallelism with "the Gentiles" (*ethnē*) and the juxtaposition with "the house of Israel" show unmistakably that the Samaritans are here not recognized as Israelites. The saying is very closely related to Matt. 15:24, where Jesus says to the Canaanite woman: "I was sent only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." Here too in a Matthaean addition the same picture taken from Jer. 50:6 (LXX 27:6) is applied to Israel and a Canaanite woman is excluded from the mission of Jesus which is directed only to Israel. Against this background Matt. 10:5 f. is not to be understood as a purely geographical limitation of the mission of the disciples to Galilee (as against the commentaries of Gaechter, Holtzmann, Loisy, Montefiore, McNeile ad loc., and Jeremias, op. cit.). Rather, the reference to "the house of Israel" indicates that all members of the people of Israel are included wherever they live (cf. P. Nepper-Christensen, *Das Matthäusevangelium, ein judenchristliches Evangelium?*, 1958, 182). In the light of this, it is questionable whether *polin Samaritōn* here really means the province of Samaria, because in that case the way to the Jewish part of "the house of Israel" would actually be barred by the double command of v. 5. Rather, a distinction must be drawn between the journey through the province and entry into a Samaritan town or village (cf. Jn. 4:5). This is the view of A. Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Matthäus*, 1963 [6], 328 f. (cf. Lk. 9:52 f.; Jn. 4:8, 40).

Historically Matt. 10:5 f. stands in connexion with the conception of a mission solely to Israel, as is also evidenced in Matt. 10:23. But it is doubtful whether the negations of Matt. 10:5 are directed against a Samaritan or Gentile mission that was beginning or had already begun (cf. E. Käsemann, "The Beginnings of Christian Theology", in *New Testament Questions of Today*, 1969, 87 ff.; and R. Scroggs, "The Earliest Hellenistic Christianity", in J. Neusner, ed., *Religions in Antiquity*, 1968, 176–206, see especially 177), in view of the fact that the charge was clearly directed to the Twelve in Matt. 10:5 f. In any case, their rôle was related to the twelve tribes of Israel (cf. Matt. 19:28). Gal. 2:7 ff. could be, as far as Peter was concerned, a testimony to the same.

According to H. Schürmann ("Mt. 10, 5b–6 und die Vorgeschichte des synoptischen Aussendungsberichtes", in *Neutestamentliche Aufsätze für J. Schmid*, 1963, 270–82), these words were part of Q where they served as an introduction to Lk. 10:8 ff. and were interpreted, historicized and "neutralized" by the insertion of Lk. 9:51–56. Lk. then omitted the logion contained in Matt. 10:5 f., whereas Matt. omitted the pericope in Lk. 9:51–56.

An antipode of Matt. 10:5 f. from early Christian times (and an indirect testimony to Samaritans' view of their own identity) is the observation of Justin Martyr: "For all the other human races [*genē*] are called Gentiles [*ethnē*] by the Spirit of prophecy; but the Jewish and Samaritan races are called the tribe [*phylon*] of Israel, and the house of Jacob" (*Apol.* I, 53). For further discussion of the concepts involved in Matt. 10:5 f. → Israel; → Lamb, Sheep; → People.

(b) The Lucan Writings. (i) Lk. 9:51–56. The narrative fits perfectly into our picture of the mutual attitudes of the Jews and Samaritans of the 1st cent. A.D. (cf. Josephus, *War* 2, 232–46; *Ant.* 20, 118–36). The reaction of James and John, the sons of Zebedee (v. 54) takes up the → Elijah tradition of 2 Ki. 10:10–14 (cf. vv. 54 f.

v.l.) and recalls the judgment on the people of Sodom (Gen. 19; cf. Lk. 10:12), as well as the sin of the brothers Simeon and Levi (Gen. 34), which in Test. Lev. 6 is defended as a punishment for the notorious hostility to strangers of the Shechemites. The astonishing feeling of power of the two disciples is perhaps to be understood as an anticipation of Lk. 10:17–20. Jesus' rebuke (v. 55), even without the later addition of the words, "and he said, 'You do not know what manner of spirit you are of; for the Son of man came not to destroy men's lives but to save them' " (vv. 54 f. *v.l.*; cf. Metzger, 148 f.), serves as a repudiation of false notions of the character of his messianic way (Lk. 10:51, 53; cf. Matt. 16:22 f. par. Mk. 8:32 f.) and the apostolic commission (cf. Lk. 10:3, 5 f., 10 f.). It is debated whether v. 56 refers to another Samaritan village or indicates a detour of the whole Samaritan area (cf. Lk. 18:35; 19:1, 11, 28).

In the *Clementine Recognitions* 1, 57 in a great (legendary) debate with the religious parties of Israel the pericope is taken as the occasion to picture the sons of Zebedee eloquently confuting their Samaritan opponents.

(ii) Lk. 10:30–37. The parable of the Good Samaritan is a Lucan amplification of the pericope on the two great commandments (Matt. 22:24–40 par. Mk. 12:28–34, Lk. 10:25–28), giving an illustration in the form of a narrative and expounding Lev. 19:28 (→ Command, art. *entolē* NT 1; → Love, art. *agapaō* NT 2; → Brother, art. *plēsion*, NT; → Large, art. *megas* NT 4). The introductory question of v. 29 ("But he, desiring to justify himself, said to Jesus, 'And who is my neighbour?' ") stands in tension with the point of the parable drawn out in vv. 36 f. (" 'Which of these three, do you think, proved neighbour to the man who fell among the robbers?' He said, 'The one who showed mercy on him.' And Jesus said to him, 'Go and do likewise' "). This has given rise to various tradition-historical and redaction-critical hypotheses, without however attaining conclusive results. (For the history of the interpretation of the parable see W. Monselewski, *Der barmherzige Samariter. Eine auslegungsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu Lukas 10, 25–37, Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Exegese* 5, 1967; cf. also J. D. M. Derrett, "The Parable of the Good Samaritan", in *Law in the New Testament*, 1970, 208–27.)

The fact that the positive figure in the present narrative is a Samaritan serves to detach the love command from all previous relationships with a person in need. In the juxtaposition with the priest and Levite (cf. Jn. 1:19) it contains an element of criticism of official Judaism (cf. Jn. 4:1–45). Attention is not drawn to any particular qualities of the Samaritan. The omission of the designation of "Samaritan" (v. 37) is, despite widespread opinion, probably without significance. For the name "Samaritan" as such was not important to the Samaritans, and it was not the subject of a taboo for the Jews. The story anticipates the saying of Rabbi Simeon ben Gamiel (*c.* A.D. 140), that the Samaritans keep the commandments which they observe more strictly than the "Israelites", i.e. the Jews (cf. Kid. 76a par.).

(iii) Lk. 17:11–19. The description of the grateful Samaritan as *allogenēs* could in itself be intended in an unpolemical way: "Was no one found to return and give praise to God except this foreigner?" (v. 18). For the Samaritans could occasionally describe themselves as being an independent nation (*genos*) alongside the Jews (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 12, 261; Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 120, 6). This did not necessarily downgrade them as non-Israelites (cf. Justin Martyr, *Apol.* I, 53). But Jewish polemics gave point to talk about an independent Samaritan *genos* (cf. Josephus,

Ant. 18, 167) by stressing the alleged non-Israelite origin of the Samaritans (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 13, 255, *to Chouthaiōn genos*, "the nation of the Cutheans"). It is not by accident that the term *allogenēs* is a key word in the mixed marriage texts in 1 Esd. 8 f. LXX, and a designation for the Shechemites of Gen. 34 in Jud. 9:2, where the deed of Simeon (and Levi) is represented as divinely willed (as against Gen. 49:5 ff.; cf. Jub. 30:5).

Another possible background for calling the Samaritans a foreign people is the use of Deut. 32:21 in anti-Samaritan polemics (cf. Sir. 50:25 f.).

The intention of Lk. 17:11–19 is comparable not only with Lk. 10:30–37 but also with Matt. 8:5–13 par. Lk. 7:1–10, where it is a heathen who puts the whole of Israel in the shade with his faith. In these texts the later way of mission (cf. Acts 8; 10 f.) is anticipated in paradigmatic cases in the pre-Easter history of Jesus (cf. Jn. 4:1–42).

Apart from the fact that as a Samaritan he would not have gone to the Jerusalem priests, the behaviour of the Samaritan in Lk. 17:15 f. might have had as its background a particular openness of the Samaritans to the charismatic (cf. Acts 8:4–13; Jn. 8:48(?); *Clementine Recognitions* 1, 57).

(iv) Acts 1:8; 8:1; 9:31. Acts 1:8 contains the promise and commission: "But you shall receive power when the Holy Spirit has come upon you; and you shall be my witnesses in Jerusalem and in all Judea and Samaria and to the end of the earth" (→ Spirit). The fact that "Samaria" in Acts 1:8 is attached to "Judea" without repetition of the preposition and article makes the phrase "in all Judea and Samaria [*en pasē tē Ioudaia kai Samareia*]" appear to be a single compound concept and not the designation of two consecutive stages in the history of the mission. This corresponds to the common administration of Judea and Samaria by a Roman procurator from A.D. 6.

Acts 9:31 concludes the account of Paul's conversion and first preaching with the statement: "So the church throughout all Judea and Galilee and Samaria [*kath' holēs tēs Ioudaias kai Galilaias kai Samareias*] had peace and was built up; and walking in the fear of the Lord and in the comfort of the Holy Spirit it was multiplied." The mention of Galilee between Judea and Samaria does not conflict with the above interpretation. For in Acts 1:8 and 8:1 Galilee was probably included in the notion of Judea, corresponding to the religious orientation of Galilee around Jerusalem. (For a more broadly based idea of "Judea" cf. e.g. Matt. 19:1; Josephus, *Ant.* 9, 280; Strabo, *Geography* 16, 21.) From a geographical standpoint the statement in Acts 1:8 has therefore three parts: Jerusalem, the land of Israel and finally the whole world are to be the scene of the testimony of the disciples. With the idea of "witnesses" the → proclamation of the word by the disciples is interpreted as a resumption of the trial of Jesus before the forum of the world. This in itself anticipates the many forensic scenes in Acts.

(v) Acts 8:4–25. In order to understand the account of Philip's missionary success in Samaria it is essential to grasp the geographical aspect. According to J. Jeremias, the expression "city of Samaria [*polin tēs Samareias*]" (v. 5) is an Aramaism meaning "the province of Samaria", reflecting the indefinite term *mᵉḏînā'* (*TDNT* VII 92; cf. *polis Iouda*, "city of Judah" in Lk. 1:39). But v. 8 ("So there was much joy in that city") appears to have a particular city in mind. The question arises as to which city could be intended. The narrator could be avoiding mentioning the name of the former capital Sebaste because that name paid tribute to the religious

veneration of Augustus (= Sebastos). He could have meant the *nea polis* of the Samaritans which was already standing before Vespasian (later named Flavia Neapolis, modern Nablus; cf. Josephus, *War* 4, 449; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 5, 69). Alternatively, he might have been thinking of Sychar which is mentioned in Jn. 4:5 as "a city of Samaria" (*polin tēs Samareias legoumenēn Sychar*).

Historically relevant here is the decision between a Hellenistic linguistic and cultural environment (Sebaste) and the Aramaic-speaking context of the Samaritan community. In favour of the latter is the fact that Simon Magus (→ Magic, art. *mageia* NT 1 (a)), who before the appearance of Philip dominated the religious scene in this area, was revered by the populace as *megalē dynamis*: "This man is that power of God which is called Great" (Acts 8:10). This expression is more readily explicable if it is seen as rendering the Aram. *ḥaylâh* (in the masc.) rather than as a Gk. title (for further discussion of the possibilities see F. F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1952 [2], 185). Therefore, Acts 8:4–25 probably does not deal with the mission in Sebaste – and thus with the beginnings of the Gentile mission – but with the mission in a (possibly *the*) centre of the Samaritan community.

The report of this Simon in Acts 8:9 ff. must be compared with the traditions of a later gnostic group which claimed to derive from him (cf. Justin Martyr, *Apol.* I, 26:1–3 etc.; Iren., *Haer.* 1, 23; Hippol., *Haer.* 6, 19 f.; Epiph., *Haer.* 21, 1–4 etc.). Lack of non-polemical sources makes historical investigation on this point considerably difficult. Acts 8:9 indicates that Simon appeared as a miracle worker, and in this he was apparently later superseded by Philip (cf. Acts 8:6 f., 13). The mention of → "magic" in vv. 9 and 11 is not indicative of the manner of the phenomena, but is rather an expression of a negative theological judgment. The lofty, but not more precisely defined, claim that Simon evidently made for himself (v. 9; cf. Lk. 1:15, 32; 7:16; Heb. 4:4; 11:24) was, according to v. 10, superseded by the even more enthusiastic acclamation of the populace, which praised him as "that power of God which is called Great." This might be the expression of an angelology of a kind associated with Michael (→ Angel) or → Melchizedek (cf. Hippol., *Haer.* 7, 36; 10, 24 etc.; see K. Beyschlag, *Simon Magus und die christliche Gnosis*, *WUNT* 16, 1974, 109). The early origins of such an angelology have now been illuminated by 11QMelchizedek. But comparison with Lk. 22:69 (par. Matt. 26:64; Mk. 14:62) makes it probable that *theou* ("of God") is here a Lucan addition in the epexegetical genitive. "The great power" is a designation of divinity which was very widespread in the Syrian and Palestinian area (cf. Beyschlag, loc. cit.). If Simon was honoured as the "first" or "chief" divinity, i.e. as the incarnation of Zeus, it must be remembered that in Samaria Zeus was at times syncretistically identified with Yahweh (probably on the grounds of the title *'El 'elyôn*; cf. Pseudo-Eupolemos in Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 9, 17, 2–9). Simon's consort Helena was equated with Athena, the daughter of Zeus (cf. Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1, 23, 4), and designated as his *prōtē ennoia* ("first thought"). There is an obvious comparison with other female cult figures in Jewish (at Elephantine) and Samaritan (cf. Epiphanius, *Haer.* 78, 23, 6) syncretism. What is new, though not altogether without analogy, is the thought of incarnation, or rather of manifestation, which attaches to the miracle worker here as at Lystra (Acts 14:11 f.). The historical figure of Simon does not bear any specific gnostic traits, and the later assimilation to gnosticism of the Simon-movement is to be traced back to dependence on Christian gnosticism (K. Beyschlag, op. cit., against G. Lüdemann, *Untersuchungen zur*

simonianischen Gnosis, 1975). Perhaps Acts 8:18–24 already reflects the way in which the Simon-movement sought to adopt and modify the Christian tradition.

The fact that the newly formed Samaritan communities did not at once manifest the usual charismatic gifts of the primitive communities is unique in the NT. (Acts 19:1–7 is no real parallel!) The account cannot have as its intention the tying of the gift of the Spirit to the apostolic office (cf. Acts 9:17; 19:7). But it is conceivable that this may be the expression of the healing of the breach between Judea and Samaria and of the primacy of honour held by the Jerusalem church (cf. Jn. 4:22 ff.). O. Cullmann has suggested that Jn. 4:38 is a reflection of the relatively tardy participation of Jerusalem in the Samaria mission (cf. O. Cullmann, "Samaria and the Origins of the Christian Mission", in *The Early Church*, 1956, 183–92).

This hesitation on the part of the Jerusalem community was repeated in the case of the Gentile missionary drive, led by the same Hellenistic Jewish Christians (cf. Acts 11:19 f.). Whilst representatives of the Jerusalem church (cf. Acts 15:1, 23; cf. 11:27?) questioned the Gentile mission with its disregard for the law (Acts 15:2), and opposition in Jerusalem itself became vocal (15:3), the churches in Phoenicia and Samaria were overjoyed at the conversion of the Gentiles (15:3). Therefore, from a historical point of view (and thus also from the theological) one cannot overlook the fact that already in NT times cultural differences resulting from political and economic factors produced or at least fostered dissensions in the theology of Christian mission.

(c) John. (i) Jn. 4:1–42. Various aspects of this passage need to be taken into consideration:

(1) Geographical factors. Sychar (v. 5) may be identified with modern *'Askar* (cf. H. M. Schenke, "Jakobsbrunnen–Josephsgrab–Sychar", *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 84, 1968, 159–84; against G. E. Wright, *Shechem: The Biography of a Biblical City*, 1965, 243 f.) that is situated on the South Eastern slope of Mt. Ebal somewhat to the side of the road from Jerusalem to Galilee. This would explain the scene in vv. 6b and 8. The remarkable pinpointing of Sychar in v. 5b is best explained if Sychar stood not topographically, but historically, in continuity with ancient Shechem and its traditions (see below), perhaps as its successor between 128 B.C. and the emergence of Neapolis.

The geographical comment in v. 5b ("near the field that Jacob gave to his son Joseph") goes back to Gen. 48:22, and leans on the formulation of Jos. 24:32 LXX, where Gen. 48:22 is assimilated to Gen. 33:19 (cf. Acts 7:15 f.). Gen. 48:22 LXX identifies this particular heritage of Joseph with Shechem, on the grounds of the ambiguity of the Heb. *šᵉḵem* which means both "shoulder" (i.e. here a "mountain slope", cf. RSV with RSV mg.) and Shechem (cf. E. A. Speiser, *Genesis*, *Anchor Bible*, 1964, 358). The ET of the LXX reads: "Now to thee exclusively above thy brothers, I give Shechem, which I took out of the hand of the Amorites with my sword and with my bow." Philo interpreted this as an act of detachment: Jacob did not want to keep what he had not received from God, but had conquered in his own strength (*Leg. All.* 3, 26). As against this (or apart from this tradition which relates Gen. 48:22 to Shechem) the Samaritans have considered and revered a certain parcel of ground at the foot of Mt. Gerizim as the original plot of Gen. 33:18 (cf. Memar Markah [= MM] IV, 9, p. 102, 13–16). In the 4th cent. A.D. they built there a synagogue (cf. Chronicle V [*Salsalat*] 89 and 126; cf. perhaps also Epiphanius, *Haer.* 80, 1, 6). The

early church identification of Joseph's grave on this spot (cf. Jos. 24:32; MM V, 4, p. 128, 24) by Old Shechem (= *Balāṭa*; cf. Itin. Burdig., *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, XXXIX, 20, 3–7) seems to correspond to the ancient Samaritan tradition concerning the site (against Schenke, op. cit.).

The spring, or well, of Jacob (vv. 6, 11 f.) is not mentioned in the OT. The sole tradition about a well associated with the name of Jacob is found in Gen. 29:2–10, where the place is given as Haran. In the Haggadah it was enlarged into a wandering legend by association with Exod. 2:15–22 (→ Moses in Midian) and the miracle of the water in the wilderness (Exod. 17:1–7; Num. 20:1–11; 21:16 ff.). At the same time it was compressed into the picture of a single miraculous spring which "accompanied" the patriarchs and Moses on their wanderings (cf. 1 Cor. 10:4; Pirqê de R. Eliezer p. 268, Friedländer; see A. Jaubert, "La Symbolique du Puits de Jacob, Jean 4, 12", in *L'Homme devant dieu, Mélanges offerts au P. Henri de Lubac*, 1963, I, 63–73). The Samaritan concentration of the most diverse patriarchal traditions on Shechem and its environment (cf. Jn. 4:20) led logically to the local tradition of the well of Jacob. The fact that Jn. 4:6 is strongly reminiscent of Exod. 2:15 f. in the narrative in Josephus, *Ant.* 2, 257, shows that already in NT times the motives of this tradition were rather fixed while the names of places and people changed.

The information about the well in Jn. 4 (note the oscillation between "well" and "spring", the situation outside the village, and the depth of the well) corresponds to the well fed by a spring, and identified as Jacob's well, in a church 400 meters South-East of ancient Shechem.

(2) The problem of the relationship of the Jews to the Samaritans (vv. 7 ff.). The woman's amazement and the explanatory comment of the evangelist refer particularly to Jesus' request for water, which indicates a kind of meal fellowship. It is distinguished from the Pharisaic conception, according to which the vessels of the Samaritans were considered unclean and could not be used by the Jews (cf. D. Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, 1956, 373–82).

(3) The symbolism of the living water (vv. 10–15) has been related by tradition history primarily to → wisdom (cf. Prov. 13:14; 18:4; Sir. 24:25–34; Philo, *Som.* 1, 6; Eth. Enoch 48:1; 19:1; and often) and secondarily to the → law (cf. Sir. 15:3; 24:23; CD 3:16; 6:4; 19:34; S.Dt. § 48[84a]). Jn. is acquainted with the symbolical correspondence of → water and → Spirit (cf. Jn. 3:5; 7:39). But Jn. 4:10, 13 f. (cf. also 7:37 f.) do not seem to have been designed originally to express the once-and-for-all reception of the Spirit, but rather the continued working of the words of Jesus (cf. 6:63).

In the Samaritan literature of the 4th cent. A.D. the picture of living water plays a significant rôle as part of the strong wisdom traditions of the Samaritans (cf. J. C. H. Lebram, "Nachbiblische Weisheitstraditionen", *VT* 15, 1965, 167–237). The emphasis on the person of Moses in these texts (in contrast with the stress on the impersonal law in Judaism) is reminiscent of Johannine christology, and prompts the question of historical connexions between the Johannine and the Samaritan tradition (see below). In Jn. 4:10–15 the striking *hallomenou* ("welling up", v. 14) refers back to the Moses tradition of Num. 21:16 ff.; cf. *ʿlî*, "spring up" in v. 17 (cf. T. F. Glasson, *Moses in the Fourth Gospel*, 1963, 55 f.). The same allusion occurs in MM VI, 3, p. 136, 18.

(4) The allusion to the life of the Samaritan woman in the course of the conversa-

tion (Jn. 4:16–19, especially vv. 17 f.) has often been interpreted allegorically, since D. F. Strauss, of the five gods of the Assyrian colonists in Samaria (five instead of seven is the number given in Josephus, *Ant.* 9, 287, against 2 Ki. 17:20 f.). Today this is generally and rightly rejected. The interpretation remains for us as ambiguous as that of Jn. 1:48, and has the same function in the context of the narrative, focusing on a special charismatic gift of Jesus and eliciting a corresponding confession (cf. Jn. 1:49; 4:19). The woman's belief that in Jesus she was being confronted by a prophet is to be understood from her standpoint only in the light of v. 18. One should not read into it any eschatological expectations, e.g. those derived from Deut. 18:15, 18.

(5) The allegiance to Mount Gerizim as the sole legitimate place of worship is the fourth and ultimately distinctive point of the Samaritan creed. The way in which the Samaritan woman introduces the theme (v. 20) is an excellent expression of the Samaritan standpoint: the age-old Israelite practice ("our fathers worshipped on this mountain") is set in opposition to the Jewish claims in favour of → Jerusalem ("and you say that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship"). According to Samaritan tradition, a long chain of important biblical figures from Adam right up to Joseph knew and recognized Gerizim as a holy place (cf. MM II, 10, p. 47, 7–12; IV, 10, p. 105, 7 f.). Pseudo-Eupolemos (an anonymous Samaritan) provides testimony already in the early 2nd cent. A.D. of the transference of the Abraham tradition of Gen. 14 to Mount Gerizim (cf. Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 9, 17). The fact that the cultic centre in Jn. 4:20 is introduced as a place of worship corresponds to Samaritan linguistic usage (cf. MM II, 10, p. 47, 25 f.; II, 12, p. 52, 5; III, 2, p. 59, 2 f.; III, 6, p. 73, 5). Josephus gives account of disputes between Jews and Samaritans in Egypt over the legitimacy of Gerizim and Zion (*Ant.* 12, 10; 13, 74–79). All in all, Jn. 4:20 is formulated so authentically in the style of Samaritan traditions, that the narrator must be credited with a knowledge of them.

(6) Jesus' position on the problem of the right cultic centre (vv. 21–24) exhibits different lines of thought. The essentially futuristic pronouncements of vv. 21 and 23 f. relativize the question of the place in favour of stressing the dimension of Spirit and truth in which God will be worshipped (→ Prayer, art. *proskyneō* NT 4). V. 22, on the other hand, speaks in the present, and makes Jesus adopt clearly the Jewish standpoint and condemn the Samaritan one. V. 22 (or only 22c, "for salvation is from the Jews") has often been judged to be an editorial addition, though for differing reasons. But it fits completely into the context of the chapter (cf. vv. 9 and 42) and that of the entire Gospel (cf. Jn. 1:11; 4:43 f.; 12:37 ff.). Jesus is a Jew, and Judea is his actual domain; it is this that gives his conflict with the Jews its particular acerbity. Rather, vv. 21 and 23 f. could be understood as the Johannine addition to a previous narrative, if the juxtaposition of the two answers of Jesus were seen as intolerable. For it is an evident concern of the evangelist to present the Spirit as the decisive power of the new age inaugurated by Jesus (cf. Jn. 1:32 f.; 3:3–8; 6:63; 20:22; and the paraclete sayings, → Advocate).

The reproach in v. 22a ("You worship what you do not know") recalls Acts 17:23, and fits in well with the tendency in Judaism to place the Samaritans on the same level as the Gentiles on cultic questions. This was particularly pronounced in the 1st cent. A.D. (J. Jeremias, *TDNT* VII 90 f.). In any case, the petition preserved by Josephus which the Samaritans presented to Antiochus Epiphanes presents a concrete instance of the reproach of Jn. 4:22a. There the Samaritans represented their

sanctuary on Mount Gerizim as a nameless one (Josephus, *Ant.* 12, 259, 261), to allow it to be consecrated to Zeus. The whole affair was probably a move in a political game of chess, made possible by the strict *disciplina arcana*, which protected the name of Yahweh from profanation (→ God, art. *theos* OT 2), and which could cause people to think that the God of Israel had no name (cf. A. Schalit, op. cit., 150 f.). The form of Judaism influenced by the Maccabees and the Hasidim understood these manoeuvres of Samaritan politics as a declension from Yahweh to Greek religion. Hence, the parallelism between Jn. 4:22a and Acts 17:23 is no accident.

Over and above this, the accusation of a defective knowledge of God stands in the broader context of a Jewish polemic which characterized the Samaritans as "a foolish people" and the like, taking up the thought of Deut. 32:21 (cf. Sir. 50:25 f.; Test. Lev. 7). In contrast, Ps. 76:2 (LXX 75:2) speaks of the knowledge of God as a privilege of Judah (LXX Judea). (The fact that, in the Fourth Gospel, Jesus denies even his Jewish opponents a knowledge of God, stands on a different plane, in so far as it is grounded in the special situation of the rejection of Jesus; cf. Jn. 5:37, 42; 7:28; 8:54 f.)

The premise in Jn. 4:22c ("for salvation is from the Jews") sounds like the repetition of a generally accepted principle. In the context of the Jewish-Samaritan controversy this could be a sentence of the Torah (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 13, 76, 78 f.). This could be identified as the oracle on Judah (Gen. 49:8–12), a text which in Judaism was related to Zion and the Davidic dynasty (cf. Ps. 78:67–72), but which was felt to be a problem by the Samaritans and was reinterpreted by them (cf. Chronicle II, 151 f.). Within the framework of Jn. 4 this allusion to Jacob's blessing in Gen. 49 is particularly eloquent, because the scene is set by the well of Jacob (vv. 5 f.) and the woman has previously compared Jesus with Jacob (v. 12). Against the background of Gen. 49:8–12 the question in v. 25 about the messiah follows on from Jesus' answer in v. 22. This is an added reason for seeing in vv. 21 and 23 f. an extension of a pre-Johannine narrative.

It is a striking fact that the question of the place of worship is also relativized in the Samaritan liturgical texts (cf. Markah, Hymn 12, 4–6, p. 27, 1–4; Amram Darah, Hymn 1, 4 f., 11, p. 28, 1–3, 11 f.; 2, 22, p. 29, 25; Durran 4, p. 40, 1–15; Durran 5, p. 40, 16–26; Durran 8, p. 41, 19–42 all in A. E. Cowley, *The Samaritan Liturgy*, 1909; cf. also MM IV, 7, p. 97, 28–31). In place of the topological question, anthropological categories stand in the foreground, especially uprightness and truth (cf. Markah, Hymn 2, 18 f., p. 18, 17 f.; 3, 17, p. 19, 13 f.; 5, 12, p. 21, 5, 8 f.; 10, 5, p. 25, 7 f.). The theological and historical relationship of these texts to Jn. 4:21, 23 f. is still in need of clarification. For the time being one may proceed on the basis of the widespread consensus of more recent exegesis that "Spirit and truth" means a reality proceeding from God. But does this not include the idea that the Spirit of God indwells man and becomes – admittedly in a way dependent on God – an inner reality? Opposition to the idealist understanding of the Holy Spirit should not obscure this fact.

O. Michel compares Jn. 4:23 f. with Acts 7:48; 17:25 (*Das Zeugnis des Neuen Testaments von der Gemeinde*, 1941, 16 f., n. 12; cf. Philo's use of *topos*, place, in the discussion of H. Köster, *TDNT* VIII 201 f.). Jn. 4:21, 23 f. and the comparable Samaritan texts probably stand in the broader stream of the theology of omnipresence which goes hand in hand with a sublimation of cultic observance.

(7) The woman's testimony to belief in the coming messiah (v. 25) relates to the Jewish expectation of salvation, endorsed by Jesus in v. 22. The idea of a messiah is lacking in Samaritan texts right up to the 16th cent. A.D.; to Samaritan ears it was probably too closely tied to the ideal of the Davidic king. The openness of the woman is probably to be understood as the consequence of the impression made on her by Jesus' prophetic knowledge (v. 19). This line is continued in her receptivity (v. 29) to his messianic claims (v. 26).

The present wording of vv. 25 f. hardly provides a basis for the frequently expressed opinion that Jesus is here shown as the fulfilment of Samaritan messianic expectation. The Samaritans did indeed expect that their Taheb (the coming one, the one who will return and overturn, the restorer, who was an eschatological figure) would reveal truth (cf. MM II, 9, p. 44, 31 f.; IV, 11, p. 108, 6 f.; IV, 12, p. 111, 13 f.). But in its context (and in contrast to Jn. 4:25) this is not to be understood in terms of proclamation, but as the realization of the divinely willed state of affairs (cf. 2 Esd. 6:27 f.), and in particular the restoration of worship on Mount Gerizim (cf. also MM IV, 12, p. 110, 33). Furthermore, the dating of the Taheb expectation is disputed (even the relevant texts in the Memar Markah are uncertain from the standpoint of textual criticism). And indeed the beginnings of Samaritan eschatology lie largely in obscurity. Therefore, Jn. 4:25c is to be understood, unless further light is forthcoming, entirely from the context of the Fourth Gospel as the expression of a christology that gives strong prominence to the element of proclamation and teaching as the mission of Jesus (cf. Jn. 1:18; 6:68; 18:37 and often). The fact that the Gk. word *christos* in Jn. 4:25 is not introduced as the translation of *messias* (as it is in Jn. 1:41) but as a second name suggests the conjecture that *messias* in v. 25 may have replaced some other term, but any further attempt to make this conjecture more specific must remain doubly hypothetical.

(8) Also the final confession of the Samaritans who were impressed by Jesus ("It is no longer because of your words that we believe, for we have heard for ourselves, and we know that this is indeed the Saviour of the world", v. 42) cannot be demonstrated as the expression of contemporary Samaritan theology. Judged by the texts from the oldest strata of the Samaritan liturgy (cf. Markah Hymns 2, 17 p. 18, 16; 6, 17 p. 22, 7; 7, 5 p. 22, 19), the title "Saviour of the world" would be an extension to Jesus of a divine title (cf. Acts 8:10?). The way in which vv. 39–42 refer back to v. 29 shows, however, that in the sense of the narrator "Saviour of the world" is a synonym for the title of messiah or Christ (cf. *alēthōs*, indeed or truly, v. 42). This is anticipated in the text of the Heb. prophetic canon (which the Samaritans did not recognize), where men appear as saviours commissioned by God (cf. Jdg. 3:9, 15; 2 Ki. 13:5; Isa. 19:20; Zech. 9:9; → Redemption, art. *sōtēr* OT). But it is in Jn. that the office of saviour is applied to the whole world for the first time (cf. even Jn. 4:14). This extension is probably connected with the Johannine pre-existence christology which binds the messiah closely with the concept of God and at the same time allots him a cosmological function (cf. Jn. 1:1 ff.). The above mentioned Markah texts stand perhaps in a wisdom tradition (cf. Wis. 16:7) which for their part have been adopted and transformed by John in his christology.

(ii) Jn. 8:48 f. In Jn. 8:48, in the context of a violent controversy, "the Jews" put to Jesus the question: "Are we not right in saying that you are a Samaritan and have a demon?" Jesus' reply gives an explicit answer only to the second part of the ques-

tion: "I have not a demon; but I honour my Father, and you dishonour me" (v. 49). Both the question and answer have been variously understood. Two main lines of thought may be noted. (1) For the majority of exegetes the two halves of the question in v. 48 are materially related or even mean the same thing, and the answer in v. 49 refers to the whole question as a *pars pro toto*. For Samaria was considered to be a demon-possessed land, in which people like Dositheus, Simon Magus (cf. Acts 8:9 ff.) and Menander appeared with blasphemous claims and found support. Alternatively, the Samaritans as heretics were regarded *eo ipso* as demon-possessed (cf. Gal. 3:1). In this connexion attention has been drawn to Sot. 22a, where Samaritan and magician are related categories. (2) On the other hand, some scholars stress the difference between the two halves of the question in v. 48 and Jesus' silence on the accusation of being a Samaritan in v. 49 (cf. the commentaries of Lagrange and Odeberg, ad loc.; J. Bowman, "Samaritan Studies", *BJRL* 40, 1958, 298–327; E. D. Freed, "Did John Write his Gospel Partly to Win Samaritan Converts?", *NovT* 12, 1970, 241–56; O. Cullmann, "Von Jesus zum Stephanuskreis und zum Johannesevangelium", in E. E. Ellis and E. Grässer, eds., *Jesus und Paulus*, Festschrift für W. G. Kümmel, 1975, 44–56). This is taken to be a conscious reference to a certain proximity of Jesus to the Samaritans (in his teaching or in his less hostile attitude), or perhaps to the corresponding interest of the Fourth Evangelist. But such conjectures are opposed by the clear rejection of Samaritan claims in Jn. 4:22. Neither do the sharp accusations against the Jews in Jn. 8 make Jesus into a Samaritan. Rather, they are sharper than any Samaritan polemic against the Jews that we know (cf. A. Merx, *Das Evangelium des Johannes nach der syrischen im Sinaikloster gefundenen Palimpsesthandschrift*, 1911, 216). The first interpretation (1) which is supported by the majority of expositors is exegetically more plausible. In any case, the reference to Simon Magus does not fit chronologically into the life of Jesus. Jn. 8:48 is, like other elements in the controversy between Jesus and "the Jews" in Jn., also of historical value as testimony to the relationship between Jews and Christians at the time of the composition of the Fourth Gospel (cf. A. Merx, op. cit., 218). In this connexion, it is worth asking whether *Samaritēs* is an inadequate, unduly restrictive rendering of the rabbinic term *mîn* (heretic), for which there was no exact Gk. equivalent in the NT age.

2. *Samaritan Influences in the NT?* (a) The Gospel of John. After A. Merx (op. cit.) and especially H. Odeberg (*The Fourth Gospel interpreted in its Relation to Contemporaneous Religious Currents in Palestine and the Hellenistic-Oriental World*, 1929) had brought their knowledge of Samaritan literature to the interpretation of the Fourth Gospel, J. Bowman gave impetus to further consideration (cf. his "Samaritan Studies", *BJRL* 40, 1958, 298–327, especially 298–308; and his *Samaritanische Probleme. Studien zum Verhältnis von Samaritanertum, Judentum und Urchristentum*, 1967). He raised the question whether the Gospel according to John could not have been directed in many respects to the needs of the Samaritan mission; e.g. by taking up positively Deut. 18:15, 18 and the thought of pre-existence into the Johannine christology; by thinking in terms of the unity of the people of God in Jn. 10:16; by stressing the idea of faith which was also important for the Samaritans. G. W. Buchanan ("The Samaritan Origin of the Gospel of John", in J. Neusner, ed., *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of E. R. Goodenough*, 1968, 149–75) and E. D. Freed (op. cit.) took up and extended the hypothesis. H. G. Kip-

penberg expressed his approval (op. cit., 162, n. 95), and O. Cullmann combined it with his earlier thesis of the origin of the Fourth Gospel in the circle of Hellenistic Jewish Christianity (*The Johannine Circle: Its Place in Judaism, among the Disciples of Jesus and in Early Christianity. A Study in the Origin of the Gospel of John*, 1976). Alongside this, Samaritan texts have been adduced in the interpretation of Johannine thought by W. A. Meeks (*The Prophet-King: Moses Traditions and the Johannine Christology*, 1967) and K. Haacker (*Die Stiftung des Heils. Untersuchungen zur Struktur der johanneischen Theologie*, 1972). At first J. Macdonald followed Bowman ("The Samaritan Doctrine of Moses", *SJT* 13, 1960, 149–62), but later proceeded to reverse his opinion, and explained the common factors between John and the Samaritans as the borrowing by the latter from John or from early church christology (*The Theology of the Samaritans*, 1964). K. Haacker (op. cit., 127 f.) and R. Bergmeier ("Zur Frühdatierung samaritanischer Theologumena", *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 5, 1974, 121–53) have stressed that the arguments so far adduced are insufficient, in the light of the chronology of the Samaritan sources and the multiplicity of strata in the Johannine tradition, to provide the basis for a new theory of the origin and objectives of the Fourth Gospel.

Clarification is only possible if, in connexion with developments in research into the Samaritan religion, all significant linguistic and material parallels to Jn. of the really ancient literature and tradition of the Samaritans are brought together and inserted into the framework of the rest of the material from the history of religion. Only the concurrence of specifically Samaritan traditions with Johannine statements permits conclusions to be drawn about historical relationships in the one direction or the other. The stepping up of relevant research could make an important contribution to the understanding of the Fourth Gospel, and help to solve the riddle of how the Fourth Gospel has "alongside its Hellenistic traits such a strikingly Palestinian-Jewish character" (J. Schniewind, "Über das Johannesevangelium", in H.-J. Kraus, *Julius Schniewind. Charisma der Theologie*, 1965, 194).

(b) Stephen's Speech (Acts 7:2–53). Stephen's speech in Acts 7:2–53 contains several readings peculiar to the Samaritan Pentateuch and themes recalling specifically Samaritan traditions: Exod. 3:6 in v. 32; Deut. 2:5 in v. 5; the chronology of Gen. 11:32 in v. 4; the transfer of the tombs of the patriarchs from Hebron to Shechem (a combination of Gen. 23; 49:29–33; 50:13 with Gen. 33:19; [Jos. 24:32]) in vv. 15 f. (cf. the local tradition according to Jerome, *Epp.* 57, 10 and 108, 13).

However, a number of points remain uncertain (as against A. Spiro, "Stephen's Samaritan Background", in J. Munck, *The Acts of the Apostles*, revised by W. F. Albright and C. S. Mann, *Anchor Bible*, 1967, 285–300; and C. H. H. Scobie, "The Origin and Development of Samaritan Christianity", *NTS* 19, 1972–73, 390–414). (i) It is not clear whether the quotations from Gen. 12:7; 15:13 f. and Exod. 3:12 in vv. 5 ff. are intended to support the cultic claims of Shechem, because the revelation in Gen. 12 is located at Shechem. For the phrase *en tō topō toutō* ("in this place") in v. 7 differs from the Samaritan Pentateuch version of Exod. 3:12, and furthermore in context refers to the temple at Jerusalem (cf. 6:14). (ii) Nor is it clear whether v. 37 reflects the Samaritan text of Exod. 20, where Deut. 18:18 is interpolated. For on the one hand, it is not Deut. 18:18 but Deut. 18:15 that is quoted. And on the other hand, the Pentateuchal quotations in Acts 7 do not stand in the logical sequence of

their occurrence in the biblical text. (iii) It is not clear whether the polemic against the building of Solomon's temple in vv. 47–50 reflects the Samaritan position. For on the one hand, the Samaritans possessed a temple themselves for two hundred years on Mount Gerizim. On the other hand, the Samaritan polemic was not directed against a particular form of building (*oikos*, house, instead of *skēnē*, → tent, tabernacle, or *skēnōma*, tent, dwelling place), but exclusively in what in their eyes was the illegitimate site of Jerusalem. (iv) Finally it is not clear whether the link with Deut. 18:15, 18 points as such to a Samaritan background (against this cf. H. M. Teeple, *The Mosaic Eschatological Prophet*, 1956).

Spiro's assertion is quite erroneous that the "downgrading" of → Moses (and the law) by setting angels as intermediaries between God and Moses (vv. 30, 35, 38) is typically Samaritan. On the one hand, it is improbable in the light of v. 53 that the mention of angels here (as in Gal. 3:19) has a pejorative intention. And on the other hand, Spiro's opinion, that the Samaritans had taken centuries to accommodate themselves to Moses and the law in their detour via the patriarchs, rests upon an uncritical understanding of 2 Ki. 17 and Josephus, *Ant.* 11, 346, and is altogether untenable.

Over against the Samaritan readings and peculiar traditions stands the use of OT texts outside the Pentateuch, which the Samaritans did not regard as Holy Scripture: Amos 5:27 in vv. 42 f. and Isa. 66:1 f. in vv. 49 f. M. H. Scharlemann, Scobie and Spiro see further echoes of Jer. 7:18 and 19:13 in v. 42 and of Ps. 132:5 in vv. 45 f. (M. H. Scharlemann, *Stephen: A Singular Saint*, *Analecta Biblica* 34, 1968, 43; Scobie, op. cit., 395; Spiro, op. cit., 287). These quotations or allusions stand in an anti-Jewish context, or to be more precise, in the context of a sermon to the Jews summoning them to repentance. This in itself does not give them a Samaritan character (as against Scobie *et al.*; cf. above on Jn. 8:48). Rather, it may be explained without further problems from the situation narrated in Acts 7.

Spiro, following a tradition in Abul Fath (ed. Vilmar, 1865, 159), takes Stephen to be a Samaritan Christian who preached the gospel in Jerusalem and for homiletical reasons also quoted from the Jewish prophetical books. The latter is in principle feasible in view of Gen. R. 4:4a, where a Samaritan cites Jer. 23:24. But the price of the theory is to claim that Stephen did not belong to the circle of Hellenists of Acts 6:1. Rather, he is said to belong to that of the Hebrews whom Spiro reckons to be Christian Samaritans, because in his opinion the term *Hebraios* in the 1st cent. A.D. was ostensibly used only for Samaritans (but cf. Phil. 3:5).

More plausible is the conjecture of Scharlemann, that Stephen was probably a Jew, but (perhaps even before his conversion) came under Samaritan influence (cf. op. cit., 186). Scobie departs unnecessarily from the NT testimony, when he sees the speech as a product of the Samaritan mission which began only after Stephen's death (cf. *NTS* 19, 1972–73, 398).

The question is whether the Samaritanisms of Acts 7 are explicable only through direct, particular contacts with the Samaritans. The contemporary discussion is in danger of falling back behind the insights of P. Kahle (*Opera Minora*, 1956, 3–37, especially 8–12), which have been confirmed by the Qumran discoveries, and of underestimating the fact, that the text of the Samaritan Pentateuch and other Samaritan traditions were spread beyond the narrow confines of the Samaritan community (cf. Philo, *Migr. Abr.* 176 f. with Acts 7:4; Exod. 3:6 LXX *v.l.* with Acts 7:32). Readings

of the Samaritan Pentateuch are therefore no certain indication of the Samaritan provenance of a source.

Acts 7:2–53 is, therefore, until further evidence is discovered to be evaluated as testimony for the cross-connexions between Hellenistic Judaism and Hellenistic-Jewish Christianity (cf. Acts 6:1) on the one hand and Samaritanism on the other. The speech is not a literary fruit of the Samaritan mission, but it gives insight into its theological and cultural antecedents. *K. Haacker*

An alphabetical list of most of the literature of and on the Samaritans which had been published up to his time was produced by L. A. Mayer and edited by D. Broadribb under the title *Bibliography of the Samaritans* (Supplement to Abr-Nahrain I), 1964. This list has been supplemented by S. Noja, "Contribution à la bibliographie des Samaritains" in *AIŌN* 33, Naples, 1973, 98–113, and by R. Weis, "Supplements to the Samaritan Bibliography" in *AIŌN* 35, 1975, 265–273. For selected bibliographies see: J. A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans. The Earliest Jewish Sect. Their History, Theology and Literature*, (1907) 1968, 322–346, J. Macdonald, *The Theology of the Samaritans*, 1964, 457–463 (especially for the editions of sources), and R. Weis, *Leqeṭ bibliografî 'al ha-Šomeronim* (*A Selected Bibliography on the Samaritans*) 1974 [3]. For details of the Samaritan Chronicles and other writings see J. Macdonald, op. cit., 457, 460 ff.

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Satan, Beelzebul, Devil, Exorcism

διάβολος

διάβολος (*diabolos*), adj., slanderous; noun, slanderer, the devil; *διαβάλλω* (*diaballō*), accuse, bring charges with hostile intent; *Βεεζεβούλ* (*Beezeboul*), *Βεελζεβούλ* (*Beelzeboul*), *Βεελζεβούβ* (*Beelzeboub*), Beelzebul, Beelzebub; *Βελιάρ* (*Beliar*), Beliar; *Βελιάλ* (*Belial*), Belial; *Σατάν* (*Satan*), indeclinable, and *Σατανᾶς* (*Satanas*), the Adversary, Satan.

diaballō (formed from *dia*, through, and *ballō*, to throw) means to throw over or across, divide, set at variance, accuse, bring charges, slander, inform, reject, misrepresent, deceive. In the NT it is only used in Lk. 16:1 of the Unjust Steward who was (justly!) accused of and denounced for embezzlement (→ House, art. *oikonomia* NT 1 (a)). From the vb. is derived the noun *diabolos*, slanderer, accuser, devil. It is hardly found outside the NT and LXX.

OT 1. In the LXX *diabolos* occurs 21 times (13 times in Job 1 and 2). Except for Esther 7:4 and 8:1 (which have *ṣār* and *ṣōrēr*, adversary) it is always a translation of Heb. *śāṭān*, which is also transcribed three times simply by *satan* (1 Ki. 11:14, 23a, 25b). The Aram. form is *sāṭānā'*. Satan in the OT means an adversary or wicked opponent. In 1 Sam. 29:4 *śāṭān* (LXX *epiboulos*) is used of a potential saboteur in the ranks; in 1 Ki. 11:23, 25 it denotes the leader of a faction and later Syrian king Rezon (but see also Ps. 109[108]:6, where the LXX gives *diabolos*). *śāṭān* is also used of the angel who stood in Balaam's way (Num. 22:22, 32). It is in the prologue to Job that Satan first appears as a heavenly being, who accuses the righteous to God's face (the Public Prosecutor in heaven!). He similarly appears in Zech. 3:1 f. The word is first used as a personal name in 1 Chr. 21:1, where Satan entices → David to undertake the census of the people. The earlier account emphasizes Yahweh's wrath (2 Sam. 24:1). In the OT Satan is not the devil in the later sense of the word; he is not an evil principle opposing God. The LXX perhaps shows a slight shift in this direction, when it avoids using *diabolos* in the translation of the Numbers and Samuel references; it makes the word less ambivalent and puts the main emphasis in Job. Other instances of *diabolos* in the LXX are Wis. 2:24; and 1 Macc. 1:36.

The AV translates the Heb. *hêlēl* (LXX *heōsphoros*) in Isa. 14:12 by "Lucifer", lit. it means the shining one, i.e. Day Star. The reference is not to Satan but to the king of Babylon (→ Light, art. *phōs* NT 4).

2. In late Judaism the devil is particularly identified with the "evil inclination" and with the "angel of death". He now has a clearly evil character. As in the OT, he is the accuser of men before God. The fall of the → angels plays a large rôle (being linked with Gen. 6:1 ff.; → Demon, art. *daimonion* OT 2) without having any fundamental significance (Eth. Enoch 86:1–88:3; Jub. 5:1–12; CD 2:18–21). The impure spirits who deceived → Noah's grandsons are children of "the Watchers" (Jub. 19:28). The greater number of these spirits were destroyed, but a tenth remained, and with these Mastema is able to carry out his purpose among men (Jub. 10:8). For the rest, the demons stand alongside Satan in their own right, while he functions as the sole accuser before God. There is no account of his fall from heaven: otherwise he could not be the accuser. He tries above all to disrupt the relationship between God and Israel, but he also endeavours to separate the rest of mankind from God. His activity is

briefly and tellingly described in Baba Bathra 16a: "It has been taught in Baraitha: Satan comes down and deceives, goes up and accuses, seizes power and souls." It is only later traditions that state that Satan had been an angel of high rank. The rabbis allowed that man had free will, to enable him to keep the law and to ward off the evil inclination or Satan-Sammael.

3. In the writings of Qumran Belial appears as the name of the evil spirit. God created two spirits, the spirit of light and the spirit or angel of darkness (Belial), who both exercise their power in the present (1QS 1:18; 2:5, 19; 3:20–23). Belial is the angel of malevolence (1QM 13:12), who lives in the hearts of his followers, the "sons of darkness" (1QS 1:10) and rules in the preacher of apostasy (CD 12:2). The enemies of the righteous are filled with "guiles of Belial" (1QH 2:16 f.; 6:21; 7:4). Belial's followers are called his "congregation" (1QH 2:22). Unchastity, riches and defilement of the temple are the "three nets of Belial" (CD 4:15). His power is like a flood, threatening the world and the righteous (1QH 3:29, 32; 5:39). But God protects his righteous ones (1QM 14:9). Belial and his followers are solemnly cursed (1QS 2:4–9; 1QM 13:4 f.). The "spirits of his company" are "angels of destruction" (1QM 13:12). In the last days, after the Qumran community has cut itself off from the rest of the people, Belial is let loose against Israel (CD 4:13). At the end of days in the final war, the "sons of darkness" constitute Belial's army (1QM 1:1, 13). But it will be destroyed (1QM 11:8 f.), because God himself is fighting against him (1QM 15:3; 18:1, 3), and his violent wrath is raised against him (1QM 4:1 f.). The → curse of Joshua (Jos. 6:6) signifies that an accursed man, one of the company of Belial, will again rebuild Jericho (4Qtest 23). In these writings, therefore, Belial no longer appears as accuser, and accordingly has no access to heaven or to God. Nor is it stated that Belial was the one who deceived → Adam and so brought sin into the world. This same figure appears as Beliar in the Test. XII, and, according to Eth. Enoch 54:6, Azazel and his hordes became subjects of Satan.

4. *Beelzeboul* is an indeclinable noun (other versions read *Beezeboul* and *Beelzeboub*). The origin and meaning of this name are not entirely clear. In 2 Ki. 1:2 f. and 6:16 *ba'al zᵉḇûḇ*, Lord of the Flies, appears to be god of Ekron. *Beelzeboul* could be derived from *ba'al zᵉḇûl*, lord of the heights, i.e. of heaven, and so lord of heaven or God of heaven. Most probably *Bee(l)zeboul* comes from *ba'al zibbûl* (from post-OT Heb. *zeḇel* manure, dung; *zibbûl* meaning an idolatrous sacrifice) – lord of the idol–sacrifice – which is at once equalled to dung. There is the further possibility of deriving the name from a Hittite deer-god Zaparwa, which, via Zebaba, became *ba'al zᵉḇûḇ* for the Philistines at Ekron. Derivation from the Aramaic would lead to *be'el dᵉḇāḇā*, lord of enmity, enemy; or to *be'el diḇaḇā*, lord of the flies (cf. Galilean-Aram. *diḇaḇā*, a fly).

NT 1. In the NT *diabolos* occurs 37 times, *Satanas* 36 times, *Bee(l)zeboul* 7 times. In addition there are the following names: the → enemy, *echthros*; the → evil one, *ho ponēros*; the prince of this world, *ho archōn tou kosmou toutou* (→Beginning); the adversary, *antidikos*, which is a literal translation of the OT *śāṭān* (1 Pet. 5:8). Mk. uses *satanas* exclusively. Lk. prefers this word in his special material, but no basic difference in meaning from *diabolos* can be established. The latter is never used as a form of address (cf. Matt. 4:10 with 4:1, 5, 8, 11).

2. In Matt. 25:41 angels of the devil (*tou diabolou*) are mentioned (cf. also 2 Cor.

12:7; → Fruit, art. *skolops*). Similarly, in the account of the temptation (Matt. 4:1–11, par. Mk. 1:12 f., Lk. 4:1–13), the devil, as in the Qumran writings, arrogates to himself the position of a lord of the world, hoping by this transference of title to deter Jesus from his way (→ Tempt). Appropriately he is called the "prince of this world" (*archōn tou kosmou toutou*, Jn. 12:31; 14:30; 16:11). The place of the devil is not → hell; the eternal fire is prepared for the devil and all his angels (Matt. 25:41). As in the OT, he has access to God, in order to accuse mankind (Lk. 22:21; Jn. 12:31; 16:11). Hence, Jesus prays for the faith of his disciples and teaches them to pray for deliverance from the evil one (Matt. 6:13).

According to Lk. 10:18, Jesus saw the downfall of Satan (the accuser in heaven). This follows the joyful return of the seventy who tell Jesus: "Lord, even the demons are subject to us in your name!" (Lk. 10:17). Rev. 12:5, 7–12 links this fall of Satan with the appearance of Jesus himself. In Rev. 12:9 *diabolos* and *Satanas* stand side by side as words of equal weight and significance, while in v. 8 this figure is described as a *drakōn*, → dragon, or *ophis*, serpent, and in v. 10 as → accuser, *katēgōr*. This breaks up the dualistic view of the world held in Qumran: Jesus has defeated and disarmed the devil, and can thus rob him of his plunder – i.e. Jesus is able to heal those who are possessed (Matt. 12:27–29). (On the bearing of this on the question of the millennium → Number, art. *chilias* NT 4.)

But even though Satan has been thrown out of heaven, this does not prevent him being able to act. The unbelieving Jews are of their father, the devil (Jn. 8:44). Peter finds himself being addressed and identified as "Satan", because he tried to turn Jesus back from his way of suffering obedience (Matt. 16:23 par. Mk. 8:53). It can also be said that Satan entered Judas, when he was prepared to betray Jesus (Lk. 22:3; Jn. 13:27; cf. Jn. 6:70; 13:2 [*diabolos*]). The hour of darkness is his hour (Lk. 22:53; note the dualistic terminology). Satan can – but does not necessarily! – stand behind illness (Lk. 13:16; cf. 2 Cor. 12:7; and Acts 10:38 [*diabolos*]). He snatches the saving word from men's hearts lest they believe and be saved, in the parable of the sower (*ho ponēros*, "the evil one", Matt. 13:19; *ho satanas*, "Satan", Mk. 4:15; *ho diabolos*, "the devil", Lk. 8:12). But it is not only in relation to individuals, but also in relation to the → church that anyone can be called *diabolos* who tries to impede God's word of salvation. For instance, in the parable of the wheat and the tares (Matt. 13:24–30), the presence of "evil" in the community is explained through the activity of the → "enemy". There are no intermediaries here as sometimes in rabbinic theology. In recording this → parable Matt. is making an implicit contrast with the Qumran solution to the problem. There the law-breakers are excluded from the community of the people of God by the community's own disciplinary measures before the final judgment, leaving only the pure saved community. The parable teaches the impossibility of an absolutely pure church; the church on earth is inevitably a mixed body. Separation is the special task of the eschatological judge alone (→ Present; art. The Parousia and Eschatology in the NT; → Judgment).

On "evil" in the Lord's Prayer and other instances of *ponēros* → Evil; → Prayer, art. *proseuchomai* NT 2.

3. (a) In the Pauline writings *diabolos* is found only in Eph. 4:27 and 6:11 (and 6 times in the Pastorals: 1 Tim. 3:6 f., 11; 2 Tim. 2:26; 3:3; Tit. 2:3). Otherwise *Satanas* is the regular word (which, in turn, appears in the Pastorals only in 1 Tim. 1:20, taking up the usage of 1 Cor. 5:5 and 1 Tim. 5:15 for Christians who fall back

into discipleship of Satan [→ Disciple, art. *opisō*]). But this name is not very common either; there are only 10 references (Rom.16:20; 1 Cor. 5:5; 7:5; 2 Cor. 2:11; 11:14; 12:7; 1 Thess. 2:18; 2 Thess. 2:9; 1 Tim. 1:20; 5:15). In 2 Cor. 6:15 Paul makes use of the name Beliar, found in the writings of Qumran. Indeed, the whole section 2 Cor. 6:14 ff. is reminiscent of the thought of Qumran, with its opposing pairs of ideas, such as righteousness and lawlessness, light and darkness, Christ and Beliar, believing and unbelieving, temple of God and temples of idols. Paul also attributes many misfortunes and difficulties to the work of Satan. The "thorn in the flesh" is a "messenger of Satan" sent to bruise him (2 Cor. 12:7; → Fruit, art. *skolops*). Satan wants to outwit Paul (2 Cor. 2:11). To prevent him from making a journey (1 Thess. 2:18) he can change himself into an → angel of → light, and with this disguise disseminate impure thoughts through those he sends out (2 Cor. 11:14). He tempts Christian communities (1 Cor. 7:5; 2 Cor. 2:1; 1 Thess. 3:5). He is wily and deceitful (Eph. 6:11; here and in the following references *diabolos* is used); he sets traps (1 Tim. 3:7; 2 Tim. 2:26) and is encountered in calamity and sin as the ruler of the air (Eph. 2:2, → Demon, art. *aēr*).

(b) In 1 Cor. 5:5 the notorious sinner is to be excluded from the congregation and given over to Satan for death (→ Destroy, art. *olethros*). This ban (→ curse) is intended to make it possible for the *pneuma*, the → spirit (the → soul?) of this man to be saved. Accordingly, Hymenaeus and Alexander are handed over to Satan to be punished, and to be dissuaded from their blasphemies (1 Tim. 1:20); they are not to be killed (cf. Acts 5:5 ff.). Behind these disciplinary instructions stands the Jewish conception of Satan as master of death and destruction, and as executor of the divine wrath, from whose control membership of the congregation secured freedom, and into whose control the culprit is now thrown back.

4. The devil's area of activity is primarily the non-Christian world (Acts 26:18; cf. 2 Cor. 6:16), and hence → magic is bound up with him (Acts 13:10). An apocalyptic story, presumably originating from the Assumption of Moses and telling of an attack of the devil on the archangel Michael, is presupposed in Jude 9 (→ Angel, art. *Michaēl*; → Revile, art. *blasphēmeō* NT 6). Acts 5:3, Rev. 2:9 f. and 20:7 also speak of Satan's fight against the Christian community.

5. At the time of the end Satan sends → Antichrist (2 Thess. 2:3–12; the beast of Rev. 13:17; → Animal, art. *thērion*). Matt. 25:41; Rev. 20:10 (cf. 1 Jn. 3:8; Heb. 2:14), and possibly also Rom. 16:20, speak of the destruction of the devil at the end. Angry and violent, he realizes that till then he only has a little time, and rages wildly against God's people (Rev. 12:12, 16 f.). On the binding of Satan and the question of the millennium → Number, art. *chilias* NT 4.

6. All that can help against temptation is the armour of God (Eph. 6:11, 16; → War), a determined turning to God (Jas. 4:7) and a sober and alert faith. This alone will cause the devil to lose his power, although he paces about like a roaring lion, irritated and dangerous (1 Pet. 5:8). The ultimate reason for his defeat, however, is the "blood of the Lamb" (Rev. 12:11), that is, the victory of Jesus through his death on the → cross.

7. The NT contains no speculations at all about the origin or nature of the devil. He is also not equated with the evil inclination or with the angel of death. Indeed, → death and the devil are distinguished (Rev. 20:10, 14); for Satan has power over death (Heb. 2:14).

8. In the Johannine writings there are occasional references (Rev. 12:9; possibly also Jn. 8:44; 1 Jn. 3:8) to the rôle of the devil in the primeval history of Genesis 3. Jewish exegesis interpreted the serpent as the devil. Thus, the devil is a sinner right from the beginning (1 Jn. 3:8), and has been a murderer from the beginning (Jn. 8:44b). He does not have a share in the truth; he lies, he speaks on his own account (Jn. 8:44c). This is the Bible's historical, non-metaphysical, speech. But it is noteworthy here that dependence on the power of the devil can show itself both in actions and decisions: the effects of this are expressed in John by means of the predicative statements of descent and relationship. One who sins belongs to the devil, like Cain (1 Jn. 3:8, 12); or he is a devil himself, like Judas, the betrayer (Jn. 6:70). Hence the children of God can stand over against the children of the devil (1 Jn. 3:10; cf. Qumran above OT 3). Jesus' enemies are called children of the devil, i.e. those who share his nature and behaviour (Jn. 8:44). When "young men" succeed in defeating the evil one (1 Jn. 2:13 f.), that is a gift of Christ (cf. Jn. 17:15). Jn. 8:44 does not speak of a father of the devil; rather, *tou diabolou* is in apposition to *patros*, i.e. of your father, namely, the devil.

H. Bietenhard

9. *Bee(l)zeboul* in the NT is the name of a chief demon. Jesus' enemies accused him of being possessed by him: "And the scribes who came from Jerusalem said, 'He is possessed by Beelzebul, and by the prince of demons he casts out the demons' " (Mk. 3:22; cf. par. Matt. 12:24 and the doublet in Matt. 9:34 "the prince of the demons", Lk. 11:15; cf. also Matt. 10:25; 12:27; Lk. 11:18 f. for further use of the name). In reply Jesus "called them to him, and said to them in parables, 'How can Satan cast out Satan? If a kingdom is divided against itself, that kingdom cannot stand. And if a house is divided against itself, that house will not be able to stand. And if Satan has risen up against himself and is divided, he cannot stand, but is coming to an end. But no one can enter a strong man's house and plunder his goods, unless he first binds the strong man; then indeed he may plunder his house. Truly, I say to you, all sins will be forgiven the sons of men, and whatever blasphemies they utter; but whoever blasphemes against the Holy Spirit never has forgiveness, but is guilty of eternal sin' – for they had said, 'He has an unclean spirit' " (Mk. 3:23–30; cf. par. Matt. 12:25–37; Lk. 11:17–23; 12:10, 43 ff.; and also Jn. 8:48–59 on the suggestion that Jesus was a → Samaritan and had a devil). Similar charges persisted in Jewish sources, ascribing Jesus' works to → magic: "Yeshu of Nazareth was hanged on the day of preparation for the Passover because he practised sorcery and led the people astray" (Sanhedrin 43a; cf. Sanhedrin 107b; Sotah 47a; T. J. Hagigah 2.2; and the references in the Christian fathers, Justin, *Dial.* 69; Origen, *Contra Cels.* 1, 6, 28, 68, 71; 2, 9, 14, 16, 44, 48, 49, 51; 3, 1; 5, 51; 8, 9, 39; Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* 3, 6; W. L. Lane, *The Gospel of Mark*, *NLC*, 1974, 142; H. van der Loos, *The Miracles of Jesus*, *Supplements to NovT* 9, 1965, 158–67).

W. L. Lane comments: "By tacitly substituting 'Satan' for 'Beelzebul' Jesus brings the controversy within the perspective of his mission as a direct confrontation with Satan. His argument is cumulative in its force: If what you say is true there exists the impossible circumstance that Satan is destroying his own realm. For it is self-evident that a kingdom divided against itself will fall, while a household divided against itself cannot be established. If your accusation is factual, then Satan has become divided in

his allegiance. This should mean that he has become powerless. *Yet this is clearly not so.* Satan remains strong, and this fact exposes the fallacy of your charge" (op. cit., 142 f.). The evidence why Satan remains strong may be twofold. On the one hand, there is his activity among those who are already afflicted by the demons. (It is the mission of Jesus and his disciples to preach and to cast out demons, cf. v. 15.) On the other hand, there is his activity among those who are opposing Jesus and attributing the work of the Holy Spirit (v. 29) to Beelzebul. With v. 27 Jesus turns to the charge that he is demon-possessed. "Satan is the strong man whose strength is evidenced in the enslavement of men through sin, possession, disease and death; the demons are his servants in this destructive work. . . . Jesus' ability to cast out demons means that one stronger than Satan has come to restrain his activity and to release the enslaved. The heart of Jesus' mission is to confront Satan and to crush him on all fields, and in the fulfilment of his task he is conscious of being the agent of irresistible power. Jesus' statement raises the pressing question of the source of his power. The pronouncement on blasphemy indicates that Jesus' works are accomplished through the power of the Holy Spirit. It is as the Bearer of the Spirit that he stands as the Champion of God in the battle with Satan. In the face of the claim that he is possessed by an unclean spirit Jesus affirms that he possesses the Spirit of God" (W. L. Lane, op. cit., 143). On the question of the unforgivable sin → Revile, art. *blasphēmeō* NT 5. For further literature → the bibliography below and → Sin.

C. Brown

ἐξορκιστής

ἐξορκιστής (*exhorkistēs*), exorcist; ἐξορκίζω (*exhorkizō*), exorcize.

This whole word-group is rare both in the NT and elsewhere. *exhorkistēs* occurs only at Acts 19:13 and *exhorkizō* as a *v.l.* at Acts 19:13 f. (see below NT 7 (d)). The vb. *horkizō* means to adjure, implore (cf. Matt. 26:63). Hence, *exhorkizō* means to expel a spirit by a solemn adjuration. In the NT the usual vb. is *ekballō*, to cast out (→ Demon, art. *ekballō*). But the phenomenon of exorcism is much more widespread than the infrequent use of the cognate noun and vb. suggest. Exorcism is now used as a general term for driving out an evil spirit, described in the NT as a *daimōn* or *daimonion*, demon, or a *pneuma akatharton*, unclean spirit, or *pneuma ponēron*, evil spirit (→ Demon; → Spirit). In this article exorcism is used in the general sense of any form of such expulsion. Although the AV speaks of casting out devils, the Gk. always refers to demons. *diabolos*, devil, is always sing., and is used only of Satan in the Bible. Satan is only once said to have entered into a person, i.e. Judas (Lk. 22:3; Jn. 13:27).

CL *exhorkizō* (cf. *exhorkoō*, administer an oath) is found in Demosthenes 54, 26; the *Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus* 56.12 in the 3rd cent. B.C.; Polybius 3, 61, 10 etc. (cf. Liddell-Scott, 598). In the sense of exorcize an evil spirit, it is found in *Defixionum Tabellae, Rheinisches Museum*, Frankfort, 55, 248. The noun *exhorkistēs* is found in Luc., *Epigr.* 23; Ptolemaeus, *Tetrabiblos* 182).

OT 1. *exhorkizō* is found in the LXX only at Gen. 24:3 and 1 Ki. 22:16 for the Heb.

šāḇa', swear; and at Jdg. 17:2 *v.l.* for *'ālâh*, swear, i.e. curse. In none of these instances is there any question of exorcism.

2. The only example of exorcism in the OT is that of Saul, when he was afflicted by "an evil spirit from the LORD" (1 Sam. 16:14 ff.). We may interpret the phrase as implying that the spirit was permitted by Yahweh to afflict Saul for a special purpose (as in, e.g., 1 Ki. 22:19 ff.; Job 1:12; cf. also 2 Cor. 12:7). The spirit was temporarily exorcized by the playing of → David.

NT 1. *Possession.* During the ministry of Jesus and afterwards there were afflicted people whose symptoms were diagnosed as different from ordinary illnesses, by their contemporaries, by Jesus and his disciples and by the evangelists. They diagnosed possession or other influence by one or more evil spirits. If we wish to regard some at least as mentally deranged (e.g. schizophrenics), we have the difficulty of their immediate cure by word of command in a way unmatched by modern psychotherapists.

Present-day descriptions of illness are mainly descriptions of symptoms. Possession is the description of a cause. It is recognized today that the origin and form of many illnesses and disabilities are far from clear. There may be two cases that are apparently similar, and yet one may be purely physical and the other psychological in origin. Dumbness, blindness, choking, heart symptoms, accident proneness, even pseudo-pregnancy (e.g. Joanna Southcott the prophetess), may be the result of some traumatic experience, now forgotten. Shellshock is a classic, though extreme, example. Genuine possession goes a step further back, so that the psyche is affected, not simply by some happening, but by the influence of a spirit. Nothing is said of how a spirit gains control, but repossession comes when the personality is merely cleaned up without being renewed and occupied by God's Spirit (Matt. 12:44; Lk. 11:25). This puts some responsibility upon the person.

An indication of possession is the confession of the spirits when face to face with Jesus. They confess him to be "the Holy One of God" (Mk. 1:24), "Son of God" (Mk. 3:11), "Son of the Most High God" (Mk. 5:7). Yet Jesus exorcized them, and would not accept their testimony as legitimate preaching of the gospel (Mk. 1:34; 3:11, 12), any more than Paul accepted the testimony of the spirit of divination (Greek *Pythōn*, originally the dragon who guarded the oracle at Delphi) (Acts 16:16–18; → Magic, art. *mageia* NT 2 (e)).

2. *The Nature of the Possessing Spirits.* Although the Gospels admit that departed spirits may return (Lk. 24:37 ff.; Mk. 9:4; Matt. 14:26), there is no suggestion that these are the spirits who possess (contra the belief of mediums and some modern exorcists). They belong to Satan's kingdom (Matt. 12:26, 27), and consequently face ultimate destruction (Mk. 1:24) in torment (Matt. 8:29) in the abyss (Lk. 8:31) (→ Hell, art. *abyssos*).

There are grades of possessing spirits. A spirit may take with him "seven other spirits more evil than himself" (Matt. 12:45; Lk. 11:26). Jesus spoke of one kind that needed intensive prayer before it could be cast out (Mk. 9:29). The argument about casting out by Beelzebul turns on the superiority of one spirit (i.e. the Holy Spirit) over another (Matt. 12:23 ff. par.; → *diabolos* NT 9).

3. *The Manner of Exorcism.* Jesus commands directly with absolute authority

(Lk. 4:36). His power is "the finger of God" (Lk. 11:20; → Hand, art. *cheir* NT 2) or "the Spirit of God" (Matt. 12:28). The word of command is "come out" (Mk. 1:25), with the addition once of "never enter again" (Mk. 9:26), or simply "Go" (Matt. 8:32), although this last has the further meaning of "go into the swine". The disciples were given authority to cast out in the name of Jesus (Matt. 7:22; Lk. 10:17; Acts 16:18; 19:13).

4. *Specific Cases.* (a) There are general references without details: *daimonia* (Matt. 10:8; Mk. 1:39; 3:15; 6:13[16:17]; Lk. 9:1; 13:32); *pneumata akatharta* or *ponēra* (Matt. 8:16; 10:1; Mk. 6:7; Lk. 4:36; 6:18; 7:21; 10:20; Acts 5:16; 8:7).

(b) Mary Magdalene is named with other women as "healed of evil spirits and infirmities" (Lk. 8:2). Seven demons are said to have come out of Mary, and traditionally these are linked to her life as a prostitute. But the identification of Mary with the prostitute of 7:36 ff. is very far from certain.

(c) An unusual factor in the exorcism of the Syro-phoenician's daughter (Matt. 15:21 ff.; Mk. 7:24 ff.) is that she was freed at a distance without any audible command. The only other distant exorcism, though of a different kind, is when handkerchiefs were taken from Paul and applied to the sufferers (Acts 19:12).

(d) Illnesses and disabilities (→ Weakness) include epilepsy (Matt. 17:14 ff.; Mk. 9:14 ff.; Lk. 9:37 ff). Matthew uses the word *selēniazomai* (17:15; only elsewhere at Matt. 4:24), which by derivation (*selēnē*, moon) means lunatic (Lat. *luna*, moon) but was commonly used to describe an epileptic. On this occasion Mark includes deafness and dumbness (9:17, 25). A dumb demoniac is also described in Matt. 9:32 ff.; Lk. 11:14 and is exorcized, whereas a normal deaf and dumb case is cured by a different miracle of healing (Mk. 7:31 f.; → Deaf, Dumb).

(e) A possessed girl followed Paul and Silas, declaring that they were bringers of God's salvation. Nonetheless, Paul cast out the spirit (Acts 16:16 ff.).

5. *The Fate of the Spirits.* There is likely to be a final show of violence (Mk. 1:26; 9:26), or defiance if the spirit refuses to come out (Acts 19:15). Once exorcized, the spirit is like a traveller in a barren land, while still looking for the relief of repossessing his victim (Matt. 12:43 ff.; Lk. 11:24 ff.).

The only other clue is not easy to understand. The legion of demons regarded permission to enter the swine as preferable to normal exorcism, and Jesus allowed this (Matt. 8:28 ff.; Mk. 5:1 ff.; Lk. 8:26 ff.). Did the demons intentionally drown their new hosts, and, if so, what did they expect to gain thereby (cf. Matt. 17:15)? There may have been a danger in releasing a host of demons into the crowd, and modern exorcists usually remove children and pets from the vicinity before an exorcism. A non-supernatural explanation is that the ravings of the possessed frightened the pigs.

6. *The Remainder of NT.* Apart from the Gospels and Acts, there is no other case of exorcism in the NT. It is likely that the gift of distinguishing between spirits (1 Cor. 12:10) has reference to exorcists. Deceiving spirits inspired false prophets (1 Jn. 4:1, 2), were to be tested and exposed by what they said of Jesus Christ, but apparently were not exorcized (cf. 1 Cor. 12:3). Unlike modern mediumship, which accepts the need to test spirits, the biblical test is to establish whether the "speaker" through the prophet is the Holy Spirit or a deceiver, never to determine whether the speaker is one's departed husband or wife.

7. *Non-Christian Exorcisms.* (a) Some would include the unattached exorcist who "does not follow with us" (Mk. 9:38; Lk. 9:49), but "following" in the synoptists nor-

mally means belonging to the group who travelled with Jesus. This man was a believer who chose not to leave home.

(b) Jesus spoke of successful exorcists who at the → judgment would be told, "I never knew you" (Matt. 7:22, 23).

(c) Jesus admits that Jewish exorcists cast out demons (Matt. 12:27; Lk. 11:19).

(d) The sons of Sceva appear to have had some success until they used the name of Jesus as a magical formula (Acts 19:13 ff.; → Magic). This is the only passage to use *exhorkistēs* and *exhorkizō* (in a *v.l.*) in the NT: "Then some of the itinerant Jewish exorcists undertook to pronounce the name of the Lord Jesus over those who had evil spirits, saying, 'I adjure you by the Jesus whom Paul preaches.' Seven sons of a Jewish high priest named Sceva were doing this. But the evil spirit answered them, 'Jesus I know, and Paul I know; but who are you?' And the man in whom the evil spirit was leaped on them, mastered all of them, and overpowered them, so that they fled out of that house naked and wounded" (Acts 19:13–16). It is a tribute to the effectiveness of Christian exorcism that the name of Jesus occurs in early magical formulae, e.g. "I adjure you by the God of the Hebrews, Jesus, Iaba, Iae, Abraoth" (*Great Paris Magical Papyrus*, IV, 3019 f. This material probably dates from *c.* A.D. 200).

(e) Exorcists and magicians, from Egypt and Babylon to the present day, have had varying success. Jewish believers in God could well have been used directly by God. Others have regularly followed the magical practice of calling on greater spirits, or even on angelic beings, to drive out the lesser. Some have used material means, as when Josephus saw an exorcist drawing out a demon through a victim's nostrils by applying herbs of a kind described by Solomon, who had secret knowledge of spells (*Ant.* 8, 45 ff.). All such exorcisms, whether effective or not, are complicated and second-rate compared with the instant authority of Jesus and his disciples in their wholesale assault on the kingdom of Satan wherever they met it.

J. Stafford Wright

→ Animal (for Beast), → Antichrist, → Demon, → Dragon, → Ecstasy, → Evil, → Heal, → Hell, → Judgment, → Magic, → Name, → Prayer, → Tempt

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Scribe

γραμματεύς

γραμματεύς (*grammateus*), scribe, clerk, secretary, biblical scholar, teacher of the law of Moses; νομικός (*nomikos*), expert in Jewish law, lawyer; νομοδιδάσκαλος (*nomodidaskalos*), teacher of the law of Moses.

CL *grammateus*, derived from *gramma*, letter of the alphabet, is the title of officials at Athens and elsewhere, from secretary and registrar to clerk (Thuc.). *grammateus saphēs*, lit. accurate writer, means a scholar (Aristot.). *grammateus* can be used contemptuously: *olethros grammateus*, a pestilent scribe (Dem.); and metaph. of memory: the recorder (Plato).

OT *grammateus* translates two Heb nouns. *šōṭēr* (from *šāṭar*, to write) is used of an

officer or overseer (Exod. 5:6), the seventy elders (Num. 11:16), administrative officers in the army (Deut. 20:5), and magistrates (1 Chr. 23:4). More frequently, *grammateus* renders *sōp̄ēr* (from *sāp̄ar*, to scratch letters on stone, hence to write). *sōp̄ēr* was used for the royal private secretary (2 Sam. 8:17), the military scribe who kept the muster rolls (Jer. 37:15), and in the later books, one skilled in the law of Moses (Ezr. 7:6; Neh. 8:1).

In ancient Israel the writing art was preserved as a craft by certain families. Literary and artistic evidence, right up to the Middle Ages, give an unchanging picture of the scribe, either standing to make brief notes, or sitting on stool, bench, or floor, with a scroll or codex on his knees. A glimpse of an ancient scribe's appearance is in Ezek. 9:2. Among the Kenites were families of *sōp̄ᵉrîm* (LXX, *grammateis*) dwelling at Jabez (1 Chr. 2:55). Such scribal schools trained suitable priests and Levites, who in turn instructed the people in the law on the great feast days and made legal judgments (Deut. 33:10). The most noted of these earlier scribes was the priest Ezra, a *sōp̄ēr* skilled in the law of Moses, who had set his heart to seek the law of the Lord and to do it, and to teach in Israel statutes and judgments (Ezr. 7:6, 10). In the latter respect he is the prototype of the scribes of later times who were professional interpreters of the law.

During the monarchy Levitical scribes were needed in the fiscal organization of temple operations (R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, 1961, 353–5). A Levitical scribe recorded the priestly assignments (1 Chr. 24:6), and scribes were involved in the business of temple repairs (2 Ki. 12:10; 2 Chr. 34:13). In this way developed the status of the *grammateis tou hierou*, temple scribes, first mentioned in the edict of Antiochus III (Josephus, *Ant.* 12, 142; cf. 11, 128). Since the furnishing of written copies of Torah and other parts of Scripture was a (scribal) Levitical responsibility (Deut. 17:18; Jer. 8:8), the reforms of Jehoshaphat (2 Chr. 17) are probably associated with scribes. At least one "writing prophet" employed an amanuensis (Jer. 36:4, 18, 32). It was probably a scribe who drew up the deed of sale in Jer. 32:10–12, since the document was entrusted to Baruch before witnesses.

Government scribes served in diverse ways, from giving the king counsel (1 Chr. 27:32) to mustering the army (2 Ki. 25:19). If David's cabinet is listed in order (2 Sam. 8:16–18; cf. 1 Chr. 18:15–17), the king's scribe ranked below the military commander, recorder, and high priest, but above the palace priests. By Josiah's reign Shaphan the scribe precedes the recorder as well as the governor of the city (2 Ki. 22:3–13; 2 Chr. 34:8–21). The high status of Shaphan's family is evident from the careers of his son Ahikam and grandsons Gedaliah (master of the palace, and later governor of Judea under the Babylonians) and Micaiah (who served as chief minister of state under Jehoiakim, Jer. 36:11). Such royal scribes apparently had offices at the palace (Jer. 36:12), which illustrates their importance in the Judean government. There was an Akkadian counterpart to the royal scribe, with equally high standing (Nah. 3:17) and military functions (Jer. 52:25). The multilingual pluralistic character of the Persian period likewise demanded administrative specialists (Est. 3:12; 8:9), and provincial commanders had scribes as their deputies (Ezr. 4:8 f.) (A. Rainey, *ZPEB* V, 298–302).

The profession of scribe received considerable impetus by the return of the Jews from exile, when the need arose to copy, study, and expound the Scriptures to make them the basis of national life. Thus the finest age of the *sōp̄ᵉrîm* was in the two cen-

turies between the only bearers of the title in that period whose names we know, Ezra (*c.* 398 B.C.) and Ben Sira (*c.* 180). The book of Ezra marks a development in the scribe's status. The earlier administrative sense of *sōp̄ēr* in 7:12–26 is set side by side with 7:6, 11, verses which refer to Ezra as a scribe whose learning enables him to interpret the law for the common people. Moreover, his priestly lineage symbolized the close connexion between the priesthood and this official interpretation of the law which existed probably until the second century B.C.

Ben Sira's portrait of the *grammateus* reveals how the position of the teacher is becoming less closely associated with the temple, though he retains a positive attitude towards the cult and stresses the inalienable privileges of the priesthood (Sir. 7:29; 35:6; 45:6–26). Proud of being in the profession, Ben Sira lauds the perfect scribe in Sir. 38:24–39:11 (part of this hymn appears in an earlier form in 11QPsDav; *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* 4, 1965, 77 ff.). Ben Sira declares that the scribe, schooled in Torah and religious wisdom, understands the implications of both the written law and oral tradition (39:6). Thus he enters upon the heritage of the prophets (who include the law-giver Moses, 46:1). He invites the untaught to his school (51:23), though he carefully preserves the scribe's claim to exclusiveness by seeking to bar peasants and craftsmen from the study of wisdom (38:25 ff.). The scribe's learning makes him a public figure (39:4), able to administer justice among the people, and regarded by them as specially pious on account of his knowledge of the revealed will of God. Ben Sira claims to teach in his own name (50:27), a new departure, for stressing the personality of the teacher probably indicated that Hellen. individualism was gaining significance among the Jewish people. On the other hand, perhaps in reaction against Hellenism, the scribe soft-pedalled the notion of his being a wisdom teacher in favour of the reputation of being one learned in the Scriptures (39:1, 7 f.). But later rabbinic literature dropped the term *sōp̄ēr*, except in reference to earlier scholars, and called contemporary rabbis *ḥ*^{a}*k̲āmîm*, wise men. The two terms are combined at Qumran, where according to a wisdom collection of psalms, David was both a *sōp̄ēr*, filled with an understanding and enlightened spirit, and a *ḥāk̲ām*, who "composed all his 4,050 psalms and hymns by prophetic inspiration" (11QPs^{a} 154).

During the Maccabean revolt a company of scribes (*synagōgē grammateōn*), by now a numerous and independent group, sought a conference with the Seleucid-appointed high priest Alcimus and the Seleucid general Bacchides (1 Macc. 7:12 ff.). Although their confidence was short-lived (7:16), the incident illustrates the continuing association between scribes and the priesthood. By NT times scribal rules and practices had acquired binding authority among the orthodox, and were imposed upon proselytes in addition to the plain sense of the written Torah (Siph. Lev. 19:34). One tradition boldly claimed greater authority for scribal teachings than for the written law (Sanhedrin 11:3). Occasionally, when scribes had formulated rules without regard for a supposed biblical basis, later rabbis were distressed (Kelim 13:7). See SB I 79–82, 691–5; II 647–61.

grammateus appears only once in Philo (Flacc. 1, 4), where it means a political adviser. Josephus uses the term 29 times and in a wide sense. He pokes fun at garbled history in an Egyptian work which calls Joseph and Moses scribes (*Ap.* 1, 290), but at least the reference indicates that outsiders considered scribes to be men of authority and influence. Elsewhere in Josephus *grammateus* can mean anything from

David's secretary of state (*Ant.* 7, 110) or a leading council official (*War* 5, 532) to clerks recording David's ill-fated census (*Ant.* 7, 319). Several times Josephus adds scribes to OT narratives which do not mention them (e.g., 1 Sam. 14:33; 2 Sam. 14:2). Josephus 8 times uses the term *hierogrammateus*, interpreter of holy books, sacred scribe (*War* 6, 291; *Ant.* 2, 205; *Ap.* 1, 289), but this word does not appear in the LXX or NT.

NT *grammateus* occurs some 60 times in the Synoptic Gospels, 4 times in Acts, once in Paul. The Fourth Gospel makes no mention of scribes. *grammateus* appears at Jn. 8:3, but this is in the non-Johannine pericope, 7:53–8:11. Once *grammateus* is used of a civic official, the town clerk at Ephesus (Acts 19:35). Otherwise *grammateus* in the NT always has its Jewish meaning of one learned in Torah, rabbi, ordained theologian. Two other terms, equivalent to *grammateus*, are found in the NT: *nomikos*, lawyer, and *nomodidaskalos*, teacher (*didaskalos*) of the law (*nomos*). Tit. 3:13 mentions a certain Zenas the *nomikos*, though it is not clear whether he was an expert in Jewish or Roman law. Since Mark was writing for Romans, he never uses the word *nomikos*, to avoid misleading his readers, for in the Roman world *nomikos* was one versed in civil law. Elsewhere in the NT, *nomikos* always means a Jewish expert in the law of Moses (Matt. 22:35; Lk. 10:25; 11:45 f., 52; 14:3). Lawyers and Pharisees are associated together in Lk. 7:30; 11:53 (D), 14:3. *nomodidaskalos*, teacher of the law (of Moses), occurs only in Christian writings. In the NT the term is found at Lk. 5:17; Acts 5:34; 1 Tim. 1:7.

Judging by the frequency of their appearance in the Synoptic Gospels, scribes were clearly influential. Far from being simply clerks or copyists, they were teachers (Matt. 7:29; Mk. 1:22), lawyers, doctors of the law, and some were members of the Sanhedrin (Matt. 16:21; cf. 26:3). Scribes of the people (Matt. 2:4) and scribes of the Pharisees (Mk. 2:16) are phrases suggesting varied shades of meaning for the term *grammateus*. The scribes devoted themselves to several fields: (1) the study and interpretation of the law, which was both civil and religious; and to determining its application to the details of daily life; decisions of the great scribes became the oral law or tradition; (2) the study of the Scriptures generally in regard to historical and doctrinal matters; "Elijah must first come" (Matt. 17:10) is attributed to scribal doctrine; (3) teaching; each noted scribe, attracting around him a group of disciples (Matt. 7:29; Mk. 1:22), had a developed system of teaching of his own (Matt. 17:11; Mk. 8:11); (4) proselytizing (Matt. 23:15).

The Synoptic Gospels show scribes active on their own account, either as individuals (4 times) or as groups (16), and also in association with the priestly Sadducean party (Matt. 2:4; 21:15) or the Pharisees (Matt. 23). The grouping of scribes and Pharisees is mentioned 19 times, occasionally perhaps as something of a formula for Jesus' opponents; scribes and chief priests are coupled 11 times, scribes and elders once, scribes, chief priests, and elders 10 times. The order of names in the Gospels is not consistent, although precedence is usually given to scribes over Pharisees, for the former were the scholars of the party. More precisely they are defined as *nomikoi*, lawyers, and *nomodidaskaloi*, teachers of the law (as Gamaliel, Acts 5:34). The scholars of the Pharisees were the leaders of what became rabbinic Judaism, when they were known first as sages, then as rabbis. Rabbis formed a closed order. Only fully qualified scholars, who by ordination had received the

official spirit of Moses mediated by succession (SB II 654 f.; cf. Matt. 23:2), were legitimate members of the guild of scribes.

The high reputation of the rabbis among the people (Matt. 23:6 f.; Mk. 12:38 f.) rested on their knowledge of the law and oral traditions, but also of secret theosophic, cosmogonic, and eschatological doctrines concealed by an esoteric discipline. Jesus roundly condemned the scribal approach to the will of God (Matt. 23). Sociologically, the rabbis were the successors of the prophets, i.e., men who knew the divine will, and proclaimed it in instruction, judgment, and preaching. It was they who decided what was required, in all details of conduct, in order to give practical effect to the law – as interpreted by themselves. This was a necessary task, since biblical Hebrew was no longer widely understood. The scribes were not men of wealth or property; yet this was a responsibility which gave them powerful influence, not only in the council of elders which advised the king, but over public opinion as well (M. Grant, *The Jews in the Roman World*, 1973).

Prominent rabbis, as leaders of the Pharisaic communities, formed one of the three parties in the Sanhedrin, and as such they took part in the prosecution and condemnation of Jesus (Matt. 26:57). Matthew is more specific about the Pharisees being the ones who hounded Jesus, whereas Mark for "Pharisees" has "scribes of the Pharisees" (Matt. 9:11; Mk. 2:16), "disciples of the Pharisees" (Matt. 9:14; Mk. 2:18), or only "scribes" (Matt. 9:34; 12:24 = Mk. 3:22; Matt. 22:41 = Mk. 12:35). Scribes are associated with the rulers and elders in the persecution of Peter and John (Acts 4:5) and the martyrdom of Stephen (Acts 6:12).

At the end of the Sermon on the Mount, Matthew notes the astonishment of the crowd at the authoritative manner in which Jesus taught, and "not as the scribes" (Matt. 7:29). The scribes argued from Scripture and tradition, and by quoting older authorities to support their teaching. Jesus had spoken with freshness, directness, and in his own name: "I say to you" (D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew*, *New Century Bible*, 1972, 154). D. Daube suggests that the crowd's surprise was due to the novelty of hearing in Galilee of all places an ordained rabbi using his full rabbinic authority to promulgate new decisions (*The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, 1956, 205–16). But it seems very unlikely that Jesus was ordained (Jn. 7:15; Matt. 21:23). In contrast to rabbinic exposition, with its dependence on the tradition of the elders, here was the disturbing activity of a prophet directly authorized and commissioned by God (W. L. Lane, *The Gospel according to Mark*, 1974, 72).

Some scribes are said to have accepted Christ's teaching (Matt. 8:19), but most were prejudiced against him. They challenged Jesus about his disobedience to traditional practices under the law, and found fault with much that he and his disciples said and did (Matt. 21:15), e.g., eating with those who ignored the traditions (Mk. 2:16) or without first ritually washing the hands (Matt. 15:2; Mk. 7:5). They were affronted by Jesus' apparent blasphemy in claiming to forgive sins (Matt. 9:3; Mk. 2:7; Lk. 5:21). Ignoring the miracles of healing, they demanded some other authenticating sign from heaven, i.e., by a Semitic idiom, from God (Matt. 12:38). For his part, Jesus attacked the scribes for their misuse of Corban (Matt. 15:1–20; Mk. 7:1–23), their spiritual blindness in failing to recognize him (Matt. 12:38–42; Lk. 11:16, 29–32) and ascribing his actions to Satanic inspiration (Matt. 12:24–32; Mk. 3:22–30; Lk. 11:15–22), and because of their worldly desire for prominence (Matt. 25:3–7; Mk. 12:38–40; Lk. 20:46 f.). As a by-product of the effort of study,

scribes came to be noted for their abilities in business and administration. This led to their being appointed as trustees for widows and orphans (2 Esd. 2:20 f.), and the temptation to live comfortably on "expenses", thus earning a rebuke from Jesus for thus swallowing up the victims' estates (Mk. 12:40; Lk. 20:47) (J. D. M. Derrett, *Jesus's Audience*, 1973, 57).

Jesus conceded that the scribes sat "on Moses' chair" (Matt. 23:2), i.e., that it was their business to teach God's will as revealed in the law of Moses. But he warned the people and the disciples against the scribes' example. They did not practise what they preached. Jesus then pronounced seven woes upon the scribes and Pharisees (Matt. 23:13–36) for obscuring the real issues of belief and conduct by casuistry and hypocrisy, so making it virtually impossible for men to fulfil the law of God (D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 1972, 311–15).

Scribes of the Pharisees took Paul's part concerning the doctrine of the resurrection (Acts 23:9). Paul, himself an ordained scribe (deduced from his part in capital punishment, Acts 26:10), saw in the Jewish theologians' rejection of the preaching of the cross a fulfilment of Isa. 19:12; 33:18 (*pou grammateus*? what has become of the scribe?), which according to his exposition prophesied the futility of human wisdom, as illustrated by scribal dialectics, and the paradox of divine election (1 Cor. 1:10). In the early church the Christian *grammateus* continues as a scholar and instructor in God's law (Matt. 13:52; 23:34; cf. 5:19; 16:19; 18:18; 23:8–12), so that Mosaic law is not abolished but reapplied for the needs of the Christian church. Matthew's Gospel, especially in its proofs from Scripture, reveals a Christian scribe at work.

N. Hillyer

→ Law, → Pharisee, → Rabbi, → Scripture, → Word

(a). A. W. Argyle, "The meaning of *exousia* in Mark 1:22, 27", *ExpT* 80, 1968–9, 343; J. Bowman, "Scribes, Pharisees and Haberim", in *The Gospel of Mark*, 1965, 337–41; J. H. Dampier, "The Scrolls and the Scribes of the New Testament", *Bulletin of the Evangelical Theological Society*, 1.3, 1958, 8–19; D. Daube, "*exousia* in Mk. 1:22 and 27", *JTS* 39, 1938, 45–59; "Rabbinic Authority", in *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, 1956, 205–33; M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, I–II, 1974; J. Jeremias, *grammateus*, in *TDNT* I, 740–2; *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, 1969, ch. 10; A. Rainey, "Scribe", in *ZPEB* 5, 298–302; S. Safrai and M. Stern (ed.), *The Jewish People in the First Century* (*Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum* I), 1974–76.
(b). J. Hoh, "Der christliche *grammateus*", *BZ* 17, 1929, 256–69; S. Légasse, "Scribes et disciples de Jésus", *RB* 68, 1961, 497–502; E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, 1901–11, II. 1, 306–79.

Scripture, Writing

The following study focuses attention on writing and the written aspect of Scripture. For the revelatory aspect of Scripture → Revelation; → Word.

γραφή

γράφω (*graphō*), write; γράμμα (*gramma*), letter, document; γραφή (*graphē*), writing, in the NT always of Scripture; ἐγγράφω (*engraphō*), write in, record; ἐπιγραφή (*epigraphē*), inscription, superscription; προγράφω (*prographō*), write before(hand), set forth publicly.

CL 1. The root *graph-* has the primary meaning of to scratch on, engrave, with reference to an ornament, reports, letters, lists, and instructions. From it are derived the Eng. "graphic", "graph" etc. The material can be various: stone, wood, metal, wax, or leather. *graphō* is found in its original sense in Homer, *Il.* 17, 599. In Hdt., 4, 36 the word is used meaning to draw, of lines on maps; and scholars of the 3rd cent. B.C. used it of drawing of mathematical figures. In Homer *graphō* is already used in the sense of scratching signs on a tablet as a kind of letter (*Il.* 6, 169). From the time of Hdt. it is used generally in the normal sense of to write, and from the time of Pindar in the derived sense of to prescribe, to order. From the practice of handing in a written accusation, *graphō* came in judicial language to mean to accuse (Plato, *Euthyphro* 2b).

2. The passive forms *gegraptai* and *gegrammenon* mean that which is laid down in writing, the valid norm, especially in the legal sphere (Demosthenes, 58, 24; Plato, *Leg.* 6, 754c). The compound vb. *engraphō* means particularly to enter officially, in documents or official lists. *hypographō* means to sign, then, to sketch out; according to Plato, a teacher draws the lines for the children to write their letters (*Prt.* 326d).

3. The noun *graphē* originally carried the abstract verbal sense of the act of writing, drawing or painting; then the concrete sense of writing, inscription, letter (generally from 4th cent. B.C. onwards), indictment; in papyri of the 3rd cent. a list; in Plato the written law (*Leg.* 11, 934c).

gramma means: (a) the product of the action, especially where contrast with the spoken word is stressed; occasionally (b) the action itself; but then also (c) ability to write. It can mean the individual letters of the alphabet (Hdt., 5, 58 f.), but also papers, letters, documents. The plur. *grammata* is used in the sense of elementary knowledge, then literature, learning. The concept of "holy writings" or "holy scriptures" becomes important in the Hellenistic period: temple records, magic books and hermetic literature; also imperial letters and decrees which are regarded as quasi-divine. The authority of the written word leads, even in the classical period, to the composition of explanatory commentaries, especially on the writings of Homer.

OT The vb. *graphō* occurs about 300 times in the LXX, almost without exception for the Heb. *kāṯaḇ*, to write. Traces of the original meaning are still to be seen in its use to describe the signet engraving on the cultic crown of the high priest (Exod. 39:30), and the heathen custom of scratching marks on the skin (Lev. 19:28; cf. Ezek. 9:4). But the basic meaning is to write. *graphē* (about 40 times) always stands for forms of *kāṯaḇ* in the sense of (holy) writing, written decree, types of script (of different languages), letter. Only once (2 Chr. 24:27) is it used for *miḏrāš*, commentary. *gramma* (26 times) generally corresponds to the Heb. *sēp̄er*, less often for formations from *ktb* or *dāḇār*, → word. It has the meaning of writing, document, letter, book.

1. The 22 letters of the Old Canaanite script (all consonants), which were used in the land when Israel entered it, were carved (Exod. 32:16; cf. the Mesha stone, 840 B.C.; the Siloam inscription, *c.* 700 B.C.) or painted (Deut. 27:3, 8; Jos. 8:32) on stones, scratched or written with ink on potsherds (the ostraca of Lachish, Samaria, Arad), carved or painted on wood (Deut. 6:9; Isa. 8:1; Ezek. 37:16), and later written chiefly on leather or papyrus. They were also taught in the schools (cf. Isa. 28:9 ff.). Between the 4th and 2nd cents., with the spread of the Aramaic language, the Aramaic alphabet, the so-called square character, gradually gained predominance

in Israel. By the time of the second temple it seems to have found general acceptance (only in this alphabet is *Yôḏ* the smallest letter, Matt. 5:18; → Redemption, art. *lyō* NT 6 (a)). But even in texts written in square character Hebrew, the Old Canaanite script was used for writing the (unutterable) divine name (in Bible quotations in the Habakkuk commentary from Qumran: 1QpHab 6:14; 10:7, 14; 11:10; → God, art. *theos* OT 2; → Lord, art. *kyrios* OT 2). It is also retained on coins of the Maccabean period, and of the periods of revolt in A.D. 66 and A.D. 132, as a symbol of the fulfilment of messianic hopes, a return of the days of old (→ Possessions, art. *Coins in the Bible and Theological Issues*).

The purpose of writing can be very diverse. The OT mentions rods for drawing lots (Num. 17:1 ff.), letters (2 Sam. 11:14 f.; 2 Ki. 10:1, 6; Sennacherib's letter of contempt, 2 Chr. 32:17), lists (description of the land, Jos. 18:8 f.), deeds of purchase (Jer. 32:10 ff.), bills of → divorce (Deut. 24:1, 3), sentences and decrees (Ps. 149:9; 1 Sam. 10:25; Est. 8:8; 9:23), divine commandments (Deut. 17:18; 27:3; 31:9). The words of Jeremiah were written down by his disciple Baruch, at his master's dictation (Jer. 36:4).

2. (a) Theological observations. The most important act of writing in the Bible concerns the laws of God. The central part of this → law, the Decalogue, was written, according to the biblical narrative, by God himself, on stone tablets which he had prepared (the so-called Elohistic narrative: Exod. 24:12; 31:18; 32:16; also in Deut. 4:13; 5:22; 9:10). There is however another narrative (the so-called Yahwistic), which finds a place alongside and interwoven with this one: here it is → Moses who writes at God's behest (Exod. 34:1a, 4, 27 f.). Deut. describes how it was done (Deut. 10:1 ff.; Exod. 34:1b seems to have been inserted from the same source). Then it is stated that Moses (Exod. 34:4) wrote all the ordinances of the divine covenant in a → book (the Book of the Covenant, Exod. 20:22 – 23:33). This differentiation of the laws according to their importance may again be observed in the description of the other regulations about the holy tent and the service of the priests (Exod. 25–31), which Moses received from God by word of mouth only. For further discussion → Command, → Law. On the passages attributed to Moses → Moses, art. *Mōy̆sēs* OT 3.

Apart from this central complex relating to the giving of the commandments, other passages also state that God himself writes things. He keeps a book in which he writes those who commend themselves to him, and from which he can also blot them out again (Exod. 32:32). He writes his law in men's hearts (Jer. 31:33; cf. Deut. 6:6; → Covenant, art. *diathēkē* OT 5).

The writing of God's law is so important that Israel is commanded not only to pass it on by word of mouth, but individually and literally to write it upon the doorposts of their houses and upon pieces of parchment which were tied on their foreheads and arms (Deut. 6:8 f.; cf. Prov. 3:3). The written word thus serves as a reminder and a witness (Exod. 17:14; Hab. 2:2; Deut. 6:8). The power inherent in the written word can even have physical effects (water of bitterness, used for cursing, Num. 5:23 f.). When the written word is disobeyed, it can at a future date be used as a witness against evil doers (Isa. 30:8; similarly, Deut. 31:19); but where it has been fulfilled, it can become a pledge (Deut. 27:3).

(b) Tradition and interpretation. The written word has great authority which is invoked by later generations (2 Ki. 14:6; 2 Chr. 23:18; Ezr. 3:2; Neh. 10:34; 2 Macc. 10:26). Even non-canonical books are referred to in the Bible (2 Sam. 1:18; frequen-

tly in Ki. and Chr.). In other citations and allusions within the Bible we can see the beginnings of the interpretation of Scripture. Thus Deut. is in part a revision of the previous books in a new style (similarly Chr. is a revision of Ki.). God speaks not directly to Israel, but through Moses. In the case of the prohibition of images, we find a kind of proof from scripture (Exod. 20:4 in Deut. 4:9–24, especially v. 15). The prophets too speak God's word to Israel by referring to his traditional promises and commands, interpreting these afresh for the changed situation of the present.

(c) Josiah's reform in 621 B.C. (2 Ki. 23:24 f.) was made on the basis of the rediscovery of part of the book of Deut., which had apparently been found in the temple by Hilkiah, the priest. After the destruction of the temple, and the exile, Ezra in the middle of the 5th cent. put the "law of the God of heaven" (Ezr. 7:21), which is probably to be identified with the Pentateuch, into operation among the Jews (Ezr. 3:2; 7:6–26; 10:3; cf. Neh. 8:1–13:28). He bore the title of *sôpēr*, → scribe, as a secretary of state at the Persian court. Later this title came to be understood in the Judaistic sense of one learned in the scriptures, since he was reckoned as the founder of the system of scribes. In the period which followed, the scriptures were collected, set in order and finally edited; nevertheless disagreements about the canonicity of certain books (Ezek., Cant., Prov., Eccl., Est.) continued into the 1st cent. A.D. About A.D. 80 at Jamnia the number of books was fixed at 24, divided into three groups: *tôrâh*, the Torah, instruction, or law; *nᵉḇî'îm*, the Prophets; and *kᵉṯûḇîm*, Writings or Hagiographa (abbreviated *tᵉnaḵ* the Jewish name for the Heb. Bible). Josephus (Ap. 1, 8) and the Talmud (Baba Bathra 14b) are in substantial agreement over this. For the canon → Rule, art. *kanōn* NT 4. The fact that the three groups were already well defined before Jamnia is evidenced by Lk. 24:44.

The Scriptures were now formally constituted into a canon. The reading of them (→ Book, art. *anaginōskō*) was, along with prayer, the chief part of the service of worship from the time of Ezra onwards. Indeed, it seems that the reading out of the law gave the motivation for the first meetings for worship, where the word of God was heard (Neh. 8). In addition to *kāṯûḇ*, what is written, the word *miqrâ'*, what is read, thus becomes a common name for the Bible. For the reading of the Pentateuch there was a cycle of seven and then of three years. Finally the Babylonian cycle, which lasted one year, came to be used generally. Even in the pre-Christian period, this reading was followed by a passage from the prophetic books (Megillah 4:4 and the accompanying Gemara; cf. Lk. 4:17, Acts 13:15). This *haptārâh* was supposed to relate to the passage from the law, or to the meaning of the day. Early on an exposition came to be added, a kind of sermon, which had among all the groups of Jews an important function in their service.

(d) With the supersession of Heb. by Aramaic as the everyday language, the necessity arose of translating the passages which were read out. Similarly, in the Greek-speaking Diaspora they had to be translated into Gk. Next to the reader stood the *mᵉṯûrgᵉmān*, the interpreter, who gave a free, explanatory translation. Thus there arose targums in many languages, where there were Jewish communities in the area. The relatedness of content between such targums can be seen, e.g., in the similarity of method found in the Gk. translation of Aquila and the somewhat later, very important Aramaic targum of Onkelos, which bears his name.

The most significant of all these translations is the LXX, which was commenced in the 3rd cent. B.C. in Alexandria, with the translation of the Pentateuch, and probably

completed in the 2nd cent. It is partly a literal rendering and partly free translation, in the style of a targum. In it the Heb. text was translated into the concepts of Gk. culture. As a result what was intended in a concrete and immediate sense was sometimes transformed into a promise for the future. The LXX became the Bible of the Christians (for details of the LXX see S. Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study*, 1968). All groups of Jews had the same Bible and the same historical situation as their basis; but they drew different conclusions from it, depending on their characteristic doctrines and experience. Consequently, there arose side by side many legitimate possibilities within the whole range of Israel for realizing their history and interpreting the Bible. Other translations included those of Symmachus and Theodotion (2nd cent. A.D.) (cf. H. B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, 1900). The adoption of the LXX by the church caused the Jews to abandon it.

3. Judaism after the closing of the OT canon. (a) In Philo and Josephus, the most important writers of the Jewish-Hellenistic symbiosis, we again find the whole range of meaning covered by the words. *graphē* is used in its original sense (Philo, *Vit. Mos.* 1, 287), then inscription (Josephus, *Ant.* 15, 417), and painting (Philo, *Vit. Mos.* 1, 158), and finally in a legal sense (Philo, *Vit. Mos.* 2, 203). *engraphō* is likewise used by both writers in connexion with official documents, etc. (Philo, *Conf. Ling.* 109; *Op. Mund.* 143; Josephus, *Ant.* 17, 226; *War* 1, 625). "Holy Scripture" (sing. and plur.) is used of the Bible particularly often by Philo (e.g. *Congr.* 34, 90). *gramma* is used in parallel to this (*Vit. Mos.* 2, 290, 292). In his great commentaries Philo attempts to bring the Jewish Bible into harmony with Gk. philosophy. For beginners he admittedly retains a literal exposition, but this forms only a foundation for the allegorical interpretation which reveals the true meaning of scripture. A precedent for this spiritualizing method may be seen in the Gk. interpretation of the myths, and in the expositions of the Essenes, but it also has points of contact with the contemporary Midrash in the land of Israel. The writings of Philo had less influence on later Judaism than on the Christian Fathers. In Josephus' historical work *The Antiquities of the Jews* the old traditional text is paraphrased to cover the biblical period.

(b) In the Essene community, which has left a relatively large library, writing and the written word were of especial importance. A wide range of different subjects were recorded in the writing room at Qumran, which has been discovered by excavations. Much may be learned about their expectation of an imminent end from the symbolic inscriptions on their military equipment (1QM 3:2 ff., 13 ff.; 6:2 f.; 9:14 f.).

As of old the patriarchs were "enrolled" as participators in the eternal covenant (CD 3:3 f.; similarly Jub. 30:19 ff.), so the saved members of the community are enrolled, according to their obedience before God, in a "book of remembrance" (CD 20:19). Members were enrolled in a literal sense according to families (CD 14:4 ff.) and according to status, which was reviewed annually (1QS 5:23 f.). Hence, they can be described simply as "the enrolled" (1QS 6:10 f., 26).

At Qumran a canon of Holy Scripture is presupposed, which serves as the foundation of the new covenant (1QS 7:1; CD 5:2 f.; 7:15 ff.). The study of this was continued even by night, when the scholars relieved one another in shifts (on this cf. 1QS 6:7 f.). The range of books regarded as holy scripture was wider than those of the canon adopted somewhat later by the → Pharisees. The Essene tradition differs in part from that of the Pharisees, and, probably because of common roots in the exilic

Zadokite tradition, shows similarities to the Samaritan tradition and the LXX. In addition to the biblical books, the Book of Enoch is cited as *graphē* in the Test. XII (cf. Test. Lev. 14:1; Test. Naph. 4:1; Test. Zeb. 3:4 *v.l.*, where words of Moses from Deut. 35:10 are attributed to Enoch). Other books regarded by the community as Holy Scripture are a "Book of the Divisions of Time into their Jubilees and Weeks" (CD 16:3 f.; probably a reference to the Book of Jubilees), a "Book of Meditation" for priests and judges (CD 10:6), and a "Book of Destiny" (1QM 15:5).

Through living with the Bible, the members of the Essene communities came to see the events of their day as foreshadowed and predicted in Scripture, and proof-texts are therefore used with the formula: "as it is written" (1QS 5:15, 17; 8:14; CD 1:13; 5:1 f.; 7:18 ff.). This is even more obvious in their biblical commentaries. Here a text will be cited from the Bible, which they regard as inspired, and there follows the formula *pišrô*, "its interpretation is", and then the exposition itself. The latter is based not on literal or historical considerations, but on an application to the present, which is veiled in mystery and revealed only to students who have the Holy Spirit (1QH 14:12 f.; 16:1 ff.). This is referred to as pesher exegesis. Paraphrases in the style of a targum or midrash are also found, however, like the Genesis Apocryphon or the Florilegium, in which Bible texts of various origins are woven together by link-words to form a thematic unity.

The community's own psalms, Hodayot, are likewise full of echoes of the Bible. The exegetical methods of the Essenes developed out of their daily liturgical reading of scripture, which was explained piece by piece by an expert (cf. Philo, *Omn. Prob. Lib.* 81 f.).

(c) In the literature of Pharisaic Judaism *kāṯaḇ* and its derivatives are frequently used of the writing of testaments, bills of → divorce, and other documents, but particularly for the writing of biblical scrolls and phylacteries (strips of parchment with the Bible texts, cf. Deut. 8:4–9; 11:13–21; Exod. 13:1–10, 11–16, which were placed in the small boxes worn for prayers), which required great care. To introduce citations, the Aram. expression *kᵉṯîḇ* is frequently used, even in Heb. texts; the Aram. *diḵtîḇ* corresponds to the Gk. *gegraptai gar*, "for it is written". Frequently *šenne-ᵉmar*, "as it is said", is used, in further citations interchangeably with *diḵtîḇ*. *kᵉṯîḇ* also means the traditional text of a word as written, in contrast to the word as it was read (*qᵉrē'*), which made possible a new interpretation of the text. *kāṯûḇ*, the noun derived from the pass. part., means a particular passage in the Bible, or the Scriptures as a whole, and is used with various vbs., particularly those of utterance. Scripture can now even be personified: it comes, speaks, teaches, proclaims. The plur. *kᵉṯûḇîm*, scriptures, is used like *kāṯûḇ* for the whole Bible, but it is also often used of the third division of the Heb. Bible, in contrast to the first two (the Torah and the Prophets). *kᵉṯāḇ* means the written word, writing in a concrete sense, but it can also refer to a piece of writing, book. The expression Holy Scriptures, *kiṯᵉḇê-haqqōḏeš*, is used par. to the simple *kᵉṯûḇîm*; it is roughly equivalent to *hiera grammata* and *graphai hagiai* in the NT (2 Tim. 3:15; Rom. 1:2).

It is a matter of importance that God writes people's → names in his → book at the New Year for life or death (Rosh ha-Shanah 16b), which is the origin of the traditional Jewish New Year wish.

Scholars among the → Pharisees took a great interest in the writing on the table of the commandments. Thus in Pesaḥim 54a it is said that these instructions were

created before the world, i.e. without any human assistance. The details are described in Gen. R. 1 (2b), where it is said that God made the script, the writing-instrument and the tables on the eve of the → Sabbath. Rabbi Hisda (Shabbath 104a) interpreted the words "the writing was graven" (Exod. 32:16) to mean that the table could be read on both sides, the writing being engraved right through. The *Sāmeḵ* and final *Mêm* were miraculously held in, and so did not fall out. The word *ḥārûṯ*, graven, could also, if differently vocalized, be read as *ḥerûṯ*, freedom: the Decalogue is and effects freedom. In accordance with this, Rabbi Joshua ben Levi concludes: "For thou findest no free man excepting him who occupies himself in the study of the Law" (Aboth 6:2).

The written Torah, *tôrâh šebbiḵtaḇ*, is distinguished by the Pharisees from the oral Torah, *tôrâh šebbᵉʿalpē* (Shabbath 31a). The law applies here (Gittin 60b): "The words of Scripture thou mayest not speak from memory, and the oral teaching thou mayest not commit to writing." When the Bible had been revealed by translation to the peoples of the world, the Pharisaic leaders guarded the oral tradition as the genuinely Jewish one. It was this giving of equal importance to the oral and the written traditions, and regarding them together as making up the one Torah, that constituted the principal difference, according to Josephus (*Ant.* 13, 297 f.), between the doctrine of the → Pharisees and that of the → Sadducees. Nevertheless, the oral tradition was written down early in the Christian era. The Mishnah of Rabbi Judah, the Prince, goes back in its turn to written collections of Mishnah.

In the schools of the Pharisees importance was attached to making the children learn writing while still young, then the text of the Bible, and finally its interpretation: the *pᵉšaṭ*, or literal meaning of a text, and the *dᵉraš*, interpretation, which arose out of the desire to find biblical authority for existing customs and ordinances, and for which in the 1st and 2nd cents. rules were developed. In the extended midrash literature the meaning for the present day is unfolded to cover the entire Scriptures. The meaning of a passage was sought in a democratic, didactic discussion, and fixed as far as it related to making a norm for living, by the majority in each case.

The apparent carelessness in quoting Scripture which may be observed throughout the literature of early Judaism is due to two factors. On the one hand, there was a great range of variations in the textual tradition. On the other, there was liberty to change the form of a text to accord with the theological basis and aims of the individual community, a liberty for which every community claimed an equal right to the Holy Spirit. The variety of interpretation within Judaism as a whole led to a spirit of competition, the expression of which ranged from friendly discussion to hostile polemics. The interpretative element in its quotation from the Scriptures may also be seen in the NT.

NT 1. (a) In the NT the vb. *graphō* in its various forms occurs about 180 times, of which scarcely half refer to the Bible. In about 70 cases we have an introductory formula, which is then followed by a Bible citation giving proof. Among the various verbal forms, particles and adverbs, one or two characteristic features may be singled out. The formula *kathōs gegraptai*, "as it is written", which is taken over from the LXX (found in the Synoptic Gospels, Rom. and 1 and 2 Cor.), is used for setting down a norm. Luke has a preference for *gegrammenon*, and especially for *panta ta gegrammena*, "all that is written" (Lk. 18:31; 21:22; Acts 13:29, each time in con-

nexion with "accomplish" or "fulfil", → Fullness, art. *plēroō*; cf. Jn. 15:25). John prefers the perf. participle *gegrammenon estin*, "[it] is written", by which he emphasizes the permanence of the written word. Sometimes the name of the writer or of the book concerned is mentioned in connexion with *graphō* (e.g. Jn. 1:45; Lk. 2:44).

Parallel to the use of *graphō* in the NT is often that of *legō*, to say, which can be used, as in Pharisaic Judaism, to express the directness with which the Scripture addresses us. Matthew in particular, in using his typical formula *hina plērōthē*, "that it might be fulfilled", constantly adds *to rhēthen*, what was said (*hypo* or *dia*, by or through) (Matt. 1:22; 2:15, 17, 23; 4:14; 8:17; 12:17; 13:35; 21:4; 22:31; 24:15; 27:9). John too links *plēroō*, to fulfil, with *logos*, → word, or *graphē*, writing. In Hebrews citations of scripture are generally introduced by verbs of saying, or are placed in the context without introduction. Revelation has much imagery which echoes OT allusions.

In another 17 cases, there follows no direct quotation, but merely a general allusion to the Scriptures (nearly always as a whole). More than half of these are in the Synoptic Gospels (cf. also Acts 13:29), and present (with the exception of Lk. 21:22) the suffering, death and resurrection of the Son of man, and John as his forerunner (Mk. 9:13) as events prophesied in the Bible. John sees the Scriptures as pointing directly to Jesus (Jn. 1:45; 5:46). Passages of this category in Paul (Rom. 4:22 ff.; 15:4; 1 Cor. 9:10; 10:11; also 5:6) emphasize, in a way exactly corresponding to the exegetical methods of Qumran, the relevance of the ancient Scriptures for the community of the present.

Only here and there is *graphō* used in a secular sense. Jesus drew in the sand (Jn. 8:6, 8). Paul wrote sentences in his own hand, especially at the end of letters, in order to authenticate their contents (Gal. 6:11; 2 Thess. 3:17; Phlm. 19; also 1 Cor. 16:21; Col. 4:18). Zechariah wrote his son's name on a tablet (Lk. 1:63). In the parable of the unjust steward the debtors' bills are written differently (Lk. 16:6 f.). Also mentioned are a letter of commendation, a letter to the governor, and the intention to write something to the emperor (Acts 18:27; 23:25; 25:26). The compound vb. *epigraphō* is used of the inscription of an altar in Athens (Acts 17:23), and noun *epigraphē* of the inscription on an imperial coin (Matt. 22:20; Mk. 12:16; Lk. 20:24), and of that on the cross (Mk. 15:26; Lk. 23:38).

(b) With the use and interpretation of the canonical Scriptures for edification and teaching purposes, by means of express citations, allusions, or general references and circumlocutions, an independent tradition came into being which acquired, entirely through being in a written form, a new authority of its own. According to Col. 4:16 and 1 Thess. 5:27, Christian writings were also read in services. Hence, the act of writing came sometimes to be emphasized; and certain writers made reference to their own writing, in order to assure the church of their love (2 Cor. 2:4), to guarantee the truth of the message (Lk. 1:3 f.; Phil. 3:11; 1 Jn. 2:21; 5:13; Rev. 19:9), to remind (Rom. 15:15; 2 Pet. 3:1), to exhort (1 Cor. 4:14; 5:9, 11; 1 Pet. 5:12), to testify (Jn. 21:24; 1 Pet. 5:12), and to stimulate faith (Jn. 20:30 f.).

graphō is used frequently, and is of great importance, in the Book of Revelation. As elsewhere in apocalyptic, the written word here acquires a directly sacramental character. He who would not fail to attain what is promised must, therefore, read (aloud) and hear this writing without adding or taking away anything (Rev. 1:3;

22:18 f.). As far as the letters to the seven churches are concerned, they are dictated to the visionary by the Son of man himself (Rev. 1:10 ff.; chs. 2 and 3). The apocalypse sealed with the seven → seals is written within and without (Rev. 5:1). The → Lamb's book of life contains the → names of those who will be saved (Rev. 13:8; 20:15; 21:27). The messiah riding on a white horse has a mysterious name, and also the title of King and Lord written upon him (Rev. 19:12, 16). The great harlot likewise has a mysterious name written on her (Rev. 17:5). The two protagonists – the Lamb and the beast – mark their followers on hand and forehead, where the Jews carried their phylacteries, which contained the confession of God's uniqueness (Rev. 13:16; 14:1; 22:4; cf. Deut. 6:4, 8). Those who endure do not accept the mark of the beast; they receive rather a stone on which is written a new name (Rev. 2:17; 20:4). Just as the gates of the city have the names of the twelve tribes as an inscription, so on the pillars of the → temple (i.e. the faithful) is written the name of God, of the Son of man, and of the holy city (Rev. 3:12; 21:12). While all apocalyptic attaches importance to its own, new writings (Qumran, Mk. 13 par., Rev.), the citation of Scriptures hallowed by age remains important also, so that further additions are interspersed with and determined by guiding texts. Since historical experience is here lacking, and for this very reason, some kind of link, such as visions and auditory experiences always found in the development of the tradition, is needed.

In connexion with *engraphō* we encounter the concept, universal in Judaism, of the heavenly book, in which the names of the faithful are inscribed (Lk. 10:20; → Book, art. *biblos*); and then also the picture of an inscription written by God on men's hearts as an assurance of his love. Similarly, Paul sees the church as a letter of Christ, not written with ink (2 Cor. 3:2; → Book, art. *epistolē*). The prophecy about the commandments written on men's hearts and minds (Jer. 31:33) was important to all the Jews (in the NT, especially cited at Heb. 8:10 and 10:16, *v.l. grapsō*, *epigrapsō*; cf. Rom. 2:15, *graptos*). Paul says that he "openly wrote out", or "made known officially" (another interpretation of *prographō* is to paint before someone's eyes) Jesus as the crucified (Gal. 3:1). (Elsewhere, *prographō* means write above [Eph. 3:3], mark out or write about [Jude 4], write about before [Rom. 15:4].) This sufferer is reckoned as the *hypogrammos*, example, who should be followed (1 Pet. 2:21; → Image, art. *hypogrammos*). *R. Mayer*

(c) The noun *graphē* is used 51 times in the NT, nearly always absolutely in either the sing. or plur. In the NT it is used exclusively of Holy Scripture. As such it may refer to an individual Scripture passage (Mk. 12:10; 15:28 *v.l.*; Lk. 4:21; Jn. 13:18; 19:24, 36 f.; Acts 1:16; 8:35; Rom. 11:2; 2 Tim. 3:16; Jas. 2:8, 23. The plur. *hai graphai*, the Scriptures, designates collectively all the parts of Scripture (Matt. 21:42; 22:29; 26:54; Mk. 12:24; 14:49; Lk. 24:27, 32, 45; Jn. 5:39; Acts 17:2, 11; 18:24, 28; Rom. 15:4; 2 Pet. 3:16). Matt. 26:56 refers to *hai graphai tōn prophētōn*, "the writings of the prophets". The sing. is also used as a designation of Scripture as a whole (Jn. 20:9; Acts 8:32; 2 Pet. 1:20).

Sometimes Scripture is quoted in a way which is tantamount to quoting God himself. Thus: *eipen hē graphē*, "Scripture said" (Jn. 7:38; cf. Isa. 44:3; 55:1; 58:11; Jn. 7:42; cf. Mic. 5:2); *legei*, "says" (Rom. 4:3; cf. Gen. 15:6; Rom. 9:17; cf. Exod. 9:16; Rom. 10:11; cf. Isa. 28:16; Gal. 4:30; cf. Gen. 21:10 ff.; 1 Tim. 5:18; cf. Deut.

25:4; Jas. 4:5, where a writing outside the canonical Scriptures is cited, cf. M. Dibelius and H. Greeven, *James*, *Hermeneia*, 1976, 220–24). For similar formulae in early Christian literature see Arndt, 165. Other passages speak of "it stands in Scripture [*periechei en graphē*]" (1 Pet. 2:6; cf. Isa. 28:16); "that the Scripture might be fulfilled [*plērōthē*]" (Jn. 17:12; cf. Ps. 41:9); "to fulfil [*teleiōthē*] the Scripture" (Jn. 19:28; cf. Ps. 22:15); "they believed [*episteusan*] the Scripture" (Jn. 2:22; cf. perhaps Ps. 16:10 which is interpreted of the resurrection in Acts 2:31; 13:35; and possibly Isa. 53:12). Jn. 10:35 states that "the Scripture cannot be set aside [*ou dynatai lythēnai hē graphē*]" (on this verse → Redemption, art. *lyō* NT 6 (d)). Scripture is personified in Gal. 3:8: "And the Scripture, foreseeing [*proïdousa*] that God would justify the Gentiles by faith, preached the gospel beforehand to Abraham, saying, 'In thee shall all the nations be blessed' " (cf. Gen. 12:3; 18:18, where in fact God is speaking). Similarly Gal. 4:22 declares: "But the Scripture consigned [*synekleisen*] all things to sin, that what was promised to faith in Jesus Christ might be given to those who believe." This evidently refers back to the argument of Gal. 3:10 ff. (cf. Deut. 27:26).

Jas. 2:8 uses the phrase *kata tēn graphēn*, "according to Scripture" (cf. Lev. 19:18); and 1 Cor. 15:3 f. uses the plur. *kata tas graphas*, "according to the Scriptures" (cf. Isa. 53:5–12; Ps. 16:8 f.). On the subject of the NT's use of the OT see especially C. H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures*, 1952; E. E. Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament*, 1957; and R. N. Longenecker, *Biblical Exegesis in the Apostolic Period*, 1975. For further discussion of passages which identify the words of Scripture with the Word of God → Revelation, art. *Revelation in Contemporary Theology* 1 (e); → Word.

Occasionally Scripture is qualified: *graphai hagiai*, "Holy Scriptures" (Rom. 1:2); *dia ... graphōn prophētikōn*, "through the prophetic writings" (Rom. 16:26 RSV). 2 Tim. 3:14 ff. urges Timothy, the convert from Judaism (Acts 16:1 ff.), to continue in the study of the Jewish Scriptures as a basis for his Christian life and work: "But as for you, continue in what you have learned and have firmly believed, knowing from whom you learned it and how from childhood you have been acquainted with the sacred writings [*hiera grammata*] which are able to instruct you for salvation through faith in Christ Jesus. All scripture is inspired by God [*theopneustos*] and profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, and for training in righteousness, that the man of God may be complete, equipped for every good work." The adj. *theopneustos* (v. 16) means lit. "God-breathed". It does not imply any particular mode of inspiration, such as some form of divine dictation. Nor does it imply the suspension of the normal cognitive faculties of the human authors. On the other hand, it does imply something quite different from poetic inspiration. It is wrong to omit the divine element from the term implied by *theo-*, as the NEB does in rendering the phrase "every inspired scripture". The expression clearly does not imply that some Scriptures are inspired, whilst others are not. The sacred scriptures are all expressive of the mind of God; but they are so with a view to their practical outworking in life. On the doctrine of inspiration in Judaism see Josephus, *Ap.* 1, 31 ff., and Philo's doctrine of the prophet possessed by God (*prophētēs theophorētos*) in *Spec. Leg.* 1, 65; 4:49 (cf. also *Rer. Div. Her.* 263 ff. referring to Plato, *Ion* 534b) (cf. M. Dibelius and H. Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles*, *Hermeneia*, 1972, 120). Dibelius and Conzelmann cite Epictetus' comment on the usefulness of the Eleusi-

nian mysteries: "Only thus do the Mysteries become helpful, only thus do we arrive at the impression that all these things were established by men of old time for the purpose of education and for the amendment of our life" (*Dissertationes* 3, 21, 15).

2 Pet. 3:15 f. evidently counts the apostolic writings of Paul on a par with the OT scriptures: "And count the forbearance of the Lord as salvation. So also our beloved brother Paul wrote to you according to the wisdom given him, speaking of this as he does in all his letters. There are some things in them hard to understand, which the ignorant and unstable twist to their own destruction, as they do the other scriptures."

C. Brown

2. 'Scripture' in the NT is generally identical with the Greek version of the Jewish Bible. Sometimes, however, known Pseudepigrapha (Jude 14 f. cites Eth. Enoch 1:9; Jude 9 perhaps Ass. Mos.) and unknown passages are quoted (Jn. 7:38 and Jas. 4:5 use the word *graphē*; see above). Similarly, *kathōs gegraptai*, "as it is written" (1 Cor. 2:9) and *egraphē*, "it was written" (1 Cor. 9:10) refer to the LXX (cf. also "therefore it is said", Eph. 5:14; "therefore also the Wisdom of God said", Lk. 11:49).

(a) Along with such broad and general Jewish literature, specifically Christian writings came to be given an equal authority. To the old prophetic writings has been added in the age of salvation the new revelation (Rom. 16:26; similarly at Qumran, 1QpHab 2:7 ff.; 7:1 ff.). In 1 Tim. 5:18, Deut. 25:4 is cited first as "scripture", and there follows, connected only by *kai* ("and") a saying which is known as a saying of Jesus (Lk. 10:7). Even if the second quotation were not meant to be included under the heading of scripture, something new is nevertheless expressed in this connexion by its place immediately after the citation. Here we may see the beginnings of a development, in the course of which the words of Jesus ("I did not come to call the righteous, but sinners" [Matt. 9:13; Mk. 2:17; Lk. 5:32] cited in 2 Clem. 2:4 as *graphē*), and then also the letters of Paul (2 Pet. 3:16; see 1 above), became authoritative in their own right alongside the old holy writings.

(b) In the Holy Scriptures God promised the good news beforehand through his prophets (Rom. 1:2); now in the day of salvation they are being or have been fulfilled (e.g. Matt. 26:54, 56; Lk. 4:21; Jn. 13:18; 19:24, 36), and that finally (Jn. 19:28). The Scripture cannot be annulled (Jn. 10:35; cf. Matt. 5:17; → Redemption, art. *lyō* 6 (a), (d)). As in Pharisaic Judaism, the Scripture is frequently personified, so that, as it were, it speaks (Jn. 7:42; Rom. 9:17; Gal. 4:30; Jas. 2:23; 4:5) and can be inquired of (Acts 17:11) in God's stead. It foresees and prophesies (Gal. 3:8; 2 Pet. 1:20), judges and gives encouragement (Gal. 3:22; Rom. 15:4), and can be the subject of faith (Jn. 2:22). The Scripture even becomes a means by which men can be made perfect (2 Tim. 3:16 f.). It is an object of investigation, is read and interpreted (Matt. 21:42 par. Mk. 12:10, Lk. 20:17; Lk. 24:27, 32; Jn. 5:39). It can give rise to and form the basis of dialogue (cf. Acts 17:2). It can be used to prove and confute (Acts 18:28), but it can also be twisted (2 Pet. 3:16). Some know and understand it, and others do not (Acts 18:24; Matt. 22:29 par. Mk. 12:24; Lk. 24:25; Jn. 20:9), an accusation which was, of course, reciprocal.

(c) *gramma* is used on 8 occasions (in the plur.) in a concrete sense, with a marked leaning towards the secular and legal. It can mean letters of the alphabet (Gal. 6:11; Lk. 23:38 *v.l.*), written information (Acts 28:21), a debtor's bill (Lk.

16:6); also learning (Jn. 7:15; Acts 26:24), which for Jews implies knowledge of the Scriptures; and finally the writings of → Moses (Jn. 5:47), and generally, the Holy Scriptures (2 Tim. 3:15). The other 7 examples show that Paul uses the term chiefly in a transferred sense, parallel to *nomos*, → Law, and contrasted with *pneuma*, → spirit. Probably in order to assimilate its form to that of *pneuma*, spirit, the sing. *gramma* is used in these passages (except for 2 Cor. 3:7). The tendency to make a contrast between *gramma* and *pneuma* – something already established in cl. Gk. and in Jeremiah (31:31–33) – was turned by Paul into a system (Rom. 2:27, 29; 7:6; 2 Cor. 3:3, 6 and 17 should for this reason be regarded as constituting an inner unity). The following scheme exhibits the juxtaposition of ideas set out in these passages which contrast the Jewish use of Scripture with the reality of life in Christ and the Spirit.

gramma	*pneuma*
letter	spirit
written on stone	written on the heart
with ink on stone tablets	with the Spirit on tablets of flesh
→ Law	→ Freedom
circumcision (literal)	circumcision of the heart
→ old	→ new
→ death	→ life

The detailed and consistent application of the contrast clearly shows that we have here a polemical scheme (see below for further comment).

3. (a) Attitudes to Scripture. The first Christians were Jews among Jews. For them, therefore, as for all other Jews, the Bible was "Holy Scripture", the foundation, rule and goal for faith and life. In it they encountered the living Word of God, experienced by means of interpretation as a personal message, and at first handed down in this form by word of mouth, and preserved intact by amazing powers of memory. At various times and for various reasons, the oral tradition was collected and committed to writing. No matter to what extent it had acquired definite form, tradition became, as soon as it was written down, an abiding, objective sign and testimony, outliving individual men, which could be experienced afresh by every generation (→ Teach). This process of constant appropriation of Scripture did not take place without sharp tensions. On the one hand, there is that between Scripture and actual life. On the other hand, there is that between the various interpretations made by particular groups. Scripture was seen by each group in the light of its own historical experience, while at the same time their experience of history was moulded by the word of the Bible. Since all Jewish communities believed the interpretation of Scripture to be the work of the Holy Spirit, its results were regarded as revealed truth, having the same dignity as the original; and thus there arose, in addition to the Heb. Bible, on the one hand the Mishnah, and on the other the NT, which with its christology was analogous and at the same time superior to the "Old Testament". On the rise of apocryphal writings → Hide, art. *kryptō* NT 6, and on the canon of Scripture → Rule, art. *kanōn*.

(b) Methods of Interpretation. These can be discovered by a study of the Bible quotations (cf. C. H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures*, 1952; R. N. Longenecker, *Biblical Exegesis in the Apostolic Age*, 1975). The variations are hardly coincidental, although oral citation was common. Use is made in interpretation of textual variants, and also of texts altered, shortened or lengthened in the style of a midrash, or quotations from different contexts linked together under one heading, or merged into one another, and even of texts changed round to mean the opposite to bring out a contrasting meaning (cf. Ps. 68:18 with Eph. 4:8 ff.; → Heaven, art. *anabainō* NT 5). Indications of the method of interpretation are also to be found in the form of the text which was used, although the textual tradition was at that time still fluid. Thus NT citations sometimes show similarities to forms of the text which were later used by Theodotion, Aquila and Lucian as the basis of their translations. Aram. targums are similar to texts used by Paul and Matthew (the latter is occasionally comparable with the Heb. text; nearest to the text of the LXX are apparently the citations in Luke–Acts and Heb.).

4. Theology of Scripture. The many and various Bible quotations in the New Testament are not incidental ornament but its very foundation. The NT is built upon authoritative texts from the Hebrew Bible. There is often a flowing transition from the allusion into citation; and citations without introduction are found alongside others which have an introductory formula. These formulae (such as Scripture says, or Moses, David, Isaiah said, wrote, prophesied, warned, called) are by and large those generally used in Judaism. Specifically Christian interpretation is shown above all in those statements which point to the fulfilment of the Scripture, i.e. as a realization of what was promised (→ Fullness, art. *plēroō*). This emphasis on the biblical text was important for the Jews as a starting point in missionary endeavour, and was then taken over by Christians too in their mission to the heathen.

(a) Proof from Scripture gained, however, special force and development in the conflict with Judaism. It is the principal tool of apologetics (cf. B. Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic*, 1961). Jewish opposition to Christian preaching led Matthew in particular to add direct quotations of Scripture to the traditional material. The passion narrative especially was linked up with old Jewish tradition, since it was here that the greatest conflict arose. Within the church, but much more in the debate with those outside, the great problem was the manner of Jesus' suffering and death; by means of evidence from Scripture discouragement and doubt could be dispelled, and at the same time hostile attacks could be repelled. What had happened here was for the Christians neither a chance event nor a catastrophe, but – as evidenced particularly by the Psalms – God's purpose from of old. The high number of citations demonstrates that questions about the origin and authority of Jesus were further focal points in the controversy within the Jewish community. In the case of Matthew, indications of the fulfilment of scripture are woven just like a leitmotiv into the whole book.

(b) This characteristic use of evidence from Scripture, with its testimony to the fulfilment of promise, emphasizes however not only the continuity, but also the break between the old era and the new. To the Essenes the history of the "Teacher of Righteousness" meant a similar cutting across of old traditions, whereas for the Pharisees who followed Hillel even the catastrophe of the destruction of the temple scarcely ruffled the continuity of their interpretation of Scripture. The coming of

Jesus gave the Scriptures a new importance for Christians, since it revealed a meaning hitherto unrealized. Matthew, Paul and John, and the other NT writers too, saw the events of Jesus' life mapped out beforehand in the OT. However conscious Jesus himself was of being the subject of such biblical prophecy, it was not merely from oral tradition that the believing community composed its life of Jesus, but also "according to the Scriptures", which were understood as having been written for his and for their own sakes.

(c) The deeper the sense of a break between the old and the new, the greater were the possibilities of evidence from Scripture being used as a polemical weapon. This made the division from the rest of the Jewish community still more acute. When for instance Paul refers in 2 Cor. 3 to Exod. there is admittedly a formal community of ideas. But the content of what he says separates him from his opponents, as is shown by the pairs of contrasted words associated with *gramma* and *pneuma* (see above 2 (c)). What belongs together is torn apart. The position of the opponent is deliberately made negative and thus demolished. In polemic similar to that of Qumran (with its contrast between light and darkness) those who believe otherwise are denied any positive value, on the basis of their own scriptures. It can even be made to look as if the common ground from which both originated, now emptied of its value, is the property of the opponents alone.

The NT presents a state of continual tension. On the one hand, it emphasizes strongly the authority of the Hebrew Bible (or the LXX). On the other, it allows this authority almost to disappear before the claims of the new gospel. From these tensions, however, which were conditioned by the historical situation and indeed necessitated by it, a synthesis was able to develop. Understanding of the unity that exists within the tension, is expressed particularly in typology. Here, as in the thought of the Essenes and the Pharisees, there is seen in the fulfilment of a promise, the promise of a still greater fulfilment. The historical value of types like → Adam, → Abraham, → Moses, → Elijah, the → temple, the → sacrifices, does not have to dissolve because these have been overshadowed by Christ. This leads to a new goal to which God leads his people along the ancient course of history. *R. Mayer*

→ Book, → Explain, → Fullness, → Proclamation, → Promise, → Revelation, → Rule, → Teach, → Truth, → Word

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Seal

σφραγίς

σφραγίς (*sphragis*), seal, signet; σφραγίζω (*sphragizō*) and κατασφραγίζω (*katasphragizō*), to seal.

CL 1. *sphragis* is attested since the 6th cent. (Theognis) – the first attestation is probably already a metaphor – and the vb. since *c.* 500 B.C. The noun means both the tool that seals (e.g. a signet ring), the stone set in it (the gem) and the engraving on it (an image or name) as well as its imprint.

2. Seals were widely used very early (3rd millennium onwards), especially in Mesopotamia, where Hdt. observed that every man possessed not only a staff but also a seal (1, 195), and later in the whole Mediterranean area (on the different forms of seals – e.g. rolls, buttons, scaraboid – cf. *BHHW* III 1786 ff., 1812 f.). The real importance of the seal is a legal one: the owner puts his mark on his possessions, his beasts (cf. Virgil, *Georgics* 3, 157 ff.; *BGU* I, 87, 12 f.; P. Teb. 419), his slaves (cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 25, 13, 173; *BGU* I, 15, etc.) and thereby guards his property against theft. To that extent one can call it a protecting sign or a guarantee. When used with documents (wills, deeds of sale, etc.) the seal served as a signature to authorize what was written there (cf. *TDNT* VII 941). Things sealed were at the disposal of the possessor of the seal. This applied not only to private persons, but also particularly to the authorities of a city and to kings. The seal symbolized their authority.

3. Seals were also significant in religious life. For instance, a beast could be attested as ritually pure and thus suitable for a sacrificial victim (cf. Hdt. 2, 38; *BGU*, I, 250, 15 ff.; 356, 7). Men show themselves to be the possession of their deity by the imprint of their seal (Hdt., 2, 113; cf. 3 Macc. 2:29 f.; also J. Ysebaert, *Greek Baptismal Terminology*, 1962, 200 f.). More tangibly one can seal houses, etc., to guarantee that they were preserved, or documents, to keep their contents a secret. Hence, one can also say that the mouth or words are sealed (cf. Diog. Laert., 1, 58; Theognis, 1, 178; Timotheus, *Persians* 148): what one has experienced must remain secret and in safe keeping. This applied particularly to keeping the secrets of the mysteries (Ysebaert, op. cit., 221–226).

OT In the LXX the noun is a translation of *ḥōṭām*, *ḥôṭām*, and of the vb. *ḥāṭam*.

Twice the LXX translates *ḥōṭām* with *daktylios*, signet-ring, but *daktylios* usually represents the Heb. *ṭabba'aṭ*, ring (e.g. on the ark of the covenant, altars, the priests' clothing, etc.). However, it is also used of signet-rings. On the other hand, *sphragis* can also mean a signet-ring (e.g. Exod. 35:22; 1 Ki. 20[21]:8). Both the noun and the vb. are used (1) literally and (2) figuratively. In this way they approximate to non-biblical usage.

1. A seal engraved by a maker of signets (Sir. 38:27) can leave its impress in clay (Job 38:14). It has a legal use: by means of a seal a document (e.g. a marriage con-

tract, Tob. 7:14; or a deed of sale, Jer. 39[32]:10 f., 44) is made valid. All who affix their seals to a document are bound to abide by its contents (Neh. 10:1). To give one's seal to another implies the transference of authority and power (Gen. 41:42; 1 Ki. 20[21]:8; Est. 3:10; 8:8, 10). Hence, one of the means by which the dying Antiochus Epiphanes appointed his friend Philip as regent over his kingdom was to hand over his seal to him (1 Macc. 6:15).

The LXX can also speak of a seal used as a fastening (for a purse, 2 Ki. 22:4; Tob. 9:5; a treasury, Deut. 32:34; the temple, Ad. Dan. 14:14, 16 f.; a pit, Dan. 6:18; a fountain, Cant. 4:12). Thence the act of sealing comes to be equivalent to keeping something secret: that which is sealed is hidden from men (a book, Dan. 12:4; Isa. 29:11; cf. 1 Esd. 3:8). The seal is thus absolutely necessary in both private and public life. The seal of the state (Jerusalem, 2 Esd. 10:23) is carefully guarded (Tob. 1:22). Signet-rings are precious (Isa. 3:20; Sir. 35[32]:5 f.) and are regarded as valuable spoil (Num. 31:50).

2. The figurative use of the concept is found especially with the sense of concluding or shutting up. One can, e.g., ask for a seal to be set on one's lips that one may not sin in speaking (Sir. 22:27; cf. Ps. 141[140]:3). God seals the stars (Job 9:7) by shutting them up so that they can no longer shine, and he seals men and thus prevents them from working, so that they may recognize their dependence on him (Job 37:7 LXX). Several times sins are said to be sealed (in a bag, Job 14:17; Dan. [Theod.] 9:24; cf. Hos. 13:12). A revelation that is sealed remains hidden (Dan. 12:9) and one can therefore learn as little of its contents as of those of a sealed book. In Job 24:16 skulking malefactors are said to have "sealed" themselves from daylight. The end of life is sealed in that it is as unalterable as a sealed document (Wis. 2:5).

The application of sealing to a religious context plays some part in the LXX. These precise words are not used, but their meaning is. Isa. 44:5 presupposes the custom of having a seal with the words "for Yahweh", i.e. Yahweh's property, tattooed on the hand. Probably the author of Lev. 19:28 was opposing this very practice, because he regarded it as pagan. Ezek. 9:4 ff. is also relevant at this point: God gets one of his servants to mark a sign upon the foreheads of his children to protect them in the judgment. The seal is thus God's protective mark for his property (cf. Pss. Sol. 15:6 ff.: "For the mark of God is upon the righteous that they may be saved. Famine and death remain far from the righteous, for sword and pestilence [shall be] far from the righteous, for they shall flee away from the pious as men pursued in war").

3. The affixing of seals is also frequently mentioned in Rab. Judaism. Letters are sealed (Oholoth 17:5); their seals are smaller than those of sacks (Shabbath 8:5). In the temple there was a room where four kinds of seals for victims were kept (Shekalim 5:3, 4). A seal can be made of metal or coral (Kelim 13:6), and is used like a key to lock things up (Tohoroth 7:7). The Mishnah also uses the word in a metaphorical sense, e.g. Sanhedrin 4:5, "Man stamps many coins with one seal and they are all like one another; but the King of Kings, the Holy One, blessed is he, has stamped every man with the seal of the first man, yet not one is like his fellow" (Sanhedrin 4:5; → Image).

Sealing often occurs in the sense of signing, especially in the tractate Gittin (1:1, 3, *et passim*), where two witnesses are said to "seal" a bill of → divorce. → Circumcision

can be called the seal of the holy → covenant (T. J. Ber. 9:3) or the seal of → Abraham (Exod. R. 19:5), since he was the first to receive this sign (Gen. 17:11). The noun and the vb. occur only infrequently in the Qumran texts. CD 5:2 refers to the sealed book of the law, and 1QH 8:11 to the seal of the secret of the holy shoot, i.e. its secret is inscrutable.

NT The noun *sphragis* and the vbs. occur 32 times in the NT (22 times in Rev. alone). The other occurrences are divided between the Pauline writings (6), Jn. (2), Matt. (1) and 2 Tim. (1).

1. *The Literal Use of these Words.* (a) Twice *sphragizō* is used of actual physical sealing: the stone before Jesus' grave (Matt. 27:66; cf. Dan. 6:18) and the pit into which the devil is thrown (Rev. 20:3) are both sealed. In both cases this is done to prevent the one enclosed within from leading men astray (Matt. 27:63 f.; Rev. 20:3).

(b) In Rom. 15:28 Paul says that he is "sealing" the collections from Macedonia and Achaia for the Jerusalem church. Here he is either wanting to say that he has "sealed" the collections as one seals a purse (cf. Tob. 9:5; Job 14:17) so that the contents may be kept safe, or that he has finished the collections (→ Poor, art. *ptōchos* NT 4).

2. *The Figurative Use.* (a) Jn. uses *sphragizō*, to seal, in the sense of confirm, authenticate. He who receives God's witness thus affirms that God is true (Jn. 3:33). Jn. 6:27 says that God has put his seal upon the Son of man. By doing so he attests that the eternal food that the Son of man gives is the true food and not perishable; by his seal he authenticates the Son of man's work. Perhaps Jn. is here thinking of → baptism as a sealing (cf. (b)). Others think that this seal is the miracle of the feeding of the five thousand (6:1 ff.). or the testimony of Holy Scripture (5:39).

When Paul in 1 Cor. 9:2 calls the Corinthian community the seal of his apostleship, he means that the existence of this community in the world confirms the legitimacy of his apostolic authority and that they are at the same time his letters of recommendation (cf. 2 Cor. 3:1–3; → Book, art. *epistolē*).

(b) Three times Paul connects "sealing" with the Holy → Spirit. This sealing, as he sees it, is symbolized by → baptism (aor.) which he associates with the gift of the Spirit (1 Cor. 6:11; 12:13; cf. Acts 2:38; 10:47). While Eph. 1:13 relates "being sealed" with or in the Holy Spirit (cf. Eph. 4:30) to the whole baptismal event, 2 Cor. 1:21 f. looks on baptism as an anointing in Christ and associates it with the receiving of the pledge of the Spirit (→ Gift, art. *arrabōn*). As Christ was anointed with the Spirit at his baptism (cf. Lk. 3:22; 4:18; Acts 10:37 f.; → Anoint, art. *chriō*), so also are believers at theirs. The Spirit is a pledge until the day of redemption (Eph. 1:14; 2 Cor. 1:22; cf. 5:5). In sealing believers with his Spirit, God makes them his own possession (cf. above OT). On the relation of → faith to baptism → the various articles under Baptism.

It is not certain whether Paul used the word "seal" in Rom. 4:11 in connexion with → Abraham's → circumcision, because he thought of baptism as a "seal" (cf. Col. 2:11 f. which mentions a circumcision which is not performed by hand, which comes through Christ). This idea first became explicit at a later stage (e.g. 2 Clem. 7:6; 8:6; Hermas, *Sim.* 8, 6, 3). Rom. 4:11 is most readily intelligible, if it means that by the seal of circumcision God confirms that Abraham was justified even before God made his covenant with him (Gen. 17:10 ff.), a covenant whose sign is circumcision.

So circumcision would here represent God's confirmatory sign (cf. 2 (a)).

(c) That difficult passage, 2 Tim. 2:19, speaks of a firm foundation which is fixed (cf. Isa. 28:16) and bears a seal: "But God's firm foundation stands, bearing this seal: 'The Lord knows those who are his,' and, 'Let every one who names the name of the Lord depart from iniquity.' " The word "seal" here means the impress of the seal, the inscription on it (cf. Exod. 28:36). The question is what is meant by the foundation upon which this mark is stamped: is it Christ (cf. 1 Cor. 3:10 ff.), the church (cf. 1 Tim. 3:15), the apostolic witness (cf. Eph. 2:20), or the truth in contrast to that which is taught by the false teachers (vv. 15, 18)? Through his seal God guarantees the firmness of the foundation, for he knows his own and does not tolerate unrighteousness. The two inscriptions probably depend on Num. 16:5 LXX, but M. Dibelius and H. Conzelmann, think that this is a quotation from early Christian poetry influenced by the Gk. OT (*The Pastoral Epistles*, *Hermeneia*, 1972, 112).

3. *The use of these Words in Revelation.* (a) The sealing of words and its absence. In Rev. 22:10 the seer is forbidden to seal the words of the prophecy; he is not to keep them secret since the time of their fulfilment is near (cf. the opposite in Dan. 12:4).

On the other hand, Rev. 10:4 reads: "Seal up that which the seven thunders have spoken; do not write it down." This reflects the idea that that which is sealed up is hidden (cf. Isa. 29:11). The message of the thunders which ushers in the beginning of the final judgment was only for the seer's ears and should not be communicated by him to anyone else (→ Revelation; → Hide).

(b) The book with the seven seals. Rev. 5:1 tells us how Jn. saw in the right hand of him who sat on the heavenly throne a scroll written on both sides which had seven seals. No one but the → Lamb could open it (5:2–10). The contents of the scroll (and also, according to E. Lohmeyer, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, *HNT* 16, 1970 ³, ad loc., the events which Rev. goes on to describe) are so voluminous that they cover both sides of it (cf. Ezek. 2:9 f.). But it is still secret, even for the seer (cf. Dan. 12:4, 9). The number seven recalls the Roman custom of sealing wills with 7 seals, but it is more likely to be derived from the use of this number in Rev. itself (→ Number, art. *hepta*).

It is difficult to guess what the scroll looked like, since a part of the final cataclysm is revealed with the opening of each individual seal (Rev. 6:1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 12; 8:1), despite the fact that the contents of ancient documents were disclosed only after the opening of all the seals. But the writer is not interested in this idea itself, but in emphasizing that only the Lamb is worthy of setting the final events in motion.

(c) The sealing of believers. Finally Rev. 7:10 ff. refers to the "seal of the living God" which is imprinted on the foreheads of believers before the four angels of judgment are allowed to set to work. These are to protect them from the judgment that is coming upon the world (Rev. 9:4; cf. Ezek. 9:4; Pss. Sol. 15:6 ff.; cf. OT above). The seal is here a sign of ownership and hence also of the one that protects; God keeps his own from the judgment. The fact that 12,000 of each tribe, i.e. 12 x 12,000, receive the seal means that the whole of God's people are spared from the judgment (→ Number, art. *chilias*). The imprinting of the seal which bears God's → name (cf. Rev. 14:1; 22:4) will distinguish believers from those who bear the "mark of the beast" on their hands and foreheads (13:16 f.; 14:9, 11, etc.; → Animal, art. *thērion*). God's sign protects one from judgment; the mark of the beast brings it upon one

(9:4; 14:9 ff.). It is easy to discern here a word of consolation to a community which is living through the trials of persecution; it tells them of God's protection.

R. Schippers

(a). D. Diringer, "Seals". in D. W. Thomas, ed., *Documents from Old Testament Times*, 1969, 219–26; G. Fitzer, *sphragis* etc., *TDNT* VII 939–53; F. B. Huey, Jr., "Seals", *ZPEB* V 319–24; J. Michl, "Seal", *EBT* III 827 ff.; G. W. H. Lampe, *The Seal of the Spirit: A Study of Baptism and Confirmation in the New Testament and the Fathers*, 1967 [2]; W. M. F. Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders*, 1917; A. Reifenberg, *Ancient Hebrew Seals*, 1950; and "Hebrew Seals and Stamps", *Israel Exploration Journal* 4, 1954, 139–42; G. M. A. Richter, *The Engraved Gems of the Greeks and the Etruscans and the Romans*, I, 1968; O. Tufnell, "Seals and Scarabs", *IDB* IV 254–59; W. H. Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, 1910; D. J. Wiseman, *Cylinder Seals of Western Asia*, 1958; Y. Yadin, ed., *Hazor I: An Account of the First Season of Excavations, 1955*, 1958; and *Hazor II: An Account of the Second Season of Excavations, 1956*, 1960; J. Ysebaert, *Greek Baptismal Terminology: Its Origins and Early Development, Graecitas Christianorum Primaeva* 1, 1962.

(b). N. Avigad, *ḥōṯām*, *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, III, 1958, 68–86; J. Diehl, *Sphragis. Eine semasiologische Nachlese*, (Dissertation, Giessen) 1938; E. Dinkler, "Die Taufterminonologie in 2 Kor. i, 21 f.", in *Neotestamentica et Patristica. Eine Freundesgabe Herrn Professor Dr. Oscar Cullmann, Supplements to NovT* 6, 1962, 173–91 (reprinted in *Signum Crucis*, 1967, 99 f.); F. Dölger, *Sphragis*, 1911; K. Galling, "Beschriftete Bildsiegel des ersten Jahrtausends v. Chr. vornehmlich aus Syrien und Palästina", *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 64, 1941, 121–202; and "Siegel", *RGG* [3] VI 27 f.; W. Heitmüller, *sphragis*, in *Neutestamentliche Studien G. Heinrici dargebracht*, 1914, 40–59; W. Michaelis, "Zeichen, Siegel, Kreuz. Ein Ausschnitt aus der Bedeutungsgeschichte biblischer Begriffe", *ThZ* 12, 1956, 505–25; S. Moscati, "I Sigilli nell' Antico Testamento", *Biblica* 30, 1949, 314–38; L. Wenger, "signum", Pauly-Wissowa Series 2, II 2361–2448; and *Die Quellen des römischen Rechts*, 1953, 45–9.

Secret, Mystery

μυστήριον

μυστήριον (*mystērion*), mystery, secret; μυέω (*myeō*), initiate, instruct.

CL 1. *mystērion*, found from the time of the Tragic Poets onwards, comes from *myō*, to shut (the mouth), and means that which must not or cannot be said. The plur. is almost exclusively a technical term for festivals such as those which took place in Eleusis from the 17th cent. B.C. and were widespread during the Hellenistic period and especially in Christian times as the mysteries associated with Isis, Attis, Mithras etc. The mystery celebration gave a ceremonial and dramatic representation of the deity suffering and overcoming death, and the initiated attained salvation (*sōtēria*; → Redemption, art. *sōzō*) and deification by sharing in the deity's fortunes through sacramental acts such as baptism, cultic feasts, and ceremonies of death and resurrection (→ Baptism, art. *baptizō* NT 7; cf. G. Wagner, *Pauline Baptism and the Pagan Mysteries*, 1967). The cultic acts and symbols were kept strictly secret.

2. *myeō* meant originally to initiate (into the mysteries), and then (as in NT Gk.) took on the meaning of to instruct, to teach.

3. As early as Plato, ideas and terms from the mystery cults were being transferred to philosophy: He describes the path of knowledge for immutable being as the path of true initiation (cf. *Theaet.* 156a; *Gorgias* 497c). In later mystic philosophy, especially in Neoplatonism, *mystērion* is that which by its very nature

cannot be put into words. Mystic speech is the very negation of speech (*TDNT* IV 809).

In gnosticism (→ Knowledge) the *mystēria* become secret revelations granted only to the "perfect" (*teleioi*) with a view to the redemption of their souls.

OT 1. (a) In the LXX *mystērion* occurs only in later writings, i.e. those belonging to the Hellenistic period; the same is true of *apokalypsis*, → revelation, in its theological sense of the revelation of a mystery. The OT is very slow to abandon the idea that God's words and deeds in history (Heb. *dāḇār*; → word) are manifest in the sense that they take place before the eyes of the whole world. Numerous passages demonstrate this. God does not speak in secret (Isa. 45:19; 48:16). Amos 3:7 f. goes so far as to contradict the later concept of "mystery" or "secret" (Heb. *sôḏ*): "Surely the Lord GOD does nothing, without revealing his secret to his servants the prophets."

(b) When it occurs later in the LXX, mystery terminology frequently refers to heathen cults (Wis. 12:5; 14:23; 3 Macc. 2:30 and passim). On the other hand, in passages such as Wis. 2:22; 6:22; 8:4 the way to divine → wisdom is described approvingly in terms of the mysteries. But even here (Wis. 6:22) the authentic OT note is still sounded in that the way of wisdom is faithfully and uncompromisingly set forth.

In writings other than Wis. and Dan., *mystērion* occurs with profane meanings such as the secret plans of a political leader (Tob. 12:7; Jud. 2:2), military secrets (2 Macc. 13:21), or secrets shared among friends (Sir. 22:22; 27:16 f., 21).

2. *mystērion* always renders the Heb. *sôḏ*, confidential speech, secret, except in Dan. where it occurs most frequently and corresponds to the Aram. *rāz*. Dan. uses the word in a very definite theological sense, that of "eschatological secret", the vision of what God has decreed shall take place in the future (Dan. 2:28). When given in the form of a → dream, it can be interpreted only by a Spirit-inspired seer (4:6, 18), for the revelation of mysteries belongs to God alone (2:28 f.).

In this way Dan. serves as a transition to the special use of the term in late Jewish apocalyptic, where the *mystēria* are used in the one sense of eschatological events: the judgment and punishment of sinners (Eth. Enoch 38:3), the reward of the righteous (Eth. Enoch 103: 2 ff.) and the cosmic upheaval at the dénouement of world history (Eth. Enoch 83:7). Future events, in so far as they belong to the divine decrees, are present realities in the heavenly sphere, and are revealed in vision to the apocalyptic seer (Heb. Enoch 71:3 f.). He knows even now about "the approach of the ages" (Syr. Bar. 81:4), and what must, of divine necessity, come to pass in the last days (*TDNT* IV 816). But what he beholds remains a secret in that he may pass it on only in symbolic, oracular language (Eth. Enoch 68:1: "signs of all secrets") and for the exclusive benefit of a given circle of initiates (2 Esd. 12:36 ff.).

3. (a) In rabbinic literature there are also references to "secrets" in connexion with the interpretation of the written and oral tradition. The secrets of the Torah seek to reveal the inner workings of the Lawgiver's mind, and, being also "the secrets of creation", to throw light on his purposes for the world (Heb. Enoch 11:1). Such secrets are part of an esoteric scheme of doctrine reminiscent of gnosticism. The esoteric interpretation of Gen. 1:1 ff. and of Ezek. 1:1 f. is a work of daring (cf. *Ḥagigah* 2, 1; J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, 1969, 237; H. Bietenhard,

Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und im Spätjudentum, *WUNT* 2, 1951, 86 ff.).

(b) In the true apocalyptic tradition the Qumran texts speak of the secrets which God has prepared for men (frequently in stereotyped association with *pele'*, wonder, miracle; wondrous, miraculous), no distinction in meaning being drawn between *sôḏ* and *rāz* (cf. 1QH4 27f.). The "wondrous secrets" are God's decrees, according to which, in strictly dualistic and predestinarian fashion, he has set apart one section of mankind, the sons of righteousness, for the way of light (1QS 3:20), and the other section, the sons of evil, for the way of darkness (1QS 3:21). Individuals (the Teacher of Righteousness?) are set to be "a banner and a discerning interpreter of wonderful mysteries, to try [those who practise] truth" (1QH 2:13 f.). The secrets give information about God's purposes for the world from its very beginning right through to its end: about his creation (1QH 1:9 ff; 1QS 3:15), his deeds in history (1QH 4:29), and about cultic arrangements, interpreted along the lines of Qumran observance (CD 3:14 ff.). All this is arrived at through a kind of spiritual exegesis of the written tradition, with correction and reinterpretation of existing prophecies (1QpHab 7:7 f.). In addition there are revelations regarding the time of visitation (1QS 3:21 f.) and the final conflict of the sons of light with the sons of darkness (1QM 14:14 ff.).

NT In the NT *mystērion* is comparatively rare, occurring only some 27 times. It is significant that it is found most frequently (20 times) in Paul (5 times in 1 Cor; 6 times in Eph.; 4 times in Col.; twice in Rom. and 1 Tim. and once in 2 Thess.), since it is here that the mystery cults and gnosticism are directly dealt with. The word occurs once each in Matt., Mk. and Lk. and, as one would expect, is found also in Rev. (4 times). Its complete absence from the Gospel of Jn. is striking. Perhaps the reason lies in John's christology.

1. Mk. 4:11 (par. Matt. 13:11, Lk. 8:10) with its picture of harvest, i.e. the appearing of the kingdom of God, touches on a matter close to the heart of apocalyptic. Mk., however, sees God's kingdom as having already arrived in Christ. The meaning of the parables (note the plur. in v. 11), i.e. that of Christ's teaching as a whole, has to do with his way to the → cross. Only this will usher God's → kingdom into the world. One of the ideas basic to Mk.'s Gospel (W. Wrede calls it the messianic secret) is that neither the people nor the disciples realized that this way to the cross was according to the will of God (cf. 3:35), even though the Twelve received clear teaching on the matter (4:11; 8:17; cf. on the other hand Matt. 13:51; → Parable, art. *parabolē*). The first man to confess the truth was the heathen soldier at the foot of the cross: "Truly, this man was the Son of God!" (15:39). Only the evil spirits knew from the beginning that the turning point of the ages had come (1:24). On the question of the messianic secret see the note appended to this article.

Matt. and Lk. abandon this strict adherence to the idea that Christ's way to the cross remained a mystery, and speak of the secrets which it is given to the disciples to know (Matt. 13:11; Lk. 8:10). The plur. here indicates that the decrees of God concerning Christ and his church, latent in the Scriptures of the OT but now explainable to the disciples, are at last being fulfilled (cf. the frequent references to the fulfilment of OT prophecies: Matt. 2:17, 23; 3:3 and passim; Lk. 24:26 and passim). According to Lk., Christ's way of suffering, and that of his church, are a matter of

divine → necessity (Lk. 24:26; art. *dei*) and will issue in the glory of heaven (cf. Lk. 23:43; Acts 7:55).

2. The mystery with which Paul firmly confronts his opponents in 1 Cor. is that of the → cross of Christ, revealing as it does God's redemptive decree for the world. Paul is concerned to set before men Jesus Christ only, and him crucified (1 Cor. 2:2; cf. 1:23). This is the essence of "the mystery of God" (2:1; a well-attested *v.l.*). Although the apostle uses "mystery" terminology (*teleioi*, "perfect", 2:6; *en mystēriō*, "in a mystery", 2:7; *psychikos* "physical"/*pneumatikos*, "spiritual", 2:14, 15), he interprets this "mystery" in an entirely apocalyptic manner. Before the beginning of → time God in his wisdom predestinated the cross of Christ to our glory, i.e. with a view to our glorification at the end of time (2:7; → Determine, art. *horizō*; cf. Rom. 16:25). That which has already been prepared in heaven and promised in OT prophecy, has now taken place in time and history (1 Cor. 1:19 quotes Isa. 29:14; 2:9 quotes Isa. 64:3). The rulers of this age have not known the secret of the divine decree (2:6); but he who, enlightened by the → Spirit (2:12), now acknowledges it in humble submission. He is left speechless before its unfathomable depth (1:23; 2:3). His grasp of it is sufficient to bind him irresistibly to its service for life (9:16) and to rule out all boasting of self (1:31; 3:21).

Only thus, in weakness and humility, are the → apostles, as servants of the crucified Christ, stewards of the mysteries of God (4:1; → House, art. *oikos*). They submit to the plan (*oikonomia*) of God (Eph. 3:8). Their sole ground of boasting is that, in spite of all their weakness and insufficiency, he can still use them as instruments of his grace (1 Cor. 1:26 f.; 2 Cor. 1:12).

3. Practically wherever it occurs in the NT *mystērion* is found with vbs. denoting → revelation or → proclamation, i.e. *mystērion* is that which is revealed (cf. *TDNT* IV 819). It is a present-day secret, not some isolated fact from the past which merely needs to be noted, but something dynamic and compelling.

This is vividly expressed in Col. By his office the apostle "fulfils" (Col. 1:26) "the mystery of Christ" (4:3), i.e. by bearing in his own body that which is still lacking in the afflictions of Christ (1:24), he gives practical expression to the "mystery" and carries it on towards its final consummation. The riches of the mystery (1:27) are summed up as *Christos en hymin*, "Christ in you", i.e. the world-wide church with Christ as its → head, having reconciled the whole universe and the whole of mankind through his death (1:18, 20). This was concealed from earlier generations (1:26), but now men specially set apart are entrusted with the task of proclaiming it to all (1:28), that as perfect men (*teleioi*) all may share in the power of the first-born from the dead (1:18) and be incorporated into his resurrection body (1:28).

In Eph. too the mystery of Christ is essentially the fact that through Christ the Gentiles have been given access to the Father of all creation (Eph. 3:15; cf. 2:18). They are members of the world-wide church of Jew and Gentile, described figuratively in Eph. 2:20 f. as a building whose head or corner-stone is the pivot of all creation (→ Rock). This was God's will before time began (3:9; cf. 1:9) and was all part of his great purpose (3:6). It was kept secret from men in the past, but now, since the time is fulfilled (1:10), God has made known his will to those who proclaim the gospel (3:8), that through them his purpose may come to fulfilment (1:9 f.). The gospel is spreading throughout the whole world but is meeting with much opposition on the way, so at the close of the first section of the epistle Paul has every reason for

urging his readers to exercise patience (3:13) and for recording his own intercession on their behalf (3:14 ff.).

The only other christological passage is 1 Tim. 3:9, 16, where the *mystērion tēs pisteōs* ("mystery of the faith") and the *tēs eusebeias mystērion* ("mystery of [our] religion") both refer to the confession of Christ and his redeeming work, i.e. *mystērion* here is a paraphrase for a formulated confession of faith (on this hymn 3:16; → Revelation, art. *epiphaneia* 5 (c)).

4. The same divine economy which directs the course of history towards its predestined goal also concerns itself with the destiny of → Israel. The apostle uses a strong negative (*mē genoito*, "by no means!") in Rom. 11:1 to counter the suggestion that God has cast off his people, even though their hardness of heart might lend colour to the idea. Against all the dictates of reason and experience (Rom. 11:9 f., 25a), he unfolds the secret of the final acceptance of the chosen people. Israel has been stricken with blindness only for a limited period, in order that the gospel may have free course among the Gentiles and that their → fullness (art. *plēroō*) may come in (11:25). Believing Gentiles, knowing that they are now God's elect people, are to respond not with pride or arrogance but with reverent, adoring fear (11:20). They are also to be humbled by the fact that the Jews who at present are hard of heart will one day be saved. Truly the mystery of free → grace is unfathomable and unsurpassable (11:33 ff.)!

5. (a) In 1 Cor. 14 Paul warns against too high an estimation of speaking with tongues (→ Word, art. *glōssa*). In his judgment it is subordinate to preaching, for to outsiders it is not intelligible of itself and does not serve to build up the church (14:2, 16). The mysteries uttered in ecstatic, unintelligible sounds need to be interpreted (14:13), and in any case no such ecstatic experience of divine mysteries can bear comparison with love (13:2).

1 Cor. 15:51 is written in the light of the imminence of Christ's parousia (→ Present, art. *The Parousia and Eschatology in the NT*). Paul tells the Corinthians the apocalyptic mystery the imminent day of → resurrection will dawn, when all those still living will be changed.

(b) In Eph. 5:32 *mystērion* refers to the allegorical sense of a verse of Scripture, Gen. 2:24 being interpreted as referring to the relationship between Christ and his church. The apostle's phrase *egō de legō eis* ("I take it to mean" RSV) is intended to exclude any other possible interpretations.

(c) 2 Thess. 2:7 bears an apocalyptic stamp, the context dealing with the events which are to precede the parousia. Before Christ returns, there will come a period of apostasy, in which the *anthrōpos tēs anomias* ("man of lawlessness"; → Antichrist) will gain the upper hand (2:3 f.). At present there is a power which hinders (*katechōn*) his appearing, but already the mystery of *anomia* ("lawlessness") is abroad and the day of Antichrist is dawning (2:7).

(d) In Rev. the *mystēria* similarly refer to apocalyptic events which, occurring in a time of distress, will precede the return of the Lord. The mysteries are presented in the form of OT symbols and metaphors which require interpretation. But God reveals them to his church through the mouth of the → prophets (10:7) and through the seer (17:7; cf. 1:19). The victory is his (18:2; 19:6), and this knowledge serves to comfort his church as it passes through severe affliction and persecution.

Rev. 1:20 introduces the seven letters by a reference to the "mystery" of the seven

churches and their angels. As the mystery is unfolded they are enlightened as to their true standing in the eyes of God, who sees through all pretence of virtue and goodness, and they are exhorted to repent. *G. Finkenrath*

The Messianic Secret

Jesus' injunctions to secrecy have been the subject of intense debate among students of the Gospels throughout the twentieth century. The controversy was initiated by William Wrede in his book *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien* (1901; ET *The Messianic Secret*, 1971). Wrede argued that the picture of Jesus presented by the Gospel of Mark portrays him as one who is deeply concerned to veil his mission, and the disciples are made to appear as recipients of revelations by him which they do not understand. However, the resurrection ends Jesus' self-concealment, and the disciples are given the commission to proclaim Jesus as messiah to the world. What was novel about Wrede's thesis was the contention that this picture of Jesus was not based on the Jesus of history; it was the product of the theological reflection of the early church. For Jesus did not think of himself as the messiah in this way; it was only after the resurrection that the church thought of this. The church, therefore, had to explain why Jesus did not speak openly about his messiahship. Wrede's reply was that the church put out the story that Jesus had indeed told the disciples of his messiahship, but that he had done it secretly and at the same time had forbidden them to tell people about it. The picture of Jesus presented by Mark is, therefore, not strictly a piece of historical reporting; it is a theological interpretation, the product of the reflection of the early church on its own Easter faith.

Albert Schweitzer concluded his survey of *The Quest of the Historical Jesus* (1910) with a discussion of Wrede. He saw Wrede's position as one of "thoroughgoing scepticism" which he contrasted with his own "thorough-going eschatology" (on Schweitzer → Present, art. *The Parousia and Eschatology in the NT* 1 (a)). Subsequent discussions of this subject include the introduction to *The Messianic Secret* by J. C. G. Greig, op. cit., vii–xxi; E. Sjöberg, *Der verborgene Menschensohn in den Evangelien*, 1955; P. W. Meyer, "The Problem of the Messianic Selfconsciousness of Jesus", *NovT* 4, 1960, 122–38; N. Perrin, "The Wredestrasse becomes the Hauptstrasse", *JR* 46, 1966, 296–300; G. Minette de Tilesse, *Le Secret Méssianique dans l'Evangile de Marc*, 1968; B. G. Powley, "The Purpose of the Messianic Secret: A Brief Survey", *ExpT* 80, 1968–69, 308 ff.; D. Aune, "The Problem of the Messianic Secret", *NovT* 11, 1969, 1–31; R. N. Longenecker, "The Messianic Secret in the Light of Recent Discoveries", *EQ* 41, 1969, 207–15; J. D. G. Dunn, "The Messianic Secret in Mark", *TB* 21, 1970, 92–117 (summarized in "The Messianic Secret in Mark", *TSF Bulletin* 69, 1974, 7–14). The following note is much indebted to Dunn's researches.

A focal point in Mk.'s Gospel and also in Wrede's thesis is Peter's confession of Christ, followed by the → transfiguration and the injunction: "And as they were coming down the mountain, he charged them to tell no one what they had seen, until the Son of man should have risen from the dead" (Mk. 9:9; cf. 8:30; and Wrede, op. cit., 13 ff., 252 ff.). This, Wrede claims, is not historical but the theological invention of the early church. It is further supported by the silence enjoined by Jesus on the messianic confessions of the demons (Mk. 1:23 ff., 34; 3:11 f.; cf. 5:6 f.; 9:20) and the healings (Mk. 1:43 ff.; 5:43; 7:36; 8:26), Jesus' intention to remain hidden (Mk.

7:24; 9:30 f.), and the command of the crowd to blind Bartimaeus to remain silent (Mk. 10:47 f.). Moreover, Jesus' teaching was directed to his followers for their private illumination and not the crowds (Mk. 4:34; 7:17–23; 8:31; 9:28 f., 31; 10:32 ff.; 13:3 ff.). It also accords with Jesus' method of teaching in → parables, as he explained to the disciples: "To you has been given the secret of the kingdom of God, but for those outside everything is in parables; so that they may indeed see but not perceive, and may indeed hear but not understand, lest they should turn again and be forgiven" (Mk. 4:11 f.). Dunn notes three main strands in Wrede's argument: (a) the motif in Mk. concerning the messianic secret; (b) the argument that certain elements in this motif are unhistorical, e.g. the exorcisms, which leads to the conclusion that the whole motif is the construction of Christian theology; and (c) as the *raison d'être* the complementary argument that belief in Jesus as the messiah was the product of the church's Easter faith, and thus that the messianic secret is an attempt to read back Jesus' messiahship into the life of Jesus.

(a) In reply to the first of these three strands Dunn contends that Wrede has narrowed too much the scope of the secrecy motif. In none of Mk.'s accounts of the miracles did any spectator conclude that Jesus was the messiah (cf. the healing of the paralytic in ch. 2 and the man with the withered arm in ch. 3). The people of Nazareth saw only the carpenter (Mk. 6:1–6). Herod thought that Jesus was John the Baptist, Elijah or a prophet (Mk. 6:14 f.; cf. 8:28). The Pharisees attributed his works not to the → Spirit but to Beelzebul (Mk. 3:22; → Satan). Moreover, the only person healed by Jesus who hailed him in messianic terms was not silenced by Jesus (Mk. 10:46 ff.). Dunn suggests that Jesus' injunctions to silence were motivated by a variety of reasons, including concern for the individual being healed (Mk. 1:44; 5:40; 7:33; 8:22, 26; 9:25), a desire to discourage misleading ideas, and perhaps a strong sense that his destiny was completely in the hands of God.

Whilst the → kingdom is bound up with the status and ministry of Jesus, the purpose of the parables is wider than the messianic secret (cf. Mk. 4:11, 34). To those outside everything is taught in parables. The parable in Mk. 7:17 concerns not messiahship but inward cleanliness. Moreover, if Mk. 4:11 (which implies the illumination of the disciples) is interpreted in the light of the messianic secret, it stands in conflict with the incomprehension of the disciples of the messianic secret in Mk. 9:32. The disciples show their incomprehension about other matters, such as Jesus' teaching on marriage and divorce (Mk. 10:10). Dunn comments: "Bearing in mind this diversity in the situations which demonstrate the disciples' obtuseness, it is more plausible to recognize in the motif a historical reminiscence of the very natural and unexceptional slowness of unlettered men whose rigid and closed system of thought made it difficult for them to adjust to new teaching. It was not simply the difficulty of coping with new information, but the impossibility of trying to assimilate that new information into a system of thought and reference which had no place for such information. . . . This then is my first criticism of Wrede's thesis: that it fails to do justice to the full scope of the secrecy motif in Mark. The secrecy motif is more complicated than Wrede allowed. And since those passages which give his thesis credibility are only part of a larger whole, it suggests that there is more to Mark's picture of Jesus at this point than the hypothesis of the *Messianic* secret allows – a 'more' which puts a question mark against that hypothesis" (*TB* 21, 96, 98).

(b) Counterbalancing the *secret* motif in Mk., there is what might be called the

publicity motif. After the first exorcism "his reputation spread everywhere through all the surrounding Galilean countryside" (Mk. 1:28). Following the healing of the leper people came from all around (Mk. 1:45). Other instances may be found in Mk. 3:20; 5:19 f.; 6:2 f., 14 ff., 31; 7:24; 8:28. Although the crowd rebuked Bartimaeus, Jesus did not do so when he called him the son of David (Mk. 10:46 ff.; cf. 12:35 ff.). Although secrecy and privacy are attached to some healings (Mk. 5:37 ff.; 7:31–37; 8:22–26), Jesus healed in full view the paralytic, the man with the withered arm and Bartimaeus (Mk. 2:12; 3:3 ff.; 10:52). Despite the injunction to silence, Mk. records how the news of Jesus' actions was broadcast far and wide (Mk. 1:25–28, 43 ff.; 7:36 f.). Summing up this aspect of Mk., Dunn comments: "If the Messianic secret motif was added to explain why Jesus was not recognized as Messiah, and part of that motif is the command to demons and men not to tell of their cures, I am at a loss to understand what Mark was trying to achieve by adding or at least retaining the publicity sequel. For the whole point of these passages is that the secret commanded was *not* kept. The commands to silence failed, and the so-called attempt to keep His Messiahship secret also failed. If the Messianic secret was a Markan theory, then these publicity passages are the *reductio ad absurdum* of that theory. This publicity motif may not simply be dismissed as though it left the theory of the Messianic secret unaffected. On the contrary, it shows that at most we can speak of a Messianic *misunderstanding*, but hardly of a Messianic *secret*" (*TB* 21, 1970, 100).

In addition to the publicity which surrounded Jesus' exorcisms and healings, Mk. draws attention to the dimensions of revelation which are intrinsic to Jesus' ministry: his claim to be able to forgive sins (Mk. 2:10), to have a mission to call sinners (Mk. 2:17), to be Lord of the → sabbath (Mk. 2:28), to be the one who binds the strong man (Mk. 3:27); that loyalty to him will be the criterion in the judgment (Mk. 8:38); his teaching about the true nature of messiahship (Mk. 8:31 ff.; 9:31 f.; 10:32 ff., 45; 14:22–25); the way in which Jesus brings God's mystery to men (Mk. 4:34; 7:17–23; 8:15–21, 27–33; 9:30 ff.; 10:32 ff.; cf. 5:37; 9:2; 13:3 f.). In Mk. 12:12 the priests and lawyers recognize that Jesus' teaching about the stone which the builders rejected was directed against them (→ Rock). The centurion confesses that Jesus was a (or even the) Son of God (Mk. 15:39).

(c) Wrede maintained that Jesus did not think of himself as the messiah, and that the idea was the product of the theological reflection of the early church. But there are incidents in Mk. which cannot be explained away and which show not only that Jesus thought of himself in these terms but that others also thought of him in this way.

Commenting on the feeding of the five thousand (Mk. 6:30–44; cf. 8:1–21), J. C. O'Neill draws attention to its possible significance to contemporaries: "We may suppose that some extraordinary event will lie behind such a miraculous narrative . . . it remains true that if Jesus did preside at a communal meal in the desert places of Galilee and Judaea, this would have a peculiar significance to his contemporaries. They would perhaps remember that Moses by praying to God was able to feed the people with manna and quail in the desert; they would perhaps be reminded of the promise that the desert would again be fruitful; and they would think of the shepherd King as they were given food in the barren places (cf. Pss. of Sol. xvii. 45). The Qumran desert community placed great emphasis on communal meals, and looked forward to the time when the Messiah of Aaron would preside and the Messiah of

Israel, whom God had begotten among them, would come (IQSa ii. 11–22)" ("The Silence of Jesus", *NTS* 15, 1968–69, 163 f.). Dunn relates the hurried departure of Jesus following the feeding to Jn. 6:14 f., and interprets it as an attempt by Jesus to forestall the messianic enthusiasm of the crowd who want to make Jesus king by acclamation (op. cit., 102). He also sees Jesus' resorting to prayer (Mk. 6:46; cf. 1:35, 38; 14:35 f.) as an expression of Jesus' awareness of his messiahship and the need to fulfil it in accordance with the Father's will and not that of the people.

Peter's confession of Christ (Mk. 8:27–30) has obvious messianic implications. Clearly, advocates of Wrede's thesis need to explain it away as unhistorical, for the event implies conscious acceptance of messiahship both by Jesus himself and by Peter as the spokesman for the disciples. But there are strong indications within the account which favour its historicity (cf. Dunn, op. cit., 103–6). It is located in the region of Caesarea Philippi. None of the traditional resurrection appearances took place so far north, which suggests that it is unlikely to be a post-resurrection story which somehow got transferred to the earthly ministry of Jesus. The use of the title Christ is messianic (→ Jesus Christ, art. *Christos*). Its use by a disciple is unique. At the same time the disciple is addressed as → Satan, an event which would be highly improbable, if it had not actually happened. The insertion of the words *kai idōn tous mathētas autou* ("and seeing his disciples", v. 33) may well suggest an authentic reminiscence. In v. 31 Mk. records how Jesus "began to teach [*ērxato didaskein*]", which is not a normal Marcan Semitism but an indication of the particular point in his ministry when, for the first time, a repeated teaching is given (cf. W. Grundmann, *Das Evangelium nach Markus, Theologischer Handkommentar zum Neuen Testament* 3, 1959 [2], 167).

A third incident which has the stamp of authenticity and which has clear messianic implication is Jesus' triumphal entry into Jerusalem on the first Palm Sunday (Mk. 11:1–11; cf. Zech. 9:9). This was clearly pre-Easter, and the cries of Hosanna reinforce the messianic connotation (→ Amen, art. *hōsanna*).

All four Gospels record how Jesus at his trial was found guilty of claiming to be King of the Jews (Matt. 27:37; Mk. 15:26; Lk. 23:38; Jn. 19:19). The title is repeated in Mk. 15:2, 9, 12, 26, 32. Alongside of this are Jesus' sayings about the → temple (Mk. 14:58; 15:29; Matt. 26:61; 27:40; Jn. 2:19; Acts 6:14). The building of the temple belonged to the messianic age (Eth. Enoch 90:29; 2 Esd. 9:38–10:27; cf. Ezek. 40–48; Jub. 1:17, 27 f.; 2 Sam. 7:12 ff.). The messianic implication of Jesus' sayings about the temple was seized upon by the high priest at Jesus' trial, when he asked; "Are you the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?" (Mk. 15:61). Mk. records the reply: "And Jesus said, 'I am; and you will see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of Power, and coming with the clouds of heaven' " (v. 62).

If these events are historical, and there are good grounds for thinking that they are, their messianic associations are not the product of post-resurrection theology but are intrinsic to the events themselves. The account of the feeding of the five thousand shows that in Galilee at least there was a popular, political, messianic conception. Jesus did not respond to it – not because he was not conscious of his messiahship – but because he wished to avoid the wrong kind of messiahship. Similarly, he reacted to Peter's advice at Caesarea Philippi, not because he was not the messiah but because Peter had false notions of messiahship. The entry into Jerusalem was an enacted parable concerning the nature of Jesus' messiahship. This

explains why the political overtones are absent. The prophecy of Zech. 9:9 is not directly referred to. The king comes to his capital, not as the leader of an uprising but as one who seeks peace. Similarly, there are messianic overtones at the trial of Jesus, but at the same time Jesus avoids political connotations. He replied to the question of the high priest: *sy eipas hoti egō eimi* (lit. "You say that I am"). Dunn is inclined to favour this longer version, and paraphrases it: "You could put it that way" (op. cit., 111).

Jesus firmly believed himself to be the messiah, but sought to avoid misconceptions, and this is the reason why so often he enjoined silence. "The claims He made to Messiahship and Messianic authority were of a parabolic sort whose significance was there, plain for all to see whose eyes were not blinded and whose ears were not clogged by misconceptions (8:17–21)" (J. D. G. Dunn, op. cit., 112). Dunn sees this reinforced by three further aspects of Mk. (i) The teaching on authority in Mk. (especially Mk. 2:1–3:6) is not explicitly messianic, but has messianic overtones. (ii) All Jesus' teaching had a parabolic quality, so that all who had ears to hear could hear (cf. Mk. 4:9). (iii) Jesus' choice of the term → Son of man was capable of concealing as well as revealing. On the one hand, it could be simply a circumlocution for "I". But on the other hand, it had also strong links with the Danielic Son of man (Dn. 7). "No term was more fitted both to conceal, yet at the same time to reveal to those who had ears to hear, the Son of Man's real identity" (M. Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, 1967 ³, 329).

R. N. Longenecker has noted parallels between the Jesus of the Synoptic Gospels, the Qumran Teacher of Righteousness and Simeon ben Kosebah (Bar Kokhba). In each case there was an external exclamation, a reticence on the part of the individual concerned to speak of himself in terms used by others, and at the same time a consciousness of the ultimate validity of the titles employed (*EQ* 41, 1969, 207–15). In none of these cases is there a "messianic secret" theology. Rather, the reticence is to be attributed to the Jewish view that no man can be defined as a messiah before he has accomplished the task of the anointed. If this is so, then Jesus was indeed the messiah during his earthly life. But only with the cross, resurrection and exaltation could he enter into the fullness of his messianic office and be properly understood as messiah by men. And it is for this reason that the messianic titles and messianic claims became widespread and explicit in the post-Easter period. *C. Brown*

→ Baptism, → Gospel, → Jesus Christ, → Lord's Supper, → Parable, → Son

(a). D. Aune, "The Problem of the Messianic Secret", *NovT* 11, 1969, 1–31; G. H. Boobyer, "The Secrecy Motif in St Mark's Gospel", *NTS* 6, 1959–60, 225–35; G. Bornkamm, *mystērion, myeō*, *TDNT* IV 802–28; J. W. Bowker, "Mystery and Parables in Mark: Mark iv. 1–20", *JTS* New Series 25, 1974, 300–17; W. J. P. Boyd, "The Mystery of God and Revelation", *SJT* 13, 1960, 178–82; R. E. Brown, "The Semitic Background of the New Testament Mysterion", *Biblica* 39, 1958, 426–58; and ibid. 40, 70–87; T. A. Burkill, "The Injunctions to Silence in St. Mark's Gospel", *ThZ* 12, 1956, 585–604; and "Concerning St. Mark's Conception of Secrecy", *Hibbert Journal* 55, 1956–57, 150–58; A. W. Carr, "The Rulers of this Age – I Corinthians ii 6–8", *NTS* 23, 1976, 20–35; J. D. G. Dunn, "The Messianic Secret in Mark", TB 21, 92–117 (summarized in "The Messianic Secret in Mark", *TSF Bulletin* 69, 1974, 7–14); J. Coppens, " 'Mystery' in the Theology of Saint Paul and its Parallels at Qumran", in J. Murphy-O'Connor, ed., *Paul and Qumran: Studies in New Testament Exegesis*, 1968, 132–58; F. Gavin, *The Jewish Antecedents of the Christian Sacraments*, 1969; R. M. Grant, *Hellenistic Religions: The Age of Syncretism*, 1953; L. E. Keck, "Mark 3 7–12 and Mark's Christology", *JBL* 84, 1965, 341 ff.; J. W. Leitch, "The Injunctions to Silence in Mark's Gospel", *ExpT* 66, 1954–55, 178–82;

describes an apocalyptic exaltation of the teacher and preacher of repentance. T has many points of contact with NT motifs.

(iv) Two things must be said in conclusion. In the Similitudes the vision of the S of man of Dan. 7 is interpreted of a *messianic figure* without the phrase "Son man" becoming a messianic title. In Eth. Enoch 70 f. the Enoch tradition is uni with Dan. 7 to describe a representative of righteousness who bestows peace a salvation upon his community.

(c) The Apc. of Ezra's connexion with the vision to Daniel is fundamentally (ferent from that of the Enoch tradition: the destiny of the nation as a whole is m emphasized both in the tradition used and in the author's reflection upon it. Agai upholds a form of religion that is based more on the Torah (13:54). The real probl is posed by the discrepancy between the tradition and the motifs used: Son of m and messiah, apocalyptic vision and messianic expectation are joined in an uneq union, to the detriment of both elements. 2 Esd. 13:26 describes (in apocalyp terms) the "man from the depths of the sea" as "he whom the Most High has helc readiness for a long time and through whom he intends to redeem creation; he hi self gives a new order for those that remain" (→ Remnant). Messianic mot however, are added: mankind gathers to fight against the man who has risen from sea, but unarmed he wages war with the stream of fire that issues from his lips. descends from the mountain to gather a peaceable host out of the midst of the sc tering or the great affliction (13:1–13). It is important to note too that this "man' at the same time the "son" or the "servant" through whom the Most High reve himself (13:32, 37, 52). Till now he has been hidden but when his day comes h made manifest (13:52). This passage differs from Dan. 7 in its more fantastic i agery and the more active rôle given to the messianic man; haggadic ornamentat is on the increase.

(d) (i) It is also important to note how the "one like a son of man" and "heavenly one" assume concrete historical features: Abel, Enoch and → Melchize appear in apocalyptic as God's elect who represent his righteousness and wield authority to judge in the eschatological assize. OT exegesis reveals their particu qualifications for this, but only Melchizedek is endowed with messianic traits.

(ii) It is said of Melchizedek in 11QMelchizedek 10 ff. that "[as it written] conc ning him in the psalms of David, who says, 'The heavenly one stands in God's c gregation; in the midst of the heavenly ones he holds court'; and concerning him says, 'Return over them to the heavenly heights; God will judge the nations'. A what he says is 'How long will you judge unjustly and take side w transgressors?' " Cf. ibid. 16: "[through Isaiah the prophet who says, 'How] lov are the feet of the messenger of joy upon the mountains, who proclaims peace, a who brings the message of good, who proclaims salvation and says to Zion, Y heavenly one is king!' " Melchizedek is here thought of as a heavenly being; he m execute judgment on the godless. The inauguration of the time of salvation is conn ted with this judgment and this is portrayed in the language of Isa. This comes cl to identifying Melchizedek with the archangel Michael. The motif of the Son of m does not explicitly appear in this text, but we can see how certain decisive functi which are ascribed to the Son of man can similarly be applied to angels or heave beings.

(e) Test. Abr. 11 contains an unusual Son of man tradition of Jewish origins. A

gain as an eschatological figure, the object of the expectation of a corresponding ommunity. We must take as our starting point this eschatological community's self-nderstanding, if we are to evaluate this relatively late stratum in the Enoch iterature. The concepts expressed in Eth. Enoch 46:8; 53:6; 62:8 ("houses of his ongregation", "the house of his congregation", "the community of the elect and oly") show that we are dealing here with an independent hasidic group, comparable o that of Qumran in its apocalyptic expectation. But its messianic expectation, in articular the position of the Son of man in the Similitudes, is completely different rom that of Qumran. The Elect One, the Righteous One, is in Eth. Enoch the epresentative of God's righteousness and wisdom; he mediates this blessing to his ommunity. He is "hidden before him" and exists before the creation of the world. owever, he also takes on the messianic struggle with kings and powers and emerges ictorious. The features of this delineation (46:3 ff.; 48:2 ff.; 62:7 ff.) are gleaned rom an exegesis of the Pss. and the prophets (above all Isa. and the vision of Dan. :9 f. which is paralleled by Eth. Enoch 46).

"Man" in Eth. Enoch is not really a messianic title, but describes the appearance f this heavenly being (cf. the use of demonstrative pronouns with the expressions for Son of man"). The appearances of different phrases in the Ethiopic (e.g. 46:3 *walda ab'e*; Aram. *bar nāšā'*) suggests that particular Gk. and Aram. expressions lie ehind them and that these were not titular either. There is no end to the discussion f the question whether Christian influence has produced this distinctive Son of man adition. But caution is necessary. It can be dated somewhere between the Parthian ivasion mentioned in 56:5 (40–38 B.C.) and the destruction of Jerusalem (A.D. 70). n all this cf. Colpe, *TDNT* VIII 423–427.)

[I.H.M.] It may be necessary to date the Similitudes even later. Although frag-ents of Eth. Enoch have been discovered at Qumran, it is remarkable that none ave been found of the Similitudes. On this and other grounds J. T. Milik (*HTR* 64, 971, 333–378) has argued that the Similitudes were not part of the original book ut are a post-Christian insertion. If this argument is valid, it need not necessarily ex-lude use of the Similitudes in establishing the background of thought to the NT sage of "Son of man", since the traditions used may well be earlier than the date of riting. Nevertheless, caution in the use of Eth. Enoch is clearly called for.

(ii) The exaltation of Enoch to be Son of man and his translation to be with the ord of Spirits (70 f.) is especially important. These last two chs. of the Similitudes re remarkable for the problems that they present as to their relation both to one nother and to the book as a whole. Ch. 71 explicitly refers to the manifestation of e Ancient of Days in Dan. 7:13. Enoch is greeted as the "Son of man", who is born righteousness: righteousness abides over him (v. 14). We should not see here an in-arnation of the Son of man or a descent to earth, but rather Enoch's investiture with e eschatological function of the Son of man. This still leaves a whole mass of con-oversial questions unanswered (e.g. whether originally only a translation of Enoch as intended and not his installation as "Son of man"). But at any rate we may see ere an exegetical development of the Enoch tradition of Gen. 5:22–24 and the "Son f man" references in Dan. 7:13.

(iii) Perhaps we can assume that one particular Jewish sect joined the "Son of an" tradition with some quite definite messianic ideas, but that Eth. Enoch 70 f.

came one like a son of man [*kᵉḇar ʾᵉnāš*]." Note the allusive way in which apocalyp makes its comparisons (Heb. *kᵉ*, as). In contrast to the beasts which have be described previously there comes on to the stage one who is like a son of man (i.e member of the genus man). The wisdom tradition too loves to speak of the gen man.

(c) In Mishnaic Hebrew *ben ʾāḏām* does not occur. Here too it is possible to spe generically of men or mankind (*bᵉnê ʾāḏām*) or of creatures (*bᵉʿrî'ôṯ*), thus expressi the idea of man's common experience in life (cf. Aboth 2: 1, 3).

(d) Ps. 80: 8–15(9–16), with its picture of the vine and the vineyard, which ref to God's dealings with → Israel, is particularly important. It leads on to a prayer f the king, the "man at your right hand" (cf. Ps. 110:1) and the "son of man, whc you have reared" (vv. 17 f.). Here the son of man (*ben ʾāḏām*) is used of that speci elect man, the king.

In addition a periphrastic description of the person who is speaking often occurs Judaism. This idiom makes use of the demonstrative: this man (*hahû' gaḇrā'*) or tl woman (*hahî' gaḇrā'*). Cf. Gen. R. 68:12: "A certain man came to R. Jose b. Hala and said to him: 'It was revealed to this man [*hahû' gaḇrā'*] in a dream' " (furth material in Gen. R. 7:2; cf. Num. R. 19:3; Geniza fragments of the Pal. Tg. of Gc 4:14; cf. G. Vermes, Appendix in M. Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gosp and Acts*, 1967 [3], 320–328; C. Colpe, *TDNT* VIII 406 ff.). It may be granted that certain circumstances not only *hahû' gaḇrā'*, but also *bar nāšā'*, son of man, cou be thus used in Palestinian Galilean (Vermes, loc. cit. 327; Colpe, loc. cit. 406). Tl periphrasis had no messianic sense (→ Jesus Christ, art. *Christos* OT).

[I.H.M.] According to J. A. Fitzmyer (*NTS* 20, 1973–74, 396 f.) the form attest by Qumran evidence always has initial *Aleph*, so that the possible phrases are *b ʾᵉnāš* and *bar ʾᵉnāšā'*. The view of G. Vermes (repeated in *Jesus the Jew*, 19' 162–168) that the phrase could be used as a substitute for "I" in contexts whe humiliation or death are mentioned, or out of reserve and modesty, has be challenged by Fitzmyer and by J. Jeremias, *New Testament Theology*, I, 1971, 261 1, who hold that it means "the (or a) man, and therefore also I".

2. *The Development of the Tradition within Apocalyptic.* (a) The starting po for the apocalyptic tradition is the vision of Dan. 7:13 f.; 18:26 f. This is couched rhythmic language. While the beasts are being rendered powerless or destroyed, t one like a son of man ascends with the clouds of heaven to the Ancient of Days. A parently this vision of the one like a son of man refers to the theocracy of Isra which is conscious of being fundamentally different from other kingdoms and r tions. Dan. 7:18 mentions the "saints of the Most High" who will reign for ever (vv. 22a, 25, 27); the expression is a striking one and has been variously interpret But in its present context it refers to the imminent crisis of history and t transference of power to the hitherto humbled people of Israel; hence the traits of t one like a son of man are transferred to Israel itself. It is tempting to link this up w the convictions of the later Qumran community in 1QS 11:7 f.: "He has given them share in the inheritance of the saints and he has united their fellowship with the so of heaven". The Qumran community did not merely regard itself as the e chatological Israel, but also as a fellowship between saints on earth and powers heaven.

(b) (i) In the Similitudes of Eth. Enoch (chs. 37–71) the Son of man appe

ıriety of ways in which the NT uses this concept. Paul also uses it with a wider nse when he calls himself (Rom. 1:1), his fellow-workers (Phil. 1:1; Col. 4:12) and l Christians (1 Cor. 7:22) *douloi* of Christ.

Here too then the effects of the older biblical concept of faith as service are to be en, but now this service is concentrated especially in the relation of Christians to hrist. A fundamental distinction can be drawn between the new filial relationship ıd the old servile one (Gal. 4:1–7; Rom. 8:14 ff.). This attachment to Christ does ɔt alter this biblical perspective of faith as service, but it does lift it clear of the ser-le nature of the pre-Christian existence. ([Tr.] The Servant's task is seen to be flected in the mission of the church in Acts 15:47 [Isa. 49:6]; Rom. 10:6 [Isa. 53:1] ıd 15:21 [Isa. 52:15].)

The motif of the "servant of God" is used explicitly in the prefaces of Jas. 1:1; Tit. 1; Rev. 1:1. It is particularly prominent in Rev. and is used repeatedly (e.g. Rev. 3; 10:7; 11:18; 19:2; 22:3). The Gospel of Jn. follows the Hellenistic pattern and ʻoids applying the *doulos*-concept to Christians (cf. Jn. 15:15) and seeks other ways ' preserving the character of faith as obedience and service. *O. Michel*

ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου

ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου (*ho hyios tou anthrōpou*), the Son of man.

& OT 1. *The Philological Problem in the OT and Judaism.* The antecedents of the idea *ho hyios tou anthrōpou* are found exclusively in the OT and Judaism ıd especially in apocalyptic; in the LXX the words go back to the Heb. and Aram. ɔrds for → child (art. *hyios*) and → man (art. *anthrōpos*).

(a) In biblical Hebrew *'āḏām* or *'ᵉnôš* is a collective term for man(kind); hence the dividual man is called *ben 'āḏām*, son of a man, and a number of men are called *nê 'āḏām*, sons of men, or, with the art., *bᵉnê hā'āḏām* (Koehler-Baumgartner, f.; → Adam). The use of "son of man" as an address in Ezek. is striking (*c.* 90 nes). The prophet is not addressed by his own name, but as an individual creature awn from the genus man and contrasted with God. God himself condescends to nsort with his servant (cf. also Dan. 8:17). We are dealing here with a "thoroughly ɛbraic idiom" (W. Zimmerli, *Ezechiel*, *BKAT* XIII/I, 1959, 70). There is no real ed to posit Babylonian influence (Gilgamesh 9, 2, 16; *ANET* 88). The way in ıich "son of man" (i.e. a member of the genus man) appears in elevated speech is erefore important, particularly in *parallelismus membrorum*: "God is not [like] an, that he should lie, nor a son of man [*ben 'āḏām*], that he should repent of ything" (Num. 23:19); "What is man [*'ᵉnôš*], that you are mindful of him, and the n of man [*ben 'āḏām*], that you consider him?" (Ps. 8:4[5]). The contrast between e God who offers reassurance and the people whom he addresses, who fear mortal ɛn and the sons of men, who perish like grass, is plain in Isa. 51:12 (here too is the ɛrchange of *'ᵉnôš* and *ben 'āḏām*). Jud. 8:16 seems to go back to Num. 23:19: an has not control over God's decisions, for God cannot be threatened like a man d does not vacillate like a son of man. The contrast between God and man (or in ʻrallelismus membrorum* "son of man") is a definite Heb. idiom.

(b) In biblical Aramaic we must note Dan. 7:13, which has become the fun-ımental problem in apocalyptic: "And behold, with the clouds of heaven there

even if it is not found very often in Paul when he is writing freely and not basing h self on traditional formulations. As the most obvious statement of the death and v dication of God's Servant in the OT, it is highly probable that the vague reference: Christ's death "according to the Scriptures" (1 Cor. 15:3–5) conceal allusions to 53. It is possible that the Servant figure in the old hymn, Phil. 2:6–11, has been fluenced to some extent by the same concept, although a direct influence of Isa. the hymn is difficult to prove (cf. R. P. Martin, *Carmen Christi: Philippians ii 5- in Recent Interpretation and in the Setting of Early Christian Worship, Society New Testament Studies Monograph Series* 4, 1967, 182–196). Further allusi may be present in Rom. 8:34; Heb. 7:25 and 9:28 (Isa. 53:12).

The pervasiveness of these allusions to the Servant-figure prompts the ques whether Jesus himself gave the impulse to the church to interpret his person work in this way. Whether or not *hyios* has replaced an original *pais* in Mk. 1:11, baptismal narrative certainly contains an allusion to Isa. 42:1–4 ("with thee I well pleased"; reception of the → Spirit). In Lk. 22:37 Jesus himself quotes 53:12, and there is good reason to accept the authenticity of the saying. Jesus quotes Isa. 61:1–3 with reference to himself in Lk. 4:18 f., and there is some rea to believe that the quotation was regarded as referring to the Servant (cf. the asso tion of Isa. 52:7 and 61:1 f. in 11QMelchizedek). There are two fairly clear allus to Isa. 53 in Mk. 10:45 and 14:24. These references strongly suggest that Jesus his vocation as the Son of man in terms of the suffering and humiliation of the vant of Yahweh.

The case that Jesus did not make use of the Servant concept has been impressi presented by M. D. Hooker who claims that the allusions do not refer unequivoc to Isa. 53 and that the note of vicarious suffering is absent. An alternative sourc the thought of the "ransom for many" has been sought by C. K. Barrett in I ("The Background of Mark 10:45", in A. J. B. Higgins ed., *New Testament Ess Studies in Memory of T. W. Manson*, 1959, 1–18; cf. C. K. Barrett, *New Testar Essays*, 1972, 20–26). The view that Jesus did use the concept is developed b Jeremias, *TDNT* V 712–717, and R. T. France, "The Servant of the Lord in Teaching of Jesus", *TB* 19, 1968, 26–52; for a more cautious defence of Mk. 1 and 14:24 as allusions to Isa. 53 see F. Hahn, *The Titles of Jesus in Christo* 1969, 54–63. There can be little doubt that the case against Jesus' use of the con has been overstated; while M. D. Hooker has demonstrated that a number of all allusions to the Servant concept should be dropped from consideration, t remains sufficient cogent evidence to support the view that the concept was or the means used by Jesus to express the necessity for his suffering and death follc by divine vindication.

2. (a) However the NT does not restrict the title *pais theou* to Jesus. It is us Israel in the Magnificat (Lk. 1:54), an old hymn built up of quotations, and of D in the equally old Benedictus (Lk. 1:69) and in Acts 4:25. The use of the title fo people and for David is in line with the usage that had been current since the tim the Deuteronomist and Isa. Here we are dealing with a stratum of old Palest tradition.

(b) *pais theou* is not used of Christians in the NT, but such a differentiati only significant in Gk.-speaking areas. Paul is conscious of being God's servan particularly notable way in accordance with Isa. 49:1 (Gal. 1:15); this show

5; 4:27, 30). It is noteworthy how it is used in a quotation and in the old tradi-
ons of Acts (chs. 3 f.; cf. 3:13 with Exod. 3:16; Isa. 52:13; and 4:27 with Ps. 2:2 f.).
Acts 4:27, 30 the meaning "Servant" is confirmed by 4:25, where, as in late
daism, David is called God's "servant" and not his "child". (For the interchange of
ulos and *pais* cf. Lk. 7:2 f., 7 f.) A similar sense is to be given to it in Acts 3:13, 26.
But the influence of the title *pais theou* in its application to Jesus is not to be
nited to the occurrences of this phrase. The *doulos*-concept in the logion of Mk.
):44 has certainly been moulded by Isa. 53:10; i.e. behind it stands the *'ebed* of the
rvant Songs, who was interpreted as a servant by ancient tradition and thus related
Jesus (→ Redemption, art. *lytron* NT 1). On the other hand, we must also ask
hether the *'ebed* of Isa. 42:1 does not lie behind the *hyios*, son, of Matt. 3:17 par.
k. 1:11, Lk. 3:22 (Jesus' → baptism) and Matt. 17:5 par. Mk. 9:7; Lk. 9:35 (the →
ansfiguration). Originally it would have been translated by *pais*, but then because of
e ambivalence of *pais* it could have been glossed by *hyios* in a later Hellenistic
adition and so understood as meaning "God's child". ([Tr.] But this hypothesis
ces several objections, cf. I. H. Marshall, " 'Son of God' or 'Servant of Yahweh' –
Reconsideration of Mark 1:11", *NTS* 15, 1968–69, 326–336.)
The idea of the *pais theou*, the Servant of God, as a title of Jesus is found oc-
sionally in the liturgical formulae of prayers and confessions (Did. 9 f.; 1 Clem.
:2–4; Mart. Poly. 14:1 ff.). The meaning of *pais* here is uncertain, but may be in
nsition from "servant" to "child". In Jn. the title of *pais* or *doulos* for Jesus is
olly lacking, apparently through assimilation to Hellenistic ideas, or because John
eferred other titles. *hyios tou theou* replaces it (cf. Jn. 1:34; 10:36), but in fact the
otif of the Servant is still there (cf. Jn. 13:4 ff.: the washing of feet was one of the
ost menial jobs of a slave). Finally in the Johannine literature (Jn. 1:29, 36) the Ser-
nt of Isa. 53 lies behind the form of the *amnos tou theou*, the → Lamb of God; this
nsition to *amnos* was made possible by the ambiguity of the Aram. *talyā'* (servant,
y, or lamb, but this remains uncertain; cf. I. H. Marshall, *op. cit.*, 323 n. 3).
(b) We must also consider whether the figure of the *'ebed* of Isa. 53 has influenced
y of the christological formulae. This is true of the *hyper*-formula, especially the
rase *hyper pollōn*, "for many" (Mk. 14:24; Jn. 6:51). But this would scarcely apply
Jn. 11:50 f.; 18:14 which limit the *hyper* to the people of Israel; these texts are
her to be explained in terms of the late Jewish ideas connected with the atoning
ath of the righteous (4 Macc. 1:11; 6:28 f.; 17:20 f. and rabbinic references in SB
273 ff.; → Reconciliation, art. *hilaskomai* OT 3 (c), NT 4 (b)). Here too we must con-
er the formulae *anti pollōn*, "for many" (Mk. 10:45; Matt. 20:28) and *peri pollōn*
r many" (Matt. 26:28). The title *pais* perhaps lies behind the formula *dia tou*
ou, "through Jesus" (Rom. 1:8; 2:16), if it is to be seen as a shortened form of the
ler *dia tou paidos sou Iēsou*, "through your Servant Jesus" (Acts 4:30), which was
gest preserved in the language of prayer (Mart. Poly. 14:1, 3; 1 Clem. 59:2 ff.).
e may also add the formulaic use of *paradidonai* in the pass. as a substitute for the
of the divine name (Rom. 4:25; 1 Cor. 11:23) and the formula *didonai heauton*,
give oneself (Gal. 1:4; 1 Tim. 2:6), and *tithenai tēn psychēn*, to lay down one's life
. 10:11, 15, 17 f.); all these may be variant translations of the Heb. text of Isa.
:12.
(c) [I.H.M.] It is clear from the references cited above that the Servant concept
rcised a considerable influence on the developing theology of the early church,

prominent, but in Job it can be replaced by *therapōn* and in Isa. by *pais*. Althou the "Servant" passages of Isaiah are mostly rendered with *pais* and may be colle tively interpreted, a messianic figure seems to have been discerned behind Is 52:13–53:12.

4. The phrase *pais theou* occurs only seldom in the literature of Gk.-speaking Ja Judaism since it was very much overshadowed by the concept of the *doulos* (t Israelites are *douloi* of God: 2 Macc. 7:33; Jub. 23:30; Josephus, *Ant.*, 11, 4, 4 anc (90, 101)). But where it was used it usually meant servant of God and referred Moses (Bar. 1:20; 2:28), the prophets (Bar. 2:20) or the righteous (Wis. 9:4 f.). Le often *pais* means child of God (Wis. 2:13; 12, 7; 20; 19:6). The prominence of t *doulos* motif in late Judaism reveals an increased awareness of the distance betwe God and man. Gk. thought was not very conscious of this distance before the adve of the oriental cults (K. H. Rengstorf, *TDNT* II 264 f.).

In 2 Esd. 7:28 f. (*v.l.*); 13:32, 37, 52; 14:9 and Syr. Bar. 70:9 we find an apocaly tic tradition which refers to the messiah as son, child, youth or servant. Behind the variant translations lies the older *'eḇeḏ* tradition which is transmitted through the C phrase *pais theou*. Older prophecies involving the destiny of Israel and the natio are used here, but the revelation of God's elect is the central idea. Apocalyptic acce tuates the element of transcendence in the *'eḇeḏ* tradition.

Hellenistic Judaism always took the *'eḇeḏ* passages in Isa. collectively of the pe ple of Israel (LXX Isa. 42:1) or of the righteous (Wis. 2:13 in its context). No agre ment has been reached as to whether the "Servant" passages in Isa. we messianically interpreted in Palestinian Judaism in pre-Christian times. J. Jeremi (*TDNT* V 684–700) thought that they were ([I.H.M.] on the basis of his interpre tion of the Similitudes of Eth. Enoch (37–71), the Peshitta; Aquila; Theodotion; t Targum; rabbinic material; and Justin. Cf. W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbi Judaism*, 1955², 274–284. Some of the evidence is slender, and its weaknesses ha been pointed out by M. Rese, *ZTK* 60, 1963, 21–41, but there is perhaps sufficie evidence to show that Judaism applied some of the traits of the Servant to an exp ted future figure, whether the messiah or the Son of man). The references to Isa. are not always obvious. The passages could also be derived from the concept of t atoning death of the righteous which was widespread in late Judaism (cf. SB 274–299; E. Lohse, *Märtyrer und Gottesknecht*, 1955).

Qumran continued the OT tradition in referring to the prophets as "God's s vants" (1QS 1:3; 1QpHab 2:9). It is striking how the Teacher of Righteousn adopts the title of "God's servant" in the hymns (1QH 13:18 f.; 14:25; 16:10, 18), and one can in some passages detect the influence of Isa. (cf. 1QH 7:10; 8:3 18:14 f.; cf. A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings from Qumran*, 19 360–367). The "servant's" anonymity is here preserved intact (M. Buber).

At all events up to A.D. 200 official Judaism, as represented by the Targumi had not interpreted Isa. 53 of the suffering messiah, but, perhaps influenced by ar Christian polemic, had eradicated or drastically reinterpreted any statements th about his suffering. The idea of a suffering messiah only appears late in offic Judaism and then in connexion with Isa. and particularly ch. 52 (so San. 98ab, Joshua b. Levi [A.D. 250], the school of "Rabbi" [A.D. 200]; cf. SB II 286).

NT 1. (a) The NT uses the title *pais theou* 5 times of Jesus (Matt. 12:18; Acts 3:

ḇāḏîm, servants, is used of the whole body of Israelites (Isa. 54:17). In Isa. 56:6 roselytes too are called "servants of God".

At a very early date the "servant of God" sayings in the OT can be divided into vo traditions: on the one hand, in 2 Sam. 3:18 the especial function of the king)avid) is seen to lie in the saving of the people from all its enemies. This tradition ontinued in Ezek. 34:23 f.; 37:24 f.; and beyond that to Hag. 2:23; Zech. 3:8. On ıe other hand, there is the prophetic tradition: the prophet is the authoritative ıessenger of the word of God (1 Ki. 18:36) who imposes God's will upon the people ıd by his word sets historical processes in motion.

(b) B. Duhm (*Das Buch Jesaja*, 1892, 1922[4]) was the first to recognize in Isa. four ngs which are known as the "Servant Songs" and must be interpreted on their wn: Isa. 42:1–4 (or 9); 49:1–6 (or 11); 50:4–9; 52:13–53:12. C. R. North's survey attempts at their interpretation (*The Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah*, 1950[2]; –160) shows that the Ethiopian official's question to Philip about Isa. 53:7 f. has ceived various answers: "Of whom does the prophet speak? Of himself or of ıother?" (Acts 8:34). From the LXX to the present day there have been inter- eters who tried on the basis of Isa. 49:3 to identify the Servant with the whole peo- e of Israel collectively or with a part of it (so O. Kaiser, who takes the *ʿeḇeḏ* to refer the exiles as opposed to the whole people), ([I.H.M.] or who find some kind of ovement within the Songs from a collective to an individual identification of the ervant [so, with stress on the collective aspect, M. D. Hooker, *Jesus and the ervant*, 1959, 25–52; with stress on the individual aspect, H. H. Rowley, *The Ser- ınt of the Lord*, 1965[2], and C. R. North, *The Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah*,)56[2]]). Yet it may be suspected that the "Israel" of Isa. 49:3 is a very early inter- etative gloss (cf. Isa. 42:1 LXX with the Heb.), ([Tr.] although it is dangerous to nend the text simply to support a theory). An individual interpretation of the Songs supported by Isa. 49:5 f. which sets the Servant over against the people. Some sup- ɔse him to be a prophet because of his peculiarly prophetic traits (ear, 50:4 f., and outh, 49:1 f.) and have identified him with Moses, Isaiah, Deutero-Isaiah, Jeremiah ıd Ezekiel. But on the other hand, because he establishes justice (42:1, 3 f.), releases isoners (42:7; 49:9) and wields a sword (49:2), others see him as a king and think Uzziah, Hezekiah, Jehoiachin or Zerubbabel. But G. von Rad's view is to be eferred to all these attempts to identify the Servant-figure with a historical person: Such extreme language can never have been applied to a living person – or even to ıe recently dead..... This transcendence of all familiar human categories is ıaracteristic of discourse which foretells the future" (or, in M. Buber's words, "of e secret") (*Old Testament Theology*, II, 1965, 258).

3. The LXX equivalents of the 870 occurrences of *ʿeḇeḏ* in the MT are: *pais*, ser- ınt, menial, 340 times; *doulos*, → slave, 327 times; *therapōn*, servant, attendant, 46 nes; *oiketēs*, household slave, 36 times; also once each *hyios*, son, and *hypēretēs*, rvant, helper. The other occurrences have no exact equivalent. The choice of Gk. quivalents varies from book to book. In the Hexateuch *therapōn* interchanges with *ais* and *doulos*; the last is reserved almost completely for the "house of bondage in gypt" and other harsh servitude. In Jdg. – 2 Ki. *pais* is used of the free servant of e king and *doulos* for enforced bondage. *doulos* is used throughout in religious con- xts to designate oneself or others, in order to express the great difference between an and God. In the other books of the OT too the religious idea of the *doulos* is

1. (a) From earliest times right up to the revolt of A.D. 70 Hebrews h possessed Hebrew → slaves (Gen. 24; 29:15, 18; Exod. 22:2; Jer. 34:8 ff.; Joseph *War* 4, 9, 3 [508]). A Hebrew was forcibly sold as a slave by a court if he could make good the value of stolen goods (Exod. 22:2), or he sold himself because of poverty (2 Ki. 4:1). In both cases the slavery was normally limited to 6 years (but Exod. 21:5 f.; Deut. 15:16 f.). Slaves played a full part in cultic life (→ circumcisi Gen. 17:12 f.; → sabbath, Exod. 20:10; → sacrifice, Deut. 12:18; Passover, Ex 12:44; → Feast). The mark of the *'ebed*, → slave (art. *doulos*), is that he belongs another; he is mentioned as a chattel along with gold and cattle (Gen. 24:35; Ex 21:21). The Essenes had no slaves (Euseb., *Praep. Ev.* 8, 11, 4).

(b) From as early as Saul's time – in common with the world of the Ancient E (cf. J. A. Knudtzon, *Die el-Amarna Tafeln*, 1915, 60:3; 61:2; etc.) – soldiers in king's service were referred to by themselves and others, but not by the king, as *'a hammelek*, servants of the King (LXX *paides tou basileōs*) (2 Sam. 11:24; 15: However, these *'abādîm*, servants, were not in an explicitly servile relationship to king, but were employed by him (1 Sam. 8:11 f.). This usage in court circles le the frequent everyday use of *'ebed*, servant, as a humble self-designation (Gen. 3 An especially strong version of such self-abasement is the phrase "Your servant, dog" (2 Ki. 8:13; 2 Sam. 9:8). But kings too could be called *'abādîm*, if they were vassals of another ruler (2 Sam. 10:19; Jos. 9:11; Knudtzon, op. cit., 158:1 f.). vassal king had then to pay tribute, as 2 Ki. 16:7 f. shows, and had to do military vice (→ Slave, art. *doulos* OT 1, 2).

2. (a) The religious use of this idea is probably also influenced by the court p tice. As in the rest of the world of the Ancient East, but in complete contrast to cient Gk. ideas, the worshipper of God in the OT styles himself as his *'ebed*, serv He thus gives expression to his awe and his duty to serve his God and even belonging to him, with a view to placing himself under his protection. In contra other Sem. cultures, however, only rarely is the bestowal of a name used to desig this belonging to God; cf. the case of Obadiah (1 Ki. 18:3 ff.). More often the who prays calls himself "your servant", or Yahweh speaks and ascribes to som the title "My servant" or another person refers to him as "His servant".

The designation *'ebed* occurs relatively seldom in the pre-exilic period in religious sense and is almost completely absent from the pre-exilic prophets; this be because the religious idea of the *'ebed* had spread from the language of the c into that of the cult and of prayer and was therefore regarded as alien. Thus the "servant" is used of Jacob (Gen. 32:10[11]), Isaac (Gen. 24:14), Moses (N 12:7 f.), David (2 Sam. 3:18), the prophets (2 Ki. 9:7) and the remnant faithf Yahweh (2 Ki. 9:7; 10:23).

But from the time of the Deuteronomist and Deutero-Isaiah onwards, the *'ebed* became far more frequent; it was particularly used of Moses, but als Joshua (Jos. 24:29), the patriarchs (Deut. 9:27, Exod. 32:13) and David (8:24 ff.; 14:8). Even Nebuchadnezzar is called a servant of Yahweh in the trac of the kingly *'abādîm* (Jer. 25:9). Job, too, who has even less connexion with the ple of Israel, receives the title of an *'ebed* in the prologue and epilogue of the Bo Job (Job 1:8; 2:3; 42:7 f.). From Ezekiel's time onwards the sing. *'ebed* is used people of Israel (Ezek. 28:25; 37:25), and from Deutero-Isaiah onwards the

ality in God's purposes. Solomon was great David's great son, but he was not the ɔmised king and messiah; he was but his progenitor (Matt. 1:6 f.). Solomon had in-ɔd built a majestic temple in God's honour; but the whole burden of Stephen's ɔech in Acts 7 is to depreciate any temple "made with hands": Solomon's temple ɔ the second temple after it were the very centres of apostasy and unbelief. Both ts 7:50 and Matt. 6:29 turn the listener's and reader's attention from human ıievement such as Solomon's to the glories of the Creator. Finally, Matt. 12:42 ex-ɔssly states that Solomon in all his wisdom was eclipsed by Christ. This passage, ich is primarily attacking Jewish unbelief, seems to imply that Solomon is depicted a → type of Christ. The common testimony of the NT references to Solomon ɡests that the early church not infrequently compared and contrasted the literal ı of David with his eschatological successor. *D. F. Payne*

David, → Son

J. Bright, *History of Israel*, 1972², 206–24; F. F. Bruce, "Son of David", in *This is That: The New ament Development of Some Old Testament Themes*, 1968, 68–82; R. T. France, *Jesus and the Old ament: His Application of Old Testament Passages to Himself and His Mission*, 1971, 78 f.; S. mann, *History of Israel in Old Testament Times*, 1975, 174–86; E. Lohse, *Solomōn*, *TDNT* VII -65; J. M. Myers, "Solomon", *IDB* IV 399–408; R. B. Y. Scott, "Solomon and the Beginnings of dom in Israel", H. H. Rowley Festschrift, *VT Supplements* 3, 1955, 262–79.
G. Gerleman, *šlm*, *THAT* II 932; G. Salzberger, *Die Salomo-Sage in der semitischen Literatur*, /; J. J. Stamm, "Der Name des Königs Salomo", *Festgabe W. Eichrodt*, *TZ* 16, 1960, 285–97.

, Son of God, Son of Man, Servant of God, Son of David

following article was originally written for the German edition of this work by fessor Otto Michel. It has been brought up to date for this English edition by Dr. vard Marshall. whose insertions are indicated by [I.H.M.]. Dr. Marshall also ıared the bibliography for general works, Servant, Son of Man, Son of God, Son)avid.

articles that are collected here deal with the concepts that are centred on the ds *pais* and *hyios* only in so far as they relate to the person of Jesus, i.e. only with · functions as christological titles. Because *pais* not only means child, but also e, Isa. 52:13 LXX uses it to translate the term "Servant of God" (Heb. *'ebed h*) and hence the NT uses *pais theou* to designate Jesus as God's Servant. For r uses → Child. Similarly *hyios* expresses not only a physical relationship, but a spiritual. Hence, Jesus' relation to men is expressed by *ho hyios tou anthrōpou*, ɔon of man, and his close relationship with God by *hyios tou theou*, Son of God; ncestry in the Davidic line is recalled in the title *hyios Dauid*, Son of David. The ropological import of the concept "son" is dealt with in the article on Child un-*ıēpios*, *pais*, *teknon* and *hyios*.

παῖς Θεοῦ | *παῖς Θεοῦ* (*pais Theou*), Servant of God.

OT The phrase *pais theou* as such has no antecedents in Gk. and first occurs in ıe LXX. On *pais* and its associations → Child; on *theos* → God.

couraged the development of commerce, both overland and maritime (cf. 1 10:22, 25). The trade was no doubt boosted by the exploitation of Israel's resourc notably the copper mines in the Negeb.

The fortress cities were only one element in a large-scale building programr which was in part essential, and partly due to a natural desire to beautify a enhance the kingdom. The building of the temple was an act of notable piety (1 6).

In all these respects Solomon displayed vision, statesmanship and skill; the div promise of → wisdom, made at the start of his reign, was thus amply fulfilled (1 3:12). The wisdom for which his name has become a byword lay chiefly in t specific directions. Primarily it was a practical wisdom; statecraft and the ; ministration of justice were above all the areas in which it was needed a demonstrated (1 Ki. 3:9, 16–28). Secondly, it was an academic and didactic wisdo in a world already famed for its wise men, Solomon showed himself outstandi making major contributions to the collection of proverbial and related material (1 4:29–34). His name is linked with the books of Proverbs (1:1), Song of Solom (1:1), and by implication Ecclesiastes (1:1), and we may see him as the founder a patron of a great deal of literary activity in Israel. (The precise extent of his o literary work remains disputed; it is at least certain that apocryphal a pseudepigraphal works bearing his name are pseudonymous.) He may well have tablished wisdom "schools" in Israel.

His shrewdness and sagacity were not however unalloyed. Many of his ventu were excessive and proved too expensive, so that he gradually impoverished country, with the result that heavy taxation and forced service caused deep rese ments which were to break up his kingdom (cf. 1 Ki. 12:1–20). His diploma marriages were but the beginning of a vast – and expensive – harem. His perso piety also lapsed into a measure of apostasy and idolatry (1 Ki. 11:1–10). The count of Solomon's reign in Chronicles (2 Chr. 1–9) concentrates on his building the temple, and is little concerned with the defects in his character; the narrative 1 Ki. 1–11, on the other hand, depicts Solomon as a king who, though blessed w abnormal wisdom and material resources, set the kingdom on its first steps towa decline and fall; the man who built the temple was the first man to adulterate worship.

In later literature, beginning with Josephus, many legends and legendary featu became attached to the Old Testament's more realistic information. In particular, story of the Queen of Sheba's visit (1 Ki. 10:1–13), which was no doubt connec with Solomon's commercial and diplomatic enterprises, attracted many such acc tions. His wisdom, magnificence and pious attachment to the law of Moses w heightened and extolled, while his faults were glossed over. Strangely enough, weight of later Jewish criticisms of Solomon centred on something of which he v not historically guilty, namely, the development of magical practices.

NT Solomon figures little in the NT; he is neither exalted nor denigrated. In M 1:6 f. he appears in his appropriate place in the genealogy of Christ. Matt. 6 (= Lk. 12:27) mentions his "glory", and Matt. 12:42 (= Lk. 11:31) his wisdc Finally Acts 7:47 recognizes him as the builder of the temple. These widely separa references both acknowledge his achievements and also emphasize their lack

.k. 17:22 ff.). No one knows the hour. When the flood came only → Noah and his amily were prepared. So the coming of the Son of man will find people engaged in lentical activities, but some will be ready and others not. This was in fact the case /hen → judgment fell on Jerusalem in A.D. 70. For discussion of the eschatological eaching of Jesus → Present, art. *The Parousia and Eschatology in the NT* 2 (a).

C. Brown

› Rob, → Take

a). W. Foerster, *harpazō, harpagmos*, *TDNT* I 472 ff.; T. F. Glasson, "Two Notes on the Philippians Hymn (II. 6–11)", *NTS* 21, 1974–75, 133–39; L. L. Hammerich, *An Ancient Misunderstanding (Phil. :6 'robbery')*, 1966; D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew, New Century Bible*, 1971; R. W. Hoover, *HTR* 4, 1971, 95–119; R. P. Martin, *Carmen Christi: Philippians ii. 5–11 in Recent Interpretation and in he Setting of Early Christian Worship, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series*, 4, 967; and *Philippians, New Century Bible*, 1976; C. F. D. Moule, "Further Reflexions on Philippians :5–11", in W. W. Gasque and R. P. Martin, eds., *Apostolic History and the Gospel: Biblical and Historical Essays Presented to F. F. Bruce*, 1970, 246–76; D. W. B. Robinson, "*harpagmos*: The Deliverance Jesus Refused?", *ExpT* 80, 1968–69, 253 f.; W. Schmithals, *Gnosticism in Corinth*, 1971; .. P. Trudinger, "*harpagmos* and the Christological Significance of the Ascension", *ExpT* 79, 1967–68, 79.

b). E. Peterson, *Heis Theos. Epigraphisch-formgeschichtliche und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, 1926; A. Schlatter, *Johannes der Taufer*, ed. W. Michaelis, 1956; and *Paulus der Bote Jesu*, 962[3] ; G. Strecker, "Entrückung", *RAC* V 461 ff.

olomon

Σολομών

Σολομών (*Solomōn*), Heb. *šᵉlōmōh*, LXX *Σαλωμών* (*Salōmōn*) and variants, Solomon.

ıT Solomon was the son (by Bathsheba) and successor of David, and the last king of a united Israel. His reign (c. 961–c. 922 B.C.) was peaceful and prosperous, except for some economic difficulties and abortive revolts towards the end of it, and was without doubt the most splendid era in Israel's history. Building on the foundations laid by David, Solomon organized an efficient administration, developed industry and commerce, and established harmonious relationships with neighbouring tates. His most lasting achievement was the building of the → temple in Jerusalem.

At birth, he was named both Solomon and also Jedidiah (2 Sam. 12:24 f.). The neaning of the name Solomon is not certain; "his [i.e. Yahweh's] peace, well-being" s a possibility, but most probable is "his compensation", i.e. God's compensation to David for the death of Bathsheba's firstborn. He was by no means David's eldest on, and it was not without rivalry and intrigue that he came to the throne, first as co-regent with his father (1 Ki. 1). He quickly and ruthlessly consolidated his personal position (1 Ki. 2), and went on to take all appropriate steps to strengthen his kingdom and empire. Against external foes, Jerusalem and other strategic cities were horoughly fortified, and garrisoned with a powerful chariot force (1 Ki. 9:15–19; 0:26). The internal structures of Israel Solomon endeavoured to strengthen by breaking down the old tribal pattern and replacing it with a completely new system of administrative districts (1 Ki. 4:7–19).

Good relations were established with neighbouring states, notably Tyre and Egypt 1 Ki. 3:1; 5:12). The alliances not only provided military security but also en-

5–11 in Recent Interpretation and in the Setting of Early Christian Worsh Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 4, 1967; and *Philippia New Century Bible*, 1976, 90–102, 109–116; → Empty, art. *kenos* NT 3; → Form, a *morphē* NT 1, art. *schēma* NT 1). The majority of exegetes have taken *harpagmos* mean a thing plundered or seized (cf. RSV), and so spoil, booty or a prize of w However, C. F. D. Moule has suggested that it means the act of snatching ("Furth Reflexions on Philippians 2:5–11", in W. W. Gasque and R. P. Martin, ed *Apostolic History and the Gospel: Biblical and Historical Essays Presented to F. Bruce*, 1970, 264–76). Thus Moule takes the v. to mean: "he did not regard equal with God as *consisting in* snatching" (op. cit., 266); "instead of imagining th equality with God meant *getting*, Jesus, on the contrary, *gave* – gave until he w 'empty'." Whilst granting that this accords with Paul's train of thought in v. 7, R. Martin thinks that it does not give sufficient weight to the contrast between v. 6 a v. 7. This is introduced by "but [*alla*]". V. 6b states what Christ might have done, i seized equality with God; v. 7 states what he chose to do, i.e. give himself. Mar thinks, therefore that Moule's interpretation loses the tension between the two vers and thus *harpagmos* denotes that which Christ refused to seize (*Philippians*, 96). particular, it denotes "the enjoyment and use of 'equality with God' in its char teristic expression, namely, the title of lordship as a springboard from which might, had he so decided, have aspired to be the universe's ruler. He had the opp tunity to grasp what lay within his reach – since he shared God's throne as his 'for (so T. F. Glasson, 'Two Notes on the Philippians Hymn (II. 6–11)', *NTS* (1974–75), pp. 133–9 . . .) – and by an act of self-assertiveness and pride he mig have striven to be Lord in his own right. But 'equality with God' in this way was intolerable thought, since in Jewish tradition (cf. Jn. 5:17, 18 . . .) to claim su equality is tantamount to a false independence and to setting up a rebellion agai the divine government" (op. cit., 97). He chose, therefore, to empty himself and ta the form of a servant which in turn provides the ground and pattern for Christi conduct.

3. The noun *harpagē* means robbery, plunder (of the forcible confiscation Christian property, Heb. 10:34; → Possessions, art. *chrēma* NT 2), what is plunder (Matt. 23:25). The latter passage refers to the inside of the cup and di ceremonially cleansed on the outside by the → Pharisees. The par. in Lk. 11:39 ref to the Pharisees themselves and means greediness, rapacity. The saying points to t hypocrisy of maintaining professed concern for righteousness and purity which bel self-seeking inner motivation. *harpax* means rapacious, ravenous, of wolves (Ma 7:15; cf. Gen. 49:27; → Animal), and as a noun a robber (Lk. 18:11; cf. 1 C 5:10 f.; 6:10; Tit. 1:9 *v.l.*).

4. The vb. used in the sayings about the two men in the field and the two wom grinding at the mill, and one being taken and the other left, is *paralambanō* (Ma 24:40 f.; Lk. 17:34 f.). The vb. is used generally for taking someone along (e.g. G 47:2; 2 Macc. 5:5; Matt. 2:13 f., 20 f.; 17:1 f.; Lk. 9:28), and is used of the spirit th takes seven other spirits to help him (Lk. 11:26; cf. Arndt, 624 f. for other example The sayings in Matt. and Lk. have sometimes been taken to imply a rapture believers prior to the judgment. But this teaching is not paralleled elsewhere, and appears to read too much into the vb. The point of the passage is to encourage t hearers to watch and be ready for the coming of the Son of man (cf. Matt. 24:39, 4

ıtes of the world to meet in the air the Christ acclaimed as Lord" (E. Petersen, *Heis heos*, 1926, 380). *eis apantēsin*, to meet, is the technical term for the solemn eeting of important persons. The language is that of contemporary Jewish ɔocalyptic. Rapture has a similar meaning in Gen. 5:24, where death has been iminated. For further discussion of Paul's eschatology → Present, art. *The Parousia ıd Eschatology in the NT* 2 (c).

In Rev. 12:5 the child (Jesus) is caught up to God to escape the persecution of the dragon; this is the expression in the picture language of Rev. of incidents like that corded in Matt. 2:13 ff. *E. Tiedtke*

(d) The meaning of *harpazō* in Matt. 11:12 is debatable: "From the days of John ɛ Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven has suffered violence [*biazetai*; cf. RSV ɡ. "has been coming violently"], and men of violence take it by force [*kai biastai ırpazousin autēn*]" (RSV). The par. in Lk. 16:16 omits the vb.: "The law and the ophets were until John; since then the good news of the kingdom of God is eached, and every one enters it violently [*kai pas eis autēn biazetai*]." In Lk. this mes as an isolated saying, but in Matt. it stands in the context of a discussion of ɛ significance of John the Baptist. Arndt (108) suggests that the juxtaposition with ızzetai probably means something like seize or claim for oneself. This would imply at the kingdom of God forces its way through with violence (cf. RSV mg.), if the ı. *biazetai* is taken in the middle voice. If the vb. is passive, it would mean that the ıgdom is striven after with violence. The emphasis would thus fall on the renuncia- ɔn and effort required to enter the kingdom, and the idea would be comparable with tering by the narrow → gate (Matt. 7:13 ff.). However, *biazō* generally expresses ɔlent and hostile action in a bad sense, and the parallelism in Matt. reinforces this ɛa. D. Hill suggests that the v. means "that from the Baptist's time till the present ɛ Kingdom is being violently assaulted, and violent men try to grab or rob it. The ıusion may be to the opposition of Satan and evil spirits to the Kingdom, or to the ɔlence of Herod Antipas to John; but a more likely explanation is that the reference either to Zealots who try to bring in the Kingdom by employing force against the ɔmans, or to Jewish antagonists who continued to persecute Christians" (*The ɔspel of Matthew*, *New Century Bible*, 1971, 200 f.). The context suggests that the te of John the Baptist is uppermost in Jesus' mind. But his warning would not eclude the other suggestions, the main thrust of which is to make it clear "that sus considers his ministry to be a time when the Kingdom can be attacked as being esent" (D. Hill, op. cit., 201; cf. W. G. Kümmel, *Promise and Fulfilment*, *SBT* 23, ɔ61², 121 ff.).

Hill considers the Matthean form of the saying to be the more original, and the ıcan version to be a simplification. As it stands, Lk.'s saying could mean that the thusiastic (i.e. tax collectors and sinners) are grasping the opportunity to enter the ıgdom, whereas the complacent self-righteous do not (cf. Lk. 16:14 f.). But the lusion to the opposition of the Pharisees in the preceding vv. could also mean that ey too are part of the opposition which is doing violence to the kingdom which is esent in the ministry of Jesus.

2. The noun *harpagmos* is found only in Phil. 2:6: "who, though he was in the rm of God, did not count equality with God a thing to be grasped [*harpagmon*]." ɲ the Christ-hymn in Phil. 2:5–11 see R. P. Martin, *Carmen Christi: Philippians ii.*

says that Enoch "was caught up": the word used elsewhere in the LXX anc secular Gk. (from Homer, *Od.*, on) is *metatithēmi* (Gen. 5:24; Wis. 4:10; Sir. 44: 49:14, etc.). But since the translation of Enoch (Gen. 5:24) frequently appears later Jewish literature and has left traces even in the NT (cf. 2 Cor. 12:2 f.; 1 Th 4:17), it is important to discuss what is meant by the rapture in Gen. 5:24. This n be understood as in the Gilgamesh epic, where the hero is translated directly from earthly life into the fellowship of the gods. If that is so, Enoch, because of his pleasing to God, was taken directly into God's presence without first going to Sh (→ Hell). The manner in which this happened is not mentioned (cf. Heb. 11:5, wh *metatithēmi* is used; Jude 14). Similarly, → Elijah was taken directly into Gc fellowship (2 Ki. 2:11 f.). For further discussion of the translations of Enoch and jah → Resurrection, art. *anastasis* NT 5.

NT 1. *harpazō* is found 14 times in the NT.

(a) As in secular Gk. and the LXX, it has the meaning to steal, carry off, d away (Matt. 12:29; Jn. 10:12; cf. Gen. 37:33; Pss. 7:3[2]; 50[49]:22).

(b) It also means to lead away forcibly (Jn. 6:15; 10:28, 29; Acts 23:10; Jude 2

(c) It is used of the Spirit carrying someone away – also *metatithēmi* – (Acts 8: 2 Cor. 12:2, 4; 1 Thess. 4:17; Rev. 12:5). "Rapture is a change of location whic granted men through more than human power" (G. Strecker, "Entrückung", *RA* 461). We must distinguish in the NT between a movement from one place on earth another (Acts 8:39) and being caught up into a supernatural world (e.g. 2 Cor. 1: 4).

Following the baptism of the Ethiopian eunuch "the Spirit of the Lord caught Philip; and the eunuch saw him no more" (Acts 8:39). This should be taken spati and really. It has close links with 2 Ki. 2, even in verbal details (cf. especially v. But it may also be compared with the Spirit driving Jesus into the wilderness after baptism (Matt. 4:1 par. Mk. 1:12, Lk. 4:1). 2 Cor. 12:2 ff. is based on an entirely ferent concept. Paul, with a certain reluctance, saw himself forced by his oppone to tell of an experience, which really concerned only God and himself. In the "spi the gnostic left even the prison of his body so as to immerse himself temporarily the cosmic body of Christ. Paul contrasts the rapture given him with this high degree of ecstatic experience. It was not a journey of the soul to heaven – he did know whether the rapture had been in his body or out of it – nor a physical asc sion. His description is very reserved and betrays nothing of the way in which it curred. "It is precisely the essential feature of the process that remains veiled" Schlatter, *Paulus der Bote Jesu*, 1962[3] ad loc.). The stress lies solely on the fact Paul temporarily moved from faith into sight, that he experienced for a moment w he was to be. In contrast to his opponents, Paul knew that he had not reached final perfection in his rapture, which would have made faith unnecessary. For furt discussion → Paradise, art. *paradeisos* NT 1 (b).

In 1 Thess. 4:17 Paul deals with the final rapture into the fellowship of redeemed at the last day. It was not the sufferings of the church that caused Pau make the statement, but the concern of some of its members about the fate of Ch tians who had already died. This concern is removed by the certainty of → resur tion. Those Christians who were still alive would not die but would be taken directly into the fellowship of those who had already been raised, "as they leave

aul thought of himself as the slave of Christ (Rom. 1:1 etc.) and as a prisoner of ar (Rom. 16:7; Col. 4:10; Phlm. 23), Barrett considers that Paul is here thinking of imself as one who collaborates with God and not as someone exposed to defeat and isgrace. He, therefore, suggests that Paul is seeing himself here as one of the iumphant generals. However, there is much in the letter which indicates that outardly the apostle was subject to calamity, and apparent defeat and shame (2 Cor. :7–12; 11:21–12:10). And this may underlie v. 14 and the next two vv.: "For we re the aroma [*euōdia*] of Christ to God among those who are being saved and mong those who are perishing, to the one a fragrance [*osmē*] from death to death, to ıe other a fragrance [*osmē*] from life to life. Who is sufficient for these things?" 2 Cor. 2:15 f.). The imagery thus appears to change. On the one hand, the apostle in ll his weakness, lack of acclaim and with his message of the cross, is like the stench f death to those who only see defeat and a morbid message. On the other hand, his acrificial service for the gospel of Christ's sacrifice recalls the sweet savour of the)T sacrifices (cf. Gen. 8:21; Exod. 29:18; Lev. 1:9; Num. 15:3; Ezek. 7:13; Dan. :34; Eph. 5:2; Phil. 4:18; and the "odour of wisdom" in Sir. 24:15; 39:14; Syr. Bar. 7:6). "It seems inevitable that one should fill out the picture by taking Paul's sense ɔ be that the apostles are the smoke that arises out of the sacrifice of Christ to God, iffusing as it ascends the knowledge of God that is communicated in the cross" (C. . Barrett, op. cit., 99; cf. SB III 497 for rabbinic analogies). *C. Brown*

→ Fight, → Incense, → Sacrifice

ı). H. F. Beck, "Odor", *IDB* III 589 f.; G. Delling, *osmē TDNT* V 493 ff.; A. Stumpf, *euōdia*, *TDNT* 808 ff.

ɔ). E. Lohmeyer, *Vom göttlichen Wohlgeruch, Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Vissenschaften* 10, 9, 1919; E. Nestle. "Der süsse Geruch als Erweis des Geistes", *ZNW* 4, 1903, 272; nd ibid. 7, 1906, 95 f.

ɔnatch, Take Away, Rapture

ἁρπάζω

ἁρπάζω (*harpazō*), snatch, seize; ἁρπαγμός (*harpagmos*), robbery, that of which someone is robbed, prize, booty; ἁρπαγή (*harpagē*), robbery, plunder, greediness, rapacity; ἅρπαξ (*harpax*), rapacious, avenous, a robber, swindler; μετατίθημι (*metatithēmi*), to transfer, change the posiion of, change, turn away.

ɪL *harpazō* (from Homer on) is related to Lat. *rapio*, seize, snatch, and means to snatch, seize, carry off, rob, plunder, ravish. *harpagmos* means both robbery, ape, and the thing of which a person is robbed, a prize to be grasped.

ɔT *harpazō* in the LXX represents mostly Heb. *gāzal*, take away, rob (e.g. Lev. 6:4 [MT 5:23]; 19:13; Jdg. 21:23; Isa. 10:2; and metaphorically Mic. 3:2), and *ārap̄*, tear, e.g. of beasts of prey, tear in pieces (e.g. Gen. 37:33; Pss. 22:13 [MT 2:14]; 104[103]:21; Amos 3:4; and also Hos. 5:14; Ps. 50[49]:22, where Yahweh imself, facing an apostate people, is compared to a lion rending in pieces; cf. Hos. ɔ:1).

Only once does the LXX have the meaning rapture, being caught up. Wis. 4:11

In the revelation of deity the smell proceeding from it is important as "the bearer a producer of divine life" (E. Lohmeyer, *Vom göttlichen Wohlgeruch*, 1919, 13).

OT Some passages of the OT may reflect the idea of a life-force received throu smell: the bridegroom in the Song of Solomon sings of the ravishing fragra of his beloved (e.g. Cant. 4:10; 4:16 and passim); the power of Moab is compa with that of mature wine and its "bouquet" (Jer. 48:11); and the smell of fresh h indicates to Isaac the presence of his first-born son, a strong, virile hunter (G 27:27). In particular, passages attributed to the Priestly source use the word fr Gen. to Num.: the offering is made to the Lord "for a pleasing odour" (Gen. 8: Lev. 2:12; cf. Lev. 1:9; 13, 17; Num. 28:1 f. etc.). Some scholars have seen in t idea that as the smell of the sacrifice ascends to heaven, God feeds upon it. But L 26:31 and Amos 5:21 show the limits of this materialistic concept. God is not dep dent on the bringing of offerings, nor upon their smell. In a metaphorical, spirit sense wisdom is said to diffuse fragrance (Sir. 24:15), while Sir. 39:14 calls the pra of God by his people a sweet smell. But even in this metaphorical usage materialistic background can still be seen, in that the fragrance diffused by wisd and godliness contains a life-giving power.

NT *osmē* is found only 6 times in the NT, 2 of which are in the combination *o euōdias*, which stems from the OT; *euōdia* occurs in only one other place (2 C 2:15), between two verses each containing *osmē*.

In the story of the anointing at Bethany (Jn. 12:3), the house is said to have b filled with the fragrance of the ointment. In addition to the literal sense, there doubtless symbolism here: as the fragrance of the ointment filled the house, so fragrance of the gospel will shortly fill the whole earth (cf. R. Bultmann, *The Go of John*, 1971, 415). In Eph. 5:2 *osmē euōdias* is used to describe the death of Ch as a → sacrifice which is "for a sweet-smelling fragrance to God". This figura usage is particularly apparent in Phil. 4:18, where Paul calls the financial aid sen him by the Philippians "a fragrant offering". The idea here is not simply that of sacrifice in the strict sense of the word; the Philippians' gift is "a symbol of any every gift which a man brings to God" (E. Lohmeyer, *Die Briefe an die Philip Kolosser und an Philemon*, *KEK* 9, 1964[13], ad loc.).

The concept of *osmē* as a life-giving or death-giving force re-emerges, however 2 Cor. 2:14 ff. The fragrance of the knowledge of God is being diffused by the w of the apostle; indeed, Paul himself is the bearer of the fragrance of Christ. But fragrance spread abroad through his preaching has a twofold effect: to those v obey the gospel it brings divine life, while to those who refuse the message it bri eternal death. Paul adopts this naturalistic approach in order to show vividly how gospel divides men and calls for their individual decision, but also to emphasize divine power inherent in the gospel. *O. Flender*

C. K. Barrett, on the other hand, thinks that the imagery of v. 14 is proba drawn from the use of → incense in the pagan, royal and religious triumphal pro sions: "But thanks be to God, who in Christ always leads us in triumph, and thro us spreads the fragrance [*osmēn*] of the knowledge of him everywhere" (cf. *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, *BNTC*, 1973, 98; cf. also 1 Cor. 4:9). Altho

:usalem were from Cyrene and the other places is an open question. Libertines, in s context, have no relationship with the English word "libertine", a person un- ıibited in mores. *G. T. D. Angel*

Freedom, → Serve, → Yoke

A. El-M. Bakir, *Slavery in Pharaonic Egypt, Supplément aux Annales du Service des Antiquités de gypte* 18, 1952; R. H. Barrow, *Slavery in the Roman Empire*, 1928; S. Benko and J. O'Rourke, eds., *Catacombs and the Colosseum*, 1971; A. C. Bouquet, *Everyday Life in New Testament Times*, 3, 151–55; S. Scott Bartchy, *MALLON CHRĒSAI: First Century Slavery and the Interpretation of Corinthians 7:21*, *Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series* 11, 1973; W. W. Buckland, *The nan Law of Slavery*, 1908; J. Carcopino, *Daily Life in Ancient Rome*, 1941, 52–75; J. A. Crook, *w and Life of Rome*, 1967, 179–205; M. David, "The Manumission of Slaves under Zedekiah", *OTS* 948, 63–79; A. M. Duff, *Freedmen in the Early Roman Empire*, 1928; H. L. Ellison, "The Hebrew ve: A Study in Early Israelite History", *EQ* 45, 1973, 30–35; M. I. Finley, ed., *Slavery in Classical iquity*, 1960, with supplement 1968; "Between Slavery and Freedom", *Comparative Studies in iety and History*, 6, 1964, 233 ff.; and "Slavery", *OCD* 994 ff.; R. Flacelière, *Daily Life in Ancient ece*, 1959, 45–54; M. Grant, *The World of Rome*, 1960, 100–125; J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the ıe of Jesus: An Investigation into Economic and Social Conditions in the New Testament Period*, 9; G. Kittel, *aichmalōtos* etc., *TDNT* I 195 ff.; and *desmos, desmios*, *TDNT* II 43; N. P. Lemcke, ıe 'Hebrew Slave': Comments on the Slave Law, Ex. xxi. 2–11", *VT* 25, 1975, 129–44; F. Lyall, ɔman Law in the Writings of Paul: The Slave and the Freedman", *NTS* 17, 1970–71, 73–9; and ɔman Law in the Writings of Paul: Adoption" *JBL* 88, 1969, 458–66; I. Mendelsohn, "The Con- ɔnal Sale into Slavery of Free-born Daughters in Nuzi and the Law of Ex. 21:7–11", *Journal of the erican Oriental Society* 55, 1935, 190–95; "Guilds in Ancient Palestine", *BASOR* 80, 1940, 17–21; ee Artisans and Slaves in Mesopotamia", *BASOR* 89, 1943, 25–29; *Slavery in the Ancient Near t*, 1949; "On Slavery in Alalakh", *Israel Exploration Journal* 5, 1955, 65–72; and "Slavery in the ", *IDB* IV 383–91; G. R. Morrow, *Plato's Law of Slavery in its Relation to Greek Laws*, 1939; K. Rengstorf, *doulos* etc., *TDNT* II 261–80; W. G. Rollins, "Slavery in the NT", *IDB Supplementary ume*, 1976, 830 ff.; K. C. Russell, *Slavery as Reality and Metaphor in the Pauline Letters*, (Disserta- ı, Pontifical University) 1968; A. Rupprecht, "Slave, Slavery", *ZPEB* V 453–60; B. J. Siegel, *very During the Third Dynasty of Ur, Memoir Series of the American Anthropological Association* 1947; R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions*, 1961, 80–90; J. Vogt, *Ancient Slavery the Ideal of Man*, 1972; J. Weiss, *Earliest Christianity: A History of the Period A.D. 30–150*, II, 9, 458–63; W. L. Westermann, *The Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity*, 1955, H. W. lff, "Masters and Slaves", *Interpretation* 27, 1973, 259–72; W. Zimmerli, "Slavery in the OT", *IDB ıplementary Volume*, 1976, 829 f.

W. Brandt, *Dienst und Dienen im Neuen Testament*, 1931; E. Häusler, *Sklaven und Personen min- ɛn Rechts im Alten Testament*, 1956; G. Kehnscherper, *Die Stellung der Bibel und der alten stlichen Kirche zur Sklaverei*, 1957; S. Lauffer, "Die Sklaverei in der griechisch-römischen Welt", *nnasium*, 1961, 370 ff.; G. Locher, "Sklaverei", *EKL* III 975 ff.; G. von Rad, *Das Gottesvolk im ıteronomium, BWANT*, 1929; G. Sass, "Zur Bedeutung von *doulos* bei Paulus", *ZNW* 40, 1941, ff.; SB IV 698 ff.; H. Wallon, *Histoire de l'Esclavage dans l'Antiquité*, I–III, 1879; H. D. Wendland, laverei und Christentum", *RGG*[3] VI 101 ff.

ıell

ὀσμή

ὀσμή (*osmē*), smell, scent; *εὐωδία* (*euōdia*), fragrance, aroma.

osmē, Ion. *odmē*, means smell, scent. Antiquity conceived smell in such strongly material terms that the trunk of a tree was said to receive new life and vitality m the scent of water (cf. Job 14:9). Aristotle mentions the view of the thagoreans "that some living creatures live on scents" (*De Sensu* 5). Smell was refore considered to contain, quite literally, a life-giving force. This materialistic a of smell as something charged with energy also appears in the sphere of religion.

6. Hence, he who would be first in Jesus Christ's community must be its sla (Matt. 20:27). It is understandable that in the light of this dialectical concept Christian freedom as a *douleia* after the pattern of the redeemer, the sociologi question of the freedom of slaves did not appear a pressing one. Christians w aware of the indelible distinction between master and slave. However, the liberati knowledge of the common service that both had to one heavenly master (Eph. 6 was normative; through it "we experience a joyous liberation from the godless bc dage of this world to serve God's creatures in freedom and thankfulness" (*Barm Declaration*, Thesis 2). Master and servant are told to subject themselves to t Lord, because it is in their mutual treatment of one another that they join themsel to that community whose rule is love. However, it is not left to the choice of dividual members of the community (particularly the choice of masters and servan to decide whether or not thus to subject themselves and join this community. It precisely the concept of *douleuō*, in contrast to that of *diakoneō* (→ Serve), th emphasizes the obligatory character of the service for God and to one's neighbc that is the duty of the community of those who have been set free by Jesus Christ.

R. Tuente

Λιβερτῖνος — Λιβερτῖνος (*Libertinos*), Libertine, Freedman.

CL & OT *Libertinos* is a Gk. borrowing of the Lat. *libertinus*, found in secular G only on an inscription (*IG* XIV 1781). The normal Greek translation *libertinus* or *libertus* is *apeleutheros* (cf. 1 Cor. 7:22) or *exeleutheros*. The *libertin* was a freed slave, who after either buying or having been given his freedom und went manumission, a process whereby his freedom was secured publicly. But l freedom did not amount to full citizen rights, for example, he could not petition l legal action without permission nor gain high military office. However, some free men, during the Empire, as employees of the state or of wealthy patrons, amass considerable wealth and wielded political power.

NT At the sole New Testament reference, the text reads: "Some of those out of t so-called synagogue of the Libertines and of the Cyrenians and Alexandrians a of people from Asia and Cilicia opposed, debating with Stephen" (Acts 6:9). E egetes agree that the Libertines were Jewish freedmen, but they debate (a) whetl the freedmen were from Cyrene, Alexandria, Asia and Cilicia (so J. Munck, *The A of the Apostles*, *Anchor Bible*, 1967, 58), or were separate from the Cyrenians a the others, such as descendants of Jews brought to Rome by Pompey in 63 B.C. a later freed who are described in Philo, *Leg. Gai.* 155 (Schürer, II, i, 49; II, ii, 56 276), and (b) whether the one synagogue served all these ethnic groups (F. F. Bru *The Book of Acts, NLC*, 1954, 133; E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 19 271), two synagogues (H. Strathmann, *TDNT* IV 267 f.), or five (Schürer, *loc. ci* Large towns had more than one synagogue (Philo, *Leg. Gai.* 137 f., 156 f Jerusalem at one stage had a synagogue of Alexandrians (SB II 663 f.). Because t Libertines are a social group while the others are ethnic, Dibelius, for examp welcomes a variant reading in an Armenian version *Libyorum*, of Libyans (*Studi in the Acts of the Apostles*, 1956, 91). A natural reading of Acts 6:9 suggests o synagogue only, but whether the Jewish freedmen served by the one synagogue

he pre-existent One takes on the *morphē* of a *doulos*. The point of this expression loes not lie in a statement about the obedience of the incarnate Christ (this follows in ʾhil. 2:8b), i.e. in its picking up the OT concept of the Servant of God (Isa. 53, MT *ʿebeḏ* YHWH; LXX *pais theou*, → Son). For discussion → Form, art. *morphē*; → ɛmpty, art. *kenoō*. Hence, when Christ takes on the form of a slave, he enters into ull solidarity with mankind in its subjection to sin, law and death. As servant, he is ubject to the *nomos* (Gal. 4:4) and bears its curse (Gal. 3:13). He takes on a form 'that was like that of sinful flesh" (Rom. 8:3), and thus made himself a brother of nen "who through fear of death must serve in bondage all their lives long" (Heb. ?:15). It is the form of the servant that exactly describes Jesus Christ's incarnation as he deepest self-abasement.

4. Thus the Lord's form as a servant unmasks the nature of unredeemed man as *louleia*. This slavery is that of sin, i.e. man's obsession with the illusion that he can nake or maintain his own life and freedom with reference only to himself and in his ɔwn power. That which the Greeks regarded as the highest form of freedom (cf. CL 1) ɔecomes in the NT the source of man's most abject bondage. Man, bent in upon him- ɨelf, obstinately waves God's help aside and busies himself in running his own life in ıis own strength, trusting in his own resources, and falls into the grip of → fear (Rom. 3:15; Heb. 2:15). He trusts in the tangible and is subject to the "bondage of mor- ɑlity" (Rom. 8:21). He makes use of the law and the powers of this world to create 'his own righteousness", and is enslaved under the "curse of the law" (Gal. 3:13), ɨtanding in the service of "the gods who are not really such" (Gal. 4:8). Since every ɑttempt of man to liberate himself must thus ensnare him yet further, his *douleia* is ɔomplete and is not restricted, as in gnostic dualism, to the level of matter and the ɔody. The comprehensive and remorseless phrase, *douleia tēs hamartias*, gives the lie ɔo just this sort of idea of an inalienable residue of inner, spiritual freedom (cf. Rom. 7:23.; → *aichmalōtos*).

5. Jesus Christ alone redeems man from the slavery of sin with the price of his ɗeath. The metaphor of sacral manumission is here united with the idea of a change ɔf masters. Believers "having been set free from sin, have become slaves of ɾighteousness" (Rom. 6:18; cf. v. 22). This manumission from the bondage of a sup- ɔosed independence into *eleutheria* (→ freedom) does not lead to a new indepen- ɗence. Rather, the one manumitted is set free for the "obedience of faith" which he ɔresents to his Lord, Jesus Christ, as his servant (Rom. 12:11; 14:18; Col. 3:24; cf. 1 Thess. 1:9; Rom. 7:6). Yet this new relationship of master and servant is ɗominated, not by "the spirit of slavery [*pneuma douleias*] to fall back into fear"; ɓelievers "have received the spirit of sonship [*pneuma hyiothesias*]" (Rom. 8:15; → Child, art. *hyios* NT 2). However, the freedom of God's sons is not to become "an op- ɔortunity for the flesh". Hence, the redeemed are called upon to "serve one another in love" (Gal. 5:13). This sort of service of love to one's neighbours is rooted in Christ's love in taking the form of a servant (cf. the exhortations of Phil. 2:1–4, which are causally related to Phil. 2:5 ff.). As a *doulos*, Jesus showed his love to his disciples by washing their feet (the duty of a slave), "that you also should do what I have done to you" (Jn. 13:15). The nature of Christ's loving work thus prevents anything like the orthodox, pharisaic separation of God's service from that of one's neighbour. The freedom that is found in the obedience of faith expresses itself in lov- ing service of one's neighbour.

society into lord and servant, free and bond. Repeatedly slaves are called to l obedient to their masters in all things – even to unmerciful ones (1 Pet. 2:18; → Si art. *hamartia* NT 4 (c)); we may compare the ethical instruction of Col. 3:22; Ep 6:5; 1 Tim. 6:1; Tit. 2:9. Paul recognizes Philemon's right to Onesimus as his posse sion, even if Philemon's position shows something of the tension existing between tl *status quo* and faith in the one Lord, Jesus Christ (cf. 1 Cor. 7:20–24). It is on possible here to draw attention to two different ways of translating 1 Cor. 7:2 Many commentators render it: "If you actually [*ei kai*] have an opportunity becoming free, by all means [*mallon*] seize it." But C. K. Barrett prefers: "Were yc a slave when you were called? Let not that trouble you, but even though you may l able to become free put up rather with your present status" (*The First Epistle to t Corinthians*, *BNTC*, 1968, 170). However, for Paul the main point is freedom Christ (vv. 22 ff.). For a more detailed discussion see S. Scott Bartchy, *MALLO CHRĒSAI: First Century Slavery and the Interpretation of 1 Corinthians 7:2 Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series* 11, 1973.

(b) The sociological problems of this state of affairs which we have sketched o are mitigated by the fact that God's revelation in Jesus Christ shows that all men a in the relentless grip of a completely different sort of slavery. Man outside the sphe of Christ's rule is a *doulos tēs hamartias*, a slave of sin (Rom. 6:17). This *douleia* c consist of a miserably meticulous observance of the "letter" in the hope of salvatic (Rom. 7:6, 25; → Law, art. *nomos*), or of a slavish adoration of the mediating cosm powers (Gal. 4:3, 8 f.), or of a frenzied horror of death (Heb. 2:15), or of the servi of the belly (Rom. 16:18) and one's lusts (Tit. 3:3). This means in general th "whoever commits sin is a slave of sin" (Jn. 8:34). Similarly Paul asks: "Do you n know that if you yield to anyone as obedient slaves, you are slaves of the one who you obey, either of sin, which leads to death, or of obedience, which leads righteousness? " (Rom. 6:16). One cannot free oneself from this servitude of sin l one's own efforts nor change masters by one's own decision. Only he whom the S sets free is really free (Jn. 8:36). Christ's redemption frees one for obedient servi under the command of the *Kyrios* (Rom. 12:11; 14:18; Col. 3:24) and leads one in the service of righteousness in the new Spirit-given nature (Rom. 6:18; 7:6). Paul se himself, called to his office as an apostle, as in a special way a *doulos Christou Iēsc* "servant of Christ Jesus" (Rom. 1:1; Phil. 1:1; Gal. 1:10). This title is also used refer to the office of one of his colleagues like Epaphras (Col. 4:12). In this titul sense *doulos* is closest in sense to *diakonos*, servant, which is frequently used Paul's writings of the apostolic service of witness (Col. 4:7, *diakonos kai syndoul* "servant and fellow slave"; → Serve, art. *diakoneō*). But here, as elsewhere, the d tinctive thing about the concept of the *doulos* is the subordinate, obligatory a responsible nature of his service in his exclusive relation to his Lord. At the sar time, all who are called to freedom are set to serve one another in love (Gal. 5:1 Paul made himself a slave of all (1 Cor. 9:19); in the service of the gospel (Phil. 2:2 he is the servant of the community for Christ's sake (2 Cor. 4:5). He who would first in Christ's community must be its slave (Matt. 20:27).

3. This last evaluation of slavery is only excelled by the dignity given to it by t bestowal upon the *kyrios* of the title of *doulos*. Christ divested himself and took the form of a servant (Phil. 2:7, *morphēn doulou labōn*). Above all, the statement Phil. 2:7 shows the theological significance of this group of words. In becoming m

orship in this context (Jdg. 2:7; 2 Chr. 30:8; the Heb. noun *ʿbōḏâh* means the service of worship). Just as one humbly referred to oneself as "your servant" when addressing the king (e.g. in 2 Sam. 9:8), so does he who prays to God (frequently in the ss.: "your servant", e.g. Pss. 19:11, 13; 67[66]:17; 86[85]:2, 4, 16; 119[118], 17, 3, 38, 49, 65, 76, 84, 122, 124 f., 135, 140, 176). In calling himself the *doulos* of this *yrios* (Ps. 122[123]:2; cf. here the Gk. idea of the relation of God and man as one *ata physin*, by → nature), the Israelite was conscious of the infinite distance between im and his God and also of his complete dependence upon him. The worth of the *oulos* stood or fell with his knowledge of his *kyrios*, Lord, and so was based upon is relation to God. Yahweh encounters his people as a judging, saving Lord. Hence, lthough the concept of the *doulos* still retained the element of unconditional subjecon to another, it yet lost the character of abject baseness. As a result of God's ɔecial election, *doulos* became a title of honour (Ps. 88[89]:3). The concept of the *oulos*, thus expanded, in turn affected one's relation to one's fellow-countrymen. He ho honoured Yahweh, the God who had chosen a people for himself, knew at the ame time that he had been joined to his community to serve them.

3. In late Palestinian Judaism the OT usage lived on. Alongside the secular use of ıese words expressions like "service of worship", "serving God", "servant of God", ccur in Essene as well as in rabbinic texts. Philo, however, shows the influence of ik. thought: the use of *doulos* and its cognates for one's relation to God was found ffensive by them and was toned down or avoided completely (*Det. Pot. Ins.* 56; cf. . H. Rengstorf, *TDNT* II 269). At the same time *doulos*, etc., took on a new ignificance in the dualistic world-view of gnosticism. Man, alienated from his home ı the light, found himself in *douleia* to cosmic powers, in the "bondage of corrupon" (cf. Rom. 8:21). The dualistic system of contrasted spirit and matter represen-ɜd man as fatefully bound to matter. Man's self of sense, desire and will, bound up in ıis world, was to him something alien and a prison from which he, the prisoner, ould not free himself. For the position of slaves in the NT era, see J. Jeremias, *erusalem in the Time of Jesus*, 1969, 312–16, cf. 110 ff., 303 ff.

T 1. *doulos* and its cognates appear very frequently in the Pauline writings in comparison to the rest of the NT. Apart from that, they occur often in Matt., less in k., Acts and Rev., rarely in Mk. and Jn. and hardly at all in the Pastorals and the atholic Epistles. Out of the 124 instances of *doulos*, 30 are in Paul, 30 in Matt. and 6 in Lk. Out of the 25 instances of *douleuō*, 17 are in Paul.

2. (a) In order to appreciate the nuances of meaning in the NT we must first see hat its attitude is to the position of the slave in society. This can be found out prinipally from the parables of Jesus. Occasionally, slaves are put in a position of esponsibility and command (Matt. 24:45). But the slave owes his master exclusive nd absolute obedience (Matt. 8:9). "No one can serve as slave to two masters" Matt. 6:24; → Possessions, art. *mamōnas*). His work earned him neither profit nor ıanks; he was only doing what he owed as a bondslave (Lk. 17:7–10). The master ould use his unlimited power over his slave – for good (Matt. 18:27) or for unmeriful punishment if he were guilty of some fault (Matt. 18:34; 25:30). The NT resists ıe contemporary verdict on slaves as a contemptible lower class by, in the first lace, the use of *doulos* in the parables of Jesus to describe the relation of all men to od. Throughout its pages the NT finds nothing objectionable in the division of

24:7). The extradition of fugitive slaves was forbidden (Deut. 23:15 f.). The nea the OT comes to recognizing the sale of minors is Exod. 21:7–11 (cf. Neh. 5:1- But one could sell oneself in cases of debt and also refuse one's freedom which law provided for after the statutory period of six years, when the master was obli to offer his slave his freedom (Exod. 21:5 f.; Lev. 23:39–55; Deut. 15:16 f.). Slav could result from insolvency (Exod. 21:2 ff.; 22:2; Deut. 15:12; cf. 1 Sam. 2 2 Ki. 4:1; Neh. 5:1–5). But the practice was condemned as inhumane by prophets (Isa. 50:1; Amos 2:6). In Egypt and Babylonia slaves could be brandec tattooed. The Israelite who chose to remain a slave after the six-year period hac have his ear pierced (Exod. 21:6; Deut. 15:17), possibly in order to allow for a ta ownership.

According to the Code of Hammurabi (*§§* 146 f.), the female slave who had bo children to her mistress's husband could not be sold. Perhaps Hagar came under same category (Gen. 16). The children of slaves remained the property of the ma (Exod. 21:4). The promiscuous use of female slaves may be inferred from Job 31 The Laws of Eshnunna and the Code of Hammurabi never considered the slave an injured party. In the OT, in the case of the slave who has been gored, it is master who is compensated (Exod. 21:32). The penalty for violating a slave girl comparatively slight "since she was not free" (Lev. 19:20). Slaves could be maltr ed, but if the slave lost a limb he was to be given his freedom, and in the case of de the master was liable to punishment (Exod. 21:20–27). On the other hand, it was visaged that the slave would work alongside his master and would participate in his religious observances including the → sabbath rest (Gen. 17:1–13, 27; Ex 12:44; 20:10; 23:12; Lev. 22:11; Deut. 5:14; 12:12, 18; 16:11, 14). The prophec Joel 2:29 (3:2) extends to the slaves, implying their full participation in the outpc ing of the → Spirit. Job 31:15 questions the moral basis of slavery in its recogni that both the slave and the free man were fashioned in the womb, and thus ha common humanity.

OT legislation provided for manumission after six years' service (Exod. 21:2 Deut. 15:12) and in the jubilee year (Lev. 25:39–43, 47–55). A girl sold as a b was to be released if the master or his sons did not take her (Exod. 21:7–11). A sl permanently maimed by his master was to be freed, though without compensa (Exod. 21:26 f.). Asylum was to be granted to the fugitive (Deut. 23:15 f.). (F fuller discussion of the conditions of slavery in Israel see R. de Vaux, *Ancient Isr Its Life and Institutions*, 1961, 80–90, and the various specialist studies noted in bibliography below.)

The concept of the *doulos* in the sense of a chattel gave expression to the rela between a subject and his king under the despotic monarchies of the Near East. ruler's absolute power is in contrast to the most abject subservience and sla dependence. He who calls himself a *doulos* acknowledges that another has po over him. Even the highest official, the vizier, is a servant in his relation to the k Hence the title "servant" can be one of honour, which is borne by important fig in the OT like Moses, David or the prophets, who are called "servants of God" Jos. 14:7A; 24:29; Jdg. 2:18; 2 Ki. 17:23; Pss. 89[88]:3; 105[104]:42; Isa. 48 Dan. 3:5; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 5:39).

2. This courtly, ceremonial language is adopted in worship to describe the rela of God and man (especially in 1–2 Ki.). *douleuō* is the most usual LXX word

K. H. Rengstorf, *TDNT* II 261). Because *douleuō* involved the abrogation of one's own autonomy and the subordination of one's will to that of another, the Greek felt only revulsion and contempt for the position of a slave. The *doulos* could take part in the domestic worship. Nor was he always treated barbarously; he could be humanely treated (Menander). He had an equal status with free men in the Eleusinian mysteries. Yet on the whole, the life of the slave was one of unrelieved compulsory labour and service in the household and in public works. The ideal of freedom was limited by Plato (*Laws* 4, 715D) to counteract the arbitrary decisions of the Sophists: he put forward the concept of the *nomos* (→ law) to guarantee the maintenance of the independent city-state. Only in the phrase *douleuein tois nomois*, "to serve the laws", is the *doulos* group of words shown in a favourable and honourable light. The idea of serving the gods appears first in the Cynic Stoics (Epictetus, *Dissertationes* 3, 22, 69; 3, 22, 82; 3, 22, 95). The concept *doulos tou theou*, "slave of God", is significantly absent in Epictetus; *douloi* for him are still a despised class. The object of the worship of the gods is in fact freedom from all internal and external ties (Epictetus, *Dissertationes* 3, 22, 49). Similarly the Stoic wise man so excused himself from all obligation to serve the community (cf. the Stoic concept of world-citizenship) that he made himself a free servant of his neighbour. It remained peculiar to Gk. thought that man found his true worth only in being conscious of himself and in the free development of his potential. Hence, *douleuein* in the sense of dependence and subordination in service is debasing and contemptible (Epictetus, *Dissertationes* 4, 1, 7 ff.).

OT 1. The *doulos* group of words, with few exceptions (e.g. Isa. 52:13, *pais*, servant [of God]; → Child; → Son), is used in the OT to translate the root *'bd* and its derivatives. The memory of Israel's experiences in their captivity in → Egypt, "the house of slaves" (*bêṯ ᵃḇàḏîm*; LXX *oikos douleias*, Exod. 13:3, 14) lingered on and was the main source of this root's essential meaning: it was distinguished from its synonyms (e.g. *diakoneō*) by its emphasis on the service being that of a slave, i.e. on a repressive or at least dependent form of service under the complete control of a superior. The recollection of their Egyptian bondage also determined (Deut. 15:12 ff.) the free Israelite's treatment of Hebrew slaves (*'eḇeḏ 'iḇrî*, Exod. 21:2). Slave laws regulated the treatment and manumission of a slave who was a Jew by birth. His master alone had the right to his work; his person remained inviolable (cf. Exod. 21:2–11; Lev. 25:35 ff.; Deut. 15:12 ff.). On the other hand, the non-Jewish, Canaanite slave (*'eḇeḏ kᵉnaʿᵃnî*, cf. Lev. 25:44 ff.) was valued like the rest of his chattels and was treated as such.

Many slaves in the ancient Near East were captives taken in war (cf. Num. 31:7 ff.; Deut. 20:10 ff.; 1 Ki. 20:39; 2 Chr. 28:8 ff.). Some were presented to the tabernacle or temple (Num. 31:32–47; Jos. 9:23–27; Ezr. 8:20; Ezek. 44:7 ff.), and others to military leaders (Deut. 20:10–14; 21:10; Jdg. 5:30). But the majority belonged to the king, and slaves played an important part in Israelite economy under the monarchy (1 Ki. 9:21, 27; 2 Chr. 8:18; 9:12). Both the OT and the Code of Hammurabi (*§§* 32, 133 ff.) sought to mitigate their lot by making certain provisions for the welfare of slaves, but they did not condemn the practice outright. Some foreign slaves appear to have been imported into Israel (cf. 1 Chr. 2:34 f.), but the kidnapping and selling of an Israelite was a capital offence (Exod. 21:16; Deut.

chains and bondage, liberation from these is part of the salvation that he awai "Saying to the prisoners, 'Come forth,' and to those who are in darkness, 'Appear (Isa. 49:9; cf. also 42:7). The hymn of praise sung by those that have been fre recalls their servitude in → Egypt: "He brought them out of darkness and gloom, a broke their bonds asunder. Let them thank the LORD for his steadfast love" (107:14; cf. 116:16).

2. As with *zygos*, → yoke, *desmos* can refer to that true relationship with God, t bond and covenant between him and man. Hosea speaks of the cords of divine lc with which Yahweh seeks to bind his people to himself (Hos. 11:4). Jeremiah co plains of the godless nation that had torn off Yahweh's cords (Jer. 2:20; 5:5; cf. 1 combination of *desmos* and *diarrhēgnymi*, tears, in Ps. 2:3; Nah. 1:13).

NT In the NT *desmos* (18 times) and *desmios* (16 times) chiefly occur in the Synoj Gospels (particularly Lk. and Acts) and in the Pauline writings. Here too the sense is more conspicuous than the spiritualized.

1. Like Samson, the Gerasene demoniac tore his fetters apart (Lk. 8:29). Pil was wont to release a prisoner at the festivals (Matt. 27:15 f.). The earthquake br the shackles of the prisoners in the gaol at Philippi (Acts 16:25 ff.). But above *desmos* is mentioned in connexion with Paul's path of suffering. In his farewell dress to the Ephesian elders he speaks of the fetters and the tribulations that aw him in → Jerusalem (Acts 20:23). Luke describes Paul's arrest in detail (A 21:18 ff.; cf. the designation *ho desmios Paulos*, the prisoner Paul, Acts 23: 25:14, 27; 28:17). But Luke also stresses that Paul was unlawfully imprisoned (A 23:29; 26:31), showing the apostle as a prototype of the suffering of the innoc martyr.

2. In his captivity epistles Paul sometimes calls himself *desmios Christou Iēs* the prisoner of Christ Jesus (Phlm. 9; cf. Eph. 3:1; 4:1; the gen. denotes possessic In Phil. he connects his imprisonment with Christ and his gospel (Phil. 1:7, 13 f., The significance that Paul here gives to it lies in the fact that it furthers the progi and spread of the gospel. On the one hand, it has got around in the prison elsewhere that he wears his fetters for Christ's sake; on the other hand, because h in prison, the rest of the brethren venture the more fearlessly to proclaim the go of Christ (Phil. 1:12 ff.).

3. Occasionally *desmos* also occurs in a figurative sense. The dumbness (I 7:35) or paralysis (Lk. 13:16) of a person can be called a fetter with which they bound. This bondage is not only physical; rather, the NT often saw its underly cause in demonic powers. Eph. 4:3 speaks of → peace, and Col. 3:14 of → love as *syndesmos*, the divine bond that binds believers together (cf. Hos. 11:4) and them free. *H.-G. Link*

δοῦλος

δοῦλος (*doulos*), slave; *δουλεία* (*douleia*), slavery; *δουλ* (*douleuō*), be subject, serve.

CL For the Attic Gk., personal freedom was his prized possession. To be indepenc of others and to manage his own life and to live as he chooses is of the essenc such freedom. The *doulos* belonged by nature not to himself, but to someone else

1. In representing deportation by the Gentiles as God's final punishment (Lk. 21:24) NT apocalyptic echoes the OT's horror at the idea of captivity. It is significant that Lk. 4:18 (quoting Isa. 61:1) explicitly includes among Jesus' saving acts the freeing of prisoners. The NT understood Jesus' freeing as both the facilitating and improving of human relations and the reconciling encounter of God with man. In two OT quotations *aichmalōsia* occurs in a modified sense. On Eph. 4:8 (= Ps. 68:18) → Heaven, art. *anabainō* NT 5). Rev. 13:10 adapts Jer. 15:2 and Matt. 26:52 (cf. G. R. Beasley-Murray, *The Book of Revelation, New Century Bible*, 1974, 214 f.). The former was a message of judgment directed to Jerusalem; but in the case of the church the Christian may be called to suffer captivity for his faith. However, he must not resort to force of arms, as Peter did in Gethsemane. The truth of the verse was appallingly illustrated in the fate of many Jews during the Jewish war. In 2 Tim. 3:6 *aichmalōtizō* now simply means capture.

2. Reflecting on his Christian experience, Paul writes: "For I delight in the law of God, in my inmost self, but I see in my members another law at war with the law of my mind and making me captive to the law of sin which dwells in my members" Rom. 7:22f.; → *doulos*; → I Am, art. *egō eimi*, NT 2 (c)). On the other hand, his concept of the new life as an exclusive union with the Lord allows him to use *aichmalōtizō* of the service of Christ: "We lead every thought into captivity to make them subject to Christ" (2 Cor. 10:5; cf. 2:11; 3:14; 4:4).

3. Paul refers to the imprisonment that he shared with them (→ *desmios*) when he calls various Christians who are particularly close to him *synaichmalōtoi*, fellow prisoners (Rom. 16:7; Col. 4:10; Phlm. 23). *H.-G. Link, R. Tuente*

δέσμιος

δεσμεύω (*desmeuō*), bind (with bonds); *δέσμη* (*desmē*), bundle; *δέσμιος* (*desmios*), prisoner; *δεσμός* (*desmos*), bond, tether, imprisonment; *δεσμωτήριον* (*desmōtērion*), prison; *δεσμώτης* (*desmōtēs*), prisoner; *δεσμοφύλαξ* (*desmophylax*), prison warder; *σύνδεσμος* (*syndesmos*), that which binds together, bond, fetter.

The root *desm-* conveys the basic meaning of bind. *desmeuō* means to bind together, chain up (Eur. onwards). *desmē* is a bundle tied together (Dem. onwards). *desmios* means one who is in chains or in prison (tragedians onwards). *desmos* at first meant chain (Homer onwards), and later imprisonment, custody. *desmōtērion* is a prison (Hdt. onwards), *desmōtēs* a prisoner (Aesch. onwards) and *desmophylax* a prison warder (Lucian).

syndesmos (Eur. onwards) can mean either the chain that holds one or the means of fastening something, the binding that holds things together. All these words are used in a physical rather than a spiritual sense.

desmos is the most frequently used of these words in the LXX; it usually translates forms of *'āsar*, to bind, and the cognate *môsēr*, bonds.

1. In the OT the lit. sense is dominant: sheafs are bound together (Gen. 37:7, *desmeuō*), a donkey is tied to a vine (Gen. 49:11, *desmeuō*), Joseph is thrown into prison by Potiphar (Gen. 39:22, *desmōtērion*) and Samson is bound with cords (Jdg. 15:13 f., *desmos*). Because man in the OT suffers from the humiliation inflicted by

or *syndesmos* can also refer to a liberating union, *douleia* to service for the cor munity, and *zygos* to the → yoke of wisdom. Thus it is possible to make use of tl *doulos* group of words to designate man's relationship to God. The *libertinos* w one who had formerly been a slave, but who was now a free man. For servant → al Child art. *pais* and for the Servant of the Lord → Son. → also Freedom, → Serve, Yoke.

αἰχμάλωτος

αἰχμάλωτος (*aichmalōtos*), captive, prisoner of wa αἰχμαλωτίζω (*aichmalōtizō*), capture, take captiv αἰχμαλωτεύω (*aichmalōteuō*), capture, put in prison; αἰχμαλωσία (*aichmalōsia*), ca tivity.

CL *aichmalōtos* means lit. one caught by the spear (from *aichmē*, spear, lance, th also war, and *haliskomai*, take prisoner). It is used to denote a prisoner of w (Aesch. onwards). The later vb. *aichmalōtizō* (Diod. Sic. onwards) means take as prisoner of war, take prisoner; *aichmalōteuō*, lead away into captivity. Another no *aichmalōsia*, captivity, also belongs to this group.

OT 1. *aichmalōtos* occurs 25 times in the LXX and usually translates various for of the root *šāḇâh*, lead off as captive (Num. 21:29; Isa. 14:2), or *gālâh*, go in exile (Amos 6:7; Isa. 5:13, etc.). The noun *aichmalōsia* is far more frequent (1 times), translating *šᵉḇî*, imprisonment, prisoners, or other derivatives of the ro *šāḇâh* or *gôlâh/gālûṯ*, leading away, banishment, exile. Usually it refers to t Babylonian exile or the exiles (e.g. Ezek. 1:1 f.; Isa. 45:13; Jer. 1:3). The same H roots were also translated by the vbs. *aichmalōteuō* (45 times) and *aichmalōtizō* (times), lead into captivity.

2. Originally Israel had no experience of prisoners of war. The holy war w waged under Yahweh's orders for the complete annihilation of the enemy (e.g. J 6:17–21; 1 Sam. 15:3). Those taken in the war met the same fate (cf. Jdg. 7:2 Gradually, however, some pity for their enemies showed itself (Jos. 6:22 f.; 1 Sa 15:8 f.) and the victors began to sell prisoners as slaves. Women were often regard as part of the booty (Gen. 34:29; Num. 31:9; Deut. 21:10 ff.). The problem prisoners first crops up in the history of Israel with the exile, i.e. when whole grou of the Israelite population were deported by Assyria and Babylon. For the Israeli the horror of captivity did not merely lie in their being given up into the hands brutal men ill-disposed to them. Rather, banishment from their own land me above all the loss of their claim to that well-being promised and given by Yahweh Israel as a pledge of his → covenant. To live in a foreign and hostile land was t tamount to being cut off from fellowship with the creator and guarantor of one's o existence (cf. Ps. 137[136]:1 ff.). Hence the tradition of the people of Israel led th to regard both captivity and banishment as a punishment inflicted by an angry G (Jer. 15:2 juxtaposes *aichmalōsia*, death or plague, sword and famine; cf. 77[78]:61 f.).

NT In contrast to a mass of OT references this group of words occurs in only passages in the NT.

9:13 *kathizō* could be used either transitively, meaning that Pilate placed Jesus on ıe judgment seat as an act of mockery, or intransitively, that he sat on it himself; ither would be grammatically possible, but God (Rev. 20:11) and Christ in glory Matt. 25:31) are described as sitting on thrones to give judgment.

4. Jesus customarily sat down to teach, whether in the open air (e.g. Matt. 5:1; 3:1–2) or in the temple court (Matt. 26:55). In the synagogues it was customary for ıe preacher to stand to read the Scriptures and to sit to expound them (Lk. :16–21). The expression "Moses' seat" (Matt. 23:2) may therefore be figurative, inicating the authority of the teacher who, like Moses, speaks in God's name (cf. our rofessorial "chair", and the "sophist's seat" mentioned in a third-century Greek inɔription). See, however, the next paragraph.

5. The worshippers in the synagogue apparently sat (Acts 13:14), and Christian ′orship followed the same pattern (Acts 2:2; 20:9; 1 Cor. 14:30). The most respec-ɔd members of the synagogue congregation sat in the front seats (Mk. 12:39), a ractice which led to unhealthy class distinction (Jas. 2:2–4). There is later evidence ɔr a special chair ("Moses' seat") for the chief elder of the synagogue, which may be ɛferred to in Matt. 23:2, though it is doubtful if the term was used in this literal sense ɔ early.

6. As in the OT, sitting on the ground was a mark of humiliation (Jas. 2:3). ſary's sitting by Jesus' feet (Lk. 10:39) was a sign of humility. Sitting in sackcloth nd ashes as a sign of penitence is still known (Lk. 10:13), and beggars sit on the round to ask for gifts (Matt. 10:46; Jn. 9:8).

7. In the NT it was common to recline at meals, particularly on more formal or ɛstive occasions; the words for "sit" are never used in this connexion. (*anaklinomai*, *napiptō*, *anakeimai* and other words for "recline" are translated "sit at table" in ıany English versions, which correctly conveys the sense, but not the cultural pat-ɛrn.) As in the synagogue, the place assigned is a mark of the guest's importance, ıe closest to the host being the most prestigious (Lk. 14:7–10; Mk. 12:39). Hence ıe significance of the "beloved disciple's" position at the last supper, "lying close to ıe breast of Jesus" (Jn. 13:23, 25; 21:20); this was the position on the right of Jesus he left elbow being used to support the body), the place of a trusted friend, and one ′hich allowed confidential conversation. *R. T. France*

. Schneider, *kathēmai* etc., *TDNT* III 440–444; W. S. McCullough, "Seat", and N. Turner, "Seat, ſoses' ", *IDB* IV, 259–260; J. Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, 1966², 48 f. (on reclining at ıeals).

lave, Servant, Captive, Prisoner, Freedman

he various groups of words dealt with in this article each express in their own way ıe dependence and forcible subjection of men: *aichmalōtos* denotes a prisoner of ′ar, *desmios* one who is in chains, and *doulos*, a slave. Naturally in their literal sense, ıese words take on a negative and depreciatory colouring (for the opposite → Lord). ut when used figuratively, they can at least in part lose the sense of compulsion and ave a more positive sense. Here paradoxically dependence can be seen, not as an ıforced loss of one's self, but also as an independent self-realization. Hence, *desmos*

quired also an intransitive sense, and became a synonym of the other verbs list
Sitting was often a mark of honour or authority in the ancient world: a king sat
receive his subjects, a court to give judgment, and a teacher to teach. The gene
practice at meals in the Graeco-Roman world was not to sit on chairs but to recl
on couches placed round three sides of the table (hence the Lat. *triclinium*, "th
couches", i.e. dining-room).

OT In the LXX *kathēmai* and *kathizō* almost always translate Heb. *yāšaḇ*, which l
a wider range of meaning than sit, including dwell and → remain.

Of the many different situations in which people sit in the OT, the following
significant. 1. The king sits on his throne (→ Might, art. *thronos*) as a mark
authority. To sit at his right hand is a mark of the highest honour (e.g. 1 Ki. 2:19;
Ps. 110[109]:1; → Hand, art. *dexia*); in 1 Sam. 2:8 to sit with princes is a picture
the highest exaltation. God, as king, also sits enthroned in → heaven (1 Ki. 22:
Pss. 2:4; 29:10; etc.). 2. The court, or judge, sits to give → judgment (Ex
18:13–14; Dan. 7:9–10, 26). 3. A respected elder sits while others stand (J
29:7–8). 4. A teacher sits among his pupils (2 Ki. 6:32; Ezek. 8:1). 5. David "
before the LORD" (2 Sam. 7:18) – a privilege apparently reserved for the king, adı
brating perhaps the privilege exercised by the royal priest of Ps. 110:1, 4 (cf. H
1:3, etc.) in contrast to the priests of Aaron's line (Heb. 10:1 ff.).

In all the above, sitting is a mark of honour and authority. It is usually clear tha
such cases a throne or seat was used. To sit on the ground, by contrast, is a mark
abasement. It is the characteristic attitude of the sufferer (Job 2:8), the mourner (
137[136]:1), the humiliated (Isa. 47:1), the penitent (Ezra 9:3–4; Jon. 3:6), and
suppliant (Jdg. 20:26; 2 Sam. 7:18).

For most of the OT period it was normal to sit at table (1 Sam. 20:5, 18, 25; 1
13:20). The custom of reclining clearly appears first in the Persian period (Est. 1
7:8), and is common during the Hellenistic period.

NT The NT also mentions people sitting in a wide variety of situations, includ
most of those listed under OT.

1. For sitting (on a throne) as the proper posture of the king see, e.g., Acts 12:
Rev. 18:7. So God, as king, is constantly described in Rev. as "the one who sits
the throne" (e.g. Rev. 4:2–10; 5:1–13; 6:16; 7:10–17; 21:5; cf. Matt. 23:22). It
mark of the glory of Christ that he has been given the seat at God's right hand (M
14:62 and many other allusions to Ps. 110[109]:1; Eph. 1:20), or even shares
very throne of God (Rev. 3:21). So, having completed his work of redemption, h
now seated in the place of supreme authority, until all opposition is finally destro
(Heb. 1:3–4; 10:11–13).

2. It is a remarkable extension of this idea that the believer, who is "in Chri
shares this exalted position. James and John asked for this place of honour as a p
sonal right (Mk. 10:37–40), and it was refused. But the Christian's union with Ch
means that God has "raised us up with him and made us sit with him in the heave
places" (Eph. 2:6). He even offers us a place on the throne which he himself sha
with the Father (Rev. 3:21; cf. Matt. 19:28).

3. The seated position of the judge or court (Acts 6:15; 23:3; 26:30) leads to
transitive use of *kathizō* as a term for the appointment of judges (1 Cor. 6:4). In

961; F. Greeves, *The Meaning of Sin*, 1956; H. W. Heidland, *oregomai, orexis*, *TDNT* V 447 f.; J. Hick, *Evil and the God of Love*, 1966; K. G. Kuhn, "New Light on Temptation, Sin and Flesh in the New Testament", in K. Stendahl, ed., *The Scrolls and the New Testament*, 1957, 94–113; S. Lyonnet nd L. Sabourin, *Sin, Redemption and Sacrifice: A Biblical and Patristic Study*, *Analecta Biblica* 48, 970; R. Mackintosh, *Christianity and Sin*, 1913; B. F. Malina, "Some Observations on the Origin of in in Judaism and St. Paul", *CBQ* 31, 1969, 18–34; W. Michaelis, *piptō*, *TDNT* V 161 ff.; G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, I, 460–96; R. S. Moxon, *The Doctrine of Sin: A Critical and Historical Investigation nto the Views of the Concept of Sin held in Early Christian, Mediaeval and Modern Times*, 1922; J. Müller, *The Christian Doctrine of Sin*, I–II, 1885; J. Murray, *The Imputation of Adam's Sin*, 1959; R. Niebuhr, *The Nature and Destiny of Man, Gifford Lectures*, I, 1943, 178–264; J. Orr, *Sin as a Problem f Today*, 1910; J. Pedersen, *Israel, Its Life and Culture*, I–II, 1926, 411–37; S. Perubčan, *Sin in the ld Testament*, 1963; G. Quell, G. Bertram, G. Stählin, and W. Grundmann, *hamartanō* etc., *TDNT* I 67–316; G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, I, 1962, 157–64, 262–67; J. Schneider, *parabainō* etc., *TDNT* V 736–44; G. Schrenk, *adikos* etc., *TDNT* I 149–63; C. Ryder Smith, *The Bible Doctrine of Sin nd of the Ways of God with Sinners*, 1953; W. D. Stacey, *The Pauline View of Man*, 1956; F. R. Tennant, *The Sources of the Doctrine of the Fall and Original Sin*, 1903; and *The Concept of Sin*, 1912; G. Vandervelde, *Original Sin: Two Major Trends in Contemporary Roman Catholic Reinterpretation*, 975; S. J. De Vries, "Sin, Sinners", *IDB* IV 361–76; J. G. Williams, "A Note on the 'Unforgivable Sin' ogion", *NTS* 12, 1965–66, 75 ff.; N. P. Williams, *The Ideas of the Fall and of Original Sin, Bampton ectures*, 1927; H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the Old Testament*, 1974.

b). E. Beaucamp, *Donnés bibliques pour une Réfléxion sur le Péché*, 1963; J. Becker, *Das Heil Gottes. Heils- und Sündenbegriff in den Qumrantexten*, 1964; F. Bennewitz, *Die Sünde im alten Israel*, 1907; Das Böse. *Studien aus dem Carl Gustav Jung Institut, Zürich*, 13, 1961; G. Braumann, "Die Schuldner nd die Sünderin. Luk. vii. 36–50", *NTS* 10, 1963–64, 487–93; H. Dee, "Vergebung der Sünden", *EvTh* 26, 1966, 540 ff. (cf. H. Gollwitzer, "Zu H. Dee, 'Vergebung der Sünden' ", *EvTh* 26, 1966, 652 f.); G. Fitzer, "Die Sünde wider den heiligen Geist", *ThZ* 13, 1957, 161 ff.; J. Freundorfer, *Erbsünde nd Erbtod beim Apostel Paulus*, 1927; G. Friedrich. "*hamartia ouk ellogeitai*, Röm. 5, 13", *TLZ* 77, 952, 523 ff.; J. Haas, *Die Stellung Jesu zu Sünde und Sünder nach den vier Evangelien*, 1953; E. Hirsch, *Schöpfung und Sünde*, 1931; W. Jetter, "Sünde", in *Theologie für Nichttheologen*, IV, 1965, 31; A. Kirchgässner, *Erlösung und Sünde im Neuen Testament*, 1950; M. A. Klopfstein, *šqr*, *THAT* II 010–19; R. Knierim, *Die Hauptbegriffe für Sünde im Alten Testament*, 1965; *ḥṭ'*, *THAT* I 541–49; *'l*, *THAT* I 920 f.; *'āwel*, *THAT* II 224–28; and *'āwôn*, *THAT* II 243–49; K. Koch, "Sühne und Sündenvergebung um die Wende von der exilischen zur nachexilischen Zeit", *EvTh* 26, 1966, 217 ff.; K. Koch, L. Goppelt and P. Jacobs, "Sünde und Schuld", *EKL* III 1217 ff.; J. Köberle, *Sünde und Gnade n religiösen Leben des Volkes Israel*, 1905; K. G. Kuhn, "*peirasmos – hamartia – sarx* im Neuen Testament und die damit zusammenhängenden Vorstellungen", *ZTK* 49, 1952, 200 ff.; E. Lövestam, *Spiritus blasphemia*. Eine Studie zu Mk. 3, 28 f. par. Mt. 12, 31 f.; Lk. 12, 10", *Scripta Minora Societatis Humaniorum Lundensis*, 1966–67, 1 ff.; S. Lyonnet, *De Peccato et Redemptione*, I, 1958; G. Mensching, T. C. Vriezen, E. Lohse, K. Stendahl, E. Kinder, W. Joest, K. E. Løgstrup, E. Engisch, and W. Rott, "Sünde und Schuld", *RGG*^{3} VI 476 ff.; R. Otto, *Sünde und Urschuld*, 1932; P. Palazzini, ed., *Il Peccato*, 1959; E. Schweizer, "Die Sünde in den Gliedern", in *Abraham, unser Vater*, Festschrift Otto Michel, 1963, 437 ff.; W. Staerk, *Sünde und Gnade nach der Vorstellung des älteren Judentums*, 1905; H. Thyen, *Studien zur Sündenvergebung im Neuen Testament und seinen alttestamentlichen und üdischen Voraussetzungen*, *FRLANT* 96, 1970; H. Vogel, "Die Sünde im biblischen Verständnis", *EvTh* 19, 1959, 439 ff.; L. van den Wijngaert, "Die Sünde in der priesterlichen Urgeschichte", *Theologie und Philosophie* 43, 1969, 35–50.

Sit

κάθημαι

κάθημαι (*kathēmaí*), sit; *καθέζομαι* (*kathezomaí*), sit; *καθίζω* (*kathizō*), sit, cause to sit; *καθέδρα* (*kathedra*), eat; *πρωτοκαθεδρία* (*prōtokathedria*) and *πρωτοκλισία* (*prōtoklisia*), best seat, place f honour.

L While *kathizō* was originally a transitive verb, to cause someone to sit, it early ac-

and deliberate sinning against God (*peša'*, rebellion, Job 36:9; Ezek. 14:11; 18:2 *ma'al*, unfaithfulness; *'āwel*, injustice, Ezek. 3:20; 18:26). There are only isolated i stances of its meaning unintentional sins committed in weakness (Ps. 19[18]:12) a negligence in official duties (Dan. 6:5). As an alternative word for sin, *paraptōr* always means the individual lapse.

NT 1. The vb. only occurs in the NT in Heb. 6:6, and its use there is probably to understood as reflecting that of the Heb. *mā'al*. The readers were seeming meant to take it as fall away, be unfaithful, similar to *aphistēmi* (→ Fall) in Heb. 3: and the expression used in Heb. 10:26. This is certainly not meant in the sense o single lapse but rather expresses their whole position, as one of the abandonment the Christian truth. This would, of course, show itself in specific behaviour in i dividual cases. The idea is one of man's self-rejection by his rejection of the gra continually offered to him (→ Fall, art. *piptō*; cf. I. H. Marshall, *Kept by the Power God: A Study of Perseverance and Falling Away*, 1969, 132–54).

2. Apart from the Pauline writings, the noun is only found in the NT in Ma 6:14 f. par. Lk. 11:25 f. As in the OT, it is used as one of several words for sin, b emphasizes strongly the deliberate act (only in Rom. 5:20 is it used of a univer fact) with its fateful consequences. Hence, figuratively it means an action throu which man falls and loses the position that God gave him. Thus trespasses comm ted by one man against another directly affect man's relation to God and in the fir judgment provide the standard by which he is judged (Matt. 6:14 f. par. Lk. 11:25 Thus a man must be helped to put any failure right (Gal. 6:1). The first sinful act the beginning (Rom. 5:15 ff.; cf. Wis. 10:1) brought in its train a mass of sin and w (Rom. 5:18, 20), and even → death (5:15, 17 f.), and that in such a way that ev before his physical death man was in the power of death (Eph. 2:1, 5; Col. 2:1 Thus Christ was given up to death (Rom. 4:25) in order that we might receive forgiveness for our sins (2 Cor. 5:19; Eph. 1:7; Col. 2:13). According to Ro 11:11 f., Israel's fall consists in its rejection of the gospel. *W. Bauder*

→ Adam, → Anger, → Conversion, → Death, → Demon, → Evil, → Faith, → Fall, Forgiveness, → Grace, → Guilt, → Hard, → Hell, → Judgment, → Law, → Lie, Reconciliation, → Redemption, → Righteousness, → Sacrifice, → Satan, → Tem

(a). C. K. Barrett, "*ho adikēsas* (2 Cor. 7, 12)", in O. Böcher and K. Haacker, eds., *Verborum Veri Festschrift für Gustav Stählin zum 70. Geburtstag*, 1970, 149–58; K. Barth, "God and Nothingne *CD* III, 3, 289–368; "The Pride and Fall of Man", *CD* IV, 1, 358–513; "The Sloth and Misery Man", *CD* IV, 2, 378–498; "The Falsehood and Condemnation of Man", *CD* IV, 3, 368–480; *Christ and Adam: Man and Humanity in Romans 5*, *SJT Occasional Papers* 5, 1956; M. Ba "Speaking of Sin (Some Interpretative Notes on Romans 1.18–3.20)", *SJT* 8, 1955, 288–96; J. Bauer, "Sin", *EBT* III 849–62; G. C. Berkouwer, *Sin*, 1971; E. J. Bicknell, *The Christian Idea of and Original Sin in the Light of Modern Knowledge*, 1923[2]; A. Büchler, *Studies in Sin and Atonen in the Rabbinic Literature of the First Century*, 1928; F. Büchsel, *thymos*, *TDNT* III 167–72; Bornkamm, "Sin, Law and Death (Romans 7)", in *Early Christian Experience*, 1969, 87–104; E. Br ner, *Man in Revolt*, 1947, 114–211; and *Dogmatics, II, The Christian Doctrine of Creation Redemption*, 1952, 89–132; R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, I, 1952, 239–53; "Adam and Christ according to Romans 5", in W. Klassen and G. F. Snyder, eds., *Current Issue New Testament Interpretation: Essays in Honor of Otto A. Piper*, 1962, 143–65; E. La B. Cherbonn *Hardness of Heart*, 1955; C. E. B. Cranfield, "On Some of the Problems in the Interpretatior Romans 5.12", *SJT* 22, 1969, 324–41; and *The Epistle to the Romans*, I, *ICC*, 1975; W. D. Dav *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, 1955[2], 17–35; D. Daube, *Sin, Ignorance and Forgiveness in the B*

romise. Therefore *parabasis* can no longer be the main content of the concept of sin s it was for the Jews. Sin is measured by God himself and no longer by the law lone. Only in Rom. 4:14–20 is sin as a universal fact referred to as a transgression *parabasis* is used here as a synonym of → *paraptōma*). This is because → Adam is a ype of sin as the transgressing of God's commandment.

(c) Christ renders the way of the law as a way of salvation powerless. It is replaced y → the way of faith in Christ. From it comes → righteousness (Gal. 3:22 ff., etc.). hus the question arises as to what part the law now plays. Paul's answer in Gal. :19 is that the law's purpose in the history of salvation lies in its function of showing in to be sin. It stirs man up to transgress and so leads him to sin and thus, it leads im to Christ (Rom. 7:7–12).

3. (a) 1 Tim. 2:14 amplifies Rom. 5:14 in the light of the narrative of Gen. 2 f. On ıe rôle of Eve → Adam, art. *Heua*. In all these passages the original fact of human in is presented as a rebellion against God and his commandment.

(b) Heb. 2:2 and 9:15 speak of *parabasis* in the context of the OT dispensation. he allusion to the punishing of *parabasis* and *parakoē*, disobedience, in the OT erves to underline the warning in Heb. 2:2 against neglecting the salvation given in hrist. Heb. 9:15 stresses the significance of Jesus' death as redemption from the ansgressions committed under the first covenant.

4. *aparabatos* only occurs in the NT in Heb. 7:24, where it retains a clear echo of ıe lit. meaning. The OT priesthood, which according to v. 11 was tied up with the ıw and thus was liable to be violated and transgressed, is contrasted with Jesus' riesthood which is an eternal one that is not exposed to any *parabasis* (→ Priest).

W. Günther

παράπτωμα

παραπίπτω (*parapiptō*), fall beside, go astray, err, sin; παράπτωμα (*paraptōma*), transgression, trespass, false ep, sin.

L *parapiptō* (from the time of Hdt. found with *kata tychēn*, accidental) means to fall beside, fall at the side; thence, accidentally bump into something, turn up mewhere or other; and then (Polyb. onwards), to turn out amiss, miss one's way or ıe truth, fail in one's duty. Used absolutely it means make a mistake, err, meaning ı accidental and excusable oversight.

Correspondingly the noun *paraptōma* (Polyb. onwards) means oversight, error, istake (unintentional). Here the originally fig. sense was that someone deviated to ıe one side or the other.

r In the LXX both the noun and the vb. are found most frequently in Ezek. *paraptōma* translates 6 different Heb. words and is found at Job 35:15; 36:9; ss. 19(18):12; 22(21):1; Wis. 3:13; 10:2; Zech. 9:5; Ezek. 3:20; 14:11, 13; 15:8; 3:22, 24, 26; 20:27; Dan. 4:24 (Theodotion); 6:5(4), 23(22). *parapiptō* translates 3 eb. vbs. and is found at Est. 6:10; Wis. 6:9; 12:2; Ezek. 14:13; 15:8; 18:24; 20:27; 2:4; 2 Macc. 10:4. The vb. usually translates the Heb. *mā'al*, (deliberately) commit ts of unfaithfulness (used with the sub. *paraptōma* in Ezek. 14:13; 15:8; 18:24; 0:27; → Fall, art. *aphistēmi*). The noun too is used for words expressing conscious

noun *parabasis* is associated with more general concepts rather than with concr individual commandments: → way, → word and → covenant. Thence it derives basic meaning in the LXX to neglect God, to break the covenant, to fail to maint the correct (obedient) relationship to God. *parabasis* occurs only at 2 Ki. 2:24; 101(100):3; Wis. 14:31; 2 Macc. 15:10.

NT The NT's use of these concepts follows on from that of the OT. While → *adi* and *anomia* are conceived of in more general terms and refer to injustice in sense of anti-social and unlawful actions, and on the other hand *asebeia*, irrevere (→ Godliness), and *hamartia* are directly orientated towards the person of G *parabasis* is related to God's gracious ordinances, such as his → covenant (H 9:15) and → law (Rom. 2:23 ff.; 4:15; Jas. 2:9–11), his → commandment and tr tion (Matt. 15:2 f.).

Because the OT ordinances of God, particularly the → law (art. *nomos*), appea a completely new light on account of the Christ-event, → *hamartia* becomes the sential idea of sin, while *parabasis* decreases sharply in importance. *aparabatos* *hyperbainō* occur only once each in the NT (Heb. 7:24 and 1 Thess. 4:6).

1. (a) In Matt. 15:1 ff. *parabainō* is associated with *paradosis*, tradition Teach) and *entolē*, commandment (→ Command). Jesus is attacking the superfic ity of the → Pharisees' observance of the law. He turns the charge of *parabasis* b on the Pharisees and shows that, when the *basileia*, the → kingdom arrives, it is the Pharisaic law that matters but the new dispensation, e.g. as it is described in Sermon on the Mount. The OT law is not abandoned (cf. Matt. 5:17 f.); but in light of this new dispensation the *paradosis*, tradition, of the Pharisees is shown tc but a human ordinance.

(b) The original spatial meaning of these words is still recognizable in Acts 1: Judas' sin consisted in his abandoning the *topos*, the place or position of service apostleship, in order to go his own way. (*hodos*, way, would be more in keeping v the OT and Jewish way of putting it; but the metaphor still has the same spa perspective.) Judas has abandoned his discipleship.

2. Almost all the instances of the nouns *parabasis* and *parabatēs* are found in Pauline writings. Jas. 2:9 ff. is an exception, and there the influence of Jewish usag clearly present. Sin is here understood as transgression of the law. As in Matt. 15 also in Paul the → law is no longer central in the Christian faith. It has been displa from its function as a way of salvation by *pistis*, faith, which is made poss through the coming, the death and the resurrection of Jesus Christ. Hence the c cept chiefly appears in Paul where he is involved in argument with the Jev theology of the law.

(a) The Jews are shown by their transgression of the law to stand before Goc sinners like the Gentiles (Rom. 2:17–29). They are ostensibly striving to ob God's righteousness, but their actions show that they fall far short of it. Yet G claim on both Jew and Gentile is binding (Rom. 2:14 f.). God is still the judge v demands good works, even of Christians (Rom. 1:18–3:20; 2 Cor. 5:10; Judgment).

(b) Faith in Christ does not replace the law, but it provides a way to righteousr even for those who do not know the law and therefore cannot transgress it. By f they can become children of → Abraham (Rom. 4:13–16) and receive a share in

Eph. 6:9; Col. 4:1; Phlm. 16) was not due to the fact that there were no Christian masters. Slaves are given a new dignity. "The social code in 1 Peter is unique among those in the NT because it bases its instructions to slaves on the example of Christ who took the form of a slave (Phil. 2:7) and bore the punishments, reviling, beating, crucifixion of a slave" (op. cit., 117). *W. Günther*

παράβασις

παραβαίνω (*parabainō*), go aside, turn aside, transgress; παράβασις (*parabasis*), overstepping, transgression; παραβάτης (*parabatēs*), transgressor; ἀπαράβατος (*aparabatos*), unchangeable; ὑπερβαίνω (*hyperbainō*), overstep, transgress.

CL 1. The vb. *parabainō* (attested from Homer onwards) lit. means to walk beside, go beside, pass by (Homer, *Il.* 11, 522) and refers both in its spatial and fig. senses to a deviation from an original and true direction.

Besides this intrans. sense there is a trans. one: transgress, neglect. It takes as its objects those words that the Greeks used to indicate the standard and norm by which they regulated their lives: e.g. *dikē*, → righteousness; *nomos*, law; *horkos*, oath; *ethē*, morals (e.g. Plato, *Crito* 53E; Eur., *Ion* 230). From the time of Aesch. onwards *parabainō* could be used absolutely to mean sin (*Agamemnon* 59). Mostly it refers to some obligation that is not kept. It is also used in a religious context in the sense of ceasing to reverence the gods (Hdt., 6, 12, 3).

2. (a) *parabasis* is found with the same objects as the vb. (Porphyry, *On Abstinence* 2, 61); it is seldom used absolutely. It is used either spatially or fig. of deviation, trespassing, transgressing. The word is used as a technical term for a choral part found in comedies, the *parabasis*.

(b) Almost nowhere does *parabatēs* occur in a fig. sense (Pythagoras, *Ep.* 3,7). It means the bystander, comrade, companion. Thus it became a technical term for the warrior standing beside the charioteer (Homer, *Il.* 23, 132; cf. Arndt, 617). The participle of the vb. is generally used for the transgressor of some norm.

(c) *aparabatos*, a late and rare word, means that which cannot be superseded, thus unchangeable, inviolable, eternal (Epictetus, *Dissertationes* 2, 15, 1). Fate and also the stars are bound thereby.

(d) *hyperbainō* follows the many senses of its prefix. Lit. it means to step over, go over the bank (Hdt., 2, 99, 3), thence injure, transgress, err (Plato, *Rep.* 2, 366A, 373D), but also presume, pass over someone in silence (Plato, *Rep.* 7, 528D).

OT This group of words is not at all common in the LXX; the fig. sense predominates. Only in Ps. 101(100):3 does *parabasis* have a Heb. equivalent (*sēṭîm*). *parabatēs*, transgressor, evil-doer, occurs only in Symmachus' translation Ps. 17:4; 139:19). The vb. occurs c. 80 times and translates 7 different Heb. words: the most frequent are *ʿāḇar*, pass on, cross over; *sûr*, turn aside, *pārar* (hiph.), break; and *śāṭâh*, deviate. It is not often that *parabainō* is used in matters of private rights, e.g. that of → marriage (Num. 5:12, 19 f., 29). It is interesting to note the objects associated with *parabainō*: God's words (Num. 14:41; Deut. 1:43), the word of the Lord (1 Sam. 15:24), legal demands (1 Esd. 1:48(46)) and especially often the → covenant (Jos. 7:11; Hos. 6:7; 8:1; and often in Ezek. 16:59; 17:15 ff., etc.). The

of grace, and at the same time the reason for man's responsibility for his faith and tions.

3. (a) In the Johannine literature the concept of *hamartia* is set in the context the Christ-event which holds together earth and heaven. Jesus comes into the wo (*kosmos*, Jn. 1:1–14) and bears its sin as the → Lamb of God (Jn. 1:29; 1 Jn. 3: Jesus himself is without sin; but he sheds his blood for the sin of the world, i.e. man imprisoned in his alienation from God (1 Jn. 1:7; 2:2; 4:10; Rev. 1:5). That v and that power which oppose Jesus are sin. This is clear in the case of Judas Iscar (Jn. 6:70 f.; 19:11), but also in the way that the Jews react to Jesus (Jn. 8:44 f They suppose Jesus to be a sinful man, but it is they who are sinful, because th have not recognized him as the redeemer (Jn. 9:16–41). Here sin is unbelief. Jes faces men with a decision (*krisis*) for or against himself (Jn. 15:22–24). By his bel or unbelief a man decides either for life or for death (Jn. 8:24; 9:41; 16:8 f.). Thus his coming Jesus exposed sin as such (Jn. 15:22–24) and, in so far as he brought li he stripped the prince of this world of his power (Jn. 12:31; 16:11).

(b) In 1 Jn. sin is seen as the opposite of love (*agapē*) (1 Jn. 3:1–10). It is true th purification from sin has taken place through Christ (1 Jn. 1:7) and sin is an i possibility for him who is born of God (1 Jn. 3:8 f.), but no man can reckon hims sinless or dispense with forgiveness (1 Jn. 1:8). Thus 1 Jn. too preserves the tensi between Christ's redemptive act, ethics and man's actions. The test lies in one's lo of one's brother (1 Jn. 1:9; 4:7; cf. 1:4; 2:7; 3:10). Sins have been forgiven (1 J 2:12), but the Christian can always call upon Christ if he confesses his sin (1 Jn. 1: However, 1 Jn. also knows of the mortal sin; by this he probably means aposta and idolatry (5:16–21; → below 4 (a)).

4. Hebrews seeks to show that Jesus has become a man in every sense, even to t point of being tempted (Heb. 5:7 f.), and how he yet remained free from sin (He 4:15). Heb. deals with sin in the context of → sacrifice (art. *thyō* NT 3). Christ as t true high priest (Heb. 7:25–27; → Priest, art. *hiereus* NT 2 (b) and (c)), who has fered himself once and for all for our sin, replaces the continually repeated si offerings. He is the unique sacrifice which makes the offering of further sacrific superfluous (Heb. 10:4–10, 18); it is replaced by the possibility of forgivene through faith (Heb. 11). The unique sacrifice of Jesus liberates us once and for from sin. The example of Jesus helps us in our struggle against the peril of fresh sin ing (Heb. 12:1–4). But for Heb. all that awaits a falling away from the faith is etern judgment. This is the sin that excludes further repentance (Heb. 6:4 ff.; 10:26 12:16 f.; → Conversion; cf. I. H. Marshall, *Kept by the Power of God: A Study Perseverance and Falling Away*, 1969, 132–54).

5. The Epistle of James warns of lust which produces sin and death (Jas. 1:1 and of the danger of failing to act on the knowledge provided by faith (Jas. 4:17). the same time James exhorts his readers to confess their sin in the certainty of t promise of God's forgiveness (Jas. 5:15 ff.).

6. 1 Peter cites Isa. 53. The disciple stands firm in the midst of suffering by takin as his example him who once suffered for us and thereby redeemed us from our sin (1 Pet. 2:21–25; 3:18; 4:1). E. Best compares this with other NT passages dealin with → slaves (Eph. 6:5–8; Col. 3:22–5; 1 Tim. 6:1 f.; Tit. 2:9 f.; 1 Cor. 7:21 ff., *Peter, New Century Bible*, 1971, 116 ff.). Most slaves were owned by pagan master Best thinks that the reason why 1 Pet. does not deal with the duties of masters (c

ɔw → Adam is an example of this. Through his sin Adam brought death into being; ɔm then on this succession was the rule for all men (cf. Rom. 1:32; 6:16; 7:5 ff.; 13; 1 Cor. 15:56).

It is only when one comes to know Christ that the full power of sin is disclosed. he man that struggles against the Spirit of God is imprisoned in the → flesh (*sarx*), hich as God's enemy produces sin and whose end is death. Spirit and flesh fight ɡainst one another in man under the law (Rom. 7:13–25; cf. Gal. 5:16–26). Paul most always uses the word *hamartia* in the sing. Sin is almost a personal power hich acts in and through man (Rom. 5:12, 21; 6:6, 17; 7:9 ff.). The same is also ue of *sarx*, flesh (Gal. 5:19, 24), and *thanatos*, death (Rom. 6:9b). This vivid way of ıtting things contributed, along with Paul's statements on the universality of sin nce Adam (Rom. 5), to the church's doctrine of original sin.

(b) Jesus Christ, as the counterpart of Adam, has by his coming broken this rcle. He has taken upon himself the → curse of the law in place of all men (Gal. :10–14). He has endured death (Rom. 5:8; 6:3 ff.; 1 Cor. 15:3), and has dealt with n by bearing it (Rom. 8:1 ff.). He himself has become sin (2 Cor. 5:21) in order to ıtablish God's righteousness (*katallagē*; Rom. 5:11; 11:15; 2 Cor. 5:18 f.; → econciliation, art. *katallassō* NT 4). Throughout all this, however, Paul gives us no ystematic teaching on sin; he describes the victory of Jesus Christ over the powers f the law, sin and death, which are replaced by righteousness and life. The way of ıe law, which Paul himself had earlier trod, does not lead to life, but to death. Paul ıw in his persecution of Christ and the Christians *the* sin of his life (1 Cor. 15:9; cf. Tim. 1:15). It is God's → grace that has opened up a new way (Rom. 5:15; 1 Cor. 5:10 f.). And it is the way of → faith (*pistis*, Rom. 3:21 ff.). → Abraham, who ecame → righteous through faith (Rom. 4), serves as a type of it (cf. A. T. Hanson, Abraham the Justified Sinner", in *Studies in Paul's Technique and Theology*, 1974, 2–66).

Christ's reconciling death has taken place for us once for all (Rom. 3:25 f.; 5:8). eace is bestowed upon the believer (Rom. 5:1 ff.). Baptism symbolizes the taking p of the believer into the Christ-event. By dying and rising with Christ, he is torn om the dominion of death and participates in Christ's new life (Rom. 6:1–11). This ıdicative is immediately followed by an imperative telling the Christian now to free imself from the bondage of sin in order to enter the service of righteousness (Rom. :12 ff.). The freedom to put oneself at the disposal of the Spirit is realized in love Gal. 5:13 ff.; cf. Rom. 8:9–17). As a result, all self-righteousness, and also all con- dence in the self, is excluded (Rom. 10:3; 1 Cor. 1:18–31; → Boast). Thereafter all hich does not arise from faith and so from union with the living Christ is sin (Rom. 4:23).

(c) Thus we have two strands in Paul's teaching on sin. (i) On the one hand, there ı the subjection of all men to the power of sin from which they can be redeemed only ırough God's once-and-for-all act of reconciliation in Jesus Christ. (ii) On the other and, there is the call to all Christians to turn to this new righteousness in faith, to be ervants of Christ instead of servants of sin, and then to walk in the Spirit or in hrist.

It is the juxtaposition and interweaving of these two strands that is the reason for he depth and seriousness of sin as a ruling power and for the greatness of God's act

dominant idea is that of individual faults committed against the law or one's brotl The sinner, the *hamartōlos*, is, according to the traditional Jewish view, the man v does not abide by the law and the Pharisaic interpretation of it. Thus he was put the same level as the tax-collector (Matt. 9:10 par. Mk. 2:15 f.) and likened to Gentile, *ethnikos*, or the godless, *asebēs* (Matt. 26:45; Mk. 14:41; Lk. 6:32 ff.; Matt. 5:46 f.). The combination "sinful and adulterous generation" in Mk. 8:38 plies that sin separates from God. Hence repentance and forgiveness are necessa

(b) Jesus' preaching went beyond the Jewish concept of sin when, as in the S mon on the Mount, he radicalized the law and set up his coming and his person a new standard and thus brought about a new state of affairs (Matt. 7:21 ff.; 12 par. Mk. 3:28 ff.; Lk. 12:10).

This is true even though these passages do not often explicitly mention sin. T new situation is disclosed by Jesus' mixing with sinners. It is to sinners that Je comes and not to the righteous (Matt. 9:13 par. Mk. 2:17; Lk. 5:32). He pronoun the → poor blessed (Matt. 5:2 ff.) and calls the burdened to him (Matt. 11:28). It i connexion with this mission of his that Jesus is called the "friend of sinners" (M 9:10 f.; 11:19). His fellowship with sinners is particularly prominent in Luk narratives (Lk. 7:36 ff.; 15:1 ff.; 18:9 ff.; 19:1 ff.). The story of the lost son in 15:11–32 shows that the sinful son, as well as the righteous one, needs the fath possessions. Jesus' address to the → Pharisees in Matt. 23:1–36 par. Mk. 12:37– Lk. 20:45 ff., makes it particularly clear that with Jesus' coming the criterion for tinguishing righteous from sinful is completely altered, so far as Judaism is conc ned. Those who according to Jewish legal standards were reckoned righteous a religious are shown up as particularly sinful before God in view of their s righteousness and their rejection of Jesus.

(c) In the passion-narrative, especially in the account of the → Last Supper, Jes whole life and preaching is seen clearly from the perspective of the cross (M 26:28). Jesus replaces ritual means of atonement with the sacrifice of his own l Here righteous and unrighteous alike are seen to be sinners. This insight is ticipated in Peter's cry in Lk. 5:8 ("Depart from me, for I am a sinful man, O Lor and is summed up in the evangelists' overall interpretation of Jesus' mission (M 1:21; Lk. 1:77). Thus → baptism which was interpreted by John the Baptist in ter of repentance (Mk. 1:4 par. Matt. 3:2, Lk. 3:3), takes on a new meaning. Both b tism and forgiveness of sins are grounded by the apostles in the death and resurr tion of Jesus (Jn. 20:23; Acts 2:38; 5:31; 10:43).

2. (a) Paul's main statements about sin are to be found in Rom. 1–8. But i striking that in Rom. 1:18–3:20 *hamartia* and its cognates scarcely occur. Here P is speaking about Gentiles and Jews who both alike come to grief when confron with God's righteousness. As a result of their unbelief and their resultant unrighte actions, they have fallen under the wrath of God, *orgē theou* (→ Anger). Paul m tions *asebeia*, godlessness, and *adikia*, unrighteousness (Rom. 1:18). The → l *nomos*, produces knowledge of sin (Rom. 3:20; 5:20; 7:7 ff.; Gal. 3:22). It is thereby invalidated (Rom. 3:31, etc.), but rather serves as a *paidagōgos*, "custodia to lead men to faith in Christ (Gal. 3:23 ff.; → Teach). The law watches over men a keeps them for that purpose, but is not itself the way of salvation. Go righteousness cannot be attained by the way of the law. Law – sin – death, that is fateful road that man treads without Christ and without faith. Rom. 5:12–21 shc

)avidic Messiah", in *The Servant of the Lord and Other Essays on the Old 'estament*, 1965³, 1–60, 63–93).

(b) In the cultus various → sacrifices were designed to cover sin including the great ay of atonement ritual described in Lev. 16 (→ Reconciliation, art. *hilaskomai* OT). ut → forgiveness of sins is linked with confession of → guilt (cf. Gen. 50:17; 2 Sam. 2:13; Ps. 51[50]).

4. In late Judaism the concept of sin is more strongly orientated towards the law nd becomes more superficial under the influence of speculative and casuistic think- ıg. The Gentiles do not know God's commandments and are therefore all sinners. or the religious Jew the essence of sin is above all the transgression of the laws and ommandments. Idolatry, unchastity and bloodshed were regarded as unforgivable ins. The possibility of atonement for sins committed unintentionally was provided y sacrifice, purificatory rites, good works, suffering and martyrdom. To the ques- ion as to the origin of sin Judaism found the answer in Adam and Eve or the fallen ngels (Gen. 6:1 ff.). The consequences of sin are sickness, death and eternal damna- ion (SB I 495). Sin is universal and was centred in the evil inclination in particular SB III 155 ff.). But the main stress is on the → law, on the individual's responsibility nd efforts to keep himself from transgressions (SB III 38 ff.). The religious man had is sights fixed on the possibility of sinlessness. His examples were → Abraham, → Moses, → Elijah and Enoch, and particularly the last two because death did not over- ake them (→ Resurrection, art. *anastasis* OT 5). The complete removal of sin was ex- ected in the messianic kingdom.

IT Following the prominent use of *hamartanō* and its cognates in the LXX, the NT uses them as the comprehensive expression of everything opposed to God. The hristian concept of sin finds its fullest expression and its deepest theological levelopment in Paul and John. Even the statistical evidence underlines the relative in- ignificance of the rest of the NT writings. All the other concepts and synonyms are vershadowed by *hamartia* and are to be understood in the light of this concept. *amartia* occurs 173 times of which 64 instances are in Paul (including 48 in Rom.), 5 in Heb. and 17 each in Jn. and the Johannine epistles. *hamartanō* occurs 42 times including 7 each in Rom. and 1 Cor., 10 times in the Johannine epistles and 3 times n Jn.).

hamartia is always used in the NT of man's sin which is ultimately directed gainst God. *hamartēma* occurs less frequently (5 times) and refers to the individual ct (e.g. 1 Cor. 6:18); it is used in the context of forgiveness (Mk. 3:28; Rom. 3:25) nd in Mk. 3:29 is used of the eternal, i.e. unforgivable, sin (→ Satan art. *Satanas* NT)). The adj. *anhamartētos* occurs only in Jn. 8:7 and means without actual sin. *hamartōlos*, sinful, is the usual adj. (47 times, notably 18 times in Lk.); it is oc- asionally used as a synonym with *ponēros*, depraved, evil (cf. Mk. 8:38 with Matt. 12:39, 45). When used as a noun, its nuances of meaning follow those of *hamartia*, rom those taken over from Judaism to the full Christian understanding.

1. (a) Jesus used the OT and Jewish concept of sin that was familiar in the world around him. This becomes clear from the fact that in the Synoptic Gospels the nouns *hamartia* and *hamartēma* are found almost exclusively in the context of the → forgiveness of sins. The vb. is often used absolutely, i.e. in its usual and familiar sense (cf. Matt. 18:15; Lk. 17:3 f.). The use of the nouns chiefly in the plur. shows that the

guilt of the individual, was clearly recognized as a reality separating man and nati from God.

Yahweh himself is the yardstick for right and wrong. His → covenant with the pe ple, his → commandments and → law, his → word spoken by chosen men all expre his normative will. The fate of both individual and people depended upon Yahwe Sin, guilt and punishment were frequently not separated because sin is an estrang ment from him, and thus brings harm and punishment upon itself.

2. The OT's view of sin is the negative reverse side of the idea of the → covena and hence is often expressed in legal terms. The nation's history is often depicted as history of apostasy, of punishment, and of Yahweh's gracious intervention and returning.

(a) Gen. 3–11 (seen by many scholars mainly as the work of the Yahwis provides a clear and typical example of this, depicting in masterly fashion man's i dependent and self-sufficient behaviour. Sin mounts up in a series of fresh outbreak starting with the → fall of → Adam into sin in Gen. 3 and leading on to fratricic (Gen. 4), the song of Lamech (Gen. 4:23 f.), and finally to the building of the tower Babel (Gen. 11). This is not so much a reflection about sin as a confession of it ((von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, I, 1962, 154 ff.). The tendency to depart from tl order given by God and to establish oneself in one's own position and to go one own way is seated in the → heart (Gen. 6:5; 8:21). The Priestly Code lays more stre on the theological side and on the cultic ordinances, but in Gen. 6:11 f. it comes the same conclusion: "Now the earth was corrupt in God's sight, and the earth wa filled with violence. And God saw the earth, and behold it was corrupt; for all flei had corrupted their way upon the earth."

(b) Sin is both a falling away from a relationship of faithfulness towards God ar also disobedience to the commandments and the → law. The former is described a unfaithfulness to God's covenant (Hos. 2; Jer. 3:10), the latter is a violation of God word and command (1 Sam. 15:23 ff.; Ps. 78). In both cases man shuts himself o from fellowship with God and becomes God-less (cf. Jer. 2:29).

(c) The sin of the individual cannot be separated from that of the nation. Tl earlier writings concentrate on the nation's history of recurrent apostasy and salv tion (Jdg. 2:6–3:6), but later traditions put more emphasis on the fate of the i dividual (Pss.; Job).

3. (a) Sin is universal. No man can exist in the presence of God's holiness (Is 1:4 ff.). His accusation is against the people as a whole (Hos. 12). The universality o sin is especially emphasized in Gen. 6:5; 8:21; Isa. 64:6 f. This certainly forms starting-point for a doctrine of original sin, but nowhere is it given any systemat formulation. The consequence of sin is → death (Gen. 2:17). If that does not happe at once, it is wholly due to God's sovereign grace in which he constantly delays th consequence of destruction and does not allow punishment and judgment to be h last word. Rather, he makes them the basis of renewal as in the cases of → Noa (Gen. 6–9), and the new → covenant (Jer. 31; Ezek. 37). Both the sinner and th apostate nation alike can only hope for God's mercy till at last they hear the messag of the Servant of God who, though he is himself without sin, bears the sins of other (Is. 53; for interpretation of the Servant see H. H. Rowley, "The Servant of the Lor in the Light of Three Decades of Criticism", and "The Suffering Servant and th

ἁμαρτία

ἁμαρτάνω (*hamartanō*), to sin; ἁμαρτία (*hamartia*), sin; ἁμάρτημα (*hamartēma*), a sin, transgression; ἁμαρτωλός (*hamartōlos*), adj., sinful; noun, a sinner.

hamartanō (Homer onwards) originally meant to miss, miss the mark, lose, not share in something, be mistaken. The Gk. view of a mistake is intellectually oriented. *hamartanō* is the result of some *agnoia*, ignorance. The cognate noun is *hamartia* (Aesch. onwards), mistake, failure to reach a goal (chiefly a spiritual one). The result of such action is *hamartēma*, failure, mistake, offence, committed against friends, against one's own body, etc. From these was derived (in the 5th cent. B.C.) the adj. and noun *hamartōlos*, that thing or person that fails; in Aristoph. it occurs as barbarism used with a deprecatory and ironic ring. *hamartētikos* (the better form) also uncommon and late. The root *hamart-*, with its meaning of fail, produced many popular compounds, e.g. *hamartinoos*, madman.

1. In the Gk.-speaking world the noun *hamartēma* prevailed over the vb. *amartanō*. Aristotle placed it between *adikēma*, injustice, and *atychēma*, misfortune, as an offence against the prevailing order, but one without an evil intention, i.e. without *kakia*, evil, wickedness (*Eth. Nic.* 5, 8, 1135b 18). Thus it was also used in legal language of deliberate offences. *hamartia* becomes a collective term with a relatively indefinite sense: offending against right feeling. It can mean anything from stupidity to law-breaking, anything that offends against the *orthon*, the right, that does not conform to the dominant ethic, to the respect due to social order and to the polis.

2. The Gk. view of guilt finds its deepest expression in conjunction with the fateful infatuation of man as classical tragedy depicts it (e.g. Soph., *Antigone* 1261). Guilt is no longer here just an action, but a reality that is rooted in man's innermost being. Man knows that he is in jeopardy and is encircled by the destructive powers of infatuation and fate. Guilt is the cause of suffering (as in the case of Oedipus). Guilt and fate are inextricably interwoven. Perhaps it is too strong to speak of "sin" here, since a firm godward orientation of guilt and fate is missing in the Gk. world.

3. Hellenism severed the connexion of guilt and fate in its search to escape the determinism of fate by rites and gnosis in the mystery religions. On the other hand, the concept of guilt was intellectualized in the Stoa and rationalized (cf. Epictetus, *Dissertationes* I, 26, 6). Guilt can be surmounted through better understanding and correct behaviour. Both views work from the presupposition that man is basically good.

OT In the LXX two words, *hamartia* and → *adikia*, represent between them almost the whole range of Heb. words for guilt and sin. *hamartia* and its cognates particularly represent the Heb. word *ḥaṭṭā't*, lapse, sin, and also *'āwôn*, guilt, sin as a conscious deviation from the right way, *peša'*, rebellion, etc. *adikia* above all represents *'āwôn* and 35 other Heb. words besides (cf. Hatch-Redpath, I–II, 25 ff.).

The noun *hamartēma* must be distinguished from *hamartia*. The use of the vb. corresponds to that of the nouns. *hamartōlos* usually translates *rāšā'*, evil-doer, lawless man (cf. *asebēs*; → Godliness, art. *sebomai*).

1. The OT has no main general word for sin like the NT. Its theological reflection on sin is not so fully developed as, for example, in Paul. Yet sin, over and above the

visible characteristics of that which stands under the power of sin. Hence, in t parable of the unjust steward, mention is made of unjust mammon (Lk. 16:1 ff.; Possessions, art. *mamōnas*), in Jas. 3:6 of the injustice perpetrated by the tongue (Word, art. *glōssa*), and in Lk. 18:1 ff. of the unjust judge.

3. (a) Paul never uses *hamartia* in Rom. 1:18 ff., where he is talking about t sins of the Gentiles, but only *adikia* and *asebeia*. God's wrath manifestly rests up those who as his creatures should have known him and honoured him (Rom. 1:1 21, 25; 2:8; → God, art. *theos* NT 4 (b)). In Rom. 1:29 *adikia* is used as a compreh sive term at the start of a list of vices. Correspondingly, 1 Cor. 6:1 contrasts the u righteous with the saints. This refers to Gentiles who do not yet recogn righteousness through faith and as a result have fallen victims to their *adikia* a God's wrath. They do not inherit the kingdom of God (1 Cor. 6:9).

(b) The criterion for unrighteousness is the → righteousness of God (Rom. 3:5, 9:14), which discloses man's unrighteousness (Rom. 3:5). The gulf that is opened the contrast of God's righteousness and man's unrighteousness is bridged by Ch who as the righteous One stands in our place (Rom. 3:24; 2 Cor. 5:21; cf. that v Pauline-sounding passage, 1 Pet. 3:18, which makes use of the words now un consideration). A new division of righteous and unrighteous has appeared beca the truth has been received (Rom. 1:18; 2:8).

Just as *adikia* was often used in the OT to translate *šeqer*, lie, falsehood, so Paul and John use *adikia* in contrast to *alētheia* (Jn. 7:18). The consequence of fa in Christ is not only the elimination of sin as a power, but also conversion to a life righteousness (2 Thess. 2:9–12). Within the community there is no longer any pl for litigation, and so Paul in 1 Cor. 6:1–11 warns the Corinthians to cease fron and to prefer suffering unjustly to standing on their rights. The basis of this is t Christians are controlled by → love (1 Cor. 13:6). Man's preoccupation with rights, which leads to his suing his neighbour and hating him and fighting him shattered by a love of his neighbour and his enemy. This idea, which is a contin tion of the OT command to love one's neighbour (Lev. 19:13 ff.), goes right back Jesus himself (Matt. 5:43–48). It is in keeping with this that one is prepared to su injustice, as 1 Pet. 2:19 points out.

4. (a) In later writings this fundamental vision of the Christian life again shi through. 2 Tim. 2:19 warns the community that unrighteousness is not compati with calling on God's → name. Heb. 8:12 picks up the message of Jer. 31 concern God's forgiving love in the new → covenant and gives it a christological interpre tion. Christ makes → forgiveness for unrighteousness possible (1 Jn. 1:9), but t basic principle of the possibility of forgiveness seems to have been limited later sins which do not bring death (1 Jn. 5:17; for the history of interpretation of t passage see B. F. Westcott, *The Epistles of St. John*, 1902⁴, 209–14).

(b) The apocalyptic vision of 2 Peter emphasizes the final judgment and the c demnation of the *adikoi* (2 Pet. 2:9, 13, 15).

In the apocalyptic final judgment of Revelation the ungodly world is judged. R frequently uses *adikeō* here for judicial actions performed against men and thin The vb. is found more frequently here than anywhere else in the NT (Rev. 2:11; 6 7:2 f.; 9:4, 10, 19; 11:5 [twice]; 22:11). *W. Günther*

penalty, but a saving event" (G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, I, 1962, 271; → Reconciliation; → Redemption; → Sacrifice).

3. In the later writings of the OT and in late Judaism *adikia* was on the one hand limited to the concrete individual act, but on the other hand was extended to apply to all men. In this context it is significant that occasionally the LXX translates *šeqer*, ie, by *adikia* (e.g. Pss. 52:3[5]; 119:29, 69, 104, 163; 144:8, 11). Philo (*Spec. Leg.* 3, 209) and Josephus (*Ant.* 8, 10, 2[251]) mention *adikos* and *asebēs* in the same breath. Just as *dikaios* is prominent in Philo's teaching on → virtue, so *adikos* is in hat on wickedness (*Abr.* 103; *Sobr.* 42; cf. *TDNT* I 150). The apocalyptic thinking of late Judaism regarded the whole period preceding the coming of the messiah as the 'world of unrighteousness" (Eth. Enoch 48:7) which the messiah will destroy (2 Esd. 4:51 ff.; Eth. Enoch 91:5 ff.; Pss. Sol. 17:29, 36). Similar views are found in the rabbinic literature (e.g. San. 97a; Midr. Ps. 92:10; cf. SB IV 977 ff.).

NT 1. (a) There are only 27 occurrences of *adikeō* in the NT, chiefly in Acts, 1–2 Cor. and Rev. It occurs 10 times in Rev., 5 times in Acts, 3 times in 2 Cor., twice each in 1 Cor. and Col. and once each in Matt., Lk., Gal., Phlm. and 2 Pet. It means to act unjustly, harm in relation to other men (e.g. Matt. 20:13; Acts 7:24, 26, 27; Gal. 4:12). In Rev. it has things as its objects (Rev. 6:6; 9:4). The pass. used with the meaning suffer injustice is always found in the context of relations between man and man (Acts 7:24; 1 Cor. 6:7 f.; 2 Cor. 7:12). The other instances are Lk. 10:19; Acts 25:10 f.; 2 Cor. 7:2; Col. 3:25; Phlm. 18; 2 Pet. 2:13; Rev. 2:11; 7:2 f.; 9:10, 19; 11:5; 22:11.

adikēma occurs 3 times. In Acts 18:14 and 24:20 the *adikēma* is a criminal act, and in Rev. 18:5 it is parallel to *hamartia* and used in relation to God.

The noun *adikia* occurs almost entirely in Lucan and Pauline texts and in 2 Pet., 1 Jn. and 2 OT quotations in Hebrews; it and the adj. *adikos* are occasionally used absolutely (Matt. 5:45; Lk. 18:11; Jn. 7:18; 2 Thess. 2:12). Their meaning in these passages follows that of general usage and means behaviour that does not conform to the moral norm. In quotations it follows the OT usage (Lk. 13:27; Acts 8:23; Heb. 1:9 = Ps. 45:7[8]; 8:12 = Jer. 31:34).

(b) These concepts become more important theologically in contexts where they are contrasted with *dikaios*, just, and *dikaiosynē*, righteousness, justice (Rom. 3:5; Acts 24:15; 1 Pet. 3:18) or with *alētheia*, → truth (e.g. Jn. 7:18; Rom. 1:18; 2:8). The gen. of the noun *adikia* can be used in the Semitic fashion as a substitute for the adj. (e.g. Lk. 13:27; 16:8 f.; 18:6). The adv. *adikōs* occurs only in 1 Pet. 2:19.

(c) The NT's use of these words shows that we are dealing with commonly accepted and used categories of injustice whose particular meaning in each case we only discover through a close examination. Hence we must seek to learn the meaning of each individual passage from its context, or from what qualifies it or is contrasted with it.

2. In the NT doctrine of sin *adikia* and → *hamartia* are the most important concepts. Of these *adikia* is, as in the LXX, the less specific and more varied in its nuances of meaning. The definition in 1 Jn. 5:17 juxtaposes the two. *hamartia* is the main idea. *adikia* probably means here unjust deeds and injustice amongst men, which are not to be regarded as mortal sins but are to be forgiven.

In comparison with *hamartia*, *adikia* describes more forcibly the outwardly

that are unseemly, unspeakable or fraudulent. What is "unjust" is here not measur by definite laws laid down in writing, as is the case with *anomos*, lawless. Rather, designates that which harms the order of the world (*kosmos*; → Earth) and the ci (→ People, art. *polis*) (cf. the *nomoi agraphoi*, unwritten laws). The *adikos* is freque tly depicted siding with *bia*, sheer force.

(b) But above all, the concept of *adikia* is rooted in legal thinking. Here it is us as a synonym of *parabasis*, etc., and can refer also to particular crimes like the fraud, incest, etc. In lists of vices *adikia* is used as a general description of a wi range of things.

(c) These words are also used in a religious context. *adikeō* can mean the negl of one's duties towards the gods (Xen., *Mem.* 1, 1, 1). The *adikos* does not match to the claims of the deity and therefore is guilty before him. He offends agai *eusebeia*, reverence for God (→ Godliness), and thus becomes an *asebēs*, godle person.

OT 1. The LXX uses these words to translate a variety of Heb. equivalents; the H vocabulary is here far more complex and varied than the Gk. The most import are these: *adikeō* translates 24 Heb. words; proportionately the most frequent (times) is the qal of *'āšaq*, act unjustly, oppress, extort, which is chiefly used in a c text of human relations or politics (e.g. Lev. 19:13; Deut. 28:29; Ps. 119:121). T adj. *adikos*, which is frequently used as a noun, and the adv. *adikōs* usually repres *šeqer*, deceit, fraud, lie, and are often combined with *laleō*, speak: lying speech, i.e. (e.g. Ps. 63[62]:11; Prov. 6:17; Jer. 5:31). At a later period *adikos* and *asebēs* sometimes used as parallels (Job 16:11 LXX). We do not often come acr *adikēma*, which means an unjust act committed against the law (Heb. *peša'*) or an fence against God (*'āwôn*) (e.g. Lev. 16:16; Jer. 16:17). By far the commonest these words in the LXX is *adikia* (c. 250 times). It represents 36 different H words; most often it translates *'āwôn*, offence, guilt, punishment (c. 80 times), but casionally also *'awlâh*, perversity, wickedness (e.g. Hos. 10:13), *ḥāmās*, violent injustice (e.g. Ps. 7:16(17)), and *šeqer*, lie (e.g. Ps. 119:104).

2. The fact that *adikia* mostly occurs in the sing. shows that it is not on the dividual act but on the whole phenomenon of transgression that attention is focus Sin was felt in ancient Israel as above all an offence against the sacral order of div justice (1 Sam. 3:13 f.). Thus it affects the community, whose existence is most timately connected with the preservation of divine justice. Hence, sin is regarded a phenomenon of theological and social import, as something that destroys the c munity. For that reason it is demanded of the covenant people that they purge from their midst (cf. Lev. 16:21 f.; 17:4, 9). It is significant that the word *'āv* means not only the conscious, responsible act, but also its consequence, punishm (Lev. 26:39). As the OT sees it, an offence that incurs guilt sets in motion a proc of destruction whose effects recoil upon the offender and his community unless fateful connexion of deed and consequence is broken (Gen. 4:13; Num. 32:23). offence is, in the first place, regarded objectively as a harmful event even when it committed in error (Gen. 20:3 ff.; 1 Sam. 14:24 ff.). These harmful effects of the deed can only be checked by the → punishment of the offender or by the vicari slaying of a beast or the offering of an atonement offering. "Expiation was thus n

)). H. Bacht, "Einfalt des Herzens", *Geist und Leben* 29, 1956, 416 ff.; C. Edlund, *Das Auge der infalt*, 1952.

in

he concept of sin embraces the gamut of human failure from the transgression of a ingle commandment to the ruin of one's whole existence. The most general word for in is *hamartia*, which with its cognates designates offences against morals, laws, ıen or gods. *adikia* and its cognates cover a more specialized area, drawn from the :gal world; as the opposite to → righteousness (*dikaiosynē*; cf. *dikē* → punishment), it enotes unrighteousness, injustice and unjust deeds. *parabasis* and its cognates hrow light on a further aspect: in particular they refer to transgression of the law.)n the other hand, *paraptōma*, which is derived from *parapiptō*, fall down beside, ɔse one's way, fail, means more generally a moral lapse and an offence for which ne is responsible. Other concepts belong to the wider context of the whole henomenon of sin: *anomia*, lawlessness (→ Law, art. *nomos*); *asebeia*, godlessness → Godliness, art. *sebomai*); *ptaiō*, stumble, come to grief; *hēttēma*, defeat; *ysterēma*, lack, fault; *planaomai*, go astray, deceive oneself; *agnoeō*, not know, not nderstand (→ Knowledge, art. *agnoia*); *opheilō*, be under obligation (→ Necessity); *arakoē*, disobedience (→ Hear, art. *akouō*); and also the concepts dealt with under ıe heading of → Guilt; *aitia*, cause, accusation; *elenchō*, convict; also *enochos*, uilty.

ἀδικία

ἀδικέω (*adikeō*), do wrong, commit injustice, deal unjustly, injure; *ἀδίκημα* (*adikēma*), unjust deed, a wrong; *δικία* (*adikia*), wrongdoing, unrighteousness, injustice; *ἄδικος* (*adikos*), unjust; *δίκως* (*adikōs*), unjustly.

ʟ 1. *adikeō* and its derivatives often occur in Gk. literature. As the very form of the words (with the alpha privative) shows, they denote the opposite of the positive ɔncepts *dikē*, *dikaiosynē* and *dikaios* (→ Righteousness). The unjust man is the opɔsite of the just. The vb. *adikeō* means to commit an injustice (Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1,), 3, 1368b 6 f.); with an obj., deal unjustly with someone, injure, harm (Dem., 21, 29); in the pass., suffer injustice (Plato, *Gorgias* 509c). The noun *adikēma* denotes ɔove all the individual unjust deed, and also the possession that was unjustly obıined (Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 5, 7, 1138a 24; Xen., *Mem.* 2, 2, 3). Unjust deeds can also ɜ described as *adikia*, but the noun is used particularly for injustice (Plato, *Rep.* 10,)9c; *Phaedo* 82A). *adikia* is the least clearly defined description of an activity or ɜing of man that is described in negative terms. Consequently it can take on various ıances (→ Righteousness, art. *dikaios*; → Law, art. *nomos*). *adikos* is the adj. of ɔth nouns, but it has a more general meaning. It can mean wrong, useless, not of a ght nature (Hdt., 6, 137; Xen., *Mem.* 4, 4, 13).

2. (a) The definition of the content of the concept is usually dependent on the ɔrm of justice that obtains at any particular time and to which it is related. Hence *ɨikos* covers all that offends against morals, custom or decency (*dikē*), all things

CL *haplotēs* (from Plato onwards) and *haplous* (from Pindar onwards) are compou
ded from *ha-*, together, and *pel-*, to fold. They mean (a) singleness, single; the c
posite being *diplous*, double. Beside this numerical meaning there grew up a positi
ethical connotation for the word-groups. Hence, *haplotēs* came to mean (
straightness, openness, speaking without a hidden meaning. *haplōs euchomai* mea
to ask straight out. This meaning grew with the passage of time, but the one based
intellectual outlook diminished in importance; viz. (c) *haplous* came to mean simp
silly; it is used by Isoc. (2,46) as the opposite of *nous* (→ Reason).

OT In Judaism and in the LXX we can find the basic meaning of (a) single (Josephu
War 2, 151; Wis. 16:27). *haplous* then means (b) unambiguous, clear (Josephu
Ap. 2, 190). The wise man, who accepts the commandments whole-heartedly, wal
haplōs (Prov. 10:8 f.), i.e. his walk has a clear direction, for, being bound to the la
he is freed from inner divisions. David gave God his silver and gold in singleness
heart, *en haplotēti kardias*, Heb. *bᵉyōšer lᵉḇāḇô* (1 Chr. 29:17; cf. Lev. 1:3). It al
means (c) with undivided heart; a synonym being *en kardia plērei*, with a full
whole heart (1 Chr. 29:9), Heb. *bᵉlēḇ šālēm*. When *haplotēs* is used in the context
human relationships of giving it implies (d) goodness, kindness (e.g. Josephus, *Ant.*
332). Here too it is understood as a quality of the heart (Test. Iss. 3:8), and c
casionally of (e) the soul (Prov. 11:25).

NT The word-group is not often found in the NT. The basic meaning of CL (a) and
(a) is not used, though *diplous* is found in 1 Tim. 5:17 and Rev. 18:6. *haplotēs*
the NT is to be understood as personal wholeness, undividedness, and hence unco
plicated simplicity. *haplous* is used in Jas. 1:5 for the way in which God gives (RS
NEB "generous"), to show the undividedness and honesty of God's giving contrast
with the inner division of the one who doubts. God gives without any hidden motiv
tions but the doubter is "a double-minded man [*dipsychos*]" (Jas. 1:8; cf.
Marshall, "*Dipsychos*: A local term?", *Stud Ev* VI = TU 112, 1973, 348–51; cf.
(d) (e)). Hence the doubters are called upon to purify their hearts (Jas. 4:8; cf. OT (d
Christ has taken the place of the law (cf. OT (b)). Paul, using the picture of dev
tion of the bride to one man only (2 Cor. 11:2 f.) shows the completeness of hum
surrender to Christ (*haplotēs eis Christon*). The basis of such a demand is his co
plete self-surrender for us (2 Cor. 5:14–20). Hence, a similar personal integrity is
mark of the Christian in his dealings with others.

Paul saw the collection made by one church for another as a true expression o
unity transcending the local church (→ Fellowship, art. *koinōnia*; → Poor, a
ptōchos NT 4 (a)). So *haplotēs* receives a universal connotation (2 Cor. 8:2; 9:11,
and means a oneness of heart (OT d). The whole-hearted giving within the lo
church (Rom. 12:8) is also an expression of the unity of the body of Christ (Ro
12:4).

Eph. 5:6 and Col. 2:22 demand that a slave should obey his master "in singlen
of heart". In Matt. 6:22 and Lk. 11:34 eye-service and the jealous look (*ponēros*,
Evil; cf. Matt. 20, 15) are outward signs of inner division, of only half devotion
Christ. *B. Gärtner*

→ Heart, → See

(a). O. Bauernfeind, *haplous* etc., *TDNT* I 386 f.

strikes a balance: "Paul . . . holds the ecstatic phenomena and the miracles that take place in the community to be workings of the Spirit. But in his eyes these phenomena are subject to the eschatological proviso. They are provisional/transitory (see chap. 13). They do not prove the truth of the word of the cross, but are for their own part subject to the criterion of the cross When Paul presents himself as a pneumatic, then he points to his 'weakness' (2 Cor. 12:6 ff.)" (op. cit., 55). But Paul does acknowledge, without emphasis, such phenomena in his own ministry (2 Cor. 12:12).

apodeiknymi at Acts 25:7 means simply to prove (charges), and at 2 Thess. 2:4 to proclaim or exhibit oneself as something. The man of lawlessness seeks to "proclaim" himself to be God, as Nero in A.D. 54 publicly proclaimed himself emperor (P. Oxy, 7, 1021, 5 ff.; cf. Moulton-Milligan, 60). At 1 Cor. 4:9 Paul claims that God exhibits the apostles in the rôle of condemned men. The amphitheatre is the context, implying not only that God appoints death for the apostles but that he also displays them in public in this rôle. The Stoics used this context to picture the philosopher heroically standing out in the midst of troubles, but Paul seems rather to stress the humiliation involved in suffering for others (H. Conzelmann, op. cit., 88 f.). At Acts 2:22 the vb. implies proof of worth, similar to the use of the noun at 1 Cor. 2:4. The powerful deeds demonstrate the favour of God upon Jesus of Nazareth. "Jesus is vouched for to the Jews [i.e. accredited or legitimated] by God through wonders of all kinds which God has done by him in their midst" (E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1971, 180; cf. F. F. Bruce, *The Book of Acts, NLC*, 69 ff.).

G. T. D. Angel

τεκμήριον — *τεκμήριον* (*tekmērion*), proof.

CL & OT *tekmērion* is found in secular Gk. from Herodotus to the 2nd cent. A.D., almost entirely meaning strict proof. In Aristotelian logic it means a "compelling sign" (Aristot. *Rhet.* 1, 2, 16). This sense is suggested in the LXX (Wis. 5:11; 19:13; 3 Macc. 3:24), Philo and Josephus (cf. *Ant.* 5:39). (See also Moulton-Milligan, 628).

NT *tekmērion* occurs only at Acts 2:3, where the common secular use suggests that Luke intends the events following the appearance of the risen Christ to be treated as infallible evidence (cf. J. Munck, *The Acts of the Apostles, Anchor Bible*, 1967, 4), despite reservations expressed, for example, by R. Bultmann (cf. "New Testament and Mythology", in H. W. Bartsch, ed., *Kerygma and Myth*, I, 1953, 1 ff.). E. Haenchen stresses that Luke could not have intended these appearances to be thought of as visions (op. cit., 140 f.). *G. T. D. Angel*

→ Image, → Miracle, → Revelation, → Spirit

Arndt, 89, 815; Liddell-Scott, 195 f., 1768; Moulton-Milligan, 60 f.; 628; H. Schlier, *deiknymi* etc., *TDNT* II 25–33.

Simplicity, Sincerity, Uprightness

ἁπλότης — *ἁπλότης* (*haplotēs*), simplicity, sincerity, uprightness; *ἁπλοῦς* (*haplous*), single, simple, sincere.

installation, but in the NT manifestation (Lk. 1:80, of John the Baptist, "he was the wilderness till the day of his manifestation to Israel").

(b) *deigmatizō*, expose, make an example of, e.g. an adulteress (Matt. 1:19 mock, expose (Col. 2:15); cf. *deigma*, example (Jude 7); from which com *hypodeigma* and *paradeigmatizō* (→ Image).

(c) *apodeixis* is discussed separately below. *C. Brown*

ἀπόδειξις

ἀπόδειξις (*apodeixis*), proof, demonstration; ἀποδείκνυμι (*apodeiknymi*), prove, appoint, demonstrate, exhibit.

CL & OT *apodeixis* is found in secular Gk. from the pre-Socratics and Herodotus t the 2nd cent. inscriptions in a number of related senses: (a) setting out or expos tion, of an enquiry or argument; (b) proof, in rhetorical demonstration, in exhibitin a specimen or documentary evidence, in deductive argument, or in impressiv achievements. It is found in the LXX only at 3 Macc. 4:20; 4 Macc. 3:19; 13:1(*apodeixis* is also found in Aristeas 102; Josephus, *Ap.* 1, 155; *Ant.* 17, 99; Test. Jo 14:5. In Philo it occurs in the sense of "proof by means of signs and wonders" (*Vi Mos.* 1, 95). The cognate vb. *apodeiknymi* is also found chiefly in the non-canonic books: Tob. 3:8; Est. 2:9 A B (for *rā'âh*, see); 3:13; Job 33:21; Dan. Sus. 5; 2:4 (for the Aram. *šᵉlēṭ* haph., make ruler); Dan. Theodotion Sus. 5; Bel. 9 A; 1 Mac 10:34; 14:23; 2 Macc. 14:26; 3 Macc. 5:31; 4 Macc. 1:8; 16:2. In secular Gk. likewise appears from Herodotus to the 2nd cent. A.D., meaning to make known, ap point, exhibit, or prove an item as an instance of something else. It also occurs i Philo, *Aet. Mund.* 112, 116; Josephus, *Ant.* 11, 3; Test. Jos. 2:7; inscriptions and th papyri.

NT In the NT *apodeixis* appears only at 1 Cor. 2:4, and *apodeiknymi* at Acts 2:22 25:7; 1 Cor. 4:9; 2 Thess. 2:4.

The noun appears in the following contrast: "My speech and my message were no in plausible words of wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and power" (RSV) The predominant sense of "proof" suggests that Paul believed his message was prov ed by whatever "the Spirit and power" refers to. H. Conzelmann favours the notio of rhetorical proof (*First Corinthians, Hermeneia*, 1975, 55). A. Robertson and A Plummer see a logical analogy: "St Paul is not dealing with scientific certainty: bu he claims that the certitude of religious truth to the believer in the Gospel is as com plete and as 'objective' – equal in degree, though different in kind – as the certitude o scientific truth to the scientific mind" (*The First Epistle of St Paul to the Corinthians ICC*, 1911, 33). They cite Aristotle's contention that to demand rigid demonstration from a rhetorician is as unreasonable as to allow a mathematician to deal in mer plausibilities (*Eth. Nic.* 1, 3, 4; cf. Plato, *Phd.* 77c; *Theaet.* 162e; P. Teb. 2, 291, 41) Exegetes differ over the meaning of "Spirit and power". Some take it to be the con victing force of the Holy Spirit *in* the apostolic preaching (cf. C. K. Barrett, *The Firs Epistle to the Corinthians, BNTC*, 1968, 65 f.; F. F. Bruce, *1 and 2 Corinthians New Century Bible*, 1971, 39). Others see it as a reference to the signs and wonder which accompanied the preaching and could be seen in the growing Corinthia church (cf. J. Ruef, *Paul's First Letter to Corinth*, Pelican, 1971, 16 f.). Conzelman

75; J. Jeremias, *poimēn* etc., *TDNT* VI 485–502; P. W. Meyer, "A Note on John 10, 1–18", *JBL* 75, 956, 232–35; L. Morris, *The Gospel according to John*, *NLC*, 1971, 498–531; J. Quasten, "The arable of the Good Shepherd: John 10:1–21", *CBQ* 10, 1948, 1–12, 151–69; J. A. T. Robinson, "The arable of the Shepherd (John 10:1–5)", *ZNW* 46, 1955, 233–40 (reprinted in *Twelve New Testament tudies*, *SBT* 34, 1962, 67–75); J. G. S. S. Thomson, "The Shepherd-Ruler Concept in the OT and its pplication in the NT", *SJT* 8, 1955, 406–18; W. Tooley, "The Shepherd and Sheep Image in the eaching of Jesus", *NovT* 7, 1964, 15 ff.
). J. Botterweck, "Hirt und Herde im Alten Testament und im alten Orient", in *Festschrift J. Frings*, 960, 339–52; N. Castavassi, "De Munere 'pastoris' in NT", *Verbum Domini* 29, 1951, 215–27, 75–85; G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, VI, *BFChTh* II, 41, 1939, 146–287; V. Hamp, "Das lirtenmotiv im Alten Testament", *Episcopus. Festschrift für Kardinal Faulhaber*, 1949, 7–20; H. W. lertzberg, "Hirten- und Beduinenleben in Israel", *RGG*[3] III 365 ff.; T. Kempf, *Christus der Hirte*, 942; D. Mollat, "Le bon Pasteur (Jean 10, 1–18, 26–30)", *Bible et Vie Chrétienne* 52, 1963, 25–35;). Müller, "Der gute Hirte", *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* 86, 1961, 127–44; M. Rehm, "Die Hir- enallegorie", *BZ* 4, 1960, 186–208; J. J. O'Rourke, "Jo. 10, 1–18: Series Parabolorum?", *Verbum Domini* 42, 22–25; R. Schnackenburg, "Episkopos und Hirtenamt", *Episcopus*, 1949, 66–88; W. chmidt, "Der gute Hirte. Biblische Besinnung über Lk. 15, 1–7", *EvTh* 24, 1964, 173 ff.; J. Schneider, Zur Komposition von Joh. 10", *Coniectanea Neotestamentica* 11, Fridrichsen Festschrift, 1947, 20–25; A. J. Simmouis, *Die Hirtenworte im Johannesevangelium*, 1967; J. A. Soggin, *rā'âh*, *THAT* II 91–94.

Show, Proof, Demonstrate

δείκνυμι — *δείκνυμι* (*deiknymi*), show, explain, prove.

L & OT *deiknymi* occurs in cl. Gk. from Homer onwards. It is also found in inscriptions and papyri. In the LXX it is found for 12 different Heb. vbs., but most frequently for *rā'âh*, see, in the hiphil, i.e. cause to see, show: e.g. Gen. 12:1, "Now the LORD said to Abram, 'Go from your country and your kindred and your father's house to that land that I will show you' " (cf. Gen. 41:28; Exod. 25:9[8], 40[39]; Num. 8:4; 13:26[28]; Deut. 1:33; 3:24; Jos. 7:14; Jdg. 1:24; Pss. 4:6; 50[49]:23; 59[58]:10; 60[59]:3; 71[70]:20; 78[77]:11; 85[84]:7; 91[90]:16; Amos 7:1, 4, 7; Isa. 9:2). Although it has a normal secular sense, it acquires a theological significance, when Yahweh is showing something.

NT 1. *deiknymi* is found in the NT in the following senses:

(a) point out, make known something or someone to someone: kingdoms in the temptations of Jesus (Matt. 4:8; Lk. 4:5; → Tempt); showing oneself to the priest (Matt. 8:4; Mk. 1:44; Lk. 5:14; cf. Lev. 13:49; → Leper); a hall (Mk. 14:15; Lk. 22:12); a pattern (Heb. 8:5; cf. Exod. 25:40; → Tent); the → hands of the risen Christ (Jn. 20:20); signs (Jn. 2:18; → Miracle); visions (Rev. 1:1; 4:1; 21:9 f.; 22:1, 6, 8; cf. Zech. 3:1); the → Father (Jn. 14:8 f.); revelation (Jn. 5:20); the parousia (1 Tim. 6:15); a way, i.e. the more excellent way of love (1 Cor. 12:31); (b) explain, prove (Jas. 2:18; cf. 3:13; → Righteousness); Jesus' way of suffering (Matt. 16:21); the vision of Peter which showed that the Gentiles were to be admitted to the church (Acts 10:28).

2. The following compounds also occur:

(a) *anadeiknymi* means to show clearly, reveal (Acts 1:24, the choice of a successor to Judas); appoint (Lk. 10:1, the Seventy). *anadeixis* means commissioning,

hand (Jn. 10:27 f.). Jesus leads them out of the *aulē* of Judaism and unites them ir great flock with those who are following him from among the Gentiles (Jn. 10:4

4. In Acts 20:28 *poimnē* and *ekklēsia* are juxtaposed. Paul, on the other har only uses the latter. In 1 Cor. 9:7 the apostle compares his claim on the church f hospitality with the shepherd's claim on the produce of his flock. 1 Pet. 2:2 however, looks back once again to the image of the shepherd and his flock; Jesus the shepherd and → bishop of souls. Christian elders were exhorted not to be se seeking masters over the community, but examples of service to it, so that they mig pass the test when Jesus, the chief shepherd (*archipoimēn*), appears (1 Pet. 5:3 f.). Heb. 12:20 Christ is the great shepherd (*poimēn megas*) who, in accordance with t theme of the letter, has, once and for all, surpassed all prototypes, including Mos himself. Rev. 7:17, on the other hand, says that the → lamb (*arnion*) will be t shepherd of his flock and that they will gladly follow him (cf. Rev. 14:4).

5. In the list of offices in Eph. 4:11 we find *poimenes kai didaskoloi*, pastors a teachers. But pastor is by no means yet an official title. For in 1 Pet. 5:1 and in A 20:17 the leaders of local Christian communities are called *presbyteroi*, and in A 20:28 *episkopoi* (→ Bishop). Their function can be deduced from 1 Pet. 5:2–4; A 20:28; Jn. 21:15–17 (care for spiritual welfare of the flock). Matt. 18:12–14 a 12:30 par. Lk. 11:23 (seeking the lost) are also relevant. In these cases the lead have to prove themselves worthy examples to the flock.

This is the background of Peter's appointment to pastoral office by the ris Christ: *poimaine ta probata mou* ("tend my sheep", Jn. 21:16). This strengthens a confirms Peter's special position as an apostle, to which the Gospels bear witness position, however, by no means absolute or capable of being handed on). Pete special responsibility is to the whole flock, to the whole church (→ Open; → Roc

6. The proclamation of Christ as the good shepherd, who laid down his life a rose again to tend his flock, the new people of God, became a living experience the NT church and was made use of pastorally. In missionary preaching, in the co text of a distinctive, ancient city culture with no OT background, the title of hono *kyrios*, naturally took the centre of the stage in place of the image of the messia shepherd. In worship and in personal piety there are also echoes of the shepherd i age. So the christological witness of the NT retains, against the background of message of the OT, the picture of the historical Jesus drawn in the Gospels, includ Jesus' witness to himself.

Just as, in the missionary preaching outside Palestine, the image of the sheph was withdrawn into the background, so it was with the image of the flock. The *kyr* and his community (his *ekklēsia*) become the increasingly prominent concepts for expression of these ideas (→ Lord; → Church). *E. Beyreuther*

→ Animal, → Feast, → I Am, → Lamb, Sheep, → Lord's Supper

(a). J. B. Bauer, "Shepherd", *EBT* III 844 ff.; J. N. Birdsall, "John x. 29", *JTS* New Series 11, 19 342–44; E. F. F. Bishop, "The Door of the Sheep – John x. 7–9", *ExpT* 71, 1959–60, 307 ff.; J Bruns, "The Discourse on the Good Shepherd and the Rite of Ordination", *American Ecclesiast Review* 149, 1963, 386–91; R. E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John, Anchor Bible*, I, 383–412 F. Bruce, "The Shepherd King", in *This is That: The New Testament Development of Some Old Te ment Themes*, 1968, 100–114; R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 1971, 358–91; J. D. M. Derrett, " Good Shepherd: St. John's Use of Jewish Halakhah and Haggadah", *StTh* 27, 1973, 25–50; Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*, I, 1961, 59, 67 ff., 235 ff., 287, 347; II, 1967, 330, 46

he story of the shepherds as a solid part of the local tradition in Bethlehem that a tall was the birthplace of Jesus (*TDNT* VI 491).

2. According to the witness of the Synoptics in particular, Jesus is the messianic shepherd promised in the OT. There is only one reference, in the language of parable, to God the shepherd (Lk. 15:4–7 par. Matt. 18:12–14). The shepherd's joy at finding his lost sheep after an anxious search is compared to God's joy at one repentant sinner over against ninety-nine righteous. However, the Synoptics claim for Jesus the promise of the coming messianic shepherd in three ways:

(a) Jesus begins to fulfil the messianic shepherd's function by gathering the lost sheep of the house of Israel (Matt. 9:36; 10:6; 15:24; cf. Lk. 19:10 with Ezek. 34:15). This marks the dawning of the era of salvation announced by the prophets. He is the ruler of Israel, promised in Mic. 5:3(4), who gathers the shepherdless flock Matt. 2:6; 9:36; Mk. 6:34; cf. Ezek. 34:5). But this does not mean any abandonment of the gatherings of the nations, for he is also the universal shepherd (see below, 3 (b)).

(b) But Jesus must first die for his flock and rise again (cf. Matt. 26:31 f.; Mk. 14:27 f.). Here Jesus took up the words of Zech. 13:7 and claims to be the promised shepherd to which the OT looked forward, the shepherd whose representative death ushers in the time of salvation (cf. also Isa. 53).

(c) The era of salvation during which the flock, the people of God, is gathered under the Good Shepherd, reaches its climax in the day of → judgment. When all the nations are gathered around his glorious throne, Jesus will separate the sheep from the goats (or perhaps the white sheep from the black goats; cf. OT 1). He will sit in judgment. This will bring to an end the era of world mission, in which, since Jesus' death and resurrection, his flock has been called together from out of every nation *panta ta ethnē*, Matt. 25:32).

3. (a) The good shepherd of Jn. 10:1–30 is contrasted here, on the one hand, with the thief and, on the other, with the stranger. The shepherd enters through the door, his sheep know him and follow him willingly. In typically Johannine fashion the unique relationship between this shepherd and his flock is expounded. It is a relationship which is elsewhere expressed in other metaphors (cf. the vine and the branches in Jn. 15; → I Am).

This unique relationship is made possible by the shepherd's voluntary laying down of his life, something that the hireling is unable to do. He flees in the hour of danger. The hireling (*misthōtos*), like thief and stranger, is introduced for the sake of the contrast. The special contribution of Jn. 10, compared to the Synoptics, lies in this striking emphasis on the willing laying down of the shepherd's life (cf. Jn. 10:18). The links with the OT are obvious (cf. Ezek. 34 and the Synoptic witness; see above 2). Most scholars see Jesus' statements in the light of the OT background. However, R. Bultmann holds that the figure of the shepherd was drawn from gnostic tradition (*The Gospel of John*, 1971, 367–71). But these passages are mostly more recent than Jn. 10.

(b) As the shepherd stands for their → Lord (*kyrios*), so the flock (*poimnē*, Jn. 10:16), the sum total of his sheep (*probata*), stands for his people. This image replaces that of the *ekklēsia* (→ church), which is absent from Jn. The theme of the Synoptics is taken further. The risen Christ gathers his flock like a good shepherd. They know their shepherd as he knows them, and no one can snatch them out of his

10:21; 22:22; 23:1–5; 25:34; 50:6; 50:6; Ezek. 34:2–10; Isa. 56:11; Zech. 10:3 11:5 f.; 16 f.). In Isa. 44:28 God called Cyrus, king of Persia, "my shepherd". Like good shepherd, in accordance with God's will, he was concerned for the well-being c the returning exiles and the rebuilding of Jerusalem and of the → temple. In a totall different manner Jer. 25:34 ff. threatened the shepherds, the rulers, of the foreign na tions with judgment and destruction (cf. Nah. 3:18).

3. The messiah was also spoken of as a shepherd sent from God. At the tim when disaster was breaking loose, the title of shepherd suddenly appeared as designation of the future Davidic messiah. At first the references were t "shepherds", in the plur. Nevertheless, these prophecies pointed to the figure of single shepherd (Jer. 3:15; 23:4; Ezek. 34:23; 37:22, 24). One-sided expectation of political salvation was avoided, particularly in the case of Ezek. This figure of future messianic ruler remained mysterious. The shepherd, described as messiah c David, was particularly emphasized in post-exilic times in Zech. 13:7. The majorit of commentaries link this passage, which announces a representative death as th preliminary to a dawning time of salvation, with Zech. 12:10. "Thus at the end of th OT shepherd sayings there stands an intimation of the shepherd who suffers deat according to God's will and who thereby brings about the decisive turn" (J. Jeremia *TDNT* VI 488).

4. Late Judaism drew distinctions between shepherds. After the exile the Pharisa rabbis brought about a striking devaluation of the occupation of shepherd in Palest nian Judaism. In a time of poor pay, shepherds were suspected, perhaps often rightl of dishonesty. The pious were forbidden to buy wool, milk or meat from shepherd Civic privileges (the functions of judge and witness) were withdrawn from them a from the tax collectors. "No position in the world is as despised as that of th shepherd" (Midrash on Ps. 23). In legalistic Judaism → Moses and → David wer praised as true shepherds (as leaders and teachers of the law). Philo and Hellenist Judaism do not add anything which would cause this general picture to be altered. I the Qumran sect it was demanded of the Mebaqqer, the Guardian of the Camp, tha he receive the members of the community as a shepherd his sheep (CD 13:9; cf. A R. C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning*, 1966, 72 ff., 189, 228 ff.). It clear from Ps. Sol. 17:45 that late Judaism was capable of transferring the metaphc of the shepherd to the messiah, but, out of opposition to Christianity, made no use c it.

NT *poimēn* occurs 9 times in the Synoptic Gospels; 6 in Jn.; once each in Heb., 1 Pe and Eph. *poimnē* or *poimnion* occur 3 times in the Synoptics; once in Jn.; twic each in Acts, 1 Cor. and 1 Pet. *poimainō* occurs twice in the Synoptics; once each i Jn., Acts, 1 Cor., 1 Pet., Jude, and 4 times in Rev.

1. It is striking that the contemporary negative view of shepherds was not take over into the NT. On the contrary, the shepherd's devotion to duty is painted i glowing colours (cf. Jn. 10:3 f.; Lk. 15:4 f.; cf. Matt. 18:12 ff.). His contemporarie despised the shepherd, but this was the metaphor which Jesus used to glorify God' love for sinners and to reveal his opposition to Pharisaic condemnation of them (c Lk. 15:4–6). It is, of course, only in Lk. 2:8 f. that shepherds play an active rôle i the NT; elsewhere they appear only in parables and figures of speech. Jeremias see

4:1 ff.). Devotion to duty was proved in the nightly guarding of the flock against vild animals and thieves. In this respect hired shepherds frequently disappointed heir employers.

By *poimnion* the LXX means a herd of small cattle, especially a flock of sheep (cf. Gen. 29:2 ff.; 30:30). In NT times such a herd would consist of from 20 to 500 animals (Lk. 15:4 refers to 100 sheep). Sheep and goats were grazed together but separated in the evening, for the goats spent the night in the centre of the pen or of he walled enclosure (*aulē*), where it was warmer (this practice is referred to in Matt. 25:32).

Even after the occupation of Canaan the raising of cattle played a dominant rôle, alongside cultivation, as a means of earning a living. The memory of the classical nomadic days of ancient Israel before the occupation, when the people lived as aliens n tents, must have remained constantly alive, because God's activities in salvation history were bound up with it. For this reason the → Levites did not receive any arable land at the occupation, but remained herdsmen (Jos. 21). The Rechabites who formed a radical sect held fast in prophetic times to the pastoral way of life as an example (Jer. 35). Even the NT contains echoes of the memory of Israel's pastoral period (Heb. 11:9, 13).

2. Yahweh is the only shepherd of his people, Israel. This title is used disinterestedly only in Gen. 48:15; 49:24. Elsewhere in the historical books of the OT we feel a definite reticence, evidently the result of an aversion to the formal, stiff eastern titles of divinities (cf. J. Jeremias, *TDNT* VI 487 f.). At all events, the passages are very irregularly distributed over the OT. But in the Psalter and in the exilic prophets of comfort, the idea of the shepherd comes into greater prominence (Pss. 23; 28:9; 58:8 f.; 74:1; 77:20; 78:52 f.; 79:13; 80:1; 95:7; 110:3; 121:4; Jer. 23:2; 31:10; 50:19; Ezek. 34:11 f.; Isa. 40:10 f.; 49:9; Mic. 4:6 f.; 7:14). The acknowledgment that Yahweh was the shepherd of Israel grew out of the living religious experience of the people and is thus to be distinguished from the cold courtly style of the ancient East. In invocation, in praise, in prayer for forgiveness, but also in temptation and despair (Ps. 73), the worshippers know that they are still safe in the care of God the faithful shepherd (the most beautiful expression of this is Ps. 23). At the same time is the thought of God's unlimited sovereignty over his flock is not absent. In these contexts it co-exists in creative tension with the overwhelming consciousness of God's spontaneous love.

The people is Yahweh's flock (cf. Jer. 13:17; Isa. 40:11; Ezek. 34:31; Mic. 7:14; Zech. 10:3; Pss. 79:13; 95:7; 100:3). As the chosen people of God, Israel applied the metaphor of Yahweh's flock only to himself. Sir. 18:13 is the sole instance of the metaphor being applied universally to all men, who at the end of time will be gathered together into one flock.

This made it impossible to employ the official title of shepherd for the reigning monarchs of Israel as an expression of honour, even though they exercised the functions of the shepherd. Rather, in the light of God's faithfulness, their failure as shepherds was felt to be fundamental. David certainly shepherded the people. They were his flock, but the kingly title, shepherd, was avoided (cf. 2 Sam. 5:2; 1 Chr. 11:2; Ps. 78:71 f.; 2 Sam. 24:17; 1 Chr. 21:17). The prophets in their denunciations spoke of the political and military shepherds in unquestionably negative terms; these had all failed because of their arrogance and disobedience to God (Jer. 2:8; 3:15;

2. With *aischynomai* and *kataischynō*, the meaning to put or be put to shan predominates; with *epaischynomai*, to be ashamed. *aischynē* in the NT means shan suffered or self-inflicted (Jude 13; 2 Cor. 4:2). Phil. 3:19 and Rev. 3:18 use *aischy* in a sexual sense. *aischros*, disgraceful, is found in the NT chiefly in the phra *aischron estin*, it is a disgrace (1 Cor. 11:6; 14:35; Eph. 5:12). *aischrologia*, foul ta (Col. 3:8), and *aischrokerdēs*, greedy for base gain (1 Tim. 3:8; Tit. 1:7), are fou listed in catalogues of sins. *H.-G. Link*

(a). C. K. Barrett, "I am not ashamed of the gospel", *Foi et Salut selon S. Paul* = *AnBib* 42, 19 19–50; R. Bultmann, *aidōs*, *TDNT* I 169 ff.; and *aischynō* etc., *TDNT* I 189 ff.
(b). K. E. Løgstrup, "Scham", *RGG*[3] V 1383 ff.; R. Schultz, *AIDOS*, (Dissertation, Rostock), 191C

Shepherd

ποιμήν

ποιμήν (*poimēn*), shepherd; *ποίμνη* (*poimnē*), floc *ποίμνιον* (*poimnion*), flock; *ποιμαίνω* (*poimainō*), to he tend; *ἀρχιποίμην* (*archipoimēn*), chief shepherd, over-shepherd.

CL *poimēn*, herdsman, shepherd, is an Indo-European word (cf. Lithuanian *piem* which is frequently used in metaphorical senses: leader, ruler, commanc (Homer, Plato). It is also used as an alternative for *nomeus*, law-giver. *poimai* means to be a shepherd, tend (act. and mid.); metaphorically, care for. *poimnē poimnion* is the herd, particularly the flock of sheep.

1. Plato reminds us of the religious use of the word when he compares the rul of the city-state to shepherds, who care for their flock (*hōsper poimenōn poleōs*, *R* 4, 440d). For the human shepherd is a copy of the divine shepherd and law-gi (*schēma tou theiou nomeus*, *Politics* 271e).

2. In the ancient East, shepherd at an early date became a title of honour appl to divinities and rulers alike. This usage is found in a stereotyped form in t Sumerian king-lists, in Babylonian courtly style and in the pyramid texts (the boc of the dead). The custom was followed throughout antiquity. So far characteris parallels are lacking for pagan Canaan. Another aspect of the use of the image the shepherd appears in poetry, as typified by Theocritus' *Idylls* (3rd cent. B.C Pastoral terminology was very much in vogue throughout the Hellenistic worl

OT The Heb. equivalent of *poimēn* and *poimainō* is *rā'âh*; that of *poimn* predominantly *ṣō'n*. *poimnē* occurs only at Gen. 32:17(16) and Zech. 13:7 (b times for *'ēḏer*).

1. Before Israel settled in Canaan, the individual tribes depended on const wandering with their herds and flocks. The patriarchs (cf. also Job), who owr sheep and goats along with their cattle, were nomads. The shepherd's task was u dertaken preferably by members of the family; by the daughters only in the i mediate vicinity of the dwelling (Exod. 2:16). It was expected that the shepherds, a the servants who worked with them, would show caution, patient care and hones In the dry summer on poor soil it was not easy to find new pasture at the right ti as the flocks passed through lonely regions, or to balance properly grazing, wateri rest and travel. The shepherd had to care tirelessly for the helpless beasts (cf. Ez

19 f.). Yahweh's acts of judgment will force his enemies to be ashamed (Pss. 40:14; 83:16–18). That an objective sense is intended is corroborated by the use, parallel to *aischynō*, of vbs. like *tarachthēnai*, to be struck with terror (Pss. 6:10; 83:17); *entrapēnai*, to be confounded (Pss. 35:26; 70:2; 71:24); *katagelaō*, to mock (Ps. 25:2).

2. In the sexual sense *aischynō* is found frequently in Ezek. (16:36 f.; 23:10, 18, etc.), and in the normative statement of Gen. 2:25, "They were naked and were not ashamed." Here shame in the body is the most primitive expression of the feeling of guilt, the sign of a lesion going through man's bodily nature and casting doubt upon the unity of body and spirit. This disturbance results from an act of disobedience against Yahweh, and man reacts to the objective loss of innocence, and the innermost disturbance of his relationship with God, by the feeling of shame (Gen. 3:7; cf. G. von Rad, *Genesis*, 1961, 88, 95–9).

NT In the NT the group of words is found much less often than in the LXX: the noun and vb. together only 11 times, *aischros* 4 times, compound forms 11 times (*ep-*), and 13 times (*kat-*). In the Gospels they occur only in Lk. and Mk. Of relative importance is the Pauline use of *kataischynō*. Usage is closer to that of the LXX than that of cl. Gk.

1. (a) Mk. 8:38 par. Lk. 9:26 use *epaischynomai* in the sense of to be ashamed. The point of reference is not, however, a virtue or vice, but → confession of Christ. Being ashamed, i.e. fear of human ridicule, is rejected, as conduct denying the eschatological and universal authority of the → Son of man (cf. 1 Pet. 4:16; 2 Tim. 1:8, 16).

(b) In a similar way to the prophets (cf. Jer. 8:9), Paul speaks in 1 Cor. 1:27 of God as actively putting to shame, i.e. to nought, the wise and the powerful, while he chooses what is foolish and weak in the world, i.e. gives it standing and worth. Through the cross of Christ glory and shame have undergone an exchange of values. Similarly in Rom. 5:5, Paul makes the affirmation: "Hope does not put to shame", i.e. it does not rest on something that does not exist, but on God's future plans (cf. Rom. 8:24 f.). At Rom. 1:16 *epaischynomai* is used as part of a primitive Christian confession. The negative phrase, "I am not ashamed", means positively, "I confess . ." (cf. P. Stuhlmacher, *Gerechtigkeit Gottes bei Paulus, FRLANT* 87, 1966 [2]; and *Das paulinische Evangelium, I, Vorgeschichte, FRLANT* 95, 1968). The statement is not psychological in character, but rather forensic: With the gospel I shall not be put to shame. Paul takes up the same thought in a pass. form at Rom. 9:33, a quotation from Isa. 28:16: the believer will not be put to shame, i.e. his existence is secured (cf. also 1 Pet. 2:6). It is the apostle's continual concern that he should not be put to shame in his missionary work (2 Cor. 7:14; 9:4), i.e. that he should not work in vain (cf. the parallel phrase *mē eis kenon*, "not in vain", Gal. 2:2; Phil. 2:16; 1 Thess. 3:5). As in the OT, so in Paul's use of *kataischynō* the primary meaning is objective, to be put to shame; human feelings of shame are only the other, subjective side of the coin.

(c) The author of Heb. uses *epaischynomai* with reference to God's saving activity: Christ is not ashamed to call men his brothers (Heb. 2:11), and God is not ashamed to be called their God (11:16); Christ even takes the public shame (*aischynē*) of death on the cross upon himself (12:2).

dress that is stressed here, as the "good works" which are reckoned to be the tr adornment of a woman (cf. M. Dibelius and H. Greeven, *The Pastoral Epistl Hermeneia*, 1972, 45 ff.).

aidōs and *sōphrosynē* do not play a significant rôle in the NT. This is due in part their independent character as Stoic → virtues, calling for respect and restraint relation to one's fellow men. "The essence of the believer, however, is not relationship to himself, a *hexis* or *aretē*, but a being before God and towards h neighbour" (R. Bultmann, *TDNT* I 171). Christian behaviour is not determined l individual standards of virtue, but by the need of others. The Gk. *aidōs* has be replaced in the NT by *agapē* (→ Love). *H.-G. Link, E. Tiedtke*

αἰσχύνη

αἰσχύνω (*aischynō*), be ashamed, be put to shame, be d graced, be confounded; ἐπαισχύνομαι (*epaischynomai*), ashamed; καταισχύνω (*kataischynō*), to dishonour, disgrace, put to shame; pass. be dishonoured, be disappointed; αἰσχύνη (*aischynē*), modesty, shame, disgra ignominy; αἰσχρός (*aischros*), ugly, shameful, base, disgraceful; αἰσχρότ (*aischrotēs*), ugliness, wickedness.

CL 1. The root *aisch-* refers originally to that which is ugly and disgraceful. *aischy* (Homer onwards) thus meant originally to disfigure, make ugly. It is found in C literature almost exclusively in the mid. or pass. with the meaning to feel shame, ashamed, or to be confounded, be disconcerted. *epaischynomai* (Aesch. onwards) a strengthened form of the mid., and *kataischynō* (Homer onwards) of the act. a pass. meanings of *aischynō*. The noun *aischynē* (Aesch.) is derived fr *aischynesthai*, and originally carried the meaning of *to aischynesthai*, the fact of b ing ashamed, or of being confounded. *aischynē* has the subjective sense of modes understood as fear of what is *aischron*, ugly (Aristoxenos, *Fragment* 42a); and t objective sense of shame, that which results from an *aischron*, shameful deed (Di Sic. 2, 23, 2). In contrast to → *aidōs* with its religious reference to the gods, *aischy* is primarily a sociological concept: shame exposes one to the ridicule of socie which one tries to escape by being ashamed.

2. *aischros* (Homer onwards) is used lit. and fig. in the sense of base (e.g. b gain, cf. Polyb., 6, 46, 3). *aischrotēs* means ugliness (Plato, *Gorgias* 525a).

OT 1. The LXX uses *aischynō* in by far the majority of cases for the Heb. *bôš*, to p to shame (65 times), and *aischynē* for the nouns *bôš*, *bûšâh* or *bōšeṯ*, shame (times). Only in 8 cases does *aischynē* render *'erwâh*, pudenda. The mid. meaning be ashamed, or modesty, is found only rarely in comparison with the Gk. usage. T group of words is found most frequently in Isa., Jer., and Pss.; and the emphasis not on the sociological, but on the theological, aspect of *aischynō*. Commo Yahweh is the implied or stated subject of *aischynō*, as may be seen from the pa construction (generally the future second pass.) used as a circumlocution for God (Isa. 1:29; 20:5; Jer. 2:26). The psalmists pray for (cf. Pss. 6:10; 35:26; 40:15) a the prophets foretell (Isa. 1:29; 41:11; Jer. 2:26) Yahweh's → judgment, which w put their enemies and the ungodly to shame. Thus in the OT *aischynō* refe primarily to the objective ruin of the evildoer, or of the whole nation (cf. Ps. 69:4–

ıakes use of the same dramatic symbolism when the Jews stir up opposition to his reaching in Pisidian Antioch (Acts 13:51) and when he makes his final break from ıe synagogue in Corinth (Acts 18:6).

The verb *apotinassō* is used in its literal sense to describe Paul's action in shaking ff the snake from his hand after the shipwreck on Malta (Acts 28:5). *N. Hillyer*

i. Bertram, *saleuō, salos*, *TDNT* VII 65–70; G. Bornkamm, *seiō, seismos*, *TDNT* VII 196–200.

hame, Respect

αἰδώς

αἰδώς (*aidōs*), modesty, reverence, respect; αἰδέομαι (*aideomai*), have respect for, have regard for.

L *aideomai* (Homer onwards), to have respect for, stand in awe of, have regard for, remains a common word in Gk. language; but the related noun *aidōs* (likewise rom Homer), (a) awe, reverence (Pindar, Plato), (b) modesty (Hdt. 1, 8), is seldom sed. Originally the terms refer to awe in face of the *deinon*, signifying for the Greeks power which commands respect, in the shape of gods, fate, justice, or laws (Hesiod, *Vorks* 197 ff.). In contrast to *hybris*, → pride, which is a wanton transgression of the ıeal of the golden mean (*metron*), *aidōs* signifies a respect for the established sacred ıstitutions (e.g. home, marriage, laws of hospitality), or for the privileges of certain ıeople (e.g. king, priest, orator, etc.), in the sense of piety, *eusebeia* (→ Godliness; 'lato, *Prt.* 322 ff.). It also connotes anxious avoidance, in the sense of *phobos*, → fear ıf any damage or change to existing circumstances (Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* IV 15p 128b 10 ff.).

At a later period *aidōs*, originally a foundation concept for the self-understanding ıf the Greeks, was freed from the ties that bound it and became an independent con-ept in individual ethics, signifying the Greeks' sense of self-esteem, honour or shame Stoics, Epictetus etc.). *aidōs* in this sense can be associated with *sōphrosynē*, ırudence, → discipline, and *eleutheria*, → freedom, as the "attitude of the worthy ıan" (R. Bultmann, *TDNT* I 170). Connected with this is the fact that the word, un-ke → *aischynē*, is limited in use to the language of the élite, and the ethics of the ristocracy, in a society divided by a class-system.

ıT Heb. possesses no equivalent for *aidōs*. Significantly the word is found in the LXX only at 3 Macc. 1:19 in the sense of modesty (cf. Lat. *pudor*), and 3 Macc. :5 for reverence for age. At Ezek. 23:20 the Heb. *zirmâh*, the semen of a stallion, is endered by *aidoion*. *aideomai* occurs occasionally in Macc. with the meaning, to tand in awe (2 Macc. 4:34), or regard, show respect (4 Macc. 5:6).

IT In the NT *aideomai* does not occur at all, and *aidōs* only in some textual variants to Heb. 12:28, and in 1 Tim. 2:9. The Koine variants of Heb. 12:28 use *aidōs* in :s original sense of awe of God, parallel to *eulabeia*, fear of God: "Through ratitude we serve God acceptably with reverence and awe." 1 Tim. 2:9 describes the ıroper conduct of women as being *meta aidous kai sōphrosynēs*, with marked eserve and sober modesty. The background of Greek and Stoic ethics is un-ıistakable, and the context (v. 10) makes it clear that it is not so much moderation in

melt or rot away. The disruption of nature involves "a tumult of the elements, reason of which the most important parts of the universe lose their equilibrium, a their mechanism seems to become unhinged. That is the immediate introduction the reappearance of the Son of man" (T. Zahn, *Das Evangelium des Lucas*, 1913

The noun *salos* occurs only at Lk. 21:25, where the rolling swell of the sea is o of the eschatological signs distressing the nations (Hag. 2:6). This item is omitt from the parallel passages in Matt. 24 and Mk. 13. The image of the roaring wav often symbolizes turbulent conditions in the life of the nations (Ps. 65:7).

Luke tells how, when the crew of Paul's storm-tossed ship ran the vessel asho the bow stuck fast in the mud and remained immovable, *asaleutos* (Acts 27:41). T only other occurrence of *asaleutos* is in Heb. 12:28, where the divine kingdom described as unshakable and therefore eternal, in contrast to the fate of the mater creation, however solid that has appeared in the past (Heb. 12:26, quoting Hag. 2:

N. Hillyer

ἐκτινάσσω

ἐκτινάσσω (*ektinassō*), shake out, shake off; *ἀποτινάσσ* (*apotinassō*), shake off.

CL *ektinassō*, shake out, as in cleaning clothes; search thoroughly, make a distu bance, kick out (of animals). The derived noun *ektinaktron* means a winnowin shovel. *apotinassō*, shake off (Eur.)

OT *ektinassō* occurs 21 times in the LXX, usually to render *nā'ar*, though six oth Heb. words are once or twice each translated by the same verb. The Lord sho off (*nā'ar*) the Egyptians in the midst of the sea, i.e., out of their chariots as they tu ned to flee (Exod. 14:27; Ps. 135:15). Nehemiah sealed an oath taken by the pries by shaking out (*nā'ar*) his lap, symbolizing that anyone breaking the promise wou be cursed by a life of homeless wandering, emptied of all his possessions, an outca (Ps. 126:4 LXX). Metaph. *nā'ar* is used to express weakness: shaken off as easily a locust (Ps. 109:23). Captive Jerusalem is bidden to stand up and shake herself fr from the dust of despair in captivity and from the Gentiles (Isa. 52:2). In 1 Sam 10 *apotinassō* once translates *nāṭaš* (leave, forsake), when Saul's father is said to ha ceased to be concerned (*apotetinaktai*) about the lost asses. In Lam. 2:7 *apotinas* is used for the piel of *nā'ar*, abhor, reject: the Lord has disowned, cast off, h sanctuary.

NT In commissioning the Twelve, Jesus tells them that where their message is not a cepted, they are to shake off (*ektinassō*, Matt. 10:14; Mk. 6:11; *apotinassō*, L 9:5) the dust from their feet, a gesture of total abandonment. No trace of associatic with the house or city is to remain. Mark and Luke add, "for a testimony again them", i.e., branding the inhabitants as no better than the heathen outside the cov nant. Jewish travellers shook off the dust of Gentile territory from their sandals ar clothes before re-entering the Holy Land (SB I 571). Once the apostles have di charged their responsibilities to preach, those rejecting the gospel will suffer jud ment, heavier even than that inflicted upon Sodom and Gomorrah. The fate of tho cities is often an OT type of fearful retribution for aggravated sin (Deut. 29:23; Is 13:19; Jer. 49:18; 50:40; Amos 4:11; Zeph. 2:9). Paul follows Jesus' advice an

ɔssing motion, earthquake, rolling swell of the sea; perplexity, restlessness (political r personal).

T In the LXX *saleuō* appears 77 times and translates no less than 12 different Heb. words, the commonest of which is *mûṭ*, to totter, shake, slide; frequently in the salms for the man of God not being moved, i.e. weak, in the face of enemies. *salos* ccurs 8 times and renders *mûṭ*, and several other Heb. terms: the tumult (*nāśā'*, lit. fting up) of the waves (Ps. 88:9); the raging (*zā'ap̄*, to be angry) of the sea (Jon. :15); the tumult (*s'ārâh*, storm) of threatening (Zech. 9:14). For Philo, the laws of ıe nations are variable, but the law of Moses, like nature itself and the cosmic order, ; unshakable, *asaleutos*. In the LXX *asaleutos* occurs in Exod. 13:16; Deut. 6:8; 1:18 for *ṭôṭāp̄ôṭ*, in reference to the immovability of the signs which were to be worn n hands and forehead as a reminder of the Exodus deliverance. It is from these erses that the Jewish practice of wearing phylacteries (Matt. 23:5) arose, i.e. binding mall rolls of parchment, endorsed with sentences from the law, upon the forehead nd left arm when the *Shema'* was recited (J. A. Thompson, *Deuteronomy*, 1974, 23).

IT *saleuō* is used of the action of the wind and storm, to shake, disturb violently, as in the parable of the two men whose houses, built on sand and rock respectively, aced the violence of a storm with dramatically different consequences (Lk. 6:48). \fter the release of Peter and John from prison, the house where the Christians in erusalem had met to pray was shaken as in an earthquake (*esaleuthē*) as a sign of livine approval (Acts 4:31; cf. Acts 2:2; Exod. 19:18; Isa. 6:4; 2 Esd. 6:15, 29). At 'hilippi, the foundations of the prison were shaken by a literal earthquake (Acts 6:26). No doubt, as known in modern times, the swaying building not only unatched doors but momentarily opened up the rough mortar between the stones, thus ;ausing the staples holding the prisoners' chains to fall out.

After answering the messengers from John the Baptist, Jesus took occasion to peak about John's character and mission. A reed shaken (*saleuomenon*) by the wind Matt. 11:7; Lk. 7:24) may be a collective singular, referring to the cane-grass growng on the banks of the Jordan. If so, there is no suggestion of frailty or instability. 'eople went to the wilderness, not to gaze at the beauty of the cane-grass being wayed about in the wind, but to look for a man with a message (D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 1972, 199). *saleuō* is also used metaph. (a) to express abundant giving, ıs full volume is obtained by shaking together the contents of a grain measure (Lk. 5:38); (b) to be thoroughly unsettled in mind (2 Thess. 2:2); (c) to incite a mob (Acts 17:13); (d) to shake out of a sense of security and happiness (Acts 2:25, quoting Ps. 16:8 LXX).

After the tribulation, the return of the Son of man will be accompanied by unnistakable cosmic portents. These are described by the Synoptists in the traditional erminology of Jewish apocalyptic, commonly used to symbolize political upheaval ınd the end of the world (Isa. 13:10; 34:4; Ezek. 32:7; Amos 8:9; 4 Esd. 13:30 ff.; 1QH 3:29–39). According to Matt. 24:29; Mk. 13:25; Lk. 21:26, the powers of the ıeavens – either the heavenly bodies or the forces which control them – will be shaken, *saleuthēsetai*. The wording alludes to Isa. 34:4, but the LXX has the much ess violent verb *takēsontai*, from *tēkō*, dissolve, and MT *nāmaqqû*, from *māqaq*,

God's praises in prison (Acts 16:26). Earthquakes are one of the eschatological si (Matt. 24:7; Mk. 13:8; Lk. 21:11; Rev. 6:12; 8:5; 11:13, 19; 16:18).

The passage Matt. 27:51–54 includes a piece of primitive christology. T resurrection of the righteous was expected as one of the great events of the end, wh as a result of the Mt. of Olives splitting in two (Zech. 14:4) the dead were to app (Dan. 12:2). The earthquake at Jesus' death relates to the first part of this sequen while the second (the appearance of some of the saints) takes place after Jes resurrection. This witness to the significance of Christ's death and resurrection not survive in the main stream of tradition (only Matthew includes the incide since it did not fit comfortably into what became the accepted christology that Ch was the first fruits of those who had fallen asleep (1 Cor. 15:20), with all the oth waiting for the general resurrection (1 Thess. 4:16). The six instances of resurrect mentioned in Scripture as preceding that of Jesus are only restorations to the pres earthly life: the widow of Sarepta's son, 1 Ki. 17; the Shunammite's son, 2 Ki. 4; effect of Elisha's bones, 2 Ki. 13; Jairus' daughter, Matt. 9; the widow of Nain's s Lk. 7; Lazarus, Jn. 11. Enoch and Elijah were translated without going throu death (Gen. 5:24; 2 Ki. 2; → Resurrection, art. *anastasis* OT 5). Matt. 27:52– signals that with Christ the general resurrection has begun (K. Stendahl, "Matthe in *Peake's Commentary on the Bible*, ed. M. Black and H. H. Rowley, 1962, 79 The earthquake symbolizes Christ's shattering of the power of death. He burst grave in entering it. The local tremor at Calvary and the subsequent resurrection some saints in the holy city foreshadowed the eschatological earthquakes, the gene resurrection, and the new Jerusalem, the destruction of the present earth and the f mation of the new (Rev. 21:1).

anaseiō occurs only at Mk. 15:11 and Lk. 23:5, where Pilate observes that chief priests have incited (*aneseisan*) the crowd. *diaseiō* appears in Lk. 3:14, wh John the Baptist tells the soldiers who responded to his preaching not to use th position to intimidate anyone (*mēdena diaseisēte*), i.e. not to extort money. Th were probably not Roman soldiers but a Jewish paramilitary force used to supp tax-collectors. John exhorts them to behave fairly, but says nothing about leavi their jobs. *kataseiō* is used four times in Acts, of Peter (12:17), Paul (13:16; 21:4 and Alexander (19:33) motioning with their hands to gain people's silent attenti before speaking to them. *episeiō* is only in the expanded D text of Acts 14:19, wh the Jews incited (*episeisantes*) the mob at Lystra (B. M. Metzger, *A Textual Co mentary on the Greek New Testament*, 1971, 424 f.). *N. Hillyer*

σαλεύω

σαλεύω (*saleuō*), shake, cause to waver or totter, unsett drive away; σάλος (*salos*), rolling or tossing motic ἀσάλευτος (*asaleutos*), unshakable, firm, enduring.

CL From Aesch., *saleuō* means to rock, vibrate (sea, ground), loosen (tooth, na shake in measuring, so as to give good weight; roll, toss, of ships in stormy se metaph. to be in distress, be unstable, roll in walking; shake, due to sickness or a (Plato). Hence, life in the world beyond is *asaleutos*, not subject to trouble or dist bance. *asaleutos* also refers to the calmness of the sea, or metaph. of the mind. *sal*

articularly when God comes in judgment, the anticipation of which causes a shak-ıg, a trembling, among the peoples (Ezek. 38:19 f.). When Judah is threatened, the round is said to shake, i.e. with fear, in anticipation of the thundering horses of the ıvader (Jer. 8:16). In its day, the terror of Babylon caused other nations to tremble Isa. 14:16). Paradoxically, her end produces a similar effect (Jer. 50:46, LXX 7:46), for if so mighty and self-sufficient a power can be overthrown, what may appen to lesser nations? Nebuchadnezzar's heavy chariots and wagons driving into he city (Ezek. 26:10) will cause the walls of Tyre to shake, literally with the vibra-ion, and metaphorically because the strength of a city, symbolized by its wall, has ıeen destroyed, and who knows what the enemy will now do to a defenceless people? n Prov. 24:5 f. (MT 30:21) upstarts are said to cause the earth to tremble (*rāgaz*, uiver violently), i.e. they are liable to upset the smooth running of affairs, whether lomestic or national.

seismos occurs 15 times in the LXX, and usually translates *ra'aš*. In Job 1:20(21), the crocodile laughs at being threatened with a waving (*seismos*) irebrand. *seismos* means an earthquake, lit. or fig., in Amos 1:1; Isa. 29:6; Jer. 0:22; 23:19; Ezek. 3:12 f.; 38:19; Zech. 14:5; the rumbling of wheels, Nah. 3:2; the attling of chariots, Jer. 29:3 (MT 47:3); trembling for fear, Isa. 15:5; the rattling of lry bones in the valley as they come together, Ezek. 37:7. *diaseiō* is used of intimida-ion, especially to extort money (3 Macc. 7:21). In Job 4:14 it translates *pāḥaḏ*, trem-ıle, and describes a great shaking of bones caused by a fearful nightmare. In the LXX *kataseiō* occurs twice. Daniel's servants sprinkled (*kataseiō*) ashes over the loor of Bel's temple to betray the footprints of the nightly intruders (Ad. Dan. Bel 14). In 1 Macc. 6:38 *kataseiō* is the verb used of horsemen being placed in position ɔn either wing of an army, as though spread or sprinkled over an area. *episeiō* tran-slates *sût*, persuade, excite. Achsah urges (*episeiō*) Othniel to ask her father for a favour (Jdg. 1:14). In 1 Sam. 26:19 *episeiō* means to stir up feelings against someone, and in 2 Sam 24:1 and 1 Chr. 21:1 the verb is used for the inciting of David to number the people.

NT *seiō* is a powerful term to describe the effect on the people when Jesus entered Jerusalem seated on an ass: all the city was stirred, *eseisthē* (Matt. 21:10), shaken to its foundations. His deliberate fulfilling of the prophecy of messiah's entry (Zech. 9:9) was unmistakable. At the resurrection the guards at the tomb trembled (*eseisthēsan*), shook violently, at the sight of the angel (Matt. 28:4).

Heb. 12:26 refers to the giving of the law on Sinai (Exod. 19:12 f.), when the divine voice shook (*saleuō*) the earth. The earthquake at the time (Exod. 19:18) was an event which was never forgotten by Israel (Ps. 68:17 f.). At the end of the present world-order God would shake (*seiō*, as in Hag. 2:16, quoted here) not only earth but heaven too. The opening of the sixth seal leads to cataclysmic events of cosmic proportions, including stars falling to the earth, like so many figs being shaken off the tree by a gale (Rev. 6:13; cf. Isa. 34:4).

In Matt. 8:24 *seismos* is used to describe the violence of the sudden storm which threatened to engulf Jesus and the disciples on the lake. The other eleven occurrences of *seismos* in the NT all refer to earthquakes, and always as divine interventions: at the moment of Jesus' death (Matt. 27:54); at the resurrection, where it is linked with the rolling back of the stone (Matt. 28:2); and at Philippi, as Paul and Silas sing

like Philo, the author of Heb. understands this contrast christologically: in co parison with the high-priestly work of Jesus Christ, who is "in the heavens", earthly worship, as conducted in the tabernacle, takes on secondary importan Thus the Mosaic law may not be regarded as absolute in its validity, for it belongs the "shadow of heavenly things" (Heb. 10:1; cf. 8:5). Col. 2:17 asserts that questic of food and drink, festival, new moon and → sabbath "are only a shadow [*skia*] what is to come; but the substance [*sōma*] belongs to Christ." The person w belongs to Christ, the bearer of true reality (note that as in Philo *sōma* [lit. "body" seen as the contrary to *skia*), does not have to submit to the judgment of others such matters. It is not that the ordinance has been suspended. Rather, it is made cl that the direct relation of faith in Christ, in the dimension of eschatological hope, h priority, since the latter links man with genuine reality, with God in Christ. Bef this God all that is earthly, even certain religious and cultic formalities, cannot b appear transient. Earthly things are marked by the characteristics of the shado change and darkening. With God, on the other hand, the Father of lights, there is " variation or shadow [*aposkiasma*] due to change" (Jas. 1:17), i.e. "processes change and of darkening, such as are known among the constellations, are exclud in the case of God" (F. Hauck, *Das Neue Testament Deutsch* 10, 11).

H.-C. Hahn

→ Darkness, → Light

P. W. van Horst, "Peter's Shadow: The Religio-Historical Background of Acts V 15", *NTS* 1976–77, 204–12; H. Schultz, *skia* etc., *TDNT* VII 394–400; J. H. Paterson, "Shade, Shadow", *ZP* IV 368 f.; J. A. Wharton, "Shadow", *IDB* IV 302.

Shake

σείω

σείω (*seiō*), shake, cause to quake, agitate; σεισμ (*seismos*), shaking, commotion, earthquake; ἀνασε (*anaseiō*), stir up, incite, excite; διασείω (*diaseiō*), shake violently, intimidat κατασείω (*kataseiō*), shake down, motion, shake or wave the hand as a sign ἐπισείω (*episeiō*), incite.

CL *seiō* (poetical *siō*) means to shake, move to and fro (Homer), e.g. a poised spear, door; the head, as a sign of discontent; the ground (earthquakes were attribut to Poseidon); metaph. to agitate, disturb, upset; accuse falsely, spitefully; extc (shake out) hush-money, blackmail; *seismos*, shaking, shock, earthquake, blackma *anaseiō*, shake back (hair from head), swing to and fro, brandish, threaten, stir u *diaseiō*, shake violently, wag (tail), shake off (people), throw into confusion, i timidate; *kataseiō*, shake down, throw down; metaph. listen carefully, by throwi back the ears; be dead drunk (thrown on the floor); beckon, signal with the han shake the head in contempt; *episeiō*, shake at or against, with a view to scaring; ur on.

OT *seiō* occurs 37 times in the LXX and usually translates *rā'aš*, to shake, move and fro. In the Song of Deborah the earth is said to have been shaken, *eseist* (Jdg. 5:4), and this expression of the divine presence occurs frequently in the O

:3; Pss. 23:4; 44:19; 88:6 [LXX only]; 107:10, 14; Isa. 9:2). In these places *skia* used of the realm of darkness, threatening to life. It is therefore understandable at the metaphor of shadow is a favourite one for describing the short and transitory ture of human life. For "man is like a breath, his days are like a passing shadow" s. 144:4; cf. 1 Chr. 29:15, *kai ouk estin hypomonē*, there is no abiding; Job 14:2).

4. In apocryphal literature also the term "shadow" is used chiefly to demonstrate e nothingness of human life (cf. Wis. 2:5; 5:9) and effort (cf. Sir. 34:2, "As one no catches at a shadow . . . is he who gives heed to dreams"). But the lit. meaning is so found (cf. Wis. 19:7, cloud; Bar. 5:8, plant); and the term can also refer to an arthly) empire (cf. Bar. 1:12).

In the NT the group of words is comparatively rare: *skia* is found 7 times; the vb. *episkiazō* 5 times; and *aposkiasma* once. The words are totally absent from the uline and Johannine writings.

1. At Mk. 4:32 we find the lit. meaning: → birds will be able to nest in the shadow the mustard when it has grown into a tree. The shadow of the shrub affording elter to the birds (cf. J. Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus*, 1963², 147) thus indicates place of security such as is offered by nature.

2. The sphere of God's rule is characterized in the Synoptic Gospels (Matt. 17:5 r. Mk. 9:5; Lk. 9:34) by use of the OT image of the bright cloud which ershadows Jesus and his disciples on the Mount of Transfiguration (→ ansfiguration). Here the cloud's shadow symbolizes the gracious presence of God. t Lk. 1:35 the concrete image of the cloud throwing its shadow is lacking. Instead ere is a more abstract and yet more direct reference to the divine subject of *iskiazō*, overshadowing, when Mary is told: "The Holy Spirit will come upon you, d the power of the Most High will overshadow you." The vb. recalls the Shekinah esence of Yahweh (cf. also D. Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, 956, 32–6, who compares it with the words of Ruth, "spread therefore thy wing er thy handmaid" [Ruth 3:9], in the light of rabbinic teaching). The passage which lls of the sick who were carried out on to the street, "that as Peter came by at least s shadow might fall on some of them" (Acts 5:15), is intended to point to the heal- g power of God, whose sphere of operation is in this case identified with Peter. hus in all 5 instances of *episkiazō*, God is ultimately the cause of the overshadow- g, which serves to demonstrate his power and glory.

3. As in the OT, *skia* can also refer in the NT to the sphere of darkness in which en find themselves before they come to the light. For by nature man lives in the nd and the shadow of death, i.e. his existence is determined by death (cf. the cita- on of Isa. 9:1 in Matt. 4:16, and the words about John the Baptist at Lk. 1:79). ere death and darkness are intensified to mean the darkness of separation from od, so that "the expression 'shadow of death' . . . denotes the sphere of perdition hich characterises the Gentiles who are separated from the Messiah and Son of od" (S. Schulz, *TDNT* VII 397).

4. It is not only the transitoriness of human life, however, with its threatened ter- ination by death, that is expressed by *skia*. As in Philo, the word plays an impor- nt part in the distinction drawn between real and unreal existence in Col. and Heb. ere *skia* stands with *hypodeigma*, copy (Heb. 8:5), and *parabolē*, likeness (Heb. :9), in stark contrast to *typos*, pattern (Heb. 8:5), and *eikōn*, form (Heb. 10:1). Un-

Homer of *skiazō*, to shade (cf. also *skiaō*, to overshadow, make shady).

Another NT word belonging to this group is the noun *aposkiasma*, found only Jas. 1:17, and nowhere in pre-Christian literature, signifying a darkening caused the movements of constellations.

2. *skia* has in cl. Gk. both a proper and a transferred meaning. On the one hanc means a shadow, thrown by an object (e.g. a tree or a rock) or a person. On the ot hand, it can assume the meaning of *skotos* and indicate the sphere of → darkness particularly important example of this is in the expression *skia thanatou*, shadow death. *skia* here underlines the suggestion of threat already contained in the conc of → death. But apart from this combination, *skia* can also be used to signify vanity (→ Empty, art. *mataios*) of human actions (e.g. Lucian, *Hermotimus* 79, pursue a shadow, a fiction) and of man in general (e.g. Pindar, *Pyth.* 8, 95 f., mar the dream of a shadow). Occasionally *skia* may be translated → image, reflection. Plato it is used alongside *eikōn* almost as a synonym for that term, which like *s* describes a mere likeness of the true and eternal realities (cf. *Rep.* 6, 510e; 7, 517d

3. The Platonic distinction between shadowy image and real → form, which is timately equivalent to that between appearance and reality, plays an important p in the religious philosophy of Philo of Alexandria. In seeking to enable man to dr conclusions from the visible world about the invisible God, he describes God's wor of creation as *skia* (*Leg. All.* 3, 99 f.). The Logos, which has in addition a mediati function, can also be called *eikōn* and *skia*, that is in relation to God. For to man is archetype and paradigm, i.e. the pattern of real being. It is interesting that Ph makes a conscious distinction between the exceptional, mediatorial rôle of → Mos and that of the → prophets, attributing to Moses a knowledge of God *en eidei*, form, while the prophets know him only *en skia* (*Leg. All.* 3, 103 f.). The meaning *eidos* here is on a level with that of *archētypos*, original, substance. The same is tr of Philo's use of *sōma*, → body, which is likewise contrasted with *skia*.

OT 1. In the OT the term shadow has various meanings. The LXX constantly us *skia* to translate the Heb. *ṣēl*, and its derivative *ṣalmāweṯ* is sometimes render by *skia thanatou*, shadow of death. Most frequently it is found in a concrete sens the shadow of mountains (Jdg. 9:36), plants (Ezek. 17:23; 31:6; Jon. 4:6), a boo (Jon. 4:5), and a sundial (2 Ki. 20:9 ff., where the details of the text are obscure, ar Isa. 38:8 which is dependent on 2 Ki. [→ Miracle, art. *sēmeion* OT 2 (c)]). Tl difficult reference in Isa. 25:5 to the shadow of a cloud does not appear in the LX

2. There is, perhaps coincidentally, no mention of a human shadow; but tl thought is in the background of Isa. 51:16, with its mention of the shadow of God → hand (cf. Isa. 49:2 LXX, *skepē*), and in the places where the "shadow of tl Almighty" is mentioned (Ps. 91:1; cf. Pss. 57:1; 17:8). Similar to the references God's wings are those which speak of the cloud whose shadow is a demonstration God's authority (Exod. 40:34 f.). Paradoxically, words of this group assume positive meaning akin to that of *phōs*, → light, in passages where they refer to tl sphere of God's protection and shelter. This is surprising in view of the fact that *sk* would seem at first sight to have its place among metaphors of → darkness. But Glory, art. *doxa*.

3. The negative sense is retained in all those places where, in poetic literature, *sk* is mentioned in conjunction with *thanatos*, death (cf. Job 3:5; 12:22; 16:16; 24:1'

or the loving service in the collection for Jerusalem (→ Poor, art. *ptōchos* NT 4 (a)). f that is so, the point would be that it was a religious service of God. Others interpret : in terms of the original secular Gk. usage. Then the stress would be on the official nd public aid to the Jerusalem community. However, we can no longer be certain whether Paul really implied anything beyond general service in his use of these words. Both in Rom. 15 and 2 Cor. 8 and 9 this word-group and the *diakoneō* word-;roup stand parallel.

4. Clearly there is no cultic use in Phil. 2:25, 30. Epaphroditus had become a *eitourgos* (2:25), helper, when he served Paul in his hour of need. Thus he rendered Paul the service (*leitourgia*), which the church, owing to circumstances, was not able o render (2:30). Similarly in Rom. 13:6, where *diakonos* could stand equally well for *eitourgos*, no priestly functions are ascribed to the state. In Heb. 1:7 the term *eitourgos* also lacks specific cultic connotation. In the latter passage, citing Ps. 104:4, the angels are merely called servants. They are contrasted with the immutability of Christ (1:8 f.), for their form and function are controlled by God. They are what they are in virtue of their service (Heb. 1:14). *K. Hess*

→ Apostle, → Bishop, → Child, Boy, Servant, → Fellowship, → Lord's Supper, → Love, → Mercy, → Poor, → Possessions, → Prayer, → Priest, → Sacrifice, → Slave, → Temple, → Tent

a). H. W. Beyer, *diakoneō* etc., *TDNT* II 81–93; C. Brown, "Ministry in the New Testament", in J. C. Porthouse, ed., *Ministry in the Seventies*, 1970, 10–22; O. Cullmann, *Early Christian Worship*, 1953; G. Delling, *Worship in the New Testament*, 1962; E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1971, 258–69; H. Strathmann, *latreuō* etc., *TDNT* IV 58–65; H. Strathmann and R. Meyer, *leitourgeō* etc., *TDNT* IV 215–25.

b). P. Abbing, "Grundlinien zu einer theologischen Lehre vom Diakonat", *MPTh* 50, 1961, 348 ff.; E. Barnikol, *Das Diakonenamt*, 1941; and "Die ersten Diakonen, die Zwölf nach Apg. 1.25", *Theologisches Jahrbuch*, 1941, 88 f.; S. Bihel, "De septem diaconis (Acta 6.1–7)", *Antonianum* 3, 1928, 129–50; W. Brandt, *Dienst und Dienen im Neuen Testament*, 1931; O. Cassel, "*leitourgia – munus*", *Oriens Christianus* 3, 1932, 289–302; P. Gaechter, "Die Sieben", *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 74, 1952, 129–66; W. Hahn, *Gottesdienst und Opfer Christi*, 1951; E. Käsemann, "Liturgie", *RGG* [3]IV 402 ff.; and "Gottesdient im Alltag der Welt", in *Judentum, Urchristentum, Kirche. Festschrift J. Jeremias*, 1960, 165 ff., H. Krimm, *Das diakonische Amt der Kirche*, 1953; E. Lohmeyer, *Kultus und Evangelium*, 1942; G. Noske, *Heutige Diakonie in einer veränderten Welt*, 1958; K. Rahner and H. Vorgrimler, *Diakonia in Christo, Quaestiones Disputatae* 15/16, 1962; E. Schering, *Erneuerung der Diakonie in einer veränderten Welt*, 1958; G. Uhlhorn, *Die christliche Liebestätigkeit*, 1895 [2]; H. Wagner, "Diakonie", *RGG*[3] II 162 ff.; K. Weiss, "Paulus, Priester der christlichen Kultgemeinde", *TLZ* 79, 1954, 355–64; H. Wenschkewitz, *Die Spiritualisierung der Kultusbegriffe, Angelos Beihefte* 4, 1932.

Shadow

σκιά

σκιά (*skia*), shade, shadow, overshadowing; *ἐπισκιάζω* (*episkiazō*), overshadow, cover; *ἀποσκίασμα* (*aposkiasma*), shadow, darkness.

CL 1. The noun *skia* (Ionic *skiē*) is found in cl. Gk. from the time of Homer (*Od.* 10, 495; 11, 206), meaning both a shade (of one dead) and the shade (e.g. of trees). The only verbal form of this root to be found in the NT is the Hellenistic *episkiazō*, to overshadow, cover (Hdt., 1, 209), which is an intensive form, found already in

leitourgia *ʿāḇôḏâh*, where these are used cultically. These terms were specially sui for expressing the cultic service, because the priestly cultus was public, fixed a regulated by law, and the welfare of the people of God depended on it. It is, howev surprising that the LXX should use these terms without hesitation also for t heathen cultus (e.g. Ezek. 44:12).

In late Judaism, especially as it was developed in the synagogue, and in t diaspora, we find a gradual spiritualizing of this concept of service, especially in t interpretation of prayer as "sacrifice" (cf. Wis. 18:21).

We may summarize by saying that the use of this word-group in the LXX dc not entirely coincide with that in contemporary secular Gk. The terms were adop specially to express the relationship of the people to God. The only connexion w their original use seems to be the relationship of the service to the people. This w transferred to the relationship of his people to God and given a new form.

NT The concepts are only seldom found in the NT; *leitourgeō* 3 times; *leitourgi* times; *leitourgos* 5 times; and *leitourgikos* only once.

1. In Hebrews and in some Pauline and Lucan passages, the word-group is us strictly in its cultic-sacred sense. We need not wonder at this in Heb., which mo entirely in the world of OT concepts. According to Heb. 8:2, Christ, as *leitourgik* exercises the service of the high priest in the true, heavenly sanctuary. There, he is t one, true high priest, who has obtained a "better ministry" (8:6, *leitourgia*). He h accomplished through his sufferings and death the one eternally valid → sacrifice (10:10), and by so doing he has shown that, through the daily sacrificial serv (10:11, *leitourgia*) of the priest, no sins can be taken away. Heb. seeks to make cl the unique meaning of the → cross and exaltation by using the cultic concepts of t OT. In this OT context we find *leitourgia* again in Heb. 9:21 in reference to the (cultic vessels.

Rom. 15:16 also presupposes cultic usage. Paul justifies what he has written pointing to the fact that, by the grace of God, he had become Christ's *leitourgos*, i priest, to the Gentiles (the RSV and NEB do not bring out the force) and so throu his activity in "the priestly service [*hierourgounta*]" of the gospel the converted G tiles are brought as a sacrifice to God (→ Sacrifice, art. *thyō* NT 2). By this Paul presses not only his complete dedication and dependence upon God; he a redefines the nature of sacrifice and priestly service in terms of the gospel, its serv and fruit. We should also add Phil. 2:17 here, where Paul uses cultic terms to expr his apostolic ministry. He sees himself as the messenger of Christ performing the s vice (*leitourgia*) of offering up the obedient faith of the Philippians to God. His o self-giving in martyrdom is seen as a libation on the sacrificial offering of their fa (→ Sacrifice, art. *thyō* NT 2).

The last NT passage with cultic meaning to be mentioned is Lk. 1:23, where term is used for Zechariah's priestly service. Apart from this passage, the NT sho a strong spiritualizing of the concept, e.g. Paul as priest, the believers as sacrifi

2. The use of *leitourgeō* in Acts 13:2, compared with the LXX usage, something completely new, but it is derived from it. Here the cultic meaning is cc pletely spiritualized and applied to Christian worship in prayer.

3. There is no unanimity as to how Rom. 15:27 and 2 Cor. 9:12 are to be derstood. Many commentators see the cultic use here also, where the terms are u

ose "who worship God in spirit" or "by the Spirit of God". Both passages give ear expression to Jesus' statement that true and genuine worship as God wills it ust be in Spirit and through the Spirit, for God himself is Spirit (Jn. 4:23 f.; → ayer, art. *proskyneō* NT 4). Such worship is freed from all the restrictions of cultic les, circumcision and the struggle to attain righteousness through works. The man ho has been reconciled and renewed carries out his worship of God through the irit by presenting his whole being. Since the Spirit of God takes control of a man's irit for service in the gospel (Rom. 1:9), it leads to the surrender of the whole life, hich is spiritual worship (Rom. 12:1; NEB "the worship offered by mind and art"). The expression "in the gospel" (Rom. 1:9) includes for Paul everything, ayerful mention (v. 9b), witness and proclamation, which are inseparably linked ith prayer and pastoral care.

2. *latreia*, apart from Rom. 12:1 (see above, 2), is found another 4 times in the T. In Rom. 9:4, Heb. 9:1, 6 it refers to the OT cultus; in Jn. 16:2 it expresses the rvice which those who hate the gospel think they bring God, when they persecute id kill Christ's witnesses.

3. There is little difference between *latreia* and *thrēskeia*, which means worship of od (Jas. 1:26 f.; RSV, NEB 'religion'), worship of angels (Col. 2:18) and religion in neral (Acts 26:5). Correspondingly the adj. *thrēskos* (Jas. 1:26) can be rendered ous (RSV, NEB "religious"). *K. Hess*

λειτουργέω

λειτουργέω (*leitourgeō*), serve; *λειτουργία* (*leitourgia*), service; *λειτουργός* (*leitourgos*), servant; *λειτουργικός* *itourgikos*), serving.

leitourgeō (older Att. form *lētourgeō*) is compounded from *laos* (Ionic *lēos*), people, and *ergon*, work, and is found from Xen. and Lysias on. It means do iblic work at one's own expense. It is a political, almost legal, concept. The noun milarly means service for the people. In the later classical period it was as common term as "taxes" today (O. Cassel, *Oriens Christianus* 3, 7, 1932, 289). We seldom id *leitourgos* in secular Gk.; where it is found it is rarely used in a religious sense, it normally means an artisan. *leitourgikos* is found only a few times in the papyri.

In Hellenistic Gk. *leitourgeō* covers all kinds of service to the community (H. rathmann, *TDNT* IV 217) which a person was under obligation to do because of e size of his income, but which could also be carried out voluntarily. The concept adually expanded, especially in Egypt, to cover every conceivable compulsory ser- ce for the state, with regulations laid down for every detail. Then it became widened cover any sort of service. Beside this legal meaning in public life, there developed entirely new, religious and cultic use of the words. The only connexion seems to that the cultus had a public importance for the community. There are, however, important deductions to be drawn from this.

In the LXX *leitourgeō* (about 100 times) and *leitourgia* (about 40 times) acquired a clearly defined meaning. They are used almost exclusively for the service → priests and → Levites in the temple. This explains the striking fact that both ords are used above all in the sections describing priestly functions and ritual (cf. xod. 28–39; Num.; Chron.; Ezek. 40–46). *leitourgeō* renders *šērēṯ* (piel) and

Almost everywhere it translates *'ābaḏ*, serve, which is rendered in the LXX *douleuō* (→ Slave) as well as *latreuō*, the latter being used mostly where *'ābaḏ* h religious reference (*TDNT* IV 60). Thus in Exod. 4:23; 8:1 (MT 7:26); 8:20 (8:16); 9:1, → Moses asks Pharaoh to let the people go, that they may serve God other words, it is a question of worship, which, as in the case of other ancient p ples, was carried out through the cultus. See also Exod. 3:12; 7:16, 26; 10:3, 7 f., 26; 20:5; 23:24 f.; Deut. 4:19, 28; 5:9; 6:13; 7:4, 16; Jos. 22:27; 24:14–24,

It is, however, characteristic of the OT that it is not the meticulously perfor cultus which is the true worship of God, but obedience to the voice of the L which grows out of gratitude for God's acts of salvation in history, although s obedience included the outward ritual of worship. "And now, Israel, what d Yahweh your God require of you, but to fear Yahweh your God, to walk in all ways, to love him, to serve Yahweh your God with all your heart and with all y soul and to keep the commandments and statutes of Yahweh?" (Deut. 10:12

Hence, in the LXX *latreuō* is very close to → *leitourgeō* in meaning, but the la is used exclusively for the service of the priests, while the former means the servic God by the whole people and by the individual, both outwardly in the cultus and wardly in the heart. The noun *latreia* is found only 9 times in the LXX; with the ception of 2 Macc. 4:14 (where it means forced labour) it is used in the same wa the vb. In Exod. 12:25 f.; 13:5 it refers to the sacred custom of the Passover. See a Jos. 22:27; 1 Chr. 28:13; 1 Macc. 1:43; 2:19, 22.

2. In late Judaism, just as in the OT, the relationship of man to God was pressed as service. Man is the servant or slave of God. So *'ābaḏ* and its derivati can have a specifically cultic meaning, in which case it means worship of the t God or of false gods. The meaning of worship has been perpetuated in the s agogue. But it is used also of the inner worship of the heart. So with reference Deut. 11:13 and Dan. 6:11, 16, it is said that to serve him means prayer (SB III

NT 1. All 21 cases of *latreuō* in the NT are used in a religious sense, which inclu the worship of strange gods (Rom. 1:25; Acts 7:42). Its use throughout, and merely in the 3 quotations (Matt. 4:10 par. Lk. 4:8 = Deut. 6:13; Acts 7:7 = Ex 3:12), is fixed by the OT. This is true of passages like Lk. 1:74; 2:37 and those wh the God of the fathers is mentioned, whom Paul (Acts 24:14) or the twelve tri (Acts 26:6, 7) worship. It is just in passages like this that we see that *latreuō* h largely lost its cultic connotation in favour of that of the inner worship of the he by faith (cf. Acts 24:14b), and → prayer (see above, OT 2).

Hebrews shows the closest links with the OT. Of the 6 uses, 4 refer to the → tem (tabernacle) cultus (Heb. 8:5; 9:9; 10:2; 13:10; → Tent). There is no need, howe to restrict these passages to the priest's vicarious acts for the people in the sacrifi worship; they can refer to the old worship in the tent, including that of the people general, which was temporary, and not final and perfect. For as Heb. 9:14; 12 show, only the conscience which has been cleansed and brought to life by Chr only the one who has been received into the true and eternal community of G (Heb. 12:22 ff.) can worship God acceptably "with reverence and awe".

When Paul wishes to describe the Christian's → walk, he also uses the OT cu term (*latreia*, Rom. 12:1; → Prayer, art. *entynchanō*) and says of himself that serves God with his spirit in the gospel (Rom. 1:9). Similarly in Phil. 3:3, he writes

The NT knows also the work of the female deacon, but her rôle is left undefined (Rom. 16:1; perhaps also 1 Tim. 3:11). The position is still recognized in some churches today. It was closely connected with that of the widow (→ Woman, art. *hierā*).

In Gal. 2:17 Paul rebuts the implied objection of the Judaizers that his doctrine of justification by faith makes Christ "an abettor of sin" (NEB), because it contains the corollary that no one can be justified by the → law (cf. Gal. 2:15 f.) and thus does away with the law. "But if, in our endeavour to be justified in Christ, we ourselves were found to be sinners, is Christ then an agent of sin [*hamartias diakonos*]? Certainly not" (Gal. 2:17). The thought takes up the contrast in v. 15 between "Jews by birth" who live by the law (v. 16) and "Gentile sinners" who do not. But the believer is not justified by the law (v. 16), and to the Jew this would mean that Christ is an agent of sin by doing away with the law of God. Paul replies that the real transgression would be to bring back the law (i.e. by practising → circumcision, and so endeavouring to put oneself right with God by keeping the commandments of the law, cf. Gal. 2:1–14). For, on the one hand, keeping of the law never enabled a man to become righteous before God. And on the other hand, God has provided a way of righteousness in Christ which both satisfies the law and supersedes it. "But if I build up again those things which I tore down, then I prove myself a transgressor. For I through the law died to the law, that I might live to God. I have been crucified with Christ; it is no longer I that live, but Christ who lives in me; and the life I now live in the flesh I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me. I do not nullify the grace of God; for if justification were through the law, then Christ died to no purpose" (Gal. 2:18–21).

In Rom. 13 Paul urges obedience to the secular ruler, even though he is not a believer, "for he is God's servant [*theou gar diakonos*] for your good. But if you do wrong, be afraid, for he does not bear the sword in vain; he is the servant of God to execute his wrath on the wrongdoer" (Rom. 13:4; cf. 1 Pet. 2:13–17; Matt. 22:15–22 par. Mk. 12:13–17; Lk. 20:20–26; Isa. 10:5; → Might, art. *exousia* NT; → Caesar). *K. Hess*

λατρεύω

λατρεύω (*latreuō*), serve; λατρεία (*latreia*), service or worship (of God); θρησκός (*thrēskos*), pious; θρησκεία *thrēskeia*), service of God, religion.

CL *latreuō* is derived from *latron*, wages, and means in secular Gk. work for wages, and then to serve without wages. It is not found very frequently. It was originally used predominantly of physical work, but was then used more generally and could include cultic service. *latreia* has the same meaning, i.e. work for wages, work, care, service. Finally at a later stage it had a cultic use, honouring of the gods, worship (cf. H. Strathmann, *TDNT* IV 59).

OT 1. *latreuō* is found much more frequently in the LXX than in secular Gk. Like *leitourgeō* the concept is taken up and developed, and given a specific meaning. It is found about 90 times, especially in Exod., Deut., Jos., Jdg., but, with the exception of Ezek. 20:32, it is not found in the prophets.

(Rom. 11:13; 2 Cor. 4:1; cf. 2 Tim. 4:5). Even more, the whole church become body for service in the world (Eph. 4:1–16); it is composed of members, the "s vants", and functions in preparation for the Lord's return.

4. The difference between it and *doulos* (→ Slave), is important for our derstanding of *diakonos*. *doulos* stresses almost exclusively the Christian's comp subjection to the Lord; *diakonos* is concerned with his service for the church, brothers and fellow-men, for the fellowship, whether this is done by serving at ta with the word, or in some other way. The *diakonos* is always one who serves Christ's behalf and continues Christ's service for the outer and inner man; he is c cerned with the salvation of men. Hence, Paul can see himself as a servant of gospel (Eph. 3:7; Col. 1:23), a servant through whom the Christians in Corinth l come to faith (1 Cor. 3:5), a servant of the new → covenant (2 Cor. 3:6), a servan Christ (2 Cor. 11:23), a servant of God (2 Cor. 6:4), a servant of the church (C 1:25). This concern with God's salvation includes body and spirit. Hence, Paul w as concerned with the collection (2 Cor. 8:4; 9:1, 12 f.; in each case *diakonia* Poor, art. *ptōchos* NT 4 (a)) as with the gospel. Proclamation and help through tions complement one another.

Paul's various companions and helpers, who stood with him in the work proclamation, are also called *diakonoi* by him (Eph. 6:21; Col. 1:7; 4:7; 1 Th 3:2) and more frequently *synergoi*, fellow-workers (Rom. 16:3, 9, 21; 2 Cor. 8: Phil. 2:25; 4:3; Col. 4:11; → Work, art. *ergon*).

Acts 6:1–6 belongs in this context, although only *diakoneō* and *diakonia* are us Luke avoids *diakonos*. The Seven, who are here placed alongside the apostles, t over the care of the poor in the church because the Hellenists complained that th widows were neglected in the daily distribution. But they doubtless had spiri functions as well; at least these emerged when this particular ministry was termina (cf. Stephen in Acts 6:8 ff. and Philip "the evangelist" Acts 21:8; cf. 2 Tim. 4:5; Acts 6 see E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1971, 258–69; F. F. Bruce, *Acts of the Apostles*, 1952², 150–54).

The work of a deacon finally developed into a special office, whose beginnings be traced already in the NT (Phil. 1:1; 1 Tim. 3:8–13). In the course of the chur history the office developed a standardized form, though its precise form is not c from the NT. Nor was it evidently universal in the church. Originally all the manif functions exercised in the church could be called "services" or ministries (1 C 12:5). Hence, the various office-bearers (→ apostle, → prophet etc., cf. Eph. 4:1 were "servants", *diakonoi*, of the church (cf. 1 Cor. 3:5; Col. 1:25). But in the m specialized sense the concept was narrowed down to the material care of the chu which was closely linked with the office of the bishop (e.g. 1 Tim. 3:1–7, 8– 1 Clem. 42:1 f.; Ignatius, *Mag.* 2:1; 6:1; *Trall.* 2:1). This means that for the " vant" there was always a task for spirit and body expressed by his rôle in pu worship, care of the poor and administration. The service of God and of the p were, after all, a unity, as the agape, the common meal implied. Originally it was vious that all the "servants" stood in a brotherhood of service, but the concept w increasingly eroded by the growth of a hierarchy with its different grades. In Orthodox Church the *diakonos* was retained, but in the Roman Catholic Episcopalian Churches the diaconate became merely a transitional stage on the w to the priestly office.

neone in authority, an officer of a court of law, etc. (e.g. Jn. 18:3, 12, 18, 22; Matt. :5 see below, 4; 26:58). The vb. *hypēreteō*, serve, render service, be helpful, occurs Acts 13:36 (of David serving the counsel of God); 20:34 (of Paul tending to his n needs); and 24:23 (of Paul's friends being allowed to tend to his necessities).

2. The NT meaning of *diakoneō* is derived from the person of Jesus and his gospel att. 20:28 par. Mk. 10:45; cf. above 1 (a)). It becomes a term denoting loving ac- n for brother and neighbour, which in turn is derived from divine love, and also scribes the outworking of *koinōnia*, → fellowship.

When Jesus served his disciples and men in general, it was a demonstration of love of God, and of humanity as God willed it. "I am among you as one who ser- s" (Lk. 22:27; cf. Jn. 13:1–15), and "The Son of man came not to be served but to ve" (Matt. 20:28). Jesus washed his disciples' feet as an example (Jn. 13:15) to allenge the disciples; the leader among them was to be as one who serves (Lk. :26; cf. Matt. 20:26 par. Mk. 10:43; Matt. 23:11). Everyone should serve with the gift God has given him (1 Pet. 4:10). Anyone giving food to the hungry, shelter to homeless, clothing the naked, or visiting the sick and imprisoned (Matt. 25:35 f.) serving Christ himself. "As you did it to one of the least of these my brethren, you l it to me" (Matt. 25:40). The service done to Jesus on earth, especially by → men (cf. Lk. 7:44 ff.), will not be forgotten (Mk. 14:9). Various women served us also "out of their means" (Lk. 8:3).

This summons to service becomes binding because behind it stands the sacrifice of us, who came "not to be served but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for ny" (Mk. 10:45 par.). 1 Jn. 3:16 draws from this sacrifice the conclusion that "we ght to lay down our lives for the brethren."

3. The fellowship of the common meal, which involved serving at table (Acts 6:1), nains basic for the understanding of *diakonia* in the NT. We have to think of "the aking of bread" in private homes, of the agapes in which the rich cared also for poor (cf. 1 Cor. 11:17–34), and the house-churches like that in the house of phanas which had devoted itself to *diakonia* (1 Cor. 16:15). This service, in which ength and possessions were used for others, can be seen as the principal and main- ning element of fellowship (2 Cor. 9:13; cf. Acts 5:4; 2 Cor. 9:7). This service also ended from the local church to churches elsewhere that needed help (Acts 11:29; :25; 2 Cor. 8:3 f.; 9:1–5). The spiritual and physical *diakonia* of giving and receiv- takes place in acknowledgment of the sacrifice of Christ (2 Cor. 8:9; 9:12–15). This service, comprehending body and life (2 Cor. 8:5) as well as money and ssessions, becomes a means of edification of the whole body of Christ (Eph. 4:12). at is why Paul calls the charismatic gifts services *diakoniai* (1 Cor. 12:5), parts of organic whole. *diakonia* can also be used for each particular spiritual → gift om. 12:7), just as the deacon is one among all the others who serve (see below, 4).

Paul expanded the concept of *diakonia* even further. He saw the whole of salva- n, God's *diakonia* in Christ for and among men, expressed in the *diakonia* of the ostles. Already in the OT there was a divine *diakonia*, but expressed in the law and refore in death and condemnation (2 Cor. 3:7, 9, RSV "dispensation"). In Christ, wever, the service of the → Spirit, of → righteousness, of → reconciliation has gun (2 Cor. 3:8 f.), and this service has been entrusted to the → apostle, who as rist's ambassador proclaims, "Be reconciled to God" (2 Cor. 5:18 ff.). Hence the m *diakonia* can be used as a technical term for the work of proclaiming the gospel

NT 1. Both in the Synoptics and Paul *diakoneō* is found relatively frequently, with the exception of Lk. 10:40 *diakonia* is not found in the Gospels, though not uncommon in Acts, and is very frequent in Paul. *diakonos* is also a predomin tly Pauline concept.

(a) *diakoneō*, serve, is found with the meaning of serving at table in, e.g., M 8:15 par. Mk. 1:31, Lk. 4:39; 10:40, cf. Jn. 12:2; Lk. 17:8; Acts 6:2. It is foun the sense of take care of in Matt. 27:55 par. Mk. 15:41, Lk. 8:3; Matt. 4:11; 25 (in the context of service to individuals), and in 2 Tim. 1:18; Heb. 6:10; 1 Pet. 4:1 (in that of the church). It is used specifically of the work of deacons in 1 Tim. 3: 13; in connexion with the offering for the saints in Jerusalem in Rom. 15:25; 2 C 8:19 (→ Poor, art. *ptōchos* NT 4 (a)); as an expression for the proclamation of gospel in 2 Cor. 3:3; 1 Pet. 1:12; of Jesus himself as an expression of his humiliat and giving up of himself for others through suffering and death in Matt. 20:28 Mk. 10:45; cf. Lk. 18:26 f. (→ Redemption art. *lytron*), and in this connexion for the voluntary self-humiliation of the disciple in Lk. 22:26 f., and his follow Christ in Jn. 12:26. So used, the concept extends beyond the limits of its for sphere of meaning. Already the eschatological saying in Lk. 12:37 points to a radi change in the previously held values. This is also true of Lk. 22:27, linked with previous v. in which Jesus' humility becomes the norm for the life of the disciples (below, 2).

(b) *diakonia* is found 34 times in the NT. It means service at table in Lk. 10: Acts 6:1, etc. It is used in a general sense for loving service in 1 Cor. 16:15 and R 2:19; for loving service through the making of a collection in Acts 11:29; 12 (RSV "mission"); Rom. 15:31; 2 Cor. 8:4; 9:1, 12 f. (where the grace of Chris clearly seen as the motive); for the → proclamation of the word and the Christ mission in 2 Tim. 4:11; Acts 6:4; 20:24; 21:13; 2 Cor. 11:8, etc.; for all service the Christian community in Eph. 4:12; for service by → angels in Heb. 1:14; charismatic office in Acts 1:17; Rom. 11:13; 2 Cor. 3:7 f.; 4:1; 5:18; 6:3; Col. 4: 2 Tim. 4:5. Every service and every office, however, finds its meaning in the orga unity of the → body of Christ (1 Cor. 12:5; Rom. 12:7). The glory of the *diakonia* develops from this (2 Cor. 3:8 f.; see below, 3).

(c) *diakonos* is found 29 times in the NT. Its primary meaning is the one w serves at table (Matt. 22:13, where there is an eschatological note; Jn. 2:5, 9) means a servant in a wider sense in Matt. 20:26 par. Mk. 10:43; cf. Lk. 18:26; M 23:11, and a helper in Eph. 6:21; Col. 4:7. Especially in Paul, the word receive specifically Christian sense; e.g. a servant of the new → covenant (2 Cor. 3:6), a s vant of → righteousness (2 Cor. 11:15), a servant of Christ (2 Cor. 11:23; Col. 1 1 Tim. 4:6), a servant of God (2 Cor. 6:4), a servant of the → gospel (Eph. 3:7; C 1:23; cf. 1 Cor. 3:5), a servant of the → church (Col. 1:25). Christ himself is calle *diakonos* in Rom. 15:8 (of Israel) and Gal. 2:17 (of sin, used paradoxically). In Rc 13:4 the secular ruler is called a servant of God.

In Phil. 1:1 and 1 Tim. 3:8–13 *diakonos* is used of a man holding the office deacon in the church; the same title is applied to a woman, Phoebe, in Rom. 16 this office may be intended by 1 Tim. 3:11. Sometimes *diakonos* is replaced *hypēretēs*; e.g. Lk. 1:2 (servant of the word); Acts 26:16; 1 Cor. 4:1 (servants Christ). The word originally meant a rower, hence a servant, helper, attendant (H 3, 65; 5, 111). Elsewhere in the NT it normally means the (armed) servant

diakoneō, serve, is cognate with Lat. *conari*, give oneself trouble. It is not linked with *konis*, dust, and therefore does not mean go through the dust.

Basic in secular Gk. are: (a) to wait at table; this is expanded to (b) care for household needs, and from this to the general meaning (c) to serve generally. The first meaning involves personal subjection which was considered unworthy and dishonouring for a free man. When used in the third sense it can be service for a cause, e.g. for the good of the community (in Plato in connexion with the *polis*), or for a god. As such it is an honourable task and a fitting occupation for a free man. In general the voluntary giving of oneself in the service of one's fellow man is alien to Gk. thought. The highest goal before a man was the development of his own personality.

The derivative noun *diakonia* expresses the occupations implied by the vb., and means service, office. The second derived noun *diakonos* denotes the person carrying out the task. Hence, the primary meaning in secular Gk. was a waiter at table, and it is so used later in reference to cultic meals.

1. Even though the OT has the concept of service and contains the commandment to love one's neighbour (Lev. 19:8), and Israel knew charitable acts as did the ancient Near East generally, *diakoneō* is not found in the LXX. The seven instances of *diakonos* are used exclusively for court servants (Est. 1:10; 2:2; 6:1, 3, 5 *l.*), and torturers (e.g. 4 Macc. 9:17). The other instance is Prov. 10:4. *diakonia* is used only in two unimportant cases (Est. 6:3, 5 *v.l.*; 1 Macc. 11:58). Instead of them, we find the word-groups *douleuō* (→ Slave) → *latreuō* and → *leitourgeō* in cultic contexts.

2. (a) In late Judaism *diakoneō* is found both in Philo and Josephus, the latter using it particularly in connexion with the Essenes (see below, 3). Though Judaism in the time of Jesus knew and practised its social responsibilities, e.g. to the poor, this was done mainly by alms, not by service (cf. Lk. 10:30–35). Lowly service, e.g. waiting at table, was beneath the dignity of a free man (cf. Lk. 7:44 ff.). Sometimes the greater would wait at table, but this was unusual (cf. SB I 838; II 257 f.).

(b) There was, however, organized care for the → poor. Every Friday those who lived in the locality received enough money from the poor basket (*quppâh*) for fourteen meals; strangers received food every day from the poor bowl (*tamḥûy*). This food had been collected earlier from house to house by the officers of the poor (SB II 43 ff.; cf. J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, 1969, 131 ff.). In addition there were common meals and alms. In the diaspora, synagogues often set up a committee of seven for its service. The title *parnāsîm*, from *parnēs*, feed, points to service at table and in general (cf. also → Poor art. *ptōchos*).

3. Josephus says that the Essenes "neither marry wives, nor are desirous to keep servants ... but minister one to another" (*Ant.* 18, 21). CD 14:12 ff. mentions regular contributions for the needy, poor and aged. The sick were also well looked after according to Philo (*Omn. Prob. Lib.* 12, 87). Service to the poor and common meals, possibly with eschatological connotations (1QSa 2:17 ff.), belonged to the fulfilling of righteousness and the expectation of the kingdom. On the question of poverty and community of goods at Qumran → Poor, art. *ptōchos* NT 4 (b); → Possessions, art. *ploutos* OT 3. The community's holding its goods in common had a temporary counterpart in the Jerusalem church (Acts 2:44).

(*eschisthē*): one case involved the people of Iconium (Acts 14:4); the other, t Sanhedrin (Acts 23:7).

(f) About A.D. 55 there was evident in the Corinthian church not only squabbl (*erides*, 1 Cor. 1:11) but also a tendency to form cliques (*schismata*, 1 Cor. 1: 11:18), probably on the basis of sociological groupings or personal preferences one church leader over another (see 1 Cor. 1:12; 3:4; 11:17–22, 33–34), not d trinal differences. Such divisions, Paul insisted, constituted a denial of their allegia to one Lord (1 Cor. 1:10, 13) and their membership of one body (1 Cor. 12:12– where discord (*schisma*) had no place (1 Cor. 12:25). *M. J. Harris*
→ Discipline, → Divorce, → Marriage, → Redemption, Loose, art. *lyō*

(a). R. H. Charles, *The Teaching of the New Testament on Divorce*, 1921; L. M. Epstein, *Marr Laws in the Bible and Talmud*, 1942; J. A. Fitzmyer, "The Matthean Divorce Texts and Some N Palestinian Evidence", *Theological Studies* 37, 1976, 197–226; A. Isaksson, *Marriage and Ministr the New Temple: A Study with Special Reference to Mt. 19:3–12 and 1 Cor. 11:3–16*, 1965; H. M tefiore, "Jesus on Divorce and Remarriage", in *Marriage, Divorce and the Church: The Report Commission appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury to prepare a statement on the Christian I trine of Marriage*, (1971) 1975[5], 79–95, 169 f.; C. Maurer, *schizō*, *TDNT* VII 959 ff.; J. Munck, J *and the Salvation of Mankind*, 1959, 135 ff.; J. Murray, *Divorce*, 1953; J. R. W. Stott, "The Bib Teaching on Divorce", *The Churchman* 85, 1971, 165–74 (reprinted separately 1972). For fur literature see the bibliographies attached to the articles given in the cross-references.
(b). H. Baltensweiler, *Die Ehe im Neuen Testament. Exegetische Untersuchungen Über Ehelosigkeit und Ehescheidung*, 1967; K. Haacker, "Ehescheidung und Wiederverheiratung im Ne Testament", *TQ* 151, 1971, 28–38; A. Myre, "Dix ans d'exégèse sur le divorce dans le Nou Testament", *Le Divorce. L'Église Catholique ne Devrait-elle pas Modifier son Attitude Seculai l'Égard de l'Indissolubilité du Mariage?*, 1973, 139–63.

Serve, Deacon, Worship

When we speak of serving we imply work done for another either voluntarily or cc pulsorily (→ Slave), the benefit of which will accrue to the one for whom it has b done. Service does not exclude → reward. The activity of serving stands in contras ruling (→ Lord; → Strength). Faithful service presupposes → humility in the one w serves as the inferior, in contrast to → pride. He who serves is in a position of dep dence and his → freedom is limited. The Bible, however, makes it clear that a m who has been freed from the dominion of → sin and the → law finds true freedom the service of God (→ Hear, art. *akouō*), which implies service for his fellow-men well. The varieties of such service are expressed by three Gk. word-groups. *leitour* originally expressed voluntary service for the political community, and then pric service in the cultus. *latreuō* primarily stresses details of the cultus, but is then u for the inner attitude of worship. *diakoneō* and its derivatives, as their etymol suggests, are used mainly for personal help to others.

διακονέω

διακονέω (*diakoneō*), serve, support, serve as a deac διακονία (*diakonia*), service, office, aid, support, distri tion (of alms etc.), office of a deacon; διάκονος (*diakonos*), servant, deac ὑπηρέτης (*hypēretēs*), servant, helper, assistant; ὑπηρετέω (*hypēreteō*), serve, ren service, be helpful.

nust be put: Do you believe in your hearts that in your new marriage you can love God, each other and those around you more fully than if you were to remain as you ıre? *C. Brown*

σχίζω

σχίζω (*schizō*), split, tear, divide, separate; σχίσμα (*schisma*), split, tear, division.

:L In secular Gk. *schizō* (cf. Lat. *scindo*, split) is generally used literally of dividing into parts or breaking into pieces and only rarely in the figurative sense of the livision of opinion. The noun *schisma*, which is rare and generally plural, denotes a lit or cleft or a clique.

)T While *schisma* is not found in the LXX, in the papyri it is used of "ploughing" (rending the ground) (Moulton-Milligan, 619) although *hyposchismos* is the more egular word for this. *schizō* occurs 11 times in the LXX in reference to such "renling" as the cleaving of wood (Gen. 22:3), rock (Isa. 48:21) or mountain (Zech. 4:4), or the dividing of water (Exod. 14:21).

)T (a) Rent heavens (*schizomenous tous ouranous*) marked the → baptism of Jesus (Mk. 1:10), a sign of divine disclosure at a nodal point of history (cf. Jn. 1:51; Acts 7:56; 10:11; Apoc. Bar. 22:1). To heighten the allusion to Isa. 64:1 ("O that hou wouldst rend the heavens and come down"), Mk. renders the Heb. vb. *qr'* "rend") by *schizō*, departing from the more general LXX rendering (where *anoigō*, 'open" is used) that is reflected in Matt. 3:16 and Lk. 3:21.

(b) In each of the Synoptic Gospels (Matt. 9:16; Mk. 2:21; Lk. 5:36) the conflictory about the failure of Jesus' disciples to → fast is followed by a "parable" (so Lk.) ıbout patching clothing. No one ever sews a piece of newly-woven, unshrunk cloth nto an old garment because the added patch would tear away some of the garment ınd make a rend (*schisma*) worse than ever. Lk's. form of the saying (using the verbal forms *schisas* and *schisei*, Lk. 3:36) further emphasizes the same point of the incompatibility of Christianity and Judaism. Any attempt to mix the new with the old vill spoil both.

(c) Jesus' death was marked by the rending (*eschisthē*) "in two, from top to bottom" of the inner curtain of the → temple (Mk. 15:38 par. Matt. 27:51; Lk. 23:45) hat separated the Holy Place from the Holy of Holies (Exod. 26:31–35; 40:21). This symbolized the opening up of direct access into God's presence that was ecured by Christ's sacrifice (Heb. 6:19–20; 9:8; 10:19–20). In the parallel passage n Matt. (27:51), mention is also made of an earthquake which split open *eschisthēsan*) the rocks (cf. Isa. 48:21).

(d) In the decision of the soldiers not to tear (*mē schisōmen*) the tunic of Jesus but o cast lots for it, Jn. sees a fulfilment of Scripture (Jn. 19: 24, citing Ps. 22:18). Behind the observation that even the 153 fishes did not cause the tearing (*eschisthē*) of the net (Jn. 21:11) lies a contrast with Lk. 5:6 where Simon Peter was also directly nvolved. And on three occasions John observes that there was a division of opinion *schisma*) regarding Jesus: the points at issue were his identity (Jn. 7:43), his niraculous cure of the man born blind (Jn. 9:16), and his teaching (Jn. 10:19).

(e) Paul's preaching is twice said to have prompted a cleavage of opinion

There is a division of opinion as to what "this precept" (v. 11) is. D. Hill takes it t mean that "Jesus is commending the unmarried state to those whose 'call' demanc it, and who are fitted for it" (*The Gospel of Matthew*, *New Century Bible*, 1972, 281 cf. W. D. Davies, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount*, 1964, 393 ff.). But th question may be asked whether it is appropriate to call the disciples' statement of v 10 a "precept [*logon*]". This term might seem more appropriate to Jesus' "word" c v. 9 which rounds off Jesus' answer to the Pharisees. In this case Jesus would be giv ing recognition to the fact that, human nature being what it is, we must expect a wid variety of causes for marital breakdown and remarriage. Jesus would then be takin people as they are, recognizing their failures, and dealing with them, as always, as ir dividuals at their point of need. To keep "this precept" is itself a gift of God. But a with the pronouncement in v. 6, Jesus' last word on the subject is formulated, not a a statement, but as a challenge: "He who is able to receive this, let him receive it" (v 12).

Remarriage is therefore sanctioned in certain clear-cut cases. But there are man cases in modern society, where marriage has broken down through incompatibility drink, cruelty and sundry other causes on which there are no explicit pronounce ments of Scripture. There are also many cases in society of divorcees marrying an subsequently being converted. Is the church to deny the right of marriage to the for mer group and to tell the latter to unscramble their marriages? This would be th logical consequence of the rigorist interpretation of Jesus' teaching. But this woul not seem to represent the mind of Jesus. The foundation of his teaching – "Wha God joined together let man not put asunder" – is a formula for avoiding th breakdown of marriage, and not an iron law putting into equal bondage the callous the innocent and the penitent. In cases where a believing partner desires to remarr we should follow the example of Jesus and examine the situation in the light of God' purposes in creation and the two great commandments. In creating man and woma it was God's intention that man should not dwell alone (Gen. 2:18), and, as we hav seen from Paul's argument in 1 Cor. 7:1–9, the saving knowledge of God was not in tended as a substitute for normal human relationships. Just as the sabbath was mad for man, and not man for the sabbath, so marriage was made for man. We do no cease to have the need of physical and person-affirming relationships, when marriag breaks down. At the same time, the two great commandments also apply: We are t love God with all our heart, mind and soul, and our neighbours as ourselves (Matt 22:37 f. par. Mk. 12:30 f.; cf. Lk. 10:25–28; Deut. 6:5; Lev. 19:18).

As a matter of fact, Paul introduces the second great commandment in his discus sion of relationships between husband and wife: "Even so husbands should love thei wives as their own bodies. He who loves his wife loves himself" (Eph. 2:28). In con text, this applies to the care that the man should have for his wife. It certainly precludes entering a relationship with someone else outside a marriage that is intact But it also has an application for those who find themselves divorced but desiring t enter into the person-affirming relationship that God intended marriage to be. T those who would preclude the possibility of remarriage on the grounds that marriag is indissoluble the question must be put: By what right do you, who enjoy th security and warmth of a happy marriage, deny the possibility to others who finc that their former marriage has broken down irretrievably and that there is nothing that they can now do to restore it? To those who would seek remarriage the questior

Christ, as stated in Mark, at the time they were uttered, and so long as the law relating to the infliction of death on the adulteress and her paramour was not abrogated. But, as we know, this law was abrogated a few years later. The natural result was that to our Lord's words, which had one meaning before the abrogation of this law, a different meaning was attached after its abrogation, and they came to be regarded as forbidding divorce under all circumstances, though really and originally they referred only to divorces on inadequate grounds – that is, grounds not involving adultery" (op. cit., 22). "By the insertion of these clauses Matthew preserves the meaning of our Lord's statements on this subject for all subsequent generations that had lost touch with the circumstances and limitations under which they were originally made" (op. cit., 24).

If Charles is right, the "exceptive clauses" are comparable with the kind of insertion which a modern editor would make in a quotation which today would be printed in square brackets within the quotation, thus showing that it was not part of the original words but it nevertheless explains their meaning and intention. If the background is that of Herod Antipas and Herodias, it is understandable why the "exceptive clauses" should be omitted as they would be inapplicable to their case. Indeed, this liaison would be one of *porneia*, both in the sense of adultery and that of a "marriage" within the forbidden degrees of Lev. 18. On the other hand, the inclusion of the "exceptive clauses" would make divorce on the permitted grounds consonant with the teaching of the OT with regard to *porneia*. Whether or not this is so, it must again be pointed out that the question that Jesus was discussing concerned marriages which were *still intact*, but which could be put asunder by a partner contracting a relationship with someone else. Where adultery had already taken place, the OT law did not prescribe divorce but the infliction of capital punishment on both offending parties, and this was the law which still obtained for Jesus (cf. Matt. 5:17 f.). It must therefore be presupposed not only in reading Matt., but also Mk. and Lk. However, the onus of Jesus' teaching falls not on the penalty for breaking the law but on preventing such a break from coming about (cf. Jn. 8:1–11). But where the relationship has already been put asunder, the privileges of the believer are no less under the new covenant than under the old, as the teaching given by Matt. makes explicit.

Finally, in this connexion attention may be drawn to the parallel between the teaching of Matt. 19:10 ff. and Paul's teaching on gifts in relation to marriage and celibacy (1 Cor. 7:1–9, 36 ff.). The response of the disciples is similar to that of the spiritual party at Corinth, implying that the best course for the follower of Jesus is to refrain from sexual relations altogether including marriage: "The disciples said to him, 'If such is the case of a man with his wife, it is not expedient to marry' " (Matt. 19:10). The implication is that the only safe course is to try to live as if one were a → eunuch, i.e. to have no sexual relations. Jesus' reply crystallizes their thought by putting this explicitly, deliberately using the word eunuch. But he distinguishes between those who are such by nature and those who are capable of living as such for the sake of the kingdom (v. 12). Just as Paul said that both marriage and celibacy are gifts, so Jesus declares that "Not all men can receive this precept, but only those to whom it is given" (v. 11). Deliberately to avoid marriage for fear of not being able to keep to marriage is a completely unrealistic solution. It all depends on the gifts that one has been given: "He who is able to receive this, let him receive it" (v. 12).

ble for the marriage relationship to be put asunder. But the burden of the pronounc ment falls on the responsibility of anyone who brings this about. It is thus not a la or piece of halachah – either for the Pharisees or the church – but a challenge. It addressed not to those whose marriages are already put asunder, but to those who marriages are still intact.

In the explanations which follow, all three evangelists record the point that tl man who divorces his wife and marries another commits adultery (Matt. 19:9; M 10:11; Lk. 16:18a); cf. also the case of Herod Antipas who divorced his own wi and married Herodias, the wife of his half-brother, Philip (Matt. 14:3; Mk. 6:18; L 3:19; cf. Lev. 18:16; 20:21). It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that tl Pharisees' question was prompted by the case of Herod and Herodias, which ha been denounced by John the Baptist, and which ultimately led to the Baptist's deat For if Jesus condoned the liaison, he would have implicitly condemned the Bapti and contradicted the law. But if he had denounced it, he would have exposed himse to the same fate as John. The question would have added point as Jesus had now e tered the territory of Antipas "beyond the Jordan" (Matt. 19:1; Mk. 10:1). M 10:12 denounces as adultery the case of the woman who divorces her husband in o der to marry another. (This too would fit the case of Herodias, and the fact that Jesu gave this teaching to the disciples in private might be an indication that Jesus wa avoiding open conflict on this subject as his hour had not yet come.) Lk. 16:18b a plies the teaching to the man who marries a woman so divorced. In each case tl crucial act in God's sight is not the formalities of the divorce proceedings, but the a tion which constitutes the break-up of the marriage relationship. In each case tl starting-point is the marriage that already exists intact. What is condemned a adulterous is the action which causes the break-up of a marriage for the sake of co tracting a new liaison.

Taken out of context, it might appear that Mk. and Lk. forbid remarriage und any circumstances. This would appear to conflict not only with the teaching of Pa (1 Cor. 7:27 f.; cf. v. 15) but also with the teaching given in Matt. The Sermon on tl Mount contains the statement: "But I say to you that every one who divorces h wife, except on the ground of unchastity [*parektos logou porneias*], makes her a adulteress; and whoever marries a divorced woman commits adultery" (Matt. 5:32 In the discussion with the Pharisees Matt. gives Jesus' reply as: "And I say to yo whoever divorces his wife, except for unchastity [*mē epi porneia*], and marri another, commits adultery" (Matt. 19:9).

Many scholars regard the "exceptive clauses" in Matt. as additions by tl evangelist which soften the rigorous teaching of Jesus (cf. D. R. Catchpole, *The Sy optic Divorce Material as a Traditio-Historical Problem*, 1974, reprinted from *BJR* 57, 1974, 92–127). Others, like John Murray (*Divorce*, 1953) and J. R. W. Sto (*Divorce*, 1972, reprinted from "The Biblical Teaching on Divorce", *The Churchma* 85, 1971, 165–74) see them as the faithful representation of Jesus' actual wor which were abbreviated by Mk. and Lk. Clearly abbreviation has taken place in tl case of Lk. who gives only the pronouncement without any background or prior di cussion. R. H. Charles, on the other hand, concedes the probability that the "exce tive clauses" represent a Matthaean addition. But he sees them as the editori clarification by the evangelist expressing the mind of Jesus in the light of tl historical situation. "Now, it was impossible to misinterpret the plain words

joined to his wife, and the two shall become one.' So they are no longer two but one. What therefore God has joined together [*synezeuxen*], let not man put asunder [*anthrōpos mē chōrizetō*]" (Mk. 10:6–9 RSV; cf. par. Matt. 19:5 ff.; cf. Gen. 1:27; 5:2; 2:24; for discussion of the variant readings see Metzger, 104 f.).

The culminating pronouncement is double-edged. The Pharisees had tried to manoeuvre Jesus into making a statement on a controversial issue which would force him to take sides and possibly even to contradict the law (Matt. 19:3; Mk. 10:2; see further below; and cf. J. D. M. Derrett, "The Teaching of Jesus on Marriage and Divorce", in *Law in the New Testament*, 1970, 363–88). In point of fact the law covered only the limited cases described in Deut. 24:1–4. Jesus' reply might be best translated: "What therefore God joined together let man not separate." It is, as Derrett points out, "a veritable judgement of Portia" (op. cit., 383). For the separating or putting asunder applies not only to the husband who sends his wife away with a certificate of divorce in her hand; it touches the action of either partner or third party that causes the break up of the marriage.

It thus includes any action which contributes to the breakdown of the relationship which God had intended, i.e. the mutual help and companionship (Gen. 2:18) and the ongoing physical relationship which constitutes the "one flesh" relationship (Gen. 2:24). Where there is a lack of mutual love, respect and caring, the relationship already falls short of what God intended marriage to be (Eph. 5:21–33; Col. 3:18 f.). Where a partner refuses conjugal rights, as Paul describes them in 1 Cor. 7:2–7, a step has already been taken to putting the marriage asunder. But the adulterous look is also such a step (Matt. 5:27 ff.; cf. Jn. 8:7 ff.), and either partner who actually commits adultery is *de facto* putting the marriage asunder.

There is a significant juxtaposition of the two vbs. *synezeuxen* ("joined together") and *chōrizetō* ("put asunder") in Jesus' pronouncement. What God has joined together is the "one flesh" relationship of man and woman, when the two leave their parents to be united. The sexual relationship between a man and his wife establishes the marriage. It is this relationship which constitutes the essence of marriage in Scripture and distinguishes it from all other relationships. In neither the OT nor the NT is there any form of marriage contract or prescribed vows (→ Marriage, art. *gameō* OT 6). It is rather the physical union which makes the marriage; and it is the contracting of a physical union outside marriage which breaks the marriage. The physical relationship does not exist merely on the human plane. The physical act of taking a wife establishes a relationship which God himself joins together. But the physical act of one of the marriage partners with someone outside the marriage has the effect of putting asunder the relationship established by God.

However, Jesus does not put the point in the form of a bare, factual statement. As elsewhere in his teaching, instead of giving a factual answer which would resolve an intellectual puzzle, Jesus issued a challenge designed to compel his hearers to examine their own lives. For example, the parable of the Good Samaritan (Lk. 10:25–37) is given in answer to the question, "And who is my neighbour?" Not only does it contain a reply to the question posed; it forces the questioner to come to terms with the question of the kind of neighbour *he* ought to be, and concludes with the pronouncement, "Go and do likewise." Similarly, the prouncement, "What therefore God joined together let man not put asunder", puts the onus on the questioners to examine their own attitudes and practice. It recognizes that it is possi-

and gifts (vv. 2–9, 36 ff.; on these latter verses → Marriage, art. *hyperakmos*). I Paul's opinion this second factor is the decisive one, for if we have not the gift (celibacy, the unmarried state can be more of a hindrance than a help (vv. 2 ff., 5, ! 36 ff.). It can mean *less* devoted service, and even expose one to great moral dange

(b) The Teaching of Jesus. Paul's teaching is not in conflict with that of Jesus. Th question that the Pharisees raised with him concerned the interpretation of Deu 24:1–4 in the light of *existing* marriages (Matt. 19:1–12 par. Mk. 10:1–12; cf. Lk 16:18; → Divorce). The so-called "exceptive clauses" in Matt. 5:32 and 19:9 perm divorce and remarriage on the grounds of *porneia*, a term which includes adulter and any kind of illegitimate sexual intercourse (→ Discipline, art. *porneuō*; · Marriage, art. *moicheuō*). It is rendered by the RSV as "unchastity". *porneia* ma well have been used instead of *moicheia* to cover all the sexual offences listed in Le 18 (cf. Acts 15:20, 29). J. A. Fitzmyer thinks that it alludes to Gentile marriages cor tracted within the forbidden degrees and cites 11QTemple 57:17–19, Cl 4:12b–5:14a from Qumran in support ("The Matthaean Divorce Texts and Som New Palestinian Evidence", *Theological Studies* 37, 1976 197–226). But it would b arbitrary and hypocritical to allow divorce for this kind of *porneia* only and not fc the forms mentioned in Lev. 18. In each case the guilty party was to be cut off fro the people (Lev. 18:29).

The OT law provided for divorce by the husband on the grounds of existing ur chastity discovered after the marriage had taken place (Deut. 24:1–4). All he had t do was to give his wife a bill of divorce and send her away. She was then free t marry, but not to return to him as his wife after being married to someone else even the second husband were to die. The question raised by the Pharisees arose out of th way in which this ground for divorce had been extended and trivialized. The stricte school of Shammai prescribed divorce in cases of adultery, whereas the more lenier school of Hillel extended it to incompatibility on various grounds. The OT law pe mitted divorce in cases of unchastity or indecency discovered in the wife by the hu band after he had taken her, but in the case of adultery *after* marriage the penalt was not divorce but the execution of the offending parties (Lev. 20:10; Deut. 22:2 cf. Gen. 38:24; Ezek. 16:38 ff.) which would thus leave the wronged party free t remarry. The practice of stoning the offenders was still an issue in Jesus' lifetim although it was by no means always carried out and it was stopped under Roma rule shortly afterwards (Jn. 8:1–11; cf. R. H. Charles, *The Teaching of the Ne Testament on Divorce*, 1921, 5–10, who draws attention to the Babylonian Talmu Sanhedrin 41a and T. J. Sanhedrin 18a, 24b; A. N. Sherwin-White, *Roman Socie and Roman Law in the New Testament*, 1965², 40 ff.). Under the Romans adulter was a penal and even capital offence prior to Augustus (F. Hauck, *TDNT* IV 733)

Jesus' teaching went behind the Mosaic permission to the creation ordinance c Gen. 2:24: "Therefore a man leaves his father and mother and cleaves to his wif and they become one flesh." In so doing, he was basing his reply not on the provisio made by the law for what a man might do, if he found "some indecency" (Deu 24:1) in the wife that he had married. Jesus ascribes such action to "your hardness c heart" (Matt. 19:8; Mk. 10:5). Instead, he bases his answer on the "one flesh relationship which constitutes the essence of marriage and distinguishes tha relationship from all others. "But from the beginning of creation, 'God made ther male and female.' 'For this reason a man shall leave his father and mother and b

ncludes those who have never been married and those who have been married and are now unmarried. This can be seen from Paul's use of *agamos* in v. 11, where "unmarried" is used of the wife who has separated from her husband. What Paul proceeds to say applies equally to the single, widowers and widows and the divorced. But the particular argument is drawn from the case of the divorced, and applies *a fortiori* to the others. He begins by saying that his observations are not based upon a specific command of the Lord. He concludes by saying that it is not a sin for anyone in their position to marry. "But concerning the unmarried, I have no command of the Lord, but I give my opinion as one who by the Lord's mercy is trustworthy. I think that in view of the impending distress it is well for a person to remain as he is. Are you bound [*dedesai*] to a wife? Do not seek to be free [*lysin*]. Are you free [*lelysai*] from a wife? Do not seek marriage. But if you do marry, you do not sin, and if a girl marries she does not sin. Yet those who marry will have worldly troubles, and I would spare you that" (vv. 25–28). Here the key term is not *chōrizō* (separate) but *lyō* (loose, set free) which covers all *de facto* termination of existing marriage relationships (→ Redemption,Loose etc., art. *lyō* NT 6 (f)). It is the opposite of *deō* (→ bind) which occurs in the assertion that "A wife is bound to her husband as long as he lives" (v. 39) and in the statement "Thus a married woman is bound by the law to her husband as long as he lives; but if her husband dies she is discharged from the law concerning her husband. Accordingly, she will be called an adulteress if she lives with another man while her husband is alive. But if her husband dies she is free from that law, and if she marries another man she is not an adulteress" (Rom. 7:2 f.).

In the two latter passages Paul is describing the situation laid down by the law. The law lays down the following points: (1) marriage is intended by God to be lifelong; (2) but the relationship is not such that remarriage after the death of a partner is precluded; (3) sexual relations outside the marriage constitute adultery and are thus forbidden; (4) in such cases the law did not prescribe divorce but the execution of the offenders, leaving the innocent party free to remarry; (5) whereas the act of adultery was sinful, the remarriage was not. It is this last point which resolves the apparent contradiction between the divinely intended lifelong purpose for marriage in Rom. 7:2 f. and 1 Cor. 7:39 and the declaration in 1 Cor. 7:27 f. that remarriage is not a sin. On the one hand, any breach of the marriage through adultery is a sin. On the other hand, the early church was not in a position to exact the penalty prescribed by the law in such cases. Nor indeed, did it seek to inflict capital punishment. Expulsion from the fellowship of the church is the maximum penalty that the church can inflict (→ Destroy, art. *olethros*). In 1 Cor. 7 Paul does not even insist that divorce *must* follow an act of adultery (v. 27). As we have noted already, grace and reconciliation are available in Christ for those who seek them (1 Cor. 6:9 ff.). But there can be circumstances where divorce is the most humane solution, and such considerations weighed with Paul (cf. v. 15).

For those who find their marriages broken beyond repair and for whom the formal proceedings of the divorce court are merely the legal recognition of an existing state of affairs, remarriage is not a sin (1 Cor. 7:27 f.). The question whether they should actually remarry has, according to Paul, to be decided with two factors in mind. On the one hand, there are the times in which we live, coupled with the fact that marriage necessarily brings with it a division of loyalties (vv. 26–35). But on the other hand, there is the question of the kind of people that we are, with our basic human needs

which constituted a breach of the Seventh Commandment (Lev. 20:10; Deut. 22:2 cf. Exod. 20:14; Lev. 18:20; Deut. 5:18; Jn. 8:1–11, on the latter see J. D. M Derrett, "The Woman Taken in Adultery", in *Law in the New Testament*, 197 156–88). But in the NT excommunication takes the place of execution. Just as ce tain acts affected the community in the OT and had to be purged, Paul urges that c fenders have to be removed from the NT community. The immoral and adultere have no place in the kingdom of God (1 Cor. 5:9 ff.; 6:9 ff.). However, the additic of 1 Cor. 6:11 shows that such sins were not beyond the grace of Christ and that tl truly penitent could take their full place in the fellowship of the church: "And suc were some of you. But you were washed, you were sanctified, you were justified the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God" (cf. also Jn. 8:11

It is against this background that Paul writes on separation and divorce in 1 Cc 7. The foundation of his teaching is a frank recognition of human needs and the fa that marriage is God's appointed way of avoiding those sins which he has just be dealing with. "But because of the temptation to immorality, each man should ha his own wife and each woman her own husband" (1 Cor. 7:2). Moreover, th should give each other their conjugal rights, for each rules over the other's body (v 3 f.). They are to refrain from normal married life in which intercourse plays a pa only to devote themselves to prayer – and that only temporarily – lest Satan tem them through the lack of self-control which might issue from disregarding the natural needs and inclinations (v. 5). Some have the gift of celibacy. In such cases tl believer may devote him- or herself to the things of the Lord and be spared the tro bles that beset the married, especially in view of the times (vv. 1, 7, 26, 29 ff., 32 ff "But each has his own special gift from God, one of one kind and one of another" (7b). For those who have not the gift of celibacy it is better to marry than to burn (9). Here burning is generally understood as being "aflame with passion" (cf. RSV But it is also just possible that it may reflect the rabbinic teaching that the lustful w burn in Gehenna (on this see F. F. Bruce, *1 and 2 Corinthians*, *New Century Bib* 1974, 68, who cites Pirke Aboth 1:5 and Kiddushin 81a). Whichever of these inte pretations is adopted, Paul sees normal married life as the divine provision for mar natural needs. R. N. Longenecker comments: "1. Continence must be considered gift, not an obligation, else we enslave men to our ideal and do not allow them stand in the liberty to which Christ has set them free. 2. Abstinence from sexual e pression in marriage can be justified only in light of our Christian purpose, the pr sent circumstances, and/or our expectation of Christ's imminent return, but never (the ground that sexual relations within marriage are evil *per se*. 3. The obligation permanent abstinence, without the gift of continence, can set one 'aflame wi passion' and be a 'temptation to immorality', thus causing havoc within the Christi community and displaying, by the ascetics' insistence upon it as an obligation for a a failure on their part to condition their own Christian liberty by love" (*Paul, Apos of Liberty*, [1964] 1976, 239).

It is this recognition of basic human needs, gifts and the provision that God hir self has made which Paul wants the Corinthians to bear in mind as they consid such questions as mixed marriages (vv. 12–16) and separation (vv. 10 f.). With v. Paul turns to the "unmarried". In the first instance, these are *parthenoi*, "virgin (vv. 25, 28, 34, 36 ff.; → Woman, art. *parthenos*). But Paul also uses the ter *agamos* (vv. 8, 11, 32) meaning the "unmarried", as distinct from widows (v. 8). Th

Paul appeals in vv. 10–11 to Christ's prohibition of divorce (Matt. 19:6; cf. 5:32; 19:9); he had no need to express his own opinion (cf. vv. 12, 25). A wife should not separate (*mē chōristhēnai*) from her husband nor should he divorce (*mē aphienai*) her (vv. 10b, 11b). Parenthetically the apostle adds (v. 11a) – probably in answer to a specific Corinthian question – that "if a separation does take place [*ean ... kai chōristhē*]" on the wife's initiative (owing either to her husband's adultery or to his ascetic tendencies), she should remain unmarried or else seek reconciliation. Her option might possibly imply his guilt.

However, with regard to mixed marriages Paul knows of no relevant *verbum Christi* (v. 12a). His judgment is that separation is permissible (*chōrizesthō*) only if the unbelieving partner initiates it (probably on the ground of religious incompatibility) (v. 15a). In such circumstances, where the unbeliever was unwilling for cohabitation, the believing partner did not need to feel bound to persist in seeking reconciliation since God's calling was to peace, not discord (v. 15b) and there was no assurance that the unbelieving wife or husband would come to faith (v. 16).

M. J. Harris

4. *Divorce, Separation and Remarriage.* (a) The Teaching of Paul. In principle Paul regards the marriage bond as life-long (1 Cor. 7:10 f., 39; cf. Rom. 7:1–3; → Woman), particularly so far as the wife is concerned. For the law in Deut. 24:1–4 made provision only for the husband to effect a divorce. But in either case the act of sexual intercourse outside marriage is adulterous. Elsewhere Paul pictures the marriage union as an image of Christ and the church (Eph. 5:21–33). It is grounded in the creation ordinance of Gen. 2:24: "For this reason a man shall leave his father and mother and be joined to his wife, and the two shall become one" (Eph. 5:31). However, the "one flesh" relationship is not confined to marriage. The act of sexual intercourse with anyone establishes a relationship for good or ill. This question is not dealt with in 1 Cor. 7:1–24, where Paul is addressing himself to the questions raised by the Corinthian church concerning celibacy, celibacy within marriage, mutual obligations within marriage, and whether Christians should continue in existing mixed marriages. There he argues that separation may be the right course for the Christian (see above 3 (b)). It is in the previous two chapters that Paul discusses the breach of marriage through gross sexual offences, and in these cases the issue is much deeper than that of separation. It involves questions of fellowship and discipline which affect the whole church.

In 1 Cor. 5 Paul deals with the case of a man living with his father's wife; in such a case excommunication is imperative (1 Cor. 5:5, 13; → Destroy, art. *olethros* NT 5). Paul then turns to the question of adultery, pointing out that the "one flesh" relationship also applies to relations with prostitutes. "Do you not know that your bodies are members of Christ? Shall I therefore take the members of Christ and make them the members of a prostitute? Never! Do you not know that he who joins himself to a prostitute becomes one body with her? For, as it is written, 'The two shall be one flesh.' But he who is united with the Lord becomes one spirit with him" (1 Cor. 6:25 ff. RSV mg.). It is because sexual acts establish relationships through the body that Paul distinguishes sexual immorality from all other sins (v. 18).

In the OT the prescription of the law in the case of incest was the execution of the offending parties (Lev. 20:11 f.). The same punishment was laid down for adultery

Separate, Divide

χωρίζω

χωρίζω (*chōrizō*), divide, separate; (pass.) depart, b separated, separate (oneself).

CL Secular Greek authors use *chōrizō* in a literal sense to denote such separation a the freeing of the soul from the body at death (Plato) or the dividing of opposin military forces. Metaphorically the vb. often indicates a separation in thought, i.e logical distinctions or observable differences.

OT In LXX Greek the term denotes spatial separation of persons (Lev. 13:46; Jdg 4:11) or things (1 Esd. 4:44, 57), departure (Jdg. 6:18; 2 Macc. 10:19; 12:12) exclusion from office (1 Esd. 5:39), or separation from evil (Ezr. 9:1; Neh. 9:2 1 Esd. 7:13; 9:9). In the passive *chōrizō* was often used in the papyri as a technica term in connexion with divorce: "to separate the one from the other" (Moulton Milligan, 696; R. H. Charles cites P. Ryl. 2, 154, 24 ff. dated A.D. 66, and *BGU* IV 7 ff. dated 13 B.C.; *diachōrizesthai* means to desert in Josephus, *Ant.* 15, 259, cf. 1 Cor. 7:10; *chōrizō* means to divorce in Polyb., 32, 12, 6; R. H. Charles, *Th Teaching of the New Testament on Divorce*, 1921, 114 f.).

NT 1. *Spatial Separation.* The vb. may signify a physical separation of person (Phlm. 15, "he was parted from you") or a departure from a city or locality (Acts 1:4; 18:1, 2).

2. *Figurative Separation.* (a) So convinced was Paul of the constancy of divine love that he could actually list – and then dismiss as impotent – all potentia obstacles to the continued flow of God's love in Christ (Rom. 8:35–39). To his ques tion "Who shall separate [*chōrisei*] us from the love of Christ?" (v. 35a) comes the answer "Nothing will be able to separate [*chōrisai*] us" (v. 39). Neither adverse cir cumstance (vv. 35–36) nor created form or phase of being (vv. 38–39) could sever that love.

(b) If the phrase "separated [*kechōrismenos*] from sinful men" in Heb. 7:26 is construed with what precedes ("holy, blameless, unstained"), it refers to Christ's sinlessness. If it is taken with what follows ("exalted above the heavens"), it refers to his withdrawal from the world of evil. Perhaps the author intends us to understand Christ's separation as both moral and spatial.

3. *Divorce.* (a) Matt. 19:3–9 (cf. Mk. 10:2–9; Lk. 16:18) records an incident in which the Pharisees were trying to inveigle Jesus into taking sides in the contem porary dispute between the schools of Shammai and Hillel concerning the permissi ble grounds of → divorce (cf. Deut. 24:1–4). "Is it lawful for a man to divorce [*apolysai*] his wife on any given ground?" (v. 3). In reply Jesus appealed to the divine ordinance that predated any Mosaic legislation (cf. Deut. 24:1–4 with Gen. 2:24). In the divinely ordained nuptial bond the two partners become "one flesh". Man must not undo God's work by trying to separate (*mē chōrizetō*) what God has joined together (v. 6).

(b) In 1 Cor. 7 Paul is addressing an aberrant situation at Corinth in which a group of proto-gnostic ascetics seemed to be enjoining on the Corinthians either celibacy (cf. vv. 1–2, 8–9) or celibacy within marriage (cf. vv. 3–7) or even the dis solution of marriages, whether Christian (cf. vv. 10–11) or mixed (cf. vv. 12–16)

out, examine, search out, search, e.g. in connexion with a house search, a judicial hearing, and especially a scientific, philosophical and religious investigation (this particularly in Plato and Philo). *anexereunētos* means unsearchable, unfathomable (once in Heraclitus). Hellenistic forms without change of sense include *eraunaō*, *exeraunaō*, etc.

OT 1. In the LXX, while rendering other Heb. terms, the word (including the composite form) sometimes translates *ḥāpaś* (mostly piel), meaning seek, search thoroughly, and expresses, for instance, Laban's angry search for his missing household gods (Gen. 31:35), the plundering search of houses (1 Ki. 20:6), but also the quest for wisdom and discernment (Prov. 2:4) and the contrite examination of one's way of life (Lam. 3:40). God and his thoughts cannot be searched out (Jud. 8:14).

2. Philo says that man can penetrate the innermost being of God (*Fug.* 165; *Leg. All.* 3, 84). He also uses the word to describe learned investigation of the thought and exegesis of the OT (*Det. Pot. Ins.* 13:57; *Cherubin* 14). The Qumran sect regarded searching the Scriptures as its main task in order in this way to fathom the will of God (cf. A. R. C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning*, 1966, 63–77; G. Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism*, 1961).

NT The NT use of *eraunaō* (6 times) and *exeraunaō* (once) resembles that of secular Gk.

1. In Jn. 5:39 and 7:52 *eraunaō* refers to the penetrating examination of Scripture to obtain its meaning, the searching by the Jews – here presumably in the Law (note the accusation of infringing the law, v. 16; cf. also v. 45). *eraunate* in Jn. 5:39 is to be understood as indicative ("you search"), not imperative ("search!"); the Jews search the Scriptures, but they are preoccupied with words and think that by a mere fulfilment of the letter they can ensure themselves eternal life. This very searching, however, blinds them to the pointers to the true life proclaimed by the OT Scriptures. A preconceived attitude and approach to the study of the law led to the rejection of Jesus (7:52), in whom alone is life.

2. In 1 Pet. 1:10, 11 *exeraunaō* and *eraunaō* refer to the prophets' eager searching and reflection over the information revealed to them by the Spirit; it must be sharply distinguished from *prophēteuō* (prophesy).

3. An OT concept appears in Rom. 8:27 and Rev. 2:23. God searches the hearts of men (cf. 1 Sam. 16:7; 1 Ki. 8:39; Ps. 7:10). While God searches the depths of men's hearts, his judgments on them are unfathomable (Rom. 11:33, *anexeraunētos*). Only the → Spirit of God working in a man is able to search for knowledge of that which is still hidden in the depths of God (1 Cor. 2:10; cf. Matt. 11:25; 13:11; 16:17; Eph. 3:3, 5). 1 Cor. 2:9 takes up Isa. 64:4; 65:17. Where the Spirit searches, the barrier to all autonomous human search falls. *M. Seitz*

→ Prayer, → Spirit

G. Delling, *anexereunētos*, *TDNT* I 357; and *ereunaō*, *exereunaō*, *TDNT* II 655 ff.; H. Greeven, *zēteō* etc., *TDNT* II 892–96; H. Preisker, *heuriskō*, *TDNT* II 769 f.

an intensive sense (Lk. 11:50 f., which is based on OT usage, is significant: to d mand satisfaction for the blood of the prophets; cf. also Acts 15:17 = Amos 9:1 Rom. 3:11 = Ps. 14:2; Heb. 11:6; 12:17; 1 Pet. 1:10). *ekzētēsis*, useless speculatio occurs only at 1 Tim. 1:4. *epizēteō* is not much more frequent (12 times) and has similar intensive force (Matt. 6:32; 12:39; 16:4; Lk. 4:32; 12:30; Acts 12:19; 13: 19:39; Rom. 11:7; Phil. 4:17; Heb. 11:14; 13:14).

1. The secular use of the word is instructive. When the → parables tell of merchant looking for beautiful pearls (Matt. 13:45), or a housewife hunting throug her home to find a drachma (Lk. 15:8), or when the Passion-narratives tell of Juda seeking for an opportunity to betray Jesus (Matt. 26:16 par. Mk. 14:11, Lk. 22:6 the use of *zēteō* implies an act of the will rather than reflection of the intellect.

2. Like the prophets, Jesus' preaching called upon its hearers to seek God, i.e. t put their whole life at the disposal of God's will and rule: "But seek first [*zēteit* God's kingdom and his righteousness, and all these things [i.e. about which yc worry] shall be yours as well" (Matt. 6:33; cf. 7:7 f.; Lk. 11:9 f., 12:31; → Praye art. *krouō*). According to John's Gospel, the Jews opposed this call by seeking Jesu life (Jn. 5:18; 7:1, 19; 8:37) and by seeking to establish their own glory (Jn. 7:1 5:44; contrasted with Jesus in 5:30 and 8:50).

3. Paul gives the clearest statement of the contrast between man's self-assertio and his seeking of God when he rebukes Israel for wanting to establish its ow righteousness (Rom. 10:3), and sets over against it the way of faith which seeks to a tain to righteousness in Christ (Gal. 2:17). Similarly he censures his opponents wh "sought their own interests" (Phil. 2:21), while he ventures to assert of himself th he does not seek his own advantage (1 Cor. 10:33; cf. 1 Cor. 13:5: love does n seek its own interests). In both cases *zēteō* describes, not just one aspect of life, b the decisive direction of the human will.

4. It is in keeping with Gk. ways of thinking and speaking that Acts 17:27 speak of the nations seeking God, and 1 Cor. 1:22 refers to Gk. questioning and striving a ter → wisdom. The Gk. concept of *zētēsis*, which was unknown to the LXX, com in the NT to mean an argument, battle of words, dispute (Jn. 3:25; Acts 15: 25:20). It is not an important concept in the NT and, in the view of the author of th Pastoral Epistles, it advances neither faith nor the building up of the community, a is made plain by the association of argument with words like quarrelling, envy, strif slander (1 Tim. 6:4; cf. 2 Tim. 2:33, Tit. 3:9).

5. Finally God's *zētein* must be mentioned. It includes both God's claim to th fruits of obedience (Lk. 13:6, the fig-tree; → Fruit, art. *sykē*), to true worship (J 4:23) and to faithful stewardship (1 Cor. 4:2), and also the dedicated pursuit of th Son of man whose mission it is to seek that which is lost and rescue it (Lk. 19:10

H.-G. Link

ἐραυνάω

ἐραυνάω (*eraunaō*), search; *ἐξεραυνάω* (*exeraunaō* search out; *ἀνεξεραύνητος* (*anexeraunētos*), unsearchabl

CL *ereunaō* (related to *ereō*, ask, inquire), as well as the almost synonymou *exereunaō*, signified originally: (a) tracking by animals; sniff out, track dow (Homer, *Od.* 19, 436; Empedocles, *Frag.* 101); then (b) in the human sphere to trac

seek, aspire, demand, ask; the less frequent compounds *ek-* and *epizēteō* chiefly represent the qal of *dāraš*, enquire about, investigate, search for, question.

1. First of all, *zēteō* can in the LXX refer to non-religious processes: Joseph sought his brothers (Gen. 37:16); Saul looked for the runaway she-asses (1 Sam. 10:2, 14); Pharaoh sought to kill → Moses (Exod. 2:15; cf. 4:19). The phrase *zētein tēn psychēn*, "to seek the life", is regularly used of the intent to kill (1 Sam. 24:10; 25:29; 26:20; 2 Sam. 4:8; 1 Ki. 19:10, 14; Jer. 11:21; Ps. 35:4, etc.). It is significant that already this secular OT seeking entails no mere intellectual process but an activity which involves the whole person. The men of the ancient East conceived of seeking as having an emotional element. Seeking in the OT included the will and the aspirations of man. It is an existential act and not an intellectual one.

2. (a) When they are applied figuratively to man's relationship to God, *zēteō* and its compounds denote the conscious turning of the Israelites to their God with all their being, or that of Yahweh to his people. In the prophets' message of judgment, the reproach constantly recurs, that Israel has not sought its God (Isa. 9:13; 31:1; Jer. 10:21). At the same time they warn the rebellious people to seek their God, i.e. to be obedient to him (Jer. 29:13 f.; Deut. 4:29; Isa. 55:6). In the Pss. particularly (24:6; 27:8; 83:16; 105:3 f.) and 2 Chr. (7:14; 11:16; 15:12; 18:4, 7) there occurs the formula *zētein ton kyrion, theon, to prosōpon kyriou*, to seek the Lord, God, the face of the Lord, which has become fixed as a technical term. These expressions are, on the one hand, a summary of what willing obedience to Yahweh means; and, on the other hand, they also contain an allusion to cultic occasions like worship and prayers. To seek God thus acquires the meaning to seek after God, where he is to be found, in the → temple and cult. Seeking finds its fulfilment in oracles, instructions and adoration.

(b) The passages that speak of God's seeking are essentially fewer but are all the more important. Like a → shepherd, God will seek again his people who have wandered away, and he will gather them (Ezek. 34:12–16). Hence, the theological use of *zēteō* in the LXX serves to express the reciprocal → covenant relationship between Yahweh and Israel.

3. (a) In Philo, philosophical thinking and questions of the intellect are connected with the seeking of the heart to form a unique synthesis (*Abr.* 87; *Spec. Leg.* 1, 345).

(b) *dāraš* also occurs frequently in the Qumran texts. To seek God is a basic claim laid upon the Essenes (1QS 1:1). That means seeking and asking about God's will. Their zealous study of the Torah served this end. The sect expected the appearance of a figure in the end-time who was called "the Teacher of the Torah" (4Qflor 1:11; CD 7:18).

NT In the NT *zēteō* is a word primarily used by the evangelists (Matt. 14 times; Mk. 10; Lk. 34: Jn. 10) and in the Pauline writings (20 times). It occurs less often in Acts (10 times) and the Catholic Epistles (1 Pet. 3:11 = Ps. 34:14; 1 Pet. 5:8); it occurs once in Heb. (8:7) and Rev. (9:6). Its range of meaning embraces the Gk. and Heb. elements in the concept. Thus, *zēteō* in the NT refers, on the one hand, to following and seeking something (Lk. 15:8), and to probing ideas and reflections (Mk. 11:18; 14:1, 11), as well as judicial enquiry (Jn. 8:50b). On the other hand, it means anything from deliberate striving and desiring (Matt. 6:33; 1 Cor. 10:33) to an assertion of one's claims (Mk. 8:12). *ekzēteō* occurs only 7 times in the NT with

heuriskō in these two ways as *invenire* and *reperire* is something that the NT has i common with the rest of Gk. It puts the stress less on the manner and way in which is possible to find than on its object (e.g. Jn. 1:41: "We have found the messiah!' which is to be found or can be missed and so not found. It is presupposed that man i one who seeks (Matt. 7:7 par.; Lk. 11:9). Man is so care-worn, burdened and longin for rest, that he seeks (Matt. 11:29). If he is not found, he is lost (cf. Lk. 15:4 f.; th opposite here is *apollymi*). What he strives for and finds is by nature a → gift (Heb 4:16); otherwise the word is meaningless. It is also presupposed that by his way c life he will show himself to be a follower of Jesus Christ (cf. Phil. 2:8 with 3:9).

3. *The Subject and Object of Finding.* The natural man primarily seeks to hold o to his natural → life in the sense of his instinct for self-preservation. Man is able t find his life, but only through death "for my sake", as in the logion of Matt. 16:25 (c par. Mk. 8:35; Lk. 9:24; Jn. 12:25 f.). The real thing that is to be found is the kingdom of God (Matt. 13:44 ff.; cf. also 6:33, where *heuriskō* is not explicitly men tioned). Other phrases mean basically the same thing: one must find → "the way t life" (Matt. 7:14), → "rest" (Matt. 11:29; cf. Jer. 6:16; Isa. 28:12) which the unclea spirit cannot find (Matt. 12:43 par. Lk. 11:24), and → "grace [or favour] with God (Lk. 1:30; cf. Acts 7:46; Heb. 4:16). Even where it is not explicitly mentioned as th object, the affairs of the kingdom of God, however they are described, are implied

Jesus is depicted as he who finds faith or does not find it, and that as both the On on earth (Matt. 8:10; used in a parable, Matt. 18:13 par. Lk. 15:5) and also as th coming Son of man (Lk. 18:8; cf. Matt. 24:46; → Son, art. *ho hyios tou anthrōpou*) Jesus Christ who wants to find faith in himself and his message and the man wh wants to find the "way to life" are inseparably connected. Where Jesus finds faith th man also finds the "way to life" and thus to a new way of life (Phil. 2:5 ff.). Wher man finds the "way to life" Jesus also finds faith. *B. Gärtner*

ζητέω

ζητέω (*zēteō*), seek; ἐκζητέω (*ekzēteō*), seek, search for ἐπιζητέω (*epizēteō*), seek after, strive for, search for, want ζήτησις (*zētēsis*), investigation, argument, discussion, debate.

CL *zēteō*, attested from Homer onwards (cf. *dizēmai*, strive after something, als from Homer onwards), has the general meaning of to seek. In cl. Gk. the wor became a technical term for striving after knowledge, and especially for philosophica investigation (Xen., *Cyr.* 8, 5, 13; Epictetus, *Dissertationes* 1, 28, 20; 4, 1, 51). Oc casionally *zēteō* was also used as a legal term for a judicial investigation (Dinarchus 1 8; *P. Oxy.* 237, 6, 41; 726, 16). The compounds *ekzēteō* 1st cent. B.C. onwards and *epizēteō* (Hdt. onwards) emphasize the basic meaning: seek, investigate, striv (e.g. Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 9, 9, 1169b, 13). Apart from that, *ekzēteō* can refer to scien tific investigation (*BGU.* IV 1141, 41) and *epizēteō* to legal searching or claim (Josephus, *Ant.* 17, 10, 10[295]). The noun *zētēsis* (Soph., Hdt. onwards, not in th LXX) corresponds to the basic meaning of *zēteō*, and is used as a technical term fo philosophical investigation (Plato, *Cratylus* 406A; Epictetus, *Dissertationes* 1, 22 17; 2, 11, 13; 3, 14, 10).

OT The LXX uses *zēteō* some 400 times, principally to translate the piel of *bāqaš*

nessiah!" (cf. Jn. 1:45). This human finding is matched by God's free giving (Jn. 5:39; 17:12, 22; 18:9).

Logically this is close to the idea of predestination. But significantly *heuriskō* does not occur in the *locus classicus* for predestination, Rom. 8:28–30. It would be too weak. The emphasis of *heuriskō* is not on the logical alternatives (some find their salvation through God's grace, others do not), but on the element of → joy over those who have been found (Lk. 15:7, 10, 23). Hence, the alternatives implied by the vb. at most are that some have found their salvation through God's grace and others have not yet done so. Such a distinction is, however, always only provisional, corresponding to the biblical God of the future and of hope (Jer. 29:11).

The God who meets us in Jesus Christ seeks and finds the lost (Lk. 15:6, 8–10). He acts like a conscientious → shepherd (Lk. 15:1–6; Jn. 10:9) and like a forgiving → father (Lk. 15:20, 22–24, 32). Such a being lost and being found can be represented by the ideas of death and coming to life (Lk. 15:24, 32; cf. Paul's idea of the man who was dead but is now in Jesus Christ as a new creature, 2 Cor. 5:17; → Creation). This divine finding which is a creative act is matched by returning on man's part (→ Conversion) and by repentance (Lk. 15:7, 10, 21) and by so living out his life to the full. Thus man is shown to be like the Christ who issued an invitation to him (Matt. 11:29) and was obedient (Phil. 2:8; cf. also Phil. 2:5 ff.; 1 Thess. 1:6; Matt. 22:9; and Ignatius, *Eph.* 10:3).

(c) Hence, it is understandable that the use of the passive construction is particularly frequent, not so much with the meaning of find oneself, be found (Lk. 17:18; Acts 8:40), as with that of being found out (to be), show oneself. The follower of Christ no more wants to be found a sinner (Gal. 2:17) or a false witness (1 Cor. 15:15) than the pious Jew means to show himself to be fighting against God (Acts 5:39). The former is concerned rather to show himself to be a faithful steward (1 Cor. 4:2), to be in Christ (Phil. 3:9), to be worthy (Rev. 5:4), blameless (2 Pet. 3:14) and established in the → faith (1 Pet. 1:7). For what matters is the manner of life that the returning Lord finds in his servants (responsibility for one's neighbour, Matt. 24:46; faith, Lk. 18:8; watchfulness, Matt. 25:1–13; wise stewardship, Matt. 25:14–30).

In accordance with sense CL (b), it is possible to speak of seeking and finding, or not finding, fault. The latter is the case with the question of Jesus' guilt during his trial (Lk. 23:4, 14, 22; Jn. 18:38; 19:4, 6; Acts 13:28; cf. also 1 Pet. 2:22, where Isa. 53:9 is quoted with a christological interpretation). But it also applies to the trials in which his disciples, Peter and John (Acts 4:21), and later Paul (Acts 23:9; 24:20), were involved. Paul can "discover" a certain state of affairs in the law (Rom. 7:21), and the church at Ephesus can "discover" liars in their ranks (Rev. 2:2), and so on. The meaning of acquire, procure, is found seldom: What has Abraham gained? (Rom. 4:1); Christ has gained for himself an eternal redemption, so that it might benefit us (Heb. 9:12).

2. *The Way to Find. heuriskō* frequently appears in the NT with → *zēteō* (used literally: Matt. 12:43; Jn. 7:34; 2 Tim. 1:17; used metaphorically: Matt. 7:7 f., → Prayer, art. *krouō*; Acts 17:27; Rev. 9:6; used in a parabolic sense: Matt. 13:45). Even where *zēteō* does not explicitly occur it mostly implies some sort of preliminary to finding. It shows that the act of finding is in no way purely fortuitous (e.g. Matt. 10:39; 11:29; Lk. 23:4). On the other hand, passages like Matt. 13:44 which clearly refer to an accidental finding are in the minority. The fact that it is possible to use

for both ideas. It is used both literally and figuratively: (a) find by chance, come u
(e.g. Homer, *Il.* 1 498; *Od.* 24 462); mid. incur (e.g. misfortune, Homer *Od.* 21, 3
pass. find oneself, be found (e.g. Soph. *Philoctetes* 452), show oneself (e.g. to be
just, Eur., *Hecuba* 270); (b) find after seeking, discover (e.g. a way out, Homer,
4, 374; a device for rescue, Aesch., *Sept.* 209; a law of nature, Vitruvius,
Architecture 9, Preface 9–12: the famous *heurēka* ["I have found [it]"]
Archimedes); (c) fetch, obtain (a price for goods by a sale or auction, Xen., *Hell*
4, 24); (d) acquire, procure for some one (e.g. *sōtērian*, rescue, Plato, *Protago*
321C), mostly, however, mid. obtain (e.g. advantage, Thuc. 1, 31, 2).

OT In the LXX and late Judaism *heuriskō* was also used in a literal and a figura
sense. All the senses except that of CL (c) are found: e.g., come upon (e.g. G
18:26, 28 f.); find oneself (e.g. Deut. 20:11; 2 Ki. 14:14); be found (Dan. 1:19;
also Josephus, *War* 3, 6, 1[114], etc.). The vb. chiefly serves in the LXX to transl
the Heb. *māṣā'*. The objects of this finding can be either things (*t'rāpîm*, Gen. 31:
or persons (e.g. Saul, 1 Sam. 10:21). In theological contexts its objects are → C
(e.g. Isa. 55:6), → grace (Gen. 18:3; Exod. 33:13; Num. 11:11; Heb. *ḥēn*) and
mercy (Gen. 19:19; Jdg. 6:17, also *ḥēn*). Occasionally we find references to findin
life (Prov. 21:21) and rest (Sir. 11:19). It is never possible to be so sure whet
heuriskō corresponds to *reperire* or *invenire*, when it appears in conjunction w
zēteō, seek. Although it is occasionally said of men that they have looked and h
either found or not found (1 Sam. 20:21), most passages in which the combinatio
seeking and finding occurs make the point that God can or should be sought
found (Isa. 55:6; 65:1; cf. Rom. 10:20; Jer. 29[36]:13; Prov. 8:17, Wis. 13:6
Wisdom, too, as the knowledge of God, can be found (Prov. 14:6), although t
notion was contested by Job, who had become sceptical concerning his old ideas
God because of his inexplicable suffering (Job 28:12 f.; → Doubt).
Seeking and finding God happens in → prayer (Isa. 55:6) and hearing (Jer. 29:1
in calling and answering; prayer leads in its turn to the return of the godless (I
55:7), who alters his way of life (Isa. 55:7), and through God's → forgiveness (I
55:7) is led to recognize that God's ideas and ways (Isa. 55:8) are not the same
his. Nevertheless, God's ideas are ideas of well-being (*šālôm*, → Peace) and not
evil. As such they open up a whole future and give him grounds for → hope (J
29:11). Much as it is expected that man should speak (pray) and act (return)
zēteō), we must remember that, when God is found, he discloses himself to man a
lets himself be found (Isa. 55:6; Jer. 29:14; → Revelation): "Here am I, here am
(Isa. 65:1). God is only found through God himself.

NT 1. *Occurrence and Use in the NT.* (a) The range of meaning of *heuriskō* in
NT writings is the same as in the LXX, i.e. the meaning CL (c) does not occ
One can (as in CL (a)) hit upon things (a treasure, Matt. 13:44; leaves, Matt. 21:1
and meet men (particular ones, Jn. 1:41, 45; or unspecified, Matt. 22:9). The apos
can find "children" who "walk in the truth" (2 Jn. 4). There can be men who will se
→ death as an escape in the final affliction, but will not find it (Rev. 9:6). What
decisive is whether a man is found in the "book of life" (Rev. 20:15).
(b) *heuriskō* has a theological significance in Jn. 1:41: "We have found t

ngdom, i.e. the preservation of the righteous and the punishment of evildoers. Us-
g the figure of winnowing grain the Baptist affirms of Jesus: "His winnowing fork
tyon] is in his hand, and he will clear his threshing floor [*halōn*] and gather his
heat [*sitos*] into the granary, but the chaff he will burn with unquenchable fire"
Matt. 3:12).

(d) Jesus' parabolic teaching employed the harvest imagery to emphasize the es-
natological aspects of the divine judgment. In the parable of the seed growing
ecretly (Mk. 4:29) the decisive event in the life of the kingdom is the reaping of a
piritual harvest with sharpened sickle (*drepanon*). *therismos* as a symbol of the final
idgment of separation between righteous and wicked is developed by Jesus in the
arable of the tares (Matt. 13:24 ff.) where wheat and tares grow together in the
'orld until the end-time harvest, when angel reapers root out the weeds (the un-
ghteous) for burning and gather the wheat (the righteous) into the granary (the
'ather's eternal kingdom). The vision of the Son of man (cf. Rev. 1:13; Mk. 13:26,
7) reaping earth's ripened harvest in judgment with his angels (Rev. 14:15, 16),
ecapitulates the teaching of the OT and Jesus on the subject. *B. A. Demarest*

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eek, Find

eek, *zēteō*, and find, *heuriskō*, are two concepts that belong together both logically
nd in practice. They can also refer both to concrete objects and to spiritual matters
nd – at least in the case of *zēteō* – to existential ways of behaviour. In the biblical
vritings they are particularly used to indicate man's relationship to God; here *zēteō*
ays its main emphasis on the anthropological side of it and *heuriskō* on the
heological and christological. Also included in this article is *eraunaō*, to search.

εὑρίσκω

εὑρίσκω (*heuriskō*), find, discover.

L *heuriskō*, which is attested from Homer onwards, means to find, discover. Its origin is obscure. While Lat. distinguishes between *reperire*, which implies finding hat is preceded by seeking, and *invenire*, a chance discovery, Gk. has only one word

either good (Hos. 10:12) or evil (Job 4:8; Hos. 8:7), or of gaining a certain rev through persistent effort (Ps. 126:5).

qāṣîr is symbolically used in the OT of a time of divine appointment in ger (Jer. 8:20) and of temporal → judgments in particular: e.g. upon Ethiopia (Isa. 1 5), Babylon (Jer. 51:33), Judah (Hos. 6:11) and the house of Israel (Isa. 17:5). richly descriptive harvest imagery portrays the judgmental acts of God in justice vengeance. A people ripened by sin are likened to a harvest prepared for the sick divine retribution. First cut down, then bound in bundles, threshed and winno the grain is gathered in the store house, whilst the chaff is consumed by fire

A few OT prophets looked beyond the temporal horizon of divine judgment tc general harvest which would consummate this present age. Joel (3:13) foresees ingathering of the end-time harvest of the nations. Isaiah (27:12) expands the agery with the prophecy that the divine threshing process will effect the separatio Israel (grain) from the nations (chaff).

The figure of the world as a ripened field ready for harvest was taken up in Jewish apocalyptic literature. The end of this present evil age, which is to be sumated in a holocaust of judgment, is likened to a harvest (*qāṣîr*) in which good evil fruit is reaped (Syr. Bar. 70:2).

The ethical maxims of Philo make frequent use of the "sowing-reaping" n (*Conf. Ling.*, 152; *Mut. Nom.* 269; *Leg. Gai.* 293). The Alexandrian also deve the harvesting process into a moral and psychological allegory in which the ma understanding distinguishes virtue from vice, consumes all that is defiled in his n and enshrines the good (*Som.* 2, 23).

NT 1. *Primary Meaning. therismos*, which occurs 13 times in the NT, has a primary meaning the process or time of gathering ripened crops, particul grain (Matt. 13:30; Mk. 4:29; Jn. 4:35). *therizō* is found 21 times in the NT (M 6:26; Jas. 5:4), literally in the sense of reaping a cultivated crop and, in the cas grain, of threshing, winnowing and storing the produce. *theristēs*, which denotes agent who harvests a crop, is used by Matthew (13:30, 39) alone.

2. *Extended Meaning.* The commonplace motif of the ingathering of a ripe crop provided Jesus and the NT writers with a powerful imagery for the explica of various facets of the divine economy.

(a) The *therismos* group occurs in the Synoptic Gospels in the sense of the crease of one's labour generally. In the parable of the talents (Matt. 25:24, 26) the parable of the pounds (Lk. 19:21, 22) the master and the nobleman, respectiv are slighted with the accusation of unjustly appropriating the → fruit (*karpos*) others' work.

(b) Jesus developed the basic harvest imagery into the notion of the potential f of the Christian mission. Predisposed by God for reception of the gospel, men likened to a crop of fully ripened grain ready for harvest (Matt. 9:37, 38; Lk. 10 With a note of urgency Jesus, "the Lord of the harvest", enjoins his followers, reapers, to gather the ripened harvest before it perish in the field. The Fourth Go acknowledges that in the work of the kingdom the spiritual harvester reaps labours of faithful sowers who went before (Jn. 4:36–38). Both sower and rea may anticipate due rewards for faithful performance of their appointed tasks.

(c) The harvest imagery admirably depicts the judgmental aspects of

(f) Paul employs *speirō* (and its correlate *phyteuō*, to plant) in the context of the ıaterial maintenance of the gospel preacher. Like the servant who plants a vineyard l Cor. 9:7), he who sows the seed of spiritual fruit is entitled to reap the reward of a ving (1 Cor. 9:11). Underscoring the church's responsibility for the financial sup-ort of the evangel, Paul in 2 Cor. 9:6 (and its near parallel Gal. 6:7) asserts that the berality with which one sows determines the spiritual and material benefits one :aps (→ Poor, art. *ptōchos* NT 4 (a)).

(g) In Gal. 6:7 f. this theme is developed into an ethical sowing-reaping proverb ımiliar to secular antiquity and the OT: "Do not be deceived: God is not mocked, or whatever a man sows, that he will also reap. For he who sows to his own flesh ⁄ill from the flesh reap corruption; but he who sows to the Spirit will from the Spirit eap eternal life" (cf. Job 4:8; Cicero, *De Or.* 2, 65; Aristotle, *Rhet.* 3, 3; Plato, *Phdr.* 60 c; and Prov. 11:30; 13:2; Amos 6:12 for the metaphor of the → fruit of ighteousness). Here, however, Paul focuses attention upon old and new natures as he two spheres in which ethical action is sown: a sowing in the flesh yields a certain ıarvest (→ *therismos*) of moral corruption, whereas a sowing to the Spirit brings orth eternal life. James adds that the divine standard of ethical conduct is achieved ınly by those possessors of heavenly wisdom who sow in gentleness, humility and ıeace (Jas. 3:18).

(h) The hapax legomenon *spermologos* means lit. "picking up seeds". It is used in :l. Gk. of the rook, but also non-literally of people in the sense of gossip, chatterer, ıabbler, one who makes his living by picking up scraps, a rag-picker (cf. Arndt, 769). t is applied to Paul by the Athenians: "Some also of the Epicurean and Stoic ıhilosophers met him. And some said, 'What would this babbler say?' Others said, He seems to be a preacher of foreign divinities' – because he preached Jesus and the esurrection." Paul's preaching technique is studied by M. A. Robinson in 'SPERMOLOGOS: Did Paul preach from Jesus' Parables?", *Biblica* 56, 1975, 231–40.

B. A. Demarest

θερισμός

θερισμός (*therismos*), harvest; *θερίζω* (*therizō*), reap, harvest; *θεριστής* (*theristēs*), reaper, harvester.

CL The noun *therismos* is rare in cl. Gk. The word group as a whole (from *theros*, summer) is commonly used in the literal sense of reaping or gathering food crops (Herodotus, Aristophanes, Xenophon). It is also used metaphorically, frequently in proverbs which highlight the inevitable moral consequences of prior actions (i.e. Aristotle, *Rhet.* 3, 3, 4: "You have sown shame and reaped misfortune"). *therizō* also occurs in the extended sense of cutting off or destroying human adversaries (Euripides, Sophocles; Plutarch, *Mor.* 182A: "Alexander . . . reaped Asia, and I am picking up the straws").

OT In the LXX *therismos* stands primarily for *qāṣîr* (the vb. *therizō* for *qāṣar*), which in the OT commonly means either the process of harvesting a crop (Gen. 45:6; Exod. 34:21; Ruth 2:21) or the produce reaped (Isa. 16:9; 17:11; Joel 1:11). *qāṣar* is commonly employed in the extended sense of reaping the → fruit of a prior deed

Abraham was not confined to a single individual but extended to his posterity general. In reply J. B. Lightfoot points out that the sing. collective implied by Heb. *zarᵉkā* ("your seed") and the Gk. *sperma* makes Paul's point by involving idea of unity (*Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*, 1890 [10], 142). The argumer not a grammatical one but a theological one. In the first instance, the seed refer the people of Israel, the posterity of → Abraham. Although the children of Ishn were descended from Abraham, there was only one → covenant people descen from him, the line through Isaac. R. N. Longenecker draws attention to the fact t the Targums consistently employ the plur. "and to your sons" here, although t presume a corporate understanding (*Biblical Exegesis in the Apostolic Period*, 19 123). In drawing attention to the sing. "seed", Paul may be hitting out at targumic plur., especially in view of the fact that for him physical descent was guarantee of spiritual relationship (Rom. 9:6 f.; cf. F. Pereira, "The Galatian C troversy in the Light of the Targums", *The Indian Journal of Theology*, 20, 19 27). This latter thought is reflected in v. 29: "And if you are Christ's, then you Abraham's offspring, heirs according to promise." Here the sing. is clearly a coll tive. Although he is aware of the strained applications of rabbinic exegesis (cf. Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, 1956, 440–44), Longenec does not think that Paul is adopting such an exegesis here. "Rather, he is invokin corporate solidarity understanding of the promise to Abraham wherein the Messi as the true descendant of Abraham and the true representative of his people, and Messiah's elect ones, as sharers in his experiences and his benefits, are seen as legitimate inheritors of God's promises [cf. C. A. A. Scott, *Christianity According St. Paul*, 1927, 154 f.]. The Judaizers at Galatia may have been proclaiming that promises were made to Abraham and to his 'seed' the nation (a generic singular), possibly, as Daube suggests, to Abraham and to his 'seed' Isaac (a specific singul [Daube, op. cit., 440]; and some of Paul's converts may have been taken in by th exposition. But whatever the precise form of the heresy afflicting Christians Galatia, Paul 'deliberately furnishes them with a deeper application' of the promi of God made to Abraham and to his 'seed' [Daube, op. cit., 441]" (Longenecker, cit., 124). *C. Brown*

(d) The Philonic concept of the "divine seed" is given a Christian interpretation 1 Jn. 3:9, where *sperma* signifies the divine principle of life (the Spirit?) in t believer, which renders continuance in sin incongruous. As the physical *sperma* w the generator of life in the physical order (Gen. 1:11 ff.), so the divine *sperr* becomes the fount and origin of life in the new order of recreated humanity.

(e) The figure of seed sown in the earth (cf. Jn. 12:24) is used by Paul to illustra the interment and → resurrection of the bodies of deceased believers (1 Cor. 15:36 f As the bare grain of wheat (*sitos*) sown in the soil unfolds into a full grown ear, the germ of spiritual life deposited in the ground will be raised into a glorious n body animated by the Spirit. "The *kernel* that is sown is different from the plant th springs up, for all the continuity of life; whatever variety of *seed* be sown, G provides it with its appropriate *body*, in which the full-grown plant is 'clothed'. A that is necessary for the analogy is the combination of identity with difference; th the seed does not 'die' as the mortal body does is neither here nor there" (F. F. Bruc *1 and 2 Corinthians*, *New Century Bible*, 1971, 151).

uraging persistence in preaching. The parable's teaching on the side of human sponsibility should be held in tension with that teaching of Jesus which stresses vine sovereignty. Thus, "Every plant [*phyteia*] which my heavenly Father has not anted will be rooted up" (Matt. 15:13).

In the parable of the seed growing secretly (Mk. 4:26–29), the seed (*sporos*) posited in the earth develops successively into the blade (*chortos*), the ear (*stachys*) d finally the full head of grain (*sitos*), symbolizing the growth of the life of the → pirit in the believer promoted by the secret power of God. Lacking the life of the ngdom, man is like the flower (*anthos*) of the grass (*chortos*) which fades and mes to naught (Jas. 1:10, 11). The parable of the wheat and tares (Matt. 3:24–30), in which the Son of man sows the seed of wheat (*sitos*) and the devil the ed of darnel (*zizanion*), affirms the simultaneous growth of good and evil during e present age. In the parable of the mustard seed (Matt. 13:31 f., par. Mk. 4:30 ff.; k. 13:18 f.) the growth of the minuscule mustard seed (*sinapi*) into a magnificent rub highlights the contrast between the insignificant beginnings of the kingdom and s final manifestation in majesty and power.

2. *Extended Meaning.* (a) The NT frequently employs *sperma* in the sense of offspring" or "posterity". The word often occurs in citations of OT promise texts hich foretell the future blessing of the descendants of → Abraham (Lk. 1:55; cf. en. 17:7; 18:18; 22:17; Mic. 7:20; Acts 7:5 f.; cf. Gen. 12:7; 17:8; Deut. 2:5), saac (Rom. 9:7; cf. Gen. 21:12; Heb. 11:18; cf. Gen. 21:12) and → David (Acts 3:23).

(b) In Paul *sperma* occasionally transcends the basic physical relation to include ie spiritual descendants of OT believers. The common NT expression "seed of braham" thus is not restricted to the generic house of Israel, but includes all who ossess the same kind of faith as the patriarch. NT believers are represented as the ue seed of Abraham (Gal. 3:29). The OT promise to the patriarchs therefore anscended the material prosperity of the nation to include the ultimate spiritual lessing of all who believe, whether Jew or Gentile (Rom. 4:16 ff.). The seed of the oman in Rev. 12:17 represents the NT community which towards the end of the ge becomes the focus of Satan's attack.

(c) Paul ultimately interprets the OT promise of a seed in terms of Christ, the aramount offspring of Abraham (Gal. 3:16–19; cf. Gen. 12:7): "Now the promises vere made to Abraham and to his offspring. It does not say, 'And to offsprings,' eferring to many; but, referring to one, 'And to your offspring,' which is Christ. This s what I mean: the law, which came four hundred and thirty years afterward, does ot annul a covenant previously ratified by God, so as to make the promise void. For f the inheritance is by the law, it is no longer by promise; but God gave it to Abraham by a promise. Why then the law? It was added because of transgressions, ill the offspring should come to whom the promise had been made; and it was or- lained by angels through an intermediary." As head of the corporate community Gal. 3:29), Christ is identified as the ultimate fulfilment of the divine promises to the patriarchs and later to David (Acts 13:23, 33 ff.). *B. A. Demarest*

Paul's exegesis here has sometimes been criticized for its artificiality. The plur. of the Heb. *zera'.* is generally used for grain or crops (e.g. 1 Sam. 8:15), and therefore the original Heb. of Gen. 12:7 would have to be sing., even though the promise to

Isa. 55:10; Amos 9:13) and to the flow of male semen (Lev. 15:16; 22:4; Jer. 31:

zera' is used figuratively of offspring or posterity, either individually (Gen. 4 21:13) or collectively (e.g. seed of → Noah, Gen. 9:9; seed of → David, Ps. 8 seed of the patriarchs, Deut. 1:8), thereby highlighting the cohesion of the elect c munity. *zera'* in Gen. 3:15 includes the two preceding ideas: collectively the foreshadows the spiritually renewed posterity of → Adam who strive with → Sa ultimately it refers to Christ the paramount seed who seals Satan's doom. In Genesis promise texts *zera'* denotes Abraham's spiritual offspring (Gen. 15:5; 1 8; 22:18) who adhere to the → covenant of Yahweh. Ps. 22:30 refers to the seed spiritual progeny) of the messiah.

zāra' is used figuratively of Yahweh sowing Israel in the land (Hos. 2:23) or dispersion (Zech. 10:9) and of fructifying the chosen nation (Jer. 31:27; Ezek. 3€ The imagery of sowing seed is employed in injunctions to ethical action (Hos. 10 Jer. 4:3) and in warnings against evil practices (Job 4:8; Prov. 22:8).

Late Judaism employed the ethical idea of seed-sowing and harvest (→ *therisn* in an apocalyptic context. The present evil world is likened to a field sown v corrupt seed which can only bear → fruit (*karpos*) after its kind (2 Esd. 9:17). Un the produce of the corrupt seed is gathered in, the beneficent age-to-come canno inaugurated (2 Esd. 4:28 ff.). The seed-sowing imagery was also used of the impl tation of the law in the children of Israel (2 Esd. 9:31).

In Philo *sperma* is interpreted as the starting point of the universe (*Plant.* 48) of all that exists (*Leg. All.* 3, 185). Man's body originates from human seed, but soul from divine seed (*Vit. Mos.* 1, 279). God sows every chaste virtue in the s (*Cherubin* 52) and wisdom, the daughter of God, sows knowledge and discernm But man possesses the capacity of sowing both good (*Leg. All.* 1, 80) and evil (*Cc Ling.* 152) seed.

Rabbinic tradition interpreted certain OT seed texts (e.g. Gen. 4:25; Isa. 53:10 terms of the messiah. Thus Gen. R. 23:5 (on 4:25): "Eve saw the offspring wh origin is elsewhere. Who was this? The King Messiah."

NT 1. *Primary Meaning. sperma* occurs 44 times and *speirō* 53 times in the NT, f quently in the → parables of Jesus, where the familiar imagery of seed sown ir field conveys profound teaching about the kingdom of God. In the parable of t sower (Matt. 13:1–9, par. Mk. 4:1–9; Lk. 8:4–8) emphasis rests upon the act of se sowing which, on the basis of Jesus' identification of the *sperma* with the "Word God", is symbolic of the proclamation of the arrival of the kingdom. Jesus' int pretation of the parable (Matt. 13:8–23, par. Mk. 4:13–20; Lk. 8:11–15) emphasiz the four kinds of soils upon which the word was sown, thus illustrating the divers of response to the message. The seed sown "along the path" symbolizes the stu born, secular man who is incapable of comprehending the message. That sown "rocky ground" characterizes the shallow hearer who for want of spiritual e nestness falls away at the first occasion of opposition. The seed sown "amo thorns" depicts the selfish recipient in whom the implanted word is choked by carr concerns. Lastly the seed cast upon "good soil" represents the saved man who embracing the proclaimed word participates in the eternal increase of the kingdo Although much of the soil is unresponsive to the seed, the parable nevertheless e tends the promise of a great overflow of a spiritual harvest (→ *therismos*), thus e

iterary and archaeological evidence of theatres in a number of other cities, used for eligious, dramatic and civic events.

NT The theatre was a natural place for the citizens of Ephesus to take Paul's companions, Gaius and Aristarchus, during the riot over Paul's preaching (Acts 19:29). ts capacity was around 24,000–25,000. The use of such a place for public assemblies is documented in Moulton-Milligan, 285. While the gathering is properly called n "assembly" (*ekklēsia*) in Acts 19:32, 41, it was an impromptu assembly, and any udicial action would need to be taken *en tē ennomō ekklēsia* ("in a legal assembly," 19:39).

The word for "theatre" also served to designate the play or spectacle itself. Thus Paul employs *theatron* in 1 Cor. 4:9 to describe the apostles as those who are "on stage", as in a theatre. In this imagery the theatre is the whole universe. Similarly the metaphor of an arena is employed in the first part of the verse. Heb. 10:33 uses the verb *theatrizomai* to convey a similar idea. Believers are exposed to public ridicule and shame. *W. L. Liefeld*

→ Blind, → Dream, → Face, → Knowledge, → Revelation

(a). K. E. Kirk, *The Vision of God: The Christian Doctrine of the Summum Bonum*, Bampton Lectures for 1928, 1932[2]; W. Michaelis, *horaō* etc., *TDNT* V 315–82; W. E. Moore, " 'Sir, we would see Jesus' – Was this an Occasion of Temptation?", *SJT* 20, 1967, 75–93; E. J. Pryke, "IDE and IDOU", *NTS* 14, 1967–68, 418–24; V. K. Robbins, "The Healing of Blind Bartimaeus (10:46–52) in the Marcan Theology", *JBL* 92, 1973, 224–43; R. Schnackenburg, "Vision of God", *EBT* III 947–52.
(b). F. Amiot, "Deum nemo vidit unquam (Jn. 1:18)", *Mélanges A. Robert*, 1957, 470–77; M. Barth, *Der Augenzeuge*, 1946; W. W. Graf Baudissin, " 'Gott schauen' in der alttestamentlichen Religion", *ARW* 18, 1915, 173–239; O. Becker, *Plotin und das Problem der geistigen Aneignung*, 1940; A. Brunner, "Gott schauen", *ZKT* 73, 1951, 214–222; J. Botterweck, *"Gott erkennen" im Sprachgebrauch des Alten Testaments*, 1951; R. Bultmann, "Untersuchungen zum Johannes-Evangelium B. *theon oudeis heōraken pōpote*", *ZNW* 29, 1930, 169–92; E. von Dobschütz, "Die fünf Sinne im Neuen Testament", *JBL* 48, 1929, 1930; E. Fascher, "Deus invisibilis", *Marburger Theologische Studien* 1, 1931, 41–77; J. Hänel, *Das Erkennen Gottes bei den Schriftpropheten*, *BWANT* 2. Folge 4, 1933; N. Hugedé, *La Métaphore du Miroir dans les Épîtres de S. Paul aux Corinthiens*, 1937; G. Kittel, *Die Religionsgeschichte und das Urchristentum*, 1932, 95–106; W. Michaelis, *Die Erscheinungen der Auferstandenen*, 1944; F. Nötscher, *Das Angesicht Gottes schauen nach biblischer und babylonischer Auffassung*, 1924; G. Rudberg, "Hellenisches Schauen", *Classica et Mediaevalia* 5, 1942, 159–86; R. Schnackenburg, *Die Johannesbriefe*, 1963[3].

Seed, Plant, Grass, Flower, Harvest

σπέρμα

σπέρμα (*sperma*), seed; *σπείρω* (*speirō*), sow; *σπόρος* (*sporos*), seed.

CL In secular Gk. the *sperma* group is commonly used in the literal sense of sowing plant seeds (Homer, Xenophon) and figuratively of begetting offspring (Euripides, Sophocles, Plato). Reference is also made to the pure (because divine) seed of the god (Pindar). *speirō* had wide currency in ethical "sowing-reaping" maxims highlighting the inevitable consequences of wilful deeds (Gorgias, Plato).

OT *sperma* and *speirō* occur 217 and 52 times in the LXX, chiefly for *zera'* and *zāra'*, respectively, which literally refer to agronomic seed-sowing (Gen. 47:23;

(*emblepō*) after his exposure to the light on the road to Damascus (Acts 22:11). ' account in 9:8 and a minor variant of Acts 22:11 use the simple *blepō*. Also *blepontes* of Acts 1:11 became *emblepontes* in some MSS, the apparent terchangeability showing that the prefix should probably not be given much stres is uncertain whether the usage in either Jn. 1:36 or 42 implies some sort of specia sight or perception. Since John sometimes varies his vocabulary without spe meaning (and conversely may employ one word with two levels of meaning), necessary to use care when attributing a deep or "spiritual" meaning to a word this case (and R. E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John, Anchor Bible*, 196 74, 76, thinks especially so in v. 42) the significance of the recognition may jus understanding a similar significance in *emblepō*. Finally, the use in Matt. 6:26 ma figurative in the sense of Isa. 51:1, 2, 6 (LXX), "consider" or "look to."

W. L. Liefel

ἀτενίζω

ἀτενίζω (*atenizō*), look at a person or thing intently, g on, observe.

CL There is little in the cl. use of the word which goes beyond the normal use in senses listed above. In the later Hellenistic period it came to be used in conne with magical activity (→ Magic; and see further below).

NT In each NT use (all but two of which occur in the Lucan writings) *atenizō* se to emphasize the intensity of the look. When Jesus read from Isa. 61 in his h town synagogue, all eyes were "fastened on him" (Lk. 4:20 NIV). Peter was tryin avoid identification with Jesus after his arrest, but found himself scrutinized by a vant girl (Lk. 22:56; Mk. 14:67 has *emblepō*). In Acts 1:10 the disciples gaze at t ascending Lord. Similar uses are found in Acts 3:12; 6:15; 7:55; 10:4; 11:6; 23:1 2 Cor. 3:7, 13 *atenizō* describes the way the Israelites would have stared at Mo radiant face, had it not been hidden by the veil.

Three times *atenizō* is used in connexion with a → miracle (Acts 3:4; 13:9; 14 Although eye contact came to be a feature in some secular and rabbinic storie both healing and cursing (SB II 713 ff.), that may not be of significance here. P looked "straight at" (Acts 3:4 NIV) the crippled man and called for his attent (There is a Western MS reading, in D, which reverses the verbs, ascribing the m intensive *atenizō* to the man instead of to Peter.) The actual healing in the succee vv. 6–8 does not include any reference to eye contact. In Acts 14:9 Paul looks crippled man intently, but apparently only to determine if he has faith (Acts 14 Only in Acts 13:9 is the look directly incorporated in a context of cursing. It is stated or implied, however, that anything like an evil eye is employed in the curse.

W. L. Liefel

θέατρον

θέατρον (*theatron*), theatre, place of assembly, a specta

CL Theatres are known to have existed in the ancient world from the sixth cent B.C. on. That at Epidaurus, built in the fourth cent. B.C. is still in use. Ther

mind the prosperity of the city of Laodicea, and the white clothing, which contrasts with the famous black wool of that area. The three items mentioned represent a spiritual value which the church failed to realize was missing (v. 17). Apparently this was a worldly prosperous church whose members mistook both the nature and source of true well being. (On the church at Laodicea → Cold, Hot, Lukewarm NT.)

W. L. Liefeld

ἀναβλέπω

ἀναβλέπω (*anablepō*), look up (at), see again.

OT & OT The two uses of the word go far back into cl. times, recovery of sight being also described as early as Herodotus (2, 111). In the LXX it almost always means simply to look up, but Is. 42:18 has the other sense, "Look [*anablepsate*], you blind, that you may see [*idein*]." Moulton-Milligan cite two occurrences in an inscription from the temple of Asclepius (p. 30).

NT The simple meaning, look up, is found in several passages (e.g. Mk. 16:4; Lk. 19:5; 21:1). Jesus looked up to → heaven when giving → thanks for the → bread to be multiplied for the crowd (Matt. 14:19; Mk. 6:41; Lk. 9:16) and when healing the → deaf man in Mk. 7:34. The man whose vision was restored by a double touch by Jesus looked up after the first touch (Mk. 8:24). *anablepō* means to see again in Jesus' message to John the Baptist about his messianic works (Matt. 11:5; Lk. 7:22; cf. also Mk. 10:51, 52; Lk. 18:41). In Acts 9:12, 17, 18 it refers to the restoration of Paul of Tarsus' vision. The later report of this in Acts 22:13 uses the same word, but its meaning in the following verse seems to be altered from see to look up by the additional words *eis auton* ("at him"). Ancient copyists sensed the problem and in order to allow retention of the meaning "see again" omitted *eis auton*. Jn. 9:11, 15, 18 describes the healing of the man born blind by using *anablepō*, although obviously the prefix *ana-* cannot mean "again" here, as the man had never seen. John also describes the miracle as the "opening" of his eyes (vv. 10, 14, 17, 21, 26, 30, 32).

W. L. Liefeld

ἐμβλέπω

ἐμβλέπω (*emblepō*), look, look at, look in the face, consider.

The NT occurrences of *emblepō* are generally straightforward. The word usually signifies a look of interest, love or concern. Jesus "looked" at the rich young man and loved him (Mk. 10:21). He later "looked" at the disciples, as he discussed the issues involved (Mk. 10:27; Matt. 19:26). A servant girl who thought Peter might have been associated with Jesus, who has just been arrested, "looked closely" at him. The Lucan parallel has → *atenizō*, a word indicating an intense look (Lk. 22:56). When Jesus applied the parable of the vineyard he "looked directly" at his audience (Lk. 20:17). In the poignant passage about Peter's meeting with Jesus after the denial, Jesus "looked straight at" him (Lk. 22:61 NIV, as also in the other examples).

Once *emblepō* describes the perception of the formerly → blind man after a second healing touch by Jesus (Mk. 8:25). Conversely, Saul of Tarsus was not able to see

4. For the NT God is utterly invisible (Jn. 6:46; 1 Tim. 1:17; 6:16; Col. 1 "God does not become visible; He is revealed" (W. Michaelis, *TDNT* V 369), ye → resurrection narratives especially stress that the risen Christ is visible. There encountered as a person. The Gospels use a rich vocabulary to describe these counters with him in the body (Matt. 28:17; Lk. 24:31, 36 f.; Jn. 20:14–29). "In opinion there is only one thing guaranteed by the copious use of this group of w in the resurrection narratives and that is that the decisive experience was prim one of seeing and being seen" (H. Grass, *Ostergeschehen und Osterberichte*, 1 188). The risen Christ is recognized by his actions (Matt. 28; Lk. 24). The resu tion narratives describe this by means of vbs. of seeing and of perception with eyes. What is novel is the experience of the person of the risen Christ and the pro his reality. Above all, it is Jesus who appears to the disciples and whom recognize. That the risen Christ is seen is an event of revelation. "In all the pearances the presence of the risen Lord is a presence in transfigured corporeal (W. Michaelis, *TDNT* V 359). In Jn. 20:25 the disciples come to believe through ing the risen Christ ("We have seen the Lord"). These encounters lead to faith commitment, to witness and to sending. For faith one needs to behold both crucified and the risen Lord.

Paul attests that the risen Christ was seen or appeared with the aor. pass. *ōphē* (1 Cor. 15:5 ff.). The appearances are never only visual, but are always bound with hearing the word of the risen Christ; yet hearing should not be stressed at expense of seeing. The Easter message is summed up in Jn. 19:35: "He who has s it has testified to it, so that you may believe."

5. The vbs. of seeing are also used in the NT with respect to the future. promise for the future contains three essential elements: (a) the vision of God's g (Jn. 17:24); (b) seeing God's kingly rule (King → Kingdom) (Jn. 3:3); and supremely, seeing God (Matt. 5:8) and living in fellowship with him (Rev. 21:3). angels already see God's face (Matt. 18:10). In the time of fulfilment that is to c God is to restore that fellowship with men that has been broken by sin. He does put himself at man's disposal, and he does not give himself up to man's clutches, he does open the way to fellowship with himself. Now we still wait in faith, yet watching community knows that "Blessed are they who are pure of heart, for t shall see God" (Matt. 5:8).

K. Dah

κολλούριον — *κολλούριον* (*kollourion*), eye-salve.

CL The substance after which our modern English word for an eye-wash or sa collyrium, is derived was common in ancient times. It was used for various p poses, but especially for application to the eyes. References to it are numerous, fo in Gk., Lat., and rab. literature.

NT The sole use of *kollourion* in the NT is Rev. 3:18. Since the context is the lette the church at Laodicea, it is assumed that the writer had especially in min preparation made from powdered Phrygian stone used at the medical school th Its significance must be understood together with that of the gold, which would

ıe revelation of God in Jesus Christ. It also discerns Jesus Christ's *doxa* in the signs :11). The non-believer does not discern it. Spiritual blindness is shown up by Jesus' gns and men must answer for it. Faith's seeing is illustrated in Jn. 6:40. The believer ɛrceives in the Son the → Father who sent him (12:45; 14:9). He who sees the Son lso sees the Father.

(b) Although the seer is only occasionally important in the NT (cf. Jn. on Patmos, .ev. 1:9), there is a stronger emphasis in the Johannine literature on the eyewitness *ıeōrakōs*, Jn. 19:35). His testimony is valid (1 Jn. 1:11).

(c) Jesus' own seeing is important in the event of revelation (Jn. 12:45; 14:9). He ɛes the Father (1:18). This is characteristic of Jesus' special relationship to him and ; the basis of his message. He sees what is in man and discloses it. He sees Jathanael under the → fig-tree (1:48) and the thoughts and inner nature of man 2:25).

(d) Hearing and seeing can be used interchangeably in relation to → faith (cf. Jn. :24; 8:45; with 5:39; 6:40), and the concept of *zōē aiōnios*, eternal → life, is .ssociated with seeing. Seeing as well as hearing again and again provide the impetus o faith (2:11; 20:8), lead to knowledge (14:9), and minister to inner perception ("I ee that you are a prophet", 4:19). Faith recognizes the coming messiah. Here we ıave a situation involving decision. Seeing is thus as a whole an existential encounter vith Jesus. But faith based on seeing has no advantage. Jesus expects faith without ɛeeing (20:29).

3. *The Theological Meaning of these Words in the Rest of the NT.* (a) "The sen- ıual organs (ears) are not just symbols for the organs of spiritual perception; in them here actually takes place true hearing of God's summons" (J. Horst, *TDNT* V 557). What is there applied only to the ear also applies to spiritual seeing in the NT.

(b) Spiritual perception as a function of seeing comes to mean make the acquain- ɛance of (Lk. 23:8), meet (Acts 20:25), watch or look out for (Mk. 13:33; Phil. 3:2). Spiritual seeing is at the same time an experience (Lk. 2:26; Jn. 8:51) or the conceiv- ing of or experiencing of God's love (1 Jn. 3:1).

(c) The idea of → foreknowledge is not very important in the language of the NT and above all is not there given a eudaemonistic interpretation.

(d) As mentioned above, God's eye is only rarely mentioned and then fig. Yet the OT idea is still found, e.g. with the vb. *blepō*: God sees what is hidden (Matt. 6:4) and knows what we need (Matt. 6:33).

(e) Here too seeing acquires a new perspective with reference to faith. In the Synoptics it is used to express obtaining a share in salvation (Lk. 2:26). Hence, seeing takes on the character of a decision (Matt. 21:32; Mk. 8:18); the unbeliever does not perceive (Matt. 13:13 f.; Mk. 4:12).

(f) Theophanies are not found in the NT. On the other hand, appearances of angels are mentioned in connexion with Jesus' coming (Lk. 2:13), the → temptation (Matt. 4:11), the passion (Lk. 22:43) and the → resurrection (Matt. 28:2, 5). Revelatory → dreams are mentioned only in the prefaces (Matt. 1:20; 2:13, 19). The NT knows nothing about any experiences of the risen Christ in dreams, but there are repeated accounts of visions (*horama* and *optasia*). These are given by God, who causes them to be seen (2 Cor. 12:1; Acts 9:10, 12; 10:3). Here too we find an interest both in the character of these as events and in their effect on those seeing them (cf. OT 1; NT 1 (d)).

(f) *theaomai* means in its various contexts to visit (Rom. 15:24), to look at (M 22:11), and to notice something (Lk. 23:55).

theōreō, look at, behold, but also experience (Matt. 27:55; Lk. 14:29), is found of intellectual seeing (Jn. 4:19; Acts 4:13). In the pass. it means become ble.

The pres. part. of *optanomai*, a *hapax legomenon* in the NT, refers in Acts 1: the appearances of the risen Christ.

(g) *ophthalmos*, eye (cf. CL 2), is used some 100 times in the NT, whereas the is mentioned only 36 times. Besides the usage mentioned in CL, which is continue the NT, it is also now used more often with moral concepts, especially in the Syr tic Gospels (38 times; Acts 6 times): to look enviously (Matt. 20:15; Mk. 7:22) o genuously or evilly (Matt. 6:22 f.). It can be the occasion of taking offence or inci to sin (Matt. 5:29; 2 Pet. 2:14; Jn. 2:16;).

It is also the organ of understanding and knowing. Eph. 1:18 speaks of the ey the heart. Very rarely, however, does the NT refer to God's eyes (1 Pet. 3:12; H 4:13; cf. 1 Clem. 22:6).

(h) The use, especially in the Synoptic Gospels, of *idou* or *kai idou*, "see!", " see!" (adapted from the OT and not found in secular Gk.), is also noteworthy. used to attract attention at the beginning of a conversation (Mk. 3:32; 10:28) generally draw attention to something. Matt. and Mk. also use it with a predicate advertise something surprising or new (Matt. 12:2; Mk. 2:24). The formulation occurs in the context of the proclamation of salvation (Lk. 2:34; Jn. 1:29, "See, th is the Lamb of God"). At other times it draws attention to the fulfilment of th promise (Matt. 12:41; Mk. 14:41 f.; Jn. 4:35), and gives assurance of the fulfilm of that which has been announced (Mk. 10:33; Jn. 16:32). The varied usage sh that *idou* and *kai idou* are not only demonstrative or stylistic additions. They ser kerygmatic purpose, addressing the hearer, before whose eyes (*kat' ophthalmous*) message is proclaimed (cf. P. Fiedler, *Die Formel "und siehe" im Neuen Testam* 1969).

2. *The Johannine Concept of Seeing.* In Jn. the vbs. of seeing take on a spe significance. He loves to use *horaō* for that which the pre-existent Son saw when was with his Father (Jn. 3:11, 32; 6:46; 8:38). *theaomai* is used of seeing Jes *doxa*, → glory (Jn. 1:14) and the → Spirit descending (1:32).

(a) Jn. uses the vbs. of seeing in a threefold sense (R. Bultmann, *The Gospe John*, 1971, 69, n. 2).

(i) They are used in connexion with the "perception of earthly things and happ ings accessible to all men" (Jn. 1:38, 47; 9:8 of things, people, etc.).

(ii) They denote the "perception of supernatural things and events" which o certain men enjoy. Hence, John the Baptist sees the Spirit descending in the form c dove (Jn. 1:32 ff.); this is nevertheless still a physical seeing.

(iii) Jn. also thinks of seeing as the perception of an event of → revelation. Yet t is no mystical inner vision, still less a Platonic vision of the forms, but a spiritual of seeing, the sight of faith (so Bultmann, ibid., n. 4). The disciples see the Son's gl (1:14), which is also revealed to them in his signs (2:11; → Miracle, art. *sēmeio*

The real nature of the Son, his *doxa*, is disclosed to faith. That which in the was proclaimed and only appeared symbolically now becomes historical reality the incarnate → word. Faith, discerning it through hearing and seeing, responds

:28 f.; Isa. 11:6 f.; 57:19). The goal is to see God face to face (Ps. 42:2[3]), rhaps in the future life. However, this last point is not unambiguously attested in : OT (cf. Ps. 17:15; → Resurrection OT). The promise of Matt. 5:8 and the confi- nt assertion of 1 Jn. 3:2 have no direct OT parallels.

3. In late Judaism seeing gave way to hearing. In Philo this group of words took a spiritualized meaning (cf. *TDNT* V 334–38). Seeing is frequently separated)m the grasping of sense-perceptions (*Leg. All.* 3, 100–103). Besides the general :aning of to know, *horaō* and its derivatives can mean to obtain knowledge, and)o occasionally to see God. Philo held that the world (creation) should lead to a owledge of God (*Spec. Leg.* 1 20, 32–35; cf. Rom. 1:20, *kathoraō*; → Revelation, t. *Revelation in Contemporary Theology* 2 (a)).

1. *Survey of the Terms.* This group of words occurs frequently in the NT: *horaō* and the fut. *opsomai* occur c. 110 times, the aor. *eidon* 336 times, *blepō* 132 nes. Generally they are used in the same sense as in secular Gk. and the OT. Their es that fall into these categories (see above CL and OT) will be only summarily dis- ssed here.

(a) *horaō*, *opsomai* and *eidon* generally mean see, perceive (Matt. 28:27; Mk.):7; Jn. 16:16 f.). These vbs. can be used figuratively for perceiving, recalling, ascer- ining, realizing (e.g. Matt. 13:14) and for a vision of the spirit or intellect (Lk. 2:30, eing salvation; cf. 1 Cor. 2:9; seeing visions or appearances, Acts 2:17; 26:16).

(b) *blepō* in general simply refers to the capacity to see, of sense-perception (Matt.):22; Lk. 7:21). Otherwise it can mean to watch, look at, look into (Matt. 5:28; ev. 5:3 f.). It also represents intellectual functions like attending, paying attention to Mk. 13:33; 1 Cor. 1:26), heeding something (2 Cor. 10:7), or being careful. iguratively it can mean to perceive or observe (Rom. 7:23, Heb. 2:9). The NT does ot use *blepō* to say that God is seen (*TDNT* V 343 f.).

(c) The verbal adjs. *horatos* and *ahoratos* mean visible and invisible respectively. hey are used to emphasize God's invisibility (Col. 1:15 f.; Rom. 1:20; 1 Tim. 1:17).

(d) The nouns *horasis*, *horama* and *optasia* are used in the same sense as in the)T.

horasis means appearance (Rev. 4:3) or vision (Acts 2:17; Rev. 9:17) and *horama* ie thing seen, the vision (Matt. 17:9; Acts 18:9) and also the vision seen in a → ream (Acts 16:9). Continuing in line with the OT, the NT represents its effects on ie visionary as pardoning, encouraging, commissioning (Acts 10:3; 9:10, 12; cf. Hermas, *Vis.* 3, 10, 6).

optasia, the appearance of the vision, that which God lets man see, is found in Lk. :22; 24:23 of the appearances of → angels, and in 2 Cor. 12:1 probably of ecstatic xperiences (cf. W. Michaelis, *TDNT* V 353, 357, 373).

(e) Compounds include the following. (i) *prohoraō* can mean to foresee, referring o the future (Acts 2:31; Gal. 3:8), but it can also mean to see something previously Acts 21:29). (ii) *kathoraō* means to perceive, and in Rom. 1:20 it refers to the invisi-)le, which is perceived in the external and visible ("His [God's] invisible nature is)erceived with the eye of reason in the things that have been made", Arndt, 392; but → God, art. *theos* NT 4 (b); → Revelation, art. *Revelation in Contemporary Theology* ! (a)). (iii) *epopteuō*, to look at, is used in 1 Pet. 2:12; 3:2 with reference to the Christian's manner of life which the Gentiles notice.

pact: God lets it be known what he wants or what he is going to do and "shows" someone whom he has chosen for this purpose.

(d) It is simply assumed in the OT that God sees and watches man. He see justice (Lam. 3:34 ff.), the death of his prophet (2 Chr. 24:22), the distress of his (Exod. 3:7). He looks for faithfulness (Ps. 101[100]:6) and for trust (Jer. 5:3). also has his eyes on the sinful kingdom (Amos 9:8). Man cannot hide 139[138]:3, 7, 16). God sees into his innermost being (1 Sam. 16:7).

2. (a) Even though the OT speaks of God's becoming visible in visions, yet must be clear that there is no sign in it of inquisitive speculation into God's form. statements on the theophanies of the OT are not unanimous in this respect. God pears to Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Moses (Num. 12:8) face to → face an human form. "As a matter of fact Jahweh was always thought of as having hu form, like that of a man" (G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, I, 1962, 219 145). Several passages extend this bodily imagery (Gen. 3:8; Exod. 33:23; A 9:11 ff.; Isa. 6:1 ff.). These anthropomorphic modes of manifestation show how used to recognize and understand God's nature, and how he conceived of it. "In place of a cosmic-mythical occurrence in the Babylonian epiphanies there is in OT a historical one. Yahweh appears in order to help his people and to destroy foes" (C. Westermann, *The Praise of God in the Psalms*, 1966, 96). Fire, g clouds, etc., are mentioned as important elements in these manifestations.

(b) In the theophany God's *kāḇôḏ*, weight, splendour, → glory (which is transl in the Gk. by *doxa*, authority, glory) was revealed and seen by men (Ezek. 1 Exod. 33:18; Num. 14:22). Heaven opens (Ezek. 1:1), the transcendent bre through and is visible. Supernatural brightness (Hab. 3:4; Pss. 18:12[13]; 50:2), likeness of sunrise (Hos. 6:3), storm and tempest (Job 38:1; Nah. 1:3) are mentio as concomitant phenomena for God's presence.

(c) *prosōpon*, → face, means in the context of the theophanies the very perso God and not just that side of him that is turned towards men. It reveals somethin God's nature (Gen. 32:30 f.). The parts of God's form that are mentioned (the ear and hand) illustrate his faithfulness and care. It is significant that qualities those attributed to the Gk. gods (like sexuality) are not ascribed to God in the Rather the OT seeks to disclose God's nature, but not to provide any concrete vi images of him.

(d) On the other hand, God's holiness and majesty prevent man from seeing face. Man's consciousness of guilt leads to a consciousness of distance (Isa. 6 God's glory would slay man (cf. Exod. 33:20; and Gideon's lament, "I have seen angel of the LORD face to face", Jdg. 6:22).

(e) The OT epiphanies express God's partnership. Biblical man sees himself God's creature and at the same time knows himself to be called as a partner. The God is one who meets us and consorts with us and is known as such. "The conten the knowledge which Scripture imparts to us is therefore moulded by God's deali with men" (H. M. Kuitert, *Gott in Menschengestalt*, 1967, 237). G. von Rad arg from this that in the biblical view God is not anthropomorphic, but mar theomorphic (cf. op. cit., 145).

(f) Eschatological vision. In the OT's message the future constantly reappears the prophetic vision discussed above under 1 (c)). In view are the coming redempti the conquest of enemies and the establishment of God's kingdom (1 Chr. 29:11;

5. (a) The vbs. of seeing or beholding in Gk. have religious and philosophical gnificance, for Gk. religion, like that of antiquity in general, was a religion of seeing. ı contrast to Judaism, the rôle of hearing is subordinate to that of seeing. "The ireeks were 'a people of the eye' " (W. Michaelis, *TDNT* V 319). Seeing was an in-:gral part of their religion.

(b) Insight into the cosmic order and the rationale of this world was understood eligiously. That applied both to the world on the grand scale, in the sense of the ıacrocosm, and to the world on a small scale, in the sense of the microcosm. The eye of the soul" is particularly significant here.

(c) The actions of men were governed by this insight into the cosmos. In Plato ɔod is more an object than a subject and being seen is predicated of him. Plato rrives at the concept of the vision of the ideas (cf., e.g., *Meno*; *Rep.*; → Form, art. *idos* CL). The word *idea*, appearance, image, derived from *idein* (Pindar onwards), akes on a philosophical sense and means the knowledge of supernatural things chieved by the spirit: pattern, idea, essence (so in Plato, Aristot., Plut.).

(d) In general deity is regarded as invisible (cf. Hellenistic Gnosticism). Yet from Homer onwards we find the notion that the gods are visible. This happens in human orm (anthropomorphism). The gods often go around in bodily form. They "appear" n human disguise, and have human qualities and propensities. But in general their in-'isibility is still emphasized. The "vision of god" serves as the way to be like the im-nortals, to become assimilated to the gods.

ɔT *horaō* with its 2nd aor. *eidon* occurs some 1450 times in the LXX. The most im-portant Heb. equivalents are *rā'âh* and *ḥāzâh*, which have a rather wider mean-ng than *horaō*. *horaō* can even mean to select (Deut. 12:13), yet *horaō* corresponds o them fairly closely (cf. learn, find, as in Gen. 18:21; 22:8).

1. (a) Generally *horaō* means see with one's own eye, become aware (Gen. 27:1).

(b) Figuratively it comes to be used of intellectual or spiritual perception: notice, ɔecome conscious (Ps. 34[33]:8[9]); or of what man experiences or suffers (seeing leath, Ps. 89[88]:48[49]). It also means to regard (misfortune, Ps. 106[105]:44), at-end to, know or have experienced (Deut. 11:2), or be concerned about something Gen. 37:14; Isa. 5:12). Seeing in the Gk. and Heb. OT can refer also to perception ɔy means of other senses, e.g. hearing (Jer. 33:24) or understanding (1 Sam. 12:17; 1 Ki. 20[21]:7). In the pass. it is used for letting oneself be seen, having something shown to one or experiencing it. Here the idea is of true perception in contrast to fig-ments of the imagination (*phantasma*). God let himself be seen, disclosed, showed or revealed in visions (*horama*). Through this action the one who sees as well as the nearer is encouraged or commissioned (Gen. 15:1; 46:2; where God speaks through visions).

(c) Furthermore, seeing can refer to prophetic perception. Prophetic seeing, which sometimes assumes the character of a vision, is frequently attested in the OT. Hence the → prophet can also be designated a seer (Heb. *ḥōzeh*; LXX *horōn*; 1 Chr. 21:9; 2 Chr. 9:29). The seer's visions generally have a twofold reference. On the one hand, they refer to the thing seen, the vision (*horama*) or the appearance of the vision (Exod. 3:3; Dan. 7:1). On the other hand, they show the effect on the seer. He is en-couraged, chosen, shocked, pardoned (Gen. 15:1; Dan. 7:13). This prophetic vision involves primarily a → revelation of God and his word, and only then a visual im-

(c) From the pass. used with an intrans. sense it came to mean to appear, becor visible (cf. the aor. pass. *ōphthēn*). In Soph. it means roughly "you will surely se i.e. be shown. The pass. use is absent in Homer.

(d) The verbal adj. *horatos* (Hippocrates onwards) and the later negative fo *ahoratos* (by the time of Polyb. and Isoc.) mean visible and invisible respectively (t invisible world, the invisible God, etc.).

(e) Three important nouns are formed from *horaō*. (i) *horasis* (Aristot. onward synonymous with *opsis*, designates on the one hand the capacity to see, the organ sight, also the whole face (Plut., *Mor.* 88D), and on the other hand that which is se the view, spectacle. It is also used with reference to the supernatural. (ii) *hora* (Xen. and Aristot. onwards) means that which is seen, view, sight, vision, and so t the effect on the viewer; that which is seen can assure and empower. (iii) *optas* derived from the stem *op-*, is close to *horama* in meaning.

(f) Compound vbs. include: (i) *prohoraō* (Hdt. onwards) has the sense of fore the future, see something which one has seen before, or (mid.) which one sees in fr of oneself; (ii) *kathoraō* and *epopteuō* (Homer onwards) both mean to look regard, observe (for demonstrative and imperative forms derived from the roots and *id-* see NT 1 (h)).

2. The noun *ophthalmos*, eye, is derived from the root *op-*, and has been us abundantly from Homer onwards. It is not simply synonymous with *omma*, whi also means eye, but has a more specialized use (in Homer, Aesch., Pindar, etc., fa in Pindar, Plato, etc., in the poetic sense of the eye of heaven, the sun and the mo as also expressing the ideas of light, well-being and that which brings comfort

(a) In general the *ophthalmos*, eye, is the highest means of contact with the wo around. It is the organ of perception. Gk. sagas (cf. Lucian) continually menti many-eyed beings, e.g. Argus with his 100 eyes.

(b) Figuratively it means that which is dearest and most loved (cf. the apple of eye).

(c) At the same time the eye is generally associated with man's relation to G his fellow men and the world around. In Gk. the "eye of the soul" gains insight i the cosmos (see further below). Moral concepts are associated with the eye (so Soph., to look covetously, to cast jealous glances). In Aesch. and Soph. it is used the sense of being awake or guarding oneself. Sometimes the eyes were associa with tasks and qualities.

3. *blepō*, see (Pindar onwards), possesses some tenses not attested for *horaō*. A rule it is near to *horaō* in meaning, but gradually it replaced it. Where it can be d tinguished from *horaō*, it relates to that which strikes the eye, that which faces viewer, the front. Originally it applied only to the function of the eyes, seeing, lo ing, watching (with the acc. of the thing seen). Thence it came to mean to look view, look into, and also give heed to, pay attention to something. Figuratively it c mean observe, notice.

4. *theaomai* (Homer onwards) is derived from *thea*, seeing (cf. *theatēs*, view and → *theatron*, cf. Eng. "theatre"; found in Thuc. and Plato), and means vi behold, watch. *theōreō* (Aesch. onwards), also watch, look at something, is used solutely or with the acc. (Aesch. *Prometheus Bound* 304) and has the fig. meani of reflect on, notice, understand, comprehend, and in the pass. means become visi or be looked at.

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ee, Vision, Eye

ὁράω

ὁράω (*horaō*), see; *ὁρατός* (*horatos*), visible; *ἀόρατος* (*ahoratos*), invisible; *ὅραμα* (*horama*), sight, vision; *ὀπτασία* (*optasia*), vision; *ἐποπτεύω* (*epopteuō*), observe; *καθοράω* (*kathoraō*), look at; *προοράω* (*prohoraō*), foresee; *βλέπω* (*blepō*), see; *θεάομαι* (*theaomai*), behold; *θεωρέω* (*theōreō*), watch; *ὀφθαλμός* (*ophthalmos*), eye.

L 1. (a) The vb. *horaō*, see, is only found in this form in the pres. and perf. act. The fut. act. *opsomai* and the aor. pass. *ōphthēn* are derived from the stem *op-*, and he aor. act. *eidon* from the stem *id-*. The vb. is common from Homer onwards and n the act. means to see, look, perceive, observe (Homer, *Od.* 4, 540). But it is found nore often (with the prep. *eis*) meaning to look towards something or (with the acc.) ee something. Aesch. also uses it in the mid.

(b) Already by Homer's time it had the meaning of to conceive or experience, and ven be present at or participate. In a fig. sense it means to understand, recognize, consider, attend to (Thuc., 5, 27).

who at the first gave witness appears as judge and Enoch as the scribe of righteousness. A clear distinction is made between the questions as to who pronounces sentence and who records the sins. Here we can see a significant development: if attention has passed from the transference of the kingdom to the saints to the eschatological judgment which exposes and punishes sins, then it follows that every man will be judged by a man. Hence Abel takes on the rôle of the eschatological judge because he is the "son of the first man" (longer text of Test. Abr. 13). The shorter text of Test. Abr. 12, which is perhaps the superior text, is also important because it there criticizes Abraham's relation to sinners. In any case we must distinguish the original Jewish tradition here and a Christian editing of it (longer text).

(f) [I.H.M.] Attempts to shed light on the meaning of the Son of man concept by study of its origins have not so far produced any generally accepted conclusions. Three main contributions may be mentioned: (1) C. Colpe (*TDNT* VIII 406–430) surveys the possibilities of a background for Dan. 7 in the OT itself and then in a series of non-biblical figures – Gayomart in the Avestas, Adapa in Babylonian literature, the sun god in Egyptian mythology, Adam in rabbinic speculation and the primal man in gnosticism. Each of these possibilities is rejected, and Colpe himself suggests a background in Canaanite mythology, where the young god Baal rides on the clouds and the supreme god, El, the father of years, is replaced as ruler by him. Colpe admits that there are difficulties about regarding this myth as the basis of Dan. 7, but claims that it stands closest of all the claimants to kinship with Dan. 7. (2). F. H. Borsch claims to have unearthed a widespread myth about the First Man, the king and Primordial Man, which is reflected in various legends attested in ancient myth and ritual. (3). M. D. Hooker argues that the background of the concept is to be found in the OT. The Son of man is to be understood collectively of Israel as the heir of Adam. Although destined to rule, the Son of man undergoes loss of dominion and suffering, but will finally be vindicated by God.

One difficulty with the views of Colpe and Borsch is that each of them must presuppose the existence of bearers of Son of man traditions in the period between Dan. and Jesus, but there is little evidence for these. The problem of transmission is solved by N. Perrin (*A Modern Pilgrimage in New Testament Christology*, 1974, 23–40) who argues that all that we have is a series of independent exegetical uses of Dan. 7 by the authors of 2 Esd. and Eth. Enoch rather than a continuing "Son of man" tradition. Perrin has at least demonstrated the influence of Dan. 7 on subsequent writings; it is not so clear that he has got rid of a continuing "Son of man" concept.

NT 1. *The Designation of Jesus as the Son of Man and the Oldest Tradition.* In Jesus' message there confront us statements in which he speaks of himself as the Son of man and as thereby possessing a certain authority (→ Might, art. *exousia* NT 2) or having to tread a path of suffering that is appointed for him. But we also find statements about the coming Son of man and these obviously reflect an apocalyptic tradition (→ Come; → Goal; → Present). The Gk. words *ho hyios tou anthrōpou* are a lit., though misleading, translation of the Aram. *bar nāšā'*. The Heb. equivalent would be *ben 'āḏām* (cf. the statement directed against Christians in T. J. Ta'an. 2:65b:50; SB I 486). It is striking that this use of the definite article is usually

retained (until we come to Jn. 5:27); this shows that the evangelists attached a messianic significance to the Gk. translation. So that we can better understand this significance, let us consider a selection of the views of NT scholars.

(a) R. Bultmann (*Theology of the New Testament*, 1952, § 5, 33–37) holds that the earliest community regarded Jesus as teacher and prophet. But that was not all; they also saw in him the messiah and they proclaimed him as such. He was proclaimed "*as the coming Messiah*, in other words as *Son of Man*" (op. cit., 33); that is, they did not look for "his *return* as Messiah, but his *coming*" (as Son of man). "His then past activity on earth was not yet considered Messianic by the earliest Church" (ibid.). They carried on this proclamation of Jesus as the future Messiah or as the Son of man "*quite within the frame of Jewish eschatological expectation*" (op. cit., 34). Hence the late Jewish myth of the Son of man was transferred to a real man.

Bultmann holds that the different groups of Son of man sayings exist independently of one another. At any rate the oldest tradition is that of the sayings about the coming Son of man; these include Mk. 8:38 or Lk. 12:8 f.; 17:23 f. ("These sayings could come from Jesus", *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 1963², 152), Matt. 24:37–39, 43 f. ("yet these sayings could also have been taken from Jewish tradition", ibid.). The Hellenistic community was the first to project the title "Son of man" back into Jesus' earthly life.

(b) O. Cullmann (*The Christology of the New Testament*, 1963², II 2:2: "Jesus and the Son of Man") renounces all critical analysis, but, in accordance with the overall structure of his work, he makes a distinction between a future work of Jesus as judge (an apocalyptic idea) and a present one as a man among men. Hence, statements about Jesus' exaltation run parallel to ones about his humiliation. The *'ebed* (servant) of God recurs in both sets of statements: Jesus is the *'ebed* both in his authority to forgive sins and in his readiness to submit to suffering. The *'ebed* tradition is thus correlated with the statements about the Son of man. "This is the unheard-of new act of Jesus, that he united these two apparently contradictory tasks in his self-consciousness, and that he expressed that union in his life and teaching" (op. cit., 161).

(c) E. Schweizer ("Der Menschensohn – zur eschatologischen Erwartung Jesu", *ZNW* 50, 1959, 185–209; *cf. JBL* 79, 160, 119–129; *NTS* 9, 1962–63, 256–261) raises the question whether the motif of the Son of man – if it must be separated from that of the kingdom of God (P. Vielhauer) – had any other place of origin than the preaching of Jesus. He maintains that an analysis of the futuristic sayings shows that there is no good evidence in the sources for the expectation of an imminent Parousia. References to the coming humiliation of the Son of man cannot simply be discarded, but can after all be traced back to Jesus himself, at least as regards basic ingredients. But statements about Jesus' earthly work as the Son of man are the surest.

Schweizer holds that this picture fits into the concept of the servant of God as it is found in Wis. 2–5: the righteous man is rejected by men but exalted by God. The motif of the Son of man has points of contact with Dan. 7, Eth. Enoch 70 f. and Ezek. 1. The new element in Jesus' message is that Jesus, like Ezek., takes up the concept of the Son of man in a new way and reapplies it to the righteous One here on earth. This idea points to Jesus' having been sent without making it explicit. Hence, the two sets of statements about the kingdom of God and about the Son of man cer-

tainly appear to be separate, yet both have their basis in the preaching of Jesus himself.

(d) Like Schweizer, R. Leivestad (*ASTI* 6, 1967–8, 49–105; cf. *NTS* 18, 1971–72, 243–267) declines to make general use of the title or Jewish apocalyptic his starting point for showing the origins of the Synoptic idea of the Son of man. He states that (1) there is no such title in Jewish literature; (2) we know of no Christian confessional formula in which "Son of man" is used as a messianic predicate; (3) in Jesus' lifetime the expression is found only on Jesus' own lips; and (4) in many cases the phrase "Son of man" can be construed as only a self-designation. In those cases where another interpretation is formally possible the evangelists have taken no pains at all to avoid such a misunderstanding. Moreover, this formal ambiguity is found in late, secondary formulations. It occurred to no one that "the Son of man" could be anything other than a self-designation of Jesus. (5) None of the "Son of man" sayings are intelligible only on the basis of a pre-Christian use of the phrase as a title. (6) There are a number of sayings which are intelligible only if no messianic ideas are attached to the phrase. (7) This phrase is irrelevant for the question of the messiah. No one ever suggested that Jesus' naming of himself as the "Son of man" was an answer to the question as to who he was. The "messianic secret" has not been influenced by the use of the name "Son of man". (8) The apocalyptic figure to which we ascribe the title of "Son of man" is a heavenly supernatural being. Many of the NT sayings speak of the earthly life, sufferings and death of the Son of man. The point is never made that in thus speaking they were saying something paradoxical or alien to the traditional concept of the Son of man (op. cit., 96 f.). Attempts have been made to regard the Aram. equivalent *bar nāšā'* as a mere periphrasis without any particular significance; that is implausible. Implausible too is the suggestion that the Aram. phrase had a demonstrative pronoun attached to it. Rather, Jesus saw himself as in a particular way the representative of mankind; he wanted to be, not the messiah *ben Dawīḏ*, but the messiah *ben 'āḏām*.

(e) P. Vielhauer's essay "Gottesreich und Menschensohn in der Verkündigung Jesu", 1957, also in *Gesammelte Aufsätze zum Neuen Testament*, 1965, 55–91; cf. 92–140) resumes the analysis of the "Son of man" sayings. He starts with the apocalyptic texts of Dan., Eth. Enoch and the Apc. of Ezra. "When the Son of man is an individual figure and plays an active rôle there is no mention of the kingdom of God. The Son of man is not an integral part of the expectation of the eschatological kingdom of God" (op. cit. 86). "Originally the kingdom of God and the Son of man had nothing to do with one another and were not connected in late Jewish eschatology. To combine them was not something ... which would suggest itself to Jesus from his religio-historical background" (op. cit., 87). Since the message about the kingdom of God is the central point in the tradition about Jesus, and since Jesus himself is inseparably connected with the kingdom of God, it is impossible that Jesus expected a coming Son of man or identified himself with him (op. cit., 88). The apocalyptic idea of the Son of man was introduced by the Christian community, who thereby transformed the message of the kingdom into an expectation of the apocalyptic Son of man.

(f) E. Käsemann ("The Problem of the Historical Jesus", in *Essays on New Testament Themes*, *SBT* 41, 1964, 43 f.) lends his weight to Vielhauer's radical position. He starts by describing the historical problem as a whole, but then he also analyses

the evidence of the Synoptic material. On form-critical grounds, he regards Mk. 8:38 as a formation of the community, since it preserves the peculiar character of the utterances of Palestinian prophets who proclaimed a holy law for the community and prescribed earthly terms for the promise of heaven or the curse of God. We may conclude from this that Jesus did not look for a Son of man distinct from himself. How could such a person be fitted into his scheme of things, if the Baptist had already ushered in the change of the ages? The problem of the Son of man belongs to the christology and apocalyptic theology of Near Eastern Christianity and it is from there that it has spread into the already-formed tradition about Jesus. Unfortunately, Käsemann here seems to err in presupposing the identity of the Son of Man and the messiah.

(g) All these studies have distinguished between logia about the Son of man who is to come and about him who is present and about him who suffers; they all begin with the final stage of the Synoptic tradition. But now J. Jeremias attempts, by analysing the sources (*ZNW* 58, 1967, 159–172; *New Testament Theology* I, 1973, 257–276), to penetrate a step further back into the tradition. He notes that a large number of "Son of man" sayings have parallels in the tradition which lack this title. Hence, the idea of the Son of man is in many cases secondary and this points to a revising of an older tradition. There is no sign of the suppression of this idea; rather, given a foothold, it establishes itself. To the oldest parts of the tradition belong Matt. 8:20; 10:23; 24:27; 37; 25:31; Mk. 13:26; 14:62; Lk. 17:22, 30; 18:8; 21:36; Jn. 1:51.

(h) C. Colpe (*TDNT* VIII 400–477) carries on in his own way the analysis mapped out by Jeremias. The prophecies of Jesus in which he brings the eschatological future into the present, depict the dawning end-time in three traditionally distinct and conceptually unintegrated schemes. We thus find sayings about his own perfecting, then proclamation of the kingdom of God, and finally the announcing of the Son of man. These three views of the last time cannot be identified with one another, but they do not mutually exclude one another. We have here parallel symbols. The kingdom of God and Son of man ideas have a common origin, as Dan. 7 shows.

(i) Summary and evaluation of the current position. (i) The Fathers, from Ignatius to Augustine, saw in the phrase the Son of man (*ho hyios tou anthrōpou*) a reference to the human aspect of Jesus' origins. In this the Greeks thought of someone whose will it is to be the son of a man (G. Dalman, *The Words of Jesus*, I, 1902, 238 ff.). But if one goes back to the Heb. or Aram. equivalents of the Synoptic phrase, one can see the prominence and the distinctiveness of "this man" as opposed to all others (Colpe, *TDNT* VIII 433: "but a man such as I"), but perhaps also his eschatological position: "the eschatological Man" (Leivestad, loc. cit., 102: "the representative of humanity"). It is advisable neither to discard completely any connexion with apocalyptic (Colpe, *TDNT* VIII 439–441: eschatological patterns) nor to concentrate exclusively on Dan. 7 or the Enoch tradition as its religio-historical provenance. Jesus seems to have left behind his own historical contribution. It refers neither to human descent nor to human nature, but to a unique historical course leading from humiliation to exaltation. Undoubtedly the idea contains both the present lowliness of his being man and his striving after his vindication and authorization by God.

(ii) At any rate one should never separate the series of "kingdom of God" sayings (including their messianic potential) from that of the "Son of man" sayings (Colpe, *TDNT* VIII 440). Neither set of sayings excludes the other; they stand together and

no attempt is made to harmonize them. Nor should we confuse the messianic motif with the idea of the Son of man. *Messianic elements concern Israel, as the OT shows, but the idea of the Son of man concerns the fulfilment of mankind's goal.* It is no coincidence that the concept of the Son of man is not only associated with a particular, historical vocation, but also at times involves a separation from other men and indeed an apologia and a polemic. It is possible that the messianic context is the earlier one and the Son of man sayings are later. The statements about the Son of man presuppose an insuperable resistance on Israel's part. The christological scheme of Mk.'s Gospel has a definite purpose: in Mk. 1:11 and 9:7 the voice from heaven (Son, Elect One) heralds the christological struggle around the messiah and the Son of man: the Son bears messianic features and takes his stand in the struggle and sufferings as the Son of man. Only as the Son can Jesus live out the content of the Son of man sayings.

(iii) It is not a sound historical method to deny Jesus the use of the expression "the Son of man" and to relegate this problem to later stages of the Christian community (so Dalman, op. cit., 239). In the Synoptic tradition the expression is used solely of Jesus by himself; it is neither a mode of address to him nor a confession of him. We must also say that it was neither a name nor a title, but the mark of a particular eschatological rôle. Hence, it is advisable not to start, as has long been the practice, with the explicitly apocalyptic prophecies of Jesus, but with those concerning the present (Schweizer, Leivestad). However, it becomes clear that the connexion between the present and the future sayings is still a slender one, yet it is there (Mk. 8:38; Lk. 12:8 par. Matt. 10:32; see below 4 (a)). It is important to note that Jesus' path through suffering to exaltation has its religio-historical parallels in the apocalyptic tradition: Abel's authority to judge (Test. Abr. 11; 13), the exaltation of Enoch, and the translation of Elijah and of the Servant of God in Isa. 53 all provide abundant fuel for the hope of being exalted by God on one's way through suffering (Lk. 22:69). The Melchizedek fragment points to the same connexion of ideas. It is important to see that Jesus thus follows the path of the Son of man up to the Ancient of Days (Dan. 7:13), and does not come down from heaven to earth.

(iv) The concept "the Son of man" occurs outside the Gospels only in Acts 7:56 (Stephen), the Gospel of the Hebrews (Henn.-Schn., I, 165: Christ's appearance to James), and the Jewish Christian tradition about James in Hegesippus; here the title "messiah" is not used. In Eusebius' account (*Hist. Eccl.* 2, 23, 8–18). James replies to the scribes' question: "What do you want to know about the Son of man? He sits in heaven at the right hand of the great Power and will come on the clouds of heaven." Jesus' great-nephews, James and Zoker, Judas' grandsons, are arrested as descendants of David and Christians, brought before the emperor Domitian and are asked where and when Christ and his kingdom will appear. They reply that his kingdom is not worldly or earthly, but heavenly and angelic, and that it will be established at the end of time when he, i.e. the Christ, comes in his glory to judge the living and the dead and to requite each one according to his deeds (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 3, 20, 4).

This shows contacts with the Melchizedek fragment and other early Christian traditions which describe a partnership with angels or a close connexion between Christ, the Son of man and an angelic figure. It is of course possible that in Ebionite circles the exalted Christ was worshipped as an angelic being (Epiph. *Haer*, 30, 16, 4,

hōs hena tōn archangelōn, "like one of the archangels"), but this feature does not at all demand a gnostic explanation.

Jewish polemics also recall Jesus' "Son of man" sayings. R. Abbahu (*c.* A.D. 286) warns: "If any one should say to you, 'I am God', then he is lying; or 'I am the Son of man', then he will eventually regret it; or 'I am going to heaven', then he may say it, but he will not manage it" (T. J. Ta'an. 2:65b:59). "Son of man" here represents the Heb. *ben 'āḏām*, which recalls Num. 23:19. R. Abbahu is certainly contending against the tradition about Jesus when he likens it to the wanton pride of the king of Babylon (Isa. 14:13 f.). However, his statements may be aimed at an old tradition about Jesus which describes the *ben 'āḏām* in similar terms to those used in John's Gospel (Jn. 3:13; 10:34–38).

(j) [I.H.M.] The flow of discussion on the Son of man in the Gospels since 1971 has shown little sign of abating. (1) The view of Vielhauer and Käsemann, that none of the Son of man sayings can be traced back to Jesus, has been supported by N. Perrin who finds the beginning of the process in Mk. 13:26 as an expression of the early church's hope of the return of Jesus; thereafter the title was applied to other aspects of Jesus' work. (2) Cullmann's view, that at least some of the sayings referring to Jesus' present ministry, his suffering and the apocalyptic hope of his future activity are authentic, is upheld by the author of the present article (O. Michel) and has been defended by M. D. Hooker, F. H. Borsch and L. Goppelt (*Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, I, 1975, 226–253). (3) The view of Bultmann, that the sayings about the coming Son of man could have come from Jesus, has been taken up by numerous writers who claim, on the basis of Lk. 12:8 f., that Jesus was referring to a figure other than himself. H. E. Tödt argues that Jesus implicitly asserted his own authority by his insistence that the decisions of men for or against him would be ratified by the heavenly Son of man. Essentially the same position is taken by F. Hahn, A. J. B. Higgins and R. H. Fuller. Working from different premises, J. Jeremias and C. Colpe have come to roughly similar conclusions (see above), although the former (clearly) and the latter (somewhat obscurely) allow that Jesus identified himself in his future rôle with the Son of man. (4) G. Vermes (*Jesus the Jew*, 1973, 177–186) holds that Jesus used the Aramaic phrase as a circumlocution for "I", and accepts the authenticity of sayings which show no trace of the influence of Dan. 7, i.e. sayings about the present ministry and suffering of Jesus. He thus reaches a position not too dissimilar from that of E. Schweizer.

The continuing fluidity of opinion is apparent from these and other contributions to the debate. Nevertheless, the view espoused in this article has continued to attract strong support from various quarters and offers the least difficulties. See further C. F. D. Moule, "Neglected Features in the Problem of 'The Son of Man' ", in J. Gnilka, ed., *Neues Testament und Kirche*, 1974, 413–428.

2. *Present Statements in the Synoptic Gospels.* (a) In Mk. 2:10 Jesus makes the claim that as "the Son of man" he has power to forgive sins on earth (→ Forgiveness). He emphasizes that it is of himself that he speaks, and not of men in general. He can act with a unique authority in this eschatological hour. The phrase "the Son of man" not only points to him, but it serves to bring the conflict with the hostile scribes to a head. According to Matt. 9:8, Jesus grants a share in this power to "men", i.e. to his community. Hence this material also has a place in the discus-

sions between the Christian community and Judaism; it raises the issue whether Jesus approaches too close to the divine prerogatives.

(b) In Matt. 11:18 f. Jesus contrasts the coming of the Baptist with the coming of the "Son of man"; these two eschatological witnesses appear in very different ways. The Q tradition dwells more on the appearance of the "Son of man" (Aram. *bar nāšā'*) while the context speaks of the man who eats bread and drinks wine (Matt. 11:19; Lk. 7:33). Here too *bar nāšā'* is not just any man who eats and drinks (R. Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 1968², 155), but that eschatological Man who is sent from God; hence there can be no substitute for the phrase "the Son of man" as a polemic designation of him. *bar nāšā'* here was neither title nor periphrasis but a reference to the hidden eschatological activity of God which evolves in conflict with the present generation.

(c) The position is rather complicated in Matt. 8:20, a saying that also belongs to the Q tradition. Some want to interpret it in terms of Jewish wisdom (man's destiny over against the beasts), but it is more likely that the homeless "Son of man" means Jesus himself as he steels his disciples for → discipleship and homelessness. This also reflects a polemical context. It is a question here, not of man's existence, but of the eschatological fate that characterizes the existence of the "Son of man".

Apparently the original "Son of man" sayings belong above all to Jesus' later activity in the period when the hopelessness of his course had become all too clear. On the authenticity of these texts see I. H. Marshall, *NTS* 12, 1965–66, 339–343.

(d) We find ourselves on an unusual path if we trace Mk. 2:27 f. back to a Heb. *ben 'āḏām* tradition. For then this text is understood as a reference to the creation story: "The sabbath was made for Adam and not Adam for the sabbath, hence the Son of Adam [*ben 'āḏām*] is Lord even over the sabbath." If so, we would have before us a rabbinic argument apparently directed against the Essenes (cf. Jub. 2:18: the → sabbath was first established in heaven). Such an interpretation would presuppose that the evangelist no longer understood this apparently oral tradition (cf. R. Leivestad, op. cit., 76 f.). Usually this saying is set in the context of later discussions about the sabbath in the early community. ([Tr.] C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, 1963², 118, and W. L. Lane, *The Gospel of Mark*, *NLC*, 1974, 120, regard the saying as a comment by Mk. addressed to the reader. More probably Jesus here expresses his own authority as the leader of God's people to whom the sabbath has been given (cf. Mek. Exod. 31:14[1096])).

(e) Matt. 16:13 gives a striking rendering of the simpler question of Jesus recorded by Mk.: "Who do men say that the Son of man is?" This passage has often been discussed in the course of scholarship; the explanation partly depends on a reference to the general theology of the evangelist (on this whole passage → Open, art. NT 3; → Rock, art. *petra* NT 3). This presupposes that Matt. could not be careless. It is possible that the phrase "the Son of Man" is here a pure self-designation and has lost its eschatological reference. At any rate, it comes remarkably close to being a periphrasis for "I" (cf. R. Leivestad, op. cit., 67–70).

3. *Announcements of the "Son of man's" Path of Suffering.* It is striking how firmly rooted the idea of "the Son of man" is in the general predictions of suffering (Mk. 8:31; 9:31; 10:33) and in the apocalyptic sayings of Mk. 9:12 and Lk. 17:25. The firm roots of the concept of "the Son of man" here must owe something to exegetical motifs in Isa. (the "ransom for Israel", Isa. 43:3 ff.; the "life given as a

sacrifice for sin", Isa. 53:10). It must be presupposed that "the Son of man" must contend with the opposition of his people. It cannot be a coincidence that this tradition is attached to the designation *bar nāšā'* (on the development of the "I" – sayings cf. Colpe, *TDNT* VIII 444, n. 309).

We have to distinguish shorter two-fold forms and longer four-fold ones. The problems as to whether these passages betray the community's reflection as it recollected the passion story and sought to impart that reflection and whether it read the apocalyptic-sounding title "Son of man" into an original "I"-saying can only be determined by a literary analysis of each individual instance. However, Jesus' suffering also presents especial problems: did it come as a surprise when Jesus found himself caught up without warning in conflict and suffering in Jerusalem? Or did he deliberately enter upon a course of suffering laid upon him by his Father himself? If the second is the case, then the conflict that awaited him and the suffering enjoined upon him must be exegetically substantiated and must find their place in their own eschatological pattern. If one chooses this second path, then one is involved in questions about the pre-literary tradition and the rabbinic or apocalyptic tradition.

([I.H.M.] This second path is fully justified exegetically. For the case that Jesus anticipated his own death see J. Jeremias, *TDNT* V 713 f.; *New Testament Theology* I, 1973, 278–280; H. Schürmann, "Wie hat Jesus seinen Tod bestanden und verstanden?", in P. Hoffman, ed., *Orientierung an Jesus*, 1973, 325–363. It would then not be surprising if Jesus had spoken of this to his disciples. Against the wholesale dismissal of the passion predictions by R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, I, 1952, 29–31, see the defence of at least the kernel of the predictions as coming from Jesus in M. D. Hooker, *The Son of Man in Mark*, 1967, 103–116; and H. Patsch, *Abendmahl und historischer Jesus*, 1972, 185–197.)

(a) Mk. 9:31 betrays an Aram. or Heb. play on words ("Son of man ... men") which can certainly be traced back to Jesus himself. The old tradition is that God himself consigned him (*bar nāšā'*) into the hands of men (cf. the version of the same logion in Lk. 9:44). It is true that the short text which only mentions his being given up to men (without his being killed) is a very remarkable one, but it is more probable that we have to do with a twofold utterance: God gave him up – men put him to death.

(b) Mk. 8:31; 9:12 and Lk. 17:25 record another "Son of man" saying which, on the one hand, speaks of the divine decree (*dei*, must, Mk. 8:31; Lk. 17:25; Mk. 9:11) and, on the other, emphasizes the combination of "undergo many punishments and be rejected" (here alluding to the "builders" of Ps. 118:22). Lk.'s shorter version is remarkable (17:25, "suffer much and be rejected by this generation"). A parallel to this "be rejected" is the "set at naught", which goes back to an older tradition (Mk. 9:12). This logion in all its different forms has been expanded by a later tradition which enumerates Jesus' opponents.

The OT conceived of the life of the "righteous" (→ Righteousness OT 2) or of the "Servant of God" (Isɔ. 53:8, 10; Wis. 2:17, 20; Acts 3:13, 26) as terminating not in sufferings but in an eschatological answer from God. The righteous will be raised up (*anastēnai*, Deut. 18:15) or exalted (*hypsōthēnai*, Isa. 52:13). In order to understand Jesus we must, as far as possible, look for the Heb. or Aram. equivalents. The texts in their present form have passed through further stages of interpretation.

(c) Lk. 22:21–23 and 48 stand out amongst the prophetic announcements of suf-

fering. Behind both passages we must assume an old Aram. or Heb. version which emphasized the betrayal by the table-companion or the "friend". The periphrasis "the Son of man" gives these words a solemn and emphatic ring; yet it is possible that an original "I" has been replaced here (but cf. the play on words: "the Son of man" – men). These remarkable words point to the most abject humiliation possible in the area of human trust and friendship.

(d) In interpreting the isolated saying of Mk. 10:45, we must bear in mind its close relationship to Lk. 22:27; Bultmann (*The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 144) considers Mk. 10:45 secondary ("... from the redemption theories of Hellenistic Christianity"). The service of Jesus (→ Serve, art. *diakoneō* NT 2) is at any rate emphasized and it should be normative for discipleship. Mk.'s addition of the idea of the surrender of a righteous life to redeem a life that is gripped by guilt may well come from an early Palestinian tradition and refer back to the "Son of man's" way of suffering, while the combination of the two elements of service and the surrender of one's life would come from the tradition concerning discipleship (cf. Colpe, *TDNT* VIII 455). God is the pattern, for he himself serves his people instead of making them serve him (Isa. 43:22–24); we must not discount the reference here to the Servant of God who surrendered up his life in death (Isa. 53:12).

(e) It is generally assumed that the idea of the "Son of man" is a secondary addition to Jesus' announcements of his sufferings; in that case the idea of the messianic significance of suffering would be a later interpolation into the earlier material about Jesus (so too Colpe, *TDNT* VIII 444). Yet it is an open question whether the word-play "Son of man – men" does not go back to an original Aram. tradition (Colpe, *TDNT* VIII 444, n. 309). If Jesus' announcements of his suffering can have had a specifically eschatological character then we cannot rule out the possibility that in them Jesus also alluded to the "Son of man".

4. *The Resumption of the Apocalyptic "Son of Man" Tradition.* (a) In some ways it could be said that the distinction between the self-authenticating "I" and the corresponding apocalyptic "Son of man" in Lk. 12:8 f., Matt. 10:32 f. (Q) and Mk. 8:38 spans the present and future statements. This presupposes the creation of a community which is subject to the prophetic law of discipleship. The earthly event is determinative for the eschatological future of those who confess and those who deny. The "Son of man" is a future entity which is taken for granted as an object of confession. If one grants the authenticity of this logion, then the disciples are faced with eschatological afflictions which call for uncompromising resolution. Jesus himself takes part in this affliction and faces each individual disciple with a decision. It could be argued that this saying was not authentic because it reflected the community's post-Easter position. E. Käsemann sees here a "sentence of holy law" which could have been formulated by early Christian prophets in connexion with the establishment of the eschatological *ius talionis* (*New Testament Questions of Today*, 1969, 66–81).

The structure as well as the style of the Q-logion (its antithetical parallelism) points to an Aram. or Heb. original. Jeremias's and Colpe's analyses show that Matt. 10:32 f. omits the reference to the confessing by the "Son of man"; this is surprising because Matt. does not usually omit the "Son of man" title but tends rather to add it. So an old tradition is suggested here which reads: "Every one who confesses me before men will himself be confessed .... But whoever denies me before men will himself likewise be denied." We can no longer ascertain the term originally used for

the divine assize (Colpe, *TDNT* VIII 442, n. 299). The fact that, apart from Matt.'s text, the tradition makes so sharp a distinction between Jesus and the "Son of man" without offering an explanation rather tells against Jeremias's and Colpe's attempts at a solution here. The text certainly means that, when the eschatological crisis takes place, Jesus himself will be transformed into the Son of man. In the Q-version, Jesus appears as the eschatological guarantor and witness (not so in Mk.'s version). It may be that the future "Son of man" is the eschatological guarantor and witness and not the judge. Bultmann's attempt to distinguish between Jesus and the future "Son of man" as another eschatological figure is doomed to failure (op. cit., 112). A decisive question posed by the attempts to interpret Matt. 10:32 f. and Lk. 12:8 f. is whether literary-critical analysis (so Jeremias, Colpe) is appropriate in all cases. R. Leivestad considers Lk. 12:8 f. nearest to the original (op. cit., 83).

(b) A logion of Jesus contained in the material peculiar to Matt. is also disputed: "If they throw you out of one city then flee to another; for in truth, I tell you, you will not be done with the cities of Israel before the Son of man comes" (Matt. 10:23).

This logion, which goes closely with Matt. 10:5 f., concerns a persecution of Jesus' followers within Palestine. Here is a situation, no longer of hospitable welcome and joy in the message, but of slander and persecution. Nevertheless, the mission must be confined to the cities of Israel and no mission to Hellenistic settlements is anticipated. J. Jeremias (*Jesus' Promise to the Nations, SBT* 24, 1958, 20) stresses the early features of this remarkable saying: an old amen-saying, its contrast to Matt.'s own universalism, its unfulfilled promise. The saying anticipates that the proclamation in Israel will not have been completed before the parousia (→ Present). On the other hand, P. Vielhauer attributes the saying to early Christian prophets who spoke in the name of the exalted Jesus; it offers consolation in a time of eschatological persecution (op. cit., 64 f.).

(c) The logion Lk. 18:8 (pre-Lucan material) forms the conclusion to a parable and asks the question: "But will the Son of man find faithfulness on earth when he comes?" This speaks of the coming of the "Son of man" and asks whether the covenant that he has made with his own will be preserved in faithfulness, harmony and humility (cf. 1QS 5:3). We may perhaps recall that, according to one tradition, Abraham sees the sins on earth and has power to execute judgment; however he cannot exercise it, lest he destroy the creation (cf. Test. Abr. 12). So it seems that, according to one Jewish view, each generation had one "righteous one" to whose lot it fell to decide about their fate.

This may also be compared with Gen. R. 44:5 on Gen. 15:1: "Then God spoke to him: I raised up no righteous protectors from Noah, but I will raise up such ones from you. And not only that; even if your children fall into sin and evil deeds, yet will I single out a righteous one from them, to give a verdict on them, for he will say to strictest righteousness: 'Enough!' I am taking him out of the world and he will make atonement for them [by his death]!" Hence, there was a tradition that there was a particular righteous man assigned to pass judicial verdicts. He limits the rigours of righteousness. God takes him from the world and so by his death he makes atonement for men.

We should note perhaps how close this is to the parable of Lk. 12:36: if the master comes and knocks, he wants to find his servants keeping watch. It is a fact that in Lk.'s futuristic sayings the "Son of man" has certain distinct features. R. Leivestad

(loc. cit., 89) states that "the problem in Lk. 18:8b is, however, not the use of the name of the 'Son of Man' but the peculiar pessimism, which seems hard to reconcile with either Jesus' message or Lk.'s own view point. It is perhaps the most puzzling saying in the whole tradition" (op. cit., 89).

(d) The paraenetic warning of Lk. 21:36 reveals an old Sem. tradition behind it: "But be watchful at all times and pray that you may have strength to escape and come into the presence of the Son of man." In this exhortation, the "Son of man" is an eschatological figure possessing full authority to judge. To be sure, the material of Lk. 18:8 and 21:36 could derive from Jesus, but the texts stand in a tradition of the community that is also like that of Enoch in form.

In Lk. 21:36 *katischysēte*, "that you may *obtain the power*", is nearer to Sem. ways of thinking than the well-attested but secondary reading *kataxiōthēte*, "that you may *be found worthy*". *katischyein*, to have power, has a long tradition in the process of translation from the Heb. (unlike *kataxioun*, to hold worthy or of value; cf. Hatch-Redpath, II–III, 740, 751).

(e) Jesus' saying during his trial ("From now on the Son of man will be seated on the right hand of power", Lk. 22:69) belongs to this older "Son of man" tradition preserved by Lk. which has no recourse to Dan. Here once again the old *bar nāšā'* usage of Jesus could have a pregnant sense: "this man" who is placed in an apocalyptic context is, like the righteous of the old covenant (Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Melchizedek), exalted to be with God. He is the righteous One of the end-time and ends the series of witnesses (cf. Gen. R. 44; Test. Abr.). It is significant that the allusion to Dan. (Mk. 14:62, quoting Dan. 7:13) is lacking. Here Lk. preserves the more original text.

The movement in Mk. (the seating and coming of the "Son of man") should be noted. Lk. 22:69, on the other hand, emphasizes that he is seated as a result of his coming and being brought to the Ancient of Days. Colpe rightly concludes that "the genuineness of Lk. 22:69 can only be doubted by calling in question the historicity of the whole trial-scene" (op. cit., 436).

(f) The argument concerning the historical setting of the material peculiar to Lk. has not yet been settled (Jeremias, Vielhauer). Two things are, however, clear in the light of the Synoptic material: (a) we must not interpret the idea of the "Son of man" in too narrow a christological sense; rather it serves to establish the eschatological righteousness (cf. the Jewish parallels in Gen. R. 44 and Test. Abr.). (2) Early Christian teachers and prophets have worked out various patterns in which the "Son of man" plays a rôle. Hence, Dan. 7 is by no means the only decisive factor; the material peculiar to Lk. has another context too.

(g) [I.H.M.] There remain a considerable number of occurrences of the phrase "Son of man" in the Synoptic Gospels. In a few cases the usage is probably due to the work of the evangelists. Matt. 13:37–43 is generally thought to be Matthew's own interpretation of the parable of the tares (cf. I. H. Marshall, *Eschatology and the Parables*, 1973², 10). In Matt. 16:28 the evangelist has evidently given us a rephrasing of the difficult saying Mk. 9:1 in order to clarify it for his readers. Matt. 26:2 looks like a literary reminiscence of the earlier predictions of the passion. In Lk. 6:22, where Jesus speaks of the possibility of persecution "for the sake of the Son of man", the Matthean parallel has "for my sake" (Matt. 5:11); it is not clear which evangelist has made the alteration, but there are some grounds for thinking that Luke has

retained the original form of a statement in which Jesus referred to himself as a figure of rejection and called his disciples to be ready to face the same fate (cf. Lk. 9:58; I. H. Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, 1978, ad loc.).

The saying about blasphemy and the Son of man (Matt. 12:31 f.; Lk. 12:10) is particularly difficult to understand (→ Satan, art. *diabolos* NT 9). Matthew's form runs together the saying as it is found in Lk. and another saying, found in Mk. 3:28 f., which speaks of blasphemy committed by the sons of men. The Marcan and Lucan sayings could represent different understandings of a common Aramaic original. In its Marcan form, the saying is to the effect that men ("sons of men" in the collective sense of "mankind") can be forgiven every sin except blasphemy against the Spirit whose power is displayed in the gracious acts of Jesus. In the Lucan form, the saying states that blasphemy against the Son of man (i.e. Jesus) is excusable, but not deliberate blasphemy against the manifest activity of the Spirit. The Son of man is here the lowly, rejected figure of Lk. 7:34; 9:58. In its present situation in Lk. the saying stands in tension with Lk. 12:8 f., where the Son of man is a glorious figure who could hardly be blasphemed with impunity; probably the sayings were spoken on different occasions. Attempts to account for the saying as a church creation contrasting sin before and after the resurrection of Jesus or before and after conversion are not convincing (cf. I. H. Marshall, op. cit., ad loc.).

Lk. 19:10 adds to the picture of the present authority of the Son of man by assigning to him the task of a → shepherd who seeks out and rescues the lost sheep (J. Jeremias, *TDNT* VI 492). The saying appealed to scribes, variants of it being found in the textual tradition of Matt. 18:11 and Lk. 9:56.

Other sayings refer to the activity of the Son of man in the future (i.e. from the temporal standpoint of Jesus). The saying comparing the Son of man with → Jonah (Matt. 12:39 f.; Lk. 11:29 f.) should probably be taken as a comparison between Jonah's miraculous deliverance from death and God's vindication of Jesus by raising him from the dead (as Matt. makes explicit); a reference to the parousia, favoured by many scholars, is much less probable, since such a sign comes too late to confirm belief in the message of Jesus. The whole saying is sufficiently enigmatic to be authentic, although many scholars deny the authenticity of most or all of the saying in Lk. 11:29b–30 (see C. Colpe, *TDNT* VIII, 449 f.; R. A. Edwards, *The Sign of Jonah in the Theology of the Evangelists and Q*, *SBT* Second Series 18, 1971; R. T. France, *Jesus and the Old Testament*, 1971, 43–45, 80–82).

In Matt. 24:37–44 and Lk. 17:22–37 we have a series of references to the days, day or coming of the Son of man. Here the future coming of the Son of man is compared to the flood and the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah which came unawares upon men who failed to prepare themselves for what lay ahead. Yet the disciples of Jesus should not be unprepared. They will be longing for the consummation (Lk. 17:22), and it should be clearly recognizable when it comes. Nevertheless, there is the danger of being misled by false prophets or of growing weary in waiting, and therefore the disciples must be vigilant and not be diverted by worldly concerns from being ready for the Son of man. These sayings fall into a group whose authenticity is not usually denied (*pace* P. Vielhauer, op. cit., 75, 108–110), although some scholars consider that Jesus was thinking of a figure other than himself.

The expectation of the coming of the Son of man, presupposed in these sayings, finds expression in the apocalyptic tradition, particularly in Dan. 7:13. Clear

references to this text are to be found in Mk. 13:26 and 14:62. In the latter text we have a combination of Ps. 110:1 and Dan. 7:13 used to depict the vindication of the Son of man by God and his coming to judgment. There may also be some influence from Zech. 12:10 (cf. Rev. 1:7; N. Perrin, op. cit., 10–22). Opinion is divided as to whether Luke's form of the saying at the trial, with its omission of any reference to the "coming" of the Son of man, represents a more primitive form (see above 4 (e)) or is due to Lucan editing of Mk. 14:62 to stress more the present exaltation of Jesus. In any case Luke retains the citation from Dan 7:13 in Lk. 21:27 and the reference to the Son of man in Lk. 22:69 can be derived only from Dan. 7:13. One possibility is that the original form of the saying at the trial was very much the same as in Lk. 22:69, and that the reference to the "coming" of the Son of man in Mk. 14:62 is a reminiscence of Mk. 13:26. In any case, Dan. 7:13 underlies Jesus' use of the title. In Mk. 14:62 the point of the saying is to show how Jesus re-interprets messiahship in terms of the Son of man of Dan. 7:13 (cf. Mk. 8:29–31). In Mk. 13:26 the coming of the Son of man is associated with the gathering of God's people and their deliverance from earthly tribulation.

The reference to the Son of man sitting on his glorious throne in Matt. 19:38 is missing from the similar saying in Lk. 22:30, and may be an addition by Matt. (cf. the wording in Matt. 25:31) to explain the meaning of the difficult term *palingenesia.* It is clear from the Lucan form of the saying that Jesus looked forward to heavenly rule accompanied by his disciples. Many scholars, however, regard Matthew's wording as more primitive.

5. *The Johannine Tradition (Fourth Gospel).* (a) The later period is characterized by the fact that the new patterns created by teachers and prophets have as their point of departure the obvious assumptions that Jesus is the "Son of man" referred to in the old tradition (Rev. 1:13: the one like a "son of man"; cf. Dan. 7:13; 10:5 f.) and that it is justifiable to give Jesus' statements about himself a new interpretation on the basis of this conviction (as in the Gospel of Jn.). This development should not only be regarded as the expression of an ideology but is also the result of the church's serious internal and external struggles. Hence, it remains an open question, whether Jewish-Christian circles have preserved the tradition better than, say, Gentile-Christian ones or those where Jewish-Christian material was given a Gentile-Christian interpretation. This question is posed above all by the Fourth Gospel, which presents the old Jewish-Christian material in a *kērygma* comprehensible in the Hellenistic world. Its point of departure is the One who is "sent" and comes from heaven, and who represents God both as the "Son" and as the "Son of man".

As far as tradition is concerned, Jn. 13:16, 20 uses Jewish and Synoptic material (Matt. 10:24, 40). It speaks of the execution of a commission that comes from God. Even the predicate granted to Jesus, "Son of God", is guarded from blasphemous claims by the reference to the OT tradition about such commissions (Ps. 82:1 ff.: "Execute justice for the lowly and the orphans, help vindicate the afflicted and poor"; v. 6: "Indeed I spoke: 'Gods you are and sons of the Most High, all of you, but you must die like ordinary men' "; cf. also 11QMelchizedek and Jn. 10:33–36).

(b) The concept of the "Son of man" contains apocalyptic elements, but it itself is given a kerygmatic revaluation. God's commission determines his "descent" and "ascent" (Jn. 3:13, 31; 6:62). This sending determines his "way" and forms the destiny of him who, at the commission of the One who sent him, goes along this way

and takes other men with him along it. The apocalyptists speak of a journey to heaven and the gnostics of an ascent into the heavenly world; for John, however, the decisive question is who gives the true testimony, who is really authorized to bring his message, who has the right to be exalted to be with God (→ Height, art. *hypsoō* NT). Certain questions that are posed recall the world of apocalyptic and gnosticism (→ Knowledge, art. *ginōskō* CL), yet the Johannine *kērygma* steers its own course. The "ascent" corresponds to being exalted, the "descent" to the incarnation (cf. Jn. 3:13 with 3:14 and 1:14). These patterns have different origins. The statement of Jn. 3:14 is older: in Isa. 52:13 the Servant of God is brought out of a condition of humiliation into one of exaltation. That Jesus is incarnate, that he has come into the flesh (1 Jn. 4:1–3, 2 Jn. 7), these are anti-gnostic confession statements, which emphasize the unique nature of Jesus' sending.

The Johannine concept of the "Son of man" is thus seen to be a theological testimony of Jesus to himself. This is the language and the way of thinking of myth as we find it in apocalyptic and gnosticism, but now the language embraces the cosmic significance of the confession, i.e. the cosmological and soteriological aspects of the confession are what matter now (cf. R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 1971, 25).

The promise of Jn. 1:51 has an early Jewish-Christian sound; it recalls the story of Jacob (Gen. 28:10–17). Rabbinic tradition took the words "the angels of God ascend and descend upon it" to refer either to the ladder or to Jacob himself. Now the "Son of man" replaces the ladder of Jacob. Gen. R. 68:12 mentions the connexion between earthly Jacob-Israel and his heavenly archetype. We can therefore surmise that here John sees the "Son of man" as replacing Jacob: either Jacob becomes an eschatological symbol for the "Son of man" or the "Son of man" is identified with the true Israel. Apparently, in the history of salvation, the "Son of man" embraces the earthly Israel and now represents it (cf. on this question Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 105 f.). Gnostic motifs like that of communication with a heavenly archetype are far from the intention of this pre-Johannine material.

(c) Jn. 5:27 tells us that the Father gave the Son authority to execute judgment because he is "man" or "Son of man" (*bar nāšā'*) (*hyios anthrōpou*, here without the article). It is an open question whether this passage refers to the unique human existence of Jesus or to the rank referred to in Dan. 7:10, 14.

Probably Test. Abr. (Recension A, ch. 13) is connected with this material. Here it is explicitly denied that God himself judges, on the grounds that man should be judged by man. This is to be understood in the light of the idea that certain righteous men are chosen to judge men (here Abel).

We must reject both the suggestion that this passage originally spoke of the "Son" and the reverse, that Test. Abr. has been influenced by Jn. 5 (so Bultmann, op. cit., 261 n. 5.). The tradition concerning the "Son" which is part of the message of salvation is manifestly hard to reconcile with Jn. 5:27. No gnostic motifs appear here. Certainly the longer Recension A of Test. Abr. is of Jewish-Christian origin, yet it contains older material than Jn.

(d) The heavenly messenger of Jn. does not come from gnosticism, although gnosticism knows of a messenger-figure, but from the confession of Jesus as the eschatological counterpart of Moses (Num. 16:28, Jn. 17:3; cf. Bultmann, op. cit., 50, n. 2, 494 f.). The Gospel is interested primarily in his commission and the idea of his

authority and not in the idea of revelation (*pace* Bultmann, op. cit., 494 f.). As the One who comes from heaven, he surpasses Moses (Jn. 1:17; 5:45). It was → Moses who ascended and descended when he came from Sinai (Exod. 24:12: "Come up"; Exod. 34:29: "When Moses came down from the mountain. . ."). Jesus ascended and descended in another way, and so bore another glory than that of Moses. The antithesis of Moses and Jesus contains a polemic against the rab. concept of salvation.

This is particularly clear in the passage on the bread from heaven in Jn. 6. This contains three "Son of man" sayings, which reveal the structural division of the passage (vv. 27, 53, 62); on the other hand, the authority of the "Son of man" is made explicit in v. 27b. The dualistic predicates, "heavenly-earthly" or "imperishable-destined to perish", mould the figure of the messenger and his gifts. Bultmann (op. cit., 182) holds that the Johannine dualism derives from gnosticism: only that which divine revelation bestows possesses the character of reality, genuineness and truth. At this point there is a radical change in the eschatological way of thinking: the temporal contrast of Moses and Christ takes on a new aspect, and the idea of the "Son of man" is also introduced here: he imparts the abiding food which brings eternal life. Probably Jn. regards that food as abiding and leading to life which is in accordance with Jesus' commission. That which corresponds to his message is true. Here too we are dealing outwardly with a Hellenistic tradition that reflects Jewish ideas. That remains true whose nature and content is trustworthiness and faithfulness.

(e) With the words → "I am", the heavenly messenger announces himself according to the manner of the OT God (cf. Isa. 43:25: "I, I am he, who blots out your transgressions for my own sake and who will not hold your sins in remembrance any longer"). As God's representative, the Son of man assumes the attributes of *'elōhîm* (→ God OT). His path is a unique part of the course of salvation history: gradually we will recognize the truth (Jn. 3:14; 8:28; 12:23; 13:31). This process, which is rooted in history yet moulds history anew, depends on the idea of the "Son of man". As far as unbelief is concerned, a continuing claim to messianic status and the raising up of the Son of man seem to be mutually exclusive (12:34). The original Aram. of *hypsōthēnai*, to be lifted up, *'istallaq*, includes the idea of progress in the being lifted up (C. C. Torrey, *JBL* 51, 1932, 320 ff.; Bultmann, op. cit., 354 f.). Jn., however, knows that that which "abides" and the process of salvation history are not mutually exclusive, but rather presuppose each other.

(f) [I.H.M.] The Son of man sayings in Jn. pose various problems when they are considered in relation to the synoptic tradition. At several points the title is used in the same way as in the other Gospels with reference to the death and exaltation of Jesus (Jn. 3:14; 8:28; 12:23, 34; 13:31 f.) and to his activity as judge (Jn. 5:27; cf. 9:35–39). But the vocabulary with which these statements are expressed differs somewhat from that used in the other Gospels. Jesus is to be "lifted up" on the cross, a word which refers both to his being physically lifted up to die and to his being "exalted" by God in his death itself and not simply by means of the resurrection: Jesus glorifies God and is glorified by him precisely in his death on the cross. As the Son of man who died on the cross, Jesus is the source of eternal life (Jn. 6:27, 53).

In other places, however, there is an emphasis on the fact that the Son of man came down from heaven (Jn. 3:13; 6:62); this thought of pre-existence is absent from the synoptic sayings, and raises the question whether Johannine thought has been in-

fluenced from other directions. Several writers accordingly have related the Johannine Son of Man to the Primal or First Man found in oriental and gnostic speculation (R. Bultmann; C. H. Dodd). Jesus is thus to be seen as the heavenly Man who is in continual communion with God during his earthly life and thus is the mediator between God and man (cf. Jn. 1:51). It is difficult to come to a clear verdict on this type of theory. Certainly R. Schnackenburg has shown convincingly that the Son of man in Jn. has nothing to do with the figure of the Son of man in gnosticism (*The Gospel of John*, I, 1968, 529–542), but this does not exclude the possibility of a pre-gnostic type of outlook influencing Jn. It is more important to note, however, that the materials for the Johannine picture of the Son of man can largely be found in the OT and Christian tradition: (1) "Son of man" is a title of majesty in Dan. 7 and the Synoptic Gospels; (2) The descent of the Son of man is probably implicit in Dan. 7 and behind Dan. in Ezek.; (3) John's description of the exaltation of the Son of man is presented in terms of the Servant of Yahweh (Is. 52:13) and in the light of the resurrection; (4) John characteristically emphasizes the present anticipatory fulfilment of eschatological expectations. These four elements largely account for the distinctive Johannine use of the title which combines motifs from the tradition of the sayings of Jesus and elements of Johannine interpretation which bring out the significance of Jesus' teaching in the light of his resurrection and exaltation (S. S. Smalley, *NTS*, 15, 1968–69, 278–301; B. Lindars, in B. Lindars and S. S. Smalley, eds., *Christ and Spirit in the New Testament. In Honour of Charles Francis Digby Moule*, 1973, 43–60).

6. *The Concept of the "Son of Man" in the Rest of the NT.* (a) In the Pauline tradition we find the concept of the "heavenly man" standing as the express antitype of the "earthly" (1 Cor. 15:47 f.) or, exegetically, that of the "last Adam" as opposed to the "first man" (1 Cor. 15:45). Perhaps here too, as was the case with the "Son of man", an originally apocalyptic and temporal concept has been adapted to the form of a doctrine of salvation based on the figure of the *Anthrōpos*. We can detect traces of the older apocalyptic "Son of man" tradition in the use of Ps. 8:7(6) in 1 Cor. 15:27. Yet we should note how Paul avoids this apocalyptic idea amidst his Hellenistic surroundings. He is concerned rather to set the new mankind in their setting within the saving event rather than under sin and death (cf. also Rom. 5:12–21). His view of history here takes on metaphysical and ontic features.

(b) Hebrews 2:6 ff. uses Ps. 8:5–7(4–6) to prove that "man" and "son of man" must undergo a process in the history of salvation before they can reign over the world to come. The connexion of "man" and "son of man" is a necessary presupposition for the exegesis of this passage; it points to the various stages of Jesus' life and thus emphasizes that his final goal has not yet been reached (v. 8). "Son of man" here, as in Jn. 1:51, embraces the community of believers. The contrast with the angelic powers may be directed against an Ebionite Jewish Christianity, in which a doctrine about angels played an important part (cf. 1 (i) (iv)).

Heb. provides the first evidence of the dissolution of the connexion between Jesus Christ and the angelic powers, which had been developed earlier in apocalyptic; the "Son of man" and mankind are, in salvation history, on a different level to the angels. Heb. 2:5 ff. is of great importance for a study of the development of this problem. But new light is also shed on Ps. 8:6–8(5–7). A statement in the OT which delimited the dignity of creaturely man by reference to God's creative power is here made to

refer to the glory that is paradoxically ascribed to the One who is humiliated (Colpe, *TDNT* VIII 464).

(c) Although the "Son of man" is firmly entrenched in Lk.'s Gospel in sayings about judgment and the parousia, yet the same is not true of the corresponding sayings in Acts (Leivestad, op. cit. 88). Hence, Stephen's testimony in Acts 7:56, that the "Son of man" stands (not sits) at God's right hand is all the more notable. It reveals a pre-Lucan tradition and clearly shows that in Hellenistic circles the idea of the "Son of man" was also interpreted in apocalyptic terms.

There are four possible ways of interpreting Acts 7:56: (1) Jesus stood to receive Stephen into heavenly glory ([Tr.] possibly an anticipation of the parousia for the individual Christian: C. K. Barrett, "Stephen and the Son of Man", in W. Eltester, ed., *Apophoreta*, 1964, 32–38); (2) Jesus stood up as Stephen's advocate or witness in the heavenly court in the spirit of Lk. 12:8 (cf. C. F. D. Moule, "From Defendant to Judge – and Deliverer", *Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas Bulletin* 3, 1952, 46 f. = *The Phenomenon of the New Testament*, 1967, 90 f.); (3) Jesus stood up to take possession of his messianic inheritance; (4) Jesus was originally thought of as standing (just like the angels) before God; or (5) Jesus stood up, as God stands up, to face his enemies (Isa. 14:22, Pss. 3:8[7]; 7:7[6]). In the last case, this would be a further clear sign of the old polemical tradition (on this whole passage cf. Colpe, *TDNT* VIII 461–463 ff.; he also refers to the → Samaritan predicate of God as "standing"; on the Samaritan liturgy cf. M. Heidenheim, *Die samaritanische Liturgie, Bibliotheca Samaritana* II, 1888, XXXVII: 7, and A. E. Cowley, *The Samaritan Liturgy* I, 1909, 54:15). As long as the Samaritan influence on the NT is not defined we cannot speak of a further possible way to interpret Acts 7:56 (on this question cf. E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1971, 292).

(d) The linguistic usage of Revelation 1:13 and 14:14 reveals affinities to Dan. 7:13. Both passages speak of "one like a son of man" as walking ("amidst the lampstands") or "sitting" on the clouds of heaven. Note too how Rev. differs from the Gospels in leaving out the article; this is apparently an imitation of the text of Dan. 7:13: the apocalyptic "Son of man" is the figure found already in Dan. 7:13, but now as a glorified ruler and judge. He is in all respects like an angel (Dan. 10:5; cf. Rev. 1:13; 14:15 – "another angel" besides that of 14:14). Perhaps we may detect here an old Aram. or Heb. tradition which the seer retains. The essential christology of Rev. is rather built around the figure of the → "Lamb" or the → "Word of God"; yet this is a different, later stratum of tradition.

E. Lohmeyer (*Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, *HNT* 16², 1953, 127) thinks otherwise: "This description [Son of man] is therefore unsuited to the ultimate and innermost nature of its bearer." This underestimates the significance of this idea for Rev.

7. The formulae, "the days of the Son of man" (Lk. 17:22) and "the sign of the Son of man" (Matt. 24:30), are *apocalyptic features*.

(a) The phrase "the days of the Son of man" occurs in Lk. 17:22 (and the sing. in 17:24). This refers to the time of salvation, which ushers in the eschatological redeemed community (Lk. 21:28; cf. Eth. Enoch. 51:2). The time of salvation, however, introduces the day of judgment for the nations, corresponding to the catastrophe of "the days of Noah" and the "days of Lot" (Lk. 17:26 ff.). The Son of man stands on the side of the righteous and as messiah brings deliverance to the

redeemed community. This old text has a parallel in Gos. Thom., logion 38: "Many times you desire to hear these words which I say to you and you have no one else from whom you may hear them. There will come days when you seek me and will not find me." R. Leivestad sees here a shift of sense: "Can one not conceive of Jesus' having compared his own lifetime with the days before the Flood? The days of the Son of Man were the days when Jesus called on men to repent before the last judgment, but with little success. It is really a mistake that the days of the Son of Man have been identified with his day" (op. cit., 87).

(b) In Matt. 24:30 the shining of light symbolizes or heralds proleptically the coming of the Son of man: "And then the sign of the Son of man will appear in heaven." The apocalyptic shining of lights was originally connected with the prophecy of Isa. 60:1; this was interpreted in Pes. R. 36:2(162a) of the King Messiah who would stand on the roof of the sanctuary. Correspondingly, Matt. 24:30 interprets the sign of the Son of man as an event in the heavenly sanctuary. Traces of the same tradition may be detected in Josephus, *War* 6, 5, 3(290). We can even try to pin down the development of this tradition: Matt. 24:30 is alluded to in Did. 16:6 ("sign of the spreading out in heaven") and Gos. Pet. 10:39 (cf. SB I 954). The idea in the Heb. original was probably that of God's Shekinah, which according to Isa. 60:1 prepared for the Messiah's appearance. Several stages of development must have intervened between this original and our text of Matt. (for a different exegesis cf. Colpe, op. cit., 460, n. 412: "Coming before v. 30b the saying about the sign of the Son of Man is designed to bring out Christ's judicial office, which was not clearly enough implied for the Chr. reader by the coming in glory"). *O. Michel*

υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ — *υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ* (*hyios tou theou*), Son of God.

CL 1. In cl. Gk. *hyios* from the first means son, like *pais*, in the sense of an heir and descendant; *pais*, child, is the wider concept, but it can also come to mean slave (→ *pais theou*). It can be used with the gen. (as early as Homer, *Il.* 5, 683; *Od.* 11, 568) in references to "sons of Zeus" and of other gods. Sometimes too those belonging to a particular nation (Achaeans or Trojans) are designated by a similar genitival phrase (*Il.* 1, 162). Ancient Gk. mythology portrayed the world of the gods as one great family. Zeus is the "father of men and gods" (*Il.* 1, 544). It was thought obvious that gods should cohabit with mortal women and beget children. Heracles' fate was especially influential since he had to bear the labours of men before he could, as a son of Zeus, be accepted into the world of the gods. Later, Epictetus reflected on this peculiar father-son relationship between Zeus and Heracles; not only did Heracles consider Zeus his father whom he addressed as such and whom he imitated in his actions, but he was also aware that he was the father of men (*Dissertationes* 2, 16, 44; 3, 24, 14 ff.).

2. In Hellenism, the Egyptian ruler-cult which so influenced Alexander the Great is of outstanding importance. Alexander was hailed in the Libyan desert as "Son of Ammon", or, in Gk. terms, "son of Zeus" (Callisthenes, *Frag.* 14a in F. Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, 1923 ff., IIB 645). Hence, the year 331 B.C. was critical in the development of the remarkable character of Alexander's dominion. His successors remained mindful of Alexander's deification. The Ptolemies in par-

ticular adopted the Gk. version of the ruler's title (cf. the Rosetta Stone in *OGI* I 90: a decree of the priests in honour of Ptolemy Epiphanes). Under the Roman Empire, the idea of the son of God spread all over the world of that day, but it now had its foundation in Roman political theory. After Caesar had been murdered in 44 B.C. and had been declared to be divine, Octavian let it be known that, on the basis of his adoption in 45 B.C., he was *divi filius*, son of the divine. This nomenclature slowly established itself and became that part of the name which indicated the genealogical succession. That remained true of all the emperors; e.g. it was the official name of Septimius Severus in A.D. 195, when the phrase *divi filius* occurs 6 times (cf. Pauly-Wissowa II, 1923², 1943). The Gk. world translated *divi filius* with the formula *theou hyios*. However, the Hellenistic formula which expressed a mythical descent from the deity did not make the Roman emperors divine – since this formula was based on Roman ideas. Rather, it merely made them intelligible and acceptable to the Gk. East. The acceptance of this Roman ideology must thus obviously be part of the NT world (A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 1927², 346).

3. Particular guilds boasted of their attachment to "their god" and could thus call themselves *hyioi*, sons, or *paides tou theou*, children of the god (e.g. doctors as "sons of the god", Asclepius: *SIG*⁴ III 1169, 12). It was particularly easy for the Stoa to think of men as children of gods, in the sense of the kinship existing between gods and men, because they upheld the ultimate unity of God and man or the unity of the human race. The centre of the Stoic religion lay not only in the symbol of the Father but also in the motif of providence, caring and help. "Not only the whole race of men, but also the individual members of it, are constantly cared for and guided by the immortal gods" (Cicero, *On the Nature of the Gods* 2, 65, 164). Epictetus gives this its classical expression: "We all come directly from God and God is the father of gods and men" (*Dissertationes* 1, 3, 1). A characteristic expression of Stoic thinking is the possibility of realizing the freedom and bliss offered by Zeus. Man has to hold fast that which is "his own" (Epictetus, *Dissertationes* 3, 24, 2 f.). It spoke of a world-order and its destruction; the Christian message spoke of the woe that had come upon man and the world, and of redemption from it.

4. A separate problem is the use of *theios* or *theos* to describe men whose acts or endowment surpass those of normal men. This is especially true of poets or seers, but also of commanders like Lysander, whose divine charisma or divine qualities were celebrated. Empedocles was regarded as a god (*Frag.* 112 in Diels-Kranz I 354, 17). Legends thus came to surround the births of famous men (Pythagoras, Plato). These legends took a particularly firm hold in Neopythagorean and Neoplatonic circles. Apollonius of Tyana in particular was furnished with all the characteristics of a divine endowment, and divine sonship also seems to have been part of this endowment (Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius* 1, 6; 4, 31; 5, 24). The prophets whom Celsus saw in Palestine and Syria and who claimed to be sons of God (Origen, *Contra Celsum* 7, 9) present a particular problem. Origen also associates with these the Samaritan sons of God, Simon Magus and Dositheus, whose claims as revealers he himself did not recognize (*Contra Celsum* 1, 57).

[I.H.M.] The significance of the Gk. and Hellenistic material for the usage of the NT should not be over-estimated. The influential "history of religions" school attempted to account for much of the development of christology in terms of Hellenization (W. Bousset; R. Bultmann). It is now clear that this explanation was a complete

misrepresentation of what actually happened. Naturally early Christian thinkers could not help being influenced by their Hellenistic environment, but it was primarily their OT and Jewish environment which provided them with the concepts and vocabulary with which to develop their understanding of the person of Jesus. See especially M. Hengel, *The Son of God*, 1976, for a powerful statement of this point of view; but in fact his thesis is simply a restatement, with additional evidence, of what has long been believed by scholars who were not captivated by the "history of religions" school.

In particular, the use of *theios* with reference to men endowed with superhuman qualities appears to have no essential relationship to the concept of Son of God (W. von Martitz, *TDNT* VIII 339 f.). Even the concept of the *theios anēr* (a modern rather than an ancient title) should be used in discussions of the superhuman qualities of Jesus only with considerable caution (O. Betz, "The Concept of the so-called 'Divine Man' in Mark's Christology", in D. E. Aune, ed., *Studies in New Testament and Early Christian Literature*, 1972, 229–240; see, on the other side, H. D. Betz, "Jesus as Divine Man", in F. T. Trotter, ed., *Jesus and the Historian*, 1968, 114–133).

OT 1. *Israel and Sonship.* It is a fundamental part of the OT tradition that Israel has been chosen (→ Elect, art. *eklegomai* OT) and so is in a position of sonship. On the one hand, this gives expression to the subordination of the son and the legal claim of God as → Father (art. *patēr*) (Mal. 1:6), and on the other to the care and → love extended to Israel as the "first-born son" (Exod. 4:22 f.; Jer. 31:9). Only in this context do the prophets' message of judgment and the recognition of God's chastisements become intelligible. Israel provides a historical pattern for election and for a concept of sonship that is not interpreted in purely natural categories. Yet we must not forget that Gen. 6:2, 4 speaks of "sons of God" who took to themselves daughters of men and begot the "mighty ones". There is later evidence too of the old tradition of heavenly "sons of God" (Job 1:6; 2:1; 38:7; Pss. 29:1; 82:6; 89:7). Here in the OT is evidence of the pictorial idea of a heavenly court; the same idea recurs in e.g. a fragment of 4Q on Deut. 32:8. However, the idea of "sons of God" does not often appear subsequently, but rather is replaced by other phrases, "sons of heaven", "holy ones of heaven". Man's instruction in all art and science is traced back to the → angels (Eth. Enoch 6 ff.). Their fall is the real disaster of history.

2. *The King as God's Son.* Decisive for the messianic hope (→ Jesus Christ, art. *Christos*) is Nathan's prophecy in 2 Sam. 7:12–16: God will establish a house and a kingdom for David for ever. He will be a father to David's son, and this son of David is to be a son to him. The dynastic changes within the house of David were henceforth authorized by the divine legitimation of the succession. The original covenant between the people and their king was replaced by one which God himself gave which was between him and the royal house (cf. the Egyptian examples of such divine legitimation). Ps. 89:3(4) ff. takes up this divine legitimation given in 2 Sam. 7:12–16: the psalmist appeals to it in interceding for the king, the first-born, the highest among those born on earth (vv. 27[28] f.). There was also a coronation ritual based on 2 Sam. 7:12–16. "Only when Yahweh had acknowledged the new king as His son and, established his full royal name (2 S. 7:9; 1 Ki. 1:47), granted him a first request (Pss. 2:8; 20:5; 21:2, 4) and invested him with his crown (2 Ki. 11:12; Ps. 21:3) and sceptre (Ps. 110:2) could he begin his rule" (G. Fohrer, *TDNT* VIII 350).

The words, "He said to me, 'You are my son; I myself have begotten you today' " (Ps. 2:7), therefore belong to an original coronation ritual, as the "today" clearly shows. This may recall the legal act of adoption and yet there is another interpretation: God himself acknowledges the child born of a slave-woman – and so takes the place of his father (cf. Fohrer, *TDNT* VIII 351). The shout of joy in Isa. 9:6(5) perhaps arose out of this divine formula of acknowledgement: "To us a child is born, a son is given." Isa. 9:2–7(1–6); 11:1–9 describe later the enthronement of the king of salvation and the equipment of the new shoot of David's line with the gifts of the → Spirit of God. At his exaltation to sonship, his father confers upon him names that promise salvation and describe its constituents. The king is none other than God's representative on earth. With his coming, man's history of woe is at an end; he will bring salvation to the whole world.

3. *The Special Effects of these OT Beginnings in later Judaism.* (a) The description of the eschatological event put on God's lips in Jubilees (1:22–25) presupposes Israel's apostasy, its rebellion and obstinacy; Israel returns in all sincerity, with its whole heart and soul. God himself then circumcises them and bestows upon them a holy spirit. "I will then be your father and you will be my children. And they are all called children of the living God, and all angels and spirits know that they are my children and I am their father in truth and in righteousness, and that I love them" (cf. 2:20; 19:29).

In Qumran this eschatological process is given a distinctive form: men's attachment to the community of the elect is described as sonship (sons of light: 1QS 1:9; 2:16; of favour 1QH 4:32 f.; of grace: 1QH 7:20). In Israel itself the returning and transformation of God's people takes place in a community which claims for itself the fulfilment of the OT promises. The Qumran community fitted Ps. 2:7 and 2 Sam. 7:14 into their messianic expectation and interpreted them thus (4QFlor). 1QSa 2:11 f. may perhaps be translated: "if God causes the messiah to be born among them" (cf. Isa. 66:9).

([I.H.M.] The Qumran evidence shows that attention was being paid in Judaism to the significance of God's fatherly relationship to the messiah as his son, as expressed in 2 Sam. 7:14. In addition J. A. Fitzymer ("The Contribution of Qumran Aramaic to the Study of the New Testament", *NTS* 20, 1973–74, 382–407, especially 391–394) has drawn attention to the possible significance of 4QpsDan A for christology; he renders 1:7–2:1: "[But your son] shall be great upon the earth, [O King! All (men) shall] make [peace], and all shall serve [him. He shall be called the son of] the [G]reat [God], and by his name shall he be named. He shall be hailed [as] the Son of God, and they shall call him Son of the Most High." Whatever be the precise interpretation of this text (Fitzmyer's rendering is a tentative one), it obviously has some relevance for NT usage, especially for Lk. 1:32–35).

The apocalypse of Eth. Enoch (105:1–2) speaks of the eschatological wisdom. God will unite himself "for ever", together with his son, with men in the ways of truth.

In 2 Esd. (7:28 f.; 13:32, 37, 52; 14:9) we find the phrase "my son, *filius meus*", which can be traced back to a Gk. *pais* or Heb. *ʿebēḏ* tradition. The content of these references would fit in with Ps. 2:7; Isa. 11; their main emphasis is on the apocalyptic struggle with the nations and not on their enlightenment.

(b) The Jewish wisdom tradition places great value on the life of the individual

righteous man. The paraenetic material of Sir. 4:1–10 concludes, according to the Heb. text, with the promise, "and God will call you his son, and he will be gracious to you and rescue you from the pit"; however the Gk. text has something quite different. The picture of the righteous man also lies behind Wis. 2:13–18: he claims a special knowledge of God and calls himself God's child and calls God himself his father. His way of life is different from that of other men, and he can be regarded as God's servant in the sense of Isa. 53. The ideas of Wis. 5:5 are eschatological: the righteous man is reckoned among God's children and receives a portion among the saints (cf. Isa. 53:12; Dan. 7:18). The problem of Israel is also taken up in Wis. 12:19–21. God has taught his people that the righteous man must be a "friend of men", but that he can count on repentance. If even enemies and evil-doers are treated with forbearance and clemency, how great a clemency can the "sons" anticipate, whose fathers were granted oaths and covenants. This prepares the way for an important strand of thought in later Judaism which should not be overlooked.

(c) Important too is the influence of prayer with its address to "Our Father" on the tradition and the liturgy (Isa. 64:8[7]; Eighteen Benedictions, Petitions 4 and 6; → Prayer, *proseuchomai* OT 6; → Father, art. *patēr* OT 2). The origin and content of the tradition of divine sonship goes right back to Israel and the tradition of its election. Midr. Ps. on Ps. 2 takes as its starting-point Exod. 4:22 ("Israel is my first-born son"), then quotes from the tradition of the Servant of God in Isa. 53:12 and 42:1 and concludes with testimonies from the Hagiographa (Ps. 110:1; Dan. 7:13). According to Ps. 2:8 ("Ask of me and I will give you nations as your own possession"), messianic status is also part of the tradition concerning Israel.

To guard against any false ideas it was often carefully said, "You will be like a son" (cf. Gk. text of Sir. 4:10).

The equipping of individual charismatics with the gift of performing miracles is conspicuous in the rabbinic miracle-stories (Naqdimon b. Gurion, Ta'an. 19b–20a; Haninah b. Dosa, Ber. 34b; Honi the Circle-drawer, Ta'an. 19a). The Hellenistic period, which tended above all to attribute sonship to individuals, also saw a particular differentiation within the concept of a son: he had a special relation to God (like the righteous of Wis. 2:13–18) in contrast to other men and also now even within Israel. Honi the Circle-drawer can say "for I am like the son of your house in your eyes", and Shimon b. Shetach can say of him "what should I do, for you sin against God and yet he does what you want." Indeed, it even seems that we can see different views of the Torah. But this exalting of individual charismatics is also based on the fact that sonship is a special gift of God in Israel itself. The "children of God" (Deut. 14:1) gaze upon these "beloved ones" of God because their own fate (e.g. rain) depends on their prayer (cf. G. Vermes, *Jesus the Jew*, 1973, 206–211).

(d) Hellenistic Judaism held fast to this faith in God as Creator and Father, and saw in history the evidence of his providence, goodness and righteousness. For Josephus believed (*Ant.* 2, 6, 8[152]) that he was "Father of all" (cf. 1, 1, 4[20]); according to *Ant.* 5, 1, 25(93), he is "Father and Lord of the Hebrews". Josephus thus gives evidence of a fixed terminology that is conscious of the figurative nature of its statements. "Father" is not found as a mode of address in the prayers in his works. The patriarchs arose "from God himself" (*Ant.* 1, 3, 9[106]); they are examples of his special working. Josephus does not recognize any men as being God's sons in a special way.

Philo was very definitely interested in particular philosophical and exegetical problems to which he gave a speculative interpretation. In *Conf. Ling.* 63, the Logos is the eldest son of God and the cosmos the youngest. In *Sobr.* 56, Abraham is not only God's friend, from whom nothing is hidden, but also God's child (*hyios*). He is of noble birth because he has chosen God as his Father and is the only one to have been adopted by him as son. Philo takes pains to remain faithful to the text of the LXX of Gen. 18:17 (cf. also *Leg. All.* 3, 27; *Quaest. in Gen.* 4, 21; for other Jewish material, see M. Hengel, op. cit., 41–56).

NT 1. (a) The early Christian confession of Jesus as Son of God is in fundamental agreement with Jesus' manner of addressing God (Aram. *'abbā'*, → Father; Mk. 14:36; Gal. 4:6; Rom. 8:15; → Prayer, art. *proseuchomai* NT 1 (a)). It is something new when Jesus addresses God as "My Father"; this mode of address in prayer derives from the language of the family circle; it does not occur in the charismatic circles in Judaism (contrast Ta'an. 23b: "a Father who can give rain"). Jesus bestows a share in this eschatologically determined relation to God. Hence it is understandable, when Jesus speaks of himself as the "Son" and claims for himself a special → knowledge (art. *ginōskō* NT) of the Father (Matt. 11:27; Lk. 10:22; see 2, below). This statement about the Son is apocalyptic in origin and, as in Qumran (e.g. 1QS 4:21 f.; CD 3:13 f.), it involves → election, knowledge and → revelation. It is a problem how this fundamental statement is related to the references to Ps. 2:7 in Mk. 1:11; 9:7 (cf. Lk. 3:22). This could originally have been speaking of the "Servant of God" in the sense of Isa. 42:1 (Heb. *'abdî*, my Servant); yet this question remains open (see 3, below).

(b) The concept "Son of God", which is not used in this form by Jesus himself, is the essential confessional term of early Christianity (→ Confess). It is firmly rooted in → baptism, in preaching and in confessions (Acts 8:37 *v.l.*; 9:20; 13:33; Rom. 1:3 f.) and points back to the founding of the community and the event of Easter. Its close connexion with the confession of Jesus as messiah suggests that this sonship refers back to 2 Sam. 7:12, 14 (a royal title; cf. R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, I, 1952, 50). This traces the messianic element in Jesus' preaching back to the Davidic tradition. On the other hand, Lk. 4:18 f. (cf. Isa. 61:1–2) shows that the messianic element in Jesus' message is related to a particular endownment with the Spirit.

This problem was taken up by M. A. Chevalier (*L'Esprit et le Messie dans le Bas-Judaïsme et le Nouveau Testament*, 1958). He is anxious to show an original association of Ps. 2 and Isa. 11:1–10. This cannot, indeed, be detected in rabbinic Judaism, but is presupposed in apocalyptic texts and in the NT. This original messianic tradition which brought Ps. 2 and Isa. 11:1–10 together has also left its mark on the preaching of the Baptist. The gifts of the Spirit have an immediate point of contact with Isa. 11:2: the messiah is fully endowed with God's Spirit. Then the tradition breaks up: (a) the messiah will judge by the breath of his mouth or by fire (Isa. 11:4); (b) Jesus himself conceived of himself as God's Servant, upon whom the Spirit of the Lord rests, in the sense of Isa. 42:1; 61:1 f.

The question whether the messianic and adoptionist element of Ps. 2:7 or the tradition in Isa. 42:1; 61:1 f. concerning the *'eḇeḏ* and the Spirit is primary in christology must surely be answered in favour of the latter. The heavenly voice of

Mk. 1:11 probably said: "Behold my servant whom I uphold, my chosen, in whom my soul delights; I have put My Spirit upon him, he will bring forth justice to the nations" (Isa. 42:1). It was a confirmation of the gift of the Spirit (but see further 3, below, and *pais theou* NT 1). We can thus draw a definite conclusion: Jesus is "Son" in his unique relation to God and his unique life of prayer, and he is *'ebed*, Servant of God, as the bearer of the message of the heavenly voice that called him. Both concepts designate a function and a task, a being in the presence of God.

2. *The Concept of Sonship in the Tradition of Lk. 10:21 f. par. Matt. 11:25 f.* In Lk. 10:21 f., Matt. 11:25 ff. we have a thanksgiving prayer of Jesus which consists of praise and a word of revelation; Matt. 11:28 f. adds an invitation in the style of Sir. 24:18 ff. (cf. here Gos. Thom. logion 90, 96:16–20). Opinions are particularly divided on the genuineness and the point of the middle section (Matt. 11:27; Lk. 10:22). Here we have four skilfully constructed clauses. The meaning is that the Father has handed over to the Son the full → revelation; "just as only a father really knows his son, so only a son really knows his father". The son alone is in the position to mediate this knowledge to others. The logion has its parallels in apocalyptic (Dan. 2:20–23; Eth. Enoch 37:4; 1QS 11:15–20; Heb. Enoch 48C, 7). One can compare Jn. 10:15 (on the whole subject cf. J. Jeremias, *The Prayers of Jesus, SBT* Second Series, 6, 1967, 48–52). Jeremias takes the article before "son" and "father" in Matt. 11:27 as a generic one (a statement of general experience: "just as only a father really knows his son"). But it is more likely that the first clause is normative for the following: in the transmission of the revelation the special understanding of the Father and the Son is fulfilled.

Irenaeus, *Haer.* 1, 13, 2 (ed. Harvey) records a unique old Aram. tradition preserved amongst the gnostic sect of the Marcosians: "O My Father, how your gracious favour rests on me." Jesus knew himself to be the "simple One of God" who separated himself from those learned in the law and in so doing experienced God's favour. It remains undecided whether or not the shorter text attested by Irenaeus is secondary. W. Grundmann suggests that "it is understandable that this saying which is opposed to any rigid supernatural christological ideas could not long be tolerated and was speedily altered, while, on the other hand, the quotation in Irenaeus is hard to explain as a rephrasing" (*Die Gotteskindschaft in der Geschichte Jesu*, 1938, 140).

Ever since the works of E. Norden (*Agnostos Theos*, 1913), T. Arvedson (*Das Mysterium Christi*, 1937) and A. J. Festugière ("Cadre de la mystique hellénistique", in *Aux Sources de la Tradition Chrétienne*, 1950, 74 ff.), this group of ideas has been deliberately assigned a place in Hellenistic style and language about revelation. Here too we can then speak of a *gnōsis* which is directed towards God and sees him as the One who bestows salvation; we can speak of a self-knowledge of man, who comes from God and returns to him, and of the disclosure of a way, of the means and the intermediaries, who will help one in ascending. But even if we cannot disentangle the thought-forms of Qumran (e.g. 1QS 9:18; CD 2:3) and Matt. 11:25–27 from Hellenistic presuppositions, yet the real content of the logion is Semitic. The *da'at*, knowledge, that it presupposes is neither speculative nor mystic (cf. Jeremias, op. cit., 45 ff.).

[I.H.M.] The Semitic character of the saying is further evident from its use of parallel clauses to express a reciprocal relationship, since the Semitic languages lack a reciprocal pronoun for "one another". The conceptual background is to be found

in Jewish wisdom teaching, which in turn is based on the OT (cf. Exod. 33:12 f.; Job 28:25–28; Pr. 8:22–30; Sir. 1:1–10; Bar. 3:27–28; Wis. 8:3 f.). The saying grounds Jesus' right to be the mediator of knowledge of God to men in the exclusive relationship which a son has with his father, and thus implicitly he claims a unique filial status. It fits in well with Jesus' other references to God as his Father, and should be regarded as authentic.

3. *The Voice at the Baptism according to Mk. 1:11 par. Lk. 3:22.* Perhaps the words of God recorded in all the Gospels in their accounts of the → baptism (Mk. 1:11 par.) form the real source of all the statements about the Son, the Servant, the Beloved or the elect One. Here Jesus had an experience of being called (→ Call), chosen and selected for a special task. It is important that the heavenly voice is associated with the gift of the Spirit. "Echoing voices were not an uncommon phenomenon among the Jews of those days, and frequently these voices were heard to utter verses from scripture" (D. Flusser, *Jesus*, 1969, 29). Hence we must examine the Sem. basis of this text which, as it stands, has been influenced by Hellenistic ideas. If the *'ebed* tradition is the original one, then *'ebed* is represented by *hyios* and the Heb. *bāḥîr* of Isa. 42:1 by *agapētos*, beloved (LXX *eklektos*, elect One; → Elect., art. *eklegomai* OT 2). This would mean that the *'ebed* tradition was normative for Jesus' life. His baptism was a token of his death (→ Cross, art. *stauros*) which he undertook for the → sins of the whole nation.

This leaves as yet unsolved the critical problem of the value of the reading of Lk. 3:22 D and Justin, where Ps. 2:7 is quoted verbatim ("You are my son, today have I begotten you") (on Ps. 2:7 cf. Acts 13:33; Heb. 1:5). This reading favours the Son-tradition. Gos. Heb. 2 has a variant: "My son, in all the prophets I was waiting for you to come that I might rest in you" (cf. Henn.-Schn., I, 161–164).

[I.H.M.] While it is possible that behind the baptismal saying there lies a use of *'ebed*, which was later understood in terms of divine sonship, it is more probable that the secondary text in Lk. 3:22 D Justin has correctly recognized the presence of an allusion to Ps. 2:7 which goes back to the earliest form of the saying. From the beginning the text confirmed God's recognition of Jesus as his Son (E. Schweizer, *TDNT* VIII 367 f.) but also as his Servant.

4. *The Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen (Mk. 12:1–12 par.).* Mk. too knows of the appearance of the Son as contrasted with the sending of servants prior to the eschatological age. In Mk. 12:1–12 par. Matt. 21:33–46, Lk. 20:9–19 the sending of the servants is followed by the sending of his son as the final, despairing expedient of the owner. But the tenants' resistance is not broken, but rather stiffened; they seize the son, kill him and throw him out of the vineyard. Since the servants' commission is indistinguishable from that of the "beloved son", the parable's meaning lies in the extreme crisis of the contemporary historical situation. The original parable was not allegorical.

J. Jeremias (*The Parables of Jesus*, 1963², 74 ff.) alludes to the revolutionary temper of the Galilean peasants towards their foreign landlords and to the zealotism indigenous in Galilee that had roused them. It is important to note that the owner apparently lived abroad and is perhaps even regarded as a foreigner. The tenants had in mind the legal enactment that under certain conditions the estate of a deceased man was regarded as property without an owner which anyone might appropriate; hence he who first seized possession had the prior claim. Jesus was contending against the

tenants of the vineyard and the leaders of the nation, saying that they had again and again acted rebelliously against God and they were even rejecting the final messenger of God.

The parable has been allegorized in the course of time. For its hearers the idea of the "Son of God" need not have been messianic ([Tr.] although this does not mean that Jesus was unaware of the deeper significance of his words). Jeremias assumes that the concept "Son of God" is not attested in pre-Christian Palestinian Jud. (interpolations in Eth. Enoch 105:2; 2 Esd. 7:28 f.; 13:32, 37, 52; 14:9). "A few infrequent occurrences of the designation of the Messiah as Son of God are first found in later rabbinical literature in agreement with Ps. 2:7" (Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus* 73, n. 1; SB III 19 f.; see, however OT 3 (a) above). Note too the text of Gos. Thom.: "Then the master sent his son. He said: 'Perhaps they will fear my son!' Since those peasants knew that he was the heir of the vineyard, they seized him and killed him. Whoever has ears let him hear" (logion 65). We have to distinguish between the original parable of Jesus and the early church's interpretation.

5. *The Logion concerning the Father's Private Knowledge of the Eschaton* (Mk. 13:32). A hard problem is posed by Mk. 13:32. An old Sem. tradition lies behind it, which perhaps read "not even the angels know it". Some scholars hold that the words, "nor the Son, but only the Father", were added later (cf. G. Dalman, *The Words of Jesus*, 1902, 194; Jeremias, *The Prayers of Jesus*, 37; on the argument, which remains unsettled, see B. M. F. van Iersel, *'Der Sohn' in den synoptischen Jesusworten, Supplements to NovT* 3, 1961, 117–123, who upholds the authenticity of the whole saying). On the parousia see Present, art. *The Parousia and Eschatology in the NT* 2 (a).

6. *The Midrash concerning Jesus' Early Life (Matt. 1:18 ff.; Lk. 2:1 ff.).* An older story about Jesus' birth has been elaborated in the manner of a midrash (cf. the use of scriptural quotations). Lk. 1:32 ff. contains a concept of sonship that is based primarily on 2 Sam. 7:12–16 and makes use of the idea of the Davidic sonship, but gives it a prophetic form. Matt.'s view is different: he calls the messianic child the "Son of God", quoting the scriptures of Hos. 11:1 (Matt. 2:15). In his eyes, the way to mankind led to Jesus as Israel's messiah. The Redeemer (→ Redemption, art. *sōzō*), as a second → Moses, must come out of → Egypt (→ Fullness, art. *plēroō* NT 1 (b)).

These stories usher in a new way of looking at Jesus' divine sonship. The OT traditions are still there, but are given a Hellenistic interpretation and are developed to include a begetting (→ Birth, art. *gennaō*) by God without any earthly father (but see below the art. on *The Virgin Birth*). This idea is also at home in certain Jewish circles (cf. Philo, *Cher.* 40–47: "the men to whose virtue the lawgiver has testified, such as Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Moses, . . . are not represented by him as knowing their wives"). The idea of an eschatological new creation by God (→ Creation, art. *ktisis*) recalls → Noah's birth; he was not like a man, but like the heavenly sons of God; he is not as we are (Eth. Enoch 106, 1QGenAp column 2; cf. on all this C. K. Barrett, *The Holy Spirit and the Gospel Tradition*, 1947, 18–24; D. Flusser, "Jesus in the Context of History", in A. Toynbee, ed., *The Crucible of Christianity*, 1969, 228 ff.).

[I.H.M.] The evidence for Jesus' own use of the term "Son" is thus comparatively small, and the main weight falls on Matt. 11:27 par. At the same time, however, the use of the title is found in statements addressed by others to Jesus. He is so

designated by the heavenly voice (Mk. 1:11; 9:7) and by evil powers (Matt. 4:3, 6; Mk. 3:11; 5:7). The temptation story is clearly meant to take up the ascription of sonship found in the baptismal narrative. Jesus refuses to misuse his relationship with God for his own ends. The words of the demons may reflect popular belief that miracle workers and exorcisers had a special relationship with God.

7. *Pre-Pauline Traditions and the Pauline Message.* W. Kramer (*Christ, Lord, Son of God, SBT* 50, 1966, 183) rightly distinguishes "Son of God" formulae which Paul quotes or adopts (6 passages: Rom. 1:4; 8:3, 32; Gal. 2:20; 4:4 f.; 1 Thess. 1:10) and his own formulations (9 passages: 1 Cor. 1:9; 15:28; 2 Cor. 1:19; Gal. 1:16; 4:6; Rom. 1:3, 9; 5:10; 8:29). Statements involving "Christ" or → "Lord" (*kyrios*) predominate. It is striking how much Paul has made use of existing material. But it is still an open question how much importance attaches to these "Son" statements. Obviously they imply Jesus' legitimation, his relation to God and his representation of God as his envoy. But it is doubtful whether Kramer (op. cit., 189) is right in claiming that the title and the concept of the Son of God are only of secondary importance for Paul (cf. M. Hengel, op. cit., 7–15). The confession of Jesus as messiah and the acclamation of him as *kyrios* are christologically independent themes, but the concept of him as "son of God" presupposes, not particular formulae, but complete statements.

(a) The twofold statement of Rom. 1:3–4 speaks of an enthronement and presupposes Pss. 2:7 and 110:1 ff. Resurrection and enthronement thus coincide in history. Both forms of existence, sonship of David and sonship of God, describe life on earth and in heaven; the second form of existence transcends the first but is not opposed to it. The addition "in power" perhaps applies to the divine sonship and could have a doxological purpose. This twofold statement uses Jewish material and can be assigned to the Aram.-speaking early church. They wanted thereby to show Jesus' importance rather than to describe the saving event.

(b) The appearance of statements about the sending of Jesus in Gal. 4:4 f. and Rom. 8:3 also seems to be pre-Pauline. One can discern here a formal scheme which can also be detected in the Johannine literature, though in a modified form (Jn. 3:17; 1 Jn. 4:9, 10, 14). The following final clauses (*hina*, so that) are characteristic: they give the main purpose of the sending. Behind this originally lay the scheme of the eschatological messenger who surpasses Moses (Deut. 18:15; Jn. 17:3).

E. Schweizer (*TDNT* VIII 374–6) assumes that statements in Hellenistic Judaism about → Wisdom (a power sent from God, Wisdom, Logos) are to be regarded as the basis of the Pauline and Johannine idea of pre-existence. The NT sending-formulae in any case are firmly rooted in time and history. That a gnostic redeemer myth can hardly be presupposed is shown by the fact that the "Son" title in the formulae of sending is not combined with exaltation or ascension (loc. cit., 375, n. 299).

(c) The giving or giving up of the Son (→ Judgment, art. *paradidōmi*; → Suffer; Rom. 4:25; 8:32; Jn. 3:16) probably also belongs to pre-Pauline material. The verb *paradidonai* that appears here could just as well be interpreted on the basis of the Passion-story as on the analogy of the sending-formula ("give" meaning "send"). The example of → Abraham, the patriarch who did not withhold his son (Gen. 22:12, 16), may also have played a part here. We have here a *kērygma* which is still influenced by old Sem. ideas of the rights of a messenger. It is concerned with God's decisive action as he commissions and authorizes his Son; he takes upon himself the

→ suffering of his Son and gives this suffering an ultimate significance as the expression of his Fatherly love.

It is not enough to ask where these statements of pre-existence originated; we must also ask in what circles these statements were current. Probably they belong to the missionary preaching and instruction of the Hellenistic Diaspora, since the problem of Israel is side-stepped in this material and the mission to mankind is in the foreground. Yet the main thing is the OT and Jewish background of this material. The "Son" is the One who carried out the divine purpose and not a Hellenistic hero or the mediator of divine powers.

(d) The summary of the old Gentile-Christian missionary *kērygma* in 1 Thess. 1:9 f. also seems to be pre-Pauline. It is probably built on a call to repentance (→ Conversion) and an expectation of salvation: it recalls elements of the Baptist's preaching of impending wrath (Matt. 3:7; Rom. 5:9). The resurrection serves as a pledge of future salvation. Probably the idea of Jesus' sonship appears as part of the *kērygma* in place of the tradition about the Son of man.

Kramer (op. cit., 123 ff.) suggests that we have here Aram. Jewish-Christian material which has been adapted into the Hellenistic *kērygma*. He points out that statements about the Son of God were not at first connected with the parousia.

(e) Earlier material is likewise found in the apocalyptic passage, 1 Cor. 15:23–28. Passages in the Pss. like 8:6(7) and 110:1 show the biblical material that is the basis of the christological affirmations here. In particular the absolute use of "the Son" characterizes this apocalyptic passage (v. 28). He takes on features which elsewhere indicate the designation "Son of man" (cf. Ps. 8). What is important here is his obedience towards the → "Father" and Creator.

(f) These pre-Pauline statements concerning the "Son of God" lead us not only to the heart of old credal formulations but also to the *kērygma* of the mission in the Diaspora. Paul himself not only handed down the statements that he found, but also gave them a soteriological interpretation and subordinated them to his preaching of the cross. The close connexion between the "Son" and the "sons", the superiority of the image of Christ and his form, and the son's right of succession are important elements in the doctrine of salvation; yet when they are adopted for preaching in Hellenistic circles they are thereby given ontological implications which could displace the emphasis on the functional purpose of the concept (cf. Phil. 2:5–11; Rom. 8:3).

(g) [I.H.M.] It is interesting that the only two references to the "Son" in Acts (9:20; 13:33 [Ps. 2:7 LXX]) both associate the term with the preaching of Paul. Clearly Luke regarded it as distinctive of Paul's christology. Although the term is infrequent compared with other christological titles, M. Hengel (op. cit., 7–15) has demonstrated that Paul kept it for use at the climax of theological statements and that he used it to demonstrate the close bond between Jesus and God in virtue of which Jesus is the mediator of salvation. Thus it is the Son who is the theme of the gospel (Rom. 1:3, 9), and it is by means of this title that Paul emphasizes the supreme value of the death of the One who stood closest to God as the means of reconciling men with God (Rom. 5:10; 8:32; Gal. 2:20; Col. 1:13 f.). The same idea is used to express the closeness of Jesus to God and appears when Jesus is described as being in the form or image of God and as his Firstborn. It should be noted that for Paul Jesus was God's Son during his earthly life, and that it was as God's Son that

he died. Consequently, he did not cease to be divine in his earthly existence, and his self-emptying cannot mean that he gave up his divine nature to assume human nature. The statements in → Empty, art. *kenos* NT 3, and → Form, art. *morphē* NT 1, are open to misinterpretation in this respect. It is better to say, "He emptied Himself in that He took the servant's form. . . ; and this necessarily involved an eclipsing of His glory as the divine Image in order that He might come, in human flesh, as the Image of God incarnate" (R. P. Martin, *Carmen Christi*, 1967, 194).

It is, then, all the more remarkable that Paul can speak of Christians as the sons of God (Rom. 8:14, 19; 9:26; 2 Cor. 6:18; Gal. 3:26; 4:6 f.) and claim that their destiny is conformity to the image of God's Son (Rom. 8:29); they are to share the glory of the exalted Son and must pattern their lives on his holy, sinless life.

8. *The Son of God in the Johannine Literature.* The tension between ontological overtones and functional purpose is clearly visible in the Johannine literature where, especially in the letters, the statements about the Son of God are of especial importance. In the Fourth Gospel, the sending of Jesus is a firm foundation for the doctrine of salvation. One believes and recognizes God and him whom he has sent (Jn. 17:3; cf. Num. 16:28). This statement about his being sent has its explicit purpose in showing Jesus' status as Son (K. H. Rengstorf, *TDNT* I 445). It is a matter of God's decisive act in commissioning and authorizing his Son – but the Son therefore makes the same claims and has the same rights as the Father (Jn. 5:23: the Father who has sent him). Here we are confronted with a particular interpretation of an older *kērygma.*

(a) Jn. 3:35 describes the Son's authority to teach and to act. The Father loves him (i.e. chooses him) and has placed all in his hands. The structure of the logion points to an Aram. original (cf. Matt. 11:27; Lk. 10:22). The Fourth Evangelist interprets this authority (Jn. 5:22: judgment over all flesh; 5:26: to have life in himself; 12:49: the command as to what he should say; 17:11 f.: the name which God has given him). It is the authority (→ Might, art. *exousia*) of One who is commissioned and executes justice. Hence the Son can do nothing by himself but always looks at what the Father is doing (5:19; 7:18). His work is the execution of a commission from which he does not deviate in the least. The authority of the Father is, on the one hand, a once-for-all act in the past and, on the other hand, a continuous activity in the present; it is on the latter that the main emphasis lies. 6:40 expressly says that God's purpose is to draw men into an encounter with the Son and so to faith. Only thus is eschatological (i.e. blessed, perfect) life achieved.

Hence, it is inadvisable to interpret Jn. on the basis of the ideas of gnostic mythology (R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 1971, 42 ff.). Christ is not for the evangelist an intermediate being who is at the same time both a cosmological and a soteriological figure. Nevertheless, the evangelist does think in terms typical of the Hellenistic *kērygma.* Bultmann also holds that God himself is present in the Son as in his copy (op. cit., 165 n. 1; derivation of the Father-Son relationship from Platonic, Hermetic and gnostic elements). "Nevertheless this interpretation remains in the sphere of mythology, which John reinterprets in accordance with his idea of revelation: that is, that in Jesus we encounter God himself, his words are God's words" (165 ff. n. 3). On his existential interpretation, "whoever is directed to the Son can be sure of having for himself the Father who loves the Son, and can be sure of encountering in him the omnipotence of God himself" (165 f.). It is the work of the exalted

One that creates certainty and not the faith of man that is directed towards the exalted One.

Yet we must assume that Jn. was speaking in a Hellenistic world, where the consciousness of philosophers (Epictetus *Dissertationes* 1, 24, 6) and gnostics (Iren., *Haer.* 1, 17, 1 (ed. Harvey)) of having been sent played a significant part.

(b) In contrast, Jn. developed the early church's baptismal confession; he takes over the confession (Jn. 20:31; cf. Acts 8:37), "Jesus is the messiah, the Son of God" (cf. the addition in Jn. 11:27: "who comes into the world"). This baptismal confession is also in view, when Jn. speaks of "faith" in the name of the Son of God" (Jn. 1:12; 3:18). Part of faith is the deliberate saying of Jesus' name as a confession and a testimony. 1 Jn. 4:15 and 5:5 portray the same thing. The absolute use of "the Son" is typical of John; but he also uses it with the gen. (1 Jn. 1:3, 7: "his Son"), when speaking of God the Father and Jesus.

The old Sem. functional ideas (commissioning and obedience) are supplemented and supplanted in Jn. by a different structure of thought which we must call oriental (as opposed to western). This oriental way of thought is not theoretical and does not speak in terms of possession, but it is practical and direct and speaks in terms of a participation in being. The commissioning and obedience are still Jn.'s starting-point, but their fulfilment leads to sharing in → truth and → light. Can we say that already in Jn. the terminology is used "formally" and has "become a cipher" (E. Schweizer, *TDNT* VIII 387)?

(c) [I.H.M.] The title "Son of God" is clearly fundamental in John's christology, and is used to express a number of basic convictions about Jesus. (1) It expresses the metaphysical or essential relationship between Jesus and his Father. So close is the link between them that to deny the Son is to deny the Father (1 Jn. 2:22 f.). Father and Son belong inseparably to each other (Jn. 1:18; 5:23; 1 Jn. 1:3; 5:20). The Son is pre-existent (Jn. 3:17; 11:27; 1 Jn. 3:8; 4:9–14). He is God's "only" Son, a term which expresses the special love between the Father and Jesus. (2) The NT in general does not speculate on the origin of the Son, and the use of the terminology of Sonship is not meant to encourage such speculation, but to draw out the nature of the relationship between Jesus and God; this relationship is one of mutual love (Jn. 3:35; 5:20) and of filial obedience (Jn. 5:19). (3) The Son shares the functions of the Father, especially as the judge and the bringer of life (Jn. 5:17–30). (4) The Son mediates between God and men. He was given by the Father in order that men might be saved (Jn. 3:16). While in the world, he remains in constant communion with the Father (Jn. 1:18; 3:13; 8:29; 16:32) and is thus able to reveal the Father to men. The title "Son" expresses above all the fact that Jesus is the Saviour. It had "messianic" associations, and in 1 Jn. it is close in meaning to "messiah", but for John, Jesus is the Saviour particularly because of his metaphysical relationship with God (Jn. 11:41; 12:27 f.; 17:1). This is why he is so concerned to emphasize the real and lasting nature of the incarnation (2 Jn. 7–11). See C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, 1953, 250–262; R. Schnackenburg, *Das Johannesevangelium*, II, 1971, 150–163.

(d) The problem of the idea of "sons of God" in Sem. thought is identical with that of "children of God" (→ Child); it is only in the Hellenistic tradition that the distinction arises between the "Son" of doctrinal statements and the children who become such through → faith and → baptism (Jn. 1:12; 1 Jn. 3:1, 10). Apart from this

the Qumran antithesis between the "sons of light" and the "sons of darkness" also has a part to play in Johannine thought.

(i) Jn. 1:12 speaks of the "authority" to become God's children (*tekna theou*) and 1 Jn. 3:1 of the gift of the name of "child" ("we are called"). From this gift proceeds our "being" ("and such we are").

(ii) The authority or gift of childhood is understood as a "begetting of God" (Jn. 1:13; 3:3; 1 Jn. 2:29; 3:9 f.; 4:7; 5:1, 4, 18). This process is the product of the "Spirit" or the receiving of baptism ("water and Spirit", Jn. 3:5). Here we have a pre-Johannine tradition which is didactically developed in a certain way (1 Jn. 2:29: "who does righteousness").

(iii) This new "being" is meant to include a "being determined by . . ." and hence a process of separation from evil, a recognition of the obedience required by God in the face of the eschatological → righteousness ("who does righteousness").

R. Schnackenburg (*Die Johannesbriefe*, 1963², Excursus 8, 175–183) gives us the material concerning being a child of God and begetting by God and decides that "being a child of God is, however, nothing natural, but belongs to the supernatural, divine realm" (175). There may be some contact with the mysteries' idea of renewal and with gnostic texts. The gnostic is by nature a spiritual man (*physei pneumatikos*, of spiritual nature) and he is transformed by *gnōsis*, even if he dresses this up in a sacramental ritual. He recalls his spiritual nature that has been there all along (R. Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, 1927³, 53 ff.). On the other hand, Jn. does not think in terms of natural processes but starts from the uniqueness of the Spirit of God and God's power. The new being must be conceived eschatologically and not analogically (*pace* Schnackenburg).

R. Bultmann (*The Johannine Epistles*, *Hermeneia*, 1973, 45–47) compares 1 Jn. with Corp. Herm. XIII 14 and the process of the coming into being of essence (*ousiōdēs genesis*). We should not overlook its kinship with gnostic religion, but Jn. thinks of renewal as an eschatological event.

Probably the correlation of Jn. with Jewish thought goes a stage further (cf. F. Nötscher, *Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumran-Texte*, 1956, 148: "Eternal life is a sort of participation in the divine life, since God or Christ are alone fully possessed of life and are thereby the sole bestowers of life"; Jn. 5:21; cf. 11:25; 14:6). But we should not think of this in the categories of "spiritualizing" and "internalizing", but in terms of a continuation of the eschatological perspective.

9. *The Son of God in Hebrews.* We meet the absolute use of the name "Son" in Hebrews (Heb. 1:2, 8; 3:6; 5:8; 7:28); this has been influenced by the old Palestinian and Jewish-Christian usage (the emphasis on the son's position in God's house, the son as heir). We also meet "Son of God" as an official rank where the early Christian baptismal confession has left its mark (4:14; 6:6; 7:3; 10:29). It is very reticent about God's position as Father (1:5; 12:7, 9); this rests on an old tradition. Older traditional material is discernible in Heb. 1:2 f. (cf. Col. 1:15–17), which belongs to the world of the Hellenistic community.

It is striking how the two statements are juxtaposed in Heb. 1:2: He is heir (→ Inheritance, art. *klēros* NT 2) of all and he is the mediator of creation. In Hellenistic Christianity, the "Son" of the Palestinian Jewish tradition was regarded as the "copy" of the invisible God (Col. 1:15 f.) and the features of Wisdom were attributed to him (cf. Wis. 7:25 f.). This juxtaposition of historical and metaphysical elements is

expressed in the fact that the historical process is described in the aorist (1:1 f., 3 f.) and the metaphysical in the present (1:3). Hence we have here deliberate statements about being.

10. *The Son of God in Revelation.* In Revelation the concept "Son of God" appears in Rev. 2:18. It is there Christ's name for himself; according to 2:23 he shares in God's activity of → judgment (art. *krima*) (cf. Jer. 17:10); he grants the believer a share in his dominion over the nations (with Rev. 2:26 f.; cf. Ps. 27:8 f.). It is significant that the authority of the "Son of God" is described in OT terms. This is the only instance of the title in Rev.

11. *The Trinitarian Formula.* The triadic confessional formula "Father, Son and Holy Spirit" in Matthew 28:19 recalls the absolute use of the name "Son". The formula is a brief summary of the saving event, of catechesis and of the authorization for the baptism of the nations. That it is an old one is shown by Did. 7:3 and Justin, *Apol.* I 61, 3. Matt. is associated with a practice of baptism that is concerned to show that it has the highest and completest authority for its activities.

Some scholars think that the shorter form in Eusebius, which omits the command to baptize with its triadic formula, is original: "Go and make all nations disciples in my name, teach them to hold fast all that I have commanded you" (*Hist. Eccl.* 3, 5, 2). The command to baptize in the triune name occurs, however, in Did. 7:1–3. Perhaps we should not overlook the influence of Isa. 42:1 on the original form of this text: "Behold my servant, whom I uphold, my chosen, in whom my soul delights; I have put my spirit upon him, he will bring forth justice to the nations" (on this whole passage see F. C. Conybeare, "The Eusebian Form of the Text Matt. 28:19", *ZNW* 2, 1901, 275–288; H. Kosmala, "The Conclusion of Matthew", *ASTI* 4, 1965, 132–147; G. R. Beasley-Murray, *Baptism in the New Testament*, 1962, 77–92).

The self-designation "the Son" is especially important amongst the christological statements because it traces back the call, the election and the claims of Jesus to God himself and thus authenticates them. *O. Michel*

υἱὸς Δαυίδ

υἱὸς Δαυίδ (*hyios Dauid*), Son of David.

OT 1. "Son of David" is a NT predicate of Jesus that has a long tradition behind it in the OT and in the traditions of Judaism. This tradition is not derived from a late theological reflection, but points back to a historical event that is connected with the person of → David.

(a) Nathan's promise in 2 Sam. 7:12–16 is fundamental: (1) the raising up of a successor to David from his offspring; (2) the confirmation of his "house" and kingdom for ever. It is the basis for Pss. 2:7; 89:4; 132:11 (covenant-making and oath). Yet we see here (cf. Pss. 110:1 f.; 45:7) how the promise to David, which is the one decisive point in the Israelite monarchy, is associated with all the characteristic features of that view of kingship that was common to the East; the king is a "child of God" and as his assistant shares in the divine dominion over the world. 2 Sam. 7:14 may have been inserted later.

(b) Some prophets also presuppose this promise made to David and give it a future interpretation in terms of eschatology and the messianic hope: Isa. 9:6(5) f. (peace, justice and righteousness are seen as the characteristic conditions brought by

the messianic salvation); 11:1 ff. (shoot from the stock of Jesse, bestowal of the Spirit of the Lord, judgment with the "rod of his mouth", righteousness and faithfulness as signs of his dominion). Just as God's Spirit once rested upon David, so the new ruler, a second David, will be equipped with the Spirit of Yahweh. His wisdom and understanding are stressed, and justice and righteousness are the consequences of the appearance of this king. The Israelite recollection of David and Solomon is not lost sight of, but the influence of oriental kingship ideology now shows itself. The emphasis is upon this eschatological hope of salvation which transcends all human standards. Jer. 23:5 expressly mentions the "righteous branch" of David who will act in wisdom, justice and righteousness (30:9; 33:15).

Ezek. 34:23 and 37:24 make use of the image of the shepherd for their prophetic description: "I will set over them only one shepherd, who will tend them, my servant David." Isa. 55:3 explicitly refers to the "eternal covenant" and the realization of the "inalienable gifts of grace" promised to David; thus it gives an answer full of promise to the nation's complaint that its history is no longer favoured by God's gracious care (Ps. 89). This "eternal covenant" is also the beginning of salvation for the nation. Zech. 3:8 and 6:12 promise the "Servant" and "Branch": "for under him it will shoot up, and he will build the temple of the Lord." Obviously the blessing of the "house of David" and the inhabitants of Jerusalem are joined together in this messianic material (Zech. 12:8, 10; 13:1).

(c) A messianic sense is clear in Gen. 49:9 f. ("lion of Judah") and Num. 24:17 ("star of Jacob"), yet there seems to be no connexion with the promise of the "kingdom of the son of David". It is important that Isa. 11:1–10 and Mic. 5 presuppose that Yahweh once more starts his messianic work anew; both prophets look to the family whence David came and expect a completely new start in place of the ruling descendants of David. "The fact that they so expressly look for salvation in the anointed one of the future is tantamount to saying that the contemporary descendants of David have lost their saving function so emphatically attributed to them in the royal psalms" (G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, II, 1965, 171).

2. Later Judaism also took up the promise of a son of David with modifications of it in all sorts of ways in order to enable it to put up with its political oppression and its distress through its relationship to God.

(a) In the Wisdom literature, Sir. 47:11 and 1 Macc. 2:57 allude to the permanency of the throne or the throne fixed for eternity. Pss. Sol. 17 uses "Son of David" as a fixed messianic term. In a period when the Hasmonaeans were making messianic claims for themselves and were appropriating the glory of the priesthood, the old Davidic promises were revived. This Pharisaic psalm goes back to the old messianic tradition (2 Sam. 7:14; Isa. 9:6; 11:1, 10; Ps. 2:9). It is a time of affliction: the one who offers this prayer directs his prayer to God and holds him to his promise. He expects a change in which the dominion of the Gentiles will be broken and the pollution of sinners will be done away with. The messiah's appearance marks the beginning of the gathering of a holy nation, a dominion over the Gentiles and the establishment of righteousness. This (political) psalm fits into the period in Jerusalem's history prior to 63 B.C. and discloses the viewpoint of the Pharisees at that time. Thus the "Son of David" is to renew the dominion of David but in the way in which the Pharisaic party think of the coming of the messianic age. What a → Pharisee expects is clear from v. 35 f. (32): "But he rules over them as a righteous

king, instructed by God, and in his days no injustice shall be done amongst them for they are all holy and their king is the Lord's Anointed."

(b) Although messianic claims could be made for men of non-Davidic origin, the rabbis not only emphasized the "king, the messiah", but also the "Son of David" (cf. the discussion in T. J. Ta'an. 4:68d:44; SB I 13).

(c) The Qumran sect expected three future persons who would bring salvation: a prophet (→ Elijah or → Moses), and, in addition to the Davidic messiah, a priestly one who seems to have had the first place in this trio. 4Qflor 1:7 ff. finds in the key words "house" and "sanctuary" and "rest" of 2 Sam. 7:11–14 a messianic connexion: it involves the promise of the "establishment" of the seed of David and of the "throne of his kingdom". God will be a father to him and he will be a son to God. "That is the shoot of David who will appear with the Interpreter of the Law" (1:11). Just afterwards the text of 4Qflor 1:12 refers to Amos 9:11 ("I will establish again the fallen booth of David"; cf. Acts 15:16). This is treated allegorically in CD 7:15: "the books of the Law are the booth". 4Qpatr 1–4 confirms the connexion (2 Sam. 7:14 is interpreted with the aid of Gen. 49:10): as long as Israel has dominion none will be cut off who is enthroned over it, who belongs to the house of David. "For the staff of the king is the covenant of the king's rule"; "until the Anointed One of righteousness comes, the shoot of David" (cf. Jer. 23:5; 33:15; 4Qflor 1:11). The style is reminiscent of the Psalms (e.g. Ps. 89: God's covenant and oath to David, his elect one). 4QpIsa[a] quotes Isa. 11:1–4 and interprets this messianic passage of the Davidic ruler of the end-time. CD 7:18–20 refers to Num. 24:17 and interprets the sceptre of the "prince of the whole community" and the star of the "Interpreter of the Law". Likewise 1QM 11:6 and 4Qtest 12 refer back to Num. 24:17. The sceptre is again an allusion to the Davidic prince. 1QSb 5:20 ff. contains a series of benedictions that are based upon OT promises (Isa. 11:2 ff.; Mic. 4:13; 7:10; Gen. 49:9). Here the functions of the messiah are indicated with the help of the OT quotations; they include the "establishment of the nation's dominion". Hence, we can see in the Qumran literature a similar messianic tradition to that of the Psalms of Solomon (cf. 2 Sam. 7:12–16; Isa. 11:1–5).

This shows both the points of contact and the differences in relation to the NT: Qumran held different messianic expectations (and speaks of the anointed ones of Aaron and Israel), but early Christianity traced certain messianic features in the person of Jesus; these were, however, controversial and constantly took on new forms. Hence the messianic elements are formed into a christology. Test. Jud. 24:4–6 connects the shoot and the sceptre of the kingdom of Isa. 11:1 and Gen. 49:10; the promise here has a universal ring. 2 Esd. 12:31 mentions the "lion", which, it is pointed out in v. 22, is the "Anointed" (→ Jesus Christ, art. *Christos* οτ) of the line of David (Gen. 49:9). He will call men to account and will redeem the survivors of the nation. It is particularly stressed that the Most High "keeps" the messiah till the end of days.

(d) The literature of prayers has an important place here. God is called upon to have mercy on the kingdom of the house of David (Eighteen Benedictions, Petition 14), or to intervene on behalf of the shoot of David (Petition 15, Bab. recension). The rabbinic tradition speaks of the "Son of man" as messiah (T. J. Ta'an. 4:68d:44; cf. SB I 13) and of the coming "David" or the coming "Servant of David" (Tg. Ezek. 34:23 f.; cf. SB II 337). These formulations are culled straight from the OT promises

or the literature of prayers. They often presuppose the ruin of the nation and the world, the decline of religion and morality.

(e) [I.H.M.] It is possible that the title "Son of David" was understood particularly in terms of the character of Solomon who had a reputation for wisdom and even for power over evil spirits (Josephus, *Ant.* 8, 44–49; Testament of Solomon). The evidence is sparse, but it would certainly explain why the title "Son of David" is connected with exorcisms and healings in the Gospels (K. Berger, *NTS* 20, 1973–74, 3–9).

NT On a number of occasions, the NT presupposes that Jesus of Nazareth belongs genealogically to the line of David and that this descent from David was a messianic element in his history.

1. The credal formulae of Rom. 1:3–4 and 2 Tim. 2:8 presuppose that descent from David (a messianic element) and divine sonship, based on his resurrection from the dead (enthronement), are two stages in an old christology.

In Rom. 1:3–4, Paul quotes a confession handed down to him from the Palestinian community: the gospel concerns the "Son" (Mk. 1:11; 9:7) who was descended from the seed of David according to the flesh, but who has been installed as "Son of God" in power according to the Spirit of holiness through the resurrection from the dead. Here are described two consecutive episodes in Jesus' history according to God's plan of salvation: on earth he appears as the "Son of David" and so his destiny is indicated; by the resurrection, on the other hand, he is enthroned as the heavenly messiah in accordance with Ps. 110:1. Attention is centred on his messiahship and divine sonship and these are defined with reference to the resurrection. Sonship of David carries within itself a historical reference, but at the same time it points away to the expectation of the messianic hope (cf. *hyios tou Theou* NT 7 (c)).

2. The speeches in Acts distinguish between David who died and the "Holy One" who has been raised from the dead and who does not see corruption (Acts 2:27; 13:37, quoting Ps. 16:20). The quotation from Amos 9:11 f. in Acts 15:16 f. refers to the establishment of the booth of David and a new era of salvation for the → remnant of Israel (LXX or testimony tradition). The original promise (cf. CD 7:16; 4Qflor 1:12 f.) seems to have been refashioned in a Hellenistic way in conformity with Lk.'s concept of salvation. The promise of the "Son of David" is certainly presupposed, but it is not explicitly mentioned.

3. (a) The structure of Mark's Gospel corresponds to the confession of Rom. 1:3–4: the messiah (i.e. Son of David) is the "Son of God" to whom the evangelist bears witness. Mk. 12:35–37 (par. Matt. 22:41–46, Lk. 20:41–44) records a discussion which raises the question of the relation of the "Son of David" to "David's Lord" (according to Ps. 110:1; → Lord, art. *kyrios* NT 3 (b)). The answer is in accord with the later confession of Rom. 1:3–4: the "Son of David" must be exalted. That Mk. confirms that Jesus is a son of David is shown by the mode of address in Mk. 10:48 ([I.H.M.] cf. Test. Sol. 20:1).

[I.H.M.] The pericope is frequently regarded as a creation of the early church, even as a means of defending the claims of a Jesus who was not a lineal descendant of David to be the messiah. But there is no evidence that the Davidic descent of Jesus was ever doubted. The question is presented in a way which avoids explicitly identifying Jesus as the Son of David – which fits in with Jesus' careful avoidance of titles

that might be misunderstood. It juxtaposes two apparently conflicting statements based on Scripture and asks how they are to be reconciled. The messiah can be both a descendant of David and David's lord by virtue of his exaltation; the messiah is not merely a descendant of David but also the Son of God (cf. 2 Sam. 7:12–16), or possibly the Son of man. The objections to the authenticity of the saying are unconvincing (cf. I. H. Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, 1978, on 20:41–44).

(b) Matthew gives especial weight to Jesus' Davidic descent and heightens the way in which he is thus addressed and acclaimed (9:27; 12:23; 15:22; 20:30; 21:9, 15; 22:42, 45). A comparison with the text of Mk. shows the particularly strong echoes of salvation history in this emphasis on the descent from David ([Tr.] which appears in the stories of healing and of the messianic entry into Jerusalem). In the preface Jesus is described as "messiah" (*Christos*), "son of David" and "son of Abraham" (1:1); this indicates that his origin, and also his position in salvation history, is a theme of the whole book.

In Matt. 1:20 Joseph too, the father of Jesus, "Mary's husband" (1:16), is called "son of David"; this shows that the genealogical sense of the phrase has not been relinquished. In Judaism it had above all a legal significance: recognition by the father determined the succession (SB I 35). The degree to which this genealogy set forth Jesus' claim to a place in salvation history is shown by the structure of the family tree with its 3 groups of 14 members; in 1 Chr. 2:1 ff. and Ruth 4:18 ff. fourteen names are listed between Abraham and David. Matt. deliberately fits Jesus' messianic status into Israel's history and thereby emphazises his claims.

(c) It is significant that the Lucan birth-narrative presupposes our tradition of Jesus' Davidic sonship ("house of David", 1:27, 69; "city of David", 2:4, 11; "throne of David", 1:32), but only cautiously implies it (2:11). That Luke admits it genealogically is clear from the family tree (3:31). It is striking how Jesus is acclaimed as "King" by the lips of the Jewish people (19:38; 23:2): this draws out the full implications of the motif of Davidic sonship (cf. Jn. 12:13). It is easy to discern how Lk. wrestles with a particular body of Jewish material.

4. The Johannine tradition puts Jewish messianic questions to the tradition about Jesus: (a) when the messiah comes no one will know whence he comes (Jn. 7:27); (b) the messiah is of the line of David, from → Bethlehem, David's home (7:42). These objections levelled by Judaism can appeal to the OT (origins in Bethlehem) or given tradition (hiddenness of the messiah: 2 Esd. 7:28; 13:25, Syr. Bar. 29:3). It is not that the tradition is false, for it corresponds to statements which are also possible within the tradition about Jesus; but the evangelist is aware of a fact that is not within the scope of the tradition; the statements of the tradition cannot adequately accommodate the Christ whom he confesses. The title of honour "Son of David" does not occur in the Fourth Gospel in so many words; the confession of Jewish Christianity rather refers to the "king of Israel" (Jn. 1:49; 12:13; 19:19; cf. the interpretation in 18:37).

There is an archaic ring about Rev. 5:5 (cf. Gen. 49:9 f.; Isa. 11:1, 10) and Rev. 22:16 (cf. Isa. 11:1, 10; Num. 24:17), which is reminiscent of the messiah *ben Dāwîḏ* of the OT and the Qumran tradition. ([I.H.M.] Cf. Rev. 3:7 where Christ holds the key of David (Isa. 22:22) which controls entry to the heavenly banqueting hall; → Open, art. *kleis*.) The Jewish-Christian tradition has here been worked into the Johannine Christology.

5. [I.H.M.] The title "Son of David" thus sums up the NT confession of Jesus as a descendant of David who fulfils the promise of the coming of an anointed king, and who is the glorious antitype of both David and his son, Solomon. This messianic hope is fulfilled in Jesus' birth as the adopted son of Joseph at Bethlehem, in his works of mercy and healing, and in his entry to Jerusalem. Although the title is inadequate to convey the high status of the One who is David's (and everyman's) Lord, nevertheless it remains a fitting title for the exalted Son of God in whose possession is the key to the heavenly banquet.

6. In the patristic tradition, things are complicated by the interplay of later christological controversies. Ignatius is fond of citing the confession of Jesus as being of the seed or race of David (Ign., *Smy.* 1:1; *Rom.* 7:3; *Eph.* 18:2; 20:2; *Trall.* 9:1). He is here interested in a real man as opposed to docetism. On the other hand, Barn. 12:10 understands the Synoptic question about the relation of "David's Son" and "David's Lord" (Matt. 22:42–44) in a negative way; the passage of scripture means to say expressly that Jesus is not David's son, but his Lord. The Epistle is not dispensing with Jesus' humanity, but is opposing a Jewish-Christian view that regarded him as a "man born of men" (Justin, *Dial.* 47 ff.). Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 3, 19–20, 8; 3, 32, 3 ff., tells of the members of Jesus' family who, because of their membership of the house of David, are placed in serious jeopardy in the reign of Domitian. Hegesippus (quoted by Eusebius) says: "But there still survived of the family of the Lord the grandsons of Jude, his brother after the flesh, as he was called. They were informed against as being of the family of David." The old genealogical problem did not die out in the church; Hegesippus' account can hardly be doubted. *O. Michel*

The Genealogies of Jesus Christ

In the only comprehensive study of the subject of biblical genealogies, M. D. Johnson concludes that the genealogical form could be used as an alternative to narrative or poetic forms of expression as one of several methods of writing history and of conveying the theological and nationalistic concerns of a people (*The Purpose of Biblical Genealogies, with Special Reference to the Setting of the Genealogies of Jesus, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series* 8, 1969).

Old Testament. In the OT the following functions are suggested (*art. cit.*, 77–82):

1. To demonstrate existing relations between Israel and neighbouring tribes by tracing them back to common patronyms, thus establishing a degree of kinship and at the same time a degree of distinction between Israel and her neighbours.

2. To interrelate previously isolated elements concerning Israelite origins by the creation of a coherent and inclusive genealogical system.

3. To establish (by 2) continuity over those periods of time not covered by material in the tradition.

4. To serve as the vehicle for chronological speculation concerning the "Great Year" or world cycles; e.g. Gen. 5, to establish a date for the Flood; Gen. 11, the birth of Abraham; others, the date of the exodus.

5. To demonstrate the legitimacy of an individual in his office or to provide someone of rank with connexions to a worthy family or an individual of the past. This legitimacy principle appears to have been crucial with regard to cultic functions,

especially priesthood. Otherwise genealogies serve to identify and enhance the status of an individual.

6. In Ezra-Nehemiah (only) genealogies are important to establish and preserve the homogeneity of the race, a concern for the purity of "the holy seed" (Ezr. 9:2), taken up and strengthened in the rabbinic tradition.

7. To assert the importance of the principle of the continuity of the people of God through a period of national disruption; e.g. that the post-exilic Israel of the restoration is identical with the Israel of the monarchy, sharing its promises and its cultus.

8. To divide history into epochs, and demonstrate the meaningful outworking of the predetermined plan of God for history – the most frequent use of the genealogical form in the priestly writings.

Later Judaism. Old Testament interest in genealogical speculation continued on two levels. First, the concern expressed within rabbinic writings for individual legitimacy by a genealogical stratification of society, a concern which appears in both the earliest halakoth and the later midrashim with the same character and intensity. But genealogical records were not readily available to individual families within Judaism, with the important exception of the priesthood. This led to the need to use oral traditions and also midrashic exegesis to carry on genealogical investigation and speculation.

Secondly, the rise of messianic expectation has, as one corollary, the debates on the ancestry of the messiah, debates which may reflect the views of different parties within Judaism. In first-century Judaism there is not only the more general expectation of a messiah from the line of David. There is also a well supported opinion that the messiah is to come from the line of Aaron. The two genealogies of Jesus, in different ways, reveal a knowledge of such rabbinic discussion on the ancestry of the messiah and are written on the basis of the same midrashic methodology.

New Testament. It has usually been assumed that, if the Matthean and Lucan genealogies of Jesus are to have a legitimate place in the Gospel tradition, they must be evaluated from the point of view of historical reliability (Johnson, 140 ff.). Consequently, since the early church, scholars have discussed the differences between Matt. 1:1–17 and Lk. 3:23–38. The assumption, that both lists are intended to preserve historically accurate information, necessitates complicated and creative attempts at harmonization involving a number of problems:

1. From David to the exile, Matthew traces the line of descent through the royalty of Judah, while in Luke the line passes through Nathan, son of David.

2. The two lists meet again in Zerubbabel and Shealtiel.

3. After Shealtiel, the two lists are composed of different and otherwise unknown names, until the two lines come together again in Joseph.

4. The number of names from Solomon to the exile is 14 in Matthew, and 20 in Luke (Nathan to Neri); from the exile to Jesus, Matthew has 13 names, Luke 21.

5. Four women are included in Matthew.

6. Matthew has a 3 x 14 scheme of names.

7. Matthew's order descends, but Luke's ascends.

8. Matthew omits names prior to Abraham.

9. Matthew uses the formula "A *egennēsen* B"; Luke has *tou* + genitive.

10. Minor variations occur in orthography and form of names.

Harmonizing attempts have usually been made in one of three ways:

1. Both genealogies are Joseph's, but Matthew traces the biological ancestry, Luke the legal. Julius Africanus, *c.* A.D. 220 (Euseb., *HE* 1.7), is the first to have proposed levirate marriages to account for the differences. The theory runs: Matthan, grandfather of Joseph in Matthew's list, married Estha and begat Jacob. After the death of Matthan, Melchi (unrelated to Matthan), grandfather of Joseph in Luke's list, married Estha and begat Eli; hence Jacob and Eli were half-brothers. Eli died without children. Jacob married the widow in a levirate marriage and begat Joseph. Thus Matthew gives the physical ancestry of Joseph, Luke the legal. The artificiality of the reconstruction makes the hypothesis unconvincing.

2. Some modern scholars (including Westcott, Moffatt, Vincent Taylor) have reversed the first theory: Matthew gives the legal line of succession and Luke the natural descent. This at least recognizes the evident artificiality of Matthew's list. In its extreme form (P. Gaechter, *Das Matthäus Evangelium*, 1963, 30 f.), Matthew gives the legal line of throne succession, explicit prior to the exile, and becoming a "secret royal line" of descent between Zerubbabel and Joseph, while Luke provides the line of blood-relationship. At certain points in Matthew's list, *egennēsen* can mean adopted rather than begat. Thus Jeconiah, irrevocably condemned to childlessness in Jer. 22:24–30, adopted Shealtiel, actual son of Neri, descendant of David through Nathan. Matthew, after Zerubbabel, followed the supposed secret kings' line until it reached Jacob, who was without heir and did precisely what Jeconiah had done, viz. "appointed" Joseph, son of Eli from another Zerubbabel line, as his descendant, communicating to him the tradition of the continuation of the secret royal line from which the messiah would arise. But the whole suggestion is without the support of evidence and is no more satisfactory than the first theory. E. L. Abel points out some problems. 1. The same explanation of levirate marriage must be invoked to account for Shealtiel's two different fathers (Matt. 1:12; Lk. 3:27). 2. There is no reason why Estha should have been compelled to marry again since she already had a son. 3. It is questionable whether the levirate custom also applied to half-brothers (*NTS* 20, 1973–4, 203).

3. Annius of Viterbo (*c.* 1490) and Luther were the first to propose that Matthew gives Joseph's ancestry and Luke Mary's. This suggestion is based on a strained exegesis of Lk. 3:23, punctuating the verse to read "being the son, supposedly of Joseph (but actually) of Eli, son of Matthat, son of Levi". Eli is then assumed to be the grandfather of Mary and the whole list to be her pedigree (F. Godet, *A Commentary on the Gospel of St Luke*, 1878, I 127–30). It was not a Jewish custom to trace one's ancestry on the maternal side, so no such record would have been kept for Mary (Abel, 203).

Johnson (op. cit., 145) considers that none of these attempts is satisfactory. Each one is based on the assumption that the function of the genealogies was to preserve historical accuracy, whereas before and after the NT period that function was governed by midrashic speculation. The genealogy in Matthew finds its most natural setting in the genealogical and messianic speculation of Judaism, as preserved in the intertestamental and rabbinic literature. This is to be seen in both the details of the text of Matt. 1:1–17 and in its overall design. Moreover, the motifs and function of the genealogy find parallels in the narrative.

The opening words of Matt. 1, "The book of the genealogy (*biblos geneseōs*) of Jesus Christ", are usually interpreted as the title to the genealogical table which follows in vv. 2–16, but something more may be implied. On the only two occasions in the LXX where the phrase *biblos geneseōs* appears (Gen. 2:4, 5:1), it does not merely introduce a genealogy, but also mentions the process of the creation of the universe or of man. It is therefore possible that the use of this phrase at the beginning of Matthew's Gospel deliberately suggests that the advent of Jesus inaugurates a "new creation", or at least a new era for humanity and the world (D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 1972, 74 f.).

Abraham and David are singled out as pivotal points in the genealogical development of the ancestry of Jesus. The two names are in the mainstream of Jewish messianism in both intertestamental and rabbinic literature, as well as of Christian messianism. Son of David emphasizes the royal messiahship (Pss. Sol. 17:21), while son of Abraham, which is also a messianic title (Test. Lev. 8:15), stresses Jesus' origin within the Jewish nation and faith: he is the true seed of Abraham in whom the promises of God are fulfilled. Luke takes the ancestry of Jesus back to Adam, thus pointing to his descent from the universal father of mankind; Matthew goes back no further than to the father of the Israelites (Hill, op. cit., 75).

The inclusion of the four women in Matthew's genealogy reveals the writer's knowledge of rabbinic speculation on the ancestry of the messiah. Women rarely occur in Jewish genealogies, and only when an irregularity of descent is involved or when there is something noteworthy about the woman's name (SB I 15). In OT genealogies, women are usually mentioned in order to distinguish among different families or individuals who were traditionally traced to the same figure in the past. Matthew's choice is remarkable in that it includes two harlots (Tamar, Rahab), and an adulteress (Bathsheba); and probably all four women were, as contemporary tradition held, of Gentile stock. The OT itself is specific about Ruth (1:4) and Rahab (Jos. 4), while "wife of Uriah" (Matt. 1:6) serves as a reminder that Bathsheba's husband was a Hittite. No OT basis exists for Rahab as mother of Boaz. This identification appears to reflect Jewish midrash tradition, which drew parallels between Rahab and Ruth, Tamar and Ruth, and Tamar and Rahab (Sifre Num. 10:29; Ruth R. 2:1, 4; Megillah 10b, 14b). In focusing upon Tamar, Rahab, and Ruth, and stating that Rahab was the mother of Boaz, the author of Matthew's genealogy displays a familiarity with the midrash.

Johnson comments on the main suggestions put forward to explain the presence of the four women (op. cit., 154 ff.).

1. They foreshadow Jesus' concern in Matthew for sinners and Gentiles; but the reason for doing this through blemishes in the messianic genealogy is obscure. 2. The women demonstrate how God can use even the humble and despised and sinful to accomplish his purpose. 3. The women are in some sense types of Mary; e.g. their unexpected intrusion is in anticipation of Mary's sudden introduction in Matt. 1:18 ff. But it is difficult to understand how women associated with immorality and Gentile ancestry can serve as parallels to Mary. 4. Matthew is consciously refuting or mitigating attacks on the legitimacy of Jesus' birth by pointing to blemishes in the biblical pedigree of David and his line. But the so-called refutation is of such a nature as to encourage calumny, for an opponent of Christian messianism could claim the case of Mary as a parallel to the four women with their blemishes. More probably it

was the genealogy and the birth narratives that prompted the calumnies. The conclusive argument against this approach is that Jewish tradition exonerated each of the four women, and pictured at least Rahab and Ruth as exemplars of conversion and faith. 5. Johnson himself concludes that Matthew's inclusion of the four women was to show that in every respect messianic categories fulfilled in Jesus were precisely those Pharisaic elements which were present in first-century Judaism (op. cit., 178, 209). The four women had come to occupy a place in rabbinic tradition to support the ancestry of a Davidic messiah, against those who maintained the expectation of a Levitical messiah. The genealogy is essentially midrashic in character. It is an interpretation of the structure and goal of history, tied to the details of Scripture, yet incorporating extra-biblical information – such as the inclusion of Rahab in the genealogy of David. To counter the Christian claim that Jesus was the Davidic messiah, the rabbis could not criticize the genealogy in Matthew, either in its structure or in its details, which were dependent on biblical data and Pharisaic tradition, but could only point to the irregularity of Jesus' birth and apply to him the scandal associated with an affair of a Jewish maiden with a Roman soldier who lived at a time far earlier than the birth of Jesus (M. Goguel, *Jesus and the Origins of Christianity*, ET 1960, I 74).

Johnson (op. cit., 210 ff.) supports the view of A. Vögtle (*BZ* 9, 1965, 48) that the Matthean genealogy is the product of a unified conception rather than a reworking of an existing list, and reveals similarities with the rest of the Gospel in matters of form, language, and theology. He draws attention to:

1. *Numerical structure.* Matthew's predilection for threes and sevens is frequently displayed, e.g. three temptations (4:1–11), three illustrations of righteousness (6:1–18), three miracles of healing (8:1–15), a threefold "fear not" (10:26, 28, 31), three questions (22:15–40), three prayers in Gethsemane (26:39–44). (An extensive list is in W. C. Allen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St Matthew*, 1907, lxv.) An emphasis on the number seven occurs in 12:45 (demons), 15:34 (loaves), 15:37 (baskets), 18:21 f. (forgiveness), 22:35 (brothers), ch. 23 (woes). The arrangement of the genealogy into 3 x 14 or 3 x 7 x 2 seems entirely congruous. The evangelist emphasizes the form of the genealogy (1:17) because he intends it as a survey to underscore the predetermined character of the coming of Jesus as the Davidic messiah in three stages: the three groups of names show respectively the origin of David's house, its fall at the captivity, and its restoration in the Christ. It is possible that this artificial arrangement into three sections is to be connected with the name David, the three Heb. consonants of which (*d*, *w*, *d*) have a numerical value (by *gematria*) of 14 ($d = 4$, $w = 6$). As well as providing an aid to memory, this schematization would strengthen the already clear emphasis upon the Davidic character of Jesus (D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 1972, 74). E. J. Goodspeed (*Matthew, Apostle and Evangelist*, 1959, 25) suggests that Matthew's pattern of 3 x 14 is to exhibit Jesus as the beginning of the seventh seven since Abraham, thus representing the climax of history. This numerical interest may also mark the author as Matthew the tax collector, the man of figures.

2. *Language.* Both Matthew's genealogy and the rest of his Gospel reveal the influence of the Gk. OT, a definite Jewish element, and a knowledge of rabbinic theology. In common with other NT writers, the evangelist usually turns to the LXX for OT references (the fulfilment-formula quotations, such as 1:22; 2:15; 4:14, are an

exception). Certainly Matthew uses the LXX for the genealogical names, e.g. Matt. 1:2 quotes 1 Chr. 1:34 as Jacob (LXX), not Israel (Heb.).

3. *Theology.* (a) Son of David. The opening verse of Matthew's Gospel introduces the genealogy with the claim that Jesus is *hyios Dauid*, son of David. The phrase is repeated nine times in the rest of the Gospel, usually in material peculiar to Matthew, and not elsewhere in the Synoptics apart from Marcan and Lucan parallels to Matt. 20:30 f. and 22:42, 45. The application of the title son of David to Joseph (1:20) serves to connect the birth pericope to the genealogy: Jesus is son of David because Joseph is son of David. Of all four Gospels, it is Matthew's which most clearly interprets the significance of Jesus along the lines of the Pharisaic conception of the Davidic messiah (see J. M. Gibbs, "Purpose and Pattern in Matthew's Use of the title 'Son of David' ", *NTS* 10, 1963–4, 446–64).

(b) Eschatology. The distinctive mark of the genealogy, in structuring history into three epochs culminating in the dawn of the messianic age in Jesus, is reflected in the Gospel as a whole. First, Elijah, the prophet of the end-times, has already come in the person of John the Baptist (Matt. 17:12 f.). John occupies a position at the beginning of the end-times, yet one distinct from the time of Jesus. Secondly, the ministry of Jesus is clearly seen to be a decisive event of eschatological history (e.g. 4:16, 12:6, 41 f.), though Matthew distinguishes between the dawn of the messianic age and the future age to come (12:32, a distinction not made in Mk. 3:29 or Lk. 12:10). Thirdly, Matthew stresses the future appearance of Jesus as the Son of man presiding over the final judgment (13:39 f., 49; 24:3). Johnson (op. cit., 222) quotes the suggestion of K. Stendahl (*Peake's Commentary on the Bible*, 1962, 770 f.) that Matthew counts the messiah (*Christos*, 1:16) as the fourteenth member, while Jesus is the thirteenth. "Christ" would then refer to Jesus in his risen state and/or at his coming (*parousia*) at the end of time, in the sense in which the futuristic eschatology of the early church could include a prayer that God would "send the Christ appointed for you, Jesus, whom heaven must receive until the time for establishing all that God spoke by the mouth of his holy prophets from of old" (Acts 3:20; cf. 2:36).

By comparison with Matthew, Luke in his genealogy has simply a continuous list of names, without grouping or elaboration (apart from 3:23). After the time of David a number of names are repeated: variations of Mattathias (five times), Jesus, Levi, and Melchi (twice each), Joseph (thrice), and Simeon/Simein. The general use of the names of the twelve patriarchs of Israel as personal names cannot be traced before post-exilic times, and was not common among the Jews until the Ptolemaic and Roman periods (Johnson, op. cit., 229 f.). This reflects the growing interest in family trees, particularly in post-exilic times when families of pure race proclaimed their membership of true Israel and their separation from those who had intermarried with Gentiles (Ezr. 9) by using tribal surnames (J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, 1967, 275).

The fact that Luke inserts his genealogy into a Marcan framework, i.e. between Jesus' baptism and temptation, suggests that he has a theological purpose in mind. The function of Luke's genealogy may be explained in several ways.

1. *Apocalyptic.* The 77 names are seen by K. Bornhäuser (*Die Geburts- und Kindheitsgeschichte Jesu*, 1930, 20–22) as eleven world-weeks, at the end of which the messianic week begins, a parallel with some apocalyptic reconstructions of history (SB IV 986 f.). This view would be contrary to H. Conzelmann's influential

work on *The Theology of St Luke*, 1960 (*Die Mitte der Zeit*, 1954), in which he argues that in Luke the apocalyptic fulfilment in the parousia is separated from the time of Jesus' ministry by the (indeterminate) period of the church, and that in interpreting the significance of Jesus' ministry, Luke excluded apocalyptic categories (Johnson, op. cit., 233). But Conzelmann's thesis has not gone unchallenged. "Conzelmann's mistake is that he has made a distinction between the ministry of Jesus, which (in his view) Luke has de-eschatologized, and the future time of the End. It is more correct to say that Luke has broadened out the time of the End so that it begins with the ministry of Jesus, includes the time of the church, and is consummated at the parousia. Luke has not pushed the End into the distant future; he has lengthened it to include the whole era of salvation from the time of Jesus onwards" (I. H. Marshall, *Luke: Historian and Theologian*, 1970, 121).

2. *Christ as the Second Adam.* A typological relationship of Jesus to Adam is seen in the fact that Luke leads the genealogy back not to Abraham (as Matthew) but to Adam, son of God, thus illustrating Luke's general concern to portray the universal character of Jesus' ministry (W. Manson, *The Gospel of Luke*, 1930, 35). But a veiled allusion of this nature in Luke's genealogy seems unlikely since the (Pauline) motif of Christ as the second Adam is nowhere explicit in Luke/Acts. Luke's genealogy in fact ends not with Adam but with God, and any typological significance is more likely to be of Jesus as Son of God (Johnson, op. cit., 235).

3. *Jesus as Son of God.* The position of the genealogy between the baptism and the temptation finds significance in the linking motif of Jesus as Son of God (3:22, 38; 4:3, 9). Moreover, the Lucan genealogy runs *backwards* from Jesus to God, which is without parallel in OT or rabbinic texts for a genealogy. "Thus it is not impossible that Luke saw in the genealogy one way of understanding the ascription of the Son of God title to Jesus: Jesus is Son of God not through the categories of preexistence or physical (or metaphysical) relationship between Father and Son, but through the line of OT patriarchs and post-biblical historical figures. In this way, Luke historicizes the title, emphasizing the continuity of the Son with the OT and with Judaism" (Johnson, op. cit., 237 f.).

4. *Jesus as Prophet.* Rather than listing the royal succession from David to the exile, as does Matthew, Luke proceeds from David to his third son born in Jerusalem, Nathan (2 Sam. 5:14), and from him through a series of unknown names up to Shealtiel and Zerubbabel, and thence through more unknown names to Joseph. In certain Jewish circles David's son Nathan was identified with the prophet of the same name (Tg. Zech. 12:12, Codex Reuchlinianus). If Luke was aware of the tradition, this may be the reason why he deviates from Matthew's genealogy: it was to bring out the prophetic element. Luke/Acts constantly emphasizes the rôle of prophecy in references to the OT, in Jesus' ministry, and in the mission of the church (Johnson, op. cit., 240–52). Not that Matthew is unaware of the prophetic strand. For "Abijah the father of Asa" (Matt. 1:7) the better reading is "Asaph", although king Asa is undoubtedly meant. In Matt. 1:10 "Amos" is read, where we should expect "Amon". J. Schniewind (*Das Evangelium nach Matthäus*, 1956, 10) thinks that the changes are deliberate and designed to recall the psalmist (Pss. 73:1; 75:1) and the prophet. If so, then Matthew's genealogy contains in a cryptic form the idea of the fulfilment of prophecy and the hopes of the Psalmist (Hill, op. cit., 75 f.).

5. *The Beginning of Jesus' Ministry.* In Luke 1:23 the person of Jesus is given

prominence in the use of the pronoun *autos*, he, which opens the sentence, by the addition of the name Jesus, and by the verb *ēn*, was, which separates pronoun from substantive and sets both in relief: "and himself was, he, Jesus. . .". Luke indicates this as the moment when Jesus formally comes forward to commence his proper work. With the baptism, the obscurity in which he has so far lived passes. Jesus is now detached from those who have hitherto surrounded him, i.e. Mary, Joseph, the Baptist. The genealogy of Moses is similarly placed (Exod. 6:14 ff.), not at the opening of his biography but at the moment when he appears on the stage of history as he presents himself before Pharaoh (F. Godet, *A Commentary on the Gospel of St Luke*, 1878, I, 196). *N. Hillyer*

The Virgin Birth

The term virgin birth is commonly used as the equivalent of virginal conception, but a strong tradition in the Roman Catholic Church holds that Jesus was not only conceived but actually born miraculously, leaving Mary still a *virgo intacta.* This idea first appears in the *Protevangelium of James* (probably late 2nd cent.), and thereafter emerges in various writers, e.g. John of Damascus (*De Fide Orthodoxa* 4, 15) and Bernard (*Sermo de Virginis Nativitate* 4). Aquinas writes, "Christ came out of the closed womb of his mother, and so there was no violence of the opening of passages" (*Summa Theologiae* III Q35, art. 6). This theory is accepted by E. C. Messenger as a proper doctrine of the church (*The Mystery of Sex and Marriage* II, 1948, 100 ff.). The doctrine honours the idea of the perpetual virginity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, but it encounters difficulty in Luke's deliberate quotation of "every male that *opens* the womb . . ." (Lk. 2:23; cf. Exod. 13:2, 12).

This article is concerned with the virginal conception, which issued in the birth without any human intercourse (Matt. 1:25).

1. *Survey of Sources.* (a) There are two obviously independent records of the conception of Jesus Christ, and both say that he was conceived miraculously through the agency of the Holy Spirit without male parentage (Matt. 1:20; Lk. 1:35). In Matt.'s account Joseph finds that, although betrothed to him, Mary is already pregnant. He knows that he is not the father of the child and resolves to dissolve the relationship quietly (Matt. 1:19; cf. Deut. 24:1–14; → Divorce). "But as he considered this, an angel of the Lord appeared to him in a dream, saying 'Joseph, son of David, do not fear to take Mary your wife, for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Spirit' " (Matt. 1:20). In Lk.'s account the angel Gabriel tells Mary of the favour of the Lord in granting her a son who will be called Jesus. In reply to Mary's question, "How can this be, since I have no husband?" (Lk. 1:34), the angel says, "The Holy Spirit of the Most High will overshadow you; therefore the child to be born will be called holy, the Son of God" (Lk. 1:35; → Shadow, art. *skia* NT 2). There is no alternative story in the NT, but there are other passages which make most sense if the writers knew of the virgin birth.

(b) Mark begins his Gospel where early preaching normally began, namely with the witness of John the Baptist (cf. Acts 1:22; 10:36 ff; 13:24). When, however, he gives the comments of the people in Mk. 6:3, he quotes these as, "Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary?" By contrast, Matthew (13:55) and Luke (4:22), who had

already recorded the virgin birth, have respectively, "Is not this the carpenter's son?" and "Is not this Joseph's son?"

(c) John writes of Jesus Christ as the eternal Son. He also begins with John the Baptist, yet later indicates that there were discreditable rumours about the birth of Jesus, when in Jn. 8:41 the Jews attack him with the words, "We [emphatic] were not born of fornication". There is also the unexpected alternative reading of John 1:13, which changes the plur. into sing.: ". . . who believe on the name of him who was born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, but of God." This reading rests on one Latin MS, the Verona Codex, but it was accepted by Tertullian (*De Carne Christi*, 19 and 24, where he treats the plur. reading as a forgery), Justin (*Apol. I.* 22, 2), and Irenaeus (*Haer.* 3, 16, 2). The *Epistula Apostolorum* (probably early 2nd cent.), says of Jesus Christ, "born, not by carnal lust, but by the will of God", which, as B. H. Streeter says, "seems to imply the famous Western reading of Jn. i. 13" (*The Four Gospels*, 1924, 70), which "makes John assert the Virgin Birth" (op. cit., 268 n. 1). The reading is strongly defended by Douglas Edwards, *The Virgin Birth in History and Faith*, 1943, 130 ff.

(d) Whenever Paul speaks of the birth of Jesus Christ, he uses the verb *ginomai*, which has the broad meaning of "come to be" (→ Birth). This is particularly significant in Gal. 4:4, 23 f. Jesus Christ "comes to be" by a woman, whereas Isaac and Ishmael, born of two women, are begotten and born, since the vb. *gennaō*, used here, carries overtones of the father's act. Paul uses the same general word in Rom. 1:3 ("came of the seed of David according to the flesh") and Phil. 2:7 ("coming to be in the likeness of men"). On each occasion, Paul avoids the normal word for *born*, which is understandable if, as the travelling companion of Luke, he knew that Jesus was born miraculously. It may well be that he had the virgin birth in mind when he drew the balance and contrast between → Adam and Christ in 1 Cor. 15:45–48. Adam is from earth and Christ from heaven, but both came miraculously from the hand of God. This interpretation of Paul's thought is not as forced as it might appear, since it is taken up and amplified by Irenaeus (*Haer.* 3, 21, 10) and the Nag Hammadi *Gospel of Philip* (ed. W. C. Till, *Patristische Texte und Studien* 2, 1963, 43 f.). There is thus little justification for speaking of the silence of the NT outside Matthew and Luke. Such reticence as there was in public preaching may well have been out of respect for Mary. We do not know how long she lived, but malicious tongues could easily have turned the virgin birth into scandal. Consider also how rarely any orthodox preacher today mentions the virgin birth in his normal run of sermons during the year, even though he often refers to the incarnation.

(e) After A.D. 100 the fact is alluded to by Ignatius (*Smyr.* 1:1, before A.D. 120), the *Apology* of Aristides (*c.* 140), Justin in his *Dialogue with Trypho* (e.g. 43 f., 68, 84), and Irenaeus frequently (e.g. *Haer.* 3, 21, 4f. and 9; 3, 22, 1–4). The Old Roman Creed (dated by F. Kattenbusch, soon after A.D. 100, *Das Apostolische Symbol*, II, 1900, 328) includes "Who was born of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary". The fact that these early writers are protesting against those who deny the virgin birth shows that gnostics and others like the Ebionites knew it was an accepted part of Christian orthodoxy.

The virgin birth, according to the NT, is the channel by which the eternally pre-existing Second Person of the Trinity entered as a truly human being as part of the world of time and space. If Jesus were only a great prophet, without previous ex-

istence, his virgin birth would be of interest, but of no special significance.

2. *Criticism of the Virgin Birth.* Attacks on its historicity are partly on literary and partly on theological grounds, but no fresh facts have emerged that have not been discussed by such writers as James Orr and J. G. Machen.

(a) Literary. On the whole the tendency is to accept the early chapters as by Luke, although some allow for additions in revision. It is reasonable, then, to give weight to Luke's prologue, where he claims to have checked his facts from witnesses, whom he must often have met in his travels with Paul. We cannot exclude the virgin Mary herself. Indeed some think that Luke's story comes from Mary, while Matthew's comes from Joseph (e.g. M.-J. Lagrange, *Évangile selon Saint Luc*, 1927[4], 116–26; J. G. Machen, *The Virgin Birth of Christ*, 1932[2],194 ff.).

(b) Form criticism, however, regards the birth stories as the simple person's version of how Jesus was Son of God, in contrast to the more sophisticated idea that he became Son at his baptism, his resurrection, or eternally. One must then ask who evolved the two independent records, and why. Other religions have stories of virgins giving birth, but those stories are crudely polytheistic. Their very existence would militate against anything remotely similar emerging in Jewish-Christian circles, or among Gentile Christians who were constantly reacting against their religious environment.

(c) There is one often quoted literary criticism. The phrase in Lk. 1:34, "since I have no husband", is said by John of Damascus (8th cent.) to be missing from Greek codices. M. Dibelius regarded the story of the virgin birth as a legend based partly on Isa. 7:14 (*From Tradition to Gospel*, 1934, 124). H. D. A. Major regarded Lk. 1:34 f. as an interpolation, though made by the evangelist himself who could not restrain his love for the miraculous (in H. D. A. Major, T. W. Manson and C. J. Wright, *The Mission and Message of Jesus*, 1937, 262). The original story, Major held, was concerned with the Davidic descent of the messiah (cf. v. 33). Yet Lk. 1:34 is in all existing MSS.

A similar poorly supported objection is the reading of the Sinaitic Syriac text in Matt. 1:16, "Joseph begat Jesus, who is called Christ" (on the readings of this v. see Metzger, 2–7). Elsewhere this MS supports the virgin birth, but the reading is accepted by e.g. J. Klausner, *Jesus of Nazareth*, 1925, 232, and C. Montefiore, *The Synoptic Gospels*, II, 1909, 452, as expressing the historical reality of the situation.

(d) Both genealogies are apparently Joseph's, although Lk. 3:23 has the cautionary "as was supposed" of Joseph's parentage of Jesus. Yet it is not too difficult to see Luke's list as being Mary's (and hence Christ's) descent from David. Mary's father (Heli?) had two daughters, Mary and the unnamed wife of Zebedee (John 19:25; Matt. 27:56). If there were no sons, Joseph would become son of Heli on his marriage, to preserve the family name and inheritance (cf. Num. 27:1–11; 36:1–12, especially v. 8, which accounts for Mary marrying a man of the family of David). For a critical study of the genealogies see M. D. Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies with Special Reference to the Genealogies of Jesus, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series* 8, 1969, and the discussion above on *The Genealogies of Jesus Christ.*

(e) Some find it impossible to reconcile what is said of the conception with the idea of the eternal Christ, as held by Paul and John (e.g. W. Pannenberg, *Jesus – God and Man*, 1968, 141–50; E. Brunner, *The Mediator*, 1934, 322–27; and *Dog-*

matics, II, 1952, 350 ff.). If, however, the records in Matthew and Luke represent the angelic communications to Mary and Joseph, they could not at this stage have grasped the later unfolding revelation of the eternal Christ. To them it was a beginner's truth that Mary was to be the mother of the messianic Son of God. Our modern carol services at Christmas start at the same place, but go on to the profound expressions of the incarnation without consciousness of contradiction.

3. *Physical Considerations.* Although the physical facts are usually ignored, the modern knowledge of genetics throws some light on the necessity for the virginal conception. Since the man alone carries the Y chromosome which produces a male child, there is no question of Mary's producing a child spontaneously, since this would have been a girl. Like every mother, Mary provided the 23 chromosomes in her ovum, to be fertilized by a sex cell containing 23 chromosomes which unite to form the 46 which are in every cell in the human body (except the sex cells with 23). Thus the virgin birth involves the preparation through the Holy Spirit of the 23 chromosomes which would be taken by the Son of God. From the moment of conception there is a potential individual person. If, then, Joseph had been the father, there would have been an already existing "person" to which the person of Jesus Christ must have been added, thus producing a Nestorian Christ, with two persons existing in one body, or alternatively reducing Christ to a God-filled man, like one of the prophets. As it is, there was no moment of time from the moment of conception when the forming child in Mary's womb was not God incarnate and yet truly human.

4. *The Virgin Birth and the Sinlessness and Divinity of Jesus.* The theory that the virgin birth in itself secured Christ's freedom from original sin (possibly Heb. 4:15; 7:26) raises more problems than it solves (cf. Karl Barth, *CD* I, 2, 172–202). It would tie a physical transmission of original sin to the husband, and would be effective only if we postulate the equal sinlessness of Mary. This is held by the Roman Catholic Church, as expressed by E. C. Messenger: "She, as a child of Adam, incurred the debt of original sin, and was exempted from the actual stain of original sin only by a special privilege, granted her in virtue of the merits of her Divine Son" (*The Mystery of Sex and Marriage, II*, 84). This view reflects Pius IX's definition of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception: "that the most Blessed Virgin Mary in the first instant of her conception, by a unique grace and privilege of the omnipotent God and in consideration of the merits of Christ Jesus the Saviour of the human race, was preserved free from all stain of original sin, is a doctrine revealed by God and therefore must be firmly and constantly held by all the faithful" (extract from the Bull *Ineffabilis Deus*, 8th December 1854). Yet many see that the original sinlessness of Mary would necessarily involve the sinlessness of her parents and grandparents *ad infinitum*.

Karl Barth, on the other hand, regards the virgin birth and the empty tomb as constituting "a single sign, the special function of which compared with other signs and wonders of the New Testament witness, is to describe and mark out the existence of Jesus Christ, amid the many other existences in human history, as that human existence in which God is Himself, God is alone, God is directly the Subject, the temporal reality of which is not only called forth, created, conditioned and supported by the eternal reality of God, but is identical with it" (*CD* I, 2, 182). "The man Jesus of Nazareth is not the true Son of God because He was conceived by the Holy Spirit and born of the Virgin Mary. On the contrary, because He is the true Son of God

and because this is an inconceivable mystery intended to be acknowledged as such, therefore He is conceived by the Holy Spirit and born of the Virgin Mary. . . . The mystery does not rest upon the miracle. The miracle rests upon the mystery. The miracle bears witness to the mystery, and the mystery is attested by the miracle" (*CD* I, 2, 202). *J. Stafford Wright*

→ Bethlehem, → Genealogy, → God, art. *Emmanouēl*, → Jesus Christ, → Spirit, → Woman

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Song, Hymn, Psalm

The precise terminological distinctions between the three words discussed here, *hymnos*, *psalmos*, and *ōdē*, are not closely defined. *hymnos* probably had a religious and cultic significance right from the beginning, as a technical term for festive psalms of praise, and for liturgical calls and recitations. *ōdē* had occasional secular reference, but, at least in the biblical Gk. period, it generally indicated a particular kind of song concerned with lamentation or joy (Deut. 31:30 is an exception). *psalmos*, equally used with occasional secular reference, denoted originally a variety of instrumental music, then also the vocal accompaniment. Following on from the LXX, *psalmos* in the NT probably refers to that aspect of early Christian worship which, both in form and content, was closely modelled on the temple hymns of the OT and late Judaistic periods. See *ōdē* NT for the varying theological emphasis of the words in the NT.

ὕμνος

ὕμνος (*hymnos*), song, song of praise, hymn, ode; ὑμνέω (*hymneō*), celebrate, praise, sing.

CL *hymnos*, of uncertain origin, is something sung, a song. The word appears from Homer onwards in secular Gk. There is no one particular metrical form. Rather, *hymnos* is a general word used to include the most varied poetical forms. All along, the word *hymnos* is used for recited as well as for sung poetry. The secular sense is not always clearly distinguished from cultic. The following meanings of *hymneō* may be mentioned: (1) to sing of, celebrate, in poetry or prose; (2) to discuss, tell repeatedly, recite; (3) (pass.) ring (in one's ears).

Various formations occur, including the following after 300 B.C.: *hymnēsis*, lauding or praising, hymn or song-recital, or collection of songs; *hymnagorēs*, singer of hymns or songs; *hymnologia*, hymn-singing, songs. They are in part examples of late linguistic usages, which found *hymneō* too weak a word, and used it to mean to write or sing a song. In general, *hymnos* refers to songs to the gods, particularly a song in praise of the divinity, as distinct perhaps from *epainos*, → praise given to men.

OT 1. In the LXX the vb. is found 71 times and the noun 28 times. The vb. translates the Heb. *hālal* (in the piel form), to praise, at Jdg. 16:24; 2 Chr. 29:30 (twice); Neh. 12:24 *v.l.*; Ps. 22(21):22; *zāmar* (also piel), to sing or praise with instrumental accompaniment, at 1 Chr. 16:9; Isa. 12:5; *yāḏâh* (hiphil), confess, praise, at Neh. 12:24 *v.l.*; Isa. 12:4; 25:1; *yāḏa'* (hiphil), cause to be known, at 2 Chr. 23:13; *rānan*, cry for joy, at Prov. 1:20; 8:3; and *šîr*, sing, at Pss. 65(64):13; 137(136):3; Isa. 40:2.

It is without Heb. equivalent at 1 Esd. 5:60, 62; Tob. 12:6, 18 *v.l.*, 22 *v.l.*; Jub. 15:13 *v.l.*; 16:13; Est. 4:17; Job 38:7 *v.l.*; Ps. 71(70):8; Wis. 10:20; 1 Macc. 4:24; 13:47; 4 Macc. 4:12; and Dan. 3 LXX passim where the majority of instances occur. It is found frequently in variant translations of the Pss. (Hatch-Redpath, II–III, 1405). The Heb. *hal^{e}lûyâh* is often simply transliterated, including 17 times in Psalm headings (→ Amen, art. *hallēlouia*).

The noun *hymnos* also translates *hālal* in the piel (2 Chr. 7:6; Neh. 12:24 *v.l.*) and the cognate *t^{e}hillâh*, praise (Neh. 12:46; Pss. 40[39]:3; 65[64]:1; 100[99]:4; 119[118]:171; 148:14). It is used for *n^{e}ḡînâh*, a musical term perhaps denoting a stringed instrument, in the titles of Pss. 6 *v.l.*; 54(53); 55(54); 61(60); 67(66); 76(75); *šîr*, song (Neh. 12:46; Isa. 42:10); and *t^{e}p̄illâh*, → prayer (Ps. 72[71]:20). It is without Heb. equivalent at Jdg. 15:13; Ps. 137(136):3 *v.l.*; 1 Macc. 4:33; 13:51; 2 Macc. 1:30; 10:7 *v.l.*, 38; 12:37; 3 Macc. 7:16; 4 Macc. 10:21. It also occurs in variant translations of the Pss. Thus the words hardly occur from Gen. to 2 Ki.

In addition the following cognates occur: *hymnēsis* (Ps. 71[70]:7 for *t^{e}hillâh*; Ps. 118[117]:14 for *zimrâh*, melody, sound); *hymnētos* (Dan. 3:54, 56 LXX); *hymnographos* (4 Macc. 18:15); and *hymnōdeō* (1 Chr. 25:6 for *baššîr*).

2. Philo mentions the hymns of the *Therapeutae* (*Vit. Cont.* 25). If these were not the biblical Psalms, they could have been psalm-like songs. The Hallel psalms already occupied an outstanding position in the rites of the individual feast even when the first temple was standing, and continued to do so in the later worship of the synagogue (SB I 845). In the Passover festival the slaughtering of the lambs was accompanied by the repeated singing of these Hallel psalms (Pss. 114–118; SB IV 1 50). At the Passover meal, the first half of the Passover Hallel followed the Passover meal itself, the Haggadah, and the second half followed the final prayer of the meal and the drinking of the third cup (→ Feast, art. *pascha*; → Lord's Supper). The word *hymnos* was used by the rabbis as a loan-word (*himnon*), and specifically for a spiritual song as opposed to a secular.

3. Extra-canonical collections of hymns have also come down to us from various Jewish circles in Palestine; from the Qumran sect we have the great collection of *Hodayot*, the hymns of praise; and from Pharisaic circles the Pss. Sol., found in some MSS of the Gk. OT.

NT *hymnos* occurs in the NT only in Eph. 5:19 and Col. 3:16; *hymneō* only in Matt. 16:30 par. Mk. 14:26; Acts 16:25; Heb. 2:12.

1. The participle *hymnēsantes*, "when they had sung a hymn" (Matt. 26:30 par. Mk. 14:26) is generally understood by commentators to refer to the singing of the Hallel psalm at the close of the Passover meal prior to drinking the fourth cup. Whether or not this is so depends on whether Jesus' last meal with the disciples was in fact a celebration of the Passover (→ Lord's Supper, art. *deipnon* NT 4, where this view is argued). J. Jeremias argues that Jesus was greeted by the pilgrims on his entry into Jerusalem with the eschatological victory-cry from Ps. 118 (*The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, 1966^{2}, 258 ff.). This would mean that the Hallel Psalm was used here independently of the Passover meal. The present writer disagrees with the view that the Last Supper was a Passover meal ("*Dies tut zu meinem Gedächtnis.*" *Zur Auslegung von 1. Kor. 11, 24–25*, Dissertation, Mainz, 1959, 32–37, notes 261–285). He, therefore, thinks it unlikely that *hymnēsantes* refers to the Passover

Hallel. Any psalm or hymn of thanksgiving could have been used. According to Jeremias, Jesus strictly adhered to the law and customs concerning the Passover. If this is so, it is difficult to believe that Jesus should have broken off the celebrations suddenly before the decisive and important fourth cup with its messianic associations (cf. Bartels, op. cit., 35, notes 279 f.). ([Ed.] On the other hand, there are good reasons for thinking that Jesus did desire to keep the Passover with his disciples [cf. Lk. 22:15], but that he adapted the meal to meet the special needs of the situation → Lord's Supper, art. *deipnon* NT 4 (b).)

2. Acts 16:25 records how, after being beaten and imprisoned at Philippi, "about midnight Paul and Silas were praying and singing hymns to God [*proseuchomenoi hymnoun ton theon*], and the prisoners were listening to them." This need not have been a Hallel psalm. The story shows how they could praise God despite their circumstances (cf. the account of Joseph in Test. Jos. 8:5). Their action was at the same time a testimony to their fellow prisoners. God vindicated them, not so much by the earthquake which they did not use as an occasion for escape, but by the conversion of the jailer and their subsequent honourable release.

3. Heb. 2:12 gives to Ps. 22(21):22 a christological significance as an illustration of the solidarity of the speaker with the people of God: "saying, 'I will proclaim thy name to my brethren, in the midst of the congregation I will praise [*hymnēsō*] thee.' " The Ps. was cited by Jesus on the cross (Mk. 15:34 par Matt. 27:46; → God, art. *theos* NT 6 (d)). "Practically the whole of the lament to which the first part of the psalm is devoted was used in the Church from very early times as a *testimonium* of the crucifixion of Christ; not only is it expressly quoted, but its language has been worked into the very fabric of the New Testament passion narratives, especially in the First and Fourth Gospels [cf. Ps. 22:18 with Mk. 15:24 and Jn. 19:24; and see C. H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures*, 1952, 97 f.; B. Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic*, 1961, 88 ff.]. It is most natural, then, that when the psalmist's lament gives way to the public thanksgiving of which the second part of the psalm consists, the same speaker should be recognized, and the once crucified, now exalted Christ should be heard saying: 'I will declare thy name unto my brethren; in the midst of the congregation will I sing thy praise.' Following the Septuagint, our author used the word *ekklēsia* for 'congregation' (the Hebrew of Ps. 22:22 has *qāhāl*). The employment of this word in synonymous parallelism with 'brethren' in a Christian context indicates that those whom the Son of God is pleased to call His brethren are the members of His church. By virtue of His suffering He has now become 'the representative Head of a new mankind' " (F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, *NLC*, 1964, 45 f.; cf. C. H. Dodd, op. cit., 20).

4. On Eph. 5:19 and Col. 3:16 → *ōdē*.

5. From the time of Justin the eucharistic prayer was called a *hymnos* (*Apol. I*, 13). It may be asked, therefore, whether *hymnos* might have been used on occasion in the time of the evangelists for a form of early Christian eucharistic prayer.

K. H. Bartels

ψαλμός

ψαλμός (*psalmos*), a sàcred song, psalm; ψάλλω (*psallō*), sing (a hymn or praise).

CL In secular Gk. *psallō* is used from Homer onwards, originally meaning to pluck (hair), to twang a bow-string, and then pluck a harp, or any other stringed instrument. The noun *psalmos* refers in general to the sound of the instrument, or the actual production of the sound (cf. the scholion on Aristoph., *Birds* 218: "*psalmos* is actually the sound produced by the lyre").

OT 1. In the LXX *psallō* and *psalmos* stand generally for Heb. *zāmar* or *nāgan*, also for *šîr* (→ *ōdē*). Generally it is the Psalms of our Psalter that are meant (e.g. 2 Sam. 23:1, which both in the MT and LXX is obscure and difficult to translate). This accords with the received meaning of Heb. *šîr* or *mizmôr*, song, which is used in the headings to 49 Psalms, mostly with the addition of *tō Dauid* (according to, with, or for, David). It is sometimes used also with a gen. (e.g. *psalmos ōdēs*, Ps. 68[67]:1; or *odē psalmou*, Ps. 66[65]:1). It can be assumed that, at least during the OT period, the singing of the Psalms was always accompanied by musical instruments. Further, *psalmos* can mean any spiritual song, whether or not an instrumental accompaniment is mentioned (cf. Ps. 33[32]:2). A spiritual song is possibly indicated in 1 Sam. 16:16, 18 (*psallein en kinyra*, to sing to a lyre), though some believe secular music is meant. Finally, *psalmos* can refer to profane songs, such as the drunkards' songs of Ps. 69(68):12. For the classification of the various Pss. and their *Sitz im Leben* see the specialist studies listed in the bibliography below.

2. The particular significance of the Pss. (nearly always meaning the Psalms of David, but also later poems up to and including the Psalms of Qumran) consists in the fact that, by and large, they constitute the back-bone of Jewish synagogue worship. Some individual Psalms, or collections of Psalms, such as Ps. 105:1–15 and Ps. 96, comprised a daily form of prayer for the faithful Jew.

NT 1. In the NT two basic meanings can be ascertained. (a) *psalmos* stands for the Psalms of the OT; or the so-called *Kethubim*, "The Writings", of which the Psalms, as the first document in this division, represent a *pars pro toto*. This latter meaning occurs only in Lk. 20:42; 24:44; Acts 1:20; 13:33. Hence, this usage is Lucan.

(b) More generally *psalmos* means a hymn of praise, and *psallō*, to sing a spiritual or sacred song. All the passages are non-Lucan: *psalmos* in 1 Cor. 14:26; Eph. 5:19; Col. 3:16; *psallō* in the second sense occurs only in Rom. 15:9; 1 Cor. 14:15; Eph. 5:19; Jas. 5:13. This is probably the secondary meaning; it is clear from the Lucan par. to Matt. (Lk. 20:42; Matt. 22:43) that the OT Psalms were regarded as a prototype of spiritual songs.

2. It is remarkable, not only that these words occur only 4 times in Lk., 7 times in Paul, and once in Jas.; but also that they are used by Lk. only in the first sense, and by the others only in the second sense. But the reason for this is not so much theological, as that the vocabulary is influenced by the respective contexts. Lk., for instance, emphasizes the continuity of salvation history in Judaism and Christianity. The meaning "hymn of praise" or "to sing a spiritual or inspired song" can be further subdivided as follows.

(a) A hymn of praise, or the singing of praises, is a typical manifestation, either of the Spirit of God in his present activity in the community of the baptized (Eph. 5:18 ff.; Col. 3:16), or of God himself (1 Cor. 14:25 f.). This will include free com-

positions as well as repeated liturgical fragments (cf.O. Cullmann, *Early Christian Worship*, *SBT* 10, 1953, 21 f.), and also new Christian songs (which may well have been modelled on the Pss. of the OT and of later Judaism, and which will often have exhibited similar features of ecclesiastical vocabulary), such as we know from the wording of the various songs of Rev. (cf. Rev. 5:9 ff; 7:12; 11:15, 17 f.; 12:10 ff.; 15:3 f.; 19:1 f., 6 ff.; for 5:9 and 15:3 → *ōdē*). Such songs are also mentioned in the famous letter of the younger Pliny, who writes (*Epistle* 10, 96, 7) that the Christians met "to sing a song [*carmen* = *hymnos*] antiphonally to Christ as to a god."

1 Cor. 14:15 also regards singing as a manifestation of the Spirit, being a higher activity than speaking in tongues on the grounds that it is more edifying: "For if I pray in a tongue, my spirit prays but my mind is unfruitful. What am I to do? I will pray with the spirit and I will pray with the mind also; I will sing with the spirit and I will sing with the mind also" (1 Cor. 14:14 f.). The contrast here is not between *tō pneumati*, with or in the spirit (either the speaker's or more probably the Holy Spirit), and *tō noi*, with or in the mind, but between being in the Spirit unintelligibly and therefore unedifyingly (in tongues) and being in the Spirit intelligibly (cf. vv. 16–19).

A similar meaning underlies Jas. 5:13, albeit in a weakened and less explicit sense: "Is any one among you suffering? Let him pray. Is any cheerful? Let him sing praise." This answer is given in response to the question: How is the devout Christian to react to adversity and prosperity? Our feelings must be expressed in an intelligible form and they should be directed to God.

(b) *psallō* has the sense to sing hymns of praise in God's honour in Rom. 15:9, where Ps. 18(17):49 and 2 Sam. 22:50 are seen as finding fulfilment in the coming of Christ and the response among the Gentiles: "and in order that the Gentiles might glorify God for his mercy. As it is written, 'Therefore I will praise thee among the Gentiles, and sing to thy name.' "

K. H. Bartels

ᾠδή

ᾠδή (*ōdē*), song, ode (of mourning, complaint or joy); ᾄδω (*adō*), sing.

CL *adō* is the contracted form of Att. Gk. *aeidō*. *ōdē* is a contracted form of *aoidē*. *ōdos*, a contraction of *aoidos* (singer), also occurs occasionally.

1. The vb. *adō* is used from Homer onwards with the following meanings: (a) to sing; (b) to produce all kinds of vocal sounds, e.g. the hoot of the owl or the croaking of a frog; (c) to produce the sound of a plucked string, or any other similar sound, such as the whistling of the wind in the trees; (d) (later) simply, to call; and also (e) to celebrate, praise or honour in the cult.

2. The noun *ōdē* occurs in Gk. tragedy with these meanings: (a) a song of mourning or lamentation; (b) a song of joy or praise; (c) poetry in general; and (d) singing in general, whether of men or birds. These words do not appear to have an intrinsically religious significance in non-biblical Gk.

OT In the LXX the vb. occurs 66 times rendering chiefly the Heb. *šîr*, sing (Exod. 15:1 twice, 21; Num. 21:17; Jdg. 5:1, 3; 2 Sam. 19:35; 1 Chr. 15:27; 16:9, 23; 2 Chr. 23:13; 29:28; 2 Esd. 2:41, 65, 70; 7:7; 10:24; Neh. 7:1, 44, 67, 73; 10:28, 39; 11:22; 12:28 f., 42, 45 ff.; 13:5, 10; Jud. 16:2; Pss. 7 title; 13[12]:6; 21[20]:13;

27[26]:6; 33[32]:3; 57[56]:7; 59[58]:16; 68[67]:4, 32; 89[88]:1; 96[95]:1; 98[97]:1; 101[100]:1; 104[103]:33; 105[104]:2; 106[105]:12; 108[107]:1; 137[136]:3 f.; 138[137]:5; 144[143]:9; 149:1; Eccl. 2:8 twice; Isa. 5:1; 26:1; Jer. 20:13). It also stands for the noun *šîr* (1 Chr. 6:31; 25:7; 2 Chr. 29:27; Isa. 23:16), *šārat*, serve (2 Esd. 8:17), *zammar*, sing (2 Esd. 7:24), *tôḏâh*, song of thanksgiving (Jer. 30[37]:19), and *pāṣaḥ*, be serene, (Ps. 98[97]:4). It has no equivalent at Hos. 7:2.

The noun *ōdē* occurs 87 times mainly for *šîr* and *šîrâh* (Exod. 15:1; Deut. 31:19 twice, 21 f., 30; 32:34; Jdg. 5:12; 2 Sam. 22:1; 1 Ki. 5:12 [4:32]; 1 Chr. 15:26; 16:42; 2 Chr. 5:13; 7:6; 23:18; 34:12; Neh. 12:27, 36; Pss. 137[136]:3 twice, 4; 144[143]:9; Amos 5:23; 8:10. It occurs 36 times in the titles of Psalms from Ps. 18 to Ps. 134. Other Heb. terms are *higgāyôn* (Pss. 9:16; 92[91]:3), *mizmôr* (in the titles of Pss. 4; 39[38]; 48[47]), *maśśā'* (1 Chr. 15:22, 27), *n*^{e}*ginôṯ* (Hab. 3:19), and *šigyōnôṯ*, (Hab. 3:1). Apart from various Ps. titles, *ōdē* occurs without Heb. equivalent in Jdg. 5:1 *v.l.*; 2 Sam. 6:5; 22:2; 1 Ki. 8:53; Jon. 2:3 *v.l.*; Isa. 5:1; 25:1; 26:1, 9; 38:9 (all *v.l.*); 1 Macc. 4:54; 13:51; 2 Macc. 7:6; 3 Macc. 6:32; 4 Macc. 18:18.

With the one exception of Deut. 31:30, where *ōdē* is spoken, singing is always indicated. Sometimes musical accompaniment is mentioned (e.g. 1 Chr. 16:42), and on occasion both music and dancing. David and the Israelites sang and danced before the ark (2 Sam. 6:5). Sometimes the vb. has a cognate acc. ("Moses sang [*ēse*] this song [*tēn ōdēn tautēn*]" (Exod. 15:1; cf. Num. 21:17 where *asma* is used). *asma*, song, does not occur in the NT, but is found in the LXX for *šîr* and *šîrâh* (Num. 21:17; Pss. 33[32]:3; 40[39]:3; 96]95]:1; 98[97]:1; 149:1; Eccl. 7:5[6]; 12:4; in the title of the Song of Songs and Cant. 1:1; Sir. 39:14; Isa. 5:1; 23:15; 26:1). *adō* is sometimes used in parallel with other words, such as *hymneō* (1 Chr. 16:9), *agalliaō*, rejoice, and *psallō* (Ps. 98[97]:4).

Sometimes the joyous nature of *ōdē* is stressed. But Amos 8:10 gives a dire warning to those who self-confidently await the day of Yahweh: "I will turn your feasts into mourning, and all your songs into lamentation. . . ." The new song was a song for festive occasions. The references in Chr. indicates something of the rôle of the temple singers and music in the cult.

Music is mentioned in various connexions in the OT: at a family gathering (Gen. 31:27); the acclamation of heroes (Jdg. 11:34; 1 Sam. 18:6); and the king's enthronement and martial occasions (Jdg. 7:18 ff.; 1 Ki. 1:39 f.; 2 Ki. 11:14; 2 Chr. 13:14; 2 Chr. 20:28); harem and court music (2 Sam. 19:35; Eccl. 2:8); feasts (Isa. 5:12; 24:8 f.); dirges and laments (2 Sam. 1:17 f.; 2 Chr. 35:25); incantations and cultic occasions (Exod. 28:35; Jos. 6:4–20; 1 Sam. 16:6 ff.; 2 Ki. 3:15); and occupational songs (Num. 21:17; Jdg. 9:27; Isa. 16:10; Jer. 31:4 f., 7; 48:33).

NT 1. In the NT *ōdē* and *adō* occur only 4 times in the Pauline writings and 6 times in Rev., with both noun and vb. together in Rev. (cf. Eph. 5:19; Col. 3:16; Rev. 5:9; 14:3; 15:3). Rev. 5:9 indicates that the reference is always to a song that is sung: "And they sang a new song, saying, 'Worthy art thou to take the scroll and to open its seals, for thou wast slain and by thy blood didst ransom men for God from every tribe and tongue and people and nation.' " The verse is also an example of the so-called "Axios-acclamation" (from the Gk. *axios*, "worthy"), known in liturgical and juridical contexts from the time of the ancient Gk. world to the Byzantine em-

perors (cf. E. Peterson, *Heis Theos*, 1926, 176 ff.). In Rev. the whole creation – in heaven, on earth, and below the earth – acknowledges, as of right, the lordship of the → Lamb in their eschatological paean of praise. The "song of Moses" in Rev. 15:3 transposes the song of Moses in Exod. 15:1 and also includes words from Ps. 145:7, giving them a christological significance: "And they sing the song of Moses, the servant of God, and the song of the Lamb, saying, 'Great and wonderful are thy deeds, Lord God the Almighty! Just and true are thy ways, O King of the ages!' " "As Moses once sang God's praises after crossing the Red Sea, so the singers who have won their freedom through the Lamb celebrate God's deeds which have been revealed in his work as judge" (E. Lohse, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, *NTD* 11, 1966[9], ad loc.).

2. Songs clearly formed a central part of early Christian liturgy, as had already been the case in the worship of the OT community and of the later Jewish temple. The Pauline writings twice allude to songs in discussion of man's spiritual activity. Rather than be drunk with wine, the Ephesian Christians are urged to "be filled with the Spirit, addressing one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs [*psalmois kai hymnois kai ōdais pneumatikais*], singing and making melody [*adontes kai psallontes*] to the Lord with all your heart, always and for everything giving thanks in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to God the Father" (Eph. 5:18 ff.). These would doubtless include the OT Psalms which the NT writers often freely quote, but would evidently include also Christian hymns. O. Cullmann regards Rev. 5:9, 12 f.; 12:10 ff.; 19:1 f.; 19:6 as among the oldest of Christian songs; he also places the Odes of Solomon in this period (op. cit., 21 f.). Perhaps the earliest Christian hymn is contained in Phil. 2:6–11 which Paul cites in support of his plea to the Philippians to have the mind of Christ. This may have been a pre-Pauline hymn or something which Paul had composed himself and was also known to his readers (for discussion see R. P. Martin, *Carmen Christi: Philippians ii. 5–11 in Recent Interpretation and its Setting in Early Christian Worship, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series* 4, 1967; and *Philippians*, *New Century Bible*, 1976, 90–102, 109–16). Other possible christological hymns are Col. 1:15–20; Eph. 2:14 ff.; 1 Tim. 3:16; 1 Pet. 3:18–22; Heb. 1:3; and the Prologue of Jn. (for discussion see J. T. Sanders, *The New Testament Christological Hymns: Their Historical Religious Background*, *Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series* 15, 1971).

Lk.'s account of the birth and infancy narratives contains psalms like the *Magnificat*, expressing Mary's praise for God's saving mercies (Lk. 1:46–55), the *Benedictus*, Zechariah's thanksgiving for his son, the future John the Baptist (Lk. 1:68–79), and the *Nunc Dimittis*, Simeon's psalm on seeing the infant Jesus in the temple (Lk. 2:29–32). These psalms are all couched in terms of Yahweh's saving acts against the background of OT expectation (on the opening chapters of Lk. see R. Laurentin, *Structure et Théologie de Luc I–II*, 1964[4]). Elsewhere music is mentioned in the NT in various connexions: dirges (Matt. 9:23); prophetic passages (Matt. 24:31; 1 Cor. 15:32; 1 Thess. 4:16; Heb. 12:19); the music (*symphōnia*) of the merrymaking at the return of the prodigal son (Lk. 15:25); and in a metaphorical sense (Matt. 6:2; 11:17; Lk. 7:32; 1 Cor. 13:1; 1 Cor. 14:7 f.).

Singing is an expression of Christian joy; it is at the same time edifying expression of the Spirit-filled life. Singing, music and spiritual verse are "a mode of the Word, in

which Christ makes Himself heard" (H. Schlier, *TDNT* I 164 f.). This may be compared with Ignatius, *Eph.* 4:1 f., where the middle or passive vb. *Christos adetai*, "Christ is sung", can also be understood actively as "Christ sings". The following clause adds: "sing in unity with one voice to the Father through Jesus Christ [*en henotēti adete en phōnē mia dia Iēsou Christou tō patri*]."

Col. 3:16 likewise sees singing as a means of edification and praise: "Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly, as you teach and admonish one another in all wisdom, and as you sing psalms and hymns and spiritual songs [*psalmois hymnois ōdais pneumatikais*] with thankfulness in your hearts to God." Whilst pointing out that it is impossible to differentiate exactly between the three terms used here, E. Lohse says that, "Taken together, they describe the full range of singing which the Spirit prompts" (*Colossians and Philemon, Hermeneia*, 1971, 151). *psalmoi* often designates the OT Psalms (cf. Lk. 20:42; 24:44; Acts 1:20; 13:33), whereas *hymnos* is "the festive hymn of praise" (cf. LXX Isa. 42:10; 1 Macc. 13:51; Acts 16:25; Heb. 2:12) and *ōdē* is "the song in which God's acts are praised and glorified" (cf. Rev. 5:9; 14:3; 15:3) (E. Lohse, ibid.). H. Schlier is doubtless correct in seeing that Eph. 5:18 ff. and Col. 3:16 presuppose a situation similar to that in 1 Cor. 14:15, i.e. the regular worship of the early Christian community. The *eucharistountes*, "giving thanks", of Eph. 5:20 doubtless takes up vv. 18 ff. by way of summary. Even if one cannot agree with Schlier that this refers exclusively to the eucharistic prayer of thanksgiving, one can go along with him when he says that all such liturgical singing is acclaimed by the Amen of the whole congregation, and that if things are well sung, this can edify those who are present by building them into a community "in Christ". It only needs a glance into the various works on the history of worship in the earliest Christian communities to see the importance of liturgy for church life, and in particular the importance of singing in worship. Dom Gregory Dix, for instance, states that the first attacks of the Roman state were directed not so much against the holding of Christian belief, as against the liturgy, because it was "the expression of that belief in the *worship* of the *ecclesia*" (*The Shape of the Liturgy*, 1945, 146). Christian worship, from the standpoint of the state, was deliberate treason (*crimen laesae maiestatis*), while from the standpoint of the church it was "the supreme positive affirmation before God of the Christian life" (op. cit., 147). "For the Christian, as for the persecutor, the liturgy formed the very life not only of the church corporately, but of the individual soul" (op. cit., 148). Next to the preaching of the word and participation in the sacrament, the heart of worship was this "spiritual singing", a festive recognition of God in Jesus Christ as the Lord of the congregation and of the world. In this context, the use of *psallō* in parallel to *exhomologeomai*, → confess, in Rom. 15:9 is particularly important: even singing psalms is a confession of faith before God, in this case, concerning the eschatological conversion of the Gentiles.

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Soul

ψυχή

ψυχή (*psychē*), soul, life; ψυχικός (*psychikos*), pertaining to the soul or life, and thus physical (in contrast to spiritual), unspiritual.

CL 1. *psychē* is connected etymologically with the Indo-European root **bhs*, from which is derived the German vb. *blasen*, to blow. It originally meant breath, breath of life. The original meaning of *psychē* is therefore impersonal: the breath which gives life to man. For the concept of "the soul . . . as the bearer of conscious experiences" (J. B. Hofmann, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Griechischen*, 1949, 428), Homer retains *thymos* (related to Latin *fumus*, smoke; cf. *thyō*, to sacrifice). The latter denotes the warm flow of blood, the life-force, hence, emotion (excitement, courage, desire, craving).

Both words connote a psycho-physical entity, but not an identical one. As early as

Homer, *Il.* 11, 334, we find the attempt to combine the two, *thymos kai psychē.* When the dependence of the conscious soul (*thymos*) on the unconscious (*psychē*) became recognized, the meaning of *psychē* was broadened beyond its fixed usage in the earliest epic to include the content of *thymos.* Thus the *psychē*, which had originally been understood as an unconscious, impersonal basis of life, became the bearer of conscious experiences. The ideas about the transmigration of souls which were current in the 6th cent. B.C. indicate the conclusion of this process (→ Resurrection, art. *anastasis* CI): by now *psychē* embraces in equal measure the two concepts, basis of life and consciousness. The *psychē* is regarded as something permanent, and a person is given responsibility for its destiny.

If we examine this development in the meaning of *psychē*, we find that the word has three areas of meaning: (a) *psychē* in the sense of the impersonal basis of life, life itself; (b) the inward part of man; (c) an independent soul, in contrast to the body.

2. (a) In ancient Gk. literature, the soul is conceived as combined with the → body. When it leaves the body, the body loses its life (Homer, *Od.* 14, 426). A person's soul is snatched away, and with it his life (Homer, *Od.* 22, 444). Thus the soul can simply stand for life. A person may plead for his life (Soph., *OC* 1326; Hdt. 1, 24, 2); he may fight for his life (Homer, *Od.* 22, 245); he may risk his life (Homer, *Od.* 3, 74). One may accept compensation for the soul, i.e. the life of a man (Hdt. 2, 134, 4). A person may release his soul, and so his life, from himself (Eur., *Orestes* 1172). *psychē* can even come to mean things as dear as life, e.g. money (Hesiod, *Works* 696) and children (Eur., *Andromache* 419).

(b) *psychē* can refer to the inward part of man, his personality. Thus the soul can be equivalent to the person (Eur., *OC* 499). The soul, bound as it is to the body, is so much a personal force, that *psychē* can be used instead of the personal pronoun, so that "my soul" is equivalent to "I" (Soph., *Antigone* 227). According to the inner attributes of a person, his soul can be characterized as strong (Aristophanes, *Acharnenses* 393), or as wise. Men can be categorized according to the strength of their soul (Hdt., 5, 124). If man is anything at all, he is soul (Plato, *Alcibiades* 1, 130a).

The actual power of the soul is seen first of all in the movement which it imparts to the body in which it lives (Plato, *Laws* 896a–b). The concept of the soul becomes that of the character (Soph., *Philoctetes* 55) and of the disposition (Hdt., 3, 14, 1). Aristotle enquires into the nature of the soul, this inward force which fills and moves a man, and describes it as fire and warmth (Aristotle, *De Anima* 407 b 22), Plato presents the idea that the soul can be robbed of its body (Plato, *Laws* 873a–b).

The soul is the seat of perception, of desire and pleasure, and of enjoyment (Aesch., *Persae* 841). The word "soul" is used generally in place of emotion. "To have a soul" means the same as "to have a certain feeling" (Demosthenes, 28, 21). Thus the soul, and not the body, is the seat of love and erotic desire (Eur., *Hippolytus* 505), of hunger and thirst (Xen., *Institutio Cyri* 8, 7, 4). The powers of reason and of will are, however, also part of the soul. Thus the soul finds a place alongside thought and judgment (Soph., *Antigone* 176).

The properties of the soul are movement, observation, perception, and above all incorporeality (Aristotle, *De Anima* 405 b 11). Thus the soul can be assessed morally, according to its powers. The soul has a certain ability; its tasks are to care, to rule, to advise (Plato, *Republic* 1, 353D). Without the soul as the foundation,

sophia, wisdom, and *nous*, understanding, would have no chance to develop. Gk. philosophy generally pondered continually on the relationship between the different powers of the soul, and about their number and their capabilities. The Pythagoreans, for instance, regarded the soul as divided into three parts: *logismos*, thought, *thymos*, will, and *epithymia*, desire. Aristotle makes another tripartite division: nourishment, perception and thought (*De Anima* 413 b 11). Differences of view also exist on whether the soul is a special entity of quite different substance from the body, or whether, with Epicurus (*Epistulae* 1 p 19), one can assume that the soul has mass and is thus a body of infinitesimal size, which mixes itself with a vapour of warmth. For warmth can be observed to be the element of life, and remains even when the soul is conceived in a material form.

The Stoics held the soul to be material, nourished by material substances, and filling the body. It is correlated to the body. The substance of the soul is the *pneuma*, breath. Like the body, it results from procreation. It is fed by the evaporation of the blood, and by the air which it breathes in. *pathē*, affections, are the greatest enemies of the soul, and are in a position to rob it of liberty. They constitute an unnatural, irrational limitation for the soul.

The essential characteristic of the soul consists in the fact that it is in movement, that it can set itself in motion (Plato, *Phaedrus* 245e). Among all animate beings, man is the one in whom the deity has implanted the most powerful soul (Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 1, 9, 14). Furthermore, it has a share in divinity, since the divine power rules in man by means of the soul (Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 4, 3, 14). The soul can be trained, according to its various capabilities. The most important thing, however, as Socrates teaches (Plato, *Apology* 30b), is to cultivate or take care of, *epimeleisthai*, the soul, rather than wealth or happiness. For virtue does not result from wealth; on the contrary, the acquisition of wealth and of other good things both in private and in public life are the fruit of virtue. One could say that here for the first time we find the concept of the care of souls. Socrates is not concerned with speculations about the soul, its life before and after its time in the body, although these are questions which interested Plato (→ Resurrection, art. *anastasis* CL). Here a new ideal of education is envisaged, and the soul acquires a completely new meaning. This has nothing to do with the Orphic soul-demon, nor with the soul in Attic tragedy, nor with the Homeric, epic concept of *eidōlon*, the shadowy image of man which exists in the underworld (W. Jaeger, *Paideia*, II, 89 ff.; and *The Theology of the Early Greek Philosophers*, 1947). Since the soul is a spirit capable of thought and reason, which has moral awareness, the care of the soul is service of God. The soul, as part of the cosmos, must be brought into harmony with the cosmos. Man reaches this harmony by gaining full mastery over himself. In this way he can hold his own in the face of destiny and of nature; the soul is enabled to govern the body.

(c) The Homeric epics speak not only of the departure of the soul, i.e. the loss of life, but they also know something of an abode of souls. In this there is no attempt at a speculative or theoretical understanding of the soul in contradistinction to the body. Rather, we see the effect of the parapsychological experiences which were common among men of ancient times. This is the background of the portrayal of Patroclus' ghost: he is dead, but not yet in Hades, and the ghost is just like Patroclus in height, voice and clothing. The soul goes into the underworld like a vapour, accompanied by rustling, chirping, and buzzing (like bats, Homer, *Od.* 24, 5 ff.); one

could perhaps say that it flits. It is a likeness (*eidōlon*) of the person concerned, but not that person himself. The soul is thus represented here as an entity in its own right, as opposed to the body; it joins itself to its body and leaves it again (Homer, *Il.* 23, 64 ff., 100 ff.; *Od.* 11, 387).

Related to this in thought is the concept of a journey of the soul into the world beyond, and its return to the earth; or of its descent from the realm of light into the body (→ Knowledge, art. *ginōskō* CL 2 (c)) or to the earth, and its return to the heavenly world by means of a cycle of births, *kyklos geneseōn*. Another concept is that of a gathering of the souls in a field in the underworld, to hear the judgment as to whether they will partake in the eternal symposium, or lie in the mire of the underworld. The real driving force behind these ideas about the soul, and practices of liberating it, is the religious movement of Orphism. The concept of an independent soul, not tied to a body, which can leave its body for a certain time and then return, is found in other cultures as well (cf. for instance M. Eliade on Shamanism in *RGG* [3] V 1386 ff.; and in the Gk. world, W. Burkert, *Weisheit und Wissenschaft*, 1962, 98 ff.; and *Goēs. Zum griechischen Schamanismus, Rheinisches Museum*, Neue Folge 105, 1962, 36 ff.).

Plato provides us with the idea that the soul can be deprived of its body (*Laws* 873a–b), that it does not come fully into its own until it has been separated from the body (*Phaedo* 66e–67a), and that it is immortal (*Republic* 10, 608d; *Phaedo* 70c; *Phaedrus* 245c–e). He argues for the necessity of the soul's immortality on the ground that a lifetime is too short a period for the moral struggle in man. A man must therefore be able to collect and assess experiences from several incarnations of the soul. It has knowledge of the forms of ultimate reality which it acquired in pre-physical existence. The body is clothing for the soul (*peribolon*), or a kind of prison (*desmōtērion*; Plato, *Cratylus* 400c). Liberation from this prison may be achieved by Bacchic ceremonies, through the grace of gods who provide redemption, or by ascetic renunciation of earthly existence. The immortal souls are led into the underworld by Hermes. There, for the uninitiated, the *amyētoi* and *atelestoi*, there awaits the mire (*borboros*) of the underworld (Plato, *Phaedo* 60c).

Another conception of liberation is that according to which the soul rises to the light in a series of new incarnations, a kind of transmigration of the soul. Its particular deeds determine the character of its new existence (we find similar ideas in the Indian religions, but there Karma is a completely impersonal and moreover self-exhausting force). All these ideas depend on the belief that the soul is something totally independent of the body, having substance and immortality of its own.

In a figurative sense, the term *psychē* can also be used of the inspiring force in the constitution of a state. Isocrates speaks of the soul of the city (12, 138), and Demosthenes describes the virtue of men as the soul of Greece (60, 23). The thought of a world-soul as the life principle of the cosmos, so that the cosmos itself is soul and governing principle (*hēgemonikon*), is found in Chrysippus the Stoic.

OT 1. In the LXX (including the Apocrypha), *psychē*, soul, occurs over 900 times, and is distributed fairly equally among the various books. Most often it stands for the Heb. *nepeš* (originally, throat, gullet; then breath, exhalation), but also 25 times for *lēḇ*, → heart, inner man (especially in Pss., Chr., Isa.; elsewhere *lēḇ* is usually rendered by *kardia*), 5 times for *ḥayyâh*, living thing (otherwise rendered by *zōon*; →

life), twice (Gen. 41:8; Exod. 35:21) for *rûaḥ*, spirit (otherwise rendered by *pneuma*), and once (Lev. 17:4) for *'îš*, man (otherwise rendered by *anēr* or *anthrōpos*; → man). The Heb. *nᵉšāmâh*, breath, is generally rendered by *pnoē*, wind, breath (→ Spirit), but never by *psychē*.

(a) *nepeš* denotes that which makes a body, whether of man or beast, into a living being. Thus it can even on one occasion (Gen. 36:6) be translated *sōma* (→ body). When *nepeš* is translated as *psychē*, *psychē* "signifies that which is vital in man in the broadest sense" (G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, I, 1962, 153), in other words, that which is alive. We read of the living soul (Gen. 1:20; RSV "living creatures"). A dying person breathes out his soul (AV "gives up the ghost"; cf. Jer. 15:9), or pours it out (Lam. 2:12). It departs from the person who dies (Gen. 35:18). It (i.e. the life) can, however, return to a person's body (1 Ki. 17:21). "Soul for soul" means "life for life" (Exod. 21:23). → Blood, as the seat of life, can be practically identical with *psychē* (Gen. 9:4 f.; Lev. 17:11, 14; cf. Deut. 12:23; → Blood; → Reconciliation, art. *hilaskomai* OT 3 (c)).

(b) *psychē*, rendering *nepeš*, is the sensitive part of the life of the ego, the seat of the emotions, of love (Cant. 1:7), of longing (Ps. 63[62]:1) and of gladness (Ps. 86:4). This is not the subject of any further reflection. The "soul" reveals its life in movement and the most various expressions of the emotions. It is the uniting factor for the inner powers of man: hence the phrase "with all your soul" (Deut. 13:3). Within the soul dwell the desire for food (Deut. 12:20, 21), the lust of the flesh (Jer. 2:24), and the thirst for murder and revenge (Ps. 27[26]:12). The soul expresses its feelings: it weeps (Ps. 119[118]:28), is poured out in tears (Job 30:16), is "made long" in patient endurance (Job 6:11). But knowledge and understanding (Ps. 139[138]:14), thought (1 Sam. 20:4) and memory (Lam. 3:20), have their seat in the soul as well. To such a degree is the soul the summing up of the whole personality, of the whole self of a person, that "soul" can be equivalent in meaning to "I myself" or "yourself" (1 Sam. 18:1). In Gen. 2:7, *psychē* means "person" or "being".

So too living creatures can be described as souls: everything that lives, all living things, usually in a collective sense (Lev. 11:10). A "soul" in the laws means the person concerned in a particular ordinance (e.g. Lev. 4:2; 5:1, 2, 4, 15). When the people are numbered, counting is by "souls" (Exod. 1:5; Deut. 10:22). A clear indication of how unfamiliar the OT is with the concept of a soul separate from the body, or a soul which becomes separated from the body at death, is the fact that it can speak of a dead person as the soul of that person, and mean by this phrase the dead person in his corporeality (Num. 6:6).

(c) Whereas the usage of this word in the Qumran texts remains totally within the OT framework (e.g. 1QS 3:1, 8; 1QH 2:7–35; 3:6, 19; 5:12–39; 9:7 f., 28, 33; CD 16:1–9), Hellenistic influence is more clearly discernible in the apocryphal literature. While elsewhere we do not find reflection about the relationship between → body and soul, body and soul are here contrasted. A perishable body weighs down the soul (Wis. 9:15). The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God (Wis. 3:1). Pollution of souls is also mentioned (Wis. 14:26). It is especially bad when no healing can be found for the soul, so that it must perish eternally (Wis. 16:9).

2. Josephus makes use in his accounts of history and personalities of many-sided, powerful Hellenistic concepts, which he has at his disposal as a result of his education and training.

(a) For him too *psychē* is primarily the seat of outward, earthly life (to save the souls, as opposed to the goods, *Ant.* 9, 240; danger to the soul, i.e. mortal danger, *War* 1, 493).

(b) *psychē* is the sense of the inner man with its various powers as contrasted with the body (*War* 1, 430). It is the locus of the will and the virtues (*Ant.* 2, 9 distinguishes good birth and the virtue of the soul), the seat of the emotions (shock, *Ant.* 20, 83; hatred, *Ant.* 16, 93) and qualities (wickedness, *Ant.* 16, 301).

(c) Finally, immortal souls are contrasted with men's bodies (*War* 2, 154; cf. *Ant.* 18, 18, on the Essenes who regard their souls as immortal). The soul, not being subject to corruption, can pass over into another body. The evil soul will, however, suffer eternal punishment (*War* 2, 163). Mention should also be made of the speech which Josephus puts into the mouth of Eleazar, the leader of the rebels, at Masada (*War* 7, 341 ff.). Here too Josephus is moving in the world of Hellenistic thought concerning the immortality of the soul and its true life, separated from the body, in eternal fellowship with God (even Indian ideas are cited). Thus for Josephus the immortality of the soul and its connexion with eternal life open up opportunities which can be wasted, inasmuch as the immortal soul is determined and overpowered by the body.

(d) Josephus uses *psychē* and *pneuma*, → spirit, in the same context without further reflection. He says nothing of their individual functions. Clearly *pneuma* is the higher consciousness of man, while *psychē* stands for the life-force as such (*Ant.* 11, 240).

3. In Philo's doctrine of the soul, his doctrine of creation, which is conditioned by the OT, is further developed (*Migr.* 34). For him the soul is the side of human existence that has been equipped with divine powers and possibilities; it belongs to the divine Spirit (*Virt.* 217), and its first power is that of glorifying God. Of particular concern for Philo is the governing principle (*hēgemonikon*) of souls, the *nous*, understanding (*Leg. All.* 1, 39; → Reason). The essence of this governing part, the "soul" of the soul, is the Spirit of God (*Rer. Div. Her.* 55).

(a) Philo also knows *psychē* in the sense of life; its whole being is in the blood (*Det. Pot. Ins.* 84) and thus includes what is mortal.

(b) As in Gk. philosophy, we find in Philo the division of the soul into rational and irrational powers (*Agric.* 63), and also the concept of the soul as the seat of the emotions, especially virtue (*Det. Pot. Ins.* 59), and thus of life (ibid., 70). The power of the *nous* is expressed in thinking, willing, the power to beget, and perception.

(c) In striking contrast to the OT, Philo takes it for granted that there are bodiless souls (*Sacr.* 5; *Som.* 1, 135). He assumes that the universe, which for him is God's sanctuary, is filled with bodiless souls of a purely spiritual nature, i.e. the angels. In comparison with them, man appears as a mixture of reason and irrationality (*Spec. Leg.* 1, 66). He writes of higher beings which join themselves to mortal bodies for a certain length of time and then leave them again (*Plant.* 14). The soul achieves eternal life by the acquisition and practice of virtues (*Conf. Ling.* 161), especially that of glorifying God (*Op. Mund.* 155). The soul finally leaves the mortal part belonging to it behind (cf. above (a)), and goes into the world of things imperishable and incorruptible (*Migr.* 18). It is really at home in the divine world; in the body it finds itself in a place alien to it (*Som.* 1, 181). Being in constant motion, it belongs to God, who himself is the world-soul and is himself in constant motion (*Aet. Mund.* 84).

4. Hellenistic influences are also clearly discernible generally in Judaism. 4 Macc. in particular demonstrates this with its conception of an immortal soul which separates itself from the body in death. Death is the way to immortality (4 Macc. 14:5); the victor's prize for virtue is everlasting life, i.e. of the soul (4 Macc. 17:12). In the hour of death, the soul of the righteous man is received by the patriarchs (4 Macc. 5:37; 13:17). A clear example of the adoption of Hellenistic ideas is to be seen at about the middle of the 1st century A.D. in Johanan ben Zakkai. He speaks of Gehenna as an intermediate place of punishment (Berakoth 28b 23; cf. Ab. R. N. 25; 7a 51). The Midrash on Ecclesiastes (3:21, 22a) also pursues this line. Here the souls of the righteous as well as those of the ungodly rise at death to the heavenly height in order to receive the judgment on them. This view is in the background in two passages in the Gospel of Luke (in the Acts too Luke shows the influence of typical Hellenistic ideas), although *psychē*, soul, is not specifically mentioned: (a) at Lk. 16:23, Lazarus is in Abraham's bosom, and the rich man in the place of torment; (b) at Lk. 23:43, the well-known saying "Today you will be with me in Paradise" (→ Paradise). On the other hand, we do not find the concept of separate judgments for body and soul. If that were the case, the soul would have no responsibility for the body. Rather, we have the picture of a → resurrection, where God will bring the soul and the body together and then judge both. There is thus no room for the concept of the soul as the location of ideas, thoughts and moral conviction, with the body as the seat of the passions. Despite Hellenistic ideas about the soul, the typical Jewish hope remains of a resurrection, and thus of the righteousness of God, which can only then come into play. God holds an eschatological judgment on body and soul (Sanhedrin 91a). So too in the apocryphal literature (2 Esd. 7:78 ff.) we find the idea of a judgment of souls directly after death. By decree of the divine judge, the souls are sent to a place of refreshment and peace and sevenfold joy, or to a place of torments and of roaming in sevenfold pain. Thus Enoch catches sight of the dwellings of the righteous dead, who make request, and intercede and pray for the children of men (Eth. En. 39:4 f.). Similarly, Eth. Enoch 71:16 relates that at death the righteous enter heaven. The paraenetic ending of the book of Enoch follows the same theme: the souls of sinners go into the underworld, while the spirits (here meaning much the same as souls) of the righteous may rejoice and be glad, and do not die (Eth. Enoch 103:4, 7).

NT 1. In the NT, by way of contrast to the frequent use of the word in the LXX, *psychē* occurs in all only 101 times; of these 37 occurrences are in the Synoptic Gospels, 15 in Acts, and 10 in the Gospel of John. The majority of examples are therefore found in the narrative portions of the NT. In the Pauline Epistles it occurs altogether 13 times, 7 times in Rev., 6 times each in Heb. and 1 Pet., twice each in Jas., 2 Pet., and 1 Jn., and once in 3 Jn.

2. (a) In the NT *psychē*, soul, is also the seat of life, or life itself, as in the well-known saying, "whoever would save his life [*psychē*] will lose it; and whoever loses his life for my sake ... will save it" (Mk. 8:35 par. Matt. 16:25, Lk. 9:24; cf. Matt. 10:39; Lk. 17:33; Jn. 12:25). What it means to say, that he who gives up his life will truly find it, becomes clear from the example of Jesus himself and his death and resurrection: true life is ever only won through sacrifice. Quite clearly *psychē* means life again in the saying Mk. 10:45 par. Matt. 20:28: Christ's mission here is to give his life as a ransom for many (→ Redemption, art. *lytron* NT). So too at Lk. 14:26

"hate his own soul" means "hate his own life" (cf. Lk. 9:23, to deny oneself). The counterpart of Lk. 14:26 is Rev. 12:11 which speaks of those who have not loved their lives.

psychē embraces the whole natural being and life of man for which he concerns himself and of which he takes constant care. Thus Matt. 6:25 speaks of being anxious for the *psychē*, i.e. for its food. Life (*psychē*) and body (*sōma*) are God's handiwork: therefore they are of more importance than the food and clothing about which man is so concerned. At Lk. 12:19 the rich man addresses his soul, i.e. he speaks to himself. However, he does not bargain with the fact that his *psychē*, i.e. his life, can be taken from him at any moment. The citation of Ps. 16:10 in Acts 2:27 also speaks of the *psychē* – again in the sense of the seat of life – as being left by God in Hades, or given up to Hades (→ Resurrection, art. *anastasis* OT 2; → Hell), i.e. that the speaker will die. Even for Paul, to think little of the soul means to think little of one's life (Phil. 2:30).

Jn. 10:11 speaks of Jesus laying down his *psychē* for the sheep. This is the reason why the Father loves the good shepherd (Jn. 10:17). The same expression is also used in Jn. 13:37 f., where Peter offers his own ("I will lay down my life for you"). In connexion with both vbs. *tithenai*, to put, place, but here to lay down (John's Gospel), and *dounai*, to give (Matt. 20:28; Mk. 10:45), *psychē* means life, however the vbs. are interpreted.

In Rom. 16:4 Paul remembers those who have risked their own lives for his, and in Acts 15:26 Barnabas and Paul are described as men who have risked their *psychē*, i.e. their life, "for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ".

The word *psychē* is also found in the NT in recording numbers of people (Acts 7:14, "Jacob and all his kindred, seventy-five souls"; Acts 27:37, two hundred and seventy-six "souls" at the shipwreck on Malta; 1 Pet. 3:20, eight "souls" saved in → Noah's ark), and in the phrase "every soul" meaning "everyone" (Acts 2:43, "fear came on every soul"; cf. Acts 3:23; 27:22; Rom. 2:9; 13:1).

The expression "every living soul" (Rev. 16:3; cf. 8:9) is also to be understood in the OT sense. In the creation the dust of the ground was made into a "living soul" by the breathing in of the divine breath (cf. Gen. 2:7). Paul takes up this idea in 1 Cor. 15:45, in order to contrast this "living soul", the power and directing force of natural, earthly life, with the life-giving → Spirit present in Jesus Christ.

(b) *psychē* means the inner life of man, equivalent to the ego, person, or personality, with the various powers of the soul. In 2 Cor. 1:23 Paul pledges his "soul" in a kind of curse upon himself, as a form of solemn asseveration. The reference here is not only to the life, but to the whole man, with all that he believes, hopes and strives for. Similarly in 1 Thess. 2:8, Paul writes concerning himself and his coworkers, that they have given their "souls", i.e. their living powers of energy, themselves with all the powers of their personality, working day and night, in their care of the churches. "Soul" is meant in this sense of the person with its conscious powers in Jn. 10:24 in the Jews' question of Jesus, "How long will you keep us in suspense [*heōs pote tēn psychēn hēmōn aireis*]? If you are the Christ tell us plainly." Jesus speaks of souls which are in need of rest and peace (Matt. 11:29). In the depth of the soul sorrow is experienced (Matt. 26:38 par. Mk. 14:34; cf. Ps. 42[41]:6). In Lk. 1:46 soul is used in parallel with spirit. Both have here the meaning of the whole inner man, in contrast to the outward aspect of lips and speech. Above all, the soul is

spoken of here in a sense which goes beyond the world of Gk. thought. It is the seat of the religious life and of man's relationship to God. It is this religious root in human life which is referred to in Lk. 2:35, contrasted directly with the sword which wounds the body outwardly. We have here to do with a hidden, inward experience of the soul. The religious life of man is also the subject of 3 Jn. 2: "it is well with your soul." In this sense, the "righteous soul" is used in 2 Pet. 3:8 as a circumlocution for the religious man.

Of interest is the contrast of soul and spirit, as expressed in 1 Thess. 5:23, with its tripartite division of man. Here it is not a contrast between soul and body, but between → spirit, soul and body. The spirit in this context, as in Philo and Platonism, means the higher side of man, possibly something not far removed from Philo's *hēgemonikon* (cf. CL 2(c)). Soul thus means life, i.e. the fact of being alive, and the aspect of man which has to do with willing and emotion. In a similar way, in 1 Cor. 2:14 Paul contrasts the *anthrōpos psychikos* and the *anthrōpos pneumatikos*, man enlightened by God's Spirit. The former is animate man, filled with soul in the sense of life-force ("a living soul", Gen. 2:7; cf. 1 Cor. 15:45), the natural man, in contrast to the spiritual man. The spirit here referred to is (in distinction from that in 1 Thess. 5:23, see above) God's Spirit, not some higher spiritual power which is part of man's make-up even as natural man. In this contrast with spirit, soul does not refer to a different anthropological category, but to a different mode of existence.

The adj. *psychikos* is used again in Paul's discussion of the nature of the resurrection where the body of this life is contrasted with the resurrection body. The former is *psychikos*; the latter is *pneumatikos*. "It is sown a physical body [*sōma psychikon*], it is raised a spiritual body [*sōma pneumatikon*]. If there is a physical body [*sōma psychikon*], there is also a spiritual body [*sōma pneumatikon*]. Thus it is written, 'The first man Adam became a living being [*psychēn zōsan*]'; the last Adam became a life-giving spirit. But it is not the spiritual [*to pneumatikon*] which is first but the physical [*to psychikon*], and then the spiritual [*to pneumatikon*]" (1 Cor. 15:44 ff.). In this way Paul counters the objection against the absurdity of thinking of the resurrection as the resuscitation of our corpses (cf. v. 35; → Resurrection, art. *The Resurrection in Contemporary Theology* 2; → Seed, art. *sperma* NT 2 (e)). The RSV rightly brings out the contrast between life under the conditions of space and time and the resurrection life by translating the adj. here by "physical". In Jas. 3:15 the sense is best brought out by translating it with the RSV as "unspiritual". Here the contrast is worldly wisdom and divine wisdom: "This wisdom is not such as comes down from above, but is earthly, unspiritual, devilish" (Jas. 3:15). Finally, in Jude 13 the RSV translates it as "worldly": "It is these who set up divisions, worldly people, devoid of the Spirit." In each case the emphasis falls on man as he is in himself without the new life of God.

When, on the other hand, Heb. 4:12 talks of a dividing asunder of soul and spirit, we are probably to think of a purely conceptual and not otherwise discernible division of the innermost powers of man. "That the word of God probes the inmost recesses of our spiritual being and brings the subconscious motives to light is what is meant" (F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, *NLC*, 1964, 82). In Heb. 6:19 ("anchor of the soul"), "soul" again means the whole inner life of man with his powers of will, reason and emotion. In this connexion, mention should also be made of the use of *psychē* to mean insight, will, disposition, sensations, moral powers of

man. This is also the meaning of "with all your soul" (Matt. 22:37 par. Mk. 12:30, Lk. 20:27; cf. Deut. 6:5; → Command; → Love). *ek psychēs*, from the heart, freely (Eph. 6:6; Col. 3:23; in each case the only occurrence in the letter), should be understood in the same way (cf. also Sir. 6:26; etc.). Similarly we find the phrase *mia psychē*, with one mind (Phil. 1:27), resulting from *en heni pneumati*, in one spirit. The background here is probably the notion that the church is the body of Christ, which – in a similar manner to the human body – is filled with a soul, showing itself as real and alive when it completes the unity of the body by bringing about a unity of inner powers within the church. In Acts 4:32, likewise, the common mind is meant, which causes the church to be united with one heart and one soul. This inner power of the church members is also the target of the exhortation in Heb. 12:3, not to grow weary or faint in the soul, i.e. inwardly. Souls which are not firmly established can be enticed and led astray (Heb. 10:39). Here the dispute is with inner desires, the uncontrolled movements of the soul. Souls can also be activated in wrong and evil ways: they can be poisoned (Acts 14:2).

In quotations from the OT the popular parallelism of "my soul" and "I" as equivalent expressions has been taken over. Thus God himself speaks of his soul, embracing in this expression all that characterizes the living person of God in the OT: his love, wrath, faithfulness, etc. (Matt. 12:18, cf. Isa. 42:1; Heb. 10:38, cf. Hab. 2:4).

(c) Hellenistic Judaism is familiar with the concepts both of the soul's corruption and of the soul's salvation. These lines of thought appear in the later epistles of the NT, but no reference is intended to the immortal soul as guarantee or substance of eternal life. Although such passages show definite traces of Hellenism, they are nonetheless brought on to a rather different level by biblical tradition, basic eschatological insights, and the Christian experience of faith in the risen Lord. Thus what, for example, in Xenophon is a call referring to physical life, when he says "save your souls" (*Cyr.* 4, 4, 10) in the sense of "save your lives", becomes in the NT an exhortation to believe and obey the divine message. It is the task of the church leader to keep watch over souls destined for eternity (Heb. 13:17; O. Michel interprets "soul" here as "eschatological life" (*Der Brief an die Hebräer*, *KEK* 13, 1966[12], ad loc.).

Jas. 1:21 and 5:20 speak of the salvation of the soul which is in danger. The → death from which it is said that the soul will be saved is eternal death, exclusion from eternal life. The salvation of souls in this sense is the goal of faith and the content of the whole saving activity of God, in which he gives all those who are baptized a share (1 Pet. 1:9). It is probably for this reason that 1 Pet. 1:22 speaks of the purification and absolution of the soul, i.e. the inner life. It is a matter of the soul in its relationship to God. Against it, against its will and obedience the fleshly lusts strive (1 Pet. 2:11). The soul, as the part of us which believes and is sanctified, is destined to an inheritance in God's future kingdom. Thus here the contrast is not between spirit, soul and body, but between the soul and the lusts of the flesh. It is souls in this sense that are meant in 1 Pet. 2:25, their shepherd and bishop being Jesus Christ himself. For the slaves who are addressed here there is a contrast between him and their earthly overseers, with their arbitrary and unjust ways. The consciousness that they have a true "bishop" watching over their souls cannot but give the slaves strength to be patient, loving and humble (1 Pet. 2:25). "Soul" is used again in the

same sense of being destined for eternal life and victory over death, when Christians are exhorted in 1 Pet. 4:19 to entrust their souls to God in time of persecution, since he will preserve men for eternity.

Matt. 10:28 (cf. Lk. 12:5) also comes into this category. The soul is directed to God alone, who "is able to destroy both body and soul in hell." The soul in this sense only exists because it is called by God and because it allows itself to be called and filled with divine power. God alone has power over it. He can let it live, and he can destroy it. Similarly in Rev. 6:9 and 20:4 mention is made of the souls of those who have been slain, who are under the altar of God in heaven, i.e. under the altar in the heavenly counterpart of the temple. This imagery is probably based on the fact that the blood of sacrifice was poured out before or on to the altar (Lev. 4:7; → Sacrifice, art. *thyō* OT 3, NT 5). The martyrs, who have shed their blood for Christ's sake, are compared with the sacrifices. That is why their souls are under the altar, since the soul, i.e. the life, is in the blood. The dominant thought is that the souls which have been won by God, which have been saved, which believe in him and sacrifice themselves for him, are preserved in his keeping; and they are inextricably bound up with the realization of God's aims and place, in his heavenly world with its future destiny and its future appearance upon earth.

3. Although the Hellenistic term *psychē* appears more frequently in the later epistles of the NT than in other parts (cf. 2 (c)), it must not be imagined that this implies the concept of the soul as the real and valuable part of man, the eternal and permanent element. That would be a misunderstanding. This kind of thinking, which incidentally was characteristic of German Idealism, deduces the immortality and permanence of the soul from its own particular quality. This is just what the NT does not teach. The soul is simply that area in which decisions are made concerning life and death, salvation and destruction. Moreover, every statement about the *psychē* in the NT is linked in context with eschatological statements about renewal and resurrection. Outside such a context this line of thought is impossible. Part of this context of ideas is the teaching that God is judge, that his judgment determines whether the soul shall be saved or destroyed, and the fact that the salvation of the soul is always understood in connexion with the → resurrection of the body, i.e. a new embodiment of the soul. *G. Harder*

4. In addition to *psychikos* (discussed above under 2 (b)) the NT contains several other compounds. *anapsyxis*, which is found in cl. Gk. from Euripides and Plato, is found only at Acts 3:20 in the phrase *kairoi anapsyxeōs*, "times of refreshing", i.e. the age of salvation, which is promised to the nation of Israel if it repents. Although great numbers of Jews are converted (Acts 2:41; 4:4; 5:14; 21:20), the Israel that Luke describes in Acts is one in which large numbers of Gentiles are incorporated, and from which many of the old Israel remain aloof (cf. E. Schweizer, *TDNT* IX 664 f.). The cognate vb. *anapsychō* has a transitive meaning at the only place where it occurs in the NT, as compared with its intransitive sense in the LXX where it means to refresh oneself (Exod. 23:12; Jdg. 15:19; 1 Sam. 16:23; 2 Sam. 16:14; Ps. 39[38]:14). 2 Tim. 1:16 mentions how Onesiphorus often refreshed Paul whilst he was in prison. It is not clear whether this refers to physical needs or spiritual encouragement, or both. Probably they are not to be separated (cf. E. Schweizer, *TDNT* IX 664). The term *dipsychos*, "double minded", does not occur before Jas.

1:8. Perhaps it means with a divided heart (cf. 1QH 4:14; Deut. 29:17; Ezek. 14:3 ff.; Sir. 1:28; 1 Clem. 23:2 ff.; 2 Clem. 11:2 ff.; 19:2; Hermas, *Man.* 11:1 ff.; E. Schweizer, *TDNT* IX 665). But perhaps it was a local term (cf. S. Marshall, "*Dipsychos*: A Local Term?", *StudEv* VI = *TU* 112, 1973, 348–51). At any rate James makes the twofold point that such a man is unstable and that he cannot presume on the goodness of God, for prayer and devotion require a wholehearted attitude to God: "For that person must not suppose that a double-minded man [*anēr dipsychos*], unstable in all his ways, will receive anything from the Lord." The rare word *oligopsychos* means faint-hearted in Koine Gk., and means faint-hearted, discouraged in 1 Thess. 5:14. Such persons are to be encouraged, though the idle are to be admonished. *sympsychos*, harmonious, united in spirit, occurs in Phil. 2:2, where Paul exhorts the church to complete his joy by being of one spirit and love. Shortly afterwards he expresses the hope that he will be cheered (*eupsycheō*) by news of them, which no doubt implies the hope that they will have taken to heart his admonition of vv. 1–18. *C. Brown*

→ Adam, → Body, → Flesh, → Heart, → Heaven, → Hell, → Life, → Man, → Paradise, → Reason, → Resurrection, → Spirit

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Spirit, Holy Spirit

πνεῦμα

πνεῦμα (*pneuma*), spirit, wind; πνέω (*pneō*), to blow; πνοή (*pnoē*), wind, breath; ἐκπνέω (*ekpneō*), breathe out; ἐμπνέω (*empneō*), to pant; πνευματικός (*pneumatikos*), spiritual; πνευματικῶς (*pneumatikōs*), spiritually; θεόπνευστος (*theopneustos*), God-breathed, inspired by God.

CL The Gk. root *pneu-*, from which the NT word for spirit is derived, denotes dynamic movement of the air. Its derivatives have the following meanings: *pneō*, to blow (of wind and air generally, also on a musical instrument); to breathe (also in the sense of to be alive); to emit a fragrance, etc.; to radiate heat, anger, courage, benevolence, etc. (all presumably considered to be borne along on the element of air). *pnoē* means blowing, breathing (particularly panting), inspiration (by a deity), steam, evaporation. *ekpneō* means to breathe out, blow out, stop breathing (i.e. to die), to get out of breath, to stop blowing. *empneō* means to breathe in, to be breathing, to be alive, to blow on to or into something, to inbreathe, inspire.

pneuma, spirit, a word of great significance in the NT, is formed from this root with the suffix *-ma* and denotes the result of this action, namely, air set in motion, considered as a special substance and with an underlying stress on its inherent power. When it first occurred (and there are no proven instances of it before the pre-Socratic school), it therefore meant wind or breath, but increasingly it took on the functions of related concepts, so that by the Hellenistic period it was a term of some importance, though still with a somewhat materialistic connotation.

The air that men breathe was considered to be the bearer of life (thus to discontinue breath means to die, Aesch., *Pers.* 507). From the 5th cent. onward Gk. physicians developed a physiology based on this and soon drew a distinction between man's inward, innate *pneuma* and the air he breathed. In Aristotle this *pneuma* was the formative power which, from the embryo onwards, gradually produced the mature individual and then, in the case of man, became the instrument whereby the soul controlled the body.

Already, therefore, it was approaching the meaning held by *psychē*, → soul, the distinction being that the latter was a purely functional term, while *pneuma* was regarded as a substance. In Stoic philosophy, however, *pneuma* took over the functions of *psychē* in relation to the senses and to thought and speech (some Stoic philosophers even came to identify it with *nous*, the specifically human power of intellect). Stoicism also regarded it as an elemental principle which gave coherence to the different entities in creation, while at the same time differentiating them one from another. Thus, as an ethereal, fire-like, extremely fine-textured substance, it arranged the world in terms of a descending scale, without which the world's very existence would have been an impossibility. In its purely ethereal form it was the Logos or God; as spiritual fire it was the soul of man; as physical *pneuma* it fashioned the

plants, and as "habitual" *pneuma* it gave coherence to inanimate objects. Hence, it came to be regarded as the fifth element (or "quintessence"), having already been used, instead of "air", as one of the four elements.

Probably under Stoic influence, Plutarch and several others abandoned the widely used functional term *epipnoia* (afflatus), which had formed the basis of Plato's theory concerning the various types of ecstatic inspiration (*Phdr.* 244 ff.; cf. 265b). In its place, and in obvious dependence upon Plato, they used *pneuma* to denote inspiration, regarding it as a material substance which filled a man and enabled him to prophesy. This prophetic *pneuma* was considered in turn to be "enthusiastic", visionary, demonic, holy (*hieron*), even divine. Papyrus finds reveal the active part it played in popular religion (always given to magic and soothsaying), and in the so-called Mithras Liturgy (ed. A. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, 1923[3], 4, 14, 21) it appears among the four elements, being described as "holy" and "immortal" and as elevating its recipient above mortal nature, probably by analogy with prophetic ecstasy.

Finally, it is found in the sense of "spirit", "demon", in Hellenistic inscriptions and papyri (also in later writers, e.g. Iamblichus, *De Mysteriis* 2, 3, 10). There is certainly Near Eastern influence here, and possibly some Jewish influence.

The adj. *pneumatikos* (the suffix *-ikos* denotes "pertaining to") shares the meanings of its root noun and is used from the pre-Socratic school onwards. *theopneustos* (inspired by God) is rare, not being used before the Hellenistic period, and then only with reference to divination, apart from one isolated instance where it is applied to wisdom (cf. M. Dibelius and H. Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles*, *Hermeneia*, 1972, 120; → Scripture, art. *graphē* NT 1 (c)).

OT In the LXX the Heb. equivalent of *pneuma* is almost always *rûaḥ*; only three times does *pneuma* render *nᵉšāmâh*, breath. Furthermore, as far as LXX translations of *rûaḥ* are concerned, *pneuma* predominates, for of the 377 instances of *rûaḥ* in the Masoretic Text, 264 are translated by *pneuma*, the next most frequent rendering being *anemos*, wind, used 49 times. The idea behind *rûaḥ* is the extraordinary fact that something as intangible as air should move; at the same time it is not so much the movement *per se* which excites attention, but rather the energy manifested by such movement. The basic meaning of *rûaḥ*, therefore, is more or less that of "blowing".

1. Hence, in roughly one third of all instances, it is used for the wind, which, being intangible, has God as its immediate cause (Gen. 8:1; Amos 4:13; Isa. 40:7; Ps. 104[103]:4). In this same connexion, *rûaḥ* takes on two special senses: the direction of the wind (e.g. Ezek. 37:9; 42:16–20) and metaphorically, because of the wind's ephemeral nature (cf. Ps. 78[77]:39), nothing, nothingness (e.g. Eccl. 5:15, LXX *anemos*).

2. The same phenomenon occurs in the breath, both of man (Ezek. 37:8, 10, cf. 9), and of beasts (Eccl. 3:19, 21 and passim). It denotes the life-force of the individual (Jdg. 15:19) and of the group (Num. 16:22), that which is lacking in idols (Jer. 10:14) but not in God (Ps. 33[32]:6) or the messiah (Isa. 11:4). God gives (cf. Isa. 42:5) and protects it (Ps. 31[30]:6), but is free to take it back again (Ps. 104[103]:29), whereupon it returns to God (Eccl. 12:7). As a life-force it manifests

itself in varying degrees of intensity, the dominant idea being that of its accompanying vitality rather than that of breathing. It can be adversely affected by emotions ranging from anxiety (Gen. 41:8) and grief (Gen. 26:35), to utter despair (Job 17:1). It is heightened by jealousy (Num. 5:14) or anger (Jdg. 8:3), while there is a clear echo of the word's basic meaning in the vivid phrase expressing God's wrath: "the blast of his nostrils" (Exod. 15:8; Job 4:9).

This reveals the manner in which the OT speaks of → man: not clinically, with his human attributes all neatly classified, but concretely, i.e. the writers take a man as they find him and assess what he does, his behaviour towards his fellow-men and the attitude he displays towards the law of God. So concrete is the OT's approach that the basic terms it uses are taken from the ordinary, visible and tangible phenomena of the world about us. The thought implicit in *rûaḥ* is that breathing, with the movement of air which this involves, is the outward expression of the life-force inherent in all human behaviour. This is true of behaviour requiring a greater or a lesser degree of energy; behaviour in which energy has to be directed along certain channels (e.g. Ezr. 1:1: to stir up someone's spirit, i.e. to bring him to a decision), in which case spirit may be synonymous with plan or intention (Isa. 19:3); behaviour towards other men, whether humble (Prov. 16:9) or proud (Eccl. 7:8), patient (Eccl. 7:8) or impatient (Prov. 14:29); or towards God, guileless (Ps. 32[31]:2), steadfast (Pss. 51[50]:12; 78[77]:8), submissive and looking to him for deliverance when bowed down with trouble or broken in penitence (Pss. 34[35]:19; 51[50]:17), disobedient (Hos. 4:12; Isa. 29:24). "Spirit" frequently stands alongside → "heart" (e.g. Exod. 35:31–35), the ideas behind the two words being very similar; the difference, however, is that the heart dwells within man, having indeed been created by God, but is not a fleeting, oscillating gift like the breath of a man's spirit. The heart may be said to denote a man's aims, his resolves, and his courage, while the spirit may be said to denote the direction in which a man's vitality flows, the self-expression involved in his behaviour – including ecstatic behaviour.

The term spirit is never used for that higher quality in man which distinguishes him from the beasts. Rather, just as the wind comes from God and the spirit of man is God's gift, spirit is essentially of God. In about 100 passages it is expressly called the Spirit of God (e.g. Gen. 1:2), or of Yahweh (e.g. Isa. 11:2), while in Isa. 31:3 "spirit" is the power of God contrasted with the impotence of the flesh, i.e. of mere creatures; such power is inescapable and universally present (Ps. 139[138]:7). It can come mightily upon a man (Jdg. 14:6; 1 Sam. 16:13 and passim), can "clothe" him (Jdg. 6:34 and passim), enter into him (Ezek. 2:2 and passim), descend upon him (2 Ki. 2:9; Isa. 11:2 and passim), impel him (Jdg. 13:25), all of which indicates the powerful operation of God upon a man, enabling him to perform some ecstatic, supernatural deed, such as the salvation of Israel by the judges (Jdg. 3:10; 6:34; 11:29; 1 Sam. 11:16; 16:13; Num. 27:18), or the office and utterances of the prophets (N.B. the verb translated "to prophesy" refers to spirit-wrought ecstasy, e.g. Num. 11:25–27; 1 Sam. 18:10; for the prophets' office cf. 2 Ki. 2:9; Neh. 9:30; for their utterances cf. Num. 24:2; Ezek. 11:5, etc.; and for their ecstatic vision cf. Ezek. 3:12; 8:3; 11:1, 24). In addition, the spirit is described as the source of any ecstatic utterance (e.g. 2 Sam. 23:2), even of the craftsman's skill involved in the building of the tabernacle (Exod. 31:3), or indeed of any outstanding ability (Dan. 6:3).

3. Even destructive → evil is a spirit sent by God, for there is, as far as the OT is

concerned, no power of evil independent of him (1 Sam. 16:14, 15, 16, 23; Isa. 29:10; 1 Ki. 22:21 f.).

4. The writing prophets have a clearly delineated doctrine of the spirit. According to Isa. 32:15–20 (cf. Isa. 44:3), God will conclude his judgment of the proud and complacent, by pouring out from on high the spirit which, like rain, will bring about fertility, i.e. righteousness, peace and security. This salvation will be wrought by the offspring of → David (Isa. 11:1–8), who, being ordained by the Spirit of God, will exercise a dominion of perfect integrity and righteousness amid conditions of heavenly peace. Through the process of judgment and salvation, God heals his people's idolatry and backsliding (Hos. 4:12; cf. Isa. 29:24), giving a new spirit of godliness, not only to the nation at large (Ezek. 11:19 f.; 18:31; 36:26 f.; 39:29), but also to the individual (Ps. 51[50]:10). Ezekiel declares this to be nothing less than Israel's resurrection from the dead – his death having been caused by unbelief (Ezek. 37:1–14, a vision which, as the whole prophecy indicates, refers to the restoration of God's people as a whole and not to the personal revival of individuals within the nation). The later chapters of Isaiah proclaim the same message: the Servant of the Lord extends the blessings of his rule (already described in ch. 11) to include the Gentiles (42:1–4; 49:1–6), the covenant promise being fulfilled in God's irrevocable gift of his Spirit (59:21; cf. Joel 2:28 f.). Similarly in the past, the period of salvation at the exodus had been marked by the gift of the Spirit to Moses; indeed that whole national deliverance had taken place in the power of the Spirit (Isa. 63:11–14). The post-exilic prophets see this promise fulfilled in the re-establishment of Israel in Jerusalem (Hag. 2:5: the spirit in the midst of the people gives protection; Zech. 4:6: salvation comes not from an army nor from any human power, but from the Spirit of God). In this prophecy God's almighty, all-pervasive but intangible Spirit is linked with the covenant, for the latter reveals God not only working for the salvation of his people but bringing their lives into active conformity with his holy will, despite their hostility towards him.

5. In Judaism under the influence of its Hellenistic environment, the spirit was a vital force divinely breathed into man and forming a distinct part of his being; it was not distinguished from the → "soul" as far as terminology was concerned, but was contrasted rather with the body: the body is of the earth, the spirit stems from heaven (Wis. 15:11; rabbinic evidence for this and for what follows is found in E. Sjöberg, *TDNT* VI 375–89). At the same time in Palestinian Judaism the body was never the prison-house of the soul or its seducer into sin. Philo, on the other hand, called the flesh a "burden" which weighed down the spirit and confined it in earthly fetters; hence its appetites must be denied for the sake of the spirit (*Gig.* 31 ff.). Palestinian Judaism also differed from its Hellenistic counterpart in regarding the spirit not as part of a divine substance but rather as something divinely created and therefore to be clearly distinguished from its Creator. It possessed immortality (Wis. 12:1; Jub. 23, 26–31; Eth. Enoch 39:4 ff.), and at a later stage was also credited with pre-existence.

6. In the Qumran texts, the spirit manifested its presence when a man conducted his life wisely and with a view to pleasing God (1QS 5:21, 24), so that apostasy of spirit led to sinful conduct (1QS 7:18, 23), i.e. "spirit" expressed the basic orientation of a man's life. A variety of adjs. could be applied to it, e.g. "broken" (1QS 8:3), "apostate" (8:12), and it could also be viewed collectively as "the spirit of the

fellowship of [God's] truth", i.e. "the spirit of uprightness and humility" which atoned for sins (1QS 3:7 f.). This spirit was regarded as special insight either bestowed upon the devout man by God himself (1QH 12:11; 13:19 and passim), or created within him from his mother's womb (1QH 4:31; 15:22 and passim), i.e. it was either an eschatological gift or something eternally predestinated.

7. Although in the OT God is never said to dwell among "spirits" (1 Ki. 22:21 ff. merely contains an account of a "spirit" coming into his presence), this plur. came to be used throughout Judaism as a collective term for heavenly beings (e.g. Eth. Enoch 15:4, 6). "Spirits" (with or without the epithet "evil") also denoted the demons so familiar to Judaism (e.g. Eth. Enoch 15:6–10). Linked with this, and found throughout apocalyptic literature, was the belief in → Satan and his evil spirits, God's adversaries who tempted men to sin. The idea of temptation, however, became less prominent in rabbinic literature, where demons harmed men's health and threatened their lives.

8. Under the influence of Iranian cosmology, which regarded the epochs of the world as stages in the struggle between Ormazd and the evil spirit Ahriman, the Qumran texts developed the theory of two angels or spirits, one of "righteousness" or "light", the other of "iniquity" or "darkness". As the principles of good and evil which God had established on behalf of man, these two were locked in perpetual conflict in this world (1QS 3:13–4:26). Each had a retinue of virtues or vices respectively, likewise described as spirits. Echoes of this teaching are also to be found in Test. XII, e.g. Test. Jud. 20; Test. Ash. 6; Test. Reub. 3.

9. The "spirit of God" (e.g. Eth. Enoch 91:1), the "divine spirit" (Philo) and the "holy spirit" (as in rabbinic literature) sometimes meant the God-given spirit of man. In particular, however, it meant that spiritual reality, independent of man, which performed God's work on earth, e.g. creation (Wis. 1:7; 12:1 and passim), and especially prophecy (e.g. Sir. 48:12). The rabbis believed that this spirit spoke particularly in the OT scriptures, all of which were "uttered by him". Stress was laid upon Isaiah's promise of a messiah who would have a special endowment of the Spirit (Test. Lev. 18, 7, 11 and passim) and upon Joel's prophecy (2:28–29) concerning the pouring out of the Spirit upon all the godly in the last days (Sib. 3:582 ff.).

E. Kamlah

NT As in earlier Jewish thought, *pneuma* denotes that power which man experiences as relating him to the spiritual realm, the realm of reality which lies beyond ordinary observation and human control. Within this broad definition *pneuma* has a fairly wide range of meaning. But by far the most frequent use of *pneuma* in the NT (more than 250 times) is as a reference to the Spirit of God, the Holy Spirit, that power which is most immediately of God as to source and nature.

1. *The Human Spirit.* At one end of *pneuma's* spectrum of meaning it denotes the human spirit, or perhaps better, man in so far as he belongs to the spiritual realm and interacts with the spiritual realm. In this sense *pneuma* occurs in the NT nearly 40 times.

Thus the spirit of man is that aspect of man through which God most immediately encounters him (Rom. 8:16; Gal. 6:18; Phil. 4:23; 2 Tim. 4:22; Phlm. 25; Heb. 4:12; Jas. 4:5), that dimension of the whole man wherein and whereby he is most immediately open and responsive to God (Matt. 5:3; Lk. 1:47; Rom. 1:9; 1 Pet. 3:4),

that area of human awareness most sensitive to matters of the spiritual realm (Mk. 2:8; 8:12; Jn. 11:33; 13:21; Acts 17:16; 2 Cor. 2:13; 7:13). Often in talk about this area of encounter, it is not clear whether the language refers to the spirit of man, or to a particular force that he experiences through this dimension of his being, or to a spirit or power from without. Hence, the ambiguity of several passages: Mk. 14:38 par. Matt. 26:41 – probably the Holy Spirit since the language is drawn from Ps. 51:12; Lk. 1:17, 80; 9:55(D); Acts 18:25 – probably the Holy Spirit (cf. Rom. 12:11); Rom. 8:15; 11:8; 1 Cor. 4:21; 6:17; 14:14, 32; 2 Cor. 4:13; 12:18; Gal. 6:1; Eph. 1:17; 4:23; 2 Tim. 1:7; Rev. 22:6.

The NT writers can speak of the (human) spirit as though it was a something possessed by the individual; but this does not mean that they envisaged the spirit of man as a divine spark (the real "I") incarcerated in the physical, "the ghost in the machine" (an anthropology more typical of Greek philosophy). This language is more likely to be simply a natural and easy way of speaking about man in his belongingness to the spiritual realm, the power he experiences in him which relates him to the beyond, "the dimension of the beyond in the midst". So Lk. 8:55 (cf. Jdg. 15:19); Rom. 8:16; 1 Cor. 2:11; 5:5; 7:34; 16:18; 2 Cor. 7:1; 1 Thess. 5:23 (cf. Deut. 6:4). Here too there still persists the ancient Hebraic idea of the *pneuma* (*rûaḥ*) as the breath of God (2 Thess. 2:8; cf. Jn. 20:22), the breath of life (Rev. 11:11; 13:15).

So too death as a giving up the spirit (Matt. 27:50; Lk. 23:46; Acts 7:59) is to be interpreted not so much as the release of the ghost from the machine, but in terms rather of the physical body ceasing to be the embodiment of the whole man. At death man ceases to exist *both* in the realm of the physical *and* in the realm of the spiritual, and continues existing *only* in the spiritual; and the physical body, ceasing to be the embodiment of the whole man in the observable world, becomes merely a corpse (Jas. 2:26). Whereas, in Paul's terms, the danger confronting man in the world is that he lives *solely* on the level of the world of sense and soul ("according to the flesh") and not also and predominantly on the level of the spirit ("according to the Spirit"), so that when the body dies, the whole man dies in the destruction of the flesh (cf. 1 Cor. 15:42–50) – the danger Paul evidently seeks to counter in 1 Cor. 5:5.

From this it follows also that the dead person can be thought of simply as a *pneuma*, as belonging wholly to the spiritual realm (Lk. 24:37, 39; 1 Tim. 3:16; Heb. 12:23; 1 Pet. 3:18 f.; 4:6). It is possible that Paul also thought of man as able, while still in this life, to leave his body temporarily and to project himself through the spiritual realm into the presence of others (1 Cor. 5:3; Col. 2:5) or into heaven (2 Cor. 12:2–4; → Paradise); but the two former passages may simply be earnest expressions of empathetic concern and fellow feeling, and in the latter Paul evidently did not know how to understand the experience himself.

2. *Evil Spirits and Good Spirits.* It was natural in the world-view of the first century that the mysterious powers which afflict men should be thought of as evil spirits and → demons (so more than 40 times, mainly in the Synoptic Gospels, 30 times, and Acts 8 times, not at all in the Fourth Gospel; e.g. Matt. 8:16; Mk. 1:23, 26 f.; 9:25; Lk. 4:36; 11:24, 26; Acts 19:12 f., 15 f.; also 1 Tim. 4:1; Rev. 16:13 f.; 18:2). This power of evil can also be depicted as a particular spirit which dominates the world of man, the spirit or god of this world (1 Cor. 2:12; 2 Cor. 4:4; Eph. 2:2; cf. 2 Cor. 11:4; 1 Jn. 4:6; → Satan). These were all understood as experiences of personal

forces from the spiritual realm, evil or unclean because they injured and hindered a man's full relationship with God and his fellows. But at no time do the NT writers give way to a dualism, where the evil which thus manifests itself is as strong as God. Always the evil spirits are shown as inferior to God and subject to the power of the Spirit of God operating through his agents. Indeed it was precisely this effective power over evil spirits in his ministry of exorcism which Jesus saw as proof that the end-time kingdom was already present, since it indicated to Jesus that the final rout of → Satan had already begun (Mk. 3:23–7 par. Matt. 12:25–29, Lk. 14:17–20; Matt. 12:27 f.; cf. Lk. 11:19 f.; Lk. 10:17 f.).

Other forces operating upon man's world from the spiritual realm are thought of as good spirits or → angels (Acts 23:8 f.; Heb. 1:7, 14; 12:9). But Paul and John in particular recognize the ambiguity of such experiences of spirits, and the need for a discernment of spirits to distinguish good from evil (1 Cor. 12:10; 14:12; 2 Cor. 11:4; 1 Thess. 5:19–22; 2 Thess. 2:2; 1 Jn. 4:1, 3, 6). Compare the ambiguity noted above over (human) spirit and (Holy) Spirit.

3. *Jesus and the Spirit.* (a) If we are to understand Jesus' teaching on the Spirit as fully as possible, we must recall that Jesus' ministry followed that of John the Baptist. The Q traditions (Matt. 3:7–12; Lk. 3:7–9, 15–8), generally agreed to be the earliest, present John as a prophet of → judgment; his proclamation included, perhaps largely centred on the imminent coming of one who would administer God's final judgment. In particular, the Coming One would baptize *en pneumati hagiō kai pyri* ("in holy spirit and fire"). Suggestions that John spoke only of a → baptism in → fire or only of a baptism in wind (= *pneuma*) and fire (with addition and alterations made in the light of → Pentecost) need no longer be entertained: John's message was not solely of judgment (about wheat as well as chaff, Matt. 3:12); the Coming One's baptism was in some sense a promise to those who accepted John's baptism of repentance; and the Qumran community, who probably influenced John to some extent, had already been speaking of the *pneuma* as a cleansing, purifying power (particularly 1QS 3:7–9; 4:21).

John's metaphor is best understood as a variation on a prominent theme within intertestamental apocalyptic expectation, viz. the belief in the messianic woes, the conviction that the new age could be inaugurated only after a period of affliction and suffering – "the birth pangs of the messiah" (SB I 950; cf. e.g. Dan. 7:19–22; 2 Bar. 25–30). Thus "fire" could denote judgment and purification (e.g. Amos 7:4; Mal. 3:1 f.; 4:1), *pneuma* likewise (e.g. Isa. 4:4; Jer. 4:11 f.), and the river or flood vividly portrayed overwhelming calamity (Ps. 69:2, 15; Isa. 43:2). Notice particularly how the three elements were combined in Isa. 4:4; 30:28; Dan. 7:10. John's baptism in the Jordan (presumably by immersion) was therefore a very potent symbol of the end-time tribulation = baptism in Spirit and fire = God's fiery *pneuma* like a great stream through which all men must pass. Those who acknowledged their liability to judgment by submitting to the symbolized judgment of John's baptism would experience the messianic woes as a cleansing by a spirit of judgment and by a spirit of burning (Isa. 4:4). Those who denied their guilt and did not repent would experience the Coming One's baptism in Spirit and fire as the bonfire which burned up the unfruitful branches and chaff.

(b) Jesus' understanding of his own mission in terms of the Spirit was, however, different. This comes to clearest expression at two places in the Jesus-tradition:

Jesus' explanation for his success as an exorcist, and Jesus' consciousness of inspiration.

(i) Jesus' explanation for his success as an exorcist is preserved in the group of four or five controversy sayings in Mk. 3:22–9 and Q (Matt. 12:24–29 par. Lk. 11:15–23; → Satan). Almost all scholars accept Matt. 12:28 par. Lk. 11:20 as an authentic word of the historical Jesus. The arguments in favour of "Spirit" (Matt.) or "finger" (Lk.; → Hand, art. *cheir* NT 3) as original are fairly evenly balanced, though the case for "Spirit" is probably stronger (cf. J. D. G. Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, 1975, 45 f.). But either way the saying embodies a claim to exorcize by the power of God. The emphasis in the Gk. falls on the two phrases, "Spirit of God" and → "kingdom of God": "Since it is by the Spirit of God that I cast out demons then the kingdom of God has come upon you." The significance of the saying is twofold. First, the presence of the kingdom (the distinctive note in Jesus' proclamation) is defined in terms of the effective power of the Spirit. The end-time rule of God can be said to be already operative, because the end-time power is evidently at work conquering demonic power (cf. the weakly attested Lucan variant to the second petition of the Lord's Prayer, "May your Holy Spirit come upon us and cleanse us", Lk. 11:2). Second, Jesus is claiming a unique empowering by the Spirit: there were other exorcists, but their work did not bear the same significance (Matt. 12:27 par. Lk. 11:19). Jesus' exorcisms were so effective that he was able to conclude that his was the power of the end-time rule of God. The same self-understanding is implied in Mk. 3:27: that he had been empowered by God to begin the final battle with Satan. It is also implied in Mk. 3:28 f. par. Matt. 12:31 f., Lk. 12:10 which are frequently attributed to a post-resurrection origin, but without sufficient justification (J. D. G. Dunn, op. cit., 49–52). Probably first spoken in response to attacks on his exorcistic ministry (as Mk. claims, Mk. 3:30), it again testifies to Jesus' understanding of his exorcisms: they were obviously effected by the power of the Spirit, and there was an eschatological finality about this power that to deny it was to put oneself beyond forgiveness (→ Revile, art. *blasphēmeō*).

(ii) Jesus' consciousness of inspiration is clearly implied in the astonishingly authoritative claims made by Jesus ("But I say . . .", Matt. 5:22 etc.), and in his understanding of himself as a → prophet (particularly Mk. 6:4 par. Matt. 13:57; cf. Jn. 4:44; Lk. 13:33). Since the Spirit was principally regarded as the Spirit of prophecy in the Judaism of that time, Jesus' claim was in effect a claim to be inspired by the Spirit. And since the rabbis taught that the Spirit had been withdrawn from Israel since Malachi and would be given again only in the last days, Jesus was in effect claiming to be the eschatological prophet (see particularly Deut. 18:15, 18 f.; Isa. 61:1 ff.). In fact, there is good evidence that Jesus himself regarded Isa. 61:1 f. as fulfilled in his own ministry, as Lk. 4:18 f. states explicitly. This understanding of his mission as a Spirit-anointed proclamation of good tidings to the poor is clearly implied in the first two or three Beatitudes (Matt. 5:3–6 par. Lk. 6:20 f.) and in Matt. 11:5 par. Lk. 7:22, which few would dispute as authentic words of the historical Jesus. There are several points of significance here: Jesus attributed his ministry and its effectiveness to an anointing with the end-time Spirit (presumably at Jordan, as all the Gospels affirm, see below, 4); consequently his ministry had eschatological significance – the hopes for the new age were already being realized through his ministry; the proclamation of this good news to the → poor was even more important

to him than his work of healing (proclamation to the poor is the climax of the Matt. 11:5 list); the Spirit was so bound up with Jesus that he himself was part of the offence of his own ministry (Matt. 11:6), he himself as thus empowered by the Spirit had become the focus of eschatological significance.

(c) Jesus therefore saw his ministry in relation to the Spirit in terms more of eschatological blessing than of judgment. His response to the Baptist in Matt. 11:5 par. Lk. 7:22 seems deliberately to pick up the promise of blessing in Isa. 29:18–20; 35:3–5 and 61:1 f., and to ignore the threat of judgment which all three passages also contained. But probably he did not reject the Baptist's message outright. There are some indications that he did see his ministry also in terms of dispensing fiery judgment (Lk. 9:54; 12:49 f.; Mk. 9:49; Matt. 10:34–6 par. Lk. 12:51–3; Gos. Thom. 10, 16, 82), and the parallelism of Lk. 12:49–50 suggests that Jesus anticipated his death as a fiery baptism, that is as a suffering of the messianic woes (cf. Mk. 10:38 f.; 14:27, 36 and the probable influence of Dan. 7 and Isa. 53 on his understanding of his mission). It is possible then that he also saw his own earlier anointing with the Spirit in terms of the Baptist's preaching – that is, as a baptism with Spirit.

But did Jesus also see himself as dispenser of the Spirit, as baptizer in Spirit? The answer is uncertain, since it is not clear how Jesus envisaged the vindication which he almost certainly looked for beyond death or in particular his relation to his disciples prior to his parousia as the glorious Son of man. The only pre-resurrection saying in the Synoptics, Mk. 13:11, has a very restricted reference – to the disciples' experience of persecution and trial. Acts 1:5 quite likely is a Lucan interpretation giving Jesus' assurance more precise reference to → Pentecost. The Paraclete promises of Jn. 14–16 (see below, 7) could be drawn ultimately from a core of primitive tradition, as elsewhere in John. Lk. 22:29, Jesus' last will and testament, is also relevant in view of the close tie-up between Spirit and kingdom in Jesus' thought.

Further than this we cannot penetrate back into the thought and self-understanding of Jesus, since no other Spirit-saying as such can be attributed to him with any confidence, apart from the inconsequential Mk. 12:36, which simply echoes the contemporary doctrine of inspiration.

4. *The Evangelists' View of Jesus and the Spirit.* In the four Gospels the relation between Jesus and the Spirit already implied in Jesus' own teaching is immeasurably strengthened. The Evangelists have no doubts that Jesus was the wholly unique Man of the Spirit. His birth, or rather conception, was effected by the power of the Spirit without the agency of a human father: Matt. 1:18–25 – so that Jesus fulfils the Emmanuel prophecy (Isa. 7:14); Lk. 1:35 – an allusion to the Shekinah, perhaps with the further implication that Jesus as Son of God manifests the divine glory (cf. Jn. 1:14). The message of the Baptist on the relation between Jesus and the Spirit is tailored by Mark to fit the Christian fulfilment of Pentecost (1:8 – all note of judgment is omitted) and by the Fourth Evangelist to present John simply and solely as the perfect witness to Christ (Jn. 1:19–34). All the Gospels are clear that at Jordan Jesus was anointed with the Spirit and thus entered upon his messianic rôle (Mk. 1:11; Matt. 3:17; Lk. 3:22; Jn. 1:33; cf. 3:34). The Synoptics all stress that Jesus went forth to his temptations at the instigation of the Spirit (Mk. 1:12; Matt. 4:1; Lk. 4:1). Mark concentrates this introduction to his Gospel into a few sentences, thereby tying together the promise of the Baptist (Mk. 1:8) with the descent of the Spirit on Jesus (Mk. 1:10) and the Spirit's thrusting Jesus into the wilderness (Mk. 1:12). All

agree that Jesus' ministry was effective by the power of the Spirit: in addition to the controversy sayings (above, 3 (b)), Matt. and Lk. reinforce this view by incorporating quotations from Isa. (Matt. 12:18 = Isa. 42:1; Lk. 4:18 = Isa. 61:1; see also Acts 10:38). The portrayal of Jesus as the dispenser of the Spirit (Mk. 13:11 par. Matt. 24:20; Lk. 21:15) is strengthened by Lk. 11:13's redaction of the Q saying Matt. 7:11 ("Holy Spirit" substituted for "good things") and the inclusion of Lk. 24:49 and Acts 1:5, 8 as post-resurrection sayings, in a different way by the Matthean formulation of the great commission (Matt. 28:19), and in a much fuller way by John (see below, 7). Jesus' post-resurrection ministry is also characterized in terms of the Spirit in Acts 1:2, with the outpouring of the Spirit explicitly referred to Jesus in Jn. 20:22 and Acts 2:33.

It should be noticed that none of the evangelists is content to portray Jesus simply as the pneumatic exemplar or the first (Christian) charismatic. To be sure, Luke does portray Jesus' ministry in more distinctively charismatic terms, particularly in Lk. 4:1, 14 and 10:21, but Jesus is hardly presented as an ecstatic even by Luke, and any parallel at this point between the ministry of Jesus and that, say, of Peter in Acts is only incidental. It is possible that there was a stronger charismatic element in Jesus' ministry which the Evangelists have suppressed (so H. Windisch), though not very likely. On the other hand, it is very unlikely that the pneumatic features and Spirit sayings attributed to Jesus should be completely discarded. The evangelists' portrait of Jesus at this point bears the stamp of authenticity.

We should, however, not ignore a certain schematization which Luke has contrived in his two volumes (Luke-Acts) whereby Jesus, precisely in his relation with the Spirit, provides a bridge between the old age of Israel and the new age now recognized as the age of the church. Thus the conception and birth of Jesus by the power of the Spirit takes place in the context of a sporadic reappearance of the Spirit of prophecy (Lk. 1:15, 17, 41, 67; 2:25–7) – a last flare-up of the spiritual power and vitality of the divine revelation of the OT era before Jesus alone fills the centre of the stage. As a result of the descent of the Spirit at Jordan, Jesus, already Son of God (1:35; 2:49), enters a fuller relation of sonship or higher stage of his mission as Son (Lk. 3:22, citing Ps. 2:7 in full in a variant arguably original; Acts 10:38), wherein he is led by the Spirit as the archetypal Son (Lk. 4:1–14; cf. Rom. 8:14–7; Gal. 4:6 f.; 5:18). But only with his ascension does Jesus enter upon the fullness of sonship and messianic office (Acts 2:36; 13:33), and only then does he become Lord of the Spirit, the one who dispenses the Spirit to others not only by virtue of his own anointing, but by virtue also of his death and exaltation (Acts 2:33).

5. *The Spirit in the earliest Christian Communities and in Acts.* "Holy Spirit" denotes supernatural power, altering, working through, directing the believer (there is no significant difference between the phrase with the definite article and without). This is nowhere more clearly evident than in Acts where the Spirit is presented as an almost tangible force, visible if not in itself, certainly in its effects. This power of the Spirit manifests itself in three main areas in Luke's account of the early church.

(a) The Spirit as a transforming power in conversion. Christianity properly speaking dates from the earliest experiences of the Spirit after Jesus' death and resurrection. Luke sets the first of these in → Jerusalem at the first Pentecost after Jesus' resurrection, and there is no substantial reason why this location and dating should be rejected (→ Pentecost). It was evidently a very dramatic experience, and certainly

ecstatic in nature (including visionary elements and automatic speech). It transformed the group of disciples into a confident and dynamic sect, keen to propagate and live out their faith in Jesus as messiah and soon-coming Son of man. Luke has caught much of the atmosphere of these early days in the opening chapters of Acts (2–5), though he almost wholly omits the sense of eschatological fervency which must have featured strongly.

Probably too this first experience was understood to set something of a pattern for the reception of the Spirit thereafter (as Acts 11:15 f. suggests): the Spirit was the eschatological gift *par excellence*, and possession of the Spirit would be *the* mark of one who belonged to the messianic community of the last days (hence the promise of the Spirit as the climax to the first sermon of Peter, Acts 2:38 f.); and the coming and reception of the Spirit would be determined by the visible transformation of the individual, usually reckoned in manifestations of ecstasy (a view probably confirmed by the ecstatic experience referred to in Acts 4:31). Consequently at critical or problematic moments of the early mission thereafter what was looked for above all else was the reception or possession of the Spirit (Acts 9:17; 11:15 f.; 15:8; 18:25; 19:1 f.) as testified by clear-cut manifestations of spiritual power or ecstasy (Acts 8:15–9; 10:44–7; 19:6). Luke draws attention only to inspired utterance (prophecy and glossolalia), but that may be because for him prophecy is *the* sign of the Spirit (see below (b), and cf. 6 (a)).

Luke also well represents this early evaluation of the Spirit. The Spirit is tied in with ecstatic manifestations to such an extent that its presence cannot be assumed in the absence of such tangible effects: it is precisely their absence in the cases of the Samaritans in Acts 8:12 ff. and the Ephesians in Acts 19:1 ff. which causes the evangelists in question to conclude each time that the Spirit had not yet been given; and it is the *manifest* presence of the Spirit in the case of Cornelius and company in Acts 10:44 ff. and Apollos in Acts 18:25 (cf. Rom. 8:11) which proves that they *already* belong to the eschatological community (hence the reasoning of Acts 11:15–8). Thus, on the one hand, there is no justification for the conclusion either that Luke ties the Spirit to baptism (as manifestly he does not in Acts 8:12 ff. and 10:44 ff.), or that he views the Spirit as a gift subsequent to conversion – for Luke there is only one "gift of the Spirit" and that clear-cut in its effects on the receiver. And on the other, Luke's view of the Spirit is dominated by the early enthusiastic understanding of the first Christians (Acts 9:31 and 13:52 are probably only formal exceptions), exciting and challenging in its vitality, but lacking the richer theological balance of Paul.

(b) The Spirit of prophecy. For the first Christians, the Spirit was most characteristically a divine power manifesting itself in inspired utterance. The same power that had inspired → David and the prophets in the old age (Acts 1:16; 3:18; 4:25; 28:25) was now poured out in eschatological plenitude as Joel had foretold (Acts 2:17 ff.; cf. Joel 2:28–32); the excited sense that → Moses' ancient hope had been fulfilled, that all the Lord's people were prophets, that the Lord *had* put his Spirit upon them (Num. 11:29), comes through clearly in Acts 2:17 f., 38 f. and 4:31; and certainly it was inspired utterance which indicated the coming of the Spirit in Acts 2:4; 10:44 ff. and 19:6. Beyond conversion, this power was experienced as a surge of inspiration in moments of crisis and relief, giving both words and boldness of speech (Acts 4:8, 13, 29–31; 7:55; 13:9), and more generally the Spirit was understood as

the power enabling effective testimony and teaching (Acts 5:32; 6:10; 18:25). But while this Spirit was given to all and all might experience a filling up of the Spirit and overflowing of inspired utterance in particular instances, there evidently arose quite quickly the recognition that certain individuals had a fuller bestowal of the prophetic Spirit, or at least were more regularly inspired to prophesy – hence the appearance of both resident and wandering prophets in the earliest communities (Acts 11:27 f.; 13:1; 15:32; 20:23; 21:4, 9–11). The particular noun phrase *plērēs pneumatos*, "full of the Spirit" (as distinct from the more regular Lucan verbal phrase ". . . were filled with the Spirit", Lk. 1:41, 67; Acts 2:4; 4:8, 31; 9:17; 13:9), may derive from a special "Hellenist" source (Acts 6:3, 5; 7:55; 11:24; though note Luke 4:1). In this case it could denote either a more sustained experience and manifestation of inspiration, or it might simply be a variant on the verbal phrase.

Luke shares this view of the Spirit as pre-eminently the Spirit of prophecy: it is precisely that gift known at best so sporadically in the old age (Lk. 1–2) which in the new age has become the prerogative of all (emphasized by the addition of "and they shall prophesy" to the Joel quotation in Acts 2:18). It is also rather surprising that Luke never links the Spirit specifically with any of the miracles performed in Acts (though such a link is implied in 2:19, 43; 4:30 f. and 6:8), presumably because the link with prophecy is so dominant. In addition, we need simply observe: that he makes no effort to distinguish prophecy from glossolalia in Acts 2:17 f. = 2:4, 13, and 19:6, and may indeed have thought prophecy was always manifestly ecstatic in character; and that he makes no effort to resolve the problem of conflicting prophecies in Acts 20:22 and 21:4.

(c) The Spirit as the director of mission. The Spirit was evidently experienced as a numinous power pervading the early community and giving its early leadership an aura of authority which could not be withstood (Acts 4:31; 5:1–10; 6:10; 8:9–13; 13:9–11). With the movement out from Jerusalem after Stephen's death, the Spirit becomes much more regularly understood as the power of mission, directing the evangelists into the new developments that continually opened up before them (Acts 8:29, 39; 10:19; 11:12; 13:2, 4; 15:28; 16:6 f.; 19:21; cf. 7:51). In this expansion ecstatic visions evidently played a significant rôle too (particularly Acts 9:10; 10:3, 7, 10–16; 16:9 f.; 22:17 f.), but these are not attributed to the Spirit (despite 2:17). In Luke's presentation this compulsion to mission and outreach characterized the earliest community's understanding of the Spirit from the first (Acts 1:8; 2:5–11, the inspired utterance of Pentecost as telling the mighty works of God to Jews "from every nation under heaven"). So too the more formally structured ecclesiastical leadership of presbyters or overseers (→ bishops) is attributed specifically to the Spirit in Acts 20:28 (cf. 15:28). However, the more fundamental theological question as to the relation between the exalted Christ and the Spirit is not clarified: Christ introduces "the last days" by dispensing the Spirit (Acts 2:33), but thereafter the two are brought together only in the enigmatic reference to "the Spirit of Jesus" in Acts 16:7.

6. *The Spirit in the Pauline Letters.* Of the NT writers, Paul most deserves the title, "the theologian of the Spirit", for he gives a more rounded and more integrated teaching on the Spirit than we find in any other literature of that time, or indeed for several centuries before and after.

(a) The Spirit as the fundamental mark of belonging to Christ. As with the first

Christians (above 5 (a)) so with Paul, the gift of the Spirit is what makes the individual a member of Christ (Rom. 8:9; cf. 1 Cor. 2:12; 2 Cor. 11:4; 1 Thess. 4:8), united with him through the Spirit (1 Cor. 6:17), a sharer in his sonship (Rom. 8:14–6; Gal. 4:6). The Spirit, as it were, is the exalted Lord's steward taking possession of his property on his behalf (1 Cor. 3:16; 6:19 f.). It is the reception of the Spirit through faith which marks the beginning of the Christian life (Gal. 3:2 f.), a gift which fulfils the promise to → Abraham and which therefore is another name for justification (Gal. 3:14; 1 Cor. 6:11) – that is, the gift of righteousness understood as having "the character of power" (cf. E. Käsemann, " 'The Righteousness of God' in Paul", *New Testament Questions of Today*, 1969, 168–82). Alternatively expressed, it is by being baptized in the one Spirit, drenched with the one Spirit, that individuals become members of the one body of Christ (1 Cor. 12:13). For Paul it was precisely the gift of the Spirit which distinguished the Christian from the Jew, the new age from the old (Rom. 2:29; 7:6; 2 Cor. 3:6–8; Gal. 4:29; Phil. 3:3). The Spirit constitutes that immediacy of personal relationship with God which Moses had fitfully enjoyed (2 Cor. 3:13–8) and which Jeremiah had only foreseen from afar (2 Cor. 3:3, referring to Jer. 31:33 f.; cf. Eph. 2:18). In all this, "Spirit" is almost synonymous with "grace" in the sense of God's action in reaching out to men and establishing a positive relation with them (as e.g. in Rom. 3:24; 1 Cor. 15:10; 2 Cor. 6:1; Gal. 1:15; Eph. 2:8).

It is important to realize that for Paul too the Spirit is a divine power whose impact upon or entrance into a life is discernible by its effects. In some cases the manifestation was charismatic utterance and act (1 Cor. 1:4–7; Gal. 3:5; cf. above 5 (a)). But in others it was evidently an overwhelming experience of being accepted by God (Eph. 1:7 f.), of being swamped by divine love (Rom. 5:5), of a joy that made light of affliction (1 Thess. 1:6). In others again it was an experience of illumination as to the significance of Jesus (1 Cor. 2:10–12; 2 Cor. 3:14–17; 4:6; Gal. 1:12, 15 f.; cf. Eph. 1:17; 3:5) or of liberation from the deadening effect of the law and of sin's power (Rom. 8:2; 2 Cor. 3:17) or of moral transformation dramatic in its suddenness (1 Cor. 6:9–11). It is most probably to some such experiences that Paul refers in the vivid metaphors of 1 Cor. 12:13, and when he likens the Spirit to a → seal affixed to goods or documents to indicate ownership (2 Cor. 1:22; Eph. 1:13; 4:30). Many interpreters have referred these passages to baptism, but it is more likely that it was the vivid experience of the Spirit itself which Paul recalls (as also e.g. in 1 Cor. 2:4 f.; 1 Thess. 1:5).

(b) The eschatological Spirit. As for Jesus so for Paul, the Spirit is the power of the new age already broken into the old, not so as to bring the old to an end or render it wholly ineffective, but so as to enable the believer to live in and through the old age in the power and in the light of the new. Thus the Spirit is the "down-payment and guarantee" (*arrabōn*) that God will complete the work begun in Christ and through the Spirit (2 Cor. 1:22; 5:5; Eph. 1:13 f.; → Gift); the Spirit is the "first fruits" (*aparchē*) of God's harvest at the end of time (Rom. 8:23; → Sacrifice; → Seed); the Spirit is the first instalment of the believer's inheritance in the kingdom of God (Rom. 8:15–17; 14:17; 1 Cor. 6:9–11; 15:42–50; Gal. 4:6 f.; 5:16–24; Eph. 1:13 f.). This means also: (1) The gift of the Spirit is only the beginning of a life-long process of being saved, of sanctification, of being conformed to the image of Christ (2 Cor. 3:18; 2 Thess. 2:13; cf. Rom. 8:28; 16:16; Gal. 6:8; Eph. 3:16 f.). (2) The believer's life in

the present is characterized by a tension and even warfare between the old age and the new, between the desires of the flesh and those of the Spirit, between the powers of death and of life both at work in him and each seeking to gain the mastery over him (Rom. 7:14–25; 8:10, 12 f.; Gal. 5:16 f.). (3) The final consummation of God's redemptive activity is the completion of what he has already begun in the gift of the Spirit and is achieved when the Spirit takes full control over the whole person – that is, in the → resurrection of the body, when and only when the believer becomes a "spiritual body", wholly belonging to the new age, wholly like Christ, wholly under the Spirit's direction (Rom. 8:11, 23; 1 Cor. 15:44–9; 2 Cor. 5:1–5; Eph. 1:14). Consequently, (4) there is no foundation in Paul for a distinctively second or third gift of the Spirit – the Spirit always has the essential character of that power which *begins* the process of salvation and carries it through to completion. Nor is there room in Paul for a gift of the Spirit in this life which sets the believer free from the eschatological tension and warfare between → flesh and Spirit. On the contrary, the Spirit's activity in the present age is marked more by → *hope* than by fulfilment or complete victory (Rom. 5:5; 8:18–25; 15:13; Gal. 5:5; Eph. 1:17 f.), and prayer in the Spirit is at the same time the inarticulate groaning of this-worldly → weakness (Rom. 8:26 f.; → Prayer, art. *entynchanō*).

(c) Life in the Spirit. For Paul, the believer has a responsibility to live his life in the power of the Spirit. In general terms that means to let his character be moulded by God according to the pattern of Jesus Christ – not as something which the believer achieves for himself ("work"), but as something which by attentive openness to God he allows the Spirit to produce through him (→ "fruit") (2 Cor. 3:18; Gal. 5:18–23; cf. Rom. 8:28; 9:1; 14:17; 15:13, 30; 2 Cor. 6:6; Gal. 6:1; Col. 1:8). In particular, it means that Paul was able to talk of his daily conduct as a "walking by the Spirit", a being "led by the Spirit", as an "ordering one's life by the Spirit" (Rom. 8:4–6, 14; Gal. 5:16, 18, 25; cf. Rom. 8:13; Gal. 6:8). It is noticeable that he contrasts this experience of daily guidance with the sort of dependence on the rule book of the law which had characterized his previous religious practice (Rom. 7:6; 2 Cor. 3:6; Gal. 5:1, 16). That is to say, he experienced the Spirit precisely as the fulfilment of the prophetic hope that the law would be written on the heart not just on tablets of stone, that men would know God for themselves and be able to discern God's will immediately without having to refer to the Scriptures and the case-law of tradition each time (Rom. 12:2; 2 Cor. 3:3, alluding to Jer. 31:31–34). Similarly worship and prayer were not a matter of liturgical rote or outward form, but worship was characterized precisely as worship in or by the Spirit of God (Rom. 2:28 f.; Phil. 3:3; cf. Eph. 2:18, 22), and → prayer precisely as prayer in the Spirit (Eph. 6:18; see also Rom. 8:15 f., 26 f.; 1 Cor. 14:14–7; Gal. 4:6).

(d) The charismatic Spirit. It is important for Paul that the Spirit is a shared gift; it is a centripetal force drawing believers together into the one body of Christ. Thus, on the one hand, the corporate life of Christians arises out of the shared experience of the Spirit. They are constituted the one body of Christ by their common participation (*koinōnia*) in the one Spirit (1 Cor. 12:13; 2 Cor. 13:14; Eph. 4:3 f.; Phil. 1:27; 2:1; → Fellowship). And, on the other, the continuing existence and unity of any church depends on the sharing of that shared Spirit; that is to say, the Spirit who creates community constantly seeks to manifest himself in the concrete expressions of grace (*charismata*) which alone can build up that community to maturity in Christ (Rom.

12:4–8; 1 Cor. 12:14–26; 14:12, 26; Eph. 4:11–16). These manifestations of the Spirit are marked out for Paul as given (not achieved by man), as expressions of divine energy (not human potential or talent), as acts of service which promote the common good (not for personal edification or aggrandizement) (1 Cor. 12:4–7). Such *charismata* may be individual acts or utterances such as Paul mentions in Rom. 1:11, 1; Cor. 12:8–11 and 14:26, or more regular ministries as in Rom. 12:6–8; 1 Cor. 12:28 and Eph. 4:11. In particular, the Spirit seeks to come to expression in speech: it is prophecy which serves to build up the church most effectively (Rom. 12:6–8; 1 Cor. 14:1–5, 13–9; see also 1 Cor. 2:13 f.; 7:40; 12:3), just as it is the speech inspired by the Spirit which is most effective to convict and convert the unbeliever. Paul experienced the Spirit as a centrifugal as well as a centripetal force (Rom. 15:16–19; 1 Cor. 2:4 f.; 14:24 f.; 2 Cor. 3:4–6; Eph. 6:17; 1 Thess. 1:5). The importance which Paul places on the *charismata* of the Spirit explains his concern lest they be restricted in their range or expression (Eph. 5:18 f.; 1 Thess. 5:19 f.; cf. Eph. 4:30); but concern equally lest they be abused by overemphasis on some or by failure to exercise critical discernment on any (Rom. 12:3; 1 Cor. 2:12–14; 1 Thess. 5:19–22; cf. 1 Cor. 12:3; 2 Thess. 2:2).

(e) The Spirit of Christ. Most significant of all, the Spirit for Paul has been constitutively stamped with the character of Christ. Christ by his resurrection entered wholly upon the realm of the Spirit (Rom. 1:4; cf. 8:11). Indeed, Paul can say that Christ by his → resurrection "became life-giving Spirit" (1 Cor. 15:45). That is to say, the exalted Christ is now experienced in, through and as Spirit. Christ now cannot be experienced apart from the Spirit: the Spirit is the medium of union between Christ and the believer (1 Cor. 6:17); only those belong to Christ, are "in Christ", who have the Spirit and in so far as they are led by the Spirit (Rom. 8:9, 14). Conversely, the Spirit is now experienced as the power of the risen Christ – the Spirit now cannot be experienced apart from Christ. It is precisely the confession of Jesus' Lordship which marks out that inspiration which is the Spirit's (1 Cor. 12:3). It is precisely the reproduction of Jesus' own distinctive Abba-prayer which marks out the Spirit as the Spirit of the Son (Rom. 8:15 f.; Gal. 4:6). It is precisely the transformation of the believer's character into the character of Christ which marks out the eschatological Spirit (2 Cor. 3:18). The Spirit is now nothing less and nothing more than the Spirit of Christ (Rom. 8:9; Gal. 4:6; Phil. 1:19; cf. 2 Thess. 2:8). The more formless and impersonal power which characterized the Spirit in the old age has been given sharper definition and personality. It is because the Spirit has taken the shape of Christ that the character of Christ can and must serve as the basic criterion whereby the Spirit's activity may be discerned; only that which makes the individual or church more like Christ can claim fully to be an expression of the Spirit of Christ.

7. *The Spirit in the Gospel and Letters of John.* The Spirit is also of considerable importance in John's theology. His understanding of the Spirit overlaps with that of earlier NT writers at several points. In particular, the new life of the Spirit is presented under the very vigorous metaphors of (re)birth from above (Jn. 3:5–8; 1 Jn. 3:9), of new → creation (Jn. 20:22, the verb deliberately echoing Gen. 2:7; Ezek. 37:9; Wis. 15:11), of life-giving → water and → bread (Jn. 4:14; 6:63; 7:38 f.), and of → anointing (1 Jn. 2:20, 27). And in the Johannine writings as elsewhere the Spirit is also detectable by the effects of his coming (Jn. 3:8), so much so that the immediacy of the Spirit's indwelling is one of the tests of life in 1 Jn. (3:24; 4:13). Once again the

recognition of the vividness and immediacy of the experience of the Spirit for John should cause interpreters to hesitate before they refer such verses as Jn. 1:33; 7:38 f.; 1 Jn. 2:20 to baptism as such. Jn. 3:5 (water) may very well indicate that for John baptism has a part in birth from above, but not that the two were equated in John's mind. Indeed, Jn. 13:10 may be a protest against such a view, just as Jn. 6:63 may be seen as a protest against a too literal understanding of the words of institution in the Lord's Supper (Jn. 6:53–8).

More distinctive of John's pneumatology is the way in which he expresses the relation between the Spirit and Christ. (1) Although his christology is very high (Jesus as the incarnate Logos), it is noteworthy that he gives a firm place to the tradition of Jesus being anointed with the Spirit at Jordan (Jn. 1:32 f.; 3:34). (2) He ties Jesus' gift of the Spirit much more closely to Jesus' death: to receive the Spirit of the ascended Jesus is to eat his flesh given for the life of the world (Jn. 6:51–8, 62 f.); it is from the side of Jesus glorified in his death that the Spirit (= water) comes (Jn. 7:38 f., with 7:38 punctuated so as to refer to Jesus, as was most probably John's intention; 19:34); it is the crucified Jesus who "handed over the Spirit" (Jn. 19:30); it is Christ newly risen and ascended who bestows the Spirit on the disciples (Jn. 20:22). The recognition that John is making a theological point in Jn. 20:22 (death, resurrection, ascension and gift of Spirit form a single theological unity), rather than offering a strict chronological account, should render unnecessary any attempt to achieve a chronological or theological harmonization of Jn. 20:22 with Acts 2. (3) The unity of Christ and Spirit in personality and mission is neatly expressed by identifying the Spirit as the "other Paraclete" (Jn. 14:16), where Jesus is by implication the first Paraclete (cf. 1 Jn. 2:1), so that the Paraclete continues the presence and work of the Son once the Son has departed (Jn. 14:16–28; → Advocate); or, alternatively expressed, so that the Spirit becomes the seed of sonship, the Spirit of the Son (1 Jn. 3:9, 24; 4:13). Thus, as in Paul, the Spirit is conformed to the character and work of Christ and only that Spirit which displays that character and testifies to Jesus the Christ is to be recognized as the Spirit of God (1 Jn. 4:1–3, 6; 5:6–8).

Where John derives the title "Paraclete" (*paraklētos*) from is not clear. It is quite possible that he coined the title himself to express in a single word the various functions he attributed to the Spirit. The nearest parallels to the forensic and intercessory functions are to be found in late Jewish angelology (cf. particularly Job 16:19; 19:25; 33:23, 26; 1QS 3:20; CD 5:18; 1QM 13:10) and in early Christian understanding of the Spirit (Mk. 13:11; Acts 5:32). If a single word translation of *paraklētos* is desired, rather than "Paraclete", RSV's "Counsellor" is both sufficiently precise and sufficiently comprehensive (but see the discussion under Advocate, art. *paraklētos* NT). The chief function attributed to the Paraclete is that of witness, revealer, interpreter: this embraces both recalling of the teaching originally given (14:26; 15:26; 16:14; cf. 1 Jn. 5:6–8) and leading into new truth (Jn. 16:12 f.; cf. Isa. 42:9; 44:7; 1 Jn. 2:27). This implies that new revelation and original teaching are to be held in constant tension for John, so that the Spirit's rôle is never simply that of repeating the original teaching as first given, nor that of revealing new truth wholly unrelated to the old, but that of reinterpreting the old to give it contemporary significance and that of revealing the new in a way consistent with the old. The freedom and restraint in John's own portrait of Jesus exemplifies this function of the interpreter Spirit, as no doubt John intended. The same sort of balance between the freedom of present in-

spiration and the constraint of earlier revelation is present in the description of true worship in Jn. 4:23 f.: as God is Spirit in his communication and communion with men, so men must worship in the liberty of the Spirit and in accordance with his definitive revelation in Christ.

Finally, we may note the Spirit's rôle in mission in Jn. 16:8–11, where the NEB translation serves as a useful commentary. This, together with 1 Cor. 14:24 f., is the only passage which talks of the Spirit's rôle in bringing conviction of sin. It is noteworthy that for John the chief sin is failure to recognize the real significance of Jesus, that he has conquered the prince of this world. On the other hand, when men respond to the Spirit-inspired mission of the disciples, their sins are forgiven (Jn. 20:22 f.).

8. *The Spirit in other NT Writings.* The Spirit is nowhere else so prominent in the rest of the NT.

(a) The Pastorals show far less consciousness of the Spirit as a present reality. He is mentioned in the early formulae preserved in 1 Tim. 3:16 as the mode of Jesus' exalted life (cf. Rom. 1:4; 1 Cor. 15:45; 1 Pet. 3:18) and in Tit. 3:5 as the power of regeneration and renewal poured out by Christ (cf. Acts 2:33; Jn. 3:5–8). In 1 Tim. 4:1 he is the inspirer of prophecy in the period prior to these "later times". 2 Tim. 1:7 is very like Rom. 8:15, but overall the Spirit's manifestations have become more formalized and institutionalized (1 Tim. 4:14; 2 Tim. 1:6) and the Spirit is more the power preserving tradition than leading into new truth (2 Tim. 1:4).

(b) Hebrews recalls the charismatic vitality of the early mission (Heb. 2:4) and conversion is still understood as a coming to share in the Spirit and in the illumination and eschatological powers by which the Spirit manifests himself. The statements of Heb. 3:7; 9:8 and 10:15 reflect the traditional view of the Spirit as the inspirer of → Scripture, so that Scripture can be presented as the voice of the Spirit. More distinctive is the fierceness of Hebrews' warning that the new relation of grace can be so abused that the Spirit of grace be lost (Heb. 6:4 ff.; 10:29), and the author's assertion that Christ was enabled to offer himself up in death by the power of the eternal Spirit (Heb. 9:14).

(c) James 4:5 presents more puzzles than clarity: to what Scripture does it refer? Does it speak of the human spirit as the breath of God, as in ancient Hebrew thought (Gen. 6:3; Job 33:4), or of the divine Spirit as given in conversion, as more regularly in the NT? (See S. S. Laws, "Does Scripture speak in vain? A reconsideration of James iv. 5", *NTS* 20, 1973–74, 210 ff.)

(d) 1 Peter's understanding of the Spirit is nicely typical of the NT – the Spirit of prophecy (1 Pet. 1:11), the inspirer of mission and the power of the gospel (1 Pet. 1:12), the power that sets men apart for God (1 Pet. 1:2) and transforms into the image of God's glory through suffering and persecution (1 Pet. 4:14), the mode of existence in the life beyond death (1 Pet. 3:18; 4:6).

(e) Jude 19–20 is very Pauline in character: believers are those who by definition have the Spirit, whereas those who boast of their spirituality thereby give evidence of their unspirituality (cf. 1 Cor. 2:12–3:4); he alone outside the Pauline letters exhorts his readers to pray in the Spirit (cf. 1 Cor. 14:15; Eph. 6:18).

(f) 2 Peter 1:21's view of inspiration is the nearest the NT approaches to the more typically Greek idea of inspiration as a complete surrender of mind and will to the overpowering Spirit.

(g) The seer of Revelation attributes his inspiration and visions to the Spirit (Rev. 1:10; 4:2; 14:13; 17:3; 21:10; 22:17) and writes to the seven churches at the Spirit's dictation (Rev. 2:7, 11, 17, 29; 3:6, 13, 22). He probably refers to the Spirit of God under the symbolism of the seven spirits (Rev. 1:4; 4:5; → Number, art. *hepta*), particularly as he also represents them as the spirits (Spirit) of the exalted Jesus (Rev. 3:1; 5:6). Perhaps his most interesting reference is to "the testimony of Jesus" as "the Spirit of prophecy" (19:10), presumably an affirmation that prophecy must always be understood in relation to and be judged by the Jesus-tradition and/or the earliest witness to Christ. Note also Rev. 11:11, where *pneuma* is the breath of resurrection life, a divine power which antichrist tries to ape in order to deceive (Rev. 13:15).

9. *Spiritual (pneumatikos). pneumatikos*, the adj. formed from *pneuma*, conveys the sense of belonging to the realm of spirit/Spirit, of the essence or nature of spirit/Spirit, embodying or manifesting spirit/Spirit. Within the NT it is almost exclusively a Pauline word; elsewhere in the NT it occurs only in 1 Pet. 2:5, which is a letter quite heavily influenced by Pauline theology anyway. 15 out of the 24 Pauline occurrences are in 1 Cor. Where the word is introduced at key points in that letter (2:13–3:1; 12:1; 14:1, 37; 15:44–6), it looks very much as though Paul is both taking over and reformulating the language of his opponents, thereby meeting the challenge of what is best understood as an incipient gnosticism expressing an élitist and perfectionist spirituality.

Paul uses the word in three ways. (a) As an adj., a spiritual something. Whatever gift (*charisma*) Paul shares with the Romans will be spiritual, from the Spirit and expressing the life and power of the Spirit (Rom. 1:11). The law is spiritual in the sense that it derives from the Spirit (given by revelation and inspiration) and was intended to achieve a fruitful encounter between divine Spirit and human spirit (Rom. 7:14). The → resurrection body is spiritual in that it embodies the Spirit; Spirit is the unifying centre and motivating force of its existence (1 Cor. 15:44, 46). Paul's point is that the spiritual (body) does not precede the natural (so as to be untainted by the natural), but rather the spiritual (body) succeeds the natural (body). It is in some sense a re-creation of the natural, and so is not yet (→ Soul, art. *psychē* NT 2 (b)). According to Eph. 1:3, the blessings are spiritual in that they derive from the Spirit and take their character from the Spirit. Similarly, "spiritual understanding" (Col. 1:9) and "spiritual songs" (Eph. 5:19; Col. 3:16; → Song), and perhaps also "spiritual stones" and "spiritual sacrifices" (1 Pet. 2:5; → Rock).

In 1 Cor. 10:3 f. the adj. could be taken in a similar way – food, drink, rock which embodied the Spirit, in the sense of conveying the Spirit (so, e.g., E. Käsemann, "The Pauline Doctrine of the Lord's Supper", *Essays on New Testament Themes*, *SBT* 41, 1964, 113). On this view, Paul's understanding of the → Lord's Supper has been heavily influenced by the mystery cults – to partake of the meal is to partake of the cult deity, to take into oneself his spirit. 1 Cor. 10:1–4, however, is better understood as a midrash with allegorical elements (cf. 2 Cor. 3:7–18; Gal. 4:22–31), where "the rock" which accompanied the people in the wilderness in the old legend is to be interpreted as equivalent to Christ in his presence with his people, and the manna and water from the rock are to be interpreted as pictures of the Christian's supernatural sustenance. In this case *pneumatikos* is used in a slightly extended sense, almost equivalent to "allegorical", so explicitly the adverb in Rev. 11:8, and perhaps also the

adjective in 1 Pet. 2:5 – that is "spiritual" in the sense of *denoting* a spiritual reality or conveying a spiritual *meaning* rather than in the sense of actually conveying the Spirit itself. (For further discussion of 1 Cor. 10:3 f. → Hunger, art. *pinō* NT 4 (a).)

(b) As a masc. noun, spiritual man. Both Paul's opponents and Paul himself claim that some Christians are "spiritual men" and others are not – that is, they are possessed by and manifest the Spirit of God more than others, or in a manner not yet experienced by others (1 Cor. 2:13, 15; 3:1; 14:37; Gal. 6:1). But where for Paul's opponents this higher spirituality is marked out by superior wisdom and speech and divisive self-concern, for Paul the "spiritual man" is marked out by his love and concern for others, by his *lack* of self-conceit and envy, and by his ability to distinguish what is loving from what is merely lawful, what is of God from what is merely inspired, what is for the benefit of the whole community from what merely edifies the individual (1 Cor. 2:13–15; 14:37).

(c) As a neut. noun, the spirituals, spiritual things. In Rom. 15:27 and 1 Cor. 9:11 "the things of the Spirit" seem to denote the whole range of activities, attitudes, experiences, etc. which ultimately depend on and derive from the Spirit and which draw their significance from the Spirit – in contrast to the merely material, or to those activities, attitudes etc. which derive from the flesh and draw their significance from the merely physical, human and worldly. In 1 Cor. 12:1; 14:1 and probably 2:13 *pneumatika* is used in a more restricted sense in reference to spiritual gifts, more or less equivalent to *charismata*. Of the two words the latter seems to be Paul's preferred choice (cf. Rom. 1:11; 12:6; 1 Cor. 1:7). The Corinthian situation and the way in which Paul introduces the subject of 1 Cor. 12–14 strongly suggest that "the spirituals" is the word preferred by many Corinthians, emphasizing perhaps thereby the more ecstatic character of their spirituality. The use of *pneumatika* in Eph. 6:12 in reference to evil spirits confirms that *pneumatika* has a more ambiguous meaning than *charismata* in Paul's mind, and underlines again the ambiguous nature of "spiritual things" which necessitates that discernment and evaluation (1 Cor. 2:13–15; 14:37) which the Corinthians so evidently lacked (14:12).

J. D. G. Dunn

10. *Other Words Used in Connexion with the Spirit.* The noun *pnoē* which is used in the LXX chiefly for *nᵉšāmâh* means a blowing, wind. It occurs in the description of the coming of the Spirit at → Pentecost: "And suddenly a sound came from heaven like the rush of a mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting" (Acts 2:2). The account recalls the moving of the Spirit of God over the waters in creation (Gen. 1:2), and perhaps too the wind which preceded God speaking to → Elijah (1 Ki. 19:11). In both cases the movement of the wind precedes the utterance of the Word of God. The quotation from Joel 2:28–32 in Acts 2:17–21 indicates that Peter proclaimed the manifestation of the Spirit as the sign that the new created order was dawning. In Acts 17:25 *pnoē* means breath (cf. Gen. 2:7) in the proclamation that the God who made all things does not live in shrines, "nor is served by human hands, as though he needed anything, since he himself gives to all men life and breath and everything."

The cognate vb. *pneō* occurs in the parable of the houses built on the rock and the sand, signifying the day of reckoning (Matt. 7:25, 27), in the saying about the south wind (Lk. 12:55), in the account of the storm (Jn. 6:18), in the vision of the four winds held back by the angels (Rev. 7:1), and in the description of the movement of

the Spirit which man cannot discern (Jn. 3:8). *ekpneō* means to breathe out, to breathe one's last, expire (Mk. 15:37, 39; Lk. 23:46). *enpneō* means to breathe on, to breathe, and is used fig. of Saul's threats of murder against the disciples of the Lord (Acts 9:1). For *theopneustos*, lit. God-breathed, inspired by God (2 Tim. 3:16) → Scripture, art. *graphē* NT 1 (c). *C. Brown*

→ Gift, → God, → Jesus Christ, → Pentecost

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Stir up, Trouble, Agitate

ταράσσω

ταράσσω (*tarassō*), shake together, stir up, disturb, unsettle, thrown into disorder; *τάραχος* (*tarachos*), commotion, confusion, disturbance; *ταραχή* (*tarachē*), stirring up, disturbance.

CL *tarassō*, a Homeric term (the root *tarach-*, still discernible in *trachys*, rough, harsh, savage), means to shake something out of inertia and throw it into confusion, i.e. to disturb, to upset, to confound, to agitate (from the stirring up of the sea or movement of the air, to violent emotional agitation), hence to confuse, but also, to shake (both of shaking up a medicine and of shaking a conviction, causing shock). There is a corresponding use of the passive: to be disturbed, agitated, confused, even to become alarmed. The noun *tarachos* similarly connotes agitation, confusion, tumult.

OT The LXX uses *tarassō* on the whole in the same way as cl. Gk., to render various Heb. equivalents (cf. Ezek. 32:2, 13, to trouble water; Ps. 46:6 [45:7], of the nations; Isa. 8:12, to be dismayed, alarmed).

NT In the NT *tarassō* occurs 17 times, *tarachos* twice (Acts 12:18; 19:23), and *tarachē* only once (Jn. 5:4 *v.l.*). The meaning is essentially the same as in cl. Gk.

1. *tarassō* is used of troubling water (Jn. 5:4, 7). The water in the Bethesda pool was probably disturbed from time to time by an intermittent spring. Popular belief supposed that at such times an angel endued the water with healing properties. R. D. Potter points out that there is no spring in this part of Jerusalem, but fragments of

pipes have been found in the vicinity. The moving of the water could have been caused by renewal from the pipes ("Topography in the Fourth Gospel", *StudEv I* = *TU* 73, 1959, 336). The pool was 16 metres deep, with no shallow end. A cripple would have had to be carried and held all the time.

2. (a) It is used in the act. in a figurative sense to express the stirring up of spiritual or emotional excitement or confusion, as for instance when the Jews excited, i.e. stir up inwardly, the crowds (Acts 17:8, 13), or when false teachers brought the churches into confusion (Acts 15:24; Gal. 1:7; 5:10; cf. also Acts 12:18, *tarachos*). The participle *hoi tarassontes* in Gal. 1:7 may indicate that the false teachers have made it their conscious aim to throw the churches of Galatia into confusion. Probably, however, Paul is simply making it clear that as the result of another, adulterated gospel, the churches of Galatia have become confused in their understanding and therefore also in their actions – a confusion which may be fatal, since it destroys the living organism of the church. The generic sing. in Gal. 5:10 refers to the same false teachers (cf. H. Schlier, *Der Brief an die Galater*, *KEK* 7, 1951[11], 238). They will have to answer for the confusion they have sown before the judgment-seat of God.

At Jn. 11:33 *tarassō*, together with *embrimaomai* (be deeply moved), denotes the wave of anger which came over Jesus when confronted with so much lack of faith and hope, although life itself, and the Lord over death, are present in his person.

(b) The pass. is always used in the NT in a negative sense, connoting emotional disturbance: to become terrified, to be afraid or overawed.

It is worth noting that in the Synoptic Gospels *tarassomai* is found only 5 times, always with this meaning, and that two of these are in epiphany stories (Matt. 2:3; 14:26; Mk. 6:50; Lk. 1:12; 24:38). In every case the reference is to an emotional shock which is brought about not by any human action, but by the action of God. This is also the implication of Matt. 2:3, where Herod and Jerusalem are shaken at the report of the messiah's birth. A different thought is contained in the expression *mē tarassesthō hymōn hē kardia*, let not your hearts be troubled (Jn. 14:1, 27). In this formula, found both in Semitic (e.g. Pss. 55[54]:5; 143[142]:4) and in cl. Gk. (e.g. Soph., *Ant.* 1095), the → heart stands for the self. Since the disciples are now to be left alone in a world within which a conflict will take place between the powers of this world and God's revelation, the believer, in his isolation from the world, will undergo inward shock and anxiety. This anxiety is overcome, however, by faith in God, which is identical with faith in Jesus, since this faith knows of a home (Jn. 14:1) where death has been conquered. The believer need not remain in a condition of fear and anxiety, since he has the promise of eschatological → peace (Jn. 14:27; cf. also 1 Pet. 3:14).

At Jn. 12:27 Jesus' words "my soul is troubled" do not refer simply to an emotional experience. The fear and anxiety experienced by the One who has been sent shows that he has humbled himself to the utmost, in order to take upon himself the lost condition of man, and in this very condition to glorify the Father.

3. *tarachos* denotes the stir caused by Christians in both its occurrences (Acts 12:18; 19:23). *H. Müller*

Strength, Force, Horn, Violence, Power

The words of this group, whose meaning is very similar to that of words dealt with under → Might, are concerned with the ability of one party to impose its will upon another. The words associated with *bia* denote coercive force, but may include the idea of friendly though firm persuasion. *ischys* denotes primarily, though not exclusively, physical power, while *kratos* is similar in meaning but refers rather to the exercise of authority. *keras*, horn, which can indicate strength, and *ischys* are the two words closest in meaning to *dynamis* and *exousia*.

βία

βία (*bia*), force, violence; *βιάζω* (*biazō*), to use force or violence; *βιαστής* (*biastēs*), a violent man; *βίαιος* (*biaios*), violent.

CL & OT 1. *bia* is found from Homer onwards and is used in rabbinic literature as a borrowed word; it means force and the use of force. The LXX uses it fairly infrequently, but as a translation of 6 Heb. words (e.g. *pērēḳ*, Exod. 1:13 f.). Occasionally God's power is described as *bia* (Isa. 28:2; 30:30), while in the LXX version of Ezek. 44:18 the new order of priests is said to be powerless: *kai ou perizōsontai bia*, "and they shall not be girded with power." Other instances of *bia* in the LXX are Exod. 14:25 (*ḳᵉḇēḏuṯ*), Neh. 5:14 f., 18; Est. 3:13; Wis. 4:4; 5:11; 7:20; 17:5, 18; 19:13; Sir. 20:4; 30:20; Hab. 3:6; Isa. 17:13; 52:4; 63:1; Dan. 11:17; 1 Macc. 6:63; 3 Macc. 2:28; 3:15; 4:7; 4 Macc. 11:26; 17:2, 9.

2. *biazō* is quite rare in the act., but in the mid. expresses the idea of forcible action both in deed and word. Trans. it means to violate, rape; intrans. to use force, enforce one's will; and pass. to suffer violence. It occurs 18 times in the LXX, where it translates 7 Heb. words. The following shades of meaning all contain the idea of forcible action: to urge (using friendly constraint; e.g. Gen. 33:11; Jdg. 13:15 f.; 19:7; 2 Sam. 13:25, 27); to rape (Deut. 22:25, 28); and to break through (Exod. 19:24). Other instances of the vb. in the LXX are 2 Ki. 5:23; Est. 7:8; Sir. 4:26; 31(34):21; Jon. 1:13 *v.l.*; 2 Macc. 14:41; 4 Macc. 2:8; 8;24; 11;25.

3. *biastēs*, which does not occur in the LXX, means a violent man, and carries a derogatory sense.

NT 1. In the NT *bia* occurs only in Acts and denotes force or violence (cf. also *biaios*, violent, Acts 2:2; → Spirit, art. *pneuma*). Thus Acts 27:41 refers to the force of waves smashing a ship. Acts 21:35 records the violence of the mob threatening Paul, while in Acts 5:26 Peter and the apostles are arrested, "but without violence", for fear of the crowd. In every case the violence is a potential threat to men's lives.

2. These Lucan passages may give us an insight into Lk. 16:16: "The law and the prophets were until John; since then the good news of the kingdom of God is preached, and everyone enters it violently [*pas eis autēn biazetai*]" (cf. par. Matt. 11:12). The latter is a saying widely attributed to Q which Lk. has independently rephrased. If so, *pas eis autēn biazetai* would mean: everyone acts against the kingdom of God with violence. This would imply a background of persecution, such as Lk. describes in Acts, and the sense of the saying would be: ever since the

kingdom of God has been preached, violence has been used against it. Furthermore, the polemical nature of the context should be noted: in reply to the Pharisees' mockery (v. 14), Jesus replies: "What is exalted among men is an abomination in the sight of God" (*enōpion* is typically Lucan). However, basing their argument upon the use of *eis* rather than of *pros* or *epi*, most exegetes consider Lk.'s meaning to be: everyone presses into the kingdom of God. To take the vb. as pass., i.e. "everyone is forced into the kingdom of God", is probably the unlikeliest interpretation. In recent Lucan research Lk. 16:16 has special significance for our understanding of the unique nature of the third Gospel, because of the clear way in which it distinguishes one epoch from another (cf. H. Conzelmann, *The Theology of St Luke*, 1960, 20 ff.).

The earlier formulation can be seen in Matt. 11:12, but here too various interpretations are possible. To take the vb. as mid. gives the unlikely meaning: the kingdom of heaven uses force, it coerces. To take it as intrans. gives a more probable interpretation: the kingdom of God accomplishes its purpose mightily, it is eagerly striven for, and those who violently press towards it seize (upon) it. But this translation, although frequently advocated, is still unsatisfactory, since it depicts the kingdom as "suffering violence" in a good sense, with men pressing towards it and striving vehemently to grasp it, whereas their action is more likely to be hostile. The best interpretation, therefore, is the one which takes *biazesthai* as pass. in an unfavourable sense: the kingdom of heaven suffers violence, and violent men assault it, meaning either that hindrances are placed in its way, or that it is forcibly introduced. A special problem arises in the second half of the verse in regard to the phrase *harpazousin autēn*. Matt. presumably understands the vb. as meaning to take something away from someone (cf. 13:19), but this was not necessarily Q's interpretation. At the stage of tradition represented by Q, the accusation levelled at Jesus may possibly have been common knowledge, namely that he had sought to snatch at equality with God (cf. Phil. 2:6; Mk. 14:61 f.; Matt. 26:63 f.), to which Matt. 11:12 Q may have been replying: Not Jesus, but "the persecutors [*biastai*] lay violent hands upon the kingdom of heaven". For further discussion → Snatch, art. *harpazō* NT1 (d). *G. Braumann*

ἰσχύς

ἰσχύς (*ischys*), strength, power, might; *ἰσχύω* (*ischyō*), be strong, powerful; *ἰσχυρός* (*ischyros*), strong, powerful, mighty; *κατισχύω* (*katischyō*), to be strong, powerful, be dominant, prevail.

CL 1. Found from Hesiod onwards, *ischys* denoted the strength and power possessed by living beings or by things (→ Might). In the Gk. tragedies it was applied to deities, but at a later period became less prominent.

2. *ischyō* means to be able to do something, be capable of, have the ability to, be strong, healthy (e.g. Sophocles, *Trach.* 234: "When I left him, he was alive, healthy, flourishing, and untroubled by any sickness"). In addition, it can mean to use force, exercise power, particularly bodily, physical power. Then finally, and particularly in the legal sphere, it acquired the meaning to be valid, be applicable, have value.

3. From Sophocles onwards, *katischyō* meant to be superior to others, be the victor, gain the upper hand, prevail.

4. *ischyros*, found from Aeschylus onwards, means strong either in body or mind, and can be applied to deities, living creatures or things.

OT 1. In the LXX *ischys* translates 30 Heb. words altogether (and in particular *kōaḥ*), being the term most frequently used to denote manifestations of power. It can express man's physical strength (e.g. Jos. 8:3; Jdg. 16:5; Pss. 22[21]:15; 31[30]:10; Ezek. 30:21) or his intellectual power (Prov. 8:14), but is used particularly for divine power, e.g. Num. 14:13, "Then the Egyptians will hear of it, for thou didst bring up this people in thy might from among them" (cf. Pss. 29[28]:4; 147[146]:5). As such it can be a gift of God to men (Mic. 3:8; Pss. 18[17]:1; 29[28]:11).

2. *ischyō* is used in the LXX to translate 24 Heb. equivalents, including *ḥāzaq*. It denotes becoming strong, or being strong in the physical sense, of things (e.g. "lest your bonds be made strong", Isa. 28:22), and of men (e.g. "and it came to pass when Israel was strong [*enischysen*]", Jdg. 1:28).

3. *katischyō* stands for 16 Heb. equivalents, very frequently for *ḥāzaq* (in the qal and piel), and denotes being superior in a physical sense. It is used of men (e.g. Jos. 17:13: "when the children of Israel grew strong"; Ezek. 30:24: "I will strengthen the arms of the king of Babylon"), of things (Isa. 54:2: "strengthen your stakes") and of God's power (1 Chr. 29:12, "it is in thy hand to make great and to give strength to all").

4. In the LXX *ischyros* translates 25 Heb. equivalents, and is also frequently found in the other Gk. translations of the OT. The word denotes strong of persons (e.g. Num. 13:18, whether the people are strong or weak), of animals (e.g. Prov. 30:30, the lion), of things (Isa. 8:7, water) and of God (Deut. 10:17).

NT 1. This group of words is found in almost all the NT writings (*ischyō* being especially common in Lk.) and refers to the strength and power (*ischys*) of living creatures (e.g. Heb. 11:34) or things (e.g. Heb. 6:18, strong consolation; Heb. 5:7, strong cries). The particular translation depends on the nuances of the context. Peter (Mk. 14:37) and the disciples (Matt. 26:40) have to answer the question "Are you not *able to* watch [with me] one hour?" Men are called upon to → love God with (*ex* or *en*) all their strength (Mk. 12:30; Lk. 10:27). Salt which has lost its taste is *fit for* nothing (Matt. 5:13). In Lk. 15:14 the famine is described as *great*. The prayer of a righteous man *has* great *power in its effects* (Jas. 5:16). The → gates of Hades shall not *prevail* (Matt. 16:18); the voices of the mob *prevailed* (Lk. 23:23). In a metaphorical sense the healthy can be called *ischyontes* in contrast with the sick (Mk. 2:17; cf. also Rev. 6:15). As a legal term *ischyō* means to avail, to be valid (Heb. 9:17, of the validity of a will; cf. Gal. 5:6).

2. Some NT passages need special attention. The synoptic tradition uses this group of words in a manner which implies approval of the action or quality involved; thus the strong man is safe, unless one comes who is stronger than he (Mk. 3:27). Since in Isa. 49:24 f. it is God who sets the prisoners free, Mk. 3:27 may first of all have suggested that God, being the stronger one, has conquered → Satan, the strong one, and cast him out of heaven. In the Marcan context, however, the passage means that his victory over the demons proves Jesus to be stronger than the strong, i.e. stronger than demons or demon-possessed men (cf. Acts 10:38); acting in the power of God, he has conquered them and is now spoiling them of their prey. His superiority is also seen vis-à-vis John the Baptist; the expected one is mightier than John, and will demonstrate this by baptizing with the Holy Spirit and with → fire (the

fire of judgment) (Matt. 3:11; Lk. 3:16 Q), or with the Holy Spirit as a gift of salvation (Mk. 1:7, 8). Finally, *ischyō* is used in various places to depict Christ's superior power in contrast to the impotence of others, thereby emphasizing the greatness both of the → miracle and of the one by whom it is wrought. In Mk. 5:4 the observation that no one had sufficient strength to subdue the demoniac, prepares us to appreciate the greatness of Christ's miracle. This particular emphasis, intelligible in the light of form criticism, reappears in Lk. 8:43: the seriousness of the malady indicates the remarkable nature of the cure (cf. also Rev. 18:10). Christ's opponents also are inferior to him (Lk. 14:6; cf. 14:29 f.; 20:26), their impotence merely throwing his superior power into sharper relief; the same superiority is evident in the growth of the infant church in Acts 19:20, and in "the wisdom and the Spirit" with which Stephen spoke (Acts 6:10) – and in spite of which he was stoned to death.

3. In defending himself against his opponents in Corinth, who were proud of their strength and their abundance of → gifts (1 Cor. 4:10), Paul set → weakness and impotence over against strength. Even the weakness of God is stronger than men (cf. 1 Cor. 10:22); God puts the strong to shame by choosing what is weak (1 Cor. 1:25 f.). Paul himself had to suffer the reproach that, while his letters were weighty and strong, he himself was weak (2 Cor. 10:10). Nevertheless, Paul did not regard his own lack of strength as a disadvantage. On Paul's "thorn in the flesh" (2 Cor. 12:7) → Fruit, art. *skolops* NT. Since he argued from the strength of God which the non-believer regards as foolishness, i.e. weakness (1 Cor. 1:18), in other passages he could say that → circumcision or uncircumcision, being Jew or Gentile, avail nothing for those who are in Christ (Gal. 5:6), since Christ's power, like God's power, carries the day, and is transmitted to those who live in him (Phil. 4:13). On this basis there is no power inherent in man; it can exist only when God's strength is displayed in human weakness (2 Cor. 12:9).

4. Eph. and 2 Thess. use the *ischyō* word-group to express their own concept of strength and power, which is somewhat different from the other Pauline literature (→ Might, art. *dynamis*). Eph. 1:19 and 6:10 speak of the power of God, not the power of Christ, and 2 Thess. 1:19 echoes Isa. 2:10, 19 in ascribing to the power of God the punishment of the ungodly at the last day.

5. In Rev. the grandeur of the imagery is conveyed by *ischys* and *ischyros*. "Might" figures among the ascriptions addressed to the → Lamb (Rev. 5:12), and to God (Rev. 7:12; 18:8). Strength is also attributed to the → angels (Rev. 5:2; 10:1; 18:21; cf. 2 Pet. 2:11), whose voice is mighty (Rev. 18:2; cf. 19:8) and who are superior to the → dragon (Rev. 12:8; cf. the use of *ischys* in inscriptions about princes, A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 1927⁴, 363). They belong to the heavenly kingdom and are thus closely associated with God, hence in the worship of heaven the hymn addressed to God may likewise be addressed to them.

G. Braumann

κέρας

κέρας (*keras*), horn.

CL *keras* is etymologically related to Eng. "horn" (cf. also Heb. *qeren*; Lat. *cornu*). It is found from Mycenean Gk. and Homer onwards, and is a common word in

profane Gk. It denotes the horn of an animal and later came to mean courage or stubbornness.

In ancient religion, though probably not in Greece, horns symbolized the strength of gods and men (a vestige of earlier animal-worship). Thus Assyrian princes, and Babylonian priests, wore two-horned headdresses similar to those which normally adorned the gods. Alexander the Great was known as "The Horned One".

OT In the LXX *keras* is used in two different connexions.

1. (a) It denotes the horns of animals (Deut. 33:17) and is particularly frequent with this meaning in apocalyptic and late Jewish literature (e.g. Dan. 7:7; 8:3; Eth. Enoch 90:9).

(b) In priestly and sacrificial contexts the word refers to the twisted horn-like corners or projections of the altar (Exod. 27:2; Lev. 4:7; Ps. 118 [117]:27; → Sacrifice, art. *thyō* OT 2; → Temple; → Tent).

2. From these two original connotations there arose the figurative use of *keras* to express the power and might of men and Yahweh. As in the prophetic and symbolic act of Zedekiah (1 Ki. 22:11), the horn frequently denotes physical power and superiority in men (Mic. 4:13), but also well-being in general (1 Sam. 2:1; Job 16:15, LXX *sthenos*). When Yahweh is addressed (in priestly language) as "the horn of my salvation [*keras sōtērias mou*]" (Ps. 18:2 = 2 Sam. 22:3), he is considered to be the power which brings about the salvation of men and preserves it against hostile attacks.

NT In the NT *keras* is found only in Lk. 1:69 and in Rev.

1. In Zechariah's → song of praise (Lk. 1:68–79), which is strongly reminiscent of OT psalms and full of OT imagery, the phrase "horn of salvation" is taken over from Ps. 18:2 and means "saving power". The vb. "to raise up" (*ēgeiren*) parallels "to exalt" (*hypsōsei*) in 1 Sam. 2:10: by his acts in history God brings about salvation. The addition of "in the house of his servant David", which goes back to Ps. 132:17, specifies the messiah as the horn of salvation (cf. Eth. Enoch 90:37 f., where the messiah appears as a white bull with black horns). Lk. 1:69 glorifies God as the one who has demonstrated his power in history, and who by sending the messiah has raised up for men a power that brings salvation.

2. Rev. 9:13 refers to the horns of the golden altar before God (→ Sacrifice, art. *thyō* NT 9). The allegorical use of horns in Rev., where they have no organic connexion with the animals concerned and so cannot in any sense be envisaged biologically, is connected with OT and Jewish apocalyptic. The → Lamb bears seven horns (Rev. 5:6), the → dragon and the beast ten each (Rev. 12:3; 13:1; 17:3 → Animal, art. *thērion*). "In accordance with the symbolic meaning of the number seven . . . and of the figure of the horn, the seven horns of the Lamb express the divine plenitude of power" (W. Foerster, *TDNT* III 670; → Number, art. *hepta*). Rev. (17:3, 7, 12, 16) has taken over the ten horns of Dan. 7:7 as well as their application to the ten kings (cf. Dan. 7:24), who, according to Rev. 17:12 ff., give over their power to the beast, but, joining with the latter in his war against the Lamb, are vanquished. The meaning of the allegory is disputed. Many interpret it as referring to its own historical period, i.e. the beast represents Nero *redivivus* and the ten horns represent princes or Roman emperors. Foerster's interpretation is also possible, however: the passage shows

that "all the rulers of the last time and their subjects (cf. 19:17 ff.), are at the disposal of Antichrist in the open battle against Christ" (*TDNT* III 671).

H.-G. Link, J. Schattenmann

κράτος

κρατέω (*krateō*), to be strong, to take possession of, hold, grasp, seize; κράτος (*kratos*), power, might, rule; κραταιόω (*krataioō*), make strong, strengthen; κραταιός (*krataios*), strong, mighty; παντοκράτωρ (*pantokratōr*), the Almighty; κοσμοκράτωρ (*kosmokratōr*), ruler of the world; κράτιστος (*kratistos*), most honourable, illustrious, excellent.

CL & OT 1. *krateō*, found from Homer onwards, can mean to be strong, to possess might (e.g. Sophocles, *OT* 530, "for what the mighty do, I do not see"); to be in control of, to be master of (e.g. Sophocles, *Ai.* 1099, "as one who is master of himself", *autou kratōn*); to obtain victory over, to gain the upper hand over. *krateō* can also indicate the act of seizing, and particularly that of arresting (e.g. Sophocles, *OC* 1380 f., "therefore do (the curses) seize thy seat and throne"), or can express a continuous action, i.e. holding fast, keeping. In the legal sphere the word acquired the meaning to have the right of possession. All the above senses, except the legal one, occur in the LXX, where it is found some 170 times, frequently as a translation of *ḥāzaq* hiph., e.g., "be strong" (Jer. 20:7), "rule" (Prov. 16:32; 4 Macc. 1:5), "take control" (1 Macc. 10:52; 2 Macc. 4:27); "seize" (Jdg. 8:12; Ps. 137[136]:9), "hold" (Cant. 3:4). The expression "to take by the hand" (*kratein tēs cheiros*) is found at Gen. 19:16; Isa. 42:6; cf. Isa. 41:13; 45:1; Jdg. 16:26B; 1 Sam. 15:27; Josephus, *War* 1, 352; *Ant.* 14, 480. But it is not found in secular literature. In Philo *krateō* means to "rule" (*Leg. All.* 1, 73; 1, 100; *Rer. Div. Her.* 269; *Cher.* 115; *Decal.* 149), to "be lord over" (*Post. C.* 42), "conquer" (*Ebr.* 75; 105), and to "gain the upper hand" (*Leg. All.* 3, 92).

2. *kratos*, found from Homer onwards, denotes power and strength, such as physical strength (e.g. Homer, *Il.* 7, 142, "this man Lycurgos slew, but not by strength did he do it"), or the power possessed by men, rulers or gods (e.g. Homer, *Il.* 2, 118, "for to him belongs supreme power"). The word is a title of royalty (Deissmann, *op. cit.*, 368), and also means rule or dominion (e.g. Herodotus, 3, 69, "he who has dominion over the Persians") and victory (e.g. Homer, *Il.* 1, 509, "meanwhile grant victory to the Trojans"). In the LXX *kratos* corresponds to 9 Heb. words, often being used, however, without a Heb. equivalent. It denotes the power and strength of men and things, e.g., Ps. 89:9 (LXX 88:10), particularly the power of God, e.g. Ps. 62:11 (LXX 61:13), which can be given to men, e.g. Ps. 86:16 (LXX 85:16).

3. *krataioō*, to make strong, to take courage, to gain the upper hand over, is found no earlier than the LXX (e.g. Job 36:22; Jud. 13:7; 2 Sam. 1:23; 11:23; Ps. 105[104]:4), where it occurs 64 times; elsewhere it occurs rarely (e.g. in Philo, *Conf. Ling.* 101, 103; *Agric.* 160).

4. *krataios* mighty, full of power (e.g. Homer, *Il.* 11, 119, "the mighty beast"), can be found in combination with *cheir*, → hand, as early as Sophocles, *Phil.* 1110, "with strong hands". The LXX usually applies the adj. to God (e.g. Deut. 7:21; Pss. 24[23]:8; 71[70]:7; Prov. 23:11), and combines it with *cheir* in 31 passages. In

nearly every instance the reference is to the mighty hand of God (e.g. Exod. 3:19; 6:1; 13:3, 9, 14, 16; Deut. 7:8, 19, 21; 11:2; Ps. 136[135]:12).

5. *pantokratōr*, the Almighty, not found before the LXX, is used as a title for deities (e.g. of Hermes, *Epigrammata Graeca* 815, 11; of Isis, *Inscriptiones Graecae* V, 2, 472). The LXX translates *ṣᵉḇa'ôṯ* and *šadday* by *pantokratōr*, and the word also occurs in the magical papyri (e.g. Job 5:17; 8:5; Hos. 12:6[5]; Amos 3:13; 5:14 ff.; Zech. 1:3–17; 8:1–23; Mal. 1:4–14; Jer. 3:19).

6. *kosmokratōr*, ruler of the world, not found before the Christian era, is a designation of the planets, then generally of the rulers of the universe on whom the fate of men depends. The LXX and Philo make no use of the word. It returns, however, as a borrowed word in rabbinic literature.

7. *kratistos*, found since Homer, also in the LXX (e.g. Amos 6:2), in Philo and Josephus, is a very respectful form of address used to persons of high rank.

NT 1. In the synoptic tradition *krateō* is sometimes a technical term meaning to arrest or seek to arrest: Matt. 14:3 par. Mk. 6:17 tells of the arrest of John the Baptist; Mk. 12:12; 14:1, 44 par. Matt. 26:48 report the plan to arrest Jesus; and Mk. 14:46 describes his actual arrest. It is striking that Luke obviously avoids the expression in this sense (the only exception being Acts 24:6, 23). Acts of seizing, if not of official arrest, are recorded in Mk. 14:51; Matt. 18:28; 22:6.

2. *krateō* means generally to take hold of: Jesus took hold of the dead child's hand (Mk. 5:41 par. Matt. 9:25, Lk. 8:54), and of that of a sick woman (Mk. 1:31). It is characteristic of the → miracle stories that the miracle-worker touches the patient's → hand in order that his miraculous power may flow into the other's body. Matt. mentions the taking hold of a sheep that has fallen into a well on the Sabbath (Matt. 12:11), and speaks of the disciples taking hold of Jesus by the feet (Matt. 28:9).

3. The holding fast of Jewish → tradition is called in question in Mk. 7:3 f., the reason being that such tradition consists of human ordinances rather than the commandment of God (v. 8; → Hand, art. *cheir* NT 2). In the course of time a Christian tradition developed, observance of which was laid down as binding (2 Thess. 2:15; Heb. 4:14; 6:18; Rev. 2:13, 25; 3:11), while those who clung to false doctrines were opposed (Rev. 2:14 f.).

Mk. 9:10 tells how the disciples kept the word of Jesus to themselves and did not pass it on; this evangelist consistently depicts the messiahship of Jesus as having to remain → secret. The OT and Jewish concept of sins being retained (cf. Matt. 16:19; 18:18) is expressed by *krateō* in Jn. 20:23 (cf. *paratērein anomias* Ps. 130:3 LXX; *diatērein hamartias* Sir. 28:1; → Bind; → Open, art. *kleis* NT 3).

The Emmaus disciples saw Jesus but failed to recognize him; their eyes "were holden" (Lk. 24:16 AV). In Acts 2:24 death is said to have been unable to hold Jesus. The lame man, once he was healed, clung to Peter and John (Acts 3:11), showing that he owed his healing to them, and ultimately to God. The idea of holding fast is also expressed in Acts 27:33: they supposed that they had obtained their purpose. These examples indicate that in his use of *krateō* Lk. thinks of "holding fast", the continuous action, rather than of the momentary act of "taking hold".

4. *kratos*, like → *ischys*, is used along with other words *dynamis*, → might; *timē*, honour, *doxa*, → glory; *charis*, → grace, etc.) as an attribute and honorific title for

kings, emperors and their households, all these terms being later applied to God (1 Pet. 5:11; Rev. 5:13) and to Christ (1 Tim. 6:16; 1 Pet. 4:11; Rev. 1:6; 5:13). Power which is not used directly on men, i.e. which is not soteriological in character, serves to describe majesty and grandeur. The word itself is immaterial, as is shown by its interchangeability with other words; thus in Rev. 4:9; 7:12, *kratos* is missing. The holding of the seven stars and the four winds (Rev. 2:1; 7:1), and the seizing of the → dragon (Rev. 20:2), are apocalyptic and symbolic ways of expressing power and might. On the other hand, those passages which reveal the effects of God's power are anthropological: in the *Magnificat* God puts forth his strength in order to scatter the proud (Lk. 1:51). Acts 19:20 also describes God's power at work among men: the word of God (i.e. the gospel and its proclamation) has had a success which can only be ascribed to God. Eph. 1:19, although in the form of a doxology, teaches nevertheless by its use of *eis hēmas* that "the working of the power of his might" is seen in believers; similarly in Eph, 6:10 "the power of his might" is to become effective in those who are addressed (cf. Col. 1:11). The power of death, according to Heb. 2:14, has been taken from the devil.

5. *krataioō* is used in the Lucan birth narratives to describe the child Jesus growing and becoming strong in spirit (Lk. 1:80) and wisdom (Lk. 2:40). Otherwise the word is not common in the NT. It clearly refers to manly strength in 1 Cor. 16:13, which is a quotation (cf. Ps. 31:24; 2 Sam. 10:12); and has a metaphorical sense in Eph. 3:16; in gnostic terminology, the inner man is expected to be strengthened with might. The phrase *esō anthrōpos* means the inner man, the new man, the man who has become new; *not* the introspective, inward-looking man.

6. *krataios* occurs only in 1 Pet. 5:6: the hand of God, under which man is called to humble himself, is a mighty hand.

7. The term *pantokratōr*, the Almighty, the Lord of all, occurs both in connexion with OT quotations (2 Cor. 6:18; cf. Hos. 1:10; Isa. 43:6) and independently (Rev. 1:8; 4:8; 11:17; 15:3; 16:7, 14; 19:6, 15; 21:22). In both cases the title serves to describe the immense greatness of God. He has power over all men and all things.

8. *kosmokratōr* occurs only in Eph. 6:12 and then in the plur.: it refers to the cosmic rulers, the evil spirits, against whom we are to wage war.

9. *kratistos*, most excellent, honourable, is a friendly form of address in Lk. 1:3; when applied to Felix and Festus, however (Acts 23:26; 24:3; 26:25), it is used in its official sense. In its technical sense, corresponding to Lat. *egregius*, it was applied to members of the equestrian order in Roman society. *G. Braumann*

→ God, → Might

(a). G. B. Caird, *Principalities and Powers*, 1956; H. Conzelmann, *The Theology of St Luke*, 1960; A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 1927[4]; W. Foerster, *keras*, *TDNT* III 669 ff.; W. Grundmann, *ischyō* etc., *TDNT* III 397–402; W. Michaelis, *kratos* etc., *TDNT* III 905–15; C. H. Powell, *The Biblical Concept of Power*, 1963; H. Schlier, *Principalities and Powers in the New Testament*, 1961; G. Schrenk, *biazomai, biastēs*, *TDNT* I 609–14.

(b). W. Foerster, "Die Bilder in Apk. 12 f. und 17 f.", *ThStKr* 104, 1932, 279 ff.; E. Grässer, *Das Problem der Parusieverzögerung in den synoptischen Evangelien und der Apostelgeschichte*, *BZNW* 22, 1960[2]; W. Grundmann, *Der Begriff der Kraft in der neutestamentlichen Gedankenwelt*, *BWANT* 4, 8, 1932; SB I 9 f., 70; II 110 f.; I. Scheftelowitz, "Das Hörnermotiv in den Religionen", *ARW* 15, 1912, 451–487; G. Strecker, *Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit. Untersuchung zur Theologie des Matthäus*, *FRLANT* 82, 1971[3].

Suffer

πάσχω

πάσχω (*paschō*), suffer, endure; κακοπαθέω (*kakopatheō*), suffer evil, endure hardship; συνκακοπαθέω (*synkakopatheō*), endure hardship together with someone; συμπαθέω (*sympatheō*), have compassion, sympathize with; συμπάσχω (*sympaschō*), suffer the same thing as, suffer together with, sympathize with; πάθημα (*pathēma*), suffering, affliction, misfortune; παθητός (*pathētos*), subject to suffering, capable of suffering; πάθος (*pathos*), suffering, passion.

CL The etymological derivation of *paschō* (with the stems *penth-*, *ponth-*, *path-*) is still not clear.

1. The basic meaning of the vb., in use from Homer onwards, is that of experiencing something which stems from outside of myself but which affects me, either for good or ill. The opposite idea is expressed by vbs. denoting freedom of action, e.g. *erxai* (Homer, *Od.* 8, 490), *energein* (*Corp. Herm.* 12, 11; → Work, art. *ergon*).

2. (a) *paschō* originally meant nothing more than "to be affected by", but how one was affected had to be expressed by additional words, e.g. *kakōs paschein*, to be in a bad situation (Homer, *Od.* 16, 275); *eu paschein*, to be in a good situation (Sophocles, *OC* 1489). However, since such additions tended to be negative, the vb. itself came to have a negative meaning, unless there were clear indications to the contrary. Thus the idea of being affected is replaced by that of suffering, e.g., *anthrōpinon ti paschein*, to die (further instances are given by W. Michaelis, *TDNT* V 904 ff.). In most cases it is a matter of being delivered up to an adverse fate or to malevolent gods and men (Diogenes Laertius, 5, 61; Diodorus Siculus, 13, 98, 2), and only rarely refers to enduring a punishment.

(b) The situation is similar in the case of the noun *to pathos*. It means that which is passively experienced, in contrast with nouns denoting action, such as *ergon* (→ Work), *praxis* (→ Work, art. *prassō*) and *poiēma* (→ Work, art. *poieō*). The nature of the experience is then specified by the addition of adjs., e.g. *makarion pathos paschein*, to be in a blissful state (Plato, *Hp. Mi.* 364a). But for the most part *pathos* describes the emotions of the soul, i.e. human feelings and impulses which a man does not produce within himself but finds already present, and by which he can be carried away. Although used by Aristotle in both a good and a bad sense (cf. especially *Eth. Nic.* 2, 4, 1105b, 20 f.), *pathos* acquired a predominantly negative meaning, that of passion, especially among the Stoics (see below, 4).

3. At an early period questions were being asked concerning the purpose and the meaning of suffering. Salutary lessons can be learned from one's own suffering and that of others; trials make men wise, according to the epic poet Hesiod (*Works* 218). The tragedies teach the profound truth that through suffering we learn who we are and what station befits us in life (Aeschylus, *Ag.* 170; *Prom.* 309).

4. The Stoics extended the idea of suffering into something universal and cosmological: all non-divine being is subject to suffering, i.e. it is affected by external influences and emotions. Such emotions, however, hinder true knowledge and the practice of virtue, so the passions (*pathē*) must be overcome in order that the ideal of "dispassionateness" (*apatheia*) may be attained.

5. The Hermetic writings, too, regard everything created as subject to suffering, the latter being unknown only in the sublimest of heavenly spheres. Hence the re-

quirement facing the mystic is that the self be liberated from the → body (cf. → Knowledge, art. *ginōskō* CL). Such liberation occurs in this life at moments of ecstasy but will be permanently enjoyed only after death (*Corp. Herm.* 1, 15; 1, 122; cf. W. Michaelis, *TDNT* V 906 f.).

OT 1. In the LXX *paschō* occurs only 21 times. It translates the Heb. *ḥāmal*, to feel compassion (Ezek. 16:5; Zech. 11:5), and also *ḥālâh* niph., to be affected, impressed (Amos 6:6), since there is no exact equivalent for *paschō* in Heb. The same is true for *to pathos*, which in Job 30:31 translates *'ēḇel*, although the latter is elsewhere rendered, far more appropriately, by *to penthos*, mourning (Gen. 27:41; Deut. 34:8; Isa. 60:20; Amos 5:16 and passim). Despite the absence of precise Heb. equivalents, however, the ideas expressed by *paschō* and its derivatives are clearly present in the OT, where the question of suffering is approached from various angles.

(a) The cause of suffering is most commonly seen to lie in the inherent causality of an evil deed: such a deed brings its own retribution by virtue of its consequences, and so produces suffering. This idea is by no means restricted to the subjective and individualistic sphere (Gen. 20:3 ff.; Jos. 7; 1 Sam. 14:24 ff.) and thus shows similarity with the thought of the Gk. tragedies: "the moral suffering of Oedipus is . . . brought about by the fact . . . that he has done something, albeit unwittingly and unintentionally, which in itself is heinous" (K. von Fritz, "Tragische Schuld und poetische Gerechtigkeit in der Antike", *Stud. Gen.* 1955, 195). On the questions of expiation and propitiation → Reconciliation, art. *hilaskomai* OT.

(b) On the other hand, this idea is restricted to the individual, particularly in the Wisdom poetry, one reason certainly being messages about individual → guilt and responsibility such as that of Ezek. 18, which must undoubtedly have brought relief to the minds of the exiles. "He who digs a pit will fall into it, and a stone will come back upon him who starts it rolling" (Prov. 26:27). Each individual is personally responsible for the moral decisions he makes.

(c) These two ideas, however, are not mutually exclusive. Rather, they indicate that whenever Israel was called upon to suffer, he always endeavoured to understand what Yahweh was doing in history. If Yahweh is not a dead but a living God, then both good and evil come from him (Amos 3:6; Job 2:10), although he may use secondary causes as well. The OT therefore leaves practically no room for suffering that is fortuitous (1 Ki. 22:19–23; Job 1:1–2:10; Jdg. 9:23; cf. however 1 Sam. 26:10). The question of suffering is not thought through anthropologically for man to obtain a deeper insight into his own existence (see above, CL 3), but is entirely a matter of God's providence. Thus G. von Rad makes the following comment on the story of Joseph: "this chain of guilt and suffering has nothing in common with the pessimistic belief in fate found in Greek tragedy, for the story of Joseph distinctly has guidance as its subject. God has directed all things for good" (*Old Testament Theology*, I, 1962, 172; cf. Gen. 45:5 ff.; 50:20, 24).

(d) The fact that there is no tension between the problem of suffering as such and the problem of one's own individual suffering is indicated by the Psalms of lament, which show the psalmist overwhelmed with every conceivable kind of trouble (Ps. 22). Such Psalms are not biographies of the psalmist, nor do they give allegorical accounts of his spiritual experiences; rather they are liturgical formularies for common use within the OT community. Important for the psalmist is not the analysis of his

personal sufferings but his experience of comfort from the priestly oracle (see J. Begrich, "Das Priesterliche Heilsorakel", *ZAW* 52, 1934, 81 ff.) or from seeking refuge in Yahweh (Ps. 17:8 and passim).

2. The question as to the purpose of suffering is one which emerges only in course of time. Hence Prov. 12:1; 13:1 refer to its educational value: suffering improves character.

3. The Book of Job in particular is radical and uncompromising in its attitude to the view of suffering dealt with under 1 (a). In his own case Job can acknowledge no causal connexion between guilt and suffering (Job 6:24). He comes to see one thing very clearly: that mere man cannot enter into litigation with Almighty God (9:32 f.); and the book therefore ends with a hymn in which God declares his own omnipotence; his inscrutable wisdom reduces men to silence even in the face of unaccountable suffering (38:1–42:6). For what man can claim to understand the mysteries of human life or presume to give God counsel or reproof? Thus the Book of Job challenges us not to offer blind allegiance to a theological scheme linking sin with suffering, but rather to submit to God himself.

4. (a) A further aspect of the suffering of the innocent is the exemplary suffering endured by chosen individuals (e.g. → Moses, Num. 11:11; → Elijah, 1 Ki. 19; Hosea, Hos. 1–3; Jeremiah, Jer. 15:10; 18:18; 20:14 ff.), men whose very office exposes them to suffering. "The hearers refuse the prophet's message, and in so doing refuse the God from whom the message comes. Hence the fate suffered by the prophets visibly demonstrates Israel's hostility to Yahweh. By rejecting his prophets, they reject God himself" (J. Stamm, *Das Leiden des Unschuldigen in Babylonien und Israel*, *AThANT* 10, 1946, 67). Yahweh's own suffering as a result of his people's → sin is therefore exemplified in the suffering of elect individuals (→ Election).

(b) The idea of vicarious suffering comes to a climax in Isa.'s message concerning the "Suffering Servant" (→ Son of God, art. *pais theou*; cf. H. H. Rowley, "The Servant of the Lord in the Light of Three Decades of Criticism", and "The Suffering Servant and the Davidic Messiah", in *The Servant of the Lord and Other Essays on the Old Testament*, 1965², 1–60, 61–94). His suffering is seen as punishment for the sins of others (Isa. 53:4–6).

5. In Wis. the educational aspect of suffering once again emerges (Wis. 12:22). Israel's enemies suffer by way of punishment and warning (Wis. 12:20, 25–27). When God's children suffer, this is God carefully leading them to repentance (Wis. 12:19, 21). However, the educational and manward aspects of suffering (see above, CL 3) receive less emphasis than its teleological and redemptive aspects. According to 2 Macc., even the God-fearing man suffers as a punishment for his sin (2 Macc. 7:18, 32), though joy comes from suffering as a martyr "in the fear of God" (2 Macc. 6:30) (→ Fear, art. *phobos* OT 2). "In general Philo's usage is very much under the influence of the terminology and outlook of Gk.-Hell. philosophy" (*TDNT* V 909). Josephus, however, who frequently deals with the subject, sees the possibility of pious Jews suffering any extreme "for their Law" (*War* 2, 196). *paschō* rarely refers to a happy experience (*Ant.* 3, 312); more often it is used in the sense of to endure (*Ant.* 7, 209 and passim). to suffer punishment (*Ant.* 4, 270 and passim), or even to suffer death (*Ant.* 9, 43). But not all suffering leads to death. In rabbinic Judaism, especially after the destruction of Jerusalem and the consequent cessation

of the sacrifices, atoning power was attributed to all suffering for sin; since it was intended to lead the sinner to repentance, he could only thank God for it (SB I 169, 417 f.; II 274–282). There was also a doctrine of vicarious suffering (SB II 275, 279–282), and of meritorious suffering (SB II 193 f., 275). Earthly sufferings, in the rabbinic view, could mitigate retribution in the world to come (cf. 1 Pet. 4:1). Thus the righteous man could actually see God's love at work in his sufferings, while the unrighteous, having no sufferings to bear, was thereby deprived of the chance to make amends (cf. W. Wichmann, *Die Leidenstheorie. Eine Form der Leidensdeutung im Spätjudentum*, *BWANT* 4, Folge, 2, 1930). It must, however, be admitted that *paschō* and its derivatives provide the content rather than the precise terminology of the rabbinic theology of suffering (cf. texts given by Wichmann, op. cit., 91 ff.). Gen. R. 44:6 on Gen. 15:1 contains the statement (probably directed against Christianity) that in every generation there is one righteous man who makes atonement for sin through his sufferings (cf. Midrash on Cant. 1:14, § 60).

6. The Qumran community looked forward to the birth of a messiah amid numerous woes and birth-pangs described in cosmic terms (1QH3:5–18; which alludes to Isa. 9:5 and 26:16–21). A. R. C. Leaney comments: "Here we have a prayer, the metaphor of useless travail, followed by promise of rebirth, and vindication of God's people by punishment of iniquity" ("The Eschatological Significance of Human Suffering in the Old Testament and the Dead Sea Scrolls", *SJT* 16, 1963, 294). Leaney also sees Isa. 60:21 in 1QH 8:1–8. 1QH 9 expresses confidence in Yahweh's vindication amid suffering: "But behold, from desolation to ruin, and from the pain to the sore, and from the travail to the throes, my soul meditates on Thy marvellous works. In Thy mercies Thou hast not cast me aside; season by season, my soul shall delight in the abundance of mercy. I will reply to him who swallows me up and I will rebuke my oppressor; I will declare his sentence unjust and declare Thy judgement righteous." Leaney contends that the author is in no doubt that he lives in the time of the messianic woes and that his duty is to enter fully into the creative process which he describes poetically as a travailing to bring to birth, but the enthusiasm at Qumran for the law and their desire for the rebirth of the nation were to be cruelly disappointed in A.D. 70 (op. cit., 295).

NT 1. The vb. *paschō*, used 42 times in the NT, does not occur in OT quotations or in the Gospel of Jn. and the Johannine Epistles. It is also absent from Rev., apart from 2:10, and among the general epistles occurs only in 1 Pet. Paul rarely uses it (only 9 times, including *sympaschō*); it is very common, however, in the Synoptic Gospels, Acts and Heb. The noun *pathēma* is found only in Paul (Rom. 8:18; 2 Cor. 1:5 ff.; Phil. 3:10; Col. 1:24; 2 Tim. 3:11; including 2 passages where the word means passion: Rom. 7:5; Gal. 5:24), in 1 Pet. 1:11; 4:13; 5:1, 9, in Heb. 2:9 f.; 10:32. *synkakopatheō* (Heb. 4:15; 10:34) and *kakopatheō* (2 Tim. 2:9; 4:5) occur with reference to suffering as followers of Christ. In addition, *kakopatheō* is used more generally in Jas. 5:13. The adj. *pathētos* occurs only once (Acts 26:23; Christ was subject to suffering), while *sympatheō* is used twice, to express the thought that the exalted Christ (Heb. 4:15) and his people (Heb. 10:34) are able to exercise compassion. *pathos* occurs only in Rom. 1:26; Col. 3:5; 1 Thess. 4:5.

In the light of the fact that the Synoptic Gospels are, in a sense, passion accounts extended both backwards and forwards in time, i.e. the passion is their central theme,

it is striking that they make relatively little use of *paschō* and *pathēma*. In Jn. the whole life of the incarnate Logos is presented as his passion (Jn. 1:5, 11 and passim), though as a passion in which he is glorified (→ Glory, art. *doxa*). Despite this emphasis, however, Jn. makes no use at all of these words, so that the importance of the passion idea in the NT cannot be inferred from mere statistics.

2. There are only a few places where *paschō* and its derivatives are used in a general sense. Thus in Gal. 3:4; Lk. 13:2; Acts 28:5 it could equally well be rendered by "to experience". Pilate's wife is badly frightened by a dream (Matt. 27:19), and the woman with the issue of blood has suffered a great deal at the hands of many physicians (Mk. 5:26). Principally, however, the word-group serves to describe the suffering of Christ and that of his disciples.

3. *The Suffering of Christ.* (a) *paschō* has a twofold use in reference to Jesus' passion: first, it can refer exclusively to his → death, especially in phrases where, although death is not explicitly mentioned, his suffering stands alongside something else, such as his resurrection (Lk. 24:46; Acts 3:18; cf. 3:15; 17:3), his entry into glory (Lk. 24:26), or his showing himself alive (Acts 1:3). In such passages his suffering is *pathēma tou thanatou* (Heb. 2:9), i.e. death itself (Heb. 13:12).

On the other hand, in the fourfold statements of Mk. 8:31 par. Matt. 16:21 and Lk. 9:22; cf. Mk. 9:12 par. Matt. 17:12; Lk. 17:25, where the forthcoming sufferings of Christ are first announced, the phrase *polla pathein*, suffer many things, can only refer to those sufferings prior to his trial before the high priest, and scarcely to his death, (i) because his being killed receives separate mention as the 3rd element of the four; (ii) because *polla pathein* cannot be a summary of his being rejected, being killed, and rising again. In Lk. 17:25, however, the use of the first two elements suggests that "suffering and being rejected" is a fixed phrase. "On God's side the fate of Jesus is a *polla pathein*, on man's an *apodokimasthenai*" (W. Michaelis, *TDNT* V 915; cf. above OT 4 (a)). Matt., by contrast, deliberately extends the scope of *polla pathein* to cover the sufferings of Christ up to and including his death: he must "suffer many things from the elders, high priests and scribes, and be killed ... and be raised" (Matt. 16:21). On the cup of suffering of Christ → Hunger, art. *pinō* NT 3.

(b) The NT strongly insists that Christ's passion is no accident but is of divine → necessity (art. *dei*; Matt. 16:21 par.; Lk. 13:33; 17:25; 24:26; Acts 17:3) and has been predicted in the OT (Mk. 9:12; Lk. 24:26; Acts 3:18; 1 Pet. 1:11). Hence, the author of Heb. says that like the OT sin-offering (Lev. 16:27), Jesus suffered outside the gate of Jerusalem (Heb. 13:11–13).

(c) Christ's suffering acquires its soteriological aspect from the fact that it is substitutionary in character: he is the atoning → sacrifice for our → sins (Heb. 13:12; 1 Pet. 2:21 and passim). This is proved by quotations from Isa. 53 (cf. 1 Pet. 2:22, 24 with Isa. 53:9, 5). Thus through the suffering of death (Heb. 2:9 f.), Christ becomes the author of believers' salvation (*archēgos*; → Begin, art. *archē*; *sōtēria*, → redemption; → reconciliation; see above OT 4 (b)).

(d) The uniqueness of Christ's sufferings follows from this, and is shown by the fact that in the Synoptic Gospels *paschō* is used only in those words of Christ which refer to his own passion. Heb. also uses it only in connexion with Christ (except Heb. 10:32), and emphasizes *par excellence* the uniqueness, all-sufficiency and completeness of his atoning sacrifice: his vicarious suffering took place *ephapax*, once for all (Heb. 7:27; 9:12; Rom. 6:10; cf. 1 Pet. 3:18; → One, art. *hapax*).

(e) Christ's vicarious suffering means, however, for his followers not deliverance *from* earthly suffering, but deliverance *for* earthly suffering. He has suffered and been tempted as we are (Heb. 2:18), yet without sin (Heb. 4:12); indeed, since he has shared in all his people's experiences, he is able as the exalted one to "sympathize with their weaknesses" (*sympathēsai*, Heb. 4:15). His suffering was a test which he was called upon to undergo and in which he learned obedience (Heb. 5:8). Having been tested by suffering (see above, OT 3), he is our pattern and example (*hypogrammos*, 1 Pet. 2:21; → Image, art. *hypogrammos*). His suffering requires us as his followers to tread a similar path (1 Pet. 2:21; Heb. 13:12 f.).

(f) Christ is described as *pathētos*, subject to suffering, only in Acts 26:23. As suffering and resurrection are mentioned together (see above, 3 (a)), the thought here is similar to that in Lk. 24:26 and Acts 17:3. Hence, the question is not whether Christ, being God, could suffer. The more his deity was stressed in the post-NT period, the greater became the danger of Docetism, which argued from his deity to his "impassibility", i.e. inability to suffer (see above, CL 4, 5). Ignatius, however, basing his argument upon the idea of atonement, pointed out that unreal suffering meant unreal redemption (Ign., *Pol.* 4, 2). Certainly Christ is *apathēs*, incapable of suffering, in his pre- and his post-existence (Ign., *Pol.* 3, 2; Ign., *Eph.* 7, 2), but on soteriological grounds it was necessary to maintain his complete humanity (Ign., *Smy.* 4, 2) and consequently his ability to suffer (cf. 1 Pet. 4:1, *Christou pathontos sarki*, Christ having suffered in the flesh).

4. *The Suffering of Christ's People.* (a) Suffering and fellowship. The idea of suffering is inseparable from the NT concept of *koinōnia* (→ Fellowship; → Lord's Supper). He who arms himself with the same mind as Christ will have to suffer in the flesh (1 Pet. 4:1; cf. 2 Cor. 11:23 ff.). To suffer "as a Christian" (1 Pet. 4:16) means to share in the sufferings of Christ (1 Pet. 4:13; Phil. 3:10), to suffer with him (*sympaschomen*, Rom. 8:17). Indeed, such is the mystic union existing between Christ and his body the church that their sufferings may be identified as one and the same (2 Cor. 1:5; → Church). Different churches are united by the bonds of common suffering (1 Thess. 2:14; 1 Pet. 5:9), and the same applies to any individual church. If the members of a fellowship are to show not merely sympathy with one another but active and practical compassion (*sympaschō*), then true unity in the faith is required (1 Cor. 12:26; Heb. 10:34). A further important example of fellowship in suffering is that existing between the apostle on the one hand and the local church (2 Cor. 1:6 f.) or an individual disciple (2 Tim. 1:8; 2:3) on the other. The great example is Jesus Christ (1 Pet. 2:21), not only for an apostle himself as a "witness of the sufferings of Christ" (1 Pet. 5:1; cf. Ignatius, *Rom.* 6, 3), but also for those who follow an apostle (2 Tim. 3:10 f.) or who are called upon to imitate him (1 Cor. 11:1). Just as the prophets were good examples of how to endure unjust suffering (*kakopatheia*, Jas. 5:10; contrast the bad example set by the generation in the wilderness, which lusted after evil things, *kaka*, 1 Cor. 10:6), so now the apostles set a good example. Their sufferings are part of their ministry (→ Serve, art. *diakoneō*), and serve to identify the true servants of the church (cf. 2 Cor. 11:23 ff.). The apostle Paul's "sufferings for ... the church" (Col. 1:24) are not redemptive but missionary in character.

But not all suffering is fellowship with the sufferings of Christ. For suffering to be in this category, the apostles and the church must suffer for the sake of their office or of their Christian calling (see above, OT 4 (a)); they must suffer as Christians (1 Pet.

4:16), unjustly (1 Pet. 2:19 f.), being regarded not *as* evildoers or murderers (1 Pet. 4:15; Lk. 23:32 ff.), i.e. justly so (Lk. 23:41), but merely *like* evildoers (1 Pet. 2:12) and made to suffer as such (*kakopatheō*, 2 Tim. 2:9). True suffering in this sense is called suffering "according to God's will" (1 Pet. 4:19), suffering "in the name" of Jesus Christ (Acts 9:16; Phil. 1:29), "for the gospel" (2 Tim. 1:8), "in mindfulness of God" (1 Pet. 2:19; → Conscience), "for righteousness' sake" (1 Pet. 3:14), and – looking forward in hope – "for the kingdom of God" (2 Thess. 1:5).

(b) The eschatological aspect of suffering. Just as Christ's suffering is not an end in itself, but a means to a great end, namely, perfection (Heb. 2:10), so also in the case of his people (1 Pet. 5:9; AV translates *epiteleisthai* as "[the same afflictions] are accomplished . . .", so doing justice to the root *telos*, → goal). The essential goal for which the Christian suffers is that of the kingdom of God. Compared with the hope of "eternal glory", a Christian's present period of suffering shrinks to "a little while" (1 Pet. 5:10). In Rom. 8:18 Paul emphasizes that the sufferings of the present time bear no comparison with future glory, so that even suffering may be regarded as a precious gift (Phil. 1:29; 1 Pet. 2:19) from "the God of all grace, who has called you to his eternal glory" (1 Pet. 5:10). The Gospel of Jn. views the whole of Christ's earthly life from this same standpoint, that of his glorification, and therefore makes no use whatsoever of *paschō*. In the same way Paul, in Phil. 3:10, speaks of the aim of his new life as being to enter experimentally into the → knowledge (first) of the power of Christ's → resurrection, and (only then) of the fellowship of his sufferings. Again and again in the NT suffering and glory (Rom. 8:17; 1 Pet. 5:1, 10), as well as suffering and → patience (2 Thess. 1:4 f.; Heb. 10:32), are mentioned in the same breath. Thus Paul conceives his fellowship with the Corinthians as being fellowship in suffering and in comfort (2 Cor. 1:7). Indeed, Paul can take the idea of suffering as being temporary because advancing towards eschatological glory, and extend it to cover the whole of → creation (Rom. 8:18 ff.; see above, OT 4, 5): not only man but the whole creation is treading the path of suffering which leads to the glorious goal (*telos*). Thus the Christian awaits not the *end* of suffering but its *goal*. "The raising of Christ is not merely a consolation to him in a life that is full of distress and doomed to die, but it is also God's contradiction of suffering and death, of humiliation and offence, and of the wickedness of evil" (J. Moltmann, *Theology of Hope*, 1967, 21).

B. Gärtner

→ Beat, → Cross, → Demon, → Evil, → Fall, → Guilt, → Heal, → Lament, → Reconciliation, → Redemption, → Satan, → Sin, → Tempt, → Torment, → Weakness, → Woe

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Suffice, Satisfy

The words dealt with here reflect the fact that reality hardly ever tallies with men's expectations, that goals are set but not achieved, or that given conditions are felt to be unacceptable. That which does comply with the norm or does meet men's requirements is described by the adj. *hikanos*, either in an ethical sense (worth, worthy, competent) or a material sense (enough, sufficient). However, where the idea is not that of meeting a given standard but of acknowledging its rightness, this is expressed by words of the *arkeō* group. The thought here is of remaining within certain bounds, the latter being either inherent in a given situation, or self-imposed, or seen as God-

given. There is a close affinity here with words dealt with under → humility.

ἀρκέω

ἀρκέω (*arkeō*), be enough, suffice, be adequate; pass. be satisfied or content with; ἀρκετός (*arketos*), enough, sufficient, adequate; αὐτάρκεια (*autarkeia*), sufficiency, contentment; αὐτάρκης (*autarkēs*), self-sufficient, independent, content.

CL *arkeō*, suffice, be sufficient, pass. to be satisfied, is found already in Homer with the meaning to give protection, ward off, to have power, to help. The adj. *arketos* does not occur until the 1st cent. A.D. (Chrysippus of Tyana, *A Handbook of Cookery*) and means sufficient, while the noun *autarkeia* (from Democritus and Hippocrates onwards, 5th cent. B.C.) denotes a sufficiency of means, a "competence", such as that enjoyed by an independent, self-supporting man. Similarly *autarkēs* means self-sufficient, hence strong (Herodotus, 1, 32), and is frequently found with the vb. *einai*, to be, in the sense of to be satisfied.

In the moral philosophy of Stoicism the ability to be content (*arkeisthai*) became the essence of all the → virtues. So the Stoic Diogenes Laertius speaks of Socrates as being *autarkēs kai semnos*, contented and devout. To practise the virtue of contentment was to acquiesce wisely in that which suited one's own nature or one's *daimōn*; becoming independent of things, a man relied upon himself or – as others taught – submitted to the lot meted out to him by the gods (Diogenes Laertius, 2, 24; Epictetus, *Dissertationes* 1, 1, 12 f.). To have no needs was the ideal of Stoicism.

OT The LXX makes little use of *arkeō* and its derivatives, its main Heb. equivalents being *māṣā'*, to attain to, find, be sufficient, reach, and *hôn*, wealth, sufficiency, (adv.) enough. In Num. 11:22 the meaning is to be sufficient; in 1 Ki. 8:27, to contain, be sufficient for; in Prov. 30:15; 2 Macc. 5:15; 4 Macc. 6:28; Wis. 12:22, to satisfy. OT piety, however, knows more of the wisdom of contentment than the mere incidence of words would indicate (cf. Pss. 73[72]:23 ff.; 131[130]; Hos. 12:8 f.; 13:6; G. Kittel, *TDNT* I 465).

NT The words are not widely used in the NT: *arkeō* and *arketos* occur only 11 times in all, of which 6 are in the Gospels; *autarkēs* and *autarkeia* (3 times) are found only in Pauline writings.

1. On the one hand, *arkeō* expresses the idea that something is sufficient (e.g. oil, Matt. 25:9; bread, Jn. 6:7), while, on the other hand, it describes the attitude of mind which is satisfied or content with what is available (Heb. 13:5), with food and clothing (1 Tim. 6:8) or with wages (Lk. 3:14).

2. *arketos*, enough, is used as an adjectival predicate in Matt. 6:34; 10:25; 1 Pet. 4:3. *autarkeia* occurs only in 2 Cor. 9:8 and 1 Tim. 6:6. Paul is convinced that if only they give from the heart, the Corinthians will "in all things always have a full sufficiency", i.e. God will richly bestow upon them all the necessities of life (→ Poor, art. *ptōchos* NT 4). Contentment, when linked with → godliness, is said in 1 Tim. 6:6 to be great gain. This is very similar to Stoic thought (cf. Diogenes Laertius' opinion of Socrates, CL above). Similarly in Phil. 4:11 Paul describes his own attitude: he has learned, in whatever state he is, to be content (*autarkēs einai*).

3. Such an attitude of contentment presupposes in the NT the trust and confidence which God's children have in their heavenly Father. Since they are secure in his love, they can be content with what they have, because it is allotted them by God himself who, in his promises, undertakes to watch over them all their lives (Heb. 13:5). Such confidence (→ faith) banishes anxiety about the future, for the future, like the present, is provided for by God (Matt. 6:34). His children are delivered from anxiety about themselves that they may be free to care for others (→ Care).

In 2 Cor. 9:8 Paul is lavish in his praise of God's grace, which is given in superabundance to those who for their part willingly give (→ Fullness, art. *perisseuō*; cf. *perisson* in Jn. 10:10). God gives them "a full sufficiency" that they may "provide in abundance" for every good work. Under the gospel the mark of *autarkeia* is no longer autonomy and self-sufficiency but freedom to give to others; man, amazingly enough, no longer lives exclusively for himself.

4. For Paul, contentment springs from complete readiness to accept whatever God gives (Phil. 4:11). He makes no distinction between the necessary and the superfluous, but simply gives thanks for everything. He can accept both abundance and want as part of his life, and he gives thanks that he has received both as a gift together with God's gracious forgiveness and quickening power. In the case of the sickness which he has to endure as a thorn in the flesh, he is called upon to exercise the virtue of contentment and to request no more than God is graciously pleased to give. The sickness serves as a repeated reminder to him that he is utterly dependent, in all he does, upon the enabling power of his Lord (2 Cor. 12:7 ff.); → Fruit, art. *skolops*).

5. Finally, the scope of the word becomes clear in one further passage, namely Jn. 14:8. Philip claims that if he and the other disciples were shown the Father, then, according to this account, they would be "satisfied" (*kai arkei hēmin*). The answer he receives is that their true need, like that of all men, is in fact more limited: it is sufficient to see Christ, for he who sees him sees the Father. Christ's revelation of God is the most complete and comprehensive revelation conceivable to man.

B. Siede

ἱκανός

ἱκανός (*hikanos*), enough, worthy, able, competent, qualified; ἱκανότης (*hikanotēs*), ability, competence; ἱκανόω (*hikanoō*), enable, make sufficient, qualify.

CL *hikanos*, found only from the time of the Gk. tragic poets, is related to *hikanō*, to attain, reach. The word conveys the idea of attaining a fixed goal, realizing a set purpose, and means adequate, sufficient, large enough, numerous enough.

OT 1. In the LXX (and other Jewish and Christian translations of the OT) *hikanos* mostly renders the Heb. *day*, sufficiency, enough, need: what craftsmen need for their work (Exod. 36:7); a brother's need of help (Lev. 25:25 ff.); what is needed to ward off hunger (Prov. 25:16), for a sacrifice (Lev. 5:7), or to bring down divine judgment (Obad. 5). Here then it is no longer a result or a person being assessed as to whether they reach a given standard; the whole reference is to a person and his

needs. The sense of the word has shifted from that of objective measurement (to suffice, be enough) to the personal idea of to need, stand in need of.

2. It is also striking that the LXX renders the divine *šadday* not only by *pantokratōr*, the Almighty, but also, quite often, by *ho hikanos*. *šadday* may originally have been a non-Israelitish deity who provided a ready transition to Yahweh (cf. O. Eissfeldt, *Kleine Schriften*, III, 1965, 441 ff. on Ps. 91:1 f.). Passages sometimes attributed to the priestly document in Genesis regard the patriarchal families as being worshippers of *šadday* (Gen. 17:1; 28:3; 35:11; 43:14; 48:3), and speak of them meeting with Yahweh only through the call of Moses (Exod. 6:2 ff.). Yet at an early date *šadday* was only another name for Yahweh, the meaning of which was not understood (cf. O. Eissfeldt, op. cit., I, 145 f. on Ps. 91:9). The similar verses Isa. 13:6 and Joel 1:15 represent a prophetic attempt to interpret the name: *šadday* brings fearful judgment (*šōḏ*, havoc, devastation) upon his people Israel. The LXX translation produced another interpretation. The Heb. consonants were divided into two groups, vocalized to make the relative *še* and *day*, and then read as follows: Yahweh, "who is sufficient (of himself)", the Almighty (Ruth 1:20 f.; Job 21:15; 31:2; 40:2; Ezek. 1:24). As *šadday*, Yahweh has not to conform to some external standard or to some ideal (this would have been the same as the Gk. concept of *moira*, fate, to whom even the gods were subject); rather he himself sets the standard for himself and hence also for his creation.

NT 1. The use of the word in the NT comes largely from the language of Hellenism and Gk. Judaism. By far the most instances (27 out of 40) occur in Lk.'s writings, where *hikanos* almost always means much, considerable, applied either to → time (Lk. 8:27 and passim) or to → numbers (Acts 11:24 and passim); nothing of theological importance arises here, except in the difficult saying of Christ concerning the two swords (Lk. 22:38).

Having originally sent his apostles forth on their preaching mission without any external means of protection (Lk. 22:35), Jesus now urges them to show courage and endurance in the face of trials. The swords are not intended for use, as Lk. 22:49 ff. and Acts 21:38 ff. indicate. Rather the apostles are to have the courage of "sword-bearers", men who are ready to risk their lives for their cause. Since Jesus perceives that this is their intention, he says, "It is enough!" This verse, in other words, gives no support to the theory of the "two swords", by which the Bull *Unam Sanctam* (1302) sought to confer upon "Peter's successor" supreme temporal and spiritual power.

2. Almost all other instances of *hikanos* in the NT occur in Paul. Taken in connexion with Mk. 1:7 and Matt. 8:8, they indicate the development of an early Christian language of confession: I am not worthy, nor is anyone worthy (2 Cor. 3:5; 2:16) to be an → apostle (1 Cor. 15:9), to be a minister of the new covenant (2 Cor. 3:6) or to serve Christ (Mk. 1:7). I am not worthy of his presence (Matt. 8:8), which transforms me into his likeness (cf. 1 Cor. 11:1). It is entirely of God's grace that we are able to do anything (2 Cor. 3:5 f.; Col. 1:12: *hikanotēs* and *hikanoō*). By contrast, 2 Tim. 2:2 clearly indicates that in the later period gifts, particularly faithfulness, made some men more competent to teach than others. But this in no way obscured the conviction that the Christian's sufficiency is always the gift of God. Paul who is thoroughly conversant with Gk. usage where *hikanos* means con-

siderable (of time, Rom. 15:23; or of numbers, 1 Cor. 11:30), follows the LXX in its use of the word to translate Heb. *day*, need. A Christian's own worth is meaningless when it comes to his sufficiency before God. Works acceptable to God are not those performed for God, but only those which he himself requires and which the Christian therefore receives at his hand (cf. Exod. 4:10 ff.). *W. von Meding*

→ Fullness, → Right, → War

(a). A. Alt, "The God of the Fathers", in *Essays on Old Testament History and Religion*, 1966, 1–66; C. K. Barrett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, *BNTC*, 1973; H. Conzelmann, *The Theology of St Luke*, 1960; G. Kittel, *arkeō* etc., *TDNT* I 464–67; R. P. Martin, *Philippians*, *New Century Bible*, 1976; I. H. Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, *New International Greek Testament Commentary*, 1978; W. Michaelis, *machaira*, *TDNT* IV 524–27; K. H. Rengstorf, *hikanos* etc., *TDNT* III 293–96.

(b). R. Bultmann, *Der Stil der paulinischen Predigt und die kynisch-stoische Diatribe*, *FRLANT* 13, 1910; O. Eissfeldt, *Kleine Schriften*, III, 1965, 441 ff.; E. Lohmeyer, *Die Briefe an die Philipper, Kolosser und an Philemon*, *KEK* 9, 1956[11]; K. H. Rengstorf, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas*, *NTD* 3, 1965[10] ; A. Schlatter, *Die beiden Schwerter*, *Beiträge zur Förderung der christlichen Theologie* 20, 6, 1961; H. Windisch, *Der zweite Korintherbrief*, *KEK* 6, 1924[9].

Sun, Moon, Stars

The three words which designate the heavenly luminaries commonly occur together or at least in the same context. The literal, metaphorical, and apocalyptic usage of these words is similar. The apocalyptic application is the most significant for NT theology and is discussed most fully under *hēlios*.

ἥλιος	ἥλιος (*hēlios*), sun.

CL & OT 1. *hēlios* is found throughout Greek literature in literal reference to the most conspicuous of the heavenly bodies. The use of the word in the LXX is quite similar to that of classical Greek. The most common use in the LXX is to mark time, whether of the day, by reference to its rising, setting, and midday heat, or of the season. The second most frequent use is the more specialized "under the sun" by which Ecclesiastes designates life in the real world, a usage found also in the Greek writers. Both the LXX and Greek literature use the rising of the sun to designate the direction East; the intense heat and light of the sun are referred to occasionally.

The permanence of the sun and the fixed order it manifests are sometimes stressed. Throughout the LXX the sun is understood to be the creation of God, the greater light made to rule the day (Gen. 1:16).

2. Metaphorical use of *hēlios* is found in classical Greek and the LXX, generally in referring to excellence, permanence, beauty or strength (Jdg. 5:31; Ps. 89:36 [LXX, 88:37]; Cant. 6:10; Wis. 7:29; Sir. 23:19; 26:16; 58:7). It is also associated with → righteousness (Wis. 5:6).

3. The conspicuous character of the sun, its fundamental importance to life and especially agriculture, its daily journey across the sky – all readily explain the nearly universal worship of the sun in primitive societies. Frequently the sun is personified into a god, e.g. Shamash in Mesopotamia, Helios in the Greek world, Sol Invictus in

the Roman world. The OT clearly stands against this widespread practice, strictly forbidding the worship of the sun, moon, and stars (Deut. 4:19; 17:3; cf. 2 Ki. 23:5, 11; Jer. 8:2; Ezek. 8:16). In the LXX we do come near to a personification of the sun in Mal. 4:2 (LXX 3:20), "But for you who fear my name the sun of righteousness shall rise, with healing in its wings." (This is probably related to the representation of the sun as a winged disk common in the art of the Ancient Near East.) The LXX avoids *hēlios* in its translation of the Hebrew of Ps. 84:11 (LXX 83:12): "The LORD God is a sun (*šemeš*) and shield."

4. A specialized group of references in the LXX, which are particularly important to the background of the NT, may be described as apocalyptic in tone. (a) Although the judgment oracles in particular refer to anticipated judgment in history, at the same time they allude to and foreshadow the divine wrath of final judgment. Most frequent is the reference to a darkening of the sun as a prelude to or an accompaniment of divine judgment. In some passages an impending historical judgment is in view: Isa. 13:10 (Babylon); Ezek. 32:7 (Egypt); Joel 2:10, 31; 3:15 (Jerusalem); Micah 3:6 (Jerusalem). There is, however, a tendency for this language to shade into a description of the eschatological Day of the Lord. This tendency becomes more apparent in the utilization of the same language in the Pseudepigrapha (e.g. Ass. Mos. 10:5; Sib. 3:801 f.) and in the NT. In addition to a darkening of the sun, judgment may be indicated by other irregularities: e.g. the sun does not rise (Job 9:7); it stands still (Hab. 3:11); it goes down at noon (Amos 8:9) or while yet day (Jer. 15:9); it shines at night (2 Esd. 5:4). In the contexts of these passages one regularly finds reference to shame, sorrow, and confusion. (b) In the eschatological blessing that follows judgment "the sun shall be no more your light by day . . . but the Lord will be your everlasting light" (Isa. 60:19 f.). (c) On the other hand, indicative of the incomparable glory of the promised new reality, "the light of the sun will be sevenfold, as the light of seven days" (Isa. 30:26). This is metaphorical language for judgment and blessing. Parallels in classical literature are not easily found since the framework of eschatological expectation is lacking. Perhaps the closest is found in Roman writers (e.g. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 2, 30; Plutarch, *Caesar* 69, 3; Dio Cass. 45, 17, 5) who connect a darkened sun with tragedy as in the death of Caesar or the war between Octavian and Mark Antony.

Mention should be made of astronomical and quasi-religious speculation about the sun and moon found in Eth. Enoch 72–74; 78; Sl. Enoch 11–16; Gr. Baruch 6–9.

NT 1. The NT continues the ordinary usage of *hēlios* as the marker of time (Mk. 1:32 par. Lk. 4:40; Mk. 16:2; Eph. 4:26) and direction (Rev. 7:2, 16:12; Acts 27:20, referring to the impossibility of navigation), and the source of scorching heat (Matt. 13:6 par. Mk. 4:6; Jas. 1:11; Rev. 7:16; 16:8). Consistent with the OT idea of "life under the sun", Jesus teaches that the Father in heaven "makes his sun rise on the evil and on the good" (Matt. 5:45). In his argument concerning the nature of the resurrection body, Paul speaks of the contrasting glory of the sun, moon and stars (1 Cor. 15:41). Paul's Damascus Road experience causes a blindness that makes him unable to see the sun (Acts 13:11).

2. The metaphorical use of *hēlios* is found quite often. In the transfiguration narrative of Matt. 17:2 (but not the parallels) the face of Jesus is said to have "shone like the sun." John's vision of Christ similarly describes his face as "like the sun shin-

ing in full strength" (Rev. 1:16). The description of the mighty angel of Rev. 10:1 likens his face to the sun. The angel who announces the great supper of God in Rev. 19:17 is described as "standing in the sun." The woman of Rev. 12 (probably to be identified with the Zion of Isa. 66:7 ff.), who gives birth to the child destined to rule all nations, is portrayed as "clothed with the sun" (Rev. 12:1). Jesus teaches in Matt. 13:43 that "the righteous [*dikaioi*] will shine like the sun in the kingdom of their Father." The light from heaven which Paul saw on the Damascus Road prior to his blindness is described as "brighter than the sun" (Acts 26:13).

3. References to *hēlios* which are apocalyptic in tone are relatively frequent in the NT and of course are dependent upon the same imagery as found in the LXX references listed above.

(a) Most obviously eschatological, signifying the wrath of God in judgment, are the references in Rev. At the opening of the sixth seal "the sun became black as sackcloth" (Rev. 6:12); at the blowing of the fourth trumpet "a third of the sun was struck" so that its light was diminished by a third (Rev. 8:12); at the fifth trumpet the sun was darkened by smoke from the opened bottomless pit (Rev. 9:2). Similar in tone is the saying of Jesus in the Synoptics that "the sun will be darkened" (Matt. 24:29 par. Mk. 13:24) or, less precisely, that there will be signs in the sun (Lk. 21:25). These words clearly have an eschatological ring to them although their primary reference is probably to the historical event of the fall of Jerusalem (→ Generation; → Present). The same problem confronts us in the quotation of Joel 2.28–32 in Acts 2:17–21. How is one to understand "the sun shall be turned into darkness" etc. (Acts 2:20), as it stands in the context? Certainly the primary meaning of the quotation as a whole is the eschatological fulfilment experienced in the reception of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost. It is possible that Peter regarded the second half of the quotation (Acts 2:19–20) as simply symbolic for the inauguration of the eschatological age. (J. D. G. Dunn regards it as probable that cosmic signs were understood as "apocalyptic stage-effects which did not belong to the substance of the prophecy or require literal fulfilment," *Baptism in the Holy Spirit, SBT* Second Series 15, 1970, 47.) There is the further possibility of an association in his and his listeners' minds between the failing of the sun's light at the time of the crucifixion, Lk. 23:45 (cf. the darkness recorded in Matt. 27:45 par. Mk. 15:33), and the prophecy of Joel (F. F. Bruce, *The Book of Acts, NLC*, 1965, 69). It is, however, consistent with the meaning of this language elsewhere (both OT and NT) to understand Acts 2:19–20 as referring to coming judgment (here, eschatological). The point is that eschatology has begun and judgment is part and parcel of eschatology (at least for Peter, if not for Luke). Warnings and the call to repentance are therefore timely (Acts 2:38, 40; 3;19, 23). Salvation is available to those who call on the name of the Lord, as the last verse of the Joel passage stresses (Acts 2:21; cf. 4:12). (Haenchen explains the inclusion of Joel 2:30–31 [Acts 2:19–20] in the quotation as due mainly to the interest of Luke in this final verse, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1971, 186.)

(b) Like the LXX, the NT also contains the use of *hēlios* in describing the glorious aspect of eschatology, here as exhibited in the city coming down out of heaven, the new Jerusalem. That city is of such splendour that there is no need of the sun to shine (Rev. 21:23). God's servants there will "need no light of lamp or sun, for the Lord God will be their light" (Rev. 22:5).

It is worth noting that, whereas most of the references to *hēlios* in the LXX are

literal rather than metaphorical or apocalyptic in character, in the NT the reverse is true. This is of course explained by the eschatological orientation of the NT. Our difficulty in understanding its language about cosmic signs simply reflects the inherent complexity of fulfilment without consummation. Moreover, there is a theological interconnexion between God's blessings on the one hand and his judgments on the other, whereby earlier blessings may typify eschatological blessing and earlier judgments may typify eschatological judgment. So magnificent is the kingdom inaugurated by Christ at his first advent that it may rightly be characterized in language that, strictly speaking, refers to the consummation (e.g. Luke 4:18; 7:22; 10:18, 24). In the same way, so full of significance is the fall of Jerusalem as a judgment sign that it connotes the eschatological judgment and, as do many other judgments in the historical narrative of the Bible, points proleptically to the eschaton and so may be described in the boldest of language (as in our passages about the darkening of the sun, etc.).

hēlios in the NT focuses alternately on glory and judgment. Given the prominence of revelation, fulfilment, and anticipated consummation in the NT, the symbolic imagery of *hēlios* receives special emphasis. *D. A. Hagner*

σελήνη

σελήνη (*selēnē*), moon; σεληνιάζομαι (*selēniazomai*), be moon-struck.

CL & OT 1. The use of *selēnē* in its literal sense is not uncommon in the classical writers or in the LXX. Commonly in view is its specialized function of marking time by waxing and waning. The religious festivals of the Hebrews, as of many primitive societies, were determined by the lunar calendar (see especially Sir. 43:6–8). (It should be noted that *ḥōḏeš*, "month", is translated by *neomēnia*, "new moon", in the LXX.) Also found are references to nocturnal light which the moon provides, and in the LXX the fixed order it demonstrates (Jer. 31:35 [LXX 38:35]), its beauty (Ps. 8:3), and its permanence (Ps. 72[71]: 5, 7). 2. A few metaphorical references are found in the LXX (e.g. Cant. 6:10; Sir. 27:11; 50:6). 3. The moon with its unique cycle of phases, its growth and decline, its effect upon the tides, though a lesser light, is more prominent in pagan mythology and religion than is the sun. Classical writers refer to Selene, the moon goddess. Worship of the moon, as of sun and stars, is prohibited in the OT (see references under *hēlios*). A specialized reflection of popular belief in the preternatural power of the moon is the promise that under Yahweh's protection the moon will not smite one by night (Ps. 121[120]:6). 4. As with the sun, the prospect of eschatological judgment and blessing affects the light of the moon. (a) In judgment it will be darkened (Eccl. 12:2; Isa. 13:10; Ezek. 32:7; Joel 2:10); "confounded" (Isa. 24:23); turned into blood (Joel 2:31; Ass. Mos. 10:5); held up in its course (Hab. 3:11; cf. Eth. Enoch 80:4; 2 Esd. 5:4). (b) In blessing its light will be as the light of the sun (Isa. 30:26); the moon will not function as a luminary at night (Isa. 60;19); no longer will the moon withdraw itself (Isa. 60:20).

In the LXX the moon is never referred to alone; only twice is the moon referred to apart from the sun, and in both places it is associated with the stars (Job 25:5; Ps. 8:3).

NT In the NT *selēnē* occurs only in association with *hēlios*. Only two occurrences are not apocalyptic in tone: a reference to the glory of the moon as distinct from sun and stars in Paul's argument about the resurrection body, and the metaphorical reference in the description of the woman of Rev. 12 (see above, on *hēlios*) who has the moon under her feet (12:1). The cognate verb *selēniazomai* is found in Matt. 4:24 and 17:15, and reflects the popular connexion of demon possession with the moon (cf. the English word "lunacy"). The latter passage describes symptoms of something like epilepsy and the malady is attributed to an evil spirit which the disciples are unable to cast out. *selēniazomai* does not occur in the LXX, although it is common in the papyri (Moulton-Milligan, 571).

The cosmic phenomena associated with eschatological happenings regularly include references to the moon alongside those to the sun. (a) In passages where judgment is in view the apocalyptic language of the LXX is utilized. As the sun will be darkened, so "the moon will not give its light" (Mk. 13:24 par. Matt. 24:29). The Lucan parallel simply indicates that there will be signs in sun, moon and stars (Lk. 21:25). The quotation of Joel 2:31 in Acts 2:20 speaks of the moon being turned into blood; Rev. 6:12 similarly says that at the opening of the sixth seal "the full moon became like blood." When the fourth angel blew his trumpet in Rev. 8:12, the moon, together with sun and stars, was darkened by one third. (b) The only other reference to *selēnē* concerns the eschatological era of blessing: the holy city, the new → Jerusalem is said to need no moon to shine upon it since the glory of God is its light (Rev. 21:23).

The applicability of apocalyptic language both to events which have happened in history as well as to events more properly eschatological is discussed at the end of the article on *hēlios*. *D. A. Hagner*

ἀστήρ

ἀστήρ (*astēr*), star; ἄστρον (*astron*), star, constellation.

CL & OT 1. The literal use of *astēr* and *astron* is found in Greek writers and LXX. The latter may refer to a constellation, but in the LXX ordinarily the plural forms of the two words are interchangeable. In the OT, the stars, like the sun and moon, are the creation of God (Gen. 1:16). They are referred to in classical writers and LXX in indicating time (i.e. by their appearance), and by their fixed order, direction as well as (with the moon) light and beauty. The most frequent use of both *astēr* and *astron* in the LXX is in reference to their incalculable number, usually with the descendants of the patriarchs in mind (cf. Gen. 15:5; 22:17; 26:4; Exod. 32:13; Deut. 1:10; 10:22; 28:62).

2. The metaphorical use of *astēr* and *astron* is common in classical literature and LXX. Most frequent in classical usage is the application to an illustrious person. In the LXX, those "who turn many to righteousness" will shine "like the stars for ever and ever" (Dan. 12:3). Often similes employ the beauty or glory of the stars (e.g. 1 Chr. 27:23; Wis. 7:29; Sir. 50:6). Obad. 4 speaks of pride as setting one's nest among the stars; similarly Isa. 14:12 refers to *Heōsphoros* (RSV: Day Star) who in his proud heart will ascend above the stars of God and make himself like the Most High (cf. 2 Macc. 9:10) (→ Light, art. *phōs* NT 4). In Num. 24:17 an *astron* is prophesied to come forth out of Jacob, a man (*anthrōpos*) out of Israel who will rule

in victory. (This text is understood as messianic at Qumran, but is not utilized in the NT unless possibly in Rev. 22:16; cf. 1QM 11:5–7; CD 7:19–20 and 4Qtest 12 f.) It was applied to Simeon Bar Kochba, whose name in Aram. means "Son of a Star", the leader of the Jewish rebellion against the Romans in A.D. 132. The guerilla leader Bar Kochba was regarded as the messiah in his resistance to Hadrian's project to rebuild Jerusalem as a Graeco-Roman city with a temple to Jupiter on the site of the Jewish temple. (Cf. E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ [175 B.C.–A.D. 135]*, eds., G. Vermes and F. Millar, I, 1973², 543 ff.).

3. Astrology and the worship of the stars are known both in Greek writers and LXX. Although the stars are sometimes personified in the LXX (e.g. Jdg. 5:20; Ps. 148:3; Bar. 3:34; Ep. Jer. 60), a strong stance is taken against astrology and the worship of the stars (Deut. 4:19; Isa. 47:13; Jer. 8:2; Amos 5:26). The polemic in Jer. 10:2 (i.e. not to be dismayed at the signs of the heavens as the nations are) is probably directed against astrology (cf. Wis. 13:2).

4. The imagery of darkened stars is associated with suffering and judgment in the LXX (Job 3:9; 9:7; Eccl. 12:2; Wis. 17:5). The failure of the stars to give their light becomes standard apocalyptic language used to describe historical and eschatological judgment (Isa. 13:10; Ezek. 32:7; Joel 2:10; 3:15). Occasionally the imagery varies, referring to stars falling, the host of heaven rotting away, and the skies being rolled up like a scroll (Isa. 34:4; cf. Dan. 8:10). This metaphorical language points symbolically to the eschatological era.

NT *astēr* and *astron* are both found in the NT; the difference between the two words is stylistic, Lk.-Acts for example exclusively using *astron*, Rev. exclusively *astēr*.

1. Out of the 28 occurrences of the words, only five may be described as ordinary or literal: Acts 27:20 (as guides to navigation at sea); 1 Cor. 15:41 (where *astēr* occurs three times in reference to differing orders of glory); and Heb. 11:12 (referring to the innumerable descendants of → Abraham).

2. Unique to the infancy narrative of Matt. (2:1–12) is the story of the magi and the *astēr* which led them to Bethlehem. It was not uncommon in the ancient world to associate the birth of a great ruler with extraordinary phenomena in the heavens. Whether in Matt. we have to do with a miraculous star or something natural such as the conjunction of planetary bodies or a supernova is uncertain. Quite possibly the star seen by the wise men was, as Johannes Kepler first suggested, a conjunction of the planets Jupiter and Saturn which occurred three times in 7 B.C. This possibility is strengthened by a Jewish astrological tradition about the conjunction, as well as the common association of Jupiter with kingly rule (and hence the messiah) and Saturn with the Jewish people. (Cf. R. A. Rosenberg, "The 'Star of the Messiah' Reconsidered," *Biblica* 53, 1972, 105–9.) It must be remembered that the magi were experts in esoteric knowledge, persons for whom astrology with its careful observation of the stars would have been centrally important (→ Magic, art. *mageia* NT 2(b)). Theologically the star may be said to serve as a sign of the dawning of the new, glorious era of the kingdom which the birth of the King inaugurates.

3. The metaphorical use of *astēr* is frequent in the NT, especially in Revelation. Five times in the opening chapters of Rev. reference is made to seven stars. These seven stars are held in the right hand of the One who discloses himself to John in a vision (Rev. 1:16, 20; 2:1); one reference omits the specific mention of the right hand

(Rev. 3:1). In Rev. 1:20 the mystery is explained: the stars are "the angels of the seven churches" (the seven lampstands are said to symbolize the seven churches). It is unlikely that the mention of the seven stars is to be explained by actual heavenly bodies, whether the seven planets or a particular constellation. More probably the number derives from the common seven-branched candelabra of Israel, if not from the symbolic perfection of the number itself. Nevertheless, as G. R. Beasley-Murray suggests (following E. Lohmeyer, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, *HNT* 16, 1953 [2]), there may also have been an association of the seven stars in Revelation with the sovereignty symbolized by the seven planets (*The Book of Revelation*, *New Century Bible*, 1974, 79). True sovereignty, over against the sovereignty claimed by the Roman emperors, thus lies with Christ and his people.

The symbolism of the "morning star" (*ho astēr ho prōinos*) in Rev. 2:28 and 22:16 is also difficult. The latter passage has Jesus say "I am the root and offspring of David, the bright morning star." Although this can be related to the words of Num. 24:17 (a star shall come out of Jacob), more probably it alludes to the morning star Venus, with the connotation not only of beauty, but of daybreak, and so of sovereignty and victory. Venus as the symbol of victory and sovereignty is attested in Roman times (Lohmeyer, op. cit., followed by Beasley-Murray, op. cit., 93 and 342). In Rev. 2:28, then, we may also understand the morning star given to the faithful as sovereignty or rule, which has the virtue of being consistent with the context as well as avoiding the awkward identification of the morning star with Christ.

Further metaphorical use of *astēr* is found in the crown of twelve stars worn by the woman of Rev. 12:1, where the stars obviously symbolize the twelve tribes of Israel. Jude 13 speaks of ungodly and heretical persons as "wandering stars" destined to an eternal darkness.

Stephen's speech in Acts provides an allusion to the worship of stars in the OT period (7:43).

4. The stars are associated with the sun and moon in the apocalyptic imagery of eschatological judgment. In contrast to the LXX, where the darkening of the stars is common, only one passage in the NT refers to this: Rev. 8:12, where with sun and moon the light of the stars is darkened by one third. Elsewhere the eschatological imagery in the NT refers to the falling of the stars from the sky, a phenomenon mentioned only twice in the LXX. Jesus speaks of a time when "the stars will be falling from heaven" (Mk. 13:25 par. Matt. 24:29; Lk. again simply refers to "signs" in the stars, using the word *astron*, 21:25). The next clause in this passage reads "and the powers [*hai dynameis*] in the heavens will be shaken." In this clause (also in Lk. 21:26) the powers may simply refer to the heavenly bodies previously mentioned. On the other hand, cosmic powers in the sense of spiritual authorities and powers may be in view (→ Might). In either case, what is symbolized by this language is an event, a turning point, of very great significance. If, as is probable, this language refers to the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, the theological continuity with and anticipation of the final eschatological judgment is not to be missed.

Further employment of the imagery of falling stars is found in Rev. At the opening of the sixth seal the stars fell to the earth "as the fig tree sheds its winter fruit when shaken by a gale" (Rev. 6:13). Isa. 34:4 is recalled in the words which follow: "the sky vanished like a scroll that is rolled up" (Rev. 6:14). The blowing of the third trumpet announces the falling of "a great star from heaven, blazing like a torch,"

which has the name Wormwood (Gk. *apsinthos*) and makes bitter a third of the waters (Rev. 8:10 ff.; → Gall). At the fifth trumpet a star is seen "fallen from heaven to earth" (Rev. 9:1) and finally the tail of the dragon in Rev. 12 "swept down a third of the stars of heaven, and cast them to the earth" (Rev. 12:4).

Unlike the sun and moon in the NT, there is no reference to the stars in the context of eschatological blessing. The closest we come to this is the identification of Jesus as "the bright morning star" (Rev. 22:16).

In the apocalyptic language about sun, moon, and stars a recurrent question concerns how literally it is to be understood. One may debate the possibility of these luminaries being literally darkened, but not that the stars literally fall to earth, or that the sky is rolled up like a scroll. These statements about the stars underline the figurative nature of apocalyptic language. The real meaning of this language is theological. In the NT we have moved into the era of fulfilment prior to the consummation of God's purposes. Momentous events have occurred and are yet to occur – all of which are part of the same fabric of judgment and blessing, and call for the most exalted language. *D. A. Hagner*

→ Light, → Present, → Time, → Weather

(a). G. R. Beasley-Murray, *A Commentary on Mark Thirteen*, 1957; *The Book of Revelation, New Century Bible*, 1974; W. Foerster, *astēr, astron, TDNT* I 503–5; T. H. Gaster, *Myth, Legend and Custom in the Old Testament*, 1969; "Sun", *IDB* IV, 463–5; "Moon", *IDB* III, 436–7; L. Hartmann, *Prophecy Interpreted*, 1966; B. O. Long, "Astrology," *IDB Supplementary Volume*, 1976, 76–78; D. M. Roark, "The Great Eschatological Discourse," *NovT* 7, 1964, 123–7; R. A. Rosenberg, "The 'Star of the Messiah' Reconsidered," *Biblica* 53, 1972, 105–9; "Star of Bethelehem," *IDB Supplementary Volume*, 1976, 842; D. S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic*, 1964, 271–6. (b). R. Pesch, *Naherwartungen*, 1968, 157–66.

Swear, Oath

ὀμνύω

ὀμνύω (*omnyō*), swear; ὅρκος (*horkos*), oath; ὁρκίζω (*horkizō*), adjure, implore; ἐνορκίζω (*enhorkizo*), adjure, cause someone to swear; ἐξορκίζω (*exhorkizō*), adjure, charge under an oath; ἐξορκιστής (*exhorkistēs*), exorcist; ἐπιορκέω (*epihorkeō*), swear falsely, commit perjury, break one's oath; ἐπίορκος (*epihorkos*), perjured, perjurer; ὁρκωμοσία (*horkōmosia*), asserting on oath, taking an oath.

CL 1. (a) *omnyō* (from Hdt. onwards) is a parallel form to *omnymi* (both are attested from Hom. onwards). It originally meant to hold fast (holy objects), and thence to swear. The word is used either with the acc. of the person or thing (e.g. Xen., *Anab.* 7, 6, 18) or with the prepositions *pros, kata, epi, en* or *eis*. Occasionally it is followed by an infinitive.

(b) *horkos* (from Hom. onwards) meant originally the staff which was grasped and raised in swearing (Hom., *Il.* 10, 321 and 328), thence oaths in general. The noun occurs frequently in the phrases *horkon omnyein*, to take up the oath-staff, and *horkon didonai* or *lambanein*, to give or accept on oath (Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1, 15, 1377a, 7 f.). The corresponding vb. *horkizō* has the meaning: (i) to put on oath (Xen., *Sym.* 4, 10); (ii) adjure (Josephus, *Life* 258; in the NT only in Mk. 5:7; Acts

19:13). The compound *enhorkizō* is a stronger form and means to adjure (in the NT only in 1 Thess. 5:27). *exhorkizō* expresses in particular the idea of adjuring by a deity or → demon (in the NT only in Matt. 26:63; Acts 19:13, *v.l.*). *exhorkistēs* is an exorcist who drives out demons by magical formulae (in the NT only in Acts 19:13; → Satan). *epihorkeō* (from Hom. onwards) means to swear falsely, commit perjury or break an oath (in the NT only in Matt. 5:33); correspondingly *epihorkos* means perjurious (in the NT only in 1 Tim. 1:10). The noun *horkōmosia* is infrequent and means asserting on oath (in the NT only in Heb. 7:20 f., 28).

(c) The etymology of *omnyō* and *horkos* suggests that the gestures of grasping an object or raising one's hand were from the first part of the act of swearing. The original meaning of the oath lay in the guaranteeing of man's word. An undoubtedly higher court of appeal was frequently provided by calling upon a deity (cf. the *theoi horkioi* as a witness to the truth, e.g. *nē Dia*, by Zeus). The formula of the oath originally had the character of conditionally cursing oneself (→ Curse), if the statement should prove not to correspond to the truth. A distinction can be drawn between assertive oaths, which are concerned with past and present events and are chiefly taken in court, and promissory oaths which promise a future activity and play an important part in religious as well as private life.

2. (a) In their public life the Greeks applied oaths to many areas, for many reasons and in many forms. Their original setting was a cultic one, but the practice of swearing oaths found a place in politics and law with oaths for officials, citizens and judges. Even the appropriate deities were fixed by the legislator. "This means that the oath in public life gives religious sanction and divine basis to the political order" (J. Schneider, *TDNT* V 458). Apart from this, oaths were used in contracts whose reliability might be guaranteed by the pledging of valuable property (the marriage-bed, children or weapons). The Greeks also used oaths in medicine.

The Hippocratic oath is generally attributed to the Greek physician Hippocrates (*c.* 460 – *c.* 357 B.C.) who was a native of the island of Cos. "I swear by Apollo Physician, by Asclepius, by Health, by Heal-all, and by all the gods and goddesses, making them witnesses, that I will carry out, according to my ability and judgment, this oath and this indenture: To regard my teacher in this art as equal to my parents; to make him partner in my livelihood, and when he is in need of money to share mine with him; to consider his offspring equal to my brothers; to teach them this art, if they require to learn it, without fee or indenture; and to impart precept, oral instruction, and all the other learning, to my sons, to the sons of my teacher, and to pupils who have signed the indenture and sworn obedience to the physicians' Law, but to none other. I will use treatment to help the sick according to my ability and judgment, but I will never use it to injure or wrong them. I will not give poison to anyone though asked to do so, nor will I suggest such a plan. Similarly I will not give a pessary to a woman to cause abortion. But in purity and holiness I will guard my life and my art. I will not use the knife either on sufferers from stone, but I will give place to such as are craftsmen therein. Into whatsoever house I enter, I will do so to help the sick, keeping myself free from all intentional wrong-doing and harm, especially from fornication with woman or man, bond or free. Whatsoever in the course of practice I see or hear (or even outside my practice in social intercourse) that ought never to be published abroad, I will not divulge, but consider such things to be holy secrets. Now if I keep this oath and break it not, may I enjoy honour, in my life and

art, among all men for all time; but if I transgress and forswear myself, may the opposite befall me" (E.T. by W. H. S. Jones, *Hippocrates, Loeb Classical Library*, 1952, I, 298 ff.).

(b) In earlier times men almost always swore by the gods (Xen., *Anab.* 6, 6, 17). Plutarch describes in his *Life of Dio* (56) the undertaking of a "great oath": "They required of him the great oath. He who would take it enters the sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone; after sacred ceremonies he puts on the goddess's purple mantle and, taking a blazing torch in his hand, pronounces the words of the oath." In the Hellenistic-Roman period, oaths by deities were supplemented or replaced by those involving kings or emperors: they involved either the person or the entire dynasty of the ruler of the day. It was the custom among the Romans for the one who took the oath to take a stone in his hand and ask that he might be hurled forth like this stone if he broke his word. Jupiter Lapis was the god of oaths in dealings between different peoples.

(c) The increasing frequency of the making of oaths led to a decline in their power and authority. Hence, we early find a tendency to limit or abolish oaths in Greece. Rhadamanthys was the first to try to limit the everyday use of oaths and to make their misuse punishable (cf. Plato, *Ap.* 22a). Sophocles wrote: "I do not wish to bind you by an oath as I would a base man. [Theseus] You would have won no more indeed than with my word! The love of Delphic Apollo enjoins: 'Use no oaths!' " (*OC* 650). The Pythagoreans also forbad their disciples to use oaths. Plutarch declares that an oath, being a constraint upon the spirit of a free man, was an indignity (*Quaestiones Romanae* 44). The Stoic Epictetus shared the same view (*Enchiridion* 33, 5), and his disciple, Marcus Aurelius, wrote: "You must always be able to do without the swearing of oaths and the calling up of witnesses" (*Meditationes* 3, 5). However, these efforts to abolish oaths met with no success in Greece.

OT 1. The LXX usually translates the niph. of *šāḇa'* by *omnyō*, and the hiph. by *horkizō*. The original meaning of *šāḇa'* is to come under the influence of seven things (cf. *šeḇa'*, seven). Gen. 21:20 f. provides evidence that in early times an oath was ratified by the sacrifice of seven animals (cf. Gen. 15:10). *horkos* corresponds to the Heb. *šᵉḇû'âh*, oath, and occasionally to *'ālâh*, → curse, act of cursing, or, words of a curse (Prov. 29:24). The terms are found chiefly in narrative books, *horkos* often and *omnyō* principally in Gen. and Deut.

2. (a) A very ancient form of oath is the practice of calling Yahweh to witness between two partners: "God is witness between you and me" (Gen. 31:50; cf. 1 Sam. 20:12). Special weight is given to an oath by the similarly ancient practice of invoking a curse on oneself if the oath is broken: "The LORD do so to me, and more also, if . . ." (1 Sam. 20:13). The most frequent form is the phrase, "As the LORD lives" (Jdg. 8:19; 1 Sam. 20:3); this may be varied into an oath by the life of the king (1 Sam. 17:55) or of the person addressed (1 Sam. 1:26; 20:4).

(b) In treaties (between Abraham and Abimelech, Gen. 21:23; Jacob and Laban, Gen. 31:50), and bequests by father to son (Jacob and Joseph, Gen. 47:31), the oath had its original promissory function: the partners placed themselves under the power and judgment of Yahweh, who was invoked and recognized as witness for the validity of the promise. Thus the OT oath originally contained by implication a confession of faith in Yahweh (Deut. 6:13; 10:20). To swear falsely is tantamount to a

misuse of Yahweh's → name (Exod. 20:7; Lev. 19:12). The OT does not know the assertive oath of a witness before a lawcourt; instead it has the so-called oath of purification in which the accused, in the absence of pertinent witnesses, asserts his innocence before Yahweh and corroborates this with curses upon himself if he is guilty of perjury (Num. 5:11–28). Since perjury can rarely be detected by man (in which case, Lev. 5:3–6 would apply), the person guilty of it is generally assigned to the judgment of God (1 Ki. 8:31 f.).

(c) Whereas in Gen. we read chiefly of oaths taken by men, Deut. speaks primarily of Yahweh's oath. Yahweh swears by himself, and the form of oath is: "As I live . . ." (Num. 14:21; cf. Gen. 22:16; Amos 6:8). Yahweh guarantees with an oath the truth of his word, so that his oath is tantamount to a corroboration of his → promise. He has sworn the land of Canaan to the patriarchs (Deut. 1:8; 6:10, 18, 23), and sealed with an oath the → covenant he made with the fathers of Israel (Deut. 4:31; 7:8, 12; 29:12 ff.). The basic elements contained in Yahweh's promises to the patriarchs in Gen., viz. the people (Gen. 12:2), the land (Gen. 13:15), and the covenant (Gen. 17:7), are taken up again in the exhortations of Deut. and their validity reinforced by references to Yahweh's oath (Deut. 8:1, the land; Deut. 8:18, the covenant).

(d) Yahweh's oath can also, however, take the form of a → curse, with which he punishes the disobedience of his people. Thus the grumbling Israelites will die in the wilderness (Num. 14:21, 28; Deut. 1:34 f.; 2:14); Moses will not enter the promised land (Deut. 4:21); the guilt of Eli will not be expiated (1 Sam. 3:14). The double-sided nature of Yahweh's oath, serving as it does both as corroboration of his promise and curse of disobedience, corresponds in fact to the structure of → blessing and → curse (cf. Deut. 28; 30:19).

3. In rabbinic Judaism the practice of oath-taking was widespread. The following types of oath may be distinguished: (a) corroborative oath; (b) oath of testimony; (c) oath under pledge (oath of purification); (d) judge's oath; (e) rabbinical oath; and (f) perjurious oath (cf. J. Schneider, *TDNT* V 461; SB I 321 ff.). As in Hellenism, there were efforts to limit the excessive use of oaths (Sir. 23:9 ff.). Philo, like the Stoics, advocates the abolition of oaths (*Spec. Leg.* 2, 2–38). In his opinion it is best not to swear, second best to swear truly, but the worst thing of all is to commit perjury (*Decal.* 84–93; cf. J. Schneider, *TDNT* V 179). The most radical rejection of oath-taking is found among the Essenes, who instead prized the plain word very highly (cf. Josephus, *War* 2, 8, 6; cf. also CD 9:1–10:3 which, commenting on 1 Sam. 25:26, allows the oath of cursing to be demanded only by judges). But the Essenes had oaths of initiation (Josephus, *War* 2, 8, 7; CD 15:5; 1QS 5:7–11).

NT The NT generally uses *omnyō* in references to swearing; less frequently *horkos*, and on two occasions only, *horkizō*. Words of this group occur here and there in various books; only in Matt. and Heb. do they appear more frequently.

1. (a) Matthew has handed down to us, in the fourth antithesis of the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 5:33–37), the decisive pronouncement of Jesus on oaths. It is joined (v. 33) to the OT prohibition of perjury (Lev. 19:12), and the commandment to keep one's vows (Num. 30:3 f.; Deut. 23:23). In contrast, Jesus pronounces a total prohibition: *mē omosai holōs*, "you shall not swear at all" (v. 34). In order to exclude any misunderstanding that might water the teaching down, four explanatory phrases

are added to give sharpness and clarity: neither by heaven, earth, Jerusalem nor one's own head is one permitted to swear (vv. 34–36). This constitutes an attack on the contemporary Jewish practice of oath-taking, in which the attempt was made to avoid the misuse of God's name in the numerous oaths which were taken each day, by means of circumlocution. According to D. Hill, heaven is not the Jewish periphrasis for the divine name but stands here for the heavenly world (*The Gospel of Matthew, New Century Bible*, 1972, 126). In the Mishnah, swearing by the heavens and the earth is not binding upon witnesses (Shebuoth 6:13). Such an oath would be thus ambiguous and indeed a contradiction in terms. V. 34 contains an allusion to Isa. 66:1: "Heaven is my throne and the earth is my footstool." In v. 35 "by Jerusalem" means "towards Jerusalem", and may reflect the rabbinic view that a vow made "by Jerusalem" is nothing unless it is sworn towards Jerusalem, i.e. while facing in the direction of Jerusalem (Tosefta Nedarim 1). The rest of the phrase refers to Ps. 48(47):2. An oath "by the life of thy head" is referred to in Mishnah Sanhedrin 3:2. Although it might be thought that a man has power over his head (i.e. over the colour of his hair), it is not so. This is determined by God. What was not realized here was that, in invoking other authorities, one still had God to reckon with, as the Lord of all of them. The third woe (Matt. 23:16–22) attacks with like severity the casuistic attitude to oaths and vows of the scribes and Pharisees. He who swears by the altar, the temple, or heaven, includes in his oath him who has given these things their authority, namely God. In this way the hair-splitting rules governing the Jewish practice of oath-taking are reduced to absurdity. With these explanations, it is impossible to be in any doubt about the universal validity of Jesus' prohibition: Jesus forbids every oath, whether it is made in the religious sphere, in court, in everyday life, or in private. For the oath adds nothing to the simple affirmation or negation. "Let what you say be simply 'Yes' or 'No'; anything more than this comes from evil" (Matt. 5:37).

(b) In view of the freedom with which oath-taking is presupposed and practised in the OT, the question arises as to the purpose and meaning of Jesus' radical prohibition of swearing. An oath demands complete truthfulness in what a man says, and thus presupposes lying (→ Lie) in everyday human speech. The OT uses the oath to fight the lie. Lying, however, creeps even into the taking of oaths, in the form of perjury and the misuse of God's name, as the casual practice of the Hellenistic period and of rabbinic Judaism demonstrates. Jesus therefore uses a prohibition of swearing in order to fight against lying. His aim in this is stated in the last sentence of the antithesis: "Let what you say be simply 'Yes' or 'No' " (Matt. 5:37; cf. also Jas. 5:12). He replaces swearing by a simple "yes" and "no" without invocation of God's name. As a result the disciple is by no means released from responsibility before God. On the contrary, not only isolated statements, but the whole speech of the Christian takes place in the presence of the all-knowing God. Each of his words is to be nothing but truth, so that none needs to be confirmed by an oath. An oath casts a shadow of doubtfulness over all his other words: therefore it is "from the evil one". The disciple, however, is called to be "a light even in his words" (D. Bonhoeffer, *The Cost of Discipleship*, 1959^6, 123).

The aims of Jesus in forbidding oaths is not to substitute a secular form of words (yes or no) for a religious one, but to insist on absolute truthfulness in every word of man. The fourth antithesis, which opposes Jewish practice, but not the intention of

the OT, is to be understood not as a law of the letter, but a law to be obeyed in spirit. If the truth is going to be obscured by refusal to take an oath, it will be necessary to decide in favour of taking an oath, as in the OT, for the truth's sake. The radical nature of Jesus' prohibition aims at bringing about complete truthfulness in human speech.

(c) The words of Jesus are frequently introduced by the formula, "Truly [*amēn*; → Amen] I say to you" (Matt. 5:18), or in the antitheses of the Sermon on the Mount, "But I [*egō de*] say to you" (Matt. 5:22, 28, 32, 34, 39, 44). These are not forms of oath, but rather the underlining of Jesus' words by the authority of his person (*egō*, → I). He is the truth (cf. Jn. 14:6), and his words are therefore true (*amēn*). "For all the promises of God find their Yes in him. That is why we utter the Amen through him, to the glory of God" (2 Cor. 1:20). Before the Sanhedrin Jesus was pressed to state on oath that he was the Son of God (Matt. 26:63 f.). Jesus refused the oath, and simply affirmed what the high priest has asked with the words: "You have said so", which is equivalent to the confession: "Yes, I am the Son of God".

(d) Matt. 14:7 par. Mk. 6:23 provides an example of the rash practice of oath-taking. Herod, intoxicated at his birthday feast, casually swore to grant whatever his step-daughter might ask. The mother, Herodias, took the opportunity to demand the head of John the Baptist who had been imprisoned by Herod for denouncing Herod's liaison with her. In the denial scene, Peter maintained that he did not know Jesus, and corroborated this lie with an oath and curses on himself (Matt. 26:74, par. Mk. 14:71; cf. Lk. 22:60). H. Merkel suggests that Peter may even have cursed Jesus ("Peter's Curse", in E. Bammel, ed., *The Trial of Jesus. Cambridge Studies in Honour of C. F. D. Moule*, *SBT* Second Series 13, 1970, 66–71).

2. No forms of oath are found in Paul's writings. Instead he used asseverations to underline the sincerity of his words. Particularly in his battle for the churches in Galatia and Corinth, he calls God to witness for the truth of his life story (Gal. 1:20), his actions (2 Cor. 1:23), and his gospel (Rom. 1:9). To put beyond all doubt his concern for his own nation (lest it be misunderstood as anti-Jewish polemics), he asserts (Rom. 9:1): "I am speaking the truth in Christ. I am not lying; my conscience bears me witness in the Holy Spirit." Attacked by his opponents, the apostle calls God to witness to his truthfulness.

3. As in the OT, so in the NT we read of God's oath. In Lk. 1:73; Heb. 6:13; and Acts 2:30, the oath of God means no more than his → promises given to → Abraham and → David. Hebrews even carries over the negative divine oath, God's → curse upon the disobedient Israelites in the → wilderness (Heb. 3:11, 18; 4:3; cf. Num. 14:21–23; Deut. 1:34), in order to add a warning exhortation to obedience and zeal for the promised → rest of the people of God (Heb. 4:9–11). Heb. 6:16 f. alludes to the practice of oath-taking, in order to contrast human oaths by someone or something greater, with God's plain oath by himself. Heb. 7:20–22 (*horkōmosia*) goes still further, drawing a distinction between God's plain word and his word under oath. In contrast to the appointment of → Levitical priests, which is made without an oath, Heb. uses God's oath in Ps. 110:4 to demonstrate confidently that Christ's priesthood is better, and unchangeable. Rev. 10:6 mentions, in an echo of Dan. 12:5–7, an angel who announces the end with an oath.

4. Jesus rejected oath-taking completely, Peter committed perjury, Paul used asseverations, and Hebrews speaks of God's oaths of promise and cursing. All this

must be interpreted by reference to the demand for unconditional truthfulness. "The cross is God's truth about us, and therefore it is the only power which can make us truthful. When we know the cross we are no longer afraid of the truth. We need no more oaths to confirm the truth of our utterances, for we live in the perfect truth of God" (D. Bonhoeffer, op. cit., 125). *H.-G. Link*

→ Blessing, → Covenant, → Curse, → Promise, → Revile, → Truth

(a). S. Blank, "The Curse, Blasphemy, the Spell and the Oath", *Hebrew Union College Annual* 23, 1950–51, 73–95; D. Bonhoeffer, *The Cost of Discipleship*, 1959[6]; 122–25; H. C. Brichto, *The Problem of Curse in the Hebrew Bible*, 1963; A. E. Crawley, E. Beet, M. A. Canney, "Oath", *ERE* IX 430–38; D. Daube, *Studies in Biblical Law*, 1947; M. Greenberg, "The Hebrew Oath Particle *Ḥay/Ḥē*", *JBL* 76, 1957, 34–39; T. M. Gregory, "Oath", *ZPEB* IV 476–79; C. H. W. Johns, *The Relation between the Laws of Babylonia and the Laws of the Hebrew People*, 1914; M. G. Kline, "Oath and Ordeal Signs", *WTJ* 27, 1965, 115–39; ibid. 28, 1965, 1–37; G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in its Essence and Manifestation*, 1964[2], §59; S. A. B. Mercer, *The Oath in Babylonian and Assyrian Literature*, 1912; H. Merkel, "Peter's Curse", E. Bammel, ed., *The Trial of Jesus. Cambridge Studies in Honour of C. F. D. Moule, SBT* Second Series 13, 1970, 66–71; M. H. Pope, "Oaths", *IDB* III 575 ff.; V. Rogers, "The Use of *r'š* in an Oath", *JBL* 74, 1955, 272 f.; J. Schneider, *omnyō*, *TDNT* V 176–85; and *horkos* etc., *TDNT* V 457–67; J. E. Tyler, *Oaths: Their Origin, Nature and History*, 1835. H. L. White, "The Divine Oath in Genesis", *JBL* 92, 1973, 165–79.

(b). O. Bauernfeind, *Eid und Frieden, Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte* Neue Folge 2, 1956; H. Bethke, ed., *Eid, Gewissen, Treuepflicht, Antworten* 8, 1965; A. Gerlach-Praetorius, *Der Kirche vor der Eidesfrage. Die Diskussion um den Pfarrereid im "Dritten Reich", Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Kirchenkampfes* 18, 1967; J. Hempel, "Die israelitischen Anschauungen von Segen und Fluch im Lichte der altorientalischen Parallelen", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 4, 1925, 20 ff.; M. Honecker, "Der Eid in einer säkularisierten Gesellschaft", *EvKomm* 2, 1969, 569 ff.; F. Horst, "Der Eid im Alten Testament", *EvTh* 17, 1957, 366 ff. (reprinted in *Gottes Recht, ThB* 12, 1961, 292 ff.); C. A. Keller, *šb'*, *THAT* II 855–63; W. Luther, *"Wahrheit" und "Lüge" im ältesten Griechentum*, 1935; S. Morenz et al., "Eid", *RGG*[3] II 347 ff.; G. Niemeier, ed., *Ich schwöre. Theologische und juristische Studien zur Eidesfrage*, 1968; J. Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten*, 1914; J. Scharbert, " 'Fluchen' und 'Segen' im Alten Testament", *Biblica* 29, 1958, 1–26; E. Seidl, *Der Eid im römisch-ägyptischen Provinzialrecht*, I–II, 1933–35; G. Stählin, "Zum Gebrauch von Beteuerungsformeln im Neuen Testament", *NovT* 5, 1962, 115 ff.; H. Strathmann, "Eid", *EKL* I 1027 ff.; G. Wehmeier, *Der Segen im Alten Testament*, 1970; E. Ziebarth, "Eid", Pauly-Wissowa, V, 2075–83.

T

Take, Receive

The process of taking can be understood actively in the sense of taking possession of, passively in the sense of taking delivery. The two Gk. vbs. *lambanō* and *dechomai* correspond to these two operational directions. *lambanō* stresses primarily the active aspect of getting hold of, whereas *dechomai* emphasizes more the passive attitude of receiving. The meanings of the numerous compounds formed from both vbs. are frequently assimilated to one another, as are the meanings of the root words in figurative senses and contexts, and they are occasionally used synonymously. Both word-groups have a special significance in the NT through expressing particularly the complementary movements of faith in appropriation and acceptance.

δέχομαι

δέχομαι (*dechomai*), take, receive, accept; *δεκτός* (*dektos*), acceptable, welcome, agreeable, favourable; *ἀποδέχομαι* (*apodechomai*), admit; *ἀποδοχή* (*apodochē*), acceptance, approval; *ἀπόδεκτος* (*apodektos*), acceptable, pleasing; *εὐπρόσδεκτος* (*euprosdektos*), acceptable, pleasant, welcome; *προσδέχομαι* (*prosdechomai*), take up, receive, welcome, wait for, expect; *δοχή* (*dochē*), reception, banquet; *εἰσδέχομαι* (*eisdechomai*), take in, receive, welcome.

CL 1. *dechomai* is used from Homer onwards, and is cognate with Lat. *dexter*, (on) the right hand. Its basic meaning is accept or receive (Homer, *Il.* 23, 647). Letters, presents, and offerings etc. are the principal objects. It can also be used more specifically in the sense of to receive words, i.e. to hear, understand (*logon dechesthai*, Eur., *Medea* 924), and to accept persons, i.e. offer hospitality (Xen., *Oec.* 5, 8). Man is generally the subject, who is able to accept things increasingly even to the point of enduring blows of fate (Homer, *Il.* 18, 115). More rarely the subject, in a religious context, is the godhead who receives sacrifices and prayers (Homer, *Il.* 2, 240). The corresponding noun *dochē* means primarily a receptacle (Eur. and Plato), and then, figuratively, reception of people, a meal for guests (Plut.). The accompanying verbal adj. *dektos* (unattested before the NT) or *dekteos* (first used by Lucian) indicates, lit., that which one can accept, and then, generally, agreeable, welcome, favourable (cf. in the NT Lk. 4:19; 2 Cor. 6:2).

2. (a) The compound *apodechomai*, similarly attested since Homer, strengthens the positive significance of the simple vb. in the sense of welcoming, approving, agreeing, valuing (Polyb., 21, 35, 5; Philo, *Abr.* 90; Josephus, *Ant.* 9, 176). The common Hellenistic noun *apodochē* correspondingly means acceptance, approbation, approval (Polyb. 1, 5, 5; Josephus, *Ant.* 6, 347; cf. in the NT 1 Tim. 1:15; 4:9). The

verbal adj. *apodektos* (as in Plut. *Mor.* 1061a; cf. 1 Tim. 2:3; 5:4 in the NT) has a similar meaning to *dektos*, viz. acceptable, agreeable, pleasing.

(b) *prosdechomai* (used since Homer) refers either to persons, meaning to admit someone to a place or into a community (Plato, *Leg.* 4, 708a; Josephus, *Ant.* 14, 285); or to things meaning to accept something (Xen., *Hell.* 7, 4, 2; and especially in the LXX). Further, as with *ek-* or *apekdechomai*, it has the meaning of to expect, or wait for (Eur., *Alcestis* 130; Soph., *Phil.* 123; cf. in this eschatological context the discussion of the compounds in → Hope, art. *apokaradokia*).

OT In the LXX the word-group occurs chiefly in prophetic, cultic, Wisdom and Apocryphal literature. *dechomai* is a rendering frequently of Heb. *lāqaḥ*, take, (cf. also → *lambanō*); *eisdechomai* generally renders *qāḇaṣ*, gather, collect; *prosdechomai* predominantly renders *rāṣâh*, be pleased; *dektos* nearly always renders *rāṣôn*, goodwill; and *dochē* (right up to Dan. 5:1 LXX) always renders *mišteh*, meal for guests, feast.

1. (a) Apart from everyday usage (e.g. Gen. 33:10, accept gifts), *dechomai* denotes primarily the readiness to receive and accept the divine word (Deut. 33:3; Jer. 9:20) and action (e.g. *paideia*, discipline, correction, Zeph. 3:7). In Jer. and Zeph. it occurs in the negative declarations of judicial prosecution: Israel has not accepted Yahweh's correction (Jer. 2:30; 5:3; 7:28; Zeph. 3:2) and will therefore have to endure the divine → judgment (Jer. 25:28, the picture of the cup of wrath; cf. Hos. 4:11). *dechomai* thus obtains the further meaning of involuntary and necessary submission to disaster.

(b) *eisdechomai*, on the other hand, is found largely in prophetic announcements of salvation. Yahweh will again gather his outcast and scattered people and thus receive them again into fellowship with him (Hos. 8:10; Mic. 4:6; Jer. 23:3; Ezek. 20:34; Zeph. 3:19 f.; cf. 2 Cor. 6:17).

2. Occasionally *dechomai*, *prosdechomai* and *dektos* also occur in cultic priestly passages. The formulations *ou (pros-)dechthēsetai/(pros-)dechthēsetai* or alternatively *ou dekton/dekton* are the LXX translations of the so-called declaratory formulae: "it is not acceptable." By this means the priests made known the acceptance or rejection of an offering for Yahweh (Lev. 22:19–25). Yahweh is here represented as the receiver of the offering; but the decision, concerning the acceptance or rejection or repudiation of the gifts, in the mouth of the priest equally embraces a divine judgment as to whether the man who is bringing his offering is acceptable to Yahweh or not (cf. the pass. constructions in the LXX; see G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, I, 1962, 260 f.; → Sacrifice).

3. In the Wisdom literature *dechomai* characterizes the intellectually and existentially open and receptive life of the pious man: the wise man accepts the words of wisdom (Prov. 4:10); he heeds commandments (Prov. 10:8); he accepts discipline (Prov. 16:17) and receives insight (Prov. 21:11). The word *dektos*, continuing the prophetic critique of → sacrifice (cf. Jer. 6:20), gains a non-cultic and ethical stamp in the Wisdom literature: "To do good is the beginning of the right way; that is more acceptable to God than to present sacrifices" (Prov. 16:7 LXX; cf. 15:8, 28 LXX [29]; Sir. 2:5; 3:17).

NT In the NT the *dechomai* word-group is found chiefly in the Synoptic Gospels

(especially in Lk.) and in Paul who also uses the compounds frequently.

1. As in the whole ancient world, and particularly in Judaism, so in the NT hospitality plays a large rôle. Because of their wandering existence Jesus, Paul and the other apostles were very dependent on it. Lk. mentions from time to time the friendly reception which Jesus and Paul met with amongst the people and in the congregations (Lk. 8:40; Acts 18:27; 21:17, *apodechomai*), just as Jesus and Paul willingly accepted those who approached them (Lk. 8:11; Acts 28:30). Paul thanks his congregations for their hospitality (Gal. 4:14; 2 Cor. 7:15) and exhorts them to be ready to accept others as well (Col. 4:10). Being a Christian includes exhibiting this kind of humanitarianism.

2. (a) Acceptance of disciples and apostles is not however simply a matter of an unwritten humanitarian law. On the contrary, the messenger of Jesus represents his message and person: "He who receives you receives me, and he who receives me receives him that sent me" (Matt. 10:40; cf. Lk. 9:48; 10:16; Jn. 13:20). The apostles' continuation of Jesus' mission (cf. *TDNT* I 414; II 53 for the background of the office of the Shaliach [*šālîaḥ*]) means that the hospitality they are offered stands for acceptance of Jesus and therefore acceptance of God.

But Christ does not only meet men in his messengers, he also confronts his church *incognito* in every unfortunate man in need of help: "Whoever receives one such child in my name receives me" (Mk. 9:37 par. Matt. 18:5; Lk. 9:48). God is to be accepted in the non-religious secular sphere of everyday life.

(b) It corresponds with this that *dektos*, *apodektos* and *euprosdektos* have lost their cultic content, as was already the case in the Wisdom literature. The offering that is pleasing to God now is the → sacrifice of the individual life for daily service in the world (Phil. 4:18; Rom. 12:1; 15:16). *apodektos* is used in 1 Tim. 2:3 and 5:4 to express what is acceptable to God: intercession for rulers who also come within the scope of God's salvation and the duty of children to parents. *dektos* occurs in Lk. 4:19 (cf. Isa. 41:2); Lk. 4:24; Acts 10:35; 2 Cor. 6:2 (cf. Isa. 49:8); and Phil. 4:18. *euprosdektos* is found at Rom. 15:16, 31; 2 Cor. 6:2; 8:12; 1 Pet. 2:5.

3. In the early Christian communities the phrase *ton logon dechesthai*, to receive the word, became a technical term for the believing acceptance of the → gospel (Lk. 8:13; Acts 8:14; 11:1; 17:11; 1 Thess. 1:6; 2:13). *dechesthai* is also linked with *basileia tou theou*, the → kingdom of God (Mk. 10:15 par. Lk. 18:17), *euangelion*, gospel (2 Cor. 11:4), *charis*, → grace (2 Cor. 6:1; cf. Rom. 5:17, where *lambanō* is used), and *agapē tēs alētheias*, love of the → truth (2 Thess. 2:10). The parallelism or synonymity of believing and receiving is evident from Acts 2:41, where the Western text D replaces *apodexamenoi* by *pisteusantes*. Faith is nothing but the affirmative acceptance of God's rule, as a child accepts a gift (Mk. 10:15 par. Lk. 18:17; cf. Matt. 18:3).

4. The Hellenistic word *apodochē* occurs only in a kerygmatic formula in 1 Tim. 1:15a: "The saying is sure and worthy of full acceptance that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners" (cf. also 1 Tim. 4:9). There remains the application of Isa. 61:2 in Lk. 4:19: with the coming of Jesus the "acceptable" (*dektos*) time of salvation has begun (cf. 2 Cor. 6:2; cf. above 2 (b)).

H.-G. Link

λαμβάνω

λαμβάνω (*lambanō*), take, receive; ἀναλαμβάνω (*analambanō*), take up, take to oneself; ἀνάλημψις (*analēmpsis*), reception; ἐπιλαμβάνομαι (*epilambanomai*), lay hold of, grasp, catch; καταλαμβάνω (*katalambanō*), seize, grasp, attain, make one's own, take possession; μεταλαμβάνω (*metalambanō*), receive a share; μετάλημψις (*metalēmpsis*), sharing, receiving; παραλαμβάνω (*paralambanō*), take to oneself, take with or along, take over; προλαμβάνω (*prolambanō*), anticipate, take, get; προσλαμβάνω (*proslambanō*), take, receive or accept into one's society; πρόσλημψις (*proslēmpsis*), admission, acceptance; ὑπολαμβάνω (*hypolambanō*), take up, think, assume, be of the opinion that; ἀπολαμβάνω (*apolambanō*), receive, get back.

CL 1. *lambanō*, originally grasp, seize, is attested since Homer.

(a) It means to take or grasp. It can indicate both benevolent and hostile actions, and have as object either people or things; e.g. take a wife, collect taxes, accept a verdict, take a road, and fig. take courage. It is used with a material subject, as when, for example, fear or terror seizes men. *lambanō* may serve to enliven the style when used pleonastically.

(b) *lambanō* also means to receive, regularly with acc. of the thing; used to embrace all areas of life from simple things to spiritual benefit.

2. The compounds strengthen or enlarge the basic meaning. *analambanō* means receive up (on) high, to receive to oneself; the corresponding noun being *analēmpsis*, lifting or taking up. *hypolambanō* means take up from below; then take hold, take up, and finally mentally to apprehend, believe, hold an opinion. *epilambanō* means to lay hold of, occupy, and also assist; mid. obtain for oneself, hold firm, seize. *katalambanō* strengthens the original intention, meaning to seize, take a firm grip, attack; mid. seize for oneself; mental apprehension is basically appropriation and understanding. *metalambanō* takes the partitive gen. of the thing, and means to gain a share, get, receive; *metalēmpsis* denotes participation, acceptance. In *prolambanō* the temporal significance of *pro* is dominant; it means take in advance, forestall. *proslambanō* allows a slight reminder of the prepositional *pros*, and means to take in addition, draw in; mid. take aside, admit. The corresponding noun is *proslēmpsis*, admission, acceptance. *paralambanō* stands with the acc. of person or thing, and means to draw someone to oneself, take over an office or a thing.

OT 1. In secular speech *lambanō* and its compounds are widely attested.

In the LXX (chiefly for the Heb. *lāqaḥ*, and more rarely *nāśā'*) the act. meaning of take dominates: e.g. take the sword (Gen. 34:25), take a wife (Gen. 4:19). It has a material subject in Exod. 15:15: "trembling seizes them." The pass. meaning of receive is rarer: e.g. receive presents, take bribes (1 Sam. 8:3), receive an office or reward (Ps. 109[108]:8; Prov. 11:21).

2. The following compounds may be mentioned. *analambanō* is used regularly in the LXX with personal or material objects. It is theologically significant in the aorist pass. for the translation of Enoch (Sir. 49:14) and of Elijah (2 Ki. 2:11; Sir. 48:9; 1 Macc. 2:58). The LXX uses *epilambanō* in its basic meaning of holding or taking hold in 2 Sam. 13:11; Isa. 3:6; Jer. 31:32; Zech. 14:13. *katalambanō* is used in the LXX to describe God's holding grip, and men's. God's → hand takes hold of the world (Isa. 10:14). He traps men (Job 5:13), and comprehends the incomprehensible

(Job 34:24). Man asks how he is to conceive of God and lay hold of his righteousness and wisdom, i.e. make it his possession (Sir. 15:1; 27:8). The powers of destruction also clutch at man and attack him (Gen. 19:19; Num. 32:33). *proslambanō* (act. form only in Wis. 17:10) denotes the way in which God draws his people or elect out of danger and destitution to himself (Pss. 18[17]:17; 27[26]:10; 65[64]:5; 73[72]:24; 1 Sam. 12:12).

3. *paralambanō* has a distinct meaning in Hellenism and in Judaism. It means to receive, and indicates the way one takes over a tradition, whether it is the teaching and training of a philosopher, or the mysteries and rites of the mystery religions. In Judaism, tradition limited itself to the Torah and its exegesis (cf. Mk. 7:4). The technical term for the receiving of tradition is *qibbēl*. The rabbis, too, passed on certain subject matter in teaching (cf. SB I 579; Ḥagigah 2:1) under conditions of strict secrecy in order to prevent misunderstandings amongst the religiously impure.

NT 1. In the NT *lambanō* is attested 258 times; it is found to a conspicuous degree in Matt. (53 times), John (46 times) and Rev. (23 times), whereas the whole Pauline corpus contains only 34 occurrences of the word.

(a) *lambanō* has a broad range of meaning: to take (in the more active sense), e.g. bread, lamps, the tithe, and (fig.) to take one's cross upon oneself (Matt. 10:38), or take the form of a servant (Phil. 2:7). It also means to remove or take possession of, e.g. remove money (Matt. 28:15), diseases (Matt. 8:17, cf. Isa. 53:4), a crown (Rev. 3:11), peace from the earth (Rev. 6:4). In a theological context Jesus has the power to take his life back again (Jn. 10:18). The enemy also has the ability to attack people's lives (cf. Matt. 21:35 ff. in context) or to seize the sick (Lk. 9:39). Emotions take control of men (Lk. 5:26; 7:16). Further, *lambanō* has the sense of admit: to admit someone into the house; with a personal object, the important sense of receiving Jesus (Jn. 1:12; 5:43; 13:20), and, connected with that, receiving his words (Jn. 12:48; 17:8; Mk. 4:16).

(b) Secondly, *lambanō* means to receive (in the more passive sense): e.g. a bite, money, alms. It is important with theological objects: eternal life (Mk. 10:30), the Spirit (Jn. 7:39), grace (Rom. 1:5), condemnation (Mk. 12:40), forgiveness (Acts 10:43), mercy (Heb. 4:16). Finally *lambanō* is used as a circumlocution for the pass.; e.g. receive edification, be edified (1 Cor. 14:5).

(c) *lambanō* is theologically significant in its meaning of receive. It corresponds with God's giving (*didonai*): God gives – man receives.

(i) Jesus himself lives by receiving: he has received his commission, the Spirit, power (Jn. 10:18; Acts 2:33; Rev. 2:28). He is the gift of God and lives by receiving. In taking the form of a servant (Phil. 2:7) and taking away our infirmities (cf. Matt. 8:17 with reference to Isa. 53), he takes upon himself the death of a sinner and fulfils the commission which he has received from the Father (Jn. 10:18). So too in resurrection and exaltation: the crucified One is worthy to receive "power and wealth and wisdom and might and honour and glory and blessing" (Rev. 5:12). Even the exalted One remains the receiving One.

(ii) Only when a man receives, does he find himself and stand within the God-given order and plan which Jesus Christ reveals. For the man who hears the witness of Jesus, the acceptance of that word decides over life and death. At this point, Jn. distinguishes the various objects which are received, accepted or laid hold of. He who

receives the *martyria*, the witness of Jesus, sets his seal to this "that God is true" (Jn. 3:33). By his acceptance of the word he attests the truth of God and lives by it. He who accepts the *rhēmata*, the words, of Jesus gains knowledge of the word of revelation: Jesus comes from God and receives his life from God (Jn. 17:8; cf. 1 Cor. 2:12). So Jesus himself, who is the *rhēma theou*, the Word of God, can become the object of believing acceptance. Whoever receives him has a share of his inexhaustible grace and receives the Holy Spirit (Jn. 1:16; 7:39; 20:22). Whoever does not accept him, i.e. does not recognize or acknowledge him, has a judge (Jn. 12:48). That same word of Jesus will be his judge on the last day.

(iii) For Paul *lambanō* means sharing in the fulfilment of the promise in Christ (Gal. 3:14), receiving the Spirit (Rom. 8:15), receiving grace and the gift of righteousness (Rom. 5:17), just as he himself received his apostleship as an especial token of God's grace (Rom. 1:5). Though poor in God's sight, the man who receives is exceedingly rich (1 Cor. 4:7); for when he accepts, he receives eschatological salvation, fellowship with Christ and life in the future world (Phil. 3:12 ff.).

2. The compounds *analambanō* and *hypolambanō* develop the aspect of taking up.

(a) *analambanō* means to take with or take up, to bring, or take someone on board (2 Tim. 4:11; Acts 20:13 f.). Used fig. in Eph. 6:13 – "take up the whole armour of God" – it is a powerful picture of the active fight of the believer against the powers of darkness (cf. also v. 16; → War). *analambanō* in the aorist pass. is used of the ascension of the resurrected One, which is attested in the concise formula, he "was taken up" (*analēmphtheis*, Acts 1:11; *anelēmphthē*, Acts 1:2, 22; 1 Tim. 3:16). The goal of the taking up is heaven, the sphere of God's glory (1 Tim. 3:16). There is a similarly brief formulation of the ascension of Christ without any indication of place in the longer ending of Mk. which describes the status of the risen Christ who is seated at the right hand of God (Mk. 16:19; → Hand, art. *dexia*). The vb. also occurs at Acts 7:43; 10:16; 20:13 f., 23:31; 2 Tim. 4:11.

analēmpsis, lifting up high, being taken up, is found in the NT only in Lk. 9:51 and is generally interpreted of Christ's ascension, but *analēmpsis* can also mean death, decease (Arndt, 56; cf. intertestamental literature, e.g. Pss. Sol. 4, 18). Both are implicated in the NT expectation of Jesus' death, since the death includes the exaltation of the Lord.

(b) *hypolambanō* occurs 5 times in the NT. Acts 1:9: "a cloud took him out of their sight." This taking suggests a taking upwards from below, lifting up in the sense of hiding or carrying away. 3 Jn. 8 exhorts that strangers are to be taken up, i.e. hospitably welcomed and cared for. When extended to mental processes *hypolambanō* approximates to the Eng. "to pick up someone's words" (Lk. 10:30). It can also express supposition: "These men are not drunk, as you imagine" (Acts 2:15 NEB; cf. Lk. 7:43).

3. The compounds *epilambanō* and *katalambanō* intensify the original meaning of the word and mean seize.

(a) *epilambanō* denotes both violent apprehension and trustful holding of the hand. Paul is seized by his opponents (Acts 17:19; cf. 9:27; 16:19; 18:17; 21:30, 33; 23:19; Lk. 23:26). Fig. *epilambanō* means to catch somebody out in their speech; thus Jesus' opponents attempted to catch him out in his words (Lk. 20:20). Jesus himself touched the blind, the children, the man with dropsy (Mk. 8:23; Lk. 9:47;

14:4), and stretched out his hand to Peter as he began to sink (Matt. 14:31) in order to help him. In the Synoptics the use of *epilambanō* is pointed and striking: it denotes both the scheming behaviour of Jesus' opponents and also the love of the Lord as he turns to give help to the sick and lost.

Paul finds *epilambanō* the right word for characterizing the movement of faith. It is directed to eternal life: "take hold of eternal life" (1 Tim. 6:12). *epi* states the goal; *lambanō* denotes the intensity of the act of faith. It also occurs at Heb. 2:16; 8:9. *anepilēmptos* means irreproachable (1 Tim. 3:2; 5:7) and is a qualification for bishops and church members in their care of widows.

(b) *katalambanō* is used in the NT to designate the attack of evil powers, and also the grip of Christ on men. The lad with epilepsy was attacked by a dumb spirit and dashed to the ground (Mk. 9:18). The → darkness which has not "received" the → light, i.e. has neither accepted nor comprehended Christ (Jn. 1:5, cf. v. 11), overtakes men when they do not have Christ (Jn. 12:35). Paul warns his readers against a false reliance on their faith, since the Day of the Lord will "surprise you like a thief" (1 Thess. 5:4). On the positive side, *katalambanō* marks the hold of Christ on a believer. Paul has been apprehended by Jesus Christ; he is the possession of Christ and therefore, in the fight of faith, is stretching out towards the goal of the high calling (Phil. 3:12 f.). Only someone who has been laid hold of strives to obtain the victor's imperishable → crown of eternal life (1 Cor. 9:24). The mid. *katalambanomai* (of mental or spiritual comprehension or perception) denotes grasping truth, by which one may recognize God's hidden actions (Acts 4:13; 10:34; 25:25). The vb. also occurs at Rom. 9:30 (of the Gentiles attaining righteousness, even though they did not pursue it), and Eph. 3:18 (of the believer comprehending the extent of God's love).

4. *metalambanō* and *metalēmpsis* (only in 1 Tim. 4:3) indicate participation in physical and spiritual benefits. Food is taken and eaten (Acts 2:46; 27:33; cf. 2 Tim. 2:6). God created it "to be received with thanksgiving" (1 Tim. 4:3). The earth "receives a blessing from God" (Heb. 6:7). God waits for the Yes which responds to his offer, for the obedience and thankfulness which respond to the giver and his gifts. Heb. 6:4 ff. includes the warning that a blessing which has been received is forfeited for ever by an act of conscious apostasy from Christ. Every kind of discipline serves towards our participation in God's holiness (Heb. 12:10). Only in Acts 24:25 is *metalambanō* followed by the acc. *kairon*, meaning "when I find a convenient occasion" or "when I have an opportunity."

5. In *prolambanō* the temporal significance of *pro* is retained, "she [the woman] is beforehand with anointing my body for burial" (Mk. 14:8, NEB), i.e. she has anointed it in advance. The woman's loving action is a prophetic sign of his imminent death and a substitute for the anointing of the body, as yet not carried out. 1 Cor. 11:21 speaks of individuals going ahead with their own meals (*to idion deipnon prolambanei*) at the Lord's Supper; their actions are unbrotherly and unworthy, for they are doing in advance on their own what all should do together. In Gal. 6:1 Paul encourages clemency towards a sinner, if he "is overtaken in any trespass." Here *prolēmphthē* suggests in the *pro* of the initial syllable that the sinner has been forcibly laid hold of by sin before he was able to reflect. Paul therefore requests gentleness and brotherly assistance.

6. *proslambanō* is found in the NT only in the mid. It means to take along (Acts

17:5), take (of food, Acts 27:33, 36), and to take aside, introducing an intense personal conversation. "Peter took him to one side" (Mk. 8:32; cf. Matt. 16:22; Acts 18:26). *proslambanō* has a theological importance when meaning "admit into fellowship." "God has welcomed him", i.e. the one who is weak in faith (Rom. 14:3). "Welcome one another . . . as Christ has welcomed you" (Rom. 15:7). Paul exhorts the Romans to seek out those who have a weak faith, because strong and weak are equally accepted into fellowship with God through Christ's death. Even for Jews, who by their rejection of Christ are rejected from salvation, Paul awaits *proslēmpsis*, acceptance by God: "For if their rejection means the reconciliation of the world, what will their acceptance [*proslēmpsis*] mean but life from the dead?" (Rom. 11:15). Because he in himself experienced that God accepted him and conferred new life on him, he connects the acceptance of his own people inextricably with the gift of eternal life.

7. In the Gospels and Acts *paralambanō* is frequently followed by the acc. of person, i.e. take someone with oneself, to choose out from a large number, offer fellowship to a chosen one or introduce a particular plan. Thus Jesus took to himself three disciples in order to reveal himself to them (Matt. 17:1; 20:17; 26:37; cf. Mk. 5:40). He "came to his own home and his own people received him not" (Jn. 1:11; on this interpretation → Possessions, art. *peripoieomai* NT 3). But for believers there stands the promise: "I will take you to myself that where I am you may be also" (Jn. 14:3; cf. Matt. 24:40).

Paul further uses *paralambanō* to denote the acceptance of mental and spiritual benefits, and refers the actual acceptance: (i) to teaching and ethical traditions which he has received, amongst which may be numbered the words of institution of 1 Cor. 11:23 and the *paraklēsis* of Phil. 4:9 (cf. 1 Thess. 4:1; 2 Thess. 3:6); (ii) to "the Word of God which you heard from us" (1 Thess. 2:13); to the "gospel" which Paul according to 1 Cor. 15:3 received; and, according to Col. 2:6, to "Christ Jesus" the Lord; (iii) to the personal revelation of Jesus Christ which Paul received outside Damascus; the gen. "of Jesus Christ" designates him as both content and mediator of the revelation.

8. *apolambanō* means: (i) to receive (adoption, Gal. 4:5; → Child, art. *hyios* NT 2 (a) on *hyiothesia*; the good things in life, Lk. 16:25; cf. J. D. M. Derrett, "Dives and Lazarus and the Preceding Sayings", in *Law in the New Testament*, 1970, 78–99; material things, Lk. 18:30 *v.l.*; rewards and punishments, Lk. 23:41; Rom. 1:27; Col. 3:24; 2 Jn. 8); (ii) receive in return, get back (the same amount, Lk. 6:34; the prodigal son, Lk. 15:27); (iii) take aside (Mk. 7:33); (iv) welcome (3 Jn. 8 *v.l.*).

B. Siede

(a). G. Delling, *lambanō* etc., *TDNT* IV 5–15; W. Grundmann, *dechomai* etc., *TDNT* II 50–59.
(b). K. Wegenast, *Das Traditionsverständnis bei Paulus und in den Deuteropaulinen*, *WMANT* 8, 1962.

Tax, Tax Collector

λογεία

λογεία (*logeia*), collection (of money), tax.

CL The use of *logeia* in the pre-Christian era is not attested apart from occurrences in the papyri and inscriptions from the 3rd century B.C. on.

NT The two NT examples of *logeia* are found in 1 Cor. 16:1–2. In answer to a question concerning the collection for the Jerusalem saints that had been posed by the Corinthians in their letter to Paul, the apostle repeats instructions he had already given to the Galatian churches (→ Poor, art. *ptōchos* NT 4). Every Sunday each believer was privately to set aside and store up some money in proportion to his gains of the previous week, so that collections would not be needed after Paul arrived.

While it is not impossible that some Jerusalem Christians regarded this collection as a semi-formal levy on Gentile Christians that was the rightful due of the mother-church of Christendom, Paul himself promoted it as an act of service to God (2 Cor. 9:12–13) that would honour Christ (2 Cor. 8:19) and as a spontaneous gesture of brotherly love (cf. Rom. 12:13; 13:8; 15:31; 1 Cor. 16:3; 2 Cor. 9:1, 5; Gal. 6:10) that called for generous, voluntary contributions (2 Cor. 8:7, 24; 9:5–14; *eu-logia* in 9:5 may be a play on words), although he did regard it as a tangible expression by Gentile believers of their spiritual indebtedness to the church at Jerusalem (Rom. 15:19, 27; cf. 1 Cor. 9:11).

M. J. Harris

στατήρ

στατήρ (*statēr*), stater, a silver coin worth four drachmas; δίδραχμον (*didrachmon*), a double drachma, two-drachma piece, worth about half a shekel among the Jews; κῆνσος (*kēnsos*), tax, poll-tax; τελέω (*teleō*), pay; τέλος (*telos*), tax, customs duties (for other meanings of *teleō* and *telos* → Goal); φόρος (*phoros*), tax, tribute.

OT According to Exod. 30:11–16, when the Israelites were subjected to a compulsory census in the wilderness, Moses commanded each man to pay half a shekel as ransom money to prevent the plague spreading among the people. Before the exile there were no real coins; metals were fashioned into lumps of recognized weights. The Heb. *šeqel* derives from a root meaning to weigh, and means a pound. Various forms are mentioned (e.g. the king's weight, 2 Sam. 14:26; the shekel of the sanctuary, Lev. 5:15; cf. Exod. 30:13; 38:26). The money raised by the levy was spent on the sanctuary (Exod. 30:16; 38:24 ff.). During the building of the first temple Solomon raised heavy taxes which were resented (1 Ki. 12:4). 2 Ki. 12:10 describes a collecting box for the upkeep of the temple, but 2 Chr. 24:6, 9 speaks of the tax levied by Moses as something that was to be perpetuated. Neh. 10:32 speaks of it as a third of a shekel, but it was evidently raised to half a shekel later. All Israelites over twenty had to pay, except for women and slaves (though at Elephantine women apparently also paid it). Gentiles and Samaritans were excluded. It was paid as long as the temple stood. The Romans evidently recognized it (cf. Cicero, *Pro Flacco* 28; Josephus, *Ant.* 16, 6, 2 and 4 f.). Jews of the Diaspora contributed, and the bullion trains required strong protection (Philo, *Spec. Leg.* 1, 77 ff.; Josephus, *Ant.* 18, 9, 1). The tax is dealt with in the Mishnah tractate Shekalim. After the destruction of the temple, Vespasian decreed that the tax should still be paid, not to

the Jewish temple, but to Jupiter Capitolinus (Josephus, *War* 7, 6, 6). It is generally assumed that it ceased in the time of Nerva (c. A.D. 96).

NT 1. *The Temple Tax and the Coin in the Fish's Mouth.* The following story is recorded by Matt.: "When they came to Capernaum the collectors of the half-shekel tax [*hoi ta didrachma lambanontes*] went up to Peter and said, 'Does not your teacher pay the tax [*ou telei ta didrachma*]?' He said, 'Yes.' And when he came home, Jesus spoke to him first saying, 'What do you think, Simon? From whom do kings of the earth take toll or tribute [*lambanousin telē ē kēnson*]? From their sons or from others?' And when he said, 'From others,' Jesus said to him, 'Then the sons are free. However, not to give offence to them, go to the sea and cast a hook, and take the first fish that comes up, and when you open its mouth you will find a shekel [*statēra*]; take that and give it to them for me and for yourself' " (Matt. 17:24–27).

H. Montefiore sees a *Sitz im Leben* for this story in the situation between A.D. 70 and A.D. 96 when the church was confronted by the question of whether to pay the tax to Jupiter Capitolinus, since Christians were often thought of as a Jewish sect and therefore liable to the tax ("Jesus and the Temple Tax", *NTS* 11, 1964–65, 60–71, see especially 64 f.). For Matt.'s readers Jesus' words would have been understood as a comparison of the pagan tax with *portoria* and poll-tax (*telē ē kēnson*), payable by foreigners but not by Roman citizens. However, Montefiore rejects the suggestion that the story was specially invented for this situation. On the other hand, he sees parallels to the coin in the fish's mouth in the Hellenistic story of Polycrates' ring (Hdt., 3, 41 f.), rabbinic folk tales of a gem representing all the wealth of a man lost at sea and found again in a fish (Shabbath 119a), and a gem found in a fish by a poor tailor on the day of atonement (Ber. R. II on Gen. 2:3). He suggests that the original saying of Jesus advised payment of the tax in order to avoid offence. In particular, he thinks that Jesus's position cut across the debate between the Pharisees and the Sadducees over the use of revenue for the temple. To refuse the temple tax would give the impression that Jesus disapproved of all temple worship. "What the Pharisees demanded as a legal due, Jesus gave as a free-will offering of the heart" (op. cit., 71). J. M. Allegro has argued that the Essenes maintained the same attitude as Jesus ("An Unpublished Fragment of Essene Halakhah [4Q Ordinances]", *JSS* 6, 1961, 71 ff.).

For further discussion of the background see J. D. M. Derrett, "Peter's Penny", (*NovT* 6, 1963, 1–15; reprinted in *Law in the New Testament*, 1970, 247–65). Derrett claims that Peter could have claimed exemption on the grounds that Jesus and the disciples were fully employed in God's service (cf. op. cit., 250 ff. for rabbinic discussions). The matter would then have been referred to Jerusalem for a ruling. On the other hand, refusal to pay would bring Jesus into direct conflict with the authorities. The collectors were not rabbis who could decide for themselves on the legality of the situation. Although Jesus could claim to be not liable to the tax, he was obliged by the Torah to save the collectors from the sin of compelling him to supply the half-shekel. "*Therefore* it would be a sin to refuse to pay the said half-shekel!" (op. cit., 257). Jesus was concerned for the moral welfare of the collectors, even though he knew that the tax was not due. He could readily have ordered payment from the funds given to the disciples, but these had been given for their maintenance. It would thus have been wrong to misappropriate the funds in order to pay the tax.

The dilemma is resolved by finding the lost stater in the fish's mouth. The coin in question would be a Tyrian shekel which was sufficient for a poor man's payment for himself and his friend. Coins are not identifiable, when found singly. In Jewish law the finder would be allowed to keep the coin; for when an owner had no hope of recovery of an item the property was deemed to be lost (Baba Kamma 10:2; cf. op. cit., 258). "The collectors were doubtless as well satisfied with this coin as they would have been by a coin obtained from a patron: but charity money had not been used, and the important admission had not been made. The earthly king would provide that his servants were not liable to customs duty; but the heavenly king in this case, caring for the souls of the collectors, would provide for the payment of the half-shekel. God enabled the need to be met, but he did *not* admit the liability to the due as such" (ibid.).

The view has been put forward that Jesus' instructions to Peter were a figurative way of telling him to catch a fish and use the money for payment of the tax (cf. F. V. Filson, *The Gospel According to St. Matthew*, *BNTC*, 1960, 196). C. H. Dodd considers that the story was originally a pronouncement story of a parabolic kind which in the course of time was transformed into a miracle story (*Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel*, 1963, 227). But Derrett prefers to see the whole episode as a historical event. The fish in question would be the cat-fish, *Clarias lazera*, known to the Greeks as *korakinos* (Josephus, *War* 3, 10, 8 [519 f.]; cf. C. Kopp, *The Holy Places of the Gospels*, 1963, 174 ff.). It is an omnivorous predator, liking shallow water and scavenging around landing-places. It would be attracted by a bright disc which could easily have stuck in the back of its throat. A scaleless fish, it was prohibited as food by the law, and no Jew would have dreamt of catching it for food. "The vision of the fisherman Peter rushing to fetch up a *Clarias* with a hook is so incongruous that its genuineness seems certified" (op. cit., 259).

If Derrett is correct, we need not look for a *Sitz im Leben* for the story in the life of the later church. It is already present in the life and ministry of Jesus, although it would naturally be of interest to the later church in providing guidance for its own relations vis-à-vis the Jews and the Romans. It is doubtful, therefore whether the story can be used, as G. D. Kilpatrick thinks, to determine the date of Matthew (*The Origins of the Gospel According to St. Matthew*, 1946, 42 f., 129). In the context of Matt. the story illustrates the distinction drawn by Jesus already in his earthly ministry between his followers as the true people of God and the Jewish nation. The disciples are the true sons of God who do not need to pay tribute to aliens. But to avoid giving offence the tax is paid.

2. *The Question concerning Tribute to Caesar.* On this question which is recorded in Matt. 22:15–22 par. Mk. 12:13–17, Lk. 20:20–26 → Caesar, art. *Kaisar* (cf. also for discussion of the background J. D. M. Derrett, "Render to Caesar . . .", *Law in the New Testament*, 1970, 313–38). Here the word *kēnsos*, tax, poll-tax, is used in Matt. 22:17, 19 and Mk. 12:14; Lk. uses *phoros* with the same meaning (Lk. 20:22; cf. 23:2).

3. *Paul.* In Rom. 13:6 f. Paul adopts the same attitude as Jesus with regard to payment of taxes to the Roman state: "For the same reason you must also pay taxes [*phorous teleite*], for the authorities are ministers of God, attending to this very thing. Pay all of them their dues [*apodote pasin tas opheilas*], taxes to whom taxes are due, revenue to whom revenue is due [*tō ton phoron ton phoron, tō to telos to telos*],

respect to whom respect is due, honour to whom honour is due." The premises of Paul's position are that "there is no authority except from God, and those that exist have been instituted by God" (Rom. 13:1; cf. 1 Pet. 2:13 ff.; → Might, art. *exousia* NT), that these have been instituted for the well-being of men (vv. 2 ff.), and therefore to resist what God has appointed is to resist God and thus provoke divine wrath and defile one's own → conscience (vv. 4 f.). Moreover, in submitting and giving, one is actually fulfilling the law (vv. 8 ff.). For "love is the fulfilling of the law" (v. 10). By implication this means that the Christian (whether he be a Gentile or a Jewish Christian) is not breaking the law by submitting to an alien, pagan authority. Rather, the essential meaning of the law (which is concerned with love) requires him to submit in all matters which do not contravene the will of God. Paul's use of *leitourgoi*, "ministers", for the authorities in v. 6 has sacred overtones (cf. M. Black, *Romans*, *New Century Bible*, 1973, 161). Black sees in the closing paraenetic chapters of Rom. several versions of the words of Jesus which Paul has adapted and interpreted (cf. also Rom. 12:14 with Matt. 5:44 par. Lk. 6:28; Rom. 12:17, 21; 13:9 with Matt. 19:18 par. Mk. 10:19; Lk. 18:20; ibid.); → Serve, art. *leitourgeō*.

C. Brown

τελώνιον

τελώνιον (*telōnion*), customs house, tax office; τελώνης (*telōnēs*), farmer of taxes, tax collector; ἀρχιτελώνης (*architelōnēs*), chief tax collector; τέλος (*telos*), toll, customs duty, revenue; τελέω (*teleō*), to pay what is owed (for other meanings of *telos* and *teleō* → Goal).

CL The *telōnēs*, tax farmer, was a notorious figure at Athens from the time of Aristophanes, and is frequently quoted in reproach: "All are tax collectors, all are robbers" (Xen.). The system of farming out sources of government revenue from taxes, tolls, property, land, mines, etc., goes back to the Gk. city states. Their *polis* constitutions did not provide for long-term civil servants. But by the tax-farming system the city was guaranteed a known income without the need for a complex financial administration. The privilege of farming taxes was auctioned annually. The successful individual or group, who had to have acceptable backers underwriting prompt payment, then had to pay a first instalment before being allowed to collect dues from the public. For the actual collection the tax farmers used employees, who in turn had to extract a sum over and above that required by their masters in order to provide an income for themselves. From the public's point of view it was a hateful system, all too easily open to abuse.

A somewhat similar system was operated by the Romans. The corresponding Latin term *publicani*, state contractors, refers to the leading officers, chiefly belonging to the equestrian order, who farmed the Roman revenue (*publicum habebant*), and paid into the public treasury (*in publicum*) a certain definite sum contracted with the government. These *publicani*, who were all wealthy individuals, sublet the tax-collecting to agents (*magistri*), and the agents engaged local officials (*portitores*) to collect the dues. It was these *portitores* who are referred to in the NT as *telōnai*.

The *telōnai* needed to belong to the native population, to be aware of local ways and to run less risk of being deceived. Indeed they themselves almost invariably succeeded in deceiving and fleecing the tax-paying public. By the time Augustus came to

power, the *publicani* had by their greed so damaged state and provincial finances that the emperor and his successors had to re-organize the tax system. Tax-farming cartels were finally abolished in the 2nd cent. A.D.

telōnion means a custom house, tax office (Posidippus), and by the time of Strabo, customs duty. *telos*, which usually means end, fulfilment (→ Goal), can also denote duty for the state, payment of toll or tax (Plato). *teleō* (or *teleioō*) means to carry out (instructions, a sacrifice, a practice), execute a plan; pay what one owes, especially in dues and taxes (Hdt.); pass., to be subject to tax or tribute (Dem.); hence, since in many Gk. cities the citizens were distributed into classes according to their taxable property, to be in a certain social class.

OT In the LXX *telos*, when meaning tax, tribute, toll, translates *meḵes*, tax collected for Yahweh from war booty (Num. 31:28, 37–41). *telos* once renders *miḵ^esâh*, the redemption price of a field in the year of jubilee (Lev. 27:23), and once *mas*, general tribute imposed by king Ahasuerus (Est. 10:1). *telōneō*, to impose taxes, occurs in 1 Macc. 13:39, of tolls exacted from the Jews by the Syrians. *telos*, in the sense of indirect tax, customs duty, is found in 1 Macc. 10:31, 11:35. Josephus uses *telos* with this meaning in *Ant.* 12, 141, and *teleō*, in reference to payment of tribute, in *Ant.* 10, 2, 155; but *teleō* does not appear in the LXX with the meaning of render or pay.

The first reference to tax farming in Palestine dates from the time of Ptolemy II Philadelphus in the 3rd cent. B.C. The collecting of taxes from the Jews during the Seleucid period is narrated by Josephus (*Ant.* 12, 138–53; 13, 49–57). The capture of Jerusalem by Pompey in 63 B.C. led to the imposition of Roman taxation. But in 30 B.C. Augustus remitted the tribute due and Herod the Great was allowed to control his own finances, collecting taxes directly through royal slaves.

Jewish sources distinguish two classes of tax officials, those responsible for income tax and poll tax (Josephus, *Ant.* 18, 4), and customs officers, who were stationed at bridges and canals, and on state roads. The Romans built fine bridges, it was said, simply in order to collect tolls (Shabbath 33b). During the time of Roman rule, taxation remained constant, but at a harsh level. The province of Judea alone had to find 600 talents (*Ant.* 17, 320; *War* 2, 97). Tacitus mentions that in A.D. 17 the provinces of Syria and Judea begged for a reduction in taxes. There was some relief from A.D. 37 when the governor Vitellius remitted the market duty on crops (*Ant.* 18, 90). But it was indicative of public feeling that during the siege of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 the refusal to pay taxes was seriously reckoned to be the only cause of the revolt (*War* 5, 405).

A Jew entering the customs service cut himself off from decent society. He was disqualified from being a judge or even a witness in court, and excommunicated from the synagogue. The members of his family were considered to be equally tarnished (Sanhedrin 25b). Because of their exactions and extortions, customs officials were in the same legal category as murderers and robbers (Baba Kamma 113a), thieves (Tohoroth 7:6), the robbers and money-changers (*Dereḵ 'ereṣ* 2), and counted among the *'am hā-'āres*, the common herd (Bekhoroth 30b). Money handled by tax collectors was tainted and could not be used, even for charity (Baba Kamma 10:1), for to touch the wealth of a man who obtains it unlawfully is to share his guilt.

NT The *telōnai* are mentioned only in the Synoptic Gospels. They themselves are not the holders of the tax-farming contracts, who were usually foreigners, but subordinates hired from the native population. (*dēmosiōnēs*, which normally represents the Latin *publicanus*, does not occur in the NT.)

Herod Antipas adopted the farming system for Galilee and Perea. As an imperial province, Judea paid taxes not through tax farmers but direct to the imperial treasury (Mk. 12:14). The responsibility for collection was imposed upon the Sanhedrin, under the supervision of the procurator. Arrears were collected by force by Roman officials.

The prevailing method of tax collection afforded collectors many opportunities to exercise greed and unfairness. For centuries force and fraud had been constantly associated with the revenue system of Palestine (Nedarim 3:4). Hence *telōnai* were hated and despised as a class. Strict Jews were further offended by the fact that the tax collector was rendered unclean through continual contact with Gentiles, and because his work involved breaking the sabbath. Contemporary public opinion is accurately reflected in the disagreeable associations expressed in the NT: *telōnai* are linked with sinners (Matt. 9:10), heathen Gentiles (Matt. 18:17), harlots (Matt. 21:31), and extortioners, imposters, and adulterers (Lk. 18:11).

Jesus teaches that for Christians to fail to include their enemies and persecutors in their love is to leave themselves on no higher a moral and spiritual plane than the most despised classes. In the eyes of Jews, these would be specifically tax collectors and *ethnikoi*, heathen Gentiles (Matt. 5:46 f.). Luke, writing to a wider audience, has the more general term *hamartōloi*, sinners (Lk. 6:33).

Jesus' summons to a tax collector to join him (Matt. 9:9) must have outraged and bewildered public opinion. For Matthew himself (called Levi by Mark and Luke) the call of Jesus entailed great sacrifice. He left everything (Lk. 5:28). Fishermen could return to their boats (Jn. 21:3), but a *telōnēs* who gave up his occupation had no prospect of another job, even with the skills that he undoubtedly possessed. Of necessity a tax collector would be versed in several languages, experienced in keeping records, and probably know shorthand (G. Milligan, *The New Testament Documents*, 1913, 241–7). A system of shorthand invented by Marcus Tullius Tiro, a freedman of Cicero, in 63 B.C. was widely used.

The toll house (*telōnion*) at Capernaum was an important centre commanding both the sea route from east and north of the lake and also the great land road, the way of the sea (Matt. 4:15), leading from Damascus to the Mediterranean coast. Custom would thus be levied on all goods carried by ship or caravan. In Matthew's case the duty would be collected not on behalf of the Roman government but for the tetrarch Herod Antipas. This fact would however not make his calling or class any the less unpopular. Two inscriptions from the Asian cities of Magnesia and Ephesus mention "those concerned with the toll on fish" (A. Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Matthäus*, 1963⁶, 302), and it is possible that a toll on catches of fish was collected at Capernaum as well. If so, Matthew would have known the fishermen-disciples, and probably Jesus himself, who used Capernaum as his headquarters. This would explain Matthew's immediate and total response to Jesus' call to discipleship.

Jesus' presence at the farewell banquet Matthew arranged for his old associates (Lk. 5:29) inevitably drew criticism from the scribes and Pharisees. In answer to the accusation that by eating with people who were excommunicate he was defiling him-

self, Jesus uses a current proverb to equate tax collectors with the sick. He associates with these people, not for his own sake (because, unlike the Pharisees, they were sympathetic to him and receptive to his message), nor even as his enemies might hint because birds of a feather flock together. Just as a doctor has to get near to his patients in order to treat them, so Jesus is prepared to share the company of the outcasts of society, for he knows that they are spiritually sick (Matt. 9:12; Mk. 2:17; Lk. 5:31).

Apart from the special call to Matthew, Jesus does not suggest that tax collectors should give up their profession. Neither did John the Baptist. In Lk. 3:12 f. John advises tax collectors to carry out their work fairly, neither abusing their position nor extorting excessive sums of money for their own enrichment. The employment is in itself lawful and necessary for the financing of government. But let those engaged in it be honest and just in their duties.

Jesus speaks of the refusal of the Pharisees to respond either to the Baptist or to himself, with their very different approaches. John was criticized for his asceticism and Jesus for exuberance in the company of tax collectors and sinners (Matt. 11:19; Lk. 7:29, 34). Often the spiritual response of the despised put their religious betters to shame (Matt. 8:2, 8 f.; 9:9–13; 15:28; 21:32), but as a type tax collectors could still be referred to as those who were uninterested in spiritual matters. If an offending Christian brother refuses to heed the local congregation, he is to be regarded as putting himself outside the religious community, i.e. joining the same class as Gentiles and tax collectors (Matt. 18:17).

Light is thrown on the parable of the unmerciful servant (Matt. 18:23–35) when it is seen against the background of tax farming. The two debtors and the other servants are ministers (*douloi*) of the king, and engaged in the collection of taxes. The vast sum due to the king from the first minister is not incredible or hyperbolic, as is often assumed: the tax-farmer Joseph son of Tobias contracted for 16,000 talents (Josephus, *Ant.* 12, 176). The minister's plea for time is genuine, and the king releases him from the immediate liability. Then, instead of carrying over the debt to the next year, thus doubling the amount due and probably incurring an intolerable burden for his tax-paying subjects, the king wisely cancels the debt. When later the same minister's own hard-heartedness is exposed, the king delivers him to the torturers (*basanistēs*), who by severe examination would extract information from him about all his personal assets. Meanwhile his relations, friends, and dependants would do all in their power to raise funds to secure his release, or his blood would be upon their heads. See J. D. M. Derrett, *Law in the New Testament*, 1970, 32–47.

Since *architelōnēs* is found only once (Lk. 19:2), Zacchaeus' official position is not clear. Probably he was the equivalent of the Roman *magister*, the intermediary between the *portitores* and the *publicani*. Jericho was a likely post for a tax officer of some standing, and one who would inevitably become rich. The city was an important customs station at the main ford of the Jordan, some 17 miles from Jerusalem on the major route between Judea and lands east of the river. Besides controlling an extensive carrying trade, Jericho produced and exported costly balsams. Zacchaeus' undertaking to recompense anyone he had defrauded (Lk. 19:8) need not imply his own use of extortion or menaces. As the leading member of a company of *publicani*, he was responsible for and tainted by the actions of his subordinates. Conversely, Zacchaeus' declaration of intent was not only binding and an expression of his

change of heart, but in effect purified his property, so that he could now receive Jesus into his home without causing his guest to be ceremonially contaminated. By inviting himself to the house in the first place, Jesus had gently put pressure on his host's conscience. Jesus' initiative accomplished what many people must have regarded as a miracle no less astonishing than any of his supernatural actions (Derrett, op. cit., 278–85).

telōnion, custom house, toll booth, tax office, occurs only in connexion with Jesus' call of Matthew (Matt. 9:9; Mk. 2:14; Lk. 5:27). On toll booths in Palestine, including Capernaum, see A. N. Sherwin-White, *Roman Society and Roman Law in the New Testament*, 1963, 125 f.

In 1 Cor. 10:11 Paul declares that warnings in Scripture have been recorded for the benefit of Christians, upon whom *ta telē* of the ages have come. *telos* is usually translated as end (→ Goal). The plural used here would then refer to the two ends which form the meeting-point of the two ages, i.e. the close of the old age and the beginning of the new (J. Héring, *The First Epistle of Saint Paul to the Corinthians*, 1962, 88 f.). But *telos* may have its other meaning: upon whom the (spiritual) revenues of the ages have come (A. Souter, *Pocket Lexicon of the New Testament*, 1916, s.v.). *N. Hillyer*

(a). I. Abrahams, "Publicans and Sinners", in *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels* I, 1917, 54–61; G. Delling, *telos*, in *TDNT* VIII 51 f.; J. D. M. Derrett, *Law in the New Testament*, 1970; C. H. Giblin, " 'The Things of God' in the Question concerning Tribute to Caesar", *CBQ* 33, 1971, 510–27; L. Goppelt, "The Freedom to Pay the Imperial Tax", *StudEv* 2, 1964, 183–94; H. A. Homeau, "On Fishing for Staters: Matthew 17:27", *ExpT* 85, 1973–4, 340–2; P. E. Hughes, *Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians, NLC*, 1961, 283 f.; G. Kittel, *logeia, TDNT* IV 282 f.; N. J. McEleney, "Mt. 17:24–27 – Who Paid the Temple Tax?", *CBQ* 38, 1976, 178–92; O. Michel, *telōnēs*, in *TDNT* VIII 88–105; H. Montefiore, "Jesus and the Temple Tax", *NTS* 11, 1964–5, 60–71; K. F. Nickle, *The Collection: A Study in Paul's Strategy, SBT* 48, 1966; S. Safrai and M. Stern (eds.), *The Jewish People in the First Century (Compendium Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum* I), 1974, 330 ff.; A. N. Sherwin-White, *Roman Society and Roman Law in the New Testament*, 1963; E. Stauffer, *Christ and the Caesars*, 1955.
(b). D. Georgi, *Die Geschichte der Kollekte des Paulus für Jerusalem, ThF* 38, 1965; SB I 377–80, 498.

Teach, Instruct, Tradition, Education, Discipline

διδάσκω

διδάσκω (*didaskō*), teach; διδακτός (*didaktos*), taught; διδακτικός (*didaktikos*), skilful in teaching.

CL 1. *didaskō*, to teach, comes from *di-dak-sko* (root *dek-*, to accept, extend the hand to). The reduplicated stem and inchoative suffix convey the idea of repeatedly extending the hand for acceptance; the word therefore suggests the idea of causing someone to accept something. It occurs frequently in Gk. from Homer onwards, and in the act. means to teach, inform, instruct, demonstrate, prescribe; in the pass. to be instructed, be taught; in the mid. to learn for oneself, to think out, to master. In the act. the word occurs chiefly with the acc. of the person (to teach someone) or with the acc. of the thing (to teach something), but also with the dat. It is clear that the word is used typically for the relationship between teacher and pupil, instructor and apprentice. What is taught may be knowledge, opinions or facts, but also artistic

and technical skills, all of which are to be systematically and thoroughly acquired by the learner as a result of the repeated activity of both teacher and pupil. Herodotus also uses *didaskō* to describe the work of the chorus-master (1, 23; 6, 21). The word is rarely found, however, to describe an activity of the gods. The aim of all teaching is to communicate knowledge and skill with a view to developing the pupil's abilities, but not to force his will in a particular direction.

2. In the sphere of religion the word is rare in Gk., not occurring till the 1st cent. B.C. Thus in the Isis-hymn of Andros it is said that the goddess causes men to be instructed in the things of religion and culture. The inscriptions collected by F. Preisigke show a further use of *didaskō* in the sense of to demonstrate (*Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden*, 1925, 371). Philo's usage, as so often, conforms to that of cl. Gk., so that he regards Moses, for instance, as a teacher in the Gk. sense (*Gig.* 54; *Spec. Leg.* 1, 59), one who makes contact with another's mind, as does the philosopher in Epictetus (*Dissertationes* 1, 9, 12; 2, 21, 10). Hence, *didaskō* can be said to denote the activity of a teacher, whose concern is to develop his pupil's abilities and to impart knowledge and skills.

OT 1. In the LXX *didaskō* occurs about 100 times, including 57 instances where it translates words from the root *lmd* (particularly *limmaḏ*, to teach) which in the LXX are almost always rendered by *didaskō*. The word is found most commonly in the Pss., in Deut., in Jer., and (apart from Sir. and Wis.) in Job and in Eccl., where, however, the LXX uses *didaskō* rarely as a translation of *limmaḏ* and more often as a translation of other words such as the hiph. forms of *yāḏa'* (cause to know, teach) and *yārâh* (teach, instruct). But in its LXX usage (as opposed to that of profane Gk.), the word does not primarily denote the communication of knowledge and skills (e.g. 2 Sam. 22:35), but means chiefly instruction in how to live (e.g. Deut. 11:19; 20:18 and passim), the subject matter being the will of God. God's *dikaiōmata*, ordinances, and *krimata*, judgments, are to be learnt and understood; being learnt, however, they require obedience and an act of the will. They may be taught by God himself (Deut. 4:1, 10, 14 and passim), by the fathers of families teaching their children (Deut. 11:19; Exod. 10:1 f. and passim) or by the godly who know the will of God. The fact that the LXX never uses *didaskō* for the preaching of the prophets may be explained by the close link between teaching and the → law.

didaskō stands for forms of *lāmaḏ* at Deut. 4:1, 10, 14; 5:28(31); 6:1; 11:19; 20:18; 31:19, 22; Jdg. 3:2; 2 Sam. 1:18; 22:35; 1 Chr. 5:18; 25:7; 2 Chr. 17:7, 9; Ezr. 7:10; Job 21:22; Pss. 18(17):34; 25(24):4 f., 9; 34(33) 11; 51(50):13; 71(70):17; 94(93);10, 12; 119(118):12, 26, 64, 66, 68, 99, 108, 124, 135, 171; 132(131):12; 143(142):10; 144(143):1; Prov. 5:13; 30:3(24:26); Eccl. 12:9; Cant. 3:8; Hos. 10:11; Isa. 29:13; Jer. 9:13(14), 19(20); 12:16; 13:21; 31(38):18, 34; 32(39):33; Dan. 1:4. *didaskō* stands for *yāḏa'* in the hiph. at Job 10:2; 13:23; 37:19; 42:4; Prov. 1:23; 22:21. It stands for *yārâh* in the hiph. at Job 6:24; 8:10; 34:32; Prov. 4:4, 11; 6:13; Isa. 9:14(15); Ezr. 44:23. Other equivalents are: *'ālēp* in the piel, to teach (Job 33:33); *bîn* in the hiph., give understanding (Job 32:8); *hāwâh* in the piel, declare, make known (Job 33:4); *yāṣā'* in the hiph., bring forth, i.e. utter (Job 8:10); *sāḵan*, be profitable to (Job 22:2, where the translation is not lit.); *pāraš* in the pual, declare distinctly (Neh. 8:8). It occurs in a free translation of Dan. 12:4, and is without equivalent in Deut. 32:44; 1 Esd. 8:7, 23; 9:48 f., 55; Ps. 18(17):35; Wis.

6:10; 7:22; 9:18; 12:19; Sir. 18:13; 22:7; 30:3, 27(36); 45:17; Isa. 55:12; Dan. 11:4; 4 Macc. 5:24; 18:10, 12, 18.

2. The usage of the Qumran documents largely corresponds to that of the LXX. Words from the root *lmd* occur 10 times, the subject-matter of the teaching being on occasions the requirements of the will of God (1QS 9:13; 1QH 2:17), and the ordinances of the covenant (1QSa 1:7; 1QM 10:10) and requirements for battle (1QM 10:2; 14:6). Here too then the teaching is connected with the will of God and the obedience of men. Only in 1QM 6:12 f. does a derivative of *lmd* denote battle-trained stallions or experienced horsemen. See also 1QS 3:13; 4QM^{a} 4; 1Q28^{a} 1:7.

3. In rabbinic Judaism, as indeed in the later portions of the OT (e.g. 2 Chr. 17:7 ff.), *limmaḏ* denotes the communication of the will of God concerning man's relationship to God or to his fellow-men, this will being discerned through the interpretation of the → law. There are, it is true, passages in rabbinic literature where *limmaḏ* is used in its profane sense, but *limmaḏ* in the strict sense is now a specialized term for the translation of the Torah into concrete directions for the life of the individual (K. H. Rengstorf, *TDNT* II 140). Hence, it is best regarded as pronouncing a scholarly opinion on the basis of scriptural interpretation. It is sometimes claimed that by holding this view of *limmaḏ*, the rabbis were closer to the Hellenistic concept of *didaskō* than they were to that of the LXX. This is unlikely, for despite the intellectual exertions of both expositor and pupil, the rabbi's undoubted concern was not the development of his pupil's abilities but the promotion of obedience to the will of God; this is shown even in such passages as Kiddushin 1:10: "He that has no knowledge of Scripture and the Mishnah and right conduct has no part in the habitable world."

NT In the NT *didaskō* occurs 95 times, of which 38 are in the Synoptic Gospels (14 in Matt., 17 each in Mk. and Lk.) 9 in Jn., and 16 in Acts. The rest are distributed as follows: 15 instances in the Pauline Epistles; 2 in Heb.; 3 in the Johannine Epistles; and 2 in Rev. The meaning is almost always to teach or instruct, though the purpose and content of the teaching can be determined only from each individual context.

1. *Jesus' Teaching Work according to the Synoptic Gospels.* It is the unanimous testimony of all the Synoptic writers, and one that doubtless coincides with historical reality, that Jesus "taught" publicly, i.e. in synagogues (Matt. 9:35; 13:54 par. Mk. 6:2; Mk. 1:21 and passim), in the temple (Mk. 12:35; Lk. 21:37; Matt. 26:55 par. Mk. 14:49, cf. Jn. 18:20) or in the open air (Matt. 5:2; Mk. 6:34; Lk. 5:3 and passim). Only Lk. 4:16 ff. gives details concerning the outward form of his teaching, viz. his standing to read a portion from the prophets, then sitting to expound it, this being the normal Jewish and rabbinic custom (cf. Lk. 5:3; Mk. 9:35; Matt. 5:2; SB II 150; IV 161, 185).

In 13 places in the Gospels *didaskō* is used absolutely as a comprehensive term for Jesus' → preaching (Mk. 2:13; 6:6; 10:1; 12:35; 14:49; Lk. 4:15; 13:22, 26; 19:47; Matt. 4:23; 9:35; 11:1). In addition, the vb. is also used to denote his preaching and teaching in given situations (e.g. Mk. 1:21 f.; 4:1 f.; 8:31; 11:17; Matt. 5:2; 21:23; Lk. 5:3, 17; 6:6; 13:10).

As regards the subjects and aims of Jesus' teaching, one's view depends on whether one takes account of all the synoptic passages containing sayings of Jesus,

or only those where his utterances are specifically called "teaching", or only those passages which the consensus of historical critics consider to be very probably authentic.

What did Jesus teach when on earth? In brief, the answer is → God, his → kingdom and his → will, all themes of contemporary Judaism, which Jesus, in the manner of a → rabbi or a → prophet, spoke about in his conversations with the Jews (→ Israel). He differed from his rabbinic counterparts not in his subject-matter but in the radical way he handled it, consistently applying all he said to concrete situations in man's life with his fellow-man, and involving himself personally in the subjects under discussion. (On Jesus as a teacher, see G. Bornkamm, *Jesus of Nazareth*, 1960, 96 ff.; on Jewish teaching, see W. G. Kümmel, *Heilsgeschehen und Geschichte*, 1965, 15 ff.; K. Wegenast, *Das Verständnis der Tradition*, 1962, 24 ff. and bibliography.) Instead of giving merely theoretical teaching about God, his providence, his grace or his wrath, Jesus shows God's goodness and wrath at work in concrete situations (e.g. Lk. 15:1 ff.). Instead of speculating on the kingdom of God, he announces its nearness (Mk. 1:15) and so issues a call to repentance and to a change of behaviour (Mk. 7:15; Matt. 5:21 ff.). And instead of inculcating the type of legal casuistry which seeks to ensure salvation, he tells his hearers: "Whatever you wish that men would do to you, do so to them" (Matt. 7:12; on the whole subject, see H. Conzelmann, *An Outline Theology of the New Testament*, 1969, 115–27).

(a) Mark. In Mk. 4:2 Jesus' teaching consists of → parables of the → kingdom of God, that kingdom whose nearness has already been summarized as the essence of his preaching (Mk. 1:14 f.). Then in Mk. 2:13 *didaskō* is used to describe his confrontation with contemporary Jewish legalism; in Mk. 10:1 ff.; 12:14 ff. the vb. introduces examples of Jesus giving his ruling on controversial matters; while in Mk. 11:17; 12:35 f. the subject of his teaching is a passage from the OT. It would seem that Mk. attaches importance to the link between teaching and doing (6:2, 34; → Work).

In short, Mk. uses *didaskō* not only in the sense of to teach, i.e. to give practical instructions or rulings on the basis of scriptural interpretation, but also (as in Mk. 1:15) in the sense of to preach the kingdom of God and the gospel, the content of the latter being, as W. Marxsen has shown, Jesus himself (*Mark the Evangelist*, 1969, 126–38). This verse (Mk. 1:15) betrays a marked shift in subject matter compared with the rest of Christ's "teaching" when on earth.

(b) Luke. Lk. frequently adopts Mk.'s use of *didaskō* and, where he does so, uses it in senses barely distinguishable from those of Mk. This applies also to passages where the vb. is peculiar to Lk. (6:6; 11:1; 12:12; 13:26; 23:5). His view of what Jesus taught emerges most clearly from his account of Jesus in the Temple (chs. 20 f.), where the subjects are the → Law, future events (→ goal) and matters concerned with christology. As H. Conzelmann (*The Theology of St Luke*, 1960) has convincingly shown, the main thrust in Lk. is to the nearness of God's kingdom, despite appearances to the contrary in passages like Lk. 17:20 f. In Lk. 4:14 ff. Lk. replaces his original (Mk. 1:14 ff.) by a summary of Jesus' activity up to the start of his last journey to Jerusalem (Lk. 9:51), Lk. 4:16 ff. providing an example of his work during this period: Jesus reads Isa. 61:1 f. and points to himself as the fulfilment of the prophetic promise. Now is the period of salvation, having already been manifested (v.

21) in → miracles; the latter are no longer merely *signs* of the authority inherent in the miracle-worker's teaching, but are part of the teaching itself.

(c) Matthew. Like Lk., this evangelist also interprets his original in some places, but the basic sense of *didaskō* still remains: to teach, preach. As regards content, however, Matt. 5:2, 19 and 28:20 are noteworthy (cf. 22:37). In Matt. 5:2 f. (the beginning of the Sermon on the Mount), Jesus is shown teaching his disciples, hence it is they, not the → scribes, to whom the polemic of v. 21 ff. is addressed; the scribes are the ones whose righteousness must be exceeded (v. 20). This explains the absence of scripture proof normally so typical of Christ's polemic discourses: for Matt., Jesus is the teacher of the *church* who supersedes the Sinaitic revelation and its rabbinic interpretations ("it was said to men of old") in order to lay a new foundation ("but I say to you"). After the death of Jesus, Peter guarantees this foundation (Matt. 16:18), holding the office of the keys (→ Open, art. *kleis* NT 3) which to the Jews meant the office of a teacher. The foundation guaranteed by him is no new law, but the fulfilment of the old, now freed from rabbinic distortions. Only now does the original intention of the law become clear (Matt. 19:8: "from the beginning"). These two verses (Matt. 16:18; 19:8) throw light on Matt. 5:19: he who lives without the Torah is without righteousness. The follower of Jesus is called not to lawlessness but to a superior → righteousness, the foundation of which is the law and Christ's interpretation of it. This is why, after his resurrection, this interpretation must be passed on through teaching (Matt. 28:20). (→ Scripture, art. *graphē* NT; → Redemption, art. *lyō* NT 6 (a).)

(d) It is now clear, in retrospect, that the original teaching of Jesus (made up of discussions on the law, words of wisdom and announcements of God's nearness, i.e. exhortations coupled with commands) has been specifically interpreted in the Synoptic Gospels. In several important passages of Mk. and Lk., the preacher has become the one who proclaims himself; the christology implicit in Jesus' teaching has become the direct and explicit christology of the church's faith. The rabbinic sense of *didaskō* (i.e. that of the Heb. *limmaḏ*) has been replaced by the meaning "to proclaim salvation". Despite this, however, and especially in Matt., the vb. can still mean to teach in the sense of to command, or even to expound. Our investigations have therefore shown that the Synoptics' use of *didaskō* is similar in form to that of the LXX and so in some measure to that of the rabbis: it does not convey the idea of developing a person's abilities but rather of instructing him in how to live; it also involves addressing him personally with commands based on the interpretation and declaration of God's will.

2. *The Disciples' Teaching.* (a) The Synoptic Gospels speak not only of the teaching carried out by Jesus but also of that undertaken by his → disciples (Mk. 6:30; Matt. 28:20 and passim), and of the "human tradition" passed on by the scribes (e.g. Mk. 7:1–23 par. Matt. 15:1–20; → Gift, art. *korban*; → Hand, art. *cheir* NT). In Lk. 12:12 the Holy Spirit is promised as teacher (cf. Jn. 14:26).

(b) In the Acts of the Apostles *didaskō* is by no means restricted to the teaching of Jesus. Even the subject-matter of the teaching indicates this: in Acts 4:2 it is the → resurrection from the dead; in Acts 5:42 and 15:35 "Christ Jesus" or "the word of the Lord"; and in Acts 4:18; 5:28, 39 (cf. 18:25) the whole message of the disciples, as is clearly indicated by the following phrases linked with *didaskō*: *epi tō onomati tou Iēsou*, in the name of Jesus; *epi tō onomati toutō*, in this name; *ta peri tou kyriou*

Iēsou Christou, the things concerning the Lord Jesus Christ. Then in Acts 15:1 there is a reference to some who were "teaching" → circumcision, and in Acts 21:21 (cf. v. 28) Paul is said to have been charged with teaching apostasy from → Moses; in both cases the teaching arises from the normal Jewish practice of discussing the law.

In Acts 4:2 and passim *didaskō* is linked with *katangellō*, to preach, proclaim; similarly in Acts 15:35 with *euangelizomai*, which has the same meaning. However, if only because of the rhetorical character of these pairs of words, any distinction here between "teaching" and "preaching" would seem to be inadmissible, and particularly as in Acts 18:11, 25, 28; 28:31 *didaskō* involves adducing scriptural proofs. The background of these passages is the post-resurrection message of salvation (cf. Acts 1:1; 4:18; 5:21, 25, 28, 42; 11:26; 15:1, 35; 20:20), and it is, therefore, salvation as understood by the post-resurrection church which forms the subject-matter of *didaskō* in Acts. Conversely Paul is accused of teaching the Jewish people to forsake Moses, the customs of the Jews, the temple, the people and the law (Acts 21:21, 28). Luke regards the essence of this salvation as having become manifest in Jesus (Lk. 4:16 ff.; Acts 1:21 f.).

(c) In the Johannine writings the word occurs in the Gospel 10 times (Jn. 6:59; 7:14, 28, 35; 8:2 *v.l.*, 20, 28; 9:34; 14:26; 18:20) and in 1 Jn. once (2:27). Apart from Jn. 8:28; 14:26, 9:34 Jesus himself is the subject of the vb., while the theme of the teaching is always the message of Jesus as the one who reveals God; it is a message which demands → faith and is recognized as the true message from God only by him who believes. The same is true in 1 Jn. 2:27, where the author encourages the church and alludes to their "anointing" (on *chrisma*, anointing, cf. R. Bultmann, *The Johannine Epistles*, *Hermeneia*, 1973, 41). This anointing bestows upon them the Holy → Spirit, who according to 1 Jn. 3:24 (cf. Jn. 14:25) is the source of all knowledge. Hence those who have the anointing need no further instruction: they know the → truth already (cf. 1 Jn. 2:21). One of the two instances in the NT of *didaktos*, taught, occurs in Jn. 6:45 in the quotation from Isa. 54:13, where those who come to Jesus are seen as fulfilling the prophecy, "And they shall all be taught by God." It is God himself who draws men to Jesus.

(d) Paul uses *didaskō* only 5 times in Rom., 1 Cor. and Gal. (Rom. 2:21; 12:7; 1 Cor. 4:17; 11:14; Gal. 1:12), which is not surprising when one considers the weight of associations it must have brought to his mind after his conversion. His whole life had been governed by the *paradoseis patrikai*, the traditions of the fathers (Gal. 1:14), which were "taught". In Rom. 2:21 he uses *didaskō* entirely in the traditional sense of Heb. *limmaḏ*, when he asks the Jew: "You then who teach others, will you not teach yourself?" Rom. 12:7 refers to the office, within the church, of the → *didaskalos*, teacher, whose task it is to expound the principles of the faith (cf. 1 Cor. 4:17, where Paul says that Timothy reminds the church of the apostle's "ways in Christ" – probably meaning his principles – and teaches them). In Gal. 1:12 *didaskō* means to hand on a tradition. Paul's language is noteworthy in 1 Cor. 11:14, where he speaks of → nature teaching; this idea may well have a Stoic background (cf. Epictetus, *Dissertationes* 1, 16, 10). The use of *didaktos* in 1 Cor. 2:13 is similar to the other occurrence in Jn. 6:45 (see above, (c)), where God himself is the teacher: "And we impart this in words not taught by human wisdom but taught by the Spirit, interpreting spirit and truths to those who possess the Spirit."

(e) The situation is somewhat different in those epistles which some scholars

regard as Deutero-Pauline. In 2 Thess. 2:15 ("hold to the traditions which you were taught by us, either by word of mouth or by letter") the reference is to 1 Thess. and to (more or less fixed) oral traditions. Here, therefore, "to be taught" no longer means "to hear the message in a concrete situation", but "to receive and keep the teaching handed down" – reminiscent of the teaching methods employed by the rabbis. *didaskō* also occurs in the pass. in Eph. 4:21, where the phrase *en autō edidachthēte*, "you were taught in him", like the previous phrase *manthanein Christon*, to "learn Christ", refers to the conversion of those who are being addressed (cf. Col. 2:7).

It is difficult to determine the meaning of *didaskō* in Col. 1:28 and 3:16. But the reference is probably to the practical exhortation required of all members of the church. The phrase *en pasē sophia*, in all wisdom, which qualifies *didaskō* in both passages, probably has to do with the manner rather than the content of the teaching.

In these epistles, therefore, the use of *didaskō* lacks all uniformity and is altogether different from that of the Gospels.

(f) In the Pastoral Epistles, it is Timothy's right and duty to teach (1 Tim. 4:11; 6:2); in 2 Tim. 2:2 teaching is the task of those who meet certain requirements, while in 1 Tim. 2:12, women are debarred from teaching. In all these passages what is taught is assumed to be "good" or "sound" doctrine (*didaskalia*), which is passed on and preserved (i.e. taught). It is interesting that teaching is now restricted to specific persons, and is no longer for all Christians as in Col. 1:28. In Tit. 1:11 *didaskō* refers to heretics who, for the sake of gain, are teaching Jewish myths and commands of men. But invariably "to teach" involves passing on a tradition which is more or less fixed, as is stressed in the Pastorals by the phrase *pistos ho logos*, "the saying is sure" (1 Tim. 1:15; 3:1; 4:9; 2 Tim. 2:11; Tit. 3:8). The emphasis falls on handing it on. The sole instances of *didaktikos*, skilful in teaching, occur in 1 Tim. 3:2 and 2 Tim. 2:24, where it is listed among the qualifications of → bishops and God's servants.

(g) Closely related to the usage of the word in the Pastoral Epistles is that of the Epistle to the Hebrews. In Heb. 5:12 the author reproaches his readers with the fact that, although they might already have been teachers, they still need to be taught afresh the first principles of God's word (i.e. those basic Christian doctrines indicated in Heb. 6:1 ff.). In Heb. 8:11 the word occurs in the quotation of Jer. 31:31 ff., where the knowledge of God, which doubtless is also knowledge of his will, seems to be the subject of the teaching.

(h) The two occurrences of *didaskō* in Rev. (2:14, 20) refer to the activity of false teachers in Pergamum and Thyatira respectively.

3. To summarize: the NT uses *didaskō* in the following two senses:

(a) (mainly in the Gospels and Acts) to proclaim, call for a decision, address men in the sense of teaching them those things which God requires of the whole man;

(b) (mainly in the Pastorals and 2 Thess.) to teach in the sense of handing down a fixed body of doctrine which must be mastered and then preserved intact. The only passage not conforming to this usage is Eph. 4:21. *K. Wegenast*

διδάσκαλος

διδάσκαλος (*didaskalos*), teacher, master; νομοδιδάσκαλος (*nomodidaskalos*), teacher of the law; καλοδιδάσκαλος (*kalodidaskalos*), teaching what is good; ψευδοδιδάσκαλος

(*pseudodidaskalos*), false teacher; ἑτεροδιδασκαλέω (*heterodidaskaleō*), teach a different, i.e. heretical, doctrine.

CL *didaskalos*, derived as a *nomen agentis* from the present stem *didask-*, is widely used in Gk. in the sense of teacher or tutor, from Homer onwards (e.g. Homer, *Hymnus ad Mercurium* 554 ff.; Aesch., *PV* 110 f.; Plato, *Prt.* 326c; Epictetus, *Enchiridion* 17; on the Gk. usage see E. Reisch, *didaskalos*, Pauly-Wissowa V 401 ff.). The term covers all those regularly engaged in the systematic imparting of knowledge or technical skills: the elementary teacher, the tutor, the philosopher, also the chorus-master who has to conduct rehearsals of poetry for a public performance. Since the teacher's activity is confined to specific areas (reading, writing, the art of war, a trade, etc.), the word *didaskalos* is often more closely defined by the subject he teaches. In this connexion it is interesting that Socrates did not want to be known as a teacher, for virtue was not something that could be taught (cf. Plato, *Ap.* 33a). Epictetus, on the other hand, actually recommended himself as a teacher for those striving after perfection (*Dissertationes* 1, 9, 12)).

Philo's usage conforms to that of cl. Gk. Hence, he uses the term "teacher" not only of Moses (*Gig.* 54) but also of God himself (*Rer. Div. Her.* 102 and passim). In both cases he regards a teacher as one who imparts knowledge, not as one who lays ethical demands before others.

OT 1. In the LXX *didaskalos* occurs only twice: in Est. 6:1 where the meaning is "reader" and in 2 Macc. 1:10 to denote Aristobulus, the head of the Egyptian Jewish community, who, having dedicated an exposition of the Pentateuch to King Ptolemy Philometor, is called a teacher clearly for this reason. The usage of 2 Macc. 1:10, where *didaskalos* means a teacher of the law, is in striking contrast with those translations of the word so far discussed. Its roots lie neither in familiar Gk. usage nor in Philo (where *didaskalos* means either one who imparts knowledge, or a tutor), but in Palestinian Judaism and in the Heb. vb. *lāmaḏ*, to learn (piel form *limmaḏ*, to teach). The reason for the rare occurrence of the word in the LXX may be not merely that the translators of the Heb. Scriptures did not regard the Gk. title *didaskalos* as adequate for a teacher of the law; the Heb. equivalent of *didaskalos*, *môreh*, is also rare and is rendered only once (Prov. 5:13) by the participle *didaskōn*, teaching. Elsewhere it is translated by other words such as *planōntes*, seducers (twice in Isa. 30:20); *plasas*, sculptor (Hab. 2:18); *brōmata*, food (Joel 2:23). It is clearly not just the word but the whole idea of "teacher" which is foreign to the OT since the latter is more concerned with obedience than with the imparting of information.

2. The situation is different in the Qumran texts, where *môreh* occurs more frequently, though usually with some qualifying phrase like *ha ṣaddiq*, the righteous one; *ṣᵉḏāqâh*, righteousness; *yaḥaḏ*, union or community; so e.g. 1QpHab 1:13; 2:2; 5:10; 7:4; 8:3; 9:9; 11:5; CD 1:11; 20:32; for *ha yaḥîḏ* CD 20:1 and 14). These titles probably refer to the founder of the sect, who taught the true understanding of the Torah (cf. G. Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, *StUNT* 2, 1963, 109, 168–267, 319–353; cf. also F. F. Bruce, *The Teacher of Righteousness in the Qumran Texts*, 1957). Other Heb. terms used are *maśkîl*, instructor (e.g. 1QS 3:13; 9:12, 21; cf. CD 12:21; 13:22) and *raḇ*, teacher of the law (cf. E. Lohse, art. *rhabbi*, TDNT VI 961–65; → Rabbi). A *raḇ* or *rabbî* in the Judaism of the time of Christ had

the task of expounding the Torah and of giving rulings in matters of the law. He had pupils (*talmiḏîm*) who studied his exposition and his rulings and were in duty bound to respect and obey their teacher. The pupil normally addressed his teacher as *rabbî*, my teacher, and it was this suffixed form which, in the 1st cent. A.D., became the exclusive term for an officially appointed teacher of the law.

NT In the NT *didaskalos* occurs 59 times, the vast majority of which are in the Gospels (12 times in Matt. and Mk. respectively; 17 times in Lk. and 9 times in Jn.). The word refers to Jesus on 41 occasions of which 29 represent a direct form of address. In the Gospels *didaskalos* also applies to John the Baptist (Lk. 3:12), Nicodemus (Jn. 3:10) and the scribes (Lk. 2:46). Elsewhere in the NT, it denotes the "teachers" of the church (Acts 13:1; 1 Cor. 12:28; Eph. 4:11; Jas. 3:1). In 1 Tim. 2:7 and in 2 Tim. 1:11 the author of these Epistles calls himself *didaskalos*, a term which he uses alongside *kēryx*, herald (→ Proclamation, art. *kēryssō*) and *apostolos* (→ Apostle).

1. *Jesus as Teacher.* The vocative form *didaskale*, master, applied to Jesus (e.g. Mk. 9:17, 38; Matt. 8:19; Lk. 10:25 and passim) or to John the Baptist (Lk. 3:12) is merely the translation of the Heb. *rabbî* (cf. Jn. 1:38; 20:16, where this is made explicit). *rhabbi* also occurs in the Gospels as a Gk. transliteration (e.g. Mk. 9:5; 11:21). Although the meaning of the two words largely coincides, viz. "master" in the sense of a teacher of the law in Israel, it should be noted that their semantic history is quite different. The use of "Rabbi" as a form of address to Jesus may be historically authentic, for according to the tradition he had all the marks of the Rabbi: he is asked to give rulings on disputed questions of the law (Lk. 12:13 f.), and on doctrinal issues (Mk. 12:18 ff., concerning the resurrection); he also has pupils. The later conditions for bearing the title rabbi, namely study and ordination, were not yet binding in the time of Jesus (cf. E. Lohse, *Die Ordination im Spätjudentum und im Neuen Testament*, 1951, 50 ff.).

It is, therefore, all the more interesting that in some passages Matt. has discarded the vocative *didaskale* which he found in his original text, and has used it only when it comes from the lips of his opponents or of outsiders, while Lk., generally speaking, adopts the usage of his original and even inserts *didaskalos* in 4 other passages (Lk. 7:40; 11:45; 12:13; 19:39). Only in 3 places (Lk. 8:24, 45; 9:49) does Lk. replace the original *didaskale* by *epistata*, teacher, master. The reason why Matt. largely discards the title *rhabbi* is clear: being in sharp conflict with the rabbis, he wishes to avoid the too-frequent ascription of their title to Jesus. The term *rhabbi* may also be displaced in favour of titles which are christological in content (cf. Matt. 8:25 with Mk. 4:38). Lk., on the other hand, uses *didaskalos* for the most part quite spontaneously and, like Mk., without attaching to it any christological significance.

In addition to its use in the vocative, *ho didaskalos* is very often used absolutely in the Gospels to denote Jesus: outsiders use it without any special emphasis (Matt. 9:11; 17:24 and passim). It occurs in the saying which Jesus applies to himself: "a disciple is not above his teacher" (Matt. 10:24 f.), describing the relationship existing between Jesus and his followers (→ Disciple), and then in Matt. 23:8 (a passage exclusive to Matt.), where Jesus admonishes his disciples: *hymeis mē klēthēte rhabbi; heis gar estin hymōn ho didaskalos* (but you are not to be called rabbi, for you have one teacher). As F. Hahn has shown, here and also in Mk. 14:14 *didaskalos* is to be

interpreted christologically: Jesus, above all others, is *the* Teacher, whose authority continues even after his death (cf. Jn. 3:2; 11:27 f.; 13:13 f., where *didaskalos* is used together with other christological titles; F. Hahn, *The Titles of Jesus in Christology*, 1969, 77 ff.).

2. *The Teaching Office in the Early Church.* In 1 Cor. 12:28 *didaskalos* is mentioned as the third charismatic office of a triad (alongside → apostles and → prophets). Men holding this office had the task of explaining the Christian faith to others and of providing a Christian exposition of the OT. It is true that these three offices receive the addition of a fourth – that of the *euangelistēs*, evangelist – in Eph. 4:11, but in both cases the teacher is appointed to a particular church (cf. Acts 13:1, where the *didaskaloi* are mentioned together with the prophets; also *Did.* 13:2; see H. Greeven in *ZNW* 44, 1952–53, 1 ff.). Jas. 3:1, warning against too strong an influx into the teaching office (an office which the writer himself appears to hold), points out that the failures of teachers will incur severe penalties in the judgment. Heb. 5:12 refers to Christians who ought long since to have been "teachers", but who still need to be taught the first principles of the faith. In 2 Tim. 4:3 the word appears to be applied ironically to heretics.

To summarize: in its use of *didaskalos* as a form of address to Jesus and others, the NT follows Jewish usage. The latter may have had some influence, too, on the remaining NT usage, apart from that in Matt. 23:8 and Mk. 14:14, where the word has christological force.

3. The following compounds may be noted. *nomodidaskalos*, teacher of the law, is found only in Christian writings. In 1 Tim. 1:7 it is used of false teachers who desire to be teachers of the law, but are without understanding and have fallen into vain discussion. They evidently occupied themselves with → myths and endless → genealogies (v. 4). In Acts 5:34 the term describes the Pharisee, Gamaliel, who was "held in honour by all the people" and who urged the other leaders to leave the apostles alone, "For if this plan or undertaking is of men, it will fail; but if it is of God, you will not be able to overthrow them. You might even be found opposing God!" (vv. 37 f.). In Lk. 5:17 it denotes the Pharisees. *kalodidaskalos*, teaching what is good, is found only in Tit. 2:3, where it is a description of what the older women ought to be. *pseudodidaskalos*, false teacher, occurs only at 2 Pet. 2:1 where such men are seen as counterparts to the false prophets of old. They will secretly bring destructive heresies and even deny the Master who bought them; but they will bring swift judgment upon themselves. *heterodidaskaleō* means to teach a different, i.e. heretical, doctrine. It occurs only twice. Timothy is urged to remain at Ephesus and "charge certain persons not to teach any different doctrine" (1 Tim. 2:3). These people were evidently the same as those who aspired to be *nomodidaskaloi* in v. 7. In 1 Tim. 6:3 the test of such a teacher is whether he agrees with "the sound words of our Lord Jesus Christ and the teaching which accords with godliness". The character of those who do not is delineated in the following verses. *K. Wegenast*

διδασκαλία *διδασκαλία* (*didaskalia*), teaching, instruction; *διδαχή* (*didachē*), teaching.

CL & OT 1. Derived from *didaskalos* is the noun *didaskalia*, which denotes the ac-

tivity of one who is a teacher in the Gk. sense. This active meaning is found in profane Gk. from Pindar onwards, but the word also occurs with a passive meaning, viz. doctrine (i.e. that which is taught) or tuition (i.e. being taught) (for references, see E. Reisch, Pauly-Wissowa V 394 ff.). Philo, and Judaism in general, display the same usage (*Jos.* 1; *Deus Imm.* 54; *Op. Mund.* 79; cf. *TDNT* II 160).

In the LXX the word occurs only 4 times (in Prov. 2:17 as a translation of *'allâp̄*, companion; and in Sir. 24:33; 39:8; Isa. 29:13 as a translation of *m^{e}lummāḏâh*, that which is taught). In the first 3 passages mentioned, *didaskalia* means "the law" considered as the will of God, but in Isa. 29:13, where the LXX changes the underlying sing. to plur., it means "doctrines of men", which by their very multiplicity are to be distinguished from the one will of God. The reason for the rarity of *didaskalia* in the LXX lies in the fact that its primary meaning in profane Gk. is intellectual teaching with a view to knowledge, whereas Israel saw teaching as meaning the law of God, to which the only appropriate response was obedience.

2. On the other hand, *didachē*, derived directly from the verbal stem, occurs in Gk. from Herodotus and Thucydides onwards in the sense of instruction, or of doctrine imparted by teaching; similarly in Plato and (sporadically) in Philo and Josephus. In the LXX it is found only in Ps. 59:1 in the phrase *eis didachēn*, for instruction, which translates the Heb. *l^{e}lammēḏ*. The Heb. equivalent of *didachē* would in fact be *talmūḏ*, as found, e.g. in Aboth 6:2, "thou findest no freeman excepting him who occupies himself with the study of the Law."

NT In the NT *didachē* occurs 30 times, of which 13 are in the Synoptic Gospels and the Acts, and 9 in the Johannine writings including Rev. In contrast to this relatively wide spread, out of 21 instances of *didaskalia*, 15 alone are found in the Pastoral Epistles, with 2 more in Eph. and Col. In other words, it is only in the later writings of the NT that *didaskalia* comes into its own.

1. In relation to *didachē*, the following details emerge:

(a) In Mk. 1:22, 27 it is Jesus' preaching which is called *didachē*, without any further details being given as to its content (cf. Mk.'s use of → *didaskō*). It is worthy of note that Mk. sees this teaching as having a close connexion with Jesus' → miracles, since these are proof, so to speak, of the divine authority behind the teaching. In Mk. 11:18 his authoritative teaching is given as the reason for the scribes' plotting to kill him, while in Mk. 12:38 the term *didachē* is extended to cover his polemic against the scribes.

(b) Matt. uses *didachē* editorially in Matt. 7:28 to describe the foregoing passage, namely the Sermon on the Mount, a portion of Christ's message characterized by exposition of the → law (cf. 22:33). However, he does not confine the term exclusively to the teaching of Christ, but uses it also for that of the Pharisees and Sadducees (Matt. 16:12).

(c) The usage in Acts is similar. Here *didachē* is used for the early Christian preaching, and appears in a variety of phrases: "the apostles' teaching" (Acts 2:42); "the teaching of the Lord" (Acts 13:12); "new teaching" (Acts 17:19); all these expressions, in the mind of Luke, denote the testimony of the apostles to Jesus Christ (cf. Acts 1:21). Exposition of the law, which Matt, could still describe as *didachē*, is no longer considered part of the teaching.

(d) Jn.'s use of *didachē* in Jn. 7:16 f. (cf. 18:19) points in the same direction. The

Johannine message in the mouth of Jesus is described as teaching which comes from the Father. This message of "Jesus" becomes in 2 Jn. 9 f. the *didachē Iēsou Christou*, but the content of both is identical.

(e) Paul uses *didachē* only in the gloss Rom. 6:17, and again in Rom. 16:17, referring in both cases to the whole of his apostolic teaching. In 1 Cor. 14:6, 26 the word denotes one of several types of "edifying speech", all contrasted with speaking in tongues (→ Word, art. *glōssa*).

(f) Paul's use of *didachē* in Rom. and 1 Cor. may be contrasted with the usage found in the Pastoral Epistles. In the former epistles the scope of the word is left undefined, whereas in the Pastorals (cf. 2 Tim. 4:2; Tit. 1:9) *didachē* has probably become a given body of doctrine which is to be inculcated as such. This is indicated elsewhere by the fact that "teaching" is referred to as *parathēkē*, that which is entrusted (1 Tim. 6:20; 2 Tim. 1:12, 14), and *didaskalia*, doctrine. The situation in Heb. is probably similar: Heb. 6:2 mentions *baptismōn didachē*, a doctrine of ablutions, while in Heb. 13:9 the writer describes the teachings of his opponents as *didachē* (cf. Rev. 2:14, 15, 24).

(g) To summarize, therefore: in the NT *didachē* denotes Christ's message (with his call to repentance and faith) and the early Christian preaching in the widest sense. It is striking that no explicit distinction is made between a fixed body of doctrine (handed down by tradition) and the message preached at any given time. The fact that the early church, at a relatively early stage, possessed a more or less fixed body of doctrine, is indicated by the brief confessions of faith quoted by Paul, even though he himself may not yet have viewed them as sacrosanct. The material collected in the Sermon on the Mount points in the same direction. Such compilations lead on to the *Didachē of the Twelve Apostles* (*Did.* 2:1; 6:1; 11:2) and to that of Barnabas (9:9), which were regarded as authoritative teaching. (For further discussion → Proclamation, art. *The Structure and Content of the Early Kerygma.*)

2. This development can be observed still more clearly in the use of *didaskalia*, as already indicated by the statistics given above.

(a) The phrase *didaskalias anthrōpōn*, precepts of men, is applied to the teachings of the scribes and Pharisees in Mk. 7:7; Matt. 15:9, quoting Isa. 29:13 (LXX). The same quotation from Isa. is used in Col. 2:22 to describe the doctrines of Judaizing Christian gnostics (cf. G. Bornkamm, "Die Häresie des Kolosserbriefes", in *Das Ende des Gesetzes*, 1952, 138 ff.). Similarly 1 Tim. 4:1 refers not only to the spirits of seduction and error but also to the doctrines of → demons.

(b) Wherever else it occurs in the NT, *didaskalia* is in the sing. In Rom. 12:7 it means the teaching office, and in Rom. 15:4 it describes the function of Ps. 69:9, quoted in v. 3, namely to provide Christians with instruction. In Eph. 4:14 Christians wavering in spiritual discernment are said to be *peripheromenoi panti anemō tēs didaskalias*, carried about with every wind of doctrine.

(c) The Gospels and Paul, with their limited use of *didaskalia* (6 times only) form a contrast with the Pastoral Epistles, where it occurs no less than 15 times. In 1 Tim. 1:10; 2 Tim. 4:3; Tit. 1:9; 2:1 the word is qualified by *hygiainousa*, → sound, and means that relatively fixed "orthodoxy" which the churches have received and which it is their duty to preserve against heresy. The same fixed doctrinal tradition is called in 1 Tim. 6:3 *hē kat' eusebeian didaskalia*, the teaching which accords with godliness, in 1 Tim. 4:6 *kalē didaskalia*, good doctrine, and in 1 Tim. 4:16 simply

didaskalia (cf. 2 Tim. 3:10). The word denotes an activity in 1 Tim. 4:13 (cf. Tit. 2:7; 1 Tim. 5:17). In 2 Tim. 3:16 we learn that the Scripture inspired by God (i.e. the OT) is profitable for teaching; and finally in Tit. 2:10 slaves are told that their behaviour should "adorn the doctrine" (cf. 1 Tim. 6:1).

The frequent use of *didaskalia* in the Pastoral Epistles shows a freedom from the inhibitions of the LXX translators (see above CL & OT 1). There is no hesitation in calling Christian preaching *didaskalia*, and likewise *parathēkē* and *didachē*. No tension is felt between the gospel, constantly preached afresh, and doctrine to be learnt, kept pure and defended against heresies. *K. Wegenast*

κατηχέω

κατηχέω (*katēcheō*), inform, instruct; κατήχησις (*katēchēsis*), instruction; κατηχούμενος (*katēchoumenos*), pupil; κατηχῶν (*katēchōn*), teacher.

CL This word, rare in profane Gk. and found only at a late date, meant originally to sound from above, and so denotes the action of poets or actors who speak down from a stage (see Lucian, *Juppiter Tragoedus* 39; cf. Philostratus, *Imagines* 1, 19). In Plutarch (*de Fluviis* 7, 2 (II, 1154a)) the word occurs with a double acc. in the very general sense of to give information about something, report something. It is also found with the meaning to instruct, teach. The noun *katēchēsis* is used in Stoic literature (e.g. Diogenes Laertius, 7, 89).

OT The word is absent from the LXX, and its usage in Philo and Josephus conforms to that of profane Gk. Its Heb. equivalent is the hiph. of *yārâh*, to show, to instruct, with the acc. (cf. Isa. 28:9; 1 Sam. 12:23).

NT The noun *katēchēsis* occurs nowhere in the NT, and the vb. only in Paul and Lk. (4 times each). Lk.'s usage covers both normal meanings (to report something, Acts 21:21, 24; to instruct someone, Acts 18:25; the meaning of the word in Lk. 1:4 is disputed). On the other hand, Paul uses the word exclusively in the sense of to instruct someone regarding the content of the faith (see 1 Cor. 14:19; Gal. 6:6; in Rom. 2:18 the law is the subject of instruction), so that *katēcheō* may even be regarded as a technical term for "to instruct in the faith". This meaning seems particularly appropriate in 1 Cor. 14:19, where Paul asserts that he would rather speak five intelligible words "in order to instruct others" than ten thousand words in tongues, which after all may merely encourage self-glorification on the part of the speaker.

In Gal. 6:6 Paul enjoins that he who is taught (*katēchoumenos*) should supply the material needs of his teacher (*katēchōn*). This is probably the earliest evidence we have for a "full-time" teaching office in the early church (cf. 1 Cor. 9:3–18), and it is even possible that Paul himself introduced the term *katēchōn* for the teacher of the gospel, a term as rare in Hellenistic Judaism as elsewhere in the NT.

The use of *katēcheō* as a technical term also occurs in Acts 18:25, if "the way of the Lord" refers to God's redemptive work in Christ and in history. There is dispute as to the meaning of the phrase in Lk. 1:4 *hina epignōs peri hōn katēchēthēs logōn tēn asphaleian* (that you may acknowledge the certainty of those things which you have been taught). With many others, the present writer inclines to the view that the

logoi of this verse are to be identified with the *pragmata* (events) of v.1, by which Lk. means the life, death and resurrection of Jesus as recorded in pre-Lucan literature. If such is the case, this would be yet another instance of the technical use of *katēcheō* in the early church. By the time 2 Clem. 17:1 came to be written, the word had already become the normal term for baptismal instruction given to catechumens.

katēcheō, therefore, supplied the early Christians with a specific word for an essential aspect both of their evangelistic work and of their church life: teaching the saving acts of God. *K. Wegenast*

παραδίδωμι

παραδίδωμι (*paradidōmi*), to hand down, pass on, transmit; παράδοσις (*paradosis*), tradition.

CL 1. *paradidōmi* is found in Gk. from Plato onwards, meaning to hand down, pass on instruction from teacher to pupil (e.g. *Theaet.* 36, 198b). (For its other meanings, to hand over, deliver up, see → Judgment, art. *paradidōmi.*) In the sense of handing down instruction *paradidōmi* is also found in Aristotle, Polybius, Plutarch and others. In the Hellenistic mysteries the word is used in connexion with the delivery of a *hieros logos* (holy teaching) (cf. *Theon Smyrnaeus*, ed. E. Hiller, 1878, 14; Strabo, 10, 3, 7; Diodorus 5, 48, 4: *Corp. Herm.* 1, 32; 13, 15 and passim; and the Lat. equivalent *tradere* in Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes* 1, 13, 29 and Apuleius, *Met.* 9, 21). It is significant that Philo uses the word in similar fashion (e.g. *Vit. Mos.* 1, 23 and passim).

2. The noun *paradosis* is found from Thucydides onwards meaning, actively, handing down (e.g. in Plato, Epictetus) and, passively, that which is handed down (e.g. in *Corp. Herm.* 13, 22b and many gnostic writings. On the gnostic view of tradition see K. Wegenast, op. cit., 123 ff. It is possible that *paradosis* acquired its technical sense of "tradition" only through gnosticism.

OT 1. The handing down of sagas, narratives, laws and lists of names occurred even in pre-historic Israel, but tradition properly so called, with its own terminology and self-awareness, came into being only when Judaism was confronted with aggressive Hellenism in the last two centuries B.C. and with Christianity in the 1st century A.D. Part of the new terminology was the Heb. equivalent of *paradidōmi*, the important word *māsar*, which referred to the strictly regulated process of handing down received expositions of the law (cf. Aboth 1:1 "Moses received the Law from Sinai and committed it to Joshua"; similarly Peah 2:6 and passim).

2. Philo and Josephus, in common with profane Gk., use the noun *paradosis* to mean both "handing down" and "that which is handed down", and Josephus characteristically uses the term *tēn paterōn paradosin*, the tradition of the fathers, for the scribes' oral exposition of the Torah (*Ant.* 13, 409; cf. 10, 51; 13, 297; Philo, *Spec. Leg.* 4, 150). The LXX, however, confines the word to its pass. sense (2 Esd. 7:26; Jer. 32[39]:4; 34[41]:2), the act. sense always being expressed by the vb. The Heb. equivalent is *māsōreṯ*, which occurs in the OT only in Ezek. 20:37 f. (Theodotion translates it here by *paradosis*), where it probably means a bond, obligation to the covenant.

In the period of the Tannaim *māsōreṯ* carries a double meaning: (a) the tradition

which safeguards the integrity of the biblical text; (b) non-halachic tradition. Aboth 3:14 gives a characteristic description of the function of tradition in the Jewish sense: "The tradition is a fence around the Law."

NT 1. In the NT the vb. *paradidōmi*, besides meaning to hand over, deliver up (→ Judgment), also conveys the idea of handing down tradition.

(a) In Mk. 7:13, "you make void the word of God through your tradition which you hand on", the obj. of *paradidōmi* is the rabbinic halachah (exposition of the law); i.e. the vb. is used here in its normal Jewish sense. Similarly, it occurs in Acts 6:14 in the witnesses' testimony against Stephen who is alleged to have said that Jesus would change the customs which Moses had delivered. In Acts 16:4 Luke uses *paradidōmi* in connexion with the *dogmata*, decisions, of the apostolic council which Paul delivered to the churches in Lycaonia and elsewhere.

The use of *paradidōmi* in Lk. 1:2 is significant. Here its obj. is the oral *diēgēsis* or the account of those who "from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word", the account being that of the events of Jesus' life. (On the relationship between Lk. himself and the eyewitnesses, the "many", who before Lk. had undertaken to compile a narrative of these matters, see G. Klein, "Lk. 1, 1–4 als theologisches Programm", in E. Dinkler, ed., *Zeit und Geschichte*, 1964, 193 ff.) The *historia Jesu* has now taken the place of the exposition of the law as a tradition to be handed down.

(b) In Paul *paradidōmi* occurs 4 times in the sense of to deliver, commit (Rom. 6:17; 1 Cor. 11:2, 23; 15:3). Of these passages Rom. 6:17 is probably a gloss (cf. Wegenast, op. cit., 179); the subject of *paradidōmi*, here used in the pass., is not a teaching, but by contrast men who are "committed" to a form of doctrine. This use of the word has its roots in the mystery religions.

On the other hand, in 1 Cor. 11:2, 23 and 15:3 the obj. of the vb. is Christian doctrines. 1 Cor. 11:2 refers to instructions "delivered" by Paul at an earlier time, but since these instructions are not explicitly named, it is uncertain whether Paul means that he has passed on to the Corinthians instructions which he himself has received, or whether he is referring to his own commands as being particularly important and binding, in which case Paul himself would have to be regarded as the source of the tradition. In the two other Cor. passages, however, he explicitly states that he himself has received the tradition before passing it on.

In 1 Cor. 11:23 he names the "Lord" as the source of the tradition: *egō gar parelabon apo tou kyriou, ho kai paredōka hymin*, "for I received from the Lord what I also delivered to you." The phrase "from the Lord" is not a reference to an immediate revelation, nor an abbreviation for a continuous tradition; rather it expresses Paul's belief that as the ensuing "words of institution" of the Lord's Supper are handed down, the Lord himself speaks; and to Paul, *his* word is of supreme authority (cf. 1 Cor. 9:14). Any allusion here to a continuity of tradition in the rabbinic sense is unlikely, since Paul nowhere makes use of any such idea. He who can boast of a private revelation (Gal. 1:16 and passim) can appeal to a current tradition if it will help to further the gospel or if the unity of the gospel is to be stressed, but he certainly has no need to plead the authority of any continuous tradition.

In 1 Cor. 15:3 *paredōka* is not qualified by any reference to the source of the tradition, but linguistic evidence points to at least v. 3 ff. as stemming from the

earliest church tradition (cf. H. Conzelmann in *Interpretation* 20, 1966, 15 ff.).

The fact that in these passages Paul not only quotes the existing tradition but in each case interprets and modifies it (cf. Wegenast, *Das Verständnis der Tradition*, 1962, 52 ff. 93 ff.), shows how distinct his view of tradition was from that of the rabbis, who regarded it as of fundamental importance that the received tradition be passed on unchanged. To Paul, therefore, *paradidōmi* does not mean "to pass on unchanged", but to pass on in a sense which permits the tradition to be modified to meet present needs. ([Ed.] Opinions differ on Paul's use of tradition. For fuller discussions → Proclamation, art. *The Structure and Content of the Early Kerygma.*)

(c) The situation is different in 2 Pet. 2:21: *hē paradotheisa . . . entolē*, the commandment delivered, and Jude 3: *hē paradotheisa tois hagiois pistis*, the faith which was delivered to the saints; here → commandment and → faith are to be seen as tradition which, being fixed once and for all, must be preserved intact.

(d) There are, then, 3 types of tradition in the NT expressed by *paradidōmi*; the following are said to be handed down: (i) the Jewish Halachah (Mk. 7:13; Acts 6:14; cf. Acts 16:4); (ii) early Christian narratives about Jesus (Lk. 1:2); (iii) confessions of faith and rules for the conduct of the church's life (1 Cor. 11:2, 23; 15:3 ff.; 2 Pet. 2:21; Jude 3).

The difference between Paul's usage and that of the rabbis (also that of 2 Pet. and Jude) is that for Paul tradition is not sacrosanct; this adj. can be applied only to the → gospel, which is anterior to all tradition and which he received by revelation (cf. Gal. 1:6 ff.). Thus the nuances in the meaning of *paradidōmi* reflect the development of Christianity from a charismatic movement to a church safeguarding its own tradition. An ever-increasing time-lag occurred between, on the one hand, the events which inaugurated Christianity, namely Christ's life, death and resurrection, and, on the other hand, the actualities of the church's life. It is of course true that preaching interpreted the past, but the church still had to face the immense problem of how to keep in touch with her origins. Hence "tradition" came to play a vital rôle, and in this context the following vbs. should also be noted: first, the vb. corresponding to *paradidōmi*, namely *paralambanō*, to receive; then *kēryssō*, to proclaim; *homologeō*, to confess; *didaskō*, to teach; and *euangelizomai*, to preach the gospel.

2. The noun *paradosis* is used in the NT, as in the LXX, only in the sense of "that which is handed down", i.e. teaching, doctrine. It occurs only in Mk. 7, Matt. 15 and 5 Pauline passages.

(a) In Mk. 7:3, 5 (par. Matt. 15:2), as in Josephus, the phrase *paradosis tōn paterōn/presbyterōn* (tradition of the fathers/elders) means the fathers' tradition of the law which is not laid down in the Bible, and which Jesus in the same context (7:8) calls "the tradition of men" (cf. SB I 691 ff.). According to Mk. 7, this rabbinic exposition of the law is in conflict with God's will (cf. Gal. 1:14). In 1 Cor. 11:2; 2 Thess. 2:15 Paul's instructions are called *paradoseis*. Before 2 Thess. 2:15 is seen as a classic proof-text for the Roman Catholic principle of tradition (namely both written and oral tradition), it should be borne in mind that *paradoseis* here does not consist of a fixed canon of writings handed down and supplemented by oral tradition, but refers to the apostle's written and oral admonitions to the church, which the church has duly accepted (cf. 2 Thess. 3:6).

(b) The passages dealt with so far probably show the influence of Jewish "tradition"-terminology, but this is not so in Col. 2:8. Here the phrase *paradosis tou*

anthrōpou does not mean Jewish exposition of the law as in Mk. 7:8, but is a polemical way of referring to the "traditions" which his Colossian opponents regard as revelations of the elemental spirits of the universe (→ *stoicheia*). The Colossian believers are not to receive such "traditions", since they have already "received" Christ Jesus (v. 6). *K. Wegenast*

παιδεύω

παιδεύω (*paideuō*), bring up, instruct, train, educate; παιδεία (*paideia*), upbringing, training, instruction, discipline; παιδευτής (*paideutēs*), instructor, teacher; παιδαγωγός (*paidagōgos*), custodian, guide, the man, usually a slave, whose task it was to conduct boys and youths to and from school and superintend their conduct generally.

CL The underlying root is *pais*, → child, boy. *paideuō* thus lit. means to be together with a child (the verbal ending *-euō* denotes a state); hence, to bring up, educate, instruct, teach, accustom. Derived from this is the noun *paideia*, which is found as early as the 6th cent. B.C. in the sense of education, and which connotes the process of education, development of culture, which the Sophists of the 5th cent. declared to be the chief aim of their work. Later the word was extended to cover adult education as well, and used generally of scientific training. Other derivatives are *paidagōgos*, one in charge of boys, custodian, tutor (usually referring to slaves), and *paideutēs*, teacher, educator.

The word *paideuō* is unknown to Homer, although education and ideals of education were certainly in existence, in the form of introducing the new generation, through example and imitation, to moral and legal traditions. In Homer the object is preparation for taking one's place in the aristocratic community, which is based on competition (*Il.* 11, 784: "always to strive for distinction, and surpass the others"). Sparta and Athens were the two extremes. Sparta required above all, despite the idea of competition, that its citizens should be totally subordinated to the state; while the Athenians had as their aim in education the training of the individual citizen, by means of competition, to develop a physical and spiritual maturity in keeping with the ideal of the *kalos kagathos* (→ Good, art. *kalos* CL 2), who was then able to serve the state.

The Sophists were probably the first to emphasize consistently the equality and hence educability of all men. They therefore held courses of lectures, which anyone who paid might attend. In contrast to the formal principle of the Sophists, Socrates maintained the concrete principle of the *agathon*, the good, which can be brought to light by the individual's study and growth in knowledge (in this respect the method is the same as that propounded by the Sophists). The didactic principle here is that of not-knowing, and the method employed is the mind-guiding conversation, which arouses knowledge and is thus able to guide a person along the way to wisdom and with it to correct behaviour. In Plato education is the only possible way to overcome present injustice and to create a true, i.e. just, state. The basis for this is education in music and gymnastics (*Rep.* 2, 376e ff.). School should be compulsory, since children belong to the state rather than to their parents (*Laws* 804d). For the élite who are fit to govern there is in addition a gradual introduction to philosophical thinking (*Rep.*

7, 521c–534), the object of which is to arouse in the individual the memory, already present, of the ideas, the archetypes of reality, which he has seen before his existence here on earth (*Meno* 81c ff.; *Rep.* 7, 514 ff.). Aristotle took as his aim in education the aesthetically and ethically cultured citizen (*Eth. Nic.* 5, 5, p. 1130b, 26 f.; cf. *TDNT* V 598 for further details). Exhortation and habit are both to play their part in training up the man of moderation, who is in a position to further both his own life and that of the community. Unlike the élite in Plato's state, Aristotle no longer includes the sciences as a part of education. In the Hellenism of the NT period, the Stoic ideal of the leader who is responsible to himself and to reason, standing above the people, is of crucial importance in cultured circles.

To sum up, we may say that wherever the concept of education prevailed, the central position was occupied by man, since he is a creature endowed with reason and therefore basically capable of being educated. The aim of education is the complete man, i.e. the man who exercises sensible mastery over his specific quality (*aretē*). Only the Sophists advocated recklessness as a programme. With the exception of Plato's state, the Greeks never understood the principle of education in a perfectionist sense. Concepts like fate, deity, and later, chance and personal freedom had too much influence on Gk. thought for that.

OT *paideuō* (84 times in the LXX, 52 of which render recognizable Heb. equivalents) is used 41 times in the LXX for the Heb. *yāsar* (mostly piel), to chastise, discipline, correct. The noun *paideia* (103 times in the LXX, 47 of which for recognizable Heb. equivalents), is used 37 times for *mûsār*, chastisement, discipline; "but it can also take on a more intellectualized sense, and stand for 'culture', in the sense of the possession of wisdom, knowledge, and discernment" (G. Bertram, *TDNT* V 604).

The words are found especially often in Prov. (vb. 12 times; noun 29 times), in the Pss. (vb. 13 times; noun 5 times), and in Sir. (vb. 15 times; noun 35 times), and rarely outside the prophetic and Wisdom literature.

The OT bears witness to God's self-revelation to Israel and intervention in his life. In response to his love and care for the chosen people, he expects in turn trust and obedience. The priestly nation is to be stamped with God's nature, and to become increasingly fitted for the sphere of his holiness. The trouble that God has with his people forces him to severe disciplinary measures, or chastening (*yāsar/mûsār*). But God does not educate in order to achieve an ideal; he watches over his people's faithfulness, which he intends should flow from trust (in inter-human relations) and from that constant readiness to hear and truly listen which arises from obedience (to the prophetic message). Originally it was Israel as a whole, as a nation, that was seen as being subject to God's discipline (Deut. 4:36; 8:5; Hos. 7:12; 10:10); but later, in proverbial wisdom, it is more a matter of God's education of the individual (Prov. 3:11; 15:33; Sir. 18:14). This education by God, which Israel is ever trying to escape, although it is for his own good, is shared equally by all members of the nation. There is no special religious education of the young. It is God who educates, and the upbringing of children takes place within the sphere of this God who instructs in love and punishes because of the recalcitrance of his own.

The Heb. expressions refer primarily to the chastisement which a father has to inflict upon his son (Deut. 21:18; Prov. 13:24; 19:18; 23:13; 29:17), and which God

allows to be inflicted upon his servant for the sake of his people's salvation (Isa. 53:5). Thus in Deut. 11:2 *mûsar* YHWH is the guidance of God, his educational dealings with Israel in history. Because of sin he chastises (Lev. 26:18, 28), but "in just measure" (Jer. 10:24; 46:28). Man is able to accept or despise, love or hate this education (Jer. 5:3; Prov. 12:1; Ps. 50[49]:17). In the wisdom of Proverbs there is a gradual change from the process of discipline to the effect of it, viz. "instruction", which has to be learned (Prov. 1:2), bought and kept (Prov. 23:23). But it is always God, not the child, or an ideal, who is central and forms its content. The educational aim of God is to lead his people to the realization that they owe their existence to the saving will of Yahweh alone, and therefore owe obedience to their divine instructor (Deut. 8:1–6).

How then does the education of the young proceed in Israel? God commands that they obey their parents, who are next to him in importance. The father acts like a priest to the family. He hands on the tradition to the family; he does so in answer to the questions of his children (Exod. 12:26 f.), and his answer is a confession of God's saving activity towards Israel. The children are told of this not only in words, but also by means of impressive signs in the form of monumental stones (Jos. 4:6 f., 21 ff.). Education takes place in the execution of justice (Deut. 21:21), and in the teaching of the law. There is no theory of education, no special institutions; but the young become accustomed to the life of the nation, which stands under the loving discipline of God. Watching and listening, they enter into the inheritance of their forefathers. For he who hears aright will obey.

It is in the Wisdom literature that we first find a moralizing and humanizing tendency. The aim of education is now → wisdom (Prov. 1:7; 8:33), which recognizes at the bottom of things a prevailing order, to which the wise man submits. The message of the OT is seen to some extent in an educational light, or the Gk. concept of education is given a theological slant: faith and reason are united. In the LXX the vb. *paideuō* remains nearer in meaning to the OT "chasten"; the noun *paideia* tends more in the direction of the Hellenistic idea of culture, instruction. But even though here in a certain sense an educational ideal has developed in Israel, the point of reference remains, even for this human culture knowledge about God, his revelation and commandments (G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, I, 1962, 441–53). In summoning Israel to keep God's commandments, as he enters the promised land, Deut. 11:2 calls upon Israel to reflect on Yahweh's past dealings, and in so doing provides the expression (so important in Eph. 6:4), *paideia kyriou*, discipline of the Lord (Heb. *'et mûsar* YHWH): "And consider this day (since I am not speaking to your children who have not known or seen it), consider the discipline of the LORD your God, his greatness, his mighty hand and his outstretched arm."

In Palestinian Judaism education was still very closely associated with the OT: the aim of all education was to produce the man who lived in obedience to the will of God. A deep-rooted change may however be observed in the fact that the standard by which God's will is determined is the → law. In the period following the exile, this had become more and more an absolute, standing over Israel as a timeless demand, not affected by history, and forming the basis of her relationship to God. This Judaistic concept of education had its classic expression in the rabbinic schools, where the Torah, together with its casuistic interpretation, was taught and learnt. In Hellenistic Judaism, on the other hand, education was more strongly influenced by

Greek ideas. Typical of this are the philosophical schools of Alexandria with Philo as the outstanding representative.

NT Words of this group are found altogether 23 times in the NT. 8 of these occurrences are found in Heb. 12 alone, another 10 in Paul, including 5 in the Pastorals, 4 in Luke, and 1 in Rev. The OT sense prevails. Where reference is made to *paidagōgos*, custodian, it is impossible to be certain of the exact meaning.

1. (a) The vb. is used twice in the sense of to teach, instruct: Moses was instructed in Egyptian wisdom (Acts 7:22), and Paul was educated by Gamaliel (Acts 22:3).

(b) *paideuō* is used twice in the sense of scourge, whip, thrash or chastise (Lk. 23:16, 22). It is no longer possible to determine whether here, as in so many parts of the passion narrative, allusion is being made to an OT prophecy (Isa. 53:5), or whether *paideuō* is taken simply from popular Gk. usage in the sense of thrashing (G. Bertram, *TDNT* V 621).

2. The concept of education by God underwent decisive further development in Judaism, with the idea that God's teaching and therefore loving hand was to be experienced in suffering (e.g. Jud. 8:25–27; 2 Macc. 6:12–17; Pss. Sol. 3:4; 13:9). Hints of this idea are found even in the OT (e.g. Deut. 8:5; 11:2; 2 Sam. 7:14 f.). This view of chastening as God's loving action, to preserve men from the final judgment, is taken over in one or two significant passages in the NT (cf. O. Michel's excursus, *Der Brief an die Hebräer*, *KEK* 13, 1965 [12], 297).

In Heb. 12:5 f. there is a citation from Prov. 3:11 f. The discipline of the Lord is a sign of his love, and not therefore any ground for losing courage. The scriptural quotation is followed by a discussion of the point in vv. 7–11. God is the one who educates his people. God's method of education is illustrated by reference to human upbringing, which is a weak reflection of the former. God is the Father; he chastens because he loves, in order to keep men in the status of being children of God, and to cause his children to turn round and come home. Man resists this discipline, defies God and doubts his fatherly love (v. 6), although in doing so he is rejecting divine sonship; for it is precisely in discipline that God's fatherly activity is experienced. If even in the bringing up of a family the status of a true son is to be recognized by the fact that his father educates and "chastens" him, how much more so with regard to God. Human fathers exercise discipline without ultimate insight, and are open to mistakes, but the Lord does so with the ultimate object of making man share in his holiness (v. 10). The aim of this discipline is peace with God (v. 11), which is also the starting point for God's educative activity, education in divine sonship. Although the Stoics talked in similar terms, the peak of their education is found in the self-perfection of man.

Heb. 12:9 uses the comparatively rare word *paideutēs*, instructor, teacher, one who disciplines, in opposition to fathers. The same word is also found in Rom. 2:20 of the Jew who sets himself up as a teacher of the law, oblivious to his own failings in the light of the law.

The thought, that it is precisely in chastening that God's love becomes visible, is found also in Paul, in connexion with his exhortations about the Lord's Supper (1 Cor. 11:32). Christians are not spared illness and death as a result of their sins. Here discipline overlaps with God's judgment. But since this judgment has the nature of

discipline, believers are graciously spared because of it the final judgment of God over the world, and thus saved from damnation (v. 32b; see also here Rev. 3:19). Paul knows from his experience in carrying out his apostolic commission (2 Cor. 6:9) that chastening is not a contradiction of God's love, but is rather to be understood on the basis of it.

The NT view of education through discipline is, however, fundamentally different, not only from the Gk. concept of education (i.e. towards an ideal), but also from the rabbinic teachings which accord to suffering as a result of chastening an expiatory power. In the NT discipline at God's hand is a practical necessity, in order that believers can recognize that they are in a proper position of sonship.

A different kind of education is brought about by God's word in the OT (2 Tim. 3:16). Since here too God himself is really the one who is speaking, the NT church finds in the OT Scriptures instruction as to God's will, and is thus trained up to live a life pleasing to God. Tit. 2:11–13 speaks even more directly of God's educative grace: everything flows together into the message of the cross (vv. 13 f.). Here too education is an outworking of grace; the language in both passages – 2 Tim. 3:16 and Tit. 2:11–13 – is Hellenistic, but the basic thought belongs to the OT. The words "sober, upright and pious" are ideals of the Gk. world; but what is being said here is that man is justified by grace and led by it into sanctification.

Finally, Paul also speaks of the educative function of the law (Gal. 3:24 ff.). The law is the *paidagōgos*, custodian or taskmaster, to lead us to Christ. The *paidagōgos* and the *didaskalos* were differentiated (Xen., *Respublica Lacedaemoniorum* 3, 2; Plato, *Lysis* 208c; cf. J. S. Callaway, "Paul's Letter to the Galatians and Plato's Lysis", *JBL* 67, 1948, 353 ff.; Diog. Laert., 3, 92; Philo, *Leg. Gai.* 53; cf. Arndt, 608). Whether Paul was thinking of the slave to whom boys were entrusted (cf. Plut., *Mor.* 4a, b), and who beat them, or whether he was thinking in more positive terms, can no longer be certainly determined. But in any case he means the person who keeps the boys in order. The word was common as a loanword in rabbinic writings (S. Krauss, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud*, II, 1899, 421). To uphold God's order, and to reveal human disobedience ("to make sin exceeding sinful") – this was the purpose of the law, which in itself was good and holy (Rom. 7:12). With the coming of Christ, who introduces and brings in the new age, this function has ended (Gal. 3:25). Through faith in Christ the child has become a mature son of God (Gal. 4:1). The apostle is here speaking in terms of salvation history. Man in his sinful state cannot keep the God-given law; when he recognizes the validity of the commandment, and thus too his own guilt, he is driven to Christ. But he who is in Christ is free from the law, for he is under the law of the love of Christ (Rom. 13:10b; cf. Rom. 10:4; → Goal, art. *telos* NT 1 (a)).

3. 1 Tim. 1:20 speaks of men who have been delivered to → Satan to be punished by him. What we have here is an act of church discipline (probably excommunication), in which Satan embodies the wrath of God, afflicting with illness and death those who are destroying the church of God. Even this chastening, however, is not directed towards the final destruction of the sinner, but rather towards bringing him to his senses and to repentance (v. 20b).

4. Education is also a human activity. Paul's exhortation to children, that they should respect their parents, is followed in Eph. 6:4 by a word to fathers, that they should bring up (*ektrephete*) their children in the discipline (*paideia*) and instruction

of the Lord (*kyriou*). How should this genitive, *kyriou*, be taken? "Education for the Lord" (Luther) is scarcely possible. "Of the Lord", in the sense that God is behind human upbringing, is a possibility, as is the interpretation of W. Jentsch, who holds that the reference is to education which has to do with the Lord (genitive of quality; *Urchristliches Erziehungsdenken*, 1951). In any case the Christian who declares with Paul that "Jesus is Lord" (1 Cor. 12:3) must renounce the demands of all other lords to his total allegiance. Like all other aspects of life, the sphere of education is, for the believer, under the lordship of Jesus, and can proceed in the faith which overcomes the world (1 Jn. 5:4 f.). *D. Fürst*

→ Proclamation, → Prophet, → Rabbi, → Remember, → Rule, → Scribe, → Scripture, → Word

(a). P. Asveld, "Tradition", *EBT* III 915–23; F. A. G. Beck, *Greek Education, 450–350 B.C.*, 1964; and "Education", *OCD*, 369–73; G. Bertram, *paideuō* etc., *TDNT* V 596–625; H. W. Beyer, *katēcheō*, *TDNT* III, 638 ff.; G. Bornkamm, *Jesus of Nazareth*, 1960; C. Brown, "The Teaching Office of the Church", *The Churchman*, 83, 1969, 184–96; F. F. Bruce, *Tradition Old and New*, 1970; F. F. Bruce and E. G. Rupp, eds., *Holy Book and Holy Tradition*, 1968; F. Büchsel, *paradidōmi* etc., *TDNT* II 169–73; R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, I, 1955, 119–42; J. S. Callaway, "Paul's Letter to the Galatians and Plato's Lysis", *JBL* 67 1948, 353 ff.; B. S. Childs, *Memory and Tradition in Israel*, *SBT* 37, 1962; C. N. Cochrane, *Christianity and Classical Culture*, 1940; H. von Campenhausen, "Tradition and Spirit in Early Christianity", in *Tradition and Life in the Church: Essays and Lectures in Church History*, 1968, 7–18; and *Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power in the Church of the First Three Centuries*, 1969; Y. M.-J. Congar, *Tradition and Traditions: An Historical Essay and a Theological Essay*, 1966; H. Conzelmann, *An Outline Theology of the New Testament*, 1969; O. Cullmann, "Scripture and Tradition", in D. J. Callahan, H. O. Obermann, and D. J. O'Hanlon, eds., *Christianity Divided: Protestant and Roman Catholic Theological Issues*, 1962, 7–33; F. V. Filson, "The Christian Teacher in the First Century", *JBL* 60, 1941, 317 ff.; B. Gerhardsson, *Memory and Manuscript: Oral Tradition and Written Transmission in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity*, *Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis* 22, 1961; and *Tradition and Transmission in Early Christianity*, *Coniectanea Neotestamentica* 20, 1964; J. R. Geiselmann, *The Meaning of Tradition*, *Quaestiones Disputatae* 15, 1966; and "Scripture, Tradition and the Church: An Ecumenical Problem", in D. J. Callahan, H. O. Obermann and D. J. O'Hanlon, eds., op. cit., 39–72; R. P. C. Hanson, *Tradition in the Early Church*, 1962; M. D. Hooker, "Were there False Teachers in Colossae?", in B. Lindars and S. S. Smalley, eds., *Christ and Spirit in the New Testament. In Honour of Charles Francis Digby Moule*, 1973, 315–32; D. Jenkins, *Tradition and the Spirit*, 1951; E. Käsemann, "The Canon of the New Testament and the Unity of the Church", in *Essays on New Testament Themes*, *SBT* 41, 1964, 95–107; R. C. Lodge, *Plato's Theory of Education*, 1947; E. Lohse, *rhabbi, rhabbouni*, *TDNT* VI 961–65; H. I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, 1956; W. Marxsen, *Mark the Evangelist*, 1969; H. T. Mayer, "Scripture, Tradition and Authority in the Life of the Early Church", *Concordia Theological Monthly* 38, 1967, 19–23; K. Rahner, "Scripture and Tradition", in *Theological Investigations*, VI, 1974, 98–112; K. H. Rengstorf, *didaskō* etc., *TDNT* II 135–65; E. Schweizer, "Scripture – Tradition – Modern Interpretation", *Neotestamentica*, 1963, 203 ff.; D. J. Theron, *Evidence of Tradition: Selected Source Material for the Study of the History of the Early Church, Introduction and Canon of the New Testament*, 1957; J. J. Vincent, "Didactic Kerygma in the Synoptic Gospels", *SJT* 10, 1957, 262–73.

(b). G. Bertram, "Der Begriff der Erziehung in der griechischen Bibel", *Imago Dei, Festschrift Gustav Krüger*, 1932, 35–51; H. Bacht, "Die Rolle der Tradition in der Kanonbildung", *Catholica* 12, 1958, 16 ff.; W. Bacher, *Tradition und Tradenten in den Schulen Palästinas und Babyloniens*, 1914; P. Barth, *Die Geschichte der Erziehung in soziologischer und geistesgeschichtlicher Beziehung*, 1916[2]; H. R. Balz, *Methodische Probleme der neutestamentlichen Christologie*, *WMANT* 25, 1967, 176 ff.; R. Bohren, *Kirchenzucht im Neuen Testament*, 1952; P. Bonnard, "La Tradition dans le Nouveau Testament", *Revue d'Historie et de Philosophie Religieuses* 40, 1960, 20 ff.; H. von Campenhausen, "Glaube und Bildung nach dem Neuen Testament", *Studium Generale* 2, 1949, 182–94; and "Die Begründung kirchlicher Entscheidungen beim Apostel Paulus", *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1957, 2 (reprinted in *Aus der Frühzeit des Christentums*, 1963, 30 ff.);

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Temple

Two words are used to denote the temple, *naos*, which refers more specifically to the sanctuary, and *to hieron*, which is the neut. form of the adj. *hieros*, holy, used as a noun and is used to denote the collection of buildings which comprised the temple at Jerusalem. In the following article a history and description of the temple is given under *to hieron*, and particular aspects of the temple are discussed separately under the appropriate key words. For other related concepts → Feast, → Priest, → Reconciliation, → Redemption, → Sacrifice, → Prophet, → Tent, Tabernacle. For the attitude of the Samaritans → Samaritan.

ναός — *naos* (*naos*), temple, shrine, sanctuary.

CL 1. The noun *naos* is derived from *naiō*, to dwell, and is attested since Mycenean Gk. Originally it meant simply a dwelling, particularly the dwelling of a god, temple (Homer *Il.* 1, 39; *Od.* 6, 10; 12, 346), or the innermost area of such. In the Hellenistic period → heaven, as the dwelling of the gods, could also be described as *naos*. Originally it refers to a (magnificent) building for the gods.

naos must consequently be distinguished from the term *temenos* (cf. Lat. *templum*, Eng. *temple*) which is older in terms of religious history, but not found in the NT.

This latter means a space fenced in, or at least clearly marked, as being an area where a theophany has once occurred and is expected again on the ground of tradition. It is usually a place marked out by nature: the grotto of Zeus on Crete, the rock cleft at Delphi, the holy grove at Olympia, the oaks of Mamre, the rock of Zion. In the special place, not made by human hands, the god appears as the revealer, the healer, or the giver of fertility; but he does not dwell there. In many ways the *temenos* resembles our churchyard (cf. the archaic "God's acre").

2. For the sake of clarity *naos* is therefore translated temple. Such temples are found at first, in the very earliest days of human buildings, in many and varied forms, such as temple-towers (Mesopotamia, Central America), pillared temples, round temples, and even in portable form (Hdt., 2, 63; cf. O. Michel, *naos TDNT* V 880).

OT 1. In the LXX *naos* is used 55 times (out of a total of 61 instances) to translate the Heb. *hêḵāl*, palace, temple, which in turn corresponds to the Babylonian *egallu*, great house. As a building constructed as a dwelling for the gods, it is used for → sacrifice, worship of the gods (idols), and oracles, and hence requires of necessity a local priesthood (in contrast to *temenos*, see above CL 1). In addition there are 5 instances where it is used for *'ûlām*, temple porch (only in the writings of the Chronicler: 1 Chr. 28:11; 2 Chr. 8:12; 15:8; 29:7, 17). Otherwise it is used very much as a purely technical rendering of *hêḵāl*, as may be seen from such passages as 2 Ki. 18:15 f. and 24:13, where the LXX slavishly follows variant expressions for temple which are here used for stylistic reasons, without distinguishing the actual meaning of the terms.

Even in the OT one may observe a distinct reserve in the use of the term *hêḵāl*. Neither the tower of Babel (Gen. 11), nor the places where the Philistines sacrificed (Jdg. 16:23 ff.), nor even the shrines at Bethel and Dan, are ever called *hêḵāl* in the OT; here we may trace no doubt the effects of the Deuteronomic reform. In any case the OT refers much more often to the temple by means of the simple Heb. term *bayiṯ* (Gk. *oikos*), → house, than by using the Sumerian-derived word *hêḵāl* (Gk. *naos*), temple. Only Solomon's edifice in Jerusalem (1 Ki. 6 f.), and before that the temple at Shiloh (1 Sam. 1 ff.), from which the ark of the covenant was finally brought to Jerusalem (2 Sam. 6), are described as *hêḵāl*. In the Pentateuch the term is never once used.

2. Whereas the OT thus uses its terminology to distinguish true worship from false, the LXX cuts out all passages where *hêḵāl* means palace, by rendering it in such instances simply by house (e.g. 1 Ki. 21:1; 2 Ki. 20:18; Isa. 13:22). The result of this limitation is that *naos* becomes a purely cultic term, referring exclusively to the true temple of God. This is shown also by the fact that after the desecration of the temple in Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar it is never called *naos* (cf. Ezr. 6:5); indeed, the LXX sometimes even appears to avoid calling the post-exilic temple by this name (Zech. 6:9 ff.). The one exception, in Ps. 45(44):15, where the king's palace is called *naos*, seems to indicate that the LXX has adopted a symbolic interpretation of this ancient love-song: the community is Yahweh's bride.

Corresponding to this is a certain spiritualization (von Rad), which may be observed in the Psalms. Attention is focused on the temple not so much as a place of sacrifice and hence of the priesthood, but as the place above all others that is longed for (Ps. 27[26]:4), the place to which a cry for help (28[27]:2) or the individual's

worship is directed (5:7; 138[137]:2), and hence also the place of comfort (65[64]:4), of God's response (18[17]:6), of God's might (68[67]:28 f.; cf. 29[28]:9). The term is not found in the Psalms of joy over Zion (46; 48; 76), or in those which aim at some reform of the cult (40; 50; 51), but in those which are concerned with the relationship of the individual in need to his God.

Post-exilic spiritualization clearly has as its background the realization that the prophets were right in their radical opposition to the cult (Jer. 7:4). It is to their influence that the carrying out of Josiah's cultic reforms should probably be attributed (2 Ki. 23), but it should nonetheless be noted that the prophets never used the term *hêḵāl* (*naos*) in their criticism of the cult (cf. Amos 5:21 ff.; Isa. 1:10 ff.). The term occurs in Ezek. 8:16; 41:1, 4, 15, 21, 23, 25; 42:19).

3. In contrast to the pre-exilic period, when there was always a Jewish state in existence (even if a very small one), we may observe in the post-exilic and Judaistic period a considerable change in the significance of the temple. David's son → Solomon, who reigned *c.* 961–*c.* 922 B.C., had erected the first temple in close proximity to the palace, in the previously Jebusite and therefore heathen city of Jerusalem (1 Ki. 6–7; 2 Chr. 3–4), which his father had made into a political capital of the united kingdom, a location without significance in the Yahweh religion. It was primarily a national sanctuary, with priests employed by the state and royal sacrifices. The Deuteronomic reforms of Josiah (*c.* 639–609 B.C.; 2 Ki. 22:1–23:30; 2 Chr. 34:1–35:27), however, centralized worship of the one God of Israel with the temple as the focal point of his presence. This is why in the exile, which was seen as a catastrophe for national independence and for the Yahweh religion alike, the temple, or Zion, acquired such great importance (Ps. 137; cf. also Ezek. 40–43). Since it combined within it the ancient splendour of the nation and the new, reformed faith, it gained a new significance for the prayers of the faithful, and as the symbol of the nation's longing it became also the sign of the new thing promised by God.

It should not be supposed, however, that this development was clear-cut or unilateral. Before the exile, too, the temple was used for the prayers of the faithful, and after the exile sacrifices were offered there. And just as in pre-exilic times the temple fulfilled a complex function, so its post-exilic history was many-sided also. On the one hand, this is marked by the high estimation of the house of God, to which the design of the new temple in Ezek. 40–43, the work of Haggai and the books of Maccabees bear witness. The splendour of the new building erected by Herod the Great mainly between 19 and 9 B.C. was also an object of pride. Josephus records that "these structures seemed incredible to those who had not seen them, and were beheld with amazement by those who set eyes on them" (*Ant.* 15, 416).

On the other hand, as early as the 2nd cent. B.C. a group of priests separated themselves from the temple because they regarded it as being polluted by sin (CD 1:5–11). In doing so they clearly continued the prophetic tradition of criticism of the cult, and they founded in the wilderness of the Dead Sea at Qumran a community which regarded itself as the true sanctuary of God (cf. 1QS 8:5; 9:6). The place of the Jerusalem cultus was now taken by the chosen community (→ Elect; → Church), which lived in strict obedience to the Torah, awaiting the revelation of God's righteousness (cf. R. J. McKelvey, *The New Temple: The Church in the New Testament*, 1969, 36 ff., 46–53; B. Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in*

Qumran and the New Testament, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 1, 1965).

NT In the NT *naos* is found most frequently in Rev. (16 times) and Paul (7 times; neither use the word *to hieron*). The Synoptic Gospels use it almost only in the passion narrative (Mk. 3 times, Matt. 9 times, Lk. 7 times; Lk. prefers *hieron*, 39 times), and the Johannine writings (apart from the saying in Jn. 2:19–21, which comes from the Synoptic tradition), like the other writings of the NT, do not use it at all.

1. Paul stands quite clearly on the basis of Jewish tradition when he speaks of the *naos*: the redeemed community is the temple of God (1 Cor. 3:16 f.), and God's → Spirit dwells in her (1 Cor. 6:19; cf. 1 Ki. 8:16 f., where God's → name dwells in the temple). If, however, the church allows itself to be led astray, the adversary dwells within her (2 Thess. 2:4). To be the community in which God makes his dwelling implies separation from the ungodly (2 Cor. 6:16: the terminology in this section is particularly close to that of the Qumran texts e.g. 4QFlor; cf. Ezek. 37:27; Lev. 26:11 f.; Gärtner, op. cit., 52 ff.). In Eph. 2:21 this concept is developed further and in more detail (→ Rock).

In Acts 17:24 Paul declares to the Athenians that "The God who made the world and everything in it, being the Lord of heaven and earth, does not live in shrines [*naois*] made by man." Acts 19:24 refers to "Demetrius, a silversmith, who made silver shrines of Artemis" which brought no little business to Ephesus and who accused Paul of turning many people away "saying that gods made with hands are not gods" (v. 26).

2. The return to the language of the OT and Judaism is still more evident in the Revelation of John. Those who conquer are to be preserved and to adorn the heavenly temple (Rev. 3:12; cf. Ps. 144[143]:12); indeed just as Ezekiel's temple is measured (Ezek. 40 ff.), so the eschatological community will be (Rev. 11:1 f.). The Apocalypse speaks often of the heavenly temple (Rev. 7:15; 11:19; 14:15 ff.; 15:5–8; 16:1, 17), clearly on the basis of Ps. 11:4. Yet in Rev. 21:22 it is expressly stated that in the new Jerusalem there will no longer be a temple, since God himself will be the temple for the community. God himself is the dwelling place of his people; the community and the temple are co-extensive. "Behold, the dwelling of God is with men. He will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself will be with them" (Rev. 21:3). Thus the central idea of the covenant promise "I will be your God, and you shall be my people" will be fulfilled (→ Covenant, art. *diathēkē* OT 5).

3. (a) In contrast to Paul and Rev., the Synoptic Gospels use *naos* to describe the Jerusalem temple, which they see as a matter of principle to be subject to eschatological criticism (the destruction of the temple in A.D. 70: Mk. 11:15 ff., in the setting of verses 12–25), or which is at least in need of purification (Lk. 19:45 f. and 47 f.). The synoptic writers speak mostly of the *hieron*, but in several passages which reveal the influence of the OT they also use *naos*, temple. In Mk. special importance is attached to a saying attributed to Jesus, which only Jn. records on his lips (Jn. 2:18 ff.) and which goes back to Hos. 6:1 f. (Matt. [26:61; 27:40], but not Lk., records it). In Mk. 14:58 it is used as false evidence against Jesus during his trial: his alleged disrespect for the temple, which was regarded as the expression of God's presence and holiness, is adduced in order to demonstrate his sacrilegious attitude (for

discussion see D. R. Catchpole, *The Trial of Jesus: A Study in the Gospels and Jewish Historiography from 1770 to the Present Day*, 1971, 126 ff.). In Mk. 15:29, however, the saying is taken up by the mockers at the foot of the cross, and its secret meaning is revealed: it is not a matter of saving the physical body of Jesus, but rather of God's new creation, before which the old must pass away – a matter of → death and → resurrection. In keeping with this Matt., in his polemic against the Pharisees, attacks with particular severity the Jewish practice of swearing by the temple (Matt. 23:16 ff.; → Swear): God does not want casuistry, but honesty and obedience.

(b) Luke places the temple in the setting of the history of salvation. The period before Jesus was also a period of priestly service in the temple, as Lk. 1 illustrates with its narrative about Zechariah. It is true that Jesus repeatedly went to the temple (cf. Lk. 20–21) in order to teach there; but he kept to the outer courts which were open to all Israelites, as did also the early Christian church at first. Lk. uses *naos* only at Lk. 1:9, 21 f. (cf. Acts 17:24; 19:24). Elsewhere he prefers → *to hieron*, the general word for a holy place (as in Acts 3:1 ff. etc.). Similarly Jesus taught in the synagogue (Lk. 4:15 f., 20, 28, 33, 38, 44; 6:6; 7:5; 8:41; 11:43; 12:11; 13:10; 20:46; 21:12; cf. Matt. 4:23; 6:2, 5; 9:35; 10:17; 12:9; 13:54; 23:6, 34; Mk. 1:21, 23, 29, 39; 3:1; 6:2; 12:39; 13:9; Jn. 6:59; 18:20). It is thus Lk. among the evangelists who gives most prominence to Jesus' teaching in the synagogues. This practice was continued in Acts, in so far as the apostles always began their preaching (even outside Palestine) in the synagogue, since that is the place where the Jews meet (Acts 6:9; 9:2, 20; 13:5, 14, 43; 14:1; 15:21; 17:1, 10, 17; 18:4, 7, 19, 26; 19:8; 22:19; 24:12; 26:11). Only twice does the term *naos* occur there (Acts 17:24 and 19:24), in both cases in the course of polemic against heathen temple worship (see 1, above; cf. Acts 2–5). Stephen's speech stresses that "the Most High does not dwell in houses made with hands; as the prophet says, 'Heaven is my throne, and earth my footstool. What house will you build for me, says the Lord, or what is the place of my rest? Did not my hand make all these things?' " (Acts 7:48 ff.; cf. Isa. 66:1 f.; Paul's preaching at Athens in Acts 17:24; on Stephen's attitude to the cult → Sacrifice, art *thyō* NT 1, cf. OT 5). *W. von Meding*

τὸ ἱερόν

τὸ ἱερόν (*to hieron*), temple.

CL The expression *to hieron* contains the neut. form of the adj. *hieros*, holy, used as a noun. In cl. Gk. *to hieron* and its plur. *ta hiera*, the holy things, can denote sacrifice (Homer, *Il.* 1, 147; Hdt., 8, 54; cf. Philo, *Spec. Leg.* 3, 40; Josephus, *Ant.* 2, 275; G. Schrenk, *TDNT* III 231). The plur. can also refer to cultic objects. *to hieron* (Ionic *hiron*) can mean the consecrated grove (Hdt., 5, 119), or any place of sacrifice, or the inner part of the place of worship, the *temenos* (→ *naos* CL). Hdt. uses *hiron*, *nēos* and *temenos* interchangeably (2, 170, cf. 155). Polybius uses *to hieron* of the Jerusalem temple, and both Jewish and Christian writers frequently use it of pagan shrines (Ezek. 27:6; 28:18 LXX of Tyre; Josephus, *Ant.* 6, 374 of the temple of Astarte; 1 Macc. 10:84; 11:4 of Dagon; Josephus, *Ant.* 18, 65; *War* 7, 123 of Isis; further examples in *TDNT* III 233).

OT 1. *Terminology.* In the LXX translation of the canonical writings of the OT *to hieron* occurs only rarely to denote the Jerusalem temple. Apart from a mis-

translation in Ezek. 45:19, it occurs in this sense only in Chr. (1 Chr. 9:27; 29:4; 2 Chr. 6:13). However, it does occur in 1 Esd. 1:8; 5:43; 8:18, 64 etc.; 1 Macc. 15:9; 2 Macc. 2:9; 3 Macc. 3:16; 4 Macc. 4:3. The reason for its general absence from the canonical writings is doubtless its associations with idolatry, coupled with the fact that the Heb. OT uses more general terms to denote the temple.

The terms used by the Heb. OT for the temple include the following.

(a) *bayiṯ* is the ordinary word for → house including both the family and the building. *bayiṯ* can be used for the temple of a god (Dagon, 1 Sam. 5:2), the house of God (Exod. 23:19; 34:26), in Shiloh (Jdg. 18:31; 1 Sam. 1:7), and at Jerusalem (1 Ki. 6:5; 1 Chr. 9:23; Isa. 2:2; 6:1; Dan. 1:2; Mic. 3:12; Hag. 1:8; Amos 7:13; etc.), and Ezekiel's vision of the temple (Ezek. 41:7 ff.).

(b) *hêḵāl* is derived from the Sumerian, meaning a great house, and used for a palace (e.g. 2 Ki. 20:18; Isa. 39:7; Prov. 30:28) and also the temple, the building at Shiloh (1 Sam. 1:9; 3:3), Yahweh's abode (2 Sam. 22:7), and the temple at Jerusalem (1 Ki. 6:3, 5, 33; 7:21; 17:7, 50; 2 Ki. 18:16; 23:4; 24:13; 2 Chr. 26:16; 27:2; 29:66; Ezr. 3:6, 10; Neh. 6:18; Pss. 18:6[7]; 27:4; 29:9; 48:9[10]; 65:4[5]; 68:29[30]; Isa. 6:1; 44:28; 66; Jer. 7:4; 24:1; 50:28 MT; 51:11 MT; Hos. 8:16; Hag. 2:15, 18; Zech. 6:12–15; 8:9; Mal. 3:1). It is used of Ezekiel's vision (Ezek. 41:1), of the temple buildings generally (2 Chr. 3:17; 4:7 f., 22). The expression *hêḵal qoḏšᵉḵā*, "thy holy temple" occurs in Jon. 2:4(5), 7(8); Pss. 5:7(8); 79:1; 138:2; and *hêḵal qoḏšô*, "his holy temple" in Mic. 1:2; Hab. 2:20; Ps. 11:4.

(c) The word *qōḏeš* means → holiness, and as such is used in a wide variety of connexions. In particular, it can mean the holy place, especially in the tabernacle or → tent of meeting (Exod. 26:33; 28:29, 35, 43; 29:30; 31:11; 35:19; 39:1, 41; Lev. 4:6; 6:23; 20:4, 18; 16:2 f., 16 f.; 20:23, 27; Num. 4:12, 15 f., 20; 8:19; 28:7; cf. also Exod. 36:1, 3 ff.; 38:27; Lev. 4:6; 10:17; 14:13; Num. 3:28, 31 f.; 4:15; 7:9; 18:3, 5; 31:6; 1 Ki. 8:4; 1 Chr. 9:29; 23:32; 2 Chr. 5:5). The holy place of the temple corresponds to that in the tabernacle (1 Ki. 8:8, 10; Ezek. 41:21, 23; 42:13 f.; 44:19, 27; 45:2; 46:19; Pss. 68:17[18], 24[25]; 74:3; 108:7[8]; 150:1; Dan. 8:13; 9:26; 2 Chr. 5:11; 29:5, 7; 35:5). In some of these passages and Dan. 9:24 the holy place may stand for the temple as a whole.

(d) The related word *miqdāš* means sacred place, sanctuary: in Moab (Isa. 16:12); Bethel (Amos 7:9, 13); Jerusalem (Lam. 1:10); the tabernacle (Exod. 25:8; Lev. 12:4; 21:12; Num. 3:38; 10:21; 18:1); the temple (Ezek. 45:3 f., 18; 47:12; Dan. 11:31; 2 Chr. 20:8; 26:18; 29:21). The expression *miqdaš YHWH*, "sanctuary of Yahweh", occurs at Num. 19:20; Jos. 24:26; Ezek. 48:10; 1 Chr. 22:19); *miqdaš ʾᵃḏōnay*, "sanctuary of the Lord" (Lam. 2:20); *miqdaš ʾᵉlōhâw*, "sanctuary of his God" (Lev. 21:12); *miqdāšî*, "my sanctuary" (Lev. 19:30; 20:3; 21:23 plur.; 26:2; Ezek. 5:11; 8:6; 9:6, 23, 38 f.; 25:3; 27:26, 28; 44:7 ff., 11, 15 f.). Further references are given in Koehler-Baumgartner, 559.

(e) *māqôm* means place. In particular, it is used of God's place (Isa. 26:21; Jer. 7:12; Hos. 5:15; Mic. 1:3); Jerusalem as God's special place (1 Ki. 8:30; 2 Ki. 22:16; Jer. 7:3; 19:3); Shechem where God appeared to Abraham promising to give the land to his descendants (Gen. 12:6); holy places (Gen. 22:3 f.; 28:11, 19; 2 Sam. 7:16; pagan holy places, Deut. 12:2); the place of the name of the Lord of hosts (Isa. 18:7); the place which Yahweh chooses (Deut. 12:5; 14:23, 25; 1 Ki. 8:29); *mᵉqôm miqdāšî*, "the place of my sanctuary" (Isa. 60:13); *mᵉqôm qoḏšô*, "his holy place"

(Ps. 24:3; Ezr. 9:8); *māqôm qāḏôš*, "a holy place" (Exod. 29:31; Lev. 6:9, 19 f.); *mᵉqôm haqqōḏeš*, "the holy place" (Lev. 14:13).

2. *Background.* The OT refers to numerous holy places and shrines before the building of Solomon's temple. The tower of Babel suggests the existence of some form of temple (Gen. 11:4). In Mesopotamia each city had a temple dedicated to its deity, the local ruler acting as a steward for the god. The patriarchs encountered Yahweh at various places, building an altar or pillar to commemorate the occasion (cf. Gen. 22:9; 28:22). During the period of wanderings the tabernacle provided a meeting-place for Yahweh and his people (Exod. 33:7–11; → Tent). In general structure and function the temples of Israel corresponded to the structure and function of the tabernacle. Various local shrines were recognized in the period of the judges, such as Shechem (Jos. 8:30 ff.; 24:1 ff.) and Shiloh (1 Sam. 1:3). The Canaanite deities had their own temples, such as the "house of Dagon" (1 Sam. 5:5) and the "house of Ashtaroth" (1 Sam. 31:10).

David was conscious of a discrepancy between his own life style, having built a palace for himself, and the provision for the worship of Yahweh. He said to Nathan the prophet, "See now, I dwell in a house of cedar, but the ark of God dwells in a tent" (2 Sam. 7:2). David had succeeded in consolidating the kingdom. But Yahweh told him through Nathan that it was Yahweh who had brought about the achievement. Yahweh himself does not need a building erected by men, for he is the one who enables them to do things. Nevertheless, Yahweh would provide a house (2 Sam. 7:11). Because David was a man of blood he was not permitted to build the temple; this fell to his son → Solomon (2 Sam. 7:12–17), though David collected material and treasure and bought the site, the threshing floor of Araunah the Jebusite (2 Sam. 24:18–25; 1 Chr. 21:25; 22:8, 3).

3. *Solomon's Temple.* The building began in Solomon's fourth year and was completed seven years later. The precise location is uncertain, though it evidently stood in the area now covered by the Moslem shrine known as the Dome of the Rock. The building and dedication of Solomon's temple are described in 1 Ki. 6–8 and 2 Chr. 3–5. Phoenician craftsmen were employed in its building (1 Ki. 5:10, 18; 7:13 f.), and it shared architectural features common to Phoenician and Canaanite buildings. In attempting to reconstruct Solomon's temple, scholars have drawn on Ezekiel's vision of a new temple (Ezek. 40–43; see 4, below) which was a more elaborate building, though based on the same lines. It would seem that there was an inner and outer courtyard (cf. 1 Ki. 6:36; 7:12; 2 Ki. 23:12; 2 Chr. 4:9). The bronze altar for burnt offerings stood in the inner court (1 Ki. 8:22, 64; 9:25; → Sacrifice). It stood 20 cubits square and 10 cubits high (2 Chr. 4:1). Between this and the porch was the bronze laver or basin 10 cubits in diameter (1 Ki. 7:23–26; cf. 2 Ki. 16:17). West of the porch, behind bronze doors, stood the "holy place" (Heb. *hêḵal*, temple; see above 1 (b), but cf. also (c)–(e)) which was 40 cubits long, 20 wide and 30 high. It was here that the ordinary rites were performed. It had latticed windows (1 Ki. 6:4) and contained the golden incense-altar, the table for the showbread, the five pairs of lampstands and the instruments of sacrifice.

The inner sanctuary was a perfect cube of 20 cubits, containing the ark of the covenant. The latter was a receptacle for the decalogue, the law, the manna and Aaron's rod (Exod. 25:16, 21 f.; 40:20; Deut. 10:1–5; 30:9; Jos. 24:26; Heb. 9:4 f.). It served as the meeting place in the inner sanctuary where Yahweh revealed his will

(Exod. 25:22; 30:36; Lev. 16:2; Jos. 7:6). It was here that the high priest appeared on behalf of the people with the sacrificial → blood in the annual day of atonement ritual (Lev. 16; → Reconciliation, art. *hilaskomai*). According to Exod. 37:1 ff., the ark was made at Sinai by Bezalel to the pattern given to Moses. It played a crucial part in the crossing of the Jordan (Jos. 3 f.), the fall of Jericho (Jos. 6), the ceremony remembering the covenant at Mt. Ebal (Jos. 8:30 f.), and subsequent history in the conquest of Canaan (Jdg. 2:1; 20:27; 1 Sam. 1:3; 3:3). Its loss to the Philistines signalized the loss of Yahweh's presence but also plagues for the Philistines (1 Sam. 4; 1 Sam. 5:1–7:2). David brought it to Jerusalem (2 Sam. 6; cf. 15:24–29). It was placed in Solomon's temple with great ceremony (1 Ki. 8:1 ff.; cf. 2 Chr. 35:3). Jeremiah anticipated an age without its presence (Jer. 3:16). It was evidently destroyed with the fall of Jerusalem at the hands of the Babylonians in 587 B.C., and was not replaced in the second temple (Josephus, *War* 5, 5). At the dedication of Solomon's temple the shekinah glory issued from the inner sanctuary and filled the house of the Lord (1 Ki. 8:10 f.).

Shishak of Egypt plundered the temple in the reign of Solomon's son, Rehoboam (1 Ki. 14:26), and later kings, including Hezekiah who had beautified the temple (2 Ki. 18:15 f.), used its treasure to purchase allies and pay tribute to invaders (1 Ki. 15:18; 16:8). Idolatrous kings introduced the symbols of pagan deities (2 Ki. 16:17; 21:4; 23:1–12). By the time of Josiah (*c.* 640 B.C.) the temple had fallen into considerable disrepair (2 Ki. 22:4 ff.), and restoration was financed by collection of money from worshippers. Jeremiah warned against abuse of the temple and false reliance upon it as a guarantee of the divine presence (Jer. 7:4, 11; cf. Matt. 21:13 par. Mk. 11:17; Lk. 19:46; → Rob). It was looted and sacked by Nebuchadnezzar (2 Ki. 25:9, 13–17; cf. Dan. 5:2 ff., 23 and the judgment on Belshazzar), though Israelites continued to offer sacrifices there even after its destruction (Jer. 41:5).

4. *Ezekiel's Vision of a Temple.* During the exile the prophet Ezekiel received a vision of a new temple which is described in some detail in Ezek. 40–43. The dimensions are somewhat different from those of Solomon's temple, and the vision includes a description of the surrounding area with gates fortified to prevent the inclusion of non-Israelites.

5. *The Second Temple.* The returning exiles brought with them vessels looted by Nebuchadnezzar and authorization from Cyrus of Persia to rebuild the temple (*c.* 537 B.C.; cf. Ezra 1; 3:2 f., 8 ff., 12). It had store-places and priests' rooms (Neh. 13:4–9). 1 Macc. 1:21 and 4:49 ff. give details of its furnishing. There was no ark. Instead of Solomon's ten lampstands a seven-branched candelabrum stood in the holy place with the table for the showbread and incense altar. These were taken as spoil by the Seleucid king of Syria Antiochus IV Epiphanes (*c.* 175–164 B.C.) who set up a pagan altar or statue, the → "abomination of desolation", on 15 December 167 B.C. (1 Macc. 1:54). Some three years later the Maccabees removed the pollution and replaced the temple furniture (1 Macc. 4:36–59). They also turned the temple into a fortress which for three months withstood the siege of Pompey in 63 B.C.

6. *Herod's Temple.* In an attempt to conciliate the Jews to their Idumaean king, Herod's temple was begun in 19 B.C. The main structure was finished within ten years, but work went on until A.D. 64 (cf. Jn. 2:20). The temple area was dominated by the fortress of Antonia at the north-west corner, which formed the residence of the procurator and also housed the Roman garrison (cf. Lk. 13:1; Acts 21:31–35;

Josephus, *Ant.* 15, 403 ff., who notes that the high priests' robes were kept there as a token of subjection). The outer court was surrounded by a portico (Josephus, *Ant.* 15, 410–16). Solomon's porch (Jn. 10:23; Acts 3:11; 5:12) was on the east side. In the colonnades the scribes held their schools and debates (Lk. 2:46; 19:47; Mk. 11:27), and the merchants and money changers had their stalls (Jn. 2:14 ff.; Lk. 19:45 f.). The inner area was surrounded by a balustrade which separated it from the Court of the Gentiles "with an inscription prohibiting the entrance of a foreigner under threat of the penalty of death" (Josephus, *Ant.* 15, 417; see the edition of R. Marcus and A. Wikgren, *Loeb Classical Library*, VIII, 1963, 202 f. n. for details of this inscription from other sources). This inner area contained three courts (Josephus, *Ant.* 15, 118 ff.): the Court of Women, which contained chests for gifts towards expenses of the services (Mk. 12:41–44), the Court of Israel and the Priests' Court in which stood the altar outside the temple proper (cf. Matt. 23:35). At the Feast of Tabernacles men could enter the latter. The altar was of unhewn stone. The temple was destroyed in the Jewish War in A.D. 70 (cf. Josephus, *War* 6, 4 ff.; cf. 5, 5 for a description of the temple). The Triumphal Arch of Titus in the Forum Romanum in Rome, erected in the time of Domitian or Trajan, bears a bas relief depicting the plundering of the golden candelabrum, the table of showbread and other objects (cf. M. Kon, "The Menorah on the Arch of Titus", *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 82, 1950, 25 ff.; E. R. Goodenough, "The Menorah among the Jews in the Roman World", *Hebrew Union College Annual* 23, 1950–51, 449 ff.). The Mishrah tractate Middoth ("Measurements") gives a description of the proportions of the temple before its destruction.

7. *Attitudes to the Temple.* (a) The Samaritans had their own rival temple on Mount Gerizim (cf. Jn. 4:20; → Samaritan, Samaria).

(b) Josephus had a high regard for the temple. It embodied the worship of the one true God by the people of God (*Ap.* 2, 193). It was God's dwelling place, into which God had sent a portion of his Spirit (*Ant.* 8, 114 and 131; cf. 8, 102, 106 and 117; 3, 100, 202 and 290). Like Philo, Josephus had a cosmological interpretation of the temple (Ant. 3, 123 and 180 ff.; *War* 5, 212–17). The *kosmos* is God's eternal house (*Ant.* 8, 107). For discussion see G. Schrenk, *TDNT* III 241.

(c) Philo criticized those who adorned the temple but polluted worship and service (*Det. Pot. Ins.* 20; cf. *Cher.* 94 f.). Philo allegorized the temple, seeing it as a picture of the cosmic house of God (*Vit. Mos.* 2, 101–104; cf. *Plant.* 126). But the soul and the mind are also the divine abode (*Som.* 1, 149; 2, 248; *Virt.* 188; cf. *Op. Mund.* 137; *Deus. Imm.* 135). For further discussion see G. Schrenk, *TDNT* III 241 f.; R. J. McKelvey, *The New Temple: The Church in the New Testament*, 1969, 38 ff.

(d) For the attitude of the Essenes → *naos* OT 3. Eth. Enoch. gives a picture of the heavenly temple (Eth. Enoch 14:16–20; 26:1 f.; 25:3; and especially chs. 37–71 and 85–90; cf. R. J. McKelvey, op. cit., 28 ff.). Other pictures are given in Test. Lev. 3:4 ff.; 5:1 f.; Syr. Bar. 4:2–6 (cf. McKelvey, op. cit., 31–34). In some instance the heavenly temple has come down to earth, and this was the view of some of the later rabbis (Bet ha-Midrash 1, 55, 23; 3, 67, 29; SB III 796; cf. McKelvey, op. cit., 34 ff.).

NT As the focal point of Jewish religion, the temple figures prominently in the NT, especially in the light of Jesus' associations with it. It is the place of God's presence,

glory, revelation and meeting with his people. Jesus' actions in connexion with the temple have a parabolic character signifying the presence of God with his people for those who have eyes to see. The destruction of the temple epitomizes God's judgment on the Jewish people in their rejection of himself in the person of Jesus. At the same time it signifies the end of the old covenant and its supersession by the new.

1. *The Infancy Narratives in Lk.* Lk. 2:22–52 preserves two groups of stories which centre on the temple as the focal point of the divine presence. The parents of Jesus brought him to the temple to make the customary offering which, as it turned out, took the form permitted for the poorest sections of the community (Lk. 2:24; cf. Lev. 12:2–8; → Bird). In so doing, they showed as devout Jews due reverence for the law and respect for the temple. Corresponding to this, Simeon and Anna represent the godly remnant of Israel who seek Yahweh in the temple and who are granted a revelation of Christ in the temple. Simeon is described as "righteous and devout, looking for the consolation of Israel, and the Holy Spirit was upon him. And it had been revealed to him that he should not see death before he had seen the Lord's Christ" (Lk. 2:25 f.). On seeing the infant Jesus he utters the psalm known as the *Nunc Dimittis* (Lk. 2:29–32). Similarly the prophetess "coming up at that very hour . . . gave thanks to God, and spoke of him [i.e. Jesus] to all who were looking for the redemption of Jerusalem" (Lk. 2:38). It should also be noted that the same collection of infancy narratives preserved by Lk. contains a detailed account of the circumstances attending the birth of John the Baptist (Lk. 1:5–80). His father, Zechariah, was a priest, and the revelation of God's purposes in giving him a son came as he was burning → incense in the temple (Lk. 1:8–23). In the Lucan infancy narratives the temple is the place where the godly remnant of Israel wait upon God, and where they receive revelations of God's saving purposes first in the birth of John the Baptist and then in the birth of Jesus. (For further discussion of the narratives see R. Laurentin, *Structure et Théologie de Luc I–II*, 1964⁴.)

2. *The Temple as the Scene of Jesus' Ministry.* (a) Lk. presents the temptation to make a spectacular display by casting himself from the top of the temple as the climax of the temptations of Jesus (Lk. 4:9–12 par. Matt. 4:5 ff. which places the temptation second; → *pterygion*; → Tempt). The temptation is based on a perverted interpretation of Ps. 91(90):11 f., and is met with a quotation from Deut. 6:16, the negative form of the commandment to worship Yahweh alone: "You shall not tempt the Lord your God" (→ Tempt, art. *peirazō* OT 2, NT 4). Whether this refers to Jesus as the one being tempted (and thus implying divine claims) or whether it means putting God to the test by creating a situation aimed at forcing God's hand by rescuing his servant cannot be answered with certainty. However, the fact that Jesus answers the temptation by describing it as a temptation directed at God himself indicates that for Jesus there is no need to vindicate his divine vocation in this way. He is conscious of his divine calling, and that is sufficient. He can trust the Father to vindicate him in whatever way the Father chooses.

(b) Throughout the public ministry, the temple remains to Jesus the focal point of meeting God and worshipping him. The contrasting attitudes of Judaism are epitomized in the temple. The → Pharisee and the → tax collector both prayed in the temple, the former pleading his own → righteousness and the latter confessing his need and crying out for mercy (Lk. 18:10–14). Here again it is Lk. who preserves the story. A similar contrast in Jewish piety is exhibited in the story of the widow's mite

(Mk. 12:41–44 par. Lk. 21:1–4; → *gazophylakion*). The two *lepta* are worth more than the gifts of the rich: "For they all contributed out of their abundance; but she out of her poverty has put in everything she had, her whole living" (Mk. 12:44). The incident occurs in the final week of Jesus' ministry which is deliberately set in the temple as the place of revelation and worship; it is immediately followed by Jesus' prophecy of the destruction of the temple which is occasioned by the disciples' remark about the "wonderful stones" and "wonderful buildings" (Mk. 13:1 par. Matt. 24:1; Lk. 21:5).

(c) Jesus' messianic entry into Jerusalem (Matt. 21:1–9 par. Mk. 11:1–10, Lk. 19:28–38; Jn. 12:12–19) leads directly to Jesus' entry into the temple and his cleansing of it (Matt. 21:10–17 par. Mk. 11:15–19; Lk. 19:45–48; cf. Jn. 2:13–17). Jesus did not go there simply because Jews happened to be gathered there or because he wanted to do things openly (G. Schrenk, *TDNT* III 242; cf. Jn. 18:20). This is not merely a prophetic denunciation of commercialism (Mk. 11:17 par. cf. Jer. 7:11; → Rob, art. *spēlaion*), or even an expression of the universal hope that the temple will be a place of prayer for all the nations (cf. Isa. 56:7 LXX; Isa. 2:2 f.). Jesus did not only speak out; he acted in judgment as God himself would act, driving out the money changers (i.e. those who changed Greek and Roman coins into temple currency) and those who sold animals and birds for sacrifice (cf. J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus: An Investigation into Economic and Social Conditions during the New Testament Period*, 1969, 18, 33, 48 f.). It was an attempt to restore the true function of the temple as a house of prayer and place where God would be known. This last point is made clear by the fact that Jesus proceeded to teach daily in the temple (Matt. 26:55 par. Mk. 14:49, Lk. 22:53; cf. Lk. 19:47; 21:37 f.). But Jesus' attempt to force the issue of God confronting his people, in his own person by coming to them in this way, resulted in the decision of the authorities to destroy him. Their action is thus an implicit repudiation of the summons of God.

In Jn. the cleansing of the temple is placed at the beginning of Jn.'s account of Jesus' public ministry. Some have suggested that Jesus cleansed the temple twice. But it should be noted that in both the Synoptics and Jn. the event is located at the Passover. Apart from this, Jn. does not give a more precise indication of the timing. It seems more likely that Jn.'s placing of the story here represents a thematic ordering of his material rather than a chronological one. It is followed by a discussion of the sign of Jesus' authority – the destruction and raising of the temple of Jesus' body (Jn. 2:18–22), the believing response of some (Jn. 2:23 ff.), the discussion on rebirth with Nicodemus (Jn. 3:1–15), and the teaching on coming to the light so that one's deeds may be seen to have been wrought by God (Jn. 3:16–21). It is preceded by the Johannine prologue (Jn. 1:1–18), the witness of the Baptist (Jn. 1:19–34), the call of the disciples revealing Jesus as the messianic Son of God (Jn. 1:35–51), and the miracle at Cana (Jn. 2:1–11) revealing the transforming power of Jesus. All this would suggest a thematic orientation for the narrative that follows.

(d) The Synoptic accounts of Jesus' ministry in the temple in the last week of his life show him as challenging those who confront him with claims to Davidic sonship and lordship (Mk. 11:27; 12:35; Matt. 21:23; Lk. 20:1). In Matt. and Mk. there is a juxtaposition of the question of the great commandment (Matt. 22:34–40 par. Mk. 12:28–34; cf. Lk. 10:25–28) with the claim that there is only one Lord to be worshipped and the question of David's son (Matt. 22:41–46 par. Mk. 12:35 ff., Lk.

20:41–44), who in the light of Ps. 110(109):1 is also David's *Lord.* How can he be at one and the same time David's son and Lord? Moreover, how can there be another Lord in addition to the Lord who is to be loved with all one's heart, soul and mind? All this follows Jesus' teaching on the important questions of authority (Matt. 21:23–27 par. Mk. 11:27–33, Lk. 20:1–8), tribute to Caesar (Matt. 22:23–33 par. Mk. 12:18–27, Lk. 20:27–40). In Jn. the temple is also the scene of solemn self-declarations and pronouncements (Jn. 7:14, 28; 8:20, 59; 10:23; 11:56). It is the scene of the healing of the lame man on the sabbath (Jn. 5:14), and the story of the woman taken in adultery (Jn. 8:2). Matt. 21:14 speaks of the healing of the lame and the blind in the temple. The following vv. in Matt. provide an ironic commentary on the contrast of attitudes to Jesus in the temple: "But when the chief priests and the scribes saw the wonderful things that he did, and the children crying out in the temple, 'Hosanna to the Son of David!' they were indignant; and they said to him, 'Do you hear what these are saying?' And Jesus said to them, 'Yes; have you never read, "Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings thou hast brought perfect praise"?' " (Matt. 21:15 f.; cf. Ps. 8:2).

(e) Earlier Jesus had described the tabernacle as "the house of God" (Matt. 12:4 par. Lk. 6:4) in answering the Pharisees on the legality of plucking ears of corn on the → sabbath (cf. 1 Sam. 21:2–7; Lev. 24:7 ff.; Num. 28:9 f.; Hos. 6:6). In the course of his reply Matt. records Jesus as saying, "I tell you, something greater than the temple is here" (Matt. 12:6). T. W. Manson suggests that this "something" is the community of the disciples who with Jesus constitute the corporate Son of man (v. 8; cf. *BJRL* 32, 1949–50, 191). E. Lohmeyer identifies it with the kingdom of God effectively present in the eschatological community or remnant within the historical people of God (*Lord of the Temple*, 1961, 67 ff.). D. Hill draws attention to the fact that Matt. says "greater than the temple" and not "greater than the law" (*The Gospel of Matthew*, *New Century Bible*, 1972, 211; cf. G. Bornkamm, G. Barth and H. J. Held, *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew*, 1963, 35). The point of contrast is not between the authority of the law and the authority of Jesus. Rather, vv. 3–7 appeal to the law as a witness for Jesus, validating the Son of man as Lord of the sabbath.

(f) In his final week of public ministry Jesus also denounced the practice of swearing (Matt. 23:16–22; cf. 5:33–37; → Swear, art. *omnyō* NT 1 (a)). To swear by any part of the temple (which in rabbinic teaching was less binding than swearing by God himself) is in fact to introduce duplicity into one's dealings. On the one hand, one's word should be binding and, on the other hand, God who sanctifies the temple sanctifies its several parts. Therefore, any such oath is tantamount to swearing by God himself. G. Schrenk sees in this an allusion to the shekinah of God, located in the temple, but sanctifying everything in the temple (*TDNT* III 243).

(g) On the question of the temple tax (Matt. 17:24–27) → Tax, art. *statēr.*

3. *The Destruction of the Temple.* In two groups of passages Jesus speaks of the destruction of the temple. In the first group he is referring to the temple of his body (Matt. 26:61; 27:40; Mk. 14:57 f.; 15:29 f.; Jn. 2:18–22; cf. Acts 6:14; → *naos*). Already his own person is superseding the material temple as the dwelling place of God, where God and man meet. In the second group Jesus prophesies the destruction of the Jerusalem temple (Matt. 24:1, 15; Mk. 13:2 f., 14; cf. 11:11; Lk. 21:5 f., 20). The immediate occasion is the remark of the disciples about the impressive

buildings. But the cause of the destruction is the rejection by the Jewish leaders and the people as a whole of God's summons to them in the person of Jesus. For Jesus' coming to Jerusalem and visitation of the temple has failed to find the response of penitence, faith and commitment. God's people have rejected God, and the destruction of the temple will be the judgment on the nation and at the same time visible termination of the divinely appointed covenant relationship and worship. It is anticipated by Jesus' cursing of the fig tree (Matt. 21:18 f. par. Mk. 11:12 ff.; → Fruit, art. *sykē*). The sign will be the → abomination of desolation (Matt. 24:15–22 par. Mk. 13:14–20, Lk. 21:20–24). For further discussion → Present, art. *The Parousia and Eschatology in the NT* 2 (a).

G. Schrenk sees two further incidents which "bear witness to the conviction that the death of Jesus makes possible a transformation of the cultus. The fact that Judas casts the rejected pieces of silver into the temple (Mt. 27:5) indicates the permanent defilement of the sanctuary by the death of Jesus. The symbolism of the rending of the temple veil on the death of Jesus (Mk. 15:38; Mt. 27:51; Lk. 23:45) shows us that access to God is now by the death of Christ and not by the former ministry" (*TDNT* III 245 f.).

4. *The Temple in Acts.* The death and resurrection of Jesus did not mean for the early church a repudiation of the temple or of Israel. The sermons of Acts addressed to Jews lay the guilt for Jesus' death squarely with the Jewish leadership (cf. Acts 2:24; 3:13 f.; 4:10 ff.; 5:30; 7:52; 10:39; 13:27 ff.), but they all hold out the invitation to repentance, faith and a return to God. God has not yet finally rejected his ancient people. Similarly, the temple is still the divinely appointed place of worship, though now in the context of Christian fellowship (Acts 2:46; 3:1–10; cf. Lk. 24:52 f.). As late as Acts 22:17 Paul has a revelation of the risen Lord while praying in the temple. The apostles taught there as Jesus did (Acts 5:12, 20 f., 25:42). As a Jew, Paul respects the rites and customs of the temple, bringing the offering of Nazirite purification (Acts 21:26; 24:6, 12, 18; 25:8; 26:21; cf. Num. 6:1–21; E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1971, 610 ff.). In this connexion Paul was falsely accused of profaning the temple. Paul's attitude is to be understood in the context of his determination to be all things to all men, in order to save some, though not being in bondage to any (1 Cor. 9:19–23). So long as the temple stood, judgment had not fallen upon the nation which remained constituted as the people of God. Indeed, the church in the first instance was essentially Jewish Christian. Only after Peter's vision was the church opened up to Gentile believers (Acts 10). Even so, the Jewish cultus was not immediately superseded for Jewish Christians. On the other hand, a note of criticism begins to be heard in Stephen's speech (Acts 7:44–50) and indirectly in Paul's Areopagus address (Acts 17:24). With regard to the tabernacle and thus to the Jerusalem temple and citing Isa. 66:1 f., Stephen points out that the Most High does not dwell *en cheiropoiētois*, "in houses made with hands" (Acts 7:48). With regard to pagan shrines Paul points out that God *ouk en cheiropoiētois naois katoikei*, "does not live in shrines made by hand" (Acts 17:24).

5. *The Temple in the Epistles.* Where the community is regarded as the temple of God the word → *naos* is used. *to hieron* occurs only in 1 Cor. 9:13 in an argument which appeals to Deut. 18:1 claiming support by the church for Christian workers: "Do you not know that those who are employed in the temple service [*hoi ta hiera ergazomenoi*] get their food from the temple [*ta ek tou hierou esthiousin*], and those

who serve at the altar share in the sacrificial offerings? In the same way the Lord commanded that those who proclaim the gospel should get their living by the gospel" (1 Cor. 9:13 f.; cf. Matt. 10:10; Lk. 10:7 f.). Heb. uses the expression *ta hagia* for the sanctuary in connexion with its discussion of the day of atonement ritual as a type of Christ's priestly work (Heb. 9:24 f.; cf. 13:11; Lev. 16; → Holy, art. *hagios*). *oikos theou*, house(hold) of God, is used in 1 Tim. 3:15; 1 Pet. 4:7; Heb. 3:6; 10:21; cf. above OT 1 (a). *C. Brown*

τὸ ἐσώτερον

τὸ ἐσώτερον (*to esōteron*), the inner shrine; *ἐσώτερος* (*esōteros*), inner.

CL & OT *esōteros* is an adj. in the comparative state used to describe things as being farther in the interior, more inward, or more intimate.

In the LXX *esōteros* is used for three different Hebrew words: *mibbêṯ l*^{e} (as a preposition), within, *esōteros tou katapetasmatos* designates the inner shrine of the tabernacle, "within the curtain" (Exod. 26:33; Lev. 16:2, 12, 15); *p*^{e}*nîmî*, (an adj.) describing doors, gates, porches, etc. in the palace-temple complex (e.g. 2 Chr. 4:22; Ezek. 8:3); *b*^{e}*yark*^{e}*ṯê* (a preposition), innermost part, the innermost part of the cave where David and his men hid (1 Sam. 24:4).

NT The substantive form with the article is used metaphorically for the heavenly holy of holies which Jesus entered for us. It corresponds to the inner shrine of the tabernacle, the place of the invisible presence of the God of Israel (Heb. 6:19). As an attributive *esōteros* describes the inner cell of the prison in Philippi where Paul and Silas were kept (Acts 16:24). *D. H. Madvig*

τὸ καταπετάσμα

τὸ καταπέτασμα (*to katapetasma*), covering, veil, curtain.

CL & OT *katapetasma* seems to have been a technical term for a temple curtain. With few exceptions *katapetasma* is used in the LXX for Heb. *pārōḵeṯ* and designates the curtain which separated the holy place and the holy of holies in the tabernacle (Exod. 26:31, 33 ff.; 27:21; 30:6; 35:12; 36:35[37:3]; 38:27[39:4]; 40:3; 40:22, 26; Lev. 4:6, 17; 16:2, 12, 15; 21:23; 24:3; Num. 4:5; 18:7; 2 Chr. 3:14; Sir. 50:5). It stands for *māsāḵ*, screen, at Exod. 26:37; 35:12; 36:37[37:5]; 38:18[37:16]; 39:40[39:20]; 40:5, 21; Num. 3:26. It is without Heb. equivalent at Exod. 36:36[38:18]; Num. 3:10; 4:32; 1 Ki. 6:36; 1 Macc. 1:22; 4:51. Though *katapetasma* is used sometimes for the curtain at the entrance of the tabernacle, the regular word for that is *kalymma* which stands for 6 different Heb. words (Exod. 4:24; 15:13; 1 Sam. 1:18; 9:22; 2 Sam. 7:6; 1 Chr. 17:5; 28:12; Sir. 14:25; Jer. 25[32]:38; 33[40]:12; Ezek. 23:21; 1 Macc. 3:45).

This inner curtain was made of fine linen interwoven with blue, purple and scarlet wool; on it were the figures of two → cherubs. It was symbolic of the separation between God and man. The high priest alone could enter and only once a year to offer the atoning blood in the presence of God.

NT It is debated whether "the curtain of the temple" that was torn at the time of the crucifixion was the inner or outer curtain (Matt. 27:51; Mk. 15:38; Lk. 23:45). If it was the inner one it symbolized the reality that Jesus' death opened the way for man to God. This, however, would not have been a public sign. The Gospel of the Nazarenes states that the upper lintel was split (Henn.-Schn., I, 153), and the early church fathers saw it as a sign prophetic of the destruction of the temple.

The writer to the Hebrews finds great assurance in knowing that Jesus, as the forerunner of all believers, entered the presence of God within the inner curtain in the heavenly sanctuary (Heb. 6:19, 20). He also reports that Jesus opened the way for us through this inner curtain (Heb. 10:20). This may be an allusion to the tearing of the curtain when Jesus died; no explicit reference is made to it. *kalymma* is used in the NT only of Moses' veil (2 Cor. 3:7–18; cf. Exod. 34:33 ff.; → Hide, art. *kalyptō* NT 3). *D. H. Madvig*

τὸ μεσότοιχον

τὸ μεσότοιχον (*to mesotoichon*), dividing-wall.

Josephus (*Ant.* 8, 71) uses the separate words *to meson toichon* to refer to the partition between the holy place and the holy of holies. *mesotoichon* is found only a few times outside the NT and it refers to a partition or barrier.

mesotoichon occurs in the NT only in Eph. 2:14 where it has been thought to refer to a barrier between Jew and Gentile that was removed by Jesus through his death. It is seen as an allusion to the balustrade in the temple courtyard which separated the court of the Gentiles from the more sacred precincts (→ *to hieron* OT 6). No document is known where *mesotoichon* is used to refer to that wall. Such an allusion may not have been clear to Gentile readers in Asia Minor. Another suggestion is that it refers to the wall of separation between God and man (→ Redemption, art. *lyō* NT 6 (b)). M. Barth suggests that it may even refer to the barrier between God and man, constituted by angels and other principalities and powers (cf. Eph. 1:21; *The Broken Wall: A Study of the Epistle to the Ephesians*, 1959, 36). *D. H. Madvig*

στῦλος

στῦλος (*stylos*), pillar, support.

CL & OT *stylos* is a very common word used for many kinds of pillars, columns, and other supports. In the LXX *stylos* is used for 5 Heb. words, especially *'ammûḏ*, pillar (e.g. Exod. 27:10–17; 36:36; 1 Ki. 7:15–45), and *qereš*, an upright board or studding in the tabernacle (e.g. Exod. 26:15–29).

NT *stylos* is used with reference to the temple in Rev. 3:12 where the Spirit of Jesus promises the overcomer that he will become a pillar in the temple of God. This metaphor probably refers to the two pillars which adorned the porch of Solomon's temple. It is used fig. of the leaders of the Jerusalem church, James, Cephas and John (Gal. 2:9; → Rock), and of the foundation of truth (1 Tim. 3:15).
D. H. Madvig

γαζοφυλάκιον

γαζοφυλάκιον (*gazophylakion*), treasure room, treasury.

OT *gazophylakion* is used a number of times in LXX for *liškâh*, a room or chamber (2 Ki. 23:11; 2 Esd. 10:6; Neh. 10:38[37], 39[38]; 13:4 f., 8 f.; Ezek. 40:17), and three times for its synonym *niškâh* (Neh. 3:30; 12:44; 13:7), and once for *g^{e}nāzim*, royal treasury (Est. 3:9). It is without equivalent at 1 Macc. 3:28; 14:49; 2 Macc. 3:6, 24, 28, 40; 4:42; 5:18; 4 Macc. 4:3, 6. See also Josephus, *War* 5, 200; 6, 282; *Ant.* 19, 294. In the Apocrypha it refers either to the sacred or the royal treasury.

NT There are no references in the NT to the temple treasury where valuables were stored. In Mk. 12:41, 43 and Lk. 21:1 *gazophylakion* refers to one of the thirteen trumpet-shaped collection boxes in the temple. These were marked to indicate the use to which the funds were put. When Jesus stood teaching in the treasury (*gazophylakion*) in the temple precincts, he was probably standing in the Court of the Women where the collection boxes were placed (Jn. 8:20). *D. H. Madvig*

νεωκόρος	νεωκόρος (*neōkoros*), temple keeper.

neōkoros is derived from *neōs* the Attic form of *naos*, temple, and *koreō*, to sweep. From "temple-sweeper" it came to mean "temple-keeper" and then became a title designating cities in Asia Minor which had built a temple in honour of their patron-god or the emperor. In Acts 19:35 the title is ascribed to Ephesus where a temple was built in honour of the goddess Artemis. *D. H. Madvig*

πτερύγιον	πτερύγιον (*pterygion*), end, edge.

CL *pterygion* is the diminutive of *pteryx*, wing, and serves to designate the tip or extremity of anything. On a building *pterygion* may designate a turret or battlement or a pointed roof.

NT The devil took Jesus to the *pterygion* of the temple and urged him to jump, to demonstrate that he was protected by divine power (Matt. 4:5 ff. par. Lk. 4:9–12; → *to hieron* NT 1 (a)). Probably this refers to the South-East corner of the temple area where one could look straight down from the roof of Solomon's Porch into the Kidron Valley far below. J. Jeremias suggests, however, that it was the lintel or superstructure of a gate of the temple ("Die 'Zinne' des Tempels (Mk. 4, 5; Lk. 4, 9)", *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 59, 1936, 195–208). Eusebius preserves a story of Hegesippus which tells how the scribes and Pharisees set James, the brother of Jesus upon the pinnacle of the temple "that from thy lofty station thou mayest be evident, and thy words may easily be heard by all the people" (*HE* 2, 23, 11). The purpose was to persuade the Passover crowds not to go astray after Jesus. But when James testified to Jesus, the scribes and Pharisees cast him down and stoned him. N. Hyldal suggests that this was the place of execution from which victims were thrown down and stoned ("Die Versuchung auf der Zinne des Tempels", *StTh* 15, 1961, 113–27). Perhaps this was why the woman taken in adultery was brought to the temple (Jn. 8:2).

B. Gerhardsson sees here a play on words between *pterygion* and the non-

diminutive *pteryx*, both of which are used in the LXX to translate the Heb. *kānāp*, wing (*The Testing of God's Son (Matt. 4:1–11 & Par), Coniectanea Biblica, New Testament Series* 2:1, 1966, 59). The word occurs in the Psalm quoted by Satan: "he will cover you with his pinions, and under his wings you will find refuge" (Ps. 91:4). The writer of the temptation narrative "wants us to see the associations of this word. What could be a more appropriate setting for tempting the Son to misuse God's promise of protection?" (ibid.). *D. H. Madvig*

For various aspects of the temple, its cultus and furnishings → Priest, → Reconciliation, → Redemption, → Sacrifice, → Tent. Other related subjects include → Abomination of Desolation, → Animal, → Bird, → David, → Firm, → Foundation, → Jerusalem, → Prophet, → Rock.

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Tempt, Test, Approve

πειρασμός

πεῖρα (*peira*), attempt, trial, experiment; πειρασμός (*peirasmos*), test, trial, tempting, temptation; πειράω (*peirao*), try, attempt, endeavour; πειράζω (*peirazo*), try, test, put on trial, tempt; ἐκπειράζω (*ekpeirazo*), put to the test, try, tempt; ἀπείραστος (*apeirastos*), without temptation, untempted.

CL The noun *peira*, attempt (Pindar), and the vb. *peirao*, to test, try (Homer, *Il.* 8, 8), together with the intensive form (rare in cl. Gk.) *peirazo*, to tempt someone, put

to the test (Homer, *Od.* 9, 281), come from the root *per* (cf. Lat. *per*). They are related to *peraō*, to drive across, pass through, to strive to get through or over, and express an intention which includes a certain element of resolution. Thus *peirao* and *peirazō* convey the general meaning of to try, and in view of the effort required, to exert oneself, strive, undertake. Through the aspect of carrying through the desire, and the method of doing so, *peirazō* acquired the meaning of to try out, make trial of, test, investigate, look into. Referring to competition against other persons, *peiraō*, usually in mid. or passive, means to measure oneself against someone, to try one's luck, to strive for someone's favour, to woo someone, to lead into temptation (especially in the sense of unchastity), to venture an attack on someone; then, to get to know by experience, to experience.

Similarly to the vbs., the noun *peira* means attempt, trial, test, attempt at, attack, risk, experience, knowledge. *peirasmos* means a medical test (first used by Dioscorides, *De Materia Medica*, Preface 5, in the 1st cent. A.D.). *ekpeirazō*, to tempt, and *apeirastos*, untempted, are lacking in cl. Gk.

OT 1. In the LXX *peirazō* and *peiraō* stand exclusively for *nasâh* in the piel form of the vb. (Gen. 22:1; Exod. 15:25; 16:4; 17:2, 7; 20:20; Num. 14:22; Deut. 4:34; 8:2; 13:4[3]; 33:8; Jdg. 2:22; 3:1, 4; 6:39; 1 Sam. 17:39; 1 Ki. 10:1; 2 Chr. 9:1; 32:31; Pss. 26[25]:2; 78[77]:41, 56; 95[94]:9; 106[105]:14; Eccl. 2:1; 7:23[24]; Isa. 7:12; Dan. 1:12, 14). It also occurs in the apocryphal books and some canonical writings without Heb. equivalent (Tob. 12:14; Jud. 8:12, 25 f.; Ps. 35[34]:16; Prov. 26:18; Wis. 1:2; 2:17, 24; 3:5; 11:9; 12:26; 19:5; Sir. 18:23; 34[31]:10; 37:27; 39:4; Dan. 12:10; 1 Macc. 1:15; 12:10; 2 Macc. 2:23; 10:12; 11:19; 3 Macc. 1:25; 2:32; 4 Macc. 9:7; 12:3; 15:16). Similarly *ekpeirazō* stands exclusively for *nāsâh* in the piel (Deut. 6:16; 8:2, 16; Ps. 78[77]:18). *peirasmos* stands for the equivalent noun *massâh* (Exod. 17:7; Deut. 4:34; 6:16; 7:19; 9:22; 29:2[3]; Ps. 95[94]:8). It is also found for *'inyân*, occupation, task (Eccl. 3:10; 4:8; 5:2, 13; 8:16), and without equivalent in non-canonical writings (Sir. 2:1; 27:5, 7; 33[36]:1; 1 Macc. 2:52).

2. The terms are found in their purely secular senses: to try to do something (Deut. 4:34; 28:56; Jdg. 6:39; 1 Sam. 17:39); to make a test of, try something out (Eccl. 2:1; 7:23; Dan. 1:12); to test, put to the proof (1 Ki. 10:1; 2 Chr. 9:1; Wis. 2:17); and the noun *peirasmos* in the sense of trial (Deut. 7:19; 29:2[3]).

3. In the OT, especially in Deut. and writings reflecting the outlook of Deut., the ideas of tempting and putting to the test become religious concepts. Unbelief and presumption, disobedience and murmuring among the people constitute a challenge to Yahweh, putting him to the test. Conversely, Yahweh may put his people to the test. B. Gerhardsson points out that the vb. *nāsâh* "seems to imply primarily *a testing of the partner in the covenant to see whether he is keeping his side of the agreement*. . . . It is important to note that JHWH is not said to test heathen people, but only his own, the people of his own possession. When the term is used of an individual, it is always a pious man, never an ungodly one. Conversely, when Israel is the subject of the verb, it is always JHWH and not the Baals who are tested. The covenant means that JHWH will be the God of his covenant people, will be 'near them', 'in their midst', 'with them' and will fulfil all the obligations that pertain to divinity; giving to his people all that belongs to the divine blessing (*brkh*): life, health, power, food, fertility, riches, protection, victory etc. (Exod. 6:7; 19:3 ff.; 29:49 ff.;

Lev. 26:11 f.; Deut. 28:1–14; Ezr. 37:2 ff. etc.). The people's obligations are defined in such words as to fear and love God, to worship and honour him, to be faithful to him, to listen to his voice, and to obey his word, to walk after his commandments, to live in his law etc. 'Faith' is a vital element here; faith meaning to 'treat JHWH as reliable' (*h'myn, pisteuein*), to trust him, to believe that he will faithfully and lovingly keep his promises and honour his 'obligations'. What is required of the people in general is also required of each member individually" (*The Testing of God's Son (Matt. 4:1–11 & Par): An Analysis of an Early Christian Midrash, Coniectanea Biblica, New Testament Series* 2:1, 1966, 26 f.).

Thus Gerhardsson argues that when the OT speaks of Yahweh testing his covenant son, it means that God arranges a test to find out whether his son is true to the covenant (op. cit., 27). The classic example is the testing of → Abraham by commanding him to offer the covenant son of promise, Isaac (Gen. 22). In Exod. 16:4 Yahweh tells → Moses of his decision to let → bread rain down from heaven for the people who are to gather only enough for each day "that I may prove them, whether they will walk in my law or not" (cf. Exod. 20:20). Connected with this testing or proving, Gerhardsson sees the formula that God tests "that he might know" (*ld't*) whether his chosen one is true or not (ibid.). Thus Deut. 8:2 gives the injunction: "And you shall remember all the way which the LORD your God has led you these forty years in the wilderness, that he might humble you, testing you to know what was in your heart, whether you would keep his commandments, or not." Deut. 13:1–5 recognizes the possibility of false prophets performing wonders in order to lead the people astray (→ Miracle; → Magic). The people are to test such men not by questioning whether the wonder has actually occurred but by asking whether their teaching agrees with the commandments that Israel has received. In all this Yahweh "is testing you, to know whether you love the LORD your God with all your heart and with all your soul" (Deut. 13:3). In Jdg. Yahweh tests Israel that he may know "whether they will take care to walk in the way of the LORD as their fathers did, or not" (Jdg. 2:22; cf. 3:1, 4 ff.). In 2 Chr. 32:31 Yahweh tests his covenant son, king Hezekiah, "to know all that was in his heart." For other instances of testing see Deut. 33:8 (Levi); Jud. 8:26 (Isaac); Pss. 26[25]:2; 35[34]:16; Wis. 3:5; 11:9; Sir. 33:1 (the godly and righteous man).

The vb. *nāsâh* does not actually occur in Job, but the theme is present now making use of → Satan. "Satan has received permission from God to take away from righteous Job all that he had received from God. The test was to reveal whether Job would stand fast by his innocence, honesty and faith, or whether in such a situation he would reveal himself unrighteous by breaking out into curses against God" (B. Gerhardsson, op. cit., 28).

On the other hand, Israel, God's covenant son, is also said to tempt God. "Tempting God" is the inexplicable way for God's people to behave. Nevertheless it occurred and is described in Ps. 78(77):40 f. "How often they rebelled against him in the wilderness and grieved him in the desert! They tested him again and again, and provoked the Holy One of Israel" (cf. Num. 14:22; Ps. 106[105]:14; Isa. 7:12; Mal. 3:15). The classic instance for the tempting of God was at Massah (which the LXX translates by *peirasmos*, testing), a place from the period of wandering in the → wilderness (Deut. 6:16; 9:22; 33:8; Ps. 95[94]:8; in the last two instances Massah being linked with Meribah). This brings in a link with the testing of God in Exod.

17:2, 7, where the name Massah is identified with Meribah as titles of the same place. "You shall not put the LORD your God to the test" is the negative form of the commandment to worship the one God and him alone (Deut. 6:16; cf. also Sir. 18:23). God allows himself to be found by those who are obedient to this commandment (Wis. 1:2).

4. Testing is one of the means by which God carries out his saving purposes. The person concerned often does not know until afterwards whether or why God has been testing him, when he is enabled to come out of tribulation strong in faith, having been preserved, proved, purified, disciplined and taught. Abraham later became an oft-quoted example of the man kept through great testing (Apc. Abr.; Jub. 17–19). Israel also knew about defeat, when the testing caused people to be led astray and to fall away from God. God is the one who works in everything, and therefore he is the one who tests. This was required by the strongly monotheistic idea of God. In his activity within history the one God reveals himself by various attributes. The man who belongs to God's people strives to know these attributes, to acquire the knowledge of God in grace and in judgment.

This idea of God was later softened by dualistic influences, but was not removed. Permitted by God, taken into his service, let loose for a while, an opposing power comes into play, whose object is to cause man to fall away from God (Gen. 3:1 ff.; Job 1:11 f.; 2:6 f.; → Satan).

5. (a) Rabbinic literature exhibits a further development of the tendency of Satan to become independent in his rôle as tempter. He is depicted as the head of a kingdom opposed to God, which tries to frustrate God's saving purposes by leading man into sin and accusing him before God (Tanh. 40b; Deut. R. 11; Gen. R. 55 f.; Sanhedrin 89b). In this he makes use of the evil impulse already present in man, which now becomes the gate through which temptation makes its inroads (Baba Bathra 16; Num. R. 20).

(b) In the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha the independence of the evil one is still more strongly marked. Suffering and evil are now felt to be so oppressive and devilish that it is felt inappropriate to attribute them any longer to God. The Satanic tempter can even cause angels to fall away (Eth. Enoch 6 and 19), incite God against Abraham (Jub. 17), and take revenge on God by tempting his creatures (Life Adam 11–16). In Test. XII seven evil spirits are engaged in tempting. If man makes the right decision in the battle between light and darkness, he can defend himself against temptation.

(c) In the Qumran texts the world is depicted as the sphere of the dominion of Belial, the angel of darkness. Believers live here under constant temptation and trial, especially through affliction and persecution (1QS 3:24). In such contexts the terms chiefly used are *tā'āh*, to lead astray (hiph.) (1QpHab 10:9; 1QS 5:4, 11; 11:1; 1QH 4:12, 25; 1Q14 11:1; 4QpHos 2:5; 6QD 3:3; CD 1:15; 2:13, 17; 3:1, 4, 14; 4:1; 5:20; 12:3; and the noun form in 1QS 3:21; 1QH 2:14; 4:12, 16, 20), and *kāšal*, to cause to stumble (hiph.) (1QpHab 11:8; 1QS 3:24; 11:12; 1QM 14:5; 1QH 5:28, 36; 8:36; 16:5; 17:23; 4Qflor 1:8; CD 2:17).

NT In the NT the intensive form *peirazō*, to try, test, put on trial, tempt, is used 36 times (12 times in the Synoptic Gospels exclusively for the temptation of Jesus by Satan or Jesus' opponents, cf. Heb. 2:18; 4:15; once in Jn.; 5 times in Acts; 7 times

in Paul; 6 times in Heb.; 4 times in Jas. and 3 times in Rev.). It occurs in a non-religious sense and also for the temptation of Christians. *ekpeirazō* is used four times in the same sense (Matt. 4:7 par. Lk. 4:12; Lk. 10:25; 1 Cor. 10:9); and once *peiraomai*, to try (Acts 26:21). New is the verbal adj. *apeirastos*, incapable of temptation (Jas. 1:13). The use of the noun *peirasmos*, temptation, trial, is even more frequent (21 times) than in the LXX (6 times in Lk.; 4 in Paul; twice each in Matt., Jas. and 1 Pet.; once each in Mk., Acts, Heb., 2 Pet. and Rev.). But *peira*, attempt, trial, is found only in Heb. 11:29 and 36.

1. Examples of the secular sense are: to make an attempt (Heb. 11:29), to get experience of (Heb. 11:36), to attempt (Acts 9:26; 16:7; 24:6), to test (2 Cor. 13:5; Rev. 2:2), trials, hostilities (Acts 20:19). For statements about the opponents of Jesus wanting to put him to the test see 4, below. Four passages contain the OT ideas of testing God (1 Cor. 10:9; cf. Ps. 78[77]:18; Heb. 3:8 f.; cf. Ps. 95[94]:8 f.; Acts 5:9; 15:10). Matt. 4:7 par. Lk. 4:12 cite Deut. 6:16.

2. The world of ideas behind *peirasmos*, temptation, trial, as it is used in the NT in the religious sense, is generally dependent on the OT. It also has much in common with the views of the Essenes, although the cosmic dualism of Qumran is not to be found in the NT. Here, as at Qumran, believers are constantly being tempted to → fall away from God. They must protect themselves with spiritual armour (Eph. 6:10–17) against the attacks of the "prince of this world" (Jn. 12:31; 14:30; 16:11; cf. Matt. 9:34; 12:24; 1 Cor. 2:6, 8; Eph. 2:2), and stand firm, sober, watchful (1 Pet. 5:8) and in prayer (Eph. 6:18 ff.). In this way the willing → spirit can keep control of the weak → flesh, so that the beleaguered entry gate for Satanic temptations may remain closed (Mk. 14:38). The weakness of the flesh is also described as → desire (*epithymia*), which entices man into temptation (Jas. 1:14), so that the power of the evil one closes over him like a trap (*pagis*, 1 Tim. 6:9). A new element, as against the OT, is the constant danger of falling into sin: Satan can use all sorts of things to lead us into temptation (1 Cor. 7:5; 1 Thess. 3:5). Anything can become a temptation (Gal. 6:1). In Gal. 4:14 two thoughts are intertwined: "and though my condition was a trial to you, you did not scorn or despise me, but received me as an angel of God, as Jesus Christ." The meaning is: You have overcome the temptation which my illness presented to you, and have not rejected me contemptuously in my illness. The illness may have been connected with Paul's eyes (Gal. 4:15; cf. 6:11) and may have been his "thorn in the flesh" (2 Cor. 12:7; → Fruit, art. *skolops*). The temptation which threatens the church at Corinth has hitherto been such as man can bear (1 Cor. 10:13). It lies in apparently innocuous association with pagans, which can however lead to idolatry and immorality (cf. vv. 7 f. and the earlier discussions of immorality in chs. 5–7 and eating meat offered to idols in ch. 8).

3. To have to suffer as a Christian is a form of testing. But it can also be a mark of true discipleship and therefore a ground for joy (1 Pet. 1:6; 4:12), especially when one knows, by looking for instance back to the great examples of Abraham and Job, that it is possible to emerge from temptation approved and preserved in → patience (Jas. 1:2). At the end of the testing God never turns out to be an enemy, but one who rewards (Jas. 1:12).

In stark contrast to any attempt to hold God responsible for human failures, Jas. maintains that God, himself *apeirastos*, incapable of being tempted by the evil one, tempts no one (Jas. 1:13). Rather, does he help and rescue from temptation (2 Pet.

2:9; 1 Cor. 10:13). The question of the origin of temptation is left open.

Jesus commanded his disciples to pray against temptation (Mk. 14:38), and taught them to ask the Father, "Lead us not into temptation [*kai mē eisenenkēs hēmas eis peirasmon*], but deliver us from evil" (Matt. 6:13). The par. in Lk. 5:4 omits the second clause. Here God, having been asked for the forgiveness of sins, is asked not to allow his church to come into the kind of Satanic temptation which would lead them to fall away, but to rescue them from the power of the evil one and so let his → kingdom come. The ultimate coming of God's rule cannot be separated from the present fight against the kingdom of the tempter. Everyday temptations (Lk. 8:13) as well as the eschatological tribulations and temptations to go astray (Mk. 13:22; Rev. 2:10), which will come upon all the inhabitants of the earth (Rev. 3:10), are summed up in the prayer: "Lead us not into temptation."

J. Jeremias argues that we are not to think of God as the source of the temptation (*The Prayers of Jesus*, *SBT* Second Series 6, 1967, 104) and that Jas. 1:13 is a rejection of this misunderstanding. He sees the petition in the light of an ancient Jewish evening prayer: "Lead my foot not into the power of sin, And bring me not into the power of iniquity, And not into the power of temptation, And not into the power of anything shameful" (b. Ber. 60b; cf. op. cit., 105). The prayer has in view God's permission which allows things to happen. It is not a prayer to be preserved *from* temptation but to be preserved *in* temptation. Jeremias finds corroboration of this in an extra-canonical saying of Jesus allegedly uttered on his last evening prior to the prayer in Gethsemane: "No one can obtain the kingdom of heaven who has not passed through temptation" (Tertullian, *De Baptismo* 20, 2; cf. J. Jeremias, *Unknown Sayings of Jesus*, 1964 ², 73 ff.). This accords with Jeremias's interpretation of *peirasmos* which "does not mean the little temptations or testings of everyday life, but the final great Testing which stands at the door and will extend over the whole earth – the disclosure of the mystery of evil, the revelation of the Antichrist, the abomination of desolation (when Satan stands in God's place), the final persecution and testing of God's saints by pseudo-prophets and false saviours. What is in danger is not moral integrity, but faith itself. The final trial at the end is apostasy! Who can escape? The concluding petition of the Lord's Prayer therefore says, 'O Lord, preserve us from falling away, from apostasy' " (op. cit., 105 f.; cf. E. Lohmeyer, *The Lord's Prayer*, 1965, 191–208). As such, Jeremias claims, it has no parallels in the OT (op. cit., 106). If, on the other hand, we view the petition in the light of the OT teaching on the testing of God's sons within the covenant relationship, there is a sense in which God may be said to be the one who tests (cf. above OT 3). Moreover, it could be said to be a plea to be spared the rigour of a test which could lead to apostasy (cf. Matt. 24:21 f. par. Mk. 13:19 f.; Lk. 21:24; cf. Dan. 12:1; Zech. 12:3). Perhaps the kind of temptation envisaged is that described in Lk. 22:28–34: " 'You are those who have continued with me in my trials [*peirasmois*]; as my Father appointed a kingdom for me so do I appoint for you that you may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel. Simon, Simon, behold, Satan demanded to have you, that he might sift you like wheat, but I have prayed for you that your faith may not fail; and when you have turned again, strengthen your brethren'. . . . He said, 'I tell you, Peter, the cock will not crow this day, until you three times deny that you know me' " (cf. on Peter's denial Matt. 26:30–35 par. Mk. 14:26–31; Matt. 26:57–75 par. Mk.

14:53–72; Lk. 22:54–71; Jn. 18:17, 25 ff.). Whereas Peter was spared, Judas was not, although paradoxically he sought to save his life by his betrayal (Matt. 26:20–25 par. Mk. 14:17–21, Lk. 22:14, 21 ff.; Jn. 13:2 ff.; Matt. 27:3–10; cf. B. Gärtner, *Iscariot*, *Facet Books*, Biblical Series 29, 1971). The sifting (*siniasai*) by → Satan may be compared with the winnowing of the wheat by Jesus foretold by John the Baptist (Matt. 3:12 par. Lk. 3:17). But in Satan's case the end is destruction, whereas in Jesus' it is the gathering of the wheat into the granary and the destruction of the chaff.

4. Jesus was the subject of temptation throughout his life. This is brought out particularly by Lk. (4:13; 22:28) and Heb. (2:18; 4:15). For this very reason he can help his disciples in their temptations. Because he is without sin, the power of Satan is constantly provoked to attack him in many forms. When his opponents tried to take him in with trick-questions, it was only a covering action (Mk. 10:2; 12:15; Matt. 22:35; Lk. 10:25; Jn. 8:6). Because of false, human expectations among the people, the Pharisees and the disciples were ever seeking to appropriate Jesus. They thus represent temptations and hindrances for the messiah, who is obedient to God (Mk. 8:11 par. Matt. 16:1; 16:22 f.; Lk. 11:16). In the struggle in Gethsemane Jesus even prays the Father to remove the cup from him (Mk. 14:35 ff.).

The nature of the constant temptations in the life of Jesus is epitomized in the story of the temptations which preceded Jesus' public ministry (Matt. 4:1–11 par. Mk. 1:12 f.; Lk. 4:1–13). All three evangelists point out that it was the → Spirit which led Jesus into the → wilderness where he was tempted by → Satan. Matt.'s infinitive clause suggests that this was the purpose of the Spirit's leading; Matt. and Lk. use the word *diabolos* (→ Accuse); Mk. has *Satanas*.

The scene of the temptation recalls the testing of Israel as God's son in the wilderness wanderings prior to entry into the promised land (cf. Deut. 6–8). Indeed, B. Gerhardsson sees the story as a Christian midrash, composed very early on by a Christian scribe versed in Pharisaic exegesis (op. cit., 79 ff.; cf. Acts 15:5). This, however, must remain a piece of speculation. On the other hand, there is a parallel between the forty years of wilderness wandering and the forty days of Jesus in the desert (cf. the forty years of wandering with the forty days of spying out the land in Num. 14:34; cf. also Deut. 8:2; 9:18; Ezek. 4:5 f.; and Elijah's forty days without food, 1 Ki. 19:8). Gerhardsson sees the forty days as "a set phrase from the traditional vocabulary of fasting" (op. cit., 43). But it may also be seen in the light of the OT precedents of testing and preparation in the service of God. Jesus' action is a recapitulation of the OT precedents and as such is a fulfilment comparable with the other instances of fulfilment noted by Matt. (→ Fullness, art. *plēroō* NT).

The first temptation is not merely an invitation to perform a spectacular miracle for selfish ends by turning stones into → bread. It is to be seen against the background of OT promises of how Yahweh provides food for his children (cf. Pss. 23:1; 33:18 f.; 34:10; 37:19; 104:27 f.; 145:15; 146:7; Deut. 2:7; 28:1–14; Neh. 9:21). Yahweh gave his people manna and quails, but they resented what they had been given once their immediate needs were satisfied (Exod. 16:2 ff.; Num. 11:4 ff., 33 f.; 21:4 ff.; Deut. 8:2 ff.; 9:22; 29:5; Ps. 78:18 ff., 26 ff.). Jesus' reply to this temptation is taken from a passage which recalls the wilderness wanderings and Yahweh's provision of manna: "And he humbled you and let you hunger and fed you with manna, which you did not know, nor did your fathers know; that he might make

you know that man does not live by bread alone, but that man lives by everything that proceeds out of the mouth of the LORD" (Deut. 8:3; cf. Matt. 4:4 and Lk. 4:4). Gerhardsson sees the temptation as "a test designed to discipline the Son of God and to reveal what lies in his heart. Israel did not withstand this temptation; the people were seized with craving, discontent, doubt and unbelief, and grumbled because they wanted a different kind of food to the divine sustenance God was giving them. They showed that their heart was divided by craving and unbelief; the evil inclination had gained supremacy over their heart, to use the late Jewish terminology. The tempter desires to entice Jesus into this sin" (op. cit., 51). It is not without significance that the Sermon on the Mount records the saying: "Or what man of you, if his son asks him for a loaf, will give him a stone?" (Matt. 7:9).

The second temptation in Matt.'s account and the third in Lk.'s is set on the pinnacle of the temple. As its background Gerhardsson sees the promises of divine protection in the wilderness wanderings (op. cit., 54 ff.). God set before his son Israel a blessing and a curse (Deut. 11:26 ff.; 27:14–30:20; cf. 8:14 ff.). To the blessing belonged protection from all kinds of danger. If Israel kept the covenant, this protection was his. Deut. 32:10 ff. and Exod. 19:4 ff. speak of Yahweh bearing Israel on eagles' wings. His foot is said not to have swollen during the forty years (Deut. 8:4; 29:4; cf. Neh. 9:21). Yahweh is said to have borne his people as a man bears his son (Deut. 1:31; cf. Num. 11:12 f.; Isa. 46:3 f.; Hos. 11:3). But the protection was not confined to the wilderness generation. "*The temple* is the place par excellence where this protection is effective, for it is there that the divine presence is concentrated. We may notice here that the role played by the temple is foreshadowed in the wilderness passages, particularly in Deuteronomy. The object of all the journeyings is to reach Canaan, and in particular 'the place which JHWH your God will choose' as his resting place (cf. Deut. 12:18, 21; 14:23 ff.; 15:20; 16:2, 6, 11, 16; 17:8, 10 etc.)" (B. Gerhardsson, op. cit., 56).

The temple was an inviolable place of sanctuary (cf. M. Löhr, *Das Asylwesen im Alten Testament*, 1930; N. M. Nicolsky, "Das Asylrecht in Israel", *ZAW* 7, 1930, 146–75; M. Greenberg, "The Biblical Conception of Asylum", *JBL* 78, 1959, 125–32). Yahweh's protection is a recurrent theme of the Pss. (cf. Pss. 17:8; 57:2; 61:5; 63:8), and this is often expressly related to the temple as the focal point of holiness, health and power (cf. Pss. 36:8 f.; 61:5). This is particularly true of Ps. 91 which was associated with both the temple and the wilderness wanderings by the rabbis (Midrash Teh. 91; cf. Deut. 6–8). It is on the basis of Ps. 91:11 f. that Satan issues the temptation to Jesus to cast himself from the "wing" of the temple: "For he will give his angels charge of you to guard you in all your ways. On their hands they will bear you up, lest you dash your foot against a stone" (cf. Matt. 4:6; Lk. 4:10 f.). There is probably a play on words between the "wing" (*pterygion*) of the temple and the clause "under his wings [*pterygas*] you will find refuge" (Ps. 91:4; → Temple, art. *pterygion*). This temptation is not simply a demand, like that of the Pharisees, for a spectacular sign. "Satan wants Jesus to *tempt God*, i.e. demand from God a token that he is going to keep his covenantal promises. . . . Satan exhorts Jesus to endanger himself by his own act, so as to challenge God to save his life in accordance with the covenant promises" (B. Gerhardsson, op. cit., 60). But the temptation is rejected by a quotation, which like the previous one, is taken from Deut.: "You shall not tempt the Lord your God" (Matt. 4:7 par. Lk. 4:12, citing Deut. 6:16 in the sing.

instead of the MT plur.). The Deut. passage adds "as you tested him at Massah" (cf. above, OT 3). The command is in fact the negative form of the great commandment which is stated in the same chapter of Deut.: "Hear, O Israel: The LORD our God is one LORD; and you shall love the LORD your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your might" (Deut. 6:4 f.; → Command; → Love). To have put God to the test in this way would have been to break the great commandment. On the other hand, the power of the disciples over the → demons is itself a sign that the promises of Ps. 91 are being honoured by God. Ps. 91:13 is quoted at Lk. 10:19, where the disciples' power over the enemy is seen as a fulfilment of the Ps. and evidence of the fall of Satan. However, as Gerhardsson argues, Jesus' reluctance to tempt God is itself the expression of the fact that "he is ready, in obedience to God, to lose his life" (op. cit., 61).

In the third temptation in Matt. "the devil took him to a very high mountain, and showed him all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them; and he said to him, 'All these I will give you, if you will fall down and worship me' " (Matt. 4:8 f. par. Lk. 4:5 f., where it is the second temptation). The passage is rich in OT associations. In Deut. 34:1–4 Moses went up from the plain of Moab to Mount Nebo, to the top of Pisgah, where Yahweh showed him the promised land and said: "This is the land of which I swore to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, 'I will give it to your descendants.' I have let you see it with your eyes, but you shall not go over there" (v. 4). Earlier Moses was given a similar view of the land but forbidden to go over the Jordan (Deut. 3:27). This is followed by Moses' speech depicting the riches awaiting the Israelites in the promised land and commanding them not to allow the riches to cause them to forget Yahweh and worship other gods (Deut. 6 and 8). D. Daube has drawn attention to the ancient legal custom on conveying property, particularly land, for the vendor to take the buyer to some vantage point, to assure him of his desire to transfer it, letting the buyer see it and receive it with his eyes (*Studies in Biblical Law*, 1947, 24–39). In other contexts mountains could be the scene of revelation, as in the case of Sinai (Exod. 19:3 ff.; 34:2 ff.), but also the scene of idolatrous worship (Deut. 12:1 ff.).

In Deut. there is also the theme of the riches of the promised land and the warning not to forget Yahweh on this account and follow other gods. Such a warning immediately follows the Shema and precedes the command not to put Yahweh to the test (Deut. 6:16) which Jesus quoted in repulsing the temptation to cast himself from the temple and also the command by which he rejects the present temptation (Deut. 6:13). A parallel passage occurs in Deut. 8 (see especially vv. 8, 11, 14, 19). Deut. 13:1–5 warns against prophets and dreamers of dreams who perform miracles in order to lead the people away from Yahweh to worship other gods. Israel is not to be deceived by the miracles; he should keep to the commandments of Yahweh and put such men to death. Despite these warnings Israel did in fact go astray in the manner foreseen (Deut. 9:16; 31:20; 32:15 ff.; cf. Exod. 32 and 1 Cor. 10). Idolatry and demon worship are linked in Deut. 32:17; Ps. 106:37 f.; Eth. Enoch 99:7; Mart. Isa. 2:3 ff.

The fact that this background lies behind the temptation is confirmed by the fact that Jesus resists it by citing a passage which is directly concerned with this danger to Israel: "Then Jesus said to him, 'Begone, Satan! for it is written, "You shall worship the Lord your God and him only shall you serve" ' " (Matt 4:10 par. Lk.

4:7; cf. Deut. 6:13). Whereas Israel as the son of God had succumbed to this temptation, Jesus as the Son of God overcame it by living by God's word, just as Israel should have done. By rejecting the false promise of the riches of the promised land, Jesus could enter into his true inheritance as the Son of God, though this was by the way of the cross. In this sense Jesus was living by the third beatitude, "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth" (Matt. 5:5; → Inheritance; → Humility, art. *prayÿs* NT 2). The fulfilment of the promise lay in a way very different from that envisaged by Satan. The promises of Satan are empty promises, for nothing can be secured by serving him. This may be compared with the suggestion of Peter that Jesus should not go to Jerusalem which is met with the reply, "Get behind me, Satan! You are a hindrance to me; for you are not on the side of God, but of men" (Matt. 16:23; cf. Mk. 8:33). In both cases the rejection of the temptation led to hardship and suffering. But ultimately it led to the defeat of Satan. The evangelist's comment, "The devil left him, and behold, angels came and ministered to him" (Matt. 4:11) has a parallel in Test. Naph. 8:4 (cf. also Test. Iss. 7 and Test. Ben. 5 and 6).

The temptations of Jesus recapitulate, in his individual life as the Son of God, the temptations of the nation of Israel in their corporate life as the son of God. The three forms of the temptation focus on the three areas of life which were vital to Israel as the covenant pilgrim people seeking the promised land: sustenance, protection and all that the land symbolized in terms of prosperity and security. In rejecting the temptations Jesus proved to be the true Son of God, for he not only rejected them but he did so by appealing to the word of God. In short, he lived by the word of God (cf. Matt. 4:4 with 5:17 f.). It was precisely at this point that Israel had failed (cf. Matt. 15:7 ff. with Isa. 29:13). The temptation stories thus vindicate the declaration of the "voice from heaven" heard directly after the baptism of Jesus, which immediately precedes the temptation narratives: "This is my beloved Son, with whom I am well pleased" (Matt. 3:17 par. Mk. 1:11; cf. Isa. 42:1; 44:2; Lk. 3:22 cf. Ps. 2:7). By so doing Jesus gains the victory over Satan and makes it possible for his people to inherit the promises of God. By placing the temptation concerning the kingdoms of the world at the climax of the temptations, Matt. sees the victory here in the light of the triumph of the → kingdom of heaven over the kingdom of this world which in turn supersedes the promises to Israel concerning the land. His Gospel ends with the words of the risen Christ showing that Jesus now has the authority legitimately which Satan promised deceitfully: "All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me. Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you; and lo, I am with you always, to the close of the age" (Matt. 28:18 ff.). In Lk. the temptation set in the temple comes at the climax. Perhaps this is to be explained in the light of the significance of the temple in the Gospel of Luke, where it is particularly prominent as the place of revelation (→ Temple, art. *to hieron* NT).

With regard to Mk., E. Best observes: "For Mark the Devil is defeated so far as the life of Jesus is concerned at the Temptation; in this conclusive contest Satan is bound and Jesus is thereafter able to reduce to obedience evil-spiritual powers, the demons which possess men and evil-cosmic forces met in sea storms. This encounter with the Devil in the Temptation is the decisive meeting of the forces of light and darkness, of order and chaos, of good and evil; this struggle which lay behind so much of the Old Testament and of the religion of the Near East of the period has

now had its issue" (*The Temptation and the Passion: The Markan Soteriology, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series* 2, 1965, 190).

W. Schneider, C. Brown

δόκιμος

δόκιμος (*dokimos*), tested, approved, genuine, esteemed; δοκιμάζω (*dokimazō*), test, accept as proved, approve; δοκιμασία (*dokimasia*), test; δοκίμιον (*dokimion*), testing, means of testing, adj. genuine; ἀδόκιμος (*adokimos*), not standing the test, worthless, disqualified, unfit, reprehensible; ἀποδοκιμάζω (*apodokimazō*), reject, declare useless; δοκιμή (*dokimē*), the quality of being approved, hence character.

CL The root *dek-*, *dechomai*, accept, gives two verbal derivatives *dokeō* and *dokaō*. The former means (intrans.) to appear, have the appearance, (trans.) to think, believe, consider right; the latter means expect. Derivatives of the former are: (a) *dokimos*, trustworthy, reliable, tested, recognized, used as a technical term for genuine, current coinage, but also applied to persons enjoying general esteem; (b) *adokimos*, untested, not respected; (c) indirectly also *dokimion*, test, probation; (d) from *dokimos* are also derived *dokimazō*, test, pronounce good, establish by trial, recognize, and *apodokimazō*, disapprove of, reject, blame; *dokimasis* and *dokimasia*, investigation, testing (preparatory to installing in an office); *dokimē*, approved character, trial.

OT The LXX uses *dokimos* only to recognize coins as valid currency (Prov. 25:4; Isa. 1:22 for Heb. *sîg̃*, dross). Hence worthless money or metal is called *adokimos*. *dokimazō* most often represents Heb. *bāḥan*, test for genuineness by fire. It is transferred to God, who tests men. In the Pss. the prayer that God may test the one who is praying (17[16]:3; 26[25]:2; 139[138]:1, 23 *ḥāqar*) is an expression of complete trust. In the prophets, however, God's threat of testing becomes equivalent to judgment (Jer. 9:6[7]; Zech. 13:9, RSV "refine"). There is always a consciousness of the connexion with testing by fire. The same usage is found in the writings of late Jud. Other instances of *dokimazō* are Jdg. 7:4; 1 Esd. 9:40; Pss. 66(65):10; 68(67):30; 81(80):7; 95(94):9; Prov. 8:10; 17:3; 27:21; Wis. 1:3; 2:19; 3:6; 11:10; Sir. 2:5; 24:12; 27:5; 31(34):10, 26; 39:34; 42:8; Zech. 11:13; Jer. 6:27; 11:20; 12:3; 17:10; 20:12; 2 Macc. 1:34; 4:3; 3 Macc. 2:6; 4 Macc. 17:12.

NT In the NT *dokimos* is used mostly by Paul in the sense of recognized, approved, accepted (Rom. 14:18; 16:10; 1 Cor. 11:19; 2 Cor. 10:18); correspondingly *adokimos* means worthless, rejected, not in the sense of that which is seen from the first to be unsuitable (not even in Heb. 6:8), but meaning that which has not stood the test, that which has been shown to be a sham, and has therefore been rejected (Rom. 1:28; 1 Cor. 9:27; 2 Cor. 13:5; 2 Tim. 3:8; Tit. 1:16). *dokimazō* is used as in secular Gk. It is used, mostly by Paul, with the meaning: (a) interpret, test (Lk. 12:56; 1 Cor. 3:13), oneself (1 Cor. 11:28; 2 Cor. 13:5; Gal. 6:4), what is important (Rom. 2:18; 12:2; Eph. 5:10; Phil. 1:10), all things (1 Thess. 5:21), the spirits (1 Jn. 4:1), for the office of deacon (1 Tim. 3:10) with the same force as *peirazō* (2 Cor. 13:5) and *epiginōskō* (2 Cor. 6:9); (b) the result of testing is either *dokimazō*, recognize, ap-

prove (Rom. 14:22; 1 Cor. 16:3; 2 Cor. 8:22; 1 Thess. 2:4) or *apodokimazō*, repudiate, reject (Matt. 21:42 par. Mk. 12:10, Lk. 20:17 citing Ps. 118:22 f.; → Rock; 1 Pet. 2:4; Heb. 12:17; Mk. 8:31 par. Lk. 9:20 of the Son of Man). *dokimē* is found with the act. meaning of a test by means of instructions or tribulations (2 Cor. 2:9; 8:2), and with the pass. meaning of the result of the testing of faith (Rom. 5:4; 2 Cor. 9:13; 13:3; Phil. 2:22). *dokimion* is used for the means of testing (which is how → *peirasmoi* are considered) in Jas. 1:3. 1 Pet. 1:7 thinks rather of the preservation of the Christian, whose faith is purified like gold in the fire.

1. Everyone to whom God's grace has been entrusted must keep himself in it (cf. also Lk. 19:12–27). The passages of Scripture which speak of testing, trial, recognition and rejection are addressed only to members of the church. Heb. 6:8 speaks of those who by their complete falling away from God have become incapable in themselves of returning and hence of bearing the fruit of repentance and faith. They are thus *adokimos*, without fruit, rejected (cf. also Heb. 12:17). Hence the soil which bears thorns and thistles (Heb. 6:8) is a picture of those "who have been enlightened, who have tasted the heavenly gift, and have become partakers of the Holy Spirit and have tasted the goodness of the word of God and the powers of the age to come", and yet in conscious sin "have crucified the Son of God afresh and hold him up to contempt" (Heb. 6:4 ff.). The church member is *adokimos*, not having passed the test, unfit, unusable in God's eyes, for out of incomprehensible, irresponsible doubt and disobedience he refuses the fruit of faith which God expects. We find almost the complete reversal of this in passages like Matt. 21:42 par. Mk. 12:10, Lk. 20:17 citing Ps. 118:22 f., and 1 Pet. 2:4, in all of which *apodokimazō* is used. The stone (Jesus), which the builders (the people of God, the spiritual leaders) found unsuitable and rejected (crucified), in God's eyes was found worthy to become the corner-stone (→ Rock).

2. What matters in testing is that we use God's gifts aright. Timothy, to whom the word of truth had been entrusted, was to show himself as an approved worker (2 Tim. 2:15) by faithful preaching. On the other hand, those who do not honour God according to the knowledge granted them, who reject (*ouk edokimasan*) knowing him, are given over to a base mind (*adokimon noun*, Rom. 1:28) and to improper conduct as a punishment. Here we see how closely linked *dokimazō* is with → *peirazō*. Both groups of words are concerned with testing. With *dokimazō* the stress falls on a positive result in which that which is tested passes and is recognized as genuine, but *peirazō* tends to be more negative and means a temptation to evil, in which lusts (Jas. 1:14), want and affliction (1 Cor. 10:13), or Satan himself (1 Thess. 3:5) through temptation entice one to fall. Hence *peirasmos* is temptation rather than testing; *apeirastos* refers rather to the innocent than the untested, and *ekpeirazō*, tempt, is not used of the testing undergone by men but of the hostile intentions of Satan (Matt. 4:7) or of man (1 Cor. 10:9) to tempt God.

3. God himself tests and passes judgment on the day of judgment. Paul declares in 1 Cor. 3:13 that all service for the church and all the fruit borne by it are subjected to God's testing and verdict in the fire of judgment. The determining factors will be whether faith was created (v. 5) and the church built up (v. 16). He who has stood the test in faith (Jas. 1:12) will receive eternal life as the victor's crown.

4. This test is taking place already in this life. God even now shows himself as the tester of men's hearts (1 Thess. 2:4). So the whole of a Christian's life is subject to

the testing scrutiny of God. All depends on our being found as "approved in Christ" (Rom. 16:10). Paul submitted himself to the judgment of God, not to that of man (1 Cor. 9:27; 4:3 ff.), even though men can and should recognize when someone has stood the test (2 Cor. 13:3; Phil. 2:22). The content and goal of Paul's pastoral care of the individual and community is that they should be found obedient (2 Cor. 2:9).

5. That one has stood the test is manifested in various ways. (a) By a serious effort to know the will of God. The gift of the Holy Spirit enables a man to recognize God's will (Rom. 12:2) and to test what is well-pleasing to God (Phil. 1:10; Eph. 5:10) and what is best (1 Thess. 5:21). The gift of testing and distinguishing of the spirits (1 Jn. 4:1) is also part of the Christian's duty.

(b) By one's loyalty to God. The terms *peirazō*, *dokimazō* and *epiginōskō* are used side by side in 2 Cor. 13:5, so as to move the Corinthians to the crucial task of testing their own faithfulness. If Christ dwells in us, we cannot and may not be *adokimos*; for if we are, our being Christians is futile.

(c) By one's love to one's neighbour. At the end of the section on the collection (2 Cor. 8:9) Paul writes that because of their "testing" in this service many praise God; thereby he shows that such service which is concerned with the needs of the brethren is part of the testing of faith working in love (→ Poor, art. *ptōchos* NT 4 (a)).

(d) By holding fast to hope in the midst of tribulation. The church is exposed to attacks from within and without, from Satanic powers and godless men. It lives by faith, not by sight. In this position willed by God it maintains its living hope by remaining under God's hand, by the "overflowing" of the riches given by God and of the goodness created by the Spirit to others (2 Cor. 8:2), by patience (Jas. 1:2 f.) and by overcoming temptations (1 Pet. 1:6 f.). *H. Haarbeck*

→ Demon, → Evil, → Fall, → Lead Astray, → Offence, → Satan, → Sin, → Son, → Temple, → Wilderness

(a). J. B. Bauer, "Temptation", *EBT* III 903 ff.; E. Best, *The Temptation and the Passion: The Markan Soteriology*, *Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series* 2, 1965; D. Bonhoeffer, *Temptation*, 1953; W. D. Davies, *The Gospel and the Land: Early Christianity and Jewish Territorial Doctrine*, 1974; P. Doble, "Temptations", *ExpT* 72, 1960–61, 91 ff.; W. J. Foxell, *The Temptation of Jesus*, 1920; B. Gerhardsson, *The Testing of God's Son (Matt. 4:1–11 & Par.)*, *Coniectanea Biblica, New Testament Series* 2:1, 1966; W. Grundmann, *dokimos* etc. *TDNT* II 255–60; C. B. Houk, "The Lord's Prayer and the Massah Tradition", *SJT* 19, 1966, 216–25; B. van Iersel, *The Bible on the Temptations of Man*, *St. Norbert Abbey Series* 12, 166; J. Jeremias, *The Prayers of Jesus*, *SBT* Second Series 6, 1967; J. A. Kirk, "The Messianic Role of Jesus and the Temptation Narrative: A Contemporary Perspective", *EQ* 44, 1972, 11–29, 91–102; E. Lohmeyer, *The Lord's Prayer*, 1965; U. W. Mauser, *Christ in the Wilderness: The Wilderness Theme in the Second Gospel and its Basis in the Biblical Tradition*, *SBT* 39, 1963; C. F. D. Moule, "An Unresolved Problem in the Temptation Clause in the Lord's Prayer", *Reformed Theological Review* 33, 1975, 65–75; P. Pokorny, "The Temptation Stories and their Intention", *NTS* 20, 1973–74, 115–27; H. Riesenfeld, "The Messianic Character of the Temptation in the Wilderness", in *The Gospel Tradition*, 1970, 75–94; J. A. T. Robinson, "The Temptations", in *Twelve New Testament Studies*, *SBT* 34, 1962, 53–60; H. Seesemann, *peira* etc., *TDNT* VI 23–36; M. H. Sykes, "And Do Not Bring Us to the Test", *ExpT* 73, 1961–62, 189 f.; G. H. P. Thompson, "Called – Proved – Obedient: A Study in the Baptism and Temptation Narratives of Matthew and Luke", *JTS* New Series 11, 1960, 1–12.

(b). J. Carmignac, "Fais que nous n'entrions pas dans la tentation", *RB* 72, 1965, 218 ff.; and *Recherches sur le "Notre Père"*, 1969, 236 ff.; H. Clavier, "Tentation et Anamartésie dans le Nouveau Testament", *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses* 47, 1967, 150–64; J. Dupont, "L'Arrière-fond biblique du Récit des Tentations de Jésus", *NTS* 3, 1956–57, 287–304; "L'Origine du Récit des Tentations de Jésus", *RB* 73, 1966, 30–76; and *Les Tentations de Jésus au Désert*, 1968; G. Eichholz,

"Bewahren und bewähren des Evangeliums", in *Hören und Handeln*, Wolf-Festschrift, 1962; E. Fascher, *Jesus und der Satan. Eine Studie zur Auslegung der Versuchungsgeschichte*, 1949; A. Feuillet, "Le Récit lucanien de la Tentation (Lc 4, 1–13)", *Biblica* 40, 1959, 613–31; H. Hyldal, "Die Versuchung auf der Zinne des Tempels", *StudTheol* 15, 1961, 113–27; A. Köberle, "Versuchung", RGG[3] VI 1385 ff.; K.-P. Köppen, *Die Auslegung der Versuchungsgeschichte unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der alten Kirche*, 1961; J. H. Korn, *PEIRASMOS. Die Versuchung des Gläubigen in der griechischen Bibel*, *BWANT* 4. Folge 20, 1937; K. G. Kuhn, "peirasmos – hamartia – sarx im Neuen Testament und die damit zusammenhängenden Vorstellungen", *ZTK* 49, 1952, 200 ff.; E. Lohmeyer, "Die Versuchung Jesu", *ZSTh* 14, 1937, 619–50; A. Mayer, "Die evangelischen Berichte über die Versuchung Christi", in *Festgabe H. Blümmer*, 1914, 434–68; R. Schnackenburg, "Der Sinn der Versuchung Jesu bei den Synoptikern", *ThQ* 132, 1952, 297–326; M. Steiner, *La Tentation de Jésus dans l'Interprétation patristique de Saint Justin à Origène*, 1962; H. J. Vogels, "Die Versuchungen Jesu", *BZ* 17, 1925–26, 238–55.

Tent, Tabernacle

σκηνή

σκηνή (*skēnē*), tent, tabernacle, dwelling; σκῆνος (*skēnos*), tent; σκήνωμα (*skēnōma*), tent, dwelling; σκηνοποιός (*skēnopoios*), leather-worker, tent-maker; σκηνόω (*skēnoō*), live, dwell, encamp.

CL In secular Gk. *skēnē* originally denoted a tent-covering made of branches or poles with a matted roof and sides constructed from straw, leaves or skins. The term was also used of the raised stage of a theatre, the cover of a wagon or the cabin of a ship. Naturally it came to signify transitoriness, so that Democritus could say: "The world is a tent, and life is a passing by; one comes, sees and departs" (Diels[8], II, 165, 7 f.).

OT 1. In the LXX *skēnē* and *skēnōma* are used synonymously, although the former word is found five times more frequently than the latter (about 430:80). Generally they render *'ōhel* (a pointed tent), sometimes *miškān* (dwelling), and on occasion *sukkâh* (a matted booth, shed or hut). The tabernacle (LXX, *skēnē*, *skēnōma*) is never called *sukkâh* but *'ōhel* or *'ōhel mô'ēḏ* ("tent of meeting", the appointed place where God meets his people, cf. Exod. 36:26; Jos. 6:24) or sometimes *miškān* (the place where God resides). It was also called the "tent of testimony" (Heb. *'ōhel 'ēḏûṯ*; Gk. *skēnē tou martyriou*, Acts 7:44; cf. Rev. 15:5) because it contained the covenant tablets. As a result of the LXX equation of *miškān* with *skēnē*, the Gk. word could, surprisingly, refer to what was permanent (cf. Lk. 16:9; Heb. 8:2) rather than impermanent. *skēnos* is found only in Wis. 9:15: "A perishable body weighs down the soul and this earthy tent oppresses the meditative mind."

At all times in human history the tent has been the customary dwelling of nomadic or semi-nomadic peoples. The Hebrew patriarchs were tent-dwellers (e.g. Gen. 12:8; 13:3; 25:27), as were the Israelites during their wilderness wanderings (Num. 19:14). Subsequently, in celebrating the Feast of Tabernacles each year, the Israelites lived in tents for seven days to recall these journeyings from Egypt to Canaan (Lev. 23:34, 42–43). During the time of Jeremiah the simplicity and independence of the nomadic tent-life was idealized by the Rechabites (Jer. 35:6–10; but see Ps. 84[83]:10). Even when sedentary life became normative (cf. Heb. 11:9–10), tents were used by shepherds (Isa. 38:12) or herdsmen (Jdg. 6:5) and by armies (2 Ki. 7:7–8; Jer.

37:10). For Philo and Josephus see W. Michaelis, *TDNT* VII 373 f. The Mishnah Tractate Sukkah deals with the Feast of Tabernacles. For a description of the Feast of the Tabernacles see N. Hillyer, "First Peter and the Feast of Tabernacles", *TB* 21, 1970, 39–51. *M. J. Harris*

2. The tabernacle continued to be used long after the entry into Canaan. Under the judges it was at Shiloh (Jos. 8:1) and in Saul's reign at Nob (1 Sam. 21; cf. Mk. 2:25 f.) and Gibeon (1 Chr. 16:39). According to 1 Ki. 8:4, Solomon had it laid up in the → temple. The structure and contents are described in Exod. 25 ff. and 35–38. The two interior compartments were divided by a veil. The first called "the holy place" was 20 cubits deep; the second or "holy of holies" or "holy place" (Lev. 16:2 f.; cf. Heb. 9:12; 10:19) was entered by the high priest on the annual day of atonement (Lev. 16; → Blood; → Reconciliation, art. *hilaskomai*). In the holy place stood the ark (Heb. *'ārôn*, LXX *kibōtos*) (Exod. 25:10–22; 27:1–8; → Temple, art. *to hieron* OT 3), a slab of gold with a → cherub at each end resting on top. The slab was termed the *kappōreṯ* (LXX *hilastērion*) and ET "mercy seat". It was sprinkled with blood by the high priest in the day of atonement ritual. In the holy place, in front of the veil was the altar of incense or golden altar (Exod. 30:1–10; 37:25–28) and on the north side the table of the presence bread or showbread (Exod. 25:23–30) together with various vessels and instruments. On the south side stood the lampstand (Exod. 25:31–40; 37:17–24; 40:24). The tabernacle stood in a courtyard 100 by 50 cubits with its door facing east (Exod. 27:9–19; 38:9–20). On the eastern side of the court stood the altar of burnt offering, so called after the chief sacrifice offered on it (Exod. 27:1–8; 38:1–7), and between the altar and the tabernacle door stood the laver (Exod. 30:17–21; 38:8; 40:29–32), which held water for the priests' ablutions. For details of the sacrifices and altars → Sacrifice, art. *thyō* OT. The → temple and the tabernacle had the same essential function and structure, the chief difference being that the temple was a permanent building. *C. Brown*

NT 1. *The Lucan writings.* In Lk. 16:9 Jesus encourages the diplomatic use of wealth so that when it collapses (at the individual's death or the end of the world), God (or possibly his angels or those who have been befriended) may welcome the benefactor into the "eternal habitations" (RSV; Gk. *aiōnious skēnas*, which here certainly does not refer to "permanent huts") (→ Possessions, art. *mamōnas*). At the → Transfiguration Peter offered to construct three *skēnai* for Jesus and the two heavenly visitors, Moses and Elijah (Lk. 9:33 par.). What he sought to perpetuate was his experience of the unveiled glorious personal presence of God in Christ.

As he summarized the findings of the Jerusalem council (Acts 15:13–21), James appealed to Amos 9:11–12 (LXX). He recognized the rebuilding of David's fallen dwelling (*skēnē*, possibly alluding to a matted hut in which he lived or held audience when on military expeditions) in the resurrection and exaltation of Christ and the rise of the church as the new Israel. Precisely because of this restoration, Gentiles were seeking the Lord (Acts 15:17–18); the Gentile mission was therefore not illegitimate (Acts 15:19).

Acts 18:3 indicates that Aquila and Paul were *skēnopoioi* by trade. While this term originally meant "tent-maker", it came to be used of the "leather-worker" (= *skytotomos*) in general (cf. the use of *lectarius* in Latin and "saddler" in English). The

articles that Paul made for sale probably included furnishings (perhaps woven from Cilician haircloth, *cilicium*, the principal export of Paul's native province) as well as tents (which in antiquity were often made of leather). By such manual labour Paul avoided being dependent on any congregation in which he was currently ministering.

The vb. *kataskēnoō* is used intrans. in the NT for live, settle, dwell, to nest (of birds; cf. Ps. 104[103]:12; Matt. 13:32; Mk. 4:32; Lk. 13:19; cf. also *kataskēnōsis*, a place to live, a nest in Matt. 8:20; Lk. 9:58). In Acts 2:26 it occurs in the quotation from Ps. 16(15):9c which is seen as finding its fulfilment in the → resurrection of Jesus: "moreover my flesh will dwell in hope."

2. *The Johannine Literature. skēnoō* is found only in the Johannine *corpus*. Whereas in the body of the Fourth Gospel Jesus is pictured as the new temple (Jn. 2:19–22), in the Prologue he is the tabernacle (*eskēnōsen*, Jn. 1:14), the locus of God's presence among men on earth (cf. Exod. 25:8–9). Where Christ is, there is God's dwelling. Rev. 7:15 pictures one of the elders before God's throne informing John that God would "encamp" (*skēnōsei*) over those who had come out of the great tribulation; he would "shelter them with his presence" (RSV), dwell with them continuously within his temple. With the arrival of the new Jerusalem "prepared as a bride adorned for her husband", God will dwell with men (Rev. 21:3, where both *skēnē* and *skēnoō* are used). He himself will be personally and permanently present in the midst of his people who will witness the final fulfilment of the oft-repeated promise of Yahweh to his covenant people: "I shall be their God and they shall be my people" (see Exod. 6:7; Lev. 26:12; Jer. 32:38; Ezek. 37:27; Zech. 8:8; 2 Cor. 6:16). Elsewhere in Rev. (12:12; 13:6) the vb. *skēnoō* is used of the permanent inhabitants of heaven. *M. J. Harris*

skēnopēgia is found almost exclusively as a technical term in Jewish religion for the building of tents or booths, i.e. the Feast of Booths or Tabernacles, especially with *heortē*, → feast (Deut. 16:16; 31:10; Zech. 14:16, 18, 19; 1 Esd. 5:50; 2 Macc. 1:9; Josephus, *Ant.* 4, 209; 8, 100 and 123; 11, 154; 13, 242 and 372; 15, 50; *War* 2, 515). It was celebrated in the month of Tishri 15–21 (i.e. October), when booths were made from branches of trees. According to Josephus, it was the most important Jewish festival (*Ant.* 15, 50; cf. 8, 123). In the NT it is mentioned in Jn. 7:2: "Now the Jews' feast of Tabernacles was at hand." Jesus rejected his brothers' plea to perform works there and win popular acclaim (Jn. 7:3–9). However, he went during the middle of the feast (Jn. 7:14). His appearance caused men to think about his teaching (Jn. 7:15–36). On "the last day of the feast, the great day" Jesus stood up and issued his invitation: "If any one thirst, let him come to me and drink. He who believes in me, as the scripture has said, 'Out of his heart shall flow rivers of living water' " (Jn. 7:37 f.). In the light of Isa. 58:11; cf. Prov. 4:23; 5:15; Isa. 55:1; Ezek. 47:1 ff.; Joel 3:18; Zech. 13:1; 14:8, Leon Morris comments: "The meaning of our passage then, in accordance with such Old Testament prophecies, appears to be that when any man comes to believe in Jesus the scriptures referring to the activity of the Holy Spirit are fulfilled" (*The Gospel according to John*, *NLC*, 1971, 424). The evangelist explains: "Now this he said about the Spirit, which those who believed in him were to receive; for as yet the Spirit had not been given, because Jesus was not yet glorified" (Jn. 7:39; → Pentecost).

There may have been a significant connexion between Jesus' utterances and the

feast. On the seven days of the feast a golden flagon was filled with water from the pool of Siloam and used for libations (Sukkah 4:9). Although this rite is not mentioned in the OT or Josephus it was probably carried out before the destruction of the temple (cf. C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel according to John*, 1955, 270). Jesus may well have been contrasting this water with the living water which he gives. Similarly, his pronouncement about being the light of the world (Jn. 8:12) may be an allusion to the lights used in the feast (Sukkah 5:2–5; cf. Barrett, op. cit., 277).

C. Brown

3. *Paul.* The two NT uses of *skēnos* are in 2 Cor. 5:1, 4 where the believer's earthly body is described as a temporary tent, in contrast to his heavenly body which will form his eternal dwelling (*oikētērion*). Throughout 2 Cor. 5:1–7 this *skēnos*-concept remains in or near the foreground of the apostle's thought. As used by Paul, *skēnos* suggests the impermanence and frustrating limitations of mortal embodiment (2 Cor. 5:2, 4, 6) and the Christian's pilgrimage of faith to the promised land of Christ's immediate presence (2 Cor. 5:6–8). Although no deprecation of the physical body is implied (as in Wis. 9:15), Paul was painfully aware of its inadequacy as an organ for either the human spirit or the Holy Spirit when compared to the resurrection body. In 2 Cor. 12:9 Paul uses *episkēnoō*, take up one's abode with, in his declaration that, "I will all the more gladly boast of my weaknesses, that the power of Christ may rest upon me." The passage concludes his discussion of his "thorn in the flesh" (→ Fruit, art. *skolops*).

4. *Hebrews.* Ten of the 20 NT uses of *skēnē* are in Heb., eight occurring in Heb. 8–9. The author contrasts the heavenly and true *skēnē* pitched by God (Heb. 8:1–2; 9:11) with the earthly tabernacle erected by → Moses at divine direction (Heb. 8:5; 9:24; cf. *to hagion kosmikon*, "the earthly sanctuary", 9:1). From Exod. 25:40 (cited in Heb. 8:5) it is clear that the earthly tabernacle was a precise model of a heavenly prototype visible to Moses. In Heb. 9:2–3, 6–8 a distinction is drawn between a front or outer ("first") *skēnē* and a rear or inner ("second") *skēnē*, between the Holy Place and the Holy of Holies, by which the writer highlights the severe restrictions placed on access into the Holy of Holies under the old economy.

M. J. Harris

Heb. 9:2–5 mentions various features of the tabernacle which stood in the holy place. The lampstand (*lychnia*) was made of gold (Exod. 25:31 ff.; 37:17 ff.); the later seven-branched ones were apparently more elaborate than the original one in the tabernacle. The table and the showbread (*hē trapeza kai hē prothesis tōn artōn*) is a hendiadys for the table of showbread. The latter means lit. the setting forth of the loaves. They were twelve freshly baked cakes placed there each sabbath. The Heb. expression *leḥem happānîm*, means "bread of the face", i.e. bread set before the face or presence of God (Exod. 25:30; 35:13; 39:36; cf. *leḥem hamma ʿarekeṭ*, "bread of setting in order", 1 Chr. 9:32). The old cakes went to the priests; no layman might eat them because they were "most holy" (Lev. 24:9; but cf. 1 Sam. 21:1–6 with Mk. 2:25 f.). The curtain separating the holy place from the outer sanctuary is here called *to deuteron katapetasma*, "the second curtain", distinguishing it from the screen by which one entered from the court (Exod. 26:36 f.; 36:37 f.; → Temple, art. *katapetasma*). On the golden altar of incense (*chrysoun thymiatērion*) → Sacrifice, art. *thyō* (on the precise meaning here see F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, *NLC*, 1964, 184–87). Bruce observes: "On the day in the year when the holy of

holies was entered the incense-altar played a significant part; not only was the holy of holies never entered without incense from the incense-altar (Lev. 16:12 f.), but the blood of the sin-offering on the Day of Atonement was sprinkled on the horns of the incense-altar as well as on the mercy-seat (Ex. 30:10; Lev. 16:15)" (op. cit., 187). The original ark of the covenant (*kibōtos tēs diathēkēs*) vanished from history with the destruction of Solomon's temple in 587 B.C. It was not replaced in the post-exilic temple. When Pompey forced his way into the holy of holies in 63 B.C. he found it empty (Josephus, *War* 1, 152 f.; *Ant.* 14, 71 f.; Tacitus, *History* 5, 9; cf. Pss. Sol. 2:1 f., 30 f.). On the golden urn holding manna see Exod. 16:33 f., on Aaron's rod Num. 17:1 ff., 10, and on the tables of the covenant, Exod. 25:16, 21 f. see Bruce, op. cit., 188 f. According to 1 Ki. 8:9 at the dedication of Solomon's temple, "There was nothing in the ark except the two tables of stone which Moses put there at Horeb, where the LORD made a covenant with the people of Israel, when they came out of the land of Egypt." On the "mercy seat" (*hilastērion*) (v. 5; cf. 4:16) see Reconciliation, art. *hilaskomai* OT 3 (c) and NT 4. However, as the argument of Heb. 9:6–10 goes on to show, the tabernacle and its day of atonement ritual is only temporary. It has all been superseded by Christ the "high priest of the good things that have come" (Heb. 9:11). *C. Brown*

Later in the book (Heb. 11:9, 13), tent-nomadism is associated with being strangers and exiles. Finally, in Heb. 13:10 "those who serve the tabernacle" probably does not refer to Christian believers, as if their worship were focused on some figurative altar in the heavenly sanctuary, but to all the worshippers belonging to the old order to whom the sacrifice of Christ (= "an altar," by metonymy) seemed superfluous.

5. *Peter.* In 2 Pet. 1:13 f. mortal existence and physical embodiment are equated with dwelling in a tent (*skēnōma*), death with the laying aside (or perhaps dismantling) of that tent (cf. Job 4:21 MT). However, because the idea of "laying aside" or "putting off" (*apothesis*, v. 14) refers more appropriately to a body than to a tent or dwelling, some prefer to render *skēnōma* in both these verses by "body" (so RSV text). This *apothesis* marks departure from earthly life (v. 15) and entrance into the eternal kingdom of Jesus Christ (v. 11). Note also that in Stephen's speech (Acts 7:46) *skēnōma* is applied to the habitation that David wished to build for the house (or God) of Jacob. *M. J. Harris*

→ Priest, → Sacrifice, → Temple

(a). C. K. Barrett, "The Eschatology of the Epistle to the Hebrews", in W. D. Davies and D. Daube, eds., *The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology. In Honour of Charles Harold Dodd*, 1954, 363–93; J. Blenkinsopp, "Kiriath-jearim and the Ark", *JBL* 88, 1969, 143–56; J. O. Boyd, "What was in the Ark?", *EQ* 11, 1939, 164 ff.; F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, *NLC* 1964, 161 ff., 181 ff., 398 ff.; W. S. Caldecott, *The Tabernacle: Its History and Structure*, 1904; B. S. Childs, *Exodus*, 1974; F. M. Cross, Jr., "The Tabernacle", *BA* 10, 3, 1947; C. L. Feinberg, "Tabernacle", *ZPEB* V 572–83; G. H. Davies, "Tabernacle", *IDB* IV 498–506; and "The Ark in the Psalms", in F. F. Bruce, ed., *Promise and Fulfilment: Essays Presented to S. H. Hooke*, 1963, 51–61; D. W. Gooding, *The Account of the Tabernacle*, 1959; M. L. G. Guillebaud, "Tent over the Tabernacle", *EQ* 31, 1959, 90–96; M. Haran, "The Nature of the *'ōhel mô'ēḏ* in Pentateuchal Sources", *JSS* 5, 1960, 50–65; and "Shiloh and Jerusalem: the Origin of the Priestly Tradition in the Pentateuch", *JBL* 81, 1962, 14–24; A. H. Hillyard, *The Tabernacle in the Wilderness or the Reality of God in the Physical World*, 1965; J. P. Hyatt, *Exodus*, *New Century Bible*, 1971; A. Jacob, *God's Tent*, 1961; A. R. S. Kennedy, "Taber-

nacle", *HDB* IV 653–68; W. Michaelis, *skēnē* etc. *TDNT* VII 368–94; G. von Rad, "The Tent and the Ark", in *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays*, 1965, 103–24; C. W. F. Smith, "Tabernacles in the Fourth Gospel and Mark", *NTS* 9, 1962–63, 139–46; J. Strong, *The Tabernacle of Israel in the Desert*, 1888; J. Swetnam, "The Greater and More Perfect Tent: A Contribution to the Discussion of Hebrews ix, 11", *Biblica* 47, 1966, 91–106.
(b). J. Bovet, "Sur le Tabernacle", *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses* 21, 1933, 277–80; M. Haran, "*mhwṯw šl h'hl mw'd* (The Tent of Meeting)", *Tarbiz* 25, 1955, 11–20 (English summary, iii–v); R. Hartmann, "Zelt und Lade", *ZAW* 37, 1917–18, 209–44; M. H. Segal, "*lmhwṯw šl 'hl mw'd* (On the Tent of Meeting)", *Tarbiz* 25, 1956, 231 ff. (English summary, viii–ix); G. Wagner, "Le Tabernacle et la Vie 'en Christ'. Exégèse de 2 Corinthiens 5:1 à 10", *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses* 41, 1961, 379 ff.

Thank, Praise, Eucharist

αἰνέω

αἰνέω (*aineō*), to praise; *αἶνος* (*ainos*), praise; *ἐπαινέω* (*epaineō*), praise; *ἔπαινος* (*epainos*), praise.

CL In secular Gk. *aineō* meant: (a) to mention, especially mention honourably, and so praise; (b) to vow, to promise, and so simply say. The noun *ainos* meant a saying which is particularly pregnant with meaning, cleverly phrased, or needing explanation. So it developed the meanings: (a) proverb, story, fable; (b) praise, eulogy. The compound verb *epaineō* meant in popular speech: (a) to approve, sanction; (b) to praise, give a public mark of esteem. The corresponding noun *epainos* meant praise, approval, sanction, agreement, song of praise (about a man; for a deity *hymnos*, → song, hymn, was used).

OT The LXX uses *aineō* to translate the Heb. *hālal*, chiefly in the piel: Jdg. 16:24A; 1 Chr. 16:4, 10, 36; 23:5; 29:13; 2 Chr. 8:14; 20:19, 21; 23:12; 2 Esd. 3:10 f.; Neh. 5:13; 12:24; Pss. 18(17):3; 22(21):23, 26; 35(34):18; 56(55):10; 63(62):5; 69(68):30, 34; 74(73):21; 84(83):4; 102(101):18; 107(106):32; 109(108):30; 113 (112):1, 3; 115:17 (113:25); 117(116):1; 119(118):164, 175; 135(134):1, 3; 145 (144):2; 146(145):1 f.; 147(146):1; 147:12(1); 148:1–4, 7, 12; 149:3; 150:1–6; Prov. 31:28, 30 f.; Cant. 6:8; Joel 2:26; Isa. 62:9; Jer. 4:2; 20:13; 38:7. Other vbs. translated by *aineō* are: *bārak̲*, bless (Ps. 100[99]:4); *yāḏâh*, confess (Gen. 49:8; 1 Chr. 16:7, 35, 41; 23:30; 2 Chr. 5:13; 7:3; 31:2; Isa. 38:18); *rûa'*, shout (Job 38:7); *šāḇaḥ*, praise, laud (Ps. 117[116]:1 S; Dan. 2:23; 5:23); *šîr*, sing (Ps. 106[105]:12). It occurs in circumlocutions at Neh. 12:37 and 2 Chr. 20:21. It is without equivalent at Neh. 12:36; Tob. 13:11, 18; Jud. 13:14; Est. 4:17; Job 33:30; 35:14; Wis. 10:20; 19:9; Sir. 17:10, 27 f.; 21:15; 24:1; 30:2; 39:9, 14; 47:6; 51:6; Jer. 31(38):5; Bar. 2:32; 3:6 f.; 1 Macc. 4:33; 3 Macc. 2:8; 5:13, 35; 6:32). The vb. *epaineō* also chiefly stands for *hālal*: Gen. 12:15; Jdg. 6:20; Pss. 10:3 (9:24); 34(33):2; 44(43):8; 56(55):3; 63(62):11; 64(63):10; 102(101):8; 105(104):3; 106(105):5. It also stands for *šāḇaḥ*: Pss. 63(62):3; 117(116):1; 145(144):4; 147:12(1); Eccl. 4:2; 8:15. It is without Heb. equivalent at Eccl. 8:10; Sir. prol. 3; 9:17; 27:7; Dan. 5:1; 3 Macc. 4:16; 4 Macc. 1:10; 2:2; 4:4; 13:3, 17.

The noun *ainesis* which is infrequent in the NT is relatively common in the LXX standing for 8 different Heb. words (e.g. Lev. 7:12–15[2–5]; Pss. 9:14; 26[25]:7).

ainos is rare (e.g. 2 Chr. 23:13; Ps. 8:2), as is *epainos* (e.g. 2 Chr. 16:27; Pss. 22[21]:3, 25; 35[34]:28).

The LXX uses *aineō* only in sense (a) above, i.e. to praise. There is, however, a striking variation as regards the Heb. We find *hillēl* used in secular contexts (e.g. in Gen. 12:15 of a beautiful woman and in 2 Sam. 14:25 of a handsome man; in Prov. 27:2 in condemnation of self-praise; in Ps. 10:3 of praise by the wicked; in Jdg. 16:24 of the praise of Dagon). The LXX tries as far as possible to avoid *aineō* in its rendering of such passages (cf. the renderings of the *v.l. hymnēsan* in Jdg. 16:24 B, S), and to keep it for the regular praise of God in proper worship, especially in Pss. 146; 150. Correspondingly *ainos* renders the infin. *hallēl* (cf. 2 Chr. 23:13). *epaineō* and *epainos* are used for the praise of God by his people, and also for the praise of the righteous by God and man.

NT 1. *aineō* is found 8 times in the NT, 6 of which are in the Lucan writings (Lk. 2:13, 20; 19:37; Acts 2:47; 3:8, 9), and in addition Rom. 15:11 (quoting Ps. 117:1) and Rev. 19:5. *ainos* is found only in Lk. 18:43 and Matt. 21:16 (quoting Ps. 8:2[3] according to the LXX, where strangely the Gk. translates Heb. *ʿōz*, strength, by *ainos*). We find the usage of the LXX carried through rigorously; both vb. and noun are used only of the praise of God. The compounds *epaineō* and *epainos* are used for both God and man.

2. In contrast to secular Gk., the word-group in the NT does not mean praise for a special achievement; it is applied to the whole man, and not merely to acts (cf. → Glory, arts. *timē, doxa*). The manner in which *epainos* and *epaineō* in particular are used shows clearly that ultimately only God can give this recognition (Rom. 2:29) in his saving verdict on the day of judgment (Rom. 2:29; 1 Cor. 4:5; 1 Pet. 1:7). At the present time, however, a man may receive praise from those who have authority from God, from the church (2 Cor. 8:18), the apostle (1 Cor. 11:2, 17, 22) and from the authorities appointed by God (Rom. 13:3 f.; 1 Pet. 2:14).

3. This word-group is preferred (*aineō* and *ainos* are exclusively so used) where it is a question of the formal praise of God in thanksgivings, prayers and hymns (Matt. 21:16; cf. Ps. 8:2[3]; Lk. 2:13, 20; 18:43; 19:37 f.; Acts 2:47; 3:8, 9; Rom. 15:11; Eph. 1:3–6; Phil. 1:11). This praise is given in the present, but reaches its full development in the new creation (Phil. 1:11; Rev. 19:5). *ainesis* occurs in the expression "sacrifice of praise" (Heb. 13:15), where the Christian's → sacrifice is contrasted with Jewish sacrifices (cf. Lev. 7:12 f., 18 with Heb. 13:10 ff.). *H. Schultz*

εὐχαριστία *εὐχαριστία* (*eucharistia*), thanksgiving; *εὐχαριστέω* (*eucharisteō*), be thankful, thank; *εὐχάριστος* (*eucharistos*), thankful.

CL The noun comes from the root *chair-/char-*, the main words of which express the feeling of → joy; it is a derivative of *charis* (everything about which one rejoices; → Grace) compounded with *eu*, well, rightly, properly, very (adv.). It means: (a) thankful attitude; (b) its expression in the showing of gratitude, expression of gratitude, thanksgiving (from Hippocrates, 5th cent. B.C. on). The adj. *eucharistos* is equally old and means: (a) pleasant, well-behaved, witty; (b) thankful. The vb.

eucharisteō is found with the meaning: (a) be thankful, owe thanks, from Dem. 4th cent. B.C. on; (b) give thanks, from Polyb., 2nd cent. B.C. on. Naturally these words are often found in inscriptions.

OT The word-group is only once represented in the canonical books of the OT, viz. Prov. 11:16 where the adj. translates Heb. *ḥēn* (generally otherwise rendered), charming, graceful, well-mannered. In the apocryphal books of the LXX the verb is found 6 times (Jud. 8:25; Wis. 18:2; 2 Macc. 1:11; 10:7; 12:31; 3 Macc. 7:16), the noun 4 times (Est. 8:13; Wis. 16:28; Sir. 37:11; 2 Macc. 2:27). Both are used for thanks from man to man and from man to God.

1. In 2 Macc. 12:31 the Maccabeans thank certain heathen for the kindness shown the Jews living in Scythopolis. In Ad. Est. 16:4 certain officials withhold the gratitude that they owe to their benefactor, the Persian king. In Sir. 37:11 experience shows that one should not consult with a grudging man about gratitude. The writer of 2 Macc. says that he took upon himself the task of evaluating his sources "to secure the gratitude of many" (2:27 *v.l.*: "for the benefit of readers in general" NEB).

2. Reasons for thankfulness to God are salvation from oppression by enemies and persecution (2 Macc. 1:11; 3 Macc. 7:16), victory won (2 Macc. 10:7 *v.l.* RSV), but also being put to the test, which is welcomed and accepted as an opportunity for God to work out his salvation in preservation (Jud. 8:25). Wis. 18:2 records the thanks of the holy ones for their preservation from guilt towards those who abuse them (but RSV, NEB see it as the thanks of their enemies for their forbearance). Wis. 16:28 advises men to begin the day before dawn with thanksgiving. There is hence no indication that the word received any specific theological colouring from the OT.

NT In the NT the words are most used by Paul (the vb. 24 times; noun 12 times). Only the vb. is found in the Gospels, 11 times; Acts has the vb. twice and the noun once; Rev. has the vb. once, the noun twice. The Catholic Epistles do not use the words at all. The adj. is found only in Col. 3:15.

1. *eucharisteō* and *eucharistia* are almost exclusively reserved in the NT for thanksgiving to God. Only 3 times (Lk. 17:16; Acts 24:3; Rom. 16:4) are they used for thanks to men, but the first and last instances are to be understood in the context of spiritual action, while in Acts 24:3 we have an example of respectful Jewish speech.

2. These words are very common in the introductions to the Pauline letters. Whatever detailed admonition and criticism may follow, the apostle frequently writes in his introductory greeting of his thankfulness to God for those to whom he is writing; for their faith and its influence "in all the world" (Rom. 1:8, note the thanks through Jesus Christ; cf. also 2 Cor. 1:11); for the harmony between faith and love in action (Eph. 1:15 f.; Col. 1:3 f.; 1 Thess. 1:3, here because both gifts were growing; Phlm. 4 f.); for the grace given to the church (1 Cor. 1:4); for sharing in the gospel (Phil. 1:5); for God's work of election (2 Thess. 2:13); for steadfastness in hope (1 Thess. 1:2 f.). We should note that Paul did not use a standard form, but moulded his thanksgiving to lead up to the theme of his letter.

3. When Paul summoned his readers to thanksgiving amidst his exhortations he normally used the noun. The term is always used absolutely; this marks out thanksgiving and the showing of gratitude as basic and lasting elements of the Chris-

tian life. This is explicit in Eph. 5:20 ("giving thanks in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ"); Col. 3:17; 1 Thess. 5:18; Col. 3:15 (the adj.). No petition and intercession can be made without simultaneous thanksgiving (Phil. 4:6; Col. 2:7; 4:2; 1 Tim. 2:1). A life based on thanksgiving (Eph. 5:4) is the converse of an evil life.

4. The vb. is found in Matt. 15:36 par. Mk. 8:6; Acts 27:35; Rom. 14:6; 1 Cor. 10:30; and the noun in 1 Tim. 4:3 (the general feeling of thankfulness is not to be excluded in the last 3) in the technical sense of the benediction before a meal, according to Jewish custom, beginning with the words, "Blessed art Thou, LORD [i.e. Yahweh], our God, King of the universe ..." (cf. SB I 685 ff.). The vb. is found also in the words of institution of the → Lord's Supper, with both bread and wine in Lk. 22:17, 19, with the bread only in 1 Cor. 11:24 (but v. 25 "in the same way" implies it for the wine), with the wine only in Mk. 14:23; Matt. 26:27 (but the use of "blessed" with the bread is an equivalent; → Bless). Hence, during the 2nd cent., *eucharistia* became the general name for the whole service of the Lord's Supper, as may be seen in the minor textual variant, *eucharistias* instead of *eulogias*, in 1 Cor. 10:16. We have prayers of thanksgiving quoted in Lk. 18:11 f. (the self-satisfied Pharisee) and Jn. 11:41 f. (Jesus at the tomb of Lazarus). The term is used absolutely in 1 Cor. 14:16 f. for a prayer of thanksgiving in a tongue.

5. Apart from the introductions of his letters (see above, 2) Paul frequently mentions praise for general and specific gifts of grace, for increasing grace (2 Cor. 4:15), for a share "in the inheritance of the saints in light" (Col. 1:12), for the reception of the word preached by man as the word of God (1 Thess. 2:13), for the gift of tongues (1 Cor. 14:18). For all that, in 1 Cor. 14:18 (cf. 1:14) there is a depreciatory note, when he speaks about his thanksgiving, so as to deflect the interest of his readers to the true building up and unity of the church. The collection received would awaken thanksgiving to God among those who received it (2 Cor. 9:11 f.).

6. 1 Thess. 3:9 f. shows Paul planning to put thanksgiving into practice. On 2 Thess. 1:3 see R. D. Aus, "The Liturgical Background of the Necessity and Propriety of Giving Thanks According to 2 Thes. 1:3", *JBL* 92, 1973, 432–38. The failure of any such activity shows the inadequate knowledge of God among the heathen (Rom. 1:21).

7. Both noun and vb. can mean the thanksgiving of the doxologies in the apocalyptic hymns (Rev. 4:9; 7:12; 11:17). *H.-H. Esser*

→ Blessing, → Curse, → Grace, → Lord's Supper, → Prayer

(a). R. D. Aus, "The Liturgical Background of the Necessity and Propriety of Giving Thanks according to 2 Thes. 1:3", *JBL* 92, 1973, 432–38; G. H. Boobyer, *"Thanksgiving" and the "Glory of God" in Paul*, 1929; H. Conzelmann, *eucharisteō* etc., *TDNT* IX 407–15; J. Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, 1966[2]; and *The Prayers of Jesus*, *SBT* Second Series 6, 1967; B. A. Mastin, "Jesus said Grace", *SJT* 24, 1971, 449–56; H. Schlier, *aineō*, *ainos*, *TDNT* I 177 f.; P. Schubert, *Form and Function of the Pauline Thanksgivings*, *BZNW* 20, 1939; A. Stöger, "Thanksgiving", *EBT* III 906–10; G. P. Wiles, *Paul's Intercessory Prayers: The Significance of the Intercessory Prayer Passages in the Letters of St. Paul, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series* 24, 1974.

(b). H. Greeven, *Gebet und Eschatologie im Neuen Testament*, *Neutestamentliche Forschungen*, 3, 1, 1931; G. Harder, *Paulus und das Gebet*, *Neutestamentliche Forschungen*, 1, 10, 1936; J. Jeremias, "Das Gebetsleben Jesu", *ZNW* 25, 1926, 123 ff.; P. Joüon, "Reconnaissance et Action de Grâces dans le Nouveau Testament", *RSR* 29, 1939, 112 ff.; E. Mocsy, "De Gratiarum Actione in Epistolis Paulinis", *Verbum Domini* 21, 1941, 193–201; J. M. Nielen, *Gebet und Gottesdienst im Neuen*

Testament, 1937; T. Schermann, "*eucharistia* und *eucharistein* in ihrem Bedeutungswandel bis 200 n. Chr.", *Philologus* 69, 1910, 375–410; J. Wobbe, *Der Charisgedanke bei Paulus*, *NTAbh* 13, 3, 1932.

Think, Mean, Consider, Reckon

διαλογίζομαι

διαλογίζομαι (*dialogizomai*), ponder, consider, reason; διαλογισμός (*dialogismos*), thought, opinion, reasoning, consideration, argument; διαλέγομαι (*dialegomai*), discuss.

CL The meaning of *dialegomai* in cl. and Hellenistic Gk. is expressed by our loan-word dialogue; it means hold a conversation, chat. It was used by the poets with a neutral sense, but in the philosophers it came to mean conversation with teaching as its object: one debates and learns in so doing. The vb. *dialogizomai*, calculate, consider, think through, is closely linked with it, and similarly the noun *dialogismos*, weighing, consideration, thought, discussion.

OT The LXX uses *dialegomai*, when it translates *dāḇar*, speak, mainly with the meanings of speak, say, both of God and man; it is also used with the meanings of negotiate with someone, make a speech, and sometimes also dispute. It translates *dāḇar* at Exod. 6:27; Isa. 63:1; and *rîḇ*, strive, contend, at Jdg. 8:1. It is also found without Heb. equivalent at 1 Esd. 8:46; Est. 5:2; and 2 Macc. 11:20. The related *dialogizomai* chiefly translates *ḥāšaḇ*, think, account, and is found at 2 Sam. 14:14; 19:20(19); Pss. 10:3 (9:23); 21(20):11; 35(34):20; 36(35):4; 77(76):5; 119(118):59; Prov. 16:30; Jer. 50(27):45. It stands for *zāmām*, consider, purpose, devise at Ps. 140(139):9. It is without Heb. equivalent at Prov. 17:12; Isa. 19:10; 1 Macc. 11:8; 2 Macc. 12:43; 4 Macc. 8:11. The noun *dialogismos* stands chiefly for *maḥᵃšāḇâh*, thought, device, plan, purpose: Pss. 40(39):5; 56(55):5; 92(91):5; 94(93):11; Isa. 59:7; Jer. 4:14; 50(27):45; Lam. 3:60 f.; Dan. Theodotion 11:24. It stands for *rēa'*, purpose, aim at Ps. 139(138):2, and *ra'yôn*, longing, striving in Theodotion's version of Dan. 2:29 f.; 4:16; 5:6, 10; 7:28; 11:24. It is also found at Ps. 139(138):20 (for *mᵉzimmâh*, purpose, direction, device); Ps. 146(145):4 (for *'eštōnôṯ*, thoughts); and at Wis. 7:20; Sir. 9:15; 13:26; 27:5; 33(26):5; 40:2, 29; Dan. 7:15; 1 Macc. 2:63.

dialogizomai is used with a neutral connotation for consider, think over (e.g. Ps. 77:5), but more often with the depreciatory sense of harbour ill designs, intrigue (Pss. 10:2; 35:20; 36:4). The noun *dialogismos* also often means the perverse, vain thinking which contemplates destruction (Ps. 94:11), and is turned against God (Jer. 4:14; Isa. 59:7) and against the pious (Ps. 56[55]:5). We see this particularly clearly in Ben Sira's picture of the fool's *dialogismos* as the cart-wheel constantly turning round its axle (Sir. 33:5). But the word is also used for God's profound (Ps. 92[91]:5) and wonderful (Ps. 40[39]:5) thoughts.

NT 1. In the NT also, *dialogizomai* and *dialogismos* are always used with a slightly depreciatory connotation. The thoughts of the human heart do not necessarily lead, as the Greeks thought, to a knowledge of the truth (cf. 1 Cor. 1:21–25), but are evil (Mk. 7:21; Matt. 15:19), full of doubt and suspicion (Mk. 2:6, 8; Lk. 5:22; 6:8), moved by the passing moment (Lk. 3:15), full of greed (Lk. 12:17; 20:14), always concerned with the superficial (Mk. 8:16 f.; Matt. 16:7 f.) and full of sly calculation

(Matt. 11:25; Mk. 11:31). The decision made by men about Jesus shows what men really are and think (Lk. 2:35; cf. v. 34). Even the man who has decided for Jesus cannot be certain that he will not fall back into his old ways of thought. But Jesus unmasked the ambitious thoughts of his disciples (Lk. 9:46 f.; Mk. 9:33 f.) and brought the attitude of faith to light through the example of the child (cf. v. 48).

In Rom. 1:21 Paul says that, as a result of rejecting God, men "became futile in their thinking"; in Rom. 14:1 he speaks of "disputes over opinions" which arise from lack of faith. In 1 Cor. 3:20 we find "the thoughts of the wise are futile"; in Phil. 2:14 we have the questioning (*dialogismos*) which is the germ of apathy. In 1 Tim. 2:8 we find the word used without an adj. for "quarrelsome thoughts" (NEB).

2. *dialegomai* means in Mk. 9:33 f. and Jude 9 to argue, fight with words; but in Heb. 12:5 it is used of God's speaking through fatherly discipline. This usage is derived from the LXX. The other examples of *dialegomai* in the NT are found in Acts 17–24 (17:2, 17; 18:4, 19; 19:8 f.; 20:7, 9; 24:12, 25). The word here has become a technical term for Paul's teaching in the synagogue and approaches the meaning of give an address, preach. It refers to the reading and exposition of the OT, which were, in theory at least, permitted to every adult man in the synagogue (cf. Lk. 4:16–21). The RSV rendering "argue" is justified in so far as the audience was permitted to ask questions (→ Teach, art. *didaskō*). *D. Fürst*

δοκέω

δοκέω (*dokeō*), trans. think, believe, suppose, consider; intrans. seem, appear.

CL *dokeō* (from Homer on): 1. trans. (a) believe, accept the opinion, think, hold, assume, (b) conclude; 2. intrans. assume an appearance, appear and hence: (a) give an impression, pass for; (b) pose as, act as; 3. impersonal *dokei mou*, it seems to me, it seems best, I decide.

OT *dokeō* which occurs some 50 times in the LXX remained uninfluenced by the change of meaning given there to *doxa*, → glory. It stands for 8 different Heb. expressions: *'āmar*, say (Prov. 28:24); *hāyâh k^e*, it was as if (Gen. 19:14); *ḥāšaḇ*, think, account (Gen. 38:15; Prov. 27:14); *ṭôḇ*, good (Est. 1:19; 3:9; 5:4; 8:5), and *ṭôḇ b^e'ênê*, good in the eyes of (Est. 8:8); *yāšār*, right (Jer. 27[34]:5) and *yāšār b^e'ênê*, right in the eyes of (Job 9:25); *nāḏaḇ* and *nāḏîḇ*, be willing (Exod. 25:2; 35:21 f.); *nāśā'*, lift up (Exod. 35:26); and *ṣ^eḇā'* (Theodotion's version of Dan. Sus. 4:14, 22, 29; 5:21). But in the majority of the references in the LXX it occurs in the non-canonical writings, especially 2 and 3 Macc., or passages where it does not translate a Heb. equivalent: 1 Esd. 8:11; Tob. 3:15; Jud. 3:8; Job 1:21; 15:21; 20:7, 22; Prov. 2:10; 14:12; 16:25; 17:28; 26:12; Wis. 3:2; 12:27; Sir. prol. 14; Dan. Sus. 5; and 4:34; 1 Macc. 8:26, 28; 15:20; 2 Macc. 1:13, 20; 2:29; 5:6; 7:16; 9:8, 10; 14:14, 40; 3 Macc. 1:26, 29; 5:5 f., 22, 40, 49; 6:30; 4 Macc. 5:6, 9; 9:30; 11:5, 16; 13:14.

The meanings are the same as in secular Gk., except that we occasionally find the sense of desire, wish (e.g. Jud. 3:8). The most usual meaning is to seem, appear. It is used by LXX to interpret the subjective element in Heb. narrative: e.g. in Gen. 38:15 Judah's reaction is more strongly stressed, while in a passage like Job 15:21 it goes beyond the Heb. text.

NT *dokeō* is found 62 times in the NT. 32 instances are found in the Gospels: Matt. 3:9; 6:7; 17:25; 18:12; 21:28; 22:17, 42; 24:44; 26:53, 66; Mk. 6:49; 10:42; Lk. 1:3; 8:18; 10:36; 12:40, 51; 13:2, 4; 19:11; 22:24; 24:37; Jn. 5:39, 45; 11:13, 31, 56; 13:29; 16:2; 20:15. There are 8 instances in Acts: Acts 12:9; 15:22, 25, 28, 34; 17:18; 25:27; 26:9; 27:13. Paul uses the vb. 18 times: 1 Cor. 3:18; 4:9; 7:40; 8:2; 10:12; 11:16; 12:22 f.; 14:37; 2 Cor. 10:9; 11:16; 12:19; Gal. 2:2, 6, 9; 6:3; Phil. 3:4. It is also found in Heb. 12:11; and Jas. 1:26; 4:5. The following senses may be distinguished.

1. (a) In Lk. 8:18 Jesus warns: "Take heed then how you hear; for to him who has will more be given, and from him who has not, even what he thinks he has [*ho dokei echein*] will be taken away" (cf. Mk. 4:24). The phrase expresses the illusory state of the man who thought that he had a tangible and permanent security. Jn. 5:45 conveys the challenge to give up an existing opinion, while 2 Cor. 11:16 speaks of an opinion which cannot yet be reached. There is a conflict of opinion as to how *mē doxēte* in Matt. 3:9 is to be understood. It is generally taken to mean "do not presume", in the sense "do not think out a way to escape the wrath of God." It is more likely, however, that the passage means that John had already read the objections of his hearers in their hearts and reveals them, "Do not suppose . . ." or "Do not think that. . . ." In that case *mē doxēte*, like *mē arxēsthe*, "Do not begin to . . ." (Lk. 3:8) are two different reproductions of Aram. *ʿanā* (so E. Lohmeyer, *Das Evangelium des Matthäus*, ed. W. Schmauch, *KEK* 1/1, 1967 [4], ad loc.).

(b) The meaning to conclude is found especially in Acts (e.g. 15:22, 25, 28, RSV "seem good") (→ Command, art. *dogma*).

2. (a) In Gal. 2:2, 6, 9 Paul calls the Jerusalem apostles *hoi dokountes*, i.e. those who matter, the recognized authorities; in v. 9 the *dokountes styloi einai*, those recognized as pillars, the leaders, i.e. James, Peter, John, are specially mentioned. This is not necessarily an ironic point here against the other apostles, for this expression is often found of a recognized authority in extra-biblical literature. But on this passage see further C. K. Barrett, "Paul and the 'Pillar' Apostles", in J. N. Sevenster and W. C. van Unnik, eds., *Studia Paulina*, 1953, 1–19.

(b) On the other hand, in passages like 1 Cor. 8:2, "any one imagines", it means an opinion based on self-deception.

3. Noteworthy is the question formed with the impersonal *dokei*, i.e. *ti dokei hymin*, "What do you think?", found in Jn. 11:56 and various passages in Matt. (e.g. 18:12; 21:28; 22:42). It demands an answer which will commit the one questioned, unlike all mere opinions. This is also the question put by the high priest to the Sanhedrin (Matt. 26:66, where RSV gives a paraphrase) so as to provoke them to pass a judgment on Jesus. *D. Müller*

λογίζομαι

λογίζομαι (*logizomai*); reckon, think, credit; *λογισμός* (*logismos*), thought.

CL *logizomai* (from Aristoph. and Thuc.) is derived from *legō* (→ Word), count, collect, reckon. Its root *log-*, put together, collect, harvest, suggests a regulated perception and an acceptance of given facts. Hence, *logizomai* means: (a) reckon, credit, rank with, calculate; (b) consider, deliberate, grasp, draw a logical conclusion,

decide. Accordingly *logismos* means: (a) counting, calculation; (b) reflection, argument, thought, plan; (c) the ability to draw a logical conclusion. The concept implies an activity of the reason which, starting with ascertainable facts, draws a conclusion, especially a mathematical one or one appertaining to business, where calculations are essential. Plato uses it for thought unaffected by the emotions, which seeks to grasp objective facts and apply them (*Phd.* 65c; cf. H. W. Heidland, *TDNT* IV 284).

OT *logizomai* translates chiefly *ḥāšaḇ*, think, account: Gen. 15:6; 31:15; Lev. 7:18(8); 17:4; 25:31; 27:23; Num. 18:27, 30; Deut. 2:11, 20; 1 Sam. 1:13; 18:25; 2 Sam. 4:2; 14:13 f.; 19:20(19); 1 Ki. 10:21; 2 Chr. 9:20; Neh. 6:2, 6; 13:13; Job 41:21(20), 24(23); Pss. 32(31):2; 35(34):4; 36(35):4; 41(40):7; 44(43):22; 52(51):2; 106(105):31; 140(139):2, 4; 144(143):3; Prov. 16:9(1), 30; 17:28; Hos. 7:15; 8:12; Amos 6:5; Mic. 2:1, 3; Nah. 1:9; Zech. 8:17; Isa. 5:28; 10:7; 13:17; 29:16 f.; 32:15; 33:8; 40:15; 53:3 f.; Jer. 11:19; 18:8, 11, 18; 23:27; 50(27):45; 49(29):20; 49(30):30; 48(31):2; 26(33):3; 29(36):11; 36(43):3; Lam. 4:2; Ezek. 11:2; 38:10; Dan. Theodotion 4:32; 11:24 f. The other terms which it translates are found only rarely: *hāyâh*, to be (2 Sam. 19:44[43]); *mānâh* in the niphal, to count (Isa. 53:12); *qārā'*, niphal, call (Deut. 3:13); and *šûḇ*, return, consider (Isa. 44:19). It is also found without Heb. equivalents, particularly in Wis. and Macc.: Tob. 3:10; 10:1; 14:4; Job 31:28; 34:37; Ps. 119(118):119; Prov. 24:7; Eccl. 10:3; Wis. 2:1, 16, 21; 3:2, 10, 17; 5:4; 7:9; 8:17; 9:6; 14:20; 15:2, 12, 15; 17:13; Sir. 29:6; 40:19; Nah. 1:11; 1 Macc. 2:52; 3:52; 4:35; 6:9, 19; 10:38; 2 Macc. 6:12; 11:2; 3 Macc. 4:4; 5:16; 4 Macc. 3:15; 8:16, 19.

logismos translates various nouns formed from *ḥāšaḇ*: 2 Sam. 14:14; Est. 1:1; Ps. 33(32):10 f.; Prov. 6:18; 12:5; 15:22, 26; 19:21; Eccl. 7:27(28), 29(30); 9:10; Mic. 4:12; Nah. 1:11; Isa. 66:18; Jer. 4:14; 11:19; 18:11, 18; 50(27):45; 51(29):20; 49(30):30; 29(36):11; Ezek. 33:10; Dan. 11:24 f. But the vast majority of instances occur in the non-canonical books of the LXX especially Macc.: Jud. 8:14; Wis. 1:3, 5; 9:14; 11:15; 12:10; 17:12; 19:3; Sir. 27:4 f., 7; 40:29; 43:23; 1 Macc. 11:8; 2 Macc. 6:23; 7:21; 3 Macc. 5:12; 4 Macc. 1:1–35; 2:2–34; 3:1–19; 5:10, 31, 38; 6:7, 30–35; 7:1–24; 9:17, 30; 10:19; 11:25, 27; 13:1, 3, 16; 14:2, 11; 15:1, 11, 23; 16:1, 4; 18:2.

ḥāšaḇ occurs in the Dead Sea Scrolls at 1QpHab 1:9; 1QS 3:1, 4; 5:11, 17 f.; 11:21; 1QM 5:5, 14; 7:11; 1QH 2:32; 3:6, 24; 4:8 f., 14, 23; 5:26, 38; 8:11, 14; 10:5; 18:26; 4Qflor 1:9; CD 19:35; 20:19 (cf. F. Nötscher, *Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumrantexte*, 1956, 52 f.).

logizomai receives a new and personal slant in the LXX, for it mainly represents Heb. *ḥāšaḇ*, regard as, reckon as, respect, think out, think, care for, plan, intend, which is also represented occasionally by *eulabeomai*, *phrontizō*, *epistrephō*, etc. The objective reckoning of the intellect is replaced in the meaning of this word by the feeling of the heart conditioned by individual personality (e.g. Isa. 10:7; Ps. 140:2; Zech. 8:17; Mic. 2:3; Nah. 1:9 ff.). The personal element is seen also in the reckoning of → guilt or → righteousness (e.g. Gen. 15:6; 2 Sam. 19:19), and often in the Pss. (e.g. Ps. 32:2) and in the cultic imputation of guilt or purification (e.g. Lev. 7:18; 17:4). This is clearest when the thinking is directed against another person (e.g. 2 Sam. 14:13 f.; Hos. 7:15; Jer. 11:19).

While *logizomai* originally denoted a non-religious, human activity, in the LXX,

consistently with Heb. *ḥāšaḇ*, it is sometimes used for man's relationship to God, and very often for God's purposes with men, whether they are thoughts of → peace (Jer. 29:11 [LXX 36:11]; 2 Sam. 14:14) or punitive judgments (Jer. 49:20 [LXX 30:14]; 50:45 [LXX 27:45]), or whether he will change them, if his people will only repent (Jer. 26:3 [LXX 33:3]; 36:3 [LXX 43:3]). Hence, the concept, which in Heb. expresses the emotional and personal, and in Gk. the objective understanding of calculation and evaluation, can express both sides of the biblical message. God's personal, righteous dealings with his people on the basis of his law alone enable them to believe and to count on God. God does not act in an arbitrary and incalculable fashion; he has revealed his purpose and plan of salvation through the prophetic word (→ Covenant).

NT *logizomai* occurs 40 times in the NT of which 34 are in Paul (Rom. 2:3, 26; 3:28; 4:3 quoting Gen. 15:6; 4:4, 5, 6, 8 quoting Ps. 32:2; 4:9 ff., 22 ff.; 6:11; 8:18, 36 quoting Ps. 44:23; 9:8; 14:14; 1 Cor. 4:1; 13:5, 11; 2 Cor. 3:5; 5:19; 10:2, 7, 11; 11:5; 12:6; Gal. 3:6 quoting Gen. 15:6; Phil. 3:13; 4:8; 2 Tim. 4:16). It also occurs in Mk. 15:28 par. Lk. 22:37 quoting Isa. 53:12; Jn. 11:50; Acts 19:27; Heb. 11:19; Jas. 2:23; 1 Pet. 5:12; *logismos* occurs only at Rom. 2:15 and 2 Cor. 10:5.

1. Paul uses *logizomai* and *logismos* in relating the foundation of faith to the → righteousness of God. Since he associated it with the facts of the cross and resurrection of Jesus, he never separated the concept of *logizomai* from the personal activity of God in Jesus Christ. For him, faith was not an objective observing from a neutral vantage point, but being conquered by the crucified and risen Lord.

(a) When Paul in Rom. 2:15 mentions the thoughts (*logismoi*) which bring arguments of mutual accusation, he is not thinking of unemotional, philosophical thought, but of that reckoning and deduction which separates the good from the evil in a man's conscience and in the process stands before God. Popular philosophy speaks of → conscience, but the apostle says that it is the living God who so bears testimony in the heart. For behind all the strivings of the heathen there lies a standard, which God has fixed and fixes, the work of the law written on their hearts. Failure to reach this standard is recognized as guilt by the conscience, and the thoughts of the heart reckon in practice with God's judgment, as is shown by the conflicting thoughts accusing and defending. (On this passage see C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Epistle to the Romans*, *ICC*, I, 1975, 155–63; → God, art. *theos* NT 4 (b).)

Man, however, uses his thoughts to fortify himself against the knowledge of the true God and his claims to obedience (2 Cor. 10:4 f.). Hence, Paul was concerned in his missionary work to reveal the divine purpose and act in Christ, and in the full authority of God to take men's clever thoughts prisoner (2 Cor. 3:5), so that their proud arrogance (*hypsōma*) should bow to Christ in conquered and liberated freedom (cf. 2 Cor. 10:5). Even so, this obedient *logismos* remains partial until it is perfected in eternity (1 Cor. 13:11).

(b) When the *noēma*, the mind (→ Reason), is so conquered, it grasps God's purpose and action in the cross; when it grasps this, it is glad to acknowledge itself as conquered. Paul expresses this divine reckoning in 2 Cor. 5:19: "God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself, not counting their trespasses against them" (→ Reconciliation, art. *katallassō* NT 4). This does not mean that God does not take sin seriously. The reverse is true; but he reckons and deals with it in Christ otherwise

than human reckoning would have expected. Since he does not impute it, sin has been really removed (cf. Col. 2:13), for God has entirely attributed it to Christ. Indeed, "he made him to be sin" for us (2 Cor. 5:21). God's non-attribution (*mē logizomenos*) and reconciliation are not a weak forbearance but his complete settlement with sin on the cross.

This completely trustworthy attitude of God, in which he acts in just this way and in no other for the sake of his → righteousness, has its background in the prophetic oracle "He [i.e. the servant of the Lord] was numbered with the transgressors" (Isa. 53:12), where the suffering of the servant of the Lord is foretold. The passive ultimately implies God and his will; he bruised or crushed him not because of his sin, but because of ours. He laid the punishment on him, that we might have peace. That is how Lk. 22:37 understands this passage. Paul understands the exchange, this strange action by God, when he writes of the non-imputation of sin.

The converse of this statement is the reckoning of faith as righteousness in the Pauline letters, linking it with Gen. 15:6 in Rom. 4:3–6, 8, 10, 22 ff., and Gal. 3:6 (cf. Jas. 2:23 with different context) (→ Righteousness, art. *dikaiosynē* NT 5(b), 7). The rabbis' thinking was purely human; for them faith was a merit. Paul wished to reckon as God did, who reckoned salvation and righteousness to Abraham, who trusted in him and his word. God reckons on the basis of his promise (Rom. 9:8), and what he promises he performs. This reckoning of righteousness is effected in the delivering up and resurrection of Jesus and so it is effective for us also (Rom. 4:23 ff.).

(c) Because God reckoned in the way described in Gen. 15 and Isa. 53 and proclaimed by Paul in Rom. 4 and 2 Cor. 5, the man reconciled through Christ and believing in him may and should so reckon and think. Hence, Paul draws clear theological (Rom. 3:28) and practical conclusions for himself and his readers (2 Cor. 10:7; cf. Rom. 2:3). The standard for our *logizesthai* is therefore, because of the cross, not a principle but a fact, to which every act and thought should conform (cf. H. W. Heidland, *TDNT* IV 288).

Paul, therefore, in Rom. 8:18 already reckons with the glory which at some time will be revealed, and which will reduce all present suffering with Christ to insignificance. As Christ's sufferings, death and resurrection have led to glory, so the church's suffering with him will lead to being glorified together with him. Thus we also may count confidently upon the coming → glory.

The sharing of the *logizesthai* through faith is not a case of merely holding something to be true but is also an inspiration and activity, as in the OT *ḥāšaḇ*. Phil. 4:8 and 1 Cor. 13:5 are to be expounded in the light of Zech. 8:17, and not of 2 Tim. 4:16 (where *mē logistheiē* means "may it not be charged"). This kind of thinking is not solely an intellectual construction, but can arrive at factual conclusions which demand corresponding actions (Rom. 14:14), just as the word and the act are one with God. Hence, we should evaluate others and ourselves rightly, not by false standards, but as they and we stand in God's sight (1 Cor. 4:1; Phil. 3:13; 2 Cor. 10:2; 11:5; 12:6).

2. John also writes of God's act on which faith is based (1 Jn. 1:1) and of the love revealed in this act (Jn. 3:16). But his purpose was not the same as Paul's. The latter was involved in conflict with Judaism, and the unity of judgment and grace in the divine saving activity was the focus of his teaching. John's witness centres on the testimony that truth and life, about which the gnostics also spoke, are to be found in

Jesus Christ, who had come in the flesh, had died and had risen. Hence, John found no use for the concept *logizomai.* He uses the word only in Jn. 11:50, in reporting the high priest Caiaphas's unconscious prophecy: "You do not understand [*logizesthe*] that it is expedient for you that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation should not perish."

We find the term further in Lk. 22:37 (cf. Isa. 53:12; see above 1 (c)); Acts 19:27; and 1 Pet. 5:12. Heb. 11:19 uses it in its full theological sense, as does Paul in Rom. 4. Jas. 2:23 uses the quotation from Gen. about the reckoning of faith as righteousness in his own way by pointing to Abraham's active obedience (→ Righteousness, art. *dikaiosynē* NT 7). *J. Eichler*

→ Glory, → Knowledge, → Mind, → Reason

(a). H. W. Heidland, *logizomai, logismos, TDNT* IV 284–92; G. Kittel, *dokeō, TDNT* II 232 f.; G. Schrenk, *dialegomai, dialogizomai, dialogismos, TDNT* II 93–98; W. H. G. Thomas, "Apostolic Arithmetic: A Pauline Word-Study", *ExpT* 17, 1905–6, 211–14.
(b). F. Flückiger, "Die Werke des Gesetzes bei den Heiden (nach Röm. 2, 14 ff.)", *ThZ* 8, 1952, 17–42; H. W. Heidland, *Die Anrechnung des Glaubens zur Gerechtigkeit, BWANT* IV, 18, 1936; F. Nötscher, *Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumrantexte*, 1956, 52 f.; W. Schottroff, *ḥšb, THAT* I 641–46.

Time

Time and eternity are two complementary categories for comprehending the historical process. The Gk. language has a wealth of various terms with which to express the experience of time. The most extensive one is *aiōn* which is primarily a designation for a long period of time. When such an age refers to the past, it denotes remote antiquity, the dim and distant past; when it is directed to the on-going future *aiōn* can take on the meaning of eternity. Eternity is thus not necessarily a timeless concept, but the most comprehensive temporal one which the experience of time has produced. Theologically speaking, lasting time is a property of God the Creator, whereas passing time belongs to man as creature. *chronos* chiefly denotes the quantitive, linear expanse of time, a space or period of time, and is thus a term of the formal and scientific conception of time. In this connexion there are several terms which comprehend a particular span of time: especially *eniautos*, year; *mēn*, month, *hēmera*, day and *hōra*, hour. By contrast, the characteristic stress of *kairos* draws attention to the content of time, negatively as crisis and positively as opportunity. Since the adverbs *nyn*, now, and *sēmeron*, today, which relate to the present, and are also fundamentally claimed for the linear conception of time (in this case marking a present point of time) are chiefly used in the NT in a qualificatory sense, they are incorporated in the art. *kairos*. It is instructive for the whole NT understanding of time that it is not the formal concept of *chronos*, but that of *kairos*, qualifying the content of the time of Jesus, which stands in the foreground. For the concepts of day, maranatha and parousia → Present.

αἰών

αἰών (*aiōn*), aeon, age, life-span, epoch, long time, eternity; *αἰώνιος* (*aiōnios*), without beginning or end, eternal, for ever; *ἀΐδιος* (*aidios*), eternal.

CL The Gk. word *aiōn*, which is probably derived from *aei*, always, is distinguished from its Indo-European parallels (Lat. *aevum* and Eng. *aye* are cognate) in that it is thought of not so much from the point of view of an abstract period of time as from the point of view of the time in which one has lived. In Hom. *aiōn* is often parallel with *psychē*, → soul, life (e.g. *Il.* 16, 453); in Hesiod (*Frag.* 161, 1) it denotes a life-span, and in Aeschylus (*Sept.* 742) a generation. Thence it can mean the time which one has already lived or will live, i.e. it can relate to past as to future. It thus appeared appropriate to later philosophers to use the word both for the dim and distant past, the beginning of the world, and for the far future, eternity (e.g. Plato, *Tim.* 37d).

In Plato the term is developed so as to represent a timeless, immeasurable and transcendent super-time, an idea of time in itself. Plutarch and the earlier Stoics appropriate this understanding, and from it the Mysteries of Aion, the god of eternity, could be celebrated in Alexandria, and gnosticism could undertake its own speculations on time.

In Hellenistic philosophy the concept of aeons contributed towards a solution of the problem of the world-order. The aeons were assumed to be mediating powers which bridge the infinite qualitative distinction between God and the world. They are an emanation of the divine *plērōma*, the fullness of the divine Being (→ Fullness, art. *plēroō* NT 5 (b)). As differing levels of being of the divinity, they rule the various world-historical periods, which follow one another in a perpetual circular movement. The thought of personal, divine aeons was widespread in the speculation of the ancient orient, e.g. in Parseeism, in the Zoroastrian religion and in Philo. In gnosticism is found the doctrine of the two ages (aeons), representing on the one hand the eternal and supratemporal, and on the other the temporal and transient world. (For literature on gnosticism → Knowledge.)

OT 1. (a) *aiōn* became (over 450 times, including 150 in the Apocrypha and over 100 in the Pss.) the LXX equivalent for Heb. *ʿôlām*, a long time or duration, which is also used as an adv. meaning for ever, for all time. This fact is not, however, due to this later speculative development in the meaning of the word, but to the primary meaning of life-span. This is clearly shown by the way in which the LXX uses the two adjs. *aiōnios* (c. 160 times) and *aidios*, both meaning eternal. The latter word, a term of steadiness and unalterability, stemming intellectually from the syncretism of Hellenistic, Egyptian and Oriental thought, is found in the Apocrypha only in Wis. 7:26 as a predicate of wisdom, and then in 4 Macc. 10:15. By contrast with this, the frequent occurrence of *aiōnios* in both OT and NT shows that we are concerned here with a characteristically biblical concrete idea which must be understood in relation to the whole duration of a man's life. OT *ʿôlām*, duration, is therefore always to be distinguished from moment, for which *regaʿ* is used (→ *chronos*; cf. Isa. 54:7 f.). For the point of time of a unique event the word *ʿēṯ* (→ *kairos*; cf. Mic. 5:3[2]) is available. If *ʿôlām/aiōn* in the OT thus denotes the time of life, one cannot begin to explain it from those passages where it is remote antiquity that is regarded as *ʿôlām*. Rather, it is a case, in the first instance, of an extent of time, e.g., for which a slave is obligated (Deut. 15:17; Exod. 21:6), for which Samuel is consecrated to the temple service (1 Sam. 1:22), and for the priestly service of the sons of Aaron (Exod. 29:9). In all these cases it extends throughout a man's whole

life, but is also limited to it. This is so even in cases of a promise of life-long kingship (1 Sam. 13:13), of the people's trust in Moses as long as he lives (Exod. 19:19), or of a life-long vassal-relationship (1 Sam. 27:12). It goes without saying that all this comes to an end with the death of the person concerned.

(b) This is naturally also the case when such statements are made, not of individual men but of generations (e.g. Exod. 40:15; 32:13; Ps. 18[17]:51) or of the whole nation (Jos. 4:7; Jdg. 2:1). With the decline of these entities the time here indicated is also ended, without this of course appearing as a particularly noticeable break since it was indeed "their" time.

This provides us with the simplest credible means of explanation of the so-called eternity-formulae: "Praised be Yahweh the God of Israel, from eternity to eternity [MT *min hā'ôlām w^e'ad hā'ôlām; apo tou aiōnos kai heōs tou aiōnos*]" (1 Chr. 16:36). Israel is summoned to constant thanksgiving and praise (v. 34); the continuing of the praise is thus linked with the continuing of the nation in its generations. In fact, "eternal" and "for a thousand generations" stand in parallel in v. 15. The formula "from eternity to eternity" is thus best derived from the other formula "from generation to generation [MT *'ôlām l^edōrōṯām*; LXX *eis ton aiōna eis tas geneas autōn*]" (Exod. 40:15; cf. Isa. 13:20). The formula thus regains its true sense, in that even here it is not a question of an eternity conceived of in abstract and infinite terms, but of one's life and praise in relation to God. 1 Sam. 2:30 and 3:13 f. show clearly enough that the content of God's eternal promises is never an abstract unchangeability, but a mutual relationship with men: as long as it is intact it is eternal, but it can fall to pieces.

(c) Even the great → promises, which are established for ever, are not simply timelessly and irrevocably valid. They remain bound to their living point of reference in the living God (1 Ki. 9, the eternity of the → temple is bound to God's living presence; 2 Sam. 7, the eternity of the monarchy). Human life is limited (Gen. 6:3); it cannot therefore be the ground of endless duration. But because God lives (the eternal God is the living God, cf. the polemic against the dead inactive idols in Isa. 40 and 44), his action and his salvation are eternal (Isa. 45:17), his → covenant endures (Isa. 55:3), and his will is incontestable (Exod. 12:14 ff.; 27:21).

(d) This explains why *'ôlām* is able not only to designate subsequent and future time (Gen. 13:15; Exod. 14:13, Deut. 13:16; 23:3, 6; 29:29; Jos. 8:28; Mic. 4:7) but also remote antiquity (Gen. 6:4; Deut. 32:7; Amos 9:11 with reference to the future day of Yahweh; Mic. 5:2[1]). All time is related to the action in history of the living God (Joel 2:1 ff.). It is true that there are tendencies in the later portions of the OT towards abstract concepts of eternity (Pss. 9:6; 21[20]:5; cf. Sir. 1:2), and there are even passages in the Apocrypha which speak of an eternity entirely removed from time (with Prov. 8:23 as the point of departure). But it remains significant that in the OT the terms *'ôlām* and *aiōn* always retain the relatedness of time to → life. The idea that the time in which one lives is not eternity, and that eternity is the time in which God lives, does not correspond with the OT conception.

2. This sense of the word is also continued in the older apocalyptic writings of Judaism (e.g. Eth. Enoch) and into the Dead Sea Scrolls (e.g. 1QS 2:1, 3 f., 8; 2:15, 17, 25; 1QM 4:1, 3, 7 f.; 1QH 1:3, 7 f.) and after. The word *'ôlām*, of course, pales increasingly until it becomes an epithet for everything connected with God and his

heavenly world – → angels the final judgment, the blessings of salvation, even the pious themselves.

It is only in the rabbinic Judaism at the turn of the era and in the apocalyptic of the 1st cent. A.D. (e.g. 2 Esd.) that one finds a quite new use of *'ôlām*, which exhibits a spatial significance as well as a temporal one. Clearly under the influence of Persian thought, the OT statements concerning primal and final time (Isa. 24–27; Joel 2) are here systematized into a doctrine of the two worlds (aeons), whose only remaining common factor is that God is the Lord of this world as of that, and the Lord of this age as of that. They are related antithetically, for this age is the time of unrighteousness, sin and pain. When the age to come supersedes this one, all this will come to an end, since there will then be a new earth where the → righteous will live. The NT affinity of the terms *aiōn*, aeon, and *kosmos*, world, is also based on this idea. The expected messiah either brings in the future age himself, or "the days of the messiah" are thought of as an interim period, which are followed by the new age. This is reflected in the terms "this age" (Gk. *ho aiōn houtos*; Heb. *hā'ôlām hazzeh*) and "the age to come" (Gk. *ho mellōn aiōn*; Heb. *ha'ôlām habbā'*) (cf. Arndt, 27).

NT 1. In the NT the noun *aiōn* occurs over 100 times (29 times in the Johannine literature; 22 in the Synoptics and Acts; 19 in Paul; 13 in Heb.; 20 scattered throughout the rest of the NT letters); the adj. *aiōnios*, eternal, 70 times; *aidios*, eternal, only twice (Rom. 1:20 of the unchangeable power and deity of God; and Jude 6 of the eternal chains of the fallen angels). The noun is found with the following meanings:

(a) A long time, duration of time, where both a specifically limited period of time as well as an unlimited period can be meant; chiefly linked with a preposition. The meaning "eternity" is only appropriate with certain qualifications, in that the OT idea of time, which predominantly conditions the NT, does not regard eternity as the opposite of temporality.

(b) An age, epoch, era (of the world), especially in Matt. with reference to the end of the world (Matt. 13:39; 28:20). This denotes the course of world-events, world history. It is also used in the plural with this meaning (e.g. Heb. 9:26; 1 Cor. 10:11). The underlying idea is that the world runs its course in a series of successive ages.

(c) Occasionally there occurs the meaning of world in the spatial sense, probably going back to the influence of Jewish apocalyptic (e.g. Mk. 4:19; 1 Cor. 2:6; especially (plur.) Heb. 1:2; 11:3).

2. The simple grammatical evidence of the use of *aiōn* in the NT points back to two sources: OT and Judaism coloured by Parseeism. The fact that *'ôlām* in the OT "only ever occurs in prepositional expressions or their grammatical equivalents" (E. Jenni, "Das Wort *'ôlām* im Alten Testament", *ZAW* 64, 1952, 222) is reflected in the prepositional use of *aiōn*, aeon (more than 60 times) in the NT.

The prepositional use of the word in the NT does not elucidate the connexion between *aiōn*, time, and → life for the reader quite so well as its use in the OT. It is true that even here one can scarcely deny the connexion (*eis ton aiōna*, "never", in 1 Cor. 8:13 and Jn. 13:8; "from generation to generation", Lk. 1:55; cf. Matt. 21:19), but, in so far as a preposition precedes it, one can only consider the designation of "antiquity" or the "far future" as the essential NT use of the word.

(a) The meaning of antiquity (with prepositions *apo*, from, *pro*, before, *ek*, from) is

relatively rare. It occurs in Lk. (never in Mk. and Matt.) always in the context of statements that God has from of old spoken through the prophets (Lk. 1:70; Acts 3:21; 15:18), and – as all three passages make clear – through the primal prophet → Moses (Lk. 24:27). It is also found similarly in Jn. 9:32 in the sense of "never since the world began [*ek tou aiōnos*]". In 1 Cor. 2:7; Eph. 3:9; Col. 1:26 and especially in Jude 25 the meaning verges on pre-temporal eternity.

(b) The same shift of meaning is also to be seen in the far more widely attested statements about the future which are, however, uniformly linked only with *eis*, into (and generally with the sing. of *aiōn*). It is further clear that passages such as Matt. 21:19; Mk. 3:29; Lk. 1:55; Jn. 13:8; and 1 Cor. 8:13 are speaking of a future within time which is linked with the duration of that to which reference is made. On the other hand, the statements of the Johannine writings, which cannot always be pinned down with absolute certainty of meaning (Jn. 4:14; 6:51, 58; 8:35, 51 f.; 10:28; 11:26; 12:34; 13:8; 14:16; 1 Jn. 2:17; 2 Jn. 2), Heb., where the meaning is quite clear (1:8, quoting Ps. 110:4; 5:6; 6:20; cf. 1:2; 6:5; 7:17, 21, 24, 28; 9:26; 11:3; 13:8, 21) and naturally those cases where *aiōn* is used in the plural, all reveal a strong inclination to conceive of a timeless, because post-temporal, eternity. For these it is typical throughout that they stand in theological (Jn.), christological (Heb.) or doxological contexts (plur. statements, e.g. Rom. 1:25; 11:36). As in the OT, these statements reveal the background conviction that God's life never ends, i.e. that everything belonging to him can also never come to an end. So it comes about that even where the conception of the age (in the doxologies of the Pauline letters and those closely related to Paul, and also those of Rev.) is intensified (*eis tous aiōnas tōn aiōnōn*, lit. "to the eternity of eternities"), the connexion with the basic meaning of *aiōn* as life-span is still not lost. What appertains to the living God is "eternal". But one must not forget that this God is also the final Judge, so that even perdition must be called *aiōnios*, eternal (Matt. 18:8; 25:41, 46; Mk. 3:29; 2 Thess. 1:9; Heb. 6:2; Jude 7).

3. It is quite a different matter with the use of the word *aiōn*, aeon, age, epoch (occurring in this sense 40 times) as a noun. This must be seen against the background of Jewish apocalyptic. The word serves as the principal term for the NT's understanding of its history and eschatology. If this also reaches back to Jewish apocalyptic, the apocalyptic, at any rate, is not developed along speculative lines. Used as a noun *aiōn*, age, occurs scattered throughout the NT but never (and this is characteristic) in the Johannine writings.

(a) For the Synoptics, the most important fact is that the kingdom of God has dawned. If details are taken over from apocalyptic, then it is only in order to say, with its linguistic and conceptual material, that the present age is approaching its end because the → kingdom of God has come.

The contrast between the two ages is scarcely discernible; it merely serves to throw into relief the different nature of the course of the world under the reign of Christ. His return and the → resurrection of the dead follow on his own resurrection. The new time, the new age has dawned with Jesus. The period until the parousia enables the Christian community to proclaim the gospel.

Matthew displays the fullest and most vivid conception of the aeons in the sense of distinguishing between two successive worlds of space and time, for here alone is found the typical distinction between the *aiōn houtos*, this age, and the *aiōn mellōn*,

the age to come (Matt. 12:32). In answer to the question concerning the time of the end of the world and the signs of the messianic future (Matt. 24:3), Matt. is able to give a clear and realistic reply, not only in the subsequent apocalypse (Matt. 24 f., here without the word *aiōn*), but even more clearly in the interpretation of the parable of the wheat and the tares (Matt. 13:36–43, cf. v. 49). But this is vastly different from (e.g.) the conceptions in Qumran: there is no final battle and no dualism at all of different worlds, rulers and subjects (cf. Y. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness*, 1962; H. Ringgren, *The Faith of Qumran: Theology of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1963). The Son of man is Lord; the devil may well be able to bring ruin, but he is no real counterpart to the Son of man (→ Son, art. *hyios tou anthrōpou*). The world is not subject to the conflict between two powers; it is and remains God's → creation. All this makes it clear that the aeons are not, as in gnosticism, authorities in their own right; nor are they emanations of God or his delegates.

(b) Paul also makes use of apocalyptic concepts in his eschatology (→ Present, art. *The Parousia and Eschatology in the NT* 2 (c)). He uses the word *aiōn* to designate the course of the world apart from Christ and under the control of sin (Gal. 1:4, Christ "delivered us from this present evil age"; cf. Rom. 12:2). → Satan is admittedly the god of this age (2 Cor. 4:4), and the present world is dominated by evil demonic powers. But against the power of → darkness (art. *skotos*) is ranged the victorious kingdom of Christ (Col. 1:13).

It is clear from Paul's confrontation with his opponents in Corinth that he understands the course of the world from the perspective of Jewish apocalyptic. The enthusiast group believed that, with → baptism, i.e. through sacramental realism (similar to the Hellenistic mystery cults), they had already reached the goal of redemption and the resurrection from the dead (1 Cor. 15:12 ff.; cf. 2 Tim. 1:18). The Corinthian pneumatists replaced future eschatological expectation with a present eschatology: final salvation in its final definitiveness had already come to them. Paul, too, could stress that the fullness of time (Gal. 4:4) and the new creation has already begun (2 Cor. 5:17), in which Christ has delivered his church from the present evil age (Gal. 1:4). But in 1 Cor. 15:20 ff., by contrast, his starting-point is that the rule of Christ has not yet achieved its final goal; and later Eph. 1:21 can maintain that this age still persists and that the future one is still awaited. Thus Paul does not develop any systematic doctrine of aeons; neither does the rest of the NT. The ages are interlocked: eschatology is determined solely by the revelation of Christ: Christ is the turning-point of time. With him, and not through any inevitable historical processes, the *now* of salvation has arrived (cf. *nyn*, Col. 1:26; *nyni*, Rom. 3:21). For the believer, the present age (1 Cor. 1:20; 3:18; 10:11) belongs to the past. But "the correlative of 'this world', and 'this age' is properly not 'that aeon', and never 'that other world', but 'the sovereignty of God', and the 'eternal life' " (G. Dalman, *The Words of Jesus*, 1902, 148). "The proper antithesis to this age is thus God himself, his righteousness, the kingdom of Christ, the *pneuma* or the eschatological blessings of salvation" (F. J. Schierse, *LTK* I 682).

(c) In Hebrews this age is called *ho kairos ho enestēkōs*, "the present time" (Heb. 9:9), and the new age *kairos diorthōseōs*, "the time of reformation" (Heb. 9:10) (→ *kairos*). The equation of aeon and cosmos (Heb. 1:2; 9:26; 11:3) probably originates in Jewish linguistic usage (cf. SB III 671 ff.), but it can also be evidenced in

gnosticism. The frequent plur. *aiōnes*, meaning world (in the spatial rather than the temporal sense), goes back to the conception of the various layers of the world-frame or of a multiplicity of world systems, which can be understood as a gnostic interpretation of the world. Four and even seven aeons can be found in Jewish writings. Despite the adoption of many Hellenistic linguistic and conceptual elements, Heb. holds fast to the primitive Christian (Jewish-determined) eschatological proclamation. It knows the sequence of two ages (which in Heb. are christologically defined), for the end of the ages (Heb. 9:26) has come, because Christ has appeared in order to abolish sin by the sacrifice of himself. The present age is defined by sacrifice and the first → tent, while the new age is concerned with the working of God in the heavenly sanctuary. There Christ has already instituted the priestly ministry, and the Christian community is already on the way there (Heb. 9:8 ff.; cf. 10:19; 13:14). The new age reaches out from the heavenly world into the present time. Even if hidden, it is already present (Heb. 6:5).

(d) 2 Peter, by contrast, develops a distinctly futurist eschatology. Even though the mighty parousia of Jesus Christ (2 Pet. 1:16) and entrance into his eternal kingdom (2 Pet. 1:11) are expressly mentioned, interest is directed rather to the future blessings of salvation, the reward of the righteous, participation in the divine → nature (2 Pet. 1:4). The dialectic of present and future salvation, which can be found above all in Paul, here merges into a latter-day view of the future. The letter concentrates on the proclamation of the end-time, the certainty of judgment (2 Pet. 2:4–10; 3:5–10), the dissolution of the existing order (2 Pet. 3:11 f.) and the promise of "new heavens and a new earth in which righteousness dwells" (2 Pet. 3:13). The letter closes with the doxology: "To him be the glory both now and to the day of eternity. Amen" (2 Pet. 3:18).

4. The expression "eternal life" (*zōē aiōnios*), corresponding to the basic meaning of *aiōn*, lifetime, as defined by the OT, is to be understood primarily as life which belongs to God. From the Book of Daniel onwards "eternal life" is an expression of the longed-for eschatological blessings of salvation, life in the age to come (cf. Dan. 12:2). In the major Pauline Letters (e.g. Rom. 2:7; 5:21; 6:22 f.; 16:25 f.; Gal. 6:8; cf. 2 Cor. 4:17 f.; 5:1; 2 Thess. 1:9; 2:16; Phlm. 15; Acts 13:46, 48), Synoptic Gospels (Matt. 18:8; 19:16 par. Mk. 10:17, Lk. 18:18; Matt. 19:29 par. Mk. 10:30, Lk. 18:30; Matt. 25:41, 46; cf. Mk. 3:29; Lk. 10:25; 16:9), the Pastoral Epistles (e.g. 1 Tim. 1:16; 6:12, 16; 2 Tim. 1:9; 2:10; Tit. 1:2; 3:7) and Jude 21 there is a temporal understanding of eternal → life (art. *zōē* NT 1 and 2). This is a life that is awaited in the future along with the → resurrection of the dead, just as the term can be used in Judaism alternately with *basileia tou theou*, the → kingdom of God (cf. Matt. 25:34; 1 Cor. 6:9 f.) to denote salvation.

John understands eternal life in relation to Christ through faith, love and in keeping the commands of Christ (Jn. 3:15 f., 36; 4:14, 36; 5:24, 39; 6:27, 40, 47, 54, 68; 10:28; 12:25, 50; 17:2 f.). The word "eternal" here indicates a definite quality: it is a different life from the old existence typified by hate, lack of love, sin, pain and death. Eternal life does not therefore just begin in the future, it is already the possession of those who have entered upon fellowship with Christ. Thus Jn. 3:15 speaks of having eternal life in the present. But there is also a temporal sense, so that eternal (*aiōnios*) indicates the quantity of this life: because it belongs to Christ, who himself is the Life (Jn. 14:6), it has no end. It will not even cease at death (Jn. 8:51; 11:25 f.). One must

also observe that the NT does not speak of an eternal → death, because the idea of eternity is so closely connected with life that the negation of eternal life can also only be understood as the experience of ruin. Even here, eternity remains time in and through which one lives (on the other hand → *chronos*).

5. Surveying the usage of the word *aiōn*, aeon, and the connected eschatology, one can establish that, with all the varied accentuations, the NT speaks of eternity in the categories of time. Any dualism between two world-systems is thus foreign to it. The world is and remains God's creation, and Christ is the Lord of the worlds, even if his lordship is hidden. The expression *ho mellōn aiōn*, the future age, is used only with the greatest caution. It is the Today that stands in the centre of the statements and that which is coming is only relevant in view of the respective present. Everywhere the NT exercises conscious discretion in the face of events of which knowledge is forbidden (1 Thess. 5:1 ff.; Matt. 24:37 ff.); it does not go into rapturous speculations about the nature and time of the coming aeon. This is also a warning to every Christian today against speculating about God's mystery.

J. Guhrt

καιρός

καιρός (*kairos*), time, especially a point of time, moment; εὐκαιρέω (*eukaireō*), have opportunity; εὐκαιρία (*eukairia*), favourable opportunity, the right moment; εὔκαιρος (*eukairos*), opportune; εὐκαίρως (*eukairōs*), when convenient; ἀκαιρέομαι (*akaireomai*), have no time, no opportunity; ἄκαιρος (*akairos*), untimely, ill-timed, inopportune; πρόσκαιρος (*proskairos*), temporary, transitory, passing; σήμερον (*sēmeron*), today; νῦν (*nyn*), νυνί (*nynî*), now; ἄρτι (*artî*), now, just, immediately; εὐθύς (*euthys*), at once, immediately; εὐθέως (*eutheōs*), at once, immediately.

CL 1. (a) The noun *kairos* (first in Hesiod, *Works* 694) originally denoted right measure, correct proportion, that which is convenient, appropriate or decisive. As well as the material and temporal, lexical content, *kairos* can have a locative sense, meaning the right spot, the suitable place. Used in the material and temporal sense, *kairos* characterizes a critical situation, one which demands a decision, one into which man is perhaps led by fate. Positively, it implies opportunity (cf. Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 1, 4, p. 1096a) or advantage; negatively, danger (Plato, *Leg.* 12, 945c). Among the material meanings belongs *kairos* as importance, norm (e.g. Aesch., *Ag.* 787), wise moderation (Soph., *OT* 1516). In the temporal sense, *kairos* describes a suitable time, the right moment (e.g. Soph., *El.* 1292), a favourable moment. But then *kairos* can also appear synonymously with other temporal concepts and denote quite generally time (→ *chronos*), season of the year (e.g. Plato, *Leg.* 4, 709c), hour (→ *hōra*) or the present moment (like *nyn*, now, and *sēmeron*, today).

(b) The following words are derived from *kairos*: *eukairein* (e.g. Phrynichus 125), to have a good time, to have an opportunity; *eukairia* (e.g. Plato, *Phdr.* 272a), a favourable opportunity; *eukairos* (first in Soph., *OC* 32), suitable, opportune, seasonable; *eukairōs* (first in Xen., *Agesilaus* 8, 3), when convenient; *akairōs* (Aesch. onwards) inopportunely, and *proskairos* (e.g. Strabo 7, 3, 11), lasting only a while, passing, momentary, fickle.

(c) *sēmeron* (Homer onwards, e.g. *Il.* 11, 431), today, on this day is also included in this article dealing with words expressing points of time.

(d) Further, mention must be made of the adv. *nyn* (Homer onwards e.g. *Od.* 2, 239; *Il.* 2, 14, 284, 435) and the synonymous intensive form *nyni* (e.g. Thuc. 4, 92), now (cf. Lat. *nunc*), at the present moment. But the time shortly before or shortly after the immediate present can also be meant: just now, forthwith. Not infrequently *nyn* has a more material meaning as well as the temporal, viz. in accordance with the present situation, as matters now stand (e.g. Hom. *Od.* 1, 166). *nyn* is also frequently used adjectivally, meaning present (e.g. Plato, *Rep.* 6, 506d, *to nyn einai*, "present existence"; Aristotle, *Phys.* 6, 6 p. 237a, *ho nyn chronos*, "the present time") or substantivally, as in *to nyn*, "the present time" (e.g. Aristotle, *Phys.* 4, 10 p. 218a) or as plur. *ta nyn* "present-day events" (Tragedians, Plato).

(e) Synonymous with *nyn* is the temporal adv. *arti* (Pindar onwards; root *ar*; cf. Lat. *artus*, tight, close), now, just, forthwith (e.g. Hippocrates, *Epidemiae* 9, 2). With the prepositions *heōs*, until, and *apo*, away from, *arti* turns the attention from the present moment to the past or future (e.g. Plut., 388).

(f) Finally, reference must be made to the adj. *euthys* (in Hom. *ithys*), straight, direct (e.g. Thuc., 2, 100, 2 of a road) which, in both the adv. forms *euthys* (Pindar onwards) and *eutheōs* (Soph. onwards) has the temporal meaning of straightaway, forthwith.

2. The presence of the two etymological groups, associated respectively with *chronos* and *kairos* for the concept of time, suggests that the Greeks distinguished individual periods or points of time which can be effected by human decisions (*kairos*) from the stream of time, whose progress is independent of any possible human influence (*chronos*).

The will to seize the moment, which can naturally also grasp the wrong thing (*kairos*-thinking), counteracts the danger of fatalism, which could grow out of *chronos*-thinking. "*chronos* encompasses . . . all possible *kairoi*, and, being the larger, more exclusive term, may often be used where *kairos* would have been equally suitable, though not the converse. . . . Thus it is possible to speak of the *kairos chronou*, and Sophocles (*Elect.* 1292) does so . . . but not of the *chronos kairou*" (R. C. Trench *Synonyms of the New Testament*, [1880⁹] 1953, 210; cf. Lk. 1:57; Gal. 4:4).

(a) *kairos*, *nyn* and *sēmeron* mark for the Greek those points of time which were of the greatest importance for his individual life in the infinite onward flow of the stream of macrocosmic time (→ *chronos*). Where there was an interest, like that of Aristotle in his *Physics*, in the exploration of tangible reality, reflection on time led to particular prominence being given to smaller units of time. Thus, for instance, the Now is defined: "The Now [*nyn*] is the limiting factor: that which lies between the respective points of Now is time [*chronos*]" (*Phys.* 6, 6 p. 237a). *Eth. Nic.* 1, 4 p. 1096a indicates the high estimation of *kairos*: "that which is good in time is called *kairos*."

(b) It is against the background of the swift passing of time (→ *chronos*) that the point of time which demands action, whether it is given by gods or by fate, gains its importance. In later times Kairos could even temporarily be worshipped as a god. It is the space of time in which many decisions are made for the individual and which one must dare to exploit. "Today [*sēmeron*] is either your day of glory . . . or else you lose your life transfixed by my spear" (Homer, *Il.* 11, 431; cf. also Eur.,

Fragment 745). Anyone who misses or evades his *kairos* destroys himself: "Can there be any doubt that a work is spoilt when it is not done at the right time?" (Plato, *Rep.* 2, p. 370b). That which has been received *para kairon*, inopportunely, also has unhappy consequences in the end (Theognis in *Griechische Lyrik*, 108/115). It is therefore important to take to heart the call *kairon gnōthi*, recognize the moment (Pittacus, Diels-Kranz, I, 64), and in all one's activity to find the right moment (in public speaking Democ., *Frag.* 226; in charitable acts, *Frag.* 94).

(c) Seizing the right moment (*kairon lambanein* or *chrēsthai*) plays an important rôle in Stoic ethics (Epictetus and later Seneca). In active obedience to what is perceived to be rational (Epictetus, *Dissertationes* 1, 1, 6) moral necessity (cf. *Dissertationes* 2, 7, 3) one seeks to get hold of time and so to escape from its oppressive imprisonment. "The Stoics live only for those present duties which develop out of man's timeless destiny. They have as little concern for historical sense as they do for worry about a far-off future" (M. Pohlenz, *Die Stoa*, I, 1954², 47). For the Stoic, who looks upon time (*chronos*) as a matter of entirely secondary importance (*adiaphoron*), the historical viewpoint of the *kairos* ultimately disappears; there is only the *kairos* as a timeless moment (cf. R. Bultmann, *Primitive Christianity in its Contemporary Setting*, 1956, 144 f., 153, 180–88).

OT In the OT, where time is essentially understood qualitatively from the point of view of the encounter between God and man, the use of a term to denote the right moment was important. It is therefore not surprising that *kairos* with c. 300 occurrences in the LXX occurs about three times as often as *chronos*. It is primarily used to render the Heb. word for time *ʿēṯ* (198 times). 31 times it stands for *môʿēḏ*, point of time, six times for *qēṣ*, and three times for *yôm*, day. *kairos* often appears more or less synonymously with other words for time (with *chronos*, e.g. Dan. 2:21; 7:12; Eccl. 3:1; Wis. 7:18; 8:8; with *hēmera*, e.g. Jer. 50:27, 30; Ps. 37:19; with *hōra*, e.g. Num. 9:2 in comparison with 9:7, 13).

1. While *kairos* frequently serves simply for precise (e.g. Gen. 17:23, 26; 18:10, 14; 21:22; 29:34; 2 Chr. 9:25) or more general (e.g. Jdg. 11:26; 14:4; 1 Ki. 11:4; Ps. 71[70]:9; 2 Chr. 15:5) temporal designations, in other passages it helps to illustrate particularly well the characteristic aspect of the OT understanding of time. For time is not an anonymous destiny. The creator, Yahweh, has created the whole of time and fills it in accordance with his will, and also fixes the individual *kairoi* (cf. Gen. 1:14). He does this as the Lord of nature who guides the heavenly bodies (Job 38:32; Ps. 104[103]:19), directs the → weather (Lev. 26:4; Deut. 28:12, rain) and allots times and seasons for the biological growth of plants (Job 5:26; Ps. 1:3; cf. Hos. 2:9) and animals (Job 39:1; Jer. 8:7; cf. Gen. 30:41). The → feasts and festivals in the context of the yearly cycle are special times and moments of joy and rest given by Yahweh (Exod. 23:14 ff.; cf. Exod. 34:18 ff.; Num. 9:3, 7, 13; Deut. 16:16), which are of course "not only stamped by the events of agriculture. . ., but increasingly by the especial dealings of God with his people" (G. Delling, *Das Zeitverständnis des Neuen Testaments*, 1940, 16).

As Lord of man, God also apportions his life-span (Sir. 17:2), in that he determines the hour of birth (Mic. 5:3; Eccl. 3:2) and of death (Eccl. 7:17). All the elements of human existence in their tension-laden diversity are times from and in God's hands (Ps. 31[30]:15), as the "song in praise of time" (Eccl. 3:1 ff.) stresses.

In times of affliction it is not easy to hold to this confession of Yahweh as the giver of times, but even then the Israelite who remains with the covenant does not allow his relationship with God to be broken (cf. Pss. 32[31]:6; 37[36]:19, 39). It is precisely in times of distress that he hopes for a time of pardon (Ps. 102[101]:4), for the *kairos* of God's help and redemption (cf. Jud. 13:5 "now is the time to recover your heritage" [JB]; Isa. 33:2; Jer. 14:8, 19; 15:11).

2. Such a trust in the particular moment (*kairos*) of a saving act of Yahweh is founded on the historical experiences of the people of Israel. Again and again in the stereotyped phrase *en tō kairō ekeinō*, "at that time", attention is directed to the events of salvation history in the past, in the first instance to the time of → Moses and the exodus from Egypt (cf. Deut. 1:9, 16, 18; 2:33 f.; 3:3; 4:14; 6:6; 9:19), but also to the prophetess Deborah (Jdg. 4:4), the reign of → David (1 Chr. 21:28 f.) or the time of the building of → Solomon's → temple (2 Chr. 7:8). Especially in the historical books of the OT, the term *kairos* is frequently found with this function of drawing attention to God's activity in the history of the Israelite nation. The strong historical interest is also shown in the fact that in the same writings great store is laid by chronological details (cf. G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, II, 1965, 99–125).

3. "Within the OT a unique attitude to the reality of time may be seen in classical prophecy" (G. Delling, op. cit., 58). Here and in later apocalyptic circles of Judaism, there is a change from the thought of the fulfilled time of earlier generations and the patriarchal traditions to the expectation and hope of judgment and fulfilment in the future, which now achieves the same significance for life in the present as past history had done before, and even replaces it. Since the prophets see an unjustified assurance of salvation as having arisen out of a trust in the past, they speak emphatically of the judging but also redeeming future of God. The phrase *en tō kairō ekeinō*, "in that time", now takes on a future reference (Isa. 18:1; Jer. 3:17; 4:11; 8:1; 27[50]:20; Dan. 12:1; Joel 3:1; Amos 5:13; Mic. 3:4; Zeph. 3:16, 19 f.) and points to an intervention by God in the near or far-off future which will have the character of a comprehensive judgment. For the godless in and around Israel, the time of the end (*kairou peras*, Dan. 11:27; 12:9; *kairos synteleias*, Dan. 12:1) or "the day of the Lord" will be a time of visitation (*kairos episkopēs*, Jer. 6:15; 10:15; 27[50]:27; 28[51]:6; Wis. 3:7), of wrath (*kairos orgēs*, Sir. 44:17; cf. Ezek. 7:7, 12; Jer. 18:23) and of punishment (*kairos ekdikēseōs*, Jer. 26[46]:21; Sir. 5:7; 18:24). But Zion and those who remain obedient (cf. Ps. 81[80]:16) and practise righteousness (cf. Ps. 106[105]:3) await everlasting salvation (Zeph. 3:16, 19 f.; cf. Isa. 60:20 ff.; Jer. 27[50]:4, 20; Dan. 12:1 f.). Right up to the final day of judgment, however, Yahweh gives time for repentance (cf. Sir. 18:21) and for acting uprightly. This comes about by a right use of the present *kairos* at any given time (cf. Sir. 51:30).

4. (a) In later Judaism both the chronological interest (especially Jub.) and the expectation of an *eschatos kairos*, a final space of time, are powerfully elaborated. The Israelite prepared for an early end to the present time, and hoped for a new age, conceived – apart from exceptions like Enoch (Sl.) 65:7 f. – in temporal terms.

(b) The conception of time in the Dead Sea Scrolls has the strong imprint of deterministic thought. The command of the present "ordering of time" guaranteed by Yahweh is obedience to God's will (1QS 9:12 ff.), which consists in being separate from men in order to prepare the way for the last days (1QS 9:18 ff.). For God has

preordained the moment of visitation (1QS 3:18), when an end will be put to wickedness and truth will come to light in the world for ever (1QS 4:18 ff.).

NT The terms of the word-group are found in the NT as follows: *kairos* 85 times (30 times in Paul; 22 times in the Lucan historical writings); *eukaireō* 3 times; *eukairia* twice (in the Gospels); *eukairos*, *eukairōs* and *akairōs* twice each; *proskairos* four times; *sēmeron* 41 times (Lk. and Acts 20 times; Heb. 8 times); *nyn* 148 times (Paul 52 times; Lk. and Acts 39 times; Jn. 28 times); *nyni* 18 times (Paul 15 times); *arti* 36 times (Jn. and Paul 12 times each, Matt. 7 times); *euthys* as adj. 8 times, as adv. 54 times (Mk. 42 times; other Gospels 11 times); and *eutheōs* 33 times (Lk. and Acts 15 times; Matt. 11 times). The main emphasis of the word-group thus falls on the one hand in Paul, and on the other in the Lucan historical writings.

1. The OT understanding of time also stamps the NT use of the word-group. In a whole range of passages *kairos* is used to mean the same or nearly the same as other terms for time, denoting quite generally a particular time (e.g. in the phrase "at that time", Matt. 11:25; 12:1; Lk. 13:1; Acts 7:20; 12:1; 19:23). This should not be understood merely as a short point or moment of time (except in Lk. 8:13). *kairos* clearly often means a longer or shorter time-span (e.g. Mk. 10:30; Lk. 18:10; 21:24, "the times of the Gentiles"; Eph. 2:12; Rom. 8:18; 11:5; 2 Cor. 8:14; 1 Thess. 2:17; 1 Cor. 7:5, a limited time of sexual abstinence). Frequently it means the times in the life of nature established in creation (Matt. 13:20; 21:34; Mk. 12:2; Lk. 20:10; Mk. 11:13), but any kind of nature-idolatry is specifically repudiated (Gal. 4:9 ff.) and the confession of God as the giver of fruitful times is given added strength (Acts 14:17; cf. Matt. 24:45).

2. The decisively new and constitutive factor for any Christian conception of time is the conviction that, with the coming of Jesus, a unique *kairos* has dawned, one by which all other time is qualified. Mk. 1:15 makes this clear in programmatic fashion. The keynote of Jesus' proclamation is, "the hour of fulfilment has dawned, the reign of God is already being manifested here and now; soon the catastrophe introducing its definitive coming will arrive. Make use of the time before it is too late: it is a matter of life or death" (J. Jeremias, *New Testament Theology* I, 1971, 139). The time of grace for which the prophets hoped has now been realized with Jesus Christ (cf. Rom. 3:21; 1 Pet. 1:10 ff.; Rom. 16:25 f.; Eph. 3:8 ff.; Col. 1:26). Anyone who listens to him now in faith and obedience will have eternal life (Jn. 5:25; cf. 3:36; 10:27 f.). With the life and especially the suffering and death of Jesus, the old age has passed away, and with the *nyn kairos*, the present time of true divine righteousness (Rom. 3:26), a new epoch, the fulfilment of the times, has dawned (for *kairos* used to denote the time of suffering cf. Matt. 26:18; Jn. 7:6 f.; Rom. 5:6, "at his appointed moment Christ died for sinful men", JB). "Salvation has sought out its own time and its own place in the world, in order from there to transform time and space, the essential characteristics of the world, by qualifying them anew as the time and the space of Jesus" (E. Fuchs, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, I, 1959, 19). But time also presents the church with the opportunity to serve one another, as may be seen in Paul's use of the vb. *akaireomai*, have no time, no opportunity. "I rejoice in the Lord greatly that now at length you have revived your concern for me; you were indeed concerned for me, but you had no opportunity" (Phil. 4:10).

3. (a) As the physical presence of Jesus plunged every concrete Today into the

light of divine salvation (Lk. 13:32; 19:5, 9; 23:43; cf. 2:11), so his redeeming power can become effective in men's lives from now on through their relationship of faith with the Exalted One (cf. Lk. 22:69). Jesus' suffering and death is no mere fact of the past; it is present time (cf. R. Bultmann, *Faith and Understanding*, 1969, 174 f., 202; similarly G. Delling, op. cit., 35). From Easter onwards, it is proclamation that counts: "Behold, now is the acceptable time [*kairos euprosdektos*]; behold, now is the day of salvation" (2 Cor. 6:2; cf. Isa. 49:8). This gospel the church of Jesus Christ has to proclaim without any false deference, whether "convenient or inconvenient [*eukairōs akairōs*]" (2 Tim. 4:2 NEB). By passing on Jesus' "message of the *kairos*" (Stauffer), the Now of the offer of salvation keeps on becoming afresh the reality which demands a decision. "Thus to the *now* of the coming of the Revealer there corresponds exactly the *now* of the proclamation of the Word, as the *now* of a historical fact of a definite time, the *now* of the opportunity, the *moment* . . . Jesus is the Revealer in the preaching of the Word as a concrete event at a given time" (Bultmann, op. cit., 175). As once the disciples obeyed when Jesus called them (Matt. 4:20, 22; Mk. 1:18), so each person is summoned to respond to the missionary proclamation without delay, and to begin to follow Jesus. All are asked whether they "believe that the time and place of man's encounter with God is the time of love and the place of the suffering of this love" (Fuchs, op. cit., 21). They are not to evade the decision by delaying the Today until Tomorrow (cf. Philo, *Sacr.* 69), and certainly not to "harden" their hearts, i.e. to reinforce their will for an existence without God (cf. Heb. 4:7; 3:7, 15), lest they find themselves, like Jerusalem, standing under the verdict of a "Woe" (cf. Lk. 19:44).

(b) If, therefore, *kairos* must be used initially for the fundamental decision of faith, those who are now reconciled (cf. Rom. 5:11; 13:11) must henceforth live by faith. The Then of idolatry is to be superseded by the Now of true worship of God (Eph. 5:8 f.; Gal. 4:8 f.; cf. Rom. 12:1). Faith brings release from being the servile victim of time; it brings freedom from the burdensome past through the acceptance of the gift of forgiveness; but it does not absolve one from the ethical responsibility to make sensible use of the time at one's disposal (Gal. 6:10; Col. 4:5). Indeed, the opposite is true. Believers are assigned historical time with the imperative to "buy up the time" (Eph. 5:16). The new life of faith is not, of course, without affliction. This time (*ho kairos houtos*, Mk. 10:30; Lk. 12:56), and therefore also the time of the church, is not a time of blessedness free from temptation but a time of struggle (cf. 1 Cor. 9:24 ff.; Eph. 6:12; 1 Tim. 6:11 ff.; cf. H. Conzelmann, *The Theology of St Luke*, 1960, 231–34) and of suffering (Rom. 8:18). In this time, Christians must encourage each other to prevent a falling away (Heb. 3:12 f.; cf. 1 Tim. 4:1) in the moment of temptation (Lk. 8:13).

4. The → fullness of divine glory will dawn only with the *kairos eschatos*, the last time (1 Pet. 1:5), the precise date of which is unknown (Mk. 13:33; Acts 1:7; 1 Thess. 5:1 ff.) and which is sometimes expected as imminent (1 Cor. 7:29; Rev. 1:3; 22:10) and sometimes as possibly remote (2 Thess. 2:1 ff.; cf. Lk. 21:8). The NT is always pointing to this *telos* of final time (→ Goal; → Present, art. *The Parousia and Eschatology in the NT*). By contrast with the apocalyptic expectations of Judaism, the eschatological *kairos* is now understood christologically as the time of Christ's return in glory (1 Tim. 6:14) and as the time of the last and final judgment (1 Cor.

4:5; 1 Pet. 4:17 f.; Rev. 11:18; cf. Jn. 5:28 f.), when the godless are punished and those who trust in God are rewarded (cf. Mk. 10:30; Gal. 6:9).

Thus with the pattern "once" (pagans in vice and darkness) and "now" (Christians and sons of light: cf. Rom. 7:5 f.; Gal. 4:3 ff.; Eph. 5:8) there corresponds the other, viz. "already" (confident in faith and hope) and "not yet" (full blessedness, 1 Pet. 1:5 f.; cf. 5:6; Rom. 8:18; Heb. 11:25 f.). Jesus' lordship is still not completely visible or perceptible (Heb. 2:8). Satan is still allowed a period of time for his diabolical intrigues (Rev. 12:12). The Christian still comes up against the harsh realities of life (cf. 2 Cor. 4:18), especially those of bad times (cf. Eph. 5:16; 2 Tim. 3:1; 4:3). The time between the appearance of the earthly Jesus and the parousia therefore remains a tension-laden time, which requires vigilant concentration (cf. Lk. 21:36; Eph. 6:18, by prayer) on the part of Christians for their apostolic (cf. Tit. 1:3) and diaconal duties (cf. Rom. 13:11). Such a time of probation, of course, stands clearly within the sign of the promise which embraces all times: "Jesus Christ is yesterday and today and for ever the same" (Heb. 13:8; cf. Rev. 1:17). "Openness to the future is what quite simply and necessarily characterizes the understanding of time in the NT. The goal of the eschatological event is God 'all in all' (1 Cor. 15:28). In him is described the goal of all times. The time which follows the final predictable event is necessarily unlimited on the basis of that which is said about its content – that from which it gains its quality and by which it is defined: it is simply and solely filled by God ('God all in all' can have no temporal limits). It alone is thus utterly and completely filled time, utterly and completely God's time and thus – eternity" (G. Delling, op. cit., 56).

H.-C. Hahn

χρόνος

χρόνος (*chronos*), time, period of time; χρονίζω (*chronizō*), take time, linger, delay; χρονοτριβέω (*chronotribeō*), spend, lose or waste time.

CL 1. (a) The noun *chronos* denotes from Homer onwards a space of time, whose duration is not as a rule precisely determined, but at most is characterized by additional adjs. as longer (e.g. *polys*, much; *hikanos*, sufficient) or shorter (e.g. *oligos*, little; *mikros*, small, thus Odysseus is to wait a little while for Nausicaa, Hom. *Od.* 6, 295). On the other hand, the amount of time that the hero spends during his wanderings while kept far from his homeland may be considerable (*Od.* 11, 161; 14, 218).

In the face of wasted time, *chronos* takes on the meaning of loss of time. Time which others are allowed is translated by "period" (e.g. Josephus, *War* 4, 188). With reference to people, *chronos* often means age, years, time of life and thus comes quite close to *bios*, → life.

chronos is also frequently used adverbially. In the gen. it means for some considerable time; in the dat. in (the course of) time, gradually, late; in the acc. for a set time (e.g. in the phrase, *ton aei chronon*, for ever). *chronos* is also often found with preps. such as *dia*, through; *en*, in; *eis*, into; *ek*, out of; *epi*, towards, etc.

(b) The older vb. *chronizō*, derived from *chronos* and used from Aeschylus onwards, means (i) not to come for a long time, be a long time coming, fail to appear (e.g. Thuc., 8, 16, 3); (ii) to linger, remain (Hdt., 3, 61); and (iii) (with infin.) to hesitate, fail, put off doing something.

Later, via the contraction of *chronos* and *tribō*, to rub, wear away, expend, the rare vb. *chronotribeō* (Aristot., *Rhet.* 3, 3, 3p 1406a) was formed, meaning spend, lose or waste time (also used with negative undertones).

2. (a) Gk. man experienced time as a power which inescapably determined his life. On the one hand, time appeared to him to be an endless quantity, which "in its course ... gives birth to endless nights and days" (Soph., *OC* 617 f.). On the other hand, he was painfully aware that the time allotted to the individual was only all too short (Simonides, *Athen.* 10, 456). One felt the advance of time (Soph., *Phil.* 285), whose "omnipotence" overthrows all but the gods (Soph., *OC* 609), to be always threatening to life. Time's growing old as quickly as a shadow (Critias, *Frag.* 26 in Diels-Kranz, II, 389, 7) warned man of his transience. If youth was able to overlook this, man knew as he grew old that "fair youth disappears; life's sweet joy endures but a short time" (Anacreon, *Griechische Lyrik*, *RK*, 140–142; 142/139; cf. Mimnermos, op. cit., 84 f.; Simonides, op. cit., 44, 47 f.).

(b) "All-seeing time" was further felt to be a kind of judge, bringing everything to light (Soph., *Aj.* 648 f.; *Frag.* 832). Time reveals the truth (Pindar, *Ol.* 10, 55), particularly in respect of a man's real worth (Soph., *OT* 606 ff.). If there are already echoes here of positive functions of time, this is even more clearly the case where time is spoken of as that which gives healing forgetfulness (Soph., *Aj.* 714, it erases everything; cf. *Frag.* 868a; Pindar, *Pyth.* 1, 46).

(c) But even time, the healer of wounds, cannot save anyone from → death. In various ways, the Greek sought to take up a position with regard to the knowledge, given with his temporality, of the necessity of his own death. One way was the intensive aspiration to make the fullest possible use of time (cf. Bacchylides in *Griechische Lyrik*, op. cit. 162/158) as "the most costly commodity for consumption" (Antipho, *Frag.* 77 in Diels-Kranz II, 367, 14; also *RK* 10, 139). Another way of breaking through the limitations of time and achieving an existence which would transcend death was the hope of posthumous fame – the popular expectation, for instance, of the doctor because of his profession of the Hippocratic Oath (→ Swear, art. *omnyō* CL). Memorials to heroes like that at Thermopylae, cannot be eradicated by "all-destroying time" (Simonides, op. cit., 133/129; cf. Theognis, 112/119).

3. Particularly meaningful for the Greeks, as later for the Romans, was the endeavour to surmount the problems posed by time by means of intellectual schematization.

(a) Thus the thought of the Pre-Socratics continually circles around the phenomenon of time, which Democritus, for example, views as an eternal, uncreated entity (Diels-Kranz II, 102, 3). Time also appears as infinite (*apeiros*) in Anaximander (ibid. I, 85, 22) and Zeno (ibid. I, 253, 25).

(b) Reflection on the nature and origin of time reached its first great peak in Plato. *chronos* was created at the same time as the starry heavens, and time will also pass away again, together with them (*Tim.* 38b). In the world of finitude it became "an image of the eternal and infinite One in the form of a ceaseless sequence of particulars" (*Tim.* 37d). Whereas immutable Being can grow neither older nor younger, temporal concepts such as past, present and future help to describe sequences of movement which present an image of imperishability. In having come to be, being and becoming, time corresponds to the incessant circular movement of the planets. It thus describes in turn cycles of natural becoming and passing. In accordance with this

cosmological point of view, the year is called "the perfect round of times" (*Tim.* 39d). Corresponding with this image-thinking, "the arrangement of the seasons so beautifully divided into years and months" can be adduced in *Leg.* 886a as a kind of proof of the existence of God.

(c) Aristotle's analytic formulation of the question, conditioned by the extraordinary force of his own personal gifts and by his recognition that Plato's thought assumed a strong speculative character, shifted the interest from the problem of Being to the analysis of existents, i.e. reality. Aristotle saw in change (perceptible as movement) the sole possibility of discovering reality. The sequence of movement can be measured by → number. He could thus define time as the continuous quantity of successive movement (*Phys.* 4, 20a, 25 f.), i.e. time is deduced from place and movement, a process typical of the Greek way of expressing things visually.

Thus in Aristotle, as in Plato, time is regarded "as something vastly inferior to space.... This contempt for time ... tells us more about the difference between Greek and Hebrew conceptions of time than all attempts to understand the Greek concept of time philosophically. For this reason, too, everything pertaining only to space, e.g. geometry, was so highly regarded, and the Greek gods and the divine world had to be conceived as exempt from all time, transitoriness, and change because time, change and transitoriness are all synonymous terms" (T. Boman, *Hebrew Thought Compared with Greek*, 1960, 128).

OT The Bible, unlike philosophy since Plato and Aristotle at the latest, has scarcely reflected on time. There is therefore no unified biblical word or term for time, but instead several conceptions which are expressed in the Heb. (or Gk. equivalents of) words such as day, hour, eternity, age, end, instant, decisive moment, now, today, festival time etc. (cf. P. Neuenzeit, *EBT* II 911 ff.). After words for time such as *hēmera*, day (some 1600 times), *nyn*, now (some 400 times), *aiōn*, age, *kairos*, point of time (each some 300 times), *sēmeron*, today (some 150 times), comes *chronos*, time, but relatively rarely in the LXX (about 100 instances; *eniautos*, year, is found equally often). Most often it serves to render *yôm*, day (29 times), whereas it is only found four times for *ʿēṯ*. Distributed through the books of the LXX, the instances of *chronos* are especially concentrated in Macc., Isa., Dan. and Job.

chronos may sometimes be used synonymously with *hōra* and *kairos*, and denote a point of time (e.g. Jer. 45[38]:28; cf. Neh. 10:34; 13:31). In general, however, it means a greater expanse of time, a span or course of time. This is shown in the frequent combination of *pas*, whole, with *chronos* (e.g. Deut. 12:19; 22:19, 29) and especially in the formula *eis ton aiōna chronon*, into eternal time (e.g. Exod. 14:13; Isa. 9:7). The thought is here partly of the whole human life-span, partly of an inconceivably long period of time, but never of a timeless, other-wordly eternity.

1. (a) For the Israelite, time and history were inseparably connected. Time interested him only in so far as it was qualified by a particular event. This is the case above all with regard to Yahweh's dealings with his people or their representatives. Certain periods of salvation history are accordingly described as the time of the fathers (1 Esd. 8:76), or the time of → Noah (Isa. 54:9), of → Abraham (Gen. 25:1, 15), of Joshua (2 Macc. 12:15) or of Samuel (1 Esd. 1:20).

Fundamental is the faith that the eternal, i.e. the "lasting" God (cf. Exod. 15:18; Ps. 90[89]:1; Isa. 40:28; Dan. 12:7) is the Lord of time and that he gives all human

time its content and meaning. If it was customary in ancient Israel to look more to the saving occasions of the past, the prophets fixed their eyes on future times. In Isa. this occurs through the use of the concept of *chronos*. Isaiah saw that for long periods of time the enemies of Zion would be exposed to divine → punishment (→ 13:20; 14:20; cf. 23:15; 34:10). Zion on the other hand, without being spared "times of visitation" (a notion derived from Jer. 29[49]:8; Isa. 54:7), will stand firm for all time (Isa. 33:20; cf. 34:17; 51:8). For Yahweh will establish an everlasting kingdom of peace (Isa. 9:7; cf. Bar. 3:13).

(b) The whole problematic of the elapse of man's life-span, which so oppressed the Greeks, also comes up in the later strata of the OT. In Job, for example, the fact that man has only a short life (Job 14:1; cf. 10:20), although he would like to live for a long time (Job 29:18), becomes a real source of temptation. But he and others find comfort in the knowledge that God prescribes the individual's allotted times (Job 14:5; cf. 14:13). Hence, even one who dies early can fill long spaces of time in a way that pleases the Lord (Wis. 4:13). All the same, from the perspective of this outlook, an extension of one's life-span is regarded as a particular grace of God (Isa. 38:5; cf. 65:20; Prov. 9:11, 18; 28:16).

(c) In the Wisdom literature one finds the beginnings of a philosophical treatment of the question of time. But it is supported by the belief that it is God who, through → wisdom (Eccl. 8:8), amongst other things, gives insight into "the beginning, end and middle of the times." Therefore, the net result here, too, is that God, who prepared the earth for eternal times (Bar. 3:12) and created the constellations to mark the time (Sir. 43:6), allots everything its time in nature, individual life and national history (Eccl. 3:1). This is particularly true of times and opportunities for repentance (Wis. 12:20), which are to be used to prevent the eschatological "day of the Lord" leading to disaster (→ Present, art. *hēmera* OT).

2. Times of repentance with clearly defined limits played an important rôle in the Qumran community (1QS 7), whose consciousness of time was clearly formed by eschatological and apocalyptic ideas. Great emphasis was laid on the observance of special festive seasons (1QS 1:14 f.; 10:1 ff.). In every period of time members of their fellowship were "to praise their Creator" (1QS 9:26). For it is only thus that they would survive the fires of wrath of the last days (1QH 3:36; cf. 1QS 3:1) and the raging of the angel of darkness (1QS 3:23; cf. 4:12 f.) as times of purification, before "the day of judgment" (1QpHab 12:14; 13:2 ff.) and the "consummation of time" (1QpHab 7:2, 13) breaks and God "creates the new" (1QS 4:25).

3. In his reflections on the nature of time, Philo takes over Plato's cosmic understanding of time (see above CL 3 (b)). He thus concludes: "For since time [*chronos*] is the measured space determined by the world's movement, and since movement cannot be prior to the object moving, but must of necessity arise after it or simultaneously with it, it follows of necessity that time also is either coeval with or later born than the world" (*Op. Mund.* 26).

Philo seeks to combine a philosophical view of the origin of time (one of the ten categories in *Decal.* 30 f.) with OT faith in God the Creator. It is he who has created (*Leg. All.* 3, 98 f.) out of nothing (cf. *Vit. Mos.* 267), the heavenly bodies with their harmonic movement without thereby standing in need of time (*Decal.* 101; *Leg. All.* 1, 20). Everything goes back to his creativity, including the cycle of the four seasons, which can be worked out from the constellations (cf. *Cher.* 88). In this connexion

Philo uses the concept of → *kairos* with emphasis, meaning "nothing other than the time of happy execution." Also important for the Alexandrines is the fact that, with the creation of the constellations and the yearly cycle, the concept of number made its appearance, as time revealed it (*Op. Mund.* 60). Thus in Philo Platonic, OT and Pythagorean thought merge together.

NT In the NT *chronos* occurs 54 times (24 in the Lucan historical writings and 9 in Paul). The derivatives *chronizō* and *chronotribeō* are found respectively 5 times (Matt. 24:48; 25:5; Lk. 1:21; 12:45; Heb. 10:37 = Isa. 26:20) and once (Acts 20:16).

1. Like the other temporal terms, *chronos* serves initially for the formal designation of a space or point of time. Thus the longer or shorter duration of a condition or an activity is frequently described by phrases with *chronos* (cf. Jn. 5:6; Lk. 8:27, 29, a long illness; Matt. 25:19; Lk. 20:9 f., long absence; Lk. 23:8, a long-entertained wish; Heb. 11:32, a considerable amount of time for recounting). Often, especially in Acts, the details of any actual or projected length of stay at various places are given by *chronos* (Acts 19:22, "he himself stayed in Asia for a while"; cf. Acts 14:3; 15:33; 18:20, 23; 20:18; 27:9; 1 Cor. 16:7). *chronos* is found in Acts 13:18 to denote a period of forty years of salvation history. As in the OT, *chronos* can also denote a man's life-time (Acts 1:21; 1 Cor. 7:39). Parts of one's life-time can also be envisaged (Gal. 4:1; cf. Acts 7:23). Finally, *chronos* can also describe a short time-span (Jn. 7:33; 12:25), and it can even be found with the meaning of *kairos* and *nyn*, in a moment (Lk. 4:5).

2. Theologically more significant than the general indications of time are those passages which speak of *chronos* in connexion with a specific event. Such passages occur particularly in the Lucan historical writings. Lk. 1:57 mentions the *chronos* of Elizabeth's delivery. *chronos* occurs again in the salvation-history formula describing God's forty years of bearing his people in the wilderness (Acts 13:18; cf. Exod. 16:35; Num. 14:34; Deut. 1:31). The climax of the *chronos*-pronouncements is reached in a whole series of christological statements. For with Jesus Christ, something new and unique has happened in time. Nevertheless, the NT writers are not interested in speculative questions about the origin and nature of time. Their thoughts centre on Jesus Christ who has given time and history a new significance. This is expressed by Paul in the following terms: "But when the time had fully come [*hote de ēlthen to plēroma tou chronou*], God sent forth his Son, born of woman, born under the law, to redeem those who were under the law, so that we might receive adoption as sons" (Gal. 4:4 f.). H. Schlier interprets the phrase *to plēroma tou chronou* (lit. "the fullness of time") as meaning "the moment in which the *chronos* is complete, in which time (in the sense of the passing of time) reached its full measure, i.e. came to its end" (*Der Brief an die Galater*, *KEK* 7, 1965[13], 194).

(a) One can of course speak of an end of time only against the background of the eschatological and apocalyptic messianic expectations of contemporary Judaism. With the coming of Christ this time of expectation has come to an end for the NT (cf. 1 Pet. 1:20). His appearance means the end of the old age (→ Goal).

(b) On the other hand, Jesus opens up a new epoch, for with him begins the christocratic reign of God over the world. In the light of the incarnation of God in his son, and his entering into historical time, several theologians speak of the "centre of

time" in relation to the Lucan perspective. Of course the term "centre" must not be related in the quantitative sense to two equally long halves, but is rather to be apprehended in the sense of a decisive incision (cf. O. Cullmann, *Christ and Time: The Primitive Christian Conception of Time and History*, 1951, 131 ff.; cf. H. Conzelmann, *The Theology of St Luke*, 1960; → Present, art. *The Parousia and Eschatology in the NT* 1(e), 2(b)). For with the appearance of Jesus, the → kingdom of God has come among men (Lk. 17:21). The Christ-event becomes the criterion of all historical time, both backwards and forwards. Now that "the times of ignorance" are past (Acts 17:30), one can accordingly, in the light of "the revelation of the mystery which was left secret for long ages" (Rom. 16:25), understand the past as a time of preparation. In retrospect it can be seen as standing under the sign of the promise and the "grace which he gave us in Christ Jesus ages ago [*pro chronōn aiōniōn*]" (2 Tim. 1:9; cf. Tit. 1:2; 1 Pet. 1:20).

The centre is above all the time in which the "bridegroom" lingered among his own people (Mk. 2:19), in which Jesus "went in and out" (Acts 1:21) among them, and in which the Now and the Today, the *kairos* and the hour were qualified by his physical presence.

3. (a) But with the death of Jesus the time of salvation was by no means past. Jesus himself had spoken clearly of the coming end of the world (e.g. Mk. 13; Matt. 24 f.) and thus assigned the believers into an interim period which would stretch from Easter to the parousia (→ Present, art. *The Parousia and Eschatology in the NT* 2 (a)). Again and again the authors of the NT concerned themselves with the remainder of the time (1 Pet. 4:2) and the events of the end. It is characteristic of the Christian understanding of time that astrological calculations, in the sense for example of Matt. 2:7, 16, were excluded *a priori* (→ Magic, art. *mageia* NT 2 (b)). Certain "signs of the time", such as the appearance of heretics and scoffers (Jude 18), are mentioned, but this was doubtless intended to serve as an encouragement to Christians to be watchful rather than as an invitation to speculate about dates. God is the Lord of time; it is his privilege to decide on the final hour for the consummation of his kingdom (cf. Acts 1:6 f.). Neither the angels nor Jesus himself knew when the eschatological day of the Lord would break (Mk. 13:32). It will come suddenly, like a thief in the night (1 Thess. 5:1 ff.). Many early Christians were initially of the opinion that it would probably be only a short while until the parousia; gradually, however, they adjusted themselves to a longer expanse of time.

(b) For all those who have not yet encountered God in Christ, who avoid him or who – like the false prophetess Jezebel – resist him, this interim period is a "time to repent" (Rev. 2:20 f.). But this time of decision, declares John the seer, will not be prolonged indefinitely. At the consummation of the divine mysteries time will cease to exist (Rev. 10:6). Those who in faith recognize Christ as Lord are to use the time given them in the interim period for growing and maturing in their knowledge of the faith (cf. Heb. 5:12 f.). 1 Pet. stresses further the ethical accountability of Christians, who are no longer to behave as they used to in earlier times in the manner of the heathen, but "to live for the rest of the time in the flesh no longer by human passions but by the will of God" (1 Pet. 4:2; cf. the example of Paul, who, throughout the whole length of his stay in Asia Minor, sought to serve the Lord in many different ways, Acts 20:18 ff.). Finally, in 1 Pet. 1:17, the interim period is defined as a "time of exile" (*chronos tēs paroikias*), which leads through much darkness, hours of

temptation and persecution. Comfort in this time of exile is granted, for example, by the hope of God's future, from which one awaits the final fulfilment of all movements of time and thus "a restoration of the original order of creation" (E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1971, 208). *H.-C. Hahn*

ὥρα

ὥρα (*hōra*), hour, time, point of time; *ὡραῖος* (*hōraios*), at the right time, seasonable, ripe, hence beautiful, fair, pleasant.

CL 1. The noun *hōra* occurs in Homer and others in the Ionic form *hōrē*. It denotes a particular division of time, especially an hour. But *hōra* can also mean year, day and moment, or designate a season, or also (of human beings) a stage of life, such as youth (cf. Mimnermos in *Griechische Lyrik*, *RK* 140–142, 84). In Homer and other poets *hōra* marks the customarily appropriate time for certain activities, e.g. the evening meal (Homer, *Od.* 21, 428), going to sleep (Homer, *Od.* 11, 330 and 373) or sexual enjoyment (Orpheus, *Frag.* 5a, Diels-Kranz, I, 8).

hōra is readily used to describe the seasons (e.g. Heraclitus, *Frag.* 100, Diels-Kranz, I, 173; Diog. Laert. 9, 10; Plato, *Leg.* 889b), above all spring (Homer, *Il.* 2, 468 and 471; 6, 148) and summer (Simonides in *Griechische Lyrik*, *RK* 140–142, 45), but also winter (Xen., *Frag.* 22, Diels-Kranz, I, 134). Finally, there is the personification of the Horae, the goddesses of the seasons, who guard the heavenly gates of Olympus (Homer, *Il.* 5, 749; 7, 393 and 433; 21, 450).

Contemplation of nature and specifically of spring can arouse one's consciousness of transience and direct one's thoughts to "the last hour" (cf. Soph., *OC* 103; cf. Mimnermos in *Griechische Lyrik*, *RK* 85, "Like the leaves on the trees matured by the bloom of spring . . . we too are only permitted the blossoms of youthful joy for a short time"). In contrast to this, there is the summons to act in conformity with one's age and so to make use of the given "hour" (cf. Timon of Phlius: *hōrē erān, hōrē de gamein, hōrē de pepausthai*, "kiss in good time, marry in good time and give up in good time," *Anthologia Graeca*, X, 38).

hōra comes relatively near our notion of hour, when the cock which announces the hour is spoken of (Diog. Laert., 8, 34). On the whole, however, the "hour" (in the sense of a measurement of chronological time) does not play any part in early Greek thought.

With the prepositions *en* and *eis*, *hōra* means at the right time, early, in good time (cf. e.g. Pindar, *Ol.* 6, 28: "I must come to Pitana today in good time").

2. The adj. *hōraios*, belonging to *hōra*, and used since Hesiod, means appropriate to the season, at the right time (Hdt., 4, 28). In connexion with the timely occurrence of happy events, *hōraios* can take on the meaning of agreeable, lovely and finally beautifully formed (cf. LXX Deut. 33:13 f., 16 with *hōra* in this meaning of *hōraios*).

OT The noun *hōra* is found some 50 times in the LXX, chiefly for the noun *ʿēṯ*, time, but also for 5 other Heb. nouns; *hōraios* some 25 times for 8 different Heb. expressions.

1. *hōra* serves initially to indicate a somewhat indeterminate period of time (as well as *hēmera*, day, e.g. Dan. 12:13). Even where, as in Dan. 4:16 (Theodotion)

hōra is accompanied by an ordinal number it could scarcely be an hour of 60 minutes that is in question. Rather, Belshazzar was numb with terror for some while. "A division of day and night into hours was not known in ancient times ... only general designations such as 'in the morning', 'at midday', 'in the evening' (Gen. 3:8; 18:1; 1 Sam. 11:11); a sundial is mentioned for the first time in Isa. 38:8 (2 Ki. 20:9–11)" (W. Rordorf, *BHHW* II 1275). In Neh. 8:3 the morning hour is mentioned. Exod. 18:22, 26 is concerned with longer periods of time. At all hours, i.e. at any time, the elected judges were to give judgment.

More frequently than periods of time *hōra* denotes a more or less restricted point of time. Where it is a matter of the prompt "execution of official, and especially of police measures" the prepositional phrase *en ekeinē tē hōrā* or *(en) autē tē hōrā* acquired the meaning of immediately, on the spot (J. Jeremias, *ZNW* 42, 1949, 215; Dan. [Theod.] 3:6; 3:15; 1 Esd. 8:62; cf. Lk. 20:19). Similarly, this formula can express temporal connexion (Est. 8:1, immediately thereupon; cf. Matt. 26:55; Lk. 2:38, of immediate effect (Dan. [Theod.] 4:30; cf. Acts 16:18; 22:13; Matt. 9:22; 15:28; 17:18) or action following without delay (Est. 9:2; cf. Lk. 24:33; Jn. 19:27; cf. Jeremias, ad loc.). Various formulae express details of time: "tomorrow at this hour" (e.g. Exod. 9:18; 10:4; Jos. 11:6; 1 Ki. 19:2; 21:6) and "a year ahead at this time" (2 Ki. 4:16 f.; Gen. 18:10, 14). In Rom. 9:9, where this passage is quoted, *hōra* is replaced by the materially synonymous *kairos*.

2. Characteristic for the OT understanding of time and thus for the use of *hōra* is faith in God as the Creator and Lord of time in all its dimensions. "Time belongs to created reality" (M. Rissi, *BHHW* III 2210). It is Yahweh who sees to it in nature that everything takes place at its appointed hour, e.g., that rain comes at the proper season (Deut. 11:14; Job 36:28; Zech. 10:1), and that the corn is ripe for harvest (Job 5:26; cf. Hos. 2:9). Even the times for driving the cattle home (Gen. 29:7) and for regular eating of meals (Ruth 2:14) are part of God's creation. He is Lord of the hour of birth (cf. Gen. 18:10, 14; 2 Ki. 4:16 f.). It is he who determines the hour of death (cf. 2 Sam. 24:15; Job 5:25), not human beings like Jezebel (1 Ki. 19:2). The praise of the divine apportionment of time for the natural processes sounds out over and over again: "The works of God are all good, they supply every need in its season [*en hōra autēs*]. None may say: This is inferior to that. For everything avails in its season [*en kairō*]" (Sir. 39:33 f.).

3. Especially important for the Israelites are God's mighty acts in history, such as when he strikes the enemies of his people at some particular hour (Jos. 11:6; Egypt with hail in Exod. 9:18 [cf. Job 38:22 f.], or with locusts in Exod. 10:4), or when he suddenly strikes terror into Belshazzar with the mysterious writing on the wall (Dan. [Theodotion] 5:5). God's word is accomplished at a stroke (Dan. [Theodotion] 4:30; cf. Dan. LXX 4:23 *eis kairon kai hōran*) or is fulfilled punctually at the predetermined hour (Gen. 21:1 ff. with reference to Gen. 18:10, 14; and 2 Ki. 4:16 ff.). When some hoped-for intervention by God is still outstanding, temptation can arise, as in Job 24:1: "Why are not times of judgment kept by the Almighty, and why do those who know him never see his days?"

The remembrance of God's saving activity in history is to be kept alive at fixed festal hours in the cult (Exod. 13:10). The children of Israel are thus to keep the Passover at the appointed "hour" (Num. 9:2). The chronological concept of hours, which later played such a large rôle in Christian liturgy, is approached most closely

by the mention of "the hour of the evening sacrifice" in Dan. [Theodotion] 9:21. But in the OT as a whole, the temporal sense of *hōra* recedes behind that fullness of content which is effected by Yahweh or related to God in the cult.

4. In later Jewish writings *hōra*, like other temporal concepts, acquired a strong eschatological and apocalyptic stress. Like the "day of the Lord", so the *hōra kairou*, "hour of time", (Dan. LXX 8:17, 19) or the *hōra synteleias* "hour of consummation" (Dan. LXX 11:40, 45) refers to the events of the last days when God will come with accompanying cosmic phenomena, in order to punish the godless in the judgment and to lead the righteous to everlasting salvation. Therefore Sirach urges: "Before judgment examine thyself, and in the hour of visitation [*en hōra episkopēs*] thou shalt find forgiveness" (Sir. 18:20). For the individual's hour of death there is the promise of Sir. 11:22: "The blessing of God is the portion of the righteous; in a speedy time [*en hōra tachinē*] his hope shall flourish." With regard to the godless Sir. 11:27 states: "An evil time [*kakōsis hōras*] causeth forgetfulness of delights."

NT By comparison with the LXX *hōra* is used almost twice as often in the NT. The instances accumulate in the Gospels (76 times, including 26 in Jn.) and Rev. (20 times). *hōra* occurs seven times in Paul. The adj. *hōraios* is found 4 times.

1. (a) Linked with ordinal numbers *hōra* serves to fix any events chronologically in the course of the day (e.g. Matt. 20:3, 5 f., 9; Jn. 1:39; 4:6; Acts 2:15). This is especially true of particular points of time within the Passion narrative of Jesus (Jn. 19:14; Mk. 15:25, 33 f.; Matt. 27:45; Lk. 23:44) and in connexion with Jewish times of prayer in the prayer-life of the pious man (Acts 3:1; 10:3, 9, 30; for specific cultic actions; cf. also Lk. 1:10, the hour of → incense). Alongside precise indications of time of this sort, *hōra* can also be used in accord with the ancient division of the day for more imprecise designations such as "at a late hour [of the evening]" (Matt. 14:15; Mk. 6:35; 11:11). More generally still, *hōra* is used where in phrases like "up to this hour" (1 Cor. 4:11), "in that [or this] hour" (e.g. Matt. 8:13; 18:1; Lk. 7:21; 10:21; 13:31; 20:19) or "from that hour onwards" (e.g. Matt. 9:22; 15:28; 17:18) it places a particular event in a temporal relationship to something anterior, simultaneous or subsequent. The allusions to the point in time of the parousia of the Son of man are similarly generalizing (cf. Matt. 24:36; 25:13; Mk. 13:32; also in the parousia-parables Matt. 24:50; Lk. 12:46, "the master of that servant will come on a day when he does not expect him, and at an hour he does not know"). Especially vivid is the contraction of time (proposed by the use of the word *hōra*) to a single moment, embedded in greater periods of time, in the apocalyptic vision of Rev. 9:15: "So the four angels were released, who had been held ready for the hour, the day, the month, and the year, to kill a third of mankind."

(b) So far we have been dealing with more or less exact indications of time which are given by the word *hōra*, partly in the sense of → *kairos*. In another group of passages the word serves to describe limited time-spans. Analogously with temporal concepts such as year, month and day, *hōra* also means the length of time of a measurable hour. "Are there not twelve hours in the day?" (Jn. 11:9; cf. Josephus, *War* 6, 1, 7). The last of the labourers to be hired worked only one hour (Matt. 20:3, 5, 6, 12). The disciples could not stay awake one hour (Matt. 26:40; cf. Lk. 23:44; Acts 5:7; 10:30; 19:34, two hours). In general, an hour is felt to be relatively short.

This is also shown in those places where the thought is obviously not simply of a space of time of sixty minutes (Jn. 5:35; 1 Thess. 2:17; Phlm. 15; cf. also Rev. 18:10, 17, 19, of Babylon's judgment which comes very quickly). Now and then in connexion with *hōra* longer periods of time can be in mind (cf. 1 Cor. 15:30).

2. (a) Like other biblical temporal concepts, *hōra* also acquires its decisive importance from its content, from the event which has been, is being or will be enacted at a particular hour. Admittedly, it is by no means irrelevant to the authors of the NT when something took place, but even more significant for them is what invests the particular unit of time with its essential quality. This is already the case in the general human context. In a woman's life it is the sudden change from pain to joy which gives its own value to the hour in which she gives birth to a child (Jn. 16:21).

(b) Much more far-reaching in their force of statement are the individual hours within Jesus' life-time. Again and again the evangelists point to particular periods of time in which things happen to or through Jesus which reveal his incomparable majesty and authority. There is, for instance, the hour in which God's messenger, as it were, legitimates himself for the benefit of the doubting John the Baptist by means of healing miracles (Lk. 7:21 ff.; for further hours of the Saviour cf. Matt. 8:13; 9:22; 15:28; 17:18; Jn. 4:52 f.). It is Jn. above all who stresses over and over again that such miraculous → signs are not intended to serve Jesus' self-glorification but to point to God the Father. For the → glory of God (*doxa tou theou*) to shine out, Jesus must wait for the right hour, the *kairos*. This is true of Jesus' miraculous actions (cf. Jn. 2:4) as it is of his suffering (cf. Jn. 7:30; 8:20; 13:1). When the "hour" of his arrest, his death and his return to the Father is impending (Jn. 13:1), Jesus uses the remaining time (according to Jn.'s account) for table-fellowship with his disciples in order – yet again and as it were by way of summary – to express his love in the symbolic action of the foot-washing and the farewell discourse.

The degree to which all the prominent hours of Jesus' life aim to manifest God's glory is perhaps shown most clearly in the Johannine account of the → transfiguration. The "hour" of suffering, which Jesus dreads and yet recognizes to be in accord with the will of the Father (Jn. 12:27), is illuminated by God in a unique way. In answer to Jesus' prayer that the Father will glorify his name, a voice from heaven declares: "I have glorified it, and I will glorify it again" (Jn. 12:28). This means that Jesus is confirmed as the Lord, the One over whom the spirits will divide in the future, as during his life-time (Jn. 5:24 ff.). "This is why the coming of Jesus is the judgment: it is precisely the historical figure of Jesus, precisely his human history that has become the eschatological event by means of the *hōra* of *doxasthēnai*" (R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 1971, 493 f.).

3. As well as the general temporal and christological passages, eschatological conceptions of time play an important part in the NT. From the Gospels to Rev. there becomes apparent, alongside belief in the hour which is filled with meaning by Christ, the expectation of a still-awaited *hōra eschatē*, a last hour, which, after a while of eschatological terrors (cf. Jn. 16:2, 32; Rev. 3:10) will run into the final hour of → judgment (Rev. 14:7; cf. 14:15; Jn. 5:24 ff.). Nobody, not even Jesus, is able to give exact indications of "day and hour" (Mk. 13:32; Matt. 24:36, 44, 50; 25:13), for the "last hour" will break in suddenly like a thief (Lk. 12:39 f., 46; Rev. 3:3). But for this very reason one must stay awake and ready (Rom. 13:11) and be careful to increase one's vigilance for the "signs of the times" (Matt. 16:3; cf. Lk. 12:56).

1 Jn. 2:18 can even say that the "last hour [*eschatē hōra*]" has come. When it became clear that the parousia was being delayed, there still remained the task of handling every particular present hour (the Now) in the right way, grasping it as time given by God and realizing the possibilities that lay within it. This was the case both in the ethical responsibility of every-day life (cf. Rom. 13:11 ff.) and in the testing of times of persecution, for which Jesus had already sought to prepare his disciples (Jn. 16:1 ff.). To those who have to answer for their faith in court Jesus promised in particular the assistance of his Spirit (Matt. 10:19; cf. Mk. 13:11; Lk. 12:12), so that even the "hour" of their trial can serve to glorify God.

To sum up, *hōra*, like other units of time, is understood in the NT as time which is given and filled by God. Thus right up to the "final hour" (*eschatē hōra*), the "hour of Jesus" gives all men's hours their sense and their definition as hours of decision in the realm of faith and of testing in the realm of ethics. *H.-C. Hahn*

→ Darkness, Night, → Fullness, → Goal, → Present, Day, → Promise, → Sabbath

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Tithe

δεκάτη

ἀποδεκατεύω (*apodekateuō*), give a tithe, give one tenth; ἀποδεκατόω (*apodekatoō*), give a tithe or tenth, collect a tithe; δέκατος (*dekatos*), tenth; δεκατόω (*dekatoō*), collect or pay a tithe, tenth; δεκάτη (*dekatē*), tenth, tithe.

OT 1. *Definition.* "Tithe" translates Hebrew and Greek words that mean "a tenth," or "to take or give a tenth" of something (Heb. *maʿăśēr*, a tithe; cf. *ʿeśer*, ten; Gk. *deka*, ten; → Number). The tenth was usually of the produce of the ground and was considered that part of the whole due from a worshipper to his God for the support of the God's sanctuary and its priests.

2. *Origin.* When and why the fraction, one tenth, was chosen for the sacred "tax" is unclear. All that can be said as to when is that the custom is very old and widespread, possibly antedating Israel's history, not confined to Semitic peoples but including Indo-Germanic peoples as well.

The apparent reason why a tenth was adopted may have to do with the ancient system of counting by tens, a system made easy by the ten fingers and toes common to mankind. But the tithe may also have been selected because of the views about number that the ancients had. Not only was ten a favourite round number that could be greater or less according to the circumstances (Gen. 31:7), but seemingly it was also a sacred number made up of two other specially sacred numbers – three and seven. Note how many times in the OT the number ten figures in holy matters: the clauses, "and God said", "and God saw", "and God blessed", in Gen. 1 occur ten, seven and three times respectively, hardly by coincidence; there are ten patriarchs mentioned before the flood (Gen. 5) and ten mentioned after it (Gen. 11:10–30); ten was used in measuring Noah's ark (Gen. 6:15) and frequently in measuring and furnishing the tabernacle (Exod. 26; → Tent); ten is also prominent in apocalyptic symbolism (Dan., Rev.), and Matthew sees Jesus' messianic power proven by ten miracles (Matt. 8–9).

3. *The Tithe in Secular Literature.* Although the tithe formed an important part of Israelite culture, it was nevertheless not unique to that culture. Extra-biblical literature indicates that the tithe was employed in many places. Sometimes it was a strictly political matter, a tax paid by the people to their king or one imposed on conquered nations by the conqueror (Diod. Sic., 20, 14).

More often, however, it was a combination of the secular with the sacred. In Babylon during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II, a tithe from the land was paid to the temple by all, including the king, while at the same time Babylonian kings took a tithe of all imports (C. H. W. Johns, *Babylonian and Assyrian Laws, Contracts and Letters*, 1904, xi, 205–206). Persian satraps also demanded a tithe of imports (Aristot., *Oecon.* 134b; 135b). Yet Cyrus, the Persian, made his soldiers give a tenth of their spoils to Zeus (Hdt., 1, 89). Pausanias (2nd century A.D.) gives many examples from Greece and Rome of a tithe as a tax on land which occasionally was dedicated to the gods.

There are also numerous examples in secular literature of the tithe being solely a sacred matter, a sacrifice due to the deity alone: Agamemnon conquered Mycenae and dedicated a tenth to the gods (Diod. Sic., 11, 65). On conquering the Etruscans, the Liparians were said to have dedicated a tithe of the spoils at Delphi (*ibid.* 5, 9;

Hdt., 7, 132; see W. H. D. Rouse, "Tithes (Greek)", *ERE* XII 350–51, for abundant additional evidence of tithing among the Greeks).

4. *Tithing in the OT.* The concept of the tithe in the OT seems to have developed as time went on and as Israelite society became more complex. Very early in the record Abram gave → Melchizedek a tenth of everything (Gen. 14:20), but this was of the spoils of war, not the produce of the land, and there is no mention of any law demanding this of Abram, nor is there any explanation as to why he gave it. Jacob, too, vowed to give a tithe to God (Gen. 28:22). Again, Jacob's tithe apparently was a spontaneous thought, a promise to thank God conditional on God's prospering him and bringing him back home again safely. But there are no details as to why it was a tenth or how this tithe would be given or who would receive it in God's behalf.

It is strange that there is no mention of the tithe in the great law code contained in Exodus, but laws governing the giving of the first fruits of the land are (Exod. 23:16, 19; 34:22–26). The first of the crop, etc., and presumably the best, was sacrificed to God, probably in recognition that all things belong primarily to him (Deut. 26:10). It is possible, then, that the gift of first fruits was the forerunner of the tithe, and that the term "tithe" was introduced because it was necessary to fix precisely the amount of first fruits to be brought. But this question about the relation of the first fruits to the tithe cannot be answered unequivocally because the biblical texts seem both to equate them (Deut. 26:1–15) and to distinguish between them (Neh. 12:44).

It is difficult also to reconstruct precisely the history surrounding the term tithe. Presumably, however, it could be as follows.

(a) From the beginning the tithe of the land's produce – seed, fruit trees, etc. – was recognized as belonging in some unique way to the Lord. It was "holy to the LORD" (Lev. 27:30–32). At first it was treated as a personal offering of grain, wine, oil, etc. Annually a person was required to bring his tithe to some designated place and eat it there in company with his sons, daughters, servants and the Levites who happened to be present (Deut. 12:6, 11, 17). If the journey to this designated place was too far, the tithe could be turned into money and the money brought to be spent there on whatever the appetite craved. There the offerer with his household and the → Levite was to eat before the Lord and rejoice (Deut. 14:22–29; 15:19–23). Note that the Levite was included in this annual tithe-feast, but nowhere is there a hint in these texts that the tithe was exclusively for him. Rather it was primarily for the enjoyment of the landowner and his family.

(b) As time passed, Israelite society developed and its social problems increased. To help solve these problems laws governing the tithe were modified. Now the tithe of the land's produce was offered to God in a new way. Every third year the tithe, instead of being taken away from home and consumed by the offerer himself in some distant place, was stored up within local communities and used to meet the material needs of Levite, sojourner, orphan and widow in and around that community (Deut. 14:28; 26:12).

(c) Gradually Israel's cultus grew. The number of Levites and priests multiplied. Since these people had been given no land by which to support themselves, maintenance of them and the sanctuary had to come from the gifts of the people. As the number of Levites and priests increased as well as that of the accoutrements of the sanctuary, a tithe only every three years was insufficient. Hence, the law of the tithe

appears like this: God has given to the sons of Levi *every* tithe in Israel for an inheritance (Num. 18:21). It now seems that annual tithing was strictly for the support of the Levites, the priests and the house of God. The Levites themselves saw to the collection of the tithes from all the rural towns and the priest, Aaron's descendant, accompanied them on their rounds. From the tithe that the Levites collected they gave a tenth to the priest (Num. 18:28; Neh. 10:32–39) and in return the Levites and the priest served in the sanctuary.

On more than one occasion Israel neglected its obligation with regard to the tithe. Consequently the Levites had to leave the sanctuary for the fields in order to support themselves by tilling the soil, and the sanctuary fell into disrepair. Reforms took place under Hezekiah (2 Chr. 31:5 f.), Nehemiah (Neh. 13:12) and Malachi (Mal. 3:8, 10) so that the people once more gave their proper tithe, the sanctuary was restored and the priests and Levites were able to give themselves wholly to the Law of the Lord once again.

5. *The Tithe in Hellenistic and later Judaism.* The tithe in the period of Hellenistic Judaism was still the chief source of income for the priests and Levites though, as in the OT, left to the conscience of the tax payer, the tithe often was not paid. On occasion, therefore, greedy high priests made sure they received their due by sending bands of desperados to take the tithe on the threshing floors. The peasant was considered untrustworthy to discharge this important religious responsibility (Josephus, *Ant.* 20, 181; 20, 206 f.). In the late pre-Christian and early Christian centuries the tithe was augmented by a kind of poll tax for the support of the temple and its ministers – an annual half shekel (Matt. 17:24; Josephus, *Ant.* 18, 9, 1; Mishnah tractate Shekalim, but cf. also Exod. 30:11–16) – was collected not only from the Jews in Palestine but from those of the Diaspora as well. (This latter extension of the tax to include people outside of Palestine was a rabbinical innovation.) After the destruction of the temple the rabbis still stressed the importance of tithing. They viewed it as one of the three elements through whose merit the world was created (Gen. R. 1, 6), and as the means by which Israelites escape the lot of the wicked (*Jewish Encyclopedia*, XII, 151b).

6. *Meaning of the Tithe.* Underlying the giving of the tithe was the basic idea that "the earth is the LORD's and all that is in it" (Ps. 24:1). To give a tenth, therefore, meant to acknowledge in a tangible way the Lord's ownership of the land and its produce. Hence, Judah's failure to do this was tantamount to robbing God (Mal. 3:8, 10), not of the material things themselves – these already belonged to God (Ps. 50:10) – but of the recognition that these material things belonged to him and were exclusively his. Man's possessions were seen as gifts given by God, the proper response to which was gratitude. Tithing, then, came to mean also an expression of thanks to God for his generosity (cf. Gen. 28:20–22). Finally, the effect of tithing meant that the Levites and priests could be supported and the poor provided with food. Tithing was viewed, therefore, as God's way of involving his people in his own redemptive activity, in his own immense concern for the poor and destitute. Just as God had shared his blessings with his people, so they who received them must share them with people less fortunate. Hence, religious leaders repeatedly reminded the Israelites of the importance of tithing: to give the tithe would bring divine blessing; to withhold it, divine cursing (Ezek. 44:30 ff.; Mal. 3:8, 10).

NT 1. *The Tithe in the NT.* Since the tithe played such an important part in the OT and in Judaism contemporary with early Christianity, it is surprising to discover that never once is tithing mentioned in any of the instructions given to the church. Jesus mentions → scribes and → Pharisees who tithe (Matt. 23:33 par. Lk. 11:42; 18:12), but he never commanded his disciples to tithe. The writer to the Hebrews refers to Abraham paying tithes to → Melchizedek and Levi paying his tithe to Melchizedek through Abraham (Heb. 7:2, 5), but he never taught his readers to follow their example. Paul writes about sharing material → possessions to care for the needs of the → poor (1 Cor. 16:1–3; 2 Cor. 8–9; Eph. 4:28) and to sustain the Christian ministry (1 Cor. 9). He urges and commends generosity (2 Cor. 9:6; 8:1–5) but never once does he demand, as a command from God, that any specific amount be given.

Paul, however, did demand (*diatassein*) of his churches that collections (*logeiai*) be taken for the saints, i.e. for the Christians in the mother church at Jerusalem (1 Cor. 16:1–3; 2 Cor. 8:4; 9:1, 12). Since the word *logeia*, used here, can mean a collection of → taxes as well as voluntary contributions collected at worship for charity (Liddell-Scott, 1055; A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 1927 [3], 105), it might be assumed that Paul's choice of this unusual word implies an official tax paid by the Pauline churches to the poor (a technical term for "the saints") in Jerusalem in recognition of Jerusalem's status as headquarters for the church universal (see K. Holl, "Der Kirchenbegriff des Paulus in seinem Verhältnis zu der Urgemeinde", *Neue Jahrbücher des klassischen Altertums*, 33, 1914, 521–56). This would be similar to the poll tax paid annually to the temple by faithful Jews who lived outside as well as inside of Palestine, and very like the tithe in concept.

Yet the fact that Paul uses *logeia* only twice (1 Cor. 16:1 f.), a word that could be construed as a technical fiscal term, and quickly substitutes for it a devotional expression (*charis*, 1 Cor. 16:3), and the fact that the collection Paul was concerned with was actually for the support of the *socially* poor in Jerusalem (cf. Rom. 15:26) argues against such an assumption. All of Paul's special vocabulary about giving (*charis*, → grace, 1 Cor. 16:3; *koinōnia*, → fellowship, 2 Cor. 8:4; *diakonia*, service, 2 Cor. 8:4; 9:1; *eulogia*, praise, blessing, 2 Cor. 9:5), and his explicit teaching on the subject (Rom. 15:25–28; 1 Cor. 9:8–18; 2 Cor. 8–9) indicate that for the Christian giving is voluntary, an act of free will, a non-compulsory sharing of his material possessions with no stipulated amount, such as a tax or tithe, demanded of him. The Christian gives as he has made up his mind to give (2 Cor. 9:7) and as God has prospered him (1 Cor. 16:2). He gives because he is aware that he is God's (Christ's) → slave (*doulos*, Rom. 6:16; 1 Cor. 7:22; Eph. 6:6; 1 Pet. 2:16); that neither he nor his possessions are really his own to use as he likes (1 Cor. 6:20); that essentially he is a steward charged with the responsible handling of his master's goods (1 Pet. 4:10) and that eventually he must account for what he has done with these goods (Rom. 14:12). He gives because he has the generosity of Christ as his model (2 Cor. 8:9) and the impelling power of God's Spirit within him as his motivation. Hence, the Christian's giving, in contrast to that of the OT saint, is not done with reluctance or compulsion (2 Cor. 9:7), nor is it limited to a tithe of each year's income. Rather it is done cheerfully, voluntarily, systematically and with open-ended generosity (1 Cor. 16:1 f.; 2 Cor. 9:6–9).

2. *Tithing in the Early Church.* In the writings of the Apostolic Fathers and the

Apologists the common words for tithing do not appear. Nevertheless, giving still continued to be an important part of early Christian worship. Justin Martyr observes that every Sunday "those who prosper and so wish, contribute, each one as much as he chooses. What is collected is deposited with the president, and he takes care of orphans and widows and those who are in want . . . and those who are in bonds and the strangers who are sojourners among us" (*I Apol.* 67; cf. also *Apost. Const.* 2, 27). Irenaeus considered tithing to be a Jewish law not required of Christians for Christians had received "liberty" and should consequently give without external constraint (*Haer.* 4, 18, 2). Origen viewed tithes as something to be far exceeded by Christians in their giving (*In Num. hom.* 11). Hence, for the early Fathers of the Church, as for the writers of the NT, the tithe was a thing of the past; a new principle for giving was guiding them now and propelling them to share – the goodness of God and the inward compulsion of the Holy Spirit.

Note that in this primitive period of the church's history, giving was still voluntary, was directly related to whether God had prospered a person or not and was chiefly for the aiding of the poor. Little or nothing is said about how the clergy and the church were sustained. Presumably they were kept going by the free will gifts of the people to whom they ministered. Later, however, tithing was reintroduced as a means of supporting the church. It was reintroduced first by instruction with the aid of such NT passages as Matt. 10:10; Lk. 10:7; 1 Cor. 9:3 f., etc., and on a voluntary basis. Eventually, however, the power of civil law was required to effect what instruction failed to accomplish. The renowned decree of Charlemagne (A.D. 785) no longer gave the people an option – they were taxed for the support of the church whether they liked it or not. *G. F. Hawthorne*

→ First, → Fruit, → Gift, → Number, → Poor, → Possessions, → Sacrifice, → Tax

H. Conzelmann, *First Corinthians*, *Hermeneia*, 1975, 294–96; A. Deissmann, *Light From the Ancient East*, 1927[3]; C. L. Feinberg, "Tithe", *ZPEB* V 756 ff.; M. Jastrow, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, 1898; C. H. W. Johns, *Babylonian and Assyrian Laws, Contracts and Letters*, 1904; H. Landsell, *The Sacred Tenth; Studies in the Tithe-Giving Ancient and Modern*, 1906; J. A. MacCulloch and W. H. D. Rouse, "Tithes", *ERE* XII 347–51; G. F. Moore, *Judaism* II 70 ff.; E. Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, 1, 2, 181, 189 (new edition, 1, 1973, 465, 469); 2, 1, 233–48; W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 1927[3].

Torment

βάσανος

βάσανος (*basanos*), torture, torment; βασανίζω (*basanizō*), to torture, torment; βασανισμός (*basanismos*), torturing, torment; βασανιστής (*basanistēs*), torturer.

CL *basanos* comes from the Egyptian word for a touchstone for gold (*lydia lithos*, Bacchyl. *Frag.* 14). Attested since Theognis and Pindar in cl. Gk. usage, it signifies originally a means of testing; then torture, as a means of examination; and finally, torment generally.

OT In the LXX the word-group is found mainly in 4 Macc. (20 out of 30 uses of the vb., 41 out of 61 occurrences of the noun) and in the Wisdom literature; that is to say, it is a typical word-formation of the Hellenistic epoch. Only *basanos* is found in

scattered references for Heb. words, such as *'āšām*, denoting a means of reparation for guilt, four times in 1 Sam. 6:3 f. 8, 17, which elsewhere means a guilt-offering (→ Sacrifice); *kᵉlimmâh*, shame, disgrace, in Ezek. 16:52, 54; 32:24, 30; and *miḳšôl*, a cause of sin or misfortune, in Ezek. 3:20 and 7:19. *basanos* is used concretely in Ezek. 16:52 and 54 of God's punishments of → Jerusalem, and in Ezek. 32:24, 30 of his punishment of the heathen nations. On the other hand, Wis. 3:1 says of the righteous that they are untouched by any torment.

In 2 Macc. 7:13 and often in 4 Macc. (where *basanismos*, torturing, also occurs, 9:6; 11:2) both noun and vb. are used of the tortures of Jewish martyrs (*basanos* in 4:26; 5:6; 6:27, 30; 7:2, 16; 8:9, 19; 9:5 f., 9, 16, 18; 10:11, 16; 11:1, 6, 23; 12:12; 13:15; 14:5, 8, 11; 15:11, 18–22, 32; 16:1 f., 17; 17:3, 7, 10, 23; 18:20; *basanizō* in 6:5, 10 f.; 8:2, 5, 27; 9:7, 15, 27, 30, 32; 11:16, 20; 12:4, 13; 13:27; 15:22; 16:3, 15). In Christian literature it is used of the torture of Christian martyrs (1 Clem. 6:1; 2 Clem. 17:7; Eusebius, *H.E.* 5, 1, 20 and 24). In the Christian acts of the martyrs the derivative *basanistēs*, torturer, is also found (Mart. Poly. 2, 3; cf. Eusebius, *H.E.* 5, 1, 24).

NT 1. In the NT the words are rare. *basanos* is found once in Matt. and twice in Lk.; *basanistēs* only in Matt. 18:34 for a torturer; *basanizō* 6 times in the Synoptics, 5 times in Rev., and 2 Pet. 2:8; *basanismos* only in Rev. (5 times).

(a) *basanos* in Matt. 4:24 is the physical afflictions of the sick which Jesus healed; in Lk. 16:23, 28 it is the torments which the rich man must suffer in Hades, the *topos tēs basanou*, the place of torment (on the parable see J. D. M. Derrett, "Dives and Lazarus and the Preceding Sayings", in *Law in the New Testament*, 1970, 78–99; → Judgment; → Punishment).

(b) The vb. *basanizō* (used as *basanos*) has in the NT the general meaning of to torment, to oppress; the servant of the centurion from Capernaum was tormented by his sickness (Matt. 8:6); the demons were afraid that Jesus would torment them (Matt. 8:29 par. Mk. 5:7; Lk. 8:28); the disciples on the sea were hard pressed by the wind and waves (Matt. 14:24; Mk. 6:48). 2 Pet. 2:8 depicts how righteous Lot felt his soul tortured by his observation of the dissolute activities of the people of Sodom. The vision of Rev. 12:2 mentions the labour-pains (*basanizomenē tekein*) of the mother of the Christ child. Only in Rev. is *basanizō* used of the torments which are the consequence of the divine → judgment (Rev. 9:5; 11:10; 14:10); in particular, Rev. 20:10 describes the eternal torments which the divine judgment brings to the anti-Christian powers, to → Satan, the beast (→ Animal, art. *thērion*) and the false → prophet.

2. The word *basanismos* is found five times in Rev. In the active sense it is used of the torments which are occasioned after the fifth trumpet by the eschatological locusts (Rev. 9:5); it has a passive sense in Rev. 14:11 and 18:7 ff. In Rev. 14:11 those who worship the beast are threatened by the angel with eternal torment. Rev. 18:7, 10, 15 deal with the *basanismos* which → "Babylon the harlot", i.e. the anti-Christian metropolis under judgment, must undergo. The connexion with the judgments which God issues at the end of time is everywhere clear.

W. Mundle

κολαφίζω

κολαφίζω (*kolaphizō*), strike with the fist; πληγή (*plēgē*), beating.

The word *kolaphizō*, to strike with the fist, is found neither in cl. Gk. nor in the LXX. It is found only in Christian literature, and only 5 times in the NT (Matt., Mk., 1 Cor., and 1 Pet.). It is derived from *kolaphos*, a blow with the fist, which, though attested from Hippocrates onwards, does not occur in the NT.

1. (a) In the passion narrative at Matt. 26:27 and Mk. 14:65 *kolaphizō* is to be understood literally; in a more general sense the word refers to the blows and maltreatments to which not only the apostle Paul was often subjected during his missionary work, but also other Christians, in times of persecution (1 Cor. 4:11; 1 Pet. 2:20). Paul mentions *plēgai*, beatings, of this kind in his career as an apostle (2 Cor. 6:5; 11:23). *kolaphizō* accordingly means the same as *epitithēmi plēgas* (Acts 16:23; cf. Lk. 10:30), to inflict blows.

(b) The word *plēgē* which is more commonly used in secular Gk. and the LXX can also denote the wound which results from a blow (Isa. 1:6; Jer. 10:19; Rev. 13:3, 14), and also the blows which come from God, i.e. his punishments (Exod. 11:1; 13:13). In 1 Sam. 4:8 *plēgē* denotes the plagues in → Egypt; Rev. 9:18, 20; 11:16; 15:1, 6, 8; 16:9, 21; 18:4, 8; 21:9; 22:18 refer to the punishments in the events of the end in which the divine wrath is consummated.

2. 2 Cor. 12:7 demands particular attention. Here the apostle is speaking, in connexion with the thorn (*skolops*) which he was given in the flesh, of the "messenger of Satan" who buffets him. In these words Paul hints at his lot of suffering which torments him painfully, but to which he was subjected in the will of God. To his prayer for release from this suffering he received from the Lord the comforting reply which we read in 2 Cor. 12:9: "My grace is sufficient for you, for my power is made perfect in weakness."

The question as to the nature of this suffering has received much attention from commentators. The older interpretation, in particular, thought of persecutions, spiritual temptations and painful hindrances to his missionary work which struck the apostle. More recent exegesis suggests some event or sickness which (cf. Job 2:6; Lk. 13:16) could have been understood by Paul as the work of a Satanic power. The diagnoses which have been suggested vary widely. At the beginning of the century the opinion was widely held that Paul was thinking here of epileptic attacks. But many other possibilities were also considered, such as hysteria, malaria, and migraine of the eyes (Gal. 4:15), to name but a few (cf. Arndt, 763 f. for details of various views and relevant literature). H. Lietzmann was strongly inclined to the view of the psychiatrist K. Bonhoeffer that Paul suffered from periodic, endogenous depressive states (*An die Korinther* I–II, *HNT* 9, 1969[5], enlarged by W. G. Kümmel, 157). However that may be, Paul's statements are not exact enough to allow definite conclusions. For further discussion → Fruit, art. *skolops*. *W. Mundle*

ὠδίνω

ὠδίνω (*ōdinō*), to travail as in giving birth; ὠδίν (*ōdin*), pain of labour.

CL The cl. authors used *ōdinō* to describe the throes of parturition, and also occasionally of animals giving birth to their young. The term claimed a wide metaphorical usage, being employed of any great anguish, hard physical work, emotional or mental strain, or ardent frustrated longing. Occasional references in the papyri reflect a general figurative usage. The noun *ōdin* constitutes a late literary form of *ōdis*, and occurs only in the LXX, the NT and one or two places in the papyri. Cl. Gk. authors used the earlier form *ōdis* to describe the pains associated with giving birth, whether among humans or animals, as well as in a metaphorical sense to refer to any kind of anguish or travail.

OT *ōdinō* occurs in the LXX, especially in Isa. (e.g. 23:4; 45:10; 51:2) to describe the pangs of childbirth. It translates the MT *ḥûl*, *ḥîl*, to writhe in childbirth, and also the intensive form of the vb. *ḥābal*, to be pregnant with (Ps. 7:15), be in travail with (Can. 8:5). All these terms were employed predominantly in a literal sense. *ōdin* occurs frequently in the LXX (e.g. Isa. 13:8; 37:3; Jer. 6:24), sometimes describing the agonies of death (e.g. 2 Ki. 22:6; Ps. 17:4 [MT 18:4]), but often in the literal context of childbirth. As such it was the equivalent of several Heb. words: *ḥîl*, labour pains; *ḥûl*, to experience labour pains; *yālaḏ*, to bear, bring forth a child; *ḥeḇel*, labour pains; *ḥalḥālâh*, anguish; *mašber*, literally *cervix uteri*; and *ṣîr*, pains, convulsions. While the Heb. words were sometimes used figuratively, the literal interpretation was always strongly represented.

NT The vb. *ōdinō* is used literally in the NT at Gal. 4:27, citing LXX Isa. 54:1, and at Rev. 12:2. The only metaphorical sense is found in Gal. 4:19. *ōdin* occurs in 1 Thess. 5:3, where the inevitable fact of labour under normal circumstances in a pregnant woman is used as a figure of the inescapable prospect of Christ's return. In both cases, even when it is expected, it is sudden in its incidence. As a metaphor of intense suffering, *ōdin* occurs in Matt. 24:8 and Mk. 13:8. In Acts 2:24 the pains of travail are associated with death (*thanatos*), reflecting the phraseology of LXX Ps. 17:5 (*ōdines thanatou*, "cords of death" RSV) and 17:6 (*ōdines hadou*, "cords of Sheol" RSV). The very thought that the messiah could remain in the grip of death is inconceivable (→ Resurrection). *R. K. Harrison*

ταλαιπωρέω

ταλαιπωρέω (*talaipōreō*), experience distress, endure hard labour; *ταλαιπωρία* (*talaipōria*), strenuous work, suffering, hardship; *ταλαίπωρος* (*talaipōros*), wretched, distress. The basic meaning of these terms is that of a miserable, distressed condition, whether of the body, mind or the environment.

CL Cl. authors used the vb. *talaipōreō* to describe those who endured hard work or who suffered distress or hardship, perhaps to the point of being worn out physically or emotionally. As can be imagined, the word lent itself readily to figurative usage. The meaning of the noun *talaipōria* varied from the concept of regular exercise or normal usage to that of hard work, hardship, or suffering, the latter including pain caused by physical diseases. The few references in the papyri refer to difficult social or environmental conditions. Cl. authors employed the adj.

talaipōros to describe people and circumstances that were wretched, unhappy and miserable, a sense which is also found in the papyri.

OT In the LXX the vb. *talaipōreō* is found principally in the prophetic literature (e.g. Isa. 33:1; Jer. 4:13, 20; 10:20), usually in its ordinary physical sense, as the equivalent of the Heb. *'āwâh*, do wrong, pervert the right, and *šāḏaḏ*, deal violently with, despoil. Devastation of a serious nature was generally envisioned in the MT, and the passive voice was used on occasions. In LXX Ps. 16:9 and Isa. 33:1 *talaipōreō* occurs in the active voice and means to distress, make weary. The noun *talaipōria* is common in the LXX (e.g. Job 5:21; Hos. 9:6; Mic. 2:4), though with rather less emphasis on the nature and extent of the destruction than the MT indicates. It renders several Heb. words: *maḥšāḵ*, lit. a dark place; *nûš*, be ill, sick; *šā'ōn*, desolate territory; *šō'âh*, trouble, *mᵉšo'âh*, desolation; *šeḵer*, to drink, be intoxicated; *šōḏ*, violence, devastation; *šāḏaḏ*, to despoil, treat violently. Consistently in the MT the troubles and difficulties, whether literal or figurative, are of a serious nature. The adj. *talaipōros* occurs in the LXX predominantly in the apocryphal writings to describe the persecutions of the Maccabean period (e.g. 2 Macc. 4:47). The MT counterpart is *šāḏaḏ*, to deal violently with, devastate, which in LXX Isa. 33:1 is rendered by *poiein talaipōrous*, to make wretched. In LXX Ps. 136:8 the related form *šᵉḏûḏâh*, the devasted one ("destroyer" NEB) occurs.

NT The vb. *talaipōreō* occurs only once in the NT (Jas. 4:9) in the middle voice, distress yourselves ("be wretched" RSV), in a call to penitence and humility. The noun *talaipōria* occurs only twice in the NT, first in Rom. 3:16, where LXX Isa. 59:7 is quoted in a section in which numerous *hapax legomena* occur, and secondly in Jas. 5:1, where the plur. form ("miseries" RSV) is used. The adj. *talaipōros* is utilized only twice (Rom. 7:24; Rev. 3:17), both instances describing a miserable, wretched condition of humanity. *R. K. Harrison*

(a). G. Bertram, *ōdin, ōdinō*, *TDNT* IX 667–74; J. D. M. Derrett, "Dives and Lazarus and the Preceding Sayings", in *Law in the New Testament*, 1970, 78–99; K. L. Schmidt, *kolaphizō*, *TDNT* III 818–21; J. Schneider, *basanos* etc., *TDNT* I 561 ff.
(b). J. Scharbert, *Der Schmerz im Alten Testament*, *Bonner Biblischer Beiträge* 8, 1955.

Touch

ἅπτω

ἅπτω/ἅπτομαι (*haptō/haptomai*), to touch.

CL In Homer the act. *haptō* has basically the meaning to fasten to, then to take hold of, kindle (i.e. to take hold of with fire). It is far more frequently found in the middle *haptomai*, touch, eat (i.e. touch food), attack (i.e. touch with hostility). In the classical writers of the 5th cent. it is used also for sexual relationships with women, and also means to seize, attack, concern oneself with (a work or philosophy) and finally to understand. Aristophanes tells ironically how the god of healing, Asclepius, healed miraculously by a touch. Other stories of healing by touch, whether by Asclepius, Serapis or other gods, come mostly from the 2nd and 3rd cent. A.D.

OT Occasionally the LXX uses *haptō* to render the Heb. *'ālâh*, to cause to mount up (e.g. a light, Exod. 30:8; cf. Tob. 8:13; or a fire, Jud. 13:13). The middle renders once each *'āhaz*, hold fast (Ezek. 41:6), *šālaḥ yāḏ*, stretch out the hand (Job 1:12), and the Aram. *šᵉlēṭ*, to have power over (Dan. 3:27). Normally, however, *haptomai* translates *qārab*, draw near, set about, go after (5 times, e.g. Num. 3:10, 38; Job 31:7) and especially *nāḡa'*, touch, meet (98 times). It is found:

1. For the touching of persons and things that have been made particularly sacred, e.g. the tree of knowledge of good and evil (Gen. 3:3), Mt. Sinai (Exod. 19:12), or in contrast the things through which one became cultically unclean, e.g. unclean animals (Lev. 11:8), corpses (Num. 19:11), tombs (Num. 19:16). More than merely external and superficial contact is implied in Gen. 20:6, which is dealing with sexual intimacy. In 2 Sam. 5:8 (where the Heb. text is questionable) and Zech. 2:8(12) it means kill or attack.

2. For the → angel's touch which lamed Jacob's thigh (Gen. 32:25) and raised Daniel up from his deep sleep (Dan. 8:18).

3. God himself touches men either to change their heart (1 Sam. 10:26) or to afflict them with illness (2 Ki. 15:5) or distress (Job 19:21).

NT 1. In the NT the active *haptō* is found 4 times and only in Luke for the kindling of light (Lk. 8:16; 11:33; 15:8) and of fire (Acts 28:2). The middle *haptomai* is used of sexual relations in 1 Cor. 7:1, of the touching of "unclean" foods in Col. 2:21 (cf. Matt. 15:11) and of demonic heathen impurity in 2 Cor. 6:17, quoting Isa. 52:11. In Lk. 7:39 we see the difference between Jesus and his host, for he does not shrink from the touch of an "unclean" woman. After his resurrection Jesus forbade Mary to touch him (Jn. 20:17). The RSV "do not hold me" and NEB "do not cling to me" are probably preferable.

2. The most frequent use of *haptomai* (30 times in all) is in the Synoptic reports of Jesus' acts of healing (→ Heal). They give a completely new connotation to the word. Isa. 6:5 ff. was fulfilled in Jesus once for all. The Lord touched, for example, the → leper so deeply and invisibly by the visible touch of his human hand, that he blotted out his impurity (Mk. 1:40 ff.). Both the form of the story and the choice of vocabulary have been assimilated to 2 Ki. 5:11–15 LXX. In healing the deaf man with an impediment in his speech, Jesus put his fingers into his ears, spat, touched his tongue and said to him "Ephphatha" (Mk. 7:33 f.); → Magic, art. *mageia* NT5. "This sequence of actions indicated to the man that he was to expect healing from the one who stood before him. The act of healing itself was accomplished with the word of liberation addressed not to the defective organs but to the man as a whole person: 'Be opened' " (W. L. Lane, *The Gospel of Mark, NLC*, 1974, 267).

3. The second and third of the three great stories of healing in Mk. 1:34; 3:10 f.; 6:56 are → miracles involving touch. Because they realized that "power came forth from him" (Lk. 6:19), the sick "pressed upon him to touch him" (Mk. 3:10) or his garment ((Matt. 9:20 f. par. Mk. 5:27–30, Lk. 8:44 f.), or even its fringe (Mk. 6:56; Matt. 14:36). Those who in faith touched even his clothes, like the one suffering from an "unclean" disease (Mk. 5:27), or those of Galilee whose diseases rendered them incapable of walking (Mk. 6:55), became well and were made whole (lit. "passed through to salvation" *diesōthēsan*, Matt. 14:36), for whether they knew it or not they had touched the form of glory and life. According to Mk. 5:30 and Lk. 8:45 f.

Jesus did not even know who had touched him, but only that "power has gone forth from me". For all that, his divine power lay open without restriction for the woman who had wanted to "steal" her cure, for she had acted in true and simple faith: "your faith" – not your touch – "has made you well" (Mk. 5:34). It should be remembered that a woman's menstrual flow was regarded as a source of uncleanness (Lev. 15:19–24; 2 Sam. 11:4), which precluded sexual intercourse (Lev. 15:19, 24; 18:19; Ezek. 22:10). A discharge of longer duration caused things which the woman touched to be unclean (Lev. 15:25–30). Hence, the woman was not only physically ill but debarred from normal human relationships. Her desire to touch the garment of Jesus may have been motivated by the thought that to touch his person under these circumstances was out of the question. Mk. and Lk. proclaim something offensive to modern thought, i.e. the power inherent in touching the Lord in faith. He alone acts and awakens in the sick person the faith to touch him. The one who does not believe touches him only superficially (Mk. 5:31) and does not experience his power. He whom Jesus touches of his own volition shares in his divine power (Mk. 9:27) and God himself turns to him.

Did the women have a presentiment of this, when, following an old Jewish custom, they brought their children to Jesus that he might – as did the scribes – bless them and pray over them (Matt. 19:13 ff. par. Mk. 10:13–16; Lk. 18:15 ff.)? Be that as it may, the account leaves no room for the concept of a magical power in a touch so often found in popular beliefs. *R. Grob*

→ Baptism, → Blood, → Heal

Transfigure, Transfiguration, Transform

μεταμορφόω

μεταμορφόω (*metamorphoō*), change into another form or image, transform.

CL The idea of transformation from one appearance or form into another is common in both Gk. and Lat. literature. Two famous Lat. works, by Ovid and by Apuleius, are called *Metamorphoses* (a transliteration from the Gk.). The former is a series of tales involving supernatural beings as well as humans, who experience different kinds of transformations. Apuleius describes, in autobiographic style, being transformed into an ass and finally being restored by the power of the goddess Isis. The latter experience illustrates the concept of religious change and release which was idealized in Hellenistic religion. It differs significantly from the NT experience of 2 Cor. 3:18 as well from that of Christ in his transfiguration.

OT There are no useful linguistic data in the OT, but two passages provide some background. In Exod. 34:29–35 the skin of Moses' face shone after his conversation with God on Mount Sinai. This experience underlies 2 Cor. 3:12–18. The vision of Dan. 10:5 f. does not involve a transformation, but does provide an apocalyptic imagery useful in the study of the description of Jesus' transfiguration. Dan. 12:3 describes the shining of the "wise" in the future resurrection. That theme is found later in the Pseudepigrapha (cf. Syr. Bar. 51:1–12).

NT The word is used four times (Matt. 17:2; Mk. 9:2; Rom. 12:2; 2 Cor. 3:18) and is apparently deliberately avoided once. This omission is in the Lucan account of

the transfiguration of Jesus, possibly because Luke did not want to use a term which could invite comparison with the pagan ideas of transformation.

1. In Matt. 17:2 and Mk. 9:2 the word is used to describe the transformation of the features (Matt. only) and clothing (Matt. and Mk.) of Christ during the transfiguration event. To understand its meaning and significance, we shall draw not only upon these two passages but also the account in Lk. 9 and the description in 2 Pet. 2. Matthew and Luke use differing terminology to express the transfigured radiance of Jesus' face. Matt. 17:2 uses the image of the shining sun. Lk. 9:29 incorporates the concept of transfiguration without using the term, by saying that "the appearance of his face changed." Thus far a comparison may be drawn with the radiance of Moses' face in Exod. 34, although it must be remembered that the LXX terminology, except for the single word "face", is different. In Jesus' transfiguration, moreover, his clothing also was rendered brilliant: "white as the light" (Matt.), more dazzling than bleached cloth (Mk.) and "bright as a flash of lightning" (Lk., New International Version). Jesus' total appearance was thus transformed.

2. This experience was clearly understood and related by the apostles as an actual event. It was also called a "vision" (*horama*, Matt. 17:9), a word which often refers to something observable which partakes of a supernatural quality or origin (elsewhere in the NT only in Acts 7:31; 9:10, 12; 10:3, 17, 19; 11:5; 12:9; 16:9, 10; 18:9). The Marcan account, which is usually considered primary, simply calls it "what they saw" (9:9). All three Synoptic Gospels link the event with the foregoing narrative sequence. While the temporal indicator, "after six days" (Matt. 17:1; Mk. 9:2; "about eight days after," Lk. 9:28), may have some further significance, it at least serves to connect this happening with a cohesive context. The following episode occurs, at least according to Lk. 9:37, as they are descending from the mountain. Theories which see this as a displaced post-resurrection story (R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, 1954, I, 26) must be judged as incapable of proof. In addition to this, 2 Pet. 1:16–18 employs the transfiguration as an evidence of the reliability of the Christian gospel. The writer obviously considered it a historical event which had convincing apologetic value and claimed that he himself was an eyewitness. The transfiguration is thereby ascribed a reality beyond that sometimes implied in the word "vision."

3. The assumption that the transfiguration is to be understood on the analogy of Hellenistic epiphany stories and, by implication, of no more historical value than they, has been properly challenged by recent scholarship. The eminent proponent of the former view, E. Lohmeyer, changed his view between 1922 and 1938 (E. Lohmeyer, "Die Verklärung Jesu nach dem Markus-Evangelium," *ZNW* 21, 1922, 185–215; *Das Evangelium des Markus*, *KEK* 1, 2, 1938, 174 f.). While some have still held to the Hellenistic epiphany model (e.g. S. Schulz, *Die Stunde der Botschaft*, 1970, 58; W. G. Kümmel, *The Theology of the New Testament*, 1973, 121–23; H. Conzelmann, *An Outline of the Theology of the New Testament*, 1969, 128), others have recognized the relevance of biblical and extra-biblical apocalyptic parallels (e.g. W. Gerber, "Die Metamorphose Jesu, Mark 9, 2 f. par.", *ThZ* 23, 1967, 385–95; M. Sabbe, "Le Rédaction du Récit de la Transfiguration," *La Venue du Messie. Messianisme et Eschatologie*, 1962, 65–100; H. C. Kee, "The Transfiguration in Mark: Epiphany or Apocalyptic Version?", in *Understanding the Sacred Text: Essays in Honor of Morton S. Enslin on the Hebrew Bible and Christian Beginnings*,

ed. J. Reumann, 1972). The issue is complex, involving assumptions about Hellenistic influence upon early Christian thought and categories. It is important to allow the whole biblical context and world-view to be the primary guide in such matters. Thus the comment in 2 Pet. 1:17 that Jesus "received honour and glory from God the Father" when God declared him to be the Son shows Jesus to be the worthy object of glorification. This is different from the manifestation of a divine essence through the miraculous transformation of some semi-mythical Hellenistic figure. Many earlier devout theologians thought that the transfiguration was a manifestation of the inner essential glory of Christ (though not in the Hel. sense). While this viewpoint has validity, 2 Pet. 1:17 would indicate otherwise. Another unique characteristic of the transfiguration of Jesus is that all three Synoptic Gospels mention radiant clothes. While the face might show forth inner glory, this would not seem to be the case with clothing.

4. The meaning of the transfiguration is likewise to be found in the biblical context and commentary. Among the many treatments of the subjects, the study by G. H. Boobyer which saw the transfiguration as a foreshadowing of the parousia (G. H. Boobyer, *St. Mark and the Transfiguration Story*, 1942), and that by H. Riesenfeld, which viewed the event as representing the enthronement of Jesus as messiah (H. Riesenfeld, *Jésus Transfiguré. L'Arrière-Plan du Récit Évangélique de la Transfiguration de Notre Seigneur*, 1947) have probably had, apart from Bultmann's resurrection-appearance theory, the widest influence.

If the introductory words of Matt. 16:28, Mk. 9:1 and Lk. 9:27 are understood as applying primarily to the transfiguration, their most natural point of reference, the imagery, is definitely that of Dan. 7:13 f. The word "power" found in Mk. 9:1, also occurs in the Petrine description (2 Pet. 1:16), where the word *parousia*, "coming" or "presence", is also found (cf. the idea of coming in Matt. 17:28 and Mk. 9:1). Several of the elements in the ensuing narrative also suggest a glorified Son of man motif, most notably the cloud. This point of reference does not exhaust the meaning of the transfiguration, however. Not only are there messianic motifs, but also the imagery of the biblical exodus is prominent. In that OT event, for example, God also made his presence known in a cloud. The six-day interval of Matt. 17:1 and Mk. 9:2 may recall the period of waiting when Moses ascended a mountain, also with three companions, to receive God's commandments (Exod. 24:9–16). A cloud was present there also, both as a covering and as a vehicle for the manifestation of God's glory. The very fact that Moses appears on the Mount of Transfiguration suggests that the exodus motif is prominent. Luke further records that → Moses and → Elijah were discussing the "departure" (Gk. *exodos*) which Jesus was about to accomplish at Jerusalem (Lk. 9:31).

Rather than limiting the imagery of the transfiguration scene to one point of reference, it is better to see it from both a typological (exodus) and an eschatological (parousia) perspective. The latter is reinforced by the presence of that great Jewish figure of eschatological significance, Elijah (cf. Mal. 4:5; on Elijah as an eschatological figure, see J. Jeremias, *Hēl(e)ias, TDNT* II 939 ff.). The essential meaning is, however, not centred in either a past or future event, but in the person of the one transfigured. This is made clear by the voice from heaven, which employs terminology recalling four christologically important passages: Ps. 2:7 about the royal son; Gen. 22:2 about the beloved only son (where the wording of the LXX is very

similar to Matt. 17:5 and Mk. 9:7); Isa. 42:1 about the chosen servant; and Deut. 18:15 ("listen to him") about the prophet Moses. The transfiguration is to be understood, therefore, as an affirmation by God of the messiahship and unique sonship of Jesus, who would indeed fulfill his mission as the suffering servant in accordance with the declarations in the preceding narrative in Mk. 8:27–9:1 and parallels.

5. The other two occurrences of the word *metamorphoō* are related to the experience of Christians. In Rom. 12:2 a continuing process of transformation is to characterize the believer. This is accomplished by an inner renewal of the mind and by a resistance to the influence of the world (or "age," *aiōn*). A more detailed explanation of the Christian's transformation is given in 2 Cor. 3:18, where the experience of Moses in Exod. 34:29–35 serves as an imperfect model. The glory brought by the gospel is not temporary, like the radiance of Moses' face, but is enduring. The Christian believer has an open relationship with the Lord of glory, which has a transforming effect. *W. L. Liefeld*

μετασχηματίζω *μετασχηματίζω* (*metaschēmatizō*), change the form of a person or thing.

This word is used in 1 Cor. 4:6; 2 Cor. 11:13, 14, 15; Phil. 3:21. In the context of 2 Cor. it has the meaning of taking on a disguise, or "masquerading". It pictures Satan appearing as an angel of light and false teachers pretending to be genuine. In a totally different application, Paul employs it in Phil. 3:21 to describe the future transformation of our "lowly" bodies by the power of God. No detail is given there of the exact nature of this transformation. (→ Form, art. *schēma.*) *W. L. Liefeld*

→ Elijah, → Form, → Jesus Christ, → Moses, → Son

(a). B. W. Bacon, "The Transfiguration Story: A Study of the Problem of the Sources of our Synoptic Gospels", *American Journal of Theology* 6, 1902, 236–65; J. B. Bernardin, "The Transfiguration", *JBL* 52, 1933, 181–89; G. H. Boobyer, *St. Mark and the Transfiguration Story*, 1942; G. B. Caird, "The Transfiguration", *ExpT* 67, 1955–6, 291–94; C. E. Carlston, "Transfiguration and Resurrection", *JBL* 80, 1961, 233–40; H. Conzelmann, *An Outline of the Theology of the New Testament*, 1969, 128; E. F. Harrison, *A Short Life of Christ*, 1968, 150–64; J. Jeremias, *Hēl(e)ias*, *TDNT* II 939 ff.; S. L. Johnson, "Transfiguration of Christ", *Bibliotheca Sacra* 124, 1967, 133–43; H. C. Kee, "The Transfiguration in Mark: Epiphany or Apocalyptic Vision?", in J. Reumann, ed., *Understanding the Sacred Text: Essays in Honor of Morton S. Enslin on the Hebrew Bible and Christian Beginnings*, 1972; W. G. Kümmel, *The Theology of the New Testament*, 1973, 121–23; W. L. Liefeld, "Theological Motifs in the Transfiguration Narrative", R. N. Longenecker and M. C. Tenney, eds., *New Dimensions in New Testament Study*, 1974, 162–79; W. F. Moulton, "The Significance of the Transfiguration", in *Biblical and Semitic Studies*, 1902; A. M. Ramsey, *The Glory of God and the Transfiguration of Christ*, 1967; M. E. Thrall, "Elijah and Moses in Mark's Account of the Transfiguration", *NTS* 16, 1969–70, 305–17; T. Torrance, "The Transfiguration of Jesus", *EQ* 14, 1942, 214–29.

(b). H. Baltensweiler, *Die Verklärung Jesu*, 1959; J. Blinzler, *Die neutestamentlichen Berichte über die Verklärung Jesu*, 1937; W. Gerber, "Die Metamorphose Jesu, Mark 9, 2 f. par.", *ThZ* 23, 1967, 385–95; S. Hirsch, "Taufe, Versuchung und Verklärung Jesu", *Religionswissenschaftliche Studien* 1, 1932, 5–98; M. Horstmann, *Studien zur markinischen Christologie*, 1969, 72–103; E. Lohmeyer, "Die Verklärung Jesu nach dem Markus-Evangelium", *ZNW* 21, 1922, 185–215; and *Das Evangelium des Markus*, *KEK* 1, 2, 1938, 174 f.; C. Masson, "La Transfiguration de Jésus", *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie* 14, 1964, 1–14; H. P. Müller, "Die Verklärung Jesu", *ZNW* 51, 1960, 56–64; H. Riesenfeld, *Jésus Transfiguré. L'Arrière-Plan du Récit Évangélique de la Transfiguration de Notre Seigneur*,

Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis 16, 1947; M. Sabbe, "Le Rédaction du Récit de la Transfiguration", *La Venue du Messie. Messianisme et Eschatologie*, 1962, 65–100; S. Schulz, *Die Stunde der Botschaft*, 1970.

Tree, Plant, Root, Branch

δένδρον

δένδρον (*dendron*), tree; *ξύλον* (*xylon*), tree, wood, → cross; *φυτεία* (*phyteia*), plant; *φυτεύω* (*phyteuō*), to plant; *ἔμφυτος* (*emphytos*), implanted; *βλαστάνω* (*blastanō*), sprout, shoot forth; *ῥίζα* (*rhiza*), root; *ῥιζόω* (*rhizoō*), take root; *ἐκριζόω* (*ekrhizoō*), uproot; *κλάδος* (*klados*), branch; *κλῆμα* (*klēma*), branch; *φύλλον* (*phyllon*), leaf; *ἐνκεντρίζω* (*enkentrizō*), to graft.

CL In secular Gk. many of these words, apart from their literal use in agricultural contexts, carry a metaphorical and sometimes even a philosophical or cosmological sense. They are often associated with people or families. *phyteuō* is used of a father begetting children (e.g. Hdt., 4, 145; Eur., *Alcestis* 662); *blastanō* of children being born (Soph., *Aj.* 761). Demosthenes speaks of the branches (*klēma*) of a people (*ap. Aeschin.* 77, 27).

rhiza, in particular, has a wide range of meanings. It is used for the foundation of the earth (Hesiod, *Works* 19) and the foot of a mountain (Aesch., *PV* 365). It is also regularly used for that from which other things spring, i.e. the root of evil or good (Eur., *Frag.* 912, 11 (anap.); Epicurus, *Frag.* 409), and the stock of a race or family (Aesch., *Ag.* 966). The soul is the head or origin (Plato, *Tim.* 90a). The earth is the origin of all things (Tim. Locr. 97e). *enkentrizō* is used of grafting plants. The nouns *enkentris* and *enkentrisis* mean respectively a sting, spike, stylus for writing, and inoculation or grafting.

OT This group of words will be considered as a whole, rather than separately, because of the frequency with which they are combined. The subject is best approached by way of the separate, but related ideas which these words are used to convey. The main emphasis will be upon the application of the word-group to people and nations, but mention may be made of other uses.

1. *Miscellaneous Uses.* (a) *dendron* and *xylon* are regularly used to denote idolatrous worship (e.g. Isa. 57:5; Jer. 2:27; Ezek. 6:13). In Isa. 27:9 and elsewhere *dendron* is employed for the Heb. *'ăšērîm*, Asheras or sacred poles (cf. Deut. 16:21). *xylon* carries a much wider range of meanings in the LXX than in the NT and is often used as a synonym for *dendron*. For its use in connexion with execution → Cross, art. *xylon*.

(b) The words are regularly used symbolically to denote promises of God's blessing, God's wrath and God's providence. Through Ezekiel comes the promise that there will grow all kinds of trees for food; their leaves will not wither nor fail (Ezek. 47:12 f.; LXX *dendron*; Heb. *'ēṣ*; cf. Ps. 1). "Then shall the trees of the wood sing for joy before the LORD, for he comes to judge the earth" (1 Chr. 16:33; LXX *xylon*; Heb. *'ēṣ*; cf. Pss. 96[95]:13; 104[103]:10 f.; Joel 1:19; 2:22). In this context the → vine and the fig tree (→ Fruit, art. *sykē*) represent a man's personal security. There is personal disaster when Yahweh smites "their vines and fig trees" (Ps. 105[104]:33; cf. Jer. 5:17; Hos. 2:12). "Every man under his vine and under his fig tree" sym-

bolizes personal peace and prosperity (Mic. 4:4; cf. 1 Ki. 4:25; 2 Ki. 18:13; Zech. 3:10).

(c) Both *dendron* and *xylon* are used in the expression "the tree of life" (→ Cross, art. *xylon*). Apart from Gen. 3:22, 24 (*xylon*), however, references are confined to the Book of Proverbs. The fruit of the righteous is the tree of life (Prov. 11:30; LXX *dendron*). A desire fulfilled is a tree of life (Prov. 13:12; LXX *dendron*). A gentle tongue is a tree of life (Prov. 15:4; LXX *dendron*). Wisdom is the tree of life (Prov. 3:18; LXX *xylon*). Life is depicted as the fruit of a tree, and the trees are variously described.

2. *Trees and Plants as Parables of People.* Several recurring themes are found in passages where trees and plants are used as parables of people.

(a) Israel is a tree of God's planting. Sometimes the tree or plant is a picture of the individual: men looking for a ruler (Jdg. 9:8; *xylon*); the godly man (Ps. 1:3; Jer. 17:7; *xylon*); Job (Job 19:10; *dendron*); a → eunuch (Isa. 56:3). The tree may represent that which is lofty, the proud and arrogant man (Isa. 2:23, the cedar and oak).

Sometimes the tree represents mighty nations other than Israel: Pharaoh and hence his kingdom (Ezek. 31:3 f.; a cedar, *xylon*); Nebuchadnezzar and → Babylon (Dan. 4:10 f.; *dendron*); Moab (Jer. 48:32; a vine). All these trees are under the control of God (Ezek. 17:24).

But most frequently it is Israel which is pictured as a tree. Although the vine is the most common, other trees are employed, too. In Ezek. 17:5 ff. Israel is a vine planted by the king of Babylon, a theme which takes over the earlier theme of the vine setting it in the context of the exile. But in the last analysis Israel is God's own planting: a vine (Isa. 5:1; Ezek. 19:10; Ps. 80[79]:8 f.); the shoot of God's own planting (Isa. 60:21; *phyteuma*); a tree (Isa. 65:22; *xylon*); a poplar, olive, cedar and vine (Hos. 14:5 f.).

Three further observations may be made here. (i) In Hos. 14:8 the picture changes. God himself is the tree (a cypress). Whatever fruit Israel produces comes ultimately from him. (ii) Nowhere in the OT is Israel pictured directly as a fig, though this is implicit, since God requires good figs as well as good grapes (Jer. 24:1 f.; 8:13; cf. Mic. 7:1). (iii) Men of God may be called to represent Yahweh in the work of planting. Thus Jeremiah's prophetic ministry is described as one of uprooting (*ekrhizoō*) and planting (*kataphyteuō*).

(b) Israel is a people planted in good soil. The importance of the ground where a tree is planted is a frequent thought. Water is necessary (Job 14:7) and fertile soil (Ezek. 17:6, 8). Yahweh has provided the right ground (2 Sam. 7:10; Ezek. 19:10; Isa. 5:1 f.). It is described as his own mountain (Exod. 15:17), the law of Yahweh (Ps. 1:2; Isa. 5:24), and the remembrance of God himself (Deut. 29:18; Job 8:11; Jer. 17:8). God himself is the soil. If the root is not planted in him, the fruit fails or is poisonous.

(c) Where there is a root, there is hope of a new beginning after catastrophe. With this thought Job contrasts the life of a man with that of a tree (Job 14:7 ff.). The expressions "root and fruit" and "root and branch" signify totality, and usually in the context of totality of destruction (cf. Job 18:16; Amos 2:9). Nebuchadnezzar is reassured that, despite his coming downfall, the stump of the roots (*rhizan mian* or *tēn phyēn tōn rhizōn*) will be left in the earth (Dan. 4:15, 26).

rhiza is occasionally related to the future hope in the OT. (i) It is used in connex-

ion with the holy → remnant. The "surviving remnant shall take root downwards" (2 Ki. 19:30). The Servant of the Lord is seen as a young plant and "like a root out of dry ground" (Isa. 53:2). Isa. 6:13 refers to the remaining "stump" (MT *maṣṣebeṯ*; LXX *thēkē*), when the tree is felled, but the explanation of this as "the holy seed" is not in the LXX. (ii) *rhiza* is also found in connexion with the messianic hope. In Isa. 11:1 the root (Heb. *geza'* and *šōreš* which are synonymous) refers to the house of Jesse itself. Hope lies in the shoot or branch (Heb. *ḥōṭer* and *nēṣer*; LXX *rhabdos* and *anthos*; cf. Isa. 60:21; O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12*, 1972, 157 ff.). In Isa. 11:10, however, it is the *rhiza* which springs from the house of Jesse and is therefore identified with the messiah. The thought of the messiah as the root continued into Judaism and synagogue teaching but with the recognition that *šōreš* should be understood as "shoot" (Tg. Pro. Isa. on 11:1) and with the observation that there is preference elsewhere to speak of the messiah as the *ṣemaḥ*, branch (Isa. 4:2; Jer. 23:5; 33:15; Zech. 3:8; 6:12). It is interesting that in all these latter examples the LXX changes the imagery. At Isa. 4:2 it substitutes *epilampsei ho theos*, "God will shine", and in Jer. and Zech. it employs the word *anatolē*, rising. Two further points may be noticed. On the one hand, *rhabdos* can mean "sceptre", and there is a play on these two meanings (Ezek. 19:11, 14). On the other hand, Joshua and Zerubbabel, the Lord's anointed, are called branches (Heb. *šibbōleṯ*; LXX *kladoi*). (iii) In the later writings → Abraham is thought of as a root. It is said that "he knew that the plants of righteousness would go forth from him" (Jub. 16:26). There is the belief that there is blessing for all those identified with him. The OT never speaks of Abraham as the root, but the thought is implicit (Isa. 41:8; 51:2; Ps. 105[104]:6).

(d) The vitality of the tree is evidenced by the growth of leaves, fruit and spreading branches (Pss. 1:3; 80[79]:10 f.; Ezek. 31:5; Hos. 14:6).

(e) The branches sheltering the birds and beasts are a metaphor for a mighty kingdom offering protection to its vassals (Dan. 4:21 f.; Ezek. 17:23; 31:6).

(f) The tree is assessed by its fruit and its fate is often a picture of Yahweh's judgment. Despite assiduous care the vine, representing Israel, brought forth only wild grapes (Isa. 5:4). When Yahweh would gather them, there are no grapes on the vine or figs on the fig tree (Jer. 8:13). The cedar (Pharaoh) is cut down (Ezek. 31:12). The forest (Assyria) is cut down (Isa. 10:34). The vineyard (Israel) is made a waste (Isa. 5:6). The oak (Israel) is felled (Isa. 6:13). The olive tree (Israel) is stripped apart from a few gleanings (Isa. 17:6), and under the influence of the exile the vine (Judah) is plucked up and transplanted (Ezek. 19:12 f.).

(g) The vb. *enkentrizō* is used only once in the LXX with the meaning of to goad or spur on (Wis. 16:11). But the thought of grafting into the tree of Israel is found in the teaching of the rabbis (Yeb. 63a). God engrafted two sprigs into Abraham, Ruth and Naamah. Hence, Jewish proselytes were regarded as grafted into the tree whose root was Abraham (Philo, *Exsec.* 6; cf. SB III 291).

NT 1. *Miscellaneous Uses.* (a) The NT frequently draws on illustrations from nature.

Jesus did this in the cursing of the fig tree. Leaves on the branches indicate that there will presently be fruit (Matt. 24:32 par. Mk. 13:28; Lk. 21:29). The lesson is: Why can you not read the signs of the times as well as the signs of nature? (cf. Matt. 16:1–4). But there is also the implication that the time of reckoning is drawing near

and that Israel will be judged shortly on how the nation has responded to the mission and message of Jesus (→ Fruit, art. *sykē* NT).

(b) In the Book of Revelation the natural world shares with mankind the results of God's blessing or wrath (Rev. 7:1, 3; 8:7; 9:4).

(c) There is reference to the tree of life (*xylon*) in Rev. 2:7; 22:2, 14, 19) and to the tree, i.e. the cross (*xylon*) in Acts 5:30; 1 Pet. 2:24; Acts 10:39; Gal. 3:13. But everywhere else the word for tree is *dendron*.

2. *Trees and Plants as Parables of People.* These terms are particularly significant, when they are applied to people, and the OT concepts referred to above provide a framework for understanding.

(a) Range of application. (i) Individuals are pictured as trees, though the references are largely to Jewish opponents: the → Pharisees (Matt. 3:10; 12:33; Lk. 6:43 ff.); false prophets (Matt. 7:17); ungodly men and scoffers (Jude 12). In Matt. 15:13 the Pharisees are called plants (*phyteia*) which God has not planted, reminiscent of the parable in Matt. 13:24 f. and the weeds sown by the enemy. (ii) The old Israel is still pictured as a tree. In Matt. 21:33 f. par. Mk. 12:1 f., Lk. 20:9 f. there is the picture of the vineyard with God as the planter (*phyteuō*). The fig tree in Mk. 11:12 f. (cf. par. Matt. 21:18 f.) is probably to be understood as Israel (cf. W. L. Lane, *The Gospel of Mark*, *NLC*, 1974, 399 f.), as is also the fig tree in Lk. 13:6–9. (iii) But the tree also symbolizes the new community of Israel. The kingdom is like a mustard seed becoming a tree (Matt. 13:32 par. Mk. 4:30, Lk. 13:18 f.). It has apparently insignificant origins, but like the kingdoms in the same picture in the OT its branches extend far and wide offering protection for all who live in it (cf. Dan. 4:21 f.; Ezek. 17:23; 31:6). The church is like the branches of a vine which is Christ (Jn. 15:1 f.). (iv) The new tree is still in the process of growth. (v) There is a strong organic connexion between the old and the new trees. In Mk. 12:1 f. God is still the planter of the vineyard, but he does not destroy it. He replaces one set of tenants by another. In Rom. 11:17 f. the olive tree stands for both the old and the new communities and there is the same root. According to E. Schürer, there was a Roman synagogue called the *synagōgē elaias*, the Synagogue of the Olive Tree (Schürer, II, ii, 74, 248). It may be that the Christian congregation in Rome was an offshoot (cf. M. Black, *Romans*, *New Century Bible*, 1973, 22, 145). (vi) Jesus Christ himself is also the one who plants. He is the sower (*ho speirōn*; cf. Matt. 13:37), and his followers are called to do the same (1 Cor. 3:6; 9:7). The gospel preached is "the implanted word [*ton emphyton logon*], which is able to save your souls" (Jas. 1:21). But whereas the apostles plant the word, the Son of man also plants people (Matt. 13:38; cf. the terms of application of the parables in Matt. 13:18–23 par. Mk. 4:13–20, Lk. 8:11–15). Thus, "the word is sown [*speiretai ho logos*]" (Mk. 4:15), but vv. 16–20 can speak of "the ones sown [*hoi speiromenoi*]."

(b) The necessity of good soil. Mk. 12:1 f. and Lk. 13:6 f. speak of the care given by God to ensure the right soil. The new Israel too is planted in good soil, rooted (*errhizōmenoi*) in the love of Christ (Eph. 3:17; Col. 2:7). But in the teaching of Jesus the hearts of men also represent the soil. Good soil is the heart which hears, understands, holds fast and yields fruit (Matt. 13:23 par. Mk. 4:20, Lk. 8:15; cf. Jas. 1:21).

(c) *rhiza* is used in a variety of contexts. (i) It is used as a metaphor for source or origin. The love of money is the root of all (kinds of) evil (1 Tim. 6:10). Heb. 12:15

warns against allowing a root of bitterness to spring up, preventing believers from attaining to the grace of God, causing trouble and defilement, as Esau did in selling his birthright (cf. Heb. 12:16 with Gen. 25:29–34). (ii) The root guarantees the life of the tree (Rom. 11:16, 18). Without roots a plant dies (Mk. 4:16 f. par.). John the Baptist prophesied total destruction (Matt. 3:10 par. Lk. 3:9): the axe is laid at the root of the tree. (iii) Jesus Christ is described as the root three times (Rom. 15:12; Rev. 5:5; 22:16). Isa. 11:1, 10 is clearly in mind, but perhaps the thought is implicit elsewhere. In Rom. 11:17 f. Paul probably adopts the Jewish thought of Abraham as the root of Israel, but this passage is to be understood in the light of Gal. 3:6 f., where sharing Abraham's faith determines one's kinship to him, and to be in Christ is to be a child of Abraham (Gal. 3:29). It would be wrong to regard the "holy root" (v. 16) as Christ as some of the early fathers did.

(d) The fruit evidences the quality of the tree. Character may be gauged from conduct (Matt. 3:8 par. Lk. 3:8; Matt. 7:16 f. par. Lk. 6:43 f.; → Evil; → Good). In Matt. 12:33 f. the fruit is the Pharisees' words of condemnation of Jesus (cf. v. 24). In Matt. 21:33–46 (par. Mk. 12:1–12, Lk. 20:9–19) the parable of the wicked husbandmen in the vineyard is accompanied by two other parables, the two sons (Matt. 21:28–32) and the marriage feast (Matt. 22:1–14). All three follow the question concerning Jesus' authority (Matt. 21:23). The fruit required is the acceptance of Jesus' authority and invitation (cf. H. B. Green. *The Gospel according to Matthew*, 1975, 178). In Jn. 15:1 f. the fruit required from the branches (*klēma*) is love, obedience and prayer. It cannot be produced without complete dependence on the vine which is Jesus Christ himself.

(e) The branches (*kladoi*) offer protection (Matt. 13:32 par. Mk. 4:32, Lk. 13:19). J. Jeremias claims that this came to be a technical expression for the incorporation of the Gentiles (*The Parables of Jesus*, 1962 [2], 147).

(f) Fruitlessness leads to destruction. The trees are cut down (*ekkoptetai*, Matt. 7:19). The plants are uprooted (*ekrhizōthēsetai*, Matt. 15:13; cf. Jude 12). In Rom. 11:19 branches are broken off (*exeklasthēsan*). On the withering of the fig tree cursed by Jesus (Matt. 21:18 f. par. Mk. 11:12 f.) → Fruit, art. *sykē* NT. In Mk.'s account it is seen as a comment on the cleansing of the temple and hence a picture of judgment on Israel. In Matt. 3:10 par. Lk. 3:10 John the Baptist speaks of this judgment as imminent: the axe is laid now (*ēdē*) at the root of the tree. But in the parable of the fig tree in Lk. 13:6–9 there is a temporary stay of execution to allow one final chance for the nation of Israel to bear the fruit of repentance (cf. v. 5).

(g) In Rom. 11:16 f. Paul uses the picture of grafting (*enkentrizō*). The process referred to is sometimes said to be untrue to actual practice, where a wild olive (*agrielaios*) becomes a cultivated olive (*kallielaios*) by the engrafting on it of a cutting from a cultivated olive. However, the *agrielaios* may have been an oleaster, and the practice of such grafting in order to rejuvenate an unproductive olive was not unknown in the ancient world (Philo, *Exsec.* 6; cf. M. Black, op. cit., 145; SB III 291; → Oil, art. *elaion* NT 4). In order to make the picture applicable, the Gentiles who are now in Christ members of the people of God have to be the *agrielaios*. Perhaps the tension between Paul's picture and approved horticultural practice is intended to underline the miraculous nature of this work of God which is contrary to nature (*para physin*, v. 24; cf. A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 1927 [3], 274).

For Paul the grafted branches are not proselytes but Gentile Christians as a body.

The thrust of the passage is to illustrate what God has done by incorporating the Gentiles into his covenant people through Christ. But the passage also contains a warning to the Gentiles, lest they fall into arrogance. They should acknowledge their humble dependence. They are supported by the root (v. 18). It may be noted that in v. 17 the reading "sharers in the rich root of the olive [*tēs rhizēs tēs piotētos tēs elaias*]" is perhaps better attested. The Gentiles should not write off unbelieving Jews, because (i) if the root is holy, so are the branches (v. 16), and Israel is consecrated by its connexion with the patriarchs, and (ii) God has power to graft in again the natural branches. *E. M. Embry*

→ Cross, → Fruit, → Grow, → Oil, → Seed

(a). J. G. Baldwin, "*Ṣemaḥ* as a Technical Term in the Prophets", *VT* 14, 1964, 93–97; M. M. Bourke, *A Study of the Metaphor of the Olive Tree in Romans 11*, 1947; I. Engnell, " 'Knowledge' and 'Life' in the Creation Story", *Supplements to VT* 3, 1955, 103–119; A. Goor and M. Nurock, *The Fruits of the Holy Land*, 1968, 89–120; F. N. Hepper, *Plants of the Bible*, forthcoming; E. O. James, *The Tree of Life: An Archaeological Study*, 1966; C. Maurer, *rhiza* etc., *TDNT* VI 985–91; H. N. and A. L. Moldenke, *Plants of the Bible*, 1952; G. E. Post, *Flora of Syria, Palestine and Sinai*, I–II, 1932–33²; J. Schneider, *klados*, *TDNT* III 720 ff.; and *xylon*, *TDNT* V 37–41; J. Smith, *Bible Plants, Their History*, 1878; R. A. Stewart, "Engrafting", *EQ* 50, 1978, 8 ff.; G. Widengren, *The King and the Tree of Life in Ancient Near Eastern Religion*, 1951; M. Zohary, "Flora", *IDB* II 284–302.
(b). M. Buber, "Der Baum der Erkenntnis", *ThZ* 7, 1951, 1–8; G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palaestina*, I–II, 1928; P. Humbert, *Études sur le Récit du Paradis et de la Chute dans la Genèse*, 1940; I. Loew, *Die Flora der Juden*, I–IV, 1928–34; G. Pidoux, "Encore les deux Arbres de Genèse 3", *ZAW* 66, 1954, 37–43; J. A. Soggin, *ʿēṣ*, *THAT* II 356–59.

Tribe

φυλή	*φυλή* (*phylē*), tribe, clan, nation.

CL *phylē* derives from *phyō*, to bring forth, produce, grow, be born. As applied, e.g. to the old Doric and Ionic tribes, the Gk. *phylē* became in the Athenian state a highly important, if artificially constructed, unit of political organization. At first, *phylē* was limited in meaning to a group bound together by common descent, but the element of blood-relationship almost disappears. The original inhabitants of conquered territories were absorbed into the *phylai*, and *phylē* came to mean simply a political sub-division of the people. The corresponding Lat. *tribus* denoted in the historical period a local administrative district.

OT In the LXX *phylē* occurs over 400 times, most frequently in translating the Heb. *maṭṭeh* (169), *šēḇeṭ* or *šeḇeṭ* (118), and *mišpāḥâh* (42). Of these terms, *maṭṭeh* basically means twig, branch, from *nāṭâh*, stretch out; *šēḇeṭ* means rod, staff, sceptre; hence tribe, from the sceptre of the prince of the tribe. Pal. Jud. almost always uses *šēḇeṭ*, not *maṭṭeh*. Apart from Isa. 19:13, where the reference is to the tribes of Egypt, these two Heb. nouns apply only to Israelite tribes. The other Heb. term which *phylē* sometimes translates is the very common word for clan, *mišpāḥâh* (from *šāpâh*, spread out). The AV and (sometimes) RSV can mislead in rendering *mišpāḥâh* as family, which today implies too small a unit. The tribe (*maṭṭeh*, *šēḇeṭ*) was divided into a number of clans (*mišpāḥâh*) and the clans into families (*bêṯ ʾāḇ*,

house of a father), as in Jos. 7:14 NEB: "In the morning come forward tribe by tribe ... clan by clan ... family by family." Most frequently the LXX translates *mišpāḥâh* by *dēmos*, but where it uses *phylē* the reference is almost always to a blood-group, e.g. Abraham's kin, Gen. 24:38; the Edomite tribes, Gen. 36:40. The general meaning of *phylē* is a body of people united by kinship or habitation. In the OT *phylē* is used not only as a tech. term for the twelve tribes of Israel (Num. 34:18–28) but can also apply to the nations of the world, as in the blessing of Abraham (Gen. 12:3). In later Judaism the tribes of Israel are usually mentioned only in reference to OT texts, the number twelve (e.g. in the format of the work Test. XII), or in connexion with the related hope of a regathering of all Israel, as in the Eighteen Benedictions (SB II 606–8; IV 881 f., 902–6). The Qumran community speaks of the future restoration of a kingdom of twelve tribes (1QM 2:2 f., 3:14 f.; 1QSa 1:15, 29), and mentions the standards (Num. 2:2) of the twelve tribes (1QM 3:12–4:17). The little interest which Philo shows in plain history means that he rarely speaks of the tribes of Israel as such, though he does comment at some length on the zeal of Levi concerning the incident of the golden calf (*Vit. Mos.* 2, 160–73). Josephus is proud of his priestly *phylē* (*Life* 1, 1). His references to the tribes are otherwise mostly in connexion with the biblical narrative, but he mentions that in his day countless numbers of members of the ten tribes still remained by the Euphrates (*Ant.* 11, 133).

NT In the NT *phylē* can refer in the literal sense to the historic tribes of Israel (Rev. 7:4–8), or universally to the tribes of the earth, i.e. peoples and nations (Rev. 1:7). The expression "the twelve tribes of Israel" is used metaphorically of Christians as the true people of God, in the address of the Epistle of James (cf. 1 Pet. 1:1), and of eschatological Israel (Matt. 19:28; Lk. 22:30; Rev. 7:4, 21:12), and literally of all the Jewish people (Acts 26:7). In Matt. 19:28 "the twelve tribes of Israel" represents restored new Israel, i.e. the regenerated elect gathered out of the twelve tribes of historical Israel down the ages (Rom. 11:26). If the expression was intended by Matthew to include born-again Gentiles, so that the church was henceforth to be regarded as the true Israel, the designation did not catch on for many years. The word Israel is first equated with the Christian church by Justin Martyr *c.* A.D. 160 (*Dial.* 125, 1). The nearest parallel in the NT itself is Gal. 6:16, where Paul calls down peace and mercy upon the Israel of God, i.e. upon all Christians, Jewish and Gentile, who glory in the cross as the sole basis of their standing with God (W. Hendriksen, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, 1969, 247). The promise in Matt. 19:28 made to the twelve apostles that they should sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel, is of a reward for their loyalty to Jesus. They will be given a position of royal authority and honour in the new world as judges, i.e. rulers (the sense of judge as in the book of Judges). Those who have been closest to him here will be closest to him there. In the parallel verse in Luke (22:29) Jesus speaks of *assigning* royal power to them. The Gk. verb is *diatithēmi*, the usual biblical verb for the making of a covenant. The glorious future which Jesus describes is as sure as the covenant of God (L. Morris, *Luke*, *TC*, 1974, 308).

In Rev. 21:12 there are twelve gates to the heavenly Jerusalem, corresponding to the number of the tribes of Israel, and the names of the tribes are inscribed on the gates. The following verse shows that John's vision of the allocation of Jerusalem's gates is along similar lines to that in Ezekiel's vision (Ezek. 48:30–34). The Temple

Scroll at Qumran speaks not of the city of Jerusalem but of the middle and outer courts of the temple as having twelve gates after the twelve tribes of Israel (Y. Yadin, *BA* 30, 1967, 139). More grandly, Rab. Jud. thought in terms of 144 gates in the city wall, twelve for each tribe (Mid. Ps. 48:4). We are not to seek to match names of tribes with gates, any more than names of apostles with foundations and jewels (Rev. 21:4, 19 f.). The number twelve implies completeness: the whole regenerate people of God, the whole apostolic band. All twelve tribes are listed in Rev. 7:5–8, except that Dan is replaced by Manasseh, which was actually a section of the tribe of Joseph. The change is probably deliberate. According to Irenaeus (*Haer.* 5, 30, 2), the early Christians considered on the basis of Gen. 49:17 that Dan was omitted because his was the tribe from which Antichrist should come. Rabbinical tradition consistently associated Dan with idolatry. Dan's dwelling was in the north (Num. 2:25). Darkness comes from the north, and Dan and his idolatry brought darkness into the world. From 1 Ki. 12:28 f. the rabbis deduced that only Dan responded to the lure of the golden calf of Jeroboam I. The prince of Dan is said to be Satan in Test. Ben. 5:6, on the basis of Jdg. 18:30. Jewish and early Christian tradition is at one. But John himself nowhere makes any reference to this tradition, and his own doctrine of Antichrist does not harmonize with it. Although Reuben was the first-born son of Jacob (Gen. 35:23), John puts Judah at the head of his list of the twelve tribes. This is no doubt because Jesus was of that tribe (Heb. 7:13 f.; Rev. 5:5), in accordance with messianic expectation (Gen. 49:9). Since there are more than twenty differently arranged lists of the twelve tribes in the Bible, the reason for John's order is unlikely to be explained with any certainty. See G. R. Beasley-Murray, *The Book of Revelation, New Century Bible*, 1974, 144; A. Farrer, *The Revelation of St John the Divine*, 1964, 106.

A great many Jews in NT times were either from proselyte families or the descendants of men forcibly converted to Judaism by John Hyrcanus (Josephus, *Ant.* 13, 257) or Aristobulus I (*Ant.* 13, 318). This meant that only a minority of 1st-cent. Jews could genuinely trace their genealogy back to one of the twelve tribes of Israel. Even fewer Jews would be able to do so after Herod the Great, in an attempt to blur the notoriety of his own utter lack of Israelite blood, burnt many Jewish family registers, if the Christian writer Julius Africanus (d. *c.* 240) is quoting a reliable report in his *Letter to Aristides* (Eusebius, *HE* 1, 7, 13). Certainly, for Herod to do this would be in character (J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, 1969, 275–302). Examples like Anna of the tribe of Asher (Lk. 2:36; cf. Gen. 30:13), and Paul of the tribe of Benjamin (Rom. 11:1; Phil. 3:5) show that where tribal origin was known, the pedigree was treasured. To be able to trace the ancestral line back to the tribes was to have a sure claim on the covenant promises made by the God of Israel to his people.

Paul's pride in his membership of the tribe of Benjamin (Phil. 3:5) was unlikely to be due to the fact that he had been named after the Benjaminite Saul, the first king (1 Sam. 9:1 f.; Acts 13:21). Nor was Benjamin's history unsullied. Members of the tribe had been involved in atrocity (Jdg. 19:16–30), rape (Jdg. 21), and an insult to David, a man after God's own heart (2 Sam. 16:5–13). But on the positive side, the apostle might have thought more highly of the fact that Benjamin was the only son of Israel to be born in the land of promise, and born to Israel's favourite wife Rachel as she died (Gen. 35:16–20). The Blessing of Moses describes Benjamin as the beloved of

the LORD (Deut. 33:12). After the division of the kingdom, following the death of Solomon, it was the tribe of Benjamin, or at least a large part of it, which in company with Judah kept loyal to the house of David (2 Sam. 2–3) and later formed the nucleus of the exiles who returned to restore the land of their fathers (Ezr. 4:1). Possibly too the apostle drew encouragement from the knowledge that it was another Benjaminite, Mordecai, who uttered the memorable words: "If you keep silence at such a time as this, relief and deliverance will arise for the Jews from another quarter, but you and your father's house will perish. And who knows whether you have not come to the kingdom for such a time as this?" (Est. 4:14). If therefore there could have been saving value in being an Israelite, Paul as a Benjaminite, and one who had sat at the feet of another Benjaminite, the rabbi Gamaliel I (Acts 22:3), had the purest possible claim (W. Hendriksen, *The Epistle to the Philippians*, 1963, 156–8). But now, for Paul, his present relationship to God through the knowledge of Christ Jesus the Lord meant that he willingly discarded the proudest of human links with the past, a divinely organized past at that, as being by comparison so much rubbish (Phil. 3:7 f.).

No NT writer has any comment to make about the supposed ten "lost" tribes of Israel. They did not lose their identity so completely as is commonly thought (F. F. Bruce, *The Book of Acts*, 1956, 61). The tribe of Asher for one is represented in Anna, daughter of Phanuel (Lk. 2:36). The Apocrypha mentions Tobit and others of the tribe of Naphtali (Tob. 1:1; 7:3), Judith of the tribe of Simeon (Jud. 8:1; 9:2), and descendants of the tribe of Levi (1 Esd. 8:47; Ad. Dan. Bel 1:1 LXX). *N. Hillyer*

(a). K. Elliger, "Tribes, Territories of", *IDB* IV 701–10; H. L. Ellison, "Tribe", *ZPEB* 5, 813–20; Z. Kallai, "Tribes, Territories of", *IDB Supplementary Volume*, 1975, 920 ff.; C. Maurer, *phylē*, in *TDNT* IX 245–50; G. E. Mendenhall, "Tribe", *IDB Supplementary Volume*, 1976, 919 f.; P. Richardson, *Israel in the Apostolic Church*, *Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series* 10, 1969; C. U. Wolf, "Tribe", *IDB* IV 698–701.
(b). K. Latte, *phylē*, in Pauly-Wissowa XX 996–1011.

Trumpet

σάλπιγξ

σάλπιγξ (*salpinx*), trumpet, trumpet-call; σαλπίζω (*salpizō*), sound the trumpet, give a blast of the bugle.

CL In the ancient world the trumpet was used to give signals in war, whether to change guard, or to prepare for attack or retreat, or to terrify or deceive the enemy. In times of peace it was used at trials, before prayer, by shepherds, in funeral or festal processions, and at athletic contests. Aeschylus called trumpet-blasts "shattering"; the instrument was ill-adapted for music.

OT In the LXX *salpinx* renders some six Heb. terms, the most common being *šôp̄ār* (originally the curved "ram's horn," then more generally "horn" or "wind instrument") and *ḥ*ᵉ*ṣōṣ*ᵉ*râh* (the long straight "trumpet" made of beaten silver and used mainly for religious, not martial, purposes). The trumpet was sounded at burnt offerings and peace offerings (Num. 10:10; 2 Chr. 29:27–28), at feast times (Lev. 25:9), at royal coronations (2 Ki. 9:13), and at dedications (2 Chr. 5:12; Ezr. 3:10), as well

as in war to mark the beginning of a battle (Job 39:24–25; 1 Macc. 9:12–13) or to warn of an invasion (Amos 3:6). Trumpets played an important part in the taking of Jericho (Jos. 6:4–21) and Gideon's defeat of the Midianites (Jdg. 7:16, 20 ff.). In the Qumran War Scroll (IQM) mention is made of various battle-trumpets bearing inscriptions such as "Reminder of vengeance in God's appointed time."

NT Occurring 11 times in the NT, *salpinx* denotes both the instrument itself (1 Cor. 14:8) and the sound it emits (1 Cor. 15:52). Of the 12 uses of *salpizō* in the NT, all but two (Matt. 6:2; 1 Cor. 15:52) occur in Rev. 8–11.

(a) The injunction of Jesus to his disciples not to "sound a trumpet" before them when giving alms (Matt. 6:2) prohibits ostentatious giving that is designed to gain men's attention and praise (Matt. 6:1–4). Jesus may be alluding to a practice (apparently not elsewhere attested) of blowing a trumpet in the → temple when alms were being collected for some special relief project or in the synagogue when notable gifts were given, to encourage other generous donations and to bring the donors to God's attention. But the verb *salpizō* here may well be metaphorical: "Don't advertise [your almsgiving]."

(b) Paul observes that only a distinct bugle-blast rouses troops for battle. Similarly only clear, intelligible communications should have a place in corporate church worship (1 Cor. 14:8–9).

(c) Although "the sound of a trumpet" may be one of the concomitants of a theophany (Heb. 12:18–19), sometimes the authoritative and indescribable voice of God or Christ is itself said to sound "like a trumpet" (Rev. 1:10; 4:1). As in Jewish literature (canonical and extra-canonical), so in the NT, a trumpet-call announces divine judgment (Rev. 8:2–9:21; 11:15–19; cf. Joel 2:1–2; Zeph. 1:14–16; Apc. Mos. 22; Sib. 8, 239), the resurrection of the dead (1 Thess. 4:16; 1 Cor. 15:52; cf. 2 Esd. 6:23–24; Sib. 4, 173–174), and the gathering of the elect from the four corners of the earth (Matt. 24:31; cf. Isa. 27:13; Apc. Abr. 31:1–2).

(d) In only one place in the NT is there a reference to the trumpet as a musical instrument (Rev. 18:22, *salpistēs*, trumpeter). *M. J. Harris*

→ Judgment, → Resurrection

G. Friedrich, *salpinx*, *TDNT* VII 71 ff.; E. Werner, "Musical Instruments", *IDB* III 469–76; Y. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness*, 1962, 87 ff.

Truth

ἀλήθεια

ἀλήθεια (*alētheia*), truth, sometimes faithfulness; ἀληθής (*alēthēs*), true, sincere, real, correct, faithful, trustworthy, genuine, veracious; ἀληθινός (*alēthinos*), genuine, real, true, valid, trustworthy; ἀληθῶς (*alēthōs*), truly, certainly, indeed, in very truth; ἀληθεύω (*alētheuō*), to speak the truth.

CL 1. For many years there has been a tendency in biblical studies to over-generalize about the uses of *alētheia* and *alēthēs* in cl. Gk. This has been done partly with a view to drawing a clear-cut contrast betweeen Gk. and Heb. concepts of truth. It is then argued that whilst some NT writers preserve the Heb. concept, other writers, es-

pecially Jn., achieve a fusion of these two views. Thus R. Bultmann too readily speaks of "the Gk. use" of *alētheia* as over against "the semitic use" (*TDNT* I 238). According to this theory, *alētheia* in cl. Gk. denotes truth in contrast to mere appearance, whilst in Hebrew the parallel word denotes stability or faithfulness. It is also urged that truth in Gk. writers is timeless, raised above the temporal and material world. It relates only to extra-historical being. Most scholars also insist that the basic meaning of *alētheia* in cl. Gk. is that of unhiddenness or unveiling. These traditional claims of nineteenth- and twentieth-century biblical scholarship are valid up to a point, but can be misleading unless they are carefully qualified.

2. The traditional approach depends largely on three arguments. (a) Much is made of the etymology of *alētheia* in ancient Gk. The word is said to derive from *lēthō* or *lanthanō*, meaning to escape notice or to cause to forget, together with *Alpha* privative prefix, which negates the idea. The difficulty, however, is to show that the etymology of the word played a decisive part in determining its meaning in later Gk. of the cl. and Hel. periods. Indeed, even Homer shows little evidence that the word has this special nuance. (b) *alētheia* does indeed mean truth in contrast to mere appearance in much Gk. philosophy. But the vast majority of cl. Gk. writers and readers were not philosophers. J. B. Skemp observes, "There is one particular vice in the theological picture (or rather, caricature) of the Greeks. They are always represented as philosophical thinkers. . . . Such a description of the Greeks ignores the fact that many other Greeks at all the relevant times thought differently, and that a multitude of them did not think in this systematic way at all" (*The Greeks and the Gospel*, 1964, 3–4). (c) The notion of truth as against mere appearance and as that which belongs only to the realm of timelessness and immateriality finds strong support in Parmenides and especially in Plato. This need not be denied. Nevertheless, even within Greek philosophy itself there are other views of truth besides Plato's, for example, that of the Sophists, which Plato himself attacks, and also that of Aristotle. In these writers truth has a more positive relation to the material world.

3. (a) In Homer *alētheia* is most frequently used in contrast to the telling of a lie or to the withholding of information, e.g. "Tell me all the truth [*pasan alētheian*] whether my son is by the ship" (*Il.* 24, 407); "I will tell you all the truth" (*Od.* 11, 507). When Odysseus with cunning "spoke not the truth", he simply tells a lie (*Od.* 13, 254). Achilles set an umpire to tell the truth of a race, i.e. the state of affairs as it really was (*Il.* 23, 361). However, this is not the only meaning of *alētheia* or *alēthes* in Homer. In *Il.* 12, 433 *gynē chernētis alēthes* means a woman who is careful, honest, accurate, or even perhaps reliable. (b) *alētheia* usually stands in opposition to falsehood in Hdt., Thuc. and Xen. For example, the cowherd in Hdt. "tells the truth" under threat of violence (1, 116). Thuc. speaks of "the actual truth" in contrast to mere empty boasts (2, 41, 2). An oracle provides true answers to enquiries (Hdt., 1, 55). (c) This usage also persists in later Hel. writers. Thus Epict. contrasts telling the truth with deceiving flatteries (*Discourse* IV, 1, 6, 7). Philo writes that Moses marvelled at the delusion (*pseudos*) which the multitude had bartered for the truth (*alētheia*) (*Vit. Mos.* 2, 167). The evil spies sent out to view the land prefer deceit (*apatē*) to truth (*Vit. Mos.* 1, 235). Josephus uses *alētheia* in several different senses. (i) Truth is that which corresponds to the facts of the matter. Thus Jonathan did not question the truth (veracity) of David's words (*Antiquities* 6, 225). (ii) Truth is also proved to be such by historical events. The words of a prophet are thus proved true

(*Antiquities* 2, 209); whilst in the previous passage Jonathan does not wait to see David's words proved true (*Antiquities* 6, 225). (iii) Josephus also uses *alēthēs* in the sense of "genuine" or "real". Thus Ahab killed the real owner (*ton alēthē despotēn*) of the vineyard (*Antiquities* 8, 360).

4. The use of *alēthēs* in Gk. philosophical texts is best seen in Parmenides, the Sophists, Plato, and Aristotle. Some of Plato's uses also appear in Philo. (a) Parmenides asks what is the nature of real being, and draws a contrast between the way of truth and the way of seeming. Change belongs only to the material world, which is the realm of mere appearance. There can be no change in what really exists (*Fragment* 8, 29). "What is not" is unthinkable and unknowable, but change would be the supposed movement of what is to what is not, or of what is not to what is. Hence truth, in contrast to appearance, belongs to the extra-historical realm of the changeless. That such a view occurs in Gk. philosophical literature is therefore clear. What is less certain is the extent to which ordinary Gk. writers shared the view of Parmenides. (b) The Sophists clearly held a different view. In particular Protagoras refused to view the material world as mere illusion. His famous dictum that "man is the measure of all things" was not intended merely, as Plato implied, as an extreme form of relativism. He cited the example of a wind which may seem warm to one person and cool to another. It is not necessary, he urged, to say that one view is true and the other false. Each may be true for the person concerned. In this way Protagoras comes near to the modern notion of existential truth. (c) Plato rejects this view. (i) He replied that if "true" and "false" are only relative to the individual thinker, then as soon as someone says that the philosophy of Protagoras is false for him, it is therefore false (*Theaetetus* 171a). Falsehood, for Plato, is a matter of deception. It conceals reality (*ta onta*). False words, he believed, are merely a copy (*mimēma*) of deception in the soul (*Republic* 2, 21, 382a–383b). Falsehood is the presentation of what is only appearance (*phantasma*). By contrast "the divine and the divinity are free from falsehood [*apseudes ... to theion*]". God is true in deed and word (*alēthēs en te ergō kai en logō*) and neither changes himself nor deceives others (382e). Plato thus returns to the view, earlier outlined in Parmenides, that truth stands in contrast to appearance and to change, although he goes further than Parmenides in locating it in the realm of eternal ideas. (ii) At the same time Plato also uses *alētheia* and *alēthēs* in more ordinary and less metaphysical ways. Truth sometimes means simply "the facts of the matter" (*Epistles* 7, 330). *alētheia* stands in contrast to legend (*Timaeus* 22d). "Equal to equal ... because of truth" (*Leg.* 2, 668a). (d) Aristotle takes us closest to the view of truth found in modern propositional logic. Firstly, Aristotle distinguishes between the genuine proposition, which is true-or-false, and sentences such as pleas or commands. "We call propositions only those (sentences) which have truth or falsity in them" (*On Interpretation* 4, 17a, 4). Secondly, he considers the logical conditions under which the truth of a proposition entails the denial of its contrary. If it is true to say "Socrates is well", it is therefore false to say "Socrates is ill" (*Categories* 10, 13b, 14–35). Thirdly, he argues that "the truth of a proposition consists in corresponding with facts" (*hoi logoi alētheis hōsper ta pragmata, On Interpretation* 9, 19a, 33). The principle is said to include statements about future states of affairs (18a–b). Often, however, the actual word *alētheia* is used in its ordinary everyday sense without philosophical content. The philosopher seeks to discover "the truth" that is in the universe (*De Mundo* 4, 391a). (e) Philo uses *alētheia* in ordinary

ways, as we have seen. As a Jewish theologian he speaks of "true doctrine" (*alēthes dogma*, *Leg. All.* 3, 229). But as a speculative writer who has been influenced by Platonism he also contrasts truth with mere appearance: "Moses desired truth rather than appearance [*tou dokein*]" (*Vit. Mos.* 1, 48). However, he also sees the truth of God manifested in historical events, as in a quick punishment for unbelief (*Vit. Mos.* 2, 284).

5. *alēthinos* frequently has the meaning in cl. Gk. of "real" or "genuine", but it may also mean simply "truthful". Xenophon speaks of securing a real army (*strateumati alēthinōi*), in the sense of an army worthy of the name (*Anabasis* 1, 9, 17). Plato speaks of having a real passion for genuine philosophy (*alēthinēs philosophias alēthinos erōs*) (*Republic* 499c). Philo has an interesting theological use in which he describes God as "the real one", like a coin which is genuine rather than counterfeit, or an article which is not merely veneer (*Congr.*, 159).

6. The adverb *alēthōs*, truly, varies in force from context to context. At its weakest it may mean little more than "indeed", "really", or "certainly". But it may sometimes be used more solemnly to mean "in very truth". We may compare "Necessity was in truth upon him" (Hdt., 1, 11) with Plato's phrase "really alive" (*Timaeus* 19b). Sometimes the adverb means "honestly" or "straightforwardly".

7. The verb *alētheuō* usually means simply to speak the truth. For example, Plato argues that he who commends justice speaks the truth (*alētheuei*), and this is parallel to his earlier statement that such a man speaks truly, whilst he who commends injustice speaks falsely (*pseudoito*, *Republic* 589c). However, sometimes *alētheuō* means to prove true; or in the passive, to be fulfilled (Xen., *Institutio Cyri* 4, 6–10).

OT 1. The Hebrew word which is the nearest equivalent to *alētheia is* *'emeṯ*. Whilst the LXX regularly translates *'emeṯ* as *alētheia*, the Eng. versions sometimes render it as "truth", and sometimes as "faithfulness". Indeed the majority of O.T. scholars claim that for the Heb. writers "truth" is close to faithfulness in meaning, suggesting the idea of stability, firmness, or reliability. Thus A. Jepsen writes, "By way of summary: *'emeṯ* was used of things that had to be proved to be reliable. . . . 'Reliability' would be the best comprehensive word in English to convey the idea. . . . *'emeṯ* is that on which others can rely". This applies, Jepsen concludes, to God's truth as well as to man's. As the God of truth, "Yahweh is . . . the God in whose word and work one can place complete confidence" (*TDOT* I 313).

For many scholars, this argument is strengthened by a consideration arising from etymology. It is widely agreed that *'emeṯ* is derived from the root *'mn*, which has the meaning to be firm. On this basis it is often argued that truth in the OT is not merely theoretical or abstract, but is grounded in the faithfulness of God. If this view is adopted we have all the ingredients for postulating a radical and clear-cut contrast between Hebraic and Gk. conceptions of truth. We have already suggested, however, that whilst such a contrast has validity in certain respects, it can be misleading and simplistic to build arguments on this foundation, unless certain strong qualifications are first made and observed (see above, CL).

(a) Justice must be done, as J. Barr insists, to the variety of different contexts in which *'emeṯ* is employed in the OT (*The Semantics of Biblical Language*, 1961, 187–205). Even the statistical distribution should make us hesitate to assume that it performs the same rôle for all biblical writers. In the Pss., where the word often

means faithfulness, *'emeṯ* occurs 37 times. It is used 12 times in Isa., and 11 each in Prov. and Jer., but is entirely absent from a number of writers, including Job. This is not necessarily, however, because, as Jepsen suggests, the author of Job has nothing on which he can rely (op. cit., 310).

(b) The Qal of *'āman* may admittedly mean to support or to sustain. In Num. 11:12 it is used of a nurse carrying a child. In the hiph. it has the sense of putting confidence in something, and is used of having confidence in God (Deut. 1:32). In the niph. it is used of a firmly-fixed peg (Isa. 22:23, 25); whilst the noun *'ōmnâh* means a post or pillar on which a structure may lean (2 Kings 18:16). At first sight, therefore, through *'āman* the connexion between *'emeṯ* and the idea of firmness seems to be established. But the fact that the word is historically derived from a root of which other forms mean "firm" does not give us any precise information about its own distinctive uses in a subsequent period of linguistic history. Etymology provides only statements about the past history of a word; not about its use at some later stage. Hence arguments about the nature of truth which depend on the etymology of *'emeṯ* are no more conclusive than those which we earlier considered and rejected concerning connexions between *alētheia* and *lēthō* or *lanthanō* (→ CL).

(c) It is much more significant that the LXX translates *'emeṯ* not only as *alētheia*, truth, but also as *pistis*, faith, or faithfulness. It need not be denied that *'emeṯ* does frequently mean "faithfulness". However, it is possible to offer two quite different explanations for this. (i) It is usually assumed that since *'emeṯ* means both truth and faithfulness, each concept necessarily entails the other, with the result that faithfulness is a necessary part of the distinctively Heb. concept of truth. But another explanation may also be offered. (ii) We have here an example of polysemy, or multiple meaning. *'emeṯ* means "truth" in *some* contexts, and "faithfulness" in *other* contexts. We may compare the parallel semantic phenomenon in the case of the word "taste" in English, French, German, and Italian (*goût*, *Geschmack*, *gusto*). The word means taste by the tongue in eating in some contexts, and taste in aesthetics in other contexts. The semantic phenomenon does not commit us to the conclusion that there is a distinctive Western European concept of taste, according to which aesthetic judgments have a close connexion with enjoying food. The same principle can be applied to the Heb. word *dāḇār*, which can mean either word or thing (cf. J. Barr, op. cit., 129–40; and A. C. Thiselton, "The Supposed Power of Words in the Biblical Writings" in *JTS* n.s 25, 1974, 283–99, and "Semantics and New Testament Interpretation" in I. H. Marshall, ed., *New Testament Interpretation*, 1977, 75–104).

2. *'emeṯ* means faithfulness in a number of instances in the OT. (a) We may compare the similar use of the noun *'ᵉmûnâh*, which is also derived from the same root *'mn*. *'ᵉmûnâh* and *'emeṯ* are both often translated by *pistis* in the sense of fidelity or faithfulness in the LXX (→ Faith). But whereas *'ᵉmûnâh* hardly ever means "truth", as against faithfulness, *'emeṯ* embraces both word-uses. (i) Normally the nearest that *'ᵉmûnâh* comes towards meaning "truth" is in the sense of reliability, trustworthiness, or honesty. Thus in 2 Kings 22:7 no accounting of money is made concerning the collectors under Hilkiah in Josiah's reformation "because they deal honestly", i.e. they act with fidelity (*'ᵉmûnâh*). (ii) *'ᵉmûnâh* also, on at least one occasion, means firm or steady, in accordance with the usual theory about its etymological root *'mn*. Thus in Ex. 17:12 Aaron and Hur hold up Moses' hands so that they remain "steady" (Heb. *'ᵉmûnâh*; LXX *estērigmenai*) until the sun goes down. (iii) Sometimes it is not

entirely clear whether *'ᵉmûnâh* means faithfulness, or honesty or even integrity. In 1 Sam. 26:23 and in Isa. 11:5 it occurs in parallelism with "righteousness": "The LORD rewards every man for his righteousness and his faithfulness [honesty?]"; "Righteousness shall be the girdle of his waist, and faithfulness the girdle of his loins". As we shall see, the connexion between faithfulness and truth depends not on semantic considerations said to be peculiar to the Heb. language, but on the fact that when God or man is said to act faithfully, often this means that his word and his deed are one. He has acted faithfully in accordance with his spoken word. Hence the believer may lean his whole weight confidently on God, and find him faithful. What is perhaps most distinctively Hebraic is the notion that even God binds himself to his word once spoken, especially in the covenant. Hence, the biblical writers speak repeatedly of the faithfulness of God, with whom word and deed are one.

(b) When it is used in the sense of faithfulness, *'ᵉmeṯ* frequently occurs in parallelism with the word *ḥeseḏ*, steadfast love. This conjunction of *ḥeseḏ* and *'ᵉmeṯ* is said by many writers to lie behind the phrase "grace and truth" in John's prologue (→ NT 4). However, we must still distinguish between contexts in which *'ᵉmeṯ* (in syntagmatic relation to *ḥeseḏ*) means faithfulness, and those in which it means truth. When Abraham's servant Eliezer asks Bethuel and Laban to show *ḥeseḏ* and *'ᵉmeṯ* to Abraham (Gen. 24:49) it is possible that both words mean loyalty and fidelity, but more likely that we should follow the RSV phrase "deal loyally and truly", in the sense of acting with honesty and integrity. However, earlier in the same chapter when he first meets Rebekah, Eliezer praises God "who has not forsaken his *ḥeseḏ* and his *'ᵉmeṯ*", meaning that God has remained loyal and faithful to his covenant promises to Abraham (24:27). In precisely the same way Jacob acknowledges that he is not worthy of all God's faithfulness (*'ᵉmeṯ*; Gen. 32:10). In Exod. 34:6, Yahweh renews his covenant with Moses, declaring himself, indeed pledging himself, to be "merciful and gracious, slow to anger and abounding in steadfast love and faithfulness" (*ḥeseḏ wᵉ'ᵉmeṯ*). G. Quell is probably correct in interpreting this to mean "worthy of confidence" (*TDNT* I 236). But even here the context may suggest the idea of truth in the sense both of veracity and integrity, since the next verse sets side by side the promise of mercy for thousands and the warning of punishment for the guilty. *'ᵉmeṯ* is almost certainly used in the sense of faithfulness in David's solemn charge to Solomon. He and his sons are to take heed to walk before the Lord "in faithfulness" (1 Kings 2:4). Conversely, Solomon later declared that David received the *ḥeseḏ* of God because he walked before him in faithfulness (*'ᵉmeṯ*) and righteousness and uprightness of heart (3:6). Hezekiah prays, at the point of possible death, that God will remember that he has walked before him faithfully and with a whole heart, i.e. "with a conscience wholly unimpaired" (J. Gray, *I & II Kings*, 1964, 634).

Characteristically it is in the Psalms that both praise and prayer are offered repeatedly on the basis of God's faithfulness. Over half of the occurrences of *'ᵉmeṯ* have this meaning. When the Psalmist exclaims that "all the paths of the LORD are mercy and truth" (Ps. 25:10), he testifies that God's dealings with his people are utterly trustworthy, because they are characterized by loyalty to the covenant (M. Dahood, *Psalms*, 1966, I, 156). "Faithfulness" is also the meaning of *'ᵉmeṯ* when it occurs in conjunction with *ḥeseḏ* in Pss. 57:3 and 10; 61:7; 69:13; 108:4; and 115:1. In this sense, as the AV puts it, "mercy and truth are met together" (Ps. 85:10). God's steadfast love is manifested as an expression of his faithfulness (or perhaps as

Kissane suggests, God's steadfast love calls forth Israel's faithfulness). Even without syntagmatic relation to *ḥesed*, *'emeṯ* regularly means faithfulness in such characteristic passages as "I will praise for thy *'emeṯ*" (Ps. 71:22). God's faithfulness endures for ever (Ps. 117:2). Even the phrase "word of truth" in Ps. 119:43 is interpreted by A. A. Anderson to mean the record of God's faithfulness to his people (*The Book of Psalms*, II, 1972, 821). The idea of testimony to God's *'emeṯ* is even more striking in Ps. 30:9, where it is said that Sheol cannot declare God's faithfulness, presumably because there is a cessation of that ongoing experience which enables the believer to testify to God's faithfulness anew. Other examples in which *'emeṯ* probably means faithfulness can be found in Prov. 3:3; 16:6; Isa. 16:5; 38:18; Hos. 4:1 and Zech. 8:8.

3. It would be a mistake, however, to infer from these examples that *'emeṯ* always means reliability in a theological sense, rather than simply "truth" in contrast to deceit or falsehood. This is not to say that truth in the OT is merely theoretical and abstract. It is to say that we must first complete our survey of *different* uses of *'emeṯ* before endeavouring to reach larger conclusions about the matter.

(a) Truth is used in contrast to deceit or falsehood in a number of places. In Gen. 42:16 Joseph says that he wishes to establish whether the brothers have told the truth. Admittedly it may be claimed that he is testing their "reliability"; but this sense of the term would apply equally to statements about testing the truth in Homer or Herodotus. The issue is whether their statements accord with the facts, and are therefore correct. The same principle applies to Exod. 18:21, where Moses selects men of truth who hate a bribe, to help him with the burden of administration. To be sure, these men are to be reliable and trustworthy. But the reference to bribery implies that their trustworthiness rests on their honesty and integrity. They themselves are to reach decisions and to make judgments on the basis of truth, i.e. by taking account of all the facts and hiding nothing. Similarly in Deut. 13:14 the injunction is given to check whether or not the report that citizens have been seduced into idolatry is actually true. Whether the report is reliable depends on whether it accords with fact (cf. Deut. 17:4). In 1 Kings 17:24 the widow acknowledges the truth of Elijah's word when he restored her son to life. It may equally be said that his word is reliable, or that he has not deceived her.

(b) In the Wisdom literature, *'emeṯ* is sometimes used in the sense of faithfulness (Prov. 3:3; 16:6), but perhaps more often against the background of the contrast between truth and falsehood or deception. When Wisdom says, "My mouth will utter truth" (Prov. 8:7), the point is that she will not deceive the one who embraces her. Indeed, she will bring him the disclosure which comes through instruction and knowledge. In Prov. 12:19 truthful lips are set in contrast to a lying tongue, and the whole passage attacks lies, deceit, and false witness (vv. 17–22). In 22:21 truth is disclosed in order that a true answer may be given, i.e. that there be no lie or deception. Finally, the injunction to "buy" truth (23:23) can hardly refer to stability or reliability. What can be "acquired" is knowledge of the true facts of the matter, and an end to deception through false or partial information. The emphasis is on the value of good education (R. B. Y. Scott, *Proverbs, Ecclesiastes*, 1965, 143).

(c) The contrast between truth and falsehood or deception is also prominent in the Psalms even though we have also noted that here *'emeṯ* often means faithfulness, especially when applied to the faithful acts of God. Indeed, in perhaps three passages

in the Psalms, truth stands in contrast to concealment, almost in a sense which many scholars claim to find exclusively in Gk. literature. In Ps. 43:3 the Psalmist prays, "Send out thy light and truth". This is not a prayer for God to remain faithful, but that God will show him the truth of the matter in the face of the enticing words of "deceitful men" (v 1). Hence he needs truth and *light*. Truth enables him to escape from the dark, and to see things for what they are. In the same way the king in Ps. 45:4 is to be a champion of truth. Here the thought is not so much his reliability as his readiness to expose whatever is shady, underhand, unfair, or false. He defends the afflicted by bringing their cause out into the open. The well-known reference to "truth in the inward parts" in Ps. 51:6 is less clear. A. A. Anderson insists that here *ʾemeṯ* means faithfulness (*Psalms*, I, 396). But the idea seems to be that the psalmist pleads not for loyalty but for liberation from self-deception. The theme of the psalm is confession, which is an acknowledgement of truth of the state of affairs as God sees it. This interpretation is even more likely to be correct, if we understand "inward parts" to mean "that which is covered over" in the context of the need for revelation (E. A. Leslie, *The Psalms*, 1949, 400), and the theme of the Psalm to be that Yahweh is in the right (S. Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship*, 1967, I, 214).

(d) The prophets also use *ʾemeṯ* sometimes in the sense of faithfulness (above, 2(b)), and sometimes in the sense of truth in contrast to falsehood. In Isa. 43:9 the nations are to come together as a judicial assembly to determine whether the claim of Yahweh, or of the pagan gods, is true. The claim is reliable only if it is valid, or accords with the facts of the matter (C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 1969, 121–2). In Isa. 59:14, 15, the complaint that truth is lacking seems at first sight to be an allusion to Israel's unfaithfulness, since v. 13a refers to "turning away". But on closer inspection it is clear that the real cause of complaint is "lying words" (13b). Jeremiah similarly complains that "every one deceives his neighbour, and no one speaks the truth; they have taught their tongue to speak lies" (9:5). Admittedly this has the consequence that no one can trust his brother (v. 4). But it is the lying itself that is the main issue here. Zechariah expresses the same concern: "Speak the truth to one another; render in your gates judgments that are true. . . . Love no false oath" (8:16, 17). In Daniel the truth of God is set in contrast with the deceptions of godless powers (Dan. 8:12; 9:13).

4. Now that we have attempted to set out the different uses of *ʾemeṯ* that occur in the OT, is it possible to say anything at all about truth in the OT as such? Are the usual generalizations about Gk. and Heb. views of truth entirely wrong, or do they have a limited validity, given certain qualifications?

(a) Even when we take account of the varied ways in which *ʾemeṯ* is used, it is still clear that in the vast majority of contexts truth is not a merely abstract and theoretical concept. Certainly it is never located, as it is in Plato, in some timeless extra-historical realm. To this extent W. Pannenberg is correct when he asserts that in accordance with the OT background "the truth of God must prove itself anew" (*Basic Questions in Theology*, II, 1971, 8). The God of Israel reveals his truth not only in his words but also in his deeds, and this truth is proved in practice in the experience of his people. Similarly, men express their respect for truth not in abstract theory, but in their daily witness to their neighbour and their verbal and commercial transactions. It is not surprising, then, to find at times what would nowadays be called an existential view of truth in the OT. For example, when it is said in Ps.

119:142 that "the law is true", this acknowledgement has the existential ring of testimony on the part of one who delights in God's law (v. 143). However, it is not *only* existential truth. For the same Psalmist sees the law of God as a lamp and a light (v. 105) which shows the believer the true state of affairs, although admittedly the true state of affairs as it relates in practice to him ("my feet ... my path").

(b) Such truth can be relied on, and is firm. But this insight is not arrived at on an exclusively theological basis. Certainly the believer may confidently rely on God because of his covenant faithfulness (*'emeṯ, ḥeseḏ, 'mûnâh*). But this particular use of *'emeṯ* does not lie behind every occurrence of the word. The Hebrews recognized the *logical* truth that others also recognized, that a true word can be relied upon because it accords with reality, and that both for a God of truth and for a man of truth, word and deed are one. Thus serving God "in sincerity and truth" (Jos. 24:14) means serving him with honest intention and integrity. Those who call on God "in truth" (Ps. 146:18) do so honestly. God's decrees are enacted with *'emeṯ* (Ps. 111:8), because, in Calvin's words, there is agreement between the sayings and doings of God (*Psalms*, III, ET 1840, 149). This is the logical point which lies behind the connexion between truth and faithfulness, and it is not to be confused with arguments about "faithfulness" found in most studies of this subject. We shall see that the notion of truth as correspondence between word and deed has particular significance in the NT.

5. (a) In the post-canonical Jewish writings, *alētheia* is used mostly but not always to mean truth in contrast to falsehood. In 1 Macc. 7:18 the word may seem at first sight to be used in the sense of faithfulness, since the statement "there is no truth in them" is parallel to "they have broken the covenant and oath which they made". But the context shows that the real issue is the deceitful use of words. In Sir. 7:20 the servant works reliably indeed, but the main point is that he is "true" in the sense of being honest. In Tobit 7:10 truth is used of giving a true report. However, sometimes *alēthēia* does duty for *'emeṯ* in the sense of faithfulness (*pistis*), especially when the later Jewish writer quotes or paraphrases the OT. Thus in Wis. Sol. 15:1 the writer declares, "Thou, our God art kind and true [*chrēstos kai alēthēs*]", probably in paraphrase of Exod. 34:6 (A. T. Hanson, *Grace and Truth*, 1975, 9 and 114). Here the word probably means faithfulness, because the sense of Exod. 34 is too clear to be lost. On the other hand, in Wis. Sol. 3:9 truth is used either in opposition to falsehood, or else in the more absolute sense of "revealed truth" or "doctrine" (cf. 6:22).

(b) Truth is especially prominent in the Dead Sea Scrolls, perhaps most of all in the Thanksgiving Hymns. God is the God of truth (1QH 15:25), and the phrase "truth of God" also occurs (1QS 3:6; 11:4; 1QM 4:6). J. Murphy-O'Connor points out that the word often occurs as a designation of revealed doctrine, which embodies both the law and its interpretation ("Truth: Paul and Qumran" in *RB* 72, 1965, 29 ff. = *Paul and Qumran*, 1968, 179–230). But no less strongly, truth is also emphasized as a quality of moral behaviour. Entrance into the Qumran community is a conversion to truth (1QS 6:15), and the initiates bind themselves to the precepts of truth by oath (1QS 1:15). They are now within the sphere of influence of the spirit of truth (1QS 3:24). J. Murphy-O'Connor observes, "This is the crucial point, for it is in proportion as a man is dominated by this spirit that he loves truth (1QS 4:17, 24)" (op. cit., 184). Truth plays a part in cleansing him from sin; he grows in the knowledge of

truth; and at the end of time all lies will be done away with (1QS 4:20–21; 9:17). Meanwhile, it is binding on the members of the community to practise truth (1QS 1:5; 5:4; 8:2). A man is not established in truth if he has a double heart. Indeed only by responding to God in singleness of heart can a man embrace truth (1QH 4:14; 16:17). Finally the community are "witnesses of truth" (1QS 8:6). As against those fellow Jews whom they regarded as apostate, the Qumran community see themselves, in effect, as the true Israel. In this sense, many of their uses of the word "true" articulate a polemical claim. Truth, then, is used in a variety of ways in the Qumran writings, and is very important for the community. Their uses of the term have their basis in the OT, but also offer striking points of comparison with the NT writings. In particular the community's conception of God's revelation as "the truth" invites careful comparison with Paul, and the notion of "the spirit of truth" invites comparison with John.

6. *alēthinos* in the LXX overlaps with the meaning of *alēthēs*, which, in turn, reflects *alētheia*. However, sometimes *alēthinos* has its more distinctive sense of "real" or "genuine". Thus in 2 Chr. 15:3 it is said that for a long time Israel was without the "true" God.

NT 1. Although the words for "truth" and "true" become very important in Paul and John, *alētheia, alēthēs*, and *alēthōs* occur relatively seldom in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts, and even then they have little distinctive theological significance.

(a) On the lips of Jesus himself these terms occur only in Lk. 4:25; 9:27; 12:44; and 21:3. In the first two instances the forms "I tell you in truth" (*ep' alētheias*) or "I tell you truly" (*alēthōs*) serve to introduce a solemn statement, and are presumably Luke's translation into Gk. of the characteristic *amēn*-formula used elsewhere by Jesus. In spite of Berger's arguments, J. Jeremias has shown convincingly that the *amēn*-formula takes us back to the *ipsissima verba* of Jesus (→ Amen). It is used by Jesus, Jeremias argues, to strengthen his words, to express his authority, and to underline the certainty of his message (J. Jeremias, *New Testament Theology: I, The Proclamation of Jesus*, 1971, 35–6; and *Abba*, 1966, 148–51).

(b) At the same time the isolated occurrences of *alētheia* and *alēthēs* in the Synoptics do not exhaust what we may infer about Jesus' attitude to truth. (i) Negatively, many of his sayings attack hypocrisy, or, more generally, any discrepancy between word and deed, or between word and reality. "The Pharisees ... preach but do not practise.... You tithe mint and dill ... and have neglected the weightier matters of the law ... straining out a gnat and swallowing a camel" (Matt. 23:2, 3, 23, 24). "Woe to you lawyers, for you load men with burdens hard to bear, and you yourselves do not touch the burdens with one of your fingers" (Lk. 11:46; cf. Matt. 23:4). Such an attitude is untruthful, for it is deceitful, and based on a contradiction between word and deed. (ii) Positively, Jesus' own words always accord with his deeds and with actuality. He proclaims grace to the outcast; therefore he eats with tax-collectors and sinners. He is messiah in word, proclaiming the advent of the kingdom of God; therefore he is also messiah in deed, demonstrating the advent of the kingdom by works of power. Jesus' life of integrity culminates in the cross. Thus his life provides backing that gives the status of reliable currency to his words (→ Word). Whether or not this has any special connexion with the notion of truth or reliability in the OT, we have argued that this aspect of truth is bound to come into

prominence whenever emphasis is laid upon a correspondence between word and deed. It is left to Jn. to show how this correspondence exhibits the truth of Jesus' words especially in the context of his christological claims.

(c) Other occurrences of *alētheia* and *alēthēs* in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts either have the sense of truth in contrast to falsehood, concealment, or deception, or else refer to honesty or sincerity. In Matt. 22:15 (Mk. 12:14) the Pharisees and Herodians seek to trap Jesus with their questions and introduce this query with the words, "We know that you are true [*alēthēs*] and teach the way of God truthfully [*en alētheia*]". The point here is that Jesus will not conceal the truth through any fear of the consequences of stating it. He is known to be honest in stating his views. This can be called the Gk. view of truth only on the unwarrantable assumption that the contrast between truth and concealment (*lēthō*) occurs only in Gk. literature. The same meaning of *alētheia* occurs in Mk. 5:33, when the woman with a flow of blood who touched Jesus in the crowd tells "the whole truth", i.e. conceals nothing. However, in Mk. 12:32, to speak *ep' alētheias* is simply to state the facts of the matter accurately or correctly. This accords with the statement in Acts 26:25: "I am not mad, most excellent Festus, but I am speaking the sober truth". The words are based not on fancy but on fact.

(d) *alēthinos* occurs in the Synoptics only in Lk. 16:11: "who will entrust to you the true riches?" Here the meaning is clearly that of "genuine" or "real".

2. Research on the Pauline uses of *alētheia* is still dominated by the question raised by H. H. Wendt in 1883 about the extent to which NT writers are influenced by a distinctively Heb. understanding of truth ("Der Gebrauch der Wörter *alētheia*, *alēthēs* und *alēthinos* im NT auf Grund der alttestamentlichen Sprachgebrauches", *Theologische Studien und Kritiken, eine Zeitschrift für das Gesamt der Theologie* 65, 1883, 511–47). In a study of 1928, prior to his article in *TDNT*, R. Bultmann agreed that Wendt's thesis applied to Paul, but not to John ("Untersuchungen zum Johannesevangelium", *ZNW* 27, 1928, 113–63; cf. *TDNT* I 242–50). An unduly clear-cut contrast between Gk. and Heb. views of truth also marks D. J. Theron's study "*Alētheia* in the Pauline Corpus" (*EQ* 26, 1954, 3–18). However, we have already seen that such an approach needs to be qualified in the light of concrete examinations of specific passages and word-uses.

(a) One of Paul's most distinctive uses of *alētheia* within the NT (if the Pastorals are included) is his use of the phrase "the truth" (*hē alētheia*) to characterize the gospel itself. Although this is most prominent in the Pastorals (→ (g) below) this meaning already occurs in Gal. and perhaps in 2 Thess. The actual situation in Gal., rather than considerations about Gk. or Heb. background, makes this correlation intelligible. In Gal. 2:5 Paul declares that what is at issue in his conflict with the Judaizers is quite literally "the truth of the gospel". In Paul's judgment, enticement to compromise the gospel is an enticement to compromise the truth, and vice versa. To give way is deny the truth, both in the sense of his own integrity and in the sense of the actual situation in salvation-history as it now is. Hence by Gal. 5:7 "the truth" has become synonymous with the gospel itself: "What hindered you from obeying the truth?" J. Murphy-O'Connor rightly comments "No single term could better mark the contrast between the reality of the Gospel and the ineffectiveness of the Law" (*Paul and Qumran*, 195). He is also correct in noting the parallel between this use of *alētheia* in Paul, and the use of the term to mean revealed truth or correct doc-

trine in Qumran (op. cit., 183–202). It is open to question whether *pistei alētheias* in 2 Thess. 2:13 also has this meaning. As E. Best argues (*The First and Second Epistles to the Thessalonians, BNTC*, 1972, 315), the phrase is already ambiguous, meaning either the truth which creates saving faith, or the faith which is placed in the truth. Whichever interpretation is accepted, *alētheia* here may mean either the gospel, as the message of salvation, or else (more probably) that which is real, in contrast to mere human imaginings. Another ambiguous reference is 2 Cor. 13:8 (→ (e)), which Bultmann places under this heading, in analogy to Dan. 8:12 (*TDNT* I 244). Truth here, he argues, means true doctrine, as opposed to "a different gospel" (11:4). Bultmann's suggestion about this verse is possibly correct, although open to question. However, his attempts to assimilate several other passages from 2 Cor. (e.g. 4:2) must be rejected, since the issue behind these allusions to truth concerns a correspondence between speech and conduct (→ (d)).

(b) Paul also uses *alētheia* in a similar but definitely broader sense, to mean God's revelation of his will or even of his Being either through the law or even, at one point, through creation. This use is characteristic of the first two chapters of Romans. Men by their wickedness "suppress the truth" (Rom. 1:18), and exchange the truth about God for a lie (*pseudei*) (1:25). Hence there will be wrath for those who do not obey the truth (2:8). The law itself, by contrast, is the embodiment of knowledge and truth (2:20, *tēn morphōsin tēs gnōseōs kai tēs alētheias en tō nomō*). The truth at issue here is not primarily the truth of the gospel. Men are without excuse for Paul not, as for John, because they lay claim to a knowledge which would allow them to recognize the messiah, but because they reject the truth about God as creator and judge. Paul does not say that the whole Gentile world has wilfully rejected gospel-truth, but that it has wilfully suppressed (*katechein*) what may be seen about God and his sovereign claims from creation: "the invisible attributes of God are plainly seen, namely, his eternal power and deity" (Rom. 1:20). That "the truth" here does not mean specifically the truth of the gospel is clear when we remember that Paul is stating a central principle of Jewish synagogue-preaching in Hel. cities, as reflected equally in Wis. Sol. 13:1–10, 14. To admit this is not necessarily to be committed to a full-scale natural theology. Even Karl Barth allows that nature and the order of creation at least disclose, to those who will see, "the insecurity of our whole existence, the vanity and utter questionableness of all that we are" (*The Epistle to the Romans*, ET 1933, 46). To say that the law is an embodiment of truth (2:20) does not narrow this concept of truth, but is to say only that this truth comes to a focus in the law of God as revealed in men's hearts. Admittedly, once again, Paul is taking up standard Jewish sermon-material, with a view to using it against the Jews themselves. But he does not deny its general validity.

(c) Truth in Paul often stands in contrast to lying or deception. Indeed, together with Wis. Sol. 13 and 14, Paul inherits the traditional Heb. prophetic view that divine truth stands in contrast to idolatry, precisely because idolatry is a deception and delusion (cf. Rom. 1:25). We have already said that there is nothing distinctively Greek about this contrast. Paul uses the word in a thoroughly natural sense when he asserts, "I am speaking the truth in Christ; I am not lying" (Rom. 9:1). "Everything we said to you was true" (2 Cor. 7:14). Whereas some writers employ this contrast in a primarily intellectual way, others underline its ethical and practical significance for life. This is not, however, chiefly a contrast between Heb. and Gk. thought, but

between those for whom practical integrity is important, and those whose main concerns are more strictly to do with theoretical knowledge. Thus we find that for Paul, as for Jesus, truth becomes a matter of correspondence between word and deed.

(d) These two aspects of *alētheia* are brought together in a striking way in 2 Cor. On the one hand, Paul was accused of vacillation and change, and asserts his own concern for the truth in the sense of an honesty or integrity in which word and deed correspond. Indeed, he urges, it is the false apostles who need artificial commendation, rather than that of a costly and fruitful ministry which proves the worth of words. On the other hand, Paul is also accused of veiling his gospel. Once again, he urges it is not he but his opponents who tailor the gospel message to conform to human expectations and demands. Hence he exclaims: "We have renounced disgraceful, underhanded ways: we refuse to practise cunning or to tamper with God's word [*mēde dolountes ton logon tou theou*], but by the open statement of the truth we would commend ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God" (4:2). But side by side with this emphasis on truth or unconcealment (the so-called Gk. views), Paul stresses his unity of word and conduct: "We commend ourselves [cf. 4:2] ... through great endurance, in afflictions, hardships, calamities ... by truthful speech ..." (2 Cor. 6:4–7).

(e) Paul believes in the power of truth. Truth exposes lies (Rom. 3:4, where divine truth exposes human falsehood for what it is). Love of the truth can even lead to salvation (2 Thess. 2:10), although this means not mere theoretical admiration of intellectual truth, but commitment to the truth as this is expressed in the gospel. To encounter the truth as it is in Jesus leads on to transformation of life, in which the believer turns away from old deceits (Eph. 4:21, 22). Thus in 2 Cor. 6:7 "truthful speech" occurs in parallel with the power of God and weapons of righteousness. Paul does not use the weapons of power politics or psychological pressure, but with honest integrity speaks and acts in truth and righteousness. Similarly in Eph. 6:14 truth is part of the Christian's armour, which protects him in the face of attack. 2 Cor. 4:2, to which we have already alluded, has the same flavour. Paul's statement in 13:8, "We cannot do anything against the truth, but only for the truth", may just possibly refer to truth as a synonym for the gospel, as R. Bultmann maintains (→ (a)), but more probably conveys the idea that the power of truth is such that openness to truth, whatever its consequences, can only further the cause of Christ and the gospel.

(f) Truth is demanded of the Christian as a corollary of his union with Christ and status as a new creation. In 1 Cor. 5:8 the Christian celebrates the festival of the new life with sincerity and truth, banishing all impurity and deception or dishonesty, just as the Jews banished the old leaven from their houses at Passover time. Truth and purity stand in contrast here to *kakia*, *ponēria* and *porneia*. The new life is to be untarnished; free from anything that spreads corrupting influences by virtue of its impurity or duplicity. The same idea occurs in Eph. 4:25, with more explicit reference to falsehood. Because the believer has put on the new nature (v. 24), Paul adds: "Putting away falsehood [*to pseudos*], let every one speak the truth with his neighbour, for we are members one of another". The word for "putting away" (*apothemenoi*) is the same as that which is used in v. 22 for "putting off" the old nature. Paul is probably citing Zech. 8:16 (→ OT). Paul also insists that the Christian speaks the truth in love (→ (h), *alētheuō*, Eph. 4:15). Two commentators even

suggest that after the sentence "love rejoices at the truth" (1 Cor. 13:6), we should understand "love bears all things" (*panta stegei*, v. 7) to mean that love "keeps all confidences" (W. F. Orr and J. A. Walther, *I Corinthians*, 1976, 296). But although *stegei* means "covers over" in some contexts, here it probably means either "is proof against everything" (A. Robertson and A. Plummer, *1 Corinthians, ICC*, 1914) or else "supports everything" (C. K. Barrett, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians, BNTC*, 1968, 304). The interpretation of "love rejoices at the truth" is difficult. The RSV translates *alētheia* as "right", in contrast to *adikia* in the previous clause. But the meaning of the verse probably is: love is brave enough to face the truth. It has nothing to conceal, and so is glad when the truth prevails. Genuine love entails not the kind of deception that makes someone else a tool or a captive, but the kind of truth which is the basis of fully inter-personal relationships.

(g) The Pastoral Epistles reflect a distinctive outlook, although they take up and develop a trend which we have already noted in Gal. and Rom. Truth is essentially the revealed truth of the gospel message. This is precisely because the problem of false doctrine looms as large as it did earlier in Gal. To become a Christian is "to come to the knowledge of the truth" (1 Tim. 2:4; 2 Tim. 3:7). By contrast, the great danger which is under attack is that men will listen only to teachers who "suit their own likings, and will turn from listening to the truth and wander into myths" (2 Tim. 4:3, 4). Such men have "a morbid craving for controversy and for disputes about words ... wrangling among men who are ... bereft of the truth" (1 Tim. 6:5). The term "controversy" (*zētēsis*) in this context denotes not concern to arrive at or to defend the truth, but "pre-occupation with pseudo-intellectual theorizings" (J. N. D. Kelly, *The Pastoral Epistles, BNTC*, 1963, 134). This kind of controversy keeps truth at arm's length. It is in this connexion that we should consider the quotation of the logical antinomy of Epimenides in Tit. 1:12, 13. The logical puzzle is the status of the assertion that "all Cretans are liars", if this is spoken by a Cretan. If the statement is true then it is falsified by a Cretan's speaking it truly; whilst if it is false, to assert it would be untrue. Its conclusion in the Pastorals with the added statement "this testimony is true" suggests not that the author has misunderstood the philosophical point, but that the Cretan antinomy constitutes a valid example of the kind of profitless controversy described above, which makes truth a merely theoretical matter. By contrast, "the truth" in the Pastorals, especially in the sense of Christian revelation, is wholesome and health-giving (Gk. *hygiainousēs*, e.g. 2 Tim. 4:3). Thus, far from evading the question of truth, the Pastorals demonstrate the NT concern for it, even though *alētheia* is more readily restricted to the content of Christian revelation than in earlier epistles such as 2 Cor.

(h) The verb *alētheuō* occurs only twice in the NT, both times in Paul. In Gal. 4:16 Paul exclaims, "Have I then become your enemy by telling the truth?" Here the irony has most point if "truth" is understood to mean the actual facts of the gospel as they really are, in contrast to the deceptions of Paul's opponents. Even if *alētheuō* is understood to mean little more than "to proclaim the Christian message", the contrast between Paul and his opponents loses its point if this is not specifically a truth proclamation which hides nothing from the hearer, however unpalatable. In Eph. 4:15 the believer is enjoined to speak the truth in love. It is possible that *alētheuō* here entails integrity of life in addition to truthful speech. The previous verse warns against the kind of fickleness which moves from one novelty to another in response

to deceptive persuasions. The adjective *alēthinos* occurs only once in Paul, where "to serve the living and true God" (1 Thess. 1:9) seems to have, once again, its characteristic meaning of real or genuine. The real God, here, stands in contrast to idols, or so-called gods. The adverb *alēthōs* also occurs only once in Paul, in the same epistle. The Thessalonians received the message of Christ not as mere human words, but "as what it really is, the word of God" (1 Thess. 2:13). The word describes what is genuinely or really the case.

3. In the rest of the NT apart from the Johannine writing and Rev., *alētheia* is used only 8 times; *alēthēs*, twice; and *alēthinos* three times. *alēthōs* and *alētheuō* do not occur at all.

(a) In the Petrine Epistles we find "the truth" or "the way of truth" used as it is especially in the Pastorals virtually as a synonym for the truth of the gospel. Christians are therefore those who have become obedient to the truth (1 Pet. 1:22). On the other hand false prophets and false teachers deny Christ, and thereby cause men to revile the way of truth (2 Pet. 2:2).

(b) Sometimes "true" means "in accordance with the facts of the matter" and even "in accordance with experience". Thus "the true grace of God" (1 Pet. 5:12) means the grace which the readers had proved true in their experience, and which was based on reality and not delusion. A true proverb (2 Pet. 2:22) states truth as it is in the light of experience.

(c) At first sight "the word of truth" in Jas. 1:18 seems to mean simply the message of the gospel (→ 2(a) and 3(a)). But the context suggests that what is at issue is that God acts reliably and consistently. God does not tempt men to sin (vv. 13–16). With him is no shadow due to change (v. 17). His word is, in this sense, the word of truth. To wander from the truth (Jas. 5:19) might also seem to mean to turn away from the gospel. But once again the term here is broader, meaning "the right path". In what sense does selfish ambition lead one to be "false to the truth" (Jas. 3:14)? James may be referring to a false estimate of one's own capabilities. But it is more likely that he is warning his readers that selfish ambition and arrogance lead men to put considerations about their own status even above those which concern the truth. Often lies stem from a concern to defend, or assert the claims of, one's own status in the eyes of others (→ 5(h)).

(d) The reference in Heb. 10:26 to receiving knowledge of the truth certainly means knowledge of the truth of the gospel. But "truth" here also underlines the absoluteness and finality of the Christian message. If a man turns his back on that which is the *truth*, indeed there is nothing else.

(e) *alēthinos* occurs three times in Heb., describing "the true tent" (8:2 and 9:24) and "a true heart" (10:22). (i) Many scholars see the contrast between the true tabernacle and its earthly "copy" (*cheiropoiēta* . . . *antitypa*; cf. 9:24) as a clear and unambiguous allusion to the Platonic doctrine of forms. The earthly sanctuary is that which is a mere copy of the "real" sanctuary in the realm of eternal ideas. In spite of the long vogue which this theory has enjoyed, C. K. Barrett and several other scholars have shown that the Jewish apocalyptic writers also drew a contrast between the heavenly sanctuary as it existed in the mind of God, or in heaven, and the earthly tabernacle which reflected on earth this heavenly reality ("The Eschatology of Hebrews", in W. D. Davies and D. Daube, eds., *Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology. In Honour of C. H. Dodd*, 1956 and 1964; R. G.

Hamerton-Kelly, *Pre-existence, Wisdom and the Son of Man, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series* 21, 1973, 256–8; and A. Cody, *Heavenly Sanctuary and Liturgy in the Epistle to the Hebrews*, 1960). It is possible that apocalyptic Judaism is indirectly influenced by Platonic ideas, but this is very different from claiming to see a Platonic view of truth in Heb. At the same time, this is not to deny that *alēthinos* in 8:2 and 9:24 bears its characteristic meaning of genuine or real. (ii) By contrast in 10:22 "a true heart" means one that is honest and without deceit. The believer draws near to God without the burden and duplicity of a divided self, coming in full assurance of faith with a heart sprinkled clean from an evil conscience.

4. Considerations about word-frequency alone suggest the importance of truth in John and the Johannine Epistles. Nearly half of the 109 occurrences of *alētheia* appear in the Johannine writings (25 times in the Gospel and 20 times in the Johannine Epistles). *alēthēs* is used 17 times out of a total of 26 occurrences in the NT; whilst *alēthinos* appears 23 times (including 10 times in Rev.) out of a total of only 28 uses in the whole NT. In all, therefore, over half of the NT uses of all three words occur in the Johannine writings. Thus it is all the more unfortunate that many scholars allow their exegesis of passages about truth to be dominated by the questions of whether John holds the "Gk." or "Heb." view of truth. R. Bultmann and C. H. Dodd argue that John sees truth primarily as reality in contrast to falsehood or appearance, but insist on seeing this as evidence of a Hellenistic view of truth in John. Other writers, including most emphatically L. J. Kuyper ("Grace and Truth, An OT Description of God and its Use in the Johannine Gospel", *Interpretation* 18, 1964, 3–19) and more moderately C. K. Barrett, L. Morris, and R. E. Brown, underline instances in John where *alētheia* may possibly mean faithfulness, as evidence of affinities with the OT and Judaism. This way of posing the question, however, is unsatisfactory for two main reasons. Firstly, we have seen that an unduly clear-cut contrast between Heb. and Gk. views of truth must be in question. Secondly, it is misleading to tie exegetical conclusions about the meaning of *alētheia* to a theory about Johannine affinities of thought. The view adopted in this article is that John uses *alētheia* regularly in the sense of reality in contrast to falsehood or mere appearance, but that this in no way provides evidence of Gk. affinities of ideas, or of disregard for the OT tradition.

(a) Special consideration may be given to the use of the phrase "full of grace and truth" (*plērēs charitos kai alētheias*) in the Prologue (1:14; cf. *hē charis kai hē alētheia*, 1:17). It is usual to find the background to these verses in Exod. 34:6: "The LORD, a God merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and abounding in steadfast love and faithfulness" (Heb. *raḇ ḥeseḏ wᵉʾᵉmeṯ*; LXX, *polyeleos kai alēthinos*). The LXX use of *eleos* to translate *ḥeseḏ* represents a standard procedure, but this need not be an obstacle to the argument that Jn. takes up this phrase from Exod. 34. Jn. does not always follow the LXX accurately, and in any case in later Gk. *charis*, grace, comes regularly to replace *eleos*, mercy, as the standard translation of *ḥeseḏ* (J. A. Montgomery, "Heb. Ḥeseḏ and Gk. Charis", *HTR* 32, 1939, 97–102). L. J. Kuyper therefore urges emphatically that the OT idea of covenant loyalty, expressed in *ḥeseḏ*, completely determines the meaning of the whole phrase "grace and truth" in Jn. Everything turns on fidelity, loyalty, faithfulness, and dependability (op. cit., 6–9 and 14–16). That Exod. 34 lies behind these verses is well argued by A. T. Hanson (*Grace and Truth*, 1975, 5–11). Moses had made the bold request that he might see

God's glory (Exod. 33:18). God replied that no one might see his face and live; but he promised that "you shall see my back". The phrase cited in John 1:14 describes this experience of "seeing" God. But Jn. gives the phrase fresh point. He says that truly to "see" God is to see nothing other than his glory in *Christ*. This interpretation of John 1:14–18 is valid. However, does *alētheia* (vv. 14 and 17) therefore necessarily mean faithfulness (Kuyper), reliability (Morris), or constancy (Brown)? Bultmann flatly rejects this as "not possible" (*The Gospel of John*, 1971, 74 n. 2). For this reason he also rejects Exod. 34 as the background of the passage. But must both possibilities be either accepted or rejected together? On the one hand, the Exod. 34 background of "seeing God" is appropriate to Jn.'s thought. On the other hand, to say that Christ the Logos abounds in covenant faithfulness, or reliability, seems strained in this context. Admittedly C. K. Barrett is correct in seeing the idea of God's covenant faithfulness in the background (*The Gospel according to St. John*, 1958, 139). God's promises of grace and revelation are pre-eminently fulfilled in Christ. But what Jn. wishes to stress in these verses is that, in Christ the Logos, men can see God in his genuine actuality and reality. If men can see God's *reality* anywhere, it is in Christ. Thus R. Schnackenburg rightly comments that whilst it is just possible to understand *alētheia* here as steadfastness, "the evangelist probably took it to mean 'divine reality' in a more strongly ontological sense (cf. v. 17) as he understands *alētheia* in 4:23; 8:44; 14:6; 17:17; 18:37d. The hymn sees in the bodily presence of the Logos among men the eschatological fulfilment of God's dwelling among his people" (*The Gospel according to St. John*, I, 1968, 273). This would accord entirely with the sense of v. 17. The law does indeed constitute a witness to God, as does Moses; but the reality itself, to which everything else witnesses, is encountered in Christ.

(b) There can be no doubt at all that sometimes in Jn. *alētheia* and *alēthēs* mean simply truth in contrast to falsehood. In Jn. 4:18 the woman of Samaria speaks the truth about her marital status. In 10:41 it is affirmed that everything that John the Baptist said about Jesus is true. The statement "I tell you the truth; it is to your advantage that I go away" (16:7) dispels any suspicion that the words may have been tailored to provide some illusory comfort. In 1 Jn. a liar is one who does not speak the truth (2:4; cf. 2:21, 27). To err from the truth is to be deceived (1 Jn. 1:8). The notion of witness is very prominent in the Fourth Gospel, and much is made of the fact that the witness to Christ is true (Jn. 5:31 f.). However, the notion of a witness which is true rather than false leads on to the question of the validity of that witness, and thereby to the use of *alētheia* in the sense of validity.

(c) The debate about truthful witness, which is touched on in Jn. 5:31, is developed more fully in 8:13–58. Here it may seem that we come closest in Jn. to the so-called Heb. concept of truth as reliability. Witness to Jesus Christ is reliable because it comes from God, and from more than one witness (8:17, 18). But on closer inspection the issue turns on validity, rather than reliability as such. The witness to Jesus Christ is valid, because there is no higher court of appeal than God himself. The witness of those who judge "according to the flesh" (v. 15) is not necessarily dishonest (although there may be a hint of this in 9:41); but such testimony is untrue in the sense that it is invalid. Valid witness depends on revelation.

(d) One of the most important uses of *alētheia* and *alēthēs* in Jn. is to convey the idea of reality, in contrast to whatever the situation may seem to look like on the sur-

face. (i) The clearest example of this use is when the adj. *alēthēs* is used in the same sense as the more characteristic word *alēthinos* to mean "real". Thus in 6:55 Jesus says that his flesh is real food, and his blood is real drink. It is more genuinely food and drink than other things that go under these names. Real food gives more lasting satisfaction and nourishment than other things which men call "food". (ii) Those who worship God in Spirit and in truth (4:23, 24) are not those who worship in sincerity and inwardness. The Samaritans are not criticized for lacking sincerity. True worship is that which accords with reality, which men grasp on the basis of revelation. The phrase *en alētheia*, as C. H. Dodd rightly insists, means "on the plane of reality" (*The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, 1953, 175). It is on the plane of *ta onta* as distinct from *eidōla* or *phantasiai*. Hence it is associated with the Holy Spirit.

(e) Special attention should be given to the phrase "doing the truth" in Jn. and the Johannine Epistles. At first sight it may seem simply to reflect the OT and Jewish usage according to which it need mean little more than practising fidelity. But C. H. Dodd and others are correct in rejecting this interpretation of the phrase in Jn. It combines an allusion to the way of Christian revelation with an additional reference to the contrast between truth and falsehood. Thus in Jn. 3:21 the statement, "He who does what is true comes to the light that it may be clearly seen that his deeds have been wrought in God," cannot simply refer to the man who lives up to his aspirations faithfully. This would make nonsense of the thrust of the whole chapter, namely that even a good man needs to be born anew. C. K. Barrett, therefore, understands the phrase to mean: "he that practises the true (Christian) faith and life" (op. cit., 182). However, the verse also means more than this. For there is the additional thought that such a man will in practice wish to hide nothing. Truth can only serve Christian faith and Christian life. 1 Jn. 1:6 similarly combines the notion of truth as revelation with truth in contrast to falsehood. A sharp tension between profession of faith and actual practice is both inconsistent with Christian revelation and also in principle self-contradictory. Hence if we claim to have fellowship with God but walk in darkness "we do not live according to the truth".

(f) There are several passages in Jn. in which the meaning of *alētheia* or *alēthēs* is too broad to be equated with any one of the five categories discussed above. (i) One of the most important of these is Jn. 14:6 where Jesus declares, "I am the way, the truth, and the life; no one comes to the Father, but by me." (A survey of interpretations can be found in I. de la Potterie, " 'Je suis la Voie, la Vérité et la Vie' (Jn. 14:6)" *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 88, 1966, 907–42.) Dodd and Bultmann interpret this verse along the lines of a Hellenistic or gnostic dualism, to mean that through Christ the soul ascends to the heavenly realm of truth. Whilst we may question Bultmann's assumptions about the relevance of the gnostic background, he is nevertheless correct when he writes: "He (Christ) is the way in such a manner as to be at the same time the goal; for he is also *hē alētheia* . . . as the revealed reality of God." To say that Jesus is the way as well as the truth means that "the discovery of this *alētheia* is not something . . . at man's disposal . . . Jesus *is* the truth; he does not simply *state* it. One does not come to him to ask about truth; one comes to him as the truth" (op. cit., 605 f.). Since the way leads to the Father, I. de la Potterie and R. E. Brown stress that "the way" is primary, and that "the truth" describes the way. Nevertheless, as the truth, Jesus is also the goal of man's search, for "he who has seen me has seen the Father" (v. 9). When he declares that he *is* the truth, therefore, a number of distinct

ideas are combined. Firstly, truth is not abstract or supra-historical but revealed in the actual personal life of the Word made flesh. This looks back to the point made with reference to the Synoptics about the correspondence between word and deed in the life of Jesus Christ (→ 1 (b)). Secondly, Christ is also the truth because he is the revelation of God, and therefore his own witness is valid (→ 4(c) and (e)). Thirdly, truth also stands in opposition to deception or falsehood. In the case of divine revelation, this means that Christ is both truth and reality (→ 4(b) and (d)).

(ii) It is probable that the same range of meaning applies to the assertion "thy word is truth" in Jn. 17:17. The context of thought is the distinctiveness of the community of believers as over against the world. The community is holy, for it belongs to God and is founded on God's word. However, the very word on which the community depends for its existence and its consecration is also a word of commission which sends it out into the world (v. 18). In both respects, this word from God is valid, effective, in no way false, indeed in accord with reality. It is all these things precisely because it is the revealing word of God himself. Thereby the sanctification of the community is assured, and its commission validated. In addition to this, the verse looks back to the OT and Judaism. The Gk. phrase is identical with the LXX form of Ps. 119:142, as found in Codex Sinaiticus (although not in the MT and other MSS of the LXX, which read "your law is truth"). Jer. 10:10 also has: "Purify our hearts to serve you in truth. . . . Your word is truth", and Jewish prayer regularly expressed the thought that God consecrates men through his commandments. There is perhaps some justification, therefore, for correlating "word" here with the (OT) Scriptures, although it primarily refers to God's word to the Christian community. If, in effect, God's word may be said to include the NT writings, it should still be remembered that this verse is not making an explicit statement about the truth-status of the Bible as such.

(iii) In Jn. 8:44, 45, the truth spoken by Jesus is set in contrast to the lie spoken by the devil. The devil "has nothing to do with the truth, because there is not truth in him [*en tē alētheia ouch hestēken; hoti ouk estin alētheia en autō*]". Here truth is primarily but not exclusively contrasted with falsehood or deception. There is doubtless an allusion here to the deception by the serpent in Gen. 3:4, 5. The implication is that by opposing the truth of Jesus (here, also in the sense of the authentic divine revelation), the Jews are actually doing the devil's work. R. Bultmann argues that truth in this verse stands in opposition not only to falsehood, but also to reality and to authentic existence (op. cit., 320–22). The devil seduces men away from reality and life.

(iv) By contrast, the Spirit of God is the Spirit of truth (Jn. 14:17; 15:26; 16:13; cf. 1 Jn. 4:6; 5:6). It is striking that this phrase is repeated in no less than three of the five Paraclete sayings. This harmonizes well with C. K. Barrett's understanding of the work of the Paraclete as that of a prosecuting counsel who "exposes" (*elenchein*) the facts of the matter. He brings things "to the light of day" or "shows a thing in its true colours". It is "the activity of a judge and prosecuting counsel in one" (op. cit., 76). The Spirit places the Christian community in the light of judgment which belongs, strictly speaking, to the last day. Hence his verdict is absolutely valid and needs in no way to be modified by fresh knowledge. One other idea, however, must be added. It is also true that "the Spirit of truth is a Paraclete precisely because he carries on the earthly work of Jesus" (R. E. Brown, op. cit., 644). In 18:37 Jesus

declares to Pilate, "For this I was born, and for this I have come into the world, to bear witness to the truth. Everyone who is of the truth hears my voice". The Spirit, as Paraclete, continues the work of Jesus also as Paraclete, whereby proponents of truth and falsehood are shown up to be what they are. Falsehood is exposed in all its seductive deception as a lie. The truth is shown to be reality, based on God's revelation. In this comprehensive theological sense what is true and what is false is brought out fully into the open only in relation to Christ and the Spirit. Pilate's baffled question, "What is truth?" (18:38), is a direct rejoinder to Jesus' claim that he bears witness to the truth. It is not, as L. J. Kuyper claims, that Pilate cannot understand a Heb. concept of truth, because he himself approaches the matter with a Gk. view of truth (op. cit., 17–18). Pilate remains baffled because there are certain questions about truth which can be answered only when a man is fully open to hear the witness of Jesus. This brings us back to the claim of Jn. 14:6, that Jesus Christ not only states the truth; he *is* the truth.

(g) It remains to consider *alēthinos* and *alēthōs* in the Johannine writings. (i) Often *alēthinos* has its characteristic meaning of "genuine" or "real". In Jn. 1:9, Jesus is the real light, in contrast to John the Baptist. C. K. Barrett rightly points out that this "light" means not so much the idea of inward illumination as of exposing to the light of judgment (op. cit., 134; cf. *phōtizō*, shed light upon). John the Baptist did indeed expose men's actions and call them to repentance; but the *real* crisis of division, which brings to light the direction in which men are going, is Jesus Christ. We have already seen that "real worshippers" (4:23) are those whose worship is based on reality, not on human aspiration (→ (d)). In 6:32 Jesus tells his hearers that whereas Moses gave Israel bread from heaven, God now gives them the real bread. The manna was physical nourishment which both fed Israel and taught them dependence on God. But the real bread, to which the manna merely pointed forward, was Jesus himself. Similarly in 15:1 Jesus is the real vine, worthy of the name. Israel was like a vine which was unproductive and wild; real fruitfulness is to be found only in Christ. (ii) On the other hand, *alēthinos* may also have the same range of meaning as *alēthēs*. It may denote a true saying (4:37), or true judgment (8:16). Sometimes the two senses merge, as when the meaning is primarily or partly, but certainly not exclusively, that of "real", e.g. "the only true God" (17:3). (iii) It is difficult to determine how narrowly or otherwise we should interpret the meaning of *alēthinos* in Rev. God is "the holy one, the true one" (Rev. 3:7); "the faithful and true witness" (3:14). "Just and true are thy ways" (15:3); "Just and true are thy judgments" (16:7). "These are the true words of God" (19:9); "these words are trustworthy and true" (21:5; cf. 6:10; 19:2; 22:6). It must not be forgotten that Rev. uses only *alēthinos* and never *alēthēs*, or even *alētheia*. Hence it would be unwise to try to draw too clear-cut a distinction between them. In Hellenistic literature *alēthinos* is used of divine beings to mean "that which truly exists", and this may well form part of the meaning in Rev. But God is also true in contrast to the deceits and falsehoods of idolatry and the antichrist. The martyrs and faithful believers may also rely upon his truth. As in the case of the last category which we examined under *alētheia* and *alēthēs* (→ (f)), "true" in these passages seems to include several of the nuances which we examined earlier separately. (iv) The adverb *alēthōs* occurs seven times in Jn., once in 1 Jn., and is absent from Rev. Sometimes it is used in the sense of "real" or "genuine", as an adverbial equivalent to *alēthinos*. Thus Nathanael is "really an

Israelite" (Jn. 1:47) in the sense of being a man really worthy of the name. Usually, however, the adverb is used in the sense of "truly" or even "indeed", and requires no additional comment.

5. Discussions about truth in modern philosophy are extremely complex, but certain basic points may be made with reference to current philosophical and theological discussion.

(a) Account must be taken of the varied ways in which the words "true" and "truth" are actually used in everyday speech, including that of the religious man. When we speak of a "true" report in the press, we usually mean that it corresponds to the facts of the matter, as may be confirmed by eye-witnesses of the event. When a historical statment is described as "true", this generally also means "corresponding to the facts", but in this case contemporary eye-witnesses (as opposed to reports of other past eye-witnesses) can no longer corroborate the event. Indeed in this case the usual way of testing the truth may be with reference to the internal coherence of a variety of historical traditions and reconstructions. However, when someone says that the statement "confession is good for the soul" is true, he usually means that he endorses this value-judgment, or that this maxim rings true in his own experience. The truth of a poem is something different from the truth of a report. In one sense, to speak of factual truth, historical truth, existential or personal truth, poetic truth, and moral truth, is to speak of different things. Yet in another sense, there is a closer relation between these different uses of the word "truth" than mere family resemblances. Many Christians would wish to claim that whilst the Bible contains more than one kind of truth, nevertheless there is a comprehensiveness about the truth of God which embraces all this particular variety. Our discussion, then, must do justice to two sets of considerations. On the one hand, truth is multiform, and criteria for different kinds of truth may vary. On the other hand, the truth of God lays claim to a universality which somehow undergirds and holds together particular expressions and experiences of truth in thought and life.

(b) From Plato and Aristotle to M. Heidegger, J. L. Austin and Peter Strawson, philosophers have debated the validity of the *correspondence theory of truth.* Thomas Aquinas defined truth in terms of the correspondence (or more strictly, adequacy) between the mind and the thing itself (*veritas est adequatio rei et intellectus*) (*Summa Theologiae* 1 Q. 16, 1). This points back to Aristotle's definition that "To say of what is that it is not . . . is false, while to say of what is that it is . . . is true". Plato made a parallel point in the *Sophist*: the statement "Theaetetus is sitting down" is true because Theaetetus is in fact sitting down; whilst the statement "Theaetetus is flying" is clearly false (*Soph.* 263 a, b).

(i) The correspondence theory of truth has received special discussion in modern times from Moore and Russell, and is also bound up with the earlier Wittgenstein's picture theory of meaning. In his earlier work Wittgenstein argued that there are two different ways in which a proposition may be true or false. A statement such as "Either it is raining or it is not raining" is a logical or necessary truth. It is "irrefutable by any possible experience". But the statement "it is raining" depends for its truth on whether it corresponds with the state of affairs which it describes. In the *Tractatus*, Wittgenstein argued that any contingent proposition, however complex (i.e. one that does not merely express logical necessity), depends for its truth on the correspondence between its smallest fact-stating units (elementary propositions) and

states of affairs. In technical terms: "A proposition is an expression of agreement and disagreement with truth-possibilities of elementary propositions" (*Tractatus*, 4.4). In the case of an elementary proposition, the constituent elements of the proposition correspond with the configuration of simple objects in the state of affairs (*der Sachverhalt*) which they portray.

(ii) The unprecedented clarity and rigour with which Wittgenstein stated this theory, however, by its very thoroughness also exposed some of its weaknesses. These were so clearly apparent that Wittgenstein himself came to adopt a radically different approach in his own later writing, although his later work concerns language and meaning rather than (at least, explicitly) a theory of truth. Firstly, can the relationship between truth and *all* language be explained in this way? In his earlier writings Wittgenstein had answered this question by asserting, even more sharply than Kant, a dualism between the truths of factual statements about the physical world and truths of religion and ethics which could not be expressed in language at all. Moral, religious, or poetic truth might be "shown" but it could not be "said". In his later writings, however, Wittgenstein saw that in practice human language functions in many varied ways, and that his earlier approach was arbitrary and doctrinaire. Language does not only *either* portray facts within the world *or* express logical truths. But as soon as we extend our view of language, we have surrendered the picture theory of meaning with which the correspondence theory of truth is bound up. Secondly, Wittgenstein also came to doubt whether all language and meaning operates solely, or even primarily, on the basis of reference. To say that the meaning of a word is the object to which it refers is a view which already requires a prepared framework of linguistic habit or training. Some simple meanings, like "bread" or "table" might seem to be arrived at on this basis; but more complex examples like "the square root of minus one" or even the warning "Look out!" cannot be explained in this way. Thirdly, how do we escape the difficulty that when we try to test the truth of our judgment about a fact with the fact itself, all that we can really do is to compare our first judgment with some second *judgment*, not with "the fact itself" independently of any human judgment? To borrow a simile used by Wittgenstein in another context, it is like buying a second copy of the morning paper in order to test whether what the first copy said was true.

(iii) It may be replied that in practice we always test our first judgment in the light of better or improved evidence, even if this can never be "the fact itself" independently of all human judgment. This then brings us to a weakened version of the correspondence theory of truth, which we find in J. L. Austin. Austin argues that there cannot indeed be an exact one-to-one correspondence between facts and language, but that speech-acts, or units of language, can be more broadly related to the world in a way which takes full account of the part played by convention. "The statements fit the facts always more or less loosely, in different ways on different occasions for different intents and purposes" ("Truth", in G. Pitcher, ed., *Truth*, 1964, 28). But this gives rise to a view of truth which in practice tends towards relativism. Elsewhere he writes that truth stands "only for a general dimension of being a right and proper thing ... in these circumstances, to this audience, for these purposes" (*How to Do Things with Words*, 1962, 44). In the context of British linguistic philosophy, P. F. Strawson has attacked Austin's approach, claiming that "what supremely confuses the issue is the failure to distinguish between the task of

elucidating the nature of a certain type of communication (the empirically informative) from the problem of the actual functioning of the word 'true' within the framework of that type of communication" ("Truth", in G. Pitcher, ed., op. cit., 53; see below, (d) (iv)). Current controversy in British philosophy is still influenced by the terms of the Austin-Strawson debate. In German philosophy the adequacy of the correspondence theory of truth has been emphatically challenged by Martin Heidegger (see below, (e) (ii)), and there are other factors which tend further to undermine it in a variety of philosophical traditions (see below, (f)).

(c) A number of philosophers have advocated alternative theories to that of a correspondence view of truth. Next in importance and influence to the correspondence theory is the *coherence theory of truth.* Leibniz, Spinoza, Hegel, and Bradley, all held versions of this theory. A statement is described as true or false in accordance with the extent to which it coheres, or fails to cohere, with a system of other statements. Just as empirical facts tend to be cited as the primary models for discussion in the context of the correspondence theory, so truths of mathematics perhaps most clearly demonstrate the principle of coherence. A mathematical proposition is true if it coheres with other propositions (ultimately with axioms) of its system. Traditionally many systematic theologians test theological truth in this way. If a proposition contradicts one or more of the accepted axioms of theology, it is said to be false. This criterion is also of special value to theology in that it takes account of the expansion and all-inclusiveness of truth. F. H. Bradley stressed that only the whole system is *wholly* true. In this sense, as J. Macquarrie remarks, "Theological statements are true in the sense that they are on the way to truth; that is to say, they do not freeze the question but open up the possibility of new insights" ("Truth in Theology", *Thinking about God,* 1975, 25).

It may seem that the relevance of this theory of truth to theology is ruled out by the fact that many theological statements, especially the language of the Bible, impinge on history. But we have already seen that statements about past history relate more closely to the coherence theory than to the correspondence theory (see above, (a)). The chief difficulty with the coherence theory is that it is possible to have two or more different systems, within each of which many propositions cohere. Only if the whole of truth, embracing all human history and the whole of reality, can be expressed as a single comprehensive system, can the coherence theory retain its fullest value as a criterion of truth. But *whether* a given system *is* fully comprehensive is very often precisely the point which is at issue. In such a case the theory would operate only if we assumed the truth of the very thing that is in question. This is not to deny that Christians often affirm this about Christian truth *as a statement of faith* (see below, (g)). But this is different from holding that the coherence theory offers a complete and final answer to all questions about truth.

(d) Other philosophical theories of truth have been put forward. (i) The *pragmatic theory of truth* is associated with the names of C. S. Pierce, William James, and John Dewey. It is argued that thought does not merely duplicate reality, or represent experience. A thought or an idea is true not when it provides a good copy of experience; but when it is good, fruitful, workable, or practical, in relation to a particular problem before us. In one sense this accords with the biblical perspective that truth is not merely abstract or theoretical. "By their fruits you shall know them" (Matt. 7:16). However, in another sense this theory is at variance both with Christian

thought and with philosophical reflection. A false belief may help someone to come to terms with life, or may help him to see the way forward in a particular situation; but this does not make it true. False prophets in the OT spoke words of encouragement which led to certain courses of action. But we should not for this reason claim that their utterances were in practice true. The truth of a theology or religion is not determined by calculating its effects, nor the numbers of its adherents at given points in history. Rudolf Carnap and G. E. Moore pointed out that in these terms truth would be a mutable concept, perpetually open to revision as circumstances changed.

(ii) The so-called *redundancy theory of truth* was formulated by F. P. Ramsey, and taken up by A. J. Ayer. Ramsey argued that there is no difference between the truth-value of the assertion "It is raining" and of the assertion "It is true that it is raining". In Ayer's words, "To say that a proposition is true is just to assert it" (*Language, Truth, and Logic*, 1946[2], and 1971, 118). Ayer then argues, "We conclude, then, that there is no problem of truth as it is ordinarily conceived" (op. cit., 119). The abstract noun "truth", he insists, can always be translated in terms of the adjective "true". We are simply misled by accidents of grammar into false assumptions about the "problem" of truth. Probably few philosophers would entirely endorse this view, without wishing to take the issue further. However, some thinkers do accept one of two possible variants, which take Ramsey's approach as a point of departure.

(iii) Alfred Tarski outlined what is often called the *semantic theory of truth.* As against Ramsey, Tarski insists that "true" functions as a genuine adjective, in the sentence "It is true that it is raining". But it does not simply make an assertion, let alone a repeated assertion, within the same language-system as "it is raining". In effect, it states that the sentence "it is raining" is a true sentence in English. It is a statement about a sentence. The standard objection to this theory is that we predicate truth not of sentences in a particular language, but of statements or propositions.

(iv) P. F. Strawson has advocated a *performative theory of truth.* Contrasting Austin's approach, he holds that, in terms of bare assertion, "it is true that. . ." adds nothing to the statement "it is raining". But it is not (as Tarski would hold) an assertion about the status of a sentence in a given language. To add the phrase "it is true that. . ." is to perform *the act of accepting and endorsing* the statement which the phrase qualifies. As against Austin, Strawson writes, "Why should the problem of Truth (the problem about over-use of 'true') be seen as this problem of elucidating the fact-stating type of discourse? . . . The occurrence in ordinary discourse of the words 'true', 'fact', etc. signalizes, without commenting on, the occurrence of a certain way of using language" ("Truth", in G. Pitcher, ed., op. cit., 42). There is a certain irony in Strawson's attacking J. L. Austin (the philosopher who did most to elucidate the nature of performative language) by means of the latter's own weapons. It is Austin himself who argues that "I know" can be used performatively rather than descriptively. Strawson's approach, however, has been attacked in turn by other philosophers, including G. J. Warnock. To say "That is true", Warnock argues, may indeed be to endorse a statement; but it is also *more* than this. It is also to make a statement about a statement. Otherwise it is hard to see any difference between "it is true that" and "I believe that".

(e) Questions about truth have been approached quite differently by philosophers of the existentialist or phenomenological tradition. In the view of Kierkegaard and

Heidegger, truth is not primarily a property which resides in propositions at all. It relates first and foremost to the human subject, who alone can appropriate and live out truth. (i) Kierkegaard writes: "Truth becomes untruth in this or that person's mouth" (*Concluding Unscientific Postscript*, 1941, 181). "It would help very little if one persuaded millions of men to accept the truth, if precisely by the method of their acceptance they were transformed into error" (op. cit., 221). Truth, for Kierkegaard, was not something that can be received neatly served out on a plate. Truth, in any important sense, needs to be sought for and passionately engaged with. In this sense "truth is subjectivity" (op. cit., 169; cf. 169–224). For "everyone who has a result merely as such does not possess it; for he has not *the way*" (*The Concept of Irony*, 1966, 340). Christ, therefore, is himself both the truth and the way (Jn. 16:6 f.; see above, 4). The truth of Christ is seen not so much in some objective body of knowledge, as in the way in which the gospel transforms someone's life when its truth is actively appropriated. This is the perspective that lies behind Bultmann's belief that the truth of the gospel comes to light not as theory but in personal decision.

(ii) Martin Heidegger firmly rejects the correspondence theory of truth (see above (b)). He writes: "Representations [*Vorstellungen*] do not get compared . . . in relation to the real thing. . . . 'Confirmation' signifies the entity's showing itself in its selfsameness" (*Being and Time*, 1962, 261). "Truth does not possess its original seat in the proposition" (*Vom Wesen der Wahrheit*, 1961[4], 12). Truth, for Heidegger, is a matter of the "standing open" of the attitude of the "I" or *Dasein* (*Offenständigkeit des Verhaltens*). Truth, in effect, is almost synonymous with revelation. It is the "letting-be of things that-are [*das Seinlassen von Seiendem*]" (*Vom Wesen der Wahrheit*, 16). Especially in his later writings Heidegger stresses that truth, as unveiling, comes only to the one who waits for it in quiet composure (*Gelassenheit der Milde*).

(iii) Hans-Georg Gadamer attacks a view of truth which is bound up too narrowly with theoretical reason alone. Such a view, he insists, belongs essentially to the outlook of the Enlightenment and its rationalism. Even Aristotle recognized that the *sophia* (wisdom) of the scholar depended on the practical *phronēsis* (wisdom) of the wise man. The Romans stressed the practical significance of the *sensus communis*. As against the narrow rationalism of Descartes, Vico went back to his broader and more practical perspective. Thomas Reid called attention to the rôle of common sense in assessing truth; whilst Shaftesbury stressed the rôle of wit, and Bergson, that of creative intuition. Truth, Gadamer urges, is not merely a property of concepts, but relates more deeply and broadly to all human experience. For example, "The experience of art acknowledges that it cannot present the perfect truth of what it experiences in terms of final knowledge" (*Truth and Method*, 1975, 89). Experience of reality and the truth conveyed in it transcend the conscious states of mind of a given historical moment; just as in a game, the reality of all that makes up the game transcends the conscious thoughts of the player. We discover truth, Gadamer urges, when we are grasped deep down by the "world" of the work of art, or the "world" of the game.

(iv) Largely on the basis of the view of truth and language found in Heidegger and Gadamer, E. Fuchs and G. Ebeling have approached the writings of the NT in a way which sees the truth of the gospel as that which is communicated at a pre-conceptual, pre-cognitive level (→ Explain, art. *hermēneuō*, NT 5(b)). In the parables, for example,

the truth of Jesus' message grasps the hearer not by passing on information in discursive form, but by drawing him into a world of new values which engages with his precognitive attitudes and presuppositions. In America this approach has been explored by R. W. Funk, W. Wink, and J. D. Crossan, although less explicitly with reference to Heidegger.

(f) A number of different factors have combined to produce a measure of scepticism about truth in our own day. Our own age often feels obliged to rest content with a kind of relativism which reveals extreme pessimism about questions of truth. From among a whole variety of causes, three may be selected for special comment.

(i) Philosophers like René Descartes felt able to rest the trustworthiness of human reason and sense perception on the character of God (*Meditations*, IV, V). We can come to know truth, he believed, because God exists and will not deceive us. Each in his different way, Berkeley and Leibniz also believed that truth depends on God. The correspondence and coherence theories of truth (see (b) and (c)) were more convincing in the context of this theological belief. In modern conservative Protestant theology and apologetics, it is the particular achievement of H. Dooyeweerd, Cornelius Van Til, and Francis Schaeffer to urge that theories of truth which may hold water within the framework of a biblical theism take on a radically different shape when they are transferred from their original moorings into a secular climate of thought. When theories of truth are placed in an entirely secular context there is an inevitable tendency towards greater scepticism and relativism.

(ii) This tendency is also aggravated by a pessimism about the unity of truth which stems partly from Kant, and which then receives further impetus from Kierkegaard and Nietzsche. In German thought this is bound up with the problem of "objectifying" thinking. Kant stressed the activity of the human mind in shaping and conceptualizing the phenomena placed before it. The truth of God was therefore to be found outside this realm, in the area of moral or practical reason. A division between rational and moral truth emerged, which in Kierkegaard and Schopenhauer (and later in Bultmann) became a dualism between thought and will. In particular the Neo-Kantianism of the late nineteenth century stressed the subjectivity of human consciousness. Hermann Cohen, for example, argued that "sensation can be nothing else but a question mark"; whilst Helmholtz believed that space itself depends on man's bodily modes of apprehension. Knowledge, Heinrich Hertz maintained, depends not on the direct apprehension of truth, but on the use of models (*Bilder*) and representations (*Darstellungen*). To think, therefore, is to construct and to shape "objects" in accordance with laws of thought. P. Natorp insists, "All objectifying [*objektivieren*] is the creative work of consciousness". It is because he so readily accepts this background of Marburg Neo-Kantianism that Rudolf Bultmann removes the truth of God from the realm of objectifying thinking. For on the basis of this theory of knowledge, to make God an object of thought is somehow to put knowledge of him at man's disposal; to make it human "work". The price to be paid for this approach, however, is a fragmentation of truth, in which the Christian believer can hardly move from beyond a confession of faith to making objective truth-claims. Even historical knowledge, including knowledge about Jesus, is placed in the realm of objectifying thought. Hence, according to Bultmann, strictly history as such cannot communicate religious truth.

Whilst many British and American theologians would hesitate to adopt the same

philosophical and theological perspective, nevertheless the *mood* of uncertainty to which late nineteenth-century Neo-Kantianism gives rise in theology has spread far beyond Germany. A parallel problem has also arisen in the area of psychology, where it is often argued that the power of the human mind is such that men can persuade themselves to believe almost anything. Even in physics, the world of Newton has given way to the less objectivist world of Einstein. The approaches of J. C. Maxwell, Heinrich Hertz, Max Born, and W. Heisenberg, suggest that "the world is not a fixed, solid array of objects, out there.... It cannot be fully separated from our perception of it.... The knowledge that it yields has to be *interpreted* by us. There is no way of exchanging information that does not demand an act of judgment". "There is no absolute knowledge" (J. Bronowski, *The Ascent of Man*, 1976, 353 and 364). At a popular level such an admission invites either of two different responses. Either it can lead to increased scepticism about the possibility of arriving at truth in any area; or else it can lead to the recognition that truth in the realm of religion is in the end hardly more nebulous or "subjective" than truth in the physical sciences. In this connexion T. F. Torrance writes, "We cannot pretend for a moment that objectivity can be abstracted from the subject-object relationship all knowledge involves" (*Theological Science*, 1969, 36). "The kind of demonstration (i.e. of truth) which a scientific theology requires is one in strict accord with the nature of its Object" (i.e. God; op. cit., 139).

(iii) Karl Rahner points out that one consequence of the attitude of relativism and scepticism in our own age is quite simply a lack of reverence for truth as such (*Theological Investigations*, VII, 1971, 230–33). Mass advertising and party-political propaganda, through mass media, exemplify this lack of reverence for truth. A sense of need is artificially stimulated, and false claims are implied by the arbitrary use of inappropriate visual images. The mass media, though perhaps in themselves often neutral, nevertheless increase the opportunities which are at the disposal of politicians and commercial advertisers, whereby this other-than-serious attitude to truth becomes the commonly accepted ethos of the age. Attitudes towards truth reflected in the OT and NT (→ above) stand in sharp contrast to, and indeed invite judgment on, any passive acceptance of such an ethos.

(g) Wolfhart Pannenberg has pointed the way forward to recovering a sense of the unity and comprehensiveness of truth in theology ("What is Truth?", *Basic Questions in Theology*, II, 1971, 1–27). Admittedly he begins by making over-generalizing remarks about the contrast between Gk. and Heb. concepts of truth, against which we have expressed strong warnings (→ CL, OT). Nevertheless he is correct in his claim that the biblical writers do not see the truth of God simply in terms of logical necessity which has no grounding in the contingent events of history. Theological truth, especially in the OT, is not like the truth that the sum of the angles of a triangle amount to 180°. For this remains true independently of whether such a geometrical figure is actually drawn and given existence. The truth of God "is not the result of a logical necessity.... The truth of God must prove itself anew in the future" (op. cit., 8). At the same time, this truth "embraces all other truth". This does not mean, as in Platonism, that it is above time and change. Indeed precisely the opposite is the case. "Truth is not to be found already existing somewhere as a finished product, but is instead thought of as history, as process" (op. cit., 21). Pannenberg does not deny that this understanding of truth has affinities with Hegel's philosophy. Indeed he praises

the value of Hegel's thought for theology. However he looks still more decisively to biblical eschatology as the basis for his view of truth, allowing that the horizon of the future is effectively lost in Hegel's thought.

If we once allow, with Hegel and Bradley, that the whole truth can be found only in the whole, from a biblical perspective this means that the whole truth emerges fully only at the end of history, when history reaches the goal. Pannenberg argues, however, that the significance of Jesus Christ, especially in the context of apocalyptic expectations, is that he constitutes the proleptic revelation of the End. In Jesus we see proleptically what God decrees and destines for the church and for the world. Hence Jesus Christ *is* the truth, in a way which allows for the unity and comprehensiveness of this truth. All reality is seen in this light, because Jesus Christ is the revelation of God, who is the God of all history. Pannenberg concludes, "the unity of truth is constituted only by the proleptic revelation of God in Jesus Christ" (op. cit., 27). In spite of his language about "Gk." and "Heb." concepts of truth, Pannenberg's achievement is to hold together a confident acceptance of the unity of the truth of God against the inroads of relativism and scepticism, whilst also acknowledging the particular (though limited) value of Kierkegaard's emphasis on personal truth. It should be noted that whatever his similarities to Hegel, Pannenberg's approach is a theological one, which rests on the decisive role of revelation. Nevertheless this is emphatically not to follow Bultmann in making almost everything depend on faith and decision. The truth of God is revealed publicly for all to see, in history and in Jesus Christ.

(h) In practical terms, reverence for the truth demands openness towards it, and submission to its leading. From the Protestant side, T. F. Torrance speaks of the readiness to submit all pre-conceptions to the test of truth, which characterized the Reformation. From the Roman Catholic side, K. Rahner speaks of the way in which self-defensiveness and self-assertion give rise to falsehood. Why else should someone wish to lie, except to gain undue advantage for himself, with a view to preserving his own reputation or urging his own views? Only the man who feels insecure, whose sins have not been forgiven, and who therefore fears to take the blame, needs to lie. The liberated man will have the courage to bear witness to the truth. He will follow truth, wherever it leads, having no vested interests in arriving at some pre-determined destination. In theology, this attitude need not and should not be the prerogative of classical liberalism alone, as is sometimes claimed. It is larger than any one theological tradition. As T. F. Torrance rightly argues, the method of following wherever the truth may lead is the only appropriate and genuinely "scientific" method when what is at issue is the truth of God himself. Reverence for truth is not simply the pseudo-cynicism of our own age which tries to "unmask" everything, in the belief that no one and nothing can genuinely lay claim to truth. It is the attitude which combines joyful confidence that truth can indeed be found, with a humble submission to truth whenever and wherever it emerges. Such openness to truth is required of those who worship the God of truth; whilst a due reverence for truth ensures honesty in a man's dealings with his neighbour, both in word and deed. This is the attitude, we have seen, to which both the OT and the NT bear witness.

A. C. Thiselton

(a). S. Aalen, "Truth, a Key Word in St. John's Gospel", *Studia Evangelica*, II, 1964, 3–24; J. L.

Austin, "Truth", in *Philosophical Papers*, 1961, 85–101 (also in G. Pitcher, below)*; A. J. Ayer, *Language, Truth and Logic*, 1946 and 1971, 116–35*; J. Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language*, 1961, 187–205; R. E. Brown, *alētheia, The Gospel according to John*, I, *Anchor Bible*, 499–501; E. Brunner, *Truth as Encounter*, 1964; R. Bultmann and G. Quell, *alētheia* in *TDNT* I, 1964, 232–51; C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, 1953, 170–79; J. J. L. Feisser, "Kant without End? The Critique of Kant in the Work of Dooyeweerd", in *Philosophy and Christianity: Essays for H. Dooyeweerd*, 1965, 212–19*; H.-G. Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 1975*; A. T. Hanson, *Grace and Truth. A Study in the Doctrine of the Incarnation*, 1975; M. Heidegger, *Being and Time*, 1962, 256–73*; E. Hoskyns and N. Davey, *The Riddle of the New Testament*, 1947[3], 26–31; W. A. Irwin, "Truth in Ancient Israel", *JR* 9, 1929, 357–88; I. Jepsen, *'āman, TDOT* I, 1974, 292–323; L. J. Kuyper, "Grace and Truth", *Reformed Review* 16, 1962, 1–16, and "Grace and Truth. An OT Description of God and its Use in the Johannine Gospel", *Interpretation* 18, 1964, 3–19; J. Macquarrie, "Truth in Theology" and "Mystery and Truth", in *Thinking about God*, 1975, 15–43; L. Morris, *The Gospel according to John*, 1971, 293–6; J. Murphy-O'Connor "Truth: Paul and Qumran", in *Paul and Qumran*, 1968, 179–230; W. Pannenberg, "What is Truth?", in *Basic Questions in Theology*, II, 1971, 1–27; G. Pitcher, ed., *Truth*, 1964 (essays by Austin, Strawson and Warnock)*; K. Rahner, "On Truthfulness", *Theological Investigations* VII, 1971, 229–59; E. T. Ramsdell, "The O.T. Understanding of Truth", *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, 31, 1951, 264–73; B. Russell, *An Inquiry into Meaning and Truth*, 1940, 226–326*; V. H. Stanton, "Truth", in *HDB* IV, 816–20; R. H. Strachan, *The Fourth Gospel*, 1941, 141–5; D. J. Theron, "Alētheia in the Pauline Corpus", *EQ* 26, 1954, 3–18; A. C. Thiselton, "Kierkegaard and the Nature of Truth", *The Churchman* 89, 1975, 85–107; T. F. Torrance, *Theological Science*, 1969, 141–202; and *God and Rationality*, 1971; J. Wheatley, "Austin on Truth", in K. T. Fann, ed., *Symposium on J. L. Austin*, 1969, 226–42*; A. R. White, *Truth*, 1970*; L. Wittgenstein, *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, (1922) 1961*; and *On Certainty*, 1969*.

(b). J. Blank, "Der johanneische Wahrheits-Begriff", *BZ* 7, 1963, 164–73; R. Bultmann, "Untersuchungen zum Johannesevangelium: A *Alētheia*. I Der Begriff der Wahrheit im Alten Testament und unter alttestamentlichem Einfluss", *ZNW* 27, 1928, 113–34, "II *Alētheia* in der griechischen und hellenistischen Literatur", ibid., 134–63; E. Fuchs, "Wahrheit", *RGG*[3] VI, 1962, 1515 ff.; M. Heidegger, *Vom Wesen der Wahrheit*, 1954 (also in *Wegmarken*, 1967)*; K. Jaspers, *Von der Wahrheit*, 1947*; W. Kamlah, *Wissenschaft, Wahrheit, Existenz*, 1960*; D. Michel, "Ämät. Untersuchung über Wahrheit in Heb.", *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte* 12, 1968, 30–57; I. de la Potterie, "L'Arrière-Fond du thème Johannique de Vérité", *Studia Evangelica* I, 1959, 277–94; and "Je suis la Voie, la Vérité et la Vie (Jn. 14:6)", *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 88, 1966, 907–42; H. von Soden, *Was ist Wahrheit?*, 1927.

* philosophical works

Turn Away

ἀποτρέπω

ἀποτρέπω (*apotrepō*), mid. turn away from, avoid; *ἐκτρέπω* (*ektrepō*), pass. turn away (from), avoid.

CL Both verbs are more commonly used in secular Gk. than in biblical Gk. Whereas *apotrepō* is commonly used metaphorically (in the active voice) of dissuading, deterring or diverting a person from a particular course of action and (in the middle and passive voices) of avoiding danger or rejecting truth, *ektrepō* often denotes a literal turning aside, as of a tributary from a river or a person from a road.

OT *apotrepō* is not used in the LXX version of the Heb. canonical scriptures. Elsewhere in the LXX it is used in reference to such matters as the averting of reproofs (Sir. 20:29) and the relinquishing of pleasures (4 Macc. 1:33) or the diverting of people from their designs (3 Macc. 1:23). The single LXX use of *ektrepō* is in Amos 5:8 (God turns darkness into morning).

NT (a) In Heb. 12:13 the author encourages the disheartened to make straight paths for their feet "in order that what is lame may not be dislocated (*ektrapē*) but rather be healed" (cf. Arndt, 245). Minor injuries ("those who are lame") were to be bound up ("healed"), so that major injuries (such as dislocation) would be avoided. The reference to healing shows that *ektrepō* bears its technical medical sense of "dislocate" (as in Hippocrates) rather than its general sense of "turn away".

(b) In 2 Tim. 3:5b Paul enjoins Timothy (and indirectly the church at Ephesus) to "keep clear of" (*apotrepou*) any persons who are characterized by the vices he lists in vv. 2–4, for they "preserve the outward form of religion, but are a standing denial of its reality" (NEB, v. 5a). Such people were to be denied church membership as much as the controversialists mentioned in 2 Tim. 2:23–26. *apotrepomai* in 2 Tim. 3:5 is virtually synonymous with *ektrepomai* in 1 Tim. 6:20, both being followed by an accusative. In the latter passage, Timothy is told to shun (*ektrepomenos*) "irreligious and frivolous talk" (Weymouth) and the subtle and endless distinctions that belong to what is falsely called "knowledge". Timothy was to turn a deaf ear to this pseudo-science and to these unholy discussions that relied on futile jargon, because those who had given their attention to such matters had "shot far wide of the faith" (NEB, v. 21).

In the remaining three uses of *ektrepomai* in the Pastoral Epistles, the idea of doctrinal or ethical deviation is uppermost. As a result of neglecting the Christian triad of love that springs from a pure heart, a good conscience and sincere faith, the false teachers had "gone astray [*exetrapēsan*] into a wilderness of words" (NEB, 1 Tim. 1:6). Paul warns Timothy that the time would come when people would follow their own fancies and find themselves a crowd of teachers to satisfy their craving for novelty. They would shut their ears to the truth and turn aside (*ektrapēsontai*) or wander into a counterfeit world of mythology (2 Tim. 4:4). Already some widows had become idle scandal-mongers (1 Tim. 5:13) and gone astray (*exetrapēsan*) to become Satan's servants (1 Tim. 5:15), probably an allusion to their immorality.

M. J. Harris

M. Dibelius and H. Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles*, *Hermeneia*, 1972; C. Spicq, *Saint Paul. Les Épîtres Pastorales*, I–II 1969[4].

Type, Pattern

τύπος

τύπος (*typos*), form, likeness, model, type; *τυπικῶς* (*typikōs*), as an example, typologically; *ἀντίτυπος* (*antitypos*), corresponding to; *ἀντίτυπον* (*antitypon*), copy, image, antitype; *ὑποτύπωσις* (*hypotypōsis*), pattern, model, example, prototype, standard.

CL The etymological derivation of *typos* is disputed. It may be derived from *typtō*, strike, beat, which is found in the NT, particularly in Lk. and Acts (Matt. 24:49; 27:30; Mk. 15:19; Lk. 6:29; 12:45; 18:13; 23:48; Acts 18:17; 21:32; 23:2 f.; 1 Cor. 8:12). Whereas this meaning can frequently be demonstrated for *antitypos*, in the active as well as in the passive use of the adj. (i.e. in the sense of repelling and repulsed), it would hold for *typos* in at most one ref. (Hdt., 1, 67, 4). Otherwise this word, with

its denominatives *typoō*, *typōsis*, *typōma*, etc., is found in the original meaning of form, and in particular, a (hollow) mould.

1. In this sense, *typos* refers first of all to a concrete object such as the shape of a loaf, a relief, a coin, etc., and then (still concrete) the impression of a form, i.e. what an object leaves behind when pressed against another, such as a trace, a scar, the impress of a seal, a letter of the alphabet, etc., and still more generally, a likeness (→ Image, art. *eikōn*).

2. The word is found to a great extent in the abstracted sense of general form or type, such as the form of a style or a doctrine. There then follows the wider abstraction of the word in both directions; signifying the mould, the form which stamps and the impress, the form which is stamped. *typos* thus denotes: (a) an original, a pattern, and in two senses: the technical sense of prototype, model, and the ethical sense of example (so also *hypotypōsis*); and (b) copy (so also *antitypon*). (For further details of secular usage see L. Goppelt, *typos* etc., *TDNT* VIII 246 ff.)

OT 1. In the LXX *typos* occurs in only 4 places. It renders the Heb. words, *taḇnîṯ* (Exod. 25:40), original, model, and *ṣelem* (Amos 5:26), image, idol. Both Heb. words are elsewhere translated by other words, *taḇnîṯ* above all by *paradeigma*, example, pattern, and *homoiōma*, likeness, copy (→ Like art. *homoios*), *ṣelem* usually by *eikōn*, picture. In 3 Macc. 3:30 *typos* denotes the form, the style of writing, and in 4 Macc. 6:11 the (religio-ethical) example.

2. The wŏrd is a favourite term of Philo who uses it entirely in accord with general Gk. usage. Platonic influence primarily determines the following twofold usage: *typos* can specifically denote both the original, the picture–model, pattern as well as the imitation or copy. It is not a special concept for model or copy (for which Philo has a sufficient number of other terms), but is rather capable of denoting both at the same time. It is the general form which characterizes both originals (patterns) and copies or likenesses. Philo claims that God conceived of the *archetypos*, archetype, of the tabernacle which he gave as a *typos* or *paradeigma*, model, to the spirit of Moses (cf. *Leg. All.* 3, 102; *Vit. Mos.* 2, 74 ff., 141; *Som.* 1, 206; *Op. Mund.* 16, 19, 29, 36, 129; Exod. 25:40; cf. *TDNT* VIII 258).

3. *typos* was also used amongst the rabbis as a loan-word (*dᵉp̄ûs* and *ṭûp̄ôs* and several variable vocalizations) with the meaning, as in Gk., of form, model, and then the more general meaning, which (as in Lat. since Cicero) is current in numerous languages today. It may be compared with the introduction of *sēmeion*, sign, as the loan-word *sēmān*, which can express a correspondence of historical situations, a "typological" relationship, and thus approximate more closely to a distinctive NT usage of *typos*.

NT In the NT *typos* is found 14 times, but without allowing any particular emphasis to be discerned in individual writings. The word is missing entirely from the Synoptics, the Catholic Epistles (except 1 Pet.) and Rev., and also several letters in the Pauline Corpus.

1. The concrete meaning, the impression of a form, is found in Jn. 20:25a for the mark of the nails in the hands of the risen Christ.

2. In Acts 23:25 *typos* has the abstract sense of the gist, the content of a letter, in Rom. 6:17 the content, the expression of the doctrine. In the latter reference,

however, the original meaning of the form which stamps can still be strongly felt. As previously sin, so now the new teaching, i.e. the message of Christ, is the factor which stamps and determines the life of the Christian.

3. This basic meaning of the form which stamps is the one that is most commonly found.

(a) The double meaning of *typos* as the form of both pattern and copy is found in two references in Acts. Acts 7:43, with the LXX quotation from Amos 5:26, takes over the meaning of the images of idols. Acts 7:44 and Heb. 8:5 quote Exod. 25:40 and denote by *typos* the heavenly original, on the basis of which Moses had to erect the holy tent. Whereas the reference in Acts focuses on the divine commissioning of Moses' work and the divine institution of the earthly sanctuary, the OT quotation in Heb. is to be seen in the context of a more comprehensive concern with the interpretation of OT assertions about the saving work of Christ. A certain closeness to the Platonically influenced speculation concerning original and copy must not mislead us: even this passage has its place in the eschatological-temporal theology of history of Heb. The relationship of the original heavenly pattern (*typos*, Heb. 8:5, and *eikōn*, Heb. 10:1) to the earthly copy (*antitypon*, Heb. 9:24, or *hypodeigma* and *skia*, shadow, Heb. 8:5) is inserted into the scheme of the past and future blessings of salvation. Through Christ the heavenly patterns enter history and show the copies and shadows to be perishable (cf. ch. 10; see also O. Michel, *Der Brief an die Hebräer*, *KEK* 13, 1966[12], 286).

(b) Alongside *typos* and *hypotypōsis*, in the sense of example, stand other words such as *hypodeigma* or *hypogrammos* (→ Image). These latter represent Christ's ministry of self-sacrifice (Jn. 13:15) and his suffering (1 Pet. 2:21) not simply as an ethical example, but as the saving work which the community may appropriate and so follow Christ (cf. 1 Pet. 2:21b). *hypodeigma* is also found only (apart from in Jas. 5:10 as the example of the suffering of the prophets) in the sense of a terrifying object-lesson (Heb. 4:11; 2 Pet. 2:6). *typos*, meaning example, is used solely with reference to Paul (Phil. 3:17; 2 Thess. 3:9), the officials of the congregation (1 Tim. 4:12; Tit. 2:7; 1 Pet. 5:3) or the congregation itself (1 Thess. 1:7). These passages are not simply admonitions to a morally exemplary life; they call for obedience to the message (2 Thess. 3:6). It stamps those who proclaim it, and gives them authority. The shaping power of a life lived under the Word has in turn an effect on the community (1 Thess. 1:6), causing it to become a formative example.

4. Besides this common Gk. linguistic usage, *typos* also appears in the NT for the first time to denote historical events. It becomes a hermeneutical concept in the interpretation of OT tradition, in particular, of specific historical experiences of Israel, with the present eschatological event of salvation.

(a) In 1 Cor. 1:6, 11, Paul uses *typos* to interpret the events in the Corinthian church in the light of Israel's experiences in the wilderness. The punishment of God's ancient people which followed their disgraceful practices is seen as a prefiguration of judgment on those who abuse the Lord's Supper. It carries a specific warning to the "strong" at Corinth not to abuse the sacrament. The typological method developed by Paul thus consists in expounding the analogous relationship of concrete historical OT events, in the sense of the past prefiguring present or future eschatological happenings. This introduces a vital theological concern of Paul. God's activity in history is expounded, in order to show how God is bound to his promises. It is God himself

who creates this "typical" relationship, in so far as his Word of revelation (the Scriptures) fulfils it (cf. Rom. 4:23 f.; 1 Cor. 10:11). In this prefiguration of eschatological saving events in OT history, witness is born to the participation of the community in the saving work of Christ. As against some supposed metaphysical misinterpretation, salvation history is interpreted as the self-fulfilling activity of God in concrete human history. (On the question of allegory or typology in Paul → Parable, art. *parabolē*, NT 9.)

(b) The argument in Rom. 4 and Gal. 3 is also typological in this sense, though without the actual occurrence of the word *typos*. The same typological argumentation is present in 1 Pet. 3:21. Noah's deliverance through the waters of the flood is seen as a prefiguration and type of the saving event of → baptism, which thus becomes the *antitypon*, the antitype (in the sense of being an image).

(c) In Rom. 5:14, the *typos*-concept produces a tension which basically breaks through the typological method. The figures of → Adam and Christ are compared and contrasted in their significance and effectiveness for "all". Adam is designated a "*typos* of the one who was to come". This has given rise to an Adam-Christ typology. But since, on the one hand, Adam cannot really count as a faithful prefiguration of Christ, and on the other there is no other known occurrence of *typos* meaning a contrasting picture, Paul is here quite possibly employing the concept with the precise polemical intention of rejecting a traditional Adam-messiah typology. It is a matter of the radical abrogation of the old by the new; the new only becomes actual, when the old is overcome. Paul thus shows that this paradoxical relationship of the radical opposition and profound association of old and new is the reality in which the community is already living in the present.

Typology in Paul has obviously not yet hardened into a methodology simply requiring appropriate technical application to any situation. Its degeneration in subsequent years has cast suspicion on its credibility. On the other hand, attempts are being made in present-day (especially OT) scholarship to make the original relevance of typology fruitful again for the interpretation of the OT and so also for practical preaching. *H. Müller*

→ Explain (especially for discussion and literature on hermeneutics), → Image, → Parable, → Truth, → Word

(a). P. Achtemeier, *An Introduction to the New Hermeneutic*, 1969; F. W. Beare, "On the Interpretation of Romans vi. 17", *NTS* 5, 1958–59, 206–10; W. P. de Boer, *The Imitation of Paul: An Exegetical Study*, 1962, 17–24, 96–216; F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, *NLC*, 1964; and *This is That: The New Testament Development of Some Old Testament Themes*, 1968; F. Büchsel, *allēgoreō*, *TDNT* I 260–63; J. Daniélou, *From Shadows to Reality: Studies in the Biblical Typology of the Fathers*, 1960; C. H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures*, 1952; E. E. Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament*, 1957; L. Goppelt, *typos* etc., *TDNT* VIII 246–59; P. Fairbairn, *The Typology of Scripture*, 1854 [3]; A. T. Hanson, *Jesus Christ in the Old Testament*, 1965; and *Studies in Paul's Technique and Theology*, 1974; R. P. C. Hanson, *Allegory and Event: A Study of the Sources and Significance of Origen's Interpretation of Scripture*, 1959; G. W. H. Lampe and K. Woolcombe, *Essays in Typology*, *SBT* 22, 1957; E. K. Lees, "Words Denoting 'Pattern' in the New Testament", *NTS* 8, 1961–62, 166–73; R. N. Longenecker, *Biblical Exegesis in the Apostolic Period*, 1975; I. H. Marshall, ed., *New Testament Interpretation*, 1977; N. H. Ridderbos, "Typology", *Vox Theologica* 31, 1961, 149 ff.; H. J. Schoeps, *Paul: The Theology of the Apostle in the Light of Jewish Religion and History*, 1961; R. V. G. Tasker, *The Old Testament in the New Testament*, 1954 [2]; H. E. W. Turner, *The Pattern of Christian Truth*, 1954; C. Westermann, *Essays on Old Testament Hermeneutics*, 1963; and *The Old Testament and Jesus Christ*, 1970.

(b). S. Amsler, "La Typologie de l'Ancien Testament chez S. Paul", *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie* 37, 1949, 113–28; and *L'Ancien Testament dans l'Église. Essai d'Herméneutique Chrétienne*, 1960; A. von Blumenthal, "*typos* und *paradeigma*", *Hermes* 63, 1928, 391–414; R. Bultmann, "Ursprung und Sinn der Typologie als hermeneutische Methode", *TLZ* 75, 1950, 205–21 (reprinted in *Exegetica*, 1967, 369 ff.); U. Früchtel, *Die kosmologischen Vorstellungen bei Philo von Alexandrien*, (Dissertation, Hamburg) 1962; E. Fuchs, *Hermeneutik*, 1970 [4]; *Marburger Hermeneutik, Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Theologie* 9, 1968; *Zum hermeneutischen Problem in der Theologie*, 1959; K. Galley, *Altes und neues Heilsgeschehen bei Paulus*, 1965; L. Goppelt, "Apokalyptik und Typologie bei Paulus", *TLZ* 89, 1964, 321–44; and *Typos. Die typologische Bedeutung des Alten Testaments im Neuen, Beiträge zur Förderung der Theologie*, II, 43, 1966; J. Kürzinger, "*Typos Didachēs* und der Sinn von Röm. 6:17 f.", *Biblica* 39, 1958, 156–76; W. G. Kümmel, "Schriftauslegung", *RGG*[3] V 1517–20; C. Larcher, *L'Actualité Chrétienne de l'Ancien Testament d'après le Nouveau Testament*, 1962, 489–513; E. Larsson, *Christus als Vorbild, Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis* 23, 1962; O. Michel, *Der Brief an die Hebräer, KEK* 13, 1966 [12]; K. Müller, *Die Auslegung alttestamentlichen Geschichtsstoffes bei Paulus*, (Dissertation, Halle) 1960; A. Schulz, *Nachfolgen und Nachahmen. Studien über das Verhältnis der neutestamentlichen Jüngerschaft zur urchristlichen Vorbildethik, Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament* 6, 1962, 308–31; C. Spicq, *L'Épître aux Hébreux*, I–II, 1953 [2]; E. Starfelt, *Stud. i rabbinsk och nytestamentlig skriftolkning, Studia Theologica Lundensia* 17, 1959, 241–53, 284 f.; A. Takamori, *Typologische Auslegung des Alten Testaments? Eine wortgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, (Dissertation, Zürich) 1966; H. Ulonska, *Die Funktion der alttestamentlichen Zitate und Anspielungen in den paulinischen Briefen*, (Dissertation, Münster) 1963.

U

Unanimity

ὁμοθυμαδόν

ὁμοθυμαδόν (*homothymadon*), unanimous, of one mind.

CL *homothymadon* is compounded of *homo-*, together and *thymos* (derived from *thyō*, rage, seethe), the principle of life, feeling and thought. *homothymadon* thus means unanimous, but is later weakened to mean together. It is first found in the 5th and 4th cent. B.C. (Aristophanes, Plato, Demosthenes) and in the political sphere is used especially for the visible, inner unity of a group faced by a common duty or danger. The unanimity is not based on common personal feelings but on a cause greater than the individual.

OT The LXX uses it 36 times in all, generally as a rendering for *yaḥaḏ* (e.g. Job 3:18; 6:2) and *yaḥdāw* (Exod. 19:8; Job 2:11; Jer. 5:5; 46:21; Lam. 2:8), which mean together, all together, i.e. *homothymadon* is used in the weakened Hellenistic sense. At the same time the rendering of these Heb. words by *hama*, at the same time (Isa. 1:28; 42:14), and *epi to auto*, together (Ps. 41:7 [MT 41:8]; Amos 1:15) may indicate that the translators intended there to be overtones of the original meaning of *homothymadon*.

In Hellenistic Jewish literature *homothymadon* occurs in its original meaning in contexts of praise and lament (e.g. Jud. 4:12; Wis. 10:20; 3 Macc. 4:6; in a secular sense Jud. 15:9; Aris. 178), and also in the general sense of together (e.g. Jud. 15:2, 5 which, however, RSV renders with the force of unanimity; Wis. 18:5; 3 Macc. 4:4).

NT Apart from Rom. 15:6, *homothymadon* is used only in Acts (10 times). In Acts 12:20 it obviously means no more than that Tyre and Sidon joined in sending envoys to King Herod Agrippa I. In the other cases a unanimity is indicated: the eleven with the women and Mary in prayer (Acts 1:14), the growing church in the temple, breaking bread, etc. (Acts 2:46 f.; 5:12), the prayer after the release of Peter and John (Acts 4:24); the decision to send Judas and Silas with the decisions of the Jerusalem meeting (Acts 15:25). Equally there is unanimity even in the qualified hearing of Philip's message (Acts 8:6; *prosechō*, give heed to, follow), and the hatred of the Jews (Acts 7:57; 18:12 f.) and Hellenists (Acts 9:29), when faced with the message of the crucified and exalted Jesus.

There is thus a double kind of unanimity shown us in Acts, of the church and of its enemies. The cause is the same, viz. the preaching of Christ as Saviour and Lord. The reaction can be either faith and worship or hatred and rejection. His enemies found themselves united for the first time when they rejected the claims of Christ. Similarly the unanimity of the church was not based on the sharing of the same

human or religious feelings and convictions, but on the reality of Christ which had brought together both Jews and Gentiles (Acts 15:11). The unanimity of their enemies stemmed from seeing their religious (Acts 7:56 f.; 18:13) and commercial traditions challenged and their wish to maintain them at all costs.

When the local church lives and works *homothymadon*, it is living and working in harmony with its origin. That is why it is repeatedly stressed by Luke. If he plays down almost all the elements that militated against such unanimity in his picture of the primitive church (Acts 6:1 ff.; 15:37 ff.; cf. 8:1), it was hardly because he wanted to idealize it. It had its tensions and controversies (cf. 1 and 2 Cor., Gal., Epp. of Jn.). Rather, he wanted to show the essential unanimity of the church, an expression of its nature and therefore a pattern for later generations. Its realization is continually offered and promised to it, so that it may carry out its work of witness (Acts 1:8) in a world that rejects the salvation offered to it. The same goal, the unanimous praise of God *en heni stomati*, with one voice, is also envisaged by Paul in Rom. 15:5 ff., when he prays to God for the unanimity in service that comes from Christ Jesus and that surmounts all differences in understanding and knowledge. *E. D. Schmitz*

→ One

H. W. Heidland, *homothymadon*, *TDNT* V 185 f.

V

Vessel, Pot, Potter, Mix

κεράμιον

κεράμιον (*keramion*), an earthenware vessel, jar; κέραμος (*keramos*), clay, earthenware vessel, a roof tile; κεραμεύς (*kerameus*), potter; κεραμικός (*keramikos*), belonging to the potter, made of clay; κεράννυμι (*kerannymi*), mix; σκεῦος (*skeuos*), thing, object, vessel.

CL In antiquity a complex of words clustered around the basic term *kerameia*, which designates the potter's craft. From Homer onward *keramion* denotes vessels of clay, and especially earthenware jars for storing wine or water. The potter was a familiar figure in every village, and in the larger cities potters were organized as a trade guild. The potters' quarter in Athens was called the *kerameikos* (Menecles Barcaeus 3; Scholia to Aristophanes, *Birds* 395; *Knights* 769; *Frogs* 131). The absence of skill, evident in the crude work of an apprentice only learning his trade, gave rise to the proverbial statement, "he learned the potter's craft on a large wine jar!" which describes those who undertook the most difficult tasks without learning the elements of a trade (Plato, *Protagoras* 324 e; *Laches* 187 b; *Gorgias* 514 e). The fragility of earthenware and the ease with which a potter's stock could be depleted through breakage gave rise to a number of proverbs which suggest that the potter was sometimes the butt of jokes: e.g., "to make a pot of the potter" (Plato, *Euthydemus* 301 d); "and potter bears a grudge against potter!" (Hesiod, *Works and Days* 25; cf. Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 1381 b 16). "A rich potter" became a euphemism for anything fragile or uncertain (Diogenianus 5, 97, 98), and "broken pottery" was a common phrase for ostracism (Strabo 7, 3, 9; *Comica Adespota* 33).

Although *keramos* describes a clay vessel, and in a collective sense pottery from the time of Homer (*Iliad* 9, 469; cf. Herodotus 3:96), it also came to designate in the plural tile-work. It is used in this sense in accounts associated with the building of a temple at Delos in the 3rd cent. B.C. (C. Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions Grecques*, 1900, 594 [52], 1387 [123]). In the Hellenistic period the idea was prevalent, according to Plutarch, that a person marked for death could not return to his house in the ordinary way. Thus people who were reported missing were not allowed on their return to enter their house through the door, but had to climb to the roof, remove the tiles, and lower themselves through the opening (*Quaestiones Rom.* 5). On the other hand, it was also believed that demons, disease, and death characteristically entered a house through the roof (Gellius, 10, 15, 8).

The verb *kerannymi*, which means to mix or blend, may originally have had something to do with the necessity of mixing water with soil in order to prepare the potter's clay. But in our existing sources it is used primarily of diluting wine with water (*Odyssey* 3, 393; 5, 93; 18, 423; 20, 253; 24, 364; *Iliad* 4, 260). A medical

prescription from the first century A.D. preserved among the Oxyrhynchus Papyri (VIII, 1088 [55] : "give to drink with raisin-wine and honey and pine-cones mixed") indicates a persistent tendency to dissociate the verb from the potter's craft.

OT In the LXX the Greek term *keramion* designates an earthenware pot or jar, perhaps of a fixed measure. In Isa. 5:10 God warns unresponsive Israel that ten acres of vineyard will yield only one measure (Heb. *baṯ*) of wine. The possession of jars filled with wine was a token of prosperity and blessing. Conversely, the judgment upon Moab may be pronounced in terms of emptying his vessels and smashing his wine-jars (Jer. 48:12).

The noun *kerameus* was consistently used to translate Heb. *yôṣēr*, potter, as in 1 Chr. 4:23 which speaks of the potters among the men of Judah who laboured for the king. Normally the reference to the potter is literal in the OT, although the potter's craft suggested a metaphor for God in his relationship to Israel and the nations (Ps. 2:9; Isa. 29:16; 41:25; 45:9; Jer. 18:2, 3, 6, on which → *pēlos*, clay). Typical of these passages is the oracle of lament in Isa. 45:9, which pronounces woe upon those who disbelieve in the deliverance God has promised. As inconceivable as it would be for a lump of clay to inquire of the potter what he was doing in the moulding process, or an unfired jar to complain that handles had not been added to the completed piece, so is the folly of anyone who would seek to show through argument that God is unable to accomplish what he has promised.

Keen observation of the potter is characteristic of the later scribe Joshua ben Sira (*c.* 200 B.C.). In a moving passage, Ben Sira contrasts the wisdom of the scribe with the skill evidenced by the farmer, the gem-cutter, the smith, and the potter – all men who keep the fabric of the world stable (Sir. 38:24–34). He observed not only the potter at work at his wheel, but the importance of glazing and the cleaning of the kiln (Sir. 38:29–30). It was inevitable that the concentration of the potter upon his work should suggest an apt figure for God in the pursuance of his purposes among men (Sir. 33:13). Similarly, the effect of the kiln upon the finished vessel furnished a simile for the manner in which human reasoning tests individual character (Sir. 27:5).

In common with classical usage, the verb *kerannymi* has reference to the diluting of wine with water (Prov. 9:2, 5; Isa. 5:22; 19:14; Bel and the Dragon 11) and has no association with the potter's trade.

NT The sole instance of *keramion* in the NT occurs in connexion with the arrangements for the paschal meal (Mk. 14:13 par. Lk. 22:10). The instructions given to the two disciples charged with the preparation of the Passover meal were to follow a man they would meet in the city, who would lead them to the house, where the feast was to be celebrated. They would recognize the man by the fact that he was carrying an earthenware water-jar. Jesus' knowledge of this circumstance and his precise instructions concerning what was to be said to the householder provides evidence of arrangements finalized in advance. The device of a man carrying a water-jar suggests a pre-arranged signal, for ordinarily only women carried water in jars; it would be normal to find a man carrying a wine-skin. A sufficient reason for resorting to a means of recognition which required no exchange of words in the street is provided by the determined search for Jesus and the issuing of a warrant for his arrest implied in Jn. 11:15.

The only instances of *keramos* in the NT occurs in Lk. 5:19, in the sense of roof-tiles. When four men were unable to break through a crowd with their paralyzed friend, they ascended a staircase on the side of the house to the flat roof which they broke open in order to lower the man before Jesus. It was not difficult to make an opening in the roof, which was made from light material coated with clay (cf. Mk. 2:4). The opening of a roof is mentioned elsewhere in contemporary literature, e.g., Midrash Rabba to Leviticus, 29, 6 end (in a story about Jeconiah's wife): "they opened the roof and let him down to him." In the Roman setting, Cicero speaks of letting a man down through the tiles (*In M. Antonium oratio Philippica* 2, 18, 45).

Of the three NT instances of *kerameus*, two occur in the stylized phrase "the potter's field" (Matt. 27:7, 10). The reference is to a field which the chief priests purchased with the thirty pieces of silver Judas returned after the betrayal of Jesus, as burial ground for strangers who died in Jerusalem (Matt. 27:3–10; Acts 1:18; → Akeldama). The field contained a pit where potsherds were discarded. A site has been located south of the Valley of Hinnom, where in Jeremiah's day a potter pursued his trade (cf. Jer. 18:2; 19:2).

The third instance occurs in the parable of the potter in Rom. 9:19 ff., where God's sovereign disposition over his own creation is affirmed on the analogy of the potter's determination to make from the same lump of clay one vessel (*skeuos*) of striking beauty and another destined for menial use (Rom. 9:21). The interpretation of the passage must take account of the context. In responding to the charge that God is unjust in the administration of his judgment, Paul appeals to Exod. 33:19, where God affirms, "I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy." From this, Paul deduces that everything depends upon God's mercy, which he extends or withholds according to his sovereign will (Rom. 9:15–18). Verse 19 then takes account of the defiant question, how can God hold the individual accountable for his transgression, if he himself assigns to each person his rôle? In his reply to this objection, Paul makes use of the parable of the potter, which earlier had informed the preaching of Isaiah (Isa. 29:16; 45:9). As the clay cannot protest against the action of the potter, neither can the creature protest against the action of his Creator (verse 20). Verse 21 recalls Jer. 18:6 (cf. Wis. 15:7), where God's right to make vessels designed for different purposes from the same lump of clay is affirmed. God as Creator has an indisputable right to use the vessels which he makes for an honourable or less honourable purpose. The verses which follow (vv. 22 ff.) contemplate the two categories of earthenware vessels in terms of the sovereign disposition of the divine will. Implied in the discussion is a call for Israel to become open to God's grace expressed in Christ and to the experience of God's mercy. What is only implied in Rom. 9:19–33 is made explicit in 2 Clement where the parable of the potter is retold in order to underscore a new point: the potter can refashion vessels he has made only so long as he has not fired them (2 Clem. 8:2). On this basis men are summoned to repentance before they forfeit the opportunity to be responsive to God.

The noun *skeuos*, thing, object, vessel, jar, dish, occurs elsewhere in Paul and in other NT writings. In 2 Cor. 4:7 Paul speaks of having the treasure of the knowledge of the glory of God "in earthen vessels" (→ *ostrakinos* NT). The believer who purifies himself from what is ignoble "will be a vessel for noble use, consecrated and useful to the master of the house, ready for any good work" (2 Tim. 2:21; → *ostrakinos* NT). This reflects the language of Acts 9:15, where Ananias is told that Saul of Tarsus is

"a chosen instrument of mine to carry my name before the Gentiles and kings and the sons of Israel." *skeuos* means generally a thing or object used for any purpose (Mk. 11:16), goods or property (Matt. 12:29; Mk. 3:27; Lk. 17:31). The addition of a qualifying phrase may define its nature more precisely, e.g. *panta ta skeuē tēs leitourgias*, "all the vessels used in worship" (Heb. 9:21; cf. also Rev. 18:12). In Acts 27:17 it appears to be the kedge or driving anchor (Arndt, 761), though it may be gear or sails (cf. also Acts 10:11, 16; 11:5). The sense of vessel, jar, dish, etc., which is well attested in cl. Gk., is found in Lk. 8:16; Jn. 19:29; Rom. 9:21 ff.; 2 Tim. 2:20 f.; Rev. 2:27. For discussion of the meaning in 1 Thess. 4:4 and 1 Pet. 3:7 in the context of marriage relationships → Woman, art. *gynē* NT 2.

The adj. *keramikos* occurs only once in the NT, in the pledge of shared power with Christ extended to the Christian at Thyatira who remains faithful to his Lord (Rev. 2:27). He is promised power over the nations which will be ruled with an iron rod, "as when earthen pots are broken to pieces." The reference to the iron rod, which was apparently the shepherd's oak club, the end of which was capped with iron, and the shattered clay vessels, furnish a clear allusion to Ps. 2:9, where the Lord's Anointed is promised sovereignty over the nations who resist his rule. The new order must be preceded by the shattering of the old (cf. Rev. 11:15). In context, the promise provides an assurance of vindication and a reversal of rôles in which the humiliated people of God will share in the sovereign authority of their Lord. The existence of a potters' guild at Thyatira has been confirmed by an inscription (*Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes* 4, 1205).

Although the vb. *kerannymi* has reference to mixing or blending, in the NT it is unrelated to the potter's craft. In common with older Greek practice it is used of diluting wine with water. In Rev. 14:10 it carries the nuance of pouring, in reference to the wine of God's wrath which is "poured out unmixed into the cup of his anger." In Rev. 18:6 it occurs in a context describing the fate of → Babylon, whose judgment is described figuratively under the image of mixing a double portion of wine which will make her reel from drunkenness and deprive her of all sense and capability (cf. Isa. 19:14; Ps. Sol. 8:14). *W. L. Lane*

ὀστράκινος

ὀστράκινος (*ostrakinos*), made of earth or clay, earthenware.

CL Another term for a potter was *ostrakeus* (Nicaenetus in *Anthologia Graeca* 4, 191), which is related to the description of his wares as *ostraka*. In the classical and Hellenistic periods, the singular noun *ostrakon* can denote either an earthenware vessel, or a fragment of such a vessel, a potsherd. From the practice at Athens and elsewhere of using potsherds for voting on the banishment of a citizen, the verb *ostrakizō* was coined to speak of the ostracizing of someone (Thucydides 1, 135; 8, 73; Andocides 3, 3; Aristotle, *Polity of the Athenians* 22, 6; *Politics* 1284 a 21). In Hellenistic Greek "to cast the ostracon" means to vote for any one's banishment (Plutarch, *Alcibiades* 13; cf. *Pericles* 14).

The adjective *ostrakinos* was used by the Jewish composer of Sibylline Oracles 5, 495 to describe as useless and lifeless the terracotta images of pagan idols that were carried in processions (cf. Epistle of Diognetus 2:2, 7). There is little evidence of a

metaphorical use of *ostrakinos* in antiquity until the second century A.D. when Artemidorus describes the body of a man as an earthenware vessel (5, 25).

OT In the LXX the adjective *ostrakinos* simply defines the material from which a vessel was made as clay or earthenware (Lev. 6:28; 11:35; 14:5, 50; 15:12; Num. 5:17; Jer. 32:14). Thus pleasant speech (lit. "smooth lips") concealing an evil heart is compared to earthenware concealed by a silver glaze (Prov. 26:23). The humiliated sons of Zion, who are "worth their weight in gold," are considered to be of no more value than common earthenware by their captors (Lam. 4:2). Similarly, in rendering the Aramaic portion of Daniel the translators chose *ostrakinos* to describe the great image seen by Nebuchadnezzar in a dream, whose feet were partly of iron and partly of clay (Dan. 2:33, 34, 41, 42).

The related meaning, potsherd, also occurs. Judgment is pronounced upon Israel's unbelief in terms of the ruthless smashing of a potter's vessel into fragments so small there remains no sherd large enough to carry fire from the hearth nor to dip water from the cistern (Isa. 30:14). The familiar sight of sherds of pottery bleached by the scorching sun provided a suggestive image for the parched sufferer who complains that his strength is dried up "like a potsherd" (Ps. 22:15; LXX 21:16). Both nuances of the word are evident in the instruction given to Jeremiah to purchase an earthenware flask from the potter, but to smash it in the presence of the elders as a representation of what will happen to Jerusalem for its defilement through idolatrous practices (Jer. 19:1, 11).

In the intertestamental period the impossibility of mending a smashed pot provided Ben Sira with the proverb, "He who teaches a fool is like one who glues potsherds together" (Sir. 22:7). It is a study in futility.

NT *ostrakinos* occurs twice in the NT meaning earthenware. In 2 Cor. 4:6 Paul had described the gospel as "the splendour of the knowledge of the glory of God." In the following verse he makes the startling statement that this treasure has been committed to earthen vessels (*en ostrakinois skeuesin*), a metaphor which compares the apostle and his colleagues to common clay pots. The striking contrast between the splendour of the treasure and the commonness of the vessel in which it is stored directs attention away from the preachers to the glory of the message they proclaim. It was not unusual in the ancient world to conceal valuable treasures in earthenware urns. In this context *ostrakinos* refers to the whole man who is entrusted with the gospel. This description finds a parallel in rabbinic accounts of men as clay vessels containing the Torah or wisdom which God has bestowed, e.g. Sifre Deut. 48 (84a on Deut. 11:22): as it is not possible for wine to be stored in golden or silver vessels, but only in one which is least among the vessels, an earthenware one, so also the words of Torah can be kept only with one who is humble in his own eyes; cf. b. Taanith 7a, where "glorious wisdom in a repulsive earthen vessel" describes R. Jehoshua ben Chanaiah, whose appearance was unattractive. Paul's detractors had described his bodily appearance as weak and dismissed his words as inconsequential (2 Cor. 10:10; cf. 10:1; 11:6). His self-description as *ostrakinos* attests that human weakness presents no barrier to the accomplishment of the divine intention when it is undergirded by the transcendent power of God (cf. 2 Cor. 3:5; 4:7; 12:9–10; 13:3–4).

The second instance of *ostrakinos* occurs in a context, where Paul urges Timothy to separate himself from false teachers like Philetus and Hymenaeus, who have subverted the faith of some Christians at Ephesus (2 Tim. 2:14–19, 22–26). The appearance of false teachers poses the question as to why there are disloyal persons in the congregation. Paul responds by comparing the church to a large house in which it is normal to find vessels of differing material, which serve different, indeed opposite, functions (2:20). Even as the presence of vessels of wood and earthenware (*ostrakinos*) devoted to disreputable use in such a house occasions no surprise, so the evidence of base leadership in the church can be anticipated. But verse 21 makes the point that, whether a vessel is made of gold, silver, or earthenware, it may be clean in order to be ready for honourable service to the owner. By separating himself from the false teachers and cleansing himself from their disreputable actions, Timothy will be prepared for any task to which his Master is calling him. *W. L. Lane*

πηλός

πηλός (*pēlos*), clay, mud, mire.

CL In classical Gk. *pēlos* means mud, muck, dung, loam, or clay. The primary thought is of dust or soil mixed with some fluid, especially water, with the result that the material becomes soft and pliable. Herodotus was struck by the fact, that in the districts inhabited by the Scythians, it was so unbearably cold for eight months of the year that it was a burning fire, not water poured upon the ground, that formed mud (4, 28).

The term commonly designates the clay or earth used by masons and potters (Herodotus 2, 36, 136; Aristophanes, *The Birds* 1143; Plato, *Theaetetus* 147a). The skill of the potter in moulding clay suggested an image for describing men as "clay figurines" (Aristophanes, *The Birds* 268; cf. Callimachus, *Fragment* 87). In the Hellenistic period the thought of man as a piece of clay is a commonplace, as in Herodas 2, 28 f.: "who ought to know who he is, and of what clay he is mixed, and to live as I do, in awe of even the least of the citizens." Epictetus observed that "the body is by nature clay" (*Dissertationes* 4, 11, 27).

In the Roman period there is some evidence for the use of mud or clay in medical prescriptions (Galen, *De Theriaca* 19) and in connexion with treatments at the shrine of Aesculapius in Pergamon (Aelius Aristides, *Orations* 48, 74 f.) and in Epidauros (the Apellas stele in W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*[3] 1170).

OT In accord with common Greek usage, the LXX uses *pēlos* for mud or mire (e.g. 2 Sam. 22:43; Ps. 68:14 [EV 69:13]), loam or clay (e.g. Isa. 29:16; 41:25; Jer. 18:6). It is especially the work of the potter in his preparation and shaping of clay that suggested lines of thought that were theologically important in the OT.

1. The account that God formed the first man out of dust or loam (Gen. 2:7; 3:19) finds a distinct echo in the book of Job where men are described as those "who dwell in houses of clay" (Job 4:19). Job chides God for having fashioned him and then turning about to destroy him: "Remember that you have made me of clay. Will you turn me to dust again?" (Job 10:8–9). The fragility of clay provides an apt figure for Job's powerlessness when overcome by affliction and impending death. The implicit allusion to the action of the potter in the thought of man fashioned by God's

hands becomes explicit in Isaiah. The prophet cautions those who believe they can conceal their counsel from the Lord not to confuse themselves with God who made them: "Shall the potter be regarded as the clay . . . that the thing formed should say of him who formed it, 'He has no understanding'?" (Isa. 29:16). A rebellious man who strives with his God is like an earthen vessel who wishes to dispute with the potter (Isa. 45:9). God's sovereign jurisdiction over man whom he fashioned from dust is affirmed emphatically by the scribe Joshua ben Sira (c. 200 B.C.), who comments, "As clay in the hand of the potter – for all his ways are as he pleases – so men are in the hand of him who made them, to give to them as he decides" (Sir. 33:10–13).

2. Jeremiah found in the action of a local potter working at his wheel an object lesson which illumined the sovereign judgment of God upon the nation (Jer. 18:1–12). When the recalcitrant clay refused to conform to the potter's purpose, and the intended vessel was spoiled, he reworked the clay into another vessel. The potter furnished a parable of the divine potter at work with human clay. God remains master of the clay, which in this context designates Israel as a nation. He will shape it to his intended purpose. If Israel fails to respond to the shaping pressure, it will be remoulded: "Behold, like the clay in the potter's hand, so are you in my hand, O house of Israel" (Jer. 18:6). The responsiveness of the best quality clay to the potter's hands becomes a paradigm for Israel's sensitivity to the intention of God.

3. In the preparation of clay for his trade, a potter would knead the clay by treading upon it with his feet (cf. Nah. 3:14). This common practice furnished Isaiah with a vivid image for the ruthless treatment Babylon could expect from an invader who would approach from the north (Isa. 41:25). As a potter treads upon the clay with which he works, this conqueror will trample under foot his enemies.

4. The latter half of the Wisdom of Solomon (11:2–19:22) is a polemic against the Gentiles. The writer focuses attention upon a pagan potter who makes his living from the manufacture and sale of terracotta figurines (Wis. 15:7–17). From the same lump of clay he moulds "counterfeit gods" (Wis. 15:9) and sewer tiles (Wis. 15:7): "with misspent toil, he forms a futile god from the same clay – this man who was made of earth a short time before and after a little while goes to the earth from which he was taken . . . his life is of less worth than clay" (Wis. 15:8, 10). Here the older biblical motifs of God as Creator and man as clay are combined with a defence of the second commandment prohibiting the fashioning of graven images (Wis. 15:13). The lifelessness of a fragile, clay figurine is mocked by the God who breathes the breath of life into men whom he fashioned from clay (Wis. 15:7–17).

NT In the NT *pēlos* is used in two distinct ways.

1. In John it designates the mixture of dirt and spittle which Jesus applied to the eyes of a man who had been born blind (Jn. 9:6–15). The application of spittle to the eyes and the laying on of hands in healing was widespread in Jewish practice. By his touch and action Jesus entered into the thought-world of the man and established significant contact with him. The repeated reference to the clay-like mixture (five times in Jn. 19:6, 11, 14, 15), however, suggest a deeper level of meaning. By his action on the blind eyes of the man, Jesus completes the creative activity which provides men with sight and demonstrates that he is the Light of the world (cf. Jn. 1:4–9; 8:12; 9:5). By juxtaposing Jesus' declaration that he is the Light of the world (Jn. 9:5) with the account of the opening of the blind man's eyes (9:6–15), John

affirms his theological understanding of this incident with its focus upon the application of clay to unseeing eyes.

2. In Rom. 9:20–21 Paul draws upon the common OT image of God as the Potter who exercises sovereign control over his creation. In the context man is described as moulded clay and God as the one who moulded the clay for his own purposes. The rhetorical question, "Has the potter no right over the clay, to make out of the same lump one vessel for beauty and another for menial use?" is indebted to Isa. 29:16 and 45:9. The imagery underscores God's freedom and sovereignty in relationship to men as his creation and repeats the caution of Isaiah that men are not to confuse their claims with the divine prerogative. *W. L. Lane*

φύραμα

φύραμα (*phyrama*), a mixture, a lump.

CL In the classical and Hellenistic periods *phyrama* describes something mixed or kneaded, like dough (Mnesimachus 4, 11; Aristotle, *Problems* 929 a 25; Plutarch, *Moralia* 693 e). The cognate verb is almost restricted to the sense of mixing flour or some similar substance. Only rarely is there reference to the mixing of soil with water to form a clay paste (cf. Plato, *Timaeus* 73 e; *Theaetetus* 147 c). Not until Plutarch is there a clear instance of the use of *phyrama* for the dough-like mixture from which the potter moulds his ware (*Moralia* 811 c).

OT In the LXX the term *phyrama* is unrelated to the potter's craft. It denotes the kneading bowls in which dough is prepared (Exod. 8:3), the dough itself (Exod. 12:34), or the coarse flour to be worked into dough (Num. 15:20 f.). Consistent with this, the cognate verb *phyraō* describes the mixing of unleavened flour with oil (Exod. 29:2, 40; Lev. 2:4, 5; 6:21; 7:2; 14:10; Num. 15:4; 1 Chron. 23:29) or the action of kneading (Gen. 18:6; 1 Sam. 28:24). In no passage does it describe the preparation of clay for use by the potter or the lump of clay which he places upon his wheel.

NT Of the five occurrences of *phyrama* in the NT, four have reference to a lump of dough (Rom. 11:16; 1 Cor. 5:6, 7; Gal. 5:9). In Rom. 9:21, however, *phyrama* denotes the lump of clay from which a potter may make one vessel for honoured use and another to serve a menial purpose. This singular use of *phyrama* to refer to the dough-like mixture from which earthenware vessels are to be fashioned is supported in the context by the parable of the potter who from the same lump of clay makes vessels of differing quality and function. Even so God has fashioned men as vessels of mercy and vessels of wrath who advance his redemptive purposes. In the context it is clear that God's wrath stands in the service of his mercy and is designed to draw attention to the extent of his mercy toward all who will receive by faith the righteousness provided in Christ (Rom. 9:22–33). *W. L. Lane*

(a). R. Amiran, *Ancient Pottery in the Holy Land*, 1969; K. Barth, *CD* II, 2, 222–233; C. Chavasse, "Studies in Texts – 2 Cor. 4:7," *Theology* 54, 1951, 99–100; D. Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, 1956, 385–387; N. L. Lapp, "Pottery," *IDB Supplementary Volume*, 1976, 674–677; C. Maurer, *skeuos*, *TDNT* VII 358–367; E. H. Plumptre, "The Potter and the Clay," *Expositor*, 1st Series 4, 1876, 469–480.

(b). V. d.W. te G., "Onderscheidene vaten in 's Heeren huis; 2 Tim. 2:20–21," *Gereformeerd*

Theologisch Tijdschrift 3, 1902, 171–173, 184–185; K. Jägger, *Das Bauernhaus in Palästina*, 1912, 11 ff., 22 ff.

Vine, Wine

ἄμπελος

ἄμπελος (*ampelos*), vine, grapevine; ἀμπελουργός (*ampelourgos*), vine-dresser, gardener; ἀμπελών (*ampelōn*), vineyard; οἶνος (*oinos*), wine; οἰνοπότης (*oinopotēs*), wine-drinker; οἰνοφλυγία (*oinophlygia*), drunkenness.

CL & OT 1. *ampelos* is found in cl. Gk. from Homer onwards meaning a vine. In the LXX is stands chiefly for *gepen*, whereas *ampelōn* is used chiefly for *kerem*. The rare term in the LXX *ampelourgos* translates *kōrēm* (2 Ki. 25:12; 2 Chr. 26:10; Isa. 61:5; Jer. 52:16). *oinos* stands for 8 different Heb. words, but mainly for *yayin*, and less frequently for the archaic *tîrōš* and *tîrôš*.

2. Viticulture is one of the oldest forms of agriculture, and Gen. 9:20 f. (attributed to J) says that "Noah was the first tiller of the soil. He planted a vineyard; and he drank of the wine, and became drunk, and lay uncovered in his tent." The twin themes of the vine and wine as symbols of fertility and well-being on the one hand and of wine as a cause of debauchery and shame on the other hand run throughout Scripture. Isa. 5:1–7 not only gives a description of contemporary viticultural practice; it sees Israel as the vineyard, Yahweh as the vinedresser and a harvest of wild grapes instead of ripe, juicy grapes from which to make wine.

The vine was an important part of OT economy. As with other crops, the owner was not permitted to reap the vineyard twice in one harvest; gleanings were to be left for those who lacked possessions (Lev. 19:10; Deut. 24:21). Vineyards were to lie fallow every seventh year (Exod. 23:10 f.; Lev. 23:3 ff.). They were not to be sown with other plants (Deut. 22:9; but cf. Lk. 13:6, though some some scholars think that the reference here may be to an orchard, cf. Arndt, 46).

The symbolism of Isa. 5:1–7 is found in the Pss. and other prophetical books. Israel is a vine brought out of Egypt which fills the land; the Psalmist asks why Yahweh has allowed it to be ravaged (Ps. 80[79]:8–13). Although Israel was a "choice vine", he became a "wild vine" (Jer. 2:21). The infidelity of Israel is reproached by Hosea: "Israel is a luxuriant vine that yields its fruit. The more his fruit increased the more altars he built; as his country improved he improved his pillars" (Hos. 10:1). The wood of the vine is good for nothing but fuel (Ezek. 15:1–8; cf. 19:10–14), and so the vine that has ceased to bear fruit is a symbol of judgment. In the allegory of Ezek. 17:1–10 "the seed of the land" (Zedekiah) is planted by "a great eagle" (Nebuchadnezzar) and becomes "a low spreading vine". However, it is transplanted by another eagle (Hophra). The allegory closes with the question whether the transplanted vine will survive, when the east wind strikes it. In Ps. 128(127):3 the wife of him who fears Yahweh "will be like a fruitful vine in your house." The abundance of vineyards is a sign of Yahweh's favour (Hos. 2:15). Superabundance will characterize the end-time: " 'Behold, the days are coming,' says the LORD, 'when the plowman shall overtake the reaper and the treader of grapes him who sows the seed; the mountains shall drip sweet wine, and all the hills shall flow

with it' " (Amos 9:13). This is developed in Syr. Bar. to the point at which each vine will have a thousand branches, each branch a thousand clusters and each cluster a thousand grapes (Syr. Bar. 29:5). The dominion of the messiah is like a vine (Syr. Bar. 39:7). In Sir. 24:17 the vine is a symbol of wisdom. Other expressions in the OT compare Israel with grapes in the wilderness (Hos. 9:10) and a cluster of grapes (Isa. 65:8).

3. Wine is frequently mentioned in lists of produce (e.g. Gen. 27:28; Deut. 7:13; 11:14; 18:4; 2 Ki. 18:32; Jer. 31:12). Because of its colour it could be called "the blood of the grape" (Gen. 49:11; Deut. 32:14; Sir. 39:26; 50:15; cf. Isa. 63:3; Rev. 14:20). The misuse of wine brings numerous evils, beginning with the nakedness of Noah and the curse of Canaan (Gen. 9:20–27; cf. 19:32–35). Those whose lives are in the grip of wine are denounced by the prophets (Isa. 5:11, 22; 28:7; 56:11 f.; Hos. 4:11; 7:5; Hab. 2:5; Mic. 2:11). Priests were forbidden to drink wine when engaged in their duties (Lev. 10:9; Ezek. 44:21). Similarly Prov. has numerous warnings against inordinate love of wine (Prov. 20:1; 21:17; 23:20 f.; 23:31 ff.). The Nazirites took vows never to drink wine or the products of the grapevine (Num. 6:3; cf. Jdg. 13:4, 7, 14), and the Rechabites abstained both from wine and from building houses (Jer. 35:6 f.). But wine was also part of daily life, and would be safer to drink than much of the water. Wine was drunk at feasts, and was an honoured gift (cf. 1 Sam. 25:18; 2 Sam. 16:1). It was an article of trade (2 Chr. 2:8 ff., 15). Wine is praised by the psalmist as gladdening the heart of man (Ps. 104[103]:15; cf. Jdg. 9:13; Eccl. 10:10). Libations of wine were also used in → sacrifice, both to false gods (Deut. 32:37 f.; Isa. 57:6; 65:11; Jer. 7:18; 19:13) and to Yahweh in connexion with other offerings (Exod. 29:40; Lev. 23:13; Num. 15:7, 10; 28:14). It is treated in later practice as if it were blood and was poured out at the base of the altar (Sir. 50:15; Josephus, *Ant.* 3, 234). Its use in the Passover is first mentioned in Jub. 49:6.

4. In the prophets → judgment is expressed under the symbolism of wine: the wicked will be forced to drain the cup with the consequences that they will not be able to stand (Pss. 60[59]:3; 75[74]:8); the wine-harvest (Joel 3:13) and the treading of the grapes (Isa. 63:2–6) are pictures of judgment. On the other hand, abundance of wine is a sign of blessing (Gen. 27:28; Joel 2:24; 3:18; Amos 9:13; Zech. 10:7).

5. In Gk. religion the cult of Dionysus or Bacchus which originated in Thrace played a prominent part. There were numerous Dionysia or festivals characterized by orgies. But modern scholastic opinion connects Dionysus more with emotional religion and fertility rites associated with phallic symbols, than with wine (*OCD* 352 f.).

NT 1. Vineyards feature in Jesus' parables. In Lk. 13:6–9 the centre of interest is the fig-tree which is planted in a vineyard (*ampelōn*) and tended by a vine-dresser (*ampelourgos*) who pleads for it to be spared one more year after three successive years of failure to bear fruit. If it fails then, after further careful tending, it will be cut down. The parable is a parable of judgment on the Jewish people in the light of their failure to respond to the preaching of Jesus. In context it explains the previous verses which record various disasters which have befallen people. The fact that the hearers have been spared similar disasters is no proof of their righteousness before God.

"Unless you repent you will all likewise perish" (Lk. 13:5b). The ultimate disaster came with the Jewish War and fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70.

Matt. 20:1–16 records the parable of the labourers in the vineyard. It is preceded by and concludes with the assertion that the first will be last and the last first. In the parable each of the labourers receives a denarius regardless of how long he has worked. The main point of the parable is not to teach about vocation or that all men are of equal value in God's sight. D. Hill sees it as teaching God's sovereign grace which (in contrast with the grumbling attitude of the Pharisees) welcomes latecomers into the kingdom (*The Gospel of Matthew, New Century Bible*, 1972, 285; cf. Lk. 15:15). As such, it is an explanation of the first-last theme, not an illustration. If the parable is a warning against a begrudging attitude to Jesus' reception of sinners, its teaching is similar to that of the parables of the lost sheep, the lost coin and the lost son in Lk. 15. But another viewpoint is possible. In the context of Matt., it follows Jesus' response to Peter's declaration, "Lo, we have left everything and followed you. What then shall we have?" (Matt. 19:27). Jesus' reply promises that the disciples shall sit on twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel (Matt. 19:28), and that those who have left houses and relatives "will receive a hundredfold, and inherit eternal life" (Matt. 19:29). In context the parable may be seen as counterbalancing these statements and encouraging the disciples not to be self-seeking, but to accept what God gives. Thus, the disciple who has laboured all day, having agreed like the rest to work for a denarius, is told, "Friend, I am doing you no wrong; did you not agree with me for a denarius? Take what belongs to you, and go; I choose to give to this last as I give to you. Am I not allowed to do what I choose with what belongs to me? Or do you begrudge my generosity? So the last will be first, and the first last" (Matt. 20:13–16).

The parable of the two sons, the first refusing to work in the vineyard but then going and the second promising but not actually going (Matt. 20:28–32), may be seen as a Matthean counterpart to the parable of the lost son in Lk. 15:11–32. Here again the first-last theme recurs. It is explained: "Truly, I say to you, the tax collectors and the harlots go into the kingdom of God before you. For John came to you in the way of righteousness, and you did not believe him, but the tax collectors and the harlots believed him; and even when you saw it, you did not afterward repent and believe him" (Matt. 20:31 f.).

This is immediately followed by the parable of the wicked husbandmen which is a christological restatement of Isaiah's parable of the vineyard (Matt. 21:33–46 par. Mk. 12:1–12, Lk. 20:9–19; cf. Isa. 5:1–7). The tenants of the vineyard (the Jewish nation) have killed servants (the prophets down to John the Baptist) who were sent by the owner (God) to get his fruit. By killing the heir (Jesus), the tenants believe that the vineyard will be theirs to use as they wish. But the owner will put the tenants to death and replace them with "other tenants who will give him the fruits in their season" (Matt. 21:41), i.e. a new people of God. The parable has been seen as taking its origin not in the teaching of Jesus but in the *Sitz im Leben* of the early church and its conflict with Judaism (cf. W. G. Kümmel, "Das Gleichnis von den bösen Weingärtnern (Mk. 12, 1–9)", reprinted in *Heilsgeschehen und Geschichte*, 1965, 207–17). But in fact, the situation fits the setting given in Matt. with the rejection of Jesus at the climax of his ministry, and recent writers are now more inclined to admit the presence of allegory in the teaching of Jesus than earlier writers who insisted that

authentic parables should have only one point (cf. M. Black, "The Parables as Allegory", *BJRL* 42, 1959–60, 273–87; R. E. Brown, "Parable and Allegory Reconsidered", *New Testament Essays*, 1965, 254–64).

Jn. 15:1–11 contains the great description of Jesus as himself the vine, the Father as the vinedresser and the need of the disciples to abide in him in order to bear fruit. This is more precisely defined in terms of his words abiding in them (v. 7) and abiding in his love (v. 9), which means keeping his commandments (v. 10). All this is said that the joy of Jesus may be in them to the full (v. 11). Whereas Israel was the vine or the vineyard in the OT, the vine is now narrowed down to Jesus himself. In view of the OT and Jewish parallels and the late date of his own putative sources it would seem misguided to follow R. Bultmann in his claim that the vine here does not have its origin in OT-Jewish tradition but in the myth of the tree of life (*The Gospel of John*, 1971, 530; cf. E. Schweizer, *EGO EIMI ... Die religionsgeschichtliche Herkunft und theologische Bedeutung der johanneischen Bildreden, FRLANT* 56, [1939] 1965 [2], 39 ff., who cites numerous examples from Mandaean sources). As C. K. Barrett points out, the Mandaean references to the vine are almost certainly dependent on Christian sources (*The Gospel according to St John*, 1955, 394). Some have speculated that the saying was occasioned by the disciples commenting on the ornamental vine which decorated Herod's temple (cf. Middoth 3:8; Josephus, *War* 5, 210; Tacitus, *Historiae* 5, 5). If so, it would be a further comment on the true identity and character of the vine in the tradition of prophetic imagery, but going beyond anything the prophets had said, by identifying the vine with Jesus. It also stands in contrast with the disciples of Johanan ben Zakkai at Jabneh (Jamnia) who after A.D. 70 were called *kerem b^{e}yaḇneh*, the vineyard of Jabneh (Ketuboth 4:6). Not only is Jesus said to be the true vine; the only way for the branches to live and flourish is to abide in him. Paul does not use this picture of the vine, but uses that of the olive tree from which the natural branches have been removed and those of a wild olive grafted in (Rom. 11:17–24; → Oil, Olive, art. *elaion*).

2. Wine is generally understood lit. in the NT, and never in a cultic sense. John the Baptist abstained from drinking wine (Lk. 1:15; cf. 7:33; Matt. 11:18), perhaps following a Nazirite vow. Jesus, on the other hand, was accused of being "a glutton and a drunkard [*oinopotēs*]" (Matt. 11:18 f.; Lk. 7:33 f.). The spirit that was to fill John was the Holy Spirit: "For he will be great before the Lord, and he shall drink no wine nor strong drink, and he will be filled with the Holy Spirit, even from his mother's womb" (Lk. 1:15; cf. Num. 6:3; Jdg. 13:4, 7). Jesus justified his refraining from fasting on the grounds that the presence of the bridegroom is a time for festivity; but when the bridegroom is taken away the disciples will then fast (Mk. 2:18–22 par. Matt. 9:14–17, Lk. 5:33–38). The saying has not only messianic implications, but a hint of Jesus' death. The same passage contains the sayings about patching an old garment and putting new wine into old wineskins, implying that the Pharisaic outlook is burst apart by the life that he brings. Lk. 5:39 adds: "And no one after drinking old wine desires new; for he says, 'The old is good.' " The statement is not intended to be a rule-of-thumb guide for wine connoisseurs. It is a warning against over-estimation of the old by those who think that they know best. It is a comment on the attitude of Jesus' opponents who stick to the old and familiar, thinking that they know that the old is better simply because it is old. Similar sayings are given in both Jewish and classical writings (Sir. 9:10; Ber. 51a; Lucian, *De Mercede*

Conductis 26; Plutarch, *De Mario* 44; Plautus, *Casina* 5; cf. *TDNT* V 163).

The NT maintains a similar attitude to wine as the OT. On the one hand, it is one of God's gifts of creation to be enjoyed. On the other hand, to refrain from drinking wine may be necessary for the sake of the gospel. Drunkenness (*oinophlygia*) is a characteristic of the Gentile way of life (1 Pet. 4:3). "It is not right to eat meat or drink wine or do anything that makes your brother stumble" (Rom. 14:21). The disciples are exhorted to "take heed to yourselves lest your hearts be weighed down with dissipation and drunkenness and cares of this life, and that day come upon you suddenly like a snare" (Lk. 21:34). Timothy, on the other hand, is exhorted to drink a little wine for his stomach's sake (1 Tim. 5:23). Moderation must not be confused with licence. Bishops and deacons must not be drunkards (1 Tim. 3:3, 8; Tit. 2:3). Eph. 5:18 warns against excessive drinking: "And do not get drunk with wine, for that is debauchery; but be filled with the Spirit" (cf. Prov. 23:31). At → Pentecost the bystanders made the opposite mistake, concluding that the disciples were filled with new wine (*gleukos*), whereas in fact they were filled with the Spirit (Acts 2:13).

Some scholars interpret the miracle of the water into wine at Cana (Jn. 2:1–11) as unhistorical on the basis of redaction criticism (cf. B. Lindars, *The Gospel of John, New Century Bible*, 1972, 123–33; cf. R. Bultmann, op. cit., 113–21). Parallels have been suggested in the Graeco-Roman world (cf. Euripides, *Bacchae* 704 ff.; Lindars, op. cit., 127). The Logos under the guise of Melchizedek brought wine instead of water (Philo, *Leg. All.* 3, 82). The miracle is described only by implication. "The point of the story does not lie in the transformation of water into wine as such, but in the comment of the steward, who does not even know what has happened" (Lindars, op. cit., 131; cf. v. 9). Lindars concludes: "If the form-critical analysis . . . is accepted, the transformation is regarded as unhistorical, so that the miracle requires no explanation. But if the narrative is accepted as substantially historical, it is essential to accept the miraculous element along with it, and to assume that Jesus could and did perform the miracle as it is described" (ibid.). The story has been seen not only as symbolic of Jesus' transforming power, but also as a symbolic anticipation of the new age foretold in the OT and deutero-canonical writings in which wine would be present in abundance. For further discussion see J. D. M. Derrett, "Water into Wine", *Law in the New Testament*, 1970, 228–46.

oinos is not mentioned in the accounts of the Last Supper, but Jesus said: "Truly, I say to you, I shall not drink again of the fruit of the vine [*ek tou genēmatos tēs ampelou*] until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God" (Mk. 14:25 par. Matt. 26:29; → Lord's Supper). Elsewhere the consummation is pictured in terms of an eschatological meal (cf. Matt. 8:11; 22:1–14). On the drinks offered to Jesus on the cross (Matt. 27:34; Mk. 15:23) → Gall. Wine is a means of healing in Lk. 10:34.

Wine is mentioned frequently in Rev., but only once literally (Rev. 18:13), where it is a commodity which cannot be sold in the days of judgment. On Rev. 6:6 → Oil, art. *elaion*. On Rev. 14:10; 16:19; 19:15 it symbolizes the wrath of God, recalling OT imagery on wine and the cup of God's wrath (cf. Jer. 25:15 f., 27 f.; Isa. 51:17, 22; Ezek. 23:31–35; Hab. 2:16; Ps. 75:8). Rev. 14:8 celebrates the fall of → Babylon "who made all nations drink of the wine of her impure passion" (cf. Rev. 17:2; 18:3). Here the debauching effects of wine are seen as descriptive of worldly passion which will be requited by the wine of God's wrath. *C. Brown*

→ Drunken, → Fruit, → Gall, → Lord's Supper, → Oil, → Seed, → Tree

(a). J. Behm, *ampelos*, *TDNT* I 342 f.; J. D. M. Derrett, "Water into Wine", in *Law in the New Testament*, 1970, 228–46; M. Jastrow, Jr., "Wine in the Pentateuchal Codes", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 33, 1913, 180–92; H. F. Lutz, *Viticulture and Brewing in the Ancient Orient*, 1922; J. F. Ross, "Vine", *IDB* IV 784 ff.; and "Wine", *IDB* IV 849–52; H. Seesemann, *oinos*, *TDNT* V 162–66. (b). L. Anderlind, "Die Rebe in Syrien, insbesondere Palästina", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 11, 1888, 160–77; E. Busse, *Der Wein im Kult des Alten Testaments*, *Freiburger Theologische Studien* 29, 1922; J. Döller, "Der Wein in Bibel und Talmud", *Biblica* 4, 1923, 143–67, 267–99; V. Zapletal, "Der Wein in der Bibel", *Biblische Studien* 21, 1920, 103–6.

Virtue, Blameless

Virtue is a fundamental term in Gk. and idealist anthropology, expressing particularly the ethical qualities of a person (cf. the Ger. words *taugen*, *Tauglichkeit*, to be of value, suitability, which are related to the term *Tugend*, virtue). The main word in Gk. is *aretē*, which refers both to an appropriate awareness of what is right and to commendable behaviour. In contrast to the philosophical concept of virtue, *anenklētos* belongs to the legal setting of accusation in court, and connotes behaviour which is irreproachable, against which no accusation can be made. From the sphere of religious worship come the terms *amiantos*, undefiled, and *aspilos*, spotless, both of which originally refer to cultic and ritual purity, but are later used with reference to moral purity. These are accordingly dealt with under the heading of *anenklētos*. The article concludes with a discussion of *Haustafeln*.

ἀνέγκλητος

ἀνέγκλητος (*anenklētos*), not accused, without reproach, blameless, irreproachable; ἀμίαντος (*amiantos*), undefiled; ἄμωμος (*amōmos*), unblemished, blameless; ἄσπιλος (*aspilos*), spotless, without blemish.

CL 1. *anenklētos* is derived from *enklēma*, (a) accusation, complaint; (b) crime, defect, with *a*-privative. Thus in cl. Gk. from Plato onwards it means a person or thing against which no accusation can be made, or free of guilt, and so in its original meaning denotes not accused, innocent (Plato, *Laws* 737a). It is used frequently in colloquial speech, as papyri from both pre-Christian and Christian eras bear witness (P. Soc. 541, 6, 3rd cent. B.C.; *BGU* 1347, 8, 2nd cent. B.C.; *Papyrus de Magdola* 15, 3, 3rd cent. A.D.). In the process the meaning underwent a change from the original sense to that of respectability without reproach. In the LXX it is only found at 3 Macc. 5:31 (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 10, 281; 17, 289).

2. On the other hand, *amiantos*, undefiled, and *aspilos*, spotless, are cultic terms; so too is *amōmos*, faultless, which is used particularly in Lev. for Heb. *tāmîm* (e.g. 3:1, 6) and Num. (e.g. 6:14) of sacrificial animals which were free from blemish, but also in Pss. in a moral sense. *amōmētos*, unblemished, is in origin a specific term of praise, almost equivalent in meaning to *anenklētos*. The same is true of *amemptos*, blameless, except that here the legal background is absent and the word has more of an emotional content.

OT The NT use of *anenklētos* is not theologically affected by the OT or LXX. The word is found only in 3 Macc.; *amiantos* only in Wis. 3:13; 4:2; 8:20. and 2

Macc. 14:36; 15:34; *aspilos* only at Job 15:15 (Symmachus). Only *amemptos* appears more frequently, in the book of Job, where it is used together with *dikaios*, just, and *katharos*, pure, cf. Job 11:4; 12:4. *amōmos* stands for *tāmîm* and cognates at Exod. 29:1; Lev. 1:3, 10; 3:1, 6, 9; 4:3, 14, 28, 32; 5:15, 18, 25 (6:5); 9:2 f.; 14:10; 22:19, 21; 23:12, 18; Num. 6:14; 19:2; 28:3, 9, 11, 19, 31; 29:2, 8, 13, 17, 20, 23, 26, 29, 32, 36; 2 Sam. 22:24, 31, 33; Pss. 15(14):2; 18(17):23, 30, 32; 19(18):7, 13; 37(36), 18; 64(63):4; 101(100):2, 6; 119(118):1, 80; Prov. 11:5, 20; 20:7; Ezek. 28:15; 43:22 f., 25; 45:18, 23; 46:4, 6, 13. It stands for *m'ûm*, blemish, used with a negative at Dan. 1:4, but is otherwise without Heb. equivalent at Exod. 29:1, 38; Lev. 4:14; 12:6; 23:18; Num. 7:69, 88; 15:24; 28:27; Ps. 37(36):28; Prov. 22:11; Eccl. 11:9; Wis. 2:22; Sir. 31(34):8; 40:19; Isa. 33:15; 1 Macc. 4:42. *amōmotēs* is found only in variant translations of Ps. 26(25):1, 11. *amemptos* translates 9 different Heb. terms: *bar*, pure (Job 11:4); *zāḵâh* (Job 15:14) and *zāḵaḵ* (Job 15:15; 25:5), pure; *ḥap̄*, pure (Job 33:9); *ṭāhēr*, clean (Job 4:17); *nāqî*, free from guilt, innocent (Job 22:19); *tām*, unblemished, blameless (Job 9:20); *tāmîm*, unblemished, blameless (Gen. 17:1; Job 12:4); *ṣāḏaq*, righteous (Job 22:3); and *yāšār*, upright, blameless (Job 2:3). It has no Heb. equivalent at Wis. 10:5, 15; 18:21. The adv. *amemptōs* is found only at Est. 3:13.

NT 1. *anenklētos*, not accused, without reproach, is found in the NT along with the other related terms mentioned in CL 2 above. In relation to their original meanings the words have here taken on theological ideas arising to a considerable extent from their context. The meaning of *anenklētos* in the Pastorals (Tit. 1:6 f.; 1 Tim. 3:10) is akin to the usage in Hellenistic colloquial speech. Under discussion here are the qualifications for office in the church as a deacon, elder or → bishop. The other adjectives used in this context indicate that the meaning is beyond reproach, in the ordinary sense of common respectability. Thus in addition to qualifications of a spiritual nature, ordinary standards of decency are made into preconditions of office in the church, for the sake of the church's good name in the world. The adoption of Hellenistic Stoic ideas also marks other aspects of the theology of the Pastoral Epistles.

2. *anenklētos* is found in the original, legal sense in 1 Cor. 1:8 and Col. 1:22.

(a) 1 Cor. 1:8 speaks of the eschatological day of the Lord (→ Present, art. *hēmera*). God promises believers that he will keep them firm (*bebaiōsei*) to stand blameless, i.e. innocent, on the day of the Lord. This blamelessness is not to be understood as an ethical quality and so as the Christian's own achievement, but rather follows from the call into fellowship with Christ (v. 9); and blamelessness on the day of the Lord is the consequence of holding fast to fellowship with Jesus Christ until the end (*telos*, v. 8).

(b) A similar affirmation is made in Col. 1:22. This passage also speaks of → judgment. Again it is the work of Christ, i.e. the → reconciliation which has been effected by his death, that forms the basis of the Christian's blamelessness. The writer is speaking of justification. Alongside *anenklētos*, the word drawn from the original legal and moral thought of Hellenism, he uses here *amōmos*, faultless, a word drawn from the language of Jewish ritual (cf. Phil. 2:15; Eph. 5:27; 1 Pet. 1:19). Both words have been divorced from their Hellenistic or Jewish origins by the new content given to them. The deliverance from well-merited accusation which is already (*nyni*, now,

v. 22) beginning through faith in Jesus Christ (v. 23) has as its final purpose (v. 22 *parastēsai*, to present you, a final infinitive) the confirmation of this state of blamelessness on the day of the Lord (*katenōpion autou*, before his face; cf. Rom. 8:33 f.).

3. *amiantos*, undefiled, pure, is used to express the purity of Christ as High Priest (Heb. 7:26), of our heavenly inheritance (1 Pet. 1:4), of sexual relations within marriage (Heb. 13:4), and of practical religion (Jas. 1:27). The common factor is the absence of anything which would constitute defilement before God (→ Defile, art. *miainō*). There are cultic overtones in each of these contexts, even in those cases where it is a question of everyday living, for the secular is to be hallowed. *amōmos* means unblemished in the cultic sense of free from defects, and hence Christ is described as "a lamb spotless and without blemish [*amnos amōmos kai aspilos*]" (1 Pet. 1:19). He "presented himself as an offering without blemish to God [*heauton prosēnenken amōmon tō theō*]" (Heb. 9:14). *amōmos* is used in the moral and religious sense of blameless of the Christian community (Eph. 1:4; 5:27; Col. 1:22 with *hagios* and *anenklētos*; 2 Pet. 3:14 *v.l.* with *aspilos*; Phil. 2:15; Rev. 14:5; cf. Jude 24). For the use of *amemptos* → Guilt, art. *amemptos*. *H. Währisch*

ἀρετή

ἀρετή (*aretē*), virtue.

CL The noun *aretē* is related to the vb. *ararisko*, to fit together, and is derived from the root *ari-* which is also seen in *areskō*, to please, *arestos*, pleasing, and *aristos*, best. Originally it meant the specific quality appropriate to an object or a person.

1. In the early classical period, the term *aretē* was used fairly universally with reference to things, animals, men and gods. Thus it can connote the excellent quality of arms or horses (Hdt., 3, 88; Plato, *Republic* 335b). Homer speaks of the *aretē* of the gods and demonstrations of their power (*Il.* 9, 498; → Strength, art. *bia*). This religious usage is found right up to the Hellenistic period (Philo, *Som.* 1, 256; *Spec. Leg.* 1, 209; Josephus, *Ant.* 17, 130; 18, 266). Usually, however, the reference is to human qualities, e.g. *aretē* of feet, in fighting, or of the mind (Homer, *Il.* 15, 642; 20, 411). Thus *aretē* is used of the whole man, of both physical and spiritual abilities. In this sense *aretē* may describe the quality of women (Homer, *Od.* 2, 206) or courage of men (Xen., *Anabasis* 1, 4, 8; cf. Lat. *virtus*). The extraordinarily wide variety of uses to which this word can be put also extends to good fortune (Homer, *Od.* 13, 45; Hesiod, *Works* 313) in a more general sense, and the glory (*doxa*; Soph., *Philoctetes* 1420), which all men seek.

2. The meaning of the concept of virtue is limited in the case of Socrates, who used *aretē* to describe not general human qualities which are outwardly apparent, but only morality. His individualistic and rationalist ethic removes the ties binding *aretē* to the *polis*, making it into something based upon man's striving for the good, and leading to the thesis that virtue may be learned. He who attains a true insight into the good, will also do it (Plato, *Protagoras* 329 f.; *Apology* 25d).

Plato saw virtue as conditioned by the soul and in his doctrine of the soul (*Republic* 1, 353; 2, 376e) developed the sequence of the four classic virtues: *sophia*, wisdom; *andreia*, courage; *sōphrosynē*, prudence; and *dikaiosynē*, justice (*Republic*

4, 433). This scheme of the four cardinal virtues is taken over by the Wisdom literature (see below, OT 2) and Cicero (*de Officiis*).

In contrast to the psychology of Plato, Aristotle regarded virtue as *hexis*, i.e. as the permanent pattern of behaviour of a person, depending on his qualities and decisions (cf. his definition in *Eth. Nic.* 2, 4 f.; 1106a 14 ff.). He distinguished between ethical, i.e. practical virtues, which include courage, temperance and generosity; and dianoetic virtues, i.e. ways in which the reason is used, which include insight, wisdom, knowledge and art (cf. *Eth. Nic.* 1130 ff.). Ontologically, virtue is defined as the mean between two extremes (the doctrine of *mesotēs*, *Eth. Nic.* 1107a).

3. The Stoics emphasized the agreement between the virtues and human nature (*kata physin zēn* means *kat' aretēn zēn*, to live according to nature means to live according to virtue). They serve no outside purpose, such as the interests of the state or of the gods, but are an end in themselves, bringing about by means of knowledge and practice the goal of *eudaimonia*, happiness (Seneca, *Ep.* 66, 31 f.; Cicero, *Leg.* 1, 8; 1, 16; cf. also Diogenes Laertius, 7, 81 ff.; 10, 132 ff.). The Platonic scheme of the four cardinal virtues became the basis for summaries of the virtues, the so-called catalogues of virtue (Epictetus, *Dissertationes* 2, 16, 45; 3, 2, 3 and 14; 3, 22, 13; and often). Similar catalogues of virtue are found in Philo (*Sacr.* 22, 27; *Leg. All.* 1, 86; *Spec. Leg.* 3, 63), in Qumran (see below, OT 3) and in the NT (see below, NT 3).

OT 1. The Heb. language has no word corresponding to the Gk. *aretē*. The only places where the word occurs in the canonical books of the LXX are Isa. 42:8, 12; 43:21; 63:7, where it translates *t*ehillâh*, praiseworthy deed, the praise of Yahweh, and two occasions where it stands for *hôḏ*, majesty (Hab. 3:3, with reference to Yahweh; and Zech. 6:13, where it refers to Joshua, the priestly messiah-designate). In none of these instances does it represent a toning down of the OT concept of Yahweh's acts in history (which are especially prominent in Isa.) to accommodate this to Gk. ideas of quality.

2. *aretē* is often mentioned in the books of Maccabees, especially 4 Macc. In 2 Macc. 6:31 the martyrdom of Eleazar is called a memorial of his *aretē* (cf. 4 Macc. 1:8, 10). In 4 Macc. *aretē* often means the martyrs' loyalty to the faith, which they have maintained until death despite suffering and torture (4 Macc. 7:22; 9:8, 18; 10:10; 11:2; 17:12, 17). At the same time we find the Gk. concept of *aretē* as courage (2 Macc. 15:17), manliness (4 Macc. 17:23), cleverness (4 Macc. 1:2), or reason (4 Macc. 1:30). Gk. influence can be detected also in the Book of Wisdom, when in Wis. 5:13 virtue is contrasted with wickedness, and in Wis. 4:1 it is linked with immortality. In Wis. 8:7 the four Platonic cardinal virtues are named.

3. In a way similar to the Stoic writers, the Qumran community included in its Community Rule catalogues of virtues and vices, which contrast the behaviour of the righteous and the wicked in accordance with the OT idea of the two ways (cf. Jer. 21:8b) and the sect's own dualistic outlook on the world (1QS 4:3–14; 10:22, 25 f.). The virtues which characterize the children of light are purity (1QS 4:5), wisdom (1QS 4:6), love (1QS 2:24; 5:4), humility (1QS 2:24), and faithful observance of the law (1QS 8:2; 10:25 f.), while among the many and various vices of the children of darkness particular prominence is given to immorality and impurity (1QS 4:10; CD 8:5; 19:17), lying (1QS 4:9; 10:20) and hatred (CD 8:6; 19:18). (On Qumran teaching see A. R. C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning*, 1966.)

NT The term *aretē* does not play a crucial part in the vocabulary of the NT. It appears only once in Paul (Phil. 4:8), once in 1 Pet. (2:9), and 3 times in 2 Pet. (1:3, 5). More important are the catalogues of virtues (and vices), in which the virtues of the Christian (and vices of the non-Christian) are spelled out.

1. In 1 Pet. 2:9 and 2 Pet. 1:3 it is God's *aretē* that is mentioned. Since 1 Pet. 2:9 is a citation of the LXX version of Isa. 43:21, the acc. plur. *aretas* should be rendered as in Isa. (see above, OT 1), praiseworthy acts. These are to be proclaimed by the old people of God and by the new. More Gk. thought may be recognized in the sentence in 2 Pet. 1:3 f., which mentions, along with *aretē*, *doxa* (glory) and *dynamis* (power) (see above, CL 1). *aretē* here means God's attribute of perfection, which through its manifestations of power (*dynameis*) has granted gifts to men, by which they in their turn, as v. 4 puts it, are to become partakers of the divine nature (*theias physeōs*), i.e. likewise the divine virtue of perfection (cf. Matt. 5:48). In the background here is the Gk. idea of the relatedness of divine nature and human nature (cf. also Acts 17:28).

2. The two other instances (Phil. 4:8 and 2 Pet. 1:5) speak of human virtue. In both cases the term *aretē* forms part of a series in a comprehensive list of virtues, and both series have parallels in classical literature (with Phil. 4:8 cf. Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* 5, 23, 67; with 2 Pet. 1:5 ff. cf. *OGI* § 438). *aretē* is used in both these passages not, as in 4 Macc. (see above, OT 2) of loyalty to the faith (thus O. Bauernfeind, *TDNT* I 460 f.), but as a general term for good and correct behaviour in Christians.

3. The connexion between individual words for virtue in the NT and corresponding lists in non-Christian Gk. literature is indisputable. Thus, for example, Paul speaks quite unreservedly about "what is good" (Rom. 12:9), or about "whatever is just, whatever is honourable, whatever is lovely" (Phil. 4:8), as the goal which Christians ought to strive to attain. The earliest church was thus fully aware of good qualities in the heathen, and brought → conscience (Rom. 2:14) and virtue into its Christian proclamation. On the other hand, we should not overlook the differences between Stoic and Christian catalogues of virtue, or between the Gk. and NT concepts of virtue. The Platonic scheme of the four cardinal virtues (see above, CL 2) does not appear in the NT catalogues. Instead, all the virtues, though individually drawn in part from Gk. lists, are brought under the main concepts of love (Gal. 5:22; Eph. 4:32–5:2; Col. 3:12) or of faith (Eph. 4:2 ff.; 2 Pet. 1:5) and are controlled by these. Nor does the NT know the Aristotelian distinction between practical and theoretical virtues (see above, CL 2). It stresses rather the totality of our actions, both as practical acts and as expressions of obedience. Finally – and this is of great importance – it must be said that the Stoic's view of himself as autonomous in his virtues (see above, CL 3), is one completely foreign to the NT. Here the virtues are the fruit of the Spirit (Gal. 5:22), subservient to mutual love and the glorification of God. Hence, the NT virtues are not derived from the harmony of the soul (Plato) nor from the quality of the man (Aristotle), but are seen as gracious gifts (*charisma*) of the divine Spirit: they are the actions and the marks of God's new creation.

4. The infrequent occurrence of the term *aretē*, and still more the different basis and composition of the catalogues of virtue, mean that in the NT – and therefore also in reformed theology – "virtue" in its autonomous, secular sense has no place. Attempts have been made again and again, to combine the Gk. concept of virtue with

Christian theology, e.g. by Ambrose (*De Officiis Ministrorum* 1, 24–49), Augustine (*De Libero Arbitrio* 1, 27), and Thomas Aquinas (*Summa Theologiae* 1a 2ae. 55–67; 2a 2ae. 101–22), right up to Schleiermacher and some recent Catholic writing (J. Pieper); but such attempts remain highly problematical. In Pauline and reformed theology the place of autonomous virtue, based on a rationalist ethic, is taken by the Spirit-given freedom of the Christian, which is both developed and maintained in love. *H.-G. Link, A. Ringwald*

Haustafeln

1. *Definition.* By this term, which derives from Luther (see B. J. Kidd, *Documents Illustrative of the Continental Reformation*, 1911, 220–22), NT scholarship means a body of formalized ethical teaching by which members of the early communities were expected to conform to the standards of their contemporary society, but with a Christian motivation. In particular, the imperatives are addressed to husbands, wives, parents, children, masters and slaves. The purpose of the *Haustafeln* (lit. "house-tables") was to ensure the good ordering of the various relationships in which members of the household or family stood.

2. *Virtues and Vices.* Included under the fabric of *Haustafeln* are catalogues of virtues and vices which most likely are indebted to Jewish proselyte catechism as the church took over lists of ethical qualities required by its self-understanding as a neo-levitical community (P. Carrington, *A Primitive Christian Catechism*, 1940, developed from G. Klein, *Der älteste christliche Katechismus und die jüdische Propaganda-Literatur*, 1909). This suggested origin has been challenged in more recent times, mainly by those who have traced the origin of such ethical lists to Stoicism (A. Vögtle, *Die Tugend- und Lasterkataloge im Neuen Testament*, 1936) or even to Iranian influences, mediated through sectarian Judaism (S. Wibbing, *Die Tugend- und Lasterkataloge im Neuen Testament*, 1959). Finally, E. Kamlah (*Die Form der katalogischen Paränese im Neuen Testament*, 1964) has sought to combine the two separate strands of the exhortation (*i.* promises and threats, partly based on *lex talionis*: "destruction to the destroyer": see E. Käsemann, "Sentences of Holy Law in the NT", *New Testament Questions of Today*, 1969, 66–81; and *ii.* the themes of *deponentes/induentes*, i.e. putting off the old life as a prelude to putting on a new life, which he traces to the hellenistic syncretism of the mystery cults). But D. Schroeder ("Lists, Ethical", *IDB Supplementary Volume*, 1976, 546) argues against this on the ground of the more likely background in the ethical dualism of the OT. There apocalyptic promises and threats contain lists of blessings and curses (Deut. 27 ff.).

The lists of vices and virtues found in Gal. 5:19–23; Phil. 4:8; Col. 3:5, 12 (cf. 2 Cor. 12:20) owe only formal similarities to OT and contemporary models, whether in Stoic moral philosophy or the Dead Sea scrolls (see Wibbing), and there are no parallels to the "fruit of the Spirit" in Stoicism, just as there are observable transferences of meaning. For instance, → "humility" (*tapeinophrosynē*) is a term of opprobrium in Greek thought (W. Grundmann, *TDNT* VIII 2), whereas in the Dead Sea Scrolls (1QS 5:3 f.; cf. 1QS 2:24; 4:3 f.; 5:25) and in Paul (e.g. Phil. 2:3; Col. 3:12) it connotes a practice of living together in community before God in such a way that other people are given a dignity and respect as they too are seen in God's sight (Rom. 12:3, 10). The "humility" of Christ becomes a model by which human

conduct is shaped by the Christian's conformity and obedience (see 2 Cor. 10:1; Phil. 2:4 ff.). Thus → "love" (*agapē*) – especially of one's enemy (Rom. 12:19–21), a thought absent from the Dead Sea Scrolls – becomes the norm to distinguish virtue from vice, especially as that love is seen in "life in Christ" and its social implications.

In the Pastorals, the ethical lists are extended and their range enlarged to include both virtues to be practised and sins to be avoided by church leaders (1 Tim. 3:1–13; Titus 1:5–9), but occasionally the list reaches out to include a more general coverage (Titus 3:3). The indictment of Gentile sins derives from Wis. 14:23–26; cf. Rom. 1:26–32; 1 Cor. 6:9–10; Col. 3:5; 1 Peter 4:3 (Vögtle, op. cit., 96 ff.). Women members are especially singled out in the Pastorals, based on Plutarch, *Praec. conj.* 139–41 (ibid., 81, 91). The good qualities expected of the ruler (ibid., 73 ff.), the king (ibid., 74), the general (ibid., 80) and the midwife (Soranos, *Gynaecia* I–II, c. A.D. 100; ibid., 80) are displayed in the tables in B. S. Easton, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 1948, 201.

Virtues and vices recur in a formalized "Two Ways" scheme, found in *Didache* 1–5; Barn. 18–20 and Hermas, *Man.* 6, 1, cf. Ignatius, *Magn.* 5; 2 Clem. 4. Many think that there is, underlying these documents, a Jewish proselyte-catechism (evidence for which is in Test. Levi 19:1, Test. Judah 20:1, which teaches two ways of light and darkness, governed by two spirits of truth and deceit: this suggestion is now confirmed by 1QS, though the contrast is typically OT, e.g. Ps. 1:6; Jer. 21:8; Prov. 4:18, 19).

The conclusion of this discussion is to shift the origin of ethical lists in early Christianity away from Hellenistic sources (where, to be sure, the rudimentary lists of good versus evil are attested in the Orphics and Pythagoreans and go as far back as to Heracleitus' antitheses) to the OT-Jewish tradition. Deissmann's ingenious suggestion that 1 Cor. 6:9, 10 was based on the practice of children's moral instruction where counters, as separate discs, were labelled with vices and shuffled in a game (*Light from the Ancient East*, 1927³, 316) is less cogent than it seems in view of the common catalogue of virtues and vices in proselyte mission-propaganda which, in turn, derived from the OT tradition.

3. *House-tables.* In the strict sense of the term, the rules formulated to govern behaviour patterns within the Christian household are limited to specific classes. These appear in the earliest attested Christian *Haustafel* (Col. 3:18–4:1: so E. Schweizer, *Der Brief an die Kolosser*, 1976, 159) as: wives, husbands, children, parents, slaves, masters. The best description of these injunctions (set in the imperative mood) is station code (Schroeder). That is, Christians are addressed according to their station in life, and especially within the Christian household. Each party is named, a command is given, and a motivation for behaviour is supplied (W. Lillie, "The Pauline House-tables", *ExpT* 86, 1974–75, 180). The same pattern recurs in Eph. 5:22–6:9 (which represents a redaction of the Colossian *Haustafel*); 1 Pet. 2:18–3:7; Tit. 2:2–10; 1 Tim. 2:9–15; cf. 1 Clem. 21:6–8; Ignatius, *Poly.* 4:1–6:2; Polycarp, *Phil.* 4:2–6:1. The key thought in the NT examples is submission, though there is a reciprocity between the members (e.g. Eph. 5:21), not found outside of the NT; and the primary motive behind these admonitions is that such an attitude expresses subordination to Christ's Lordship (so W. Schrage, "Zur Ethik der neutestamentlichen Haustafeln", *NTS* 21, 1975–76, 1–22, though more specific and concrete reasons have been suggested, as we shall observe later).

Other blocks of similar material contain encouragements addressed to Christians who are called to be submissive to their church leaders ("overseers", "elders", "deacons", based on earlier teaching in 1 Thess. 5:12, 13; Heb. 13:17: the leaders are commended as worthy of respect and obedience in the Pastorals, e.g. 1 Tim. 3; Tit. 1:6 ff., though in 2:2 ff. the admonition shades into a general call to the "older men" in the congregation). Widows are a particular responsibility in these paraenetic sections (1 Tim. 5:3–16) that are more properly called "church codes". The summons in 1 Tim. 2:1 ff. to pray for public officials in the state is another aspect of these "tables" (Rom. 13:1–7 uses the key-verb, "be submissive" to the ruling authorities, a theme enforced in 1 Pet. 2:13–17).

4. *Backgrounds to the House-tables.* "Historical study of the Christian *Haustafeln* is at an impasse" (J. E. Crouch, *The Origin and Intention of the Colossian Haustafel*, 1972, 32). The reason for this negative assessment is that, in a field of diverse and competing theories, no one hypothesis can be supported by indisputable evidence that is unambiguous and explains all the features. A survey of the leading suggestions made to account for the presence of this standardized teaching in the NT epistles confirms this statement.

At least at one point there is a consensus. The use of paraenetic material in Col. 3:18–4:1 is not occasioned by the local situation of Onesimus' return to Philemon at Colossae. See F. F. Bruce, *Colossians*, 1957, 293 n. 153 and R. P. Martin, *Colossians and Philemon*, 1974, 123 f. 147, citing Col. 3:25 and Phm. 17, 18. The content of the Colossian *Haustafel* is traditional teaching, brought over and used by Paul for other reasons. Most plausibly its function is to repel false ideas that derived from the gnostic heresy at Colossae (see below). But what may be known of the pattern of ethical teaching on which the Colossian code as an independent, self-contained unit is based?

(a) A view, stated by M. Dibelius (H. Greeven, *An die Kolosser*, 1953, 48–50) and elaborated by his pupil K. Weidinger, *Die Haustafeln*, 1928 (on this see W. K. Lowther Clarke, *New Testament Problems*, 1929, 157–160), found the origin of the Christian house-tables in Hellenistic, specifically Stoic, moral philosophy. Key phrases, such as "it is proper" (*anēken*, Col. 3:18), "it is pleasing" (to God) (*euareston*, Col. 3:20), are appealed to in support, since these rubrics are found in Stoic literature. Moreover, "in the Lord" (v. 20) is only loosely attached to the second phrase, and this suggests an added Christian pendant. The Pauline version represents a bold appropriation of a Hellenistic code that is taken over and "Christianized" (*Verchristlichung* is Dibelius' term, op. cit., 49).

There is undoubtedly a pagan model in the background. Duties (what the Greeks called "unwritten laws", *nomima agrapha*) to the gods, heroes, the aged, parents, friends, one's country are commonplace (Diogenes Laert., 7, 117–25; 8, 22 ff.). Stobaeus preserves fragments of a different kind in which duties (Stoic *kathēkonta*) to family members – parents, brothers, wife, children and slaves – are covered (Weidinger, 27–34, 41 f.). Several writers mention similar obligations in tabulated form (especially Aristotle, *Pol.* 1, 2; Seneca, *Ep.* 94; Plutarch, *Lib. Ed.* 10; cf. Epictetus, *Dissertationes* 2, 10, 3, 7). No one list is exhaustive, but a skeletal basis has been inferred, to be clothed by different writers (Weidinger, 38 f.). The reason for the Christian adoption of such a scheme was found in a waning of an imminent parousia

(Dibelius), and the need to regulate the inner life of the church on a non-enthusiastic, non-eschatological basis (Weidinger, 9).

The popularity of this theory has been considerable (Crouch, 21 n. 42), but it is open to criticism, especially to do with the reason why Christians needed to borrow from contemporary sources. Weidinger is vulnerable to the charge that the differences between non-Christian and Christian material are greater than he allows. Motivations are different, and the whole setting of the specific rubrics is unparalleled in Stoic writing. Words such as "pleasing" (*euarestos*) are not unique to the *Haustafeln* (Eph. 5:10; Rom. 12:2; 14:18; 2 Cor. 5:9; Heb. 12:28; 1 Clem. 35:5; 41:1; 62:2).

(b) At the opposite end of the scale, K. H. Rengstorf (*Mann und Frau im Urchristentum*, 1954) and D. Schroeder have pleaded the cause of the *Haustafeln* as being uniquely Christian. To be sure, different models are proposed. Rengstorf looks back to the infancy narratives of Luke 1, 2 where the home-life of John and Jesus are described. Joseph like Zechariah is paterfamilias, and the boy Jesus is submissive (*hypotassesthai* in Luke 2:51 – the key term in the epistles). Schroeder postulates multiple roots of the codes, reaching back to the OT apodictic law, to Judaic tradition and most importantly to the Jesus-tradition underlying 1 Cor. 7:10; cf. Eph. 4:20. Both views are to be seriously questioned (Crouch, op. cit., 24–31), though there is no denying the primacy and uniqueness of the *agapē*-motif in Paul's counsels, a motif that does ultimately stretch back to Jesus' self-giving in the incarnation.

(c) More likely is the cluster of views that begin with the place of obedience to God's will, seen first in Jewish prescriptions (E. Lohmeyer, *Die Briefe an die Kolosser*, etc., 1930) and extended to form part of the outreach in Gentile missionary propaganda on the part of hellenistic Judaism (Crouch, ch. 6). The main authorities are Philo, *Hypothetica* 7:1–9 (cf. *Decal.* 165 ff.), Josephus, *Ap.* 2, 190–219 and *ps.-Phocylides*, an Alexandrian Jew (Weidinger, 23). These writers show some hint of the so-called Noachian laws by which the conduct of Gentiles was to be governed in matters of elementary morals (concerning immorality, idolatry, dietary rules). There is a link between the Noachian laws and the "unwritten laws" – basic moral and family precepts among the Greeks. Here was a meeting place between Judaism and Hellenism, and in both cultures a listing of social duties is common.

The Jewish missionary concern to influence Gentiles in the direction of ethical monotheism found greatest success among those disposed to accept a summary of duties and obligations as minimal, even if they stopped short of complete conversion as proselytes. The class of Gentile "God-fearers" is well-known in Judaism and the NT. It is highly probable that, as Judaism's offshoot, the primitive church reached out to evangelize, it would be this class that would naturally respond and need the codification of the apostolic decree (Acts 15:20, 29; 21:25 on which see M. Simon, "The Apostolic Decree", *BJRL* 52, 1969–70, 437–60). Later a Christianized version of a proselyte catechism that originally was used in Jewish-Hellenistic mission evangelism emerged as we have seen. It is in this confluence of materials – Greek "divine laws" (cf. *Antigone*, 11, 450 ff.) as modified by Stoic idealism, Jewish missionary tracts aimed at potential adherents, and a Christianized application to the new life in Christ – that the origin of the NT *Haustafeln* may be traced.

5. *Haustafeln as used by Paul and his Disciples.* J. E. Crouch has offered the most convincing *raison d'être* of Paul's use of *Haustafeln*. We may take up and ex-

tend his thesis. He notes the importance of the teaching in Gal. 3:27–29 to the effect that in Christ the disabilities that Judaism imposed on Gentiles, women and slaves are removed. It is reasonable to suppose, given the nature of Corinthian gnosticizing enthusiasm whose watchwords were "freedom", "*gnosis*", and "spiritual", that the Pauline statement of religious equality in Christ would be heard as a promise of social egalitarianism. So Paul modifies and corrects this tendency in 1 Cor. 7:17–24 (remain in your station) and 14:33–38 (women are to stay in their place). The effect of the *Haustafeln* is to confirm this restriction as binding and to safeguard the good order of the church against revolutionary attempts to undermine it by a false claim to unbridled freedom in the name of gnostic enlightenment and licence. The *Haustafeln* are therefore a counter-measure in the name of Pauline "orthodoxy" to keep the social fabric in check, partly on the theological ground of the creation ordinances of the Torah, and partly on the pragmatic level which requires that the Christian is not at liberty to overturn the social framework by denying the Jewish basis of the faith, by getting involved in a slave-uprising of the Spartacus type or by promoting a feminist movement. There are indications that Paul's controls were so understood in Eph. 5:22–6:9, 1 Tim. 2:9–15, and 1 Peter 3:1–7 (written under Pauline influence).

R. P. Martin

→ Defile, → Guilt, → Love, → Punishment, → Pure, → Righteousness

On *aretē*, *anenklētos* and *aspilos*:
(a). O. Bauernfeind, *aretē*, *TDNT* I 457–61; W. Grundmann, *anenklētos*, *TDNT* I 356 f.; and *memphomai* etc., *TDNT* IV 571–74; A. Oepke, *aspilos*, *TDNT* I 502.
(b). J. Gründel, "Tugend", *LTK* X 395 ff.; M. Hoffmann, *Ethische Terminologie bei Homer, Hesiod, Jambikern und Tragikern*, (Dissertation, Tübingen) 1914; E. Kamlah, *Die Form der katalogischen Paränese im Neuen Testament*, WUNT 7, 1964; A. Kiefer, *Aretalogische Studien*, (Dissertation, Freiburg) 1929; J. Klein, "Tugend", *RGG*[3] VI 1080 ff.; S. Reiter, "*Aretē* und der Titel von Philos 'Legatio' ", in *Epitymbion. Heinrich Swoboda dargebracht*, 1928, 228–37; J. Stenzel, *Studien zur platonischen Dialektik . . . Arete und Diairesis*, 1917; A. Vögtle, "Tugendkataloge", *LTK* X 399 f.; S. Wibbing, *Die Tugend- und Lasterkataloge im Neuen Testament und ihre Traditionsgeschichte unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Qumran-Texte*, *BZNW* 25, 1959.
On *Haustafeln* in addition to the articles mentioned in the text of the article see the following:
(a). D. Daube, "Haustafeln", in *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, 1956, 90–105; B. S. Easton, "New Testament Ethical Lists", *JBL* 51, 1932, 1–12; A. M. Hunter, *Paul and his Predecessors*, revised edition 1961, 52–57, 128–31; K. E. Kirk, *The Vision of God: The Christian Doctrine of the Summum Bonum*, Bampton Lectures for 1931, 1932 [2]; L. H. Marshall, *The Challenge of New Testament Ethics*, 1956; J. N. Sevenster, *Paul and Seneca*, *Supplement to NovT* 4, 1961.
(b). H. Conzelmann, Exkursus "Die Haustafeln" zu Kol. 3, 18 ff., in *An die Kolosser*, 1976 [14]; L. Goppelt, "Jesus und die 'Haustafel'-Tradition", in *Orientierung an Jesus. Festschrift* J. Schmid, 1973, 93–106; W. Schrage, *Die konkreten Einzelgebote in der paulinischen Paränese*, 1961; E. Schweizer, "Die Weltlichkeit des Neuen Testaments: Die Haustafeln", in *Beiträge zur alttestamentlichen Theologie. Festschrift W. Zimmerli*, 1977; H.-D. Wendland, *Ethik des Neuen Testament, Eine Einführung*, 1970, 67 ff., 93 ff.

W

Walk, Run, Way, Conduct

ἀναστρέφω

ἀναστρέφω (*anastrephō*), to upset, overturn, turn back, turn round; fig. act, behave, conduct oneself, live; ἀναστροφή (*anastrophē*), turning back; fig. way of life, conduct, behaviour.

CL *anastrophē* is the noun derived from the compound *anastrephō*, from *strephō*, to turn, turn round. From Homer onwards, it has a great range of meaning in Gk. The vb. has the transitive meaning of to upset, to turn upside down, and the intransitive of to turn back, to turn round. In the middle and passive forms, too, the meaning of turning round, return, is to the fore (Homer, *Il.* 23, 436); thence follows the meaning of turning back and forth (in a place) or dawdling around, and lingering (Homer, *Od.* 13, 326), and finally the figurative meaning of human behaviour, to walk, to conduct oneself, to live in a particular way (Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 2, 1p, 1103b, 20; Epictetus, *Dissertationes* 3, 15, 5). The noun, found from Aeschylus and the Pre-Socratics onwards with several meanings, denotes intransitively a turning round or a turning movement, a resting-place in later poetic speech only, and then also the figurative sense of way of life, conduct (Polybius, 4, 82, 1).

From there *anastrophē* and *anastrephomai* have an ethical sense, which is found throughout the whole ancient world, and in no way needs to be explained simply from the Heb. *hālaḵ*. The kind of behaviour is more precisely described by adv., adj., or prepositional expressions, followed by *en*, in. In Gk. inscriptions from Roman times, conduct of life is judged by particular standards and distinguished by value-predicates such as "good and praiseworthy", "at all times blameless and fearless", "good, responsible and worthy of the city [*axiōs*]" (cf. *Die Inschriften von Pergamon* in M. Fraenkel, ed., *Pergamon* VIII, Nos. 459, 5; 470, 4; 496, 5 ff.).

OT In the LXX the vb. *anastrephō* stands 87 times for Heb. *šûḇ*, to turn round, to return, but only in the literal sense. Eight times the Heb. equivalent is *hālaḵ*, walk, but only in 1 Ki. 6:12; Prov. 8:20; 20:7 does the figurative sense of walking (in God's commandments, in righteousness, etc.) apply. "Walking rightly", *anastrephomenon orthōs*, in Ezek. 22:30 (LXX) is a free translation of the Heb. text: there is no corresponding Heb. vb. The noun *anastrophē* is encountered only in the Apocrypha (3 times) and only with the figurative meaning (Tob. 4:14, to show oneself well brought up in one's whole way of life; 2 Macc. 5:8, bad manner of life; 6:23, impeccable conduct from boyhood). The Hellenistic stamp of the term is here very clear.

In later Jewish writings, and also in the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Heb. *hālaḵ*, corresponding with Gk. *anastrephō*, is used frequently everywhere, and that both in positive and negative senses, often in connexion with the figurative use of "way" as

walking in the way of God or in the way of sin (cf. 1QS 1:6, 8, 15, 25; 2:2, 14, 26; 3:9, 18, 20 f. and often).

NT In the NT the vb. occurs only 9 times, the noun 13 times. Both words are totally absent from the four Gospels, occur seldom in Paul, and more frequently in the post-Pauline writings; 1 and 2 Pet. and Heb. are the areas of chief concentration. The literal sense of the verb is found only in Acts 5:22 and 15:16; otherwise only the figurative meaning is found. Apart from Heb. 10:33, where the vb. stands generally for living, taking place, the word-group is used throughout to designate way of life, and thus clearly belongs to the realm of paraenesis.

1. (a) Since noun and vb. are in themselves neutral terms, which only gain positive or negative valuation by means of attributes, they can designate a pre- or non-Christian (Jewish, Gal. 1:33; heathen, Eph. 2:3) way of life just as much as a Christian (2 Cor. 1:2). The kind of life led depends on what determines a man's thoughts and actions. The determining factor can be an ethical value-system (cf. Gk. inscriptions) or the Jewish faith which effects a corresponding Jewish way of life (Gal. 1:13). Lack of any obligation leads to an unbridled manner of life, where a man follows only his desires (1 Pet. 1:14; 2 Pet. 2:7) and finally destroys himself (Eph. 4:22).

(b) Turning to Christ implies a simultaneous turning away from a man's previous way of life, for which Christ frees and enables him. We see here – as the distribution of the word-group already indicated – the problems of the second and third generation, who are not only occupied with the missionary impetus but also concerned with the maintenance of faith in the community. The main point is to translate knowledge into practice. By → faith and → baptism man is introduced into the domain of power of Jesus Christ; he lives "in Christ" and thus in a new fellowship with God. The knowledge of the earlier perversity of his way of life (cf. 2 Cor. 6:14 ff.; Gal. 1:13; Eph. 2:1 ff.; 4:22; Col. 1:21 ff.; 3:1–17) makes him conscious of the new, and helps him to set aside the old. It is the person and work of Jesus Christ, or God who through Christ has freed him for a new life of obedience, piety and holiness (2 Cor. 1:12; 1 Pet. 1:15, 17; 3:16), which determines and stamps the new style of Christian conduct. Growing as it does out of the life bound to God or Christ, this kind of conduct can itself assume exemplary significance (1 Tim. 4:12; Heb. 13:7), and be crowned by an appropriate end of life (Heb. 13:7). For such a walk in the Christian community as the "household of God" (1 Tim. 3:15) the First Letter to Timothy intended to give instructions.

Such Christian conduct, however, is threatened continuously by a double danger: reversion to heathen modes of conduct (2 Pet. 2:8), and legalism, where in place of adherence to the person of Christ impersonal norms, foreign to Christ, enter in as regulating points of conduct (cf. in 1 Tim. 4:11 ff. the struggle against false teachers who wish to make celibacy and abstention from certain foods compulsory; cf. M. Dibelius and H. Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles*, *Hermeneia*, 1972, 65 ff.).

2. The word-group has particular significance in the paraenesis of 1 Pet. Here the present, in which Christians live in the world "as aliens and exiles", is seen as a time of testing for faith (1 Pet. 2:11 f.). The exhortation to live in a Christian way is thereby grounded (a) in their having been eschatologically called out by a holy God;

(b) by invoking the Father, who is also Judge of all and cannot be bribed, and (c) on the sacrificial death of Jesus, understood as a ransom "from the futile ways inherited from your fathers" (1 Pet. 1:15–18). But the exhortation to a way of life in conformity with Christ is also important for this reason, that the Christians are living under the critical eyes of a heathen environment. As Paul in 2 Cor. 3:2 can call the Corinthian community his "letter of recommendation" (in contrast with the written letters of commendation hawked about by his opponents), so it now becomes increasingly important that the Christians' way of life counts as a touchstone for the power of the gospel to which they bear witness. It can contradict the suspicions and slanders of the heathen environment and perhaps even gain the opponents and slanderers (1 Pet. 2:12; 3:1; 3:16).

3. Alternative terms for *anastrophē* are *agōgē* and *peripateō*.

(a) *agōgē* occurs only at 2 Tim. 3:10. The basic meaning is leading, especially in the sense of upbringing (cf. *paidagōgos*, custodian, → Teach) and then kind of life, conduct as the result of a particular upbringing (cf. K. L. Schmidt, *TDNT* I, 128 f.). 2 Tim. 3:10 ("You have followed my . . . conduct") has a double sense: You have let me lead you – and now you are conducting your life just as I did, namely, as a Christian, "in Christ" (cf. vv. 12 and 14).

(b) → *peripateō*, which in the figurative sense is the most common NT word for designating manner of life, is used almost exclusively by Paul and John.

G. Ebel

ὁδός

ὁδός (*hodos*), way, road, highway, way of life; μεθοδεία (*methodeia*), method, in biblical and Christian literature only in an unfavourable sense, i.e. scheming, craftiness; (plur.) tricks; μέθοδος (*methodos*), planned procedure; εἴσοδος (*eishodos*), entrance, access; ἔξοδος (*exhodos*), departure, exit; ὁδηγός (*hodēgos*), leader, guide; ὁδηγέω (*hodēgeō*), to lead, guide; καθοδηγός (*kathodēgos*), guide, leader.

CL 1. In Gk. *hodos* stands for the missing abstract of *ienai*, to go; the element of action could thus be the primary one in the word. It denotes a walk, a journey or a voyage by land or sea, as actions, from Homer onwards; in the local and spatial sense, the way, the path or the road as the place where one goes, drives or marches; also the passage a ship takes (Homer onwards; and inscriptions and papyri). The goal of the way is in Homer defined by *eis*, towards, and later also *epi ti*, towards, or the gen. The term is already used early on in a pictorial or figurative sense. Since one uses or must go by some way in order to reach a goal, *hodos* can acquire the meaning of the means and way of reaching or carrying out something, measures, procedure, the style and way in which one does something and in which one lives. Life is occasionally compared to a way, but not designated as a way (Democritus, *Frag.* 230). *hodos biou* does not mean the way of life, but the kind of life (Plato, *Rep.* 10, 600a; → Life, art. *bios*); incorrect behaviour in individual cases is described as "going a wrong way" (Thuc., 3, 64, 4).

hodos already stands for the intellectual-philosophical path of investigation and knowledge in Parmenides. Elsewhere, from Plato onwards, systematic and clear-

sighted procedure is denoted by *methodos* (and *methodeuō*; not before the LXX). But this then also comes to have the negative meaning (first in Plutarch) of cunning, deception, craftiness.

The noun *eishodos* (Homer onwards) denotes in the verbal sense entering, going into, entry; in the spatial sense the entrance or access to a place or building, the door (also figurative). *exhodos* constitutes the opposite of this, going out, departure; spatially, exit, door, opening; figuratively, passing away, disappearing, and frequently, the outcome of an event, the end. In the sense of the end of life, death (cf. Lat. *exitus*), it is rare. Anyone who does not know the way needs a *hodēgos* (not before Polybius), a leader to guide him and to show him the way (*hodēgeō*, Aeschylus onwards). The noun and the vb. are mostly used in their literal, rarely in a figurative sense (instructor, leader or to lead, to instruct). In the *Corp. Herm.* it is the *nous*, the mind, which leads to the "doors of knowledge" or to the "light of knowledge" (7, 2; 10, 21), where there are underlying spatial conceptions. *hodēgeō*, to lead, also occurs here in the context of the journey of the → soul to heaven (4, 11; 12, 12).

2. In Gk. literature one frequently encounters the picture of the two ways (Hesiod, *Works* 287 ff.; Theognis, 911 f.), which is particularly well-known from the Prodicus-fable of Hercules at the crossroads (Xen., *Mem.* 2, 1, 21–34). The grown man is faced with the problem of making a decision with reference to his conduct: *aretē* → virtue, and *kakia*, badness, represent the two possible choices. Whoever decides for virtue must, according to one of Socrates' theses, be ready to undertake hard work and exertion. For "only at the price of hard work do the gods sell us goodness". The motif of the two ways is frequently used in subsequent times with reference to the ethical decisions of mankind, right up to modern, popular philosophy and Christian literature (cf. W. Michaelis, *hodos*, *TDNT* V 43–8).

One also frequently meets with the conception of the two ways in the underworld: the way to the right leads to the place of the pious, the left-hand road to the place of punishment for the unrighteous. Here the thought is of real ways which men travel after → death to their varying fortunes (→ Resurrection, art. *anastasis* CL).

3. Significant in the history of religion is the occurrence of *hodos* in connexion with the idea of the ascent of the soul to the heavenly world, although other terms are also found for this (e.g. *anabasis*, ascent). The way to the → truth (right thinking) – "which carries the man who has knowledge far above all dwellings" – is depicted as the way to the divine light (Parmenides, *Frag.* 1). In the Hermetic writings the way is *gnōsis*, → knowledge. Anyone who has attained the goal of *gnōsis*, divinization and participation in immortality, sets out to draw the others out of their ignorance by serving them as a *kathodēgos*, a guide, a leader (*Corp. Herm.* 1, 26–29).

In Christian gnostic texts, such as the Odes of Solomon and the Naassene hymn, there is mention of the way which is opened to men by the Redeemer, who mediates gnosis to them (Od. Sol. 7:13 f.; 15:22 f.). The way or path plays a very large part in Mandaean *gnōsis*. The gnostic is on the "way of life" or "the way of the perfect", which is also designated as an ascent. The redeemer is regarded as leader and helper, but is never denoted as the way. (For gnosticism see *The Secret Book of John* in R. M. Grant, *Gnosticism: An Anthology*, 1961, 79; W. Foerster, *Gnosis: A Selection of Gnostic Texts*, I, 1972; II, 1974, see index.)

OT In the LXX *hodos* is encountered very frequently (some 880 times) in both literal and figurative senses. It represents 18 Heb. equivalents, but corresponds in more than 600 references with Heb. *derek̲*, way.

1. (a) The use of the term in the OT is very strongly stamped by the fact that God led his people by a way – out of → Egypt, forty years in the → wilderness, and then into the promised land. The way through the wilderness, in particular, is viewed by Deut. 8:2 as a testing ground.

The vb. *hodēgeō*, to lead, is found 42 times and is universally used with reference to God (e.g. Exod. 13:17; 15:13), predominantly in the Pss. in confessions of God's leading in the individual life (e.g. Pss. 23[22]:3; 25[24]:9) and in requests for his care and leading (e.g. Pss. 5:9; 31[30]:4), also in the figurative sense of teaching and guiding. In Wisdom literature → wisdom takes over the place of God. The noun *hodēgos*, leader, is found in but few late passages and is only in Wis. 7:15 referred to God. In Deutero-Isaiah, the language of which is largely stamped by the Pss., God is seen as the One who makes a way, where it appears impossible for men: at the first Exodus in the sea (Isa. 43:16; 51:10; cf. Ps. 77[76]:20) and at the second Exodus in the wilderness (Isa. 43:19).

exhodos stands as a designation for the departure from Egypt (e.g. Exod. 19:1; Num. 33:38; 1 Ki. 6:1; Ps. 105[104]:38), whereas otherwise it is found with various meanings, often combined with *eishodos*, entering in, entrance, in the sense of going in and out, which denotes continuous fellowship, or all one's activities (e.g. 1 Sam. 29:6; Ps. 121[120]:8). Occasionally it refers also to birth and death (Wis. 7:6; Sir. 40:1).

Isa. 40:3 is probably referring to a road in the strict sense of the word. On this road in the desert, Yahweh's glory is to be revealed in leading the nation home from the Babylonian captivity (cf. also Mal. 3:1). Babylonian parallels to this divine highway have been adduced (cf. F. Stummer, "Einige Keilschriftliche Parallele zu Jes. 40–66", *JBL* 45, 1926, 171–89). But R. N. Whybray thinks it unlikely that the prophet would wish to draw a parallel between Yahweh and other gods; he thinks it more likely that he was thinking of the construction or repair of roads in preparation for the advance of conquering kings (*Isaiah 40–66*, *New Century Bible*, 1975, 50).

(b) From this point onwards, the term "the way of God" acquires its fullness and significance. It denotes in a special way the saving activity of God (mostly sing., e.g. Ps. 67[66]:3): "that thy way may be known on earth, thy saving power among all the nations", or more generally, God's deeds (e.g. Pss. 25[24]:10; 145[144]:17), the ways which he takes. They surpass the ways of men, and cannot therefore simply be apprehended by them without further ado (Isa. 55:8 f.; Ps. 95[94]:7–11).

(c) It is a different matter, however, with the ways (sing. and plur.) appointed by God when he bids men walk in his →commandments (e.g. Gen. 18:19). The frequently found expression, "to walk in the ways of God, or the LORD" (→*poreuomai*). means to act according to the will of God revealed in commandments, statutes and ordinances (1 Ki. 2:3; 8:58). God's law is called "the way of the LORD" (Jer. 5:4) for which the prophets have to struggle to see that it is observed, because Israel again and again succumbs to the temptation to evade the demand of God (Exod. 32:8; Mal. 2:8). With the pictorial conception of the way (even whilst it is often totally faded) is connected the use in these contexts of expressions such as going, walking, straying, abandoning, deviating, etc. Alongside the confession of the individual in the

Pss., "I have kept the ways of the LORD" (Ps. 18[17]:21; cf. Job 23:11), there stands the prayer "LORD, show me thy way" (Pss. 27[26]:11; 86[85]:11). This way is often given further precision by means of an explanatory genitive: "way of thy testimonies", "way of truth", "way of thy commandments" (Ps. 119[118]). Instead of "ways of the LORD", there stands in Wisdom literature the phrase "ways of Wisdom" (e.g. Prov. 3:17; 4:11; Sir. 6:26).

2. (a) Human life as a whole or in its individual aspects can be called a way (Ps. 119[118]:105; Isa. 53:6). God's eyes see all the ways of men (Jer. 16:17; 32:19). He has them in his hand (Dan. 5:23). Therefore, it is good to entrust one's ways to him (Ps. 37[36]:5). Here the literal and pictorial senses often merge into one another. When a man dies, he goes "the way of all the earth" (1 Ki. 2:2), which all must go (Jos. 23:14), and from which one does not return (Job 16:22).

(b) "Way" also denotes in the LXX the deeds or behaviour of men, the living out of one's life (Exod. 18:20). The ways are mostly qualified in some manner or other (often by an additional genitive), either positively (e.g. "the ancient paths where the good way is", Jer. 6:16; "the right way", Prov. 8:20) or negatively ("false" or "evil" ways, Jer. 25:5; Prov. 8:13). Sometimes the evaluation can only be deduced from the context (e.g. the way of Jeroboam, 1 Ki. 15:34). The real point of reference for evaluating the way which a man takes is the will of God. Where a man allows this to be the determining factor of his actions, he goes God's way or in the ways of God. Everything else is a self-chosen way (Jer. 7:23 f.) or is "the way of sinners" (Ps. 1:1). This is where the prophetic call to repentance from evil ways has to begin (2 Ki. 17:13 f.; Jer. 25:5; Isa. 55:7), and where the devout man must ask for right guidance (Ps. 85[84]:11).

3. The way by which God leads his people has their salvation as its goal. The same applies to the ways which he enjoins on them (Deut. 30:15 f.). They are therefore "the ways of life" (e.g. Ps. 16[15]:11; Prov. 5:6). Turning away from these ways leads to destruction, and draws God's judgment upon one (Deut. 30:17 f.). What was at first referred to the nation as a whole is later individualized in Wisdom literature and post-exilic piety. Wisdom maintains that wise conduct leads to a successful life, but that foolishness leads to death (Ps. 1). The crisis of this line of thought when taken in an unqualified way is evident in Ecclesiastes, Job and also Ps. 73.

4. Whereas Gk. thought saw in men the possibility of making free decisions concerning their way of life, the OT knows only of obedience or disobedience to God. Since God has made the → covenant with Israel and thus made his decision, Israel can now only decide for or against God, keep the covenant and thus gain life and blessing, or break it – which means curse and death (Deut. 11:26 f.; 30:15 ff.). Similar thinking in the antitheses of good and evil, righteous and godless are encountered in connexion with "way" particularly in Wisdom literature (Prov. 2:12, 20; 4:18 f.; cf. Ps. 1). Nowhere are two ways expressly mentioned; but later on the "two-ways" scheme was able to utilize this antithetical thinking.

5. Judaism. (a) In Philo "way" occurs frequently, but not often influenced by OT linguistic usage. It is much more strongly affected by general philosophical and paraenetic usage. The really important lines of OT usage ("ways of God") find no continuation in him. He takes over the wandering motif from the OT and builds it into his basic philosophic theme of man's stepping out on a road, which according to

Num. 20:27 is called the "royal" road, because it leads to God, the king of the universe. This way is equated with Wisdom, by which the spirit reaches its goal, the knowledge of God (*Migr. Abr.* 195). In ethical statements the ascetic way to virtue plays an important rôle (*Post. C.* 154; *Leg. All.* 2, 98). For him, the way to virtue is philosophy.

Alongside other conceptions of the way, such as the middle way, one meets also in Philo the motif of the two ways. In its gnostic-dualistic contrast of flesh and spirit it points to non-Jewish influences. The way which is determined by virtue has life and immortality as its goal; on the other hand, the way determined by badness leads to flight from immortality and to death (*Spec. Leg.* 4, 108).

Philo also speaks of the necessity of a leader, since man of himself does not know the way (*Migr. Abr.* 170). Instead of *hodēgos*, Philo uses the phrase *hēgemōn tēs hodou*, leader along the way, in both the literal and figurative sense, for the Logos, and above all for God himself, who, as the compassionate redeemer, leads the *nous*, the mind, on the right way (*Migr. Abr.* 171; *Praem.* 117).

(b) In Josephus "way" predominates in the literal sense; only very occasionally is it found in figurative usage (*TDNT* V 64 f.). But here, too, there is no echo of the OT usage of "the ways of the Lord".

(c) By contrast with Philo and Josephus, the effects of OT usage are felt in the rest of Jewish literature. For the way in which men are commanded by God to walk one finds at times the absolute expression "the way" (2 Esd. 14:22; CD 1:13; 2:6). The way of the Lord is the "way of the law" (Syr. Bar. 44:3) and is called "the way of righteousness" (Jub. 1:20; 23:26). Probably the earliest attested reference to the term "the two ways" within the area of Jewish writing is to be found in Test. Ash. 1:3: "Two ways hath God given to the sons of man, and two inclinations, and two kinds of action, and two modes (of action) and two issues" (cf. v. 5). Man can choose between light and darkness (in Sl. Enoch 30:15 the two ways are designated exactly thus), between the law of the Lord and the works of Beliar (Test. Lev. 19:1), but he is threatened by demons who wish to lead him astray (Test. Ash. 8:9; Test. Reub. 2 and 3).

(d) The Dead Sea Scrolls, with their dualistic background, also speak of two kinds of ways: the ways of truth and the deeds of corruption (1QS 4:16) or the way of wickedness (1QS 5:10 f.). The children of righteousness walk in the ways of light, the children of error walk in the ways of darkness (1QS 3:17 ff.). Here, too, demonic powers threaten to seduce. The angel of darkness brings about the straying of all children of righteousness. For the Qumran community the way of the Lord in the wilderness (Isa. 40:3) is the *halachah* constructed by the study of the law (1QS 8:13; cf. A. R. C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning*, 1966, 221 f.; cf. also 142 f., 149, 231).

(e) The rabbis interpreted Deut. 11:26 and 30:19 to mean that God laid down two ways with blessing and curse, life and death. There was also a widespread conception of angels who conducted men on their ways and in their actions (B. Shab. 119b).

NT 1. (a) *hodos* in the literal sense is found 55 times in the NT, almost entirely in the Synoptic Gospels. The paths which Jesus took are not mentioned, although he was often *en tē hodō*, *en route* with his disciples (e.g. Matt. 5:25; 15:32; Mk. 8:3; 10:52), and events happened *para tēn hodon*, "along the way" (e.g. Matt. 20:30; Mk.

10:46). *hodos ethnōn* (Matt. 10:5) does not mean a heathen kind of life, but the road which led beyond and outside Israel to heathen territory. *hēmeras hodos* (Lk. 2:44) is the distance which one covers in one day, a day's journey. *sabbatou hodos* (Acts 1:12) denotes the distance a Jew was allowed to walk on the Sabbath without transgressing the commandment in Exod. 16:29 (cf. Num. 35:5), which was about 880 metres.

(b) The word "way" occurs 46 times, in a pictorial or figurative sense, spread over the whole NT. It stands in part, like the OT usage, for God's deeds and saving activity (e.g. Rom. 11:33; Rev. 15:3; Heb. 3:10), for God's will (e.g. Matt. 22:16; Mk. 12:14; Lk. 20:21; Matt. 21:32 also belongs in this context), very often in OT quotations and phrases (Acts 2:28; cf. Ps. 16:11; 13:10; cf. Hos. 14:9; Rom. 3:17; cf. Ps. 36[35]:1; Lk. 1:79; cf. Isa. 9:2), and also with the meaning of way of life (Acts 14:16; Rom. 3:16; 1 Cor. 4:17; Jas. 1:8; 5:20). On the other hand, John's Gospel (which uses *hodos* only 4 times) and Heb. use "way" in a sense somewhat different from the OT usage and which some scholars interpret in the light of Hellenistic-gnostic conceptions of the redeemer. A further peculiarity in the NT is the absolute use of "the way" in Acts as a designation for the Christian community and its preaching. (See below, 2 (c)–(e).)

(c) *eishodos*, entrance, access, approach, stands in 5 NT passages. They are: Heb. 10:19, "entrance into the sanctuary"; 2 Pet. 1:11, "entrance into the eternal kingdom"; Acts 13:24, the beginning of Jesus' appearance, his arrival; 1 Thess. 1:9 and 2:1, the "entrance" of Paul amongst the Thessalonians, the response which he found to the gospel there.

(d) *exhodos* is found in the NT in only 3 places (Heb. 11:22 of the exodus from Egypt; Lk. 9:31 and 2 Pet. 1:15 of death).

(e) *diexhodos* (Matt. 22:9) may mean a street crossing or the place where a street crosses a city boundary and goes out into the open country (Arndt, 193).

2. (a) In Matt. 3:3 par. Mk. 1:3, Lk. 3:4 (cf. Jn. 1:23), Isa. 40:3 is quoted with the call to prepare the way for the Lord (cf. OT 1 (a)). Through the transference of the *kyrios*-title to Jesus it becomes possible to see the work of John the Baptist as a fulfilment of the OT word. John, the forerunner, has prepared the way for Jesus by the announcement of his coming, by the call to repentance and baptism (cf. also the quotation from Mal. 3:1 in Mk. 1:2; cf. Matt. 11:10; Lk. 1:17, 76; 7:27).

(b) The Sermon on the Mount gives in Matt. 7:13 f. the double picture of the two ways and the two → gates. As in secular Gk., the goals to which the two ways lead are also brought into view. But here it is not the ethical problem of conduct, but the question of life or death, salvation or destruction, which is put before men in Jesus, though, to be sure, with a clear invitation to life ("Enter in . . ."). The picture of the two ways figures in both Jewish and early Christian writings (2 Esd. 7:7 ff.; Test. Ash. 1:3, 5; Pirke Aboth 2:12 f.; Did. 1:1; Barn. 18:1). "It may have been employed originally as a Jewish catechetical form and have been taken over as a pattern for Christian instruction" (D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 1972, 150; cf. P. Carrington, *The Primitive Christian Catechism*, 1940). Despite Gk. affinities with the picture, this saying is very closely related in essence to Deut. 30:19, although, as distinct from Deut. 30:19 (cf. Jer. 21:8; 1QS 3:20 ff.), it alludes to the eternal destiny of men. By contrast with Gk. thought (cf. Hesiod, *Works* 287 ff.) and Jewish thought (cf. 2 Esd. 7:7 f.), the two ways are not described in detail. Matt. 7:13 f. belongs to that cir-

cle of sayings, which, especially in Matt., speak of entering into the kingdom of heaven (e.g. Matt. 5:20), into life (e.g. Matt. 18:8 f.) or into the joy of the Lord (Matt. 25:21, 23).

(c) It is in connexion with the conception of the high-priesthood of Jesus Christ that Hebrews (9:8; 10:19 f.) speaks of the "way" or the "entrance into the sanctuary", whereby *hodos* almost acquires the sense of *eishodos*, access. Jesus, the forerunner (Heb. 6:20) or the leader (Heb. 2:10; 12:2), has opened a previously non-existent and living way of access. This may be contrasted with the gnostic motif of the redeemer who prepares the way for his own; in Heb. the thought is linked with the sacrificial death of Jesus. The separating curtain through which Jesus has made the way is his flesh, an expression of the material which (in the gnostic understanding) bars the way to the heavenly world. But in that Jesus offers his flesh (and blood) as a sacrifice for sin, it becomes clear that (in the biblical understanding) it is not matter which separates men from God but sin. Only through Jesus' death is an approach to God which is freed from an evil conscience made possible (Heb. 10:22; parallels in substance in Rom. 5:1 f.; Eph. 2:18 f.; 3:11 f.). The underlying imagery in Heb. is the day of atonement ritual (cf. Lev. 16) in which the high priest entered the holy of holies once a year by means of sacrificial blood making atonement for the unwitting sins of the people. Only he had such access to Yahweh under the old covenant (→ Temple, art. *to hieron*; → Tent). 2 Pet. 1:11 also belongs in this context.

(d) In John's Gospel *hodos*, way, is applied to the person of Jesus, in a manner which is unique in the NT (Jn. 14:1–6). The whither of Jesus' departure is not known to the disciples; therefore they also do not know the way. Jesus reveals himself to them as the only way which leads to the Father: "I am the way and the truth and the life; no one comes to the Father but by me" (Jn. 14:6). The goal of the way of Jesus is his being with the Father (cf. Jn. 14:6b with 20:17), and through it the way also of his disciples. According to R. Bultmann, the pictorial conception of the way in the Gospel has been sharply repressed by comparison with the gnostic schema of the way of the redeemer which he detects behind these statements (*The Gospel of John*, 1971, 603–12). But it should be noted that the evidence that Bultmann cites for gnostic parallels is of a much later date. The vbs. of motion linked with this conception (depart [→ Come, art. *erchomai*]; ascend [→ Heaven, art. *anabainō*]) express the distance between God and man, and between heaven (→ art. *ouranos*) and earth, which is overcome in Jesus. Only through him does fellowship with God come about, embracing present and future.

(e) In Acts *hodos* occurs at 1:12; 2:28 citing Ps. 16:11; 8:26, 36, 39; 9:2, 17, 27; 13:10; 14:16; 16:17; 18:25 f.; 19:9, 23; 22:4; 24:14, 22; 25:3; 26:13. *hodoiporeō* is a hapax legomenon occurring only at Acts 10:9, "as they were on their way". Along with a use of the word defined by the OT (cf. 1 (b)), Acts demonstrates an absolute use of "way" (sing.), which is equally unique in the NT (e.g. Acts 9:2; 19:2, 23; 24:14). Perhaps we have here a term of missionary language, similar to the absolute use of *logos*, → word, for the early Christian preaching (e.g. Acts 4:4; 11:19). "It is clear from 24:14 that *hē hodos* was a designation applied to the Church by the Christians themselves whereas their opponents spoke of a *hairesis* [a sect]" (E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1971, 320, n. 1). The origin of this self-designation has not yet been fully explained. E. Repo, *Der "Weg" als Selbstbezeichnung des Christentums*, 1944, traces it back through the group of disciples to the Qumran

community; Qumran certainly provides a parallel to the Acts usage, but not necessarily its source.

Acts 16:17 ("way of salvation") clearly concerns the Christian message, and Acts 18:25 ("way of the Lord") and 26 ("way of God") the proclamation concerning Jesus. Acts 13:12 speaks of the "teaching of the Lord", following on immediately after the mention in Acts 13:10 of the "straight paths of the Lord" (cf. Hos. 14:9). If all these passages point in the direction of teaching and proclamation, the passages with the absolute use of "way" show, on the other hand, that there this understanding is insufficient, since the Christians themselves are also included. When Paul, according to Acts 22:4, persecuted "the way", it is the Christian community and its message of the resurrection of the crucified one that is meant (→ Persecution, art. *diōkō* NT 1 (b)). It is therefore not permissible to construct false alternatives here by insisting that "way" must mean either teaching or the Christian community. Both are involved in the term and both belong together. We shall, therefore, be obliged to understand "way" in its absolute use in Acts as a designation for Christians and their proclamation of Jesus Christ, which includes the fact that this proclamation also comprises a particular walk of life or way.

(f) The "more excellent way" of which Paul speaks in 1 Cor. 12:31b means the living of the life which is governed by love, *agapē*, which is ranked above and before all aspirations after spiritual gifts (cf. 1 Cor. 14:1; Phil. 2:1 ff.; → Love, art. *agapaō* NT 3 (c)). We shall need to look at the "way" of 1 Cor. 12:31b together with 4:17, where Paul uses the expression "my ways in Christ". There he is dealing with the way of life in conformity with Christ, which he not only teaches everywhere, but which is also evident in his own conduct. For this reason he can say "my ways" and summon the congregation to be his "imitators", namely, in the way they live in accord with Christ (→ *peripateō*).

(g) In 2 Peter, in order to combat false doctrine, or heretical teachers, Christianity is called the "way of truth" (2:2; cf. Jas. 5:19 *v.l.*) and the "way of righteousness" (2:21). It is viewed very definitely from the angle of the new morality which it brings and demands (cf. 2 Pet. 2:20 f., the "holy commandment"), and which distinguishes it from paganism. The false teachers, with their scandalous conduct, have left the "straight" way (i.e. the way indicated and desired by God), and followed the "way of Balaam" (2:15), thus bringing Christianity into disrepute.

The expressions "the way of Balaam" and "the way of Cain" (Jude 11; cf. Gen. 4:3–8; Num. 22–24) should be understood less from the view-point of the OT (actions against the will of God) than from the later Jewish tradition which adhered to it (Cain and Balaam as the fathers and the teachers of all libertines and heretics; cf. Philo, *Post. C.* 38, 233; Pirke Aboth 5:19; on the thought of straying, → Lead Astray).

3. (a) The noun *hodēgos*, leader, guide, is found only 5 times in the NT (in Acts 1:16 of Judas), though also partly in pictorial expressions. The spiritual blindness of the → Pharisees to the essential will of God is exemplified by Jesus when calling them "blind guides" (Matt. 23:16, 24) or "blind leaders of the blind" (Matt. 15:14; cf. also Lk. 6:39). Similarly, in Rom. 2:19, Paul characterizes the Jew instructed in the law as one who presumes to be "a guide to the blind". *hodēgeō*, to lead, guide occurs 5 times. In addition to Matt. 15:14 and Lk. 6:39, it is used in Jn. 16:13 with reference to the Spirit of truth, who will guide into all the truth (parallel in substance in Jn.

14:26), and in Rev. 7:17 of the → Lamb who will guide those who have been made perfect to springs of living water. The clearly figurative sense of guide as instruct occurs only in Acts 8:31, where it concerns guidance in understanding the Scriptures. What is therefore characteristic for the OT use of the vb. has scarcely any effect in the NT.

(b) *methodeia*, a word not attested before the NT, and synonymous with the older *methodos*, which is used in the late papyrus attestations in the neutral sense of proceedings in the case of the collection of taxes and debts, is encountered in the NT only twice in a negative sense: cunning (sing. Eph. 4:14), and wiles, tricks (plur. Eph. 6:11). The term stands here in connexion with statements concerning the threats to which a Christian is exposed, whether from men or seductive powers.

(c) *euhodoō* means to be led along a good road, in the NT always fig., i.e. to get along well, prosper, succeed (Rom. 1:10; 1 Cor. 16:2; 3 Jn. 2).

G. Ebel

περιπατέω

περιπατέω (*peripateō*), go about, walk; ἐμπεριπατέω (*emperipateō*), go about, walk; πατέω (*pateō*), tread, trample.

CL *pateō* and its compounds denote in Gk. a stepping movement of the feet. *pateō* (not used before Pindar) means trans. to tread or tread on something, to set foot on or in, to trample under foot, to trample down; frequently also figuratively to treat contemptuously, to maltreat, to plunder; intrans. to go, to walk. *katapateō*, used from Thuc. onwards, denotes complete crushing or trampling down, often in the figurative sense of treating disdainfully, despising (e.g. the laws, Plato, *Leg.* 4, 714a).

peripateō (Aristophanes onwards) is found in cl. Gk. only with the literal meaning of strolling, stopping, (e.g. while one walks here and there in the market, Dem., *Orationes* 54, 7); the figurative meaning of walking, with reference to conduct, is lacking. Only in Philodemus (1st cent. B.C.) does one find the meaning to live (*De Libertate* 23, 3). *emperipateō*, to go around, to walk about, is first attested in Plut. (1st cent. A.D.).

OT In the LXX *peripateō* is found in only 33 passages, of which more than half come from Wisdom literature. It stands – as also *emperipateō* (9 occurrences: exception, Job 9:8) – for Heb. *hālaḵ* (mostly hith.), and means initially simply to go or to walk about (1 Sam. 17:39), generally with an indication of place (e.g. Exod. 21:11) or some other more precise information (e.g. Sus. 13, according to custom). Only in Jdg. 21:24 does it mean to go away. Several times God's walking or moving about is spoken of anthropomorphically (Gen. 3:8, 10; Ps. 103[104]:3), as also is → Satan's (Job 1:7; 2:2).

Only occasionally does *peripateō* denote in the figurative sense way of life (2 Ki. 20:3; Eccl. 11:9). The LXX prefers to use → *poreuomai*, to go, in combination with → *hodos*, way, because this can better express that one should conduct one's way of life in the paths indicated by God.

2. According to the Dead Sea Scrolls, God has set two spirits for men to walk in until the time of their visitation, namely the spirits of truth and of perversity (1QS

3:18 ff.; cf. A. R. C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning*, 1966, 33–56, 143–61). The sons of righteousness walk in the ways of light (i.e. according to the will of God (1QS 5:10), the sons of perversity or of wickedness walk in the ways of darkness (1QS 3:20 f.). Man in his walk of life is exposed to seduction by demonic powers (angels of darkness), which try to lead him astray. Although man should decide upon the right way, this freedom of decision seems on the other hand to have been removed from him. "For mankind has no way, and man is unable to establish his steps since justification is with God and perfection of way is out of his hand" (1QS 11:10).

NT In the NT *peripateō* occurs 95 times, of which about half are in the literal and half in the figurative meaning – a striking contrast to the LXX. It occurs predominantly in the Gospels, Acts and Rev. in the sense of to go, walk about. In 1 Pet. 5:8 it is applied to the devil who is like a lion walking about, seeking whom he may devour. In Rev. 2:1; 3:4; 21:24, it denotes walking in the perfection and light of the heavenly → Jerusalem. The hapax legomenon *emperipateō* occurs in 2 Cor. 6:16 (cf. Lev. 26:12) of God's covenant relationship with his people, in which he walks about among them. This now applies to the church. The simple form *pateō*, tread, trample, is found at Lk. 10:19; 21:24; Rev. 11:2; in each case with overtones of judgment and power, for invading armies or the Gentiles trampling over Jerusalem or the temple, or the Seventy trampling upon serpents and scorpions. *katapateō* means to tread underfoot (Matt. 5:13; 7:6; Lk. 8:5; 12:1), to despise (the Son of God, Heb. 10:29).

In the figurative sense of to walk (as a designation for conduct of life) *peripateō* is found chiefly in the Pauline (except for the Pastorals and Phlm.) and Johannine writings. Exceptions are Matt. 7:5; Acts 21:21; and Heb. 13:9, where it refers to the observance of Jewish traditions and customs. It obtains an outstanding significance as a term for denoting way of life; the nature and the manner of the way of life make it clear as to what governs a man in his being and acting. Therefore, the vb., which in itself is neutral, is always more precisely fixed (by *kata*, according to, *en*, in, *axiōs*, worthily, or a dat.) and thus qualified positively or negatively.

1. In the Pauline writings two ways of life stand fundamentally opposed to one another: the (former) heathen way of life (Eph. 2:2; walking "according to the flesh", Rom. 8:4; "like ordinary men", 1 Cor. 3:3), and the (present) walk in Christ (Col. 2:6; walking "according to the Spirit", Rom. 8:4; "in the Spirit", Gal. 5:16; "guided by love", Rom. 14:15 [NEB]; "in love", Eph. 5:2; "as children of light" Eph. 5:8).

Since the proclamation of Christ desires to lead man from a life turned away from God and dominated by a self-seeking "I" (Gal. 5:16), into a new life (Rom. 6:4) which is dominated and stamped by God and his will, "how you ought to live and to please God" (1 Thess. 4:1) is also part of this preaching, as is reflected in various ways in the Pauline exhortation.

Paul starts from the position that man under the law is under bondage, and is therefore not able to fulfil the will of God. By faith in Christ he is promised freedom from the compulsion of the norm and from his captivity to himself as a gift from God (Eph. 2:1 ff.). He can now serve God and his neighbour (Rom. 7:6; cf. 14:7 ff. and Gal. 5:13). But he must again and again be exhorted to live in this new reality, because he too as a believer still lives "in the flesh" (2 Cor. 10:3 AV) and thus

remains open to the temptation to walk "according to the flesh" (1 Cor. 3:3), i.e. to act in a self-seeking way.

As long as the Christian walks "by faith and not by sight" he is to endeavour to please his Lord (2 Cor. 5:7 ff.). He must continually be re-examining "what is pleasing to the Lord" (Eph. 5:8 ff., 15), so that he may conduct his life in a way that corresponds with his calling (Eph. 4:1; 1 Thess. 2:12; Col. 1:10). This also means an attitude which pays attention to those who do not belong to the congregation, and to their judgments (1 Thess. 4:12; Col. 4:5), an approach which is not devious (2 Cor. 4:2), but "becomingly as in the day" (Rom. 13:13), so that there is no need to shun the light of day and the outside world. In 2 Thess. 3:6 the Thessalonians are urged to "keep away from any brother who is living in idleness and not in accord with the tradition that you received from us." *emperipateō*, walk about, move, occurs only in 2 Cor. 6:16 quoting the promise of Lev. 26:12 that God will move among his people. Paul sees this → covenant promise fulfilled in the Christian community. Therefore, the community is now the temple of God, which also means that Christians must not indulge in pagan ungodliness.

2. In the Johannine writings *peripateō* occurs in both literal and figurative senses. Whereas in Jn. 11:9 f. Jesus is apparently speaking in the literal sense of walking about in day- or night-time, there is already a hint of the figurative sense of the vb. and the later gnostic-dualistic terminology, which John uses in order to bring into relief the two possibilities for human existence: the life of faith and life in unbelief. The expressions "to walk in the light", "to walk in the truth", and "to walk in darkness" do not mean moral or immoral behaviour, but existence governed by God and existence governed by the world. To walk in the light means to live with one's face turned to God, by faith in Jesus Christ (Jn. 12:35 f.); to walk in darkness means to have one's life closed to God.

The man who has his life closed to God misses real → life (Jn. 12:35; 1 Jn. 2:11). Jesus, however, has come as the light of the world, so that man may find real life through him (Jn. 8:12). He finds it when he hears the call of Jesus and follows him.

Walking in the light (in 2 Jn. 4, cf. v. 6, and 3 Jn. 3 f., the expression is "walk in truth") has an ethical side. The Epistles of John show this clearly. Not mere words, but the whole way one lives one's life proves fellowship with God (1 Jn. 1:6 f.). "He who says he abides in him ought to walk in the same way in which he walked" (1 Jn. 2:6; cf. 2 Jn. 6). This was clear for all to see in Jesus (Jn. 13:14; 1 Jn. 4:11, 19). This also means having fellowship amongst one another (1 Jn. 3:16 f.). It is thus a matter of total surrender to God and to fellow human beings.

Correspondingly, walking in darkness characterizes an expression of living which does not correspond with fellowship with God (1 Jn. 1:6), and is therefore not determined by love, but by hate (1 Jn. 2:11). *G. Ebel*

πορεύομαι

πορεύομαι (*poreuomai*), go, to journey, to travel, to walk; *τρέχω* (*trechō*), run, move quickly; *δρόμος* (*dromos*), course, race; *πρόδρομος* (*prodromos*), running before, forerunner.

CL 1. *poreuomai* (Soph. onwards), to go, journey, travel, march, denotes by contrast with → *peripateō*, going in a particular direction or with a particular intention.

Figuratively – in phrases of travelling along the path of life (Plato, *Rep.* 2, 365b) or in ethical statements (Soph., *OT* 883) – it is found only rarely.

2. *trechō*, attested from Homer (*Od.* 23, 207; *Il.* 23, 392 f.) onwards, means to move quickly, to run, especially at a contest in the stadium (→ Fight, art. *agōn*). Influenced by the philosophical criticism of over-estimation of purely physical contests, *trechō* is also found in statements which express effort or achievement in respect of mental and spiritual matters.

OT 1. *poreuomai*, to go, to walk, is found some 750 times in the LXX, chiefly for Heb. *hālaḵ*, to go, but also for other Heb. vbs.

(a) It often has the literal sense of going, journeying, travelling (e.g. Gen. 12:4 f.; Deut. 1:19, 33). Linked with *opisō tinos*, behind someone (Jdg. 13:11), it takes on the figurative sense of following someone (→ Disciple, art. *opisō*), i.e. obeying him (e.g. 1 Ki. 14:8). It occurs as a command of God, which sends man on a particular path (e.g. Gen. 22:2; 2 Sam. 7:5). It can also denote departure from life (1 Ki. 2:2; 2 Sam. 12:23) and in later times the journey to Sheol or Hades (→ Hell), as in Job 10:21; 16:22; Eccl. 9:10.

(b) By contrast with secular Gk. (see above, CL 1) the vb. frequently stands in the LXX in the figurative sense of way of life (e.g. 1 Ki. 3:14), especially in the characteristic combination with *hodos*, way, and "ways of God" or → commandments, used to designate the conduct ordained by the will of God (e.g. Deut. 8:6; 10:12; Jer. 7:23), which can also quite generally be called "walking before God" (1 Ki. 8:25). Corresponding to the figurative meaning of way (OT 1 (c), 2 (b)), other terms can also stand alongside *poreuomai*, such as "the law of the LORD" (Ps. 119[118]:1), "righteousness" (Isa. 33:15; Pss. Sol. 14:2), "truth" (Prov. 28:6) etc., mostly with *en* followed by the dat.

(c) This use of *poreuomai* is also found (in part further reinforced) in Test. XII, whereas Philo only has the figurative meaning on rare occasions, e.g. in the picture of the path of life (*Migr. Abr.* 133) or of the two ways (*Migr. Abr.* 204), and in connexion with the conception of travelling on the royal way of virtue.

2. *trechō* is attested some 60 times in the LXX mostly for Heb. *rûṣ*, to run, in the literal sense (e.g. Gen. 18:7; 1 Ki. 18:46). In the figurative sense it occurs in only a few passages: for the way of life according to the commandments of God in connexion with the typical OT concept of way (Ps. 119[118]:32), of "running into lies" (Ps. 61:5 LXX) and in the expression "running in the way of immortality" (4 Macc. 14:5, in the account of the martyrdom of the seven brothers).

NT 1. *poreuomai* is attested about 150 times in the NT, of which 83 are in the Synoptic Gospels, 37 in Acts, 13 in John's Gospel, 8 in Paul, 9 in the other letters; the vb. is only used in the middle and passive. It mostly has the literal sense of to go (e.g. Mk. 9:30; the sending out of the disciples in Matt. 10:6 f.; and 28:19). It never occurs in connexion with the call to discipleship (→ Disciple art. *akoloutheō*). It also means to travel, to journey (e.g. Lk. 9:5); details of direction and goal are often given.

(a) The general use is variable and many-sided: for going in the sense of dying (Lk. 22:22); in Jn.'s Gospel for the departure of Jesus from his own and his return to the Father (Jn. 14:2 f., 12, 28; 16:7, 28; cf. → Heaven, art. *anabainō*); for departing

into the eternal fire at the final judgment (Matt. 25:41); and in statements concerning the ascent of Jesus (Acts 1:10 f.; 1 Pet. 3:22) or his going to the "spirits in prison" (1 Pet. 3:19; → Hell, art. *hadēs*).

(b) By contrast with the LXX usage, *poreuomai* has the sense of walk surprisingly rarely in the NT. Apart from Lk. 1:6 and Acts 9:31 (possibly also Acts 14:16), where walking "in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord" or "in the fear of God" is spoken of, in the OT form of expression, the figurative use is lacking in the Synoptics, in John, and above all, in Paul, who uses → *peripateō* instead (32 times). In 1 Pet. 4:3; 2 Pet. 2:10; 3:3; and Jude 11, 16, 18 the vb. occurs in statements concerning a bad way of life.

2. *trechō*, to run, is found in the NT in the literal sense, including the disciples' running to the empty tomb (e.g. Matt. 27:48; 28:8; Mk. 5:6; 15:36; Lk. 15:20; 24:12; Jn. 20:2, 4; Acts 19:28). In 2 Thess. 3:1 it is used of the word of the Lord (cf. Ps. 147[146]:4). It is found in Paul predominantly in the figurative sense. By using the vb., he expresses how the Christian life as a whole, like his apostolic service, is directed towards a goal (Gal. 2:2; 5:7; Phil. 2:16) and that, as in a contest in the stadium (see CL 2), what matters is applying all one's strength and holding out to the end (1 Cor. 9:24 ff.; cf. Heb. 12:1). Rom. 9:16, by pointing to the mercy of God – which in the last resort, is alone decisive – represents the necessary corrective. It also occurs in Heb. 12:1 and Rev. 9:9. *syntrechō*, run together, occurs in Mk. 6:33; Acts 3:11 (of people); 1 Pet. 4:4 (fig. of people plunging together into the same stream of debauchery).

3. *dromos*, course, is used of a race in 2 Tim. 4:7, of Paul's career and work as an apostle which is also compared with a fight; cf. Acts 13:25, of the course of John the Baptist's life; Acts 20:24, of the course of Paul's life, his sole object being to complete his ministry. *prodromos*, forerunner, occurs only at Heb. 6:20, where Jesus is seen as a forerunner on our behalf, having become a high priest for ever after the order of → Melchizedek. In the context, he has entered the inner sanctuary, i.e. the immediate presence of God, which is here pictured under the symbolism of the day of atonement ritual, according to which the high priest entered on behalf of the people annually (Lev. 16; → Tent; → Temple). By being a priest after the order of Melchizedek, Jesus belongs to an order superior to that of the Levitical high priests, who were mortal men who had to perform the rite annually. Christ's priesthood is unique; his priestly work requires no repetition. *G. Ebel*

→ Conversion, → Turn Away, → Virtue

(a). O. Bauernfeind, *trechō, dromos, prodromos*, *TDNT* VIII 226–35; G. Bertram, *strephō* etc., *TDNT* VII 714–29; R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, I, 1952, 330–40; II, 1955, 15–21; G. Dalman, *Sacred Sites and Ways: Studies in the Topography of the Gospels*, 1935; S. M. McCasland, "The Way", *JBL* 77, 1958, 222 ff.; W. Michaelis, *hodos* etc., *TDNT* V 42–114; H. Seesemann and G. Bertram, *pateō* etc., *TDNT* V 940–44.

(b). A. Kuschke, "Die Menschenwege und der Weg Gottes im Alten Testament", *StTh* 5, 1951, 106 ff.; F. Nötscher, *Gotteswege und Menschenwege in der Bibel und in Qumran*, 1958; S. Wibbing, *Die Tugend- und Lasterkataloge im Neuen Testament und ihre Traditionsgeschichte unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Qumran-Texte*, *BZNW* 25, 1959; G. Wingren, "Weg, Wanderung und verwandte Begriffe", *StTh* 3, 1951, 111 ff.

Wall, Hedge, Palisade

τεῖχος

τεῖχος (*teichos*), wall around city; τοῖχος (*toichos*), wall of house; μεσότοιχον (*mesotoichon*), partition-wall.

CL *teichos*, wall, espec. around a city (Homer); hence a castle, fort (Hdt.), fortified town (Xen.). *toichos*, wall of a house, temple, enclosure, side of a tent; plur., the sides of a ship; proverbially, on the winning side. The distinction between *teichos* (city-wall) and *toichos* (house-wall) is usually maintained, just as in Lat. *murus* and *moenia* differ from *paries*. *mesotoichon*, partition-wall of a house, is found only in an inscription at Argos, where it is masc., and fig. of a boundary-line, in a fragment of Eratosthenes.

OT *teichos* occurs 193 times on the OT, and almost always translates the Heb. *ḥômâh*, derived from *ḥāmâh*, to surround, and usually meaning the wall of a town or city (Isa. 22:10), occasionally of other buildings (Lam. 2:7), and metaph. of a chaste maiden difficult to approach (Cant. 8:9 f.). The dual *ḥōmōṯayim* is used for the double series of walls with which Jerusalem was protected on the south (2 Ki. 25:4).

toichos is found 88 times, and usually renders *qîr*, and means the wall of a house or room (Amos 5:19), of the temple (1 Ki. 6:5), or occasionally of a vineyard (Num. 22:25). The origin of *qîr* is uncertain, but possibly derives from the wall's transverse beams (*qôrâh*). *mesotoichon* does not occur in the LXX. Josephus uses the separate words *ho mesos toichos* for the inner wall of the temple (*Ant.* 8, 71).

NT In the NT *teichos* consistently means a city wall. To allow him to escape from Damascus, the local disciples lower Saul of Tarsus in a basket through a window in the city wall (*teichos*, Acts 9:25; 2 Cor. 11:33). In Heb. 11:30 *teichos* is used for the walls of Jericho collapsing before Joshua's army. In Rev. 21 *teichos* occurs six times in reference to the city wall of the new Jerusalem. The wall is described as great and high (21:12), symbolizing the eternal security of the inhabitants, and excluding those outside (22:15). The twelve foundations of the city and its twelve gates are inscribed with the names of the twelve apostles and the twelve tribes of Israel respectively, signifying the completeness of the number of the people of God under the two covenants. Twelve angels are on duty at the gates in the wall, but more to honour than to guard the entrances (21:25). The measuring of the wall by an angel (21:17) not only draws attention to its extraordinary height, but once more alludes to protection. When John himself had earlier been given a measuring-rod and told to measure the sanctuary, it was made clear that whatever he did not measure would be left exposed to godless attack (11:1 f.). The wall is said to be built of jasper and adorned with twelve different jewels (→ Precious Stones in Revelation), with each gate being made of a single → pearl (21:17–21). See G. R. Beasley-Murray, *The Book of Revelation*, *New Century Bible*, 1974, 320–6.

toichos occurs only at Acts 23:3, in Paul's rebuke of the high priest Ananias as a whitewashed wall. The one who dispensed justice ought to be a wall firm and true, supporting the house of Israel, its laws, and all who lived within its shelter. The metaphor of the whitewashed wall suggests a structure whose precarious condition has been disguised by generous coats of whitewash (Ezek. 13:10–16). In spite of ap-

pearances, a man who behaved as Ananias did was bound to come to grief: his was the haughty spirit of Prov. 16:18 that goes before a fall (F. F. Bruce, *The Book of Acts*, 1968, 451). Nine years later, at the beginning of the Jewish rebellion against the Romans, Ananias, the son of Nedebaeus, a notoriously unscrupulous and rapacious politician, was dragged out of his hiding-place in an aqueduct and assassinated, probably by Zealots, on account of his pro-Roman policies.

mesotoichon is found only in Eph. 2:14. Paul declares that Christ has in his own person, by his incarnate life and death, destroyed the dividing-wall (*mesotoichon*) of (gen. of content: which consisted of) the barrier (→ *phragmos*) of separation, i.e. he has destroyed the enmity between men and God, and between Jews and Gentiles. Paul may have had in mind the four-foot wall (*ḥêl*) which separated the court of the Gentiles from the main part of the Jerusalem temple. That barrier carried warnings in Greek and Latin, inscribed in bold red letters on white limestone: Let no Gentile enter within the balustrade and enclosure about the sanctuary. Anyone who is caught doing so will have himself to blame for his ensuing death (Josephus, *War* 5, 193). Although Ephesus was a mainly Gentile city and far from Jerusalem, Paul's allusion to the *mesotoichon* in the temple would not have been lost on all the Ephesian Christians. They would know that Paul himself had narrowly escaped death two or three years before, when it was rumoured that he had violated the sanctity of the holy place in Jerusalem by taking the Gentile Trophimus, an Ephesian, into one of the inner courts (Acts 21:28 f.). (See also Temple, art. *to mesotoichon*; cf. M. Barth, *Ephesians, Anchor Bible*, I, 1974, 282–87; W. Hendriksen, *Ephesians*, 1967; C. Schneider, *mesotoichon*, *TDNT* IV 625.)

The barrier in the temple was a figurative reference to the Mosaic law (Eph. 2:15), and in particular to the setting up of boundary-marks at Sinai when that law was being given (Exod. 19:12). The function of the boundary then was to protect the people from the wrath of God. Later rabbis reversed the point of view: the fence (as it was now taken to be, rather than a mere boundary-mark) was deemed to be necessary to protect the law itself from the evil world. That fence was then interpreted by the rabbis, in its contemporary application, as the traditions of the elders, protective measures to safeguard the law itself from being transgressed, even if unwittingly.

The fall brought to men a twofold enmity, an enmity between themselves, and an enmity towards God (Eph. 2:16). The law clearly showed up both, on the one hand, by revealing the impossibly high standard demanded by God of men, if left to their own efforts, and on the other hand, by separating Jews from Gentiles, since salvation could not be attained without submitting to the legal requirement of circumcision. From the perspective of a Gentile Christian, the law with its commandments and ordinances had no positive, protective force. Rather, it was seen as a dividing wall, creating enmity between the Jews and the rest of mankind. Therefore, breaking through this wall, and indeed utterly destroying it, is no more to be understood as a crime, but as a saving deed of Christ. He did this "in his flesh" (2:14) "through the cross" (2:16), which means that he too had to pay for his action with his own life (O. Betz, "The Eschatological Interpretation of the Sinai-Tradition in Qumran and in the New Testament", *Revue de Qumran* 6, 1967–9, 105).

The wording of Eph. 2:14 presupposes a conception of *phragmos* which calls for the image of the cross as its counterpart. Paul's text in fact assumes a double *phragmos*, one that separates Jew from Gentile, and the other that separates the

world below from the world above. This was a stock conception in the early church. It appears in a letter of Ignatius, in which he says that Christ "has made a breach in the wall of separation" (*Trall.* 9:4, long recension). Christ restores unity, therefore, in a double sense. He destroys both the vertical wall separating Jew from Gentile, and the horizontal wall separating man from God. He does this by the cross, representing the double work of Christ extending both vertically and horizontally (J. Daniélou, *A History of Early Christian Doctrine. I: The Theology of Jewish Christianity*, 1964, 279 f.). *N. Hillyer*

φραγμός

φραγμός (*phragmos*), fence, wall, hedge; φράσσω (*phrassō*), fence in, stop, close.

CL *phragmos*, a fencing in, blocking up (Soph.), thence a fence, paling, palisade (Hdt.), enclosure; fig. a bristly beard. The corresponding verb *phrassō*, Attic *phrattō*, means to fence in, hedge around, esp. for protection or defence; to fortify.

OT The 18 appearances of *phragmos* in the LXX translate a variety of Heb. nouns. *gāḏēr* and the fem. *gᵉḏērâh* are used for a literal hedge of briers and thorns (Mic. 7:4), a verse which also refers to the narrow path between the vineyards, "with a hedge on this side and a hedge on that". The thorny hedge was needed to keep intruders at bay, especially the wild boar (Ps. 79:15; MT 80:13), jackals and foxes (Cant. 2:15), which, given the chance, would trample the vines and eat the grapes. Metaph. *gāḏēr* is used of a weak character, who is like an unsteady fence, and so a tempting target for evil to attack (Ps. 62:3). In the parable of Israel as the vine, hedge is *mᵉśûkkâh*, from *śāḵaḵ*, to weave (Isa. 5:5). In Job 38:31 Yahweh demands to know whether Job is able to loose the cords (*môśᵉḵôṯ*) of Orion; i.e., has he the ability, as God has, of moving the stars around at will? The LXX text reads *phragmon Ōriōnos ēnoixas*? Have you opened the barrier of Orion (i.e., let the stars loose)?

pereṣ (from *pāraṣ*, to break) means a breaking forth, i.e., in Gen. 38:29, to be the first from the womb at birth; hence, by wordplay, the child is named Perez. The LXX wording is a little different from the MT and asks, Why has the *phragmos* (barrier, i.e., of the womb) been broken through on your account? In 1 Ki. 11:27 the MT says that Solomon closed up the breach (*pereṣ*) of the city of David, whereas the LXX speaks of completing the fortification (*phragmos*). The more usual meaning of *phragmos* as a hedge appears as the translation of *pereṣ* in Ps. 143(144):14.

Although *phrassō* occurs only 8 times in the LXX, it renders 6 different Heb. words. *'āṭam* (Prov. 21:13) means to stop up (the ears), i.e. refuse to listen. *sûḡ* in Cant. 7:2(3) means lit. to shrink back, as from a prickly hedge, hence to be hedged about, and so, surrounded. A similarly sounding term *śûḵ* appears in Hos. 2:6(8), to hedge the way as with thorns, i.e. to block all movement. When Yahweh tells Job (38:8) that it is he who shuts in, fences in, the sea, the Heb. verb is the hiphil of *śāḵaḵ*, lit. to weave, especially boughs in order to make a hedge. Daniel (8:26) is instructed to seal up (*sāṯam*, shut up, hide) the vision, i.e. keep its message secret. In Prov. 25:26 *phrassō* is used in the LXX to mean to stop a well, and corresponds to the MT *nirpaś*, niphal of *rāpaś*, lit. to tread, i.e. muddy, the water.

NT *phragmos* is used in Matt. 21:33 and Mk. 12:1 for the fence or hedge set up to protect the vineyard in the parable of the wicked tenants (cf. Isa. 5:2). This and the other precautions taken by the owner underline his care for his vineyard and his absolute proprietary rights over it (D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 1972, 299). The parable alludes to a common practice of the day, for the upper Jordan valley and much of the Galilean highlands were in the hands of foreign landlords at this time (W. L. Lane, *The Gospel of Mark*, 1974, 417).

The messianic age will be inaugurated with a banquet (Isa. 25:6). In Jesus' parable alluding to this great feast, the master, on being rebuffed by those originally invited (= Jews), instructs his servant to go out to the highways and hedges (*phragmous*, Lk. 14:23), i.e. to those outside the city (= Gentiles) and to compel (*anankason*) all he found, however apparently ineligible, to come to the banquet. Physical force is not in mind (impossible for a single servant), but persuasion (cf. Mk. 6:45). The passage gives no sanction to religious persecution or to forcible proselytizing.

phrassō occurs three times in the NT. In Rom. 3:19 Paul concludes that one purpose of Scripture is to show that all men, Jews no less than Gentiles, stand condemned before God, so that every mouth may be stopped (*phragē*), i.e. silenced: no one can have anything to say by way of excuse or justification for his way of life when set against the standards required of him by a holy and perfect God. In 2 Cor. 11:10 Paul declares that no man will put a stop (*phragēsetai*) to his boasting, a metaphor from damming a river (Chrysostom; Prov. 25:26; Jdg. 16:3) or barricading a road (Hos. 2:6; Lam. 3:9). Heb. 11:33 refers to those who by faith drew upon the resources of the spiritual realm and so stopped (*ephraxan*) the mouths of lions, as in the case of Daniel (6:22; 1 Macc. 2:60; 4 Macc. 16:3, 21; 18:13), i.e. transmuted, at least for a sufficient time, the wild beasts' natural instincts, a foretaste of the messianic age (Isa. 11:6). *N. Hillyer*

χάραξ

χάραξ (*charax*), pointed stake, palisade, rampart, mound.

CL *charax*, from *charassō*, to sharpen, means a pointed stake, especially a wooden support for vines; then, by extension, the collective singular noun means the timber used in constructing a palisade surrounding a city or camp.

OT *charax* occurs 15 times and renders 5 Heb. terms. Hezekiah is promised deliverance from the Assyrians threatening Jerusalem. Against the city the enemy shall not so much as make a rampart, *sōlᵉlâh*, from *sālal*, cast up into a heap or mound (Isa. 37:33). *sōlᵉlâh* appears also in Jer. 40(33):4; Ezek. 4:2; 26:8. In Ezek. 21:22(27) *charax* translates *kar*, battering-ram, derived, on account of the weapon's swinging movement, from *kārar*, to repeat, attack again, advance and retreat. Artificial mounds were raised up against the walls of cities by the Assyrians as a platform, from which they could employ their battering-rams to greater advantage against the upper and weaker portion of the wall. *muṣṣāḇ*, station, place where anything stands (Isa. 29:3), comes from *nāṣaḇ*, to take an upright position. In Deut. 20:19 instructions are given to the people of Israel that when besieging an enemy city they are not, in a manner of speaking, to build a siege-mound (*māṣôr*) around the

local fruit-trees, i.e. they are not to attack and destroy them even though this was contemporary custom. Israel's enemy was men not trees.

mᵉṣôḏîm is more often used in the sense of nets, but in Eccl. 9:14 it means siegeworks, entrenchments, so called from being the place in which the besieging troops lie in wait to seize (*ṣûḏ*) the besieged as their prey.

NT *charax* occurs only at Lk. 19:43, where Jesus laments over Jerusalem's coming fate. Her foes will surround the city and cast up a *charax* about her, a protection for themselves and a site from which to launch their attacks. The prophetic element in Jesus' words is not in the vocabulary, for that could describe the usual course of any siege (Isa. 29:3), but in their application to Jerusalem. Forty years later the prophecy was fulfilled when the Roman army surrounded the city with siegeworks (Josephus, *War* 5, 262, 264), which must have contained much timber, for the Jews destroyed them with fire (*War* 5, 469 ff.), and the Roman general Titus had to replace the *charax* with a wall. This he threw up in three days, thus cutting off all hope of escape. *N. Hillyer*

Want, Lack, Need

ὕστερος

ὕστερος (*hysteros*), what is behind, after, the latter, later; ὕστερον (*hysteron*), in the second place, later than, thereafter, finally; ὑστερέω (*hystereō*), come too late, to miss, fail to reach; to be in need of, lack; to be less than, inferior to; to fail, give out; to be lacking, come short of; ὑστέρημα (*hysterēma*), need, want, deficiency, lack, shortcoming; ὑστέρησις (*hysterēsis*), need, lack, poverty.

CL From the time of Homer the adjective *hysteros* has the basic sense of what is behind or after, especially in reference to time. It comes to mean the second of two (Aristotle, *Politics* 5, 10, 1312A, 4), the "next" year (Xenophon, *History of Greece* 7, 2, 10), or "later". The adverbial use of *hysteron* runs parallel to the adjective throughout this period, meaning secondly, after, later, and finally in the spatial, temporal, or logical sense. The same range of nuances is amply attested for the Hellenistic period from the papyri.

The cognate verb *hystereō* was coined from the adjective, and occurs first in Euripides (*Phoenicians* 94 f.) and Herodotus with the meaning to come after or to come too late (Herodotus 6, 89: "they came one day after the appointed day"; Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1, 7, 12: "they came too late for the battle by five days"; cf. Oxyrhynchus Papyrus I, 118, 30 ff.: "it is no use if a person comes too late for what required his presence"). From this primary sense a metaphorical use of the verb developed, meaning to lag behind or to be inferior (Plato, *Republic* 484d, 539e), and a secondary nuance appears, signifying failure in something (Thucydides, 3, 1, 2: "he came too late to save Mytilene"; Hibeh Papyri 1, 43[7]: "take care that the oil-presses do not fail"). By the Hellenistic period *hystereō* comes to mean to lack something (Josephus, *Antiquities* 1, 98; 5, 214; 15, 200: "they lacked neither wine nor water").

No examples have been preserved of the nouns *hysterēma* and *hysterēsis* in classical literature or in Hellenistic literature earlier than the LXX. Among later examples of *hysterēma* may be cited two from the *Corpus Hermeticum* (4, 10; 13, 1),

the second of which is particularly interesting because the initiate asks the mystagogue, "Will you supply [lit. fill up] those things which are lacking to me. . .?" The Greek version of the Testament of Benjamin 11:5, which speaks of a descendant of the patriarch who "will fill up that which is lacking to the tribe" is clearly a Christian interpolation intended to honour Paul and indebted to the apostle for the formulation (cf. 2 Cor. 11:9; Col. 1:24). Dio Cassius 44, 48, 2 states that no titles were spared Caesar. What any single title lacked as a complete expression of honour and authority was supplied by what the others contributed for mutual completion. In all of these instances the noun bears the sense of want, lack, need.

OT In the LXX *hysteros* (4 times) and *hysteron* (15 times) are always used in a temporal sense, after, later, then. The verb *hystereō*, however, which occurs 21 times, means primarily to have a deficiency, to lack, to have a need. In the year of release the prosperous Israelite is to lend generously to his poor brother who has a need (Deut. 18:5). The Israelites of the wilderness generation were sustained by God and lacked nothing (Neh. 9:21). God gives a man wealth, possessions and honours "so that he lacks nothing of all that he desires" (Eccl. 6:2). Of the fool, however, it must be said that his heart lacks sense (Eccl. 10:3). The Hebrew clause "let me know how fleeting my life is!" (Ps. 39:4 MT) is rendered "that I may know what I lack" (Ps. 38:5), i.e. that I may appear approved before God. Belshazzar's kingdom has been weighed in the balances and has been found to be deficient (Dan. 5:27). The same nuances occur in the Greek translation of the Book of Sirach. Ben Sira reflects upon the man who toils but finds he is in want; yet an impoverished man, who lacks strength, is sustained by God in his need (Sir. 11:11–13). The scribe was moved to indignation by the sight of a warrior in want through poverty (Sir. 26:28).

Closely related to the idea of experiencing a lack is that of coming too late or failing. Certain men who have been defiled through contact with a corpse ask, "Why have we come too late for offering the Lord's sacrifice at the appointed time?" (Num. 9:7). The man who fails to observe the Passover will be cut off (Num. 9:13). Although the fulfilment of what God has promised appears to delay, Israel must confidently wait for God to act (Hab. 2:3).

Although the noun *hysterēma* does not occur in contemporary secular literature, there are six examples in the LXX, where it means lack or need. A good land is a place where there is no lack of anything (Jdg. 18:10; cf. 19:19 f.). On the other hand, what is lacking cannot be numbered (Eccl. 1:15), i.e. when there is nothing present there is nothing to list. In two instances the nuance of *hysterēma* shades to want or poverty, as in the admonition "there is no want to those who fear the LORD" (Ps. 34:10 [MT 34:9]). In the second instance, the contrast between want and abundance is explicit in the antithethic parallelism of Prov. 21:5: "The plans of the diligent lead to abundance, but everyone who is hasty comes only to poverty." The related noun *hysterēsis*, which occurs only in the Hexapla (e.g. Job 30:3 Aquila), always means want, need.

NT The adjective *hysteros* occurs only twice in the NT. In the parable of the two sons it bears a comparative sense, "the second one" of two, the latter son (Matt. 21:31 Codex B). In the other instance, however, 1 Tim. 4:1 it is used as a superlative, "in the last times" and is parallel to the recognizably eschatological formula "in the last

days" which introduces a similar warning in 2 Tim. 3:1. The perspective is toward a future time when the church will be torn by false teachers intent upon subverting the faith of believers. The use of *hysteros* in this superlative sense became technical in a later period, as in the reference to "Christ ... who is coming in the last times [*hysterois kairois*] for our salvation" (*Acta Carpi* 5).

The adv. *hysteron*, which occurs 10 times, is always used in a temporal sense. The dominant thought is of something which takes place afterward or later. It was after Jesus had fasted for forty days that he became hungry (Matt. 4:2; cf. 21:29, 32, 37; 22:27; 25:11; Jn. 13:36). All fatherly discipline is at the actual time painful, but later it produces righteousness in those who have been subject to correction (Heb. 12:11). In this instance *hysteron* stands in opposition to the present time. In Matt. 26:60 the adverb takes on a superlative nuance, in that *hysteron* means "at last", "finally" two witnesses came forward whose testimony was regarded as significant by the court.

The verb *hystereō*, which occurs 16 times in the NT, has a broad range of nuances.

1. The basic sense is to come too late through one's own fault, to fail to reach, and so to be excluded from privilege. After referring to the wilderness generation which forfeited its place in the promised land through rebellion and unbelief (Heb. 3:7 ff.), the writer to the Hebrews pleads with his readers to take care lest any one of them should fail to attain God's promised rest (Heb. 4:1). What excludes a man is a persistent lack of faith in God's word of promise (Heb. 4:2). Near the end of the letter the writer repeats this admonition, employing the parallel expression "fail to obtain the grace of God" (Heb. 12:15). The failure contemplated in each instance identifies a man as one who disparaged God and so excluded himself from participation in the divine provision. Paul concludes that there is no essential difference between Jews and Gentiles, for all men fall short of participation in the divine glory (Rom. 3:23). Once it is understood that salvation is achieved on the level of the glory of God, it becomes clear that it can never be man's achievement but must be bestowed as the gift of God (cf. Rom. 3:21–26).

2. With reference to circumstances, *hystereō* means to lack. In Matt. 19:20 a wealthy young man affirmed to Jesus that he had kept the commandments and asked, "What do I still lack?" He has no awareness of an absolute lack which would exclude him from eternal life but only of some unfulfilled remainder which may be completed through the assumption of some task. In the parallel account in Mark, however, it is Jesus who speaks of a deficiency: "You lack one thing: go, sell all that you have ... and come, follow me" (Mk. 10:21). The one thing the man lacked was the self-sacrificing devotion which characterizes every true disciple of Jesus. For this reason Jesus invited him to follow him and to experience the demands of life in the kingdom with the Twelve. Jesus' summons in this context means that true obedience to the law is rendered ultimately in discipleship.

Perhaps the most common idea in the majority of cases in the NT is expressed in the contrast between abundance and lack. When famine struck, the prodigal son experienced a lack; he began to be hungry (Lk. 15:14; cf. Phil. 4:12). Although Jesus sent out his disciples on their preaching mission without purse or provisions, they did not lack anything (Lk. 22:35). The Corinthians had been enriched through the grace of God (1 Cor. 1:5) with the result that they did not lack anything in the realm of spiritual gifts (1:7). When Paul was in Corinth and experienced need, what he lacked

was provided by the generosity of the brothers who came from Macedonia (2 Cor. 11:9). From the perspective of his own life Paul can speak of having learned the secret of enjoying abundance or experiencing lack with contentment (Phil. 4:12).

3. The verb also occurs in the derivative sense to be less than, inferior to followed by the genitive of comparison. When Paul affirms he is not "in the least inferior to" the superlative apostles (2 Cor. 11:5; 12:11) he means that he needs nothing to compensate for some deficiency exhibited by a comparison with them. In comparing the church to a human body Paul observes that God has so adjusted the body that greater honour is bestowed upon the inferior part (lit. "the part which is lacking", 1 Cor. 12:24).

The cognate nouns *hysterēma* and *hysterēsis* are interchangeable, as a comparison of Mk. 12:44 with Lk. 21:4 will exhibit. Jesus contrasts the gifts to the temple treasury of the wealthy who gave from their abundance with the gift of an impoverished widow who gave everything she had. In this context *hysterēsis* (Mark) or *hysterēma* (Luke), as the antonym of abundance, does not denote the relative lack of something but rather want in general, poverty. A similar contrast between abundance and poverty is drawn by Paul in the context of encouraging Corinthian participation in the collection project (2 Cor. 8:14; 9:12). The general sense of need, lack, poverty is evident when the apostle responds to the gift he has received from Philippi. He does not complain of want, for he has learned the secret of self-sufficiency in every circumstance (Phil. 4:11).

hysterēma occurs twice in the stylized expression "to fill up the lack of someone" or of a larger group, where in each case the meaning is to make up for the absence by representing others who could not be present. Through their visit the elders of Corinth have made up for the absence of the Corinthians for whom Paul feels both affection and concern (1 Cor. 16:17). The Christians at Philippi were genuinely concerned for Paul, but it was their emissary Epaphroditus, who supplied what had been lacking to the community, the opportunity to labour by his side (Phil. 2:30). In that sense he has completed the service of the Philippians to the Apostle by compensating for their absence.

On two occasions Paul used *hysterēma* in the plural. In response to the report of Timothy, Paul wrote to the Thessalonians, affirming his deep desire to return to Thessalonica that he might complete the work he had begun there (1 Thess. 2:17–3:13). He states that he is praying earnestly night and day that he may see them once again "that we may supply what is lacking [Gk. *ta hysterēmata*] in your faith" (3:10). In this context the plural embraces specific areas in which their faith needed to be matured. Precisely which areas are indicated by 5:14 where Paul refers to the morally weak (cf. 4:1–8), the idle (cf. 4:9–12), and the faint-hearted (cf. 4:13–5:11). The employment of the singular would have suggested that the Thessalonians' faith as such was defective. It was the apostle's intention, however, to indicate certain deficiencies in the experience of faith, which he addresses with pastoral concern in the remainder of his letter. For that reason he cast the noun into the plural form. The clause may be rendered, "to help your faith in specific areas where there is still something lacking."

The second passage, Col. 1:24, is difficult and its meaning continues to be debated. In the context of speaking of his share in the reconciling work of Christ, Paul affirms that he rejoices in the sufferings he has endured, for he is completing

what is lacking in the afflictions of (the) Christ for the sake of his church. The deficiency contemplated cannot have reference to Christ's vicarious sufferings and death on the cross in the accomplishment of redemption. Paul makes it emphatically clear that reconciliation was truly and validly achieved through the death of Christ; no need exists for any supplementation from the apostle or any other (cf. Col. 2:11–14). Moreover, nowhere in the NT is the term "afflictions" (*thlipsis*) applied to the sufferings of Jesus during his ministry or upon the cross.

The key to the interpretation is provided by the phrase "the afflictions of [the] Christ," which occurs only here in the NT. The phrase is intelligible within the conceptual framework provided by early Christian apocalyptic, which spoke of the catastrophes and sufferings which preceded the end of the age and heralded the coming of the messiah (cf. Mk. 13:8). The measurement and extent of these afflictions, or messianic woes, has been determined and limited by God (Mk. 13:5–27; cf. Eth. Enoch 47:1–4; 2 Bar. 30:2). Once the decreed measure has been attained the old aeon, characterized by sin and suffering, will pass away and the new age will dawn. For the present, however, something is still lacking in the plurality of appointed sufferings which must be experienced prior to the end. In the sufferings which Paul endures in his own flesh in the course of his apostolic ministry to the Gentiles, he performs a vicarious service on behalf of the churches, completing what is lacking in the messianic afflictions appointed by God. By doing so, he brings closer the dawning of the new age in which Christ will return in glory (Col. 1:28 f.; 3:4). It is this prospect which accounts for Paul's joy. *W. L. Lane*

χρεία

χρεία (*chreia*), need, necessity, lack, want; χρή (*chrē*), there is a need, it is necessary; χρήζω (*chrēzō*), to have need of.

CL The noun *chreia* occurs from the time of the tragedians in the sense of need, want, necessity (Aechylus, *Prometheus* 170, "will have need of my help"; Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus* 1143, "considering in what great need we are"; *Oedipus Coloneus* 191, "to war with necessity"). The proverb that necessity is the mother of invention stems from the statement of Euripides that "necessity teaches wisdom even to the sluggish" (*Fragment* 715; cf. *Electra* 376). From this primary notion of need developed the derivative concepts of office, duty, service, business, or the matter at hand, as when Aristotle speaks of "the business of war and of peace" (*Politics* 254 B 32). This same range of nuance is amply attested for the Hellenistic period as well, where *chreia* designates need or necessity. Thus the king is instructed never to compel others to minister to his needs without compensation (Letter of Aristeas 258), while the patriarch Zebulun affirms that he offered fish to all men, "as every man had need" (Testament of Zebulun 6:5). But the noun also signifies now occasion of need, as in the instruction "send him some fish, for we have occasion of need of him" (Fayûm Papyri 117[8]). In conjunction with the verb "to have" *chreia* is treated as an active verb (Oxyrhynchus Papyri VII, 1068[20], "with anything else they may need from you").

The verb form *chrē*, meaning it is necessary, it needs, one must or ought to, is common in classical literature from the time of Homer, where it occurs in a variety of

constructs (*Odyssey* 1, 124; 3, 14, 209; 4, 463, and often; *Iliad* 1, 216; 4, 57; 5, 490, and often). In Hellenistic Greek, however, it recedes into the background and is almost totally displaced by *dei*, which occurs in Homer only once (*Iliad* 9, 337, "why need the Argives fight?"). Its rare occurrence, as in the Letter of Aristeas 231 ("he ought never to do those things which cause his failure") or a Berlin papyrus cited by A. Deissmann (*Light from the Ancient East*, 1927[3], 367: "it is necessary . . . that the goddess be celebrated in festal procession") suggests literary style. Not until Marcus Aurelius is *chrē* again used with relative frequency.

The parallel verb *chrēzō* occurs throughout the period with the meaning want, lack, and to have need of something (Homer, *Iliad* 11, 835; *Odyssey* 17, 121, 588). From the Hellenistic period we find the observation that the man who drinks wine needs much discretion (Testament of Judah 14:7) or the ethical injunction that if you have nothing to give to a man who has a need, show him compassion (Testament of Zebulun 7:3). In participial form the verb describes one who is poor or needy (Homer, *Odyssey* 11, 340; Hesiod, *Works and Days* 351).

OT The noun *chreia* is relatively rare in the canonical books of the LXX, but occurs with a high frequency in the books of the Apocrypha (20 times in Sirach alone). The primary meaning is necessity or need, often in the sense of having a need for something or of someone. Thus the Medes have no need of gold (Isa. 13:17); a fool has no need of wisdom (Prov. 18:2); Jeconiah is treated as a vessel for whom no one has a need (Jer. 22:28; cf. 48:38 where Moab is described in identical terms); God has no need of a sinful man (Sir. 15:12, and often). The secondary meaning of office, duty, service is also amply attested in the books of the Apocrypha, where we read of the service of the temple (1 Esdras 8:17; 2 Esdras 7:20; 1 Macc. 10:42), the fulfilment of duty (Sir. 32:2), the administration of public affairs (1 Macc. 10:37; 2 Macc. 7:24; cf. 15:5 "finish the king's business"), or the holding of office (1 Macc. 13:15). From this last nuance it was easy to shift the focus from the office to the office-holders or officials who are designated by *chreia* (1 Macc. 12:45; 13:37; Judith 12:10).

Consistent with the linguistic evidence for the disuse of *chrē* in Hellenistic Greek, the verb occurs only once in the LXX, in the statement "it is not good to eat much honey, but it is necessary to honour with complimentary words" (Prov. 25:27; cf. 4 Macc. 8:26 Codex A). The more usual form *chrēzō* occurs only twice, in the question, "Why do you come to me now when you have need?" (Jdg. 11:7 Codex B) and in the instruction given to David to see how his brothers were faring (lit. "that you may know whatever they need", 1 Sam. 17:18 Codex A). The relative disuse of *chrēzō* is supported by the Hexapla where the verb is attested only in Job 21:21; 22:3; Eccl. 12:1 Symmachus and 1 Sam. 17:18 Theodotion.

NT In the NT the noun *chreia* occurs both absolutely, with the meaning need, lack, want, difficulty, and in conjunction with verbal forms which signify the need for something or of someone.

1. In the primary sense of need, lack, want we read of David who was in need and was hungry (Mk. 2:25), of distribution made to Christians in Jerusalem, "as any had need" (Acts 2:45; 4:35), and of seeing one's brother who has a need (1 John 3:17). Epaphroditus is described as the one who supplied Paul's need (Phil. 2:25; cf. 4:16,

19). In the plural the noun designates needs or necessities (Acts 20:34, "these hands ministered to my needs"; 28:10; Rom. 12:13; Tit. 3:14).

2. In combination with the verb "to have", *chreia* functions as an active verb "to need", or literally "to have need of". The healthy have no need of a physician (Mk. 2:17 par.); the owner has need of his animals (Mk. 11:13 par.); the court has no further need for witnesses (Mk. 14:63 par.). The church of Laodicea boasts, "I am rich . . . and have no lack of anything" (Rev. 3:17). This treatment of the noun as an active verb is widely attested in the papyri and accounts for the vast majority of occurrences of the expression in the NT.

3. The secondary meaning office, duty, service, which is common in the books of the Apocrypha and the papyri, is found only once in the NT, in reference to the seven Hellenistic leaders "whom we may appoint to this duty" (Acts 6:3).

The rare term *chrē* occurs only once in the NT, in the comment of James that "these things ought not to be so" (Jas. 3:10). The more usual verbal form *chrēzō*, to have need of, occurs only five times (Matt. 6:32 par. Lk. 12:30; 11:8; Rom. 16:2; 2 Cor. 3:1). It is evident that when speaking of need, it was far more common for the writers of the NT to employ the construction "to have a need" than it was to use the verbal form. *W. L. Lane*

(a). J. A. Findlay, "Eph. 4:29", *ExpT* 46, 1934–35, 429; W. R. G. Moir, "Colossians 1:24", *ExpT* 42, 1930–31, 479 f.; N. B. Stonehouse, "The Rich Young Ruler," in *Origins of the Synoptic Gospels*, 1963, 93–112; U. Wilckens, *hysteros*, *TDNT* VIII, 592–601; R. Yates, "A Note on Colossians 1:24", *EQ* 42, 1970, 88–92.

(b). M. Bouttier, "Remarques sur la conscience apostolique de St. Paul", in *OIKONOMIA Heilsgeschichte als Thema der Theologie, Festschrift O. Cullmann*, 1967, 100–108; M. Carrez, "Souffrance et Gloire dans les Épîtres Pauliniennes: Contribution à l'Exégèse de Col. 1, 24–27", *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses* 31, 1951, 343–353; G. Le Grelle, "La plénitude de la Parole dans la Pauvreté de la Chair d'après Col. 1:24", *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 81, 1959, 232–250; E. Kamlah, "Wie beurteilt Paulus sein Leiden? Ein Beitrag zur Untersuchung seiner Denkstruktur", *ZNW* 54, 1963, 217–232; G. Kittel, "Kol. 1, 24", *ZSTh* 18, 1941, 186–191; J. Kremer, *Was an den Leiden Christi noch mangelt. Eine interpretationsgeschichtliche und exegetische Untersuchung zu Kol. 1:24* [b], 1956; J. Schmid, "Kol. 1, 24", *BZ* 21, 1933, 330–344; J. Schmid, "Das textgeschichtliche Problem des Parabels von den zwei Söhnen, Mt. 21:28–32", *Festschrift M. Meinertz*, 1951, 68–84; M. Schmid, *Die Leidensaussage in Kol. 1:24* (Dissertation, Vienna), 1956; B. N. Wambacq, " 'Adimpleo ea quae desunt passionum Christi in carne mea . . .' (Col. 1, 24)", *Verbum Domini* 27, 1949, 17–22; W. Zimmerli, "Die Frage des Reichen nach dem ewigen Leben", *EvTh* 19, 1959, 90–97.

War, Soldier, Weapon

πόλεμος

πόλεμος (*polemos*), war, battle, fight, strife, conflict, quarrel; πολεμέω (*polemeō*), make war, fight; στρατεία (*strateia*), expedition, campaign; στράτευμα (*strateuma*), army, detachment, troops; στρατεύω (*strateuō*), serve as a soldier; στρατηγός (*stratēgos*), general, chief magistrate, praetor; στρατιά (*stratia*), army; στρατιώτης (*stratiōtēs*), soldier; στρατολογέω (*stratologeō*), gather an army, enlist soldiers; στρατοπέδαρχης (*stratopedarchēs*), military commander, commandant of a camp; στρατόπεδον (*stratopedon*), camp, body of troops, army; ἑκατοντάρχης (*hekatontarchēs*), ἑκατόνταρχος (*hekatontarchos*), κεντυρίων (*kentyriōn*), centurion; μάχαιρα (*machaira*), sword; μάχη (*machē*), battle, fighting, quarrels, strife, disputes; μάχομαι

(*machomai*), fight, quarrel, dispute; *Ἁρμαγεδ(δ)ών* (*Harmaged(d)ōn*), Armageddon; *Γώγ* (*Gōg*), Gog; *Μαγώγ* (*Magōg*), Magog; *ὅπλον* (*hoplon*), weapon; *ὁπλίζω* (*hoplizō*), equip, arm; *πανοπλία* (*panoplia*), full armour, panoply; *θώραξ* (*thōrax*), breastplate; *θυρεός* (*thyreos*), shield; *περικεφαλαία* (*perikephalaia*), helmet; *βέλος* (*belos*), arrow, dart; *ῥομφαία* (*rhomphaia*), a large, broad sword; *παρεμβολή* (*parembolē*), fortified camp, barracks or headquarters, army in battle array, battle line; *παρεμβάλλω* (*paremballō*), throw up a palisade.

The purpose of this article is to draw attention to the rôle of warfare and military terms in Scripture. It does not attempt to make a comprehensive survey of war and military practice in the ancient world. For the sake of convenience, in the case of terms which occur only rarely in the NT, relevant information about the term's significance in the ancient world will be given in the context of the NT section. An appendix discusses *Jesus and Revolution.*

CL The Homeric epic testifies to the close link between war and the rule of the gods, though it is an open question whether one can speak of gods of war in the strict sense (cf. O. Bauernfeind, *polemos*, *TDNT* VI 503; W. F. Otto, *Die Götter Griechenlands*, 1947 [3], 244). The shield of Achilles depicted Ares and Pallas Athene going before the host (Homer, *Il.* 18, 516). Hesiod reported how Athene rejoiced in war and battle (*Theogony* 926). Ares was a god of the earlier period who was never elevated into an Olympian deity. Alongside the glorification of the heroism of war may be found a detestation of the lack of fidelity which causes war through the breach of a treaty. "Zeus wills that men should be friends the one to the other and that none should be the enemy of another" (Dio Chrys., *Orationes* 1, 40). Bauernfeind sums up the ancient Gk. attitude by saying: "the guiding principle was that every peace was painfully won from the general state of war, and was like an island continually threatened by its floods" (*TDNT* VI 506). He goes on to link the establishment of the *pax Romana* by Augustus with emperor-worship. "It was not surprising, then, that the experience of peace was accompanied everywhere by a powerful resurgence of the worship of the divine rule which was by no means alien to Hellenism" (*TDNT* VI 507; → Gospel, art. *euangelion* CL 2 (c)). *C. Brown*

OT 1. In the LXX *polemos* commonly translates the Heb. *milḥāmâh*, war, battle; the corresponding vbs. are *polemeō* and *lāḥam*. *machomai* and *machē* are much less frequent. Also found is the Heb. *ṣāḇâh*, to assemble, muster troops, and the noun *ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ*, armies, hosts. For the title *YHWH ṣᵉḇā'ôṯ* Yahweh of hosts, or LORD of hosts, → God, art. *theos* OT 2.

2. War was a common experience of the peoples of the OT. Israel like the surrounding nations knew few periods of real peace. From the raiding party of the five kings against the cities of the plain (Gen. 14) to the siege of → Jerusalem by the armies of → Babylon's king (2 Ki. 25) the accounts of battles and wars extend. For the methods of warfare of the times and of their neighbours see L. E. Toombs, "War, Ideas of", *IDB* IV 791–801 and Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands*, I–II, 1963.

The main theological interest centres on the rôle that God is shown to fill in war. The books of Deut., Jos., Jdg. and Sam. describe a form of warfare in which Yahweh

takes the initiative and instructs the Israelite tribes to participate under strict and extraordinary conditions: they are to prepare themselves as they would for worship, and they are to take neither booty nor prisoners (cf. Deut. 7:1 f., 19–24; Jos. 6:1–8:29; 10:1–11:43; Jdg. 4:6–23; 6:33–7:25). This has come to be termed "holy war". The form which such wars took varied considerably. Moreover, the practice of wars on these terms apparently ceased about midway through the reign of → David.

The "holy war" in David's time and earlier was the voluntary collaboration of tribes related to one another in religious covenant to gain and defend "the living space of an egalitarian independence movement" (N. K. Gottwald, "War, Holy", *IDB Supplementary Volume*, 1976, 942). With the consolidation of the state and the established authority of the king, the character of war changed, as did the nature of the society which supported it. Yahweh's purposes could no longer be seen to be the essence of the king's wars.

While the practice of "holy war" changed, the ideas which had supported it did not die. The view of God as "the Divine Warrior" (cf. Ps. 24[23]:8) continued in the title "Yahweh of hosts". Yahweh was the commander of all supernatural powers as well as the armies of Israel.

This found expression in the earliest religious and cultic poetry as well as in the Pss. Deliverance from → Egypt is sung in such terms (Exod. 15). The phrase used of the exodus so many times, "with strong hand and outstretched arm", fits the same category (cf. Jdg. 5:4 f.; Deut. 32:2 f.; Ps. 68[67]:8 f.; and later Hab. 3:3–6). The victories over Sihon and Og have the same emphasis (Num. 10:35 ff.).

The Pss. use the same language about the exodus and the occupation of Canaan (Ps. 132[131]:12, 16, 18). But they also begin to hint of primordial victories on which world order is based (Pss. 89[88]:9 f.; 93[92]:1–4; 98[97]:1).

Prophets continued to be consulted before joining battle (cf. 1 Ki. 20 and 22). They were also concerned about Yahweh's control of world politics. They preached judgment to be accomplished through wars that he controlled and used (Amos 1–2; Isa. 13–23; Jer. 46–51; Ezek. 25–32). "Holy war" was originally conceived as Yahweh's battle on behalf of his people. Prophetic insight challenged Israel's right to continue to claim that status. Then they announced that Yahweh, the Divine Warrior, would direct battles against Israel to accomplish his downfall in judgment (cf. Amos 2:6–14; Ezek. 5; and Jer. generally). This, they announced, would be accomplished with the fall of → Jerusalem and the exile, which took place in 586 B.C. (cf. Isa. 40:2).

Israel's relation to war changed after the exile. Israel was a religious group with very little political autonomy. Except for the brief Hasmonean period of independance after 165 B.C. and the revolts against Roman rule in A.D. 70 and 132, there was no need of or opportunity for military experience. But the ideology of the Divine King and Warrior did not fade. The faith that Yahweh ruled the powers of heaven and exercised authority over those of history continued. He was shown to control their political masters (cf. the books of Daniel and Esther). Yahweh's care for his people could be accomplished even through such men as Cyrus of Persia (cf. Isa. 45).

With the birth of apocalyptic thinking, "holy war" and the concept of the "Divine Warrior" came into their own again, depicting God's final triumph over all his enemies on behalf of those who confessed his sovereignty (cf. the Book of Daniel;

and Isa. 24–27; Zech. 11–14; see further P. D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*, 1975). *J. Watts*

3. The intertestamental period saw no new guidelines, though there is sometimes considerable overlap of messianic and apocalyptic ideas. "Thus the war of extirpation against ungodly might (Test. Dan 5:10 f.; Test. Ash. 7:3) and against sin (Eth. En. 94) sometimes seems to be identical with the final day of judgment, or at least to be so closely related to it that one cannot differentiate between the situation of war and the act of judgment" (O. Bauernfeind, *TDNT* VI 511; cf. Eth. Enoch 94:7, 9; 100:1–5; and cf. 46, 51, 53 with 55 f. and 62). Sometimes men are summoned to participate (Eth. Enoch 90:19; 95:3; Jub. 23:30; Apc. Abr. 29; Test. Sim. 5:5; 1QSa 1:21, 26). But angels could also take part (1QSa 2:8 f.; 1QM 12:1). Both visible and invisible wars are mentioned together (Test. Reub. 6:12). But sometimes the war is waged by God (Eth. Enoch 94:10; Ass. Mos. 10:7–10; Test. Ash. 7:3) or the messiah (Pss. Sol. 17:21 ff.; 2 Esd. 12:33; Syr. Bar. 40:2 f.; CD 7:20 f.; 1QH 6:28 ff.; 1QSb 5:25) alone.

The Maccabean revolt was not an eschatological war but a fight to secure the integrity of Judaism from the control of the Syrian Seleucid empire in the 2nd cent. B.C. It began in 168 B.C. when an aged priest Mattathias killed an apostate Jew who was about to offer sacrifice on an idolatrous altar in the town of Modia. The four Books of Maccabees are named after the hero of the first two, Judas Maccabeus. The first three are included in the Apocrypha. For various resistance movements in the 1st cent. A.D. → Zeal.

The War Scroll of the Qumran community (1QM) consists of nineteen mutilated columns, proclaiming war against the Kittim (1QM 1), and giving details of the reorganization of temple worship (1QM 2), programme for the forty years' war (1QM 2), details of trumpets, standards, dispositions, ages, the camp, duties of priests and Levites (1QM 3–9), addresses and prayers (1QM 10–14), and an account of the battle. The work draws inspiration from Dan. 11:40–12:3, and describes the final battle against the Kittim. It may have incorporated an account of a forty years' war against the Gentiles (cf. G. Vermes, *Scrolls*, 122 f.; for fuller discussion of the scroll see Y. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness*, 1962). It is thought that the scroll was written in the middle of the 1st cent. B.C. in view of the influence of Roman equipment and practice in the description of the battle order. The symbolism of physical war depicts the eschatological battle between the "Sons of Light" (the Qumran community) and "the Sons of Darkness, the army of Satan" (1QM 1:1). The battle is predestined. The two sides are evenly matched. It is only by the intervention of God that the wicked are finally vanquished. *C. Brown*

NT 1. *polemos*, which occurs in cl. Gk. from Homer onwards, means (a) war, battle, and (b) fig. strife, conflict, quarrel.

(a) According to Heb. 11:34, it was through faith that the great figures of the OT "quenched raging fire, escaped the edge of the sword, won strength out of weakness, became mighty in war, put foreign armies to flight." The various phrases here doubtless allude to events in Israelite history as recorded in the OT and later writings (cf. F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, *NLC*, 1964, 335 f.). The allusion to fire

recalls Dan. 3:18. Several prophets escaped the edge of the sword: Elijah (1 Ki. 19:2 ff.), Elisha (2 Ki. 6:31 ff.), Jeremiah (Jer. 36:19, 26). Gideon was the least in his father's house and his family the poorest in Manasseh, yet Yahweh delivered Israel by Gideon and his three hundred (Jdg. 6:15 ff.). In commenting on Heb. 11:34, 1 Clem. 55:3 ff. instances Judith and Esther. But the author of Heb. may well have been thinking of numerous instances of victory from the days of Joshua down to the time of Judas Maccabeus. The Israelite belief that victory was in the last analysis the work of Yahweh is expressed by Jonathan: "For nothing can hinder the LORD from saving by many or by few" (1 Sam. 14:6). The battle was not theirs but Yahweh's (2 Chr. 20:15). One man could therefore put a thousand to flight and two ten thousand (Jos. 23:10; Deut. 32:30; Lev. 26:8).

Wars and rumours of wars (Matt. 24:6 par. Mk. 13:7, Lk. 21:9) are foretold in Jesus' eschatological discourse (→ Present, art. *The Parousia and Eschatology in the NT* 2 (a)). They precede the → judgment. This theme is also taken up by Rev., where war is also said to be made upon the saints (Rev. 11:7; 12:17; 13:7, cf. Dan. 7:21 Theodotion; 19:19).

Among the features of the eschatological conflict in Rev. is the reference to Armageddon: "And they assembled them at the place which in Hebrew is called Armageddon" (Rev. 16:16). There is some discrepancy in the readings of the various MSS as to the form and spelling of this term. The Westcott and Hort text construes it as *Har Magedōn*, and it has been thought to mean the Mountains of Megiddo and in particular Mount Carmel. Zechariah is the only prophet to mention Megiddo (Zech. 12:11). Zechariah spoke of all the nations battling against Jerusalem (Zech. 14:2), and afterwards of living waters flowing from Jerusalem (Zech. 14:8; cf. Ezek. 47:1–12; Rev. 22:1 f.). Zechariah deeply influenced the author of Rev., but the battle symbolism of Rev. is also influenced by the imagery of Ezekiel. The gathering of the kings at Armageddon takes up the picture of Ezek. 38–39 with its reference to Gog and Magog (cf. also Rev. 20:7–10), where Gog is the prince of Magog. The land of Gog is mentioned in Jub. 8:25; cf. 7:19; 9:8; Sl. Enoch 56:5 ff.; 2 Esd. 13:5 ff. and woes against Gog and Magog are proclaimed in Sib. 3:319 ff., cf. 662 ff. Perhaps in Ezek. Gog is intended also to personify a land or nation. Gog is used as early as the Tell el-Amarna tablets as a name for the nations of the North, and in Ezek. and Jewish apocalyptic writers it stands for the nations generally which combined in assault on Israel (G. R. Beasley-Murray, *Revelation*, *New Century Bible*, 1974, 297; cf. J. M. Ford, *Revelation*, *Anchor Bible*, 1975, 356 f. for Gog and Magog in rabbinic literature). This is the final eschatological battle after the release of Satan following his thousand-year bondage (Rev. 20:7). The enemies of the people of God will be destroyed by fire from heaven, and the devil will be thrown into the lake of fire with the beast and the false prophet.

polemos stands for a single battle in Rev. 9:7, 9; 12:7; 16:14; 20:8. In 1 Cor. 14:8 Paul asks: "And if the bugle gives an indistinct sound, who will get ready for battle?" The context is a discussion of speaking in tongues (cf. v. 6), and the illustration is one of several examples of unintelligibility, which therefore are of no practical value to the hearer. The gift of tongues may edify the speaker, but no one else unless there be someone to discern the significance of the tongue and interpret it for the edification of the hearers (cf. vv. 11 f., 23 f., 27 ff.).

(b) *polemos* is used in the fig. sense of strife, conflict, quarrel in Jas. 4:1: "What

causes wars [*polemoi*], and what causes fightings [*machai*] among you? Is it not your passions that are at war [*strateuomenōn*] in your members?" For *polemos* in the sense of strife and quarreling cf. Philo, *Gig.* 51; Test. Sim. 4:8; Test. Gad 5:1; 1 Clem. 3:2; 46:5, and for *machē* in a similar sense cf. Test. Jud. 16:3; Test. Ben. 6:4; 2 Tim. 2:23; Tit. 3:9 (cf. M. Dibelius and H. Greeven, *James*, *Hermeneia*, 1976, 216).

2. (a) The cognate vb. *polemeō* means to fight, make war (Rev. 2:16; 12:7; 13:4; 17:14; 19:11). These passages all have strong symbolic overtones, and the subject can be either the opponents of the church or believers, the Spirit of Christ or the exalted Christ. *machomai* is used in the lit. sense of fight (between two persons) in Acts 7:26 (cf. Exod. 2:11–15; 21:22). The hapax legomenon *theomachos* means one who strives against God (Acts 5:39).

(b) *polemeō* is used of the disputes among Christians in Jas. 4:2 (cf. also Gal. 1:13 *v.l.*; 1:23 *v.l.*). Likewise *machomai* is used fig. in Jas. 4:2 and Jn. 6:52.

3. *strateia* is found in secular Gk. onwards and the LXX in the sense of an expedition or campaign. In 2 Cor. 10:4 it means warfare: "For the weapons of our warfare are not worldly [*ta gar hopla tēs strateias hēmōn ou sarkika*] but have divine power to destroy strongholds [*ochyrōmatōn*]." C. K. Barrett thinks that the verse is a probable allusion to Prov. 21:22: The wise man attacks strong (*ochyras*) cities, and destroys the stronghold (*ochyrōma*) in which the ungodly trusted (*The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, *BNTC*, 1973, 251). A similar figure is used in attacks on sophistry (Philo, *Conf. Ling.* 129 ff.). The picture is that of a siege engine attacking an embattled position. Paul's opponents had evidently accused Paul of operating in a worldly way (cf. 2 Cor. 1:17), whereas they themselves were "spiritual" (cf. 1 Cor. 3:1). Paul's reaffirmation of his own preaching, work and life in the Spirit is comparable with 1 Cor. 2:4. Here in 2 Cor. 10:4 f., Paul is turning the tables on his opponents, implying that a pseudo-spirituality is an obstacle to the knowledge of God. Rebellious thoughts are taken captive to Christ. The cognate vb. *strateuō*, do military service, serve as a soldier, carry on a war, is found in the previous verse (2 Cor. 10:3). Both noun and vb. occur again in 1 Tim. 1:18, where Timothy is urged to fight the good fight (*strateuesthai tēn kalēn strateian*). M. Dibelius and H. Conzelmann think that the use of such imagery arose against the background of the Qumran community's conception of the holy war, as set out in *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness* (*The Pastoral Epistles*, *Hermeneia*, 1972, 32). If this is so, Paul is deliberately developing the imagery in conscious contrast to that of Qumran. But, as Dibelius and Conzelmann observe, the idea of God as a commander-in-chief is amply attested in the Gk. world (Epictetus, *Dissertationes* 3, 23, 31; Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus Mathematicos* 9, 26; Philo, *On Providence* 2, 102; Maximus Tyrius, 4, 9; 10, 9; 13:3 ff.), as is that of the moral life as military service (Plato, *Apol.* 28; Epictetus, *Dissertationes* 3, 24, 34).

In addition to 2 Cor. 10:4, *hoplon*, weapon, occurs in Rom. 13:12: "The night is far gone, the day is at hand. Let us cast off the works of darkness and put on the armour of light." This mixed metaphor picks up the twin ideas that armour is worn during the daytime, as battles could be fought only while it was light, implying that the Christian is to take the offensive, and also that the Christian should wear armour appropriate to the light, in contrast with the works of darkness. In 2 Cor. 6:7 Paul speaks of "the weapons of righteousness for the right hand and for the left" in the

context of a discussion of Christian virtues and attitudes in the face of opposition and adversity. *hoplon* is used lit. of weapons in Jn. 18:3, but in Rom. 6:13 it means a tool. The cognate vb. *hoplizō* occurs in 1 Pet. 4:1: "Since therefore Christ has suffered in the flesh, arm yourselves with the same thought, for whoever has suffered in the flesh has ceased from sin." The thought is explained in the preceding verses. The Christian is to follow Christ who has died, and is risen and ascended (1 Pet. 3:18–22). He belongs to him, and thus to a different way of life from that of the ungodly (cf. 1 Pet. 3:13–17; 4:2 ff.; see the discussion in E. Best, *1 Peter, New Century Bible*, 1971, 150 ff.).

In 1 Cor. 9:7 Paul asks: "Who serves as a soldier at his own expense [*tis strateuetai idiois opsōniois pote*]? Who plants a vineyard without eating any of its fruit? Who tends a flock without getting some of the milk?" The questions come in the course of an argument against his detractors which maintains the right of the Christian worker to be supported by the Christian community. At the same time Paul points out that he has refrained from exercising his rights so that he could "make the gospel free of charge" (1 Cor. 9:18). In 2 Tim. 2:3 f. the same imagery occurs in an exhortation to single-hearted devotion: "Take your share of suffering as a good soldier [*stratiōtēs*] of Christ Jesus. No soldier on service [*strateuomenos*] gets entangled in civilian pursuits, since his aim is to satisfy him who enlisted [*stratologēsanti*] him."

Elsewhere *stratiōtēs* occurs in the lit. sense for Roman soldiers in Matt. 8:9; 27:27; 28:12; Mk. 15:16; Lk. 7:8; Jn. 19:2; Acts 10:7. *strateuma* means an army (Rev. 19:14, 19), a detachment (Acts 23:10, 27), and troops (Matt. 22:7; Lk. 23:11; Rev. 9:16). The vb. *strateuō* is used of the struggles of the passions in the Christian: "Beloved, I beseech you as aliens and exiles to abstain from the passions of the flesh that wage war [*strateuontai*] against your soul" (1 Pet. 2:11; cf. Jas. 4:1, see 1 (b) above; and also Rom. 7:7 ff.; and 1QS 3:17 ff.). *stratēgos* is found in the double sense of the popular name for the praetors or chief magistrates in the Roman colony of Philippi (Acts 16:20, 22, 35 f., 38; cf. Arndt, 778) and the captain of the temple (Lk. 22:4, 52; Acts 4:1; 5:24). *stratia*, army, is used in the sense of the heavenly host of angels (Lk. 2:13), and the host of heaven as an object of idolatrous worship (Acts 2:42; cf. Amos. 5:27 ff.). The fact that God gave the Israelites over to such worship is seen by Stephen as a divine judgment, illustrating his theme that throughout history Israel has repeatedly limited God by refusing him true spiritual worship. *stratopedarchēs*, military commander, commandant of a camp, occurs only in Acts 28:16 *v.l. stratopedon* means lit. a camp, and then a body of troops, an army, or legion (Lk. 21:20).

The Roman centurion (Lat. *centurio*, officer in charge of a hundred men) generally appears in a positive light in the NT. Three terms for the rank are given: *hekatontarchēs* (Acts 10:1, 22; 24:23; 27:1, 31); *hekatontarchos* (Matt. 8:5, 8, 13; 27:54; Lk. 7:2, 6; 23:47; Acts 21:32; 22:25 f.; 23:17, 23; 27:6, 11, 43; 28:16); and the transliteration *kentyriōn* (Mk. 15:39, 44 f.). Lk. even records the pronouncement on the faith of the centurion at Capernaum: "I tell you, not even in Israel have I found such faith" (Lk. 7:9 par. Matt. 8:10). The centurion had drawn an analogy between his own authority and that of Jesus. In both cases it was sufficient merely to give the word of command. Jesus could, therefore, heal merely by giving the word; the centurion did not consider himself worthy to receive Jesus under his roof. The

Jews, by contrast, sought signs and argued with Jesus. Matt.'s account adds a comment which was particularly relevant to the Jewish nation: "I tell you, many will come from east and west and sit at table with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven, while the sons of the kingdom will be thrown into the outer darkness; there men will weep and gnash their teeth." The comment of the centurion by the cross, "Truly this man was a son of God" (Mk. 15:39) stands in marked contrast with that of the chief priests and scribes (Mk. 15:31 f.). The version in Lk. 23:47, "Certainly this man was innocent", suggests that the comment in Mk. was not intended to be a full confession of divinity, but rather that Jesus was righteous and a true son of God in the sense in which believers address God as "our Father". By contrast the Jews, from the chief priests and scribes down to the crucified malefactors, had forfeited the right to be sons of God.

Military service is never something which is condemned *per se* in the NT. The soldiers who arrested and crucified Jesus were acting on order from their superiors who in turn were complying with the desires of the Jewish leaders. When soldiers came to John the Baptist to ask what they should do, he did not tell them to abandon their profession. Instead he said: "Rob no one by violence or by false accusation, and be content with your wages" (Lk. 3:14).

4. *parembolē* means a camp, especially a fortified camp. It is used of the Israelites' camp (e.g. Exod. 29:14; Lev. 4:12, 21; 10:4 f.), and has this sense in Heb. 13:11, 13: "For the bodies of those animals whose blood is brought into the sanctuary by the high priest as a sacrifice for sin are burned outside the camp. So Jesus also suffered outside the gate in order to sanctify the people through his own blood. Therefore let us go forth to him outside the camp, bearing abuse for him" (cf. Lev. 16:27). The author thus sees a heightened symbolism in the crucifixion of Jesus outside Jerusalem. The believer, therefore, should be willing to suffer the same rejection by the Jews. Instead of Jewish sacrifices, he is to offer the sacrifice of praise (v. 15). The present Jerusalem is "no lasting city" (v. 14); it is in fact a camp (v. 13). It is therefore better to suffer rejection with Christ, and be part of the true pilgrim people of God. The church is described as "the camp of the saints and the beloved city" in Rev. 20:9 which is surrounded in the final eschatological battle (see above, 1 (a)). Elsewhere *parembolē* means the barracks or headquarters of the Roman troops in Jerusalem (Acts 21:34, 37; 22:24; 23:10, 16, 32). The vb. *paremballō* is common in secular Gk. and the LXX, and has various meanings. In Lk. 19:43 it means to throw up a palisade, and occurs in the eschatological teaching of Jesus in the pronouncement of judgment on Jerusalem (→ Present, art. *The Parousia and Eschatology in the NT* 2 (a)).

5. Various weapons and items of armour are mentioned in the NT particularly in connexion with defence against spiritual attack. The theme of "the breastplate of faith and love" and the helmet of "the hope of salvation" (1 Thess. 5:8) is elaborated in Eph. 6:10–17 into a comprehensive description of the Christian's warfare and weapons in the fight against the supernatural powers of evil. The idea may have been suggested by the fact that Paul was himself a prisoner at the time (Eph. 4:1, cf. v. 8), and would no doubt be guarded by Roman soldiers. The "whole armour of God [*tēn panoplian tou theou*]" is needed in order to stand against the wiles of the devil (Eph. 6:11, cf. v. 13). *panoplia* means the full equipment of the soldier, including both offensive and defensive weapons. It is found at the introduction of lists of weapons or

as a comprehensive term for them (Thuc., 3, 114; Isocrates 16, 29; Polyb., 6, 23; cf. M. Barth, *Ephesians*, II, *Anchor Bible*, 1974, 761). There is no exact Heb. equivalent. Barth thinks that the emphasis here is on the quality of the weapons rather than their complete number, and prefers the translation "splendid armour" (op. cit., 793 ff.). The loins are to be girded with truth (Eph. 6:14). Barth notes three types of girdle worn by Roman soldiers that Paul may have had in mind: a breech-like leather apron worn to protect the lower abdomen; the sword belt which was buckled together with the sword and also the dagger in the case of an officer; or the belt or sash designating an officer or high official. Barth prefers the last suggestion, as he sees the verse as an allusion to Isa. 11:5: "Righteousness shall be the girdle of his waist, and faithfulness the girdle of his loins." Truth is to be both the defence and mark of the Christian. In Eph. 6:14 Paul speaks of "the breastplate of righteousness [*ton thōraka tēs dikaiosynēs*]"; in 1 Thess. 5:8 he refers to "the breastplate of faith". In view of the link between righteousness and faith in Paul's thought, no doubt the same piece of armour could be viewed from these complementary perspectives. For → righteousness is the gift of God appropriate by faith. The same noun is used in the LXX for the high priest's breastpiece of judgment (Exod. 28:15 ff.; 39:8 ff.). If Paul is thinking about the Roman foot soldier's equipment, the *thōrax* probably denotes the metal breastplate which protected the soldier's chest. But if, as Barth contends, Paul is thinking of the saints as rich heirs and noblemen, he may have had in mind scale or chain mail that covered the chest and hips (op. cit., 769; cf. Eph. 1:8; 2:6; 3:8, 12; 4:1).

Eph. 6:15 speaks of the feet being "shod with the equipment of the gospel of peace [*en hetoimasia tou euangeliou tēs eirēnēs*]". *hetoimasia* normally means readiness or preparation. But equipment (i.e. boots) as in modern Gk. (Arndt, 316) is a widespread interpretation. However, Barth prefers to translate the phrase "steadfast because the gospel of peace is strapped under your feet" (op. cit., 770, cf. 797 ff.). He argues that the Gk. stem *hetoim-* frequently translates the Heb. *kûn*, to establish, and thinks that Paul had in mind the Roman *caliga*, or half-boot, which was made of leather but left the toes free, enabling him to move readily but also giving him a firm grip. He argues that Paul is thinking of Roman military equipment rather than the practice of running barefoot for speed, despite the allusion to Isa. 52:7 (cf. also Ps. 121:3; and also Isa. 59:7; Rom. 3:15 ff.). The "shield of faith [*ton thyreon tes pisteōs*], with which you can quench all the flaming darts of the evil one" (Eph. 6:16) is an allusion to the Roman *scutum*. It had an iron frame and sometimes a metal boss. *thyreos* is linked etymologically with *thyra*, door. It was a large door-shaped or vaulted shield in contrast with the small, round *aspis* or *pelta*. With its several layers of leather soaked in water before battle it was formidable protection against flaming darts (*belē . . . pepyrōmena*). For God as a protecting shield see Ps. 7:10, 13; Zech. 12:8; Wis. 5:19; and the protection of Yahweh sung in Ps. 18. The "helmet of salvation [*tēn perikephalaian tou sotēriou*]" (Eph. 6:17; cf. 1 Thess. 5:8) appears to combine the thought of Isa. 59:17 with the Roman soldier's armour. The helmet could be of leather or metal, lined with sponge or felt. Barth suggests that Paul has in mind the more ornamental helmet of victory, demonstrating that the battle has been won (op. cit., 775), though the need for the other armour indicates that heavy fighting must still be expected.

Finally, the believer is to take "the sword of the Spirit which is the word of God

[*tēn machairan tou pneumatos ho estin rhēma theou*]." The word *machaira* occurs at Matt. 10:34; 26:47, 51 f., 55; Mk. 14:43, 47 f.; Lk. 21:24; 22:36, 38, 49, 52; Jn. 18:10 f.; Acts 12:2; 16:27; Rom. 8:35; 13:4; Eph. 6:17; Heb. 4:12; 11:34, 37; Rev. 6:4; 13:10, 14. The word *rhomphaia* which denotes a large, broad sword is used in Rev. 2:12 ("The words of him who has the sharp two-edged sword"; cf. 2:17) and Rev. 1:16 ("from his mouth issued a sharp two-edged sword"). It is used symbolically for anguish and pain (Lk. 2:35) and literally in Lk. 21:24D and in the visions of Rev. 6:8; 19:15, 21. There is a certain irony in that men came against Jesus armed with swords and the fact that the sword is a symbol of authority (Rom. 13:4). Jesus responded to men with words; but his words are seen in the later NT writings as words of authority and judgment. Heb. 4:12 speaks of the word of God as "living and active, sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing to the division of soul and spirit, of joints and marrow, and discerning the thoughts and intentions of the heart." Jesus' reply to Peter in Lk. 22:38 is no doubt ironical. His initial remark about going out to buy a sword is probably an intimation of what is about to happen. Jesus is being treated as a transgressor (Lk. 22:37; cf. Isa. 53:12). The disciples must be ready for it. The production of two swords might suggest that some of the disciples had links with the zealots, or at least they were ready to resort to arms. The words, "It is enough", may imply that that is enough of that kind of talk, or they may mean that the kind of resistance the disciples could put up with two swords against the trained Roman soldiers is so pathetically negligible as to be self-evidently futile and wrong. (On this saying and Mk. 10:34 par. Lk. 12:51 see below, *Jesus and Revolution* 3 (b) (iii).)

In the case of Eph. 6:17, the gen. *tou pneumatos*, "of the Spirit", may be the equivalent of the adj. spiritual (cf. Eph. 1:3; 5:19; 1 Cor. 14:1) or it may be the gen. of origin (i.e. "the sword given by the Spirit"). Elsewhere Paul stresses faith and testimony as the gift of the Spirit (1 Cor. 2:1–16; 7:40; 12:3; ch. 14 passim; Gal. 3:1–5; Eph. 3:5), and if these are parallel to the present passage, it would support the gen. of origin (cf. M. Barth, op. cit., 776 f.). The fact that *rhēma* rather than *logos* is used here (cf. also Eph. 5:26) may focus attention on the weighty, revelatory, creative and prophetic utterances of the Spirit. Prophetic speech, hymns and prayers cannot be excluded (Eph. 4:25, 29; 5:13, 18 f.). But *rhēma* can mean the words of God found in the OT and the words of the Lord quoted by Paul (1 Thess. 4:15; 1 Cor. 7:10; cf. Acts 20:35; → Word, art. *rhēma*). There is a par. with Heb. 4:12 and Isa. 49:2 ("He has made my mouth like a sharp sword"). "Just like the Messiah in Isa. 11, so all the saints in Ephesus can wield the sword of the word only because they are inspired" (M. Barth, op. cit., 777). *C. Brown*

Jesus and Revolution

1. *The Contemporary Debate.* Paul Tillich could say that theology must be done again in every age. This is primarily what the theologies of hope, revolution and liberation attempt to do. Born in a world of acute change, where history is being increasingly experienced as revolution (rooted in the tremendous upheavals taking place in every area of modern life, resulting from science and technology, and evident particularly in the west in the student unrest and civil rights movements of the 1960s and in the so-called Third World in the struggles against social and economic injustice and racial oppression around the globe, these theologies seek to focus atten-

tion on *faith in action*. Theology is not, so they say, concerned with reflecting on and interpreting faith, but reflecting on and interpreting faith in action. In this vein the Augustinian theology of history can be appealed to for support and *The City of God* cited as an example of theology based on "a true analysis of the signs of the times and the demands with which they challenge the Christian community" (Gustavo Gutiérrez, *A Theology of Liberation*, 1974, 6). It is at this point of action and change that exponents of these theologies find themselves in agreement with Karl Marx: although Marx owed a great deal to Ludwig Feuerbach, he had to criticize him for remaining a thinker instead of turning thought into action, a criticism epitomized in Marx's famous dictum: "The philosophers have only *interpreted* the world, in various ways; the point, however, is to *change* it" (*Theses on Feuerbach*, XI). So too, theologians must not stop at making theological assertions about the world; they must do something to change it.

(a) *Theology of Hope*. (i) *Context*. The theology of hope is primarily associated with the name of Jürgen Moltmann, although it gives inspiration to the thought of a variety of modern theologians, for example Josef Pieper (*Hope and History*, 1969), Rubem Alves (*A Theology of Human Hope*, 1969), and Major J. Jones (*Black Awareness: A Theology of Hope*, 1971).

One of the younger German theologians, Moltmann was a theological student in the years immediately following World War II. He sat at the feet of Gerhard von Rad, Ernst Käsemann, Hans Joachim Iwand, Ernst Wolf and Otto Weber at the University of Göttingen. While there, in his own words, he "imbibed the theology of the Confessing Church, inspired by Karl Barth and preserved throughout the years of struggle between the church and the Nazi state." Imbued with hope for a new, more humane Germany, and for a liberated, liberating church of Christ, he could not become enthusiastic about the debate on existentialism and secularity provoked by Bultmann. His distinctive kind of theology was to await the stimulus of the Dutch Catholic writer, Arnold van Ruler, in 1957, followed soon afterwards by Ernst Bloch on the hope principle (Ernst Bloch, *Das Prinzip Hoffnung*, 1959). From Bloch he found himself recalled to understanding Christian faith as both *world-transforming* and *world-overcoming*. Moltmann then published his *Theology of Hope* (*Theologie der Hoffnung*, in German) in 1964.

The decade of the sixties had brought a new cultural and social situation where technology promised to provide an open future: great possibilities lay ahead in terms of economic planning, population control and direction, development and social projection. These years were years of hope, and it is no accident that they gave rise to "a theology of hope". Moltmann would be the first to admit this: it is what he calls the *context* of his theology.

(ii) *Text*. Although it may arise in and from a concrete situation, in no sense is Moltmann's theology of hope shaped by that situation, but rather by its text, the Bible.

The Bible is the text of the theology of hope. In the writings of the Old and New Testaments is to be found the history book of God's promises. And these promises of God have been incarnated in the "promissory history" of Israel and in the "promissory history" of Jesus of Nazareth. The Bible tells the story of one who fulfils promises, the coming God. It is thus a story of hope for the world.

But if we begin to read the Bible as the book of God's hope then in Moltmann's

words we will find that it is a highly revolutionary and subversive book: "The hope about which it speaks is valid for the hopeless and not for the optimists. It is valid for the poor and not for the rich. It is valid for the downtrodden and the insulted so that they will learn to walk uprightly, and all this as it will be in heaven, so already here on this earth. As the book of the promises of God, the Bible . . . points beyond itself into the future which does not yet fill our present" ("Introduction to the 'Theology of Hope' ", in Jürgen Moltmann, *The Experiment Hope*, ed. and translated by M. D. Meeks, 1975, 46).

(iii) *God of Hope – God of the Future.* Christian theology speaks of God *historically*. It speaks of the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, of the God of the Exodus, of the God of the prophets, and of the God who raised Jesus from the dead. By so speaking it remembers these events and experiences and calls them to mind. But Christian theology also speaks of this history *eschatologically*: a future is awaited. What is unique then in the biblical message about God is this: it is a message which emerges from history and has the future and the end of history, that is liberation, as its goal.

Abraham heard God's promise and heeded it. To do this he had to leave his fatherland, forsaking the familiar patterns of life which had provided him with a home and security. And, in Moltmann's own words: "The Bible calls this 'faith': leaving the dwelling places of reality where one has peace and security and giving oneself over to the course of history, to the way of freedom and danger, the way of disappointment and surprise, borne along and led solely by God's hope" (loc. cit., 47 f.). Likewise, the tribes of Israel experienced in Egypt the reality of Yahweh in Promise and Exodus. When Moses asked the name of this God he was given the answer: "I am who I am" (Exod. 3:14). This formula can be translated, "I will be who I will be", and contains the future of God – a "God who has the future as the mode of his being" (Ernst Bloch).

So then, Abraham's God, Israel's God, was a "God with the future as the mode of his being" – a "God of hope". This biblical way of describing the divinity of God – the "coming God" – is very different from the essentially Greek description of the "eternal God" taken over by Christian theology. If we are to speak of the "coming God" his future becomes the source of the times. His coming continually creates new time in history. If his creation at the end of history means "Behold, I make all things new", we are able to anticipate in it that his grace is "new every morning".

(iv) *Messiah of Hope.* It is now right to ask whether this future orientation of the theology of hope is in accord with the New Testament, says Moltmann. He finds that it is. For the proclamation of Jesus: "The kingdom of God has come near. Repent; and believe in the gospel" is in fact *eschatological proclamation.* Moreover, its form is also *eschatological anticipation.* Jesus anticipates through his words, his deeds, and his life shared with others, what, according to the Old Testament expectancy, can only happen on the last day. Jesus does already today what is supposed to come tomorrow. He did not promise the kingdom only to the just and judgment to the unjust, as was usually the case (e.g. John the Baptist), but clearly and preferentially promises the kingdom to the poor and the unjust, not because of their injustice, but because of God's grace. He proclaimed the kingdom as prevenient and unconditional grace to the sinners and tax collectors, and his blessedness to the poor, to those who

were grieving, and to those who were hungry. And thus he announced the kingdom, not as judgment but as joy.

But on what basis has he so proclaimed the kingdom? On the basis of being totally directed toward confirmation by God in the future. There was an inner contradiction "between Jesus' claim of anticipating God's kingdom" and his own poverty, as well as his association with the outcast and poor.

There is another side, however, to the story of Jesus: he was crucified because he proclaimed the justice of grace and, thereby, violated the religious, as well as the political, law and order. Yet in the light of Easter, the Christian proclamation becomes once more eschatological and thus proleptic proclamation of the coming of God. The resurrection of the crucified Christ reveals a new justice, the justification of the godless. Through the crucified Christ the future of resurrection and life, of freedom, joy and justice is opened up to those who live in guilt without hope and who must die in fear without a future. The future is inaugurated, not by way of examples and commands, but through the love, the patience, and the sacrifice of God.

(v) *Community of Hope.* Hope is to be seen in the "sons of Abraham", those who have made an *exodus* from the religious and political establishments which oppress the world today. These "sons of Abraham", the community of the people of God, follow Abraham, who left his fatherland for the sake of a promise of blessing for all people; Israel, who abandoned religious and political captivity in Egypt in order to find the land of freedom and righteousness; and the man of Nazareth, who was crucified by the priests and politicians of his people and by the imperial power of Rome.

The community of hope must not be "conformed to this world", as Paul says, but be "transformed by the renewal of their minds" (Rom. 12:2), for there is no "lasting city" but "one which is to come" (Heb. 13:14) – either in Rome, Germany, England or America. But if we seek the "city which is to come", the "promised land", where shall we go? To this question Moltmann promptly replies: "One does not move to another country to find freedom and God. One remains where one is in order to correspond to the conditions of the coming kingdom of God through the renewal of the heart and by practical transformation of social circumstances. The front line of the exodus is not emigration, but liberation through the transformation of the present. For in the present, where we always are, the powers of the past wrestle with the powers of the future, and fear and hope struggle for domination. By changing ourselves and the circumstances around us, by anticipating the future of God, we emigrate out of the past into the future" (loc. cit., 59).

(b) *Theology of Revolution.* (i) *Praxis.* When the optimism of the early years of the sixties gave way to the despair of its later years (1968 witnessed not only the end of the "Prague Spring" but the Paris student riots and the beginnings of violence in Northern Ireland), it was easy to dismiss the theology of hope as fine reading and call for action in its place. Moltmann did in fact commit himself. Quoting Walter Rauschenbusch's challenge to Christianity: "Ascetic Christianity called the world evil and left it. Humanity is waiting for a revolutionary Christianity which will call the world evil and change it", he declared: "The new criterion of theology and of faith is to be found in praxis" (action). To this end, in the struggles for freedom and justice, Christians were called on to side with the humanity of the oppressed.

(ii) *Violence and Non-violence.* Aware that such a summons raised the question of the use of violence, Moltmann was willing to go even further and assert that the problem of violence and non-violence is but an illusory problem for there is only the question of whether the means are proportionate to the ends. In order to see how he went on to develop this thesis it is worth quoting from his essay "Racism and the Right to Resist" translated, significantly, by the World Council of Churches (in *The Experiment Hope*, 131–46): "It is not the idealistic principle of nonviolence that is consonant with the gospel, but the responsible action of love. Love is divine power-in-weakness (2 Cor. 12:9). Responsible political action in love is selfless to the point of sacrifice of personal innocence, to the point of incurring guilt. From this we are led to the following conclusions: first, nonviolence in the sense of nonresistance cannot be justified in tyrannical situations, because it permits and encourages violence. It does not save the personal innocence of the individual, but leads to 'more irredeemable guilt'. Second, violence, construed as the love which desires to put an end to evil, cannot be approved but it can be answered for. Resistance may not triumph over its victims. It is revenge, not love, which does that. Guilt remains guilt, but in faith we can live with this guilt and need not commit suicide. The engagement to resist remains a 'bitter engagement'. But in this instance too the incurring of guilt in the responsible love which has recourse to counterviolence cannot be restricted to the case of resistance. It is only that the example of resistance reveals the factors which, secretly and often unconsciously, determine all political action. Third, it follows from this that action and failure to act are not the same in such situations in the sense that either way one incurs guilt. There is the 'more irredeemable guilt' which in most cases consists of sins of omission" (loc. cit., 143).

(iii) *Marxist Analysis and a Socialist Society.* But as Stephen Neill aptly remarks, in his recent book, *Salvation Tomorrow*, 1976, 85, Moltmann did not go far enough for some. For example, José Míguez Bonino, an Argentinian, serving in the Evangelical Faculty of Theology at Buenos Aires, and one of the presidents of the World Council of Churches, in his *Revolutionary Theology Comes of Age*, 1975, 144–52, makes one exception in his general condemnation of the European theological tradition: Jürgen Moltmann. Moltmann, we are told, at first appeared to share the vision of those having revolutionary thoughts and was in the process of becoming their prophet. But in his second major book, *The Crucified God*, 1973, he appears to Bonino to be receding from his previous position and to be uncertain of his revolutionary theology. Bonino summarizes the theology of hope succinctly by calling Christian hope "a constant disturbance of reality as it is and a call to move ahead to the future" and the theology of the crucified God clearly but not so succinctly: "God in Christ identifies himself utterly with man oppressed, destituted, and abandoned. He dies the death of the blasphemer, the subversive, the God-forgotten man. His cross marks therefore the bankruptcy of political and religious power, indeed of God conceived as a protective assurance against destitution and death. Here we meet the powerless, suffering, Godforsaken man as the last reality of God himself. Therefore all false optimism, all utopian hope is definitively shattered. But at the same time, we are called to this same identity in the double identification with the crucified Christ, and therefore with those with whom he himself was identified: the outcast, the oppressed, the poor, the forsaken, the sinners, the lost. This is the cradle of the Christian's identity and relevance. To be crucified together with Christ means

to stand with those for whose sake God himself died the death of the sacrilege, the subversive, the Godforsaken one" (op. cit., 145f.).

Bonino concludes that Moltmann intends to become concrete, but that this would involve coming down on one side or the other in a given political situation. This Moltmann is clearly not prepared to do. He declares: "The crucified God is really a God without country and without class. But he is not an unpolitical God; he is the God of the poor, of the oppressed, of the humiliated" (*The Crucified God*, 305 [329]). Replies Bonino: "But the poor, the oppressed, the humiliated *are a class* and *live in countries*." Therefore, for Bonino personally, in the context of Latin American politics, it means coming down on the side of a Marxist analysis and a socialist society as the humanly right thing to do. One may not, says Bonino, as Moltmann does, "claim a solidarity with the poor and . . . hover above right and left as if that choice did not have anything to do with the matter" (*Revolutionary Theology Comes of Age*, 148).

Since Moltmann, many theologians have addressed themselves to the question of revolution, some in support, others from varying critical stances: in Germany Trutz Rendtorff (*Theologie der Revolution. Analysen und Materialien*, 1968), in North America Harvey Cox (*The Secular City*, 1965, 1968), in England José Míguez Bonino delivering the first of the *London Lectures in Contemporary Christianity* (later published as *Christians and Marxists: The Mutual Challenge to Revolution*, 1976).

(c) *Theology of Liberation.* (i) *Context.* The theology of liberation is connected particularly with the Latin American scene. It is primarily a movement, mainly associated with reflection groups which grew out of the Catholic Episcopal Congress held at Medellín, Colombia, in 1968. It is not unrelated to the theologies of hope and revolution, and José Míguez Bonino, for example, has claim to being called a theologian of liberation as well as of revolution.

For Latin Americans the latter years of the sixties became years of disillusionment with the pursuit of "developmentalism" as answering the needs of the Third World. Qualitative rather than quantitative change was needed. Even in Europe this was recognized in the use of the term "revolution" to describe transformation needed from within. It was because "revolution" held out for Europe frightening prospects that "developmentalism" caught on in the first place. Conversely in the Third World it was embraced because, as Frantz Fanon (*The Wretched of the Earth*, 1963) seemed to be saying, it was a more comprehensive way of dealing with the issue, at least when it was about humanization. But as the Third World began to realize that development was about quantitative rather than qualitative change, and that along the well-trodden paths of the developed world, it became necessary to coin a new term for a new concept. For in actual fact this is what "liberation" proved to be, a concept going further than development in being for qualitative as against mere quantitative change and being less superficial than revolution in the understanding of its nature and implications. Liberation would wrench the underdeveloped countries away from economic dependence on the rest, thus liberating them for development along their own lines. At this point liberation must include an element of revolution as there ought to be no illusions about the force which will be brought into play against the breaking of dependence. However, there are other forms of dependence

apart from the economic, for example, the cultural dependence on alien thought and value systems: these too must be broken.

Orlando E. Costas (*The Church and its Mission: A Shattering Critique from the Third World*, 1974) notes the distinctive contributions of three theologians of liberation theology. Rubem Alves (*A Theology of Human Hope*, 1969) he calls the *prophet* of the movement; Hugo Assmann (*Opresión-liberación: Desafío a los cristianos*, 1971, *Teología desde la praxis de la liberación*, 1973) he terms the *apologist* of the movement; and Gustavo Gutiérrez (*Teología de la liberación, Perspectivas*, 1971) he distinguishes as the *systematic theologian* of the movement. It is to the last-named that we shall turn for an understanding of the theology of liberation.

(ii) *Theology as Critical Reflection on Praxis.* The classical tasks of theology Gutiérrez sees as spirituality and rational knowledge. To this he would want to add *theology as critical reflection on praxis.* He sees this latter function as rooted in the first centuries of the church's life. For example, as we have already noted in our introduction, the Augustinian theology of history found in *The City of God* is based, according to Gutiérrez, on a "true analysis of the signs of the times and the demands with which they challenge the Christian community." As over against its comparative neglect in the immediate past, the method is coming once again into its own with the more recent stress on the existential and active aspects of the Christian life. He cites several factors worth mentioning, as contributing to this:

(1) the rediscovery of *charity* as the centre of the Christian life, leading to a more biblical view of faith as a going out of one's self, a commitment to God and neighbour;

(2) the search for a spirituality of the laity and its culmination in studies on the religious value of the profane and in *the spirituality of the activity of the Christian in the world*;

(3) a general sensitivity to the *anthropological aspects* of revelation, viz. the discovery that "the Word about God is at the same time a promise to the world";

(4) the participation of Christians in important social movements, so that the presence and activity of the church in the world becomes a starting point for theological reflection and *the very life of the church* appears ever more clearly as a *locus theologicus*;

(5) *philosophical trends* reinforce the importance of human action as the point of departure for all reflection;

(6) to these factors can be added the influence of *Marxist thought*, focusing on praxis and geared to the transformation of the world;

(7) finally, the rediscovery of the *eschatological dimension* in theology has led to the consideration of the central role of historical praxis. If human history is, above all, an opening to the future, "then it is a task, a political occupation, through which man orients and opens himself to the gift which gives history its transcendent meaning: the full and definitive encounter with the Lord and with other men" (*A Theology of Liberation*, 10).

And so, for Gutiérrez, all these factors have contributed to a more accurate understanding that encounter with the Lord "inescapably means a Christian life centered around a concrete and creative commitment of service to others" (op. cit., 11). And they have led to the formulation of the function of theology as critical reflection.

In an effort to define theology as critical reflection on praxis Gutiérrez continues:

"Theological reflection would be . . . a criticism of society and the Church insofar as they are called and addressed by the Word of God; it would be a critical theory, worked out in the light of the Word accepted in faith, and inspired by a practical purpose – and therefore indissolubly linked to historical praxis" (loc. cit.). The church proclaims the kingdom, the Christian community professes the "faith which works through charity". Theology is reflection; it follows; it is the second step. Theology does not produce pastoral activity but rather reflects on it. Therefore, a privileged *locus theologicus* for the understanding of the faith will be the life, preaching, and historical commitment of the church. But to reflect on the presence and action of the church in the world means to go beyond that. It means departing from the use of only revelation and tradition as starting points (as has been generally the way of classical theology) and beginning with facts and questions derived from the world and from history.

Such then is theology as critical reflection on praxis, the starting point and method of the theology of liberation. But where does it lead? According to Gutiérrez: "This kind of theology, arising from concern with a particular set of issues, will perhaps give us the solid and permanent albeit modest foundation for the *theology in a Latin American perspective* which is both desired and needed." We cannot go into all this; what we can do is look at one of his conclusions.

(iii) *Christ the Liberator.* Gutiérrez' conclusion is that "salvation embraces all men and the whole man; the liberating action of Christ – made man in this history and not in a history marginal to the real life of man – is at the heart of the historical current of humanity; the struggle for a just society, is in its own right very much a part of salvation history" (op. cit., 168).

It is Christ who liberates and he liberates from sin. But sin is not considered as an individual, private, or merely interior reality; it is a social historical fact, the breach of friendship with God and other men. There may be three levels of meaning to liberation – political liberation, the liberation of men throughout history, and liberation from sin – but these three levels mutually affect one another, and it is the third, sin, which is the fundamental obstacle to the kingdom and at the root of all misery and injustice. This root can only be dealt with through the acceptance of the liberating gift of Christ, but inversely, all struggle against exploitation and alienation is an attempt to banish selfishness, the negation of love, and is therefore liberating and a salvific work – although, of course, it is not all of salvation.

Both temporal progress (or the liberation of man) then and the growth of the kingdom are directed toward complete communion of men with God and of men among themselves. The same goal is sought but neither parallel nor even convergent paths are followed to achieve it: the growth of the kingdom occurs historically *in* liberation. Liberation becomes a precondition for the new society, although the new society is liberation *plus* the coming of the kingdom which is above all a gift.

Nothing escapes the salvific process, nothing is outside the pale of the action of Christ and the gift of the Spirit. This gives human history its profound unity. Those who reduce the work of salvation are those "who think that the work of Christ touches the social order in which we live only indirectly or tangentially, and not in its roots and basic structure" (op. cit., 177).

2. *Implications of the Debate.* (a) *Situational Theologies.* All three of the theologies considered are basically situational theologies. They arise in and take their

bearings from specific situations. Moltmann acknowledges as much when he distinguishes between the living or historical context of his theology of hope and its text, the Bible. But not all of his followers do so and indeed the theologians of liberation can be said to go a step further and impose on their hermeneutical method a particular political stance, for example, the Marxist analysis, as does Gutiérrez, and to some extent, Bonino. It is this kind of hermeneutic which leads to what has become a widespread phenomenon, the use of the Exodus motif – for example in various *black theologies* – as a paradigm for liberation: "Let my people go!" The method is not new and irony arises when one observes the identical concept of "an oppressed chosen people" among Afrikaaners in South Africa at the turn of the century in their struggle with the British, and among the "blacks" of Southern Africa today in their struggle against the "whites"! (Cf. Irving Hexham, *Totalitarian Calvinism in the Reformed (Dopper) Community in South Africa 1902–1919*, Dissertation, Bristol, 1975.)

(b) *Jesus the Liberator.* However, it is not only the Exodus which is used as a paradigm but also the life and death of Christ. Note that Moltmann referred to Jesus' dying as "blasphemer", "rebel", and "godforsaken". Hence the criticism of Moltmann that not only was his theology too optimistic and utopian but that it was too biblicist and historicist. (Cf. M. D. Meeks, *Origins of the Theology of Hope*, 1974, 13.) Moltmann refers to Jesus Christ in his person and history as the touchstone by which to distinguish the spirit of eschatology from that of utopia. Surely, his person and history provide us also with the touchstone by which to judge revolution (or liberation), not only its nature but the means by which it is to be achieved. Is there not an inherent contradiction in the idea of a God crucified because he was a blasphemer, a rebel and godforsaken and a God who at the same time remains a God of love, justice and peace? The question must be faced: "Was Jesus a violent revolutionary?"

(c) *The Whole Gospel.* There is economic injustice, there is racial prejudice, there is suppression of human rights, there is political oppression. This is the kind of world the church finds itself in. Christians live in a world where the developed countries are on average twelve times richer than the underdeveloped – where the gross national product of Sweden is fifty times that of Malawi; where racism is not only tolerated but legislated for, as in *apartheid*; where Christians are committed to psychiatric hospitals because of their faith; where individuals are denied political and individual freedoms. Revolution can be defined as a transformation of the foundations of a system, whether of economics, politics, morality, or religion. The theologians of hope, revolution and liberation call for such a change, and appeal to the nature of the gospel as demanding it. If the person and history of Jesus Christ provide us with the touchstone has he anything to say to this? There is no doubt but that the Christian church has been found wanting: a major distinction has often been made between change in the individual and the change of a system. How far did Jesus go? Was Jesus a revolutionary? (Cf. P. Hebblethwaite, "How Liberating is Liberation Theology?" in *Frontier*, Winter 1975–6, where he claims that at the heart of Gutiérrez' work lies "a refusal of all dualisms": there is only one history in which God acts, there is only one gospel.)

3. *Jesus and Violence.* Was Jesus a violent revolutionary? My own belief, frankly, is that he was not and that, moreover, what he was not in his incarnation he did not

expect his body, the church, to be. However, we must state and examine seriously the evidence put forward by those who claim that he was. To this end we shall consider S. G. F. Brandon's thesis (*Jesus and the Zealots*, 1967) and, among others, the counter-thesis of Martin Hengel (*Die Zeloten*, 1961; *Was Jesus a Revolutionist?*, 1971 [Ger. 1970]; *Victory over Violence*, 1973 [Ger. 1971]).

(a) *The Concept of "the Pacific Christ"*. Brandon's thesis is dependent on certain theories concerning the composition of the Gospels. His theories relate to the place of origin, dating and purpose of each Gospel and diverge considerably from the consensus of scholarly opinion.

Mark is the earliest Gospel, written from Rome during a time of persecution. So far Brandon is in agreement with others. However, although Mark was written in a time of persecution it was not written just to comfort persecuted Christians but rather to show that Jesus had been loyal to Rome, and it was written after the Jewish War of A.D. 66–70 (not so most scholars; cf. John A. T. Robinson, *Redating the New Testament*, 1976). Mark is thus interpreted as having already suppressed material in the tradition which might be interpreted politically. For example, he omits references to Jesus' relationship to the Zealots and the disturbances caused by Pilate's government, thereby imposing an a-political and pacific interpretation on his source material. But because Mark's portrait of Jesus was the first to acquire literary form it became definitive for all subsequent portrayal.

Matthew's and Luke's Gospels then became modelled on Mark's and although they contribute two distinctive developments, they inherit Mark's characterization of Jesus as the pacific Christ. Matthew is claimed to be of Alexandrian origin, written between A.D. 80 and 85, with a very overt pacifist intent, because of the danger which was likely to be felt by Christians and Jews in Alexandria after the disaster that befell Israel in A.D. 70. The main shift of emphasis for Matthew comes in the trial of Jesus when blame is laid squarely on the shoulders of the Jewish people: the Romans could not be held responsible for the crucifixion of Jesus. Concludes Brandon: "Thus, motivated by the *Sitz im Leben* of the Christian community in Alexandria in the critical years following the fall of Jerusalem, Matthew was led to develop the Markan thesis, that Jesus had been innocent of sedition against Rome, into one more suited to the needs of his own church, namely, that of the pacific Christ who renounced all resort to armed force, whether human or angelic" (op. cit., 308). As Matthew, so Luke (written from Achaia some fifteen or twenty years after Mark). Although moved by different motives, he too was interested to emphasize the pacific character of Jesus. As shown by the Acts, he was concerned to present Christianity as a faith which the Gentiles welcomed and the Roman magistrates protected from Jewish malignity! However, he was not so near to the fall of Jerusalem as to feel threatened like Mark, and so recorded that one of Jesus' disciples was a Zealot and that Jesus allowed his disciples to arm themselves before going to Gethsemane. Yet from the very beginning of his Gospel, Luke sounds a note of peace, and his portrait of Jesus as pacific is not achieved by overt suppression of material but by utilizing such eirenic traditions as the parables of the Good Samaritan and the Prodigal Son, Jesus' rebuke to the disciples on their wanting to call down fire on the unwelcoming Samaritan villagers, his warning against the consequences of violence in the Tower of Siloam discourse, the sounding of the note of peace in the story of the triumphal entry to Jerusalem, and the lament over the city's coming fate.

Finally, John gives the definitive endorsement to the concept of the pacific Christ by recording the dominical pronouncement: "My kingship is not of this world; if my kingship were of this world, my servants would fight . . ." (Jn. 18:36–7, Brandon's rendering; op. cit, 318).

Brandon himself sums up the thesis as follows: "The authors of Matthew, Luke and John, each in his own way and for his own purpose, elaborated the Markan portrait of Jesus, as one innocent of sedition against Rome, into that of the pacific Christ, who taught his followers to love their enemies and rejected all resort to armed violence" (op. cit., 320).

It is important to note two things as we proceed to examine specific passages in the Gospels appealed to by Brandon, and often accepted uncritically by others: (i) acceptance of the thesis outlined above is crucial to his arguments; (ii) the thesis lacks support at many critical junctures (for a list of scholarly reviews, predominantly critical, see Martin Hengel, *Was Jesus a Revolutionist?*, 5 f.).

(b) *A Violent Jesus?* S. G. F. Brandon was by no means the first scholar to argue for an essentially violent revolutionary interpretation of Jesus' mission. He was preceded by Hermann Samuel Reimarus (*The Goal of Jesus and His Disciples*, published in German in 1778; ET ed., G. W. Buchanan, 1970; and also in *Fragments*, ed. C. H. Talbert translated by R. S. Fraser, 1971) and Robert Eisler (*Iēsous Basileus ou basileusas*, 1929–30). A summary of their combined findings gives us the following main points: Little evidence is to be found in the proclamation of Jesus, so the events of the last days in Jerusalem are pursued relentlessly. The impetus was given by Jesus' triumphal entry into Jerusalem, "a demonstration of Jesus' messiahship, carefully planned by him in advance" (Brandon) and thus a clear challenge to the leaders of the people and the Romans. An even greater provocation was the assault on the temple, in which he was assisted by the disciples and the masses, an assault attended by bloodshed and pillage. At the same time, apparently also at the instigation of Jesus, a Zealot revolt took place in the city, during which Barabbas and the "criminals" who were crucified with Jesus were taken into custody. True, Jesus could not remain in the temple and consequently withdrew with his disciples, but the farewell discourse, recorded in Lk. 22:36 ff., when Jesus urges his disciples: "Let him who has no sword sell his cloak and buy one", indicates that he reckoned with an armed confrontation. In Gethsemane, the disciples, surprised by their opponents, offered appropriate armed resistance, the extent of which can no longer be precisely determined. After a hearing before the Jewish authorities in which, above all, his attack on the temple and his messianic claims were discussed, Jesus was condemned to death by Pilate as a self-confessed "originator of sedition", for, according to all four Gospels, Jesus answered in the affirmative Pilate's enquiry as to whether or not he was the king of the Jews. Hence he merited the punishment of any resident of the provinces who might be convicted of insurrection, and accordingly suffered crucifixion, the most gruesome death known to antiquity, and that between two apparently Zealot criminals.

What can we say in reply? Let us look briefly at some selected passages.

(i) *The Cleansing of the Temple.* At this time in the history of Palestine there was stationed a Roman cohort of at least 500–600 men in the tower of Antonia to the north-west of the outer court of the Herodian temple. The precincts of the temple were easily accessible to the soldiers by way of a broad staircase connecting the An-

tonia tower and the temple. There is therefore no doubt that any considerable uproar would have led inevitably to intervention by Pilate, as he was not squeamish on such points. Moreover, it would not have been possible for Jesus to have thrown out all those who sold and the money-changers without a large contingent of troops and a corresponding general riot. The purpose of the cleansing is not our immediate concern but it is most likely that it was concerned with what Jesus considered the proper use of the temple courts; thus he revealed his theocentric concern. (Cf. M. Hengel, *Was Jesus a Revolutionist?*, 15–18; E. Schweizer, *The Good News according to Mark*, 1971, 230 ff.).

(ii) *The Arrest in Gethsemane.* Basically, the solitary sword-thrust in Gethsemane, as recorded in Mk. 14:47, is a sign that no meaningful, organized resistance of any kind was offered (Hengel, op. cit., 18 f.). Indeed, as Eduard Schweizer says: "It seems ... reasonable to understand this move as symbolic of Jesus' deliberate defenselessness since it was so ridiculously ineffective" (op. cit., 318). Furthermore, the disciples fled without being apprehended: Jesus alone stood trial. And for forty years until the Neronian persecution only the Jewish, and not the Roman, authorities opposed the spread of Christianity.

(iii) *The "Dagger" Sayings.* After the death of Jesus the disciples must no longer go out unequipped, without money, traveller's bag, or sandals, but rather with everything, including a sword (Lk. 22:35–8). There is a simple answer for those who appeal to this passage in support of violence. The dagger or short sword belonged to the Jewish traveller's equipment as protection against robbers and wild animals. Even the "peace-loving" Essenes took "weapons on account of robbers" when they journeyed (Josephus, *War* 2, 8, 4 [2, 125]). As for Eisler's wholly congenial interpretation of the disciples' reply "Lord, here are two swords", viz. "They answer by showing him – each of them, naturally – two swords", Alan Richardson (*The Political Christ*, 1973, 48) dismisses it as "absurd" with the remark: "Eleven men encumbered by a sword in each hand would soon have been despatched by the soldiers."

The second saying of Jesus concerning a dagger (or sword), "Do not think that I have come to bring peace on earth; I have not come to bring peace but a sword" (Matt. 10:34), is generally-speaking indisputably taken to mean that Jesus came not to bring peace but "division" – an interpretation given support by a translation variant of the original Aramaic (in Lk. 12:51), viz. *diamerismos*, meaning "division" or "conflict".

(iv) *The "Social" Sayings.* All the sayings of Jesus concerning poverty and riches – take for example the beatitude "Blessed are the poor ..." (Matt. 5:3; Lk. 6:20), the warning about riches and the kingdom (Mk. 10:17 ff.), the parables of the rich man and Lazarus (Lk. 16:19–31) and the rich farmer (Lk. 12:16–21) – although they attack the greed and corruption of riches, are best interpreted as directed towards man's attitude to riches and the attendant effect on a person's relationship with God. Jesus' teaching appears to be theocentric at this point and not addressed specifically to socio-ethical issues. In stark contrast was the teaching of Zealots who included a strong social component corresponding to the social message of the OT.

(v) *The Saying about Tribute Money.* The saying is a familiar one: "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's" (Mk. 12:17).

Brandon believes that, as originally stated by Jesus, this saying was intended "to rule that the payment of tribute to Caesar was an act of disloyalty to Yahweh" (op. cit., 348). Once again he is in disagreement with most scholars. The method by which he comes to his conclusion is basically to be seen in the following three steps: (1) Mark has good apologetic reasons for depicting Jesus as being tested on the most vital issue in Roman-Jewish relations at the time – the question of paying the poll tax imposed since A.D. 6: he wants Jesus to endorse the payment of tribute to Rome; (2) therefore Mark introduces the Pharisees and Herodians "to entrap" Jesus (to support this point Brandon appeals to Bultmann who considered vv. 14–17 a unity, incidentally contra C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Gospel according to St Mark*, 1959, 369, who considers the whole passage comprising vv. 13–17 a unity); (3) every devout Jew had no doubt about what belonged to God, and the usual reason advanced by Zealots for not paying tribute money was that it meant giving to Caesar what belonged to God.

To go along with Brandon here would mean rejecting the consensus of scholarly opinion and, moreover, making the first sentence of the saying redundant.

A much more likely interpretation is that of Martin Hengel (op. cit., 33 ff.), supported by Eduard Schweizer (op. cit., 242–5) and at places by C. E. B. Cranfield (op. cit., 371 f.). First to be noted is that no Zealot would have taken in his hand a silver Roman denarius, as Jesus did. Secondly, if the conjunction *kai* is taken in its adversative sense, the saying is more satisfactorily translated: "Render to Caesar what belongs to Caesar, *but* to God what belongs to God." It then follows that, although conceding Caesar his due (like any other person entitled to the return of his property whether acquired justly or not), Jesus is saying that the second statement takes precedence over the first – everything belongs to God, he must be at the centre of our concern. Thereby, unlike Zealots and Apocalyptists, Jesus refuses to recognize separate spheres of "sacred" and "profane". He also refuses to give a ready-made answer, a fact which calls forth the following comment from Eduard Schweizer: "Ultimately, neither the Pharisees' truce with the Romans nor the rebellion of the Zealots, neither political conservatism nor revolution, is justified in every situation .... Jesus does not relieve man of the responsibility to choose.... Instead, he confronts him with God before whom man must decide" (op. cit., 244; → Tax).

(vi) *Jesus' Conscious Rejection of Violence.* In his temptation Jesus rejected outright the bringing in of the kingdom by means of political force (Matt. 4:1–11; Lk. 4:1–13). Similarly, in addressing his disciples on the subject of "position" in the kingdom he declared that, as he came to serve, so their authority must be exercised through service (Lk. 22:25–7 and parallels Mk. 10:42–5, Matt. 20:25–8; cf. Mk. 9:35; Lk. 9:48; 13:32 f.). Furthermore, in a society in which a Jew's friend was his neighbour, and an Essene's duty was to "love all the children of light ... and hate all the children of darkness", Jesus' command to turn the other cheek and to love one's enemies was a rejection of violence, to say the least (Matt. 5:38 ff.; Lk. 6:27 ff.).

4. *Jesus and Revolution.* If then we must reject the thesis that Jesus was a violent revolutionary, must we also reject the view that his message had social implications? I think not. Jesus was unmistakably a revolutionary for his time. It is evident both from what he said and from what he did. So often, in our efforts to redress the lost balance resulting from inadequate emphasis on atonement in some theologies, we have been pre-occupied with the death of Jesus to the almost total neglect of the significance of his life. Yet, if we examine his sayings and deeds we shall observe his

peculiar concern for the so-called "outsiders" or social outcasts of Palestine in his day.

(i) *Jesus and Sinners.* The Gospels are shot through with Jesus' unorthodox behaviour in eating and drinking with tax collectors and sinners. Numbered among his disciples were a tax collector and a Zealot (Lk. 5:27–32; 6:12–16); numbered among his friends and acquaintances were adulterers and robbers, for example Mary Magdalene and Zacchaeus (Matt. 26:6–13 and parallel Mk. 14:39, Lk. 19:1–10). Incidentally, no self-respecting Jewish nationalist would have any dealings with tax collectors who were denounced as traitors by the Zealots.

(ii) *Jesus and Foreigners.* In Jewish society both → Samaritans and → Greeks were considered outsiders and despised for racial and religious reasons. Jesus, on the other hand, was prepared to go out of his way to have dealings with both. He spoke to the Samaritan woman at the well (Jn. 4:1–42); he refused to call down fire from heaven on the unwelcoming Samaritan villagers (Lk. 9:51–6); and he singled out for commendation the "foreign" Samaritan leper (Lk. 17:11–19); and as if this were not enough, he told a parable in which the hero was a "good Samaritan" (Lk. 10:25–37). Likewise, he responded favourably to the request of the Syro-phoenician woman whose daughter was ill (Mk. 7:24–30 and parallels) and to the centurion whose servant was paralysed (Matt. 8:5–13). And again, incidentally, Zealots had a special loathing for the mixed-blooded Samaritans.

(iii) *Jesus and Women.* It is seldom realized what a blow Jesus dealt for the "liberation" of → women. To go out in public unveiled, to speak to men in the street, to initiate divorce proceedings – all of these and more were forbidden to women except in very exceptional circumstances. (Cf. Joachim Jeremias, "The Social Position of Women", in his *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus*, 1969, 359–76.) Jesus' teaching on divorce (Mk. 10:2–9; Matt. 5:31f.; 19:1–9), his relationship with women – the woman at the well of Samaria (Jn. 4:1–42), Mary and Martha and the "other women" (Jn. 11; 12:1–11; Lk. 23:26–31, 50–56) – are all examples of his flagrant flouting of convention and thus indicative of his sense of "justice and equality". When, on the issue of divorce, Jesus appealed to the Genesis creation narratives (Gen. 1, 2) it was to point out that man and woman were made in the image of God. It was not simply a question of whether or not divorce was possible but whether easy divorce such as that allowed by the school of Hillel was a basic infringement of human rights. "Male and female created he them", said Jesus, quoting Genesis 1:27.

(iv) *Jesus and the Needy.* The whole ministry of Jesus is an example of care for the sorrowful, the sick, and the suffering. He preached a whole gospel and he practised it: "For truly, I say to you, whoever gives you a cup of water to drink because you bear the name of Christ, will by no means lose his reward" (Mk. 9:41 par. Matt. 10:42).

5. *Conclusion.* If revolution has a habit of "devouring its children" and violence tends to breed violence there is reason enough, humanly speaking, for rejecting violent revolution, except in extreme circumstances. If, furthermore, having explored the subject of Jesus and revolution, we have come to the same conclusion as Hans Küng (*On Being a Christian*, 1976, 570): "No strategy of violence, but only one of non-violence, can be deduced from the example of Jesus Christ"; there is even more reason, theologically speaking, for rejecting violence. However, we would not be true, either to the example and teaching of Jesus Christ, or to the demands of a God of

justice and love, if we did not seek to advance the kingdom by recognizing the rule of God and by working for a more just and humane society. *M. Langley*

→ Fight, → Peace, → Present, → Zeal

On *polemos* etc.:
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(b). O. Betz, "Jesu heiliger Krieg", *NovT* 2, 1957, 116–37; W. Bienert, *Krieg, Kriegsdienst und Kriegsverweigerung*, 1952; E. Bilabel, "Strategos", Pauly-Wissowa, IVa, 183–252; W. Caspari, "Was stand im Buch der Kriege Jahwes", *ZWT* 54, 1912, 110–58; H. Fredriksson, *Jahweh als Krieger*, 1945; A. Fridrichsen, *Krig och Fred i Nya Testamentet*, *Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift* 3, 1940; H. Fuchs, *Antike Gedanken über Krieg und Frieden*, 1946; A. von Harnack, *Militia Christi*, 1905; P. Honigsheim, H.-J. Kraus, O. Michel, H. Gollwitzer and H. H. Schrey, "Krieg", *RGG*[3] IV 62–77; O. Kern, *Krieg und Kult bei den Hellenen, Rektoratsrede Halle*, 1915; H. Kruse, *Ethos Victoriae in Vetere Testamento*, 1951; J. Lasserre, *Der Krieg und das Evangelium*, 1956; M. Launey, *Recherches sur les Armées Helléniques*, I–II, 1949–50; J. Leipoldt, "Das Bild vom Kriege in der griechischen Welt", in *Gott und die Götter. Festgabe für Erich Fascher*, 1958, 16–30; D. Loenen, *Polemos. Een Studie over Oorlog in de Griekse Oudheid, Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde*, NR 16, 3, 1953; E. Müller, *Friedens- und Wehrbereitschaft der Christen*, 1956; W. F. Otto, *Die Götter Griechenlands*, 1947[3], 222–56; G. von Rad, *Der heilige Krieg im alten Israel*, *AThANT* 20, 1958[3]; A. Schlatter, *Die beiden Schwerte*, *BFChTh* 20, 6, 1916; W. Schwahn, "Strategos", Pauly-Wissowa, Supplement 6, 1071–1158; F. Schwally, *Semitische Kriegsaltertümer*, I, *Der heilige Krieg im alten Israel*, 1901; E. Seckel, *Über Krieg und Recht in Rom*, 1915; F. Stolz, *Jahwes und Israels Kriege*, *AThANT* 60, 1972; H. Trümpy, *Kriegerische Fachausdrücke im griechischen Epos*, (Dissertation, Basel) 1950; M. Weippert, "Heiliger Krieg in Israel und Assyrien", *ZAW* 84, 1972, 460–93; H. Windisch, *Der messianische Krieg und das Urchristentum*, 1909.
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Water, Lake, Sea, Well, River

Resembling somewhat the ambivalence of → fire, which the ancients encountered as a beneficial force providing light and heat, but also as a deadly and consuming destructive power, water was regarded under the double aspect of life-bringing and thirst-quenching, on the one hand, and fearful and threatening on the other. It is, like fire, for the whole of the pagan and ancient world both the site and the accompanying manifestation of an epiphany of the High God and also the abode, vehicle and attribute of demonic powers. As the element of → demons, water – again like fire – could be employed in the ancient world in homoeopathic, apotropaic magic for purposes of healing or cultic purification: the baleful demons and defilers were put to flight by having their own weapons turned against them. In the Bible water (*hydōr*) is not only necessary to life. Special interest is attached to its natural manifested forms in rain (e.g. Lev. 26:4), sea (*thalassa*), spring (*pēgē*) and river (*potamos*). In the dreaded flood-catastrophe (*kataklysmos*), rainfall and rivers work together (e.g. Gen. 7:11 f.; Matt. 7:25, 27); the anti-demonic purificatory and medicinal water of lustrations (ablutions) is mostly the "living" (flowing) water of rivers and springs, more rarely the still water of cisterns and ponds.

θάλασσα	θάλασσα (*thalassa*), sea, lake.

CL *thalassa*, Attic *thalatta*, obviously identical with *dalancha*, which Hesychius hands down as a Macedonian word, appears to be of pre-Gk. origin. From Homer onwards (*Il.* 2, 294), it denotes in Gk. the ocean, the open sea. Attempts at

etymological clarification, such as a derivation from the root *dhala*, to deepen (cf. *thalamos*, haunt, lair) remain hypothetical.

OT In some 370 passages the LXX translates Heb. OT statements about the sea with the Gk. word *thalassa*; in by far the greater majority of cases (some 360 times) it corresponds with Heb. *yām*, sea. There is a particular accumulation of references in Exod. (36), Jos. (46), Pss. (39), Isa. (29) and Ezek. (55).

The OT linguistic usage does not differentiate between the open sea and inland lakes. The Mediterranean (e.g. Jos. 1:4; 19:26 LXX; Ezek. 48:28) and the Red Sea (Exod. 23:31; Num. 33:10 f.; Jdg. 11:16; 1 Ki. 9:26) are called *thalassa*, but so also are the Dead Sea (Gen. 14:3) and the Lake of Gennesaret, the Sea of Chenara (Chinnereth, Num. 34:11; Jos. 12:3; 13:27; cf. Matt. 4:18 par. Mk. 1:16), the Sea of Galilee.

1. (a) In accord with the general conception of the ancients, the OT pictures the earth as disc-shaped, surrounded by sea (Gen. 1:9) or water (→ *hydōr*). Itself a creation of God (Pss. 104[103]: 24 ff.; 146[145]:6; Neh. 9:6), water once covered the whole earth (Gen. 1:2; cf. Ps. 104[103]:6), but Yahweh drove it back and put it in check (Gen. 1:9 f.; Ps. 104[103]:7; Job 38:8 ff.). God has founded "his" earth firmly on the seas and rivers (Ps. 24[23]:2).

(b) Because of its relation to Chaos (Gen. 1:2, Gk. *abyssos*, the abyss, the underworld for Heb. *t'hôm*, primeval water, ocean; cf. Gen. 7:11; 8:2) the sea became the embodiment of the sphere of disaster. In the sea the power of water hostile to God and men opposes the people of Israel (cf. Jer. 51:42; Pss. 46[45]:3 f.; 65(64):8). The sea is the habitat of the → Dragon who is God's enemy (Job 7:82), and of the four demons in the form of beasts in Daniel's vision (Dan. 7; cf. Rev. 13:1).

(c) But the sea has to tremble before Yahweh (Hab. 3:8; Ps. 77[76]:17) who fights and vanquishes its demonic monsters, Leviathan and the Dragon (Isa. 27:1; 51:9 f.; Ps. 74[73]:13 f.). Yahweh is the Lord of the sea (cf. Isa. 50:2; Pss. 65[64]:8; 146[145]:6; Prov. 8:29; Job 9:8; 38:8–11; Neh. 9:6). God can command the annihilating flood to liberate the earth in judgment from a humanity which has lapsed into wickedness (Gen. 6–8). Indeed, Yahweh makes use of the sea in order to drown his enemies (Exod. 14:23, 28; 15:1, 4 f., 10, 21). Conversely, the pious man experiences Yahweh's help in dangers of water and → fire (Isa. 43:2; Ps. 66[65]:12), salvation by the hand of Yahweh "out of great waters" (Ps. 18[17]:17).

2. In the literature of Judaism, the sea retains its threatening rôle for men, only now demonic powers are named even more clearly as having command over the sea, partly on behalf of God (cf. Eth. Enoch 60:16; 61:10; 66:2; 69:22; Sl. Enoch 19:4; rabbinic examples in SB III 819 f.). The wave of the sea which sinks a ship is demonic, and the magical practices of a threatened seafarer are anti-demonic (Baba Bathra 73a; cf. SB I 490). By analogy with the victory of Yahweh over the sea, the power of chaos in primeval time (Sir. 43:23[25]; Man. 3 f.), Judaism expected the destruction of the might of the sea monsters (such as Leviathan, Eth. Enoch 60:7) by God in the final time, whereas the waters of the sea and rivers will rage against the godless (Wis. 5:22[23]).

NT The occurrences of *thalassa* in the NT are distributed very unevenly among the individual books. A profusion of references in Matt., Mk., Acts and Rev. contrast with only a very few in Lk., Jn. and the NT epistles.

1. In the NT, as in the OT and in Judaism (cf. SB I 184 f.), open sea and inland lake are not differentiated. The Mediterranean Sea (Acts 10:6, 32; 17:14; 27:30, 38, 40; 28:4) and the Red Sea (Acts 7:36; 1 Cor. 10:1; Heb. 11:29, each time with reference back to the OT → miracle of the crossing of the Red Sea; 1 Cor 10 is typologically interpreted with reference to → baptism) and the Sea of Galilee, the Lake of Gennesaret (Matt. 4:18 par. Mk. 1:16; Mk. 4:1, 35 ff.; cf. Matt. 13:1; 8:23; Lk. 5:1; 8:22; Matt. 8:32 par. Mk. 5:13, Lk. 8:33; Matt. 14:22–23 par. Mk. 6:45–52; Jn. 6:1, 16 ff.; 21:1) are all equally called *thalassa*. Only Lk. deliberately calls the Lake of Gennesaret a → *limnē*, an inland lake, which explains the small number of occurrences of *thalassa* in Lk. *thalassa* consistently means the Lake of Gennesaret in Mk. and the Matthean parallels, but the Mediterranean in Acts. An abundance of references to *thalassa* are provided for the Gospels by life on sea and lake alike (cf. Matt. 17:22 par. Mk. 9:42; and Matt. 23:15 or the parabolic language of Matt. 21:21 par. Mk. 11:23, Lk. 17:6).

2. The cosmological rôle of the sea is essentially the same as in the OT. God is the Creator of the tripartite world consisting of heaven, earth and sea (Acts 4:24; 14:15; Rev. 10:6; 14:7). The sea of glass, *thalassa hyalinē* (Rev. 4:6; 15:2; cf. Gen. 1:7; Pss. 104[103]:3; 148[147]:4; Sl. Enoch 3:3; Test. Levi 2:7; Jub. 2:4), is the transparent surface of the vault of heaven with the heavenly ocean which was thought to be the source of rain; the fire of this sea (Rev. 15:2) is the flashing lightnings of the heavenly thunderstorm, here probably understood as the introduction to the → judgment. (See further R. H. Charles, *The Revelation of St. John*, *ICC*, 1920, I, 117 f.; II, 34.) The scene of the victors standing on the heavenly sea recalls Israel's song of triumph over → Egypt by the Red Sea (Exod. 15).

3. In the NT, too, the sea threatens life (e.g. that of a seafarer, Acts 28:4; 2 Cor. 11:26) and so belongs on the side of the demonic (→ Demon) and that which opposes God. The Revelation of John, in particular, extends traditions of Jewish apocalyptic, in its conception of the sea as a personal power (Rev. 7:2 f.) which will be overcome in the last days, so that it, too, like Thanatos (→ death, art. *thanatos*) and Hades (→ Hell, art. *hādēs*), must surrender its dead (Rev. 20:13) and finally possess no more right to existence (Rev. 21:1). As in Jewish apocalyptic (cf. Dan. 7:3), so for Rev. the sea is the home of demonic monsters (Rev. 13:1; cf. the → dragon discharging water, Rev. 12:13 ff.). In the plagues of the final times, the water of the sea will be turned into → blood (8:8; 16:3; cf. the rivers and springs 8:10; 16:4); the plagues in → Egypt from the early days of the nation figure in the background here (cf. Exod. 7:14 ff.).

Lk. also passes on apocalyptic traditions when he (by contrast with the parallels Matt. 24 and Mk. 13) introduces the "roar and surge of the sea" (Lk. 21:25 NEB) amongst the eschatological powers of chaos.

4. Like the open sea, the "Sea" of Galilee is also controlled by demonic powers which, together with the storm (for the combination of sea and storm cf. also Jas. 1:6; Rev. 7:1; for the combination of river and storm, Matt. 7:25, 27), endeavour to destroy Jesus' disciples, but are obliged to obey Jesus' authoritative word in the stilling of the storm (Matt. 8:23–27 par. Mk. 4:35–51, Lk. 8:22–25). Jesus' walking on

the sea (Matt. 14:22–33 par. Mk. 6:45–52, Jn. 6:16–21) may also be understood as a victory over the demonic powers localized in the water (cf. also the drowning of the Gadarene swine in Matt. 8:32 par. Mk. 5:13, Lk. 8:33). The pericope also shows that, according to the NT conception, water is a specially favoured locality for a theophany. This may be compared with the calling of the first disciples at the Lake of Gennesaret (Matt. 4:18–22 par. Mk. 1:16–20; cf. Lk. 5:1–11; Jn. 1:35–51), and the story of the stater in the fish's mouth which is peculiar to Matt. (Matt. 17:24–27; → Tax).

5. There is evidently also symbolic meaning in the sea (Lk. *limnē*; Jn. *thalassa*) when Peter was given such a magnificent catch of fish (Lk. 5:1–11; Jn. 21:1–11). E. Hilgert sees it as symbolizing the apostle's mission-field ("Meer", *BHHW* II 1181). On the other hand, allegorizing speculations on the stilling of the storm (Matt. 8:23–27 par. Mk. 4:35–41, Lk. 8:22–25) as the world ruled by evil powers, and Jesus walking on the sea (Matt. 14:22–33 par. Mk. 6:42–52, Jn. 6:16–21) as death defeated by Christ (cf. Hilgert, ibid.) are misjudged. It is true only in general terms that Jesus' power means the end of the domination of demonic and Satanic powers (cf. Matt. 12:28 par. Lk. 11:20). *O. Böcher*

πηγή

πηγή (*pēgē*), spring, source; ποταμός (*potamos*), river, stream.

CL *pēgē*, current in Gk. from Homer onwards (e.g. *Il.* 20, 9) as a designation for the source of streams or rivers, has not yet been given any satisfactory etymological explanation. From Homer (e.g. *Il.* 21, 196) onwards, *potamos* denotes flowing water, primarily greater and, in certain cases, dangerous rivers or streams. Rivers, *potamoi*, rise from springs (*pēgai*, Eur., *Hercules Furens* 1297). *pēgē* can thus assume the general figurative meaning of source. Early on in popular Gk. belief, rivers and springs were personified as inferior divinities.

OT *pēgē*, spring, is the LXX rendering some 50 times for Heb. expressions which etymologically mean much the same as eye (*'ayin*, and the derivative *ma'yān*). This may be because springs were once regarded as the weeping eye of mother earth. In 14 places in the LXX *pēgē* corresponds with Heb. *māqôr* (twice in Lev., 4 times in Jer., twice in Pss., 4 times in Prov.), 3 times (Isa., Eccl.) with *mabbua'*, meaning spring, and twice (Pss.) with *'apîq* (originally river-bed, channel).

potamos, river, stands in the LXX 112 times for Heb. *nāhār*, stream, river, and 14 times (Dan.; Ezr.) for the corresponding Aram. word *nᵉhar*. In 54 passages *potamos* replaces Heb. *yᵉ'ōr* and *yᵉ'ôr* (equally meaning river) of which 27 alone are in Gen. and Exod.; Heb. *naḥal*, originally torrent-valley, wady, is rendered by *potamos* 9 times.

1. (a) For Israel rivers possessed special significance in geographical, political and civilizatory respects. Settlements were established by rivers; which were often bitterly fought over as boundaries and providers of water. The rivers most frequently called *potamoi* are the Nile (14 times alone in Exod; then e.g. Isa. 7:18; 19:5–8), the Euphrates (e.g. Isa. 7:20; 8:7; 11:15; 27:12; Ps. 72[71]:8), the Jordan (Num. 13:29;

cf. 2 Ki. 5:12), the Chebar (LXX *Chobar*, e.g. Ezek. 1:1, 3; 3:15, 23; 10:15, 20), or, more generally, the rivers of the Babylonian exile (Ps. 137[136]:1).

(b) Springs and rivers, together with the sea, belong to the mass of water created by God, on which he has founded the earth (Ps. 24[23]:2), and over which he rules as he wishes (Exod. 7; cf. Ps. 78[77]:44; Isa. 41:18; 42:15; 43:20; 44:27; 50:2; Pss. 74[73]:15; 107[106]:33). But if the rôle of the sea is qualified chiefly in negative terms, it is understandably different with the water of springs and rivers. Here the positive aspect predominates; fresh ("living") and sweet water makes human, animal and plant life possible, and so men see in it a gift of the deity. Yahweh causes the springs to flow, and men and beasts to quench their thirst (Ps. 104[103]:10 f.); the river of God waters the land and provides nourishment and prosperity (Ps. 65[64]:10). A wealth of water-springs denoted the fertility of an area (e.g. Exod. 15:27; Num. 33:9; Deut. 8:7), and important decisions were made at the well (*pēgē* or *phrear*: Heb. *b^{e}'ēr*), as in Gen. 24:11–18; 29:1–4; Exod. 2:15–21. Through bathing in the Jordan, Naaman was healed of his → leprosy (2 Ki. 5:1–19). Popular belief localized inferior divinities – originally the possessors and providers of the water – in springs and rivers. Later Israel ascribed such possession and provision to Yahweh (Gen. 16:7–14; 32:23–33). By the river Chebar the prophet Ezekiel received his call-vision (Ezek. 1:1 ff.) and message (Ezek. 3:15 ff.). As creations of Yahweh, rivers are summoned to join in praising their Creator (Ps. 98[97]:8).

(c) Several times in its history Israel had experience of Yahweh as the Lord of springs and rivers, and gratefully testified to these facts of its salvation-history (Ps. 66[65]:1, the miracle of the Red Sea and the crossing of the Jordan). In particular, the provision of water to drink for the generation in the wilderness from the spring in the rock (Exod. 17:5 f.) is the object of continually repeated praise (Pss. 74[73]:15; 78[77]:16; 105[104]:41; 114[113]:8). The hope of thirst-quenching water in plentiful abundance forms, by analogy, an essential component part of eschatological statements concerning the coming reign of peace (Isa. 12:3; 30:23–25; 35:7; 41:18; 49:10).

2. (a) Spring-water is also part of the OT conception of → Paradise. According to Gen. 2:10–14, the river which rises in Eden divides into the four branches of Pishon, Gihon, Hiddekel (the Tigris) and Euphrates. Since the last days are depicted in terms analogous to the original state (though of course auspiciously excelling it) the eschatological speculations of OT and Jewish literature attach themselves to this river in Eden. The eschatological river rising in the temple and banked by trees of life (Ezek. 47:1–12) serves for purification and irrigation (Joel 4:18 [EVV 3:18]; Zech. 13:1 f.; 14:8). Without direct reference to Gen. 2:10–14, there are prophecies in Isa. 12:3; 43:19–21; 44:3 (cf. Joel 3:1 [EVV 2:28]); 55:1; 58:11 (cf. Ezek. 47:1–12 and Joel 4:18 [EVV 3:18]) of the irrigating and thirst-quenching function of rainfalls, rivers and streams in the last days (cf. also Sir. 24:30–33 [40–46]; Eth. Enoch 48:1; 1QH 8:4–14). The prosperity of the last days will also surpass the garden of → paradise in respect of the plentiful supply of fresh water.

(b) The demonic and destructive power of water can also be ascribed to rivers. The life of the psalmist is threatened by stream and river-water (Pss. 18[17]:5; 124[123]:4 f.; cf. Ps. 69[68]:2 f., 15 f.); but here, as in the raging of the sea, the righteous man can expect the help of Yahweh (Ps. 18[17]:7; cf. Isa. 43:2).

3. Finally, there is the figurative use of spring and river to consider. God's bless-

ings flood his people and land like the irrigating river (Isa. 66:12), and the God-given peace of the righteous is like a peacefully flowing river (Isa. 48:18); Yahweh himself can be called a fountain of living water (Jer. 2:13), whereas the compassionate man can be compared with a well-watered garden and a never-failing spring of water (Isa. 58:11). Of course, God's wrath (LXX; the Heb. text reads God himself) comes "like a rushing stream" (*potamos biaios*) upon his enemies, sweeping them away with elemental power (Isa. 59:19).

pēgē, too, is used to mean source, in a substantially weakened sense, largely disconnected from the picture of water. Frequently encountered is the phrase *pēgē zōēs*, fountain of life; God is the source of life (Ps. 36[35]:10), but the Torah (teaching), understanding, wisdom and the fear of God are also a fountain of life (Prov. 10:11; 13:14; 14:27; 16:22; 18:4 LXX). For the prophetic identification of water and Spirit (Isa. 44:3; Ezek. 36:25–27) → *hydōr* OT 2.

NT In the NT by far the largest number of attestations of both *pēgē*, spring, and *potamos*, river, are found in Rev. (5 times and 8 times respectively). The Synoptic Gospels contain 6 instances of *potamos*. Mk. 5:29 (*pēgē* of the woman's haemorrhage) does not belong in this context. Jn.'s Gospel produces *pēgē* twice and *potamos* once. "Spring" appears once each in Jas. (3:11) and 2 Pet (2:17), and "river" once each in Acts (16:13) and 2 Cor. (11:26).

1. *potamos*, river, as a purely geographical designation, is found for the Jordan (Matt. 3:6 par. Mk. 1:5), the Euphrates (here already in the context of eschatological pictures of the future, Rev. 9:14; 16:12) and the little stream, the Angites, on whose banks there was the place of prayer in Philippi (Acts 16:13).

2. (a) As far as theological statements about springs and rivers are concerned, they are clearly dependent on the OT-Jewish background. God has not only created heaven, earth and sea but also the fountains of water (*pēgai hydatōn*, Rev. 14:7). God has full right of disposal over rivers and fountains of water, so that in the eschaton he can either in part or in whole revoke the blessing and gift of drinking-water (Rev. 8:10; 16:4; cf. 11:6 and Exod. 7:14–25) or cause rivers to dry up (Rev. 16:12; cf. Ps. 107[106]:33). Jesus reveals himself to the → Samaritan woman at Jacob's Well (*pēgē tou Iakōb*, Jn. 4:5 ff.). From the water in the well he refers her to the water of life which is eternally brimming over (Jn. 4:13 f.; → *hydōr*). The Jordan, celebrated from the Elisha tradition as having healing and purifying powers (2 Ki. 5:1–19) becomes the place for the prophetic symbolic action of the Baptist (Matt. 3:6 par. Mk. 1:5) and thus also the scene of Jesus' baptism (Matt. 3:13 par. Mk. 1:9) and God's self-revelation in Spirit and in Word (Matt. 3:16 par. Mk. 1:10 f., Lk. 3:22, Jn. 1:32 f.; cf. Ps. 2:7; Isa. 42:1).

(b) The experience of the dangerous threat to life caused by swollen rivers (Matt. 7:25, 27 par. Lk. 6:48 f.; cf. 2 Cor. 11:26) leads to regarding streams of water as the instrument of demonic powers (Rev. 12:15 f.). Here the hapax legomenon *potamophorētos*, swept away by a river, which is found in the papyri, is used to describe the dragon's intention to do away with the woman who has borne the male child who symbolizes the mother of Jesus and the church.

(c) Eschatological speculation, linking on to prophetic promises (Ezek. 47:1–12; Joel 4:18 [EVV 3:18]; Zech. 13:1 f.; 14:8), is naturally more interested in the healing character of the river which surpasses the river of → paradise in Gen. 2:10–14 and

will at the end of time both quench thirst and spread abroad life, salvation and purity (Rev. 22:1 f., 17; cf. 7:17; 21:6).

The throne of God and of the → Lamb (Rev. 22:1) takes over the place of the → temple of Ezek. 47:1 as the source of the river: God himself henceforth pours out in Christ the water of life (Rev. 21:6). Jn. 7:37 f. should be similarly understood (as in RSV mg. punctuation): "If anyone thirst, let him come to me, and let him who believes in me drink. As the scripture has said, 'Out of his heart shall flow rivers of living water.' " The scriptural word (Ezek. 47:1) is interpreted of Jesus (cf. also Isa. 44:3; 55:1; 58:11). This water of life quenches thirst for all time and, as a spring of life, flows out from the one who has previously drunk it (Jn. 4:13 f.).

(d) The literal meanings of the terms spring and stream have clearly been left behind long ago. Earlier prophecy had already used irrigation as a picture of an eschatological endowment of God's Spirit (Isa. 44:3; Ezek. 36:25–27). It is, therefore, not surprising that Jn. 7:39 expounds the streams of living water expressly in terms of the → Spirit, which passes from Jesus to those who believe in him. Traces of the OT identification of water and Spirit also remain when the NT compares heretics with waterless (2 Pet. 2:17) or salt springs (Jas. 3:11 f.): the heretics lack God's Spirit, since they are possessed by a false (brackish) devilish spirit (cf. 1 Jn. 4:1; Rev. 16:13).

O. Böcher

ὕδωρ

ὕδωρ (*hydōr*), water.

CL *hydōr* is attested from Homer (*Il.* 16, 385; *Od.* 3, 300) as a designation for water.

The word belongs to the common stock of Indo-European words: Eng. water, Ger. Wasser and Lat. *unda*, wave, are all cognates. The plur. *hydata* generally denotes in cl. Gk. the waters (of a river), only rarely (as in Rev. 11:6; 16:5) water generally.

OT *hydōr* is used some 460 times in the LXX to render Heb. *mayim*, water; twice (Exod. 15:8; Ps. 78[77]:16) *hydōr* represents the pl. part. (= streams) of Heb. *nāzal*, to flow. Over 100 instances are accounted for by the Pentateuch alone, and over 50 by the Pss.

1. (a) Water (drinking-water) is a vital necessity for men (for bread and water as basic presuppositions of human life see, e.g., Exod. 23:25; 1 Sam. 30:11 f.; 1 Ki. 18:4, 13) and cattle (e.g. Gen. 24:11–20; 30:38), but also for irrigating vegetation (for the high esteem of rain see Deut. 11:11; 1 Ki. 18:41–45). Therefore men think of the precious water as the beneficial gift of Yahweh. It is he who, according to the account of creation in Gen. 2:10–14, turned the previously dead earth into fertile land by means of surging spring-water (→ *pēgē*), just as it is precisely the abundance of water, indicated by the four-branched river of Paradise, which characterizes the orchard of Eden. From the period of the wandering in the wilderness Israel gratefully acknowledges Yahweh's miraculous provision of water (Exod. 17:5 f.) which is remembered again and again in paraenesis (e.g. Deut. 8:15; Ps. 78[77]:15 f.) and in songs of praise (e.g. Ps. 74[73]:15). As for the promise of the land (Num. 24:7; Deut. 8:7; 11:11), so for eschatological statements, abundance of sweet fresh water is of decisive significance (cf. Isa. 12:3; see the previous articles).

(b) At the same time *hydōr* is viewed under the negative demonic aspect of something threatening. In the roar of the sea and the waves of rushing rivers Israel discovered deadly powers of which God can make use when he causes the annihilating flood to cover his adversaries (cf. Gen. 6–8; Exod. 14 f.). Such a flood (*abyssos*) and so much water (*hydōr poly*) is synonymous with the kingdom of the dead (Ezek. 26:19 f.).

2. Not least for this reason, therefore, water (along with blood, oil and fire) is in the OT, as in the whole of the ancient world, the most preferable means of lustration (cf. homoeopathic magic). Ablutions (→ Baptism, art. *louō*; → Pure) are part of the consecration rules for → priests and → Levites before entering on their vocation (Exod. 29:4; Num. 8:5–22). In the cultic cleansing of the priest's hands and feet, water is used (Exod. 30:17 ff.; 40:30 ff.); similarly his lustration on the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16:4, 24; cf. 16:26, 28). After sexual discharge (Lev. 15; cf. Deut. 23:11 f.), after a birth (Lev. 12:1 ff.) and → leprosy (Lev. 14:8 f.; cf. 2 Ki. 5:10, 14) water-baths erased the impurity; and the defilement which had arisen through contact with corpses was removed with water to which had been added the ashes of the red heifer (Num. 19:11 f.). Judaism understood the flood (Gen. 6–8) as a comprehensive lustration for an earth contaminated by sexual wickedness. For the final future of their nation the prophets hoped for an eschatological sprinkling with God's purifying water which would cleanse both land and people, set idolatry aside and put a new Spirit in their hearts (Isa. 44:3; Ezek. 26:25 ff.; Zech. 13:1 f.). Here water has become a picture for the Spirit of Yahweh who brings cleansing and eradicates wickedness.

3. The prophetic spiritualization of cleansing continued in Hellenistic and apocalyptic Judaism. Philo and Josephus interpret purification by water as a symbol for the purification of the soul and the conscience (cf. Philo, *Vit. Mos.* 2, 138), and the Essenes, with all their strictness in cathartic observance (cf. Josephus, *War* 2, 129 and 149), stress the superiority of the converted way of life to the lustral water-bath (1QS 3:4–12; cf. 4:21 f.; 5:13 f.; cf. L. Goppelt, *TDNT* VIII 321). By contrast, the Pharisees and their disciples built up the OT prescriptions of Lev. 11–15 into a complicated system of ritual lustrations (cf. the Mishnah tractates Tohoroth, Mikwaoth, Niddah), which has retained its validity in orthodox Judaism right up to the present day.

NT The NT offers more than 70 attestations for *hydōr*, water. The word occurs with particular frequency in the Johannine literature (20 times in the Gospel, twice in 1 Jn., 17 times in Rev.), in greater number than in the whole of the rest of the NT. *hydōr* is not infrequently found connected with → *pēgē*, spring (e.g. *pēgai hydatōn*, fountains of water, Rev. 8:10 ff.; 14:7; 16:4) or *potamos*, river (cf. Rev. 12:15; 22:1) and can also be used synonymously with → *thalassa*, sea (cf. Mk. 4:39, 41 par. Lk. 8:24 f.).

1. (a) The NT essentially reflects the OT findings. Drinking-water is still as ever a highly-treasured commodity (Mk. 9:41; cf. Matt. 10:42 *v.l.*; Lk. 16:24). Giving a drink to the thirsty, therefore, counts as a work of particular compassion (Matt. 25:35, 42). The use of water for secular cleaning is also attested (Lk. 7:44; cf. Jn. 13:5). The preciousness of water and its vital necessity for life suggest various pictorial usages of the word (Jn. 4:7, 13 f.; Rev. 7:17).

(b) That God also created water is no less obvious in the NT than it was in the OT, even if express considerations on the subject are lacking. Nevertheless, Rev. 14:7, after mentioning heaven, earth and sea, also names the fountains of water as God's creation, and 2 Pet. represents OT cosmology (cf. Gen. 1:2, 6, 9; Ps. 24[23]:2). Heaven and earth derived their existence, through God's word, from water and by water, until the then-existing world perished in the waters of the flood.

(c) As in Judaism, angelic or demonic powers shelter under the waters (Rev. 16:5, *angelos tōn hydatōn*, the angel of the waters). The healing power of individual springs or pools is the gift of these supernatural beings (Jn. 5:4, 7). The picture of many waters, *hydata polla*, is the seer's description of the numinous power of heavenly voices (Rev. 1:5; 14:2; 19:6; cf. Ezek. 1:24; 43:2). The demon throws the possessed lad into fire and water in order to injure him (Matt. 17:15 par. Mk. 9:22), and the demons plunge into the water – as it were, their own original and particular element, drowning the animals in which they dwell at the same time (Matt. 8:32; cf. the par. Mk. 5:13, Lk. 8:33). The walking on the "sea" (Matt. 14:22–33 par. Mk. 6:45–52; Jn. 6:16–21, of Jesus) was for Peter a walk on the waters (*epi ta hydata*, Matt. 14:28–31). Peter's walk is recorded only in Matt. The Master allowed his disciple, in so far and so long as he maintained faith, to share in his victory over the demonic powers personified in the water and wind (Matt. 14:30).

2. (a) The significance of water as a Jewish means of lustration is also familiar in the NT (Jn. 2:6; cf. Mk. 14:13 par. Lk. 22:10). Water in particular serves for the ritual washing of the hands (Mk. 7:3 f.; → Pure) and vessels (Matt. 23:25 f. par. Lk. 11:39 f., Mk. 7:4). Pilate's symbolic washing of his hands is also in keeping with OT custom (Matt. 27:24 f.; cf. Deut. 21:6; Pss. 26[25]:6; 73[72]:13). The place of prayer near the river (Acts 16:13) may mean that ritual baptism was practised. The baptism of John (see *potamos* in art. → *pēgē*) carried out with the water of the Jordan (Matt. 3:13–17 par. Mk. 1:8 ff., Lk. 3:21, Jn. 1:26, 31, 33; Acts 1:5; 11:16), despite its ethical intention, retains formal affinities with the lustral dippings, especially the proselyte baptism of Judaism.

(b) Whereas Jesus absolved his disciples from the Pharisaic prescription of hand-washing before and after meals (Matt. 15:1–20 par. Mk. 7:2–23, Lk. 11:37–41; → Hand), and according to Jn. 2:1–11 even changed the water of Jewish purification into wine, the baptismal practice of John the Baptist found its continuation in Christian → baptism. It, too, takes place in water (Acts 8:36, 38 f.; 10:47), and its effect is still described as cleansing (Eph. 5:26; Heb. 10:22; cf. Acts 22:16; 1 Cor. 6:11). Prophetic eschatological hopes are thus fulfilled; the cleansed person receives God's → Spirit (cf. Acts 2:38; 1 Cor. 6:11; Heb. 6:4). Water (baptismal water) develops in the NT its greatest dignity, although of course no longer in the sense of a means of lustration, in 1 Cor. 10:1 f. where the Red Sea and, in 1 Pet. 3:20 f., the flood, appear as prototypes of the water of baptism. A magical understanding of the sacraments (cf. 1 Cor. 15:29) is expressly repudiated (cf. 2 Pet. 2:22), since baptism does not take place to eradicate fleshly impurities (1 Pet. 3:21).

(c) Instead, the Johannine literature in particular sees the decisive significance of baptism in its christological and pneumatic aspects. The pericope of the foot-washing (Jn. 13:1–20) has been understood as a disguised account of an institution of baptism by Jesus. "Blood and water" – Lord's Supper and Baptism – flow from Christ himself (Jn. 19:34; cf. 1 Jn. 5:6, 8). The → Lamb leads us (Rev. 7:17) to springs of

living water which rise from the throne of God and of the Lamb (Rev. 22:1, 17; cf. 21:6). Christ pours out this water (Jn. 4:10–15; 7:37 f.), which is God's Holy Spirit (Jn. 7:39). In this way Jewish eschatology reaches its goal; for all who believe and are baptized, the river of the water of life is already flowing now – free of charge (Rev. 21:6; 22:17). *O. Böcher*

κατακλυσμός — κατακλυσμός (*kataklysmos*), a deluge, flood.

CL This term was used after the time of Homer in both a literal and figurative sense to signify a deluge, and this meaning has survived into modern Greek. One doubtful occurrence in the papyri is possibly contained in a document written close to the time of Christ's birth.

OT The LXX employed *kataklysmos* in almost consistent reference to the Noachian flood (Gen. 6:17 etc.; Ps. 29[28]:10; Sir. 40:10; 44:17 ff.), but in Ps. 32[31]:6; Sir. 21:13; 39:22 the references are of a metaphorical nature. The two Hebrew words used for deluge were *mabbûl*, describing the Noachian flood in terms of the "waters above the earth", and then of the entire inundation, and *šeṭeṗ* (Ps. 32:6; Ps. 27:4, etc.; → Noah).

NT The word occurs four times only in the NT (Matt. 24:38 f.; Lk. 17:27; 2 Pet. 2:5) referring in each instance to the devastation of the Noachian deluge.
R. K. Harrison

Ἰορδάνης — Ἰορδάνης (*Iordanēs*), the river Jordan.

OT This was the Gk. name for the river which descended from Lake Huleh through the deepest rift-valley depression on earth. It was the principal river of Palestine, and outnumbered all others in the Near East in biblical references and allusions.

As found in the LXX, the name is the Greek equivalent of the MT *yardēn*, an Aramaic form derived from an earlier Canaanite *yardôn*. This latter evidently comprised the basis of the Egyptian *ya-ar-du-na*, which occurred in Nineteenth Dynasty lists. The meaning of the MT *yardēn* depends on whether it is considered Indo-Aryan or west Semitic in origin. If the former it would mean (perennial) river, but if the latter, descender, from the root *yrd*, to go down. Both of these meanings can be supported philologically. Of the OT incidents relating to the Jordan, its crossing by the Israelites was the most notable (Josh. 3:16). Its waters were also used in the miraculous healing of Naaman (2 Ki. 5:14).

NT In the NT, the celebrated river was the site of John the Baptist's ministry (Matt. 3:6; Mk. 1:5; Jn. 1:28; 3:26), and the place where Jesus was baptized (Matt. 3:13; Mk. 1:9; Lk. 4:1). Aside from references to Christ exercising his ministry on the far side of Jordan (Matt. 19:1; Mk. 10:1), and returning on one occasion to the site of his baptism (Jn. 10:40), there is no other NT passage which directly involves the Jordan in any events important for early Christianity. *R. K. Harrison*

λίμνη

λίμνη (*limnē*), lake.

CL Originally *limnē* probably described a salt-water marsh or a lagoon formed by the ocean. In Homer and elsewhere the term was used of a fresh- or salt-water pool or marsh, but in addition, Homer and other Greek poets used *limnē* of the sea. Gk. papyri from the 3rd century B.C. onwards employed the word in the more modest sense of lake.

OT *limnē* occurred occasionally in the LXX, as in Pss. 107[106]:35; 114[113]:8; Cant 7:4[5]; 1 Macc. 11:35; 2 Macc. 12:16. In the references in the Psalter the Hebrew word *'agam*, swamp, pool of reeds, was used, while *b'rēkâh*, pond (cf. Egypt. *brkt*, Lat. *piscina*) occurred in Cant. 7:5.

NT In the Lucan writings *limnē* was used of fresh-water lakes, being associated with the Sea (→ *thalassa*, so the references in Matt. and Mk.) of Galilee (Lk. 5:2; 8:22 ff.) and the Lake of Gennesaret (Lk. 5:1). Metaphorically, *limnē* occurs in Rev. 19:20; 20:10 ff.; 21:8, to describe the fiery lake of brimstone established for the destruction of the ungodly. *R. K. Harrison*

→ Baptism, → Fire, → Hand, → Pure

(a). B. W. Anderson, "Water", *IDB* IV 806–10; D. Baly, *The Geography of the Bible*, 1974 [2]; A. Büchler, "The Law of Purification in Mk. vii. 1–23", *ExpT* 21, 1909–10, 33–40; T. Canaan, "Water and the 'Water of Life' in Palestinian Superstition", *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 9, 1929, 57–69; S. Cohen, "Jordan", *IDB* II 973–78; C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, 1953, 297–300; M. Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, 1958, 188–215; *The Sacred and Profane: The Nature of Religion*, 1959; and *Birth and Rebirth: The Religious Meanings of Initiation in Human Culture*, 1958, reprinted as *Rites and Symbols of Initiation*, 1965; N. Glueck, *The River Jordan*, 1946; and "The Geography of the Jordan", *National Geographic Magazine* 86, 1944–45, 719–44; L. Goppelt, *hydōr*, *TDNT* VIII 314–33; L. H. Grollenberg, *Atlas of the Bible*, 1956; R. W. Hamilton, "Water Works", *IDB* IV 811–16; A. King, *Holy Waters: A Short Account of the Use of Water for Ceremonial and Purificatory Purposes in Pagan, Jewish and Christian Times*, 1926; W. Kornfeld, "Water", *EBT* III 961 ff.; J. J. McGovern, "The Waters of Death", *CBQ* 21, 1959, 350–58; H. G. May, "Some Cosmic Connotations of *MAYIM RABBÎM*, 'Many Waters' ", *JBL* 74, 1955, 9–21; K. H. Rengstorf, *potamos, potomophorētos, Iordanēs*, *TDNT* VI 595–623; J. A. T. Robinson, "The Significance of the Footwashing", in *Neotestamentica et Patristica. Eine Freundesgabe Herrn Professor Dr. Oscar Cullmann überreicht zu seinem 60. Geburtstag, Supplements to NovT* 6, 1962, 144 ff.; P. Wernberg-Møller, "Water, Wind and Fire (Lk. 3:16) and Orphic Initiation", *NTS* 3, 1956–57, 69–79.

(b). J. P. Audet, "La Soif, l'Eau et la Parole", *RB* 66, 1959, 379–86; G. Bertram, "Le Chemin sur les Eaux Consideré comme Motif de Salut dans la Piété Chrétienne Primitive", *Jubilé A. Loisy*, I, 1928, 137–66; O. Böcher, "Wasser und Geist", in O. Böcher and K. Haacker, eds., *Verborum Veritas*, Festschrift G. Stählin, 1970, 197 ff.; H. Bonnet, "Die Symbolik der Reinigungen im ägyptischen Kult", *Angelos* 1, 1925, 103–21; W. Brandt, *Die jüdischen Baptismen oder das religiöse Waschen und Baden im Judentum mit Einschluss des Judenchristentums*, *BZAW* 18, 1910; and *Jüdische Reinheitslehre und ihre Beschreibung in den Evangelien*, *BZAW* 19, 1910, 5–55; F. M. Braun, "L'Eau et l'Esprit", *Revue Thomiste* 49, 5–30; J. Chaine, "Cosmogonie aquatique et Conflagration finale d'après la Deuxième Épître de S. Pièrre", *RB* 46, 1937, 207–16; J. Daniélou, "Le Symbolisme de l'Eau Vive", *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* 32, 1958, 335–46; O. Eissfeldt, "Gott und das Meer in der Bibel", *Studia Orientalia J. Pedersen Dicata*, 1953, 76–84; H. Frisk, *Griechisch etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 1960 ff., I, 649; II, 525, 585, 957 f.; I. Goldziher, "Wasser als Dämonen abwehrendes Mittel", *ARW* 13, 1910, 20 ff.; H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit*, 1893; F. Hartung, "Das Wasser im alten und neuen Ägypten", *Naturwissenschaftliche Rundschau* 10, 1957, 373–78; A. Herrmann, "Der

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Weakness, Sickness, Disease, Paralysis

Weakness is the opposite of → strength, and embraces the full range of physical, emotional, social, economic and even spiritual incapacity. All these notions can be expressed by the words of the *asthenēs* group. A particularly important part is played by bodily weakness, i.e. disease, which is dealt with in a separate article under the heading of *nosos*.

ἀσθένεια

ἀσθένεια (*astheneia*), weakness, sickness, disease, timidity; ἀσθενής (*asthenēs*), without strength, weak; ἀσθενέω (*astheneō*), to be powerless, weak; ἀσθενῶν (*asthenōn*), sick person.

CL This group of words is formed from its opposite *sthenos*, strength, with the *Alpha*-privative prefixed. It conveys the meaning of powerlessness, weakness, lack of strength, and includes particularly the vb. *astheneō* (Eur., Thuc.), the noun *astheneia* (Hdt., Thuc.) and the adj. *asthenēs* (Pindar, Hdt.). All three denote primarily bodily weakness, i.e. sickness (Hdt., 4, 135; cf. also Josephus, *War* 1, 76), and overlap here with the specific meaning of → *nosos*. In more general contexts, the *astheneia* word-group can be used in a wider sense as the opposite of *dynamis*, power (→ Might), or *ischyros*, strong, to express other sorts of weakness, e.g. the frailty of woman, the weakness of human nature (Plato, *Leges* 854a), or of human life (Hdt., 2, 47; 8, 51), but also economic weakness, i.e. lack of influence, or poverty (Hdt., 2, 88). Only rarely is it used for lack of conviction, moral weakness (Thuc., 2, 61, 2; Epictetus, *Dissertationes* 1, 8, 8; cf. Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 1150b 19).

OT 1. In the LXX *astheneō* and *asthenēs* are used to render a confusingly large number of Heb. equivalents; *astheneia* occurs only 7 times. In the Pentateuch *asthenēs* occurs only twice (Gen. 29:17, Leah's weak eyes; Num. 13:18, the question whether the inhabitants of Canaan are strong, *ischyroi*, or weak). The remaining historical books likewise use this group of words infrequently, and in very different contexts. The sense of sickness is not attested, and is found in other parts of the OT only very rarely (e.g. Dan. 8:27; cf. → *nosos*); but we do find the general meaning, human weakness (Jdg. 16:7, 11, 17). Jdg. 6:15 refers to the social insignificance of

Gideon's family; 2 Sam. 3:1 to the political weakness, of the house of Saul.

2. *astheneō* first acquires a specific character in the prophetic literature. Here it is used chiefly to translate verbal forms of the root *kāšal*, to stumble, stagger, while *astheneia* renders the corresponding noun *miḵšôl*, hindrance, stumbling-block (Jer. 6:21; 18:23). In prophetic texts the vb. is found chiefly in prophecies of → judgment, describing in a figurative sense the people which has rebelled against Yahweh and which will therefore stumble and fall (Hos. 4:5; 5:5; Jer. 6:21; 18:15). Frequently it is expressed in the future tense as an announcement of judgment to come: *asthenēsousin*, they will be weak, i.e. stumble, fall (e.g. Nah. 2:5; 3:3; Zeph. 1:3).

3. In the Pss. and in the Wisdom literature, *astheneō* is sometimes used as in the prophets to express the stumbling of the ungodly and of enemies (Pss. 9:3; 27[26]:2; 58[57]:7; 107[106]:12; cf. Job 28:4). On other occasions it expresses human poverty and human wretchedness (Pss. 6:2; 31[30]:10; 88[87]:9; 109[108]:24; cf. Job 4:4; Prov. 21:13; 22:22). It remains to be noted that Theodotion is clearly particularly fond of using *astheneō* (e.g. Dan. 11:14, 19, 33 ff., depicting the fate of wise and powerful men in the end-time). The fact that *astheneō* is used in the LXX to denote human stumbling, disaster, a sense which goes beyond the genuinely Gk. meaning of human weakness, is probably to be explained by the link-word in the translation, the Aram. *t^{e}qal*, which means both to stumble and to be weak (cf. G. Stählin *asthenēs*, *TDNT* I 490).

NT Broadly speaking, we may say that the *astheneia* word-group is found in its literal sense chiefly in the Synoptic Gospels and in Jn., whereas the figurative sense, resulting from theological reflection, occurs predominantly in the Pauline literature.

1. *asthenēs* is used in the general sense of weakness, when in 1 Pet. 3:7 women are spoken of as the weaker sex (cf. P. Lond. 971, 4), and when Paul's personal appearance in Corinth (2 Cor. 10:10) is described as weak. The general weakness of man is the subject of the epigrammatic saying in Matt. 26:41 par. Mk. 14:38, which is not to be understood in terms of Pauline theology, but rather of OT anthropology: "The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak" (cf. 1QS 3:24 ff.; D. Hill, *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings*, *Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series* 5, 1967, 242). Gal. 4:9 (cf. Arndt, 115) is probably also to be included in this category: the elemental spirits of the cosmos are here described as poor (or wretched) and weak, i.e. disarmed and therefore powerless (cf. Col. 2:14). Economic weakness in the sense of need, poverty, is meant in Acts 20:35: the wealthy are to take care of the needy, for "it is more blessed to give than to receive" (→ Poor; → Possessions).

2. The Gospels use the words in the great majority of cases in the specific sense of bodily weakness or sickness (e.g. Matt. 10:8; Lk. 13:11; Acts 9:37; Jn. 4:46). In this aspect, *astheneia* is identical in meaning to → *nosos*. The words of the *asthenēs* group are usually used absolutely; only occasionally is an explanatory *tēs sarkos*, of the flesh, added (Gal. 4:13). The present part. is also found as a noun; *asthenōn*, sick person (Jn. 5:7), usually in the plur. *asthenountes*, sick people (e.g. Mk. 6:56; Jn. 6:2).

3. In Paul, the terms in this group have undergone far-reaching theological reflection, and are developed in relation to man's sinful nature, to christology, and to ethics.

(a) In Rom. 6:19 *astheneia tēs sarkos*, weakness of the flesh, refers – as is made

clear by the phrase *anthrōpinon legō*, I speak as a man, in the context – to the natural weakness of → man (cf. R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, I, 1952, 232–39). Rom. 8:26 defines *astheneia* as human powerlessness over against God, needing the help of the Spirit's power (*dynamis*). 1 Cor. 15:43 extends these sayings about the nature of man to the → creation: weakness is made parallel to *phthora*, impermanence, while its opposite, the → might of God, is made parallel to *aphtharsia*, imperishability.

In Rom. 8:4 Paul develops the concept of weakness still further by bringing it into association with the → law: "For God has done what the law, weakened by the flesh, could not do." The basic relation between flesh, weakness and law is summed up in a sentence by O. Michel: "Man's inability to do what is good necessarily reveals a weakness also in the law" (*Der Brief an die Römer*, *KEK* 4, 1966 [13], 160). The epexegetic construction relating *ēsthenei*, it was weak, showed itself weak, to *adynaton*, impotent, makes it clear that Paul does not use weakness in the sense of a relative quantity, but of an absolute one: incapability (cf. the corresponding statements about the weakness of the law in Heb. 7:18). Paul's strongest formulation comes at Rom. 5:6, where he equates the *astheneis*, weak, with *hamartōloi*, sinners (v. 8, the same gen. absolute construction), and *asebeis* (v. 6), ungodly (cf. also Heb. 4:15 and 7:28, where weak, i.e. sinful, men are contrasted with the perfect Son).

(b) While, on the one hand, Paul points to *astheneia* as the sphere of impermanence in the created order, powerlessness of the law, and human incapability in the face of God, he introduces another train of thought in seeing it as the place where God's might is exhibited. In the course of arguing against his opponents in Corinth, for whom the cross of Christ is no longer of decisive importance, the apostle unfolds, as is well known, his *theologia crucis*, theology of the cross. In this context Paul interprets *astheneia* as the → suffering and → death of Christ and his disciples. Christ was crucified in (lit. from) weakness and in this Crucified One the weakness of God comes to light, which to men's eyes appears to be powerlessness and folly (1 Cor. 1:25, 27). Since, however, God has demonstrated his might in weakness, i.e. in the death of Christ, by raising him from the dead (2 Cor. 13:4), it is in the very sufferings of his followers that God's creative, life-giving power is revealed. Paul regards his own weakness, which is under severe attack from his opponents in Corinth, as a mark of discipleship and fellowship in Christ's sufferings (1 Cor. 2:2 f.; 4:10; 2 Cor. 13:4). At the same time the power (→ Might), *dynamis*, of God is at work in the weakness amid the conditions of suffering and alienation. Thus Paul arrives at the paradoxical statement that he would rather boast of his weakness (2 Cor. 11:30; 12:5, 9 f.; 13:9), for God's "power is made perfect in weakness" (2 Cor. 12:9; on Paul's thorn in the flesh → Fruit, art. *skolops*).

(c) In a third line of thought, in hortatory contexts, Paul distinguishes between the strong (Rom. 15:1, *dynatoi*) and the weak (Rom. 14:1, *asthenōn*, or plur. *asthenounte*s) in faith. In this context weakness does not mean either (a) human powerlessness when compared to God, or (b) the sufferings of Christ or his disciples. Rather (c) it follows from the direct use of the terms strong and weak, in the form of catchwords or familiar slogans that Paul is here taking up, which were used by the various groups within the churches of Corinth and Rome (cf. 1 Cor. 8:10; Rom. 14:1–15:13). The group known as the "weak" is characterized by a weak → conscience (*syneidēsis*, 1 Cor. 8:7), and has not yet reached a full knowledge of the faith

(1 Cor. 8:11). This is expressed in abstinence from meat and perhaps wine (Rom. 14:2), especially from meat offered to idols (1 Cor. 8:7), in observance of certain days (perhaps → sabbaths and fast days; Rom. 14:5), and also in certain ascetic and legalistic tendencies. The strong, on the other hand, have come to realize that nothing is unclean in itself (Rom. 14:14), since they know only one Lord, from whom all things come (1 Cor. 8:6). Hence, they will eat anything (Rom. 14:2), even meat offered to idols (1 Cor. 8:1), and they regard all days alike (Rom. 14:5). Although Paul regards himself as belonging to the "strong" group (1 Cor. 8:4; Rom. 14:14; 15:1), he does not in this case engage in further discussion of the content of the respective → knowledge (*gnōsis*) of the two groups, but stresses the importance of strong and weak living together in love (1 Cor. 8:1 ff.) before their common Lord (Rom. 14:6 ff). The important thing for the strong is that they should not place a stumbling-block (*proskomma*, 1 Cor. 8:9; Rom. 14:13, 20) in the way of the weak, nor cause them → offence (*skandalon*, Rom. 14:13), thus troubling their conscience (1 Cor. 8:13), leading them astray (1 Cor. 8:10; Rom. 14:23), causing them to fall (Rom. 14:21), and finally bringing about their ruin (1 Cor. 8:11; Rom. 14:21). The association of *astheneia* with *proskoptō*, to give offence, and *skandalizō*, to set up a stumbling-block, recalls the prophetic use of *astheneia* (cf. OT 2). Over and above the differences in knowledge between strong and weak, Paul sets the power uniting the two groups, → love. *H.-G. Link*

νόσος

νόσος (*nosos*), illness, sickness; *νοσέω* (*noseō*), to be ill, be ailing.

CL 1. The noun *nosos* (Homer) and the vb. *noseō* (Aesch., Hdt.) carry primarily the concrete meaning of illness (e.g. Homer, *Od.* 9, 411; Hdt. 1, 22; Hesiod, *Works* 92; cf. also → *malakia*, softness), and to be ill (e.g. Hdt., 1, 105; 3, 33; Plato, *Gorgias* 496a). *nosos* can be used specifically to mean calamity (Soph., *Antigone* 421; cf. also *mastix*, scourge, e.g. Homer, *Il.* 12, 37), torment (Hesiod, *Theogony* 527), addiction (Plato, *Theaetetus 169b*), lasciviousness (Eur., *Hippolytus* 765 f.), madness (Aesch., *Persae* 750). On the other hand, it can be used in a general sense or figuratively, e.g. for a plague afflicting a city (Plato, *Protagoras* 322d), chronic disease of the state (Plato, *Laws* 919c), weakness of character, depravity (so frequently in Philo). The later and rarer noun *nosēma* (tragic poets and Thuc.) can be used both in literal and transferred senses (e.g. Plato, *Gorgias* 480b) as a synonym for *nosos*, and is found particularly often in the writings of Philo (but cf. also Josephus, *Ant.* 8, 45; *Ap.* 1, 282). *noseō* occurs more frequently than *nosos* in general contexts and in metaphorical expressions, e.g. to suffer from lack of education or wickedness (Eur., *Ion* 620; Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 3, 5, 18; Hdt. 5, 28), to be filled with a feverish longing for glory (Plutarch 2, 546 f.; cf. also Philo, *Leg. All.* 3, 211; Josephus, *Ant.* 16, 244; 18, 25).

2. With their prescientific mythical view of the world, the Greeks drew the analogical conclusion that visible diseases were to be attributed to the attacks of invisible deities (e.g. Homer, *Il.* 1, 9 ff.), whose wrath they sought to appease by means of sacrifice and similar ritual practices (cf. Diog. Laert. 1, 110, 3). This conclusion was modified by critical reflection on the part of the philosophers, who explained dis-

ease in anthropological terms: the outward (accidental) disease corresponds to an inward (substantial) → suffering (*pathos*), which consists of ignorance (*agnoia*) (Plato, *Republic* 10, 609c ff.; *Sophista* 228a). Medicinal therapy and philosophical instruction and virtue are thus closely related (cf. → Heal, art. *iaomai*).

OT 1. In the LXX *nosos* occurs surprisingly seldom (some 15 times), and *noseō* only 3 times. The thing signified, sickness and being ill, is rendered in the LXX rather more often by *malakia*, but chiefly by *arrōsteō* and the nouns *arrōstia* and *arrōstēma*, occasionally by *enochleō*, to molest, and → *astheneō*; in Amos 6:6 by *paschō*. The fact that the term illness is not found very frequently in the LXX may be due to the OT tendency to be concerned less with the general phenomenon than with its concrete manifestation (e.g. leprosy, *lepra* in the LXX, cf. Lev. 13 f.). Behind the above-mentioned Gk. terms there is most often a verbal or substantival form of the Heb. root *ḥālâh* (noun *ḥ°lî*), which in almost every case carries its literal, concrete meaning, and only rarely (e.g. Hos. 5:13) a figurative one. This observation enables us to see how difficult Israel found it to come to terms with the fact of disease: so difficult, that it was scarcely possible to rise to a figurative or spiritualized understanding of illness.

2. The OT view of sickness fits first and foremost into the pattern of the general understanding of disease in the ancient orient. Thus in the OT disease, like sexual discharges, and death, belongs to the sphere of the unclean (→ Pure, art. *katharos* OT). When healing takes place, there has to be a corresponding purificatory rite (cf. the treatment of lepers, Lev. 13 f.; Lk. 17:12). There is a further link, for example, with the Babylonian penitential Psalms (cf. A. Oepke, *nosos*, *TDNT* IV 1093 f.), in that sin and disease are brought into causal relation with each other (Pss. 32[31]:1 ff.; 38[37]:3 ff.; 41[40]:4; 107[106]:17 ff.; cf. G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, I, 272–89). The prophets compare Israel in his sin to a man who is mortally ill (Isa. 1:5 f.; Jer. 30:12 f.; Hos. 5:13). Sin and disease are very nearly inseparable as a condition outside of salvation (cf. A. Oepke, *TDNT* IV 1093). This recognition that even disease is ordained, or at least permitted, by Yahweh leads the OT believer to see disease as a divine judgment upon sin (2 Sam. 12:15 ff.; 24:10 ff.; Pss. 39[38]:9, 12; 88[87]:7 f., 15 ff.). Recovery, on the other hand, leads to thanksgiving for the forgiveness of sin (Isa. 38:17; Ps. 103[102]:3; cf. → Heal, art. *iaomai*).

The subject of Job's complaints is the problem why the righteous have to suffer disease and pain. Job's rebellion against the retribution theory of his friends demonstrates the limitations of the view of disease and sin as causally related, a view which could not remain the final answer.

3. In Judaism the dogma of retributive suffering reaches its most consistent extreme (cf. Jn. 9:2). From the effect, conclusions are drawn as to the cause. The rabbis were able to name the sin which corresponded to every disease, a teaching which led to grotesque and absurd theories, such as regarding the sin of the embryo in the womb as a cause of illness (SB II 193 ff., 527 ff.).

At the same time, however, the Jews developed the concept of discipline imposed out of love; and with this came encouragement to visit the sick, to pray for them, and to help them, since God is especially near to those who are ill (SB I 495; IV 573 ff.).

NT 1. In the NT *nosos* and the other words normally used to describe sickness (cf. OT 1) occur almost exclusively in the Gospels and Acts. Whereas *nosos* is found only in the literal sense, the single occurrence of *noseō* (1 Tim. 6:4) has a figurative meaning. The NT thus retains the realism of the OT: the problem of disease is primarily that which concerns its concrete manifestations. Other elements taken over from the OT view are the idea of the influence of demonic powers (Lk. 13:11, 16; 2 Cor. 12:7; Acts 12:23; Rev. 16:2), and the connexion between disease and sin (Jn. 5:14; 1 Cor. 11:30).

2. Although sickness is viewed occasionally in the NT as a divine punishment or judgment (Jn. 5:4, *nosēma*, though the best MSS omit this verse; 1 Cor. 11:32; Rev. 6:8; cf. → Death), the NT also contains the Gk. concept, familiar to the rabbis, of beneficial chastening resulting from God's love (Heb. 12:4 ff., *mastigoō*, to chasten, and *paideia*, discipline, chastening; cf. Prov. 3:11 f.). The primary insight of the NT, however, is that disease and disease-bringing demons, even if they are permitted to act by God (Acts 12:23; 2 Cor. 12:7 ff.), have to do with the power of hostile forces which oppose the rule of God (Mk. 1:23 f.; 3:27). Jesus' fight against disease accords with this. On the one hand, he breaks through the terrible connexion of sin and disease (Mk. 2:5 ff.) by his assurance of → forgiveness; on the other, he brings in the dawn of God's kingdom by casting out demons and healing the sick (Mk. 5:1 ff.; especially Lk. 11:20; cf. → Heal, art. *iaomai* NT).

3. (a) In Matt. 9:12f. par. Mk. 2:17, Lk. 5:31, sinners (*hamartōloi*) are described figuratively as the sick (*kakōs echontes*) (cf. Isa. 1:5 f.). Jesus' commission in coming to the earth (*ēlthon*, "I came") is to transform the plight of man which expresses itself in sin and disease, by his call to repentance and his works of healing, into the salvation which belongs to God's kingdom.

(b) Matt. 8:17 takes up Isa. 53:4, summing up Jesus' work of healing in the sentence: "He took our illnesses [*astheneias*] and bore our diseases [*nosous*]." Matt. interprets this verse as referring not to the suffering of disease by the Servant, or Jesus, but to the removal of disease by the power of Jesus (cf. H. J. Held in G. Bornkamm, G. Barth and H. J. Held, *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew*, 1963, 171 f.). K. Stendahl holds that Matt. himself translated the Heb. of Isa. 53:4 literally (*The School of St Matthew and its Use of the Old Testament*, 1954, 106 f.). As R. H. Gundry points out, for both the prophet and the evangelist sin was the root cause of disease (*The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel, Supplements to NovT* 18, 1967, 230).

(c) In Jn. 9:2 ff. the Jews' question about the cause of the man's blindness is dismissed as inappropriate, and replaced by an indication of the purpose of the disease: the blind man was not blind from birth because he or his parents sinned, but rather "that the works of God might be manifest" (cf. Jn. 11:4; Lk. 13:1 ff.).

(d) Paul regards his infirmity (Gal. 4:13 f.; 2 Cor. 12:7 ff.) which has been interpreted as some form of epileptic or hysterical attacks (cf. H. Schlier, *Der Brief an die Galater*, *KEK* 7, 1971[14], 211; but → Fruit, art. *skolops* NT on his "thorn in the flesh"), along with persecutions and other troubles (cf. 2 Cor. 11:23 ff.), as part of the → suffering laid upon the followers of Christ (cf. 2 Cor. 1:5 ff.), in which by a dialectic process God's power becomes apparent: "For when I am weak, then I am strong" (2 Cor. 12:10; → *astheneia*, NT 3 (b)).

(e) The use of *noseō* in 1 Tim. 6:4 corresponds to the Hellenistic use of the vb.

Craving for controversy and disputes about words point to a sick condition in the inner man (cf. Plato, Philo; see above, CL). The comparison of the spreading nature of false teaching with the progress of a cancerous tumour (2 Tim. 2:17) likewise belongs to the realm of Hellenistic thought. *H.-G. Link*

μαλακία — *μαλακία* (*malakia*), weakness, softness, sickness.

CL In the cl. authors the term originally meant softness, but it also came to be used of effeminate men. In the medical writers it described generalized weakness or illness. Late Greek usage connected it with *nosos*, disease, to indicate bodily sickness.

OT *malakia* occurs in the LXX as a general term for sickness (cf. Deut. 7:15; 28:61; Isa. 38:9; 53:3), and was represented by several Heb. words as follows: *'āsôn*, serious accident; *maḥ^{a}lâh, maḥ^{a}luyîm*, disease(s); *taḥ^{a}lû'îm*, ailments; *ḥ^{o}lî*, weakness, sickness, serious illness; *maḵ'ôḇ*, pain. References such as Deut. 7:15 emphasize the punitive function of illness, but this view was modified in the work of the divine Servant (MT Isa. 53:4) who bore our diseases and carried our pains. If this is a foreshadowing of the vicarious atonement of Christ on Calvary, as the traditional Christian interpretation of that passage has maintained, it indicates that divine healing is an integral part of his saving work (cf. Matt. 8:17; → *nosos* NT 3 (b)).

NT The term is found 3 times only in the NT (Matt. 4:23; 9:35; 10:1) in the sense of weakness or sickness. The healing of the physical conditions involved was for Matt. an important feature of the Gospel of the kingdom. He also associated *malakia* with *nosos* to describe illness in a comprehensive manner. *R. K. Harrison*

παραλυτικός — *παραλυτικός* (*paralytikos*), paralytic.

CL This word was seldom used in secular Gk., and appears only once in the papyri. Where paralytic disability was being described, medical authors such as Hippocrates and Galen preferred the more technical term *paralelymenos*, a word used also by Luke (5:18, 24; Acts 8:7; 9:33). The kind of paresis indicated by these references is uncertain, but the passive form of the verb *paralyō* suggests a chronic condition with concomitant organic degeneration.

OT *paralytikos* does not occur in the LXX, the nearest approximation to the condition being conveyed by the verb *xērainō*, to dry up, shrivel, wither, as in the account of Jeroboam's paralysis (LXX 1 Ki. 13:4). The MT equivalent of this was *yāḇēš*, to become dry, wither.

NT In the NT, *paralytikos* as descriptive of one form or another of paresis occurs only in the first two Gospels (Matt. 4:24; 8:6; 9:2, 6; Mk. 2:3 ff.). In Matt. 8:6; (cf. Lk. 7:1 ff.) the paralysis may have been that described by Landry, in which the disability commences in the legs and proceeds quickly to the arms and neck, generally terminating fatally within three weeks. The paralysis of Matt. 9:2 (cf. Mk.

2:3 ff.; Lk. 5:18 ff.) was probably an instance of paraplegia, in which the paralysis affected the lower half of the person's body. *R. K. Harrison*

→ Blind, → Deaf, → Ecstasy, → Fruit, art. *skolops*, → Heal, → Lame, → Leper, → Offence

(a). G. Bornkamm, G. Barth and H. J. Held, *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew*, 1963; C. J. Brim, *Medicine in the Bible*, 1936; R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, I, 1952, 232–39; R. K. Harrison, "Disease", *IDB* I 847–54; and "The Christian Interpretation of Disease", *The Churchman* 62, 1953, 220–27; L. Köhler, *Hebrew Man*, 1956, 46–60; F. MacNutt, *Healing*, 1974; F. Mussner, "Sickness", *EBT* III 846 f.; H. P. Newsholme, *Health, Disease and Integration*, 1929; A. Oepke, *nosos* etc., *TDNT* IV 1091–98; J. C. Peddie, *The Forgotten Talent*, 1961; W. Schmithals, *Gnosticism in Corinth*, 1971; A. R. Short, *The Bible and Modern Medicine*, 1953, 47–123; C. R. Smith, *A Physician Examines the Bible*, 1950; G. Stählin, *asthenēs* etc., *TDNT* I 490–93; R. R. Willcox, "Venereal Disease in the Bible", *British Journal of Venereal Disease* 25, 1949, 28 ff.; H. W. Wolff, *Anthropology of the Old Testament*, 1974.
(b). H. Doebert, *Das Charisma der Krankenheilung*, 1960; K. F. Euler, *Die Verkündigung vom leidenden Gottesknecht aus Jesaja 53 in der griechischen Bibel*, 1934; F. Fenner, *Die Krankheit im Neuen Testament*, 1930; H. Greeven, *Krankheit und Heilung nach dem Neuen Testament*, 1948; E. Güttgemanns, *Der leidende Apostel und sein Herr*, *FRLANT* 90, 1966; E. Haenchen, *Der Weg Jesu*, (1966) 1968²; J. Hempel, " 'Ich bin der Herr dein Arzt' (Exod. 15:26)", *TLZ* 82, 1957, 809–26; "Heilung als Symbol und Wirklichkeit im biblischen Schrifttum", *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, 1958, 3, 237–314; J. Köberle, *Sünde und Gnade im religiösen Leben des Volkes Israel bis auf Christum*, 1905; A. Lods, *Les Idées des Israélites sur la Maladie, ses Causes et ses Remèdes*, *BZAW* 41, 1925; J. Preuss, *Biblisch-talmudische Medizin*, 1911; M. Rauer, *Die "Schwachen" in Korinth und Rom nach den Paulusbriefen*, *BSt* 21, 2/3, 1923; J. Scharbert, *Der Schmerz im Alten Testament*, 1955; F. J. Schierse, "Hat Krankheit einen Sinn?", *Stimmen der Zeit* 84, 1959, 241–55; E. Stiglmayr, N. H. Søe, D. Rössler, "Krankheit", *RGG*³ IV 36 ff.; G. Uhlhorn, *Die christliche Liebestätigkeit in der alten Kirche*, 1882.

Weather

ἀστραπή

ἀστραπή (*astrapē*), lightning; *ἄνεμος* (*anemos*), wind; *βρέχω* (*brechō*), to rain; *βροχή* (*brochē*), rain; *βροντή* (*brontē*), thunder; *εὐδία* (*eudia*), fair weather, a good day; *ἶρις* (*iris*), rainbow; *λαῖλαψ* (*lailaps*), a tempestuous wind; *νεφέλη* (*nephelē*), cloud; *νότος* (*notos*), south wind; *ὄμβρος* (*ombros*), rain storm; *ὁμίχλη* (*homichlē*), mist, fog; *ὄψιμος* (*opsimos*), late (rain); *πρόϊμος* (proïmos), early (rain); *ῥιπίζω* (*rhipizō*), blow; *ὑετός* (*hyetos*), heavy shower; *χάλαζα* (*chalaza*), hail; *χιών* (*chiōn*), snow.

CL & OT In neither Greek nor Hebrew is there a word corresponding to our word "weather", but the ancients used a variety of terms with which they discussed aspects of weather and clearly some of those aspects mattered to them very much. To the Greeks weather appeared as a secular phenomenon and we miss the thought so typical of the OT that God uses the weather to bring about his purposes. This is not to say that the Greek gods did not make use of meteorological phenomena. They did. They might use clouds for concealment when watching a battle here on earth or when making love on a mountain top, or they might use them as chariots. Sometimes meteorological phenomena are personified as with Iris ("rainbow") the messenger goddess, or Nephele ("cloud"), mother of the Centaurs.

But there is much more than this in the OT. There God makes constant use of the

weather to set forward his purposes. An instructive example is Deut. 11:13 ff. where Yahweh says that if the people love him and serve him well he will give them rain, both the early and the latter rain to yield crops and pasturage, whereas if they worship other gods he will withhold rain, the land will give no fruit and they will perish. This link between the people's religious life and the weather is often found. Great deliverances like that under Deborah and Barak are due to storms (Jdg. 5:20 f.; cf. the hailstones of Jos. 10:11). The Psalmist sums it up with, "fire and hail, snow and frost, stormy wind fulfilling his command!" (Ps. 148:8). Meteorological phenomena such as clouds are associated with theophanies, as when the Lord said to Moses, "Lo, I am coming to you in a thick cloud" (Exod. 19:9; cf. Exod. 24:16; 34:5; Lev. 16:2; Ps. 97:2). God makes the clouds his chariot and the winds his messengers (Ps. 104:3 f.). Isaiah sees him as riding on a swift cloud (Isa. 19:1) and Joel speaks of the coming great "day of the LORD" as "a day of clouds and thick darkness" (Joel 2:2; → Present, art. *hēmera*). The lightning is his weapon (2 Sam. 22:15; Ps. 144:6) and the thunder his voice (Job 37:5; cf. Pss. 77:18; 104:7). He is often pictured as sending the wind or using it, as the east wind that brought up the locusts upon Egypt (Exod. 10:13) and the west wind that blew them away (Exod. 10:19), the wind that caused the Egyptians to be drowned (Exod. 15:10), and the wind that brought up the quails (Num. 11:31). He flew on "the wings of the wind" (Ps. 18:10), and used the east wind to break the ships of Tarshish (Ps. 48:7). Wind is the instrument of his wrath (Ezek. 13:13). Rain was vital to the life of the people of Palestine and when it came, God had sent it (Lev. 26:4; 1 Ki. 17:14; Ps. 68:9; Jer. 5:24). When the people sinned he sometimes withheld it (Amos 4:7; 1 Ki. 8:35). The OT is full of the thought that God is ceaselessly active and often he uses the weather to set forward his purpose.

NT 1. The word *astrapē* means "lightning", but it is also used of a beam of light. It has classical use, but Moulton and Milligan can cite it only in a magical papyrus. In the OT lightning is God's weapon, and it brilliantly lightens up the world (Ps. 77:18), or it may be connected with rain (Jer. 10:13). In the NT it denotes the suddenness and the visibility of the coming of the Son of man (Matt. 24:27; Lk. 17:24) and occurs in comparisons as when Satan's fall (Lk. 10:18) or an angel's countenance (Matt. 28:3) is likened to it. Once a lamp is said to give light with its *astrapē* (Lk. 11:36). There are four occurrences of the term in Revelation (4:5; 8:5; 11:19; 16:18) and each time it is linked with other phenomena; in all four with voices and thunders, in two with an earthquake as well (8:5; 16:18), and once with an earthquake and hail (11:19). One of these expressions comes at the end of each of the three great series of judgments, the seals (8:5), the trumpets (11:19) and the bowls (16:18), so they have some connexion with the climax and with God as Judge (cf. the connexion with God in the OT). The God who is supreme over the forces of nature is the God who judges men. There are some resemblances to the accounts of the plagues in Egypt and this may be meant to bring out the truth that God has judged great nations before. He will surely do it again.

2. The normal use of the term *anemos* is for the winds that blow on the earth, whether this be in the Greek writings generally, in the OT or the NT. This is far and away the most common use of *anemos* in the NT as for the storms that beat against the houses built on rock and on sand (Matt. 7:25, 27 and parallels) or the great storm

that shipwrecked Paul (Acts 27:4, 7, 14, 15). But we should notice that the Synoptists make it clear that Jesus was supreme over the elements as they tell the story of the stilling of the storm (Matt. 8:26 f.; Mk. 4:37, 39; Lk. 8:23 ff.) and of Jesus coming to the disciples walking on the sea (Matt. 14:24 ff.; Mk. 6:47 ff.). That God is in control of the winds comes out also in the passage in Revelation in which angels are depicted as holding back the four winds so that they should not blow on the earth (Rev. 7:1). The word is used metaphorically of "every wind of doctrine" (Eph. 4:14) where the thought is that one who is not well established in the faith may well depart quickly from sound doctrine without great cause, like something light driven by the wind.

3. In all our sources rain (*brochē*; cf. the vb. *brechō*) is normally used for precipitation from the clouds, and metaphorically for what comes upon men in abundance. In the NT there are two metaphorical uses, when there is a reference to the "fire and brimstone" that rained upon Sodom (Lk. 17:29) and when Luke speaks of the sinful woman whose tears "rained" on Jesus' feet (Lk. 7:38, 44). In all the other passages literal rain is meant. Jesus uses the fact that God makes rain fall on the just and the unjust alike to teach the universality of God's love (Matt. 5:45). Rain is here symbolic of God's gifts in general. Sometimes there is the thought that God is in control as when Elijah prayed that it might not rain and it did not (Jas. 5:17). With this we should class the power of the two witnesses to prevent rain (Rev. 11:6) for the meaning surely is that it is in this way that the purpose of God is worked out.

4. *brontē*, thunder, normally refers to the meteorological phenomenon in all our sources (though Moulton-Milligan do not find it in the papyri; derivatives are found, however). In the NT the term is used for a mighty voice on a number of occasions, as Jn. 12:29, where the voice from heaven is taken by some of the bystanders to be thunder and several times in Revelation (6:1; 10:3 f.; 19:6). In that book it is linked with "lightning" on four occasions (4:5; 8:5; 11:19; 16:18). The one other use of the term is as an explanation of the name "Boanerges" applied to the sons of Zebedee (Mk. 3:17). The accuracy of the translation scarcely concerns us here: the meaning "thunder" is plain enough, though there is room for discussion about what "thunderous men" might mean.

5. The term *eudia* appears to be derived from *eu* and *Dios*, genitive of *Zeus*, to give the meaning "a good sky" and so "fair weather". Its only NT occurrence is as a *v.l.* in Matt. 16:2 where it refers to the ability of the Pharisees and the Sadducees to predict the coming of good weather as contrasted with their inability to discern what are much more important, "the signs of the times". There is important theological meaning in the passage, but it does not come from *eudia*. That term signifies no more than "fair weather", "a good day".

6. The word *iris* is used for the rainbow from early times, and figuratively for a halo or for the "iris" of the eye or for a plant (the only one Moulton and Milligan find in the papyri). The Greeks personified the bow round heaven and earth as the messenger goddess Iris. In the OT the rainbow appears as a sign of God's → covenant that he will no longer send floods to destroy the earth (Gen. 9:13). There seems no doubt that the rainbow is meant, but the Hebrew term is *qešeṯ*, which is normally used for the bow of a warrior. In line with this LXX has *toxon*, not *iris*. In fact LXX has *iris* once only, as the name of a plant in Exod. 30:24. The use of the warrior's bow set in the clouds may be to indicate that the bow is put away, so to speak, and

there will be peace. Be that as it may, the context clearly indicates that the rainbow is to be taken as a sign of God's covenant, a sign that God is gracious to his people and will continue to be so. It is this that gives us the clue to its use in the NT. There it is found only in Rev. 4:3; 10:1. The first of these speaks of a rainbow (or halo) round God's throne "in appearance like an emerald" which seems to mean that it was green. The second refers to a strong angel robed in a cloud with a rainbow round his head. We should probably understand the rainbow in both places to symbolize the permanence of God's covenant and his will to be gracious to men. K. H. Rengstorf can say, "the witness of this sign is that one alone brings salvation, namely, God. The goodness and patience of God precede all the good works of man" (*TDNT* III 342).

7. The word *lailaps* indicates a tempestuous wind, whipping up so great a storm that the boat began to fill (Mk. 4:37), and the disciples were in danger (Lk. 8:23). The only other NT occurrence of the term is that in which certain false teachers are likened to mists driven by a *lailaps* (2 Pet. 2:17).

8. *nephos* means a cloud or cloud mass. As we noted earlier, clouds are linked with the divine in both the classical writers and the OT. It is thus significant that in the NT clouds are most often associated in some way with Jesus Christ. This is not invariable, for we have a reference to the weather (Lk. 12:54), to false teachers as like clouds without water (Jude 12), and to the cloud under which the fathers were baptized into Moses (1 Cor. 10:1 f.). But all three Synoptists tell of the cloud at the → Transfiguration which was plainly linked with the presence of God and from which the heavenly voice greeted Jesus as "my beloved Son" (Matt. 17:5; Mk. 9:7; Lk. 9:34 f.). At the ascension a cloud received Jesus out of the sight of the disciples (Acts 1:9). And when he comes again at the parousia there will be clouds (Matt. 24:30; 26:64; Mk. 13:26; 14:62; Lk. 21:27; 1 Thess. 4:17; Rev. 1:7). There are further references to a reaper sitting on a cloud at the judgment (Rev. 14:14 ff.) which some identify with Christ, but probably wrongly.

9. *notos* means "the south wind" and from that "the south". The term does not appear to have a heavy freight of theological meaning in the NT. It is used of the south wind (Lk. 12:55; Acts 27:13; 28:13), of the south as a direction (Lk. 13:29; Rev. 21:13), and of a land to the south (Matt. 12:42; Lk. 11:31).

10. The term *ombros* signifies a "rain storm" and it is used in this way as a weather note in its only NT occurrence (Lk. 12:54).

11. The word *homichlē* means mist or fog, being used of something not as dense or heavy as a cloud (*nephelē*). It is used of the false teachers who are compared to mists driven around by a strong wind and who accordingly have nothing substantial about them (2 Pet. 2:17).

12. The term *opsimos* simply means "late", but it was commonly used in the LXX in conjunction with *proïmos* to indicate the late (and early) rains. In Palestine the early rains are important to get the crops started and the late rains to mature the grain before the dry season starts when there will be no more rain. Both are important. The only NT occurrence of either is in Jas. 5:7 of these two rains, quite in the OT manner.

13. The word *rhipizō* conveys the notion of "blow" (of winds etc.) and its one NT occurrence likens the doubter to a wave blown about by winds (Jas. 1:6). The thought is that of instability.

14. *hyetos* denotes a heavy shower as against *ombros* (which is continuous rain)

and *psekas* (drizzle) as Liddell and Scott point out. In the NT it is once used of rain as unpleasant (Acts 28:2), but otherwise in one way or another it is a good gift of God. Thus it is given by God from heaven (Acts 14:17), in response to prayer (Jas. 5:18). It is linked with the blessing of God (Heb. 6:7) and it is withheld in fulfilment of God's purpose for his witnesses (Rev. 11:6).

15. Hail (*chalaza*) is mentioned in the NT only in Revelation. There it follows the blowing of the first trumpet (Rev. 8:7), is one of the meteorological phenomena which followed the opening of the ark of God's covenant in heaven (11:19) and specially heavy hail is the last of the horrors that followed the pouring out of the seventh bowl (Rev. 16:21). The violence of a mighty hailstorm is a suitable picture of the power of God and underlines the truth that his judgments are irresistible.

16. Snow (*chiōn*) is used in the NT only as a way of indicating whiteness. It is the colour of the angel's robe (Matt. 28:3) and that of the hair of the glorious Lord (Rev. 1:14). *L. L. Morris*

Wilderness, Desert, Lay Waste, Mountain, Plain

ἔρημος

ἔρημος (*erēmos*), abandoned, solitary, desolate, deserted; ἔρημος (*erēmos*), ἔρημος τόπος (*erēmos topos*), ἐρημία (*erēmia*), desolate place, desert, wilderness; ἐρημόω (*erēmoō*), lay waste, devastate, make desolate, depopulate; ἐρήμωσις (*erēmōsis*), devastation, desolation, destruction.

CL The etymology of *erēmos*, solitary, desolate (adj.), or a desert (noun) – a word used from Hom. onwards (e.g. *Il.* 10, 520) – has not been clarified with precision. Suggested roots are *era, ra, ar*, to separate. Cognates include Lat. *rarus*, scattered, rarely, and Old High German *aram*, poor, needy. *erēmia*, a desolate area, is attested in the Tragedians (e.g. Aesch., *PV* 2; Eur., *Troades* 26). *erēmōsis*, devastation, is first found in the LXX. The vb. *erēmoō* in non-biblical Gk. can also mean to set free, to hand over, to leave alone (e.g. Aesch., *Supp.* 516). "Desert" (*erēmos* and *erēmia*), for the ancient world, is not only land that is without water and vegetation and therefore uninhabited, but also an area that has been laid waste and depopulated, a settlement or pasture that has been abandoned, a derelict site. The ancient Graeco-Roman world awaited the revelation of the divinity in a lonely spot (e.g. Eur., *Bacch.* 874 ff.), and it feared the desert as the habitat of demons (e.g. Lucian, *Vitarum Auctio* 9).

OT 1. (a) The LXX uses *erēmos* to render 241 of the total 345 occurrences of Heb. *miḏbār*, desert (which also means a steppe, grassland, e.g. Gen. 37:22). *erēmos* also stands 32 times for derivatives of the Heb. root *ḥārēḇ*, be waste, desolate, 25 times for *šāmēm*, be appalled, devastated, desolate, and its derivatives, and 10 times for *negēḇ*, parched land. 120 of the uses of *erēmos* are found in the Pentateuch, since Exod. to Deut. (109 attestations) recount Israel's wandering in the wilderness. In the Pss. too (21 times), Isa. (45 times), Jer. (28 times) and Ezek. (38 times) the term *erēmos* plays an important rôle.

(b) *erēmia*, by contrast, appears in the LXX extremely rarely. In the writings of

the canonical OT this form is encountered in only 3 places: in Isa. 60:12 and Ezek. 35:4 for Heb. *ḥārōḇ* and *ḥorbâh*; and in Ezek. 35:9 for Heb. *šim ᶜmâh*.

(c) The vb. *erēmoō*, to devastate, appears in the LXX a total of 60 times for Heb. words, of which the most predominant are forms of the Heb. root *ḥārēḇ* (29 times) and *šāmēm* (17 times). The vb. is most frequently attested in Isa. (17 times), Ezek. (17 times) and Jer. (6 times).

(d) The noun *erēmōsis*, devastation, derived from *erēmoō*, is encountered in 18 passages in the OT canon of the LXX; of these 18, 6 are in Jer. and 8 in Dan. The LXX renderings are of Heb. *ḥorbâh* (6 times) and derivations of the Heb. root *šāmēm* (11 times).

2. Just as with mountains and → water, the desert in the OT has the double aspect of the holy: it is the place where Yahweh reveals himself (→ Revelation), but it is also the abode of → demons, who threaten human beings with impurity, sickness and death.

(a) The positive valuation which is given to the "holy place", the desert, is represented by the numerous accounts which concern theophanies in the desert. In the desert an → angel strengthened → Elijah with nourishment, as he fled from Jezebel (1 Ki. 19:4–6). God's appearance at Horeb (Exod. 3:1 ff.; 1 Ki. 19:11–18) and Sinai (Exod. 19) is not only a mountain- but a desert-theophany. Israel's forty years of wandering in the wilderness (Exod. to Deut.; cf. Deut. 8:2) was counted as a time of particular closeness to Yahweh (Hos. 9:10; cf. 11:1; 12:10[12:9]; 13:4 f.); and above all in the Pss., Jer., Isa., and Ezek. The paraenetic references back to Yahweh's faithfulness (and Israel's unfaithfulness: Pss. 78[77]:17, 40; 95[94]:7–11; 106[105]:13–33; Ezek. 20; cf. Num. 13 f.) in the wilderness take up a comparatively large amount of space (e.g. Pss. 78[77]:15, 19, 40, 52; 95[94]:8; 106[105]:7–12; Isa. 48:21; 63:13; Jer. 2:6; Ezek. 20:10–26,36). The → hope of eschatological salvation is also linked with speculations involving the desert (Isa. 40:3; Jer. 31[38]:2; Ezek. 34:25; Hos. 2:16–25). Anyone who wished to live close to Yahweh at that moment chose a life in an artificial desert-situation like the Rechabites, whose origins lie in a prophetic revival movement of Elijah's time. They lived in → tents instead of in houses (Jer. 35:7, 9 f.). At least once a year all Israelites lived as if in the desert, as their forefathers did, when they celebrated the Feast of Tabernacles in "tents" (Lev. 23:34–36, 42 f.; Deut. 16:13–17).

(b) At the same time the desert is a place of deadly danger, of separation from God, and of demonic powers (Deut. 8:15; cf. Num. 21:4–9; Isa. 30:6). The tension between cultivated land and desert becomes the contrast between the lands of Canaan and → Egypt; "Egypt" can be used specifically as a synonym for the (demonic) desert (Tob. 8:3; cf. Ezek. 20:36 and Matt. 2:15; though cf. also Hos. 11:1). Yahweh's terrifying east wind, like all winds which are conceived in personal terms, comes out of the desert (Hos. 13:15). The scapegoat is chased into the desert to the demon Azazel (Lev. 16:10, 21 f.). Desert demons take possession of the ruins of Babylon (Isa. 13:21 f.) and Edom (Isa. 34:13–15). Contemporary desolation and misery are seen as devastation (e.g. Isa. 1:7; 54:3; Jer. 2:15; Ezek. 19:13), and future destruction of cities and land is threatened in the form of imminent devastation (e.g. Isa. 5:9; Jer. 4:26 f.; Ezek. 5:14). The drying up of the → water, in particular, characterizes the transformation into desert (Isa. 37:25; 44:27; 51:10; Jer. 51[28]:36; Ezek. 29:10; 30:12).

The words *erēmoō*, to devastate, and *erēmōsis*, devastation, are used almost exclusively of punitive destruction of houses, cities and lands (e.g. Isa. 6:11; 54:3; Jer. 4:7; 7:34; Ezek. 26:19).

The statements of Daniel concerning the *erēmōsis* of the sanctuary in Jerusalem (Dan. 8:13) show that such devastation is to be understood as the victory of demonic powers; the Gk. *bdelygma [tēs] erēmōseōs* or *tōn erēmōseōn*, → abomination of desolation(s) in Dan. 9:27; 11:31; 12:11; 1 Macc. 1:54 is a trans. of the Heb. equivalent *šiqqūṣ (mᵉ)šōmēm*. This refers to the transference under Antiochus IV Epiphanes (167 B.C.) of the altar of Yahweh at Jerusalem to that of Zeus Olympios (*baʿal šāmēm*), who was equated with Yahweh. In Aram. there is a play on words – *šᵉmayîn*, heaven, and *mᵉšōmēm*, desolating (E. Nestle, "Zu Daniel", *ZAW* 4, 1884 248), implying that pagan gods are demons.

On the basis of its demonistic qualifications the desert, exactly like the "many waters" of Ezek. 26:19 f., can stand as a picture for the underworld ("eternal solitudes", Ezek. 26:20 JB). One can think of Yahweh's punishing demons which reside in the desert (Num. 21:4–9), when Yahweh finally threatens to settle accounts with his people in the desert once and for all (Ezek. 20:35). It is of course true that Israel will finally find salvation in the desert (cf. Ezek. 34:25; Hos. 2:16; see above, 2 (a)); but this can only mean that the desert will be for ever overcome. It will become arable land, water will flow in it, roads will be opened, desolated towns re-built (Isa. 32:15 f.; 35:15 f.; especially the later chapters of Isa., e.g. 41:18; 43:19 f.; 58:12; 61:4; 62:4; Jer. 33[40]:10–12; Ezek. 36:10, 33 ff.; 38:8, 12; Dan. 9:27; cf. Hos. 14:5–10). In this context belongs a passage like Isa. 40:3 (→ Walk, art. *hodos* OT 1 (a)). Where roads are constructed through the desert (Isa. 43:19), there Yahweh's lordship has dawned. If God also pleases to reveal his glory in the wilderness, it is still, in the last resort, a place which is hostile to God, an evil, demonic locality. God's victory over his enemies and the enemies of his people is thus also a victory over the desert.

(c) When post-biblical Judaism works within the compass of the Hoseanic desert-typology, it awaits the redemption of Israel from the desert (rabbinic attestations in SB I 85–88). That is why messianic disturbances originate in the desert (Josephus, *War* 2, 258–63). The Essenes understood their secession into the wilderness of Qumran eschatologically, i.e. in the sense of preparing the way (cf. 1QS 8, 12 ff.; 9:19 f.), and the same applied to John the Baptist (Josephus, *Ant.* 18, 116–119). Similarly, according to Mart. Isa. 2:8–11, the prophets Isaiah, Micah and others migrated to a "mountain in desolate surroundings". In the messianic speculation of Judaism concerning the desert, particular significance is attached to the passages Hos. 2:16; 12:10, Job 30:4 and Isa. 40:3, the latter being encountered in Qumran as well as in John the Baptist. After the destruction of the temple the Jews prayed for an untroubled departure with wife and children "into the desert" (Josephus, *War* 6, 351), doubtless in order to be especially close to God there.

But demons, too, live in the desert. Behemoth (cf. Job 40:15–24) is, according to Eth. Enoch 60:8, a desert demon. Malevolent spirits which are being punished are sent into the desert by way of its being a compulsory place of residence (Tob. 8:3; Eth. Enoch 10:4; cf. Matt. 12:43 par. Lk. 11:24).

The fact that fear of desert demons and the high theologico-eschatological regard for the desert are not mutually exclusive is shown both by the Qumran sect, with its

continual anti-demonic ablutions (→ Water; → Baptism, art. *louō*), and by the secession of the prophets of Mart. Isa. 2:8 ff., who by prayer and fasting, struggle for (anti-demonic) purity. In the desert the ascetic fights with evil spirits in order to be deemed worthy of an appearance of the Godhead.

NT 1. In the NT the word group *erēm-* is represented 46 times (counting Synoptic par. instances as only one attestation each). Of these, 37 are of *erēmos*, desert, 3 of *erēmia*, desert, 4 of *erēmoō* (only in the pass. form *erēmousthai*, to be devastated), and 2 for *erēmōsis*, desolation. By far the largest number of occurrences (20) is offered by the Synoptics (including *erēmos* 16 times and *erēmia* once, for desert), followed by Acts (9 times) and Rev. (3 times each for noun and vb.). Three attestations each of the word-group are found in Paul and Heb.; *erēmos* is found 5 times in Jn.'s Gospel.

2. (a) The NT estimation of the desert (chiefly *erēmos* or *erēmos topos*; *erēmia* only in Matt. 15:33 par. Mk. 8:4; 2 Cor. 11:26; Heb. 11:38) is none other than that of the OT and Judaism. As ever, Israel's forty years of wandering in the desert is counted as a momentous fact of God's historical activity (Jn. 3:14; 6:31, 49; Acts 7:30 ff.; 13:18; 1 Cor. 10:5; Heb. 3:8, 17), and the idea that eschatological movements begin in the desert is still alive (Matt. 24:26; Acts 21:38). The apocalyptic flight of the woman into the desert (Rev. 12:6, 14) is to be explained from the high regard in which Israel's time in the wilderness was held, and simultaneously attests the expectation that the messiah will come from the desert (cf. Matt. 2:15; Hos. 11:1; → Egypt for the ambivalent rôle of Egypt in Scripture). The youthful John the Baptist is hidden in the desert (Lk. 1:80), and he then develops his area of effective work in the desert (Matt. 3:1 par. Mk. 1:4, Lk. 3:2; but cf. Isa. 40:3; Matt. 11:7 par. Lk. 7:24). As in Judaism prophets belong in desert places and on mountains, as was proper for ascetics (Mart. Isa. 2:8–11), so Heb. 11:38 localizes the OT prophets and ascetics in deserts, mountains and caves. Linking up with the desert-wanderers and desert-dwellers of the OT the new Israel is able to understand itself, by way of antitype, as the wandering people of God (Heb. 3 f.; 11:8–10; 12:18–24; cf. 1 Cor. 10:1–13; cf. E. Käsemann, *Das wandernde Gottesvolk. Eine Untersuchung zum Hebräerbrief*, 1957²).

(b) In so far as Jesus' significance is described as prophetic and messianic, the desert also has its place. Jesus comes forth in analogy to → Moses, in the prophetic interpretation of this leader-figure of Israel's time in the wilderness (Acts 3:22 f.; 7:37; though cf. Deut. 18:15), but of course, as an antitype, surpassing him (cf. Heb. 3:1–6). The Synoptic stories of Jesus' childhood have his messianic honour proclaimed to the men of the steppes and solitude, the "shepherds in the field" (Lk. 2:8–14), and, by means of the flight to Egypt (Matt. 2:13–15, 19–21), render possible the arrival of the messiah from the Egyptian desert (the messianic interpretation of Hos. 11:1 by Matt. 2:15; in Tob. 8:3 Egypt signifies the desert). It is in the desert that Jesus defeats the Satanic temptation (Matt. 4:1–11 par. Mk. 1:12 f., Lk. 4:1–13; → Tempt), and it is there that Jesus miraculously (cf. 2 Ki. 4:42–44 with Elisha) feeds his followers (Matt. 14:13 par. Mk. 6:32; in addition Lk. 9:12, and Matt. 15:33 par. Mk. 8:4). Several times Jesus lingers in the desert to pray and fast there (apart from Matt. 4:1 f. par. Lk. 4:1 f.; cf. Mk. 1:35, 45 par. Lk. 4:42; 5:16) – and not only in order to come particularly close to God, but also in order to break the power of the

demons (Mk. 1:12 f. par.). The desert is still a favourite place for visions (Rev. 17:3; cf. Acts 8:26). Perhaps it was for this reason that Paul sought out the Arabian desert (Gal. 1:17), but perhaps also simply in order to escape from the clutches of his opponents (cf. 1 Ki. 19:3 ff. and Rev. 12:6).

3. The desert is qualified negatively where the sin and failure of the wilderness-generation (see above OT, 2) is spoken of (Acts 7:41–43; 1 Cor. 10:5; Heb. 3:8, 17). Demonic dangers threaten in the desert (2 Cor. 11:26; cf. Lk. 15:4), for that is where demons (Matt. 12:43 par. Lk. 11:24, Mk. 1:12 f.) and madmen (Lk. 8:29) live. The aetiological demon-saga seizes on desolate localities (Acts 1:18–20; but cf. Ps. 69:26 [Matt. 27:3–10 otherwise]; cf. Papias, *Frag.* 3).

As in the OT devastation (*erēmoō*, to lay waste, pass. *erēmousthai*, to be devastated) of houses, cities and land is reckoned to be conquest by demonic powers carrying out God's → judgment of → punishment (Matt. 12:25 par. Lk. 11:17; cf. Matt. 23:38 par. Lk. 13:35 and Acts 1:20). The wanton, i.e. idolatrous, city of → Babylon (= Rome) will be devastated (Rev. 17:16; 18:17, 19) by punishing demons (Rev. 18:2; cf. 17:16): again there are OT models in the background (cf. OT 2 (b)).

Abhorrence of pagan divinities, equated with demons (1 Cor. 10:20; Rev. 9:20; cf. 2:13), also gave form to the expression → "abomination of desolation" (*bdelygma tēs erēmōseōs*, Matt. 24:15 par. Mk. 13:14). The literary original (see above, OT 2 (b)) is taken by Matt. and Mk. to be a prediction of the eschatological handing-over of → Jerusalem to the demons of the pagans; the par. passage Lk. 21:20 has abandoned the OT reference and thinks of military devastation (*erēmōsis*) of the city of Jerusalem. The fulfilment of Jesus' prediction against Jerusalem (Matt. 23:37 f. par. Lk. 13:34 f.; cf. Jer. 9:10 f.) will thus compare the disobedient city of God with the whore of Babylon (Rome; cf. Rev. 17:16–18; 18:2–24).

Apart from those passages in which reference is made to the saving period of Israel's wandering in the wilderness, the desert in the NT is more of a demonic place. Even where Jesus reveals his glory in the desert, it is in his victory over demonic powers that this takes place. Only where God's judgment has fallen is there victory over the desert and its maleficent spirits. *O. Böcher*

The topographical descriptions in the New Testament provide both historical realism and theological symbolism. Perhaps none is more striking in both respects than that which refers to the presence or absence of mountains. Further, the writers of the Synoptic Gospels stand in contrast to each other in several notable places with respect to their mention or omission of reference to a mountain and possibly also, in a measure, with respect to their concepts of symbolic imagery.

ὄρεινος

ὄρεινος (*oreinos*), hilly, mountainous.

oreinos is often used substantivally without the accompanying *chōra*, countryside. It signifies territory with rugged features in contrast to level ground (e.g., Jos. 9:1 LXX). Its only New Testament use is in Luke's birth narratives. Twice (Lk. 1:39, 65) it describes the area where John the Baptist was born. This hill country of Judea lies to the west and north of the Dead Sea and includes Jerusalem and Bethlehem. It was

to here that Mary travelled to visit Elizabeth, and, after John's birth, word of what God was doing spread throughout that territory. *W. L. Liefeld*

τόπος πεδινός	*τόπος πεδινός* (*topos pedinos*), level place.

This expression is used in contrast to "mountain" (Jer. 17:26 LXX), to "hill country" (see the above paragraph) and to the rocky terrain which characterized the Judean desert (Deut. 4:43 LXX). Its one occurrence in the New Testament, Lk. 6:17, has properly received much attention. If the Beatitudes of Lk. 6 were spoken on the same occasion as those of Matt. 5, as is generally supposed, one must take note of the fact that while Matthew only says that Jesus went up "on a mountainside" (NIV), Luke indicates that he came down to a level place from a higher location where he had spent the night in prayer (Lk. 6:12, 17). It has often been supposed that the two accounts are in contradiction, though the Lucan account allows for the Beatitudes (and the ensuing Sermon on the Mount) to have been given at a level part of the mountainous territory described by Matthew. Recently, however, the difference between Matthew and Luke has been taken by many to be a deliberate theological construction. (See the discussion below under the term *oros*.) It is important to note that theological symbolism need not rule out geographical accuracy, although that assumption is often made, for one must realize that not only can a symbolic meaning be attached to an actual place or event, but also the place may have been deliberately chosen, by Jesus in this instance, for its potential symbolic value.

W. L. Liefeld

ὄρος, ὑψηλός	*ὄρος* (*oros*), mountain, mountain chain or region; *ὑψηλός* (*hypsēlos*), high.

CL & OT 1. The Mesopotamians were conscious of the height and power of the mountains and the Greeks viewed Olympus as the supreme home of the gods (cf. W. Foerster, *oros*, *TDNT* V 475–79). In the Ras Shamra texts, Zaphon, a hill north of Ras Shamra, is the abode of Baal.

2. In the LXX *oros* generally translates *har*. On the significance of Mount Sinai → *Sina*. Mountains and ravines could be an obstacle to communication (2 Ki. 19:23; Isa. 37:24). Growth of grass on them for pasture is a sign of God's love (Ps. 147:8). Most of the hills in Palestine do not rise above 3000 ft., and so could be used for beacons. The use of the beacon as a signal of invasion is used in an oracle of judgment (Isa. 13:2; cf. 30:17). The view which Moses had from the top of Pisgah was a revelation of all that God would give Israel (Deut. 34:1–4), though Moses was not allowed to set foot in the promised land. Prophecy and parable could be delivered from mountains (Jdg. 9:7) and people addressed from them (2 Sam. 2:25 f.; 2 Chr. 13:4). Mountains could be places of refuge (Jdg. 6:2; Ps. 11[10]:1).

3. Mountains are frequently associated with Yahweh's presence. Isaac was to be offered on a mountain (Gen. 22:2). During the battle with the Amalekites Moses prayed on top of a hill (Exod. 17:9 f.). Elijah climbed to the top of Mount Carmel to pray (1 Ki. 18:42). Blessing and curse were invoked from Mount Ebal and Mount

Gerizim (Deut. 11:29; 27:12 f.; Jos. 8:33). The circumcision of the Israelites took place on Haaraloth (Jos. 5:3). The ark was set on a hill (1 Sam. 7:1; 2 Sam. 6:3), and sacrifice was offered on high places, *bāmôṯ* (1 Sam. 9:12 ff.; 19:25; 1 Ki. 3:4; 1 Chr. 16:39; 21:29; 2 Chr. 1:3, 13). "The prophetic protest against the cult in high-places, which led to cultic centralization in Jerusalem (Deut. 12:2–9), was not directed against the siting of cultic centres on mountains but against Canaanite ideas and acts associated with the centres" (W. Foerster, *TDNT* V 481 f.). David had captured the Jebusite fortress at Jerusalem (2 Sam. 5:6–10) which subsequently became the site of the → temple erected by Solomon. (For Zion → Jerusalem.)

4. Especially in the Pss. and the prophetic writings mountains are expressive of Yahweh's power. He made them and was before them, and has power to destroy them even though they are rooted in the earth (Job 28:9; cf. Deut. 32:22; Jdg. 5:5; 1 Ki. 19:12; Job 9:5; Pss. 65[64]:6; 83[82]:14; 90[89]:2; 95[94]:4; 104[103]:32; Isa. 40:4, 12; 41:15; 63:19 f.; Jer. 4:24; 51:25; Ezek. 38:20; Mic. 1:4; Nah. 1:5; Hab. 3:6).

5. Mountains also figure in eschatological expectation. They will drip with wine as a symbol of plenty (Amos 9:12; Joel 3:18). The levelling of hills and valleys is a symbol of God's overruling in return from exile (Isa. 40:4; 45:2). The Mount of Olives, overlooking the temple, will be split (Zech. 14:4). Mount Zion will be higher than other hills and the Gentile nations will stream to it (Isa. 2:2–4; Mic. 4:1–3). Here Zion is seen as the focal point of meeting with Yahweh. The Gentiles will be included with Israel as they seek the ways of Yahweh, and universal peace shall reign.

C. Brown

NT 1. The adjective "high" modifies the word "mountain" four times in the New Testament, once to describe the mount of → temptation (Matt. 4:8), twice in reference to the mount of → transfiguration (Matt. 17:1; Mk. 9:2) and once to describe a vantage point to which, in a vision, the seer John was taken (Rev. 21:10). Used alone, *hypsēlos* twice describes the sphere of Christ in his present exaltation in Hebrews: absolutely, in 1:3 ("in heaven", NIV) and as a comparative, in the phrase "above the heavens" (7:26, NIV). In Rev. 21:12 it describes the high walls of the new Jerusalem. Several times it has a metaphorical use (Lk. 16:15; Acts 13:17; Rom. 11:20; 12:16).

2. The use of the term "mountain" itself ranges from the simple geographical, including several references to the Mount of Olives, to passages of great theological significance. Jesus apparently often sought the isolation of rugged elevated locations in order to pray or to be alone with his disciples (Lk. 6:12; Matt. 14:23; Mk. 3:13; 6:46, paralleled in Matt. 14:23, where the words "by himself" are added). In Lk. 9:37 it is observed that, on leaving the mount of transfiguration, Jesus is confronted by crowds, a comment which emphasizes his previous isolation which, according to Lk. 9:28, was for the purpose of prayer. The identification of the mount of transfiguration is unknown. Mt. Tabor was occupied by a fortress in Jesus' day and Mt. Hermon seems too far away both for the great crowd at its base, which included some scribes (Mk. 9:14), and for the reference to the return trip being "through Galilee" (Mk. 9:30). The highest mountain in Galilee (and in the boundaries of modern Israel) is Mt. Meron (3,926 feet), which fits the description of Matt. 17:1; Mk. 9:2. The

definite article "the" in Lk. 9:28 represents too common a use for a specific mountain or a mountain range to suppose that it hints at a well-known location.

3. More important is the question of whether this or other mountains mentioned in the Gospels have a distinctively theological symbolism. Certainly the associations with Mount Sinai are strong in the transfiguration narrative: the appearance of Moses, the cloud, reference to tabernacles and mention of Jesus' approaching death (Lk. 9:31, lit. "exodus") among others. Other associations can be established with an eschatological motif, but these would not invalidate the clear allusions to Sinai. Likewise, the mountain on which Jesus gave his Sermon with its authoritative comments on the law (Matt. 5–7) may represent a new Sinai (→ *Sina*), though this association rests on other assumptions regarding the intention of Matthew to establish an exodus motif in his narrative, with some uncertainties in this regard preventing a dogmatic conclusion (cf. W. D. Davies, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount*, 1964, 99).

The question of a distinctive viewpoint on Matthew's part enters at this point. Luke, as noted above, does not mention a mountain in his introduction to the sermonic material (Lk. 6:16). He also omits reference to the Mount of Olives when introducing the apocalyptic discourse (compare Lk. 21:5–7 with Matt. 24:1–3 and Mk. 13:1–4). The account of Jesus' final words to his disciples at "the mountain where Jesus had told them to go" (Matt. 28:16) is not found in Luke. Do Matthew and Mark present a symbolism of the mountain as a place of revelation? It is interesting to note also that the sequence of Jesus' temptations in Matt. 4:1–11 concludes with the vision from the "very high mountain", with Jesus being alone and receiving the ministry of angels. Luke concludes with the temptation in Jerusalem (Lk. 4:9–12), a focus which may have significance in connexion with Luke's special concern elsewhere for Jerusalem.

4. Is it significant that Luke mentions swine on a hillside, as does Mark (Lk. 8:32; Mk. 5:11), while Matthew does not locate these unclean animals there, only saying that the pigs were "some distance from them" (Matt. 8:30), almost as though he were reluctant to think of them in (holy?) mountainous territory? In such cases, one must always allow for merely stylistic or even more prosaic reasons for omissions and emphases.

5. Luke's reference, through his quotation of Isaiah 40:3–5, to the levelling of mountains and hills at the coming of the Lord (Lk. 3:4–6) and his omission of the Mount of Olives in Lk. 21:5–7 have raised the question as to whether he envisions an eschatological landscape without mountains. It seems more reasonable to assume that he shares the biblical view of God's sovereignty over even the majestic mountains. As the Lord brings "salvation" (Lk. 3:6, emphasizing a major theme in Luke's theology), everything must make way for his coming. Flight to the mountains in time of eschatological distress (Matt. 24:16; Mk. 13:14; Lk. 21:21) is a normal reference to hills and their caves as places of refuge. The metaphorical reference to moving even towering mountains by faith in prayer is also a figure which would be understood by Jesus' contemporaries who, more than we, were dwarfed and awed by their majesty and seeming permanence. This underscores the strong imagery of mountains in the Bible, where geography and symbolism seem to be blended together.

W. L. Liefeld

6. The saying about the power of faith to remove a mountain (Matt. 17:20) may well have as its background a proverbial expression for overcoming difficulties (cf. Isa. 40:4; 49:11; 54:10), but in context "this mountain" may signify the mount of the transfiguration, to which all three Synoptic evangelists refer (Matt. 17:1 par. Mk. 9:2, Lk. 9:28; Matt. 17:9 par. Mk. 9:9, Lk. 9:37). The saying is, however, omitted by Mk. and the mountain is replaced by "this sycamine tree" in Lk. 17:6. The mountain is traditionally Mount Tabor, but some scholars prefer Hermon or Meron. In view of the associations with the transfiguration, the power ascribed to faith to remove "this mountain" is all the more striking. Mk., however, gives the saying in connexion with the cursing of the fig tree and the power of prayer (Mk. 11:20–26; → Fruit, art. *sykē*; → Prayer, art. *proseuchomai* NT 2). The context in Mk. suggests that "this mountain" is the Mount of Olives; W. Manson saw an allusion here to Zech. 14:4 (*Jesus the Messiah*, 1943, 29f.). H. Anderson conjectures that the Marcan form of the saying might at first seem to imply that lively faith is a human accomplishment: "make the effort of faith and obstacles will be overcome" (*The Gospel of Mark*, *New Century Bible*, 1976, 268). But such an inference, he points out, is avoided by that Matthean version which, he thinks, may be more original, though Mk. says essentially the same thing. For there faith is compared with the minute mustard seed. The call is not to a greater or stronger faith but to "a faith to which everything has been promised just because it expects everything from God and nothing from itself" (E. Schweizer, *Jesus*, 1971, 234). In Mk. the fig tree withers because of the power and judgment of God. Faith is the response of man to God who invites intercessory prayer and mutual forgiveness among men (which in context removes sins which are comparable with removing mountains).

7. The Sermon on the Mount contains the statement: "A city set on a hill cannot be hid" (Matt. 5:14b). It immediately follows the saying: "You are the light of the world." It is followed by the saying about putting a lamp on a lampstand and the exhortation: "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works and glorify your Father who is in heaven" (Matt. 5:16). The saying about → salt (Matt. 5:13) focuses on the usefulness of salt. The sayings about light and the city focus on the *raison d'être* of the disciples. Because of their calling they cannot remain obscure; the character of their lives should be such that men will have cause to glorify God. There is a hint of Isa. 2:2, 5: "It shall come to pass in the latter days that the mountain of the house of the LORD shall be established as the highest of the mountains, and shall be raised above the hills; and all the nations shall flow to it. . . . O house of Jacob, come, let us walk in the light of the LORD" (cf. Mic. 4:1–3). The eschatological promise is to be fulfilled in the body of disciples. Perhaps too we are to see here the fulfilment of the promise to Abraham, that in him all the nations of the earth would be blessed (or bless themselves) (Gen. 12:3; 18:8; 22:18; 26:4; 28:14; cf. Acts 3:25; Gal. 3:8). As the light is manifested in the community of disciples as the people of God, so the nations will come to them as the new Jerusalem to receive blessing and glorify God.

The saying in P. Oxy. appears to be a mistaken gloss on this text: "A city which is erected on the top of a high mountain and firmly established can neither fall nor remain hidden" (Henn. Schn., I, 109 f.; cf. D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew*, *New Century Bible*, 1972, 116). For it places emphasis on the invincibility of the church,

whereas the saying in Matt. emphasizes the fulfilment of prophecy and the glorification of God.

8. Rev. 8:8 is probably an allusion to the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79, seen as a fulfilment of Jer. 51:25 (cf. also the vision of the angel casting the great millstone [*mylinon megan*] into the sea, as a symbol of the overthrow of Babylon, Rev. 18:21; → Rock). Rev. 17:9 takes up into the symbolism of world-powers the seven hills on which Rome was founded. Rev. 6:14 and 16:20 go beyond the OT expectation of the levelling of the mountains; they will disappear, heralding a new heaven and earth (cf. Rev. 20:11; 21:1). *C. Brown*

Σινά	*Σινά* (*Sina*), Sinai.

OT The indeclinable proper name *Sina* is derived from the Heb. *sînay*. As such it occurs in Exod. 16:1; Deut. 33:2; Jdg. 5:5; Pss. 68:8; 69:9; Sir. 48:7. Other expressions for Mount Sinai are: *to oros to Sina* (Exod. 19:11, 20, 23; 24:16); *(to) oros Sina* (Exod. 19:16; Lev. 7:38; 25:1; 26:46; Num. 3:1; 2 Esd. 19:13; Sib. 3, 256). Sinai is the name of the sacred mountain used in passages attributed to J and P, before which Israel encamped when Yahweh made Israel his → covenant people (Exod. 19–24). Moses ascended the mountain in order to speak with God (Exod. 19:3, 10; 24:9), and descended in order to communicate God's word to the people (Exod. 19:14). After the conclusion of the covenant Moses ascended another forty days and nights (Exod. 24:18; cf. ch. 32). In revealing his presence to the people, Yahweh did so with thunders and thick cloud, with trumpet blast to warn the people not to touch the mountain (Exod. 19:16–24). This is the setting of the Ten Commandments (Exod. 20; cf. Deut. 5). While Moses was on the mountain the people induced Aaron to make the golden calf (Exod. 32). Yahweh's glory was revealed to Moses in a cleft of a rock (Exod. 33:17–23). A second set of tablets was made on the mountain to replace those broken on the foot of the mountain, when Moses saw the golden calf (Exod. 34:1 ff.; cf. 32:19).

In passages ascribed to the Elohist stratum and in Deuteronomic literature the sacred mountain is called Mount Horeb (Heb. *ḥôrēḇ*; LXX *Chōrēb*). No distinction between the two mountains can be discerned in the geographical descriptions, and the two names are synonyms (cf. Exod. 3:1; 18:5; Deut. 1; 4:10; 5:2). Deut. 1:2 says that it was eleven days' journey from Horeb by way of Mount Seir to Kadesh-barnea. Num. 33:16–36 gives a detailed list of stations between the mountain and Kadesh, which may have been preserved for the sake of pilgrims. Elijah found refuge in Horeb in his flight from Jezebel after his contest with the priests of Baal on Mount Carmel (1 Ki. 19:1–18). Here he found restoration, a fresh revelation from Yahweh and his final commission.

The exact site of Mount Sinai has been much debated. Traditionally it is located at Jebel Musa among the high mountains at the apex of the Sinai peninsula. Alternative sites include Ras es-Safsaf, and the region of north-west Arabia, near the biblical land of Midian. This has been favoured because of the volcanic activity in the area which fits the descriptions of Exod. 19, and because of Moses' association with the Midianites (Exod. 3:1; 18:1). A third site is one of the mountains in the region of

Kadesh-barnea (cf. Deut. 33:2; Jdg. 5:4 f.; Num. 20:16). (For summary of the arguments see G. E. Wright, *IDB* IV 376 ff.)

NT Sinai is mentioned twice each in Acts and Gal., and is alluded to in Heb. 12.

1. The speech of Stephen prior to his martyrdom gives a résumé of Israel's history which E. Lohse thinks may well have been taken over from Jewish tradition with only slight adaptation (*TDNT* VII 285). In both passages an → angel is mentioned as speaking to Moses, first at the burning bush in the wilderness of Mount Sinai (Acts 7:30; cf. Exod. 3:1 f.), and then in the giving of "living oracles" (Acts 7:38; cf. Exod. 19; Deut. 32:47). Sinai thus plays a prominent part in the salvation history of Israel. The implication which Stephen draws from his survey is that the present Jewish leaders have failed to understand the workings of God.

2. In Gal. 4:21–31 Paul identifies the present stubborn and disobedient Israel with Hagar (Gen. 16:15; 21:2, 9) and Mount Sinai (Gal. 4:24 f.) as symbols of standing outside the covenant promises and being in bondage to the law, respectively. Together they are typified by the present Jerusalem which is in bondage, as contrasted with "the Jerusalem above" which is "free" and our "mother" (v. 26). (For discussion → Parable, art. *parabolē*, NT 9.)

3. In Heb. 12:18–29 Mount Sinai (though it is not mentioned as such by name) is contrasted with Mount Sion, representing the old and new covenants. The description of the former, drawn from the account of Exod. 19 and 20, stresses the holiness and inaccessibility of the mount for ordinary people, whereas the latter stresses that believers have come to the great host of the assembly of "the first-born who are enrolled in heaven" (v. 22), "and to Jesus, the mediator of a new covenant, and to the sprinkled blood that speaks more graciously than the blood of Abel" (v. 24, the latter crying out for vengeance, Gen. 4:10). There is, therefore, all the more reason not to "refuse him who is speaking" (v. 25). "Therefore let us be grateful for receiving a kingdom that cannot be shaken, and thus let us offer to God acceptable worship, with reverence and awe; for our God is a consuming fire" (vv. 28 f.). *C. Brown*

→ Elijah, → Height, → Jerusalem, Zion, → Moses, → Tempt, → Walk

(a). M. Avi-Yonah, "Mount Carmel and the God of Baalbek", *Israel Exploration Journal* 2, 1952, 118–24; D. Baly, *The Geography of the Bible*, 1974 [2]; G. W. Van Beek, "Carmel, Mount", *IDB* I 538; G. W. Coats, "The Wilderness Itinerary", *CBQ* 34, 1972, 135–52; G. I. Davies, "The Wilderness Itineraries: A Comparative Study", *TB* 25, 1974, 46–81; W. Foerster, *oros*, *TDNT* V 475–87; R. W. Funk, "The Wilderness", *JBL* 78, 1959, 205 ff.; G. Kittel, *erēmos* etc., *TDNT* II 657–60; W. Kornfeld, "Mountain", *EBT* II 297 f.; E. Lohse, *Sina*, *TDNT* VII 282–87; J. Mánek, "On the Mount – On the Plain (Mt. v.1.–Lk. vi. 17)", *NovT* 9, 1967, 124–31; V. U. Mauser, *Christ in the Wilderness: The Wilderness Theme in the Second Gospel and its Biblical Tradition*, *SBT* 39, 1963; E. W. Nicholson, *Exodus and Sinai in History and Tradition*, 1973; G. von Rad, "City on a Hill", in *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays*, 1966, 232–242; H. Riesenfeld, "The Messianic Character of the Temptation in the Wilderness", in *The Gospel Tradition*, 1970, 75–94; G. E. Wright, "Sinai, Mount", *IDB* IV 376 ff.

(b). F. von Andrian, *Der Höhenkultus asiatischer und europäischer Völker*, 1891; H. Bardtke, "Wüste und Oase in den Hodajoth von Qumran", in *Gott und die Götter*, Festschrift E. Fascher, 1958, 44 ff.; R. Beer, *Heilige Höhen der alten Griechen und Römer*, 1891; O. Böcher, *Dämonenfurcht und Dämonenabwehr. Ein Beitrag zur Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe*, *BWANT* 90, 1970, 65 ff., 311 ff.; P. Bonnard, "La Signification du Désert selon le Nouveau Testament", in *Hommage et Reconnaissance . . . à Karl Barth*, 1946, 11 ff.; O. Eissfeldt, *Baal Zaphon, Zeus Casios und der Durchzug der Israeliten durchs Meer*, 1932; and *Der Gott Karmel*, 1953; R. Frieling, *Der heilige Berg*, 1930; V. Fritz,

Israel in der Wüste. Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung der Wüstenüberlieferung des Jahwisten, Marburger theologische Studien 7, 1970; K. Galling, "Der Gott Karmel und die Achtung der fremden Götter", in *Geschichte und Altes Testament*, Festschrift A. Alt, 1953, 105–25; M. Hengel, *Die Zeloten. Untersuchung zur jüdischen Freiheitsbewegung in der Zeit von Herodes I. bis 70 nach Christi*, 1971, 255 f.; S. Herrmann and B. Reicke, "Wüste", *BHHW* III 2193 f.; J. Jeremias, *Der Gottesberg*, 1919; H. H. Mallau, *Die theologische Bedeutung der Wüste im Alten Testament*, (Dissertation) 1963; F. Mussner, "Hagar, Sinai, Jerusalem – Zum Text von Gal. 4, 25a", *ThQ* 135, 1955, 56–60; S. Riva, "Il Sinai egizio e cristiano", *Ricerche Religose* 9, 1933, 12–31; M. Rohrer, *Berglieder der Völker*, 1928; W. Schmauch, "In der Wüste", in *In Memoriam E. Lohmeyer*, 1951, 213 ff.; and *Orte der Offenbarung und der Offenbarungsort im Neuen Testament*, 1956, 27 ff., 51 ff.; P. A. van Stempvoort, *De Allegorie in Gal. 4, 21–31 als hermeneutisch Probleem*, 1953; G. Westphal, *Jahves Wohnstätten nach den Anschauungen der alten Hebräer*, *BZAW* 15, 1908, 98–118; W. Wiebe, *Die Wüstenzeit als Typos*, 1943.

Will, Purpose

Human will or volition can be represented, on the one hand, as a mental act, directed towards a free choice. But, on the other hand, it can be motivated by desire pressing in from the unconscious. Both kinds of volition are rendered by the word-groups associated with *boulomai* and *thelō*. A clear terminological distinction between *boulomai* (originally volition as a mental act) and *thelō* (originally instinctive desire) is no longer possible after the very early overlap of the areas covered by the words and is excluded at the time of the NT by their largely synonymous usage.

βούλομαι

βούλομαι (*boulomai*), to will, wish, want, desire; *βουλή* (*boulē*), will, resolve, purpose; *βοῦλημα* (*boulēma*), will, intention, purpose.

CL 1. *boulomai*, attested from Homer onwards, meant originally to prefer, to favour (*Il.* 1, 117), then to want, to have in view (*Il.* 1, 79), to elect, to be determined to (Eur., *Iph. Taur.* 61), to decide (Demetrius 2, 20; 19, 23). It is suggested that *boulomai* was originally more the willing which arises out of conscious consideration free from emotion, an endeavour, by contrast with the more emotionally stressed willing rendered by *ethelō*. Thus, *Il.* 1, 112: I did not wish (*ouk ethelon*) to accept any substitute, for I intend (*boulomai*) to have her at home with me; and Plato, *Gorg.* 522c: if you want (*ei de boulei*) . . . I am ready (*ethelō*). But *boulomai* and *ethelō* were soon used synonymously. Whereas *boulomai* still occurs relatively rarely in Homer, it is prominent from Hdt. onwards (especially in prose), and then again largely suppressed by *ethelō* in Hellenistic Gk.

2. The noun *boulē*, similarly Hom. onwards, derived from *boulomai*, denotes an intention, a deliberation. It also stands for the result of a deliberation in the sense of a decision of the will, a resolution, a counsel or an edict. So already in Homer (*Il.* 2, 53) an assembly of men is called a *boulē*, when it became an institutional body (e.g. the Council of the Five Hundred in Athens, Hdt. 5, 72; 9, 5).

A later derivation is *boulēma* (Aristotle onwards), describing the will more as a purpose, an intention, a tendency (Plato, *Leg.* 6, 769d; Isoc., 3, 15, Aristotle *Eth. Nic.* 2, 1).

OT 1. *boulomai*, like → *thelō*, is found over 100 times in the LXX. This almost equal distribution "is not merely due to the fact that the LXX belongs to the age when the distinctions were being obliterated by the struggle between the terms. It also owes something to the fact that the Canon includes both historical and poetical sections, so that the words preferred by both the prose authors (... Polyb., Diod. S.) and the poets are accepted" (G. Schrenk, *TDNT* I 630). *boulomai* is thus encountered more frequently in Exod., 1 Sam. and Job. It stands in particular for Heb. *ḥāp̄ēṣ* (26 times), to like, to want (Isa. 1:11; Job 21:14), to find pleasure in (e.g. 2 Sam. 24:3; Isa. 65:12; 66:4; Jer. 6:10), to desire (Job 13:3; Isa. 53:10); *'āḇâh* (17 times), to want, to be willing (e.g. Gen. 24:5; Exod. 10:27; 1 Sam. 15:9; 22:17; 31:4), and – with the negative – for *mā'ēn* (13 times), be unwilling, refuse (e.g. Exod. 4:23; 9:2; 10:3 f.; 16:28; Ps. 78[77]:10).

boulomai can express the most varied nuances of meaning in general human volition, but is also very commonly used for the will of God (e.g. Isa. 1:11; 53:10, 1 Sam. 1:25).

boulē also occurs well over 100 times in the LXX by contrast with *thelēma* (only some 25 times), mainly for Heb. *'ēṣâh* (74 times). It denotes (a) the weighty preconsideration which precedes the effecting of the will (e.g. Deut. 32:28). It can even be found in the sense of "wisdom" (e.g. Prov. 2:11; 8:12). The Spirit "of counsel", i.e. of considered reflection, is a gift of God (Isa. 11:2); (b) counsel (e.g. Isa. 9:6 as a characteristic of the messiah) and advice, whether good (Gen. 49:6; 1 Ki. 12:8) or foolish (Ps. 1:1; Isa. 19:11); (c) as in secular Gk., the council as a political institution, e.g. the assembly of the people (1 Macc. 14:22), the deliberations of such a board (Jud. 2:2), and the resolution of an assembly (3 Macc. 7:17); (d) also, and above all, the counsel or purpose of God (e.g. "The LORD brings the counsel of the nations to naught ... the counsel of the LORD stands for ever", Ps. 33[32]:10 f.; "Thou dost guide me with thy counsel", Ps. 73[72]:24). God's purposes are trustworthy and true; Israel can therefore rely on them (Isa. 25:1). His purpose includes Israel's salvation (Isa. 14:26; cf. also Isa. 5:19; Mic. 4:12).

2. The divine will and purpose plays a special part in the Dead Sea Scrolls. In the "fellowship of unity", the elect according to God's will represent the true Israel (1QS 7:6; 9:15). In the precepts and commands they find the will of God which they must perform (1QS 9:13, 23, CD 3:15). The thought of a fixed predestination is again and again expressed in the words: "Apart from thy will nothing takes place" (cf. 1QS 11:17; 1QH 10:2); "... nothing is known" (1QH 1:8; 10:9). God's will is thus the irrevocable prerequisite for every insight into right action (1QH 14:13); the one who does his will is the elect man (4Qp Ps. 37:5).

NT 1. As in secular Gk. literature, so in the NT *boulomai* (37 times) has been heavily suppressed by *thelō* (207 times). The terms are thus almost entirely interchangeable. But it is nonetheless striking that it is Acts that produces most attestations (14). "This is linked with the fact that Ac. is stylistically more akin to narrative prose such as that of Polybius, Diod. S. and Josephus, who still like *boulomai* even in the period of transition to *ethelō*" (G. Schrenk, *TDNT*, I 632).

In the NT *boulomai* can designate both sorts of volition, as it does in Hellenistic Gk. and in the LXX.

(a) *boulomai* can thus denote conscious volition in consequence of definite reflec-

tion, a decision of the will. Such volition always presupposes the possibility of freedom of decision. (i) It denotes human volition (1 Tim. 2:8; 5:14; Tit. 3:8, "I desire you to . . .", the apostolic demand); but mostly without any theological significance (Mk. 15:15, "Pilate wishing to satisfy the crowd . . ."; Acts 12:4, "intending after the Passover to bring him out to the people"; Jas. 4:4, "whoever wishes to be a friend of the world makes himself an enemy of God"). (ii) But it can also denote the volition of God (Lk. 22:42; Heb. 6:17; Jas. 1:18; 2 Pet. 3:9) or Jesus (Matt. 11:27 par. Lk. 10:22) or the Holy Spirit (1 Cor. 12:11). (Cf. below, 2).

(b) It can designate a wish determined by personal inclinations (Acts 25:22, "I should like to hear the man myself"; Phlm. 13, "I would have been glad to keep him with me"; 1 Tim. 6:19, "those who desire to be rich fall into temptation").

boulē is also found in the latter sense in 1 Cor. 4:5 (the Lord will "reveal the secret intentions of men's hearts" (JB), i.e. the volitional impulses concealed in the innermost depths of the psyche, of which men do not necessarily have to be conscious). As a rule, however, it is used as a noun from *boulomai*, referring to the free decision of the will which is prepared to carry it out: (i) of human beings, e.g. the ship's crew (Acts 27:12) and the mercenaries (Acts 27:42) and a plan; Joseph of Arimathea had dissented from their resolution (Lk. 23:51); (ii) of the counsel or purpose of God (in 7 out of the total of 12 occurrences: Lk. 7:30; Acts 2:23; 4:28; 13:36; 20:27; Eph. 1:11; Heb. 6:17; cf. Lk. 23:51; Acts 5:38; 19:1; 20:27; 27:12). It is particularly used in this sense by Lk. (5 out of 9 references; cf. below, 2). In the NT, as outside it, *boulēma* (only 3 times), by contrast with *boulē*, stresses the will more as mental direction and is therefore to be translated by intent, intention (Acts 27:43; Rom. 9:19; cf. below, 2; 1 Pet. 4:3).

2. Theological significance is found especially in those passages where the word-group speaks of the counsel, intention or will of God (or Jesus or the Holy Spirit). It is always a case of an irrefragable determination.

(a) In the Lucan writings the terms *boulomai* and *boulē* elucidate vital aspects of Lk.'s christological proclamation as the fulfilment of God's purpose.

Lk. 10:22 ("anyone to whom the Son chooses to reveal him"; cf. Matt. 11:27) shows the indivisible unity between Father and Son. In the weakness and humiliation of Jesus – the point at which the wise and clever go astray (cf. v. 26) – man encounters God's sovereign purpose and will. The death on the → cross does not contradict the divine authorization of Jesus; it is God's own purpose, foretold in the Scripture (Acts 2:23; 4:28, both times *boulē*). But though Jesus fell into the hands of the Jews in accordance with God's will, this specifically does not absolve them from the fact that they crucified him (Acts 2:21). The leaders of Israel could have perceived God's purpose already in the appearance of John the Baptist (Lk. 7:30). But their closed hearts showed that they were blind to God's further plan. The Jews did not realize, for instance, that the promises given to → David (Acts 13:34 ff.; cf. Ps. 13:10; → Resurrection) point away beyond him to God's plan with Jesus; for David fell asleep according to the will of God (*tē tou theou boulē*) and was gathered to his fathers and saw corruption. But the One whom God raised did not see corruption (13:36 f.).

It is one's attitude to the Humiliated and Crucified One which now decides to whom the revelation will be disclosed. "To whom the Son will reveal him" (Lk. 10:22) means, therefore, first, that with respect to knowledge of God, all human willing here reaches its limits; and secondly, here is no rule of arbitrary predestination,

but rather, in the encounter with the message of Jesus the decision about the revealed will of God is made. Lk. 22:42 makes it clear that Jesus in unity with the Father carries out only the divine will: "Father, if thou art willing [*ei boulei*] remove this cup from me; nevertheless, not my will [*thelēma*], but thine be done" (cf. Acts 13:22).

In the Lucan *apologia* of Paul (Acts 20:26 ff.), the apostle, taking leave of his congregation, emphatically points out yet again with regard to threatening heresies that he in his preaching testified to the whole purpose of God (*tēn boulēn tou theou*, v. 27), namely, God's gracious approach to sinners in the sacrifice of his Son (v. 28). "The *boulē* fills up the whole content of the apostolic preaching" (G. Schrenk, *TDNT* I 635).

(b) In the whole of the rest of the NT the word-group is used only a further 7 times for the will and purpose of God (or Jesus or the Holy Spirit; → *thelō*). In Rom. 9:19 it is noticeable that, when Paul has the Gentiles speaking of the will of God, he makes use of *boulēma* (the opponent gives the excuse "Who can resist his will?") whereas in v. 18 where he himself speaks as a believer of the double will of God, he uses *thelō* (or, in other places, *prothesis*, → foreknowledge, Rom. 8:28; 9:11). Since *boulēma* expresses more an intent or intention, which is often found to be dark and impenetrable, the word can often take on the tone of arbitrary wilfulness, or caprice in the mouth of an opponent (Rom. 9:19). In 1 Cor. 12:11 Paul points out that all gifts in the community derive from the one Spirit of God. They are apportioned to the individual charismatics in the freely willed decision of the Spirit (*kathōs bouletai*). *boulē* is found in Eph. 1:11 and Heb. 6:17, meaning the purpose of God (cf. 2 (a)). "In him [Christ], according to the purpose of him [*kata prothesin tou*] who accomplishes all things according to the counsel of his will [*kata tēn boulēn tou thelēmatos autou*], we who first hoped in Christ have been destined and appointed [*prohoristhentes*] to live for the praise of his glory" (Eph. 1:11 f.). H. Schlier is probably right in seeing this as a reference to the Jewish Christians who had already been destined for the inheritance according to God's purpose, even before Christ came (cf. Eph. 2:11–22; *Der Brief an die Epheser*, 1963⁴, 66 ff.). The life of faith under the old → covenant already points to Christ. That was God's will (→ *thelēma*) which fixed God's purpose (*boulē*), according to which everything is now being fulfilled. The purpose of divine election far precedes the act of historical election. Heb. 6:17 uses *boulē* similarly for the irrefragable purpose of God: the troubled community is told that God wanted (*boulomenos*) to reinforce the inviolability of his saving will (*to ametatheton tēs boulēs*) by an oath (→ Swear). The conception of the inviolability of God's saving will is found especially in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

God's promise has not been made questionable by the long lapse of history; his will is the salvation of all (2 Pet. 3:9). We have been born of his saving will (Jas. 1:18), and because God himself is the unalterable one (cf. Jas. 1:17), his gracious will cannot be overthrown. *D. Müller*

θέλω

θέλω (*thelō*), wish, want, desire, will, take pleasure in; *θέλημα* (*thelēma*), will, intention; *θέλησις* (*thelēsis*), will.

CL *thelō* – originally and especially in Hom. and in early Attic inscriptions *ethelō* – means: (a) to be ready (Homer, *Il.* 7, 364; Epict., *Dissertationes* 1, 119); to

prefer, to be inclined (Homer, *Il.* 23, 894; Plato, *Theaet.* 143g); (b) to wish (Hdt. 2, 2), to desire (e.g. "he desired to see", Homer, *Od.* 11, 566; also in the sexual sense, Homer, *Od.* 3, 272); (c) to have in mind (Homer, *Il.* 1, 549); (d) to will, both as determining and coming to a decision; and in particular (e) to will, in the sense of compelling, and overbearing the will (Homer, *Il*, 14, 120; 19, 274; Plato, *Phdr.* 80d). The noun *thelēma*, derived from *thelō* and attested from Antiphon the Sophist onwards, but used very rarely in secular Gk., correspondingly denotes intention, wish, and then chiefly will.

OT 1. In the LXX *thelō*, like → *boulomai*, is attested over 100 times (and very often of an aspect of God's character), and has essentially the same Heb. equivalents, chiefly: *ḥāp̄ēṣ* (44 times), to take pleasure in, delight in (e.g. Ps. 18[17]:19, "he [God] delighted in me"; Ezek. 18:23, "have I any pleasure in the death of the wicked?"); *'āḇâh* (33 times), to will, to be willing (Deut. 10:10, Yahweh "was unwilling to destroy you"); negative *mā'ēn* (20 times), to refuse (Gen. 37:35, "but he refused to be comforted"). *thelēma* (some 25 times) stands predominantly for the divine good-pleasure (e.g. Ps. 40[39]:8; Jer. 9:23; Mal. 1:10), but also for the will of God (Ps. 103[102]:7, Isa. 44:28), and especially of doing the will of God (e.g. Pss. 103[102]:21; 143[142]:10; cf. the use in Jn. and Heb., see below, NT 2 and 4). When *thelēma* is used of human beings, it can denote a wish (e.g. Ps. 107[106]:30), the will (e.g. of the king, Dan. 11:3 LXX), and also, negatively, ill-will, arbitrary behaviour (Jer. 23:26; Sir. 32:17).

2. For Qumran → *boulomai* OT 2.

NT *thelō* is attested 207 times in the NT (→ *boulomai* has already definitely receded into the background) and *thelēma* 62 times. It is found most frequently in the Synoptics (94 times; *thelēma* only 11 times) and the Pauline writings (61 times and 24 times). Since *thelēma* is the more theologically significant word (generally used for the will of God), the theological emphasis lies primarily in Paul and Jn. (23 times *thelō*, 11 times *thelēma*) who focus on this theme.

thelō frequently appears in the NT in a quite secular sense for general willing, desiring (e.g. Matt. 20:21; Matt. 26:17 par. Mk. 14:12), resolute willing (e.g. Matt. 25:15; Jn. 7:44), finding pleasure in, liking (e.g. Mk. 12:38 par. Lk. 20:46), claiming (2 Pet. 3:5); *thelēma*, by contrast, only rarely (e.g. 1 Cor. 7:37; 16:12).

1. (a) In the Pauline writings *thelō* and *thelēma* are frequently used to describe the will of God, and especially to describe the real source of the whole event of salvation in Christ. Christ's act of self-sacrifice for the sake of our sins is necessarily *kata to thelēma tou theou*, and is thus the act of God himself (Gal. 1:4). By this act we are called to sonship (Eph. 1:5) in accord with his comprehensive saving will (*to thelēma*), in order to have disclosed to us the → mystery of his saving will (Eph. 1:9), since it is his will that all things should be united in him (cf. v. 10). On the basis of this saving will, his own people have had their eyes opened to the wisdom of creation in Christ, which is now manifested in the communities formed out of both Jews and Gentiles. The resolve to make Israel his inheritance in his free predestination, and to succeed in his all-embracing working, is also consonant with his will (1:11). The *thelēma tou theou* denotes here God's eternal and providential saving will. It is to

this overall saving will of God alone that Paul owes his apostolate (cf. 1 Cor. 1:1; 2 Cor. 2:1; Eph. 1:1; 2 Tim. 1:1; → Apostle).

The exegesis of Rom. 9:14 ff. has always caused difficulties. How are the will of man and the will of God related to each other? The attempt has repeatedly been made to understand this passage from the perspective of human free will and responsibility. But Paul does not go into the question of human responsibility here at all (cf. for this Rom. 10:16 ff.). It is not human volition (*thelein*) which is decisive for God's action; it is God's saving will which is the pre-condition for all human volition. The freedom of divine compassion is not dependent on human exertion, and just as little dependent on human resistance (cf. v. 17). God accomplishes his will in history precisely in that he harnesses both obedient and obdurate into his saving plan (v. 18). "The Pauline exegesis is not open to rational analysis; it puts deliberate obstacles in the way. The statement 'God hardens' now threatens everyone, including the Jews (Rom. 9:24 ff.), just as God's compassion is now perceptible to everyone, including the reprobate (9:22). The OT stumbling-blocks enabled Paul to make intelligible the way of the Gospel in the present time. For it is in the stumbling-block that God's mystery lies (9:33)" (O. Michel, *Der Brief an die Römer*, *KEK* 4, 1966 [13], 241). The "[God] wanted" (*thelōn*) in 9:22 is not to be understood concessively ("although God, yet he has borne them patiently") but causally (because, with the intention of). The forbearance of God is the way which leads God to the revelation of his wrath (cf. G. Bornkamm, *Das Ende des Gesetzes*, I, 1966[5], 91). It is God's will to make known his compassion precisely in forbearance and wrath; the ultimate goal of his will is in fact not the "vessels of wrath". Rather he has borne them for the revelation of his grace. It is the goal of his will that all men should be helped and come to the knowledge of the truth (1 Tim. 2:4).

The fact that the ultimate intention of God's will is the revelation of his glory in Christ is stressed particularly in Col. 1:27. In the will of God this whole space-time continuum is moving towards the point when the mystery of God's saving will is to be unveiled for the believer in the Christ-event. Even if this will, for the time being, has been correctly apprehended only by the believer, yet it is still directed towards the redemption of all men (1 Tim. 1:14). By sharp contrast with the teaching of the Qumran community (→ *boulomai*, OT), the synagogue and the gnostics, the NT church does not acknowledge a double predestination in the will of God, whereby from the beginning one section of humanity is excluded from salvation.

1 Cor. 15:38 is concerned with God's will as Creator: the new resurrection body cannot be compared with anything that we can conceive of in nature; the will of God will be creatively active in a new way.

The revelation of the mystery, i.e. the understanding of the saving will of God, is for the believer the pre-condition of a right attitude and right behaviour in the age of salvation, which has already dawned. Those who are unwise and lack understanding miss the insight into the divine will and corresponding behaviour (Eph. 5:17 f.). Paul elaborates this with particular sharpness in Rom. 2:17 ff. with regard to Jewish teachers of the law. The scribe thinks that he knows God's will from the law, and that he is able to be a guide for the blind. But the very contradiction between his teaching and his own behaviour betrays the fact that God's will has not yet been understood here. For Christ is the day-break of the new age, and this requires a renewal of the mind (Rom. 12:2), i.e. thinking which is transformed by the bestowal of the Spirit,

which is part of a continual endeavour to understand the *thelēma tou theou*. What in God's will is good (*to agathon*), well-pleasing (*euareston*) and perfect (*teleion*) should lead the believer to appropriate behaviour (Rom. 12:2). Paul extols such an approach, deriving from the will of God, in the congregations of Macedonia (2 Cor. 8:5). Paul has to point out to the church at Corinth that their conduct in the matter of the charismatic gifts must not be understood as an achievement deriving from their own will. Since all such charismatic gifts stem from the determinative will of the Creator, no one in the community has any right to be arrogant (1 Cor. 12:18, cf. v. 11 → *boulomai*; cf. vv. 6, 24). Passages such as Rom. 1:10; 15:32; 1 Cor. 4:19 (cf. Acts 18:21) show that human volition in the believer is not simply invalidated, but rather embraced, by the will of God. Paul plans in accord with his own will, but expecting that God's will is able to place him in a quite different situation, which will demand from him an alteration of his own plans.

(b) (i) Where *thelō* is used in Paul with religious significance, referring to human beings, it is also always linked with verbs of doing: *poieō* (e.g. 1 Cor. 7:36; 2 Cor. 8:10; Gal. 5:17); *energeō* (e.g. 2 Cor. 8:11; Phil. 2:13; → Work). Since the believer no longer stands in contradiction to the will of God, God becomes the one who is acting in him. Willing and working become the gifts of God (Phil. 2:13). All human volition and behaviour are thus to take place out of obedience to God, and in accord with his saving will (e.g. 2 Cor. 8:10 f.; 1 Cor. 7:36). But where → Spirit and → flesh are still at variance with one another, i.e., where the Spirit has not yet fully gained acceptance, *thelein* does not turn into *poiein* (Gal. 5:17).

(ii) There is considerable disagreement over the understanding of the contrast between volition and action in the exegesis of Rom. 7:15 ff. According to the general view, the contrast is seen as being in the subject of man. On the one hand, he would like to fulfil the will of God which confronts him in the law, but on the other he again and again falls short of the will of God, because he is bound to the → flesh. "The fragmentation in man does not permit fulfilment of the law ... the split in man is to be sought for radically in his being man" (O. Michel, op. cit., 186). Man cannot overcome this fragmentation of himself (and even the believer can fall back into it); he can do so only when, according to the promise of God, he comes under the law of the Spirit, who gives freedom and life in Jesus Christ (Rom. 8:2). Bultmann, Bornkamm and others, however, take the contrast to be the discrepancy between what I, as an individual, deep down really want and what actually results in my actions. I want what is good (*kalon* vv. 18 f.), but the result of all my actions is evil (*kakon*, vv. 19, 21). The split in man does not consist in his consciousness, which can accuse itself or be detached from itself, but in the fact that man does the opposite of what he wills, that is to say of what he really, fundamentally wills – but not of what he from time to time wills in actual practice (cf. R. Bultmann, "Romans 7 and the Anthropology of Paul", *Existence and Faith*, 1960, 147–57).

It should, however, be remembered that the section Rom. 7:7–13 reaches the conclusion in the thought that sin works death in one through the good (G. Bornkamm, "Sin, Law and Death (Romans 7)", *Early Christian Experience*, 1969, 87–104). This may suggest that Paul is speaking of the unredeemed man, whose radical failure "is disclosed only in faith" (G. Bornkamm, op. cit., 96; cf. E. Fuchs, *Die Freiheit des Glaubens, Römer 5–8 ausgelegt*, 1949, 72) by the dichotomy between unwilled deeds

and unproductive volition. (For further discussion and literature → I Am, art. *egō eimi* NT 2(c).)

(c) *thelō* is encountered frequently as a declaration of the will of the apostle to his congregations in phrases such as: "I wish" (1 Cor. 7:7; 14:5; Gal. 3:12); "I do not want to leave you in ignorance" (e.g. Rom. 1:13; 1 Cor. 10:1); or "I want you to understand" (1 Cor. 11:3). In many places *thelō* assumes the weight of apostolic authority (e.g. Rom. 16:19; 1 Cor. 7:32).

2. *thelō* and *thelēma* play an especial rôle in John. Repeated stress is laid on the fact that Jesus, the One who is sent, does not act according to his own will (Jn. 5:30a; 6:38a), but that the will of the Father is accomplished in the work of the Son (Jn. 5:30b; 6:38b). Jesus is absolutely and entirely the bearer of the Father's will (Jn. 4:34). God's will is that Jesus, the Saviour (*sōtēr*, cf. Jn. 3:17), does not lose those who are appointed for life (Jn. 6:39); and those who are appointed for life in the divine will are those who perceive salvation in Jesus and take hold of it, i.e. believe on him (Jn. 6:40). Again, John can interpret faith as the doing of the divine will (Jn. 9:31; 1 Jn. 2:17), the congruence of human volition with the divine will being revealed in Jesus (1 Jn. 5:14 ff.). This is not possible by natural stimulation of the will (Jn. 1:17; cf. 2 Pet. 1:21). "The wind blows where it wills" (Jn. 3:8), i.e. salvation is impossible as a human possibility: but it is possible as divine possibility (cf. R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 1971, 138 ff.). This divine possibility confronts us in the Son. The Son gives life to whom he will (Jn. 5:21; cf. 6:27, 57). The sole criterion for establishing the legitimacy of the Revealer is the doing of his will (*poiein to thelēma autou*, Jn. 7:17). But it is not as though ethics take precedence over faith in John. Rather, the doing of his will again means the faith to which knowledge is given in obedience. It is for this faith that Jesus asks when he says to the sick man "Do you want to be healed [*theleis hygiēs genesthai*]?" (Jn. 5:6).

3. (a) In the Synoptic Gospels and Acts, apart from Matt. (*thelēma* 6 times for the will of God) the word-group is found only rarely for direct description of the will of God. In passages such as Matt. 7:21; 12:50 (par. Mk. 3:35) one meets as in Jn. the formula "he who does the will of God [or of the Father] . . ." (cf. Matt. 21:31). But here again one must not distinguish a will of God concerned with ethics and another one concerned with a saving purpose. There is only one all-embracing will of God with which alone corresponds an equally comprehensive attitude to life by the believer (*thelō* also has this sense in the OT quotation: Matt. 9:13; 12:7; cf. Hos. 6:6). So, too, the third petition in the Lord's Prayer (Matt. 6:10), as the prayer in Gethsemane (Matt. 26:39, 42; Mk. 14:36, Lk. 22:42), is not to be understood as an aquiescent accommodation to some unalterable power, but as an active affirmation which helps to realize the divine willing (his saving plan) and to lead towards the goal (→ Prayer, art. *proseuchomai* NT 2; so also Acts 21:4; cf. Matt. 21:31). Doing the divine will is closely knit with knowledge of the divine will (Acts 22:14; see above 1 (a)).

(b) *thelō* occurs with especial frequency in the Gospels in the mouth of Jesus. Alongside purely secular usage it stresses in some passages the authority of Jesus (e.g. Matt. 15:32; 20:32; Matt. 8:3 par. Mk. 1:41, Lk. 5:13; 3:13; 7:24) or the authority of the Lord recognized in the faith of other people (e.g. Lk. 5:12); but also the decision of the will which is demanded of the hearer on the basis of this authority (e.g. Matt. 16:24 f.; 19:17, 21; Mk. 10:43 f.).

4. In the non-Pauline writings of the NT *thelō* is found in Heb. 10:5, 8; Jas. 4:15; 1 Pet. 3:10, 17; 2 Pet. 3:5; Rev. 2:21; 22:17; *thelēma* in Heb. 10:7, 9f., 36; 13:21; 1 Pet. 2:15; 3:17; 4:2, 19; 2 Pet. 1:21; 1 Jn. 2:17; 5:14; Rev. 4:11; and *thelēsis* once (Heb. 2:4, of gifts of the Spirit distributed according to God's → Spirit).

The interpretation of Ps. 40:7 ff. in Heb. 10:5–10 corresponds with the Johannine thinking concerning the will of God and its fulfilment in the work of the One who has been sent. Some exegetes suppose that Heb. understands Ps. 40:7 ff. as a dialogue between the pre-existent Christ and God. This would mean that the principle is here enunciated by which Christ comes into his world and by which his whole earthly life is determined: exclusive fulfilment of the will of God (vv. 7, 9), i.e. repudiation of cultic sacrifice (vv. 5 ff.), fulfilment of Scripture (v. 7) and the presentation of his own life as a sacrifice (v. 10). In v. 10 our sanctification is grounded in the fulfilment of this will of God in Christ (→ Sacrifice, art. *thysia*; cf. F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, *NLC*, 1964, 231–36). In the sacrifice of Jesus Christ the will of God has been so completely fulfilled that a transformation of man in sanctification has become possible (Heb. 13:21). This transformation, i.e. fulfilment of the promise, is again the "doing of the will of God" by the believer (10:36). Very much as in John the doing of the will of God consists of undivided obedience to this will. 1 Pet., in particular, stresses that this obedience according to the will of God can include suffering (3:17; 4:2, 19). *D. Müller*

(a). G. Bornkamm, "Sin, Law and Death (Romans 7)", in *Early Christian Experience*, 1969, 87–104; F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, *NLC*, 1964; R. Bultmann, "Romans 7 and the Anthropology of Paul", in *Existence and Faith*, 1960, 147–57; and *The Gospel of John*, 1971; G. Schrenk, *boulomai* etc., *TDNT* I 629–37; and *thelō* etc., *TDNT* III 44–62.

(b). G. Bornkamm, "Paulinische Anakoluthe im Römerbrief", in *Das Ende des Gesetzes*, I, (1952) 1966[5], 91 ff.; L. Cerfaux, "La Volonté dans la Doctrine Paulinienne", *Recueil Lucien Cerfaux. Études d'Exégèse et d'Histoire Religieuse*, III, 1962, 297 ff.; E. Echternach, *Wille und Vorsehung*, 1951; K. E. Logstrup, "Wille", *RGG*[3] VI 1716 ff.; O. Michel, *Der Brief an die Römer*, *KEK* 4, 1966 [13]; H. Riesenfeld, *Zum Gebrauch von thelō im Neuen Testament, Arbeiten und Mitteilungen aus dem neutestamentlichen Seminar Uppsala* 1, 1936.

Wisdom, Folly, Philosophy

μωρία

μωρία (*mōria*), foolishness, folly; *μωραίνω* (*mōrainō*), make foolish, pass. be foolish; *μωρός* (*mōros*), foolish, stupid; *ἄφρων* (*aphrōn*), foolish, senseless; *ἀφροσύνη* (*aphrosynē*), lack of sense, folly, foolishness.

CL 1. *mōros* means foolish, stupid and, like *mōria*, foolishness (Soph. onwards) denotes inappropriate behaviour, thought or speech, both of single lapses of sense as well as in the sense of a permanent attribute. It is concerned as much with lack of knowledge as with lack of discernment. The use of the word for the state of mental derangement (Soph., *Aj.* 1150) or for a man's behaviour when acting under the influence of his desires (Eur. *Hippolytus* 966; Soph., *Ant.* 469 f.) suggests the thought of a power which dominates man. *mōrainō* means to be foolish or to act foolishly, and also (later, after the LXX) to make foolish, to show to be foolish. As a special

meaning with reference to food, *mōros* can mean insipid, the pass. *mōrainesthai*, to become insipid.

2. *aphrōn*, senseless, foolish and *aphrosynē*, lack of sense, foolishness (both words from Hom. onwards) indicate by the use of the *Alpha*-privative that the term is essentially defined by a lack or a negation, i.e. lack of insight and reason. But the possible development of a diseased mind is not excluded here either (Homer, *Od.* 23, 10–14). *aphrōn* can thus mean infatuated (Homer, *Od.* 21, 102) and *aphrosynē* can be referred back to mania (Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 7, 6, both times, incidentally, through active intervention of the gods). But the words chiefly describe deficient perception of value and truth.

OT 1. The Heb. words for fool, foolish and folly are predominantly rendered in the LXX by *aphrōn* (115 times, of which 19 have no equivalent) or *aphrosynē* (31, and 5 instances in the Apocrypha without equivalent). The commonest equivalents are the words derived from the root *kāsal* (possibly originally meaning sluggish, foolish, and only then insolent, godless), which occur altogether 64 times, of which 40 are in Prov., 21 in Eccl. With one exception (Ps. 94[93]:8 LXX) they are always translated by *aphrōn* or *aphrosynē*. The older *nāḇal*, also fairly common (same original meaning), is rendered by *aphrōn* only in Job and Pss., but always by *mōros* in Prov., Deut. and Isa. *mōros*, indeed, is found a total of only 6 times for a Heb. equivalent, but 28 times in the Gk., Sir. without equivalent and similarly the noun twice in Sir. without equivalent. The occurrences are as follows.

aphrosynē stands for *'iwweleṭ*, foolishness, at Pss. 38(37):5; 69(68):5; Prov. 18:13; 19:3 (18:22); 26:4 f.; 27:22; *kᵉsîl*, *kesel* or *kislâh*, stupidity, at Job 4:6; Eccl. 4:17, 25(26); 9:17; *nᵉḇālâh*, senselessness, at Deut. 22:21; Jdg. 19:23 f.; 20:6, 10; 2 Sam. 25:25; *sāḵal* or *siḵlûṭ*, fool(ish), folly, at Eccl. 2:12 f.; 10:1, 3, 13; *peṯî*, a simple youth, Prov. 9:6(4, 16); *tāp̄ēl* or *tip̄lâh*, tasteless, unseemliness, at Job 1:22; Lam. 2:14; and *zimmâh*, shameless conduct (mostly in sexual affairs), at Jdg. 20:6. It is without equivalent at 1 Sam. 25:5; Job 21:23; Prov. 5:5; 18:2; Wis. 10:18; 12:23; Sir. 8:15; 47:20, 23.

aphrōn stands for *ᵉwîl* or *'iwweleṭ*, awkward, useless, at Prov. 12:15 f.; 14:1, 3, 9, 29; 15:5; 16:22; 20:3; 27:3; *'āwen*, uncanny, wickedness, at Job 34:36; Isa. 59:7; *bôš*, put to shame, at Prov. 17:2(?); *bᵉliyya'al*, wicked, at Prov. 6:12; 16:27; 19:28; *bā'ar* or *ba'ar*, behaving as brutish or stupid, at Pss. 49(48):10 *v.l.*; 92(91):6; 94(93:8; Prov. 12:1; 30:2 (24:25); *lō' ḥāḵām*, not wise, at Prov. 20:1(?); *ḥ ᵉsar-lēḇ*, lacking in heart, i.e. without sense, at Prov. 17:18; *kᵉsîl* or *kᵉsîlûṭ*, insolent (in religion), stupid (in practical affairs), at Prov. 10:1, 18, 23; 12:23; 13:16, 20; 14:7 f., 16, 24, 33; 15:2, 7, 20; 17:10, 12, 16, 21, 24 f.; 18:6 f.; 19:10, 13, 29; 21:20; 23:9; 26:1, 4–11; 28:26; 29:11, 20; Eccl. 2:14 ff.; 4:5, 13, 17; 5:2 f.; 6:8; 7:4 ff., 9 (5 ff., 10); 10:2, 12, 15; *kᵉsîlûṭ*, insolence, stupidity, at Prov. 9:13; *lûṣ*, scoff, at Prov. 1:22; *nāḇāl*, senseless, foolish, stupid, at 2 Sam. 13:13; Job 2:10; 30:8; Pss. 14(13):1; 39(38):8; 53(52):1; 72(73):18, 22; Prov. 17:7, 18; Jer. 17:11; *sāḵal* or *seḵel*, fool(ish), at Eccl. 2:19; 10:3, 6, 14; Jer. 4:22; *'āṣēl*, sluggish, lazy, at Prov. 24:30 (45); and *pᵉṯî*, a simple youth, at Prov. 7:7; 9:4, 16; 14:18. It occurs (not always with equivalent) at Prov. 10:4, 23; 18:7; Eccl. 2:15; Wis. 1:3; 3:2, 12; 5:4; 12:24; 14:11; 15:5, 14; Sir. 16:23; 19:23; 20:7, 14, 22; 21:23; 22:13; 27:11; 34(33):1; 31(34):7, 30.

mōria is found only at Sir. 20:31 and 41:15 (for Heb. *'iwweleṭ* in the latter place). The vb. *mōrainō* is rare, standing in the niphal for *bā'ar*, behave as brutish or stupid (Isa. 19:11; Jer. 10:14; 51[28]:17), and *kāsal*, be stupid (2 Sam. 24:10; Isa. 44:25), and without equivalent (Sir. 23:14). *mōreuō* stands for *kāsal* at Isa. 44:25. *mōros* stands for *'ᵉwîl*, awkward, useless (Isa. 19:4); *nāḇāl* or *nᵉḇālâh*, senseless, foolish, stupid (Deut. 32:6; Isa. 32:5 f.); *sākal*, foolish (Jer. 5:21); and *śākal*, have insight (with negative, Ps. 94[93]:8). But most often *mōros* is found in Sir. where the Heb. original is not always extant (Sir. 4:27; 16:23; 18:18; 19:11 ff.; 20:13, 16, 20; 21:14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 26; 22:7 f., 11 f., 14, 18; 25:2; 27:13; 33[36]:5 f., 1; 42:8; 50:26).

The instances based on *nāḇal* are quite unequivocal in insisting that foolishness is not lack of knowledge but rebellion against God (→ Sin). Hence, the term fool gains the associated sense of one who denies God, a blasphemer (classic references are Pss. 14[13]:1; 53[52]:2; but cf. also Ps. 74[73]:18, 22; Job 2:10; Isa. 32:5 f.; Sir. 50:26). The fool who rebels against God also destroys fellowship with man: he lets the hungry starve (Isa. 32:6); earns riches by unjust means (Jer. 17:11); and slanders his fellow-men (Ps. 39[38]:9). In later Wisdom literature, too, where the term rather pales, the associated sense of culpable behaviour is still retained.

2. For the Qumran community the one who remains outside the fellowship is counted a fool (CD 15:15). Wisdom and folly lie struggling together in the heart of man (1QS 4:24). In the catalogues of sins (1QS 4:9–11) folly appears amongst others. The hope of the pious is for the ultimate annihilation of folly (1QS 4:8).

NT In the NT *aphrōn* is found 11 times, of which 7 instances occur in Paul (*aphrosynē* 4 times, of which 2 are in Paul), whereas the *mōria*-group numbers 14 attestations for the adj. (4 in Paul), 5 for the noun (all in Paul) and a further 4 for the vb. (2 in Paul). The striking point is its forceful usage by Paul and the predominance of the adj. *mōros* in Matt.

1. In the Synoptic Gospels (occurrences: 1 in Mk., 3 times in Lk., 7 times in Matt.; *mōros* 6 times) the words appear with varying meanings.

(a) The picture of → salt becoming insipid (*mōrainesthai*, Matt. 5:13; Lk. 14:34) might have as its background one of Jesus' words of promise: the → gospel, like salt, can never lose its force. Salt does not undergo any chemical change; one cannot season it. As it stands, the saying is shaped as a word of warning: take care that you do not let the salt become insipid.

(b) The interpretation of the term of abuse *mōre*, "you fool!" (Matt. 5:22) is disputed (cf. G. Bertram, *mōros TDNT* IV 839 ff.; → Curse, art. *rhaka*). The most natural interpretation still appears to be a filling-out of the word fool with the associated sense of "godless" (cf. Matt. 23:17; similarly *aphrones*, Lk. 11:40).

(c) *mōros* is used in parables by Matt. as an opposite to *phronimos*, wise (Matt. 7:24–27; 25:1–13). Here, too, the associated sense deriving from the OT content of the word could play a rôle: foolishness is not stupidity, but rebellion against God. It is not fate, but guilt. A man proves himself foolish when he declines God's offer. He falls into judgment. Obedience is the prudence of believers (a similar use of *aphrōn* in the parable of the rich fool, Lk. 12:20).

2. (a) Paul uses *mōria* and *mōros* to characterize the preaching of the → cross over against the wisdom of the world, which is exhibited in the rejection of the cross of Christ by Jews and Greeks (1 Cor. 1:23), and expressly in Corinth in the

authoritarian piety of the Corinthian spiritual party which despised the lowliness of the apostle. This wisdom God has turned into foolishness in Christ's death on the cross (1 Cor. 1:20; 3:19; on the whole context → *sophia* NT 2).

The other side of this is that the preaching of the cross, which appears so foolish to men, is in fact foolish. This is not, of course, in the sense that it is unintelligible, or that it demands a *sacrificium intellectus*. The foolishness of the preaching lies in its content, in the cross of Christ. "Christ the Crucified One is the radically Weak One, whence also the Christian who exists in him must of necessity be weak. . . . The cross is the radical crisis even of Christ himself" (U. Wilckens, *Weisheit und Torheit*, 1959, 218). But the Corinthian spiritual party cannot and will not allow this. Paul, therefore, contradicts them by saying that the "foolishness of God [*to mōron tou theou*]" (which is not an attribute of God, but his freely chosen way of dealing with the world in the cross of Christ) "is wiser than men, and the weakness of God is stronger than men" (1 Cor. 1:25). To share in the folly of degradation of the cross means to share in the power of God. "For the word of the cross [*ho logos gar tou staurou*] is folly to those who are perishing, but to us who are being saved it is the power of God [*dynamis theou*]" (1 Cor. 1:18). God's "power is made perfect in weakness" (2 Cor. 12:9; → Fruit, art. *skolops*). This is why Paul can offer the paradoxical advice that one should become foolish in order to become wise (1 Cor. 3:18), and why he can call himself a "fool for Christ's sake" (1 Cor. 4:10).

(b) The use of *aphrōn* and *aphrosynē* in 2 Cor. 11 and 12 is as undialectical as the use of *mōros* and *mōria* in 1 Cor. is dialectical. The boasting to which Paul's Corinthian opponents, who wish to be wise (*phronimoi ontes*, 2 Cor. 11:19), have forced him (2 Cor. 12:11) is designated by him as foolishness (2 Cor. 11:1, 16 f., 21). If it is all right, in a foolish way, to boast, the apostle can go along with them: but he boasts of his → weakness (2 Cor. 11:30), and that is enough (2 Cor. 12:9). Here also he makes a connexion with the preaching of the cross.

3. (a) In the paraenesis of Eph. the congregation is called upon not to be foolish, but to inquire after the will of the Lord (Eph. 5:17). *aphrones* stands here close to *asophoi*, unwise (which is found only at Eph. 5:15); obviously the Christians are intended to be guarded from undisciplined behaviour.

(b) 2 Tim. 2:23 warns against "stupid senseless controversies [*mōras kai apaideutous zētēseis*]" – unprofitable discussions over hair-splitting minutiae such as genealogies and the law (Tit. 3:9) which only lead to quarrels (cf. *mōrologia*, silly talk, Eph. 5:4). *apaideutos* which occurs only at 2 Tim. 2:23 means uninstructed, uneducated, hence, stupid.

(c) 1 Pet. 2:15 urges the congregation, by its good deeds, to "put to silence the ignorance of foolish men" and so to do God's will. *J. Goetzmann*

σοφία

σοφία (*sophia*), wisdom; σοφός (*sophos*) wise; σοφίζω (*sophizō*), make wise, teach, instruct; mid. to reason out, devise craftily.

CL The adj. *sophos*, used frequently from Pindar onwards, and the noun *sophia*, found from Homer onwards, always denote in Gk. an attribute, never an activity (in contrast with *synesis*, → reason). They indicate unusual ability and knowledge,

earlier in the practical sphere as well (the *sophia* of a carpenter, Homer, *Il.*, 15, 41 f.), but later concentrated on theoretical knowledge. The members of the college of the Seven Sages were renowned for their worldly wisdom and political discernment (Plato, *Prt.* 343a), whereas the *sophia* of a later time (the Sophists) was regarded as knowledge which could both be taught and acquired. Socrates' wisdom consisted in the fact that he knows that he knows nothing (Plato, *Ap.* 21). All authoritarian wisdom is in reality no wisdom at all. In Plato the content of wisdom is related to his view of forms or ideas. Ultimately, it is a property of the form of the good alone (*Symp.* 204a). For Aristotle, *sophia* and → *philosophia* were identical (*Met.* 1, 1; 5, 1). With the Stoics theory and practice coincide: wisdom is realized knowledge. The conduct of the wise man is *sophia*. The *sophos* himself, in his conduct, is the necessary subject of Stoic philosophy.

OT 1. As a rule, the word group occurs in the LXX as a rendering of words from the stem *ḥkm*. In accord with their significance almost three-fifths of the references are found in Wisdom literature (Prov., Job, Eccl. and Pss.; in Sir. and Wis. there are over 100 references with no Heb. equivalent in Wis., but not always in Sir.). Here the term acquires a specific stamp.

sophia stands predominantly for *ḥoḵmâh*: Exod. 28:3 *v.l.*; 31:3; 35:26, 31 *v.l.*; 35:35; 36:1; Deut. 4:6; 2 Sam. 14:20; 20:22; 1 Ki. 2:6; 5:9 f., 14 (4:29 f., 34); 5:26(12); 10:7; 1 Chr. 28:21; 2 Chr. 1:10 f.; 9:3, 5, 6 f., 22 f.; 2 Esd. 7:25; Job 4:21; 11:6; 12:2; 12 f.; 13:5; 15:8; 26:3; 28:12, 18, 20, 28; 32:7, 13; 33:33; 38:36 f.; 39:17; Pss. 37(36):30; 49(48):3; 51(50):6; 90 (89):12; 104(103):24; 107(106):27; 111(110):10; Prov. 1:2, 7, 20; 2:2, 6, 10; 3:13, 19; 4:5, 11; 5:1; 7:4; 8:1, 11 f.; 9:1, 10; 10:13, 23, 31; 11:2; 14:6, 8, 33; 15:33 (16:4); 16:16; 17:16; 21:30; 24:3, 7, 14; 28:26; 29:3, 15; 30:3 (24:26); Eccl. 1:13, 16, 18; 2:3, 9, 12, 13, 21, 26; 7:10 ff., 19, 23, 25 (11 ff., 20, 24, 26); 8:1, 16; 9:10, 13, 15 f., 18; 10:1, 10; Isa. 10:13; 11:2; 29:14; 33:6; Jer. 8:9; 9:22(23); 10:12; 49(29):7; 51(28):15; Dan. 1:4; 2:20 f., 23, 30; 5:14. It also stands for *bînâh*, understanding (Prov. 2:3; 3:5); *tᵉḇûnâh*, understanding (1 Ki. 3:1; cf. 5:9 [4:29]; Prov. 18:2); *da'at*, knowledge (Prov. 1:7, 29); *mûsar*, chastening, discipline, exhortation (Prov. 8:33 *v.l.* for *paidian*); *maḥᵃšeḇeṯ*, thought, device (Exod. 35:33); and *śeḵel*, insight, prudence (1 Chr. 22:12). But apart from occasional instances where there are no parallels in the Heb. text (Exod. 36:2; Job 8:10; 11:20; Prov. 6:8; 8:12; 17:28; 20:29; 22:24; 31:5 [24:73]; Isa. 50:4; Dan. 1:17), a large proportion of the instances occur in the apocryphal writings: 1 Esd. 3:7; 4:59 f.; 8:23; Wis. 1:4–6; 3:11; 6:9, 12, 20–23; 7:7, 12, 15, 22, 24, 28, 30; 8:5, 17; 9:2, 4, 6, 9, 17 f.; 10:4, 8 f., 21; 14:2, 5; Sir. prol. 4, 10; 1:1, 3 f., 4, 6, 14, 16, 18, 20, 24 ff.; 4:11, 24; 6:18, 22, 37; 8:8; 11:1; 14:20; 15:3, 10, 18; 18:28; 19:20, 22 f.; 20:30 f.; 21:11, 18; 22:6; 23:2; 24:1, 25; 25:5, 10; 27:11; 31(34):11; 34(31):8; 37:20 f.; 38:24; 39:1, 7, 10; 40:20; 41:14 f.; 42:21; 43:33; 44:15; 45:26; 50:27; 51:13, 17.

sophos stands chiefly for *ḥāḵām*, wise: Gen. 41:8; Exod. 28:3; 35:10, 25; 36:1, 4, 8; Deut. 1:13, 15; 4:6; 16:19; 32:6; Jdg. 5:29; 2 Sam. 13:3; 14:2, 20; 20:16; 1 Ki. 2:9; 3:12 *v.l.*; 1 Chr. 22:15; 2 Chr. 2:6 f., 11 ff. (7, 12 ff.); Job 5:13; 9:4; 15:2, 18; 34:2, 34; 37:24; Pss. 49(48):10; 107(106):43; Prov. 1:5 f.; 3:35; 9:8 f.; 10:1, 8, 14; 2:15, 18; 13:14, 20; 14:1, 3, 16, 24; 15:2, 7, 12, 20; 16:14, 21, 23; 18:15; 20:26; 21:11, 20, 22; 22:17; 23:24; 24:5, 23 (38); 30:24 (24:59); 25:12; 26:5, 12, 16;

28:11; 29:8 f., 11; Eccl. 2:14, 16, 19; 4:13; 6:8; 7:4 f., 7, 19 (5 f., 8, 20); 8:1 (7:30); 8:5, 17; 9:1, 11, 15, 17; 10:2, 12; 12:9, 11; Hos. 14:10; Obad. 1:8; Isa. 3:3; 19:11 f.; 29:14; 31:2; Jer. 4:22; 8:8 f.; 9:16, 22 (17, 23); 51(28):57; Ezek. 27:8 f.; 28:3. The Aram. equivalent in Dan. is *ḥāḵîm* (Dan 2:12, 21, 27 and further instances in the version of Theodotion). *sophos* is used to translate *bîn*, understand (1 Sam. 16:18); *ḥarṭôm*, soothsayer priest (Dan. 2:10); *nāḵōaḥ*, straight, right (Prov. 24:26[41]); *ḥāḵam*, be wise (Job 32:9; Prov. 6:12; 13:20; 20:1; cf. also the expressions in Prov. 1:5; 6:6; 9:9; 19:20; 23:15, 19; 27:11). It is without equivalent in 1 Ki. 4:20 (3:1); Job 21:22 *v.l.*; 33:31; Ps. 58(57):5; Prov. 10:4; 13:10, 13, 17; 14:7; 17:24; 24:7; 31:26(27); Ezek. 28:3. It is also found in the Gk. apocryphal books: 1 Esd. 3:5, 9; 4:42; 5:6; Wis. 4:17; 6:24; 7:15; Sir. 1:8; 3:29; 6:33 f.; 7:19; 8:8; 9:14, 17; 10:1, 25; 18:27; 20:5, 7, 13, 27, 29; 21:13, 15, 26; 27:11 *v.l.*; 33(36):2; 37:22 ff., 26; 44:4; 4 Macc. 7:23.

The vb. *sophizō* which is much less common stands chiefly for *ḥāḵam*, be wise: 1 Ki. 5:11 (4:31); Pss. 19(18):7; 105(104):22; 119(118):98; Prov. 8:33; Eccl. 2:15, 19; 7:16(17), 23(34). It stands for *bîn*, understand, at 1 Sam. 3:8; and has no equivalent at 1 Ki. 5:11(4:31); Prov. 16:17; Sir. 18:29; 32(35):4; 38:31; cf. Sir. 7:5; 10:26; 37:20; 38:24 f.; 47:14; 50:28, where there is a corresponding Heb. text.

Here one must note the spread of meaning in the word-group. *sophia* denotes e.g. specialist knowledge in a particular field, such as in handicraft or in art (Exod. 36:1 f.), but equally in economic shrewdness (Prov. 8:18, 21), the art of government (Prov. 8:15) or education (1 Ki. 5:9–14 [EVV 4:29–34]). Over and above this, it is concerned quite generally with the sagacious behaviour which enables a man to master life (Prov. 8:32–36). Here it depends on right conduct in obedience to the will of God rather than on theoretical insight. Wisdom is accordingly connected with the fear of Yahweh: "The fear of the LORD is the beginning of wisdom and the knowledge of the Holy One is insight" (Prov. 9:10; cf. 1:7; 15:33; Ps. 111[110]:10; Job 28:28). Here also is developed the distinctive aspect of the understanding of wisdom in Israel: wisdom is rooted in adherence to God. "The thesis that all human knowledge comes back to the question about commitment to God is a statement of penetrating perspicacity. . . . One becomes competent and expert as far as the orders in life are concerned only if one begins from knowledge about God" (G. von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel*, 1972, 67). "This idea is among the most characteristic of Israelite religion. Non-Israelite wisdom is unaware of this kind of almost programmatic rooting of wisdom in the fear of God" (op. cit., 66, n. 11; cf. S. Plath, *Furcht Gottes*, 1962, 70).

2. (a) The OT is aware, even if in critical utterances, of wisdom in the surrounding nations, e.g. in → Babylon (Jer. 50:35; 51:57; cf. Isa. 47:10) and in Egypt (1 Ki. 5:10). Astonishing parallels can be exhibited between Egyptian texts and Heb. Wisdom literature, e.g. between Prov. 22:17–23:11 and the Egyptian book of the Wisdom of Amenemope (cf. E. Würthwein, "Egyptian Wisdom and the Old Testament", in J. L. Crenshaw, ed., *Studies in Ancient Israelite Wisdom*, 1976, 113–33). In adopting these texts, of course, Israel brought them firmly into line with its own religious convictions. One can also recognize a kinship with ancient oriental phenomena in the fact that the royal palace may count as a special place for the growth of Wisdom literature and its organized transmission. As in Egypt wisdom texts served in the training and education of future palace officials, so at Solomon's court such texts were collected for the training and education of the rising generation

of royal advisers (cf. A. Alt, "Solomonic Wisdom", in J. L. Crenshaw, op. cit., 102–12). The beginnings of a descriptive natural science in the form of the so-called scientific catalogues (cf. 1 Ki. 5:12 f. [EVV 4:32 ff.]) have their place equally at Solomon's court as in Egypt and Mesopotamia. The figure of Daniel and his companions is also to be reckoned as belonging to these courtly circles (Dan. 2:48; 5:11 f.).

(b) Over all acquired and transmitted wisdom, however, stands the wisdom which is given as a gift by God to King → Solomon (1 Ki. 3:5–14), which finds expression in judicial shrewdness (1 Ki. 3:16–28) and also leads, in later minds, to admiring recognition by Israel's neighbours (1 Ki. 5:11, 14, 21 [EVV 4:31, 34; 5:7]; 10:1–9, 23 f.). Here is reflected not only the longing of later generations for the splendour and security of Solomon's reign, but also Israel's conviction of the transcendence of Yahweh over other gods. It is no wonder that the same tendency ascribed the authorship of Israel's proverbial wisdom to Solomon (1 Ki. 5:12). It is equally comprehensible that wisdom was expected in the hoped-for messianic king (Isa. 11:2).

(c) The concept of wisdom is theologically very pervasive in post-exilic times. Wisdom, conceived in personal terms, becomes the mediator of revelation and a teacher (Prov. 8:1–21) who summons (Prov. 1:20 ff.; 8:32 ff.) and invites men (Prov. 9:1 ff.). Created prior to all the works of creation (Prov. 8:22–31), she discloses to men the original order inherent in creation. She thus gains the rôle of a divine principle implanted in the world, which is nevertheless (according to Job 28) accessible to God alone.

3. (a) This understanding of wisdom found expression in the ideas of a generally wide-spread myth (as much Jewish as gnostic), in which wisdom sought for a dwelling among men, but, unable to find one, returned to heaven. In later times this myth was articulated without any embarrassment (Eth. Enoch 42) and re-interpreted to glorify the law. Wisdom finds a resting-place in Israel and is identified with the → law (Sir. 24:8 ff., 23 ff.). In Hellenistic Judaism the personification of wisdom is carried even further. The student of wisdom follows her like a lover, and wins all the bliss of dwelling with her (Sir. 14:20–27). In the Wisdom of Solomon wisdom is not only present at the creation but is herself creator as the "mother" of all good things and innumerable riches (Wis. 7:12). She sits on the throne of God (9:4), mediating God's salvation (7:27). Similar ideas are found in Philo (*Migr. Abr* 218; cf. U. Wilckens, *sophia*, *TDNT* VII 500 f.), whereas Josephus gives preference to an identification of wisdom and law (*Ant.* 18, 59 and 82; *War* 2, 118; cf. *TDNT* VII 502 f.).

(b) For rabbinic Judaism, wisdom and scriptural erudition are essentially identical. Pre-existent wisdom is understood to be the Torah and the relevant passages correspondingly interpreted (cf. SB I 7a ff., 974 f.; II 353 f.).

4. In the Dead Sea Scrolls the term *ḥokmâh* emerges relatively rarely and is influenced by the dualism of the sect's theology. God's all-embracing plan for the world, the goal of which is the annihilation of the wicked, is determined by wisdom (1QS 4:18). The elect are allotted the wisdom of the sons of heaven by the Spirit of truth (1QS 4:21 f.). By contrast, the terms related to *ḥokmâh – dā'at, bîn* and *śekel*, insight, knowledge – which in Qumran denote the wisdom of God or insight into God's saving plan, can be found extremely frequently. Commenting on 1QH 12:11 ff.; 2:13 f.; 1QS 4:20, 22, E. E. Ellis sees striking resemblance to the pneumatics of the Pauline community ("Wisdom and Knowledge in 1 Corinthians", *TB* 25, 1974, 95).

NT In the NT terms from this word-group are found chiefly in 1 Cor. 1–3 (25 times), whereas the Gospels use them relatively rarely and unevenly (Mk. only once; Jn. not at all; Matt. 5 times and Lk. 7 times; and in addition 4 times in Acts). The word-group is found 8 times in the later Pauline writings, 3 times in Jas., once in 2 Pet. and 4 times in Rev.

1. (a) The use of the word-group in the Gospels is in general tied to the traditional OT and Jewish conception, where wisdom is man's approach to life, arising out of his life in the covenant bestowed by God, and so must be regarded as the gift of God. Thus, according to Lk. 2:40, 52, the twelve-year-old Jesus grew in wisdom and insight, and distinguished himself by his exceptional knowledge of the law (a reminder of the Jewish idea that wisdom and knowledge of the law are identical). Mk. 6:2 depicts the astonishment of the inhabitants of Nazareth at the wisdom given to the carpenter's son (cf. Matt. 13:54). In Acts, too, Stephen is represented as a man equipped by God with the Spirit and wisdom, whose testimony cannot be contradicted for this very reason (Acts 6:3, 10). Express reference is made to OT precedents (Acts 7:10; cf. Gen. 39:2 f., 21; 41:40–46; Ps. 105:21). The promise of wisdom for defence speeches in the persecutions of the coming final days (Lk. 21:15) is also formulated in the same terms.

(b) Another – equally Jewish – conception had an effect on a group of sayings which possibly all originate from the Logia-source. The tradition of a personally understood Wisdom, who calls men to her, quite possibly lies behind the remarkable statement that "Wisdom is justified by her deeds" (Matt. 11:19, par. Lk. 7:35 "by her children"). Jesus (and John his witness) are understood as the mouth of Wisdom, who brings salvation. If one includes the introduction to the word of judgment on "this generation", which in Lk. 11:49 is introduced as a word of the Wisdom of God, but in the par. Matt. 23:34 ff. is understood as a word of Jesus, Jesus could be understood as Wisdom come to earth. When "this generation" is confronted with the Queen of the South who came from the ends of the earth in order to hear → Solomon's wisdom, the implied rebuke is corroborated with the comment, "Behold, something greater than Solomon is here" (Matt. 12:42 par. Lk. 11:31; cf. 1 Ki. 10:1–10; 2 Chr. 9:1–12). This can be understood most easily by thinking of the heavenly Wisdom whom men despise (cf. OT 3 (a)): in Jesus this wisdom has finally appeared. It seems justifiable to speak of a *sophia*-christology.

2. The same religio-historical material, though according to W. Schmithals and others, with stronger gnostic colouring, plays a rôle in Paul's confrontation with the Corinthian spiritual party whom Schmithals identifies as gnostics (*Gnosticism in Corinth*, 1971).

(a) In a fundamental and far-reaching exposition in which he develops his theology of the cross, Paul contrasts the wisdom of the world with the message of the cross. God has turned the wisdom of the world into foolishness (1 Cor. 1:20; cf. 3:19). This did not take place with words or arguments, where sentences of worldly wisdom were confronted with sentences of Christian wisdom. Rather, it was through an action, namely through the death of Christ on the → cross, that God has turned the wisdom of the world to foolishness. For as wisdom is not essentially the accumulation of a body of knowledge, but a mode of existence before God, so, too, folly is not a lack of knowledge, but the absence of this mode of existence. Since, however, in God's will "Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God" (1 Cor.

1:24; cf. 1:30) has been revealed, revealed in fact as the Crucified One, and only as the Crucified One (1 Cor. 1:23; 2:2), worldly wisdom which rejects the cross, whether in its Jewish or Greek variety, is objectively proved to be that which it always was: foolishness, i.e. rebellion against God, in the form of human self-exaltation and boasting (1 Cor. 1:29, 31). Men have closed their minds to the wisdom of God as they encountered it in the works of creation, and instead attempted to create their own wisdom (1 Cor. 1:21; cf. Rom. 1:18 ff.). But God has chosen to save those who believe through the foolishness of the preaching of the cross. Every attempt to demand a proof for the truth of God (1 Cor. 1:22) is as condemned to failure as is every attempt to boast of oneself (1 Cor. 3:18 ff.). "Believers are wise in the sense of 3:18 f. They do not advance beyond the situation of hearing and believing (2 Cor. 5:7)" (H. Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, *Hermeneia*, 1975, 48; cf. Rom. 1:16 f.). In this way, however, the very universality both of the event of salvation and of the offer of salvation is preserved. The expression *tous pisteuontas*, "those who believe" (1 Cor. 1:21), "sets aside every human barrier to salvation" (H. Conzelmann, op. cit., 46; → Faith).

Both the character of the Corinthian congregation and the manner of the apostle's preaching confirm his interpretation of the event of salvation. The election by God of the foolish, weak and despised, which can be seen from the composition of the community in Corinth, shows that God puts to shame those who count as wise by human standards (1 Cor. 1:26 ff.). God's will, announced in the OT word as judging man's pride (1 Cor. 1:19, 31; 3:19 f.), is thus fulfilled. Paul's renunciation of "lofty words of wisdom" (1 Cor. 2:1; cf. especially 2:4 f., 13; 2 Cor. 1:12) serves the sole saving work of the cross, which may not be emptied of its power (1 Cor. 1:17). Yet Paul can still say that he speaks wisdom "among the mature [or perfect, *teleiois*]", but it is God's wisdom, hidden in the mystery (1 Cor. 2:6 f.). This is due to the fact that Paul takes up ideas of his opponents and tries to put them to a positive use. This is why scholars see reminiscences of the gnostic myth and terminology of the mysteries in this section (1 Cor. 2:6–16). Paul obviously intends to say that rejection of the world's wisdom and emphasis on the cross of Christ does not exclude the experiences and endowment of the Spirit of God (cf. *logos sophias*, the word of wisdom, in the catalogue of the gifts of the Spirit, 1 Cor. 12:8). While making use of his opponents' scheme of revelation (→ Knowledge, art. *ginōskō*), Paul is insistent that God's hidden wisdom is revealed by the Spirit, and that those with the gift of the Spirit can discern everything, because they possess the mind of Christ (1 Cor. 2:10–16). Such wisdom, bestowed by the Spirit, does not, however, ignore the offence of the cross, but finds its criterion in it.

(b) This is also the place to inquire about the particular nature of the wisdom advocated in Corinth and contested by Paul. That Paul wished only to reject Gk. philosophy and rhetoric, i.e., that his fight is directed simply against percipient → reason, is difficult to accept. "It is not accidental that the teaching of 1 Cor. 1:18 ff. is found in a context where Paul is laying a carefully worked-out foundation. . . . The paradox of the divine activity is intended to be understood!" (G. Bornkamm, *Studien zur Antike und Urchristentum. Gesammelte Aufsätze*, II, 1963², 120 f.).

Perhaps one may suppose that the polemic of the apostle is directed against an over-subtle extension of the *sophia*-christology and the resultant disregard of the cross of Christ, along with the ensuing growth of factions. The Corinthians believed

that they shared in the wisdom which came into the world in Christ. As the people who had reached perfection, they had been exempted from the degradation of the cross. They therefore strove for personal perfection in the gifts of the Spirit, in knowledge and in wisdom, neglecting their responsibility to build up the whole congregation (1 Cor. 14). It was only Christ, who disregarded worldly concerns and drew others away from the world, who was of interest to them – not the Crucified One. Jesus thus served as an example of the earthly Pneumatic (a point disputed by Paul in 2 Cor. 5). This foolishness leads to pride and party division in a community. The preaching of the cross (and thus the paradoxical way to wisdom *via* the foolishness of preaching, 1 Cor. 3:18) is therefore the call to freedom from self-glorification and adherence to party division. It is thus the foundation and guarantee of the unity of the Christian community (1 Cor. 3:18–23).

(c) In the hymn which concludes the exposition of the mystery of Israel's election, Paul praises "the depth of the riches and wisdom and knowledge of God" (Rom. 11:33). It is revealed in his inscrutable judgments and ways (Rom. 11:33 f.; cf. Isa. 40:13 f.), and is thus not to be extolled in speculation, but experienced in history. This salvation-history reference, along with the reminiscences of Prov. 8, allows us to understand wisdom here as the work of the Creator, who is at the same time the Lord and Perfecter of history. There is then no contradiction with the statement in 1 Cor. 1:24, 30 that Christ is the wisdom of God.

(d) That Paul can use *sophos* in its ordinary non-technical sense is shown by 1 Cor. 3:10, where he describes himself as a "wise master-builder" of the community, and possibly also by the question in 1 Cor. 6:5, as to whether there was in the community no wise man able to give judgment, so that the community need not make a claim on heathen courts.

3. In the later Pauline Epistles, wisdom is understood as a gift of the grace of God (Eph. 1:8, 17; Col. 1:9, along with *synesis*, insight, understanding, and *phronēsis*, insight, understanding), in which the believer may grow. The content of this teaching of wisdom revealed by the Spirit, to which belongs a corresponding manner of life (Col. 1:10; 4:5; Eph. 5:15), is the → mystery of God – Christ, in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge (Col. 2:3). The christology developed here links on to the OT and Jewish conception of Wisdom hidden in God before the creation of the world (Prov. 8; Sir. 24). Within the scope of the divine economy (→ House, art. *oikonomia* NT), this wisdom will be revealed in the fullness of time in Christ through the church (Eph. 3:9 f.; 1:10).

4. For James wisdom is demonstrated in good behaviour by works of kindness (Jas. 3:13). The letter obviously has to deal with opponents who (like those in Corinth) claimed for themselves wisdom "from above", but caused wrangling and strife (Jas. 3:15 f.; cf. M. Dibelius and H. Greeven, *James*, *Hermeneia*, 1976, 210 ff.). Jas. does not go into the convictions underlying this claim, but describes wisdom as peaceable, full of compassion and without hypocrisy (Jas. 3:17; → Humility, art. *prayÿs*). For such wisdom one must pray to God (Jas. 1:5).

5. In Revelation *sophia* is praised in two hymnic texts as an attribute of God (Rev. 7:12; cf. also Rom. 16:27); it is also to be attributed to the slain Lamb at his exaltation (Rev. 5:12). The exalted Christ has the same power and wisdom as God. In the two other passages (Rev. 13:18; 17:9), *sophia* is the secret knowledge of

Christians, on the basis of which they can interpret the apocalyptic mysteries and events of their time. *J. Goetzmann*

6. For detailed examination of the idea of the pre-existence of wisdom see R. G. Hamerton-Kelly, *Pre-Existence, Wisdom, and the Son of Man: A Study of the Idea of Pre-Existence in the New Testament, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series* 21, 1973. The author defines pre-existence as "a mythological term which signifies that an entity had a real existence before its manifestation on earth, either in the mind of God or in heaven" (op. cit., 11). Some entities may be said to pre-exist because they exist with God before their own manifestation. The Logos in Jn., on the other hand, is seen as existing before the manifestation of anything at all. For Bultmann the pre-existence of Christ signifies only that the proclamation which Christ's presence caused has its origin outside this world (op. cit., 271; cf. R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, I, 1951, 305). Hamerton-Kelly sees the clearest expression of pre-existence teaching in Philo, Jn. and Heb., the two latter drawing directly on Jewish apocalyptic and wisdom traditions and also Hellenistic Judaism. But Jn. and Heb. are not the only sources of such interest in the NT. Summing up the rôle of wisdom in biblical thought, Hamerton-Kelly writes: "Wisdom in early Judaism might be said to be the essence of the creation, its inherent form. It was the blueprint according to which the universe was created. To that extent it could be regarded as a determinant of history from the beginning rather than the future. In this respect it should be compared with the idea of the plan of God in apocalyptic. The idea of a primordially given plan of which history is simply the outworking is indeed present in the thought of early Judaism and the New Testament. Does this rob history of its 'newness' and the future of its power? We think not. Wisdom as the essence of the universe and also the true man is chiefly to be revealed in the end. Its prior manifestation in Christ is preliminary and provisional – it does not impose a pattern on history 'from behind'.... Paul emphasized this especially – true humanity lies in the future and is not a return to a primordial state. There is also in apocalyptic the idea that all history has been arranged from the beginning, and this cannot be minimized. However, from the point of view of man in time, history is still spontaneous and new since the plan is not known to him" (op. cit., 279 f.).

7. The vb. *sophizō* is found in the act. in Pss. 19(18):8; 105(104):22; 119(118):98 in the sense of "make wise". It is used of wisdom in 1 Ki. 5:11; Prov. 16:17; Sir. 50:28, and with negative overtones in Eccl.7:16; Sir. 7:5; 32:4. Its use in 2 Tim. 3:14 f. is similar to that in the Pss.: "But as for you, continue in what you have learned and have firmly believed, knowing from whom you have learned it and how from childhood you have been acquainted with the sacred writings which are able to instruct you for salvation through faith in Christ Jesus [*ta dynamena se sophisai eis sōtērian dia pisteōs tēs en Christō Iēsou*]" (→ Scripture). It occurs in the pass. in 2 Pet. 1:16 in insisting that the faith proclaimed is not based on myths but on personal and historical encounter: "For we did not follow cleverly devised myths [*ou gar sesophismenois mythois exakolouthēsantes*] when we made known to you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, but we were eyewitnesses of his majesty." *C. Brown*

φιλοσοφία

φιλοσοφία (*philosophia*), love of wisdom, philosophy; φιλόσοφος (*philosophos*), philosopher.

CL 1. *philosophia*, a compound of *philos*, friend, and *sophia*, wisdom, means love of wisdom, the sciences, or aspiration towards it. The noun *philosophos* can be found first in Heracl. (*Frag.* 35d), the vb. *philosopheō* in Hdt. (1, 30). However, according to ancient tradition (e.g. Diog. Laert., *Prooem.* 12; 8, 8), Pythagoras is said to have used the noun *philosophos* previously.

2. In Gk. and Hellenistic philosophy the following nuances in the meaning of the word *philosophia* can be shown:

(a) Amongst the Pre-Socratics *philosophia* initially means striving towards any kind of scientific activity. The term philosophy was then narrowed down and used for the question as to the origin of the world from a single primary substance (natural philosophy).

(b) Classical philosophy. (i) In Socrates the whole weight falls on the first half of the word *philo-sophia*, and so more on the act itself than on the result. Philosophy became the aspiration to wisdom, generally, of course, combined with the knowledge that one never attains to this. (ii) According to Plato, philosophy is the knowledge of reality, the eternal and immortal. He differentiated between Sophists, philosophers and wise men; the *sophistēs* is the one who believes that he possesses wisdom, and who pretends to be able to teach it. The *philosophos*, on the other hand, is the modest man who knows that he knows nothing, but seized by love for wisdom, searches after it his whole life long without ever entirely attaining to it. The designation *sophos*, wise, befits the gods alone. (iii) Aristotle understood philosophy in the narrowest sense to mean metaphysics, the investigation of the cause and principles of things or of the world of appearances (*Met.* 1, 3, p. 983b, 2 and p. 983a, 24 ff.).

(c) In Hellenistic philosophy the term *philosophia* acquired an almost religious significance. Its goal is happiness (Eudaimonism). This the philosophers (Stoics, Epicureans) propagate, wandering around as itinerant teachers. Philosophy as the way to happiness thus consists, for the Stoics, in striving for theoretical and especially practical excellence, i.e. for → virtue.

The Epicureans, on the other hand, define *philosophia* as the pursuit of happiness by means of, and allowing the possibility of, → reason. Here practical philosophy (ethics) dominates, to which rationality (logic) and the physical sciences are made subservient. (On philosophy in the ancient world generally see O. Michel, *philosophia* etc., *TDNT* IX 172–79; F. C. Copleston, *A History of Philosophy*, I, *Greece and Rome*, 1966².)

3. In the mystery religions and gnosticism *philosophia* is no longer concerned with the rational understanding of the world (in the sense of classical Gk. tradition) but depicts reality from the religious viewpoint. It therefore runs into religious speculation for which the gnostic Hermetic writings are exemplary. In the tractate *Asclepius* the true philosophy is defined as the quest for religious knowledge. Philosophy should thus fulfil the function of a spiritual worship and be entirely subsumed in such religious practice. It is hence the task of the prophet to nourish the soul by philosophy and magic (*Corp. Herm.* 23).

OT 1. Both the noun *philosophia* and the vb. *philosopheō* are found in the LXX only in 4 Macc. (1:1; 5:10, 22; 7:9, 21; and 5:6, 11; 7:21, 24 respectively). They are thus without Heb. equivalent. By contrast *philosophos* occurs as the equivalent of *'aššāp̄*, Aram. enchanter, in Dan. 1:20, where, judging by the context, conjurers must be meant. It is also found in 4 Macc. 1:1; 5:35; 7:7.

2. In developed Judaism *philosophia* is known as a word and a concept. Indeed, Hellenistic Judaism presented itself as philosophy:

(a) For Philo *philosophia* is synonymous with religion. He describes the Mosaic law as *hē patrios philosophia*, "the ancestral philosophy", i.e. the way of salvation (*Leg. Gai.* 156). He can therefore with pride call all Jews philosophers (*Mut. Nom.* 39).

(b) For Josephus, too, the Jewish religion and philosophy are identical. He therefore presents the communities of Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes as three philosophical schools (*War* 2, 119; *Ant.* 18, 11).

(c) Philosophy and the Jewish religion are also equated in 4 Macc. The tyrant Antiochus is able to ridicule Judaism as "preposterous philosophy" (4 Macc. 5:10). Conversely, the martyrs appear as the representatives of "divine philosophy" (4 Macc. 7:9).

NT 1. In the NT the term *philosophia* occurs only in Col. 2:8, where a warning is given against it. The specific nature of this *philosophia* is characterized by the apposition *kata ta stoicheia tou kosmou*, "according to the elements of the world". (On the meaning of "elements" → Law, art. *stoicheia*; cf. also E. Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon, Hermeneia*, 1971, 94–99.) The elements of the world are thus the most important characteristic of this Colossian philosophy, which had become widespread in the Asia Minor community. With these elements of the world we are concerned not with natural components of Being, in the sense of scientific analysis and philosophical knowledge of the laws of the world, but with personal powers (Col. 2:18), which constrain people under fixed precepts. In the view of the representatives of this philosophy, the → body of Christ constitutes the unity of these elements of the world, i.e. Christ is the embodiment of the elements of the world.

The religio-historical background stems from a gnosticized Judaism, in which Jewish and Iranian-Persian ideas, and perhaps also Chaldaean astrology, have been intimately woven together and linked with Christianity. In Iranian thought, in particular, there is the myth of a divinity whose body is composed of the elements of the universe.

Paul therefore combats this Colossian philosophy, because its adherents looked for fulfilment in the elements of the world and not in the saving deeds of the death and resurrection of Christ. Thus the warning against philosophy in Col. 2:8 does not refer to classical Gk. philosophy, nor to the scholastic philosophy of Hellenism, but to a common speculative doctrine which found expression in gnosticism (cf. M. Dibelius, *An die Kolosser, Epheser, an Philemon, HNT* 12, 1953 [3]; E. Lohmeyer, *Die Briefe an die Philipper, an die Kolosser und an Philemon, KEK* 9, 1948 [14]; but for further discussion see M. D. Hooker, "Were there False Teachers in Colossae?", in B. Lindars and S. S. Smalley, eds., *Christ and Spirit in the New Testament. In Honour of Charles Francis Digby Moule*, 1973, 315–32, who contends that there was no Colossian error).

However, there may be allusions to *philosophia* in the NT even where the word itself is not mentioned. Perhaps, philosophy is meant in 1 Cor. 3:19; this is not a polemic directed against philosophical endeavour as such, but only against its being a way to salvation (*para tō theō*, with God, from God's perspective). The Bible does not reject philosophy *per se*: only its false self-assessment as a way of salvation.

2. The noun *philosophos* is used only in Acts 17:18 in the Lucan account of the Areopagus speech. The Epicurean and Stoic philosophers confronted Paul before the beginning of his speech on the Areopagus. Whereas one group (Luke probably thinks of the Epicureans) bluntly rejected the apostolic message, the others (the Stoics) showed a certain interest towards the Christian proclamation. But in the end it remained incomprehensible to them as well, and they rejected it. (For literature and interpretations of Paul's address → God, art. *theos* NT 4 (b); Knowledge, art. *agnoeō* NT 2 (a).) *H. Weigelt*

→ Curse, → Fear, → Knowledge, → Mind, → Reason, → Secret, → Spirit, → Think, → Truth, → Word

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Witness, Testimony

μαρτυρία

μαρτυρία (*martyria*), testimony, testifying, attestation; *μαρτυρέω* (*martyreō*), bear witness, testify; *μαρτύριον* (*martyrion*), testimony, evidence, proof; *μαρτύρομαι* (*martyromai*), testify, bear witness, affirm; *μάρτυς* (*martys*), a witness; *διαμαρτύρομαι* (*diamartyromai*), charge, adjure, bear witness to, testify of; *καταμαρτυρέω* (*katamartyreō*), bear witness against, testify against someone; *συμμαρτυρέω* (*symmartyreō*), testify in support, confirm; *ψευδομαρτυρέω* (*pseudomartyreō*), bear false witness; *ψευδομαρτυρία* (*pseudomartyria*), false witness; *ψευδόμαρτυς* (*pseudomartys*), one who gives false testimony.

CL 1. (a) The noun *martyria* means making an active appearance and statements as a witness (*martys*), the earliest form of the basic noun being *martyros* in Homer, then later Aeolic *martyr. martyria*, denoting the confirmation of a fact or an event, is attested from Hom. *Od.* 11, 325 onwards, and cognate with *mermēros*, that which requires many minds, going back with this word to the common Indo-European root **smer*, to be mindful of, from which *merimnaō*, to be concerned, may also be formed (cf. Lat. *memor*, mindful of). Its lexical content may be more precisely defined as reflective, interrogative recollection, re-call, i.e. calling up into consciousness something one has experienced which cannot be ignored or forgotten, and which is now in this sense brought to the notice of others, in order to impart to them by means of appropriate statements the content of this experience: that which has been experienced shall become evident by means of the testimony (cf. Plato, *Symp.* 179b).

(b) From the 5th cent. B.C. there are found the derived vbs. *martyreō*, to bear witness, to be a witness for something, or to confirm something to someone's advantage by giving evidence (Hdt., 8, 95), or to testify that something is the case (Heracl., 34; Soph., *Ant.* 515; *OC* 1265), and *martyromai*, to call someone as a witness (Plato, *Phlb.* 12b). Also found are the nouns *martyrion* for the evidence, the proof, which, by contrast with the act of giving evidence, refers more to the content of the statement (Hdt., 2, 2; 8, 55) or to a piece of evidence (a victor's crown, Plato, *Leg.* 12, 943; a document or deeds; even objects such as tombs and archaeological finds as proof of earlier settlements; also quotations from famous authors or poets), and *martys* for the witness himself (evidenced in the earliest inscriptions). The gods can be invoked as witnesses in the form of oath (→ Swear; e.g. Pindar, *Pyth.* 4:167, of Zeus); but men can also be summoned or brought forward as witnesses to confirm a claim or to illuminate some fact (Plato, *Grg.* 471c; *Leg.* 836c; *Rep.* 364c).

Of the compounds *symmartyreō*, to be a witness with someone, testify in support, is already found in Soph. and Thuc. From Plato, *Leg.* 3, 680d, and Xen., *Hell.* 7, 135, it means to confirm in the sense of the correspondence of a second or further piece of evidence which is added to one already given. *katamartyreō* means to give evidence against someone (4th cent., Lysias and Isoc. onwards); *diamartyromai* to call in as a witness, then (Xen., *Hell.* 3, 2, 13) to certify, to attest, and even to urge strongly, to conjure (Diod. Sic., 18, 62, 2). The *pseudomartys*, the one whose statement does not accord with the truth, but who twists or covers it up, and the *pseudomartyria*, testimony which is incorrect or falsified, are also mentioned by Plato (*Grg.* 472b, where he cites the Sophists by way of example, Diels-Kranz, II, 300, 10; 398, 25 f.); likewise the cognate vb. *pseudomartyreō*, to bear false witness (*Leg.* 9, 939c). Thus on functional grounds the statement has become dissociated from the recollection, and the relationship from the championing of truthfulness.

2. (a) The original setting of the word-group in the Gk. world is clearly the legal sphere. Witnesses appear to give evidence in a trial in respect of events now lying in the past (cf. the analysis in 1(a)), or are called in as so-called formal witnesses in order to provide substantiation in the future, for legal transactions or for solemn confirmation in the finalizing and signing of agreements; in general these are mentioned by name and add their own signatures immediately below the text. The *martyria* in a trial is to be given freely, i.e. without constraint or against one's better knowledge (such as by torture), and is normally distinguished from the oath itself as a substantiation of one's statements by invocation of the gods when obvious proof is lacking (cf. the description of Anaximenes of Lampsacus in Aristotle, *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, referred to in *TDNT* IV 476 n. 10). *martyria* is thus initially always action; but it can then take on the sense of *martyrion*, evidence, as the content of the statement made, whereas the latter can never have the sense of an action. The invocation of the gods as witnesses has its place, where human witnesses or given circumstances cannot be adduced. Thus in Plato, *Ap.* 31c, Socrates offers his poverty as evidence that he did not teach for the sake of profit. The words of the group originally always stood – in the legal sphere as in the wider world of public and private relationships – for "the establishment of events or actual relations or facts of experience on the basis of direct personal knowledge" (H. Strathmann, *TDNT* IV 478).

This is typical for the rational structure of Gk. thought. Only in grammar can one still see that the witness with his testimony always appears for and thus at the same time against someone (dat. of person; what he testifies is in the acc. or in a *hoti* clause). In primitive conceptions of the witness he combines his mental powers with the person for whom he is testifying, in order to help him to victory, thus interceding more for the person than – in the strict sense – for the case.

(b) Even before Aristotle, who in *Rhet.* 1, 15 submitted a different analysis, a proximate and additional use of the word had established itself, by which the *martyria* was no longer intended to substantiate something objectively given, but instead expressed moral or philosophical convictions. This use of the word can already be perceived in Plato's *Apology* with reference to Socrates, but it acquired its great importance primarily from the time of the Stoics. The Cynic or Stoic philosopher regarded himself as a witness called to give evidence on behalf of divine truth, in that he testified to the truth of his ideas and doctrines by his conduct in adverse cir-

cumstances – his endurance of suffering, and his acceptance of his conditions as training, not allowing himself to be shaken by them (cf. especially Epictetus, *Dissertationes* 1, 29, 46 ff.; 3, 22, 86 ff.). This kind of *martyria* is of course not identical with the later Christian concept of martyrdom, even though death may well be included.

OT 1. (a) It is immediately apparent in the LXX that the commonest member of the word-group is the noun *martyrion* (in total over 290 instances), by far the greater part of these cases being found in Exod. and Num., and 45 in Lev., Here as in some passages in the Chronicler (e.g. 1 Chr. 9:21; 23:32; 2 Chr. 5:5; 24:6), it may refer to the two tablets with the Sinaitic commandments (*dyo plakes tou martyriou*, Exod. 31:18; 32:15). It is also frequently used of the *skēnē tou martyriou*, the → tent of the testimony (AV, "the tabernacle of the congregation"; Exod. 29:4, 10 f.; 40:2 ff.; Lev. 4:4 ff.; Num. 4:25 ff.; cf. also the *kibōtos tou martyriou*, the box or ark of the testimony, Exod. 40:3; 5:21; Lev. 16:2; Num. 4:5). *martyrion* has here a sense which accords with its later usage in cl. Gk., namely that of the piece of evidence which calls to mind a particular event, or of the deeds (such as the founding of the → covenant or of the → Law).

The Heb. *mô'ēḏ*, rendered c. 130 times by *martyrion* in combination with *skēnē*, tent, means the time or place of appointment, implying that at this place Yahweh wished to meet his covenant-people. It is the Heb. noun *'ēḏût*, rendered equally (some 35 times) by *martyrion* in the phrase *kibōtos tou martyriou*, ark of the testimony, that denotes the solemnly given and accepted ordinance, the law with its recognized obligations. In that the same Gk. noun assimilated both meanings, its meaning almost inevitably had to shift from the act of encounter to the place of evidence, and from thence to the observance of the Law (the tablets standing as *pars pro toto* for the totality of the covenant ordering). Only where one could still hear the ring of the Heb. word could any knowledge – even for the Jews of the Diaspora – of the original intention, namely, the revelatory speaking of God, be retained. Strathmann has argued (*TDNT* IV 482) that in some places this translation completely distorts the sense of *mô'ēḏ* (1 Sam. 13:8, 11; 20:35), and that in others there has been a false reading of the Heb. word (Mic. 7:8; Prov. 29:14; Amos 1:11; Zeph. 3:8; Isa. 37[30]:20; Job 15:34).

While instances such as Gen. 31:44 (the covenant stele of Laban and Jacob) and Jos. 22:27 f.; 24:27 have the meaning of a monument, the material memorial, there is another usage of *martyrion* which, by virtue of the context, comes closer to the original intention of *mô'ēḏ*, and which occurs only in two small groups of instances: first, Hos. 2:12(14) and Wis. 10:7, where the desolations in the land are (a piece of) evidence for men's guilt and the ensuing judgment; and, secondly, passages in the Pss., namely the 23 attestations in Ps. 118(119). In this probably post-exilic writing, which is also stamped with the spirit of Deuteronomic and Wisdom thought (possibly the expression of a stronger tendency to individualize piety), the "document" character recedes behind that of "testimony", not only in the sense of the Torah as a given and fixed law, but especially as advice (almost at times personally addressed to the individual), as direction for his way of life, which the psalmist loves (v. 119), marvels at (v. 129) and will observe (vv. 88, 146, 167 f.). *martyrion*, as the embodiment and expression of the covenant, is here the means of knowing Yahweh.

(b) With 7 canonical and 5 apocryphal attestations, *martyria* is used comparatively rarely for the same equivalent Heb. words. Indeed, in 1 Sam. 8:24 Heb. *mô'ēḏ* would be better rendered by some temporal designation such as *kairos*, point of → time (art. *kairos*), whereas Prov. 12:19; 25:18 and Sir. 34(31):23 f. describe the act of giving testimony, which can be characterized as truthful, lying or unjust. The noun *martys* (54 occurrences, rendering of Heb. *'ēḏ*), on the other hand, is used in the classical sense for one who gives testimony on the basis of observation, or who in the legal sense is enlisted to confirm a state of affairs, an agreement. Examples include the contract of Boaz in Ruth 4:9 ff., where the elders of the town are called as witnesses, and especially the procedural stipulations in Deut. 17:6 f.; 19:15 ff.; Num. 35:30, whereby a decision may only be given on the basis of the evidence of more than one witness. In the agreement between Laban and Jacob (Gen. 31:44 ff.), and also in Samuel's rendering of account (1 Sam. 12:3 ff.) Yahweh the Lord is named and invoked as witness (cf. Jer. 42[49]:5; cf. Job 16:20; Ps. 89[88]:37; also Wis. 1:6). Similarly in the prophetic oracle, Jer. 36(29):23, Yahweh comes forward as a witness against Israel. On the whole, however, even these passages remain within the realm of statements which substantiate human behaviour. This is the reason why, especially in the Pss. (27[26]:12; 35[34]:11) and Prov. (e.g. 12:17, 19; 14:5, 25) and also in Isa. 8:2, the central question – as with *martyria* itself – is that of the trustworthiness or mendacity of the witnesses. The latter is abominated and stands under severe threat of punishment or even divine threat of judgment (cf. Exod. 23:1; Deut. 19:16 ff.). Only in the later chapters of Isa. does another understanding occur, when in Isa. 43:10, 12; 44:8 the members of the nation are ordered to come forward as witnesses amongst the nations to the uniqueness and righteousness of Yahweh. Even though the context takes the form of an eschatological lawsuit, the Servant Songs (Isa. 42:1–4; 49:1–6; 50:4–9; 52:13–53:12) suggest something like a missionary rôle for the nation.

(c) Of the verbal forms the simple *martyreō* is attested only 17 times: for legal testimony (Num. 35:30; Deut. 19:15, 18); but also for the commemorative function of a monument (Gen. 31:46 ff.) and the Song of Moses (Deut. 31:19, 21), which, as a document of the covenant, could become an indictment against those who break it. *katamartyreō* (occurring 5 times) is used in 1 Ki. 21(20):10, 13; Dan. 6:25[24]; and Prov. 25:18 in the sense of consciously false evidence, leading to the condemnation of the accused (in Job 15:6 by Eliphaz for the indictment which Job's own statements present against him). The meaning of *epimartyromai*, which is similarly used for *hā'ēḏ* (1 Ki. 2:42[3:1]; Neh. 9:29 f.; 13:15, 21; but also Amos 3:13; Jer. 32[39]:25), comes from the way that men are given cause to recall some previous directive, are obliged to confirm it, and thus are admonished or warned. *pseudomartyreō* means to bear deliberate false testimony only in the Decalogue (Exod. 20:16; Deut. 5:17[20] for *'ānâh*, to answer). The most important compound remains *diamartyromai* (equally used for *hā'ēḏ*), which originally meant to call up or to enlist someone as a witness (thus Deut. 4:26; 31:28; 2 Ki. 17:13; Jer. 32[39]:10; Mal. 2:14), but is thus also used for the passing on and enjoining the people of the instructions received from Yahweh (Exod. 18:20; 19:10, 21 in commands to Moses, but also Neh. 9:26, 34). It can then have the sense both of to warn, to exhort, to testify on oath (e.g. in the name of God, Ps. 50[49]:7), and also of to certify, to promise (e.g. Zech. 3:6[7]).

2. (a) The analysis of the use of the word shows that, apart from the special case

of the use of *martyrion* for Heb. *mô'ēḏ* (see above, 1 (a)), the words of this group essentially remain within the framework already adumbrated in classical Gk., or at least are not aware of the understanding shaped by the Stoics. One is a witness for something one has experienced, or one is enlisted as such for an event. It is something extraneous, something one has experienced or something entrusted to one for which someone may testify. Particularly where God is mentioned or invoked as witness, the partisanship of the witness for the right of the covenant can be clearly felt. The idea of testimony or of a witness derived from uncertifiable subjective convictions is not known in the OT, and also has no place in Judaism. Philo and Josephus, who follow the Gk. legal usage (cf. *TDNT* IV 487 f.), both (possibly consciously) forgo the doubtful expansion of *skēnē* and *kibōtos* by *tou martyriou*. In rabbinic usage *hē'îḏ* designates the teaching activity of the rabbis, and is cognate with the expression for → proclaim (for individual details cf. R. Asting, *Die Verkündigung des Wortes im Urchristentum*, 1938, 513 ff.). (For rabbinic teaching see A. A. Trites, *The New Testament Concept of Witness*, *Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series* 31, 1977, 231–39.)

(b) The thought of suffering involved in bearing witness to one's faith even to the point of death and the high esteem paid to martyrdom were widespread in Judaism (cf. the Books of the Maccabees, especially 4 Macc. 18:11 ff.; Mart. Isa.; Josephus, *War* 2, 151 ff.; and also the collected rabbinic material in SB I 221 ff.). Nevertheless, one must still note that terms like *martys*, *martyria* or *martyreō* and even *martyrion* were manifestly never used for such heroes of faith (cf. H. Strathmann, *TDNT* IV 487 f.). In his detailed and careful analysis, N. Brox has demonstrated conclusively that "the Old Testament and later Judaism are excluded as the place of origin of the title of martyr", as it developed in the early history of Christianity, and also that "no real equivalence between martyrs and prophets ... can be found" (*Zeuge und Märtyrer*, 1961, 172).

NT The word-group first acquired its specific importance in biblical theology in the NT, more precisely, in Acts and the Johannine literature.

Even a statistical survey of occurrences exhibits these emphases. Thus of the 76 instances of the vb. *martyreō*, 43 are found in John and the Johannine Epistles alone, a further 4 in Rev., 11 in Acts and 8 in Heb., whereas only 6 fall to Paul and only 2 to the Synoptics. Of the 37 instances of *martyria*, 21 belong to John and the Johannine Epistles, and 9 to Rev., whereas the word is entirely lacking in Paul and Heb. With 35 instances, the noun *martys* is found a total of 13 times in Acts, 9 in Paul (including 3 in the Pastorals) and 5 times in Rev. Of the compounds, *epimartyreō* is attested only in 1 Pet. 5:12 alongside *parakaleō*, to exhort in the sense of to remind; *katamartyreō* only in Matt. 26:62 (par. Mk. 14:60) and Matt. 27:13 in the questions directed to Jesus as to whether he did not wish to express an opinion with regard to the evidence borne against him; and *symmartyreō* is used exclusively by Paul in Rom. 2:15; 8:16; 9:1, expressing a confirmatory, reinforcing or accusatory co-testimony of the spirit or of human conscience. Finally, of the 15 cases where *diamartyreō* is used, 9 are in Acts, where the vb. is used as a special expression for → proclamation – as it is, incidentally, also in 1 Thess. 4:6, and 3 times in 1 Tim. 5:1 and 2 Tim. 2:14; 4:1. (For a fuller survey of these terms see A. A. Trites, op. cit., 66–77.)

1. The legal use of the word, common to cl. Gk. and the LXX, dominates the few examples in the Synoptics, of which, as well as the instances of *katamartyreō* already mentioned, the 4 occurrences of *martyria* (Mk. 14:55, 56, 59; Lk. 22:71) and the 2 passages with *martys* (Mk. 14:63 par., Matt. 26:65) also occur in the account of the trial of Jesus, and each time are related to the (false) evidence produced there. The quotations from Deut. 19:15 (Matt. 18:16, *martys*; Jn. 8:17, *martyria*) and Deut. 17:6 (Heb. 10:28; cf. 2 Cor. 13:1; 1 Tim. 5:19) are to be understood in the same sense; similarly the mention of witnesses in the proceedings against Stephen (Acts 6:13; 7:58). The colouring is altogether negative.

2. Paul's use of the words is also closely linked to the LXX usage. He uses *martyreō* in Rom. 10:2; 2 Cor. 8:3; Gal. 4:15; Col. 4:13 in speaking of the zeal of the Jews and the loving care of the church ("I bear them witness"). In 1 Cor. 15:15 Paul writes: "We are even found to be misrepresenting [*pseudomartyres*] God, because we testified [*emartyrēsamen*] of God that he raised Christ, whom he did not raise if it is true that the dead are not raised." In Rom. 3:21 he calls the law and the prophets those who testify to God's → righteousness. On the other hand, he uses the noun *martys* only in Rom. 1:9; 2 Cor. 1:23; Phil. 1:8; and 1 Thess. 2:5, 10 in contexts where he calls God as witness of his actions and speech (1 Thess. 2:10, you and God). But Paul is probably also the first to give the noun *martyrion* a new meaning and content, when he says in 1 Cor. 1:6: "Even as the testimony [*martyrion*] of Christ was confirmed among you." It can no longer here be a matter of a document, or of a piece of evidence or recollection giving encouragement or warning; the word is used in the sense of the → gospel, the proclaimed message of salvation in Christ. This is established by 1 Cor. 2:1 ("proclaiming to you the testimony of God [*katangellōn hymin to martyrion tou theou*]") and also by 2 Thess. 1:10. In 2 Cor. 1:12 the word stands for the witness which his own → conscience bears him.

3. In the Synoptic Gospels a further expansion of the conceptual area of witness over and above the legal usage can be recognized. While according to Mk. 1:44 par. Matt. 8:4 and Lk. 5:14, the sacrifice of the healed man is offered *eis martyrion*, for a testimony, i.e. in recognition and as proof that the healing had taken place (according to Moses' regulations, Lev. 13:49; 14:2–32), the same formulation in Matt. 10:18 (the sending out of the Twelve) – the arrest and the trial of the disciples would be *eis martyrion* to the Jews and Gentiles (cf. similarly Mk. 13:9; Lk. 21:13) – can scarcely be understood only in the sense of an accusation. It can include the point that such tribunals would provide opportunities for testifying to Christ in public. Tangible evidence for the prosecution (for a place in God's judgment) is provided by the dust which the rejected messengers of Jesus are to shake from their feet and to leave behind (Mk. 6:11 par. Lk. 9:15), as in Lk. 11:48 (cf. Matt. 23:31). By their behaviour, men become witnesses against themselves.

4. A new aspect of the concept of being a witness is revealed by Luke in Acts. Whereas *martyreō* is used in the sense of human attestation for good conduct, i.e. to confirm some situation (Acts 16:2; 22:5, 12), or for someone's good name (Acts 6:3, those who cared for the poor; 10:22, Cornelius; 26:5, Paul), and whereas *martys* is used in Acts 6:13 and 7:58 of the (false) witnesses brought against Stephen in accordance with the requirements of the Jewish law, *martyrēsai* occurs for the first time in Acts 23:11 without an obj., meaning "to bear witness" in the sense of proclaiming Christ. Paul is to continue in Rome to bear witness to his Lord. This corresponds ex-

actly with the meaning of *martyrion* in Acts 4:33 ("with great power the apostles gave their testimony") and takes up that conception of *martys*, witness, which is found for the first time in Lk. 24:48 (i.e. on the border-line between the Gospel and Acts). It is repeated almost immediately in Acts 1:8 in the commission of the risen Lord. For Luke it is the → apostles, the disciples, who have been commissioned by Jesus with the proclamation of the message of the kingdom, who are witnesses. They are more precisely defined in Acts 1:22 as witnesses of the → resurrection of Jesus (cf. Acts 2:32; 3:15; 13:31; 26:16 – Paul, because the risen Lord met him) and of his deeds (also predicted in Acts 22:15 of Paul). Thus Luke is no longer using the word witness for witnesses of facts, but specifically for the witnesses of the risen Lord, who by this very qualification are authorized and legitimated as his witnesses among the nations. From this two things become clear: first, that their way, the way of a witness, is a way of rejection, → suffering, and possibly also of death ("Stephen, the faithful witness", Acts 22:20); second, that it is distinguished not by the later understanding of martyrdom, i.e. of one who bears witness to the point of death, but by the full → proclamation of the message of Christ. For this testimony to Jesus as the Christ (Acts 18:5), the proclamation of the grace of God (Acts 20:24), the urgently wooing address of the gospel of Christ, Luke likes to use *diamartyromai* (Acts 4:20; 8:25; 28:23).

5. The discovery from the statistical survey that the words of this group are most frequently used in the Gospel of John and the Johannine Epistles suggests that the concept of witness has also a more central theological significance for this writer than for all the others (cf. R. Asting, op. cit., 697 f.). The very phrase *diamartyreō enōpion tou theou*, "I testify in the presence of God", as it is found three times in the Pastorals (1 Tim. 5:21; 2 Tim. 2:14; 4:1), had reinforced the binding obligation to make known the message and will of God along the lines of the simple *diamartyreō* of Acts, used side by side with other expressions for "proclaim", in that the rôle of the apostles is marked out as those who are acting for and before God as his representatives. John, who summarizes the content of the Christ-event and of the gospel in the concept of the *logos* (→ Word, art. *logos*), now in particular adopts the vb. *martyreō* and the noun *martyria* (i.e. both the words of the group which denote action), in order to express the event of the divine communication of revelation in all its aspects. This observation is also supported by the fact that he abandons the noun *martyrion*, which was more of a material designation, in exactly the same way that, though he is aware of the witnesses, he does not make use of the word *martys*, witness, so as to be able to concentrate attention on the event. *martys* occurs first in Rev. (5 times, see below (c)), and the compounds are also entirely lacking here.

(a) John too is aware of the classical use of the word in the sense of human attestation or testimonial. This is shown in Jn. 2:25, where Jesus is said not to need other men's testimony concerning a man in order to form an opinion; as also in Jn. 18:23, where he challenges the temple guard who struck him to give proof of his improper speech; in Jn. 12:17, where the people bear witness to the resurrection of Lazarus; and in Jn. 3:28, where John the Baptist calls his disciples as witnesses to the fact that he had not given himself out to be the messiah. This is also true of the citation of Deut. 19:15 in Jn. 8:17, even though this rule from the law is then in v. 18 put into the service of Jesus' testimony to himself. All the instances of vb. and noun in 3

Jn. (vv. 3, 6, 12), relating to Gaius and Demetrius, are also commendations of praiseworthy conduct within the lines of faith.

(b) But is is precisely against this background that the specific character of the Johannine concept of witness is brought into relief in its three aspects: witness is testimony to or of Christ (i) in pointing to Jesus (John and the Scriptures), (ii) in Jesus' testimony to himself and (iii) in reference to Jesus in the proclamation of the disciples.

(i) Much more strongly in Jn. than in all the other Gospels the figure of John the Baptist is delineated as that of the forerunner, the final prophet. To point to the Coming One, the Expected One, and finally to the One who is already present – this is his destiny and ultimate significance. "He came for a testimony [*eis martyrian*], to bear witness to the light, that all might believe through him" (Jn. 1:7; cf. v. 8). This is amplified in Jn. 1:15, 32 and Jn. 1:19 ff. John's *martyria* mentioned there is formulated in Jn. 1:34 in the form of a thesis: "And I have seen and have borne witness that this is the Son of God." In Jn. 3:26 it is once more confirmed from the mouth of John's adherents ("to whom you bore witness"), and in Jn. 3:31 f. precisely pointed and directed in the claim that "he who comes from heaven . . . bears witness to what he has seen and heard." This first aspect of the understanding of witness as that which points to Jesus (to which is probably also to be reckoned the remark in Jn. 5:39 from Jesus' own mouth that the real intention of the → Scriptures is to testify to him, Jesus, as the Revealer) finds its legitimating conclusion in the testimony of the Johannine Jesus in Jn. 5:33. John the Baptist carried out his witnessing activity *en alētheia*, on behalf of or in accord with the truth. Thus witness here is no longer substantiation of verifiable events but proclamation which points to Jesus as the Revealer of God.

(ii) One of the central, paradigmatic discussions in John's Gospel concerns the truth of that which Jesus testifies of himself, or, put another way, the question as to who this Jesus is. Linguistically it is characterized by the expression *martyreō peri*, to testify with reference to (mostly oneself). Against the → Pharisees, who maintain according to Jn. 8:13 that, because he is testifying to himself, his *martyria* cannot be true (with v. 17 cf. Deut. 19:15), is set Jesus' word in v. 14. When he says something about himself, this *martyria* is true, because he knows where he has come from and where he is going. John does not wish this testimony of Jesus – i.e. his claim to be the Revealer, the One in whom God's will and nature can be perceived, and who thus as the → light is the → life of men, giving meaning and basis to human existence – to be understood as self-glorification of Jesus on his own account. Indeed, this is expressly repudiated by Jesus in 5:31: "If I bear witness to myself, my testimony is not true", in apparent tension to Jn. 8:14. His legitimation, however, does not come about through men, by means of human logical modes of proof, but "the works that I do bear me witness" (Jn. 5:36; cf. 10:25). It is another witness (Jn. 5:32; cf. 10:32). "The Father who sent me has himself borne witness to me" (Jn. 5:37; cf. also Jn. 6:65). In Jn. 5:39 the Scriptures are then named as witnesses. What is meant is finally expressed in the trial scene before Pilate: "I have come to bear witness to the truth" (Jn. 18:37); and with reference to the source of this witness in Jn. 3:11: "we speak of what we know, and bear witness to what we have seen." Jesus himself is the mediator of the testimony, i.e. of the revelation of God to the world (*kosmos*, Jn. 8:14) which hates him, because he removes its claims to autonomy, and thus rejects his testimony (Jn. 3:11, 32). Therefore, it is not a matter here of witness borne to

verifiable matters of fact, but – along the lines of the prophets, even if in the linguistic clothing of gnosticism – of God's self-communication in Jesus, requiring response. Brox says that "the distinguishing mark of the Johannine theology of witness" is that "the legitimation of the testimony and the evidence for its truth . . . consist in the call to a non-verifiable authorization by means of revelation" (op. cit., 71). In form there certainly is a correspondence with men's demands for legitimation, but the confirmatory testimonies which are brought into play provide no proof in the customary sense, but affirm the very thing for which proof is required. "The object of faith makes itself known only to faith" (R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 1971, 266). The criterion for the message is the content itself.

(iii) Formally related to the Johannine use of *logos*, → word, this testimony of Jesus, for those who have accepted it and thus confirmed (sealed, Jn. 3:33) the truth of God, becomes testimony about Jesus. This is the case first of all in Jn. 4:39, where the → Samaritans confirm that their way to faith began with the testimony, the account of the personal experience which the woman at the well gave concerning him. The event of which one has experience still plays a part here. But the thought is extended in a typically Johannine way when, in Jn. 15:26, the Paraclete, the Spirit, is named as the One who testifies to Jesus. He opens the world's eyes to the truth of God and the truth about itself. Jesus immediately expands this in the phrase "and you also are witnesses" (Jn. 15:27; → Advocate). 1 Jn. 1:2 ("we saw [*heōrakamen*] it, and testify to [*martyroumen*] and proclaim [*apangellomen*] to you the eternal life which was with the Father and was made manifest to us") and 1 Jn. 4:14 ("and we have seen [*tetheametha*] and testify [*martyroumen*] that the Father has sent the Son as the Saviour [*sōtēra*] of the world") are likewise extensions of this thought. Similarly, 1 Jn. 5:6, speaking of the witness of the → Spirit, takes up Jn. 15:26. 1 Jn. 5:10 ("He who believes in the Son of God has the testimony in himself") is given added precision in the statement in v. 11 that the testimony of the → knowledge and the message of faith is this, "that God gave us eternal life and this life is in his Son." Here too the terminology is that of the testimony of something experienced, but this experience is not that of the senses, but being caught up into faith. The Gk. words for "see" are no different here.

(c) This *martyria* of Jesus Christ as the revelation of the significance of Jesus, communicated and accepted in faith, is for the seer of Revelation identical with the *logos tou theou*, "the Word of God" (Rev. 1:2, 9; in 12:11 both are also used and connected together). The *martyria* is more precisely qualified as the *pneuma tēs prophēteias*, "the Spirit of prophecy", which could mean testifying to what has been here revealed concerning the future. The thought is that to be touched by the testimony of Jesus Christ places one in the service of witness. It obliges one to pass it on, and reveals that there is an inherent power in the *martyria*, by means of which God does not merely give men intellectual knowledge, but also sets them in motion. The *martyria* allows one to share in the way, but also in the suffering and persecution of Christ, as the allusion in Rev. 6:9 to those who have been killed shows (cf. also the persecution by the → dragon in Rev. 12:17 with the persecution of the child in Rev. 12:4). That the *martyria* draws people who are grasped by it into Christ's life is also expressed in Rev. 12:11 by the way that they are promised triumphant victory (cf. Rev. 20:4). In Rev. 1:5, for the only time in Rev., Jesus is specifically called *ho martys ho pistos*, "the faithful witness" (cf. Rev. 3:14, the → Amen along with the

same title). As well as in Rev. 6:9, the first roots of the later conception of martyrdom are outlined in the way that the Antipas who has been killed in Pergamum is similarly called *ho martys mou ho pistos* in 2:13, just as the two witnesses in Rev. 11:3, though invincible for the time of their commission, are then (v. 7) killed by the beast, and the woman of Rev. 17 is drunk with blood of the witnesses of Jesus. To be sure, it is still not so much one's death, but one's appearance as a trustworthy witness of Jesus that stands in the foreground. Hence, one may not cite the martyr's death as the characteristic of witnesses, particularly as in Rev. 17:6 saints (*hagioi*) are mentioned with the *martyres* as having been similarly put to death on account of their faith (for details cf. Brox, op. cit., 102 f.).

6. The Epistle to the Hebrews is distinguished from the other writings of the NT in that it uses the vb. *martyreō* exclusively in the pass. and chiefly in Heb. 11. The one who bears witness, confirming the faith of the one named, is God himself – here concealed behind the pass. verbs (Heb. 11:2, 4, 5, 39). The men whose fate bears all the signs of the martyrdom of faith obtain a witness, i.e. are recognized by God. It is in accord with this that these, who have been accredited on account of holding firm to the hope of their faith, are in Heb. 12:1 called a "cloud of witnesses" for the church of the present time. *L. Coenen*

7. It is fitting to ask what is the value of the witness-theme for the church in the last third of the twentieth century. First, the frequent use of the witness-theme in the NT stresses the importance of the historical foundations of the Christian religion. The principal events of the public ministry of Jesus were wrought in the presence of his chosen companions and apostles. They had been present in Jerusalem during the final week, and were in a position to attest the facts of his trial, crucifixion and burial. Above all, they were competent witnesses to vouch for the fact of his resurrection.

For both Luke and John the Jerusalem apostles occupy a special place in holy history, because they have been with Jesus from the commencement of his public ministry. In the Apocalypse the stress seems to fall on Christ, "the faithful and true witness", who serves as the archetype for the faithful band of believers who must maintain the same testimony even at the sacrifice of life itself. A similar note is struck in the Pastorals, where Timothy is reminded of the "good confession" of his Lord before Pontius Pilate and exhorted to offer the same type of witness in his own day (1 Tim. 6:12 f.). In the Book of Acts the factual content of the apostolic testimony receives particular attention, especially in the speeches (→ Proclamation). The testimony rests upon the great acts of God in Jesus Christ, and the resurrection forms the very core of this.

In other words, for all the major NT writers the historical facts of Christian origins are of paramount importance. This is patently true of the four Evangelists, who felt it necessary to set out the life of Christ in the form of Gospels (cf. A. Barr, "The Factor of Testimony in the Gospels", *ExpT* 49, 1937–38, 401–8). It is certainly true of Paul, who declared the basic facts of the gospel to be "of first importance", and appended a list of witnesses to the risen Christ (1 Cor. 15:1–8). In fine, it was of supreme significance to the New Testament writers that the apostolic teaching was not based on a collection of → myths, but on the experience of eyewitnesses.

In the light of the NT's repeated insistence on the rôle of eyewitnesses and the subsequent stress on the historical nature of the events which the witnesses report, one

must raise the question: Has historical scholarship taken this factor sufficiently seriously? Certainly current preoccupation with form criticism, redaction criticism, audience criticism and the like must not blind our eyes to the NT's unmistakable stress on those who were the actual witnesses of the primary events. Unless the testimony of these eyewitnesses can be impugned as spurious, misrepresented or erroneous, their evidence of Christian origins must be taken seriously. It may be questioned, for instance, whether Bultmann's demythologizing programme has taken sufficient account of the presence of eyewitnesses in the earliest strata of gospel tradition (for recent critiques of Bultmann's demythologizing see, *inter alia*, C. H. Pinnock, "Theology and Myth", *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 128, 1971, 215–26, and C. Brown, "Bultmann Revisited", *The Churchman* 88, 1974, 167–87). In fact, the importance attached to eyewitnesses in the NT strengthens the case for the life, death and resurrection of Jesus, and hence buttresses the historical foundations of the Christian faith. In a day of widespread scepticism about Christian origins this contribution is both timely and significant (cf. P. Carnley, "The Poverty of Historical Scepticism", in S. Sykes and J. P. Clayton, eds., *Christ, Faith and History*, 1972, 165–89).

In the second place, the witness-theme is particularly pertinent to a bewildered, questioning age. Ours is unquestionably a time of religious as well as cultural pluralism; to be convinced of this one has only to read the works of Francis Schaeffer, John Macquarrie and H. R. Rookmaaker (F. A. Schaeffer, *Escape from Reason*, 1968, and *The God Who Is There*, 1968; J. Macquarrie, *Twentieth Century Religious Thought*, 1966; H. R. Rookmaaker, *Modern Art and the Death of a Culture*, 1970). Theological ideas from a wide range of sources have been thrown into the contemporary melting pot and are being vigorously debated. This is precisely the type of situation in which the NT writers make abundant use of witness imagery and terminology. The claims of Christ were being hotly contested, then as now, and in such a milieu the language and thought forms of the Old Testament controversy sprang naturally to mind.

The Fourth Gospel provides the setting for the most sustained controversy in the NT. Here Jesus has a lawsuit with the world. His witnesses include John the Baptist, the Scriptures, the words and works of Christ, and later the witness of the apostles and the Holy Spirit. They are opposed by the world, represented by the unbelieving Jews. John has a case to present, and for this reason he advances arguments, asks juridical questions and presents witnesses after the fashion of the OT legal assembly. The same observation is true of the Book of Acts, though Luke develops his case somewhat differently from John.

All of this material is suggestive for twentieth-century apologists. The person and place of Jesus in the present pluralistic theological climate is still very much a contentious issue. The claims of Christ as the Son of God are currently widely disputed. In such an environment a brief must be presented, arguments advanced and defending witnesses brought forward, if the Christian case is to be given a proper hearing. To fail to present the evidence for the Christian position would be tantamount to conceding defeat to its opponents. That is to say, the controversy theme, so evident in the NT, appears to be highly pertinent to the missionary task of the church today.

In the third place, it is noteworthy that faithful witness often entails suffering and persecution. In the Book of Revelation, for instance, Christians are about to enter a time of severe persecution, and some of them will be brought before the courts and

sentenced to death. For this reason the seer of Patmos encourages them to "hold" to the "testimony of Jesus". Under such circumstances words with forensic overtones are naturally given their full weight in John's message of encouragement. Metaphors drawn from the lawcourt are never far from the author's mind, as a study of chs. 11, 12, 18 and 19 confirms (cf. A. A. Trites, *The New Testament Conception of Witness*, *Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series* 31, 1977, 154–74).

Thus it is not surprising that wherever Christians have faced opposition and hostile lawcourts for the sake of their testimony, the Book of Revelation has been a source of inspiration. As Christ had conquered suffering and death, so they too would conquer and share his victory over the forces of evil. As their Lord had witnessed faithfully even unto death, they also must bear unflinching testimony.

The Synoptic accounts of anticipated persecution are also instructive. Here the idea of witness is certainly very much a live metaphor (A. A. Trites, "The Idea of Witness in the Synoptic Gospels – Some Juridical Considerations", *Themelios* 5, 1968–9, 18–26). Hauled into courts by their opponents, Christians will be told what to say in the hour of crisis by the Holy Spirit. The very fact of standing before kings, councils and governors would offer unprecendented opportunities for witnessing. Though believers would often be condemned in earthly lawcourts, in heaven the Son of man would acknowledge them and reverse the unjust judgements pronounced against them.

Similarly in the Fourth Gospel and Acts when the apostles are witnessing for Christ in the face of antagonism and hostility, they do not witness in their own strength but rather in the convincing power of the Spirit. They are reassured that the Spirit is active in challenging the world with the truth of what they say. John underscores the inner witness of the Spirit (cf. I. de la Potterie, "La Notion de Témoignage dans Saint Jean", in J. Coppens *et al.*, eds., *Sacra Pagina*, 1959, II, 194–96; J. C. Hindley, "Witness in the Fourth Gospel", *SJT* 18, 1965, 321–23; and T. Preiss, "The Inner Witness of the Holy Spirit", *Interpretation* 7, 1953, 268), while Luke in Acts focuses on the outward manifestation of the Spirit's work in signs and wonders which confirm the apostolic testimony (cf. L. Cerfaux, "Témoins du Christ d'après le Livre des Actes", *Recueil Lucien Cerfaux, 1954–62*, II, 157–61; W. C. van Unnik, "The 'Book of Acts' – the Confirmation of the Gospel", *NovT* 4, 1960, 26–59; A. Rétif, "Témoignage et Prédication Missionaire dans les Actes des Apôtres", *Nouvelle Révue Théologique* 73, 1953, 152–65).

All this witness material provides a challenge to faithfulness and a note of encouragement, both of which are as relevant to hard-pressed twentieth-century Christians as to their first-century counterparts.

Finally, something must be said about the importance of the witness motif for contemporary preachers and communicators of the Christian message. In this connection three features may be mentioned.

First, witnesses are passionately involved in the case they seek to present. They have been apprehended by it, and so they have an inner compulsion to plead its merits with others. Like their first-century predecessors, they cannot but speak of what they have seen and heard.

Secondly, witnesses are held accountable for the truthfulness of their testimony. Perjury was, and still is, a serious offence punishable by heavy penalties. This solemn sense of being responsible under God for speaking truthfully appears in Paul, who

four times declares, "God is my witness". Applied to preachers, this means that they are driven back to the Scriptures as the standard whereby their witness is to be judged.

Thirdly, witnesses must be faithful not only to the bare facts of the Christ-event, but also to their meaning. This entails presenting Christ and his message in the significance which genuinely belongs to them. "What that character is lies to our hand in the NT Scriptures. . . . To be faithful witnesses we must ever keep before us and (in the course of our regular congregational preaching) before our hearers, the fully rounded, finely balanced, many-sided yet unitary, significance of Christ" (N. Alexander, "The United Character of the New Testament Witness of the Christ-Event", in H. Anderson and W. Barclay, eds., *The New Testament in Historical and Contemporary Perspective*, 1965, 32 f.; cf. A. M. Hunter, *The Unity of the New Testament*, 1943). *A. A. Trites*

→ Advocate, → Confess, → Deny, → Judgment, → Law, → Proclamation, → Righteousness, → Truth

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Woe

οὐαί	οὐαί (*ouai*), woe, alas.

CL & OT *ouai* (Lat. *vae*) is an onomatopoeic exclamation of pain or anger (Arrianus).

In the LXX *ouai*, which occurs 69 times, usually represents the Heb. *hôy*, occasionally *'ôy*, and rarely *'î*, *hô*, *hî*, and *hôwâh*, all deriving from roots meaning to howl; e.g., *'î* otherwise means a jackal, from its nocturnal cry like the scream of an infant. *hôy*, like the other Heb. terms, is used to express grief (Prov. 23:29), despair (1 Sam. 4:7), lamentation (1 Ki. 13:30), dissatisfaction (Isa. 1:4), pain (Jer. 10:19), a threat (Ezek. 16:23), or simply to attract attention (Isa. 55:1).

NT In the NT *ouai*, more often than not, expresses sympathetic sorrow rather than condemnation. But the latter is more evident in Matt. 11:21 (= Lk. 10:13), where Jesus reproached the cities of Chorazim (mentioned only here), Bethsaida (Jn. 1:44), and even Capernaum, his headquarters (Matt. 4:13), for their utter lack of response when he was active in their midst for so long. The strength of Jesus' condemnation of self-sufficiency and pride can be gauged from his comparison of the probable public reaction in ancient Tyre and Sidon had the citizens of those notoriously wicked cities (Isa. 23) been given similar opportunities of witnessing his mighty signs of the presence of the kingdom of God. Indifference is spiritually more deadly than violence and sensuality. In Matt. 18:7 (absent from the parallel passage in Mk. 9:42–48), "Woe to the world!" is not so much denunciation as warning and lamentation: "Alas for the world!" – i.e., for men in general (Lk. 17:1). Jesus foresees the inevitability of temptations to sin (*skandala*, causes of stumbling). True, they are a means of testing true believers (1 Cor. 11:19), but the responsibility of the individual remains. He must neither succumb himself nor be the cause of stumbling in others. The context of this saying (Matt. 18:1–6, 10) indicates that Jesus had selfish ambition specifically in mind, a motive which leads to trampling on one's fellows, hurt feelings, depression, and misery. The weak, in particular, are liable to suffer. To be the cause of injuring the spirit of another is very easy, and it is very culpable.

The seven woes upon the scribes and Pharisees in Matt. 23:13 ff. (four recur in Lk. 11:42–52) are denunciatory. Scribal teaching and exposition of Scripture were obscuring the real issues of belief and conduct. Casuistry was making it virtually impossible for men to fulfil the law of God and to devote themselves to that fidelity which leads to the kingdom of heaven (D. Hill, *The Gospel of Matthew*, 1972, 311). Yet the undertone of sorrow is not absent: it is made explicit in Jesus' closing lament over Jerusalem (Matt. 23:37–39). He was well aware of the large number of ordinary people the Pharisees were misleading. The first woe (23:13) is directed against the lawyers who blocked men's way to the kingdom of heaven. By their misinterpretations, the scribes had hidden and lost the key to the true meaning of Scripture, and so to the knowledge of the way of salvation (Lk. 11:52; Hos. 4:6). The second woe (Matt. 23:15) condemns the lengths to which these men went in order to secure converts from among Gentiles, but converts not so much to Judaism as to their own sectarian brand of Pharisaism (Josephus, *Ant.* 20, 40). Wherever they succeeded, the fanaticism which is not unusual in converts produced a proselyte twice as formal and hypocritical as those who turned him into a Pharisee in the first place. Jesus' reference to the effort needed to make a single convert implies that the Pharisees' missionary exertions met with limited response. Hellenistic Judaism, more liberal in outlook, had much greater success.

The third woe (Matt. 23:16–22), again directed against Pharisaic teaching, exposes the casuistry which subverted morality: there are not two kinds of truth, one important and the other not. Bad enough that men should be led to think that unless they swear an oath, they may make use of half-truths and misleading statements without censure. Yet more destructive of morality is the teaching that even after an oath men need not tell the truth if the oath has not been taken in a particular way. Pharisaic distinctions about oaths were not only wrong in themselves, but perverse in principle. Even if a distinction were allowed, an oath by the temple, the house of God, ought to be regarded as more binding, not less, than an oath by something

which happened to be in that building. To swear by heaven was to employ a euphemism for the name of God himself. Every oath was made before God.

The fourth woe (23:23 f.) referred to Pharisaic scrupulosity in the application of the law of tithing (Lev. 27:30–33; Deut. 14:22–29) down to the minutest details. The context in the Mosaic law was concerned with the three main crops of grain, wine, and oil, not with small aromatic herbs used in flavouring food. Of itself, such scrupulosity was, at best, an unnecessary burden. But it drew condemnation from Jesus because it ill contrasted with the Pharisees' total lack of concern over far weightier principles of morality – justice, mercy, and faith.

The fifth woe (23:25 f.) condemned the punctilious observance of ritual purifications in the kitchen (matters of scribal tradition, and not of Mosaic law) to the neglect of plain moral obligations (Lk. 11:39). A vessel externally clean may contain what has been grasped by robbery and greed. Conversely, when applied to man's life, if the inside were clean, i.e. that man is right with God, then what is outside, his outward actions and behaviour, will also be pure before God. The thought of the sixth woe (23:27 f.) is applied differently in Lk. 11:44. In Matthew's version the whitened tombs appear clean and attractive on the outside, but their interiors are full of foulness; such were the Pharisees. Luke refers to the whitewashing of graves on the 15th Adar before Passover, so that no one might unwittingly get too close to them and so become ceremonially unclean and disqualified from taking part in the festival. People were contaminated by the Pharisees through not being aware of their true character. The seventh woe (Matt. 23:29–33 = Lk. 11:47 f.) condemns the Pharisees' hypocrisy in building fine tombs and monuments, as works of supererogation and by way of reparation, to honour prophets murdered by their forefathers, while at the same time plotting to do away with the living prophet in their midst. Judgment would not be delayed much longer, for the Pharisees of the day would soon complete the works of sin begun by those before them (Matt. 23:32), for sons inherit the character of their fathers. The destruction of Jerusalem and the dispersal of the nation would be the inevitable consequences (A. Plummer, *An Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew*, 1909, 316–21).

In Matt. 24:19 (= Mk. 13:17; Lk. 21:23) *ouai* expresses pity and compassion for those who on account of family responsibilities would be hindered in their escape from the doomed city of Jerusalem. The woe concerning the fate of Judas (Matt. 26::24, Mk. 14:21, Lk. 22:22) has acute sorrow uppermost: "Alas for that man!" But the divine wrath is also an element, for the expression "that man", applied to one still in the supper-room, suggests that severance from Christ had, in effect, already taken place: Judas was putting himself outside God's mercy. Jesus utters four woes, found only in Luke (6:24–26), to warn those who do not follow him. The repeated *ouai* expresses his sadness at what he knows is the inevitable end of any who continue to carry on blindly in self-sufficiency. Such men may be rich in worldly terms – wealth in itself is no necessary bar to discipleship (Matt. 27:57; Lk. 8:3) – but in what really matters, the things of the spirit, Jesus is aware that the self-centred are bereft of true assets (Isa. 65:13). The fourth of these woes is a reminder that worldly wealth attracts flattery from those who curry favour, but is no indicator of merit.

In 1 Cor. 9 Paul speaks of his personal liberty in the gospel, including (v. 15) the liberty *not* to make use of his undoubted right (v. 14) to receive support from the Corinthian church while he ministered among its members. But in one respect he had

no liberty. Preach he must. The compulsion he felt to proclaim the gospel of Christ was such that he could in one phrase describe it in terms of both an inward divine constraint (→ Necessity, art. *anankē*) and an outward burden pressing upon him (cf. Isa. 8:11; Jer. 20:9). To preach the gospel was part and parcel of the very fibre of his life and nature. *ouai* for him if he did not do so. The meaning is not that God would punish him, but that for Paul to be false to the trust given to him, and to carry the memory of that faithlessness for ever, would be the greatest misery imaginable.

In Jude 11 the writer utters a prophetic woe upon heretical teachers, whom he describes in terms of the sins and consequent fates of Cain, Balaam, and Korah – the classic examples of the disastrous effects of jealousy, greed, and pride. In contemporary Judaism Cain, beyond being the first murderer, personified a wide spectrum of evil, including selfishness, self-sufficiency, and a powerful influence over the lives of other men in godlessness and sensuality (Philo), and violence, lust, greed, and blasphemy (Josephus). The Jerusalem Tg. on Gen. 4:7 represents Cain as the first sceptic: "There is neither judgment nor Judge, nor is there any other world than this. The good receive no reward, nor will vengeance be inflicted on the evil. The world was not created in mercy, nor is it governed in mercy." A 2nd-cent. gnostic sect called themselves Cainites because they regarded the God of the OT as responsible for the world's evil, and so exalted Cain and others who resisted such a deity. The inclusion of Balaam reflects not the apparently favourable light of Num. 22–24, where he declines to prophesy except as the Lord directs, but as the unprincipled character known to later Judaism (Philo, Josephus; SB III 771) as the prototype of mercenaries who shrink from nothing for financial gain. Such are doomed to hell (Pirke Aboth 5:29). The choice of Korah, a flagrant example of blasphemous insubordination and its fate (Num. 16), may have been prompted by information reaching Jude that the false teachers were defying church overseers and spreading unrest among the Christian community. See J. N. D. Kelly, *The Epistles of Peter and of Jude*, 1969.

As befits the culminating book of the Bible in which ultimate issues are starkly portrayed, Revelation includes *ouai* several times. In Rev. 8:13 the threefold warning of *ouai* from an eagle corresponds to three trumpet-blasts about to be sounded in succession by three angels which announce further drastic judgments to fall upon an unbelieving world. The symbol of an eagle (*aetos*) warning the world is not found in Jewish apocalyptic writings, but if *aetos* means, as it may, vulture, Hos. 8:1 is a near parallel: "Set the trumpet to your lips, for a vulture is over the house of the LORD" (cf. Lk. 17:37). After the devil is expelled by Michael and his angels, the inhabitants of heaven can well rejoice. But a loud cry of *ouai* gives sympathetic warning that heaven's deliverance means a redoubling of the devil's wrath against the earth (Rev. 12:12). In Rev. 18 *ouai*, alas, occurs in a threefold chorus of self-pity wailed by national leaders (18:9), traders (18:11), and merchant sailors (18:17; cf. Ezek. 27:29 ff.) on the spectacular collapse of the mighty commercial city of Babylon. The *ouai* is not an expression of concern for the suffering of the inhabitants, but of utterly self-centred grief because the source and means of financial profit have been swept away. The sin of Babylon was not in trading as such, but in the misuse of commerce to seduce mankind to adopt gross materialism and mammon-worship. See G. R. Beasley-Murray, *The Book of Revelation*, 1974. *N. Hillyer*

Woman, Mother, Virgin, Widow

In biblical times, depending on the station in life a woman occupied, whether she was single or married, childless or widowed, her social significance varied considerably; and this is reflected in the use of the words dealt with here. *gynē*, which can stand for mistress, maid, fiancée, wife or widow, is a general designation for every female in contrast to the male. If a woman is called *mētēr*, mother, she has a certain social position of honour; the word is also often used metaphorically. The widow (*chēra*) is thus the embodiment of peculiar poverty and indigence; in the NT the word may also denote a certain standing in the community. The young, still unmarried woman is called *parthenos*. In this the emphasis may lie, on the one hand, on her fully-matured youth and, on the other hand, on her innocence and purity.

γυνή

γυνή (*gynē*), woman; γυναικάριον (*gynaikarion*), a little woman, contemptuously a silly woman; γυναικεῖος (*gynaikeios*), female.

CL 1. *gynē*, woman, female being, occurs in Mycenean Gk., and especially from the time of Homer, with numerous derivations and composites. Its provenance is disputed. In profane Gk. *gynē* denotes woman (a) in contrast with man (→ Man, art. *anēr*); (b) in contrast with goddesses; (c) wife, fiancée, widow, also concubine; (d) mistress; (e) maid; (f) the female among animals. *gynē* in the voc. is used as an address with no irreverent secondary meaning (Homer, Sophocles and others).

2. In the Gk. world the attitude to women extended from the striking disrespect for the Athenian woman (education befits only the courtesan) through the freer and more highly esteemed status of the Dorian woman to the pronounced high estimate of women in Sparta. "The general rule in this matter is that the further we go west the greater is the freedom of woman" (A. Oepke, *gynē*, *TDNT* I 777). In regard to the status of women, the Graeco-Hellenistic environment of the NT shows in its great diversity strong parallels in detail to the general oriental picture, in which, as compared with the OT, the cultic significance of women is often in evidence (e.g. the offering of chastity by priestesses, whether as unblemished virginity or as sacral prostitution).

OT 1. In the OT *gynē*, woman, stands for the Heb. *'iššâh* in the vast majority of instances, though some 14 other translations are found in isolated passages. The woman is subject to the authority of man (father, brother, husband, → Marriage). Her worth, as also her honour, lies in bearing children (cf. Deut. 25:5–10, levirate marriage, → Marriage, art. *gameō* OT 5; Gen. 24:60; Lev. 19:3; 1 Sam. 1:6; Ps. 113[112]:9). Childlessness is a curse (Gen. 29:21–30:24). Polygamy is an encumbrance, though it is evidenced, e.g. in the patriarchs (→ Abraham), → David and → Solomon. Excluded from all official cultic business (1 Sam. 1:3 ff.; cf. Exod. 23:17), woman bows readily to idolatry. On the other hand, she may move freely (cf. 1 Sam. 1:9 ff.; 2:1 ff.). In contrast with the rest of the oriental (religious) world, she is recognized as a person and as a man's partner. The former point finds its highest expression in the story of Ruth, the Moabitess, which has apologetic intentions. The latter point is given its foundation in the account of the creation of man as male and

female (Gen. 1:27 f.; cf. 2:18–25). Wisdom is personified as a woman (e.g. Prov. 1:20 f.; 8:1–3; Wis. 7:12–22; Eccl. 1:6–20). *H. Vorländer*

2. In later Judaism man was understood to have been originally androgynous. Support for this view might be claimed from the story of woman being made out of one of man's ribs (Gen. 2:21 ff.). Commenting on Gen. 5:2, Rabbi Simeon taught that "God does not make his abode in any place where male and female are not found together; nor are blessings found save in such a place, as it is written: 'And he blessed them and called their name Man on the day that they were created.' Note that it says *them* and *their* name, not *him* and *his* name. The male is not even called man until he is united with the female" (Zohar, quoted by D. S. Bailey, *Sexual Relation in Christian Thought*, 1959, 272). Karl Barth has argued that the image of God in which man was created is man as male and female (*CD* III, 1, 183–206; cf. J. J. Stamm, "Die Imago-Lehre von Karl Barth und die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft", in *Antwort. Karl Barth zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*, 1956, 84–98; and P. K. Jewett, *Man as Male and Female: A Study in Sexual Relationships from a Theological Point of View*, 1975). The exegetical basis for this interpretation is to be found in Gen. 1:26 f.: "Then God said, 'Let us make man in our image, after our likeness; and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the birds of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creeps upon the earth.' So God created man in his own image, in the image of God he created him; male and female he created them." The plurality expressed in v. 26a is not a plural of majesty but an expression of the divine plurality which is reflected in the mutual relationships of human existence as male and female. In v. 27b the image is defined in terms of God creating *them*. The idea of a helper "meet for" man (Gen. 2:18) means a "partner". "What is sought is a being resembling man but different from him. If it were only like him, a repetition, a numerical multiplication, his solitariness would not be eliminated, for it would not confront him as another but he would merely recognise himself in it. Again, if it were only different from him, a being of a wholly different order, his solitariness would not be eliminated, for it would confront him as another, yet not as another which actually belongs to him, but in the way in which the earth or tree or river confronts him as an element in his sphere, not as a fellow-occupant of this sphere fulfilling the duty allotted within it. To be created good, man needs a being like him and yet different from him, so that in it he will recognise himself but not only himself, since it is to him a Thou as truly as he is an I, and he is to it a Thou as truly as it is an I" (*CD* III, 1, 290). In the light of this concept of the image of God and the story of Adam's rib (Gen. 2:21–24), Dwight Hervey Small speaks of God creating "a 'woman-sized void' in man, a void which none of the animals nor even another man could fill" (*Christian: Celebrate Your Sexuality*, 1974, 143).

Barth himself is aware of the limitations of this concept of the image of God and the need for clarification (cf. *CD* III, 1, 196). He points out that the fact that the image of God in man corresponds to the bisexuality of animals belongs to the creatureliness of man rather than to the divine likeness. In man the image is found in two different individuals, whereas in God it is found in the one divine being. Moreover, there is a threeness in the divine Trinity, whereas there is a duality in the image in man and a threeness in the recurring cycle of parent, children and grandchildren. P. K. Jewett, who welcomes Barth's insight in seeing the image of God in

terms of man as male and female, thinks that Barth's discussion not only suffers from occasional overstatement but that Barth tends to slide into identifying this relationship exclusively with that between husband and wife (op. cit., 46; cf. *CD* III, 1, 312 f., 317 f.).

On the various questions connected with marriage → Marriage; → Divorce; → Separate. It is frequently stated that under the OT law the wife was no more than a possession. The neighbour's wife could be coveted, like his ox, ass or any other possession (Exod. 20:17; Deut. 5:21). Even Ruth, whose character stands out in the story, was finally *bought* along with the field that Boaz redeemed (Ruth 4:5, 10). Although women were members of the → covenant people of Israel, they could not receive the covenant sign of → circumcision. A father or husband could nullify a woman's vows (Num. 30). Although the husband had the right to divorce (Deut. 24:1–4), the wife had no similar reciprocal rights. On the other hand, Deut. 24:5 prescribes that a man should not be eligible for military service for a period of one year after taking a wife. But even here the emphasis falls on the man's happiness. In the OT the price of the bride became a dowry (Gen. 34:12; Exod. 22:15 f.). The structure of patriarchal society is reflected in Exod. 20:12; cf. Lev. 19:3; Deut. 5:16. Num. 27:6 shows awareness of a daughter's right of inheritance. A wife differed from material possessions in that she could not be sold.

From time to time in Israelite history women played a significant part, and could even be prophetesses. Miriam, the sister of Moses and Aaron, is so described (Exod. 15:20). Deborah was a prophetess who evidently also judged the people (Jdg. 4:4). She gave a prophetic commission to Barak to defeat the army of Sisera (Jdg. 4:6), and celebrated the triumph with the song of Deborah (Jdg. 5:1–31). Huldah, the prophetess, was consulted by king Josiah in time of crisis (2 Ki. 22:14–20). The contexts make it clear that both Deborah and Huldah were married. The accounts of the deliverances of such prophetesses indicate that "prophetess" was more than an honorary title, given to the wives of prophets (cf. Isa. 8:3). Other women who played a prominent part in history for good or ill were Esther, the Hebrew wife of the Persian king Ahasuerus whose actions saved her people, and Jezebel, the wife of king Ahab who led Israel into Baal worship (1 Ki. 18–22).

Jewett points out that especially in early times women associated freely with men (op. cit., 87; cf. Rebekah, Gen. 24:10 f.). A daughter could inherit the possession of her father, if he died without a male heir (Num. 27:1 f.), though she had to marry within her own tribe to retain the inheritance (Num. 36). In cases of marriage the father's consent was essential, although Rebekah was consulted (Gen. 24:58). The account of Saul giving his daughter, Michal, to David points up Saul's dubious motives and the unhappy consequences (1 Sam. 18:17 ff.; 25:44; 2 Sam. 3:13; 6:16 f.). Failure to produce an heir was a mark of reproach (cf. Pss. 127[126]:7 ff.; 128[127]:3 ff.; Isa. 54:1 ff.) which finds classic expression in the stories of Sarah and Hannah. In both cases the sons that were subsequently born according to the promise of Yahweh, Isaac and Samuel, became his instruments of salvation for his people. But in both cases the wives had suffered much. Sarah had resorted to offering Abraham her maid, Hagar (Gen. 16:1–6; → Abraham; cf. also Rachel and Bilhah, Gen. 30:1–13). Hannah's life had been made wretched by Elkanah's other wife, Peninnah (1 Sam. 1:3–8). Polygamy, which was not forbidden by the law, was practised in NT times (→ Marriage, art. *gameō* OT 7).

Hannah had free access to the house of the Lord (1 Sam. 1:3 f.; cf., however, 2 Chr. 8:11), but in Herod's temple women were allowed only as far as the Court of Women (see the description of the temple under → Temple, art. *to hieron* OT). Josephus designates the area by the same word used elsewhere by the Greeks for a harem (*gynaikōnitis*; Josephus, *War* 5, 199; cf. Plut., *Cato Minor* 30, 2, 819d). The woman required monthly purification (Lev. 15:19–31), and twice as long after the birth of a daughter as after the birth of a son (Lev. 12:2–5; cf. Lk. 2:22). In the synagogues women began to be segregated from men from the 3rd cent. B.C. onwards. This process was intensified after the destruction of the temple in A.D. 70 (cf. Jewett, op. cit., 90 f.; Jeremias, op. cit., 374). Any male member of the synagogue might be asked by the ruler to read from the law or the prophets, but the woman was to preserve strict silence, "The woman does not read out of the Torah for the sake of the honor of the congregation" (Megillah 23a [Baraitha]; quoted from Jewett, op. cit., 91). Women were commonly bracketed with slaves and children by the rabbis (J. Leipoldt, *Die Frau in der antiken Welt und im Urchristentum*, 1962, 56). Women, slaves and children were not invited to pronounce the benediction at meals (Berakoth 3:3; 7:2). Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrkanos could even say that he who teaches his daughter the law teaches her foolishness (Sotah 3:4). Conversation with women was discouraged (Erub. 53b; Aboth 1:5; cf. Jn. 4:9, 27). "May the words of the Torah be burned, they should not be handed over to women" (T. J. Sotah 10a, 8; cf. *TDNT* I 781). Jewett sees perhaps the most striking rabbinic depreciation of women in the saying of Rabbi Judah ben Elai (c. A.D. 150): "One must utter three doxologies every day: Praise God that he did not create me a heathen! Praise God that he did not create me a woman! Praise God that he did not create me an illiterate person!" (Tosefta Ber. 7, 18; cf. T. J. Ber:13b; cf. op. cit., 92; J. Leipoldt, op. cit., 58).

C. Brown

NT In the NT *gynē* means (a) a woman, female being (Matt. 9:20; Lk. 13:11, in contrast with → man Acts 5:14); (b) wife (Matt. 5:28, 31 f.; 1 Cor. 7:2 ff.); also someone betrothed (Matt. 1:20, 24; cf. Deut. 22:23 f.). *gynē* in the voc. is common as an address (e.g. Matt. 15:28; Jn. 2:4; 19:26; see above, CL 1). Besides *gynē* there are *thēlys*, female (also as a noun) in Mk. 10:6, and with a special meaning of maiden (cf. Mary in Matt. 1:23; but cf. Gal. 4:4), *parthenos*, virgin and → *chēra*, widow. The hapax legomena *gynaikarion*, which is a diminutive of *gynē*, little woman, but used contemptuously for a silly woman, and *gynaikeion*, female, occur in 2 Tim. 3:6 and 1 Pet. 3:7 respectively.

H. Vorländer

1. *Women in the Gospels.* (a) The Parables. The parables of Jesus often deal with the life and conduct of women (Matt. 13:33 par. Lk. 13:20 f., the woman and the → leaven; Lk. 15:8 ff., the lost coin; Matt. 24:40 f. par. Lk. 17:35, the women grinding at a mill). In the first two of these parables the part of the woman in the parable represents the action of God the Father. In the latter it counterbalances the illustration of the men in the field or in a bed, indicating that men and women have the same status in relation to salvation. Lot's wife serves to illustrate the dire need for wholehearted commitment, not turning back for material things in the hour of judgment (Lk. 17:32; cf. Gen. 19:26). It is not without significance that the allusion draws on the action of a woman to illustrate a danger that can happen to men. This

teaching is immediately followed in Lk. 18:1–8 by the parable of the importunate widow who, by her persistence in petitioning the unjust judge, gains vindication. The parable of the wise and foolish virgins, drawn from Jewish marriage customs, illustrates the need to be ready for the coming of the Son on the part of both men and women (Matt. 25:1–3). Jesus himself spoke to women in public; unconcerned about Jewish rules, he even taught them (Lk. 10:38–42, the visit to the house of Mary and Martha; Jn. 4:7–27, the woman of Samaria; note the astonishment of the disciples that Jesus was talking with a woman in v. 27).

(b) Healing. Jesus gave proof of his compassion and power in his healing of women no less than of men: Peter's wife's mother (Matt. 8:14 f. par. Mk. 1:29 ff., Lk. 4:35 f.); Jairus's daughter and the woman with the issue of blood who, because of her plight not only suffered much but would have been ritually unclean and cut off from the community (Matt. 9:18–26 par. Mk. 5:21–43; Lk. 8:40–56); and the Syro-Phoenician woman and her daughter (Matt. 15:21–28 par. Mk. 7:24–30). In Lk.the widow of Nain's son was raised to life out of pity for his mother (Lk. 7:11–17; cf. 1 Ki. 17:17–24; 2 Ki. 4:32–37); in Jn. Lazarus was raised in response to his sisters, Mary and Martha (Jn. 11:1–44).

(c) Followers of Jesus. Jesus' gift and call to divine sonship were intended for the poor and the lost and in a special way for women upon whom he conferred a new dignity. Even in his infancy the faith of Anna is placed by Luke alongside that of Simeon (Lk. 2:25–38). We do not find women disciples in the circle of the Twelve (→ Apostle). But this may well be due to the Twelve being chosen as the counterpart to the twelve sons of Jacob as heads of the twelve → tribes. However, women were to be found among the followers of Jesus; they were more prominent than the men in their love, care and courage after the crucifixion (Matt. 27:55 f. par. Mk. 15:40 f., Lk. 23:49; Matt. 28:1 ff. par. Mk. 16:1 ff., Lk. 24:1 ff.). Lk. describes the preaching ministry of Jesus in the following terms: "Soon afterward he went on through the cities and villages, preaching and bringing the good news of the kingdom of God. And the twelve were with him, and also some of the women who had been healed of evil spirits and infirmities: Mary, called Magdalene, from whom seven demons had gone out, and Joanna, the wife of Chuza, Herod's steward, and Susanna, and many others, who provided for them of their means" (Lk. 8:1–3). This latter point suggests that the traditional rôle of the man as the provider was here reversed.

Mary Magdalene or Mary of Magdala is one of the most prominent women who followed Jesus. Magdala was an important fishing, shipbuilding, agricultural and trading centre. Situated at the south end of the Plain of Gennesaret, it had a large Gentile population. Later rabbis ascribed its fall to its licentiousness (Midrash on Lam. 2:2). It is mentioned in Matt. 14:34; Mk. 6:53. Some scholars are reluctant to identify Mary with the prostitute who anointed Jesus' feet and found forgiveness from Jesus in the house of Simon the Pharisee (Lk. 7:36–50). It is conceded that Jesus had cast out "seven demons" from Mary (Lk. 8:2; cf. Mk. 16:9). But it is pointed out that there is no necessary connexion between the moral state of Magdala and that of Mary, and that Mary is introduced in Lk. 8:2 in a formal way with no apparent allusion to what has just been described. The "seven demons" could express the serious and prolonged nature of her plight (cf. Lk. 11:26). On the other hand, the way in which Mary is introduced in Lk. 8:2 might well be Lk.'s modest and cryptic

way of identifying Mary and of expressing the new beginning that she had found in Jesus. Her past was now a nameless past; she had found a new identity.

Mk. 15:40 f. mentions the ministry of the women followers of Jesus in the Marcan account of the crucifixion: "There were also women looking on from afar, among whom were Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James the younger and of Joses, and Salome, who, when he was in Galilee, followed him, and ministered to him; and also many other women who came up with him to Jerusalem" (cf. Jn. 19:25). Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James, and Salome are mentioned by Mk. as those who came to anoint the body of Jesus (Mk. 16:1; cf. Lk. 23:55–24:11). They were the first to be told of the resurrection. Lk. 24:10 omits Salome, but mentions Joanna "and the other women" who told the apostles, "but their words seemed to them as idle tales, and they did not believe them" (Lk. 24:11). In Matt. 28:1 Mary Magdalene "and the other Mary" are the first witnesses. The account in Jn. 20:1–18 mentions Mary Magdalene alone, who then told Peter and the disciple whom Jesus loved. In the Synoptic accounts, the women do not actually see the risen Christ but the empty tomb and the angelic messenger. But in Jn., Mary meets the risen Christ, supposing him to be the gardener, though she is forbidden to attempt physical contact with him. "Jesus said to her, 'Do not hold me, for I have not yet ascended to the Father; but go to my brethren and say to them, I am ascending to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God' " (Jn. 20:18).

Mary of Bethany, the sister of Martha, figures in two sets of stories. Lk. 10:38–42 describes how Jesus entered an unnamed village, where he was received by Martha. Her sister "sat at the Lord's feet and listened to his teaching". Martha, distracted "with much serving", rebuked Mary but was in turn rebuked by Jesus: "Martha, Martha, you are anxious and troubled about many things; one thing is needful. Mary has chosen the good portion, which shall not be taken away from her." Jn. 11:1–12:8 describes the raising of Lazarus, the brother of Martha and Mary, at Bethany, a village to the east of Jerusalem. Here too Martha appears as the more active and voluble sister (cf. Jn. 11:20 ff., 39; 12:2; with 11:31 ff.; 12:3). In Lk. Mary sat at the feet of Jesus; in Jn. she anointed his feet and wiped them with her hair (Jn. 11:2; 12:3).

Mk. 14:3–9 also describes an anointing at Bethany in the house of Simon the leper during the last week of Jesus' life. Whereas Jn. 12:4 ff. specifically mentions Judas' complaint that the ointment could have been sold for three hundred denarii and the money given to the poor, Mk. 14:4 does not identify the source of the complaint. Both evangelists record Jesus' interpretation that the poor will always be with the disciples, but that the act of anointing had been done beforehand for Jesus' burying (Mk. 14:6–9, which concludes "And truly, I say to you, wherever the gospel is preached in the whole world, what she has done will be told in memory of her"; cf. Jn. 12:7 f.). There are differences of detail (in Mk. she anoints Jesus' head; in Jn. the feet), but there can be no doubt that it is the same incident that is described. The account in Matt. 26:6–13 is substantially the same as in Mk. except that an exact price is not put upon the value of the ointment. The anointing which in the first instance was an act of love is construed by Jesus as symbolic of a wider meaning. It anticipates his death, and it also has a messianic character. The title Christ means the anointed one (→ Jesus Christ, art. *Christos*); and kings and priests were anointed by having oil poured over their heads (→ Anoint, arts. *aleiphō* and *chriō*). Elsewhere

Jesus emphasized the intrinsic connexion between his messiahship and his death (cf. Matt. 16:13–23 par. Mk. 8:27–33, Lk. 9:18–22). He had been anointed at the beginning of his ministry by the → Spirit at his → baptism (Lk. 4:18; cf. Isa. 61:1; Acts 4:27; 10:38; Heb. 1:9; cf. Ps. 45:7). He now received this unprecedented anointing in the house of a leper at the hands of a woman at the beginning of his passion. By linking the act with his death, Jesus was further underlining the character of his messiahship.

The accounts give rise to a number of historical and critical questions. The identification of Mary Magdalene, Mary of Bethany and the unnamed woman of Lk. 7:36–50 was widely accepted in the western church from the sixth century. The woman in the Matthean and Marcan stories is also unnamed. But if Jn. is correct in naming her as Mary, one of the daughters of the house, Matt. and Mk. may have suppressed her name out of a Jewish reticence. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that Simon and Lazarus were one and the same person (the former name meaning "Asked of God", and the latter "God has helped"). But J. N. Sanders is more likely to be right in taking Simon the leper to be the father of Martha and Mary (" 'Those whom Jesus Loved' (John xi. 5)", *NTS* 1, 1954–55, 29–41). It may be that the disease of which Lazarus died was leprosy, perhaps contracted from Simon the leper, which might supply a reason for Lazarus' premature death and give added point to the remark of Jn. 12:39. Further, Lazarus might have served as a model for the parable in Lk. 16:19–31, which, if Lazarus was suffering from a skin disease coming under the general description of leprosy, might explain his sitting at the gate of the rich man full of sores (v. 20) and the allusion to someone rising from the dead (v. 31). If the two Marys are the same, the name Mary Magdalene might be an allusion to her former way of life as a kind of prodigal daughter (cf. Lk. 15:11–32, with Martha as the one who stayed at home). It may be noted in passing that the house referred to in Lk. 10:38 was Martha's. Lk. himself gives no indication of where the house was. It may have been in Galilee, or it may have been the one at Bethany mentioned in Matt. 26:6, Mk. 14:3 and Jn. 12:1. Although Simon was a common name, the circumstances may suggest that Simon the leper (Matt. 26:6 par. Mk. 14:3) was the same as Simon the Pharisee (Lk. 7:36, 40, 43 f.). If Lk. 7:36–50 is the same story as in the other Gospels, only set in a thematic rather than a chronological context, it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that the woman concerned was none other than Mary Magdalene "from whom seven demons had gone out" and who is later mentioned in her sister's house but who here is actually coming home but is not acknowledged by her own father. Henceforth, she found healing, forgiveness and new life in Jesus. On the other hand, there may have been two anointings, the first by the woman (probably Mary) in Lk. 7 and the second in the last week of Jesus' life. If it was Mary in both instances, the first was an act of love at a time which was a crisis for her, and the second was an act of love expressing her devotion to Jesus at a time which was a crisis for him.

For → Mary, the mother of Jesus, and the mothers of the disciples → *mētēr*. Also mentioned among the followers of Jesus is Mary the wife or daughter of Clopas (Jn. 19:25; cf. Mk. 2:14; 3:18; Lk. 24:18).

(d) The Sayings of Jesus. If Jesus' parables and actions lifted women to a status equal to that of men, and if in the gospel narratives certain women stand out, the sayings of Jesus make it clear that it is not because of their sex that women or men are

important. It is their relationship to Jesus that matters. When told of the presence of his mother and brothers, Jesus replied, "Here are my mother and brothers! Whoever does the will of God is my brother, and sister and mother" (Mk. 3:34 f.; cf. Matt. 12:46–50; Lk. 8:19 ff.; Jn. 15:14). In reply to the woman in the crowd who said, "Blessed is the womb that bore you, and the breasts that you sucked!" Jesus answered, "Blessed rather are those who hear the word of God and keep it!" (Lk. 11:27 f.). The particularity of divine grace is illustrated by the fact that "there were many widows in Israel in the days of Elijah, when the heaven was shut up three years and six months, when there came a great famine over all the land; and Elijah was sent to none of them but only to Zarephath, in the land of Sidon, to a woman who was a widow" (Lk. 4:25 f.; cf. 1 Ki. 17:18–16). In response to the weeping of the women of Jerusalem as Jesus went to the cross, he turned to them and said, "Daughters of Jerusalem, do not weep for me, but weep for yourselves and for your children. For behold, the days are coming when they will say, 'Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bore, and the breasts that never gave suck!' " (Lk. 23:28 f.; cf. 21:23 f.). The story of the widow's mite (Mk. 12:41–44 par. Lk. 21:1–4) illustrates the devotion of the most depressed class of the community compared with that of the rich. It is not the relative amount that counts but the whole-hearted commitment. The story of the woman taken in adultery is not in the best manuscripts, but is regarded by many as an authentic tradition which found its way into the Gospel (cf. R. E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John, Anchor Bible*, I, 1966, 335–38 and the literature referred to there). The story may well illustrate the tendency to judge without a fair and proper hearing, just as the Jewish leaders had been barely restrained from judging Jesus in this manner (cf. Jn. 7:51; Deut. 17:6; Exod. 23:1). Sin is not condoned (Jn. 8:11). But none of the men was able to condemn, when confronted with the challenge, "Let him who is without sin among you be the first to throw a stone at her" (Jn. 8:7).

In Matt. 21:31 f. Jesus asserts that prostitutes and tax collectors will enter the kingdom of heaven before the religious leaders, for they repented at the preaching of John the Baptist. The bracketing of these two classes together implies the lowest depths of degradation to which male and female could sink. But whilst sin is never condoned, the saying illustrates how the social outcasts find not only acceptance, but places of honour in the kingdom. A tacit witness to this is the genealogy of Matt. Although it is based on male descent, it contains the names of four women all of whom were involved in sexual irregularity: Tamar who had intercourse with her father-in-law (Matt. 1:3; cf. Gen. 38); Rahab the harlot (Matt. 1:5; cf. Jos. 2:1); Ruth the Moabitess who was thus not a true Jewess and who obtained her husband by lying with him on the threshing floor (Matt. 1:5; cf. Ruth 3:6–18); Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah, with whom David committed adultery (Matt. 1:6; cf. 2 Sam. 2:2–5). In addition Mary herself was suspected by Joseph of having committed intercourse with another man (Matt. 1:18 ff.).

2. *Paul and Acts.* (a) The Status of Women. Gal. 3:28 asserts that, "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus." Some scholars take this to be an allusion to an early baptismal formula (cf. parallels in 1 Cor. 12:12 f. and Col. 3:9 ff.; R. Scroggs, *IDB Supplementary Volume*, 1976, 966). Scroggs comments: "To enter the Christian community thus meant to join a society in which male-female roles and

valuations based on such roles had been discarded. The community was powerless to alter role valuations in the outside culture, but within the church, behavior patterns and interrelationships were to be based on this affirmation of equality." Similarly, P. K. Jewett regards the text as "the Magna Carta of humanity" (op. cit., 142). "Salvation does not alter the ordinance of creation; rather it redeems it. . . . In Christ the man and the woman are redeemed from false stereotypes, stereotypes which inhibit their true relationship. Thus redeemed, they are enabled to become what God intended them to be when he created Man in his image – a fellowship of male and female. The restoration of this true fellowship of the sexes is one of the ways we 'put off the old man and put on the new man who is being renewed unto knowledge after the image of Christ' (Col. 3:10)" (op. cit., 142 ff.).

In the light of Eph. 5:25, Jewett asks how many rabbis had ever said that a man should love his wife as Yahweh loved Israel (op. cit., 145). For a former rabbi, Paul acted in a revolutionary way. He could greet by name women in the Roman congregation (Rom. 16:6, 12, 15), naming Priscilla even before her husband (Rom. 16:3). In Rom. 16 he mentions by name no less than seven Christian women, and the letter may well have been carried by Phoebe, a deacon of the church of Cenchreae (Rom. 16:1 f.). As a rabbi, Paul should hardly have deigned to address women, where no men were present, but he did so unhesitatingly at Philippi (Acts 16:13). The church there evidently began in the house of Lydia (Acts 16:15, 40), and women evidently played a dominant, though not always salutary, part in its life (Phil. 4:2). At Thessalonica and Beroea women were among the prominent members of the church (Acts 17:4, 12).

The question arises whether there is not a tension between this strand of Paul's teaching and the hierarchical view of woman's subordination to man in the light of 1 Cor. 11:2–16; 14:34 f.; 1 Tim. 2:11–15 and Tit. 2:4 f. (cf. Jewett, op. cit., 111–49). In the first of these passages, Paul develops a hierarchical doctrine of headship. Scroggs sees an irreconcilable contradiction if *kephalē*, head, is taken to mean "ruler" or "superior authority". But *kephalē* may also mean "source", e.g. the source of a river. "Since a remark in 1 Cor. 11:12 suggests that Paul is thinking of Gen. 2, where man is said to be the source of woman, that may also be the point in 1 Cor. 11:3. Belief in Christ as the agent of creation (e.g. 1 Cor. 8:6) would explain the associated statement that Christ is man's head (i.e. source). Such an interpretation would make 1 Cor. 11:3 consistent with all Paul's other statements and actions" (op. cit., 967; for fuller discussion of this passage → Head, art. *kephalē* NT 3). Similarly, in 1 Tim. 2:11–15 Paul's premise is the ontological priority of the male (→ Adam, art. *Heua*). On the basis of this priority Paul adopts what for him is a personal rule: "I permit no woman to teach or to have authority over men; she is to keep silent" (2 Tim. 2:11). The precise wording should be noted. Paul is here stating his own position and practice which corresponds to his inherited Jewish position and for which he finds grounds in the order of creation and the fall. The question to be asked is whether the inferences that Paul draws here are to be regarded as universally normative in the light of cultural and educational changes, even by those who regard the premises of the argument as an expression of the ontological structure of human relationships. 1 Cor. 14:34 f. likewise expresses the practice which Paul personally follows and wishes to see followed in the churches.

With regard to the rôle of women in public worship and teaching, Paul followed

Jewish practice, seeing a reason for it in the structure of creation. The question may be asked how he envisaged the outworking of his understanding of man and woman in Christ in relation to → marriage. (On the question of divorce and separation → Divorce, art. *apostasion*, and → Separate, art. *chōrizō*.) At first sight, he might appear to teach an uncompromising subordinationism, if certain passages are taken out of context, e.g. "Wives, be subject to your husbands, as in the Lord" (Eph. 5:22; cf. Col. 3:18). But in the light of Paul's teaching as a whole there is a dialectical tension and paradox in his instructions. For in Eph. the teaching is prefaced by the general instruction: "Be subject to one another out of reverence for Christ" (Eph. 5:21). Moreover, it works out the way in which husbands are to love their wives in terms of two analogies: loving the wife as oneself (v. 28), reflecting the second great commandment (Matt. 22:39 par. Mk. 12:31; cf. Lk. 10:27; Lev. 19:18) and the one-flesh doctrine of marriage (v. 31; cf. Gen. 2:24); and the pattern of Christ (vv. 25, 32). "Husbands, love your wives, as Christ loved the church and gave himself up for her" (Eph. 5:25; cf. Col. 3:19). In other words, the headship and lordship of Christ does not consist in authoritarianism. Rather, it is expressed precisely in self-giving. For Paul, Christ's lordship was exercised precisely in taking the form of a servant (cf. Phil. 2:7; Mk. 10:45). Likewise, the husband's headship is to be exercised in the same self-giving in which he lives out his new nature in Christ. The headship consists in a renunciation of all authoritarianism; the only subjection that it is to demand is self-subjection for love of the wife. Entirely in line with this position is the statement in 1 Cor. (the same epistle which speaks of the headship of the man) that "the wife does not rule over her own body, but the husband does; likewise the husband does not rule over his own body, but the wife does" (1 Cor. 7:4). The idea of the wife actually ruling over the husband appears to be unparalleled in previous Jewish thinking, and contradicts Paul's alleged misogyny. The thrust of Paul's teaching is therefore caught in the dynamic paradoxes of mutual subjection and the thought that the headship of the husband is to be realized in utter self-sacrifice for the loved one, in a way that applies to marriage the self-sacrifice of Christ.

Relevant to the discussion of marriage relationships is the paraenetical passage in 1 Thess. 4:3–8 which treats sexual ethics in the wider context of sanctification (on this whole passage see E. Best, *The First and Second Epistles to the Thessalonians*, *BNTC*, 1972, 158–70; H. Baltensweiler, "Erwägungen zu 1. Thess. 4;3–8", *ThZ* 19, 1963, 1–13; W. Vogel, "*Eidenai to heautou skeuos ktasthai.* Zur Deutung von 1. Thess. 4.3 ff in Zusammenhang der paulinischen Eheauffassung", *ThBl* 13, 1934, 83 ff.; C. Maurer, *skeuos*, *TDNT* VII 365 ff.). The RSV translates *skeuos* in v. 4 as "wife": "that each one of you know how to take a wife for himself in holiness and honour." *skeuos* normally means "vessel" and *ktasthai* may mean to "possess", hence the passage has been understood to mean that Paul is urging the men among the Thessalonian believers that sanctification also involves knowing how to possess their sexual organs or their bodies. They are not to be dominated by lust and sexual licence like the heathen (v. 5). Rather, they are to practise monogamy and refrain from adultery (v. 6) and immorality in general (v. 3; for the meaning of *porneia* → Discipline; and → Separate, art. *chōrizō* NT). Tertullian and Chrysostom took *skeuos* to mean body, but Theodore of Mopsuestia and Augustine took it to mean wife (*TDNT* VII 365), and Best favours this interpretation in view of the fact that *ktasthai* in the present tense normally means to gain or acquire, and no one could be

said to gain his body (op. cit., 161). *skeuos* is used of the women in 1 Pet. 3:7 and of men (2 Tim. 2:21; Acts 9:15; cf. Rom. 9:21 ff.). Maurer adduces rabbinic evidence for "vessel" (Heb. *kᵉlî*) being used of women in sexual contexts, and suggests that *ktasthai* here corresponds to the Heb. *ba'al 'iššâh*, to become lord or master of a wife (cf. Deut. 21:13; 22:22; 24:1; Isa. 54:1 which have specific reference to sexual intercourse; cf. also Isa. 62:5; Gen. 20:3; Prov. 30:23). The thought, therefore, would be parallel to 1 Cor. 7:2 ff., where Paul urges marriage as the divinely appointed provision for man's sexual needs. If it be pointed out that Paul seems to be concerned here with male sexual needs rather than the concerns of the woman, the reason for this appears to be that it was precisely the male sexual needs and lack of sanctification that constituted the problem at Thessalonica. But if 1 Thess. was among the first, if not the first of Paul's letters, and Eph. among the last, it could be that we can trace a development in Paul's teaching culminating in his vision of the marriage relationship as a mirror of the relationship of Christ and the church.

(b) The Ministry of Women. Some of the passages already alluded to have touched on the ministry of women in the early church. Even before Pentecost women were among those who "devoted themselves to prayer" with the disciples (Acts 1:14; cf. 12:12). The first convert at Philippi was Lydia who was baptized with her household (Acts 16:14 f.). At Thessalonica and Beroea women of high standing were among the first converts (Acts 17:4, 12). As a believer the woman is an *adelphē*, sister (→ Brother, art. *adelphos*). Among the women who were fellow-workers with the apostles were Priscilla, the wife of Aquila (Acts 18:2, 26; Rom. 16:3 f.), and Phoebe, "a deaconess of the church of Cenchreae" (Rom. 16:1), Cenchreae being the port of Corinth. 1 Cor. 16:19 refers to the church in the house of Aquila and Priscilla, and they are included in the greetings of 2 Tim. 4:19. The house of Mary, the mother of John Mark, served as a place of meeting for the church (Acts 12:12). Alongside the male diaconate there was also a female one; or perhaps more accurately the early church saw the emergence of both men and women as deacons. At first this ministry was evidently of a free character with no titles attached. Acts 9:36 mentions Tabitha at Joppa, whose name meant Dorcas or Gazelle; "She was full of good works and acts of charity." Part of her work consisted in making coats and garments (v. 39). Lydia's hospitality was part of her service (Acts 16:15). Paul's use of the masc. term *diakonos* not only suggests the existence of an order of women deacons but also that the women were included in the same order as male deacons. This explanation would make the best sense of the injunction to women in 1 Tim. 3:11 which occurs in a discussion of the qualities required in deacons: "The women likewise must be serious, no slanderers, but temperate, faithful in all things." Although some scholars think that this refers to the wives of deacons and others think that the question cannot be decided with certainty (cf. M. Dibelius and H. Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles*, *Hermeneia*, 1972, 58), the use of *diakonos* for Phoebe and the fact that Paul is talking about *diakonoi* both before and after v. 11 suggests that he is also talking here about women deacons, and that men and women alike could be deacons. A separate order of widows (1 Tim. 5:39; cf. Tit. 2:3 ff.; → *chēra*) seems also to be indicated. The nature of the work of the deacon is not clearly defined. It would seem that teaching and oversight fell to the *episkopoi*, "bishops", and *presbyteroi*, "elders" (→ Bishop). The etymological link between *diakonos* and the vb. *diakoneō*, to serve, implies some form of service, which judging from the ac-

tivity of the Seven in Acts 6 and that of Tabitha and Lydia may have had a strongly practical character (→ Serve, art. *diakoneō*).

The rôle of women in worship at Corinth was evidently a source of much dispute. On the question of the veiling of women in worship → Head, art. *kephalē* NT 3. The question of the propriety of women praying or prophesying with their heads uncovered (1 Cor. 11:5, 13) implies that women took part in the charismatic worship at Corinth. However, Paul's attitude here is in keeping with his Jewish and OT background. In ch. 11 he urges the veiling of women, stating that this is the practice which "we recognize" (v. 15). In ch. 14 he gives his ruling: "As in all the churches of the saints, the women should keep silence in the churches. For they are not permitted to speak, but should be subordinate, as even the law says. If there is anything they desire to know, let them ask their husbands at home. For it is a shameful thing to speak in church. What! Did the word of God originate with you, or are you the only ones it has reached?" (1 Cor. 14:33b–36). H. Conzelmann sees this passage as an interpolation which interrupts the flow of the argument (*1 Corinthians*, *Hermeneia*, 1975, 246). He regards it as "a reflection of the bourgeois consolidation of the church, roughly on the level of the Pastoral Epistles: it binds itself to the general custom" (cf. 2 Tim. 2:11; see above (a)). (That the passage is an interpolation is argued on purely textual grounds by G. Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles*, 1953, 17.) Others see in Paul's attitude the residue of a rabbinic, Jewish outlook which falls short of Paul's insights into the status of women in Christ (for further discussion see G. Fitzer, *Das Weib schweige in der Gemeinde*, *ThEH* New Series 110, 1963; S. Aalen, "A Rabbinic Formula in 1 Cor. 14, 34", *StudEv*, II, 1, *TU* 87, 1964, 513–25). In this case Paul's attitude might be comparable with that of Peter on the question of circumcision, where Peter had not fully worked out the implications of the gospel for his stance (cf. Gal. 2:11 ff.). On the other hand, Paul's pronouncement may be seen as a ruling which was valid in the social, cultural, educational and church setting of his time but which no longer obtains today. In this case his recommendations might be comparable with his views which elsewhere he regards as his opinion (1 Cor. 7:25). An alternative view interprets this passage as a ruling about the maintenance of order, which has nothing to do with directions about teaching. The operative words are: "if they wish to learn anything" (1 Cor. 14:35). Paul is aiming at "the prevention of self-willed speaking" which is quite different from the praying and prophesying by women which Paul allows (1 Cor. 11:5; cf. G. Delling, *TDNT* IX 43). Similarly, 1 Tim. 2:12 might be interpreted not as an absolute prohibition of women teaching but as a repudiation of allowing them to domineer and lay down the law. The hapax legomenon *authentein* can mean both to have authority over and to domineer (cf. Arndt, 120).

What light does the NT shed on the question of the ministry of women today? The type of answers that are given often depend upon the type of questions asked. If we ask what are the formal precedents or the explicit statements of the NT we have already shaped the answer: the formal precedents are limited to the rôle of a number of women among whom Phoebe is classed as a deacon, and Paul's express pronouncements seem to exclude not only the ordination of women but the possibility of women leading public worship. Similarly, a blank answer is obtained if we ask what the NT says about the ordination of women. In point of fact, the NT says nothing about the ordination of men in terms of investing them with a lifelong status and

authority. In speaking of ministry, the NT lays its emphasis on gifts and functions which are not necessarily exercised in every given church situation (cf. 1 Cor. 12:4–31; Rom. 12:4–8; Eph. 4:11 ff.). Deacons existed at Philippi (Phil. 1:1) and in the churches served by Timothy (1 Tim. 3:8–13), but there is no evidence of them in the other Pauline Epistles. The Seven were called into being for a particular ministry in the Jerusalem church (Acts 6), but when the particular need passed, the ministry was evidently not perpetuated. Subsequently Philip became an evangelist (Acts 21:8; cf. 8:4 ff. and Stephen's preaching in 6:8 and 7:1–60). The variety and flexibility of ministry in the NT in the light of the needs of the situation and the gifts exercised in any given church would suggest that this is the pattern and precedent to be followed in thinking about ministry today. We should not ask whether there is a formal precedent but whether there is a gift of the Spirit and a need. With regard to the ministry of women we should not try to reproduce their rôle in the first-century milieu. We should rather ask what is their status in Christ, and what gifts and opportunities has the Spirit given to women in the church today.

3. *Peter.* The injunctions to wives and husbands in 1 Pet. 3:1–7 are comparable with those in Col. 3:18 f. and Eph. 5:21–33. Wives are to be submissive to their husbands. Character rather than outward adornment should be their true beauty. The thoroughly Jewish and OT character of the teaching is epitomized by the example of Sarah's obedience (v. 6; cf. Gen. 18:12). But this is counterbalanced by v. 7: "Likewise you husbands, live considerately with your wives, bestowing honour on the woman as the weaker sex [*skeuei*, lit. vessel; cf. 1 Thess. 4:4], since you are joint heirs of the grace of life, in order that your prayers may not be hindered." There are further affinities with Paul in the use of *skeuos*, vessel, for the wife. The relationship of married life to prayer echoes 1 Cor. 7:5. The reference to giving honour may be compared with Paul's statement that the wife rules over the husband's body (1 Cor. 7:4), and the picture of man and woman as "joint heirs of the grace of life" recalls the assertion of Gal. 3:28 that in Christ "there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus."

4. *Hebrews.* In the great chapter on faith, women are singled out as examples among the great heroes of the OT. They include Sarah who received power to conceive (Heb. 11:11 [on which see further F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews, NLC*, 1964, 299–302]; cf. Gen. 17:19; 18:11–14; 21:2; cf. also Rom. 4:19; 9:9; 1 Pet. 3:6), Rahab the harlot who "did not perish with those who were disobedient, because she had given friendly welcome to the spies" (Heb. 11:31; cf. Jos. 2:1–21; 6:22–25), and the women who "received their dead by resurrection" (Heb. 11:35; cf. 1 Ki. 17:17–24; 2 Ki. 4:25–37).

5. *Revelation.* In the Letters to the Seven Churches the church at Thyatira is accused of tolerating "the woman Jezebel, who calls herself a prophetess and is teaching and beguiling my servants to practise immorality and to eat food sacrificed to idols" (Rev. 2:20). The OT allusions recall 1 Ki. 16:31; 2 Ki. 9:22, 30; Num. 25:1. Jezebel's name does not apparently occur in later Jewish writings. J. M. Ford sees it as a nickname for some person who supported false prophets, as did Queen Jezebel in the time of → Elijah (*Revelation, Anchor Bible*, 1975, 403).

Elsewhere woman or women constitute an important symbol in Rev. (cf. 9:8; 12:1, 4, 6, 14–17; 14:4; 17:3, 4, 6 f., 9 f., 18; 19:7; 21:8). In ch. 12 the vision of the woman clothed with the sun, with the moon under her feet, wearing a crown of

twelve stars, and giving birth to a son, recalls the story of Mary giving birth to Jesus, escaping from Herod with the infant Jesus into Egypt (cf. Matt. 2:1–23). Having failed to destroy the child, "the dragon was angry with the woman, and went off to make war on the rest of her offspring, on those who keep the commandments of God and bear testimony to Jesus" (Rev. 12:17). (Similar imagery, in reference to the birth of a "wonder of a counsellor" (cf. Isa. 9:6) in the Qumran community, is used in 1QH 3:7–10.) But the image of the woman also represents the community of the people of God (cf. Isa. 54:5; Jer. 3:6–10; Ezek. 16:8; Hos. 2:19 f.; 2 Esd. 9:38–10:59). Isa. 66:7 uses the picture of Zion in birth-pangs. Yahweh is pictured as the husband of Zion, Jerusalem or Israel (Isa. 54:1, 5 f.; Jer. 3:20; Ezek. 16:8–14; Hos. 2:19 f.) who is a mother (Isa. 49:21; 50:1; 66:7–11; Hos. 4:5; Bar. 4:8–23), and who is in the throes of birth (Mic. 4:9 f.; Isa. 26:16 ff.; Jer. 4:31; 13:21; Sir. 48:19). The celestial imagery may recall Jdg. 5:31; Pss. 89(88):36; 104(103):2; Isa. 60:1; Jer. 15:9; Sir. 26:16 (cf. J. M. Ford, op. cit., 195 f.). By contrast the harlot, → Babylon, is in a situation comparable with that described by Jeremiah in depicting the fall of Jerusalem (Jer. 15:5–9). In the picture of the new Jerusalem God takes the place of the sun (Rev. 21:22). The vision in Rev. 12 depicts the conflict of the people of God, modelled on OT imagery of Zion and Israel as the people of God and also on the history of Jesus himself. Although the adversary is mighty and capable of causing great devastation, he will ultimately fail.

In Rev. 21:2 f. the church is pictured as the new Jerusalem after the first earth and heaven have passed away, coming like a bride from heaven for her husband. (The bride is the wife of the → Lamb (Rev. 21:9; cf. Eph. 5:32). The thought resumes the picture of the marriage supper of the Lamb (Rev. 19:7 ff.; cf. Ps. 118[117]:24; and the Targum to Ps. 48 which pictures Jerusalem as a bride and the Targum on Cant. which sees the assembly of Israel as a bride; J. M. Ford, op. cit., 361). By contrast Babylon, the symbol of godless civilization, is a harlot who has by now been judged (Rev. 17:1–18). *C. Brown*

μήτηρ

μήτηρ (*mētēr*), mother.

CL 1. A high estimation of motherhood and parenthood can be traced everywhere in antiquity. Already in pre-historic times (this is shown by numerous finds of small images of expectant mothers with pronounced sexual characteristics), man was aware of the close relationship between human life and that of the earth itself. The earth became the great mother who gives everything and then in death takes everything back into herself. Thus in many regions the oldest figures of the gods are earth mothers (cf. mother earth, *mater terra*, *magna mater*). Such mother-deities, which are represented anthropomorphically, play a great part in the popular religions of the East. Veneration of them often led to cultic prostitution, in order to gain an immediate share in their life-controlling powers, as in the Canaanite cult of Astarte (see OT below). Yet the picture of the mother deity can also be spiritualized and civilized and be detached from the highly erotic domain of the figure of Venus, as in the case of the Egyptian goddess, Isis, the embodiment of the true wife and mother. On the other hand it can assume the cruel and bloody traits of an Artemis or a Kali. We find

in the mother-deities the whole gamut of female possibilities (cf. G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in its Essence and Manifestation*, 1963, I, 91–100).

2. In Gk. philosophy the mother-concept is used in a metaphorical sense, when e.g. Plato speaks of matter as the "mother of all" (*Tim.* 50d; 51a; or the "nurse", *Tim.* 49a; 52d). In his speculations about → wisdom, Philo designates wisdom the "mother of the world and of the logos" (*Ebr.* 32). In general he often uses the expression in a metaphorical sense.

OT In the LXX *'ēm* is translated over 300 times by *mētēr*.

(a) In the OT we find again and again traces of the mother-deities of the heathen world. The prophets fought a ceaseless battle against the Canaanite Astarte cult. The worship of the goddess of fertility was bound up for the most part with cultic prostitution (cf. among other passages 1 Sam. 31:10; 2 Ki. 23:13; also Jdg. 2:3; 10:6). Cultic "unchastity" became a symbol of apostasy from Yahweh (Hos. 4:13 ff.; cf. Rev. 17:5).

(b) A maternal judicial praxis possibly still operated in special formulations, e.g. "the son of thy mother" in place of brother (Jdg. 8:19; 9:1–3; Pss. 50[49]:20; 69[68]:8), the "mother's house" (e.g. Gen. 24:28), or when the mother sought a wife for her son (Gen. 21:21). Nevertheless, the world of the OT still bears the stamp of the patriarchate, and the judicial regard for the female line of descent as that of hereditary succession is not stressed. Thus, for instance, a mother who has borne sons enjoys in the world of the patriarchate, a world dominated by men, a special position of honour among mothers and women.

(c) Motherhood is also guarded in the Fifth Commandment (Exod. 20:12). The death penalty rests upon any who strike or curse father or mother (Exod. 21:15, 17). Nevertheless, despite firm parental ties, it is still stressed that a man should leave father and mother and cleave to his wife (Gen. 2:24).

(d) The OT repeatedly gives prominence to women who played a special part in politics (e.g. 1 Ki. 15:13; 2 Ki. 3:13; Jdg. 5:7) or in the history of God's people (so Sarah, Rebekah, Ruth, Hannah, Bathsheba, → *gynē* OT).

(e) The concept was also carried over into the preaching of the prophets: the people of God is called the mother of Israel, and is entrusted to God (as to a husband) (Jer. 50:12). In Hosea she becomes an adulteress (Hos. 2:4, 7), in Ezek. 16:15 a harlot. Isa. 50:1 takes up the figure: Israel is the mother whom God divorces for the sins of her children (cf. Jer. 50:12). Finally, the picture of a mother is carried over to the capital city → Jerusalem, to Mount Zion, about which the people cluster as children about their mother (2 Sam. 20:19; cf. Gal. 4:26); for mother the LXX has here *mētropolis*. 2 Esd. (A.D. 100) calls the earthly Jerusalem "the mother of us all" (10:7).

Only in two places (Isa. 49:15, *gynē*, and 66:13) does the OT liken God's conduct to the action of a woman. In the OT creaturely distance from Yahweh forbade any deifying of what is motherly, and any sexually orientated presentation of God's likeness. On the other hand, → wisdom is personified as a woman (Prov. 1:20 f.; 8:1–3; cf. Wis. 7:12–22; Sir. 1:6–20).

NT In the NT *mētēr* occurs 84 times (72 in the Gospels alone). The concept of the mother or of motherhood is never exalted to a religious symbol or used in mythological presentations.

1. In the Gospels, besides explicit and particular mention of many mothers, we find the whole gamut of the natural relationship between mother and child.

(a) According to the Synoptic tradition, Jesus accepted the Fifth Commandment (Exod. 20:12; cf. Deut. 5:16; Exod. 21:16; Lev. 20:9) in all its absoluteness, even in respect of the consequences of its violation (Matt. 15:4 par Mk. 7:10). Pharisaic softening of the commandment is firmly rejected (Matt. 15:5 f. par. Mk. 7:11 f.; → Gift, art. *korban*). Nevertheless, as in the OT, the relationship of a man to his wife and that of a wife to her husband is given precedence over that to a mother, and thereby the natural detachment from the parental home is confirmed (Gen. 2:24; Matt. 19:5 par. Mk. 10:7 f.; cf. Eph. 5:31; → Separate, art. *chōrizō* NT).

(b) Jesus clearly delineates the limits of parental power which denies the claims of God. For the sake of the → kingdom of God adherence to the parental home has to be put aside (Matt. 10:34; more strictly in Lk. 12:53).

2. In Paul, as in the whole of the NT, respect for motherhood is an obvious manifestation of divinely-given life (cf. Rom. 16:13; 1 Thess. 2:7). That Paul nowhere mentions his own mother is not remarkable. He is able to compare his pastoral endeavours for the new Christians with those of a mother, just as he can also call himself a father who has begotten faith in them (Gal. 4:19; Phlm. 10). He praises Timothy's mother Eunice and grandmother Lois (2 Tim. 1:5), and urges him to treat the older women like mothers and the younger ones like sisters (1 Tim. 5:2). The → Jerusalem that is above is our mother in contrast to the present Jerusalem that is in bondage, like Hagar and Mount Sinai (Gal. 4:26 f.; cf. Isa. 54:1; → Parable, art. *parabolē* NT 9). By contrast Rev. 17:9 describes → Babylon as "mother of harlots and of earth's abominations".

3. The status of the mother of Jesus. (a) For all his respect for his mother (at the age of twelve he was subject to her after his visit to the temple, Lk. 2:51) and all his care for her (i.e. during the crucifixion, Jn. 19:26 f.; cf. Matt. 27:55 f.; Mk. 15:40 f.; Lk. 23:49), there remains a clear distinction between Jesus and his mother (cf. Lk. 2:49). He prevented her, when she would have hampered him in his messianic office (Matt. 12:46 ff. par. Mk. 3:31 ff., Lk. 8:19 ff.), and also at the time of the wedding at Cana (Jn. 2:4). Lk. 11:27 f. is also significant. Jesus turned the *personal* adulation for his mother into a *general* injunction: "Yes, blessed are they that hear the word of God and keep it" (cf. W. Michaelis, *mētēr TDNT* IV 643).

(b) The status of Mary in early Christendom is in accord with Jesus' attitude. After the resurrection she retires completely and in the rest of the NT is named only once (Acts 2:14).

(c) "In primitive Christianity the mother of Jesus was far less important than the mother of the founder in other religions" (W. Michaelis, ibid.). The Roman Catholic madonna-cult is supported by statements about the virgin birth made at a time subsequent to the NT, and imposes further layers on the various ideas already present in the NT regarding the mechanics of the incarnation (divine begetting at the baptism in Matt. 3:17, Mk. 1:10, Jn. 1:33, but also in Lk. 3:22 – fatherlessness and motherlessness; a begetting by Joseph – brought forward by opponents). The Catholic notions of the "mother of God" and of the "queen of heaven", though later

than the NT, point to much earlier religio-historical roots in the East (cf. CL above).

(d) Mary's psalm, the *Magnificat*, is given in Lk. 1:46–55. Lk. also relates the story of the → angel Gabriel's visit (Lk. 1:26 ff.) and the family relationship between Mary and Elizabeth, the mother of John the Baptist (Lk. 1:5–25). Matt. records Joseph's reaction to Mary's pregnancy (Matt. 18:1–25), the visit of the magi to → Bethlehem and the flight into Egypt (Matt. 2:1–23). Lk. records the birth in Bethlehem, the visit of the shepherds, the circumcision and presentation in the temple, and the visit of the twelve-year-old Jesus to the temple (Lk. 2:1–52).

4. Other mothers mentioned are: the mother of the sons of Zebedee (Matt. 20:20; 27:56); Mary (Matt. 27:56 par. Mk. 15:40); Mary, the mother of John (Acts 12:12); the mother at the death-bed (Mk. 5:40 par. Lk. 8:51); the widow of Nain (Lk. 7:12, 15); Herodias (Matt. 14:8, 11 par. Mk. 6:24, 28). The expression "from his mother's womb" occurs in Matt. 19:12; Lk. 1:15; Acts 3:2; 14:18; Gal. 1:15 (cf. Pss. 22[21]:10; 71[70]:6; Jn. 3:4). *E. Beyreuther*

παρθένος — *παρθένος* (*parthenos*), maiden, virgin.

CL The provenance of the word *parthenos*, maiden, is uncertain. The evolution of its meaning seems to resemble that of *Jungfrau* in German, where the primary meaning is simply a girl who is attaining or has attained the age of a woman. Later *Jungfrau* narrows in sense and means one who has as yet not been touched by a man. As in many centres of culture, virginity was esteemed highly among the Gks. In religion it is a characteristic of many goddesses; its origin has often to be sought in the mother-deities of pre-historic Mediterranean cultures. The chief figures are Artemis (Lat. Diana), a daughter of Leto, and Athene (Lat. Minerva), a daughter of Zeus, who alone was not born of a woman, a fact that may also have determined her other name Parthenos – her temple in Athens is called the Parthenon. In apparent variance with virginity, these goddesses, especially Artemis, were often the guardians of birth, motherhood, and the fertility of the land and of animals. Here the emphasis lies less upon chastity than upon youthful vitality with its magical power, and so the original character of a mother-deity again makes its appearance. In the later veneration of Mary there are many traces of the heathen cult of the divine mother and maiden.

OT 1. Heb. has two words for maiden: *'almâh* and *bᵃṯûlâh* and also *naʿᵃrâh*, a young girl. The occurrence of *parthenos* in the LXX is restricted in the Heb. canon to the translation of these three words. In 44 out of 50 passages in the NT *bᵉṯûlâh* is rendered by *parthenos*; in 3 passages a translation is lacking. Joel 1:8 has *nymphē*, bride. Est. 2:2 has *korasia aphthora*, innocent girls, and v. 19 *korasia parthenika*, virgin-like girls. *bᵉṯûlâh* always means an untouched maiden; like a young man, she is the embodiment of hope (cf. Amos 8:13; Isa. 24:4; Lam. 1:18), and so the word can serve as a designation of → Israel (cf. Amos 5:2; Jer. 18:13; 31:4, 21) and → Jerusalem, the daughter of Judah (Lam. 1:15) and of Zion (e.g. Lam. 2:13).

On the other hand, *'almâh* is used for a young girl or a woman at the age of puberty (cf. Prov. 30:19) until she gives birth to her first child. *'almâh* is translated by *neanis*, girl, maiden, young married woman in Exod. 2:8; Ps. 68(67):25; Cant. 1:3;

6:8(7). Only twice is *'almâh* translated by *parthenos* (Gen. 24:13; Isa. 7:14). In Gen. 24:13 *'almâh* denotes a virgin, for virginity is mentioned expressly in v. 16. In Isa. 7:14 it may be questioned whether a virgin as such is implied, otherwise *bᵉṯûlâh* would have stood there (cf. O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12*, 1977, 100 ff.; G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Jesaja*, I, 1966 ², 113 ff.). Even so, it has been debated on linguistic grounds whether *bᵉṯûlâh* must mean a virgin in the strictest technical sense (cf. G. J. Wenham, "*Bᵉtûlâh* 'A Girl of Marriageable Age' ", *VT* 22, 1972, 326–48; J. M. Ford, "The Meaning of Virgin", *NTS* 12, 1965–66, 293–99). On the quotation of this Isa. passage in Matt. 1:22 f. → God, art. *Emmanouēl*. In contrast with the LXX interpretation, other Gk. translations have *neanis* instead of *parthenos*, which like the Heb. does not necessarily imply virginity. In Gen. 24:14, 16, 43, 55; 34:3 (twice) *naʿᵃrâh* is translated by *parthenos*.

2. In the OT accounts of long-barren women (Sarah, → Abraham, art. *Sarra*; and Hannah, 1 Sam. 1 and 2) becoming pregnant through divine intervention, there is never any thought of excluding male, human agency. The same holds good for the birth of John the Baptist in Lk. 1. Rabbinic Judaism also is unacquainted with any other notion, and the messiah is always viewed as one to be begotten of a human father like all men (SB I 49). Only in Hellenistic Judaism, where extra-Judaic influences were stronger, do other ideas appear to have come in; yet here also we find no trace of the idea that the messiah was to be born of a virgin.

NT 1. *parthenos* occurs 3 times in Matt. 25:1–12, once in Acts, 5 times in 1 Cor. 7, once in 2 Cor. 11, and once in Rev. General usage becomes apparent in the parable of the Ten Virgins (Matt. 25:1, 5, 11). In Acts 21:9 unmarried daughters are meant. Mary is called a *parthenos* indirectly only in Matt. 1:23 and directly only in Lk. 1:27. Virgins are discussed in Paul's teaching on marriage in 1 Cor. 7:25, 28, 36 ff. (→ Marriage, arts. *gameō* and *hyperakmos*; → Separate, art. *chōrizō*). That hardly holds good for Rev. 14:4, which probably, as with 2 Cor. 11:2, bears a metaphorical meaning, i.e. chaste. Lk. 2:36 speaks of Anna living with her husband seven years from her *parthenia*, virginity.

2. (a) By *parthenos* Rev. 14:4 probably means those who, in contrast with the promiscuous and idolaters ("not to defile oneself with women" has then a metaphorical sense), are able to devote themselves entirely to the → Lamb. In 2 Cor. 11:2 Paul hopes that, as a *paranymphios* (cf. Gen. 24), he may be able to present to the coming Lord a bride who meanwhile has not cast about for another Jesus.

(b) The precise meaning of *parthenos* in 1 Cor. 7 is debated (cf. H. Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, *Hermeneia*, 1975, 131 f.). Some scholars think that the term refers to women who are married but whose spiritual ideals caused them to live as virgins. Paul describes this situation in 1 Cor. 7:1–7. That he is thinking of such women in vv. 25 ff. is doubtful, on the grounds that he does not call the women in vv. 1–7 *parthenoi*, and the fact that his advice in the two cases is different. In vv. 1–7, when the couples are actually married, he recommends normal married sexual relations; in vv. 25–38, where the couples are evidently not married, he commends the unmarried state to those who have the gift for it. W. G. Kümmel, on the other hand, following G. Schrenk, *TDNT* III 60 f., thinks that Paul has in mind the relation of a man to his betrothed who is a virgin in the ordinary sense (H. Lietzmann, *An die Korinther I–II*, enlarged by W. G. Kümmel, *HNT* 9, 1969 ⁵, 33 f.). The exegesis depends in

part upon one's opinion of the gnosis in Corinth (cf. W. Schmithals, *Gnosticism in Corinth*, 1971).

(c) Where the NT speaks of Mary as a virgin, it has in mind the period up to the birth of Jesus. The statements regarding Jesus' supernatural conception (his *birth* is not supernatural: Lk. 2) are limited to the nativity narratives in Matt. and Lk. Mk., which is the earliest Gospel, and Jn. do not refer to it. Matt. and Lk. have different aims. Lk. 1:35 clearly bases Jesus' divine sonship on a miracle that went beyond the experience of Elizabeth (v. 36; cf. above OT 2). On the other hand, Matt. wishes to parry Jewish attacks upon the tradition regarding Jesus' origin that were already being made. There is added the quotation from Isa. 7:14 (cf. above OT 2) and with it, in a way that is typical of him, Matt. indicates the fulfilment of OT prophecy (→ Jesus Christ; → Fullness, art., *plēroō* NT 1; → God, art. *Emmanouēl*).

3. It is remarkable how in Matt., apart from the Isa. quotation, Mary is called *gynē* (Matt. 1:20 and 24, where *tēn gynaika sou/autou* "your/his woman" has the connotation of "wife"; cf. the different readings of Lk. 2:5). The genealogy of Matt. denotes not Mary's natural but her legal relation to Joseph, since for the sake of his Davidic sonship Jesus must pass legally for a son of Joseph (v. 16; cf. Lk. 3:23). But earlier witnesses to the Christian tradition such as Paul and Mk. make no explicit reference to the virgin birth. Gal. 4:4 speaks of God sending forth his Son, "born of woman, born under the law." According to Rom. 1:3, Jesus was *genomenou ek spermatos Dauid kata sarka*, lit. "made of the seed of David according to the flesh." That Mary is here regarded as of the house of David does not necessarily contradict Matt. 1:16 and Lk. 3:23, if we remember that by marriage Mary was brought into the house of David. For further discussion → Son, arts. on the Virgin Birth and the Genealogies of Jesus. According to Rom. 1:4, one of the proofs of Jesus' divine sonship is the → resurrection (→ Determine, art. *horizō*).

O. Becker, C. Brown

χήρα

χήρα (*chēra*), widow.

CL *chēra*, which occurs frequently after Homer, is fem. of the adj. *chēros*, deprived, and means a woman deprived (of her husband), i.e., a widow.

OT 1. The Heb. *'almānâh*, translated in the LXX by *chēra*, connotes not only the death of the husband but also the ideas of loneliness, abandonment and helplessness. The meaning of the word thus shows clearly that widows are regarded in a special way as in need of protection. In conformity with this, they are often mentioned in the OT in association with → orphans and strangers (e.g. Exod. 22:21, 24; Deut. 10:18; 24:17, 19 ff.; 26:12 f.; 27:19; Jer. 22:3). Their generally straitened condition had its basis in the social and legal status of women (→ art. *gynē*, OT) at that time, especially in certain regulations of the law of → inheritance.

2. Yahweh receives widows to himself. They should put their trust in him (Jer. 49:11), for he executes judgment for them (Deut. 10:18; Ps. 68[67]:5; Prov. 15:25; Mal. 3:5) and upholds them (Ps. 146[145]:9). Therefore, his people also are called to maintain the widows' rights and to have compassion on them. Otherwise, they will bring down his wrath upon themselves. Thus in the solemnity of worship the people

are bound in duty to fulfil Yahweh's righteous will: "Cursed be he that perverts the justice due to the sojourner, the fatherless, and the widow" (Deut. 27:19; cf. also Exod. 22:22 f.; Deut. 10:18; Isa. 1:17–23; 10:2; Jer. 7:6; 22:3; Zech. 7:20).

3. Accordingly, in the OT various laws are given which ease the condition of the widow: her clothes should not be taken in pledge (Deut. 24:17); in the third year the → tithe should be for her benefit (Deut. 14:29; 26:12 f.). The gleanings of the field etc. should be left for widows (Deut. 24:19 ff.; cf. Ruth 2:2). It is explicitly stated that widows are to be invited to the sacrificial meals and to the feasts (Deut. 16:11, 14) and thus have their place in the congregation. According to Lev. 22:22 f., the widowed daughters of priests have a share of the offering if they return childless to their fathers. For the Maccabean period cf. 2 Macc. 3:10; 8:28, 30, and in rabbinic Judaism further allowances for widows were made (cf. Ben-Zion Schereschewsky, "Widow", *Encyclopaedia Judaica* XVI 491–95).

Nevertheless, complaint about the unjust and merciless treatment of widows pervades the OT (see *inter alia* Isa. 1:23; Ezek. 22:7; Mal. 3:5; Job 22:9; 24:21; Ps. 94:6; Wis. 2:10).

4. A plethora of legal questions, above all about the right of inheritance, arises when the remarriage of widows is considered. The OT assumes its possibility and in rabbinic Judaism it is even encouraged; but not before three months after the death of the husband (SB I 47). There are two restrictions. (a) A high priest may not marry a widow (Lev. 21:14), or (in rabbinic Judaism) anyone "who becomes a widow in the time of her betrothal" (SB I 3; cf. II 393 ff.). (b) From the earliest times there are indications that a widow could be made an heiress to properties (1 Chr. 2:24 LXX; cf. Ezek. 22:10; also Gen. 35:22; 2 Sam. 16:20 ff.; 1 Ki. 2:13 ff.). A vestige of this right of inheritance of the sons or agnates is the levirate marriage (Deut. 25:5 ff., → Marriage), which remained until the NT period. According to it, a man was in duty bound to marry the widow of his deceased brother if the marriage had been without sons (in rabbinic Judaism, without children; cf. Matt. 22:24 and SB I 886 f.). The first son of this marriage then counted as a son of the deceased brother.

5. Isa. uses *chēra* in a metaphorical sense for → Babylon: "Now therefore hear this, you lover of pleasures, who sit securely, who say in your heart, 'I am, and there is no one besides me; I shall not sit as a widow or know the loss of children': These two things shall come to you in a moment, in one day; the loss of children and widowhood shall come upon you in full measure, in spite of your many sorceries and the great power of your enchantments" (Isa. 47:8 f.; cf. Rev. 18:7). But for Israel there stands, as the new divine covenant, the promise that the reproach of her widowhood (*chēreia*, – the exile is meant) will no more be remembered (Isa. 54:4).

NT 1. The NT speaks of the straitened circumstances of the widow: cf. her importunate legal action (Lk. 18:1 ff.), the abuse of her trust (Mk. 12:40 par. Lk. 20:47), her poverty (Mk. 12:41–44 par. Lk. 21:1–4).

2. The NT churches recognized their responsibility for the widow. The strongest expression occurs in Jas., where all outward veneration of God in worship is contrasted with it: "Religion [*thrēskeia*] that is pure and undefiled before God and the Father is this: to visit orphans and widows in their affliction" (Jas. 1:27). In the church at Jerusalem there was at an early date an organized provision for widows (→ Mercy; → Poor; → Possessions). The murmuring of the Hellenistic group because

their widows, as compared with those of the Hebrews, were being put at a disadvantage, led to the choice of seven men from the Hellenistic section who were charged with the care of these widows (Acts 6:1 ff.).

3. In the later NT period, the regulation regarding widows in 1 Tim. 5:4–16 is instructive. Here a distinction is drawn between widows and "real widows [*ontōs chērai*]" (vv. 3, 5, 9, 16). The "real widow" is left alone (v. 5), the church provides for her (v. 16); on the other hand, if the widow has relations, they are in duty bound to care for her (vv. 4, 16). The real widows were included in a roll of widows (v. 9). From the conditions of admission it appears certain that the widows who were enrolled received at the same time an office in the church. They had to be over sixty years old (v. 9), to have been the wife of only one man (v. 9; this may refer to polygamy or the second marriage of a divorcée, rather than to a widow; → Man, art. *anēr* NT 3). She must be "well attested for her good deeds" (v. 10), i.e. the bringing up of orphans, hospitality, readiness for humble service and helpfulness when face to face with those in straitened circumstances. Presumably these good works were the responsibility of a community of widows. Young widows were refused for they would be ensnared too easily by laziness etc. (v. 13). Those enrolled also seem to have taken a decision not to marry again; in the case of younger widows this had to be taken into consideration, and this may have been the reason for excluding them. "When sensuality leads them away from Christ, they then wish to marry. And then they are condemned, because they have broken their first pledge [i.e. the decision made in faith to remain a widow]" (J. Jeremias in *Die Briefe an Timotheus und Titus usw.*, *NTD* III 1937 [3], 28). This does not involve rejection in principle of another marriage, as is explained in v. 14: "So I would have younger widows marry. . . ." Here we have the attitude of the second Christian generation. It is different from that in 1 Cor. 7:8, where Paul says to the unmarried and to widows that "it is well for them to remain single as I do." Such statements may have been determined by the expectation that the parousia was near (→ Present). In the meantime an order of widows had emerged.

S. Solle

→ Adam, → Discipline, → Divorce, → Father, → Image, → Marriage, → Separate, → Son, → Virtue, art. *Haustafeln*

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Word, Tongue, Utterance

Word and language are the means by which man enters into an intellectual relationship with his environment, especially with his fellow men. More than a mere cipher, a word or a concept is, for the ancients, a means of ordering phenomena and ideas, and at the same time a bridge for communication, and a way of gaining mastery or influence, as is expressed particularly in the forms of → curse and → blessing. Formally and structurally a word appears as language (*glōssa*, strictly speaking, a tongue), while acoustically it is perceived as a sound or voice (*phōnē*; → Quiet). That a word does not merely denote a thing, but stands for it, and can be virtually identical with it, is shown perhaps most powerfully in the noun *rhēma*, whereas the aspect of order, and the fixing and systematization brought about by words, can be most clearly observed in the most comprehensive group associated with *logos*. Because words, as the shape and form in which one expresses one's thinking, count as one of the highest distinguishing characteristics of human beings, the Bible also speaks of the self-communication of God in the category of the word, right up to the Johannine identification of God with the *logos*, in such an all-embracing way that any tension with the activity of God is excluded. Appended to this survey of NT terminology is a study of language in the light of contemporary philosophy and linguistics, entitled *Language and Meaning in Religion.*

γλῶσσα

γλῶσσα (*glōssa*), tongue, language, speech; ἑτερόγλωσσος (*heteroglōssos*), speaking a foreign language, of alien speech.

CL The noun *glōssa*, tongue, language, speech, may be cognate with *glōchin*, a point. Originally it meant the tongue of humans and animals in the physiological sense (Homer, *Od.* 3, 332), the organ of taste and speech. Figuratively *glōssa* stands for the faculty of speech, utterance, and also language, dialect (Homer, *Od.* 19, 175; Hdt., 1, 57). It can also denote an obscure linguistic expression which requires explanation (Aristotle, *Poet.* 21p 1457b 1 ff.).

OT In the LXX *glōssa* also appears in the form *glōtta*. In about 100 of the some 160 instances it stands for the Heb. *lāšôn* or the Aram. *lišān*, tongue, language. It

means the tongue as the physical organ in humans and animals (Exod. 4:10; Jdg. 7:5); figuratively it denotes the faculty of speech, language (Gen. 11:7). In the poetic and prophetic books of the OT and in Sir., the tongue is in particular the organ of sinful man – the tool of falsehood and evil, of arrogance and godlessness (Job 15:5; Ps. 140[139]:4; Prov. 6:17; Isa. 3:8; Jer. 9:2, 7). Sins of the tongue are like a lash (Job 15:5), like a sword and bow and arrows (Ps. 57[56]:5), or like a poisonous snake (Ps. 140[139]:4), causing disaster and destruction, and undermining a man's relationship with God and his neighbour. It is because "death and life are in the power of the tongue" (Prov. 18:21) that the admonitions to keep one's tongue from evil (Ps. 34[33]:14), and with one's tongue to intercede for justice and truth (Pss. 35[34]:28; 37[36]:30; Prov. 15:4) and to praise God (Pss. 51[50]:16; 126[125]:2; Sir. 31:30) are so urgent.

NT In the NT use of the word (attested 52 times) the chief theological emphasis lies in Acts (6 times) and 1 Cor. 12 and 14 (3 and 14 times respectively), where the tongues of fire which rested on the disciples (Acts 2 and 3) are a picture of the baptism with fire of the Holy → Spirit, and the speaking "in other tongues" is an accompanying sign of the working of the Spirit (→ Pentecost). By contrast the rich man in torment wanted Lazarus to cool his tongue (Lk. 16:24).

For the rest, the NT use of the word links on to that of the LXX (often in quotations: Acts 2:26 = Ps. 16:9; Rom. 3:13 = Pss. 5:9; 140:3; 14:11 = Isa. 45:23; Phil. 2:11 = Isa. 45:23; 1 Pet. 3:10 = Ps. 34:13), whereby *glōssa* characterizes the tongue as a part of the body (Lk. 16:24; Rev. 16:10), as the organ of speech (e.g. Lk. 1:64; Mk. 7:35; 1 Jn. 3:18; Jas. 1:26), and, along with *dialektos*, idiom, dialect, as language, turn of speech, dialect (Acts 2:11). In Rev. *glōssa* is used 7 times in the summary phrase "tribes, languages, peoples and nations" (Rev. 5:9; 7:9; 10:11; 11:9; 13:7; 14:6; 17:15; cf. also 16:10) to denote the totality of → peoples and nations in God's eyes (→ Tribe).

1. The tongue, the organ of speech, reveals man's inmost self. It can be subject to demonic binding (Mk. 7:33, 35; but cf. also Lk. 1:64). Under the power of the → Evil One the out-working of sin is revealed in many various ways through the tongue (cf. Jas. 1:26; 3:5 f., 8; 1 Pet. 3:10 = Ps. 34:13; 1 Jn. 3:18). But even here Jesus proves his saving power. With the individual, as with the redeemed community, the renewing power of the Holy Spirit is made known with the tongue, and by it God's praise is spread abroad. The universal confession of Christ as Lord by every tongue (Phil. 2:11) "is no utterance of personal piety but the sign of a new aeon already begun in the Church and the world" (R. P. Martin, *Philippians*, *New Century Bible*, 1976, 102).

2. The phenomenon at Pentecost of speaking in tongues or glossolalia (a word of Gk. origin but not found in the NT), is regarded in the NT as a fulfilment of OT prophecies (Acts 2:16–21 = Joel 2:28–32; 1 Cor. 14:21 = Isa. 28:11 f., though the latter has a negative implication) and as a mark of the dawning of the age of salvation. There is no reflection on OT parallels or similar religio-historical manifestations, although Paul, for example, is obviously aware of the existence of mystic and ecstatic manifestations in Hellenism (1 Cor. 12:2).

(a) The quotation in 1 Cor. 14:21 from Isa. 28:11 f. (*en heteroglōssois*, by people of foreign tongues), which originally referred to a foreign human language, is applied

by Paul to the glossolalia, which the unbelievers do not understand. In Corinth members of the congregation were impelled by the Holy Spirit to give voice to inarticulate and enthusiastic prayer, praise and thanksgiving in the Spirit (1 Cor. 14:14 ff.). This speaking in tongues was the outflow of an elemental possession of the individual and a distinct form of personal worship (1 Cor. 14:2, 28b). Since this praising and praying in tongues was not understood by others, speaking in tongues did not contribute to the edification and strengthening of the congregation (1 Cor. 14:5). ([Ed.] Paul can even say that tongues are a sign for unbelievers [1 Cor. 14:22]. The quotation from Isa. 28:11 f. regards the presence of speakers of foreign tongues as a sign of judgment. This could imply judgment on the church, if all spoke in tongues with no one to interpret. At any rate the outsiders would conclude that they were mad [v. 23]. But prophecy is able to work graciously by convicting of sin and leading to repentance and true worship [vv. 24 f.].)

Paul did not forbid the speaking in tongues (1 Cor. 14:39b); indeed he himself practised it freely (1 Cor. 14:18). But he urgently exhorted examination, discipline and restraint (1 Cor. 14:14 ff.). In the congregational gatherings, speaking in tongues is only to be given scope when, by means of additional interpretation inspired by the Spirit, it contributes to their edification (1 Cor. 14:26 ff.). Prophecy, i.e. proclamation of the gospel inspired and filled by the Spirit, is to have unconditional priority over glossolalia (1 Cor. 14:19), which Paul cites last of all in the list of gifts (1 Cor. 12:10). Paul nowhere intimates that glossolalia is an indispensable proof of the reception of the Spirit, or that the gift of glossolalia raises those members who have received it to a higher level of Christian living. Speaking in tongues must never contribute to the exaltation or self-assertion of pious people, but only to the glory of God. ([Ed.] On the need for interpretation → further Prayer, art. *entynchanō* NT. In the case of the interpretation of tongues, it would seem that Paul is not thinking of interpretation in the sense of translating one language into another, which would presume that "tongues" had a coherent scheme of grammar, syntax and vocabulary. Rather, interpretation here seems to be more akin to discerning what the Spirit is saying through the one who is speaking in tongues.)

(b) According to Luke's account in Acts 2, the bestowal of the Spirit in Jerusalem was linked with "speaking in other tongues"; together the disciples proclaimed the great deeds of God (Acts 2:4, 11), and at the same time the Holy Spirit caused many to understand this proclamation in their own language. Even if the tradition does not give us any absolutely clear picture of the events at Pentecost, at least it makes plain that God's Spirit effected an exceptional speaking and hearing of the gospel, which led to the formation of the original community. When later in Caesarea the first pagans received the Holy Spirit and became members of the church, they also shared in the gift of grace of worshipping and praising God "in other tongues", as again later the disciples of John the Baptist who became believers in Ephesus (Acts 10:46; 19:6). (→ further Pentecost; → Other, art. *allos, heteros* NT 2.)

(c) These manifestations were undoubtedly of different kinds, since for Jerusalem, Luke describes the speaking in tongues as a preaching of the gospel (*apophthengesthai*, to declare openly, to address someone enthusiastically, Acts 2:4, 14) directed to men in foreign languages or at least dialects; in Caesarea, Ephesus and Corinth, however, it was probably a case of praise and worship addressed to God in inarticulate tones. What is common is the conviction that these phenomena

are rooted, not in the excitability of human piety, but in the work of the Holy Spirit, and that it is to the glorification and worship of God that they contribute.

H. Haarbeck

λόγος

λόγος (*logos*), word, utterance, meaning; λέγω (*legō*), collect, count, say; λογικός (*logikos*), intellectual, rational, reasonable, spiritual; λόγιον (*logion*), saying; λόγιος (*logios*), eloquent, cultured; ἄλογος (*alogos*), irrational, without speech; λαλέω (*laleō*), to talk, chat, speak.

CL In the secular Gk. world, the word *logos* had already assumed a central significance for speculative thought long before its own terminology was more precisely defined. This became even more important at the time when the word was being adopted – precisely on account of the breadth of its basic meaning – as a technical term by the various developing sciences in Greece of the 5th cent. B.C. Grammar, logic, rhetoric, psychology and metaphysics, theology and mathematics gave it a different sense, even within the same branch of science.

1. *Early Usage.* The word *logos*, from the root *leg-*, to collect, to pick up, to recount, to speak, means word, discourse, language, account. In Homer, who uses it only in *Il.* 15, 393 and *Od.* 1, 56 in the plur., its meaning is not distinguished from *mythos* (→ myth) and *epos*, which dominate the same lexical field. But the post-Homeric usage differentiates the meanings. It reserves *epos* for epic literature based on the Homeric metre, and *mythos* to characterize fictitious stories, and then fictitious tales of the gods, which though poetically shaped, have an inner content of truth (first in Hdt., 2, 45). The area thus, so to speak, left free to denote that which is meant by "speech", "word", is occupied by a new post-Homeric word constructed on a Homeric root, *rhēma*, whereas *logos*, only weakly attested, stays restricted to the meaning of discourse (Xen. in Diels-Kranz I, 127, 9) or the theme of a discourse (Theognis, 1055).

2. *Philosophical Usage.* (a) The decisive change in the use of the word *logos* begins with Heraclitus (*c.* 500 B.C.). For him *logos* can mean discourse, didactic discourse, i.e. teaching (*Frag.* 1), word (*Frag.* 87), and even reputation (*Frag.* 39). But at the same time, it can also mean relation, proportion (*Frag.* 31), meaning (*Frag.* 50), common universal law (*Frag.* 2), truth (*Frag.* 1). It is worth noting with this breadth of meaning that Heraclitus has the whole field of meaning in mind in each individual use of the word: the words which contrast the objects with one another, the relationships which exist simultaneously between the objects, the law which underlies these relationships – a common law, in fact, including human beings as well – and the demand which grows out of this law, common to all men, for appropriate behaviour. It becomes clear from this that Heraclitus was not concerned with a philosophical system, but with getting hold of the unity of the One and the All (*Frag.* 50) through the existence of the universal law of proportion which underlies continuous change. *logos* for him is thus the instrument of thought, expressing both the thought-process and its conclusion, and also its consequences for the thinker (*Frag.* 2).

Since the *logos*, "unlike myth, which the god places in the soul of the poet as an inner truth ... is directed to that which is existent and material", it embraces "the

whole empirical breadth of everything which one has ascertained by the use of eyes and ears" (Schadewald, *Antike*, 155). These conclusions are founded on the meaning of the verb *legō*, which underlies *logos*, and which denotes the activity of collecting, carefully selecting, cataloguing in succession, and arranging together in an orderly sequence. Thus originally it had nothing to do with talking or speaking. Everything that man sees he explores with his mind and relates together; this relationship, according to Heraclitus, is the *logos* of individual objects, contained in the objects themselves, and exhibiting a law common to all existents (*Frag.* 2). He is therefore able to say "the One is All" (*Frag.* 50). The world represents for him a reciprocal relationship between the objects and with the whole, into which man himself is drawn, on account of which he is also capable of reason. Hence he recognizes universal laws within himself (psychology) and the laws of his own being in the world-whole (metaphysics). This "world-whole", however, still remains "world". It must not be interpreted transcendentally; in fact, the thought of transcendence does not yet exist.

The precision with which Heraclitus expounded his teaching inevitably provoked opposition. If he himself had also required people to listen to nature (*Frag.* 112), his contemporary Parmenides combined with the word *logos* (with which he soon equated the term *noēma*, thought, Parmenides, *Frag.* 8, 50) the idea of pure thought undisturbed by the senses (*Frag.* 7, 4 f.). Parmenides thus transplanted the realm of the *logos* to the other side of the deceptive world of appearances, in the world of pure Being. In the world of appearances itself there is only the insoluble struggle of opposites with one another (→ Truth).

Three things become evident for the first time in the *logos*-concept: (i) antithetical argument (Parmenides regards himself as consciously opposed to Heraclitus in his thought: cf. *Frag.* 6, 4 f.); (ii) dualism (Parmenides divides Heraclitus' "Whole" [*Frag.* 50] into two equal and clearly divorced spheres); (iii) the narrowing down of the concept of *logos* to the subjective sphere of the activity of thinking and the thought itself (Parmenides, *Frag.* 8, 50, where he even gives preference to the word *noēma*).

(b) At the same period (the middle of the 5th cent.), the teaching of the Sophists spread throughout Greece. This was an intellectual movement which stirred Greek society at all levels, and can be characterized by the following view-points: (i) reflection is directed towards man and towards the relationship between the individual and society; (ii) knowledge of the necessity, but also the possibility, of educating people to play a sensible part in political life; (iii) the conviction that the *logos*, discourse – accomplished by elucidation and criticism of poets (especially Homer) – made this possible.

In the confrontation over these three themes, the word *logos* took on the meaning of the individual method of argument, which was able to deal with the most varied problems in a totally disinterested manner, the only important thing being to defend one's own proposition. The reason why this appeared possible was the conviction that every *logos* already contained the counter-*logos* (Protagoras in Diels-Kranz II, 266, 15 f.). Antithetical argumentation is thus recognized as the basic principle of debate. As compared with Parmenides, it was the world of here-and-now reality, which he had so devalued, which gained exclusive interest. This is reflected in the in-

ductive method, which had likewise become the victim of severe condemnation by Parmenides.

It was now possible for debates on a particular theme to take place (*dissoi logoi*), through two-sided, mutually contrasted discourses concerning Good and Bad, Beautiful and Ugly, Truth and Falsehood (Diels-Kranz II, 405 ff.; even personified on stage by Aristophanes, *Nubes* 889–1104).

Dexterous manipulation of arguments made it possible to turn a "lesser", i.e. a disreputable, unjust matter into the "better" (*ton hēttō logon kreittō poiein*), as, by a sophistic twist, Socrates in his trial was charged with having done (Plato, *Apol.* 18b).

However, it was not only the totally value-free meaning of *logos*, adapted to purely individual aims, which characterized the time of the Sophists. At the same period people saw a great force in the *logos*, a potentiality for everything great and significant. Gorgias (Diels-Kranz II, 290, 17 ff.) names it a great ruler, who can effect "most divine" (*theiotata*) works in the smallest body. Isocrates (3, 7) ascribes to it a pedagogic power by which the bad are reproved and the good are praised; he almost goes as far as to assign a civilizing power to the *logos* (cf. *TDNT* IV 82), since nearly everything that man has created has been created by the *logos* (15, 254). Here is the expression both of an enthusiasm that is typical of this period of enlightenment; but also of a recognition of value-conceptions that has an almost missionary trait. It is, however, significant that, according to the self-same Gorgias (Diels-Kranz II, 277, 39), the Sophistic art of oratory did not operate with empirical knowledge, by contrast with other skills (the word "knowledge" is expressly rejected in the sentence), but only with words (*dia logōn*), whereby the real truth of the matter was left out of account by the speaker. The activity of discussing (*dialegesthai*), in the Sophistic understanding, accordingly brings to light no more than thesis and antithesis. It is in the implementing of the discussion itself that there lies the value for which one is striving. It was possible for a Sophist to break off with a remark such as "Now it is time to turn to something else" (Plato, *Prt.* 361e), without any loss of face.

(c) Socrates turned against this Sophistic separation of word and content, with two basic considerations in mind: (i) since the world itself is ordered, the material objects of the world can only be expressed univocally; (ii) the activity of conversation (*dialegesthai*) takes place in the true sense of the word only when the intention is to reach agreement, the *koinos logos*, the common foundation of human community. He viewed discussion as a community-producing activity, so long as in the struggle for truth "all knowledge drives irrestibly towards realization" (R. Stenzel, "Socrates", Pauly-Wissowa, III, 831). Socrates himself behaved in just such a way in prison (Plato, *Crito* 46b and c). The purpose of discussion for him is not talking for talking's sake (*logoi heneka logou*, Plato, *Crito* 46d; cf. above 3 (a)), but the process of reflection through dialogue, which discovers the *logos* of things.

(d) Plato, whose thought was more concerned with the concept of Ideas or → Forms, added nothing decisively new to the philosophical understanding of *logos*. Even with Aristotle no new ground is broken in the use of the *logos*-concept in the problem of the interpretation of the world and man's relation to and in it. Rather, the Socratic-Platonic concept is systematized, and understood in a specialized and limited way. Man alone of living beings has *logos*, because his actions are determined by the word, and he himself is capable of speech and understanding (*Pol.* 1, 2p, 1253a, 9 f.; and *Eth. Nic.* 1, 6p, 1098a, 4 f.).

(e) Reviewing the development of the concept of *logos* so far, it is clear that no further development can take place along the lines of understanding that have been marked out. Heraclitus' general universal law and the Sophists' individual oratorical ability are the extremes beyond which one cannot go within the frame of reference provided by the existing understanding of *logos*. A fundamentally new orientation of thought, namely, the thesis that ethics is the basic problem for man, was provided by the Stoics, who confronted the Gk. starting-point of knowledge with the formulation of their question: How must I live in order to be able to be happy? Nevertheless, here too the complex of ideas from which the answer is worked out is denoted as the *logos*. It is instructive that in a philosophy which was no longer orientated along either national Gk. or political, or ontological lines, the *logos*-concept yet retained the power to serve as a designation for the "Most General". This "Most General" is, however, now no longer won by perception but set by conviction. The *logos* in this thinking is the expression for the ordered and harmonious purposiveness of the world (*TDNT* IV 84). It is equated with → God, or (as in Chrysippus, the second head of the Stoa, *c.* 250 B.C.) combined with God; it is the constitutive principle of the cosmos, which extends right through matter. In that the world is viewed as a unity and allowed to become an unfolding of the *logos*, a high degree of spiritualization is conceded to it. There is no room here for the Socratic conception of the active search for truth, which is necessarily followed by its re-enactment in society, although there is for the Heraclitean sense of the world-whole. For the Stoics the latter is not, of course, to be found in the world independent of thought, but derives from a specific point of origin in the Logos-God. Attempts are certainly made to bridge the gap between both realms by the idea of development; but a dichotomy or dualism is still presupposed, which – despite Parmenides – cannot be derived solely from Gk. thought.

A thorough intellectual organization of the world and the definition of man's location in it – a fundamental pre-condition for ethics – is undertaken on the basis of Aristotelian schematization. There are, on the other hand, the seminal, the seed-bestowing Logoi (*spermatikoi logoi*) which permeate the whole world and bring about the continuity of all growth and occurrence and thus its meaningful course. Furthermore, there is a right Logos (*orthos logos*) or universal law which bestows on man the power of knowledge and thence of moral behaviour. Corresponding with the dual conceptuality of the word *logos* (thinking and saying) a distinction is made between the inner Logos (thinking), given by the God-Logos, and the Logos ordained for articulation (speaking) – a regression vis-à-vis Plato's formulation that thinking is a dialogue with oneself (Plato, *Soph.* 263e).

(f) The secular Gk. intellectual beginnings brought late fruits to maturity in Neo-Platonism, a philosophical system of the 3rd cent. A.D. As in the Stoa, the Logos is here conceived as a force which invests material objects with shape, form and life (*TDNT* IV 85 f.), and is even bracketed together with → life (*zōē*; Plotinus, *Enneads* 6, 7, 11). Plotinus (A.D. 205–*c.* 269) asks: what is the Logos? His answer runs: It is as it were an emanation from spirit and soul (the components of the intelligible world) into the material world, and by means of this emanation the whole world, right to the last – even an already dead – little piece of matter is permeated by the Logos (cf. *Enneads* 3, 8, 2; *TDNT* IV 85). This process is thought of as a continuing, that is to say, not as a once-for-all, historical event. It represents in its combined association of intelligible and real world an overcoming of Stoic dualism. It is true

that the Logos-component, which produces all the many and varied phenomena, is also here called *logos spermatikos*. But this is now no longer understood (as with the Stoics) in a biological and scientific sense as the "moisture in the seed", but as a spiritual quality, Number, Measure or Logos.

Finally, as in Stoic doctrine, man is able to raise himself out of the delusion of reality by means of his own *logos*. But this process no longer leads in a Gk. sense to knowledge, with ethical behaviour as a consequence. Rather, it leads from the *logoi* (i.e. above and beyond the intelligible world) and sight (*epi tēn thean*), to the vision which is no longer Logos, but which creates a relationship with that which was earlier and is more than the *logos* (*Enneads*, 9, 4 and 10). However, with this conception of the goal of vision as the disclosure of a trans-logical reality, the realm of secular Gk. thought (for which the whole world is divine, but not yet divided into real and intelligible) is evidently left behind.

(g) Among the systems offering an explanation of the world in terms of the Logos there are, finally, the mystery religions. These cultic communities did not see their task as lying in the communication of knowledge of a scientific nature, but of mysteries to their initiates who strove for purification in the recurrent enactment of sacred actions (cf. G. Wagner, *Pauline Baptism and the Pagan Mysteries*, 1967). The foundation for the cultic actions was sacred texts (*hieroi logoi*, already thus in Hdt., 2, 51), revealed by the founder of the cult or by men inspired by the divinity on the basis of a → revelation. Among them were the cult of Dionysus, the Pythagoreans and the Orphic mysteries. By means of these cults, non-Gk. (primarily Egyptian) theological speculations influenced Gk. thought, such as in the Isis-Osiris mysteries, in which Osiris, the *logos* created by Isis, is the spiritual → image of the world (Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* 54). Similarly in the cult of Hermes, the latter informed his son Tat (an Egyptian name) in the "sacred text" belonging to the cult how by God's mercy he became *logos* and thus a son of God (*hyios theou*). As such, he brought regulations and form into the world, but himself remained a mediating being between God and matter on the one side, and God and man on the other. The *logos* can also however appear as the son of Hermes, resulting in a triple gradation: God (Zeus), Son (Hermes), *logos*.

3. *Usage in Grammar, Logic and Rhetoric.* (a) Apart from its use in formulations of general interpretations of the world, the word *logos* is used with striking precision in the field of grammar. One of the examples of definition transmitted under Plato's name (Plato, *Definitiones* 414d) is the following: "*logos* is a sound representable in written characters, which is able to express everything that exists, a discourse composed of substantives and verbs in the field of prose" (translation by H. Leisegang, "Logos", Pauly-Wissowa, III 1037). *logos* is thus here set over against the Homeric concept, in line with the basic general Gk. meaning and set in the realm of (in particular, non-poetic) discourse. The word denotes a higher totality composed of levels made up of parts varying in size (letters, i.e. the basic elements, and words, the latter chosen qualitatively as being the words which constitute a sentence). Its possibilities for use are limitless. The formulation of this element-doctrine of the Logos is ascribed to the Atomists. Plato worked with it, and the doctrine initiates the development first to grammatical science, the teaching of sentence-analysis, and secondly to metaphysics, the teaching of the "logical" shape of the cosmos. (The word "logical"

first appears in the Stoa.) By contrast with *epos* and *lexis*, *logos* is meaningful discourse.

(b) When the defence of mutually contradictory theses became the chief occupation of Sophistic philosophers, it became clear that anyone who wished to argue well and unassailably could not forgo a knowledge of grammar. Plato had realized that it was possible to form such opinions only when the existence of the object of the discussion could be asserted. For this, however, one needed a sentence, i.e. a combination of noun and verb; and such a sentence, i.e. a meaningful association of words, is in Plato called *logos* (cf. *Soph.* 262a).

Aristotle systematized this use of *logos* in making judgments in that he first of all investigated the words in themselves, before placing them in a meaningful context: there are the "categories". In themselves they have no meaning, i.e. for Aristotle, in the realm of logic, there is no such thing as the *logos* of a word. But since it is the sentence which gives the individual word its sense and defines its limits of meaning, *logos* comes to mean the definition (*Met.* 7p, 1012a, 23; prepared for in Plato, *Rep.* 343a). Thirdly, alongside judgment and definition, *logos* for him means the conclusion, i.e. the final proposition of a line of argumentation (syllogism) which concludes the proof. A *logos* is a conclusion when, if something is posited, various other things of necessity follow from what is posited by virtue of the fact that it is the case (*Analytica* 1, 1p, 24b, 18, translation by Leisegang, op. cit., 1042). Finally, *logos* means the proof itself, so that the main points of a logical argument – judgment, definition, conclusion, proof – can be expressed both in Aristotle and subsequently in later logicians by the word *logos*. After Aristotle, Gk. philosophy did not again take great interest in the strictly logical shape of the word *logos*.

(c) If grammar is the science of the analysis of sentences (*logoi*, because meaningful), and if knowledge of it is necessary in order to argue logically, then it is inevitable that the art of rhetoric, in which this takes place, will also have to work with the idea of *logos*. For Gorgias, poetry, speeches in court and philosophical disputations are all equally *logoi*, now in verse, now under the imposed conditions of competition, now as controversies. The conflict arose over the different areas of competence of orators and philosophers: *logos* for the orator meant continuous discourse, for the philosopher dialogue. So, slowly, the dialogue took over as the stylistic form of the philosophers, the *logos* as the stylistic form of the orators. Plato is acquainted with both, but introduces also the entirely new so-called maieutic dialogue, or the Socratic dialogue, as it is now chiefly called (the term comes from Aristotle, *Poet.* 1447b, 11). This *logos*, the name of which is borrowed from midwifery, is characterized by the way that the one who engages in maieutic discussion does not wish to procure a victory for his own thesis (he does not even need to have one), but desires by his questioning to unearth the knowledge which may well be present in his partner, although he himself may not yet be conscious of it. From this form of dialogue the philosophical dialogue evolved, appearing among the Stoics as a sub-group of logic, and generally designated as dialectic.

4. The apparently bewildering overall picture of the use of *logos* fits together intelligibly, if we note that the word was used as human discourse with an eye to content – implying, however, objectivity and thereby conformity – in order to establish one's mastery of the presumed regularity of the world. This is of course only true of those philosophers who were ready to argue from man to the world; but because of

the strength of these systems the effect of these thinkers far exceeded that of the remaining representatives of Gk. philosophy. To the same extent that the conviction of the order of the world (*logos*) was to be conveyed in a lecture (*logos*) to a sceptical audience, a speaker sharpened his appreciation of the particular choice and combination of various words (*logos*), their logical validity, and their power to convince (*logos*). Thus the speaker, who was able to convince his hearers with a carefully-constructed discourse (*logos*), was able to reap success.

One can also understand how the individual sciences (grammar, logic, rhetoric), the necessary means to this end, had already reached perfection in the 4th cent. B.C., because they were accessible to observation and systematic control, while the struggle for knowledge of the totality of the world was in flux far longer. It is worthy of note that, thanks not least to new basic assumptions from non-Gk. traditions of thought apparent from the time of the Stoics onwards, it was still possible to summon up the energy for a closed system in the 3rd cent. A.D. *G. Fries*

OT 1. *Heb. Terms for Word.* The Heb. equivalent for *logos* is predominantly *dāḇār*, word, but not infrequently *'ēmer*, word (cf. *'āmar*, to say), *'imrâh*, word, saying, and *millâh*, word. Since *dāḇār* is also rendered by → *rhēma* in the LXX, it is important to make the statistical observation that in the OT historical books *logos* is the predominant rendering, while in the prophets *rhēma* predominates by as much as eight-fold. The vb. *legō* stands chiefly for *'āmar*, to speak, to say, *dāḇār* means word, report, command, but also thing, matter, affair and (linked with adjs.) something (*dāḇār ra'*, something evil, Deut. 17:1; *dāḇār gāḏôl*, something great, 1 Sam. 20:2). It follows from the double structure of *dāḇār* – the meanings "word" and "thing" – that in the word there is always contained something of the thing itself, that the thing itself is only ever accessible in the word, and that the word cannot be separated from its content nor the content from the word.

The term "word of Yahweh" (*dᵉḇar YHWH*) is found 241 times in the OT. The way in which these passages are distributed among the individual books (e.g. Jer. 52, Ezek. 60 times), the observation that the expression "word of Yahweh" is used substantially more often in the prophetic epoch than in any previous or later time, and the fact that 221 of all the OT occurrences (i.e. 93%) denote a prophetic word of God, permit the conclusion that this phrase virtually represents a technical term for the prophetic revelation of the word (O. Grether, *Name und Wort Gottes im Alten Testament*, *BZAW* 64, 1934, 77, cf. 63 ff.). In addition, *dāḇār* already served early on to designate the divine → commandment and will for justice (Exod. 34:28, the Ten Commandments) granted to Israel along with their → election and the → covenant, and, particularly in exilic and post-exilic times, to act as a periphrasis for the creatively efficacious activity of God in → creation (Gen. 1) and nature (Pss. 29 and 33). The prophetic word of promise which shapes history, the directive word of the covenant which takes possession of men and the creative word of God which determines nature and its order combine to describe the → revelation of God in the OT.

2. *Ancient Oriental Notion of the Word of God.* In the ancient Orient a word was widely regarded not as an indicative designation, i.e. as a bearer and mediator of meaningful content (the noetic aspect of the word), but as a power which was efficacious in incantations and magical spells, in blessings and curses, even in the spatial and material world. A → curse, as a baneful word, could penetrate the affec-

ted person like some disintegrating substance and bring destruction by spreading outwards from within (the dynamic aspect of the word).

The divine word, in particular, was believed to possess dynamic power and creative potency in Egypt, Assyria and Babylonia. In Egypt the power of creation and the preservation of the world is traced back to the divine word. According to an inscription from Memphis, Ptah, the creator god, exercised his creative activity with the help of "heart and tongue", i.e. with his word (L. Dürr, *Die Wertung des göttlichen Wortes im Alten Testament und im antiken Orient, Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch – (Ägyptisch)en Gesellschaft*, 42, 1, 1938, 25). The dynamic power of the creative word is also conveyed from Ptah to other gods. Thus it is said of Thoth: "What rises up out of his mouth takes place, and what he says happens" (ibid., 27 f.). In Mesopotamia, too, the creative power of the divine word is praised. The following predications may be quoted from the Marduk-Ellil hymns: "His word, which passes by like a storm.... The word which rends the heavens above; the word which shakes the earth below.... His word is a storm which annihilates everything.... When his word proceeds gently along, it destroys the land" (8 ff.). As far as the difference between the biblical and the ancient oriental understanding of the word of God is concerned, one can assert, despite many analogies, that in the latter the divinity "is set in a partly magical and partly natural relation to the world" and that in consequence "the word is also viewed as a magical or natural quantity or as an emanation of the divinity, so that the divinity is linked to or identified with nature" (O. Grether, op. cit., 144). In Israel, by contrast, the creative word of God was purified of any magical or emanative understanding, and demythologized to become the word of the God who by exhortation, claim and promise gives shape to history. The OT knows only the particular and at any given time underived creative word of God spoken to the world.

3. *The Forms of the Prophetic Proclamation of the Word of God.* The subject-matter of prophetic → proclamation is the word of God. However, in so far as the words of the OT prophets display certain basic common forms, despite their individual differences, one must ask what understanding of the word of God the various forms and literary categories of prophetic proclamation express, since it is not the prophet who avails himself of the word, but Yahweh's word which takes the prophet into its service. Here the question of form-criticism passes immediately into that of content: "What determined the choice of the form was primarily the subject-matter of the message" (G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, II, 1965, 39).

(a) The word of God as a word of vocation (the literary category of the account of a call). The special nature of prophetic proclamation finds expression in accounts of calls where the authority of the prophetic word is grounded solely in the word of God which gives the commission, i.e. in the call. Two forms of the accounts of calls can be distinguished: the first form (Jer. 1:4–10) is characterized by a divine discourse (a word of election and appointment), by the prophetic contradiction and the confirmation of the sending by a concluding sign (here the touching of the mouth, "Behold, I have put my words in your mouth", Jer. 1:9). This form of call-account, characterized by the word of God addressed and transmitted to the prophet, is distinguished particularly by the "very personal individual encounter between Yahweh and the one called" and "the strict subordination of every other consideration to the word of Yahweh" (W. Zimmerli, *Ezechiel*, *BKAT* XIII/1, 1969, 17 f.). The second

form begins with a vision, where the word issued to the prophet does not go forth in the context of a personal dialogue with the prophet, but is pictured as the result of a consultation of Yahweh with his council which the prophet sees in a vision (Isa. 6; Ezek. 1). But in that the word of vocation comes from the sphere of the divine council, i.e. in that the prophetic word of commission is crystallized out of the vision of the throne-scene, the second form of call-account also clearly exhibits the subordination of the visionary element to the word of vocation: the vision reaches its climax in the audition, in the promulgation of the word of God (W. Zimmerli, op. cit., 19 f.). The concentration on the word of Yahweh which calls the prophet, the account of the call as the prophet's own "press report", to which there are no adequate parallels in the ancient Orient, the fact that the prophetic subject "is knowingly, consciously and willingly addressed, and won over to obedience" (H. W. Wolff, *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament*, *ThB* 22, 1964, 215), the observation that "the waking consciousness was greatly intensified but in no way switched off" (ibid.), that the prophet thus knew "that he had been really called and not intoxicated" (op. cit., 216), and, finally, the surprising fact that the prophets from Amos onwards do not understand themselves as bearers of the Spirit, but as proclaimers of the word of Yahweh – all this shows the difference between the prophetic reception of the word and an ecstatic experience, which by-passes the consciousness. In other words, the various forms of call-accounts make it clear that "the supremacy of the word is the essential distinguishing feature of the Old Testament prophet" (ibid.; cf. Grether, op. cit., 84 ff.).

(b) The word of God as the word of a messenger (the messenger formula). One of the most striking marks of the prophetic proclamation of the word is the introductory formula, "Thus says Yahweh", which represents something of a constant within the literary categories utilized by the prophets, from Elisha to Malachi. This formula originates in the formal language of the secular sending of messengers. It presupposes the situation of a messenger who comes with a message he has received previously, and who, in delivering his message, refers back to this occasion (cf. Gen. 32:4–6; 2 Ki. 18:19, 29, 31). Since, at the point of time of delivering the message, the messenger refers back to the occasion, now in the past, when the employer entrusted him with the message, one should translate "thus has Yahweh spoken". ([Ed.] But because this word has a continuing validity representing the mind and will of the master the emphatic present, "Thus says Yahweh", is equally correct. The Hebrew mind probably did not draw a sharp distinction between past and present in this respect.) The adoption of the messenger formula to introduce the prophetic word indicates that this is strictly understood as a passing on of the entrusted word of God. The messenger formula turns up as early as the Mari letters of the 18th cent. B.C., which report of prophets who have to deliver a message to the king on behalf of God. But the unqualified announcement of judgment by the prophets from Amos onwards is a contrast to such qualified prophecies of well-being delivered to the king to which one can also add rebuke and intervention against the king (cf. Nathan in 2 Sam. 12:1 ff.; Gad in 2 Sam. 24:11 ff.). The Mari texts have no parallels to these unqualified words of judgment (cf. C. Westermann, *Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech*, 1967).

(c) The word of God as a word of disaster (the structure of the prophetic word of judgment). The word of disaster in the prophets before Amos, almost always directed immediately to an individual (usually the king), presents a two-membered statement:

the prophet names the crime and announces Yahweh's judgment. Between the accusation and the announcement of judgment stands the messenger formula ("therefore thus has Yahweh spoken", 1 Ki. 21:17 ff.; 2 Ki. 1:3 f.). In other words, the prophets made a clear distinction between the initial accusation (the motivation) and the announcement of the judgment (the direct word of God). Strictly speaking, the word of God is only the announcement of judgment. It is characterized as such by the introductory messenger formula: the accusation stands *before* the actual word of the messenger (cf. C. Westermann, ibid.). The prophetic words of disaster from Amos onwards, directed against Israel or Judah as a whole, frequently display the same two-membered nature – motivation, messenger formula and announcement of judgment (Amos 4:1–3; Isa. 8:5–8). The word of God issued direct to the prophet and characterized as such by him by means of the messenger formula (mainly containing subject-matter of a general sort, e.g. "the end has come", Amos 8:2) is given added precision by the prophet by means of an introductory, explanatory and accusatory word of motivation addressed to the listeners. The accusation which provides the motive for and preface to the word of disaster is thus a piece of prophetic reflection on the basis of the reception of the direct word of God. The prophet is no mere mouthpiece of God, but a responsible translator of the received word of God into the situation of the addressee: "It is hardly possible to overrate the importance of the prophet's share, for without it the word the prophet receives does not reach its goal" (G. von Rad, op. cit., II, 73).

(d) The word of God and the word of man (quotations in prophetic oracles). Those to whom the word is addressed are also drawn into the word of God, in that the prophet reproduces moods, sentiments and attitudes of the hearers in quotations of words they have spoken (H. W. Wolff, "Das Zitat im Prophetenspruch", op. cit. 38 ff.). Yahweh's word is then understood as his reply to a statement by the people reproduced in quotation form. Characteristically, however, this is not placed in the messenger's word itself, but in the prophet's grounding of the accusation which precedes the word of God. For the prophetic messenger of the word, God's word and man's word are not interchangeable. Conversely, of course, a messenger word which merely extends the word of God "but fails to produce a confrontation with the hearers is essentially unprophetic" (Wolff, op. cit., 110). It is thus precisely the quotation in the prophetic word which shows that Yahweh's word, promulgated by him directly to the prophet, sets out to engage in complete dialogue with the addressees and can assimilate the word of man. But in that the word of man can thus be taken up into the movement of the word of God, it becomes true that "even the quotation is proclamation" (Wolff, op. cit., 84).

(e) The character of the word of God as event (the word-event formula). The characteristic formula for the prophetic reception of the word runs: *wayᵉhî dᵉbar YHWH 'el...*, lit. "and the word of Yahweh was to...." 113 OT passages contain this formula, which turns up in the prophetic histories of the early monarchy (e.g. Samuel, 1 Sam. 15:10; Nathan, 2 Sam. 7:4; Elijah, 1 Ki. 17:2, 8; 18:1), appears in the redactional headings of the prophetic books (Hos. 1:1; Zeph. 1:1), but in Jer. (30 times, in part secondary) and especially in Ezek. (50 times) invades the prophet's own words, and also has a firm place in Hag. (2:10, 20) and Zech. (9 times) (cf. W. Zimmerli, *BKAT* XIII/1, 89).

This word-event formula is characteristic for the OT conception of the word of

God in several respects. (i) Since the basic meaning of the verb *hāyâh*, "it was", denotes that something becomes effective, the formula could almost be translated "the word of God became active reality with. . ." (S. Mowinckel, *Die Erkenntnis Gottes bei den alttestamentlichen Propheten*, 1942, 19, quoted in G. von Rad, op. cit., II, 87, n. 15), or "the word assumed effective shape in" (C. A. Keller, *BHHW* III 2183). The dynamic, urgently pressing force of the word of God clearly emerges here. (ii) The word-event formula stresses "the eminently historical character of the word of God in partaking of the nature of an event" (W. Zimmerli, *BKAT* XIII/1, 89). The revelation of the word to the prophet is not a process of one-sided spiritual perception of timeless truth but an event which assails the prophet, even, at times, physically (Isa. 21:1–10; Jer. 4:19–21); here the word of God appears as a virtually objective force with a dynamic impact (O. Grether, op. cit., 150 ff.). (iii) The word-event formula does not speak indeterminately of "a word", but of "*the* word of God" becoming an effective event (L. Koehler, *Old Testament Theology*, 1957, 106). The word which goes forth at any particular time demands to be accepted as the complete word of God. There is no superior concept with which to organize and domesticate the word of God. (iv) The frequent utilization by Jer. and especially Ezek. of the word-event formula is the mark of an "already highly developed knowledge of the 'word of Yahweh', almost indeed, of the development in Prophetic circles of a 'prophetic theology of the word' " (W. Zimmerli, op. cit., 89).

4. *The Word of God in Prophetic Proclamation.* (a) Prophecy before the writing prophets (Samuel, Elijah, Elisha). As Samuel, to whom "the word of Yahweh" was revealed (1 Sam. 3:7) at a time when "Yahweh's word had become rare in the land" (1 Sam. 3:1), announced judgment on Saul on account of his "rejection of the word of God" (1 Sam. 15:23, 26), so → Elijah invoked the validity of the word of Yahweh with absolute authority against King Ahab, basing himself on the covenant-traditions of the "God of Israel" (1 Ki. 17:1) and the "God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob" (1 Ki. 18:36). He announced to Ahab that neither dew nor rain would fall "except by my word" (1 Ki. 17:1). In consequence of the efficacious power of his mighty word, Elijah was for Ahab the "destroyer of Israel", because he had not only prophesied the drought, but also caused it by his word (1 Ki. 18:17). In view of the threat of confusion between Yahweh and Baal as a result of Ahab's syncretistic religious policies, Elijah, as God's spokesman in Israel on Mount Carmel, brought about a fundamental divorce between Yahweh and Baal on the basis of divine judgment, in order to prove that Yahweh was God and that Elijah had "done all these things at thy word" (1 Ki. 18:36). Thus, thanks to the preaching of Elijah all areas of life, whether in respect of property (the story of Naboth, 1 Ki. 21) or health (Ahaziah's search for healing, 2 Ki. 1) were subordinated to Yahweh's lordship, and transgression of the divine law was requited with a word of judgment to the individual (1 Ki. 21:17–19; 2 Ki. 1:3 f.; cf. C. Westermann, op. cit.). Elijah's journey to Horeb, which links up with Israel's → wilderness tradition, showed with regard to → revelation, that Yahweh does not reveal himself in storm, earthquake and fire, but in quietly whispered words (1 Ki. 19:12). As with Elijah, so with Elisha, prophetic word and action are closely interwoven. Nowhere in the OT are so many miracles crowded into so small a space and recounted as proof of the prophet's *charisma* as here (G. von Rad. op. cit., II, 27). By contrast with the prophets from Amos to Jeremiah, Elijah and Elisha are bearers of the Spirit at the same time as they are proclaimers of the word of God –

Yahweh's word and Yahweh's spirit are here closely interconnected. The power of the prophetic word in the political sphere is shown not least by Elisha's designation of Jehu (2 Ki. 9).

(b) The conception of the word of God in the writing prophets. (i) Amos. "The words of Amos of Tekoa" (Amos 1:1): so runs the heading to an older selection of Amos' words from chs. 3–5, which has not yet been given the heading "word of Yahweh", as those who later pass on the words of the prophets like to do (cf. Hos. 1:1; Jer. 1:1). The connexion of the heading "the words of Amos" with the form of the collection of the wise men (cf. the "words of the wise" in Prov. 22:17) indicates, conversely, that at the time of the recording of the sayings of Amos there is still no tradition of literary collections of words of the prophets (H. W. Wolff, *Dodekapropheton*, *BKAT* XIV/1, 1965 ², 153).

The rhetorical question, "If the lion has roared, who is not afraid? If Yahweh has spoken, who can but proclaim it?" (Amos 3:8) presents a word in the form of a discussion, giving a reply to the question of the legitimacy of speaking in the name of Yahweh: Yahweh's word has startled and caught the prophet by surprise. Anyone who attributes his appearance to brazen caprice must ask himself whether terror at the sudden roaring of a lion is capricious. The inseparable connexion between cause and effect makes it clear: Yahweh's word has irresistibly compelled the prophet to engage in proclamation. His proclamation is a reflex action in response to the word of Yahweh, as is terror to a lion's roar.

In the cycle of visions (Amos 7:1–8; 8:1–2; 9:1–4; cf. 8:2 "the end has come upon my people"), Amos explains how Yahweh forced on him the word concerning the imminent end. Amos distinguishes himself from all previous prophets by preaching total destruction, not just for a single individual (e.g. the king by Nathan in 2 Sam. 7 and 12 and Gad in 2 Sam. 24 and 1 Chr. 21) but for the whole of Israel. Since in Amos' time under Jeroboam II (787–747 B.C.) Israel was enjoying a period of booming economic prosperity, the proclamation of disaster cannot be viewed as the consequence of rational calculation and political far-sightedness. Its sole source is the event of Yahweh's word itself, Yahweh's firm grip, which took Amos from herding the flocks and compelled him to speak (Amos 7:15).

From this one can understand the frequent appearance of the messenger-formula ("Thus says Yahweh", 11 times; Amos 1:3, 6, 9, 11, 13; 2:1, 4, 6; 3:12; 5:3 f.) and the concluding formula ("Yahweh says", Amos 1:5, 8, 14; 2:3, 11, 16; 3:15; 4:3, 5 f., 8–11; 5:17; 7:3; 9:15). The advice of the high priest Amaziah to his king – "the land is no longer able to bear all his words" (Amos 7:10) – is also explicable from Amos' announcement of total judgment. The word of Yahweh, proclaimed by Amos, has reached dangerous proportions for Israel's religious, political and economic life. Amos is banished from the land: "You must not preach any longer" (Amos 7:13). A thoughtless people, especially its upper classes, self-confident in their own prosperity, have not listened to his word.

Amos therefore preached that a hunger for the word of God would so overwhelm them that they would stagger around exhausted in the search for the word of Yahweh (Amos 8:11 f.). Yahweh can hold back his word; he retains the right of disposal over his word. The longing to hear Yahweh's words is not here a sign of religious life but a hunger which results in death. If Yahweh has withdrawn his word, on which Israel's whole existence is based, that is the ultimate catastrophe (cf. G. von Rad, op. cit., II,

92; for a different view see Wolff, *BKAT*, XIV, 379 f., who holds that the saying belongs to a later time reflecting Deuteronomic preaching).

(ii) Hosea. The heading "the word of Yahweh that came to Hosea" (Hos. 1:1; cf. Joel 1:1; Mic. 1:1; Zeph. 1:1; Jer. 1:1 LXX) comes from a collector of prophetic tradition from Deuteronomistic circles in Judea.

Since Hosea's commissioning as messenger includes not only his word, but also his marriage and family life, this title makes it clear that "Yahweh's word" does not exclusively denote the word of God to be proclaimed by the prophet (Hos. 2:18, 23 f.; 4:1 etc.), but also the life of the prophet expropriated by the word of Yahweh. "Thus the book of Hosea does not even present the narratives of the prophet (1:2–9; 3:1–5) out of biographical interest, but only because they preserve the word of Yahweh" (H. W. Wolff, *BKAT* XIV, 3). Yahweh's command to Hosea to marry a girl (a "whore") who had fallen prey to Canaanite cultic immoralities, and in this marriage to exemplify the guilt of the Israel of that time, which had itself lapsed into Canaanite fertility rites, is a symbolic action (Hos. 1:2 ff.) with which the prophet is commissioned at the beginning of his prophetic ministry, "for the land commits great harlotry by forsaking Yahweh" (Hos. 1:2b). This symbolic disclosure of the word of God introduces the first period of Yahweh's speaking through Hosea by stating, according to Hos. 1:2a, how Yahweh began to speak *through* (not *to*) Hosea, and is to be understood as a kind of foreword. This first period of the promulgation of Yahweh's word is directed towards a second; Hos. 3 reports another symbolic action, whereby Hosea rescues his wife from slavery and takes firm protective measures to prevent her giving way to her inclinations (Hos. 3:1–5). That is to say, although Israel has turned away from Yahweh and been justly repudiated by him, she will be accepted back again, because Yahweh loves her. The two symbolic actions together thus sound out the centre of Hosea's proclamation. In that the prophet himself presents the word of Yahweh in his own life, and not merely proclaims the word of God by mouth but by his whole family life, Hosea himself comes entirely under the word of God. "This vivid symbolic demonstration of the word of God in the prophet's family ... announces the message of the incarnation of the word" (H. W. Wolff, op. cit., 24).

In the second part (chs. 4–14), introduced by the attention-catching formula, "Hear the word of the LORD, O people of Israel" (4:1; "word of God" only occurs in Hosea at 1:4 and 4:1) "the whole path of Hosea's proclamation from the threats of judgment to announcement of salvation is ... now trodden a second time" (Wolff, op. cit., 83).

This ultimate correlation of word of judgment and word of salvation in Hosea is confirmed finally by Hos. 6:5: "Therefore I have hewn them by the prophets, I have slain them by the words of my mouth, and my judgment goes forth as the light." "Prophets" and "words of my mouth" here stand in parallel, i.e. the prophets are messengers of Yahweh, in so far as they proclaim the words of the mouth of Yahweh. The goal of Yahweh's word of judgment is the restoration of a new order of life (Hos. 6:5b); the word that slays is in the service of the word which saves. The teleological correlation of God's word of judgment with his word of salvation is particularly clear in Hosea.

(iii) Isaiah. If the heading of Isa. 1:1 describes the content of the whole book of Isaiah as a "vision" (*ḥāzôn*) of the prophet, the content of the selection which

originally began at Isa. 2:1 is characterized as "the word" which the prophet "saw". The visionary experience of the reception of the word is expressed here, just as is the central position of the word as being the content of the prophetic vision.

The corresponding absolute use of "word" is found in Isa. 9:7 (EVV 9:8): "The LORD has sent a word against Jacob, and it will light upon Israel." This verse not only speaks of the "word" in the absolute as of an almost independent entity, but it also gives us no information as to the content to which people should listen. What is under discussion here is not a word as the *bearer of a message*, but the word as a *bearer of divine and powerful consequences*, which creates history. According to Grether, the word is here "rather like an accumulation of latent energies which cannot wait to be released very much longer.... The *dāḇār* is like a missile with a time-fuse which has just hit the enemy lines and must explode in the next few seconds" (op. cit., 104). This word of Yahweh bound to the prophet (the word is "sent") is the power which sets history in motion and causes all kinds of destruction, which judges the disobedient nation in a cumulative series of acts of divine punishment (Isa. 9:7–20; 5:25–30). Isaiah looks back to an epoch when Yahweh intervened in Israel's history with ever new blows, and understands these judgments as the ever new discharges of the word of God sent, proclaimed and dismissed.

This is how the word concerning hardening of the heart in Isa. 6:9 f. should be understood. Isaiah is commissioned to make the nation obdurate and to harden its heart by means of this very word of God, "until cities lie waste without inhabitant, and houses without men, and the land is utterly desolate" (Isa. 6:9–11). In the word concerning hardening of the heart, the conception of the creative word of God at work in history is given its sharpest definition, namely that "this word effects judgment not only in the external world of history, but in human beings, in the most hidden recesses of their own hearts, namely, their refusal of the appeal by which Yahweh would save them" (G. von Rad, op. cit., II, 154; cf. Isa. 9:7). The hardening of Israel's heart to Yahweh's solicitous offer and the word about obduracy which forms the subject-matter of the prophetic commission – these are the things which constitute the puzzle of Isaiah's proclamation.

The word of God to be proclaimed by Isaiah is thereby independent of its rejection by men. "The fact that a prophet's word is not heard is far from meaning that this is the end of it" (G. von Rad, op. cit., 155). The repudiation of the word by Isaiah's generation means that it must be recorded for a future one: "And now go, write it before them on a tablet, and inscribe it in a book, that it may be for the time to come as a witness for ever.... Because you despise this word" (Isa. 30:8, 12; cf. 8:16 ff.). This process of the documentary recording of the message rejected by those who heard it shows not only that, despite its lack of success, the word of God is far from finished. It also, and for the first time, shows the character of the written word, where the prophet extends the area of reference of the word of God beyond the first circle of recipients to hearers further off. The word of God still has a future beyond its rejection, for "he does not call back his words" (Isa. 31:2; 55:11).

This future is depicted in Isa. 2:2–5 (cf. Mic. 4:1–3). Here is the account of a pilgrimage of the nations to the mountain of God, one nation urging another: "Come, let us go up to the mountain of the LORD.... For out of Zion shall go forth the law and the word of the LORD from Jerusalem" (→ Wilderness, Mountain, art. *oros*). The hope is directed to the new order of life established by Yahweh, in the cen-

tre of which stands the word of God, signifying righteousness and life and embracing directions for living. The close relationship of the word of God to instruction and law (see below, 5) is shown not only in the designation of the word of God as Torah (Isa. 2:3) but also in the prophet's words which are spoken in the style of priestly Torah.

(iv) Jeremiah. The heading of the book as a whole "words of Jeremiah" (not as W. Rudolf would have it: "the story of Jeremiah", *Jeremia*, HAT 12, 1968 ^{3}, 1), and the statistical observation that the term "word of Yahweh" appears 52 times in Jer. out of a total of 241 occurrences in the OT, and that the word-event formula appears 30 times out of a total of a 113 occurrences in the OT (Grether, op. cit., 65 ff.) makes it quite obvious that we are already here in a world of reflective knowledge of the "word of Yahweh", which entitles us to speak in Jer. of a "theology of the word". This view still stands, even discounting the suggested Deuteronomic revisions and additions (e.g. Jer. 11:1 ff.; 46:1; 47:1; 49:34).

The word of God came to Jeremiah as a powerful word of vocation (627 B.C.). The calling of Jeremiah (Jer. 1:4–10) is characterized by the introductory word-event formula as being entirely word-event. Yahweh's word of election and commission (Jer. 1:5) dominates the whole process; the touching of his lips by Yahweh's hand seems to be the sole visionary trait (Jer. 1:9a). The word of appointment to be "a prophet to the nations" is followed by the prophet's interruption (Jer. 1:6). The exhortation to be fearless (Jer. 1:8) makes it clear that the real cause of the prophet's interruption is not his youthful age but his fear of the office of messenger of the word; Jeremiah is well aware of their sufferings from the past history of prophecy. By contrast with the voluntary application of Isa. 6:8b we see here already a knowledge of the burden of proclaiming the word of Yahweh. The process of sending consists, in the case of Jeremiah, in the transference of the word of God: "Behold, I have put my words in your mouth" (Jer. 1:9). The transmission of the word of God to the prophet does not signify for Jeremiah that he has any rights over the word, but it includes the knowledge of Yahweh's freedom to keep him waiting for the event of the word of God. It is through the transmission of the word of God to Jeremiah that he becomes an agent of the word who has been set "over nations and over kingdoms"; as an individual he has been given the power to intervene in the fortunes of nations and kings. These are not the reflections of a megalomaniac which "would make the weal and woe of whole nations dependent on the word of a young man from a petty state" (expressly rejected by W. Rudolf, *Jeremia*, 6). Here, rather, is revealed the mightiness of the word of God, which is not thrown into history without effect (cf. Isa. 9:7). The prophet's mandate of the word is negative and positive: "to pluck up and break down, to destroy and to overthrow, to build and to plant" (Jer. 1:10). Already there begins to emerge here in the call the clear knowledge of the two-sided nature of the word of God as word of judgment (chs. 1–25) and word of salvation (chs. 30–32).

The word of God features prominently in Jeremiah's early preaching (627–622 B.C., the time of Josiah). The theme of the first phase of Jeremiah's preaching is Yahweh's complaint against Israel's faithless back-sliding into the Baal cult (Jer. 2:4:5, cf. Hosea), and the announcement of the dawning of Yahweh's wrath in the shape of the advancing sinister foe from the north (Jer. 4:5–6:30). In response to Jeremiah's proclamation of judgment, by which he placed himself in the succession of his predecessors, his hearers replied in effect: "What the prophets say turns out to be nothing but wind, and the word [of the LORD] is not in them" (5:13). But because

the prophet's word is denied as God's word, God turns it to its destructive fulfilment: "behold, I am making my words in your mouth a fire" (5:14). That is the reply of the word of God (*dāḇār*) to the practical atheism of men's words of mockery (*dāḇār*; 5:14). The prophet's temptation to doubt, which arises in view of the people's ridicule of the message of judgment, issued and issuing, and his question: will the word that I have proclaimed as Yahweh's word also definitely come true? is similarly reflected in the vision of the almond-bough, which follows immediately after the account of the call. This indicates clearly the beginning of the prophet's reflections and doubts concerning the effective fulfilment of Yahweh's word. Yahweh's interpretation of the vision of the almond (Heb. *šāqēḏ*) is: "I am watching [*šōqēḏ*] over my word to perform it" (Jer. 1:12; note the play on words in which the point of the vision turns on a pun).

The word of God also features in the misunderstanding of the Deuteronomic reform (609–598 B.C., the time of Jehoiakim). Jeremiah was silent in the period following the Josianic reform (622–609 B.C.). He was waiting to see whether the nation was really turning to Yahweh. Jeremiah was neither a critic nor a propagandist of the reform; no word from God reached him during this time. After the death of Josiah, however, and with Jehoiakim's accession to the throne, when it became clear that the Deuteronomic reform had produced no return to Yahweh, but only a false religious confidence, the word of God reached the prophet anew (Jer. 7:1; 26:1). In the famous temple sermon Jeremiah inveighed against the religious confidence of the nation which appeals to the → temple and the divine presence (Jer. 7:4) but has no use for the covenant commandment (Jer. 7:5 ff.). This excessive emphasis on the temple and on confidence in their deliverance is nothing but an impenitent trust in "delusive words" (Jer. 7:4, 8 JB) and will bring in its train the destruction of the temple (Jer. 7:14). In the great liturgy of the day of repentance, which Jeremiah depicts (Jer. 14:1–15:4), and in which there are echoes of conventional songs of repentance sung by the people (Jer. 14:7, 9, 19–22), the reply of Yahweh (Jer. 14:10; 15:1–4) is the announcement of judgment and catastrophe. In Yahweh's word through the prophet, the people's pious impenitence comes to light. A further consequence of the misunderstanding of the Deuteronomic reform was the bragging of the scribes about the word of the covenant commandment, which thus became a dead law: "How can you now say, 'We are wise, and the law of the LORD is with us'? But, behold, the false pen of the scribes has made it a lie. The wise men shall be put to shame, they shall be dismayed and taken; lo, they have rejected the word of the LORD, and what wisdom is in them?" (Jer. 8:8 f.). The invectives against the temple and scribes earned Jeremiah a death-sentence (ch. 26). But he stood by his message and was ready to answer for it with his own life. The word of Yahweh and the messenger of the word cannot be separated. In ch. 26 it is accordingly not the suffering of the prophet, but the passion-story of the word of God that stands at the centre.

The word of God plays an important part in the confessions of Jeremiah. Jeremiah's ministry as a messenger was not exhausted by his preaching of the word of God. Jeremiah's suffering was the suffering of the man who has, in his own person, been hurt himself by Yahweh's word of judgment. We see the prophet sharing suffering under the word of God, shaken to the very depths of his physical being by that judgment which he himself announced (Jer. 4:19–21). In Jeremiah's lament over the sick and dying land (Jer. 8:18–23), we see man under the judgment and onslaught of the word of God. As often as Yahweh's word came to him, he accepted it

greedily as if it were his favourite dish: "Thy words were found, and I ate them, and thy words became to me a joy and the delight of my heart" (Jer. 15:16). But this pleasure and happiness at receiving the word was broken by the knowledge of the judgment he must proclaim, which drove him into isolation from human beings (Jer. 15:17; cf. 16:1–9). Jeremiah, the proclaimer of God's word of judgment, who himself suffered as he announced this judgment against his own inward feelings (Jer. 4:19), and who staked everything on restraining the judgment by means of his intercession (Jer. 14:11; 15:1), suffered at the same time under the taunt that the judgment he announced apparently never seemed to come: "Behold, they say to me, 'Where is the word of the LORD? Let it come true!' " (Jer. 17:15). Jer. 19:1–20:6 reports how, after the symbolic action of the smashing of an earthenware flask, Jeremiah was beaten and put in the stocks by Pashhur, the priest and chief officer of the temple, on account of this proclamation of judgment. The confession of Jer. 20:7–9 follows immediately after the passion: "the word of the LORD has meant for me insult" (20:8 JB). The prophet's resolve to proclaim the word of Yahweh no longer (20:9a) came up against the irresistible weight of the word which presses in on him, like some objective force, from within and without. The suppressed word of God burnt like a fire inside him, threatening disintegration, so that it seemed preferable to endure ridicule and maltreatment rather than be consumed by the burning of the word. Because Jeremiah stood on the side of those who have experienced the assault of the word of God, and because, as a messenger of the word of judgment, he was simultaneously drawn into the → suffering of God over his people, it belongs to the event of the word of God that the witness himself is broken. With no other prophet is the extent of the word of judgment entrusted to him, the suffering which he shares under the assault of the word of God, the suffering he feels at the taunt that the word of God has been proclaimed, but apparently not fulfilled, and the knowledge of the impossibility of escape from the commission to preach the word of God so clearly perceptible as in the case of Jeremiah. The story of the scroll in ch. 36, as also the suffering of Jeremiah himself, is intended to be understood as a kind of passion story of the word of God: man wants to burn the word (Jer. 36:23), but Yahweh's word remains in force even more fully than beforehand (Jer. 36:32). The fact that suffering with Jeremiah was an integral component part of the prophetic ministry is expressed at least (in formal respects) in the fact that, by contrast with the prophets before him, one can no longer clearly notice any formal demarcation between accusatory prophetic discourse and God's actual word of judgment (G. von Rad, op. cit., II, 69, 193).

The word of God is the criterion of false prophecy at the time of Zedekiah (598–587 B.C.). As the collection of sayings "concerning the prophets" (Jer. 23:9–40) shows, Jeremiah clashed with prophetic circles in Jerusalem which proclaimed after the first deportation of 598 B.C. that the disaster would be averted, and that the deportees would soon return (Jer. 23:16 ff.; 28:2 ff.). In the face of the sanguine words of these dreamers – what has the word of God to do with dreams? (Jer. 23:28) – Jeremiah proclaimed the abiding validity of God's powerful word of judgment: "Is not my word like fire, says the LORD, and like a hammer which breaks the rocks in pieces?" (Jer. 23:29). In his confrontation with the prophets of optimism and Hananiah, who proclaimed deliverance for Jerusalem, Jeremiah sought for the criteria of the true word of God in false prophecy. Anyone who has been present in Yahweh's council will not be able to tell his hearers what they desire (Jer. 23:18, 22).

When the word comes true it will be known whether the prophet has spoken Yahweh's word (Jer. 28:9). How little the prophet himself has these criteria at his disposal is shown in Jer. 28:11. Jeremiah is not able to counter Hananiah's proclamation of deliverance with any word of Yahweh and goes his way in order to wait for the renewed event of the word of God (Jer. 28:12). Yahweh's even more severe word of judgment (Jer. 28:12 ff.) thus links up with the breaking of the yoke and Hananiah's message of optimism. God's word of power does not leave man's negative reply out of account. However much the word of God may be accompanied by such signs, serving as criteria, these are not open to human manipulation, either objective or neutral. "The right to articulate the predicate 'false prophet' with authority is reserved alone for the prophet" who waits in obedience and readiness for the new event of the word of God (cf. G. Quell, *Wahre und falsche Propheten*, *BFChTh* 46, 1, 1952, 194).

(v) Ezekiel. The frequent appearance of the messenger formula, the appearance 60 times out of 241 OT occurrences of the phrase "word of Yahweh", the appearance 50 times out of a total of 113 occurrences of the word-event formula, which respectively mark the beginning of new units of speech, and finally the "oracle of God" formula – *n^e'um YHWH* "Oracle of Yahweh" or "utterance of Yahweh"– occurring 83 times in Ezek., and the concluding formula of the word of God – "I, Yahweh, have spoken it" – appearing 11 times, all make it obvious that, as with Jeremiah, we are dealing with an "already highly developed knowledge of the 'word of Yahweh' " (W. Zimmerli, *Ezechiel*, *BKAT* XIII III, 1969, 89).

Ezekiel was commanded at the outset to eat the scroll of the word of God (Ezek. 2:9–3:3). Ezekiel is called by the God who appears to him in a scene of the heavenly throne, making it clear that the decisive element in the depiction of the throne-vision is the commissioning of the word. The one sent by Yahweh is entrusted with a word, of which the strongly formal character is quite striking: "Thus has the Lord Yahweh spoken" (Ezek. 2:4). The formal wording of the commission (the messenger formula) is intended to make clear that the prophet's charge to proclaim the word does not rest primarily in a message with firmly fixed outlines and content, but in personal adherence to the Sender, who remains Lord of his word. Ezekiel's proclamation of the word of God is to be before everything else the reflex of his reception of that message (W. Zimmerli, op. cit., 73). Ezek. 2:10 pictures the hand of Yahweh stretched out towards the prophet and holding an open scroll, with writing on both sides, intended to display the oppressive surfeit of the word of God. In that the contents of what is written are named as "lamentation and mourning and woe", "the contents of the book are described from the perspective of the effects which the word written in the book and to be proclaimed by the prophet will bring to maturity" (W. Zimmerli, op. cit., 77). The effect of the word of God is powerful and direct. The roll is offered for the prophet to eat, and thus Jeremiah's picture of his ardent devouring of Yahweh's word as it comes to him (Jer. 15:16) is turned into dramatic reality in the experience of the prophet Ezekiel. The eating of the scroll (Jer. 3:2), the absorption of what is eaten into the inner self (Jer. 3:3), makes clear that the prophet becomes totally one with the word of God. This consent to the word of God excludes outbursts such as Jeremiah's, in the same way that Jeremiah's irresistible longing for the word of God (Jer. 15:16) has become "that which Yahweh has strictly ordered and commanded at the hour of his call" (Ezek. 3:1; cf. Zimmerli, op. cit., 78).

Ezekiel's speaking takes place in the knowledge of the absolute transcendence of the divine word. As already in the passion-story of the word of God in book form in Jer. 36, so now in the mention of the scroll in Ezek. the written form of the prophetic word of God is presupposed. In Ezek. 3:4, by way of conclusion, the command is given to "speak with my words to them". This describes Ezekiel's commission as the prophetic proclamation of the word of God, in correspondence with the word-event of Yahweh.

In Ezek. prophetic symbolic actions anticipate in event-form the history announced by the word of God. Symbolic actions are a vital element of the proclamation of the word of God in Ezekiel. In the brick which he besieges, the scanty fare which he eats, the cutting and destruction of his hair (Ezek. 4:1–5:4), but also in his carrying out an exile's baggage (Ezek. 12:1 ff.) and in marking out the two roads (Ezek. 21:23 ff.), Ezekiel is to give an active symbolic representation of the advance of the enemy, announced by the word of God, the beleaguering and reduction of the city, and the deportation of the population. By contrast with the accounts of prophetic actions in earlier prophecy, which follow an exposition and the account of the action with the interpretation (1 Ki. 22:10 f.; 2 Ki. 13:14–19; Jer. 13:1–11; 19; 28 f.), the introduction in Ezekiel is replaced by the divine word of command, and (with the exception of Ezek. 12:1–16 and 24:15–24) the actual performance of the action by the prophet is no longer reported, but simply the word of God which commands the action (cf. Ezek. 3:25–5:4; 12:17–20). This assimilation of the accounts of symbolic actions into the divine word of command in Ezekiel makes it clear, however, that the symbolic actions are absolutely and entirely the word of Yahweh embodied and becoming event, an anticipation in event-form of the history announced by the word of God (cf. W. Zimmerli, op. cit., 104). It is not, however, simply actively but also passively that the prophet, in his own person and fortunes (lying bound, Ezek. 4:4–8; trembling, Ezek. 12:17–20; numb in the face of his wife's death, Ezek. 24:15–24), is a prediction in word-form of coming events. Whereas in Jer. 4:19–21 the prophet's individual suffering and outcry are expressed unmodified, in Ezekiel all suffering is swallowed up into the word of Yahweh and put at the service of the proclamation of the word of God. It is because the word of God proclaimed by the prophet is not powerless, but itself occasions future history, that the prophet is a symbolic proclamation of the word of God, not only with his mouth, but also with his actions and his suffering, for in them the history which has been introduced by the word of God is already taking shape.

A feature of Ezek. is the debates. The fact that in the proclamation of the word of God it is not only a matter of a "majestic monologue by God, but a process of real encounter with the people of the nation of Israel" (W. Zimmerli, op. cit., 55) is shown in Ezek. by the form of discourse in which an answer is given in debate-form to a quotation of the people (Ezek. 12:21 ff.; 26:28). In answer to what the people are saying, that the prophetic word is not fulfilled and that the natural erosive process of time is taking effect on the word of God (Ezek. 12:21 f.), or that the word of God will only affect reality in the far-off future (Ezek. 12:27), Yahweh replies: "But I the LORD will speak the word which I will speak, and it will be performed. It will no longer be delayed, but in your days, O rebellious house, I will speak the word and perform it, says the Lord GOD" (Ezek. 12:25). Yahweh's word is a word which produces history; it is not eroded by time, and there is no possibility of banishing it to

the far future. The peculiarity of this form of debate in Ezek. consists in the fact that the quotations of the nation against which the word of Yahweh is directed are also entirely assimilated into the word of God. That is, in the quotations the actual hearer of the word of God has his say, but in the way that the word of God sees him.

The word of God comes as the word to the individual (the prophet as watchman). Ezek. 33:1–9 introduces the third section of the book, in which the word of Yahweh concerning the coming salvation is the central point. The great judgment on the nation has already overtaken them in the final fall of → Jerusalem and the final dissolution of the state of Judah. By contrast with the introductory account of his call in Ezek. 1:1–3:15 and his mission there to the whole nation "whether they listen or not" (Ezek. 2:5), Ezek. 33:1–9 has the force of a second calling of the prophet. The messenger of the word, who had Yahweh's burning word of judgment to proclaim, becomes after the fall of Jerusalem a watchman and a warner, delivering the word of Yahweh entirely to the individual. If the prophet hears a word from Yahweh's mouth, he is to warn the individual sinner (Ezek. 33:7). If he neglects to do so, Yahweh will require his blood at the hand of the prophet (Ezek. 33:8). The word of God thus refers the prophet to the individual recipient of the word with a directness unknown in previous prophecy, and assigns the responsibility for each individual life to the prophet – whereby the messenger of the word of God is himself at stake. The directedness of the word of God to an individual man has not been articulated in this way before Ezek.

The word of God is also creative in Ezek. In Ezek. 37:1–14 the vision of the raising of the bones of the dead is recounted. Taken to a field of completely dried-out bones, the prophet is given the charge of speaking Yahweh's word of promise over this field of the dead (Ezek. 37:4–6). At the spoken word of Yahweh the bones come together, and ligaments, flesh and skin grow over them. At a new word of Yahweh the breath of life comes into that which is still lying dead on the ground, so that the dead rise and stand up alive (Ezek. 37:9–10). This vision is God's reply to the resigned declaration of the nation (Ezek. 37:11, "our bones are dried up"), in which, for its confession of its lostness, Israel is promised new life, resurrection from the graves of the exile and safe conduct home to their own land (Ezek. 37:11–14). The following points should be remembered, with respect to Yahweh's word. (1) What is here depicted comes astonishingly close to the original creation of man by Yahweh (Gen. 1), but is heightened by the fact that this creation is a new creation out of the bones of the dead, i.e. of men whose history has reached a point of breakdown. Yahweh's word effects new creation from the dead. (2) If Yahweh, according to Gen. 1, creates by means of the creative word which he himself speaks, so in Ezek. 37:1–14 it is the "word of Yahweh" (37:4) proclaimed by the prophet which becomes the power which creates life from the dead. (3) This creative word of the prophet, however, does not represent a spell or any magical power. It is related to Yahweh's word of promise, which provides both the basis, the content and the interpretation of the prophetic discourse (Ezek. 37:4–6, 9, 11–14). (4) This creative word of Yahweh, proclaimed by the prophet, is not a magical potency ruling over nature. It is the resurrection of the scattered nation, its being led out of exile and home to its land, and the bestowal of the → Spirit. Yahweh's creative word is the opening of a new history which does not come about from the nation's own natural resources: it can only be expressed in the category of new creation from the dead by Yahweh's

creative word of promise (W. Zimmerli, op. cit., 885 ff.; K. Balzer, *Ezechiel und Deuterojesaja*, *BZAW* 121, 1971, 101 ff.).

(vi) Deutero-Isaiah. Many modern scholars regard Isa. 40–55 as the work of a prophet writing towards the end of the exile of the Jews in Babylon between approximately 550 and 538 B.C. His prophecy came to be included with that of Isaiah of Jerusalem. The following reconstruction takes account of this historical perspective. At the beginning of the exile there stands Ezekiel's unrelenting word of judgment; at the end we have Deutero-Isaiah's proclamation of the powerfully effective word of God, whose theme is Israel's salvation.

The word of God is the sole abiding reality (Isa. 40:8; 55:11). Isa. 40:1–8 relates the prophet's call. Vv. 1–5 speak of comforting the nation and building a road through the desert. The prophet counters the summons to "proclaim" with the resigned question, "What shall I cry? All flesh is grass . . ." (v. 6). It is the complaint of those who are left in exile, those who have felt the breath of Yahweh's judgment (vv. 6 f.). By contrast with the despair and scepticism of the prophet who stands in solidarity with his people comes the message: "the word of our God remains for ever" (40:8 JB). This word of God is the foundation of all the prophet's proclamation; his whole proclamation is summed up in Isa. 40:8 and 56:6–11 (C. Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66*, 1969, 8). The subject-matter of this word is that the nation will be forgiven, comforted and led back home along the desert-road. This word of God is not the word which stands dualistically opposed to a world of transience and death, but the word which is spoken into history, bringing about a new history and a new future: as the rain waters the earth and causes the crops to spring up, "so shall my word be that goes forth from my mouth; it shall not return to me empty, but it shall accomplish that which I purpose, and prosper in the thing for which I sent it" (Isa. 55:11). It is this creative power of the word of God in history, which will be realized in the return of the nation from exile, which Deutero-Isaiah proclaims.

The word of God is expressed by the word of the prophet. Isa. 40:8, in connexion with the call of the prophet, spoke of the permanence of the word of God, and Isa. 55:11 spoke equally of the word which changes the world, which effects that "for which I sent it" (O. Grether, op. cit., 134). The word of God powerful in history is the word of God proclaimed by the prophet he has sent. By contrast with the soothsayers and oracle-mongers of Babylon (Isa. 44:25), Yahweh has honoured the word of judgment of Israel's prophets (Isa. 44:26). But if Yahweh has made their word of judgment come true, then he will also make the saving action proclaimed by his prophets come true (Isa. 44:27). The movement in history announced by Deutero-Isaiah is the out-working of a word, which does not return empty (cf. Isa. 45:23).

The word of God is vindicated by world-history. In the face of the world of the Babylonian gods the question must be asked: What is the power which alone is at work in history? Deutero-Isaiah's answer runs: Yahweh alone is the God, whose word of promise creates history. He is the One who surpasses the idols of Babylon in that the events of Israel's history have all been announced and correspondingly taken place. "The reliable connexion between God's speaking and his acting is the decisive argument in the judicial proceedings between Yahweh and the gods" (C. Westermann, op. cit., 16; cf. Isa. 41:26 f.; 43:9 f.; 44:7; 45:21; 48:14). God's power and

right of disposal in his word over future history is the real proof that he is God, as against the impotence of the idols (Isa. 44:1).

The word of God is the ground of the creation of the world. Deutero-Isaiah extends the compass of the word of God to a dimension which it had never reached in any prophet before him, namely, to the creation of the world by the word of Yahweh (Isa. 40:26; 58:13; 50:3). The stars, which were regarded in Babylon as the supreme gods, are creations of Yahweh's word. By his word Yahweh has created the world and called the whole host of the stars of heaven into existence (Isa. 40:26). By contrast with the creative power of the word of Marduk, the creative word of Yahweh is here proclaimed as not only causing history, but calling the whole of creation into existence. The proclamation of the creation of the world by the word signifies the extension of the historical efficacy of the word of God into the world of creation, whereby the creation of the world itself becomes an element in Yahweh's saving activity in history.

The word of God is a word of deliverance and salvation. In view of the exile and the persisting Babylonian domination, was it possible to believe the prophet with his proclamation of the word of Yahweh as creating history in its dimensions of creation and in its dimensions of past and future? It is from this angle that one should understand the literary category of the priestly word of deliverance, which the prophet adopts in his proclamation to "those of little faith and those who had grown very weary, for whom reality wore a very different appearance, because they felt themselves forsaken by God and were unable to believe that Jahweh cared about their 'way' " (G. von Rad, op. cit., II, 249; cf. Isa. 41:8 ff.; 45:9 ff.; 49:14 ff.; 54:4 ff.). This word of deliverance is for Deutero-Isaiah the most characteristic form of a promise of salvation, utilizing, as it does, the form of favourable hearing by a priest in answer to an individual's complaint (1 Sam. 1; cf. J. Begrich, *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament*, *ThB* 21, 1964, 217 ff.). The word of God which he has to proclaim is directed to every member of this nation as a whole in his most individual and personal self (cf. C. Westermann, op. cit., 12 ff.). The word which embraces the world and history, which Yahweh has put in the prophet's mouth (Isa. 51:16), and which makes his mouth a sharp sword (Isa. 49:2), is at the same time there, "so that I [the prophet] may know how to sustain with a word him that is weary" (Isa. 50:4). The mighty word which calls the world and history into existence is also the word of deliverance and salvation with which God lovingly condescends to his people and woos their heart, so hardened by suffering. "Never before had he [Jahweh] come so close to his people when he addressed them, laying aside anything which might alarm them in case he should terrify one of those who had lost heart" (G. von Rad, op. cit., II, 250).

5. *The Word of God as Covenant Commandment.* (a) "The words" constitute the proclamation of God's will for justice. The commandments, the proclamation of God's will for justice, are called "the ten words" in Exod. 34:28 (cf. Gk. "decalogue"), and described more precisely as "the words of the covenant". It is not they which are the basis of the covenant (cf. O. Procksch *TDNT* IV 99); it is the → covenant grounded in Yahweh's election which includes the covenant ordinances. The proclamation of God's will for justice is introduced in Exod. 20:1 by "Yahweh spoke all these words". Thus the communication of these commands is founded by the introductory preamble in Exod. 20:2 on the self-disclosure of Yahweh and the

leading out of the nation from → Egypt. This is also expressed in the account of the ratification of the covenant attached to the so-called Book of the Covenant (Exod. 20:22–23:19). In Exod. 24:3–8 Moses recounted to the people "all the words of Yahweh and all the ordinances", and the people answered with one voice, "All the words which Yahweh has spoken we will do." Then Moses wrote down "all the words of Yahweh" (Exod. 24:3 f.).

(b) The Covenant Commandments and the Prophets' Message of Judgment. The way in which the prophets viewed their commission of validating the authority of the covenant commandment against judicial malpractice and law-breaking in Israel is shown in Amos, who measures Israel by the old covenant regulations. Among the reasons for the word of judgment which he announced, Amos names the oppression of the → poor (Amos 2:7 f.; 3:9 f.) and the perversion of justice as transgression of the covenant order (cf. Exod. 22:30 ff.; 23:1 ff.). In Hosea the consequence of transgressing the covenant law (Hos. 4:2) is that Yahweh gives notice of the abrogation of the covenant: You are "Not-my-people" (Hos. 1:9). And in Jeremiah's temple speech the people have their sin uncovered in a decalogue-like array of justice (cf. the enumeration of stealing, murdering, committing adultery and perjury, Jer. 7:9), and words of judgment (Jer. 7:1 ff.). Equally, the threat to the nation in the covenant law, if they transgress the commandment, provides the background to the description of → Jerusalem as "the city of blood" (Ezek. 22) and Ezekiel's announcement of judgment. Thus one sees already quite clearly in the prophetic proclamation the close association of God's powerful word of judgment, which announces and forms the prelude to coming history, and the judicial proclamation of covenant law which provides the foundation for the word of judgment (R. Bach, *Gottesrecht*, 23 ff.; W. Zimmerli, *The Law and the Prophets: A Study of the Meaning of the Old Testament*, 1965).

(c) "The Word" as a Designation of the Whole Commandment. In Deuteronomy not only is the covenant commandment designated as "the ten words" (Deut. 4:13; 10:4), but the multiplicity of commandments are designated as "words" (cf. Deut. 1:1, 18; 4:10, 36; 5:5; 28:14), and an individual commandment as a "word" (Deut. 12:28; 15:15; 24:18, 22). However, in so far as in Deut. "the words of this Torah" (Deut. 17:19; 27:3; 28:58; 29:28), despite the great variety of individual commandments, are understood for the first time as the simple uniform revelation of the will of Yahweh to Israel, "word" also appears in the sing. to denote the whole commandment (Deut. 4:2; cf. Jos. 1:13), and in consequence to express total human dependence on "this word" (cf. this word "is your life", Deut. 32:47). Every seven years, in the context of the festival of the renewal of the covenant, the divine covenant-law with its promises and threats (cf. the curses in Deut. 27) was read out at the great national assembly, "that they may hear and learn to fear the LORD your God, and be careful to do all the words of this law" (Deut. 31:12). The concentration on the one God (Deut. 6:4), the one sanctuary (Deut. 12) and the one "word" (Deut. 4:2) reveals Deut.'s theological concern. "The whole revelation of the divine will for justice imparted to Israel in the covenant, brought near to it by Yahweh and laid in its heart and mouth (30:14) is thus simply *dāḇār* [word]" (W. Zimmerli, *RGG* ³ VI 1810).

6. *The Word of God and History in the Deuteronomistic History.* Deuteronomistic history, beginning in Deut. 1–3 with a glance backwards to the time of →

Moses, and then presenting the history of the conquest of the land, the judges and the kings, i.e. comprising the books from Deut. to 2 Ki., is thought by many to-day to have been written in its final form after the catastrophe of 587 B.C. from the theological standpoint of the book of Deut.

(a) The curse of the covenant commandment. Deuteronomistic history presents the history of Israel in both northern and southern kingdoms as a story of progressive apostasy from Yahweh's commandment, especially from the summons of Deut. to worship Yahweh at only one place (Deut. 12). Judgment on Israel and Judah (2 Ki. 17:7 ff., 19 f.) is the consequence of the powerful effect of God's word of justice and of law in Israel's history, and therefore the honouring of the possibility of the curse announced in Deut. (Deut. 27:15 ff.; 28:15). The curse in Deut. was thus no empty word (Deut. 32:47), but became reality in the history of Israel's downfall.

(b) The threat of the prophets. Not only was the curse of the covenant commandment realized in the history of Israel and Judah, but so also was the threat of the prophets. Deuteronomistic history portrayed the course of history it presented, a period of almost 700 years of Israelite history from the time of Moses to the Babylonian exile, in terms of the interconnexion between the promulgation of prophetic threats, and their corresponding historical fulfilment, making use of a fixed terminology. The prophetic word "is confirmed" (Deut. 9:5), "does not fail" (Jos. 21:45; 23:14; 1 Ki. 8:56; 2 Ki. 10:10), "it is established" (1 Sam. 1:23; 15:11, 13; 2 Sam. 7:25; 1 Ki. 2:4; 6:12; 8:20; 12:15), "it comes to pass" (Jos. 23:15), "it is fulfilled" (1 Ki. 2:27; 8:15, 24). "To show how this word functioned in history" (G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, II, 94 n. 23) and "the correspondence between promulgated word and historical fulfilment" (op. cit., I, 340) are that which undergirds the concern of Deuteronomistic history (cf. Deut. 18:21 f.).

(c) The summons to return. In teaching, however, that the history of total annihilation should be understood as the fulfilment of Moses' curse and the honouring of the prophetic threat, Deuteronomistic history understood itself at the same time as a call to return (1 Ki. 8:46–53). As again and again after times of apostasy and judgment new deeds of deliverance followed a return to Yahweh (Jdg. 2:11–22; 1 Sam. 12:6–25), so, in view of the totality of the judgment, it remains an open question as to whether "it might not yet come to an entirely new phase with entirely new provisions of salvation for the people who are Yahweh's possession" (H. W. Wolff, op. cit., *ThB* 22, 314). "The work therefore contributes to an urgent invitation to return to the God who brings salvation in history" (op. cit., 322). But this means, with respect to the word of God proclaimed by the prophet, that the goal of the proclamation of God's word of judgment is not that (as with fortune-telling) it should become history, but that people should return to Yahweh. Hence, the announcement of judgment might not come true (Jer. 25:3 ff.; 26:2 ff.; 36:2 f.; Ezek. 18:1 ff.; 32:1 ff.; Jon. 3:8 ff.), or that, once executed, the judgment might itself become the message as in Deuteronomistic history.

(d) The promise to David. Alongside the fulfilment of the curse and the message of judgment in Israel's history, and this history as itself a summons to return, there is the word of promise. But the significance it deserves is disputed. If we follow G. von Rad, the promise given to → David in 2 Sam. 7 stands as a heading to Israel's history of judgment. The final notice in the Deuteronomistic history of the liberation of king Jehoiachin and his elevation to the table of the king of Babylon (2 Ki. 25:7–30) is

also intended to turn people's expectation to the God who has made his promise to David concerning the future of the Son of David, and who keeps faith even in face of judgment (G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, I, 343 f.). However, Deuteronomistic history teaches that the history of Israel should be understood as the fulfilment of the covenant commandment proclaimed by Moses with its possibilities of blessing and curse. It honours the threats announced by the prophets and is thus a summons to return to Yahweh. At the same time it brings a reminder of the promise even in face of Israel's history of judgment. Thus both elements of the word of God are bound together here, as indeed they already had been in the pre-exilic prophets (cf. above 5 (b)). "The word of God is here both the permanently present demand of the commandment in the nation and also the continually new proclamation in the prophetic word which affects and shapes history" (Zimmerli, *RGG*^{3} VI 1810). What Zimmerli says here of the prophetic word is true of the word of promise, the summons to return and the message of judgment.

7. *The Word of God as the Word of the Creator.* The fact that the OT conception of the creative power of the word of God is influenced by ancient oriental hymns (L. Dürr, op. cit., 8 ff.; cf. above, 2), which praise the thunder and violence of Marduk's voice in the storm, is shown by Ps. 29, which portrays the appearance of Yahweh in the storm (v. 3 ff.) and hears God's booming word of power in the thunder-clap. There is a two-fold distinction between the OT conception and that of the ancient orient, which saw the mighty word of the divinity as a dynamic potency which emanated from the divinity and held sway over nature.

(a) In the OT there is a correlation of the word of the Creator with God's word of salvation (Pss. 33:6, 9; 148:5, 8). Yahweh's word in creation, by which he called heaven into existence (Ps. 33:6, "by the word of Yahweh the heavens were made") is an element of Yahweh's historical lordship in word and deed (Ps. 33:4) and of his covenant-based condescension to the poor (Ps. 33:13 ff.). The protological word of the Creator (Ps. 33:6) has the function of serving the soteriological word of salvation (Ps. 33:4). The determination of this relationship is confirmed by the first creation narrative (ascribed to the priestly tradition) which not only speaks of the word of command of Yahweh the Creator, by whose power all things come into existence (Gen. 1), but also intends creation by the word to be understood as the opening chapter of the history of the covenant. C. Westermann represents a critical approach to Pentateuchal study when he writes: "In the great context of the Priestly Code God's working by the word is in no way limited to the creation; his activity in history is similarly determined", and this (following the Priestly representation) reaches its climax in the establishment of the cult (Exod. 25:1; C. Westermann, *Genesis*, *BKAT*, I, 153). In this association of the word of the Creator with the covenant- and salvation-history of Yahweh in his dealings with Israel Gen. 1 corresponds with the proclamation of Isa. 40–55.

(b) There is also a correlation of the word of the Creator with God's word of law (Ps. 147:15 ff.). In Ps. 147:15 ff. the creative word of God is specifically linked with meteorological phenomena; Yahweh's word, sent out like a messenger (Ps. 147:15, "He sends forth his command to the earth, his word runs swiftly"), brings snow (v. 16) and hail (v. 17). Yahweh's word also causes the ice to melt again (v. 18). But this creative word which holds sway over nature is none other than the word of the covenant commandment, by which Yahweh lays claim to Israel: "He declares his word to

Jacob, his statutes and ordinances to Israel" (v. 19). Israel consequently does not understand the creative word mythically or naturalistically but in accord "with the word of law and lordship which was imparted to the chosen people. . . . Having had the word of law and lordship imparted to them, the chosen people came to know and understand the God who rules nature by his word, and who bears and sustains all creation" (H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen* XV/I, 1972 [4], 958 f.).

Thus in the OT Yahweh's creative word is to be understood only in close connexion with the word of God as the word of salvation (the word of promise) and as the word of law (the covenant commandment). It is this which constitutes the specifically Israelite understanding of the word of God.

8. For the understanding of the word of God in Judaism → *rhēma* OT 2; for the religious historical background to John's Gospel see also under NT 4 (b).

NT 1. *The Occurrence and significance of logos and legō in the NT.* (a) *logos* is attested 331 times in the NT (appearing in all writings except Phlm. and Jude), with both secular and theological meanings. *logos* means *inter alia* statement (Matt. 5:37), utterance (Matt. 12:32; 15:12; Lk. 20:20), question (Matt. 21:24), command (Lk. 4:36), report, information and rumour (Acts 11:22; Matt. 28:15; Mk. 1:45; Lk. 5:15), discourse (Matt. 15:12), wording (1 Cor. 15:2), word of mouth (Acts 15:27; 2 Cor. 10:10) as opposed to the written (Acts 1:1) word, mere words by contrast with power and action (1 Thess. 1:5; 1 Cor. 4:19), object, matter (Mk. 9:10; Acts 8:21), words of Scripture (1 Cor. 15:54), words of warning (Heb. 5:11), account (Rom. 14:12), settlement (of an account) (Phil. 4:15), motive (Acts 10:29), proclamation, teaching, instruction (Lk. 4:32; 10:39; Jn. 4:41; 17:20), the word of God, the word of the Lord, the word of promise, of truth, of life, the word of Jesus, the word concerning Jesus Christ (Acts passim), Jesus as the Word (Jn. 1:1, 14).

(b) *legō*, to speak, appears 1320 times in the NT, mostly unstressed, but sometimes used with the theological, qualified significance discussed below (cf. the → Amen-words under 2 (a) (iii), and Jesus' words of healing 2 (a) (iv)). The vb. *laleō*, to speak, which belongs to another stem and is less important, however (298 instances), is used primarily by Luke (Gospel and Acts 91 times), John and Paul (60 times each, including 34 times in 2 Cor.). *logikos*, reasonable, is found only in Rom. 12:1 and 1 Pet. 2:2; *logios*, scholarly, educated, only in Acts 18:24. The diminutive *logion* (formed from *logos*), saying (originally a short word, oracle), is attested only 4 times in the NT (Acts 7:38; Rom. 3:2; Heb. 5:12; 1 Pet. 4:11), always of some form of divine inspiration.

2. *The Word of Jesus Christ*: Jesus' own words. (a) The proclamation of Jesus. At the centre of Jesus' words stands the → proclamation of God's pressing nearness and the announcement of the inauguration of God's world-wide dominion (→ Kingdom), already present in Jesus' person and words. Jesus' words therefore announce neither simply the presence, nor exclusively the future of the kingdom of God. Rather, Jesus spoke of a present coming of the future kingdom of God which was already taking place in his words. But in Jesus' proclamation one finds no absolute use of "the word of God". Mk. 4:13–20, the sole place where this term is encountered in the mouth of Jesus, is regarded by J. Jeremias and others as belonging to the early church's interpretation of the parables (Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus*, 1963 [2], 77 (but → Parable, art. *parabolē* NT 3).

(i) The lack of messenger and word-event formulae. Nowhere did Jesus follow the OT prophets in prefacing his words with the messenger formula "thus says the Lord"; and, in the context of his proclamation, the word-event formula "the word of God came to me" is similarly lacking. This OT formula occurs once only in Lk. 3:2 (*rhēma theou egeneto*, "the word of God came to John") in the case of John the Baptist, who is however placed in the time of the OT prophets (Lk. 16:16). It is lacking similarly in apostolic times. The lack of messenger and word-event formulae in the case of Jesus is an indication that Jesus' proclamation cannot be understood simply in prophetic categories.

"There can be only one reason why the idea of a detailed Word of God imparted to Jesus Himself has not found its way into the [Synoptic] record. This is that such an idea was felt to be inappropriate and inadequate to describe the relationship of Jesus with God" (G. Kittel, *TDNT* IV 114). The saying of Jesus that the Father had delivered everything to him (Matt. 11:27) "set the unity of Jesus with the Father and also with the Word of God, on a completely different basis far beyond isolated impartation" (ibid.).

(ii) The antitheses and the Amen-formulae. There is a positive correspondence with this lack of messenger and word-event formulae in the proclamation of Jesus in the presence of introductory formulae, which show that the claim of Jesus breaks the bounds of that of an OT prophet of the word. In the antitheses of the Sermon on the Mount with the schematized, "You have heard that it was said to the men of old . . . but I say to you" (Matt. 5:21 ff.), Jesus annuls the statements of the past which were regarded as having divine authority, setting his own "I" in the place where, in the prophets, we find Yahweh's.

In this, Jesus is not claiming, as the OT prophets and the rabbis did, to be the legitimate interpreter of the → law of God. He is instead setting himself up over against the Torah. While in the Qumran community "the radicalized demand of the divine commandment is nowhere set over against the Torah of Moses" (E. Lohse, "*Ich aber sage euch*", in E. Lohse, ed., *Der Ruf Jesu und die Antwort der Gemeinde. Exegetische Untersuchungen Joachim Jeremias zum 70. Geburtstag*, 1970, 189–203, see p. 197), Jesus is speaking in the antitheses as once the God of Moses did, and thus setting himself and his words up directly alongside God and the word of God. The same is true of the formula, "Amen, I say to you" (cf. Mk. 3:28; 8:12; 9:1, 41; 10:15, 29; 11:23; 12:43; 13:30; 14:18–25, 30 and par.), which has no analogy in the whole of the Jewish literature (→ Amen). The Amen-formula normally served to strengthen someone else's words, and was used in OT times to adopt words of blessing or cursing (G. Dalman, *The Words of Jesus*, 1902, 226–29), but Jesus used it without exception in order to preface and strengthen his own words. As such, however, it is not to be compared with the messenger-formula used by prophets (J. Jeremias, *New Testament Theology*, I, 35 f.). Rather, the placing of the Amen in front of Jesus' own words characterizes them as something sure and trustworthy. "Thus in the *amēn* preceding the *legō hymin* of Jesus we have the whole of Christology *in nuce*" (H. Schlier, *amēn TDNT* I 338). The Amen-formula which prefaces Jesus' words is an expression of Jesus' divine certainty of himself and the divine self-authentication of his own words.

(iii) The authority of Jesus' words. His use of the Amen-formula and "I" shows that Jesus intended his word to take the place of the Torah. It was stated in contem-

porary Judaism that the man who hears the words of the Torah and does good works is building on firm ground. We find Jesus saying "he who hears these words of mine and does them will be like a wise man who built his house upon the rock" (Matt. 7:24; cf. Deut. 28:15, 30). The "I" of Jesus which speaks here is claiming divine authority. "What distinguishes his word even from the highest claims of the prophets of old is the fact that Jesus makes people's decision dependent on the hearing and doing of his own words. The OT prophets know that they are the bearers of the word of God – nothing less. But none of them says that 'his words' do not pass away or that it is by his words that the fate of his hearers will be decided. But, according to all the traditions, this is precisely what Jesus says" (J. Schniewind, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus*, *NTD* 2, 1968[12], 105; cf. Mk. 8:38; 13:31).

The authority of Jesus' word is seen in his call to → discipleship: "and he said to him, 'Follow me' " (Mk. 2:14; cf. 1:14 ff.). This call of Jesus, which confronts men in the midst of their everyday work, is not bound to any pre-conditions. It comes about through the efficacious word of Jesus, which makes men's response appear as something quite self-evident. The power of this word is further reflected in the response of the hearers. They either took offence at Jesus' words (Mk. 10:22; Matt. 15:12) or were amazed at his words, "for he taught as one who had authority, and not as their scribes" (Matt. 7:29). Alternatively, they attempted "to entrap him in his talk [*logō*]" (Mk. 12:13 par. Matt. 22:15, Lk. 20:20), because it is in his words that his claim and the centre of his mission can be seen.

(iv) The unity of Jesus' words and deeds. The power of Jesus' word is also shown not least in the stories of → healing, where the healings ensue (Mk. 1:25 f.; Lk. 7:14 f.) through the word of Jesus (Mk. 2:11, "I say to you, rise . . ."), and through his word of command (Mk. 9:25). The connexion between Jesus' word of forgiveness (Mk. 2:5) and his word of healing (Mk. 2:11) is to be noted: the word of healing is the physical expression of Jesus' word of forgiveness. The word of the Judge of the world, who has the power to forgive sins, is proved in the healing to be an effective and a creative word.

The healings are part of Jesus' word and are not to be detached from his proclamation. According to Lk. 4:18, Jesus related the prophetic word of Isa. 61:1 f. to his own mission. God had sent him to bring good news to the poor and sight to the blind. This denotes the unity of word and deed in Jesus' proclamation. But it is not only the unity of word and deed, but the superiority of word over deed which is characteristic for Jesus' proclamation. Mk. 1:21–38 recounts the various healings performed by Jesus and finally his "flight" (Mk. 1:35 ff.) where he gives the disciples who are looking for him the reply: "Let us go elsewhere . . . so that I can preach there, too, because that is why I came" (Mk. 1:38 JB). It becomes obvious that Jesus' deeds (→ Miracle, art. *sēmeion*) are subordinated to his word in those accounts of healings where the healing takes place by means of Jesus' word – "But only say the word, and my servant will be healed" (Matt. 8:8) – something without parallel in Jesus' world, and thus striking for the eye-witnesses (cf. also Matt. 8:16: "he cast out the spirits with a word"). The proclamation of the kingdom of God takes place by means of Jesus' word, and Jesus' healings are the physical expression of his word.

(b) Jesus' Unconcealed Word of Suffering and of the Cross: Mark's Gospel. Mk. 1:45 ("he [the healed man] went about and began to talk about it and to spread the news [*ton logon*] . . .") and the phrase "he [Jesus] spoke the word to them", which

appears in Mk. 4:33, cf. 2:2 and 8:32, belong entirely to the Marcan redaction (E. Schweizer, *Neotestamentica. Deutsche und englische Aufsätze, 1951–1963*, 1963, 100; J. Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus*, 1963 [2], 77). They are therefore to be interpreted in the context of Mk.'s theology. According to Mk., Jesus forbade those who had been healed to say anything further about the miracle of their healing (Mk. 1:44; 5:43; 7:36); people must not get to know that Jesus is the messiah by hearing tales of miracles (→ Secret). But it is stressed at the same time that Jesus' commands to keep silence were broken again and again (Mk. 1:45; 7:36). Mk. recounts this breaking of the command to keep silence because Jesus' divine authority cannot remain hidden, but he stresses the secrecy because it is not yet time for the proclamation of Jesus: his mystery is not yet revealed in his → miracles; it is first truly revealed at the → cross (cf. E. Schweizer, *The Good News According to Mark*, 1970, 30 f.). The real centre of the story of Jesus is not to be found in the miracles, but in his suffering and death.

In the first part of Mk.'s Gospel, the collection of conflict-debates (Mk. 2:1–3:6), which recount Jesus' victory over sin and law, the hardening of the → Pharisees' hearts and their decision to put Jesus to death, is introduced with the sentence "and he [Jesus] was preaching the word to them" (Mk. 2:2). The Pharisees' response to the "speaking of the word [*elalei ton logon*]", which proves the power of Jesus over sin and the law, was blindness to God's revelation in his word. In the second part (Mk. 3:7–6:6) Jesus replied to the hardness of heart of his relations ("he is beside himself [*exestē*]", Mk. 3:21) and to his rejection by the → scribes from Jerusalem ("he is possessed by Beelzebul", v. 22) by speaking in → parables (v. 23). Mk. 4:33 f. establishes the necessity of parabolic language in retrospect: "With many such parables he spoke the word to them, as they were able to hear it; he did not speak to them without a parable, but privately to his own disciples he explained everything". God's revelation in Jesus' word is so foreign to men that all Jesus' speaking can be done only in pictorial language. Only God himself can open up such pictorial language for men.

By contrast with Jesus' concealing teaching in parables, Mk. 8:32 speaks of the direct unconcealed speaking of Jesus: "and he said this plainly." The content of this direct word of Jesus is the suffering and death of the Son of man (8:31). The word of the → cross is the dissolution of all pictorial speech: "The mystery which has previously been hidden and is now unconcealed is the suffering of the Son of Man" (E. Schweizer, op. cit., 100). For Jesus' word of power over demons, sin and the law remains a concealed word so long as it is not understood in the light of Jesus' unconcealed word concerning his suffering and death. In understanding the word of God, there is thus mirrored the thought that Mk. wished his gospel to be understood as a passion story with extended introduction (M. Kähler). In that Jesus' words and deeds, together with his death and resurrection, are thus proclaimed by Mk. as the word of God, the transition to the "word of the cross and resurrection" as the decisive subject-matter of NT proclamation becomes readily intelligible.

(c) The Messiah of the Word and the Messiah of Deed: Matthew's Gospel. Matthew not only presents the words of Jesus in large blocks of discourses (the Sermon on the Mount in chs. 5–7, the sending out of the Twelve in ch. 10, discourses against the Pharisees in chs. 12 and 23, parables in ch. 13, behaviour in the Christian community in ch. 18, and the apocalyptic discourse in ch. 24), but also gives expres-

sion to his understanding of the word of Jesus by the way, in particular, in which he has related the Sermon on the Mount (chs. 5–7) to the collection of ten narratives of miracles of Jesus (chs. 8 f.): the Sermon on the Mount (the *word* of the messiah) is followed by the deeds of Jesus (the → work of the messiah). Matt. has expressed this basic thought not only by his compositorial placing of the Sermon on the Mount before the miracle narratives, but also by the redactional sentences Matt. 4:23 and 9:35 which act as a surrounding frame for chs. 5–9: Jesus "proclaimed the gospel of the kingdom and healed every kind of sickness ... among the people" (Matt. 4:23; 9:25). "The basic aspects of Jesus' working are here described: He is a preacher, the messiah of the word ... and, in healing, the messiah of the act" (J. Schniewind, op. cit., 8). Finally, chs. 5–9 are summarized and pointed in the words of Jesus, quoted deliberately at the end by Matt: the blind see, the lame walk, lepers are cleansed and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up and the poor have the good news proclaimed to them (Matt. 11:5).

In this Jesus-logion, the word concerning the good news preached to the poor, which stands at the end as a climax to the list of miracles enumerated, is transparently the central point; from this it is evident "that the good news is to be more than all miracles" (Schniewind, op. cit., 140). The importance of the placing of this word of Jesus at the end and as a climax to the enumeration is characteristic of Matt., although it seemed odd even to the earliest exegetes. Some MSS have moved the word about the resurrection of the dead to the end of Jesus' words or left the word about the good news out entirely, because the resurrection of the dead seemed to them to be something far greater than the word of Jesus. For Matt. (and for Jesus) the case is exactly the reverse: the word of Jesus is the centre, the healings performed by Jesus' word (Matt. 8:8, 16) are an accompaniment in the form of signs to the word of Jesus. They are a physical expression of his mightily creative word (G. Eichholz, *Tradition und Interpretation*, *ThB* 29, 1965, 39–43).

3. *The Word Concerning Jesus Christ*: the Cross and Resurrection as the Content of the word of God. (a) The understanding of the word of God in Paul. Paul calls the message proclaimed by him to his congregation "the word of God" (1 Cor. 14:36; 2 Cor. 2:17; 4:2; Phil. 1:14), "the word" (1 Thess. 1:6; Gal. 6:6), "the word of the Lord" (1 Thess. 1:8), or "the word of God which you heard from us" (1 Thess. 2:13).

(i) The word of tradition. However much Paul was aware that the word of God which he had to proclaim was founded directly on the revelation of the Son of God outside Damascus (Gal. 1:1, 15 f.), and distinguished him from other proclaimers of the word whose legitimation was mediated through men, he stressed just as much, on the other side, that the message proclaimed by himself and the Jerusalem apostles is the same (→ Proclamation). Closely following an old Jerusalem confession, Paul preached the message of the Son of God, who, on the basis of the resurrection, was designated Son of God in all his power (Rom. 1:3 f.).

Paul reminds the spiritual party in Corinth of the message of salvation in accordance with the word (*logō*, i.e. wording) in which he proclaimed it to them, which he passed on to them in the same terms in which he himself received it (1 Cor. 15:1–3), the content of these traditions from Jerusalem quoted by Paul in the text being the resurrection of the messiah who had died for sins (1 Cor. 15:3–5). The word of God proclaimed by Paul is constitutively related to the cross and resurrection of Jesus as

the object of the proclamation; here the remembrance of that which took place then is not simply an appeal to faith in the word of God (as with R. Bultmann, "The Concept of the Word of God in the New Testament", in *Faith and Understanding*, 1969, 286–312, see especially 300 ff.). The word of God for Paul is the message of a unique event at that time, and as such speaks to people: this is the message "by which you are saved, if you hold it fast – unless you believed in vain" (1 Cor. 15:1 f.).

(ii) The word of the cross. Paul describes the centre of his proclamation as "the word of the cross". He has publicly proclaimed the crucified Christ in the Galatian congregations (Gal. 3:1), and made it the sole content of his preaching (1 Cor. 2:2). In the word of the → cross, Paul puts into words "what took place on the cross. Here a decision about mankind has been given by God. The message depends on what has happened. It proclaims the decision which has already been given" (G. Eichholz, op. cit., 105). This word of the cross stands in absolute opposition to the "wisdom of this world" (1 Cor. 1:18–3:20), in that it makes nonsense of the → wisdom of this world and the boasting of those who claimed superior knowledge (1 Cor. 4:8), and it thereby stands in opposition to a theology of glory consonant with such a wisdom, where the cross and the Crucified One no longer have any place (cf. 1 Cor. 2:8).

The message of the decision given about the world on the cross is in its critical function as the "word of the cross" related to the typical Jew, who asks for proof of God's power, and to the typical Greek, who asks for divine wisdom (1 Cor. 1:22 ff.). The word of the cross, with its reference to the varying Jewish and Gk. preconceptions, does not merely signify here the correcting but the exploding of the prior understanding, since man "just does not comprehend the message along the lines of his prior understanding. For God does not confront him along the lines of such a prior understanding" (G. Eichholz, op. cit., 111; against R. Bultmann, op. cit.). However much the word of the cross, as the message of God's once-and-for-all decision in favour of the world given on the cross, is concretely related to its Jewish and Gk. hearers, it nevertheless destroys all their previously held misconceptions. The word of the cross is the central conception and criterion of the Pauline proclamation. But in that the word of the cross is at the same time "the word of life" (Phil. 2:16) – as the Crucified One is at the same time the Risen One – this word signifies the power of God and the wisdom of God (1 Cor. 1:24 ff.) for those Jews and Greeks who are called. For "Christ's death is not annulled by the resurrection and exaltation: rather it is held on to, made operative as a saving event in both judgment and deliverance, and so becomes the subject matter of preaching" (G. Bornkamm, *Paul*, 1971, 160).

(iii) The word of → reconciliation. The word of the cross is called "the word of reconciliation" by Paul in 2 Cor. 5:19. This word, which is passed on by the apostolic "ministry of reconciliation", is founded on the event of reconciliation in the death of Jesus "while we were yet sinners" (Rom. 5:8–10). The reconciliation, which is related to and embraces all men, is the Pauline development of the universal representative statements of the early church (cf. 2 Cor. 5:14, "one has died for all"), and is developed later on in Col. 1:19–22. This universal reconciliation of the world with God in the death of Christ establishes and grounds "the word of reconciliation" (2 Cor. 5:19; cf. Col. 1:25), according to Paul, as the message of this event once and for all.

The word of reconciliation is to be distinguished from the reconciliation itself, as grounded in it; it is not that the event of the reconciliation of the world with God

comes about further in the word of reconciliation, as though the word of Christian proclamation and the history which it communicates coincide, are indeed one (cf. R. Bultmann, op. cit., 305 ff.). By contrast with claims of a coincidence between NT kerygma (→ Proclamation, art. *kērysso*) and the event proclaimed (Bultmann), Paul distinguishes between the *historical event* of the reconciliation of the world and *the speaking event of the word* of proclamation concerning this event. The word of reconciliation "looks back at a conclusive event that has already happened, and forward from this to the revelation of the conclusion which has already taken place in this event" (K. Barth, *CD* IV, 2, 204). On the other hand, commenting on the phrase "ministry of reconciliation" (2 Cor. 5:19), F. Büchsel writes, "Since the *diakonia tēs katallagēs* [ministry of reconciliation] has not yet come to an end, and the world has not yet heard the *logos tēs katallagēs* [word of reconciliation] in all its members, reconciliation itself must not be thought of as concluded" (*TDNT* I 257). The event of reconciliation in the death of Christ is neither to be separated from the event of proclaiming the word of reconciliation nor to be mediated along with this in the sense of a kerygmatic process; the "once-for-all" nature of the reconciliation is proclaimed as such in the word of reconciliation: it does not only become "once-for-all" in the word of reconciliation.

(iv) The word of promise. As Paul in Rom. 9:9 designates the word of election to Isaac as the word of God, so Christ, the Yes and the Amen of God's promises (2 Cor. 1:19 f.), makes the word of proclamation an unambiguous word of salvation (2 Cor. 1:18). The representative death of Jesus Christ and the curse laid on him is the fulfilment and universalization of the word of promise given to → Abraham (Gal. 3:6–14; cf. Gen. 12:3; 15:6; 18:18), which retains its validity even for the Israel which rejected the messiah, so that the question as to the validity of the word of God in view of the rejection of the messiah by Israel becomes the keynote of Rom. 9–11: "But it is not as though the word of God had failed" (Rom. 9:6). As the word of → election stood over the history of Israel, so the word of → promise about the destruction of death stands over the world, and "then shall come to pass the saying that is written: 'Death is swallowed up in victory' " (1 Cor. 15:54; cf. Isa. 25:8). For Paul, the question of the fulfilment, the honouring and the abiding validity of the OT word of promise means nothing less than that the whole perspicuity, trustworthiness and validity of the word of reconciliation and justification is itself at stake.

(v) Word of God and word of man. The word of God, which according to Paul is promulgated in the shape of the word of man, is thereby at the mercy of the possibility of being confused with other human words. This is why Paul thanks God that in the church at Thessalonica "when you received the word of God which you heard from us, you accepted it not as the word of men but as what it really is, the word of God, which is at work in you believers" (1 Thess. 2:13).

After Paul had been driven out of Philippi and come as an alien to Thessalonica, working hard of necessity to earn his living, he proclaimed the word of God to them without any attempt to impress by appearances (1 Thess. 1:9 f.). Paul consciously avoided proclaiming the word of God like the wandering apostles of the day with enthusiastic speech and in the presentation of their own spiritual power, by drawing on impressive words of wisdom or preaching with mixed motives, modifying or falsifying the word of God (1 Thess. 2:5; 1 Cor. 2:1, 4, 13; 2 Cor. 2:17; 4:2). Instead, and in order to legitimate the word of God, he pointed to his human →

weakness (2 Cor. 2:9; cf. 10:10), and again in order to legitimate the word of the cross, he pointed to his persecution as a disciple of the cross (Gal. 6:17). Knowing the humanity of the word of God, Paul also instructed the church (1 Cor. 14:9, 19) to give precedence in worship to intelligible language rather than unintelligible indulgence of one's own possession of the Spirit (speaking in tongues). "But the primary and intrinsic secret to which the New Testament message directs us is that God's word has become *one* with man's word, that it has come to us and become understandable in a human word" (G. Bornkamm, "God's Word and Man's Word in the New Testament", *Early Christian Experience*, 1969, 4 f.).

(b) The Word of God as a Guaranteed Word of Promise: Hebrews. Having spoken repeatedly and in various ways through the prophets, God has in these last days spoken through his Son (Heb. 1:1–4). When God speaks thus in the Son as the final word of God which ushers in the turning-point of the ages, it is at the same time a summons not to miss the promised → rest (Heb. 4:1, 11). As a word of promise directed towards a coming fulfilment it is active and effective, like the "word of God" valid and promulgated by angels on Sinai (Heb. 2:2); where disdained it can bring death and judgment in so far as it is "sharper than any two-edged sword" (Heb. 4:12). This word of God, which had its beginning in the words of Jesus (Heb. 2:3) is decisively grounded in the exaltation of Jesus to the right hand of God (Heb. 1:5 ff.) and in his installation as eschatological high priest (Heb. 7:1 ff.).

This installation into the authority of the high priest, grounded in the divine "word of the oath" (Heb. 7:28; → Swear), is "the bringing in of a better hope" (Heb. 7:19 AV), and thus God's decisive word of promise, guaranteed by oath. But in that Heb. teaches that the Christ-event in cross and exaltation is to be understood as a guaranteed word of promise, open for coming fulfilment, it is also the effective summons to the church to hold fast to their confession of hope. As this "word of exhortation" (Heb. 13:22), the letter itself is directed to the church community, now grown weary in the face of the persecutions and sufferings which were to be expected. The authority of the High Priest crucified for the many is the eschatological word of God, which, as a grounded word of promise, is directed to its coming fulfilment and must be grasped for that reason (B. Klappert, *Die Eschatologie des Hebräerbriefs*, *ThEH* Neue Folge 156, 1969, 11, 22, 28 f., 31 f., 46, 61).

(c) The Word of God as the Apostolic Message of Christ: Acts. In Acts the absolute use of the "word of God" is already a regular periphrasis for the apostolic preaching (Acts 4:29; 6:2, 7; 8:4; 11:19; 13:5, 7, 44, 46; 16:32; 17:13; 18:11). This word of God proclaimed by the apostles, which can also be called "the word of the Lord" (Acts 8:25; 12:24; 13:49; 15:35 f.; 19:10, 20) and is "the word" which God sent to the children of Israel (Acts 10:36), has for its content the word-event of Jesus Christ, i.e. the history of the word (Acts 10:37, *to genomenon rhēma*) from its beginnings in Judea to the appearance of the Risen Christ and the sending out of the disciples. The apostolic word-event of proclamation is grounded in the word-event of the history of Jesus Christ (Acts 10:36 f.), and this is its normative subject-matter.

The apostolic message of Christ is therefore "the word of this salvation" (Acts 13:26), which is for both Jews and Greeks. This word of God, which God himself (Acts 17:30), or Jesus Christ, the Exalted One (Acts 13:38 f.; 26:23), proclaims is the word of the apostles Peter and John (Acts 8:25) and of Paul and Barnabas (Acts 13:5, 46; 14:25; 15:36; 17:13; 18:11). The word of God, to which Paul commends

his congregation (Acts 20:32) is proved to be powerful (Acts 19:20), it grows and multiplies (Acts 6:7; 12:24), spreads throughout the whole land, and, according to the "words" of the Risen Christ (Acts 1:9), is to be proclaimed "in Jerusalem [cf. chs. 1–7], in all Judea and Samaria [cf. chs. 8–12] and to the end of the earth [cf. chs. 13–28]" (Acts 1:8). Acts closes (28:30 f.) with the reference to Paul proclaiming the kingdom of God and the gospel of Jesus Christ in Rome; it is thus the document of the powerful advance in history of the word of God, both in the foundational and illustrative nature of the apostolic preaching in Jerusalem and Judea, on the one hand (chs. 1–12), and in the world-wide mission of Paul, on the other (chs. 13–28). This word of God or word of the Lord in the apostolic preaching is spoken (cf. Acts 4:29, 31; 11:19, 13:46) and proclaimed (Acts 13:5; 15:36; 17:13), it is to be received (Acts 8:14; 17:11), i.e. heard as the word of God (Acts 4:4; 13:7; 44; 19:10), and to be accepted in faith and praised (Acts 4:4; 15:7; 13:48). If the content of the apostolic preaching is the message of the saving-event in Jesus Christ, it can be said of Acts that "The Word of God is the Word about Jesus" (G. Kittel, *TDNT* IV 116).

4. *Jesus Christ as the Word.* (a) The Understanding of the Word of God in the Johannine Literature. John's Gospel, like the Synoptics (cf., e.g. Mk. 4:14 ff.; Lk. 5:1), denotes Jesus' preaching as the proclamation "of the word [of God]": Jesus' words are those of the Father, in which the work of the Father is performed (Jn. 14:24; cf. 3:34; 14:10; 17:8). Anyone, therefore, who hears Jesus' words and accepts them in faith hears God's word (Jn. 5:24; 8:51; 12:48; 14:24; 15:3; 17:14, 17). Because Jesus' word is at the same time the word of the Father, it is therefore the word of salvation (Jn. 14:24) and of → truth (Jn. 17:17), and that is why Jesus' words effect → life in believers (Jn. 5:24) and → judgment in non-believers (Jn. 12:47 f.). The "words of God" which Jesus speaks, are in their totality God's self-revelation to men – "God's word", "thy word" (Jn. 14:6, 14, 17). But this is not to have mentioned the specifically Johannine understanding of the word of God in his Gospel; for "the words of the Revealer (sometimes called *ta rhēmata*, 3:34; 6:63, 68; 8:47; 12:47 f.; 14:10; 15:7; 17:8) are not identical with the revealer as 'the Word' " (R. Schnackenburg, *The Gospel according to St John*, I, 1968, 483). Over and above the statement that Jesus' word is the word of God, Jesus himself is called "the Word" (Jn. 1:1, 14). That is, Jesus' words (of proclamation) as the words of God are grounded in Jesus' being as the Word. "He is not called the Logos absolutely because he utters the word or words of God; on the contrary, his words rather have the force of God's words because he is the Logos, that is, the divine revealer and redeemer" (ibid.). This absolute and personal use of the Logos-concept in its identification with Jesus is found in addition to Jn. 1:1, 14 only in 1 Jn. 1:1 (Jesus as "the Word of life") and Rev. 19:13, where the name "the Word of God" is used for Christ as he returns in victory (combining Wis. 18:5 and Dan. 7).

(b) The understanding of the Word of God in the Johannine Prologue. (i) The original form of the Logos-hymn. In understanding the Johannine Logos-prologue (Jn. 1:1–18), it is important to see that this represents a commentary-like adaptation of an earlier Logos-hymn, which originally comprised vv. 1–4(5), 9–11, 14, 16 (R. Schnackenburg, op. cit., 224 ff.; E. Schweizer, *Neotestamentica*, 113 f.). It spoke of the incarnation of the Word in v. 14 only, and not in v. 5 (contra E. Käsemann, "The Structure and Purpose of the Prologue to John's Gospel", in *New Testament Questions of Today*, 1969, 138–67, see especially 150 ff.). Since v. 14 is a part of the

original poem, representing in the incarnation of the Logos a genuinely Christian statement, it cannot stem from gnostic-Baptist circles, since it is utterly improbable that a pre-Christian hymn would have spoken of the incarnation of the Baptist (against R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 1971, 18). The original Christian hymn consists of four strophes and describes: (1) the divine Being of the Word and his function in creation (v. 1–3); (2) the function of this Word as light and life for the world of men (v. 4 f., 9); (3) the rejection of the Word and his work in the human world even *before* the incarnation (Jn. 10 f.); and (4) the complete surprise of the event of the Incarnation of the Word and its believing acceptance in the Christian community (vv. 14, 16).

As → wisdom vainly sought for a dwelling amongst men and returned to her heavenly place (Eth. Enoch 42:1 f.), so the original Christian hymn recounted the fate of the Word: the Logos, the true light which illuminates every man, by whom the world came to be, came to his own property but was not accepted by his own people (Jn. 1:5, 9–11). "As one shuts the door in the face of some unwelcome travelling stranger, so it turned out ... with the divine Logos: people did not open up to him. They knew nothing of the fact that he had given the world its being; he was like a stranger, with whom one has nothing to do" (E. Haenchen, "Probleme des johanneischen Prologs", in *Gott und Mensch. Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 1965, 131). Only in Jn. 1:14 does the hymn come to the actual statement of the incarnation of the Word, leaving the Wisdom-narrative far behind; "but now the Logos did the most that could be done, the final thing still possible; in order to gain acceptance among men, He became man himself" (v. 14, ibid.). The Incarnation of the Word is "the unprecedented thing to which the Wisdom-myth could offer no parallels" (ibid.).

(ii) The Prologue of John's Gospel. In consequences of the incorporation of the commentary, and in particular of vv. 6–8 and 15 (12 f., 17 f.) with the Evangelist's allusion to the appearance of John the Baptist, whereby vv. 5, 9–11 are no longer to be referred to the work of the Logos *before* his incarnation, but anticipate the Incarnate Logos, the Prologue of Jn. 1:1–18 is to be divided into three sections: (1) *The pre-existent being of the Word* (Jn. 1:1–4). "In the beginning" – not "at the beginning" of Creation (Gen. 1:1), but in the "time before time" of divine eternity – was the Word (pre-existence of the Word, Jn. 1:1), the Word was with God (personal reference, Jn. 1:2), indeed, "the Word was God" (essential divinity of the Word, Jn. 1:1). By this Word, whereby the universe was created, men have their life and the benefit of light (Jn. 1:3 f.). (2) *The coming of the Word to the world of men and his incomprehensible rejection* (Jn. 1:5–13). The Logos who came into the world, to whom John the Baptist bore witness (Jn. 1:6–8; in the Evangelist's mind vv. 5 ff. thus already hint at the incarnation), was rejected by men in an incomprehensible way (Jn. 1:9–11), with the exception of those who came to faith and thus became children of God (Jn. 1:12 f.). (3) *The event of the incarnation of the Word and its redeeming significance* (Jn. 1:14–18). Without surrendering – indeed, rather, in the application of – his essential divinity, the Word became a mortal man (*sarx*), took up residence amongst men, and, as the presence of God's glory with men, signified the gift of God's grace and covenant faithfulness to them (Jn. 1:14, 16), surpassing the OT revelation of the word in the commandment and becoming event in Jesus Christ (Jn. 1:17 f.).

(iii) The religio-historical derivation of the Logos concept. The question as to the

sphere from which Jn. adopted the term Logos, "the word", can even now not be answered with certainty.

(1) In Greek philosophy (cf. *TDNT* IV 79–91), in which "the word" plays a large part (according to Heraclitus: men do not comprehend this Logos, which always is, *TDNT* IV 81), and amongst the Stoics (cf. *TDNT* IV 84 f.; M. Pohlenz, *Die Stoa*, 1959², 32 ff.), where the Logos is the "world-reason" which sustains and permeates the cosmos like a fine spiritual substance, the personal character of the Logos (Jn. 1:1 f.) and the thought of the world resisting the Logos (Jn. 1:10 f.) are both absent. (2) The attempt to derive the Logos-concept from the OT pure and simple, founders on the facts that, although the LXX can occasionally speak of the word of God as of an active force (cf. Ps. 147:15–18; Wis. 9:1), it does not speak of the word of Yahweh as a person; and that, although the proclamation of "the word of God" by Jesus is spoken of in the absolute in the NT outside the Johannine literature, Jesus himself is never spoken of as the Word of God (not even in 2 Cor. 1:19 f.; cf. T. Zahn, *Introduction to the New Testament*, III, 1909, 327 f., 330). Thus, the Johannine concept transcends the OT concept of the word. (3) In Jewish Wisdom-speculations, where → Wisdom participates in the creation of the world, she is sent into the world by God and rejected by men (Prov. 8:22–36; Sir. 24:3–12; Eth. Enoch 42:1 ff.). If Wisdom too has many conceptions and material statements parallel to Jn. 1:1 ff., yet not only the statement concerning the creation of Wisdom (otherwise in Jn. 1:1 f.), but also the fact that Jewish Wisdom literature cannot account for the choice of the term "Logos" (= "the Word") in Jn. 1:1 ff. speaks against a direct derivation of the Johannine Logos-concept from Jewish Wisdom-speculations. (4) The designation *mêmrā'* (word) in the Targums appears as the Memra of Yahweh or Adonai, and always as an executive agent for God's activity, which preserves his transcendence; but it cannot be considered as a parallel, since there was never any hypostasis of "Memra" (SB II 302 ff.; V. Hamp, *Der Begriff "Wort" in den aramäischen Bibelübersetzungen*, 1938). It is equally improbable either that the statements concerning the Torah made by the rabbis (which are quite similar to those made concerning the Logos (SB II 353, ff.) are in fact parallels, or that Jn. 1:1 ff. is intended to be an antithesis directed against Torah-speculation (cf. G. Kittel *TDNT* IV 134 ff.), since the Logos-concept is lacking precisely in the antithetical vv. 1 and 17, and since it is not certain whether Jn. 1:17 ever belonged to the original hymn at all. (5) A gnostic derivation of the Logos-concept is doubtful not only because the myth of the descent of the Redeemer does not allow of certain proof of its pre-Christian origins (C. Colpe, *Die religionsgeschichtliche Schule*, *FRLANT* Neue Folge 60, 1961), but also because the Logos concept by and large remained foreign to the gnostic systems (W. Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, [1913] 1970, 387 f.; J. Jeremias, "Zum Logos-Problem", *ZNW* 59, 1968, 83 ff.; R. Schnackenburg, op. cit., I, 229 ff., 238 ff., 543–57). (6) Hellenistic Judaism. Not only the rendering of Hab. 3:5 "plague goes in front of him" (JB; *deḇer*, plague) in the Gk. translation of the LXX by "before him [God] will go the Logos [*dāḇār*]"; and not only Wis. 18:14 ff. (God's all-powerful Logos comes down from heaven to bring punishment and judgment on the Egyptians; J. Jeremias *ZNW* 59, 1968, 83 f.), but also Philo's Logos-doctrine provide the strongest contacts with the Johannine Logos-concept. In Philo not only is the Jewish Wisdom identified with the Logos, the Logos understood as a mediating power between God and the Creation and ascribed divine predicates,

but Philo (e.g. *De Cherubin* 125 ff.; *Spec. Leg.* 1, 81; *Leg. All.* 3, 96) also simultaneously combines OT statements of creation by the word, Stoic statements of the Logos as the world-soul and Platonic elements (the Logos as the archetype of the created world) with one another (cf. R. Schnackenburg, op. cit., I, 235 ff.; *TDNT* IV 88 ff.). In the question of the origin of the Logos-concept, pre-eminent significance is therefore to be attributed to Hellenistic Judaism.

(iv) The Incarnation of the Word. What does the Johannine message of the incarnation of the Word (Jn. 1:1 ff.) signify within the compass of, and in antithesis to, this Hellenistic Judaic milieu? By contrast with its outlook (cf. Philo), according to which the divine Logos binds together the heavenly and earthly world and rules over and through both macrocosm and microcosm, the Good News of the Johannine Prologue consists in the fact that the Logos no longer works "spiritually" but is found embodied in a mortal man. It no longer embraces the whole world in a simultaneous transcendence and immanence in order to mediate salvation to it through inspiration, but the Logos "becomes one man among others, takes their sin to Himself" (C. Colpe, *TDNT* VIII 470; cf. Colpe, "New Testament and Gnostic Christology", in *Religions in Antiquity. Essays in Memory of E. R. Goodenough*, 1968, 227 ff., especially 235 f.). Thus the incarnation of the Word does not mean that Jesus in his pure humanity proclaims the eschatological word of God (R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 1971, 35 f.; and *Theology of the New Testament*, II, 1955, 40–49, 59–69). Over against what is in point of fact a kenotic interpretation – i.e. one which eliminates the divinity of Jesus (H. J. Iwand, "Vom Primat der Christologie", in *Antwort. Karl Barth zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*, 1956, 181), and a replacement of the Word becoming flesh by a notion of the flesh becoming word (i.e. the earthly Jesus), one must formulate in the sense of the Johannine Prologue – not a genuine man, commissioned with God's eschatological call to decision, dwelt amongst us – but the Word, God himself (Jn. 1:1 f.) in his divine glory (Jn. 1:14 f.) who assumes the full reality of historical objectivity, human transience (*sarx*) and human death (Jn. 1:14a; cf. 6:61, 63; 1:29; 1 Jn. 3:5; Rom. 8:3). Or, with Schniewind's pertinent phraseology, "Even the prologue speaks of the Cross" (in H.-J. Kraus, *Julius Schniewind. Charisma der Theologie*, 1965, 202). The incarnation of the Word thus does not mean Jesus as the eschatological ambassador, in whom God is present and acting (*pace* Bultmann); it signifies the presence of God himself in the flesh. A religious historical parallel to this statement will for this reason never be found (cf. C. Colpe, *TDNT* IV 470). The message of the incarnation of the Word (Jn. 1:14) "is more and other than the historicising of a mythological event" (ibid.). In other words, the incarnation of the Word means the presence of God in the person of Jesus, not just the present activity of God in the words of Jesus.

B. Klappert

5. *Cognates.* Of the various cognates found in the NT, the most important is the group connected with *eklektos*, chosen, elect (→ Elect). Otherwise, the terms are comparatively rare. Apollos is described in Acts 18:24 as an *anēr logios* which may mean "an eloquent man" (RSV) or "a learned man" (*TDNT* IV 137). The former is supported by v. 25 and possibly by the picture of Apollos in 1 Cor. 1:12; 3:5. But too much cannot be read into these latter passages, as the Apollos faction might

equally have been attracted by his learning, and in any case Apollos may not have been responsible for the formation of the faction.

logion in the LXX is used for an oracular saying (Num. 24:4, 16), individual sayings (Isa. 28:13), and the commandments (Deut. 33:9), but frequently as a general statement about the word of God (e.g. Isa. 5:24; Pss. 19[18]:4; 107[106]:11; 119[118]:154–69 [22 times in all]; 148[147]:15). In Acts 7:38 Moses is said to have received "living oracles [*logia zōnta*]", i.e. the Torah or perhaps more especially the Decalogue (cf. Deut. 32:46 f.). In Rom. 3:2 Paul lists among the advantages of the Jews the fact that they were entrusted with the "oracles of God [*logia tou theou*]" (cf. Rom. 15:8). But in neither case did these advantages turn out to be an abiding benefit, for the Jews did not use them for salvation. The readers of Heb. 5:12 are rebuked for needing instruction in "the first principles of God's word [*stoicheia tēs archēs tōn logiōn tou theou*]", which evidently implies a failure to grasp not only the OT revelation but the Word of God in Jesus Christ, for "in these last days" God "has spoken to us by a Son" (Heb. 1:2). In the context of an exhortation to employ gifts for one another "as good stewards of God's varied grace" (1 Pet. 4:10), Peter urges: "whoever speaks, as one who utters oracles of God" (v. 11). Here *logia theou*, which is used elsewhere to describe the oracles of God in the OT and in Heb. 5:12 of Jesus Christ, is used of charismatic utterance. The phrase contains the implication that some charismatic utterances were less than edifying. It would appear to rule out not only speaking in tongues but any kind of unedifying pronouncement. E. Best sees the phrase "whoever speaks" as including "whether as prophet, preacher or teacher in the worship, instruction or mission of the community, or as an individual privately encouraging, evangelizing or rebuking another Christian, or even a pagan" (*1 Peter*, *New Century Bible*, 1971, 160). Hence, the speaker is urged not to give his own opinions or be motivated by self-esteem but to speak what is given to him as God's word to the glory of God (v. 11c).

alogos is found in cl. Gk. meaning both dumb and without reason (*TDNT* IV 141). In Acts 25:27 it has the latter sense, but in 2 Pet. 2:12 and Jude 10 either or both senses are possible.

logikos is found in secular Gk. meaning "belonging to speech" and "belonging to reason", "rational". In this lattter sense it is found in Gk. philosophy, especially the Stoics (*TDNT* IV 142). Man is a *zōon logikon*, "a rational being" (Epictetus, *Dissertationes* 2, 9, 2; M. Ant., 2, 16, 6; cf. 55, 4; Philo, *Abr.* 32, where there may be overtones of "spiritual"). In 1 Pet. 2:2 the RSV translates *logikos* "spiritual": "Like newborn babes, long for the pure spiritual milk [*logikon adolon gala*], that by it you may grow up to salvation." E. Best prefers this sense to either "of the word" (AV), though he admits that this is the natural meaning of the context (cf. 1 Pet. 1:23 ff.; cf. also Jas. 1:21), or "reasonable" (RVmg), "rational" which is the normal meaning among Gk. philosophers (op. cit., 98). Best thinks that the latter meaning would suit Rom. 12:1, but finds it difficult to see how it would fit 1 Pet. 2:2. However, it may be suggested that there may be an intended paradox or contrast between milk as the food of babes and the rational word which, when fed upon, leads to maturity (cf. v. 2b). Best, like G. Kittel (*TDNT* IV 142), prefers "spiritual" as the meaning both here and in Rom. 12:1, seeing parallels in the later gnostic writings which allude to spiritual, i.e. non-material, sacrifices (*Corp. Herm.* 1, 31; 13, 18 and 21). The RSV uses "spiritual" in its rendering of Rom. 12:1: "I appeal to you therefore brethren, by

the mercies of God, to present your bodies as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God, which is your spiritual worship [*tēn logikēn latreian hymōn*]." This meaning would fit the context, where Christian worship is set over against Jewish conceptions of religion. But the word may have been chosen both here and in 1 Pet. because of its ambiguity and overtones of both "spiritual" and "rational". For in Rom. Paul may well be emphasizing the need for charismatic worship to express itself in forms which were at once spiritual and rational. In the context of ch. 12 Paul returns to the subject of gifts (vv. 6 ff., cf. vv. 3 ff.), and the need for worship to be given a rational and practical expression may well be a counterpart to his treatment of charismatic worship in ch. 8 (→ Prayer, art. *entynchanō*).

The vb. *logomacheō* and the noun *logomachia* each occur in the Pastoral Epistles. 1 Tim. closes with a warning about contentious teachers: "If any one teaches otherwise and does not agree with the sound words of our Lord Jesus Christ and the teaching which accords with godliness, he is puffed up with conceit, he knows nothing; he has a morbid craving for controversy and for disputes about words [*alla nosōn peri zētēseis kai logomachias*], which produce envy, dissension, slander, base suspicions, and wrangling among men who are depraved in mind and bereft of the truth, imagining that godliness is a means of gain" (1 Tim. 6:3 ff.). Similarly, 2 Tim. 2:14 urges Timothy to "Remind them of this, and charge them before the Lord to avoid disputing about words [*mē logomachein*], which does no good, but only ruins the hearers." These passages evidently refer to those who in 1 Tim. 1:4 occupied themselves with → myths and endless → genealogies (cf. also 1 Tim. 4:3; 6:20; 2 Tim. 2:14–18; Tit. 1:14 ff.; 3:9). The precise nature of the teaching is obscure, though it would seem to be some form of gnosticizing Judaism. Myths and genealogies were already linked in Plato (*Tim.* 22a; cf. Polybius 9, 2, 1). In the early church Irenaeus notes a link between them among the heretics (*Haer.* 1, 30, 9; cf. also Preface; Tertullian, *De Praesc.* 33; see further M. Dibelius and H. Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles*, *Hermeneia*, 1972, 16 ff., 83 ff., 110 ff.). *C. Brown*

ῥῆμα

ῥῆμα (*rhēma*), word, utterance, thing, matter, event, case.

CL The noun *rhēma* (root *wer-* or *rhē*; cf. *erō*, I will say; *rhēsis*, statement, discourse, explanation; *rhētōr*, orator; cognates Lat. *verbum*, Ger. *Wort* and Eng. *word*) means that which is stated intentionally: a word, an utterance. It was used in poetry from Pindar onwards (*Pyth.* 4, 277 f.) and in prose from Hdt. onwards (7, 162). In the famous epigram of Simonides (*Frag.* 92; E. Diehl, *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, 1925, II, 94) for the battle of Thermopylae it is said that the Spartans fell in obedience to commands (*rhēmata*). In Plato *rhēma* denotes an individual word (*Tim.* 49c) but also a sentence (*Leg.* 840c). In grammar *rhēma* means a verb as distinct from an *onoma*, a noun (Aristotle, *Poet.* 20p, 1457a, 11).

OT 1. In the LXX *rhēma* occurs predominantly for Heb. *dāḇār*, word, thing, which is of course chiefly rendered by → *logos*, above all in the prophetic books. However, *rhēma* is found 147 times in the Pentateuch and frequently in Deut. and the Deuteronomistic historical works. The double meaning of *dāḇār*, as word and thing, has thus coloured the use of *rhēma*, which can therefore mean both (a) word,

utterance as well as (b) matter, event, case. *rhēma* appears as the result of things said and of things done. Indeed, the latter meaning turns the scale (cf. 1 Sam. 18:8).

(a) *rhēma*, word, utterance, is often synonymous with → *logos* (cf. e.g. the alternation of both terms in Exod. 34:27 f.; 2 Sam. 14:20 f.; 1 Ki. 12:24; 11:41 *v.l.*). As determined by the context, it means, e.g., the word of prayer (Pss. 5:2; 17[16]:6) and in the plur. the message of the spheres (Ps. 19[18]:5). Frequently it is the word of God: a single utterance (Exod. 19:6), a command (Deut. 13:1), the creative word (Deut. 8:3), or a directive oracle (1 Sam. 3:1). Formulaic are the phrases which indicate obedience "according to the word of the LORD" (e.g. 1 Ki. 12:24; 15:29) and "doing this word" (Deut. 24:18, 20, 22). The plur. occasionally denotes the commandments in general (Deut. 28:58), then the Ten Commandments (Exod. 34:1, 27 f.; otherwise in Deut. 10:4), the content of the Shema "Hear, O Israel" (Deut. 6:6), the revelation of the word at Sinai (Deut. 4:36) and the admonitions of Wisdom (Sir. 39:6; Wis. 6:25). *rhēma*, word, can also be used for the process of inspiration (Num. 23:5, 16, God puts the word into the mouth of the pagan Balaam) and in the phrase "the word of the LORD came to . . ." (Israel's prophets: Samuel, 1 Sam. 15:10; Elijah, 1 Ki. 17:2, 8; 18:1; Jeremiah, Jer. 1:1); but → *logos* is mainly used for this.

(b) *rhēma*, thing, matter (likewise *logos*, 2 Sam. 1:4; 17:4) is more specifically defined by the context as an action (Gen. 22:16; Deut. 15:10; 23:10), a legal case (Exod. 18:26; Deut. 1:17), an event (Deut. 4:32) or thought (Deut. 15:9). The double meaning of *rhēma* as event and account is shown where the chronicle of the acts of → Solomon is called *biblion rhēmatōn Salōmōn*, 1 Ki. 11:41; but *logoi* stands more commonly for such chronicles (e.g. 2 Ki. 14:15 f.; 15:11–36). In the narrative portions of the Pentateuch there appears the copulative construction "after these things", "after this" (*meta ta rhēmata tauta* e.g. Gen. 15:1; 22:1).

2. In post-biblical Judaism at the time of Jesus the Heb. term *dāḇār* corresponding with the Gk. *rhēma* is used much as in the OT.

(a) In the Dead Sea Scrolls *dāḇār* can be found with much the same frequency, meaning (i) word and (ii) thing, matter, the former esp. in hymnic and exegetical fragments, the latter in legal stipulations.

(i) The human word and the faculty of speech are held to be particular miracles of the divine creation (1QH 1:28 f.). But *dāḇār* also means the word of God, his commandment (1QS 5:14, 19, 1QH 4:35) and his promise (1QS 2:13). The word of the prophets (CD 7:10; 8:20) is the object of the actualizing interpretation by the Teacher of Righteousness (1Qp Hab 2:5–9; 7:4–8).

(ii) *dāḇār*, meaning affair, concern, is the object of consultations in the community (1QS 6:1, 4, 16), and then also a matter which is elicited by exegesis (1QS 8:11 f.).

(b) In Philo *rhēma* is completely overshadowed by → *logos*, and – in a genuinely Gk. way – simply means "word", and in grammar "verb" (*Agric.* 136). Otherwise, it is used in distinction from a thought or deed. Following Exod. 20:18, Philo says that what God speaks are not words but works (*Decal.* 47).

(c) In rabbinic literature *dāḇār*, like the Aram. terms *millâh* or *millᵉtā'*, derived from other roots, has the same meanings of word and matter; in the Targums *mêmrā'*, word, appears as a periphrasis for the God who reveals himself.

(i) *dāḇār* means an individual word, an utterance. As well as the spirit, the soul and the senses, man has received the word of the mouth as something which con-

stitutes his nature as a man (B. Nidd. 31a). Warnings are however given against loquaciousness: this leads to sin (Aboth 1, 17). In the practice of teaching, the *dāḇār* is associated with the all-dominant Torah. The "words of the Torah" are distinguished from the "words of the tradition" (*qabbālâh*), i.e. the biblical books apart from the Pentateuch (B. Nidd. 23a), and from the "words of the scribes", i.e. the decisions of the rabbis (Yeb. 9, 3). The latter, however, can also be called the "words of the living God" (B. Erub. 13b), i.e. they receive the exposition intended by God. The frequent exegetical phrase "another word [or matter]" introduces a further, divergent interpretation.

The word of divine revelation is readily designated by the *nomen actionis dibbūr* or *dibbᵉrâh*, derived from the vb. *dibbēr*; this is the case for the Ten Commandments (Mekilta on Exod. 20:2). There was much speculation amongst the rabbis as to the universal effect of the giving of the law on Sinai; every single word (*dibbūr*) which came from the mouth of God divided into seventy languages, each single word filled the universe, put the souls of the hearers to flight and drove the Israelites back twelve miles (B. Shab 88b). With the election of Israel, all other lands were excluded as places of revelation (*dibbᵉrôṯ*) (Mek. on Exod. 12:1). Study discloses the riches of the revelation: as there are many smaller waves in between the wave crests in the sea, so there are many finer points in between the individual words of the Torah (Yalkuṭ 971). The word of revelation can be conceived in terms of personification (J. Shab. 7, 10c; cf. beginning of Lev.R. 1).

(ii) Meaning "matter" or "thing", *dāḇār* appears in the common introductory question: "A parable. What is the thing like?" *dāḇār* is used many times as a general designation for legal cases, and occasionally also for human beings (B. Sotah 28b). The formula "another matter" is used to indicate things which one would not like to mention by name, such as idolatry (B. Shab. 17b), pigs (B. Shab. 129a), or sexual intercourse (B. Ber. 8b).

NT In the NT the term *rhēma* occurs 67 times, especially in the Lucan writings (32 times) and in Jn.'s Gospel (12 times). The meaning "word" predominates, which is grounded not least in the non-legal and kerygmatic character of the NT. The meaning "matter" is rare (see below, 5).

Whereas → *logos* can often designate the Christian → proclamation as a whole in the NT, *rhēma* usually relates to individual words and utterances: man has to render account for every unjust word (Matt. 12:36); Jesus answered Pilate without a single word (Matt. 27:14); the heavenly ones speak unutterable words (2 Cor. 12:4).

For *rhēma* as the word of God's prophecy, it is characteristic that it is attended by its fulfilment (→ Fullness, art. *plēroō*) and becomes fact, in the double sense of *dāḇār*, which gains significance particularly in the messianic age.

1. For Luke the basic principle is: "With God nothing is impossible" (Lk. 1:37; cf. Gen. 18:14, Matt. 19:26); he may also have understood *rhēma* as the word of → promise, which does not remain unfulfilled (cf. Lk. 2:29). The Christmas message (Lk. 1:38; 2:17), proclaimed by an angel, is thus God's word, to which one bows in trust and obedience and of which one lives to see the realization (Lk. 2:15, 17, 19). The preaching of John the Baptist makes this clear. Whereas for the rabbis prophecy was extinct, Luke applies the legitimating formula for a prophetic word – "the word of the Lord came . . ." – to the Baptist (Lk. 3:2), who, as the messenger of the

messiah, was more than a prophet (Lk. 7:26 f.), and even before his death saw his prediction become reality (Lk. 7:22 f.; cf. Simeon in 2:29). In this sense even the words of Jesus are designated by the noun *rhēma* in Lk. Anyone who believes and obeys him and, like Peter, throws out the net in response to his word, sees its fulfilment (Lk. 5:5–8). Certainly, Jesus' word is not always immediately understood (Lk. 2:50; cf. 20:26), and this is particularly true of the predictions of suffering (Lk. 18:34; cf. Mk. 9:32 par. Matt. 17:23, Lk. 9:45; cf. Jn. 12:16); but the later realization awakes the memory and discloses the connexion between word and event (Lk. 24:8; Acts 11:16; cf. Mk. 14:72 par. Matt. 26:75, Lk. 22:62; cf. Jn. 18:16 ff., 25 ff.; Mk. 14:30).

2. In Acts the plur. *rhēmata* relates to Stephen's critique of → law and → temple, condemned as blasphemous (Acts 6:11, 13), and positively to the apostolic witness of the Christ-event proclaimed in the speeches (Acts 2:14; 5:20; 10:22, 44; cf. 26:25). Here, too, there emerges the unity of word and object in the term *rhēma*. For even the individual events of the Christ-event are denoted as *rhēmata* (Acts 5:32; 13:42), and the double aspect of the *rhēma*-concept is matched by the double testimony of the apostles who are eye-witnesses of the facts to which they bear witness by the word (Acts 5:32).

3. In St. John's Gospel the unity of Jesus' word and God's word is expressly established; Jesus speaks "the words of God" (Jn. 3:34; cf. 8:47; 14:10; 17:8). What the pious Jew expects from the Torah (→ Law) can be applied to the words of Jesus: they are → spirit and → life (Jn. 6:63), i.e. they are inspired and not (for instance) the words of a madman (Jn. 10:21), they give eternal life (Jn. 6:68) to those who accept them (Jn. 17:8) and who keep them in themselves (Jn. 15:7). The divine authority of these words rests on the sending of Jesus (Jn. 3:34) and especially on his sonship (Jn. 3:35; 17:8). This means, in practice, that Jesus' words are accompanied by his work, for the Father who abides in Jesus performs his works (Jn. 14:10).

4. In Paul and the post-Pauline literature, this equation of Jesus' words and God's word is matched by the correlation between → gospel and OT prophecy (Rom. 1:2–4).

What was said in Deut. 30:12–14 concerning the word of the Torah is, according to Paul, to be understood as a pointer to the message of justification through Christ: it is, for the believer, the word which is near, which is given to him and which saves him (Rom. 10:8), but which, like the song of praise of the spheres, is carried by its messengers into the furthest corners of the earth (Rom. 10:18 = Ps. 19:5). Paul can designate the glad tidings of the gospel as the "word of Christ" (Rom. 10:17), for which "word of God" is found in some MSS.

In 1 Pet. 1:24 f., the identification of both dimensions is achieved by relating Isa. 40:8 ("the word of the Lord endures for ever") to the gospel. In 2 Pet. 3:2 a reminder is given of the words of the prophets and of the instructions of the Lord proclaimed by the apostles; in the parallel passage Jude 17, however, it is simply the words of the → apostles of Jesus Christ which are mentioned.

5. *rhēma*, meaning thing, matter, appears in Lk. 2:15, 19 and there refers to the Christmas events. Many times in the NT, reference is made to the legal provision of Deut. 19:15, whereby a legal matter (*rhēma*) is to be binding on the basis of the evidence of two or three witnesses. Whereas in Matt. 18:16 this provision is impressed upon the community as a community rule (cf. 1QS 6:1), and is applied by

Paul in a quite wilful manner to his judicial decisions in community affairs (2 Cor. 13:1), John has related it to → proclamation (Jn. 8:17): the truth which comes from God, to which Christ bears witness, is presented as the single evidence of two witnesses being heard in the forum of the world. *O. Betz*

Language and Meaning in Religion

Biblical scholars have always regarded the study of language as a necessary part of the task of arriving at the meaning of the biblical text. However, today it is more widely recognized that it is of value to the student of the Bible and Christian theology to study not only traditional grammar and lexicography but also the phenomenon of language as such, seen as a particular form of human behaviour. Three distinct areas of research contribute to an understanding of language. (i) Modern general linguistics begins, in effect, with the work of Ferdinand de Saussure. Saussure views language as a structural system in the social life of the community, which operates on the basis of convention (or more strictly, an "arbitrary" relation to the world → 1 (b)). The value of linguistics for biblical studies has recently been demonstrated by James Barr, R. Kieffer, Erhardt Güttgemanns, and others (→ 5 (c) below). (ii) Linguistic philosophy in Britain and America has also contributed to our understanding of language. Here the insights and methods of the philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein have special importance. Like Saussure, in his later writings he approached language as a social phenomenon belonging to human life, but he also paid special attention to the varied functions which language could perform in relation to different settings and forms of life. Several philosophers of religion have explored the possible implications of this perspective for the language of Christian faith (→ below 4). (iii) A third distinctive approach to language has connexions with the work of Herder and Wilhelm von Humboldt, but finds particular expression in the philosophy of Martin Heidegger and Hans-Georg Gadamer. Many British and American linguistic philosophers dismiss Heidegger's approach out of hand. But even apart from its considerable influence on German theology, there is also an increasingly strong protest that more serious attempts must be made at constructive dialogue between the perspectives of Wittgenstein and Heidegger. In the present discussion we shall take account of all three areas of thought.

1. *The Nature of Language and its Power.* (a) Language does not merely articulate and express thoughts which are already present, fully formed, to the mind. (i) Words stimulate thought, and influence both how and what men think. At the same time they do not operate at an intellectual level only. They do not merely convey information from one mind to another. They may also serve to arouse passions, or, equally, to channel or to subdue them. Poetic language may open up a vision in which imagination and emotions have full play. Still further, language moulds character and directs men's actions. Words may provoke a whole nation to determined action, or else persuade men towards an attitude of passive acceptance. (ii) In the context of certain accepted conventions and social institutions, the speaking of words may effectively perform certain specific actions. To say "I do" (in the appropriate situation) may be to marry a wife. To say "I hereby appoint . . ." may be to put someone in charge of a national budget or an army. There can be no question that words not only say; they also do (→ below (c)). (iii) More even than this, they also bring the individual into relation with the community. Historically, they provide

him with access to the accumulated wisdom of past generations. Through language he can draw on the intellectual and spiritual resources of many centuries of human experience. Geographically, through writing or the broadcast word, the individual may gain access to the wisdom and culture of communities otherwise widely separated. Personally, through everyday talk, the individual develops his own character and outlook in inter-relation with the community within which he lives.

(b) But on what basis does language have the power to effect all this? From at least the time of Plato, Gk. philosophers debated whether language operates on the basis of "nature" or "convention". Plato reports that Cratylus argued that all words were naturally appropriate to the things they signified. Onomatapoeia might seem to confirm such a view: cymbals crash, and bees buzz. But a moment's reflection will serve to remind us that very few of our words are onomatapoeic. Furthermore, a number of considerations point firmly to the conclusion that the relationship between the forms of words and what they mean is quite simply (to use Saussure's word) "arbitrary". (i) Different forms occur in different languages. If "sister" has a natural relation to sisters, how could the same thing be claimed for "Schwester" or for "soeur"? Sometimes one language uses two words (French "à bon marché") where another uses one word (English "cheap"). (ii) In any case words change their meanings as the years pass. If the meaning of a word is a "natural" one at one particular stage of its history, it will not be so at another. (iii) Grammatical structure, at least in the traditional sense of "grammar", also varies from language to language. The arbitrariness of "surface" grammar is notorious in linguistic philosophy. For example, the sentence "a round square does not exist" does not predicate a given quality (non-existence) of some entity described as a "round square". Its logical structure is, rather: "it is false to assert that an entity exists of which 'round' and 'square' can be predicated simultaneously." The fallacy of a supposed parallelism between logic and "surface grammar" has been attacked by many writers, from Bertrand Russell to Noam Chomsky. (iv) Many single linguistic forms have multiple meanings (polysemy, e.g. floor *board*, and *board* and lodging); whilst two words of different meaning may both have the same linguistic form (homonymy). Thus Saussure rightly insists that the arbitrary character of the linguistic sign is the very first principle of all language-study. This principle "dominates all the linguistics of language; its consequences are numberless" (F. de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics*, 1960, 68; cf. A. C. Thiselton, "Semantics and New Testament Interpretation", in I. H. Marshall, ed., *New Testament Interpretation*, 1977, 87–8). By claiming that language functions on the basis of convention, however, it is not suggested that a language-community consciously decides to adopt certain linguistic conventions by formal agreement. It is merely to assert that *accepted social habit* in the use of language is ultimately the only basis on which any relation between given linguistic forms and given linguistic meanings may be said to rest. Such habit may certainly also admit of change; but only if this change becomes effectively accepted by a language-using community.

(c) If language rests on social habit, does this mean that the biblical writers imply a mistaken view of human language, especially when they speak of its power? O. Procksch holds that according to Heb. thought "the word appears as a material force which is always present and at work" (*TDNT* IV 93). Gerhard von Rad argues that word in the OT is "an objective reality endowed with mysterious power" (*Old Testa-*

ment Theology, II, 1965, 85). More seriously, he claims that Heb. man was "unable properly to differentiate between word and object, idea and actuality" (op. cit., 81). It is perhaps less surprising to find such a verdict in J. Pedersen: "No distinction is made between word and the matter described" (*Israel: its Life and Culture*, I–II, 1926, 167 f.). L. Dürr insists that the OT writers see words as power-laden (*kraftgeladen*) forces (*Die Wertung des göttlichen Wortes im Alten Testament und im antiken Orient*, 1938, 52, 61, 71). Finally, following Dürr and Grether, H. Ringgren also argues that the word is "a concrete substance . . . acting so to speak mechanically" (H. Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom*, 1947, 158).

From the point of view of modern linguistics, this is not, as G. von Rad claims, a "richer" view of language. It is simply a mistaken one. The central point of the so-called "general semantics" of the Alfred Korzybski school is that "the word is not the thing"; and modern linguistics as well as modern philosophy convincingly demonstrates both the correctness and the importance of this principle. If the OT writers did indeed hold this view of language, it would be due only to the primitiveness and cultural relativity of their outlook. Their view would be akin to that of the phenomenon of word-magic, as described by E. Cassirer and by B. Malinowski. Cassirer asserts that in primitive word-magic men believe in "the essential identity between the word and what it denotes" (*Language and Myth*, 1946, 49 f. and 58). J. Piaget, Karl Bühler, and E. Durkheim discuss this phenomenon with reference to primitive cultures and young children.

Elsewhere, in another article, I have examined and attacked in detail the claim that this view of language is in fact found in the OT (A. C. Thiselton, "The Supposed Power of Words in the Biblical Writings", *JTS* New Series 25, 1974, 283–99). The main part of my case turns on four arguments. (i) This view cannot draw support from the fact that the Heb. word *dāḇār* can mean both word and thing. Such an argument rests on a misunderstanding of the significance of polysemy, or multiple meaning, in language. (ii) More important, arguments have been put forward about a Heb. view of the nature of language *as such* on the basis of passages from the OT which speak about the power of words *spoken by God.* Words spoken by the God of Israel (or in the ancient Near East, by Marduk or Atum) have power precisely because of the identity of the speaker, who will perform what he has spoken. (iii) Special examples of such "power-laden" formulae as blessing and cursing are better understood on the basis of analogies with performative utterances in modern language-study than as examples of primitive word-magic. J. L. Austin showed that performative language indeed *does* things (e.g. "I do" in marriage; "I baptize . . ." in baptism; "I give and bequeath . . ." in making a will); but that the effectiveness of the utterance rests on the existence of certain accepted procedures, not on natural causal force. (iv) OT scholars were encouraged to find this so-called "dynamic" view of language in the Bible not least because they regarded an ideational and intellectualist view as the *only* possible alternative. In point of fact, neither of these two views gives an adequate or even correct account of language at all. To these four main arguments we may add a fifth consideration. Counter-examples can be found in both the OT and NT which stress the weakness of words as well as their power. It is recognized (especially in Prov.) that words are no substitute for deeds, and that they cannot alter facts. In the NT the gospel comes not in word only but in power (1 Cor. 2:4; 4:19, 20).

We may conclude with confidence that the view of the nature and power of language found in modern linguistics and philosophy is correct, and that this in no way conflicts with the view of language presupposed by the OT and NT. Indeed the modern stress on the variety of different functions which language performs is well demonstrated by its range of functions and effects within the biblical writings.

2. *Language and Thought.* The modern debate about the relation between language and thought often gives rise to misunderstanding. At one extreme there stands the theory of Benjamin Lee Whorf that language decisively influences not only human thought in general, but most specifically man's view of the world. At the other extreme, some exponents of the emphasis on convention in linguistics argue that linguistic forms are merely a matter of accident, and have little or no bearing on thought. The position taken in the present discussion is that both sides are (to some extent) correct in what they are trying to assert, but that the debate is artificially polarized by a failure to make it clear whether what is under discussion is linguistic *form* or linguistic *content.*

(a) There is no doubt that Saussure and his successors in general linguistics are correct when they urge that many features of language are arbitrary and accidental, and that often these features have little or nothing to do with theories about the world-view of particular language-communities. This principle is extremely relevant to biblical studies. T. Boman, for example, has strongly urged that on the basis of certain peculiarities of grammar and vocabulary, Israelite thinking is "dynamic, vigorous, passionate", whilst Gk. thinking is "static, peaceful, moderate, harmonious" (*Hebrew Thought Compared with Greek*, 1960, 27). To illustrate he argues that even the Heb. concept of number is more dynamic than the Gk., because, for instance the Heb. word for "two" comes from the verbal form *šānâh*, meaning "to repeat" (165). James Barr has rightly attacked Boman's arguments, drawing on principles which are accepted axioms in linguistics (*The Semantics of Biblical Language*, 1961). By way of illustration we may cite two characteristic statements made by writers on general linguistics which relate, respectively, to questions about grammar and vocabulary-stock.

(i) On the question of grammatical form, E. A. Nida observes; "The idea that the Heb. people had a completely different view of time because they had a different verbal system does not stand up under investigation. It would be just as unfounded to claim that people of the English-speaking world have lost interest in sex because the gender distinctions in nouns and adjectives have been largely eliminated, or that Indo-Europeans are very time conscious because in many languages there are time-distinctions in the verbs. But no people seems more time-orientated than the Japanese, and their verbal system is not too different from the aspectual structure of Hebrew. Furthermore, few peoples are so little interested in time as some of the tribes of Africa, many of whose languages have far more time distinctions than any Indo-European language has" ("The Implications of Contemporary Linguistics for Biblical Scholarship" *JBL* 91, 1972, 83). Nida stresses the arbitrariness of such grammatical features.

(ii) On the questions of vocabulary-stock, reference may be made in the first place to L. Hjelmslev's table of kinship terms. Hungarian has separate words for "elder brother" and "younger brother", whilst Malay has only one word for both "brother" and "sister". But this certainly does not mean that those who speak only Malay can

have no "concept" of an elder brother. It simply means that in that language the idea is expressed by a phrase rather than a word. Thus the linguistician David Crystal rightly warns us that it is false to argue: "Language X has a word for it, but Y has not; therefore X can say something Y cannot". He comments, "This fallacy stems from the misconception ... that the unit of translation-equivalence between languages is the word.... The fact that Y has no word for an object does not mean that it cannot talk about that object. It cannot use the same mechanical means to do so, but it can utilize alternative forms of expression in its own structure for the same end" (D. Crystal, *Language, Linguistics, and Religion*, 1965, 144).

(b) Does this mean that Whorf's theory is wholly wrong? Whorf does not deny the conventionality of language. The heart of his claim is that "language is not merely a reproducing instrument for voicing ideas, but rather is itself the shaper of ideas.... We dissect nature along lines laid down by our native languages". We "organize it into concepts" precisely on the basis of the conventions presupposed by our particular language (*Language, Thought, and Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf*, 1956, 212 and 214). Thus it is sometimes said, for example, that Eskimo peoples see the world in a distinctive way because of their range of words for degrees or kinds of whiteness. Whorf's view of language stems originally from Wilhelm von Humboldt, but it also has affinities with that of Sapir, Lichtenberg, and even Heidegger and Gadamer. The truth which this outlook expresses is that language hands on a particular tradition, or *habits* of thought, in which it is *easier* or *more difficult* to acquire certain perspectives. But this does not mean that each national language has its own logic, or that inter-translation is impossible. Indeed it in no way undermines the wholly valid claims of Nida, Crystal, and Barr, about the arbitrary nature of surface-grammar and vocabulary-stock.

(c) The two approaches must be held together, with the added proviso that extreme caution must be shown towards Whorf's specific theories about relations between particular language and particular world-views. Thus Max Black rightly warns us against an over-ready acceptance of his theories about the world-view of the Hopi Indians (*The Labyrinth of Language*, 1968, 63–90). The issue turns on whether what is in question is what Wittgenstein calls the "physical properties" of language, or language-*uses*. Gadamer makes a parallel distinction between "language in the way that philologists see it" and "what is said or handed down in this language" (*Truth and Method*, 1975, 400). Barr, Nida and Crystal are wholly correct if we are thinking about language in the sense of philology. But if what is at issue is deeper questions about language-habits that determine *logical* grammar or *deep* grammar, then Whorf and more especially Heidegger and Gadamer also express an important truth. Heidegger insists that the way we *use* language influences our view of what is true. Wittgenstein urges that certain "pictures" conveyed in language may hold us captive and paralyze our thinking. Thus when Heidegger and Wittgenstein insist (each in his own different way) that language influences thinking, this valid insight does not conflict with the claim of Barr and Nida that thinking is not decisively influenced by accidents of surface-grammar and vocabulary-stock. This point is often misunderstood. For example, on this basis D. O. Via attacks J. Barr for holding a view which he does not in fact hold (*The Parables*, 1967, 48).

3. *Language and Meaning: Word and Speech-act.* (a) One of the oldest and most persistent theories is the referential theory of meaning. Often two principles are held

together: (1) that the meaning of a word is the object to which the word refers; and (2) that even within broader stretches of language the word itself still remains the basic unit of meaning. Sometimes the term "semantics" is misleadingly tied to a referential theory of meaning. This stems largely from the practice of Charles W. Morris, according to which "semiotics", or the science of meaning, is divided into the three areas of: syntax (the inter-relationship between linguistic signs); semantics (according to Morris, the relationship between words and their referents); and pragmatics (the use of language in life). Alfred Tarski and Rudolf Carnap also tend to adopt this view of semantics, and it persists even in recent works (e.g. A. Grabner-Haider, *Semiotik und Theologie. Religiöse Rede zwischen analytischer und hermeneutischer Philosophie*, 1973). The plausibility of this theory of meaning lies partly in the fact that we assume all too readily that meanings are learned on the basis of ostensive definition (i.e. pointing to an object and stating its name).

(i) The theory of reference, as a matter of principle, however, has grave difficulties, at least if it is offered as a *comprehensive* theory of meaning (→ A. C. Thiselton, *Language, Liturgy, and Meaning*, 1975, 10–13). A child understands the procedure of ostensive definition only when he has received a certain measure of linguistic training. L. Wittgenstein demonstrates this decisively in his *Blue and Brown Books* and *Philosophical Investigations*. The key difficulty, he explains, is that ostensive definition can be interpreted in all sorts of ways, unless the one who is learning already understands the nature of the language in question. If I hold up a pencil and say "This is tove", it may mean *either* "this is pencil", *or* "this is wood", *or* "this is round", *or* "this is to-be-used", and so on. Wittgenstein writes, "Point to a piece of paper. – And now point to its shape – now to its colour – now to its number (that sounds queer). How did you do it?" (*Philosophical Investigations* 1958, *§* 33; cf. *Blue and Brown Books*, 1969², 2–4). Many years earlier Gottlob Frege underlined a further problem about the theory of reference. In practice, he argued, we sometimes use words which have different meanings to refer to the same object. Thus the meaning of "the morning star" is not the same as that of "the evening star", even though both terms may refer to the planet Venus. This led Frege to distinguish between sense (*Sinn*) and reference. Frege's objection is not fatal to referential theories, since they can be reformulated, as he saw, to take account of this difficulty. Nevertheless it does rob the theory of its common-sense appeal. Wittgenstein concluded that the referential theory of meaning can hold its spell over us only if we restrict our attention to certain kinds of words. He writes, "If you describe the learning of language in this way, you are, I believe, thinking primarily of nouns like 'table', 'chair', 'bread', and of people's names, and only secondarily of the names of certain actions and properties; and of the remaining kinds of words as something that will take care of itself. . . . Think of exclamations alone, with their completely different functions . . ." (*Philosophical Investigations §§* 1 and 27).

(ii) The second related principle which is often associated with the referential theory of meaning is also open to question, namely, that the word is the basic unit of meaning. In linguistics the chief criticism of this assumption comes from exponents of field semantics. Thus J. Trier insists that a word has meaning "only as part of a whole" and only "within a field" (*Der Deutsche Wortschatz im Sinnbezirk des Verstandes*, 1931, 6). The semantic scope of the word "red", for example, cannot be

assessed in merely abstract terms. Its scope will vary in accordance with whether it stands in contrast to "orange", or only to "yellow", within a field of colour-terms. Admittedly it is legitimate and indeed often necessary to study the meanings of words as such, provided that it is not forgotten that conclusions reached on this basis remain only generalizations arrived at on the assumption that the word in question occurs in a characteristic setting. Stephen Ullmann writes, "There is usually in each word a hard core of meaning which is relatively stable and can only be modified by the context within certain limits" (*Semantics. An Introduction to the Science of Meaning*, 1962, 49). A similar point is made by G. Stern (*Meaning and Change of Meaning*, 1931, 85). At the same time, however, it is very important to heed the warning of R. H. Robins, that this method of approaching meanings in terms of words is acceptable only "provided it is borne in mind that words have meanings by virtue of their employment in sentences ... and that the meaning of a sentence is not to be thought of as a sort of summation of the meanings of its component words taken individually" (*General Linguistics*, 1964, 22). In this sense, words are more than mere *names*.

From a philosophical point of view, too, the equation of the word with the name has caused persistent problems from Plato to Russell and the earlier work of L. Wittgenstein. In his earlier writings Wittgenstein stated, "One name stands for one thing, another for another thing, and they are combined with one another. In this way the whole group – like a *tableau vivant* – presents a state of affairs" (*Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, 1961, 4, 0311). Wittgenstein came to see, however, that the notion of "simple" elements of language which correspond to "simple" objects is a mere abstraction demanded by the mind of the logician. He had earlier argued that simple objects stand in a determinate relation to one another, thereby constituting a state of affairs (*Sachverhalt*). Similarly, elements of language stand in a determinate relation to one another, in such a way that a statement constitutes a picture (*Bild*), or a model, of reality. On this view, every statement can in principle be wholly and completely analyzed with its smallest determinate elements, or "simples". In his later writings, however, Wittgenstein powerfully and convincingly demonstrates that *in practice* language does not operate in this way. If we actually *look* at language, rather than try to force some theory on to it, he urges, we see that even terms like "simple" and "exact" have no self-evident meaning which can be arrived at prior to their actual settings in human life. All language is relative to its "surroundings". The referential theory of meaning, therefore, of which Wittgenstein's early picture theory formed one example, fails to do justice to the ways in which language is actually used, at least if it is offered as a comprehensive theory of meaning.

(b) The so-called ideational theory of meaning suffers from all of the difficulties of the referential theory. In the Graeco-Roman era the Stoics drew a threefold distinction between (1) "that which signifies" (*to sēmainon*), namely, the linguistic sign; (2) "that which is signified" by the sign (*to sēmainomenon*); and (3) the actual object or event in the physical world to which these correspond (*to tynchanon*). This is the origin of the famous "semantic triangle" which C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards still offer in the twentieth century as a basic model of the relation between language and meaning. According to these two writers, (1) there is a causal relation of reference between an object in the physical world and a concept, thought, or image in the mind (the first side of the triangle). (2) The concept or thought then stands in causal rela-

tion to its symbolic expression in language. Here the operative relation is that of symbolizing (the second side of the triangle). (3) Ogden and Richards claim that they have now explained the relation between the linguistic symbol and its object of reference. On the basis of the other two *causal* relations, we now have an *imputed* relation between the symbol and its referent (the third side of the triangle) (*The Meaning of Meaning*, 1923, 14). In effect, this is little more than an attempt to add a mentalist dimension to a theory of reference. In the seventeenth century John Locke argued that words are "external sensible signs . . . whereof invisible ideas might be made known to others. . . . The ideas they stand for are their proper and immediate signification" (*An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, 1798, III, § 21). In the twentieth century this emphasis has affinities not only with Ogden and Richards, but also with the work of Susanne K. Langer.

Rather than easing the difficulties of the referential theory, however, this approach makes matters even worse. As D. M. High urges, it is often associated with the idea that language is a rather shabby vehicle of expression for otherwise clear ideas. Linguistic expression derives its meaning from the image, idea, or mental picture, which the speaker is trying to communicate, "as if it were a kind of internal motion picture accompanying these performances" (*Language, Persons, and Belief*, 1967, 37). Once again, however, in his later writings L. Wittgenstein convincingly attacked the notion that language and thinking can be detached from each other in this way. Meaning is not a kind of mental process which somehow exists alongside actual speaking. In any case, in practice, we do not always experience a stream of images accompanying our speaking; nor is it easy to say in what a "thought" consists which we cannot express in language (cf. L. Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations §§* 338–42). We have already suggested that to think of language as that which merely articulates thoughts already present to the mind is an inadequate and perhaps misleading view of language (cf. also F. Waismann, *Principles of Linguistic Philosophy*, 1965, 153–93). Whatever may be said about images or concepts, however, the problem still remains that the ideational theory of meaning escapes none of the difficulties of theories of reference. J. Pelc argues that all theories of meaning are severely limited which simply try to extend what remains basically a theory of words as names. This theory can never progress beyond the assumption "that the meaning of a sentence is a function of the meaning of its components" (*Studies in Functional Logical Semiotics of Natural Language*, 1971, 58).

(c) The problem of meaning is best approached when language is viewed as part of a human activity, or of a form of life (L. Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations* § 23). We begin neither with words, nor with ideas, nor even with propositions, but with the human being speaking language in a particular situation. Looking back on his earlier writings, Wittgenstein spoke of "turning our whole examination round" (§ 108). "Only in the stream of thought and life (*Leben*) do words have meaning" (*Zettel*, 1967, § 173). Both Martin Heidegger in *Being and Time* (though less in his later writings) and Wittgenstein in his later period stress that language is a particular activity on the part of a human subject. For Heidegger, language and understanding constitute an *a priori* existentiale of *Dasein*, or human life. Meaning, Heidegger urges, is not something which we attach to some otherwise naked object which is present-at-hand (*vorhanden*). Meaning is bound up with the horizon of the human subject (*Dasein*) according to which he understands something *as* what it is to him

(*Being and Time*, 1962, § 32). In a parallel way Wittgenstein urges: "every sign *by itself* seems dead. . . . In use it is *alive*" (*Philosophical Investigations* § 432). We must now ask: if thinkers from two of the three areas of thought outlined above adopt this approach, can the same be said of the third area, namely, general linguistics? It must be admitted that in linguistics, language is more readily abstracted from the human subject, and regarded as an "objective" scientific phenomenon in itself. But this is not the whole story. We have said that F. de Saussure stressed the social character of language. Indeed, he distinguished carefully between *langue*, the linguistic reservoir of the community, and *parole*, the actual concrete speech-*acts*. Thus in Saussure, hardly less than in Wittgenstein, we have the seeds of the modern perspective according to which the basic elements of language are neither words nor sentences as such, but, rather, "speech-acts" (F. de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics*, 9 and 13–14). Saussure's contrast between *langue* and *parole* has been taken up and developed in recent linguistics in terms of the distinction between linguistic competence and linguistic performance (Noam Chomsky, *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*, 1965, 5–15). Chomsky rejects the charge that his own "generative grammar" stresses competence at the expense of performance. Indeed he argues that in practice "the only studies of performance, outside of phonetics, are those carried out as a by-product of work in generative grammar" (15).

Wittgenstein's approach to the problem of meaning finds expression in his use of the term "language-game". He uses it in order to make two points. Firstly, language is grounded in human life. Wittgenstein writes, "The term 'language-*game*' is meant to bring into prominence the fact that the *speaking* of language is part of an activity, or of a form of life" (*Philosophical Investigations* § 23). Thus the term describes not only language itself but also "the actions into which it is woven" (§ 7). Secondly, language-uses are grounded in *particular* surroundings in human life. What language actually *is*, depends on the nature of the particular language-game under discussion. In a certain particular situation, language may indeed serve to "refer" to an object; and meaning may here be viewed in terms of reference. But language does not operate in a single uniform way. Certainly it does not always "describe". We must make "a radical break with the idea that language always functions in one way . . . to convey thoughts" (§ 304). In more positive terms, "For a *large* class of cases – though not for all . . . the meaning of a word is its use (*sein Gebrauch*) in the language" (§ 43). Wittgenstein describes such uses of words or sentences as "countless". This is because "this multiplicity is not something fixed, given once for all" (§ 23). In common with exponents of hermeneutical philosophy, he recognizes that language is open-ended towards future experience. New language-uses may emerge as human life develops. Wittgenstein writes, "Think of the tools in a tool-box: there is a hammer, pliers, a saw, a screw-driver. . . . The functions of words are as diverse as the functions of these objects. . . . What confuses us is the uniform appearance of words. . . . Their *application* (*Verwendung*) is not presented to us so clearly" (§ 11). It is, he suggests, like looking into the cabin of a locomotive. We see handles which look more or less alike (since they are all meant to be handled). But they all do different things, and may operate in different ways. To attempt to formulate some comprehensive theory of meaning is to imply that the relation between language and meaning is always the same. It is to be misled by the shape of the handles, or by the surface-grammar of language. By contrast, "we talk about it (language) as we do

about the pieces in chess when we are stating the rules of the game, not describing their physical properties" (*§* 108).

This approach does not lead to scepticism, however, concerning questions about meaning. On the contrary, it suggests only that such questions cannot be asked or answered in the abstract, independently of the task of looking at actual particular cases. We should even resist the temptation to ask: how does "religious language" acquire its meaning? We need to look at particular utterances in the actual life of the worshipping community, in order to determine what rôle these utterances play, and only then can we determine what may be said about their meaning. One of Wittgenstein's further insights was to see that concrete questions about meaning may also be answered with reference to observable life and conduct within the language-using community (→ 4 (c)). When we ask a question about meaning, "the kinds of use we feel to be 'the point' are connected with the rôle that such-and-such a use has in our whole life" (*Remarks on the Foundations of Mathematics*, 1956, I, *§* 16, 8). Wittgenstein himself offers many concrete illustrations of this principle, especially with reference to the meanings of such words or phrases as "think", "expect", "believe", "have pain", and "understand".

4. *Language and Religion.* (a) The language of religion is not necessarily a special kind of language, but is ordinary language put to a special kind of use. For example, when we talk about "hearing" the voice of God, we do not use a special word for "hearing"; but we do use the word "hearing" in a special way. Wittgenstein describes this kind of peculiarity as a difference of logical "grammar". He considers the statement: "You can't hear God speak to someone else; you can hear him only if you are being addressed"; and he observes: "That is a grammatical remark" (*Zettel*, *§* 717). In other words, this statement describes one of the logical peculiarities that marks the word "hear" when it applies, not to sound-waves striking the ear, but to hearing the voice of God. If someone finds it difficult to hear, he might be advised to buy a deaf-aid. But we should recommend a different course of action for someone who found it difficult to hear God. This indicates that "hear" has a peculiar grammar in this setting. Long before Wittgenstein, this feature of language was noted in the Fourth Gospel. Nicodemus is told, in effect, that "birth" into the kingdom of God has a different logical grammar from "birth" into the world (Jn. 3:3–7). The "living water" (i.e. running water) offered by Jesus to the woman of Samaria has a different grammatical status from that of "running water" as she imagines it (Jn. 4:10: "Sir, you have nothing to draw with . . ."). The disciples misunderstand the grammar of the "food" of which Jesus speaks (Jn. 4:31–34). The Jews misunderstand the peculiar meaning of "bread" (Jn. 6:31–35). In Wittgenstein's terms, Jn. shows that the problem of understanding the language of Jesus is bound up with the fact that its special "surroundings" have to do with faith and especially with christology. The claims which Jesus makes for himself give much of his otherwise ordinary language a distinctive meaning or grammar. Hence understanding his words and acknowledging his Person are bound up with each other.

(b) At the same time, the peculiarity of the logical grammar of Christian discourse should not be exaggerated. There are at least two bridges between "religious" language and that of the ordinary every-day world. The first of these is *analogy*. In analogy there is a parallelism, perhaps even an overlapping, between the ordinary

every-day grammar of a word and its distinctive logical grammar in the setting of religion. When we say that Jesus is the "son" of God the "Father", an unwanted area of the every-day grammar of "father" and "son" must be cancelled off. We do not wish to imply that the son was born to the father at a particular moment in time, or that his existence is more recent than that of his Father. In this sense, the Arians were misled by failing to notice a feature of the logical grammar of "son" in this setting. On the other hand, the words "father" and "son" are used precisely because the relationship between God and Christ remains analogous to that of a human father and son. From an ontological rather than a linguistic point of view, Paul states that the fatherhood of God is a prototype of all human fatherhood (Eph. 3:15). Although he is not making a linguistic point here, Paul's statement nevertheless presupposes some degree of continuity between "father" as applied to God, and "father" as applied to men. In the same way, to take another example, God's "coming" cannot simply be equated with the use of the same word in ordinary settings, since God is believed already to be, in another sense, omnipresent. Yet when the biblical writers speak of God's "coming" to the earth, there is at least some area of overlap with the usual meaning of the word. Similarly, if God is omnipresent, in one sense man cannot be distant from him; but probably all Christians would acknowledge some element of analogy between "coming" back to God, and the "coming" back of the absent prodigal son to his human father.

The philosophical theologian Ian T. Ramsey has attempted to articulate this double phenomenon of similarity and difference by using the terms "model" and "qualifier" (*Religious Language: An Empirical Placing of Theological Phrases*, 1957, 49–89). Ramsey uses the word "model", where many theologians from Thomas Aquinas onwards would have used the term "analogy". On the basis of linguistic models, God is said to be the "cause" of the universe; to be "wise" and "good"; and to have brought forth "creation" according to his "purpose". But Christians wish to stress not only the continuity of these terms with their everyday meanings, but also their differences from them. Hence qualifiers are added alongside the models. God is not only "cause"; he is "first" cause. He is "infinitely" wise and good. Creation is "creation *ex nihilo*"; and is in accordance with his "eternal" purpose (61–79). One reason why Ramsey prefers the phrase "models and qualifiers" to the traditional term "analogy" is that he also wishes to argue that when language functions in this way it provides the basis for what he calls a disclosure situation. The logical oddity that results from coupling together a model and a qualifier is not merely, negatively, a sign that language is being stretched beyond its usual limits. More positively, it also provokes a situation in which, as the hearer seeks to understand the language, "light dawns", or "the penny drops". A disclosure occurs which operates at a level which is not purely cognitive and informative.

There are understandable reasons why Ramsey should be reluctant to make great use of the term analogy. Many mediaeval theologians based their doctrine of analogy on the belief that God must contain in a supremely eminent way (*via eminentiae*) the qualities or degrees of being manifested in every finite being. This *via eminentiae* was thought to represent the only alternative to speaking about God in purely negative terms (e.g. as incorporeal, impassible, invisible). Ramsey's approach does not necessarily presuppose these metaphysical assumptions about God and being. At the same time, however, it would be a mistake to draw too sharp a contrast between the

traditional view of analogy and Ramsey's approach. Both approaches firmly assert two principles. Firstly, there is a necessary element of continuity or overlapping between religious uses of language and ordinary empirical applications of the same word or phrase. Secondly, there is also a necessary difference in the scope of their application, so that the precise scope of their meaning is different.

Two final points should be made about analogy. Firstly, analogy in this context is certainly not being used in a way which precludes metaphor. Metaphor is of the utmost importance in religious language. Indeed often to characterize certain *specific* language-uses in religion as metaphor is to lose sight of the fact that very much of our language is, in the widest sense, metaphorical. Not only the parables of the Synoptic Gospels and the imagery of Jn. and Rev., but also large stretches of theological argument in the Epistles necessarily use metaphor. But metaphor is not to be dismissed as somehow inferior to so-called literal discourse. To do this would be to yield to the spell of the referential and especially the ideational theories of meaning, and to assume that language must always be related to meaning in one uniform way. Secondly, when analogy is used, understanding is made more readily possible when a variety of models, images, or metaphors are used. This very variety helps the hearer to cancel off unwanted areas of the empirical, or every-day, meaning of the words of phrases in question. Thus in Jn., Jesus is indeed the shepherd; but he is also the light, the vine, the bread, the resurrection and so on. Unwanted areas of meaning are negated, whilst cross-bearings may be taken, as it were, which *together* point to the areas in which distinctive theological meanings converge.

(c) There is also a second major point of contact between the language of religion and the everyday empirical world. This comes to light in the modern philosophical debate about private language and *public criteria of meaning*. Wittgenstein, once again, is the thinker who has done most to set this debate in motion. Wittgenstein's starting-point is to consider the place of regularities, customs, and training, in the use of language. This aspect of language is also underlined in general linguistics, where Chomsky, Fodor, and Katz talk about mechanisms which are recursive (J. A. Fodor and J. J. Katz, *The Structure of Language*, 1964, 11; cf. 1–18 and 479–518). Wittgenstein is cautious about speaking of rules in any rigid or prescriptive sense. But he does speak of them in the sense of signposts or customs (*Philosophical Investigations*, *§§* 198–9). He writes, "Obeying a rule is a practice. And to *think* one is obeying a rule is not to obey a rule. Hence it is not possible to obey a rule 'privately' " (*§* 202). If the distinction between "correct" and "seems correct" disappears, then so has the concept "correct". It is easy to see what can count as a check or whether our use of the word "chair" or "table" is correct. If we were to use the word "chair" consistently in an incorrect way, someone else in the language-using community would soon tell us. But what kind of thing counts as a check on the correct use of words which relate to inner experiences or states of mind? Wittgenstein insists that if I know what it is to feel joy, grief, pain (and so on), *only from my own case*, I could not be aware of any regularity or custom about the application of these concepts in language. For what would it be to make a *mistake* in their application? In practice, however, such language *is* teachable, and not wholly "private" (in Wittgenstein's technical sense of the term). For we learn what joy, grief, pain, etc., *is*, because they play an observable part in life. Wittgenstein writes, "What would it be like if human beings showed no outward signs of pain (did not groan,

grimace, etc.)? Then it would be impossible to teach a child the use of the word 'toothache' " (*§* 257).

Although Wittgenstein's arguments about private language are made partly in the form of an attack on a Cartesian view of mind, we may apply this principle to the language of religion. If "being redeemed", "experiencing the Holy Spirit" (and so on), were *purely* (in Wittgenstein's sense of the term) "private" experiences, how could their meaning ever be conveyed to others? To be sure, there is a dimension to these experiences which is indeed inner and private. But it is also part of their very grammar that they should relate to human life in a public and observable way. In the same way we should say that pain is a genuinely "inner" sensation, but it is also necessarily compatible with some forms of overt behaviour and incompatible with others. What makes language teachable is its connexion with observable regularities in human behaviour. Hence what makes such a concept as "redemption" intelligible is not only (as we have seen) its analogy with parallel concepts in secular life, but also the cash-value of the concept in the observable life and ongoing tradition of the Hebrew – Christian community from the OT to the present day.

The OT in particular provides a publicly accessible tradition of patterns of events and behaviour which give currency to its language. The events of the Exodus, for example, provide a paradigm case, or a model language-game, of what "redemption" might mean. The notion of "salvation" begins to emerge as Israel passes through experiences of deliverance and prosperity in the period of the Judges. Piece by piece a tradition is built up, providing a continuity or regularity against which the application of certain concepts may be checked as correct or incorrect. These concepts do not of course remain static, but are purified and enriched as the biblical tradition grows. One reason why the biblical tradition is indispensable to Christian faith is that it provides paradigm cases of meaning, without which modern claims to "Christian" experience would face a problem of identity. The God who is worshipped in the Hebrew-Christian tradition is not merely the supreme being of speculative thought, but the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob; and the God and Father of the Christ of the NT.

This principle contributes decisively, alongside analogy, to the solution of the problem of meaning in religion. It does not merely result, however, in a backward-looking biblicism. In the modern era, the secular man may *begin* to grasp the meaning of religious language as he is in a position to see its cash-value in terms of observable acts and attitudes on the part of the Christian community, or the religious man. Wittgenstein writes, "One learns the game by watching how others play" (*Philosophical Investigations*, *§* 54). Correspondence between word and deed in the Christian community provides a more radical and effective solution to the problem of meaning in religion than attempts to re-label the Christian vocabulary.

(d) There are other approaches to the problem of religious language which are perhaps best viewed as part of the history of twentieth-century philosophy. This applies especially to A. J. Ayer's principle of verification, which is hardly still a live issue today, except in philosophical traditions which are unduly dominated by empiricism. It will be useful to distinguish between three phases in the development of thought.

(i) Shortly after the turn of the century, G. E. Moore and Bertrand Russell voiced a strong protest against much of the language and outlook of philosophical idealism,

as represented e.g. in the writings of F. H. Bradley. Moore claimed to write in the name of common-sense realism, and the mood of his thought was strongly empiricist. In addition to formulating his own approach, Russell claimed to find support for an empiricist orientation in the earlier work of Wittgenstein. We have already seen that, according to Wittgenstein's *Tractatus*, language serves to describe the facts of the physical world in a determinate way (or else express logical tautologies), but cannot be used for other purposes, including those of religion and ethics. That Wittgenstein himself did not wish his view to be understood as a defence of positivism can be seen from his correspondence with Paul Engelmann. (Recently this point has been brilliantly argued by A. Janik and S. Toulmin, *Wittgenstein's Vienna*, 1973.) Nevertheless, the *Tractatus* was interpreted by Russell and other in such a way that a thorough-going positivism was thought to be corroborated by Wittgenstein's early theory of language. Religious language, according to this approach, can result only in confusion, since it does not simply state facts about the world. This positivist outlook found particular expression in the Vienna Circle of the 1920s, of which one of the leaders was Rudolf Carnap.

(ii) A. J. Ayer's "Logical Positivism" represented the outlook of the Vienna Circle in Britain. Many believed that it took the discussion to a fresh stage. Ayer begins by attacking "the metaphysical thesis that philosophy affords us knowledge of a reality transcending the world of science and common sense" (*Language, Truth, and Logic*, 45). He then argued that any language which attempts to go beyond science or commerce is "devoid of literal significance". He asserts: "The criterion which we use to test the genuineness of apparent statements of fact is the criterion of verifiability" (48). We must ask, he urges, what observations must be made in order to check whether a statement is a factual one. Ayer's third step is to declare that if an utterance does not fall into this category, it is meaningless or "non-sense": "Until he (the speaker) makes us understand how the proposition that he wishes to express would be verified, he fails to communicate anything" (49). Ayer now adds two further points to his argument. Firstly, "analytic" statements (i.e. those which state what is true by definition) may be meaningful even though they remain unverifiable. Secondly, empirical statements need only be "verified in principle"; i.e. capable of verification, given the technical ability to make the observations required (whether or not these exist in practice).

In some quarters it was felt that Ayer had proved once and for all that religious utterances were without any genuine meaning. But other writers soon made the rejoinder that Ayer's approach remained fundamentally an *empiricist* viewpoint. H. J. Paton comments: "A purely linguistic approach may conceal from us what we are doing.... It is no new thing to find men who are prepared to believe only in what they can see and touch.... It is not easy to see why it becomes a more serious argument simply because it appears in a linguistic dress" (*The Modern Predicament*, 1955, 42). The decisive point that suggests special pleading on Ayer's part is that the verification principle itself is neither an analytical statement nor one that can be verified by observation. On the basis of Ayer's own work, it would be a meaningless criterion. Ayer slightly modified his original approach of 1936 in a second edition of *Language, Truth, and Logic*, in 1946, but the fundamental difficulties remain. In historical perspective we see how greatly Ayer was indebted to earlier empiricism and especially to the *Tractatus* as interpreted in the Russell tradition.

(iii) In the 1950s the debate about verification gave way to discussions about falsification. This principle can best be explained by an example. If the religious man asserts, "God is love", the philosopher may ask him what he would accept as evidence *against* the validity of this statement. If God allows millions to starve, or thousands to die of cancer, is this compatible with the statement that God is love? If the religious man answers that almost nothing would count against the validity of his assertion, the philosopher may reply that, in terms of *meaning*, it has died the death of a thousand qualifications. Very little, if any, of its actual *content* is left. One of the main exponents of this kind of approach is Antony Flew (*New Essays in Philosophical Theology*, 1955, 96–130). Philosophers of religion have reacted to it in two wholly different ways. Some argue that, like the principle of verification, this criterion of meaning applies only to empirical statements, and that it has nothing to do with religious language. They simply reject the challenge as irrelevant. Others accept the challenge, arguing that there must be and indeed are hypothetical situations which would falsify certain religious utterances. For example, if suffering never produced positive effects, or it could be shown that Jesus of Nazareth never lived, the status of certain religious utterances would be different. Those who accept the challenge of falsification see some value in this approach as helping to clarify the extent to which certain religious utterances *include* (though cannot be reduced to) cognitive or even empirical truth-claims. Nevertheless, the connexion between meaning and "making a difference" can perhaps be better explored in the broader context of questions about public criterion of meaning (→ above, (c)).

(e) Symbols, like metaphor, play an important rôle in religious language. Part of their power lies in the fact, that, according to Jung, symbols are vital for the necessary interplay between conscious and unconscious. Paul Tillich takes up Jung's approach, but in Tillich's theology the special place which he accords to symbol is bound up with a particular theological evaluation whereby the unconscious is thought to point to God. Tillich also tends towards a naturalistic view of language, arguing that, unlike the sign, the symbol itself "participates in that to which it points" (*Theology of Culture*, 1964, 54–5). These two assumptions may be questioned. But Tillich is correct in his emphasis on the *power* of symbols. He writes, "Every symbol is two-edged. It opens up reality, and it opens the soul" (op. cit. 57). "It opens up hidden depths of our own being" (*Dynamics of Faith*, 1957, 43). Symbols such as the sun, the closed door, inaccessible Eden, or the eschatological feast, reach right down into memories of childhood, or even perhaps through to racial memories. They call forth the response of the imagination and the heart. But pictures, as Wittgenstein reminds us, can be variously applied. This is the limitation of symbolic language. Whatever its relation to cognitive discourse in terms of its *chronological* use (cf. the parables of Jesus), from a *logical* point of view symbols can do no more than *supplement* cognitive discourse. To be sure, symbols (like parables and metaphor) are powerful in reaching through to the heart. But their application must be checked and tested against a broader linguistic content. For this reason, the Christian sacraments are always incomplete without the word. (I have discussed these points at greater length in *Language, Liturgy, and Meaning*, 1975, 22–32; and "The Theology of Paul Tillich", *The Churchman* 88, 1974, 86–107.)

5. *Language and the Biblical Text.* Certain theories of hermeneutics (→ Explain) and of translation-method are bound up with particular views about the nature of

language. (a) There are three distinct aspects to R. Bultmann's hermeneutical programme. Firstly, Bultmann adopts the perspective found in Schleiermacher and Dilthey, according to which the interpreter's understanding of the text is partly conditioned by his own pre-understanding. Bultmann writes, "The exegete is not a *tabula rasa*, but on the contrary approaches the text with specific questions, or with a specific way of raising questions" (*Existence and Faith*, 1964, 342). Pre-understanding is "not a prejudice, but a way of raising questions" (346). These questions should not be suppressed, but they should also be open to correction as understanding of the text begins to dawn. From the point of view of a theory of language, this hermeneutical approach is based on the valid recognition that, in Wittgenstein's terms, neither the language of the text nor the concepts of the reader can be viewed outside a particular language-game (→ above, 3 (c)). Language is not an abstraction the content of which can be viewed independently of the standpoint of the text and the reader. Secondly, Bultmann also employs existential interpretation in his handling of many parts of the NT. This procedure is in itself neutral from the point of view of a theory of language, and its value must be judged on other grounds. Thirdly, however, in his programme of demythologizing Bultmann works with three particular conceptions of → myth, each of which has close connexions with a theory of language.

(i) Bultmann tends to confuse analogy (or metaphor) and myth, as linguistic categories. He defines myth as "the use of imagery [*die Vorstellungsweise*] to express the other worldly in terms of this world" (H. W. Bartsch, ed., *Kerygma and Myth*, I, 1964, 10, n. 2). Thielicke and Schniewind insist that if this is the case, myth is no more dispensable than analogy or metaphor, and demythologizing becomes impossible. (We cannot accept Bultmann's reply that what is really at issue is the *uncritical* use of such language, since it is by no means clear that it is used uncritically in the NT.) Further, Bultmann makes much of the argument that so-called contradictions in the NT are symptomatic of myth (e.g. that the death of Christ is sometimes viewed as a sacrifice, sometimes as a victory over evil powers). But this argument rests on the same confusion. What we have here is simply a necessary diversity in the use of analogies, models, or metaphors. We have already seen why diversity of this kind is necessary (→ above, 4 (b)).

(ii) We must also ask whether Bultmann's view of language presupposes too sharp a contrast between outer form and inner content, or between language and thought. According to his second definition of myth, mythology expresses the world-view of a pre-scientific age. Thus heaven is "above", and supernatural forces intervene in the course of events in the world. This view of myth stems from the outlook of the Enlightenment, and can be seen in Heyne, Eichhorn, and D. F. Strauss. The implication is that some inner content or message lies beneath the primitive linguistic form which hides it. The task of interpretation is, as it were, to extract the kernel from the husk. But if this really is Bultmann's view, it lies open to the kind of criticisms which are often brought against the ideational theory of meaning (→ above, 3 (b)). Exponents of the new hermeneutic are quick to make such criticisms on linguistic grounds (see E. Jüngel, *Paulus und Jesus*, 1962, 135–9). There is perhaps some truth in this criticism, but we should be cautious about charging Bultmann with being concerned only about "inner" concepts. It could be argued that he is looking, in effect, for the "deep structure" which lies beneath the surface-grammar of the NT (→ (c) iii, iv).

Even so, there remains too disparaging an attitude towards the linguistic forms used by the NT. Bultmann's proposals may be compared to the interpretation of a code. Once it has been interpreted, the original code may be discarded as irrelevant. But the interpretation of the NT, as I. Henderson suggests, is more like the interpretation of a masterpiece. The interpreter returns to the original again and again. The original remains indispensable.

(iii) It is also arguable that Bultmann has misunderstood the logic of self-involving language, and failed to notice that language may perform different functions at the same time. In a third statement about myth he declares, "The real purpose of myth is not to present an objective picture of the world as it is [*ein objektives Weltbild*] but to express man's understanding of himself" (*Kerygma and Myth*, I 10; Ger. 23). Thus the statement that God will judge the world must be interpreted not as a statement about a future event at the end of history, but as a summons to live responsibly in the present. But Bultmann's valid recognition that this is not simply a flat descriptive statement about a future event does not carry with it the corollary that its statement-function should be ignored. Very often self-involving statements (as J. L. Austin showed) may depend on certain states of affairs being true. Because of his extreme, almost obsessive, antipathy towards "objectification" in religious language, Bultmann ignores the basic fact that a stretch of language may perform more than one function. Much more could be said about Bultmann's proposals, but our concern here is only with their relation to certain views of language.

(b) The outlook of the new hermeneutic has close affinities with the view of language found in Martin Heidegger's later writings. Heidegger believes that in modern Western society, with its orientation towards the technological and merely functional, language has ceased to be truly creative. Men have been beguiled into settling into a form of thinking that is mere calculation, and language has become trivialized. He traces the origin of the malaise of language to its roots in the dualism of Plato, when the unity of Being was fragmented into a division between the "lower" world of the physical senses and the "higher" realm of thought. This reduces both art and language into mere tools for the expression of concepts. But truly creative and eventful language, Heidegger urges, should communicate not "concepts" but reality. He writes, "Language is not a mere tool at his (man's) disposal. Rather it is that event which disposes of the supreme possibility of human existence" (*Existence and Being*, 1968[3], 300). In accordance with the climate of modern technology, merely functional language, or "idle talk", fragments reality into self-contained "fields". By contrast, language which is grounded in Being "gathers all things up" (*On the Way to Language*, 1971, 108). A "world" is opened up, conveying a vision of reality which can be revealed to man not in the haste of his technological frenzy, but in quiet submissive composure (*Gelassenheit*), in silent meditative listening. Negatively, "Words and language are not mere wrappings in which things are packed for the commerce of those who write and speak. It is in words and language that things first come into being and are. For this reason the misuse of language in idle talk, in slogans and phrases, destroys our authentic relation to things" (*An Introduction to Metaphysics*, 1959, 13–14). Positively, "To know how to question means to know how to wait . . ." (206). We must "let language, from within language, speak to us" (*On the Way to Language*, 85). "Speaking is of itself a listening" (123).

E. Fuchs and G. Ebeling draw on this perspective in their approach to the NT.

Firstly, language does not merely convey concepts. The NT does not merely inform us *about* the love of Jesus, or *about* salvation; it conveys the reality of his love and salvation. Secondly, the language of the NT, especially the parables of Jesus, draws the hearer into a "world" in which he does not merely consider "ideas" as a detached observer; but feels the impact of the message deep down in his own nature. He is drawn over, as it were, to see reality with the eyes of Jesus. Thirdly, the language of Jesus is creative. It enlarges the horizons of the hearer, so that he is never the same man again. When language operates in this creative way, there occurs a language-event (*Sprachereignis; Wortgeschehen*). Tracing how the horizons of the hearer become one with those of Jesus, Fuchs makes much of the hermeneutical category of "common understanding" (*Einverständnis*). This is something prior to, and deeper than, conscious thought, and has close affinities with Gadamer's notion of "a common world". Thus man is not simply active subject, forcing language to express the concepts which he has already. Rather, he listens to language, so that "the truth has us ourselves as its object". "The text is not just a servant that transmits kerygmatic formulations, but rather a master that directs us into the language-context of our existence in which we exist 'before God' " (E. Fuchs, *Studies of the Historical Jesus*, 1964, 211).

The theory of language represented in Fuchs and Ebeling avoids some of the difficulties which we find in Bultmann. Fruitful use is made of certain aspects of Heidegger's thought and much can be learned from this approach. Nevertheless there is more than a hint of the view described above as that of word-magic (→ above, 1 (b), (c)). Moreover Fuchs is more successful in handling some parts of the NT (e.g. the parables) than others. I have discussed the value and the limitations of the new hermeneutic more fully elsewhere (A. C. Thiselton, "The New Hermeneutic" in I. H. Marshall, ed., *New Testament Interpretation*, 1977, 308–333).

(c) General linguistics has stimulated developments in biblical studies in at least four areas. (i) In 1961 James Barr drew on the insights of F. de Saussure and his successors in order to establish certain principles in the area of biblical exegesis and lexicography. In so doing, he exposed the weakness of many (though by no means all) of the contributions to *TDNT*. The three main principles which he takes up (all of which can be found in Saussure) are the priority of synchronic linguistics over diachrony; the structural nature of language; and the connexion between the structural approach and linguistic convention. Synchronic linguistics designates the study of language at a particular point in time; diachronic linguistics relates to its history, change, and development. Barr rightly attacks the tendency in many theological writings to arrive at conclusions about meaning on the basis of observations about word-history. We do not assume, for example, that the Eng. word "nice" basically means "ignorant", merely because it may be derived from the Lat. *nescius*, ignorant. Yet many biblical scholars attempt to describe the meaning of a term at a given point in time on the basis of an etymology perhaps long forgotten even by the biblical writer's own generation. Barr asserts, "The main point is that the etymology of a word is not a statement about its meaning but about its history" (*The Semantics of Biblical Language*, 1961, 109).

Barr also draws on the axiom in general linguistics that the word alone, quite apart from its rôle within a field or a particular speech-act, carries with it a series of meanings which it draws from a variety of quite different contexts. For example, in certain

contexts the NT word *ekklēsia*, church, may be used to mean "the body of Christ", "the bride of Christ", and so on. But it does not collect together all these meanings independently of how a particular context conditions its meaning. Thus it cannot be said to mean "bride of Christ" in *Matthew's* chapters on the church. Barr describes this fallacious assumption as "the illegitimate totality transfer" and warns us that it "leads to the distortion of the semantic contribution made by words in contexts" (218 and 233). On the basis of the rôle of convention in language (→ above, 1 (b), (c)), Barr also attacks writers such as T. Boman for drawing conclusions about the nature of "Hebrew thought" from accidental linguistic morphology (→ above, 2). I have discussed the value of Barr's approach more fully elsewhere (A. C. Thiselton, "Semantics and New Testament Interpretation", in I. H. Marshall, ed., *New Testament Interpretation*, 1977, 75–104).

(ii) Some writers have explored the methods of field semantics for biblical interpretation. J. F. A. Sawyer, for example, takes as his point of his departure the linguistic axioms which we have noted in connexion with Saussure and Barr (*Semantics in Biblical Research. New Methods of Defining Hebrew Words for Salvation*, 1972). We noted earlier how the semantic scope of a colour-word may depend on the range of other colour-words within the "field" from which alternative colour-words might be selected. Sawyer examines the field of Heb. words which relate to salvation. This is necessarily an exercise in Hebrew lexicography, since the study shows how the scope of the Heb. terms reciprocally condition one another in a way which does not necessarily correspond with particular Eng. words. Whilst this remains, in one sense, a word-study, Sawyer does not assume that the word is an autonomous or independent bearer of meaning. He adopts the viewpoint of J. Trier that meaning is best explored in relation to the whole field (→ 3 (a)). (On the relation of Sawyer's work to hermeneutics, → A. C. Thiselton, "The Semantics of Biblical Language as an Aspect of Hermeneutics", in *Faith and Thought*, 103, 1976, 108–20.)

(iii) There is a growing body of literature on theories and methods of Bible translation. As representative of current trends, we cite the work of E. A. Nida and C. R. Taber (*The Theory and Practice of Translation*, 1969). The new focus of interest in Bible translation, they argue, is no longer that of reproducing the grammatical structure or style of the original language, but concerns the horizons and response of the receptor, or the modern native reader. "Correctness" is no longer regarded as an abstract absolute concept, but is always relative to the receptor's needs and response. This approach presupposes a certain way of looking at language, and of the many observations which might be made about it, we select two.

First, a key distinction is made between the deep structure which underlies the stretch of language to be translated and the surface-grammar of both the source language and the receptor language. We may illustrate the point with reference to 1 Jn. 2:26 where the Gk. has "I have written this to you" (*tauta egrapsa hymin*). Traditionally the sentence "I have written this to you" would be said to represent the "correct" Eng. translation. But the NEB translates it "So much for (those who would mislead you)". This is because it is recognized that the words in the Gk. constituted a signal that the writer was moving on to a fresh topic. Hence the "correct" translation would be that which conveyed the underlying function of the phrase to a modern English reader. One method often advocated in this connexion is the back-

transformation of the Heb. and Gk. text into "kernels" which are then transformed again into a more appropriate surface-structure in the receptor language (see I. H. Marshall, ed., op. cit., 78, for "kernel").

Secondly, if this approach is adopted, translation is (more than ever) inseparable from interpretation, or hermeneutics. It is a matter of building bridges between the source and receptor languages, in which the translator has to make theological and even cultural *judgments*, no less than the interpreter. No doubt this calls for added caution in assessing the extent to which such re-structuring is always legitimate. Nevertheless, as soon as we abandon a theory of meaning which is based on some artificially mechanical concept of word-meaning and reference, the problem is, as a matter of *principle*, inescapable. General rules will not take care of every case. Thus many translators would perhaps agree that in cultures where snow, for example, is unknown, "very white" might be a "correct" translation of "white as snow". But probably few would follow J. B. Phillips in regarding "ill from some psychological disease" as a correct *translation* of "possessed by an evil spirit" (Lk. 13:11). Problems such as this cannot be solved by purely mechanical means and the reason for this lies in the nature of language.

(iv) The most recent application of linguistics to biblical studies occurs in the work of Erhardt Güttgemanns and his school. Güttgemanns stands on the borders between linguistics, structuralism, and hermeneutics. As in the case of the translation theory discussed above (→ above, iii) the principle of "transformation" is crucial to his programme. He accepts the basic axioms of linguistics from Saussure to Chomsky concerning such issues as the priority of synchrony over diachrony (→ above, i); the contrast between linguistic competence (or virtuality, *Virtualität*) and performance (or actuality, *Positivität*); and the fact that meaning of a text is not the mere aggregation of its elements. But the binary or "game-tree" principle, according to which (in linguistics) meaning is seen in terms of a choice between alternatives, is also related to the binary or game-tree principle in anthropological structuralism. Narratives and parables, for example, are said to embody a deep structure which lies under the surface of the text. The task of "generative poetics" (as Güttgemanns calls his approach) is to arrive at a theory of actions or rôles within the "generative" matrix (competence) that finds expression on the surface of the narrative or parable (performance). Güttgemanns' approach is highly complex, and cannot be described clearly within a short space. He himself claims to offer a radical alternative to traditional exegesis which takes adequate account of the nature of language for the first time. As yet, it is too soon to tell whether he can fully justify his enormous claims.

6. *Responsibility in the Use of Language.* (a) The biblical writers speak equally of the power of language and of the need for caution, even reticence, in its use. (i) "Death and life are in the power of the tongue" (Prov. 18:21). "The tongue of the wise brings healing" (12:18), and a good word may bring gladness (v. 25). Words may be edifying (10:21) and may bring forth solid and productive results (12:14). "A gentle tongue is a tree of life" (15:4). In the NT the speaking of words is bound up with the experience of salvation. Salvation entails verbal confession (Rom. 10:9); and men cannot believe in him "of whom they have never heard" (10:14) (→ above, 1 (a)). (ii) At the same time, men will be called to account for their idle words (Matt. 12:36). Cruel or clumsy words can be like the piercing of a sword (Prov. 12:18).

Flattery may ruinously inflate a man's self-esteem (29:5); and the speech of a wicked man spreads strife (16:27, 28). Hasty and thoughtless words are counter-productive: "The mind of the righteous ponders how to answer; but the mouth of the wicked pours out evil things" (15:28). Christians are urged to be slow to speak (Jas. 1:19). For the tongue can be like a fire that sets a whole forest ablaze, and can spread deadly poison (Jas. 3:5, 6, 8).

(b) Martin Heidegger (→ above, 5 (b)) reminds us that we receive language as a trust, which is not to be taken for granted and treated lightly. In our own day, speech is often trivialized and relativized. In mass advertizing and in the realm of social engineering we can be seduced by words which masquerade as descriptions, but which in practice express only value-judgments. One man may speak of a "problem drinker", where others may use the term "drunkard". One political commentator calls a man "unco-operative", where another expresses admiration that he "stands by his principles". If language is manipulated irresponsibly for questionable purposes, its currency wears thin, and it ceases to be able to bear the freight which we put upon it.

(c) A still more fundamental issue, however, is raised by Wittgenstein's observations about public criteria of meaning (→ above, 4 (c)). We have seen that the publicly observable attitudes and conduct of the Christian community form the necessary backing that gives currency to its language. "One learns the game by watching how others play". "Only in the stream of thought and life do words have meaning". The warning against "idle words" (Matt. 12:36) refers not to the uttering of social pleasantries (which indeed have social value) but to words that are ineffective because they have no backing in practical conduct. Empty promises, vain intentions, or smooth blandishments fall into this category. Words that merely chase other words give rise to a circularity and a relativism that have no anchorage in reality. To cite one of Kierkegaard's similes, it is as if a shop sign which promises "Trousers Pressed Here" turns out, after all, to be displayed not by a cleaner's, but only by a shop which sells shop signs. Or to cite a simile from Wittgenstein, it is as if a man says, "I know how tall I am", and puts his hand on top of his head to prove it. Even the praises of the Christian community must be grounded in attitudes and acts which give them valid linguistic currency. By contrast with our frequent human failures, Jesus Christ fully embodied and lived out "the word made flesh". Jesus did not simply talk about humility; he took a towel and washed the disciples' feet. He did not only talk about sacrifice; he was actually crucified. He did not merely speak words about forgiveness and new life; he actually gave men forgiveness and new life. The language of Jesus is both intelligible and effective because it is grounded in life and in practical action. The Christian community is called to accept that same responsibility for the language which it speaks (→ Truth). *A. C. Thiselton*

→ Creation, → Explain, → Pentecost, → Revelation, → Scripture, → Spirit, → Truth

On *glōssa*, *logos* and *rhēma*:
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Work, Do, Accomplish

ἐργάζομαι

ἐργάζομαι (*ergazomai*), to labour, be active, work, bring about; ἔργον (*ergon*), deed, action, achievement, work, thing, matter; ἐργασία (*ergasia*), work, practice, business; ἐργάτης (*ergatēs*), someone who does something, workman; ἐνέργεια (*energeia*), working, operation, action; ἐνεργέω (*energeō*), to work, be at work, be active, effect something; ἐνεργής (*energēs*), active, effective, powerful; ἐνέργημα (*energēma*), activity, experience; εὐεργεσία (*euergesia*), kindness, a good deed, well-doing; εὐεργετέω (*euergeteō*), do work, benefit, show kindnesses; εὐεργέτης (*euergetēs*), benefactor; συνεργός (*synergos*), working together with, a colleague, fellow-worker, assistant; συνεργέω (*synergeō*), to work together, co-operate, aid, further.

CL 1. (a) The vb. *ergazomai*, which is a cognate of the noun *ergon*, has in the intrans. the basic meaning to work, to be engaged on something. Used trans. (linked, for instance, with *ergon*), it means to create, to produce, to perform and also to process (e.g. a raw material).

(b) *ergon* denotes from Mycenean Gk. onwards a deed, an action, by contrast either with inactivity or a mere word. It can refer to a specific occupational or official activity (e.g. agriculture or the military profession), and means in certain cases achievement, work; it is finally encountered with the weakened meaning of thing, matter. In the plur. *ergon* can also mean history.

(c) *ergasia* has a similar, if rather more limited, meaning; it can mean labour, occupation, arrangement, work (especially cultural) or business.

(d) The noun *ergatēs* generally indicates someone who does something, or else it means a worker as the member of a class (frequently a slave) or of a occupational group (in particular farm-labourers).

Whereas the vb. *ergazomai* and the noun *ergon* with the above basic meanings can be found from Mycenean times, Homer and Hesiod in cl. Gk., *ergasia* is first found in Pindar, and *ergatēs* only in the 5th cent. B.C. (the tragedians and Hdt.).

(e) *energeia* is found in the Pre-Socratics to denote activity. It is translated by activity, effectiveness, force. *energeō* accordingly means intrans. to be active, to be at work; trans. to effect or to do something. *energēs* is a later allied form (Aristotle onwards) of the adj. *energos*, active, effective. *energēma* is that which is effected, a deed.

While the word-group frequently serves in Hellenism and in Philo to describe cosmic and physical forces, *energeia* in the LXX (as in the NT) is used "almost exclusively for the work of divine or demonic powers" (G. Bertram, *TDNT* II 652). The word occurs only in 2 Macc. 3:29; 3 Macc. 4:21; 5:12, 28; Wis. 7:17, 26; 13:4; 18:22. *energeō* occurs only at Num. 8:24; 1 Esd. 2:20; Prov. 21:6; 31:12; Wis. 15:11; 16:17; Isa. 41:4.

(f) Also belonging to the main word-group under consideration are the words *euergesia*, good deed, well-doing, the vb. *euergeteō*, to do good, and the noun *euergetēs*. *euergesia* is already found in Homer; the vb. *euergeteō* is found in the tragedians, and *euergetēs* from Pindar onwards. *euergetēs* acquired in the world of Hellenism and Roman culture the significance of an honorary title which is given to deserving men, especially kings.

(g) *synergos* (Pindar onwards) denotes a colleague, a fellow-worker, an assistant.

From this the vb. *synergeō* is formed (Eur. onwards) meaning to work together, co-operate, aid, to further.

2. Already in Hesiod, work is described as having moral value; "through labour [*ex ergōn*] men become rich in herds and well-to-do. Those who work are much preferred by the immortal gods. Labour is by no means a disgrace, but laziness is a disgrace" (*Works* 307 ff.). Man shows himself fit by his *ergon*. One can understand from this how in Xenophon an expression speaks of *gignōskein*, recognizing a man *ek tōn ergōn*, by or in his works. In Plato (*Politicus* 352d–353e) *ergon* appears closely related to → virtue (*aretē*). This connexion is systematically unfolded in Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*: it is the task of *aretē* to bring to perfection the *ergon* (e.g.) of an organ (such as the seeing of an eye). The ethical value of particular deeds or accomplishments, *erga*, is frequently expressed by predicates such as *kala*, lovely, *agatha*, good, or negative ones like *kaka*, bad, *adika*, unjust, *ponēra*, evil.

OT In the LXX the word group is employed with the whole range of meaning of the cl. Gk. usages, serving with especial frequency to translate the Heb. words *'āśâh*, to do, to make, *pā'al*, to make, to do, and *'ābaḏ*, to work, to serve. Synonyms for *ergon* are provided by the word groups associated with → *poieō* and (more rarely) → *prassō*. What is new over against cl. Gk. is conditioned by Israel's particular faith in God.

1. *ergon* is thus used right at the beginning of the LXX to describe the work of the divine Creator (Gen. 2:2 f.). In the case of God's deed which takes place by means of a word (cf. 2 Esd. 4[6]:38, 43), the above-mentioned impression of an opposition between word and work can naturally not arise. In this connexion, although the phrase (*erga cheirōn sou*, "the works of thy hands") is frequently found to denote the work of the Creator, which embraces heaven, earth and men, the sing. *ergon* is found more often (e.g. Pss. 8:4, 7; 90[89]:16; 138[137]:8; Job 14:15; Isa. 29:23; cf. Heb. 1:10; 3:4). In the same way, *ergon* stands for God's works over and above the creation, and it then principally means the acts of Yahweh in history, through which he demonstrates to Israel his covenant-faithfulness (cf. e.g. the quotation from Ps. 95[94]:9 in Heb. 3:9). Hence, the term *ergon* now and then comes to mean miracle (e.g. Deut. 11:3; Sir. 48:14). God's deed, however, means not only preservation and salvation, but also judgment (e.g. Isa. 28:21; cf. Acts 13:41).

2. When *ergon* relates to the doings of human beings, it is able, within the compass of the LXX, to give expression especially to three major theological ideas.

(a) In most places where the word-group occurs, it has a positive meaning, namely, when it is used for the purpose of describing man's accomplishment of a task laid on him by God (cf. Gen. 2:15). Cultic actions, such as temple service and the offering of → sacrifices, appear as deeds of religious worth (cf. Num. 8:11). But also in everyday life that work is judged positively which demonstrates itself to be obedient fulfilment of the divine will, of the → law (cf. Exod. 20:9 f. and Deut. 5:13 f., where in the context of the Decalogue a significant alternation of work and rest is ordained). This applies as much to one's ordinary sphere of work (cf. Deut. 2:7; 14:29; Job 1:10; Ps. 90[89]:17) as to particular acts of obedience (e.g. Neh. 13:14, a work of love; Ps. 15:2, righteousness; Zeph. 2:3; cf. Pss. 7:4 f.; 18:21 ff.).

(b) In conjunction with the story of the Fall, *ergon* characterizes work as trouble, a burden and a curse (cf. Gen. 3:17 ff.; 4:12; 5:29; Deut. 26:6). This idea is par-

ticularly alive in Hellenistic Judaism where man's works are seen as essentially sinful (1 Esd. 4:37; 2 Esd. 7:119; Syr. Bar. 48:38; 54:2; *TDNT* II 644 f.).

(c) In other places in the LXX, the word *ergon* – perhaps influenced by Hellenistic Judaism – has the meaning of a bad, reprehensible deed which brings separation from God, i.e. of → sin (cf. e.g. Job 11:11; 21:16; 24:14). It is not so much here a matter of a particular wicked act but the sinful nature of actions which are alienated from God (cf. e.g. Prov. 11:18). God sees through the works of such people who, when it is dark (Isa. 29:15), are actively godless or lawless; "He shatters the mighty without investigation" (Job 34:25), for "their works are works of iniquity" (Isa. 59:6). The resultant negative assessment of human action "takes on a radically theological character in the NT" (*TDNT* II 645).

3. In Judaism, in particular, the view of works necessary for the fulfilment of the law and therefore for → righteousness (*dikaiosynē*) is developed and consolidated. The way to godliness is casuistically prescribed for the Jew by a multiplicity of regulations for the performance of the → law. There were, for example, the → Sabbath laws or the prescriptions for ritual cleansing with which Jesus and his disciples came into conflict. But since not everyone followed this path in all its details, a distinction was made between the righteous man and the average devout person (notably in Syr. Bar. and 2 Esd.). Eschatological intensification is given to this distinction (but cf. already Isa. 3:10 f.) by the notion of → reward and punishment related to the divine → judgment. One day God will recompense men according to their deeds. The godless will then receive their punishment, whereas the righteous can die without fear, for in God's sight they have "a store of works preserved in treasuries" (Syr. Bar. 14:12; cf. Matt. 6:20; Lk. 12:33; 1 Tim. 6:19). There are also isolated utterances, which anticipate the teaching of Lk. 17:10, such as Aboth 1:3: "Be not like slaves that minister to the master for the sake of receiving a bounty, but like slaves that minister to the master not for the sake of receiving a bounty; and let the fear of Heaven be upon you." But even these are not capable of erasing the impression of a firmly-stamped theology of works-righteousness.

At the same time, Judaism was also aware of God's acts. Praise of the works of the Creator had particular significance, but God's saving acts in history and in the last days were also praised (e.g. in the hymns of Qumran).

NT *ergazomai*, to labour, be active, bring about, work, occurs in the NT 41 times (18 in Paul), *ergon*, work, 169 times (Paul 68 times, including the Pastorals 20; Jn. 27; Rev. 29; Jas. 15; Matt. 6; Mk. and Lk. twice each; Heb. 9; Acts 10; 1 and 2 Pet. twice each; the Johannine letters 5; and Jude once), *ergasia*, business, 6 times (4 in Acts and once each in Lk. and Eph.), and *ergatēs*, workman, 16 times (Synoptics 10 times; 4 times in Acts; and once each in Jn. and Jas.). The basic meanings of the word-group in the NT correspond to those mentioned above in CL 1. Rev. 18:7 is noteworthy: to work the sea means to navigate. *ergon* stands alongside both *logos* (→ word; e.g. in Lk. 24:19; Acts 7:22; 2 Thess. 2:17; 2 Cor. 10:11), and also *boulē* (plan, intention; Acts 5:38). As a designation of the actions of the believer, *ergon* can be used synonymously with *karpos*, → fruit. The expressions *ergon* or *ergazesthai*, to work a work (e.g. Matt. 26:10 par. Mk. 14:6; Jn. 3:21; 6:28; 9:4; Acts 13:41; 1 Cor. 16:10) are common. As synonyms, there are *ergon* and the plur. *erga poiein*, to do a work (Matt. 23:3, 5; Jn. 5:36; 7:21; 8:31; 10:37; 14:10, 12; 15:24; 2 Tim. 4:5; 3 Jn.

10; Rev. 2:5; cf. Jas. 1:25, *poiētēs*), and in one place *erga prassein* (Acts 26:20).

1. (a) In the Synoptic Gospels theological usage of the word-group can be detected. *ergazesthai* denotes activity in a quite general sense (cf. Lk. 13:14; Matt. 21:28, in the vineyard), the performing of some work (e.g. Matt. 26:10 par. Mk. 14:6, the anointing at Bethany). There is a distinct nuance in the meaning of *ergasia* in Lk. 12:58, where it is best translated by "make an effort" (RSV, NEB). The relatively commonly used *ergatēs* denotes (in accordance with its natural sense) someone who works for wages (Matt. 20:1, 2, 8), then a witness standing in Christ's service and sent into the world (Matt. 9:37 f. par. Lk. 10:2), but also an evil-doer, *ergatēs adikias*, who will not stand in the judgment (Lk. 13:27; cf. Matt. 7:23). Whereas the Pharisees are censured by Jesus for doing their works "in order to be seen by men" (Matt. 23:5), the deed of the woman who anointed him is called an *ergon kalon*, a lovely act, Matt. 26:10 par. Mk. 14:6; and the disciples are enjoined, "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works and give glory to your Father who is in heaven" (Matt. 5:16; cf. 1 Pet. 2:12). The Synoptics certainly stress that man has no legal claims before God to any particular remuneration for his deeds (cf. Lk. 17:10; Matt. 20:1–16); but they put the challenging question as to the fruits of faith quite clearly. W. Joest goes so far as to say: "Synoptic paraenesis frees the work of the disciple from the *securitas* of the pride of merit, but not from the fear of winning or losing salvation" (*Gesetz und Freiheit*, 1961[3], 160).

ergon is related to the work of Christ in Matt. 11:2 and Lk. 24:19, where it embraces his effective working in deed and word.

(b) In John's Gospel the word group is specifically used to illustrate the unique activity of Jesus, which is inextricably bound up with the working of God, the Father, as (e.g.) Jn. 5:17 bears witness: "My Father is working still, and I am working too" (cf. Jn. 4:34; 17:4). Jesus understands his working as the fulfilment of his divinely-appointed mission (cf. Jn. 9:4; 5:36; 10:25), which aims to awake faith in the One who has been sent as the Revealer of God (cf. Jn. 6:29). Jesus' miracles also serve this end (→ Miracle, art. *sēmeion*; Jn. 14:11; cf. 10:25). In the revelatory work of Jesus, which is also "the work of the Judge" (R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, 1971, 246), the spirits divide (cf. Jn. 3:19–21; 15:24); the unbeliever now no longer has any excuse for his sin (Jn. 15:22 ff.). The believer, on the other hand, is given the promise that he will do even greater works than Jesus (Jn. 14:12). Works done "in God" (*en theō*; Jn. 3:21) contrast with *erga ponēra*, evil works (Jn. 3:19; 7:7; cf. 1 Jn. 3:12), which are committed in alliance with the devil (Jn. 8:41, 44; cf. 1 Jn. 3:8). In Jn., therefore, the concept of working gains its specific theological structure from its christological grounding, from its point of departure in Jesus' work as Revealer.

(c) Paul, by contrast, takes up more the contemporary Jewish understanding of work as an accomplishment required of men, in order to stress, by way of a blunt antithesis, that there is no → righteousness in God's sight on the basis of human achievement. There is only righteousness on the basis of the reception of grace. The way of salvation is not prescribed through the → law, but only through Jesus Christ, who is "the end of the law that every one who has faith may be justified" (Rom. 10:4). The works of the law, which play such a large rôle in Judaism, are rigorously rejected by Paul, because in his eyes they are a human substitute for the true → obedience of faith (O. Michel, *Der Brief an die Römer, KEK* 4, 1955[10], 87), the *hypakoē pisteōs* (cf. Rom. 1:5; 16:26). "Becoming righteous . . . does not come about

from fulfilling the commandments; it is fulfilled in Christ by means of faith in him" (H. Schlier, *Der Brief an die Galater*, *KEK* 7, 1962[12], 57). Paul is concerned with understanding the true significance of faith of which → Abraham is adduced as an exemplar (Rom. 4:1–25; Gal. 3:6–18). This insight into the soteriological incompatibility of a work of the law (*ergon nomou*) and → grace (*charis*) or → faith (*pistis*) forms the centre of Pauline theology (cf. Rom. 3:20, 27 f.; 4:6; 9:12, 32; 11:6; Gal. 2:16; 3:2, 10).

On the one hand, then, works are condemned as a way of salvation; yet on the other hand, there are passages where works receive a positive significance even in Paul. As Paul knows of a law of Christ besides the law which condemns (cf. 1 Cor. 9:21; Gal. 6:2), so he speaks of positive *erga* besides the works of darkness (*erga tou skotous*, Rom. 13:12) or the works of the flesh (*erga tēs sarkos*, Gal. 5:19). Missionary work, for instance, appears as a work of the Lord (*ergon kyriou*, 1 Cor. 16:10; 15:58; cf. Phil. 2:30), which Christ works through the apostles (cf. Phil. 1:6). Indeed, Paul can put to the Corinthians the rhetorical question, "Are you not my workmanship [*ergon*] in the Lord?" (1 Cor. 9:1). In the sphere of ethics, Paul upholds the validity for Christians of the imperative to do good to everyone (Gal. 6:10; cf. Rom. 2:10; 2 Thess. 2:17). There is also the notion of good works in Paul in the context of the final → judgment. On the day of "wrath when God's righteous judgment will be revealed" God will "render to every man according to his works" (Rom. 2:5 f.) without any regard for persons; and not only will the works of the heathen be judged, but those of Christians too (1 Cor. 3:11 f.; cf. Rom. 14:10; 2 Cor. 5:10; 1 Pet. 1:7; Rev. 2:23). "It is obvious that Paul knows and states that the work of Christians, by which they will be judged in the last judgment, does not provide any human ground for *kauchēma*. But now he says precisely of this work (understood, as always, as the deed of the 'unprofitable servant') that God judges, rewards and punishes on the basis of it" (W. Joest, op. cit., 175).

(d) The vibrant dialectic, distinguished in Paul by his rejection of all works-righteousness and by his simultaneous knowledge of the impossibility of an unproductive faith, appears in a somewhat different light in the Pastoral Epistles. Here it is one pole that is powerfully accentuated – that of the aspect of good works (1 Tim. 5:10, 25; 6:18; Tit. 1:16; 2:7, 14; 3:8, 14; cf. 1 Pet. 2:12).

(e) If Paul stresses faith as the decisive factor, in James it is the emphatic demand for works, extolled in the law of liberty (*nomos tēs eleutherias*, Jas. 1:25), which comes to the fore. Without works faith is dead (Jas. 2:17); it is only through works that it is perfected (Jas. 2:22, 24). The spirited advocacy of this interpretation by James must be understood from his own situation. While Paul primarily fought against the Judaic and Judaistic misunderstanding that human works lead to righteousness, James turns against the "practical aberration of a dead orthodoxy which rests on mere confession" (F. Hauck, *Die Briefe des Jakobus, Petrus, Judas und Johannes*, *NTD* 10, 1937, 20). In his own way he thus helps to describe the field of tension in which God's saving activity seeks to awaken men to faith, to whose structural elements belong obedience (*hypakoē*), → hope (*elpis*) and → love (*agapē*),

2. (a) *energeia*, working, operation, action, is found in the NT 8 times (only in the Pauline corpus), *energeō*, to be active, 21 times (18 in Paul, twice in Matt., once in Jas.), *energēma*, deed, twice, in 1 Cor. and *energēs*, effective, 3 times (twice in Paul, once in Heb.). The word-group refers, as a rule, to the working of God (e.g. 1 Cor.

12:6; Eph. 1:11) or of his antagonist, → Satan (2 Thess. 2:9; cf. Rom. 7:5; Eph. 2:2), who is also ultimately subject to God (2 Thess. 2:11), as is → death, which also appears as an active power (2 Cor. 4:12). Particular prominence is given to the efficacious power of God by which he raised Jesus Christ (Eph. 1:20; Col. 2:12). This divine power is effective both in Christ (Phil. 3:21; cf. Matt. 14:2) and in the Holy Spirit (cf. 1 Cor. 12:11, where the Holy Spirit appears as the uniform effective cause of the gifts of grace). By it the → apostles are equipped for their office (Eph. 3:7; Col. 1:29), just as by it the word becomes the authoritative judge of the thoughts and intentions of the heart (Heb. 4:12). The members of the body of Christ also come to share in it (Eph. 4:16; cf. 1 Cor. 12:10). God, the One who is at work (*energōn*), creates both the will (*thelein*) and the deed (*energein*, Phil. 2:13), which take shape in the love of the believers (cf. Gal. 5:6).

(b) *euergetēs*, in its sole occurrence in the NT (Lk. 22:25), has the sense of an honorary title (see above, CL 1 (f)), which is then, characteristically, repudiated. Jesus' disciples are not to allow themselves to be called "Benefactors", as are the rulers of the world (cf. the rejection of the titles Rabbi, Master, Father and Teacher in Matt. 23:7–12); they are called to → serve (Lk. 22:26; cf. Matt. 23:11).

The vb. *euergetein*, to do good (only in Acts 10:38) refers to the good deeds of Jesus to which his apostles testify. *euergesia* in Acts 4:9 denotes the healing of a sick man by the apostles; in 1 Tim. 6:2 the same word characterizes that attitude of a Christian master to his slaves which is in keeping with the gospel.

(c) In the NT the vb. *synergeō*, work together, is found 5 times, *synergos*, a colleague, 12 times (including 11 in Paul). In Rom. 8:28 Paul seizes on a maxim which is embedded into late Jewish tradition (O. Michel, op. cit., 179–83; cf. Test. Iss. 3:8; Test. Gad 4:7; Test. Ben. 4:5; Ber. 60b, "Let a man always accustom himself to say: All that the Almighty does, he does for good"; Taanith 21a, "That too is for good"). He states "that for those who love God, all things work together for good" (cf. AV), i.e., that for them everything is beneficial, even "the suffering and rejections, the enigmas of faith" (O. Michel, op. cit., 181). Jas. 2:22 speaks of the necessary integration of faith and works (→ Righteousness).

Otherwise, the word-group refers to the missionary situation. Mk. 16:20 belongs to the longer ending of Mk. (cf. W. R. Farmer, *The Last Twelve Verses of Mark*, *Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series* 25, 1974). It reports that the Lord worked with the disciples confirming their word by the accompanying signs. It is true that this ratificatory accompanying work of God is the decisive element in all missionary activity; but it is a real co-working, in as much as the person who has been called by God to be a witness is himself no mere inactive instrument in the proclaiming event, but equally a co-operating servant of God. Paul can therefore formulate it thus: *theou gar esmen synergoi*, "we are God's fellow-workers" (1 Cor. 3:9 RSV mg.; cf. 2 Cor. 6:1). The content of the apostolic co-operation is more exactly outlined in 1 Thess. 3:2 ("in the gospel of Christ"); Col. 4:11 ("for the kingdom of God"), 3 Jn. 8 ("for the truth") and 2 Cor. 1:24 ("for your joy").

H.-C. Hahn

ποιέω

ποιέω (*poieō*), do, make; *ποίησις* (*poiēsis*), doing, working, deed; *ποίημα* (*poiēma*), what is made, work, creation;

ποιητής (*poiētēs*), one who does something, maker, doer; ἀγαθοποιΐα (*agathopoiia*), well-doing, doing good; ἀγαθοποιός (*agathopoios*), doing good, upright, one who does good.

CL 1. The verb *poieō*, attested since Homer, and generally to be trans. to do, to make, has passed through a varied development. It is the basic term for all activity. The subjects belonging to the vb. include both divinities and human beings; more rarely they are material subjects (e.g. the soil or a tree produces).

(a) In so far as Gk. literature reports the doings of the gods, e.g. in Hesiod's theogony (*Works* 109 ff.) or later in Plato's *Timaeus* (29e ff.), the word takes on the meaning of to create, generate, give shape to.

(b) Human doing and making can refer to any kind of activity. Used intrans., *poieō* has the meaning of to act; positive or negative valuation is given from an ethical point of view. Platonic texts therefore also use the verb in the sense of making every effort (*pan poiein*, e.g. *Phaedo* 114c).

2. The noun *poiēsis* (used from Hdt. onwards) accordingly means both directed action and the manufacture of objects (e.g. Plato, *Soph.* 266d). *poiēma* (Hdt. onwards) denotes the finished work, the product (e.g. Plato, *Chrm.* 163c). It is executed by a *poiētēs*, a doer, an author (Aristophanes, *Ranae* 96, 1030), who can also be a poet.

OT 1. Semitic linguistic usage knows of only a few abstract word-formations. The LXX therefore has many sentence parts which – analogously to Eng. colloquial speech – formulate their thought with the help of *poieō*, which occurs over 3,200 times. The determinative noun is added to the verb: to do the commandment and the law (Jos. 22:5), to do work (Exod. 20:9 f.), to do good or evil (Ps. 34[33]:15; Ecc. 8:11 f.; Jer. 2:13), to make peace (Isa. 27:5), to make one's way (Jdg. 17:8), to construct a "hand-made" god (Isa. 44:9; 46:6). Naturally, *poieō* is also used absolutely (e.g. Exod. 30:25).

2. The Hebrew equivalent for to do and to make is chiefly *ʿāśâh*. So far as God's creative deeds are concerned, the Priestly account of creation (Gen. 1:1–2:4a) has in addition the word *bārāʾ*, which is reserved in the OT for the work of Yahweh. The LXX trans. *bārāʾ* in Gen. and Isa. 41–45 by *poieō*. Even the antithetical *bārāʾ* and *ʿāśâh* in Gen. 6:7 are rendered both times by *poieō*, whereas the later Gk. text of Aquila differentiates the two. 2 Macc. 7:8 stresses that God has "made everything [*epoiēsen*] out of nothing".

But Yahweh does not only act as Creator: he works also in history, and in particular directs the fortunes of his people Israel. Again, a noun describes the particularity of the respective work: Yahweh does wonders (Exod. 15:11; Jos. 3:5; Ps. 72[71]:18), makes the days (Ps. 118[117]:24), does great things (Job 5:9), "performs" his word ("to see it fulfilled", Jer. 1:12 JB).

3. The use of *poieō* for human dealings branches out in many directions. The LXX trans. again mainly goes back to *ʿāśâh*. The following scheme emerges if we attempt to distinguish formal divisions (cf. H. Braun, *TDNT* VI 467 ff.); everyday dealings not determined by commandment (Gen. 21:8; 1 Sam. 2:19), directions and prohibitions in the secular sphere which are given by commandment (Gen. 30:31; Exod. 35:33), dealings with one's neighbour as instructed by the law (Jos. 2:12; 2

Sam. 2:6) actions related to the will of God and the law which are expressly commanded (Ps. 40[39]:9; Isa. 44:28). In the latter case, the OT often adds a "whole" or "all" to the object in the text (e.g. Deut. 29:28 [EVV 29]). In this way the pious Jew recognized in his deed the required seriousness of his moral or cultic action.

4. In rabbinic Judaism, the terms which are translated by *poieō* in the LXX, are used of God's works in creation (e.g. Ber. 9:2; Aboth 4:22). With men as the subject, behaviour in accordance with the Torah involves the whole range of questions concerning obligation to Yahweh. Pious action is seen in terms of casuistical regulations for the whole range of life (e.g. Aboth 1:9).

NT The vb. *poieō* occurs 565 times in the NT, primarily in the Gospels. *poiēma*, however, is found only twice, *poiēsis* only in Jas. 1:25, *poiētēs* 6 times, of which 3 are in Jas. 1:22–25. In view of the overwhelming use of the vb., it is advisable to forgo many nuances of meaning and simply to give a systematic presentation of its essential content. The nouns are similar in both form and meaning.

1. (a) The NT reaffirms the OT statements of God as Creator (e.g. Mk. 10:6; Acts 4:24; Rev. 14:7). *poiēma*, occuring only in Rom. 1:20 and Eph. 2:10, means the works of God's creation and new creation. The same applies to the (otherwise not used) pass. form of the vb. in Heb. 12:27.

(b) Further, the statements concerning God's activity of bringing salvation in history belong here. They are modelled grammatically on the syntax of the LXX, in that *poieō* is linked with an accompanying object. The NT writers speak confidently of God's mighty historical acts, right from the earliest writings (1 Thess. 5:24, "he will do it"; similarly Rom. 4:21, "God was able to do what he had promised") to the late ones (Rev. 21:5, "I make all things new").

2. The loving dealings of God are revealed in Jesus' work and deeds (e.g. Acts 2:22). Again and again the question crops up as to the motivation, justification and significance of his work.

(a) The Synoptic Gospels depict the conflict with the scribes and others, which resulted from Jesus' deeds, in the pericope on the question of authority in Matt. 21:23–27 par. Mk. 11:27 ff.; Lk. 20:1–8. Jesus replied with a question which confronted the questioners with their failure to heed the message of John the Baptist.

(b) John, later, in his "strictly Christological limitation of the usage" (*TDNT* VI 464), points out even more clearly in the conflict-debates that Jesus fully performs the → will and the works (→ *erga*) which the Father charges him as → Son to do (Jn. 5:19; 6:38; 8:53; 10:37 f.). The works of the Father and Son belong together; for both "are one" (Jn. 10:30, 33; 14:10).

(c) According to Ephesians 2:14 f., Jesus' work consists in having "made" → peace between God and man by his death on the cross. One of the ways in which Hebrews, in a post-Pauline time, describes Jesus' saving work is by *poieō*. He "brought about" the purification of our sins (Heb. 1:3 NEB). He "made" the sacrifice for sins once and for all (Heb. 7:27). According to Rev. 1:6 and 3:12, believers are "made" kings and priests, and pillars in the future temple of God. The NT usage interprets this vb. in such a way that christology can only be unfolded in connexion with soteriological statements.

3. (a) Purely secular human activity is not particularly stressed in the NT. It covers various general activities (e.g. Mk. 11:3, 5; Jn. 19:12; Acts 9:39; Jas. 4:13).

(b) More decisive is the assessment of human action in the sight of God. Human work is never neutral; it is either obedience or disobedience *vis-à-vis* God's claim on men (1 Cor. 10:31, "Whatever you do, do all to the glory of God"). This expectation is expressed emphatically in the → parables of Jesus (e.g. Matt. 5:36; 20:11 ff.; 21:31; Lk. 12:17 f.; 16:3; 17:9 f.). The appropriate demand is often expressed in a relative clause (Rom. 1:32; Phil. 2:14; Col. 3:17, 23; 2 Pet. 1:10).

(c) Men's actions are subject to Jesus' claim to lordship. (Lk. 6:46 asks: "Why do you call me 'Lord, Lord', and not do what I tell you?" (cf. Matt. 7:21; Jn. 7:17). Actions reveal their worth in → love for one's neighbour (Matt. 25:40, 45; → Brother, art. *ho plēsion*). This is what the law is about (Matt. 22:36 ff.). It is therefore not surprising that doing – or leaving, i.e. not doing – things for or against one's neighbour is frequently mentioned in all the NT writings. It figures in different ways: positively (e.g. Matt. 5:9; 6:2 f.; Lk. 3:11; Acts 11:30; 1 Cor. 16:1; Gal. 6:9) or negatively, i.e. behaviour that is forbidden, reprehensible and loveless (e.g. Matt. 5:32; Lk. 6:26; Jas. 2:13). On account of the central significance of right action towards one's fellow-men, there is a frequent summons in the gospel of Jesus and the apostles to put the word into practice (Matt. 7:24 ff. par. Lk. 6:47 ff.; Jn. 14:12, do even greater works; Phlm. 21, do even more).

(d) The discourses of John's Gospel also speak of right action, grounded in the Lord and made possible by his Spirit. Without Christ the believer can "do nothing" (Jn. 15:5; 13:15; 14:12 ff.). Jn. 8:34–44 deals with the contrasting attitude in committing sin, which is "of the Devil" and does not stem from God and his truth.

Using *poieō* (1 Jn. 2:29; cf. 2:17; 3:7 ff.; 5:2), 1 Jn. retains the stress of the imperative to right action (*poiōn tēn dikaiosynēn*, doing righteousness). The Johannine writings indicate equally by their use of this family of words their normative significance for the beginnings of a Christian ethic.

4. (a) This actively dynamic basic trait in the NT statements, by sharp contrast with, say, quietistic Epicureanism or the Buddhist ideal of inaction, presents Christ as the *poiētēs*, the doer of the word and the law (Jas. 1:22, 23, 25; Rom. 2:13). Only Acts 17:28 uses the noun in the secular Gk. sense of poet.

(b) Two further terms occur only once in the NT: *poiēsis*, act, deed (Jas. 1:25) and *agathopoiia*, doing good (1 Pet. 4:19 NEB; "do right" RSV). Both their wording and their contexts show that blessing follows, "where that rhythm is achieved by which the received word overflows into action" (F. Hauck, op. cit., on Jas. 1:25). These two elements belong together and their order cannot be reversed. *agathopoios*, one who does good, occurs only in 1 Pet. 2:14. *F. Thiele*

πράσσω

πράσσω (*prassō*), accomplish, do; *πρᾶξις* (*praxis*), act, action, deed, function; *πρᾶγμα* (*pragma*), deed, matter, thing, undertaking, task, lawsuit, dispute; *πραγματεία* (*pragmateia*), activity, occupation, undertaking; *πραγματεύομαι* (*pragmateuomai*), do business, trade.

CL 1. In Gk. the vb. *prassō* (Attic *prattō*), to accomplish, to do, is found as early as Linear B. The original meaning of *prassō* could be inferred from epic phrases like *prēssein hala*, to cross the sea, and *prēssein keleuthon* or *hodoio* (partitive gen.), to travel along a road (Homer, *Od.* 9, 491; *Il.* 14, 282).

prassō can also be used when the subject-matter concerns procuring something, e.g. *kleos epraxen*, he won fame (Pindar, *Isth.* 5, 8). In monetary contexts, *prassō* means collecting or exacting payment of taxes or debts, e.g. *prassei me tokon*, he makes me pay interest (Homer, *Batrachomyomachia* 185). In general *prassō* denotes an "activity or industry directed to a specific goal in which the one who acts seems to be more or less claimed" (H. Schreckenberg, cf. *TDNT* VI 632, n. 2). It occurs in the phrase *prattein ta heautou*, to be concerned with one's own affairs (Plato, *Chrm.* 162a), a basic ethical requisite frequently encountered in Plato. *prassō* can have the further meaning of betray, e.g. *prattein tēn polin*, to betray the city (Polyb., 4, 17, 12). As well as the transitive form, there is also the intransitive. *prassō* then means to act, to do. It is frequently met in the fixed formula *prattein kai legein*, to do and to say. Linked with an adv., it often expresses the condition or state, say of a person, e.g. *eu prattō*, I am doing, or I feel, well.

2. The meanings of both nouns *praxis* and *pragma* partly overlap. The older one, *praxis* (Hom. onwards), denotes acting, activity, and can refer to some completed deed (act, work), the way the activity is carried out (mode of operation) or a planned action (intention). Now and then it means concretely a business or an undertaking. It commonly points to a bad act, sometimes even to magical actions.

pragma (Pindar onwards), in addition to meaning deed, act, occurrence, business, task, also means a very general matter or thing, then further, concretely, a controversial matter, lawsuit, trial.

3. Already with regard to Gk. linguistic usage, we have found that *prassō* is used only in rare cases for the action of the gods (cf. C. Maurer, *TDNT* VI 633). Even in the rare exceptional cases (e.g. Plato, *Rep.* 3, 391e) the vb. only refers to such doings of the gods which are not creative acts (for which the vbs. → *poiein*, → *ergazesthai*, *dēmiourgein* and others are used), but actions and activities which correspond to human ones, and which are in addition conceived of very abstractly. Even where *prassō* (following the rule) refers to human doings, a strong tendency to abstraction is characteristic of the word. If it is also used here and there in the same sense as *poieō*, subtle distinctions between these two verbs can still be recognized, especially in philosophic texts (e.g. Plato, *Chrm.* 163a ff.). Whereas *poieō* means more a concrete deed, *prassō* is used where the philosopher seeks to assess "human action apart from its content and objects" (*TDNT* VI 634). Thus in Platonism the necessity of right action is founded in the Idea of the Good, the knowledge of which naturally leads to *kalōs prassein* (e.g. Plato, *Prt.* 352c ff.). There is no rich tension in any contrast between knowing and doing. Defective actions are the result of defective knowledge, not of a deficient will (e.g. Epictetus, *Dissertationes* 2, 26, 3–5).

OT 1. Compared with the occurrences of *poieō* in the LXX, *prassō* recedes very considerably. Only in post-exilic writings is it found more frequently (in all 38 instances; 8 each in Job and Prov., and 7 in 1–4 Macc.). Here *prassō* renders Heb. *ʿāśâh* (do) 5 times, *pāʿal* (do) 4 times and *hālaḵ* (walk) twice. It is striking that *prassō* is variously used to describe men's bad behaviour (e.g. Job 27:6; 36:23; Prov. 10:23; Gen. 31:28). *prassō* denotes positive action only in the historical books (e.g. 4 Macc. 3:20, *kalōs prassein*, conduct oneself well).

2. Both the nouns also occur in the LXX, *pragma* leading *praxis* by 125 attestations to only 23 (the latter mostly in Hellenistically influenced literature). Whereas

the more abstract *praxis* is referred to human acts (e.g. 6 times in the sense of *res gestae*), *pragma* is also sometimes used for divine acts (e.g. Isa. 25:1; 28:22 [EVV 21]).

3. Philo mentions in one place the divine *prattein* of the Demiurge (*Abr.* 163). This, however, does not mean the act of creation (for which *poieō* is found), but an abstractly understood activity which is not given any greater precision. With reference to human beings, Philo stresses – in accord with the Stoic viewpoint – the necessity of a balanced blending of will, deed and speech. It is most proper (*to oikeiotaton*) for human nature to decide (*bouleuesthai*), to act (*prassein*) and to speak (*legein*; *Mut. Nom.* 197) well (cf. *TDNT* VI 635).

NT Of the 39 places where *prassō* occurs in the NT, 18 occur in the Pauline corpus, 13 in Acts, 6 in Lk. and 2 Jn.

1. *prassō* never refers to a divine, creative activity in the NT (cf. for this *ergazesthai* and *poieō*). It chiefly denotes a negative and more or less abstractly conceived human action; but in some places it is also used for positive dealings, or has a neutral value.

(a) In connexion with money matters it is found in John the Baptist's preaching in Lk. 3:13, where to the tax-collectors' general question, "What shall we do?" the answer is given, "Exact no more than your rate" (JB). It is stated similarly of the master in the parable, who gave his servants ten pounds, that he wanted to draw out the money with interest on his return (Lk. 19:23). In Lk. 12:39 *praktōr* means a bailiff who is in charge of the debtor's prison (cf. Matt. 5:25 f.; *TDNT* VI 642).

(b) *prassō* refers to the human condition in Eph. 6:21, and linked with the adv. *eu* it has the sense of doing well in Acts 15:29. The shout to the jailer in Philippi is also intended to serve personal well-being: "Do yourself no harm" (Acts 16:28 NEB).

(c) Finally, *prassō* is used in a neutral sense in 1 Thess. 4:11, where it means one's own affairs, whereas in the same verse *ergazesthai* suggests physical work with one's hands. Acts 5:35 speaks generally of human action, which can turn out either well or badly. There Gamaliel warns the Sanhedrin to weigh up carefully "what you want to do" with respect to the Christians (similarly Acts 19:36 contains a warning against over-hasty action).

2. (a) *prassō* chiefly indicates a deed which can neither stand in the regular earthly courts (cf. Rom. 13:4; Acts 17:7; Lk. 23:41) nor before God (cf. Rom. 2:2 f.; Jn. 5:29). Formulaic phrases frequently speak of offences which deserve death, *axia thanatou* (Lk. 23:15; Acts 25:11, 25; 26:31; Rom. 1:32). Such evil-doing (*to kakon prassein*), which is finally subject to God's wrath (Rom. 13:4), is detailed in the so-called *Lasterkatalogen* (lists of vices) in Rom. 1:28 ff. and Gal. 5:69 ff. (→ Virtue, art. *Haustafeln*). An individual concrete deed – a case of unchastity – is named in 1 Cor. 5:2; *prassō* also refers primarily to sexual sins in 2 Cor. 12:21.

(b) The "curious arts" mentioned in Acts 19:19 with a vb.-form of *prassō* belong more to the religious than to the moral realm, as it is certainly a case here of magical practices (cf. E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1971, 566 ff.; → Magic). One can also number among religious offences the betrayal of Jesus (Lk. 22:23), the killing of Jesus, brought about in ignorance by the people (Acts 3:17), and Saul's hostilities directed against the name of Jesus (Acts 26:9).

(c) The power of → temptation which *to kakon prassein* has is revealed in the sec-

tion Rom. 7:14 ff., where *prassein* and *poiein* are used alongside each other. This temptation must be met, for anyone who does → evil (*phaula*) hates the → light (Jn. 3:20), anyone who does *erga tēs sarkos*, the works of the → flesh (Gal. 5:19), will not inherit the → kingdom of God (Gal. 5:21). In the old covenant, distinguished by circumcision, it was important to act in accordance with the law (Rom. 2:25; cf. also Gal. 6:13). In Acts 26:20, however, Paul enjoins his hearers to perform works of repentance (*erga tēs metanoias*), which gives *prassō* a positive significance. This also applies to Phil. 4:9, where Paul sets himself up as an example.

The notion that right action has its → reward is given clear expression in 1 Cor. 9:17. The definition of the relationship between human action and its eschatological valuation, there apprehended in individual terms, is developed in Jn. 5:29 in the form of general validity, in both positive and negative directions. One day the dead will leave their graves, "those who have done good [*agatha poiēsantes*] to the resurrection of life, and those who have done evil [*phaula praxantes*] to the resurrection of judgment." This verse makes it clear once again that *prassō* has a chiefly negative colouring. For positive activity the NT mostly has *ergazesthai* or *poiein*.

3. (a) *praxis* occurs in the NT 6 times. It has neutral and abstract meaning in Rom. 12:4, where it is laid down that not all the members of the body of Christ have the same function. In Matt. 16:27 *praxis* has to be understood ambivalently: the deed which will be judged at the parousia can be good or bad. In the other 4 places *praxis* refers to obviously evil actions: they refer to the words and deeds of opponents of Jesus (Lk. 23:51), the deeds of the old man viewed as a whole (Acts 19:18; Col. 3:9), and the *praxeis tou sōmatos*, "the deeds of the body" (Rom. 8:13), which must be put off or put to death.

(b) *pragma* (used 11 times in the NT) has a wider range of nuances. It has neutral value in Matt. 18:19, where it is used of a prayer request, and in Rom. 16:2, where it refers to Phoebe's affairs. *pragma* relates to a not entirely clear matter – probably some business transaction – in 1 Thess. 4:6. It is used of judicial proceedings in 1 Cor. 6:1; and in the sense of *res gestae* (historical events) in Lk. 1:1. Acts 5:4 and 2 Cor. 7:11 are concerned with a concrete offence. In Jas. 3:16 *pan phaulon pragma*, vile practices of every kind, describes the result of jealousy and strife. In 2 Tim. 2:4 *pragmateia* means the affairs of everyday life, whereas the vb. *pragmateuomai* means to do business, trade (Lk. 19:13). *diapragmateuomai* means to gain by trading (Lk. 19:15).

The use of *pragma* in Hebrews provides a striking contrast to previous findings. In Heb. 6:18 *pragma* means two facts (the promise and oath of God) by means of which God declares his truth. Heb. 10:1 contrasts the → shadow of the good things to come contained in the law with the → image of the things themselves (*eikōn tōn pragmatōn*). Faith relates to these things, even when it cannot see them (Heb. 11:1).

H.-C. Hahn

→ Adam, → Conversion, → Faith, → Fruit, → Goal, → Law, → Poor, → Possessions, → Reward, → Righteousness

(a). J. B. Bauer, "Work", *EBT* III 995–1001; G. Bertram, *ergon* etc., *TDNT* II 635–55; G. Bornkamm, "Sin, Law and Death (Romans 7)", in *Early Christian Experience*, 1969, 87–104; H. Braun, *poeiō* etc., *TDNT* VI 458–84; R. Bultmann, "Christ the End of the Law", in *Essays Philosophical and Theological*, 1955, 36–66; C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Epistle to the Romans*, *ICC*, I, 1975; M. Dibelius and H. Greeven, *James*, *Hermeneia*, 1976; R. Falconer, "1 Timothy 2 14, 15", *JBL* 60, 1941, 375–79; J. A. Kleist,

"*Ergon*", *CBQ* 6, 1944, 61–68; N. J. McEleney, "Conversion, Circumcision and the Law", *NTS* 20, 1973–74, 319–41; C. Maurer, *prassō* etc., *TDNT* VI 632–44; A. Richardson, *The Biblical Doctrine of Work*, 1952; E. Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, I–II, 1931; J. B. Tyson, " 'Works of the Law' in Galatians", *JBL* 92, 1973, 423–31.

(b). W. Bienert, *Die Arbeit nach der Lehre der Bibel*, 1956 [2]; and "Die Arbeit nach der Lehre der Bibel", *Studium Generale*, 1961, 151–62; G. Eichholz, *Glaube und Werk bei Paulus und Jakobus*, *ThEH* Neue Folge 88, 1961; F. Flückiger, "Die Werke des Gesetzes bei den Heiden (nach Röm 2, 14 ff.)", *ThZ* 8, 1953, 17 ff.; F. Hauck, *Die Stellung des Urchristentums zu Arbeit und Geld*, *BFChTh* 2, 3, 1921; W. Joest, *Gesetz und Freiheit*, 1961 [3]; S. Kalischer, "Die Wertschätzung der Arbeit in Bibel und Talmud", *Festschrift H. Cohens*, 1912, 579–608; V. Kirchner, *Der "Lohn" in der alten Philosophie, im bürgerlichen Recht, besonders im Neuen Testament*, 1908; G. Lanczkowski, "Vergeltung", *RGG* [3] VI 1341 ff.; and "Werke", *RGG* [3] VI 1641 ff.; F. Lau, "Gute Werke", *RGG* [3] II 1915 ff.; E. Lohmeyer, "Gesetzwerke", *ZNW* 28, 1929, 177 ff.; and "Vom Baum und Frucht", *ZSTh* 9, 1931, 377 ff.; J. L. Gomez de Morales, *El Trabajo en la Biblia*, 1966; H. Rondet, *Die Theologie der Arbeit*, 1956; P. Termes Ros, *El Trabajo segun la Biblia*, 1955; A. Steinmann, *Jesus und die soziale Not der Gegenwart*, 1929[2]; E. Testa, *Il Lavoro nella Bibbia*, 1959; F. Vattioni, "Il Lavoro nei Primi Tre Capitoli della Genesi", *Studi Sociali* 1, 1961, 109–19; J. Vollmer, *'āśâh*, *THAT* II 359–70; H. Weinstock, *Arbeit und Bildung*, 1954.

Y

Yoke

ζυγός

ζυγός (*zygos*), yoke, balance; ζεῦγος (*zeugos*), a pair; ἑτεροζυγέω (*heterozygeō*), be unevenly yoked, fig. be mismated; συζεύγνυμι (*syzeugnymi*), yoke together, join together; σύζυγος (*syzygos*), yoke-fellow, comrade, possibly wife.

CL & OT 1. *ho zygos*, originally in Attic Gk. *to zygon*, has two meanings: (a) the yoke which beasts (Homer onwards) or slaves (Hdt., 7, 8, 3) wear; the cognate vb. *zeugnymi* means to unite, bind; *to zeugos* means the same as *ho zygos*, that which is held together under a yoke, a pair (cf. also Lat. *iugum* and Ger. *Joch*); (b) a row, beam of a balance or the balance itself (Aeschylus onwards); this meaning is suggested by the former picture of beasts braced together under a yoke.

2. The vb. *heterozygeō* is a development from the adj. *heterozygos* whch is used in the LXX. Lev. 19:19 refers to beasts which are *ktēnē heterozyga.* Taken literally, this could refer to the practice of yoking together different kinds of animals. This, in fact, is expressly forbidden by Deut. 22:10: "You shall not plough with an ox and an ass together." Both prohibitions come in contexts which forbid mixing of crops, animals and material. The RSV interprets Lev. 19:19a as a prohibition of interbreeding: "You shall not let your cattle breed with a different kind." The thought is found in Philo, *Spec. Leg.* 4,203 and Josephus, *Ant.* 4, 228. Apart from its sole NT occurrence in 2 Cor. 6:14, the vb. is found only in Apollonius' lexicon to Homer (1st-2nd cent. A.D.). The thought of Lev. 19:19 is developed in the Mishnah tractate Kilaim (Diverse Kinds) 8:2.

3. The OT knows both meanings of *zygos*. (a) It is found in the LXX as a translation of *mō'znayim*, scales, balances (Lev. 19:36; Job 6:2; 31:6; Ps. 62[61]:9; Prov. 11:1; 16:11; 20:23; Hos. 12:8[7]; Amos 8:5; Mic. 6:11; Isa. 40:12, 15; Jer. 32[39]:10; Ezek. 45:1; 45:10; the Aram. *mō'znayyā'* occurs in Dan. 5:27 Theodotion). Yahweh requires true scales and honest dealings among men (Lev. 19:36; Ezek. 45:11). But he also weighs men in the balances and finds them wanting. "Men of low estate are but a breath, men of high estate are a delusion; in the balances they go up; they are together lighter than a breath" (Ps. 62:9). On the other hand, Job desires his calamities to be weighed in the balances (Job 6:2). In the background stands the idea of scales as a symbol of justice, and Yahweh himself as the ultimate judge: "Let me be weighed in a just balance, and let God know my integrity!" (Job 31:6). The MT and Theodotion's translation of Dan. 5:27 interpret the word *TEKEL* in the writing on the wall at Belshazzar's feast: "you have been weighed in the balances and found wanting." Whereas the application of the idea of balances to judgment is found in the relatively late writings of the OT, it was

widespread in later Judaism (Sl. Enoch 49:2; Eth. Enoch 61:8, the messianic judge weighs with scales the deeds of the saints). The idea was thence taken over by Christian apocalyptic pictures of judgment.

(b) More frequent in the LXX is the use of *zygos* (or *zygon*) to translate the Heb. *ʿōl*, meaning a yoke (Gen. 27:40; Lev. 26:13; Num. 19:2; Deut. 21:3; 2 Chr. 10:4, 9 ff., 14; Isa. 9:3[4]; 10:27; 14:25; 47:6; Jer. 2:20; 5:5; 27[34]:8; 11; 28[35]:2, 4, 11, 14; 30[37]:8; Lam. 3:27). It is found for various other Heb. words (Lev. 19:35; Job 39:10; Ps. 2:3; Zech. 3:9; Isa. 5:18; 10:27; 14:5, 29; 46:6; Ezek. 34:27; Sir. 40:1; 42:4; 51:26), and is without Heb. equivalent, particularly in the non-canonical writings (Sir. 21:25; 28:19 f., 25; 33:26 [30:35]; Isa. 11:13; 19:10; Dan. 8:25; 1 Macc. 8:18, 31, 41; 3 Macc. 4:9). Originally it stood for the shaped piece of wood on the necks of draught-animals (Num. 19:2). But *zygos* came to stand for bondage (Lev. 26:13) and the burdensome servitude of the nation (1 Ki. 12:9 ff.). In this sense *zygos* became a symbol of suppression and has its *Sitz im Leben* in the political realm of enforced subjection and tyranny (2 Chr. 10:4, 9–14). To this context belongs the yoke which Jeremiah wore as an acted parable summoning Israel to submit to the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. 27:2–11). In breaking Jeremiah's yoke, Hananiah, the prophet of national deliverance, proclaimed salvation from the foreign rule of Babylon (Jer. 28:2–11), a prophecy which was not fulfilled (Jer. 28:13–17). Ultimate liberation from suppression and enforced subjection belongs to the message of messianic prophecy (Isa. 9:3; 10:27).

4. *zygos* in the sense of yoke has an extended meaning. Wisdom literature speaks of the yoke of wisdom: "I open my mouth and speak of her, Acquire wisdom for yourselves without money, Bring your neck under her yoke, and her burden let your soul bear. She is nigh unto them that seek her, And he that is intent upon her findeth her" (Sir. 51:25 f.; cf. 6:24, 26, 30). This would have been understood as an invitation to accept the Torah, for wisdom at this period was identified with the → law. Lam. 3:27 contains the precept: "It is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth." Jeremiah describes Israel's true relationship with Yahweh as a yoke which the wayward shake off (Jer. 2:20; 5:5). The latter verse defines this relationship in terms of knowledge of Yahweh and his law. Later Judaism identified the yoke with the Torah in order to give expression to submission to Yahweh's will (cf. "the yoke of the Torah", Pirke Aboth 3:5; Sanhedrin 94b; Gen. R. 67:7; "the yoke of heaven", Sotah 47b; Sanhedrin 111b; "the yoke of the commandments", Berakoth 2:2; see further SB I 608 ff.; I. Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, II, 1924, 4–14; A. Büchler, *Studies in Sin and Atonement in the Rabbinic Literature of the First Century*, 1928; M. Maher, " 'Take My Yoke upon You' (Matt. xi. 29)", *NTS* 22, 1975–76, 98 f.). The man who prays the Shema (Deut. 6:4–9; → Hear, art. *akouō* OT 2 (b), NT 3) takes upon himself the yoke of the rule of heaven. He thereby confesses that he is obligated to the one true God in all his actions. This signifies a burden which marks out Israel from all other peoples. On the other hand, it gave rise to the enslavement to legalistic piety from which Jesus sought to free his people.

5. *zeugos* stands chiefly for the Heb. *ṣemeḏ*, and means a span holding a pair of animals together and hence also a couple (Jdg. 17:13, 10; 2 Sam. 16:1; 1 Ki. 19:19, 21; 2 Ki. 5:17; 9:25; Job 1:3; 42:12; Isa. 5:10).

6. *zeugnymi* stands chiefly for *ʾāsar*, bind (Gen. 46:29; Exod. 14:6; 1 Sam. 6:7, 10; 1 Ki. 18:44; 2 Ki. 9:21; cf. also 2 Sam. 20:8; Jud. 15:11; 1 Macc. 1:15).

syzeugnymi occurs only in Ezek. 1:11 for *ḥāḇar*, bind, entwine, touch (and also in v. 23 *v.l.*).

NT 1. *zygos* occurs only 6 times in the NT. (a) Only in Rev. 6:5 does it mean a balance or scales which the rider of the black horse has in his hand. The vision is a symbol of inflation and scarcity, causing hardship among the lower classes but not seriously affecting the wealthy (→ Oil, art. *elaion* NT 1). With regard to the oil and wine mentioned in v. 6, J. M. Ford draws attention to the Temple Scroll, rescued during the Six-Day War in Israel, which mentions two hitherto unknown feasts, a Feast of Oil and a Feast of New Wine (*Revelation, Anchor Bible*, 1975, 98). Oil and wine were sacrificial elements in the temple especially for the daily burnt offerings. They were kept in a special place and handled only by the priests (cf. Mishnah Middoth 2:6). Josephus describes their plundering in the time of Titus (*War* 5, 565).

(b) Slaves are addressed as those "who are under the yoke of slavery [*hosoi eisin hypo zygon douloi*]", and are exhorted to yield to the existing social order, regarding their masters (*despotas*) as "worthy of all honour, so that the name of God and the teaching may not be defamed" (1 Tim. 6:1; cf. 1 Cor. 7:21 ff.; → Slave; → Lord; → Virtue, art. *Haustafeln*). They are not to take the law into their own hands and free themselves from servitude, as once Yahweh and Moses had called upon the Israelites to do (Exod. 3:8; 4:31; 6:6). In the case of Israel the saving event consisted in the liberation from servitude in Egypt; in the case of the church it consists first and foremost in the spiritual freedom of Christ which enables a man to be free even in physical bondage.

(c) In both form and content, Jesus' invitation in Matt. 11:29 f. recalls the language and tradition of the → wisdom tradition: "Take my yoke upon you, and learn from me; for I am gentle and lowly in heart, and you will find rest for your souls. For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light" (cf. Prov. 8:1 ff.; 9:5; and especially Sir. 51:25 f., see above, OT 4). On this passage see especially H. D. Betz, "The Logion of the Easy Yoke and of Rest (Matt. 11:28–30)", *JBL* 86, 1967, 10–20; M. J. Suggs, *Wisdom, Christology and Law in Matthew's Gospel*, 1970, 77 ff.; and M. Maher, " 'Take My Yoke upon You' (Matt. xi. 29)", *NTS* 22, 1975–76, 97–103. M. Black sees here an Aramaic word-play (*An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, 1967³, 183 f.). Jesus calls upon all the weary and burdened (*pantes hoi kopiōntes kai pephortismenoi*, v. 28) to accept his yoke. Whereas Jer. 5:5 sees the knowledge of Yahweh and his law as a yoke which is not burdensome but which wayward Israel had broken (cf. Jer. 2:20), Jesus accuses the scribes and Pharisees who sit in Moses' seat of binding heavy burdens (*phortia barea*), of laying them on men's shoulders, but of not moving them with their finger (Matt. 23:4).

The devout Jew did not consider the yoke of the law as a burden. Rabbi Nehunya ben Kanah (*c.* A.D. 100) declared that, "He that takes upon himself the yoke of the law, from him shall be taken away the yoke of the kingdom and the yoke of worldly care" (Pirke Aboth 3:5). Somewhat later Joshua ben Levi (*c.* A.D. 250) could say: "Thou findest no free man except him that occupies himself with the study of the Torah" (Pirke Aboth 6:2). Nevertheless, the way that the law was understood was not in fact a liberating experience (cf. Matt. 23 with Matt. 5:20; 6:2–18), and the immediate context of Matt. 11:29 f. underlines this point. These verses appear to in-

troduce a section beginning with Matt. 12:1 ("At that time . . .) and going on to Matt. 12:50 or even 13:58, in which the various incidents and sayings illustrate the rest that men find under Jesus's easy yoke, in contrast with the bondage that men find themselves in, when they reject God's approach to them in Jesus because they are so set in their religious attitudes. The Son of man is Lord of the → sabbath, and therefore he may authorize the disciples to pluck grain (Matt. 12:1–8), and he may also heal on the sabbath (Matt. 12:9–16). He is the Servant on whom God's Spirit rests (Matt. 12:17–21; cf. Isa. 42:1–4). He is the Son of David through whom God's Spirit works and who has bound → Satan, though the Pharisees are so set in their understanding that they cannot recognize this (Matt. 12:22–32; → Swear). Despite their profession, the scribes and Pharisees bring forth evil because their hearts are not good (Matt. 12:33–37). They seek signs even though one greater than Solomon is here (Matt. 12:38–42). The last state of empty piety is worse than the first (Matt. 12:43–45). True kinship with Jesus is not something physical: "For whoever does the will of my Father in heaven is my brother, and sister, and mother" (Matt. 12:50; cf. vv. 46–49). This leads immediately on to the → parables of the kingdom and the reflection that many took offence at Jesus (Matt. 13:1–58).

In coming to Jesus, men thus come to one who upholds the law (Matt. 5:17 f.), but also one whose interpretation of the law is not a bondage in any sense, whether recognized or unrecognized. He is the one in whom the prophecies of the law and the prophets are fulfilled (cf. Matt. 1:22 f.; 2:6, 15, 17 f., 23; 4:13–26; 12:17–21). He is the bearer of the expected salvation and the one in whom the kingdom of God has come (Matt. 4:17; 12:28). His authority has astonished his hearers (Matt. 5:21–48; 7:28 f.; 11:27; 12:41 f.; 13:17). Unlike the rabbis he does not establish his authority by citing elders or tradition. Unlike → Moses, he does not report the word of Yahweh but speaks authoritatively in his own name. He claims allegiance for his own sake (Matt. 10:39), invites people to follow him (Matt. 19:16–20), and as the risen Christ claims that all authority in heaven and earth has been given to him (Matt. 28:18). "A Christian is one who learns from Jesus not only by accepting his teaching, but also by imitating the virtues that characterized his life (cf. xi. 29). . . . The yoke of Jesus as understood by Matthew was not one of fidelity to a code but of dedication to a Person who was God's representative among men, God with men (cf. i, 23), and who could offer rest and salvation to those who were weary and heavy burdened in their struggle for redemption and union with God (cf. xi. 30)" (M. Maher, op. cit., 103). This contrasts with the picture of the Jews in Jn. 8:33 who declared that as descendants of Abraham they had never been in bondage to anyone. They were shocked at the suggestion that they were in bondage. As Maher comments, "Their zeal in bearing the 'yoke of the Torah', their genuine desire to live according to the truth as made known in the law, prevented them from accepting the word of Jesus and committing themselves to his person. They regarded his offer of a new yoke as unnecessary, and they refused the new road to salvation which he pointed out to them" (ibid.).

Various early Christian writers slipped into adopting the language of Judaism, e.g. in saying that the new law imposed no "yoke of coercion" (Barn. 2:6), that the Master's law was "the yoke of his grace" (1 Clem. 16:17), and that the follower of Christ "bore the yoke of his word" (Justin, *Dial.* 53, 1). Maher sees here a positive precedent for interpreting the Jewish attitude to the law in a positive way (op. cit., 101). But it may be asked whether, in thinking in terms of a new law, the early

church was not already taking the first steps towards the same misconception that Judaism fell into.

(d) In Gal. 5:1, Paul may well be taking up Jewish pronouncements about the yoke of the law: "For freedom Christ has set us free; stand fast therefore, and do not submit again to a yoke of slavery." Whereas Matt. 11:29 f. juxtaposes the yoke of Jesus with the yoke of the law, Paul denounces the yoke of the law as a yoke of slavery. His reason for doing so arises out of the way in which the law was understood as something to be fulfilled as a condition of divine acceptance. In particular, → circumcision was insisted upon by a party of Jewish Christians as something required by the law as the word of God and therefore to be kept. For Paul the question of circumcision epitomized the function of the law in contemporary Judaism. To keep it, as the Judaizing party understood it, was in principle to base salvation on man's righteous acts as the precondition of divine acceptance. It was therefore fundamentally at variance with the redemptive death of Christ (Gal. 3:10–14; cf. 5:3 f.) and the Spirit-led life (Gal. 5:18). For the Christian life is based on grace and promise, and those who do not live by the promises of God are not children of God but slaves (Gal. 4:28–31). In this respect the law is just like the powers of nature (*stoicheia tou kosmou*) to which the Gentile readers of Gal. were formerly subject (Gal. 4:8 f.; → Law, art. *stoicheia*). Instead of submitting to the yoke of slavery, Paul calls upon his readers to lay hold of their freedom in Christ and to walk by the Spirit (Gal. 5:1–26).

(e) Similarly, the account of the Jerusalem council in Acts 15 reports Peter as declaring: "Now therefore why do you make trial of God by putting a yoke upon the neck of the disciples which neither our fathers nor we have been able to bear?" (Acts 15:10). He appears to be taking up the Jewish language about the yoke of the law, and interpreting it like Paul as a yoke of bondage. For here too the issue was that of circumcision and whether it was necessary to insist that Gentile converts should be subjected to this legal prescription.

2. The adj. *syzygos*, yoked together, is found as a noun meaning yoke-fellow, comrade and even wife (Euripides, *Alcestis* 314, 342; *Anthologia* 8, 161, 6; 144, 2; Syntipas p. 16, 9; 18, 6; Test. Reub. 4:1; cf. Arndt, 783). The identity of the *gnēsie syzyge*, "true yoke-fellow", in Phil. 4:3 is not clear. Epaphroditus (Phil. 2:25 ff.) has been suggested. The Alexandrian theologians took it as an appeal to Paul's wife (Clement, *Strom.* 3, 53, 1; Origen, *Comm. in Ep. ad Rom.* 1, 1). The idea that it is a proper name like Euodia and Syntyche who are also mentioned in the same verse has received some support, but the use of the word as a name is not otherwise attested.

3. *zeugos* means a yoke of two animals (Lk. 14:19) and a pair (Lk. 2:24; cf. Lev. 5:11; → Bird).

4. The vb. *zeugnymi* meant to connect, join and is used of marital union in Mk. 10:9 *v.l.* Otherwise the compound *syzeugnymi* is used (Matt. 19:6 par. Mk. 10:9). Both vbs. are found in secular Gk. and Josephus (*Ant.* 6, 309; 16, 11) of marital union (cf. Arndt, 337; 783). For their precise significance in Jesus's teaching on marriage and divorce → Separate, art. *chōrizō* NT 4.

5. In 2 Cor. 6:14 Paul uses the vb. *heterozygeō* which is used of the yoking of different kinds of animals in Lev. 19:19 (cf. Philo, *Spec. Leg.* 4, 203; Josephus, *Ant.* 4, 228). C. K. Barrett translates it: "You must not get into double harness with unbelievers" (*The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, *BNTC*, 1973, 195). This, like the

ET "do not be unequally yoked", has the advantage of preserving the imagery of the original. The RSV, however, interprets the injunction as a warning against mixed marriages: "Do not be mismated with unbelievers." In favour of such an interpretation is the association of the word group in general with marriage, though this is by no means an exclusive association. In v. 16a Paul asks: "For what agreement has the temple of God with idols? For we are the temple of the living God." In 1 Cor. 6:18 Paul has used the image of the temple as an argument against sexual immorality. But the whole context and argument of 2 Cor. 6:14 ff. appears to look beyond mixed marriages to idolatry and defilement in general (cf. C. K. Barrett, op. cit., 196), although a mixed marriage could lead to such idolatry and defilement.

This wider interpretation is, as Barrett has shown (op. cit., 195 f.), consonant with the teaching which Paul has given earlier in 1 Cor. It is not simply a Christian version of the Qumran insistence upon separation from the world and from disobedient Israel. The Christian is to remain in the world, but not be a party to idolatry and moral defilement. Thus the believer should never be guilty of fornication (1 Cor. 5:9 f.). He should bring his affairs before the church rather than take his fellow believer to the secular courts (1 Cor. 6:1–6). He should not deliberately enter upon a mixed marriage with an unbeliever, but if one of the partners in a previously pagan marriage becomes a Christian the marriage should not be dissolved simply on that account, for the believer sanctifies the marriage and the unbelieving partner may be won for Christ (1 Cor. 7:12–16, 39). The believer may not, however, eat at a table in an idol's temple (1 Cor. 8:10 f.). Paul may become all things to all men (1 Cor. 9:21 f.), but not to the point of partaking of the Lord's Supper and the table of demons (1 Cor. 10:21). The believer may eat with an unbeliever, but he should not knowingly eat meat that has been sacrificed to idols (1 Cor. 10:27 ff.). He should not give offence to Jew or Greek, if he can avoid it (1 Cor. 10:32). Christian worship should be so conducted for an unbeliever who is present to be convicted (1 Cor. 14:24). In other words, Paul does not advocate an exclusive separation from the world. Believers are to remain in the world and seek to win it. But they are not to allow their faith to be compromised in any way, particularly by pagan idolatry and the sexual mores of the heathen. Conversion means a break with the world (1 Cor. 6:9 ff.). The church is the community of God's elect (1 Cor. 1:1–9). The outward shape of the world is passing away (1 Cor. 7:29 ff.), and the holy people will judge the world (1 Cor. 6:2 f.). *H.-G. Link, C. Brown*

→ Separate, → Slave

(a). H. D. Betz, "The Logion of the Easy Yoke and of Rest (Matt. 11:28–30)", *JBL* 86, 1967, 10–20; M. Maher, " 'Take My Yoke upon You' (Matt. xi, 29)", *NTS* 22, 1975–76, 97–103; M. Rist, "Is Matt. 11:25–30 a Primitive Baptismal Hymn?", *JR* 15, 1935, 63–77; M. J. Suggs, *Wisdom, Christology and Law in Matthew's Gospel*, 1970, 77–97.

(b). T. Arvedson, *Das Mysterium Christi*, 1937; J. B. Bauer, "Das milde Joch und die Ruhe (Matt. 11, 28 f.)", *ThZ* 17, 1961, 99–106; E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, (1913) 1956, 277–311.

Z

Zeal

The intense and earnest efforts to reach a goal for which "zeal" is used in Eng. (but "jealousy" for its perversion) is expressed by various word-groups in Gk. Here *zēlos* and *spoudē* are considered; *zēteō* will be found under → Seek and other words are treated under → Burden. *spoudē* is used always in a good sense of the seriousness and effort of such activity, but *zēlos*, when used of selfish motives which damage or destroy fellowship, can have a bad sense.

ζῆλος

ζῆλος (*zēlos*), zeal; *ζηλόω* (*zēloō*), to be zealous; *ζηλωτής* (*zēlōtēs*), a zealot.

CL *zēlos* (from the Attic tragedians on) has zeal as its underlying idea, and means an emotional going out to a person, idea or cause. There are two clear meanings depending on the object of the zeal. Where the goal is good, *zēlos* means eager striving, competition, enthusiasm, admiration, and in suitable contexts praise, glory. In a bad sense, the zeal has had a wrong goal and has become a defect; it then means jealousy, ill-will, envy. Accordingly, *zēlōtēs*, zealot, can mean one seeking to reach good goals or a jealous man, an envious man. Equally, according to the context, the vb. *zēloō* can mean be zealous, consider fortunate, strive after or envy, be jealous.

OT The word-group is found only in the later portions of the LXX (e.g. Prov. 6:34), for emotions in the human realm. The concept of striving for ethical perfection – the only use found in Philo (cf. *Deus Imm.* 60 f.; *TDNT* II 879 f.) – does not appear. In its place we find *zēlos* with the special connotation of zeal directed to God, of the passionate readiness for service which allows itself to be controlled by the will of God, by the Law (cf. Ps. 69[68]:9; 1 Ki. 19:10, 14; 2 Ki. 15:16. "This zeal for Yahweh was laid on Israel, and the special call of Israel can be recognized by it" (O. Michel, *Der Brief an die Römer*, *KEK* 4, 1966[13], 233).

More frequent are the passages that speak of God's zeal, when it means the intensity, the uncompromising involvement with which God deals with men. Some ETs have retained the possibly misleading rendering "jealous". In Exod. 20:5 God calls himself *zēlōtēs*. In connexion with this, the twofold manner in which God's zeal works is mentioned. He turns it against the evildoers to punish them, and here *zēlos* connotes God's wrath (*orgē*, Deut. 29:20; *thymos*, Num. 25:11; → Anger). On the other hand, it shows itself as → mercy towards those that fear him (Isa. 63:15). God's zeal is especially mentioned in his rôle as Lord of history; he displays it in his support of his people Israel against the other nations (e.g. 2 Ki. 19:31; Ezek. 36:6; 38:19; Isa.

9:7; 26:11; 37:32; 42:13, RSV "fury"; 63:15, etc.). The exclusiveness of Yahweh's relationship to Israel is shown also by his showing *zēlos*, i.e. jealousy, at her unfaithfulness, which is often presented as adultery (Ezek. 16:38; 23:27; → Marriage, arts. *moicheuō* and *nymphē*).

The OT usage continued in Palestinian Judaism. The Qumran texts speak of God's zeal which is expressed in his righteous judgments. The rabbis show a certain reserve in speaking of God's zeal or jealousy. The OT passages using *zēlos* are circumvented. This dislike of anthropomorphisms is seen even more clearly in Hellenistic Judaism (*TDNT* II 880).

NT *zēlos* is found 17 times in NT, *zēlōtēs* 8 times; and the verbal forms of *zēloō* or *zēleō* 12 times.

Both the good and bad senses of the word group are found in the NT. The bad sense of jealousy is found in Acts 7:9 (of Joseph's brothers); 5:17; 13:45; 17:5 (of the Jews' jealousy of the apostles' success, though the concept of zeal for God may be dimly perceived). Jealousy and strife are a deadly danger to the continued existence of a church (Jas. 3:16; cf. v. 14, 1 Cor. 3:3; 2 Cor. 12:20). A Christian must not show jealousy but is to walk by the Spirit (Gal. 5:16, 20) and deal lovingly (Rom. 13:13). The NT takes up a critical attitude not only to ethically reprehensible jealousy but also to zeal for the → law. Thus Paul rejects his previous zeal "for the traditions of my fathers" (Gal. 1:14). It was just this "being zealous for God" (Acts 22:3) that had caused him to become a persecutor of the church (Phil. 3:6). As he looked back, he recognized that he had acted as a pious Israelite who was not enlightened, as was the case with the majority of the Jews in his time (Rom. 10:2).

But zeal in itself is not rejected. Quite the contrary is true. Paul rejoiced that "godly grief" had produced repentance and zeal (2 Cor. 7:11), and he expressly called men to zeal, for it is good, if it is for Christ's sake, who himself was zealous for God (Jn. 2:17). He expressly praised the missionary zeal which surrounds others with good (Gal. 4:18, RSV "to be made much of"; cf. 2 Cor. 11:2, where Paul speaks of "a divine jealousy"). Especially there is the call to "earnestly desire" (*zēloute*) the gifts of the Spirit → grace (*charisma*, 1 Cor. 12:31; 14:1, 12, RSV "you are eager"; 14:39), which can be rightly used in love which is free of jealousy (1 Cor. 13:4). Finally, there is a positive zeal for the welfare of others (2 Cor. 7:7; 9:2), for the right (1 Pet. 3:13) and good works (Tit. 2:14), but here too love must take preeminence over zeal.

zēlōtēs, as an epithet for Simon (Lk. 6:15; Acts 1:13), has a special meaning; it shows that he was earlier a member of the anti-Roman, theocratic, party of the Zealots. He is presumably identical with Simon the Cananean (Mk. 3:18; Matt. 10:4), where *ho kananaios* may translate Aram. *qan'ān*, zealot, i.e. *zēlōtēs* (cf. F. C. Burkitt, *Syriac Forms of New Testament Proper Names*, 1912, 5; Arndt, 403).

The term Zealot has been generally applied to the resistance fighters from Judas the Galilean (6 B.C.) to the defenders of the fortress Masada (A.D. 74). Josephus claimed that the entire resistance movement went back to Judas the Galilean (*Ant.* 18, 6). At least five resistance groups are known: the Sicarii (from the Lat. *sicarius*, dagger-man, assassin), beginning with Judas and ending with their mass suicide at Masada in A.D. 74, though the term is also used of Jewish refugees who fled to Egypt at the end of the war; the Zealots, a title of honour, used by the group

who occupied the temple area under the priest Eleazar; the followers of John of Gischala who united with the Zealots and enjoyed a periodic realm of terror in Jerusalem (*War* 4, 326 f.); the followers of Simon bar Giora who controlled South Judea and who were called upon to help fight the Zealots in Jerusalem (*War* 4, 514, 544, 567); the Idumeans who were successively linked with the three previous groups (*War*, 4, 224; 4, 567; 5, 250).

When Judea was made a Roman province in 6 B.C. Judas the Galilean and Zadok the Pharisee established the "fourth school of Jewish philosophers" (*War* 2, 118). Judas interpreted the First Commandment to mean that none but God should be honoured as king or lord. The payment of taxes to the emperor would mean implicit rejection of this commandment. This situation sheds light on the question of paying tribute money, since it raises the question in an acute way of whether Jesus would side with this purist movement for national liberation and whether his teaching on the kingdom of God would be assimilated to Zealot ideals (Matt. 22:15–22 par. Mk. 12:13–17; Lk. 20:20–26). The Zealots themselves suffered willing martyrdom for their beliefs (Josephus, *War* 2, 170 f.; 3, 9). But when they captured Jerusalem in A.D. 66 the first thing they destroyed was the city archives with records of debts (*War* 2, 427). In A.D. 68 Simon bar Giora proclaimed general emancipation of Jewish slaves (*War* 4, 508).

The Zealots observed the sabbath strictly (*War* 2, 454). They demanded circumcision even of the heathen. Like the Pharisees, they had rigorous requirements for cleanliness. The Masada fortress contained a ritual bath and a synagogue. They appear to have held strong eschatological beliefs, which may well explain their readiness for self-sacrifice.

Some scholars have seen strong links between Jesus and the Zealot movement (cf. S. G. F. Brandon, *Jesus and the Zealots: A Study of the Political Factors in Primitive Christianity*, 1967). But the presence of a former Zealot among the disciples does not imply an endorsement of the movement, and to interpret the cleansing of the temple (Matt. 21:12–17 par. Mk. 11:15–19; Lk. 19:45 f.; cf. Jn. 2:13–17) as an act of resistance is to read a theory into the evidence. Jesus' teaching on the tribute money is a firm repudiation of Zealot ideals, as is his attitude to the → sabbath (e.g. Mk. 2:23–27; 3:1 ff.) and ceremonial washing (e.g. Mk. 7:15; → Baptism; → Hand).

H.-C. Hahn

σπουδή

σπουδή (*spoudē*), zeal; σπουδαῖος (*spoudaios*), zealous; σπουδάζω (*spoudazō*), to be zealous.

CL From the basic vb. *speudō*, intrans., speed oneself, trans. hasten, strive for, there was derived the noun *spoudē* (from Homer on), and from this in the classical period the adj. *spoudaios* and the vb. *spoudazō*. The word-group denotes first of all quick movement in the interests of a person or cause, and means hasten oneself (vb.), quickly (adv.), haste, speed involved in the carrying out of a matter (noun). Then it suggests inner movement, as a vb., be zealous, give oneself trouble, seek to do, be concerned for; as an adj., busy, active, industrious; as a noun, zeal, industry, effort, pains, sometimes in contrast to sloth. When they are used in contrast to play and joking, they stress serious preoccupation with something and the taking seriously of

persons and things; i.e. vb., do or take seriously; adj., serious; noun, seriousness. When used with a moral connotation *spoudē* means willingness, good will; *spoudaios* implies a man concerned with the good, the virtuous man (the one aiming at *aretē*, virtue), the noble man. For Aristotle it is the man of true quality and morals, for the Stoics the truly moral man. In religious contexts the vb. means to involve oneself whole-heartedly; the noun means noble zeal. In Hellenistic philosophy, *spoudē* is used in contexts of moral effort in the individual's conquest of his environment and self-perfection. In letters it is used to reinforce urgent requests.

OT *spoudē* is normally used in the LXX with the meaning of urgency and haste (e.g. Gen. 19:15; Exod. 12:11, 33). Only later, and then rarely, does it mean zeal (Sir. 27:3; Wis. 14:17). There is no real equivalent in Heb. It is often used to render *bāhal*, be alarmed, dismayed (Job 4:5; 21:6; Isa. 21:3), which involves weakening the force of the Heb.

NT In the NT also *spoudē* means haste (Lk. 1:39; 2:16; 19:5 f.). It can also be so understood in Phil. 2:28; 2 Tim. 4:9, 21; Tit. 3:12; but this meaning is recognized by NEB only in the last, and by RSV not at all. In Lk. 7:4 the adv. *spoudaiōs* stresses the intensity of the request by which opposition should be overcome and in 2 Tim. 1:17 it brings out the intensity of the search overcoming obstacles. In 1 Thess. 2:17 the vb. underlines the intensity of Paul's efforts to see them again. The adv. is used in Tit. 3:13 for the thorough equipping of travellers. In 2 Pet. 1:15 the vb., and in Jude 3 the noun, are used in connection with the writing of an important letter.

For Paul *spoudē* is a necessary expression of the life of the Christian community; it determines its ethical actions and behaviour. It is a gift of God which must be developed. Its power should be seen in the effort to maintain unity (Eph. 4:3), in aiding other Christians (Gal. 2:10; 2 Cor. 8:7, 6, 16), in the making good of a wrong done (2 Cor. 7:11 f.), and in the leadership of the church (Rom. 12:8; RSV apparently understands it of practical help). All are expected to give themselves completely (Rom. 12:11), and the example can prove infectious (2 Cor. 8:8).

In the later writings of the NT *spoudē* has a somewhat more general and fundamental meaning. The whole conduct of life must be moulded by it, if the Christian is not to lose what he has been given and risk failure to reach the goal set before him (2 Tim. 2:15; 2 Pet. 1:5, 10; 3:12, 14; Heb. 4:11; 6:11). In such passages it expresses something of the greatness of the Christian's responsibility for the development of his life.

Other words in the NT which stress haste are *nyn*, now, *sēmeron*, today, *euthys*, immediately, and *tachys*, quickly. *W. Bauder*

→ War

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Appendix

Prepositions and Theology in the Greek New Testament

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IV *SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY*

The discussion that follows is not intended as a comprehensive classification of the meanings and uses of all prepositions ("proper" and "improper") which occur in NT Gk. (on which see the standard lexica and grammars). Attention is focused on some uses of the major prepositions which are judged to be theologically significant. There is no treatment of the meaning of prepositions in compounds (on which see Moulton, *Grammar*, II, 292–328).

I *GENERAL OBSERVATIONS*

A. *The Origin and Function of Prepositions*

To judge from Vedic Sanskrit and Homeric Gk., preps. were originally adjuncts to verbs, "adverbs". How adverbs came to be attached to nouns is illustrated by Homer, *Il.* 11, 89, "desire for sweet food seizes his heart round about" (*peri phrenas*). In Homer most preps. were also used adverbially, but in the NT only rarely is this original adverbial nature of preps. apparent (e.g., *hyper egō*, "I more," 2 Cor. 11:23), although words such as *engys* and *exō* are used either as adverbs or as preps. Recognizing that in origin preps. were "ad-verbs," grammarians have traditionally (if arbitrarily) referred to preps. that can be compounded with verbs as "proper" (some 18 in the NT); those that cannot, are termed "improper" (42 in the NT).

Most preps. may denote three relations (local, temporal, mental or ideal) but the primary representation is local: (1) motion to – *eis* (into), *pros* (to); (2) motion from – *ana* (up from), *apo* (from), *dia* (through), *ek* (out of), *kata* (down from); (3) at rest – *anti* (over against), *en* (in), *epi* (upon), *hyper* (over, above), *hypo* (under, beneath), *meta* (behind), *para* (beside), *peri* (around), *pro* (before, in front of), *syn* (with). However, it is not always possible to trace clearly this basic spatial sense (the "root meaning") in extended metaphorical uses of the preps. With regard to the main ideal

relations, the preps. may be grouped as follows (reflecting principal usage): (1) origin (*apo*, *ek*, *para*); (2) cause or occasion (*dia*, *epi*, *ek*, *apo*); (3) purpose or object (*eis*, *pros*, *epi*, *hyper*); (4) result (*eis*, *pros*); (5) association or identification (*syn*, *meta*, *en*, *dia*); (6) relation (*peri*, *hyper*, *pros*, *eis*); (7) agency (*hypo*; sometimes *apo*, *dia*, *para*, or *en*); (8) instrumentality or means (*dia*, *ek*, *en*); (9) correspondence (*kata*, *pros*); (10) opposition (*kata*, *para*, *pros*).

Strictly speaking, from the point of view of historical development, a prep. does not "govern" the case of a noun but rather adds a certain precision to the case-meaning of the noun whose case is determined by its relation to the verb or to another noun. For example, *ēlthen eis tēn polin*, "he went to-the-city [acc. denoting motion to] inwards [adverb]," i.e. "he went into the city." But, in ever-increasing measure, the case-ending itself came to be divested of special significance because inflection expressed such diversified relations, and the accompanying prep. assumed part of the meaning of the case. Therefore it is somewhat artificial to analyse the case of a noun in cl. or Hel. Gk. apart from the "meaning" of the adjoining prep.; the writers themselves probably regarded preps. as "governing" or determining the case of the noun.

In seeking to determine the meaning of a prep. phrase the NT exegete should (at least ideally) consider: (1) the primary meaning of the prep. in itself (i.e. the local relation) and then its range of meanings when used with a particular case; (2) the basic significance of the case that is used with the prep.; (3) the indications afforded by the context as to the meaning of the prep.; (4) the distinctive features of prep. usage in the NT which may account for seeming irregularities.

B. *Distinctive Features of Prepositional Usage in NT Greek*

1. *Several characteristics are in keeping with general tendencies apparent in Hel. Gk.*

(a) Preps. followed by the acc. are, in general, preferred over preps. used with the dat. (although *en* with the dat. gains ground and *peri* with the acc. loses ground in comparison with cl. usage). This occasions no surprise since the dative case, which is found in modern demotic Gk. only in a fossilized form, had already begun to be eclipsed in the NT era, although its disappearance was not complete until the tenth century A.D. (see J. Humbert, *La Disparition du Datif en Grec*, 1930; P. F. Regard, *Contribution à L'Étude des Prépositions dans la Langue du Nouveau Testament*, 1919, 325–376, 677).

(b) Prep. phrases are often used instead of simple cases (e.g., *eis hymas* in 1 Pet. 1:4 replaces *hymin*; *en* with the dat. serves for the simple dat.; compare Matt. 7:2 and Lk. 6:38) (see further N. Turner in Moulton, *Grammar*, III, 251–253).

(c) "Improper" preps., used only with the gen. (except for *engys*, *hama* and *paraplēsion*), become more numerous (42 in the NT), reflecting the tendency towards fuller expression and the preference for uniformity that mark Hel. Gk. (see M. Zerwick, *Biblical Greek*, ET 1963, *§* 83, *§§* 480 f.). For example, *emprosthen* (= Heb. *lipnê*) is preferred over *pro* to denote "before" in a spatial sense, although it is very rare outside biblical Gk.

(d) Preps. are commonly combined with adverbs, especially those denoting time

or place (e.g., *apo perysi*, "a year ago", "since last year', 2 Cor. 8:10; 9:2) (see Regard, *Prépositions*, 679).

(e) In comparison with cl. Gk., the variety in the use of "proper" preps. is curtailed. When a prep. has multiple uses, the least important usage tends to disappear (Regard, *Prépositions*, 681). In the NT only *epi*, *para* (and *pros*: once with the gen.) take three cases, while the dat. is no longer used with *meta*, *peri*, and *hypo* (as it was in cl. Gk.). *ana* and *anti* have restricted use.

(f) Undoubtedly the tendency of the greatest significance for NT exegesis and theology is that the "overlap" or "confusion" between various preps. (when bearing certain senses) becomes more apparent. Evidence of such occasional *enallage* may be derived from: parallel passages in the synoptic gospels; repetition of an identical noun with different preps. within a single context or within a literary corpus; textual variants, which sometimes represent a scribal attempt to clarify meaning by removing ambiguities and irregularities in prep. use; the proleptic or pregnant use of preps., especially in a local sense; the use of two different preps. in close proximity, apparently without distinction; and, on occasion, simply the seemingly irregular use of a prep.

The more important instances of this "interchange" include the following: (i) *hyper* and *peri* (e.g., *peri pollōn* in Matt. 26:28 is *hyper pollōn* in Mk. 14:24; Lk. 22:20); following *deēsis*, Rom. 10:1 compared with Eph. 6:18 f.; note also Jn. 1:30; Acts 8:24; 2 Cor. 1:7 f.; 7:14; 8:23; 12:8; 2 Thess. 2:1; and the textual variants in Gal. 1:4; Heb. 5:1, 3; 1 Pet. 3:18; (ii) *apo* and *ek* (e.g., Lk. 2:4; Jn. 11:1; 1 Thess. 2:6; with *dekatē*, Heb. 7:2, 4; Matt. 7:16 compared with Lk. 6:44; and the textual variants in Matt. 28:7; Mk. 3:8; Lk. 15:16; Acts 18:1; 2 Pet. 2:21; Rev. 1:5; 6:4; 20:9); (iii) *apo* and *para* (e.g., Jn. 13:3 compared with Jn. 16:27, 28 *v.l.*, 30); (iv) *apo* or *ek* may stand for *hypo* (e.g., *apo* – Matt. 11:19; Acts 15:4 *v.l.* and cf. 15:3; 2 Cor. 7:13; *ek* – 2 Cor. 1:11; 7:9; cf. 1 Cor. 2:12a and b; (v) *pros* and *eis* (e.g., Mk. 5:38 f.; 11:1; Jn. 20:3; Phlm. 5); (vi) *en* and *dia* (e.g., 1 Sam. 28:6, *ter*; Heb. 1:2, "the *en* signifies *dia*," Chrysostom); (vii) *en* and *eis* (e.g., Mk. 1:9; 8:26; Lk. 4:44 *v.l.*; 9:61; 11:7; 23:42 *v.l.*; with *kolpos*, Jn. 1:18 compared with Jn. 13:23; with *cheir*, Jn. 3:35 compared with Jn. 13:3; Acts 7:53; 1 Pet. 5:12); (viii) *hyper* may stand for *anti* (e.g., Jn. 11:50; Phlm. 13).

Some of these examples are debatable, to be sure, but it is now generally recognized by grammarians that in Hel. Gk. the distinction between some preps. used in certain senses was becoming more and more blurred. This is not to suggest, however, that preps. were arbitrarily or indiscriminately substituted for one another. Indeed, the incidence of such "interchange" needs to be carefully analysed, for each preposition has its own history and each writer his own idiosyncrasies. Concerning *eis* and *en*, for example, it appears that apart from Mark and Luke-Acts, where *eis* may stand for *en* and *en* for *eis*, the exegete should presume that *eis* retains its distinctive sense until the context or other considerations show that this is impossible or improbable (cf. Zerwick, *Biblical Greek*, § 106; N. Turner in Moulton, *Grammar*, III, 255).

2. *As a result of Semitic influence, often mediated through the Septuagint, the NT use of preps. gained several distinctive characteristics.*

(a) Certain preps. or prep. usages become more frequent or assume a new significance. It is not that the following constructions or uses are without parallel in

contemporary papyri, inscriptions or literary usage. Sometimes it is the greater number of instances that points to direct or indirect Semitic influence. Notably, under the influence of the Heb. *b*^{e}, *en* often expresses accompaniment ("with") (e.g., Mk. 5:2, 25; 1 Cor. 4:21; Heb. 9:25), instrumentality (e.g., Lk. 22:49; Rev. 6:8; and note *en haimati* [where *en* = *Beth pretii*, cf. Gesenius–Kautzsch, *Grammar*, § 119p] in Rom. 3:25; 5:9; Rev. 5:9; but cf. 1 Pet. 1:18 f.), and causality (e.g., Isa. 61:6; Matt. 6:7; Acts 7:29; 24:16; Rom. 1:24; 1 Cor. 7:14; Col. 1:21; and note the conjunction *en hō*, "because," e.g., Rom. 8:3; Heb. 2:18). For a contrary view, see H. St. J. Thackeray, *The Old Testament in Greek*, 1903, 47. Also to be mentioned here is the frequent use of *emprosthen* (84 times in LXX for Heb. *lipnê*) (e.g., Matt. 11:26; 18:14) which is very rarely found outside biblical Gk.; the temporal force of *en tō* with the infinitive (a characteristically Lukan feature), reflecting the Heb. *b*^{e} with the infinitive construct; the gerundival use of the infinitive (with or without *tou*, *eis to* or *pros to*) [cf. the Heb. and Aram. *l*^{e} with the infinitive] (for this, see M. Zerwick, *Biblical Greek*, §§ 391 f.) (e.g. Matt. 5:28); the frequency of prep. phrases (using *apo*, *epi*, and *pro*) with *prosōpon* (Moulton, *Grammar*, II, 466); the frequency of a prep. phrase with *eis* after *ginesthai*, *einai* or *logizesthai* (cf. Heb. *l*^{e} with *hāyâh*) instead of a nominative predicate (Matt. 19:5 f., where *sarx mia* follows *eis sarka mian*; 21:42; Acts 19:27; Rom. 2:26; 4:3; 9:8; 1 Cor. 15:45, *bis*; 2 Cor. 6:18). G. A. Deissmann's inscriptional parallels (*Light from the Ancient East*, ET 1927, 120 n. 10, 121 n. 1) to this latter construction are unconvincing since they relate only to *einai eis* and only to the sense "be for the purpose of."

(b) The repetition of a prep. with each noun connected by *kai*, occurs so frequently in certain NT books as to be a feature of biblical Gk. attributable to Semitic influence. Of course in itself a repeated prep. need not betray Semitic practice, for any Gk. writer may repeat a prep. with several substantives in one regimen in order to highlight the distinction between them. N. Turner has ascertained that, when there is an opportunity to repeat a prep. with a series of nouns, LXX Ezekiel (B-text) accepts it 84% of the time (78:93), Revelation 63% (24:38), Romans, 1 Cor. 58% (14:24), Eph. 37% (6:16), Pastorals 17% (4:24), John 53% (8:15), Mark 38% (10:26), Matthew 31% (11:35), and Luke-Acts 23% (25:111) (Moulton, *Grammar*, III, 275; Moulton, *Grammar*, IV, 93), while such repetition is infrequent in the Ptolemaic papyri (E. Mayser, *Grammatik*, II. 2, 516). See the debate on this matter between A. W. Argyle ("An Alleged Semitism," *ExpT* 66, 1954–5, 177; 67, 1955–6, 247) and N. Turner ("An Alleged Semitism," *ExpT* 66, 1954–5, 252–254).

C. *Exegetical Dangers*

Not only is the detailed examination of prep. usage richly rewarding; it is an undertaking made hazardous by several pitfalls that must be carefully avoided. To isolate these hazards will be useful before we examine some of the theologically significant uses of the major preps.

1. *Insistence on classical Greek Distinctions.* One of the principal characteristics of NT Gk. in general, highlighted by N. Turner (Moulton, *Grammar*, III, 2 and *passim*; cf. P. F. Regard, *Prépositions*, 688), is the absence of cl. Gk. standards. In the days before the papyri finds from Egypt were available for comparison with the NT texts, it was not uncommon, for example, for commentators to find in the Johan-

nine use (in Jn. 1:1, 18) of *pros* and *eis* (preps. that denote direction or movement in cl. usage) proof of an intertrinitarian relationship involving either "eternal generation" or reciprocity of fellowship. It was not recognized that in Hel. Gk. both preps. *could* express location; there was no need, simply because *these* preps. were used, to find indications of motion. Or again, the extent of the "overlap" of preps. in Hel. Gk. has not always been generally recognized (see above, I.B.1.(f)).

2. *Failure to Make Adequate Allowance for a Writer's Stylistic Variation.* Given the general tendency in Hel. Gk. towards laxity of usage and overlap of function with respect to preps., the exegete should not assume that a change of prep., a change of case with a repeated prep., or the use and non-use of a prep. in successive phrases or parallel passages, *always* marks a change of meaning. A writer may simply wish to avoid repetition or vary his style.

It seems arbitrary and unwarranted, for example, to distinguish between *ex anthrōpōn* and *aph' hymōn, ap' allōn* in 1 Thess. 2:6; between *apo* (applying to domicile) and *ek* (applying to birthplace) in the Fourth Gospel (see E. A. Abbott, *Johannine Grammar*, 1906, *§§* 2289 f.), since the distinction is inapplicable in 6:33, 41; 7:41 f.; 11:1 (and note that both *apo* and *ek* are used with *tou ouranou katabebēka*, 6:38, 42); between *hon* and *hyper hou* in Jn. 1:15, 30; between *peri pantōn tōn hagiōn* and *hyper emou* after *proseuchomenoi* in Eph. 6:18 f., as if Paul were indicating that "all the saints" were to be the *subject* (*peri*) of his addressees' prayer but that his own *welfare* (*hyper*) was also to be their prayerful concern; between *pros* and *eis* in Rom. 3:25 f. and in Phm. 5; between *dia doxēs* and *en doxē* in 2 Cor. 3:11; between *epi* with the dative and genitive in Eph. 1:10; between *nekroi tois paraptōmasi* (Eph. 2:1) and *nekroi en tois paraptōmasi* (Col. 2:13); between *logō, tē glōssē*, and *en ergō* in 1 Jn. 3:18; between *ek pisteōs* and *dia tēs pisteōs* in Rom. 3:30 (see below, II.E.2.(d)).

3. *Disregard of Probable Distinctions.* This danger is the opposite of the last. A writer must be permitted to alter his terminology either to vary his style but not change his meaning *or* to express a distinction in sense. One must assume that a writer chooses his preps. with care. In the discussion of 2 Jn. 7, to treat *en sarki* as equivalent to *eis sarka* would be to embrace a species of Apollinarianism. As it is, Jesus Christ came "in the flesh," not "into flesh." In 1 Pet. 1:23 regeneration is said to have its origin or source (*ek*) in an act of immortal procreation or in imperishable seed, but is effected by means of (*dia*) the living and abiding word of God. To cite another example, Paul disowned his adequacy, on his own initiative or in his own wisdom (*aph' heautōn*), to reckon any positive result of his ministry as actually originating from himself (*ex heautōn*). Only God was able to assess the true outcome of his ministry and supply the power for its accomplishment (2 Cor. 3:5). In the interpretation of the last clause of the Lord's Prayer (Matt. 6:13b), it is relevant to observe that not *ek* but *apo* follows *rhysai.* In the NT *rhyesthai ek* denotes deliverance from non-personal evil (7 times; note especially 2 Pet. 2:9, *ek peirasmou*), never personal enemies, while (elsewhere) *apo* is twice used with persons (Rom. 15:31; 2 Thess. 3:2) and once with a non-personal object (2 Tim. 4:18). These tendencies conform with general LXX usage (see especially Ps. 39:2, LXX). From the viewpoint of *linguistic* usage, then, the probability is that *tou ponērou* means "the Evil One" rather than "evil" (see J. B. Bauer, "Libera nos a malo", *Verbum Domini* 34, 1956, 12–15). Or again, in 2 Pet. 3:5 the earth is said to have been formed out of the

material of water or to rise from and above water (*ex hydatos*) (a gloss on Gen. 1:2, 6–8) and to stand amidst water or to exist by the action of water (in descending to fill low areas and ascending to form clouds) (*di' hydatos*).

In addition, a distinction usually should be drawn between the same preposition used in the same sentence or in parallel or similar passages with different cases (e.g., *dia* in 1 Cor. 11:9, 12; Heb. 2:10; but note *epi* with the gen. and acc. in Matt. 19:28 and with the acc. and dat. in Matt. 24:2 and Mk. 13:2 *v.l.*, in parallel passages, with apparently no difference in meaning).

4. *Denial of a Double Entendre.* No one will doubt that a repeated preposition may bear two different senses with the same case within one sentence (e.g., 2 Cor. 2:12, local and telic *eis* expressing movement and purpose; Heb. 9:11 f., instrumental *dia* and *dia* expressing attendant circumstances; 2 Pet. 1:4, local and instrumental *en*). But in addition it seems illegitimate, simply on *a priori* hermeneutical principles, to exclude the possibility that *on occasion* an author may use a single preposition in a dual sense. For example, it is not because of any reluctance to make a decision between evenly balanced exegetical possibilities but because the author may have intended a double meaning that some commentators (e.g., E. G. Selwyn, *The First Epistle of St. Peter*, 1946, 202 f.; J. N. D. Kelly, *The Epistles of Peter and of Jude*, *BNTC*, 1969, 159) take *diesōthēsan di' hydatos* in 1 Pet. 3:20 to mean both "they were brought safely through water" (local *dia*) and "they were preserved by means of water" (instrumental *dia*). Kelly's rendering, "a few (eight persons, in fact) were saved through water" (op. cit., 158), retains the ambiguity in translation. 1 Tim. 2:15 affords a comparable example. The woman who continues in faith, love, holiness and modesty will be "saved *through* child-bearing" (*sōthēsetai . . . dia tēs teknogonias*). Does the exegete have to choose between the concepts of "priority in time" and "supremacy in rank" in discussing *autos estin pro pantōn* in Col. 1:17 (cf. F. F. Bruce in *Commentary on The Epistles to the Ephesians and the Colossians*, *NLC*, 1957, 200: "the words not only declare His temporal priority to the universe, but also suggest His primacy over it"; so also B. F. C. Atkinson, *The Theology of Prepositions*, 1944, 8, but with a reversal of emphasis)? Certainly, editors of the Greek text must choose between two accentuations of *estin*; but Moffatt appears to reproduce the ambiguity of *pro* in his translation "he is prior to all". But care needs to be exercised in determining an intended *double entendre.* It would scarcely be defensible to find in the phrase *en pneumati hagiō* (which appears in the midst of a catalogue of moral virtues, 2 Cor. 6:6) both the sense "in holiness of spirit" and the meaning "by gifts of the Holy Spirit" (NEB).

But what of prepositional phrases that may be construed either with what precedes or with what follows? Is a *double entendre* ever to be found here? Probably not. The exegete must choose between "Christ is the goal of the law, and so [ecbatic *eis*] righteousness is available to every believer" and "In the case of every believer, Christ is the end of the law viewed as a means of gaining (telic *eis*) righteousness" (or, "in its relation to righteousness," referential *eis*) (*eis dikaiosynēn*) (Rom. 10:4; cf. 10:5; Phil. 3:9). Similarly, in the Pauline citation of Habakkuk 2:4 in Rom. 1:17 and Gal. 3:11, *ek pisteōs* must be taken either with *ho (de) dikaios* ("it is the person who is righteous by faith that will live") or with *zēsetai* ("the person who is righteous will live by faith"). It would hardly be permissible to affirm that Paul is saying both that faith is characteristic of the life of the person who is righteous before God and that

faith in Christ is the means to divine approval and eternal life. There is a comparable ambiguity of construction in Lk. 4:21; Jn. 3:15; Acts 22:3; Rom. 4:18; 1 Cor. 3:13; 2 Cor. 5:16; Phil. 2:13; Col. 3:16; 1 Thess. 4:14; Heb. 2:9; 9:11.

5. *Neglect of the Possible Significance of (a) the Non-repetition of the Preposition with Copulated Nouns, and (b) the Order of Nouns that follow a Preposition.* Generally speaking, a prep. tends to be repeated before a series of nouns joined by *kai* more frequently in biblical Gk. (under Semitic influence) than in non-biblical Gk. (see above, I.B.2.(b)). Sometimes, therefore, the non-use of a second or third prep. in NT Gk. may be theologically significant, indicating that the writer regarded the terms that he placed in one regimen as belonging naturally together or as a unit in concept or reality. *ex hydatos kai pneumatos* (Jn. 3:5) shows that for the writer (or speaker) "water" and "Spirit" together form a single means of that regeneration which is a prerequisite for entrance into the kingdom of God (= birth *anōthen*, Jn. 3:3, 7). No contrast is intended between an external element of "water" and an inward renewal achieved by the Spirit. Conceptually the two are one. Similarly, in Matt. 3:11 the phrase *en pneumati hagiō kai pyri* points not to two baptisms (viz., the righteous with the Holy Spirit, the wicked with fire), but to a single baptism in Spirit-and-fire, that may be interpreted either as the messianic purification and judgment that would be effected by the Spirit (cf. Isa. 4:4; 30:28) and experienced by all, or as the outpouring of the Spirit on believers at Pentecost that would refine and inflame them. (See further on these two examples J. D. G. Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit*, *SBT*, Second Series 15, 1970, 8–14, 190–192.) The fact that "God our Father" and "the Lord Jesus Christ" are joined together under the bond of a single prep. (*apo*) in all Pauline salutations (e.g., 1 Cor. 1:3) suggests that the apostle envisaged the Father and the Son as a joint source of "grace and peace," rather than as distinct sources or as source and channel (respectively). They sustain a single relation (not two diverse relations) to the grace and peace that come to believers.

A related matter concerns the order of nouns that follow a prep. (see the discussion of A. Buttmann, *A Grammar of the New Testament Greek*, ET 1873, § 295). If a prep. is followed by two anarthrous substantives both in the genitive case, it always qualifies the former. *ex ergōn nomou* (Rom. 3:20; Gal. 2:16 *bis*; 3:2, 5, 10) means "by the works of the law," not "by the principle of works." (Cf. *ek dexiōn mou*, Matt. 20:23, 22:44; *dia mesou autōn*, Lk. 4:30.) Thus in 2 Cor. 3:18 *apo kyriou pneumatos* does not mean "by the Spirit of the Lord," but "by the Lord (= Yahweh, 3:16 f.) who is the Spirit" or "by the Lord (Jesus) who is spirit" (cf. 1 Cor. 15:45; 2 Cor. 3:6). Even when the prep. is followed by a noun in a case other than the genitive, the limiting genitive generally follows the prep. phrase (e.g. *eis aphesin hamartiōn*, Mk. 1:4; but note the exceptional Matt. 13:33; Rev. 7:17). Similarly, when the nouns involved are articular, any limiting genitive usually follows the prep. phrase (e.g., *apo tou nomou tēs hamartias kai tou thanatou*, Rom. 8:2), but occasionally it may be inserted according to the ABBA word-order (e.g., *ek tēs tou diabolou pagidos*, 2 Tim. 2:26).

II *Some Theologically Important Instances of the Major Prepositions*

References to discussions of individual preps. in the standard monographs on the subject (viz., R. Helbing, M. Johannessohn, F. Krebs, W. Kuhring, C. Rossberg)

may be found in the relevant footnotes in Moulton, *Grammar*, III, 249–280.

A. *anti*

Since the root sense of *anti* is "(set) over against, opposite" (cf. German *ant-* in *antworten*), the prep. naturally came to denote equivalence (one object is set over against another as its equivalent), exchange (one object, opposing or distinct from another, is given or taken in return for the other), and substitution (one object, that is distinguishable from another, is given or taken instead of the other).

1. *Equivalence* ("for", "as the equivalent of"; cf. Homer, *Il.*, 9, 116 f.). Under the *lex talionis* (Exod. 21:23–25), one eye was required as equivalent compensation for another eye (*ophthalmon anti ophthalmou*, Matt. 5:38), a tooth for a tooth. In 1 Cor. 11:15 Paul's point is not that a veil is superfluous for a woman since nature has given her hair *in place of* a covering, but rather, arguing analogically, he infers from the general fact that "hair has been given *to serve as* a covering" (*anti peribolaiou*) (p^{46}D G omit *autē*, "to her") that the more generous supply of hair that a woman has when compared with a man shows the appropriateness of her being covered when she prays or prophesies in the Christian assembly.

2. *Exchange* ("in return for", "for the price of"). In return for evil received (*anti kakou*) the Christian is not to do evil (Rom. 12:17; 1 Thess. 5:15; 1 Pet. 3:9), when abused he is not to give abuse in exchange (*loidorian anti loidorias*, 1 Pet. 3:9). It was for the price of a meal (*anti brōseōs*) that Esau sold his birthright (Heb. 12:16; see Arndt, 73 s.v. *anti* 3).

3. *Substitution* ("instead of", "in the place of"). It is improbable that *anti* ever has the diluted sense of "for the benefit of", "on behalf of". The half-shekel tax alluded to in Matt. 17:24 was regarded as redemption money (Heb. *kōper*, LXX *lytron*, Exod. 30:12) that would release the donor from hypothetical slavery or absolve him from the divine anger (cf. T. Shek. 1:6). Accordingly, when Jesus commanded Simon Peter to give the collectors the shekel he would find in the fish's mouth *anti emou kai sou* ("for me and for yourself", Matt. 17:27), Matthew probably wished his readers to understand that the redemption tax was a substitutionary offering designed to release the giver from obligation (see further R. E. Davies, "Christ in our place – the Contribution of the Prepositions", *TB* 21, 1970, 79 f.; N. Turner, *Grammatical Insights into the New Testament*, 1965, 173). In its prevailing sense in LXX Gk. (see M. Johannessohn, *Der Gebrauch der Präpositionen in der Septuaginta*, 1926, 198–200), as in non-biblical Gk. (e.g., Xen. *Anab.* 1, 1, 4) including the papyri (Moulton-Milligan, 46; cf. *antis* in modern Gk.), *anti* clearly denotes a substitutionary exchange. Abraham offers up the ram as a burnt offering instead of (*anti*) Isaac his son (Gen. 22:13). Judah offers to remain in Egypt instead of (*anti*) Benjamin as a slave to Joseph (Gen. 44:33). Lamenting the death of his son Absalom, David says "Would that I had died instead of [*anti*] you, I instead of [*anti*] you" (2 Sam. 19:1, LXX). Archelaus reigns over Judea in place of (*anti*) his father Herod (Matt. 2:22). See also Lk. 11:11; Jas. 4:15. In Jn. 1:16 *charin anti charitos* ("grace upon grace"; "one blessing after another", New International Version) denotes a perpetual and rapid succession of blessings, as though there were no interval between the arrival of one blessing and the receipt of the next. Alternatively, the idea of constant renewal may be less prominent than the notion of the replacement of

"old" grace by "new" grace (sometimes taken to refer to the spiritual presence of the Holy Spirit in place of the physical presence of Christ). Two disputed passages remain to be discussed. When the author of Hebrews observes that Jesus endured the cross *anti tēs prokeimenēs autō charas* (Heb. 12:2), the meaning of the prep. phrase could be (a) "in exchange for" or "in order to obtain" the joy that was in prospect for him, that of seeing "the fruit of the travail of his soul" (Isa. 53:11); or (b) "instead of" the joy of continued fellowship in God's immediate presence that lay before him as a distinct possibility within his grasp. The second alternative seems preferable in light of: the use of *prokeimai* in Heb. 6:18; 12:1 (cf. 2 Cor. 8:12) to denote a present reality; the prevailing substitutionary sense of *anti*; the inappropriateness of any hint of reciprocal bargaining between Jesus and God, or of personal advantage as the primary motive of Jesus for his suffering; the parallel in 11:25 f. with reference to Moses. (This view is defended by P. Andriessen and A. Lenglet, "Quelques passages difficiles de l'Épître aux Hébreux (5:7, 11; 10:20; 12:2)", *Bib.* 51, 1970, 207–220.) Finally, *anti pollōn* in Mk. 10:45 (= Matt. 20:28) should be construed not with *dounai* ("to give . . . on behalf of [= *hyper*] many) but with *lytron* ("a ransom in the place of many"). The life of Jesus, surrendered in a sacrificial death, brought about the release of forfeited lives. He acted on behalf of the many by taking their place. As in 1 Tim. 2:6 (*antilytron hyper pantōn*), the notions of exchange and substitution are both present. It is hardly a sound hermeneutical procedure to appeal to a contestable "wider" sense of *anti* (viz. "on behalf of") in Matt. 17:27 (or Gen. 44:33) as the key to the proper understanding of *anti* in this passage where the customary sense of the prep. (viz., exchange-substitution) gives an unobjectionable meaning and the term *lytron* is applied to a human life. For a discussion of the theological implications of "substitution", see J. I. Packer, "What did the Cross achieve? The Logic of Penal Substitution", *TB* 25, 1974, 3–45.

B. *apo*

1. *apo and ek.* In general they are related as *ab* is to *ex* in Lat. *apo* denotes motion from the edge or surface of an object; *ek*, motion from within. But often *apo* marks simply the general point from which movement or action proceeds. Thus "Joseph went up from [*apo*] Galilee, out of [*ek*] the city of Nazareth" (Lk. 2:4). However the fact that *apo* is regularly used with *exerchomai* in Lk. (13 times) shows that even the broad distinction is not everywhere applicable. In fact the process in which *apo* ultimately absorbed *ek* has already commenced in Hel. Gk. So we find that both preps. may be used in the following senses: (a) temporal (e.g., *apo*, Matt. 11:12; *ek*, Jn. 9:1); (b) causal (*apo*, Matt. 18:7; Lk. 19:3; Acts 12:14; 22:11; *ek*, Jn. 4:6; Rev. 16:10–12); (c) instrumental (*apo*, Matt. 11:19 = Lk. 7:35; *ek*, Lk. 16:9; Jn. 6:65); (d) adverbial (*apo*, 2 Cor. 1:14; 2:5; *ek*, 2 Cor. 9:7); (e) to denote place of origin (*apo* and *ek* together, Jn. 1:44; 11:1); (f) to denote membership (*apo*, Acts 12:1 "church members"; *ek*, Acts 6:9 "members of the synagogue"). Such overlapping of function between *apo* and *ek* makes one hesitate to distinguish between the *ek tou hydatos* of Mk. 1:10 (cf. Acts 8:38 f.) and the *apo tou hydatos* of Matt. 3:16 (both phrases being preceded by a form of *anabainō*, "go up"), as though the later Matthean tradition testified to baptism by affusion or aspersion rather than by immersion (as in the Markan tradition). The preps. throw no definitive light on the mat-

ter (*pace* N. Turner, *Insights*, 29; but see his earlier remark in Moulton, *Grammar*, III, 259). The most that may be said, if the preps. are here distinguishable, is that Matthew's *apo* does not exclude Mark's *ek*. On the relation of *apo* to *hypo*, see below II.I.2. For the influence of the Heb. prep. *min* on the NT use of *apo*, see Moulton, *Grammar*, II, 460–462.

2. *Some Notable Instances of apo.*

(a) *1 Cor. 11:23.* In the controversial phrase *apo tou kyriou* (D reads *para*) the use of *apo* is in itself indecisive as to the nature of the transmission and accords with either of the following views: (i) the Lord was the ultimate origin of a tradition that reached Paul in reliable form through unbroken transmission; (ii) the Lord was the immediate source or originator of the tradition or the authority constantly operating through human tradition and confirming it by his Spirit. That intermediaries were involved is not suggested by the use of *apo* (as though *para* necessarily implied immediate communication) but by the two verbs *paralambanō* (= Heb. *qibbēl*) and *paradidōmi* (= Heb. *māsar*) which were technical terms for the transmission of tradition. See the discussions of E. B. Allo, *Première Épître aux Corinthiens*, 1956², 309–316; O. Cullmann, "*Kyrios* as Designation for the Oral Tradition concerning Jesus", *SJT* 3, 1950, 180–197.

(b) *Heb. 5:7. eisakoustheis apo tēs eulabeias* could mean "his prayer was heard (and so he was delivered) from his anxious dread (of death)," but more probably *apo* is causal ("he was heard on account of his godly fear") since *eulabeia* in Heb. 12:28 and *eulabeomai* in Heb. 11:7 both refer to reverent awe before God. But see Funk, *§* 211.

(c) *Rev. 1:4.* The remarkable phrase *(eirēnē) apo ho ōn kai ho ēn kai ho erchomenos* has been explained as: the result of the Seer's reverence for the divine name which kept him back from submitting it to declensional change (R. H. Charles, *The Revelation of St. John*, *ICC*, 1920, I, 10); a paraphrase of the indeclinable tetragrammaton YHWH, "He who is" (J. M. Ford, *Revelation*, *Anchor Bible*, 1975, 376); a nominative apposition which was originally preceded by four dots standing for the tetragrammaton (G. Mussies, *The Morphology of Koine Greek as Used in the Apocalypse of St. John*, 1971, 93 f.).

C. *dia*

Originally *dia* signified "passing through and out from," a sense reflected in Matt. 4:4 ("... every word that proceeds from [*ekporeuomenō dia*] the mouth of God") and 1 Cor. 3:15 ("he himself will be saved, but only as one who escapes through fire", *dia pyros*). When this notion of "extension through" is applied to temporal categories, the meaning is "during the course of" (e.g., *dia nyktos*, "during the night", Acts 23:31). In itself *di' hēmerōn tesserakonta* (Acts 1:3) could mean either "continuously throughout a 40-day period" (though this would more commonly be expressed by *tesserakonta hēmeras*) or "intermittently (or repeatedly) during the course of 40 days" (cf. Acts 13:31, "over a period of (*epi*) many days"), but the references to "many (separate) convincing proofs" (1:3a) and to various self-presentations (1:3a; *parestēsen* is a constative aorist) and repeated appearances (1:3b; *optanomenos* implies iteration) clearly show that the prep. here signifies "intermittently throughout" (so also Funk, *§* 223 (1) and see references in A. Oepke, *dia*,

TDNT II 66 n. 3). Earth was not necessarily the place of Jesus' whereabouts in the interval between his resurrection and ascension.

1. *Means or Instrument.* From the local sense of *dia* there naturally developed the instrumental sense, which marks the medium *through* which an action passes before its accomplishment. Thus, in the expression *pistis di' agapēs energoumenē* (Gal. 5:6), love is specified as the means by which faith becomes visibly operative or effective. Expressions of love (= good works) must intervene between faith in its infancy and faith in its maturity. Thus stated, Paul's view of the interrelationship of faith and (good) works is similar to that of James (Jas. 2:14–26). Several more examples of this instrumental use of *dia* may be given. Paul represents the angels not as the authors (*hypo*) of the law but as the mediate agents (*dia* in its enactment or transmission, Gal. 3:19). When the apostle says that at the tribunal of Christ recompense will be received for both good and bad actions that have been performed by means of the earthly body (*dia tou sōmatos*, 2 Cor. 5:10) and therefore during life on earth, he excludes the possibility of reward or punishment for any conceivable *post-mortem* action. Again, everything that pertains to life and godliness is granted to believers by God's divine power but comes through (*dia*) the knowledge of Christ (2 Pet. 1:3). Sometimes, however, *dia* seems to express not the efficient cause but the principal or sole cause, not mediation but agency (e.g., Rom. 11:36 where God the Father is designated the source (*ek*), agent (*dia*), and goal (*eis*) of all creation; 1 Cor. 1:9; Heb. 13:11). It follows, as M. Zerwick observes, that when the rôle of Christ as creator (e.g., Jn. 1:3, 10) or redeemer (e.g., Rom. 5:9) is expressed by *dia*, the idea of his mediation may not be prominent (*Biblical Greek*, § 113). Accordingly, Col. 1:16 (*ta panta di' autou . . . ektistai*) may be emphasizing the agency, rather than the mediation, of Christ in creating and sustaining the universe. On the other hand, in 1 Cor. 8:6 the function of God the Father as the source of creation (*ex hou ta panta*) is distinguished from Christ's rôle as mediator of creation (*di' hou ta panta*), while in 2 Cor. 5:18 God is the reconciler and Christ the divinely appointed means (*dia Christou*) of reconciliation (cf. Rom. 5:11; Col. 1:20). On the relation between *dia* and *hypo*, see below, II.I.1.

2. *Attendant Circumstances.* Not infrequently *dia* expresses the circumstances that accompany an action or state, and in this function the prep. overlaps with *en*. Abraham received the sign of circumcision as a seal of the faith-righteousness which he had while he was as yet uncircumcised (*en tē akrobystia*), thus becoming the father of all who are believers while being uncircumcised (*di' akrobystias*) (Rom. 4:11). Since, then, *dia* may denote accompaniment as well as instrumentality, it is special pleading to distinguish between *meta* in 1 Tim. 4:14 (used of the elders' imposition of hands) and *dia* in 2 Tim. 1:6 (used of Paul's imposition of hands) in regard to the consecration of Timothy, as if an apostolic laying on of hands were a prerequisite for "ordination" while the imposition of presbyters' hands was simply a desirable concomitant (*contra* F. Prat, *The Theology of St. Paul*, ET 1945, II, 270 n. 1). On the other hand, if *dia tēs epitheseōs tōn cheirōn mou* (2 Tim. 1:6) does denote the instrumental cause of Timothy's receipt of his gift, the actual participation of the body of elders in this imposition of hands need not be excluded: the presbytery and the apostle may have acted conjointly. The use of *meta* rather than *dia* in 1 Tim. 4:14 may well be explained (on this view) by the presence of another *dia* phrase (*dia prophēteias*). *dia pisteōs* in 2 Cor. 5:7 also probably belongs to this category of ac-

companying circumstances ("we walk in the realm of faith, not of sight") since it is difficult to take *(peripatoumen ou) dia eidous* in a modal sense. This use of *dia* extends even to marking circumstances that turn out not to help but sometimes even to hinder an action. "Even with" (= "in spite of one's having") the written code and circumcision (*dia grammatos kai peritomēs*), transgression of the law occurs (Rom. 2:27; cf. 5:20a), although one would expect such circumstances to aid in keeping the precepts of the law. *dia tou pneumatos* in Acts 21:4 is difficult, since the advice not to go on to Jerusalem given to Paul by the Tyrian disciples (= prophets? cf. Acts 11:28) "through the Spirit" conflicted with his own resolve "in the Spirit" (*en tō pneumati*, Acts 19:21) and with the constraint and testimony of the Spirit (Acts 20:22 f.). It is noteworthy that Agabus's subsequent prophecy at Caesarea (Acts 21:11) that predicts Paul's suffering in Jerusalem and begins "Thus says the Holy Spirit" does not include an injunction or exhortation to Paul not to go to Jerusalem (but cf. Acts 21:12–14). Perhaps therefore the crucial prep. phrase in Acts 21:4 should be rendered "while under the inspiration of the Spirit" (but C. F. D. Moule, *Idiom-Book*, 57 tentatively suggests "as a spiritual insight"). In his condensed statement Luke has not distinguished between a prophecy regarding Paul's suffering at Jerusalem (doubtless given by the Tyrian disciples before their exhortation) that was delivered at the direction of the Spirit (cf. Acts 21:11) and their own personal exhortation (cf. Acts 21:12) that was occasioned by the prediction and immediately followed it. The verse may be paraphrased thus: "Prompted by a prediction of the Spirit they told Paul not to go on to Jerusalem."

3. *Cause or Ground.* The two principal non-local meanings of *dia* are "by means of", "through" (Lat. *per*) and "on account of", "because of" (Lat. *ob* and *propter*). The inter-relation of these two senses is evident from the fact that *dia* with the acc. may occasionally denote the efficient cause (e.g., Jn. 6:57a, the Father is the source of the Son's life, as in Jn. 5:26; Rev. 12:11; see Arndt 180, s.v. *dia*, B. II. 4), and is well illustrated by the textual variants in Rom. 8:11, where the revivification of mortal bodies is attributed to the agency of the indwelling Spirit (*dia* with gen.) who already is active in the transformation of character (2 Cor. 3:18) or (in the inferior reading of *dia* with acc.) it is grounded in the fact that a life-giving Spirit (Rom. 8:2; 1 Cor. 15:45; 2 Cor. 3:6) indwells believers, the Spirit of him who raised Jesus from the dead. On other occasions these two most common uses of *dia* are found juxtaposed (in paronomasia, Heb. 2:10 where *di' hou* refers to the Father as the principal cause and *di' hon* perhaps stands for the Pauline *ex autou kai ... eis auton* [Rom. 11:36]; 1 Cor. 11:9, *dia tēn gynaika*, and 11:11, *dia tēs gynaikos*; and cf. Rom. 12:3 and 15:15).

4. *Purpose.* Just as there has been debate whether *eis* ever bears a retrospective (= causal) sense in the NT (see below, II. D. 3), so there is no unanimity concerning the alleged prospective (= telic) sense of *dia*. If, occasionally, it were to bear this meaning in the NT, it should occasion no surprise since: (a) *dia* with the acc. exceptionally has a prospective sense in cl. Gk. (e.g., Thuc., *History*, ii. 89. 2; v. 53; Aristot., *Eth. Nic.*, 4, 3, 31; Plato, *Rep.* 524 C – cited by H. G. Meecham "Romans iii, 25 f., iv, 25 – the meaning of *dia c. acc.*", *ExpT* 50, 1938–9, 564; cf. Liddell-Scott, 389 s.v. *dia* B. III. 3) and Hel. Gk. (e.g., Polyb. 2, 56, 12); (b) in modern Gk. *yia* (= *dia*) with the acc., "for," is used to express purpose (G. N. Hatzidakis, *Einleitung in die neugriechische Grammatik*, 1892, 212 f.). There are, in fact, several

NT examples where *dia* approaches a prospective sense (Matt. 24:2; Mk. 2:27; Jn. 11:42; 12:30; Rom. 11:28; M. Zerwick, *Biblical Greek*, § 112, compares the *dia touto ... hina* formula in Rom. 4:16; 1 Tim. 1:16; Phlm. 15), but the alleged instances that are most regularly adduced are Rom. 3:25; 4:25. In the former verse *dia tēn paresin* seems to mean "on account of his passing over" rather than "with a view to (or, through) his forgiving". Paul is observing that the purpose or outcome of God's provision of Christ as a propitiatory sacrifice was the demonstration of his own righteousness, a righteousness that needed vindication because, in his patience (not his indifference), God had refrained from exacting the full and proper penalty for acts of sin committed previously. God had not always left sin unpunished, but he had temporarily suspended, withheld or set aside appropriate punishment in light of his eternal purpose to provide an altogether adequate basis for the forgiveness of sin in the atoning death of Christ. It seems that *paresis* (= remission of punishment or debt) should be distinguished from *aphesis* (= remission of sin) (references in Moulton-Milligan, 493 s.v. *paresis*, and the distinctive view of S. Lyonnet, *Exegesis Epistulae ad Romanos*, 1963 [3], 217 f., 222–238, that this whole phrase refers to the provisional and anticipatory remission of sin accorded the Jewish people) and that an unusual telic or instrumental sense need not be given to *dia* with the acc. when the more regular causal meaning accords with the context. The matter is more complex in Rom. 4:25, where there is a parallelism between the two *dia* phrases (*dia ta paraptōmata hēmōn* and *dia tēn dikaiōsin hēmōn*) that would suggest *prima facie* that each should be taken in the same sense, yet a causal sense is difficult in v. 25b (viz. "and was raised to life because of our justification"). Three solutions may be mentioned (in ascending order of probability). (i) *dia* in final in both clauses: "in order to deal with", v. 25a (cf. 1 Cor. 15:3); "with a view to", v. 25b. (ii) *dia* is causal in v. 25a ("because of"; cf. Isa. 53:12, LXX) but final in v. 25b ("in order to achieve", or, better, "to confirm [or, guarantee]"). (iii) *dia* is causal in both clauses: "because of (the need to atone for)", v. 25a; "because of (the need to achieve or confirm)", v. 25b (cf. the parallel in Rom. 13:5); or, alternatively, just as the delivering up of Jesus to death was the consequence of our sin, so his resurrection was the consequence of our justification (that had been achieved by his death, Rom. 5:9 f.). On this latter view, the conceptual sequence would then be: our sin – Jesus' death – our justification – Jesus' resurrection, with the resurrection being *here* regarded as the inevitable consequence of, and the seal of divine approval on, Christ's procurement of our justification. But see *per contra* D. M. Stanley, *Christ's Resurrection in Pauline Soteriology, AnBib* 13, 1961, 171–173.

D. *eis*

1. *Its relation to other Preps.*

(a) *pros*. Although the distinctions are not uniformly maintained, it is generally true that with regard to literal movement *eis* denotes entry ("into") and *pros* approach ("up to"), and (correspondingly) that *eis* is used with impersonal objects and *pros* with personal (e.g., 2 Cor. 1:15 f.; and see the argument of E. de W. Burton, *The Epistle to the Galatians, ICC*, 1921, 96–99, based on Paul's twofold use of *eis* in Gal. 2:9, that the apostolic division of labour was primarily territorial [Jewish lands – Gentile lands] rather than racial [Jews – Gentiles]). That these are simply tenden-

cies is apparent from Mk. 5:38 f.; Jn. 20:3–6, 8; Phlm. 5. As for metaphorical use, both preps. may express purpose (e.g., Rom. 3:25 f.) and result (e.g., *eis*, Rom. 1:20; *pros*, 1 Jn. 5:16 f., on which see below II. N. 3).

(b) *en*. There are two reasons why it is not surprising that *eis* and *en* shared some common territory in Hel. Gk. (i) Etymologically *eis* was a later variation of *en*, being originally *ens*, the *s* having been added to *en* on the analogy of *ex* (= *ek-s*). With the disappearance of the *n* in *ens*, compensatory lengthening produced *eis* (see A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament*, 1934 [4], 584–586, 591). The obsolescence of the dat. case in Gk. meant the disappearance of *en* from the modern Gk. vernacular where only *eis* (with the acc.) is found (cf. G. N. Hatzidakis, *Grammatik*, 210 f.). (ii) Hel. Gk. is marked by a general tendency to confuse the categories of linear motion ("to") and punctiliar rest ("in"). The confusion was in both directions: *eis* denoting position (e.g., Gen. 37:17A; Jos. 7:22) and *en* implying movement (e.g., Exod. 4:21; Tob. 5:5). Examples of this interchange are not lacking in cl. Gk. but they are relatively infrequent, especially in narrative.

It was observed above (I. B. 1 (f)) that the interchange of *eis* and *en* is not promiscuous in NT Gk. and that the idiosyncrasies of each author must be examined. Only in Mk. and Lk.-Acts does this interchange occur with any frequency. In Rev. there is only one clear example (Rev. 11:11, where, surprisingly, the *eis* of Ezek. 37:10 [LXX] has become *en*). All the apparent exceptions in the Fourth Gospel to the cl. use of *eis* and *en* have been examined by J. J. O'Rourke, who concludes that only in Jn. 1:18 and 19:13 does *eis* possibly stand for *en* (1.08% of Jn's. 183 uses of *eis*) and only in Jn. 3:35 is *en* (218 uses) possibly used for *eis* ("EIS and EN in John", *Bible Translator* 25, 1974, 139–142).

What did John mean when he affirmed (Jn. 1:18) that "the only Son, who is all that God is and who resides *eis ton kolpon tou patros* – he has revealed him"? The imagery (*kolpos*, "bosom") suggests the exclusive and privileged intimacy of a deeply affectionate inter-personal relationship, but what is the import of *eis*? Some give the prep. a dynamic sense, noting that it normally denotes not simply orientation or direction but "movement towards or into". I. de la Potterie, for example, renders the whole phrase "turned towards the Father's bosom", and finds two theological truths expressed: a personal distinction between Father and Son; "the constant orientation of the Son towards the bosom of the Father as towards his origin (*eis*, not *pros*), as towards the source of his own life (*eis ton kolpon*)" ("L'emploi dynamique de *eis* dans Saint Jean et ses incidences théologiques", *Bib.* 43, 1962, 366–387; quotation from page 386). For de la Potterie it is not simply a matter of "filiation" (as in Jn. 1:1b and 1 Jn. 1:1), but of "eternal generation" (cf. *ōn* and Jn. 6:57) (*op. cit.*, 385), "the eternal act of receiving divine life from the Father" (*op. cit.*, 386). But the idea of eternal generation would comport better with the preps. *para* (cf. Jn. 6:46) or *ek* (cf. the reading *ek tou kolpou* reflected in syr [c]). If any element of movement is implied in *eis*, its direction is in effect reversed, on this view. Other scholars have seen *eis* as both static and dynamic in sense. In 1880, before the influence of the papyri finds had been felt, B. F. Westcott wrote: "There is the combination (as it were) of rest and motion, of a continuous relation, with a realisation of it (comp. i. 1, *ēn pros*). The 'bosom of the Father' (like heaven) is a state and not a place" (*The Gospel According to St. John*, 1958 ed., 15, a thought developed still further by E. A. Abbott, *Johannine Grammar*, 1906, *§§* 2706, 2712). Now, however, the view that prevails

among grammarians (e.g., A. N. Jannaris, *An Historical Greek Grammar*, 1897, § 1548; Funk, §§ 205, 218; F. M. Abel, *Grammaire du Grec Biblique*, 1927, § 47 (a)), lexicographers (e.g., Arndt, 229 s.v. *eis* 9a; Moulton-Milligan, xiv; A. Oepke, *eis*, *TDNT* II 433) and commentators (e.g., W. Bauer, M. Lagrange, R. Bultmann, E. C. Hoskyns, R. Schnackenburg, C. K. Barrett) is that *eis ton kolpon* is equivalent to *en tō kolpō* (Jn. 13:23).

But few scholars are content to affirm that the phrase denotes simply the personal juxtaposition of Son and Father. For G. B. Winer, the phrase indicates that the Son "is laid upon" or "rests against" the bosom of the Father, which would imply personal intercommunion (*A Grammar of the Idiom of the New Testament*, ET 1872, 415 and n. 1). Some of the Greek Fathers, giving *eis* a static sense, believed that the verse described the consubstantiality of the Father and Son. Chrysostom, for example, speaks of the Son's dwelling in the Father's bosom as involving "affinity of essence": "the Father would not have in his bosom one of another essence" (*Homilies on the Gospel of St. John*, XV). Again, some find in *eis* a hint of the suppression of a preceding idea of movement (see, e.g., T. Zahn, *Das Evangelium des Johannes*, 1908², 96; cf. Liddell-Scott, 491, s.v. *eis*, I. 2). But the difficulty with the suggestion that *eis* implies an earlier entrance *into* the Father's bosom (J. H. Greenlee, "The Preposition *EIS* in the New Testament", *Bible Translator* 3, 1952, 13) or points to the Son's *return* to his pre-incarnate state through the Ascension (H. A. W. Meyer, *The Gospel According to St. John*, ET 1885, 70), is that the preceding *ho ōn* depicts a supra-temporal condition that had no beginning. In the case of Jn. 1:18 the real choice is not between *eis* = eternal generation and *eis* = *en* = consubstantiality, but more generally between the static and dynamic senses of *eis*. While in Jn. 1:1 *pros ton theon* may point to an active relation of the Logos with God, in 1:18 *eis ton kolpon tou patros* seems to stand for the passive notion *en tō kolpō tou patros* (cf. Jn. 13:23). The difference between the two verses is that between *pros* with the accusative of the person (*theos*) and *eis* with the accusative of the thing (*kolpos*), a distinction generally observed in NT Gk. Any notion of dynamic interpersonal relationship found in v. 18 stems from the nouns *kolpos* and *patēr*, not from the prep. *eis*.

To sum up. In any discussion of the inter-relation of *eis* and *en* in NT Gk., two dangers are to be avoided: to treat them as everywhere synonymous; always to insist on a distinction between them. Of the NT writers, only Matthew seems never to confuse *eis* and local *en* (notwithstanding Matt. 28:19 – on which see below, III. A. 3. (c)). Elsewhere, the exegete's presumption ought to be that, except for Luke (in the Third Gospel and Acts) and perhaps Mark, NT authors do not ordinarily use *eis* for *en*.

2. *Telic and Ecbatic eis*. No one has ever questioned that *eis* can express metaphorical direction, i.e. goal or purpose (final or telic *eis*). A celebrated example is the *eis auton* of Col. 1:16 (wrongly rendered *in ipso* in the Vulgate) which indicates that as well as being the efficient cause (*di' autou*) of creation, Christ is its ultimate goal. Just as there is creatorial coherence in the sustaining power of Christ (*ta panta en autō synestēken*, Col. 1:17b; cf. Heb. 1:3), so there is a teleological convergence of reality on Christ. Then *eis* can mark the divine appointment (*tassō*, *tithēmi*) of believers to eternal life (Acts 13:48), or of unbelievers to "stumbling" over the Stone because of their deliberate rejection of the message (1 Pet. 2:8; "they who do not

believe, stumble; they who stumble are also appointed for stumbling", J. A. Bengel, *Gnomon of the New Testament*, ET 1863, V, 55). Whatever construction we put on the notoriously difficult *skeuē orgēs katērtismena eis apōleian* in Rom. 9:22 ("the objects of his wrath, fit only for destruction"), it must be noted that (i) *katērtismena* should be distinguished from *ha prohetoimasen* (Rom. 9:23); and (ii) God would hardly be said to have "tolerated most patiently" a situation that he himself had ordained.

But whether *eis* ever expresses a purpose that is actually realized (consecutive or ecbatic *eis*), as opposed to a result that is simply aimed at, has been an issue hotly debated by grammarians and commentators. That *eis* sometimes expresses result (cf. the occasional ecbatic use of *hina*) seems now to be generally recognized (see, e.g., C. F. D. Moule, *Idiom-Book*, 70; A. Oepke, *eis*, *TDNT* II 429–431). In a thorough article that deals with "The Articular Infinitive with *eis*" in both cl. and Hel. Gk. (*JBL* 15, 1896, 155–167), I. T. Beckwith concludes that in 8 NT passages (viz., Rom. 1:20; 7:5; 12:2; 2 Cor. 8:6; Gal. 3:17; Phil. 1:10; Heb. 11:3; Jas. 3:3) a consecutive sense for *eis* with the articular infinitive is highly probable. Oepke (*op. cit.*) gives further examples, in which ecbatic *eis* is followed by articular or anarthrous substantives (e.g., 1 Cor. 11:17; 2 Cor. 7:9 f.). In Rom. 10:10 *eis dikaiosynēn* means "[for with his heart a man believes] and so is justified", although earlier (v. 4) the same phrase may bear a telic sense "[Christ is the end of the law] viewed as a means of gaining righteousness". (Compare a similar alternation of senses for *eis to* with the infinitive in Rom. 4:11, 16, 18.) Finally, if the consecutive sense of *eis* is recognized in Rom. 12:2, Paul's point is not that the aim of the transformation of character is the discernment of God's will (= telic *eis*), but rather that the Christian's ability to ascertain ("determine by scrutiny"; cf. Lk. 12:56) God's will naturally results from the renewal of the mind (cf. ecbatic *eis* with verbs denoting renewal in Col. 3:10; Heb. 6:6). Often, however, the categories of purpose and result merge, for a result may be a *designed* consequence. Therefore it is sometimes impossible to determine which is intended (e.g., in the phrase *eis doxan theou* in 2 Cor. 4:15; Phil. 1:11; 2:11; but in 1 Cor. 10:31 it is undoubtedly telic), especially when a divine action is spoken of (e.g., *eis hen sōma ebaptisthēmen*, 1 Cor. 12:13).

3. *Causal eis*? Can *eis* be retrospective, giving the cause, as well as prospective, defining the purpose or result? Such a sense for *eis* seems unlikely in any one of the passages sometimes adduced (see, e.g., J. R. Mantey, "The Causal Use of *Eis* in the New Testament", *JBL* 70, 1951, 45–48): Mk. 15:34 (and Matt. 14:31, "why?"); Matt. 3:11 (see below, III. A. 3. (a)); 10:41 (*eis onoma prophētou*, "within the category 'prophet' " = "because he is a prophet" – Arndt 577, s.v. *onoma* II; cf. M. Zerwick, *Biblical Greek*, § 106); 12:41 (= Lk. 11:32; "*at* the preaching of Jonah"); Acts 2:38 (see below, III. A. 3. (a)); 7:53 ("*as* delivered by angels," RSV); Rom. 4:20 ("*looking to* the promise of God"); 11:32 ("consigned *to* disobedience"; cf. Ps. 77:62, LXX); 2 Tim. 2:25 ("repentance that *leads to* a knowledge of the truth"); 2:26 ("entrapped by him *to do* his will", Weymouth); Tit. 3:14 ("*to supply* the necessities"); Heb. 12:7 ("it is *for the benefits of* discipline [or, *as* a discipline] that you have to endure"); 1 Jn. 5:10 ("he has refused to believe the testimony"). Liddell-Scott list no causal uses of *eis*.

4. *logizesthai eis*. This phrase, which in the LXX renders *ḥāšaḇ lᵉ*, occurs in the quotation of Gen. 15:6 found in Rom. 4:3 (cf. vv. 9, 22); Gal. 3:6; Jas. 2:23:

"Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned to him as righteousness (*elogisthē autō eis dikaiosynēn*)." With regard to Pauline usage, the verse has been interpreted in several ways: (a) Righteousness was reckoned to the account of (= imputed to) Abraham on the basis of his faith (cf. 1 Macc. 2:52 A; Rom. 9:30; 10:6; Heb. 11:7) (see the discussion of J. Murray, *The Epistle to the Romans, NLC*, 1959, I, 127–139, 336–362, especially 343, 359, where it is argued that the "correlativity" [not the equation] of faith and righteousness permitted Paul to say that "faith was reckoned to Abraham as righteousness", Rom. 4:9). (b) Abraham's faith was reckoned as a substitute for (law-)righteousness (H. Cremer, *Biblico-Theological Lexicon of New Testament Greek*, ET 1895, 399). (c) Abraham's faith in God was equivalent to righteousness, i.e. it was in itself the ground of his acceptability (see the comprehensive discussion in J. A. Ziesler, *The Meaning of Righteousness in Paul*, 1972, 43, 172–185, 195 f.; and cf. H. W. Heidland, *logizomai*, *TDNT* IV 289–292).

On the use of *eis* with *baptizō*, see below III. A. 3; with *pisteuō*, III. B. 2. (g) and 3.

E. *ek*

1. *Its Basic Signification.* Originally *ek* signified an exit "from within" something with which there had earlier been a close connexion. Therefore it naturally came to be used to denote origin, source, derivation or separation. So, for example, the prep. is used of the material out of which something is made (Matt. 27:29), the country of one's origin (Acts 23:34) or a person with whom a connexion is (to be) severed (Jn. 17:15). Having this root sense, *ek* is sometimes equivalent to the subjective genitive (e.g., 2 Cor. 8:7 *v.l.*). However in the stereotyped *ho ek* or *hoi ek* before a noun (e.g., *hoi ek nomou*, "nomists" or "partisans of the law", Rom. 4:14; *hoi ek pisteōs*, "men of faith", Gal. 3:7, 9) the notion of belonging is more prominent than that of origin. The ubiquitous *ek (tou) theou* depicts: (i) the agency of God in effecting spiritual regeneration (Jn. 1:13; 1 Jn. 3:9 *bis*; 4:7; 5:1, 4, 18a; cf. Jn. 8:47 *bis*; 1 Jn. 4:4, 6; 5:19; 3 Jn. 11), corresponding to the rôle of the male in the act of physical procreation (cf. Matt. 1:18) (cf. Arndt, 234 s.v. *ek* 3a); (ii) God as the authoritative source of Jesus' teaching (Jn. 7:17), the giver of the Holy Spirit (1 Cor. 2:12a) and of spiritual gifts (1 Cor. 7:7), the source of all life, both physical (1 Cor. 11:12b) and spiritual (2 Cor. 5:18), the one who empowered Paul to carry out his divine commission (2 Cor. 3:5b), the architect of the resurrection body of believers (2 Cor. 5:1), the one who provides a new and right relationship with himself (Phil. 3:9), and the one true source of love (1 Jn. 4:7).

On the relation of *ek* to *apo* see above II. B. 1.

2. *Some Notable Instances of ek.*

(a) *Jn. 15:19 bis; 17:14, 16.* Parallel to the Pauline antithesis between living *en sarki* and yet not acting *kata sarka* (e.g., 2 Cor. 10:3) is the Johannine contrast between living *en tō kosmō* (Jn. 17:11; cf. 17:15) yet not being *ek tou kosmou* (Jn. 15:19 *bis*; 17:14b, 16a; cf. 18:36 *bis*). Christians must live in the world (or flesh) but must not display the characteristics of the world (or flesh) (cf. Ep. Diog. 6, 3).

(b) *Rom. 1:3 f.* These two verses refer to two successive stages of Christ's existence, not to two coexisting states (*kata sarka . . . kata pneuma hagiōsynēs*). With respect to human descent (*kata sarka*; cf. Rom. 9:5) Jesus Christ was born of David's stock (*ek spermatos Dauid*). On the other hand, his installation as Son of

God in power, accomplished by the power of the Holy Spirit (*kata pneuma hagiōsynēs*; cf. Gal. 4:29), took its rise, temporally and instrumentally (or, causally), in his resurrection from the dead (*ex anastaseōs nekrōn*). Not only "from the time of" the resurrection but also "through" (or, "as a result of") the resurrection itself, Jesus was visibly designated Son of God. (For *ek* as introducing the means used to achieve a definite purpose ["through"] or the reason which forms a presupposition for something ["as a result of"], see Arndt, 234, s.v. *ek* 3 f.) In the crucial phrase *ex anastaseōs nekrōn* ("the resurrection of the dead"), the primary allusion in this context must be to Christ's own resurrection from the dead, but the absence of *ek* before *nekrōn* (cf. 1 Pet. 1:3) and the use of the plural *nekrōn* suggest that Paul envisaged the resurrection of all believers as ideally achieved in the resurrection of Christ (cf. 1 Cor. 15:20, 23; Col. 1:18). The general, inclusive category, "the resurrection of the dead," includes the first determinative instance, "his resurrection from the dead." For a full discussion see C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Epistle to the Romans*, *ICC*, I 1975[6], 57–64.

(c) *Rom. 1:17.* A myriad of proposals have been made in regard to the meaning of the phrase *ek pisteōs eis pistin*, such as: from the faith of the preacher to the faith of the hearer; from God's faithfulness to man's faith; from smaller to greater degree of faith (cf. *apo doxēs eis doxan*, 2 Cor. 3:18); from faith as a starting-point to faith as a permanent condition. But it seems more natural to construe *ek* as indicating not the source or starting-point ("from faith") but the basis or means ("by faith"; as in Hab. 2:4), with the *eis pistin* either intensifying the effect of *ek pisteōs* (thus, "by faith from first to last", New International Version), or denoting the goal of God's impartation to men of a righteous status ("leading to faith"). On either of these latter views, faith is portrayed as the vital and perpetual characteristic of Christian experience.

(d) *Rom. 3:30.* On the basis of the difference between *ek pisteōs* and *dia tēs pisteōs*, it has been maintained that: (i) while the Jew is justified by faith (as "the moving cause", *ek pisteōs*) through the channel of circumcision (supplying *dia peritomēs*; cf. Rom. 4:12), the Gentile is justified by faith as both "moving cause" (*ek pisteōs*) and "sole condition" or channel (*dia tēs pisteōs*) (W. Sanday and A. C. Headlam, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 1902[5], 95, 96; this view highlights the contrast between *peritomēn* and *akrobystian*); (ii) Jews were to be justified by a subjective belief in the messiah, "by starting from and developing their existing faith in a coming messiah", whereas Gentiles would be justified through the instrumentality of that developed and objective Faith of Christendom, about which they as yet knew nothing (H. P. Liddon, *Explanatory Analysis of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans*, 1977 reprint of 1899 work, 79, 80); (iii) God will justify the Jews as a result of their own faith, but Gentiles by means of the faith of the Jews (*tēs* being an anaphoric article) as in Rom. 11:15 (N. Turner, *Insights*, 107–110).

If any distinction is intended between these two prep. phrases, it is formal not substantial: God justifies the Jew as a result of his faith (*ek pisteōs*), and the Gentile on the same ground, viz. by means of that same kind of faith (*dia tēs pisteōs*). Against there being any substantial difference between the justification of Jew and Gentile, several points may be urged. (i) Both prep. phrases (*ek pisteōs* and *dia [tēs] pisteōs*) may mean "through faith" or "by faith", since both preps. may express either the effective means or the efficient cause (see Arndt, 178, s.v. *dia* III. 1. a, d; 234, s.v. *ek* 3. e, f). (ii) Elsewhere Paul uses either *ek* or *dia* to denote the immediate means or cause

of justification or salvation (*ek* – Rom. 1:17 *bis*; 3:26; 5:1; 9:30, 32; Gal. 2:16; *dia* – Rom. 3:22, 25; Gal. 2:16; 3:26; Eph. 2:8). (iii) There is a comparable change from *dia pisteōs* to *ek pisteōs* in Rom. 3:25 f. and in Gal. 2:16 (in reference to *anthrōpos*). (iv) In Gal. 3:26 the Jews and Gentiles of the Galatian churches (*pantes*; cf. Gal. 3:28) are said to be sons of God *dia tēs pisteōs*; similarly Rom. 3:22, 25. (v) Any suggestion that there are two distinct means or grounds of justification (mentioned in Rom. 3:30) would tend to undermine Paul's earlier insistence that there is no difference between Jew and Gentile with respect to sinfulness (Rom. 3:22 f.) or the ultimate ground (= grace) and means (= redemption) of justification (Rom. 3:24). (vi) Stylistic or rhetorical variation is not untypical of Paul (e.g., Rom. 4:11; 10:17).

(e) *2 Cor. 13:4*. Without the wider context of 2 Cor. 10–13, one would be tempted to render *estaurōthē ex astheneias*, "he was crucified in (a condition of physical) weakness", but *ek* probably bears a causal sense "because of (his weakness)" (thus Arndt, 234 s.v. *ek* 3 f.). The weakness referred to it not physical or moral, but the "weakness" – in men's eyes – of non-retaliation or non-aggressiveness (cf. 2 Cor. 10:1 f., 10 f.; 11:20 f., 30; 12:9 f.; 13:4b, 9 f.), the "weakness" of obedience to God's will, which, for Christ, involved death on a cross (Phil. 2:8). But in such weakness, divine power comes to its full strength (2 Cor. 12:9).

F. *en*

1. *Its Extended NT Use.* This is the most popular prep. in the NT (some 2,698 uses). N. Turner isolates three factors that contributed to its extended NT use: (a) the increasing imprecision of the dat.; (b) LXX usage, where *en* generally rendered the diversified b^e (see above, I. B. 2 (a)); (c) the influence of distinctively Christian ideas, such as *en Christō*, *en pneumati* (Moulton, *Grammar*, III, 261).

2. *Its Versatility and Ultimate Disappearance.* All the more remarkable, therefore, is the fact that in modern demotic Gk. the prep. is no longer used. The ultimate disappearance of *en* from the spoken language is related to two facts: (a) the disappearance of the dat. case, a process completed by the tenth century; (b) the extremely diversified use of *en* in Hel. Gk. Commenting on this latter point, P. F. Regard notes that in the case of the infin. also there was an extension of usage simultaneously with signs of its ultimate eclipse; the more a particular linguistic form is employed, the more it is subject to weakening (*Prépositions*, 323 f.). In its diversification (note the 20 uses of *en*, with various senses, in one sentence in 2 Cor. 6:3–7a), *en* encroached on the territory of *eis* (in being employed with verbs expressing motion – e.g., Lk. 23:53; 2 Cor. 8:16), *dia* with the acc. (in expressing the ground – e.g., Matt. 6:7), *dia* with the gen. (in expressing instrumentality or agency – e.g., Lk. 22:49; Matt. 9:34), *meta* or *dia* with the gen. (in denoting attendant circumstances – e.g., Col. 2:7c; 4:2c); *syn* (in expressing accompaniment – e.g., Lk. 14:31), and even *kata* (in indicating a standard of judgment – e.g., Eph. 4:16, see Weymouth). It is not that the distinction between *en* and any other prep. was obliterated, but the area and frequency of overlap in usage became greater in Hel. and especially biblical Gk. than it had been earlier. Each potential example of such overlapping needs to be carefully weighed. For example, in Jas. 5:3 we should render *en eschatais hēmerais* "(you have piled up wealth) *in* the last days" rather than "*for* the last days (as if *en* = *eis*)," given the fact that James does not confuse *eis* and *en*

and the NT conviction that with the coming of Jesus the "last days" had dawned (Acts 2:16 f.; 2 Tim. 3:1; Heb. 1:2; 1 Pet. 1:20). On the relation of *en* to *eis* see above II.D. 1. (b).

3. *Exegetical Ambiguities.* A corollary of the versatility of *en* is the exegetical ambiguity that often attaches to its use. For instance, does the phrase *panta en pasin* in 1 Cor. 15:28 (cf. Eph. 1:23; Col. 3:11) mean that, at the end, God will be "all in all" (KJV) (denoting his unchallenged supremacy in the universe) or "everything to (= in the case of) everyone" (Moffatt, RSV) (denoting his indwelling of all members of the redeemed community)? Sometimes all the exegete can do is to reduce the number of possible meanings of *en* by examining the context. But even when it proves impossible to eradicate all ambiguity, a prep. phrase may be of crucial import. *en de eirēnē* (1 Cor. 7:15), which is emphatic by position, may well be the key to the proper understanding of this difficult passage. The reason (*de*, "for" RSV) a Christian partner in a mixed marriage is not bound to persist in seeking a reconciliation (when the non-Christian partner has initiated a separation) is the fact that God has called Christians (i) into a state of peace *in* which they should now live (pregnant or proleptic *en*; cf. 1 Thess. 4:7) or (ii) *in the sphere of* (Christian) peace (locatival *en*). To cause wrangling and discord is inappropriate for those with such a calling.

4. *Figurative Sense.* The basic figurative sense of *en* corresponds to its original local signification. It is used to denote the sphere within which some action occurs or the element or reality in which something is contained or consists. Phrases such as *en kyriō*, *en pneumati*, *en heni sōmati*, *en pistei* and *en alētheia* indicate states in which Christians live and act. In Col. 3:20 children's obedience to their parents is said to be pleasing (to God) *en kyriō*, that is, provided it arises from Christian motives. Similarly, the Christian widow is free to remarry, says Paul (1 Cor. 7:39), but only "in the (sphere of the) Lord", that is, she may marry only a fellow-Christian (see Arndt, 259, s.v. *en* I. 5. d). Again, it was *en tō Iēsou*, "in the case of Jesus", that is, by appealing to the fact and precedent of Jesus' resurrection, that the apostles Peter and John established the general idea of resurrection from the dead (Acts 4:2). NT writers never argue from a general resurrection of all men to the resurrection of Jesus or of believers. "Those who belong to Christ" will be made alive "at his coming", but only because Christ is the firstfruits, the pledge of the full harvest (1 Cor. 15:22 f.). A final example of this basic locatival sense of *en* may be found in Gal. 1:16, where Paul is describing how he received his gospel. *en emoi* means "(with)in me", "in (the sphere of) my soul", not "through me" (which would more commonly be *di' emou*), since (a) a personal revelation is to be distinguished from a public proclamation; (b) the revelation was visual as well as verbal (Acts 9:17, 27; 22:14; 26:16, 19; 2 Cor. 4:4); (c) it is the following statement of purpose – *hina euangelizōmai* – that points to Paul's agency in proclaiming the revelation he had received. (See further E. de W. Burton, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, *ICC*, 1921, 49–51.) By *en emoi* Paul is stressing the inward and intensely personal character of God's revelation to him of the risen Jesus. But it is not impossible that the phrase could mean "to me" (thus RSV), involving a pleonastic *en* (cf. 1 Cor. 14:11), a confusion of *en* and *eis*, a proleptic *en* (cf. Lk. 23:19), or the influence of the *en tois ethnesin* that follows.

5. *Causal en.* Of considerable importance for theology is "causal *en*" (usually regarded as a sub-division of "instrumental *en*"). After citing several LXX passages

(Deut. 24:16; 2 Sam. 3:27; Pss. 6:8; 30:11; 41:10) in which *en* = *b*^{e} = "on account of", "because of", H. A. A. Kennedy adduces comparable examples from the Pauline epistles (Rom. 1:21, 24; 5:3; 1 Cor. 4:4; 7:14; 2 Cor. 12:5, 9; Phil. 1:13) ("Two Exegetical Notes on St. Paul. I. A Special Use of *en*", *ExpT* 28, 1916–17, 322 f.). To these might be added Matt. 6:7; Jn. 16:30; Acts 7:29; 24:16; Rom. 14:21; Col. 1:21. For instances from the papyri, see C. Rossberg, *De . . . Usu*, 1909, 29 and Moulton-Milligan, 210.

6. *en Christō*. In the many uses of this common Pauline formula, the *en* has no uniform function but seems to express the following range of ideas or relationships. A paraphrase will bring out the import of the expression in the examples cited.

(a) *Incorporative union*: "So that, incorporate in the person of Christ, we might become the righteousness of God" (2 Cor. 5:21). "There is therefore now no penal servitude for those who are in union with Christ Jesus" (Rom. 8:1). "Consequently, if anyone is united to Christ, there is a new creation" (2 Cor. 5:17).

(b) *Sphere of reference*: "I know a Christian man" (2 Cor. 12:2). "We make our boast in the sphere of Christ Jesus" (Phil. 3:3). "They were Christians before I was" (Rom. 16:7).

(c) *Agency or instrumentality*: "They are justified freely by his grace through the redemption accomplished by Christ Jesus" (Rom. 3:24). "The veil is not lifted because only through Christ is it removed" (2 Cor. 3:14).

(d) *Cause*: "You have come to completeness as a result of being in him (Christ)" (Col. 2:10). "All will be made alive by virtue of their connexion and solidarity with Christ" (1 Cor. 15:22).

(e) *Mode*: "You are all one by being in Christ Jesus" (Gal. 3:28).

(f) *Location*: "The love of God that is focused in Christ Jesus our Lord" (Rom. 8:39). "Have this attitude among you that also characterized Christ Jesus" (Phil. 2:5).

(g) *Authoritative basis*: "We urge you on the authority of the Lord Jesus" (1 Thess. 4:1).

For the immense literature on the subject, see E. Best, *One Body in Christ*, 1955, 8–19. If the concept that lies behind Paul's *en Christō* formula is that of Christ as a universal personality (A. Oepke, *en*, *TDNT* II 542), an inclusive personality (C. F. D. Moule, "The Corporate Christ" in his *The Phenomenon of the New Testament*, *SBT*, Second Series 1, 1967, 26), or a corporate personality (E. Best, *op. cit.* 29), so that believers as a corporate whole dwell "in Christ," in the complementary expression, "Christ (Jesus) in you" (*en hymin*) (Rom. 8:10; 2 Cor. 13:5; Col. 1:27; cf. Gal. 2:20), the notion of a direct relation between two individuals is more pronounced. Only in Johannine thought is there the idea of personal co-inherence (Jn. 6:56; 14:20; 15:4 f.; 1 Jn. 3:24; 4:13, 15 f.), patterned on the archetype of divine co-inherence (Jn. 10:38; 14:10 f., 20; 17:21, 23). It is also noteworthy that Paul more often depicts Christians as being *en Christō* and the Spirit as *en hymin* than Christ as *en hymin* and Christians as *en pneumati*. On the relationship between the expressions *en Christō* and *en pneumati* in Paul, see F. Prat, *The Theology of Saint Paul*, II, ET 1945, 394 f.; F. Neugebauer, "Das Paulinische 'In Christō' ", *NTS* 4, 1957–8, 124–138; H. F. Woodhouse, "Life in Christ and Life in the Spirit", *Anglican Theological Review* 47, 1965, 289–293.

2 Cor. 5:19a may be translated in two basic ways: "that through Christ (*en*

Christō) God was reconciling the world to himself" or "that God was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself." Nothing in the immediate context demands that either of these renderings be excluded as inappropriate, and each embodies a typically Pauline sentiment. What makes the second translation preferable are the following considerations: (i) it would be awkward for the two elements of a periphrastic (imperfect) construction (*ēn* ... *katallassōn*) to be separated by three words (cf. Gal. 1:22 f.; Phil. 2:26; Tit. 3:3 is no real parallel); (ii) elsewhere when Paul uses the verb *katallassein* and specifies Christ as God's agent in effecting reconciliation, the *dia* phrase employed to express the latter idea either precedes (as in Col. 1:20; cf. Rom. 5:11) or follows (as in Rom. 5:10; 2 Cor. 5:18; cf. Col. 1:22) the fixed order: verb (*katallassein*) – object(s) of reconciliation – goal of reconciliation. This might lead us to expect, if *en Christō* in 2 Cor. 5:19 specified agency and *ēn* ... *katallassōn* were a periphrastic imperfect, that the *en Christō* would precede the *theos* or follow the *heautō* (although, on any view, *kosmon* is not in its normal position). The finite verb (*ēn*) and the participle (*katallassōn*) are perhaps related as expressing something akin to cause and effect: it was only because God in all his fullness had chosen to dwell in Christ (Col. 1:19), only because there dwelt embodied in Christ the total plenitude of Deity (Col. 2:9), that reconciliation was accomplished. A functional christology presupposes, and finds its ultimate basis in, an ontological christology. Not only was Christ God's agent in effecting reconciliation (Rom. 5:10 f.; 2 Cor. 5:18; Col. 1:19–22); he also mediated the divine presence, thus giving validity to his reconciliatory sacrifice. God was in Christ and therefore acted through Christ (cf. Jn. 14:10b, "the Father who dwells in me does his works"). Paul here alludes to Christ as the locus of divine revelation ("God was in Christ") and therefore as the means of divine redemption ("reconciling the world to himself"; cf. 2 Cor. 5:18). There is also established an identity between the redemptive action of God and that of Christ. *Ubi Christus, ibi Deus*: where Christ is, there is God.

G. *epi*

1. *Its Basic Meaning and Versatility.* Basically denoting position *on* something which forms a support or foundation, *epi* is the opposite of *hypo* ("under") and differs from *hyper* ("above") in implying actual rest upon some object. In this primary local sense of "on", "upon", *epi* is followed by the acc., the gen. or the dat., often without distinction in meaning (e.g., with *kathēmenos* and *thronos*, Rev. 4:2 acc., 4:9 f. gen., 21:5 dat.; see also Matt. 25:21). *epi*, the one NT prep. used frequently with three cases (acc. 464 times, gen. 216, dat. 176 – Moulton, *Grammar*, I, 107), has a versatility of use that is matched only by *en*. From the simple spatial meaning of *epi* there naturally developed a multitude of derived senses, so that the prep. may express, *inter alia*: addition (Lk. 3:20; 2 Cor. 7:13; Col. 3:14); superintendence (Matt. 2:22; Lk. 12:44; Rom. 9:5); cause or basis (Matt. 4:4; Lk. 5:5; Acts 3:16; 1 Tim. 5:19); circumstance (Rom. 8:20; 1 Cor. 9:10; Tit. 1:2); and purpose or destination (Gal. 5:13, "you were called to freedom", *ep' eleutheria*, a statement that epitomizes the argument of this epistle, "the charter of Christian liberty"; Eph. 2:10, "created ... for doing good deeds"; 1 Thess. 4:7). Of special interest is the use of *epi* (with the acc.) to denote the recipients of various spiritual blessings or experiences, such as a trance (Acts 10:10), the word of God (Lk. 3:2), the kingdom of God (Matt.

12:28; Lk. 10:9), the Holy Spirit (Acts 2:17 f.; 10:45; Tit. 3:6; 1 Pet. 4:14), the power of Christ (2 Cor. 12:9), or the grace of God (Lk. 2:40).

2. *Some Notable Uses of epi.*

(a) *epi to auto.* In the LXX (e.g., 2 Sam. 2:13; Pss. 2:2; 33:4) the meaning of this prep. phrase is "together" or "at the same place", while in the papyri it is frequent in the sense "in all" (denoting the sum total of an account) (E. Mayser, *Grammatik*, II. 2, 418 n. 2). The phrase has the sense of "together" in Acts 4:26 (quoting Ps. 2:2) and in Matt. 22:34; Lk. 17:35. As a euphemism for sexual intercourse, *epi to auto einai* occurs in 1 Cor. 7:5. Adducing illuminating parallels from the Qumran Manual of Discipline (e.g., 1QS 5:7), M. Wilcox has shown that in Acts 2:47 (as in 1:15; 2:44, 46D) the phrase is not a mistranslation of the Aram. *laḥdā'* (as C. C. Torrey maintained – see Moulton, *Grammar*, II, 473) but a quasi-technical expression denoting the union of the Christian fellowship: "the Lord was day by day incorporating into the Fellowship those who were being saved" (*The Semitisms of Acts*, 1965, 93–100). That *epi to auto* and *en ekklēsia* are sometimes virtually synonymous, signifying "in church fellowship", seems evident from the parallelism of 1 Cor. 11:18 and 11:20. This meaning, common in the Apostolic Fathers (e.g., 1 Clem. 34:7; Ign. *Eph.* 5:3; 13:1; *Mag.* 7:1; *Phil.* 6:2; 10:1; Barn. 4:10 – cited by E. Ferguson, " 'When You Come Together': *Epi to Auto* in Early Christian Literature", *Restoration Quarterly* 16, 1973, 205 f.), should be given to the phrase in Acts 2:1, 44 *v.l.*, 46D, 47; 1 Cor. 11:20; 14:23 and possibly Acts 1:15. The "togetherness" of the early Christians was expressed principally in their meeting for public worship "in church fellowship" or "in the assembly".

(b) *eph' hō.* The innumerable interpretations of Rom. 5:12 fall into two main grammatical categories: those that construe *hō* as a relative pronoun (whose antecedent may be either *ho thanatos*, "death", or *henos anthrōpou*, "one man"), with *epi* meaning "in" or "because of"; and those that treat *eph' hō* as a conjunction, equivalent to *epi toutō hoti*, "on the ground of this fact, that", "because." The former alternatives must be pronounced improbable since elsewhere in Paul (viz., 2 Cor. 5:4; Phil. 3:1; 4:10) *eph' hō* is conjunctional, whatever its precise nuance. The focus of exegetical attention therefore naturally moves to *pantes hēmarton*, which may refer to man's corporate involvement in the transgression of Adam or to men's personal sin in imitation of Adam or as a result of inheriting a corrupt Adamic nature. Then, since some nexus between Adam and his descendants with regard to sin seems demanded by Paul's Adam-Christ analogy (see Rom. 5:18 f.; cf. 1 Cor. 15:22), the most likely options seem to be: (i) "death spread to all men because all sinned" (either actually in Adam's primal transgression or in their federal representative, Adam) (*hēmarton* being a constative aorist); (ii) "death spread to all men because all (since the time of Adam) have sinned" (*hēmarton* a constative aorist), or ". . . do sin" (*hēmarton* a gnomic aorist) (as those who have inherited Adam's nature). See further the discussions of S. Lyonnet, "Le sens de *eph' hō* en Rom. 5:12 et l'exégèse des Pères grecs", *Bib* 36, 1955, 436–456; C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Epistle to the Romans*, *ICC*, I 1975[6], 274–281; and S. L. Johnson, Jr., "Romans 5:12 – An Exercise in Exegesis and Theology", in *New Dimensions in New Testament Study*, ed. R. N. Longenecker and M. C. Tenney, 1974, 298–316.

As for 2 Cor. 5:4 the vast majority of commentators agree that a causal sense should be given to *eph' hō*. The only viable alternative, viz. *eph' ho* = "on condition

that" (proposed by M. E. Thrall, *Greek Particles in the New Testament*, 1962, 94). labours under a twofold difficulty: it demands the insertion of a complex parenthesis before the prep. phrase to complete the sense, "(but such sighing is permissible only) on condition that"; and it overlooks the parallelism between 5:2, "we groan *because* we long to put on over it (*ependysasthai epipothountes*) (viz. our earthly tent-dwelling) our heavenly habitation", and 5:4, "we groan with a sense of oppression because, so far from wishing to become disembodied, we desire to put on (our heavenly dwelling)" (*thelomen ... ependysasthai*). The origin of Paul's groaning or sighing (*stenazomen*, 5:2, 4), that is, his sense of frustration under the limitations of a *sarx*-dominated *sōma*, is not to be located in a Hellenistic depreciation of corporeality but in his yearning (*epipothountes*, 5:2) or wish (*thelomen*, 5:4) for "super-investiture" (*ependysasthai*, 5:2, 4), for the acquisition of a spiritual body (cf. 1 Cor. 15:44). And if Paul "groaned" in physical embodiment *because* he longed for spiritual corporeality, that longing arose because God had given him the Spirit as the pledge of the resurrection transformation (5:4b, 5).

(c) *Matt. 19:9.* In itself the crucial phrase *mē epi porneia* (lit. "not on the basis of immorality") in this famous Matthean divorce-saying could conceivably be interpreted as parenthetical, providing a negative explanatory refinement: "it is also not allowed on the ground of fornication" (A. Ott, *Die Auslegung der neutestamentlichen Texte über die Ehescheidung*, 1911, 299, cited by F. Hauck and S. Schulz, *pornē*, *TDNT* VI 592 n. 75), "not [even] for immorality [can he divorce her]". But in light of the unambiguous parallel in Matt. 5:32, *parektos logou porneias*, "except for [the reason of] immorality" (cf. Arndt, 479 s.v. *logos* 2. d), the *mē* of Matt. 19:9 should be treated as equivalent to *ei mē*, introducing an exception, "except on the basis of immorality" (cf. Arndt, 287 s.v. *epi* II. b. *gamma*), "except for immorality". The difference between the two Matthean phrases (viz. *parektos logou porneias* and *mē epi porneia*) is formal rather than substantial. To treat *mē epi* as meaning "not in addition to" yields no satisfactory sense in the context. Many identifications have been proposed for the *porneia* (here listed in descending order of probability): (i) adultery (cf. Sir. 23:23); (ii) marriage (entered in good faith) within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity (Lev. 18:6–18; cf. Acts 15:20, 29; 1 Cor. 5:1 where incest = *porneia*), where *porneia* = Heb. *zᵉnûṯ*; (iii) pre-marital unchastity discovered after marriage (cf. Deut. 22:13–21); (iv) moral or spiritual adultery (since figuratively *zᵉnûṯ* can denote apostasy or violation of the covenant, e.g., Num. 14:33) ;(v) *logos porneias* (Matt. 5:32) = Heb. *'erwaṯ dāḇār* (Deut. 24:1, LXX *aschēmon pragma*), "some indecency"; (vi) a mixed marriage between a Jew or Christian and a pagan; (vii) prostitution. For further discussion → Separate, art. *chōrizō*.

(d) *1 Pet. 2:24a.* Two translations of this verse may be offered: (i) "He himself bore our sins in his body on the cross"; (ii) "He himself, in his own person, carried our sins up on to the cross." While it is true that *anapherō* may mean nothing more than *pherō* (cf. LXX Isa. 53:4 *pherei*, 53:12 *anēnenken*, both rendering Heb. *nāśā'*) and *epi* with the acc. can denote location (Arndt, 288 s.v. *epi* III. 1. *zeta*), there are several reasons for preferring the second translation. (i) If 1 Pet. 2:24a is a combination of Isa. 53:12 and Deut. 21:23 ("cursed by God is everyone who hangs on a tree," *epi xylou*), Peter's change to *epi to xylon* is significant. (ii) It is the combination of *ana-* and *epi* with the acc. that is remarkable. A distinction should be drawn between *(an)ēnenken epi tou xylou*, "he bore on the cross," and Peter's *anēnenken* ...

epi to xylon, "he carried up ... on to the cross." (iii) Although *anapherō* is a technical term describing the priest's task of bringing a sacrifice and placing it on the altar (e.g., Lev. 14:20), here the verb does not mean "offer up in sacrifice" (as it does in Heb. 7:27; Jas. 2:21), since sins could never be conceived of as an offering to God and Peter has preferred the term *xylon* ("gibbet") over *thysiastērion* ("altar"); rather the verb should be understood in a non-technical sense, "carry up". The picture is not of Christ as a priest and the cross as an altar but of Christ as the sin-bearer (cf. Jn. 1:29) and the cross as the place where sin was destroyed (cf. Col. 2:14 f.). E. G. Selwyn finds a possible allusion to Peter's actually having seen Jesus ascend Golgotha as the sin-bearer (*The First Epistle of St. Peter*, 1946, 96, 181). For the view that *anapherō epi* is a forensic technical expression for the laying of one person's debt upon another, see G. A. Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, ET 1901, 88–91.

On the use of *epi tō onomati* after *baptizō*, see below III. A. 5; and of *epi* with *pisteuō*, III. B. 2. (e) and (f).

H. *hyper*

Its original local sense of "over", "above" (Lat. *super*) is found in cl. Gk. (e.g. Hdt. 2, 6, 19) and occasionally in the papyri (C. Rossberg, *De ... Usu*, 40) but not in the LXX or NT. The commonest meaning this preposition bears (viz. "on behalf of") seems to have arisen from the image of one person standing or bending *over* another in order to protect or shield him, or of a shield lifted *over* the head which suffers the blow instead of the person (cf. *hyperaspizein*, "cover with a shield").

1. *With the Accusative.* Although ingenious efforts have been made to explain the awkward *to mē hyper ha gegraptai* in 1 Cor. 4:6 as a scribe's marginal gloss that crept into the text (see the survey of views in W. F. Howard, "1 Corinthians iv. 6 (Exegesis or Emendation?)", *ExpT* 33, 1921–2, 479 f.), the phrase is better understood as a quotation (note the *to*) of a Pauline slogan (viz., "Do not go beyond what stands written") or (conceivably) as Paul's repudiation of a Corinthian watchword (viz., "Beyond Scripture") (cf. M. D. Hooker, " 'Beyond the Things which are Written': An Examination of 1 Cor. iv. 6," *NTS* 10, 1963–64, 127–132).

2. *With the Genitive.* When the prep. expresses some advantage or favour that accrues to persons, its sense is "on behalf of" (representation) or "in the place of" (substitution). When the benefit is gained by things, the meaning will be "for the sake of", which approaches a causal sense ("because of").

To act on behalf of a person often involves acting in his place. Hence *hyper* not infrequently has the sense of *anti* (as in the papyri – Rossberg, *De ... Usu*, 41). Thus *sou allagma* is parallel to *hyper sou* in Isa. 43:3, *antallagē* to *lytron hyper hēmōn* in Ep. Diog. 9:2, 5, and Irenaeus has *hyper tōn hēmeterōn psychōn* in parallelism with *anti tōn hēmeterōn sarkōn* (*Haer.* 5, 1, 2). Of Onesimus, Paul says to Philemon: "I would have been glad to keep him with me, so that he might serve me as your proxy (*hyper sou*) during my imprisonment for the gospel" (Phlm. 13). For the relevant phrase, Moffatt has "as your deputy", and Goodspeed, "in your place". Commenting on *hyper hēmōn* in Col. 1:7, J. B. Lightfoot observes that "as the evangelist of Colossae, Epaphras had *represented* St. Paul there and preached in his stead" (*Saint Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, 1900, 134). As recorded in the Fourth Gospel, Caiaphas remonstrates with the Jewish leaders: "You do not un-

derstand that it is expedient for you that one man should die for the people (*hyper tou laou*)" (Jn. 11:50; similarly in 18:14). It is clear that *hyper* here denotes substitution, not simply benefit or representation, since Caiaphas remarks that such a death "for the people" would ensure that "the whole nation" did not perish (Jn. 11:50b; *laos* and *ethnos* both refer to the (same) Jewish nation; cf. *hyper tou ethnous*, vv. 51 f.). That is, politically the death of the one (as a scapegoat) would be a substitute for the death of the many. As John saw it (10:41 f.; 18:14), Caiaphas had unwittingly expressed a theological profundity: Christ's suffering was vicarious and redemptive (cf. E. A. Abbott, *Johannine Grammar*, 1906, 276). Very similar is the Pauline affirmation that "one died for all" (*heis hyper pantōn apethanen*), where, as R. Bultmann notes (*Der Zweite Brief an die Korinther*, 1976, 152 f.), *hyper* is shown to bear a substitutionary sense by the inference Paul draws: "therefore all died" (2 Cor. 5:14). The death of Christ was the death of all, because he was dying their death. In becoming the object of divine wrath against human sin, Christ was acting vicariously, viz., *hyper hēmōn*, not only "on our behalf" or "with a view to our good" but "in our place" (2 Cor. 5:21; Gal. 3:13). He assumed the liabilities of others in "being made sin" and "becoming a curse" (*katara, "abstractum pro concreto*: bearer of the curse", H. Riesenfeld, *hyper, TDNT* VIII 509; see also A. T. Robertson, *Grammar*, 631). However, in several places where the phrase *apothanein* (or its equivalent) *hyper* occurs, it is difficult to determine whether or not the prep. denotes substitution (e.g., Rom. 8:32; Gal. 2:20; Eph. 5:2, 25; 1 Thess. 5:10; Tit. 2:14). In Rom. 14:15 (*hyper hou*, note the singular), any substitutionary notion is unlikely since a parallel in 1 Cor. 8:11 has *di' hon*. It is striking that, in addition to affirming that Christ died for persons (*hyper asebōn*, Rom. 5:6; *hyper pantōn*, 2 Cor. 5:14 f., 1 Tim. 2:6; *hyper hēmōn*, Rom. 5:8; 1 Thess. 5:10), Paul can say that he died or gave himself *hyper tōn hamartiōn hēmōn* (1 Cor. 15:3; Gal. 1:4, *v.l.*; cf. Heb. 5:1; 7:27), "with reference to our sins", i.e. "to deal with our sin", "to expiate our sins". But why does Paul never say that Christ died *anti hēmōn* (1 Tim. 2:6 is the nearest he comes – *antilytron hyper pantōn*)? Probably because the prep. *hyper*, unlike *anti*, could simultaneously express representation and substitution (similarly R. C. Trench, *Synonyms of the New Testament*, 1948 reprint of ninth edition, § lxxxii, 310–313; E. K. Simpson, *The Pastoral Epistles*, 1954, 110–112, "Note on the Meaning of HYPER in Certain Contexts," where there is an impressive assembling of evidence from cl. and Hel. Gk. to show that *hyper* not uncommonly denotes proxyship, "in lieu of"; but see *per contra* F. Prat, *The Theology of Saint Paul*, 1945, II, 197). It is significant that in the papyri we find that a semi-technical formula (*egrapsa hyper autou agrammatou*) is used to indicate that one person had written or signed a letter on behalf of and in place of another person who was illiterate (see E. Mayser, *Grammatik*, II. 2, 460; and A. T. Robertson, "The Use of *hyper* in Business Documents in the Papyri", *The Expositor* 8th series 18, 1919, 321–327). We may conclude that the *emphasis* in *hyper* is on representation, in *anti* on substitution; yet a substitute represents and a representative may be a substitute. That is, *hyper* sometimes implies *anti*.

On the use of *hyper* in 1 Cor. 15:29, see below III. A. 1.

I. *hypo*

There are several ways in which agency is expressed in the NT: *hypo* (Matt. 4:1,

bis), *dia* (2 Cor. 1:19), *apo* (2 Cor. 3:18), *ek* (Gal. 4:4) and possibly *para* with the gen., *en* with the dat. (Matt. 9:34), or the simple dat. (Matt. 6:1) (see A. T. Robertson, *Grammar*, 635 f., 820).

1. *hypo and dia.* It cannot be maintained that while *dia* denotes the inanimate instrument, *hypo* specifies the personal agent, for *dia* may express personal agency (e.g., 1 Cor. 15:21) and *hypo* may be applied to inanimate agencies (e.g., *hypo tou noos*, Col. 2:18), to non-human agents (e.g., *hypo tōn thēriōn*, Rev. 6:8) or to personified forces (e.g., *hypo anemou*, Lk. 7:24). Where the two preps. may be distinguished, *dia* marks intermediate agency and *hypo* ultimate or original agency. Thus in Matt. 1:22, the Lord as the ultimate author (*hypo kyriou*) of the prophetic word is distinguished from the prophet Isaiah who acted as a mediate agent (*dia tou prophētou*) in speaking the divine word. Compare the similar distinction between primary origin and subordinate agency in the *ek* (of God the Father) – *dia* (of Jesus Christ) contrast in 1 Cor. 8:6 with regard to creation and preservation.

2. *hypo and apo.* The distinction here, when it obtains, is that between immediate and active causation (*hypo*) and less immediate and less active causation (*apo*), between the direct and indirect origination of an action (cf. Arndt, 87 s.v. *apo* V. 6), between an internal and an external causal relation (cf. A. Buttmann, *Grammar*, 325), or between the efficient cause and the occasional cause ("that from which a result ensued") (G. B. Winer, *Grammar*, 369). In such cases *apo* may be rendered "at the hands of" (e.g., Mk. 8:31; 2 Cor. 7:13), "by the will (or command) of" (e.g., Rev. 12:6) or "as a result of" (Rev. 9:18). In the expression *apo theou peirazomai* (Jas. 1:13a), God is viewed as the ultimate cause of temptation but not directly as the tempter. James is saying: "Let nobody say when he is tempted, 'I am being tempted by circumstances and influences that come from God or are permitted by him.' " However the following rebuttal of this sentiment ("he himself tempts no one", v. 13c) shows that a direct divine temptation was also in mind. (For the view that James is here re-interpreting Matt. 6:13a in a distinctively Christian sense, see N. Turner, *Insights*, 161–163.) But that *apo* occasionally stands for *hypo* seems incontestable (see Lk. 7:35; Acts 2:22; 15:4, 33; 20:9; 2 Cor. 7:13; cf. Thuc., *History*, 4, 25, 5).

3. *hypo and para.* There is no clear instance where *para* replaces *hypo* (but see Mk. 10:40 *v.l.*; Acts 10:33 *v.l.*; 22:30 *v.l.*). In Lk. 1:45 (". . . what was spoken to her [Mary] *para kyriou*") the prep. may allude to the intermediate agency of the angel (see M. Zerwick, *Biblical Greek*, § 90). Whereas *para* traces an action back to its point of departure or source, *hypo* relates an action to its efficient cause (so G. B. Winer, *Grammar*, 365).

Observing that *apo*, *ek*, *para* and *hypo* all denote "issuing, proceeding from," Winer ranges these four preps. in the following order with regard to the degree of intimacy of connexion between the objects in question, *ek* representing the most intimate and *apo* the most remote: *ek*, *hypo*, *para*, *apo*. Only *apo* and *ek* directly imply "disjoining" and "removal" (*op. cit.*, 364 f.).

J. *kata*

1. *Root Meaning.* The primary, local meaning of *kata* seems to have been either "down (from or upon)" (expressing vertical extension) or (less probably) "along while remaining in contact with" (expressing horizontal extension). That *kata* is

closely related to *ana* is clear from the fact that "down" and "up" simply represent the same idea from opposite viewpoints. Just as *ana* corresponds to *anō*, "up(wards)", so the prep. *kata* answers to the adv. *katō*, "down(wards)". Examples of the spatial meaning of *kata* (with the gen.) include Matt. 8:32; Acts 27:14 ("a tempestuous wind swept down from it" [*kat' autēs*] = the island of Crete with its mountain ravines); 1 Cor. 11:4. 2 Cor. 8:2 affords a clear example of the developed metaphorical sense: "poverty reaching down to the depths" (*kata bathous*) = "extreme poverty." From the local meaning, "down upon", there naturally arose the idea of hostile movement directed against someone or something (where *kata* is the opposite of *hyper*; cf. Rom. 8:31, 33 f.) (e.g., Acts 6:13; 1 Cor. 4:6). In this regard 2 Cor. 13:8 should not be taken to mean that truth is its own defence (contrast Rom. 1:18; Jude 3) ("for we cannot do anything against the truth [*kata tēs alētheias*]"). Explaining why he does not expect the Corinthians to discover him to be a false apostle or counterfeit Christian, Paul is asserting that he would never be able to bring himself to propagate falsehood or to hinder the advance of the truth without first changing his identity as an apostle. In Gal. 5:17 the active mutual antagonism of two irreconcilable adversaries – the flesh and the Spirit – is expressed by the words *epithymei kata*: "the cravings of our old nature conflict with the Spirit, and the Spirit with our old nature." Again, Paul speaks of God's obliteration, through the cross of Christ, of the signed acknowledgment of indebtedness (*cheirographon*) "that stood against us [*kath' hēmōn*] with its regulations and was directly hostile to us [*hypenantion hēmin*]" (Col. 2:14). The former phrase emphasizes the brute fact of indebtedness, while the latter stresses the active hostility produced by this fact; J. A. Bengel finds the distinction to be that between "a state of war and an actual engagement" (*Gnomon of the New Testament*, ET 1863, IV, 172).

Attention may now be given to several uses of *kata* that provide theologically significant statements.

2. *kata sarka and kata pneuma. kata sarka* sometimes means simply "with respect to (physical) descent" (Rom. 1:3; 4:1; 9:3). Appearing in the form *to kata sarka*, the phrase has the purpose in Rom. 9:5 either of pointing to a complementary antithesis (as if *to kata pneuma* stood after "God over all") or of affirming that it is only "as far as human descent is concerned" (cf. Funk, § 266 (1)) that the messiah (= Christ) belongs to the Jewish people. Not a few commentators find in 2 Cor. 5:16b a Pauline disavowal of interest in the historical Jesus (*kata sarka Christon*). But *kata sarka* here signifies "from a worldly [or nationalistic] point of view" and qualifies *egnōkamen* ("we regarded"), rather than qualifying *Christon* with the whole phrase meaning "a physical Christ." Since the time of his conversion Paul had ceased making superficial judgments based on external appearances (cf. 2 Cor. 5:12). Just as he now repudiated as totally erroneous his sincere yet superficial pre-conversion estimate of Jesus as a misguided messianic pretender whose followers must be extirpated (Acts 9:1 f.; 26:9–11), so he regarded the time-honoured division of mankind into Jew and Gentile (2 Cor. 5:16a) as less significant for him than the believer-unbeliever distinction (see, e.g., Rom. 2:28 f.; 10:12 f.; 1 Cor. 5:12 f.; Gal. 6:10) which was based on a *kata pneuma* ("in light of the Spirit") or *kata stauron* ("in the light of the cross") attitude. Two basic and profound changes had been brought about in Paul's attitude as a result of his Damascus encounter with the risen Jesus: he now acclaimed Jesus as messiah and Lord (Acts 9:22; 17:3; Rom. 10:9);

he now viewed Gentile believers as Abraham's offspring, fellow-citizens, brothers in Christ (Gal. 3:26–29; Eph. 2:11–21) and Jewish unbelievers as needing salvation in Christ (Rom. 10:1–4). For a review of the various interpretations of 2 Cor. 5:16, see J. W. Fraser, "Paul's Knowledge of Jesus: II Corinthians v. 16 once more", *NTS* 17, 1970–1, 293–313.

The opposition between "flesh" and "Spirit" is an important ingredient in Pauline theology (e.g., Gal. 5:16–24); so too, then, is the contrast between *kata sarka* and *kata pneuma*. Paul can use *en sarki* in a neutral or non-moral sense, referring to mortal embodiment or existence (2 Cor. 10:3; Gal. 2:20), but in Rom. 7:5; 8:8 f. it is equivalent to *kata sarka*. The sense of Rom. 8:5 is that "those who are controlled by (or live in obedience to) their old nature" (*hoi kata sarka ontes* = *hoi sarkikoi*, cf. 1 Cor. 3:3) are earthly-minded or take the side of the flesh in the Spirit-flesh conflict (cf. Gal. 5:17); "those whose lives are directed by the Spirit" (*hoi kata pneuma* = *hoi pneumatikoi*, cf. 1 Cor. 2:15; 3:1) give their attention to spiritual matters or take the side of the Spirit. In this *kata sarka – kata pneuma* antithesis the contrast is between two diametrically opposed determinative principles of action, two radically different sources for the prompting of conduct. But the contrast is given another turn in Gal. 4:21–31. Here *ho kata sarka gennētheis* ("he who was born in the ordinary course of nature", v. 29a) refers to Ishmael as "the son of the slave" (v. 23a) and then (allegorically) to the descendants of Abraham who do not have his faith, while *ho kata pneuma (gennētheis)* ("who was born by the power of the Spirit", v. 29b) refers first to Isaac as "the son of the free woman in fulfilment of the promise" (v. 23b) and then to all those who share Abraham's faith as "children of promise" (v. 28).

3. *kata Denoting Correspondence or Conformity.* Often the noun that follows *kata* specifies the criterion, standard or norm in the light of which a statement is made or is true, an action is performed, or a judgment is passed. The prep. will mean "according to", "in conformity with", "corresponding to". This use is common in reference to the precise and impartial standard of judgment that will be applied at the great Assize (Matt. 16:27; Rom. 2:6; 1 Cor. 3:8; 2 Tim. 4:14; 1 Pet. 1:17; Rev. 2:23). Noteworthy too is the twice-repeated *kata tas graphas* ("in accordance with the Scriptures") in 1 Cor. 15:3 f., which constitutes an appeal to OT predictions of (i) the death of Christ or his death to atone for sins (Isa. 53:4–6, 10–12), and (ii) the resurrection of Christ (Ps. 16:10; Isa. 53:10b, 11a; 54:7) or his resurrection on the third day (Hos. 6:2; Lev. 23:10 f.), in confirmation of the reliability of the NT kerygma and the continuity of God's action in the two Ages. Both the death and the resurrection of Christ formed part of the age-long plan of God (cf. Acts 2:23–32; 13:34–37). *kata theon* may signify "in accordance with God's will" (Rom. 8:27), "in the image of God" (Eph. 4:24; cf. Col. 3:10), "as God intends" (1 Pet. 5:2), "in a godly way" (2 Cor. 7:9, 11), or simply "godly" (*hē kata theon lypē*, "godly sorrow," 2 Cor. 7:10). There is an interesting contrast of two *kata* phrases in 1 Pet. 4:6. Addressing a concern some believers evidently felt about the fate of Christian martyrs (cf. 1 Thess. 4:13–18), Peter observed that the very reason for the proclamation of the good news to such Christians who were now deceased was that, although in men's estimation (*kata anthrōpous*) they had been physically judged by death, they should live in a spiritual state as God does (*kata theon*). There is no need to insist that *kata* should bear an identical sense in both parts of the verse. Elsewhere (1 Pet.

3:7) Peter encourages Christian husbands to live with their wives *kata gnōsin*, which may mean: (i) in a considerate and tactful manner; (ii) in light of the knowledge of God's will and character; or (iii) in accordance with Christian knowledge about husband-wife relations in general and sexual relations in particular (cf. 1 Cor. 7:3–5). Sometimes the ideas of "standard" and "reason" merge: *hoi kata prothesin klētoi* (Rom. 8:28) indicates that God's calling is in accord with and because of his purpose (thus Arndt, 408 s.v. *kata* II. 5. a. *delta*). Or the notion of "conformity" may be totally displaced, with *kata* denoting the "basis." Thus, election is based on (*kata*) the foreknowledge of God the Father, is effected by (*en*) the sanctifying work of the Spirit, and aims at or achieves (*eis*) obedience and the constant sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ (1 Pet. 1:1 f.). Similarly, in Peter's view, regeneration is the result of the Father's great mercy (*kata to poly autou eleos*, 1 Pet. 1:3a) and an act of immortal procreation (*ek sporas . . . aphthartou*, 1 Pet. 1:23a), is achieved by means of (*dia*) God's living and enduring word (1 Pet. 1:23b), and results in (*eis*) the possession of a vibrant hope (1 Pet. 1:3b).

4. *Distributive kata.* The use of *kat' oikon* ("in the various houses", Arndt, 407 s.v. *kata* II. 1. d.) affords evidence that, at least in the earliest days of the Jerusalem church, daily (*kath' hēmeran*; cf. Acts 6:1) celebrations of the Lord's supper (Acts 2:46) and daily (*pasan hēmeran*, "[throughout] every day") teaching and preaching (Acts 5:42) took place "by households" (Moulton-Milligan, 443 s.v. *oikos*). And with regard to ecclesiastical polity, the phrase *kat' ekklēsian* ("in each individual church", Arndt, 240 s.v. *ekklēsia* 4. b) implies that every Pauline church in South Galatia had a plurality of elders ("And they had appointed elders [*presbyterous*] for them in every church . . .", Acts 14:23).

K. *meta*

See the discussion under *syn* below II. O. 1.

L. *para*

1. *Its Basic Sense.* This is one of the two NT preps. (the other is *epi*) regularly used with three cases. If its radical signification is "by the side of", "beside", *para* with the acc. (60 times in the NT) designates movement "to a position beside" (Mk. 4:4; Acts 4:35; but cf. Mk. 4:1; 10:46 where no idea of movement is implied); with the gen. (78 times), movement or procession "from beside" (Jn. 1:6; but note Lk. 6:19, where *para* follows a vb. compounded with *ek* [*ex*]); with the dat. (50 times), rest or position "beside" (Lk. 9:47; Jn. 8:38; 19:25, the latter being the only NT use with a thing, not a person).

2. *Transferred Meanings.* By transference from the local sense it bears with the gen., *para* with the acc. came to mean "beyond" and then "contrary to" (used of that which goes *beyond* specified limits). Consequently when Paul anathematized anyone who preached a gospel *at variance with* (*para*) the gospel he proclaimed and the Galatians had received (Gal. 1:8 f.), he implies that Judaistic teaching was not conforming to the apostolic norm. The opposite of *para* in this sense is *kata* ("in accordance with"). As well as expressing this notion of contrariety, *para* may mark a comparison by indicating that one thing lies beyond and therefore is superior to

something else (e.g., Rom. 14:5, "one man approves one day in preference to another", Moulton-Milligan, 479). Where this comparison is heightened, there is present the idea not merely of preference ("more than") but of exclusiveness ("instead of"). One aspect of Paul's indictment of mankind in Rom. 1:18–32 is that they worshipped and served created things instead of (*para*) the Creator. The apostle is not implying (as the rendering "... more than the Creator" might suggest) that "creature-worship" is permissible provided it does not usurp the place of "Creator-worship". (But it is just possible that *para* here means "(passing) beyond" = "neglecting.") In a similar way, Lk. 18:14 ("this man went home justified rather than [or, instead of, *para*] the other") does not point to two types or degrees of justification ("... more than the other"), one of which was experienced by the tax collector, the other by the Pharisee; only the former was justified (see Arndt, 616 s.v. *para* III. 3; H. Riesenfeld, *para*, *TDNT* V 734 f.). On the relation of *para* to *hypo*, see above II. I. 3.

The phrase *para* (*tō*) *theō* ("in the sight [or judgment] or God") (Rom. 2:13; 1 Cor. 3:19; 7:24 [on which see Arndt, 615 s.v. *para* II. 2. 3]; Jas. 1:27; 1 Pet. 2:20) or *para kyriō* (2 Pet. 2:11, *v.l.*) indicates the ultimate standard – the purity of the divine life and the clarity of the divine vision – by which all aspects of thought and conduct, whether human or angelic, should now be assessed and will in the end be judged.

3. *para in the Fourth Gospel.* In the Fourth Gospel this prep. figures prominently in denoting the relation of the Son to the Father, where "is from [beside]" (Jn. 6:46; 7:29; 9:33) means "came from [beside]" (Jn. 16:27 f.; 17:8). Elsewhere in John, some have found associated with *para* the doctrines of the eternal generation of the Son (*monogenous para patros*, Jn. 1:14) and the eternal procession of the Spirit (*to pneuma tēs alētheias ho para tou patros ekporeuetai*, Jn. 15:26). It is, however, unlikely that either verse supports this particular interpretation. Etymologically *monogenēs* is associated not with begetting (*gennaomai*) but with existence (*gignomai*). It means "of sole descent" (F. Büchsel, *monogenēs*, *TDNT* IV 738), referring to the only child in a family, a meaning attested in secular Gk. literature (e.g., Hesiod, *Works*, 376), the LXX (e.g., Jdg. 11:34; Tob. 3:15) and other Jewish literature (e.g., Josephus, *Ant.* 1, 222; 5, 264), and the NT (Lk. 7:12; 8:42; 9:38). From the personal application of *monogenēs* to "the only member of a kin" there developed a non-familial and (sometimes) non-personal use in reference to "the only member of a kind" (*unicus*, "sole", "unique"; cf. *monos*, "alone" and *genos*, "species"). But in Johannine usage the conjunction of *monogenēs* and *hyios* (Jn. 3:16, 18; 1 Jn. 4:9) shows that it is not the personal uniqueness of Jesus in itself that John is emphasizing but his being "of sole descent" as the Son of God. He is without spiritual siblings. No one else can lay claim to the title Son of God in the sense in which it applies to Christ. It seems that the impulse to render *monogenēs* by *unigenitus* (as in the comparatively late Greek creeds translated into Latin) rather than by *unicus* (as in the earlier Latin renderings) arose from christological dispute and in particular the desire to establish from Scripture the doctrine of the generation of the Son by and from the Father (see F. J. A. Hort, *Two Dissertations*, 1876, 48–53). In Jn. 1:14, then, *para patros* following *hōs monogenous* is equivalent not to *tou ontos ek patros* but to *tou exerchomenou* (or *exelthontos*) *para patros* (cf. Jn. 16:27 f.; 17:8), "[the glory of an only Son] coming from the Father." It is the Son's mission, not his eternal generation, that may be traced back (cf. *para*) to God the

Father. (It is the context, and not the preposition itself that has theological implications; not only Jesus [Jn. 9:33] came "from God" [*para theou*], but John also [Jn. 1:6].)

Similarly in Jn. 15:26 it is not inter-trinitarian relations that John is discussing but Christ's sending of the Spirit from the presence of the Father. (i) Although *ekporeuetai* could imply either an emanation from a divine source or a procession on a mission, only *ek tou patros* would be appropriate to denote an eternal procession from the being of the Father (as the creeds testify, which read *to ek tou patros ekporeuomenon* – a combination of Jn. 15:26 and 1 Cor. 2:12, *to pneuma to ek tou theou*). Compare Rev. 22:1, where the river of the water of life is described as flowing from (*ekporeuomenon ek*) the throne of God and of the Lamb. (ii) *para tou patros* is unlikely to bear two different senses in successive parallel statements. (iii) Following *pempsō* and preceding *martyrēsei*, the verb *ekporeuetai* should probably be taken as a futuristic (not a timeless) present. (iv) Just as Jesus was sent by God and therefore could be said to have come forth from him (Jn. 8:42), so the Spirit would be sent by the Father (Jn. 14:26) and therefore could be said to proceed from him (Jn. 15:26). (v) In the context, with its emphasis on the truth of the Spirit's witness to Christ (Jn. 15:26b), it would hardly be necessary for John to have indicated the eternal mode of the Spirit's personal and essential subsistence. For a defence of the view that interprets the verse as relating to "the procession of the Spirit", see M. J. Lagrange, *Évangile selon Saint Jean*, 1948, 413.

M. *peri*

The basic, local sense of *peri* is "around" or "encircling" (Lat. *circum*) (as in Acts 22:6). In its derived, figurative meanings, it designates a centre of activity, an object around which an action or a state revolves. Thus *hoi peri ton Paulon* (Acts 13:13, "Paul and his companions") marks out the apostle as a sun with several satellites. Standing absolutely at the beginning of a sentence, *peri (de)* means "(now) concerning" (for parallels in the papyri, see Moulton-Milligan, 504) and marks a new section of thought (e.g., 1 Cor. 7:1, 25; 8:1; 12:1; 16:1), a point of importance for the reconstruction of the Corinthian letter to Paul which he answers in 1 Cor. 7–16. On the partially overlapping functions of *peri* and *hyper* (e.g., Heb. 5:1, 3), see above I. B. 1. (f).

Generally the LXX renders Heb. *ḥaṭṭa't* (which may mean "sin", "sacrifice for sin", or "sacrificial victim") by *peri hamartias* (e.g., Lev. 7:37; 16:5; Ps. 39:7) or, less commonly, by *to* (or *ta*) *peri tēs hamartias* (Lev. 6:23; 14:19). With the abbreviated phrase *peri hamartias* one should understand *to* (*dōron*), "the offering (that relates to sin)". In Heb. 10:6, 8 (citing Ps. 39:7, LXX) and probably in Heb. 13:11 (cf. Lev. 16:27) this phrase means "sin-offering". It is possible that the plural *peri (tōn) hamartiōn* has this sense in Heb. 5:3 (note the double *peri*), but not in Heb. 10:18, 26; 1 Pet. 3:18; 1 Jn. 2:2 (where the phrase is dependent on a noun). In Rom. 8:3 *peri hamartias* could mean "in reference to sin" (= "to atone for sin," *Twentieth Century New Testament*; "to deal with sin", Weymouth), but, given OT usage, the rendering "as a sacrifice for sin" (NEB; similarly RV) seems more apposite (see further S. Lyonnet and L. Sabourin, *Sin, Redemption, and Sacrifice*, *AnBib* 48, 1970, 194, 212, 249 f.).

N. *pros*

In cl. Gk. *pros* was regularly followed by three cases, but in the NT there is only one instance of the gen. (Acts 27:34; and only 23 in the LXX) and 6 with the dat., compared with 679 instances with the acc. (Moulton, *Grammar*, I, 106). In its basic spatial sense *pros* denotes actual motion or literal direction (e.g., Matt. 26:57; 1 Thess. 3:6), but the developed sense of mental direction or tendency followed naturally, referring to relationships that are friendly (e.g., Jn. 6:37 *bis*; 2 Cor. 3:16; Gal. 6:10; Eph. 3:14) or hostile (e.g., 1 Cor. 6:1; Col. 2:23). In turn, this notion of psychological orientation led to the use of *pros* to express the ideas of estimation, "in view of" (Matt. 19:8), purpose, "with a view to" (1 Cor. 10:11), conformity, "in accordance with" (Lk. 12:47; 2 Cor. 5:10; Eph. 4:14) and reference (Lk. 18:1; Gal. 2:14; Heb. 1:7). On the relation between *pros* and *eis*, see above II. D. 1 (a).

1. *Jn. 1:1b.* In itself Jn. 1:1a ("in the beginning the Word already existed") speaks only of the pre-temporality or supra-temporality of the Logos, but by his conjunction of *en archē* and *ēn* John clearly implies the eternal pre-existence of the Word whose true sphere was not time but eternity. Having defined the relation of the Word to time, John specifies his relation to the Father: "The Word was *pros ton theon.*" There seem to be three alternatives with respect to the meaning of *pros* in this verse. First, after *logos*, *ēn pros* could conceivably mean "spoke to". In questioning the customary translations "near" or "with" for *pros*, C. Masson argues that since a "word" is spoken to a person, one might expect after v. 1a an answer to the question "*To whom* was the word spoken?" (*pros* with the acc., *ēn pros ton theon*) rather than "*Where* was the Word?" (*para* with the dat., *ēn para tō theō*). ("Pour une traduction nouvelle de Jean 1:1b et 2," *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie* 98, 1965, 376–381). Masson believes that his rendering of 1:1b, "et la Parole parlait (s'adressait) à Dieu", appropriately reflects the dynamic nature of the Word. "Thus, for faith, 'in the beginning' there is not an unknown and unknowable God, some indeterminate and nameless Being, enveloped by night and by silence; there is the God who speaks and whose Word in time, in creation and in redemption is the eternal Word" (*ibid*, p. 381). This rendering ("the Word spoke to God") was suggested earlier by F. C. Burkitt, *Church and Gnosis*, 1932, 95. However, it is just as reasonable to think that 1:1b answers the question "What was the eternal relationship of the Logos to the Father?" (cf. 1 Jn. 1:2). Moreover, Masson is scarcely justified in filling out the meaning of *ēn pros* on the basis of an accompanying substantive (*ho logos*) that here functions as a proper noun.

A second alternative is to take *pros* with the acc. as equivalent to *para* with the dat. after *einai*, denoting position: "with" (thus e.g. Funk, *§* 239 (1); C. F. D. Moule, *Idiom-Book*, 52 f.; N. Turner in Moulton, *Grammar*, III, 274). The prep. does not imply any movement or action on the part of the Logos in his relation to the Father. Support for this view may be found in the NT parallels where *pros* with the acc., often following the verb *einai*, denotes not linear motion but punctiliar rest (Matt. 26:18, 55 *v.l.*; Mk. 6:3 (= Matt. 13:56); 9:19 (= Lk. 9:41 but Matt. 17:17 has *meth' hymōn*); 14:49; 1 Cor. 16:6 f.; 2 Cor. 5:8; 11:9; Gal. 1:18; 4:18, 20; Phil. 1:26; 1 Thess. 3:4; 2 Thess. 2:5; 3:10; Phlm. 13; Heb. 4:13; 1 Jn. 1:2). This usage reflects (i) the blurring of the notions of movement and rest in Hel. Gk.; (ii) the reduction of the dat. case and the extension of the acc. case in Hel. Gk.; (iii) "an extension of many

classical usages, particularly in such phrases as *enthymeisthai pros hauton*" (G. R. Driver, cited in Moulton, *Grammar*, II, 467), rather than Aramaic influence (e.g., C. F. Burney, *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel*, 1922, 29, suggests that the translator of an Aramaic original, finding Aram. *l*ʿ*wāṯ*, rendered it by *pros* rather than *para* under the influence of the more common use of the Aram. prep., viz. to express motion towards). But, as I. de la Potterie has pointed out ("L'emploi dynamique de *eis* dans Saint Jean et ses incidences théologiques", *Bib.* 43, 1962, 379), elsewhere John uses *para tini* to express the proximity of one person to another (Jn. 1:39; 4:40; 8:38; 14:17, 23, 25; 19:25; cf. 14:23; note also *meta tinos* in Jn. 3:22, 25 f. etc.) or the nearness of the Son to the Father (Jn. 8:38; 17:5), never *pros tina.*

On a third view, the sense is: "the Word was (in active communion) with the Father." This seems to be the import of John's statement, whether or not *pros* bears a dynamic sense, for when *pros* describes a relationship between persons it must connote personal intercourse rather than simply spatial juxtaposition or personal accompaniment. Used of divine persons, the prep. points to eternal intercommunion. But L. M. Dewailly (" 'La Parole parlait à Dieu'?", *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie* 100, 1967, 128) rightly warns against discovering in Jn. 1:1b "all the patristic and conciliar christology which was much later attached to it, still less the speculation of Eastern or Western traditions concerning the existential (*subsistentes*) relations." Some commentators seem to have erred here. J. A. Bengel, for example, claims that "*pros* . . . denotes a perpetual, as it were, tendency of the Son to the Father in the unity of essence" (*Gnomon of the New Testament*, ET 1863, II, 234). H. Alford alleges that "both the inner substantial union, and the distinct personality of the *logos* are here (in 1:1b) asserted" (*The Greek Testament*, 1958 revision by E. F. Harrison, I, 681). And while I. de la Potterie (loc. cit., 381 n. 3) believes that the Son's "filiation" is expressed by the Johannine formula *pros ton theon*, he rejects the view of J. Isaac (*La Révélation Progressive des Personnes Divines*, 1960, 80) that the mutual belonging (*appartenance*) or immanence of the Father and Son is indicated, since this would presuppose that *pros* had both a static and a dynamic sense at the same time.

2. *2 Cor. 5:8.* In 2 Cor. 5:6 Paul states that as long as he continued to dwell in a mortal body he was (spatially) absent from the Lord. Because he knew (*eidotes*) this, he preferred to leave his present form of embodiment and take up residence *pros ton kyrion*, "with (or, in the presence of) the Lord". The prep. phrase may simply be equivalent to *emprosthen tou kyriou* or *para tō kyriō*, for in itself the prep. *pros* contains no idea of reciprocal action. On the other hand, if the believer's future destiny may be summed up in the phrase *endēmein pros ton kyrion* ("dwelling in the company of the Lord") (= *syn Christō einai*, "being with Christ," Phil. 1:23), something more must be signified than an impassive spatial proximity to Christ. As in Jn. 1:1b, where a pre-temporal divine relationship is being affirmed, so in 2 Cor. 5:8, where an eternal human-divine relationship is being depicted, *pros* implies (rather than expresses) dynamic interpersonal communion, a settled mutual fellowship. A. T. Robertson (*Grammar*, 625) comments: "It is the face-to-face converse with the Lord that Paul has in mind", *pros* being "employed for living relationship, intimate converse." Similarly W. Grundmann, *dēmos, TDNT* II 64.

3. *1 Jn. 5:16 f.* In the context these two verses identify one prayer of intercession that is "according to God's will" and therefore will be answered (1 Jn. 5:14 ff.; cf.

3:21 f.), viz. prayer for a fellow-believer who has sinned. But John places one restriction on the scope of such prayer: he does not counsel intercession for a person who has committed a sin *pros thanaton*, since the granting of pardon or life (*zōēn*, v. 16) to such a person would be contrary to God's will. The prep. phrase may be rendered either "tending to death" or "issuing in death". In one case, death is the natural but not necessary outcome; in the other, death is the actual result or a necessary consequence. It is difficult to understand "life" and "death" as referring to eternal life and eternal death, since (i) eternal life could scarcely be said to be given to an erring believer as a result of vicarious intercession, and (ii) John is unlikely to have countenanced the idea of sins that do not "tend towards" or "result in" eternal death. While the "death" could be that of exclusion from the Christian community (= excommunication; cf. Num. 15:30 f.), it is better understood as physical death, regarded as a penalty administered not by man (cf. Num. 18:22; Deut. 22:25 f.) but by God (as in 1 Cor. 11:30–32; cf. Acts 5:1–10), and accordingly *pros* will denote not tendency but result (as in Jn. 11:4, "this illness will not end in death", *ouk estin pros thanaton*). (That *pros* is consecutive in 1 Jn. 5:16 f. is recognized by Arndt, 717 s.v. *pros* III, 3b; B. Reicke *pros*, *TNDT* VI 725.) On this view the apostle is encouraging intercession for any believer whose sin has not met with immediate divine judgment. As a result of intercessory prayer God will grant such a person the boon of further physical life and of renewed spiritual life – in spite of his open or wilful sin (such as may be seen, *idē*, v. 16a). But he discourages intercession for any believer who has experienced divine judgment in the form of death. Such prayer for the dead would be contrary to God's will. As for the identification of the "sin that leads to death", it may be: (i) the open and deliberate rejection of Christ, the "anti-christian" denial of the incarnation or messiahship of Jesus (1 Jn. 2:22; 4:2 f.; 2 Jn. 7); in other words, apostasy, as evidenced in the promulgation of heretical doctrine (1 Jn. 2:18–27; cf. Heb. 6:4–8); (ii) blasphemy against the Holy Spirit (Mk. 3:28–30); (iii) deliberate sin (cf. Heb. 10:26–31), sin performed "with a high hand" (Num. 15:30 f.), such as premeditated murder or persistent hatred.

O. *syn*

1. *Its Relation to meta.* In Attic Gk. *syn* meant "including" and "with the aid of" and *meta* "(in company) with", but in Hel. Gk. they are virtually synonymous (for LXX usage see M. Johannessohn, *Präpositionen*, 1926, 202–212). *syn* has not survived in modern demotic Gk. (where *me* with the acc. means "with") and is only rarely used in the so-called "purist" language (where *meta* with the gen. is found). Of the 127 NT uses of *syn*, 75 are in Lk.-Acts (Morgenthaler, 145). As a NT prep. *meta* (with the gen.) is more common (364 uses) than *syn*, but, unlike *syn*, is rarely used in compound verbs. Both preps. are used in connexion with Christian discipleship, fellowship meals and eschatology (W. Grundmann, *syn - meta* with the Genitive, *TDNT* VII 794–797).

In spite of the general interchangeability of the two preps., it is significant that Paul regularly ends his letters with the prayer that grace be with (*meta*, never *syn*) his addressees, whereas he depicts the Christian life as one of identification with Christ and the Christian's destiny as "being with Christ" (*syn*, not *meta*, in both cases). This would suggest that, of the two preps., *syn* was the more suited to express intimate

personal union (e.g., Col. 3:4), and *meta* the more suited to denote close association or attendant circumstances (e.g., 1 Thess. 3:13).

2. *einai syn Christō in Paul.* Paul's distinctive description of Christian existence is embodied in the phrase *einai en Christō* (e.g., 2 Cor. 5:17). There is no evidence in the Pauline corpus that death removes the Christian from his *en Christō* incorporation: this persists at and after death, as the expression *hoi nekroi en Christō* ("the dead [who are] in Christ", 1 Thess. 4:16; not "those who died in Christ" = *hoi koimēthentes en Christō*, 1 Cor. 15:18) would indicate. When the believer dies, there is added to *en Christō* corporeity a personal and "spatial" *syn Christō* dimension (Phil. 1:23). When used to indicate a relation between two persons known to and esteemed by each other, the prep. *syn* must signify more than mere spatial juxtaposition (as if two objects were being related) and even more than co-existence (as if two persons were being related who were either unacquainted or unfriendly). The destiny of believers after death or after the parousia (*syn kyriō einai*, 1 Thess. 4:17; *syn Christō einai*, Phil. 1:23) is not simply spatial proximity to Christ but active communion with Christ. G. A. Deissmann mentions a *graffito* from Alexandria, perhaps of the Imperial period, where a deceased person is addressed thus: "I would that I were soon in fellowship with you" (*syn soi einai*) (*Light from the Ancient East*, ET 1927, 303 n. 1). This parallel to the Pauline use of *syn* is all the more impressive when one recalls that the person to whose presence the Christian departs at death is not dead but alive. Only if Christ had not risen from the grave could Paul have spoken of departed saints as *hoi kekoimēmenoi syn Christō* ("those who have fallen asleep with Christ"), *syn Christō einai* (never used of the earthly experience of Christians), primarily an individual and active experience, is not related to *en Christō einai*, essentially a corporate and passive experience, by succession, since *hoi nekroi* remain *en Christō* (1 Thess. 4:16). The difference between "the dead in Christ" and living Christians is not in their status (*en Christō* in both cases), but in the quality of their fellowship with Christ and the degree of their proximity to Christ. J. Dupont has distinguished two phases in Paul's use of the *syn Christō* concept. In 1 Thess. 4:17 (and 5:10) "being (or living) with the Lord" emphasizes believers' sharing in the eschatological blessings of the Kingdom enjoyed by Christ since his resurrection, whereas in Phil. 1:23 ("being with Christ") and 2 Cor. 5:8 ("dwelling with the Lord") the emphasis falls on intimate fellowship with the King in the Kingdom (*SYN CHRISTŌ*, 1952, 39–47, 95 f., 112–115, 170–173, 186 f.).

For a discussion of the compounds in *syn-* which develop the *syn Christō* formula, see W. Grundmann, *TDNT* VII 786–794; on the general theme of identification with Christ, see R. C. Tannehill, *Dying and Rising with Christ*, 1967.

III *Special Problems*

A. *Prepositions with baptizō*

1. *hyper (1 Cor. 15:29, bis).* To be satisfactory, any proposed interpretation of this *crux interpretum* must meet two requirements: (a) *hyper* should not be given a sense unparalleled in the Greek Bible (since the customary meanings of the preposition afford a suitable sense); (b) the resultant meaning of the verse should contribute to Paul's argument in the chapter. It is highly improbable, for example, (a) that *hyper* is

local ("over [the graves of] the dead"), or means "in memory of" or "out of respect for"; (b) that *hoi baptizomenoi* refers to all new converts who were, by their baptismal incorporation into the church, filling up the ranks left depleted by Christian martyrs (*hoi nekroi*). M. Raeder gives *hyper* a final sense: converts to Christianity were having themselves baptized in order to be united with their departed relatives and friends at the resurrection ("Vikariatstaufe in 1 Kor. 15:29?" *ZNW* 46, 1955, 258–260). More probably, some baptized Corinthians who had a semi-magical view of baptism were being rebaptized vicariously for certain deceased Corinthians (the articular *tōn nekrōn* presents no difficulty for this view) who were thought to be at a disadvantage because they had not been baptized before being overtaken by death. On this interpretation Paul is using an *ad hominem* argument (as also in vv. 30–32, where he refers to his apostolic peril and labour) in support of a conclusion already established (viz. that the dead in Christ will rise) and is appealing to an aberrant practice (otherwise unknown to us in the first century), without giving it his approval. (That Paul could argue *e concessis* is evident from 1 Cor. 8:10; cf. 10:20 f.) The verse may be paraphrased thus: "Otherwise [viz. if there is no resurrection of the Christian dead] what will those people achieve by way of advantage who are going to the trouble of having themselves baptized in place of the dead?" A close parallel to this sense of *hyper* ("in place of") is afforded by Dion. Hal. 8: additional soldiers were enrolled in the place of (*hyper*) those who were dying in battle. For the history of the interpretation of this verse, see M. Rissi, *Die Taufe für die Toten*, 1962; and cf. G. R. Beasley-Murray, *Baptism in the New Testament*, 1962, 185–192; C. K. Barrett, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, *BNTC*, 1968, 362 ff.

2. *hypo*. There are 7 instances of *baptizesthai hypo* in the NT (all in the Synoptic gospels) in which the prep. points to the personal agent administering the rite of water baptism (Matt. 3:6 [= Mk. 1:5], 13, 14; Mk. 1:9; Lk. 3:7; 7:30). It was probably John the Baptist's personal administration of the rite that in part accounted for his title, *ho baptistēs* or *ho baptizōn* (proselytes immersed themselves in the presence of two or [later] three rabbis who constituted a court).

3. *eis*. (a) *Matt. 3:11 and Acts 2:38*. The causal sense of the prep. in these verses has been vigorously defended by A. T. Robertson (*Grammar*, 389, 592; *Word Pictures in the New Testament*, III [1930], 35 f.) and J. R. Mantey (*A Manual Grammar of the Greek New Testament*, 1927, 104; "The Causal Use of *Eis* in the New Testament", *JBL* 70, 1951, 45–48; "On Causal *Eis* Again", *ibid.*, 309–311, replying to the rejoinder of R. Marcus, "On Causal *Eis*", *ibid.*, 129 f.; and cf. E. J. Goodspeed's rendering, "in token of your repentance"). Mantey has not adduced any convincing example from extra-biblical Hel. Gk., where *eis* expresses "immediate and direct cause", while in Gen. 4:23 *eis* (*bis*) = l^e = "regarding, in view of" (see *BDB*, 514, s.v. 5 f., but cf. 5 g.). In Matt. 3:11 *eis* may be telic ("with a view to, in order to obtain"), consecutive ("resulting in"), or possibly even temporal (*eis* = *en* = "at, upon"; cf. Weymouth, "on a profession of repentance," but see his note; and Matt. 3:6 where the participle *exhomologoumenoi* suggests the simultaneity of baptism and confession of sin [= repentance]). However, since elsewhere John's baptism is termed a "baptism of (= relating to, marked by) repentance", "a repentance baptism" (Mk. 1:4; Lk. 3:3; Acts 13:24; 19:4), *eis* may simply mean "in relation or reference to." Similarly, in Acts 2:38 forgiveness of sin could be the purpose of repentance and baptism (final or telic *eis*) (cf. 1 Pet. 3:21) or their outcome (ec-

batic or consecutive *eis*), or else forgiveness is being regarded as conceptually (but not necessarily chronologically) coincident with baptism (*eis* = temporal *en*) or as connected with baptism (referential *eis*). It is significant that A. Oepke, who notes an occasional causal *eis* in the NT, finds *eis* to be final in both Matt. 3:11 and Acts 2:38 (*eis*, *TDNT* II 429).

(b) Incorporation into the one Body of Christ is the purpose and effect (*eis*, "so as to form") of "baptism in the Spirit" (1 Cor. 12:13); or the baptized may be conceived of as entering *into* (local *eis*) the Body of Christ that already exists (see E. Percy, *Der Leib Christi*, 1942, 15 ff.). Identification with Moses or allegiance to him as leader was the goal and outcome (*eis*) of the Israelite submission to baptism (*ebaptisanto*, 1 Cor. 10:2 *v.l.*). To be baptized "into the death of" Christ Jesus (Rom. 6:3b) is to participate in all of the saving benefits of "his death to sin" (Rom. 6:10), or to submit to a water-baptism that relates to his death. In Mk. 1:9 *eis ton Iordanēn* may denote the element into which the baptizand was plunged, but more probably *eis* = local *en*.

(c) Baptism *eis to onoma (tinos)*. Three principal views have been taken of this prep. phrase. They are mentioned here in descending order of probability. First, it may denote a transference of ownership, as when money is paid "(in)to the account of" a certain individual or is credited "to the name of" someone (thus W. Heitmüller, *Im Namen Jesu*, *FRLANT* 1, 2, 1903, 100 ff., especially 127). On this understanding, the person being baptized passes into the possession of the Triune God (Matt. 28:19) or the Lord Jesus (Acts 8:16; 19:5; cf. 1 Cor. 1:13, 15 where baptism into Paul's name is equated with belonging to Paul, 1:12) and comes under his control and protection (Arndt, 575 s.v. *onoma* I. 4. c. *beta*). G. Delling, on the other hand, argues that since the salvific work of Jesus is inextricably linked to his name, "to baptize into the name of the Lord Jesus" means to endow a person, through baptism, with the benefits of the salvation accomplished by Jesus Christ (*Die Zueignung des Heils in der Taufe*, 1961). A third interpretation, recently defended by L. Hartman (" 'Into the Name of Jesus'. A Suggestion Concerning the Earliest Meaning of the Phrase", *NTS* 20, 1973–4; 432–440; "Baptism 'Into the Name of Jesus' and Early Christology. Some Tentative Considerations," *StTh* 28, 1974, 21–48), traces the origin of the phrase *eis to onoma* to the Heb. *l*^{e}*šēm* or Aram. *l*^{e}*šûm*, often used in the Mishnah and Talmud with the meaning "with reference to," denoting the fundamental reference or purpose of some thing, rite or action. Baptism "with respect to" Jesus was a "Jesus baptism", which distinguished Christian baptism from other rites, especially John's baptism. According to Hartman, the "high" christology which the phrase presupposes may have used Son of man categories but not the actual title "Son of man."

(d) *eis Christon (Iēsoun)* (Rom. 6:3a; Gal. 3:27) is generally taken to be brachylogy for "into the Body of Christ" (i.e. the church, so that to be baptized into Christ = to put on Christ (Gal. 3:27b) = to be in Christ (Gal. 3:28)), or "into the name of Christ" (thus Arndt, 131 s.v. *baptizō* 2. b. *beta*; F. Prat, *The Theology of Saint Paul*, ET, 1945, II, 462–466, who distinguishes the mystical Christ [e.g. Gal. 3:27] from the physical Christ [e.g. Acts 8:16]; M. Barth, *Die Taufe – Ein Sakrament?*, 1951, 223–226), but the phrase may also describe the believer's entry into (local *eis*) personal union and communion with Christ ("into fellowship with Christ"). But E. de W. Burton renders the phrase "with reference to Christ", which he takes to mean "with mention or confession of" the name of Christ (*A Critical and*

Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, 1921, 203–205; similarly B. N. Kaye, "*Baptizein eis* with Special Reference to Romans 6", in *Studia Evangelica*, VI [ed. E. A. Livingstone], 1973, 281–286, who stresses the need for *baptizein eis* to have the same meaning in Rom. 6:3a and 3b).

4. *en.* Generally this has a local sense when used with *baptizō*: in the (river) Jordan (Matt. 3:6; Mk. 1:5 [= *eis ton Iordanēn*, 1:9], in the desert (Mk. 1:4), in Aenon (Jn. 3:23), in the cloud and in the sea (1 Cor. 10:2). *en hydati* denotes the element in which the baptized were "immersed" or with which they were "drenched" (Matt. 3:11; Jn. 1:26, 31, 33; Acts 11:16; cf. the simple dative *hydati* in Mk. 1:8 *v.l.*; Lk. 3:16; Acts 1:5; 11:16). So also with the phrase *(en) pneumati (hagiō)*, which is generally contrasted with *(en) hydati* (Matt. 3:12; Mk. 1:8 *v.l.*; Lk. 3:16; Jn. 1:33; Acts 1:5; 11:16): believers are either immersed "in" the Spirit, or drenched "with" the Spirit (for a defence of the latter view, see I. H. Marshall, "The Meaning of the Verb 'to baptize' ", *EQ* 45, 1973, 130–140). Personal agency cannot be expressed simply by *pneumati* (cf. Funk, *§* 195). For several reasons it seems probable that *en heni pneumati* in 1 Cor. 12:13 means not "by one Spirit" but "in (or with) one Spirit". (a) Elsewhere *hypo* expresses personal agency with *baptizō* (see above, III. A. 2.). (b) There is no certain instance of an instrumental *en* with *baptizō*: in the other examples of *en pneumati*, the parallel with *en hydati* dictates that *en* should mean "in" or "with" and not "by (means of)", denoting the "sphere" or "material" but not the agent (but for instrumental *en* denoting personal agency, see Matt. 9:34; 12:24, 28; Acts 17:31 [cf. 4:12]; Phil. 4:13). (c) In the logia of John the Baptist regarding "Spirit-baptism", it is always Jesus who is the baptizer, never the Spirit. Accordingly in 1 Cor. 12:13, the agent should be taken as implied (viz. Jesus Christ). (d) In the one place Paul uses *en* with *baptizō* (1 Cor. 10:2), the prep. is local in sense ("in the cloud and in the sea"). (e) The following phrase "we were all given one Spirit to drink" (1 Cor. 12:13b) suggests an inward participation in the Spirit to which a preceding outward "immersion in the Spirit" would correspond. The Spirit is both around (v. 13a) and within (v. 13b; cf. Eph. 5:18). (f) The parallel *en heni pneumati* in Eph. 2:18 cannot be an instrumental use of *en*, since *di' autou* (= Christ) precedes (but cf. Eph. 3:5; 4:30). However *en tō heni pneumati* in 1 Cor. 12:9 is undoubtedly instrumental in sense, in light of the preceding *dia tou pneumatos* (1 Cor. 12:8; cf. vv. 7, 8b, 11). To deny that *en* is instrumental in 1 Cor. 12:13 is not, of course, to deny the personality of the Spirit, but simply to recognize that *baptizō* need not always mean "to baptize *in water*", but may be used metaphorically of immersion, inundation or deluging (see Arndt 131 s.v. *baptizō* 3. c).

5. *en/epi tō onomati.* Some commentators find no distinction between the three phrases *eis to onoma*, *en tō onomati* and *epi tō onomati* after *baptizō*, (e.g., S. New, "The Name, Baptism, and the Laying on of Hands", in Vol. V of *The Beginnings of Christianity* [ed. K. Lake and H. J. Cadbury] 1966 reprint [= 1933], 123 n. 3), while others distinguish *eis* (= Hebrew *l*^{e}, "with regard to") both from *en* (= Hebrew *b*^{e}, "on the authority of") and from *epi* ("resting upon" or "devoted to" the name [= person] of Christ) (e.g., R. Abba, "Name," *IDB*, III, 507a). Probably *en tō onomati* (Acts 10:48; cf. 2:38 *v.l.*) and *epi tō onomati* (Acts 2:38) are identical in sense ("at, in the name") referring either to the candidate's confession of faith in the name of Jesus Christ (cf. Acts 22:16) or to the administrant's acting on the authority of Christ or his invocation of the name of Jesus during the baptismal rite (cf. Arndt, 287, s.v. *epi*

II. 3). These two prep. phrases would then describe the administration or operation of the rite, and *eis to onoma* its nature or goal (on which see above, III. A. 3. c.).

B. *Prepositions with pisteuō (and pistis)*

For a convenient analysis of the meaning of *pisteuō* and *pistis* in cl. Gk., the LXX, and the Pseudepigrapha, see E. de W. Burton, *Galatians*, 1921, 475–478. A chart that classifies NT uses of *pisteuō* (when it is not used absolutely and does not mean "entrust") may be found in Moulton, *Grammar*, I, 68 n. 2, although some of the statistics mentioned below differ slightly.

Apart from the many instances where *pisteuō* is used absolutely (a rare use in the LXX – Isa. 7:9; 28:16), either in a religious sense ("have faith", e.g. Mk. 5:36; 9:23 f.; 2 Cor. 4:13; or "have faith [in Christ]", e.g., Jn. 3:18b; Acts 2:44; 2 Thess. 1:10) or in a non-religious sense ("give credence", e.g., Mk. 13:21; Lk. 22:67), there are numerous constructions found with this verb in the NT.

1. The non-prep. constructions are:

(a) Acc. of the thing, where the verb means "believe", "be convinced of" (Jn. 11:26b; 1 Cor. 11:18; 13:7; 1 Jn. 4:16) or "entrust" (Lk. 16:11; and with the "retained accus." after a pass. Rom. 3:2; Gal. 2:7; 1 Thess. 2:4; 1 Tim. 1:11; Tit. 1:3) or acc. of the person, where the verb means "entrust" (Jn. 2:24).

(b) Acc. and infin. (Acts 8:37 *v.l.*; cf. Acts 15:11).

(c) Infin. (Rom. 14:2), where *pisteuei* means "has confidence" and/or "has [sufficiently strong] faith (to eat)".

(d) *hoti* (= Heb. *he'emîn kî*), with the verb signifying "believe that", "be convinced that" (Lk. 1:45; Jn. 20:31a; Rom. 6:8; 10:9; 1 Thess. 4:14; Jas. 2:19a).

(e) Dat. with *hoti* following (Jn. 4:21; Acts 27:25).

(f) Dat. (= Heb. *he'emîn l^e* or *b^e*; see M. Johannessohn, *Präpositionen*, I, 1910, 60 f.) of the thing believed (Lk. 1:20; Jn. 4:50; Acts 24:14) or the person believed. In the latter category, the sense of *pisteuō* will range from "give credence to (the testimony of)" men or God (e.g., Mk. 11:31; Jn. 6:30; Acts 8:12; 26:27a; 1 Jn. 5:10b) to "entrust oneself to" God (Acts 16:34; Tit. 3:8) or Christ (e.g., Jn. 8:31; 2 Tim. 1:12).

2. The prep. constructions that follow *pisteuō* (and *pistis*) are, in ascending order of frequency:

(a) *peri* with *hoti* following (Jn. 9:18; cf. Plut., *Luc.* 19, 4; Josephus, *Ant.* 14, 267).

(b) *pros*. In Phlm. 5 both prep. phrases (*pros ton kyrion Iēsoun* and *eis pantas tous hagious*) probably refer to both *pistin* (which must therefore signify "fidelity" rather than "[saving] faith") and *agapēn*. Even if the structure is chiastic (ABBA), *pros* modifies *pistin*. The phrase *pros ton theon* depicts the object of *pistis* in 1 Thess. 1:8, although such a construction is rare in the LXX (4 Macc. 15:24; 16:22). *pros* never follows *pisteuō* in biblical Gk.

(c) *dia. di' autou* (or *di' hōn*) is found following *pisteuō* (Jn. 1:7, of John the Baptist; 1 Cor. 3:5, of Paul and Apollos) with Christ probably as the object of faith, and following *pistis* (Acts 3:16, probably of Jesus) and *pistos* (*tous di' autou pistous eis theon*, 1 Pet. 1:21a, certainly of Jesus; on this verse see F. J. A. Hort, *The First Epistle of St. Peter. I. 1–II. 17*, 1898, 81–84) with God as the object of faith. This prep. phrase therefore expresses the human or divine instrument by which persons come to faith in Christ or God.

(d) *en.* Each of the three possible instances is contested. It is unlikely that *pisteuete* is absolute in Mk. 1:15, with *en* meaning "in the sphere of" (A. Deissmann, *Die neutestamentliche Formel "In Christo Jesu"*, 1892, 46 f.; and note J. H. Moulton's change of mind on the matter, *Grammar*, I, 67 f.; II, 464) since there are several LXX instances (Jer. 12:6; Pss. 77:22; cf. 77:32; 105:12; Dan. 6:24, Theod.) in which *en* after *pisteuō* denotes the object of faith. Nor should *en* be rendered "on the basis of". The verse may be translated "believe (in) the Good News". P. F. Regard (*Prépositions*, 339) paraphrases thus: believe "in the truth of the substance of the Gospel." In Eph. 1:13 *en hō* should be construed with *esphragisthēte*, not *pisteusantes*. Finally, the uncertainty in Jn. 3:15 is textual (p^{75} B *al.* read *en autō* after *pas ho pisteuōn*, but other MSS read *ep' autō*, *eis auton*, or *ep' auton*) and exegetical (*en autō* may be construed with what precedes or what follows). Probably *en autō* should be read and the phrase should be taken with *hina . . . echē zōēn aiōnion* (cf. Jn. 5:39; 16:33 and note that John generally uses *eis* with *pisteuō*): "that everyone who believes might in him have eternal life".

In the 4 instances where *en* is to be construed with *pistis* (Eph. 1:15; Col. 1:4; 1 Tim. 3:13; 2 Tim. 3:15; but not Rom. 3:25 and probably not Gal. 3:26), the prep. phrase is as likely to mark out the sphere or realm in which faith was operative and evident as to specify the actual object of faith. For example, Col. 1:4 may be rendered "your faith (that rests) in Christ Jesus" (= *pistis eis Christon* = *pistis Christou*) or "your faith experienced in fellowship with Christ Jesus".

(e) *epi with dat.* Four times this construction (with *pisteuō*) is used with a personal object (Rom. 9:33; 10:11; 1 Pet. 2:6 [these three verses being citations of Isa. 28:16]; 1 Tim. 1:16; see also the textual variants in Mt. 27:42 *v.l.*; Jn. 3:15 *v.l.*), once with an impersonal object (Lk. 24:25). In the former cases, *pisteuō epi* denotes the placing of one's reliance upon a person who affords a firm support or a solid foundation.

(f) *epi with acc.* The idea of metaphorical movement that is implied in the 7 instances that occur with *pisteuō* (Matt. 27:42; Acts 9:42; 11:17; 16:31; 22:19; Rom. 4:5, 24; cf. Wis. 12:2) and the one example with *pistis* (Heb. 6:1) may derive from the notion of turning away from former objects of devotion that brought disappointment to a new personal object of faith in whom one has confidence.

(g) *eis with acc.* Examples of this construction with *pisteuō*, which is modelled on the Heb. *he'emîn b^e* (not the Gk. *epistrephō epi* or *pros*), are lacking in cl. Gk. and the LXX (but see Sir. 38:31). In the NT it is a characteristically Johannine idiom, with only 8 of the 45 NT uses being found outside the Fourth Gospel and 1 Jn. (viz., Matt. 18:6; Acts 10:43; 14:23; 19:4 (?); Rom. 10:14; Gal. 2:16; Phil. 1:29; 1 Pet. 1:8; and note Mk. 9:42 *v.l.*). *epi* never follows *pisteuō* in the Johannine corpus, but elsewhere it is more frequently used (12 times) than *eis* (8 times). There is no doubt that occasionally John uses the dat. with the same sense as *eis* with the acc. (viz. Jn. 5:24, 38; 8:31; cf. 8:30, *eis auton*), but it ought not to be assumed that the two constructions are completely interchangeable, for *pisteuō* with the dat. of the person believed sometimes means simply "give intellectual credence to" (Jn. 4:21; 5:46 *bis*, 47 *bis*; 8:45 f.; 10:37, 38a; 14:11a, 14:11b *v.l.*), a meaning *pisteuō eis* never bears (compare Jn. 6:29 and 6:30) (but see *per contra*, R. Bultmann, *pisteuō*, *TDNT* VI 203 and n. 221, 210 f.). Furthermore it is clear that for John *pisteuō eis* is intimately connected with *erchomai eis* (Jn. 5:40; 6:35, 37, 44 f., 65; 7:37) and *pisteuō eis to*

onoma (Jn. 1:12; 2:23; 3:18; 1 Jn. 5:13; cf. 1 Jn. 3:23, *tō onomati*). This latter phrase probably means "believe in the person of" but it could possibly be related to the formula *baptizō eis to onoma* and imply a transfer of ownership, resulting in a new allegiance (but this view is scarcely possible in Jn. 2:23; cf. 2:24). But Jn. 3:18 shows that *pisteuō eis to onoma* may simply be a variant of *pisteuō eis* and that the absolute *pisteuō* may stand for either (see the discussion of C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, 1953, 182–186).

In Gal. 2:16 it is apparent that *pisteuō eis Christon Iēsoun* = *pistis Christou* (see W. Kramer, *Christ, Lord, Son of God*, *SBT* 50, ET 1966, 10 f.). The objective genitive after *pistis* may stand in the place of (i) *eis* after *pisteuō*, and (ii) *pistis eis* (a phrase found in Acts 20:21; 24:24; Col. 2:5; cf. Acts 26:18; 1 Pet. 1:21b).

It follows that *eis* after *pisteuō* denotes, as a minimum, the object of faith (P. F. Regard, *Prépositions*, 341 f.) or the direction of faith (R. Schnackenburg, *Baptism in the Thought of St. Paul*, ET 1964, 23; cf. his *Der Glaube im vierten Evangelium*, 1937, 6–11). But more seems to be implied. *pisteuō* (or *pistis*) *eis Christon* depicts the committal of one's self to the person of Christ, something more than an intellectual acceptance of the message of the gospel or a recognition of the truth about Christ (which may be expressed by *pisteuō hoti* or *pisteuō* with the dat.). But the two aspects are intimately related. Since the person of Christ is the essence of the message that is proclaimed and accepted, to accept the message concerning him is to accept him. *pisteuō hoti* naturally becomes *pisteuō eis* or *epi*, as Jn. 20:31 and Rom. 10:9–11 clearly establish. So then *to eis auton* (sc. *Christon*) *pisteuein* (Phil. 1:29) describes the Christian condition, the state in which the Christian lives, while entrance into that state is denoted by *hoi pisteusantes* (sc. *eis Christon*) (Acts 2:44; 4:32; 2 Thess. 1:10; cf. Gal. 2:16) (cf. W. H. P. Hatch, *The Pauline Idea of Faith*, 1917, 46).

3. *Concluding Observations.*

(a) As used in profane Gk., *pisteuō* (or *pistis*) with the dat. emphasized the element of intellectual apprehension or simple credence. The twofold moral emphasis in the Heb. use of *he'mîn*, viz. personal trust and confident reliance, is reflected in the Christian coinage of the phrases *pisteuō eis* (denoting personal trust; never found in the LXX) and *pisteuō epi* (with acc., denoting confidence, and found only in Wis. 12:2 in the LXX; with dat., denoting reliance). It is true that the dat. case was beginning to wane in the NT period (see above, I. B. 1 (a)) but this fact in itself cannot account for the coinage of these two prep. phrases. If no new connotation were intended by NT writers in using *eis* and *epi* after *pisteuō*, one might have expected *en* with the dat. after *pisteuō* to be far more frequent (it is found only in Mk. 1:15 – see above, III. B. 2. (d)), for one tendency of Hel. Gk. was for *en* to be added to the simple dat. case.

(b) Nowhere is *pisteuō eis* used with a human object of faith (note that in Gal. 5:10 *egō pepoitha eis hymas* means "I am confident with respect to [= in] you"; cf. 2 Cor. 8:22) and only once is the expressed object impersonal (1 Jn. 5:10c; but even here *eis tēn martyrian* signifies God's testimony concerning his Son; see also Jn. 12:36). In NT usage "believing" connotes the confident trust that an individual places in a divine person, not merely the simple credence he gives to verifiable facts. It involves not only recognition and acceptance of the truth but also adherence and allegiance to the Truth.

(c) The fact that God is (relatively speaking) so infrequently held up as the object of faith (only in Jn. 12:44c; 14:1a; Acts 16:34; Rom. 4:3, 5, 17, 24; Gal. 3:6; 1 Thess. 1:8; Tit. 3:8; Heb. 6:1; 1 Pet. 1:21; cf. Acts 11:17 D; Acts 13:12 D) and Christ so frequently, indicates that it is in Christ that God meets the individual in salvation. There are not two competing personal objects of human faith.

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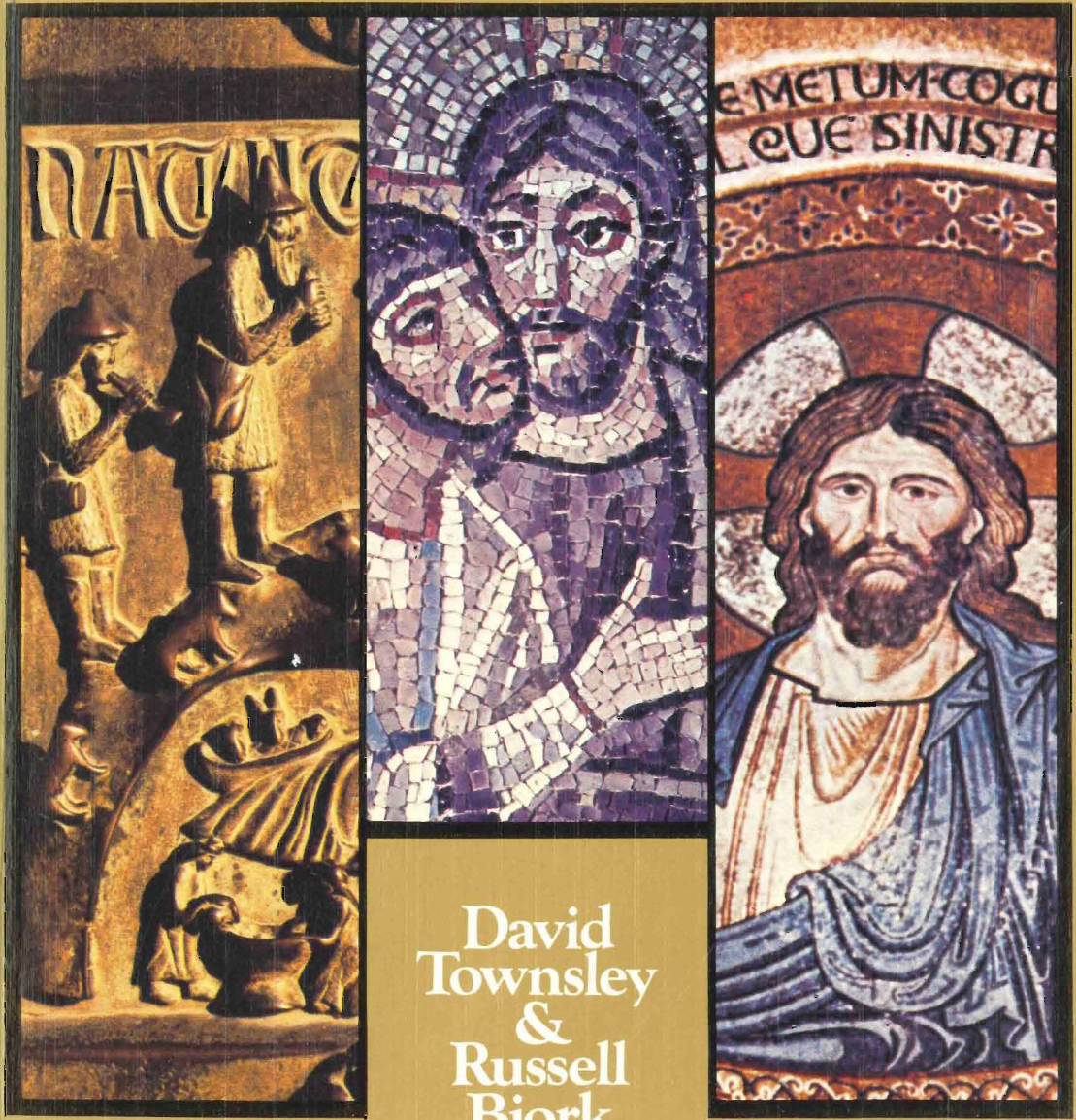
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SCRIPTURE INDEX

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Dictionary of New Testament Theology

And Index to Selected Extra-Biblical Literature



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David Townsley holds the M.A.T.S. degree from Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary. He is at present marketing manager, academic books, Zondervan Publishing House.

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To

David M. Scholer

We gratefully acknowledge the generosity of Gordon College (Wenham, Massachusetts) in allowing us to use its VAX-11/780 computer system for collating the citations in this index.

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Preface

During my first year in seminary, both the need for this *Scripture Index* and the possibility of producing it as an "extracurricular project" were suggested to me by a good friend and classmate, Paul Mirecki. I began the work almost immediately but soon realized that it would be a long time before I could hope to complete the gargantuan job of manually collating thousands of citations.

The project was ushered into the computer age, however, through the unique talents and generous collaboration of Russell Bjork. I am grateful for his creative and careful work and his willingness to stick with the project despite unforeseen delays and an increasingly demanding teaching schedule.

Two professors, David M. Scholer and J. Ramsey Michaels, whose love of Scripture and other ancient literature and dedication to the highest standards of scholarship provided an inspiration for this work, are due a special thanks. It was in response to an assignment made by David M. Scholer to prepare an extensive collection of extrabiblical passages that parallel Scripture passages that Russ originally developed a program to collate the citations. Thanks to a request by J. Ramsey Michaels for me to prepare a Scripture index for one of his books as part of my responsibility as a student assistant to him, I had the opportunity to approach Russ about developing similar programs for other uses and to pave the way for the present project.

I am particularly indebted to my wife, Daryl, for several suggestions that greatly improved the effeciency of collecting the citations and ensured the accuracy of the data that was entered into the computer. Her help and encouragement were invaluable resources for me.

It has been my good fortune to have an editor who is also a friend and a co-worker. I appreciate the care and patience with which Ed van der Maas has worked to get this ponderous and tedious project into its final form. The work has benefited from his suggestions at several points.

Finally, it is my hope that the *Scripture Index* will achieve its intended purpose: to make *The New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology* both more accessible and more useful to pastors, students, and laypersons everywhere as they endeavor to read, to understand, and to proclaim God's Word.

DAVID L. TOWNSLEY

Introduction

The *Scripture Index* was intended from the outset to be as inclusive as possible. For that reason, the reader should not expect to find a substantive discussion of a given passage every time that passage is cited. Secondary citations can, however, lead the reader to discussions of related passages and provide many "fresh trails."

The *Index to Selected Extrabiblical Literature* also opens the way for the serious reader to benefit from the wealth of background and illustrative material so important to a proper understanding and appreciation of the New Testament. Used in conjunction with the *Scripture Index,* it can provide yet another way of cross-referencing related Scripture passages. Used alone, it facilitates the study of the extrabiblical literature in its own right.

In certain Old Testament passages, the verse numbers of the English versions differ from those of the Septuagint (LXX) and/or the Hebrew Masoretic text. An asterisk (*) following a reference indicates that such a numbering variation was noted in one or more of the articles citing the passage. The asterisks are included as a reminder to the reader that the pursuit of a given verse will be affected at these points, depending upon whether an English or an ancient language text is being consulted.

The preparation of the *Scripture Index* has brought to light a number of citation errors. The *Index* lists the corrected citations. A dagger (†) following an entry alerts the reader to check the Errata on pages 319–20, since on one or more of the pages given for that entry an incorrect reference will be found.

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767	23	Ezek. 26:28	Ezek. 26:2 f.
771	26	Pss. 10:38	Pss. 10:18
778	(4)	Pss. 4:8 29[28]:10	Pss. 4:8; 29[28]:10
793	7	1Qflor 1:4	4Qflor 1:4
793	(19)	Isa. 8:23	Isa. 9:1
803	10	Isa. 32:28	Isa. 32:18
842	10	Est. 10:10	Est. 10:3
854	9	1 Sam. 59:7	1 Sam. 25:3
863	6	2 Macc. 20:10	2 Macc. 2:10
863	(11)	Gen. 28:22–23	Gen. 18:22–23
874	8	1 Cor. 15, 26	1 Cor. 15:26
874	(1)	2 Tim. 16, 18	2 Tim. 1:16, 18
875	9	Cor. 1:3, 9–14	Col. 1:3, 9–14
890	12	Eccl. 11:19	Eccl. 11:9
890	19	Joel 4:14	Joel 3:14
893	17	1Q 14:7 ff.	1QM 14:7 ff.
893	(13)	Exod. 34:38	Exod. 34:28
896	8	Did. 10, 6	Did. 10:6
Volume 3			
28	3	Mk. 11:45	Lk. 11:45
33	(5)	1 Sam. 21:27	1 Sam. 21:1
35	15	Neh. 13:4–9:28	Neh. 13:4–9, 28
45	(5)	Ps. 71:[70]:17	Ps. 71[70]:17
46	17	3:18);	3:18;
69	(3)	Exod. 3:24 f.	Exod. 2:24 f.
110	15	Matt. 12:18:21	Matt. 12:18, 21
110	(13)	Jdt. 16:17	Jdg. 16:17
137	24	Tit. 1:17	Tit. 1:7
161	(10)	Isa. 55:15	Isa. 54:14
165	25	Rom. 3:35	Rom. 3:25
181	(10)	Mk. 10:1–12:	Mk. 10:1–12;
192	25	Ps. 49(48)7	Ps. 49(48):7
193	(13)	Ps. 130(129);7	Ps. 130(129):7
207	12	Ps. 74(73);12	Ps. 74(73):12
207	29	2 Sam. 11:13	1 Sam. 11:13
225	11	1 Cor. 13:15	1 Cor. 13:13
238	(10)	Ezek. 21:37[32]: 25:10	Ezek. 21:37[32]; 25:10
257	10	Ps. 95,11	Ps. 95:11
272	(19)	cf. 95:33 ff.	cf. 95:3 ff.
287	24	Heb. 13:20;ff.	Heb. 13:20 ff.
310	(1)	Ezek. 16:36 f., 57:	Ezek. 16:36 f., 57;
331	16	Matt. 6:16 ff., 45	Matt. 6:16 ff.; 5:45
342	27	2 Macc. 9:4, 12, 38	2 Macc. 9:4, 12, 28
342	(9)	2 Pet:10 ff.	2 Pet. 2:10 ff.
346	(5)	Prov. 20:31	Prov. 20:3
354	(25)	Num. 30:17	Num. 30:16
355	3	Joel 4:19	Joel 3:19
365	2	Heb. 8:38	Heb. 10:38
402	20	2 Chr. 23:29	1 Chr. 23:29
433	7	1 Cor. 19:19	1 Cor. 10:19
444	14	Zeph. 2:19	Zeph. 2:9
448	12	Deut. 25:22	Deut. 25:12
455	9	Lk. 10:51, 53	Lk. 9:51, 53
470	23	Mk. 8:53	Mk. 8:33
487	4	Deut. 35:10	Deut. 25:10
509	(12)	Mk. 15:61	Mk. 14:61
515	10	*Spec. Leg.* 1 20,	*Spec. Leg.* 1, 20,
515	17	Matt. 28:27	Matt. 28:7
517	8	1 Jn. 1:11	1 Jn. 1:1
532	34	2 Tim. 2:33	2 Tim. 2:23
589	22	Matt. 10:46	Mk. 10:46
595	4	Ps. 119[118],17	Ps. 119[118]:17
613	10	Acts 15:47	Acts 13:47
614	(16)	Dan. 18:26 f.	Dan. 8:26 f.
629	17	Matt. 19:38	Matt. 19:28
651	(19)	Ps. 16:20	Ps. 16:10
669	(13)	Matt. 16:30	Matt. 26:30
686	(4)	Ps. 39[38]:14	Ps. 39[38]:13
691	(8)	1 Sam. 11:16	1 Sam. 11:6
703	6	Rom. 1:11, 1; Cor. 12:8–11	Rom. 1:11; 1 Cor. 12:8–11
711	(16)	4 Macc. 8; 24;	4 Macc. 8:24;
714	30	2 Thess. 1:19	2 Thess. 1:9
722	16	1QH3:5–18	1QH 3:5–18
732	(10)	Acts 2:38, 40; 3; 19, 23	Acts 2:38, 40; 3:19, 23
733	(4)	Isa. 60; 19	Isa. 60:19
760	(6)	Ezr. 44:23	Ezek. 44:23
760	(11)	Ps. 94(93); 10, 12;	Ps. 94(93):10, 12;
760	(12)	Ps. 34(33) 11;	Ps. 34(33):11;
786	15	1 Ki. 17:7, 50	1 Ki. 7:50; 17:7
786	17	Hos. 8:16	Hos. 8:14
786	(9)	Ezek. 9:6, 23, 38	Ezek. 9:6; 23:38
799	(1)	Exod. 29:49 f.	Exod. 29:45 f.
817	1	2 Chr. 16:27	1 Chr. 16:27
823	(18)	4 Macc. 2:2–34	4 Macc. 2:2–24
871	17	(*Life* 1, 1)	(*Life* 1)
924	7	Ps. 37(36), 18	Ps. 37(36):18
939	29	Test. Ash. 8:9	Test. Ash. 1:9
964	(16)	Amos 5:27 ff.	Amos 5:25 ff.
983	23	Job 7:82	Job 7:12
989	21	Ezek. 26:25 ff.	Ezek. 36:25 ff.
1006	21	Isa. 35:15 f.	Isa. 35:5 f.
1010	3	1 Sam. 19:25	1 Sam. 9:25
1024	(13)	Ps. 94(93:8;	Ps. 94(93):8;
1024	(21)	Prov. 9:6 (4, 16)	Prov. 9:6 (4:16)
1024	(23)	2 Sam. 25:25	1 Sam. 25:25
1024	(24)	Eccl. 4:17, 25	Eccl. 4:17; 7:25
1041	2	1 Sam. 8:24	1 Sam. 9:24
1065	(5)	1 Tim. 5:39	1 Tim. 5:9
1074	3	Zech. 7:20	Zech. 7:10
1095	(5)	Jer. 2:4:5	Jer. 2:1–4:5
1099	(8)	Ezek. 26:28	Ezek. 26:2 f.
1157	(10)	Gal. 5:69 ff.	Gal. 5:19 ff.